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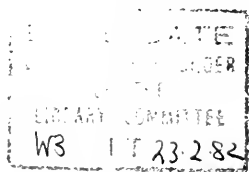
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## Archaeological Journal.

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MARCH, 1892.

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### PRE-HISTORIC STONEWORK OF MEXICO.<sup>1</sup>

By O. H. HOWARTH.

The term "pre-historic," as used in relation to the human races and remains in the New World is applied under conditions widely different from those which we usually associate with it in the Old. If we speak of a "Stone Age" in Mexico or Central America, we are dealing with a period which, so far as we can assign any limit to it, runs far down into the Christian Era, and thus overlaps that which in Europe is not only historical but comparatively recent. On the other hand, if we attempt to trace it backward, there is no reason to put any other limitations upon it than those which we gather from similar observations in the Eastern Hemisphere. If a Stone Period is characterised by the use of stone implements in the apparent absence of any art in metal, we find such a period extending practically down to the age of the Spanish Conquest; and yet the observations of Dr. Hamy, quoted by Lucian Biart in his History of the Aztecs, indicate that man was contemporary in Central America with the Mastodon; and that there is no reason to assume any interruption in his descent from those ages.

My purpose in these notes is to endeavour to point out the lines upon which a distinction may be sought for between actually historic stonework in Mexico and that which can only be regarded as pre-historic. It may, of

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, Nov. 5th, 1891.

course, be remarked that the whole question turns upon the definition of history, and of the exceedingly vague boundary line between reliable history and unreliable history. Of the latter commodity Mexico, unfortunately, furnishes a large contribution. In fact, its unreliable history may be said to reach a later date than that of any other country which can claim a history at all. But alongside of its recent unreliable history stand the monuments of its recent Stone Age; and as these again stand alongside of others of far more remote antiquity, it remains for us to ascertain whether any links can be detected in the chain of the prolonged Stone Period thus recorded.

In making the following suggestions it may be of some assistance if I refer briefly to the process by which the central and southern districts of Mexico became populated, so far as they can be traced. The chief point to be noticed is the number and variety of sources from which that population has evidently been derived. We have, in the first place, reason, if not evidence, for supposing (as already remarked) that there may have been a continuity of a race in the fullest sense aboriginal, and connected with a period to which only a geological date can be assigned. Subsequently to this there has no doubt been a parallel process to that which we assume to have occurred in the animal and vegetable kingdoms in reference to remote ocean islands, which, at absolutely uncertain intervals, varying perhaps from a few hours to many centuries, have been populated by the germs of plants and animals, conveyed by winds, floods, or the chance visits of migratory birds. The same winds and waves have doubtless carried to the shores of Mexico and Central America stray human denizens of other continents whose descendants have mingled with and modified from time to time the races already established there.

In Mexico there are three distinct sources from which such incursions may have taken place: viz: by immigration from the north, and from the south, and by the accidental landing of storm-driven wanderers from the Asiatic or other continents. Reliable Mexican history shews us this by such entirely distinct languages as those of the Toltecs, the Acolhuas of Anàhuac, the Tarasques of Michoacan, and the Mayas of Yucatan. It may be expected that

before the fusion of these various races, the more civilised of them would have left more or less distinctive marks of identity in the character of their permanent stonework.

In reviewing shortly the features of that work I shall consider it under the two main groups of Structural work, and Implements; the former comprising buildings and sculpture, and the latter tools, weapons, and personal ornaments.

Among structural works the numerous pyramids forming the substructure of temples or sacrificial platforms are by far the most striking and instructive feature from the point of view of an unwritten history. Not less colossal in size than the pyramids of Egypt, and even exceeding in some of their dimensions the largest of these, they also possess in their remarkable variety of design a characteristic which does not belong to any similar structures in the known world. In examining a series of such buildings, spread over an area of country not less than 2000 miles in length, one cannot but be struck with the importance of this variety of type as affording a possible key to the problem of their respective antiquity. As one observes in other products of human art the extraordinary conservation which, in a medium grade of civilisation, carries on the same types from age to age, the variation of design in a building so vast as these pyramids becomes still more striking—still more suggestive of a history extending over immense periods of time and many fluctuations in art and culture.

In selecting a few of these types of pyramids for comparison I will mention first some of those in the States of Mexico and Hidalgo which I have had a recent opportunity of examining. The Pyramid of Cholula is probably the largest single structure of stonework in the world. It is associated with the dynasty of the Toltec race which preceded that of the Aztecs, and has probably afforded the earliest glimpse of reliable history in Mexico. But it by no means follows that the original pyramid was constructed during that period, though the histories of Bernal Diaz and Solis afford some record as to the foundation of its temple. The pile of loose volcanic boulders forming its solid core is characteristic also of the pyramids of Teotihuacan in the valley of the San Juan, twenty-five miles north

east of the city of Mexico; and though actual history describes these latter in a state of completeness and use for sacrificial purposes, many evidences convince me that the original formation of these enormous piles of loose stone is of far greater antiquity. The mere fact that they were commenced upon bases 5, 6, and even 700 feet square, and thus contain at their present height of 200 ft. or thereabouts, a mass of more than a million cubic yards each, of stone, seems to be evidence of a considerable lapse of time occupied in mere construction; while the type, which is in these instances a simple pyramid in three terraces, is the crudest in the series. The coating of stucco with which they were afterwards covered, and portions of which still remain, developed the bevelled face which is also observed on several of the pyramids further south. This form of outer coating being the easiest and least artistic in construction may afford some guide as to its period—probably among the earliest. The pyramid of Cholula was surmounted by a stuccoed temple or saint-house, also pyramidal in form; but on the summits of the two great pyramids of Teotihuacan there is no appearance of any such structure, and unless it can be assumed that they were entirely demolished and every stone of the material removed, it is probable that none ever existed. The Pyramid of the Sun (the larger of the two at Teotihuacan) has at its top a square platform of rough stone slabs and the remains of a round column; and though these are no doubt of a date as early as the Aztec and possibly the Toltec city I am inclined to think them much more recent than the body of the pyramid itself. On the extensive site of ruined remains called Los Edificios, near Zacatecas, about 500 miles north of Mexico city, we find again the plain pyramid with stuccoed and bevelled faces, on a smaller scale; and here the absence of later ornamentation as well as of pottery and obsidian implements seems to shew that, in those comparatively barren regions, art in stone building never advanced so far, nor were settled communities so long-lived, as in more favoured districts. In the pyramid of Mayapan (going southward again) we have the bevelled face developed into actual steps, and the steps intersected by a sort of buttress on each face of the pyramid. In one

<sup>1</sup> The great pyramid of Egypt was about 755 feet square.

instance the faces of the pyramid are curved outwards to an angle resembling the cutwater of the piers of a bridge. The necessity of obtaining access to the top of pyramids of large size led to the use of flights of steps smaller than those of the pyramid itself; and in the case of the pyramid of Quemada (Zacatecas) there is evidence of such an external flight having been added to the original structure. At Tusàpan, near Papantla, where the pyramid is faced with long and steep bevels, a regular stone staircase with massive copings on each side ascends the whole height.

In this case the temple, also pyramidal in form, displays a sort of string-course with a plain diagonal ornament sculptured on it. At Uxmal a latticed sculpture of more elaborate design is seen. At Papantla the whole type becomes more ornate; the pyramid having seven terraces with square sunk panels or entablatures on each vertical face, and a broad stairway from base to platform. At Copan and Palenque a similar type occurs with yet more florid sculpture; at Huatusco is a pyramid of three terraces with flights of steps occupying half the breadth of the face, and carrying a temple of obelisk form, sweeping into a graceful curve at the foot. At Xochicalco, near Cuernavaca, in the State of Morelos, a trench or fosse is formed round the pyramid, which is ascended by spiral terraces, and carries on its summit a smaller pyramid of solid dressed stone sculptured with fine hieroglyphics. A large pyramid at Tehuantepec, in the south of Mexico, has the lower faces curved convexly outwards, with a broad flight of steps, a solid plinth above each curved face, and a temple on the top. In the great Teocalli, or temple pyramid of Mexico City there were four terraces with a communicating flight of stairs at each successive angle, thus necessitating a circuit of three sides of the pyramid in ascending each tier.

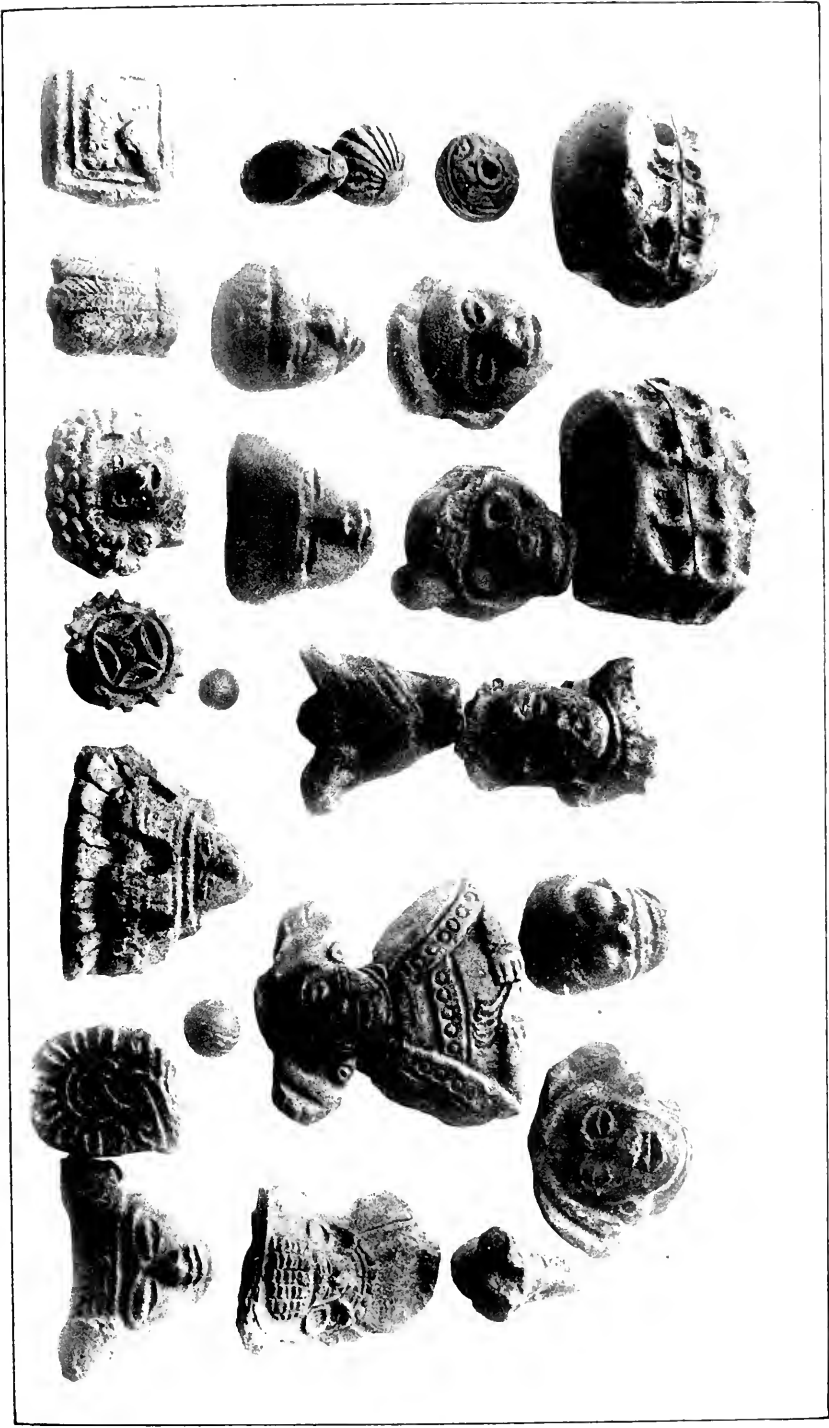
I have thus named but a few typical examples taken from all parts of Mexico; and yet when we come to compare these successive grades of stonework with the magnificently decorated palace-walls of Palenque, and the elaborate mosaics of Monte Alban, and of Mitla, in Oaxaca, we find that even the pyramids do not exhaust the stages of progress in structural art during that Stone Age. The highly ornamental and delicately carved figures of the

various deities presiding over War, Death, the Ocean, Agriculture, Sun-Worship, and Human Sacrifice, shew a still further advance in design. However difficult the task of unravelling the tangled web of this history there is at least one proposition unmistakably clear, viz: that the development of art in stone came neither from the North nor from the South, nor from across the Ocean, but grew up with a growing national life in the course of ages of time. Lucien Biart, in his History of the Aztecs, quotes the pyramids of Chiapas as an example of this, and despairs of arriving at any definite rule of classification beyond the fact that they are "the work of one race, operating at different ages, and obeying identical traditions of art and civilisation."

But the study should not be a hopeless one. An important step will surely have been made when the whole of these successive types of stonework have been collated for comparison, and I would strongly impress upon anyone to whom the opportunity may occur in visiting those countries to make it a duty to obtain either photographs or accurate sketches of every structure which shews a development of design; and especially of all the pyramidal forms (however crude and dilapidated) in which the controlling idea is identical.

I proceed now to compare with these examples of constructive art the minor relics in stone which in so many cases accompany them. These include domestic implements, weapons, and ornaments; and they have the peculiarity that, while comparatively few in kind, they are exceedingly abundant in numbers.

The black or grey obsidian, which in so many parts of this volcanic region has served the purposes of flint elsewhere, has furnished the arrowheads and knifeblades which on many of the ancient sites are so plentiful that they can be picked up in handfuls on freshly disturbed ground. The art of manufacturing these from a material so difficult to model, has evidently existed through a long series of national changes. In the fields around the pyramids of Teotihuacan they seem to occur at all points and at all depths where any other remains are found, and their use has probably been contemporary with all the successive races or tribes which have occupied this



ANTIQUITIES FROM MEXICO.





sacred city from the original growth of the great pyramids. There is no doubt that it survived until the Spanish Conquest, as a full description is given by Torquemada (quoted by Dr. Tylor) of the method of splitting off the knife-blades from a solid block, by simple pressure. They were afterwards ground to an edge, which fitted them even for the purposes of a razor, when so required. The formation of arrow and spear-heads must have been a work of far greater toil and patience, as these seem to have been obtained entirely by chipping. The only locality which I have noted, so far, where these weapons do not occur is in the Edificios at Zacatecas; but this may have been due to the absence of obsidian in that district, and the substitution of some more perishable material for the same purpose.

Another example of long and laborious work is seen in the production of beads, hammer-heads, masks, collars or clamps for the necks of sacrificial victims, and small ornaments which may have been of the nature of charms made from greenstone, jade, and other hard materials, the moulding of which can only have been accomplished by grinding. This, in default of any harder substance, was probably effected with a tool of the same material. In evidence of this it is observable that perforations appear always to have been made with an obtuse point, the stone being too brittle to bear a sharp one. Operations of this kind, which undergo but little variation from age to age, may have survived from the earliest times; yet it seems to me by no means impossible that the collection, examination, and comparison of large numbers of these smaller objects from various sites may result in the detection of differences of type and methods of production, which may have an important bearing on the question of date. The association of any one type of implement-work with certain forms of pottery or images, and of these again with a specific type of structure in buildings, may point the way at least to some such classification as we seek for.

In considering the types of miniature sculpture in stone one can hardly pass over without notice the related forms so abundantly found in baked clay or terra-cotta. Through the medium of this species of modelling an insight is given,

or at least is suggested, into several domestic or public customs, of which otherwise no permanent memorial would have existed. When the human figure in stone gives us only the idealised and frequently grotesque forms of deities or natural forces, the faces moulded in clay convey invaluable hints of actual portraiture, and of true human types which were doubtless prominent at the time. The more these most interesting remains are studied and compared the more striking is the suggestiveness of their varied character. And if this is the case after examining the few scores of specimens which can be seen in the half-dozen museums and collections possessing them, how much promise would there be in the comparison of a few thousands, such as could, and in the course of time no doubt will, be made available. Even so small a collection as that which I was able to make in the course of a couple of days, near the pyramids of Teotihuacan, at once strikes the eye by the remarkable and almost lifelike variety of feature developed under a few prevailing types.

Besides the numerous articles of pottery, the uses of which are for the most part obvious, there are found in considerable abundance certain objects which still afford more or less of a puzzle to the investigator. One of the commonest of these is the so-called "candelero," or candlestick, which is almost as plentiful as arrowheads in the neighbourhood of some of the pyramids. The only conjectures which have been formed as to the actual use of this peculiar implement are based on the kind of circumstantial evidence which, in the infancy of such a study, is all-important, viz., the association with other objects. That they were a portion of the sacrificial equipment seems highly probable, and the only unexplained feature, if we accept their traditional name of candlesticks, is their invariable duplex form. The precise object of the terracotta seals or stamps is also by no means clear; but it is suggested that they may have been used for printing fabrics or some kind of decorative paper.

The two chief desiderata for pursuing these enquiries are undoubtedly the continuance of collection where possible, and of drawing or photographing where the object is a fixture. With such means for comparison an outline of history may be read even in the absence of more

definite data. As such work progresses with the more material advance of Mexico, there is every reason to hope that such a result may be attained, and that eventually some happy chance may lead to a solution of the riddle of Central American hieroglyphics. Until then, we can only peep between the leaves of a sealed volume which we know to be second to none in the world in interest. But that knowledge is our warrant for relaxing no effort and neglecting no means within our reach whereby the seal may at last be broken.

## CALEDONIAN CAMPANALOGY.<sup>1</sup>

By J. J. RAVEN, D.D., F.S.A.

In Scotland the accessibility of small ecclesiastical bells of a high antiquity, existing in museums and private collections, has led to many and full dissertations on them, while larger specimens in towers, dating from the middle ages, have almost escaped notice, and the history of the foundries seems absolutely untouched.

There can be no doubt, however, that research in this branch of archaeology will meet with as ample a reward as has fallen to our lot who have laboured in bringing to light the Church bells of the seventeen completed counties of England.

Though change-ringing has rarely been practiced north of the Tweed, and rings of bells are few in number, yet many a solitary tinkler which gives forth its weekly summons to worship may be found to chronicle on its weather-beaten surface something of wider import than its individual history. It is with a view to stimulate interest in this matter that these fragments are put together.

Fergus, the brazier of Boston in Lincolnshire, certainly has a Caledonian sound in his name. He is recorded in the continuations to Ingulphus's Crowland Chronicle, of whatever value they may be. It is related that the old bells of that abbey were melted in the fire of 1091, and that about 27 years afterwards this Fergus gave "duo skillettas" to serve after a humble fashion in their stead. The bell-founders of the middle ages are constantly designated as braziers and potters, their business lying more usually in

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Architectural Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Edinburgh, August 13th, 1891.

casting domestic utensils than in their more sonorous handiwork.

Mr. Lukis,<sup>1</sup> records two bells at Lochmaben, in the county of Dumfries. One is inscribed :

✠ *Abe Maria. Johannes Adam me fecit.*

The other, possibly older, bears no inscription.

A more detailed observation of this bell of John Adam's may give the clue, possibly, to the history of a considerable group of bells. The lettering, especially the capitals, and all stops and other marks, together with the initial cross, should be squeezed and cast in plaster-of-paris; or at the least good rubbings should be taken. Then as other mediævals fall under notice some evidence of their origin will show itself, and perhaps in some list of burgesses or of guild-brethren it may be found where John Adam exercised his calling.

A Berwickshire church, unfortunately not named, has a bell bearing a legend set backwards, and to all appearance in two varieties of type. My late venerable friend, the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, sent it to me for solution. I can make out *sanct . . . . tommas . . . . campana . .*. If some Berwickshire antiquary would find the church and send me a rubbing I might be able to complete the inscription. Everything here ought carefully to be compared with Lochmaben, and with the silver plate inscribed

*johannes alexandri me fieri fecit,*

which is attached to the lower edge of the Guthrie bell, and relates not to the original rude iron hand-bell but to the ornamentation with which it was enriched in after-ages. These three inscriptions may be referred to the later years of the fourteenth century, or to the earlier of the fifteenth.

The Cathedral of S. Magnus, Orkney, supplies us with evidence that bell-founding was carried out in Edinburgh Castle in the year 1528, by Robert Borthwick, of whom we desire to know more. There are four bells in the Cathedral, of which the smallest is 1 ft. 8 in. diameter, and without inscription. Two hundred years ago it was called the "Skellat bell," a designation which recalls Fergus to our mind. But the other three, though apparently not quite

<sup>1</sup> *Church Bells*, p. 134.

in tune, were intended for a sequence descending to a rather sharp G, and the treble is inscribed :

“maid be maister robert maxvel, bishop of orknay, y<sup>e</sup> secund zier of his conseeration y<sup>e</sup> zeir of gode I<sup>m</sup> V<sup>c</sup> XXVIII. zeris, y<sup>e</sup> XV. zier of Kyng James y<sup>e</sup> V. be robert borthuyk ; maid al thre in y<sup>e</sup> castel of Edynburgh.” The last eleven words are omitted from the second bell, and on the largest the words are somewhat modernised at its recasting in Amsterdam by Cladius Fremy in 1682. All bear the arms of the Bishop, and medallions with the sworded figure of S. Magnus. There is a full account of these bells in Mr. Lukis's book. The importance of lettering, &c., here is very great, as more of Borthwick's bells may be expected to turn up. Medallions such as are found here, are very Continental in their character, as we shall learn from our next example, the tongueless *Katerina* bell in Glasgow Cathedral.

This belongs to a small group in Great Britain east in Mechlin, which, so far as our present knowledge extends, amounts to three or at the most four. One of them, at Bromeswell, in the county of Suffolk, beautifully ornamented, fell to my lot in working up that country, and through the kindness of Canon van Caster, of Mechlin Cathedral, I obtained a detailed account of the founder's family, Waghevens as the name appears at Bromeswell, or Vohaghevens, as at Glasgow. The Bromeswell bell by Cornelis Waghevens, is dated 1530, and bears medallions of the Annunciation, the Flight into Egypt, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Victory of the Archangel Michael over the Dragon. The Glasgow bell is the latest known to have come from the hand of Jacop Vohaghevens. It bears a figure of S. Catherine and the arms of Mechlin, and is inscribed — “Katherine ben ic. ghegoten van Jacop Vohaghevens int iaer ons Heeren 1554” (Katherine am I, cast by Jacop Vohaghevens in the year of our Lord, 1554). From its tonguelessness it seems always to have fulfilled its present purpose as a clock-bell. The extravagant praise which Mr. Haweis bestows on Belgian work, past and present, leads me to say that in tone the Bromeswell bell is very common-place. The weight of the Glasgow bell, to judge by its diameter, is about 5 cwt.

Foundry work appears to have been sent out of the country during the latter part of the sixteenth century. The great bell of Glasgow Cathedral records its fabrication in Holland in 1583, by the gift of Marcus Knox, a merchant in Glasgow. It was recast by Thomas Mears, of the Whitechapel Foundry, in 1790.

Two bells disappeared from Holyrood Abbey in 1547, in the general wrecking which followed on the grim struggle at Pinkie Cleugh. The Diary of William Patten, Londoner, thus records the matter' :— "There stood south-westward, about a quarter of a mile from our camp, a monastery they call Holy Rood Abbey. Sir Walter Bonham and Edward Chamberlain got license to suppress it. Whereupon these Commissioners making their first visitation there, found the monks all gone : but the church and much part of the house well covered with lead. Soon after, they plucked off the lead ; and had down the bells, which were but two : and, according to the statute (i.e., *the English Act of Parliament for the suppression of the Monasteries*), did somewhat hereby disgrace the house. As touching the monks ; because they were gone, they put them to their pensions at large." These bells, I fear, are beyond tracing.

At Cramond we have more Low-country work, the bell being inscribed :—

"Michael Byrgerhyys me fecit 1619. Soli Deo Gloria."

This is a beautiful little specimen, weighing about 2½ cwt., cast clean and close, rather long-waisted. The acoustic properties are remarkable, the note being F, the barrel-note A, and the flat crown under the cannon A in alt. This bell was taken from the parish in the Parliamentary War, but restored by General Monk. Two East Anglian bells, at Thwaite St. Mary's, Norfolk, at Mettingham, Suffolk, have a border somewhat similar to this.

The hanging of the bell at Arbroath is recorded in a quaint epitaph to the Town Treasurer in the Kirkyard.

"Here lyes Alexand . Peter . present Town Treasurer of  
Arbroath, who died — day, January . 1630  
Such a Treasurer was not since, nor yet before,  
For common works, calsaiss, brigs, and schoir--  
Of all others he did excel  
He devided our skoel, and he hung our bell."

<sup>1</sup> Arber's English Reprints III., 138.

Where there is other bronze casting there is usually bell-founding. It may therefore be noted that in 1642 James Monteith cast at Edinburgh a bronze gun, which was found at Bhurtpore by the British in 1828, and now lies in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Lettering here again will be important.

The history of the carillons at Glasgow, Stirling and elsewhere would be worth following up. We find chime-barrels in England more than four centuries back. Most of these little bells at Glasgow bear the date 1735.

To prevent disappointment, it is as well to mention that the eight at Berwick-on-Tweed, and the six at Dunkeld Cathedral, come from the Whitechapel foundry, the latter dating only from 1814.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Any communication made to Dr. Raven on the subject of ancient bells will receive a ready answer and be much valued.



## WARNOT AND WARLOT.<sup>1</sup>

By E. PEACOCK, F.S.A.

Local names for the various divisions of land, or for lands held by ancient tenures now obscure or forgotten have not hitherto received from antiquaries the attention which they deserve. I trust therefore that I may not be thought trivial or intrusive now, that I draw attention to lands called Warnot or Warlot. The terms seem to be pretty nearly confined to a district near the Humber and the lower parts of the Ouse and Trent. I have taken some pains to discover their meaning, but have not been able to make out anything satisfactory. Similarity of sound or spelling is, as we are all now aware—though our forefathers were not—but a slight reason for believing words to be related in meaning or even that they have a common origin. Until however some evidence is produced to the contrary it may be advisable to treat Warnot and Warlot as the same.

I first became acquainted with Warnot in reading a survey of the manor of Kirton-in-Lindsey taken in the year, 1616, by John Norden, John Thorpe, and John Norden, junior: a contemporary transcript of this valuable record is preserved in the Public Library of the University of Cambridge.<sup>2</sup>

The great manor of Kirton-in-Lindsey included the whole or a part of upwards of forty townships in the North Eastern part of Lincolnshire. From an early period this franchise had been parcel of the possessions of the Dukes of Cornwall. Charles Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles the First was the Lord of the Manor when this survey was made. Warnot occurs in the following passages.

HELMESWELL “There are 8 Oyganges of land called warnot, rented vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>”

HOSPITALIS SUPER STRATU<sup>s</sup> “Fine oyganges of Lande, warnot, held ad voluntatē dñi, rented iij<sup>s</sup>. vj<sup>d</sup>. p ann<sup>o</sup> in toto.”

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, December 3rd, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> The Press-mark is Ff—4—30.

- NORTHORPE "There is certaine warneot Lande which is coñonlic helde at the will of the prince, likewise conceiled, of the yearlie rent of iij<sup>s</sup>. iij<sup>d</sup>."
- WALKERETH "Certain Lande called warneot, which kinde of Lande is in most townships and coñonly helde at the Lordes will, rented here x<sup>s</sup>; who hath now this lande will not be reueyled"
- BOTTESFORDE "2 oxgangs of Lande called warneot, which kinde of Land is dispersed through the Soke, aumtientlic held at the will of the Lorde; this beinge rented x<sup>s</sup>. iij<sup>d</sup>."
- WINTERTON "There was also vj<sup>d</sup> rent for 6 hens, payable at the feaste of Christes natiuitie, and iij<sup>d</sup> p ann<sup>s</sup> for warneot Lande"

In a Charter of Richard the first, to the Priory of Thornton on Humber, dated 3rd of July, in the first year of his reign [1109], we find "j bovatom terrae in eadem villa [Halton], et praeterela pratum quod vocatur Warlotes." <sup>1</sup>

And in an undated Charter, granted by Gilbert, son of Robert de Ormesby, to the Nunnery of North Ormesby, there occurs "totum feudum meum de Warlotes, apud, Barebrane juxta campum de Covenham, a campo Parvae Grimesby." <sup>2</sup>

My friend, the Rev. J. T. Fowler, F.S.A., has found the following passage in one of the Selby Charters: "iij pericatas prati in Warlothes de Kyrkedailles."

The following instances of the word occur in the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" of Henry the Eighth:—

- CANTARIA DE SPYTHILL "Dns Joh̄s Hamonde custos hospital' de Spy Hill in the Strete. . . . xij<sup>d</sup> p warnot rent" Vol. iv, p. 133.
- MARION "Val' in reddit' voc' warnott rent ilm p annu xij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>" Vol. iv, p. 137.
- GAYNESBURGH, NORTH "De cert terr<sup>s</sup> Bottisford xxix<sup>s</sup> vi<sup>d</sup> & ad die<sup>s</sup> maner<sup>s</sup> p quodm reddit' vocat warnott rent x<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>"

As late as the year 1767 there was land in South Kelsey, a parish a few miles south-east of Brigg, called Warlots Close.<sup>3</sup>

The foregoing are all the instances of the word I can at present call to mind, but I am under the impression that I have met with one or two others.

In most if not all the above named places the names Warnot or Warlot are forgotten, indeed after long continued enquiries I cannot ascertain that their memory has anywhere survived.

<sup>1</sup> Monast. Anglie., vol. vj. p. 327.

*Notes and Queries* vi. series, vol. iv., p. 424.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. vij. p. 963.

## QUEEN ELEANOR'S CROSSES.

By WALTER LOVELL.

The marriage of Queen Eleanor, daughter of Saint Ferdinand III., King of Castile and Leon, with Prince Edward I. of England, when fifteen years old, in May, 1254, at the Castle in Burgos, Spain, happily terminated a war waged by her brother King Alphonso, surnamed the Astronomer, against Henry III. in support of some obsolete claims which the Castilian monarch laid to the Province of Gascony.

On Sunday, the 19th August, 1274, Edward I. and his Queen Eleanor were crowned in Westminster Abbey by Archbishop Kilwardby, assisted by other prelates. Holinshed adds some remarkable particulars. At this coronation were present Alexander King of Scots, and John Earl of Britaine with their wives that were sisters to King Edward. The King of Scots did homage unto King Edward for the realm of Scotland, in like manner as other the Kings of Scotland before him had done to other kings of England ancestors to this King Edward. At the solemnity of this coronation there were let go at liberty (catch them that catch might) 500 great horses by the King of Scots, the Earls of Cornwall, Gloucester, Pembroke, and others, as they were alighted from their backs.

During almost thirty-six years Queen Eleanor was the constant companion of her husband on his perilous journeys, and it is recorded that she saved his life in the Holy Land by sucking the poison from a wound he had received from the envenomed dagger of an assassin.

This illustrious instance of conjugal affection is not, however, mentioned by any of the historians who lived

nearest to the age. Walsingham is silent, and Knighton says that when his wound was to be dressed the King ordered Edmund and John de Veysey to carry her out of the room, which they did, "she shrieking and making great lamentation." As a proof of their domestic happiness we learn from a roll preserved in the Exchequer, that in 1286 Edward made her a new year's gift of a cup of gold, weighing three marks and a half, worth £23 6s. 8d. ; and on the feast of the Circumcision he presented her a pitcher of gold, enamelled and set with precious stones, which was purchased of William Farrington Goldsmith, of London.<sup>1</sup>

There was issue of this marriage seventeen children, five sons and twelve daughters.

Holinshed in his Chronicles, under date 1291, records : " In the 19<sup>th</sup> yeare of King Edward Queene Elianor King Edward's wife died upon Saint Andrews Even at Hirdebie or Hirdlie (as some have) neere to Lincoln the King being as then on his waie towards the borders of Scotland : but having now lost the Jewell which he most esteemed he returned towards London to accompanie the corps unto Westminster where it was buried in St. Edward's Chapell at the feet of King Henry III." Walsingham expressly states that she died at the Mansion of Richard de Weston at Hardeby, in Nottinghamshire, where was a villa and chapel of ease to that parish, which is one of the prebends of Lincoln. Mr. Gough proves that Bishop Gibson and Dr. Stukeley were mistaken when they pointed to Harby, near Bolingbroke, as the place of the Queen's death. There can be no doubt that the village was Hardby, five miles west of Lincoln. Her body was embalmed, and the coffin filled with spices, her bowels having been first taken out and interred in Lincoln Cathedral, in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, on the 2nd of December. Her heart was enclosed in a separate box, which was on 12th December buried in the choir of the church of the Black Friars, opposite Bridewell, of which Edward I., and his Queen, were great benefactors. Several skilful persons were called in to decorate the place where the Queen's heart lay. William de Hoo "Cementarius" received two and a half marks for something which is described by the word "crista."

<sup>1</sup> See Manners and Household Expenses of England, p. 69.

William de Suffolk prepared several small images of metal to be placed near the spot. Alexander Le Imaginator had 12s. 3d. for work in iron, and 5s. for a painted cloth. Five marks were paid to John le Convers for making the tomb. Ten marks to Adam the goldsmith for the work on one angel made to hold the heart of the Queen. Roger de Newmarch received £4 17s. 9d. for paving stones, lime, and other necessaries, and finally Walter de Durham, the painter, was called in to decorate the place with his beautiful work, for which he was paid £13 1s. There is no exact description remaining of these works, which were destroyed when Sir Thomas Cawarden took down the church, which he bought in the reign of Edward VI. A theatre arose upon its site, and the *Times* printing office is believed now to cover the site where the heart of Queen Eleanor was laid. In the solemn procession with which the embalmed corpse was slowly brought to Westminster, the King himself was the principal mourner, and that passengers might be reminded to pray for her soul, he caused a stately cross to be erected to her memory at every place upon the road where her remains rested, namely, Lincoln, Grantham, Stamford, Geddington, Northampton, Stony Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable, St. Alban's, Waltham, Cheapside and Charing.

Dr. Stukeley in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, adds Newark and Leicester. Gough also adds Hardby. Those at Geddington, Northampton and Waltham are still standing, and display some admirable sculpture. The body arrived in London on the 14th December.

Dean Stanley, in his *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, says the crosses erected at all the halting places of the remains of her kinsman St. Louis from Mont Cenis to St. Denis seem to have furnished the model of the twelve memorial crosses which marked the passage of the Queen of good memory from Lincoln to Charing. "Mulier pia, modesta misericors, Anglicorum omnium Amatrix."

The funeral service of great magnificence was performed on the Sunday, 17th December, before the day of St. Thomas the Apostle, by the Bishop of Lincoln. A mortal feud between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Abbot of Westminster kept them from meeting at the funeral.

Her bowels were buried under the east window of

Lincoln Cathedral, under a sumptuous marble cenotaph or altar monument, whereon was a queen's effigy at full length, of gilded brass, according to Bishop Sanderson's account. "This tomb stood close with the feet to the wall, and north of the tomb of . . . . ."

. . . . . On the marble on the south were 3 Escutcheons. Mr. Peck rightly apprehended these to be (1) England; (2) Castile and Leon; (3) Ponthieu. The following inscription was on the edge, inlaid in brass:—

HIC : SUNT : SEPULTA : VICERA : ALIANORE :  
 QUONDAM : REGINE : UXORIS : REGIS :  
 EDVARDI : FILII : REGIS : HENRICI  
 CUJUS : ANIME : PROPICIETUR : DEUS : AMEN.  
 PATER : NOSTER.

So it remained until 1641.<sup>1</sup>

The tomb, but not the statue, was the work of Dymenge de Legeri and Alexander de Abyngton. They received in several payments £25 for the work. Roger de Crundale had £1 16s. 8d. for marble; William de Suffolk received eight marks for three little images of the Queen cast in metal, to be placed near the tomb. The great work was the gilt statue by Master William Torel, who executed the effigy on the tomb in Westminster Abbey. The statue at Lincoln was probably a duplicate. This monument was restored and unveiled by Mr. Joseph Ruston, High Sheriff of Lincolnshire, on Saturday, January 9th, 1892. The new effigy was modelled from that at Westminster Abbey, and cast by Messrs. Singer, of Frome, Somerset.

Indulgences for the term of 5 years and 215 days were subsequently granted to all those who should in this church pray devoutly for her soul.

Holinshed says:—

"She was a godlie and modest Princesse full of pitie, and one that shewed much favour to the English nation, readie to relieve everie man's grief that sustained wrong, and to make them friends that were at discord so far as in her laie.

"In everie town and place where the corps rested by the waie the King caused a cross of cunning workmanship to be erected in remembrance of her, and in the same was a picture of her engraven. Two of the like crosses were set

<sup>1</sup> Peck: *Desiderata Curiosa* VIII, 1.

up at London, one at Charing, and the other in West Cheap. Moreover he gave in almes everie Wednesday, wheresover he went pence a piece to all such poor folkes as came to demand the same."

The following interesting account is taken from a paper read by the Rev. Joseph Hunter before the Society of Antiquaries on 11th March, 1841. From this it appears that ample provision was made for the perpetual celebration of Queen Eleanor's death. First at Hardby, where she died. Here the King founded a Chantry, one hundred marks being placed in the hands of P. de Willoughby, Dean of Lincoln, for that purpose in the year 1292.

Mr. Gough says that the Prebendary of North Clifton, the parish of which Hardby is a member, was to receive ten marks yearly, out of which he was to pay 100 shillings a year to the Chantry priest, and to find him a lodging and also to provide furniture for the altar; but that Edward II. removed this service from Hardby to the church of Lincoln. If this were done by Edward II., there was a restoration of Queen Eleanor's Chantry at Hardby, special notice being taken of it in the Valor of King Henry VIII. The Cantarist had then an annual stipend of £5 3s. 4d., which he received from the Prebendary of North Clifton. This Chantry would, of course, be suppressed by the Act of I. Edward VI., which made no exception in favour of the commemorative services of the most illustrious and virtuous of his own ancestors.

Another was at Elynton. In the accounts for 1292, is an entry of the payment of ten marks to Ralph de Ivingho for a message bought at Maydenlithe for the Chantry, in the Chapel of Elynton, for the soul of the Queen.

Another may have been in the House of the Friars Predicants in London, where the Queen's heart was deposited; there being an entry in the accounts of 77s. 6d. for 120 lbs. of wax to make torches to burn about the Queen's heart on the day of her anniversary.

The King was quite profuse in his gifts to the Monks of Westminster to secure a splendid and perpetual commemoration. In Dugdale's "History of Warwickshire" is the following account of this foundation: He gave the Manors of Knoll, Arden's Grafton, and Langdon, in the

county of Warwick, and certain lands in Alspath, Buleye Hulverley, Witlakesfield, Kinwaldsheye, Nuthurst and Didington in the same county, the Manor of Biddbrooke in Essex, Westerham and Edulnebrugge in Kent, and Turveston in Bucks, on condition that the Abbot, Prior and convent, or the Prior and convent, should the Abbot be out of the way, should celebrate the Queen's anniversary every year on the eve of St. Andrew the Apostle in the choir of their church, being solemnly invested, singing Placebo and Dirige, with nine lessons, 100 wax candles weighing 12 lbs. each, being then burning about the tomb. The candles were to be lighted on the eve of the anniversary, and to burn all day till high mass was ended. All the bells, both great and small, were to be rung, and the convent was to sing solemnly for her soul's health. But on the day of the anniversary the Abbot himself, or the Prior, if the Abbot were absent, if a more eminent prelate could not be obtained, was to sing high mass at the high altar, the candles then burning, and the bells ringing, and each monk a private mass, the inferior monks the whole Psalter, and the brethren converts the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Aves, as many as the Abbot and convent should appoint, for her soul and the souls of all the faithful deceased. Penny dole was to be given to seven score poor people present at the solemnity. Thirty of the wax tapers were to remain all the year long about the tomb; all of which were to be lighted on the great festival days, and upon the coming of any distinguished person, and two tapers were to be kept constantly burning. All this being provided for, the residue of the rents was to remain to the use of the monastery. This was done by a Charter of the King, bearing date at Berwick, October 20th, in the 20th year of his reign, A.D. 1292. For better security the King directed that every successive Abbot before the restitution of his temporalities, should take an oath for the observance of the premises, and that every year upon Saint Andrew's eve the Charter should be publicly read in the chapel house in the presence of the whole convent.

We learn from Fabian that the obligation to keep two tapers constantly burning at the tomb was observed at his time, and from the Valor that there was a distribution of



23s. 4d. weekly in alms at the Abbey for the soul of Queen Eleanor, and the souls of King Richard II. and Anne his Queen. It appears by the Valor that the lands then given by King Edward I. yielded at that time a clear income of more than £200. This splendid commemorative service ceased at the Reformation, after having endured for 250 years. "So little," as Mr. Hunter truly remarks, "can founders, even royal founders, foresee the changes of human opinion."

The gift to the monastery of Westminster was not completed till nearly the close of the second year, after the Queen's decease. Hence it is that the expenses of the first anniversary, or at least a portion of them, are accounted for by the receivers, John Bacon and Richard de Kent. We may form some idea of the splendour of the ceremony from the fact that 3,706 pounds of wax, and probably more, were bought for the occasion. The Earl of Warren, who was in Yorkshire, had a special summons to attend. Against the second anniversary there were provided and charged in the same account 300 pitchers, 1,500 dishes, 1,500 plates, 1,500 alsaria, and 400 cups, and small sums were given in alms to the prisoners in Newgate, and to the persons in the hospitals of St. Giles, St. James, St. Thomas of Southwark, St. Mary of Bishopsgate, and St. Bartholomew, also to the seven houses of Friars in London, viz., the Friars Predicants, the Friars Minors, the Carmelites, the Augustinians, the Friars of the Holy Cross, the Friars of Pica, and the Friars of the Sack, all of whom then had an establishment in London.

The first anniversary was celebrated at many other places, viz., at Haverford West, Haverbergh, Somerton, Burgh, Lindhurst, Lades, and Langley. This was done at the King's expense, who paid to each place sums varying from £19 to £30. There was a perpetual commemoration in the church of the monastery of Peterborough, an allowance being claimed by the monks of that house at the time of the examination into its revenues, preparatory to the formation of the Valor, for alms distributed on the day of Queen Eleanor's anniversary. To do still more honour to the memory of his beloved Consort, he caused to be erected those beautiful specimens of the combined effort of sculpture and architecture which are

so many proofs of the perfection which those arts had attained at an age which some still describe as dark. They were to attract by their beauty, but their higher purpose was to inspire the devotional sentiment. They were to call the traveller to remember the "*Reginam bonæ Memoræ*," as she is often called, whose image stood before him that he might there pray for her. Though without inscription they carried on their front the words "*Orate pro animæ*," and accordingly they were consecrated with due religious solemnities.

Walsingham says the crosses were erected at the places at which the body rested when it was being conveyed from Hardby to London: "*in omni loco et villa quibus corpus pausaverat, &c.*" There was but one similar instance of such a practice, and it was in the case of the Saint Louis, King of France. He, King Edward and Queen Eleanor were all descended from King Henry II.

Edward and Eleanor had both accompanied him on the crusade of 1270. The King of France died at Tunis while Edward and Eleanor went on to Palestine. The French King's body was brought to Paris, and from thence conveyed to St. Denis for interment. It appears to have been carried on men's shoulders, and where ever on the way from Paris to St. Denis the bearers rested crosses were erected. Here then was a precedent known to Edward I., who stayed at Paris in 1273 on his return from Palestine.

We will now take the individual crosses in order of procession.

#### LINCOLN.

The body appears to have rested here on 2nd and 3rd December, and to have been removed on the 4th. Although Mr. Gough speaks doubtfully of there having been a cross here, the accounts before referred to prove beyond doubt a payment of £60, and 40 marks in different sums, each in part payment for the cross which was being erected in the year 1291, 1292 and 1293. The payments were made to Richard de Stow "*Cementarius*," who was the builder of the cross. William de Hibernia (Ireland) received twenty-two marks for making the "*virg capit et anul*," which may be translated rod, capital and ring; and the carriage of them to Lincoln. Robert de Corf also received a small sum on the same account.

## GRANTHAM.

The remains of the cross are in the Market Place. There is no notice of it in the accounts of the receivers, John Bacon and Richard de Kent, or R. de Middleton, from Michaelmas term, 1291, to Hilary term, 1294. According to Camden, the cross formerly stood near the south entrance into the town, on St. Peter's Hill.

## STAMFORD.

This cross is not mentioned in the accounts. The King was at Casterton on the road from Grantham to Stamford on the 5th December. Here is tradition, the testimony of Camden, and also that of a native topographer, who, in his Annals of Stamford, speaks of the cross with the arms of England, and those of Castile and Leon and Ponthieu, the well-known insignia of the Queen found on all the crosses which remain.

## GEDDINGTON.

Here the cross still exists in the middle of the town where the three principal streets centre. It is not mentioned in the accounts. It will be seen that all the other crosses do occur in the accounts which reach only to the year 1294. These three northern crosses were probably the last erected, and not begun till after 1294. The King had a hunting lodge at Geddington. Mr. Albert Hartshorne in his communication to the Society of Antiquaries on November 29th, 1888, considers that it was probably set up as a private memorial by Edward I. The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, in "Historical Memorials of Northampton," says that the three figures of Eleanor upon this monument exhibit a similar cast of countenance to the others. There exist the same elegance of outline and skilful arrangement of drapery, thus evidently shewing that all of them, with the four figures round the cross at Northampton, are copied from the same original. With regard to this cross, Mr. J. A. Gotch, of Kettering, writes under date October 5th, 1888, to Mr. Hartshorne, "The cross at Geddington fares remarkably well. I have never heard of its being defaced, nor have I seen any signs of ill-treatment. The weather, of course, affects it to some extent."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Photographs of this cross can be obtained of Chappell, Bookseller, 38, Gold Street, Kettering. An illustration was

published January 1st, 1788, by Seago, Print-seller, St. Giles.

## NORTHAMPTON.

The body rested at Northampton on the 9th December. This and the crosses at Stony Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable and St. Albans were the work of the same architect. His name was John de Bello, or de la Bataille (Battle). In one entry only a partner is mentioned, whose name was John de Pabeham. Like Stow, Battle has the addition of "Cementarius" after his name. The five crosses were all erected between 1291 and 1294. The precise sum paid for any one of them has not been ascertained, money being advanced to Battle upon account from time to time for the whole. But upon an equal distribution of the money when it was paid for two or more he would receive £134 for the Northampton cross; but this does not include the payment for the statues, which were the work of William de Ireland, who received five marks for each of them. He also provided the rod, capital and ring. The sum of £6 3s. 8d. was paid for scaffolding when these and the statues were put in their places. There is a charge for the carriage of them.

There is also a charge of £40 and sixty marks for laying down a pavement or causey, *pavimentum* and *calcetum*, from the town to the cross, to Robertus Filius Henrici, a burghess of Northampton, "pro anima Reginae." This was accounted an act of piety.

This cross stands on an eminence about three quarters of a mile south of the town of Northampton, on the east side of the high road leading from that town to London; on a spot supposed to be the site of a Roman encampment, several silver coins of the Roman Emperors, and one of Nero having been found in one of the adjoining fields. About the base of this cross is a flight of eight steps, each about one foot broad and nine inches high. The shaft of the cross is divided into three stages, the first is octagonal, fourteen feet in height, and each face of the octagon measuring four feet. On the south and east sides are the arms of Ponthieu, in Picardy, viz. three bendlets within a bordure, and in another escutcheon those of the kingdom of Castile and Leon, viz., quarterly, I. and IV. a castle triple towered. II. and III. a lyon rampant. On the north side, on two separate shields, are the arms of Castile and Leon, as above, and of England, viz. three lions

passant guardant ; alternately on four sides, and just below the arms, in high relief, is a book open, and lying on a kind of desk. On the north-east side, on two escutcheons, are the arms of England, and those of the county of Ponthieu. The arms on the west, south-west, south-east, and north-west sides, are entirely obliterated. The shaft of the second stage or story is of the same shape as that just described, but only twelve feet high. In every other face is a niche, in which, under a canopy and pinnacle, supported by two pillars, stands a female figure, about six feet high, crowned, and supposed to represent the Queen, to whose honour this monument was raised. The figures and ornaments are still in fairly good repair, but they suffer continual damage from stone-throwing.

The upper shaft is square, each side facing one of the cardinal points of the compass ; its height is only eight feet ; on each of these sides a sun dial was set up in 1712, which had respectively the following mottoes upon them. On the east, AB ORTV SOLIS. The south, LAVDATVR DOMINVS. The west, VSQUE AD OCCASVM. The north AMEN, MDCCXIII. These dials were removed by Mr. Blore in 1836.

Before Mr. Blore took the work in hand the top was mounted with a cross, which faced the north and south points, it was three feet in height, and was added when the whole was repaired by the order of the Bench of Justices in 1713. On the western side of the lower story, and fronting the road, were the royal arms of Great Britain, carved in stone, within the garter, and crowned, with the sword and sceptre in saltire behind the shield, and under it Queen Anne's motto, *Semper eadem* : there was also a pair of wings conjoined under the shield, to which they form a mantling. Beneath the arms, on a square table of white marble, was the following inscription :—

In perpetuam Conjugalis Amoris Memoriam  
 Hoc *Eleanoræ* Reginæ Monumentum  
 Vestustate pene collapsum restauri voluit  
 Honorabilis Justiciarorum Coetus  
 Comitatus Northamptoniæ,  
 MDCCXIII.  
 Anno illo felicissimo  
 In quo ANNA  
 Grandæ Britannię suæ Deens  
 Potentissima Oppressorum Vindex

Pacis Bellique Arbitra  
 Post Germaniam liberatam  
 Belgiam Presidiis munitam  
 Gallos plus vice decima profligatos  
 Suis Sociorumque Armis  
 Vincendi modum statuit  
 Et EUROPE in Libertatem Vindicatæ  
 PACEM restituit.

On the south side of the bottom story was fixed a white marble escutcheon, charged with this inscription :—

Rursus emendat, et restaurat,  
 GEORGH III : regis 2 : do :  
 DOMINI : 1762 :  
 N : Baylis.

The sense of which in English is as follows :—

This Monument  
 Erected to perpetuate the memory  
 Of the conjugal affection of Queen Eleanor  
 Being almost destroyed by Time,  
 Was repaired by order of  
 The Honourable Bench of Justices  
 For the County of Northampton,  
 In the year 1713 :  
 At that auspicious æra  
 In which Anne,  
 The ornament of Britain,  
 The most powerful avenger of the oppressed,  
 And sovereign arbitress of peace and war ;  
 Germany being freed,  
 Holland secured by a strong barrier,  
 And the French more than ten times defeated,  
 By her arms and those of her allies ;  
 Was satisfied with conquest,  
 And after asserting the liberty of Europe,  
 Restored peace to it.

Again repaired and beautified  
 In the year 1762,  
 Being the second year of George : III.  
 N : Baylis.

There is an engraving of the cross from an original drawing by R. Godfrey, July 1st, 1775.

This cross has already been noticed by the Institute at their Annual Meeting held at Northampton, from July 30th, to August 6th, 1878. On the 1st day of the Meeting Lord Alwyne Compton, the present Bishop of Ely, delivered an address as President, and referring to the work of

several generations of restorers in 1713, 1762, and 1836, he said, we still have Queen's Cross to admire and study such as it was when first erected, nothing being wanted except the termination which in a true spirit of conservative restoration was left imperfect by Mr. Blore, though it is almost certain that a figure originally stood on the summit. As an illustration of the manner in which the work of restoration should be carried out he alluded to the way the cross had been treated, pieces of stone having been put in so as to retain the old mouldings. A paper was read by Mr. E. F. Law illustrated with full size detail drawings, now preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, and a visit was made by the members to Queen's Cross.

Mr. Law stated as the result of most careful examination that the several restorations of the cross had interfered but little with the general character of the structure. Indeed so carefully, and upon the whole so faithfully, had the restorations been executed that, had it not been for the varieties of the stone used in the several restorations, it would have been difficult to ascertain where some of them had been effected. He then dealt with the restorations of 1713, 1762, and 1836, giving from personal knowledge a very comprehensive account of the latter which, as he said, was carried out with the most judicious and sacred care.

Mr. Law added that a desire had often been expressed to see the summit completed, but until something definite could be discovered as to its original termination he agreed with the late Mr. Hartshorne, and many others, that it would be best to leave it alone.

The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne in "Historical Memorials of Northampton," (1848), gives an interesting description of this monument, with engravings and wood cuts of the statues of Queen Eleanor. He says, the effigies both of Henry III. and Eleanor display a physiognomy entirely unmarked by any of those disagreeable features peculiar to the countenances of the haughty and vicious. There is nothing but dignity and thought, yet thought mingled with earnestness and penetration, depicted in the face of the Monarch; nothing but serenity and gentleness of soul beams in the soft and resigned expression of the Queen.

This same feeling of gracefulness and repose is observable in all of Eleanor's statues and was unquestionably the

faithful reflexion of their reality. The rolls containing the expenditure of the executors to her will, account both for the excellence of the design and the similarity of countenance which pervades all these representations, since there is an entry for bringing seven hundred and twenty-six pounds of wax from the house of Torel, who designed the effigy at Westminster. From this it may be inferred that he made a model from which, in some instances, he wrought himself, and, as in the example of the figures on the cross near Northampton, employed Alexander of Abingdon and William of Ireland elsewhere.

Mr. Hartshorne dwells at some length on this point from a desire to excite attention to a subject which may cause the study of monumental effigies to ally itself more closely with our sympathies, and lead us to consider these works, not merely as capricious specimens of art or worthless blocks of stone only fit to be mutilated by the ruthless hands of ignorance, but as being, in truth, attempts to raise carefully designed portraits of monarchs, and warriors, and statesmen, whose perishing and neglected memorials equally with their fame are consecrated to the protecting regard of all posterity. Viewing them under this impression they immediately cease to be ideal, they become at once clothed with significancy, and appear in our eyes as connecting links betwixt the living and the dead. Thus will all these time-honoured heirlooms of early days possess, as it were, a vital enchantment; instead of being merely abstract, isolated, and unintelligible relics of former toil, they will begin to speak to our feelings with an appropriate utterance, grow intimately woven with our departed ties of affinity, and become associated with our feelings of patriotism.

Mr. A. Hartshorne in his before-mentioned letter to the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, refers to the proposed restoration of the cross in 1885. He thinks John de Bello would smile if he could see it now, but that without the three restorations we should certainly have no Northampton cross at all at the present day.

When the fourth restoration was proposed, Mr. Hartshorne pointed out in a letter to the *Athenaeum*, Jan. 17th, 1885, that unless such work also included the erection of railings around the cross to ward off evil doers, and unless



a watch was set and examples made of persons evilly disposed towards it, it would be futile to set about doing further repairs which the neglect of such precautions in former times had made necessary. The committee prepared a Memorial to Her Majesty in Council asking that the cross might be inserted in the Schedule of the Act for the protection of Ancient Monuments. Mr. Scriven wrote on Sep. 27th, 1888 : " As to the Northampton cross, I am in despair about it. We have replaced the steps, which are, no doubt, part of the restoration in Queen Anne's time, by some similar steps of Derbyshire grit, and have made the foundations secure, which is all very well, so far, but the stone-throwing continues, and every passer-by cuts his name, and there is no remedy, unless someone will take the matter up and pass a short Act of Parliament to include the Eleanor crosses among the ancient monuments. We would soon find money to prosecute evil doers if we had any chance of success."

The Memorial to the Privy Council was drawn up and influentially signed, but the request was refused on the ground that the Act only gave power to add to the schedule monuments of a like character to those already scheduled, such as ancient stone monuments. At present there is no power to put up a fence where the public have had a continuous right of access, and a prosecution could not prove any private ownership in the cross. The case is a peculiar one, as all other architectural monuments, churches and the like, are the properties of some person or public body who have the power to protect their own. There is no possibility of protecting the Eleanor Crosses without legislation.

Mr. Hartshorne took the opinion of a barrister who suggested a short Act of Parliament merely enlarging the power of the Privy Council to add any kind of public monument to those specified in the schedule of the Act referred to, adding there might be in other parts of the County similar monuments to those of Queen Eleanor which might deserve to be protected, and a general enlarged power would be better than a limited one. Mr. Hartshorne asked the Society of Antiquaries whether it could take steps so to put the matter forward that something might be done without delay, in order to save the most interesting of these

royal memorials from further vulgar insults. After some discussion the question of the preservation of the Eleanor crosses was referred to the Council to inquire into and take what steps might be advisable. It is much to be regretted that up to the present time nothing more has been done in the matter.

#### STONEY STRATFORD.

This cross stood at the lower end of the town, and according to the calculation made as to the Northampton cross, Battle received £63 13s. 4d. for it. The rod, capital and ring were furnished by Ralph de Chichester, who received small sums for them. We have no special notice of statues being provided for this cross but there is a general entry in the accounts of the payment of five marks for fifteen statues for the crosses to William of Ireland, and to another person called Alexander the Imaginator.

#### WOBURN.

The sum which can be traced into the hands of Battle, on the same principle of distribution, for the cross at Woburn is but £60 6s. 8d. It appears to have been begun later in the year 1292 than the rest. The rod, capital and ring, were supplied by Ralph de Chichester. There is no special mention of the statues which is to be accounted for in the same manner as before.

#### DUNSTABLE.

The corpse of the Queen was deposited one night in the priory, 5th Kalends December, upon which occasion two bawdekyns, or precious cloths, were given to the convent, and 120 lbs. weight of wax.

As the procession passed through the town the bier stopped in the middle of the Market Place, whilst a proper spot was marked out by the Chancellor and nobility attending, for the erection of a cross, the Prior of the convent assisting at the ceremony and sprinkling the ground with holy water. This cross remained until the time of the Civil Wars when it was demolished by the soldiers under the Earl of Essex, who was quartered at Dunstable in 1643.

## ST. ALBANS.

On 13th December, in the time of John of Berkhamstead, twenty-fifth Abbot of St. Albans, who was installed on St. Alban's Day, 1291, the corpse was met at the town's end by St. Michael's church by the whole convent in their copes, who conducted it to the high altar, where they attended it the whole night celebrating the proper offices. A commemorative cross in the High Street, was commenced in 1291, and Battle received £113 according to the calculations made by Mr. Hunter. This was destroyed before the year 1702 as appears from an entry in a book belonging to the corporation, 3rd Feb., 1702, "Ordered that a Market House be built and set up where the old cross lately stood." This was probably the octagonal covering supported by wooden pillars, which was removed in the year 1810.

## WALTHAM CROSS.

Stands on the side of the high road near the Four Swans Inn, where the Queen's body rested. This relic of antiquity is in the parish of Cheshunt, in the county of Hertfordshire, and its erection was begun by command of the King, under the superintendence of Nicholas Dymenge de Reyns, in 1291. Three other persons had some share in the work, viz., Roger de Crundale, Alexander le Imaginator, and Robert de Corf. The latest payments on account of it are found in Michaelmas Term A.D. 1292, when it is supposed to have been finished. The whole sum was £95. Its design is not unlike the cross at Northampton, but it is hexagonal in form, and presents three elegantly constructed stories, each of which is finished by an embattled frieze; at every angle is a graduated buttress ornamented with foliated finials. Within the panels of the lower story are shields with the arms of England, Castile and Leon, and Ponthieu. In the second compartment appear the three statues of Queen Eleanor, the work of William de Ireland; one of these closely resembles the effigy which adorns the tomb in Westminster Abbey.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See engraving, published 1st Sept., 1791, by W. Ellis, Gwynne's Buildings, Islington.

## TOTTENHAM.

It is an open question whether the cross here was erected at the time of the Decree that every parish should set up a cross in the most frequented place or whether it is one of the Queen Eleanor crosses. Bedwell, in his description of Tottenham (1631), has no doubt the former was the case, though he thinks it was most likely reedified and raised higher at the time of Queen Eleanor's funeral passing through the town. Brookes, in his *Gazeteer*, states that a cross has existed from time immemorial. Lysons, in his *Environs of London*, states that it is mentioned in a Court Roll dated 1456.

## CHEAPSIDE.

The cross stood in the middle of Cheapside, a little to the west of Bow churchyard, opposite Wood Street. It had originally the statue of the Queen, and in all respects resembled that of Northampton. Michael of Canterbury was the contractor, and he received in several sums in 1291, 1292, and 1293, £226 13s 4d. Falling into decay, it was rebuilt in 1441 by John Hatherby, Lord Mayor of the city, at the expense of several of the citizens. It was ornamented with various images, such as the Resurrection, the Virgin, Edward the Confessor, &c. At every public entry it was new gilt. Old engravings, in the *Saturday Magazine* for 1838, represent a procession in the reign of Charles I., on the left is the Nag's Head, an inn which formerly stood at the corner of Friday Street. In the year 1581, after complaint had been made that the cross was a nuisance, on the night of 21st June the images round about it were broken and defaced, and the statue of the Virgin was robbed of the holy Child which she bore in her arms. The images were repaired, but were again demolished in 1596 with profane indignity. The figure of the goddess Diana was substituted for that of the Virgin. Queen Elizabeth did all in her power to restrain the bigots, and offered a large reward for the discovery of the offenders. She directed that a plain cross should be placed on the summit and gilt.

On the 27th April, 1642, the Common Council ordered the city members to apply to Parliament for leave to take down the cross, which was one of the most elegant ancient

structures that had ornamented the city; and in the following reign Parliament passed a law for the demolition of all crosses and popish paintings. The destruction of this famous cross was committed to Sir Robert Harlow, who marched to Cheapside with a troop of horse and two companies of foot on 2nd May, 1643, to guard it. At the fall of the top cross drums beat, trumpets blew, and multitudes of caps were thrown in the air, and a great shout of people with joy. "The Almanack saith the 2nd of May was the Invention of the Cross, and the 6th day of May was the Leaden Popes burnt in the place where it stood with ringing of Bells, and a great acclamation, and no hurt done in all the action."<sup>1</sup>

#### CHARING CROSS.

Was the last spot on which the body of Queen Eleanor rested in its progress to Westminster Abbey. The original cross was of wood, but it was built in stone by Richard, and after his death in Michaelmas, 1293, by Roger de Crundale. Richard received about £560 for work exclusive of materials supplied by him and Roger £90 17s. 5d. The cross was octagonal form and built of Caen stone, and in an upper stage contained eight figures. The steps and other parts of the fabric were made of marble brought from Corf for which large sums were paid. Ralph de Chichester supplied the "Virg. capit. et annul," and Alexander Le Imaginator received five marks in part payment of statues which were intended for it. It was ordered to be pulled down at the same time as the one in Cheapside, but its actual demolition did not take place until the summer of 1647. Lilly says part of its stones went to pave Whitehall, and others were fashioned into knife hafts, which being well fashioned looked like marble. The exact spot upon which it stood, according to some historians, is occupied by an Equestrian Statue of Charles I., executed in 1633 by Le Sœur for the Earl of Arundel.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See print by Hollar in the Pennant Collection in the British Museum, No. 138.

<sup>2</sup> See the print No. 133 in the British Museum of Charing Cross copied from a print in the possession of Mr. Thane, who found it in a mutilated genealogy published in 1602, relative to the Stuart family, in which were portraits of James I.

and family and a print of Old St. Pauls. Published May 10, 1792, by R. Smith, No. 134 contains 10 bas-reliefs of heads on the cross published Jan. 18, 1788, by Green, Newman Street. Though this print differs from the drawing described by Mr. Pennant in his account of London, yet it was evidently intended to represent the same subject.

The following lines on the "Downfall of the Cross," are quoted from Percy's Reliques:—

“ Undone, undone the lawyers ;  
They wander about the town :  
Nor can find the way to Westminster  
Now Charing Cross is downe :  
At the end of the Strand they make a stand  
Swearing they are at a loss,  
And, chaffing, say, that's not the way  
They must go by Charing Cross.

The Parliament to vote it down  
Conceived it very fitting  
For fear it should fall and kill them all  
In the house as they were sitting  
They were told, God wot, it had a plot,  
Which made them so hard hearted,  
To give command it should not stand,  
But be taken down and earted.

Men talk of plots : this might have been worse  
For anything I know  
Than that Tomkins and Chaloner  
Were hanged for long agoe.  
Our Parliament did not prevent  
And wisely them defended ;  
For plots they will discover still  
Before they were intended.

But neither man woman nor child  
Will say I'm confident,  
They ever heard it speak one Word  
Against the Parliament.

An informer swore it letters bore  
Or else it had been freed ;  
I'll take in troth my Bible oath  
It could neither write nor read.

The Committee said that verily  
To Popery it was bent ;  
For ought I know it might be so  
For to Church it never went.  
What with exeise, and such device  
The Kingdom doth begin  
To think you'll leave not e'en a cross  
Without doors nor within.

Methinks the Commons Council should  
Of it have taken pity  
Cause, good old cross, it always stood  
So finally in the City.  
Since crosses you so much disdain  
Faith if I were as you  
For fear the King should rule again  
I'd pull down Tyburn too.”

At length we come to the description of the last resting place of the body in Westminster Abbey.

#### TOMB OF QUEEN ELEANOR.

This is constructed of grey Petworth marble covered with a table of gilt bronze, on which is the recumbent statue of the Queen; this also is of bronze most richly gilt; but like that of Henry III., it became so thickly coated with the indurated dust of ages that the gilding was only partially visible. The bronze figures were cleaned in 1869 under the direction of Dr. Percy.

The sides of the tomb are each divided into six compartments in the Decorated style, having angular pediments ornamented with crockets and finials; below which within shallow trefoil-headed recesses, are shields of arms dependent from oak and vine branches. The arms are repeated in alternate succession, and are those of England, as borne by Henry III. and Edward I., viz. three lions passant guardant; of Castile and Leon, first and fourth a Castle, second and third a lion rampant. and of Ponthieu, three bendlets within a bordure; the sculpture is much defaced, some parts have crumbled away, and others have been broken off by violence.

The Queen's statue is a very admirable performance; the peculiar sweetness and beauty imparted to the countenance cannot be excelled, and the benign aspect of virtuous composure which it exhibits is of the most elevated cast. Burges considers that as Queen Eleanor was over forty years of age and had had several children it is most improbable that this can be a portrait statue and that we are the gainers by having the ideal beauty of one of the great periods of art handed down to us in enduring bronze. Even the very attitude of the figure, though of all others the recumbent position is the least adapted for expression, is indicative of a chaste and pious dignity. The head reposes on two decorated cushions and is enriched by a coronet from which the hair falls in ringlets over each shoulder, the left hand being gracefully brought over the breast holds the string which fastens the cloak around the neck; the right hand has borne a sceptre; that emblem of sovereign rule, however, has

been removed and lost. The vestments which are long and flowing, are very elegantly disposed; and at the feet is a lion couchant. At the head is an angular canopy of gilt bronze, having a rich bordering of crockets, and two finials; and at each extremity a small but most beautifully executed cherub. This part likewise is ornamented with engraved foliage, and has been finely gilt.<sup>1</sup>

There is a very excellent etching of the effigy, by Stothard in his *Monumental Effigies*; also engravings by Le Keux from Blore's beautiful drawings of the effigy and tomb for his *Sepulchral Monuments*.

The table which covers the tomb is diapered with lozenges containing the arms of Castile and Leon: and on the verge is an embossed inscription part of which is now hidden by the sculptures connected with the chapel of Henry V: as follows:—

✠ ICY : GYST : ALIANOR : IADIS : REYNE : DE : ANGLE-  
TERRE : FEMME : AL : RE : EDEWERD : FIZ : LE : REY : HENRY :  
EFYLLE : AL : REY : DESPAYGNE : ECONTASSE : DE : POVNTIF :  
DEL : ALME : DE : LI : DEV : PVR : SA : PITE : EYT : MERCI :  
AMEN.

Here lies Eleanor formerly Queen of England wife to King Edward son of King Henry daughter of the King of Spain and Countess of Ponthieu; upon whose soul may God for his pity have mercy. Amen.

The following verses in her memory were formerly inscribed on a tablet over her tomb.

*Æleonore Regina uxoris Edwardi Primi Epitaphium.*

Nobilis Hispani jacet hic soror inclita Regis,  
Eximii consors Æleonora thori,  
Edwardi primi Wallorum principis uxor,  
Cui pater Henricus Tertius Anglus erat;  
Hanc ille uxorem gnato petit; omne princeps  
Legati munus suscipit ipse bono:

Aphonso fratri placuit fœlix Hymenæus;  
Germanam Edwardo nec sine dote dedit,  
Dos præclara fuit nec tali indigna marito,  
Pontivo princeps munere dives erat;  
Femina consilio prudens, pia, prole beata,  
Auxit amicitiis, auxit honore virum:

*Disce mori.*

<sup>1</sup> See *Neale's Westminster Abbey*, Plates xxxiv and xxxv containing S.W. or inner side of the tomb together with its wooden

canopy, and the curious screen work of wrought iron which guards the statue on the outer side.



Which may be thus translated :—

Queen Elenor is here interred  
 A worthy noble Dame  
 Sister unto the Spanish King  
 Of Royal blood and fame  
 King Edward's wife first of that name,  
 And Prince of Wales by right  
 Whose father Henry, just the Third  
 Was sure an English wight:  
 Who craved her wife unto his Son :  
 The Prince himself did go  
 On that Embassage luckily  
 As chief with many moe  
 This knot of linked marriage  
 Her brother Alphonso lik'd ;  
 And so 'tween sister and this Princee  
 The marriage up was stick'd  
 The dowry rich and royal was  
 For such a Prince most meet :  
 For Pontive was the marriage gift  
 A dowry rich and great.  
 A woman both in Counsel wise  
 Religious, fruitful, meek,  
 Who did increase her husband's friends  
 And larged his honour eke  
 Learn to die.

Fabian who wrote his *Chronicles* towards the latter part of the reign of Henry VII., speaking of the interment of Queen Eleanor, says :—

“ She hath II. waxe tapers burnynge upon her tomb both daye and night, whyche so hath contynued syne the day of her buryinge to this present daye.”<sup>1</sup>

On the northern ledge of the tomb next the passage or ambulatory, is a screen or guard of wrought iron of curious workmanship, every principal division, of which there are eleven in number, being of different yet ingenious pattern, chiefly representing scroll-work foliage with four animals' heads beneath it. Below it, on the sub-basement of the tomb, are some very faint traces of human figures, which were once painted on the stone panelling, but are now from wanton mischief and the corrosions of time almost obliterated. Keepe says there was “ a Sepulchre painted here with divers Monks praying thereat.” Dart describes it more particularly, — “ though the painting is now worn out, there yet appears a Sepulchre at the feet of which are

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicles*, p. 393. Ed. 1811.

two Monks, at the head a Knight armed, and a woman with a child in her arms." Burges, in "Scott's Gleanings from Westminster Abbey" thinks it not unlikely that these figures represent one of the apocryphal miracles of the Virgin. A sketch of the knight and lady will be found among the Powell Collection of Drawings in the British Museum. Above it in modern characters, but defaced, was this inscription, not any remains of which can now be traced. "Regina Alionora Consors Edwardi primi fuit Alionora, 1290. Disce Mori."

Burges, in his paper on the tomb referred to above, which is very interesting, considers that the casting of the effigy of Eleanor and made in one mould, and must have been rather a difficult one to execute. We know from the roll that 726 pounds of wax were carried from Torel's house to the "Domum Domini" (the Palace?), besides sundry other parcels of wax bought at different times. Much of this was doubtless for the purpose of being made into candles, but from the expressions used in the roll some of it must have been used for the effigies which were executed by what the French call the *cire perdue* process.

The following account probably relates to the casting, Issue Roll 17, Edward I.—"To Hugh de Kendall £1 16s. 4½d., for erecting a certain ——— in the burial place of the Abbot of Westminster, in which the statues of King Henry and Queen Eleanor are being made." (Devon's Introduction to the Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, 44, Edward III.) In Devon's Pell Records the same entry again occurs, but the omitted word is supplied as a wooden building. The date, however, must be an error, as the Queen did not die till 19 Edward I.

Hunter, in his paper read before the Society of Antiquaries, says the marble work was executed by Richard de Crundale, to whom was committed the building of the cross at Charing. He was employed upon it in 1291, in which year he received £10 on account for work on this tomb and on the cross at Charing: this is the only payment which appears in the accounts. The statue was the work of Master William Torel, goldsmith, whose name will probably hereafter be ranked high in the catalogue of English artists. In 1291 he received fifty marks for work on the Queen's image. In the next year he was employed

on two statues, one of the Queen and the other of a King, for which he received in several payments £35 and thirty-seven marks. The whole sum paid to him was £113 6s. 8d., which the editor of the Roll calculates at about £1,700 of our money. The metal for the Queen's image was bought of Wm. Sprot and John de Ware, to whom £50, and afterwards fifty marks were paid for it. Flemish coin was bought to supply the gold for the gilding. The quantity was 476 florins, which were all procured apparently for the same purpose. The work appears to have been finished by Michaelmas term, 1292, when there was paid to Master Thomas, the carpenter, 44s. 4d. for timber, and for making the scaffold for raising the image of the Queen, and also for the herse. Thomas de Hokyntone, or Hoghton, "Ingeniator," who Burges thinks is the same person as Thomas the Carpenter, received 70s. for making a cover over the Queen's image and barriers about it. Other sums were paid for the same kind of work. Master William the pavior £7, which represents £50 of our money, "for making the pavement in the Church of Westminster, about the tomb." Burges conjectures that this must have been for supplying the Purbeck marble for the present pavement in St. Edward's chapel, cutting the casements for the mosaics, and laying it down afterwards. Nothing appears to have been omitted. The cover which protected the image, and which was probably removed only on the day of her anniversary, or when any very eminent person visited the Confessor's shrine was decorated by the hand of the most skilful painter of the time, Walter de Durham, who received a small sum for his labours upon it. The four mortices which may be discerned in the sheet of metal on which the effigies lie were probably intended for the purpose of fixing this cover. It has long disappeared, and was replaced by a Perpendicular one, most probably when the Chapel of Henry V. was erected.

Thomas de Leghton received £12 for iron work, and 20s. extra for the carriage of the work, and for his own and his assistants' expenses in London during the fixing. Mr. Digby Wyatt, in his "Metal work," conjectures that this was Thomas of Leighton Buzzard, in Bedfordshire. The famous grille made by Master Thomas de Leighton for the tomb appears to have been designed to prevent persons

from getting into the Confessor's chapel by climbing over the effigy, in fact, it only commences at the top of the altar tomb, and then curving outwards, finishes at a comparatively small height from its springing. We must remember that the Confessor's chapel contained not only the golden shrine of that saint, but in all probability an altar of relics, where Henry V.'s chantry now stands. This altar would sustain many rich and costly reliquaries, and thus afford an additional reason for making the place secure. This was most effectually done by means of the curved grille which we see on Queen Eleanor's tomb.<sup>1</sup>

### MODERN CHARING CROSS.

And now let us pass to Charing Cross station and look at the modern Eleanor cross, which has become quite a refuge for pigeons. Walford thus describes it in his *Old and New London*:—"In the centre of the enclosure facing the Strand, and in front of the Charing Cross Hotel and entrance to the Railway Station, there is a very handsome and elaborate cross in the decorated Gothic style of the 13th and 14th centuries, erected in 1863. It is built on or near the spot whereon, if tradition be correct, formerly stood the cross erected by Edward I., to which we have already alluded. It is a reproduction as near as possible of the old one. It is from the designs of Mr. Edward M. Barry, R.A., based on the scanty guidance of two or three scarce and indistinct prints. The height from the base to the summit is about 70 feet, and it cost between £1,700 and £1,800. It is of Portland and Mansfield stone and Aberdeen granite, and the sculptor was Mr. Thomas Earp." It is thus described in the *Curiosities of London*:—"In the upper story are eight crowned statues of Queen Eleanor, four representing her as a Queen with the Royal Insignia, and the other four with the attributes of a Christian woman. At the feet of the statues are eight kneeling figures of angels. The shields in the lower stage are copied from those existing on the Crosses at Waltham and Northampton and on the Queen's tomb, displaying the Royal arms of England with those of Leon, Castile, and Ponthieu. The diaper above the tracery in the lowest

<sup>1</sup> For a full description and illustration of this ironwork see Burges' paper in Scott's *Gleanings*, page 86.

stage of the monument is composed of octagonal patterns, richly undercut, representing alternately the Castle of Castile and the Lion rampant of Leon; the pillar and couch of the effigy have a similar design. The carving generally of the crockets, capitals, canopies, diapers, gurgoyles, &c., agrees with the best remains of the English Art of the 13th Century."

The Writer of this Paper has made full extracts from the following Works: *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. III. with Plates; Neale's *Westminster Abbey* with Plates; Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*; G. Gilbert Scott's *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*; the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne's *Historical Memorials of Northampton*; Hunter's Paper on the Crosses in *Archæologia*, Vol. XXIX; Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*; *Bridges Northamptonshire*; Lyson's *Environs of London*; Walford's *Old and New London*; Bedwell's *Tottenham*; Brooke's *Gazeteer*; Gough's *Antiquities*, Plate xxiii. contains full length portrait of Queen Eleanor; *Royal Archæological Institute Journal*; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd series, Vol. XII., No. III.; *Memorials of Queen Eleanor*, and Botfield's *Executor's Account Rolls*.

NOTES ON AN ILLUMINATED PEDIGREE OF THE PEVERELL  
FAMILY AND THEIR DESCENDANTS, IN THE POSSESSION  
OF MR. HARTSHORNE.<sup>1</sup>

By A. VICARS, F.S.A.

This pedigree, which is written in Latin on a sheet of vellum, measuring  $27\frac{1}{2}$  in. by  $22\frac{1}{2}$  in., with 35 emblazoned coats interspersed, might more fitly be described as a pedigree of the descendants of Peverell coheirs, for it only gives really two generations of the family.

Paganus (or Pain) Peverell, who heads the pedigree, was, according to Dugdale, an eminent soldier and highly famed for his martial enterprises. He was standard bearer to Robert Curthose in the Holy Land, and afterwards obtained from Henry I. the barony of Brunne, in Cambridgeshire, which had been forfeited to the crown by Robert, the son of Picot (called Picot Vicecomes), for conspiring the death of the King. Having procured the lands of Barnwell, he founded a house for thirty canons regular of S. Augustine, near the castle of Cambridge, and dedicated it, according to Dugdale, to S. Andrew, but according to this pedigree, to S. Egidius, in 1112. He died, however, before its completion, and was buried in front of the high altar.

William his son ratified his father's grants, and added thereto lands in Brunne. Dugdale says, this William "making title to the Church of Bolehirst, which the Monks of Thorney had long enjoyed, at length met with the Abbot of Thorney at Ketelstan, in the presence of David, Earl of Huntingdon, where the Abbot, discoursing with him thereof, requested him, that for the good of his own soul, and his ancestors' souls, he would surcease his claim. Whereupon he condescended, and in testimony thereof delivered a wand unto the Abbot, which friendly favour so much pleased Earl David that he kissed both their hands."

Not long after this William Peverell went to Jerusalem, and there died without issue, leaving his four sisters

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, December 3rd, 1891.

coheirs, between whom his Barony of Brunne was divided.

The four sisters of William were :—

Maud, who married Hugo de Dovre, and died *sine prole*.

Alice, the second, married Sir Hamo de Peche, and had issue, Sir Gilbert de Peche, Baron of Brunne in right of his mother, from whom descend the families of Gedding and Lucas of Suffolk, and from the second son, Galfridus de Peche who gave to the canons of Barnewell the church of Harleston, the Pastons of Norfolk.

Roysel, the third daughter, was wife of Harecourt, whose granddaughter married a de Roos, from whom descend the family of Manners.

And Ancelina, the fourth daughter, married a Waterville, through whom we come to the families of Bussie, Bitham, Colvile and Peyton, all given in this pedigree.

In a short notice, such as this, I will not go into the details of each descent, or the exploits and achievements of the several persons referred to. Suffice it to say that most of these families appear in the Visitations of their respective counties, or in such works as Dugdale, Banks and the county histories.

As, however, the names of Roos and Manners are of more than ordinary interest, figuring as they do so much in the past history of the country, I submit for inspection a MS. pedigree chart of these families, compiled by Blore, the antiquary and historian of the county of Rutland, which gives the details of their pedigree, and illustrates in some degree a portion of the old chart under consideration.

\* The writing within the circle in the centre seems to cast a reproach on Gilbert de Peche, mentioned in the pedigree, and states how that he by bad artifices excluded the heirs of his first wife from all their hereditary patrimony, and promoted the sons of his second wife. The writing in the cartouche in the top right hand corner refers to the founding of the house of canons regular before referred to. There is an expression in this note which is to me inexplicable, and I give it in the hope that some antiquary may be able to explain.

The “Book of Barnewell” is quoted as relating that Paganus [de Peverell] “postquam Canonicorum prioratum adeo desolatum ingemiscens conspexisset in hæc verba pro-

rupisse Triginta Anõrum fui Baptissmo regeneratus: triginta Anõrum ero in novissimo die resuscitandus [*sic*]: triginta hic constituam Canonicos," which I take to be literally "Of thirty years I was regenerated in baptism; of thirty years I shall be raised at the last day; I will place here thirty Canons."

The emblazoned shields and heraldic portion of the pedigree is in a better style of art than would be expected in a pedigree of this period, and the purity and simplicity of the heraldry is noticeable. Here the shields are not filled up with an immoderate number of charges; indeed, the period of what Guillim calls "laden coats" had scarcely been reached.

In the right hand bottom corner we have the ancient coat of the Manners family—or, two bars azure, a chief gules—and below, beside the name of Thomas Manners, first Earl of Rutland, his arms, with the augmentation granted by Henry VIII. in 1515, viz., the chief gules changed to quarterly azure and gules, in the first and fourth quarters two fleurs de lys, and in the second and third as many lions passant guardant in pale, all or. The alteration was an honourable augmentation, showing a descent from the blood royal. In this pedigree, however, we have two lions in the second and third quarters instead of one as it should be. The large emblazoned atchievement in the bottom left hand corner is, I presume, intended for the arms of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, daughter of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, wife of Edmund, Earl of Richmond, and mother of Henry VII. France (modern), and England, quarterly, with a bordure compony argent and azure. The bordure compony being the mark of illegitimaey of John of Gaunt's marriage, she being his great-granddaughter.

I cannot well account for the presence of this coat of Margaret of Richmond. We know that she founded Christ's College and St. John's at Cambridge, which colleges still use her arms. Possibly this pedigree may have originally formed one of the archives of these colleges, as it was, in 1769, in the possession of the well known antiquary, Thomas Kerich at Cambridge, then an undergraduate at that university. § 32

The pedigree has no certificate appended to it and therefore cannot be regarded as an official document, though it



is possible that it may have been compiled by a herald in his private capacity, without any certificate being added to shew that it was a copy of an official entry. It is not dated, but from the particulars it supplies an approximate calculation as to its probable date can be arrived at.

Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland, is represented in the pedigree as alive ("jam floret") and as being Dominus de Roos, a title, however, which he never enjoyed as he died in 1612, and his cousin, William Cecil, the then holder of that Barony, did not die till 1618, when he was succeeded by Francis Manners brother to Roger.

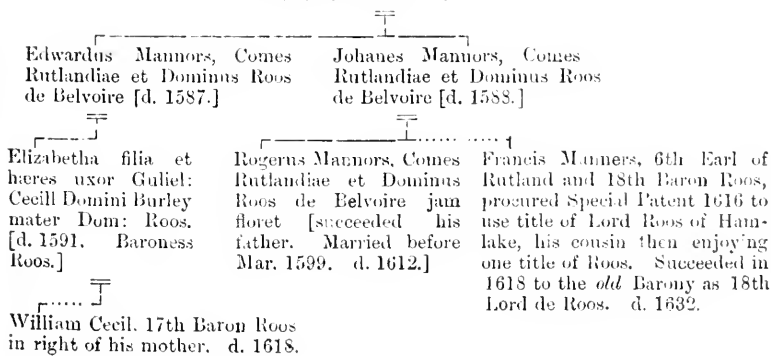
John Manners, Earl of Rutland, father to Roger and Francis is also styled Dominus de Roos, though his niece was then Baroness Roos in her own right.

There are, therefore, some inaccuracies in the pedigree, and we can only conclude its probable date to be between the years 1591 when Elizabeth Lady Roos died, and 1612 the year in which Roger Manners Earl of Rutland died. And from the style of the writing one would be inclined to think that it was compiled in the early years of the seventeenth century.

The subjoined pedigree chart will sufficiently illustrate the above points, the portions connected by dotted lines and between brackets being my own additions to the original.

Illuminated pedigrees of this period are far from common, it is therefore, perhaps, not improper that the above slight notice of Mr. Hartshorne's example should be recorded in the pages of the *Archæological Journal*.

Henricus Mannors, Comes Rutlandiæ et  
Dominus Roos de Belvoire.



SOME FLINTS FROM EGYPT OF IV<sup>th</sup>. DYNASTY, &c.<sup>1</sup>

By F. C. J. SPURRELL.

The little batch of flint flakes from Egypt which Mr. Flinders Petrie has entrusted to me are interesting. They at present constitute, together with part of a knife-blade (found by excavating on the old surface to the North of the big Pyramid Mastaba of Medum), the earliest manufactured flint to which a date can be assigned with certainty, that of the Early IV. Dynasty.

The flakes were found in the north pit of the tomb, which is placed between those of Rahotep and Ranefer at Medum in Egypt. This pit was intact, that is, un-plundered. At the level of the top of the chamber in the pit lay rush mats on which were bowls and some of the flints, and just at the top edge of the chamber doorway were some shells used for colour saucers, and needles, with more flints and a red basin. The chamber was unfinished. The flakes altogether numbered over one hundred, but all were not found in the same heap. In examining them I found that the separate lots could be referred to one or two masses of flint, from which they had all been separated. In the mass before you I have replaced seventeen pieces in their original positions. They shew the neatness and regularity with which the flaking was accomplished and how much was wasted. Perhaps a few pieces were faulty; to the absence of such it may be that I was unable to reunite the whole into one mass. They are each pointed and thin at the struck end, but have been broken off short at what was apparently the thickest part of the flake, so that they are at that end somewhat club-shaped, rounded and blunt. Looking at the end of the block from which they were struck it will be seen that each was trimmed a little before the flake was finally detached.

<sup>1</sup> Communicated to the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, November 6th, 1890.

It appears that this means no more than that it was the flaker's method of procedure, because none of them have been used at this end. The other end of all the flakes has been rounded to a semicircle, and trimmed so as to give them a snubbed look, the angle made with the flat side being very obtuse. This in most of them has been increased by use, and to such an extent in some that the sharp edge has been lost by being broken away altogether. Most of them have been used a little more on one side than the other, and the preference has been for the left side.

Instruments of a similar kind were found in Rahotep's tomb.

The use to which they were put is uncertain; but it is clear that the edge intended for use was at the thick end, that it might be as strong and have as much support as possible. The worn or used edge is slightly crushed and is not polished, therefore they have been used against some object which did not smooth but splintered them. I find that similar effects of wear are obtained by using flints of such a form to trim the edge of large coarse flakes by tapping with a piece of wood. The trimming edge was placed against that of the object to be trimmed, and the upper side of the flake struck with a wooden mallet. In the Egyptian ones occasionally a small cone of percussion, taking its origin from the underside of the flake, may be seen, an evidence that striking, not pressure, was employed.

So for want of more certain information I suggest that by their means the trimming of flint axes, adzes, scrapers and drags used in the working of limestone was accomplished as they wore down.

Another kind of flake, but few in number amongst the hundred, was made from the thinner sort of flakes, the ends were cleared off and brought to thin edges; this was accomplished by laying the flake smooth side upwards, at the edge of a flat block, and striking downwards with a hard stone of not too rough a grain, such as gabbro or coarse sandstone, when the edge breaks away at an angle.

Those I have made have precisely the appearance of the Egyptian ones. The ends of these flakes were most likely employed as drags and scrapers to smooth and work the soft limestones, and in my trials I made the like marks on the same limestone when used.

There are plenty of examples to show that such flint tools were employed in the early work at Medum, Gizeh, and elsewhere in Egypt, even to the XII<sup>th</sup>. dynasty.

The marks of flint scrapers are clearly distinguishable from those of copper or bronze tools.

Messrs. J. K. Lord<sup>1</sup> and H. Bauermann<sup>2</sup> mention the execution of inscribed tablets at the Turquoise Mines of Sinai, and Mr. Bauermann in particular describes a blank tablet dressed smooth to receive an inscription which was never finished, and says that it was evidently done by a flint tool, the proper face being obtained by the use of flakes of small size, and he says that inscriptions on others were cut with pointed flakes.

Other forms of drags for stone were employed in early days in Egypt: most frequently the edges of straight long flakes untrimmed or notched roughly; such were used at Kahun at least in the working of small objects and in the fashioning of the stands on which offerings were made.

Such drags were apparently plentiful in the Amorite (B.C. 1500), and some later deposits discovered by Mr. Petrie at Lachish.<sup>1</sup>

Examples of these flints, obtained in both countries when tried on the limestones of the districts in which they were found, produced a scratched surface identical with the old examples. The limestone pilasters with horns found at Lachish were so worked.

While discussing the working of lime stone with Flint it may not be out of place to draw attention to similar work in sandstone, although not architectural in character. The use of flint and stone tools in mining in the Peninsula of Sinai is very well described by Mr. J. K. Lord, in an article in the "Leisure Hour," an account little known and well worth reading. Mr. Lord was accompanied by Mr. H. Bauermann, F.G.S., whose account in the "Journal of the Geological Society," is equally valuable. Mr. Lord says that at Sarabat El Chadem, outside the mines were quantities of blocks of flint brought there for use, and quantities of the refuse of the flakers of chisels manufactured there for mining, as well as used flakes

<sup>1</sup> Leisure Hour, 1870, p. 319, Sinai.

<sup>1</sup> Lachish, by W. M. F. Petrie, Palestine Exploration Fund.

<sup>2</sup> Quarterly Journal Geological Society, vol. xxv., p. 17.

inside. The rock of the Turquoise Mines is a soft yellowish sandstone, reddish or brown in patches. The rock was pounded away by the steady percussive impact of the stone chisels struck with wooden mallets. The Wady Maghara Mines were in somewhat similar rock. The walls are everywhere marked by a blunt tool, and in the great chamber numerous flint flakes or chisels, stone hammers and wooden mallets were found. On comparing the marks in the walls with the blunted points of the chisels they were found to correspond exactly. "Moreover," he says, "we tried the effect of the flint tool gently hammered upon the sandstone wall of the chamber; the marks or grooves produced were precisely the same as those made by the tools employed by the ancient miners. These flint chisels were of various sizes, somewhat triangular in shape and brought to a point, which in all the flakes that were found was rounded and blunt. . . . There can be no doubt whatever that these mines were actually dug out with flint tools. The hammers sifted out of the workings are of the rudest description. Their shape of no fixed character. As a rule they may be described as natural fragments of stone picked up casually by the workmen. Some are of a coarse kind of granite, but the greater number are dolomite brought from the hills near by. One or two of the hammers show distinctly the mark of the forefinger and thumb made by the wear of use. Others have a groove round them near one end for the purpose of affixing a withe handle." The wooden mallets he describes as being like three already in the British Museum, segments of cylindrical blocks, having round the larger end a kind of notch, which has been made by striking it against some rough tool. He has no doubt that the mallets were used for striking the flint chisels, and the stone hammers for breaking up and pounding the larger masses of rock.

Mr. Bauermann, in his remarks, agrees in all points with Mr. Lord. Mr. Bauermann has presented a specimen slab of the worked surface of the sandstone to the Museum of the Royal School of Mines, Jermyn Street, which presents an appearance in accord with the above description, and some of the flint chisels; also there are in the British Museum some of the flint flake chisels, bearing all the marks and appearances described above, brought by Major

Macdonald of the Turquoise Mine fame, with stone hammers and other tools. None of these show a polish further than the smoothing usual with sand friction.

From the existence of Stela on the rocks the mines were seen to have been worked as early as the IV. Dynasty, and long after.

## NOTES ON EARLY SICKLES.

By F. C. J. SPURRELL.

In the early days of agriculture, the simplest mode of harvesting was doubtless to pull the plants up when ripe, the next was to break off the ears of corn by the aid of a sharp stone or a flint flake. Until lately the most primitive representative of the sickle, a knife, indeed, though specially adapted to the purpose, has been recognised among the crescent-shaped blades found in northern Europe. These blades have various outlines, some of them being crescents, cusps projecting forward to points, but in other districts varieties occur, some with cusps of unequal length, shape and direction, some nearly straight. The concave or "straight" edge is the most carefully worked, and usually denticulated. The convex edge or back is not so well finished as the other and is never denticulated. The ordinary place of holding them was by the middle of the back which doubtless was set in a wooden haft or socket. Each blade constituted a separate instrument, the length of which rarely exceeded six inches. The polish on both sides of the straight edge on so many of these blades is an evidence for their use as sickles; the nature of which is referred to further on. They are only found in certain countries, and not in Britain. The crescent-shaped blades were used *as knives* whatever handle they may have had, to cut the corn which had been gathered with the other hand. The short bronze blades of Europe, whether socketed or not, must have been used chiefly as *hooks*, as shewn by the position of the handle, to gather the corn with; for although the blades were often ground sharp (they were not denticulated) yet their shortness and shape precluded a sufficient length of sweep for cutting;

and the straw must rather have been bent and broken over the edge.

The crescentic blades in stone do not appear to have been the models on which the bronze hooks were afterwards designed.

In 1890 a new light was thrown on the history of sickles, by Mr. Flinders Petrie, who in excavating the town of Kahun, in Egypt, found a sickle having a compound stone armature. This implement has helped greatly to explain many things not hitherto understood. Its date is that of the twelfth dynasty.

This sickle, of which a figure is given (pl. I fig. 1), is of acacia wood, dark and hard; it was a single piece originally, and apparently grown in a forced curve with a view to the manufacture of the sickle. In early as in late times in Egypt such a preparation in the growth of branches of trees for future requirements was not uncommon; it consisted in most cases of small branches bent double to form hooks for suspension or small angle pieces for carpenters' work, this being a large example. The form at once recalls that of one side of the lower jaw or Maxilla of a ruminant, perhaps of the ox,<sup>1</sup> so much so that its parts may be best described in anatomical language. If a jaw were actually employed certain modifications would be adopted to increase its efficiency and comfort in using; thus, there being a difficulty in the grasp of the rather short and knobby condyle and coronoid process, they would be smoothed down and a longer and more handy piece of wood lashed on; then the distal end of the jaw being occupied by a blunt row of incisors, they would be supplanted by a long guiding stick placed in their sockets, and lastly the row of natural teeth not being very suitable for cutting corn stalks, they would have been drawn and their places supplied by a row of thin flint flakes carefully serrated. In the above mentioned sickle, all the improvements have been perfected and the whole smoothed up to a perfectly comfortable and efficient tool. The groove, which does not exceed half an inch in depth, answering to the sockets, was cut by metal chisels, copper

<sup>1</sup> The jaw of the horse might serve as well, still better the more elegant forms of various deer and antelope whose length-

ened "ramus" and fore part would be advantageous: that of the camel is clumsy



PLATE I.

FIG. 1



FIG. 2



SICKLES DISCOVERED BY MR. FLINDERS PETRIE, IN EGYPT.

FIG. 1, XIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY; FIG. 2, XVIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY



being in general use at the time. The artificial teeth were set in this groove in a cement of clay, black Nile mud mixed with gum. The teeth are partly buried in this groove, the cement is smeared over the junction of the teeth and the jaw, overlapping the teeth about a quarter of an inch and leaving about the same distance projecting free. These measures are for the centre of the row; towards the point the proportions are reduced, at the near end they are increased. The tooth is a thin flint flake notched at the exposed edge.<sup>1</sup>

From the difficulty of getting single pieces of wood capable of being worked into the curves necessary for use, the sickles were usually made in three pieces, the body, the handle, and the point; of which divisions several separate ones have been found of the old date at Kahum, and elsewhere of later date. This mode of construction is well seen in the photograph of the second sickle (pl. I. fig. 2). By far the greater number must have been made on this model of early as well as late date. The second Kahum example is of the age of the eighteenth Dynasty and though the woodwork differs in no particular from those of the earlier compound kinds there is apparently a slight difference in the mode of serration of the teeth. These compound ones have always the angle of the jaw sharp. In well built examples the joining of parts of the woodwork is made by wooden pegs set in carefully bored holes without the aid of glue. The frequency of breakage and mending is attested by signs of former work on all the many pieces which have been found. The guiding point most often became detached; in the first example it has been twice replaced, in the second both the handle and the point have been renewed.

The flakes from which these sickle teeth are formed, are simple thin ribands, flat on one side, with one or generally two ribs on the other. The ability to strike off these long and elegant flakes from the core preceeded the historic period in Egypt and certainly extended into Roman times, and good examples of all these ages present no distinctive features by which to determine the date. In all flakes from

<sup>1</sup>The implement when found had lost all but one flake, those which are shown on either side of it in the figure were placed there by Mr. Petrie to shew what

the full complement would look like. The cement shews distinctly the mode of setting.

Egypt of this character, however minute the point of origin or bulb of percussion, the signs of their having been *struck* off are evident from the crushed surface; and the marks of abortive "bulbs" shew the strokes to have been many. The art of flaking in this style was not possessed by all the community, so that good flakes which could be employed for sundry wants were stored and kept handy, as well for all the purposes in which a pocket knife is useful, as to replace flakes in sickles which had become detached or worn out.

Formerly these teeth were called indiscriminately *saws*, and in museums are so labelled now. Passalacqua (Cat: Rais.), and Pettigrew (Mummies, pl. iv.), claim such saws as amongst the implements employed in mummifying. This is altogether a mistake, as the saw or saws they speak of were merely included amongst the small objects belonging to the person buried, and were deposited with the mummy in a parcel containing a palette and other things. A similar collection of miscellaneous objects in a little bag was found by Mr. Petrie in a Kahun dwelling, also including flint flakes and sickle teeth, (Petrie, Kahun, p. 13). Sickle teeth are figured by Lepsius as saws (*Zeitschrift für Egypt: Sprache*, 1870), and by F. Mook (*Egypten Vormetallische Zeit*, 1880), and Jukes-Browne (*Journal Anthrop Institute*, vol. vii.); also by E. Lartet. (*La mer Morte*), and others already mentioned.

Saws of stone are mostly of flint, other stones being less capable of yielding long thin flakes in a straight line, and possessing the requisite toughness, for these two are the essentials in a saw.

The efficiency of a saw is dependent on the depth to which it will cut. In the use of stone saws the difficulties were great, for the indented edge is much the thinnest part of every object presumed to be a saw which has yet been found, and in many cases the so-called saws could not have been employed in sawing, except for so minute a depth as scarcely justifies the use of the term. In Egypt none of these "saws" have been found fixed in handles for sawing. In the prehistoric lake dwellings of Europe notched flakes are common, and in some cases their uses as saws is obvious, a single rather short flake being set in a small piece of wood or bone for a handle. The mistaken

name of two-handed saws has been given to some objects of which further mention will be made.

The teeth are more or less regularly notched or serrated, occasionally some are found which can scarcely be said to be more than jagged. They vary in length from half an inch to four inches, the average being one inch and half. Some of the serrations are close together and very finely executed, others are nearly a quarter of an inch apart. The last flake in the angle was always modified in form, and was usually thicker and stronger than the others. Large numbers of these sickle teeth are found in Egypt, especially when excavations are made in the older agricultural districts. They differ very little in general form from the earliest known date up to Roman times, except that the latter ones are more clumsy in shape and trimming. Most of the teeth which are obtained in excavations, as well as those still in the sickles, are very much polished along the edge left free to cut with, and this bright line is usually distinctly marked at its lower edge up to which the cement extended.

The polish found on parts of the sickle teeth of flint is very characteristic, and has greatly puzzled some people. Chabas (*Etudes*, p. 348), even states as a fact which he observed, that when found flakes have no "patine," but that the brilliant "varnish" which some have is developed in museums (!), a complete mistake. The flint of Egypt is true flint, and in composition and physical characters is as much flint as that found in the chalk cliffs of England and France, although the similarly arranged layers in Egypt and Syria are of a later geological age. The smoothing given to flint by the motion of the ordinary desert sand of Egypt, which is of quartz has a very subdued lustre, for the grains being very hard, scratch rather than polish the soft flint. On the other hand, the polish of fine quartz sand on hard quartz pebbles is brilliant, for the reason that the hardness of the two is nearly equal. The polish of wind-blown sand is a limited lustre, which shades off insensibly into the worn parts.

I have made experiments with Egyptian as well as other flint regarding the acquisition of the polish. I found that the lengthened sawing of clean bone, wood wet or dry, or horn, did not produce it; nor has such a result been

recorded by any writer; besides this, it is not to be discovered on the cutting edges of hatchets or adze blades of flint found in Egypt, whose use in fashioning wood is known, nor on knives, from whose various duties in preparing food we might expect some such result. But I did obtain the polish by the lengthened cutting of ripe straw with the type of flint flake under discussion. It therefore appears a safe thing to suppose that when, in any country, flakes of flint or worked implements having a bright polish and being otherwise suitable, are discovered that they were applied to some such use as the cutting of cereal stems. The polish will not be found on all sickle flakes, such as those that were new, or little used, or had lost it by weathering. The likeness of the polish to a varnish is good, for the slight ridges of the flaking are often equally well polished with the depressions; it passes into the abrupt hollows between the denticulations, and is equally bright in all. The organic silica of grass stones is very fine. The latter easily break up and form an impalpable powder which, held by the elastic and soft straw, passes up and down into the irregularities of the stone surface as it goes along. This is impossible with hard wood and rigid bone.

The crescentic sickle blades of Scandinavia, and other parts of Europe, are mostly well polished on both sides of the straight edge, the polish passes into the depressions, and is the result, not of hard usage, but of long continued gentle wear. The polish sometimes seen on the convex edge is different in kind to the other, and spreads evenly over the whole surface.

The notching of the teeth of the sickles has two chief modifications. If a section across the length of a flake be made, it will be seen in one case that the line of apices of denticulations are in a straight line in the middle of the flake. In the other the denticulations are on one side of the flake, thus necessitating a kind of ridge being left on the other side (pl. II., fig. 13, 14). In the first kind the penetrating power of which a flake is capable is at its greatest, in the second it is definitely reduced; as the effective height of the denticulations above the ridge seldom exceeds one tenth of an inch, that amount is the limit. The first kind is found on the first sickle, the second on the second

one, and may be a later as it certainly is a clumsier device. The first is the commonest at all times.

The teeth fell out in the act of using as well as wore out by smoothing down. These had to be replaced, nor could the sickle be used with a gap in the row. Sometimes the old teeth were merely reversed in the groove after serration, indeed in anticipation of such an accident, teeth have been inserted already serrated at both edges.

Occasionally natural flakes have been notched and used. They are interesting because in the first place such a makeshift implies that everybody could not make fresh ones, and secondly an ignorance that weathered flint had lost its virtue so to speak, and was incapable of standing the wear required. These natural flakes are produced by the exposure of flint pebbles to the action of the weather. They are often very thin and as far as appearance goes seem suitable for teeth. The natural flaking is produced very often in a vertical direction as the stone lies on the soil, partly by sand wear. Into grooves thus made grains of sand enter and by irregular contraction the mass splits up into a collection of thin flakes which may be grasped in the hand while still lying apposed. But this process has been a very long one, and the free access of moisture, frost and sun has changed the quality of the flint and left it spongy opaque and light in colour, mainly by the extraction of soluble silica.

There have been found occasionally in Egypt some very large flint flakes bearing the distinct signs of employment in sickles, such as careful serration, adaptation at the ends for fitting with others, the characteristic shape of the rear-most one, the brilliant polish, and occasionally the marks of still adherent gummy clay. But the depth at which they must have been inserted in the jaw precludes the supposition that they belonged to the light and elegant types of sickle we have been considering from Kahum. The thickness of the lower part of the flake is not mere clumsy work but intentional, as shewn by the trimming round the edges. It is difficult to believe that a groove could have been cut in the wood exceeding one inch in depth suitable for the reception of such as these without making the thickness of the blade too clumsy to be useful. It seems probable that these thick deep teeth were actually

inserted into the jaws of animals from which the real teeth had been extracted. The alveoli of a real jaw are very thin and the space occupied by the teeth wide and deep, this cavity would need to be filled firmly, and even if filled with clay and gummy material would alone not give sufficient support to narrow knife edged flakes, consequently the lower part of the flakes used for this purpose would be made thick and deep to fill in the space and prevent sagging. It is mentioned by Mr. Jukes-Browne that in examining the geological conditions near the springs at Helwan,<sup>1</sup> he came upon large quantities of flakes, plain and notched, and some were specially adapted to be the end flakes of the row of a sickle. Amongst the flakes he found a number of splinters of bone which he identified with the split teeth of the horse, and he specially records that no other bones but teeth were present on that occasion. He concluded that these teeth were purposely broken so that the splinters might be used in the serration of saws. But were it the case that the teeth of the animal were the object required, it seems that the jaws would have been left and the valuable teeth taken away for use. It was much more likely that the jaws were wanted, the teeth having been smashed, which is the only way to extract them when fresh, and discarded, that flint might be inserted in their place.

The deposits of Helwan are sand, hardened in layers by the limestone deposited by the springs. Mr. Jukes-Browne says that the bits of teeth he found were much altered in constitution, and were friable, having lost the animal matter. F. Mook who has carefully described these deposits (*Vormettallische Zeit*) found similar flakes and numerous animal remains at several levels—the camel, zebra, hyæna, ostrich and the ass, with numerous flakes, "saws," &c. There are several of these springs, and the association of these remains points to their being the wells at which animals watered at night and were preyed on by hyænas. The presence of the worked flakes shews that occasionally men occupied the spot. Mook records no equine remains but zebra and ass. It is possible that the equine splinters found by Mr. Browne were of the latter kind; the teeth of which they closely resemble. The

<sup>1</sup> A. Jukes-Brown, *Journal Anthropol. Institute*, Vol. vii.



collection of animals here indicates an early period, before the generally supposed arrival of the horse in Egypt, at least as a domesticated beast, though it may have existed in prehistoric times.

The forms of sickles depicted as being in actual use vary considerably; the earliest examples, as those from Ghizeh, on a slab in the British Museum, (No. 994), very nearly resemble the older Kahun specimen. The knob is especially like, though the point is short. The extremely lengthened guiding rod is clearly a later invention. We find it represented in the twelfth dynasty, sometimes as bending at the tip away from the crescentic curve; this may have been the fancy of the artist, as it must have been difficult to construct and inconvenient to use. The artist, too, has represented a very peculiar handle, which apart from a strangeness of shape, is confused by the attempt to foreshorten; a like sickle held by another man in the left hand is apparently boggled by the artist altogether. One of these (pl. II., fig. 4), is from Beni Hassan, of the twelfth dynasty, kindly given me by Mr. P. E. Newberry, of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Another from the same tombs has nearly the shape of a simple crescent. The separate teeth are well seen in these examples. The serrations are not shewn. Rosellini and others have represented denticulations of great size, which appear to be exaggerations of their own in copying these scenes. There is no evidence to shew that large single pointed flints were set in Egyptian sickles.

The artistic representation by the Egyptians of the attitudes of the workmen, and the shapes and modes of using the implements in their hands is to be received with caution. The archaic conventionality of the subject was always a difficulty with a truthful artist. Even if he were practically acquainted with the use of agricultural tools, he would still be under the necessity to exhibit a sickle in such a manner as would give a full view of its broad side while exhibiting it in actual use. When the spectator stood before the corn and the reaper, the latter would present his back to view, and the sickle, if seen, would shew little more than a mere line. This, however, was not drawn so, it would have been too true to nature, for the diagrammatic or picture writing style required everything

to be shewn so that there could be no mistake as to what each line meant. This is one reason why the same sickle formed exclusively for one hand, the right, when put into the left hand of another man is so strangely depicted. Many reapers are painted reaping with the left hand from a simple desire to preserve a symmetry in the design. This frequent use of the left hand is not borne out by the pictures themselves, because they tried to draw what they did not see, and could not succeed; nor by the handles themselves that have been found, for in all cases, whether of the twelfth or eighteenth dynasties which I have seen, the handles are adapted to the right and cannot be used by the left hand. The views of the act of cutting downwards is also an outcome of the bad drawing, for I found in practice that such an act was a sad failure and produced disastrous results to the sickle.

In order to settle these difficulties, I made an exact and careful model of the first Kahun sickle, and used it in the field. I found it worked best when a handful of corn is grasped in the left hand just below the ear, bent a little backward, and swept with the length of the blade, with a slight twist at the end of the stroke. It also cuts well low down near the ground; but in either case the cutting motion must be towards the person and slightly upwards.

The sickle is employed for the hieroglyph *MA*. The earliest representations of which differ somewhat from the later ones, in the tomb of Rahotep at Medum of the early fourth Dynasty in which are the the oldest hieroglyphic forms known drawn large enough to examine for purposes of identification, the implement is portrayed in an obviously conventional form. The example I give (by the kindness of Mr. Petrie) is the most common kind.

The handle has only a slight widening, not a knob, the point is absent and the short end terminates squarely, and the row of teeth is peculiar: it commences by an abrupt projection a short distance from the tip as in a natural jaw, which could not have been desirable in reality, and does not leave off at the "angle" unlike the natural teeth, but passes upwards, which was needless in practice. The teeth are painted a brilliant white always, with black lines disposed in a particular manner. It appears clear that the side view of the teeth is given, and not a three-quarter or

other face view of the top. The white colour suggests that the earliest sickles which were taken as the model of the hieroglyph may have been toothed with pieces of thick bivalve shells or with white stone such as quartz or chalcedony worked into regular forms. The black lines are suggestive of thongs with which the teeth were bound on to the handle; the diagonal ones passing across the teeth, not being divisions between them, have apparently no other meaning. This mode of construction, of which nothing remains in Egypt, had its origin, may be, in another land where the compliant flint was not. This hieroglyph is painted green very persistently. The peculiar outline, and colour where found, is retained most carefully in all early empire inscriptions, although in contemporary early work as at Gizeh the outline of the sickle is of a much more practical shape. This archaic outline still continued in the twelfth Dynasty, although the harvesting sickle was differently and naturally drawn; and it reappeared continually later although the tendency was to lengthen the tip and compress vertically the whole figure. The earliest hieroglyph is a fully conventionalized outline, already further removed from the jaw form than that of the sickle actually in use at the same period of time. The change being so slight in twelve Dynasties affords room for a glimpse backwards still greater in length, before we can speculate on the time when the artists drew from the object itself (see pl. II., figs. 2, 3.)

In various parts of Syria serrated flakes have been found but the most interesting are those lately brought by Mr. Petrie from the remains of Lachish.<sup>1</sup> The various layers which he made out all yielded flint flakes which had been used. Some may have been saws and some were drags for stone work, but many serrated flakes with the characteristic polish were sickle teeth. In the early Amorite and Jewish layers more particularly some of the separate teeth found are very large and thick, being as much as half an inch thick, another of about 800 B.C. measures  $3\frac{1}{2}$  by  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches. In all these cases the greater part of the flint was buried in the socket, but a narrow line of about a quarter of an inch remained above as shewn by the polish. This great thickness and depth of insertion as in the case of similar

<sup>1</sup> Tel el Hesi by Flinders Petrie, Palestine Exploration Fund.

ones from Egypt points to the substitution of false teeth for true in the actual jaws of beasts, whether ox, ass, or others. The well known poverty in metallic instruments of the Amorites and of the Jewish people even in later times is perhaps an explanation of this rudeness of construction, for they had not sharp thin chisels wherewith to cut the narrow deep groove in which to insert flakes in a wooden handle.

From Hissarlik Schliemann obtained sickle teeth, or single and double edged "saws," as he calls them, in all the five prehistoric settlements, they being most abundant in the earliest layers. He engraves several, and likens them to those figured by F. Mook, referred to above, which are sickle teeth also, and he mentions one or two as shewing evidence of having been set in a wooden handle.<sup>1</sup> They have been found in Assyria and Babylonia.

It would be inconvenient to enumerate the separate descriptions which have been published of such small finds in Europe, but two examples require special notice.

A portion of an instrument is figured by Jacob Heirli<sup>2</sup> from the lake-dwelling of Vinelz (Bienne). It is of wood tapering at one end and there truncated. At the other end the wood is cut in such a way as to be evidently a kind of splice, by which it was fastened to another piece of wood. At the lower edge is a small dovetail-shaped notch. Along the upper edge is a groove, and in it three small angular pieces of flint resembling fins. This object is a portion of a sickle. The tapering end once projected further as the gathering point, the other was spliced to the handle, which had probably some such form as would connect it with the jaw type. The two holes or depressions are not of the original design and may have been made for the fingers after it had become a mere wreck. It is a most interesting example of what was probably the idea from which the *falx asperis dentibus* of the mythologic poets came, and was the precursor of the indented bronze falx of Perseus.

The teeth are set in pitch, which is an arrangement required by the humid atmosphere of the lake country in which they were used. In Egypt mud with gum or

<sup>1</sup> Schliemann : Hios, p. 583 ; also Troja, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Mitt. der Ant. : Ges. in Zurich, Bd. xxii ; Taf xvii, f 3.

gelatin was employed for this purpose. Pitch would have been as useless there as mud and gum among the lake dwellings. The implement is called by Heirli a double-handed saw. Were such the case the great heat generated by two-handed work would soon have softened the pitch; while the deep intervals would offer so much leverage as to be dislodged and broken at once in any attempt to saw the softest wood, not to speak of bone. I set some flakes in a piece of wood to resemble this and found it impossible to saw with it.

At Polada on Lago di Guarda, about one half of a wooden sickle was found, which has recently been figured by Dr. Munro.<sup>1</sup> It has four flakes notched along the upper edge set in a row in a groove by means of recent or fossil pitch. One end is pointed; it was once straight, but has been warped aside by pressure or irregular contraction, this is the gathering point. The other end is imperfect; there is no place for the hand to grasp it, but a step notch and arrangements for splicing it on to another piece, consisting of a kind of tenon with a hole in it for a rivet; in this nearly resembling the like specimen from Vinelz. In this case the teeth are very much like the Egyptian sickles. This part of a sickle with its row of flakes was unique, but it was accompanied by numerous examples of single notched flakes, and also by true saws inserted in handles.

This sickle is called a two-handed saw by Dr. Munro, but the objections to this are all similar to those in the Vinelz example, and its resemblance to the Egyptian sickle so far as it remains is very great.

Sickle flakes have been sparingly found in England, but unless brought from below the surface by excavation have not retained their polish. Canon W. Greenwell has found them in barrows, which in his opinion belong to the bronze age, extending to the latest part of that. No small collections have as yet been found which might be called sets, though on the surface earth which had been heaped over some barrows large numbers have been collected. Dr.

<sup>1</sup> Lake Dwellings of Europe, Fig. 67, No. 12. Dr. Munro has kindly permitted me to use his figure which is the only one published; and has supplied me

with a view from above. In my sketch on plate II, I have added a possible outline of the handle.

J. Evans mentions other instances, and has remarked on "the characteristic polish which is observable on a large proportion of these flint saws," as he calls them.

As yet no bronze sickles have been obtained from Egypt, but in paintings shewing metal forms the shape diverges from the wooden ones, becoming light and metallic in outline, and often with a longer handle—apparently the backs of some are strengthened by a wooden rib.

The primary idea of the *harpe* was that of a hook for snatching or gathering only, and when employed in harvesting was abandoned at the moment of detaching the ears of corn, or pulling up the straw. It is likely that a cutting edge was added very early. With this addition, among the Ægean races, and perhaps with others, it became the symbol of agriculture, and as such was placed by painters and poets in the hand of Chronos for purposes of symbolic mutilation. To Jupiter, Mercury and Perseus are given the harpe with which to perform wondrous acts. The harpe, as depicted in early Etruscan vases, &c., is a bronze implement, retaining marks of its origin, in the roughly toothed edge, from the stone sickles with ragged teeth like that of Vinelz already described, from a vase in the British Museum, No. E. 192 (pl. II., fig. 5). But the teeth in time were omitted. In the days of weakened faith it seems that this much curved harpe was considered as so clumsy an implement of combat and decapitation as to be impossible and ridiculous. So Athene is shewn transfixing Medusa with her spear, while Perseus stands calmly by, armed solely with the curved harpe to keep up the mythic proprieties, (Inghirami Mon. Etr. Tom. ii. ; Tav. xxxviii). Later for similar subjects and for real slaughter in sacrifice, such as the Taurobolie, the harpe has a point added in a line with the handle. Afterwards it becomes a straight sword, the curved point of the harpe diminished to a slight projection at one side. Finally the harpe loses this obstruction and becomes a mere sword.

Early iron sickles in the east were small, jaw-shaped, but not notched at the edge ; those known being late, and formed after notching had been abandoned. There is one which is in the British Museum. It was obtained by Belzoni at Karnak. He was excavating for specimens to convey to Europe, and working in an avenue of

"Sphinxes," which he describes as moved, ruined and dilapidated. He says, "The iron sickle was found under the feet of one of the Sphinxes on its removal. I was present. One of the men took it up and gave it me. It was broken into three pieces." The situation was much confused, and Belzoni was clearly unable to understand the age of the Sphinx, or when the destruction which the avenue suffered had occurred. His chronology did not extend beyond Cambyses. Although Belzoni mentions the fact that the bits of sickle came from a corner of the Sphinx, he finds good reason to question the validity of the reasoning his belief prompts him to make, viz., that it was ancient Egyptian, and points out that no instruments of iron are to be found among the manufactures of the ancient Egyptians. (G. Belzoni, "Recent Discoveries," p. 163). This has been published by St. J. V. Day, in "Prehistoric use of Iron."

