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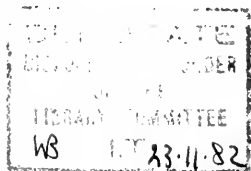
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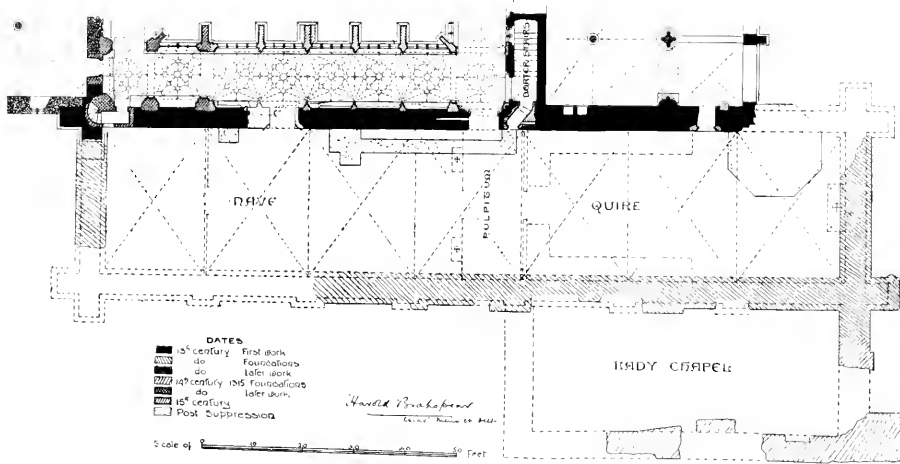
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RASCOCK ABBEY WILTS.

PLAN OF CHURCH.



LACOCK ABBEY CHURCH.

By HAROLD BRAKSPEAR, F.S.A.

The Abbey of Lacock was founded in 1232, by Ela, Countess of Salisbury, on a plot of ground called Snaylesmede, near Lacock—a small village on the banks of the River Avon, some five miles below Chippenham in Wiltshire. It was dedicated to the honour of St. Mary and St. Bernard, and occupied by Canonesses of the order of St. Augustine. At the Suppression in 1539, the site was sold to Sir William Sharington, Comptroller of the Mint at Bristol, who appears immediately to have commenced to convert the claustral buildings into a manor house.

The church, with which this paper treats, occupied the south side the cloisters and was entirely pulled down, except the six western bays of the north wall, which were retained to form the south wall of the house. Its extent and character were unknown, and could only be ascertained by excavation. In November, 1898, with the consent and co-operation of the owner, Mr. C. H. Talbot, I was enabled to make investigations on the site. Two men were employed, and the expenses defrayed by the Society of Antiquaries and the Local Society in equal shares. The destruction at various times had been so complete that the barest foundations were alone traceable, and in places even these were entirely grubbed up. But for all that the investigation has proved of considerable interest, and has enabled the length and width of the original church and the position of the added Lady-chapel to be determined.

The original church, which, judging from the style of the remaining part of the north wall, was commenced immediately after the foundation of the Monastery, was an aisleless parallelogram 143 feet long by 28 feet wide, without any structural division between the nave and quire. It was vaulted in seven bays resting on attached wall shafts, with moulded caps and bases supported on

corbels about 10 feet above the floor. The abacus of the corbels was continued along the walls as a string course, with a broad band of ashlar beneath.¹

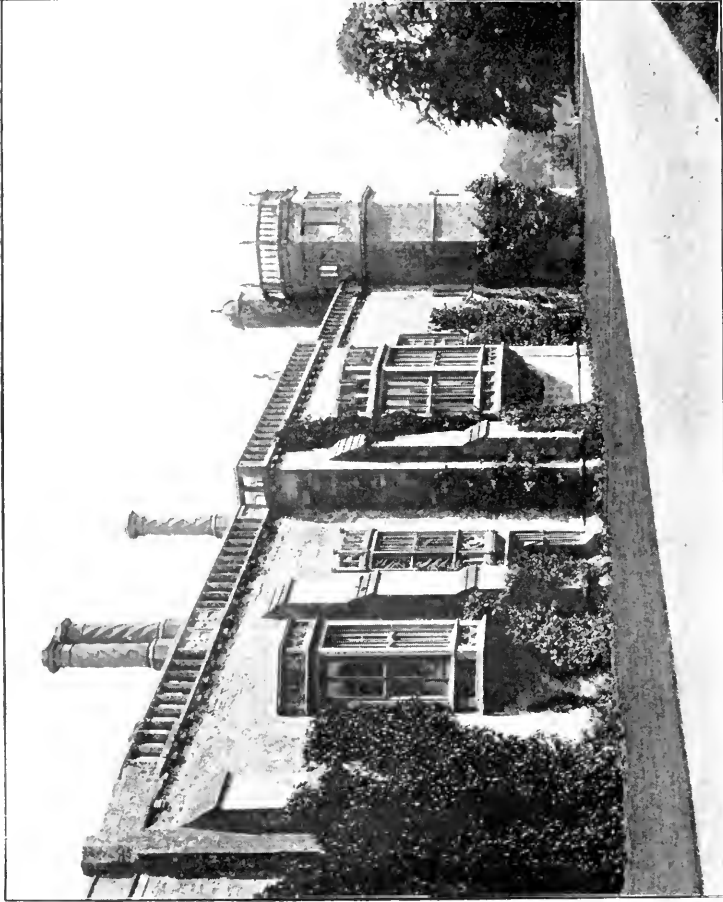
Each bay had a tall lancet window, with continuous jamb and arch moulding and a label over. The eastern range of the claustral buildings was contemporary with the church, and there are no windows in the two bays against which it abutted. Westward of this the church was built complete without any provision being made for the junction of the western range; which, although little later in date, is butted up against the north-west angle without any bond. The north buttress of this angle would have projected in an awkward manner into the southern apartment of the range, so the projecting part was cut away when the latter was built.

Externally, under the eaves was a continuous corbel table, and the bays were divided by flat pilaster buttresses stopped with a plain weathering just beneath the eaves. These buttresses next the cloister were cut away in line with the wall when the present cloister was built, but their positions are indicated by breaks in the plinth. The upper part of the fifth from the west remains perfect beneath the later roof of the Dorter. The plinth towards the cloister consists of two orders of chamfers, but at the west end is an additional order formed of a bold roll, hollowed beneath, just above the top chamfered course.

Judging from the foundations, the buttresses on the south side were precisely similar to those on the north. A peculiarity of these buttresses is that they are in nearly all cases out of centre with the vaulting behind, which would lead to the supposition that the idea of vaulting the church was not contemplated in the first place.

I am inclined to think that only the springers and wall ribs (the tails of which still remain in the walls) of the vault were in stone and the rest constructed in wood, as at Rochester, York, and other churches of this date, as the slight abutment afforded by the pilaster buttresses and walls, only 4 feet thick, would not be sufficient to

¹ All the projecting mouldings on this side the wall have been cut off in line with the wall face, probably by Sharrington at the Suppression.



VIEW FROM S.W., SHOWING REMAINING PART OF NORTH WALL OF CHURCH.



EASTERN PROCESSION DOORWAY.

retain the thrust of so wide a vault if in stone, and on the north side at any rate there is no evidence of failure.

Each corner of the church had bold double angle buttresses, each finished at the top with plain octagonal pinnacles, similar to those yet remaining at the south-west angle of Tintern Abbey Church. One of these buttresses remains complete at the north-west angle, and the pinnacle to some four courses above the original eaves. The buttress has two series of set-offs, the lower just above a string course that ran round the building under the side windows, and the upper about the level of the springer of the vaulting. The pinnacle was complete in 1732, and is shown in the view of that date by S. and N. Buck from the south-east. It had a plain spirelet top with a finial.

Part of the original west end is incorporated in a buttress, and the string course mentioned above jumps up some 18 inches before crossing the west front, probably to escape the head of the west entrance.

With respect to the original doorways, except those remaining in the north wall, it is difficult to speak; but probably there was a large doorway at the west end and a small one in the second bay on the south side, as at Lilleshall, Hexham, and other Canons' houses of the order. In the north wall, in the fourth bay from the west, is the eastern procession doorway to the cloisters, which also served till the fifteenth century as the night entrance from the dorter. It consists of two orders, the outer moulded and resting on nook shafts, with moulded caps and bases, and the inner hollow chamfered and continued down the jambs, with a label over. The rere-arch is segmental and plainly chamfered. In the west jamb is the slot for the draw-bar, and the door was of two leaves. In the second bay from the west was the western procession doorway from the cloisters, which has been much altered, and one jamb entirely destroyed, but originally it was precisely similar to the eastern doorway. There was another original doorway in the sixth bay from the west, communicating with the southernmost apartment in the eastern range, which was in part used as the vestry. The face of this doorway next the church has been removed, and a four-centred moulded-

arched doorway of the fifteenth century inserted in its stead.

The first alteration to the original church was the addition of a large Lady-chapel on the south side the presbytery and quire in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The remains of this chapel revealed by excavation were very scanty, and consisted of the footings of the east wall, in line with the east end of the church, and part of the south wall. At the south-east angle was a large mass of foundations, which may have been for a turret. The whole of the west wall, and part of the south wall, was entirely obliterated, so that it would be impossible to determine the length of the chapel, but for a very interesting document preserved at the Abbey. It is in the form of a building agreement written very clearly in Old French, and translated is as follows:—

“This is the covenant made between Lady Johanna de Mounfort Abbess of Lacoke and the convent of the same of the one part and Sir John Bluet Lord of Lacham of the other part. That is to say that the aforesaid Abbess and convent or their successors shall cause to be made and finished a chapel of Our Lady in their abbey of Lacoke, which chapel shall adjoin their high church of the same abbey. And thus shall the chapel be, in length fifty and nine feet, and in width twenty five and a half and there shall be in the said chapel four windows that is to say in each gable one window as large as the one is made and finished and the other as it is begun shall be well made and finished, and in the far (south) side of the aforesaid chapel the one to be such as is made and finished and the other as large as it is begun shall be made and finished of good and suitable work and the aforesaid windows shall be suitably ironed and glazed. And the old wall shall be taken down from the apex of the two windows which were and appeared on the making of this writing in the wall aforesaid as far as the string course next below the sills of the same windows, and two arches shall be made there where the wall shall be taken down as large that is to say as can well and surely be suffered between the two buttresses so that the old arch (window arch) can be sawn without peril. And

the aforesaid Abbess and convent or their successors shall cause to be made the roof of the same chapel of good timber and suitable work and a roof of such kind as shall please the aforesaid Abbess and convent or their successors. And the aforesaid chapel that is to say the roof, shall be well and suitably covered with lead, and the roof within the aforesaid chapel shall be all well ceiled and painted. . . .” The rest of the agreement deals with the times the work shall take to finish and tells us no more about the building. The date of the agreement is 1315.¹

It will be seen that the document is full of interest and gives a great deal of information respecting the arrangement of the chapel. In the first place the manner of building this addition formed no exception to the mediæval plan of almost completing new work before any alteration was made to the original building, as when the writing was made, certain of the new windows were finished and others were begun, and no arches had then been made in the old walls.

These arches of connection with the church were to be as large as safety would allow, and were only continued down to the string course below the sills of the old windows and not to the ground, on account of the quire stalls occupying the blank wall under the windows of those bays interfered with. The same arrangement of arches still remains across the transepts of the Canons' church of Newark in Surrey, but in that case the arches were not insertions, but part of the original design. As there were only two arches to be inserted, the eastern bay of the presbytery must have been left unaltered, probably on account of the sedilia, lockers, etc., being in that wall in connection with the High Altar.

Each gable was pierced by a window, and the south wall had two windows. The monument of Sir John Bluet, who was buried in this chapel, and around which four candles were maintained daily,² was probably provided for from the first and occupied the centre of the wall between the windows; a large block of foundation was found projecting inside the wall face, which probably

¹ *Wilts Archaeological Magazine*, Vol. XVI, p. 350.

² *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Vol. II, p. 15.

formed the support to this. In unblocking the east procession doorway, we found some small but very beautifully carved fragments, which may have formed part of the monument, the style of the fragments agreeing with the date of this work. The roof was to be a wooden one "all well ceiled and painted."

Another alteration of the fourteenth century, but much later than the Lady-chapel, was the insertion of the vice, or spiral staircase, in the north-west turret, with an entrance at the bottom into the church and cloister. This was inserted to obtain direct communication to the church from apartments now occupied by the present dining-room, which may safely be ascribed to the use of the Abbess. At the same time the two west bays of the south alley of the cloisters were built, with a small chapel over, which blocked up the first window of the church from the west.

There is no evidence remaining of any further alteration to the church till the fifteenth century, when the rest of the present cloister was built. It was commenced next the two bays last mentioned and continued eastward. There was a low second story over, against the church wall, and when this was built the rest of the church windows next the cloisters were built up and the pilaster buttresses, labels, and string courses chopped off to the wall face.

The new spacing of the cloisters into bays caused one of the vaulting piers to come in the centre of the western procession doorway, and as these piers project a considerable distance from the wall, the difficulty could not so easily be overcome as in the case of the vestry doorway, over which the vaulting was brought down in a pendant. Unfortunately the door has been much cut about and altered by later work, so very little of the fifteenth century alteration is discernible, but there seems to have been a buttress-like pillar carried up in front of each original jamb, high enough to escape the clear of the arch and covered by a flat lintel, from which the vaulting springs abruptly. The top horizontal line of this lintel shows on the ribs of the vault, from which point in later time they have been cut down and a wall pier inserted under, *to match the rest*.

Another alteration of this date was cutting a skew passage into the church from the lobby at the foot of the dorter stairs. The reason of this being formed through the wall at an angle was so as not to interfere with the support of the vaulting shaft, which it now escapes. The passage has a square-headed doorway into the church, with the door opening therefrom. In the east jamb is the slot hole for the draw-bolt, which retains the original wood lining for the bolt to slide in. This opening has now been built up solid, to check a serious settlement which had occurred at this point. At the same time these alterations were made on the north side the church, five very curious upright stone shoots, in the shape of down pipes, were fixed to the upper part of the wall, to carry off the water from the roof. All have been since removed, except one, which fortunately remains perfect.

There was a part of the Abbey Church the position and character of which is still unsettled, and that is the belfry, which must have existed, as we have the following notices of the bells it contained:—

“Abbey of Lacock—(D) Church, mansion and all oder houses in very good astate. The lead and *bells* there estemed to be sold to £100 10s. 0d.¹

“Here were a good ring of bells, which Sir (Wm.) Sharrington sold when he built Rea-bridge to divert the travelling by his house. The ringers took their leave of the bells of the Abbey when they were taken down, which was on the 1st of May A.D. (1540). This country Rhythme was made upon it,

““On Phillip and Jacob (Sts. Phillip and James day May 1st) the bells rung at Lacock.

The great bell went with such a surge, that he fell in at Rea-burge’

This rhytheme, bad as it be, was used in evidence at Sarum Assizes, at the trial for pulling down Rea-bridge, which was about 165—.”²

This is all we know about a belfry, but as there is no structural evidence of its existence in the original church, it is natural to suppose it was an addition, also as there

¹ P.R.O. Chantry Certificates, No. 100, m. 2, *Wills Archaeological Magazine*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 309.

² Jackson's *Aubrey*, p. 90.

was "a good ring of bells" it is hardly likely to have been a wooden structure on the roof or elsewhere. If it was a detached campanile, as at Salisbury, it may have been at some distance from the church, but if it was connected with the church, it must have been on the south side at the west end, and all the foundations at this point were grubbed up. So that until more documentary evidence is forthcoming any suggestion as to its character or position is mere supposition.

With respect to the internal arrangements, through the utter destruction of everything above the ground level except the north wall, all the evidences are centred in this. Just to the right of the third vaulting shaft from the east was a large hole in the wall about 11 feet from the ground, which has been roughly patched up with stones and tiles. This marks the end of the beam over the quire screen, which must have been of wood, and from this point to the small door into the sacristy were the Canonesses' stalls. Allowing the usual space for each stall, there would be nine seats against each wall and three on each side the quire entry facing east, which would make in all twenty-four seats.

In the centre of the quire stood the tomb of the foundress Ela, who was "in choro decentissime tumulata,"¹ around which were lighted twenty-five candles daily throughout the year.² Part of this monument is now placed in the south alley of the cloister, and consists of a Purbeck marble slab bearing the housing for a brass of the fourteenth century, and round the edge was the following inscription in Lombardic characters :—

"INFRA SVNT DEFOSSA ELE VENERABILIS OSSA
 QUÆ DEDIT HAS SEDES SACRAS MONIALIBVS ÆDES
 ABBATISSA QVIDEM QVÆ SANCTE VIXIT IBIDEM
 ET COMITISSA SARVM VIRTVTVM PLENA BONARVM."³

Unfortunately, owing to the dampness of its position it has suffered by the action of frost, and partly obliterated the inscription.

Opposite the small doorway into the vestry would

¹ *Liber de Lacock*. Vide Bowles and Nicholls's *History of Lacock*, Appendix, p. 5.

² *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Vol. II, p. 15.

³ Bowles and Nicholls's *History of Lacock*, p. 5.

be another door to the Lady-chapel. Immediately east of these doors would be three steps across the presbytery, known as the *gradus presbyterii*, where during Lent usually hung the veil. As this only allows 20 feet for the presbytery proper, which is very short, the High Altar would stand close against the east wall and not detached therefrom as was usually the case.

Immediately westwards of the quire screen the arrangement is not obvious, but judging from other oblong aisleless churches there would be a second screen with a central doorway parallel to the quire screen just westward of the procession doorway. These two screens would support a loft or gallery known as the *pulpitum*, from whence the gospel and epistle were sung on holy days. At one end was usually placed the organs. There would be two small altars against the west side of the western screen.

The western procession doorway is not in its normal position, which was opposite the west wall of the cloisters, so placed that processions passing round the cloister could enter direct into the church to take up their station before the rood.

As the west wall of the church at Lacock is in line with the east wall of the western range, the normal place had to be abandoned, or otherwise there would have been no space westward where strangers, who would not be admitted to the eastern parts of the church, could witness divine service. This space was apparently partitioned off from the rest of the church by a screen just eastward of the first vaulting shaft from the west, and is shown by the quoins of the vaulting shaft being cut off in a straight perpendicular line to receive the end of the screen.

THE CYCLIC POEMS AND THE HOMERIC QUESTION.

By SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.L.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.

PART I.

The Homeric question in its various aspects has created a wider controversy, and a more sustained interest, than probably any other literary problem, and it still remains a living and a burning issue. So much has been written upon it by so many ingenious inquirers, that it might be thought there was no room for fresh hypotheses or new departures in regard to it. I propose in the following paper to show that this is not so, and to show further that one particular vein of promising inquiry has not yet been exhausted. The subject I propose to consider in a somewhat new light is the relative connection and interdependence of the Cyclic poems and the Homeric ones; and I propose to conclude with the heterodox view, that the Homeric poems instead of being older than the more important of the Cyclic poems, are in fact younger. If this view should prove acceptable, I propose to follow this paper with another in which some of its important consequences may be pointed out.

It is now some years ago since my friend the Provost of Oriel read an admirable paper before the Hellenic Society, in which he for the first time sifted and settled the questions and difficulties connected with the text of the fragments of Proclus contained in the well-known Venetian codex, a text upon which our knowledge of the Cyclic poems so largely depends. It seems to me that his main conclusions on the subject are unanswerable.

There was, however, in his paper, one feature which seemed to me open to criticism and doubt, namely, the assignment of the various Cyclic poems to the various authors and poets, under whose names they have been so often quoted, as if the matter were either settled or

capable of settlement, and without a warning that these attributions are for the most part, if not entirely, illusory and void of any satisfactory evidence.

Upon this point I have always held a very sceptical attitude, but I should hardly have ventured to differ from such an authority on Homeric matters, if another scholar of corresponding reputation in Germany, namely Wilamovitz-Moellendorff, had not in his *I Homerische Untersuchungen*, adopted this same sceptical attitude to the fullest extent.

I shall commence, therefore, by examining more in detail than has hitherto been done (at all events in this country), the question as to the authorship of the so-called Cyclic poems, by which I mean the epics dealing with the earliest heroic legends of Greece, from the earliest times to the return of Ulysses, and I shall reverse the usual practice in such inquiries, and begin with the latest writers who give us information on the subject, and work back to the earlier ones, and thus try to fix the earliest date or authority for any particular attribution. I must first, however, discuss a side issue.

Photius, a great and zealous churchman and statesman, was probably the most learned man of his time. He was Patriarch of Constantinople, with a break of ten years, (867-877), from 857 to 886 A.D. His most famous work was his *Myriobiblon* or *Bibliotheca*, in which he brought together, as in a commonplace book, abstracts or epitomes of two hundred and eighty works of various authors, many of which are now lost.

Among these, and numbered 239, are what he calls extracts (*ἐκλογαί*) from the grammatical *Chrestomathy* of Proclus. This title has given rise to some discussion. What we have in Photius are not in fact extracts at all, but an "epitome," and it has been argued that in them we have in fact extracts from the work of an epitomiser who had given a conspectus of the work of Proclus, and not actual extracts from the original work itself. It seems simpler to suppose that Photius uses the word "extracts" loosely, and that he was himself the epitomiser. Photius tells us that this work of Proclus was written in four books, and in it were discussed the methods and

forms of poetry and of rhetoric, two books being apparently devoted to each of these subjects.

The abstract given by Photius is limited, however, entirely to that portion dealing with the forms and examples of poetical composition, and in a series of paragraphs it defines after Proclus what was meant by hexameters, and notably by that form of poetry written in hexameters, in which the Greek *Epos* was preserved, the so-called epic poetry. In addition to this, he gives us paragraphs on elegiacs, on iambics, on hymns, pæans, dithyrambs, Adonidia, Parthenia, etc.

In regard to epic poetry, he tells us that Proclus gave an account of the five principal professors of the art, namely, Homer, Hesiod, Pisander, Panyasis and Antimachos, describing their country and works. He also wrote, he says, on *the Epics to which the name Cyclic was attached* and which, according to his report, gave an account of early doings, beginning with the making of heaven and earth, the story of the Giants with a hundred arms and the Cyclopes, and terminated with the return of Ulysses into Ithaca, and his murder by his son Telegonos. These Cyclic poems he says were esteemed not so much for their skilful composition, as for the orderly way in which they told their story.

In his original work Proclus gave the names and countries of those who in his view had written the poems, but this was apparently not copied out by Photius, who only tells us in regard to one of them, the Cypria, that according to Proclus it was attributed to more than one writer.

Who was the Proclus referred to by Photius? It was formerly thought that he was the Neo-Platonist who wrote so much on philosophy and mathematics in the middle of the fifth century A.D. This was the view of Clinton, and it is still the view of Wilamovitz-Moellendorff (*op. cit.*, 330-331). The latter prefers, he tells us, to follow the Byzantine tradition in the matter, and he accordingly relies upon Suidas and a scholiast to Gregory Nazianzen quoted by Michaelis. (*Græch. Bilderschr.*, 97.) Suidas, in reporting the life of Proclus the Philosopher, says that he wrote "a Chrestomathy in three books" (ed. Gaisford, II, 439). This, under any

circumstances, involves a mistake, since the Chrestomathy was in four books and not three; but as Suidas does not give the life of any of the poets abstracted and referred to by Proclus, except Arctinos, it is probable that he did not know his work at first hand. The notice in the Scholion just referred to, speaks of the Platonist Proclus having written a Chrestomathy on the Cyclic poets (see Migne, *Pat. Græc.*, XXXVI, 914).

This Byzantine tradition seems to me to be very weak evidence compared to that on the other side. The Chrestomathy of Proclus was clearly a school book, a manual for teaching ingenuous youth the history and peculiarities of different kinds of verse, and for describing the chief monuments of early Greek poetry with their authors. It is unlikely that a philosopher and original investigator and critic should have occupied himself with a manual of this kind.

Weleker has argued strongly against the identification of the Proclus of Photius with the Neo-Platonist of the name. He compares the fragments of the Chrestomathy with the writings of the latter and shows that they differ in style and in contents. (*Der Epische Cyclus*, 3-5.) He quotes Valesius (*de Crit.* 1-20) as having objected to the conclusions of Suidas, in identifying the author of the Chrestomathy with the Neo-Platonist, and himself identifies him with an older Proclus mentioned by Alexander of Aphrodisias in his *Aristoteles. Soph. Elen.*, p. 46, together with the grammarian Athenæus. Boissonade in his *Sylloge Poetarum Græc.* also assigns the Chrestomathy to an older Proclus.

Weleker says that inasmuch as Alexander of Aphrodisias wrote at the beginning of the third century, it is very probable that the Proclus he refers to was the grammarian Eutycheius Proclus of Sicca, who is mentioned by Julius Capitolinus (ch. 2) as the teacher of M. Antoninus. Trebellius Pollio, ch. 22, 313, mentions a Proclus "doctissimum sui temporis virum," and Casaubon and Fabricius both identified him with Eutycheius Proclus. Lastly, Apuleius speaks of a Proclus who wrote upon Pindar (which the author of the Chrestomathy certainly did), and who could not have been the Neo-Platonist, since Apuleius flourished at the beginning of

the second century. On these grounds Welcker, as I think, conclusively argues, and his conclusions are accepted by Professor Jebb and Mr. Monro, that the author of the Chrestomathy was in fact Euty chius Proclus.

This is an important fact since it dates the Chrestomathy in the middle of the second century, instead of in the middle of the fifth. Proclus is of course the most important authority for the attribution of the various Cyclic poems to the poets generally associated with them, and it is important to fix his date. But, in surveying the authorities seriatim, we must put him aside for a while and go through them methodically, beginning, as is, I think, convenient, with the latest ones and working backwards. Following this plan we begin with the three Byzantine compilers and critics, Tzetzes, Eustathius and Suidas.

John Tzetzes wrote a work known as the Chiliarchs. He lived in the twelfth century and, *inter alia*, refers to the well-known "life of Homer," which he attributes, as others had done before him, to Herodotus, and which we shall discuss presently. In Chapter XIII, 637, of the Chiliarchs, he says: "The daughter (of Homer) Arsiphone whom Stasinos married. Stasinos, who wrote the Cyprian collections, which most people say were the work of Homer and were given to Stasinos together with money to form a dowry." He attributes the Cypria to Stasinos in other places (Chiliarchs, II, 710, and Tzetzes ad Lycophron, 511). The only part of this statement which is original and not traceable to an earlier source, as we shall see presently, is the reference to Arsiphone as the daughter of Homer whom Stasinos married. This is probably due to a mistaken reading of Suidas, in whose account of Homer she is made not his daughter but his wife. Suidas says that Homer married, in Chios, Arsiphone, the daughter of Gnotor of Cyme, by whom he had two sons and a daughter, whom the Cyprian Stasinos married. Proclus and Clement of Alexandria, had both long before attributed the Cypria to Stasinos, both giving alternative attributions; and they mention the gift of Homer to him. Aelian (*V. H.*, ix. 15) tells us that Pindar speaks of Homer having given the poem as a marriage

gift, but he says nothing of Stasinus. This reference to Pindar is to some lost ode, perhaps to one on Salamis (Welcker, I, 280).

In his commentary on Lycophron 1263, Tzetzes attributes the *Lesser Iliad* to Lesches, which is the common attribution. In the same work, 174 and 1024, he quotes Theopompos of Chios as his authority for attributing the *Corinthiaca* to *Eumelos*. The *Corinthiaca*, we shall see reason to conclude, was probably either the epic, otherwise known as the *Europeia*, or an epitome of it, and perhaps did not belong to the Cycle at all. Theopompos of Chios was born about 378 B.C. and ended his days in the time of Ptolemy. The words quoted from Theopompos by Tzetzes are also given by a scholiast on Pindar (Ol. XIII, 74), but without any mention of that historian.

According to another statement of Tzetzes, quoted by Bentley ad Mill, p. 54-63, *the Thebais and Epigoni* were the works of Homer, which was also, as we shall see, a widely held view. It would seem in fact that we owe no new fact whatever about the Cyclic poets to Tzetzes save the mistake about Homer's daughter.

Another famous Byzantine writer of the twelfth century was Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica, a man of exceptional erudition and learning. He is of course more especially famous as the author of the well-known long and laborious commentary on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in which he brings together a great number of scholia of various grammarians whose works are lost.

In his notes on the *Odyssey*, λ p. 1684, he quotes two passages from the *Thebais* without giving any author's name.

In a note to *Iliad*, II, 118, he speaks of the *Telegonia* as the work of "the Cyrenaic poet," by whom he probably means Eugammon, to whom it had previously been attributed by Eusebius. Eustathius speaks of the author of the *Nostoi* as a Colophonian, by whom he perhaps means Antimachos.

The next person whom we turn to naturally for information on these matters is Suidas the author of the well-known Lexicon. Suidas probably flourished at the end of the tenth century and is frequently quoted by

Eustathius. It is a singular fact that he should have given us no biography of any of the Cyclic poets named by Proclus for the Troy legends except Arctinos, nor does he attribute any of the Cyclic poems to him, but merely says he was a poet and that according to Artemon of Clazomene in his book on Homer, he was a disciple of Homer. Wil.-Moell. says that the biography of Arctinos is the only life of a Cyclic poet given by Suidas, but this is not so. He also gives us a life of Stesichoros. Stesichoros, he tells us, was variously asserted to be the son of Euphorbos, or Euphemos, or of Euclid or of Hystes or of Hesiod, and sprang from Himera in Sicily, or according to others from Metauria, and he died at Catana and was buried near the gate called Stesichorea. He was born in Ol. XXXVII, and died in Olymp. LVI, and was a lyrical poet who wrote poems in the Doric dialect in twenty-six books. It is said, he adds, that his real name was Tisias, and that his name of Stesichoros was given him because he first instituted the chorus—(*vide sub voce*). But he says nothing of his having written a Cyclic poem. Suidas also gives us a short notice of Creophylos whom he calls the son of Astycles the Chian or Samian, and adds that some deemed him a son-in-law of Homer, others that he was his friend and received from him, when he was once his host, the poem entitled “the capture of Oechalia.” This story is told also by Strabo (of Creophylos) and by other authorities of other poets. Suidas also speaks of the poets who wrote the *Nostoi* as having followed Homer.

The next writer we meet with on our subject in going backwards is Eusebius, the famous Bishop of Cæsarea, who flourished *circa* 265–330 A.D. In his chronicle under the date Olymp. 44, *i.e.*, 761, he refers to *Eumelos* the poet, who, he says, composed the *Bugonia*, *i.e.*, a poem on Bees, and the *Europeia*; to *Arctinos* who composed the *Æthiopsis* and the *Iliu Persis*, and to *Kinathon* the Lacedæmonian who wrote the *Telegonia*. Under Olympiad 30, 9, *i.e.*, 657 B.C., he speaks of Lesches the Lesbian, who wrote the *Lesser Iliad*, and under Olymp. 53, 3, *i.e.*, 566 B.C., he speaks of Eugammon of Cyrenaica as the author of the *Telegonia*. In regard to the first of these entries I do not know what Eusebius means by the

Bygonia. No other writer seems to mention it. In regard to the *Europeia*, the only other author known to me who assigns it to Eumelos is a scholiast to the *Iliad* who quotes Eumelos in reference to Lyncurgus and Bacchus (see Clinton, *F.H.*, 1352). Eumelos, however, who is called the Corinthian and belonged to the family of the Bacchiadae (see Pausanias, II, 1, 1), is made by Theopompus and others the author of the *Corinthiaca*, and it is possible, as I have previously suggested, that the *Europeia* and the *Corinthiaca* were different names for the same poem.

The statements of Eusebius that Arctinos wrote the *Aethiopsis* and also the *Iliu Persis* and that Lesches the Lesbian wrote the *Lesser Iliad* are also made by Proclus, from whom he doubtless derived them, and we shall discuss them when we come to him. Eusebius' testimony about the *Telegonia* is very contradictory. He attributes it in fact to two different writers writing at two different dates two hundred years apart, namely, Kinæthon and Eugammon. In regard to Eugammon the statement that he was the author of the *Telegonia* had also been made previously by Proclus, who was no doubt his authority, but in regard to the statement about Kinæthon I can trace it to no other author than Eusebius himself. Wilamovitz-Moellendorff accounts for the fact that the poem was assigned to these two writers on the ground that they were both probably natives of Cyrene, where the poem may have been popular, but I cannot find any authority for connecting Kinæthon with Cyrene. Most writers make him a Lacedæmonian, others as Hipposstratos quoted by a scholiast to Pindar (N. II, 1) make him a native of Chios, others again associate him with Syracuse and Corinth, but none, so far as I know, with Cyrene. At all events, I know of no authority earlier than Eusebius for making him the writer of the *Telegonia*. Let us again move on. Athenæus was a native of Naupactis, and flourished at the end of the second and beginning of the third century A.D. He was a voracious reader, and it has been calculated that nearly 800 writers and 2,500 separate writings are referred to by him.

In one place he says the author of the Cyprian poem gives lists of the flowers used for garlands, adding

whether he was *Hegesias* or *Stasinus* or any one else. *Demodamas*, who was either a *Halicarnassian* or *Milesian*, says that the *Cypria* was the work of a native of *Halicarnassus* (XV, 31).

Again he speaks doubtfully thus, "The poet who wrote the *Cypria* whether he was a Cyprian or a man of the name of *Stasinus* or whatever his name may have been." (*Id.* VIII, 12.)