Two iron sickles from Nimroud in the British Museum much resemble the Egyptian one in condition, and somewhat in shape. All three seem to have been rivetted to handles. There is also in the British Museum a sickle made of burnt clay, which in shape is like one from Nimroud, and that from Egypt. It is thick on the outer edge and thin inside, where it has been chipped from one side to sharpen the edge, though not used. It is said by the catalogue to have been obtained by J. E. Taylor from Mugheir. Mr. Taylor (*Journal Royal Asiatic Society* xv, 411), describes some from Abu Sharein, and says of the shape, "it is precisely similar to the Quosau or iron sickle used by the cultivating Arabs of the Karun of the present day. They were found in tombs of comparatively late date, which had been excavated in early ruins. Mr. Taylor gives a drawing of one, which recalls somewhat the shape of some Egyptian flint-edged sickles, like one at Beni Hassan; it also shews what looks like the inserted teeth.

These sickles are all late, as shewn by the situations in which they were found, and belong to a time when iron was in general use in the East.

In Europe the earliest forms of sickles of iron are preserved in many collections, especially those from Lake dwellings, but are too numerous to mention here, especially as they have been largely illustrated. Their increase in

size and variation in form is easily traced. Many were serrated, perhaps, not so much from a survival of the stone age custom as to keep an effective edge on the very soft iron with which they were made. In Roman times in Helvetia the sickle is found sometimes much as we have it now, and its development in France into the two handed scythe is mentioned by Pliny.<sup>1</sup>

I am greatly indebted to Mr. Petrie for permission to photograph the sickles, and use them for this paper.

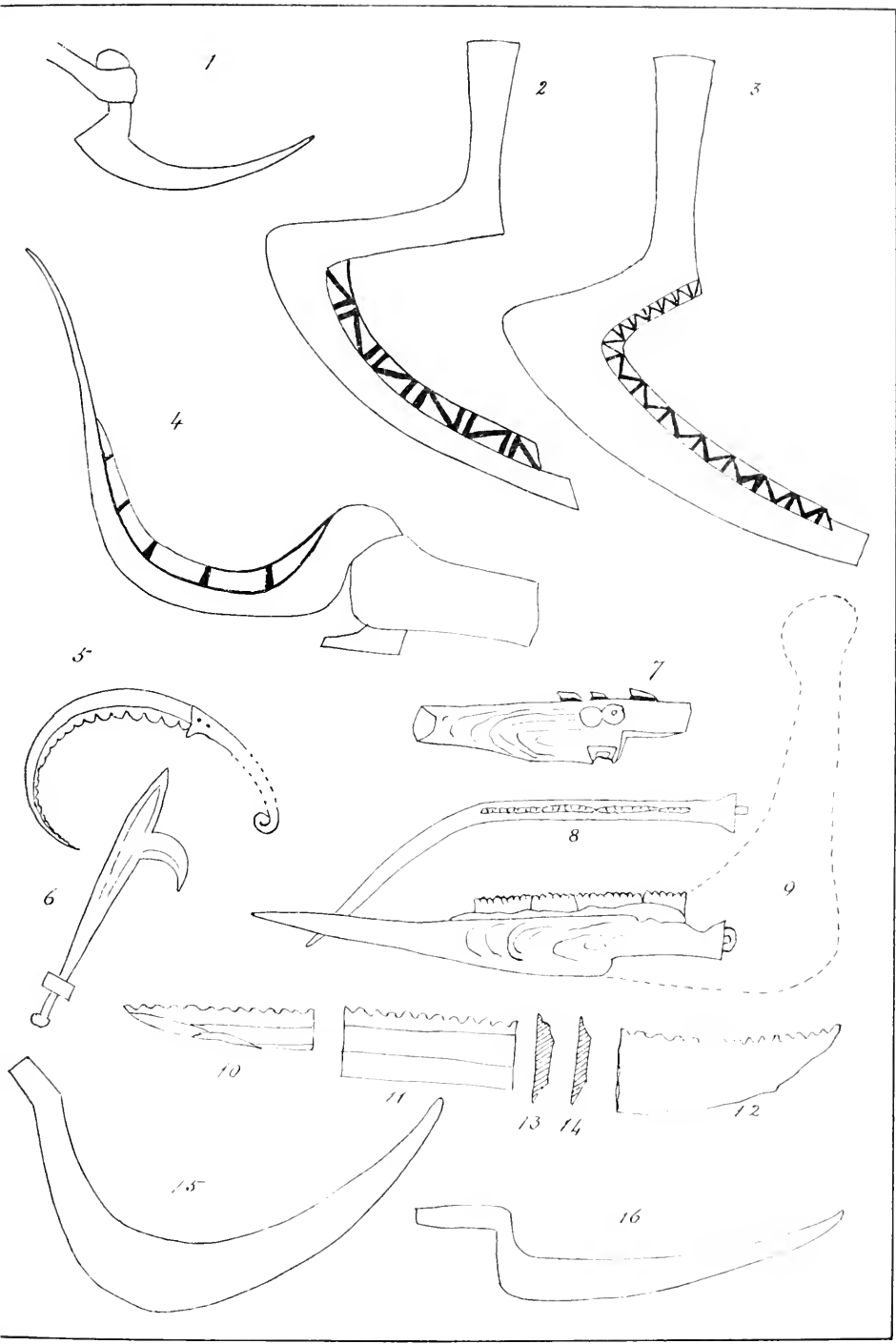
#### EXPLANATION OF PLATE II.

- Fig. 1. Sickle from a Harvest Scene. Ghizeh, fourth dynasty.  
 „ 2. Hieroglyph from Beni Hassan, twelfth dynasty.  
 „ 3. Hieroglyph from Tomb of Rahotep, fourth dynasty; Medum.  
 „ 4. Sickle from a Harvest Scene, Beni Hassan, twelfth dynasty.  
 „ 5. Harpe from a Vase from Capua, in Brit. Museum.  
 „ 6. Harpe. Inghirami, Mon: Etr: i., 55.  
 „ 7. Mitt: der Antiq: Geschell. Zurich Bd. xxii; pl. xviii; f. 3.  
 „ 8. Upper view of fig. 9.  
 „ 9. That part in outline is from Dr. Munro's Lake Dwellings. Pl. 67; No. 12. He gives the total length of original as 396 mm. The dotted part has been added by me as a mere indication of what might or could have been the original idea.  
 „ 10. Forward. }  
 „ 11. Middle. } teeth of Egyptian sickles.  
 „ 12. Back }  
 „ 13. & 14. Sections through denticulated teeth  
 „ 15. & 16. Iron sickles from Nimroud, in British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> The long handle of the scythe, as represented in works of art, is probably mediæval in date, and the figure of Time,

as we have it, arose in the *cinque cento* period.







## WIDOWS AND VOWESSES.

By J. L. ANDRÉ, F.S.A.

————— A matrone grave and hore ;  
Whose onely joy was to relieve the needes  
Of wretched soules, and helpe the helpelesse pore ;  
All night she spent in bidding of her bedes,  
And all the day in doing good and goodly deedes.

*Spenser,*

At the present time mankind may be said to be divided into two states of life—the married and the unmarried ; but in the early ages of Christianity, and until the middle of the sixteenth century, there were three recognised divisions. Ælfric, the Anglo-Saxon homilist, tells us of them in a sermon for the Feast of the Purification, in which he says, “ there are three states which bear witness of Christ : that is maidenhood, and widowhood, and lawful matrimony.”<sup>1</sup> In another discourse, the same writer acquaints us with the comparative value of each. The marriage house at Cana, he tells his hearers, was believed to have been “ three-floored,” the lowest of believing married laymen ; the second, of widows living reputably ; and the third, and highest, of the unmarried. The first, Ælfric, says, “ receive the twenty-fold reward, the second the sixty-fold, and the third the hundred-fold rewards promised in the gospel.” The same idea occurs in a hymn for the festivals of Holy Women, in the Sarum Missal, which says of a saintly widow,

Fruit thirty-fold she yielded,  
While yet a wedded wife ;  
But sixty-fold she rendered  
When in a widowed life.<sup>2</sup>

I quote these passages to show how thoroughly this triple classification was acknowledged in the middle ages, which had however existed long before, and may be found in the primitive liturgy of S. Clement, in which an

<sup>1</sup> Ælfric Homilies, vol. i, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> English Ed. Sarum Missal, p. 509.

offering of intercession was directed to be made "for virgins and all that live chastely, for the widows of the church, and for those that live in honourable marriage."<sup>1</sup> In the still older liturgy of S. Mark, prayer was made for "monks, ever virgins, widows and laymen."<sup>2</sup> The same theory entered into art as well as theology, and may be found exemplified at Canterbury Cathedral, where, in one of the windows of Norman date were pictured three figures, each holding a scroll with their names:—

VIRGO : CONTINENS ; CONJUGATUS.

Round these effigies ran a legend which appears to have indicated the reward proper to each.

Before entering upon the subject of vowesses, it may be as well to ascertain the causes which led to the formation of this half-secular, half-conventual state of life. The chief of these appears to have been the repugnance to, and prejudices against second marriages, which have existed from the earliest times, and which in some cases are not altogether extinct at the present day. This aversion has been by no means confined to one portion of the globe, and although it has died out in Europe, it still obtains in the East, where it arose in remote ages. The Jewish high priests were bound not to marry widows; but a priest having married one before his consecration was not obliged to repudiate her.<sup>3</sup> The Hindu *Manu* expresses itself thus on a widow's duties: "Let her consecrate her body by living entirely on pure flowers, roots, and fruits. Let her not when her lord is deceased ever pronounce the name of another man. A widow who slights her deceased lord by marrying again brings disgrace on herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord."<sup>4</sup> According to Chambers, the Roman laws enacted that the effects of the husband or wife deceased should pass over to the children if the survivor should marry a second time.<sup>5</sup> The professional marriage-maker amongst the same people, if a woman, was obliged to have been married only once. The

<sup>1</sup> Neale's *Primitive Liturgies*, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Continuation of *Josephus*, p. 257.

<sup>4</sup> Devendran Das, in *Nineteenth Century Mag.*, 1886, p. 364.

<sup>5</sup> Chambers' *Cyclopædia*, vol. ii: Marriage.

The same writer says, "The Roman

laws speak of second marriages in very hard and odious terms; *matre jam secundis nuptiis fumerata*, L. 3 C, de sec. nupt. By the law *Hæc edictali Cod. de sec. nupt.*, the survivor upon marrying a second time could not give the person married a portion more than equal to that of each of the children."

establishment of Christianity increased the repugnance to second espousals, and nothing can exceed the emphatic terms in which they were denounced by many of the prominent writers of the early church, such as S. Jerome<sup>1</sup> and Tertullian. Bingham, writing of those who formed second matrimonial alliances among the early christians, says that, "The penalty inflicted upon them is abstinence from the Sacrament for One Year or two, which I freely own, as it is worded and ordered by the canons of Neocæsarea, Laodicia and S. Basil, is one of the hardest Cases we have met with in all the History of the Ancient Church."<sup>2</sup> Some canons are said to have been enacted forbidding ecclesiastics from being present at a second union. Milnan, in his History of Christianity, says, "The Eastern Churches had a horror of second marriage, and a presbyter was forbidden to be present at the wedding feast of a digamist."<sup>3</sup> The argument used against these unions, says Professor Donaldson, was, "That God made husband and wife one flesh, and one flesh they remained even after the death of one of them. If they were one flesh how could a second woman be added to them. She could not become one flesh."<sup>4</sup> This theory is quaintly insisted upon in a letter dated 625, of Pope Boniface IV. to "the glorious Edwin King of the English," as he styles him, and whose wife was the Christian Queen Ethelburga. In it the Pontiff says that he hopes for the King's conversion, since he continues, "We understand that your illustrious consort, which is known to be part of your body, is illuminated with the reward of eternity, through the regeneration of Holy Baptism."<sup>5</sup> The Pope at the same time wrote to Ethelburga herself, informing her that her husband's conduct in still serving "abominable idols" occasioned him no small grief, "for, that part of your body still remained a stranger to the knowledge of the supreme and undivided Trinity."<sup>6</sup> Although second marriages were common

<sup>1</sup> "St. Jerome assures us that when the clean animals entered the ark by sevens, and the unclean ones by pairs, the odd number typified the celibate, and the even the married condition. Even of the unclean animals, but one pair of each kind was admitted, lest they should perpetuate the enormity of second marriage." Lecky II., p. iii, quo. from Epistles, cxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Bingham, Ant. of Christian Church, p. 765.

<sup>3</sup> Milnan, Hist. of Christianity, vol. iii, p. 293. n.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Donaldson in *Contemporary Review*, 1839. p. 446.

<sup>5</sup> Bede, Ecclesiastical Hist. p. 86 Ed. Bohn.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 89.

enough in the middle ages, they were still looked upon with some disfavour, though the law of the land did not discourage them, in England at least. Among the Anglo-Saxons it was simply required of a widow that she should not marry until twelve months of her widowhood had expired; if she neglected this observance she lost all claim to the property she had obtained through her previous marriage.<sup>1</sup> Later on *Magna Charta* enacted that "no widow should be *desteined* to marry herself so long as she has a mind to live without a husband; yet she shall give security that she will not marry without our assent, if she holds of us, or without the consent of the lord of whom she holds, if she holds of another." But if no restraint was imposed by the civil law, the popular voice was opposed to second alliances. Chaucer makes his oft-wedded wife of Bath bear witness to this in saying :

But me was told not long time agone is  
That sithen Christ ne went never but onis  
To wedding in the Cane of Galilee,  
That by that ilke ensample taught he me  
That I ne shulde wedded be but ones."

On the occasion of a widow's second marriage it was customary, especially in France, to serenade the newly wedded pair with a concert of rough music. Wright says that "the earliest mention of this custom, furnished in the *Glossarium* of Ducange, is contained in the synodal statutes of the church of Avignon passed in the year 1337, from which we learn that when such marriages occurred people forced their way into the houses of the married couple, and carried away their goods, which they were obliged to pay a ransom for before they were returned, and the money thus raised was spent in getting up what is called in the statute relating to it a *Chalvaricum*."<sup>2</sup> In a MS. in the Imperial Library, Paris, is a fifteenth century representation of a *Charivari*, where the masked performers are playing on pots and pans and ringing hand-bells. "In the statutes of Meaux, in 1365, and in those of Hugh, bishop of Beziers in 1368, the same practice is forbidden under the name of *Charavalium*; and it is mentioned in a document of the year 1372, also quoted by Ducange under that of *Charivarium*, as there existing at

<sup>1</sup> Knight, *Hist. of England*, vol. i, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Wright, *Hist. of Caricature*, pp. 85, 86.

Nimes. Again in 1445," continues Mr. Wright, "the council of Tours made a decree, forbidding, under pain of excommunication, "the insolences, clamours, sounds, and other tumults, practised at second and third nuptials, called by the vulgar a *Charivarium*."<sup>1</sup> In Spanish villages at the present day it is said to be the custom to serenade a widow who re-marries, with a concert of pots and pans, doubtless a survival of the *charivari*.

In Brabant the law disfavoured second marriages, the legislators having established "a custom known as the right of Devolution, by which, on the death of a husband or wife, the inheritance of the fiefs possessed by either passed at once to the existing children, and could not be shared by any who might be the fruit of any subsequent alliance."<sup>2</sup>

Although now practically extinct, the disapproval of second marriages, formerly so universal, can still be occasionally traced; thus at the present day the Greek clergy are forbidden to marry a second time, and in the greater part of Western Christendom no blessing is bestowed by the priest who performs a second marriage.<sup>3</sup> The modern Italians dislike these alliances, as they have a theory that they trouble the souls of the deceased wife or husband. According to an old book called *The World Displayed*, the Hottentots expressed their disapproval of such unions in the following manner. A widow, for every husband she marries after the first, being compelled to cut off a joint of a finger, beginning with the little fingers, which she presents to her husband on the wedding-day. It will be seen from the above that a dislike of second marriages has not been confined to one age, people, or religion.

The opinions and customs adverse to second alliances

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* The word Charivari is still used in French to signify "paltry music, a clatter."

<sup>2</sup> Yonge's History of France under the Bourbons, vol. ii, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> In the Sarum rite the sacramental blessing was allusive to the union of Christ and his church, and was not said at the second marriage. See Sarum Missal, p. 556 n. A note p. 558, of the same translation, says, "Here follows a long dissertation regarding blessing a second marriage (by which it means only the sacramental blessing) a practice for-

bidden apparently by the canon law. It appears, however, that many priests were in the habit of blessing second marriages, and in 1321, the case was brought by an English priest, John Waystede, before Pope John XXII., who forbade the practice; but in the case of either or both the parties of a second marriage not having been before blessed, he henceforth permitted them to receive the benediction. He also mitigated somewhat the penalties against priests who had erred in this respect."

have been somewhat fully entered on, as I think they contributed very materially to cause the formation of the order of widows or vowesses; for when they prevailed a widow would be very strongly induced to lead a quiet and retired existence, and as any fresh connection was virtually denied her in this life, she would naturally and instinctively direct her thoughts into a religious channel, and be led to fix them upon the world to come. Probably there is truth in this reasoning, as we find that the order of widows was most numerous and prominent when the opinions discouraging second marriages were acted upon, and decreased and died away as these ideas became modified.

The passage before quoted from the Hindu Manu, shows the theories entertained in the East from pre-christian times, regarding the life which should be led by a widow; and in spite of a law which would lead to an adverse conclusion, similar opinions must have found favour with the Hebrews, as the great example of the vowess life is derived from that led by the widow Judith, and which is thus described in the book bearing her name. "She was," it says, "a widow now three years and six months, and she made herself a private chamber in the upper part of her house, in which she abode shut up with her maids, and she wore hair-cloth upon her loins, and fasted all the days of her life, except the Sabbaths, and new moons, and the feasts of the house of Israel; and on festival days she came forth in great glory, and she abode in her husband's house a hundred and five years."<sup>1</sup>

Maitland says, "The order of widows strictly so-called was either instituted or confirmed by St. Paul, who admitted none under the age of sixty. He required them to have been but once married and to be well reputed for good works." The order of deaconesses of the primitive church appears to have been commonly composed of widows. Tertullian and some others call them *viduæ*, and their office *viduatus*. Moreover Bingham states that "Epiphanius and the Council of Laodicia style them elderly widows because none but such were ordinarily taken into this office."<sup>2</sup> There appear to have been many varied rules and regulations as to the choice of those

<sup>1</sup> Judith XVI., vv. 27, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Bingham, p. 301.



who were considered fit for the office of deaconess ; but practically it seems that both unmarried women and those that had been once married, were deemed suitable, provided that they were forty years old, but great stress was laid upon the necessity of the widows having been only espoused once. The order conferred a certain status or dignity on its members, and in the Liturgy of S. Clement they were allowed to communicate at the Eucharistic Sacrifice, before the ordinary laity a rubric enjoining that after the reception of the elements by the Bishop should follow that of the " Presbyters and Deacons and Sub-deacons and Readers, and Singers, and Ascetics ; and of the Women, the Deaconesses, Virgins, and Widows, afterwards the Children and then the people."<sup>1</sup> An epitaph of one of these early vowesses is cemented to the wall of the Vatican Library and consists of these simple words :—

OCTAVIÆ MATRONÆ VIDUÆ DEI.

The deaconess received a benediction or quasi-ordination by the imposition of the hands of the Bishop, with a form of prayer in both Greek and Latin communions, and although the order ceased in the eleventh or twelfth century, its place seems to have been taken, as far as the widowed portion of its members is concerned, by the mediæval vowesses ; an assertion which I think is supported by a prayer in the Sarum Missal, where amongst the intercessions made on Good Friday is the following :—

"Let us also pray for all bishops, Priests, Deacons, Sub-deacons, Acolytes, Exorcists, Readers, Door Keepers, Confessors, Virgins, Widows, and all the holy people of God."

It will be noticed in the above that there is no mention of deaconesses, as there is in the just-quoted rubric from the liturgy of S. Clement, but widows are still prayed for. Between the order of deaconess and that of the vowess there was this difference, that whereas the former bound its members to the performance of certain active works, the latter only obliged its votaries to take the vow of leading a single life till death, and being mystically espoused to Christ in a manner similar to that of nuns.

It may be asked why there was any necessity for this order of semi-religious, or conventual women, and why all

<sup>1</sup> Neale, pp. 88, 89.

those who wished to retire from the world, did not enter into convents of nuns? To these queries it may be replied that at the time of life at which women usually became widows their habits have been formed, and the little individual peculiarities which nearly everyone acquires in the course of life have become fixed and unalterable by the time middle age has been reached. Moreover, the independence which, as married women, they had enjoyed in domestic affairs, and the authority which the headship of a family conferred, would with difficulty be exchanged for a state of submission to the dominion of a superior, such as that exercised by an abbess over her nuns.

It is a mistake to suppose that the regular, celibate, or religious life has at all times compelled residence within the four walls of a convent, and there are numerous examples to the contrary. William of Malmesbury tells us of the two daughters of King Edward, son of Alfred the Great, that they "vowing celibacy to God renounced the pleasures of earthly nuptials. Elfreda in a religious, and Etheldreda, in a lay habit; they both lie buried with their mother at Winchester."<sup>1</sup> In the thirteenth century, S. Elizabeth of Hungary, bound herself by vow to obey her confessor Conrad, and received at his hands a habit made of coarse cloth, of the natural colour of the wool, without being dyed. Thus she imitated the state of nuns, though by the advice of her confessor she remained a secular, that she might better dispose her alms for the relief of the poor.<sup>2</sup> In the same century, S. Rose of Viterbo, professed the rule of the third order of S. Francis, and lived always in the house of her father, where she died in 1261. Strict perpetual enclosure of nuns was not a necessary part of their state before the Council of Trent. From early times widows were allowed to reside in convents by special leave. Roger of Wendover tells us that in 929 there was a noble matron named Elfreda, a niece of King Athelstan "who on her husband's death had resolved to pass her life in widowhood and fixed her abode in the western part of the monastery at Glastonbury."<sup>3</sup> As a late example, it may be mentioned that on

<sup>1</sup> *English Chronicle*, p. 124, Ed. Bohn.

<sup>2</sup> Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints*,  
Nov. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Flowers of History* i. p. 246.

July 23, 1527, a concession made to the prioress of Dartford was confirmed, that she might receive "any well-born matron widow of good repute to dwell perpetually in the monastery with or without a habit according to the custom of the monastery."<sup>1</sup> At other times widows fully entered into a religious order, as may be seen by the inscription on the brass of John Goodrington, at Appleton, Berkshire, dated 1519, which informs us that at his death his wife "toke relygyon a y<sup>e</sup> monastery of Syon."

In 620 a company of widows joined in the first establishment in Jerusalem of the order which became known as the Military Order of the Temple, and assisted the monks in ministering to the poor and sick pilgrims to the Holy City. In the fifteenth century, S. Frances, an illustrious Roman widow, was joined by several ladies of that city, and put themselves under the direction of the Benedictines of the congregation of Monte Oliveto, without leaving the world, making vows or wearing any particular habit.<sup>2</sup> The community thus formed afterwards became the Collatine order. The widow S. Bridgett of Sweden, about 1344, founded the order of the Saviour, and another widow foundress was Isabel de Laon, who in 1489 instituted an order of Lady Hospitallers.

If a mediæval widow neither took the vows of a nun or vowess, she was nevertheless bound to lead a respectable life under heavy penalties. Thus the manors of Enborne, Berks, and of Tor, in Devonshire, also others in the west of England, had a law that if a widow enjoying a copyhold of her former husband's should lead a bad life she forfeited the property, and which she could only regain by a public penance of a humiliating nature. We also find that by the customs of the manor of South Bersted, Sussex, the widow of a tenant had her rights admitted only on condition of her life being reputable.<sup>3</sup>

The vow of celibacy taken by a widow was considered very stringent, and when broken brought much disgrace upon the offender. An example is furnished by the case of Eleanora, third daughter of King John, who, "on the

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxix, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> See *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. xxv, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> *Alban Butler*, vol. iii, p. 113.

death of her husband, the Earl of Pembroke, in 1231, in the first transports of her grief, made in public a solemn vow in the presence of Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, that she would never again become a wife, but remain a true spouse of Christ, and received the ring in confirmation, which she, however, subsequently broke, much to the indignation of a strong party of the laity and clergy of England, on her marriage with Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester." Another instance is recorded of a breach of the vow by Lady Elizabeth Juliers, Countess of Kent, who "after the death of her first husband in 1354, made a vow of chastity in solemn form before William de Edyndon, in the church of Waverley Abbey; but afterwards, on 29th of September, 1360, privately married without licence Sir Eustace Dabridgecourt, Knight, whereupon proceedings were commenced against her by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who imposed upon her a severe and life-long penance. The irregularity of this lady's second marriage seems to have been duly acknowledged, as at her death she was buried near the tomb of her first husband, John Plantagenet, in the Grey Friars' Church at Winchester.<sup>1</sup> The vow was sometimes taken when the postulant was very young; of which there is an instance in the case of Mary, widow of Louis, King of Hungary, who made her profession when she was only twenty-three years of age. The vowess was entitled to be addressed as dame, in the same way as a regularly professed nun, and as the wife of a baronet at the present day.

The pontifical of Bishop Lacy, of Exeter, contains the office of the Benediction of a Widow, which took place during mass, and the rubric prefixed to the office directs that the ceremony should take place upon solemn day, or at the least on a Sunday, when between the epistle and the gospel, the bishop being seated in his chair turned towards the people, the widow kneeling before the prelate, was asked by him if she wished to be the spouse of Christ; she then publicly in the vulgar tongue made her profession, after which the bishop rose and blessed the claimant. He then recited four prayers, during one of which he blessed the habit; then kneeling he began the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which being ended, he blessed and gave the

<sup>1</sup> See *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. iii, p. 209 n.

vowess the mantle, veil and ring. After these observances he recited further prayers, asking God to be the postulant's consolation in sorrow, council in doubt, defence under injury, patience in tribulation, abundance in poverty, food in fasting, and medicine in infirmity. The ceremony concluded with a final commendation of the widow to the care of God. The sixty-fold reward allotted to widowhood, as before stated, is spoken of in the above-mentioned prayers as being the fruit of the victory of the vowess over her ancient enemy the devil. The postulant appears to have made her vow with her hands joined within those of the bishop, after the manner of swearing fealty in the middle ages, and as it is performed in some parts of the East at the present day. The benediction of the vowess was made in the presence of accredited witnesses, as for example: when in 1369, Joan, widow of Simon de Shardlowe, Knight, professed before the Bishop of Norwich, the Archdeacon of Norfolk, Sir Simon de Babingle, and William de Swinefleete were the witnesses to a deed in which the promise of the widow was registered, and to which document she affixed her consent by making the form of a cross upon it.<sup>1</sup> In like manner, Isabella, Countess of Suffolk, on taking the vow in 1382, made it in the presence of the Earl of Warwick, the Lords Willoughby, Seales, and others.

Although the pontifical of Bishop Lacy directs the vow to be made in the vulgar tongue, it was sometimes spoken in French, as was done by Isabella Golafré, on Sunday, Oct. 18th, 1379, before William of Wickham, when Bishop of Winchester, and also by the Countess of Suffolk, in 1382. At other times the vow was in Latin, as was that taken by Domina Alicia, Seynte Johan domina de Bagenet, who made her profession April 9th, 1398, in the chapel of the Lord of Amberley, Sussex.<sup>2</sup>

With the exception of the prohibition to marry the vowess had all the freedom and privileges of any other woman, as is exemplified in the will of Katherine Riplingham, an "advowess" as she styles herself; the document is dated Feb. 8th, 1473, and in it we find the testatrix "in the full exercise of her rights of property, devising

<sup>1</sup> See Excursions in Norfolk, vol. ii, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> See Surrey Arch. Coll., vol. iii, pp. 210, 211.

estates, carrying out awards, and adjusting family differences."<sup>1</sup> The wills of vowesses frequently refer to their rings, which were naturally cherished objects. In the *Testamenta Vetusta* is an abstract of the will of Lady Alice West, widow of Sir Thomas West, dated 1395, and in which she bequeaths to her son Thomas the "ring with which I was yspoused to God," and the before-mentioned Katharine Riplingham left to her "daughter's daughter Alice Saint Jo<sup>h</sup>n her gold ring with a diamante set therein wherewith she was sacred." Occasionally, as if to avoid profanation, the spousal ring is bequeathed to the Church, of which two instances may be cited from *Gough's Sepulchral Monuments*. The first is an extract from the will of Lady Joan Danvers, dated 1453, stating that she gave the ring of her profession of widowhood to the image of the crucifix, near the north door of S. Paul's, a popular object of devotion; the second is from the will of Lady Margaret Davy, who by it leaves her profession ring to another celebrated image, that of our Lady of Walsingham.

Occasionally a simple promise appears to have sufficed for the more solemn episcopal benediction, as is indicated in the will of John Brakenbury, dated 1487, who leaves his mother certain real estate, with the condition that she never marry, the which she promised afore the parson and the parish of Thymmylbe, "and if she keep not that promise," the testator adds, "I will that she be content with that which was my fader's will, which she had every peny." Wives promised their husbands that they would take the vow on the latter's deaths, as is seen by the will of William Herbert, Knight, Lord Pembroke, a document dated July 27, 1469, in which he thus appeals to his lady, "and wife, that you remember your promise to take the order of widowhood, so ye may be the better maistres of your owen, to perform my will, and to help my children, as I love and trust you."<sup>2</sup> Goods were left on condition of taking the widow's vow. Thus, Sir Gilbert Denys, Knight of Syston, in his will dated 1422, says, "If Margaret, my wife, will after my death vow a vow of chastity, I give her all my moveable goods, she paying my debts and providing for my children; and if she will not vow the vow of chastity, I desire that my goods may

<sup>1</sup> Jones, *Finger Ring Lore*, p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* (from Gough), p. 243

be distributed, or divided into three equal parts." Wives were left executrices on the same condition, as seen by the will of William Edlington, esquire, of Castle Carlton, (?) who in this deed, dated June 11, 1466, states that, "I make Christian my wife, my sole executor on this condition, that she take the mantle and the ring soon after my decease; and, if case be, that she will not take the mantle and the ring, I will that William my son (and other persons named) be my executors, and she to have a third part of all my goods moveable."<sup>1</sup>

The order of vowesses differed materially from the third orders of S. Dominic and S. Frances, though each was intended for persons living in the world; the vowess simply promised to lead a celibate life, for the sanctification of her soul, and entered into no further engagements; the members of the third orders, on the contrary, whilst free to live in the marriage state, or enter into it, were bound to the daily recital of a short form of the Breviary office of the regular and secular clergy if they could read, and if not they were to say a certain number of Pater-nosters and Aves in its place; they were also required to add certain fasts to those exacted by the Church, and in return for these pious works were entitled to all the spiritual benefits conferred on the two first Dominican and Franciscan orders of monks and nuns. The vowess entered into none of those obligations, nor was she granted their corresponding advantages.

After the Reformation widows in some cases kept up the old custom of leading a retired life in sober costume, an example of which is furnished by Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, who died in 1676, and is recorded to have lived very abstemiously, and to have dressed in black serge after the death of her last husband.

The memorials of English vowesses may be met with occasionally. Leland mentions the tomb of a member of the Marmion family at West Tanfield, Yorkshire, and says of it, "There lyeth there alone a lady with the apparill of a vowess." In Norfolk there are two brasses of ladies, widows and vowesses. The smallest and earliest of these is about 1500 in date, and is in the church at Witton, near Blofield; the edifice is of little interest except for this

† <sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

brass, which is placed close to the threshold of the south door. It bears the figure of a female in a perfectly plain dress, consisting of a gown, mantle, barbe or gorget and veil. The inscription in two lines is as follows :—

Orate pro anima domine Juliane Angell  
Votricis ejus anime propicietur deus.

The second example is at Frenze, a small mutilated church near Diss. The building itself retains but little worth notice, but still possesses a number of interesting brasses, amongst them being one which represents a lady clad as in the first example, in gown, mantle, barbe and veil, but the costume is not so plain as the gown is confined with an ornamental girdle, and has cuffs; the mantle, moreover, is provided with long cords ending in tassels. Beneath the figure is the following inscription :—

Hic jacet tumulata domina Johanna  
Braham virdua ac deo dedicata Olim uxorem  
Johannis Braham Armigeri qui obit xviii die  
Novembris Anno domini Millino eccccxix eu  
jus anime propicietur deus Amen.

Beneath are three shields, the dexter with her husband's arms, the sinister with those of dame Braham's family, and the central one with the two coats impaled. Considering the importance of the ring as the badge of the vowess, it is somewhat remarkable that neither of these examples of the memorials of vowesses show it on their fingers.



## ON A MÆDIEVAL CHALICE AND PATEN FOUND IN WALES.

By W. CRIPPS, C.B., F.S.A.

Amongst the most interesting of the specimens of mediæval art which have come under the notice of the antiquarian world of late years must certainly be included the Chalice and Paten discovered by some labouring men buried in the earth near Dolgelley. The circumstance of their discovery was as follows:—Some workmen in the employment of Mr. Pritchard Morgan, who was at that time actively engaged in searching for gold in Wales, or else working a “set” of their own in connection with that industry, curiously enough in the course of their mining operations lighted in the early part of 1890, upon a Chalice and Paten, at first said to be formed of the precious metal of which they were in search, but which eventually proved to be of silver. After some negotiations in the course of which a question of “treasure trove” was raised by the coroner, which seems to have come to nothing, they were sent to London and an account of them and of the circumstances of their discovery appeared at that time in the daily papers. They were not, however, submitted to the opinion of any expert of authority, certainly not to the British Museum, and the writer also failed to have any opportunity of examining them. For some time past it has not been possible to ascertain in whose possession they remained.

But in the spring of the present year they have re-appeared, this time in the rooms of Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods; and their sale by auction, in the month of March, for no less a sum than £710 for which they were secured by Mr. W. Boore, the well known dealer, has again attracted popular attention to them.

Their real interest became very evident on examination, and justifies a short notice like the present, even if their history is not as yet finally elucidated, nor their date absolutely ascertained. The weight of the two objects is 46 oz.

The Chalice, as will be seen by the illustration, is of a very early type, much reminding us in many of its details of some of the most ancient of the vessels which have been found from time to time in the tombs of great ecclesiastics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In different ways it resembles more than one of these interesting relics of ecclesiastical art, its knop recalling one thought to be of 1340 at York Minster, the lip of the bowl not unlike the beautiful cup discovered in the grave of Abp. Hubert Walter at Canterbury Cathedral and the overlapping ornament of the foot, a third such chalice preserved at York, but of uncertain date.

But with all these aids to identification, it is not so easy as it might seem to give it an exact date—for if the bowl indicates, as it does, a very early period, perhaps not later than the very commencement of the thirteenth century, the knop and the adornment of the stem and foot point to the fourteenth. It would be impossible to assign it to any single type under Messrs. Fallow and Hope's well-known classification; but it would come under the earliest class in the more general classification adopted in *Old English Plate* by the present writer. There is no possible reason, even if examples are seldom found to illustrate the point, why a later artist should not, now and then, recur to vessels of an earlier period than his own for his model; and it may very well be that this has happened in the present case. All that can positively be said of it is that it is earlier in style than the Gothic series of chalices which come next in date to those with circular feet. These commence in the middle of the fourteenth century, though an example of earlier character, might well be found after the newer fashion had established itself. The Paten which was found with the Chalice is of the character usually identified with the Gothic period; but it should be noticed that there is little of the Lombardic in the character of the lettering in which the inscription running round the central device is given.



CHALICE AND PATEN FOUND IN WALES.



The six-lobed form of paten has seldom or never been found with coffin chalices, and as massing plate is not usually referable to an earlier period than the fourteenth century.

There remains to notice the inscription which occurs under the foot of the cup in small capital letters very like those which appear on the paten. This runs as follows :—NICOLVS ME FECIT DE HERFORDIE. This Nicholas has not as yet been authoritatively identified, but a friend has drawn the writer's attention to the fact that in Cooke's *Continuation of Hereford Antiquities*, vol. iii, pp. 86-91, a celebrated divine called "Nicolus (or Nicolas) Herfordie" flourished at Hereford about the year 1382, and seems to have been a person of some importance. Time and further research will clear up his connection with these interesting relics, if there is any; but in the meantime there is nothing in the character of the Paten, and very little in that of the Chalice to make it impossible that they are of his date, and owe to him their origin.

PROFESSOR EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

We are unwilling to pass over in silence the loss that Archæology in general, and our own Institute in particular, has sustained by the death in the full vigour of his literary life of Professor E. A. Freeman. The public press has not been wanting in notices of his character and career, and in fully appreciative criticism of his style and manner of writing history, and it is, without doubt, as an historian that he was most widely known, and that his name and fame will be transmitted to posterity. From that point of view we have nothing to add to the opinions so generally expressed and so entirely justified, but looking upon him with reference to our own special pursuits we cannot but feel that that technical knowledge, the display of which in his writings, his critics are inclined to regard as their weak point, is that to which we are bound to attach especial value; for Mr. Freeman was not only a great historian, but what is seldom if ever the case with great historians, he was also a great archæologist. That happily obsolete phrase "the dignity of history," which forbade personal anecdotes and a description of details, though disdained by Arnold and Macaulay, was never so completely set aside as by Freeman. He not only visited and examined with care the scenes of such events as he proposed to describe, but he had deeply studied topography and architecture, and made great use of this knowledge in his writings. He was an accurate observer not only of the broad features of a country but of its ancient roads and earthworks, its pre-historic monuments, and its earlier and especially its ecclesiastical buildings. No man was better versed in the distinctive styles of Christian architecture, or had a better general knowledge of the earthworks from the study of which he might hope to correct or corroborate any written

records, and by the aid of which he often infused life and reality into otherwise obscure narrations. These remarks especially apply to his history of the Norman Conquest and of the reign of William Rufus. He visited every spot upon which the Conqueror is recorded to have set his foot, compared many of the strongholds of his followers with those they left behind them in Normandy, and studied the evidence of Domesday for their character and possessions. When writing upon Rufus he spent some time in examining the afforested district of the New Forest, and sought for traces of the villages and churches said to have been depopulated or destroyed. And for us archæologists he did more than this. When he attended a provincial congress and had listened to the description of some local antiquity, some mound, or divisional earthbank, or semi-Saxon church, he at once strove to show the general evidence to be deduced from them, and how it bore upon the boundaries or formation of some Celtic or Saxon province or diocese, if not upon the general history of the kingdom itself. Take for example the Exeter meeting where the walls, earthworks and castle having been elaborately described, Freeman took up the theme, and connected them with the history of the City from the entrance of William the Conqueror to that of William the Deliverer in a most brilliant address, afterwards the staple of a very well known little volume. He thus did much to elevate the pursuits of the archæologist, and to show the relation they bore to the far superior labours of the historian.

Freeman was always at his best when in the field. It was then that the full force of his personality came into play: his sturdy upright figure, sharp cut features, flowing beard, well modulated voice, clear enunciation, and fluent and incisive speech. None who have heard him hold forth from the steps of some churchyard cross, or from the top stone of some half demolished cromlech, can ever cease to have a vivid recollection of both the orator and his theme.

Something has been said, not unkindly nor unjustly, of his combative disposition. Without doubt he was a very formidable antagonist. There was no malice in his blow, it was honestly and truly delivered, but it was given with all his might, and that might was tremendous. But it was only against a sham or pretence of knowledge that

his wrath was wont to be directed. To mere unpretentious ignorance he was tolerant. To those, however humble, who were honestly and industriously seeking knowledge he was more than tolerant, he was sympathetic. No doubt there were many who feared and had reason to fear him, and who spoke freely of his roughness, but no man had a closer circle of friends who knowing him well, respected him truly, and loved him dearly, and who feel that in him they have lost one with whom it was an honour and a pleasure to have been intimate.



## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 5th, 1891.

The Rev. F. SPURRELL in the Chair.

The Rev. J. HIRST read a paper on "The Guilds of Anglo-Saxon Monasteries." In the course of his paper Mr. Hirst gave an account of the *pacta caritatis* existing between the Monasteries of England from the seventh to the tenth century, showing how these inter-monastic mutually beneficial confederations throw light on the origin, rapid increase and organization of the English trade-guilds. An examination of the Abbey Brotherhood books at home and abroad prove their interest to the archæologist and to the historian by the incidental records of names denoting the profession and country of pilgrims who had themselves inscribed as members of the Monastic Guild, with guaranteed participation in the good works and prayers of the Monks both in life and after death. In the earlier records these guilds were called Societas Fraterna or Sodalitas. After the tenth century the word Fraternitas was in general use. The chief books kept by these religious bodies were the Liber Vitæ, in which the names of the living members of the community were inscribed, and the necrology, or register of the dead. A regular system of inter-communication between the various religious houses was kept up by means of messengers, who, being men of the world, were able to supply the news of passing events even in the most distant countries. From these sources no doubt the monkish chroniclers derived much of their information, which they so carefully recorded.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE pointed out that the modern trade guild was probably not derived from the Monastic Brotherhood, inasmuch as the former kept a common purse which the latter did not.

Mr. HIRST said that there was a common benefit derived from prayer, and Mr. S. KNILL reminded the meeting that in the City Guilds there were certain religious ceremonies in which the members were bound to join.

Mr. Hirst's paper will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. O. H. HOWARTH read a paper on "Pre-historic Stonework of Mexico." The author showed that the stone age of Mexico and Central America was practically in existence as late as the time of the Spanish Conquest. With regard to the population of these countries, there is evidence to show that an early aboriginal race existed at a period to which only a geological date can be assigned. At a later period stray

human denizens probably found their way there from the other Continents. The distinctly different languages of the natives prove a wide difference of origin. Mr. Howarth gave a rapid sketch of some of the chief structural works of Mexico, and exhibited a fine collection of stone implements and terra-cotta ornaments of the pre-historic days. Many of the pyramids which form the substructure of the temples are colossal in size, measuring at their base from five to seven hundred feet square, and thus rivalling those of ancient Egypt. They are spread over a tract of country two thousand miles long. The Pyramid of Cholula is the largest, and is associated with the dynasty of the Toltic race, which preceded that of the Aztecs. The domestic objects found in the neighbourhood of the pyramids include weapons and ornaments. The former are made of obsidian, and are so plentiful that they can be picked up in handfuls on the freshly disturbed ground. Some of the arrow-heads and knives exhibited by Mr. Howarth showed considerable skill in their manufacture. The ornaments consist of terra-cotta heads, masks and beads, and a few objects in greenstone. Some of the heads were grotesque in design, and might possibly be intended to represent deities. Others were most perfectly moulded. Special attention was called to the "candelero," a square-shaped object with two holes side by side. No satisfactory conclusion has yet been arrived at as to its original use.

Mr. C. H. READ said that practically the Americans were all one people. In California arrow-heads of obsidian were found exactly similar to those exhibited by Mr. Howarth. In Chili and Oregon the stone implements were alike. If anything was to be done towards the elucidation of the history of the early inhabitants of America, it must be followed up on its own merits, quite apart from any presumption that their ideas were derived from Egypt or elsewhere. With regard to the little heads, they were most cleverly modelled, and he thought they were used in the religious observances of the people, and were not portraits; they might have been fixed to a body of some other material, possibly wood. This would account for no bodies being found with the heads; they might have been votive offerings. He thought the grotesque heads might have formed parts of vases. The stamps were probably used for impressing designs for ornamenting pots. As to the *candeleros* a great variety of fanciful names had been given to them. They were more likely intended to contain paint or ointment than candles, but this was merely a suggestion.

Mr. Howarth's paper is printed at page 1.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Hirst and to Mr. Howarth.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. O. H. HOWARTH.—A collection of stone implements and terra-cotta ornaments from Mexico.

December 3rd, 1891.

E. GREEN, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

In taking his place, the chairman alluded to the loss that the country and the church had sustained by the death of the Bishop of Carlisle; he felt sure that it would be in accordance with the feelings of the members of the Institute, that their sympathy should be conveyed to the

family of the late bishop, and he begged to propose the following resolution :—

“That a vote of condolence be offered to Mrs. Goodwin and her family on their mournful bereavement, with the expression of the deep sorrow of the Institute at the loss of their good and kind friend, the Bishop of Carlisle, who was not only one of their Vice-Presidents, but also a prelate who, in his numerous avocations, found time to give a hearty support to archæology, and particularly to the Institute, which he headed and received with so much zeal and hospitality at the Carlisle meeting in 1882.”

This was carried with sympathetic unanimity, and Mr. Gosselin was directed to forward it to the proper quarters.

The CHAIRMAN read a paper by Mr. A. Vicars, “Notes on an Illuminated Pedigree of the Peverell Family and their Descendants,” in the possession of Mr. Hartshorne. This is printed at page 44.

In commenting generally upon pedigrees, the Chairman said that many of the early ones were made up and were not reliable; and that, as a rule, it was now useless to attempt to build up a pedigree of a family before the time of Henry VIII., unless they possessed lands, in which case the deeds relating to it gave the means of ascertaining names, &c. Speaking of the origin of the Manner’s family, which is brought into the pedigree under notice, the Chairman said that it began with Sir Henry Manners of the time of Elizabeth. He seemed to spring into existence, and to have married a woman of fortune, and that is all that is known of him. With regard to the name De Roos, which also appears in the pedigree, the title is the oldest of the baronies, and the only one with absolutely male descent from mediæval time.

Mr. E. PEACOCK contributed a paper on “Warnot and Warlot,” which was read by Mr. GOSSELIN, and is printed at page 15.

Mr. R. W. TAYLOR said that in the manor of Kirton, in Lindsay, the custom of Borough English existed, by virtue of which the youngest and not the eldest son succeeded to his father, if he died intestate; he thought that Warnot and Warlot referred to lands held by some official of the manor in virtue of his office. Referring to payment of rent in kind, Mr. Taylor said that in some instances, half an egg, or a quarter of a fowl per annum was the rent; in such cases it was only paid every two or four years.

The CHAIRMAN said that the reason for Borough English was that when the elder brothers were away at the wars, the youngest would be the only one left to be of any use at home.

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

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. HARTSHORNE.—An Illuminated Pedigree on Vellum of the Peverell family and their descendants.

## Notices of Archaeological Publications.

A TREATISE ON HERALDY, BRITISH AND FOREIGN, with English and French Glossaries. By JOHN WOODWARD, F.S.A. (Scot.) and the late GEORGE BURNETT, LL.D. (Lyon King of Arms), W. & A. R. Johnston, Edinburgh and London, 1892.

The sumptuous work now on our table, was undertaken by the late Dr. George Burnett. On his lamented death, the manuscript, supposed by his friends to be complete, was handed to the Rev. John Woodward, Rector of S. Mary's, Montrose, in order that he might see it through the press. Examination however showed that three fourths of the book remained to be written, and the majority of the illustrations to be drawn. Arrangements were then made by which Mr. Woodward undertook to re-write the book, converting it into an introduction to general European Heraldry, and incorporating therein the most interesting and valuable portions of Dr. Burnett's manuscript. The result is seen in these two noble and finely illustrated volumes, which a contemporary with great judgment calls "by far the best heraldic work produced in England during the century." It supplies a real want in shape of a key to Foreign Heraldry, so much more elaborate and rich than that of England, cramped by pedantic rules, which have no force abroad. It gives also, in addition to an excellent English glossary a most valuable one of the French terms of blazon, both of which are well supplemented by an index, which cannot be too highly praised. But getting so early to the index we are a little premature: let us return to the other end of the book.

The first chapter deals with a subject intimately connected with armorial distinctions:—differences of rank and surnames; the difference between *nobilis* and *ignobilis*, and the restricted use of the term "noble" in England, as compared with the Continent: a restriction, which leads to newly hatched "Barons" and "Herr Vons" of no importance claiming, erroneously, the *pas* of all members of the English Aristocracy, who are not actual peers. We have also in this chapter a discussion on the *Particule Nobiliaire*, [*de* in French, *von* in German] which is shown not to be a *titre de noblesse*—an infallible mark of gentle descent. Our own experience, founded on a study of municipal and monastic records is that *de* in England is often a mark of the *ignobilis*—a lad in the 14th century comes up to his county town from some village of Blackhovel, and is apprenticed to a tailor: he probably has no name but John, and so is known as John de Blackhovel to distinguish him from some other waif and stray, John de Clayholes. John de Blackhovel's descendants wax rich, become mayors and aldermen, buy church lands and become country squires: in the 19th century they are De Blackhovels baronets

and M.P.s with family legends of lost manors and lands at Blackhovel, a place at which they never owned an inch of soil. Several silly modern assumptions of the *particule* are pointed out by our authors: we will add one known to us—a gentleman bearing the fine north country name of Daere, and whose ancestors called themselves De Dacor, or De Daere, styles himself D'Aere and babbles of crusaders.

Space fails for an attempt to go *scrutim* through the twenty-three chapters of this work: the first volume is the more useful to the beginner; the second to the advanced student. The reader is a little apt to be stunned by the amazing wealth of instances, British, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Polish, Swiss, &c., with which the writers illustrate their definitions and support their propositions, and yet he feels, intuitively, that Mr. Woodward's note-books are far from exhausted.

A comparison of British and Foreign Heraldry shows clearly that many things accepted as axioms by the professors of the first are mere vain imaginings in the broader schools of the Continent. Thus the first assert that coats of plain metal or colour, or of a single fur, are almost unknown, but in the work under review we find forty instances of such, which might easily be expanded to a hundred. Again it is frequently laid down that the arms of the Kingdom of Jerusalem are the only known instance of a violation of the supposed heraldic rule, saying: "Metal on metal is false heraldry." But Mr. Woodward instances two dozen cases of colour upon colour, and metal upon metal, and tells us they are to be reckoned by the hundred rather than by the dozen.

The first volume is mainly taken up with definitions, and with the consideration of the various charges, animate and inanimate, used in heraldry, and much curious information is to be found in the pages devoted to their consideration. Thus few people are aware that the Prester John seated on a tombstone with a sword in his mouth, given as the arms of the See of Chichester, is a ridiculous travesty of the figure of the Blessed Saviour seated in majesty, as represented in Revelation i. 16—ii. 12—ix. 15. Some very singular charges are mentioned in the chapter on "animate charges—the human figure." The most so, certainly the most ghastly, is the green coat of the Heshuysens of Amsterdam, having in fess two human eyes proper. Another singular, but comic, coat is that of the Spanish family of Bones Combes, *Or two legs issuing from the flanks of the shield, the feet immersed in water in base all proper*. Apparently it commemorates the successful cure of a bad cold. Beards, lips and teeth are all used as charges, and among the animals inferior to man, apes, rats, leeches, worms, wood lice and fleas may all be found utilized as armorial bearings, particularly if they can be tortured into a pun for the manufacture of *armes parlantes*. A curious instance of this is the coat, *Or a lion rampant dismembered* (mauteleut), or *couped at all its joints, gules* carried by Maitland. Over the chapter on monsters we need not delay, save to note that the devil is reckoned an heraldic monster, and Teufel of Germany bears *Or a devil gules*. His majesty does not appear to be carried *proper*, though naked women and boys are often so blazoned.

The chapters of the highest scientific interest to the student are the four that commence the second volume, on Cadency and Differencing, on Marshalling, on Augmentations, and on Heraldic Marks of Illegitimacy. The subject of Cadency and Differencing has been neglected by

all English writers on Heraldry, except the late Mr. Boutell. This is probably owing to the unsatisfactory use of what are known to English heralds as the *Marks of Cadency*, which are alone recognized by the English College of Arms, and which deprive the subject of all interest. On the Continent, too, the system of differencing by *brissures* has fallen into disuse, but in Scotland it has never ceased to flourish. Historical conditions account for this survival of almost the most picturesque aspect of heraldry, and Messrs. Woodward and Burnett detail and illustrate no less than sixteen methods of doing so. The chapter on Marshalling is long and important, and some of the foreign coats by which it is illustrated are models of complication. Luckily for the student the blazon is set out in the text.

A separate chapter is devoted to Badges and External Ornaments; Crests, Crowns, Coronets, Supporters take three: then comes a chapter on Flags, Banners and Standards, followed by a final chapter—headed Miscellaneous, in which Mr. Woodward expresses his belief that by far the larger number of the arms assumed in early times were phonetic in character—*armes parlantes*—allusive to the name, title or office of the bearer. We have long thought so; incidentally Mr. Woodward and his colleague give, particularly in the first volume, numerous instances, which it would be well worth while to collect into a chapter on heraldic puns. One or two instances may amuse. The Gyns of Cologne bore, *Sable three human heads affrontés, grinning or grimacing proper (!) and crowned or*: Voet and Snevoet of Flanders, *Azure, three human feet argent*: Taylard, *Or, on a mount gules in base three lion's tails erect of the second curved towards the sinister*: Keats, *Argent, three cats in pale sable*. Compton of Catton also bore three cats. Ham of Holland, *Gules, five hams proper*, 2, 1, 2: Verhammes, *Or, three hams sable*: Papillon, *d'Or, à trois papillons de gueules*. Fieramosca of Venice, *Paly gules and argent over all on a bend or, three flies sable*. Claps of Flanders bears a landscape and a thunderstorm; and the Italian Tempesta, *Gules, eleven hailstones argent*, 3, 2, 3, 2, 1. The list might be extended indefinitely.

The printing of these volumes is all that could be desired, though there is rather too liberal a use of capital letters; and there are no less than forty-eight well executed coloured plates, in addition to eight black and white ones, and ten illustrations in the text. The two volumes are most sumptuous, but are somewhat spoiled by the hideous light blue binding.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS, HAWKSHEAD PARISH: By H. S. COWPER, F.S.A., Kendal Wilson, 1892.

Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A. and member of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, has in the little book now on our table made a valuable contribution to the necrological library of the diocese of Carlisle. Owing to the energy of Mr. Bellasis the whole of the monumental inscriptions in the ancient parish churches of Westmoreland have been printed; so have isolated parishes in Cumberland, and now Mr. H. S. Cowper has taken in hand an important parish in Lancashire North of the Sands. He has done the work thoroughly, for he has not only included the monumental inscriptions in the church and church-yard of Hawkshead, but those in the Baptist, Quaker and

other burial grounds in the parish: these last only contribute some 36 inscriptions out of the 217 the book contains. Judging from the inscriptions the Becks, Rawlinsons and Sandys's are the families of most note in the district: of the first was Thomas Alcock Beck, the antiquary and author of *Annales Furnesienses*; the second contributed to London two of its chief citizens in the persons of Daniel Rawlinson and Sir Thomas his son, Lord Mayor of London 1706, whose huge marble monuments, grandiloquent in Latin and ornate with heraldry, oppressed the wall of the church of S. Dionis Backchurch in Fenchurch Street until, on the demolition thereof, they were brought down to Hawkshead and placed there: the third found York an Archbishop, who erected the Sandys chapel in Hawkshead Church, and put therein an altar tomb bearing the effigies of his father and mother.

The book is well got up, and well printed; and the editor has supplied some excellent notes and a good index.

PER LINEAM VALLI: A New Argument touching the earthen rampart between Tyne and Solway. By GEORGE NEILSON. Glasgow, William Hodge & Co. 1891 pp. 62.

A few of those archæologists—an increasing class in number—who take an interest in the history of the Roman occupation of Britain have for long been aware that the question of the relative age of the stone *muris* and the earthen *vallum*, which extend from the Solway to the Tyne, was by no means a closed book; nay, that its re-opening had been postponed by one well-known writer on Roman epigraphy out of mistaken respect for the venerable scholar, who has earned the title of *genius prætenturæ*, until the proposed re-opener had himself joined the silent majority; “mistaken respect” we have said, because we think that Dr. Bruce’s arguments will withstand a very vigorous assault. That assault has been now delivered from a very unexpected quarter, from Glasgow, and by a scholar, Mr. George Neilson, not previously known in connection with the Great Barrier of Hadrian, but whose able and lucid exposition, in conjunction with Mr. William Jolly, of the Vallum of Antonine will long be remembered with admiration and pleasure by those members of the Institute, who in August last visited that earthwork; two better guides the Institute never followed, and now Mr. Neilson has, at one bound, sprung into high rank as an authority on the Great Barrier of Hadrian, and all future writers thereon will have to reckon with him.

Mr. Neilson commences by showing that the normal form of a Roman fortification consists of a rampart, or wall, either of stone or of sods (*muris cespitiarius*) or heaped up earth, with a *berm* in front, then a V shaped ditch (*fossa fastigata*), and beyond that a mound, which he calls the “upcast,” or spoil from the ditch: he describes it thus. “This upcast is not laid in a symmetrical mound, or in any semblance of such. Its usual width is from 30 to 50 feet. Sometimes it is piled up in untrimmed masses. Oftener it is spread out with a broad flattish surface, which at its northern extremity drops rapidly to the normal level of the ground. This is the exact description of a *glacis*,<sup>1</sup> the use of which is to throw up the attacking party, so that more of their

<sup>1</sup> *Glacis*, that mass of earth which sloping easily towards the champaign or  
 erves as a parapet to the covered way, field. *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

bodies may be exposed to the fire from the parapet of the wall, stone or sod, or earth, than would be the case if they continued on the level. With regard to the *berm*, Mr. Neilson seems to us to have not rightly understood its use; the necessity of the interposition of a *berm* or platform between the base of the wall, and the lip or edge of the fosse was pointed out by Lord Percy on the occasion of the Institute's visit to the Vallum of Antonine; were the wall placed on the edge of the ditch, its foundations would be too weak to bear the weight, and the wall itself would shortly be at the bottom of the ditch; the stone *murus* of Hadrian, eight feet thick, sixteen feet high with a parapet of four feet more, could not with safety be placed on or near the edge of any ditch; it must be kept well back therefrom, and so with the *murus cespitiarius* of Antonine's Vallum. Another reason is this,—were the wall breached by the fire of the enemy, without a *berm* its ruins would rush into the ditch, and form a ramp for the enemy to cross by.<sup>1</sup> We do not agree that the chief object of the *berm* was to enable the defenders to command the whole ditch by direct, oblique and occasionally flank fire. We do however believe that the ditch was most extensively defended by palisades, or *cheveux de frise*, sharpened to a point at the end, one row projecting slightly downwards and outwards from the inner lip of the ditch; another upright at its bottom, and a third projecting upwards and inwards, parallel to the line of the *glacis*, from the outer lip.

Here let us dispose of Mr. Neilson's argument derived from the expressions *a vallo* and *per lineam valli*, used in the *Iter of Antonine* and the *Notitia*. He concludes that the word *vallum* refers to the earthen rampart, and that therefore the earthen rampart preceded the stone wall, and so was not superseded by the word *murus*. But *vallum* does not necessarily imply an earthwork: "It is derived from *vallus* (a stake), and properly means the palisade which ran along the outer edge of the agger, but it frequently includes the agger itself."<sup>2</sup> The term would apply equally to the palisades we have conjectured as defending the north ditch of the stone wall, as to those defending the earthen agger to the south of it. The Romans were liberal in their use of *valli*: Carlisle was surrounded by a close set triple row of oak *valli*, and any traveller who was allowed to penetrate *trans vallum* probably passed through many a row of sharp pointed palisades. This, however, is a digression, and so, perhaps, is the difference of opinion about the *berm*. We are agreed with Mr. Neilson that the normal form of a Roman fortification consists of rampart or wall, either of stone or of sods, or heaped up earth with *berm* in front, then a V shaped ditch, and beyond a mound, (Mr. Neilson's *upeast*, our *glacis*). This is the normal form of a modern earthwork, except that in these days of gunpowder, the dimensions would be much less, a banquette and shelter trench being added on the inner side. To this normal form the Vallum of Antonine, and the *murus* of Hadrian's Barrier both confirm. Not so, as Mr. Neilson points out, the Vallum of Hadrian's Barrier: there is too much of it—a *fossa fastigata* with a *berm* on either side of it, and an agger on the far side of each *berm*. A marginal mound, *upeast* or *glacis* is found

<sup>1</sup> *Berm* a sacc of ground left at the foot of the rampart, on the side next the country, designed to receive the ruins of

the rampart and prevent their falling into the fosse. *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities.



on the southern lip of the fosse, "where," to use Mr. Neilson's words, "the south side of the ditch was by natural slope appreciably higher than the north side, no marginal mound was made." Of course not: in that case no glacis would be necessary to throw up the attacking force into the line of fire. Now two *berms*, our author argues, imply two purposes, and the new argument that he advances is that the Vallum served two purposes, *i.e.*, one first, and the other afterwards: first as a defence against the north, while the stone wall was being built; second, after that wall was completed, as a defence against the south, into which it was converted by the addition for the first time of the north agger.

Mr. Neilson thus comes to the conclusion by a series of closely reasoned and able arguments that the vallum was made by Hadrian as a defence against the north during the construction of the *murus* or stone wall; that after the *murus* was finished, Hadrian converted the vallum into a defence against the south by piling up the north vallum. Mr. Neilson's ingenious arguments will probably convince all his readers who do not know the wall or have only a superficial knowledge of it. Those who do know more, more than a visit of eight days can teach, will probably say with Lord Eldon, *curia vult animalversari*. Mr. Neilson's arguments may be difficult to answer, but there are difficulties he will have to answer when the weather permits of sections and plans being taken; that can only be done in the summer.

It should be noted that Mr. Neilson's conclusion is not adverse to the Hadrianic theory of Dr. Bruce; it is a mere modification or expansion thereof, and it is advanced with a courtesy in happy contrast to the "Mural Controversy" of thirty-five years ago.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES: Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and other original sources. From the German of Dr. Ludwig Pastor, Professor of History in the University of Innsbruck. Edited by FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS, of the Oratory. Volume I. John Hodges, Agar Street, Charing Cross, London, 1891.

On the back of the title page of this book the Editor has printed the encouraging Breve of Pope Leo XIII., addressed to the writer, January 20th, 1887, in its original form, and also in an English translation, and in his short preface tells us that his part of the work consists only of the supervision of the translation which has been done by other hands. We can, of course, scarcely judge how much is due to the translators, and how much to the supervisor; but we may congratulate both on the result of their labours, which have produced a thoroughly readable book which for all that appears might have been originally written in English.

The author gives us in a short preface of three pages some account of the archives from which he has derived the information with which the introduction and the subsequent parts of his volume teem. He has been among the first to explore the MSS. of the Vatican, which the present Pope, has thrown open to students, and he has added to the materials collected from that, and from other libraries at Rome, and has enriched his work by researches made in various towns of Italy, France and Germany. He seems to have spared no pains, if we may judge from the catalogue of printed books which he refers to as frequently quoted in this, and a second volume, which we suppose is meant shortly to appear in print. This list extends over thirty-five pages, and contains the complete titles of some 500 different works.

No part of the work is more interesting than the introduction, which extends to fifty-six pages, and is devoted to the consideration of "The literary renaissance in Italy and the Church."

The author's consideration of the subject is naturally restricted to the relation which it bears to the Church and the Holy See. The two conflicting currents of the Renaissance he thinks are discernible from the first, Petrarch being founder of the one, and Boccaccio of the other. He apologizes for the attitude assumed by the Church towards this development, as it appears to us quite unnecessarily, for as Leo XIII. observed in his Encyclical, it is the privilege of the Church to spoil the Egyptians, and there is no necessary inconsistency in the study of theology, and that of ancient classical literature. And it certainly does not appear that the low standard of morality that existed in Ecclesiastics as well as laymen, is at all to be laid to the charge of the revival of classical learning. On the contrary, those who were most ignorant of the classics, and most opposed to their study, appear to have been quite as immoral as others who were devoted to literature. Clement of Alexandria did but anticipate the present Pope when he said that "Philosophy was to the Greeks what the law was to the Jews, the school-master to bring them to Christ? With regard to this subject we shall only observe further that we wish the translators or editor had been a little better scholars than we judge them to be from the miserable mistakes made in the accents of the few Greek passages which appear in the notes.

But though we need not condemn the Renaissance for the universal corruption that existed in the Church, contemporaneously with its rise and progress, it is quite impossible to justify the Popes for employing in their service some of the most immoral of the adherents of the worst form of its development. When Petrarch said that there were people who deemed literary culture incompatible with faith, it would have been more to the point if he had observed that the lives of many Ecclesiastics, whether Humanists or not, were a disgrace to the faith they professed. The main body of the work is divided into two books: the first, roughly speaking, being devoted to the 14th century, and the second to the first half of the 15th. The 14th century coincides very nearly with the Babylonian Captivity of the Popes, when the Papal Court was at Avignon, and the Supreme Pontiff was more or less the creature of the French King. Our author thinks that the publication of the Records of the Avignon Popes preserved at the Vatican, which has lately been set on foot by Pope Leo XIII., will tend towards a more impartial appreciation of this period than it has hitherto obtained. But whatever opinion may be formed of the Popes who remained at Avignon, the place itself became a sink of iniquity, and when after sixty years the saintly Urban V. revisited Rome he found it sadly deteriorated in point of morality, whilst the city itself was in a most deplorable state of ruin. But he remained only a short time, and returned to Avignon, where he died shortly afterwards, in the year 1370, and was succeeded by Gregory XI. Gregory was the last of the French Popes. He returned to Rome to quell the rebellion which had broken out all over Italy against the Papal power, but died before he could achieve much in pacifying his enemies, and was succeeded by Urban VI., the first Pontiff, who for seventy-five years had been elected by a conclave at Rome. Under this Pope the schism which had been impending ever

since the time of Clement V., broke out, and from 1378, when the Anti-Pope Clement VII. was chosen, to 1417, people were in doubt which was the real and which was the false Pontiff of the West. England was in favour of Urban, but Charles, the French King, on the election of Clement, understood the state of the case, and exclaimed "I am now Pope." The mutual hostility of the two nations accounting for their respective attitudes.

The mischief caused by the schism was great and lasting. Christianity was derided both by Jews and Mahometans, and the existence of two Popes, between whose pretensions it was difficult to decide, paved the way for the idea that a Pope was not indispensable, and undoubtedly was the precursor of the great schism of the 16th century. And before the end of the 14th century an Englishman characterized the Pope as the Anti-Christ of the Apocalypse. This was the time when worldliness in the Church had perhaps reached its greatest height, and when consequently heretical movements sprang up all over Europe. Amongst others was that of Wyclif, in England, who anticipated the Calvinism which two centuries afterwards overran all England, and was the received doctrine of English Churchmen for the most part during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. These opinions spread rapidly in Bohemia, and led to the heresy of John Huss, the marriage of King Richard II. with Anne of Bohemia, having led to an increase of intercourse between the two countries. We have no space to notice the short reigns of the successors of Urban VI, who died in 1389. Boniface XI, Innocent VII, and Gregory XII, followed in quick succession, till the dispute was finally settled at the Council of Constance, 1414-18, when Cardinal Colonna was elected, and assumed the name of Martin V.

The University of Paris had in vain attempted to settle the difficulty by suggesting three methods, the first called *Cessio* which involved the resignation both of the existing Pope and Anti-Pope, the second entitled *Compromissio* viz., the decision by Commissioners selected by the two rivals, and the third by appeal to a General Council. Under this state of things there naturally arose the question as to the highest authority in the Church, whether it resided in the Pope or in a General Council, and which of the two is to be regarded as infallible. The synod of Pisa which met in 1409 proceeded to settle the question to their own satisfaction by deposing both Gregory XII and the Anti-Pope Benedict XIII, and elected the Archbishop of Milan who took the name of Alexander V. And now confusion was worse confounded for there were 3 Popes who had each their respective followings. Neither was the matter mended when in the following year 1410 at the death of Alexander, the miserably worldly minded John XXIII, was chosen to succeed him. Under this Pope, Sigismund King of the Romans summoned the Council of Constance for the 1st of November 1513, and John had to sign the bull convening it. This Council deposed John after which Gregory XII resolved to abdicate, but did not actually abdicate till he had sent his Cardinal Legate with his Bull convening the Council, and thereby proclaiming that the act of the first five Sessions were destitute of Authority. The Assembly by accepting this, acknowledged that its authority was derived from him and accordingly upon his subsequent abdication, proceeded to a new election after deposing Benedict XIII, (July 26th 1417). On the following S. Martin's

day Cardinal Colonna was elected and took the name of Martin V. Gregory had died Oct. 18th 1417. And thus the schism was apparently healed after it had lasted 39 years, and the 17th General Council of the Western Church terminated on the 22nd of April, 1418.

Nevertheless the Anti-Pope Benedict XIII., lived on till 1424 and clung to the last to his usurped dignity creating 4 Cardinals as one of his last acts, and accordingly after his death two Cardinals of his creation claimed the title, one as Clement VIII and the other as Benedict XIV. Of these only the first figures in history but on his resignation in 1429, Martin remained the acknowledged Pontiff of the west, and the schism which had rent the church for 52 years was closed. He was succeeded in 1431 by Eugenius IV, in whose pontificate the next General Council was held at Basle. The time was one in which the idea of the supremacy of the Pope or the Council was being tested. And Eugenius was forced to acknowledge the Council which he himself had been long opposed to. During his pontificate a Revolution occurred at Rome which forced him to flee from the city, but such a scene of anarchy ensued that in the course of a few months he was enthusiastically welcomed back with the cry "the Church, the Church." By the transference of the Council from Basle to Ferrara, the temporary union of the Latin and Greek churches was effected, and the Papal power seemed to be consolidated upon the Pope being declared to be the head of the Church Universal. The Council of Ferrara however has never been ranked as a General Council. It sat for exactly one year, and its operations were continued for the reunion of the east and west at the 19th General Council of Florence, which sat from February 29th, 1539 till April 26th, 1542. Meanwhile the Council of Basle was still sitting till 1543, and had in 1538 pronounced the suspension of Eugenius, and in the following year issued a sentence for his deprivation as a heretic. The sentence was pronounced by seven bishops only and of it the late Dr. Dollinger observes "so shameless a perversion and abuse of natural order and positive justice had never yet been known in the Church."

On the 5th of Nov. 1439, Duke Amadeus of Savoy was elected by one Cardinal and 11 Bishops as Pope taking the name of Felix V. Both these Councils had come to an end before Eugenius re-entered Rome, Sept. 28th, 1443, and was recognized as Pope by the whole church, since which time there have been no more Anti-Popes set up. Ancas Sylvius Piccolomini afterwards Pope Pius II, had changed sides and come over to Eugenius. The author gives an account of the profligacy of his early years—but the history of his occupation of the Papal See, does not come within the limits of this volume, which ends with the death of Eugenius, Feb. 23rd, 1447.

The whole of the work is most interesting, and it contains a good deal of matter not easily or perhaps at all accessible elsewhere in the author's accounts of the lives of the Popes, and the more illustrious Cardinals of the-time.

Its principal defect is in its omissions and in its taking for granted a much more extensive acquaintance with the period of Church history than most of its readers will be found to possess. Of course the author writes in the interest of Papal as opposed to Conciliar Infallibility, and though he does not attempt to conceal the facts of history, he seems to us far too indulgent to the prevailing immorality and general wicked-

ness of the clergy of the period. The research which he has brought to bear upon his subject is prodigious, and a very small specimen of this may be seen in the documents which now appear for the first time and occupy the 40 pages of the Appendix.

**HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE FAMILY OF LESLIE from 1057 to 1868-9.**  
By COLONEL LESLIE, K.H. of Balquhain (Edmonston and Douglas, 1869).

The visit of the Institute to the capital of Scotland, and the cordial welcome there accorded to us have, as it were, given us seizin of the land, and will, we trust, introduce our readers to a large field of archaeological research, and especially to those contributions to family history for which Scotland has been of late years especially distinguished: contributions unknown, we suspect, to most of us, and almost unnoticed by English genealogists. It is proposed, on the present occasion, to call attention to the volumes recording the family of Leslie, as an example of a work very complete of its kind, in which the branches and members of the family are enumerated and traced out with great minuteness, and the proofs of descent recorded with unusual accuracy. There are but few of the English gentry whose intermarriages, successions and connections with the land could be established in so satisfactory a manner. There is little of that vagueness which is not uncommon in the earlier descents of an English, and the rule in those of a Welsh pedigree.

The Leslies are one of the most ancient, and not the least distinguished, of the greater Scottish Barons, the "Magnates Scocie," as they were termed. If not so powerful as the house of Douglas, or allied so closely to the throne as that of Hamilton, they yet played a very considerable part in Scottish history, and one yet more considerable on the Continent of Europe. The "Red Harlaw" was fought within their territory, and the Leslie who there commanded a division of the Lowland army left six of his sons upon the battle-field. A Leslie led the vanguard, and was himself slain at the fight of Halidon Hill; another held a command at Brechin; another fell at the storming of Dundee, and others figure on the rolls of Flodden and Pinkie. The broadsword, lance, and leader's baton came naturally to their hands, and rare was the strife in which the Leslies did not take a part. Nor were they unknown as civilians, having in the fourteenth century represented Scotland at the Courts of England and France, besides giving Bishops to Ross and the Orkneys, and long afterwards to many Irish Sees, chiefly springing from the branch of Castle-Lesley in Monaghan.

But their chief renown was won in other lands. In the Empire, in Hungary, in Russia, in Sweden, the Leslies commanded armies, governed provinces, filled important embassies, acquired high rank and large estates, and matched with the proudest of the Imperial families. In France they served in the wars against Edward III, and a Leslie led the Scottish lances at the battle of Renti, and there fell in 1554. Count Walter Leslie served under Wallenstein, and subsequently became a Field Mareschal, a Marquis of the Empire, a Knight of the Golden Fleece, and as Imperial Ambassador at the Porte displayed unusual magnificence. Another of the family, also a Field Mareschal, was Colonel proprietor of an Imperial regiment, aided in the repulse of the Turks from before Vienna, defeated them afterwards in Hungary, and became Governor of Buda.

On the other side, in the thirty years war, a Leslie attained to the rank of Field Mareschal under the Lion of the North, and held Stralsund against Wallenstein in person. In command in the Russian service a Leslie fell at the storming of Igolwitz, in Poland, and yet another in far later times held a command under Suwarroff, and was present at Marengo, Eckmuhl and Aspern; while on the English side a Leslie led the first line of the English cavalry at Roncoux, in 1746, and in the succeeding century another won medals and clasps in the Peninsula, and was severely wounded at Talavera. Wherever hard knocks were going, or military fame, high rank or great wealth were to be won at the point of lance, sword, or bayonet, there a Leslie was pretty sure to be found among the foremost.

The history of the two kinsmen who took service under the Swede deserves a separate mention. David Leslie, a scion of the House of Rothes, was invited to Scotland in 1637 to command the army raised to support the English Parliament against Charles I, in which capacity he was present at Marston Moor, in 1644, and defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh, but encumbered by clerical dictators, was beaten by Cromwell at Dunbar in 1650, and ten years later was created Lord Newark by Charles II, who afterwards raised his kinsman to the title of Duke of Rothes.

The other Leslie, Sir Alexander, who became legitimate by a marriage long subsequent to his birth, began his career under Lord Vere in Holland, and became a Field Mareschal in Sweden. He also was invited to Scotland, where he commanded the army of the Covenant in 1639, besieged and took Edinburgh Castle, entered England in 1640, beating the Royal Army, and finally was created Earl of Leven in 1641. Two very curious episodes in the history of the family.

It is pleasant to observe the attachment of the foreign members of the family to their native soil, and their readiness, when at the highest pitch of their fortunes, to acknowledge and assist their poorer kinsfolk at home. So close, indeed, was the connection, that in many cases the actual head of the main Scottish line, that of Balquhain, was in the Imperial service, and only precluded from the legal ownership of the lands and castle by his foreign nationality, and latterly by the ecclesiastical divergence. On the failure of the Protestant Lairds, in the male line, their Catholic cousin strove hard to restore the male heir, and proffered exceedingly liberal terms to the heirs of line who held the estates. One at least of them, a Grant of Ballindalloch, changed his Church in order to keep the property.

Unfortunately, though provided with an excellent index, these volumes contain no general pedigree of the family, and without this it is difficult to follow out the narrative. It is impracticable here to supply this want, but perhaps the following sketch may be found useful.

The founder of the family, as of many others in Scotland, was a stranger, a certain Bartholf or Bartholomew, who came from Hungary in 1067, in the suite of Margaret, afterwards the Queen of Malcolm Canmore, whose sister Bartholf is said to have married. A tradition attributes to an incident of that date the crest and motto of the family. During a journey, Margaret, seated as was usual on the saddle behind her esquire, was warned on crossing a river to "grip fast" to his belt. "Gin the buckle byde," returned the lady, and in consequence the belt

was reinforced by two more buckles, and the three became and have since remained the cognizance of the family, and "grip fast" their device. The family name, too, on about equal authority, is attributed to an exploit of an early member, who

"Between the Less Ley and the Mair,  
Slew a knight and left him there."

The name is accounted for in other ways, savouring also of the mythical.

In the sixth generation appears a Sir Andrew Leslie, the father of six sons, ancestors of as many main branches, and of a vast number of subordinate offshoots of the family. The first son, also Sir Andrew, of that ilk, was ancestor of three generations, when a daughter carried Leslie by marriage to a cousin of her own name. Their issue for two generations were of Leslie, when a second time an heiress married a Leslie cousin, and there were Leslies of that ilk for four more generations.

Walter, the second son of Sir Andrew, married the heretrix of the great Earldom of Ross, under which title their descendants in the male and female lines continued until 1476, when the eleventh Earl surrendered the Earldom to the Crown, and it became a royal title.

A third son became of Rothes, and was ancestor of the Earls of that name; of a Duke of Rothes, and of the Lords Newark.

The fourth son, Sir George Leslie, was of Balquhain, a property which has been held by seventeen generations of his descendants, and for twelve of them in the male line. The Balquhain Leslies have been marvellously prolific, having given off eighteen distinct branches, each with a landed estate, and several of them still extant in the male line. Not only are all these branches enumerated, but each individual of them is named in Colonel Leslie's books, much of the matter of which is by no means dryly genealogical, but contains anecdotes and accounts of the adventures of the foreign members of the family, making them pleasant reading even for those who have the misfortune not to have been born Scotchmen, nor, equally to be pitied, to have acquired a taste for genealogical research. But few families, even in the land of Dugald Dalgetty, or his prototype, Sir James Turner, can produce ancestors who have fought against the Black Prince and Napoleon, or have served under Gustavus Adolphus, Wallenstein, Suwarroff and Wellington.

**DIOCESE OF SALISBURY: THE CHURCH PLATE OF THE COUNTY OF WILTS:** By J. E. NIGHTINGALE, F.S.A., (Salisbury: Printed by Bennett Brothers, *Journal Office*, 1891).

This is the companion volume [though somewhat more bulky, 256 pages as against 216] to *The Church Plate of the County of Dorset*, by the same author, which was the subject of a notice in the 46th volume of this *Journal*. A melancholy interest attaches to the present volume, from the fact that its author did not live to see his work published, although he evidently saw the sheets through the press. He died about three weeks before its publication, and his death will long be regretted by his many archæological friends, to whom he was endeared by his knowledge, his courtesy, and his modesty. The two volumes together rather more than cover the diocese of Salisbury, for part of the county of Wilts is now included in the diocese of Gloucester and Bristol: some idea may be formed of the labour involved in the compilation of this and the companion volume, if we mention that the county of Wilts

alone contains the round number of 360 parishes; each of which, we gather from the preface, Mr. Nightingale has visited, Cripps in hand, and noted the details on the spot.

The main features of the Church Plate in Wiltshire, are the considerable number of mediæval pieces found in South Wilts, and the many good examples of Elizabethan and later Chalices in the northern part of the county. The mediæval (pre-Reformation) examples amount altogether to fifteen, the greater part of which occur in the rural deaneries near to Salisbury. They include the well known thirteenth century Chalice of Berwick St. James, which was in continuous use until a few years ago, but is now deposited in the British Museum. They include also another well known Chalice, that of Wylve, hall marked 1525, and one at Highworth, dated 1534, remarkable for having upon it the seated figure of our Lord as the "Man of Sorrows," instead of the usual Crucifixion: this Mr. Nightingale suggests, seems to indicate a change in the religious feelings of the time. Eight mediæval patens now survive and are in actual use—of these the one at St. Edmund's, Salisbury, 1533, is elaborately engraved, while that at Highworth, is almost without ornament: plain ancient patens without hall marks occur at Teffont Magna, Knock, and West Grimstead. At Lacock, a fine piece of secular plate of mediæval date, does duty as chalice; it is a standing cup and cover, not in shape unlike the founder's cup at Christ's College, Cambridge, but perfectly plain, devoid of all ornamentation but a little cresting.

The Wiltshire Church Plate appears to have been mainly supplied from London, and from a great many different makers, judging from the number and variety of their marks, some of which are not to be found in the fourth edition of *Old English Plate*, or any other list. Several Elizabethan cups, without any marks at all, probably have a common provincial origin; the Dorset provincial mark occurs once, but, with this exception, no provincial maker's mark is found on the Wiltshire Church Plate—this is probably due to communication with London being easy and speedy.

The history of the church and artistic treasures belonging to Salisbury Cathedral, is melancholy reading. Mr. Nightingale prints in the Appendix to the book now before us, the list of the ornaments and furniture given by Bishop Osmund, to his church of St. Mary, Sarum, 1078-1099, and a register and inventory of the jewels and riches belonging to the cathedral church of Sarum, in 1536. The lists are too long to be quoted here, but they record a vast wealth of ecclesiastical vessels and furniture, now, alas! represented by an empty cope chest (the shell without the kernel), and a mutilated chasuble, nor does record remain of how the valuable treasures accumulated during some 400 years had disappeared. The church of St. Edmund's, Salisbury, was a wealthy foundation. In 1476, it possessed no less than fifteen chalices with their patens, weighing exactly 274 ounces, and two silver gilt candlesticks weighing 109 ounces, which cost 3s. 4d. the ounce in London, in 1461, while one Richard, servant to Robert Bellers, received 3s. 4d. for riding to London and bringing these candlesticks back. One wonders what one would have to pay now to a horseman for a ride of 160 miles, carrying a pair of big candlesticks in his saddle bags for half of it. In 1482, 6s. 9d. was paid to another man for a similar ride, also to bring back a pair of candlesticks for the same church. In 1531, an inventory shows that the fifteen



chalices had dwindled down to five, and in 1554, to two and with a paten, one weighing 23 ounces and the other 13, which was the one left by the Commissioners of Edward VI, for the parish use, while the other was given in Queen Mary's time. Its paten still survives, hall marked 1533, and appear in later inventories as "one silver sawser gilded," 1597, "one silver plate for the Comynyon, all wholie gilt," 1618; and "1 smal silver dish gilt," 1688. By the way a "spoute pot" appears as the name for a flagon. St. Martin's, Salisbury, has an alms dish, which was made evidently as a rose water dish, for Lord Chancellor Clarendon, whose atchievement of arms is on it.

Particular attention has been paid to the heraldry on the Church plate. The practice of engraving the arms of donors, though known before the Reformation, is hardly one to be commended; it may be excusable upon candlesticks, or possibly flagons, but not upon chalices or patens. But, whenever they are found they must be dealt with; their identification and elucidation adds much to the interest of "The Church Plate of Wilts," and Mr. Nightingale has supplied an Index of Armorial. He suggests that it is desirable to complete the Church Heraldry of Wilts by a record of the arms on glass, on hatchments, and elsewhere in the churches. Most local archaeologists will be with him there. Ordinaries of arms for each diocese or each county so compiled would be of the greatest value in local research. With the kindred subject of family history, Mr. Nightingale has been equally painstaking, and his Wiltshire readers and others will be rewarded by much curious information—as, for instance, that the five daughters of Barlow, Bishop of Chichester, all married Bishops. What a mother they must have had! What a manager! How far seeing a woman to discern in the budding Curate or rising Vicar the future Bishop!

The book is most liberally and excellently illustrated from original drawings, mainly by the Rev. E. H. Goddard, which are now deposited in the Museum of the Wilts Archaeological Society at Devizes.

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# The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1892.

## ON GUILDSHIP IN ANGLO-SAXON MONASTERIES,<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. J. HRST.

Whoever has consulted the usual accredited authorities on Guilds, Brentano, Youlmin Smith, C. Walford and Dr. Charles Gross, Instructor in History at Harvard University, whose elaborate and very learned work, "the Guild Merchant," is the latest contribution to the subject, will have doubtless shared the writer's disappointment in finding that all these authors practically confess that the origin of our English trade guild is still wrapt in mystery. It may be worth while, therefore, to set forth in a connected manner what we know about the earliest purely religious guilds as they flourished in the monasteries of Saxon England, not without hope that a fuller knowledge of this subject may throw some light, if not upon the actual origin, at least, on the rapid growth as well as on the statutory organization of the trade guilds, so rife amongst our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. There is one sentence, however, of Dr. Gross, which I cannot forbear transcribing, for it furnishes the key-note and argument of the following paper. He says that the origin of guilds is not to be sought in pagan or barbaric institutions, amongst the Romans or Teutons,—“They doubtless originated spontaneously among christians for mutual support in things temporal and spiritual—for the mutual promotion of well-being in this world and in the next.”<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Rock in his "Church of our Fathers" (vol. ii, p. 379), has a short account of the confederated union existing between monasteries, and Dr. Lingard touches briefly on

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, November 5th, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> Gross, *Gilde Mercatoria*, London, 1890, vol. i, p. 170.

it in his "Anglo-Saxon Antiquities." The work, however, to which I am indebted for the first comprehensive treatment of monastic guilds, is a learned German monograph entitled "Die Klösterlichen Gebets-Verbrüderungen bis zum Ausgange des Karolingischen Zeitalters," von Dr. Adalbert Elmer.—Pustet, Regensburg and New York, 1890. in 8vo. pp. viii: 158.

First, then, as to the name, and then, as to the nature of monastic guildship.

The specific name under which this mutual confederation between the old abbeys became known, was only gradually wrought out and determined as the institution assumed a more formal and binding form. At first it was called simply *amicitia*, *caritas*, *familiaritas*, these two latter words being used by St. Boniface, who also in his letters adopts the words *societas fraterna*, and *sodalitas*. Venerable Bede had before this time made use of the word *communio*, and Alcuin in his letters uses for the same purpose, the expression *pacta caritatis*, *fraternitas*, and frequently *familiaritas*. After the tenth century, through the influence of Cluny, *fraternitas* came to be the word usually employed.

On a parchment brotherhood roll, of the eighth century, we have the title *Indiculus de consortio*, and the word *consortium* is used in the same way by Alcuin. At St. Gall, in 800, we read the word *conventio*, in 950, *consortium*; in other monasteries *fratrus*, as at Ferrières in 849, and at Flavigny in 894, Alcuin having already used the expression *pacta caritatis*; and when he was himself admitted into brotherhood by the synod of Frankfort in 794, the words used were *in suo consortio sive in orationibus*. The word *consortium*, however, seems to have been confined to Germany and Burgundy, while *societas* became the official term in many congregations of England, France and Italy.

Venerable Bede begged of the monastic family of Lindisfarne that he might become, as he says, *familiaris cœnacula ceteris . . . ut in albo vestra sancta congregationis meum nunc quoque nomen apponeret*; and Alcuin often begs admission into the brotherhood *ut unus merear esse vestrum in caritatis communione*.

In the brotherhood declared between Flavigny and St.

Martin at Autun in 894, we read *Pacti inter eos foederis haec ratio est, ut quidquid instantia, laboris studiique salutaris pars quaecumque pro suis viventibus vel defunctis insumit, id quoque pari devotione pro fratribus hac sibi devotione derivictis exercent.*

When St. Boniface asked for admission into the *societas spiritualis* with Monte Cassino in Italy, he wrote to the Abbot Optatus, *Diligenter quoque deprecamur, ut familiaritas fraterna caritatis inter nos sit, et pro viventibus oratio communis (sic) et pro migrantibus de hoc saeculo orationes et missarum solennia celebrentur, cum alternatim nomina defunctorum mittantur.*

When Alcuin writes in 785 to Felix Bishop of Urgel in Spain, he says, *Obsecro ut me in fraterno amore accipiatis in communionem orationum restrarum.* In writing to the abbey of Wearmouth and Gyrwy he reminds them of the brotherhood they have granted him; *familiaritatem, quam perdonastis mihi.*<sup>1</sup>

The first example of a special book, called the *Liber Confraternitatum*, being set aside for the enrolment of the confederated abbey, was at St. Gall, during the lifetime of Abbot Werdo, between 786 and 812. In this book, published by Piper in the *Monumenta Germanica*, the first entry is that of the abbey of Reichenau in 800, and other entries follow about 815, between 819 and 820, in 839, about 880, and in 885. As the title of each abbey was followed by the names of its members in richly ornamented columns, surmounted by arches, the book was soon filled, and another had to be begun before the end of the tenth century.

The *Liber Confraternitatum* of Reichenau was begun in 826, and contains about 40,000 names. By the middle of the ninth century, its register contained the names of more than a hundred confederated abbey and chapters. The brotherhood book of the neighbouring monastery of Pfäfers, which was drawn up in the form set by the two former examples, was begun in 830, and is contained in an

<sup>1</sup> See in Ducange's *Medieval Glossary* his description of the several words, *Fratres Conjurati, Adjurati, Conscripti, Fratres in Christo, Spirituales, Externi, Fratres de Gilda, Fraternitas* (nn. 3 and 5). For instance *Fratres interdum inde vocantur qui in ejusmodi Fraternitatem*

*seu participationem orationum aliarumque bonorum spiritualium sive Monachorum, sive aliarum Ecclesiarum et jam Cathedralium, admissi erant, sive laici sive Ecclesiastici. V. s. v. familiaris*, when Ducange quotes the diptych of the Abbey of Bath, &c.

Evangeliarium. Here, too, as in the St. Gall book, the names stand in rows forming a richly decorated design of ornamental pillars and arcades.

The brotherhood once concluded between two or more religious communities, the solemn compact, and the names attached thereto, were read in conventual chapter, and repeated once a year in order that they might be recalled to memory. Thus in a Guild book of 894 was read.

*Utque hæc . . . fraternitas non præsentibus solum sed et posteris uberius immotescat, oramus, ut in die festivitatis sacratissimi Martini confessoris Christi hujus scripti continentia in sacri conventus vestri præsentia per annos singulos recitetur.*

When St. Boniface started on his missionary enterprise, Aelbwald, King of the East Angles (between about 747 and 749), made brotherhood with him and with his companions, and engaged on his part that prayers should be offered for them in the monasteries of his kingdom; arranging at the same time how the names of the deceased members should be communicated on both sides according to opportunity, when death had occurred. *Memoria Nominis Vestri in septenis Monasteriorum nostrorum sinagibus perpetua lege censeri debet. . . . Nomina quoque defunctorum. . . . Prout opportunitas anni exegerit, ex utraque parte adducentur.*

King Alhred of Northumberland, and his consort Osgeofa, beg Archbishop Lullus of Mentz, about 773, for rites of brotherhood, and inform him that they have communicated all the names sent by him to the several monasteries of their kingdom. *Eodemque modo et de vobis et de Nominibus ad nos delatis secundum vestram petitionem facere curavimus, et in cunctis Monasteriis nostris ditionibus subjectis perpetuis litterarum Monumentis commendantur, et orationum subsidiis Deo cotidie presentantur.*

So also was a compact struck with Archbishop Lullus by Cynewulf, King of the East Angles, his bishops and nobles. On Conrad I.'s visit to St. Gall, in 913, we read *At rex vesperum et noctem quam egisset hilariter, diluculo conventum fratrum petens omnium rotis fauentibus fit frater conscriptus.*

In 950, Kero, Markgraf of the Saxons, came, on his

return journey from Rome, *orationis causâ*, to the tomb of St. Gall, when he made an offering of eight pounds of gold, and was admitted by the grateful monks into the usual brotherhood.

In 929, we find Keonwald, bishop of Worcester, by order of King Athelstan, visiting the German monasteries, and laying costly gifts on their altars, that he might obtain brotherhood for his monarch and others of his kingdom. On the Ides of October he arrived at the Abbey of St. Gall, where he tarried four days. Here he enjoyed all the rights of an inscribed brother, or *familiaris*, and asked for the following names to be entered on the books:—*Rex Anglorum Adalstean, Keonwald Episcopus, Wighart, Kenrum, Conrat, Keonolaf, Wundrud, Keondrud*. As we trace his journey by means of the names inscribed, the Bishop evidently visited on the same errand Reichenau, Pfeffers, and Merseburg.

The books which contain the record of these monastic bilateral or mutually beneficial confraternities, may be divided into two kinds, *libri vitæ*, and the necrologies. The former contain the names of the living and the dead, and were placed upon the altar, that the priest might remember them during Mass. The latter were arranged in the form of a calendar, and the names inserted according to the days of their decease. Twice a day the assembled monks listened to these names, first at the Chapter held after Prime, and secondly at the Conventual Mass, when the names were read either individually or collectively from the Sacramentary, Diptych, or Book of Life.

The two most famous *libri vitæ* known to students are those of Durham and of St. Peter's, at Salzburg. The first contains entries from the time of Edwin, King of Northumberland (616-633), and appears to have been written between the devastation of Lindisfarne in 793, and the flight of the monks from the island in 875. In the first handwriting it exhibits, which appears to be of about the year 840, we have more than 3,100 names, a large number of which belong to the seventh century.

The Salzburg *Liber vitæ* contains a first entry of about 1,000 names which appear to have been all written in one hand, in 784, during the lifetime of Bishop Virgilius. These names reach back as far as that of St. Rupert and

the other Bavarian missionaries of the seventh and eighth centuries, and were copied without doubt from a still older Diptych.<sup>1</sup>

Most touching is it to read in the letters of our fellow countryman, St. Boniface, weighed down as he was by the labours and difficulties of his perilous mission to the heathen in Friesland and Thuringia, how he turns time after time to the quiet monasteries in the land of his birth to beg the aid of their prayers. Well does he liken himself to a ship on a stormy sea, which only the grace of God can bring into the safe harbour of salvation. Earnestly does he appeal for comfort to the words of St. James (v. 16), "Pray one for another, that you may be saved, for the continual prayer of a just man availeth much."

As the head of a religious community of Benedictine Missionaries he enters into a formal compact with the bishops and abbots of his native land, binding them to pray for him, as he will do for them. Shortly before his departure on his apostolic course in 718, he entered into a league of prayer with Berthwold, Archbishop of Canterbury and his clergy, which was formally renewed in 735, under Archbishop Nothelm; and similar brotherly ties were formed by St. Boniface and his fellow labourers with the chapters and monks of Worcester, Winchester, York, etc. On his first journey to Rome, he bound himself in the same way with the Roman Church, and in the last years of his life with Monte Cassino, begging of Abbot Optatus the privileges of the customary *societas spiritualis*, and promising on his part to send the names of his deceased brethren for their remembrance and suffrage, as he on receipt of their respective names would offer prayers and masses for their deceased brethren.

Lullus, successor of St. Boniface in the Archiepiscopal see of Mainz, renewed all these spiritual compacts, and bound himself in solemn bond through a still wider confederation of mutual prayer. Thus Archbishop Lullus entered into brotherhood with Canterbury in 754, and again in 761; with Worcester in 754; with Winchester in 754; with York about 773; with Rochester, with Wear-

<sup>1</sup> The oldest Necrology of St. Gall, of the 8th and 9th cent., is called a *Martyrology*. The second one is styled *Kalendarium obituum*. The oldest Necrology of

St. Germain-des-Prés, of between 858 and 869, is inscribed thus: *In nomine domini incipiunt nomina vel obitus seu et anniversarii dies fratrum defunctorum, &c.*



mouth, Girwy, and Ripon, and with Abbot Eanwulf and his monks. The other Anglo-Saxon missionaries, as Willibrord, Burchard, Willibald, and Wunibald, bound themselves in brotherhood with the monasteries of Britain as well as the continent, as, for instance, with Utrecht and with Luxeuil (?)<sup>1</sup> between 755-786, with Fritzlar (?) about the same time, and with Salzburg. In the life of St. Wunibald it is said that he joined in brotherhood with Monte Cassino in 761, as St. Boniface, his uncle, had done before him.

So St. Virgilius, bishop of Salzburg, bound himself in union with the monasteries of Bavaria, and with the monastery of Hy in Scotland, from which the list of abbots up to 767 stands enregistered in the *liber vite* of St. Peter's Abbey. From the entries of this book it can be shown that Salzburg was at that time in alliance of prayer with the five Bavarian bishoprics; with sixteen Bavarian monasteries, and with two at a greater distance, viz., St. Denis and Elwangen.

In the western part of the Frankish Empire Alcuin, who died in 804, wielded as Abbot of Tours the greatest influence in propagating the institution and spreading the network of monastic confraternityship. As we learn from his letter, he entered into brotherhood with the English Churches in 796, with the Patriarch George of Jerusalem, about 800, with Canterbury in 801, for a second time with Salzburg in 802, with Montolien and with the Abbot Theolgar and his monks between 796 and 804, and with the Bishops of Toledo and Urgel in Spain.

There was a large Benedictine abbey on an island of Lake Constance, which at the beginning of the ninth century is found similarly bound in confederation of prayer with some ten other abbeys, while the names of their deceased members stretch back on the roll of brotherhood right through the eighth century. After the time of St. Benedict of Anian, who died in 821, and who exercised so great an influence in renewing monastic fervour, we find the island monastery of Reichenau, in 826, bound together with some fifty-four monasteries, and cathedral chapters; while later on, in the ninth century, we read in its confraternity

<sup>1</sup> The fact of a distinct brotherhood is certain, but not the name of the Monastery with which it was made.

books the names of living and deceased monks of more than a hundred monasteries, viz., 55 in Germany and Switzerland, 35 in France, and 9 in Italy—of monasteries as far apart as Benevento and Rome, Paris and Rouen, Corvey and Verden.

The monastery of St. Gall, on the shores of Lake Constance, in Switzerland, is still more celebrated. Its brotherhood book was begun about 810, and shows a muster roll of 27 monasteries bound in official confederation with it, while the neighbouring smaller monastery of Pfäfers, in 830, is found connected in the same way with ten other monasteries.

As in the East, so in the West of the Frankish Empire, and in Italy, the first half of the ninth century was a period of still further expansion of the systematic establishment of monastic confraternities. Under Archbishop Hinckmar (845-882), Rheims is found to be united in formally established brotherhood with the Cathedral and the Abbot of St. Martin's, in Tours, with Metz, with Corvey, with St. Denis, with St. Omer, with Arras, with the Bishop of Velletri, and with other places; while before Hinckmar's time Rheims is found connected in similar bonds of union with Hildesheim. So also the abbeys of St. Denis, St. Germain-des-Prés, Le-Mans, St. Bertin and St. Amand, Ferrières, Laon, etc., all had similar reciprocal ties of confederations; while the *liber vite* of an Abbey at Breseia shows that it was bound in spiritual compact, in the ninth and tenth centuries, with Reichenau, Murbach, Soissons, Leno, Bobbio, St. Faustino and St. Euphemia in Brescia, and with many other monasteries. So St. Gall in Switzerland is found united in like association with the French abbeys of Tours, Langres, Molôme, Bèze, St. Omer, and with several other Italian abbeys, besides Monte Cassino; while Pfäfers is associated with the Chapter of Como and with Livate. The abbeys of St. Denis and of Rheims are found leagued with St. Germain-des-Prés as early as 838. Ferrières was united with York in the time of Alcuin, and the compact was formally renewed both with the Cathedral and the Abbey at York in 849.

When the death of any abbot or well-known monk, who had deserved well of his contemporaries, some great

teacher or famous annalist as the Venerable Bede, occurred, the name was engrossed on a strip of parchment, which was then wrapped round a stick or wooden roller, fastened at each end with a wooden or metal cap to prevent the parchment slipping off.<sup>1</sup> In some monasteries whenever any monk died the name was so written, and after the tenth century, at stated times, as once a year, the names of all the deceased brethren were taken to the abbey scriptorium, and there by loving hands were duly inscribed on a death-roll, which, as we can now easily perceive, was finished with all possible neatness, correctness, and beauty of workmanship. The messenger was then called, and the roll, carefully fastened, hung about his neck, while the brethren gathered in the gateway to wish him God-speed on his pious journey. The monastic courier was one of a numerous class, for at times there would be hundreds of these *geruli*, *cursores*, *latores diplomatis*, or *bajuli*, as they were called, hurrying to and fro throughout Western Christendom. And so he sped with his doleful news from church to church, and from abbey to abbey, throughout the land, and even across the seas, and wherever he came he received a welcome, and lodging, and refreshment. The roll was taken from his neck, and was then read aloud before the assembled brethren, in every monastery to which he came, and straightway from the secluded dale or from the lone hill-top the solemn chant arose, and the requiem offices were performed according to compact for the repose of the soul of the departed brother. Then, as the custom was, the messenger was dismissed on the following day with ample provision for his journey.<sup>1</sup>

When the appointed round was made the parchment roll was brought back to the monastery from which it had gone forth, and the dates were narrowly examined to see if the courier's task had been faithfully performed, and oftentimes was it found that in each successive monastery to which the circular had come, that they might not have to wait for the time when their own annual circular would be due, a fresh name had been added of some monk who

<sup>1</sup> Some of the mortuary rolls, says Delisle ("Rouleaux des Morts"), were fifty or sixty feet long, each abbey or church adding a name as it came and went on its appointed circuit.

had there lately breathed his last, so that thus the notice of his death might be the sooner spread and the customary prayers be offered for him as soon as might be, or sooner, at least, than would otherwise come to pass.

In many a national collection there have been discovered of late numberless death-rolls of this kind, sometimes hidden away or used up in the binding of books (as in those lately found by accident at Limoges), which are now being published as valuable hints for historians by several of the Governments of Europe. We find in them minute injunctions how on the roll there is to be noted at each abbey the hour and day the messenger arrived, and the time of his departure, with the name of each separate monastery, and of the superiors who held rule therein, lest the messenger, as it is said, overcome by weariness, and dismayed by the dangers and difficulties of the road, should by any chance have failed to fulfil his duty.<sup>1</sup>

In the appendix to Rud's Catalogue of the Church of Durham (Durham 1825), p. 435. is the following (by J.R.) :—

“48. A Roll, thirteen yards in length and nine inches in breadth, consisting of nineteen sheets of parchment upon the following subjects :—

“Upon the death of John Burnby, Prior of Durham in the year 1464, Richard Bell, his successor (afterwards Bishop of Carlisle), and the Convent, entrusted a Brief, if it may be so called, commemorative of the virtues of Prior Burnby, and his predecessor, William of Ebbchester, to one or more Monks of their Cathedral, and commissioned them to travel throughout the Kingdom, for the purpose of prevailing upon its Religious Houses to assist in praying

<sup>1</sup> A friendly and hospitable welcome for the messenger is often bespoken in these words added at the end of the monastic roll : *Ut ad nos absque famis injuriarumque valeat, open liberalitatis vestre ei impertiri satagite*. In other rolls there is a request that the *cursor* may receive his *diarium*, V. “*Monumenta Germanica*” apud Eber p. 80. The monks of S. Remi end a roll with the prayer : *Ne vero, uti assolit, nos geruli mendosa fraus debeat, vagans, diem calendarum, quo vos adiecit primorumque loci vestri nomina subnotare, citemque cursori, ut alacrius iter carpat, diarium largire*. Delisle, “*Rouleaux des Morts*” *Ib.* p. 81.

Montalembert, in his “*Monks of the West*” (vol. vi, p. 117), says, “The roll-bearer (*rotulifer, breviser*) was to be entertained wherever he presented himself : *Cursorum ... refectio lassum, operite nudum, et itineris ei quantulumcumque addite supplementum*. He was even furnished with money ; at St. Germain-des-Prés, for example, he received four deniers, and the layclerk was to attend to all his wants : *Cantor debet rotulifero ministrare*.” It was the office of the precentor to attend to the Library, take charge of Looks, says Fr. Gasquet (“*Medieval Libraries*”).

out of Purgatory the souls of the deceased Dignitaries. The Roll commences with a splendid illumination, three feet in length, illustrative of the death and burial of one of the Priors; and then succeeds the Address praying the assistance of the Church.

“With this the Monks set out, and the Roll proves that in the course of their travels, they visited not fewer than 623 Religious Houses, each of which wrote its Title, Order, and Dedication upon the Roll, and pledged itself to pray for the deceased Priors, receiving in return an interest in the orisons of the Priory of Durham.

“The Theme thus stands at the foot of the Brief— ‘Anima Magistri Willielmi Ebchester et Anima Magistri Johannis Burnby et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum per Dei misericordiam in pace requiescant’; and the first Monastery which the Monks visited thus records itself— ‘Titulus Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Gyseburn, in Clyveland, ordinis S. Augustini Ebor. Dioc. Anima Magistri Willielmi Ebcheste et anima Johannis Burnby et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum per misericordiam Dei in pace requiescant Vestris nostra damus, pro nostris vestra rogamus.’

“Each House thus writes its Title, &c., and subjoins the above verse, with the exception of the Monastery of St. Paul, at Newenham, Co. Linc., which exhibits the same sentiment in different language, ‘Quod dedimus vestris et vos impendite nostris.’

“The various entries, independently of an occasional armorial or fanciful initial, give visible proof of the *status* of each house. The large Monasteries write their Title in a bold, vigorous hand, whilst the poorer Establishments can scarcely scrawl their name. The one could afford to maintain a well-taught scribe, but the other could not.

“Similar Rolls are contained in the Treasury.”

After many months absence says Dr. Rock in his “Church of our Fathers,” the messenger would reach his own cloister “carrying back with him the illuminated death-bill, now filled to its furthest length with dates and elegies for his abbot to see that the behest of the chapter had been duly done, and the library of the house might be enriched with another document.” (vol. ii, p. 392).

The numerous abbey couriers passing to and fro from

England to the continent, and from monastery to monastery throughout the land must have afforded the abbey chronicles a valuable source of information concerning current events. Thus Matthew of Paris in his lonely cell at S. Albans, and many a home-loving and untravelled monk as he sat in his quiet cloister carol at Worcester, Canterbury or Peterborough, could learn from eye and ear witnesses, whom they could question as to details and circumstances, many a fact, whether pageant, battle or uprising, that had taken place in distant countries.

Another point which gives historic value to the monastic records that have been described is their incidental mention of persons and their condition. On the rolls of the living and the dead are to be found, authentically registered at the time, the names of friends and benefactors of bishops, abbots, princes, nobles, and even simple monks and laymen. The inscription on the abbey confraternity book of any given pilgrim's name, denotes his presence there that day. Thus in their wanderings through Europe have many English and Irish pilgrims left, unconsciously, the only remaining record of themselves, when they registered their names in some foreign abbey that gave them shelter for a day or more.

In the Salzburg brotherhood book we find the name of Slavs, and Greeks, and of others from beyond the sea, as from Jerusalem, &c. *Ista sunt nomina ultra mare de hierusalem. Thomas patriarcha, georgius monachus, Felix m, cum omni congregatione eorum.* This entry is connected with an embassy from Jerusalem in 807.

In the books of Reichenau also we meet with Slav and Eastern names, and in the *liber vite* or *evangeliarium* of Duino, near Trieste, in the diocese of Aquileia, are many German, Lombard, Slav, and Bulgarian names, altogether some 1,100:—*hic sunt nomina de bulgaria, inprimis rex illorum michael et frater ejus dox* [sic], &c. In the same Evangeliarium, now at Cividale, the names of the Emperor Louis and his queen Ingelberga (850), and Charles the Fat, and the King of the Bulgarians, baptized in 861, Michael (Bogoris), with numerous names of men of all conditions, and on page four, *iohannes imperator et uxor ejus* (Joh. Zimischeb (?) crowned in 968). In the Reichenau brotherhood book are more than 4,000 names of *amici viventes* or

*defuncti*; and near 2,600 names *feminarum laicarum* can still be read in the 9th century book of St. Gall, the names of laymen having perished.

The associated secular clergy and laymen of the eighth and ninth centuries, in the Reichenau book, amount to about 6,600, in the St. Gall book to 4,000, and in the Pfeffers book to over a thousand.

In the *annales necrologici* of Fulda, dating from 779 to 1065, we find enregistered names of the Carlovingian dynasty, and bishops of North and Western Germany, as of Verden, Minden, Metz, Mainz, Hamburg, Wirzburg, Hildesheim, Verdun, Halberstadt, Köln, Trier, Utrecht, Paderborn, Strassburg, Speier, Worms, many of these Sees being represented by the entries of more than one bishop. Yet of these annals it is said they seldom go beyond the records of their own monastic community.

The Anglo-Saxon missionaries brought with them to the continent Bede's Easter Table, and many Frankish annals have in consequence at their head the death day of Irish and English kings and abbots, as those of Fulda, Corbey, Munster, Mosel, and Lauresham.

ON ARCHAIC ENGRAVINGS ON ROCKS NEAR GEBEL  
SILSILEH IN UPPER EGYPT.<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. GREVILLE I. CHESTER, B.A.

More than twenty years ago when visiting Gebel Silsileh at the time of my first voyage up the Nile, I found high up in a small rocky wady on the Western bank of the river, on a sloping, sandstone rock, a design executed with great spirit, representing a giraffe at bay, surrounded by dogs, and attacked by two hunters carrying bows. I could never succeed in finding this spot again, but two years ago having landed with Mr. W. H. Cowper, F.S.A., a brother member of the Institute, at a place about four miles lower down, we found the rocks covered with similar and many other designs of like work, as well as with numerous Egyptian, Greek, and other inscriptions. Meanwhile I had mentioned my original discovery to Professor Sayce and Mr. W. Flinders Petrie, both of which distinguished archaeologists visited the locality; but neither has given any detailed account of what they saw. Mr. Petrie, indeed, in his "A Season in Egypt," 1887, has figured a great number of the Egyptian and Greek inscriptions of what he calls the "Sabu Rigaleh Valley" and its neighbourhood, but he has unaccountably refrained from either engraving or describing what I venture to suppose are not improbably relics of still earlier age, and assuredly of an entirely different race.

The object of the present paper is to furnish a brief record of the position and character of the rock sculptures which have excited my curiosity, and so doing, to give data for the conclusion of others better fitted than myself to speak authoritatively on a new and obscure subject.

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, March 2nd, 1892.



So far as I know, the rock-cuttings of which I have to speak are confined to the sandstone rocks which abut on the Nile between points a little below Assouan and a little above Edfoo, a stretch of less than seventy miles of country. The granite rocks above, and the limestone rocks below, are alike devoid of these singular works of ancient art. For instance, the fine bluff of Gebel Serāg in the sandstone district affords many interesting rock-marks; the next bluff below it, Gebel Gûsi, which is composed of a rock transitional between sandstone and limestone displays not a single specimen. There is a general consensus of opinion both among the Ababdeh and Fellaheen inhabitants that the rock-markings are not found far back from the Nile. A peak of purple rock apparently four miles from the river up a wady named Her Sellum, on the western bank, was pointed out to me by an Arab as an exception to this rule, in being "written" or "marked," but, after all, the markings in this case may be Egyptian.

I turn now to the markings themselves. They may be described as drawings executed with a sharp tool in intaglio upon the surface of sandstone rocks. The larger number of the designs are in outline only, but in numerous instances the entire surface of the object represented is cut out, a method which gives great spirit to the design. While some devices are conventional, animals and men are represented in a style entirely unconventional, and all are characterised by an absence of that mannerism which is observable in even the best works of Egyptian art. The animals, and this is especially true of the giraffes, are evidently drawn by men to whom their habits and attitudes were matter of intimate personal observation and knowledge, and in the case of beasts of the antelope tribe a competent naturalist would find no difficulty in deciding to what species each example belonged. Different kinds of dogs may be easily made out, and one with a curling tail and a collar one would almost suppose to have been the friend and companion of the artist.

One of the most remarkable things connected with these rock-markings is their extraordinary number in the localities where they exist at all. In certain places almost every rock has one or more examples, they may be counted

by thousands, not by hundreds—low down, near the high-water level of the Nile, high up, two or three hundred feet above the river. Sometimes they are found on steep vertical cliffs, sometimes again on sloping or perfectly flat rocks. With regard to the subjects delineated, I believe that a preponderance of representations of the *giraffe* occurs on the western, and a preponderance of those of *camels* and *boats* on the eastern bank of the Nile.

I now proceed to enumerate in order the various localities which my recent investigations have shown to exhibit specimens of this curious class of examples of ancient art, working down the river from South to North, and I request pardon for the monotony which the mention of frequent repetitions of the same subjects will give to this part of my paper.

#### *Moogla. E.*

Landing at Moogla a few miles north of Assouan to inspect two high places of ancient devotion on rocky points above the village I discovered at the entrance of the Wady Sabeira, facing north, a simple, unsculptured rock-tomb, and at different elevations on the rocks a great number of rock-markings. Here animals were very common, especially camels, and on the back of one of these was a rider on a saddle. Lower down, I noticed two gazelles of different species, and a bull held by a man by a long cord. On one rock was portrayed a large boat with no less than sixteen oars, with a high beaked prow, and a small boat by its side, like a modern felucca attached to a dahabeah. In one place was a small and faint Egyptian inscription in hieroglyphics, and near this two curious inscriptions amongst whose characters I was able to recognise rude forms of the Ankh and Nefer, and several Sonstikas. This last fact is curious and may be significant. In this group of sculptures the *giraffe* only occurs once. On one rock I noticed three men connected together by a cord.

#### *Agoba el Kebîr. E.*

A little north of Moogla is the village of Agoba el Kebîr, and to the north of that again at the foot of a steep sandstone bluff called Sheyk Hassan is a well-cut rock tomb at a high level, and at nearly the same level facing north a

quantity of rock-sculptures which I was unable to ascend to examine. At the foot of Sheyk Hassan, facing S.W. are a group of rocks detached at some remote period from the mountain above. These present a very curious series of markings. On the largest face of the principal rock is a large boat and a great variety of other designs. One of these, apparently a conventional design, represents a cross in the centre of a circle, from whose outer rim lines project like rays; from this design projects an object resembling a rudder or paddle. Another like design has dots on each angle of the cross. Here, as elsewhere, rudely cut animals have a cross on their backs, but there is no evidence to show that this is intended for a Christian emblem. On the same face are camels, men on horseback, and a lion and cub (?). On the north side of this same rock are two boats with high cabins, one of which has a single paddle astern, and the other two. The central mast and cordage of one of these examples are well exemplified, and there are some small but exceedingly well-executed drawings in outline. On another rock hard by are men and animals, one of the latter, in good drawing, being a donkey. Two triangular devices here, one in front of a man, deserve notice. The frequency of the cruciform pattern is perhaps the most curious feature on this group of rocks. Further to the north are cuttings far too many in number to enumerate.

#### *Gebel Silsilis.*

On the quarried rocks on the Eastern bank I could find no traces of rock-cuttings of this kind, but on the Western bank amidst the well-known Egyptian shrines and stelas may be seen on the face of a natural rock a large giraffe of the earlier work, if such it be, and a large boat with central cabin, mast, sail and paddle. It is worthy of notice that the boats of these ancient markings resemble those found on the archaic vases brought by me from Sameieh and elsewhere in Upper Egypt, and now in the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The boats on the vases are associated in some instances with gazelles, ostriches, men, and in one or two instances with women, while the conventioned patterns thereon, cohorts and the like, are almost identical with those on pottery found by Dr. Schliemann at My Rene.

*El Hor and Hor Sellum. W.*

The rocks below Gebel Silsileh on the Western bank with their wild and picturesque natural valleys provide abundant specimens of rock-marking, especially those of El Hor, above the remains of an ancient town half-way between Gebel Silsileh and the village of El Hammâm. Near some giraffes are cut a man holding an ox by a cord, and another holding a horse. Near by I found an inscription in what I took to be Phœnician characters. High up the rocks near the mouth of the Wady of Hor is a kind of dwelling formed by stones piled up in front of a rock-shelter, the date of which habitation it is hard to conjecture.<sup>1</sup> Either by accident or design, however, the big stones on either side the entrance are engraved respectively with figures of a man seated on a camel which holds in its mouth a sort of basket, and a second camel, while a giraffe of older weathering appears higher up. Near El Hor I found likewise engravings of three birds.

At a point named El Moudaig I noticed a boat with cabin, sail, and paddle; one old and eight young giraffes, a camel with an object on its back resembling an anchor, and a dog with other animals. Near this spot an Arab boy who followed me picked up a broken "celt" of grey granite, a white stone of similar shape perforated for suspension, and the broken end of a bronze implement resembling a chisel.

A little below El Hammâm a chain of rocks commences called "Hor Sellum," and a large Wady bearing the same name trends up westwards into the desert. Near the mouth of this Wady are several sculptures of interest, amongst them a man in a sitting posture, a horseman galloping, and, apparently, a snake. On the top of this chain, which commands a superb view of the Nile valley with its narrow, palm-tufted strip of cultivated land and the purple hills of the desert behind, is a dwelling formed of stones piled up in a rounded form, and several cairns, which without doubt may be taken to be sepulchral, and are not improbably the last resting-places of the sculptors of the rocks around. Scattered about amongst the stones which form these cairns I found several pieces of coarse, red pottery, and searching for more definite indications

<sup>1</sup> Many examples of rock-shelters are to be found throughout the district.

discovered two cairns whereon lay stones engraved with an ox, gazelles, and several smaller animals. On a flat rock in this neighbourhood I found an Egyptian adoring the Hawk of Rà, a rude inscription in hieroglyphics, and a stone inscribed with the name Demetrius in Greek. Near here, too, on a flat rock is an inscription in characters perhaps Phœnician or Kypriote. A little further north I noticed engravings of a man ploughing with an ox, two boats in which were ostriches, and a group containing a man on horseback carrying a bow.

About a mile below El Hammâm is the village of Heshân, picturesquely situated beneath piles of sandstone rocks, whose grotesque forms mimic the granite ones of Shelal above the First Cataract. The rocks to the north of this place are furnished with rock-cuttings to an even greater extent than usual; and this is especially the case in a Wady which I take to be the "Sabx Rigaleh Valley" of Mr. Petrie,<sup>1</sup> and the "Shut el Ragel" mentioned in Murray,<sup>2</sup> though I did not hear either of those names on the spot. Before turning up into this Wady, I noticed a flat rock on which was sculptured a kind of unicorn or one-horned antelope, galloping with a man standing on its back; on another was a large bird; and a third displayed no less than sixteen deep cup-holes. A little way up the Wady on its southern scarp is a truly extraordinary spectacle. High up on the face of a vertical rock is a fine group of King Mentahotep II., with his son and an officer of State in front of him, and a small figure behind; below are many rude animals of the earlier period, including one elephant, no less than eight giraffes, and some ostriches. Hard by are some devices, and what are apparently rude inscriptions of like weathering with the animals first enumerated. The Wady itself abounds with Egyptian inscriptions, but I only allude to these and several interesting Greek ones in the same neighbourhood, as they have been figured by Mr. Petrie in his "A Season in Egypt" already alluded to. One exception only will I make. In the fine quarry called "El Flosch," the inclosure, which whether of ancient Egyptian origin or not, has been worked also in Greek or Roman times, what may be called the quarry-mark was a great circular Greek *Theta* between

<sup>1</sup> "A Season in Egypt."

Handbook for Egypt, Part II., p. 512.

two javelins. This device is repeated on different parts of the quarry four times in relief, twice in relief with a single javelin only, and once alone. In intaglio it also occurs of large size with a single arrow, and in this instance the two Greek letters ΠΑ occurs in the lower half of the *Theta*. Numerous small *Thetas* are also found engraved in intaglio in different places; the letter, in some cases being placed on the top of an arrow or javelin. In one place is engraved in large Greek letters the name of the engineer,

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟC

ΜΗΧΑΝΙΚΟC

and the same name without the profession in two more instances appears alone. In a small neighbouring ravine one ΑΠΟΛΛΩC is spoken of as ΑΡΧΙΜΗΧΑΝΙΚΟC.

More curious, however, because presumably of far greater antiquity, are the designs which literally abound on the rocks in this neighbourhood, both at their junction with the mere strip of alluvial soil between them and the Nile, and also at higher elevations. I will mention just a few of these as they occur, proceeding from South to North.

1. On a flat rock, two draped men, one apparently holding a plough, the other holding a long rope.

2. On a flat rock, a well-executed fish, so far as I have seen, a unique example.

3. Three animals.

4. Two animals, one with a cross on its back.

5. On a flat rock, boat with triangular sail on central mast.

6. On a vertical rock, a camel and eleven other animals.

7. Two objects, possibly intended to represent buildings.

8. On sloping rock, high up, a giraffe, a possible lion, and an antelope or gazelle.

9. On vertical rock, the whole design being of small size: man with cross-belt on his breast; giraffe pursued by a stout dog; man on the back of an animal, *over which* is cut an Egyptian inscription in hieroglyphics.

10. Under a rock-shelter, figures.

11. Four cup-holes with incised lines around their edges. These are but a very small selection of the subjects

engraved which are everywhere extremely numerous, and as they occur on different levels, it is easy, even with three or four sharp-eyed Arabs scouting out, to miss seeing a great number.

*Tanjóra and Gebel Seråg. E.*

North of Heshân, on the Eastern bank of the Nile, numerous rock-cuttings occur at Tanjóra in the district of Hebba, a little below the ancient Arabic town and fortress, now utterly deserted, of Booayb. An infinity of designs may be seen here. Boats, giraffes, and horsemen are conspicuous, and on one rock is engraved an admirably drawn dog *with a collar*. Besides an Egyptian stela near the Nile, I noticed an elephant and a large bird, and on a small stone near the Nile a man dancing in front of an animal. Here also occurs several Cufic inscriptions, and the common Arabic amulet the so-called "Seal of Solomon." A little farther on, near a fine *Gemusch* or sycamore-fig tree, besides two royal cartouches, one apparently bearing the name of Xeper-Na-Râ, Usertsen I, may be seen cuttings of two draped men, one of whom holds in his hand a rod, some well-drawn cows, and an Ibex executed with great spirit. The explorer next reaches the base of the noble promontory of Gebel Seråg. Here, low down, is a boat with central cabin surmounted by an animal, and with a man on the prow. Which is perhaps a singular modification of an Ankh also resembles a man with hands hanging down, the five fingers of each hand being spread out. High up, in the face of the cliff is a horseman with a spear.

This promontory seems to be the most northern locality in which these rock-cuttings exist,

Though beside my present purpose, I cannot refrain from adding that on the top of the lofty promontory of Gebel Seråg are the fine remains of an ancient fortified Egyptian town, which is not mentioned in Murray, or, so far as I know, in any book of Egyptian travel. The walls of crude brick are of great thickness, and within are a great number of crude brick houses, whereof, in many instances, the ground plan can be clearly made out, and the walls in many cases are several feet in height. At the top of the town is the large house of the governor or com-

mandant. Near the town wall are two fine specimens of ancient Egyptian quarries, this town is perhaps the lost Pittom or Phmuis. The view from the summit over the Nile valley and up the Wady Arâbat Seràg is splendid in the extreme<sup>1</sup>

At the very next promontory, that crowned by the well of Sheyk Goosi, not a single rock-cutting is to be found. The stone which composes it is a transition from limestone to sandstone, and as this did not suit the tools which the ancient rock-engravers had at their disposal, Gebel Seràg may therefore be taken as the most northerly locality where the rock-cuttings can be found.

It is singular that these interesting and curious remains should have escaped the observation of travellers and investigation of antiquaries. They are not even alluded to in Murray's Handbook for Egypt, and I can find no detailed account of them in any Nile Book. That they were *seen* by Sir Gardner Wilkinson's friend Mr. Harris of Alexandria is plain, for the latter gentleman has scratched his autograph, "A. C. Harris, 1850" (not ostentatiously) on the rock where the earlier and the Egyptian sculpture appear side by side in the Wady near El Hammâm, Probably Sir Gardner, as they were not Egyptian, considered them unworthy of attention. It is worthy of remark that forty years exposure to the baking sun has had no effect in weathering Mr. Harris's autograph, which, to all appearance, might have been scratched yesterday only.

With respect to the date of the rock-markings described in this paper the following observations seem worthy of attention.

1. In several instances observed by myself, and also, I believe by Professor Sayce, hieroglyphic inscriptions are cut *over* the ruder work; the presumption being that the latter are the earlier of the two.

2. The markings belong to a period when the giraffe was particularly common, or at all events, was the animal which most struck the imagination of his contemporaries.

3. That not only the giraffe, but the elephant, the ostrich, and several species of antelopes, all long since

<sup>1</sup> This ancient town is known as "Medina."



extinct in the district, were well known to the inhabitants. This surely points to a very remote period.

4. That the sculptors belonged to a race of hunters, were accompanied by dogs, and used bows, arrows and long spears.

5. That their figures and indications of costumes bear no resemblance whatsoever to those of the ancient Egyptians.

6. That as there is a consensus of opinion amongst both the Ababdeh and the Fellahéen of the district that these rock-sculptures do not appear on rocks situated far back from the Nile, and as boats are a favourite subject for representation, the sculptors probably belonged to a race which was strictly confined to the Nile valley. This point, however, demands further investigation.

7. That, as it seems, that these markings are *always* found on the *natural surface* of rocks, and *never on quarried surfaces*, it follows that they are of greater antiquity than the quarries of the ancient Egyptians.

8. I should personally be disposed to doubt whether the weathering of these rock-cuttings differs in any appreciable degree from that of the often early Egyptian sculptures with which they are frequently found to be associated, but I do not feel I am competent to decide on this delicate question. I understand that Mr. Petrie, whose views on this point are entitled to the highest possible respect, is of a different opinion. In any case, as the Egyptian inscriptions are often of a period fifteen or eighteen hundred years or more before the Christian era, it would seem unlikely that any great difference of weathering should be observable, and no deduction as to date can be safely drawn from the fact, if fact it be. It should be remarked that some of the rock-cuttings present an appearance of longer weathering than others.

Several interesting questions arise from the foregoing facts.

It is, I believe, a commonly received opinion that the horse was not introduced into Egypt, or known to the ancient Egyptians before the XVIIIth dynasty. Now the men of the rock-sculptures are frequently seen riding on animals which can be none other than horses. If then, the markings are pre-Egyptian, the horse must have been

known at a period long anterior to that generally supposed. Why they do not appear in earlier Egyptian art is a question to be solved by Egyptologists.

The presence of the cross in the rock-marking seems to me in no degree to militate against the assignment of an early date to the rock-markings amongst which it so often occurs. The cross with equal limbs is of by no means rare occurrence amongst hieroglyphics, and I myself possess a cylinder of black stone of a kind on which I have three times seen the name of King Men-ka-ra, of the IVth dynasty, whereon are two distinct crosses, of which in each case the lower limb is prolonged.

In concluding these imperfect remarks, I cannot refrain from expressing a hope that the Egyptian Exploration Fund will before long direct one of their admirable staff of explorers to copy and photograph the whole series of rock-markings which I have attempted to describe and others in the same district.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ROMAN COLONNADE DISCOVERED  
IN BAILGATE, LINCOLN.<sup>1</sup>

By the REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES.

It will be remembered that in May, 1878, an important discovery belonging to the Roman Period was made in Lincoln<sup>2</sup>.

This consisted of the bases and portions of the shafts of three columns of the Doric order, on the west side of the modern street known as Bailgate, which corresponds in its main lines with the Roman street leading from the *Porta Decumana* to the *Porta Pratoria* of *Lindum Colonia*, and a little to the north of the central point of the city. These columns, it was evident, formed part of the façade of one of the principal edifices occupying a prominent position at the intersection of the two main streets of the Roman town. A very unusual architectural feature was brought to light in a double column (A on the plan), or rather two inosculating columns, one shaft being let into the other, forming the northern angle of the façade. On its first discovery this was thought to be quite unique, and it was regarded as an afterthought of the builder introduced to remedy some failure in the architrave of the portico. The recent excavations, however, have shown no fewer than three examples of the same unusual arrangement, which may therefore be regarded as a local architectural feature, introduced with the view of giving an air of strength and solidity to the corners of the building.

It was evident that these three columns only formed part of a more extensive portico, the bases of which it was anticipated would be found if the excavations were continued to the south. Some years later, (January,

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, February 3rd, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> See *Archæological Journal*, Vol. 35, pp. 100, 397, 403.

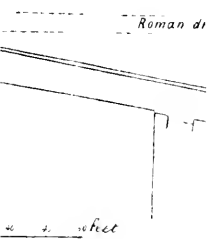
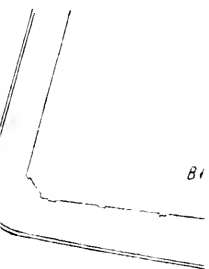
1887), the demolition of the adjacent houses afforded the long-desired opportunity, and proved that these anticipations were well founded. The bases of three more columns were unearthed in the same line and at equal distances, and identical in architectural character with those already discovered. Little more than the bases remained, the shafts having almost entirely perished. The terminal column of the bases to the south (II) was also a double column, but of much more inartistic construction than the former. The two columns were only partially inosculating. The second column of plainer workmanship was set obliquely by the side of the first, and in this case almost certainly as a makeshift to supply additional support to the entablature.

This was the limit of the discovery up to last April, when excavations rendered necessary for laying down some fresh water-mains by the Corporation gradually opened to view the bases of no fewer than eleven columns, three of which were pairs of inosculating columns corresponding precisely to that at the northern angle. These bases, as the plan and elevation show, ranged in the same line and had mouldings of the same character with those previously discovered, and must certainly have formed part of the same architectural design.

A reference to the plan will show that between the last of the six bases already brought to light (II), and the first of the newly discovered ones (I), there is a space yet unexplored of 48 ft. The intercolumniations throughout the whole range being, roughly speaking, 16 ft., this would give room for two more columns, bringing the whole number, including the first discovered six, up to nineteen. Until this intervening space has been investigated, a process by no means easy of accomplishment in a public thoroughfare, it cannot be determined whether the bases of the earlier discovery and those of the later represent the façade of one continuous architectural design, or formed part of two or more buildings. The complete uniformity of the design and arrangement throughout points to the former hypothesis, which is supported by the authority of Mr. G. E. Fox, whose intimate acquaintance with Roman architectural works in Britain gives great weight to his opinion. In a paper on these discoveries, read before the

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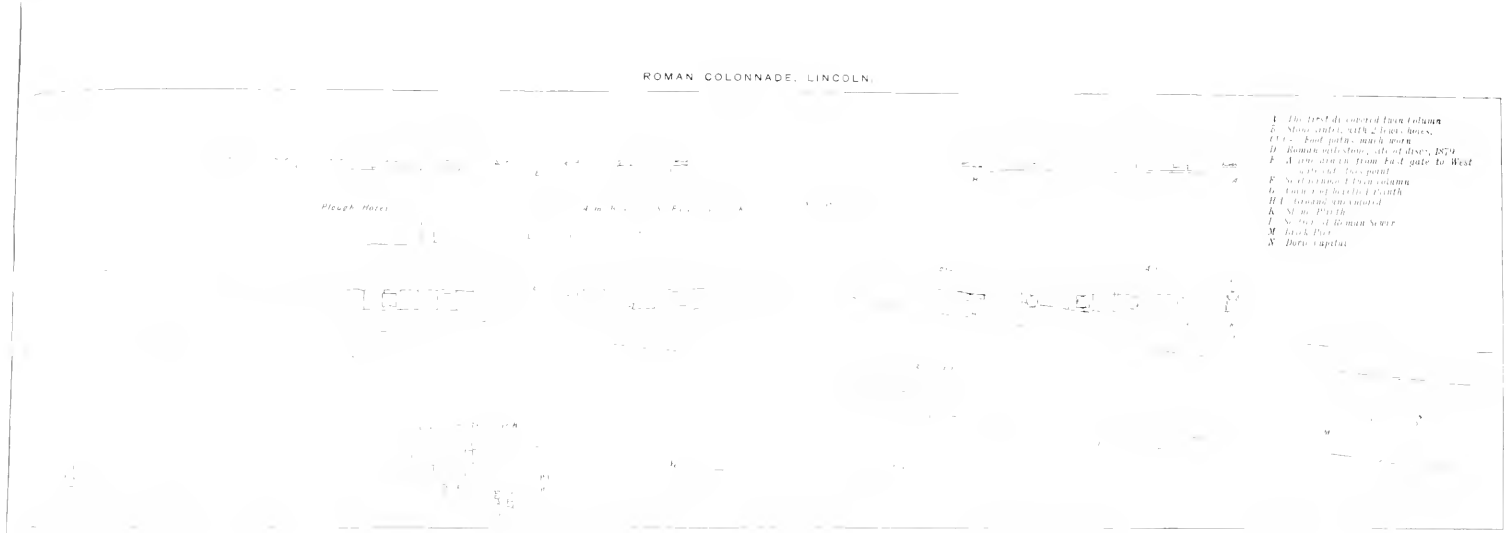
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ROMAN COLONNADE, LINCOLN.

Plough Marks

- I. The first of covered iron columns
- II. Moss and/or with 2 tiers of bases
- III. End path, much worn
- IV. Roman wall, base, side of ditch, 1879
- V. A new ditch from East gate to West with old iron post
- F. Section of iron column
- G. Corner of ditch 1/4 north
- H. Roman aqueduct
- K. New Path
- L. Section of Roman Sewer
- M. Back Post
- N. Duro caput



Society of Antiquaries in May of last year, Mr. Fox expressed his view that this row of columns, together with those discovered in 1878 and 1887, formed the eastern colonnade of the Forum of the Roman city. On this hypothesis the colonnade would consist of thirteen pillars, the terminal pillar at each extremity being double, or more precisely, inosculating. The total length of this Colonnade from North (K) to South (C1) would be 184 feet. The twin column (at H) already spoken of is so clumsily formed that, as has been said, it may be considered a later make-shift and need not seriously affect our conclusions. Continuing southward from C1, the plan shows a third pair of inosculating columns at C2, succeeded by four single columns and a fourth pair of inosculating columns at F. This portion of the colonnade, which is 77 ft. in length, like the larger colonnade to the north, exhibits a twin column at each extremity. This points to its having been the façade of a temple or some other public building. The former appears to be the more probable view. That this southern portion was distinct from the northern is certain from the fact that the space between the contiguous pairs of double columns C1, C2 was the opening of one of the four chief streets of the Roman city, the *Via Principalis Sinistra*. This thoroughfare has been long since entirely obliterated, but a line drawn from the Eastgate to the Westgate of the Roman city, the positions of which are accurately known though the gates themselves have perished, falls exactly in the centre of this interval (E). The width of the space (C1, C2) is 16 ft., which is the same as the opening of the Newport arch, the Roman North gate. On either side of this space, at the foot of the pair of twin columns (C1, C2), the pavement of the sidewalks was discovered, formed of local stone much worn by the feet. Just in front of this opening, at D, a Roman milestone<sup>1</sup> was discovered in 1879, bearing the name of the Emperor, M. Piavonius Victorinus Ad 265-267, giving the distance (14 miles) from Lindum to Segelocum, now Littleborough-on-Trent, where the Roman road crossed that river on its way to Doncaster and York. Beyond the twin column F, which marks the southern angle of the façade, another vacant space indicated

<sup>1</sup> See Reports and Papers of the Associated Societies for 1879, p. 13.

the place of a second cross street. At the southern corner (G) was found a stone plinth of large dimensions with a bevelled edge, 11 inches in the slope. This was clearly the angle of a public building of considerable size, and it was a cause of much regret that the inclination of the modern street eastwards of the line of the Roman street forbade the further excavations that might have determined its form and dimensions. The whole length of the colonnade from north to south is 278 ft. The diameter of the columns is 2 ft. 7 in. giving about 20 ft. as their height when entire. With the entablature the height of the building must have been near upon 30 ft. The occurrence of buildings of such large dimensions and of so much architectural grandeur in a small provincial town such as Lindum probably was, enables us to form some idea of the appearance of the Roman settlements in Britain generally, and of the costliness and magnificence of the edifices which adorned them before their destruction by the inroad of the Teutonic hordes. The reddened hue of the stone, which may be noticed also on the postern of the Newport Arch, together with the lumps of molten lead and pieces of charred wood found among the debris tend to show that the buildings were destroyed by fire.

What the destination of these buildings was, of which these bases and shattered columns are the only remains, it is perhaps hopeless to determine. But the longer range to the north, which occupies the most conspicuous position in the north-western quarter of the city, where we may place the forum, probably belonged to the group of buildings containing the Basilica or Courts of Law and other offices of the municipality, of which the "Mint Wall," now almost entirely hidden, about 150 feet to the west, formed the rear. A tessellated pavement of plain cubes discovered on the site of the new St. Paul's Church was probably a portion of its pavement.

The depth of the bases below the level of the modern street, 9ft. 8in., and their position with regard to it, is shown by the section given at the lower part of the annexed plan. Along the middle of the street runs a well-constructed Roman sewer (L) laid along the whole length of the thoroughfare, with subsidiary sewers for the cross streets running at right angles to it. Of one



of these latter there is an excellent wood-cut from a sketch by the late Mr. C. Roach Smith, in Wright's "Celt Roman and Saxon" (p. 214). On the eastern side of the street, 27ft. from the first discovered columns, a row of six piers was discovered constructed of flat tiles moulded to the shape of the pier, which was rudely cruciform with a semicircular half-shaft to the street. These may have belonged to a range of shops such as the *Veteres* or *Novae Tabernae* in the Forum of Rome, or to a series of little chambers for the clerks and other officials of the Basilica opposite, like the *Schola Xantha* also in the Forum.

This paper would be incomplete if it failed to express how greatly the cause of archaeology in general, and the Roman branch of it in particular, is indebted to Mr. Allis for the energy and industry shewn by him in prosecuting these investigations from the first beginning in 1878, in chronicling every fresh discovery as it was brought to light, and for taking the accurate drawings and measurements, of which the plan he has kindly put at my disposal for the illustration of this paper, is a sufficient evidence.

## STONE CIRCLES OF BRITAIN,<sup>1</sup>

By A. L. LEWIS, F.C.A.

The questions—"Who erected the stone circles of Great Britain?" and "Why did they do so?" have been so fully discussed by antiquaries during the last two centuries that it might be thought that no fresh light could be thrown upon them, but so much of this prolonged discussion has been caused, especially of late years, by the discovery of fresh facts regarding the antiquity of the human race and regarding the existence of monuments of a similar description in other parts of the globe, that it may be worth while, from time to time, to reconsider the prevailing opinions upon the subject, and to see how far they are justified by ascertained facts and by probabilities.

Fifty years ago it was generally believed by antiquaries, as well as by others, that man had not occupied the earth for more than a few thousand years, and that the people whom the Romans found here were the earliest inhabitants of the country, and the erection of the stone circles and other rude stone monuments was therefore reasonably enough generally attributed to them, though some writers thought it the work of Romans, Saxons, or Danes. When, however, it was found that the first appearance of man in Britain dated back to a far distant and unknown period, and that long intervals had passed between the introduction of stone, bronze, and iron tools and weapons, and that some at least of the dolmens had probably been erected before the introduction of bronze, a sort of reaction set in, and the mere suggestion that any of the rude stone monuments were erected by the "Druids"—that is to say by the immediately pre-Roman inhabitants under the direction of their priests—was resented with a ferocity which seemed to embody almost as much racial antipathy as antiquarian zeal, and everything in the shape of a

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, April 6th, 1892.

dolmen or circle was, as Mr. Fergusson has expressed it, "relegated to the misty haven of prehistoric antiquity." It was pointed out that circles and dolmens were found in countries where neither Celts nor Druids could be supposed to have existed, it was declared that all alike were places of sepulture, or at least memorials of the dead, and it was even said that Aubrey and Stukeley were the sole inventors of the idea that they ever were anything else. Mr. Fergusson did indeed attempt a diversion of the authorship of the rude stone monuments from the "misty haven of prehistoric antiquity" to the comparatively recent period between the end of the Roman domination and the accession of the Saxon kings to the government of a considerable part of the island, but his views did not find much favour.

The age of these monuments may, it may be supposed, best be judged from the articles (if any) found in them, but this may be affected by the fact that most of them have been ransacked at an early and unknown period, when metal articles would probably be taken and stone objects left as being useless; and by the further fact that stone implements were used for semi-religious purposes (such as circumcision and opening bodies for embalming) long after bronze and perhaps even after iron had come into use, and that they may therefore also have been buried with bodies, although bronze and iron were being used for the ordinary purposes of life.

Of forty-six dolmens in Algeria investigated by M. M. Feraud and Bourguignat only eight appear to have contained metal objects (Dr. Topinard, *Bull. Soc. Anthropol.*, Paris, July, 1873) and of one hundred and seven dolmens and similar monuments explored in Brittany (being all those of which I have the details) seventy-five contained stone weapons, implements, or ornaments, nine contained iron articles, seven bronze, and one copper. The particulars of these were given by me in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* for Nov. 1885, and, subject to the qualifications already mentioned, this division may be taken as an indication of the proportion in which those monuments belonged to the stone, bronze, and iron periods, taking the two latter to date from the first introduction of bronze and iron respectively into Brittany. I do not of

course mean to suggest that the people who were buried in Brittany were those who made the British circles, but I do not think the evidence afforded by British monuments would be materially different, except perhaps as regards the iron period. There have indeed been attempts to show that a dolmen building race came from one quarter, and that a circle building race came from another quarter, but there is no evidence to support this notion; nor is there anything about the construction of a dolmen which might not occur to any people anywhere, and which may not in fact be supposed to have occurred to many people at many times and places, if we may judge from the wide separation of the countries in which dolmens are found and the local differences which exist (as for example between those of Holland, of Central France, and of Brittany.) Neither is there anything in the mere setting up of stones in circles to prove community of race, or influence from a common centre upon various races; but, as I shall presently show, there are other similarities in many of the circles which can only be accounted for by a common influence.

While then it appears, from the wide area over which circles and dolmens are spread, that if they originated with one race it must have been a very early race, which also appears from the objects found buried in and about some of them, it seems also probable, from objects found in and about others, and from traditions connected with them, that their use was continued by some of those later races which conquered the earlier ones, and particularly by the so-called Celtic populations of Gaul and Britain up to their conquest by the Romans, and I, for one, should be quite prepared to believe that the trilithons which distinguish Stonehenge from all other circles were added to it after the departure of the Romans from Britain.

I come therefore to the consideration of the second question—why were the circles constructed?

Few archæologists now doubt that nearly all the dolmens were tombs and nothing else, and many say that all circles, alignments, avenues, and menhirs were also nothing but places of sepulture, or at least memorials of the dead. The latter proposition has no evidence to support it except where sepulchral deposits are actually found,

and, if the circles and alignments were nothing but burial places, sepulchral deposits should be found in all of them, and not merely in some of them; but there are many in which no trace of burial has been found, which shows that though sometimes used, like our churches, for interments, yet, as with the churches, interments were neither their sole nor their principal object; and it follows therefore that, even as regards circles where interments are found, those interments were not necessarily the sole or the original object of those circles. Notwithstanding these very obvious considerations Mr. Lukis has said (Proc. Soc. Antiq., 21st May, 1885.) "There is much . . . to favour a belief that the large monolithic circles in England served the same purpose as the outer ring of monoliths of the Scotch monuments, *i.e.*, that they constituted the stone fence surrounding a family burial place. There is further some reason to believe that the intervals between the large erect stones of this fence were originally filled with a dry walling of small stones, by which means the enclosed sacred area was rendered secure against the intrusion of animals."<sup>1</sup>

The latter suggestion, except perchance as applying to some insignificant circular arrangement of stones, I know not where, has not a particle of evidence to support it, and we cannot but ask what can possibly have become of the vast masses of dry walling required for such circles as Abury, Arberlowe, Stanton Drew, Long Meg, and Stonehenge, not to mention smaller ones in desolate places where the stones are not in the least likely to have been removed to be made use of?

The Scotch monuments, to which Mr. Lukis alludes in the passage just quoted, are chiefly those of the district round Aberdeen, which differ materially from most others, concerning which there is more structural evidence than in other cases that their primary use was sepulchral, and yet concerning which we have the best preserved tradition that it was not solely sepulchral. Some of these particular circles have a cist in the middle, covered with a low tumulus with stones set round touching each other, a few feet outside which is a circle of larger stones with intervals between them; these stones usually diminish in size from

<sup>1</sup> This view had been suggested by Mr. Blight in 1868.

south to north, and between the two largest, at the south side, is a stone set on its longest edge, and occupying the whole space between them, and in this latter particular these circles differ from all others.

In Vol. 1 of *Archæologia*, p. 312, is published a letter read before the Society of Antiquaries on 4th December, 1766, but written on 15th June, 1692, to Aubrey by Dr. James Garden, Professor of Theology in King's College, Aberdeen. This letter is of the greatest importance, not only on account of the manner in which it is authenticated, but because it proves that, although these particular circles seem to have been constructed with a specially sepulchral purpose, the general tradition concerning them two hundred years ago was "that they were places of worship and sacrifice in heathen times," and that the stone at the south already mentioned was at that time called the altar stone, and that these traditions were communicated to Aubrey on excellent authority, and not, as Mr. John Stuart and others have said, invented by Aubrey without any evidence to support them. We may indeed, on the other hand, reasonably suspect that Aubrey picked up many local traditions about the stone circles in England, which have since been irretrievably lost. Dr. Garden's letter proves also that, while one of the circles which he describes is now almost destroyed, the other has suffered but little since it was first constructed, having been protected by the superstitious fears of the populace up to Dr. Garden's time, and being then in much the same condition that it is in now. This is of itself almost a sufficient answer to those who would have us believe that the circles as they now stand are but skeletons which were originally clothed with "dry walling." The preservation of a well-defined tradition of the connection of these circles with worship and sacrifice also tends to show that, however old these monuments may be, ceremonies of some kind were carried on in them up to the introduction of Christianity, for no tradition of what happened in a pre-Celtic period would have been likely to survive till Dr. Garden's time. The arrangement of these circles, with a burial or burials in the centre, and a wide path suitable for processions between the inner and outer circles, is favourable to the idea that worship of, or regard for, ancestors entered largely into

the ceremonies carried on. There are circles in the Cumbrian Lake District which have also central interments and outer circles, but they have nothing like the "altar stones" of the circles round Aberdeen.

When we turn our attention to the circles of England and Wales we find less evidence, either in the shape of interments within them or of traditions about them, and must therefore enquire what use is suggested by their construction.

At Stonehenge, there have no doubt been interments in the centre, but probably long after the original construction of the circles. Standing inside the circles, we find the largest stones and the so-called altar stone to the south-west, and the avenue with its two detached stones to the north-east, and those who stand by the "altar" to see the sun rise on the longest day find that it rises over or close to the detached stone known as the "Friar's Heel." It has been said that the stone now prostrate between the circle and the "Friar's Heel" was formerly upright and would have hidden the "Friar's Heel" from the circle, but if that were so, it would, I presume, occupy the same position as between the circle and the rising sun that the "Friar's Heel" now occupies, and even if both stones were removed, the whole construction of the circle and avenues would still direct our attention unmistakably in the same line.

At Avebury (by far the most important of the stone circles), no interments have, so far as I am aware, been discovered, though many skeletons are said to have been found at the smaller circle of Overton Hill, a mile from it; there is, however, nothing to support the suggestion that the great circle at Avebury or its inner circles were either sepulchral or memorial. These circles were surrounded by a high bank of earth so that outlying stones could not be seen from them, and would have been useless, but three stones inside the northern inner circle formed three sides of an enclosure which has been called a "cove," the fourth and open side of which is open to the north-east, and a similar arrangement appears to have existed in the centre of the large circle at Arberlowe in Derbyshire, which like that of Avebury is surrounded by a high bank of earth with a ditch inside it. One part of the bank at Arberlowe has been converted into a sepulchral tumulus, probably

when the circle was no longer used for the purpose for which it was originally designed, but I do not know that any burials have been found within the circle itself.

At the Roll-Rich, a circle of the same diameter as Stonehenge, though in every other respect inferior to it, we find an outlying stone (the "Kingstone") in a north-easterly direction, though not quite at the same point as at Stonehenge, and in some other small circles we also find outlying stones in a north-easterly direction.

At Stanton Drew, three separate circles are arranged in a north-easterly direction one from another, while at Penmaenmawr there are two outlying stones in line in a north-easterly direction, which being down in a valley would not at first sight seem to be of much use, but they direct the eye to a group of three hills over the summit of one of which the sun would probably rise at Midsummer. The observation of this fact led me to notice that, in mountainous districts, hill tops appeared to take the place of outlying stones, and, if the outlying stones had anything to do with the relative position of the sun and the circles, prominent hill tops would certainly be in every respect superior to them, if the circles were so placed that they could be utilised. I also began to see that three summits were often found to the north-east while only single summits appeared in other directions. This is the case at the circles at Swinside and Keswick, in Cumberland, at the Stripple Stones circle in Cornwall and at Penmaenmawr, while at Mitchellsfold (Shropshire), there is a hill to the north-east, on the other side of which, in the same line, and at the same distance, there is a circle called the Hoarstone, beyond which again are three low hills in the same line, and that line is in precisely the same direction as is the "Friar's Heel" from the "altar stone" at Stonehenge. These facts respecting the relative position of the circles and the hills, though verified by my own observations, and I believe first pointed out by me, are not attested by my statements only, they are proved by the ordnance maps, prepared by officers of the government before I took up the subject at all.

The north-east is, of course, not the only quarter in which outlying stones or prominent hill-tops may be seen when standing inside a circle, and the Diagram or Table at p. 148 is intended to show at one view



the various directions in which such objects may be observed. In the first column are the names of the English and Welsh circles which I have investigated, including, I believe, all the principal ones; they are twenty-six in number, and are arranged in geographical order, so that any local peculiarities may be more readily detected. When standing in the centre of a circle, and looking round, a more or less circular horizon is naturally in view from it, and as all circles are theoretically divided into 360 degrees, the rest of the diagram is divided into 360 spaces for each circle, and in these spaces are shown the direction of any special feature in the construction of the circles, and of any striking objects outside them, so that by following the space assigned to each degree from the top to the bottom of the diagram, every coincidence in the direction of such features and objects is at once noticed. As there are only 26 circles and there are 360 degrees, the chances would seem to be great against any such coincidences occurring, but what do we find? Starting from the north west and going round by the north, we find at 55 and 56 degrees north from west in three instances, the most prominent hill round about, and at 70 degrees north from west we find coincidences in the structures of Abury and Stonehenge and possibly of Dance Maen. At north, and within five degrees west from it, we have five cases, two in the Lake district—entrances to circles—and three in Cornwall—the most prominent hills round about. At from ten to fifteen degrees east from north we find six instances, all in Cornwall, and four of them the most prominent hills. Between this and north-east we have eight cases of groups of three hills, which naturally cover many degrees, and two cases of sets of three lines as between the centres of adjoining circles, which may have an affinity to the lines from three different hills, and to other triplicate arrangements connected with the circles. At north-east, and within five degrees from each side of it, we have thirteen instances, which could not possibly occur in only twenty-six circles without a definite purpose. From twenty to thirty degrees north from east we have eight cases—ten degrees north from east, two cases—and three between east and five degrees north of it; besides three which I have marked provisionally as being uncertain.

At or about ten degrees south from east we find four cases, besides a doubtful one, but from this point to south we have only scattered indications—twelve certain and six uncertain. At due south we see hills in two or perhaps three instances, and between that and south-west practically nothing. At south-west and five degrees west from it are four instances, which may be said to belong equally to the north-east, depending as they do very much upon the standpoint taken for observation. Five degrees further west there are two cases, to one of which the same remark applies; from that point to west we find only one certain and two uncertain indications, while at west and five degrees on each side, we have five instances, and from them to north-west nothing certain.

We find, therefore, that, as I had previously said, the great majority of indications clusters round about the north-east, and that the north and its immediate neighbourhood on the one hand, and a point halfway between north and east on the other hand, seem to have possessed the next greatest interest for the circle builders, while the western half of the horizon was almost entirely neglected.

The sun at midsummer in this country crosses every point of the horizon from north-east to south, and round to north-west, and any special object anywhere between those points may, therefore, have a reference to the sun at some part of his career, but those at or near the north-east evidently point to his first appearance (or in some cases it may be to the first appearance of the dawn rather than of the sun himself) at Midsummer-day, while those halfway between north-east and east point to the sunrise on May-day, and both Midsummer and May-day are well-known Celtic festivals. It may, however, be said that startling as some of the coincidences shown by my diagram may appear, they are not as a whole sufficiently precise to have an astronomical purpose or origin. In reply to this I would point out that the differences of latitude and of the level of the horizon must be taken into account, so that the actual point where the sun first appears on any given day at any particular circle can only be fixed by observation on the spot, and exact uniformity cannot therefore be looked for. Again, it may be suggested that the number of objects scattered about at other points

shows that chance (if not delusion) enters very largely into the results I am endeavouring to demonstrate. In reply to this I may say, firstly, that, for the very purpose of eliminating accidental coincidences, I have put into the diagram many things that I might fairly have passed over, and so have rather weighted the scale against myself; and, secondly, that it is probable that, if the circle builders found a suitable site with some hills in the direction they wanted, and others in directions they did not want, they would, as they could not remove the latter, simply ignore them, but that I, for want of perfect knowledge of their intentions, and of what this investigation may lead to, have put them all down instead of ignoring them.

There still remain to be dealt with the points round about the north, which cannot, in most instances, have anything to do with the sun, and which might be largely added to from the circles near Aberdeen; but with respect to these I am fortunate in having the assistance of Professor Norman Lockyer, who has been confronted with a similar problem in Egypt, where he has found that numbers of the temples were so constructed as to be practically observatories for the point of sunrise at a certain time in the year, and stand nearly east and west, while others are at right angles to them, giving a point for observations directed toward the north; and his suggestion with regard to these is that they were for observing certain stars, or, in other words, that some of the Egyptian buildings were "sun-temples," and that others were "star-temples."<sup>1</sup>

This suggestion of Professor Norman Lockyer, although I believe not fully accepted by Egyptologists, I am glad to be able to adopt with regard to some of our stone circles; I cannot believe that the position of the Keswick circle with regard to Skiddaw and Blencathra is accidental, or dictated merely by an appreciation of natural beauty, but I can well believe that the "great bear" circling round the pole star in the space between those gigantic sentinels might become an object of adoration as well as of observation to a sun and planet observing priesthood and people. In like manner I cannot believe that so many of the Cornish circles were placed just where a cairn, the most

<sup>1</sup> See *Nature* 16 April, 11 May, 1 June, 2 July, 1891, and January and February, 1892.

prominent object round about them, rises abruptly in a more or less northerly direction from them, without some particular intention; especially as we find so many coincidences between the different circles in the direction of the cars and other hills from them. It also appears to me that, while in Egypt some buildings were sun temples and others star temples, in this country the same circles in many cases served for both purposes. I say in many cases, for, while the reference to the north or star quarter appears to be more prominent than that to the north-east or sun quarter in Aberdeenshire, in Cornwall, and perhaps in Cumberland, it seems to be generally absent in the midland counties of England and in Wales. This might be because the people of the first named districts were more occupied in navigation, and had a greater need for star gazing than those of the other districts, or it might be that they represented different immigrations.

With regard to the "Great Bear," I may mention that some groups of cup markings on rocks in Brittany appear to represent that constellation, while the few circles there are in Brittany seem to have the north-easterly or sun reference. We have the testimony of Cæsar that the Druids "discussed many things concerning the stars and their motion," and Pomponius Mela has recorded that they professed "to know . . . . the form and motion of the heaven and the stars," and it has, I think, been argued that inasmuch as the circles seemed to be devoted to the worship of the sun and not of the stars, and inasmuch as the Druids, according to the classic authors, paid more attention to the moon and stars than to the sun, they could not have had anything to do with the circles; but, if it should be found from what I have brought before you that some at least of the circles did refer to the stars, this argument—never very forcible—loses what little point it ever possessed.

It must not be forgotten that those who hold that the circles were merely burial places have no explanation whatever to offer about the outlying stones, or the relative positions of circles to each other, or to hills; those are facts which can only be explained by the theory that the circles, though sometimes tombs, were almost always something more.

In further confirmation of the view that our stone circles were intended primarily as places of worship or sacrifice, and secondarily only as places of interment, I have collected a considerable amount of evidence in support of the following propositions and suggestions:—

1. Circles of stones in other countries have been and are used as places of sacrifice or worship, whether standing alone or close together, or even intersecting each other. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the British circles were used in a similar manner.

2. The worship of the sun has been associated with circles as well as with other temples, and the position of other temples has been arranged with reference to that of the sun, and with reference to different seasons or purposes, the east and north-east being especially associated with sun worship. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that the facts shown by my diagram indicate that different ceremonies were carried on or different gods worshipped in the British circles at different seasons.

3. Hills and mountains have been associated with sun worship and with temples in other countries. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that they have been similarly associated in this country, especially in view of the facts which I have already stated, and which are summarized in my diagram.

4. Tradition is in favour of the use of our own circles as places of worship or sacrifice, and connects them with a period which cannot be considered distantly prehistoric; they have indeed been used in various ways within the historic period, showing a habit of use.

The evidence in favour of these propositions consists chiefly of detached statements of fact, and may therefore more suitably be printed as an appendix than read at length on the present occasion; but I do not suppose that the propositions require much demonstration, or that the suggestions I found upon them will be seriously disputed, and in that case it will follow that it is most likely that the antiquaries of the last century were not so wrong as has since been thought in pronouncing our stone circles to be the temples of our sun and star worshipping ancestors and their Druidic priesthood, although there may be no absolute proof that such was the case.

## KEY TO DIAGRAM OR TABLE.

*Showing the directions in which outlying stones, prominent hills, and other special objects are seen from certain circles in England and Wales.*

- 1 Arborlowe. Entrance to circle at N.W.
- 2 Keswick Circle. Top of Skiddaw, 34 deg. W. from N.
- 3 Stripple Stones. Top of Hawk's Tor, 34 deg. W. from N.
- 4 Boskednan Circle. Top of Carn Galva, 35 deg. W. from N.
- 5 Abury. A line between the centre of the Southern inner circle to that of the Northern inner circle would run 20 deg. W. from N.
- 6 Stonehenge. A line through the centres of the tumuli, inside the ditch, and through the centre of the circle, would run 19 deg. W. from N.
- 7 Dance Maen. A holed stone used as a gate-post, is 20 deg. W. from N., but may not be in its original position.
- 8 The Hurlers. The Cheesewring (the most prominent object near) is 5 deg. W. from N.
- 9 Keswick Circle. The entrance is due N.
- 10 Gunnerkeld Circle. The entrance is 3 deg. W. from N.
- 11 Fernaere Circle. Top of Rough Tor due N.
- 12 Stripple Stones. Top of Rough Tor visible over top of Garrow, both due N.
- 13 Trippet Stones. Top of Rough Tor and Leaze Circle in same line, 11 deg. E. from N.
- 14 Boskednan Circle. Slight hill not named on map, 10 deg. E. from N.
- 15 Tregaseal Circle. Carn Kenidjack (the most prominent hill near) is 10 deg. E. from N.
- 16 The Hurlers. The lines between the centres of the three circles are 12, 15, and 18 deg. E. from N. respectively.
- 17 Leaze Circle. Rough Tor is 12 deg. E. from N.
- 18 Stripple Stones. Brown Willy is 16 deg. E. from N.
- 19, 20, 21 Penmaenmawr Circle. The Great Orme and two other prominent hills forming a group of three. At 21 two stones are in line between the circle and the hill, 3 deg. E. from N.E.
- 22 Stanton Drew. A line from the centre of the south circle through the centre of the great circle to the stone called Hauteville's Quoit is 20 deg. E. from N.
- 23 Trippet Stones. Brown Willy is 26 deg. E. from N.
- 24 Long Meg. Another circle or circles, now destroyed, 30 deg. E. from N.
- 25 Keswick Circle. The apparently triple peak of Blencathra is 35 deg. E. from N.
- 26, 27, 28 Swinside Circle. A group of three small hills 30, 50, and 64 deg. E. from N. respectively.
- 29 Roll-rich Circle. The Kingstone is 35 deg. E. from N. from the centre of the circle.
- 30 Leaze Circle. The top of Garrow is 33 deg. E. from N.
- 31, 32, 33 Stripple Stones. Catshole Tor and two other hills, forming a group of three, are respectively, 35, 45 and 65. deg. E. from N.
- 34 Abury. The "Cove" in the centre of the Northern circle faced N.E.

DIAGRAMS OF SPECIAL OBJECTS, ARE SEEN FROM THE CENTRES OF CERTAIN  
 (pages 148--151.)

Names of C	S.				S.W.				W.					
	90	80	70	60	50	40	30	20	10	0	10	20	30	40
LONG MEADOW Cum					80									
KESWICK, Cum	79									90				
SWINSIDE, Cum					81									
GUNNERKE Westm														
MOUNT M Isle														
PENMAEN N	73												96	
HOARSTON Sh						82								
MITCHELL, Sh	75	76												
ARBORLOW Def														
ROLLRICH, Oxf														
WINTERBO W										93				
ABURY, W	77					83								
STONEHEN W														
STANTON I S						84								
GORWELL, 19														
WINTERBO														
HUBLERS, C						85		86	87		88			
FERNACRE C	78										92			
STANSON, C														
LEAZE, C														
STRIPPLE C									89					
TRIPPET S C														
BOSKEDNA C														
TREGASEM C											96			
BOSCAWEN C														
DANCEMAR C												94		





- 35 Winterbourne (Dorset). An outlying stone to N.E. (see Warne's Ancient Dorset.
- 36 Leaze Circle. Brown Willy N.E. from circle.
- 37 Boskednan Circle. Three small hills about N.E. from circle.
- 38 Dance Maen. The two stones called the "Pipers" are in line 40 deg. E. from N. from the circle, but are now hidden by stone walls, &c.
- 39 Hoarstone. A group of three hill tops about N.E.
- 40 Mitchellsfold. Stapely Hill and Hoarstone Circle in line, 5 deg. E. of N.E.
- 41 Arborlowe. The "Cove" in the centre of the circle faced 5 deg. E. of N.E.
- 42 Stonehenge. The Avenue and "Friar's Heel" are 5 deg. E. of N.E. from the circle.
- 43 The Hurlers. A line from the two detached stones to the north circle would be 5 deg. E. of N.E.
- 44 Stanton Drew. A line from the "Cove" through the centre of the great circle to the centre of the northern circle is 9 deg. E. of N.E.
- 45 Mount Murray Circle. The entrance to the Avenue (which winds round the north of the circle to the N.W.) is 31 deg. N. of E. from the circle.
- 46 Long Meg. A small circle (with central cist now destroyed) is 27 deg. N. of E. from the centre of Long Meg.
- 47 Stannon Circle. Rough Tor is 26 deg. N. of E. from the circle.
- 48 Leaze Circle. Catshole Tor is 24 deg. N. of E. from the circle.
- 49 Trippet Stone. Hawk's Tor is 27 deg. N. of E. from the circle.
- 50 Winterbourne (Wiltshire). Two outlying stones E.N.E. (Rev. W. C. Lukis).
- 51 Stanton Drew. The Avenue from great circle is 20 deg. N. of E. from the centre of the circle.
- 52, 53 The Hurlers. A line from the two outlying stones to the centre of the middle circle is 22 deg. N. from E. The line in which the two stones stand would, if prolonged, strike the southern edge of the middle circle—direction 11 deg. N. from E.
- 54 Trippet Stones. The Stripple Stones are visible 11 deg. N. of E. from the Trippet Stones.
- 55, 56 The Stannon and Fernacre Circles are in line with the top of Brown Willy about 2 deg. N. of E. from them.
- 57 Tregaseal Circles. The two circles are E. and W. from each other.
- 58 Keswick Circle. The oblong enclosure inside the circle covers part of the circumference from E. to 20 deg. S. of E.
- 59 The Roll-rich. The "Five Knights" are 12 deg. S. of E. from the centre of the circle, but may have no connection with it.
- 60 Stanton Drew. The Avenue from the northern circle is 7 deg. S. of E. from the centre of that circle.
- 61 The Hurlers. A line from the two outlying stones to the southern circle is 10 deg. S. of E.
- 62 Keswick Circle. The largest stone in the circle is in line with a hill-top 3 deg. E. of S.E. from the centre of the circle.
- 63 Arborlowe. Entrance 1 deg. S. of S.E. from centre of circle.
- 64 Abury. Kennet Avenue and Hakpen Circle S.E. from great circle.

- 65 Stannon Circle. The top of Garrow is 35 deg. S. of E from the circle.
- 66 Fernaere Circle. Butterstor is 55 deg. S. of E. from the circle.
- 67 Stanton Drew. The "Cove" faced 60 deg. S. of E.
- 68 Boskednan Circle. Barrows in line 60 deg. S. of E. from circle.
- 69 Winterbourne (Wiltshire). A large stone S.S.E. (Rev. W. C. Lukis.)
- 70 Abury. A line from the centre of the northern inner circle to that of the southern inner circle would be 20 deg. E. from S.
- 71 Stonehenge. A line through the centres of the tumuli inside the ditch, and through the centres of the circles would be 19 deg. E. from S.
- 72 Leaze Circle. Hawk's Tor and the Stripple Stones are 17 deg. E. of S. from circle.
- 73 Penmaenmawr Circle. The top of Tal-y-fan is S. from the centre of the circle.
- 74, 75, 76. Mitchellsfold. Corndon Hill, the highest hill near is 10 deg. E. of S. from the circle. The Whetstone, a monument of some kind now destroyed, and which may have had no connection with the circle was due S. from it, and two outlying stones are 5 deg. W. of S. from it.
- 77 Abury. Silbury Hill, the largest artificial mound in existence, is due S. from the great circle.
- 78 Fernaere Circle. The top of Garrow is due S. from the circle.
- 79 Keswick Circle. A prominent hill-top, is 7 deg. W. of S. from the circle.
- 80 Long Meg Circle. The entrance and Long Meg stone are S.W. from the centre.
- 81 Swinside Circle. Black Combe (the most prominent hill near) is S.W. from the circle.
- 82 Hoarstone Circle. Stapeley Hill and Mitchellsfold Circle are in line 5 deg. W. of S.W. from the Hoarstone.
- 83 Abury. Long Stone Cove and avenue 10 deg. W. of S.W. from the great circle.
- 84 Stanton Drew. A line from the centre of the northern circle through that of the great circle to the "Cove" runs 9 deg. W. of S.W.
- 85, 86, 87, 88. The Hurlers. Lines from the three circles to the two outlying stones are respectively 40, 22, and 11 deg. S. of W. and 10 deg. N. of W.
- 89 Stripple Stones. The entrance and the Trippet Stones Circle are 11 deg. S. of W. from the centre of the circle.
- 90 Keswick Circle. A pointed hill-top is due W. from the circle.
- 91 Winterbourne (Wiltshire). Stukeley said there was a stone (now lost) W. from this circle.
- 92 Fernaere Circle. London Hill (a very slight eminence) is 3 deg. N. of W. from this circle.
- 93 Tregaseal Circles. These two circles are E. and W. from each other.
- 94, 95. Dance Maen. The Longstone is 5 deg. S. of W. from this circle. Two fallen stones in the same field as the circle are 20 and 25 deg. E. of S. from it.
- 96 Penmaenmawr Circle. The hill of Penmaenmawr is 35 deg. N. of W. from the circle.

- 97 Swinside Circle. A prominent hill is 10 deg. W. of N. from this circle.
- 98 Swinside Circle. The entrance and a prominent hill-top are 39 deg. S. of E. from the centre.
- 99 Gorwell. Two stones are 10 deg. E. of S.
- 100 Boscawenn Circle. The central stone leans N.E., and remains of another stone appear to be in the same line.

## APPENDIX.

1. *Circles of Stones in other countries have been and are used as places of sacrifice or worship, whether standing alone or close together, or even intersecting each other.*

Col. Forbes Leslie ("Early Races of Scotland") says:—A Hindoo fane recently used to sacrifice a cock to Betal<sup>1</sup> was twenty-seven feet in diameter, and consisted of twenty-three stones, three upright and fixed in the ground at the west and facing the east, being three feet high, the others from eight to twenty inches high, placed loosely round at equal distances; one to the east was moved twelve feet back to make an entrance opposite the three fixed stones; three smaller stones were outside, and to the south-west a single stone, but no opening; the inner sides of the stones were whitened and tipped with a red spot. He also says several stone circles close together, and even intersecting each other, and lately erected to the same object of worship—Vetal—may any day be seen in secluded places near the towns and villages of the Deccan in India,

[The setting back of a stone to the east may have a reference to the sunrise, like the outlying stones in some of our own circles. The fact that circles close together, and even intersecting each other, are used for sacrifice in India is a sufficient answer to a suggestion by Mr. Lukis, that certain circles in England could not have been temples, because they were so close together. A.L.L.]

Col. Forbes Leslie also describes an arrangement of small stones in lines used in the same way as the circles which may suggest a parallel with the lines of stones in Brittany.

Col. Meadows Taylor stated that rocks with circles round them were used as places of sacrifice by shepherds at Sorepoor in the Deccan, India. *Journal Ethnol Soc. Lond., N.S., vol. i, pp. 162-8.*

Mr. Walhouse (*Journ. Anth. Inst., vol. vii, p. 32*) mentions circles on the highest eastern Nilgiri summit, where the Irūlas twice a year worship Vishnu under the name of Rangaswam.

A description is given in the "Academy," 18 Nov., 1876, of some small circles used as places of worship by Arabs near the first cataract of the Nile.

Major Conder ("Heth and Moab") says, the circle is a sacred enclosure, without which the Arab still stands with his face to the rising sun.

<sup>1</sup> Betal or Vetal, a local agricultural god.

Pausanias speaks of circles of great stones near Hermione, within which the mysterious rites of Demeter were performed.

Hecateus also speaks of a circular temple, which has been thought to have been Abury.

2. *The worship of the sun has been associated with circles as well as with other temples, and the position of other temples has been arranged with reference to that of the sun, and with reference to different seasons or purposes, the east and north-east being especially associated with sun-worship.*

Mr. Thoms (Chinese Vases) says, offerings to heaven were made by the ancients on a round eminence, and to the earth on a square eminence; also to the sun, moon, and stars in different apartments of the palace, and at different seasons.

A Correspondent of the "Daily News," 7 Jan., 1873, describing the official religion of China, says, the Temple of Heaven, at which sacrifices are offered at the winter solstice, is on the south side of Pekin, but the Temple of the Earth is on the north side. The altar of the sun, on which sacrifices are offered at the vernal equinox, is on the east side of Pekin, and that of the moon, on which sacrifices are offered at the autumnal equinox, is on the west side of Pekin. The heaven represents the male element and the earth the female element.

Herodotus says of two statues in the temple of Vulcan at Memphis, one of these looks to the northward and is adored by the Egyptians under the name of summer, and the other facing the south is altogether neglected and goes by the name of winter (Euterpe exxi).

Mr. Le Page Renouf says (Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch., xii, 356), the two earths do not signify upper and lower Egypt, but the earth as traversed and divided by the sun: Osiris, both in his own name and that of Apuat, is Ap-sat-tau, divider of the earth. Apuat of the north is the director of heaven, Apuat of the south is the director of the earth.

Mr. Bonomi (Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., iii, 422), describes a cylinder on which Nechtarhebes is represented, making libations before an altar to the deities of the four cardinal points or quarters of the land.

Many articles have appeared in "Nature" during 1891 and 1892 by Professor Norman Lockyer, showing the relation of Egyptian temples to the rising of the sun and stars, and by Mr. Penrose on similar relations in the oldest Greek temples.

Lieutenant Maurice (Indian Antiquities) says, all ancient temples of the Sun and Vesta or elementary fire were circular. Cadell also gives particulars of various circular temples in Italy—mostly to Vesta.

Professor Sayce (Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., iii, 210) says, the Assyrian names of the several periods of the moon seem to have been derived from the quarter of the heaven in which the moon was observed and which was assigned to the dominion of some special deity; thus in W.A.L., iii, 56, 52, we are told that on the fifteenth day the moon and the sun draw near to Anu. (The moon was in Anu 1st to 5th day, in Hea 6th to 10th day, and in Bel and Hea 11th to 15th day).

Sargon called one of the two eastern (that is according to the Chaldean orientation—north-eastern) gates of his new city of Dur Sakin (Khorsabad), the gate of Samas—*i.e.*, the gate of the sun (Records of Past, xi, 24).

Layard (Pop. Account of Discoveries at Ninevah, p. 182) gives an

account of the temple of the Yezidis, called the sanctuary of Sheikh Shems or the Sun, and so arranged that the first rays of that luminary should as frequently as possible fall upon it. Also of their reverence generally for the rising sun.

Ezekiel, viii, 16, saw at the door of the temple of Jehovah, between the porch and the altar, about five and twenty men with their backs toward the temple of Jehovah, and their faces toward the east, and they worshipped the sun toward the east.

Major Conder ("Heth and Moab"), says, the circle is a sacred enclosure, without which the Arab still stands with his face to the rising sun. [In the same position, apparently, as the men spoken of by Ezekiel. A.L.L.]

3. *Hills and mountains have been associated with sun worship and with temples in other-countries.*

Sir C. Warren ("Temple or Tomb"), quotes the Talmud to the effect that all the walls of the Temple were high except the eastern wall, which was lower, so that the priest who burned the heifer might stand on the top of the Mount of Olives and look straight into the door of the sanctuary when he sprinkled the blood. [This refers to an annual procession from the temple to the Mount of Olives and sacrifice on the latter, and taken in conjunction with the vision of Ezekiel of the worship of the sun, as seen from the Temple rising over the Mount of Olives, already quoted, is extremely suggestive. A.L.L.]

The Rev. J. L. Porter found remains of a circular enclosure, 180ft. in diameter, on the top of Mount Hermon<sup>1</sup>, and Dr. Robinson, an American traveller, says of the ruins of the Temple at Hibbaryeh, it fronts directly upon the great chasm, looking up the mighty gorge as if to catch the first rays of the morning sun rising over Hermon.

Mr. J. T. Bent (Journ. Anth. Inst., May, 1886) says, the highest peak in every Greek island is dedicated to Elias, as of old to Apollo, and Elias is an obvious transition from Helios, for the Eastern Church always tried to combine the ancient name and attributes with the modern worship as nearly as possible.

[The highest mountain in Alaska is called Mount St. Elias, but Alaska was a Russian possession, and the name was probably given to the mountain in accordance with the practice of the Greek Church mentioned by Mr. Bent, because it was the highest mountain. A.L.L.]

In a work called St. Patrick's Confession or Epistle to the Irish, said to be translated from Latin MSS., 800 and 1000 years old, the Saint is made to say—"The same night, however, as I was sleeping, Satan sorely tempted me, which I shall remember as long as I shall be in this body. It was as though a huge stone fell over me and my limbs were wholly powerless, but it occurred to me from what I know not in the Spirit to call Helias, and in the meantime I saw the sun rise in the heavens, and while I cried Helias, Helias, with my might, lo, the brightness of the sun shone upon me and dispelled all my heaviness." [A delightful, because probably unconscious confirmation of the transition from Helios to Helias remarked by Mr. Bent. The early Celtic Church, it will be remembered was rather Greek than Latin in its affinities. A.L.L.]

<sup>1</sup> Baal Hermon, Judges iii, 3, and 1 Chron., v, 23 (showing that the mountain was associated with the worship of Baal or the Sun).

Mr. Pollard (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, xiii, 290) says, the mountains also were Baulim, the worship of the sungod on the mountain peak being transferred to the peak itself.

Col. Meadows Taylor gives a picture of an isolated natural pile of rock, not unlike the Cheseving, surrounded by a circle of stones near Tooljapore in India (*Journ. Ethn. Soc. N.S.*, vol. i, p. 171.)

Abbé Collet (*Bull. Soc. Polymathique du Morbihan*) says, there is a local superstition that the sun rising over the Pic de Malabri, on Trinity Sunday, presents the appearance of three discs which afterwards unite in one.

Triple peaks have frequently been regarded with special reverence. Dr. Phené exhibited to the Congress of Orientalists (London, 1891), a picture of a triple mountain in Japan, surrounded by a number of images of animals.

4. *Tradition is in favour of the use of our own circles as places of worship or sacrifice, and connects them with a period which cannot be considered distantly prehistoric.*

The letter of Dr. Garden to Aubrey has been mentioned in the paper, and the details need not be repeated here, but it is a very strong piece of evidence.

The Councils of Arles in 452, and Tours in 567, the Archbishop of Bourges in 584, Childebert in 554, Carloman in 742, and Charlemagne all condemned the superstitious regarding of stones, fountains, trees, &c., and enjoined the destruction of the venerated objects. Patrick, Bishop of the Hebrides, desired Orlygus to found a church wherever he should find standing stones.

Arnobius, an early Christian writer (300 A.D.), says before his conversion he was accustomed to revere and pray to a stone which had been anointed with oil.

Mr. J. Miln (*Researches at Carnac*) says, to this day certain ceremonies akin to phallic worship are performed in the night of the full moon at the base of the menhirs in some parts of Brittany. On the summit of some of these menhirs we have remarked a cross either in wood or stone, probably placed there by the clergy to hinder idolatrous practices.

Several instances of the worship of stones might be added, but the following will perhaps suffice:—Herodian (*Book V*) says the Phœnicians had a magnificent temple to the sun, whom they called Heliogabalus, but there was no image except a large conical black stone, and that the Emperor Heliogabalus was high priest in this temple before he became emperor.

The names locally given to various circles—Sunken Kirk (Swinside circle), &c.—indicate a belief that they belonged to a dead and buried form of religion.

Circles were used as courts as lately as 1349 and 1380, and encampments were occasionally held in them. (*Aberdeen Chartularies and Moray*).

Menhirs are found built into the churches at Le Mans and Corwen, and closely adjoining that at Rudston (on the north-east side).

The orientation of churches and inclination of chancels to the north-east are certainly not derived from Rome, but are probably derived from the orientation of the stone circles.

ON A PRE-NORMAN CLEARSTORY WINDOW AND SOME  
ADDITIONAL EARLY WORK RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN  
OXFORD CATHEDRAL.

By J. PARK HARRISON, M.A.

The discoveries in Oxford Cathedral, which have been already published, comprise, the identification of two arches at the east of the north choir aisle and Lady chapel as remains of the church of the Holy Trinity, said to have been built by Didanus, c. 735, and soon afterwards attached to a convent founded by his daughter St. Frideswide. The rag-stone work presents all the appearance of having been erected at the above period; and the discovery of the remains of circular foundations composed of small field-stones concreted with sticky gravel, termed in the midland counties "pit mortar," immediately facing the two arches and also half way between them opposite to a Norman pilaster buttress, indicated that the ancient church had three round apses, due, in all probability, to Eastern influence and intercourse. That the wall in which the archways stand is of earlier date than the Norman pilaster buttress is now established beyond the possibility of any doubt, since a round string-course belonging to the wall has been found to run some inches behind it, two of its ashlar stones being neatly hollowed out to fit over the moulding. Then, a prolonged examination of the stone work of the Cathedral generally shewed that three of the capitals on the north side of the choir, and one on the south side, behind the Bishop's throne, were far older than any in the nave or transepts. The style is quite different, and the stone carving in the choir is weathered.

It has since been found that the abaci and capitals of the half columns at the east and west ends of the choir

Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, Feb. 3rd, 1892.

are later than the intermediate ones, and may be insertions. The abaci, though of the same thickness, are ornamented with additional mouldings, and the carving is sharper.

The peculiarity of the design of Christ Church Cathedral, as is well known, consists in a double range of round arches, the upper one framing blind or pseudo-triforium openings, excepting in the choir where they form part of a structural triforium. This double range of arches appears to have been built at different dates; the mouldings of the upper range, and also the labels, are of late Norman or transitional character in the nave and transepts, whilst those in the choir, excepting in the presbytery (which is an addition to it) are round. The labels, however, of the lower range of arches are the same throughout, that is to say plain rolls, and the soffits of the arches are entirely without mouldings. The only difference is that the labels are heaviest in the choir, which would have been first constructed.

There is another peculiarity in the work which is very generally overlooked, viz., that although triforium galleries exist in the choir they are little more than makeshifts; the height is insufficient under the lean-to roofs, and there is no access save by a ladder through one of the triforium openings. Also, the level of the gallery floor is quite eighteen inches above the level of the bases of the triforium shafts. All which seems to point to a conversion of earlier work, or the introduction of an unwonted feature, not part of the original design, nor indeed, could be, for there is structural evidence to shew that the vaulting of the choir aisles was an after-thought, and erected about 1170.<sup>1</sup>

There is nothing to indicate that there ever were triforium galleries in the nave and transepts. The quasi-triforium openings are there mere ornamental features, backed by a blank wall, built in Norman times, as shewn by the pilaster buttresses beneath the aisle roofs in which fragments of earlier work are inserted.

It will be seen that the above discoveries countenance the views of those archæologists, who, like Dr. Ingram and Mr. Stoner, believed that there was once only the lower arcade of round arches, with clearstory windows over them,

<sup>1</sup> The detailed proofs of this and other statements are given in a Lecture "On the Pre-Norman date of the design, and

some of the stonework of Oxford Cathedral," p.p. 24, published by Frowde, Amen Corner, London, 1891.



and narrower aisles and lower aisle walls than there are at present.

Further examination has also shewn that the octagonal pillars in the nave, which have been supposed to be part of an original priory church, were introduced about 1170, some considerable time after the round columns were built. They are constructed with fewer courses of ashlar stone than the cylindrical pillars, all the stones being deeper, excepting in the case of the octagon on the south side of the nave near the organ gallery, which has the appearance of having been converted from a round column, or else to have been built of stones belonging to one, for it has the same number of courses as the round ones.

Proceeding to the south aisle of the choir, further evidence that the ancient church was built at more than one period—that is to say at several dates, has recently been obtained from a close examination of the stone work. The only original window in the present south wall is at the west end of this aisle, the others being “Norman” windows introduced by Sir Gilbert Scott, and copied from those in the presbytery.

The window above referred to retains its features unaltered in the interior, excepting so far as the bases are concerned. The style of the capitals of the shafts is Byzantine in character, and they may be of the same date as some of the work in the choir. The bases were accurately pieced when Bishop King’s monument was removed to a more convenient site in 1870, but a spur or foot ornament of late Norman date was introduced, orders having been given to copy the Norman work in the presbytery whenever no sufficient remains existed to ensure a correct restoration of details. Unfortunately, however, the base mouldings of this aisle window differ essentially from the Norman ones, which have a hollow instead of a perpendicular (or straight) line between the round mouldings, and there was nothing to shew that a spur had ever existed.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, a window in the south aisle of the nave, which was inserted some years before Sir Gilbert Scott’s restorations, is without the appendage, and appears to have been an exact copy of the early window in the choir aisle.

<sup>1</sup> The bases of this window have the spur on the exterior, but they date apparently from 1170, and were probably restorations at the period of the work in the presbytery.

The same mistake of adding a spur occurred in the south transept in the case of an earlier base, belonging to an angle shaft, certainly not of Norman date or design; but here there was less chance of the addition misleading, for the incongruity was more striking. (See Plate, fig. 3.)

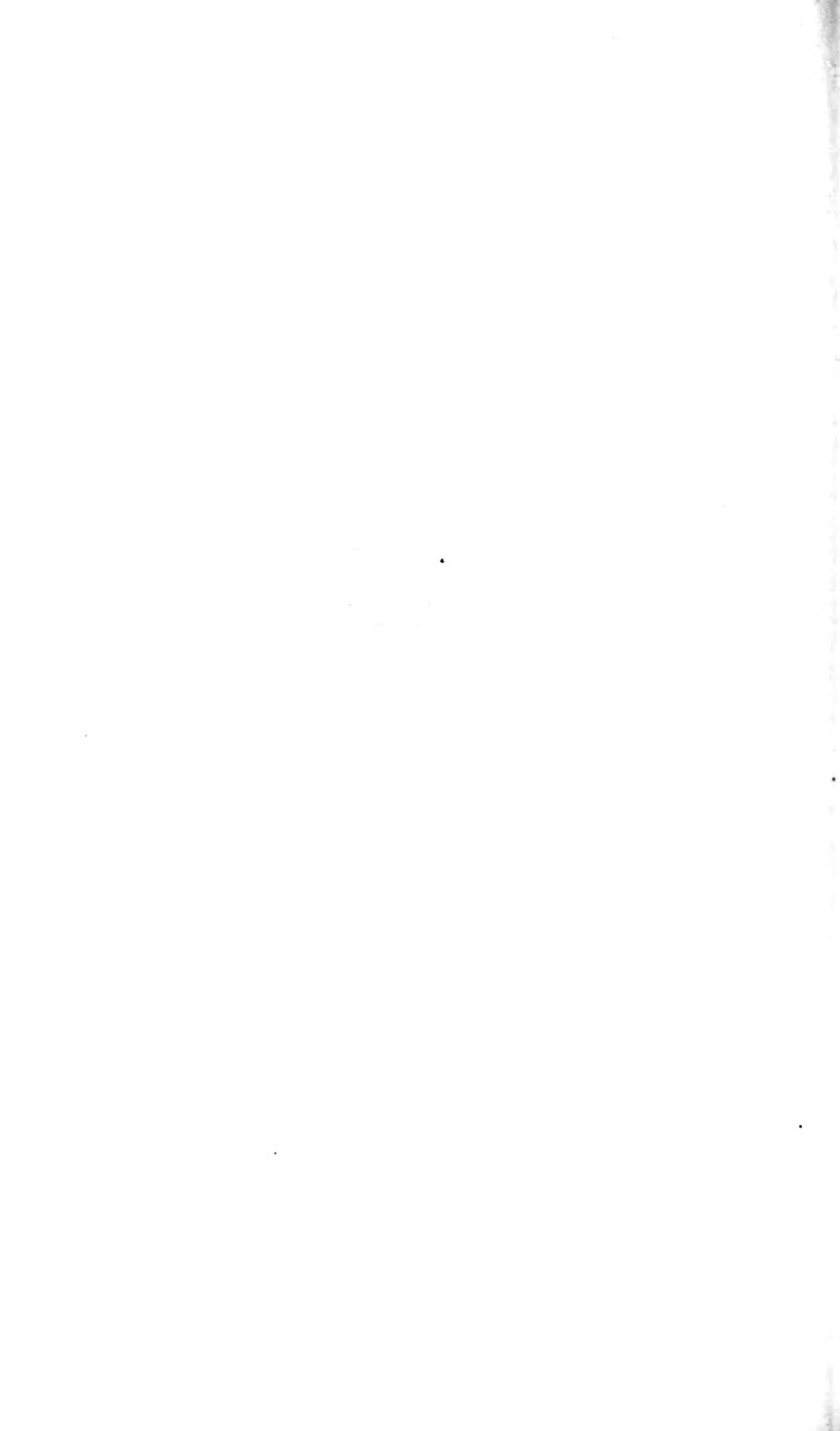
On an unusually bright day in September last, the peculiar features which appeared to distinguish the bases of a pseudo-triforium opening, in the west wall of the south transept, in which, as just mentioned, there was known to be early work, excited my attention. It had been difficult to note small details at this height, as the mouldings of the bases could only be seen in sharp perspective.

On obtaining a ladder of sufficient length, Mr. H. G. W. Drinkwater, F.R.I.B.A., and a member of the Royal Archaeological Institute, kindly obtained for me the exact profiles of the base mouldings, both of the centre and side shafts, the latter of which it was subsequently found resembled closely some found at Silchester, and one in the gallery of Roman antiquities at Boulogne, though the projection of the mouldings was not so bold. The mouldings of the centre shaft consist of three rings, over a slightly projecting quarter round. For want of time further examination of the work had to be deferred. (See Plate, figs. 1, 2.)

In the middle of December, on returning from a second visit to Fêcamp and Bernay, where, as at Oxford, portions of early work appear to have been religiously preserved amidst twelfth century additions, a further discovery was made that completed the proof that the Cathedral Church contains remains of pre-Norman date, hitherto overlooked. The discovery was made in this way:—On referring to the *Journal* of the Institute for 1850, in which there is a short account of the visit paid to the Cathedral on the occasion of the Meeting of that year at Oxford, it is mentioned that Prof. Willis decided, in opposition to the views of many archaeologists at that time, that the triforium openings in the choir were not clearstory windows, seeing that there were on the side of the aisles (as found by myself four years ago), Norman arches over the triforium openings. Also, the capitals and bases of the triforium shafts were either reworked at the same time that the Norman arches were built, or else, (as the bases have spurs, or foot ornaments), were entirely renewed; but more



Pre-Norman Clearstory Window, South Transept, Oxford Cathedral.



particularly because no grooves existed to shew that the openings had ever been glazed. Professor Willis concluded, therefore, that the triforium openings were of Norman design as well as the arches over them. He did not think it necessary to examine the pseudo-triforium work in the transepts and nave, which it was assumed on all sides was of later date.

A ladder having been again procured, it was at once seen that the shafts in the west wall of the south transept had been grooved, but the grooves were stopped up with mortar, neatly smoothed and rounded so as to resemble stone. This, it was ascertained from the builders employed in the restoration of 1870, was done when the white-wash was cleared off, in order to make the old shafts more sightly. The stonework, however, of this window had evidently been taken down and re-erected at an earlier period; for the grooves in the shafts were not in a right line with those in the arch-heads. This it can scarcely be doubted, must have occurred when the existing Romanesque window was substituted for the Saxon one, the latter being preserved as a relic of the old church, and used as a quasi-triforium opening and no longer glazed as a window. Mr. Drinkwater was not at this time in Oxford, but on returning shortly afterwards, he examined the stonework, and found that the shaft now in the centre originally belonged to the north side of this window. He also satisfied himself that the caps too had been grooved<sup>1</sup> but as more than half of each of them was renewed in 1870, no trace of the grooving was now visible.

Half the cylindrical columns which support the round arch framing the old window being of a dark colour, Professor Green, F.G.S., having been asked by me to examine the ashlar, after carefully inspecting it came to the conclusion that the darker and coarser stone, which was full of shells, was not from the same quarry as the finer lime-stone of the lower half of the columns. This, and the fact that the upper part of the wall generally, as seen from the gallery adjoining, was built of the same shelly stone, Professor Green thought sufficient to indicate that the work was not executed at the same time, or with

<sup>1</sup> Mr. George Fox, F.S.A., has informed me that Roman caps and bases were grooved in the same way, for screens, &c.

stone from the same quarry ; and Mr. Axtell subsequently informed me that he believed the shelly stone must have been obtained from Fyhill, about 6 miles from Oxford, whilst the other probably came by water from a quarry in Gloucestershire. The conclusion that it seems not unreasonable to arrive at is, that the upper half of the columns, and the arch over the quasi-triforium openings and the present clearstory were additions to a church with lower columns, and a single range of round arches ; and that the same features were copied, only without inserting any Romanesque windows behind them, throughout the building. The object being to give height and dignity to the church without entirely rebuilding it.

#### NOTE.

In a former paper (see *Journal*, No. 186, p. 144) it was stated that M. Bouet, of Caen, in his "Analyse Architecturale de L'Abbaye de Saint-Etienne de Caen," p. 49, shewed that the "cushion capital," in its various shapes, existed in England long before it appeared in Normandy. And in page 148 of the same number of the *Journal* it was enumerated amongst work in Oxford Cathedral that resembled features in pre-Norman illuminated MSS. The capitals of the clearstory window can now be cited as early examples.

SIR JOHN ROBSART AND HIS DAUGHTER AMY, THE FIRST  
WIFE OF LEICESTER.<sup>1</sup>

By J. BAIN, F.S.A. Scot.:

Like the controversy on the guilt or innocence of Mary Queen of Scots, which no lapse of time seems to abate,—the tragic fate of Amy Robsart exercises a perennial fascination on inquirers in the by-paths of history. I do not propose to enlarge on this subject, which has been fully treated by various writers of eminence, but merely to call attention to a few minor points about her father and herself, which have lately come to my knowledge and are not, I think, in print. In a paper which I wrote about two years ago on a celebrated leader of Free Companions in the wars of the fourteenth century, “Canon Sir Theodore de Robertsart knight,”<sup>2</sup> about whom I had found some original documents among the Public Records, I surmised that there might possibly be some relationship between his family and that of the Cornish or Devon knight immortalized in *Kenilworth*. This was mere conjecture, for at the time I knew no more about the ancestry of the unfortunate Amy Robsart than is related by the great novelist. But recently while looking through a number of deeds relating to Suffolk, I was surprised and interested to find one, in which the surname of Robsart occurred. This is an inquisition *post mortem* taken at Ipswich, on 14th November, 1554, on the death of Sir John Robsart, a Suffolk knight, who turns out to be the prototype of Sir Hugh, of Lidcote Hall, the father of Countess Amy, the victim of Leicester. The inquisition bears that Sir John died on 8th May, 1554, that his wife Elizabeth survived him, and was then living at Stanfild in the county of Norfolk. That his manor called Duleampe in Suffolk (about 1000 acres in extent and 20 marks of yearly value), had been settled a year or

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, May 4th, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> *Genealogist* (N.S.), vol. vi, p. 206.

two before, on himself and his wife, and the survivor,—on the latter's death to revert to Amy Robsart their daughter, the heir apparent of Sir John, now wife of Robert Dudley esquire (*armiger*), and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, failing whom, on the deaths of Robert Dudley and Amy, to the right heirs of her father Sir John. The jury found that Amy was daughter and heir of Sir John, and 23 years of age and upwards at the date of the inquisition.

These several points—the actual date of her father's death, that he was survived by her mother, and that Amy was the wife of the untitled Robert Dudley, ten years before he was created Earl of Leicester—being all new to me, induced me to look at what might be in print about her and her family. I consulted two works on the subject—one by Mr. George Adlard, "Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leycester," 1870, the other by Mr. Walter Rye, "The murder of Amye Robsart," 1885—neither of which I had ever seen before.

Mr. Adlard gives a full and interesting account of the Robsart family, who were distinguished in the wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and includes among them the "Canon Robertsart" (the subject of my former paper), whom he calls Baron of Cannon in Hainault, and thus named from his barony, not from any ecclesiastical rank—completely supporting my conjecture that he was of the same family as Amy. He also relates her own history with much detail, and shows that she never was Countess of Leicester, for she came by her death in 1560, several years before Dudley's elevation.<sup>1</sup> Also that her marriage, so far from being secret, took place in presence of Edward VI. Nor did the Kenilworth revels take place till 1573, many years after her death. According to Mr. Adlard, Amy's mother was Elizabeth Scot, whose first husband was Roger Appleyard, of Stanfield Hall, in Norfolk,<sup>2</sup> who died in 1530, by whom she had two sons and two daughters, brothers and sisters of the half blood to her younger child Amy. Not having seen the inquisition to which I have called attention, Mr. Adlard assigned a wrong date to Dame Elizabeth Robsart's death, which he made to occur

<sup>1</sup> Robert Dudley was cr. Earl of Leicester 29 Sept. 1564 (*Complete Peerage*, "G.E.C.")

<sup>2</sup> The scene of a terrible tragedy within the memory of persons still living.



in 1549, a year before her daughter married Robert Dudley, while we now see she was living in 1554. Nor could Mr. Adlard find any record of Sir John Robsart's death, beyond the fact that as his son-in-law Dudley had possession of his estates in January 1557, he must have been then dead—now proved by the inquisition under notice.

Mr. Adlard states that Robert Dudley and Amy Robsart were married at Shene on the 4th of June, 1550, with great splendour, in the presence of Edward VI. Dudley having been born on 24th June, 1532 or 1533,<sup>1</sup> while Amy, as Mr. Adlard presumes, was born in 1532, he thinks they were thus nearly of the same age. But from the inquisition giving her age as twenty-three years and upwards in 1554, she may have been born in 1531, and thus three years older than her husband.

Mr. Rye's book, is an able and heavy indictment both against Elizabeth and Dudley. He shows that Dudley, the penniless younger son of a forfeited<sup>2</sup> man, must have been entirely dependant on his wife's estate, for which, indeed, he probably married her, and until his fortunes began to rise by the favour of Elizabeth (who came to the throne in 1558), his wife was the more important personage of the two, a woman of talent, whose management greatly aided his rise, for which she met a base requital.

Such then are a few of the facts in Amy Robsart's history, romantic enough in themselves. But the magic pen of the great novelist has imperishably fixed on our mental vision, the imprisoned Countess, the broken hearted Knight of Lidcote Hall, the faithful Tressillian, Antony Foster, and the other creations of his genius which adorn the pages of *Kenilworth*. Yet the real Amy was not the simple country maiden, dazzled by the rank of the unknown suitor, who had tempted her to leave her dotting father, but the well born heiress, who with the full consent of her parents, was allied in open day to the younger son of a then powerful noble, though soon to be shorn of his usurped dukedom, while her husband in after years was to gain the earldom once held by the great De Montfort.

<sup>1</sup> "7th September, 1531" was the date, according to the *Complete Peerage*.

<sup>2</sup> John Dudley, Duke of Northamber-

land, his father, was beheaded on 22nd August, 1553, three years after his son's marriage.

## ON PREHISTORIC SAWS *versus* SICKLES.

By ROBERT MUNRO, M.A., M.D.

The article which has just appeared in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. 49 p. 53) by Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell, entitled "Notes on Early Sickles," is an interesting contribution to comparative archæology. The starting point of the author's investigations seems to be the discovery by Mr. Flinders Petrie of some remarkable sickles having the body made of wood and the cutting edge of a series of serrated flint flakes inserted into a groove along the concave side of the implement. The first example of this sickle, which I saw, was among a collection of Egyptian antiquities from Hawara, exhibited by Mr. Petrie in London in the year 1889, and it interested me very much, because I was then preparing for publication my lectures on "The Lake Dwellings of Europe," in which I had described and figured a novel implement of the same structural character found at Polada, Italy—the special difference between the two objects being that the former was a sickle or corn hook and the latter a double-handed saw. As the proof sheets were not finally out of my hands I had time to append a foot-note (p. 502), drawing attention to the similarity of structure of these two unique objects. In the following year Mr. Petrie exhibited, in the same place, another collection of early Egyptian remains from Kahum, and among them were two sickles almost identical with the one previously exhibited from Hawara. The latter two are, I presume, those from which the photographic views are taken which illustrate Mr. Spurrell's paper above referred to (Plate I, fig 1 and 2). A glance at these illustrations will enable the reader to form a clear notion of the structural details of the sickles. 1

think there can be no doubt that they were used as reaping hooks.

Alongside of the Egyptian sickles, Mr. Petrie had placed the one half of an under jaw of a large ruminant which most strikingly showed the resemblance between the two. Mr. Spurrell now advances the theory that not only was the idea of the sickle suggested to the Egyptians by the form of this bone, but that the bone itself had been in the first place used as a casing which, however, became subsequently superseded by wood, after experience had proved the latter to be preferable. On this supposition the natural teeth were of course extracted and the alveolar cavities refitted with flint saws. I confess to have some doubts about this being the preliminary stage in the evolution of the modern reaping hook. But if it were so, as bone has a better chance of resisting the destructive forces of nature, we may expect in due course to come upon one of these remarkable jaw-sickles.

We all know how readily primitive people resorted to bone and horn as the materials out of which they manufactured implements and weapons, but notwithstanding this there are few instances on record, to my knowledge, of jawbones having been so used. Passing over the fact that they might have readily served as weapons in the sense in which Samson so effectively wielded the jawbone of an ass, I can only recall two examples which furnish inherent evidence that they had been made use of as implements. At Laibach several mandibles of oxen were found, which in the opinion of the late Karl Deschmann, had been used as polishers (*Lake Dwellings of Europe* p. 177), and at Forrel the corresponding bone of a stag had been converted into an implement which M. Vouga describes as a sickle (*Ibid* fig. 13, No. 19). Of course the teeth of various animals have occasionally been mounted as tools. Canon Greenwell records an interesting example of this kind in which the incisor tooth of a beaver had been used as a cutting instrument (*British Barrows* p. 38).

But it is not to criticise Mr. Spurrell's general opinions that I write, but to defend my own published statements in regard to the above mentioned double-handed saw which, he says, is not a saw at all but portion of a sickle

similar to those found in Egypt. The question at issue between us is thus clearly defined and admits of a practical settlement by an appeal to actual facts. I may also here state that Mr. Spurrell did me the honour to inform me of his views as to the double-handed saw before he published them, and that I have twice expressed an opinion that he was in error in regarding this implement as a sickle. In reply to my last communication on the subject he thus writes :—

“ I have for many years been hunting up things of this kind, especially in regard to saws of stone, and although you have expressed a strong opinion on the object in question, I *do* think it is part of a sickle blade—partly because I cannot admit that it is a saw. I have made many experiments on saws simple and compound. However, my object in drawing attention to the matter is not to settle it, but make others look out for such rare objects, &c.”

In these circumstances, I have no alternative but to defend myself by dealing with Mr. Spurrell's statements and opinions in the most critical manner possible.

There is another curious object, of a somewhat analogous character, found at Vinelz in Switzerland, and also figured and described by me (*Lake-Dwellings of Europe* fig. 185 No. 17 and pp. 34 and 504), which Mr. Spurrell claims as a sickle and in regard to which (although it is not from me he quotes) I feel it my duty to show that the conclusion he has arrived at as to its specific use is not justified by the facts. Indeed, I am under the necessity of doing so, because he founds on it his reasons for rejecting my opinion of the Polada implement. “ This sickle,” says Mr. Spurrell, “ is called a two-handed saw by Dr. Munro, but the objections to this are all similar to those in the Vinelz example, and its resemblance to the Egyptian sickle so far as it remains is very great.” I will, therefore, deal first with the so-called Vinelz sickle which, indeed, is a strange looking object. It was fashioned into its present form, out of a piece of wood 9 inches long, and formerly contained 3 worked flints, like conical teeth, stuck in a row along one side. These flints or teeth were separated from each other by an interval of rather more than half an inch, and their tips projected above the wooden casing about  $\frac{3}{8}$  of an inch.

The object is now preserved in the Cantonal Museum at Berne, under the custody of Dr. Von Fellenberg its discoverer. In 1883 shortly after its discovery Dr. Gross figured and described it in his *Protohelvètes* (fig. 4 p. 15.) The following is his description of it :—

“ Les nombreux éclats pointus auxquels nous donnons le nom de flèches, n'ont pas tous servi à cet usage ; car M. de Fellenberg a découvert tout récemment à Fenil (Vinélz) un curieux instrument formé d'une pièce de bois, recourbée en crochet à l'un des bouts et munie d'un côté de petites excavations dans lesquelles sont fixés, avec de la résine, plusieurs de ces éclats de silex pointus. Pour faciliter le maniement de cet outil, qui probablement était utilisé comme scie, on a ménagé pres de la poignée, deux dépressions arrondies pour y placer les doigts.” (*Protohelvètes* p. 15.)

At a later period (1888), Mr. Jakob Heierli<sup>1</sup> figured this same object in the ninth report of the Pfahlbauten where he gives the following short notice of its structure :—  
“ Eine Handsäge, bestehend aus einem hölzernen Schaft mit einer Rinne, worin in Erdpach 3 Feuer steinspitzen stecken, deren 2 noch feststehen. Zum Einsetzen zweier Finger bei der Handhabung des Geräthes sind auf der Seite desselben 2 Eindümpfungen angebracht.”

Mr. Spurrell's suggestions that the implement in its present form is incomplete, and that the finger marks are due to a secondary use to which it had been put, may be correct ; nor do I quarrel with his restoration of its lost parts, except in so far as the missing pointed extremity is concerned, which, if it did exist, would go far to prove that the restored implement had not been a sickle. It will be observed that Dr. Gross describes this end as bent. Now this bending is not in the same plane as the teeth (which would have been the case had it been a sickle), but at a right angle to it. The lost point would have therefore projected laterally from the body, and strange to say (as we shall afterwards see), in the same direction as the horn of the Polada double-handed saw. Mr. Spurrell's objections to its being considered a saw are thus stated :—“ The implement is called by Heierli a double-handed saw.” (This statement is incorrect, as neither Gross nor Heierli

<sup>1</sup> This is the reference given by Mr. Spurrell.

mention any words implying the idea of a two-handed saw.) "Were such the case the great heat generated by two-handed work would soon have softened the pitch; while the deep intervals would offer so much leverage as to be dislodged and broken at once in any attempt to saw the softest wood, not to speak of bone. I set some flakes in a piece of wood to resemble this, and found it impossible to saw with it."

I agree with Mr. Spurrell that it is difficult to understand how this implement, with conical teeth set so widely apart, could have been mechanically used as a saw; and hence, in view of this difficulty, I refer to it in my work on the lake-dwellings as an object "supposed to be a saw." But whatever this objection may be worth it holds equally good against its application as a sickle. If the Swiss archaeologists are correct in their opinion that the two lateral depressions were purposely adapted for the tips of the two forefingers, then the implement must have been used in the right hand with a pushing motion from the body of the operator, as we may infer from the direction of the teeth. On the other hand, as a sickle it is just conceivable that, by drawing the implement in the reverse direction towards the body of the operator, the sharp sloping edges of the flints might be made to cut the straw. I do not, therefore, think that any argument can be founded on the structural peculiarities of the implement from Vinelz which would lead us to conclude that it was either a saw or a sickle.

I have now cleared the way for the consideration of Dr. Rambotti's famous double-handed saw of which the owner was so justly proud, more especially when I characterised it as the *prima donna* of flint saws. Let me state here that my observations were carefully obtained by inspection of the object itself. I spent upwards of a week at Desenzano, and every day visited Dr. Rambotti's house for the purpose of taking notes and sketches of the remarkable remains from the *Torbiera di Polada*. Dr. Rambotti is President of the College at Desenzano and is well known as a precise and learned antiquary. Nearly all the relics found at Polada fell into his possession, and he had an intimate knowledge of every single object in the collection. On several occasions he showed me, with the saw in his hands, how he thought it had been used. His pet

theory was that it had been made for a left handed man, because the angular position of the horn-like handle forced the manipulator to hold the butt end in the left hand. I myself handled this saw frequently, took an exact tracing of the serrated teeth and measured its various parts. Notwithstanding all these opportunities for judging of its true character, this is the summary way in which Mr. Spurrell deals with my assertions. I have, in the quotation which follows, italicised certain clauses, and all those so marked, I believe to be erroneous and in contradiction to my published report of the lake-dwelling at Polada.

“At Polada on Lago di Guarda, *about one half of a wooden sickle* was found, which has recently been figured by Dr. Munro. It has four flakes notched along the upper edge, set in a grove by means of recent or fossil pitch. One end is pointed: *it was once straight, but has been warped aside by pressure or irregular contraction, this is the gathering point. The other end is imperfect; there is no place for the hand to grasp it, but a step notch and arrangements for splicing it on to another piece, consisting of a kind of tenon with a hole in it for a rivet in this nearly resembling the like specimen from Vinelz.* In this case the teeth are very much like the Egyptian sickles. This part of a sickle with its row of flakes was unique, but it was accompanied by numerous examples of single notched flakes, and also by true saws inserted in handles.”

To do Mr. Spurrell justice I must say that, except the illustration, he had not a full description of the various parts of this novel object before him. As all the illustrations in my book were drawn to scale, and mostly taken from the objects themselves, I did not think it necessary to encumber the text with descriptive details which the eye could readily detect. That now under consideration (fig. 67, No. 12), represents the object lying on the table with the horn-like projection towards me. By turning it on its axis a quarter of a circle to the right, so as to bring the teeth uppermost, the second view given by Mr. Spurrell (fig. 8, Plate II), sufficiently well represents the appearance it would have.

The implement was fashioned out of one solid piece of wood about 16 inches long. It has a somewhat flattened

body which terminated at one end in a pointed projection,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches long; and at the other in a button like protuberance resting on a short round stem,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch long. Now I wish particularly to note the fact that this horn-like projection is not continued in the same plane as the body and the rest of the casing, but curves abruptly immediately after clearing the last flint, so that, in the position in which it lay before me, the horn rose upwards from the table at an angle of about 40°. Mr. Spurrell's supposition is that this deflection is due to warping, but, even should this be the case and were it restored to the same plane, it would not correspond to the gathering point of the sickle, as it would then be very nearly in a straight line with the cutting edge of the flints. The other end of the implement is totally different from the former. Its widest part is the terminal disc of the protuberance and from it springs a slender loop left in the solid. How could this inverted cone be used as a tenon to fit into any cavity or what strain could the thin margin of the perforation bear were a pin inserted into it, seeing that the force must have been applied along the fibre of the wood? I have no doubt whatever that this end was intended as a handle which afforded a good grip to the first two fingers and thumb, and that the sole use of the little hole was to enable the owner to carry the implement about with him suspended by a string.

When I saw this object some four years ago, the entire wooden casing showed that it had been neatly worked, being smooth and polished all over; certainly there was nothing to suggest the idea that it was a fragment. On the contrary, as a saw which could be used by both hands at the same time, the implement appeared to me singularly complete.

But looking at the subject from a wider standpoint than mere assertion, I have to note that the Polada implement is differentiated from the Egyptian sickles by one or two important points which may help to decide the question that has been raised.

(1) It will be observed that the line formed by the cutting edge of the four flints in the saw is straight; while in all the sickles this line is curved corresponding to the curve in the wooden casing.



(2) Again the flints in the former terminate abruptly and leave a deep depression at each end of the cutting edge; in the latter the flints shelve off into the wood so gradually as to bring the inner side of the gathering point, as well as that of the posterior portion of the implement, into the same line as the cutting edge. The force of these remarks will be readily understood.

Both Mr. Spurrell and I use the word "unique" in our respective descriptions of the Polada implement, but as it would appear, with different meanings. I have used the word not in the sense that it was the only object of the kind discovered, but because it was the only complete example. Other two casings precisely similar to it were found in the same place, but as they wanted the flints they were comparatively ignored by me. One of these, Dr. Rambotti informed me, was picked up by a little girl who stated that when she found it there were flints in it, but that they afterwards dropped out. I am sorry that I did not pay so much attention to them as to be able to say from recollection whether the bend in the horn-like handles was in the same direction as that in the *prima donna* or not. I have here, however, beside me a descriptive notice of the first object of this kind that came into Dr. Rambotti's hands, and as it contained no flints its purpose was then a matter of conjecture. It is therefore worthy of special note that Dr. Rambotti therein mentions that the point was bent at an angle. This description is taken from the catalogue of an exhibition of prehistoric and art objects held at Brescia in August 1875, at which Dr. Rambotti's collection so far as then completed, formed one of its greatest attractions. It reads thus:—"Un bastone lungo 38 centimetri piegato ad angolo; una delle estremità ha forma di manico, e l'altra finisce in punta. Lungo la tratta maggiore e più grossa ha una scanalatura contenente catrame. Era forse destinata a ricevere piccole schegge di selce, per formare una sega? serviva per lavorare reti?"

With these remarks I close the controversial portion of this communication, and I do so with the greater pleasure because, in what follows, I fall most cordially in line with the tenor of Mr. Spurrell's arguments. The discovery of such compound implements, whether they be saws or sickles, opens up a new and suggestive channel of inquiry

which archaeologists should not overlook. Already, as Mr. Spurrell remarks, the Egyptian sickles "have helped greatly to explain many things not hitherto understood."

The specialisation of the saw as a separate tool from the knife, both of which were originally one and the same, must be dated far back in prehistoric times, for we find saws among the relics of the Reindeer period in France, the Kjökkenmöddings of Denmark, and other remains of a pre-neolithic character. During the neolithic civilisation in Europe the use of saws, mostly made of flint, was general; and implements so widely distributed both in space and time must have undergone certain modifications dependent on the social exigencies or fancies of the various peoples who used them. Hence, like all other stone implements, some forms of saws are recognised by archaeologists to be peculiar to certain geographical or archaeological districts, as for example the well known semilunar types of Scandinavia. The abundance of the so-called flint saws during the Stone Age in Europe, contrasted with the rarity of this implement when made of bronze in the succeeding age, has attracted considerable attention. Of bronze saws only some half-a-dozen examples have been collected among the remains of the lake-dwellings. This apparent falling off in their numbers I have endeavoured to account for partly by the large number of sharp cutting instruments which suddenly appeared as a consequence of the knowledge and use of the metals, and were better adapted for many of the purposes to which the saws were formerly put, such as the making of arrow-stems, wooden handles, &c. On the other hand, it is to be observed, that the relative frequency of the sickles is reversed in these two ages. In the Bronze age, next to the celts or axes, sickles are amongst the most common objects found on the sites of lake-dwellings, as well as among hoards and other sources of antiquities; whereas in the Stone Age there is scarcely any object known that goes under the name of a sickle. But there must have been sickles in the Stone Age as well as in the Bronze Age. The cultivation of corn was not confined to the latter, as we find agricultural implements and even various kinds of grain among the débris of the earliest neolithic stations. What, therefore, it may be here asked, was the form and character of the implement which in the Stone

Age supplied the function of the bronze sickle? Sir John Evans has offered some suggestions on this problem. In his "Ancient Stone Implements" he has figured three curved flints (Figs. 268-270), which he is inclined to think "may not impossibly have supplied the place of sickles or reaping-hooks, whether for cutting grass to serve as provender or bedding, or for removing the ears of corn from the straw." . . . . The analogy in form between these flint blades and those of the bronze reaping-hooks occasionally found in Britain is striking, when we leave the sockets by which the latter were secured to their handles out of view. These also have usually the outer edge sharp as well as the inner, but for what purpose I cannot say" (p. 320.) But with the knowledge now supplied by these recent discoveries we may go a step further and at least surmise that compound sickles like the Egyptian ones might have been in use during the Stone Age period in Europe. As a bearing on this argument it matters little whether the Polada implements be sickles or saws. They establish the important fact that the method of combining flints by fitting them up in a wooden casing was known and practised by the neolithic people of Lombardy. It is not therefore an improbable hypothesis that some of the so-called flint saws, now and then picked up on the fields, may have been the teeth of sickles lost or worn out and thrown away during the operation of harvesting. That none of these casings have as yet come to light is no doubt a regrettable missing link. When, however, we think of the imperfection of the archæological record, especially as regards the wooden relics of these early ages, owing to the liability of wood to decay, and that, indeed, it is only under exceptional circumstances that any of them have come down to the present time, the absence of such casings for sickles need not cause astonishment. The handles of bronze sickles, notwithstanding that their numbers are known to have been very great, are so extremely rare that only one or two specimens have come to light. Before lacustrine researches revealed the rich materials left by the long-forgotten lake dwellers where could we point to a practical demonstration of the various methods of hafting the stone and bronze axes which have been collected in thousands all over

Europe? Sir John Lubbock in his "Prehistoric Times" had even as late as 1869, to borrow illustrations on this point from the implements of modern savages. But such poverty of wooden relics is no longer a feature of the prehistoric remains of Central Europe, owing mainly as I have just said to the diligence of the *lacustreur*. The most perishable and delicate object when dropped into a preservative matrix, such as the muddy deposits of a lake, becomes, as it were, embalmed and so it is rendered durable for ages. In this way prehistoric civilization has now become illustrated by a wonderful assortment of wooden implements, weapons, household utensils, &c. Among these are numerous examples of single flint saws still retaining their wooden or horn handles. These handles assume various forms as may be seen by a glance at the seven or eight illustrations of them in my manual of the "Lake-Dwellings of Europe."

For what purpose or purposes these numerous saws were used it is hard to say. I believe, however, that by a careful examination of the peculiarities of their teeth, and other details as to form and size, it may be possible to classify them functionally. A flint intended to cut straw might be differently toothed from that used for sawing a piece of horn or wood. Stone, we now know, was sawn by a thin board of wood and dry sand. The flint saw of which I have given an illustration (*Ibid* fig. 68. No. 20), shows by the slanting grooves on one side, that all its teeth pointed in one direction, like those of a modern cross-cut saw. This peculiarity in the setting of the teeth, I have sometimes noticed on the finely serrated saws. Dr. Joseph Anderson has lately called my attention to the frequency with which these minutely toothed saws, turn up from among the relics from the blown sands in Scotland. They are generally of small size, from 1 to 3 inches in length, and often show a glistening polished band, of small breadth, along the cutting margin. There must, surely, be more things than ripe straw which could produce such polish. Yet I must own that these sharp saws could readily be used to cut off the ears of corn, provided only a few were caught by the hand at one time. In this case the left hand would be the corn gatherer and the flint in the right, the separating implement. By com-

binning these two actions in one implement we produce the sickle, which is therefore merely a form of saw adapted for a special purpose.

Canon Greenwell found in one barrow in Yorkshire not less than 79 flint saws, in regard to which he says:—"Many of the saws are very delicately serrated, some along both edges, and showing by the glaze upon the edge that they had been in use. The number of saws was very surprising, and far exceeded the aggregate of those obtained from all the barrows I have opened; and it is by no means easy to give any reasonable explanation of the phenomenon."

Whether or not the saws here referred to by Canon Greenwell formed part of an industrial implement or warlike weapon, of which wood was a component part, it is impossible to say, as there is no probability that any of the woodwork would remain without decay in such a place. Indeed, wood is rarely found in barrows or underground chambers, unless the soil contains some preservative element such as lime or chalk. This was well exemplified by the discoveries made some years ago in the anciently worked salt mines at Salzbouurg, where wooden handles for celts, together with portions of coarse cloth, were found in a perfect state of preservation, owing to the preservative qualities of the salt with which they had become saturated.

To pursue this subject further with profit would require more time for observations and research than at present is at my disposal. Let me conclude, therefore, by saying that though I dispute Mr. Spurrell's claim to classify the Polada double-handed saw among the early sickles, I do hope that an indisputable example of the compound flint sickle will soon turn up nearer home than Egypt, were it only to corroborate his theory and thereby enhance the value of his very suggestive "Notes on Early Sickles."

## ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS IN BRITAIN 1890-1891.

BY F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

I have to apologise for my delay in producing my annual article on recent discoveries of Roman inscriptions in Britain. Perhaps I may venture, in partial mitigation of my shortcomings, to plead the dislocation of arrangements inevitably consequent on a change of residence and occupation. I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to examine myself all the texts which I edit, and I may hope that, in one or two cases, such examination has proved itself beneficial. The inscriptions printed below include all the recent discoveries or improved readings of old texts which have come to my knowledge since my last article with the exception (1) of one or two recent finds belonging to my next article and (2) of the Chester inscriptions, my reasons for omitting which are given in Chapter XVII. The list comprises several inscriptions of very high interest, notably the Colchester dedication to "Mars Medocius Campesium," the Binchester altar to the *Matres Ollototae*, a Carlisle legionary tile, a milestone of Victorinus, and two west country inscriptions, which I was lucky enough to unearth in two local museums. The interest of these pieces must account for the somewhat unwieldy length of my commentaries on two or three of them, though I have reserved my notes on some of them for a separate article. I have lastly to thank many friends for assistance in procuring access to, in reading, or in understanding the inscriptions here edited, and to add that I shall, at all times, be very grateful for any account of any new find.<sup>1</sup> I think it is not wholly unfair to expect such assistance from other English archæologists.

<sup>1</sup> Letters should be addressed to *Christchurch, Oxford*.

As before, I have followed the *Corpus* in the arrangement of matter, and in the order of inscriptions. I begin with Cornwall and work upwards, prefixing to each district-heading the number of the section or chapter in the great Berlin collection. Where an inscription has been already edited in the *Corpus* or *Ephemeris*, I give the reference in square brackets at the head of the notice. For convenience I number consecutively with my last article.

Chief Abbreviations :—

*C* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* : where no Roman numerals follow, the British volume, VII, edited by Prof. Hübner (Berlin 1873), is meant.

*Eph.* = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, supplements to the above. The supplements to *C*, vol. vii, are in *Eph.* iii and iv (by Prof. Hübner), and in vii (by myself).

*Arch. Ael.* = *Archæologia Æliana* the Journal of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.

*Arch. Journ.* = Journal of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

*Proc. Soc. Ant.* = Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London (or, if Newcastle is added, of Newcastle).

In expansions of the inscriptions, round brackets denote the expansion of an abbreviation, square brackets the supplying of letters, which, owing to breakage or other cause, are not now on the stone, but which may be presumed to have been there.

## I. CORNWALL.

74. Ingot of pure tin, 21 in. long by 6 in. wide, weighing 39½ lbs. found at Carnunton, Mawgan in Pydar, Cornwall, now in Truro Museum. It has several stamps much obscured by "blistering" of the tin but apparently of two types :—

(a) Helmeted head, possibly with shield in front, resembling fourth century types.

(b) Inscription in label, possibly reading

I E N S }

[ ? *d(ominorum)* ] *a(ostrorum)*.

Noted and copied by myself; the Rev. W. Iago has since sent me photographs and the Curator of the Museum has sent me rubbings. Mr. A. J. Evans, to whom I have shewn these, agrees that the head is fourth century and goes so far as to put it either in the early or the very late part of that period. The lettering must, I fear, remain uncertain.

I give above only what at the time of copying seemed to me most likely; the  $\aleph$  is, perhaps, less uncertain than the  $\text{I E}$  (or  $\text{I F}$ .) It is probable that  $\text{DD NN}$  (*dominorum nostrorum*) may once have stood. A bar of lead found at Worms and now in the Museum there bears the letters  $\text{DDD NNN}$  (the three  $\text{N}$ 's are "tied" together) no doubt representing the government stamp, though it is curious not to find the emperors' actual names given. The fourth century gold bars lately found in Transilvania are similarly stamped  $\text{DDD NNN}$  without the emperors' names.

Obscure as these stamps are, they possess real interest. They are the only proofs, yet discovered, that Cornish tin was seriously worked in Roman times. Hitherto, the best evidence had been that of the fourth century ingots found near Battersea (see No. 84), and these, besides being pewter, are by no means certainly of British production. Other evidence that the Romans mined or were ever permanently present in Cornwall was scarce, and Mr. R. N. Worth, F.G.S., asserted last summer that there had never been any real Roman occupation of Cornwall (*Proceedings of the Devonshire Association*, xxiii, 49). The case, however, is not so bad as that. The truth, I believe to be, that the early Cornish tin trade, which Posidonius and Cæsar knew, died out about the beginning of our era, possibly because the Romans had just discovered the real site of the "Cassiterides" in N.W. Spain.<sup>1</sup> For two hundred years we know nothing about Cornwall. The Romans may have conquered it: they may have designedly "neglected" it, as they neglected certain unprofitable uplands in Dalmatia and elsewhere. Certainly it was not till the third and fourth centuries that we can say the tin trade revived, and to this period belong most of the datable Roman remains found in the county, the milestones at Tintagel and St. Hilary,<sup>2</sup> the hoards of coins, the Bossens cup (No. 1 = C. n. 1), and a few other objects.

The discovery of the stamps now published proves that

<sup>1</sup> The recent researches of Usener, Rhys, and others, have made it almost certain that—as Cornish antiquaries suggested many years ago (see e.g. *Journal R.I.C.* ii, 275, 343; iii, p. xv)—the Cassiterides were not near Cornwall, but off N.W. Spain. Cornish tin reached the Mediterranean across Gaul.

<sup>2</sup> The readings of these two stones are in some details uncertain. I doubt, for instance, if Licinianus is really named on the Tintagel stone. But they are ordinary road-stones, and there is not the slightest reason for supposing them to be anything else, as some recent writers appear to have done.



mining was officially recognised in the fourth century. Possibly it was of no great extent, but was pursued mostly by small diggers, like some of the Spanish mining in Roman times, or some of the modern coal-workings of the Donez in S. Russia. Certainly, so far as I could tell by personal inspection, no other tin ingot accessible in Cornwall<sup>1</sup> has any Roman stamp, though the Penzance Museum possesses a block inscribed with what may be a mediæval trade-mark. But the tin mining has been carried on so industriously for six centuries that the survival of even one old ingot is matter for surprise and gratitude, and it may be rash to draw conclusions *ex silentio*. I must add that it is equally rash to reverse the process and argue that, because ingots would easily be melted down, therefore many of them *must* have met this fate: this assumes that there once were "many."

75. ADDENDA.—The last (tenth) volume of the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* contains notes by the Rev. W. Jago on the Cornish inscriptions of my last article: p. 219 the *pelvis LESBIUS F*: p. 248 the bowl of *Aelius Modestus*; p. 262 the Tintagel stone.

## DEVON.

76. In the *Proceedings of the Devonshire Association* (xxiii. [1891], p. 89) Mr. R. N. Worth, prints a copy, by Mr. J. M. Martin, of an inscription—*D. M. Camilius Saturnalis Camilie Natule patronæ merentissime fecit*, which he says was found in Musgrave's Alley, Exeter: was then built up into the porch of Musgrave House with a bust of Julia Domna from Bath, and was finally lost when the porch was pulled down in 1877. Mr. Worth has apparently overlooked the fact that the same inscription has been published several times before, and does not belong to Exeter. It was found at Tarragona in Spain, and brought to Exeter by Musgrave, who wrote a pamphlet about it. Even Mr. Worth's misattribution has been anticipated: it was made by Shortt in his *Silva Antiqua Iscana* (p. 93), and duly corrected by Dr. Hübner (c. ii. 4346, vii. p. 13.).

<sup>1</sup> Five are mentioned by R. S. Poole *Journal R.I.C.*, pt. iv, p. 1, the one here discussed, the Penzance specimen, one from St. Mawes and two from St. Austell.

Mr. R. N. Worth tells me there is also an uninscribed tin pig in the Plymouth Museum, but I do not know its date.

77. Seal of carnelian with a bearded head and inscribed, found in a garden near Musgrave's Alley, Exeter.

SEVERIVS POMPEIVS

R. N. Worth, *Proceedings of the Devonshire Assoc.* xxiii, 89, apparently from Shortt. A fairly certain forgery.

78. Tile found at Honey-ditches (Hanna-ditches), about a mile N. of Seaton, Devonshire : now in Taunton Museum. The letters are rudely but not badly made.

Δ Μ Η Ο Η Χ

*leg(io) ii Aug(usta)*

Copied by myself : I believe it to be unpublished.

One or two other objects from this spot (*e.g.* a lead pipe) are at Taunton, more tiles, pottery, &c. in the Albert Memorial Museum at Exeter, and the books mention coins (one of Valens), pottery, a "lachrymatory," roof tiles, wrought stone, &c. (Lyson's *Britannia* vi., p. cccxi. *Proceedings of the Devonshire Association* xvii, 280 ; xxiii, 81. Traces of buildings have been found (marked "Roman Villa" in the Ordnance maps) and a Roman road, or something very like one, runs towards the spot from near Axminster, but some earthworks close by, no doubt the same as those which Stukely and Gough call "an oblong moated camp of three acres" (Gough's *Camden* i. 59), are said to be Danish. General Pitt Rivers, in the third volume of his *Excavations in Bokerly Dyke, etc.*, puts a villa at Seaton and the name *Muridunum* with a query, but marks no Roman road near it. Mr. J. B. Rowe's paper on "Roman Devon" in the Plymouth Institution Reports says nothing about Seaton.

The accounts given of the remains are unsatisfactory. *Camden* thought Seaton was the *Muridunum* of the "Itinerary" and Musgrave, Gale, Stukely, followed him, but his conjecture, as he admits, was based solely on "the distance and the etymology" and is more characteristic of *Camden* than worth criticism in itself. On the other hand, Mr. R. N. Worth, F.G.S., in his recent Presidential address to the Devonshire Association (*Proceedings* xxiii (1891) p. 48) says the place was "not much, if at all, beyond a farm place." This description obviously does not fit with a

legionary inscription and lead piping, and it is greatly to be regretted that, so far as I know, no adequate account exists in print of what really has been found on this spot. Unless the Taunton labels have misled me, a part, at least, of the *Legio ii Augusta* must have been stationed at Seaton, and this is remarkable. Throughout the larger portion of Romano-British history, that legion was quartered at Caerleon, and that fortress was occupied in the early years of the Roman Conquest (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 34, 38; Mommsen *Röm. Gesch.* v. 162). It does not follow that it was first occupied by this particular legion, but we have no contrary evidence and very slight traces of these troops in the west or elsewhere. A lead pig of Nero's reign mentioned in my last article (p. 258) may have come from the Mendip mines and may bear the mark of this legion, but both points are doubtful. We know, too, that Vespasian commanded this legion and that he conquered the Isle of Wight, subdued two powerful tribes, and took more than twenty fortified places (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 44, Suet. *Vesp.* 4), but we have no special authority for placing the conquests in the S.W. of our island. We have also the statement of Ptolemy (ii. 3. 12) that the second Augustan legion was stationed at or near Exeter, but it is uncertain what we are to make of it. It may be a simple confusion of *Isca Dumnoniorum* with *Isca Silurum*; it may also be drawn from an early source and preserve a trace of an arrangement which has ceased to exist long before Ptolemy wrote. There are traces in Ptolemy both of inaccuracy and of writing which is "not up to date," and it is difficult to choose.<sup>1</sup> We have also to reckon with the possibility—it is hardly more—of the central *depôt* at Caerleon supplying what garrisons were needed for the South-west, just as the Chester *depôt* supplied garrisons along the coast of N. Wales. On the whole, it is not impossible that some of these details may hang together and belong to the early years of the conquest. But till we know more of Honey-ditches, it is rash to decide. The energetic Devonshire Association will, I hope, take the matter in hand.

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy's account of Dacia probably represents the province of Trajan, not under Hadrian and his successors (*Arch.*

*Journ.* xlviii, 6; *West. arch. q. iyr. motto* xiii, 144.)

## IV. WINCHESTER.

79. "Julius Caesar does not seem to have been here . . . but some of his troops must have passed through it; a plate from one of his standards, bearing his name and profile, having been found buried in a sandbed in the neighbourhood."

W. Howitt *Visits to Remarkable Places*, First Series (1840) p. 414 = p. 272 ed. 1882. I reprint this, to keep it on record, but I do not know to what it refers. The Emperor's *imago* had certainly its place on certain standards.

## V. SILCHESTER.

The recent excavations conducted by Mr. G. E. Fox and Mr. W. H. St. John Hope for the Society of Antiquaries have resulted in several minor epigraphic discoveries—a marble fragment, a bronze roundel, a bit of glass, and several potters' marks and *graffiti* on Samian (pseudo-Arretine ware). I have to thank Mr. Fox and Mr. Hope for full information about, and access to, these objects.

80. Purbeck marble fragment, 10in. by 7in., forming the bottom left hand corner of an inscription.

1  
I N I  
A T

Copied by myself; the cut is reproduced, with leave, from Mr. Fox's report (*Archæologia* liii, 282). The last letter of line two is certainly I, not F; I do not know what was in line 1. Any guess as to sense would be idle, but the fragment may have belonged, with other Purbeck marble fragments (C. 9. 1338<sup>a</sup>) found by Mr. Joyce, to some inscription connected with the Forum or its buildings. It is useless to attempt any piecing here, as the letters of such an inscription would naturally have varied in size, and the existing drawings known to me are not made to scale.

81. Bronze circular ornament of pierced work, 2½ in. in diameter; in the centre an eagle with a thunderbolt, and behind it a peg to attach the object (to wood or leather perhaps). Round is an inscription.

8COHOPTIM8...M

Copied by myself; the illustration is reproduced, by leave, from Mr. Fox's report *Arch.* liii. 268; first published (with No. 80) *Builder* Jan. 16, 1892 (p. 41).

This object must be put beside two others found res-



Inscriptions from Silchester







Bronze Roundel from High Rochester.



pectively at High Rochester and York. The former, now at Alnwick, is perfect and is inscribed *8COHOPTIM8MAXIM* (*Lapid* n. 578, C. n. 1290). The annexed cut, reproduced by leave from the "Lapidarium," will shew that we are justified in supplying MAX to the Silchester example, though a small variation in the XIM leaves a slight difference in detail between the two objects. The other roundel, found and preserved at York (*Eph.* vii. n. 1160: *Arch. Journ.* xlvii. 260) shews the same eagle, but the only letter I could make out was an M.

The meaning of the inscription is not at all clear. It must obviously be something applicable to a class of objects, and not merely to a single case or person. Its occurrence at High Rochester and York suggests that these objects were military ornaments of some sort, and it is easy to compare the eagles within circlets which appear on certain praetorian standards on Trajan's Column and other monuments,<sup>1</sup> though the resemblance is not very close. Moreover, the eagle, and the practical certainty that some case of *optimus maximus* occurs in the lettering, refer us to Juppiter. Unfortunately the remaining letters are obscure. The two which resemble '8' are perhaps stops, but the COH—possibly also COM or COX—does not provide us with *Iovis* or anything else desirable.

82. On the bottom of a glass vessel, in raised letters, complete :—

FRO  
*Fro(n)tinus*)

Copied by myself. Glass stamped with some form or part of the name *Frontinus* is common in most parts of Western Europe, not least in France.

## VI. SUSSEX.

83. Silver *patera* (saucepan), *trouvée près de Daurres, dans une propriété appelée Caspet, située aux environs d' Hastings*: round the bottom outside in cursive characters

NVM AVGV8 DEO M....ROMVLVS CAMVLO  
GENI FIL  
POSVIT

*Num(inibus) Augus(torum), deo M[arti?] Romulus Camulogeni fil. posuit* [or *Num(ini) Augus(ti), etc.*]

<sup>1</sup> Domaszewski *Fahnen im römischen Heere* pp. 31, 41, 57 foll. Two are figured in the new *Dict. of Antiquities* ii. 674.

Exhibited by M. Héron de Villefosse to the Soc. Nationale des Antiquaires de France Febr. 8, 1888; described, with two cuts, *Bulletin des Antiq.*, 1888, p. 129. *Gazette Archéol.*, xiii (1888), Chronique, p. 4. I should be greatly obliged for further information about this remarkable find, which appears equally unknown in Sussex and at the British Museum. I have been unable also to discover the whereabouts of "Caspet." It is unknown even to the Post-office officials, as the Hastings Postmaster courteously informs me. M. Héron de Villefosse tells me that the name was written by the seller himself on the Louvre register. It is possible that the English law of "treasure trove" frightened the seller into a false *provenance*.

The dedicator's names are remarkable. Romulus is not uncommon. Despite the prevailing notion that it appeared only at the beginning and end of Roman history we find it borne by persons of very various classes in many of the western provinces. Camulogenus occurs two or three times elsewhere and is a genuine Keltic name formed from the name of the god Camulus the well known Keltic Mars, who gave his name to Camulodunum and was worshipped in Britain (C. n. 1103 = *Eph.* vii. n. 1093. Antonine's Wall.) The suffix-*genus* is a common one, regularly denoting descent from a mythical or unreal ancestor. The occurrence of the name here supports the idea of M. de Villefosse that the letters after *Deo M.* were as given, *M[arti]*, not *M[erc.]* for *Mercurio*. The combination of the two notable names is in itself curious, and the fact that the father had a Keltic name while the son had a Roman one shews that they lived in a period of transition. The Romanization of Britain seems to have proceeded so slowly that we can prescribe no special epoch for the lives of these men but they are worth noting if only because such examples of transition in nomenclature are rarer in Britain than abroad. I am particularly indebted to M. Héron de Villefosse for most kindly presenting two cuts to represent the handle and the inscription of the *pattera*.