The alternative of *Hegesias* or *Stasinus* here given by *Athenæus*, who is clearly quite dubious about either of them, was doubtless taken from *Præclus*. The *Halicarnassian* suggestion is quite unique. *Welcker* called *Demodamas* "ein unbekannter *Demodamas*," I, 284. Elsewhere *Athenæus* says the *Ligimios* was written either by *Hesiod* or *Cercops* of *Miletus*. It is doubtful, however, whether the *Ligimios* was a *Cyclic* poem since it apparently dealt with the return of the *Heraclidæ* and the *Cycle* is supposed to conclude with the return of *Ulysses*.

Athenæus has also a paragraph about the *Titanomachia*, a poem surrounded by ambiguities. *Eusebius*, *Prep.* I, 10, p. 39, quoting *Philo Byblos* suggests that a *Cyclic Theogonia* existed apart from *Hesiod's* work of the name, and that with a *Gigantomachia* and a *Titanomachia* it was abstracted or put together from *Hesiod's* famous work. Of a separate *Theogonia* I do not know of any other evidence. A scholiast to *Apollonius*, I, 554, does mention, however, a *Gigantomachia* without naming any author. In regard to a *Titanomachia* the *Borgian Iliac* table refers a poem so called to the authorship of *Telesis* of *Methymna*, of whom I do not otherwise know anything. (*Welcker*, I, 205.)

The scholiast to *Apollonius* just cited, I, 1165, cites a quotation thus: "Eumelos in the *Titanomachia*." In addition to these notices *Athenæus* has two others, one direct and the other indirect. The direct one is as follows: "The writer of the *Titanomachia*, either *Eumelos* the *Corinthian*, or *Arctinos*, or whatever he may have been called." (*Athenæus*, VII, p. 277.) The indirect quotation does not mention the *Titanomachia* but in referring to a line which he quotes about *Jupiter*, which is doubtless derived from the *Titanomachia*, refers

to Eumelos the Corinthian, or Arctinos (*id.* I, 22). No works under the names of Titanomachia or Gigantomachia are quoted, so far as I know, by Pausanias or Strabo or any earlier writer, and I cannot help thinking that they were really sections of the Theogony of Hesiod which had got detached, one of which was, in the fashion of the grammarians, attributed by Athenæus and so far as we know by him alone to Arctinos.

The Titanomachia is also attributed to Eumelos by Eudokia (pp. 20 and 91).

Clement of Alexandria flourished in the reign of the Emperor Severus 193–211 A.D. Among his most famous works was the so-called Stromata. In this work he quotes Stasinus as the author of the Cypria (*Strom.*, VI, 625). He also attributes the epic Herakleia to Herodotus (*Strom.*, I, 306), in both of which he agrees with Proclus, who makes a similar statement about the Herakleia in his notice of Hesiod (opp. 41). Clement also attributes the poem known as Ὀιχαλίας ἄλωσις to Creophylos as Proclus does (*Vit. Hom.*, 466). He also tells us elsewhere that Eugammon incorporated a whole poem of Musæus, *i.e.*, the Thesprotis, in the Telegonia. Clement apparently quotes this on the authority of Aristobulos.

In going backwards, we now reach the period when Pausanias flourished, namely, about the year 175 A.D. Pausanias has many references to the Cyclic poets, most of them being anonymous, showing that he did not know who their authors were. In regard to others, however, his statements are more specific but they are also very difficult to believe. Speaking of the Naupaktika, or Naupaktia, he says: "As to those verses which the Greeks call Naupaktia they are usually attributed to a Milesian, but Charon the son of Pythes (who is a person unknown to me altogether . . .) says that they were composed by the Naupaktian Carcinus, and this is our opinion on the subject. For how can it be reasonably supposed that verses upon women composed by a Milesian should be called Naupaktian" (*op. cit.*, X, 38). Suidas names three writers called Carcinus, one of whom is a doubtful person, but we know of no Carcinus of Naupaktia, two were Athenians and the third of Agri-

gentum. The scholiast to Apollonius, II, 299, says, "But they say that Neoptolemus was the writer of the *Naupaktia*," upon which Clinton, *F.H.* 349 note, suggests as very probable that the Milesian referred to by Pausanias was called Neoptolemus. Fick (*Hesiod's Gedichte*, etc.) suggests on the other hand that he may have been Cercops of Miletus, for which he gives no adequate reason. Charon, son of Pythes, is called Charon Lamp-sakenos by Suidas. The only Neoptolemus I can find is a comic actor flourishing B.C. 336.

For an epic called *Minyas*, Pausanias is apparently our only authority. He quotes it in several places—IV, 33; IX, 54; X, 28 and 31. In IV, 33, he says, "Prodicos of Phocæa (if he is the author of the verses *Minyas*) writes, etc." The philosopher Prodicos of Ceos flourished in the latter part of the fifth century B.C., but I do not know anything of a Phocæian of the name. Prodicos of Ceos was a philosopher and not a poet, and Pausanias was evidently quite sceptical about him. In regard to the *Atthis*, *i.e.*, the poem on Attica, Pausanias attributes it to Hegesinos, and says he himself had not read the compositions of Hegesinos which were not extant when he was born. But Calippos the Corinthian, in his history of the Orchomenians, cited some verses of Hegesinos, and Pausanias tells us that the verses he himself cites, he took from Calippos (*op. cit.*, IX, 29).

Calippos of Corinth was a stoic philosopher and a pupil of Zeno and not an historian, and we have no other notice anywhere of his having written on Orchomenos.

Pausanias attributes the *Cypria* to Lesches, *vide* X, 26; III, 16; XIV, 2; X, 31, 1.

In regard to the *Iliu Persis* or capture of Troy, Pausanias writes, "Lesches Pyrrhæus the son of Æschylenus in his poem on the destruction of Troy, says," etc. (*op. cit.*, X, 25). It has been argued by Heyne and others, as I think conclusively, that Pausanias was here really referring to a *portion* of the *Little Iliad*, and that he gives the name of *Iliu Persis* to the latter part of the poem of that name (Clinton, *F.H.*, I, 356 note).

It would seem, says Clinton, that Pausanias merely called this part of the poem Ἰλίου πέρσις as he had just before called a part of the *Odyssey*, Μελανθούς λαιδορία,

and as particular parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were named from their subjects.

Pausanias attributes to Stesichoros a poem on the Iliu Persis (*op. cit.*, X, 26 and 27). The Iliac table also attributes the same poem to the same person, probably following Pausanias, but in either case the position seems quite untenable since Stesichoros was a Lyric and not an Epic poet. Of him we have several other notices, none of which attribute to him one of the Cyclic poems.

Pausanias quotes more than one of the Cyclic poems anonymously, and he tells us expressly of Eumelos that the so-called *πρόδιον* was deemed his only genuine poem, IV, 4.

Closely associated in their testimony with Pausanias are the so-called Iliac tables which agree with him in an especial manner in the attributions of two of the Cyclic poems. These tables have been found at Rome and in other parts of Italy, and there can be very little doubt they were used as a kind of school-book or illustrated manual of the early legends.

Jahn and Michælis, apparently on the ground that the so-called Megarian bowls contain representations in relief taken from the heroic legends, and whose date we can approximately fix, date the Iliac tables from about the Christian era.

I think on the contrary that they are much more probably products of the second century A.D., when the Greek renaissance, the result of the taste of Hadrian and his successors, made the early history of Greek literature the object of close study.

The Capitoline table, which is the best preserved, claims to be the work of a certain Theodoros. Whether he was the sculptor or only the grammarian who furnished the designs, we do not know.

What is remarkable about this table is that while in it the *Æthiopis* is made the work of Arctinos, which as we shall see was the view also of Proclus; the *Iliu Persis* is made the work of the lyrical poet Stesichoros, a conclusion otherwise dependent on the authority of Pausanias alone, and the *Lesser Iliad* is assigned to Lesches the Pyrrheian, which is the appellation he bears in

Pausanias. Other tables have representations of scenes from the Thebais, the Argonautica, etc.

Another work, which dates from the period of the Flavian Emperors, is the so-called Certamen or contest between Homer and Hesiod, in which the Emperor Hadrian is especially mentioned. From this period also probably date the various lives of Homer which are extant, except those in Plutarch. In regard to one of them, the most famous of all, there has been a recent monograph, published in Germany, of more than usual value. This is the life usually attributed to Herodotus.

The dissertation in question is by Joannes Schmidt and was published in the second volume of the *Dissertationes Philologicae*, 97-219. He has examined the authorship of the so-called Herodotian life of Homer at great length and with great skill, and has shown that on no ground can it be attributed to the Father of history. It is first assigned to him by Stephen of Byzantium, then by Suidas, Eustathius, and Tzetzes. If such a life by Herodotus had existed it would assuredly have been referred to and quoted by much earlier writers. Its language is not consistent with such an origin and differs greatly from the Ionic speech of Herodotus. Many phrases in it are not only not those of Herodotus, but are rude and illiterate, and it contains a number of statements quite inconsistent with an early age (*op. cit.*, 205). On the contrary it has the appearance of a work written by a Roman who was not thoroughly versed in Greek. Schmidt attributes it to some writer of the age of Hadrian, and suggests that it was probably written by Hermogenes of Smyrna, a doctor quoted by Galen, who, besides books on Medicine, is said to have written these works *περὶ Ζμύρνης ἀβ, περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου σοφίας ἀχαι πατρίδος ἀ*.

In "the Certamen" there is a story that the *Lesser Iliad* was composed by Homer himself while he was living with Thestorides, and that afterwards the latter published it as his own, which story as we have seen was also told of Stasinus and of Creophylos.

Let us now turn to Proclus whom we have dated about the year 140 A.D.

The Chrestomathy of Proclus is lost, but fortunately a very valuable fragment of it has been preserved in a

Codex at Venice, which also contains the most valuable scholia which have survived upon the text of Homer. This fragment when complete apparently contained the life of Homer as compiled by Proclus and an abstract of the various Cyclic poems dealing with the Troy legend. The leaves have been disarranged and one at least containing Proclus' account of the *Cypria* has been lost, but the chief contents of it, as Mr. Monro has shown (see *Journal Hell. Studies*, Vols. IV and V, see also *Hermes*, Vol. XIX), have been preserved in four other MSS., and the narrative they contain is just long enough to have filled up another leaf in the Venice Codex. Mr. Monro has further shown that the extract from Proclus originally contained in the Venice MS. can thus be recovered almost intact. The copies of the *Cypria* fragment are apparently not quite perfect and do not give us the names of the author or authors as these were given in the original work of Proclus. For this information we must turn to the statement of Photius in his *Bibliotheca* to which reference has already been made.

The extracts from Proclus contained in the Venice MS. when it was intact and perfect comprised the following subjects:—

I. A life of Homer.

II. Abstracts of the Cyclic poems, namely:—

- a. The *Cypria* in eleven books attributed to several authors.
- b. The *Iliad* of Homer (of this the title only is given).
- c. The *Æthiopis* of Arctinos of Miletus in five books.
- d. The Little *Iliad* by Lesches of Mitylene in four books.
- e. The *Sack of Ilium* Ἰλίου πέρσις by Arctinos in two books.
- f. The *Nostoi* by Hagias of Troezen in five books.
- g. The *Odyssey* (of this the name only is given).
- h. The *Telegonia* by Eugammon of Cyrene in two books.

In regard to the *Cypria*, Photius, who singles out for special notice this single poem which oddly enough has

disappeared from the Venice MS. (among the *Cyclics*), tells us that Proclus stated how some referred the poem to Stasinos the Cyprian, others to Hegesias the Salaminian, others to Homer who gave it to Stasinos on behalf of his daughter.

Wilamovitz-Moellendorff has apparently misunderstood the facts about this last statement, and suggests that Photius derived it not from Proclus but from Athenæus, whereas Photius is quite precise in what he says, and there can be little doubt the statement was made by Proclus himself.

It is on the contrary very probable, if not certain, that Athenæus copied his statement, which is not precisely that of Photius, from Proclus. Athenæus says: "The man who wrote the *Cypria*, Hegesias or Stasinos, makes mention of *στεφανωτικῶν*," chaplets of flowers (XV, 682). The statement about the authorship of the *Cypria* is otherwise an epitome of that reported by Photius, and it would hardly have occurred to Wilamovitz-Moellendorff to make it the source of Photius' statement but for the fact that he had already identified Proclus with the Neo-Platonist of the fifth century, who could not of course have been the source of statements made by Athenæus in the second century.

Arctinos fills a prominent position in the account of Proclus, for he attributes two of the *Cyclic* poems to him. He is the first writer, as far as I know, to attribute to him a *Cyclic* poem at all. Arctinos is quite unknown to and unmentioned by Strabo and Pausanias, nor do we read of him until the time of Dionysios of Halicarnassos, who speaks of him as a very early poet. The *Æthiopsis*, which is assigned to him by Proclus and by the *Iliac* table, is quoted anonymously by Pausanias, and it seems to me that the statement that Arctinos was the author of the *Æthiopsis* is an invention of Proclus.

I know of no authority except Proclus, who was copied by Eusebius, for assigning the *Iliu Persis* to Arctinos. The statement of Proclus is probably based on a mistake of a Homeric scholiast, *Schol. ad Il.* λ 515, on Podalirius and Machaon. The latter has given an extract (see the fragment in Clinton, *F.H.*, I, 357 note), professedly from the *Iliu Persis* in which the death of Ajax is mentioned, but

the death of Ajax, as we know from a scholiast to Pindar's *4th Isthmian Ode*, was described in the *Æthiopsis*. It has been accordingly with great probability treated as a mistaken quotation from the *Æthiopsis*, which was very generally assigned to Arctinos. In it according to a scholiast in Pindar's *Isth.* IV, 58, the death of Ajax was described, and it had nothing to do with the "Iliu Persis." At all events I can see no adequate reason whatever for treating Arctinos as the author of this poem; nor do I know of any authority for doing so earlier than Proclus.

The "Nostoi" or the *Return*, is a Cyclic poem attributed by Proclus to Agias of Troezen. Pausanias speaks of as anonymous "the verses which are called Nostoi," "the poem called Nostoi," X, 28 and 30. While he cites the "Nostoi" thus anonymously, he mentions Agias of Troezen, and refers to him for a saga which forms no part of the ancient Troy stories at all, but deals with the doings of Hercules and Theseus (see *Pausanias*, I, 2). This seems to me very conclusive that in his mind the "Nostoi" and Agias of Troezen had nothing to do with each other, nor do we know any other authority than Proclus for connecting them.

One important witness on the subject of one of the Cyclic poems is Lysimachos, the scholiast to the *Troades* of Euripides, 821. He was a distinguished grammarian of Alexandria. We do not know his exact date but merely that he flourished after Mnaseas, who lived about 140 B.C.

He tells us that the *Lesser Iliad* was assigned by some to Thestorides of Phokaia, that Hellanicos assigned it to Kinæthon of Lakedæmon, while others attributed it to Diodoros of Erythræ.

The attribution to Thestorides is apparently his own idea. In the statement in the pseudo-Herodotian life of Homer already quoted, it is the *Lesser Iliad* which is assigned to the same poet.

In regard to the statement about Hellanicos it has been generally supposed that the historian Hellanicos of Lesbos is meant, and so Monro, Wil.-Moellendorf, Robert, and others have understood it, but such an attribution seems highly improbable. I believe rather

that the reference is to Hellanicos the Grammarian, who is quoted in certain scholia to the *Iliad* as ε' 269, ο'' 651, τ' 90 (see Clinton, *F. II.*, I, 381).

Diodoros of Erythræ is placed by Clinton in 765 B.C., but he gives no reason or authority. No other author assigns a Cyclic poem to him.

Strabo for the most part treats and cites the Cyclic poems as anonymous. He has, however, a curious statement as to the epic known as "The Taking of Oechalia." He says, XIV, ch. 1, Creophylos was a native of Samos, who it is said once entertained Homer as his guest and received in return his poem entitled "The Taking of Oechalia." Callimachos, on the contrary, intimates in an epigram that it was the composition of Creophylos, but ascribed to Homer on account of his hospitable entertainment by Creophylos. The epigram is as follows:—

"I am the work of the Samian, who once entertained in his house as a guest the divine Homer, I grieve for the sufferings of Eurytos, and mourn for the yellow-haired Ioleia. I am called Homer's writing. O Jupiter, how glorious this for Creophylos" (*Ep.* 6). Some say that he was Homer's master; according to others it was not Creophylos but Aristetas of Proconnesos (*Strabo, loc. cit.*). Eurytium was called in ancient times Oechalia, and Creophylos in his Heracleia agrees with this account of the Euboeienses (*Pausanias, IV*, 2). It has been suggested by the critics that Heracleia is another name for the Oechalia. Pausanias no doubt here means the work generally cited as the Oechalia.

This exhausts the later materials for discussing the Cyclic poets, except the scholiasts or grammarians whom we cannot expressly date, but whom we have no reason to put at an early time. The result is very striking. Not only are the authorities for assigning the Cyclic poets to particular writers all very late, but there is no consistency of any kind among them. The following table represent some of the results so far as I have been able to reach them.

Theopompos of Chios was the first to assign the
Korinthiæa to Eumelos.

Strabo assigns the "Oechalia" to Creophylos (?)

- Proclus* the Grammarian 140 A.D. is the first to assign the Cypria to Hegesias, in which he is followed by Athenæus.
- Proclus* is also the first who assigned the Iliu Persis to Arctinos, and is followed by Eusebius.
- Proclus* is the first to assign the Cypria to Stasinos.
- Proclus* was the first to assign the Telegonia to Eugammon.
- Proclus* is the first to assign the Nostoi to Augeas of Troezen.
- Proclus* is the first to assign the Herakleia to Herodotus.
- Proclus* is the first who assigns the Æthiopis to Arctinos.
- Proclus* is the first to assign the Lesser Iliad to Lesches.
- Pausanias* and the Iliac Table are the first to attribute the Iliu Persis to Stesichoros.
- Pausanias* is the first and only authority who assigns the Minyas to Prodicos the Phocæan.
- Pausanias* and the Scholiast to Apollonius II, 299, are the first to assign the Naupaktia to Neoptolemos the Milesian.
- Athenæus* is the first to assign the Titanomachia to Eumelos the Corinthian.
- Athenæus* first attributes the same poem to Arctinos.
- Eusebius* is the first who assigned the Telegonia to Kinæthon the Lacedæmonian.
- Eusebius* is the first who assigned the Æthiopis to Arctinos and the Europeia to Eumelos.
- Eustathios* was the first to assign the Nostoi to a Colophonian, *i.e.*, probably to Antimachos.
- Demodamas of Halicarnassos* was the first to assign the Cypria to a Halicarnassian.
- The Borgian Iliac table first attributed the Oedipodia to Kinæthon.

This does not mean that the writers mentioned were the originators of the various attributions, but only that they are the first whose names we know who thus attributed them. It is in fact very probable that the attributions in question were made as hypotheses by

the different grammarians who wrote commentaries or notes on the poems after the Alexandrian critics began their work, and to whom anything anonymous was very distasteful. They ingeniously deduced from the principal parts played in the poems by different localities that they were closely associated one with one place and another with another. Hence the names they acquired, such as the Cypria, the Corinthiaca, the Naupaktia, the Æthiopis, etc. From this it was an easy passage to assign them to the earliest poets, whose names were known in those localities.

That this was the process is shown by the uncertainties which most of the authorities confess to, some of them assigning the same poem to several alternative writers. Thus Proclus and others assigning one poem both to Stasinus and Arctinos; Eusebius giving the Telegonia at one time to Kinæthon and at another to Eugammon; Pausanias using sceptical doubts about more than one of the authors he quotes, etc., etc.

On the other hand we have the same poem given to different writers by different authorities, *e.g.*, the Iliu Persis given to Arctinos, Lesches, Augeas and Stesichoros, etc.

The same fact comes out, as Wil.-Moellendorff points out, when we find some writers assigning not one epic only to one writer, but several, which were distributed by other writers among other poets thus, Kinæthon has been made the author of the Oedipodia, which has been attributed to him in an inscription (Heeren in *Bibl. der Alter Liter. und Kunst*, IV, 5), the Telegonia, the *Lesser Iliad*, the Herakleia (the Herakleia is sometimes thought to have been the same as the Oedipodia) and genealogies; Eumelos has been made the author of the Titanomachia, the Bugonia, Europeia, Corinthiaca and possibly also the Nostoi. To Stesichoros the Europeia, Iliu Persis, Nostoi and Oresteia have been assigned beside other poems. To Arctinos the Æthiopis, the Iliu Persis, etc.

Again it has been overlooked by these ingenious writers that the various epics which they have distributed among different writers were in several cases not substantive poems but parts of a whole, just as the

Diomedea or the Austeria or the Achilleis are of the *Iliad*. The war of the Epigoni was a mere appendix to the Thebais and the Oedipodia, and the Alkmaeonis were doubtless portions of the same Theban epic. The Palamedea mentioned by Mnaseas the scholar of Aristophanes, was probably, as Wil.-Moellendorff urges, a part of the Cypria. The Nostoi, the Telegonia, and the Thresprotis are probably all parts of one epic. Whichever way we approach the problem we shall come to the conclusion that there is no authority that is of the slightest value for assigning the Cyclic poems to special authors, and that the practice was a very late one.

The evidence here collected goes to show that the assignment of the various Cyclic poems to various authors is in fact a purely arbitrary expedient of the grammarians and others, to whom it was an effort of ingenious sophistry to father these anonymous poems upon plausible authors. In no case, apparently, is there any early authority for such assignment, and we can in some cases see how the process was arranged, namely, by distributing the poems among different localities dependent on the homeland of the particular hero or god or goddess more especially honoured in it, and then associating the poem with some poet whose native land had thus been discriminated. Thus the Cypria containing so much about Aphrodite was assigned to a Cyprian poet, etc., and inasmuch as the grammarians differed as to the importance of these poets or the probability of their having written a particular poem, they chose one or other out of the local list of writers. I know of no other authority for the process, and I think it a pity that in some works of very high character, both English and foreign, this method should have been more or less countenanced and that the various poems should have been attributed to Arctinos or Lesches or Stesichoros, etc., as if there were anything more to be said in favour of such a conclusion than there is for the geography of *Alice in Wonderland*. It is better I think to refer to the poems by the names they generally go by, than by any reference to their supposed authors.

It does not seem to have occurred to some of these authorities that the Cyclic poems are not in essence

detached and separate pieces, but form sections of a continuous drama or of two or three dramas, and there is complete continuity between their subjects. It does not seem to have occurred to those who have made them substantive and separate poems how incredible it is that a number of poets belonging to different periods and different countries should have so accommodated themselves thus to each other and to their subject as to frame among them a dramatic whole covering the whole heroic period of Greek romantic legend. The thing is too absurd directly we face it in this way, apart altogether from the complete break-down in the evidence of individual authorship.

This involves our considering the poems of the Epic Cycle as anonymous, and so they were deemed by many of the older writers of antiquity, but not by the oldest, nor yet by some of the later ones. To them almost every one of these poems was supposed to be the handiwork of Homer himself.

The oldest Homeric citation we know is that of Callinos, as given by Pausanias, and he says of "the War of the Epigoni," *i.e.*, the Thebais, "this is the war which is celebrated in verse. Callinos mentioning these verses says they were composed by Homer, and many people are of the same opinion" (*Pausanias*, IX, 9). Callinos is placed by Clinton in 736-712 B.C., but probably flourished in the seventh century B.C.

In the middle of the seventh century B.C., Simonides cites a verse of the Margites and attributes it to the poet of Chios, *i.e.*, to Homer.

In the first half of the sixth century, Stesichoros cites Homer as the author of the Ἄδλα ἐπὶ Πελοπῆσσι. What is meant by this is not known, but it was clearly not the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Pindar (*vide frag.* 189, Boeck) apparently says that Homer gave his daughter the Cypria as a marriage portion.

Herodotus speaks doubtfully of the opinion (which must have been generally held to justify his expression of scepticism) that the Cypria and the Epigoni were written by Homer. He tells us elsewhere that Kleisthenes of Sikyon forbade Homer to recite because he had

belauded Argos and the Argives, and he drove out Adrastus (Vol. V, 67). Welcker suggests that this is a reference to the Thebais in which Wil.-Moell. agrees.

Plato quotes as from Homer, two verses which the scholiast says are from the Cypria.

The life of Homer once attributed to Herodotus makes Homer the author of the *Lesser Iliad*.

Antigonus of Carystos cites the Thebais as Homer's.

Suidas, under the heading Homer, says that among the poems which had been attributed to him were the *Amazonica*, *The Lesser Iliad*, *The Nostoi*, *The Epichlides*, *The Ethiopactus* (i.e., *Ethiopsis*), etc.

The fact is that in early times, as Wil.-Moellendorff strongly urges, Homer's name stood generically for Epic poetry generally.

Presently there came a sceptical turn. The first trace of this we find in Herodotus, where he questions the Cypria and the Epigoni (by which latter he probably means the whole Thebais) having been written by Homer.

We next find Aristotle distinguishing the author of the Cypria and *Lesser Iliad* from Homer.

The grammarian cited by Cramer (*Anecd. Ox.* 4, 375), puts the Cypria together with the Margites among the pseudo-Homeric poems (Welcker, I, 280, note 74). Presently doubts began to arise, even about one of the two great epics, and the Homeric authorship of the *Odyssey* was questioned.

But this was all later. What we must continually remember is that to a man writing before the middle of the fifth century B.C., probably the whole of the Cyclic poems (and it must be remembered that both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are made Cyclic poems by Proclus) were "Homer." He stood sponsor for them all.

How does this conclusion affect "the Homeric question," that famous polemic which, since the days when Wolff published his *Prolegomena*, has exercised so many skilful pens and so many learned thoughts? It seems to me that it affects it in a very material way. Let us first, however, realise how the question at present stands, and here I must be pardoned some elementary statements.

It is generally agreed, I think, that the two great

epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, in their present shape are entirely foreign in their origin to Continental Greece.

The tradition that the poems were brought into Continental Greece from the outside is virtually unanimous, but it diverges into two forms. One of them, which has very little or no external evidence to support it is apparently due to Spartan jealousy of Athens. This is found first in the statement of Herakleides Ponticus, a pupil of Plato's, to the effect that the poetry of Homer was first brought to the Peloponnesus by Lycurgos who obtained it from the descendants of Creophylos (Polit, fr. 2). This story is repeated by Plutarch in his life of Lycurgos, but must be allowed to be purely mythical.

Tradition combines with internal evidence to fix upon Ionia and Aeolis and their islands as the original homeland of these epics in their present form.

Smyrna especially claimed to be Homer's birthplace. Pindar and Scylax both make him a Smyranean. He is so made by the Thasian Stesimbrotos, who busied himself with Homeric matters (Busolt, 1, 136 note). "There," says Strabo, "was the Homereion, a quadrangular portico with a temple of Homer, and a statue. For the Smyrneans above all others claim for their city that it was the birthplace of Homer, and they have a sort of brass money called Homereion" (XIV, ch. 1). In one of the lives of the poet he is made the son of Meles, the river that flows by Smyrna. Pausanias (VII, 5) tells us that by the river Meles they point out the cavern where Homer composed his poem. Close by is the island of Chios which also claimed Homer as a native. The Chiotēs quoted, as a proof, the existence among them of a clan or family of the Homeridæ who are mentioned by Pindar (*id.*) and are connected with Chios by Acusilaos and Hellanicos as quoted by Harpocrates *sub voc.* Ὀμηρίδαι.

Colophon according to others was the birthplace of Homer—Strabo (*id.*). Simonides, the oldest author who mentions Homer, makes him a Chiote; so does the very ancient "Hymn to Apollo" (172), so do Acusilaos Hellanikos and Thucydides.

Cyrene in Æolis was another town which also raised

pretensions to the same distinction. This view had the support of Ephoros and the pseudo-Herodotean and Plutarchian lives of Homer. At Cyrene the name Homer is said to have meant the blind (*Vit. Homer*, II, 2). Aristotle claimed him for the island of Ios, and Pausanias tells us that on the base of a statue at Delphi, Ios was called his mother's country where he wished to be buried, and the Ietæ, he tells us, showed the tomb of Homer and also the tomb of Clymene who they say was his mother (*op. cit.*, X, 2-24). These are not the only places which claimed Homer for themselves but they are the ones supported by the most genuine tradition, and whatever we may hold about the personality of Homer it points to the poems which were most closely associated with his name having arisen there.

This is confirmed by two other facts, first the dialect in which they are written which is the Old Ionic, of which the New Ionic of Herodotus and the Attic are varieties. Mr. Monro points out a number of points to which he says many others might be added, making it clear that the Homeric and the Attic dialects are separated by differences which affect the whole structure of the language, and that many Homeric forms are absent from the later Ionic and Attic which are found in Æolic and other dialects (Monro, *En. Britt.*, art. "Homer," 113-114).

Second, the question of the Æolic influence upon the Homeric dialect has been discussed with great acuteness recently in Germany and notably by Fick, *Homerische Ilias*, Göttingen, 1886, and Hinrich in *Sittl. und der Homer, Æolismus*, Berlin, 1884, and they have shown that these Æolic elements are not to be explained by a mere development of the language but are distinctly due to Æolic influence, and Fick goes so far as to argue that the two poems as we have them are really largely translations by Ionians of primitive Æolic poems.

Busolt, whose views are generally sane and moderate, summing up the controversy, says the strong Æolic element in the Ionic language of the Epos cannot be explained by a mixture, but only by the fact that the Æolians cultivated epic poetry before the Ionians, and that the latter took over with the poetry not merely

the ideas but a large number of words and expressions (see P. Caner, *Pr. Jahr*, Bd. 67, s. 257). The present form of the poems is due to their having been recited and recorded by Ionic poets, and is best explained by the fact that the poems originated in a district where the Ionians and Æolians lived side by side, and where the latter were partially displaced by the former, namely, in the neighbourhood of Smyrna and Chios (Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, Zweite Auflage, 1, 135).

In further support of this view, Busolt quotes a number of Homeric touches showing local colour, thus his comparison of the warriors coming out of their ships on the Scamandrian Plain to the swarms of birds, wild geese, cranes, and swans in the Asian meadows by the Caystros flying hither and thither, joying in their plumage and making loud cries (*Iliad*, II, 459 ff.), and his reference to the famous carved figure at Sipylos which still survives (*id.*, XXIV, 615), etc. He attributes his references to the sun setting over the sea and to the sea-beach itself (*Iliad*, XXIII, 227; XXIV, 13) to his having lived in Chios.

It is hardly necessary to press the matter further. If this be the direct evidence in regard to the original homeland of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* having been in Asia Minor, the evidence, on the other hand, that as they now stand these poems were not native Attic productions but imported thither, is just as consistent. The only person who makes Homer an Athenian is the Alexandrian grammarian Aristarchos, a very late and for this purpose worthless authority, being completely at issue with all other authorities.

On the other hand we have an early tradition embodied in the Platonic dialogue *Hipparchos*, which if not written by Plato is an early document, to the effect that the poems we are discussing were introduced into Attica by Hipparchos himself, and the recitation of them was made part of the ritual of the great Panathenaic festival by him.

The introduction of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into Attica during the domination of the Pisistratidæ is attested by another tradition. This is no doubt, however, directly supported by only late writers, namely, Cicero and Pausanias.

Cicero says: "Quis doctior eisdem temporibus illis, aut ejus eloquentia litteris instructor fuisse traditur quam Pisistrati? Qui primus Homeri libros confusos antea, sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus?" (*Cic. De Orat.*, III, 34). Pausanias, in speaking of the change of the name Donussa to Gonoëssa, says that the Sicyonians reported that the name of the city was changed through ignorance either by Pisistratos when he collected into one regular poem the verses of Homer, which were scattered in different places and mentioned in various writings, or by some of his associates (VII, 26).

Again, Dieuchedas of Megara is reported to have maintained that the verses in the catalogue (*Iliad*, II, 546-556) were interpolated by Pisistratos.

The statements of Cicero and Pausanias, which are in very close agreement, were probably, according to the conjecture of Wolff, derived from an epigram preserved in two of the Homeric lives, and which is said to have been inscribed on the statue of Pisistratos at Athens. In it Pisistratos is made to say of himself that he collected Homer who was formerly sung in fragments, "for the golden poet was a citizen of ours, since we Athenians founded Smyrna" (see Monro, *En. Britt.*, XII, 116).

These traditions which in various and therefore independent ways connect the Pisistratidæ with the first introduction of the Homeric poems, properly so-called into Attica, are confirmed by such other evidence as we can procure.

It is hardly to be doubted that it was Pisistratos and his family who gave Athene her dominant position in the worship at Athens where previously Poseidon had filled the principal place. Nor is there any good reason to doubt that the festival of the great Panathenæa was either started by the Pisistratidæ or given a great impulse by them, and that its ceremonial and ritual were fixed in their time. In regard to this we have some very consistent evidence.

If the principal ceremonial and ritual of the Panathenæa were fixed by the Pisistratidæ, it seems natural to conclude that its most prominent feature, namely, the recital of the Homeric poems, was, as the tradition reports, also introduced and fixed by them.

The Platonic dialogue *Hipparchos* already cited, tells us that Hipparchos, son of Pisistratos, not only introduced the Homeric poems we are discussing into Athens, but obliged the rhapsodists at the Panathenæa to follow the order of the text "as they still do," instead of reciting portions chosen at will (Monro, *op. cit.*, 116). The orators, Lycurgos and Isocrates, refer to this law without attributing it to any author. Lycurgos appeals to the law as an especial glory of Athens.