#### VIII. LONDON.


84. [C. n., 1221a] Some thirty years ago some flat inscribed blocks of pewter were dredged up in the Thames



The Caspet patera.



near Battersea bridge, and found their way to the British Museum (*Arch. Journ.* xvi., 89., xxiii., 68; *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 1863, p. 235, 1865, p. 93). In the autumn of 1890 more were discovered in the Thames at Wandsworth, close to Battersea. I have seen three, perhaps all found, two in the York Museum (*Catal.*, p. 245), one in the British Museum. The two kinds of stamps on them are identical with those on one of the earlier finds, though (*a*) was at first misread:—

(*a*) SPES IN DEO round the monogram 

(*b*) SYAGRI *Syagri*

Of the York specimens, one weighs  $17\frac{1}{2}$  lbs., is  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 10$  in. across, and bears stamp (*a*) twice, stamp (*b*) three times; the other, of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  lbs., is  $10 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$  in., and has the monogram and inscription each twice.

Copied by myself: I do not think there can be any doubt that the letters round the monogram in each are *spes in deo*; though not all are complete, they supplement each other, and one at least of the stamps in the British Museum is perfect and plain.

The metal of which these slabs are composed is lead and tin mixed, in proportion of about four parts tin to one part lead, and cannot be connected with any certainty with the Cornish tin mining (see No. 74). Canon Raine, using an analysis by Mr. J. F. Walker, suggests that it was used "to wash over Roman brass coins, to make them resemble silver." These "washed" coins must not be confounded with the debased silver, also current in the Lower Empire, which contained so little silver as to be really copper.

The following is a complete list of these pewter blocks:—

(*a*) With the monogram SPES IN DEO round it, and the stamp SYAGRI:—

(1) 7 in. by 5 in., each stamp twice, oval: incrustated with mud.

(2)  $9\frac{3}{4}$  in. by  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in., each stamp twice, oval.

(3)  $6\frac{3}{4}$  in. by 4 in., monogram once, *Syagri* twice, oval: probably imperfect.

(4)  $13\frac{3}{4}$  in. by 5 in., each stamp three times, oval; this is the new British Museum specimen mentioned above.

(5-6) The York specimens as described.

(b) With the monogram and something roughly resembling  $\Lambda \Omega$  on it, and the stamp SYAGRIVS in two lines:—

(7)  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 5 in., monogram once, oblong stamp twice.

(8)  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in. by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in., each stamp twice, oval; the name is not quite the same as in 7.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. F. Ll. Griffith for help in procuring these details, which, I believe, have not been fully given before.

85 ADDENDA.—In No. 8, p. 235, line 16, for “discharge of veteran” read “appointment of officer.” In No. 10, p. 236, for *dibus* = *diebus* compare an inscription found in South Italy *d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum), Lucunda vir(it) au(nis) ii, m(en)ses) iii dibus xi, pater fili(a)e dulcissim(ae)* (*Eph.* viii, 257, the reading is certain). With Anstalis for Augustalis compare Hostedunum, medieval name (A.D. 1300) of Augustodunum, now Autun,

#### IX. SOMERSETSHIRE.

86. Leaden objects, perhaps weights, from the Roman lead workings above Cheddar, at Charterhouse on Mendip; now in Taunton Museum.

(1)	III	roughly	$2\frac{3}{4}$ oz.
(2)	S	..	$5\frac{3}{4}$ oz.
(3)	VI	..	11 oz.
(4)	II	..	$19\frac{1}{2}$ oz.

Copied by myself: they have not, I believe, been published before. I should be greatly obliged if any reader of this paper could put me in the way of the inscribed stones found at Charterhouse some years since. I have been told that they are still there, but I could learn nothing on the spot.

#### X. GIRENCESTER, GLOUCESTER.

87. Iron ring, with *nicolo* (onyx), with a rudely cut horse and the letters

MA  
=

Communicated to me by my friend Prof. Middleton, who copied it. The letters, I presume, denote the owner's initials.

CORRECTION For J. Bowly, Esq., of Siddington Hall, read Chr. Bowly, Esq., of Siddington House.

XI. MIDLAND COUNTIES.

88. ADDENDVM—[Eph. vii. 842: *Arch. Journ.* xlvii. p. 239, n. 22]. I have lately had an opportunity of examining this fragment in the Restoration works office at Peterborough; to my former reading must be added the



end of an A or M over the E. I have thought it worth while to have a Meisenbach block made of the fragment. I have to thank Mr. J. T. Irvine for continued help in dealing with this stone.

89. Altar 18 in. broad, 36 in. high, in the garden of Mr. H. Parsons, Elsfield, near Oxford.

I · O · M	<i>I(ovi) o(ptimo) M(aximo)</i>
ET · DIS · PATRIS	<i>et dis patri(i)s</i>
L · SEP · NVCKERIN	<i>L. Sep(timius) Nucernius</i>
VS AEL · NVCKER · F	<i>Ael(i) Nucern(i) filius</i>
5. B · COS	<i>b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis)</i>
V · S · L · M	<i>v. s. l. m.</i>

Copied by myself; I have to thank Professor Pelham for telling me of the stone. There can be, I fear, no doubt that the object is a forgery, and Dr. Mommsen, to whom I sent a squeeze, agrees. The lettering is bad, notably the M, which does not carry its central point down to the line (M, not M), and is wholly out of place in an

inscription which must belong to the 2nd or 3rd centuries. The change of *nomina*, *Septimius* to *Aelius*, is also suspicious, though not wholly unknown, and so, adds Dr. Mommsen, is the mention of the *di patrii* in this particular context. The stone has been in its present place for many years, and I suspect it was forged by or palmed off on Francis Wise, antiquary, friend of Johnson, and librarian of the Ratchliffe Library in Oxford, about 1754, who resided at Elsfield in the house where the inscription now is. I have vainly endeavoured, however, to find any reference to it in Wise's books and MSS. in the Bodleian and British Museum. There are two carved rosettes in relief on the sides which seemed to me also un-Roman.

## XII. COLCHESTER.

90. Bronze tablet of an ordinary shape, oblong with *ansae* at the ends, measuring 8 in. in length by  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in. in width, and inscribed with five lines of letters formed (as they often are on metal) by small points hammered in. A hole over the top line shews it was intended to be fastened to a wall. It was found in Dec., 1891, within the precincts of the Benedictine monastery of St. John on the south side of the town outside the Roman walls and was sent by Mr. Charles Golding to the Society of Antiquaries: it has since been purchased by Mr. A. W. Franks, P.S.A.

DEO . MARTI . MEDOCIO . CAMP  
ESIVM . ET VICTORIE ALEXAN  
DRI . PII FELICIS . AVGVSTI . NOSI  
DONVM . LOSSIO . VEDA . DE . SVO  
POSVIT . NEPOS . VEPOGENI . CALEDO

Copied by myself; see *Proc. Soc. Ant.* xiv (1892), 108. *Deo Marti Medocio Campesium et Victoriae Alexandri Pii Felicis Augusti nos[tr.]i, donum Lossio Veda de suo posuit—nepos Vepogeni Caledo.*

This, as it stands, must apparently be translated:

'To Mars Medocius, god of the Campeses, and to the Victory of the Emperor Alexander, a gift from his own purse from Lossio Veda, grandson of Vepogenus, a Caledonian, that is the tablet was erected to a native god and to the reigning Emperor Severus Alexander (A.D. 222—235) by a dedicator whose names appear to be Keltic and possibly Caledonian. Unfortunately he has described the



god, the emperor, the dedication, and himself in very odd ways. I reserve the discussion for a separate article.

91. Urn with bones in it, containing another urn with bones; with an inscription scratched under the rim.

PVIIRORVM  
*puerorum*

Sent to me by Mr. H. Laver, F.S.A., May 25, 1891.

92. ADDENDVM [See No. 27, p. 242]. Mr. Whitley Stokes has suggested to me that VASSV may be a Keltic word, either the Gaulish dative singular of Vassos, or the nominative singular of a stem in-*u*. The stem, of course, appears in many Keltic names, Vasso on a *pelvis* from the S. of France and an altar in Germany, Vassorix, Vassedo, Vassinus and others.

XIV. LYDNEY.

In looking through Mr. Bathurst's collection of remains discovered in the *Favum Nodantis*, I made a few notes which may be worth reproducing.

93. A small fragment of lead, 3¼in. long, 1¼in. wide, inscribed

ABCDEF...

Copied by myself. Alphabets scratched or painted on small objects are extremely common, whether Greek, Roman (as at Pompei), or of mediæval date.

94. Piece of bronze 3½in. long, apparently a handle with a few undecipherable letters struck twice. Two appeared to be

7 A

Copied by myself: I mention only to avoid any confusion.

95. [C. n. 141 Eph. vii. 849]. The bronze letters now preserved at Lydney do not quite correspond to those given in Mr. C. W. King's *Antiquities of Lydney Park* (p. 51, Plate xxii), perhaps because Mr. King was able to piece letters now fragmentary. I noted the following, besides a number of small fragments:—

one A	two I
D	R
N	three L
O or Q	six A or V

It is of course idle to attempt to restore any inscription from these.

96. [C. n. 1218]. This is not a pig of lead but a bit 2 in. by 1 in.  $\frac{1}{8}$  in thick, stamped with small letters very like those on Samian (pseudo-Arretine) ware twice over.

## DOCCAISL

Copied by myself; Mr. Bathurst has since sent me a cast in sealingwax. The reading appears certain, but what exactly the final L means I do not know; it seems not to be an inverted F (*fecit*), and may be only part of the moulding round the word. Doccius is known as a potter's name (Schuermans 1962-6).

## XVII. CHESTER.

The recent excavations carried on in the North City Wall at Chester (Nov., 1890—March, 1892) have produced a large number of inscriptions, nearly all tombstones, and, to a large extent, tombstones of soldiers. After considerable hesitation, I have decided to omit these inscriptions here, partly because this article is already too long, partly because I am still uncertain about the exact readings of certain stones, and I do not wish to break up the finds. I hope to be able to treat the discoveries connectedly before very long. Meantime, I print a few inscribed tiles.

97. [Eph. vii., 1138.] Fragment of tile found in 1891: now in possession of Mr. G. W. Shrubsole. The letters have been stamped twice, one over the other, but are clear.

G X X A N T O
---------------

*leg(ion) ex anto(niniana)*

Copied by myself. This confirms the supplement proposed by Mr. W. T. Watkin for two fragmentary tiles found a few years earlier in Chester, and bearing the letters ANTO (*Arch. Journ.*, xliii., 289). They shew that the twentieth legion, early in the third century, adopted the title *Antoniniana* in commemoration of the reigning emperors, and, incidentally, they prove (what indeed was not doubtful) that the headquarters of the legion were in Chester at this time. Similarly we find the additions *Ser(eriana)*, *Gor(diana)* on tiles of the Sixth Legion at York, *Ant(oiniana)* on a tile of the Second Legion at Caerleon (C. 1222. *h*), and titles borrowed from Gordian





Altar from Woodcock:

Postumus and Tetricus on inscriptions of the cohort in garrison at Birdoswald. This form of title, which is very common, must be carefully distinguished from epithets like *Aelia*, *Flavia* (e.g. *Cohors Aelia Dacorum*, *Flavia Damascenorum*, *Claudia Sugambrorum*), which give no evidence of date except by bearing the emperor's name in whose reign they probably were formed.

98. Tiles inscribed with cursive lettering before baking ; (a) on a tile of the twentieth legion, (b) now in the Grosvenor Museum.

(a) FIDEL  
 (b) R I T  
 R I Λ Y  
 S R Λ

Copied by myself. The first, no doubt, gave the proper name *Fidelis*. The decipherment of the second I owe to Dr. Zangemeister : I am afraid that, as he remarks, the object has very little value.

99. Curiously shaped pottery with inset label and raised letters made by hand, the property of Mr. F. Potts, found many years ago.

ΑΒΑΣΚΑΝΤΥΣ ΦΕ  
*Abascantus fe(cit)*

Copied by myself. *Abascantus*, etymologically a Greek word, is a very common name.

XIX. SOUTH YORKSHIRE.

100. Altar of gritty sandstone, 15in. high by 18in. broad, dredged up in 1890 in the R. Calder at Wood Nook, near Castleford, by the Aire and Calder Navigation Company ; now in the Leeds Museum (see plate....)

DENE UIC	<i>Dene Victoriae</i>
TO RINE	<i>Brigant(iae ?)</i>
BRIGANT	<i>a(ram) d(cibcat)</i>
Λ·D·AURS	<i>Aur(ilius)</i>
5 ENOPIANO	<i>Sen[?]pianu(s)?</i>

Copied by myself : the annexed cut is made from a photograph which the Museum authorities kindly consented to let me have taken. I have also received a drawing from

Mr. J. T. Irvine, which agrees with my reading above. One or two points need notice.

(1.) For the *dea Victoria Brigant*, compare the inscriptions:—

- C. 200. *D. Vict. Brig et Num. Augg T. Aurelianus d(omum d(at) pro se et suis...* (Found near Slack : dated A.D. 205).
- Eph. vii., 920. *Deo Berganti et N. Aug. T. Aur(elius) Quintus etc.* (near Slack).
- C. 203. *Deae Brigant...* (the rest is illegible : Adel, near Leeds).
- C. 875. *Deae Nymphae Brig. quod roverat pro sal(ute) [Fulviae Plautillae?], dom(ini) nostri iurict. imp. M. Aureli Severi Antonini Pii etc.* (Castlesteads ; probably about A.D. 203).
- C 1062. *Brigantiae s(acrum), Amandus arcitectus ex imperio imp(eratum, [fecit ?])* (Birrens).

Of these inscriptions, the two dedicated to the *Victoria Brigant*, seem to relate to some victory or victories won either over the Brigantes or by them serving in the Roman ranks ; the other possibility, of victorious insurgents, seems most unlikely. But the precise reference must be left uncertain, especially as we cannot tell whether the word *Brigant*, should be completed *Brigantum* or *Brigantiae*. So far as the lettering is concerned, the new altar may possibly date as early as that of A.D. 205, being somewhat barbarous in character, as is seen in the use of *u* for *v*, the insertion of *a(ram) d(edicat)* before the dedicator's name, and the omission of the final *s* in line 5.

(2.) The dedicator's *cognomen* is not easy to decipher with certainty : I have given what seems to me most likely. Dr. Whitley Stokes tells me that *Senopianus* does not suit as a compound Keltic name, the second half- (*pianus*) being unintelligible. Dr. Holder supplies a name *Senopus* from the "Polyptychon Irminonis" (254, 66), and in a German inscription (Brambach 1732) *Senope* is a town-name, probably a variant for "Sinope" in Asia Minor. It is, however, doubtful, if *Senopianus* could be connected with the latter word. The omission of the final *s* has few parallels in Britain, and those only on imported pottery. It is, indeed, not common anywhere, and Seel-

man's examples (*Aussprache des Latein*, p. 362) are largely of late date. Its omission does not appear to be due to any "weakness of sound" on the part of the letter (Brugmann *Grundzüge*, i. p. 507).

## XXVII. WATERCROOK.

The spot called Watercreek, a mile or two south of Kendal, is well known to have been the site of a small Roman fort. Ramparts, which were visible at the beginning of this century and are visible still, enclose a rectangular area of about five acres, in and near which various Roman remains have been found (Gough's *Camden* iii. 404; C. p. 72.). The strategic importance of the place is not quite clear, for the Roman lines of communication in Cumberland are by no means certain.<sup>1</sup> But it can hardly be doubtful that it formed part of the line of coast defence against Irish or other pirates, and, like Ribchester, Lancaster, and Overborough, guarded one of the geographical entrances to the inland. A similar line of defence can be traced from the end of Hadrian's Wall, along the coast by Maryport and Moresby to Ravenglass, and there seems some reason to believe that the two lines were connected by a road through Ambleside and Hardknot. In any case, we have distinct remains near Kendal, and two inscriptions. Chancellor Ferguson has lately discovered—in the fly-leaves of pocket-books which belonged to William Nicolson, bishop of Carlisle A.D. 1702-1718—two additions to our knowledge. These he has sent to me and has (except n. 101) printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (xiii. 265) and the *Cumberland and Westmoreland Arch. Soc. Trans.* (xii. 60.) They are as follows:—

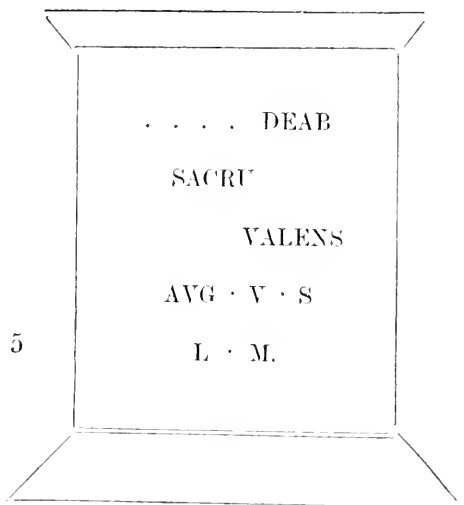
101. [C n. 292] Nicolson gives the "Sergius Bassus" inscription as "found at Watercreek A.D. 1688." This reading, the oldest in existence, puts an ordinary stop instead of a centurial mark before LEG in line 2, and entirely omits line 7. In the former point he may well be

<sup>1</sup>I hope Chancellor Ferguson will amend this in his promised survey of the county for the *London Archaeologia*. At present there is an abundance of "probable" roads, most of which are

next to impossible. It might be worth while enquiring whether the vexed *Iter a Claventa Mediolanum* (Wess. 481-2) has any connexion with the frontier line indicated above.

right, as the mark seems to be very doubtful even in Horsley's copy, and is not necessary.

102. Another inscription is new, but unfortunately the reading is bad :—



The first line and a half may have been [*dis*] *deab(us)* [*que*] *sacra[m]*. It is difficult to supply the name of any specific deities, such as *Nymphis* or *Matribus*, as *deabus* ought then to come first. *Valens Aug.* is, I fear, more or less corrupt. The Emperor Valens (A.D. 364-378) cannot possibly be meant, yet it is likely that the person who copied the inscription was influenced by remembering him, and AVG has no sense as it stands.

103. Lamp now in the Taunton Museum, presented by Th. Dawson 'from Crook, nr. Kendal': faint letters.

C M E V P

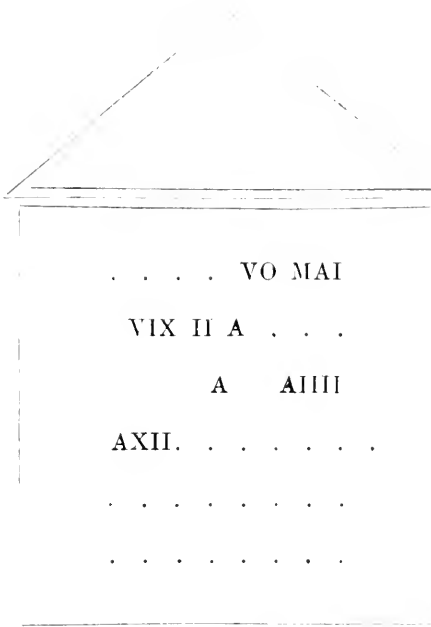
Copied by myself: apparently unpublished before. The stamp is a well-known one.

### XXX. PLUMPTONWALL (OLD PENRITH).

104. "At Lazonby, from Old Penrith" Bp. Nicolson's pocketbook for 1688: edited by Chancellor Ferguson with Nos. 102, 108.

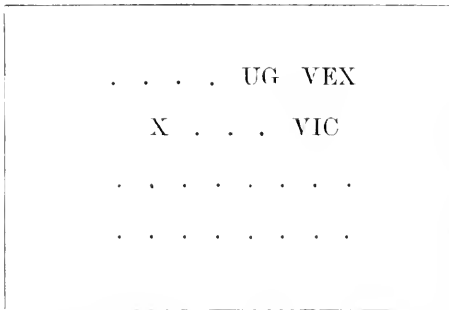


105.



Probably a soldier's tombstone, but further guessing would be useless. The second line may have had *Vix[it]* *a*(*uos*) . . . , the third line *militavit*.

106.



If a guess is to be hazarded here, we have a detachment (*vexillatio*) from some legion, possibly the twentieth *valeria victrix* or the sixth *victrix*. The former occurs less commonly with the abbreviations VAL. VIC., which would be here required, but suits better the X in line 2. If UG is a remainder of *Aug.*, the stone may be an imperial dedication (*Num. Aug.*).

107. At the top of tombstone, apparently with three illegible lines below

D. M

108. " Found at Plumpton, March 26. 1701 " : a milestone

IMP.CAL.S  
MQIATO  
NIVS.VIC  
TORINVS  
PIVS·F·F·

*Imp Ca[e]s*  
*M. Pia[e]o*  
*nivs Vic*  
*torinus*  
*Pius F[elice.]*

A.D. 265-7.

Bishop Nicholson's pocketbook for 1701 ; edited by Chancellor Ferguson with the preceding (Nos. 104-107). My correction of the reading is, I think, certain. The P in line 2 was doubtless formed badly much as it is, for instance, in the *lapis unius* stone at Chester (*Eph.* vii, 1025). I hope to say more about the inscriptions of Victorinus in a separate article.

#### XXXIV. PIERSBRIDGE.

109. [C. n. 430]. Canon Raine tells me that this fragment with the name *Bellinus* was found at Piersbridge, the station on the Tees south of Binchester, and not at Binchester, as Dr. Hübner has it.

#### XXXV. BINCHESTER.

The great find of the last two years at Binchester is that of the altar mentioning the *matres ollototae sive transmarinae*. I may, however, add, by way of preface, that a full account, with many illustrations of Binchester and its contents has lately been printed by the Rev. R. E. Hooppell LL.D. (*Vindicta, a buried Roman city*, London : Whiting 1891. 8vo. pp. xii. 68). I cannot profess to be in agreement with all of Dr. Hooppell's readings and theories,<sup>1</sup> but the collection of facts and figures which his book contains, make it one which antiquaries should not neglect. To his exertions, as an archaeologist on the spot and a writer, we owe a very great deal.

110. Altar of gritty freestone, 51 inches high, 14 inches broad, found in May 1891, in a field to the South of the Roman fort, about 80 yards from the rampart ; now in the possession of Mr. J. E. Newby of Binchester.

<sup>1</sup> For instance (it is a little thing) the potter's marks mentioned, pp. xii. 49, 50, are pretty certainly those of *Cinnamus*,

which are constantly found with reversed lettering (see e.g. *Arch. Journ.* xlvi. 72, C. 1337, 14-15.



*Collotype.*

*Oxford University Press.*

ALTAR FOUND AT BINCHESTER, MAY, 1891.



	I O M	<i>I oei et ptimo) in(acimo)</i>
	ET MATRIB	<i>et matribus ollototis sive</i>
	VS OLLOTO	<i>transmarinis, Pomponius</i>
	TIS SIVE TRA	<i>Donatus b ene f' c' c'arius)</i>
5.	NSMARINIS	<i>co n'sularis, pro salute</i>
	POM PONIVS	<i>sua et suorum v'otum)</i>
	DONATVS	<i>solvit) ( d'ens) at nimo)</i>
	BEFOS PRO	
	SALVTE SVA	
10.	ET SVORVM	
	V S L A	

Copied by myself. Published by Dr. Hooppell, *Times*, May 22nd, 1891 (hence reprinted in many papers) and *Reliquary*, July, 1891 (reprinted in *Vindicta* p. 59): by myself *Arch. Aeliana* xv. 225 with an illustration. The reading is certain: M. Mowat (*Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.* v. 131) is wrong in suggesting that the final  $\lambda$  is half of a damaged M: it is certainly an unbarred  $\lambda$ .

The general purport of the inscription is plain. It is an altar erected to Iuppiter and to the Matres *ollototae*, that is, transmarine, by Pomponius Donatus, a military official, on behalf of himself and his family. There are several details which I will treat separately.

111. [C. 424, 425]. The discovery of the altar just mentioned has suggested to Dr. Hooppell (*Times*, May 22nd, 1891) that the *matres ollototae* were probably mentioned on two other Binchester altars, both now lost, of which the traditional readings are imperfect. For one (C. 424) the case seems fairly certain. The drawings and texts of Camden (*Brit.* iii. pp. 351, 365), Horsley, and Gale (*Itin. Ant.* p. 11) agree in giving *deabus) Matribus . . . . Claudius Quintianus hf. cos. v.s.l.m.* and the letters in the gap are represented as having been QLOT TIB. "tied" up in ways beyond the range of ordinary type to reproduce.<sup>1</sup> This QLOT TIB has puzzled everyone, but Dr. Hooppell now suggests that it should be emended into *Ollototis*. I was at first inclined to demur to this most ingenious theory, because Dr. Hübner gave as the best reading a leaf stop instead of the q. I find now that this is a mistake, due seemingly to a mis-reading of Gale (see *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, v. 143), and I think Dr. Hooppell's emendation is fairly certain. Possibly as M.

<sup>1</sup> Horsley's drawing is reproduced *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.* v. 65.

Mowat (*ib.*, p. 131) has suggested the // of the first syllable were written back to back (L), as was often done, and the tail of the inverted L was tacked erroneously on to the o to make a q. It is a question only whether we should suppose the TRIB of line 3 to be the *tis* of *ollototis*, or accept an abbreviated form of the latter and read *Tib(erius)*, praenomen of Claudius Quintianus.

112. The case for C. 425 is less clear, as the text of this inscription is corrupt almost beyond remedy. The first line is given variously as

TRIB-OLIT	(Sibbald)
AIRIB OLIST	(Cotton)
TRIB · COHOR·I	(Camden)

It has long been recognised that Camden was here conjecturing, as he was only too fond of doing, and that the first word should be *matribus*. The late Mr. W. T. Watkin even tried to supply an epithet, but unfortunately he went to Lisbon (*Olisipo*) for it, and thus produced an impossible reading (*Arch. Journ.*, xxxix, 370). Dr. Hooppell here too suggests *Ollototis*, and the suggestion, though it cannot be called certain, is very probable.

#### NLVI. CHESTERS.

113. Fragment found in 1890 at Chesters; lettering possibly of the end of the second or early third century.



Copied by myself; sent me by Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., and edited *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.* iv, 291. Any supplement would be guesswork. In line 1 we have perhaps *militum* (v+m and the two *i*'s tied :) in line 2 *ditia im...*; line 3 must be left. It is just conceivable that the inscription was of the type of that found at Jarrow in 1782 (C. n. 498) and contained something about *provincia virtute militum reddita imperio* and the campaigns of Severus. But this is most uncertain.

114. Fragment found Oct., 1891, at Chesters.

a VG

Sent me by Mr. Blair.

115. Fragment of perforated bronze found Oct., 1890.

VTE *re felix*

Sent me by Mr. Blair; printed *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.* iv. 291. The formula is too common to need illustration.

#### LV. CARLISLE.

116. Fragment of tile, 4in. wide by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, found in 1890, fourteen feet below the surface in Fisher Street; roughly made in sunk panel.



*le]g. viii[*

Chancellor Ferguson sent me the tile to examine; the cut is full size. The first letter resembles *c* rather than *e*, and the fragment of the last points to *i*, so that the supplement given seems most suitable. Of other conjectures which might occur, *le]g viii* [*Aug.* is out of the question, as the letter after *viii* has an upright stroke, and *e(olons) viii Batavarum* seems objectionable in several ways. That cohort may have been in Britain as late as the occupation of Carlisle, whenever that took place, and possibly, as Dr. Hübner has supposed, as late as Diocletian (A.D. 290), but it cannot be called at all probable. Nero, as Tacitus

narrates, withdrew eight Batavian cohorts with the Fourteenth Legion from Britain, and a few months later we find them fighting along side of other revolted auxiliaries under Civilis (A.D. 69). Then they almost vanish. The first, second, and third cohorts appear on the Danube in A.D. 98 and 108, the first on the Wall in A.D. 124, perhaps thanks to Hadrian, while a ninth cohort was at or near Passau.<sup>1</sup> It seems, therefore, dangerous to assume that an eighth cohort returned to Britain after A.D. 69, and, as Carlisle was certainly not occupied before that date, our tile can have no reference to it. The lettering, be it added, is also against an initial C or final B. On the other hand, we have no other known eighth or ninth auxiliary cohort in Britain, and, though the tile might undoubtedly refer to a ninth cohort in a legion, such tiles are uncommon. On the whole, the Ninth Legion seems the best conjecture.

This legion lay in garrison at York, with a detachment at Aldborough, till its destruction in Hadrian's reign by a rising of Brigantes, when its place was taken by the Sixth Legion. Hitherto it has not been met further to the north than Aldborough, and its presence at Carlisle is not easy to account for with any certainty. It can hardly have taken any share in the building of the Wall, like the Second and Twentieth Legions, or we should have had other evidence of it. But Agricola certainly took the Ninth Legion with him on his Caledonian expedition, and it is possible—though it is utterly incapable of proof—that this tile may date from Agricola's governorship or from the arrangements instituted then. From this point of view, it is interesting to observe that Carlisle was not actually one of the fortresses *per lineam valli*, though it is not far from the Wall.

117. Bronze *trulla* or *patera* (saucepan), the bowl 9 in. in diameter, 6 in. deep, of the usual shape, found in 1886 at Barochan, near Paisley, Renfrewshire, now in possession of Mrs. Dunlop. Stamped on the handle faintly.

. . . . . OLIBY | [*Cipi Poliby.*]

Copied by myself: I have to thank Mr. J. W. Paton, of the Glasgow Corporation Galleries, for obtaining me a loan

<sup>1</sup> Hubner *Hermes* xvi., 356; Mommsen *Eph.* v., pp. 92, 174; *Allgemeine Zeitung* 1592, No. 130.



of the object. Published with the reading UDB.Y. by Dr. D. Murray, *Trans. of the Glasgow Archaeological Soc.* (new series) i 498-513, and J. Paton, *Scottish National Memorials* (Glasgow, 1890), p. 18.

The reading and supplement which I have given is, I think, certain. Compare the following stamps on other paterae: my list I trust is fairly complete:—

Herculaneum	P CIPI POLYBI	C x, 8071 (many examples)
Castle Howard	P CIPI POLYIBI	C vii, 1293 <i>a</i>
	P CIPI POLIB	" " " <i>b</i>
Dowalton Loch,	CIPI POLIE	" " " <i>c</i>
Wigtonshire		
Denmark	P · CIPI · POLIBI · F	{ Ingvald Unset <i>Bulletino dell'</i> <i>Ist. di Corr. Archeol.</i> (Rome) 1883, p. 235.
"	CIPI POLIBI	
"	CIPI POLIBY	

Undset adds that similarly stamped *paterae* are in the museums of Zürich and Hanover. We have, in fact, a good instance of Roman export trade to outlying lands, about which I shall say something in a separate article.

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[Where nothing is added in square brackets after the name, the finds includes inscribed stones: where a square bracket is added, the finds recorded above do *not* include inscribed stones.]

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 3rd, 1892.

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

Mr. J. PARK HARRISON read a paper on a pre-Norman clearstory window at Christchurch Cathedral, Oxford. He said he had the satisfaction of announcing that a discovery had been made of a pre-Norman clearstory window in Oxford Cathedral. His attention had for some time past been directed to work in the south transept, which differed essentially in certain details from any elsewhere in the church at the same level. But it was not until the middle of December that, as the result of a minute examination of the so-called triforium on the west side of the transept, it was found that there were grooves as if for glass. These grooves, having been carefully stopped up with mortar, had not previously been noticed. On inquiry being made it appeared that this "restoration" had been effected at the time when the whitewash was cleaned off and the fractured portions of the bases and capitals made good in 1870. The windows had evidently been taken down at some remote period and afterwards re-erected, perhaps when the upper range of arches, or the present clearstory was built. On the occasion of the Institute's visit to Oxford in 1850, Professor Willis, having noticed no grooves in the choir triforium, and having observed the late character of the bases and capitals, was led to believe the work was Norman. Mr. Harrison thought that the additional evidence recently obtained would perfectly satisfy those experts who had examined the stonework in the cathedral, of the pre-Norman date of the original design. Other early work, it was stated, had been met with at the west end of the south aisle of the choir.

In proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Harrison, the CHAIRMAN expressed himself as entirely satisfied with the evidence that he had adduced respecting the early date of the clearstory window.

Mr. G. E. FOX remarked on the character of Saxon bases, showing how they differ from Roman work. The succeeding architects may have copied from Roman, but the Saxon is more like work later than Roman times, probably Byzantine, such as may be seen at St. Sophia and in the church at Ravenna.

Mr. Harrison's paper is printed at page 155.

The Rev. Precentor VENABLES communicated a paper, "Some account of the Roman Colonnade discovered in Bailgate, Lincoln," which was read by Mr. E. GREEN. In the discussion that followed Mr. FOX intimated that these valuable remains showed more than one building, the Forum, probably, forming part of the frontage, and the great interest of the discovery was this probability. The finds pointed to the conclusion that the country was not occupied solely as a military government but that with the cities there were municipalities, law courts, &c., and a civilization as high as in Gaul. A vote of thanks was passed to Precentor Venables whose paper is printed at page 131.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. HARRISON.—Drawings, diagrams, and photographs in illustration of his paper.

By the Rev. Precentor VENABLES.—Plan and details of the Roman Colonnade at Lincoln.

By Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL.—Flint flakes obtained from tomb at Medum Egypt by Mr. Flinders Petrie. Some of these flakes had been re-placed in the positions from which they had been struck off the block. They were described as having been used in the construction of the tomb and for sharpening the stone edge and hatchet blades.

March 2nd, 1892.

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

In taking his place, the CHAIRMAN alluded to the loss the Institute had sustained by the death of Mr. J. E. Nightingale.

Mr. A. H. COCKS read a paper on "Scandinavian Stave Calendars." The collection, which was included in the "Scandinavian Exhibition" held last summer in the rooms of the Royal Archaeological Institute, consists of fourteen Norwegian "Messe Dag Stave;" and one Swedish "Rune Stav," which shows the "Prim" (*Prima Luna*) or Golden Number.

Perhaps their chief characteristic is their inaccuracy; the mark days are frequently in the wrong place; weeks vary in length from six up to ten days! and it is by no means uncommon to find a week too much, or too little.

The year on most of the Staves is divided into winter and summer half-years; New Year's Day being October 14th; and the summer-half beginning on April 14th; the concurrent falling on the last day of the year—October 13th, which has the same Dominical letter (G) as the first day of the year (October 14th). On some, however, there is an extra day: April 14th, Dominical letter G, ending the winter half-year, and beginning the summer half-year as well; thus making two concurrents in the twelve months, and 366 days.

On two examples from Romsdals Amt, the year appears to begin on October 9th and 14th respectively; but the concurrent falls in the week between G, January 6th, and G, January 14th. The Swedish Stave has only 364 days; it begins the year on January 1st, and ends on December 30, and has no concurrent,

The Golden Numbers in the Swedish Stave show the New Moons, according to the old Julian style of reckoning, instead of the Full Moons of the New, or Gregorian style; but blunders are so numerous, that any calculation of Easter from them, would have been of very doubtful value. But in this respect, even English printed Prayer Books, of the first half of the eighteenth century, are no better.

There is considerable variation in the Mark Days on the Calendars, even among those from the same diocese, and the same parish, and within a very few years of the same age; and the emblems employed vary as much.

To take only one instance: S. Bartholomew was martyred by being flayed alive; his ordinary emblem was therefore a knife. His day (Aug. 24) was about the right date for killing off the sheep which were to be salted down for Winter consumption; one stave ignoring the Saint, deems the knife simply as a reminder of the Sheep-killing day, and in place of the instrument, figures a victim—a fairly well-executed sheep!

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

The Rev. Greville I. Chester sent a paper on “Archaic Engravings on Rocks near Gibel Silsileh in Upper Egypt,” which was read by Mr. E. GREEN, and is printed at page 120.<sup>1</sup>

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Cocks and to Mr. Chester.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. A. H. COCKS.—A series of fourteen “Messe Dag Stave” from Norway, and one “Rune Stav” from Sweden.

By Mr. G. LE GROS.—Photographs of a stone capital of an engaged column of the Romano British Tuscan common in the south of England and perhaps of the second century. The back of the stone has been decorated with interlacing work that may be of the end of the eleventh century. On the top of the stone is the following inscription in rude incised lettering:—Ute, presbyter Rithone. This memorial was found in the autumn of last year in an upright position under the floor of the church of St. Laurence, Jersey, then undergoing restoration. Ridone (Riduna) was one of the names of Aurigny or Alderney; the stone must, therefore, commemorate a certain Ute, Presbyter of Alderney.

<sup>1</sup> A melancholy interest attaches to this paper. Owing to Mr. Chester's detention by illness at Naples in the spring, he was unable to correct the proofs, and he passed

away in London on May 23rd, having been a valued member of the Institute since 1850.

## Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES, DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER ORIGINAL SOURCES. From the German of Dr. LUDWIG PASTOR, Professor of History in the University of Innsbruck ; Edited by FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS, of the Oratory. Volume 2. JOHN HODGKINS, Agar Street, Charing Cross, London, 1891.

This second volume of this interesting work is introduced by a notice by the late Cardinal Manning, and probably it was one of the last cases of a *quasi-imprimatur* issued by his Eminence. In it he speaks of all histories of the period, from Ranke to Creighton, as needing extensive correction, and describes the heathen school of humanists falling into atheism, and the foulness of a revived Paganism as the forerunner of the intellectual apostacy which broke out in Germany seventy years after under the pretence of reformation which issued in the French revolution, which has been truly described by Carlyle as the last act in the drama of Lutheranism. On the contrary, he speaks of the Christian Humanists as elaborating all intellectual culture in perfect fidelity to the revelation of the Christian faith which has pervaded the Catholic Church, expanding itself from the time of the Pontificate of Nicholas V. to that of Leo XIII.

This volume, though of larger size than the preceding one, extends only over a period of eleven years, from 1447 to 1458, which embraces the time from the pontificate of Nicholas V. to that of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who assumed the title of Pius II., and the first two books into which the work is divided take in eight of those years during which the Pontificate of Nicholas V. lasted, the first describing him as the first Papal patron of literature, and the second ending with the foundation of the celebrated Vatican library. His election forms no exception to the proverb that the unexpected is always happening, in the choice of Tommaso Parentucelli, the Cardinal of Bologna, who had been made Cardinal by Eugenius IV. not three months before. Eighteen out of the twenty-four Cardinals were present at Rome, and only after the third scrutiny did Parentucelli obtain the required twelve votes, representing a majority of two-thirds of the electors which was necessary to secure the election of the new Pope. The remaining Cardinals, who were greatly surprised at the fact, immediately upon its being ascertained to be beyond doubt, gave their assent, and on the morning of the 6th of March Nicholas V. was announced by Cardinal Colonna as having been unanimously elected, and the Cardinal of Portugal, on leaving the Conclave, said "The Pope had been chosen by God and not by the

Cardinals." The importance of the election was great, for with him the Christian Renaissance ascended the Pontifical throne.

It was owing to this Pope's effort at conciliation that the Anti-Pope was induced to resign in 1449, when Nicholas conferred on him the Cardinalate and a pension, which, however, he only enjoyed for about eighteen months. From this time the so-called Council theory began to give way, and the first steps were taken which have since issued in the declaration of Papal infallibility. In his attempts at keeping the peace in Italy, the Pope was befriended by fortune. The failure of Alfonso, King of Naples, and the success of Francesco Sforza in gaining the duchy of Milan, tended much to the pacification of the Italian States, operating as it specially did in checking the advance of Venice. But as the author observes the true significance of the reign of Nicholas V. consists not in the political events in which he was concerned so much as in his having inaugurated a new era in the history of the Papacy, and in that of culture, by placing himself at the head of the Renaissance, both in art and in literature. The speech which he addressed to the assembled Cardinals from his death-bed shows that it was no love of fame which it has been asserted was his ruling passion, but that in all he did to promote the magnificence of the city, his idea was to display in visible shape the authority of the Holy See and the exaltation of its power. His cherished wish was to make Rome the intellectual centre of the learning of the world; and, as the author observes, the foundation of the celebrated Vatican Library is enough to immortalize his name. And yet though Nicholas V. rises above most of his contemporaries, the portrait given of him is somewhat disappointing. His whole career as Pope is connected much more with political than with ecclesiastical concerns. And his running away from Rome at the time of the dreadful plague which immediately followed on the celebration of the Jubilee of 1450 is not exactly what was to be expected of the Pontiff of the West, and undoubtedly clenches the nail of the accusation that has always been brought against him, of extreme timidity. Moreover, the position of the humanists in the Court, the author says, cannot but appear anomalous—we should prefer describing it as scandalous. Whereas under Eugenius none but monks had been invested with the highest dignities; now none but scholars and translators of Greek books into Latin earned promotion. Assuredly also it indicates a great weakness of character in a Pope, who after the failure of the conspiracy of Stefano Porcario, shut himself up and became melancholy and reserved. This, however, was not the last blow that fell upon him, for he lived to hear that Constantinople had been taken by the Turks.

The Council of Florence had seemed to heal the breach between east and west, and at this juncture unity of the church was of the utmost importance in a political point of view, but the Patriarch of Constantinople alone seemed contented with the basis on which the re-establishment of communion with Rome was constituted. Nicholas attributed the disasters which befel the Greek empire to the just judgment of God, for their continuing in the schism which had begun by Photius five hundred years before.

But after the taking of Constantinople the idea of reunion was at an end. The Sultan sought to win the Greek priesthood to his side by promoting the election of Gennadius to the Patriarchate, and himself in

imitation of the Byzantine Emperors investing the new archbishop, to whom he presented a golden staff. And thus the last traces of the union were obliterated in the great Turkish empire.

It is somewhat of a drawback to the pleasure with which every reader will welcome this interesting work of Dr. Ludwig Pastor's—that he so persistently apologises for what he does not attempt to conceal in the wrong conduct of this and other Popes. Surely the last thing one would have expected from the head of Western Christendom would be the endeavour to foment the divisions and dissensions of the other Italian powers in order to secure for his own dominions the blessing of peace. And of this he is content to remark that, "Impossible as it is to justify the Pope's conduct, we nevertheless take into account the circumstances which partially excuse it." We cannot, indeed, wonder that suffering as the Pope was from illness and anxiety, he had not energy enough to enter upon any vigorous and determined action in inaugurating a new crusade, but his conduct at this crisis has all the appearance of a selfish fear that all that he had accomplished in making Rome the centre of art and of learning would come to an untimely end. It has been said that grief for the fall of Constantinople caused the death of Nicholas V., but his health had really been failing for nearly five years. The last speech is not like that of a dying saint, though almost his last breath was spent in giving the blessing to the assembled cardinals, as he raised his right hand, his eyes being fixed on a crucifix. His death took place on the night of the 24th or the morning of the 25th of March, 1455. His epitaph which was composed by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini commemorates in a dozen elegiac verses the foundation of the Vatican, the coronation of the Emperor Frederic, and the canonization of S. Bernardine of Sienna.

The Conclave for the election of his successor met on Good Friday, April 4, 1455. The College of Cardinals at that time consisted of twenty members, of whom fifteen alone were present at Rome and able to vote at the election which depended on which was the stronger of the rival claims of the Colonna and Orsini factions. It was thought at first that Pietro Barbo, who long afterwards succeeded to the Papal tiara as Paul II., would have been elected, but in his case again the old proverb was verified, "He who enters the Conclave a Pope, leaves it a Cardinal." Each party could defeat the other, but neither could elect a Pope by the requisite number of votes, *i.e.* ten, and a compromise was effected in the choice of a Spanish Cardinal, aged seventy-seven, who took the name of Calixtus III. It is somewhat remarkable that the old man had firmly believed in the prediction of a Spanish Dominican called Vincent Ferrer, that he was destined to be Pope, and that one of the first acts of his pontificate was the canonization of St. Vincent Ferrer on the 29th of June, 1455. Platina, in his life of Calixtus, even says that he made his vow to persecute the Turks to the utmost, using his name as Pope before he was elected. This our author thinks extremely improbable, but such a report is hardly likely to have been invented. The author here mentions a curious custom which he says was also ancient. As the new Pope after his coronation rode to the Lateran to take possession of his palace, the Jews met him and presented to him a copy of the Law. This he received, and after reading some words from it replied, We ratify the Law, but we condemn your interpretation, for He

of whom you say that He will come—our Lord Jesus Christ—has come, as the Church teaches and preaches. Calixtus was very unlike his predecessor. He cared nothing for literature, and the main object of his pontificate was a crusade against the Turks, in which he in vain attempted to persuade the Sovereigns of Europe to join. As the author observes—The age of crusades was past; the ideas which for centuries had ruled the minds of men had now lost their power. Internal dissensions had destroyed the solidarity of Christendom and its interests as opposed to the infidel. The great cause of Eastern Christianity touched no chord in the heart of Europe (p. 376). Calixtus was a Spaniard and had all that religious chivalry which seven centuries of warfare with the Moors had impressed on the national character, and now the prevailing idea which, under the Papacy of Eugenius had been connected with the assembling of Councils and Italian politics, and which under Nicholas V. had centred in the all-absorbing interests of art and literature, was the destruction of the Turk and the extinction of Mahometanism. But all Calixtus's appeals to the Courts of Europe were in vain. The historian of the day says, "The Pope calls for help and no one listens to him, he threatens and no one is afraid." Nevertheless, the enthusiasm of the aged Pope was soon rewarded by the victory achieved by the Christian Army over the Sultan at Belgrade, and he hoped by ordering the Feast of the Transfiguration to be solemnly observed throughout Christendom in memorial of this victory to revive the enthusiasm for the holy war. But alas, he was not destined to drive out the Turks from Europe. Five centuries will have passed before that desirable object will have been accomplished, if indeed it is then accomplished.

The exaltation of the See of Rome seems to have been the one absorbing passion of Calixtus' life. But this Pope does not rise above the level of others of this period. The author does not make any attempt to conceal the facts of history, but he is inclined to speak very leniently of the very serious faults of the Popes. Thus we are told that the only blot on the otherwise blameless character of Calixtus was his excessive nepotism.

This nepotism was shewn at his first creation of cardinals, when he created two of his sister's sons, whom he had caused to take his own name Borja, a name with which we are more familiar in its Italian rendering of Borgia. But what excuse can be made for the way in which the author speaks of the nepotism of a Pope, whose conduct must be considered absolutely wicked in promoting Roderigo to the Cardinalate in spite of the frightful and well-known profligacy of his life. Assuredly, if he had lived to witness the sequel he would have bitterly repented having taken the first step, and therefore being the real cause of the elevation of the infamous Cardinal, who long after succeeded to the Papal throne, and whose name as Alexander VI. has become a bye-word of infamy. Neither is this the only instance of Calixtus sacrificing the good of the church to the desire of promoting his family and compatriots in general. He heaped upon them other preferments, and that in the teeth of the remonstrance of other cardinals, and especially that of the saintly Capranica. He died on the 6th of August, the Feast of the Transfiguration, which he himself had instituted, and was succeeded by Eneas Sylvius Piccolomini, whom he had named to the Cardinalate, and who took the name of Pius II.



Whether, if he had lived, Capranica the Cardinal of Fermo would have been elected must remain for ever uncertain. He seems to have missed several chances. At the age of 47, it was generally expected on the death of Eugenius that he would be the next wearer of the tiara, and again at the death of Nicholas V. his election was quite on the cards, and though he rebuked Calixtus for his promoting his unworthy relatives, or, perhaps, even because of his zeal in this matter, and his well-known sanctity, negotiations were proceeding for his election as successor to Calixtus, who was known to be dying, but he fell sick and died before the Pope did. It is idle to speculate what would have happened had his life been prolonged. At least it may be said that if he had mounted the Papal throne, there would have been one more saintly occupant of the See.

We scarcely like to part from this interesting volume. As far as the work has yet proceeded it is much the most important contribution to the history of the Papacy, as affected by the Renaissance, that has appeared in an English dress. We shall look forward to the coming volume with much interest. It will probably extend to the end of the Pontificate of Paul the Second, and carry on the history of the Western Church to the year 1471 A.D.

CARTÆ ET ALIA MUNIMENTA QUÆ AD DOMINIUM DE GLAMORGAN PERTINENT. Curante GEO. T. CLARK, Vol. iii., 441-1300. MDCCCXCI.

As the second volume of this work redeemed the promise of the first, so has the third redeemed the promise of the second, but to a wider extent and in a different and unexpected form.

Vol. III is far larger than either of its predecessors, containing, in 595 pages, documents numbered from DXII to MLXV, and covering an independent period, namely, from the fifth to the thirteenth century inclusive.

Mr. Clark, in his preface, explains and justifies the copiousness of his book. Since the issue of the second volume the muniment room of the Talbots of Margam had been opened to him, and transcription of the numerous and valuable deeds relating to Margam Abbey and to the lay possessions of the Talbots in Gower permitted. It appearing that much useful illustration would be derived from the documents long ago printed in the *Liber Landavensis*, now a somewhat rare book, Mr. Clark has prefixed transcripts of some of these from their original source, copies in the British Museum.

In these circumstances the documents before us fall into two classes—transcripts of copies and transcripts of originals. As we prosecute our search into Welsh history, especially into its ecclesiastical department, we become more critical, and we ask, as to documents of which the originals have perished, when the copies were made, and, in some cases, we even dare to doubt whether originals ever existed. The transcriber of the MSS. in the Cotton and other collections may as well have added to every reference a note as to the period of the handwriting, which can now only be learnt by reference to the catalogue, or, still better, by a visit to the collection itself.

It is to be borne in mind that the gradual absorption and assimilation of the Welsh Church in its Celtic form by the English and Norman Church in its general Western form was accompanied by an adaptation of ancient documents, traditions and descriptions. The Celtic saintship,

the Celtic episcopacy, the Celtic monasticism came forth in more modern dress, and ideas, acts, and arrangements were attributed to primitive Welsh princes and Welsh ecclesiastics which could never have entered into their minds. We must therefore read cautiously what we have before us, bearing in mind that the English and Normans were ever pushing forward their own views as to canonizations, dioceses, monasteries and other things ecclesiastical, including the primacy of the See of Rome.

The documents numbered from DXII. to DLXXXVII., with a few exceptions, are those which are already known from the *Liber Landavensis*. To the transcripts from Margam originals Mr. Clark has added descriptions of the seals, so far as these remain. To many of the documents throughout he has added those well-known notes, derived from his wonderful stores of Glamorganshire learning, with which we are already familiar. The mere dry detail of persons and lands is sometimes relieved by strange story or tradition, as, for instance, in No. DLXXXIX., where it is mentioned that after a great battle the slain were devoured by wolves.

The tenure of land and water outside the realm of England, the action of mediæval piety, the organization of the Cistercian order not only in England and Wales but also in Ireland, agreements concerning masses, services, losses of money and supplies of food, are among the countless subjects which this volume illustrates. Towards the end we come in view of the vigorous personality of King Edward I., and learn to distinguish the Royal supremacy and the Ecclesiastical primacy, and the working of each under its acknowledged conditions in Wales as well as in England. We also note, in documents concerning the great men of the Beauchamp, Braose Marshal and Clare families, how important and powerful was a mediæval Baron who held lordships without as well as within the English border.

Let not our brother antiquaries be afraid of the bulk of this volume. Each of them on reading the Preface and the Table of Contents at the beginning and turning over the Index at the end (all certainly compiled by the Editor's own hand) will meet with some fact or allusion bearing upon his own favourite study.

TEN YEARS DIGGING IN EGYPT. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE (*Religious Tract Society*).

This little work of the well known excavator, plentifully illustrated from his own sketches—which, though a little rough, are telling and vivid—is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the progress made in archaeological research of a practical kind, carried on in a country that promises an abundant and solid scientific reward for every explorer who can and will observe. The discoverer of Namratis has conceived the happy idea of summarising his work in Egypt from 1881 at the Great Pyramid to 1891 at the still more ancient monument of King Seneferm, and giving this summary to the world in a popular form. Popular it is sure to be, at least amongst a certain class, and it is to be hoped that it will help to make popular the intelligent study of ancient remains; it may even fire some choice spirits to follow the author's example and endeavour to find out the secrets of the soil, the hidden graves, houses,

and workshops of bygone ages, not destroying all on the chance of gaining one favourite point, but treating them with some of that care with which the written records of history are handled in our Museums. In Egypt the very stones cry out, and in Egypt more than elsewhere their cry is worth listening to; they would speak in clear tones to the adept as man to man, and would tell details of which not one thousandth part is to be learnt in other countries: but the Turk, the Arab, the dealer, the explorer—too great or too small to be interested in the story—cut their throats and bid them be silent, and so their tales are never told, and those who would have listened come upon the scene to find life just extinct.

In the volume before us there are perhaps no mournful reflections on what might have been. Mr. Petrie's own record is a brilliant one. Experimental as his work has been from first to last, for no predecessor had indicated any method to follow or aim to pursue, thanks to an unflinching instinct, he has always returned from his annual foray with noble spoils of the most various kinds. Sometimes these were very tangible—Graeco-Roman wax portraits, or papyri of 2,500 years B.C.—at others perhaps the antiquities were deficient, but a pyramid problem had been solved or the site of one of the Greek colonies had been ascertained. Is it too much to hope for that well-qualified persons, profiting by the information contained in this book should take up the work for the love of antiquity? Mr. Petrie certainly had an eye to such, for there is a chapter on the "art of excavating" and another for what the author terms "the active tripper," who can subsist on tinned provisions or—what is far better for most constitutions—on the good plain food of the country.

In closing this delightful record of honest research with its wealth of penetrating remarks on the Ancient Egyptians, the modern fillâhîm, and even on the primaeval cutting out of the Nile Valley by the river we feel that it represents but an instalment of the results obtained by this indefatigable worker. May the next ten years show a goodly band of companions entered upon the path of enquiry which he has opened for them.

JOURNAL OF THE COUNTY KILDARE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.  
Vol. I., No. I. Dublin: E. Ponsonby, 116, Grafton Street, 1892.

Under the Presidency of the Duke of Leinster a new Society with aims and interests similar to our own has been founded, and the first published number has fallen under our notice. The objects of Antiquarian value in the County Kildare carry the thoughts back into the remote past, for are there not Druidical remains, the origin of which is lost in the dim mists of antiquity; memorials which mark where the great Apostle, St. Patrick, proclaimed the tidings of salvation, and of the "cella queercûs," the monastery which St. Brigid founded, and from which she exercised her spiritual sway over the whole island as "Abbess of all Abbesses"? Besides these and other relics of the ancient Celtic Church of Ireland, there are memorials of the Kings of Leinster who were crowned on the Moate of Naas, of Strongbow, and his men who came after them. Then we have remains of the castles which the Normans built, and of the religious houses which they established, and of later times we have ruins which recall the masterful rule of Strafford, and the

black ingratitude of Charles I., "Vanessa," and the fierce Dean of St. Patrick. As the Society pursues its work many problems will arise for solution which might otherwise never have been kindled into life ; many, indeed, are already waiting for the interpretation they will, no doubt, shortly have at the instance of this new learned body, such, for example, as the early appearance of the Romanesque style in Ireland where it was used with the entablature and before the introduction of the Arch. A hope is expressed in the *Introduction* that the *Journal* may prove a rich storehouse of materials from whence the historian of the future may draw his information for a complete history of the County Kildare. It is "a consummation devoutly to be wish'd," but it will be brought about, not by one solitary scholar spinning out his life over one great book, as in the old days, but by an organized band of workers rapidly and systematically assimilating the materials, which the new Society will have collected, under the direction of an acknowledged chief. With this aim in view the Society starts upon a solid basis and should appeal with confidence and success for the immediate support that is so necessary in the start of a fresh undertaking. Much will, of course, depend upon the honorary secretaries and in this regard the Society may be deemed most fortunate in having secured the services of the Earl of Mayo and Mr. Arthur Vicars.

THE SCOTTISH CLANS AND THEIR TARTANS. W. & A. K. JOHNSON,  
Edinburgh and London, 1892. Small 12mo. p.p. 96. Map and 96 coloured plates.  
Price 2s. 6d.

This is a useful little book of reference for English and American tourists in Scotland, who are generally curious about the Scottish clans and their tartans, and find the standard books on the subject expensive and inaccessible. It contains a map showing Scotland divided into clans in the sixteenth century, and ninety-six plates of tartans with a short account of each clan, extracted from the larger works. The book can travel easily in the pocket or hand-bag, and will serve to wile away stray minutes of travel, while after the return home, it will be a pleasant memento.

## Archæological Intelligence.

WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD,—Its Foundation, Architecture, and History, with an account of the family of Wadham and their seats in Somerset and Devon. By T. G. Jackson, A.R.A.—Though not among the oldest, largest, or wealthiest of the Oxford Colleges, Wadham is in many respects a typical specimen. Its buildings were completed at once, and have suffered less change than any other; its records are perhaps more complete; and its comparatively modern date on the border-line between the Middle Ages and our own makes a closer acquaintance possible with the founders and earlier members of the Society. The buildings remain as the foundress left them, and the building accounts show not only every penny spent on the fabric but the name of every workman who laboured upon it; the records and minutes go back to the first meeting of the Society and the Registers— thanks to the industry of Mr. Gardiner, formerly a scholar of the House—will soon be complete from the foundation to our own day.

We have the satisfaction of announcing that the task of describing this interesting foundation, its history, and architecture, has fallen into the hands of a member of the ancient House. No one could do it so well as the distinguished architect who undertakes it, and we are glad to find from the information that has reached us that in addition to geometrical plans and drawings, and reproductions of the early views by Loggan—beloved of Wadham men—the book will have its value distinctly emphasized by sketches from the author's own faithful hand. As Mr. Jackson truly says, "there is no more charming example of Jacobean architecture in its more restrained and sober mood, and at this moment of rebellion against the 'professional' view of architecture the building has an especial interest as one of the last examples of work designed and carried out by the 'craftsman-architect' whose day was then nearly over and whom it is now the object of many of us to revive." Mr. Jackson has found a worthy subject for both pen and pencil which he handles so well. Names of intending subscribers to "Wadham College, Oxford." should be sent to Mr. H. Frowde, Oxford University Press, Amen Corner, E.C. The price is one guinea.

ALEXANDER NISBET'S HERALDIC PLATES.—In an article in the "Scotsman" of 10th March, 1890, an account was given of a Series of Heraldic Engravings of unusual size and beauty which had been discovered in the library of Mr. W. Elliott Lockhart, of Cleghorn.

The Prints were identified as proofs from a series of Plates engraved for the original scheme of Alexander Nisbet's "Treatise of Heraldry,

Speculative and Practical," projected by him, as explained in the prefaces to his *Cadency* (1702) and his *Armories* (1718.)

His scheme, for which a grant of money was ordered by the Scottish Parliament, proved to be on too ambitious a scale financially, and he was compelled to sacrifice his magnificent Plates for the meagre illustrations adopted for the work as published in 1722.

The interest excited by the discovery of the Plates led to the suggestion that a small edition would find acceptance among the families whose arms are illustrated in the Plates and Heraldic students generally, and Mr. Elliott Lockhart kindly gave his consent to their being reproduced. We gather from enquiries that have been made that the collection of proofs is unique. The introduction, written by Marchmont Herald, contains a history of the Nisbets in Scotland from the twelfth century in the preparation of which valuable assistance has been given by the representatives of the principal branches of the family; a life of Alexander Nisbet; a bibliography of his printed works and manuscripts; an estimate of his position as an Heraldic writer; an exposition of the forgeries perpetrated in his name in the second volume of the "*Heraldry*" published in 1742, and a statement of the grounds upon which the repudiation of that volume as the work of Nisbet is based.

Upwards of 240 Scottish coats are illustrated. Nearly all of them are referred to by Nisbet in his "*System of Heraldry*," to which work the present volume will form an indispensable supplement. Of these 67 are on a large scale, some showing fine examples of probative quarterings. They will be accompanied by full Genealogical and Heraldic Notes. With the small shields will be given the written blazon. There are, in addition, various examples of the divisions of the shield adopted both in this country and abroad. The Genealogical and Heraldic Notes have been prepared by Mr. Andrew Ross, Marchmont Herald, and Mr. Francis James Grant, Carrick Pursuivant.

The edition will be limited to 200 copies. Price £2 2s. Application should be made to Messrs. Waterston, 56, Hanover street, Edinburgh.



## Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1892.

### SOME NOTABLE ROMANO-BRITISH INSCRIPTIONS.

By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

It is characteristic of epigraphy that it rarely has to deal with objects which in themselves deserve the epithets notable or important. The great bulk of inscriptions possess little individual interest beyond that which is awakened by the sight of any ancient relic, and they only acquire real value when put together, compared, and tabulated. Military inscriptions, for instance, like those found during the last five years at Chester, may well seem to an ordinary reader, or even to an ordinary scholar, to form nothing but a somewhat monotonous list of names, birthplaces and years of service: yet when they are collected, the statistics of even simple details often furnish conclusions of first-rate importance. From time to time, however, inscriptions are found which, in one sense, do deserve the epithet notable, because, whatever their scientific value, they raise questions which attract both epigraphists and archaeological readers in general. Several such documents were published in my last article on "Romano-British Inscriptions," but I deferred any full comments on most of them, as that article was already overburdened with matter, and, with the editor's permission, I have ventured here to put them together with some other notes, as a sort of appendix.

#### I. THE COLCHESTER TABLET (No 90, p. 188.)

This relic is a bronze tablet, in shape oblong with *ansae* at the ends, measuring 8 in. by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  and inscribed with five lines of letters formed by small points hammered in. It reads:—

DEO · MARTI · MEDOCIO · CAMP
ESIVM · ET VICTORIE ALEXAN
DRI · PII FELICIS · AVGVSTI · NOSI
DOIVM · LOSSIO · VEDA · DE · SVO
POSVIT · NEPOS · VEPOGENI · CALEDO

*Deo Marti Medocio Campesium et Victoriae Alexandri Pii Felicis Augusti nos[tr?]i, donum Lossio Veda de suo posuit—nepos Vepogeni Caledo.*

This, as it stands, must apparently be translated :

‘To Mars Medocius, god of the Campeses, and to the Victory of the Emperor Alexander, a gift from his own purse from Lossio Veda, grandson of Vepogenus, a Caledonian,’ that is the tablet was erected to a native god and to the reigning Emperor Severus Alexander (A.D. 222—235) by a dedicator whose names appear to be Keltic and possibly Caledonian. Unfortunately he has described the god, the emperor, the dedication, and himself in very odd ways.

(i.) The god *Mars Medocius Campesium* appears unique. *A priori* his titles are natural enough, especially if the dedicator be a Kelt. *Medocius* may be one of those epithets like *Visucius*, *Vorocius*, which the Gauls delighted to attach to the names of Roman gods, and in particular to Mars and Mercury. *Campesium*, if a clan-name in the genitive plural, fits well with the long survival of the clan system in Keltic lands. But the two names are, as it seems, neither known nor capable of affiliation to anything known. *Medocius* may, as Dr. Stokes has suggested, be put alongside of *Medogenus*, if this is a proper form (which is very doubtful), and connected with the Greek μέδιον, but this does not take us far, and for *Campesium* we have only the equally useless similarity to *campus*. We cannot even be sure whether we should complete it to *campe(u)sium* and compare the not very common Latin adjective *campensis*, or, as in *NOSI* in line three, make *si* stand for *stri* and read *campestrium*. We have a *Mars campester* in Spain, and the volunteer *cohortes campestres* (*Eph.* v., p. 248). But none of this helps to clear the mystery, and Prof. Rhys has propounded a very different theory, which I shall add below.

(ii.) The titulature of the Emperor is also unique. Dedications to the Victory of the Emperor were common



enough in the first half of the third century, but the emperor himself is here described very oddly. Alexander Severus is rarely called simply Alexander except when he is mentioned as one of the two consuls in an indication of date by the consulship. His usual title would be *Imp. Caesar M. Aurelius Alexander Severus p. f. Augustus*, and the nearest parallel we have to the titulature on our tablet is to be got from the coins of some of his predecessors or successors, where we find *Severus pius Augustus, Gallienus p. f. Aug.* and the like. *NOSI* is also a puzzle. *NOSTRI* would be right and in place, but the abbreviation seems equally unknown to inscriptions and manuscripts. The nearest thing I can find is *AVG NOS* for *Augusti nostri* in Apulia (*Eph.* viii., n. 78).

(iii). The order of words in the dedication is unusual. Naturally we should expect *donum de suo posuit*, and though this order is sometimes varied,<sup>1</sup> it is hard to parallel the insertion of *posuit* in the middle of the dedicator's names. Possibly the last three words were an afterthought, added when it was seen that there was space after *posuit*; possibly, too, we may compare the curious Christian-British or Keltic inscription from St. Ninian's Church, Whithorn (*Academy* No. 1009, p. 201, 5 Sept. 1891), on which Prof. Rhys reads *Latinus amorum .x.xv et filia sua anni v. (? ann. iv), (h)ic si(g)num feceru(n)t nepus Barvoradi*, where the parentage similarly comes in at the end. How natural it is to Kelts to mention parentage and clan can be seen even in the familiar prefixes *Mac* and *O'* of Scotch and Irish names.

(iv). The dedicator's names, though new, can be connected with known Keltic names. For *Lossio*, probably a nominative in *o* with a genitive *Lossionis*, we have *Lossa* and *Lossia* in Gallic lands<sup>2</sup> and Prof. Rhys connects the modern "Lysons." For *Veda* we can compare the common *nomen* *Vedius*, the Cisalpine tribe *Vediantii* and their "matres *Vediantiac*," and an obscure *Vedomavi* on a late Christian inscription in Britain (*Hübner Inscr. Chr. Br.* n. 71). For *Vepogeni* we have *Vepus*, *Vepisona*, *Veponius*, *Vepotalus*. At first sight one would suppose that *Vepogeni* came from *Vepogenus* and contained the

<sup>1</sup> For instance Brambach 1597, Espérandieu *Inscr. des Lenovices*, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> C. vii, 1336, 576; C. v, 7168,

Schuerman's *Sigles Figulins* 3021, 3022, *Lossa* is a potter's mark on Samian (pseudo Arretine) ware made in Gaul.

suffix *-gens*, used in Keltic to denote a mythological or metaphorical descent, but Prof. Rhys has another explanation to be mentioned in connection with his theory. If we pass on to the parentage, we must perhaps call it Keltic. The order, as we have seen, finds its only parallel on a Keltic inscription, and the word *nepos*, rare in ordinary Latin epigraphy, may be also a Keltic use. Prof. Rhys lately pointed out that, in the Whithorn inscription (quoted above), it seems to denote the Keltic clan rather than the simple Latin parentage, and though the instances are rather few for an induction,<sup>1</sup> it is plain that we have here a way of denoting the family which is certainly not that of ordinary Latin. Lastly, the word *Caledo* can, as it stands, be only a nominative, and extraordinary as such a thing may sound to a Latin epigraphist, can only mean that the dedicator was a Caledonian by birth. The occurrence of similar forms Caledus or Caledius, Caledonius, Caledoniacus, do not help us here, as it is a case of meaning, not of etymology. Whether the centurion Caledonius Secundus named on a centurial stone near Birdoswald (*Eph.* vii. 1077. *Arch. Ael.* xi. 121) derived his *nomen* from any Caledonian origin cannot here be discussed. When the legions were recruited on the spot a Caledonian by origin may have become a centurion, and we need not be surprised at an infiltration of northern natives in Britain.

We can now sum up. We may, to begin with, dismiss the idea of a forgery. Years ago forgeries of Roman remains were not uncommon at Colchester,<sup>2</sup> but I know of no recent cases and the tablet in question has satisfied such judges as Sir John Evans and Mr. Franks. The inscription, too, strange as it is, is unlike what we might expect an ordinary forger to produce. The only alternative theory is that indicated above that the oddities of the dedication are due to the Keltic nationality of the dedicator and his natural ignorance of the *minutiæ* of Latin epigraphy. We find the slave bailiff of an estate near Beneventum belonging to Tiberius misdescribing his master (c. v. 1456. of A. D. 11), and we need not be surprised that two hundred

<sup>1</sup> Compare the *nepus Barrocadi* quoted, and the Exmoor *nepus Carataci* (*Academy* 14 Febr., 1892, and *Archæologia Cambrensis* 1891, 29-32).

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant.* xiv (1892), p. 111.

Colchester and Exeter are, I believe, the only two places where forgeries of Roman objects have been at all numerous in England. Scattered instances are not uncommon in London.

years later a stray Caledonian in Colchester commits somewhat similar faults. It is possible we might go further and connect his ignorance with the apparent feebleness of Roman municipal life in Britain. If Dr. Stokes' explanation of VASSV (see p. 189) is correct, it shews us a further Keltic element in what ought to be a *colonia* in more than name.

Professor Rhys has tried to work out this line of interpretation in his own sphere of Keltic philology. In a letter written to me and read to the Society of Antiquaries on June 2, he suggests that *Campegium* may be connected with the Campsie Fells in Stirlingshire, an isolated district to which the Picts may have retired before the Aryan Dumnonii (Kelts), and where native fortifications and Roman urns have been noted. With the northern origin of the dedication, he compares the odd use of *nepos*, which he calls Pictic or Goidelic, and not Brythonic,<sup>1</sup> and he suggests that *Vepogeni* is not from Vepogenus, but a Latinized form of *Vipoigenn*, the Pictish genitive of Vipoig, the latter being a name found in the Pictish Chronicle. He adds that *Veda* may be an epithet, "of light complexion," and Medocinus may belong to Miodhach, the name of a legendary Irish physician, though the absence of known facts relating to the gods of Caledonia makes further enquiry into the character of the god impossible. No one but a specialist can pretend to discuss these points, and I will not attempt to estimate the probability of the identification suggested of Campsie Fells and *Campegium*, which to a sceptical mind may seem rather bold. But it is certainly remarkable that a Caledonian should dedicate a tablet containing an idiom (*nepos*) which on other grounds has been attributed to the northern Keltic race of Goidels, and the coincidence says a good deal for the genuineness of the tablet.

## II. INSCRIPTIONS AT CHESTER.

Under this heading I wish to notice some details connected with inscriptions found more or less recently, but not in the latest excavations, at Chester. They all arise from recent treatments of the texts by other scholars.

<sup>1</sup> Roughly Goidels and Brythons correspond to the Kelts of Northern and Southern Britain. The racial relations of Picts and Goidels are uncertain.

The third volume of the *Journal of the Chester Archaeological and Historic Society* contains three papers on Roman inscriptions. Mr. G. W. Shrubsole (p. 47) prints a centurial stone (*Eph.* vii, n. 881) already printed in the *Proceedings* of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries (iii, 387). M. Mowat discusses an inscription to which I shall return, and Dr. Hübner treats fully of the inscriptions found in Chester up to 1888. The latter paper was read, but only in part, to the Chester Society in 1890, so that I was able to notice very little of it in my first article on Roman inscriptions in Britain (*Arch. Journ.* xlvii, 244, 251). I trust no one will think that because I differ from M. Mowat and Dr. Hübner in the points to be treated, I am at all blind to their real merits, or inclined to differ for the sake of differing.

[C. n. 165]. For the strange dedication usually taken to be *Genio Avernî*, Dr. Hübner (p. 125) suggests *DAVRN centuriæ Avernî*. The objection to this is that there is certainly an *e* (AVERN). The centurial mark is also faint and uncertain.

[*Eph.* iii, n. 70. p. 120]. A Purbeck marble fragment found in 1863 appears to read OGA | DOM. Dr. Hübner (p. 127) reads line 1 as OGI and supplies *horol[ogi]um*. The mention of such an object is, of course, quite possible. We have it, for instance, at Terracina in Italy, *Isidi Restitutri(c)i L. Terentius Stephanus aras et oro[logi]um d.d.* (*Eph.* viii, n. 632), at Pompeii, and elsewhere (Wilmanns 704, 744). But it is quite certain, I think, that the letter after G is not I but the beginning of A or M. The fragment seems to me too slight for completion, though both its own character and the extensiveness of the foundations among which it was found, shew that it must have been connected with an important building.

[*Eph.* vii n. 887.] The stone of Aurelius Alexander has been attacked by both Dr. Hübner (p. 142) and M. Mowat (p. 114). The latter suggests *Syrus Os[roennis]* in place of *Syrus Co[mmagenus]*: the former holds *Co[mmagenus]*, though possible, to be not in agreement with the squeeze. The stone is damaged, and certainly is hard to read, but I think *Co[mmagenus]* is really more like the letters left than is *Os[roennis]*; indeed, if I had not great respect for Dr. Hübner's judgment, I should state

the case more strongly. I fear, however, that he is quite wrong in reading ICES . H . S in the last line : it is clearly ICES . ET . S . M. Mowat very ingeniously attempts to identify the dedicator, M. Aurelius Alexander, with a *primipilaris* and *vir egregius* mentioned on an urban inscription (c. vi. 3554) as reserving a special funeral ground for himself and his family. The unhappy man, as M. Mowat conjectures, was promoted to be *praefectus castrorum*, as *primipilares* often were, went to Chester, and died there, unable to use his reserved burial-place at Rome. It would be a pretty tale, were it true, but, as it stands, it is pure conjecture. The names are very common ones : we have actually another M. Aurelius Alexander *primipilaris* in Pannonia. Where so much is uncertain, it is hardly necessary to add that the title *Vir egregius* (v.e.) does not fit well with a *praefectus castrorum* (Hirschfeld *Verwaltungsgeschichte*, p. 273).

Eph. vii. 904]. I may correct also an error of my own. On the tombstone of one Diogenes I thought to detect traces of the word *signifer*. The stone has been since placed in a better light, and I think the words should be *imaginifer*. The surviving letters I/IFEI preceded by what seems to be the top of a G point to the latter title, and the somewhat battered relief above agrees more with an *imago* than with a *signum*.

There are some other small points in which I do not agree with Dr. Hübner's readings or interpretations (*e.g.* Eph. nos. 891, 900, 901), but they are too small to be noted here and now.

107. [C. n. 1204, Eph. vii. 1121]. It may be convenient here to allude to the questions lately raised (1) as to the reading of the tribal name on the Chester lead pigs and on other pigs, and (2) as to the seat of the tribe, whatever it was called.

The pigs in question are :—

1. DECEANGI found at Chester : dated A.D. 74 (Grosvenor Museum).
2. DECEANGI " " "Hints Common" : dated A.D. 76 (British Museum).
3. DECEA " " "Hints Common" : dated A.D. 76 (British Museum).
4. DECEANG " Runcorn : dated A.D. 84-96 (lost).

I have examined 1, 2, 3 ; for 4 we are dependent on Camden.

(1) The question as to the name is twofold : it has been

doubted whether the DE is a preposition or part of the name, and whether the final I of 1 and 2 is I or L. It is not easy to settle the first point; so far as the spacing of the letters on the lead takes us, we can read indifferently *de Ceangi* or *Deceangi*. The first is quite possible: we have a preposition in *de Britannis* on another lead pig (C. n. 1201), while the omission of the final *s* is exactly paralleled by the legend *de Britannii* on gold and silver coins of Claudius (Cohen 16, &c.). *Deceangi*[*cum*?] as an adjective, on the other hand, agrees better with the MS. reading in Tacitus (*Annals* xii. 32) where *ductus inde ceangos exercitus* is easiest emended into *ductus in Deceangos exercitus*, while the adjective has its parallel on lead pigs inscribed *Brig[anticum]*, *Lut[udense]*. The form of the adjective is not perhaps quite what one would expect, but on the whole the balance of evidence seems in favour of a tribe of *Deceangi*, styled, with trifling variation, *Deceangi* by Tacitus.<sup>1</sup> The other question whether we should read DECEANGL or DECEANGI<sup>2</sup> seems to myself less doubtful. From personal inspection I feel sure that neither of the pigs 1 and 2 have final L, and that what looks like a relic of the arm of L is an accidental excrescence, such as abound on the surface of these pigs. On the other hand, Professor Rhys, after looking at the objects, declares for the L, and it is possible that the local name "Tegeingl," borne by the district near Flint, whence this lead presumably comes, may assist his view. It appears, therefore, as Professor Rhys and myself have said in the *Academy* (Nov. 7 and 14, 1891), that we must wait for further evidence.

(2) The question of the position of the Deceangi (or Ceangi) has been raised by Sir John Evans in the Supplement to his *British Coins* (p. 492). He thinks they were a Somerset tribe, working the Mendip mines. This view is based partly on an interpretation of Tacitus, partly on a doubt whether the Flint mines were worked so early as A.D. 74. For the words of Tacitus I may refer to the excellent arguments of Mr. Furneaux (*Annals* ii, p. 254), observing only that I think the sentence even more

<sup>1</sup>The evidence quoted by some writers (Evans *British Coins* p. 493, Vaillant *Saumon de plomb* p. 26) of a supposed EXCEANG or EXKIAN is wholly illusory; it arose from a mistaken inter-

pretation of EX KIAN (*ex Kalendis Januariis*) on a lead pig found in Hampshire (C. n. 1203).

<sup>2</sup>*Arch. Cambrensis*, 1891, p. 137; 1892, p. 165.

opposed to Sir John Evans' view than Mr. Furneaux does. For the working of the Flint mines we have no direct evidence, except that of lead pigs found near them, but it is, I think, pretty certain that Chester was occupied long before 74 A.D. The regular course of Roman conquest was to annex first and subdue afterwards, somewhat on the lines we have lately followed in Burmah. Cæsar acted thus in Gaul, Tiberius in Illyricum, and it is the natural and necessary course for a civilised power to pursue when it is attacking uncivilised tribes, and has a strong army itself.<sup>1</sup> We may well imagine that the Roman invasion rolled over the Midlands swiftly and lightly northwards with little delay. We know that local autonomy, which such a rapid advance must respect, was respected in Sussex, and possibly at Gloucester,<sup>2</sup> and all indications point to an early annexation of everything south of the Yorkshire hills. The mines would perhaps be worked even before the land was pacified: here again Burmah affords a parallel. We may therefore, I think, leave our Ceangi or Deceangi in the Cheshire corner of N. Wales, and suppose that they mined the lead which was undoubtedly mined in Roman times round and near Flint.

It may be worth while adding here, with respect to the expression EX . ARG which occurs on many lead pigs, that Mr. Shrubsole has recently had a piece of one pig analysed, and found that it had been desilverized.

### III. A MILESTONE OF VICTORINUS (n. 108, p. 196).

Among the inscriptions which Chancellor Ferguson has unearthed from the pocket-books of Bishop Nicolson, is a milestone of Victorinus, found in 1701 near Plumpton Wall, and reading *Imp. Cæ[s] M. Pia[v]onius Victorinus pius f[elix] . . .*<sup>3</sup>

Victorinus was one of the nineteen pretenders, often called the Thirty Tyrants, whom the feebleness of Gallie-

<sup>1</sup> The want of adequate troops was felt under the Republic in Spain, and subsequently in Pannonia.

<sup>2</sup> Glevum became a colony under Nerva A.D. 95-6. The barbarous imitations of coins of Claudius found in such numbers near it suggest that its independence may have been partially respected at first. The view, that Gloucester was fortified in the

first years of the Roman invasion is wholly without proof. We have no evidence that it was ever a fortress proper during the Roman occupation.

<sup>3</sup> The P of Piavonius in Nicolson's copy is formed something like a Greek Koppa. I cannot pretend that it is well represented by the Q which I have used on p. 196.

nus and the assaults of the barbarians called into existence in various parts of the Empire about the middle of the third century. He was a soldier, possibly at one time tribune in the Praetorian Guard, who joined Postumus, then ruler of the West, in A.D. 265, and, after the latter had been murdered in the same year, reigned himself till his own assassination in A.D. 267.<sup>1</sup> We have some reason to suppose that he was recognized mainly in northern Gaul and Britain. His coins, whether found singly or in hoards, are common only in these two countries.<sup>2</sup> The eleven legions which he mentions on his coins include the familiar Twentieth from Chester and those guarding the Rhine frontier.<sup>3</sup> His rare inscriptions, lastly, belong to the same area. They are almost wholly milestones. The following is, I believe, a fairly complete list:—

Gaul St. Meloir (Côtes du Nord)	Orelli 1018	Britain Lincoln	<i>Eph.</i> vii, n. 1097.
Vannes (Morbihan)	Mowat <i>infra</i>	Neath C.	n. 1160.
Nantes	- Mowat <i>infra</i>	Plumpton	<i>supra</i> .
Brimont (near Reims)	Mowat <i>infra</i>		
Rennes (4)	- Cagnat <i>année épiqr.</i>		

To these must be added a mosaic at Trier, mentioning Victorinus or an exact namesake as *tribunus praetorianorum* (Brambach n. 776; See Hübner *Bonner Jahrb.* xl, 2 foll.)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The accounts of these years in the histories (e.g. Schiller i, 833, 854) are not satisfactory in detail, but this is not the place to discuss them.

<sup>2</sup> British hoards containing Victorinus' coins have been found at Lydbrook, Brereton near Kinderton, Wilderspool, Lymn, Wensleydale, Pylle, Evenley, Landwith, Londesborough (exact place uncertain), Bagshot, Crich Cliff (Derbyshire), Eyam dale, Upwell, Fleet (Linc.), Carhayes (Cornwall), Mopus Passage, Ludgvan, Land's End, Hooley near Rochdale, Worden (Lanc.), Walmersley near Bury (Lanc.), Vinstone (Devon), and a very large number of other—perhaps more than a hundred—places. I would venture to suggest to the antiquaries who put together Archaeological Indices for the Society of Antiquaries that it would be well worth while to give the dates of the coin-finds noted. The mere entry "coins" is of little use: it is nearly as much trouble to look out the references as to make an index *de novo*.

<sup>3</sup> Cohen, vi, p. 75; add the *Legio iii Gallica* (*Rev. Numismatique*, 1889, p. 519.) Why other legions, quartered, for instance in Syria, Moesia, Egypt, are mentioned is not clear. The practice of

mentioning legions on coins began apparently with Mark Antony, and was not revived till Clodius Macer and Septimius Severus. The next emperor to follow it is Gallienus who mentions 24 legions. The legionary coins of Postumus include none of these legions but Victorinus may well have thought of rivalling Gallienus in this way. At the same time his legions comprise three omitted by Gallienus (ii Traiana, iii Gallica, and x Fretensis), and it is possible that his army had somehow come to include detachments from other legions than those quartered in Britain and on the Rhine. It has been supposed (though there is hardly any evidence) that a part of the *Legio x Fretensis* was at the time in Britain and other fragments may, e.g., have deserted from the troops with which Gallienus tried to recover Gaul from Postumus.

<sup>4</sup> A complete list of all found up to 1890 was given by Mowat, *Rev. Numismatique*, 1890, p. 64. The inscription referred to by Orelli 1018 (Brambach n. 96) does not belong to our Victorinus. The list given by Prof. Westwood (*Arch. Cambrensis* 1891, p. 27) does not carry us very far.



There has been some doubt as to the exact spelling of the name Piavonius. The forms given by coins and stones, Piavonius, Piavvonius (not Piauvonius), and the Piaonius of the Trier mosaic, if correct,<sup>1</sup> are merely phonetic variants, but two French scholars, M. Longperier (*Journal des Savants*, 1873, p. 651) and M. Allmer (*Rev. Epigraphique*, 1888, p. 372), have divided the word into Pius Avonius, and M. Cagnat has lent the very high authority of his name to this view. I confess I am inclined to doubt it. It was no doubt suggested by the history of the name of Tetricus. Until 1866 everyone credited Tetricus with the *nomen* Pesuvius or Piesuvius or the like,<sup>2</sup> but better readings, and more discoveries have shewn that two names have been mixed up, *Pius*, a cognomen transferred out of place, and *Esurius*, a genuine Gaulish name derived from Esus, god of war. But no inscription on coin or stone has yet given us *Aronio Pio* or even *Pio Aronio*. It is true that M. Allmer (*Rev. Epigr.*, 1890, p. 64) mentions one coin inscribed PIA AVONIVS (Banduri *num. imp.* i, 320). But no such legend is given by Cohen and Feuardent (ed. 2, vol. vi), and it may be misread or misstruck. On the other hand, it must be confessed that a Latin name Avonius certainly existed (Holder *Sprachschatz*, column 317) and that Piavonius, as Dr. Stokes tells me, does not make a very good Keltic name. On the whole, it seems nearly certain that the man was called Piavonius, not Pius Avonius, but that the origin of the name is obscure.

It is noticeable that practically the only inscriptions of Victorinus are milestones. The same phenomenon meets us in the case of his predecessor Postumus, his successor Tetricus, his rival Marius and other emperors of similar date. This is sometimes explained, at least for Postumus and Tetricus by calling the rulers "grands restaurateurs de routes" (Jullian *Inscr. de Bordeaux* ii, 205), but it seems to be rather a feature of the tangled "Pentekontaetia" which elapsed between the death of Severus Alexander and the accession of Aurelian. During this time, the older fashion of imperial dedications dropped out

<sup>1</sup> The mosaic certainly now has *Piaonius*, as I lately saw myself, and there are parallels to this (*Flaonius* c. ix, 1010, &c.) But if a and v were tied, the extra stroke of the v might drop out from a

mosaic made necessarily of small pieces, and not preserved intact.

<sup>2</sup> Even in the seventh volume of the *Corpus* (pp. 208, 334) the name is not accurately given.

and, perhaps from want of skill or money, the lapidary marks of respect took the form of milestones or, more exactly, of roadstones, for these third century stones sometimes omit the distances especially in Britain, though they seem to have invariably marked the course of the road.

#### 4. THE MATRES OLLTOTAE AT BINCHESTER

(No. 110, p. 197).

During the year 1891 an altar, which has since become famous, was dug up just about eighty yards outside the s. rampart of the Roman fort at Binchester. The inscription is well preserved and very legible, none the less because the letters had originally been coloured red. It is, omitting marks of expansion,

*Iovi optimo maximo et Matribus olltotis sive transmarinis Pomponius Donatus beneficiarius consularis pro salute sua et suorum votum solvit libens animo.*

The altar is erected to Iuppiter and the Matres *olltotae* or *transmarine*, by Pomponius Donatus, a military official, on behalf of himself and his family. There are several details which may here receive further explanation.

*Matres olltotae sive transmarinae.* The *Matres* or *Matronae*, as is well known, were three native—probably Keltic—goddesses, worshipped especially in the provinces of Lower Germany and Cisalpine and Narbonese Gaul, whence soldiers carried the cult to other provinces and not least to Britain.<sup>1</sup> It is common in Germany and Gaul to find the bare title *matres* or *matronae* lengthened by the addition of some epithet, usually, but not invariably, of native origin and geographical significance. *Olltotae* appears to be a new addition to the list of these epithets, and its meaning is fortunately given us by the context of the inscription before us. The regular use of *sive* both in literature and on inscriptions is to denote that the objects which it couples are interchangeable.<sup>2</sup> Thus we have *matribus sive matronis* on a Bonn inscription (*Bonner Jahrb.* lxxvii., 66), the two titles being regarded as interchange-

<sup>1</sup> I have treated this cult more fully and collected the instances of Romano-British sculptures and inscriptions relating

to it in an article written for the forthcoming part of the *Arch. Aeliana*.

<sup>2</sup> See Schmalz *Antibarbarus* ii., 519, and the references there given.

able for the purposes of the worshipper. So here *ollototae* is translated by "*transmarinae*," and Dr. Whitley Stokes has supplied an etymology which accords with the translation. He connects the word with the modern Welsh "*alltud*," belonging to another (*all*) country (*tud*), which in early Keltic would be *allo-tôto-s*. The appearance of *o* for *a* in the first syllable may be perhaps explained as in *Adnomatus* for *Adnomanatus* (C. iii., 3819), and other instances given by Dr. Holder in his *Altkeltischer Sprachschatz* (3 and 44), though it is somewhat irregular. With this etymology, the word *ollototae*, "goddesses of another country," agrees very well with *transmarinae*, "goddesses of the country across the sea," and refers, like the epithets *patriae* and *domesticæ*,<sup>1</sup> often used with the *matres*, to the continental homes of the dedicators, no doubt soldiers, who erected the altar. I am glad to be able to add that this etymology has been accepted by Prof. Rhys. It is fair to add that three other derivations have been offered, though none, in my judgment, are at all probable. Grienberger (*Westdeutsches Korrespondenzblatt* 1891, column 204) derives the first half of the word from a Keltic stem meaning "all," the second from the same stem as Dr. Stokes. Phonetically this etymology, as I am told, is open to no grave objections, and it can claim a parallel in the dedication *matribus omnium gentium* from Hadrian's Wall (C. n. 887). But the sense "of all lands" is too unlike that of "transmarine" to be suitable. A third derivation tries to connect *ollototae* with the village of Olot in N.E. Spain, but this, never more than a guess, is now, I believe, admitted generally to be impossible. Not a single sound argument can be urged in its favour, and, on the other hand, the sense is unsatisfactory. A fourth derivation connecting the word with the Welsh *alloedd-othau*, though giving a suitable meaning, is, as I understand, phonetically quite out of the question.

The *beneficiarius* was a lower legionary officer, "seconded" from service with the legion and appointed by some higher officer, tribune, *legatus* or other, for special work. In this case the officer was attached to the governor of the province, the governorship of Britain being an important one, and regularly entrusted to a man of consular rank ;

<sup>1</sup> *Domus* on inscriptions regularly refers to the birthplace, not to the domicile.

hence the officer is entitled *beneficiarius consularis* (not *consulis*, as is sometimes wrongly given). His special duty can hardly even be conjectured, but it is possible that he was commander of a small garrison at Binchester. We have several instances where a *beneficiarius consularis* holds such a post. Thus a small village in Bulgaria has recently supplied us with a list of some seventy-five legionary soldiers, forming the garrison of a fort on the Danube, and commanded by a *beneficiarius consularis* in A.D. 155. Apparently, though it is not quite certain, there were several such forts commanded by *beneficarii*, the whole being under a legionary centurion. It is possible that, at one time or another, Binchester had a garrison under a *beneficiarius*. (See further *Arch. Journ.* xlvii. 251; *Eph. Epigr.* iv pp. 400, 529).

*Votum solvit libens animo* is a variation of the usual *votum solvit libens merito*. It is rare in Britain but common enough in many provinces, for instance, in Africa where it is far commoner than the *merito* form. The expansion *libens animo* is confirmed by a large number of inscriptions, in which the words are written in full; the expansion sometimes given, *libenti animo*, is devoid of authority.<sup>1</sup>

#### V. THE BAROCHAN "PATERA" AND ROMAN TRADE (n. 117, p. 200).

A bronze *trulla* or *patera* was found in 1886 at Barochan, near Paisley, in Renfrewshire, which appears to allow of comparison with a quantity of other bronze *paterae* and afford material for reflexions on Roman trade. In the first place, the stamp on the handle appears to be akin to those on several other *paterae*, as the following list, which I hope is not very imperfect, will shew:—

Herculaneum	P CIPI POLYBI	C x, 8071 (many examples)
Castle Howard	P CIPI POLYBI	C vii, 1293 <i>a</i>
	P CIPI POLIB	" " " <i>b</i>
Dowalton Loch, Wigtonshire	CIPI POLIE	" " " <i>c</i>
Barochan	. . . OLIBY	<i>supra</i>
Denmark	P · CIPI · POLIBI · F	{ Ingvald Undset <i>Bulletino dell'</i> <i>Inst. di Corr. Archeol.</i> (Rome) 1883, p. 235.
"	CIPI POLIBI	
"	CIPI POLIBY	

<sup>1</sup> See for instances of *libens animo* in full C. ii. 135, 137, 1403, 5136, 5137 (Spain); and for Africa C. viii. 9332, 9336, *Mélanges d'archéologie* xii. (1892) pp. 19-

25. Examples can be multiplied with ease from most provinces of the Empire. *Libenti animo*, on the other hand, seems never to occur.

Undset adds that similarly stamped *paterae* are in the museums at Zürich and Hanover, having been, presumably, found in the neighbourhoods, and Mowat quotes (*Bull. Epigr.* iii. 266) two specimens, one in the Louvre, one (imperfect) at Florence, of uncertain provenance. We have, in fact, a good instance of the Roman export trade to outlying countries. The original manufacture was probably carried on at or near Herculaneum. There alone, south of the Alps, we have found specimens; the name Cippius is common in its vicinity and we can perhaps detect a firm of Cippii with varying *cognomina*, Hilaris, Hymnus, Nicomachus, Polybius, Saturninus,<sup>1</sup> a family all carrying on the same trade of saucepan-making, though only one, Polybius, seems to have manufactured and exported on a large scale. Why exactly small variations were introduced into the stamp, is hard to say. We have other cases of the same kind, notably in the stamps of potters' names on pseudo-Arretine (Samian) ware. These variations are not such as might be caused simply by use of movable type<sup>2</sup>: that might account for the difference between SEVERI . M and SEAERIM, but not for that between SEVERI . M, SEVERVS . F, and OF . SEVERI . M. Descemet (*Inscriptions doliaires latines* pp. 142-154) considers the variations to arise "sometimes from blunder, more often from a desire to distinguish different workshops or issues." The same is the opinion of M. Camille Jullian (*Inscr. de Bordeaux* i. 493) who remarks that "if the stamps of the *Ateii* vary, it is because there was a *gens* Ateia, and if we find *Scotus*, *Scottus*, *Scottinus*, we may regard them as members of one family." In the instances on metal before us, it is quite possible that the stamps varied from time to time without any special reason. It is simply human nature to let varieties slip into titles and headings where strict uniformity is of no great moment. We may reasonably suppose that POLYBI, POLYIBI, POLIBY, POLIBI are varieties in spelling, while POLIE is probably a misreading of POLIB. The addition of *f(fecit)* to the genitive

<sup>1</sup> *Paterae* inscribed .. CIPI PRINCIP .. and L CIPI TANTALI have been found in France (Mowat *Bull. Epigr.* iii. 267, who gives a full list of all the stamps on bronze articles of any sort found in France). Cippius Nicomachus appears on

a *patera* found at Laibach in Pannonia. <sup>2</sup> M. Jullian (*loc. cit.*) argues strongly in favour of movable type having been used by the ancients, but the few stamping instruments actually preserved have fixed letters.

in the sixth instance has many parallels among potters marks.

Another Campanian exporting firm was perhaps that of the Ansii, Diodorus, Epaphroditus, Epicarpus, Phoebus; the *paterae* of Ansius Epaphroditus have been found at Pompeii, in Sweden, at Friar's Carse near Dumfries (C. n. 1294), at Evaux in France, and elsewhere. We cannot feel absolutely certain that all the bronze *paterae* of Cippius or Ansius are earlier than the destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii in A.D. 79. Provincial factories may have continued the familiar stamp after the fashion of all traders dealing with half-civilized lands. But the absence of any evidence of such later factories<sup>1</sup> suggests that, as a matter of probability, the vessels which bear their stamps are earlier than A.D. 79, and that the trade similarly belongs, at the latest, to the middle of the first century A.D. M. Mowat, indeed, goes so far as to argue that the shape of the Y on some of the Polybius *paterae* distinctly takes us back to the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54).

At all times, however, the exportation of these bronze vessels seems to have been common. Dr. Murray, in the paper mentioned above, has collected an interesting list of such *paterae*, lettered or unlettered, which have been found in the north of England and in Scotland. The places he notes are Rutherglen (two vessels), Friar's Carse, Crichton (Midlothian), Lulithgowshire, Cockburnspath (Berwickshire), Teviotdale, Dowalton Loch, Stanhope (Peebles), Belsay (Northumberland), to which may be added the camp called the "Guards" near Bolton, the Wanny Crags near Risingham, and Prestwick Carr near Ponteland, where many bronze vessels, including five un-inscribed *paterae* were unearthed in 1890 (Hodgkin *Arch. Ael.* xv, 159—166). Canon Raine (*Catalogue of the York Museum*, p. 142) mentions also *paterae* found at Knaresborough, Stittenham near York (*Arch.* xli, 325), Irchester, and Helmsdale in Sutherland (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1885, p. 214). The silver *paterae* from Backworth and "Caspel," (p. 183,) probably belong to a different commercial class of objects.

The use of these bronze vessels has been disputed. They

<sup>1</sup> This is not intended to suggest that there were no provincial bronze-works.

We have good evidence that there were, for instance in Gaul.

are not unfrequently found in barrows, but possibly only as part of the dead man's property. Some writers have held them to be votive offerings, but the resultant idea of a shrine hung round with bronze saucepans is not attractive, though it is certain that, like rings, brooches, and other objects not specially intended for dedication, they were sometimes used, notably in Gaul, as *ex-votos*. They may more probably have been sacrificial vessels. The Norse "sortilege bowls," containing the twigs of sortilege to sprinkle the "sortilege blood," were sometimes of metal, and may supply a parallel.<sup>1</sup> It is also possible that they were used for cooking. The absence of marks of fire is perhaps to be explained by the long decomposition of surface and the concentric lathe-turned rings which appear outside the bottoms of many specimens do not seem to conflict with this view though I should not like to decide whether they are for ornament or to save wear and tear. But it must be confessed that many of these saucepans are rather fragile objects for cooking purposes.

I would venture to impress on archaeologists the importance of noting all inscriptions on such smaller finds. We know that *pelves* (*mortaria*) were manufactured largely in Gallia Narbonensis, and Samian (pseudo-Arretine) largely in Central Gaul, and we have learnt this solely from observation of potters' marks. We have seen that other makers' names have enabled us to trace some scattered bronze vessels to their Campanian home. In time, we hope thus to learn something about the real centres and distribution of Roman manufactured objects. Hitherto writers on Roman trade have erred by knowing too little of Roman history and antiquities,<sup>2</sup> and archaeologists have neglected the commercial aspects of their discoveries.

<sup>1</sup> *Corpus Boreale* i. 403, 404. I owe the reference to Mr. F. York Powell.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, there is a map of Roman

Britain in a recent *History of Commerce in Europe* by H. Gibbins, which is enough to make one's hair to stand on end.

## APPENDIX. DUPLICATED INSCRIPTIONS.

A not uncommon form of error in epigraphy, as in numismatics, is that arising from what may be called duplication. Stones are discovered and described, and then overlooked, and, when noticed afresh, are put forward and accepted as new finds. Very often there is some slight difference between the first and second readings of the inscription, which results in two different inscriptions making their way into our books, but sometimes the second finder simply omits to see if his find is really a new one and puts it forward as such. It may be of some use to students if I here give a few instances which I have lately come across, with sufficient explanation to shew the ways in which such duplicating seems to occur.

1. I may begin with an instance in which I myself have gone astray. A fragmentary altar, ornamented with a female figure and altar, and bearing traces of a dedication to the *Matres*, was dug up at Carvoran about 1730, and duly published, with a cut, by Horsley in his *Britannia Romana* (Northumberland, plate lxxv. B). From him it is taken by Dr. Bruce (*Lapidarium* No. 305) and Dr. Hübner (c. vii., n. 756). In 1886 the stone was re-observed and published again by Dr. Bruce (*Arch. Ael.* xii. 285) with a woodcut, and the intimation that it was "not of recent discovery but had been inaccessible to antiquaries." From this source it made its way into one of Mr. Watkin's articles in the *Archæological Journal* (xliv., 118), into the *Bulletin Épigraphique* vi., 146, into Dr. Ihm's list of the *Matres* (*Bonner Jahrbücher* lxxxiii., p. 160), and into the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (vii., n. 1054). In each case it has been treated as a separate find, distinct from the old one, though Dr. Ihm has added a query. But a comparison of Horsley's and Dr. Bruce's cuts shew that the two stones are one, and a personal examination of the object which I have been able to make, shewed me that Dr. Bruce's reading was slightly the more accurate of the two. I do not think that Dr. Bruce himself noticed the identity of the two inscriptions.

2. An altar was found in 1718 at Littleborough (Segelocum) in Nottinghamshire, and described by Stukeley in his *Itinerarium Curiosum* (p. 89), as having only one legible line, the last, LIS ARAM · D · D. From Stukely it was taken by Mr. Watkin (*Archæological Journal* xxxi, 352), and from Watkin by Hübner (*Ephem epigr.* iii, p. 120, n. 71). Subsequently Mr. Watkin described in the (*Archæological Journal* xxxv, 63). an altar which he had seen at Mr. Foljambe's seat, at Osberton, between Worksop and Retford, and on which he read I · O · M · in the first line, and IIRAT in the fifth line. In the *Ephemeris* (vii, n. 1097), I suggested that possibly the two altars were one, and having since, by the help of the Bishop of Southwell and the kindness of Mr. Foljambe, been allowed to examine the stone at Osberton, I can testify to their identity. The stone is a well preserved sandstone altar, thirty-seven inches high, with a panel fifteen inches square. The only traces of lettering on it are some faint marks filling about two-thirds of what would be the last or penultimate line. These remarks seem to be



Of Mr. Watkin's IOM no trace was visible, and the seven letters given were, as it seemed to me, merely scratched in, and that not necessarily by a Roman hand. For the rest, the panel was smooth as if it had never been inscribed.

3. Another instance is supplied by the York inscriptions. In the *Ephemeris* (iii, p. 122, n. 78) Dr. Hübner printed an inscription *deo genio loci v. s. l. m.* and in a subsequent issue of the same epigraphic periodical (iii, p. 313, n. 180), he printed an almost identical text. Dr. Haug (*Bursian's Jahresbericht* xl, 1886, 157),<sup>1</sup> noticed the similarity, and Dr. Raine, curator of the York Museum, assures me that the two stones are really one, that one being described in his *Catalogue* of the Museum (n. 5, p. 33, ed. 1891).

4. A more elaborate instance goes back in part to the sixteenth century. Camden in the first five editions of his *Britannia* printed a very inaccurate text of an inscription found at Old Penrith which he subsequently discarded for a correct text. Meanwhile Gruter (901, 1), copied the wrong text, and Samuel Woodford took it from him or from Camden and inserted it in a MS. Collection of Inscriptions now in the Bodleian (MS. Rawl. C. 907, fo. 26a.) Gough, when engaged in re-editing Camden, used Woodford's papers, without understanding that they were almost wholly based on printed material, and adopted the text discarded by Camden as a distinct inscription, so that the two readings actually figure in Gough's Camden as two inscriptions. Fortunately Dr. Hübner (C. vii, 8\* and 237), detected the error, and an examination of Woodford's papers shewed me the reason for it. See further *Archaeologia Oxoniensis* i, p. 17.

5. Again, a fragment was found in or before 1828 at Chesterton or Castor, the Roman site on the two banks of the Nene, known to the Romans probably as Durobrivae, and the difference in description of *provenance* caused Dr. Hübner to catalogue it twice over as being two inscriptions (C. vii, 79, *Ephem.* iii, p. 116, n. 56 ; see *Ephem.* vii, n. 841.)

Other less noticeable instances might be given (cf. for instance *Ephem.* vii, 825, 1,039b, 1,042, 1,047, 1,093, 1,131, 1,177), but those quoted will show the positive danger which exists of making two inscriptions out of a twice found or twice noticed stone. Where, as in Britain, we have a large number of half legible fragments the danger is necessarily greater than it would otherwise be and the need of caution greater still.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Haug's article on Romano-British inscriptions, here referred to, is an in-

teresting and valuable one, and well deserves the attention of specialists.

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF POLA AND AQUILEIA.<sup>1</sup>

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

Among the cities which I have visited in search of Roman remains (and they are not few) Pola presents more analogies with Nîmes than any other. Both have ancient buildings well preserved belonging to the Imperial age; but those of the former city are earlier and more historical. Nîmes, however, has the advantage of being better known, because it is much more accessible, especially to English travellers, requiring only a short *détour* from the *grande route* to Italy through Marseilles.<sup>2</sup>

The most important monuments at Pola are the Temple

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, July 2nd, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> Nîmes (*Nemausus*), in all France the site most famous for Roman monuments, is seldom mentioned by Greek and Latin writers; in this respect it resembles Arles (*Arelate*), Orange (*Arausio*) and Autun (*Augustodunum*), which to this day exhibit conspicuous proofs of their former magnificence. In this case Strabo is our chief authority; he informs us, lib. IV, cap. I, § 12, p. 186, that *Nemausus* was the metropolis of the *Voleae Arcomici*, and inferior to *Narbo* (Narbonne) as a mart for trade, but superior in population. The inhabitants enjoyed the Latin rights and privileges, *Jus Latii* (Adam's Antiquities, edit. 1834, p. 57 sq.), so that those among them who were aediles or quaestors became, by virtue of their office, Roman citizens. Home Rule, at least to some extent, was granted to this people, for prefects were not sent from Rome to govern them. Strabo also adds some details relating to the neighbourhood.

Ptolemy defines the geographical position, lib. II, cap. 10, § 6, Μετὰ δὲ τούτους (Ὀυόλκαι δι Τεκτοσάγαι) μέχρι τοῦ Ῥοδανῶ ποταμοῦ Ὀυόλκαι οἱ Ἀρηκόμοι, ὧν πόλεις μεσόγειοι Οὐινδράμαρος, Νεμαυσαν κολωνία;

see the note in Car. Müller's edition, vol. I, p. 241. Aüg. Nemeto appears in the Tabula Peutingeriana, Segm. II. 3, ed. Konrad Miller; on coins we find COL NEM and COL NIM. Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. XI, cap. XLII, Sect. 97. § 240, says that excellent cheese was exported to Rome from the territory of Nîmes. Ausonius, Ordo urbium nobilium (XVIII) v. 161, p. 103, edit. Schenkl, 1883, mentions the glassy, translucent fountain which is still to be seen in the city,

Non Aponus potu, vitrea non luce Nemausus.

Purior, aequoreo non plenior anne Timavus.

In the Antonine Itinerary under the heading *De Italia in Hispanias*, Nemausus is placed between Arelate and Ambrussum (probably Pont Eimbrien), edit. Wesseling, p. 388, and *ibid.* p. 396; see also Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum, a Burdigala Hierusalem usque p. 552.

Most of the preceding references are given in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, Art. *Nemausus* by Mr. George Long, well known as the editor of the *Penny Cyclopaedia* and the *Bibliotheca Classica*.

of Rome and Augustus, the Arch of the Sergii and the Amphitheatre, and on each of them I propose to make some remarks, though they have often been described before, both by our own countrymen and by foreign savants.

The Temple of Rome and Augustus has strong claims on our attention. As far as I recollect it is the best example that remains of that new idolatry, which to a great extent superseded the old polytheism.<sup>1</sup> Previously to the Christian era the latter had been losing its hold on the public mind; a great historian has observed that all its forms, were considered by the philosopher as equally false, and by the magistrate as equally useful.<sup>2</sup> "The elegant mythology of the Greeks," like a star before the rising sun, was fading away amidst general scepticism, and came to be disbelieved even by children.<sup>3</sup> Now for the first time a Roman was worshipped, while still living, and poets flattered him as the vice-regent of Olympian Jove.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This temple at Pola is, I believe, the only one still existing on which we can read the inscription in honour of Rome and Augustus. Doubtless in ancient times these words appeared on many similar edifices: e.g. at Mylasa, a city in the interior of Caria, north of Caunus, the architrave of a temple bore the following epigraph:

Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ.  
ΘΕΟΥ. ΥΙΩΙ. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙ. ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙ. ΜΕ-  
ΓΙΣΤΩ. ΚΑΙ. ΘΕΑΙ. ΡΩΜΗΙ.

Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. VI, p. 136, says *epistylion in hunc diem inscriptio legitur*: probably he is mistaken, as the Turks destroyed the building in the course of last century, and used the materials to erect a mosque; at all events the characters are not to be seen now. This is one of the cases in which we do well to consult the earlier antiquaries, such as Spon, Pococke, Chishull and Chandler, for many monuments existed in their days which have since perished; and they are less likely than recent compilers to copy carelessly the mistakes of others.

Caylus mentions an example of this cult derived from the same region. In his *Recueil d'Antiquites*, tome II, pp. 179—192, Planches LVI, LVII, LVIII, we find a copy of an Inscription in Greek capitals, with translation and copious notes. The original was engraved on a marble found at Cyme, and possesses a linguistic as well as historical interest, because the dialect employed is the Æolic. It is a decree (*ψήφισμα*) of the Senate and people of that city in honour of Lucius Væcius Labeo, who had con-

ferred many benefits upon them. The following lines suit our present purpose, 55—57,

ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΤΑΣ ΡΩΜΑΣ ΚΑΙ  
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΘΕΩ ΥΙΩ  
ΘΕΩ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΟΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΩ  
ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ.

See especially p. 189 sq., where the similar cases of Pergamus and Mylasa are mentioned; of the Temple at the latter place Chishull has a fine drawing in his *Asiatic Antiquities*. With this worship of Augustus in the provinces we may compare the flattery of the Senate at Rome, who passed a vote that Nero should have a statue of a size equal to that of Mars Ultor, and in the same Temple. Tacitus, *Annals*, XIII, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. II, vol. I, p. 165, edit. Dr. W. Smith, *Universal spirit of toleration*.

<sup>3</sup> Juvenal, *Sat.* II, 149-153,

Esse aliquos manes et subterranea regna,  
Cocytum et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,  
adque una transire nudum tot milia  
cumba,

nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum aere  
lanantur,  
sed tu vera puta.

I have followed the text of Otto Jahn's edition, Berlin, 1851, which differs considerably from that of Ruperti.

<sup>4</sup> Horace, *Odes*, I, 12, 49-52,

Gentis humanæ pater atque custos,  
Orte Saturno, tibi cura magni  
Caesaris fatis data: tu secundo  
Caesareragnes.

The poet is here addressing Jupiter: cf. *ibid.*, 2, 41-49; and *Odes* IV, 5, 31-36.

Theologians have informed us that the facilities of communication throughout the Empire by roads, extending from the Euxine to the British Channel, the civil and military organization affording security to life and property, and the outward political life manifested by material works of stupendous size, were favourable to the propagation of the Gospel.<sup>1</sup> But they have not been so quick to discern that the grand idea underlying this wonderful system was *unity*; that everything was placed under the control of a monarch; that all the chief personages in the State were grouped, as Tacitus represents them, round the Emperor, the principal figure (*Princeps*) who was also deified; and that in this way men's minds were prepared to receive a religion which proclaimed "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," which was monotheistic and designed to be universal.<sup>2</sup>

If we investigate the worship of Augustus, the proofs of it meet us everywhere. We find them in the writings of historians, legends of coins, and inscriptions upon bronze, marble, stone and bricks. Tacitus, *Annals*, book I, chap. 54, relates the institution by Tiberius, in A.D. 14, of an order of priests devoted to this cult, and compares them with the college of the *Sodales Titii*, founded by T. Tattius to preserve the Sabine rites. He says that twenty-one members were chosen from the leading men at Rome, and that Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius and Germanicus were added to this number.<sup>3</sup> To find an illustration of his words we need not go beyond Pola itself. The following inscription on the pedestal which formerly supported a statue was discovered near the *Comizio*:—

<sup>1</sup> Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 8vo. edition, vol. I, p. 19, Preparation in the Empire for Christianity. "If the mysterious wisdom of the divine pre-arrangements is illustrated by the period of the spread of the Greek language, it is illustrated no less by that of the completion and maturity of the Roman government."

<sup>2</sup> Such ideas floating in society transcending in importance external objects, which are, as it were, images or likenesses of the former; so Plato says, *τούτοις μὲν ὡς εἰκόσιν αὐχρῶμεννι, ζητούτές τε αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ἰδεῖν & οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἴδοι τις ἢ τῆ διανοίᾳ*. *De Republica*, lib VI, p. Steph. T. II, 510; *Platonis Opera*, edit. Orelli, p. 495 (in one vol.)

Conf. omnino St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, chap. iv, vv. 3-6, *Unitas servanda fidei in varietate munerum gratiæ*, edit. Tischendorf; *The unity of the mystical Body of Christ*, edit. Alford. — *τηρεῖν τὴν ἐνότητα τῶν πνεύματος ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης. ἐν σώμα καὶ ἐν πνεύμα . . . ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ὑμῶν εἰς κύριον, μιᾷ πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα, εἰς θεὸν καὶ πατῆρ πάντων*

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. citat.*, addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio: cf. *ibid.* ludos Augustales. See also IV, 37, *Cum divus Augustus sibi atque Urbi Romæ templum apud Pergamum sisti non prohibuisset.*

TI · CLAVDIO  
 DRVSI · GERMAN · F  
 NERONI · GERMANICO  
 AVGVRI · SODALI · AVG  
 SODALI · TITIO · COS

Tiberio Claudio, Drusi Germanici filio, Neroni Germanico, Auguri, Sodali Augustali, Sodali Titio, Consuli.

In honour of Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus, son of Drusus Germanicus, Augur, member of the orders of priests Augustales and Titii, Consul.

Antonia Minor, daughter of Mark Antony the triumvir, and mother of Claudius, is said to have retired to Pola after the death of her husband Drusus, A.D. 9, and to have lived there on an estate inherited from her father.<sup>1</sup> Claudius was born B.C. 10, and was consul in A.D. 37, the first year of the reign of his nephew Caligula; at that time he had held no other dignities than those of the augurate and two priesthoods, hence the inscription agrees well with the statement of Suetonius, who says that on account of weakness, both bodily and mental, Claudius was considered unfit for the performance of any duty, public or private.<sup>2</sup> The date of his birth is connected with the worship of Augustus, for it took place on the day when the famous altar at Lyons was dedicated to that Emperor.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This statement is made in the *Notizie Storiche di Pola*, edite per cura del Municipio, Parenzo, 1876, p. 107, but I have not been able to find any ancient authority for it. The writer adds by way of explanation, *dacchè Augusto aveva concesso che una porzione dell' eredità di Marcantonio passasse alle figlie: all' Antonia maggiore ed alla minore*. The relation of Antonia to members of the Imperial family is given in the *Stemma Caesarum* (Genealogy), No. 42; it is prefixed to Brotier's Tacitus, together with a Latin commentary, which Valpy has translated in his edition: v. esp. vol. I, p. XV sq.

This lady is interesting to English antiquaries, because she is supposed by some eminent critics to be represented in the bust of Clytie so-called, which is perhaps the most pleasing ornament of our National Collection. For her biography, and the extant works of art which commemorate her, see *Römische Ikonographie* von J. J. Bernoulli, 3 vols. 1882-1891. In this important work, of which the third vol. appeared only last year—Zweiter Teil, Die Bildnisse der

Römischen Kaiser, II. von Galba bis Commodus—Antonia is mentioned, vol. II, pp. 110, 217, 230, 271, 281 sq., 372: v. esp. pp. 222-224. No. 15 Büste der sogenannten Clytia im britischen Museum. Die Gesichtszüge sind von ausserordentlicher Schönheit, aber individuell, fig. 43a; fig. 43b. Ebendieselbe (Profilansicht). However, the identification with Antonia has been disputed, cf. *ibid.* p. 227 sq. Sir H. Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, 1846, vol. II, pp. 19-21. The Rev. C. W. King, on antique paste found at Stanwix, near Carlisle, *Archæol. Journ.*, 1872, vol. XXIX, pp. 26-33, esp. p. 30. Antonia was the daughter of Octavia, and therefore niece of Augustus. Mr. King notices her effigy in cameo, a gold medal, and "the marble bust that defies the same virtuous lady as an Isis reposing on her lotus flower." His account of her is the best that I have met with.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius, *Vita Claudii*, cap. 2—*adeo ut, animo simul et corpore hebetato, ne progressâ quidem aetate ulli publico privatove muneri habilis existimaretur.*

<sup>3</sup> Suetonius, *ibid.*, *Claudius natus est, Julo Antonio, Fabio Africano consulis,*

Josephus corroborates the passage of Tacitus quoted above: We learn from him that Herod the Great built at Caesarea a Temple to Augustus and Rome in which were two colossal statues, one rivalling the chryselephantine figure of Olympian Jupiter by Phidias, the other like the Argive Juno of Polycleitus. A Temple of Augustus (Σεβαστείον) at Alexandria is mentioned by Philo Judaeus, and a festival held in his honour there (Σεβαστά) is commemorated by a Greek inscription—Gruter's Collection, p. cccxvi, No. 2.<sup>1</sup>

Turning Westwards we find monumental evidence of this worship in the frieze of the arch that formerly stood on the bridge at Saintes. It bore an inscription which is now only fragmentary, but the *lacunae* have been supplied with sufficient probability:—Caius Julius, Caii Juli Ottuaneuni filius, Rufus . . . sacerdos Romae et Augusti ad aram quae est ad confluentem, Praefectus fabrūm dedicavit, *i.e.* at the junction of the Rhone and Saône. Livy, Epitome of the lost book, No. 137, records the consecration of this altar, and the appointment of Vercondaribidius as priest to minister at it. The form of the name varies in the MSS. (see the editions of Drakenborch and Weissenborn), but it is evidently Celtic: compare Verbigenus, Vercassivellaunus, Verucloetius and Viromandui, a tribe between the rivers *Samarra* (Somme) and *Isara* (Oise)—Glück on Celtic names in Caesar, pp. 167-187.<sup>2</sup>

Calendis Augustis. Lugduni, eo ipso die, quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est, appellatus que Tiberius Claudius Drusus. Comp. Juvenal, Sat. I, v. 44,

Aut Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.

and Ruperti's explanatory notes.

<sup>1</sup> The words of Josephus are *νάος Καίσαρος* . . . ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ κολλοσσὸς Καίσαρος οὐκ ἀποδέων τοῦ Ὀλυμπιάσι Διὸς, ἧ καὶ προσείκασται, Ῥώμης δὲ Ἰσος Ἡρα τῇ κατ' Ἀργος. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. VI, p. 136, note, refers to Josephus, Antiq. lib. xv, c. 13. Gruter, loc. citat., Romae, in marmore quatuor habentes orbes in vinea Carl. Carpensis.



The use of C for Σ indicates a late period. It is adopted by the transcriber of the Codex Alexandrinus, now in the British Museum.

Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, edit. Böckh, Pars XIII, Inscr. Kariae, Sect. IV. Aphrodisias, a city in the North-Eastern part of the province (Tacitus, Ann. III, 62; Sir C. Fellows, Lycia, p. 32 with plate), No. 2839, vs. 2,

. . . ΟΔΟΝΑΠΟΤΟΣΕΒΑΣΤΕΙΟΤΝΑΟΥ

<sup>2</sup> Edit. Drakenborch, 4to., vol. VI, p. 969, with *variorum* notes; he reads Vercondari Dubio. J. Fr. Gronovius, whom Bentley calls *acutissimus*, correctly remarks *corruptum nomen Gallicum*. Edit. Weissenborn, vol. X, p. 188 sq., Periocha libri CXXXVII *fehlt*; Periocha lib. CXXXVIII. Ara divi Caesaris ad confluentem Araris et Rhodani dedicata sacerdote creato Caio Julio Vercondaridubno Aeduo. For some observations on the termination *dubnus* or *dumnus* v. note, Archæol. Journ., vol. XLIV, p. 184.

The full title of Glück's work is, Dei

The universality of this cult is proved by the frequent occurrence of the title *Augustales*, well known to every classical epigraphist. We have an example on a tile found near Newgate Street in 1886, where *Austalis* is a contraction of this word. I have given the text of the inscription with some explanations in the Appendix to my Paper on Saintes, *Archæol. Journ.*, 1888, vol. xlv, p. 240 sq.; a more recent account by Mr. Haverfield appeared in the same serial, vol. xlvii, p. 236 sq. Some coins, not very rare, bear the legend ROM ET AVG; the device is an altar surmounted by two winged Victories. For several reasons they are plausibly conjectured to have been struck at Lyons. Augustus was represented with radiated crown and sceptre, attributes of divinity, *effigie numinum*, as Tacitus says,<sup>1</sup> comp. Catalogue of the Marlborough Gems by Mr. Story-Maskelyne, No. 390, probably of the early Empire. So a large brass of Tarragona has Augustus seated, holding Victory, legend DEO AVGVSTO; and on the reverse a magnificent Temple, octostyle, legend AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE; in another of the same city we see an altar with a palm tree growing out of it. Both coins are inscribed C.V.T.T., i.e., Colonia Victrix Togata Tarraco; but some explain the former T as meaning *triumphalis*.<sup>2</sup>

On a former occasion I made some remarks on Rome personified and worshipped, so that only a few words need be added now to what has been already said.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps

bei Caius Julius Cæsar vorkommenden Keltischen Namen in ihrer Echtheit festgestellt und erläutert von Christian Wilhelm Glück, München, 1857; see esp. p. 174 sq. Jenes *ver* . . . die Verstärkungspartikel, Kymr. *guer*—(=ver), das später in die Formen *guor*—*gor*—*gur*—*gwr* übergang (S. Zeuss 151, 867 S. u. f.). We have this prefix in a much more famous name than those already cited, viz., Vercingetorix (Glück, *ibid.*, p. 75, note 2), the leader of the Gauls in their supreme effort to throw off the Roman yoke, whose memory is cherished by them even at present. A French antiquary has gone so far as to point out the rock from which he harangued his fellow-countrymen. But even their descendants are willing to admit that there is here *un peu de fantaisie*.

Vercingetorix (in Strabo, lib. IV, cap. II, § 3, p. 191, Οὐερκιγγετόριξ) has been explained as=*valde fortis, dominus*, the syllable *ver* being intensive.

Some notices of the worship of Augustus will be found in *Archæol. Journ.* vol. XLIV, pp. 179-182, and 215 sq.

<sup>1</sup> *Annals*, IV, 37, per omnes provincias effigie numinum sacrari ambitiosum, superbum: et vanescet Augusti honor, si promiscuis adulationibus vulgatur. Tacitus here gives us the purport of the speech (*hujuscemodi orationem not ipsissima verba*), in which Tiberius refused the honour of a temple offered him by the Spaniards.

<sup>2</sup> Heiss, *Monnaies antiques de l'Espagne, Cose-Tarraco*, p. 123, No. 48, C.V.T.T, cf. No. 54, p. 126; he says that the first T is *togata*, v. plate VIII. Comp. my paper on Tarragona, *Archæol. Journ.* XXXVII, 16, which contains some additional references in notes 3 and 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæol. Journ.*, loc. citat., XLIV, 215, notes 1, 2. Preller's *Roman Mythology, French Translation, Les Dieux de l'ancienne Rome, Mythologie Romaine, Onzième Partie Demi-Dieux et Héros*,

the earliest example occurs on the reverse of a didrachm of Loeri, a town of the Bruttii near the Via Trajana. It is also valuable historically, because it indicates the fidelity (which, however, was not uniform) of this city to the Romans during the war with Pyrrhus, B.C. 281-275. Rome (ΡΩΜΑ) appears as a seated female, with shield and spear, but without helmet; she is crowned by Fides (ΠΙΣΤΙΣ) standing before her; under the group is the word ΔΟΚΡΩΝ.<sup>1</sup>

We may observe two types in which Rome was represented—an Amazon and Athene (Minerva). In the former she wore scanty clothing—a tunic and hunting boots (*cothurni*), and the right breast was exposed (*exserta mamma*); in the latter, besides the helmet and spear she had sometimes even the Ægis and Medusa's head. I therefore made an erroneous statement in my Paper on Saintes, when I asserted that Rome might be distinguished from Minerva by not having the Ægis.<sup>2</sup> For examples in the Louvre, Capitol and Museo Borbonico (now Nazionale) at Naples see Clarac, Musée de Sculpture, Antique et Moderne, Tome iv, pp. 350—352, Planches 332, 770E, 768, 767, 770A. On coins we do not find the head or bust of Roma, but the whole figure seated or standing; and under the Empire, till Hadrian as an Amazon, later as Athene.<sup>3</sup>

cap. IX, Dea Roma, pp. 465-467; p. 466 'Ρώμη . . . la déesse personnifiée de la toute-puissante ville, celle que les Romains appelaient quelquefois Valentia, en traduisant son nom. See Forcellini's Lexicon, s.v. Valentia, who cites Solinus, initio. cap. 1 (al. 2).

<sup>1</sup> The original coin above-mentioned is rare and expensive; I exhibited a good electro-type by Mr. Ready of the British Museum. This Loeri is called Epizephyrii—near the Promontory Zephyrium. For the epithet ἐπιζεφύριος comp. Pindar, Olympic Odes, X, 18, Νέμει γὰρ Ἀτρέκεια πόλιιν Λοκρῶν Ζεφυρίων, and Herodotus, VII, 23, Σαμιοὶ γὰρ κοιμίζμενοι ἐς Σικελίην, ἐγένοντο ἐν Λοκροῖσι τοῖσι Ἐπιζεφυρίοισι, with Baehr's note. So the city in Italy is distinguished from Loeri Epicenemidii, Opuntii and Ozolae in Greece Proper.

This didrachm is engraved and described in Baumeister's Denkmaler des Klassischen Alterthums, Band II, S. 956 Abbildung 1126, Art. Münzkunde (griechische), and referred to, Band III, S.

1535, "freilich noch ohne einheitliche Charakteristik," i.e., fig. of Roma. Leake, Numismata Hellenica, European Greece. Italy, p. 126 sq.; Supplement, p. 131; Appendix, Index to the Notes. Strabo, p. 259, lib. VI, c. I, §§ 7-9, mentions the legislation of Zaleucus, which made Loeri celebrated: Τῆς δὲ τῶν Λοκρῶν νομογραφίας. . . ἦν Ζάλευκος συνέταξεν κ.τ.λ. Bentley, Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris (which Porson calls *immortalis* in his note on the Medea of Euripides, v 139, 140), edit. Dyce, vol. I, pp. 376-398: Attic Dialect, Zaleucus's Laws.

<sup>2</sup> Archaeol. Journ., vol. XLIV, p. 215, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> The last of these engravings is a male figure—the Genius of Rome, tome IV, p. 351 sq., 1905 A—m.g. Mus. Borbon. "Ce Génie tient à la main droite une patère et à la gauche une branche de chêne. Il est chaussé de riches brodequins. Deux boucliers sont appuyés au tronc d'arbre; on y remarque aussi la louve."







TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS AND ROMA : POLA.

1. The Temple of Rome and Augustus at Pola has been studied and visited by many generations of scholars and travellers; by Spon, the famous epigraphist; by our own countrymen, Pococke, Wheeler and Stuart, the last well known for his great work on the Antiquities of Athens; more recently by Gregorutti, Kandler and Mommsen.<sup>1</sup> The inscription originally consisted of bronze letters, affixed by nails to the stones of the architrave (*epistylivum*), as was the case in the arch of Septimius Severus at Rome.

ROMAE · ET · AVGVSTO · CAESARI · DIVI · F · PATRI · PATRIAE.

In honour of Rome and Augustus Caesar, son of the deified (Julius), father of his country.

I have repeated the text of Mommsen in the fifth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, containing those of Cisalpine Gaul. He says that he copied the letters as they can be read from the upper part of a house opposite. The *sloping* characters represent those which cannot easily be deciphered at present.<sup>2</sup>

Baumeister has an excellent article *Roma*, die *Stadtgöttin*, with an illustration. *Abbildung* 1598, a colossal head of the goddess, Pentelic marble, in the Louvre from the Borghese Collection. According to him this personification came from Asia Minor, and a Greek artist in the second century B.C. combined with the old severe type of Juno the proud bearing (*Haltung*) and attributes of Minerva. *Comp.* Pallas from Velletri, S. 213, *Abb.* 167. A coin of the gens Maenia, Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, plate XXV, No. 2, is cited by Baumeister as an example of the heads of Pallas on Roman *denarii*, which have often been improperly called *Roma*; this *denarius* bears the name of P. Maenius Antiatiens, Consul B.C. 338.

In the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 3rd edition, p. 455 a. b, s.v. *Clavus Latus*, we find that some writers suppose that it is represented in a woodcut annexed, which is copied from a painting of Rome personified, formerly belonging to the Barberini family.

Rome, as might be expected a priori, has special attributes in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, *Segmentum*, V, d., edit. Mannert; cf. *Weltkarte des Castorius* genannt *Die Peutinger'sche Tafel* (in the original colours) edit. Dr. Konrad Miller, Ravensburg, 1888. She has a crown like that of the Carolingian kings, orb, sceptre, shield and purple robe, and is seated on a throne with a high back to

it, such as we see in the *cathedra* of bishop Maximianus at Ravenna: Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte*, 5th edition, 1871, vol. I, p. 266, fig. 178. This is the finest specimen of Byzantine work in ivory that remains to us. For the crown comp. MSS. of the Carolingian period, Lübke, loc. citat., p. 267, fig. 179, Kaiser Lothar and Karl der Dicke. *Frankische Miniaturen*, and coins of later French kings: Ducange, *Glossary*, edit. Henschel, tome IV, p. 489, s.v. *Moneta Regia*, Philippe III, Tab. VI, num. 17, cf. Tab. VII, 1, 2, 3, &c. J. B. A. A. Barthélemy, *Numismatique moderne*, Atlas, pl. IV, no. 277, Philippe le Hardi.

There are similar figures of Constantinople and Antioch in the *Table*, v. Index edit. Mannert; in the latter case the river Orontes also appears, as on coins. Preller, op. citat., p. 467, article on *Dea Roma*, says, "Constantinople eut aussi sa déesse . . . Elle se distinguait de l'ancienne Rome en ce qu'elle portait la couronne murale et mettait le pied sur l'avant d'un vaisseau."

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen visited Istria in 1857, 1862 and 1866; in the first of these years he travelled through the country (*peragravit*). In the course of these journeys he was twice at Pola. C. I. L., vol. V, pt. I, p. 2, § IX: *ibid.*, p. 7, § XIX.

<sup>2</sup> P. 8, No. 18. The date assigned is U.C. 752/767. A host of references

Gruter, page cv, No. 8, gives the Inscription thus,

ROMAE . ET . AVG  
CAES. DIVI . ET  
PAT . PAT

*Ea* Petro Martyre historico.

This reading is evidently incorrect.<sup>1</sup>

Compare *ibid.*, No. 7, at Terracina, and No. 9, formerly at Athens, where the words ΘΕΑΙ ΡΩΜΗΙ ΚΑΙ||ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ occur.<sup>2</sup>

The guesses of some travellers resulted in strange corruptions; according to Wheler the last words were IIIVIRI · TRIBVNIC · POTEST; according to Spon PATR · PATR · TRIB · POT. As Mommsen has remarked, IRI in IIIVIRI came from PATRI (which might easily happen if the horizontal stroke of T was too short), and TRI in TRIBVNIC from PATRIAE.

This Temple is of the Corinthian order, tetrastyle prostyle; or, to express the same meaning without technical terms, it has a portico with four columns in front, and there is also one on each side.<sup>3</sup> For the general arrangement we may compare the so-called Temple of Fortuna Virilis at Rome, in the Forum Boarium (cattle-market), near the Pons Æmilius (Ponte Rotto); but the latter was of the Ionic order, comparatively seldom adopted by the Romans, and

follow from Sanutus down to Arneth, *Wiener Denkschrifte*, 1, 290, Kandler n. 170. Marinus Sanutus was author of *Itinerario per la terra ferma Veneziana nell'a*, 1483. Kandler takes the foremost place among local antiquaries in modern times, born 1804, died 1872; he was an Englishman by birth, who settled in Austria, and thus his name was altered from Chandler to Kandler. He held the office of Director of the *Museo lapidario Triestino ed Aquileiese*. His works are out of print and very difficult to procure; the following seem to be the most important. *L'Istria*, a serial, 1846-1852, *Indicazioni per riconoscere le cose storiche del Littorale*, which include *Inserzioni de i tempi Romani rinvenute nell' Istria*. Kandler's publications are very meritorious, but to a considerable extent they have been superseded by the labours of Mommsen, who had access to the MSS. and collections of his predecessor, and has corrected many mistakes. C. I. L., loc. citat. § VIII.

<sup>1</sup> *Filio*, or an abbreviation of it, is

required for the grammatical construction of *Divi* in the genitive case: we find the omission supplied in No. 7, DIVI F.

<sup>2</sup> *Legebatur Athenis antequam everteretur a Mahomete II in vestibulo templi quod in arce, quondam Palladi, postea B. Mariae Virgini sacrum fuit*. The lower part of the Inscription contains the following words

ΙΕΡΕΩΣ  
ΘΕΑΣ ΡΩΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ  
ΕΝ ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕΙ.

<sup>3</sup> There is a good engraving of this Temple in the *Illustrirter Führer durch Triest, &c.*, zweite Auflage. 1886, p. 69, in Hartleben's Series of *Illustr. Reise-führer*. Lübke, op. citat., vol. I, p. 188, describes it thus, "ein wohlerhaltenes Beispiel der edlen Ausprägung des korinthischen Styles und der Verbindung griechischer Formen mit italischer Grundrissanlage, denn nach alter heimischer Tradition ist auch hier eine tiefe Vorballe der einfachen Cella angefügt," V. *ibid.*, fig. 127.

it had engaged columns on the sides, which we do not find at Pola.<sup>1</sup>

Doubtless in ancient times the Temple adjoining the Forum occupied a commanding position, and was visible, as the arch of the Sergii is now, from a distance. But at present it stands at the corner of the market-place, partly concealed by houses (*versteckt*), so that the visitor cannot obtain a view till he is close to it. We may observe that the single columns *in antis* are fluted, the rest plain—which was not so common because it produced less variety of light and shade. The dimensions of the building are 14 mètres high and 8 broad; the fore-court (*πρόναος*) is 7 mètres deep, and the cella 6.6 mètres long.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have used the term *so-called*, because probably *Fors Fortuna* is the right name, and *Virilis* is a mistake from some confusion between *Fors* the substantive and *fortis* the adjective: so Dionysius says IV, 27, *νάς Τύχης ἀνδρείας*, See Professor J. H. Middleton, *Ancient Rome* in 1885, c. XII, pp. 376-378, fig. 44, comp. Bunsen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, vol. III, pp. 343-345, Angeblicher Tempel der Fortuna Virilis, and p. 665 sq., Nachträge. De Vit, *Onomasticon* to Forcellini's Lexicon, has a long article s.v. *Fors*, § § 1-7: he cites Ovid, *Fasti*, VI, 773 et seqq.; Plutarch, de *Fortuna Rom.* 5, *Τύχην Φόρτυν*; but there is a variant in Wytttenbach's edition, *Plutarchi Moralia*, vol. II, Pt 1, p. 308, Oxon. 1796. *Τὴν δὲ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ Τύχην ἦν Φόρτυκαν καλοῦσιν (ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἰσχυρὰν, ἢ ἀριστευτικὴν, ἢ ἀνδρείαν) ὡς τὸ νικητικὸν ἀπάντων κράτος ἔχουσαν*; comp. a coin of Galerius Maximianus with the legend *FORI · FORTVNAE*. ap. Eckhel, VIII, p. 38. In Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Geography*, vol. II, p. 815, we have an engraving of this Temple, and it is there attributed to Pudicitia Patricia—a conjecture of Becker's which the writer of the article *Roma* (Mr. Dyer) seems to favour.

The *Forum Boarum* is close to the *Forum Olitorium* (Vegetable-Market); *Porta Flumentana*, near the "ponte rotto," led from one to the other: Middleton, *ubi supra*, p. 381; and see the map of Modern Rome facing the title page, with references to *Antiquities*, No. 35. Emil Braun, *op. citat.*, p. 29 sq. § 8.

<sup>2</sup> The position of this Temple at Pola, adjoining the *Forum*, may remind us of the Temple of Jupiter at Pompeii, which stood at the north end of the *Forum Civile* in that city; but there is more

than one feature of resemblance. See Overbeck, *Pompeii*, map at the end of vol. II, *Resultat der Ausgrabungen von 1748-1865*, No. VII; vol. I, pp. 89-94 § 2, esp. p. 89, § 2, Für die Bedeutung, des Gebäudes als Tempel aber spricht zunächst seiner Lage auf dem schönsten Bauplatze der Stadt . . . seine gesammte sehr charakterische Anlage, die Säulenhalle mit der hinter ihr liegenden Cella, &c. Figur 62. Plan des Jupitertempels, Fig. 64. Seitenansicht, Fig. 65. Durchschnitt; cf. *supra*, Figs. 32 and 34.

We cannot state precisely the date at which the Temple of Rome and Augustus was erected. In the *Notizie Storiche di Pola*, edite per cura del Municipio, Parenzo, 1876, p. 21, A.D., 8 is mentioned, and p. 74, the year B.C. 19. The architectural beauties of the edifice are well described in the former passage, "Nella sua piccolezza e semplicità ha un che di elegante insieme e grandioso, che indarno si cerca in molti edifici moderni di maggiore pretesa . . . La cornice, i capitelli, tutti i lavori di dettaglio sono di finitezza squisita."

For Temples dedicated to Augustus see Hirt, *Die Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten*, Zweiter Band, Fünfter Zeitraum von Augustus bis Constantin. Many examples will be found in §§ 26-33; Pola in § 28 fin., p. 299, Taf. XII, figs. 14, 15. He notices esp. one at Fanum, zu Fano—dem alten Fanestri bante Vitruv seine Basilica, verbunden mit einem Tempel des Augustus, das einzige bekannte Gebäude von diesem Baumeister, § 27, p. 296; and another at Mylassa in Caria, referring to Chishull and Pocke as authorities. It had an extraordinary peculiarity, viz., that the columns in front were Corinthian, and the rest Ionic, § 30, p. 300.

Parallel to this structure is another usually called the Temple of Diana, of which only the rear has been preserved; some suppose it to be the Curia or Senate-house. See Hartleben's *Illustrirter Führer durch Triest und Umgebungen; nebst Ausflügen nach Aquileia, Görz, Pola, etc.*

II. Proceeding from the market-place in a southerly direction, at the end of a long street we come to the Porta Aurea or Arch of the Sergii, a monument which deserves to rank with those of Augustus at Rimini, Susa and Aosta<sup>1</sup>; it is, therefore, included by Montfaucon in his account of this branch of Roman architecture.<sup>2</sup> The *gens*

<sup>1</sup> The great work of L. Rossini—*Archi Trionfali*—is limited to Italy, including Savoy and Istria, but especially valuable because it contains the finest illustrations of the subject; the plates are of the largest folio size, and admirably executed. In this series the Arches of Susa and Aosta immediately precede that of the Sergii; the former supplies us with a good example of the kind of information to be derived from these engravings. Besides a general view of the monument as it exists, a second plate gives a Restoration (*Restauro*) with *Bassorilievo sul fianco Meridionale* and *Fregio che adorna il prospetto dell'arco a Settentrione*; also details—cornice, capitals and pedestals of columns, &c. Here and at Aosta the *Tribunicia Potestas* is mentioned, and it occurs so frequently elsewhere that we cannot wonder at its improper insertion by conjecture on the entablature at Pola: see Orelli, *Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum*, c. II, *Monumenta Historica*, § 3; in pp. 155, 156, there are no less than seven examples of this title—in *extenso*, or abbreviated. The mistake made by Spon has been repeated by Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, tome II, pt. I, pl. XVIII, facing p. 102—Front of the Temple with the Inscription.

Rossini, *op. citat.*, illustrates the Arco di Sergio Lepido in the same style as that at Aosta; but he incorrectly describes the situation of the former, saying that it is *vicino a Trieste*, whereas it is eighty miles distant from this city. In his second Plate he gives the following details, *Trabeazione dell'ordine* (architrave)—*Basamento*—*Nel mezzo del soffitto dell'arco*—*Ornato nel pilastro*—*Ornato nella grossezza dell'arco*—*Imposta dell'arco*—*Dell'Attico*—*Trofei nei fianchi dell'Arco una sesta parte al vero* (on a large scale it will be observed). These trophies are cuirasses, standards, swords, spears,

shields, helmets, two *aplustria* (ornaments of the sterns of ships), battle-axes and trumpets.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquité Expliquée*, tome III, pt. I, p. 176 sq., Liv. V, chap II.—I, Porte Majeure de Rome, autrefois appelée Labicane ou Esquiline. II, Les deux portes anciennes d'Autun. III, Porte ancienne singulière près de la ville de Mesté en Cilicie. IV, Autres portes de villes. Planches XCVI-XCVIII. The last plate includes the Gate at Zara as well as that at Pola; it also contains two medals from Vaillant, one of Trajanoplis and the other of Nicopolis. The former city, on the West coast of Cilicia, was so called because Trajan died there A.D. 117; it had previously borne the name of Selinus. The latter is Nicopolis in Epirus, founded by Augustus to perpetuate the memory of his victory at Actium: St. Paul in his Epistle to Titus, III, 12, says that he intended to winter there, *σπουδασον ελθεין προς με εις Νικοπολιω' εκει γαρ κερικα παραχειμασαι*. Tacitus, *Ann.*, II, 53, Sed eum honorem Germanicus inijt apud urbem Achaiae Nicopolim, quo venerat per Illyricam oram, viso fratre Druso in Delmatia agente: see the note in the edition of Lipsius printed by Plantin, Antverpiae M. DC. VII, folio, p. 62 *Benè latè Achaiae nomen sumit, non pro Graeciâ solum (quod alibi annotamus) sed pro Epiro, ubi sane haec urbs est, &c.*, *Ibid.* V, 10, Romana colonia. Eckhel, *D.N.V.*, vol. II, pp. 165-167; p. 166, Epigraphe ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ, Porta urbis. Wordworth's *Greece*, pp. 312-315, edit. 1859, description of the Theatre and other ruins; Alford, *Greek Testament*, vol. III, p. 95 sq., note 3. Prolegomena, chap. VII, § II, On the Pastoral Epistles, Time and Place of writing.

*Ant. Expl.*, tome IV, pt. I, pp. 169-172, Liv. VI, chap. VIII. I, Les arcs de triomphe, et premièrement l'arc de

*Sergia* traced its descent from *Sergestus*, a companion of *Æneas* in his wanderings after the taking of *Troy*: comp. *Virgil*, *Æneid*, V. 121.

*Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen.*

This need cause no surprise if we bear in mind that the Imperial family claimed as their mythical ancestor *Julus*, the son of *Ascanius*, or, according to some, identical with him. Hence Roman nobles who boasted of their pedigree are called by the writers of the Silver Age *Trossuli* and *Trojugenae*, i.e., *Troy-born*.<sup>1</sup> To the *Sergian* family belonged one of the most famous, or rather infamous, personages in Roman History—the conspirator *Catiline* whom *Cicero* has raised to a “bad eminence,” from which he will never descend.<sup>2</sup> His great-grandfather *M. Sergius Silus* is remarkable for a very different reason. *Pliny*, after mentioning the warlike achievements of *Dentatus* and *Manlius Capitolinus*, and the honours bestowed upon them, says that no one ever surpassed *Sergius* for his valour. As far as we know, he was the bravest man that the great military nation of antiquity produced. In his second campaign he lost his right hand, in two campaigns was wounded twenty-three times, fought four battles with one hand, had an iron right hand made, and thus equipped he raised the siege of *Cremona*, defended *Placentia* (*Piacenza*), and captured ten forts in *Gaul*. I have a denarius, the reverse of which shows the hero on horseback galloping,

triomphe d'Orange, et autres arcs. II, L'arc de Sévère: question sur cet arc. III, L'arc de Constantin, fait des dépouilles du marché de Trajan. IV, Autres arcs de triomphe, Pls, CVIII-CXI. The last plate contains twelve engravings of triumphal arches copied from medals and enlarged.

I have cited in this note two passages from *Montfaucon*, which may at first sight appear to refer to different subjects, but in reality they are closely connected, because city-gates were sometimes built in a style so ornate as to resemble triumphal arches.

<sup>1</sup> See *Forcellini's Lexicon, sub vocabulis*. *Persius Sat.* I, v. 4  
Ne mihi Polydamaset Troïades Labeonem  
Prætulertint!

v. the note of *Isaac Casaubon*, edit. *Parisiis*, 1615, p. 42, Illa ætate qui ab antiquo erant cives Romani et ἀντόχθονες, Trojanam originem affectabant: ut a

faece novorum civium separarentur, qui a temporibus *Julii Caesaris* civitatem ac tribum fuerant adepti. *Ibid.*, v. 82, *Trossulus exsultat tibi per subsellia levis?*

*Juvenal*, I, 99—161.

Jubet a præcone vocari  
Ipsos *Trojugas*; nam vexant limen et ipsi nobiscum.

*Id.* VIII, 56, Dic mihi, *Teucrorum* proles: cf. *ibid.* 181 sq.

<sup>2</sup> In modern times some have endeavoured to rehabilitate this wicked man, but we may apply to him what *Lord Macaulay* says of *Barère*, “By attempting to enshrine this *Jacobin* carion, he (*M. Hippolyte Carrot*) has forced us to gibbet it; and we venture to say that, from the eminence of infamy on which we have placed it, he will not easily take it down.” *Essays* reprinted in the *Complete Works*, vol. VII, p. 203.

holding in his left hand his sword, and the head, with long hair, of a conquered enemy.<sup>1</sup>

The monument is 8·5 mètres high, and 7 mètres broad. On its front and back the arch is flanked by a pair of Corinthian columns on each side. The façade looking towards the town bears inscriptions, and is decorated with sculptures. Three projections from the entablature formerly supported busts or statues; these have disappeared, but the names of the persons thus honoured still remain legible.

In the following copy the Sergii and the Dedicator occupy the same positions, relatively to each other, as they have in the original. The latter is lower down than the others, but also above the capitals, and has even greater prominence as she occurs twice.

L · SERGIUS · C · F	L · SERGIUS · L · F	CN · SERGIUS · C · F
AED · II · VIR	LEPIDVS · AED	AED · II · VIR · QVINQ
	TR · MIL · LEG XXIX	
	SALVIA · POS TVMA · SERGI	
	SALVIA · POS TVMA · SERGI · DE · SVA · PECVNIA	

Some of the epigraphic details deserve attention. The word *Ædile* occurs thrice, and in each case it is associated with another title. We find the same offices as those mentioned above in juxta-position elsewhere:—Corpus

<sup>1</sup> Pliny. Nat. Hist., edit. Sillig, lib. VII, cap. XXVIII, sect. 29, §§ 104—106. He closes a long and glowing eulogium on the bravery of Sergius (justly called *stupendous* by Havercamp) with the following words: "Ceteri profecto victores hominum fuere, Sergius vicit etiam Fortunam."

The name Silus is probably akin to *σίλος*, flat-nosed; like many *cognomina* of Roman families, it indicated a personal peculiarity. Cicero, De Natura Deorum, lib. I, cap. XXIX, § 80 *Ecquos* (deos arbitramur) *silos, flaccos, frontones, capitone, quae sunt in nobis?* It is admitted that M. Sergius Silus was an ancestor of Catiline, but the degree of relationship seems doubtful; some say that he was *proavus* (great grandfather), others place him further back as *abavus*, and even *tritavus*. This subject is discussed in Morell's *Thesaurus Numismaticus*: v. *Familia Sergia*, p. 385 sq. In reading this book care should be taken to distinguish the genuine from the spurious coins; the latter class are described under the heading *Huberti Goltzii nummi con-*

*suales incertae fidei*: e.g., *ibid.* *Sergia* p. 620, and *Tab. XXXI, No. 16*. Ab altera parte stat *Cervus*. *Nummus est fictus et spurius*. M. Babelon thinks that the Sergius in question was *bisaieul* (great-grandfather) of Catiline, qui mit la république romaine à deux doigts de sa perte. *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, vol. II, p. 442. The coin above mentioned is the only one of the *gens Sergia*: Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, p. 294. 'Eclaircissements, p. 295, *Plate XXXVII*. Havercamp thinks that the "head of a conquered enemy" was that of a Carthaginian, but the long hair makes M. Babelon's supposition more probable, viz., that it was that of a Gaul. So *Gallia Transalpina* was called *Comata* (hairy), except *Narbonensis* (*Bracata*): on the other hand, *Gallia Cisalpina*, summo Romanorum more, *togata est appellata*: Weise's note on *Lucan, Pharsalia*, I, 442 sq.,

Et nunc tonse Ligur, quondam per colla  
deora

*Crinibus effusus toti praelate Comatae.*



Inscriptionum Latinarum, Gallia Cisalpina, No. 47, AED · P̄VIR · P̄VIR · QVINQ · TRIB · M̄IL, and No. 53, AEDILIS · P̄OL · P̄VIR · VIR · IVRE · DIE · QQ; it will be observed that some letters are wanting on the stone, and supplied conjecturally. The importance of the provincial aedile varied with the place in which he exercised his functions; sometimes he was a person as insignificant as the *maire* of a *commune* in a rural district in France. Juvenal tells us that in the country, as opposed to the capital, at dramatic representations even this magistrate did not wear the toga; he was distinguished from others only by his *white tunic*.<sup>1</sup> He goes further, and, perhaps with the coarse exaggeration of a satirist, describes the same official at Ulubrae with the epithet *pannosus*.<sup>2</sup> Such an epithet could not be applied at Pola, as is plain from the context of the Inscription, and because we know it to have been a city of great importance under the Romans as a station for their navy. Doubtless their fleets often made the passage between it and Ravenna or Ancona, on the West side of the Adriatic, when they were conveying troops employed in their wars with the Germans on the banks of the Danube. Brindisi (*Brundisium*) has recovered in our own time its commercial rank, being on the *grande route* for Alexandria and India; so Pola, after a long period of depression, has revived since it became the *Kriegshafen*, naval port, for the Austrian Empire.

In the colonies and borough towns (*municipia*) the aediles discharged nearly the same duties as at Rome, which, according to Daremberg and Saglio's classification, were threefold.<sup>3</sup> They had the care *urbis, annonae, ludorum*; they superintended, 1, the police, roads, public and private buildings; 2, the supply of provisions, weights and measures; 3, games and dramatic performances. Some of their functions are mentioned by Juvenal, *loc. citat.*, Sat x.

An Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas,  
Et de mensurâ jus dicere, vasa minora  
Frangere, pannosus vacuis aedilis Ulubris?

<sup>1</sup> Sat. III, 178 sq.—

clari velamen honoris,  
Sufficiunt tunicae summis aedilibus albae.

<sup>2</sup> Id. X, 100-102.

<sup>3</sup> Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines, tome I, première partie, pp.

95-101, a series of elaborate articles, s.v. Aediles I. plebis, II. curules, III. ceriales. Colonialium et municipiorum, figs. 138, 139, with many references, both ancient and modern, in the foot notes.

At Gabii, or Fidenae, rules proponnd,  
 For faulty measures, and for wares unsound ;  
 And take the tarnish'd robe and petty state  
 Of poor Ulubrac's ragged magistrate ?

*Gifford's Translation.*

See his note which illustrates the word *potestas*. "We have nothing precisely like them (the *Ædiles*) in this country ; but in the Italian villages they still subsist, as ragged and consequential as ever, under the name of *Podestas*."

Compare Persius, Sat. i, 129sq.,

Sese aliquem credens, Italo quod honore supinus  
 Fregerit heminas Aretii aedilis iniquas.<sup>1</sup>

The Table of Heraclea (Pisticci), as it is usually called, was found in the bed of the River Sallandrella, near the Gulf of Tarentum, A.D. 1732. It consists of three bronze tablets now deposited in the Museo Nazionale at Naples ; each of them has a Greek inscription in front, and two exhibit on the reverse the *Lex Julia Municipalis*.<sup>2</sup> The latter will repay careful study, because they are among the most important documents for the subject of the aedileship, containing many curious details that show how completely the Roman system of administration was organised. *E.g.*, it was provided that if a road passed between a private house on one side, and a Temple, public building or property on the other, the aedile was to contract for keeping half the roadway in repair. It was his business to see that cleanliness was maintained in the thoroughfares, and that water was not allowed to collect so as to interfere

<sup>1</sup> See Casaubon's edition of Persius, p. 164 ; he quotes a passage from the *Rudens* of Plautus, in which the dramatist humorously compares Neptune to an aedile who rejects unsound articles exposed for sale. I give the text as edited by Ussing, 1875-86, *Havniae*, vol. V, p. 108, vv. 367-371, Act II, Sc. 3, vv. 39-43.

Ampelisca (mulier)

itaque nos ventisque fluctibusque  
 iactatæ exemplis plurimis miseræ per-  
 petuam noctem.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 Trachalio (servus)  
 Noui, Neptunus ita solet. Quamuis  
 fastidiosus

Aedilis est ; si quae improbae sunt merces,  
 iactat omnis.

Note, *ibid.* p. 476, *Aedilis*, ἀγορανόμος,  
 v. ad Captivos. 817. *iactat*, abjicit, cf.

Lucilius ap. Ciceronem de Finibus, II, 8, 24 : "O Iapathe, ut jactare." (which, however, Orelli explains differently). Comp. Lamcius, *Rudens* loc. citat., edit. Plant., Lutetiae, 1577, note p. 942 D.

<sup>2</sup> There is some doubt about the exact date of this law, but it seems to have been passed B.C. 45. Cf. Cicero, ad Familiares, VI, 18, §1 Quaesivi e Balbo per codicillos, quid esset in lege. Rescripsit eos, qui facerent praconium, vetari esse in decurionibus : qui fecissent, non vetari. It must not be confounded with the *Lex Julia de Civitate*, B.C. 90, which extended the Roman citizenship to all Italy : Cicero, pro Balbo, c. 8, §21, quâ lege civitas est Sociis et Latinis data : Liddell, *History of Rome*, vol. I, p. 279.

with the traffic. Moreover, the passage of carts was regulated, and prohibited at fixed hours, with certain specified exceptions.<sup>1</sup>

We may also notice the repetition of the title *Duumvir*, which I have had occasion to remark in describing the Roman Antiquities of Augsburg, as designating officers who held the foremost place among the local magistrates.<sup>2</sup> The *Duumviri Quinquennales* corresponded in provincial towns with the censors at Rome; they were elected every fifth year, revised the lists of senators and citizens, and arranged the finances of the community.<sup>3</sup> Again, the rank of military tribunes was

<sup>1</sup> C.I.L., vol. I, pp. 119-125. This law was of the kind called *satura*, because it contained provisions relating to different matters, and so resembled *satura sc. lanæ*, a dish filled with various kinds of fruit; hence also, food composed of various ingredients,—*olla podrida*, *pot-pourri*, hodge-podge, medley. Comp. Juvenal, I, 85 sq.

Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas, Gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago libelli.

Persius V, 77, — in tenui farragine mendax, v. the note of Isaac Casaubon, Commentarius, p. 412.

Id. I, 80, — quaerisne, unde haec sartago loquendi.

Venerit in linguas?

with Casaubon's note, p. 121.

The Lex Julia Municipalis has also a philological interest, on account of archaisms in the diction. One citation must suffice here. Lines 56-59, Quae viae in u(rbem) R(omam) sunt erunt . . . nequis iniéis vieis post k(alendas) Január(ias) | primas plostrum interdiu post solem ortum neve ante horam X diei ducito agito nisi quod aedium | saceram deorum immortalium causa aedificandarum operisve publicae faciundei causa advehei porta | ri oportebit, &c.

Baedeker, French translation, edit. 1877, p. 69 s. f., Italie Méridionale, Naples, Le Musée, Rez-de-chaussée, à droite Tables d'Héracée. Murrays' Handbook for South Italy, 1862, p. 155, gives some additional particulars, and describes the Latin inscription as a fragment of the Lex Servilia: this is a mistake which I cannot account for.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, vol. XLVIII, p. 151, note 2, where references will be found to the Dict. of Antiq., Wilmann's *Exempla Inscr. Lat.*, and Daremberg et

Saglio; the last named authors have also an article *Duumvirales*. "les citoyens qui avaient rempli dans la ville les fonctions de duumviri." The title corresponds with *consulares* frequent in Cicero, *i.e.*, those who have held the office of consul at Rome, just as we speak of a past lord-mayor or president of any society. In the termination of such words we find a variation according to euphony, the recurrence of the letters L or R being avoided. Comp. *toral* from *torus*, valance of a couch; Horace, Epistles I, 5, 22: *calcar* from *calx*, a spur, stimulus, incitement; Id. Epistles II, 1, 217—*etvatis* addere *calcar*. These substantives were originally neuter adjectives ending in *ale* or *are*, and afterwards the final E was dropped, as in the Italian *mar*, *pitto* etc. Cf. Key, Latin Grammar on the system of Crude Forms § 194, Suffixes of nouns neuter *li* and *ri*, and note \*, § 225, Suffixes of adjectives (ali), (ari).

<sup>3</sup> Dict. of Antiq., esp. s.v. Colonia I, 483. Both the aediles and the duumviri quinquennales are repeatedly mentioned in the bronze tablets, on which are engraved fragments of the laws of Salpensa and Malaca (Aes Salpensanum and Aes Malacitanum) that have thrown so much light on the internal administration of provincial towns. They were discovered in 1851: C.I.L., Hispania, pp. 253-262, nos. 1963, 1964. Monumentos Históricos Malacitanos by Dr. Manuel Rodriguez de Berlanga, Malaga, 1864, Nos. XVIII and XIX, Decretos Municipales, text with expansions of the abbreviations, supplements of the *lacunae*, and translations into Spanish. There are appended facsimiles of the inscriptions showing the forms of the letters, and coloured to imitate bronze, also copies in ordinary Roman capitals. Hübner, op. citat.

high in the army, for these officers appear to have commanded the legion in turn. So Horace, when he speaks of himself as being of servile origin, and as having excited envy at the distinctions he had attained, says—

at olim  
Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.  
That once a Roman legion owned my power.

*Satires I., vi, 48.*

Here he refers to the campaign of Philippi, B.C. 42, in which he served under Brutus against Octavian and Antony. Compare a similar passage in Epode iv, "a violent attack upon some freedman," ending with the words—

Hoc, hoc tribuno militum.<sup>1</sup>

We ought not to pass over LEG XXIX, *i.e.*, legio vicensima nona, because it does not occur in inscriptions elsewhere; this is accounted for by the fact that it was disbanded after the battle of Actium, B.C. 31.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, this number is not found among the legions in the Index to Orelli's edition of Tacitus, or in the more copious list under the heading Exercitus, Diet. of Antt., 3rd edition, which seems to have been compiled after consulting the best and most recent authorities. It was no longer necessary to maintain so large a military force, for that decisive engagement put an end to the civil wars; and universal peace, by sea and land, was established through-

253, pays to Berlanga a well-merited tribute of commendation, Summa et paene incredibili diligentia quaecumque ad titulos Malacitanos . . . congeri poterunt, congescit disposuit repetivit. Lithographs of these two Inscriptions were sent to the London Institution, the Royal Institution of Great Britain, the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries.

Salpensa (*Municipium Flavium*) is supposed to be Facialcazar, near Utrera, Utrícula—a railway station on the line from Seville to Cadiz; Ford, Handbook for Spain, 1878, p. 327. This town was south-east of Hispalis (Seville), and at a considerable distance from Malaca (Malaga: see the excellent maps of ancient Spain, at the end of C.I.L., vol. citat., and esp. of Baetica. "duplici tabulae totius Hispaniae modulo descripta." The name *Utrícula*, which I have quoted from Ford, is not to be

found in Forcellini's Lexicon, Brunet's Dictionnaire de Géographie, nor in Smith's Diet. of Class. Geogr., nor does the word occur as a common noun.

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to identify the person to whom Horace alludes here; some say that Menas, a freedman of Sextus Pompeius is meant; others, Vedius Rufus, a person entirely unknown: Horace, edit. Wickham, Clarendon Press Series, Preface to Epode IV. p. 336 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen in C.I.L., Gallia Cisalpina, Pt. 1, p. 12, No. 50. Leg. XXIX . . . ex eorum numero fuit, quae post bellum Actiacum pace terra marique parta ante annum certe v.c. 727 exauctoratae sunt, . . . ut hunc titulum non multo posteriorem esse constet. For lists of legions cf. Mommsen, Res gestae Divi Augusti ex Monumentis Aesyrano et Apolloniensi, 1865, pp. 41-50, esp. pp. 46 and 49; and Cohen, Méd. Imp., vol. 1, p. 24 sq., s.v. Marc Antoine, Nos. 9-43.

out the Empire. The words LEG XXIX fix the date of the Arch approximately, as belonging to this happy period; and the beautiful style of architecture, as Mommsen remarks, harmonizes with this attribution.<sup>1</sup> From all that has been said we infer that the Sergii were persons in a good social position; and the lady who erected the monument must have been wealthy, as she informs us that she paid for it out of her own pocket (*de sua pecunia*).

The sculptural ornaments are as follow:—A festoon over each capital of the columns, a triumphal car drawn by two horses (*biga*) on each side of the lowest Inscription, and a winged Victory holding a wreath in either spandrel, as in the Arch of Titus and many others.<sup>2</sup> Montfaucon,

<sup>1</sup> Cohen, op. citat., vol. I, p. 47, No. 39, Pl. IV, obv., legend IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. COS. VI LIBERTATIS P. R. VINDEX : rev. PAX La Paix debout à gauche, tenant un caducée; à côté d'elle, la ciste mystique d'où s'élançait un serpent, le tout dans une couronne de laurier. Frappé en Asie . . . B.C. 28. See also p. 61, Nos. 182, 183. PAXI PERP., PAX P.R.; the latter is engraved in plate IV.

Being unable to procure the coins above mentioned, I exhibited a large brass of Nero, in good condition, bearing the legend PACE TERRA MARIQ PARTA: Descriptive Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman Imperial Large Brass Medals by Admiral Smyth, 1854, p. 43, Reverse, Temple of Janus. "The cornices, capitals, and indeed the whole detail of this edifice are so accurately delineated, and in such perfect preservation, that a statuary of Bedford made a beautiful model from it, in marble, to support the meridian-mark of a transit instrument, at Hartwell House."

The subject may be illustrated by Milton's Ode on the Nativity, v. 51.

"And, waving wide her myrtle wand,  
She strikes a universal peace through  
sea and land."

Here the epithet *universal* seems like a translation of VBIQ., which occurs on some of Nero's medals, instead of TERRA MARIQ: Cohen, loc. citat., pp. 197-199, Nos. 178-189.

Bishop Newton, in his edition, vol. III, p. 325, has the following note—"The expression is a little inaccurate, *Peace* to strike a *peace*: but otherwise it is classical, *foedus ferire*." We find also *foedus icere*; these phrases refer to the practice of sacrificing a victim when a compact was made. Virgil, *Æneid*, VIII, 640,

Armati, Jovis ante aram, paterasque  
tenentes

Stabant, et caesâ jungebant foedera porcâ.

See Heyne's remarks on the last clause: Argumentum est multorum numorum, imprimis gentis Sulpicie, Veturie, Antestiae.

<sup>2</sup> I have already noticed the *aplustre* among the reliefs on the side of the Arch; it is an ornament on the stern of a ship "somewhat resembling the feathers of a bird's wing," and is well shown in Rich's Companion to the Latin Dictionary engraving, s.v.; for its relative position comp. that accompanying the preceding Article *Aphractus* (*ἄφρακτος*). See Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Alterthums*, Art. Windgötter, Abbildung no. 2370, Die acht Hauptwinde in Athen, p. 2115, second column, Lips, *Africus*, Südwest, "Er ist als ein Jüngling heiter gebildet, mit beiden Händen den Schiffszierrat (*aplustre*) haltend. Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie*, Die Dämonen der Luft, § 6, p. 144, Taf. XVII.

In the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 2nd edition, s.v. *Navis*, p. 787, three examples are engraved; one is a figure of Neptune holding this ornament, as the personification of the *Odyssey* does in the Apotheosis of Homer. The third edition of the same work contains a very meagre notice of the subject, and these engravings are omitted. Baumeister has an excellent Article s.v. *Seewesen*, pp. 1593-1639, *Abbildungen* 1656-1697, written by Assmann. Both the text and the illustrations are far superior to anything of the kind that I have seen in our own language. Amongst the latter p. 1632, Abb. 1693, *Prova von Samothrake* (zu Seite 1631), is specially noteworthy; the original is now

Antiquité Expliquée, tome iii, Part I, p. 177, describing Pl. xcviII, copied from Spon, says, La porte de Pola . . . a été une espèce d'arc de triomphe érigé en l'honneur de Sergius. The word *espèce* should be noticed; it is doubtless used by the great antiquary, because the Arch was not a triumphal one, strictly speaking. Under the republic triumphs were granted to successful generals, who in most cases held some magistracy; but after its subversion, they were reserved to members of the Imperial family; so Tacitus, Annals ii, 41, relates that of Germanicus over the Cherusci, Catti, Angrivarii and nations who inhabited territories extending as far as the Elbe. But others received *triumphalia ornamenta* or *insignia*—statues, titles, laurel crowns, and robes worn by conquerors. Such honours Domitian conferred on Agricola after his subjugation of Britain; see his biography by the same author, chap. 40.<sup>1</sup>

The Arch at Pola reminds me of that at Zara (Jadera), at present the capital of Dalmatia, figured by Montfaucon, op. citat., in the Plate above mentioned; the latter is less ornate, having neither projecting pedestals nor figures in the frieze and spandrels; and only a single Corinthian pilaster on each side of the vault supports the entablature. Some suppose it to have been brought from Ænona, a town on the coast, nine or ten miles north of Zara, marked in the sketch map of parts of Roman Dalmatia that accompanies Mr. Arthur Evans' Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum, Archæologia, Vol. xviii, p. 2, 1884.<sup>2</sup> This

in the Louvre, and occupies, as it deserves, a conspicuous position at the top of a broad staircase. Without exaggeration, we may regard it as the best representation of an ancient galley that has been preserved to our own time. Victory appears standing on the prow of a vessel; the figure was found in 1863, and the pedestal in 1875. The fragments were carefully put together in Paris, and most probably belonged to the monument erected in the sanctuary of the Cabiri (Conybeare and Howson, Life and Epistles of St. Paul 8<sup>vo</sup> édition, vol. I, p. 337, note 4, references) by Demetrius Poliorcetes, to commemorate his victory at Salamis, in Cyprus, B.C. 306—one of the most remarkable in ancient naval warfare—by which the fleet of Ptolemy was destroyed: Eckhel. Doct. Num. Vet., II, 119-122; Thirlwall, History of Greece,

chap. LIX, vol. VII, p. 366, 8<sup>vo</sup> édition. It has been plausibly conjectured that the galley here represented is that of the Admiral who commanded the Macedonian fleet.

<sup>1</sup> Loc. citat., Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et illustris statuæ honorem, et quidquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu jubet, with Orelli's note and Index s.v. Triumphales—a word which occurs in Juvenal, Sat. I, v. 129, where we must supply of *statuæ*  
Atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere  
Nescio quis titulos Ægyptius atque Arabarches.

<sup>2</sup> Ænona should not be confounded with Æmona—a Roman city on the site of Laybach in Carniola (Krain), on the route from Graz to Trieste. The removal

monument, like the one we have been considering, was erected by a lady, and bore the following inscription:—

MELIA · ANNIANA · IN · MEMOR · Q · LAEPICI · Q · F · SERG · BASSI ·  
MARITI · SVI EMPORIVM · STERNI · ET · ARCVM · FIERI · ET ·  
STATVAS · SVPERPONI · TEST · IVSS · EX · HS · DC · D · XX · P · R.

The gens *Melia* (more correctly spelt *Maelia*) is known from Inscriptions and MSS., but is not found on coins; at least the works of Cohen and Babelon give no example of it. The plebeian gens *Annia* was an ancient one, and several persons belonging to it are mentioned by Livy and Sallust. According to De Vit, *Onomasticon*, s.v., there is no other instance of *Laepicia*, which makes the reading suspicious. *SERG* should be expanded *SERGIA* (*tribu*), the name of the tribe being often thus inserted; v. Gerrard, *Siglarium Romanum*, reprinted in the Appendix to Bailey's edition of Forcellini's *Lexicon*. *Anniana* ordered a market place to be paved, an arch to be built, and statues placed upon it.<sup>1</sup> Her last direction confirms the supposition that there were statues on the pedestals at Pola, described above. *D · XX · P · R* has been explained to mean *deducta vicesima populi Romani*, a deduction of five per cent. having been made, as due to the Roman people. A tax of one-twentieth of the value was levied on inheritances or legacies, and on manumissions; and the collectors were called *vicesimarii*—a word which occurs in Petronius with reference to a slave, in *Fragmentis Tragurensibus*, cap. 65. Inscriptions supply us with another name for these officers of the revenue, *PROCVRATOR XX. HEREDITAT.*: Raphael Fabretti, p. 37, No. 179, cf. pp. 35, 36. The younger Pliny discusses this tax and exemptions from it, enacted by Nerva and Trajan, in his *Panegyric* on the latter

of the Arch is parallel to what has occurred in our own Metropolis, for one of the buildings, formerly most conspicuous, which we owe to Sir Christopher Wren—*Temple-Bar*—now stands in Theobald's Park, on the borders of Middlesex and Hertfordshire. Similarly, at *Saintes*, the Roman Arch is now on the bank of the river *Charente*; previously it was on the bridge: *Vide* my Paper, *The Antiquities of Saintes*, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. XLIV, p. 176, with engraving. *Zara* is famous in history on account of the siege by the French and Venetian Crusaders; at present it is known as pro-

ducing the liqueur *Maraschino*, which Gibbon pronounces incomparable.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. T. G. Jackson in his book entitled *Dalmatia*, the *Quarnero* and *Istria* with *Cettigne* in *Montenegro* and the *Island of Grado*, vol. I, p. 247, says, "there was a handsome market-place adorned with statues, formed at the cost of about 600,000 sesterces." The translation is incorrect, and invalidates the inscription, as suggesting the similar position of statues on the arch of the *Sergii* at *Pola*. However, for architectural details, especially of the *Byzantine* period, both the text and engravings of this work will be found most useful.

Emperor, chaps. 37-40—a *locus classicus* for the subject.<sup>1</sup> Henzen, in the third volume supplementary to Orelli's Inscriptions, rejects the preceding explanation of D · XX · P · R, adopted by De Vit and Wilmanns, and professes himself unable to discover what these abbreviations mean.<sup>2</sup>

When I think of the Arch of the Sergii, as I saw it on an autumnal evening—its mellow tints lighted up by the setting sun—I can hardly avoid indulging the vain wish that Wren's architecture, which we Londoners know so well and admire so much, could, if only for one brief hour, be encircled with a halo of like radiance and beauty.

III. A superficial observer might be disposed to say that there is little difference between one Roman amphitheatre and another, so that when he had seen one he understood them all. But consideration will soon show us how far such a notion is at variance with the facts, and the example of Pola present several peculiarities by which it is distinguished from other monuments belonging to the same category. First impressions are usually the most permanent, therefore it is important that they should be favourable. For this reason the traveller ought to approach Pola by sea, not by railroad. The amphitheatre has the advantage in situation over most others, being on the side of a hill, like a Greek theatre, and near the water, so that there is ample room to obtain a good view of it, including the whole structure." On the other hand, the Coliseum stands in the valley below the Esquiline, Caelian and Palatine hills—the site formerly occupied by the lake attached to Nero's palace.<sup>4</sup>

Martial, De Spectaculis Libellus, Epigr. ii, 5,—

Hic, ubi conspicui venerabilis Amphitheatri  
Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.

<sup>1</sup> Exceptions were made in favour of the nearest relatives and persons whose property was below a certain amount. Analogies in English law will occur to every reader.

<sup>2</sup> This tax was a new one, imposed by Augustus, *vide* Dictionary of Antiquities, p. 24, 1st column. Suetonius, Life of Augustus, chap. 49, *aerarium militare cum vectigalibus novis instituit. Monumentum Ancyranum, edit. Mommsen, p. 44, and especially, p. 45. Collata autem cum minime sufficerent primum vicesima hereditatum instituta est, mox addita centesima rerum venalium aliaque milia*

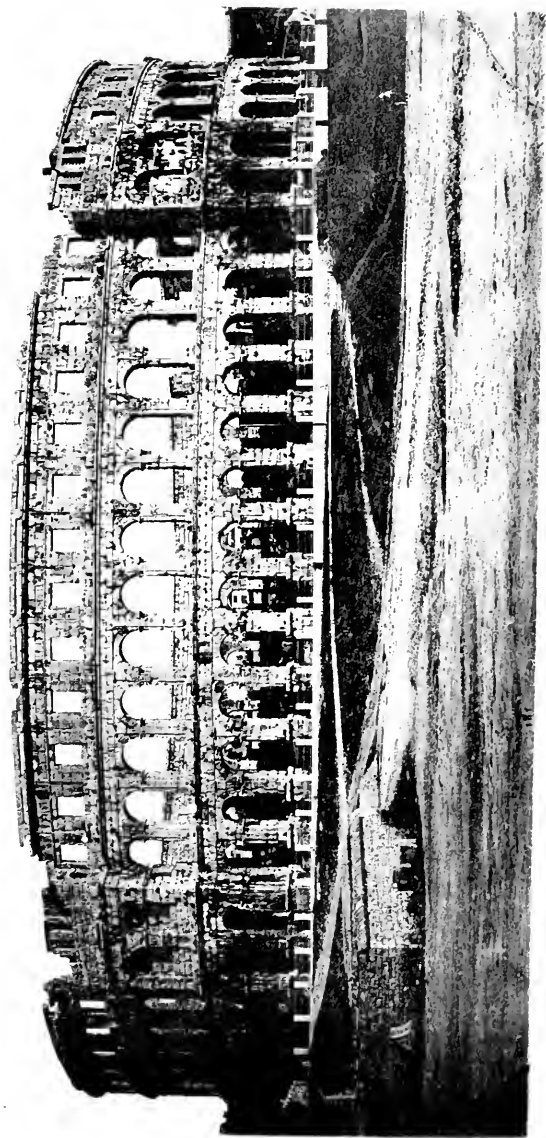
*tributa, sumtusque praeterea reliqui quoad fieri potuit imminuti.*

<sup>3</sup> Taormina (Tauromenium) in Sicily supplies a good instance for comparison; there the theatre is on a height still more elevated, and near the sea. Proximity to Messina makes it very accessible.

<sup>4</sup> Professor Middleton, *Ancient Rome in 1885*, pp. 302-327, gives an excellent account of the Coliseum; p. 302, "in the lowest part of the valley;" p. 314, note, "drainage of the hollow;" pp. 323-326 and Plate, "cages for beasts;" cf. *Dict. of Ant.* 3rd edit. s.v. *Amphitheatrum*, vol. I, p. 115, "method of raising wild beasts."







AMPHITHEATRE : POLA.

Similarly les Arènes at Nîmes were built on level ground.<sup>1</sup>

Of all the amphitheatres I have seen that at Pola is the most striking. The effect is due to the whiteness of the stone resembling marble, the commanding position, and the almost perfect preservation of the external circumference.<sup>2</sup> Generally this part has suffered the greatest injury, being accessible to attack if the edifice was converted into a fortress, and easily dismembered if it was used as a quarry. Here again Pola far surpasses its analogue in France, for the outer walls of the latter have been so much restored that the spectator can scarcely decide whether he is looking at an ancient or modern building. Another feature still remains to be noticed, viz., four angular towers at regular intervals projecting outside the circumference. Their purpose is very doubtful and therefore has been often disputed. Some think they served as buttresses to support the structure, others that they contained staircases by which women could ascend to the upper rows of seats; the late Sir Richard Burton suggested that they might have been *hoplothecae*, armouries for the gladiators. I have not observed such a construction elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The inequality of surface caused the erection of only one row of arcades on the eastern side, while on the opposite side, facing the bay, there was a double tier with an additional story above.

<sup>2</sup> One of the best illustrations will be found in a work where we should not expect it, at least from the title, viz, in Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*, folio, vol. IV, 1816. The numerous plates, nos. I-XIV will repay careful study, giving a general view, on a large scale, of the Amphitheatre, and many details: e.g., Plate XIII, fig. 1, Plan C C, holes in the plinth to admit the posts of the *velum*. On the other hand some of the opinions expressed in this work seem to be incorrect. Stuart says that not improbably the building was erected by Diocletian or Maximin. This was a period of great architectural activity, because the Roman Emperors tried to conciliate the Provincials on the Northern and Western frontiers by the construction of edifices that would promote their pleasure or convenience: hence the date assigned by Stuart is plausible. However, more recent antiquaries have not accepted his conclusion, but, in default

of evidence from ancient authors and inscriptions, infer from examination of the Amphitheatre itself that it belongs to the Antonine age, circa A.D. 150.

Some suppose that the stairs in the towers were used by workpeople employed to manipulate the awning: Illustr.: Führer durch Triest und Umgebung, p. 69 sq.

<sup>3</sup> The seats were divided: Darenberg and Saglio, s.v. Amphitheatrum, Vol. I, p. 246, Les gradins étaient en bois, en pierre ou en marbre. Chaque place était numérotée à Pompéi, et était limitée par deux traits gravés dans la pierre à Pola. So at Aquincum (Alt-Ofen, near Buda-Pest) I saw stone benches, *sedilia*, marked with the names of the proprietors: Professor Torma, *Az Aquincumi Amphitheatrum*, p. 52, sq. and Plate XII at the end of the Volume; and *ibid.* p. 50 (woodcut), and p. 53, Nos. of seats [X]III XIII XV XV[1].

Besides gladiatorial combats, naval battles (*Naumachiae*) were exhibited in the arena, and arrangements for this purpose are still visible. The Amphitheatre is calculated to have held 20,000 to 25,000

It seems most natural to compare this amphitheatre with that at Verona, because there is a general resemblance, they are not far distant from each other, and English travellers would usually see them both within a few days in the same journey, and so the recollection would not have time to be effaced. The latter is larger having the dimensions of the greater and lesser axes of the ellipse  $511 \times 404\frac{1}{2}$  feet against  $436 \times 346$  at Pola. In preservation the two buildings are directly opposed; at Verona many of the seats are still perfect, but only a small portion of the outer wall is standing, viz. four arches out of seventy-two; at Pola, the interior is all desolation, only the signs of arrangements for naumachiae are visible, but the exterior might be taken for a newly-erected work.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the Temple of Rome and Augustus, the Arch of Sergii and the amphitheatre, there is another monument which, though less important, should not be altogether omitted. As at Aquileia we have the Via Gemina, of double width, extending from the Forum Pecuarium (cattle market) to the Via Postumia—the great road through the North of Italy, that began at Genoa and ended at Adelsberg; so among the gates of Pola we find a Porta Gemina, with two entrances, in the wall on the east side of the town; it stood on the road leading from the Capitol, where the Venetians built their citadel, to the interior (Via ad Albonam). The Romans were a practical people and provided one archway for ingress and another for egress; in former papers I have called attention to the same arrangement, still to be seen at Autun and Langres.<sup>2</sup>

An inscription placed over this gate is long and interesting. It informs us that L. Menacius Priscus, general of engineers, aedile, duumvir, censor, military tribune, priest of the Augusti, patron of the colony, at his own expense, brought the Augustan aqueduct into the upper and lower part of the city, and left an endowment for keeping it

spectators. *Illustrirter Führer durch Triest*, Triest, op. citat., includes Pola at the southern extremity of Istria, distant several hours' sail from Trieste: pp. 61-78, with eight engravings and a map.

<sup>1</sup> For the position of the Amphitheatre and its surroundings see *Notizie Storiche di Pola*, Parenzo 1876, *Indice delle Tavole*, after the Table of Contents.

Forma urbis Polae.

Forum polense.

Theatrum.

Pertica Agri colonici Polensium.

The first plate shows the Amphitheatre between the Via a Parentio and the Via ad Albonam.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeol. Journ.*, vol. XL, p. 31, vol. XLIII, p. 96.

in repair. The date is inferred approximately from the expression FLAMEN · AVGVSTOR, as Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Verus were the first examples of two emperors reigning together, and another stone was found at Pola bearing the letters IMP · CAES · L · AVRELIO · VERO.<sup>1</sup>

(To be continued).

<sup>1</sup> The Porta Gemina is called Giovia in the Forma Urbis Polac; the Inscription is given *in extenso* in the Notiz. Stor. p. 129, Article from the Conservatore by Dr. Pietro Kandler—mentioned above as a great authority for the Antiquities of Istria—N. 822—A. 1871. Aquedotto,

Anno 160-170. I copy the last four lines, which are the most important.

    AQVAM · AVG · IN · SVPERIOREM  
 PARTEM · COLONIAE · ET · IN · INFERIOREM  
 IMPENSA · SVA · PERDVXIT · ET · IN · TVTELAM  
 EIVS · DEDIT · HS · CCCC

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN  
VILLA IN THE GREETWELL FIELDS NEAR LINCOLN.<sup>1</sup>

By the REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES.

Although Lincoln was one of the chief military positions during the earlier period of the Roman occupation of Britain, and doubtless had its full complement of dignified officers and wealthy magistrates, who would share in the desire universally felt when men rise in the world, of escaping from "the smoke and din" of the crowded city, and building themselves a pleasantly situated country house in its vicinity, until a short time since no trace of any Roman villa had been brought to light in the immediate neighbourhood of Lincoln itself. Till recently the only villa known near Lincoln was that discovered in 1795 at Scampton, between five and six miles distant from the city, and described by Archdeacon Illingworth. The magnificent mosaic pavements at Horkstow and Roxby, and other places bordering on the Humber are much too distant to have had any direct connection with "Lindum Colonia." It is needless to state that the fact that until the last few years no remains of Roman villas have been discovered, and that even now they are restricted to a single example, is no evidence whatever of the non-existence of such buildings. The villa, of which the present paper affords a description, was brought to light by what we may call accident, in the course of digging for ironstone, and was not the result of any purposely directed archaeological investigation. Many more may be hid beneath the surface, only waiting for some happy chance to unveil their beautiful and interesting features. In the words of the late Mr. Thomas Wright, "As these discoveries have generally been the result of accident there can be no doubt that we are only acquainted with a small number of the villas which were scattered over the soil of Britain."<sup>2</sup>

The villa now under consideration was first brought to light in 1884, and the small part then laid bare was

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, February 3rd, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> "The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon," p. 244.

described in the *Archaeological Journal* (Vol. xli, p. 321). It lies in what are known as the Greetwell Fields, a tract of pasture land stretching to the east of the city towards the little village of Greetwell, on the brow of the hill steeply running down to the valley of the Witham, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the Minster. A rich bed of  $\frac{2}{3}$  ironstone underlies the whole tract at some distance below the surface-soil and superincumbent strata, the removal of which, for the purpose of working the ore, led to this interesting discovery. The workmen when engaged in sinking a fresh mining shaft came upon the first traces of the villa, which further investigations more fully developed. The discovery then made as described by Dr. O'Neill,<sup>1</sup> of Lincoln, included a bathroom with a dado of tesserae going round the room, containing a bath between 3 ft. and 4 ft. in depth, a very deep well in an adjoining apartment; two long walls, 30 yards apart, and between them several chambers, with tessellated pavements and red tile flooring; and fragments of painted wall plaster well designed and executed. On one piece of plaster was the figure of a swallow, well drawn and painted. Dr. O'Neill says "the house must have been that of a Roman gentleman of taste and opulence. The site was well chosen with a direct southern exposure, but in consequence of the villa being built on the brow of a hill the lower rooms were on different planes. Doubtless, if careful diggings were extended on either side of the mining trench, other Roman discoveries of a valuable character might be made."

This last remark has been abundantly verified. The ironstone works having been subsequently transferred to another Company<sup>2</sup> the mining operations were carried on with greater vigour than previously, leading to more extensive discoveries.

Two years since the extension of the excavations to the westward of the site of the first discovery, laid bare a portion of the tessellated pavement of a plain pattern formed of red and white tesserae, previously described in this *Journal*. This, with a degree of promptitude we could wish were more common in municipal dignitaries, was taken up by the directions of the late Mayor, Mr. Edwin Pratt, and preserved for the future City Museum.

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal* xli, p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> The "Mid Lincolnshire Iron Company limited."

I am indebted to Mr. Benjamin Ramsden, the resident manager of the Ironstone works for a detailed account of the remains discovered, as well as for the ground plan which renders his report clearly intelligible. Mr. Ramsden has all along taken an intelligent interest in the investigations carried on by his workmen, and we are greatly indebted to him for preserving so full and accurate a record of the discovery.

Mr. Ramsden says, that as already mentioned, the first portion of the Roman villa that was laid bare was the bath-room near to the well shewn on the plan (*A*). The floor of this room was of a salmon coloured concrete, its dimensions being about 28 feet by 10 feet. The bath itself had a small patch of tesserae remaining inside. The well was contiguous to the bath, and was about 18 feet deep, its inner diameter being about 3 ft. 6 in.

The next floor that the workmen came upon was that of a room (*B*) measuring 19 ft. by 10½ ft. It was paved with red tiles, each about a foot square, several of which have been carefully preserved.

The men next discovered a long narrow corridor (*C*) running north and south, 30 ft. in length by 10 ft. in breadth. This was laid down in concrete with a perfectly smooth hard surface, without any tesserae. There was evidence of a fire having been kindled on this floor, and a considerable quantity of charcoal was found in the corridor.

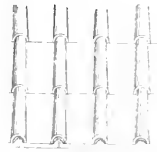
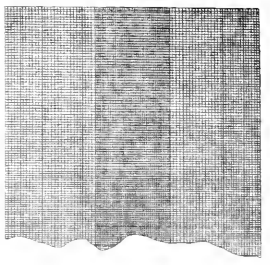
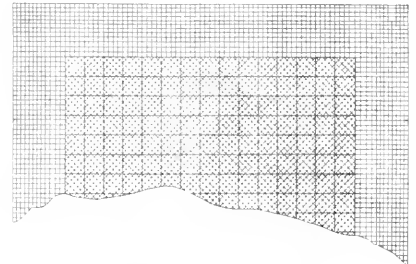
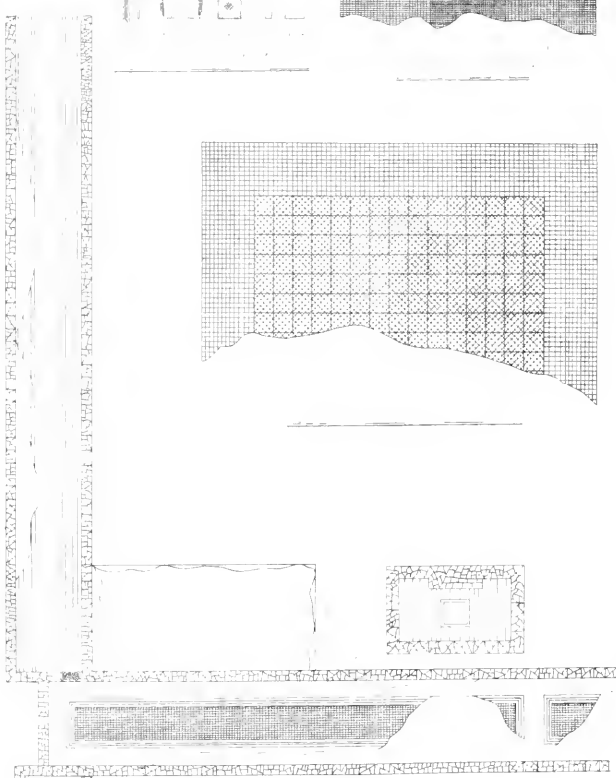
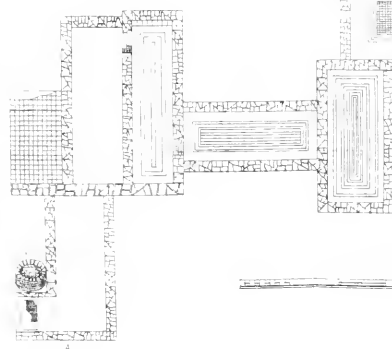
Parallel with this corridor ran another (*D*) 33 ft. long by 8 ft. broad, at an elevation of about 18 in. above the corridor (*C*), with which it was connected by two concrete steps. This corridor had a tessellated pavement, with a border of red tiles 11½ in. square across the north end. The tesserae were formed of white limestone and red tile from 1 in. to 1½ in. square. The red tesserae were arranged so as to form a hollow parallelogram or (heraldically speaking) an *orle* and a stripe running up the centre, each 9 in. wide, the stripe not reaching the *orle* by about a foot.

The next chamber brought to light (*E*) ran at right angles to the corridor (*D*) nearly due east of it, the breadth of the intervening wall, which had quite disappeared, being about 2 ft. The dimensions of this apartment were 27 ft. long by 10 ft. wide. The levels of (*D*) and (*E*) were





v



different, but the steps connecting the two were wanting. The floor of this room or corridor was also tessellated in red and white, the white tesserae being arranged in rectangular bands, one inside the other, of about 9 in. in breadth, and two longitudinal bands running up the centre.

At the east end of the apartment (*E*), and at right angles to it, the space of the wall of separation being about 18 inches, was the chamber (*F*), 27 ft. long by 11 ft. wide. The pavement exhibited four rectangular bands or orles, of red tesserae running all around the room, one inside the other, the remainder of the tesserae being of white limestone. This was succeeded by a very long corridor (*G*) of 132 ft. in length and 13 ft. in breadth, running north and south, bearing about 6° west from the true north. The floor had a gradual rise from south to north of about 6 ft. to suit the inclination of the ground. This corridor also had a tessellated pavement, the pattern of which was intricately worked. The centre of blue and white tesserae shewed the well known "key pattern," with red and white stripes running down the whole length on each side. It may be observed that the blue tesserae were of smaller size than the others, averaging not more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch square. It deserves notice that beneath this floor the workmen came upon another floor of concrete, about 8 inches below the former, extending for about three-fourths of the entire length of the corridor. This double plane of flooring, shewing evidence of alterations carried on in Roman times, while the villa was still inhabited, occurs at other places as at Woodchester.<sup>1</sup> In the present case it is plain that when the lower floor was laid down the villa was of smaller dimensions than it subsequently attained to.

The extremity of what may be termed the east corridor (*H*) was next reached, bearing 84° south of the true meridian. The tessellated pavement was laid bare for more than 100 ft. in length, with a breadth of 16 ft. 9 in. The full length of this corridor has not yet been reached in the excavations. The tessellated pavement differed widely from those of any other part of the villa as will be seen from the enlarged drawing. The floor of this corridor like that of the one previously mentioned was laid on an incline,

<sup>1</sup> Wright, *at sup.* pp. 231, 232.

with a dip of 1 ft. 4 in. from west and east. The south end of the north corridor (*G*) abutted on the west end of the east corridor (*F*), but at an elevation above it of about 18 inches.

The floor marked (*I*) was next found, adjoining to that marked (*II*), and running parallel with it. Its original length was about 45 ft. and its breadth about 21 ft. It was floored with concrete which was considerably decayed. About 14 ft. east of (*I*) that marked (*J*) was discovered, and like the last running parallel with the corridor (*II*). Its dimensions were about 27 ft. long by 13 ft. broad. The tessellated floor had seven stripes of red tesserae, and eight stripes of white running north and south, varying in breadth from 9 in. to 2 ft. 6 in. There was also a square of white tesserae in the centre of the floor 4 ft. 6 in. across, bordered with a band of blue tesserae four inches wide.

A large quantity of roofing and flooring tiles were discovered dispersed over the site, exhibiting different kinds of marking. There were also found a lead spoon, a bronze earring, portions of a human skull, human and animal bones, and a large quantity of oyster shells, besides fragments of glass and black pottery, iron nails and other objects.

There were evidences of fires having been kindled on the floors in nearly all the rooms, and charcoal was plentiful.

There was a key brick found  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inches thick at one end by  $2\frac{7}{8}$  in. at the other end, 11 in. long by  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in. wide.

In nearly all the rooms fragments of wall-plaster were turned up painted in fresco of various colours.

It is a cause of much regret to me that in consequence of my absence from Lincoln last summer, I missed the opportunity of inspecting these interesting remains myself. That their destruction was unhappily rendered necessary by the progress of the Ironstone works, makes it a subject of congratulation that there was such a gentleman as Mr. Ramsden on the spot, able to give continuous attention to the progress of the discovery, and well qualified to record its features, and to lay down its plan with far greater clearness and accuracy than would have been possible for any non-professional person.

## THE FENLAND.

### OPENING ADDRESS OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION AT THE CAMBRIDGE MEETING.<sup>1</sup>

By the RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

Some years ago when it was my privilege to address the members of the Institute, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, I attempted to put before them a brief sketch of the historical facts which had determined the archæological and architectural features of the district which they were about to explore. It seemed to me that, when you met once again in a district which possessed strongly marked features of its own, it was worth while to attempt a similar task and show the conditions which determined the character of the county which now lies before you. Nor is the task a hard one in its main lines, for the determining causes are neither remote nor complicated. The features of Eastern England depended on its geographical conditions. It was a land of fens and marshes.

It is difficult, however, as we look over the broad expanse of corn land and meadow which meets our eye to-day, to think ourselves back to the original aspect of the country, when Lincoln, Peterborough and Cambridge had almost as good a right to be reckoned as seaside towns as has Lynn to-day. This is, of course, somewhat an exaggeration, for the waste of waters which spread on the east of these towns was not sea water, nor was the flow continuous. In the summer months the floods gave place to a tract of land which was covered with coarse grass, and supplied many necessaries of life to the dwellers on its banks. The character of the district may best be judged from the words of those who saw it. Hugh the

<sup>1</sup> Delivered August 10th, 1892.

White, a monk of Peterborough, who wrote about 1150, thus describes the district in which he dwelt :

“ From the flooding of the rivers, or from their overflow, the water, standing on unlevel ground, makes a deep marsh and so renders the land uninhabitable, save on some raised spots of ground, which I think that God set up for the special purpose that they should be the habitations of His servants who have chosen to dwell there. For within this marshland there live in such spots the monks of Ramsey, of Thorney, of Crowland and many other places, which can be approached in no other way than by water, save Ramsey where on one side a road has been laboriously constructed. Ely is an island in the same district, seven miles long and as many broad, containing twenty-two vills: it is surrounded on all sides by marsh and water, but is distinguished by the possession of three bridges. Burgh (*i.e.*, Peterborough) is founded in the land of the Gwaras, where is the beginning of the same marsh on its eastern side, extending for sixty miles or more. This marsh, however, is very necessary for men ; for there are found wood and twigs for fires, hay for the fodder of cattle, thatch for covering houses, and many other useful things. It is, moreover, productive of birds and fishes. For there are there various rivers, and very many waters and ponds abounding in fish. In all these things the district is most fertile. Further, Burgh is built in an excellent situation ; for on one side it enjoys the marsh, and excellent water ; on the other side it enjoys fields, woods, meadows and pastures in abundance. It is beautiful on all sides, and accessible by land, save on the eastern coast whither you cannot come save by boat. On the south side the Nen flows past the monastery ; after crossing it you may go straight on whither you will. When the first founders saw this site, so excellent, so eminent, so pleasant, so suitable, most fertile and most jocund, abounding in everything and most beautiful, as it were an earthly Paradise offered them by God, they founded their monastery there.”

This careful picture shows us the chief features of the Fenland ; a broad expanse of water, where on the islands and along the banks dwelt a hardy race who supported themselves chiefly by chasing wild fowl and catching

fishes. They traversed the marshes in canoes, and lived in thatched huts above the waters. In summer time they gathered rushes and fire wood, and turned their cattle, where possible, to eat the rank grass which grew on the dried up mud. Nor did their main characteristics of life in the Fenlands rapidly change. The description given by Drayton in his poetical topography of England, the "Polyolbion," published in 1622, agrees substantially with that of the monk Hugo nearly five hundred years before. Drayton sings of the multitude of wild fowl which haunt the fens :

The duck and mallard first in every mere abound  
That you would think they sat upon the very ground,  
Their numbers be so great, the water covering quite,  
That raised, the spacious air is darkened with their flight.

He goes on to enumerate as denizens of the Fens, the teal, the gossander, the widgeon, the goldeneye, the smeach, the coot, the waterhen, the waterwoosell, the dabchick, the swan, the crane, the heron, the redshank, the bittern, and the wild goose, besides sea birds, amongst which are the cormorant and the osprey. Nor is his list of fishes less copious. His general picture of Fenland life is one of manifold industry :

The toiling fisher here is tewing of his net ;  
The fowler is employed his limed twigs to set :  
One underneath his horse to get a shoot doth stalk ;  
Another over dykes upon his stilts doth walk :  
There other with their spades the peats are squaring out,  
And others from their cars are busily about  
To draw out sedge and reed for thatch and stover fit :  
That whosoever would a landskip rightly hit,  
Beholding but my Fens shall with more shapes be stored  
Than Germany or France or Thuscan can afford.

It must be noticed, however, that this eulogy is put into the mouth of the nymph who presides over the Fens, and is not allowed to pass without comment by her sister who rules the mainland. She exclaims :

O how I hate  
Thus of her foggy Fens to hear rude Holland prate,  
That with her fish and fowl here keepeth such a coil,  
As her unwholesome air, and more unwholesome soil,  
For these of which she boasts the more might suffered be,

She objects that the birds are so rank of taste as to be uneatable; the fish so muddy of flavour that they are scarce preferable to starvation:

Besides, what is she else, but a foul wrong marsh,  
And that she calls her grass, so blady is and harsh  
As cuts the cattle's mouths constrained therein to feed."

Thus it is clear that in the beginning of the seventeenth century there were two opposite opinions concerning the delights of the Fenland. A century later we find that the unfavourable opinion had won its way to general acceptance. Defoe, in his "Tour through Great Britain," gives his impressions of a visit to Ely in 1722:

"As these Fens appear covered with water, so I observed, too, that they generally at this latter part of the year appear also covered with fogs; so that when the downs and higher grounds of the adjacent country were gilded with the beams of the sun, the Isle of Ely looked as if wrapped up in blankets, and nothing to be seen but now and then the lantern or cupola of Ely Minster. One could hardly see this from the hills and not pity the many thousands of families that were bound to be confined in those fogs, and had no other breath to draw than what must be mixed with these vapours and that steam which so universally overspreads the country. But, notwithstanding this, the people, especially those that are used to it, live unconcerned, and as healthy as other folks, except now and then an ague, which they make light of; and there are great numbers of very ancient people among them."

The Fenland itself had changed little, but opinion about it had changed a good deal. The Peterburgh monk regarded it as "an earthly Paradise." Defoe pitied the poor wretches who were condemned to inhabit it. At one period of civilisation men rejoice in the manifoldness of natural advantages; at another period men long for the removal of every natural disadvantage. Defoe is but the exponent of the spirit of our own day.

Such were the main features of the Fenland. I turn to consider their influence on its history.

(1). It is obvious that the most important point connected with the Fenland is its reduction by means of a system of drainage to its present condition. The process



has been gradual and continuous. Already in the time of the Roman occupation, a bank was raised to serve as a barrier against the incursions of the sea; and the names of Walsoken, Walton and Walpole derive their origin from the Roman wall or earthwork near which the early settlements of the English were made. But besides the sea there were other dangers to be faced—the excessive local rainfall, and the drainage of the upland district which all discharged itself upon the Fenland and could not find an outlet. To provide for the latter purpose the Romans constructed a catchwater drain, a portion of which still exists under the name of Car Dyke, which ran just below the uplands probably from Cambridge to Lincoln. The former danger was met by a system of interior drainage. It would be tedious to tell of the various works undertaken at different times for the protection of the country. It is enough to say that during the Middle Ages the object was to provide against inundations, not to reclaim the Fens. Water in the winter and grass in the summer, on a secure and accountable system, was the general desire. Drayton indicates the rise of a notion that the Fenland was not worth keeping; and the age of the Stuarts produced schemes for making “summer and winter ground” of considerable tracts. I will not discuss the enterprise of the Dutch engineer Vermuyden further than to say that it was not entirely successful, and had to be supplemented by windmills, which still in some parts form picturesque additions to the landscape. The end of last century and the beginning of this saw a continuation of the process till the whole district has been converted into agricultural land. Whittlesea Mere, the last great remnant of the Fenland, was drained in 1852; and a small portion of Wicken Fen is now all that is left to recall a faint image of the past.

(2). Now that this change has been fully wrought, we tend to forget the effect produced on the land which rose clear of the waters by its original position as a sort of coast line. Yet it was the guardianship of the coast which called into existence the Roman Camboritum, the Cambridge of to-day. The protection of the shores of the Wash against predatory incursions was, in the early days of the Roman occupation, an object of importance; the

Ermin Street which ran from London to Lincoln skirted the northern part of the estuary and protected it by its stations. But the Ermin Street struck the line of estuary at Durolipons, the modern Godmanchester, close to Huntingdon. The south-eastern side of the estuary was outside its care. It would seem that Camboritum was occupied as a supporting station, connected with Durolipons by the Via Devana which was continued southwards to Colchester. The Roman system of coast defence was thus tolerably complete, and determined the situation of most of the towns within the district. When the Roman occupation ended, the immigrants from over sea found little difficulty in making their settlements. But it is not my purpose to trace the early history of the Gwaras, which was not of great importance. It was natural that the men of the Fenland should lead a life of isolation and should consequently be slow to recognise accomplished facts. The great event in the history of the district is its stubborn resistance to William the Norman. The outlaw Hereward gathered the disaffected round him in the Isle of Ely and exercised all William's engineering skill before he could be dislodged from his marshy fastness. The exceptional position of the Fenland was recognised by Henry II., who raised Ely to be the seat of a bishop, on whom was conferred palatinate jurisdiction, so that he might exercise on the Eastern marshes the same authority as his brother of Durham exercised in the north. Though this jurisdiction disappeared in 1837, the Isle of Ely still retains its peculiar position as a shire within a shire. One result of this episcopal rule, taken together with the number of monasteries and the general character of the country, is the absence of great families from the Fenland and its borders. You will see no ruined castles, no picturesque manor houses, in the neighbourhood of the Fens. Cambridgeshire has been called "the least gentlemanly of all the English counties."

(3). I go back again to the description of the Fenland given by Hugh the White, who was delighted by the islands which "God had raised for the special purpose that they should be the habitations of His servants." He certainly expresses the use to which the Fenland had been turned in his own day. It was natural that this tract of

country should suggest monastic settlements. It was secluded, wild, offering an opportunity for missionary zeal and for monastic labour, needing organisation, yet hard to touch by ordinary means. A mixture of devotion and policy influenced the first Christian King of Mercia, Peada, to follow the advice of his Northumbrian brother Oswin, and lay in 655 the foundations of a Church at Medeshampstead, where a meadow, supplied with a well of good water, rose between the Fen and the scrub which covered the uplands. The new foundation flourished; and its first Abbot sent out a colony to the isle of Ancarig or Thorney, so called from the thorns with which it was covered. In 673 Etheldred, wife of the Northumbrian Egfid, fled from the discharge of her wifely duties, and sought refuge from her husband's pursuit in the dower lands which she had received from her first husband, King of the Southern Fenlanders. There, on the island, which took its name from the quantities of eels which were caught in its surrounding marshes, she founded a monastery after the type of her northern refuge at Coldingham. Before the century was closed a young Mercian noble, weary of war and conflict, and unsatisfied with the seclusion of the monastery of Repton, roamed through the Fens till he found at Crudland, or Mudland, a spot sufficiently disconsolate for the needs of his asceticism. There Guthlac lived amid the birds and fishes, who came at his call and ate from his hand; for he found that "all things were at one with him who was at one with God." Men honoured him and flocked to him for his advice. After his death a monastery arose on the spot, which was hallowed by the memory of his sanctity.

Thus motives of policy, asceticism, and personal convenience combined to mark out the Fenland as especially the home of monks. The example once set was contagious. In the monastic revival of the tenth century a new monastery was founded on the verge of the Fens at Ramsey, so called from a solitary ram which was found by the first occupants of the island. The monks were the chief land owners within this district. All that was done for civilisation was done by them.

There are two abiding records of their influence to which I would call your attention. In no part of England, I might say nowhere in the world, are there so many mighty

buildings to be found in the same space as in the Fenland and its borders. This is entirely due to the impulse given to Church building by the monasteries and the example which they set. It was, of course, natural that the monks should use the offerings made by pilgrims for the purpose of adorning their Churches. But good intentions and lofty aspirations are not everywhere easy of fulfilment. Near to Peterborough there lay a bed of peculiarly hard limestone, famous in architectural history as Barnack rag. The quarry had been worked by the Romans, and its value was at once appreciated by the monks. The stone could be wrought with ease; it was capable of delicate mouldings; and its durability has enabled it to withstand even the onslaughts of our northern climate. A ramble amongst the turrets and pinnacles of the Cathedral Churches of Ely, Peterborough, or Lincoln, enables anyone to see at a glance how much the architecture owes to the material in which its ornaments were wrought. Besides the possession of this valuable stone, the Fenlands also enjoyed an easy means of transport. The conveyance of heavy loads along the imperfect roads of early days was difficult; but flat-bottomed boats could easily traverse the Fens in winter and deposit their burden just where it was wanted. The size and character of mediæval buildings was determined more by the command of suitable material than by the dictates of immediate utility. Churches grew, not to correspond to the needs of the population, but because they could be easily built. Monasteries received their rents largely in labour. It was natural that the labour should be directed toward Church building. A little local enterprise met with ready help. There was no hurry to finish, just because there was no large population to provide for. The artistic side was allowed to be dominant chiefly because there was no utilitarian pressure.

In this way we can trace the limits of the old Fenland by its great buildings. When water carriage failed the churches dwindled. Along the valley of the Nen, and on the Fenland islands, rose the stately churches which are most characteristic of English architecture, as may be seen in the neighbourhood round Wisbech and Lynn. If you turn westward from Cambridge to the district which formed the upland in early days, the architectural decline

becomes at once apparent. The soft clunch of Cambridge-shire, admirable as it was for internal decoration, was not sufficiently durable when exposed to the weather to afford material for soaring designs.

Another point which was determined by the nature of the country and its surroundings was the choice of Cambridge as a site for a University. It is often asked by visitors to Cambridge, Why was this spot selected for such a purpose? And it must be admitted that at the present day we cannot point to any very conspicuous natural advantages. To answer the question we must consider the conditions under which the English Universities seem to have come into being. This is a difficult subject to speak of with certainty, and I would not be understood to put forward more than a few suggestions which seem to me to have some probability. The first step in any investigation is to clear the ground of misconceptions and make it clear what we are considering. Now a University, properly speaking, means a Corporation of Scholars possessing a constitution, and the right of conferring degrees, or licenses to teach, which were everywhere recognised. It was, indeed, a gild of scholars, which came slowly into existence by asserting customary rights.

The question therefore to be determined is, Why did the schools of certain places become strong enough to form associations which asserted their rights, and by gaining for themselves a constitution, rose into another class from ordinary schools? There can be no doubt that the model of such associations was brought into England from Paris in the twelfth century, with the result of quickening into organised life schools which already existed. In earlier times the schools of Ireland and England had been foremost in maintaining learning; but the call of Aleuin from York by Charles the Great marked the transference of intellectual primacy to Gaul. There the schools of various monasteries and Cathedral churches became famous as they possessed eminent teachers, till the renown of Abelard established the prestige of Paris. We cannot trace a corresponding process in England. It was not the presence of eminent teachers which first brought our Universities into existence, but motives of convenience combined with an impulse from outside. The schools of Oxford gathered,

it is true, round the monastery of St. Frideswide, but local conditions seems to have given them their superiority. Oxford was conveniently situated in the centre of England, on the great waterway of the Thames. It was free from danger of incursions, and was not a place of arms. Under Henry I. it was a favourite residence of the king in times of leisure; and the neighbourhood of the royal palace of Beaumont gave hopes of patronage which are said to be always attractive to scholars. It had been recognised for some time as a convenient meeting-place of scholars when it received that impulse by a migration from Paris which developed it into a University.

Cambridge had not the same advantages of position as Oxford enjoyed, and we cannot trace a corresponding growth of general literary resort. But we must remember that the dividing line of England in the middle ages, for commercial and literary intercourse, was drawn between east and west, not between north and south. The northern counties were so unsettled that there was little security for a learned corporation north of the Humber and the hills of Peakland. In 1250 the Bishop of Carlisle found it necessary to buy the manor of Horncastle in Lincolnshire, and the Pope granted him the parish church for his use, when his own diocese was impossible. A northern centre of learning was not required; but it was natural that the east should seek a centre of its own. It is probable that Cambridge grew by conscious rivalry to Oxford, which it resembled in many respects. The priory of Barnwell gave it a monastic centre; castle and old parish churches were there as at Oxford; its situation secured quiet, and it was easy of access by land or water. But the neighbourhood of the great Fenland monasteries must have been the chief cause of its prosperity. It was a neutral ground to which their students might resort. There also a meeting-place of scholars developed into a University, owing to migrations from Paris and Oxford, of which we find records in 1229 and 1231.

It is worthy of notice that this process of propagation tended to continue. In 1239 a migration was made from Oxford to Northampton; and in 1261 Cambridge also attempted to found a colony in the same place. Doubtless that town was chosen because it fulfilled the necessary

conditions for an academic residence, and was as far north as it was prudent to go. In 1333 a more determined effort was made by a body of Oxford malcontents to establish a University at Stamford, as a convenient spot for intercepting northern students. These schemes were checked by the resistance of Oxford and Cambridge, which was supported by the power of the Crown. It seems as if English common-sense first recognised, in University matters, the principle which afterwards developed its system of party politics. Two Universities were enough to promote honourable rivalry and obtain the advantages of competition on different lines. When two had come into existence the multiplication of centres was not allowed to go further, that force should not be wasted, and too many centres of opinion be formed. The ingenious speculator of to-day might trace a connexion between the increase of Universities and the disintegration of the old political parties.

But I return to the position of Cambridge as a site for a University. It is obvious that motives of local convenience out-weighed considerations of fitness. Ease of access, accommodation, associations, quietness, and a good supply of food—these were the primary requisites. It has been observed as an argument against the solar theory of explaining mythology that it represents primitive man as “eternally prosing about the weather.” This, indeed, is a very modern habit. Our ancestors lived and laboured where their lot was cast; and Cambridge scholars doubtless found the Fenland full of interest. To recall that interest we must revive the picture of the waters which flowed as near as Waterbeach, and of the Cam expending its sluggish stream round Fen Ditton. If we complete our picture of imagining a touch of ague among the inhabitants, we may still consider if ague were worse than the maladies engendered by modern modes of life. It is tolerably certain that its position on the borders of the Fens called Cambridge into being as a town, and afterwards made it the seat of a University. Academic patriotism can claim the consent of antiquity in regarding it as “an earthly Paradise.”

## BOROUGH ENGLISH.<sup>1</sup>

By EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A.

Several books, and much learning have been devoted to the history of the tenure called Gavelkind, but comparatively little attention has been given to Borough English. There is no reason for surprise at this. Though by no means restricted to Kent, Gavelkind is pre-eminently the Kentish tenure, it has had the presumption of law on its side over a large county, and though many private acts have been passed to disgavel estates, it still remains a living fact of which all Kentish men are aware, and of which many are proud.

There are many manors scattered over England in which Borough English still prevails, but they are not grouped in one block, and so it has come to pass that very few persons except local lawyers and antiquaries know anything about it. These are not all of one kind. There is male gavelkind, whereby the succession is among sons only to the exclusion of daughters. There is also gavelkind of a wider nature, whereby brothers and sisters share equally. Similar varieties existed, and still exist in Borough English. The new Dictionary, edited by Dr. Murray, of which all Englishmen ought to be proud, defines Borough English as the "custom or tenure, in some parts of England, by which the youngest son inherits all the lands and tenements." This is accurate as far as it goes, but is not the whole truth. We must not, however, find fault, the functions of a dictionary are not identical with those of a cyclopædia. Were an essay written on each word, the imagination cannot picture the number of volumes to which

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Historical Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute at Cambridge, August 9th, 1892.



such a dictionary must extend. Borough English is the succession of the youngest son instead of the eldest, which is the ordinary provision of the common law, but the custom is not always the same. In some it is confined to sons only, and if there be no son the estate is shared equally among all the daughters. This is the case at Kirton-in-Lindsey. In other manors the youngest daughter inherits.<sup>1</sup> Again, we find cases where, if there be no children, the youngest brother succeeds, and in others it goes according to the rules of the common law. There are, moreover, places in which the copyhold land only is Borough English, while the freehold is held by the ordinary tenure. In others, freehold and copyhold alike follow the Borough English custom.

The habit of guessing as to the derivation of words has much impeded the growth of an accurate knowledge of our language. Many foolish conjectures have been made as to the origin of the term Borough English. In this case that which is obvious is almost certainly true. It was in some places the old English, as distinguished from the French tenure. In the reign of Edward III there was at Nottingham two distinct kinds of tenure in different divisions of the town. One of these was called *Burgh-Engloyes*, and the other *Burgh-Francoyes*.<sup>2</sup> This word *burgh* or *borough* has misled many people. They have fancied that it pointed to a Corporate town. Not remembering or being ignorant of the fact that *burgh* or *borough* in its older meaning in this country denoted a stockaded place, however small. There are a great number of small places in England that possess this termination, which have always been mere villages. We need but mention the names of such places as Bromborough in Cheshire, Awkborough in Lincolnshire, Happisburgh in Norfolk, Wanborough in Wiltshire, and Londesborough in Yorkshire to illustrate what we have said.

That the name Borough English is of native growth seems certain, and that it arose after the Norman Conquest is highly probable; there was a long conflict between the Crown officials, trained in the principles of the Roman

<sup>1</sup> Several places in Sussex. *Customs of Borough English*, pp. 18-29. Tho. Robinson, *Common Law of Kent*, 3rd ed., p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> *Records of Nottingham*, Vol. I, p. 174.

Law, and the English people who clung to their old customs with most praiseworthy pertinacity. We cannot be too thankful that the Roman law was not introduced into our country as a whole, and should be perhaps little less grateful that the ecclesiastics who presided in our courts were trained in the principles of the Roman and Canon law. Though no doubt they were many of them prejudiced against our insular customs, which they looked on as remains of barbarism, much as the ordinary Englishman of the present is tempted to look with contempt on the conflicting and complicated laws which we find in India, they were the means of reducing the traditions they found around them to order, without destroying what was good in them—saving us during long periods of transition from that cast-iron uniformity which has been found so injurious in some foreign lands.

The area over which what we know as Borough English once extended is a very wide one. We find it in places in nearly every part of Europe, except perhaps Italy and Spain. In Germany, Friesland, Hungary, the Ural Mountains, and in Asia as far as the borders of China and Arracan. Many attempts have been made to explain its origin. The most popular one of the last century was the calumny known as the "Mercheta Mulierum" of which we need say nothing beyond the fact that it is now known to be a malignant fable which has been popularised by novelists and play-wrights. Two other solutions of the problem have been proposed. One suggestion is that it is a custom which has survived from some pre-historic race that has perished or been absorbed by the subsequent inflow of Tauranians, Slavs, Celts and Teutons; the other is that it is a form of succession which has grown up at different points among the present races which inhabit Europe and Asia. Though we admit that there is at the present much uncertainty on the subject, we are inclined to hold the latter view with some confidence.

As to those early races that have perished, or been absorbed, we know at present so very little that it is rash to speculate about them. Of one thing, however, we may have a reasonable amount of assurance, and that is that

<sup>1</sup> For a full exposure of this nonsense see Dr. Karl Schmidt's *Jus Primæ Noctis, eine geschichtliche Untersuchung* 1881.

civilization had not progressed so far with them as to make the holding of what lawyers call "real property" in any degree probable. Land was so plentiful that ownership of the soil would not be desired. If, indeed, they were Nomads, as is most likely, such a thing would be an impossibility. The distribution of Borough English in our own country furnishes a strong argument against this. Borough English "was most prevalent in the south-eastern districts, in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, in a ring of manors encircling ancient London, and to a less extent in Essex and the East Anglian kingdom."<sup>1</sup> Now there is no part of the island, not even the East Riding of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, or Cambridgeshire, which has been more thoroughly Teutonized. It is about the last part of the island where we should hope to find survivals of the Mongols or any other pre-historic race. Place-names should also reveal to us something. There is no list of Borough English places yet in existence, but we have, as far as we have been able to come in contact with them, examined all that we know of, and nearly all of them present the ordinary Teutonic types, with perhaps a very slight Celtic admixture. Unless, however, we had in each case, which we have not, the oldest known spelling before us, it is not safe to generalize dogmatically.

In my own county—Lincolnshire—there are seven places where Borough English is still the custom—Hibaldstow, Keadby, Kirton-in-Lindsey, Long Bennington, Norton (Bishops), Thoresby, and Wathall. All these are Teutonic. They seem, indeed, to be memorials of the last wave of conquest. We are unable to dissect the place-names on the Continent where the *Jungsten-Recht*, as our German kinsmen call it, has prevailed, but we have some reason for thinking that if this were done, as it certainly ought to be, that similar results would be arrived at. A single sample counts for very little, but it may not be inopportune to remark that this custom prevailed at Rettenberg in Westphalia.<sup>2</sup> If it were the fact that Borough English was a survival marking the last spots wherein a conquered race held out against the invader, we should find it most commonly among inaccessible hills and places sur-

<sup>1</sup> Elton, *Origins of English History*, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Maurer, *Geschichte der Fronhöfe*, Vol. iv, p. 348.

rounded by bog and marsh. The open country engirding the spot where London now stands is the very last place where we should antecedently expect to find a conquered race making their final stand for freedom.

If the theory, which we believe we have gone many steps towards demonstrating to be untenable, does not hold good, the opposing one is the only one at present in the field. It by no means follows that if one interpretation fails that the next that is given should be the true one. To have any chance of doing so it must afford an explanation of all the phenomena presented. A custom which we find in England, Germany, the Territories we now call France, Friesland,<sup>1</sup> Silesia, Bornholm, and the lands which once were an appenage of the Commonwealth of Lübeck, which we may trace in the plains of Hungary<sup>2</sup> and of Southern Russia,<sup>3</sup> must have had its root in some widespread cause, some natural instinct which had the force of law over widely severed peoples.

That the life of Europe formed itself not on the State, or any form of "Social contract," but on that of the family and the village community, is now admitted by everyone who is not the victim of a political craze. When the successive waves of conquest and settlement moved on from Asia to Europe, our forefathers, though by no means a refined or gentle folk, were certainly not savages. This we need not endeavour to demonstrate to a meeting such as the present. The Aryans when they entered Europe, and at last landed on our shores, knew the use of some, at least, of the metals. They had domestic animals, and probably knew of the value of certain cereals, of hemp, and of wool. Their family life must have been primitive and rude, but traced on moral lines. Right and wrong may not in all cases have connoted exactly what it does to us of to-day, but the words conveyed to them distinct ideas, concerning which mistake was impossible. When they settled down on the conquered land, each family had its homestead, its own sacred hearth, its own demesne on the lands of the house-father, into which it was dangerous for an intruder to set his foot. Around this was the wild woodland, the bog, the moor, or the lake, in which the

<sup>1</sup> Bluck, *Heligoland*, 192.

<sup>3</sup> Hearn, *The Aryan Household*, p.

<sup>2</sup> Elton, *Origins of English History*, 82.  
pp. 191-198.

family hunted and fished at their pleasure, from which they procured wood for building and for fires. These homesteads would be near together. Then, as now, men required companionship. Surnames were, of course, unknown, but tribal distinctions came in at an early date. We find relics of them in every Teutonic land, and when the family was transferred from one region to another the name accompanied them. Thus, we find Massingham in Norfolk, Messingham in Lincolnshire, Masinghen, Mazinghen, and Mazingarbe in Artois; Burringham in Lincolnshire, Burrington in Devonshire, and Böhringen in Germany. Examples of this kind cannot be the result of accident. They might be very greatly multiplied. It is only when the population becomes relatively dense that land, apart from that which it produces, is of any value. America and Australia furnish us with examples of this at the present day. A time would, however, soon be reached when land would have a value of its own. The good soil would all be taken up, and in the days of a primitive mode of culture third-rate land would be valueless. Then the house-father would be forced by circumstances to make provision, ere his death, for his sons sharing the ancestral domain among them. Here we have the origin of gavelkind, a form of devolution which has been more widely spread than even ultimogeniture, as those persons call Borough-English who delight in shewing that they have acquired a Latin vocabulary. Gavelkind, however, could be but a temporary provision. As the population grew it was absolutely necessary that the young men of the household should make new settlements for themselves. This fact accounts in its measure for the vast shiftings of the population which took place when the Roman Empire was in its protracted death-agony. The torrents of human beings which poured in on the decaying Empire were considered by the older historians as evidences of nomadic barbarism. We, with our present lights, say rather that they indicate a population too dense for their own homes to support.

It would be a matter of course that the elder sons should go forth and carve out for themselves new homes in the West, but when the swarm departed all the sons would not go from the shelter of the native roof-tree. One at least,

commonly the youngest, would stay behind. On him would devolve the duty of looking after the old folk and his unmarried sisters. On him would, in due time, devolve the duties of those sacrifices connected with the sacred hearth, and, when the father died, to him would devolve the paternal dwelling with its ploughlands, its pasture, its meadow, and its rights of wood and water. Here we believe is the key to the origin of Borough English. We have only given a very slight sketch of that which it would require many more pages to treat of as it deserves. One remark we must make ere we conclude. It is almost certain that in the near future legislation will abolish this interesting tenure. It is, therefore, important that while it is a living thing a list of the Borough English manors should be made and placed beyond reach of destruction. No one man can make such a catalogue, but if the members of the Royal Archæological Institute would each one of them make enquiries in his own neighbourhood and put the facts on record in our *Journal*, he would be laying by valuable information for the future historian of our old social institutions.

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE ANTIQUARIAN SECTION AT  
THE CAMBRIDGE MEETING.<sup>1</sup>

By C. D. E. FORTNUM, D.C.L., V.P.S.A.

At the meeting of the Archæological Institute held last year in the good city of Edinburgh, the Chair of the Antiquarian Section was occupied by one whose great knowledge in various branches of Archæological lore is fully equalled by his power of communicating it by tongue and by pen. Dr., now Sir John Evans, on that occasion read a discourse on the "Progress of Archæology" during the period intervening between the years 1856 and 1891, which was so thorough in its review of all branches, from the palæolithic to the present periods, that it would be vain to travel again over so well trodden and observed a course. I regret that this year the Chair has not one equally learned and eloquent for its occupant, as I cannot but feel how weakly I shall perform the duty so admirably fulfilled by my predecessor. Indeed, it was rash of me to accept of so high a duty, and the more so as for some years past I have neglected following the course of events Archæological, and from various causes have retired in great measure from the active pursuit of Antiquarian study and research. I am behind the times, and must therefore crave the indulgence of my hearers for the meagre matter of my poor address.

The last meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute at Cambridge took place in the year 1854, in the month of July. On that occasion our Institute was honoured by the presence of that enlightened Prince whose loss our country and our beloved Queen must ever deplore. His keen perception fully appreciated, and his education in Germany—where Archæological studies and teaching have been, and still are, much in advance of what has hitherto been done

<sup>1</sup> Read at Cambridge, August 11th, 1892.

in this country—had led him to a worthy estimation of the value of those pursuits which are the main objects of this Society.

On that occasion also our much lamented then President, Lord Talbot de Malahide, expressed his earnest desire to see the science of Archæology welcomed by *Alma Mater*, and more extensively recognised among academic studies. He congratulated Cambridge on the establishment of a professorship of Archæology, and offered his tribute of respect to Dr. Disney, to whose patriotism and disinterestedness the University was indebted for the gift of his collection and the endowment of that professorship.

By way of parenthesis I may also refer to a remark made at that time by Lord Talbot, to the effect that the Trustees of the British Museum were much to blame in neglecting to acquire the Faussett collection of Roman and Saxon objects, a fault which I think and hope may not now be found to prevail among their successors, for, in the matter of acquisitions, when desirable, we gladly consent when the Exchequer smiles!

I recollect, not now so many years ago, at Rome, in conversation with one of the most learned German antiquaries of our day, being asked how many professors of Archæology we had at the English Universities, doubtless anticipating an alphabetical list. The sudden shock of such a question was most trying, and I replied—I almost hoped inarticulately—one, at Cambridge!

Since then the Slade Professorships of Fine Arts were established, not intended merely for the teaching of art practice, but also for its history, to trace its rise, development and decadence at various periods and in various countries, the archæology of art.

And here, again, I must pause to congratulate Cambridge on having so valuable an occupant of that chair as she possesses in my friend Professor Middleton, whose works are so well known and so highly esteemed by us all. We now can say we have some other few Archæological professors, as at University College in London, and the Lincoln professorship so ably held by Professor Percy Gardner. Oxford also may boast of her keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Mr. Arthur Evans, whose knowledge of classical antiquity and numismatics renders his lectures of such high



worth, and whose works on the "Horsemen" of Tarentum, and more recently on the "Syracusan Medallions," are of such value to numismatic science; as are also his recent contributions to *Archæologia* "On a late Celtic Cemetery at Aylesford, Kent," and his "Antiquarian researches in Illyricum" to the general stock. The University of Cambridge has in Mr. Middleton a second *Archæological* professor, who can teach beyond the range of classical antiquity. At Oxford Mr. Evans is our equivalent: but still they are too few, and much remains to be done in that direction before we can compare in Antiquarian teaching power with Germany, or even, perhaps, with France.

We need not now push this enquiry further, as its limits are, alas, too small. We leave the subject with a sigh, but yet with some hope that the study of *Archæology* at the seats of learning may be more promoted and encouraged in the future than it has been in the past and to our day.

The consideration of the science itself and its teaching naturally leads us to those treasure houses in which the smaller objects of its study and evidence for its conclusions are preserved—the museums of our own country and of the world.

In France almost every town has its *Musée*, many of them extremely well kept and fed, and in many instances containing objects of the highest local and general interest and importance.

Germany, ever active in the cause of education, has made rapid strides within the last few years in the establishment and development of museums in all her principal and many of her minor cities. For their national collections the Germans have become dangerous rivals in the auction room and the market for objects of art and of antiquity. Dr. Bode, the active and highly astute director of the Berlin Museum, supported by the liberality of the old Emperor and his successors in power, frequently has and does carry off to Germany treasures dispersed, alas, from many of our noble and formerly wealthy houses. Every such dispersion carries choice objects abroad which have long been the pride of those who had collected or inherited them, and were the boast of our country. But, nevertheless, we are not without good subject for rejoicing. The increase and development of our own museums in

every branch of science, which has occurred within my own and, doubtless, within the recollection of many of those whom I now have the honour of addressing, is almost, if not quite, parallel to the marvellous development of scientific discovery and its equally wonderful adaptations to the requirements of the human race.

I can recollect Paris with only a few gas lamps in some of the more fashionable streets; the rest was dimness made manifest by the feeble glimmer of the oil-fed wick smouldering in a filthy lamp that creaked on its suspending chain, barely revealing the slush of the foul road beneath. Electricity now changes their night's darkness into day. I can recall the time when present at experiments to try some method of transmitting messages by that electricity so far as round the precincts of a London dock. The globe is now in a network of its conducting cables. These are amazing steps in progress, but I can also recall the time within memory when the nucleus of our National Gallery—now one of the richest and, perhaps, the best representative collection of pictures in the world—was dimly seen in a private house, of moderate pretension, in Pall Mall. When old Montague House in Bloomsbury contained an *olla podrida* of savage implements, “an alligator stuffed and other skins of ill shaped fishes, green earthen pots, &c.,” in truth Shakespeare's vivid description of the apothecaries shop was equally applicable to the then British Museum, to the dear old Ashmolean, and to what few others could be found in England and elsewhere. The development of natural historical science and of the study of Art and Archæology, for these last are twin sisters, has thrown as much light on these dark depositories as electricity has done on the filthy slums of old Paris.

Such remarks do not, of course, apply to the palaces and galleries in the great cities of Italy, France, or Spain, but even there the development of the last half century is seen throughout, although, alas, the private collections of the old Italian families are now for the most part dispersed.

To recur to our own museums. In London, that for natural history, now separately housed at the Cromwell Road, is a glory to the country that possesses it. At Bloomsbury the rich collection of British and Foreign pre-historic relics is well illustrated by the unrivalled series

of arms and implements in former and present use by the savage races of every portion of our globe. The careful systematic arrangement of this vast assemblage of objects, illustrative of the habits of the earlier condition of the human race, is due to the untiring industry and knowledge of Mr. Augustus Wollaston Franks, our now President of the Society of Antiquaries. The Egyptian galleries contain a vast and most rich collection of objects illustrative of the arts of that wonderful people, as also many important larger monuments.

The Assyrian galleries, so enriched by the discovery and excavations of Sir A. H. Layard, Sir H. Rawlinson, Mr. Rassam, Dr. Budge, and others, has an unrivalled series of sculptured monuments, while among smaller objects the inscribed tablets are of high importance. There is probably no such representative a collection of Greek vases as that in the British Museum, recently re-arranged by Mr. A. Murray, the present head of that department, who succeeded Sir C. Newton, the discoverer of the Mausoleum, in the charge. Of Roman and Etruscan Antiquities we have rich store, and our Greek and Roman bronzes are numerous and fine. Not to dwell too long on the untold wealth of the British Museum, I cannot refrain from alluding to the collection of fictile wares of European and of Oriental origin, as also of glass, which is, perhaps, the choicest and one of the most extensive in the world. The precious contents of these galleries have come together within the last half century. At the sale of the Bernal collection in 1855, a Government grant to the Trustees permitted the acquisition of examples of Renaissance Art, under the astute guidance of Mr. Franks. Those acquisitions were added to by Mr. Franks's great liberality, and subsequently, by the bequests of the Slade and Henderson collections; some other gifts were added, but the "crowning mercy" was the presentation of his entire and historically important collection of Oriental pottery and porcelain by Mr. Franks, to whom the British Museum and, I may justly say, the British nation is most deeply indebted.

I cannot leave this subject without referring to the choice contents of the gem room at Bloomsbury, which now fairly holds its own with that of almost any other museum in Europe, both in regard to engraved gems,

as to Etruscan, Greek, and Roman jewellery, rings, &c., the last great acquisition being the Pichon Royal Gold Cup, of which, doubtless, many of us have seen the wood cuts and have read the description in the Illustrated London News, and upon which Mr. Franks recently read a paper before the Society of Antiquaries, which will probably appear in the second part of the fifty-third volume of *Archæologia*.

A better room for the preservation and exhibition of these beautiful objects, as also one for the rich cabinet of coins, is in preparation, and will soon be in readiness to receive their future precious contents.

I fear I may have dwelt too long on the glories of our National Museum, but I may, perhaps, as a humble member of its governing body, be pardoned for lingering over the untold wealth of such a treasure house, and endeavouring to impress on my hearers a stronger feeling of interest therein than is generally to be observed, even among persons to whom objects of Art and Antiquity are interesting, but who, when in London, rarely think of spending a morning in those galleries so full of rich and rare objects in every class, and of the greatest beauty and interest. Indeed, it is remarkable that among the higher and educated classes how seldom it seems to occur to parents and to teachers that a frequent visit to those galleries would impress more upon the minds of their children, or pupils, through the tangible evidence of objects of daily use and religious observance by peoples whose printed histories are crammed into their young brains, without any visible, and, as it were, living corroboration such as is afforded by the contents of our museums.

The growth of such institutions is in itself a history, and one which is so truly *Archæological* in character that I may yet perhaps be permitted to continue the theme.

The dispersal of the Bernal collection in 1855, one year after our Institute's last visit to Cambridge, was food for that new-born infant of the School of Design and the first Great Exhibition, which was assisted into being by the late Sir Henry, then Mr. Cole, and for which the good Prince Albert was the sponsor. But that food was ably selected, and further like nutriment continued to be furnished by one to whom the merit of forming and increasing the

collection of the South Kensington Museum for many years is chiefly due—Sir Charles, then Mr. J. C. Robinson. He, by his untiring energy far and wide, gathered nearly all the more important objects that form the glory of that rich but now somewhat too heterogeneous a collection, for latterly by purchase and by gift, in some instances of objects scantily worthy, and perhaps by a somewhat less effective management and direction, and ever-increasing want of space, it has become such a crowded “*omnium gatherum*” of ill-arranged and ill-assorted specimens that one loses oneself as in a maze. Nevertheless, it is a collection of primary importance, and one that with better accommodation and organisation will be of the greatest value to students of Art and Antiquity.

Edinburgh can now boast of her gallery and of museums of science and art. Dublin also, the loss of the late director of whose picture gallery, Mr. Doyle, all who knew him and of him so deeply regret. The larger manufacturing towns are now rivalling each other in the erection, and wealthy citizens are liberally contributing towards the formation and the filling of picture galleries and of museums for Art objects and for natural history specimens. Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, Norwich, and many other less important cities can now boast of their collections and their galleries. It is to be hoped that the funds generously afforded by some municipalities and individuals for the erection of museums for Archæological and artistic objects, may not be used merely in the building and fitting of long and lofty Architectural galleries to hold a few good and many very inferior ancient and modern pictures, while the objects of local and general Antiquarian value are carelessly crammed into small lateral rooms of mean proportions, and treated as a mere appendage to the “*galleries of Art.*”

Here at Cambridge the munificence of Lord Fitzwilliam supplied a building of ample size and commanding architecture, which contains the gallery of pictures and the works of Art and Antiquity in other categories. Its keepership is now held by one of those few Archæologists whose all-round knowledge is so extensive and so profound, and wisely has it been directed that the Slade Professor Middleton should also be the Keeper of the University

Museum. And now Cambridge may also pride herself on the fine range of buildings devoted to the practical studies of natural science and to the conservation of specimens connected therewith, as also with what touches us more closely, her magnificent collection of casts from the antique, &c., so important to the student of classic sculpture.

It is, however, with deep regret that I must here refer to the loss of one so well known and so well esteemed at Cambridge as the late Rev. Samuel Savage Lewis, whose munificent bequest, not only of his collection of gems and antiquities, but of the reversion of money to a large amount, to his well loved College, Corpus Christi, of which he was a Fellow is so admirable. His loss was also much deplored by the Cambridge Archæological Society, of which he was long the active secretary.

Last on my list, but first in point of Antiquity, is the venerable old Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, which stands firm and somewhat forbidding behind those disintegrating terminals adjoining Exeter. This was a minor but parallel collection to that in Montague House, a mixture of the decomposing fragments of rare creatures, of which the now extinct Dodo was the most rare, of antique, mediæval, renaissance, and modern objects and curios, from the Alfred Jewel to Guy Fox's lantern, the whole surmounted by curious and some fine portraits and pictures. The noble gift by the Rev. Frederick William Hope (one of the oldest and dearest of my friends) of his extensive entomological collection, his library of works on natural history, and much money, gave the start to the already wished for museum of natural history, on the building of which those kindred objects which the Ashmolean contained were transferred thereunto. The late Mr. J. H. Parker did much for what remained, and left money towards the endowment of a curator, but it was not till Mr. Arthur Evans took the keepership that the old Ashmolean had new young blood stirred into its system, and, with the addition of some portion of my own, the collection has so increased that the old building is no longer adequate for its contents. The necessity for more adequate accommodation was manifest, but although a good site was in the hands of the University, behind and adjoining the Art galleries, the means for the erection could not be afforded. With some

aid proffered by myself for the endowment, the authorities of the University, after no small hesitation and most guarded consideration of my suggestions, have at length liberally agreed to find funds to the extent of £15,000 to build and furnish a new Ashmolean in direct communication with the galleries. Thus we shall have all our collections of Art and Antiquarian objects in connected buildings, affording every convenience for the study and enjoyment of their contents. This work is now in the architect's hands, and the builders will soon commence the erection of our new walls. The old Ashmolean shell, after transportation of its kernel to the new building, may be absorbed by and made useful to the Bodleian Library, to the great advantage of both Institutions. Thus, I hope, that, when completed, Oxford may possess a museum, which, although unable to boast of such wealth of marble as is shown in the magnificent atrium of the Fitzwilliam, will have equal accommodation for the treasures of Art and of pre-historic, local, classical, and renaissance Antiquity which it will contain.