Diogenes Laertius, who also refers to the enactment, assigns it to the father of Athenian law, namely, Solon, who lived before the Panathenæa were organized.

The evidence seems to be very strong that this law, about which no doubt can exist, was really the product of the Pisistratidæ who first organized the Panathenæa.

It would seem further, that at first and probably for a long time, the recital of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* was confined and limited to the great festival. This is surmised by Mr. Monro from the phrase in which Lycurgos, the orator, refers to the law about the recital of the poems at the Panathenæa as a special glory to Athens (*op. cit.*, 120), but it seems to me to be absolutely proved by two other circumstances, first that the Tragedians drew so little, if at all, from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* for their inspiration. The fact was noticed long ago by Paley, who based an elaborate argument upon it that these poems must have become generally known and popular in Athens after the time of the great tragedians. Second, the same thing is attested by the paintings on the early black and red vases in which the subjects taken from the two famous poems are so very few compared with those taken from the Cyclic poets.

All this seems to be quite consistent, only with the conclusion that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as we have them were foreign to the soil of Continental Greece in primitive times and only imported there from Aeolis or Ionia at a comparatively late date by the Pisistratidæ, the friends of Polycrates of Samos, who for a while held the Thalassocracy of the Ægean. This date again synchronises with that of the tradition that the poems were first written down under the same auspices. It is only when works are written down that emendators and corrupters begin their

task; the first interpolators of the Homeric poems are assigned to the same age of the Pisistratidæ. It was then the Greeks, so far as we know, first had *a written literature*. The knowledge of letters for other purposes, was doubtless considerably older, but for a written literature the view is assuredly sound which makes it synchronise with this period shortly after which the first prose compositions begin.

The conclusion that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were first imported from Aeolis into Attica in the sixth century B.C., does not of course mean that there were no poems dealing with the portion of the Troy story told in them known on the mainland of Greece before that date, and *Homeric* in the sense in which the word *Homeric* is used by the earlier writers, namely, as inclusive of the whole Cycle.

The Cyclic poems must have existed there, and been very widely spread, long before the time of Pisistratos, or the great tragedians would not have used their stories as they did, nor would the earlier potters, who ornament their vases with black figures on a red ground, have also gone to them for their subjects. These early sagas cannot have been in prose, for their incidents are manifold and complicated, and it is perfectly obvious that they were poems recited by rhapsodists, just as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were, and they probably covered the incidents reported in those two great epics as they did the other sagas of the Romantic Greek cycle.

What I wish especially to urge (against the commonly received view) is that these old compositions, which existed in different parts of the mainland of Greece, were no others than the Cyclic poems themselves. The fragments of them which remain to us prove incontestably that they are very old, not only in their imagery and style, but in the presence of the digamma in more than one of them as a necessary condition of their reading rhythmically.

The view, so far as I know almost universally held, is that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are much older than any of the Cyclic poems. I contend on the contrary that they are younger than the oldest of the latter. They presuppose the latter. They are full of allusions and of

paraphrases which suppose in the hearer or the reader a knowledge of them and their contents, and the stories to which they relate. This has struck myself from the very first time I looked at them, but the same view has been arrived at by much better judges than I am, although they have not drawn the same inference. Butcher and Lang, in their most delightful translation of the *Odyssey*, say quite truly, "By the time the *Odyssey* was composed, it is certain that a poet had before him a well-arranged mass of legends and traditions from which he might select his materials. The author of the *Iliad* has an extremely full and curiously consistent knowledge of the local traditions of Greece, the memories which were cherished by Thebans, Pylions, people of Mycenæ, of Argos, and so on. Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* assume this knowledge in the hearers of the poems, and take for granted some acquaintance with other legends" (*op. cit.*, 3rd ed., Fick, XII). This could not be said better, but it seems to me to involve the conclusion that the author or authors of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* had before him or them the long legend which was told by the rhapsodists about the great days of old, and which was cut up by them or their successors into a number of sections, fitting on to each other or slightly overlapping, which we call the Cyclic poems. Not short songs or lyrics as Wolff and others seem to imply but as true epics as our Mediæval Romances. These poems do not, it seems to me, presuppose any acquaintance with the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* as some have urged. What there is common to the latter and the Cyclic poems is a proof of their derivation from the Cyclics which they presuppose at every turn.

The only argument I have seen for placing the two great poems before the Cyclic series beside the voice of later Greek antiquity, which very naturally wished to place its "Bible" at the beginning of things, is the artistic finish and completeness of the poems compared with the comparatively rude, inartistic character of the Cyclic Epics. This very fact seems to me a most potent piece of evidence the other way. The best example I can suggest for comparison is our own noble epic which passes under the name of Malory, the last and the

richest vintage of its kind of our middle age. It would, it seems to me, be as inconsequent to place this very artistic poem before the older and ruder poems and tales which it followed and idealized and put into fine shape without much altering their substance as to put the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* before the *Cypria*, the *Æthiopis* and the *Thebais*, whose stories they quote from or tell again in a more delicate and finished style. Homer was in fact the Malory of the Greek Epos, only instead of glorifying the whole long story of Troy, he glorified only a portion of it.

The Aeolic or Ionic poet who wrote the divine drama of the *Iliad* was assuredly no prentice hand, but a supreme master of everything that is excellent in poetry. How he got his materials together we don't know. What we do know and wonder at is that he, a Smyranean or Chiote, did not write about the legends of Ionia or of Æolis beyond the Ægean, but about the legends of Argos and Thebes and Thessaly. Did he travel hither and thither throughout Continental Greece to collect his materials where they were alone at home? If so why should these strange tales of foreign heroes have been of interest at Smyrna and Chios and Cyrene? Were they not rather the common stock of traditions which the old Æolian race possessed while it was still intact and unbroken, and which its bards had sung about as our bards had long been singing about Arthur and Merlin before a finished artist took up the work and gave it the touches of a master hand? The great Aeolic singer or singers probably put them into their present shape to be recited at some annual Pan-Aeolic or Pan-Ionian festival in Asia Minor as they afterwards were at the Panathenæa. A primitive Malory or Tennyson who reset the primitive Greek *Idylls of the Kings*.

LEADEN FONTS.

By ALFRED C. FRYER, PH.D., M.A.

There are twenty-seven leaden fonts situated in twelve counties in the south, east, and west of England.¹ Several of these date from the eleventh² and twelfth centuries. A few belong to the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, and the latest has the date 1689 impressed upon it. They are all tub-shaped, with the exception of two, namely, a hexagon and a cylindrical bowl. The older fonts all possessed covers, and several retain the markings to which the locks were attached. By the constitution of Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 1236), fonts were required to be covered and locked. The deepest bowl (outside measurement) is 16 inches, and this depth of bowl is met with at Barnetby-le-Wold (Lincolnshire), Slimbridge (Gloucestershire), Brookland (Kent), and Long Wittenham (Berkshire). The most shallow bowl is at Parham, in Sussex, and it is only 8½ inches in depth. The diameters also vary considerably; at Barnetby-le-Wold we find the bowl has a diameter of 32 inches, while at Down Hatherly, in Gloucestershire, it is only 18½ inches.

The bowl at Long Wittenham and a few others have been constructed with only one seam. At Woolstone we find two seams have been employed, while at Walton-on-the-Hill three seams have been used in the manufacture of the bowl. The greater proportion of the leaden bowls, however, have been constructed in four sections.

In several instances the unrestrained hand of the restorer or the iconoclastic zeal of some churchwarden has led to the destruction of these ancient metal fonts. This was unfortunately the case at St. Nicholas-at-Wade,

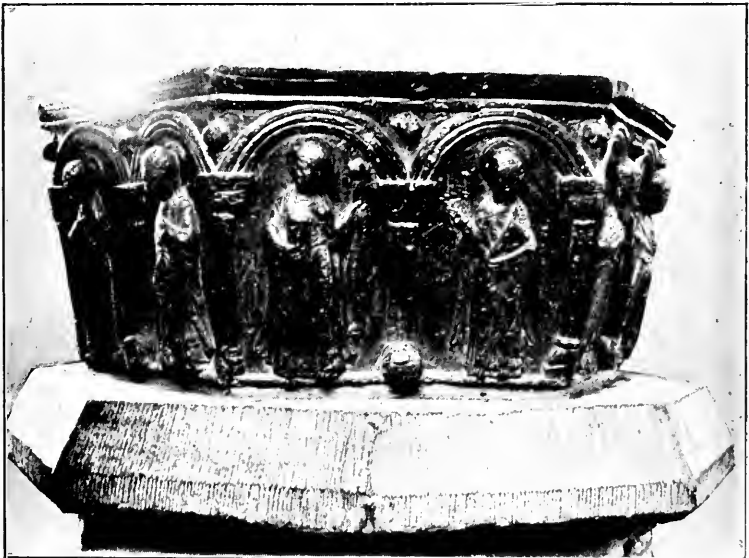
¹ Eight in Gloucestershire, three in Berkshire, three in Kent, three in Sussex, two in Oxfordshire, two in Herefordshire, one in Derbyshire, one in Dorset, one in Hants, one in

Lincolnshire, one in Norfolk, one in Surrey.

² None of these leaden bowls can be dated earlier than the later half of the eleventh century.



FRAMPION-ON-SEVERN, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.



ST. MARY'S PRIORY CHURCH, WAREHAM, DORSETSHIRE.

in Thanet, for the leaden bowl disappeared in 1878, at the time the church was restored. At Clifton Hampden, in Oxfordshire, the leaden bowl was melted down about the year 1840, for no better reason than it was said to be "unshapely." Chillham, in Kent, once possessed a leaden font, but this, too, disappeared about forty years ago during the restoration of the church. Somewhere about the same date the leaden font at Hasingham, Norfolk, was lost; while at Great Plumstead, in the same county, the church of St. Mary was destroyed by fire in 1891, when unfortunately the tub-shaped font was melted.

Mr. Gough¹ mentions, but erroneously, a leaden font at Walmsford, Northamptonshire; while various lists of leaden fonts which have appeared from time to time contain the names of Pitcombe (Somerset), Clewer (Berkshire), Cherrington and Avebury (Wiltshire). All these four fonts are of stone and date from Norman times. In one or two cases the lead lining is unusually heavy, and it is not altogether improbable that an earlier leaden font was used for the lining. At Cherrington the lining does not fit close to the stone, while the lining of the font at Clewer is unusually massive.

The octagonal bowl in St. James's Church, Swynbridge, Devonshire, should be removed from the list of leaden fonts. It is encased in Jacobean woodwork, and at present it is impossible to make an examination of it. However, Mr. Harvey Pridham informs me that he was able to investigate the matter at a time when one of the wooden panels was temporarily removed. Mr. Pridham asserts that the font is oak, and the mere fact that it has a lead lining does not entitle it to be called a leaden font.

There are six leaden tub-shaped fonts in Gloucestershire all made from the same mould. They belong to the churches of Frampton-on-Severn,² Siston, Oxenhall, Tidenham,³ Sandhurst, and Llancaut.³ The first four are about $25\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, 22 inches in depth, and 82 inches in circumference at the top and 75 inches

¹ See *Archæologia*, Vol. X, p. 187.

² This font is illustrated in *Jour. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, Vol. II (1847).

³ The fonts at Tidenham and Llancaut are illustrated in *Archæologia*, Vol. XXIX.

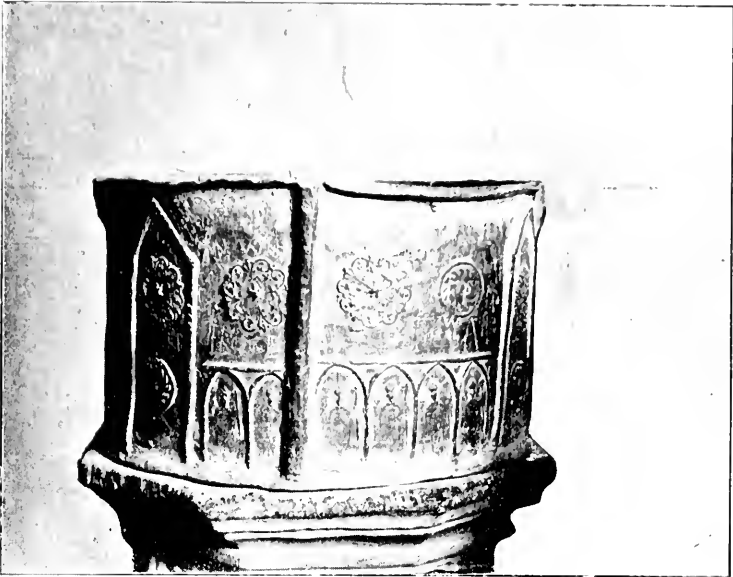
in circumference at the bottom. The decoration upon these fonts is in *alto rilievo* and consists of a band of foliage at the top (2 inches deep) and bottom ($2\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep). An arcade surrounds the bowl containing alternately figures and scrolls, being thrice repeated. The two figures are in richly ornamented robes and are seated on thrones. The first holds a sealed book in the right hand, and the left is upraised in benediction; the second figure also raises the left hand in the act of blessing, but the right grasps a book which has had the seal removed from it. The figures strongly resemble those found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The late Dr. George Ormerod says¹:—"The dress, and particularly the beards, of the figures, the decoration of the thrones, the ornamental foliage, and the scrolls, will more probably be referred to the Saxon era. As far as the coarser execution will allow the comparison, they very much resemble the delineations given in the *Benedictional of St. Æthelwold*.¹ The figure with the sealed book in particular resembles the representation of the *Trinitas* in that volume, excepting a difference in the composition and adaptation of the *nimbus*." Dr. Ormerod was of opinion that these fonts² were constructed about the year 960 A.D. I venture to think that this is too early a date to ascribe to them, for on careful examination of the arcade³ it will be noticed that the shafts are richly adorned with chevron, cable, and sunk pellet mouldings, while the arches, capitals, bases, and spandrels are all adorned with ornamentation. The fonts at Sandhurst and Llancaut⁴ are smaller than the others, having only eleven and ten arcades respectively. Llancaut Church, which is situated on the banks of the Wye, is now a ruin; but the leaden bowl is carefully preserved by Sir William H. Marling, Bart., at Sedbury Park. As the bowl at Sandhurst has an uneven number of arcades, it will therefore be noticed that two of the scroll patterns come together.

¹ See *Archæologia*, Vol. XXIV, p. 87.

² Dr. Ormerod does not appear to have known of the fonts at Frampton-on-Severn, Siston, Oxenhall, and Sandhurst, which are all in the same county.

³ The arcades are $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches high and $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide.

⁴ The Sandhurst font has a circumference at the top of 74 inches, and 69 inches at the bottom. The circumference of the Llancaut font is $66\frac{3}{4}$ inches at the top and 62 inches at the bottom.



WARBOROUGH, OXFORDSHIRE.



LONG WITTENHAM, BERKSHIRE.

The only leaden bowl in the form of a hexagon is the one in St. Mary's Church, Wareham. It stands on a fine octagonal base, and it has been thought that this bowl did not always rest upon this base, but has been removed from one of the other churches in Wareham. This, however, is only conjecture. Each face (16 inches \times 12 inches) is ornamented with two arcades. Three of the pillars are round, the others represent clustered shafts; the arches are round-headed, and the capitals are ornamented. Under each of the centre shafts is what appears to be a lion's head. Figures projecting about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches stand on low pedestals in each of the twelve arcades. It is not unlikely that they represent the Apostles, although not one of them is depicted with a nimbus. Five of the figures hold long scrolls (7 inches) and two of them hold books as well as scrolls, while six are depicted with books alone. One is represented with a book in one hand and a square-headed key in the other. This is doubtless intended for St. Peter.

The fonts in the parish churches of Warborough (Oxfordshire)¹ and Long Wittenham (Berkshire)² are very similar in the ornamentation but not quite identical. The bowl in the church of St. Mary, Long Wittenham, has a plain border ($1\frac{1}{2}$ inches) round the centre, dividing the font into two parts. The upper portion has three panels,³ each adorned with three geometrical patterns and three wheels with curved spokes.⁴ The lower division has a series of pointed arcades,⁵ and a figure stands in each arch dressed in the Eucharistic vestments and a low mitre. The right hand holds a square-headed cross,⁶ and the left is upraised in benediction. The bowl at Warborough⁷ is decorated with four pointed arcades, 5 inches wide and the height of the bowl, and these are adorned with the same geometrical pattern and wheels as are found at Long Wittenham. Between these arcades the bowl is divided into two parts.⁸ The

¹ Diameter = $24\frac{1}{2}$ inches; depth (outside) = 15 inches. This font has been re-lined and is very thin. It once had a lock.

² Diameter = 24 inches; depth (outside) = 16 inches.

³ 12 inches by 7 inches.

⁴ Diameter of pattern = $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and of wheel = $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

⁵ 5 inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

⁶ $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high.

⁷ This font is illustrated in Paley's *Baptismal Fonts*.

⁸ The dimensions of the Warborough

upper part has geometrical patterns and wheels, while the lower is adorned with four pointed arcades containing figures like those on the font at Long Wittenham.

We will now consider three leaden bowls, the ornamentation consisting of round-headed arcades containing effigies.

The beautiful bowl in the abbey church at Dorchester, in Oxfordshire,¹ has eleven full-faced figures seated within round-headed arcades.² Each figure has a nimbus, and as the hair falls on either side the face, I am inclined to think that the artist intended to represent our Saviour in various attitudes. Two figures each hold a key in the left hand—one is round-headed, while one is square-headed; two have the right hand upraised in benediction, and the left holds a closed book resting upon the knee; two clasp open books; two rest the left hand placed upon the knee; two have both hands placed upon the breast; and one holds a book with one hand placed at the top and the other at the bottom. The arches rest on ornamented pillars, and there is also delicate work in the spandrels. Graceful bands of foliage-work encircle the bowl above and below the arches. The late Professor Freeman was of opinion that the ornamentation was Anglo-Saxon. The appearance of the effigies certainly resembles workmanship of this period, but the rich detail work found upon the arcades leads me to draw a conclusion that it was most likely constructed in Norman times.

John de Waltune is said to be the founder of the church at Walton-on-the-Hill, in Surrey. Probably he may have been only the rebuilder, for the parish is mentioned in Domesday Book, and the leaden bowl is certainly older than the date 1268. The bowl is not large, only having a diameter of 20 inches and a depth of $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The design has a series of arcades,³ with full-faced effigies seated in each of the arches. These

font are as follows:—Height = 38 inches; depth of bowl = 15 inches; depth of the interior = 14 inches; diameter across the top = 26 inches; diameter of the interior = 24 inches.

¹ Diameter = 23 inches; depth = 14 inches.

² Each arch = 11 inches high by 5 inches wide.

³ Each arch = $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches high by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide; the pillars = 4 inches high, with 1 inch capital and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch base.



DORCHESTER, OXFORDSHIRE.



WALTON-ON-THE-HILL, SURREY.



ASHOVER, DERBYSHIRE.



BURGHILL, HEREFORDSHIRE.

figures are of three patterns equally represented. The first has the right hand upraised in benediction, while the left holds a book to the breast; the second has also the right hand uplifted in the act of blessing, but the left rests the book on the knee; while the third has the right hand placed on one knee, and the left rests on a book placed on the other knee. The general pose of these figures, with feet near together and knees wide apart, and also the disposition of the drapery, remind us of the finer work to be found in the illuminated manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon and Norman times. The bowl is encircled at the top and bottom with bands ($2\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep) containing delicate foliage work, and graceful patterns also adorn the spandrels.¹

The stone font at All Saints' Church, Ashover, Derbyshire,² has the bowl encased in a leaden covering dating from Norman times. The casing is $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep with a circumference of 6 feet 8 inches round the top, 7 feet 2 inches round the centre, and 6 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches round the bottom. The design presents a series of twenty round-headed arches³ enclosing as many draped figures (8 inches high) standing on low pedestals. The effigies are in bold relief, projecting about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, and are of two patterns. Neither of the figures possesses a nimbus. Each holds a book in the left hand, while one has the head turned to the right and the other to the left. The arches are supported on plain slender pillars with bases and capitals. The bottom of the bowl is encircled in a fine geometrical border, 3 inches in depth, and mutilated fragments of a narrow ornamented band may still be seen round the top.

The church of St. Mary the Virgin, Burghill, Herefordshire, possesses a leaden font having a circumference of $60\frac{1}{2}$ inches. In the year 1880 the top border ($4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth) was discovered in the coal cellar of the church. A simple leaden bowl⁴ was constructed, and this border

¹ See *Surrey Archæol. Coll.*, Vol. IX, p. 167; also *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist*, Vol. III, New Series, p. 235.

² See *History of Derbyshire Churches*. Dr. Cox considers this font is Norman, although some authorities believe it to

be Anglo-Saxon workmanship. See also *Topograph* for 1790.

³ Each arch = $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by 4 inches wide.

⁴ Depth inside = $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches; outside, 13 inches.

of a flowing scroll pattern was placed upon it. Below the border are the top of thirteen arcades, which appear to have been cut off. The bowl has been placed upon an ancient stone pedestal,¹ which is doubtless of Norman workmanship. This pedestal has the same number of arches as the leaden bowl once possessed, and in each is a mutilated figure. One has a nimbus, so I am doubtless correct in stating that they represent our Lord and His twelve apostles.

One of the most interesting of the whole series of leaden bowls may be seen at All Saints' Church, Woolstone, Berkshire. It is not a large bowl, being only 20 inches in diameter and 14 inches in depth, but the ornamentation upon it is unique. Woolstone is a very ancient place, and there is little doubt that the artist who designed the adornment of this bowl desired to perpetuate the remembrance of some early wooden church built on the site where All Saints' Church now stands. Around the bowl are ten perpendicular bars of lead ($\frac{5}{8}$ inch) intended to represent upright beams of wood, and four thwarts sloping at an angle of about 45° in one direction and the same number in the opposite direction. The upper part of the bowl is separated from the lower by a narrow band and contains twelve pointed arches,² which are evidently intended for windows. Below are thirteen windows,³ similar to those above, only a little larger. In the lower portion of the bowl no windows are depicted, but there is one arch, which we may consider to be the door.⁴

The leaden bowl belonging to the church of Barnetby-le-Wold, in Lincolnshire, has been recently discovered in a coal cellar and had been used as a tub for whitewash. A stone font was placed in the church a few years ago, so the leaden bowl will be erected in a new church which is to be built in the same parish. The bowl is unusually large, having a depth of 16 inches and a diameter of 32 inches. It is ornamented with three bands ($5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in depth) of scroll pattern. The two lower bands are alike, but the upper one is different. The ornamentation may have been the work of some

¹ Circumference = 67 inches.

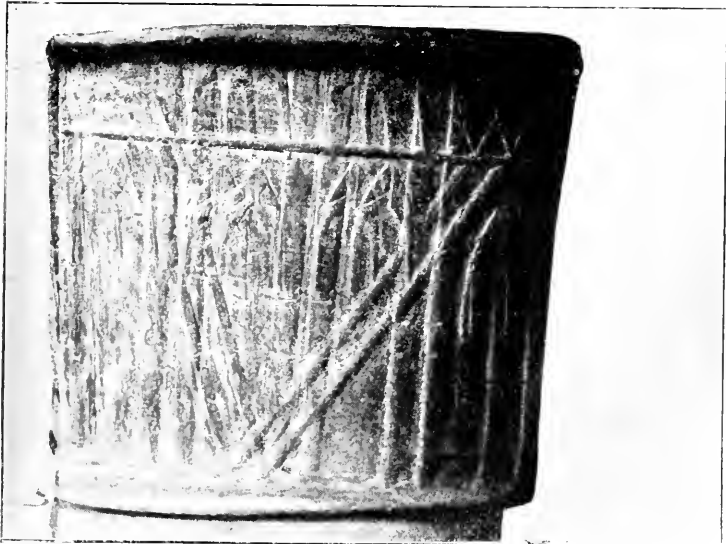
² 3 inches by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

³ 4 inches by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

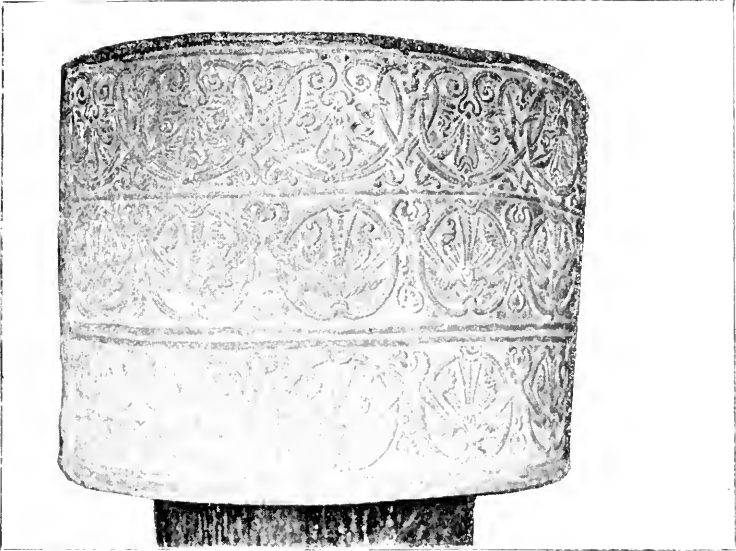
⁴ 4 inches by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches.



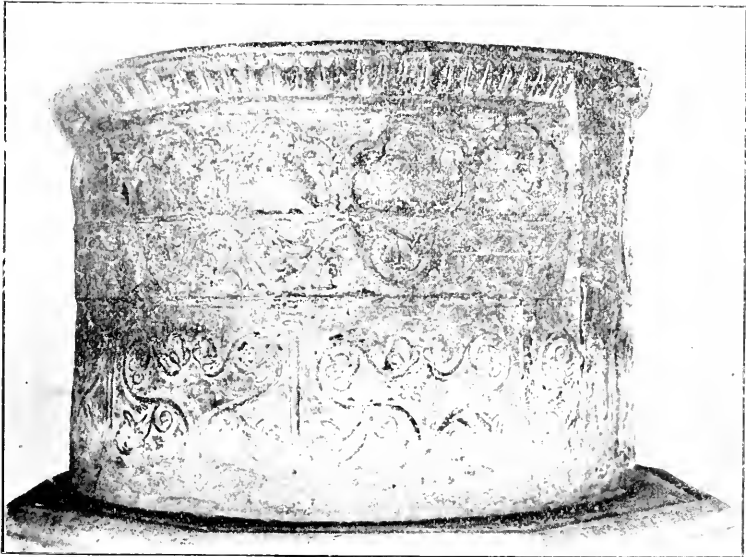
BURGHULL, HEREFORDSHIRE.



WOOLSTONE, BERKSHIRE.



BARNETBY-LE-WOLD, LINCOLNSHIRE.



EDBURTON, SUSSEX.



PYECOMBE, SUSSEX.



BROOKLAND, KENT.

Anglo-Saxon designer, or possibly the bowl was constructed in Norman times.

The sites upon which the churches of Edburton and Pycombe, in Sussex, are built have a great antiquity. Each church possesses a leaden font, the ornamentation of which indicates that they were constructed in the transitional Norman period and were doubtless made about the year 1180. The bowl at Pycombe is 6 feet in circumference and 15 inches in depth. The one at Edburton is smaller, being 1 foot less in circumference and $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth. Both fonts have a fluted rim, being 2 inches in depth and projecting about 1 inch. Each bowl is adorned with three bands of ornamentation. The upper one has trefoil-headed arcades.¹ The middle band is a flowing scroll pattern, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth. The same artist has designed the work for both bowls. The two upper bands and the rims are the same pattern, but the lower bands of ornamentation are different. The one at Pycombe consists of fifteen arcades,² with scroll pattern within each arch; while the one at Edburton is 6 inches in depth, has no arcades, but is filled with a scroll pattern.

Brookland is a parish in Romney Marsh, in Kent, and the church of St. Augustine possesses a very remarkable leaden font, which was well described and illustrated in the *Archæological Journal* for 1849.³ The 6 feet of circumference is divided into twenty compartments,⁴ and these spaces have figures symbolical of the months of the year. Eight of the twenty spaces are repeated from March to October inclusive. The spaces are divided into two small arcades, and the titles of the subjects beneath are inscribed on the arches. Above is a line of hatched and two lines of cable mouldings. The font is furnished with a lip about an inch above the upper cable moulding. In two places, above the month of December and between the months of June and July, the mouldings are interrupted with a square space. These tablets are evidently representations of the Resurrection. The upper arcade has the signs of the zodiac with the names in Latin, and

¹ 4 inches by 3 inches; the Pycombe bowl has eighteen arcades, and the one at Edburton has sixteen.

² $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide.

³ See p. 159.

⁴ 6 inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

the lower contains occupations proper to the months, with the names in French. These have been so well described in the *Archæological Journal* fifty-one years ago that I will only venture to make a few passing remarks.

The signs of the zodiac contain some special interest. The Aquarius is depicted in a short tunic overturning the contents of his water-jar. There is nothing unusual in the brace of fishes, but for March we find Capricornus, which is evidently a mistake for Aries. The bull looks a little lean, and the twins are depicted as two naked children with the Roman petasus on their heads. The figure representing the crab has six legs, and the artist had evidently not a very clear conception what that creature was like. The lion looks more like a leopard, and the virgin has a spike of corn in one hand, and a vindemiatrix in the other. Justice, with bandaged eyes, holds the even scales. The scorpion is very like the crab, only we perceive it possesses a diminutive tail. Sagittarius discharges his arrow behind him, while for December we find a wonderful figure with a beast's head and horns, wings, two legs, and a curled tail. As the artist had given the goat for March, he evidently gave this marvellous creature for December.

The figure representing January is evidently intended for Janus, with a Saxon horn in one hand and what may perhaps be a goblet in the other. Janus is bidding farewell to the old year and welcoming the new. February shows us a hooded figure seated and warming his hands at a fire, of which we can see the projecting hood of the chimney. For March we find a comfortably clad rustic pruning a tree, most likely a vine. He wears a winter cloak closely belted, a hood is drawn over his head, his feet are encased in close-fitting boots, and he has cuffed gloves over his hands. The figure for April is bareheaded, and arrayed in a long robe. Each hand holds a sprouting branch. A knight on a palfrey with a hawk on each wrist is the symbol for May. The author of an interesting paper in the *Archæologia Cantiana*¹ draws attention to the fact that Alcuin called this the pleasure month, and that before his time it was named the milking month.

¹ "Some Observations on the Leaden Font of Brookland," by H. E. Smith. *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. IV, p. 87.



BROOKLAND, KENT.



BROOKLAND, KENT.



WYCHLING, KENT.



PARHAM, SUSSEX.

A man mowing with a large scythe depicts the month of June. A whetstone hangs at his side, and his leg is protected by a guard. July gives us a draped figure in a broad-brimmed hat and high boots. He has a hay rake in his hand. August has the stooping reaper dressed like the mower. One hand cuts down the corn, and the other gathers up the ears. September shows us the thrasher wielding his flail over a sheaf of barley or wheat. He has a bare head and is clad in what appears to be short breeches. A figure standing in a wine-press represents October. It may, however, be intended for the manufacture of cider, for at the edge of the vat are a number of round objects which are perhaps apples. November has a swineherd dressed in cloak and hood, and holding a crooked staff. He is doubtless driving the swine to pannage in the woods, and the crooked staff is intended to beat down the acorns. A butcher with a cap turned up at the edges represents December. He is killing an animal with his upraised pole-axe.

The leaden bowl in the church at Wychling, in Kent, was dug up a few years ago from out of a mass of brickwork. The Rev. Thomas Norton, M.A., informs me that there were signs of a leaden lid which could not be found, although the ground was trenched in search of it. There is still a stone in the parish which was evidently at one time the base for this leaden bowl. The bowl has a diameter of 20 inches and is $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth. The ornamentation consists of a geometrical pattern¹ which is repeated ten times. Some experts believe this font dates from Saxon times. I venture to suggest that this is far too early a date to assign to it, and I have little doubt that it was constructed about the end of the Early English or the beginning of the Decorated period.

The small tub-shaped font in Parham Church,² Sussex, is ornamented in an unusual manner. *Ih'c NAZAR'* (Jesus Nazarene) in Lombardic characters, is impressed eight times upon the bowl, four times vertically, and the same number of times horizontally. This font dates from the middle of the fourteenth century, for it has impressed

¹ 10 inches high by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide.

² Circumference = 61 inches ; depth (outside) = $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

upon it, in nine several instances, an escutcheon bearing the arms of Andrew Peverell, Knight of the Shire in 1351.¹

The only existing leaden font in the county of Norfolk is in the church of St. Lawrence, Brundall.² The font is believed to date from the thirteenth century, and Brundall possesses a list of rectors from the year 1293. At the top and bottom is a border ($2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in depth) with *fleur-de-lys* placed in nineteen lozenges ($3\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 2 inches). Ten representations of the Crucifixion are impressed upon the leaden bowl, and between each is an upright border similar to the one at the top and bottom. The bowl has only one seam. The outer case is very thin, and at some later date it has been fitted with an inside bowl.

The leaden bowl in the parish church of Childrey,³ Berkshire, is adorned with twelve full-faced figures, 10 inches in height, standing on low pedestals. These twelve effigies are dressed as bishops in alb and chasuble. Low mitres are on their heads, and a pastoral staff is held in the right hand and a book in the left.