Again, I am reminded of the loss of one whose liberal gifts constantly and steadily continued to enrich the Ashmolean with Egyptian, Sassanian, Hittite, and other objects, and finally by the bequest of his collection of engraved gems—the Rev. Greville Chester.

The Pitt Rivers collection, now housed in juxtaposition with the natural history museum, is another jewel in the Oxford crown, the munificent gift of that careful investigator.

I fear I have sadly taxed your patience by dwelling too long upon this theme, but museums have been, from my boyhood, places of great attraction to me, and I think I may justify myself in making them the principle subject of my address when we consider that in them is enshrined the precious relics of bygone ages. These are more truthful evidences of history than records, or than folk lore, and therefore of the highest value to the Archæologist. It is in the investigation, and elucidation of these relics that the true Antiquary learns to read and determine passages of history unknown. By the comparison of fragments new languages become revealed: a paltry piece of stone, a seal, records a personage or fact in history, which

may upset the carefully worked out or built up theory of the historian. Among those relics we have brought before us objects which human fingers fashioned thousands and, perhaps, tens of thousand years gone by, showing us objects of beauty and painstaking labour unsurpassed, aye, unequalled by any production which modern ingenuity, aided by modern science, can produce. Museums, therefore, are surely worthy of our consideration as Archæologists, and their rise, improvement and development are a part of the history of our own time which is equally interesting to the Antiquary, the Artist, and the Historian.

The "progress of Archæology" was, as I have before stated, so ably and so thoroughly laid before you and followed up to last year by the then President of the Society of Antiquaries, Sir John Evans, that I will hardly dare even to glance at the work accomplished during the past year.

I may, however, refer to the discovery of three human skeletons lying together in a cave opening from the red rocks at Mentone. The rude stone knife, the chaplet of pierced teeth, the fish bone necklet (if original), and the great depth of accumulated debris which had been over them, all pointed to a great antiquity, probably to the earlier neolithic, if not, as was at first supposed, to the palæolithic period of man's existence.

It is greatly to be regretted that the ignorant prejudice and greed of the owner of the quarry, and the dilatory and injudicious action of the authorities, allowed these precious relics to remain unprotected; that no photograph of them was taken when first discovered, and that the curious, unheeding of the mischief that they did, crowded into the cave greatly damaging these most interesting remains. They were very perfect when I first saw them, but exposure to the action of the atmosphere and carelessness have probably led to their disintegration and decay. I am not aware of any published scientific record of these remarkable remains, although I learned that the skulls had been entrusted to a French savant.

In Egypt Dr. Flinders Petrie has continued those researches which have taught us that the Greeks, before Greece, had communication with, and doubtless derived much knowledge from, the inhabitants of that country, whose history and civilisation seems to retire farther and



farther into the distant past as exploration reveals, more and more, of their wonderful remains.

An objector to some of Dr. Petrie's conclusions has, however, arisen, and a duel, by letters, is being fought with Mr. Torr, whose motto, in respect to many other conclusions, as also to various objects, presumably of antique origin, has so frequently been "*non credo.*"

And here I must pause to express my own deep grief, the which I feel sure is fully reciprocated by all those whom I have the honour of addressing, as indeed it is by the Literary and Antiquarian world, at the loss we have sustained in the death of Miss Amelia B. Edwards, whose indefatigable labours in the cause of Egyptian Archæology were and are so valuable, and whose great work "*A Thousand Miles up the Nile*" is the best companion on board the *Dahabeyah*.

It was by rummaging about old stones that within the last few years the existence of another race of men and another language has been told to us, and the former whereabouts of a seemingly important people is becoming known. That field Professor Sayce has almost made his own, and much more knowledge of the Hittites will probably be revealed by his and other worker's investigations.

Day by day new facts are being discovered by the Antiquary, corroborating, explaining, or modifying the more difficult chapters of Biblical history, and it is from other such old stones and earthen tablets that so much has been gained of Babylonian and Assyrian record. It is here that so much and such good work has been done by the Society of Biblical Archæology, whose originator, the late Dr. Birch, was too soon called from his duties as its President. The curious discoveries by Mr. Theodore Bent of the remains of an ancient and, as he supposes, a Semitic race of early time in Africa are noteworthy.

In Greece a constant activity of Antiquarian research is being exercised by the Government of that country, as by the British School, the French, the German, and American Societies, their only want is that power which is represented by the "*almighty dollar.*" In all other respects the Report read at the last Annual Meeting of the British School was quite satisfactory, and I would take this opportunity of referring my hearers to the admirable address delivered at that meeting by Lord Bute.

Here, again, I am reminded that the hand of death has laid low one of the greatest historians of our century, struck down so sadly when in the full pursuit of his great work on the History of Sicily. I allude, of course, to the late Professor Freeman.

I feel that I have too long trespassed upon your time, but I may be permitted to refer to the good work done by Mr. Bunnell Lewis, and by various other members of our own Institute. The old fountain head from which we sprang, the Society of Antiquaries, has also shown renewed energy since certain changes were effected in its executive; the publication of *Archæologia* now fairly keeps pæce with the many valuable papers that our Fellows favour us by reading; the Proceedings also are well to the front. In direct research the excavations at Silchester are steadily continued, and will I trust be well supplied with that power to which I alluded when speaking of the work of the British School at Athens, and without which this English Pompeii cannot be thoroughly explored. A most interesting paper on this subject will be found in the second part of the fifty-second volume of *Archæologia*, since when more is recorded in the first part of the fifty-third volume. This year's excavations have laid bare the remains of perhaps the earliest Christian Church that England possesses, and on which Mr. St. John Hope, has prepared an exhaustive paper.

A congress of representatives of all the various Antiquarian and Archæological Societies of the United Kingdom (may it ever be so), has been formed at the instigation of the parent body, with the view to establishing mutual communication between those bodies centering round the old Society, and thus tending to a unity of action and concentration of much wasted power, particularly on subjects that are not merely local, but of general Archæological importance to the whole Kingdom. The establishment of such a Congress, we also hope may tend to sink rivalry in mutual action, and lead to more cordial and friendly intercommunication between all engaged in kindred pursuits, and animated by the same desire to illustrate and verify the real facts of history by an intelligent examination of its monuments.

## AUDLEY END.<sup>1</sup>

By J. A. GOTCH, F.S.A.

The Mansion of Audley End, large as it is to-day, is but a small part, less than one-third, of what it was when first built, and during the first century of its existence. Now it is a mansion; then it was a palace, but a palace not built for a king, but for a subject—the Lord High Treasurer. The King, indeed—James I.—was himself mightily impressed with its size and magnificence. “Such a place,” he is reported to have said (possibly with an *arrière pensée*), “was too large for a King, though it might do for a Lord Treasurer.”

But how shall we realize its first extent? The present house forms three sides of a court—if we restore the fourth side, long since pulled down, we get what used to be called the innermost or small court. Then beyond this fourth side project two wings nearly as large as the present wings, and you get what may be called the body of the house. Now add to the present entrance front, another court as long each way as the front is, surround it with buildings of two storeys, with taller blocks at the corners and in the middle of each side, and you get the great court. To this must be added yet another large block, also about the size of one of the present wings, containing the kitchens; and this completes the habitable part of the great palace.

But in front of the great court itself, which was surrounded by buildings, there was yet another or outer court, enclosed by a wall, and stretching forward to such an extent that the river flowed straight across the middle of it, and was spanned by a bridge. Up this court a double avenue of elms or limes (for reports differ) led the visitor

<sup>1</sup> Read at Audley End August 12th, 1892.

from the "Great Road" to the entrance of the principal court. In its two front corners were two small bowling greens. On the north side it was flanked by the stable yard, some ponds, and the keeper's lodge. On the south it had two cherry-gardens. It was some eight or ten acres in extent. So large, indeed, was it, that however magnificent it may have looked on a plan, much of its effect must have been lost in reality: for the eye, attracted by the avenue that traversed its length, would fail to realize the fact that it was symmetrically enclosed by a stone wall, and was part of a vast, carefully devised scheme. But this merely goes to prove once more that size is not a necessary factor in art; indeed, beyond a certain limit, size becomes a disadvantage, inasmuch as the eye ceases to realize the design, and fails to grasp the relation of one part to another, whereby the very object of the designer is defeated.

But although with this great outermost court we complete the palace and its approaches, we have by no means enumerated all the adjuncts that formed essential parts of the establishment. First there was the bowling green (for those already mentioned were only distant and subsidiary greens), adjoining the house on its eastern side opposite to that on which you entered. Then, flanking the whole length of the house on the south was the Mount Garden, laid out in the pleasant formal manner of the times. To correspond with this on the north side, was the wilderness and the cellar garden, bounded by the great pond. Near the kitchen was the wood yard, and further away the store yard, the brewhouse yard and the brewhouse garden. Outside and beyond all these was the park.

I hardly suppose you will have been able to follow very closely the disposition of these various places, nor does it greatly matter if you have not; the chief impression I desire to convey is the vast scale upon which the house and its surroundings were laid out. It is the necessity for this hugeness which is one of the principal lessons which we shall learn from Audley End: for in the destruction of the outer court, the gallery, and the clock tower, there disappeared most of what was piquant, and quaint, and interesting in detail. The part that is left was com-

paratively plain and severe, and served to set off to great advantage the richness of its adjuncts which have been removed.

I should like, if I could, to convey to you some notion of what these adjuncts looked like. Standing in the principal court you had on either side a long two storeyed building, of which the upper floor, with its mullioned windows, rested on an arched cloister supported by alabaster columns. In the middle of each side rose a square pavilion one storey taller, the face of its main wall finishing in a curved gable containing a sun dial, and each corner crowned with a cupola surmounted by a glittering vane. Against the upper storey of this portion the pierced stone parapets of the lower buildings stopped. Parapets pierced not with a pattern, but as Evelyn remarked, with "a bordure of capital letters." In front was the house, much as we see it to-day, with its one-storeyed hall flanked by a lofty building at either end, terminating again with cupolas and vanes. Behind was a one-storeyed building, wherein was the triple entrance gate, guarded as it were by four round turrets. At the corners where the front and the sides met, were yet other pavilions crowned with balustrades and cupolas and vanes. At intervals rose tall chimneys fashioned like isolated columns; the roofs were flat and made of lead, and permitted the daylight to shine through the "bordure of capital letters," so that you could read the motto of the Garter, "Honi soit qui mal y pense," and the Latin sentence, "Prudentis est in consilio fortunam semper habere."

From the level of the court the porches of the house, which we can still admire to-day, were reached by an ascent on to a broad balustraded terrace, and through the porches that part of the house was gained which is still left. The house indeed is left, but much of its beautiful embellishments are gone, and chief among them the splendid wood-work of the hall. There is still much that remains, however. The fine, largely designed ceiling over the staircase, the contorted strapwork in the ceiling of the small library, where over an area of more than 20 ft. by 10 ft., no part of the pattern repeats itself, and above all, the beautifully modelled ceiling of the Saloon, unrivalled for its delicacy

of form and line. Chimney-pieces there are, too, and staircases, characteristic of the time, but not a twentieth part of what there once was.

For the long Gallery, 90 paces long, and 32 ft. wide (wider than the length of a large modern room), and 24 ft. high, has gone, and with it its panelled walls and its oak chimney-piece whereon were carved the labours of Hercules, and its stucco ceiling that pourtrayed the Loves of the Gods. And with it has gone the charming Clock Turret that projected from the middle of its length, and the Clock which, according to Cosmo, Prince of Tuscany "proclaimed to a great distance the magnificence of this vast fabric."<sup>1</sup>

All this departed splendour we can see in the views and plans of Henry Winstanley,<sup>2</sup> and read of in the pages of Evelyn and Pepys and Cosmo, Prince of Tuscany. To Evelyn it "shewed without like a diadem, by the decorations of the cupolas and other ornaments on the pavilions." To Samuel Pepys "the stateliness of the ceilings, chimney-pieces and form of the whole was exceedingly worth seeing." Moreover the cellars contained most admirable drink, of which he partook; and an excellent echo, which he discovered by playing a tune on his flageolet.

But the place was too vast. Already in the time of Evelyn and the musical Mr. Pepys, it was hardly used as a habitation, and its aspect struck such profound melancholy into the bosom of the Frenchman, St. Evremond, when he went to see it, that he had not even the spirit to hang himself on one of its trees, as urged by his companion. After this for a few decades it became more cheerful as the occasional home of the King's Court; and we hear of the Queen setting out from its ample gates in company with duchesses, all disguised as country wenches, to have some fun at a fair. But they overdid their parts, and like unskillful conjurers, were quickly found out, and at length had to return to the palace attended by an admiring rabble.

After this the house again fell into decay. We catch glimpses of school girls from Saffron Walden in George I.'s time playing in the long empty gallery; of strangers

<sup>1</sup> See Lord Braybrooke's "History of Audley End." London, 1836.

<sup>2</sup> Prospects of all the parts of his

Majesty's Royal Palace of Audley End, by Henry Winstanley. Littlebury, 1688.

wandering in and out at their will; of broken windows stuffed with rags; of the creaking clock-turret rocking in the wind and ready to fall. And finally we see a schoolboy going over from Walden of an evening to see the place pulled down, and through his ears we hear the thunder of the lead as it was hurled down from the roofs, and with him we think that such might have been the scene two centuries earlier when the monasteries were despoiled.

But having thus realized to some extent the great size of Audley End, and having seen how, being far too large for the descendants of the builder, it had to be ruthlessly curtailed to the destruction of its most interesting features, let us take a brief glance at its history, noting the important epochs; and then at the style in which it was built, so that we may learn what place it holds in the great diorama of architectural progression.

It was built, then, by Thomas Howard, created first Earl of Suffolk in the year of his beginning the house, and Lord High Treasurer to King James I. in 1614. According to tradition it was begun in the year 1603 and took thirteen years to build, which we can very well believe. A model is also said to have been sent from Italy, and that there was a model there can be no doubt—indeed, remains of it exist to this day. That the model was made in Italy I am not prepared to dispute, but that the house was designed in Italy—and this is the important point—I venture very strongly to doubt. It is essentially Jacobean in character, which implies that along with Italian details there is a strong flavour of English workmanship and arrangement, a flavour which could only have been imparted by English designers, and would never have been caught on Italian soil. That is evidently how the matter struck Prince Cosmo of Tuscany, born and bred amid purely Italian architecture. After his visit in 1669 he says (or rather his secretary says for him):—“The architecture of the palace, though it was only built 60 years ago, is nevertheless not regular but inclines to the Gothic, mixed with a little of the Doric and Ionic.” There speaks the Italian, accustomed himself to “regular” architecture, and surprised that any building erected so recently as “60 years ago” should not have lost all trace of gothic influence, and be as “regular” as his own Italian palaces.

Audley End, therefore, however much it owes to Italy—and, in common with all buildings of the age, it owes a great deal—was of English design. It is, moreover, probably due to the ubiquitous John Thorpe, as there is a plan of it in his collection of drawings.<sup>1</sup> The difficulty with John Thorpe's drawings is to determine whether they are his own designs, or merely surveys of existing buildings. In this particular instance we can compare his plan with that drawn by Henry Winstanley (already mentioned) about the year 1676, and we find that although in the main the two plans agree room for room, yet there is one notable discrepancy, namely, the disposition of the entrance front of the principal court. Had the two plans tallied exactly, John Thorpe's might have been a mere survey, just as Winstanley's was; but the discrepancy is of such a nature as not to be accounted for by subsequent alterations, but rather points to Thorpe's plan having been modified in the carrying of it out. Thorpe has, however, no upper plans of the place, nor any elevations.

Assuming this reasoning to be correct, we find that the Earl of Suffolk built the house, that John Thorpe designed it, and that a model was procured—perhaps from Italy—for the edification of the builder and the workmen. The cost is said to have been, including inside and outside work, some £200,000—a very large sum of money in those days.

But when the Lord High Treasurer was dead, and there was no longer occasion for the display attending the household of a great officer of state, the place became a white elephant to his successors, and his grandson sold it to the Crown in 1669 for one quarter of the original cost—£50,000. Of this sum £30,000 was paid down, and the remaining £20,000 left on mortgage.<sup>2</sup> For 32 years it was a royal palace, and it was during that period that Winstanley, who was Clerk of Works, made his invaluable series of drawings. One of his reasons for so doing, as he states in his dedication to the Earl of Suffolk, was that Audley End, although as fine a palace as any to be found in France or Germany, had not acquired that fame which was its due. Accordingly he made his drawings, his care being "to take true views of all, without striving to add

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 203-4.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Braybrooke's "History of Audley End."



any fancy to that which is so perfect in itself." Yet one little fancy he did add, namely, a view of himself sketching the building, seated cross-legged on a stone pedestal, on which his initials H. W. and the date 1676 are inscribed.

From a royal palace it became once more a private residence, being reconveyed to the fifth Earl of Suffolk, on condition that he forewent all claim to the £20,000 left on mortgage, and as this was secured on the duties on hearths and stoves in Ireland, which Parliament as about to repeal, he had every inducement to accept the condition: so the price is now one-tenth of the original cost. But the size of the place was still a terrible burden, and after enduring it for another twenty years, the Earl, by the advice of Sir John Vanburgh, pulled down the whole of the principal court in the years 1721-2, together with the kitchens and offices. The projecting chapel and cellar followed in a few years, and there remained only the inner court. This mutilated remnant passed in the course of time to the Countess of Portsmouth for the sum of £10,000. Much of it was condemned as unsafe by surveyors, and the materials of the whole fabric were valued in view of its demolition. And what has the original £200,000 sunk to by now?—to £7,985 7s. 9d. It was the East wing that was considered unsafe, and accordingly in the year 1749 it was pulled down, and with it went, of course, the long gallery which Evelyn regarded as the most cheerful and one of the best in England. Not all the Labours of Hercules, carved on the Chimney Piece, nor the Loves of the Gods, modelled on the ceiling, could save it. But when it was gone the Countess's successor found that he had no access from one side of the house to the other, and so, at his own great and proper charge, he had to build the corridor at the back of the hall. The great raw places left at the ends of the two wings by the removal of the gallery wing were healed by the building of the large bay windows: and the shape which the house then assumed it has retained till this day. A good deal has been done by recent proprietors to the interior to put and keep it in proper repair, but most of what was left after the destruction of the gallery has been spared, the most notable exception being the fine wood work of the hall, drawn by Nash in his "Mansions."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Mansions of England, by Joseph Nash, 2nd series, plate 28.

The rise and decay of the house having thus been traced, a very few words as to its style will bring these remarks to a close.

Every building that ever had any life in it is eloquent of the spirit of the age which produced it. So with Audley End. Its vastness speaks of the magnificence of a high court-official at a time when stateliness was of the essence of life. Its numerous rooms tell of the visits of noblemen with large retinues, and those of Majesty itself on its Progresses through the country. The fashion of its ornaments "twixt antiq and modern," as Evelyn has it, proclaim the influence that Italy had acquired in all matters relating to art, but they shew that that influence had not yet overwhelmed and submerged all native design, as it did in later years. There was still much that was distinctly English about it. And though its multitude of turrets were a reminiscence of the defensive arrangements of preceeding centuries, the dials with which they were adorned spoke of peace, and pointed more to the serene future than to the boisterous past. There is something about them of the peace expressed in Shakespeare's lines:—

Thou, by thy dial's shady stealth may'st know  
Time's thievish progress to Eternity.

England had left behind her the strife of the Middle Ages; the sun had dispelled the clouds that enveloped those fierce times, and was lighting up the many vanes that made the great house of Audley End shine like a diadem.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 6, 1892.

E. GREEN, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

On taking his place, the Chairman referred to the great loss that the Institute had sustained by the death of Mr. E. A. Freeman. A vote of condolence with Mrs. Freeman and her family, proposed by Mr. Hartshorne, seconded by the Chairman, and carried unanimously, was ordered to be conveyed to Mrs. Freeman.<sup>1</sup> The death of Dr. Collingwood Bruce was spoken of by the Chairman, who proposed a vote of condolence with the family of Dr. Bruce; this was seconded by Dr. M. W. Taylor, carried unanimously, and directed to be sent to the proper quarters.

Mr. A. L. LEWIS read a paper on "Stone Circles of Britain."

The Chairman spoke in high terms of the manner in which Mr. Lewis had treated his subject. He thought, however, that the stone circles did not all belong to the same period, and that customs still in use in savage countries in connection with stone circles might throw some light upon their use in remote times. As to the date of megaliths he reminded the meeting that a Roman coin had been found under one of the menhirs at Carnac, arguing from this circumstance that the stone might have been erected in Roman or post-Roman times.

The Rev. J. HIRST thought the megaliths of Carnac were for some sort of religious purpose, and suggested a possible Phœnician origin. Some of the signs found at Carnac he held to be of a distinctly eastern character, referring specially to the crook sign so often seen on the dolmens. Mr. Hirst suggested that the stone referred to by the Chairman might have been re-erected, as many others have been, at a later date.

Mr. LEWIS said that the finding of the Roman coin under the menhir was not a positive proof of its erection subsequent to the Roman period. Small objects, such as coins, would probably have been lost from time to time in the neighbourhood of the megalithic remains at Carnac and the multitude of rabbits with their burrowing propensities might account for the finding of the coin in the position described by the Chairman.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Lewis, whose paper is printed at page 136.

<sup>1</sup> For a notice of Mr. Freeman see p. 86.

Mr. J. L. ANDRÉ read a paper on "Widows and Vowesses." Mr. C. T. Davis, the Rev. J. Hirst, and others took part in a discussion which followed. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. André, whose paper is printed at page 69.

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. ANDRÉ.—Rubblings from monumental brasses in illustration of his paper.

May 4, 1892.

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

Mr. F. C. J. SPURRELL read a paper on "Early Painting and Colours from Medum, in Egypt." The author described the various modes of decoration employed in the tombs at Medum of the early part of the fourth dynasty, the materials used as colours, and gave some particulars as to the mediums employed by the painters. Mr. Spurrell also spoke of the inlaid coloured pastes of the Nefermate chamber, which he characterised as experimental, and which, in consequence of failure at the time of their execution, never became popular afterwards. Mr. Spurrell's paper will appear in a future *Journal*.

Mr. J. BAIN communicated a paper on "Sir John Robsart and his daughter Amy, the first wife of Leicester," in which he showed that Dudley, the penniless younger son of a forfeited man, was entirely dependant upon his wife's estate until his fortunes rose under the favour of Elizabeth, and that Amy was never Countess of Leicester, but died several years before her husband was made a peer. Mr. Bain's paper is printed at page 161.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Spurrell and to Mr. Bain.

#### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. SPURRELL.—A series of Colours from Medum collected by Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie.

## Notices of Archæological Publications.

**THE DOUGLAS BOOK**, by WILLIAM FRASER, C.B., LL.D. Quarto, 4 volumes. Edinburgh. 1888.

These handsome volumes, due to the industry of Sir William Fraser and the liberality of the Earl of Home, the heir of line of the Earls of Angus, and himself the chief of a great Border Clan, are worthy of the race which they record, and not unequal to the account of the Scotts of Buccleugh from the same pen, or to that of the Percies from the other side of the border. The combination of history with biography, peculiar to works of this character, though heretofore not unknown, has of late years become popular in Scotland, a country specially rich in the necessary material, and what is more rare and more important, rich also in subjects suitable for its employment.

"Caledonia stern and wild," inclement in climate and of an unfruitful though not ungrateful soil, whose wealth, agricultural and pastoral, has been wrung by skill and industry from an unwilling nature, has, nevertheless, been rich in the best and most enduring kind of wealth, the vigour and persistence of her children. There is no country whose sons are scattered more widely over the globe, who are more successful in the pursuits of industry, or who manifest a stronger desire to return to the home of their childhood when their work is done; no country whose great men in times past have so completely identified themselves, are so closely intertwined with their native story. Campbells, Hamiltons, and Gordons, Erskines and Napiers, Scotts, Homes, Kers, Murrays, Leslies, Drummonds, Malcolms, Monroes, Cockburns, and Dalrymples are but a few of the names distinguished in the history of Scotland, in war when through war lay the path to fame and power, and in the arts of peace when a happy accident gave them access under a common Sovereign to a country superior to their own in wealth, though in wealth alone.

But among all the inhabitants of Scotland, Highland or Lowland, from whatever stock derived, the House of Douglas has ever held the foremost place. Before the first Bruce turned his back upon Skelton to compel fortune beyond the Tyne and the Tweed, while the first of the Stuarts was but Alanus Dapifer, or a dweller upon the Burh of Clun, William of Douglas held a place among the magnates of Scotland, the husband of the sister of the powerful Earl of Moray, and a liberal donor to the religious Houses of Kelso and Arbroath.

It is not surprising that the origin of so great a race should have been a subject of interest at a very early period.

"Of Murrawe and the Douglas,  
How thare begynning was,  
Syn synddry men spekis synddryly,"

are the words of Andrew of Wyntowne, whose own opinion was that the "three sternys set in like manere" in the arms of the two families was evidence of their near kinship if not of their common origin. Since those days much has been written laboriously but loosely on the subject, and much that modern criticism has disallowed has been generally accepted concerning the origin of the Douglasses

"——— Nulli virtute secundum,  
Seu numero heroum, seu robore mentis et armis  
Sive fide in patriam."

So that there may be truth in the boast of their panegyrist, that "men saw them in the stream but never in the fountain," and it may be that the "dark grey man," their reputed ancestor, is but an expression derived from the waters of the Douglas and Douglesdale, the earliest of their known possessions by either flood or fell. If this be so Scotland is not deprived of the belief that one family at least of the greatest of her children was derived from no foreign source. If it be that a cloud hangs over their origin, it is a cloud destined to be illumined by the deeds of many generations of descendants, for there is little of exaggeration in the inscription upon the sword still preserved at Douglas Castle—

"So mony guid as of the Douglas beine,  
Of ane sirname wer never in Scotland seine."

The Douglasses, besides their part in Scottish history, have not wanted their own special record. Home of Godscroft, whose book has hitherto been the authority for the Douglasses, though corrected in many important particulars by Sir William Fraser, who writes with the authority of records, hitherto inaccessible, is full of interest, and, if less accurate, is far the most readable of the two, being quaint in style and full of anecdote. Both have their merits, nor does the later story supersede the earlier. It is curious that the Douglasses should owe the best records of their race to two members of a rival Border family, and that the latter of the two should represent them in blood and be the heir of their principal possessions.

WILLIAM, 1174-1214, who drew his sirname from the dale and water of his lordship, is vouched by a charter of William the Lion, and seems to have been eminent in arms and lord of an extensive Border territory. Of his six sons five, strange to say, were ecclesiastics, and one, Brice, became Bishop of Moray, selected Elgin as the site of his cathedral, and having been canonized, long retained a day in the Scottish calendar.

Sir ARCHIBALD, 1213-1240, the eldest son, and ancestor of the whole race of Douglas, black or red, succeeded, and was father by his first wife of William, and by his second of Sir Andrew, ancestor of the Earl of Morton, the earliest of the cadets of the family, if indeed the conjugal irregularities of the older lines do not place Morton, genealogically speaking, as the real head of the name.

Sir WILLIAM, 1240-1276, surnamed like the first Edward from his length of limb, well known upon the Tweed and the Tyne, and the owner of a Northumbrian Lordship, was father of Hugh who died childless, and WILLIAM, 1288-1302, surnamed "Le Hardi," who well earned his to-name by his feats both in love and war upon the Border. Though often in open opposition to Edward I his land lay too near to England to allow of a refusal to pay homage, but he opposed the

elevation of Baliol and held Berwick against Edward in person. Finally indeed his patriotism led him to adopt the cause of Wallace, and being made prisoner he was committed to the Tower of London, where he died. By his first wife he left James, and by his second Hugh and Archibald, and from the first and last of these, sprung the two great divisions of Douglas and Angus, or the Black and Red Douglases.

Sir JAMES Douglas, 1298-1330, known in Scottish history as the "good Lord James," raised the name and possessions of the family to a very high pitch of splendour. A bold and determined leader of commanding stature and great personal strength, but of gentle and courteous demeanour, he directed the hands and won the hearts of his countrymen. From early youth he supported the claims of Robert Bruce to the throne. He was present at the picturesque ceremony of his coronation at Scone, where each landed noble contributed a handful of earth from his lands by way of homage and acknowledgement of the royal superiority, and thus declared their determination to restore the independence of his country then grievously endangered by the "Malleus Scotorum." It appears to have been his observation upon the persistence of the spider that encouraged the hunted and depressed king to persevere, and shortly afterwards came what was the dawn of Bruce's fortunes, when he landed on the shore of Carrick and took Turnberry castle, while Douglas invaded his own confiscated territory, took by surprize his paternal castle of Douglas, and, being unable to retain it, heaped up its contents, furniture, provisions, and the bodies of the slain, and set fire to the whole, a deed well remembered in Scotland as "the Douglas Larder." Douglas Dale was then occupied by Clifford, and the English forces in the Lowlands were led by de Valence, Mowbray, Percy, and Monthermer, the best and boldest of the English captains. So precarious, however, was their hold upon the country that Edward himself was advancing to their aid when he was overtaken by death on the Scottish Border, to the great discouragement of his army. In consequence Douglas again took his castle, and joining his forces to those of Bruce, who had put down the Comyns in Buchan, they overran Lorne, beat the Campbells at the Pass of Brander, and penetrating far into Argyle compelled the Lord of Dunstaffnage to do homage to King Robert. Their next considerable exploit was a raid into England, when Douglas marched from Hexham to Durham and laid the Northern counties under contribution, and on their return expelled the English from the Castles of Edinburgh, Perth, and Roxburgh, which last was taken by a peculiarly audacious stratagem. The reprisal for these successes led to the battle of Bannockburn, at which Douglas held a command, and on the defeat of the English pursued them to Dunbar in their homeward flight. Sir James's later successes on the Border, his Wardenship of Scotland during the King's absence in Ireland, his part in the capture of Berwick, and in the Chapter of Mitton, are recorded in the history of his country. He not only recovered his paternal lands but added largely to their extent, and received from King Robert a charter of unusual privileges, which the King ratified by placing upon Sir James's finger his own ring, "annulus cum quodam lapide qui dicitur emeraude," whence the document is known among Scottish records as "the emerald charter."

The affection between Sir James and the King is recognized in every Scottish history, and is portrayed in one of those touching passages by

which Froissart redeems his delight in deeds of violence and brutality. "I know not in all my realm," said the dying King, "a knight more valyaunt than ye be . . . my own dearest and aspecial friend," and so committed to him the well known charge to convey his heart whither his body was denied the privilege to go. The heart, enshrined in a silver casket, was taken in charge by Sir James, who, commending himself to God and St. Bride, attended by a royal suite, and accepting a safe conduct from King Edward, proceeded by way of England to Spain, then at war with the Moors of Granada. In the battle that ensued Douglas held a command, and finding himself opposed by an overwhelming force he flung the precious casket into the thickest of the throng, and, shouting "Pass forward as thou wert wont," fell in the attempt at its rescue. Of the particulars of Sir James's mission and death many versions are on record, but the Bruce's heart was finally deposited at Melrose, and the mission was commemorated by the addition of a heart to the armorial bearings of the family, on which a crown was subsequently placed. Never did a coat of arms receive a more honourable augmentation. Of Sir James himself the tomb and effigy are still preserved in the church of St. Bride,

Sir James left two sons, legitimate and illegitimate. WILLIAM, 1330-1333, the elder, has been confounded with his cousin of Liddesdale, but Sir W. Fraser has shewn that he succeeded his father and fell childless at Halidon Hill, when the Douglas estates passed to his uncle of the half blood, HUGH Douglas, 1333-1342, a canon of Glasgow, who took little part in public life. He surrendered and took a re-grant of the estates, and settled them (1) upon the son of his late brother Archibald, (2) on Sir William Douglas of Lidderdale and his family, descended from Archibald their common grandfather, (3) upon another Archibald, the natural son of Sir James, and thus Canon Hugh's half nephew.

Sir ARCHIBALD, 1296-1333, the brother of Hugh and half brother of Sir James, and who died before them, was a brave soldier though an unskilful general, and is sometimes called the "Tyne-man," a designation more generally and with greater reason applied to a later Archibald. He was Regent of Scotland, and as such fought and lost the battle of Halidon Hill, at which both he and his nephew received mortal wounds. The Regent's surviving son was WILLIAM, 1342-1384, the first Earl of Douglas and by marriage Earl of Mar, an energetic supporter of David Bruce, at that time a prisoner in England, whose liberation he finally effected, becoming himself one of the hostages for the King's ransom, business connected with which made him familiar with the English Court. On the death of King David and the extinction of the line of Bruce, Douglas at first opposed Robert Stewart, having himself some pretension to the vacant throne. A compromise was effected by the marriage of the Earl with one of Robert Stewart's daughters. Towards the close of a very active life Douglas figured in the very unusual character of a trading monopolist, making large purchases of wheat, malt, and articles of domestic use from England for sale in Scotland. By his first marriage he wielded the powerful Earldom of Mar, and by a second the scarce less powerful fee of Angus, both of high antiquity and derived from the Celtic Marmaors. He left sons by each, the second, George, being the ancestor of the line of Angus.

JAMES Douglas, 1384-1388, the eldest son, second Earl of Douglas and



Earl of Mar, of whom it was said that whether with mace, sword, or spear, he needed never to double his stroke. He married, while yet of tender age, Isabel, daughter of King Robert Stewart. His first achievement was probably to share with his father in the recovery of Teviotdale from the English. In company with his kinsman, the Earl of Morton, he welcomed Sir Geoffrey de Charny and the French knights who came in quest of warlike adventures to Scotland. Nor could they have come to a better school, though some regarded them with distrust, and asked "Quel diable les a amenés?" Earl James speedily gave them a taste of Border warfare, leading them against the Northumbrian Percies, to whom the Earl was "na les noysum" than had been his father. The French knights at first reported so favourably of their reception that they were soon followed by a body of 2,000 men under the Admiral of France, who brought with him 1,400 suits of armour and 50,000 francs in gold. The result was the siege of Carlisle, while the English attacked Edinburgh, without any permanent advantage on either side. The French were soon tired out, and becoming dissatisfied returned to France, notwithstanding which Douglas again entered England, taking advantage of the quarrel between Richard II and his uncles. The Scots marched in two bodies, and those under Douglas reached Durham by way of Newcastle and Branspeth. On their return they met Percy before the walls of Newcastle, when occurred the combat between Douglas and Percy so celebrated in Border song, and which led to the battle of Otterbourne, when Douglas, "of great haste and hygh of enterprise," rushed into the thickest of the fray, where he fought with a mace which no other man of his time could wield, and there met his death wound. As he lay dying he said, "I pray you rayse up agayne my banar which lyeth on the ground—but shew nothen to frande no foo in what case ye see me in." No Scottish leader has in dying won so popular a fame. The banner, the cause of so deadly a conflict, is still the subject of an active but more peaceful controversy, and with the Percy gloves is preserved at Cavers by the Earl's descendants.

Earl James left two natural sons William of Drumlanrig and Archibald, ancestors of the Marquesses of Queensbury and the Douglasses of Cavers. Douglas Dale and the main estates passed under the entail of Canon Hugh to Archibald the eldest natural son of Sir James the Good, to whom the King seems to have allowed the honours of legitimacy.

ARCHIBALD, 1388-1400, who was allowed by special favour the title, and thus became 3rd Earl of Douglas, was surnamed the "Grim" because of his "terrible countenance in warfair." He was the ancestor of the Black Douglasses. He was taken on the French side at Poitiers, but ransomed at a cheap rate by a ruse of Sir William Ramsay, who treated him as a serving-man, who had stolen his master's armour. On his return he purchase the Lordship of Galloway from the Earl of Wigtown, and refounded Holywood Abbey. He married Joanna Moray the heiress of Bothwell Castle and broad lands in the north of Scotland. He seems to have become Constable of Scotland and Warden of the Western March, and distinguished himself in one or two missions and not a few border wars. He also converted the Abbey of Lincluden into a College with a Provost and Canons, and refounded Sweetheart an abbey in Galloway, and the Collegiate establishment at Bothwell, where he was buried. He was remarkable for great personal strength and

wielded a sword two ells in length with which he fought on foot, mowing down all opposed to him. Besides two sons by Joan Moray, Earl Archibald, left a natural son, William Douglas of Nithsdale, who inherited his father's personal strength and bravery. He was very large in the bones, of almost gigantic stature, of a swarthy complexion, and as was the fashion of the family the sweep of his sword carried all before it. After an active career in Scotland he took service with the Prussians at Dantzic, then called Spruce, as their Admiral against the French. He was soon afterwards assassinated, it was said at the instigation of Lord Clifford. He married Egidia a daughter of David II. His son, also William of Nithsdale, appears to have died without issue. Of his legitimate sons Archibald succeeded and James afterwards became seventh Earl of Douglas.

ARCHIBALD, 1400-1424, Master, and on his father's death fourth Earl of Douglas was the real "Tyne-man," and certainly deserved the name, for though as brave as became his race he was eminently unsuccessful as a general. He took a leading position in Scotland, and was accused, though upon very insufficient evidence, of joining Albany in the murder of the Duke of Rothsay. He commanded at and lost the battle of Homeldon, but on Hotspur's quarrel with Henry IV., he joined the Percies at Shrewsbury. He was then taken prisoner, and afterwards served under "Jean sans peur" of Burgundy, and on his return to Scotland shared in the defeat on the Border known as the "Foul raid." Nevertheless he frequently visited the English court and was on the point of joining that King in an expedition against the French. To France indeed he went, but it was to support Charles VII., who made him Duke of Touraine with the Town and celebrated Castle of Chinon as an appanage. These glories came to an end at the battle of Vernuil, in which the Duke, his son James, and his brother-in-law the Earl of Buchan were killed. By Princess Margaret, elder daughter of Robert III., Earl Archibald had two sons, Archibald who succeeded, and James who fell with his father at Vernuil.

ARCHIBALD, 1424-1439, 2nd Duke of Touraine and 5th Earl of Douglas, better known as a civilian than as a soldier, began life as a hostage for his father in England, and was there educated. While yet Master of Douglas he bore the title of Earl of Wigton and took part with the Dauphin of France against the pretensions of Henry V. For his conduct at Baugé he received the Earldom of Longueville and lands in Berry. He seems to have shared in the defeat of the Scottish auxiliaries at Crévant, after which he returned to Scotland, where he was regarded with great jealousy by James I., and resided chiefly at Bothwell. At the coronation of James II., then a boy, he became Lt.-General of the Kingdom, which office he held till his death. He was buried at St. Bride's where his effigy still remains. He left William his successor, David who was beheaded with his brother in 1440, and Margaret known as the "fair maid of Galloway."

WILLIAM, 1439-1440, third and last Duke of Touraine and sixth Earl of Douglas, though but fourteen years of age, was the heir to the vast estates and great political power of his family. His first act was to do homage for his Duchy, of which he retained nothing but the barren title. Parties in Scotland were at that time divided between the adherents of Sir Walter Crichton and Sir Alexander Livingstone, each seeking the

supreme power, and each jealous of the Queen's mother as having the charge of the infant King. Against a third and most dangerous rival both parties combined, and upon fabricated charges the young Earl and his brother were imprisoned and beheaded without form of law in the Castle Yard of Edinburgh.

At their death the Dukedom became extinct, but the estates were parted between their sister and heir of line who had the Lordship of Galloway, and the male heir who had Douglasdale and other male fiefs. Annandale only, under a special limitation, fell to the Earl of March, and soon afterwards by an attainder came to the Crown. The male heir was James, second son of Archibald the Grim, and great uncle to the last Duke.

JAMES Douglas, 1440-1443, seventh Earl of Douglas, called, from his corpulence, "the Gross," already enobled as Earl of Avondale and Lord Balveny, an impetuous and violent man, who had burned the town of Berwick and been guilty of the death of Sir David Fleming. He just lived to inherit the Douglas title, and left by his first wife six sons and four daughters. Of the sons WILLIAM, 1443-1452, the Long Willie of Godscroft, succeeded as eighth Earl of Douglas and second of Avondale. He married his cousin Margaret, the Maid of Galloway. It is recorded of him that he burned Alnwick and Warkworth, but he is best known in Scottish history from the fact that he was assassinated by James II, James with the fiery face, in breach of a safe conduct under the King's hand and seal. He died childless, and was succeeded by his brother.

JAMES, 1452-1488, ninth and last Earl of Douglas, was twin with his brother Archibald, created Earl of Moray. He was with his brother at the burning of Alnwick, and with him visited Rome. He came to terms with the King, and laid aside the avenging of his brother on condition of being allowed to marry the widow, which done the feud was resumed and broke out in open war, in which Douglas was worsted and fled to England, where he received the Garter from Edward IV. Many years afterwards, returning to Scotland he was made prisoner. He retired to the seclusion of Lindores Abbey, where he outlived James II and his son, to the former of whom the ruin of the Black Douglases must be attributed. The Earl's younger brothers were Archibald, Earl of Moray, and Hugh, Earl of Ormond; each had a son, but of them little is known save that one of them was Dean of Brechin, and thus came to an end the elder line of the Black Douglases, but neither the name nor the preeminence of the family was ended.

It has been stated that Archibald, the elder Tyne-man, and the younger brother of Sir James the Good, was father of William, the first Earl of Douglas, who by his second wife Margaret Stewart, Countess of Angus, was father of GEORGE Douglas, 1389-1402, to whom on his marriage with Princess Mary Stewart, daughter of Robert III, was granted the Earldom of Angus. His career was brief. He was taken at Homilden, and while a prisoner in London fell a victim to the plague when but twenty-five years of age. He was succeeded by his only son WILLIAM, 1382-1437, second Earl of Angus, then an infant. Soon after coming of age he accompanied the King on an expedition against the Lord of the Isles, and soon after went to England to negotiate the continuance of a truce, in which he succeeded, but on its rupture by the English he, as Warden

of the Marches, opposed their entry, and gained the victory of Piperden after very hard fighting. He also took an active part in the pursuit and capture of the murderers of James I. He died under the age of forty, leaving James and George successive Earls of Angus, and William of Cluny, guardian to James III and custos of his nephew's estates, but who died unmarried.

JAMES, 1437-1446, third Earl of Angus, seems to have suffered from the jealousy of his kinsman the Black Douglas. He was betrothed to Princess Jean, third daughter of James I., the dumb Lady of Dalkeith, but he died before the marriage was completed, and was succeeded by his brother George.

GEORGE, 1446-1462, Earl of Angus, styled by Godscroft "the Great Earl," since, during a career of but fifteen years he added very considerably to the power and dignity of the family. His capacity as a Warden on the Marches was early displayed when he amply avenged a Percy inroad and fought the battle of the Lochmaben stone. When the Black Douglas took up arms to avenge the murder of their chief by the King, Angus stood aside and took ample reward for his forbearance. His wardship of Tantallon was converted into a fee, and he had grants of the Kings customs of North Berwick and a charge upon those of Haddington. He built also the castle of Angus at the mouth of the Tay as the "caput" of that Earldom. He was present at the siege of Roxburgh Castle and was wounded by the explosion to which the King fell a victim. At the subsequent coronation a doubt having arisen as to the form to be followed, Angus himself placed the crown on the young King's head, with the words: "Now it is on your Majesty's head by my own setting: let me see who dare be so bold as to take it off again." His weight, inherited and personal, caused him to be regarded as the first person in kingdom. He opposed the regency of the Queen's mother, acquired a large share of the possessions of the Black Douglas, and wielded even more than their power. With the castles of Tantallon and Angus he commanded the mouths of the Forth and the Tay, and the Lord of Hermitage Castle was second to no chieftain on the Border. When Henry VI., took refuge in Edinburgh it was to Angus he applied for aid against his rebel subjects, offering him an English Earldom with an appanage upon the Trent and Humber. In consequence he invaded Northumberland with a force of 20,000 men, his first object being to relieve Alnwick Castle, then besieged by Edward IV. He so far succeeded that he rescued and removed the garrison. This, however, was the last act of his life, which came to an end very shortly afterwards. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

ARCHIBALD Douglas, 1463-1514, fifth Earl of Angus, surnamed "Bell the Cat." A most popular character in Scottish History and not the less so that his name has come under the wand of the great magician of these later times. He inherited and in no way diminished the vast power of his family. The Black Douglases between whom and their red kinsmen there had latterly been little love, had come to an end, and the power of the name was now undivided. The character of the young King was ill-suited to his position in such a country as Scotland. He cultivated the arts and sciences, especially music, and his habitual associates were men of low birth to the exclusion of the great nobles. The discontent broke out into open rebellion, and the King's army led

by Angus refused to obey their Sovereign. The most obnoxious of the royal favourites was a certain Cochrane whom the nobles decided to put to death. Lord Gray dwelt on the danger of the attempt, and related the fable of the mice who decided that a bell should be attached to the cat's collar to give warning of her approach, but who, said he, will tie on our bell. "I," said Earl Archibald, "I will bell the cat," and Cochrane was hanged over the bridge of Lauder, and the King was conducted to Edinburgh in guise of a captive, until set free by his brother Albany, when he fell back into his old habits and again the discontent broke out, which some years later led to the battle of Saunchie Burn and the violent death of James III., when the Earl became for a short time Guardian of the Realm. The Earl's position was too great to be secure, and his relations with the English Court were suspected to be of a treasonable character. In consequence he was compelled to surrender the lordship of Liddesdale and the Castle of Hermitage, possessions on the English Border, and ill-exchanged for Bothwell which became the seat of the Douglas power. Notwithstanding the distrust he manifested, Angus became Chancellor of Scotland and even held high office on the Border. The King, encouraged by a treaty with France, decided to invade England, contrary to the order of Angus, who however, when the step was taken mustered his vassals in support of it. On his recommending prudence the King on the battle field was so ill-advised at last to say that "if afraid he might return home." The aged Earl burst into tears at the unmannerly taunt and quitted the army, but he left his two sons to lead his men, and charged them to preserve the family standard. The result of the battle of Flodden is too well known. With the King the two Douglases and many of their followers were slain. The Earl remained loyal, and was present at the crowning of the infant King, and was of the Queen's Council of Regency; soon afterwards he died. Sir William Fraser in correction of Sir W. Scott and Tytler, and the Earl's boast that "no son of mine save Gawain e'er could pen a line," gives evidence that the Earl wrote a good hand, and adds a fac-simile of his clear bold signature. Of his sons, GEORGE, Master of Angus, fell at Flodden leaving issue. Sir William the second son, who also fell at Flodden, was ancestor of the line of Glenbervie. The third was Gavain, who "gave fair Scotland virgils page," and the fourth Sir Archibald, called by James V. his "Gray Steel," from his valour and ability of body, was of Kilspindie and ancestor of that branch now extinct. GEORGE, Master of Angus, fell at Flodden having had a sharp altercation with the King upon the battlefield. Of his sons, Archibald succeeded; Sir George was of Pittendrieck whose descendant continued the line, and the third William, Prior of Coldingham, was a conspicuous figure in the time.

ARCHIBALD, 1514-1556, sixth Earl of Angus, young and handsome and the head of the House of Douglas, married Margaret the Queen's mother, a clever, beautiful, and amorous woman, and thus became brother-in-law to Henry VIII and to Louis, the King of France. Margaret, with her husband's consent retained the regency which she had legally forfeited by her marriage, and they were opposed by Albany and a powerful body of the nobles, who also attempted to force the custody of the children. The Queen and her husband fled to England. On their return Angus was bitterly opposed by the Earl of Arran, and it was at a meeting of

the two parties that the Chancellor, striking his breast to attest upon his conscience his peaceable intention towards his brother Bishop, betrayed his armour beneath his rochet, and gave rise to the rejoinder "Methinks, my lord, your conscience clatters." The rejoinder was not confined to words, and Arran and the Hamiltons were put to flight in the well-remembered fray of "Clear the Causeway," notwithstanding which Albany succeeded in banishing the Earl to France, whence after a time he escaped to England. Soon after, the Queen, desirous to preserve her regency, by great interest at Rome, obtained a divorce, to which Angus refused to submit, and finally getting possession of the boy King regained most of his power, though opposed in arms by the Queen and Arran. The remainder of Angus's life was spent in warfare, sometimes with, but more frequently against, the King; the Earl being, more or less, supported by Henry VIII, a state of things which only ended with the death both of the Queen's mother and the King, when Arran and Angus came to terms, the Earl recovered his forfeited estate, and Lenox, who had arrived from France, married Lady Margaret. The Earl, after a life of great vicissitude, died peacefully at Tantallon, leaving daughters only, his son by his third wife having pre-deceased him.

DAVID Douglas, 1557, who succeeded as seventh Earl of Angus, was the son of Sir GEORGE Douglas, of Pittendriek, celebrated in Scottish diplomacy, and next brother to Archibald, the sixth Earl. He was never actually infeoffed of the family estate, and it seems doubtful if he was ever recognized as the Earl. He died within the year, and was succeeded by his son.

ARCHIBALD, 1557-1588, eighth Earl of Angus, who became also Earl of Morton. His life seems to have been chiefly employed upon the Border as Lieut.-General south of Forth, an appointment given him when but eighteen years old, by his uncle, the Regent Earl of Morton, to whom he gave strong support and was involved in consequence in the King's attack on Morton, upon whose death, standing alone and unsupported, he fled to England and became intimate with Sir Philip Sidney, and was afterwards employed by Elizabeth in her negotiations with the Scottish Court. James always distrusted him, but was forced to dissemble, and finally Angus received the Morton estates, and was replaced in power upon the Border. After an active life, and one full of events, he died at the early age of thirty-three years, leaving a great reputation for courage and resolution. He had but one child, Lady Margaret, and his title and the Angus estates passed to his cousin, the male heir.

WILLIAM Douglas, 1588-1591, of Glenbervis, the ninth Earl of Angus, was the great grandson of Bell-the-Cat, and grandson of Sir WILLIAM of Braidwood, who fell at Flodden with his elder brother George, Master of Angus. He was weak in body, and took little part in public affairs. His succession was at first opposed by the King, and he was put to great expense before he gained the Earldom, which he lived but a short time to enjoy. He left thirteen children, of whom William succeeded; Sir Robert held Glenbervie, and was ancestor of that branch, and Gavin and John were ancestors of the branches of Bridgeford and Barras, now extinct.

WILLIAM Douglas, 1591-1611, tenth Earl of Angus, who adhered to the old faith, was persecuted on that account by the King and Scottish Presbytery, and incurred something approaching a forfeiture. He obtained

his investiture as an Earl, but fearing the evident determination to effect his ruin he joined the northern Earls in their rising, but finally was received into favour, having nominally been reconciled to the Kirk, and by a considerable payment recovered his lands. The close of his life was spent at or near to St. Germain-des-Prés, where he was buried beneath a magnificent monument.

“Qui fueram, satus ille Heroibus, ingens  
Douglasidum princeps, Angusiacque Comes.”

Englished by Godscroft,

“Of the great Douglas sprung, and chiefest child,  
By Angus’ Earldom being only styled.”

Of the three sons William succeeded; Sir James of Mordington became Lord Mordington, whose male line failed in the fifth generation. Francis of Sandilands died childless.

WILLIAM, 1611-1660, eleventh Earl of Angus, being supposed to have Catholic sympathies, was regarded with suspicion, to escape which he travelled abroad for three years, and a little later visited France and Italy. He was formally recognised as Earl of Angus, with their privileges, one being the leadership of the van in battle. By Charles I he was created Marquis of Douglas. He was both Royalist and Episcopalian, and being attacked by the Covenant party visited England for a time, was present at and escaped from Philiphaugh, was fined by Cromwell, and at his death was buried before the high altar in the old Church of Douglas. He survived his eldest son Archibald, and was succeeded by his grandson. From his fourth son Lord William, those Dukes are descended. The fifth son George was created Earl of Dumbarton, a title now extinct.

Earl William seems to have had some taste for genealogical lore, since Scotto Conte d’ Agazano writes acknowledging his gift of “l’Albero della famiglia da vostra Signoria illustrissima.” His correspondent had written, claiming descent from the House of Douglas. The Italian House bore the same arms but being Guelphic partizans, and all things with odd numbers being considered Ghibelline, they had reduced the stars the two, and differenced the coat, it would seem, by a bird. The Scotti were of Piacenza and claimed to descend from a William Conte de Douglas, contemporary with Charles the Great, a somewhat mythical origin. The Earl at that time, 1626, contemplated taking service with the Venetians.

James 1660-1700, second Marquis of Douglas and twelfth Earl of Angus, succeeded his grandfather while still under age. He paid little attention to public affairs, held with William of Orange against James II., but the heavy debts which he had inherited and the loose management of his estate brought on embarrassments which continued until his death. He had three sons of whom James died before his father. The others in succession bore the title and the daughter was Lady Jane whose claim caused the famous Douglas cause. The eldest son JAMES bore the courtesy title of Earl of Angus—he commanded the Angus or Cameronian regiment, at the head of which he fell unmarried at the battle of Steinkirk in 1692. William his next brother succeeded, but also died before the father, unmarried. Their successor was the third brother.

The heir male, and therefore the head of the House of Douglas was the Duke of Hamilton, who became twenty-fourth Earl of Angus, but the heir of line was the Duke's sister, Lady Jane, who had married Sir John Stewart of Grand Tully and had led a wandering and adventurous life. Her claim to the estates gave occasion to the famous Douglas cause, fought hardily, and at a great length, but decided at last, on appeal, in her favour. Her son, who finally inherited, was created Baron Douglas, 1790, a title which failed with the fourth Lord whose half sister and heiress married Lord Montagu. Their elder daughter and coheir inherited the Douglas estates and married the Earl of Home, whose son, the present Earl, is their actual possessor.

The Douglas Book is composed of four very substantial volumes, of which the two first contain the pedigrees and the biographies of the Black or Red Douglasses, that is of the houses of Douglas and of Angus. The third and fourth volumes contains the family charters, preceded by very full and very well executed abstracts. These are followed by the charters themselves given at length, mostly in Latin, but some in Lowland Scotch. Many of the armorial seals are engraved, and fac-similes are given of many of the most important charters and of several of the signatures. The fourth volume also contains letters official and domestic, with a fac-simile of one from the Queen of James VI., and plates of several seals and signatures, the whole completed by a very copious and most useful index.

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Lieut.-General PITT-RIVERS, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c. Printed privately, 1892.  
Vol. III.

The volume now before us, though titled differently from its two predecessors,<sup>1</sup> is numbered in continuation of them: it is an imperial quarto of 308 pages of letter-press, and contains, in addition, seventy-three maps and plates, and numerous relic tables. It records General Pitt-Rivers' investigations into the dates of the two great Dykes, known respectively as the Wansdyke, a continuous work of some sixty miles in length, and the Bokerly Dyke, of only about four. These two, though not continuous works, defend the whole south-west promontory of England, including Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, Devonshire, Cornwall, and part of Hants, from an attack from the north and east. Numerous conjectures have been put forward to account for them, the most generally received opinion, and that favoured by Stukeley and Dr. Guest, being that they were pre-Roman and Belgic. But no attempt had been made to put opinions to the test by the only means capable of affording actual proof, viz., by rampart digging. This General Pitt-Rivers has now done, and we give in his own words the conclusion that he has arrived at. He says:—

The result of my excavations has been to narrow the field of inquiry very considerably. Within the limits clearly defined in the present volume, the date of both works has been fixed upon unassailable evidence. Both works, at the places where I excavated them, are Roman or post-Roman. The Belgic theory has been completely overturned, and, although the question of a Romano-British or Saxon origin is still open for future inquiry, some probabilities only pointing towards the former

<sup>1</sup> Notices of these volumes will be found in this *Journal*, Vol. xlv, p. 311, and Vol. xvi, p. 78.



hypothesis, no reasonable man can ever again assert that either of these Dykes, at the spots where I examined them, are pre-Roman, or that the Bokerly Dyke was erected previously to the time of the Emperor Honorius, that is to say, previously to the time when the Roman legions evacuated Britain.

We own to some feeling of regret that the Belgic theory of Dr. Guest, one of the early and ablest leaders of the Institute, has been so completely bowled over, but *magna est veritas*, and Dr. Guest himself would have been among the first to recognise the force of the cogent evidence that the general's spades and picks have unearthed. Other places cry aloud for investigation on the lines followed by General Pitt-Rivers—the Cambridgeshire Dykes for instance, recently visited by the Institute, under the careful guidance of Professors Clark and Ridgeway, while the Great Barrier of Hadrian has been but scratched at—no one camp on the Barrier has been thoroughly excavated and turned up: sections only have been dealt with. Surely the great Newcastle Society of Antiquaries might manage to do something more systematic and more thorough, and we are glad to learn, from the report of their last annual meeting, that they are now contemplating a commencement. Their sister society of Cumberland and Westmorland has this year been at work on the Roman Camp on Hardknott Fell; with what results we know not, but we hope they will not desist until they have turned over every sod in the camp, and its suburbs. Further north, the Glasgow Antiquaries have been doing good work on the wall of Antoninus. Of Silchester we need not to speak, save to express a hope that the public will give the funds for the thorough completion of that job (to use an expressive, but vulgar phrase), and that, Silchester completed, Wroxeter will be next taken in hand. Further, some prehistoric settlements [towns, villages, or habitations] should be thoroughly excavated. General Pitt Rivers points out that our knowledge of prehistoric weapons, tools, and implements is mainly derived from graves and tumuli; these are easily dug into and examined, and the relics found are of value, and attractive, when placed in museums. But the examination of a town or an encampment is a tedious and costly undertaking; large funds are required, and unless the investigator owns the land, on which the town or encampment is situate, a heavy surface rent has frequently to be paid. It is not every would-be-investigator, who can take up the magnanimous position assumed by General Pitt-Rivers when he retired from the Army and “determined to devote the remaining portion of my life to an examination of the Antiquities on my own property.” There is no reason to despair; the older antiquaries stirred little from their books and their libraries. Camden first took to roaming about the country and to recording what he found; Stukeley and others followed his example, and Guest, Freeman and Green took to field work, and brought historical records and topographical observations into scientific alliance, while the General has gone one beyond them in scientific research, has dived under the sod, and emerged again, replete with interesting and unassailable discoveries. He will have his imitators, his school of followers, though they may be few at first, and though we are afraid the country gentlemen of means, whose game, as the General says, has been presented by a paternal government to their tenants, and who have been deprived of the part that some of them have hitherto taken in the management of local affairs, are not likely in these days of

agricultural depression to be able to devote much of their means to archæology. Perhaps the *novi homines* of wealth may take to the work by way of alliance with the soil: they might do worse. We are, however, wandering rather far from the volume now before us and must hark back.

The General in his very interesting preface suggests several questions for the consideration of working archæologists: these we reproduce, as some of our readers may not have the opportunity of seeing them, viz:—1. at what date iron nails for wood-work were first introduced into Britain: 2. what kind and quality of pottery was in common use at different periods? 3. at what date red Samian was first introduced from abroad: 4. at what period in the world's history flint flakes ceased to be fabricated and used for any purpose? The General points out that nails, pottery and flint flakes, wherever they were employed, became thickly strewed in the soil, and were thrown with it into every rampart or tumulus that was raised, and into every pit that was filled up: could nails, pot sherds and flint flakes be dated as coins can, we should have trustworthy evidence as to the dates of works with which they are found associated. With this in view, he further suggests that the sites of ancient potteries and the classification of the different wares should be made, as they have not yet been, the subject of serious study. Reading, indeed, this preface, it is forcibly impressed upon one's mind that many archæologists, (shall we say the majority of archæologists!) have been indulging in speculating boldly in subjects whose grammar is but little known to them.

The first map in volume III is an "Ancient map of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and part of Hants." The General is much more cautious than the compilers of the archæological surveys of counties now being slowly published in *Archæologia*, where remains are classified under the heads of pre-Roman, Roman, post-Roman, and doubtful: the General knows but two divisions, ancient and modern, and with his experience he is quite right to do so, but the surveys published by the Society of Antiquaries include a reference to everything that is in print about any particular ancient work, and the student can refer to the evidence for its assignment to any class: nor should there be any difficulty, when the proposed annual index of *Archæological papers* appears in adding the inevitable corrections the spade will make.

Volume III commences with a brief, but clear *résumé* of the first two volumes, that is mainly of excavations at Woodcuts and Rotherly and the deductions to be drawn therefrom. Then follow some important observations upon ancient military earthworks, which we venture to condense. Isolated camps, though pretty evenly distributed over a county, were not intended for the defence of a particular district, but were the refuges of some local tribe, inhabiting their vicinity, to which they resorted when attacked by some neighbouring tribe. They imply a low state of civilisation, before the inhabitants of any large district had attained to such organisation as was necessary for combined defence. When the people advanced to a higher state of civilisation, and several tribes combined for the defence of a district, it was not by detached forts, but by great dykes or continuous lines of ditch and bank, the latter probably surmounted by a stockade, running for miles along the open country, from an inaccessible

position on one flank to some other natural defence on the other. That some of these dykes now appear to us to terminate *en l'air* is due to the disappearance of forests, the draining of marshes, or even to the total surface obliteration of lengths of dyke under long cultivation.

Such a dyke, four miles long, is the Bokerly Dyke. The General's excavations have clearly proved its Roman or post-Roman character, not only by the coins turned up in it, but by the fact that, in part of its course, it overlies a Romano-British settlement similar to, and therefore of the same date with, those at Woodcuts and Rotherly. From the evidence of the coins and other *indicia* the General fixes the date of the Bokerly Dyke as not much earlier than A.D. 520, when the West Saxons, under Cerdic and Cynric, after having taken Sorbiodunum, advanced westward to the capture of Mons Badonicus. The date of the greater work, the Wansdyke cannot be so closely approximated, but is Roman or post-Roman. It is needless to say that careful plans are given of all the excavations, and that all the relics found are recorded in elaborately arranged relic tables, and that most of them are both engraved and described. These descriptions and engravings, together with those in the preceding volumes, form a comprehensive guide to very large classes of objects of antiquity and will be most valuable, even indispensable, to workers for purposes of comparison and identification. Incidentally our author raises many curious questions in the description of these relics, of which one is the date of the introduction of the so-called Samian ware into this country, and whether some may not have reached here in the cause of trade prior to the advent of the Romans. By the way, there is now a movement in favour of calling this ware pseudo-Aretine and we are glad to find General Pitt-Rivers, after consultation with Mr. Franks, advocates adhering to the term Samian; we would commend to the school of antiquaries who are bitten by the craze for a correct nomenclature, what the General says, and especially do we commend it to the silver men who would abolish "knop" for "knot"—

In fact, it appears to me, that if the principle of endeavouring to change the names of things, whenever a flaw is discovered in the derivation of them, were to be applied generally, it would entail a perpetual revision of all languages, and would bring about such a confusion of tongues, as has never been known since the catastrophe at the Tower of Babel.

Leaving potsherds and turning to coins, the General gives several plates and elaborate descriptions of those found during the Bokerly Dyke excavations, mainly third brass, 1210 in number, and barbarian imitations of ordinary types. Three hypotheses are advanced to account for the large number found:—

(1) That the settlement was attacked by an enemy and the inhabitants driven away without giving them time to collect their treasures; against this may be put the fact that only one silver coin was found in the whole series, and that the other relics discovered consist mostly of rubbish, or of objects accidentally lost. (2) That the finds of coins consisted of small hoards concealed by their owners, on leaving the place, to serve in the wars or for other causes, and that they never returned to claim them; against this view the small value of the coins must also be said to militate. (3) That upon the excavation of Britain by the Romans, their small bronze coinage having no intrinsic value was disused, and thrown away; in favour of this view, it may be said that, that the people who made the Dyke evidently took no notice of the coins when they came across them in digging the ditch, but threw them up with the soil into the rampart.

The last hypothesis is certainly the most probable, but it would not apply to the Roman cities of the North of England where silver *denarii* and first and second brass coins occur strewn about, in much greater number than third brass. The skulls and skeletons found have been dealt with in as thorough a manner as the potsherds and coins, and Dr. J. G. Garson supplies some valuable notes thereon.

At the end of the volume some minor investigations are recorded, a hoard of coins from Denland, in Dorset; skulls from Hunsbury Camp, Northampton, and from Llantwit Major, near Cardiff. In short appendices the General discusses, to dismiss, the suggestion that Bokerly Dyke may have been a gigantic deer trap, such as one on the fells above Coniston, and gives an account of the models at the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Farnham.

In concluding our notice of these wonderful volumes, we can only say that all archæologists owe a debt of gratitude to the author for the generous liberality with which he places the results of his labours at their service; we would add that any man, who gets up well his Pitt-Rivers, will himself thereby become an accomplished archæologist. One thing more, a life-like portrait of the General forms the frontispiece; long may he be spared to continue his labours.

CALDER ABBEY. By Rev. A. G. LOFTIE, B.A. Bemrose & Sons, London, and Derby, 1892. 2nd Edition.

Calder Abbey is a charming, but little known Cistercian house in West Cumberland. The accounts of it in the county histories are meagre, in the extreme, as well as contradictory and untrustworthy. That it is but little known is due to the fact that the domestic buildings have, from the Dissolution down to the present day, been the residence of squires of high degree, who still dine in the Cistercian refectory, while the church and cloister form their garden and pleasure grounds: even the most hardened antiquary, under these circumstances, feels somewhat modest about intruding. The situation, too, has until comparatively recent days, been off the tourists' lines, but the growth of Seascale as a watering place has altered this, and a demand for a good account of the Abbey has arisen. For the making of such, a competent man has been found in the vicar of the parish, an enthusiastic admirer of the Abbey, and a painstaking antiquary, who has carefully studied Mr. Micklethwaite's writings on the Cistercian plan, and who has had the advantage, during a change of ownership, of being able to roam all over the mansion house, when it was utterly devoid of either inhabitants or furniture.

Mr. Loftie has produced a most commendable little book of 110 pages, in three parts; in the first he deals with the existing remains to which he supplies an admirable guide; in the other two parts he brings the history of the house down from its foundation to the present day, and in so doing he has devoted much original research to elucidating points which had been obscured by the county historians; altogether this is a model little book, and has a good plan and some excellent sketches.

# Archaeological Journal.

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DECEMBER, 1892.

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## ON THE INDOOR GAMES OF SCHOOL BOYS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

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

About twenty years since I became convinced, for reasons to be given later, that certain "cup markings" arranged in squares of nine in the benches of the cloister of Westminster Abbey, are the work of school boys in the monks' time, and not as at first seemed likely of those of the present school, who for years used the cloister for a playing place. In 1875 I mentioned them, and tried to explain their meaning in a paper on the Abbey buildings of Westminster, which is printed in the thirty-third volume of the *Archaeological Journal*. I soon found like markings in other places especially in cloisters, and after a time noticed other markings associated with them. Some of these are only scratched on the stone, and not seen till looked for, and I do not doubt that I passed over others like them, before I had learned to look. I have often directed the attention of members of the Institute to these things, when we have met with them during our country meetings, and although they are but trifles, I think they are worth a more lasting notice, before the demon "Restoration" sweeps them all away with other things of more importance.

For some years Mr. St. John Hope, has been noting such examples as he has found, and he has passed on his collection to me for use in this paper, which, therefore, gives the result of his labour as well as mine.

The "board" of nine holes (Fig. 1) is found on the benches of the Benedictine cloisters of Westminster, Canterbury and Norwich, and of the secular cloister of Chichester. And the device shown on Fig. 2, which gives nine points,

and belongs to the same game as Fig. 1, exists in the cloisters of Norwich and Gloucester, and in that of Salisbury. These are a fair proportion of the old English cloisters which the destroyer and the "restorer" have allowed to remain. But search, in any, seldom fails to detect examples of these play boards, or of the others shortly to be described.

They are also sometimes found in other places. There are examples of both Fig. 1 and Fig. 2, cut into a stone bench in the north porch of the parish church of Ardeley, in Hertfordshire, and one of Fig. 1, cut on a fifteenth century pew, in the church of Heydon, in Norfolk, and there is even one on an altar step in the south east chapel of the north transept of the Cathedral church of Lincoln. I am not quite sure that this last is a board for playing on. It may have had another use, but a drastic "Restoration" has taken away such evidence as there may have been to tell of it<sup>1</sup>

All the examples quoted so far have been found in or about churches, and it will generally be so with the other kinds of boards to be described soon. But that comes only of the greater permanence of church buildings. There is not anything in the games specially either clerical or ecclesiastical, and they were played generally in houses and in the fields, although the visible traces of them seldom remain. What may be an example of an outdoor play-board was described, at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on 20th January, 1887, and a photograph of it shown by the Rev. E. B. Savage. It is a stone from the fence of an old graveyard at Ballagawn, Arbory, in the Isle of Man.<sup>2</sup> On it are, amongst other cup-shaped sinkings, nine arranged as in Fig. 1. The date is very uncertain, but, judging from the photograph only, I thought it mediæval. It should, how-

<sup>1</sup> This is a good example of the purely mischievous "restoration" of which antiquaries complain. Everything is new except the one old stone with the holes in it, and that has been trimmed up, and there is no warrant that it is in its old place. If this had been done to meet some modern need there would have been an excuse for it. But the chapel is not used, and without altar, and the destruction of the old steps was only a sacrifice to that morbid desire to have all things

new which possesses so many of those who have the keeping of our ancient buildings. The men who did the work no doubt thought themselves very "conservative" because they left this one old stone, which even they could see had an interest of its own. They have made it look like a patch of old faded cloth of gold in a smart new coat of broadcloth.

<sup>2</sup> Proceedings Society of Antiquaries, 2nd Series xi., p. 239.

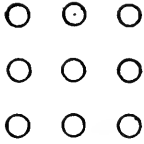


Fig 1

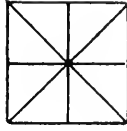


Fig 2

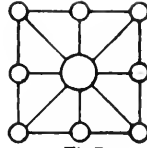


Fig 3

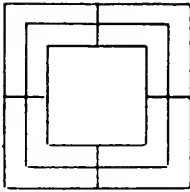


Fig 4

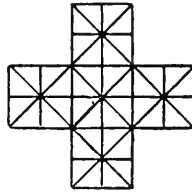


Fig 5

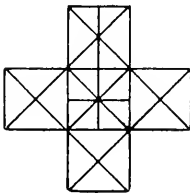


Fig 6

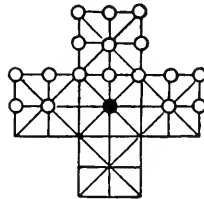


Fig 7

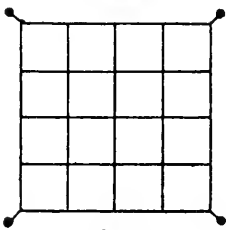


Fig 8

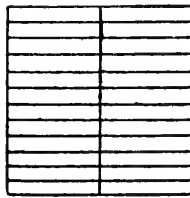


Fig 9

Game Boards.





ever, be noticed that every group of nine holes arranged in a square is not a play board. Sometimes the position shews this, as, for example, two small ones, the work of some idle fellow, on the east outside jamb of the south door of the nave of Kemscott Church, Oxon, which could not be played upon, though the form may have been suggested by the play board. A cresset stone of nine cups might take the same form, but I do not remember to have seen one with it.

The game for which these boards were made is still played on curbstones and doorsteps, but I have not found it described in any of the books. The only name for it I have met is *Knockings in and out*, which is, or was, a few years ago in use in London. I think I have met with *In and out* as the name of a childish game, but I cannot now find the passage. *Nine holes* is sometimes mentioned, but I believe that to be the name of a game of a different kind. The "men" in our game are pebbles or fruit stones, which, with the bones of animals used for food, have served for playthings from the beginning of the human race. Each player has three, and they begin by setting them down alternately, the object of each being to get his three men in a row, exactly as in the game of *tick, tack, toe*; or *oughts and crosses*, which I suppose still survives wherever slate and pencil are used as implements of education. If neither player succeeds in the setting on of the men, which should be the case if both are awake, they move their men alternately along the lines of Fig. 2 until one gets his three in a line.

I describe the game as I found it played in London, and there is more play in it than might be thought from the simplicity of the directions. Its fault, so far as I have tried it, is that it is apt to run into a dead lock, in which each player has one or two moves backwards and forwards, which neither help his game nor spoil his adversary's. There may once have been complications in the game which are lost now. Each of the Westminster boards has a line cut from the central hole to the middle one of one side, and this most likely had a meaning in the game. And at Norwich some of the boards have both lines and holes, but with the middle hole much larger than the others, as in Fig. 3. This may be only caprice, or it may

be intended to make the board serve also for the play with huckle bones which we shall come to soon.

Fig. 4 shews a board which is found cut in several places on the benches of the cloisters at Gloucester and Salisbury, and Mr. Hope found another, cut on a stone taken from an old wall in Scarborough Castle, and evidently intended to be played upon before the stone was set. It belongs to the game of *Nine men's morris*, which is remembered now chiefly from Shakespeare's mention of it, in a well known passage.<sup>1</sup> I have never met with anyone who played the game, but I doubt not it is still played, for I have seen the board chalked on a doorstep in London, and pebbles lying on it within the last twenty years. Strutt describes it, and others after him. But his rules need supplementing by any who wish to play the game. I have tried it, and find it at least as good a game as draughts. It may be considered an expanded form of the *In and Out* game. Each player has nine men, and the board gives twenty-four points. The players set their men on the board alternately, each trying to get three of his own in a row. When he has made a three, he may take off any one of his adversary's men that he chooses, except that he may not break into an already made three if he can obtain his due without it. When all the men are on the board the players move them from point to point along the lines, still trying to make threes, until one wins by taking all the other's men.

Some rule is wanted to regulate the re-forming of threes, as that the same three men shall not count twice upon the same points. And there is a doubt whether in the old game, the men could be moved and threes formed diagonally at the corners. The old boards have not diagonal lines there, though modern ones have. The game may be played either way, and from my small experience, I will not venture an opinion as to which is the better.

Fig. 5 is the board for *Four and Geese*. It is found on the cloister benches of Gloucester Cathedral and elsewhere, and there are several on the twelfth century tomb at Salisbury mis-called Lord Stourton's, and moved from the choir into the nave at Wyatt's "restoration." The game is now played on a wooden board, marked as Fig. 5, and with

<sup>1</sup> *Midsummer Night's Dream*, act ii, sc. 2.

holes at the points, and pegs to play with. I remember having a set given me when I was a boy, and although we voted the game poor fun, the board and pegs were turned to a variety of good uses.

Fig. 7 shews the setting on of the pieces. The black spot in the middle is the fox, and the seventeen white ones are the geese. The pieces are moved from point to point along the lines and only one point at a time, except that the fox takes by jumping over a goose next to him, if the point beyond is free. The object of the fox, is thus to take all the geese, and the geese try to shut in the fox so that he cannot move, in which case he is beaten. If the geese were anything else but geese, the fox would have no chance in the game.

Fig. 6, which is from Gloucester, looks more like a variety than an unfinished example of Fig. 5, but it may be either.

One round hole scooped in a stone with a knife is scarcely enough even for an antiquary to raise a theory on. It may have been made by anybody at any time. But when a number of them are found associated with figures which are known to be play boards, it is a fair inference that some at least of them have been made for like use. And many single holes are found on the same benches as the figures already described.

Some games now played with marbles could be played on these holes. But the marble, although without doubt it is nearly allied to the pebble, is itself but a modern. It is the product of civilisation and commerce, a manufactured toy, a shop thing implying the possession of pocket-money by those who use it. The implements of really primitive games were not bought but found, and the only tool used about them was the knife, which has been part of a school-boy's outfit ever since the days of Cadmus.

The games for which these single holes were made were, I believe, some of those exercises of dexterity of hand by throwing and catching, which seem to have always been in use, and are so still. So lately as my mother's girl-days—some sixty years ago—they were practised in English ladies' schools, but I do not think they are to be found there now. Then they still used bones, the small bones of calves' feet, from which jelly was made before modern science taught

the cooks to make it of glue. They had also substitutes of earthenware made somewhat after the form of the bones, and I can remember such when I was a boy, though I cannot remember ever to have seen the actual bones used. In Lancashire they called the things in either form *jacks*. In Yorkshire we now call them *checks*, or more commonly since the change of material, *pot checks*. I exhibit a set—4 checks and a ball—lately bought in Wakefield for a half-penny. These shew a sad falling off from the ancient form, though I can still see in them a memory of the bone from which they are derived. As a game which has come down by tradition from the remotest times, the modern form of it has an interest for antiquaries, and as I have not found it described in any book, I have put into a note at the end of this paper, a description of it gathered from experts by the lady to whose kindness I owe the specimens of the checks.

I have no doubt that some form of the game was played in some of the holes which we find on the benches in cloisters and church porches. In playing with pot-checks a ring is drawn on the stone which serves for a table, but I have seen a hole used.

*Cherry pit*, which is no more than trying to throw a handful of cherry stones or the like, so that all shall fall into the hole, is another probable game.

I have described the boards most often found, but there are others, and some of them I can not explain the use satisfactorily, and I shall be glad of help from any who can give it. At Salisbury there is a chequer board of sixteen squares (Fig. 8) cut on the bench on the Garth side of the East Cloister walk. It is carefully done, and the alternate squares are slightly sunk shewing that the squares were played upon and not the points of intersection. The form suggests something like draughts, which we play on a board of sixty-four squares only because we use a chess board. There is not anything in the game to require that number, but it cannot be played on a board of less than twenty-five. So this of sixteen must have been used differently.

On the bench, in the second bay from the eastern church door, in the cloister of Norwich Cathedral, are eight small holes in a right line, which were probably used in some game



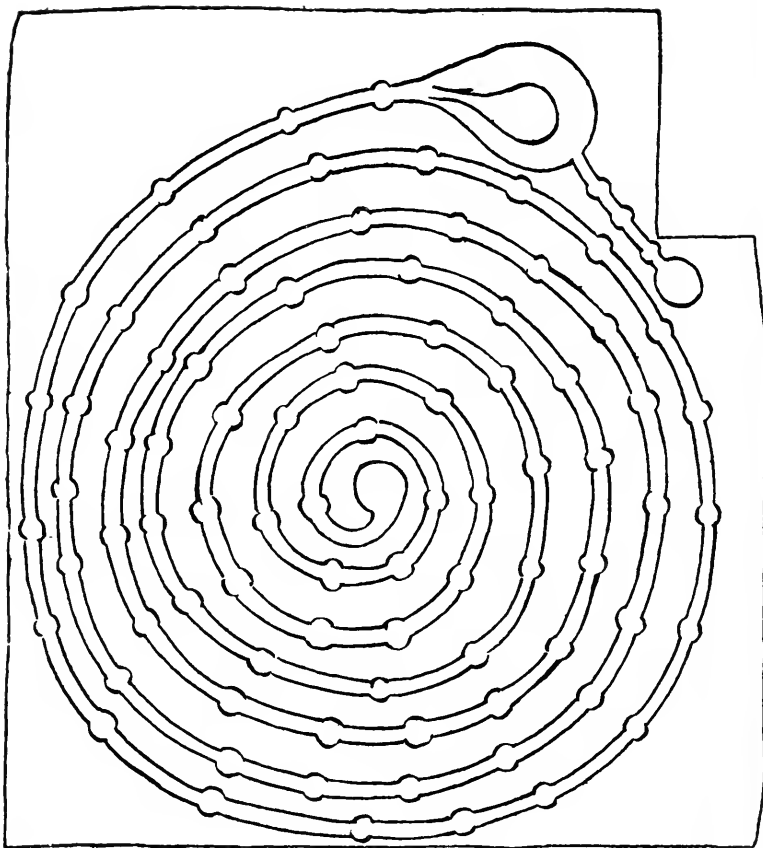


Fig. 10.

Game Board from Norwich Castle. Size of Original, 10 in. by 9 in.

In works recently carried out at Norwich Castle, several game boards cut upon stones have been brought to light, amongst them an *in and out* board and a *morris* board and one for *fox and geese*. There is also one with a number of parallel lines, divided down the middle by one line at right angles with the others (Fig. 9). This is for the game of *tables*, which now survives as backgammon. There were various ways of playing, but in all each player had to bring forward his men from point to point by alternate throws of the dice until one of them won by taking his all *home* or out of the board. The use of dice is not against the antiquity of the game, for any boy could make them for himself. I remember them being made at school by rubbing down marbles,<sup>1</sup> and properly selected pebbles would serve as well. The earliest dice, however, were natural bones, and they are amongst the most ancient and widely distributed of play-things.

Another very curious board from Norwich castle is a long spiral line of seven turns, with holes at the start and in the middle, and eighty-three smaller holes or points at about equal distances along the line. The line is continued outwards and has three small holes and a final larger one, beyond that which I have assumed to be the start. (Fig. 10.) I have not any evidence as to the game played on this, but I suspect that it also was played with dice, and was something like the modern *steeple chase* game, each player moving his piece forward according to his throw, and probably having to go back or to lose his turn, if he lighted on a point already occupied.

In conclusion something must be said about the date of these play boards. Those which have been found built up in walls must be as old or older than the walls. Most of them were probably made by the builders of the walls to play on during their leisure time, and so were of the same date. I do not know whether the Norwich examples were found in position, or the age of the walls from which they

<sup>1</sup> This was merely for the pleasure of the making. We did not play with dice. The school equivalent was a *scoperil*, which was a sort of top spun with the fingers, and having six or eight sides which were numbered. A piece of card-

board cut the required shape and with a peg—generally a bit of slate pencil—thrust through it made a *scoperil*. We sometimes played with it for nuts, but sitting down games of any sort were little used by us.

came. But Mr. Hope says that the Scarborough stone came from a fourteenth century wall, and he is as good a judge of such a matter as most men.

For the last three centuries and a half cloisters everywhere in England have been open passages, and there have generally been schoolboys about. It is therefore not unlikely that they should have left behind them such traces as these play boards. But if they are of later date they would not be found to be distributed in monastic cloisters with respect to the monastic arrangement; and we do find them so. At Westminster Abbey they are only found in the north-west corner, which, if the arrangement agreed with that at Durham, as there is reason to believe it did, was the place of the school. At Norwich, where the game boards are very many, they are found in every part of the cloister except the north walk, where the monks had their library and studies. At Gloucester the *morris* and *fox and geese* boards are in the north walk, and the simpler *in and out* boards in the west walk, and none is found in the south, which was the monks' side, or in the east, which was most used by them as a passage way. At Canterbury the play boards are found only in the south walk, which is that against the church, and so according to the usual plan it would be the monks' place. But I think it was not so there, as that walk was the passage between the Archbishop's palace and the quire. We do not really know what the arrangement of the cloister was at Canterbury.

In the secular cloister of Salisbury the boards are only found in the east walk between the Chapter House door and that towards the Bishop's Palace. I can give no reason for this, unless it be that a school was kept there, which is not unlikely. We know that till comparatively late times school was held in the Cloister at Winchester College during the summer.

As the games themselves did not die out it is remarkable that all the boards noticed are cut upon stone or wood, which was wrought at the latest before the middle of the sixteenth century. And this is a further confirmation of their antiquity.

Perhaps an apology is due to the Institute for taking up time with such small matters, but to me the games



which amused the children who were our own ancestors are as interesting as those over which Davus and Geta idled away their time and quarreled in the Roman forum.

## NOTE.

## ON THE MANNER OF PLAYING WITH POT CHECKS AT WAKEFIELD.

The set of pot checks, which represents five huckle bones, now consists of four checks and a ball about the size of a large marble. The checks are something like dice, but only two opposite sides are plain, the other four being fluted. The table played on is generally a doorstep, and it is made ready by drawing a ring upon it with anything handy which will make a mark—ours is not a chalk country. There are twelve figures or movements to be gone through as follow. Some have special names, but I do not learn that all have.

I. The player, taking the checks and ball in the right hand, throws down the checks, keeping the ball in the hand. If any check fall outside the ring the player is “down.” There is skill needed in the throwing of the checks in this and the following movements, so that they may be conveniently placed for taking up in the proper order. The checks being scattered, the player throws up the ball, takes up one check, and catches the ball as it comes down, or, as it is sometimes played, after it has bounced once from the step. This is repeated till all the checks are taken up.

II. As the last figure, but the checks are taken up two at a throw.

III. As the last, but at the first throw one check, called the *horse*, is taken up, and at the second the remaining three checks at once, called the *cart*.

IV. As before, but all the checks taken up together.

V. Called *ups and downs*. The checks are taken up at one throw, and set down outside the ring at the next. This is done first with one, then with two, and so on.

VI. Each check is touched in turn as the ball is thrown.

VII. The checks as separately pushed out of the ring.

VIII. Each check in turn is taken up and knocked against the ground.

IX. Each check is taken up and tapped upon another.

X. The checks are first arranged three in a line, touching each other, and the fourth placed at the top of that at one end of the row. This is called the cradle. It has to be taken down check by check, and if, in taking one, another is moved the player is out.

XI. Like the last, but the checks are put one above another to make a *chimney*.

XII. Called the *dish clout*. I know not why, unless it be that it wipes up the game. The movement used in taking up the checks is thus described:—"Take hold of the sleeve of the right hand with the left; throw up the ball, and twist your right hand underneath and over your left, and catch the ball. With the hand still twisted throw up the ball and untwist and catch it." The checks are picked up in the course of the twisting.

These I am told are the orthodox movements; and I do not doubt that in them there is much of very old tradition, although the tenth and eleventh must have been either added or modified since pot checks came into use, for the figures could not be built up with the natural bones. Some other movements are sometimes used according to fancy, as for example the clapping of the ground with the palm of the hand, before taking up the checks and catching the ball. My authority does not mention the form of play which classical students know best—that in which the bones were thrown up and caught on the back of the hand. But I believe it is played with pot checks with a difference, the checks—five or more—being thrown from the back of the hand and caught in the palm.

I am told that in the iron districts of Staffordshire, the round bits of iron punched out in making rivet holes in boiler plates, are the modern representatives of huckle bones.

REMARKS SUGGESTED BY DR. RAVEN'S "CALEDONIAN  
CAMPANALOGY."<sup>1</sup>

By JOSEPH BAIN, F.S.A. Scot.

Few Scotsmen, as Dr. Raven justly infers in his opening remarks, know anything of the old parish church bells, still to be found here and there north of Tweed, the attention of those interested in bells having been chiefly directed to the small Celtic hand bells. It is quite new to myself, and doubtless to most others connected with the West of Scotland, that so interesting a bell as the "tongueless *Katerina*" is still to be found in the tower of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow. I feel pretty sure that not one of the historians of the city makes the least mention of it. The date given by Dr. Raven as 1554, no doubt from personal inspection, is just three years after the enthronement of James Beaton, the last pre-Reformation archbishop of the see. The records of the city for this period are very scanty, and it is not likely that anything more of this bell can be learned, beyond what it tells of itself, for which we are indebted to the researches of Dr. Raven.

Something more, however, can be said on the subject of the Great bell of the Cathedral, which, Dr. Raven says, "records its fabrication in Holland in 1583, by the gift of Marcus Knox, a merchant in Glasgow." He adds: "It was re-cast by Thomas Mears of the Whitechapel foundry in 1790." The re-casting is undoubted—not so the alleged gift by Knox, and the casting in Holland. These two "fabrications" have passed current for more than 150 years. The former is due to the fertile imagination of John McUre, the first historian of Glasgow—the foreign origin of the bell is a later addition, unheard

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, vol. xlix, p. 10 (by J. J. Raven, D.D., F.S.A. Read 13 Aug. 1891). The delay in making the following remarks is accounted for by the present writer

not having heard Dr. Raven's paper at Edinburgh, and only seen it in print a few weeks ago.

of till the bell was recast in 1790. McUre, who published his book in 1736, when describing the Cathedral and its western tower or campanile (demolished by an act of vandalism about fifty years ago) says there were then two large bells in that tower, the larger one "gifted by Marcus Knox, merchant in Glasgow, at the Reformation"—a statement repeated by every city historian since his day, sometimes with apocryphal additions of their own. There is no authority for this assertion, in the council records of the city of Glasgow, which are extant, tolerably complete, from the year 1581. There is on the other hand, written evidence founding the strongest presumption that the two bells in the western tower were given by Archbishop Dunbar, the predecessor of Archbishop Betoun. In his will, confirmed on 30th May, 1548,<sup>1</sup> he directed his executors to pay a bell founder—whose name is somewhat uncertain, but reads like "Amis"—for making and founding two bells, their carriage, hanging, and other expenses (as in his contract with the workman), the sum of 196*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.*, and for the repair of the campanile (the western tower) in which they were to be hung, 106*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

One of his executors, James Houstoun, was sub-dean of Glasgow, and there is no doubt he fulfilled the Archbishop's directions as to the bells and tower. Houstoun himself founded the collegiate church of St. Mary and St. Anne in Glasgow, and died in 1551. From three entries in the minutes of the Town Council of Glasgow, on 28 June and 2 August, 1595, and 4 November, 1596,<sup>2</sup> it seems certain that the larger of these bells had been cracked or damaged so as to require re-casting, and the cost of this was defrayed by a tax of 700*l.* Scots, laid upon the town's people, called "the extent of the bell." On the last of these dates, the council minute bears, that count and reckoning being made with Arthur Allan, concerning the price of "the Hie Kirk<sup>3</sup> bell," there is found to have been paid to him of the entire price of the bell (which was 1002*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* and expenses of "hamebringing" thereof), these amounts, viz., the old bell metal 198*l.* 9*s.*,

<sup>1</sup> Now in the General Register House, Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> *Burgh Record Society*, vol. i, pp. 168,

169, 182.

<sup>3</sup> The local name for the Cathedral.

and the tax or stent, &c., 760*l.*, making the balance due to him 50*l.* 11*s.*<sup>1</sup> The first entry shows that the contract for re-casting was made with him on 1 October, 1594, and it is evident from his name he was not a foreigner.

These council minutes also show that there was, at this very date, a burghess of Glasgow named Marcus Knox, who was chosen treasurer (out of eight candidates) on 1 June, 1596. Here, then, is the germ of his mythical gift. In his capacity of town treasurer he would be authorised to pay, and no doubt paid the bell founder Allan the balance found due him on 4 November that year, and tradition, rolling on like a snowball, has finally credited him with paying the expense *out of his own funds*, thus depriving the real donor, Archbishop Dunbar, of the merit due to his munificence.

For these references, which confute the baseless tradition regarding this bell, I have to thank Mr. Robert Renwick, Depute Town Clerk of Glasgow, who with his usual kindness, took great pains in the matter, and favoured me with extracts from unprinted council minutes.

The long inscription remains to be noticed. It was some time ago honoured in *Notes and Queries*,<sup>2</sup> "as being the longest known in this country," and certainly merits the remark. Here it is—

"IN THE YEAR OF GRACE 1594, MARCUS KNOX, A MERCHANT IN GLASGOW, ZEALOUS FOR THE INTEREST OF THE REFORMED RELIGION, CAUSED ME TO BE FABRICATED IN HOLLAND FOR THE USE OF HIS FELLOW CITIZENS OF GLASGOW, AND PLACED ME WITH SOLEMNITY IN THE TOWER OF THEIR CATHEDRAL. MY FUNCTION WAS ANNOUNCED BY THE IMPRESS ON MY BOSOM.—*Me aulito, venias, doctrinam Sanctam ut discas.* AND I WAS TAUGHT TO PROCLAIM THE HOURS OF UNHEEDED TIME. 195 YEARS HAD I SOUNDED THESE AWFUL WARNINGS, WHEN I WAS BROKEN BY THE HANDS OF INCONSIDERATE AND UNSKILFUL MEN. IN THE YEAR 1790, I WAS CAST INTO THE FURNACE, REFOUNDED AT LONDON, AND RETURNED TO MY SACRED VOCATION. READER, THOU ALSO SHALT KNOW A RESURRECTION. MAY IT BE UNTO ETERNAL LIFE. *Thomas Mears fecit, London, 1790.*"

No person with ordinary intelligence, can fail to see that this is modern, and was evidently drawn up at the time of the re-casting in 1790. There were then three clergymen connected with the Cathedral, which at that time was partitioned into three presbyterian places of

<sup>1</sup> These expenses of re casting seem to be Scots money.

<sup>2</sup> 7 Series, xii, p. 426.

worship, and these gentlemen in concert with the town council, most likely composed this very odd legend or "Song of the Bell."

Thinking there might possibly have been some inscription on the broken bell when re-cast by Mears, I asked Messrs. Mears and Stainbank, twenty years ago, if there was one? But I learned from these gentlemen that there was nothing of the kind in the register which they have long kept of legends on bells sent to them. They have a copy of the 1790 inscription, which says the original bell was given in 1584. Dr. Raven makes it 1583, while the date is usually said to be 1594.<sup>1</sup> All are, perhaps, equally incorrect, if it is the Dunbar bell of 1548, for the other dates, like the gift, are mere tradition.

I am acquainted, though not by actual inspection, with two other church bells in Lanarkshire, one made by the founder of the Cramond bell mentioned by Dr. Raven, and perhaps still in the ancient royal burgh of Rutherglen, near Glasgow, thus described 100 years ago:—"The bell is 7 feet in circumference, at the brim; and is ornamented with the following inscriptions, SOLI . DEO . GLORIA . MICHAEL . BURGERHUYS . ME . FECIT . MDCXXXV . CAMPANAM . HANC . CIVES . REUTHERGLENENSES . ECCLESIAE . SVAE . PAROCHIALI . DONANT." The other was then in the parish church of East Kilbride in same county, "cast by one of the most celebrated bell founders in Europe," bearing this inscription:—"PETER . VANDEN . GHEIN . HEFT . MI . GHEGOTEN . MCCCCLXXXX" (1590). It was said to have been cracked by violent ringing on a day of rejoicing, held by the people of Kilbride when they heard the news of Lord Dundee's death at Killiecrankie.<sup>2</sup> on 17 July, 1689.

<sup>1</sup> Which corresponds with the 195 years elapsed when it was broken in 1789, as the bell is made to-day.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Rutherglen and East Kilbride*, by David Ure, A.M., 1793, pp. 81, 209.

ON SOME MURAL PAINTINGS RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN  
THE CHURCHES OF LITTLE HORWOOD AND PADBURY,  
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.<sup>1</sup>

By CHARLES E. KEYSER, M.A., F.S.A.

Many interesting mural paintings have been brought to light in recent years in the churches in the northern part of the county of Buckingham. In the neighbourhood of Winslow several examples have been noted, in addition to those at Little Horwood and Padbury, which will be more fully described. At Adstock various subjects were discovered and again whitewashed over. At Whaddon a very interesting series, including the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury, *Les trois rois vifs et les trois rois morts*, King Edmund and a Bishop, and symbolical figures of the Evangelists have been again whitewashed over.<sup>2</sup> At Shenley Mansel are some early paintings, viz., in the south transept, Adam and Eve after their expulsion from the Garden of Eden, Noah looking out of the Ark, and traces of other scriptural subjects, and there is also some scroll foliage on the soffit of the western arch on the south side of the nave of date *circa* 1200, and crimson colouring on the western arch of the north nave arcade, about a century later. At Swanbourne in the north-east corner of the north aisle, is a somewhat obscure subject, but it has been described as representing the various conditions of the Soul after death.<sup>3</sup> At Oving another doubtful subject has been found at the side of the chancel arch; it is supposed to portray a Representative Christian surrounded by various implements. At Winslow some interesting paintings were laid bare in 1884, and are still preserved. By the side of the north doorway are portions of the well-known subject of St. Christopher, the upper part with the Infant Saviour

<sup>1</sup> Read at the monthly meeting of the Institute, June 1st, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, xxiii, 78; *Norfolk Archaeologia*, vi, 167; *Records of*

*Buckinghamshire*, iii, 270-73; Sheahan, *History and Topography of the County of Buckingham*, p. 770.

<sup>3</sup> *Records of Buckinghamshire*, iii, 136.

on the shoulder of the Saint remaining in a fair state of preservation. Traces of other subjects, which have not yet been explored, are visible through the whitewash over and to the west of the doorway. Between the two eastern windows of the north aisle is the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Tablets have been let into the wall, materially interfering with both these paintings, which appear to date from about the middle of the fourteenth century.

The Church of St. Nicholas, Little Horwood, where the paintings have been recently discovered, of which it is now proposed to give a somewhat detailed description, is situated about two miles and a half from Winslow, and has been carefully restored. It consists of a west tower, nave, south aisle and chancel. The chancel which had previously been much churchwardenized, has been greatly improved, and a nice three-light east window of geometrical character, and a similar one of two lights in the north and south walls, has been introduced. There is a trefoiled arched piscina in the usual position, and a plain sedile within the sill of the east window on the south side. At the west end of the chancel is a single light square-headed window of the late fifteenth century date on the north, and a two light decorated window on the south side. These are set lower in the wall so as to form the low side windows so commonly found in this situation. There is a south chancel doorway of good decorated character. The chancel arch is also decorated with two recessed orders, the inner resting on slender semi-octagonal jamb shafts. In the nave is some earlier work. The arcade separating the nave from the aisle consists of four arches, with continuous hood-mould, and two chamfered orders obtusely pointed and resting on circular columns, the two east with octagonal capitals and abaci, while the western and two responds have circular capitals. These clearly date from about the year 1200, and a plain blocked doorway in the north wall seems to be of the same early period. The roofs of the chancel and nave are new, but that of the aisle is a lean-to of the fifteenth century. In the east wall of the aisle is an image bracket, and a blocked up squint formerly pierced the wall to the chancel so as to afford a view of the High Altar. In the south wall are two square-headed perpendicular windows, and at the west



end, a three-light window of decorated date with intersecting mullions. On the north of the nave are two large windows of three lights in the perpendicular style, but set within containing arches of an earlier date. The pulpit is of seventeenth century date. On the south side of the chancel arch is a very curious brass plate with the date 1641. On it is engraved the beginning of each of the ten Commandments, and a rhyming inscription of eight verses, and below, the eighteenth and nineteenth verses of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel.<sup>1</sup> The tower arch is four-centred perpendicular with hood-mould and two hollow chamfered orders. The tower itself is composed of very large stones and is embattled perpendicular in three stages, with nice belfry lights, a three-light west window of very good design and a west doorway with four-centred arch. The whole of this work is of somewhat late date and of excellent character. The south doorway within a porch is of the decorated period with hood-mould and two hollow chamfered orders, probably of the end of the thirteenth century. The outer arch of the porch is four-centred and late perpendicular. There are thus, at least, three if not four different styles of architecture in the Church of dates ranging from the beginning of the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth century.

Some notes taken on a previous visit to the Church in 1881 bear record that the walls were then particularly well crusted with whitewash, and it was while clearing this away that the paintings were brought to light in 1889. Considerable remains of red colouring were found on various parts of the Church, and the subjects, of which some photographs are exhibited, on the north wall of the nave between the two windows and nearly facing the main south entrance. There have been at least three layers of subjects painted one over the other. Of the earliest series only the lower portion remains, and here are apparently two, probably out of several, scenes illustrating the history of St. Nicholas, the Patron Saint of the Church. The eastern one shows the figures of three soldiers in mail, one grasping a spear, apparently entering a house, the lower part alone being visible. This may be intended to portray the subject of one of the miracles attributed to the Saint,

<sup>1</sup> Lipscomb's History of Buckinghamshire, iii., 390.

viz., the three knights coming to claim as their brides the three daughters of a certain nobleman, who had each received a bag of gold in answer to the prayer of the Saint, and had thus been saved from the necessity of earning a livelihood by an immoral course of life. This definition of the subject would appear too conjectural were it not for the fact that the remainder of the painting seems to be more easy of identification. In this is a large tub or barrel standing up on end, and from the upper side are emerging two nude figures, a third is probably still concealed under the later painting; on one side is the lower portion of a bishop, clearly distinguishable by his vestments, and on the other of another figure. This, no doubt, represents the miracle of the bringing to life of the three students, who had been treacherously murdered and packed in a barrel to be sold as salted pork. The barrel is painted grey with upright bands of yellow and horizontal bands of red. Both these miracles are represented on the Norman font at Winchester Cathedral, and in other later examples. A masonry pattern of double lines enclosing roses remains below the subjects. The whole is on a pale yellow ground and the date appears to be of the latter half of the thirteenth century.

Of the second series of paintings not much is visible. Near the west side of the picture a small portion of a knight in armour remains apparently of date *circa*, 1360. Above is part of a subject also of this date, with the lower limbs of a human figure, but nothing else capable of identification. At each extremity is some scroll work on a red ground, which seems to be also of this date.

Of the latest and most interesting series, three subjects remain. The eastern is very indistinct, but a little patient observation will prove it to be the familiar legend of St. Christopher. The head of the Saint can be made out, also his tunic, legs and staff. He is walking from east to west, and in the water which reaches nearly up to his knees, is a most extraordinary medley of fish and other strange looking monsters. The figure of our Lord on the shoulder of the Saint cannot be made out, nor can the attendant hermit or other usual adjuncts of the picture be discerned. Above the head of the Saint is a scroll with inscription, apparently in English, and similar to those





WALL PAINTING IN LITTLE HORWOOD CHURCH.

connected with the more important picture to the west of it; a scalloped border in red and white is carried along above it.

Immediately adjoining this is the very curious and interesting painting, which forms the main object of the present paper. On a deep crimson ground, bordered on either side by a cable band in yellow and white, is a large nude figure, apparently moving from east to west, and with extended arms. The figure is between six and seven feet high, though the lower portion is gone, and from different portions of the body proceed jagged scrolls which terminate in a monster inverted head with horns and open jaws, over and within which the several subjects are portrayed. Here is of course a representation of the Morality of Pride and her Six Daughters, or the purging of the Seven Deadly Sins. It is somewhat difficult to identify the individual sins, as though portions of inscriptions on scrolls still remain in connection with each subject, they are too imperfect to admit of being deciphered. On the dexter (west) side of the figure of pride, a jagged scroll proceeds from the mouth, and above the monster jaws is a figure apparently greedily drinking out of a bowl, which an attendant demon or shade is holding with one hand, while with the other he is filling the bowl from a flagon. This is no doubt the vice of "Ebrietas," drunkenness more commonly represented under the head of "Gula" gluttony. The next subject on this side is appended to the right wrist and apparently represents "Avaritia," avarice, a figure holding what appear to be money bags, which the attendant demon is attempting to drag away. The lowest on this side is clearly "Luxuria," lust, a male and female portrayed within the monster mouth, and the attendant demon above. Above part of the inscription with the words "spare nor" can be made out. On the sinister, east side the upper subject is at the end of the scroll which is attached to the left hand. Here is an indistinct figure with attendant demon sinking down into the monster jaws, while on the scroll above occur the words "is full of envye" proving this to be a representation of "Invidia," envy. Below and attached to a scroll coming from the heart is "Ira," wrath, a figure with a villainous expression clasping a short sword and the attendant demon in front. The inscrip-

tion in connection with this one might perhaps with a little patience be deciphered. The lowest subject on this side has been scraped away, though a portion of the inscription remains. This will, however, if the interpretation of the others be correct, have been Sloth, in some instances denominated "Socordia," and in others "Accidia."

Above this painting is a portion of another indistinct subject, apparently of the same date, as it is bounded on either side by the cable border.

There is not much to guide one in assigning a date to these subjects of Pride and St. Christopher, but from their general treatment, and the English inscriptions on the scrolls, they can hardly be earlier than the year 1500, or certainly very late in the fifteenth century, and they were probably executed soon after the building of the tower, and the insertion of the perpendicular windows in the walls of the chancel, nave, and aisle. Another large subject was found on the north wall of the nave to the east of the easternmost of the two windows, but, unfortunately, was not preserved.

Before proceeding with the subject of the painting of Pride, and the mode in which it is treated in the various examples which have come to light, a short divergence may now be made to Padbury (about five miles from Little Horwood, and on the high road from Winslow to Buckingham), where an earlier and equally interesting instance of this same Morality has also been recently found and is still preserved.<sup>1</sup>

Padbury Church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, consists of a west tower, nave, aisles and chancel, and is an excellent specimen of a small country church. The present tracery of the east window of the chancel is good perpendicular work, but the external hood-mould, terminating on masks, of the containing arch is probably considerably earlier. On the south side is a three-light decorated window, and an early English double lancet on the north. There is a nice ogee headed decorated piscina, with cinque-foiled fringe, and the wooden shelf still remaining, in the south wall. To the east of it are two plain oblong openings. On either side at the west end of the chancel

<sup>1</sup> Padbury Church was visited after the original paper on the Little Horwood paintings was read on June 1st, 1892.

is an early low side window, of late twelfth or early thirteenth century date; that on the south has a semi-circular head to the inner splay. The wall plate and one old beam of the chancel roof has been preserved, with a head of our Saviour carved on it. The chancel arch is massive, and obtusely pointed of transitional Norman character, with plain responds and square abaci. On either side of the nave is an arcade of four arches on octagonal columns. Those on the south are early English, and slightly earlier than those on the north, which are of early decorated date. Both arcades terminate east and west on brackets resting on heads, with the exception of the south-east respond. Some red colouring remains on the eastern arch of the north arcade. Above, but not corresponding with the arches, are clerestory windows. There are four of three lights of perpendicular style on the south, and on the north three plain circular openings, the central enclosing a quatrefoil and each of the others a sixfoil, all probably coeval with the arcade below. Traces of similar circular openings are visible externally on the south side. The nave roof is old, the eastern beam has a series of roses carved on it and formerly painted red. The aisle roofs are also old. In the south aisle are three square-headed perpendicular windows of very poor and, perhaps, debased character, and an original double lancet at the west end. There is a trefoiled arched piscina, with a course of dog-tooth on the edge of the arch and jambs, and to the west of it a trefoil headed recess, ? for an aumbrey. The font is small and very early, and is probably the ancient stoup. It is cup-shaped, and stands on an octagonal stem. The two windows on the north side of the north aisle are decorated, while the east is of three lights square headed perpendicular, similar to those in the south aisle. In the east wall at east end of north aisle is a small ogee-headed decorated piscina, and in the north wall, near the east end, is a decorated arched recess for an Easter sepulchre or Founders tomb, within which an ancient chest now stands. The tower arch is transitional from early English to decorated of three orders, the two outer dying into the wall, and the inner resting on brackets. On the exterior there is not much worthy of notice. The tower is debased. The south doorway, within a porch, is good early English,

with a hood-mould terminating on heads, and enriched with the nail-head and dog-tooth ornaments, and two hollow chamfered orders. There is a nice decorated doorway on the north side.

The paintings to which reference has already been made were discovered in 1883, and still remain on the north wall at the east end of the north aisle, above and no doubt coeval with the segmental arched recess. Traces of colouring are visible all along the north wall, and two courses at least of other designs were displaced before the present series were brought to light. As at Little Horwood there are two distinct subjects placed side by side. That on the east portrays two scenes from the history of St. Catherine. In the upper one is the Saint with golden hair and the upper part of her body bare and arms tied behind her back, between the wheels by which she was to be torn in pieces, while at the side is the Emperor seated holding the sword of state in his hand. The ground-work of this part of the picture is a pale yellow, with a powdering of leaves, &c., upon it. Below is St. Catherine again standing and holding out her hand to two figures to the west of her, one is a male with short tunic holding some undistinguishable object in his hand, the other is perhaps a female in rich apparel and kneeling, while another indistinct figure is discernible in the background. The ground colour is a pale pink. The subject probably represents the conversion and execution of the Empress, which is usually included in the scenes illustrating the history of this most popular Saint. An early scroll border in red encloses these two paintings.

Immediately to the west of it is a large wheel or circle about six feet in diameter containing a representation of the Purging of the Seven Deadly Sins.<sup>1</sup> It is not very clear, but there can be no doubt as to the subject. In the centre is a female figure richly clothed, and with an early crown of the style of the latter part of the thirteenth century, and with scrolls terminating in monster heads with the representative sin and its attendant demon above, coming from various portions of her body. In the south east corner is a somewhat realistic representation of

<sup>1</sup> In "the List of Buildings having Mural Decorations," &c., this is erroneously described from information received as "a wheel of fortune."



“Luxuria.” Above this is a figure holding a sack across the shoulders, which may be intended for “Avaritia,” and another representative sin is portrayed by a soldier probably for “Ira.” None of the others can be made out, though all the monster heads, which are varied in each case are clearly discernible. Outside the circle or wheel is a large gaunt figure of Death, with spikes or claws on his knees and elsewhere. He is thrusting a long pole or spear into the side of Pride, as in the example at Raunds, in Northamptonshire. The lower part of the figure of Pride has not been divested of the whitewash. Probably, here, as at Raunds, flames have been depicted. Below, and slightly to the west of this subject is a consecration cross. It is a red Maltese cross, but not as is usually the case, within a circular border.

There can be no doubt that these paintings are coeval with, and in some way identified with the recess over which they are painted. There has clearly been a Chantry Chapel of some importance at the east end of this aisle, and it may have been founded and endowed by the Monks of Bradwell Priory, who “appropriated the great tithes and procured the endowment of a Vicarage by the Bishop 8th June 1274.”<sup>1</sup> This date will fairly correspond with the style of the architecture and the distinctive features of the paintings, which are therefore of about the same date as the earliest series at Little Horwood.

It is a somewhat curious coincidence that this subject of Pride and her Six Daughters, or the Purging of the Seven Deadly Sins, which is by no means a common one, should be found in these two neighbouring churches, and further that, although there have been one or two later layers of paintings covering over the example at Padbury, so that it is hardly probable that it was visible or even known at the time the Little Horwood example was executed, yet there are certain common peculiarities of treatment of this subject, such as have been noticed only in three other instances in mural painting in England.

In an admirable paper read before this Society by Mr. J. G. Waller, F.S.A., on the very interesting series of paintings at Raunds, in Northamptonshire, where the finest example of the subject of the Purging of the Seven Deadly

<sup>1</sup> Lipscomb's History of Buckingham, iii, 59.

Sins has been discovered, the origin of this Morality and the references to it by the various early writers are fully set out. It will, therefore, be unnecessary to traverse the same ground again, or to do more than refer those who wish to obtain all the information which can be acquired to Vol. xxxiv., pp. 221-227 of the *Archæological Journal*. It is, however, worthy of repetition, that one of the earliest treatises on this Morality is to be found in the writings of Cæsarius, a monk who flourished in Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Here is a dialogue on Temptation, and one chapter is entitled "Pride and her Six Daughters," which sets out the Sins as they are found at Little Horwood.<sup>1</sup>

In mural paintings in our English churches, this subject is represented in four different ways:—

First simply with an illustration of each Sin within a series of medallions or compartments, and generally in juxtaposition with the Seven Acts of Mercy. Examples of this mode of treatment have been found at Cropredy<sup>2</sup> and Milcomb,<sup>3</sup> in Oxfordshire; at Milton Abbas<sup>4</sup> and Netherbury,<sup>5</sup> in Dorsetshire; at Brooke,<sup>6</sup> Norfolk, and probably treated in this way at Brunstead and Dalham in the same county. On the screen at Catfield,<sup>7</sup> in Norfolk, three of the Sins are depicted on the panels.

Secondly, they are represented within medallions enclosed within a circle or wheel, as at Arundel in Sussex,<sup>8</sup> or between the spokes as at Ingatestone in Essex.<sup>9</sup> These

<sup>1</sup> On the very interesting late Norman Fonts at Stanton Fitzwarren Church, Wiltshire, and Southrop, Gloucestershire, are sculptured representations of the Virtues trampling on the Vices. At Stanton Fitzwarren (figured in Van Voorst's "Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts," and the "Builder," Vol. iii. p. 6), we have a sculpture of "Ecclesia" with inscription "Serpens occiditur," and another of "Cherubyn," and the following Virtues triumphing over the Vices, viz., "Largitas and Avaricia," "Humilitas and Superbia," "Pietas and Discordia," "Misericordia and Invidia," "Modestia and Ebrietas," "Temperancia and Luxuria," "Paciencia and Ira," "Pudicia and Libido."

In the example at Southrop is "Moises" between "Ecclesia" and

"Sinagoga," and pointing towards the former, and within a series of trefoiled arches, as at Stanton Fitzwarren. "Misericordia and Invidia," "Temperancia and Luxuria," "Largitas and Avaricia," "Paciencia and Ira," "Modestia and Ebrietas."

<sup>2</sup> Builder, 1876, p. 939.

<sup>3</sup> Builder, 1864, p. 734.

<sup>4</sup> Hutchin's History of Dorset, 3rd. ed., Vol. iv., p. 403.

<sup>5</sup> Ecclesiologist, xi., 251, xii., 59.

<sup>6</sup> Norfolk Archæologia, iii., 62.

<sup>7</sup> Archæological Journal, xxxiv., 224.

<sup>8</sup> British Archæological Association Journal, vi., 440; Archæologia, xxxviii., 432.

<sup>9</sup> Archæological Journal, xxxiv., 224.

There is a coloured drawing in the Art Library, South Kensington Museum.

examples seem to correspond in some respects with that at Padbury.

Thirdly, we have the representation of a tree standing over the jaws of hell, and the Sins depicted at the end of branches proceeding from the parent stem of Pride, who is portrayed either as a figure at the top of the tree, or by one or more trumpeters. Of this form of treatment examples have been noted at Catfield,<sup>1</sup> Crostwight,<sup>2</sup> and Stokesby,<sup>3</sup> Norfolk; and Bardwell<sup>4</sup> and Hessett,<sup>5</sup> Suffolk. At St. John the Baptist's Church, Bristol,<sup>6</sup> is also a tree, and at the stem and descending into the open jaws of Hell are the representative figures of the Vices, with their names on scrolls above them, Superbia in the centre. At Lyddington, in the county of Rutland, a painting of this subject has been recently found over the north doorway, but it is in a bad state of preservation and very indistinct. Only "Ira" and "Luxuria" can be identified.

Of the fourth class, viz., with the figure of Pride, only three other examples, besides those at Little Horwood, Padbury, and probably Arundel, have, it is believed, been noticed. By far the finest is that already referred to at Raunds, where Pride is represented as richly attired and crowned, and this apparently belongs to the end of the fourteenth century. At Wisborough Green, Sussex,<sup>7</sup> mention is made of a nude figure, whence are being expelled the other sins, and this seems to correspond in its treatment with the example at Little Horwood. At Alveley, in Shropshire, on the south wall of the south aisle or chapel is another illustration of this subject, and a connecting link between those at Raunds and Little Horwood. Here is a large nude female figure crowned, and with scrolls terminating in demons issuing from various portions of her body. A trumpeter stands above her, and a skeleton, figurative of Death, as at Padbury, by her side. The ground is diapered with roses, and the painting may be of the fourteenth century. Amongst the interesting series of paintings found at Trinity Chapel, Stratford on Avon, and illustrated by Fisher,<sup>8</sup> is a repre-

<sup>1</sup> Norfolk Archaeologia, i., 133.

<sup>2</sup> Norfolk Archaeologia, ii., 355.

<sup>3</sup> Norfolk Archaeologia, v., 292.

<sup>4</sup> Suffolk Archaeologia, ii., 43.

<sup>5</sup> Suffolk Archaeologia, v., 29.

There is a coloured drawing in the

Society of Antiquaries' Library.

<sup>7</sup> Archaeological Journal, xxxiv., 223.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Fisher, A series of antique allegorical . . . and legendary paintings, which were discovered at Stratford upon Avon.

sentation of a figure standing on a pedestal, and fastened to it by a chain, which a demon below is also holding. The figure grasps in one hand a cup with demons issuing from it, and in the other a bag full of money. This may be intended to be an allegorical representation of the same subject. In the painting of the Doom in the same chapel, the figures of the Deadly Sins are portrayed as being hurried off to perdition, Pride being borne aloft on the shoulders of a demon with a donkey's head.

As at Little Horwood, so in the cases cited at Raunds, Brooke, Crostwight, Stokesby and Ingatestone, the subject of the Seven Deadly Sins is found side by side with that of St. Christopher, nor could two subjects be more appropriately associated, as in both the evils of the crowning sin of Pride are clearly and prominently defined.

## THE SCULPTURES IN THE LADY CHAPEL AT ELY.<sup>1</sup>

By M. R. JAMES.

The series of sculptured groups which surround the Lady Chapel at Ely represent, as we might naturally be inclined to expect from the history of the building which contains them, the Life and Miracles of the Virgin Mary; and sadly mutilated as they are (there is hardly a head left to one of the three or four hundred figures,) it has been possible by an examination of written documents, and by comparison of contemporary figured monuments, to identify a considerable number of the scenes represented.

Of these written documents and contemporary monuments, I must say some few words before I proceed to any explanation of the sculptures before us. The principal source which our artist (or his monastic director) used in illustrating the Life of the Virgin was a certain *Liber de infantia B. V. Mariæ et Salvatoris*, which you will find well edited in Tischendorf's *Evangelia Apocrypha* under the name *Pseudo Matthæi Evangelium*; an English translation is readily accessible in the collection of Apocryphal Gospels translated by B. Harris Cowper, or Walker, the latter in Clark's *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*. This book is a compilation in Latin from earlier sources; some letters prefixed to it call it a translation from Hebrew by S. Jerome; but I need hardly tell you that these are spurious letters, and quite without historical value. The real sources of the book are early Greek documents: firstly, a book known as the Protevangelium, or Book of James, which was written early in the second century, and treats of the birth of the Virgin and of our Lord; secondly, the Gospel of Thomas, also a second-century book, which narrates the miracles of our Lord's infancy—but this Gospel of Thomas lay before our writer in a more complete form than any which we now possess; and thirdly, the author of the *Liber de infantia* added a certain amount of matter,

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Lady Chapel at Ely, August 16, 1892.

though probably not a great deal, from his own imagination. For that part of the series of Sculptures which illustrates the Miracles of the Virgin, our artist used as his source some collection of miracles which, up to the present moment, I have not been able to identify. And, though I regret this fact, I am not very much surprised at it; for the number of such collections of miracles which existed in the fourteenth century was very large. Hardly any collections of MSS. of any size does not contain several; and in England, the country especially devoted to the worship of our Lady, you would probably find a larger number than in any other part of the world. I would refer for a corroboration of this statement, to Mr. G. F. Warner's excellent introduction to the *Miracles de Notre Dame*, printed for the Roxburghe Club. But I can say definitely that our artist's source was not any of the most famous collections. He was not using Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, nor the *Golden Legend*, nor Caesarius of Heisterbach, nor Étienne de Bourbon, nor (I think) Gauthier de Coincy, nor Eadmer, nor Adgar, nor, in fact, any printed collection that I have seen. I have little doubt, however, that it will be easily possible in the future to identify the work which he did use.

Of contemporary figured monuments which illustrate this series of sculptures I have also to say something. Three series of manuscript illuminations are known to me, all of which must have been executed in England within a few years of the date of this chapel; and two of them in particular shew a marked resemblance to our series here, so strong, indeed, that I am almost certain that their designers had the same unidentified collection of miracles before them.

The first is a series of beautiful drawings on the lower margin of the pages of a folio copy of the Decretals, which once belonged to the Dominicans of S. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and is now among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum (10 E. iv). This MS. was, I have no doubt, written in Italy and illuminated in England. The lower margin of the pages are pictured throughout the book with several series of subjects, *e.g.*, the History of Joseph, illustrations of Romances, of Natural History, of Sports and Pastimes, of the Miracles of the Virgin, and of

the Life of S. Mary of Egypt. The second series, also on the lower margins of pages, is in a MS. acquired in recent years by the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. It is known as the Carew-Poyntz *Horae*, and was executed for a follower of the Black Prince in 1360. The various series of subjects in this book are Bible History, from the Creation to the Martyrdom of Isaiah, the Life of the Virgin and of our Lord, and the Miracles of the Virgin.

The third series, first in point of artistic merit, but not quite so closely illustrative of our sculptures, are on the lower margin of the MS. known as Queen Mary's Prayer Book (Royal MS. 2 B. vii, in the British Museum). These lovely drawings illustrate mainly (*a*) grotesque and genre subjects, (*b*) the Miracles of the Virgin, (*c*) the Lives of Saints, following the order of the Kalendar, and of certain special saints, S. Thomas of Canterbury, S. Mary Magdalene, S. Paul, S. Margaret, S. Nicholas.<sup>1</sup>

I will remark, in concluding this part of my subject, that England possesses two fine series of the Miracles of the Virgin belonging to the end of the fifteenth century—one in fresco in Eton College Chapel (now only accessible in pencil drawings), the other also in fresco in the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral, engraved by Carter, and also in the Winchester volume of the proceedings of this Society. The written source employed by the artists of both is well known: it is Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*.

We must proceed now to the sculptures themselves. The arrangement of them does not call for much remark. The lower range of the wall all round the building is divided into canopied niches, there are twenty (or nineteen) on the north and nineteen (or twenty) on the south side, nine (or eight) at the west end, and eight on the east end. The arrangement at the east end, however, is unlike that on the other three walls. Here there are not so much niches as panels, and these are interrupted by a fifteenth century reredos in the centre; moreover all traces of sculptured groups have entirely disappeared, although it is evident that there were groups originally, for the grounds

<sup>1</sup>For that part of the series of sculptures which illustrates the Nativity and the Flight into Egypt, the Italian drawings

from a Milan M.S. facsimiled by Ceriani (*Canonical Histories and Apocryphal Legends*) should be consulted.

on which the figures stood remain. It is possible, to my thinking, that the east end groups were in some material superior to the clunch in which all the rest of the work is done, possibly alabaster. In any case, the east end sculptures will not occupy us further.

The niches on the other three sides, each contain three figure sculptures, two groups on the spandrels of the canopy and a small standing or seated figure inside the niche. We will take these niche figures first: there are eight, four on the north and four on the south, which are of larger size than the rest, and seated, and in most cases crowned. One, on the south, has a harp, the lower end of it enclosed, as is usual, in a leather case. This is plainly King David, and we may fairly conclude that these eight carved seated figures represent the genealogy of the Virgin. The rest of the niche figures are all ecclesiastics, mostly bishops, sometimes carrying crosiers, but in no case that I have detected is any one of them possessed of anything which leads to a certain identification. Whether they are ecclesiastics, connected with the Church of Ely, or whether they are Doctors of the Church, I am quite unable to decide. But they do not seem to have any distinct connection with the sculptured group above them.

The sequence of the sculptured groups is apparently throughout from left to right, and as the largest continuous series begins in the middle of the south side, it will be best to start from the south east corner of the building. I shall describe the mutilated groups as accurately as I can, and add my explanations as briefly as may be.

The Roman numbers refer to the niche; the letters A, B, to the left and right hand groups respectively.

#### *South East.*

- i. A.B. Both groups are quite cut away.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

- ii. A. Under architecture. *L*, an altar with chalice on it; in front of this a Bishop with crosier (the head of which is a round object, apparently detached, above: kneeling to him is another man or an ecclesiastic (?), to the right are three spectators or worshippers. The Bishop is, perhaps, houselling the kneeling figure.

On the right of the building is another group of two



figures ; a seated ecclesiastic and a man standing or kneeling before him.

B. Under architecture, on *R*, an altar ; a prelate (the hero of group A ?) kneels to it ; one stands behind him with his left hand raised.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

iii. A. On *L*, a standing Angel scourging a kneeling man who is stripped to the waist : then a standing figure almost gone ; on *R*, an altar, and on it a seated figure of the Virgin (?).

This seems capable of identification, but I do not feel at all certain of the subject ; evidently an ecclesiastic is here doing penance for some offence against the Virgin. Not impossibly he may be Abp. Sisebutus of Toledo, who was smitten (and died) for wearing the chasuble, given by the Virgin to his predecessor, S. Hildephonsus.

B. On *R*, a nun and a man in blue and red, with hawk on wrist, converse ; on *L*, an ecclesiastic (?).

The hawk is gone, but a blank, uncoloured space of the shape of the bird remains.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

Opposite this point are the altar-steps.

iv. A. On *R*, a Church-tower ; an angel presents a kneeling nun before an altar, by which is another figure.

These two groups seem to contain the story of an erring nun reconciled by the Virgin's intervention. There was one such, a "sonneretaine" of her convent, who left the cloister and lived in the world for years, and on returning penitent, found that the Virgin had assumed her shape and been doing her work in her absence.

B. On *L*, a city-gate. In front of it a demon standing (his clawed feet only remain) ; his front claw rests on the head of a figure standing with hawk on wrist by a tree ; this tree is clasped by a kneeling figure with a round hat in his hand.

This is probably Theophilus selling his soul to the devil. The story (which may be found at length in many books, e.g., Baring-Gould's *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*) is this : Theophilus, the respected "vice-dominus" of a church in Cilicia, is turned out of office by an incoming Bishop. In chagrin and despair, he is induced by a Jewish wizard to sell his soul to the devil. He is restored to

office, for the devil inspires the Bishop to reinstate him. Then he realises his peril, and spends night after night in prayer to the Virgin. She appears and restores him the bond he had signed; and shortly after he confesses his sin in public and dies.

*Niche figure*, Crowned King seated; he has curly hair.  
v. A. On *L*, two horsemen look at a small figure (Theophilus) who kneels to an altar on which is the Virgin.

B. Theophilus (?) presented to a seated hairy demon. Behind him are two horsemen in attitudes of surprise; near them a tree and demon.

A door here takes the place of a niche.

vi. A. The Virgin attended by an angel. On the *L*, under clouds, kneels Theophilus (or a woman) on two steps.

If the kneeling figure is Theophilus, the scene will be his reconciliation: if it be a woman, the scene belongs to those which follow.

B. Three women; two at least are nuns in black. One has her head on a pillow, and the Virgin stands behind her. On *R* is the Virgin standing on a devil (his lower half plunged in flames); an angel by her.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop with crosier.

vii. A. Two groups; on *L*, three women (2 nuns?) one with a box.

On *R*, a Bishop seated; a nun kneels to him, one figure stands behind him.

In these two (or three) groups we have, I think, the unedifying story of an Abbess who was delivered of a child; the Virgin took the child and sent it to a hermit to bring up; two of the nuns accused the Abbess to the Bishop, but when she was tried he could find no fault in her.

B. The Virgin attended by an angel: an object or figure on the *R* is gone.

*Niche figure* a Bishop with crosier.

viii. A. The Virgin holding in her hands the two feet of a man in bed (who has disappeared); an angel attends her.

B. A man with his legs crossed over a stool or trestle, is supported by another man: a third man in front; on *L*, a smaller figure.

Either one or two stories are shown here: there is a common story of the Virgin healing a woodcutter who had almost cut off his leg: and there is another of a man afflicted in the leg with the "mal des ardents" to whom the Virgin and S. Hippolytus gave a new leg.

*Niche figure*, larger size, the king has his legs crossed and a sword in the *R*, a glove in the *L* hand.

ix. A. The Virgin and an angel appear to a man asleep before an altar.

B. *L* An angel and two figures. *R*, the left-hand cup of a balance (held by the angel?) containing what may be either a building or a loaf of bread, the right hand cup is being pulled down by several little devils. Above, is a headless half-length figure bending down out of clouds (it resembles a tree) to receive a soul, as it seems.

This and the last shew a vision, as I think, vouchsafed to an usurer by the Virgin: a loaf of bread which he had once given away outweighed all his sins when they came to be weighed.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop in chasuble.

At this point the colouring of the carving abruptly ceases, and here too, a well-defined and continuous series of scenes from the Virgin's life begins, and is continued up to group iv. A on the north side.

x. A. Joachim's offering rejected by the High Priest who stands behind the altar and repulses him.

The reason was that Joachim and Anne, afterwards the Virgin's parents, were at this time childless.

In the centre of the canopy are four figures looking at this scene, and no doubt inserted here to mark the beginning of the new series of subjects.

B. An angel, a man and a woman; probably Joachim and Anne escorted home by an angel.

*Niche figure* a Bishop.

xi. A. An angel appears to Joachim: shepherds and sheep on *R*.

B. An angel appears to Anne: on *L* are 2 figures, one probably the maid Judith, who taunted her mistress with barrenness.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

xii. A. Three figures (shepherds of Joachim), sheep on *R*, and hills.

B. Joachim and Anne meet (at the Temple gate): hills behind.

*Niche-figure*, of the larger size, seated.

xiii. A. The birth of the Virgin; Anne in bed.

B. The presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.

The Priest stands by an altar on the top of a flight of 15 steps, on which is the Virgin, her parents stand by. This easily decipherable sculpture first gave me the key to the interpretation of the series.

*Niche-figure*, a Bishop.

xiv. A. The Virgin brought up in the temple: a curtain is prominent, behind which is an angel handing to her a boat-shaped dish (containing food); three maidens are with her.

According to *Ps. Matt.* iv., the Virgin was brought up in the temple and fed by angels, and in c. viii, after her marriage to Joseph, we read of five maidens accompanying her home, viz. Rebecca, Saphora, Susanna, Abigea, Zabel.

B. The Virgin, two men, and a Priest; probably the High Priest sending for the suitors.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

xv. A. The Virgin married to Joseph by the Priest; a curtain behind.

B. The Priest and four other figures; probably the High Priest dismissing the suitors.

*Niche figure*, King David seated with harp, the lower part in a leather case.

xvi. A. The Virgin and an angel: almost certainly the Annunciation though so unobtrusively represented; it has been cut flat to the wall to make room for a tablet.

On *R* is what may be a figure of the Virgin setting out for the hill country.

B. The Visitation; hills behind.

*Niche figure*.

xvii. A. Three figures; an angel, a man and the Virgin: this is the reconciliation of Joseph to the Virgin after his unjust suspicions. See *Ps. Matt.* xi.

B. Two figures behind an altar; in front of it, the Virgin and another. Probably the High Priest administering the water of jealousy to the Virgin and Joseph. See *Ps. Matt.* xii.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

xviii. A. The Virgin on an ass, preceded by Joseph (who carries his stick with his cloak on it over his shoulder), and by an angel: in front of him are two figures (or faces; one is complete and seems to be weeping).

This represents the journey to Bethlehem: the two figures in front are the laughing and weeping people seen by the Virgin, and explained by an angel to signify the Jews and Gentiles. *Ps. Matt. xiii.*

I think this representation must be unique in western art; I have never seen any other attempt to figure the incident.

B. Joseph, with the ass: The Virgin, dismounted, with the angel (who is leading her to the cave of the Nativity). *Ps. Matt. xiii. § 2.*

*Niche-figure*.

xix. A. The Virgin in bed; Joseph looking up. Two Angels: the Manger on the *R.* The Nativity.

B. An angel speaks to two shepherds; star above.

*Niche-figure*, a Bishop.

(xx the Corner Stall), A. The Virgin shows the child to some kneeling figures—shepherds or Magi.

B. Mounted figures; the Magi on their journey.

*Niche figure*, none.

#### *West End.*

i. A. An angel; the rest gone; probably the appearance to Joseph to warn him to fly.

B. A seated figure and one standing; Herod giving orders for the Massacre.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

ii. A. Three figures; two seem to be struggling; probably the Massacre of the Innocents.

B. The flight into Egypt; in the foreground, two Dragons. See *Ps. Matt. xviii.-xx.*, where it is said that a number of dragons came out of a cave and did obeisance to our Lord.

*Finial figure*, none: there seem to have been figures on six of the canopies at the west end, instead of niche figures: only one is left.

iii. A. An angel (?) near an oak tree, a lamb on *L*; near the tree a large dragon. Probably part of the same scene as the last.

B. A fragment of two animals (? oxen : a yoke of oxen is mentioned in *Ps. Matt.* l. c.); the Virgin and two figures.

*Finial figure*, a Bishop.

iv. A. The Virgin (!) stands on a demon (his face is complete) by a tree; an angel attends her.

This may refer to the fall of idols on the entrance of the Holy Family into Egypt (*Ps. Matt.* xxiii., xxiv.); but this and the next three groups are not at all clear to me.

B. The Virgin (!) and two figures, the second slightly bent. Possibly the Egyptian governor Affrodosius adoring the Virgin (*Ps. Matt.* xxiv.).

*Finial figure*, gone.

v. A. The Angel and Joseph (!); a third figure on *R* is gone.

B. One kneeling at an altar; two figures (Angel and Virgin) in the foreground. Possibly connected with the Presentation.

*Finial figure*, gone.

vi. A. The Baptism of our Lord; a figure with a scroll (a prophet) and two others.

This and the following groups seem to me to indicate the most prominent events in our Lord's life; the prophets who foretold them are represented, and the Virgin; but not always the event itself.

B. The Virgin fainting (?), David, with harp, behind; probably this indicates the Crucifixion; the Crucifix may have been sculptured on the mutilated finial of the canopy.

*Finial figure*, gone.

vii. A. The Virgin swooning (!); a figure looking up; possibly indicates the Deposition from the Cross.

B. The Virgin led by another (? S. John); a prophet with scroll behind: perhaps indicates the entombment.

*Finial figure*, gone.

viii. A. The Virgin looking up; a Prophet with scroll; if, as I think, the Ascension is here indicated, the prophet is Amos (his words "qui aedificat ascensiones suas in terris" are taken to refer to the Ascension).

B. Two figures, Apostles (?); this, with the following five groups, seems to give a procession of Apostles assembling at the Death of the Virgin.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

ix. (Corner Stall) A. Figure with scroll and raised hand : a second figure (with face extant), curly haired, carrying a book in the well-known "bag" binding.

B. Two more figures.

*Niche figure*, none.

*North Side.*

i. A. One figure holding up his garment : another figure has gone.

B. A figure carrying a lantern or book in front of another.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

ii. A. Two figures : the smaller one is on higher ground, and may be the Virgin praying on the Mount of Olives.

B. The Virgin's coffin borne by four Apostles : traces of the Jew who tried to upset the bier, and whose hands clung to it, are visible. Two more Apostles with candles, are in front.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

iii. A. The Virgin in her coffin : three or four figures standing.

B. Two figures, one with scroll : possibly belong to the last scene.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

iv. A. Angels supporting the Virgin in a *mandorla* : the Assumption.

With this scene ends the long and remarkable series of the life of the Virgin : and the miracles recommence with the story of the death of Julian the Apostate. The mediaeval form of his story, as told here, sets forth that S. Basil, threatened by Julian, prayed to the Virgin. Julian was admonished in a vision ineffectually : then a warrior-saint, either S. George or S. Mercurius, was raised from his grave, armed, and sent against Julian, and slew him.

B. An angel stands by a bed in which is a man sitting, in mail (?). This seems to be a vision in which Julian is warned.

*Niche figure*, of the larger size, seated, crowned.

v. A. The Virgin and angel appear to a man kneeling under a canopy. S. Basil and the Virgin.

B. A man on horseback : three figures in front, one with a book, one is a Bishop, one kneels. S. Basil intercedes with Julian (?).

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

- vi. A. A figure on throne with three steps on which kneel another : a man behind. S. Basil praying again to the Virgin (?).

B. on *L*, an angel : the Virgin, book in hand, raises a corpse out of a tomb. S. George resuscitated.

*Niche-figure*, a Bishop.

- vii. A. The Virgin, crowned, brings a mounted man towards another on horseback, by whom stands an angel : S. George is armed and sent against Julian.

B. Possibly two scenes. On *L*, are two horsemen, one with a sword, riding rapidly : this may be the end of the Julian story. On *R*, a man with a harp falls off a broken bridge into the water. This, with the next scene, is almost certainly the story of a wicked monk, who, going out of his monastery at night to pursue his evil courses, falls into the river, is drowned, and raised up by the Virgin.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

- viii. A. Angel and Virgin crowned, blessing : Below, a figure emerges from the water. The monk raised. To *R*, is a standing figure with hood ; his hands clasped.

B. Two figures seated on a throne, or on steps ; behind one stands a man with writing-case at girdle and book in case ; to *L*, a figure resembling the right-hand figure in A.

*Niche figure*, of the larger size, seated.

- ix. A. Two figures kneel before an altar ; one is seated upon it.

B. On *L*, an angel, then, on a bed, a Bishop asleep holding a vessel ; the Virgin (?) stands over him.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

- x. A. Two figures standing, an angel behind ; on *R*, two more figures, one a Bishop (?) kneels facing *L*, one stands back ; on *R*, an altar.

B. An angel standing above a mass of devils ; in front of him stands the Virgin ; on *L*, a broken mass, perhaps of ground, perhaps of devils.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.



Of these five groups I can offer no explanation, nor am I at all sure whether they belong to one or more stories.

Those which follow are clearer; they give the story of the Sacristan and the Lady, a tale which has no moral, but was very popular.

It is to be found in the works of Rutebeuf, and in several collections of miracles. A Sacristan elopes with a Knight's wife, is caught by her husband, and imprisoned along with her lover (generally in the stocks). The couple invoke the Virgin; she frees them and fastens two devils in their place. The lady's husband, and the sacristan's fellow-monks on finding the devils in the place of their prisoners—the said prisoners being safe at home—are constrained to believe themselves mistaken, and to apologise.

xi. Here colour begins again.

A. On *L*, several figures, one a nobleman standing, two or three kneeling, they look at one in a surplice at an altar receiving a gift from another. Probably the husband sees the wife bribing the sacristan.

B. On *L*, high up, a horse and man by it; on *R*, under a gable, stand two figures, either the monk and lady imprisoned, or the pair being watched by the husband.

*Niche figure*, gone.

xii. A broader niche, corresponding to the doorway opposite; very faintly coloured; at the bottom of the crocketing on each side is a demon.

A. *L*. Under architecture on *L*, a hairy-legged demon, his hands tied to a post; the Virgin (?) standing on a 2nd demon. Then two smaller figures (the monk and lady?) broken; behind, an angel doing something to the demon. On *R*, another shaped figure; above, a demon flying off (?). The demons substituted for the prisoners.

*R*. An ecclesiastic, and a retreating figure; the monk and lady sent home.

B. *L*. A priest and woman in blue.

*R*. Under architecture, two broken masses; the one on *R*, a demon with claws crossed, *i.e.*, tied. Most likely the discovery of the demons in prison.

*Niche figure* of the larger size, seated and broken.

xiii. A. A Bishop before a draped altar, on which is an object under a cloth; a female kneeling; two figures hand in hand; two with hands raised.

B. A Bishop at a table in front of the altar, which stands on two steps; behind him, a tall white figure (the Virgin?)

These two groups must, I think, be the story of the Popè who was tempted by Satan in the guise of a woman when he was saying Mass; by way of penance he cut off his hand (or hands), and it was restored to him by the Virgin. This story, which is like and yet unlike, that of S. John Damascene, is copiously illustrated in both the Carew-Poyntz *Horæ* and the Smithfield *Decretals*; but I cannot find the text of it.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

xiv. A. A Bishop kneels to the Virgin (half his face remains). In front is a white vessel, draped, containing other things; on *R*, an angel. Probably this ends the last story.

B. Concealed by the organ.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

xv. A.B. concealed by the organ.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

xvi. A broader niche. A. *L*, a group of three figures; two face *R*, one leads the other; on *L* of them, a single figure. *R*, a church tower, and *L* of it, two figures.

B. *L*, a broken figure. *R*, two figures, one stripping the other.

*Niche figure* of the larger size, seated.

xvii. A. Under architecture, a Bishop; a woman kneels to him; on *L* three, one kneeling.

B. *L*, a group of two, one kneeling; *R*, a group of two, one is a man.

*Niche figure* gone.

xviii. A. Two groups much broken. *L*, four figures, one seated; *R*, three figures, one a Bishop, one standing, one seated.

B. A gate, and a figure standing in it. On *R*, two figures, one sending away the other.

*Niche figure*, a Bishop.

xix. A. Under architecture two groups.

*L*. A man being baptized in a tub.

*R*. The Baptizer, and the feet of another figure.

B. Gone.

*Niche figure*, an ecclesiastic.

This ends the series. It is noticeable that on both North and South sides the Virgin does not appear in the sculptures nearest the East end; and these sculptures, on both sides, appear to be concerned with the doings of an episcopal saint. Who he may be I shall hope to be informed by some other investigator.

It will be seen that there is ample room in the Lady Chapel at Ely for further work of the kind I have tried to do. I have succeeded in finding explanations which appear to myself probable for seventy-one groups. There remain nineteen which I cannot identify at all, and three which are at present inaccessible. It would be difficult to find a more attractive puzzle for archæologists, and I sincerely hope that some one may be fortunate enough to find the key to those parts of it which have baffled me. Only one hint would I venture to offer: that the explorer in this field can hope to do very little without the help of the mediæval authorities, whether monumental or written. The more closely we study the remains of early sacred art, the more frequently do we detect that the smallest details have a meaning, and a meaning which can only be explained by reference to the literary source which guided the artist.

The pictures and sculptures of mediæval times are doubtless more attractive objects of study than the books; but it is my conviction that by far the most reliable results are to be attained by those who will interest themselves in the literature, for it is only by the study of that that they can hope to comprehend fully the spirit of the art.

#### APPENDIX.

I think it may add somewhat to the practical usefulness of this paper if I annex to it, by way of appendix, a short conspectus of the three series of illustrations of the Virgin's Miracles which I described above. I add a notice of the two fresco-series at Eton and Winchester; and I will *italicise* the items which appear at Ely:—

#### DECRETALS.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1. <i>The story of Theophilus</i>, told in 24 scenes, beginning at f. 162.</p> <p>2. Story of a penitent sinful woman saved, in 16 scenes, f. 177.</p> | <p>3. <i>The Monk and the Lady</i>; 14 scenes, f. 185.</p> <p>4. <i>The story of a drowned nun</i> in 2 scenes, f. 192: at Ely, the hero is a monk, and carries a harp; here, it is a nun, who has a flute.</p> |
|---|---|

5. *The temptation of the Pope*, in 6 scenes, f. 193. Here, as at Ely, the Pope's hands are cut off at a table.
6. *The Woodman's leg healed*; 2 scenes, f. 196.  
Unidentified stories follow from f. 197 to 208 *b*.
7. The painter and the Devil (see Southey's ballad, the *Pious Painter*); 3 scenes, f. 209.
8. The Jew boy put into an oven by his father and rescued by the Virgin; 8 scenes, f. 210 *b*.
9. *S. George and the Emperor Julian*; 5 scenes, f. 214 *b*.  
Grotesques follow to f. 220 *b*.
10. The sacristan who was tempted to steal the church plate, was caught, put in the stocks, and the devil substituted for him by the Virgin; 10 scenes, f. 221.
11. *The drowned monk*; 3 scenes, f. 226.
12. The Virgin heals a sick clerk; 1 scene, f. 227 *b*.
13. The illiterate monk who only knew his *Ave*: a lily grew out of his mouth when he died; 2 scenes, f. 228.  
Story of St. Eustace, f. 229-240  
Story of St. Dunstan (?), f. 241-250.  
Story of three kings, unidentified, including a scene of the weighing of souls (f. 267 *a*), from f. 251-268 *a*.  
Story of St. Mary of Egypt; f. 268 *b*-290 *a*.  
A story of romantic character, unidentified, f. 290 *b*-315 *a*.

CAREW-POYNTZ-*Horae*.

1. *Story of S. George and Julian*, 4 scenes, f. 151 *b*—153 *a*.
2. The Virgin heals a sick clerk, f. 153 *b*.
3. A similar scene, f. 154 *a*.
4. *The temptation of the Pope*, 6 scenes, f. 154 *b*.
5. The illiterate monk, 2 scenes, f. 157 *b*.
6. *The drowned monk*, 2 scenes, f. 158 *b*.
7. The thievish sacristan; 11 scenes, f. 159 *b*.
8. *The unchaste Abbess*; 3 scenes, f. 165.
9. *The monk and the lady*; 9 scenes, f. 166 *b*.
10. *The woodman healed*; 1 scene, f. 167.
11. The story of Amoras, who sold his wife to the devil, 7 scenes, f. 167 *b*.
12. *Theophilus*; 12 scenes, f. 175.
13. The pious painter; 3 scenes, f. 181.  
Three miracles of the Sacrament follow.
14. The Jew boy in the oven; 2 scenes, f. 187 *b*.

## Q. MARY'S PRAYER-BOOK.

1. *Theophilus*, 2 scenes, f. 204 *b*.
2. *A man drowned*, 1 scene, f. 205 *b*.
3. The thief Ebbo, saved on the gallows, 1 scene, f. 206 *a*.
4. A woman saved from the devil, 1 scene, f. 206 *b*.
5. A drunken sacristan, f. 207.
6. The Jew boy in the oven, 2 scenes, f. 207 *b*.
7. *The unchaste Abbess*, 2 scenes, f. 208 *b*.
8. The illiterate monk; 2 scenes, f. 209 *b*.
9. The pious painter; 2 scenes, f. 210 *b*.
10. *The woodman healed*, f. 211 *b*.
11. An illiterate priest reinstated 3 scenes, f. 212.
12. *The drowned monk*, f. 213 *b*.
13. Miracle at Mt. S. Michel, f. 214, 2 obscure scenes.
14. Miracle of the gospel-case or corporal at Clusa, f. 215.

15. Amoras ; 2 scenes, f. 216 *b*.
16. A matron accused by the Devil, f. 217 *b*.
17. *The nun who left her cloister*, f. 218 *b*.  
2 more obscure scenes.
18. The chaplain betrothed to the Virgin, 3 scenes, f. 220 *b*.
19. The illiterate monk (again), f. 221 *b*.
20. *St. George and Julian*, f. 222 *b*.
21. The betrothed man who became a monk, f. 223 *b*.
22. Abbot Elsin saved at sea, f. 224 *b*.
23. Death of the girl Musa (?), f. 225 *b*.
24. The mass of S. Bonnet, f. 226 *b*.
25. The youth who would not curse the Virgin, f. 227 *b*.
26. A vision of the Virgin and her train, f. 228 *b*.
27. A woman who took the image of Christ as hostage for her captive son, f. 229 *b*.
28. A sick clerk healed by the Virgin's milk, f. 230 *b*.
29. Intercession for a soul by the Virgin, f. 231 *b*.

The source of the frescoes at Eton and Winchester is the collection of miracles extracted from the unidentified *Mariale Magnum* by Vincent of Beauvais, in his *Speculum Historiale*, lib. viii.

#### ETON COLLEGE CHAPEL.

##### *North Side, Upper Row from West.*

1. *a*. Lower half of saint with scroll.  
*b*. The vision of S. Michael on the Mole of Hadrian.
2. *a*. Lower half of saint with girdle (?).  
*b*. The steward of a nobleman is found to be the Devil.
3. *a*. Lower half of saint with scroll.  
*b*. The illiterate monk ; his burial.
4. *a*. Lower half of saint with scroll.  
*b*. The sick clerk healed by the Virgin.
5. *a*. Lower half of saint with scroll.  
*b*. The champion of the Virgin helped by her (?).
6. *a*. Gone.  
*b*. The pious painter saved.
7. *a*. Lower half of saint with scroll.  
*b*. A dicer who blasphemed the Virgin struck dead.
8. *a*. Gone.  
*b*. Gone.
9. A single figure gone ; probably the Virgin.

##### *Lower Row from West.*

1. *a*. S. Sativola with scythe.  
*b*. A woman who died unshriven revived.
  2. *a*. Virgin leading a dragon by a band ; S. Martha.  
*b*. The woman who took the image of Christ as a hostage.
  3. *a*. S. Etheldreda, or S. Rhadegund, a crowned abbess.  
*b*. The lady who, on Purification Day, had a vision of the Virgin attending Mass.
  4. *a*. A Virgin holding three loaves or eggs. S. Elizabeth (?).  
*b*. Gone.
  5. *a*. *b*. Gone.
  6. *a*. Gone.  
*b*. Amoras and the devil.
  7. *a*. S. Margaret emerges from the dragon.  
*b*. A man throws a stone at the Virgin's image, which bleeds ; and he dies.
  8. *a*. Gone.  
*b*. Abbot Elsin saved at sea.
  9. Single figure. A Virgin, her attribute gone.
- South Side, Upper Row from East.*
1. *a*. Gabriel.  
*b*. The Assumption.

2. *a.* Drapery and sleeve only left (S. Luke).  
*b.* Funeral of the Virgin, and miracle of the Jew who tried to upset the bier.
3. *a.* S. Ambrose.  
*b.* Theophilus and the devil.
4. *a.* Gone. (S. John).  
*b.* S. John Damascene's hand restored to him.
5. *a.* S. Gregory.  
*b.* A beam at Constantinople raised by the Virgin's help.
6. *a.* S. Augustine.  
*b.* A youth who betrothed himself to a statue of the Virgin.
7. *a.* S. Matthew.  
*b.* The Vision of S. Bonnet.
8. *a.* S. Jerome with lion at his feet.  
*b.* The Jew boy in the oven.
- 9 (single figure). Beardless male saint (S. Mark).  
*Lower Row, from East.*
- The large frescoes give the story of the Empress falsely accused (see Maxwell-Lyte's "History of Eton College," for an abridgement in English).
1. *a.* S. Catherine with sword.  
*b.* Departure of the Emperor; the Emperor imprisons his brother.
2. *a.* S. Barbara with tower.  
*b.* The brother accuses the Empress; she is banished.
3. *a.* S. Apollonia with the tooth and forceps.  
*b.* The Empress attacked by robbers.
4. *a, b.* Gone.
5. *a, b.* Gone.
6. *a.* S. Dorothea with basket of flowers.  
*b.* The Empress heals the sick.
7. *a.* Virgin with palm and book (S. Lucy or S. Christina?).  
*b.* The Empress heals her brother-in-law.
8. *a.* S. Juliana holding the devil in a chain.  
*b.* The Empress enters a convent.
- 9 (single figure). S. Agnes (?) with sword, or S. Cecilia.

## WINCHESTER LADY CHAPEL.

*Italicised* items are those which appear at Eton.

- South Side, Upper Row from East.*
1. *Youth betrothed to statue of the Virgin.*
2. Prior Silkstede. (1498-1524)
3. *Jew boy in oven.*
4. *The image taken as hostage.*
5. The beam at Constantinople raised.
6. The drowned Monk.
7. Abbot Elsin saved at sea.  
*Lower Row from East.*
1. Illiterate monk reinstated.  
 2. (Piscina).  
 3. *Vision on the Mole of Hadrian.*  
 4. Miracle at Mont S. Michel.  
 5. *Woman unshriven is revived.*  
 6. *The stone cast at the Virgin's image.*
7. *The vision of the lady on Purification Day.*
- North Side, Upper Row from East.*
1. *S. John Damascene's hand restored*
2. *The illiterate monk.*
3. The annunciation.
4. *The devil detected as steward.*
5. *A sick clerk healed.*
6. Quite effaced.  
*Lower Row from East.*
1. The thief Ebbo.  
 2. *The pious painter.*  
 3. Door.  
 4. S. Basil interceding with Julian the Apostate.  
 5. S. George raised by the Virgin to fight against Julian  
 6. S. George kills Julian.

FIELD NAMES AND THEIR VALUE, WITH A PROPOSAL FOR  
THEIR SYSTEMATIC INVESTIGATION.<sup>1</sup>

By Rev. J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A.

That a knowledge of the place-names of any country is essential to a right understanding of its history, topography, and antiquities is an accepted truth, although their systematic study is of very recent growth. The place-names of any district are the footmarks of the races which have occupied it, and tell of their pursuits and of the general conditions of life, as well as of the changes that may have supervened in the aspect or conformation of the country. These local names are never mere arbitrary sounds, bereft of sense or meaning, but as records of the comparatively near, or more often of the distant past, will always repay a careful historical investigation. Nor need we wait until we are skilled philologists, or are accurately acquainted with a variety of tongues, before we dare to approach a subject of this breadth, and of such indefinite ramifications. Some love of language and a knowledge of its changes, together with a study of the documentary evidence that exists of the immigration or emigration in historic times of the races or tribes in the district wherein we are interested, are essential; but it is only as an ordinary investigator, with no more than an average acquaintance with the niceties of local etymology that I have the temerity to come before the members of the Institute on my present task. Experts in the science of language would, no doubt, easily detect flaws in some of the attempts I have made in the past to translate field and place names, into the vulgar tongue; my present object, however, is not to embark in any possibly rash surmises as to the meanings of field or place names, but to strive to interest others in a fascinating and valuable pursuit, to point out

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Antiquarian Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Cambridge, August 12th, 1892.

how such knowledge may be obtained, and to urge the importance of a systematic enrolment of all such names in order that they may be studied on a wide and comprehensive basis.

When a mere boy, I became much interested in a treatise *On the Local Nomenclature of the Anglo Saxon*, as exhibited in the Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici, by Professor Henirich Leo, which was translated into English in 1852. When a few years later, a copy of the first edition of my now friend and neighbour Canon Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places* came into my hands, my tendencies in the direction of the study of place-names became much strengthened by that interesting book. So soon as I had settled down as a resident in the county of Derbyshire, I began to tabulate the place-names of that shire, and after a year or two had completed the extracting of the whole of the names from the Ordnance Survey Maps, comparing them with the orthography used at Domesday, and various other periods such as the taking of the Quo Warranto and Hundred Rolls, and classifying them, no doubt with a good deal of rawness and too hasty conjecture, into the different languages or periods of settlement to which they pertained. Not satisfied with this, and wishing to have my theories as to the colonising of particular dales or valleys of Derbyshire confirmed, I began to study the field names as marked on the parish or tithe commutation maps. I made the ambitious resolve to take out the whole of the field names of the county. But after I had accomplished rather more than a third of the county, giving much of the leisure of two years to the question, I found that considerations of time and expence prohibited my following up the scheme in its entirety. Journeys to this parish and that, were so often fruitless, owing to the map being mislaid or lost, or altogether wrongfully appropriated by the agents or lawyers of the great landowners, that I soon began to despair. In one instance I found that a drinking overseer had actually pledged the parish map to the village publican as a set off against his score, and the publican, who held no kind of parochial office, expected a fee from anyone desirous of inspecting it! At this time it was suggested to me that copies of almost all the Tithe Commutation Maps were probably in the custody of the



Tithe Commissioners. On enquiry at the offices, at 3, St. James's Square, I found this to be the case, but the short hours during which they could be consulted, and the half-crown fee for inspection, rigidly enforced for each map, prevented my consulting more than a portion of those of Derbyshire. The fee comes heavier than is at first sight apparent, for each township has as a rule its own map; thus in my own little parish of Barton-le-Street we have three townships, and if I recollect right the cost of inspecting the maps of some of the wide-spreading parishes in the north of Derbyshire, such as Glossop, ran into pounds. Then again, this is not work that can be done for you by any copyist or clerk (unless you have the whole map reproduced), because it is useless receiving a list or string of names unless you know the exact position of the field, and have some personal acquaintance with the locality. Probably, influence could be brought to bear, which was not at that time in my power to obtain, to induce a reduction or suspension of these fees for purely literary purposes. I had, therefore, to abandon the idea of working out by myself a whole county, even one so comparatively small as Derbyshire. When the Derbyshire Archæological Society was formed about ten years later, I endeavoured to get the idea taken up, and have repeated my efforts occasionally, but hitherto in vain.

I need scarcely say how valuable estate maps in private hands are to the student of field names. I am inclined to think that such maps, often of 17th century date, are commoner than is generally supposed. They are not only to be met with in the muniment rooms of our nobility and larger landowners, but are not infrequently in the offices of agents of smaller estates or of a single manor. But of course their occurrence is fickle and the opportunities of consulting them somewhat capricious. As an instance of their value, I may mention that among the Earl of Carlisle's papers, is a 1690 survey giving the plans of the cottages, public house, smithy, farmstead, and old castle, together with a drawing of the church, all pertaining to the village of Hinderskelf. This village was entirely swept away with

<sup>1</sup> Mr. W. T. Bensly, LL.D., of Norwich, kindly mentioned to me at the conclusion of this paper, that copies of the Tithe Commutation Maps are kept at the

Episcopal Registries of our Cathedral Cities, where they may be consulted at the 2s. 6d. fee.

a high hand in the beginning of Anne's reign, to make room for the lordly structure and domains of the Earls of Carlisle, now known as Castle Howard.

A series of maps, however, of an earlier date than those of the Tithe Commutation, which ought to be readily available, are those pertaining to the Enclosure awards. With regard to this, it may, in the first instance, be remarked that enclosures without parliamentary justification, and brought about for the most by the greed of the manorial lords to the general detriment of the community, became common towards the close of the fifteenth century. These enclosures did not, however, consist in the parcelling out of open common or wastes, but rather in the ditching and fencing in for pasture purposes of those common fields, usually found immediately adjacent to the town or village. The evils of these enclosures were so great that they attracted the attention of Parliament, early in the reign of Henry VII. In the year 1487-8, two Acts were passed, relative to this subject, stating that many towns and villages have been let down, and the fields ditched and made pastures for cattle. These Acts, which were confirmed and extended in 1514 and 1515, require that the decayed towns or villages should be re-edified. This is an important factor for the student of field names to bear in mind, and one which is generally overlooked by those parochial historians who give any attention to local nomenclature. The Black Death at the end of the fourteenth century, and the continued civil strife of the next century, coupled with the abandonment of tillage in favour of pasture on most of the demesne lands by the lords, brought about much of this village destruction. In many a parish traces of the former vill, or of groups of houses abandoned centuries ago, can be detected in the field names, as, for instance, is invariably the case with *toft*, not infrequently found away from all habitations, but which signified the *area domus vacua*, or the homestead. This one word in a field name has led to the detection of the site of a former vill, and to most interesting excavations.

The first real act of enclosure as we now understand the term, was passed in the eighth year of Queen Anne, and the next was in the twelfth year of the same reign. During the whole reign of George I, only eighteen Enclosure Acts

were passed, but whilst George II was on the throne they reached a total of two hundred and thirty-one. With the reign of George III, measures of this nature had become so popular with the governing class, that by the end of last century 2,500 Acts had been passed by which four millions of acres were enclosed. The earliest of these Acts provided that the award of enclosure, together with map or plan, should be enrolled with the Clerk of the Peace for the county, to the end that recourse may be had to the same by any person or persons interested therein, and a similar provision was made down to the time when enclosure was suspended in 1865. The Enclosure Act Consolidation Act of 1801, provided that the awards in the custody of the Clerk of the Peace, could be inspected at the charge of one shilling. Almost all these Acts, and all of a later date also require that a copy shall be deposited with the Courts of Record at Westminster, or with the Clerk of the Council of the Duchy of Lancaster, and that another copy shall be deposited in the parish chest of the parish church where the lands were situated. I suppose the official copies in London, are all forthcoming, and that they are to be found at the Public Record office, but I have made no inquiry. With regard to the awards and their accompanying plans that ought to be so easily accessible in their respective parish chests, the culpable negligence of the custodians and the illegal action of landlords, agents, and solicitors, have, alas, made away with the great majority, I believe, throughout England. In Derbyshire, this matter has been thoroughly sifted, with the result that out of a total of 146 Acts, only forty-four are in parish chests, or in the custody of the clergy or churchwardens.<sup>1</sup> But with reference to the depositing of the awards and plans with the Clerk of the Peace, I am glad to be able to report very differently. Since the muniments pertaining to the county of Derby have been of late thoroughly overhauled and arranged, out of these 146 Acts, all have come

<sup>1</sup> Anyone detecting a parish award map in private hands should insist upon its surrender to the proper authorities. The Act 3 and 4 Will. IV., cap. 87, sec. 5, enacts, "when any award is not deposited in the Parish Church in which the lands to which such award shall relate are situated, and shall not be in possession of any lord or steward of any manor, of

which manor an allotment shall have been made under such award, but shall be in the possession of any other person, it shall be lawful for anyone interested in any allotment to require the same to be deposited in the Parish Church, and the person in whose possession the same shall be shall deliver up the same to the minister and churchwardens."

to light with a single exception. Two years ago I was able to publish a complete calendar and brief analysis of them.<sup>1</sup> And yet, only a few years ago, the then Clerk of the Peace for Derbyshire assured me that he did not think he had a dozen such plans in his possession. These small rolls had got buried in masses of papers, or stuffed away in corners, or tied up improperly in the Sessional Rolls, so that their whereabouts were not known. The public can demand to search them on payment of the fee. Only last year a gentleman who asked my advice about the local nomenclature of his parish, applied to the Clerk of the Peace of his county for the award map, with the result that this old established solicitor assured him there was not such a thing in his possession of even a single parish. It would be doing an excellent service, on many grounds, if members of the Institute or others whom they could influence, would make inquiries after these enclosure awards at their respective county offices. So far as I have handled award maps, I can say that, though occasionally disappointing, they are usually fertile in field, or common, or waste names, and are most instructive and helpful, when compared with later title commutation or other maps. Sometimes there are schedules of names and owners referring to numbers on the maps, at other times names are written on the maps themselves. Briefly stated, the results to be obtained from award maps are, as a rule, of the highest value towards the due understanding of the development, or the decay of village communities, and of all the infinitely varied interests that accrue to local nomenclature. It is not a little strange how hitherto these maps have been for the most part ignored.<sup>2</sup>

Another source of information as to field names, not likely, perhaps, to occur to the ordinary antiquary, is the particulars of sales put forth by auctioneers, when estates or plots of land were in the market. These were usually advertised at length in the old county papers. I found many a lost Derbyshire field name in the files of the *Derby Mercury*, a paper which began its career early

<sup>1</sup> Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals, appendix to vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to the subject of early enclosures, the Inquisition of 1517 on the subject of enclosures and evictions, pub-

lished with a learned introduction by Mr. J. S. Leadam, in the 6th vol. (new series) of the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (1892), should be consulted.

in the last century. Old-fashioned county solicitors are sometimes in the habit of storing up, or even binding together these particulars of sales. Occasionally they are found in county collections in our large libraries. For instance, the Wolley Collections (Add. MSS. British Museum) contain a large and valuable number of these printed details of Derbyshire estates, put forth by auctioneers during the last century.

Nor should oral tradition be neglected. Where parish maps and other printed or written sources fail, it will often be found that the parishioners in country places are possessed of a surprising amount of knowledge on field nomenclature. In that excellent book of Mr. Morris's *Yorkshire Folk Talk*; the author mentions how one old Yorkshire man was readily able to go through the whole of a township (Sutton-on-Ouse) of 2,300 acres, and give the name of every field. The variation of more modern use, or of earlier tradition, will also make the oral collections of such field-names interesting, even when all have been supplied from maps.

Antiquaries need not be reminded that from monastic chartularies, from feet of fines, and from several other classes of mediæval documents, the names of fields or wastes, of streams or moors, may be often gleaned. Manor Court Rolls, also, are sometimes a mine of wealth in field-name investigation.

It is scarcely necessary to say anything more to the members of the Institute, with regard to the importance of field names. True, many of them have become so twisted and mangled in the course of time that they have almost passed beyond recognition, and are occasionally very deceptive. True, also, that others, that at first sight seem to tell a most noteworthy tale of the past, turn out, on more careful examination, to be of provokingly modern matter-of-fact origin. Nevertheless, it is surprising how brimful of interest many of them are, and what a clear tale not a few of them have to tell. Field names will often establish the sites of disused chapels or decayed manor houses, of prehistoric burials, or Roman roads and settlements, as well as help to decide the nationality of the colonists that predominated in the district at different epochs. Some of

these names will tell of a change of physical features, of swamps and islands where all is now drained and far removed from waters, or of forests and underwood where the blade of corn is now the highest vegetation; whilst others will point to the existence and arrangement and peculiar cultivation of the great common fields. Some will indicate the foolish ways in which special crops were attempted to be forced by law upon the people, for it is few parishes in some districts that have not a "Flax Piece" as a witness to the futile legislation of 24 Henry VIII, and of legislative bonus bribes of a later date; whilst others tell of trades now extinct or of metals long since worked out. Some speak of those early days when the wolf or bear roamed through our woods and dales, when the beaver dammed up the streams, and when the eagle swooped down upon its prey; whilst others tell of the weapons, whereby these and other fauna were rendered extinct. Scarcely a township can be found where some field is not termed "the Butts," names that not infrequently date back as far as Edw. IV. when it was enacted that every Englishman should have a bow of his own height, and that butts for the practice of archery should be erected near every village, where the inhabitants were obliged to shoot up and down on every feast day, under penalty of being mulcted a half-penny.

The most unpromising and ordinary looking field names often, too, have a good deal of teaching. Thus, "The Acres," or with some numeral affixed, such as "Nine Acres," "Ten Acres," or the like seem almost meaningless. But often fields with these names, as is the case in my own parish, are now and have been long in pasture. Yet where they occur, they refer back, as a rule, to the parallel slips of an approximate acre or half acre of the common arable fields of the old community, and possibly to the great national change from arable to pasture in the fifteenth century. Acre used to be an equivalent term for the corn land; thus, in the Anglo Saxon version of the Holy Gospels, our Lord is said to go "through the acres" on the Sabbath day, which we render "corn-fields"

In my own parish, in two places, nearly three miles apart, occurs the field name Bell Bottom, which has much puzzled me; for in one place the field is on very high ground, and in

the other place on a dead level in Ryedale. In one instance the name has given rise to a curious legend, about the big bell of Kirkham Abbey having been dropped in a swampy pool and sent there, when being removed, at the time of the Dissolution. But a few months ago I found the solution in Canon Atkinson's charming book *Forty years in a Moorland Parish*, wherein he shows that the term "bottom," in his parish, is a corruption from botton or bottun, a Scandinavian term for a division, dole, or allotment.

If the provincial Archæological Societies, of which most of us are members, would but take up this question in a thorough fashion, much of the greatest interest and value to both our local and general history might eventually be attained, whilst the result would be priceless so far as philology or ethnology are concerned. Now that almost the whole of these associations have placed themselves "in union" with the Society of Antiquaries of London, such joint action becomes a possibility.

Meanwhile, before the councils of our different county societies urge the matter upon us, it might be well if all those who take an interest in the question, possessed themselves of the large ordnance maps of their own parish or district, and filled up on them the field names, distinguishing (say) by T, the tithe commutation map; by A, the award map; by P, private maps; by S, information from particulars of sale; by C, charters or chartularies, and by O, oral tradition. Each county society should possess a complete set of such maps, which would eventually be duly filled up, and duplicates for the whole of England should be deposited in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House. Let it be our aim, with the limited knowledge we may possess, to carefully gather up and record the details round our own doors, and at last those greater minds will be forthcoming who will be able to formulate wise and sound deductions of a general character, from the materials thus collected.

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF POLA AND AQUILEIA.

(Continued from p. 257.)

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

A greater contrast is hardly to be found anywhere than in passing from Pola to Aquileia. In the former place we are surrounded by the beauties of Nature; the amphitheatre stands on a height, the immediate neighbourhood is hilly, and the eye wanders with delight over land and sea, surveying the calm waters of a bay studded with islands, vast tracts planted with olives, and lofty mountains forming the background of the scene.<sup>1</sup> But approaching the latter, we cross an extensive plain as flat as Holland, intersected by canals, and the traveller can hardly help exclaiming, as I heard some do in the train, "Can this be beautiful Italy?"<sup>2</sup> When he enters the city, he sees nothing remaining from classical antiquity except the name—not a single structure reared by Roman hands survives the universal wreck. As the silence of the heavens is vocal with the Creator's praise, so the absence of monuments tells us more eloquently than the most graphic historian how "*povere Aquileia*" has fallen from her high estate, and how com-

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. J. M. Neale, Notes Ecclesiastical and Picturesque on Dalmatia, &c., p. 85: "Sir Humphry Davy thought Pola harbour one of the most glorious views in the world. And marvellously beautiful it is. To our left rose the three tiers of the amphitheatre, of snow-white marble, but then reflecting the redness of a cloudless May evening. White cottage and tall spire gleamed here and there from the thick foliage of the Istrian Hills."

<sup>2</sup> Apart from the situation, the contrast between these two cities is very striking, if we look to their present condition. Pola, whose population at the end of the 18th century declined to about 800, in the year 1886 had nearly 30,000

inhabitants; and its advance in prosperity has kept pace with the numbers, as the traveller may infer from the magnificent buildings that adorn the quays. But the reader can understand the progress that has been made without the trouble of going to the place; he has only to compare two engravings appended to "Pola seine Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft, Eine Studie," Wien 1887; Tafel. ii. showing Pola in the beginning of the 19th century, Taf. iii. in the year 1886. The same publication contains Taf. i. Pola zur Zeit de Römer, Nach Kandler; and Taf. iv. Plan der Stadt 1886, Massstab 1:7200 d.N., and Pola im Jahre 1836, 1:6912, with Zeichen-Erklärung.



pletely Attila, *il flagello di Dio*, plundered and destroyed her. Nor was this barbarian alone in the work of devastation; others followed in his sanguinary track; Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Lombards and Slaves seemed to vie with each other in spoliation and ferocity. Moreover, the physical conditions of the district were unfavourable to Aquileia, for the inhabitants found refuge in islands, where the sea and lagoons offered some protection against invaders, while on the mainland their situation was hopeless.<sup>1</sup>

The only building that bears witness to former times is the Cathedral, erected by Popone, Patriarch 1019 to 1042: its tower, 83 mètres high, ending in a spire, reminds us of the grand Campanile at Venice, and the proportions are similar to what we usually see in this part of Italy.<sup>2</sup> Popone was a remarkable man, and may be said to have founded the greatness of his metropolitan see; he revived and fortified Aquileia, reformed the internal administration, and introduced the Roman law into the tribunals. Protected by three Emperors successively, he obtained from the Pope recognition of his precedence over the Patriarch of Grado, and liberated his own diocese from any obligation of submission to the Dukes of Carinthia, so that he became feudal lord of all the vassals in his wide possessions. But these advantages were not always gained by fair means; he besieged Grado with a fleet and army, and after an

<sup>1</sup> Thos. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, index at the end of vol. iv., s.v. Aquileia; but see especially vol. iii. chap. vi. pp. 196-245. The Death Grapple. It has been truly remarked that the grand outlines of this story have been sketched by Gibbon; see edit. Sir Wm. Smith, vol. iv. pp. 230-241, text and notes by the author and Dean Milman, for the invasion by Attila; and *ibid.* vol. v. pp. 7-10 for Theodoric, and the three defeats of Odoacer; but Mr. Hodgkin has filled up these outlines, and presented the subject to us in its various ramifications. From his work I quote one passage, as especially suitable for our present purpose: vol. iii. p. 210. At the eleventh mile-stone from Aquileia (ad Undecimum) the host reached the confluence of the river Frigidus with the Sontius (Isonzo). South-westwards, in the sea-like plain, rose the ghastly ruins of Aquileia, over which nearly forty years of desolation had passed. No fleets of merchantmen lined her broken wharves;

no workman's hammer resounded in her ruined Mint; the Baths, the Amphitheatre, the Forum were all silent.

The foundation of cities upon these islands has been repeatedly noticed by Ruskin, *c.g.*, *Stones of Venice*, edit. Svo., 1853, vol. i., p. 349, Appendix 1. Extract from an old chronicler, *De Monaci ed. Venetiis*, 1758, Lib. i. God, who punishes the sins of men by war-sorrows. . . . moved the chief men of the cities of the Venetian province both in memory of past and in dread of future distress to establish states upon the nearer islands of the Adriatic, to which, in the last necessity, they might retreat for refuge. *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 12, 19, Torcello.

<sup>2</sup> Neale, *op. citat.* p. 68, speaking of the Cathedral at Capo d'Istria says, 'The tower, tall, thin, and ending in a prolonged pyramid, is merely a poor copy of that adjoining S. Mark's at Venice. This remark will apply equally well to many other churches on the northern coasts of the Adriatic.'

obstinate resistance made himself master of it. Content with rescuing gold and silver vessels, a copy of the Gospels and some bodies of saints, he abandoned the town to a licentious soldiery who gratified their worst passions, levelled the altars, and disinterred the dead.<sup>1</sup> We may console ourselves, when we look back on these Dark Ages, with the reflection that humanity has made some progress, moral as well as material, and that no bishop of any church in the world could, at the present time, perpetrate crimes so atrocious.

The aggrandizement of the Archbishops of Aquileia continued under Popone's successors; they ruled over Friuli, Istria and Carniola, so that among Ecclesiastics their temporal power was inferior only to that of Rome.<sup>2</sup> As the German Emperors were frequently at variance with the Popes, they found it their interest to have a powerful ally in Venetia; accordingly they favoured the Patriarchs with additional privileges from time to time, and often succeeded in filling the office with a German.

It scarcely falls within the scope of this Memoir to describe the Cathedral of Aquileia<sup>3</sup>; detailed information is given in Capo XI. pp. 163—167, of the "Guida Storica" (1849) by Vincenzo Zandonati, who was a chemist,

<sup>1</sup> Neale, *ibid.* p. 46 sq. gives two inscriptions relating to the consecration of the Cathedral. The former is modern, brief, and unimportant—the latter much longer and worth studying. It contains the name of Poppo and an exact date, beginning thus, † ANNO DOMICÆ ICARNATOIS MXXXI . . . CONSTRUCTV || CONSECRATV E HOC TEMPLVM. Here we find mention of twelve associate Bishops *coepiscopi*, a word which occurs in Jerome, Augustin and other writers: v. Forcellini's *Lexicon*, edit. De Vit, s.v., and cf. *coepiscopatus*, with reference to Augustin, ep. 31.

At p. 45 there is a short sketch of the ecclesiastical history of Aquileia, from the preaching of St. Mark, whose disciple, Hermachoras, is said to have been the first bishop, down to recent times. The chief event in the whole period is the schism that lasted 141 years, A.D. 557-698.

<sup>2</sup> L'Istria, Note Storiche di Carlo De Franceschi pp. 97-99, capitolo xvii, Donazioni al Patriarcato d' Aquileja ed ai Vescovati; pp. 113-120, capitolo xix, L'Istria sotto i Patriarchi d' Aquileja. Patriarca Volchero. This prelate did not

hesitate to employ force, when the weapons of his spiritual armoury failed to produce the mundane results which he desired. P. 114. Il Patriarca, avverso ai Veneziani, mal comportava che i novelli suoi sudditi istriani pagassero tributi ai medesimi, e lo vietò loro sotto minaccia di scomunica e guerra. Alcune città si sottomisero ai suoi ordini, altre non vollero riconoscerne l'autorità. Egli dapprima lanciò su queste la scomunica; ma non producendo essa alcun effetto, spedì contro i ricalitranti il conte Engelberto III. di Gorizia con un esercito. See also cc. xx.-xxxiii., the last chapter includes Cessazione del dominio temporale dei Patriarchi.

<sup>3</sup> The reader might expect to find a copious account of this edifice in Dr. Neale's work quoted above, as it is specially devoted to ecclesiology. But it is omitted, because the author had not received a ground plan. This deficiency may be supplied by consulting Mr. T. G. Jackson's book, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria*, 1887, vol. iii., pp. 394-403, plates lxiv. and lxv.

resident for many years at Aquileia, and formed a private collection of Antiquities. There is also a good account of the Dom in the *Illustrirter Führer durch Triest und Umgebungen*, Hartleben's Series of Handbooks, second edition, 1886; Aquileia, pp. 37—47, Dom, p. 40 sq. Zandonati published in 1869 a useful summary of the city, entitled *La Distruzione di Aquileja Compendio Cronistorico*.<sup>1</sup>

On the return journey from Trieste to Venice, leaving the train at Ronchi, I made my way to Aquileia; between these places I called at the house of Signor Gregorutti, the most learned man in those parts, and had the pleasure to make his acquaintance. He inhabits the district called Fiumicello which is praised by ancient authors for its fertility, and, as the traveller cannot fail to observe, still maintains its reputation.<sup>2</sup> Sparing neither labour nor expense, he has procured many local antiquities, and arranged them in the grounds that surround his villa. As they include some remarkable objects, I am much indebted to the kindness and courtesy with which he explained them.

Some of these remains attracted my attention at the time, and I hope that a reference to these and others of the

<sup>1</sup> Many chemists have been eminent antiquaries, and it would be well for the analytical traveller to bear this fact in mind. As examples, I may mention that the late M. Duquénelle formed a valuable collection of coins which he bequeathed to the museum at Reims, and M. Caspari at Avenches in Switzerland was the best local authority for the discoveries made there. *Archæol. Journ.* 1885, xlii. 212, 214. In our country, Mr. Roach Smith, who followed the same occupation, was inferior to none of his contemporaries in knowledge of Romano-British remains, though he had not the verbal scholarship which is indispensable to the epigraphist.

<sup>2</sup> Herodian, who flourished in the third century after Christ, in his account of the siege of Aquileia by Maximin, lib. viii., cap. 2, p. 154, edit. Bekker, says, 'Ἡ δὲ Ἀκυληΐα . . . πολυάνθρωπος ἦν . . . πρὸς δυνόν τε μάλιστα πολύγονον χώραν γεωργούσας ἀφροϊνίαν ποτοῦ παρέιχον τοῖς ἀμπελον μὴ γεωργούσων. *Ibid.* cap. 3 the historian mentions a rumour that the local deity Belenus, identified with Apollo, frequently appeared in the air fighting

for the city, Καὶ χρησάμει δέ τινες ἐδίδοντο ὡς δὴ τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ νίκη κηρύττεισιν χροῦμένον. Βέλιν δὲ καλοῦσι τούτου, σέβουσί τε ὑπερφυῶς Ἀπόλλωνα ζῆναι ἐθέλοντες. This passage is well illustrated by an inscription, found in or about 1861, no. 4, p. 2, Dr. Carlo Gregorutti, *Le Antiche Lapidi di Aquileia Iscrizioni inedite 4<sup>to</sup> 1877*.

. . . LLIN. BELEN (Apollini Beleno)  
. . . QVILEIENSIS (C. Aquilejensis)  
. . . TVS. IIIII. VIR (Auctus)  
. . . LIAE. COACTOR (Juliae Coactor)  
. . . NTARIVS. D.D. (Argentarius)

Gregorutti thinks that the dedicator was a freedman of the municipality of Aquileia, who had entered the service of the Empress Julia.

*Coactor* is a collector of money; Horace speaks of his father as belonging to this class, *Sat.* i. 6, 86.

Si praeco parvas aut, ut fuit ipse, coactor

Mercedes sequerer.

V. note edit. Maclean; and in Suetonius (*vita Horatii*) he is called *exactionum coactor*.

same class, on the present occasion, may interest others also.

Six small altars (*arette*) dedicated to Isis, and one to Isis and Serapis; the former deity has the epithets AVG (*Augusta*) and REG (*Regina*). One in the Museo Cassis is uninscribed, but a *sistrum* (*rattle*) carved on the side suffices to identify it.<sup>1</sup> There was a Temple of the goddess on a site afterwards occupied by a small Church near Monastero, distant only a few minutes' drive from Aquileia. Considered in connection with similar monuments in Britain, these inscriptions tend to prove that the religion of Egypt was diffused, like the worship of Mithras, throughout the Roman Empire.

Inscriptions bearing letters L, VE, or VEL; Nos. 110, 201, 207, 378. These indicate the Veline tribe; and may remind us of Horace's line, *Hic multum in Fabia valet, ille Velina*: Epistles I, 6, 52. He is speaking of the slave (*nomenclator*) who accompanies his master when he is canvassing electors for their votes, and points out those who were influential in their respective tribes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* viii. 696.

Regina in mediis patrio vocat agrina sistro. The poet perhaps describes Cleopatra at the battle of Actium as using the rattle for a war trumpet. Conington in his note cites Propertius, iv., 11, 43 *ansa . . . Romanamque tubam crepitanti pellere sistro*; but in the present case a passage in Persius, Sat. v. 186 is more apposite—*cum sistro lusa sacerdos*.

Illustrations from monuments are abundant; Cohen. *Les Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain*, Tome ii., deuxième edn., 1882, p. 114. Adrien. No. 110, Rev ΛΕΓΥΡΟΣ, s.c., L'Égypte couchée à gauche tenant un sistre, le bras gauche posé sur un panier plein de fruits ou d'épis; devant elle, un ibis debout sur un cippe. Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i., pp. 316, 322-327, Woodcuts Nos. 230-235, showing *sistra* in the British and Berlin Museums, with ref. to Plutarch and other ancient authors. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Alterthums* Band iii., p. 1663, Mit den Mysterien der Isis wurde auch das *Sistrum* in Rom bekannt. Abbildung 812, Band i., p. 761, Isis in römischen Kostüm—eine marmorstatue aus dem Vatican, ergänzt nach dem gewöhnlichen Typus mit der Klapper und dem Wasserkrüge.

<sup>2</sup> The Fabian tribe also occurs at Aquileia; Gregorutti, p. 54, No. 122, now in the museum at Trieste. "Scoperta nel 1860, nella laguna di Grado, presso il Montarone (isoletta) dirimpetto al palazzo Panigai.

C'CASTRICIVS

C.F

FABIA-CLER

This tribe is included in the list of the earliest seventeen rustic tribes, known to us from texts and inscriptions: *Dict. of Antt*: 3rd Edn., vol. ii., p. 880, 2nd. column. Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*, cap. 40, vol. I., p. 275, edit. Baumgarten-Crusius *Fabianis et Scaptiensibus, tribulibus suis, die comitiorum, . . . singula millia nummum a se dividebat*. v. the note in loco. The name Fabia comes from a patrician *gens*; Velina on the other hand is derived from the river Velinus in the country of the Sabines. Livy, *Epitome* XIX., *Duae tribus adjectae sunt, Velina et Quirina*, A.U.C. 513. The other tribes mentioned in Aquileian inscriptions are ANIES, Gregorutti, p. 38, No. 81; and STE, *ibid.*, p. 39, No. 82. The former is abbreviated from Aniensis, the N being omitted, as often happens elsewhere: *De Vit. Onomast*, s.v., *tribus una ex rusticis in agro Tiburtino per quem Anio (Teverone) defluit, unde illi nomen factum. . .*

## No. 815 : Gregorutti, Le Antiche Lapidi di Aquileia.

ANNIA·MAXIMA  
 VIRGO·FIDELIS  
 QVE·VIXIT·ANN  
 XV·M·VIII·D·XXVI  
 AVR·MAXIMIANVS·ET  
 RESTITVTA·PARENTES·FILIE  
 CARISSIME·FECERVNT

1

Annia Maxima, a faithful virgin, who lived fifteen years eight months and twenty-six days. Aurelius Maximianus and Restituta her parents have erected this monument to their dearest daughter.

The deceased was perhaps a Christian martyr. Observe QVE for QVAE, and FILIE for FILIAE. Incorrect forms of words (such as these) show that the Early Christians were not good grammarians, and corroborate St. Paul's statement, "not many wise men after the flesh . . . *are called*."<sup>2</sup> The classical scholar who has visited the Vatican

A.C. 299. Livy x. 9, tribusque additae duae Aniensis ac Teretina, var. lect. Terentina, v. Weissenborn *in loco*. The latter, Stellatina, is so called from a district near the city Capena in Southern Etruria; it must not be confounded with *Stellatis Conopus*, which seems to have adjoined the Falernus ager in Campania: Smith Dict. Gr. and Rom. Geogr. s.v.; Article by Sir E. H. Bunbury. Livy vi., 5, fin. (an important passage) Tribus quattuor ex novis civibus additae: Stellatina Tromentina Sabatina Arniensis; eaeque viginti quinque tribuum numerum explevere.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Guida Manuale dello I. R. Museo dello Stato in Aquileia compilata da Enrico Maionica i.r. Professore e Conservatore, Aquileia, 1884, p. 23, Sala ii., Parete B, No. \*37. Interessante iscrizione di certo *Restatus*, che venuto dall' Africa per vedere le meraviglie d'Aquileja quivi morì e fu sepolto a spese d'un pio sodalizio: Staatssammlungen, Collezione dello Stato. Corp. Inscr. Lat. Gallia Cisalpina, part i., p. 159, No. 1703.

HIC IACEŦ RESŦVTVS PELEGER IN PACE  
 FIDELIS

Ibid. under the heading MVN.AQVILEIA, pp. 78-83, §§i-xxxi., Mommsen gives an account of the authorities for this subject, from the fifteenth century down to our own time; and p. 83 sq., a history of the city. The section on Museums is necessarily incomplete, as the volumes in the Corpus for Gallia Cisalpina were published in 1877, and the I. R. Museo

at Aquileia was opened August 3rd. 1882: Catalogue, op. citat., p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> So the Authorised Version; the words *are called* will not be found in the Greek, 1 Corinthians, i., 23, βλέπετε γάρ τὴν κλήσιν ὑμῶν, ἀελλροὶ, ὅτι οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα, οὐ πολλοὶ δυνατοὶ, οὐ πολλοὶ εὐγενεῖς. And though the revised Version retains them, it has a marginal note; Or, have part therein. Alford translates "that not many of you are wise according to the flesh," and quotes Olshausen. "The ancient Christians were for the most part slaves and men of low station," &c.

Raphael Fabretti, Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asservantur explicatio, Romae, 1699, p. 545. cap. viii. Monumenta Christianorum, No. ii., calls attention to incorrect spelling, pseudographia, in three words that occur together—BIDVHE CASTISSIME FEMINE; and refers to two similar instances in Aringhi, Roma Sotterranea, To i., pag. 291; and To. ii. pag. 263. In the former QVE stands for QVAE; the latter is very brief—EROS HILARAE BIDVE FECIT (not HILARE, as Fabretti has printed it).

This writer must not be confounded with Ariodante Fabretti, author of the Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum antiquioris aevi et Glossarium Italicum, Augustae Taurinorum (Turin) 1867, large 4to, 2110 columns; a very important work, which also contains lviii plates of inscriptions, and engravings, especially of coins, intercalated in the text.

will remember similar mistakes which he has seen in the lapidary collections of that Museum.<sup>1</sup> We have here the months and days as well as years of the deceased, but sometimes even the hours are mentioned in epitaphs. This accurate notation probably had reference to the horoscope, and we know from many passages in the poets that the Romans were greatly addicted to astrology, e.g., *Nota mathematicis genesis tua*, Juvenal Satire XIV, 248.<sup>2</sup>

No. 749.

ΕΥΤΥΧΑCEN  
ΘΑΔΕΚΕΙΜΑΙ  
ΕΤΗΖΗCΑCΚΔ  
ΗΝΔΕΠΑΤΡΙC  
ΜΟΥΤΑΥΧΕΙΡΑ  
ΝΥΝΔΕΑΚΥ  
ΛΗΙΑ.

I, Eutychas, lie here, having lived twenty-four years, Tauchira was my country, but Aquileia is now.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the notice of the Galleria Lapidaria in Murray's Handbook for Rome, Sect. i., § 26, Palaces—Vatican Museum, and *ibid.* Lateran Museum. Mr. Hodder Westropp, Handbook of Archaeology, p. 398, following De Rossi, says, "One of the leading peculiarities of these (Christian) inscriptions is the frequent disregard of the usual rules of grammar, and the tendency to the corruption of words," &c., and appends some examples.

<sup>2</sup> Sat. vi., 553-591 is a *locus classicus* for astrology; v. Ruperti's explanatory commentary, and Heinrich's Erklärung. Gifford in his translation, Vol. i., p. 269, edit. 1817, note on v. 828, appositely quotes Ammianus Marcellinus, for the historian uses almost the same words as the poet who wrote about 300 years earlier. lib. xxviii., cap 4, §24, p. 416, edit. Eysenhardt. *Multi apud eos negantes esse superas potestates in caelo, nec in publico prodeunt nec prandent nec lavari arbitrantur se cautius posse, antequam ephemeride scrupulose sciscitata didicerint, ubi sit verbi gratia signum Mercurii, vel quotam cancri sideris partem polum discurrens optineat luna.* Ammianus is here describing the vices and follies that prevailed at the beginning of the fifth century. The whole passage is translated and annotated by Gibbon, Decline and Fall, chap. xxxi. vol. iv., pp. 77-83, edit. Sir Wm. Smith. Tacitus *Historics*, i., 22, *infidum hominum genus &c. (i.e. Mathematici)*. Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, edit. 8vo, vol. i., p. 153, esp. note 5. Chrysostom complains that even

Christians, in his day, were led away by this passion for horoscopes. See *Hom.* iv. on 1 Cor.; *ibid.* pp. 178-180, *reff.*

A numismatic illustration is supplied by a bronze coin of Antioch, showing a ram (constellation Aries) with star and crescent: Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, pt. i., p. 42, Taf. xlix., No. 220a, Auf dem Revers der Widder, als das Himmelszeichen, unter welchem Antioch gegründet worden. *Obv.* ANTIOXEQN; *Rev.* ΕΤΟΥC Δ9Ρ=194, *d.i.* [147 und.] 146 n. Chr.—die Angabe des Jahres nach Antiochenischer Aera, in welchem die Münze geschlagen. B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum, A Manual of Greek Numismatics, Antiochia ad Orontem*, p. 657, § (iv.)

<sup>3</sup> The vestibule (atrio) of the Museum at Aquileia contains many Christian sepulchral stones, inscribed with Greek or Latin characters, Catalogue, pp. 9-12. Comp. p. 10, No. 19, *Iscrizione d'Eutichius* coll' immagine di due colombe e rami d'ulivo. C. I. L. Gallia Cisalp., vol. i., No. 1649: *ibid.* p. 27, No. \*95, *Interessante lapide sepolerale del sacerdote Moschas Eutyches*, che visse oltre 110 anni, a lui dedicata dal suo successore *Flavius Eutyches*, C. I. L. Gall. Cisalp. vol. ii., No. 8294, and Gregorutti, p. 20 sq., No. 48, and p. 248.

In antiquity many persons bore the name of Eutyches, or one like it. We find among them a gem-engraver, a sculptor and a grammarian: see Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography*; but the most famous seems to have been an ecclesiastic in the fifth century, author of



suppose the cross to be a Christian symbol, but this is not certain; such an opinion is supported by the fact that the Cantian family produced many martyrs distinguished in the annals of the Aquileian Church. Their name also occurs on a sepulchral urn preserved in the Museo dello Stato at this city: see the Catalogue p. 11. No. 42.<sup>1</sup> Chrestus may be another form of Christus; we have, according to some writers, an example of it in Tacitus, Annals xv., 44,<sup>2</sup>—the well-known passage where the historian mentions the name of our Saviour, and characterizes Christianity as a pernicious superstition, probably mistaking it for a Jewish sect. *Titulus* commonly means an inscription, but here it must be translated by the word *monument* or *memorial*. I discussed the latter signification in a Paper upon an epitaph found near Brougham Castle, which was read before the Society of Antiquaries.<sup>3</sup>

No. 760 is a great altar, restored to its original condition by carefully uniting the six fragments which composed it. On the right side the goddess Fors Fortuna is

<sup>1</sup> According to others the cross indicated that the deceased was employed in making this instrument of punishment for slaves.

<sup>2</sup> Quos per flagitia inuisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. See the note of Lipsius, No. 84, p. 279. in his edition of Tacitus, Antverpiæ, M.DC.VII., Sive, *Christianos*, ut scripsere per inscitiam illi, and comp. Suetonius, Claudius, c. 25, Judæos, impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit. Tertullian, Apologeticum, cap. iii. edit. Oehler, tom. i., p. 125, Christianus vero, quantum interpretatio est, de unctione deducitur. Sed et cum perperam Chrestianus pronuntiatur a vobis (nam nec nominis certa est notitia penes vos), de suavitate vel benignitate compositum est. v. *apparatus criticus* and explanatory notes *in loco*, also Dean Plumptre's Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, p. 191, Cassell's edition for schools, note on chap. xi., v. 26. Lactantius, Divinae Institutiones, lib. iv., cap. vii., De nomine Filii; atque unde Jesus et Christus appellatur, edit. Le Brun et Dufresnoy, t. i., p. 287. Sed exponenda hujus nominis (Christus) ratio propter ignorantium errorem, qui eum immutatâ litterâ Chrestum solent dicere, v. footnote and p. 660. Pape, op. citat. s.v., *Χρηστός d. i. Χριστός*: Corp. Inscr. Græc.

vol. iv. No. 9288, Vs. 8 Pars. xl., Inscr. Christianæ. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, βοήθει τῷ γράψαντι πανοικί. Meli in Catacombis Christianorum anno 1844 repertis.

<sup>3</sup> May 13th, 1875, Proceedings, second series, vol. vi., pp. 387-390; see esp. p. 389, reference to Zehetmajer, Lexicon Etymologicum Comparativum, s.v. De Vit. in his edition of Forcellini's Lexicon, cites Orelli's Inscriptions, vol. ii., p. 441, no. 5048, SI QVIS || EVM TITVL. ADVLTERAVRIT (sic) ALIENIGENVM. CORP. AVT. OSSA. AVT. CINERES || IN HOC MONVM. INFERRE VOLENS; and gives various forms of the word *titulus*, *tetulus*, *tetalus*, *titelus*, *titlus* by syncope, *τίτλος* in St. John's Gospel, xix., 19, 20 (title on the Cross of our Lord), also *titulum* in the neuter gender. Raphael Fabretti, Inscr., p. 8, No. xlvii., OSSA sub hoc tumulo pia sunt. . . Amphio mi frater hoc titulum posuit.

If any one will take the trouble to read through De Vit's article he will see the great and numerous improvements which he has made on his predecessors. The English edition of Forcellini does not give either differences in orthography, or the meaning as equivalent to *monumentum*. De Vit, as usual, has availed himself of recent authorities; in this instance he refers to De Rossi, Le Blant, and others.



represented, holding a rudder in her hand, and placing her left foot on a globe, upon which parallels of latitude and meridians of longitude are drawn.<sup>1</sup> Such a delineation is believed to be unique in antiquity. These attributes denote the power of fortune extending over land and sea—*terra marique*.<sup>2</sup> On the left side we see a *patera*, and a wreath suspended by a ribbon. The inscription begins with M.M., *i.e.*, Marti Mercurio. Again a scriptural name presents itself, and one with which we are all familiar in connection with charitable societies—Dorcas, Acts ix., 36, 39 (in Hebrew Tabitha, v. Alford's note); but it is to be observed that DORCHAS was engraved on the stone, though from the Greek *Δορκάς* we should not expect to find the letter H there.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The frequent recurrence of Fortuna on coins is shown by the Table des Légendes des Revers in Cohen's Médailles Impériales, Supplément vol. vii., p. 452 sq., where the list of examples occupies more than a page, and contains the epithets *felix*, *manens*, *reduc*, &c. We have a proof here of the importance the Romans attached to good fortune: so Cicero, in his Oration pro lege Manilia, chap. xvi., specially recommends Pompey on account of his *felicitas* and *egregia fortuna*. Comp. Hirt, Bilderbuch für Mythologie, p. 110, Die glücklichen, erfreulichen und behaglichen Zustände und Ereignisse wurden häufig personifizirt, besonders auf Münzen. The representations of this deity on the coins of the *gens Rustia* are very remarkable: they are well described by M. Ernest Babelon in his Monnaies de la République Romaine, tome ii., p. 411 sq., with plates intercalated in the text. No. 2, Q. RVSTIVS, heads of Fortuna victrix, helmeted, and Fortuna felix, diademed, facing each other, infra FORTVNAE; No. 3, conjugated busts of the same goddesses upon a pedestal ending on each side in a ram's head; Fortuna victrix holds a patera; legend, Q. RVSTIVS FORTVNAE ANTIAT (*Antiates*).

Cf. Horace, Odes i., 35, l. O diva gratum quae regis Antium, and the engraving in Milman's edition. Probably Martial refers to the subject of this device, Epigrams, v., l. 3.

Seu tua veridicæ discutunt responsa  
sorores,

Plana suburbani qua cubat unda freti.  
This explanation, which Paley and Stone

in their edition of Martial, p. 138, are inclined to reject, seems to be confirmed by Suetonius, Caligula, chap. 57, Monnerant et Fortunæ Antiatiæ, ut "a Cassio caveret."

Tacitus, Ann. iii, 71; Orelli's Inscr., Nos. 1738-1740.

The ram's head is supposed to be derived from some tradition in the *gens Rustia*. Millin, Galerie Mythologique, vol. i., p. 90, no. 359, pl. lxxii. (Explication des Planches), and ibid. p. 210, says that the two Fortunes on the coin hold dolphins, which he accounts for by reference to the maritime commerce of Antium, but he is altogether mistaken. Nor has Addison been successful in his interpretation: Remarks on several parts of Italy, Tonson's edition of his works, 1765, vol. iv., p. 190 sq. Cf. Morell, Thesaurus Numismaticus, Tom. ii., Familiae Romanæ, p. 368 sq. Tab Rustia, No. ii.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase occurs on a large brass of Nero: PACE P. R. TERRA MARI Q. PARTA IANVM CLVSIT S. C. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet. vol. vi. pp. 273-275; Admiral Smyth, Descriptive Catalogue of Roman Imperial Medals, p. 43. Cicero, in Catilinian, ii., c. 5, §11. Omnia sunt externa unius (*i.e.* Pompeii) terra marique pacata.

<sup>3</sup> *Δορκάς* is a kind of antelope, so called from its large bright eyes, *δερχομαι*, *δέδορκα*, Liddell & Scott, s.v.; Herodotus, Melpomene, iv., 192, has a different form Πίγαργοι καὶ ζορκάδες καὶ βομβάλιες, but one MS. reads *δορκάδες*; v. Baehr's note *in loco*.

No. 705.

S A B I N V S D E C E S
S I I D E S E C V I _ O A N
N O R V M Q V I N Q V A
N I A E X P R O I C E O R B Y 7

Sabinus departed this life, aged 50 years, formerly a protector, well-deserving.

I have quoted this inscription because it gives us the characters used in a debased period, which differ materially from those that belong to the latter age of the Republic, or to the earlier Empire. The horizontal stroke of the T is so short that this letter may be mistaken for I; in E also the due proportions of the parts are not kept. In the last line "P illustre Mommsen" has suggested the reading *ex protector bene merens*, which is a great improvement on previous conjectures. EX here is equivalent to the French *ci-devant*—a meaning of the preposition which I have already noticed in my Paper on the Roman Antiquities of the Middle Rhine.<sup>1</sup>

If the classical tourist is not so fortunate as to have an introduction that will procure him admission to Signor Gregorutti's private collection, he should take care to visit the Museum of the Austrian Government at Aquileia. There he will at once perceive how the soil teems with antiquities, and that it is, to use the expressive German word, a veritable Fundort—a finding place. Suffice it to say that recent excavations in two years produced forty new inscriptions, without counting fragments, more than a hundred cinerary urns, a rich series of sculptures, a hundred glass vases of different shapes, and a great quantity of gems and other small objects, such as coins, bronzes, ivories, terra-cottas, etc.

Wall A of the first hall is occupied almost exclusively by sepulchral stones commemorating Roman officers and soldiers, and showing various arms, both offensive and

<sup>1</sup> It had been proposed to read "*ex professione tectorum*" or "*ex Regione Rotiecorum*." With reference to the latter interpretation Gregorutti remarks, "nome geografico del tutto sconosciuto," *Le Antiche Lapidi di Aquileia*, p. 208.

See the Appendix to this Paper, *Archaeol. Journ.*, 1890, vol. xlvii., p. 395 sq. Dr. Joseph von Hefner, *Das Römische Bayern in seinen Schrift- und Bildmalen*, Dritte Auflage, Index p. 363, *Exaquilifero*, *Exbeneficiario*, &c.

defensive. Those who wish to study the military costume of the Ancients, should compare these reliefs with the grand collection at Mayence, which has been so well described by its learned Curator, Dr. Lindenschmit in his illustrated work, *Die Alterthümer unser heidnischen Vorzeit*.<sup>1</sup>

The following seem to deserve attention :—

A Cupid holding a torch and riding on a dolphin, said to symbolize the transmigration of souls to the Islands of the Blest.

A woman with her arms tied behind her back, an emblem of a conquered province—(*provincia capta*).<sup>2</sup>

Torso of a nude male figure, incomplete, and therefore more interesting, as it shows the method in which the ancient sculptors worked.

Decree of the decurions of Aquileia in honour of Arruntius Julianus—in the fourth line the abbreviations QVFSIOAQVIL should be expanded thus—*quod verba facta sunt in ordine Aquileiensi*.

Inscription of the Emperor Maximin (A.D. 235—238) recording the reconstruction of the Via Gemina from the city-gate to the bridge over the Isonzo (*Sontius*).

Honorary inscription with the name of the Empress Salonina, wife of the Emperor Gallienus (A.D. 260-268), erased.<sup>3</sup> This practice was not unusual : we have an

<sup>1</sup> The first volume contains ninety-four plates, see esp. *Römische Sculpturen; Waffen, Grabsteine*, Heft iii., Tafel 7; Heft iv., Taf. 6; Heft vi., Taf. 5; Heft vii., Taf. 5; Heft viii., Taf. 6; Heft ix., Taf. 4; Heft x., Taf. 5; Heft xi., Taf. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. the story of the prisoner Sinon in Virgil, *Æneid*, ii., 57, *Ece, manus juvenem interea post terga revinctum Pastores magno ad regem clamore trahebant Dardanidae*; and v. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom, &c.*, p. 15, Pl. vi; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, i., 396.

Cohen explains well the famous medal of Titus that commemorates the conquest of Jerusalem, vol. i., pl. xvi., No. 194, p. 364, reverse, *IVD. CAP.*, Palmier; à gauche, une Juive en pleurs, assise sur des armes; à droite, un Juif debout, les mains liées derrière le dos, &c. *Ibid.* Domitian, pl. xvii., No. 351, p. 429, Rev. *GERMANIA CAPTA*; the device is similar, but a trophy stands between two figures.

<sup>3</sup> Eckhel, op. citat. vol. vii., pp. 418-

420, remarks on her coins,  *nihil tamen hi (numi) ad historiam memorandum continent præter nomina*. Good phototype copies, from plaster casts, of two *auræi* may be seen in the catalogue of the Vicomte Ponton d'Amécourt's Collection, published by MM. Rollin et Feuardent, 1887, p. 79, No. 523 sq.

Observe here the fashion of dressing the hair in wavy lines—very different from that lofty, unbecoming head-dress which prevailed under Trajan and Hadrian, and is shown by the medals of Plotina, Marciana, Matidia and Sabina: Juvenal, Sat. vi., 502 sq., *altum Edificat caput*. Comp. Böttiger's *Sabina oder Morgenszenen im Putz-zimmer einer reichen Römerin*, vol. i., p. 164. This style soon passed away, as we know it was not adopted by Faustina, Senior or Junior. On the other hand, Salonina, wife of Gallienus, Emperor 260-268 A.D., has her hair arranged in much the same manner as Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, Emperor 193-211 A.D.

example of it on an Egyptian column (guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum, 1890, p. 58, No. 16), and also in the case of Elagabalus, for which see Bruce, *Roman Wall* pp. 159, 161; and *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 67, sq.<sup>1</sup>

Fragment of inscription mentioning repairs of the walls and towers of the city.

Inscription of Claudia Semne, wife of M. Ulpus Crotonensis, freedman of Trajan (A.D. 98—117) She died at Rome, and her magnificent tomb has been discovered there: Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscr.*, Lat. Vol. I, p. 71, No. 240.<sup>2</sup>

Christian inscription of Julia Gaudentia. One Gaudentius is said to have been a Christian, and architect of the Colosseum, but this tradition is dubious: Professor Middleton, *Ancient Rome* in 1885, p. 303, note 1.<sup>3</sup>

Finial of a sepulchral monument, in the form of a fir-cone, as we see it at Augsburg.<sup>4</sup>

Cinerary urns of *square* shape.

Reliefs supposed to represent the Phrygian deity Atys, as a symbol of death.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We cannot be surprised that Salonina's name was effaced because she was the consort of a luxurious, profligate and unpopular tyrant (Gibbon, chap. x., vol. i., p. 407 sq. ed. Smith), who perished by assassination; Trebellius Pollio, in the Augustan History, edit. Peter, xxiii., c. 16, delineates his character, "natus abdomini et voluptatibus, dies ac noctes vino et stupris perdidit." For Salonina, v. *ibid.*, c. 21, §3.

The practice of erasure was common in Egypt; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii., p. 281 sq., mentions a king having erased a name and introduced his own in its stead; v. Plate on p. 280, No. 381, figs. 5, 6, at Chenoboscion. *a* has been cut over *d*. Vaux, *Handbook to the Antiquities of the British Museum*, p. 309, *Egyptian Saloon*, No. 61, Statue of a Monarch, "The name on the belt has been erased." Similarly, No. 26, the name of the god Set or Typhon has been obliterated.

<sup>2</sup> *Romae rep.* 'cum statua Spei, Semnes faciem monstrantis.' Orelli, *Inscr.*, vol. ii., p. 294, No. 4,456, with ref. to Zoëga. Marini and Uhden, and note 1); cf. *ibid.*, p. 312. No. 4,585; Raphael Fabretti, p. 267, ix.

<sup>3</sup> "Who the architect of the Colosseum was is unknown; the sepulchral inscription which was found in the catacomb of S. Agnese, which has been popularly supposed to show that a Christian named Gaudentius was its architect, does not refer to the Colosseum at all, and does not even say that Gaudentius was an architect."

<sup>4</sup> See the beautiful and elaborate frontispiece to Marci Velseri Matthaei F. *Ant. N. Patricii. Aug. Vind. Rerum Augustanar. Viudelicar. Libri octo, mdcxiv.*, and lib. iv., pp. 71-78. and *ibid. Monumenta Augustae Vind.*, p. 205, with engravings.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, pp. 68-71, plates xv.-xix., gives an account of some works of art, executed in a superior style, which were found near London Bridge, in 1837, during an excavation of the bed of the Thames for the purpose of rendering the river more navigable; amongst them was a figure of Atys, represented in two aspects, pl. xix. He wears a Phrygian cap, and carries boughs heavily laden with fruit, emblems of his prolific power. For the same reason his dress is thrown open in front. The worship of Atys and Cybele is described by Preller, *Les Dieux*

Sepulchral relief—marble slab on which pilasters are carved, with architrave and cornice. The deceased reclines, holding a cup in his left hand, and a horn (*rhyton*) in his right. The wife sits opposite to him; in front of the couch is a table, and different kinds of food upon it. A nude youthful figure faces the spectator; he stretches out his right arm, and has a large vessel (*krater*) at his side. Compare Böttiger's *Sabina*, Vol. II. Tafel XII. fig. 1. copied from Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, Lettre X, Tome I, p. 167, edit. 4to.<sup>1</sup>

Aquileia was the only city in Italy, outside Rome, that had a mint of its own. I exhibit a double denarius struck there by Valentinian I, one of the greatest and most successful among the later Emperors.<sup>2</sup> Hitherto, as far as I am aware, the only published account of it is that contained in the Appendix to my paper on Roman Antiquities of the Middle Rhine, *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XLVII. p. 399. The letters in the exergue SMAQ, i.e., *signata moneta Aquileiæ* indicate the *atelier monétaire*.<sup>3</sup>

I have the pleasure also to produce five mediæval coins. One of them, which is very rude, has on the obverse a head surmounted by four globules arranged as a cross, a crossier on the left side, and a star of five rays on

de l'ancienne Rome, p. 484 sq., Les Fêtes de la Magna Mater et d'Attis (cf. O.T., I. Kings xviii., 28) ; see also his *Griechische Mythologie*, vol. i., pp. 508-511.

<sup>1</sup> The details of this engraving are explained by Böttiger, op. citat., vol. ii., pp. 255-257, Erklärung der Kupfertafeln zur achten Szene. We have a similar subject in the British Museum, The visit of Bacchus to Icarus. The latter sits upon a couch . . . in front of him stands a tripod table bearing a cantharus or two-handed drinking cup and fruit cakes. Sir H. Ellis, *Townley Marbles*, vol. ii., pp. 140-145; cf. Spon, *Miscellanea Erudite Antiquitatis*, p. 310, pl. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> He well deserved the title we find on the reverse of his coins, *RESTITVTOR REPUBLICÆ*. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, vol. vi., pp. 398-400, Nos. 19-27; vol. vii., *Supplément*, p. 401, No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Since writing the text of this memoir I visited Budapest and the remains of Aquincum, in the neighbourhood, a few miles higher up the Danube. As the local antiquaries maintain that there was a mint at Aquincum, it has

occurred to me that the abbreviation SMAQ might refer to this city, the first two letters, AQ, being the same as in Aquileia. Moreover, we know that Valentinian I. was not only a native of Pannonia, but also personally conducted military operations against the Quadi, who lived on the north bank of the Danube, and died at Bregetio, which is East of Comorn. These circumstances at least make it probable that he should strike money in this province. I do not know whether any numismatist has anticipated my conjecture concerning the attribution of the above mentioned *denarius*: of course, it would be desirable to ascertain the *provenance* of coins bearing AQ in the legend in order to decide the question.

See Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, vol. v., Valentinien I., art. xxii., p. 53, Forts bastis sur le Danube; esp. xxxi., pp. 72-74, Ravage les pays des Quades. His embankment at Alta Ripa, near the junction of the Neckar with the Rhine, has been noticed in the *Archæol. Journ.* loc. citat., p. 398. Gibbon, chap. xxv., vol. iii., p. 289 sq. edit. Smith.

the right; below are three double lines with serrated edges to represent the neck and breast: the reverse shows three towers on an arch formed by two double lines, with a row of dots between them, and on the top of each tower four globules, placed in the same order as before. Three others are varieties of one type: *obv.* Patriarch seated with crosier in right hand and book in left, wearing a bifurcated mitre; *rev.* in two examples the upper part of a church—two towers terminating in a triangle and dot, between them a pediment—and a Maltese cross above it; in the third example, we see two large towers, three small ones, wall with courses of masonry distinctly marked, and an archway in the centre. It has been doubted whether the preceding, which are coins of the Twelfth Century, should be assigned to Patriarchs of Aquileia or to Archbishops of Salzburg and the mint of Friesach in Carinthia.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, I have a denarius about which there can be no mistake; it is one of Gregorio di Montelongo, 1251—69, *obv.* similar to those already mentioned, *rev.* a lily occupying the field, with the legend AQUILESIA.<sup>2</sup> This is the ethnic name, the adjective agreeing with *civitas*, a word which so often occurs on English money, *e.g.* *civitas Londinensis*. The flower, as a device, is said to have come originally from Florence.

I cannot address an Archæological Society without thinking of the loss we have sustained in the departure of one well known to many members of the Institute, and nearly related to myself—of one who was ready to promote every good work, and realized before our eyes the noble sentiment of Terence

Homó sum; humani nihil a me alienúm puto.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> La Zecca de' Patriarchi d'Aquileia, Studio di Alberto Puschi, Trieste, 1884, Estratto dal Progr. del Ginnasio Com. sup. 1883-1884. Engravings of coins on pp. 26, 27, 29, 30, 39, 45, 52, 59, esp. the first four. Promis on the coins of Aquileia.

Mons<sup>r</sup>. V.-J. Vaillant pointed out to me that the appearance of bifurcation is produced by wearing the mitre transversely.

Friesach is a small town close to the frontier of Styria, North of Klagenfurt the capital of Carinthia, and a railway

station on the line from Bruck to Villach. Baedeker, Süd-Deutschland und Österreich, p. 438, edit. 1876, with accompanying map.

<sup>2</sup> Puschi, *ibid.*, account of his Patriarchate, p. 41; and of his coinage, pp. 42-44. See also catalogue of coins and medals published by Adolph E. Cahn, Frankfurt-am-Main, No. 11, Feb. 1891; p. 20, Nos. 873-875.

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. Samuel Savage Lewis, M.A., F.S.A., Fellow and Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

But his studies and pursuits, as a collector, inclined him to regard with special favour, and assist with the greatest kindness, fellow-labourers in the same field; and, in particular, he often contributed valuable illustrations to the Papers I have had the honour to read here. I therefore hope it will not be considered unbecoming that, in this our place of meeting, I should offer to his cherished memory a fraternal tribute of gratitude and affection.

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#### APPENDIX.

It is quite unnecessary to describe here the Roman buildings at Nîmes—the Amphitheatre (les Arènes) Maison-Carrée and Temple of Diana: suffice it to refer to the copious list of authors contained in the Introduction to Joanne's Guide for Provence-Corse, Alpes Maritimes, 12<sup>mo</sup>., 1877 (Itinéraire Général de la France), p. xxxiii., Bibliographie du Département du Gard. On the other hand, as the numismatic memorials of the city are less known but remarkable, it may be well to invite attention to them. Bronze coins have been found in great abundance, having on the obverse, two heads, probably of Augustus and Agrippa, placed back to back, with the legend IMP. P.P. DIVI. F., and on the reverse a crocodile chained to a palm tree, apparently relating to the conquest of Egypt, with the legend COL NEM. To these medals a singular appendage is joined in the form of a hind's fore-leg and foot ( *pied de biche* ): See Caylus, Recueil d'Antiquités Egyptiennes, Etrusques, Grecques et Romaines, section on Nîmes, tome ii., pp. 339-366, Pls. xxviii.-cvii., 4<sup>to</sup>. His explanation seems to me very plausible; at p. 340 he expresses the opinion that we have here votive offerings (*ex-voto*), which were cast into the fountain of Diana. One thing at least is certain—these pieces could never have been in circulation. Caylus appositely cites a passage from Pausanias, Attica, lib. i., cap. xxxiv., § 3 (edit. Schubart and Walz, vol. i., p. 172 sq.), who tells us that in the territory of Oropus there was a fountain of Amphiaræus, and that when persons were cured of a disease, in consequence of the response of his oracle, it was the practice to throw into the fountain gold and silver coins. *Νόσον δὲ ἀκεσθείσης ἀνδρὶ μαντικεῖματος γενομένου καθέστηκεν ἀργυρον ἀφέναι καὶ χρυσὸν ἐπίσημον* (signatum) *ἐς τὴν πηγὴν*. In support of this view we may remark that there was a temple at Nîmes bearing the name of Diana, though others call it a Nymphaeum, a fane dedicated to the nymphs. Fergusson, History of Architecture, vol. i, p. 283 sq., describes the peculiarities of the design, with illustrations, fig. 180 plan, fig. 181 interior. From Laborde. The Index in vol. ii. may mislead, for there we read “Maison Carrée or Temple of Diana,” as if the former were the modern name of the latter.

The hind's foot would be appropriate in an offering to the goddess of the chase; so we see the famous statue in the Louvre, la Diane à la

Biche (usually considered the most beautiful representation of this deity that has come down to us from antiquity), accompanied by the stag of Cerynceia: Clarac, Musée de Sculpture, Antique et Moderne, Planche 284, No. 1202, figure seen from three different points of view; Texte, Tome Quatrième, p. 34 sq. Crystal Palace, Roman Court, Catalogue by Mr. George Scharf, p. 42 sq. His account is chiefly derived from the French author.

Nemausus, as I have already said, was the capital of the Volcae Arecomici (Département du Gard), corresponding with Tolosa, the capital of the Volcae Tectosages (Département de la Haute-Garonne); the former occupied the country between Narbonne and the Rhône, the latter were north of the Pyrenees and south of the Cadurei and Ruteni (Quercy and Rouergue). For their coins see Hucher, *L'Art Gaulois ou les Gaulois d'après leurs Médailles*, part i., p. 61; index, *Volks-Tectosages, Leurs monnaies au type de Rhoda*, p. 22; *Volks-Arecomiques, Leurs monnaies*, pp. 22 and 32, comp. part ii., p. 118 sq.: and my Paper on Roman Antiquities in Touraine and the Central Pyrenees, Appendix, *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xlv., p. 351 sq., where many references are given. The later money of the Tectosages was quadrangular, and must have been nearly as inconvenient as the fish-hooks used for currency in the East: Prof. Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency, &c. Primitive systems. Fish-hooks*, pp. 27-30, Fig. 6. Hucher, *op. citat.*, p. 22, On a exhumé des masses de ces monnaies bizarres chez les Rutènes, et jusque dans la Charente. Comp. Adolphe Duchalais, *Description des médailles gauloises de la bibliothèque impériale, Volcæ Arecomici (in genere) et Nemausus*, Nos. 250-292, pp. 71-83. Nemausus. Autonomes, Auguste et Agrippa—Incertaine.

I have called attention to Bernoulli's *Römische Iconographie*, because it is the most important book of the kind that has appeared since the sumptuous work of E. Q. Visconti—an Atlas of Plates, large folio, to accompany part i. *Iconographie Grecque 1811*, and part ii. *Iconographie Romaine 1817*. Visconti himself wrote vols. 1, 2, 3 of the text of *Icon. Gr.*, and vol. i. of *Icon. Rom.*; the remaining three volumes of the second part are a continuation by Monger.

C for Σ has been already mentioned as occurring in an Inscription relating to the worship of Augustus at Alexandria. For this change see Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet, An Account of the Origin and Development of Letters*, vol. ii., page 105, and note 1. "Out of the transitional form C arose the ordinary lunar form C, which appears on coins as early as the time of Pyrrhus, and is universal in early MSS." Aeschrius, said to have been a pupil of Aristotle, calls the new moon τὸ καλὸν οὐρανοῦ νέον σίγμα, and similarly the orchestra is τὸ τοῦ θεάτρον σίγμα. Comp. Martial, *Epigrams*, x., 48, 6, where he is speaking of a semi-circular couch,

Septem sigma capit : sex sumus ; adde Lupum.

See the edition of Paley and Stone, note on No 545, p. 348. *Ibid.* xiv., 87, Stibadia.

Accipe lunatâ scriptum testudine sigma :

Octo capit : veniat, quisquis amicus erit.

Liddell and Scott's *Greek Lexicon*, initial article Σ. Key, on the *Alphabet*, p. 32, plate iii., *Greek Alphabets continued*, No. 36, *Codex*



Alexandrinus. The form C is employed by the transcriber of this manuscript, now in the British Museum; v. *ibid.*, p. 35. Mr. G. Scharf, Description of the Greek Court in the Crystal Palace, p. 22, says, "During the Alexandrian period...the Σ was altered into C, the angular form of the Ε abandoned for the circular C, and *omega* Ω changed to a reversed M thus κ. These innovations first appeared on the coins of Antony and Cleopatra." From what has been already said it follows that the latter statement is incorrect, as far as regards the use of C. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 46, Sepulchral bas-relief in fac-simile, of very late times, where the words TIC, CKHNOC, ΘΕΡΚΕΙΘIC occur.

Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. i, p. 176, refers (incorrectly, I think) the didrachm of Locri above-mentioned to the Hannibalian War, and quotes a passage in Plutarch's Life of Flaminius, which is most apposite, because Ζεύς, Πίστις and Ῥωμαῖοι are contained in it,

πίστιν δὲ Ῥωμαίων σέβομεν  
τὰν μεταλευκοτάταν ὄρκους φυλάσσειν  
μέλπετε κοῦραι,  
Ζῆνα μέγαν Ῥώμαν τε Τίτον θ' ἄμα Ῥωμαίων τε πίστιν  
ἰήε Παῖάν, ὃ Τίτε σῶτερ.

Fidem vero Romanorum veneramus a nobis jurejurando obstrictis quam candidissimam servandam. Canite virgines JOVEM magnum et ROMAM, et una Titum et Romanorum FIDEM. Io Pacem, o Tite servator.

Attention should be directed to the head on the obverse, which is probably that of Ζεύς ὄρκιος, invoked at an oath, *jurisjurandi praeses*. In Plutarch's *Vitae Parallelae*, edit. Surtensis, vol. ii, p. 209, we have a variant *μεγαλευκοτάταν* (v. his note). But Eckhel's reading is supported by the practice of the *Flamines* in the worship of Fides; at sacrifices they had their right hands enveloped in *white* linen: See Preller's Roman Mythology, French Translation, Troisième Partie, Les Dieux du Ciel, II, Jupiter C. Fides, p. 171 sq. *publica vel populi Romani*.

The Roman idea of this deity is admirably expressed by A. Hirt, Bilderbuch für Mythologie, Archäologie und Kunst, zweites Heft, p. 108 sq. Die Treue in Familienverhältnissen, gegen die Gesetze, gegen das Vaterland, der Bündnisse zwischen Völkern: was kann der Menschheit heiliger seyn? The word Fides, meaning loyalty or allegiance, often appears on coins: Cohen, Médailles Impériales, vol. vii., p. 450 sq. Table des Légendes des Revers, FID. EXERC. Commode . . . FIDES VICTOR. Probus. We find here great variety of expression, e.g., Fides militum, cohortium, equitum, exercitus, Praetorianorum, publica. Fidelity is sometimes personified as a female holding military standards.

Πίστις is also said with reference to historical and legendary tradition; in this sense it forms part of a group in the Apotheosis of Homer: Sir H. Ellis, Townley Gallery, vol. ii., p. 130; Hirt, loc. citat., and Titelkupfer des I. Heftes, fig. 13.

B.V. Head, Historia Numorum, Bruttium, Locri Epizephyrii, pp. 86-88, gives a full account of the Locrian money. He divides the silver coinage into two classes (α) Corinthian staters of Pegasus type for foreign commerce, (β) staters of native Locrian types for home trade. At p. 88 he points out that the head of Zeus in the above-mentioned didrachm closely resembles that on the famous tetradrachm of Pyrrhus,

so that we might regard them both as the work of the same engraver : cf. *ibid.*, p. 341, Colonies of Corinth in Bruttium. British Museum, Catalogue of Greek Coins, Italy, Locri, pp. 364-369, esp. p. 365. Carellii Numi Italiae Veteris, folio, pp. 107-109, Tab. clxxxix-exci., Nos. 1-60. These numerous and beautiful engravings illustrate the preceding remarks ; see esp. No. 14 for ΠΩΜΑ and ΗΙΣΤΙΣ.

Another coin of Locri is interesting on account of its relations both to history and to art ; hence a short digression about it may, I hope, be excused. Upon the reverse is a half-draped female, seated on a throne without a back to it, holding in her right hand a *patra* and in her left a poppy : cf. *omn.* Carellii, *loc. citat.* Nos. 36-38, where a poppy-head surmounting a sceptre is distinctly seen. Probably the female here is Proserpine (*Περσεφόνη*), and represents the statue of the goddess in the Temple at Locri, which was plundered by Pyrrhus and afterwards by the Roman commander Pleniuius. The circumstances of the sacrilege in both cases are related by Livy xxix, 6, 16 sqq. : see esp. c. 18, speech of the Locrian Ambassador at Rome, *Fanum est apud nos Proserpinae, de cuius sanctitate templi credo aliquam fanam ad vos pervenisse Pyrrhi bello* : *ibid.*, with reference to Q. Pleniuius, *ausi sunt nihilominus sacrilegas admovere manus intactis illis thesauris.*

The most famous example of a statue represented on a coin is the Venus of Praxiteles on the money of Cnidus : Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. ii., p. 580, *Venus pudica stans dextra tegenda tegit, sinistra vestem tenet*, in numo Caracallae, et Caracallae cum Plantilla (his wife). Scharf, *Guide to the Greek Court in the Crystal Palace*, p. 37, engraving with legend ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ ; *ibid.*, p. 107 sq., full description of the figure. C. O. Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst*, English Transl., pp. 99-101, §127, remark 4. Aphrodite ; *ibid.*, p. 476 sq., § 377, remark 3.

Emil Braun, *Vorschule (Introduction) der Kunstmythologie*, 4<sup>to</sup> ; p. 49, Taf. 77, Knidische Venus, Villa Ludovisi.

Similarly *Venus Genetrix* appears on the obverse of a bronze coin of Sabina (Hadrian's consort), with the Empress's effigy on the reverse. The goddess wears a close-fitting tunic, without girdle, that leaves the bosom partly uncovered, and draws her mantle over her right shoulder ; she holds an apple in her left hand. Probably we have here a miniature copy of a famous statue by Arcesilaus in Cæsar's forum. Comp. a gold coin of Faustina Junior : Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, vol. ii., p. 587, No. 88, Revers, Venus debout à droite, relevant son voile et tenant une pomme. C. O. Müller, *op. citat.*, pp. 473-475, § 376, Remark 3, *Denkmäler*, part ii., plate xxiv., fig. 266, *Mit der Umschrift VENERI GENITRICI* ; see esp. the 2nd edition of this work by Wieseler, who has made many important additions, and in this case refers to Brunn and Overbeck. Emil Braun, *Ruins and Museums of Rome*, English Transl., p. 326, and *Vorsch. der Kunstmyth.*, p. 46, Taf. 73, full page engraving.

Lastly, the radiated head of the Sun on the Rhodian coinage is supposed to represent that of the celebrated Colossus : Scharf, *Greek Court in the Crystal Palace*, p. 42.

Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*. tome ii., part i., p. 99 sq., pl. xviii., fig. 2, gives some account of Temples erected to Rome and Augustus ; p. 100, that at Pola, *Nous en donnons le frontispice tel que l'a publié Spon*, tome i., *Voyage*, p. 82...le portique est systyle, c'est à dire, que l'entrecolonne a deux diamètres de colonnes (*σίστυλος*, *systylus*), si Spon

Pa représenté fidèlement. Vitruvius, edit. Rode, iii., 2, p. 64, De quinque ædium speciebus—Item Systylos est, in qua duarum columnarum crassitudo in intercolumnis poterit collocari, et spirarum plinthides æque magnæ sint eo spatio, quod fuerit inter duas plinthides. Ibid., Lexic. Vitruvian., p. 64, Systylos. Nahesäulig. In the same plate, fig. 3, the Temple at Mylasa is figured, and described as being on the coast of Asia Minor, but the great antiquary has not expressed himself here with accuracy. For this city is situated eight geographical miles from the Gulf of Iassus in Caria. Montfaucon notices the remarkable ornaments of the building, esp. in the frieze, “ornée de feuilles de vigne, de pommes de pin et de fleurs.” Again, as an illustration of this subject, he refers to a medal, which I have mentioned above, with the legend ROM. ET AVG., and two Victories surmounting an altar, which he incorrectly calls a Temple, loc. citat., p. 100, A ces Temples de Rome et d’Auguste, nous ajoutons celui que les médailles de cet Empereur nous représentent, qui ne paroît pas bien magnifique; pl. xviii., fig. 4. The coin is fully discussed by Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. vi. pp. 135-137, Reverse, Ara inter duas Victorias basi insistentes. Comp. my Paper on the Antiquities of Saintes, pt. ii., *Archæol. Journ.* vol. xlv., p. 215.

I have noticed at some length the *Nike* of Samothrace standing on the prow of a galley, now in the Louvre, and the *aplustria* on the Arch of the Sergii, because Pola was a great naval station of the Romans, as it is now of the Austrians. The late Sir Richard Burton, who was British Consul at Trieste, remarked to me that the fleets of the Empire must have often made the passage between Ancona and Pola, conveying troops during the wars with the Marcomanni, Dacians and other nations bordering on the Danube. A tetradrachm of Demetrius Poliorcetes shows us a winged Victory (Fame?) in the same position as that of the statue, holding a trumpet in her right hand, and a trophy-staff in her left. Neptune with a trident appears on the reverse: Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., ii., 119-122: Baumeister, Denkmäler des Klassischen Alterthums, pp. 951 and 1021; in the latter reference nearly the whole of the right column is devoted to this subject. Waldstein, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Catalogue of Casts in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, p. 73 sq., No. 350. This monument is interesting for two reasons; it belongs to the school of Scopas, and commemorates an important event; moreover, its position in Paris renders it easily accessible to our countrymen.

Ἄφλαστον, which in Latin takes the form *aplustre*, is sometimes confounded with ἀκροστόλιον, e.g., by Liddell and Scott in their Greek Lexicon, and by Fröhner, La Colonne Trajane, p. 99 (woodcut No. 23, facing p. 97), who describing the stern (*la poupe*), uses the following expressions—“acrostole, recourbé (ἄκρος στόλος) et garni de l’*aplustrum* (it should be *aplustre*), espèce de panache en forme de queue de coq.” In most of the passages where the words occur, ἄφλαστον is said of the stern, and ἀκροστόλιον of the prow. Stephens, Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae, edit. Didot, vol. i., pt. i., col. 1338, s.v. ἀκροστόλιον, ἔως ἀκροστόλιον... usque ad proræ summitatem—ἀκροστόγια Lat. Rostra s.f. Vera distinctio secundum Didymum petenda ex Eustathio, 1039, 40. Conf. ibid. pt. ii., col. 2679, s.v. ἄφλαστον, summa puppis pars-diversum ab ἀκροστόλιῳ... Lat. enim paucis immutatis literis Aplustre vocat (Germanicus Cæsar) τὸ ἄφλαστον.

Lucan, Pharsalia, lib. iii, v. 585,

cujus dum pugnat ab alta

Puppe Tagus, Graiumque audax aplustre retentat.

Ib. 672, at hi tortum validis aplustre lacertis,

Avulsasque rotant, excusso remige, sedes.

See Forcellini, edit. De Vit, art. *Acroteria* and *Nota*, also art. *Aplustre* and *Nota*, where many useful references will be found, esp. to writers on numismatics; and for the example of the latter in the Apotheosis of Homer, v. Hirt, Bilderbuch, Frontispiece (Titelvignette), Erklärung der Vignetten 1, 2, 3, 4, p. xviii., Die am Throne knieende figur 4, mit dem Schwerdt, die Ilias; und die figur 5, welche die Schiffszierde emporhält, die Odyssee. Sir H. Ellis, Townley Gallery in the British Museum, vol. ii., p. 129, gives an engraving of a coin of Hadrian, with the legend FELICITATI AVG, that shows the form and position of the aplustre in a Roman vessel.

Montfaucon, Antiquité Expliquée, tome iv., pt. i., pl. exi., as I have already said, gives engravings of twelve medals that represent triumphal arches. A *quadriga* is the most common ornament at the top, but there are some remarkable varieties—in one case we see two *quadrigae* of elephants, and in another a car drawn by ten horses. A mounted horseman between trophies appears also three times as a decoration, so that we have a classical precedent for the equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington, which formerly stood on the Arch at Hyde Park corner, and, after having been subjected to hostile criticism, was finally removed to Aldershot.

The cognomen *Silus* in the *gens Scyria* may remind us of Socrates who was *σίμος*, flat nosed, E. Q. Visconti, Iconographie grecque, tome i, première partie. Hommes illustres, chap. iv. Philosophes, § 4, Socrate, p. 166, en prenant l'ensemble d'une tête de Silène, et lui donnant, outre le nez camus, essentiel à ce caractère de figure, des yeux à fleur de tête (*ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐπιπλάκαιοι*, Xenophon, Symposium, c. 5 § 5), de grosses lèvres, et le haut de front presque chauve, nous aurions un portrait de Socrate bien ressemblant, v. note (2); Planche xviii, large size, Nos. 1, 2, front and side view of the bust. Description des Pierres Gravées du feu Baron de Stosch. . . par M. l'Abbé Winckelmann, Florence, 1760, p. 418 sq., IV<sup>ème</sup> classe, Nos. \*55—\*68. \*66 Tête de Socrate qui ressemble plus qu' aucune autre à Silène. C. W. King, Antique Gems and Rings, vol. ii, Illustrations. p. 67, Description of the Woodcuts, plate xlvi, Nos. 4—6; 6, Socrates and Plato, confronted portraits, a fine intaglio of a date closer to the times of the originals than any other of such portraits can boast. Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum, p. 169 sq., Nos. 1507—1511, Plate i.

Plato, v. Onomasticum at the end of the edition in one volume by Baüer, Orelli and Winckelmann, Zurich (Turici), 1839. Theaetetus, p. 70, line 16, marginal pagination 143 E. *προσέεικε δὲ σοὶ τὴν τε σιμότητα καὶ τὸ ἕξω τῶν ὀμμάτων.* Convivium (Symposium) p. 788, lines 31—36 p. Steph., tom. iii 215 A, B, Cap. xxxii. *φήμι γὰρ δὴ ὁμοιώτατον αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῖς Σειληνοῖς τοῖτοις τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἔρρωγλυφείοις καθημένοις.* . . καὶ φήμι αὐτὸν εἰκόμηναι αὐτὸν τῷ Σατύρῳ τῷ Μαρτυνῶ, v. the copious note of Stallbaum, Platonis Opera, vol. i., sect. iii., p. 140; Meno, p. 299, 1st col., line 36; p. Steph., tom. ii., 80 A; *ὁμοιώτατος εἶναι τὸ τε εἶδος καὶ*

τᾶλλα ταύτη τῇ πλατείᾳ νάρκη τῇ θαλαππίᾳ. Fortasse. . . . πλατεία  
ad faciem ejus respiciens Silenis simillimam, Stallbaum's note—*νάρκη*  
*Raia torpedo*, electric ray.

Xenophon, Convivium (Symposium), cap. IV., §19, and Schneider's note. Lucian, Inferorum Dialogi, xx., §4, edit. Tauchnitz, tome i., p. 203. See the learned annotations of Davies on Cicero, Tusulan Disputations, lib. iv., c. 37, and De Fato, c. 5; he quotes Cyril, Theodoret, and other Christian writers.

For the meaning of *silus sípos*, comp. Virgil, Eclogues x., 7.

Dum tenera attendent simae virgulta capellae, and the references in Forbiger's Commentary.

L. MENACIVS · L · F · VEL  
PRISCVS

EQVO · PVB · PRAEF · FABRVM · AED  
HVIR · HVIR · QVINQ · TRIB · MIL  
FLAMEN · AVGVSTOR · PATRON · COLON  
AQVAM · AVG · INSVPERIOREM  
PARTEM · COLONIAE · ET · ININFERIOREM  
INPENSA · SVA · PERDVXIT · ET · INTVTELAM  
EIVS · DEDIT · HS · CCCC

Found in 1831, while the area of the amphitheatre was being cleared. Corp. Inserr. Lat., Gallia Cisalpina, No. 47. Notizie Storiche di Pola, Parenzo, 1876, p. 129 (Conservatore N. 822—A. 1871). Aquedotto di Pola, Anno 160-170. The inscription, cited above, deserves to be repeated *in extenso*, because we learn from it some particulars concerning the aqueduct. Signor Tommasi, an architect employed at Pola by the Austrian Government, called my attention to it as being *lunga e molto interessante*. The water seems to have been carried as far as the walls of the colony at the expense of the State; thence it was distributed in the upper and lower parts of the city, and the fabric kept in repair by Menacius Priscus, the patron, at his own cost.

Some details of this Inscription may require explanation, at least for those who are not versed in Latin Epigraphy: VEL means *Velina tribu*. Comp. Horace, Epistles i, 6, 52,

“Hic multum in Fabiâ valet, ille Velinâ.”

Niebuhr, History of Rome, English Translation, vol. iii., p. 555, “The Velina and Quirina, in which were registered the Sabines, from the neighbourhood of Velinus and those about Cures.” The tribe was named from the *Lacus Velinus*: Forcellini's Lexicon, s.v.; Niebuhr, *ibid.*, p. 415, Cascade of Terni. We learn from the words EQVO · PVB that Menacius Priscus was one of the *Equites equo publico*, who received a horse from the State, or money to purchase one: Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiqq., third edition, vol. i., pp. 754-757, references esp. to Marquardt and Mommsen. Orelli's Collection, No. 313, EQV · PVBLICO HONORATO || PRAEFECTO FABRVM || (Spon, Miscellanea Erudita Antiquitatis p. 258, Inserr. and note); *ibid.*, No. 1229, HONORATO || EQVO PVBLICO AB || IMP. ANTONINO AVG. || PIO; No. 3457, EQ · P · EXORN. Niebuhr, History of Rome, v. Index, Knights' horses, vol. i., p. 440 sq. and note 1016, p. 469 sq. and notes 1073-1076, vol. iii., p. 347 and note 588.