The ornamentation on the tub-shaped leaden bowl⁴ at Tangley, in Hampshire, consists of two full-blown roses, two thistles with crowns above them, and three *fleur-de-lys*. Six small pilasters divide the font into compartments.

The fonts in the churches at Eythorne, in Kent, Slimbridge, in Gloucestershire, and Aston Ingham, in Herefordshire, are seventeenth-century workmanship and are dated. The leaden bowl in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, Eythorne,⁵ has the date 1628 upon it. It is decorated with eleven rectangular panels. Four are occupied with the date, and the remaining seven have each a naked figure of a man holding what appears to be a torch in his left hand. This figure is perhaps intended

¹ "Gyronny argent and gules within a bordure sable bezantè."

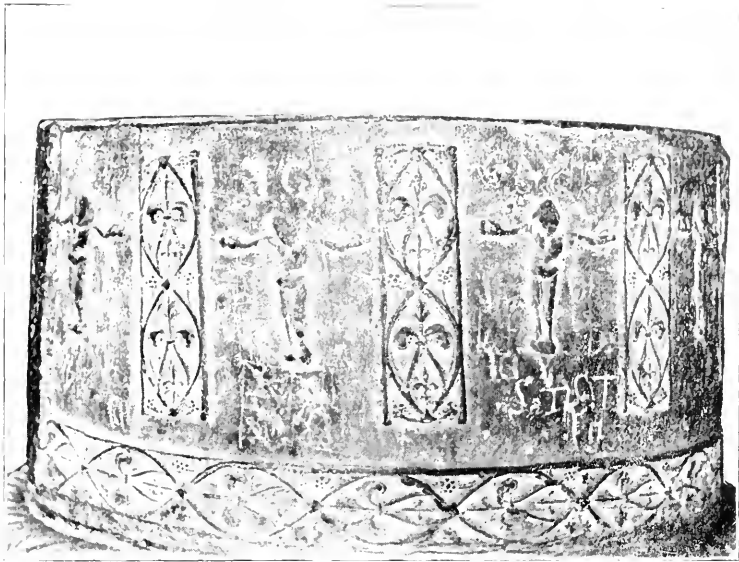
² Circumference = 68 inches; depth (outside) = 11 inches. Figures project about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch.

³ Diameter (top) = 22 inches; depth (outside) = 12 inches.

⁴ Circumference = 67 inches; depth (outside) $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches; top border = $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches; bottom border = $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Roses = 6 inches by 4 inches; thistles = $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches; crowns = 3 inches by 2 inches; fleur-de-lys = $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches; pilasters = $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $\frac{5}{8}$ inch.

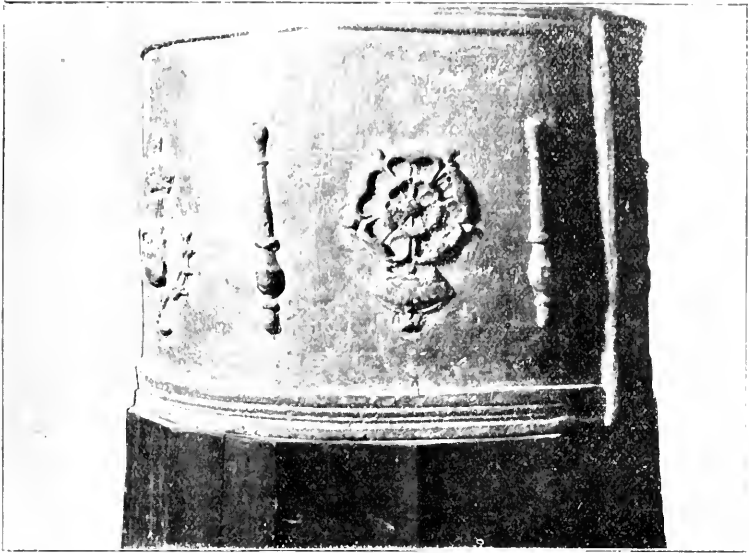
⁵ Diameter = 21 inches; depth (outside) = 10 inches. This bowl is in a battered condition and has been replaced by a stone one, which is now in use.



BRUNDALL, NORFOLK.



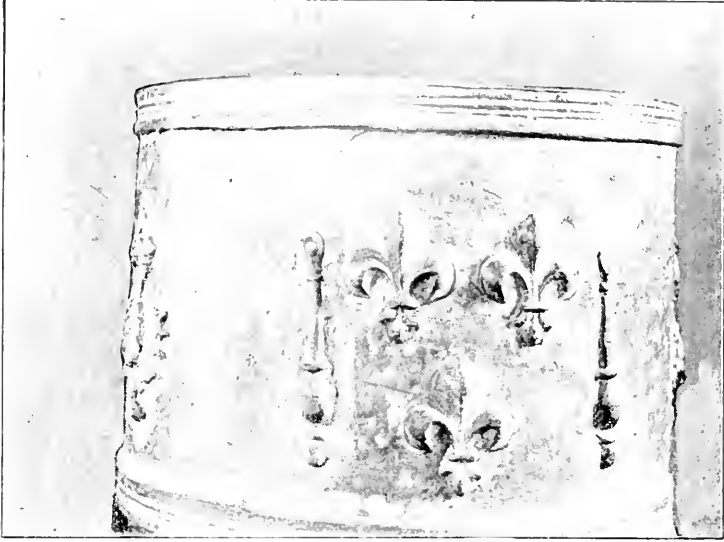
CHILDREY, BERKSHIRE.



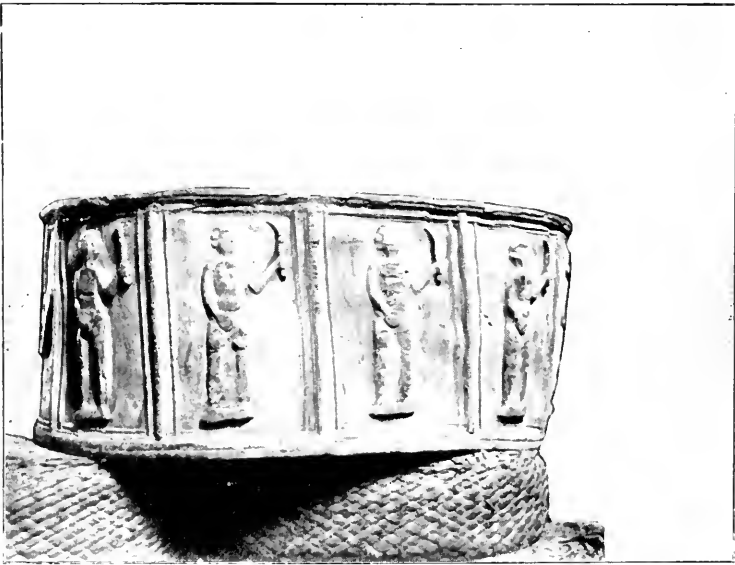
TANGLEY, HAMPSHIRE.



TANGLEY, HAMPSHIRE.



TANGLEY, HAMPSHIRE.



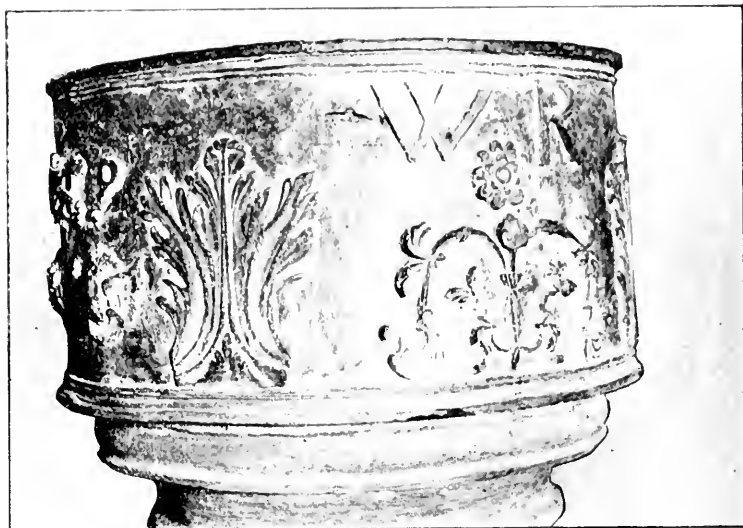
EYTHORNE, KENT.



EYTHORNE, KENT.



SLIMBRIDGE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.



ASTON INGHAM, HEREFORDSHIRE.



DOWN HATHERLEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

to represent Adam. The bowl is not in use, but is preserved in the church.

The ornamentation on the circular leaden bowl at Slimbridge¹ is divided into four compartments by small pilasters. Two cherubs with five-petalled rosettes above and pear-shaped ornamentation below adorn the eastern face. The western face has two cherubs, rosettes, the date 1664, and the initials L. T. and W. S. There is a fluted moulding at the top and bottom.

The leaden bowl in the church of St. John Baptist, Aston Ingham,² has a one-inch moulding at the top and bottom. The date 1689 is twice repeated upon the bowl, and the ornamentation consists of four cherubs, rosettes, scroll pattern, and well defined acanthus leaves. On one side are the initials W. M. and on the other W. R.

In St. Mary's Church, Down Hatherley, Gloucestershire, is a small leaden tub-shaped bowl. It is only 18½ inches in diameter and 12 inches in depth. It was constructed with two seams and is decorated with two branches of foliage of the Renaissance type³ in shallow relief, several stars and lozenges,⁴ and three Tudor rosettes.⁵ At the bottom is a band known as Tudor cresting.

¹ Diameter = 27 inches; depth (outside) = 16 inches. The stone base has the date 1634, with the initials R. B. and A. P.

² Diameter = 23½ inches; circum-

ference (top) = 75 inches; bottom = 74 inches; depth (outside) = 13 inches.

³ 8 inches by 6 inches.

⁴ 5 inches by 3½ inches.

⁵ 8 inches by 5¾ inches.

THE EXPLORATION OF HOD HILL, NEAR
BLANDFORD, DORSET, IN 1897.

By PROFESSOR W. BOYD DAWKINS, F.R.S., F.S.A.

[WITH FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS.]

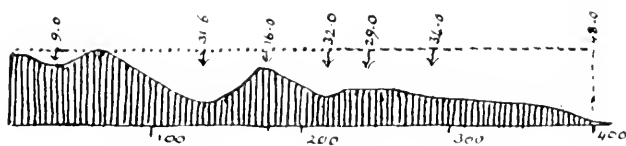
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3. The outer fortress belongs to Prehistoric Iron age.
4. The Roman inner fort.
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 - c.* Pits within enclosures.
 - d.* Trenches close to principal rampart.
6. The Settlement.
7. The diggings within the Roman fort.
8. The date of Roman fort proved by the coins.
9. The arts and industries.
10. General conclusions.

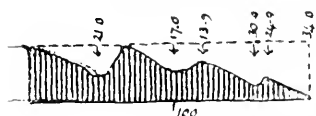
1.—INTRODUCTORY.

The fortress of Hod Hill, four miles to the north-west of Blandford, forms one of a series of strongholds on the river Stour. To the north of it, at a distance of about a mile, is that of Hambledon; to the south-east, at a distance of four and a half miles, is the fort of Buzbury Rings, and at about nine miles that of Badbury Rings. These four are on the east side of the river. On the south-west, Spettisbury Rings overlook the ford at Crawford Bridge. All five command the Lower Stour where it enters the chalk downs, and from their position are clearly intended as a line of defence against attack from the west and north-west, keeping watch and ward over the low-lying vale of Blackmore. All, with the exception perhaps of the last, from their size are clearly fortified oppida, capable of protecting a comparatively large population with their flocks and herds.

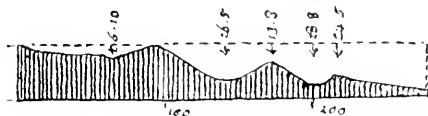
It is not my intention to treat of the place which



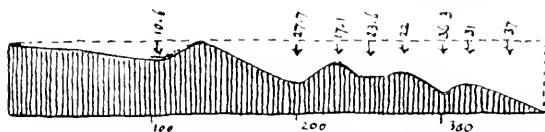
A.—HANFORD GATE, 20 feet East.



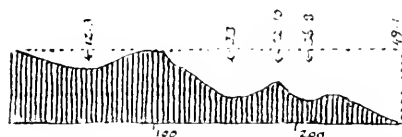
B.—HANFORD GATE, 58 feet West.



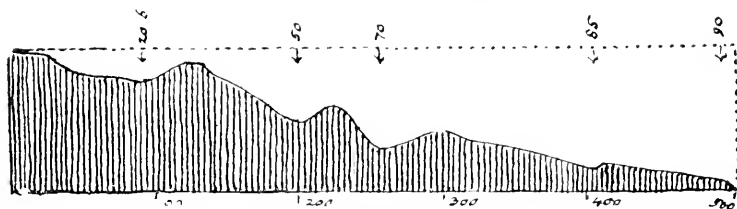
C.—STEEPLETON GATE, 66 feet North.



D.—STEEPLETON GATE, 87 feet South.



E.—WESTGATE, 51 feet S. East.



F.—WESTGATE, 118 feet N. West.

Fig. 1. Sections through Ramparts and Fosses of Plan, Fig. 1.

Scale 100 ft. to 1 inch.

these fortresses hold in the history of Dorset, nor do I propose to discuss the details relating to them, so well put by Mr. Warne.¹ I merely propose to lay before you the results of the excavations at Hod, carried out by Sir Talbot Baker, under my supervision, in the course of the last autumn. It was strongly urged at the Dorchester Meeting of the Institute that the example of General Pitt-Rivers should be followed in the exploration of some one or other of the strongholds of Dorset. Sir Talbot Baker, the owner of Hod Hill, rose to the occasion, and we have to thank him for the results which are recorded in this communication.

Hod Hill (Fig. 1) stands on the edge of a precipitous chalk cliff on the eastern bank of the Stour at a height of over 400 feet above the sea. It consists of a series of three ramparts and two fosses on every side excepting that which faces the river, where the ground falls so rapidly that little defence is needed. It is roughly quadrilateral in form, with rounded angles, and it includes a space of about 320 acres. Inside at the north-west angle is an inner fortress of about 70 acres, forming a citadel on the highest ground, rising there to a height of 470 feet. The surface of both is studded with groups of pits, to which we directed our principal work. I shall first of all deal with the outer line of ramparts and fosses.

2.—THE OUTER RAMPARTS AND FOSSES.

The north-west corner of the camp is occupied by one of the three original entrances, called Hanford Gate (Fig. 1). It is defended by the usual two ramps and fosses, and by a third smaller rampart on the outside, and is also protected by the ends of the two ramparts on the east being raised to a higher level. The relation of these two fosses to the ramparts may be seen by the two sections A and B, taken on each side the entrance, at a distance, respectively, of 20 feet east and 58 feet west.

On the east or weaker side, the ramparts are higher and the fosses deeper than on the west. Here the outer fosse dies away as the steep scarp of the river is ap-

¹ *Ancient Dorset*, folio, 1872.

proached, and the outer rampart also disappears a little farther to the south. The entrance, 10 feet 6 inches in width between the fosses, and 8 feet at the inner rampart, is slightly flanked and is approached by a ridge curving up to it from the east, probably marking an old road. From this entrance the three ramparts and the two fosses sweep eastwards past the spot where they are joined by the lines of the inner fortress of Lydsbury Rings. This is marked by a modern break in the ramparts, Leigh Gate. From this they pass to the north-eastern angle, which curves round to the Steepleton Gate, one of the principal original entrances. This is strongly defended by the prolongation inwards of the inner ramp so as to flank the entrance on either side. The entrance is 10 feet wide. It is further strengthened by the inner ramp being higher. It is also flanked on the outside by the extension of the second rampart to the south so as to flank 190 feet of the approach. The third rampart is also more strongly marked than usual. In the section C, taken at a point 66 feet to the north of the inner entrance, and D, at 87 feet to the south, the relation of the approach to the fosses and ramparts is seen. In a word, Steepleton Gate is an admirable illustration of a flanking entrance of a prehistoric fortress in which the military art in the design is of the highest order.

From the Steepleton Gate the lines of the fortress sweep southwards to the rounded south-eastern angle, the two breaks in it, Ashfield Gate and Home Gate, being probably modern, and thence westwards to the scarp of the river. From Ashfield Gate on the eastern side, and along the whole of the south side, the second fosse has almost completely disappeared, and is only indicated by a faint depression.

A third original entrance, West Gate, near the south-western angle, was also strongly fortified, not only by the inner prolongation of the inner ramp on each side of the entrance, here 10 feet wide, but by the turning inwards of the second ramp on either side. It is further strengthened by a rampart and fosse running diagonally westwards to the top of the river cliff. This may have been used also as a covered way down to the river. The

excavations carried on in modern times for the sake of the chalk at this spot render it impossible to make out the exact line of the original approaches. They were, however, more strongly defended by works than at the other two entrances to the camp.

On the west side the inner rampart and fosse are the only two works, the edge of the river cliff being a perfect defence on that side.

The inner rampart, as may be seen from the section, is the higher and commands the rest. It has been made from chalk scooped out of the inside, leaving irregular cavities, which we found had afterwards been utilised as refuse holes.

The main points to be noted in the lines of this fortress are the flanking entrances, the adaptation of works to the shape of the ground and the position of the inner and higher ramp so as to sweep the glacis within reach of the sling or the bow. The outer rampart is commanded by the inner, and the outer slope of the scarp is more gentle than that of the counterscarp. It is likely that one rampart at least was crowned with palisades. The fortress is an admirable illustration of the high military art practised in Britain in the Prehistoric Iron age, intended for the protection, not merely of the inhabitants of the district, but of their flocks and herds.

3.—THE AGE OF THE OUTER FORTRESS.

The important question as to the archæological age of this great stronghold is satisfactorily answered by the researches of Mr. Durden and the work of Mr. Warne. The gold British coins, proved by Sir John Evans to have been in circulation in this country before the Roman occupation, and the sword, with its hilt beautifully adorned with late Celtic designs, now in the British Museum, point out unmistakably that it belongs to the later portion of the Prehistoric Iron age immediately before the Roman Conquest.

The coins described by Sir John Evans¹ in his classical work leave no doubt on this matter. They consist of un-

¹ *Ancient British Coins*, p. 101, Pl. F 2; p. 102, F 3; p. 117, G 5, 6; p. 125, H 2; pp. 148-149; 213-214.

inscribed silver and brass coins, which are copies of copies of the golden stater of Philip of Macedon, and come late in the series. One is an uninscribed tin coin copied from a Gaulish original. Of the two inscribed, one of base metal bears the legend IXARA (?), referred by Sir John Evans to a date after Caesar's invasion: the other, brass coin, with CRAB on the obverse, also belongs to the same time. The uninscribed tin coin has been found in the fortress of Mount Caburn, near Lewes, proved by Gen. Pitt-Rivers's discoveries to belong to the Prehistoric Iron age. Mr. Warne's opinion that Hod belonged to the Durotriges, who were in possession of this district at the time of the Roman Conquest, is probably true. In my opinion it clearly belongs to the same period as Worlebury Camp, at Weston-super-Mare, and Badbury Camp, near Northampton, where similar remains have been discovered—to the same period as the settlement in the marshes near Glastonbury, explored by Bulleid, and the cemetery at Aylesford, in Kent, described by Mr. Arthur Evans.

4.—THE ROMAN INNER FORT.

The inner camp, known locally as Lydsbury Rings, differs entirely in its style of fortification (see Fig. 1) from the outer, although the north-western corner of the latter has been utilised in its construction. The regularity and straightness of the fosses and ramps, the position of east and southern entrances nearly in the middle of the sides, and the use in each case of a *tête du pont* point unmistakably to the Roman engineers. The southern or weaker side has been protected by a mound on the inner ramp on the east side of the entrance, and by the south-eastern angle being strengthened by an additional ramp. The outer fosse cuts the western ramp of the outer camp and is joined to the first fosse of the latter. On the northern side it ends abruptly at the northern ramp, strengthened at the angle by its increased height. Both these circumstances imply that Lydsbury Rings are later than the outer fortification. They are as distinctly Roman as the latter are Pre-Roman.

FIG. 4.
N

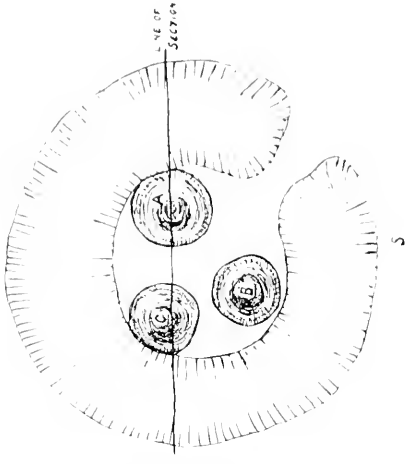


FIG. 3.
N

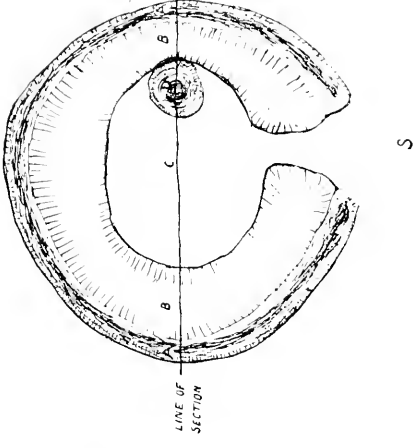
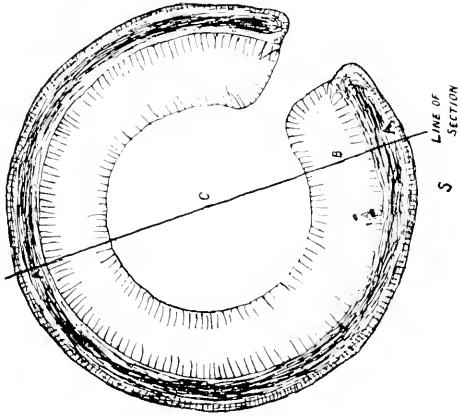


FIG. 2.
N



Scale $\frac{3}{4}$ inch to foot.

FIG. 4. Enclosure with three pits,
No. 6 of Fig. 1.

FIG. 3. Enclosure with one pit,
No. 4 of Fig. 1.

FIG. 2. Circular Enclosure No. 1 (Fig. 1).
Plan and Section.

5.—THE DIGGINGS WITHIN THE OUTER RAMPARTS.

Nearly the whole of the area of both fortresses had been ransacked by Mr. Durden during the last fifty years, and the rich harvest which he obtained of Roman and Pre-Roman age has now for the most part found its home in the British Museum, without any record as to the precise circumstances of each discovery. A large portion, too, of both fortresses had been under the plough. We therefore began our exploration in those portions which had apparently been undisturbed in the south-eastern corner of the outer and older fortress, where the rings and depressions which marked the sites of old habitations were thickest and best preserved.

5a.—*The Circular Enclosures.*

We began with one of the rings, No. 1 on the plan (Fig. 2). It consisted of a ditch on the outside from 5 to 7 feet across, and 1 foot 10 inches deep, surrounding a low ring of chalk about 9 feet wide by 1 foot 3 inches high, with an entrance 3 feet 9 inches wide to the south-east. Inside there was a flat space 24 feet in diameter, which presented the following section:—

	ft.	in.
1. Turf and mould	0	6
2. Mould and rubble chalk	0	6
Chalk rubble undisturbed.		

Underneath the mould, and resting on No. 2, there were large numbers of carefully chosen oval flint pebbles, which had been selected for slingstones (*glandes*). There were also pot-boilers more or less calcined, and fragments of black cooking pottery, and bones of *Bos longifrons* and sheep or goat. Most of these occurred near and in a mass of charcoal in the centre, which marked the site of a hearth. The purpose to which this enclosure was put is unknown. It may either have been a yard, or it may have been an enclosure with a circular hut inside, which was not sunk beneath the level of the ground. There are many other similar rings without depressions, which we did not examine, because this proved so barren of results.

5b. — *The Pits without Enclosures.*

We next examined one of the circular depressions without any ring, about 41 feet to the north of the above ring (see Fig. 1, No. 3). It was $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, with its centre 1 foot below the general surface of the ground. Its section was as follows:—

	ft. in.
1. Turf and mould with slingstones and fragment of coarse black pottery	0 6
2. Soil and rubble chalk with layer of charcoal in centre on a hearth of flints, at 2 feet below the surface. Pot-boilers, coarse pottery, bones of <i>Bos longifrons</i> , sheep or goat, and hog, and a fragment of a human skull occurred in this layer... ..	3 0
3. Chalk rubble with fragments of black and red coarse pottery with sand and small stones in the paste, hand-made, probably cooking, vessels, as well as fragments of the bones of the above domestic animals	1 4

The total depth down to the undisturbed chalk was 4 feet 10 inches, and the bottom was flat.

A second depression, No. 12 of plan (Fig. 1), about 200 yards to the south-west of Steepleton Gate, measured 6 feet 8 inches by 5 feet 9 inches, and was 3 feet deep. It contained coarse pottery, pot-boilers, a fragment of a quern, and the bones of the *Bos longifrons*, hog, and sheep or goat.

A third (Fig. 1), No. 11, measuring 6 feet by 5 feet 6 inches, gave the following section:—

	ft. in.
1. Turf	0 6
2. Chalk rubble with mould and charcoal, black coarse pottery, iron nail and a bent iron implement resembling one of those found by General Pitt-Rivers at Woodents and taken by him to be a key, coarse pottery and the remains of the domestic animals above mentioned, pot-boilers... ..	2 4
3. Chalk rubble with similar refuse bones, including one of a dog, and a fragment of iron slag	1 0
Total depth	3 10

5c.—*Pits within Enclosures.*

We next turned our attention to the enclosures containing pits, of which there are many in the settlement. One on the east side (see plan, Fig. 1, No. 4, and Fig. 3) measuring 43 feet 6 inches by 42 feet 6 inches contained a pit 6 feet in diameter on the east, and had an entrance 3 feet wide on the south.

The section of the pit (Fig. 3), is as follows :—

	ft. in.
1. Turf and soil	0 6
2. Rubble chalk with loam and charcoal and refuse-bones, red lathe-turned pottery, pot-boilers, a fragment of burnt clay and of iron slag, and an eyed nail of iron	2 6
3. Layer of flints forming a hearth with charcoal ...	0 4
4. Rubble chalk with four loom-weights at $\frac{1}{4}$ feet from the surface, and a charcoal layer at $\frac{1}{2}$ feet. A second layer occurred on the west side resting on the bare chalk at a depth of 5 feet 8 inches	2 4
Total depth...	5 8

This stratum contained the usual refuse-bones and coarse pottery. The loom weights are made of hard blocks of chalk, and are identical with those which have been figured by General Pitt-Rivers from the Romano-British village of Woodcuts, and from the fortress Mount Caburn, near Lewes, which belongs to a late period in the Prehistoric Iron age.

A second enclosure with pit (No. 5 of plan, Fig. 1), in the south-eastern quarter of the settlement, consisted of the usual ditch surrounding the bank, and measured 47 feet in diameter, including the ditch. The entrance is on the east side, and a circular pit 8 feet 6 inches in diameter occupied the western side of the interior. The section was the same as before. There were the bones of the same domestic animals, coarse red pottery, pot-boilers, and slingstones intermingled with charcoal. An iron harp-shaped Roman fibula, similar to those figured from Woodcuts, a fragment of Samian ware, and an iron nail clearly indicate that the upper portion of this pit had been used in Roman times, at all events down to a depth of 1 foot below the surface. The chalk rubble below, to

a depth of 4 feet, contained the usual refuse-bones, pot-boilers, and coarse hand-made cooking pottery, but presented no traces of the Roman influence.

The next group of pits (No. 6 of plan, Fig. 1) enclosed by a bank without a ditch is in the eastern quarter to the south of No. 4, and occupies a circular space of 45 feet in diameter. It consists of three, the entrance (3 feet wide) to the enclosure being to the south-east. They yielded more interesting results than any of our other excavations.

In pit A, 9 feet by 9 feet (Fig. 4), the section is as follows:—

	ft. in.
1. The turf and subsoil, yielding fragments of medieval pottery	0 6
2. Chalk rubble mixed with soil containing the usual refuse-bones as well as those of the horse, oyster-shells, a fragment of Samian ware, iron nails, clasps, an iron harp-shaped fibula and a perforated metacarpal of sheep, fashioned into an implement resembling a shuttle, of the same kind as those figured by General Pitt-Rivers from the British village of Rotherley. (<i>Excavations in Cranborne Chase</i> , Vol. II, p. 173.) There were also pot-boilers and slingstones associated with charcoal, and iron slag which had been cooled on the bottom of an earthen tuyère. Two fragments of human tibiæ, one platycnemic and the other normal, and a carinated human femur occurred in the upper part of this layer. A mass of charcoal extended from a depth of 1 foot on the east side to 3 feet on the west. It rested on a hearth consisting of blocks of flint ...	2 6
3. Chalk rubble with the usual refuse, pot-boilers, slingstones, and coarse pottery, along with the fragments of a human sacrum and vertebrae, which had probably formed part of an interment disturbed in later times	3 6
Total depth... ..	6 6

In this case the abode of the living had been used for the last home of the dead and afterwards re-excavated for another dwelling, in which the stratum No. 2, with the Roman fibula, had been accumulated during the time of the Roman occupation.

Close to the south of the above, pit B, 8 feet 6 inches by 8 feet, gave the following section :—

	ft.	in.
1. Turf	0	6
2. Rubble, containing charcoal in a layer 3 inches thick, with black lathe-turned ware and bones of the above domestic animals and the usual fragments of coarse hand-made pottery. At the bottom was a hearth made of blocks of flint, resting on the chalk and covered with wood ashes... ..	6	0
Total depth... ..	6	6

The third pit in this singular group (Fig. 4, C) measured 9 feet 3 inches by 7 feet 10 inches and was 6 feet deep.

It presented the following section :—

	ft.	in.
1. Turf and mould	0	6
2. Rubble, containing iron nails, fragments of coarse dark ware and the usual domestic animals, resting on a layer of ashes, lying on a hearth of flints... ..	2	6
3. Rubble with bones of domestic animals, large flints and coarse pottery	1	0
4. Rubble in which a perfect skeleton rested on its side, at a depth varying from 4 feet to 4 feet 6 inches from the surface. There were also bones of a child and an old man, probably belonging to a previous interment. The remains of the domestic animals and the coarse pottery were the same as those of No. 3	2	0
Total depth.. ..	6	0

The skeleton belonged to a young adult, and had been buried in the crouching posture with the legs gathered up. It rested on its side with the head to the north-west, touching the side of the pit.

The interment probably belongs to the Prehistoric Iron age, and the hut had been occupied in later times when the burials had been forgotten. I was informed by Capper, a workman employed many years ago by Mr. Durden, that a skeleton buried in the same crouching position was then discovered in pit No. 13 of Fig. 1. Similar interments have also been noted elsewhere in similar pits, as for example in those described by Sir

Henry Dryden in the prehistoric fortress in the Iron age, close to Northampton. The skull, it is interesting to note, has a cephalic index of 719 and belongs to the same long and oval-headed race as the inhabitants of the Romano-British village of Woodcuts.

5d.—*Trenches close inside Principal Rampart.*

We turned now to the examination of the hollow from which the chalk had been to a large extent excavated for marking the principal rampart. Two trenches were dug, one on each side Steepleton Gate, and carried down to the chalk. That on the north (No. 14 of Fig. 1) was 20 feet long, 2 feet 7 inches wide, and 2 feet deep. It yielded the usual refuse-bones of the domestic animals, pot-boilers, coarse red and black pottery with sandy paste, a fragment of a quern, and fragments of burnt clay. That to the south (No. 15) yielded similar remains, and in addition a bronze ring and fragments of iron slag. It was near this spot that Capper found what he described to us as a bundle of swords rusted together, which formed part of the Durden collection. The unfinished swords, one of which is figured by Mr. Warne, probably belonged to this find. It is probable that this hollow on the inner side of the principal rampart was largely used for herding the domestic animals, and from the quantity of slag in some places, for iron smelting.

6.—THE SETTLEMENT.

It is obvious that the circular depressions above described have been the bases of huts occupied for a long period, ranging from the pre-Roman times to a date later than the Roman Conquest. They may have been cooking huts rather than living huts, because their small size would make it difficult for them to be inhabited, while a fire was in the centre. It is, however, quite as likely that they were used for cooking at one time, and to shelter the family at another. They are not, as has been suggested, mere holes dug for the reception of refuse. They were surrounded by a wall composed of wattle and

daub, the burnt fragments of which were met with in the course of our digging. The ring of earth around some of them probably was crowned with a fence or palisades.

The exploration of these huts seemed to us sufficient to prove the nature of the whole settlement, and we did not think it necessary to examine the rest. It is interesting to note that the huts were aggregated irregularly together, and that the ditches outside the enclosures formed a complex system of drains on the slope of the hill, delivering the rain-water to the lower levels. They have also been used as paths between the enclosures. I must also further remark that the practice of arranging the huts in a settlement in orderly rows was unknown in Britain till the days of the Roman Conquest. This probably accounts for the fact that in the diggings at Silchester no traces have been met with of British habitations older than the Roman times. The Roman architects and surveyors made their buildings and streets in the usual rectangular fashion, and probably "Haussmanised" the interior of Calleva Atrebatum in such a way as to destroy the whole of the irregular dwellings.

7.—THE DIGGINGS WITHIN THE ROMAN FORT.