The title *Præfectus fabrum* occurs on the Arch that formerly stood upon the Bridge at Saintes; *Archæol. Journ.*, vol. xlv., p. 181, where

I have translated it, "General of Engineers." The same words appear at Reims in a different sense, viz., President of a guild of artisans; *ibid.*, vol. xli., p. 136 sq. and notes: Loriquet, *Travaux de l'Académie Impériale de Reims, 1859-1860, Reims pendant la Domination romaine*, pp. 80-85. In the genitive plural *fabrām* is more common than *fabrorum*: Cicero, Orator, c. 46, § 156 Jam (ut censoriae tabulae loquuntur). "Fabrum et procum" audeo dicere, non "fabrorum et procorum." See De Vit, s.v. Faber, § 3, *Collegia* and *praefectus fabrum*. An archaic form is found in inscriptions. PRAIF, FABR. ii. *i.e.*, iterum, Orelli, No. 2276; cf. *ibid.* PRAISVL. PREFECTVS, in the Byzantine period, Henzen, Supplement No. 5596. McCaul, *Romano-British Inscriptions*, p. 187, note, has some remarks on organizations of work-people—dendrophori, suarii, confectuarii, etc. These dendrophori (carpenters, Cod. Theodos.) must be distinguished from another class which had the same name, and whose functions corresponded better with its etymology; these latter carried trees in honour of some divinity: Orelli No. 1602, M. Poblucius Hilarus Margar. Q.Q.P.P (Margaritarius, Quinquennalis perpetuus) cum liberis Magno et Hermoniano Dendrophoris. We have evidence that this corporation existed at Pola and was devoted to the worship of Cybele, C.I.L., Gallia Cisalpina, vol. i, p. 15, No. 81,

DENDROPHORIS  
POLENSIVM  
C. LAECANIVS  
THEODORVS  
SACE rd OS · M · D · M · I  
LO cu M · CVM  
SEPVLTVRA · DEDIT  
INFR P · XLII  
INAG P · XLII

M.D.M.I should be expanded thus; Magnae Deūm Matris Idaeae. P = Pedes. Comp. Horace, *Satires* i, 8, 12,

Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum

Hic dabat: HEREDES MONVMENTVM NE SEQVERETVR.

Vide Interpretes, and Orelli, *Inscr.*, vol. ii., Nos. 4374, 4382, 4557. Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. *Dendrophoria* (Δενδροφορία) Fig. 2330, bas-relief at Bordeaux, cf. Art. *Daphnephoria*. According to Smith's Latin Dictionary s.v. *Dendrophorus*, branches of trees were carried in the procession; but I doubt whether this statement is correct; comp. the phrase *arbor intrat*, C.I.L., vol. i., p. 389, commentarii diurni and citations. *Confectuarius* does not occur frequently; De Vit prefers the form *Confectuarius*, and translates it by *Salsicciaio*, sausage-maker.

Aug. Potthast, *Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des Europäischen Mittelalters von 375—1500*, pp. 267-270 gives a list of the Bishops, Archbishops and Patriarchs of Aquileia [deutsch: Agley, Aglar; slav. Oglei], distinguishing in the last case the schismatic from the orthodox, with an introductory sketch of the ecclesiastical history of the city.

Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte*. vol. i., p. 379, fig. 258, as a specimen of the strange symbolism of the Middle Ages, has engraved two remarkable reliefs, probably belonging to the beginning of the twelfth century, which were formerly in the porch of the church connected with the baptistery at Aquileia. They represent St. John and St. Luke as human figures with wings; the former has the head of an eagle, the latter of a bull.

Following the suggestion of my excellent friend, Mons. Héron de Villefosse, Conservateur de la Sculpture Grecque et Romaine au Musée du Louvre, I halted on my way from Trieste to Pola at Parenzo, to see the remarkable mosaics there. Some account of them will be found in *Notes Ecclesiastical and Picturesque on Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, and Styria, with a visit to Montenegro*, by the Rev. J. M. Neale, M.A., 1861. But subsequently to the publication of this book, very important discoveries have been made in the course of excavations undertaken by the Rev. Parroco-Decano, Mons. Paolo Deperis, which are described by Dr. Andrea Amoroso in a brochure entitled *Le Basiliche Cristiane di Parenzo, Lettura tenuta al V° Congresso Generale della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria (con tre tavole)*, pp. 30, 8vo., Parenzo, 1891, reprinted from the memoirs of the same Society, vol. vi., Fasc. 3<sup>o</sup> e 4<sup>o</sup>—1890. It has been ascertained that three churches were built here. The results are thus summarized, *op. citat.*, p. 6, primo, nella scoperta di una primitiva basilica cristiana; secondo, nella constatazione dell'esistenza di una seconda basilica, sulle cui fondamenta il vescovo Eufrazio (a. 524-556) ha eretto poscio quella che da lui prende nome. For details I must refer the reader to Dr. Amoroso's lecture, and will only mention one inscription which is specially interesting, because it shows that the Christians at an early period paid attention to the education of youth, p. 8,

CLAMOSVS MAG · P · FER · ET SVCESSA · P · C  
FELICISSIMVS CVM SVIS · P · C ·

It is said that church music was studied in their schools: v. footnote<sup>1</sup>, *ibid*: F. X. Krause, *Real-Encyclopedie der Christlichen Alterthümer*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1886, tomo ii., p. 173; e L. Duchesne *Origines du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1889, page 335.

I exhibited a photograph of the interior of the Basilica at Parenzo, taken expressly for the meeting of the Archæological Institute; also a copy on a large scale of the great mosaic in the apse, with the inscription underneath. It consists of thirteen hexameter verses, and is given by Dr. Amoroso, *op. citat.*, p. 25. These mosaics are similar in style to those which adorn the Churches at Ravenna, and are too well known for me to describe them here.

At Trieste there is an important Museum of Antiquities, which should not be overlooked, close to the Duomo or Cathedral of San Giusto. In the neighbourhood of Fiume, on a hill above the town, an *Antikensammlung* formerly existed in the Schloss Tersatto, but it has been dispersed. A catalogue of it was published at Vienna, 1881, *Sonderabdruck aus dem fünften Jahrgange der "Archæologisch-Epigraphischen Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich."*

On the return journey I visited Brescia; the collections in that city contain two objects which specially deserve the antiquary's notice—1, The bronze statue of Victory, discovered in 1826, which Giovanni Gozzoli in his brochure entitled *La Vittoria Greca*, Roma, 1883, calls la più rara gemma dell' Arte antica reliquia della vetusta Brescia; his pamphlet is illustrated by a good engraving—2, The Lipsanoteca, a series of ivory plates forming a reliquary. The bas-reliefs upon them represent Scriptural subjects, Jonah cast overboard, swallowed by the whale, and vomited on dry land; Daniel in the lions' den; Pharaoh's

daughter finding the infant Moses in the ark of bulrushes; the raising of Lazarus; Peter denying our Lord; the deceit of Ananias and Sapphira, &c. With the conventional treatment observable here we may compare the wall-paintings in Catacombs: Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, pt. i., p. 105, pl. lxxiv., No. 431. *Wandgemälde aus dem "Coemeterium SS. Marcellini et Petri inter duas Lauros ad S. Helenam," an der via Labicana*; from Aringhi, *Roma subterranea* tom. ii., p. 101, folio plate, fully described p. 100 *Unica Cubiculi Undecimi Tabula*. Seroux d'Agincourt, *History of Art by its Monuments*, vol. iii., *Painting*, pl. vi., Nos. 1-5. *Étude sur les Sarcophages Chrétiens antiques de la ville d'Arles* par M. Edmond Le Blant, v. *Table des Matières*, pp. 75-84, e.g. *Lazare; forme de son tombeau; L. ressuscité représenté sur les tombes; L. ressuscité et Moïse frappant le rocher, &c.* Photographs of the reliquary, which is in the form of a cross, can be obtained at Brescia.

Lipsanotheca is not a word of classical Latinity, but is formed by composition in the same manner as Dactyliothea and Bibliotheca. Vide Stephens, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, edit. Didot, vol. v., p. 174 sq., s.v. *Λείψανον*; Ducange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, edit. Henschel, vol. iv., p. 125, s.v. *Lipsana, ac, Reliquiae Sanctorum*; Lipsanotheca, *Theca Reliquiarum*, in *actis SS. Junii* tom. 2, p. 747, ubi de Reliquiis S. Antonii de Padua. Id., *Glossarium Mediae Graecitatis, Λείψανον, Cadaver, Corpus vitâ functi*; in this article many passages are cited.

Works of art executed in centuries XIV—XIX are enumerated and explained by Dr. P. Rizzini, *Illustrazione dei Civici Musei di Brescia (Dai Commentari dell'Ateneo) Brescia, 1889*, with 3 plates, *Fotopia A. Mottironi*.

I add a list of publications relating to Istria and neighbouring countries, supplementary to those above-mentioned:—

James Henry, *Æneidea, or critical, exegetical and æsthetical remarks on the Æneis*, vol. i., pp. 521-551; notes on book i, vv. 246-250, *Antenor potuit &c.*, contain a dissertation on the river Timavus.

Gregorutti, *Iscrizioni inedite Aquileiesi, Istriane e Triestine*, with three plates; *La Città e Pagro colonico di Aquileia (Estratto dall'Archeographo Triestino) 1886*.

Friedrich Müller, *Die Grottenwelt von St. Canzian*

Dr. Carlo Marchesetti, *Ricerche Preistoriche nelle caverne di S. Canziano presso Trieste*.

The following by the late Sir Richard Burton:

A Visit to Lissa and Pelagosa.

The Long Wall of Salona and the Ruined Cities of Pharia and Gelsa di Lesina.

The Thermae of Monfalcone (Aqua Dei et Vitae).

Notes on the Castellieri or Prehistoric Ruins of the Istrian Peninsula (*Anthropologia*, 17th February 1874).

I am much indebted to this learned traveller, to Lady Burton, and to Mr. Cautley, British Vice Consul, for their kindness, not only in making my stay at Trieste very agreeable, but also in facilitating my Archaeological researches.



## SIR J. BERNARD BURKE.

Heraldry and genealogy are too closely allied to the pursuits of mediæval archæology to allow us to pass over in silence the death of Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King-of-Arms. Though the official representative of Irish genealogical research, his knowledge was by no means confined to that country. Few men were better acquainted with the origin and intermarriages of the gentry of Great Britain, and no man could be more courteous or more liberal in imparting information to those who sought him personally, or by letter, in his favourite tower in the Castle at Dublin. He was also an accomplished Latin scholar, and his verses were such as even such a Lord-Lieutenant as Lord Wellesley himself need not have been unwilling to own.

But he is best known by his numerous books upon subjects within the scope of his profession, and especially by two of them which, in their class, are unequalled. For the ordinary uses of a peerage, Collins was almost as obsolete as Dugdale himself. The ground was held, rather than occupied, by Debrett, but Sir Bernard and his father took a wider view, and produced a volume, the superiority and completeness of which was at once recognised, and though it is the father of several rivals, it has never yet been equalled, still less surpassed.

The other work by which Sir Bernard was mainly known, was, "The Landed Gentry, or Commoners of Great Britain," a work often severely, though we venture to think, unjustly criticised. No doubt many of the pedigrees are deduced from ancestors obviously fabulous. Surnames are given long before surnames were in use, and heroic deeds recorded, and armorial bearings attributed to them evidently fictitious, even supposing armorial bearings at that time to have been in use. But Sir Bernard, though he accepted some responsibility for the later steps of the pedigrees, and sought for and found corrections in them, left the main steps of the pedigrees as they were delivered to him by the representatives of the families. When a pedigree proposes to begin with the Conquest, and still more from a Saxon ancestry, that part of it is generally understood to be vain flourish, if not invented, yet very probably passed without protest by the fathers of British genealogy, and on that account they were admitted into the work. Now and then these traditions contain a germ of truth, which to eliminate would be a work of immense labour, and scarcely necessary in such a volume as that of "The Landed Gentry."

The fact is, that "The Landed Gentry" is one of the most useful of modern genealogical publications. It is essential to know something of

the pretensions of the modern squirarchy, and before Burke there was absolutely no source to which one could apply. Heralds' visitations ceased long since, and but few of the modern land-owners have been long enough in possession to be so recorded. Such of course could find no place in the exclusive and most valuable volume of Shirley, or even in the less exclusive "Stemmata Chicheana;" and in Scotland, Wood's Baronage is imperfect, and but few families are admitted into the first volume of Nesbitt. What was wanted was correct information as to the present family and immediate progenitors, our own contemporaries, to which might be added, if it so pleased them, any genealogical pretensions of a higher order, and this want Sir Bernard entirely and completely fulfilled. If a family was ennobled, the information is given in the "Peerage:" if not, in "The Landed Gentry." Had Sir Bernard left no other works behind him than those two, he would still have been entitled to a good word from every lover of genealogy, and to an honourable place in such volumes as our own.

## A RECENTLY DISCOVERED PANEL PAINTING OF THE DOOM.

The parish of Wenhaston is situated in the north-east part of the county of Suffolk, between Halesworth and Southwold, and about two miles from Blythburgh to the abbey of which the advowson of its church formerly belonged. The church consists of western tower, nave, north aisle, south porch and chancel. The chancel retains two windows of late twelfth-century date, the tower and nave arcade are of the second half of the fourteenth century, while the windows in the nave and aisle and the south porch are probably not earlier than the sixteenth century. The font, though it has been cruelly mutilated, still remains as an interesting example of late Perpendicular work. The sculpture on the panels of the bowl, which probably represented the Seven Sacraments and an incident in the life of Christ, as may still be seen in several churches of the neighbourhood, was carefully hacked away in 1809, as appears by the churchwarden's accounts for that year, and at the same time it was newly embellished with colour and gilding. The nave roof is high-pitched and of the hammer-beam type, though the figures at the end of the hammer-beams have been destroyed. A visit by one of the emissaries of Dowsing, the well-known iconoclast of the eastern counties, is recorded as having been made to this church in 1643, when the stained glass, font cover, and organs were removed.

Beyond certain churchwarden improvements, such as the erection of a west gallery and the consequent blocking up of the tower arch, but little in the way of restoration had been attempted until the present vicar, the Rev. J. B. Clare, took the matter in hand. There was no chancel arch, but the old rood beam remained, and above this was a large whitewashed partition reaching to the roof and entirely blocking off the chancel. This the vicar had taken down with the view to the erection of the present chancel arch of nicely curved oak; and, as only traces of texts were visible and it was not anticipated that anything of archaeological interest was being removed, the partition was accordingly taken to pieces and placed in the churchyard. A very heavy shower of rain in the night washed away some of the layers of plaster and exposed portions of figures of early character. On this fact being communicated to the vicar, he at once had the several portions of the partition conveyed to the old parish school-room, and proceeded to get rid of the whitewash, and, after removing various layers of plaster, texts, &c., eventually brought to light a very interesting panel painting of the Doom, or

great Day of Judgment. The panel is 17ft. 3in. in breadth at the bottom, by 8ft. 6in. in height in the centre, and attached to it—and this is one of the most uncommon features in connection with it—has been a sculptured representation of the Holy Rood, our Blessed Lord on a crocketed Cross in the centre, and a figure of the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist on either side. Only the outlines of these now remain. The painting of the Doom occupies the whole of the remaining space of the panel, between and on either side of the subjects of the Holy Rood. In the upper part, on the dexter side of the Cross, is a figure of the Divine Judge seated on the rainbow, with hands held out and side bare, and with the drapery so disposed as to show the wounds in His hands and side, from which blood is flowing. By His head is depicted the sun, and near His right hand a scroll, no doubt formerly charged with the words “*Venite benedicti.*” On the sinister side of the Cross are kneeling figures of the Blessed Virgin, and St. John the Baptist in his raiment of camel’s hair, clearly supplicating on behalf of sinful mankind. Above is the moon, and behind, a scroll formerly charged with the inscription, “*Discedite maledicti.*” Below, the subject is divided into four main groups by the Cross and attendant figures of the Virgin and St. John. On the sinister side of the Cross is the Weighing of Souls, a majestic figure of St. Michael holding a sword in one hand and the balances in the other. In one scale is a small nude figure, representing the good deeds of the deceased, while in the other are two demons, emblematical of the evil deeds. By this scale is a figure of Satan, with horns and tail, bat’s wings, and eyes in his legs, holding a closed scroll, probably the indictment against the deceased, and superintending the soul-weighing. Another scroll, which he appears to have received from St. Michael, seems to contain the words “*Nam quo deest tu facias tui hominum esto,*” and is apparently an answer to the indictment of Satan, that all that is deficient in the record of the deceased shall redound to Satan’s advantage. It is satisfactory to note that here, as is commonly the case, the good deeds are outweighing the evil ones. The next group on the dexter side of the Cross comprises St. Peter in rich vestments, with triple papal tiara, and holding the key of the gate to heaven, receiving four redeemed souls. These are still unclothed, but two have crowns, one a mitre, and the other a cardinal’s hat, denoting their worldly rank as a king, queen, bishop, and cardinal. On the dexter side are the heavenly mansions, portrayed by a castellated building with two entrances, at each of which an angel is admitting a nude figure. Above can be made out part of an angel blowing a trumpet, but this portion of the panel has been cut away to make room for a stove pipe. On the sinister side of the picture are the jaws of hell depicted by a large fish’s head with a swine’s snout, on which a demon is seated, blowing a ram’s horn. Within the jaws is a black demon with monster ears dragging in a recumbent figure, while eight more nude figures in attitudes of the deepest despair are encircled by a red hot chain, and are being forced into the terrible chasm by a demon with a pronged fork. Another demon is carrying a female head-downwards, possibly a typical representation of Pride, the chief of the seven deadly sins. In the intervening spaces five figures are represented as rising from their graves. The subject is, no doubt, realistic according to our modern ideas, but it is to be hoped that means may be adopted for its preservation.

There are many points of interest about it. The arrangement of the several groups and the expression of the individual figures are not without merit. The various colours employed harmonise well, and the flesh-tints are delicately depicted. The ground colour of the picture is olive-green. The chief peculiarities about it are (1) the fact of its being painted on panel, and (2) of the Holy Rood being actually attached to it. The panel paintings of the Doom in England of which any record has been preserved are very rare, and only about seven other instances can be cited, though it is possible that many may have existed in pre-Reformation times. The most interesting is the one still preserved in the triforium of Gloucester Cathedral. Only two or three instances have been noted where the Holy Rood has been incorporated with the subject of the Doom. There is no great difficulty in assigning a date to the painting, which is clearly but little anterior to the period of the Reformation, probably not earlier than 1520, at which date considerable alterations were being effected in the church. There are many distinctive features, which prove it to be of late character. As to the hand which executed it, there is no record, but it is probable that it was painted at the cost, and most likely by one, of the monks of Blythburgh who would naturally take a special interest and direct any improvements in this church so closely connected with their own foundation. Below the Rood beam, and painted on a separate panel, is a text from Romans xiii. 1-4, which may be as early as the time of Queen Elizabeth.

C.E.K.

## WHY NO HISTORY OF WALES?

Sir,—As the inhabitants of the Principality seem more disposed to seek out or invent political grievances than to turn their attention to their historic shortcomings, I venture to address myself to the members of the Archaeological Institute, which has always shewn an intelligent interest in its Celtic neighbours, and has, I think, on two occasions crossed the Dyke of Offa, and penetrated in the less known recesses of their country. Your Cambrian rival has accumulated in its two score and more volumes a vast quantity of valuable matter, and the present seems a proper time to draw from these and other stores such a connected narrative as may encourage the various attempts now making to bring Wales to the front of our mixed Empire, and to justify the name of “British,” adopted, I believe, originally, in compliment to our greatest, and widely extended under our best, female Sovereign.

It is now above seven centuries since Caradoc of Llancarvan gave to his fellow countrymen a history which, with some moderate editorial additions, still remains, not only the best, but the only history, worthy the name, of the Principality. We have histories in abundance of England and Scotland, histories of Ireland, histories of Guernsey and Jersey, and even of the Isles of Man, of the Orkneys, and of Wight, but no one, competent to the task, has, since Caradoc, ventured upon that of Wales. It is true that the antecedents of Wales scarcely admit of what used to be called a philosophical history. Wales has never been a united state, has never possessed a capital, nor owned a representative council; has never peaceably obeyed any regular government of its own, or any single Prince, but nevertheless the materials for a very interesting history, formerly scanty, are now ample. It has not much early literature, but such as it has is very valuable, and has been collected, printed, and very ably criticised: notably by Stephens of Merthyr, and Skene. The light of comparative philology has been shed upon the language; much discreditable and boastful nonsense concerning its origin and connexion has been swept away, and the labours of Humphry Lloyd, Prichard, Guest, and Rhys have explained the growth of its dialects, its peculiarities and inflexions, and have established its Indo-European origin in a manner leaving little to be desired. Also a living scholar, Professor Rhys, has thrown light upon that very curious inquiry into the race who inhabited and possibly colonized Wales before the arrival of the Celtic Britons. The footsteps of the Roman invader have been traced, of late years, with industry and success. The invasions and fierce advances of the Anglo-Saxons, and their battles with the native race have been examined and treated of in

historical works of great merit, as have, though to a less extent, the establishment of the Norman lords upon the lands of the March. Nor is this all. Under the fostering care of the Keepers of the Records a vast mass of papers relating to the proceedings of Edward I. in North Wales and on the Cheshire borders have been brought to light and printed, and the records of the boundaries, privileges, and customs of the Marcher lands, whenever, by minorities or escheats, they fell into the hands of the Crown and took their place with the records of the realm, have been catalogued and made accessible. The Domestic State Papers, also fully and most judiciously calendared, exhibit, especially under the Princes of the House of Tudor, a good deal of curious matter concerning the irregular administrations of the English law in Wales, and the internal and social condition of the country, and the connexion of its maritime districts with the customs laws, the practices of Spanish and Moorish pirates, and the infant Mercantile Navy. The study of the statutes of the realm has recently been highly recommended from an Oxford professional chair, and this advice is peculiarly applicable to the statutes relating to Wales from the first Edward down to Elizabeth and even later. Add to these sources of information the various local descriptions and details scattered through the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and the result will be a prodigious mass of material, requiring indeed a master hand to reduce it to order and to combine with general views and conclusions that knowledge of details which is both an accomplishment and a snare.

There remains, besides, one branch of enquiry which has not yet been followed up, but which, if duly studied, will supply evidence of almost equal value to the sources above indicated, and which it is within the scope of the newly awakened Welsh Eisteddfodan to supply, and to which they will do well to direct their attention. It has been the fashion of late to throw almost unmeasured blame on the Ordnance surveys, and no doubt in matters of lettering or nomenclature, though in that alone, the 25 inch map admits of improvement, but even this remark does not apply to the inch maps. These maps, as regards Wales, are most perfect in their kind. The mountains and hills are therein shaded with artistic effect; the streams and brooklets are traced out and laid down with extreme minuteness; and the nomenclature of the survey, speaking still of the one inch scale, has been ascertained with the assistance of the best local authorities. The earthworks, judicial or civil and military, the Roman roads and stations, are followed up and identified with great care, and the parish boundaries, usually of remote antiquity and preserved intact, thanks to modern statute law, have been, to the avoiding of crowding and confusion, laid down upon a separate series of maps. Now, all this has rendered not only possible, but easy, the collection of the description of evidence to which it is desired especially to call attention.

Wales has been invaded, probably in prehistoric times, but certainly at least thrice since the dawn of its history, by the Romans, Anglo-Saxons, and Normans, of which the several stages are well-known, though the details of the two former are obscure. Wales has also been attacked by the sea from Scandinavia, but the visits of those piratical seamen have been, as in the north of Scotland, confined to the ports, bays, headlands and islands of the southern coast, seldom extending far inland,

and never, so far as is known, giving birth to settlements or colonies, though leaving ample traces of their visits. The greater invaders all advanced from England, and entered Wales on its eastern frontier, and it is therefore on that side that traces of the invasions are to be mainly looked for. The frontier is marked by the course of the river Severn, from Gloucester upwards, to its reception of the Vymwy, and thence by the lower Dee to the Irish Sea. The western limit of these valleys, that upon which the Celts, first as Britons, and afterwards as Welsh, made a well-maintained stand, is marked by numerous earthworks, usually large enough to accommodate a whole tribe, and found on the crest and headlands of the Cotteswold, or the ridgeway above Worcester, on the Lickey and Clent hills, the Wrekin, Haughmond, and so on northwards, shewing that a bold stand was made along the line, probably against the Romans, and certainly against the Anglo-Saxons who succeeded them. No doubt the broad and fertile valleys of both Severn and Dee were worth fighting for, though finally relinquished, when a final and more successful stand was made on the stronger ground on the Welsh side of the rivers, the actual and proper frontier of Wales, as on the Malvern ridge, Abberley, the forest of Wyre, the Clee hills, Wenlock edge, and the still stronger ground west of the lower Dee and Chester. Scattered broadcast over these elevations through the border counties of Gloucester, Hereford, Salop, Montgomery, and Chester, are encampments, high in position and irregular in outline, denoting their Celtic origin, mixed with others, low in position, for the convenience of the baggage of an army, designed according to the well-known rules of castrametation, and connected by lines of road, often pitched, and carried straight across the country, and still to be recognised as Roman. Then again, quite distinct from, though sometimes superimposed upon these, are the Anglo-Saxon earthworks, usually of a domestic character, being a mound or *Burh*, table-topped, protected by a ditch and more or less environed with enclosures, also moated, upon and within which were the dwellings, always of timber, and protected by palisades of the same material. But besides and beyond these material remains, are others more frequent, more durable, and to be recognised with more certainty, though wholly of an immaterial character. These are the place names, so vocal to the instructed enquirer. Where British, these names are still borne by the mountains and rivers, the boundaries of tribes and the larger divisions of the island, the first to be given and the last to be lost. These, as in York, or Gloucester or Dover, or Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*), or *Caer Went* (*Venta Silurum*), or Canterbury, or London, are of British, rather than of Welsh origin, and have been preserved by being embodied in a Latin form, while others, as Bath, *Caerleon*, *Caistor*, are of purely Roman origin, and others again, as *Caertaffi*, *Caermerdin*, *Caerdigan*, bear a Latin prefix combined with a British distinctive addition. In Wales proper the names are of course mostly in the tongue of the country, but along the borders and up the more accessible valleys are scattered, with more or less frequency, names shewing that the English invaders had established themselves, with something approaching to permanence, and earthworks of an Anglo-Saxon character, and villages with English names, are found mingled together along and often beyond the Dyke of Offa, the ecclesiastical divisions always the older, being almost always Welsh.



There is another not less important distinction between British, Roman-British, and Anglo-Saxon or English names. These latter are seldom of tribal or military origin, they indicate private or family property, and divisions of land connected with order, self-government, and law, the roots of a high civilisation. By close attention to these names, found in great numbers upon the Ordnance survey, a correct notion may be formed of the extent and character of the several invasions, and nowhere is there a richer field for such enquiries than upon the border land on either side of the Severn and the Dee, and especially along the former, that 'virgin daughter of Loerine,' who, discreetly interrogated, will be found to possess the main characteristics of her sex.

The same enquiries, based upon the same excellent survey, may be directed along the course of the old Roman "Via maritima," which, commencing at Glevum or Gloucester, and receiving an important tributary at the mouth of the Wye from Bath, Bitton, and Abone, when as yet Bristol was not, is continued at no great distance from the sea by way of Caerwent and Caerleon, Caerdiff, Bovium, Nidum, and Caermarthen, until it is brought to an end at Octopitarum or St. David's Head. Here, in addition to the British or Welsh Churches and villages, are not a few of the latter, such as Chepstow, Port Skewit, Newport, or Bridgend, of Anglo-Saxon origin, and others again of a different character, as the Holms, Swansea, Wormshead, Skomer, Skokholm, Strumble, and Ransay, very evidently Scandinavian. The Anglo-Saxon, and to some extent the Scandinavian names, have the interest of ancestry to the English, as the older and more frequent appellations have to the native Welsh, and both will do well to promote the proposed enquiries, without which no thorough or complete history of the Principality can ever be composed.

Neither can the contemplated historian afford to neglect a final and not unimportant wave of invasion, which, though of later date, and not materially affecting the nomenclature of the country, has left its marks upon the marches from Gloucester to Chester, between the Dyke of Offa, the Severn, and the Dee, and especially upon the maritime parts of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Caermarthen, and Pembroke, and even as far along the West coast as Aberystwith. The Norman tide, an advanced but solitary wavelet of which extended to Richard's Castle, in the reign of the Confessor, followed close upon that of the English Conquest, when the greater Lords, delighting in war, inspired by a lust of sway, and not unwilling to escape from the stern eye and iron hand of the Conqueror, established themselves upon the marches of Wales, founded the county Palatine of Chester, gave name, a solitary instance, to the whole county of Montgomery, converted the Saxon Hereford into a Norman Earldom, and a generation later, under the ill-regulated government of the Red King, established along the sea coast five or six quasi-independent principalities, and combined the rich heritage of the Saxon Brietric with the weak and ill-governed territories of the effete Princes of a by no means effete people.

The footsteps of the Normans, like their characters, were firmly planted, stoutly maintained and durable. They brought with them a sufficient number of followers to hold the plain county in something like security, and while leaving their native customs and estates to the inhabitants of the hills, they shared the plains among their own followers,

retaining to some considerable extent the lower class of natives. To these new estates they gave the attributes of manors, and introduced the feudal system with all its strictness as best suited to the newly settled provinces. Neither were they tardy nor illiberal in the foundation and endowment of monastic institutions, and finally they constructed those castles of which the ruins remain, some constructed for the protection of the whole territory, but the much larger number, placed upon private estates, were intended mainly for the protection of the local lord and his adjacent tenantry. The proceedings of these Lords' Marchers, of the powerful Earl of Chester in the north, of those of Montgomery and Shrewsbury and Hereford, in the Middle March, of the Earls Strongbow and of Gloucester, of de Braose, Marshall and Hastings in the south and west, form a part, and a very important part of the history of Wales, and one for which the materials in the north are ample, and in the south and west not inconsiderable, owing to the fact that these Lords also held large estates in England. Closely connected with this part of the history is the struggle between Edward the First and the Southern Marchers for the undoubted prerogatives of the Crown, the right of the reception of appeals from the Marcher Courts, and of the custody of the temporalities of the Episcopal Sees pending a vacancy. These most important and truly patriotic struggles to establish the unity of the Empire to which Britain owes so much of its greatness, have scarcely been touched upon by any regular historian any more than the position and power of the Marcher Lords, subjects which find no place in Blackstone nor in any other work upon English jurisdiction.

The extinction of these Marcher Lordships was followed, under the House of Tudor, by the establishment of the Council of Wales, and this, at its extinction under the Commonwealth, gave place, at a considerable interval, to the development of the mineral resources of the country, giving rise to a healthy industry and large wage-earning population, who, if they show occasional signs of discontent, do so, it is to be feared, from the sight of the wealth of others, and certainly not from any want of a sufficiency for themselves.

PSEUDO WALLENSIS.

Dr.

**INCOME.**

To Balances at Bankers	..	100	4	1
" " in hand	..	1	7	11
" Subscriptions—				
269 Annual Subscriptions of £1 1s. each	..	282	9	0
3 Do. Associate do. at 10s. 6d.	..	1	11	6
Together received during the year	..	284	0	6
13 Subscriptions paid in advance in 1890	..			
29 Do. in arrear at 31st December, 1891	..			
<b>314 Total annual subscribers at 31st December</b>				<b>101 12 0</b>
Arrears as under, paid in 1891				
for the year 1888, 3 subscriptions	..	3	3	0
do. 1889, 11 do.	..	11	11	0
do. 1890, 31 do.	..	32	11	0
<b>Subscriptions paid in advance for 1892,</b>		<b>47</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>
8 Subscriptions	..	8	8	0
Entrance Fees	..			330 13 6
" Life Compositions	..			12 12 0
" Sale of Publications, &c.	..			15 15 0
" Balance of Edinburgh Meeting	..			34 2 0
" Special subscription in aid of	..			30 3 4
T. Hodgkin, Esq., D.C.L., F.S.A.	..			.. 3 3 0
" Special Donations—				
Lewis, Professor Bunnell, towards Illustration of Journal	..			.. 3 15 0
Rent—				
Egypt Exploration Fund	..	24	0	0
Society for Preserving Memorials of the Dead	..	1	1	0
				<b>25 1 0</b>
				<b>£565 16 10</b>

I hereby certify that I have prepared the above Account for the year ended 31st December, 1891, and that the same agrees with the Cash and Bankers' Pass Books of the Institute. Further I have also examined the payments made during the period with the vouchers and find the same in order.

H. MILLS BRANFORD,  
KIRBY & BRANFORD;

Chartered Accountants.  
4, Broad Street, Buildings, E.C. 24th April, 1892.

Cr.

**EXPENDITURE.**

By Publishing Account—				
Engraving, &c., for Journal	..			41 13 1
Pollard, W. & Co., Printing Journal, including No. 190 Vol 48.	..			96 16 0
Hartshorne, A., for Editing Journal to 31st Dec., 1891	..			50 0 0
<b>House Expenses—</b>				<b>188 9</b>
Rent of Offices	..			113 8 0
Secretary (1 year)	..			80 0 0
Stationery, Books, Cises, &c.	..			12 6 3
Accountant's Fees	..			3 3 0
Printing Notices and Sundries	..			4 13 1
<b>Library—</b>				<b>213 10 4</b>
Binding for Library, etc.	..			15 12 5
Additional Purchases	..			1 10 0
" " Fixtures and Fittings	..			17 5 0
<b>Petty Cash—</b>				<b>34 7 5</b>
Office Expenses, Attendant, Incidentals, &c.	..			44 14 7
Postage Stamps and Delivery of Journal	..			42 1 8
Stationery, &c.	..			9 15 5
Carriage of Parcels	..			3 4 0
Cab and Omnibus Hire	..			14 0
Library purchases	..			1 3 7
Insurance	..			2 5 0
<b>Scandinavian Exhibition—Amount expended in printing, advertising, and general expenses</b>				<b>103 18 3</b>
Less admission money	..			31 4 6
	..			19 15 0
<b>Cash Balances—</b>				<b>11 9 6</b>
At Bankers	..			10 1 0
In hand	..			4 1 3
				<b>£565 16 10</b>

Examined and found correct,

MILL STEPHENSON, F.S.A., *Honorary Auditor.*

NOTE.—The Honorary Junior Auditor, Mr. G. M. Hughes elected at the General Meeting at Edinburgh, died shortly after his appointment.

## Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June 1st, 1892.

EARL PERCY in the Chair.

The noble President spoke of the great loss that the Institute has sustained by the death of the Rev. Greville I. Chester.

MR. C. E. KEYSER read a paper on "Mural Paintings, recently discovered in Little Horwood Church, Buckinghamshire." In the very careful and interesting account which he gave, Mr. Keyser described two out of three layers of subjects which had been painted the one over the other. Of the earliest series, of which only the lower portion remains, there appear to be portions of two scenes in the history of St. Nicholas, the Patron Saint of the Church; there were probably several other scenes. The remains of the second series are but slight, and though not sufficient for identification, enough to indicate that the date of the work is about 1360. Of the work of the third series, dating from late in the fifteenth century, three subjects remain:—St. Christopher walking in water containing a remarkable medley of fish and strange monsters; this is now very indistinct; immediately adjoining is the Morality of Pride and her Six Daughters, *Ebrietas*, *Avaritia*, *Luxuria*, *Invidia*, *Ira*, and *Socordia*. Mr. Keyser gave an account of the four different modes of treating this subject in English churches, with references to the places where they are represented. The paper is printed, with considerable additions, at page 333.

The Rev. PRECENTOR VENABLES sent a paper—"Some account of the Discovery of a Roman Villa in the Greetwell Fields, near Lincoln;" this was read by Mr. Gosselin, and is printed at page 258. Mr. G. E. Fox spoke generally as to the arrangement of the plan and the possible uses of the different chambers.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Keyser and Precentor Venables.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By MR. KEYSER.—Photographs of wall paintings.

By PRECENTOR VENABLES.—A plan of the Roman Villa at Greetwell.

By an oversight, this paper is referred to in the *foot note* on page 258, as having been read on Feb. 3rd.

July 6th, 1892.

E. GREEN, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS read a paper on "Antiquities at Buda-Pesth," and described the following objects in the National Museum of Hungary:—1. A pyramid with three triangular faces, of which two have been preserved made of bronze, plated with silver. It was a votive offering dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus. This deity is of Oriental origin, and his name is derived from Doliche, a town of Commagene, in Northern Syria. The god is represented wearing a cuirass, like a Roman emperor, holding a bipennis in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other, and standing upon the back of a bull. 2. A silver tripod, of which only two legs remain. It is of the kind called *plicatilis*, being provided with hinges so as to fold up like a camp-stool. It is ornamented with griffins' heads, busts, rosettes, and amoretti, so that the general appearance resembles a bronze tripod in the British Museum, where we see panthers' heads and claws similarly placed. 3. Military diplomas, of which the Hungarian collection possesses some examples in very good preservation. These documents, sometimes called *tabule honeste missionis*, are specially interesting when they contain an exact date, and supply information that cannot be obtained from other sources. One of the diplomas at Buda-Pesth, besides the names of Nerva and Trajan, mentions the second consulship of Frontinus, who succeeded Cerialis as Governor of Britain, but is better known as author of the treatise on aqueducts. 4. *Vas Diatretum*, a perforated glass vessel, fragments of which were found and carefully put together, so as to make up half of the original circumference. The colour is white, with a beautiful opal-like iridescence. 5. Two bronze wheels remarkable for their size, being seventy centimetres in diameter; it would be hard to find elsewhere a specimen as large. There was a metal frame enclosing an interior or core of wood, and these materials were fastened together by nails. The modern town, Alt-Ofen (Old Buda), occupies the site of the ancient Aquincum, said to be named from Aquæ Quinque, five springs. The baths are of considerable extent, but the amphitheatre surpasses in interest all other remains. Its construction presents two peculiarities—the seats rested on two parallel walls in the form of an ellipse, and the building was covered by a roof, supported on wooden pillars. Sabaria, called by the Germans, Steinmanger (Stone-in-the-pasture), and by the Hungarians, Szombathely (Saturdays' Place, with reference to a fair held there), was the capital of Pannonia. The town possesses a museum of antiquities, but many of the objects found there have been removed to the national collection at Buda-Pesth. An excursion may easily be made to the church at Jaak, which is said to be the best example of the Romanesque style in Hungary.

In proposing a vote of thanks to Professor Lewis the chairman referred to the points of language which had been noticed in the paper, and regretted the substitution of Hungarian for Latin, instancing the encouragement that had of late years been given to Welsh. In referring to the Turkish Baths at Buda-Pesth as fine remains of the Mahomedan possession, Mr. Green spoke of the large possibilities that would have been in question if the Moslems had met with a little more success in their occupation of that part of Europe.

DR. MUNRO communicated a paper on "Prehistoric Saws *versus* Sickles," which was read by the chairman.

MR. FLINDERS PETRIE remarked that the essential point to notice was the distinct demarcation between the polished worn edge of a flint and its dull unaltered face, which had been set in a holder. This characteristic of mounted flints is equally known in America as in the Old World, and the examples of mounting lately found in Egypt show conclusively that this sign indicates a former mounting. The earliest form of mounting seems to have been for a sickle, as that is far commoner than a straight saw, and the jaw-shaped sickles would not be developed from the saw, but rather the saw from the sickle. Sickle flints of great depth, found both in Egypt and Palestine, suggest strongly the direct use of an animal's jaw-bone in which they were set, as it would be very difficult to carve a wooden setting of such depth; this confirms the origin of the sickle form from the jaw. The characteristic sickle flints are those having a curve in the edge, also those having the triangular form for the corner nearest the hand, but straight flints were also used.

A vote of thanks was passed Dr. Munro whose paper is printed at page 164.

### Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By PROFESSOR LEWIS.—Maps, photographs, coins, and other antiquities in illustration of his paper.

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### ANNUAL MEETING AT CAMBRIDGE.

August 9th, to August 16th, 1892.

The Mayor of Cambridge (Mr. G. Kett) and the members of the Corporation, assembled at noon in the Guildhall, and received the noble president of the meeting, Earl Percy, and the following Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Sections and members of the Council:—Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum (President of the Antiquarian Section), Mr. Chancellor Ferguson, Mr. Norman C. Hardeastle, The Right Rev. the Bishop of Peterborough (President of the Historical Section), Professor E. C. Clark, Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., Mr. G. W. Prothero, Mr. J. W. Clark (President of the Architectural Section), Mr. Hartshorne, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, The Rev. Sir T. H. B. Baker, Bart., Mr. E. Green, Mr. J. Hilton, Mr. W. H. St. J. Hope, Mr. E. C. Hulme, Mr. H. Jones, Mr. J. Mottram, The Hon. Mr. Justice Pinhey—and a large number of members of the Institute. There were also present on the platform, The Vice-Chancellor, The Master of St. John's, The Master of Peterhouse, Dr. Waraker, Archdeacon Emery and many others.

After offering a few words of welcome to the Institute on behalf of the Corporation, the Mayor of Cambridge called upon the Town Clerk to read the following address:—

*"To the President and Members of the Royal Archaeological Institute.*

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—We, the Mayor and Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Cambridge, desire to express our cordial welcome to the Royal Archæological Institute on the occasion of its visit

to Cambridge. It is now thirty-eight years since the Institute paid its last visit to the town, when the meeting was under the presidency of Lord Talbot de Malahide, the late Prince Consort, who was then Chancellor of the University, taking part in the proceedings. We venture to think that Cambridge is for many reasons a most suitable place for your annual meeting. It possesses many ancient buildings, both in the University and town, which have great attractions for the antiquary. In its libraries are to be found many treasures of great interest to the student. It is in the near neighbourhood of that series of earthworks thrown up in olden times for military defence. In the town and its vicinity a large number of objects have been found illustrative of Roman and Saxon occupation, and it is in addition a convenient centre from which to visit places of antiquarian interest. It will be our endeavour to help in any way to promote the success of your meeting, and we trust that your visit to Cambridge will compare favourably in interest and value with those of other localities.

“GEORGE KETT, Mayor.”

The VICE-CHANCELLOR said he had no commission on the part of the University to welcome the members of the Archaeological Institute, but he took it for granted he might, in his official position, join in the welcome which the Mayor had so well given, on behalf of the town, to them all. There was no fear, he thought, of any member of the Archaeological Institute feeling it a waste of time to come to Cambridge; it had much to show. Although it had lost much, it still retained many of its quiet corners, full of beauty and full of suggestions of the past, which were becoming every year more rare. He sincerely welcomed, so far as he was concerned, the members of the Institute to Cambridge.

Professor E. C. CLARK observed that the duty devolved upon him, as President of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, to support the welcome of the Mayor and Vice-Chancellor to the members of the Archaeological Institute. He fulfilled that duty the more gladly because he was an old member, as they knew, of the Institute—perhaps an older member of the Institute than he was of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society—and also for another reason; that the presence of their honoured President was a rather unexpected pleasure, and he felt personally grateful, because he knew Lord Percy attended at some inconvenience to himself. Probably few of them remembered the visit of 1854. How many of those who attended the meeting of 1854 they had lost! There were the late Lord Braybrooke, Lord Talbot de Malahide, Mr. Hartshorne, Dr. Bruce, Mr. Freeman, worthy representatives of historical and archaeological research from outside Cambridge; Dr. Guest and Professor Willis from their own circle; Dr. Whewell and Dr. Sedgwick, of whose varied contributions to so many branches of knowledge he need not speak, and the Prince Consort, their Chancellor. Those were names which they would find it difficult to match, but he did not advert to the past in order to depreciate the present. They could point, he was happy to say, to a growth of institutions on their subject since their last visit to Cambridge. They could point to their Anglo-Saxon professorship, which had a direct bearing on early history and archaeology, and in connection with it the name of Professor Skeat, the author of the most interesting book that ever called itself a dictionary; their Slade professorship of fine art, to which he could scarcely attribute an indirect

bearing on archaeology when he mentioned the name of John Henry Middleton; their professorship of ecclesiastical history, the first holder of which they would hear on Wednesday—the Bishop of Peterborough; the readership in classical archaeology, so well filled by Mr. Waldstein, of Athenian fame. More than all he would point to their Museum of Archaeology, its fine collection of classical casts, and the Antiquarian Museum, which owed its foundation to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. But, above all, he would point to two epoch-making works in archaeological research—Mr. J. Willis Clark's magnificent edition of Professor Willis's papers on the architecture of Cambridge, doubled and trebled by his own work. A work of equal importance was the history of Cambridge by Mr. Mullinger, of St. John's. In the subject on which he was attempting some remarks at a latter period of the meeting, he could not say how much he owed to that book, and how much more personally to its author. The first volume, with which he was at present most concerned, was more than a history of a University or a University town; it was a history of the intellectual culture of the middle ages, a study which would repay any student. He must be pardoned for omitting the names of others who were doing good work for them, but could not pass by that of their admirable curator of the Museum, Baron von Hügel, whom he grieved to say they would not meet personally, owing to his delicate health, but they would have the advantage of a first instalment of his excellent catalogue. He must not detain them longer, but again express to their President and themselves a hearty welcome on behalf of the Society which he had the honour to represent.

Lord PERCY said he thanked very much those who had so kindly welcomed them, and the bodies on whose behalf they had spoken for the reception which they had accorded the Institute that day. It was a great pleasure to every member of the Institute, he made bold to say, to have that opportunity of visiting one of their great Universities. It was a long time, as had been mentioned, since they had done so. To the present generation of members of the Institute in their corporate capacity, it might be said to be an absolutely new experience, although he trusted there were very few of them who individually had not in some way or another made acquaintance with them. And a University and a University town were unique institutions; there was nothing like them in the whole of the inhabitable globe. An English University was perfectly distinct from Universities in other parts of the world. It had a character of its own and traditions of its own which were quite distinct from anything which could be found amongst foreign nations, and the town which grew up around it was replete with associations of the same kind. And they found here, as they found nowhere else, the records of a great past. They found concentrated in a comparatively small space, that which had moulded the minds and formed the character of the great men to whom the making of England was due. Of course something of the same sort might be said of public schools, but there was one great difference; generally speaking, between public schools and Universities. Public schools only had an influence upon a man during a small portion of his life, whereas in a University some of her most distinguished sons, through a long course of years—it might be during their whole life-time,—made her sheltering walls the scene from which they gave forth all that scholarly learning and all that deep thought



which had been so valuable to the educational progress of the country ; and it was to the materials which she had afforded, the spirit which she had infused into such men, that much, as he had already said, of the greatness of England was due, much of the character which modern culture now assumed. He was very grateful for the kindness of his reception that day, because he was a very recreant descendant of those who were closely connected with this University, for his family all made Cambridge their University for a great number of years. He was afraid, in his own case, and in the case of his son, they had broken through the rule, and he consequently felt in coming to Cambridge very much ashamed of himself—very much in the position of the dog with the tail between his legs,—and it was only the kindly welcome which the Vice-Chancellor had given him, and which had been followed up by that of Professor Clark, that had made him have the courage to uphold his head in an assembly of that kind. He might inform those who were not members of their Institute that, as became a serious and learned body, they copied the ancient Spartans and the Roman Republic—they had usually two Sovereigns at the same time. They had a President of the Institute, who was for the term of his office a permanent functionary, and they had a President of their annual meeting, who very materially assisted them, and supplied the other President's deficiencies. He (Lord Percy) was asked on this occasion to assume the post and discharge the functions of dictator, to act both as President of the Institute and as President of the meeting, not, he trusted, because the State was in danger, but rather, he believed, from a desire to pay a kind of compliment to one who, having been the President of the Institute for nine years, now found himself unable to continue in that position. He was very much flattered by the compliment, but he wished he were better able to discharge such important duties. He supposed he must say a few words to justify him in assuming the presidency of the meeting. It occurred to him he might be able to say something to them of the position and the organization of their Archaeological Societies and the manner in which they discharged the work they had undertaken. There was one thing which had struck him very much in considering that question. They were often told that there was a great want of respect paid by people in general to ancient monuments, and every now and then they heard of some cases of wanton or needless destruction. They were all very much horrified, and the antiquarian world was loud in its complaints, and one would imagine that that evil was greatly on the increase. But he thought part of the reason why so much was made from time to time, of these occurrences, was that they were largely trumpeted abroad, whilst circumstances of a totally different character—very satisfactory, very encouraging—were never heard of, and he was not sure, considering how the exigencies of life in this nineteenth century pressed upon a great number of people, how they had to hurry through life without much opportunity for education in its higher branches, or in its truer sense, how they were obliged in the race for wealth, or even for a livelihood, to sweep away any obstacles in their path—he thought it was wonderful how many cases there were in which they found those who had not, perhaps, any very intelligent appreciation of the value of ancient remains, were willing to do all in their power to preserve them from injury, and were anxious to give information of their being in any

peril, to those who were more qualified to preserve and deal with them. He had known numberless instances of that himself, and he mentioned it because he thought it showed that the work their local societies had been carrying on so diligently for many years past, had borne good fruit, and in directions, perhaps, where they would not at first look for it. He believed that the work of a local society could not be better carried out than by enlisting the sympathies of as many persons as possible in their own neighbourhood and outside it, by stretching out their arms and welcoming as many people and classes as possible, not necessarily as members of their Society, but as friends whom they were glad to see accompanying them on their excursions, and whom they would encourage in every way to show an interest in antiquities. He would like, if it were possible, to see the common excursionist included in the expeditions which local societies made, but, of course, subject to his promise to submit himself to the rules of the Society and to the directions of whoever organized the expeditions. They might depend upon it, that in the heart of almost every man and woman living there was some innate feeling for that which was old and venerable, particularly if it was also imposing. Well, if the local societies had done that work, if they had increased the interest which was generally felt throughout the country in antiquarian pursuits, he was afraid that there was an opposite danger which they might also increase, and that was the desire of partially informed persons to rush too readily into investigations of various kinds. The spade was as useful an implement to them as it was to the husbandman, but it required to be used with some discretion. He did not speak of its use as an actual destructive agent, because he thought there was not much danger of it so being employed by those persons who had the slightest feeling for archaeology. But it was also capable of being used to confuse and to hinder the true interpretation of the very facts which it sought to reveal. Still, even if there were dangers in too widely interesting the public generally in archaeology, he had reason to think that the balance of the popularising which had been carried on by their local Societies was largely in favour of archaeology, and was bearing good fruit. But could not their Antiquarian Societies be made more useful than they were? Could they not be directed to better purposes than they were at present? That was a very grave question, and he touched upon it with some hesitation. He knew that it was dangerous ground, and it was ground perhaps which he was hardly qualified to traverse, but it seemed to him that there was a lack of concentration in the efforts of antiquaries all through the country; that there was too much isolated action too little intercommunication. Now, he did not know how far those things might be remedied, and, as he said before, he hesitated to grapple too closely with an important subject. But he would, if they would allow him, put before them an Utopian scheme, and he would ask them kindly to consider whether such a scheme would abstractedly be desirable, and then he would leave it entirely to them to decide how far such an arrangement could be looked for amongst archaeologists. He would suppose, then, the existence of a great central body composed of all those who took any interest in the promotion of archaeological research, and were pre-eminently qualified by learning, by position, or by wealth to practise or sustain it, and that that Society had affiliated to it one or more

auxiliary societies in every county in England. He might remind them that that had already to a great extent been done by the Society of Antiquaries. He suggested that whilst it should secure to the local societies the utmost freedom in the management of their own affairs, it should have a claim upon their pecuniary resources, and a right to allot to each certain work which it should be incumbent upon them to perform. The pecuniary contribution which the central organization should demand would be proportionate to the wealth and status of the contributing bodies, and in return it would extend one or more such privileges as the following to the members of the contributing societies, according to the amount subscribed: Access to their central library; rights to certain publications free of charge, or at reduced rates; liberty to attend certain meetings and the readings of certain papers, and right to claim the services of officers of the Society, or other qualified persons to advise in conducting important or delicate investigations. Lord Percy proceeded to explain that the local societies might prepare maps, which would be of great value. He would have the secretary of each affiliated Society in constant communication with the central body. They would, perhaps, think he had left no room for such a body as the Institute. In his opinion that was far from being the case. He believed that the Institute and bodies of that kind were a very essential part of any such scheme as he had sketched out, if it was to work really satisfactorily. He could not resist that opportunity of saying one or two words on a point which had struck him more and more every year since he had the honour of being President of the Institute. He was certain, at any rate, of this: whether such scheme as had been indicated or something different, was carried out or not, or if the present system was continued, there was no fear but that the study of archaeology would progress year by year, that it would fill a larger space in the national mind, that its importance would be more and more recognized, and that posterity would owe a debt of gratitude not only to Antiquarian Societies like theirs, but to those who gave a kindly welcome and every facility to them for carrying out their proceedings.

The meeting then adjourned.

By the thoughtful kindness of Sir G. M. Humphrey, each member of the meeting was presented with a copy of his excellent "Guide to Cambridge: the Town, University, and Colleges."

At 2 p.m. the members assembled in the Lecture Room of Physiology and Human Anatomy, where Mr. J. W. CLARK opened the Architectural Section with a lecture on the Architectural growth of Cambridge and the University. The address was illustrated by a large plan of Cambridge in early times. Upon this the growth of the town, and of the University, were successively shown by a number of small block plans, affixed with pins in their proper places as the lecture proceeded. Thus the members saw, in chronological order, the planting of convents of the Benedictines, Augustinians, Carmelites, Austin Friars, Franciscans, and Dominicans. An account was then given of the gradual rise of the University from the foundation of Peterhouse in 1284. This was followed successively by that of Clare, Pembroke, Gonville and Caius, Trinity Hall, Corpus, King's, Queen's—at the Carmelites, St. Catherine's, Jesus—at the Benedictine nunnery of St. Mary and St. Rhadegund, Christ's, St. John's—at the Augustinian Hospital of St. John, Magdalene, Trinity,

Emmanuel—at the Dominicans, and Sidney, at the Franciscans—the plans of the Colleges being similarly affixed one by one to the great chart. The rise of hostels and colleges having been in this manner successively shown, and a short account given of each foundation, Mr. Clark took the example of Peterhouse as typical of the building up of a college, again showing by means of small plans, pinned one by one on a large one, the growth of the establishment during three hundred years. His able and lucid lecture formed an admirable introduction to the visits of inspection which were subsequently made to the colleges and other buildings of interest.

Under the friendly guidance of Mr. Clark, assisted by the ever-courteous Dr. Harcastle, a perambulation of Cambridge now began with a visit to Peterhouse, and strangers made their first acquaintance with the tame Italian architecture of Sir James Burrough, of the middle of the last century. Such of the ancient features as had not been hidden by modern casing were seen as valuable evidences of the ancient buildings, and the restored and really beautiful combination room came as a welcome surprise, but the fine Flemish glass in the east window of the Chapel is sadly marred by the feeble Munich transparencies in the windows on the north and south sides.

Passing into the late Decorated church of Little St. Mary, which served for three centuries as the Chapel of Peterhouse, Pembroke was next seen. The lamentable alterations which have been made here of late years were spoken of with the deepest regret. The extensive collection of plate aroused much interest, particularly the cup called the Anathema Cup, of 1494—"qui alienaverit anathema sit,"—and the silver-gilt mitre and pastoral staff of Bishop Wren, died 1667.

At Queen's, the long gallery—the "deambulatory"—and the old arrangement of the President's Lodge in relation to the hall and other buildings, was interesting as one of the few examples remaining. Going through St. Catherine's, Corpus was next seen, and here Mr. Clark gave an able description of a college court almost in its ancient integrity. Here, among other treasures of plate, the silver-mounted horn given to the Guild of Corpus Christi in 1347, the mazers, the thirteen apostle spoons given by Archbishop Parker, his standing cup, ewer, and basin, and the "Gripes Eye," were conspicuous among this fine collection. The Parker MSS. and printed books were subsequently seen, and pleasantly commented upon by the Rev. J. Harner, and lastly an inspection was made of the gems, coins, and other objects of antiquarian interest bequeathed by the Rev. S. S. Lewis. A visit to St. Benet's Church was the last item in the perambulation, and the well-known Anglo Saxon tower formed the text of some observations by Mr. Micklethwaite, Precentor Venables, and Mr. Park Harrison.

At 8 p.m. the Historical Section met in the Guildhall, Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., in the chair. Mr. E. M. Beloe read a paper on "The Mediæval History of Castle Rising." A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Beloe, whose paper will appear in a future *Journal*.

The Antiquarian Section now sat, Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum in the chair. The Rev. Dr. Cox read a paper by Mr. E. Peacock, on "Borough English," which is printed at page 274. Mr. Baylis read a paper by Mr. J. Bain, "Remarks suggested by Dr. Raven's Caledonian Campanology;" this is printed at page 329. Votes of thanks having been passed to Mr. Peacock and Mr. Bain, the meeting separated.

Wednesday, August 10th.

At 10 a.m. the members went by road to the Cambridgeshire Dykes, passing Worts' Causeway on the left, and striking the Icknield Way between the Pampisford ditch and the Roman road. Here a halt was made, and some general observations upon the Roman road offered by Professor E. C. Clark. Continuing the journey to the Fleam Dyke, Mr. Clark gave a clear description of the remarkable series of earthworks by which in succession East Anglia was defended, namely, the Brand, or Heydon ditch; the Brent, or Pampisford ditch; the Fleam, or Balsham ditch, and the Devil's ditch on Newmarket Heath. Raised by a slowly advancing tribe, and crossing the narrow district by which East Anglia alone could be approached, these great works ran from the fen on the north east to hilly woodland on the south west. After luncheon at Newmarket Station, the party left for Bury St. Edmunds, arriving at 2.15.

Here, the Antiquaries were met by an old ally and member of the Institute, Mr. E. M. Dewing, who with the greatest friendliness conducted the party to the Abbey gateway, the Norman tower, St. James's Church, and St. Mary's Church, giving an excellent summary of the history of these buildings. Returning to the gardens in which the remains of the vast Abbey Church and conventual buildings are sheltered, Mr. Dewing read a paper upon this great Benedictine foundation, giving a succinct and lucid account, and touching with some detail upon the noble gateway, which replaced that destroyed in the riots of 1327, and of which this erection may be assumed, from heraldry upon it, to have taken place between 1327 and 1336. A better example of the value of a knowledge of heraldry could hardly be found. A visit was paid later on to the Abbot's Bridge, and a few members found their way to Moyses' Hall, one of the rare examples remaining, of a Norman house. Cambridge was again reached at 6.50.

At 9 p.m. the Bishop of Peterborough opened the Historical Section in the Guildhall, and delivered his address to a large audience. This is printed at p. 263. A vote of thanks to the Bishop of Peterborough, was proposed by Professor Clark, and seconded by Precentor Venables; the meeting then adjourned.

Thursday, August 11th.

At 10 a.m. the General Annual Meeting of Members of the Institute was held in the Guildhall, Sir Talbot Baker in the chair. The minutes of the Annual Meeting were read. Lord Percy having entered the room, he took the chair, and the minutes were confirmed.

Mr. GOSSELIX then read the following report for the past year:—

#### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1891-92.

The Council in presenting the forty ninth Annual Report, would first mention, that the list of annual subscribing members shows a slight increase, which, though not sufficient to affect materially the finances of the Institute, indicates that there is no diminution in the support given to the scientific study of archaeology.

The finances are in a fairly encouraging condition, the statement now presented shows that the balance is on the right side, and the expendi-

ture includes all the ordinary charges and claims ascertained to be due on general current account.

The Council regrets to place on record the losses sustained by the Institute by the deaths of Mr. T. C. Hughes who was elected Auditor at Edinburgh, The Right Rev. the Bishop of Carlisle, Mr. J. E. Nightingale, Mr. E. A. Freeman, Dr. Collingwood Bruce, and the Rev. G. I. Chester.

The members will be glad to hear that the remarks made at the Edinburgh Meeting, last year, relating to the condition of Borthwick Castle, so courteously received at the time, have produced the effect that reparation is about to take place on the most careful conservative lines.

The possible demolition of a portion of the Cloisters of Lincoln Cathedral, the work of Sir C. Wren, having come to the knowledge of the Council, a resolution was passed to the effect that such demolition would be a great damage both historically, and architecturally, to the Cathedral buildings. A copy of the resolution was forwarded to the authorities at Lincoln with the expressed hope that such work might not be proceeded with.

The Council have to regret the retirement of the Right Hon. Earl Percy, from the Presidency of the Institute, after serving for three successive terms, together nine years. The members will all recognize the courtesy with which he has presided and the great interest he has always manifested in the work of the Institute, and the Council feels sure that the members will join in thanking Lord Percy for the care he has given to the welfare of the Institute, as for several years he has done at much inconvenience to himself.

The Council would recommend that the Right Hon. Viscount Dillon, Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries, be now elected President, in the room of Earl Percy.

The following members of the governing body retire by rotation:— Vice-President, The Rev. Sir Talbot H. B. Baker, Bart., and the following members of the Council: The Rev. F. Spurrell, Dr. Hopkins, Mr. W. F. Flinders Petrie, Mr. Somers Clarke, Col. Pinney, Mr. A. E. Griffiths.

They would recommend the appointment of Professor E. C. Clark and Mr. Flinders Petrie, as Vice-Presidents; and the election of the Rev. Sir T. Baker, Bart., the Rev. F. Spurrell, Dr. Hopkins, Mr. Somers Clarke, Col. Pinney, Mr. A. E. Griffiths, and Mr. M. Stephenson, as members of the Council; and Mr. J. Mottram and Mr. H. Richards, as Hon. Auditors.

The Council has heard with pleasure that the members of the Société Archéologique de France, will hold its Fifty-fourth Annual Congress next year, at Abbeville, and intend visiting England about the end of June. The Council hopes that some arrangements may be made for meeting and receiving the distinguished French Archaeologists who propose to visit our country.

The adoption of the report was moved by Mr. HILTON, seconded by Precentor Venables, and carried unanimously.

With reference to his retirement from the Presidency of the Institute, LORD PERCY spoke of the great pleasure with which he should look back to his connection with the Institute. That association had given him opportunities of seeing many interesting plans and sites, even in his own county, which he might not otherwise have visited, certainly not under

such advantageous circumstances. He should carry away the recollection of the uniform kindness and leniency of the members towards him; it was simply and solely private causes which had brought about the severance of his connection with the Institute.

SIR TALBOT BAKER, in proposing that Earl Percy be requested to allow his name to be added to the list of Honorary Vice-Presidents, alluded to the happy choice which the Council made when they asked Lord Percy to preside over their deliberations, and it was with the same feelings that they now approached him. This was seconded by Chancellor Ferguson, who alluded in warm terms to Lord Percy's numerous qualifications for the position of President,—his courtesy, his strong hand, business habits and common sense. The motion was carried with acclamation.

LORD PERCY said he should highly value the connection with the Institute thus continued, and thanked the members for their reception of the kind things that had been said about himself. He had the pleasure to formally propose the election of Viscount Dillon as President of the Institute, and he congratulated the Institute on having secured the consent of an antiquary of Lord Dillon's experience and knowledge. This was seconded by Dr. Cox, and carried with acclamation.

Mr. GOSSELIN then read the Balance Sheet (printed at p. 407).

A discussion followed concerning the financial position of the Institute in which Mr. Cates, Mr. Gostenhofer, Mr. Hilton, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Baylis, and Lord Percy took part. On the motion of Mr. Rowley, seconded by Mr. Day, the matter was referred to the Council in London.

Mr. GOSSELIN read some letters he had received from the Royal Irish Academy, the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and the County Kildare Archæological Society, inviting the Institute, in the most friendly and cordial manner, to make Dublin the place of the Annual Meeting in 1893. Mr. Pinhey proposed, and Mr. Day seconded a resolution that the invitation be accepted. This was supported by Lord Percy, who alluded to the distinct character of Irish antiquities, by Mr. Baylis and Mr. Hilton, and carried unanimously.

With reference to the allusion in the report to Lincoln Cathedral, PRECENTOR VENABLES said, that the members of the Chapter are not unanimous in desiring the removal of Wren's Library, and he hoped that the building might remain. With regard to the proposals concerning Norwich Cathedral, he was glad to say that there was now no fear.

At 11 a.m. Mr. C. D. E. FORTNUM opened the Antiquarian Section in the Guildhall and delivered his address. This is printed at p. 281. A vote of thanks to Mr. Fortnum was proposed by Sir TALBOT BAKER and seconded by Professor E. C. CLARK.

Professor RIDGEWAY read a paper on "The Cambridgeshire Dykes." The map of these great works, which was furnished to the members with the extended programmes of the meeting, enabled them to follow with facility Professor Ridgeway's arguments and conclusions. The paper will be printed in a future *Journal*.

At 2 p.m. the members assembled within the gateway of King's College where they were again taken in hand by Mr. J. W. Clark. Proceeding to the chapel, a clear and able account was given of this magnificent structure. Mr. Clark exhibited a plan of Henry VIth's intended college, of which splendid scheme only the chapel was erected,

and he showed that the present fan roof was an after-thought, a *lierne* vault having been at first contemplated. As this building was almost the latest triumph of English Gothic, having probably been completed as late as 1515, so the windows, glazed between 1515 and 1531, became one of the earliest homes of English art in glass. And not only are they of high interest in this respect, but also as examples of native talent, tempered no doubt by Flemish and German influence. It may be recalled that in such low estimation had English glass come to be regarded in 1447, the date of the contract for glazing the windows in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick, that John Prudde of Westminster covenants to use no glass of England. What great advances native glass-painting had made in the space of three-quarters of a century, the windows in King's Chapel testify. Mr. Clark well described the splendid Italian screen dividing the chapel from the ante-chapel as "the best piece of wood work on this side of the Alps."

At Clare, attention was called to interesting features—the mixture of the latest Gothic and Renaissance—in this charming building begun in 1635, and slowly carried on for seventy-six years. During this period the Jacobean style with its mullioned lights gave way, as was seen, to Italian and sash windows. The chapel designed by Burrough, and commenced so late as in 1764, was finished by Essex, who set his mark upon so many other buildings in Cambridge and was himself one of the earliest leaders of the modern Gothic revival. Thus the story of the gradual extinction of the old Gothic and the dawns of the new, is recalled to the mind of the stranger as he scans the different parts and styles of this elegant foundation. At Clare also, in the Hall, was displayed some interesting pieces of plate, including the "Poison Cup" of 1634, the Falcon Cup, and the Serpentine Cup.

The visit to Trinity naturally occupied a large part of the afternoon. Assembling in the noble Hall the members had the history of the development by degrees of a college, "the stateliest and most uniform in Christendom," laid before them by the learned and courteous son of the house, to whose untiring exertions the members of the Institute owed so much on this occasion. By the aid of a large plan, Mr. Clark now showed the gradual growth of Trinity, from the amalgamation by Henry VIII. of various halls and hostels which occupied the site. The large works of Nevile, including the Hall, formed a great portion of Mr. Clark's text and his admirably clear discourse was received with acclamation. Passing through the principal rooms of the Lodge, most kindly thrown open in the regretted absence of the Master of Trinity, many of the antiquaries were gratified by the opportunity thus afforded of seeing the numerous and interesting pictures, including the well-known portraits of Henry VIII., Queen Elizabeth, and Queen Mary. No doubt the most striking sight at Trinity—many think it the most striking sight in Cambridge—is the library built by Wren, paved with black and white marble, and filled with book cases of Norway oak, decorated with carvings in linewood by Grinling Gibbons. Of the precious contents of these cases, with their 90,000 volumes, including 1,900 manuscripts, bare allusion can, of course, only now be made. Before leaving the library the members saw, with as much composure as they could command, Peckitt's stained glass window, designed by Cipriani, representing *Alma Mater* presenting Newton to George III., while Bacon sits attentive



below ready to record in a book the reward which, in the form of a chaplet of laurels the King, is about to bestow upon Newton! It is a sentimental piece so characteristic of the period that it may be hoped it will never be removed.

At Trinity Hall the Elizabethan Library, with the original cases, desks, and iron bars to which the books were chained, was the principal attraction, the rest of the college having been altered, faced, or rebuilt.

At 9 p.m., a *Conversazione* was given by the Mayor of Cambridge, who, with Miss Kett, received the members of the Institute and a large company in the Guildhall. By the thoughtful kindness of the Town Clerk, Mr. J. E. S. Whitehead, a number of examples of plate of the middle of the last century, which had been sold by the Corporation in 1836, were sought out and lent by the present owners, and further graced the tables on which were displayed the five great maces and a number of municipal charters and documents. In the course of the evening, Professor E. C. Clark read a paper, profusely illustrated, "English Academical Costume," which will appear in a future *Journal*. The company separated at a late hour.

#### Friday, August 12th.

At 10 a.m. the members assembled within the gateway of St. John's College, and again had the advantage of the guidance of Mr. J. W. Clark. Here was seen, on the south side of the first court, a considerable and dull work of Essex, 1772, which gave Mr. Clark a just opportunity for denouncing the mania that prevailed at that time for casing the early work with what was then considered "classic," a passion from which Cambridge suffered so severely. The second court, a fine and uniform construction in brick work, happily remains unaltered. It was the work of Rudolphus Simons, between 1595 and 1620, who did so much at Sidney, of which so little now remains, for Trinity, and Emmanuel. His portrait is preserved in the latter college—"Effigies Rudolphi Simons, architecti suâ ætate prætissimi," and represents him holding a great pair of open compasses, with curved quillons for use when closed as a dagger. The Jacobean Library, with its original cases and panel-catalogues, received much attention. Sir Gilbert Scott's extravagant chapel was finally seen, and a brief visit was then paid to the Round Church, where Mr. MICKLETHWAITE offered some observation upon buildings of this character and period, adding some remarks upon the subject of church restoration.

At Jesus College, entered through Alcock's picturesque gateway, Mr. CLARK pointed out that this was the sole example in Cambridge of the transformation of the buildings of a religious house, the Benedictine nunnery of St. Mary, into a college. The chapel, the larger part of a cross church, retains the double piscina, and much fine early English work in connection with it.

At Christ's College, the VICE-CHANCELLOR displayed in the Combination Room the fine collection of plate, for which the college is famous. The "Foundress's Cup," about 1410, the great Salts, the Beaker diapered with m, roses, and daisies, and six apostle spoons, of which one is the *Master* spoon, are all believed to have been given by the foundress, Margaret of Richmond. The master's lodge, in its original situation between the hall and the chapel, was commented upon.

In the court of the University Library, Mr. CLARK showed, by aid of a plan, the growth and dates of the different parts of the quadrangle, and the perambulation ended with a visit to Caius College, where the members heard the explanations of the symbolism set forth by the three gates called Humility, now removed, Virtue, and Honour. That of Honour is a quaint and picturesque structure square, on plan, changing above to hexagonal, and bearing originally six sun dials, still faintly visible on the perishing stone. It was designed by Dr. Caius, and carried out after his death, at the cost of £128 9s. 0d., by Theodore Haveus, of Cleves, "artifex egregius, et insignis architecturae professor." The second, or Caius court was erected by Dr. Caius in 1565, apparently also under the direction of Haveus, who set up the admirable tomb in the Chapel to Dr. Caius, who died in 1573; the monument now fixed high up on the wall, bears the inscriptions:—*FUI CAIUS, VIVIT POST FUXERA VIRTUS*. In the college, portraits are preserved of Dr. Caius, dated 1563, and of Haveus with a large polyhedron by his side.

At 1.53, the members went by rail to Audley End station, driving from there to Audley End House, which was most kindly thrown open for their inspection, by Lord Braybrooke. Assembled in the Great Hall, a paper by Mr. J. A. Gotch was read; this is printed at page 293. After inspecting the pictures and other objects of art in the series of stately rooms, famous for their ceilings, some of the antiquities in the Museum were glanced at; many of these are described and illustrated in the *Journal* in its earlier days. A cordial vote of thanks to Lord Braybrooke having been proposed by Sir TALBOT BAKER, the party went on to Saffron Walden. The earthworks called the Peddle Ditches were first seen, under the guidance of Mr. E. Taylor. By the kindness of Mr. W. M. Tuke, the members were offered tea in the Museum grounds. Subsequently the remains of the castle and the two Mazes were inspected. The one, of the more modern character, with green bowers and hedges is in "Fry's Gardens," the other, an excellent example of these verdant subtleties, is cut on the Common, the "wanton green"; it is enclosed by a ditch and bank and its convolutions are said to be nearly a mile in length.

Mr. CHARLESWORTH read a paper by Mr. Clare on the history of the Common and Maze and Mr. MAYNARD read some observations on Mazes. The Museum, a collection of local antiquities, well arranged and cared for, was by no means overlooked. Here was also a loan exhibition of eighteenth century wine glasses and goblets collected and lent by Mr. Henry Stear. The spacious restored Perpendicular church of St. Mary was seen last and described by Mr. Micklethwaite, the members returning to Cambridge at 7 p.m.

The Antiquarian Section met in the Guildhall at 8.30, Dr. Harcastle occupying the chair. Dr. Cox read a paper on "Field Names and their value, with a proposal for their systematic registration." An interesting discussion took place in which Mr. PARK HARRISON, Mr. W. TAYLOR, Dr. BENSLEY and others took part. Dr. Cox's paper is printed at p. 363. Mr. HOPE followed with a paper on "The Armorial Ensigns of the University of Cambridge," illustrated by a series of drawing of arms by Mr. H. A. Chapman, a set of seals of the colleges and original documents of grants of arms. Votes of thanks were passed to Dr. Cox and Mr. Hope.

Mr. PARK HARRISON exhibited a rubbing taken from the tower of St.

Bene't's Church. He reminded his hearers that when they visited the church on the previous Tuesday, the question arose as to whether the arches were of the same age as the pillars which supported them. He had previously pointed out that the Saxons had a peculiar way of tooling stone; by a certain turn of the axe they formed a kind of chevron pattern. In order to ascertain whether St. Bene't's was a genuine specimen of Saxon architecture it was necessary to find out whether the upper stone-work showed this particular tooling, so he had obtained a ladder and taken a rubbing from the arch of a doorway in the belfry. He discovered that there was on the arch that decided mark of Saxon tooling which had been found elsewhere, but not with such decided proof as there was in this case. He also showed three rubbings taken from Norman stones in various buildings to illustrate the difference between the Norman and the Saxon. This concluded the work in the sections.

Saturday, August 13th.

At 10 a.m. the members went by rail to King's Lynn arriving at 11-12. Here they were met by Mr. E. M. Beloe, who led the way to "the Walks" and to Our Lady's Chapel on the Mount, founded in 1483. This remarkable structure consists of a small stone building of three stories enclosed in an octagonal shell of brickwork. The uppermost story is a cruciform chapel with a richly groined roof; the lowest storey was also a chapel; the middle stage is a vestry or priest's room, the outer brick shell being for the purpose of carrying two staircases, apparently, for ascending and descending streams of pilgrims visiting a statue or relic, while on their way to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham.

The great church of St. Margaret, displaying many styles, had obviously suffered severely at the hands of architects. Among other works that were deplored was the removal and dividing into two parts of the Elizabethan chancel screen of 1585, one half being placed in the transept, and the other without meaning against the wall. The two great Flemish brasses were seen and the members proceeded to the Guildhall, where a number of early documents were laid out for inspection, also the rich Corporation plate, prominent among which was the well-known "King John's Cup," of about 1340. The church of St. Nicholas, with its east window of nine, and its west one of eleven lights, was then visited, and after luncheon at the Duke's Head Hotel the party drove to Castle Rising.

Mounting the great earthworks of the central ward of the castle, Mr. Hope took charge of the party and taking Mr. Clark's account as his text book, gave a short description both of the earthworks and of the keep. Referring to the remains of the little Saxon church with an apsidal east end, it was pointed out that Roman brick was used in the splays of the lights and that this was the church of the Saxon settlement. When the Norman set up the castle with its own chapel the Norman parish church was erected; this much restored building was inspected after the interior of the keep had been seen. Returning to Lynn the antiquaries were hospitably received at tea by Mr. and Mrs. Beloe, and leaving Lynn at 6 o'clock the party returned to Cambridge.

On Sunday morning the members of the Institute met in the Guildhall and accompanied the Mayor and Corporation to a special service in the Church of St. Mary the Great. The sermon was preached by the Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D.

Monday, August 15th.

At 10 a.m. the members took the train for Wisbech, arriving at 11-15, to visit the Marshland Churches under the direction of Mr. Hope. Carriages were in readiness and the party drove first to Walsoken Church. Originally a Norman building of the middle, or towards the third quarter of the twelfth century, the noble nave of seven bays, with its chevron enrichments and compound cushion capitals, makes a great impression on entering the church. The arches of the chancel aisles are of the same character and period, the chancel arch being Transitional with banded shafts in the responds. The late Norman aisles have given way to Perpendicular work, a clerestory, late in the style, having been added. All these periods and changes are obvious. The remains of a rood screen, not *in situ*, some details in the old seats and roofs deserved notice, as well as the elaborate octagonal font with carved panels representing the Seven Sacraments and the Crucifixion. It is inscribed with the names of the three donors and dated 1544.

Continuing the journey to West Walton the grand detached early English bell tower was the first feature touched upon. Detached towers are far from uncommon; no doubt in the example in question, as was pointed out by Mr. Hope, the condition of the ground made it desirable to detach the tower with its vast superincumbent weight from the body of the church. At West Walton the tower stands not on one side, as many do, but facing the west end, and forming a stately gateway to the church. Within it was soon apparent that here is as fine an example of Early English, as Walsoken is of late Norman. After some descriptive remarks by Mr. Hope, the rector very kindly read the following notes, by the late Mr. Freeman, from the *Ecclesiologist* of 1855, which were welcome indeed on such an occasion:—

“I can hardly say which is the main object of attraction, the nave and the detached campanile are each so perfectly admirable in their several ways. The arrangement at once suggests the remembrance of Berkeley Church. I need hardly say that no fair comparison could be instituted between the two campaniles. Between the two naves the competition is on very equal terms, and I think, on the whole, Walton must have the preference. The nave is magnificent in the extreme. The arcades are equal, perhaps superior to Berkeley in detail, but certainly inferior in proportion. The arches are, to my taste, decidedly too wide for the height of the pillars, while at Berkeley the proportions are absolutely faultless; but the mouldings at Walton are much deeper. The pillars themselves, with their detached and banded shafts, may be considered at least equal to their Gloucestershire rivals. But it is in the clerestory where Berkeley fails, that the superiority of Walton becomes manifest.

“Here are no blank spaces, far less one whole side left without windows at all. A string runs immediately above the tops of the arches, and the Clerestory itself consists within and without of a continuous

arcade, three only in each bay, the central one of each being pierced as a window.

“The whole interior of this nave is about the most elaborate and harmonious piece of early Gothic that I have seen in any parish church. In point of size and ornament it surpasses many abbey churches, yet it exhibits scarcely any approximation to the character of a minster. The general plan has no transepts or central tower. Similarly the elevation of the nave, magnificent as it is, has no triforium, no vaulting, not even a passage in the clerestory, which might have been introduced with excellent effect. Externally there is still less approximation to the Cathedral type, except in the west front, which has evidently been a very elaborate design, but which is ruined by late and incongruous props and insertions. The western doorway is superb. The chancel arch is of the same character as the nave; so also were the choir aisles, which have been unfortunately destroyed, the pillars and arches remaining *in situ* on the walls within. The windows are mostly Perpendicular insertions, with the exception of a single, most elaborate two-light window of incipient geometrical work in the south aisle. There is also a very bold south porch with large arcaded turrets.

“The nave is certainly as grand in its way as the campanile in its; but the singularity of the latter renders it the most characteristic thing of West Walton. Of the other detached towers in the neighbourhood, Wisbech actually touches the church wall with its buttresses, and Terrington S. Clement’s leaves only a very narrow passage between the two buildings. But this at Walton stands far away (60 ft.) just as at Berkeley, upon the south side instead of the north, and has more of meaning and purpose than at Berkeley, as it forms a stately gateway to the churchyard, standing on four open arches. Its angle turrets, its arcades, its immense incipient geometrical belfry windows are all of the most striking character. Unluckily its original finish, whatever it was, has given way to a very poor modern parapet.”

A curious feature is the shallow Early English porch; this peculiarity, Mr. Hope explained, was brought about by the widening of the south aisle; the outer part of the porch was left and the inner portion swallowed up.

Walpole St. Peter’s was the next point. After luncheon in the Schoolhouse, the late Decorated church was visited. The nave of seven bays has a Perpendicular clerestory, the tower is somewhat poor Decorated, but the general effect outside is that of very good Perpendicular, of which style the south porch offers a striking example. The vaulted roadway under the chancel is accounted for, in the usual way, as the result of a local quarrel. It is very likely, as Dr. Cox has suggested, that to the Black Death may be attributed difference in the styles of this grand parish church. Much of the old chancel fittings remain.

Walpole St. Andrew’s would be considered a fine Perpendicular church, if it had not such noble neighbours as Walpole St. Peter’s and Terrington St. Clement’s, but it has many minor features of interest, a little chamber built into the south west buttress of the tower, about which there was much discussion, being perhaps not one them.

Terrington St. Clement’s was the last of the fine series of churches seen in this well-favoured district. Perpendicular of the last period is here conspicuous in the nave—again of seven bays, and its clerestory, the

aisles, and particularly the west front. Hard-by there is a detached tower of later but good work. Within, the pinnacled cover of the font called for some attention, the late Perpendicular canopy having been raised upon a classic base, which opened on hinges to give access to the font itself. There is an arrangement somewhat similar at Boxford, in Suffolk. Against the east wall of the transepts, are fine tablets painted with the Lord's Prayer and the Creed within arabesque borders, and dated 1635. In addition to the descriptions which Mr. Hope gave of these five fine Churches, which form almost an epitome of English ecclesiastical architecture, from 1150 to 1550, the members were much indebted to Mr. Micklethwaite, for his helpful guide, and explanation of many features of detail, and fittings which were seen throughout the day. Driving to Lynn, the members took the train and arrived at Cambridge at 7 o'clock.

Tuesday, August 16th.

At 10 a.m. the members went by rail to Ely and proceeded direct to the Cathedral. Assembling in the south transept, Mr. J. W. Clark said that in consequence of indisposition he felt himself unable to undertake the explanation of the Cathedral as he had intended, but Mr. Hope who had studied the question with him had consented to take his place. By the aid of large plans Mr. Hope gave a capital account of the architectural history of the Cathedral and afterward conducted the members round the building.

In the Lady Chapel Mr. M. B. JAMES read a paper on "the Sculptures of the Lady Chapel at Ely," which is printed at page 345.

After luncheon at the Lamb Hotel, the remains of the conventual buildings were described by Mr. Hope in the hall of Canon Kirkpatrick's house, the close similarity of the convents at Canterbury and Ely being shown by plans. Archdeacon CHAPMAN then spoke on the special buildings at Ely and conducted the members through the sites of the conventual buildings showing the remains existing in the Deanery in canons' houses and other places; the recently discovered site of the Chapter House was also seen, and the party returned to Cambridge at 5.30.

The general concluding meeting took place in the Guildhall at 8.30. Mr. Chancellor FERGUSON took the chair and proposed the following resolution:—"That the members of the Royal Archaeological Institute desire to offer to the Right Hon. Earl Percy a hearty vote of thanks for presiding over their annual meeting." The Chairman spoke at some length upon the indebtedness of the Institute to their late noble President, and alluded to the loyal manner in which he had attended their meetings, not only in the country, but also in London, often, as on the present occasion, when in the midst of other pressing duties and engagements, which his high position entailed upon him. The motion was seconded by Professor CLARK, and carried with acclamation.

The Chairman then proposed, "that the members of the Institute desire to express their thanks to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, and to the members of the University, who have so ably assisted in making the meeting a success." This was seconded by Mr. MICKLETHWAITE, and responded to by Professor CLARK.

MR. GOSSELIN read a letter from the Mayor of Cambridge expressing his

great regret that an engagement in Sussex prevented him from taking part in the concluding meeting. MR. JUSTICE PINHEY proposed, and MR. LONGDEN seconded a vote of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation of Cambridge.

DR. COX proposed, and MR. GREEN seconded a vote of thanks to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society and especially to Professor Clark, Mr. J. W. Clark, Dr. Hardeastle, and Professor Sir G. Humphrey for the great interest they have taken in the meeting.

DR. CRESSWELL proposed and MR. JONES seconded a vote of thanks to the Presidents of Sections, the guides to places visited during the meeting, and to the clergy and gentry who have permitted their churches and houses to be inspected by the members of the Institute. A vote of thanks to the Chairman brought the Cambridge meeting to an end.

## Notices of Archaeological Publications.

ANE ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIE OF INNES. By COSMO INNES, 1864.

Among the valuable, but—out of Scotland—little known, volumes printed by the Spalding Club, is one by the late Cosmo Innes, whose writings have thrown so much light upon the Early and Middle-age history of Scotland, in which he has contributed towards the history of his family in a work of labour, but evidently a labour of love.

Although it is only of late years, and by one of those peculiar limitations of titles of honour unknown in England, that the family of Innes of Innes has attained, not only to the peerage, but to the highest rank in it, they have for seven centuries taken a part in the history of the Northern provinces of their country, and have held a distinguished place among the “*Barones minores*” or upper landed gentry of Scotland, and the pedigree justifies the boast of the fifth Duke of Roxburgh, who succeeded to the titles of the Kers, and declared to Mr. Innes that “he would let those proud Kers know that he was of as good blood on his father’s side, as on that of his great grandmother.” This he amply fulfilled by printing a manuscript account of the Innes family, drawn up by Duncan Forbes, of Culloden, their near kinsman, copies of which were preserved in the Charter chest at Floors, and among the records at Culloden, and which shews the house of Innes to have been distinguished, in the word of the Lord Lyon, Sir Alexander Areskine, “*parentum amplitudine et integra fama.*”

Many pedigrees, says Duncan Forbes, are brought into question by the “*emulation of a cor-ryval family.*” Here, however, such emulation has produced an opposite effect, and had it not been for the “*cor-ryval*” Kers, the main stem of the house of Innes would have remained unrecorded, and the pedigree of the cadet branches, imperfect as they still are, would have been still more so, had it not been for their savage and brutal rivalry recorded by Forbes.

Mr. Innes has not, however, contented himself with merely correcting and reprinting the President’s memoir. He has examined the ancient charters in which Floors is rich, and from these and other sources he has added materially to the authority of the work, displacing some members of the pedigree and inserting others, giving proofs of the several steps, and adding particulars of several cadet families of the name. The book



s thus a credit even to the good company in which it appeared, and is worthy to take a place among the family histories so prominent in the later literature of Scotland. All that is to be regretted is the absence of a tabular genealogy, without which it is difficult to form a clear idea of the somewhat involved kinship between the main line and its numerous branches, especially of those of Cromy and Invermarkie, by one of which it was ultimately replaced, and by the other very nearly brought to an end. This remark also applies to the complicated steps by which the Earldom and Dukedom shifted from the Kers to the Drummonds, and back again to the family of Innes as representing another of the Ker daughters.

A family history, without a tabulated genealogy, is at the best but an imperfect record, and here this is peculiarly the case from the complexity of the branches, and, indeed, in some degree of the corrected main line. The branches, which are numerous, were almost all at strife, often at deadly strife, with one another and with their chief. On two occasions their hatred extended to murder, in one case punished by the law, in the other by private revenge. We have also a dying laird who solemnly adjures his son to swear deadly hatred against his kinsman, and after one of the murders, several of the name, including a youth at school, were forced to bury their dirks in the bleeding body, and so to share in and sanction the deed. Nowhere is there so truthful and graphic a representation of the social savagery of a great Scottish family in the sixteenth century.

The pedigree commences with a certain *BEROLDUS Flandrensis*, one of those strangers who were found along the shores of the Moray Firth about the middle of the twelfth century, and who superseded some of the least powerful of the ancient Celtic Maormors, and have been claimed as founders by the Leslies, Drummonds, Ruthvens and other considerable Scottish families. His name shews that he could not have been of Celtic origin, and his existence is vouched by a charter of Malcolm the IV., the date of which is established by the name of a Bishop of Moray, who returned to Scotland in 1159 and died in 1160. The original charter, seen by Sir Robert Sibbald, an eminent Scottish antiquary, is now lost, but there exists an official transcript by Bishop Gavin Dunbar, Clerk of the Registry of Scotland, from which the document is here printed.

A pedigree of twenty-seven male links, through as many Lairds of Innes, is not common even in Scotland, and in this case the links are supported by a succession of royal and other charters and writs of service and of enfeoffment, evidence of the highest description. The alliances are with well known Scottish families, such as Fraser, Stewart Earl of Athol, Forbes Lord Forbes and of Culloden, Gordon Earl of Huntly and of Gight, Dunbar, Meldrum of Fyvie, Hepburn of Bothwell, Sinclair, Elphinstone, Ross and Grant, vouching for the blueness of the blood and for the social condition of the family, which, though not ennobled, matched with the best of the Scottish nobility.

The original estate, granted by Malcolm the IV. to the founder, lay along the shores of the Moray firth from Lossie mouth to that of the Spey, and extended inland a considerable distance, including the place whence the family shortly afterwards derived their name, and where they built a castle. The whole was held by military tenure of the Castle, then royal, of Elgin, by the service of one knight's fee. It became the centre of a much more considerable property, and was held by the family for

about six centuries, when they left the Lossie and the Spey for the Tweed and the Teviot, and the castellet and mains of Innes for the dual palace, gardens and terraces of Floors.

Forbes has laboured, though with small success, to establish the Scottish origin of Beroald, but spring from whence he may, he was a very considerable person, as is evident from the value and extent of the royal grant. The son of Beroald is styled [II.] JOHN of Innes, in a charter of Alexander the II., of which Mr. Innes gives a "fac-simile," and which confirms the gifts of Malcolm, in favour of [III.] WALTER, son of John son of Beroald. This Walter was Lord of divers baronies near Elgin, and took part in the settlement between the Bishop of that see and Walter de Moravia, in 1226.

Tradition has handed down [IV.] ALEXANDER of Innes as fourth from Beroald, and the father of [V.] WILLIAM, who, or more probably his [VI.] SON of the same name, has left a seal, bearing a star of six rays, which may be, as was not unusual, a mere fancy ornament, or which is not improbable, may be connected with the three stars which shortly afterwards became the armorial insignia of the family, and are thought to indicate some connection with those of the powerful Earls of Moray, which differed only in colour.

[VII.] ROBERT Innes of Innes, for surnames were coming into use, witnessed a Charter by Walter de Leslie, Lord of Ross, in 1367, and a judicial record in 1376. [VIII.] ALEXANDER the successor of Robert has been discovered by Mr. Innes. As Alexander de Innes he witnessed an instrument concerning cultures at Forres, in 1390, and a very curious Charter of John of Dunbar, Earl of Moray, to the Burgh of Elgin, in the same year. John, the Laird's brother, was Bishop of Moray in 1406, and died 1414. A fragment of his monument was rescued when the tower of Elgin Cathedral fell down in 1711. This was the Laird who married Janet the heiress of Aberchirder, a considerable thanedom in Banff, upon the river Doveran. The superiority, however, did not pass with the land, but was held of the crown by John Lord Lindsay of the Byres. The patron of the fortified Church of Aberchirder's "pulcherimus Duverne fluvio munita et vallata," was St. Maman, whose head, a most precious relic, was brought out by the priests upon solemn occasions.

[IX.] Sir WALTER Innes, son of Alexander, was of Innes and Aberchirder. He appears upon a local inquest in 1420, in the churchyard of Rosmarky, and upon another held on the lands of Kilravoch, by divers northern gentry in 1431. He was knighted before 1438. His seal of three stars is still preserved. In a precept by John Lord Lindsay in 1456, he is mentioned as quondam Walterus de Innes.

[X.] ROBERT de Innes, son and heir of Sir Walter, had a grant of lands, in 1441, from Alexander de Seton, Earl of Huntly, and the first who assumed the name of Gordon. It appears by a precept by the same Earl, that Robert was succeeded by his son.

[XI.] JAMES de Innes, called "James with the Beard," who had seizin in 1464 both of the Huntly grants and of Aberchirder, and was then of "lawfull" age. He married Janet Gordon, daughter of Alexander and sister of George, Earl of Huntly, by whom he had Alexander and Elizabeth, who married in 1481 George Meldrum of Fyvie, with a "tocher" of 700 marks. Janet died before 1473, when Laird James married Margaret Culane, by whom also he had issue. This laird

acquired a large estate in Buchan, was attached to the Court, and present with James III. at Bannockburn, and with the increase of the family estate, he wielded a corresponding degree of weight and position in the north. Laird James seems to have been the first who adopted the new system of quartering arms, he and his descendants so combining Innes and Aberchirder.

[XII.] ALEXANDER, son of James by Janet Gordon, had the usual confirmation of the Huntly lands, and is found in 1492 "perambulating the marches," that is walking the boundaries between Aberchirder and the lands of the Vicarage, a solemn operation to which the King and the Bishop gave consent, and in which a crowd of the local gentry took part, and the conclusion upon which was sworn upon the sacred head of St. Maman and recorded in the Registries of the Bishopric and the Abbey of Arbroath. His wife Christian, daughter of Sir James Dunbar, of Cummock, seems to have inherited the whole or a great part of the broad barony of Kilmalemak. He also added to the lands in the forest of Boyne, and acquired property in Caithness. Among the grants to cadets, he was especially liberal to his brother Robert, ancestor of the branch of Rothmakenzie, whose seal is curiously compounded of two stars for Innes in chief and a bear's head erased for Aberchirder, in base. The downfall of the Douglasses, about the middle of the fifteenth century, scattered their possessions, of which a good share, including Balveny, fell to the Inneses. Alexander, however, seems to have been a bad manager, for a combination of his kinsmen seized and confined him in Caithness Castle on the charge of being "ane misgidet and prodigal man," a somewhat heroic remedy, which, however, was sanctioned by eleven Lords of the Council, who took steps to preserve the property.

[XIII.] ALEXANDER, the son of the wasteful laird, succeeded and seems to have lived in a chronic quarrel with his cousins of Rothmakenzie, Invermakie, and Ogtown, resulting in a number of grants and alienations of land, the seals to which show him to have varied his shield by placing the three stars in chief, and the three bears heads in base. He married Elizabeth Forbes, who had her "terce" on his death. They had a daughter, Margaret, who married William, and was mother of William Sinclair, of Stambuster, but the landed estate passed to the laird's brother.

[XIV.] WILLIAM Innes, of Forresterseat, who exhibited the family temper by a death-feud with the Dunbars. They met in arms to fight it out in the Cathedral of Elgin in presence of the Holy Sacrament, on New Year's Day, 1554. Blood was shed, but the quarrel took a legal form until a score of years later, when the men of the next generation revived the feud, when laird John Innes, Andrew Innes called the Kowthe-Gegat, Andrew Innes the Scholar, the Vicar of Aberchirder, and many others, armed to the teeth, fell upon Deam Dunbar in the Canonry of Elgin, and notwithstanding the dirk which the Deam habitually wore, cut him down, and killed his daughter, a girl of thirteen years. In the following year, with unslaked revenge, the Inneses harried the Dean's lands and drove off his sheep. The wild passions of the Inneses were not likely to be sobered by the blood of Hepburn of Bothwell, of whom Elizabeth was the wife of Laird William and the mother of his two sons.

[XV.] ALEXANDER Innes, "the proud and positive," who succeeded, was

in 1575 in ward in Edinburgh, but was liberated by the Regent that he might seek and put down John Innes of Garnach, called "Sweet man," Thomas Innes the Little, John Adam called Meat-and-rest, and John Forbes the Noble, who had slain David Mawer. Soon after this Laird Alexander meeting his kinsman, Innes of Pethnick, at the Cross of Edinburgh, they quarrelled, and he either stabbed or pistoled Pethnick. As Alexander had married Lady Jean Gordon, a daughter of John, Earl of Sutherland, by a daughter of Matthew, Earl of Lennox, the Regent pardoned the murder on the surrender of the barony of Kilmalenak, but while celebrating his pardon in his cups, the Laird used some expressions that led the Regent to have him beheaded, though retaining the Barony. Alexander left no legitimate offspring, and was succeeded by his brother.

[XVI.] JOHN Innes. The main line of the family contrived to add to their landed estate and thereby continued to hold a very considerable position, but though highly connected, they had for at least two generations been on the decline in personal character, which reached its lowest point in Laird John, a very weak and credulous man, easily led away. He married Elizabeth Abernethy, a daughter of Alexander Lord Saltoun. He fell at first under the influence of his near cousin and next heir, [XVII.] ALEXANDER Innes of Cromy, and thus provoked the jealousy of Innes of Innermarkie, a more distant but wealthy cadet of the family, who, Laird John having no issue, aspired to become the head of the family. Innermarkie was descended from "wylie" Walter, brother of James with the Beard, and stood therefore next after Cromy for the inheritance. Cromy was a man of great personal strength and courage, and he offered to lay the bond of entail on the sword, and fight over it with Innermarkie, the victor to take possession. Innermarkie's brother, Innes of Achintoul, would not allow this, upon which Innermarkie, taking Laird John with him, broke into Cromy's lodgings in Aberdeen and murdered him on his door stone, after which he forced Laird John and the other cousins to bury their dirks in the bleeding body, and thus became sharers in the crime. Cromy's son, a boy of sixteen, escaped. Taking the dead man's seal ring, Innermarkie sent it to the wife as a token to forward certain papers. These, though thus obtained, were afterwards recovered and their bearer slain. But the tragedy had even a more painful end. The master of Elphinston and other connexions and relations of the young Laird made a covenant with the son of Innermarkie, who undertook to find a way by which Robert Innes of that ilk should have his father's (Innermarkie's) life, seeing he was the instrument of the slaughter and bloodshed. It was not, however, by his hand that his father fell. He was slain two years afterwards by another cousin, Innes of Cotts, for this deed called Craig-in-peril. He had the head taken from the body, and hid it before the King. This bloody tragedy was followed by the death of Laird John, childless, and the succession to the headship of the family and the lands of Innes of the son of Cromy. The younger Innermarkie also came to a violent end. In 1391, when the "bonnie Earl of Moray" was slaughtered by the Earl of Huntly, Innermarkie was aiding and abetting. The law was not powerful enough to reach him, but they were dogged and captured by the Earl of Moray's brother, and Innermarkie was executed in the common market place of Edinburgh soon afterwards.

[XVIII.] ROBERT Innes, son and heir of the murdered Cromy, came under the protection of his kinsman, the Earl of Huntly. He married a daughter of the Lord Treasurer, Alexander Lord Elphinston, and was father of [XIX.] Sir ROBERT Innes, who proved himself a very capable man, but was much harrassed by Robert Innes, son of old Innermarkie, called from another estate, "Balveny" who applied for one of the new Baronetcies, that he might take precedence of his chief. The Laird, hearing of this, anticipated him and secured an earlier patent. The one, Innes of Innes remains, though absorbed in the Dukedom, the other, Innes of Balveny, reached the twelfth Baronet, and possibly is still extant in New Zealand. By Lady Grizel, daughter of James Stuart, Earl of Moray, was born another Robert, who succeeded.

[XX.] Sir ROBERT Innes, Baronet, of Innes, married Jean, daughter of James, Lord Ross, and had [XXI.] SIR JAMES Innes, who married Margaret, daughter of Henry Ker, Lord Ker, of whom hereafter. They were succeeded by their second but surviving son, [XXII.] Sir HENRY Innes who by Jean, daughter of Duncan Forbes, of Culloden, left [XXIII.] Sir HARRY Innes, fifth Baronet, who married Jane, daughter of Sir James Grant of Grant, and had

[XXIV.] Sir JAMES Innes of Innes, sixth Baronet, who became fifth Duke of Roxburgh, as has to be explained.

The two great branches of the House of Ker were those of Cessford and those of Ferniehirst or Lothian. Sir Robert Ker of Cessford, described as "wise and valiant, tho' somewhat haughty and resolute," was created Earl of Roxburgh about A.D. 1600, and by subsequent resignations and regrants, fortified his title with very unusual limitations. By his first wife he had Jean, who married John Drummond, second Earl of Perth, and had William, a younger son, and Jane, who married the third Earl of Wigton. By his second wife Earl Robert had Henry Lord Ker, who had three daughters, (1) Jean, who married her cousin William Drummond, Anne who married the fourth Earl of Wigton, and Margaret who married Sir James Innes, third Baronet. The titles were settled (1) on William Drummond, providing he married his cousin, Jean Ker, which he did. Failing his heirs, to his sister's son, Robert Fleming, and failing them, to the descendants of Margaret Ker by Sir James Innes. The Earldom descended in the Drummonds, called Ker, and John the fifth Earl gained a Dukedom, which was settled, in accordance with the old settlement, to descend with the Earldom. The line failed in John (Drummond) Ker, seventh Earl and third Duke, the book collector, who died childless, when the title passed to his cousin William (Drummond) Lord Bellenden, who became fourth Duke and died childless. The next heir was decided, after a great legal struggle, to be Sir James (Innes) Ker, sixth Baronet, ninth Earl, and fifth Duke, and is now borne by his great grandson the eighth Duke and the twenty-seventh in male descent from Berodd. Duncan Forbes says of them, "first, that their inheritance never went to a woman; next, that none of them ever married an ill-wife; thirdly, that no friend ever suffered for their debt." A bold assertion, but especially true of the late Duke, who was suddenly gathered to his fathers while these lines were passing through the press, and who for uprightness of character, manliness, and warmth of affections was surpassed by no one of his very numerous ancestors.

PEEPS AT THE PAST : OR, RAMBLES AMONG NORFOLK ANTIQUITIES. By MARK KNIGHTS. Jarrolds, 1892.

Under this title Messrs. Jarrolds of Paternoster Row and Norwich, have added to their list of works on East Anglian antiquities, a volume containing twenty chapters on some of the more notable sites in Norfolk. Mr. Knights evidently knows and loves well the county of which he treats, and though his conclusions on all the topics discussed would not command general assent, the readers of his book will not fail to be stimulated to further enquiry into the nature of those wonderful and wide-spread material records of the past which are the heritage of Englishmen.

In one instance, Chapter VIII., Mr. Knights wanders over the boundary into Suffolk, to give a peep at that venerable monument called the "Old Minster" in South Elmham. This, which is shown to be the East Anglian See between the episcopal days of Dunwich and Thetford, is so inwrought with Norfolk that the wandering of some three miles over the Waveney border may be well pardoned.

The chapter on Ringmere Heath is of some historical importance, as the author seems, not unreasonably, to identify the place on the heaths near Thetford, named from the round lake there, at once with the *Hringmara* of King Olaf's Saga, and with the Roudham of Johannes de Bramis, as quoted by "honest Tom Martin," where Waldeus the Saxon met Roud and Knoud the Danes in deadly conflict, the story being somewhat complicated by the presence of Merlin.

The volume is handsomely got up, and contains sundry illustrations. The author holds some unusual views, apparently, on the relation between men's names and destinies, which rather divert than convince; but there is a vivacity and earnestness from end to end, indicative of an effort to live in the past, and thus to make its otherwise dry bones live for the generations to come.

CATALOGUE OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES OF SCOTLAND.—New and Enlarged edition, with Illustrations : Printed for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh, 1892. Octavo, pp. 380.

The brilliant *Conversazione* given to the members of the Institute at Edinburgh by the President, Vice-Presidents and Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery and Museum of Antiquities, left pleasant memories in the minds of those who attended, tempered somewhat by regret that catalogues of the objects of antiquities so well displayed in their new and beautiful home could not be obtained as *souvenirs*. That want has now been supplied; and large paper copy of the new catalogue is before us. But it is much more than a catalogue; it is a methodical index to almost every class of antiquities, and in each class engravings are given of representative articles; the archaeologist, puzzled by some querist who brings him some odd looking and unknown objects, will often find his doubts solved by a reference to the pictures in this volume, and to the portion of the catalogue adjoining each picture. Not only are pre-historic implements represented by numerous engravings, but figures of powder horns, crusies, quichs, mustard mills, toasting stones, methers, save-alls, peermens, Luckenbooth brooches, and many other articles, puzzling even

to the expert archaeologist, are profusely given. The text is, too, as helpful as the engravings, the description being concise, but full and accurate, while the portion of the catalogue devoted to each class is generally preceded by a pregnant, but brief and pithy introduction. The best thing any archaeologist can do, is of course, to go to Edinburgh and buy a catalogue and with its aid study the wealth of treasures, so admirably arranged by Dr. Anderson, in the palace provided by Mr. Findlay. Failing that, let him send to the Secretary 1s. 2d. for a small paper copy, or 2s. 8d. for a large one, including postage; when received, let him study it well and he will rise up a better informed man.

The Society of Antiquaries have also just completed and are issuing an index to the first twenty-four volumes of their Proceedings—a much needed help to students of the past, for these Proceedings deal with many classes of antiquities, which other societies neglect or ignore.

## Archæological Intelligence.

NORWICH CASTLE.—We are indebted to Mr. J. Mottram, whose untiring exertions and courteous co-operation at the Norwich meeting in 1889, are not likely to be forgotten, for the following notes on Norwich Castle, with reference to its future use as a Museum for the city and for the county of Norfolk. The alterations have proceeded apace, though the fittings will, of course, take some time longer.

“It must be remembered that this building, which is so prominent to all visitors to the capital of East Anglia, is really in two quite distinct portions. The old Norman keep, first used as a royal prison some time in the thirteenth century, and afterwards as a county gaol, stands on the mound towards its south-east corner. The remainder of the open space, on which in previous times had stood assize courts and other buildings, was, in the early part of the present century, encircled near its margin by a wall of granite some fifteen feet high, which, starting from the south-eastern, came round to the north-western corner of the Norman keep, and within this enclosure were then erected six blocks of prison cells in two or three stories. These blocks have now been gutted, and converted into spacious halls, lighted by glazed roofs and ceilings, and connected in a circle by corridors, which will provide considerable wall area. The vacant spaces between these blocks, and in the centre where formerly stood the governor’s house, will be laid out as a garden.

“But to the antiquary the great point of interest will, of course, be the keep, known to many who may not have visited Norwich by Wilkins’ paper in the *Archæologia*, vol. xii. ; by the illustrated work of the late Samuel Woodward, published in 1847 ; and by the late H. Harrod’s *Gleanings from the Castles and Convents of Norfolk*.

“When, in 1888, the prisoners had been removed, and the keep was handed over to the Norwich city authorities, it contained a three-storied building of cells, which, for the better security of its occupants, did not, except at a few points, touch the original walls. All the Norman and mediæval floors, fittings, and roofs, except so far as they formed part of the main walls, had long disappeared, and the latter had received much patching and mending internally in brickwork.

“The first thing done was to remove the inner hive of cells, and as these vanished, those locally interested saw for the first time, with ease, the loops, niches, windows, &c., which had been more or less hidden. Before the erection of this same building, the basement had for some reason been filled up to a height of some eight feet with earth, and on this comparatively modern floor, during the visit of the Archæological



Institute to Norwich in 1889, a meeting of its members was held, at which were also present several of the city authorities more directly in charge of the building. (See *Journal*, vol. xlv, page 260 and 111). As the result of this and other consultations, this filling in of earth was dug out and carted away, being first carefully examined and sifted. The finds were practically of little interest, consisting chiefly of bones of edible animals, and these not of great antiquity. But there came to view the bases of the pillars which, in a line from east to west, had carried the floor of the great hall, various other massive partition-walls (the existence of those latter was known), and, most interesting of all, the top of the original well, all knowledge or repute of which had passed away. Curiously, no trace has been found of the well which is shown in Woodward's plans, as supposed to be situated in the western part of the main partition-wall.

"The old well above mentioned when found was filled up, and, as far as the requirements of the future of the building demanded, there was no reason to disturb it; but several members of the Norfolk Archaeological Society were unwilling that its depth and contents should remain unknown, so a small fund was raised, and the well emptied. Its contents consisted to a large extent of blocks of stone, with Norman and later mediæval mouldings or tooling. From this it appears probable that when the original interior fittings either went to decay or were pulled down, some portions were thrown into the well; but at what date this occurred there is no record, though it seems as if it must have been long before the filling in of the eight feet of earth before referred to.

"Where the original double-ridged roof of the keep had stood was well marked on the interior of the western wall, and the new glazed roof, with massive deal principals, has been placed in exactly the same position, the centre between the two ridges being carried by a line of three arches in stone, which, though in keeping with their surroundings, tell their own tale, and make no pretention to be a restoration.

"At the level of the first floor and great hall a gallery has been carried round the interior, which will be reached by a substantial flight of stairs; and from this gallery the beautiful Norman doorway, the so-called chapel or oratory, the line of garderobes, and the wall-passages with their windows which formerly gave light to and looked into the great hall, will be reached. It was at first proposed that access to this gallery should have been by a flight of stairs outside the east wall as in old time, and then through the Norman doorway; but gratifying as this would have been to the antiquary, various difficulties in detail have caused the adoption of the plan above mentioned. From this gallery will also be reached, by the old circular stairs in the north-east and south-west corners, the well-protected walk behind the parapets, from which there is a most interesting view of the old city with its thirty-five churches, the cathedral, and many other points of interest, though the distant prospect is not, on the the whole, so extensive as would be expected.

"It is obvious that some time must still elapse before all these buildings and the museum collections can be arranged, as it is hoped they one day will be; but may not the time be looked for when the Norman keep and the adjacent buildings, with the almost unique series of raptorial birds, the Gumm collection of mammalian remains from the forest bed,

the Fitch collection of local antiquities, the series of Norfolk and Suffolk crag fossils, the pictures by Norfolk artists, and the other general objects of interest, may supply constant interest and instruction to all East Anglians, and may also attract many strangers from greater distances to Norwich Castle?"

It is gratifying to be able to record that the efforts of our brethren in Norwich who so learnedly share our pursuits, for the common benefit of East Anglia, have thus far been crowned with success; the completion of the great scheme looked forward to by Mr. Mottram is "a consummation devoutly to be wish'd."

**NORTHUMBERLAND EXCAVATION FUND.** The following note has reached us:—

"It is proposed to establish a small fund for the purpose of carrying on excavations in Northumberland in furtherance of archæological science. At the outset, the chief object of these excavations will be to increase our knowledge with reference to that most interesting monument of the early history of Britain—the Roman Wall. The amount of information to be derived from books as to the history of our island during the Roman occupation is disappointingly small. More than three centuries and a half intervened between the subjugation of Britain and its abandonment by the Romans, but the history of that period as delivered to us by Greek and Roman writers could be compressed in a small pamphlet. Coins and inscriptions, the trophies of the excavator's spade, have done something to fill up this lamentable chasm, and it is believed that much more may yet be done in the same way. Especially, if a regular and scientific exploration were made of the camps along the line of the Roman Wall, it is almost certain that our knowledge of the conditions of military life among the Roman garrison which defended that great barrier would be largely increased.

"We have in the treatise on the Fortifications of Camps by Hyginus, a Roman engineer of the time of Trajan, a very full, and on the whole, intelligible account of the general principles on which a Roman camp was constructed at the end of the first century after Christ. We can trace the direction of the main streets, the position of the Forum or market place, of the Quæstorium (near the rear of the camp) in which the plunder and the prisoners taken from the enemy were guarded, of the Prætorium or quarters of the general highest in command, the stables of the horses, in fact the general disposition of this little military town in which everything was arranged beforehand and nothing was left to chance. Now in order to reconstruct in some degree the daily life of the Roman garrisons in Britain, the camps which still exist upon our Northumbrian moors ought to be carefully excavated and compared step by step with the earliest plan of Hyginus in order to see how far they correspond with that place and where they differ from it or from one another. Though so much has been said and written about the Roman Wall, this obvious work has not been accomplished, has hardly even been commenced. The careful excavations made about thirty-five years ago by the late Duke of Northumberland at High Rochester, and the operations commenced by the late Mr. Clayton at Chesters and continued by his nephew, the present owner, are admirable in their way, but even these have not accomplished all that could be desired.

“The work will be a gradual one, and no large yearly outlay will be needed, but it is important to make a beginning. We propose to invite subscriptions for say £100 a year, and devote the money thus raised in the first place to the ascertainment of the ground-plan of one of the camps, say *Procolitia* or *Aesica*. When this is accomplished, other camps will successively be excavated and the results carefully compared both with one another and with the Roman military treatises. It will be strange if we are not thus enabled to throw light on several antiquarian questions which are now obscure. Above all, we shall, we trust, escape from the region of guess-work and have to say with something like certainty what was the intention of the builders of most of the structures whose mouldering remains have hitherto perplexed us.

“We undertake the work with the full sanction and encouragement of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries to which most of the projectors belong, and though it will not be our *primary* object to search for works of art or even for inscribed stones, we shall hope to enrich its museum with some antiquities of this kind discovered by our excavators in the course of their labours.”

Doubtless, many of the members of the Institute who have had the imagination quickened and the soul stirred on the occasion of visits to the greatest monument in England, under the auspices of the late Dr. Bruce, and in the courteous society of the numerous northern antiquaries, who tread so worthily in his steps, will be glad of the opportunity thus afforded of strengthening the hands of the projectors of this sensible scheme. That the spade is the tool *par excellence* of the antiquary has become an axiom of archaeology; that it will be as intelligently guided at *Procolitia* or *Aesica*, as in Cranborne Chase, Bokerly Dyke, and Wansdyke—if the admirable example that General Pitt Rivers has set be at all followed—there will be no question. Persons desirous of supporting our Northumbrian friends will be kind enough to communicate with Dr. Hodgkin, Bank, Newcastle.

THE OLD MANORIAL HALLS OF WESTMORLAND AND CUMBERLAND. (By Michael Waistel Taylor, M.D., Edinburgh.)—This work, on which the author has been engaged for several years, has for its object to preserve in a permanent form an authentic record of the ancient Pele Towers, Old Manorial Halls, and Domestic structures, of which so many remarkable specimens still survive in the two counties of Westmorland and Cumberland.

Though the county historians, Nicolson and Burn, deal very amply with the genealogies of the baronial and manorial lords, yet no attempt was made by these topographers, or any others, to describe the habitations of our forefathers, or to furnish any sufficient details of the domestic architecture or plans of the interior arrangements of these edifices. It has been the endeavour of the author to deal systematically and completely with the hitherto unexplored series of domestic structures, and to elucidate from his researches the various changes in style which have occurred in building construction, and in the domestic life and customs which have prevailed during various epochs in these counties.

This account of the early domestic architecture of the land of Cumbria will embrace the period from the thirteenth century to the Restoration.

It has not been considered necessary to devote much space to the great Norman military castles of the country, in order not to extend the bulk of the volume, especially as most of these castles have been already treated by Mr. Clark, in his great work—"Medieval Military Architecture in England;" and in various monographs by Chancellor Ferguson, Canon Knowles, and other writers in "The Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society."

Though the design of the work is to trace the historical sequence of the styles of the "Old Manorial Halls" at different periods from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, yet the stages of progress are generally so mixed up in the same edifice that a chronological order could not be followed with advantage in the arrangement of the contents. Hence the various subjects will be treated in accordance with their district and topographical relation to each other. So that in the county of Westmorland especially every parish will follow in consecutive order, with the history and description of all the most remarkable old manor houses contained within it.

Westmorland and Cumberland are fortunate counties. Favoured by nature beyond all others, they teem with buildings, works of art, and antiquities which have happily come within the protecting influence which the local Antiquarian Society has aroused. On the formation of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, the treatment of the old manorial halls fell some years ago into the capable charge of Dr. Taylor, and we are glad to know that the author's entire scheme had so far approaching completion, when his hand was, alas! so lately arrested, that the volume will be given to the world just as he designed it. It will remain a worthy record of Dr. Taylor's energy, a volume by a man of wide attainments upon a large and interesting part of the antiquarian heritage of Cumberland and Westmorland. Names of subscribers should be sent without delay to Mr. T. Wilson, Publisher, Kendal; the subscription price is 15s.

AN ORDINARY OF THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS CONTAINED IN THE PUBLIC REGISTER OF THE LYON OFFICE, SCOTLAND. (By J. Balfour Paul, Lyon King-of-Arms).—The present Lyon Register began in 1672, and has been regularly kept up to the present time. All Scottish families, with the exception of the few who can prove a right to arms before 1672, who are entitled to bear arms, are entered in this record, and a full index will be given of their names. The Ordinary itself will be arranged much on the same lines as that by Papworth, namely, each entry will be given under the first charge in the coat. Enquiries should be made of Messrs. Green, 18, St. Giles' Street, Edinburgh.

FEET OF FINES FOR LONDON AND MIDDLESEX, from the reign of Richard I., to the year 1834, preserved at the Public Record Office. Volume I. of a Calendar of these Documents, extending to the close of the reign of Richard III., is now ready, price 10s. Application should be sent to Messrs. Hardy and Page, 21, Old Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.

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At a meeting of the Council of the Institute, on December 20th, Mr. Hartshorne resigned his position in connection with the *Archæological Journal*, which he has edited for upwards of fourteen years. At the same meeting Mr. Gosselin resigned the Secretaryship of the Institute, which he has held for nine years.

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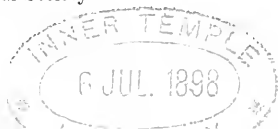
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