We next turned our attention to the contents of the inner Roman fort of Lydsbury Rings, which has previously been described. The surface of this commanding position presented numerous pits, which were somewhat like those of the outer fortress, but were without banks and ditches. Out of these, three were selected for examination which had evidently been used as pits for refuse. In No. 7 of Fig. 1 the section was as follows:—

	ft.	in.
Turf	0	6
Chalk rubble with black, cooking, hand-made pottery, and grey lathe-turned Roman pottery, oyster- shells, bones and teeth of <i>Bos longifrons</i> , sheep or goat, and pigs	3	2

It measured 7 feet in diameter at the top, and tapered down to 3 feet 10 inches at the bottom.

In No. 8 of Fig. 1, measuring 5 feet 6 inches by 5 feet 6 inches, and 6 feet 4 inches deep, the section was

practically the same, and the contents were also the same as before. The two Roman coins, mentioned below, were found here. In No. 10 of Fig. 1, measuring 7 feet 3 inches by 7 feet 9 inches, and 5 feet 3 inches deep, an iron nail, a fragment of a thick red tile, and numerous burnt stones were among the most noticeable of the remains. In all there was the usual mixture of remains in Roman refuse heaps. They are all referable to the time of the Roman occupation, and are distinguished from the circular pits used for habitation and cooking outside the limit of the Roman camp by the contracted bottom and the absence of hearths, as well as by the presence of Roman refuse at the bottom.

We also cut a trench (No. 9 of Fig. 1) through the highest point, close to the centre of the camp, where there were signs of a circle, which might have been the base of a tumulus. It revealed the presence of a Roman trench 5 feet across and 4 feet deep, containing refuse—bones of animals, coarse pottery, nails, and the fragments of a human femur, vertebræ, and calcaneum.

The rarity of Roman remains in the fort is due to the area having been under plough down to the bare chalk, and to the fact that there were no excavations for the foundations of permanent buildings of stone, such as are found elsewhere. While it was under the plough it yielded large quantities of Roman implements and articles, which found their way into Mr. Durden's collections, and ultimately into the British Museum.

8.—THE DATE OF THE ROMAN FORT PROVED BY THE COINS.

The two coins above mentioned¹ are coins of Augustus and Caligula, the first with *DIVVS AVGVSTVS, S.C.*, on the obverse, and on the reverse *CONSENSV. SENAT. ET. EQ. ORDIN. P.Q.R.*, Augustus seated to left, holding a cup and a laurel branch. This was struck in the reign of Tiberius. The second has on its obverse *C. CAESAR. AVG. GERMANICVS. PON. M. TR. POT.*, with Caligula's bust with bare head to the left, and on the reverse *VESTA S.C.*,

¹ I have to thank Mr. Churchill for this identification.

Vesta veiled seated to the left, holding a cup and a sceptre.

These two coins belong to the period just before the Roman conquest of Britain, and from their freshness could not have been very long in circulation. Their evidence as to the date of the Roman occupation, when added to that of the fifteen coins mentioned by Mr. Warne as having been found at Hod Hill, is unmistakable. These latter belong to the following coinages:—

Augustus, B.C. 63—A.D. 14	...	...	4
Agrippa, B.C. 63—B.C. 12	...	...	1
Tiberius, A.D. 14—A.D. 37	...	...	1
Germanicus, B.C. 15—A.D. 19	...	...	1
Caligula, A.D. 37—A.D. 41	...	...	1
Claudius, A.D. 41—A.D. 51	...	...	5
Nero and Drusus, A.D. 54—A.D. 68	...	...	1
Trajan, A.D. 98—A.D. 117	...	...	1
			15

With the exception of the two last they all belong to the time immediately before the conquest under Claudius. They fix the date of the Roman camp to be very early in the history of the Roman Conquest. This conclusion is confirmed by the numerous Roman coins of a later date found elsewhere in the neighbourhood, at Ewerne, and more particularly in the Romano-British village at Woodcuts, described by General Pitt-Rivers. Had this camp been occupied at the same time as the latter the same group of late Roman coins would probably have been found.

9.—THE ARTS AND INDUSTRIES.

In the following table I have grouped the remains which were discovered in the course of our diggings:—

These relics prove that the inhabitants of Hod not only were farmers, but carried on the industries of spinning and weaving, of iron smelting, and iron-working. Their domestic animals consisted of the horse, the Celtic Shorthorn (*Bos longifrons*), the ancient Shorthorn, the small mountain sheep, the goat, the hog, and last, though not least, the dog. In the later time of the Roman occupation they also kept fowls, and obtained oysters and mussels from the neighbouring sea. The whole group of domestic animals is identical with that of Woodcuts, although the remains of the dog are too fragmentary to allow of the identification of the breed. It must also be noted that the coarse cooking vessels common in the Pre-historic Iron age continued to be used after the Roman Conquest. They have been proved by the discoveries at Silchester to have continued in use down to the end of the Roman dominion in Britain.

10.—GENERAL CONCLUSION.

The results of our exploration may be summed up as follows :—

1. The outer lines of fortification are, in their irregular shape and method of defence, clearly proved to belong to a type known in Britain elsewhere to be of Prehistoric Iron age, and to have been used by the inhabitants before and at the time of the Roman Conquest.

2. The pits inside mark the habitations, which were circular and composed in part like those of Woodcuts of wattle and daub.

3. The contents of these pits are divisible into the upper with, and the lower without, Roman remains. Consequently it may be inferred that the settlement continued to exist from the pre-Roman age well into the time when the Roman influence was dominant in the district.

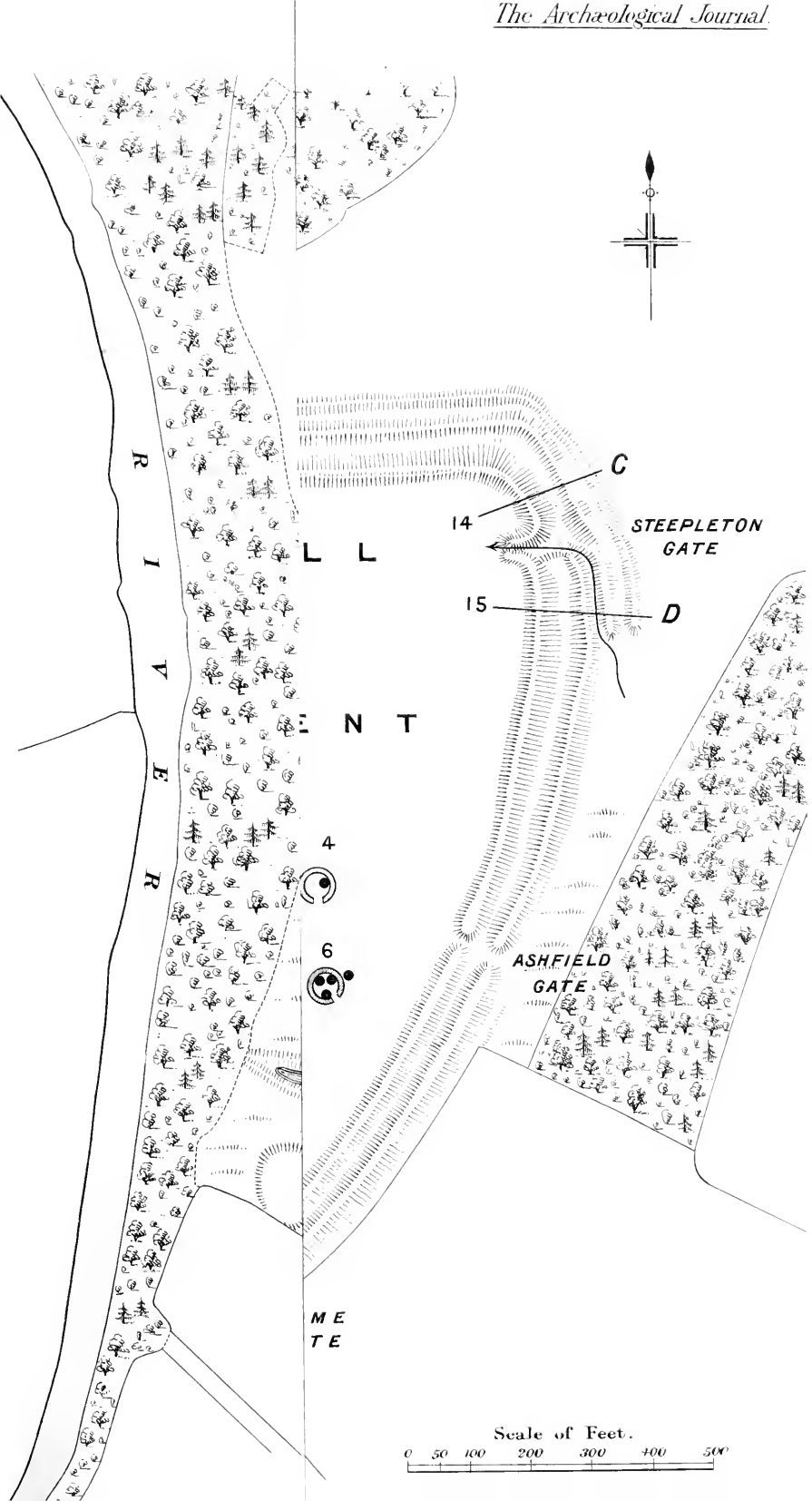
4. When the Claudian invasion took place the commanding position of Hod attracted the attention of the Roman engineers, who made the castrum of Lydsbury Rings, in which they modified their usual rectangular plan to meet the circumstances of the ground. This military occupation, however, was probably not continued far into the second century. The castrum was probably

disused as the country became more and more tranquillised.

5. As the country became free from the conflict of the warring tribes, which was ended by the Pax Romana, the necessity for the protection of the inhabitants within the outer lines ceased. The inhabitants were no longer compelled to have their settlement in so inaccessible a position, and probably migrated into the lower and more fertile grounds, to found other more convenient habitations in the open country. As the evidence stands at present, I should feel inclined to couple the depopulation of Hod Hill with the establishment of the neighbouring Roman centre of culture at Ibernio, the modern Ewerne, in which Lady Baker and General Pitt-Rivers have discovered remarkable buildings with frescoed walls. The exact date when this took place must be left for settlement to the results of further explorations on Hod Hill and at Ewerne.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

- Fig. 1.—Plan of Hod Hill fortress and Lydsbury Rings.
A, B, C, D, E, F, sections taken through the outer ramparts.
Fig. 2.—Plan and section of enclosure.
Fig. 3.—Plan and section of enclosure with pit.
Fig. 4.—Plan and section of enclosure with three pits.



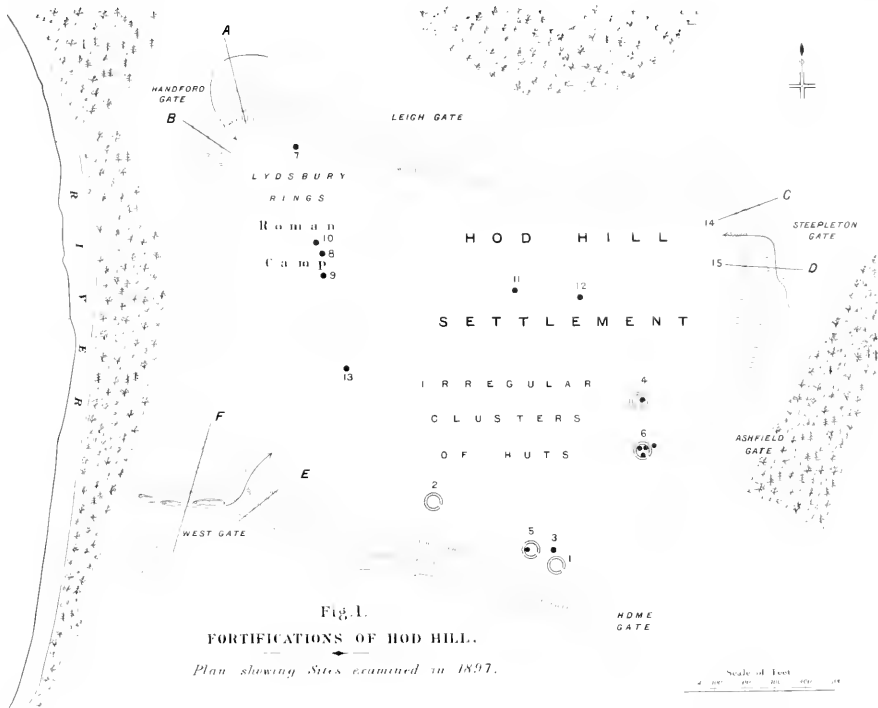


Fig. 1.
 FORTIFICATIONS OF HOD HILL.
 Plan showing Sites examined in 1897.

RIEVAULX ABBEY, ITS CANALS AND BUILDING STONES.

By HENRY A. RYE.¹

A short time ago my attention was drawn to *The Annals of an old Manor House*, by Frederick Harrison. In it occurs the following passage in the account of Sir Richard Webster of Sutton Place, Surrey, who was born in 1591 and succeeded to the estate in 1613:—"Sir Richard Webster was not only the first to introduce into British farming the systematic cultivation of grass and roots, but he was also the first to popularize in England the method of canalization by locks. These he studied in Holland. He began by making a cut from the River Wey near to Stoke Mill, and formed the idea of making the river navigable from Guildford to Weybridge. The Canal proved of great public utility and is still in use, *the first of all the canals in our Kingdom.*"

It is with this latter statement I wish to deal, and I think that by the end of my paper I shall be able to shew that there was at least one earlier canal in our Kingdom, four hundred and seventy years before the time of Sir Richard Webster.

When I first entered upon my duties as estate clerk of the works and surveyor to the Earl of Feversham at Duncombe Park, seventeen years ago, I found that there lingered a tradition in the neighbourhood that the building stone and material for Rievaulx Abbey (which is situated on the estate and so came under my care) had all been brought by water and in boats. No one, however, to my knowledge, had tried to show how this was done. In my leisure hours, or while superintending repairs to the ruin, I set myself to solve the problem.

The first question, was, where did the stone come from? There are three kinds of stone used in the building, two in the earlier and one in the later work.

¹ Read at the Scarborough Meeting, 20th July, 1895.

The last was the easiest to trace, and was found first, then the earliest, and the hardest to locate was the second.

The earliest stone is a dark brown soft sandstone, which comes from an old quarry about a quarter of a mile from the abbey in the direction of Bilsdale, close to the river bank and not far from Bow Bridge on the road leading to Old Byland. This quarry is called Penny Piece. Of this stone the whole of the Norman work is built. Here I found the ruins of a stone dam and traces of the banks of a canal running down to Rievaulx mill. From here they are obliterated, first by the refuse carted from the abbey when some clearing of the ruins was made in 1812, and next by the cinders and slag from the Duke of Rutland's ironworks.

On mentioning my discovery to many people I was only laughed at and told that I must produce documentary evidence before they would believe it, so I ceased to mention the subject till I was introduced by the Rev. C. N. Gray, vicar of Helmsley, to the Rev. Canon Atkinson, who was engaged by the Surtees Society upon the Chartulary of Rievaulx. In return for my help he directed me to the charters which supplied the missing evidence and enabled me to prove my theory up to the hilt. I give the charters as numbered in the Surtees Society's volume.¹

CCCLXVIII. "In the beginning nine carucates of land were given to the blessed Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, namely Griff and Tilleston, to found an abbey there, A.D. 1131."

So the abbey started with Abbot William and twelve monks, and no doubt they had as rough a time of it as their brethren at Fountains, living in temporary buildings of roughly split timber thatched with heather and labouring on, getting Griff and Tilleston into cultivation. Evidently they prospered, for we find them sending out and founding other houses before they had built their permanent home. Melrose, 1136, Warden in Bedfordshire, 1136, Dundrennan, 1142, Revesby in Lincolnshire, 1143, and I believe Rufford in Nottinghamshire, 1148, were colonized before the work was far advanced.

¹ The original is Cott. MS. Julius D. I. in the British Museum. The Surtees Society's edition (vol. lxxxiii) was published in 1887.

Next we turn to CCXLIV. "To Stephen by the grace of God king of the English and to all the archbishops, bishops and abbots and to all the sons of Holy Mother Church, Roger the abbot and all the convent of the church of the most Holy Virgin Mary of Byland send salutations and prayers. Be it known that for the love of you we have granted in perpetuity to God, and to the lord abbot William and to the brethren of the church of the Most Holy Virgin Mary of Rievaulx that they make a dyke through our land at the foot of the hill "Escheberch" in the manner they know to be needful and may have for their use the land which on their side they enclose by the same dyke as peaceably and freely as we until yesterday have held the same. Farewell."

This charter is not dated, but Stephen, King of England 1135-1154, Roger, abbot of Byland in 1142, and William, abbot of Rievaulx, who died 1146, are all mentioned, so we are confined to the four years 1142-1146. But if we look back to CCCLXVIII, I think we shall get even nearer. The second entry is "A.D. 1145 Walter Espec gave to us Bilsdale with all that pertains to it."

Upon this gift building began in good earnest. The stone was found close to the river, but carting was slow work; so seeing how much better and quicker water carriage would be, and that as well as getting water to drive the mill and flush the drains, they might use it to bring the stone, some of our monks got the abbot to apply to Roger of Byland for leave to make this dyke, and this charter was the result. The dyke was made and a dam thrown across the river Rye at the end of it. The water held up was brought to the abbey in a canal by the mill, and returned to the river again through the field still called the Dams, close to the present school. The dyke and the ruins of the dam are very plainly to be seen, as also the banks of the canal, with the hill "Escheberch," now Ashberry hill, towering above it.

During the next nine years the church was completed, with the dorter, the rere-dorter, the warming-house and the frater, all of which have traces of the Norman

work still remaining, and all have the "Penny Piece" stone in them or parts of them.

Now we must look to another charter, LXXV: "Hugh de Malabestia greeting. Know ye that I have given by consent of my wife and my heirs to the church of St. Mary of Rievaulx in perpetual alms, all the land which lies between the hill called Brochesholes and the river Rye, from Oswaldeshenges, as far as the canal and the whole of the adjacent island at the foot of the canal towards Helmsley, that the aforesaid monks may make a dyke through that land as near the hill as they can, and lead the river Rye through it, and the land which adjoins it on their side shall belong to them in perpetuity. Moreover, that I might make this offering more freely, the monks have give me twenty shillings for charity, and I with my own hand have offered them upon the altar of St. Mary of Rievaulx, where in the presence of many both monks and laymen I have made a covenant, that in very truth I would observe my attestation of this charter for ever without any evil intent, and would make sure the aforesaid land which I have given to the house of Rievaulx against all comers. These being witnesses: Brother Walter Ruffus of the Temple; Ralph of Belveir; Thomas of Hameldon; Thomas of Muschams; Walter of Stainsby; Robert of Bulmer; Roger son of Thomas."

As there is no date, and I have not been able to get dates to the witnesses, we must again turn to CCCLXVIII, and in the nineteenth entry we find: "Hugh de Malabestia gave us Oswaldeshenges," but no date. I do not see why we should not take the date of entry 16 as giving, near to it, 1160, and as No. 25 can be dated certainly 1170, I think we may safely fix this as from 1160 to 1170, but I should think close to 1160.

This charter I think is the first extension of the canal and carries it from the Dams to an outlet close to Rievaulx bridge. The dyke is very perfect and it runs as close as possible to the hill now called Terrace Bank. It is hard to see quite what this was for, but it may have been that the outlet at the Dams was too near and in the way of the extensions and alterations that were going on in Abbot Aelred's time. We know from his

writings that the house had prospered, for he says that he governed three hundred monks, and in describing their life he says that they drank nothing but water, ate little, worked hard, slept little and that on hard boards, never spoke except to their superiors on necessary occasions, and loved prayer.

“Oswaldeshenges as far as the canal and the whole of the adjacent island at the foot of the canal towards Helmsley” will be seen at a glance on the map. The island is formed by the canal on the east, the river Rye on the north and west and the return of the canal on the south.

We are now in the transitional period of architecture, and we find evidence of this style in the alteration and extension of the chapter house and the remains of the cloister which have come under my notice. They are built of a Bilsdale stone of a peculiar kind only to be found in the lower parts of that dale. It was long before I could locate it, but at last I found it at a place called Ventriss Pits. Here there has been a very extensive quarry, and another thing was met with besides building stone, and that was ironstone, but of that I shall treat later on. There is evidence at the quarry of the stone having been sledged down the hill. The great dam, the construction of which was granted by the brethren of Byland in Charter CCXLIV, would hold up the waters of the river Rye, and so deepen the river that there would be no trouble in floating the stone down to the abbey from the foot of the hill at Ventriss Pits, though they are several miles up the river. Ventriss Pits are situated opposite Birch Wood on the west side of Bilsdale. But I must pass on.

Gifts of land had been flowing in to the Abbey in Aelred's time, to the number of about nineteen. His successor Sylvanus received fifteen. Further alterations and a new choir were in contemplation, and now we come upon an interesting bit of evidence which shows plainly what these canals were used for.

Charter CCXLIII is a friendly agreement “between the House of Rievaulx and the House of Byland which, having regard to the future, Aelred abbot of Rievaulx and Roger abbot of Byland, with the advice and consent

of the chapter of each monastery, have drawn up and confirmed, ordering that this compact be kept unfringed by all their descendants and successors The brethren of Byland have granted also to the brethren of Rievaulx that they may have their bridge water hecked in order to keep back their logs which are conveyed by the river Rye, which bridge shall be of the same height as it was on the day this compact was made, or if they should desire to raise it to the level of the banks they shall be at liberty to do so. They have further granted to them a right of way from the bridge through the common cow pasture and the field of Byland as far as their land extends towards Hestelsceit eighteen feet in width and to repair the road whenever it has need and the brethren of Rievaulx desire, and that they may freely strengthen the dam and bridges on the bank on the side of Byland, and the brethren of Byland on the bank on the side of Rievaulx, so that the brethren of Byland shall have no advantage on the bank on the bank of the Rye towards Rievaulx, nor the brethren of Rievaulx on the other bank of the Rye towards Byland. Moreover the land between Ashberry and the Rye as far as their canal goes beneath Ashberry shall remain to the House of Rievaulx as they have it in the charter of Byland, and also Oswaldeshenges."

So far this charter has been a recapitulation of the rights and an adjustment of disputes by the two abbots, Aelred of Rievaulx and Roger of Byland, and I would draw attention to the last paragraph, on the land between Ashberry Hill and the Rye. If you look at the map you will see that the parish boundary follows the centre of the river from the great dam till nearly opposite the present mill, when it runs off on to the bank, and encloses small strips of land. These are the portions of land spoken of, and they had to be acquired because they would be under water when the lower dam was thrown up to keep the water in the canal at its right level. Now the charter gives us its date, for it goes on to state that from the year of the Incarnation 1176, in order that the mutual friendship may not be abated, it is hereby renewed and confirmed by the addition of certain conditions not included in the original agreement.

So we get a date when building was going on and oak logs were being floated down for use in the work.

We have now traced the first and second sections of the canal. Let us look at the third and last section and we shall see the completed work. We turn to Charter CCC :

“ Richard de Malebys, &c. know that I have given to the church of St. Mary of Rievaulx with the assent and goodwill of John, my son and heir, and of my other heirs, in alms, that land in the district of Scawton which is called Oswaldesenges, between Scawton and Byland. Further, I have given to them the common cow pasture from Scawton to Brockhill as far as the bounds of Scawton and Sproxton for six yoke of oxen. I have given to them further, in the same district, all the land at the foot of the hill called Brockhill and from Aldwinetofts to Oswaldesenges, as far as the southern boundary of Huholm beneath Aldwinetofts that they may make a canal and lead the Rye as near the hill as they please, and may have all the land which borders their land of Griff on the eastern bank of that stream. The bridge also of the canal I have given to them to hold freely and to repair as they please. I have given to them further all the holme at Hemgerdebrigge, in the district of Scawton between Aldwinetofts and the river Rye, as their dyke surrounds, to be held in perpetuity, and to be enclosed and used as they please, and to turn the waters of the Rye through it as near to the hill as they please. All these things I have given to the aforesaid monks to be held for ever freely and peaceably. These being witnesses: Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury; Ralph, abbot of Fountains, &c.” From these two we may get the date, which must fall between 1193 and 1203.

By this time a new style had come in, and the monks looked for a harder stone and found in the hill called Hollins, then called Aldwinetofts, close to the farmhouse, now the park-keeper's house of Antofts, a beautiful stone well suited for the work. They apply to Richard de Malebys and he confirms Hugh de Malebys' grant, and extends it. The boundary between Sproxton and Scawton can be easily traced. The Brockshill still keeps its

name and is the haunt of the brock or badger. Hulholm, beneath Aldwinetofts, is now Duholm below Autofts, and the canal is there right down to the river Rye, with the traces of the large pool where the floats were loaded with the stone which was sledged down to the river. To this day may be seen the rough sledge roads leading down from the vast workings. For this new piece of the canal the old outlet was closed and a dam put in its place. A great dam was also erected near to Cloggers Bridge. This would hold up the water and the low-lying parts would be flooded. A glance at the map will show the parish boundary passing from mid-stream on to the bank, which was then under water, and back again.¹ Again, we find land given at the foot of Brockhill, and from Aldwinetofts to Oswaldesenges.

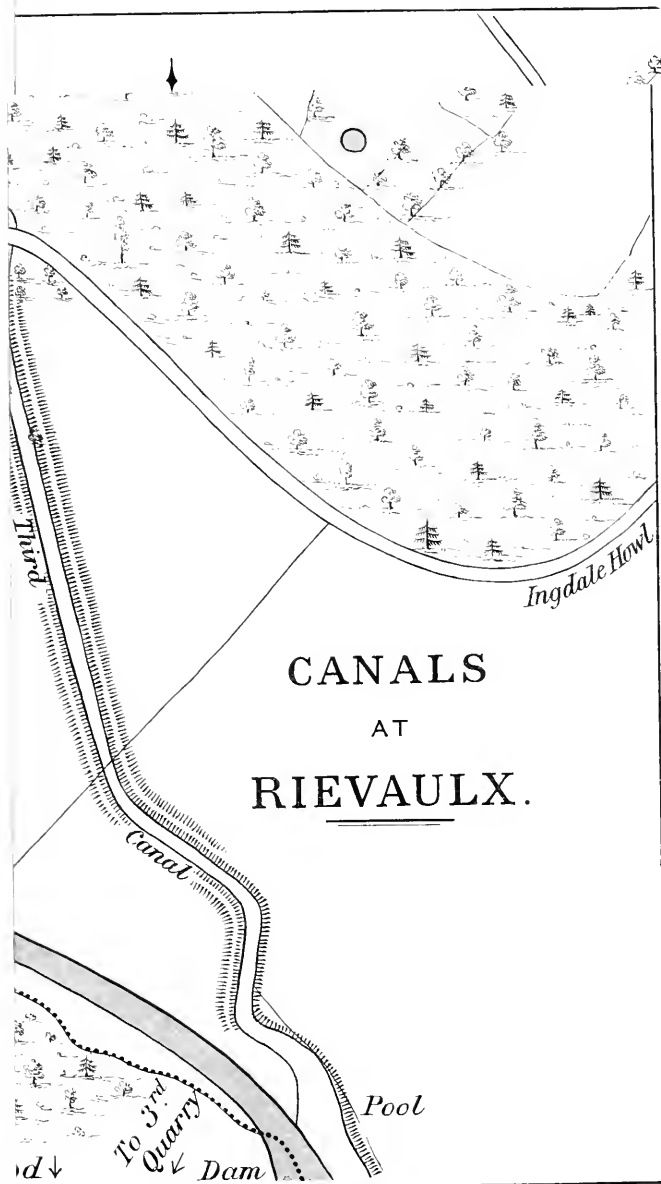
The later buildings and alterations at the abbey are all of the Hollins stone, particularly the choir and frater.²

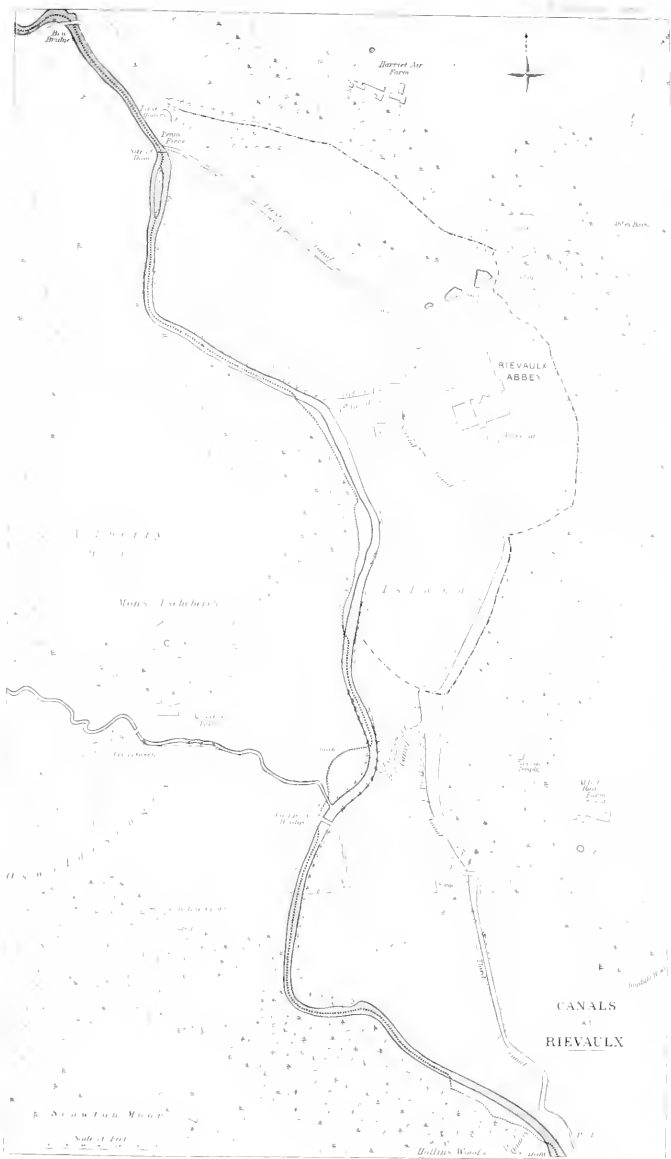
As well as building stone, ironstone was found on this new possession. I believe the ancient "British village" on the Far Moor was nothing but the ironstone workings of the monks. They set up a forge on the banks of the canal and delivered the ironstone there to be smelted. Here also was brought the ironstone from Bilsdale. This forge was situated close to the road leading from Helmsley through Scawton to Thirsk, just at the foot of Ingdale Howl Bank. It is still called the Forge. The ground in front of the cottage is so highly charged with charcoal that it easily takes fire and burns for days, as I have myself seen. The slag has been used for years to repair the roads. I have an analysis of this slag and it contains 27.6 per cent. of metallic iron. The very best Swedish ironstone only contains 70 per cent. The analysis also shews that the

¹ This was the boundary between Sir George Wombwell's land and the Duncombe Park estate till 1883, when it was altered to mid-stream by mutual arrangement, and so the gifts of Richard Malebys and Byland passed from the Rievaulx Abbey lands.

² The roof of this latter was altered by Abbot William Spencer, for built into the mill are some corbels which came from the frater, one bearing W.S.

interlaced with a crozier, and another an S. with an ear of rye. Another tradition that lingers about Rievaulx is that building was going on at the time of the Dissolution. I have found built into a pigstye wall close to the school a corbel with a *ton* on it and two round discs beside it. Can this be for Rowland Blyton, the last abbot? If so it is a confirmation of the tradition.





By Wharfe

Harriet Air Farm

From Rievaulx

RIEVAULX ABBEY

Mons. Eschbacher's

Island

CANALS
AT
RIEVAULX

R. SCOTT & SON

Scale of Feet

Whittier Wood

ironstone has been reduced by wood. In the "Ministers' accounts" for 30-31 Henry VIII. mention is made "unius Molendini vocati le Yron Smithes."¹ This I believe to be the site. A corn mill is also spoken of which still stands on the first canal.

There are still close to the rere-dorter of the monks large piles of slag. These must not be confused with the forge of the monks, for they could not have been placed there till after the Dissolution, as they would have made the abbey uninhabitable. Moreover on July 22, 1647, an award was made by Lord Savill and Sir William Savill between Lord Francis Villiers and Francis Earl of Rutland that Lord Francis Villiers should give to the Earl of Rutland £700 in silver for his right of cutting timber in the Helmsley estate for his *Iron-works at Rievaulx*. These hills were formed by Lord Francis Villiers' ironworks.

¹ *Rievaulx Chartulary*, 310.

Proceedings at Ordinary Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 7th.

EMANUEL GREEN, Esq., Honorary Director, in the Chair.

Mr. C. J. PRETORIUS exhibited a small gold finger ring, with an onyx set in it, on which was engraved a figure of Fortuna. The engraving was indifferent and the ring was of Roman manufacture, probably about the third or fourth century A.D. He also showed a larger gold ring of delicate workmanship but unknown use. It was referred to the Etruscan period.

Mr. JAMES HILTON, F.S.A., made the following remarks on Chinese seals. At the meeting in December last, I exhibited a hand drawing of the device on a Chinese seal or stamp. The seal itself, according to the belief of the owner, was made of red jade. I also exhibited a Chinese seal of ivory to help the consideration of the first-named one, both bearing similar engraved characters. I have since procured a loan of the one through the kindness of Mrs. Span for exhibition to-day. A mere inspection reveals at once the substance of which it is formed, namely, veined red steatite or soapstone. It is a good specimen, about 4 inches high, with the usual grotesque animal as a handle, formed out of a whitish vein in the material. It is soft and easily yields to the force of a steel tool, while jade will take no mark when similarly treated. Moreover, among thousands of specimens that have come under my notice, I have never seen one of red colour; jade such as is used for objects of ornament is pure white or grey, passing into various tints of green reaching almost to blackness. An entirely red specimen would indeed be a curious discovery.

In the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. VII. pp. 403 and 407, is the cautious, but fair, review of a book, *Notices of Chinese Seals found in Ireland*, by Edmund Getty, 1850. He states that a number of Chinese seals made of white porcelain, in size about half an inch square, with an animal-formed handle—"upwards of a dozen—" were found from time to time in localities very distant from each other. This gave rise to much conjecture as to their origin. The author carefully investigated the subject, assisted by friends in London and in China, also by a paper by J. H. Smith which he quotes as read at the Royal Irish Academy in December, 1839. Adopting such opinions as he thus collected, he concludes that the seals were brought by Phœnician merchants trading with Dublin, of course at some undefined remote period now commonly called prehistoric. The book contains nineteen plates of seals, some of them showing characters similar to the seal now before us, and which are probably of ancient origin, and from their particular use have been designated as "seal characters." They are unlike those employed in Chinese writing or print. The subject is also discussed in the *Athenæum* of

March 14th, 1840, p. 218, where will be found an abstract of Mr. J. H. Smith's paper in favour of the theory; again on March 28th, 1840, p. 253, a "Correspondent" differs from him, and disputes the attributed antiquity; again on May 2nd, 1840, Mr. Smith writes at some length in defence of his statements and conclusions. His defence having been submitted to "Our Correspondent," his comment thereon is published "with his consent," and this finishes the discussion. It is, however, again taken up briefly in the *Archaeological Journal*, II, p. 71, where an opinion is quoted which suggests a comparatively modern age to the particular seals; yet still the question is left open.



No. 1. Talc Steatite seal.



No. 2. Ivory seal.



No. 3. Ivory seal.



No. 4. Seal made of red lac.

Sixty years have passed since authoritative investigations were made, and now it seems desirable to clear away some erroneous conclusions, by at once saying that the Phœnician theory is abandoned by the best informed modern authorities for the more prosaic fact that in the eighteenth century tea became a favourite luxury in Ireland, even at the costly price of twenty to forty shillings a pound, and it is known that trifling objects, small seals for instance, were often found in the original tea-boxes, being put there by Chinese merchants as complimentary gifts to the purchasers. At the

British Museum in the Asiatic Saloon may be seen a quantity of seals, many of white porcelain, small, and similar to the Irish finds, as well as very many others of larger size made of ivory, steatite, rock-crystal, and other hard stone, including jade. Among the latter are three grand Chinese Imperial seals of large size, one of white jade about 4 inches square of the ascertained date 1784, another of dark green jade not precisely dated, all bearing inscriptions in "seal characters." To none in the collection is a date attributed earlier than 1700 A.D. The inscriptions on the ordinary seals mostly represent personal names, while some bear a kind of motto. The *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXVI. p. 365, has a note of a steatite Chinese seal found at Hythe, in Kent.

The seals were used to stamp impressions on documents in lieu of written signatures, which would be unintelligible to the ordinary Chinaman.

In support of the supposition that mercantile intercourse between China and Ireland existed at a very early date, Mr. Getty's book mentions the finding of small porcelain bottles in Egyptian tombs of "unquestionable" Chinese origin, and so attested by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson and other distinguished travellers. One of these objects was for a time labelled in one of our museums as evidence of such intercourse, but later on this was discredited by the well founded suspicion that cunning fraudulent Arabs had put them away or dropped them where subsequent travellers were sure to find them. Moreover, a well known authority tells me that the inscriptions on these bottles are in characters which are known to have been adopted in China not earlier than about 500 A.D., and so could not have been met with in Egyptian tombs which were closed up a thousand years earlier than that epoch.

I exhibit two of these particular bottles from my own collection, and a few seals of Chinese and Japanese origin.

A quotation from Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson's work, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, will explain the fraud more fully. He mentions that many of these bottles were discovered in various Theban tombs, that he had seen several of them and had brought two to England, one of them being in the British Museum; others he specifically mentions, and he names the possessors of them. They are about 2 inches in height and somewhat flat; one side presents a flower and the other an inscription. The quality of the bottles, he says, is very inferior, and they appear to have been made before the manufacture of porcelain had attained the same degree of perfection in China as in after times. In the "New Edition, revised and corrected," by the late Dr. Samuel Birch, 3 vols., 1878, at p. 152 of Vol. II. occurs this editorial paragraph:—"It is now known that these bottles are of a comparatively recent period. M. Prisse discovered, by questioning the Arabs of Cairo engaged in selling objects of antiquity, that they confessed the bottles were never found in the tombs or ruins, and that the greater part of the bottles came from Qous, Keft, and Cosseir, depôts of the commerce with India, on the Red Sea. The interpretation of the inscriptions on some of these bottles has been given by Medhurst, and they are verses of poets who flourished in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D." On p. 153 are seven woodcuts representing the size, form and ornamenta-

tion of the bottles. My two specimens were purchased at an auction many years ago; from whose collection they came I know not.

Thus the remote antiquity of the particular seals and bottles is dispelled, together with the theory based on them, and no place is left for archaeological controversy in our time. Centuries hence archaeology may give a worthy place to them on their own merits.

The Rev. G. H. ENGLEHEART read a paper on a further portion of a Roman villa at Redenham, Hants, which had been lately found and dug out. He also described a number of pits which seemed to be of pre-metallic age, disclosed by a cutting on the Midland and South Western Railway, four miles north of Andover. He pointed out the abundance of archaeological material yet untouched, to be found on the north-west border of Hampshire. Early English pottery, Roman in its forms, and probably the local kiln where it was made, found in that neighbourhood, were very instructive as showing an unbroken tradition and manufacture for some centuries in the same place. He dwelt on the importance of a thorough examination of many Roman houses in that part of the country, which would give us a better knowledge of the Romano-British period. The paper was illustrated by photographs and plans, and some of the objects found were shown.

Dr. A. C. FRYER read a paper on "Lead Fonts" (printed in the *Journal*). Photographs of all the lead fonts known to exist in southern England were shown.

Messrs. FOX, ST. JOHN HOPE, and GARRAWAY RICE took part in the discussion.

March 7th.

Rev. Sir TALBOT BAKER, Bart., in the Chair.

Mr. C. E. KEYSER read a paper on the wall paintings in churches which had been found or reported to him in the southern part of England since the last paper he read before the Institute in June, 1876. Among the most interesting of these were the paintings in Kingston church, Cambridgeshire; Stowell and Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire; Ford, Sussex; Ashmansworth, Hampshire; Poundstock and Pougher, Cornwall. There was no novelty in the subjects, nor were the discoveries, as a rule, important.

Dr. H. A. LEDIARD read a paper on samplers. He said there was no literature on the subject, so it was not easy to fix the time when the art of sampler making began. The earliest mention of samplers was by the poet laureate Skelton. The sampler at first was worked and kept for the sake of the designs which were introduced from foreign nunneries. The early long sampler was of embroidery and the lace work was done by the leisured class.

The decadence of the sampler was due to its being made a school task and is very striking. In early work the alphabet occupied a minor place, but in the seventeenth century it became the chief feature, and afterwards sank into a secondary position. Cut work was soon a lost art, and plants and animals took its place. The

different materials used were described and the various lines followed by the children who worked them. Family registers, creeds, pictures, verses and texts were all found in cross and other stitching. The border came in when it became the custom to frame the sampler as a picture. Old examples have no border. A number of specimens were exhibited, some of them being lent by Mrs. Head and Miss Gully. Many lantern slides were also shown, some of examples in the South Kensington collection and some of those in the Rawlinson Collection in the Bodleian library.

MESSRS. GREEN and GARRAWAY RICE made some remarks on the papers.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

SOME RECORDS OF A CISTERCIAN ABBEY: HOLM CULTRAM, CUMBERLAND. By Rev. G. E. GILBANKS, M.A., with illustrations by Major F. H. OLDFIELD, R.E., and others. London: Walter Scott, Ltd. 8vo, pp. 157.

Situate in a remote corner of Cumberland, the shapeless wreck of the once magnificent mitred Abbey of Holm Cultram has attracted little notice from the archaeological world. And yet, founded by Prince Henry, while his father King David of Scotland ruled over the land of Carlisle by cession from Stephen the usurper, it owned great estates in England and in Scotland, and has a history of its own, full of interest. Christian, Bishop of Candida Casa, joined the Cistercian Order, to which Holm Cultram belonged, took up his residence there, and was buried in the church. Michael Scot, the Wizard, is also said to have found his last resting-place there, though Melrose and Glenhill also claim that honour. Certain it is that the neighbourhood is replete with legends of the Wizard, how he built the stone-vaulted roof of Bolton Church in a single night, how his magic books, which no man dare read, and live, were kept at Wolsty Castle, a stronghold of the Abbey, where their valuables were sheltered in time of war. A specially interesting chapter is devoted to an account of the Wizard, and another deals with the intrigues of the Abbot, Adam de Kendal, who wished to secure to himself the bishopric of Carlisle, with which object he dealt with the property of the Abbey in a spirit of reckless extravagance. His awful fate, which was revealed to him in a dream, is a striking instance of the realism with which the mediæval mind received the place of eternal punishment. Mr. Gilbanks, for ten years curate of Holm, has put much enthusiasm and energy into collecting the material for this book, which we can cordially recommend. The author has been ably assisted by his friend Major Oldfield, R.E., to whose skilful pencil are due the most of the clever illustrations which add value to this book.

A GLOSSARY of the Words and Phrases pertaining to the DIALECT OF CUMBERLAND. By W. DICKINSON, F.L.S. Rearranged, illustrated, and augmented by quotations by E. W. PREVOST, Ph.D., F.R.S.E. London: Beunrose and Sons; Carlisle: Thurnam and Son. 8vo, pp. cvi and 382.

There are in existence, but mostly out of print, or hidden at the end of collections of dialect poems, many glossaries of Cumberland words and phrases. The glossary now before us is a praiseworthy attempt to combine in one volume all preceding glossaries. It is based upon one which was compiled by the late Mr. Dickinson, of Thorneroft, and published at Whitehaven in 1859; a second edition was issued by the English Dialect Society in 1879. The first edition is now quite out of print, and copies of the second are scarce, so that the time had ripened for a new edition, or still better for a new glossary, which should supersede all previous ones, as the edition of 1879 did its predecessors. The opportunity was taken advantage of

by Dr. E. W. Prevost, who was born and who lived for many years in Cumberland. With the Glossary of 1879 he has amalgamated the older glossaries, added many words and introduced much new matter. He has also much enhanced the value and the interest of the glossary by illustrative quotations taken from local writers and other authorities. The glossary itself has thus been expanded from 118 pages to 382, while the introductory matter has swollen to cxi. as against xxiv in 1879. This includes two valuable essays, one on "The Phonology of the Cumbrian Dialect," the other on "The Grammar of the Dialect," both by Mr. S. Dickson Brown, B.A., to whom also is due, we imagine, the transliteration of the dialect words into the mysterious Glossic. The introductory matter also contains a useful list, giving the dialectal pronunciation of current or ordinary English words, which would otherwise have unduly and needlessly swelled the volume. This has been enlarged from Mr. Dickinson's list, as also have other lists in the edition of 1879. Neither Dr. Prevost nor Mr. Dickson Brown attempt to deal with the derivations of the Cumbrian dialect words, and so they throw no light upon the question of what percentage of Celtic words survive in it. The late Mr. R. Ferguson considered that probably four words in the hundred did, and possibly four more might. However, Dr. Prevost has produced a valuable addition to local literature, no mere book of reference, but one that can always be dipped into at spare minutes for instruction, or for amusement.

THE ANTONINE WALL REPORT. Being an account of excavations, &c., made under the direction of THE GLASGOW ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY during 1890-1893. Illustrations and plans. Glasgow: printed for the Society and sold by James Macleintosh and Sons, 1899. 4to, pp. ix, 173.

One of the most pleasant excursions during the visit of the Institute to Edinburgh in 1891 was that arranged for the inspection of the Wall of Antoninus, under the genial guidance of Mr. William Jolly, F.R.S., F.S.A. Scot., and Mr. George Neilson, F.S.A. Scot. A small party, headed by the noble president (Earl Percy) left Edinburgh early for Bonnybridge, where they were conducted over the excavations made by the Glasgow Archæological Society, and also inspected a restoration of the Wall in that neighbourhood. Later on in the day they were joined at Croy by the rest of their friends; thence they traversed along the heights of the Wall to Dullatur. A keen and lively interest was aroused among the members by this excursion, particularly among those who had visited the Great Barriers of the Lower Isthmus with the Institute in 1882 and 1884, or were otherwise acquainted with that noble work. Frequent inquiries have since been made for the Report, which it was understood the Glasgow Society were preparing, but it has only now made its appearance. In the preface, readers are informed that "the Report, in practically its present terms, was all in type in 1893." No explanation of the delay is given, and we have no right to ask questions. But the book is well worth waiting for, and is of the highest interest to all students of the Roman era in Britain.

All the previous accounts of the Wall of Antoninus are mere surface surveys only, and the conclusions drawn from them are

liable at any time to be upset, when the scientific use of the spade reveals the secrets hidden below the turf. Such has frequently been the case on the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus, as shown in the reports of the Cumberland Excavation Committee. Such is also the case on the Barrier of the Upper Isthmus, as shown by the valuable Report now before us, which is divided into six chapters of varying length. The first chapter gives a brief general account of the Vallum of Antoninus. Then follows "A Conspectus of Early Notices concerning the Wall," divided into two parts: (1) Roman authors from Julius Capitolinus to Claudian; this part includes also the "Walling Tablets" that have been found on the line of the Vallum, Walling Tablets being a new name for certain inscribed stones, which on the Lower Barrier are called Legionary, or Centurial Stones; (ii) Gildas, Bede, and Nennius. We are glad to see all passages cited from these authors are given in the original Latin or Greek, and also in the vulgar tongue, as also are the "Walling Tablets." This largely increases the usefulness of the Report, and will deservedly add to its popularity.

The next chapter deals with the Roman authors, military or otherwise, who have written upon the structure of earthen ramparts, of which the Romans had two main types. There was the cespiticious vallum, built like a wall of sods; and there was the aggested vallum, heaped up from promiscuous earth. Modern authorities on Roman Britain had overlooked the distinction between these types, until it was forced upon their minds very clearly by the excavations near Bonnybridge we have just mentioned. Another chapter contains a short notice of structural accounts of the wall by modern authors, but the major part of the Report or fifth chapter is occupied by detailed descriptions of the excavations and sections, with elaborate plans. The sixth and last chapter contains the general conclusions and observations, and is the most interesting of all, though it is hard to discriminate between the chapters where all are so full of matter. We regret that our space does not allow us to give those conclusions and observations. The book itself must be referred to. In Appendix I, Mr. Haverfield, F.S.A., writes on an Altar to Silvanus found near Barr Hill, and on the Roman occupation of Scotland; he also attempts a catalogue of the discoveries of Roman coins in Scotland. In Appendix III, he gives an account of the Murus Exsipiticius discovered in Cumberland in 1895. The Report reflects the greatest credit upon Mr. George Neilson, to whom the actual preparation was entrusted, and is characterised by the careful accuracy and precision which mark all his work. Great credit too is due to the Glasgow Archæological Society, who started the work, and to the committee that had the direction of the excavations and exploratory works.

NOTES on the EARLY SCULPTURED CROSSES, SHRINES, and MONUMENTS in the present DIOCESE of CARLISLE. By the late Rev. WILLIAM SLATER CALVERLEY, F.S.A., edited by W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A. Kendal: Printed and published by T. Wilson, 1889, being Volume XI of the Extra Series issued by the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society. Svo, pp. xviii and 319. Portrait of Mr. Calverley, and 200 illustrations from sketches by Mr. Calverley and Mr. Collingwood, and from photographs by Mr. W. L. Fletcher.

This book is one which must have peculiar interest for the

members of the Royal Archaeological Institute, as containing the expansion and the accumulated proofs of the late Mr. Calverley's theory of the "Pagan Overlap," which he first announced to the Institute at the Carlisle meeting of 1882, in a paper on the Edda myths on the Christian cross at Gosforth. Up to that time, the authorities had held that Christian monuments contained nothing but Christian subjects. Mr. Calverley's discovery of the "Pagan Overlap" created a distinct sensation: some believed, others doubted. In a while, proof after proof occurred, notably the discovery, by the Bishop of Bristol, of Scandinavian legends on the cross at Leeds, and at Kirk Andreas, Isle of Man. Year after year, Mr. Calverley added new instances in papers read before the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, of whose series of extra volumes this forms one. He also re-wrote his paper on the Gosforth cross and laid it before the Institute in December, 1882; it is printed in the *Journal*, vol. xl, p. 143. At the annual meeting in Edinburgh in 1891, Mr. Calverley read a paper on "The Pre-Norman Cross at Halton," illustrated with rubbings, before the Architectural Section, over which the late Bishop of Carlisle (Dr. Goodwin) presided. It was then fully understood among the members of the Institute that Mr. Calverley would immediately follow up the success of his paper by a book, which he had long had in contemplation. But it was not to be; parish work demanded his attention, and his assistance was asked for and obtained by the Cumberland Excavation Committee, engaged upon the exploration of the Roman Wall. He did not, however, wholly desert his first love; he read an occasional paper thereon, as fresh discoveries occurred, before the local Society. In 1898, he prepared for the meeting of the Institute at Lancaster an elaborate paper on "Some Crosses and Pre-Norman Fragments," illustrated by a fine series of lantern slides, and by a map of the present diocese of Carlisle, including Halton and Heysham outside the boundary to the south, and Dumfries and Hoddam outside to the north-west.

The main roads, Roman and modern, were marked, and it is chiefly along the old roads and on the sites of the ancient churches that the old sculptures are found. But Mr. Calverley was not able to be present and to read his own paper; the hand of death was upon him, and he died shortly after the Lancaster meeting, leaving behind a great collection of drawings and of notes, materials for a book, but nothing that could be called the manuscript of a book. Luckily the assistance of Mr. Collingwood was available, a scholar well known both as an artist and as the biographer of Professor Ruskin. He was a friend of Mr. Calverley, well acquainted with the Sagas, had discussed Mr. Calverley's discoveries with him, and viewed them from the same standing point; thus he was able, after a great amount of hard and honest labour, and of bodily fatigue in journeys to see the originals, to write Mr. Calverley's book. Mr. Calverley's book, despaired of by many, is now before his friends.

The arrangement adopted by Mr. Collingwood is alphabetically by parishes. This has its disadvantages, as compared with the chronological method. But clearly the arrangement by parishes must logically precede the chronological, and it makes the best guide for those who wish to visit the crosses, &c. In the present case

no difficulty arises, for the alphabetical arrangement by parishes is followed by the "Editor's Afterword" (or Review of Early Cumbrian Art) in seven sections, in which he deals with (i) the Post-Norman Developments of Pre-Norman Forms; (ii) The Norman Period (Dials, Fonts, &c.); (iii) The Viking Age (Diagonisque Shafts, &c.); (iv) The Spiral School; (v) The Anglo-Classic School; (vi) The British Period; (vii) The Story of Cumbrian Independence. In connection with these sections Mr. Collingwood gives an account of the Ormside Cup of silver and copper, found there in 1823, and sent to the York Museum, where it now is. The catalogue declares it to be "one of the finest known specimens of Anglo-Saxon workmanship." So it is, but until Mr. Calverley happened to see it, no one ever thought of making sketches of this beautiful object for reproduction. This was done by Mr. Collingwood for the local Society's *Transactions*, and for this work. Of it he says, "The cup is remarkable for the combination in one design of interlacing work, apparently Anglian, with exquisite floral design, animals and birds, most delicately wrought, in the spirit and with the finish of the finest Greek-Italian craftsmanship." The book contains three beautiful illustrations of the cup, one in colours.

The corner of England with which Messrs. Calverley and Collingwood deal in this book contains far more remains of early Christian sculpture than any other English district of the same size. The principal and best known of these remains are the Bewcastle obelisk, the Gosforth cross, and the Bridekirk font, the work of Richard of Durham, a famous architect, who flourished *circa* 1120-1180; next, perhaps, come the Gosforth and Lowther hogbacks, but it is hard to pick out from over 200 instances the plums, when all are plums.

But to return to the book before us, the paper on the Gosforth cross is by Mr. Calverley, and is interesting as the birth of his theory of the "Pagan Overlap." This paper is entirely the work of Mr. Calverley. By a very convenient arrangement, all his original writings, whether previously published or extracted from his manuscript remains, are printed large—in "long primer" type. All matter contributed by the Editor is in small type—bourgeois. The student thus knows at once with whose work he is dealing, and whose opinions he is taking in. The numerous illustrations to the book are of high merit, and we must not omit to mention Mr. Collingwood's two clever maps, "The Viking Settlements" and the "Sketch Map of Cross-Places," but we are bound to find here serious fault—with the bookbinders. The first of these maps is a two-page map; the binder has doubled it down the middle, and inserted it in the book by the middle instead of by the edge, so that it can never be opened flat. We have almost forgotten to say that this book contains a sensible reading of the puzzling Beckermet St. Bridget inscription, which has been given up as hopeless, and in an unknown tongue. Mr. John Rogers, a student of old Celtic and a Gaelic-speaking native of the west of Ireland, suggested the inscription was Manx-Gaelic, written phonetically, with the omission of some aspirated letters. Worked out on this basis, the inscription reads—

This cross was
made for
John mac Cair-
bre gone to
rest in the keeping
of Christ. Be gracious
to him, O Christ.

Which commends itself as very likely to be correct. It is most interesting to find the Manx-Gaelic on a monument, almost opposite to the Isle of Man.

Mr. Collingwood does not hesitate to nail to the counter as forgeries the Runic inscriptions on Barnspike and Hazelgill Craggs in the parish of Bewcastle, forgeries which Professor George Stephens engraved and recorded in his great work "The Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England." The same kindly office is done for the so-called Crosthwaite "bolster stone," and Adam's Cross, at the head of Shoulthwaite Moss.

By the kind permission of Mr. Collingwood and of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society we reproduce the following illustrations:—(i) Beckermest St. John's, the white cross; (ii) The Bewcastle Dial; (iii) The Dragons from the Bridekirk Font; (iv) The Lowther hogback; (v) The St. Bees lintel and the Waberthwaite shaft.

It will interest Mr. Calverley's many friends to hear that a copy of the Dearham Standing Cross marks his grave in Aspatria churchyard, near the copy of the Gosforth cross, which he and Christopher Dickinson carved and set up in Aspatria churchyard in 1887.

ROMAN SUFFOLK.

By GEORGE E. FOX, Hon. M.A. Oxon., F.S.A.

I had the honour to read at the meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute, held in Norwich, in the year 1889, a paper entitled "Roman Norfolk," which treated of the remains of the Roman period in that northern division of East Anglia, dealing first with the civil, then with the military side of the subject, and giving such details as might illustrate both one and the other. I propose now to treat of the Roman antiquities of the southern division of the province in the same way, and under the same heads as were adopted in the previous paper on Norfolk, trusting that this enumeration of recorded discoveries may help towards a conception of the state of the county in a period, the remains of which are far too little studied considering their value to our national history.

The principal aim of an attempt like the present is to investigate and record all the traces that can be found of the ancient inhabitants of the district, by which I do not mean a mere numbering of scattered finds of the minor antiquities of the Roman age, but a search for, and description of, the remains of the abiding places of the people who lived on the soil in the early centuries of our era. To find such traces, to accumulate as much detail about them as possible, to put down all the facts we can gather together about them, this is of more importance than any enumeration or description of the objects stored in public museums, or in those of private collectors.

Taking the civil division of the subject first, I will endeavour to show what remains of habitations are to be found in the county. The probable reason why the traces of the dwellings of the Romanised inhabitants of what are now the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk are so scanty, is doubtless owing to the nature of the materials

of which those dwellings were constructed. Stone was not to be had, the manufacture of brick was comparatively long and costly, and at best flint rubble, the most available form of masonry over a considerable part of the district in question, is not of a kind likely to leave many remains, and is more perishable under long exposure, in a ruined condition, to weather, than stonework, besides being more easily rooted up or thrown down. There was, however, certainly in Suffolk, a material quite ready to hand, viz., timber; for the forest land, extensive in Essex, in all probability covered a considerable portion of central Suffolk also. We may therefore conclude almost with certainty that the houses of the people of this eastern division of Britain were of half timber construction, and supplemented, as at the present day, by buildings in which unburnt clay was largely used. In our search for the dwellings of the early inhabitants, we must look therefore for evidence other than that of actual masonry, and that is sometimes afforded by the presence of broken tile and various building material scattered over certain areas, together with shards of pottery, and bones of animals. The following instances will make this clear :

In the parish of Great Wratting,¹ in the soil of a field called Nine Acres, much broken pottery, coins, and other objects showed at one time in ploughing, and at a spot in the parish of Great Welnetham, to quote Gough's additions to Camden, "were found in the beginning of this century abundance of potsherds and paterae, some with inscriptions, coals, bones of sheep and oxen, and horns, a sacrificing knife, urns and ashes."² The potsherds, relics of household pottery, speak for themselves, the animal bones and ashes are from the ash pit of the house near the site, and the sacrificial knife is without doubt a kitchen chopper, which, wherever discovered, and numbers of specimens have been turned up, was generally called by antiquaries, from Camden downwards until very recent times, an instrument of sacrifice, so that if we accept this assignment, the great object of the lives of the inhabitants of Britain would seem to have been passing their time in making offerings to the gods.

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1804, Part II, 1006.

² *Camden's Britannia*, ed. by Gough, 1789 (*Add.*), II, 81.

In the parish of Cockfield, again, in a field called Earls Hall, there is a record of a quantity of Roman bricks and tiles being turned up in 1826, probably the scanty remains of some building.¹ More important was a discovery made at Coddenham in 1823. An enclosure here on the banks of the river Gyppen was found to be thickly strewn with broken pottery, pieces of Roman brick and tile, and ashes. An ancient road crossing a ford passes through this enclosure.² Further, another site of a house was to be seen at Westhall, near Halesworth, in a field called Mill Post Field, on the east side of which ran a small stream. Here, "every part of the two acres, at a depth of 1 foot 6 inches, showed burnt soil and a great quantity of broken pottery."³

At Burgh, near Woodbridge, the field in which stands the parish church has produced a variety of objects of the Roman period. The surface is sprinkled with fragments of pottery, but the sure indication of the former existence of Roman buildings on the spot is to be seen in the coarse red tile tesserae and fragments of roof and other tile which have been picked up in the ploughed land.

Unless enthusiasm has magnified the extent of the discovery, we may, perhaps, find in the Stonham parishes traces of a village of the Roman time. Excavations appear to have been made in 1867 extending over several acres, in the valley intersecting the two parishes of Earl Stonham and Stonham Little. An account contributed to the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* in 1868, after making mention of the many Roman remains, has the following remarks: "This valley (to the north) was apparently devoted to the purpose of dwellings, and that to the south was devoted to the purpose of interments, as vast quantities of urns of a dark colour, covered with a tile, and containing human bones, with long nails, etc., occur."⁴ Pottery and building materials, it is said, were scattered over the site, and from the presence of flue tiles it is clear that hypocausts had

¹ *Proceedings Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 1886, V. note, p. 211.

² *Gent. Mag.*, 1825, Part I, 291, 293.

³ *Archaeologia*, 1855, XXXVI, 454 et

seq. On this site were found the enamelled Celtic horse-trappings now deposited in the British Museum.

⁴ *Journal British Archaeological Association*, 1868, XXIV, 184-5.

existed on the spot, showing that houses of some pretensions must have once stood in the valley mentioned. There were, however, no other or more important traces of these dwellings than such as are here named.

Hitherto the sites of dwellings have been deduced from the fragments of pottery, tiles, and other remains scattered over certain areas, but more definite traces in other instances are to be found, and in the following examples we are on surer ground. Thus, at Eye there is a field on the north side of the town called the "camp" or "camping field," bordered by a little stream, where tradition affirms buildings had once stood. The owner of the land in 1857 determined to test the truth of this tradition. Excavations were made in that year and soon disclosed what, from an account given of it, appeared to be a hypocaust with the furnace, the upper floor of the hypocaust being at a depth of 1 foot 9 inches below the present ground level. Unfortunately, the record of the find was very imperfect, and no careful or systematic examination of the site seems ever to have been attempted.¹

Another discovery received more attention. About half a mile south of Ixworth, in a field near the road from that village to Stow Langtoft, a chamber with an apsidal end and a pillared hypocaust was found in 1835. This chamber measured 20 feet wide by 23 feet 6 inches long, omitting the apse, and had walls 2 feet thick. The furnace which was in the north wall had sides projecting 4 feet into the hypocaust, creating thus a strong draught, and giving ample room for fuel. Against the opposite wall were the foundations of what had probably been a hot bath. In the west wall was a second opening. This latter was made either to facilitate the cleaning of the hypocaust, or it may have led into another one adjoining. The *suspensura* of the hypocaust had been destroyed, but as small bricks 3 inches long by 1 inch wide were found amongst the rubbish, it is probable that the floor had been laid with the kind of paving called *opus spicatum*.² With flue and roof tiles and other objects, were turned up some fragments of

¹ *East Anglian Notes*, 1864, I, 249.

² Much like what is in modern use for the floor of stables.

tale which may have been used for the glazing of the windows. The finding of this material is very unusual.

The chamber was, in all likelihood, the hot water bath room belonging to a set of baths attached to a villa. Foundations were discovered to the south of it, which appeared to have been previously disturbed. No further explorations apparently were made.¹

The site of another villa at no great distance from this, on Redcastle farm, was marked by a mosaic pavement found in the last century but now destroyed.²

The remains of yet another villa, and probably one of some importance, came to light in the year 1854, at Whitton near Ipswich, in a field called the Castle Field. At various times concrete foundations had been noted at this place, and when in the year named a new farm house and buildings were being erected here, "vast quantities of Roman bricks" dug up on the spot "were used in the foundations of the premises," then in construction. Whether any kind of plan was made of what may have been observed at that time or any note taken of what was seen is not discoverable, but at least a fragment of a mosaic pavement of interesting character and somewhat peculiar design was preserved and presented to the Ipswich Museum, where it is now to be seen. Portions of another pavement of plain work, mostly composed of tesserae of drab stone more than an inch square, were uncovered on the site in 1897, possibly the paving of one of the corridors of the villa. These still remain *in situ* partly exposed. (1898.)

It is much to be regretted that so little can be recorded of a dwelling which was probably of some size and importance, and that the value of the discovery should have been so completely overlooked as it appears to have been.³

A site which might prove worth examining is to be found at Rougham near the well-known Roman tumuli (of which more presently). A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1843 thus describes it: "In a field occupied by Mr. Levett, about 250 yards south-east of the tumuli, the plough struck on some vestiges of

¹ *Proceedings Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 1853, I, 77, 78.

² *Ibid.*, 74.

³ *Gent. Mag.*, 1855, Part I, 179.

buildings. About the middle of the field we ourselves observed the plain remains of a Roman floor, constructed of pounded tiles and mortar, and a stratum of fine white calcareous stucco on the surface." There can be little doubt that these indications show the former existence of a villa, which, looking to the considerable tombs in its near neighbourhood, the places of burial of the owners of the mansion, must have decidedly been one of some note.¹

One other discovery must be named to make up the number of known or conjectured sites of Roman dwellings as yet found in Suffolk, viz., the house partially uncovered at Icklingham by the late Mr. Henry Prigg in 1877, in a field called the Horselands. Mr. Prigg in his account of it states that, "So far as one can judge from the portion already explored, the general plan of the building was that of a parallelogram, directed north-west and south-east, having its principal apartments at the ends, and the minor ones grouped around a central courtyard." The only portion explored was one large chamber at the west end, 25 feet by 17 feet, divided into two by a transverse wall and warmed by a hypocaust, with certain enclosed spaces of small size east of it. The hypocaust was a pillared one, the *pilae* being of tiles of the usual form, and 1 foot 6 inches high. But few of these remained. The furnace was in the north wall and was constructed with piers projecting 3 feet 6 inches into the hypocaust, resembling in this respect that to be seen in the remains at Ixworth already mentioned. The *suspensura* was gone and nothing of the walls remained above its level. At the north-east corner of this chamber was a diminutive one, 6 feet 4 inches by 5 feet 4 inches, the walls of which had been plastered, and it had also a plaster floor. In the angle formed by this and the large chamber was another small compartment floored with square tiles. At the south-east angle of the large chamber was a walled space 7 feet 6 inches by 6 feet 4 inches "filled to a depth of over 3 feet with dark unctuous earth in which were bones and fragments of pottery." This was evidently a cesspit, and a small paved adjunct to it a latrine. Close to this latter were

¹ *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, Part II, 524, 528.

traces of masonry which might have belonged to an oven, but neither the description nor the plan permit speaking with certainty on this point. In all probability what was found remaining to the east of the large chamber was a part of the kitchen of the house.

Mr. Prigg was of opinion, from the absence of material of the superstructure of this house, that it had been destroyed purposely for its materials, and considers that this destruction took place in the latter half of the fifth century from the fact of the finding, in the soot still remaining in the hypocaust, of coins of the class called *minimi*. It seems no opportunity occurred for the complete exploration of the site, which still remains to be carried out. As far as it went the work of exploration appears to have been thoroughly done.¹

Further traces of the Romano-British inhabitants of Suffolk are to be recognised in cinerary urns and wooden or leaden coffins disinterred from time to time from the soil of the county. Sometimes in groups, sometimes singly, wherever found, they show the near presence in the past of a detached farm house, or of some larger or smaller congregation of dwellings.

On the site already mentioned as that of a villa at Coddendam, in the same field where broken pottery and building material attest the former existence of a house, in 1823 a labourer, digging, at some two feet from the surface came upon and broke a Roman urn containing human ashes. It was of coarse slate-coloured ware without ornament. Within a foot of this was at the same time taken up a smaller vessel of light red earth; and by the side of these was found a circular flat bronze box about the size of a crown piece, a diminutive mirror, having on the covering case the head of a Roman emperor, on the back a group of figures, a general addressing his soldiery.²

In a gravel pit close to the site of the villa at Whitton near Ipswich, already referred to, was unearthed a small black cinerary urn together with one of red unglazed ware, and at another time, in the same place, one of

¹ *Journal British Archaeological Association*, 1878, XXXIV, 12 *et seq.*, Plan.

² *Archæologia*, 1833, XXVII, 359, 360, Pl. XXV. *Gent. Mag.*, 1824, Part I, 261; and 1825, Part I, 291-93.

those large globular amphoræ which are the kind most commonly found in this country. It had had the handles and neck removed and had probably contained another cinerary urn within it, lost in fragments no doubt, when the labourers who came upon it emptied it in the usual search for treasure which generally happens on such occasions, but which treasure is so seldom found.¹ Here again we have indications of a private burial ground.

At Wainford near the ancient ford of the Waveney it is recorded that calcined bones and Roman pottery were discovered in 1856.² At Stoke Ash, where Roman pottery of superior quality (pseudo-Samian ware) had been turned up in 1892, "some vessels containing calcined bones were found inverted on a square tile,"³ and at Easton in 1850 was discovered in a gravel pit a deposit of five urns, of a sixth in 1851, and later, of a group of seven or eight, only one in this latter group containing ashes. A bronze fibula was found at the same time.⁴

Cinerary urns have also been dug up at Stratford St. Mary, the only one preserved being in the museum at Colchester.⁵

Of a somewhat more interesting description than the deposits of simple urns of coarse earthenware, are those in which the ashes are contained in vases of glass of different shapes, in which case they are generally accompanied with other vessels, and sometimes the whole group is enclosed in a wooden chest. Of this last usually only the iron nails and angle cramps remain, to tell of its existence.

Such a deposit, though apparently without enclosing chest, was found at Long Melford in 1823, in a meadow on the banks of the Stour. Other urns, pottery, and coins have also been turned up near this village.⁶ A deposit of a similar nature, that is, in which the cinerary urn was of glass, was uncovered in 1833, at Mildenhall.⁷

¹ All the vessels mentioned have been preserved in the residence on the spot.

² *Proceedings Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 1863, III, 413.

³ Raven, *History of Suffolk*, 1895, 25. *Journal British Archaeological Association*, 1868, XXIV, 394.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1853, VIII, 159, 160.

⁵ *Archaeological Journal*, 1878, XXXV, 82.

⁶ *Archæologia*, 1831, XXIII, *App.* 391, 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1834, XXV, *App.* 610, 611.

But the most important of the interments yet mentioned is that recorded by Professor Henslow in his monograph on the Roman Tumuli at Rougham. I have already noted the former existence of a villa there, and these tumuli evidently formed part of the cemetery attached to it in close neighbourhood.

These barrows were four in number, one large and three smaller ones ranged in a line, the largest being known as Eastlow Hill. In 1843 the most northerly of the three smaller barrows was levelled. In its centre it contained a cist built up of bricks and flue tiles, 2 feet square and as many high, closed at top by a single layer of flat tiles. This cist contained an iron lamp with a short handle and a thick square jar or urn of green glass holding human ashes. In the same year the next tumulus to the one which had been levelled was opened. In the centre, and beneath the natural soil, a similar brick chamber or cist to that just described, and of much the same dimensions, was uncovered, differing only in construction from the previous one in the fact that the cover or roof instead of being flat was arched and formed by courses of bricks overlapping each other until they could be closed by a single course at the apex. Within, this little chamber contained a large globular urn of green glass, holding human ashes and burnt bones amongst which lay a lachrymatory also of glass, a bronze coin, probably of the earlier empire, and various vessels of coarse black, of buff, and of pseudo-Samian ware. An iron rod, driven into the brickwork of one side of the chamber, supported an iron lamp, and in one corner on the floor lay fragments of what may have been a small casket.

The third and last of the smaller barrows, which was next examined, had been much disturbed by a road which passed across it, and the trenching of it resulted only in the discovery of shards of broken pottery amongst which were some pieces of pseudo-Samian ware and some bones. No chamber was found or any remains of one.

In the summer of the following year, Professor Henslow opened the fourth and largest tumulus. The interment proved to be of an entirely different and possibly much later character than the others. In each of the former

two or probably three, the bodies had been cremated, in this case the body had been buried entire. In digging into the mound, a floor of large flints in concrete, 15 feet square, was uncovered, and upon this a chamber had been built of rubble and tiles, 6 feet 6 inches long (internal measure), and with walls 2 feet thick, and the same high to the springing of an arch which covered the chamber. This arch had been covered with roof tiles with a coping, so that the whole construction resembled a small building with a gable at each end. In this little edifice lay a leaden coffin containing the skeleton of a man. The leaden shell had probably been enclosed in a coffin of wood, as many nails and a mass of decayed wood were found. There appears to have been nothing deposited with the body. A small addition in masonry was attached to the north end of the tomb, but it was empty. We have therefore no clue to the approximate date of the interment.

The discoveries in this group of tumuli, as far as the sepulchral antiquities in Britain are concerned, rank next in importance to those made in the Bartlow hills. Both groups of sepulchral barrows, it should be observed, are in this eastern part of Britain, the Bartlow hills being situated in the neighbouring county of Essex.¹

Many finds of Roman objects have been made at Ixworth. Amongst them may be noted a glass vessel with pottery, possibly relics of an interment like those just noted. Two deposits presumably of the Roman period, containing skeletons, also came to light near this village. It may be recollected that a Roman house was found between Ixworth and Stow-Langtoft, the remains of which have been previously noted.²

A small cemetery appears to have been found in the parish of Pakenham, next to that of Ixworth. It is thus described by the late Mr. Warren: "A Roman burial place, for such I suppose it to have been, discovered about forty years ago (*i.e.* early in the century) by a man

¹ See *An Account of the Roman Antiquities found at Rougham, near Bury St. Edmunds, on the Fifteenth of September, 1843*. Printed by Gedge & Barker, Bury, and *The Roman Tumulus, Eastlow Hill, Rougham, opened on*

Thursday the 4th of July, 1844. See also a republication of both these pamphlets in *Proceedings Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, 1874, IV*.

² *Ibid.*, 1853, I, 77 *et seq.*

digging brick earth to make bricks for the house near the mill (Pakenham Mill). The man, who is still living, told me there was a square place full of pots set in rows. He could not tell the exact number of pots, but there were a great many. They were of a dark colour. Mr. H. Thorpe, of Ixworth, who also saw them, had told me that several of them had covers. No care was taken to preserve them." There is some reason to believe that these vases were Roman.¹

Burials have been discovered at Icklingham, where the late Mr. Prigg, in a spot partially explored by him, found a leaden coffin of the Roman period, with iron nails about it, showing that it had been enclosed in wood, as had been the case in that discovered at Rougham. Another late Roman burial of a similar kind was found by the same gentleman at Mitchells Hill in the parish of Icklingham.²

From Mr. Prigg we also have a note of an urn field dug up in the parish of Ingham "close upon the Culford boundary on land formerly heath, which rises to the north from the marshy meadows bordering the stream that flows from Livermere, through Culford to the Lark." The information concerning the urns found here, for only urns were discovered, with patches of black soil, where possibly the bodies were burned, was obtained from an old labourer at Ingham, afterwards the parish clerk, who as a young man had dug the spot over for the space of 4 rods. No metal was found, only pottery and the dark spots. Mr. Prigg believed that a vase and patera (Roman?), found in 1825, came from this spot.³ A quern stone was ploughed up near it. For want of fuller detail it is impossible to say whether this cemetery was Roman or Anglian.

Perhaps a cemetery of the late Roman period may be seen in the next find to be recorded, made in the parish of Ingham by the same gentleman whose name I have quoted so often. The burial ground to be described was found in 1873, in a field known as "Cow path Breck,"

¹ *Proceedings Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 1853, I, 75. A drawing on a chart in Layard Coll. shows an urn

from this cemetery which appears to be Roman.

² *Ibid.*, 1888, VI, 56.

³ *Ibid.*, 52, 53.

immediately west of the road to Thetford, during the construction of the railway between Bury St. Edmunds and Thetford. In the progress of the railway excavations at the spot named, nineteen interments at least were noted. The bodies had been buried in coffins, the nails of which were found, and an east and west position for the greater number roughly observed. One burial by cremation was discovered. A vase of dark pottery lay near the first interment, which was in a direction north and south. In the second burial the head was to the north. The burial by cremation was in a large vase of red pottery covered by a cream coloured slip. A cover, but not of the same ware, was found at a short distance. In what had been one coffin lying east and west, were deposited a vase of Durobrivian ware and some horses' teeth. In another were fragments of another Durobrivian vase of a red colour. A group of rubbish pits occurred not far from where the cinerary urn was dug up. They contained animal bones in small quantities and fragments of pottery. "Some coarse dark ware had a stellate pattern in relief."¹

Yet another cemetery must be noted. In 1759, in diggings for gravel about a disused lane, near a stream, between Haverhill and Withersfield, and not far from the castle at the former place, many cartloads of human bones were carried away, and at the same time complete skeletons were found deposited in the gravel, together with considerable traces of burnt matter. Several large glass Roman vessels were discovered, two of which were preserved, together with paterae of pseudo-Samian ware, urns of white earth, and a lamp of red pottery and many shards of cinerary urns. The largest glass vase was capable of containing two gallons. With it, and probably originally within it, lay a lachrymatory (so called) of white glass filled with an oily substance, the usual perfume vase deposited amongst the ashes.²

¹ *Proceedings Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 1888, VI, 41 *et seq.*

² *Coles MSS. Brit. Mus.*, Vol. 31, pp. 91, 92, where are drawings of some of the objects found.

A list of the deposits of urns throughout the county might be continued, but so little besides the mere

fact of their discovery is known that it is often doubtful to which class, Celtic, Roman, or Anglian, they may be referred. It is needless to continue such a list here, but other discoveries besides those given above will be mentioned in the notes and appendix at the end of this paper.

Both methods of interment, viz., the burial of the ashes of the dead, and that of the body unburnt, seem to have been practised in this cemetery, as was the case in that of Ingham, though the signs of cremation in this latter were but scanty.

The rubbish pits mentioned as occurring near the cemetery at Ingham must not be passed by without remark, for such pits are sure indications of the near presence of dwellings, and are fruitful repositories of the minor objects of the Roman period. The greater number of the antiquities which constitute the collection in the museum at Reading, from the site of the Romano-British city at Silchester, has been drawn from such sources. It is to be regretted that more of these pits of Roman date have not been found in Suffolk, for from them are to be obtained many objects throwing light on the life and customs of the inhabitants of the soil in that early period. Careful excavation on any Roman site will always show them.

One such pit was observed in the face of the cliff on the coast at Dunwich, in 1858, by the Reverend Greville Chester, who says that in it were many pieces of pottery "some of which were manifestly of Roman manufacture," others possibly Saxon. These fragments were scattered in the soil within 5 or 6 feet of the top of the cliff. Further he says, "in one place I discovered a rounded seam of black earth, full of bones, ashes, charred wood, cockle and oyster and whelk shells, with broken fragments of Roman pottery;" and he adds, "I saw an imperfect small brass Roman coin of the lower Empire which was picked up near this spot."¹

Wells, again, always point out the neighbourhood of habitations. From the village of Covehithe to Easton-Bavent, a number of such wells have been found in the cliffs which line the coast. All these wells were revealed by the fall of the cliffs between the years 1871 and 1891. Some account has been published of three of them; of others we only know that the remains have been noticed.² They all appear to have been square, constructed of boards, each section standing on the next, and

¹ *Archæological Journal*, 1858, XV, 155.

² *Proceedings Suffolk Institute of Archæology*, 1891, VII, 303 *et seq.*

strengthened at the angles with short cross pieces after the usual fashion of Roman boarded wells in this country. A considerable quantity of broken pottery lay scattered upon the beach from one of them. Such wells were often used as rubbish pits when the water supply in them had failed. The wells "were never properly examined," says the writer of a notice on them, but we are fortunate in having even a partial account of them preserved.

Another of these boarded wells was discovered in the cliff on the coast at Felixstowe in 1874. Concerning this we have full details. The spot where the well was found was about a mile north of the village named. At the top of the cliff here, 4 feet below the present surface of the soil, a hearth showed itself with a floor of burnt red crag, like mortar, 18 inches thick, on which lay burnt and broken bones of animals. Beneath this was the well made of boards, 30 inches square and 8 feet deep. At the bottom in the north-east corner was a vase of Castor ware $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and of the form commonly called the thumb pot shape. On the foot was a cross shaped mark. It was filled with earth in which were acorns, and showed no signs of being part of a sepulchral deposit. Whether there was any meaning in thus placing the vase in this well, or in its contents, it is impossible to say, but it is evident that the well had been filled up and forgotten before the hearth was made over it, a hearth possibly of some rude hut, in the suburb attached to the Roman station situated at this point of the coast.¹

We may be fairly certain that habitations are not far distant from the places where hoards of coin have been come upon. Unless when hidden as plunder such as have been discovered are likely to have been buried for security near dwellings according to a custom prevailing even to the present day. Hoards of Roman coins have been turned up in various places in Suffolk. One such hoard of bronze coins is recorded to have been discovered at Ickworth,² and another of the same metal,

¹ *Archaeological Journal*, 1874, XXXI, 303.

² *Camd. Brit.*, ed. Gough, 1789 (*Add.*), II, 81.

at Lakenheath.¹ A small collection of British coins was found at Sauton Downham in the year 1870. It is named here, because it included two second brass of the Emperor Claudius.² An important find was made in the year 1874 at Lavenham in a field near Lavenham Lodge, where a labourer ploughing turned up a rude earthen vessel from about a foot underground, filled with silver denarii, 197 in number; 187 of these were saved. The earliest in date of these coins, as far as could be ascertained, were three of Mark Antony, the latest, twenty-eight of Trajan.³ A still larger hoard of upwards of 900 silver pieces was discovered when a new turnpike road was being made through the parish of Benacre in 1786. It is said that none of these were earlier in date than Vespasian.⁴ Not far from the site of the interment at Mildenhall, previously mentioned, were found in 1833, two vessels of clay and the remains of a third containing coins rusted into a mass. A much earlier find was made, viz., in 1764, of "a pot full of Roman coins of the lower Empire" at Stow Langtoft.⁵ Again, in 1870, at Sutton another deposit, of two urns containing coin of the period of Constantine, was turned up,⁶ and later, in 1874, a labourer ploughing in a field on land called Dix's Charity land, at Icklingham, discovered a hoard of silver pieces numbering in all probably about 400. Those which were preserved and examined showed a range of date from Constantine to Honorius.⁷

Regarding only the value of the metal, the most remarkable of these Suffolk hoards was that discovered near Eye, on Clint Farm, in 1781. This consisted of several hundred gold coins (600, it was said), in good preservation, enclosed in a leaden cist, ranging in date from Valentinian to Honorius. There appears to have

¹ *Journal British Archaeological Association*, 1880, XXXVI, 104.

² *Archaeological Journal*, 1870, XXVII, 92 *et seq.*

³ *Proceedings Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 1874, IV, 414.

⁴ *Ipswich Journal. Gent. Mag.*, 1786, Pt. I, 472, 3. It seems probable that this hoard may have been found in Benacre Park, where there is a clump of trees near the road from Lowestoft to South-

wold called "Money Tree Clump." See *Ordnance Survey*, 6 in. to mile, sheet XIX S.W.

⁵ *Camd. Brit.*, ed. Gough, 1789 *Add.*, II, 81.

⁶ *Archaeological Journal*, 1871, XXVIII, 34 *et seq.* *Ordnance Survey*, 6 in. to mile, sheet LXXVII S.W.

⁷ *Proceedings Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 1874, IV, 282 *et seq.*

been an interment close by the site of this find, as was also the case near that made at Mildenhall. In both instances the treasure may have been deposited in burial-places attached to private houses.¹ Finally, the mention of a hoard of the latest period, not an unimportant one, may close this list of finds of coin. In the year 1812, a collection of *minimi* to the number of a thousand was ploughed up on land beyond the limits of the common at Bungay.²

Thus far I have endeavoured to show what traces remain of the abiding places of the inhabitants of this district. No less interesting is the question, In what way did the people pass their lives—what were their occupations? We may safely assume that then, as now, agriculture was the chief calling practised, and that the farms were scattered somewhat sparsely over the land, with here and there a village, of one of which we seem to have an indication at Stonham, and again of another at Icklingham.

Of houses of any size, indicating large estates, there are but scanty traces. Possibly the remains at Whitton might be those of a villa of some importance, and the foundations of a similar establishment might be found probably by excavation in the near neighbourhood of the tumuli at Rougham.

Perhaps in course of time signs of the handicrafts practised to supply the simple wants of a sparse agricultural community may be brought to light, but as yet they are all but totally wanting. The potter has left evidences of his trade on one site near the village of Icklingham. About half-a-mile from this place, on what was once a very extensive heath, near the village of West Stow, five potters' kilns have been dug up in different years, from 1879, and it is believed that many others existed around them, in fact, that at this spot there was a somewhat extensive settlement of these workers in clay, who had planted themselves here, finding material suitable to their purposes in beds not far off, close to the banks of the Lark, a stream running through this part of Suffolk. The kilns found were

¹ *Ipswich Journal*, May 19th, 1781.

² *Proceedings Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 1863, III, 414.

small, being only from 3 feet to 3 feet 6 inches in diameter. They were of the usual circular form, having each its furnace, with the floor above it pierced with holes. Little or nothing appears to have been found in the kilns, though about them were fragments of pottery of various kinds. In one, however, "ampullae of large size, in buff pottery," had been fired. From the fact that two small brass coins of Constantine were turned up from the ashes in this last kiln it is supposed that this pottery was in activity in the early part of the fourth century, and if it is correct, as has been stated, that in rubbish pits cut through in levelling the heath, pottery of the pagan Anglian period was found, kilns on this site may have continued in work even after the Roman period.¹

At Byng Hall, in Petistre, near Woodbridge, in the year 1846, was discovered what appeared to be a Roman brick-field, with stacks of burnt and unburnt tiles. Flanged tiles of Roman character, and some hundreds of flat tiles of the usual dimensions were exposed, but a more extensive excavation than was then made would have to be undertaken before any conclusion as to the true nature and value of the discovery could be arrived at.²

This mention of potters' kilns and of a brick-field exhausts all that is yet known of the handicrafts practised in Suffolk in the Roman time, but possibly further exploration may reveal remains of others, as, for example, those of the dyer, the fuller, the tanner, &c. It has been too much taken for granted that as traces of handicrafts have been seldom found such crafts were not practised independently, but were carried on solely on large estates to supply the necessities of private establishments, a matter which has yet to be proved. The fact is that traces of trades of the Roman period in this country have scarcely been seriously looked for as yet, or they have been passed over unrecognised.

The shortest notice of the many objects of the Roman period found in Suffolk would extend this paper beyond

¹ *Journal British Archaeological Association*, 1881, XXXVII, 152 *et seq.*

² *Davy's Suff. Coll. Brit. Mus. MSS.*, 19113, f. 194.

permissible limits.¹ I must therefore confine myself to a mere mention only of a few of the most remarkable. Amongst these, the statuette in bronze dug up at Barking Hall before the year 1800 may well take the first place. The figure measures 22 inches in height and is believed to represent an imperial personage in full armour. It is the details of this armour which give the figure its character and distinction, for the surface of the cuirass is completely covered with fine niello work of a quality and completeness of design rare in this country. The statuette was considered so important a specimen of its kind that it was engraved and described in the fourth volume of *Vetusta Monumenta* of the Society of Antiquaries. It now forms one of the chief ornaments of the Romano-British collection at the British Museum.

Fragments of two statuettes of a very different style to the preceding, but of equal interest archaeologically, were found at Hawkedon, in 1880, in an amphora which had probably contained a cinerary urn. Only the heads and busts of these statuettes remained. The material of which they were composed was pipeclay. As an indication of size, it may be noted that the head of one measured one inch and of the other one inch and a half in height. Both represented a nude type of the goddess Venus. Such figures are well known in France, but are much less common in this country. What makes their discovery worthy of notice is that they may perhaps be looked upon as objects of popular worship. The two specimens here mentioned may have had a place in the domestic shrine of some dwelling not far from the spot where they were found. These objects are now deposited in the museum at Bury St. Edmunds.²

The last of the more notable finds which I need name here was that of a whole service of pewter vessels, dug up at Icklingham in 1839, remarkable from the fact that the discovery helped to swell a list of similar finds in the Eastern Counties already larger than can be made out in any other district in England. The pieces of

¹ A list of these will be found in the Appendix to this paper.

² *Proceedings Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 1888, VI, 9, *et seq.*, two plates.

this set are well preserved, the larger proportion taking the form of shallow paterae. They are now in the British Museum.¹

With this slight mention of the most noteworthy of the relics of the Roman period discovered in the county, I must pass to the second division of my subject, viz., the military remains yet to be seen in Suffolk.

The vague notices we have of the signs of civil life in the county of Suffolk relating to the Roman period are ample in comparison with any information to be obtained with respect to the military antiquities in this part of East Anglia. Up to the present time, with perhaps one exception, nothing has been done to elucidate in any sufficient way the various sites which are said to be Roman camps, and little will be known about them till pick and spade, measuring rod and note-book, are employed upon them, and not until those who write of them cease to repeat, without verification, statements made in uncritical times.

In a compilation giving a list of thirty-five earthworks of various kinds and periods, in the county of Suffolk, published in 1871, the writer says, "I must own . . . that I have felt considerable disappointment in finding that, in the case of fully one-half of them (the aforesaid earthworks) the recorded descriptions are so vague as to render their classification impossible."² It is a matter of regret that the state of our knowledge even now with respect to the subject is as vague as it was in the year 1871, when the list spoken of was compiled.

Scattered all over Suffolk, as may be seen by a reference to the maps of the Ordnance Survey, are moated enclosures of various sizes and shapes. To many of these an exaggerated antiquity has been assigned, although often enough it is evident that the moats only show where mediæval buildings of half-timbered construction formerly stood which have long since disappeared, the ditches defending them alone remaining to mark out their place. Again, to pass to a far more important class—that of the great moated

¹ *Archæologia*, 1842, XXIX, App., 389.

² G. Vere Irving, *Camps, Roman*

Roads, Pavements, &c., in Suffolk. Collectanea Archæologica, 1871, II, p.

241 et seq.

mounds or burhs—the burhs of Bungay, Eye, Haughley, and others have been assigned to the Roman period, although it scarcely seems possible that such an opinion should be maintained at the present day. It is strange that it should ever have had any currency when the plans of earthworks of this class are compared with the well known forms of Roman camps.¹

Let us now turn to the sites said to be marked by Roman military works.

Brettenham was considered by Camden to be the *Combretonium* of the Antonine Itinerary, and the line of a fosse faintly distinguishable about three-quarters of a mile south-west of the village church is supposed to mark a camp here. Nothing, it appears, has ever been found by or near it to show Roman occupation.²

At no great distance, six miles north of Brettenham, on Warren Farm, near Woolpit, there are entrenchments thought to be Roman. Roman coins and also bronze horse furniture have been turned up within this encampment, and though the finding of these objects would not be conclusive evidence for the existence of a camp here, they afford a presumption of occupation of the site in the period in question.³

If it be taken for granted that the main road through Suffolk, from *Camulodunum* (Colchester) to *Venta Icenorum* (Caister, near Norwich), crossed the Stour at Stratford St. Mary, a military work at a point near this ford might naturally be expected to be found. No trace of such work is to be seen on the Ordnance maps, although some county histories vouch for its existence about a quarter of a mile north-west of the village. Cinerary urns have been dug up in the parish, and it is said that indications of the Roman road have also been come upon here.⁴

The entrenchments at Clare are of more importance than those previously named. It is not, of course, the

¹ See G. T. Clark, *Medieval Military Architecture*, I, Chap. II, where these moated mounds are said to date from the ninth century. A view has lately been put forward that many of them were raised immediately after the Norman Conquest. This seems probable enough in many instances.

² Raven, *History of Suffolk*, 1895, p. 27 *et seq.* *Proceed. Suff. Inst. of Archaeol.*, 1891, VII, p. xxviii.

³ *Proceedings Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, II, 1859, 209 *et seq.*

⁴ *Excursions in the County of Suffolk*, 1818-19, I, 154.

huge mounds of the castle which are referred to, but those to be seen on the common. These have been called Roman and are so put down on the Ordnance Survey maps,¹ but a careful examination will, I think, show them to be of an earlier time. It is true that the area enclosed is a square, though an imperfect one; the section, however, of the surrounding earthworks with the traces of the irregularly placed entrances can scarcely be called Roman. The earthworks consist of a double bank, each bank being nearly the same height, with a ditch between them, and an outer one at the foot of the outer bank. This is a well known form of Celtic enclosure and characteristic of the fortresses of the Celtic race. It is not impossible that Roman troops may have utilised such a camp. Nothing, however, of the Roman period is recorded to have been found within it.

At Stow-Langtoft, again, we have a further note of earthworks. Gough in his additions to Camden says, "The church . . . stands within a double trenched camp."² This statement has been followed by subsequent writers, the chief of whom speaks of Roman earthworks here.³ There are, however, two difficulties with respect to this site—one that there are no traces of such a camp at the present day, the other, if such a camp ever existed on the spot as described, there is strong presumption from the mention of double entrenchments that it was not of the period assigned to it.

The remains of a long bank and trench at Bungay, crossing the neck of the peninsula formed by the great bend of the river Waveney, and thus isolating a considerable area called Outney Common, have been supposed to be Roman, though there is nothing to prove that it can be so considered.⁴

Again, various lines of mounds and ditches in the parishes of Lawshall and Cockfield, called "the Warbanks," are classed as Roman and are so named on the Ordnance Survey maps.⁵

¹ *Ordnance Survey*, 6 in. to mile, sheet LXXI, N.E.

² *Camd. Brit.*, ed. Gough, 1789 (*Add.*), II, 81.

³ Suckling. *The Hist. of Suff.*, 1846, Vol. I, Introduction, p. xx.

⁴ See *Ordnance Survey*, 6 in. to mile, sheet VIII, S.E.

⁵ See *Ordnance Survey*, 6 in. to mile, sheet LXIII, N.E. *East Anglian Notes*, 1864, I, 308-9. *Journal British Archaeological Association*, 1877, XXXIII, 117.

To the east of the road through these parishes from Bury St. Edmunds, on Warbanks Farm, are faint indications of two straight banks with ditches making a somewhat obtuse angle with each other, each bank being about 500 feet long. Possibly, though very doubtfully, the two lines may have formed part of a quadrangular enclosure of Roman origin. There are no signs of pottery about them, which if they had been Roman might be expected to be found, nor is there any record of objects of the Roman period having been turned up by the plough anywhere near them.

Not far from these entrenchments, a long ditch runs in a north-east direction from the Old Greyhound Inn, on the road to Bury, upon the boundary line of the two parishes, and a yet longer one, 1,000 feet east of and about parallel to it, runs in the same direction, also forming part of the boundary line of the parishes named. The latter fosse, which is near a farmhouse called Hole Farm, appears to be over a quarter of a mile in length. The northern end is lost; the southern end turns southward at an obtuse angle. There is no bank to it, and its western is higher than its eastern side. It has much more the appearance of a mediæval work than one of an earlier time. Two small Roman objects of bronze are said to have been found in the neighbourhood, though the discovery would scarcely be sufficient to prove the fosse to be Roman.

Far more Roman in its form is the enclosure to be found at South Elmham within which stand the remains of the Saxon church known as "the Old Minster." Here a bank and ditch surround a square area of something over 4 acres. In the best plans of this entrenchment it is singular that no traces of entrances are to be detected. Suckling, describing the spot, speaks of "urns filled with burnt bones and ashes" having been ploughed up frequently within this enclosure. But unfortunately another and equally good authority¹ says, "Though the Minster Yard (the area in question) has been cultivated by all the most approved methods of modern husbandry, ploughed, subsoiled, and even

¹ B. B. Woodward, F.S.A., in a paper contributed to *Proceedings Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 1874, IV, 4.

drained; although the moat has been searched and cleared . . . no trace of anything that could be called antique has been found." Which statement are we to believe? Perhaps a section of the bank and ditch might throw some light on the question if only it could be made.

A military post is claimed to have been in existence at Icklingham, and that remains of earthworks were to be traced there. The following sentences respecting this place, quoted from a writer of the last century¹ (N. Salmon), give a good idea of the grandiloquent language employed by early antiquaries in this country in describing a Roman site. It must be premised that when this account was written it is quite unlikely that any ruins of a Roman town were visible, unless the mounds spoken of could be considered such, and that probably even in the Roman period nothing more than a collection of a few scattered houses within a bank and ditch was to be seen here. The writer says, "The city seems at least to have been half a mile long, extending at a small distance from the River (the Lark, running by Icklingham). In the West of all the Ruins is the camp, a square seeming to contain about twenty-five acres. The Vallum on all sides visible, but where the moory ground hath brought it to Decay. The Ford to it I take to be at the Eastern part of the City. . . . There is a field called *Kent Field* corrupted from Camp Field; another Rompit Field. Coins are found here in great abundance as anywhere in England; chiefly of the lower Emperors, &c.," and so on.

"Camp Field" and "Rompit Field" are perhaps the Camp Close and the Rampart Field of the Ordnance Survey maps. At the present day there is no appearance of anything which could be called a camp about Icklingham. The Camp Field was no doubt so named from having been used by the villagers in old times for the game of football, the word to "camp" having the meaning of to play at football.² What Salmon calls

¹ N. Salmon. *A New Survey of England*, 1730, I, 158 *et seq.*

² The word Camp-field is constantly to be seen on the Ordnance Survey maps of Suffolk, and in many places

where it occurs must have meant a meadow reserved for the game of football, just as now we have the term cricket-field for a place used for that game. *The New English Dictionary*,

“the City” may possibly be a tract of broken ground to the west of the present village, lying along the little river Lark, between it and the aforesaid Camp Field. It is roughly a triangle in shape, with the longest side lining the stream. In this broken ground various objects of the Roman period have been picked up, fibulae of bronze, fragments of pseudo-Samian ware, and pieces of brick, &c. Probably buildings may have stood here. We know that the house discovered by Mr. Prigg, and already described, was situated not far from the river, but to the east of the present village. It is likely enough that houses in Roman times were scattered along the line of the river for a couple of miles, here one and there one. The potters’ kilns not far away at Stow, the presence of Roman interments, and the results of Mr. Prigg’s explorations at Icklingham itself, make this neighbourhood one of the most interesting places in Suffolk.

The last of these assumed fortified stations or camps I need name before proceeding to speak of those concerning which there can be no doubt, is Burgh, near Woodbridge.

Dr. Raven, whose studies on Roman roads in East Anglia are well known, sees at Burgh a fortified post, and considers it to be the *Combretonium* of the IX Iter of Antonine. The aspect of the site might bear out the former supposition. In fields gently sloping to low land through which flows a little stream and close beside the road from Woodbridge lie the scarcely distinguishable lines of a mound and fosse, forming a quadrangular enclosure whose dimensions may be guessed approximately at 800 feet by 500 feet, although nothing but careful measurement and excavation could ascertain its exact size. The greatest length of this enclosure is from north-west to south-east. The eastern end is traversed by a considerable depression in the site, or valley running

edited by J. A. K. Murray, Vol. II, C, under the head “Camper” has the following:—“Camper (*obs. or dial.*), a player at camp ball or football,” and gives “1573 TUSSEY, *Husb.* (1878), 60” :
 “Get Campers a ball to Camp there-withall,”

And from the same :

“In meadow or pasture to growe the more fine,
 Let Campers be camping in any of thine.”

down to the low ground. Down this depression a road called "Drabs Lane" has been carried to meet that from Woodbridge. Near the angle where the two ways join is situated the church and churchyard of Burgh, placed astride the centre of the south-west side of the enclosure. The north-east angle of the entrenchment can still be made out, and perhaps that of the north-west also. The line of fosse and bank of the south-east end is fairly visible. It crowns the slope of the valley down which runs Drabs Lane.

All the ploughed land within the vague lines of this enclosure shows fragments of Roman brick and roof tiles, and in the field in which stands the church red tile tesserae have been picked up, a sure sign, as I have observed in speaking previously of the site, of the former existence of Roman buildings. The place might repay excavation if only means and proper superintendence were forthcoming for the purpose.

From the examples of uncertain sites hitherto treated of let us now turn to the known instances of Roman fortification in Suffolk. Of these there are two, one, if not both, belonging to that late class of stations built to contain the garrisons for the defence of the Saxon shore. The most noted of these is Burgh Castle, near Yarmouth (Gariannonum), the other was the station near the old village of Felixstow, now whelmed beneath the waves of the North Sea.

The position of the latter fortress was one of great importance, as great if not greater even than that of Burgh Castle itself, as I will endeavour to make clear.

If the map of Suffolk be examined, it will be seen that there are three extensive waterways, estuaries running far into the land, on the southern limits of the county. The first and most easterly of these is called the Deben, from a stream which, rising near Debenham, flows onward to Woodbridge, where from an insignificant river it suddenly expands, becoming nearly half a mile wide, and so continues with varying width for ten miles, till it flows into the sea at Bawdsey Haven. The other two estuaries are those of the Orwell and the Stour to the west and south of the Deben, which, uniting, form the harbour of Harwich, the largest and most important harbour on the

east coast of England. Ipswich lies at the head of the estuary of the Orwell, which estuary has a length of ten or twelve miles and a width of half a mile for a considerable portion of its course. The estuary of the Stour, wider than that of the Orwell, ends at Manningtree, where the river proper may be said to begin.

Between the broad waterways of the Deben and the Orwell a peninsula extends, averaging five miles and three-quarters in width, bounded on its eastern and western sides by the rivers named, and at its southern end by the North Sea. The general surface of the peninsula is flat, and from near the mouth of the Deben at Bawdsey Haven for two-thirds of the way to the mouth of the Orwell, a line of low cliffs fronts the sea, while for the remaining third the ground slopes towards marshland. From the most southerly portion of this line a long tongue of land, broad at its upper and narrowing gradually to a point at its lower end, holds at that point Landguard Fort, commanding the approaches to the harbour of Harwich or Orwell Haven. (See Plate I.)

These details with respect to the position of the riverways have been dwelt upon, as they have an essential bearing upon the situation of the Roman station to be described. But before going into this question the fact must be taken into account that the coast line from the mouth of the Deben southwards and along the Essex coast also has been subjected to continual encroachments from the sea, which have driven it inwards far beyond the line which it occupied in the Roman period. The station to be treated of may therefore have been at some distance, though it could scarcely have been very far, from the seashore fifteen centuries ago. At the present time the site lies completely submerged beneath the waters.

About half a mile south of the sand spit which forms the eastern side of Bawdsey Haven where the Deben flows into the sea is a shallow and wide depression in the line of cliff. This depression is the end of a little valley running down with a direction due east and west from near Felixstow Church to the beach. The valley in the Roman time no doubt continued, as it continues now, to the seashore, and the walls of the station rose on the crest of the southern slope. The last and westernmost of

PLATE I.



these walls fell over the cliff in the last century, and all that can now be seen of the remains of the fortress are two or three weed-covered masses of masonry at some 250 feet from the shore, looking like rocks when the tide is at its lowest. (See Plate II.) If what can now be seen were all we had to prove that a Roman station ever stood at this spot, its former existence might well be doubted, but the following records are sufficient to show that until a comparatively recent time the remains of a Roman walled camp were standing on the spot I have just indicated. The following is the evidence of the fact :

The Minute Book of the Society of Antiquaries of London (Vol. I) contains, under date November 28th, 1722, the following communication from Dr. Knight :

“Some distance East of this Town (*i.e.*, the neighbouring village of Walton) are the ruins of a Roman Wall situate on the Ridge of a Cliff next the Sea between Languard ffort and Woodbridge River or Bawdsey haven. 'Tis 100 yards long, five foot above ground, 12 broad at each end and turned with an Angle. Its composed of Pepple and Roman bricks in three courses, all round footsteps of buildings, and several large pieces of Wall cast down upon the Strand by the Seas undermining ye Cliff all which have Roman brick. At low water mark very much of the like is visible at some distance in the Sea. There are two entire Pillars with Balls, the Cliff is 100 foot high.”¹

In this account not only are the characteristic Roman masonry and measurements closely noted, but it is plain that more than the one wall (given as 100 yards in length) could then be seen, the fragments awash on the beach being those of other walls. What the “Pillars with Balls” may have been it is impossible to say. The phrase would accurately describe some entrance of the seventeenth century made perhaps in the Roman wall or on its ruins.

Kirby, in his *Suffolk Traveller* (1735) states under the head of Walton: “In the neighbouring Parish of Felixstowe on the Colnes side of Woodbridge (Bawdsey)

¹ *Minute Book of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1718-32, I, 71-72.*

haven, still appear the ruins of a Quadrangular Castle, advantageously situated."¹ A fuller description appears in the second edition of Kirby's work (1764) as follows: "He that shall look for the Site of this *Castle* (*i.e.*, of Walton) within the bounds of *Walton* strictly taken, will never find it; but upon a high Cliff in *Felixstow*, at the Distance of about one Mile from the Mouth of *Wood-bridge* River, and two Miles from *Orwell Haven*. Part of the Foundation of the West Side of it, is still to be seen; being now One Hundred and Eighty-seven yards in Length, and nine Feet thick; it is called by the Country-People, Stone-Works. How much larger it was we cannot judge, Part of the South-end being washed away; and the Sea, which is daily gaining upon this coast, having swallowed up the Ruins. Such was the condition of it, about the year 1740; but since then, the Sea hath washed away the Remainder of the Foundation. There can be no doubt but *Walton* Castle was a *Roman* Fortification as appears from the great Variety of *Roman* Urns, Rings, Coins, &c., that have been found there, &c." As a further identification of the spot the following paragraph on a succeeding page may be cited. "In a Survey of the Manor of *Felixstow* Priory, made in 1613 we find a Close of Arable land called Great *Long-Dole*, in which Close are the Ruins of *Walton* Castle."² . . . The position of the close, still known by this name, is marked on the Ordnance Survey map. It lies at the end of the valley I have mentioned as running from old *Felixstowe* Church and village to the sea coast.³ (See Pl. II.)

Later still in date than Kirby, Grose, in the supplement to his *Antiquities of England and Wales*," which appeared in 1787, gives a view of the wall then fallen on the beach.⁴ He says, "Its remains in 1766, when this

¹ Kirby, *The Suffolk Traveller* 1735, 49.

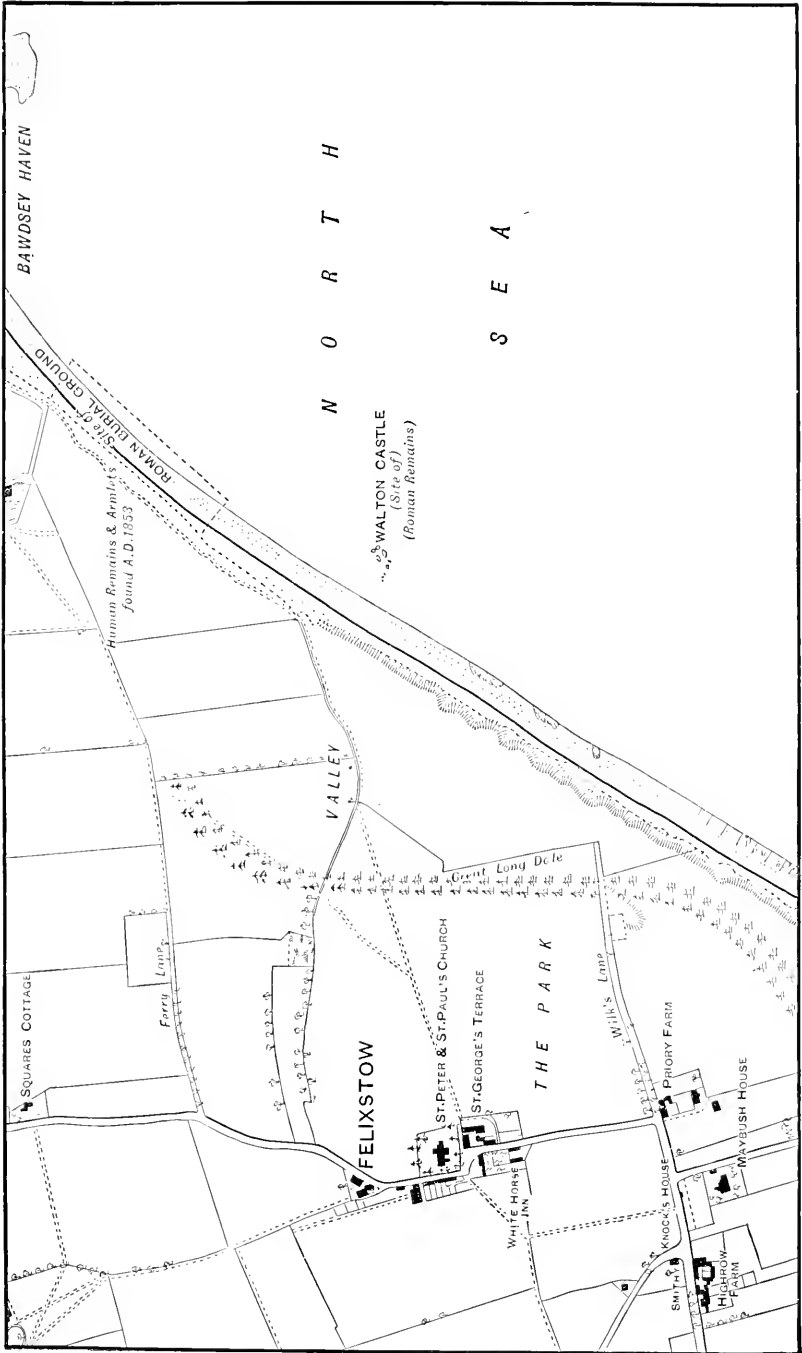
² *Ibid.*, 2nd edit., 1764, 89-91.

³ It seems probable that the Roman station contained within its enclosure the castle of Hugh Bigod, which was destroyed by order of Henry II. after the suppression of the rebellion in which Earl Hugh was engaged. See the return of the Sheriff of Norfolk

and Suffolk to the Exchequer 22nd Henry II, an. 1176, for the costs expended in the destruction of the earl's castle of Walton.

⁴ Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales*, Supplement, II, 1787. For a notice of other prints and drawings representing the ruins of the Roman station, see Notes and Appendix at end of paper.

PLATE II.



SITE OF ROMAN STATION, FELIXSTOW. (From the Ordnance Survey. 6 inches to the mile.)

view was drawn, were only visible at near low water, the sea having gained so considerably on this coast as to wash away the cliff on which it stood. A gentleman now living remembers the ruins of the castle to have stood at least fifty yards within the extremity of the cliff."

Thus we see that between 1732 and 1766 the only remaining wall of the station had fallen, undermined by the action of the sea.

Thus much for the station. But besides the traces of it described by the authorities quoted, other relics showing the Roman occupation of the site are recorded. The slopes of the little valley on whose southern side stood the fortress appear to have been used as the cemetery of the garrison.

One house at least, judging from fragments of building materials found, would seem to have been placed in this valley, possibly beside a road leading to the west gate of the station. A boarded well, previously noticed in this paper, a sure indication of a dwelling not far off, was exposed by the fall of the cliff, and on the opposite side of the valley, at a spot marked in the Ordnance Survey map, another fall of the cliff uncovered two skeletons, seen by Professor Henslow in 1853, who placed some of the bones, with bracelets of bronze found upon them, in the Ipswich Museum.

More important, however, than the note of the preceding discoveries as evidence of the extent of ground covered by Roman remains is the following account taken from the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (1885): "During the progress of works carried on in what is known as the Park, situated a short distance from Felixstowe Church (close to, if not forming part of, the field known as the great long dole), the men in their search for coprolites came upon many most interesting relics of the Roman occupation." Bricks, flue tiles (the remains possibly of the house previously spoken of), amphorae, lagenae, a small glass phial, bronze tweezers, a speculum or mirror, several fibulae, rings of gold and silver some set with stones, a gold chain of twisted wire, a bronze armilla, &c., &c., were dug up, as also "numerous coins both of silver and bronze were met with, of the reigns of

Severus, Gordianus, Gallienus, Victorinus, Arcadius, Constantinus, &c. . . . Many sepulchral urns were unearthed, some containing bones and ashes, and either closed with a cover, or, in some cases, with a stone only." Great abundance of shells were also found, such as mussel, periwinkle, cockle, and shells of a large species of snail, "*helix aspersa*."¹(!) Amongst the finds was a fine bowl of pseudo-Samian ware adorned with hunting scenes. This came into the possession of the South Kensington Museum. The account clearly shows, first, from the sepulchral urns dug up that part of the Roman cemetery had been come upon, and secondly, from the many minor objects, coins, and animal remains, as well as building material, that dwellings existed in near neighbourhood to that cemetery. It also shows an indiscriminate dispersal of everything found, from the fact that no endeavour appears to have been made by any one to note how or where the various objects were discovered, a matter of far more importance than the objects themselves, although it must have been known that the site was likely to prove a prolific one. The chance of arriving at important conclusions has thus been unhappily lost.

From the evidence given I think we may be warranted in placing at this point of the Suffolk coast a station of the first class, and a little more investigation of the facts quoted may enable us to form an opinion respecting the area it covered and the construction of the walls.

The fortress was probably one of that late class which had a greater length than breadth, and with walls more massive than those of an earlier type. Burgh Castle, its companion fortress, is a fine specimen of this class, and it may be that the proportions of both the Burgh and Felixstow camps were very similar. Dr. Knight speaks of the length of wall remaining on the cliff in his time as 100 yards; Kirby puts it at 187 yards. The side walls of Burgh Castle had a length of about 137 yards, the front and back walls being much longer. With respect to the thickness of the wall at Felixstow, Kirby calls it 9 feet, while Knight gives it as 12 feet seen at either end. Probably both are right, the latter dimension being that

¹ See *Proceedings Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd Ser., 1885, XI, 12-14.

of the footing, the former that of the wall itself. The one remaining angle is mentioned as rounded, the usual form.

The walls were probably reinforced at the angles by bastions. Of these, no writer makes mention. By the time, however, that Dr. Knight made his communication to the Society of Antiquaries, whatever remained of them was doubtless covered by the soil. The towers at the corners of the Roman camp at Richborough, in Kent, were only discovered by excavation, having been destroyed to below the ground level, and such may have been the case here.

Judging from the aforesaid details, it may be presumed that the station stood on high ground with one of its sides facing to Bawdsey Haven, scarcely a mile distant, whilst another looked down the coast to where, some two miles away, the united waters of the Orwell and the Stour then fell into the sea. They do so at a greater distance now, but there is reason to believe that fifteen centuries ago the channel by which they flowed to the sea ran beneath the high land by Bull's Cliff at the western end of the modern town of Felixstow, Landguard Common being then a sand-bank and an island, which with other islands and marshy tracts filled the space of shallow sea in front of the present harbour of Harwich. (Pl. I.)¹

The question of the former condition of the coast between the Suffolk and the Essex shore is too large a one to be entered on here, but in order to show the possibility of the great changes hinted at, I give a copy of a chart (Pl. III) dated 1686, on which may be seen the various banks in front of this harbour, probably the relics of land washed away through centuries by the currents of the North Sea, those currents which with ceaseless action, sometimes slower, sometimes faster, have

¹ If the map (Pl. I) and the chart (Pl. III) be compared it will be seen from the latter that the Pye sand at the mouth of Hafford or Handford Water, extended in 1686 to a considerable distance in a northerly direction towards the south point of Landguard Common, and that between it and this point lay another sand called the Ridge. The two together might indicate that land

which has been washed away by the sea in the course of centuries, formerly existed across the mouth of the present harbour of Harwich. The condition of the district intersected by creeks of which Hamford water is the chief shows how the land gradually becomes broken up by the action of currents prevailing along this coast.

for ages been wearing away the whole coast line of East Anglia.

It may be fairly inferred that the Roman station, the remains of which have been just described, was intended to watch both the entrances of the Deben and the Stour and Orwell combined. Perhaps in the Roman period the estuary of the Deben was considered the more important of the two, as the station is placed at so short a distance from it.

Looking to the important position this fortress must have held in the defence of the coast line, and to the duties its garrison had to fulfil, it is strange that antiquaries should have paid so little attention to its remains. Is it not possible that it might have been that station of the Saxon shore never yet satisfactorily identified, obviously not to be located at Shoreham, on the coast of Sussex, namely, the *Portus Adurni*?¹

The other Roman fortress which I have classed with this as yet nameless site is the famous one at Burgh, by Yarmouth, at the extreme north-eastern corner of Suffolk.

About three-fourths of the mural barrier enclosing its area still remains. It is well known to archaeologists and has been admirably described by that able antiquary the late Henry Harrod, whose paper on the site is neither so well known nor appreciated as it should be. I follow here his account in most particulars.²

According to the plan given by him, and in that on the Ordnance Survey map, the walls enclosed a quadrangular area roughly 640 feet long by 413 feet wide, the walls being 9 feet thick with a foundation 12 feet in width. (Pl. IV.)³ The angles of the station are rounded. The eastern wall is strengthened by four solid bastions, one standing against each of the rounded angles, the other two intermediate, and the north and south sides have one each, neither of these being in the centre of the side, but rather west of it. Nothing can be said concerning the

¹ See a communication made to the Society of Antiquaries, by F. J. Haverfield, *On the site of Portus Adurni, and the river Adur* in Proceedings of the Society, 1893, 2nd Ser. XIV, 112-116.

² In *Norfolk Archaeology*, 1859, V, 116 *et seq.*

³ This plan, which is taken from the 25-inch Ordnance Survey map, with additions, is drawn to a uniform scale with the plans of the stations shown in my paper on "The Roman Coast Fortresses of Kent" in *Archæological Journal*, LIII, 352.

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arrangement of the western or river wall, for it is destroyed down to its very foundations, which, however, were found in different places in the excavations made by Harrod for the purpose of ascertaining whether such a wall had ever existed. Whether it was supported by bastions could only be proved by extensive excavation. The foundations of it are, at the north-west angle of the station, 600 feet from the present bank of the River Waveney; at the south-west, 330 feet. Possibly in the Roman period the river flowed closer to the wall. In any case the quaggy ground between it and the stream would be an excellent defence against sudden attack.

There is one peculiarity in the construction of wall and bastion which must be noted. For a height of some 7 feet from the ground the bastions are not bonded into the wall; above that height for the remaining 7 feet 10 inches they are bonded into it. It seems probable that during construction, when the wall had reached a height of 7 feet, the builders had come to the conclusion to strengthen it with towers, which they then commenced against the partially constructed wall, and finished by bonding them with it as it was carried up to its full height.

The solid towers have round holes in the tops, 2 feet deep and 2 feet in diameter, which may possibly indicate some method of planting *ballistae* upon them, though from the restricted diameter of each bastion, only 14 feet 6 inches or 15 feet, there would be little space for such engines to work in.

The southern wall of the station is at an obtuse angle with the eastern one, evidently with the intention of bringing the south-west angle of the enclosure as near the river as possible, and evidently the west wall was pushed as far forward towards the river bank as the builders thought the insecure nature of the ground would allow. Two objects seem to have been present to the minds of the builders of the station—the first, to dominate the waterway, the second to occupy a position high above the marshes for the sake of overlooking as wide an extent of the neighbouring country as possible. The second was easy enough to do, but it was not easy to combine it with the first, which if the river ran no nearer the camp than

it does at present might yet have been attained, though with difficulty.

Whether the walls were backed by a mound of earth must yet remain an open question; such was Harrod's opinion, which is not lightly to be set aside.¹ There is no doubt that such a feature would have added greatly to the strength of the fortress, especially to that of the river wall, for engines planted on it at this spot might have commanded the waterway in front of it, especially if the river ran nearer the wall than at present, as it probably did. A shaft from the larger class of engines used in the field would possibly be effective at 700 or 800 feet.² To obtain the command of this waterway was certainly one of the chief reasons for the placing of a station at this particular point.

Only two of the gates remain, the east, which is the principal one, and the north, which is only a postern, 5 feet wide, situated to the west of the tower on that side. The eastern gate has a width of 11 feet 8 inches. It is in the centre of the eastern wall and is commanded by towers, though these are more than 100 feet on each side of it. In a line with the internal face of the wall across the gateway Harrod found a narrow trench in the soil 15 inches wide, evidently marking the place where a balk of timber had been sunk in the roadway to form a threshold. The same feature, as we know, has been found at Silchester at all the gates there. Whether the gateway was an arched one, as is most probable, we cannot tell, but that it was closed with folding doors working on pivots in sockets in the wooden threshold may be taken for granted. Harrod found inside this gate the remains of a low wall on each side, with a return at a distance of 10 feet 7 inches from the line of the

¹ In a paper on "Roman Norfolk" (*Archaeological Journal*, XLVI, 348), I have expressed an opinion that the walls of Burgh had no such lining, based on the fact that they show a facing, but as the Roman city walls at Silchester, which have the original mound against them, show, wherever examined, a perfect internal facing, this opinion may require modification.

² One of the halls of the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at St. Germain,

near Paris, contains a series of full-sized models of Roman ballistae (*Restitutions de Général de Roffye*). The largest of these, presumably representing one for use in the field, is capable of throwing darts, according to their weight, to a distance of 150 to 310 mètres. Engines of larger size and power, however, might, if planted on earthworks, have thrown missiles even farther than the farthest distance named with considerable effect.

threshold. The space between these walls was slightly wider at the return ends than where they touched the threshold. He considered them retaining walls to the internal mound, which is of course possible, but it is possible also that they may have been the remains of the walls of the guard-houses on each side this gate. Only excavation can set this question at rest.

It is singular that no trace of a ditch can be detected outside the eastern wall, though some signs of this defence appear both on the north and south sides. A section of the ground here would soon tell if it ever existed.

Little can be said of the interior of the station. A considerable portion of the surface has been utterly changed or carried away by digging for gravel. Ives, in his *Garianonum*¹ (which is the best and most detailed account we have of the place in the last century), talks of a mound towards the south-western angle. Harrod speaks of it in the following terms: "For about 40 feet, at the point where the south gate must have been, the wall has been completely destroyed; and in Ives's time (as appears by his map) a deep cutting extended into the interior to a point a little beyond where a pit existed within memory, and it then turned and ran directly west, so as to isolate the hill where the south wall now ends. He considered this isolation to have been original, and that the hill was 'the *Praetorium*.' Very much, however, of what has been done around this hill must be the work of modern times, and directed by the wants and caprices of modern agriculturists. One dug a pit and another filled it up, one dug for clay and carted it on the meadows, &c." He goes on to say: "I cut a trench directly across this hill, beginning at the west end of the wall and extending it north-east. This led to the discovery of the foundations of a small apartment, of which the main wall of the station formed the southern side. It was 16 feet 6 inches square, and had along its southern side a channel or flue, formed of flanged tiles, and there was some indication of a furnace on the exterior at the south-

¹ J. Ives, *Remarks upon the Garianonum of the Romans*. 2nd edit., 1803.

east corner. The foundations were only about 2 feet from the surface. . . . No part of the wall (of this chamber) remained, except near the junction with the main wall of the station, and there a large fragment, of the west wall was found, with some of the plaster or cement with which the inside of the wall had been covered still adhering to it."

Of course, neither on a mound, nor in such a position as this is described to be, can one look for the *Praetorium* of a Roman fortress, but it is quite possible that the remains uncovered may have been part of the baths of the station. As to the mound at this spot, if it ever existed, it certainly must have been levelled before Harrod's time, or he would never have found the foundations spoken of, under only 2 feet of soil from the surface. The mound may have been thrown up by some of the pagan Angles settling within the deserted walls, or even at some late period before the Norman Conquest.¹ Some sort of colour is given to this supposition by the fact mentioned by Ives that in levelling part of this hill, somewhere about the year 1770, "urns and ashes were discovered in abundance," together with a "stratum of wheat," and a Roman spoon of silver.² The urns and ashes, &c., may well have been part of the contents of rubbish pits dug into and thrown up in digging the ditch to make the mound. They were certainly not Roman cinerary urns. Such urns would assuredly not have been discovered within the walls of the station.

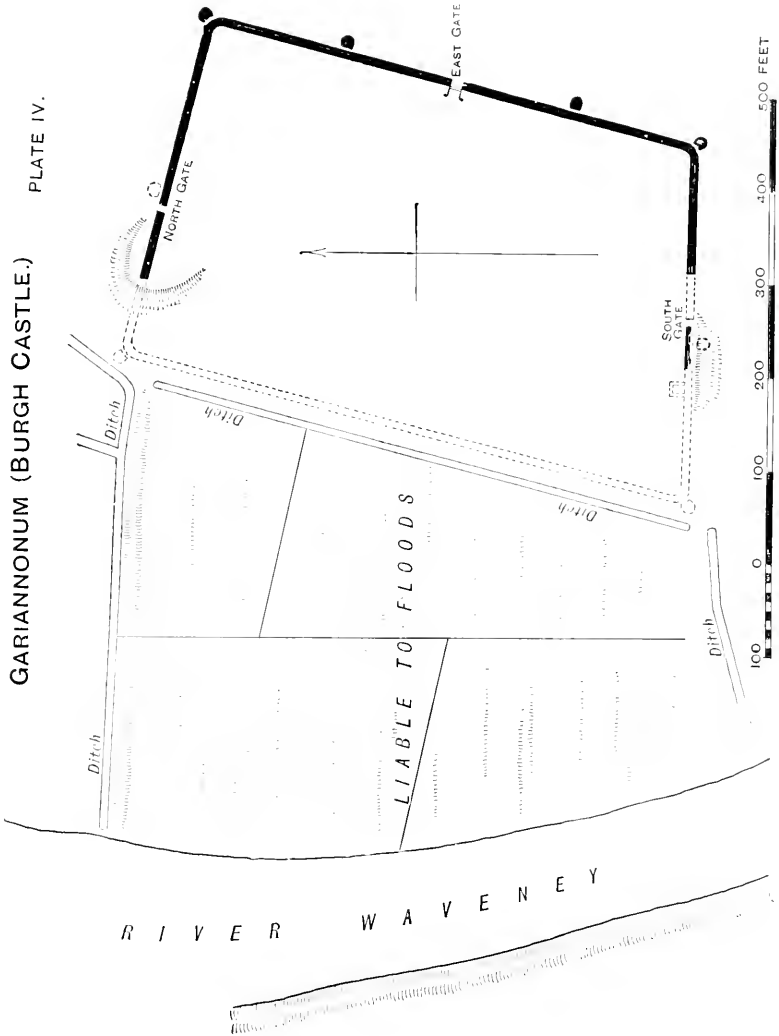
The cemetery is said to lie in the field outside the eastern wall, but the discoveries reported by Ives look as if rubbish pits had been come upon there, rather than interments. It is much to be wished that the whole field could be carefully trenched, when some definite conclusion might be arrived at respecting it, and probably some interesting discoveries would be made.³ It is singular that of the three or four cinerary urns said to have come from Burgh, two are distinctly Anglian, not Roman. The two figured by Ives are certainly so.

¹ See note to p. 50 by the editor in Ives's *Garianonum*, 2nd edit., 1803.

² *Ibid.*, p. 35, 36.

³ I might add that further excavation of what remains of the area of the station might also be worth doing and repay the trouble.

GARIANNONUM (BURGH CASTLE.)
PLATE IV.



The coins found about the site are those of the lower Empire. Very few indeed have been picked up belonging to an earlier period.

Antiquaries are agreed in calling this station the Gariannonum of the Notitia; the open country to the south of it could be easily scoured by the cavalry force (the Stablesian Horse) which was quartered within its walls. But why was the station placed at this spot? The question may be worth endeavouring to answer.

Most certainly the Romans had some definite plan in fixing these fortresses of the later ages of their occupation on the spots where we find them. To understand why they were so placed, we must consider what danger they were intended to guard against and how it was proposed to avert it.

Now by a consideration of the course pursued by the invaders of Eastern England in later times of which we have certain record, we may arrive at the plan pursued by the invaders of a still earlier period of which we have much less knowledge. For instance, in the Danish invasions where do the pirates land? They enter the Humber and penetrate up the Ouse to York, they fall upon the north of Norfolk, they land on the peninsula between the Deben and the Orwell, they sail up the Blackwater to Maldon. In all these cases it will be seen that the invaders ascend the rivers; there is nothing to be gained by a mere landing on the coast, which from the Wash to the harbour of Harwich presented for the most part a tract of sand and salt marsh backed by barren heaths.

If this was the course adopted by the Danes, it was with little doubt that followed by the Angles and Saxons of an earlier period who fell upon the Roman province and burnt and plundered whenever and wherever they could get an opportunity before the epoch of their migration to Britain. Accepting, therefore, this view of the plan of the sea rovers, and looking with this idea in mind at the position of the remains of the Roman stations of the east coast, it seems clear that the fortresses were built to watch the mouths of the principal rivers and inlets of that coast. Branodunum (Brancaster) watches the creeks of Northern Norfolk, Gariannonum (Burgh

Castle) shuts off access to the valley of the Waveney, the station at Felixstow (which I would fain call *Portus Adurni*) keeps guard over the entrances of the Stour and the Deben, and *Othonae* over those of the Blackwater and the Colne.

The position of *Gariannonum* has yet to be explained in further detail in order to show more completely its use in the defence of the inland country. The principal rivers of Norfolk, the Yare and the Bure, together with the Waveney, dividing Norfolk from Suffolk, fall into the brackish lagoon called Breydon, which at its east end is blocked from the sea by the wide stretch of sand on which the town of Yarmouth stands. At the present day the outlet of the united waters is by a long channel running southwards from Yarmouth parallel to the coast line, which finally discharges itself into the sea at a distance of more than two miles from the town. In the middle ages a much wider outfall to the rivers through this sandbank was to be found to the north of Yarmouth, and between it and a Roman post or station at Caister. This passage, called Grubbs Haven, of which all trace is completely obliterated, may have been, and probably was, the only navigable entrance to Breydon from the sea in Roman times.

The coast line of both Norfolk and Suffolk has undergone considerable changes between the Roman period and the present time, and perhaps Suffolk has suffered even more than Norfolk from the restless currents of the North Sea. The rivers have been blocked and altered in their courses and huge tracts of land submerged, notably at Dunwich, and with great probability also at the mouths of the Stour and Orwell. But although these changes have occurred at one point or another of the long coast line of East Anglia, the level of the rivers falling into the lagoon of Breydon is much what it was when *Gariannonum* was built, as is proved by the position of its river wall, and by the level at which Roman and even earlier remains have been found in the valleys of the Yare and Waveney. For the coast-line see Pl. V.

I have said that there was a post or station at Caister, north of Yarmouth. If not a station, some post of

observation seems to have been maintained there near the entrance to Breydon.¹ There is reason to believe that there was also some such post, occupying a quite similar position to Burgh Castle, at Reedham, on the Yare, some 4 miles above where that river falls into Breydon. Burgh Castle itself lies just at the point where the Waveney enters that lagoon, and its position is somewhat exceptional, for not only was it planted where it is for the purpose of watching the approach to the rivers to the north of it, but like a mediæval castle, it may also have been intended to close by artificial means the mouth of the Waveney. Just as at Norwich, the city walls, carried down to the river with a tower on one bank and a detached tower on the opposite bank, were so arranged that a boom between them could completely shut the waterway, so something of a similar character may have existed at Burgh Castle in Roman times, for if the Waveney ran in a channel nearer the Roman walls than at present, as is quite probable, then a boom might very well have been placed in the waterway between the foot of the south-west bastion and some outwork of timber construction on the opposite bank. Had the same contrivance existed also at the post at Reedham, the ascent of both the Yare and the Waveney might have been effectually barred to the pirate vessels.

Yet one more point must be noticed before we have done with Gariannonum. The station lies in a tract of country now called Lothingland, bounded by Breydon on the north, the North Sea on the east, the course of the Waveney on the west, and two sheets of water on the south communicating with each other, Oulton Broad and Lake Lothing, which now flow into the harbour of Lowestoft. Oulton Broad, the most westerly of the two sheets of water, is connected with the Waveney, and therefore the tract of land at this day is an island. It is commonly supposed that this has always been the case, but in point of fact the narrow channel between Lake Lothing and the sea has been sometimes filled and sometimes left open, according as storms or currents of

¹ *Archæologia*, 1831, XXIII, 364. *Norfolk Archæology*, 1855, IV, 314-15.

the sea have heaped up the sand in it or swept it away. In the Roman period this channel across the isthmus between the lake and the sea could not have existed. The very fact of the position of Gariamoum at the mouth of the Waveney in Breydon is sufficient to prove this, for had there been any access through Lake Lothing to the Waveney the fortress would have been taken in the rear, and its use as a bar to the navigation of that river completely done away with. (Pl. V.)

Perhaps I should not quit the subject of coast defence without a mention of another famous site, that of Dunwich, famous in a period subsequent to that of the Roman domination. It has been supposed to have been the Sitomagus of the IX Iter of the Antonine Itinerary. Granting that it was so, and taking it for a walled station or town, it may have played its part in the defence of the coast against the Teutonic pirates. Practically there is little or nothing known of it as a Roman site. There are some relics from it, insignificant and doubtful enough, preserved in two county museums,¹ but these tell us next to nothing. Its main importance in the eyes of antiquaries lies in this: that if it be reckoned a Roman site it renders possible the working out, in a reasonable way, of the IX Iter of Antonine, the course of which might otherwise be incomprehensible.

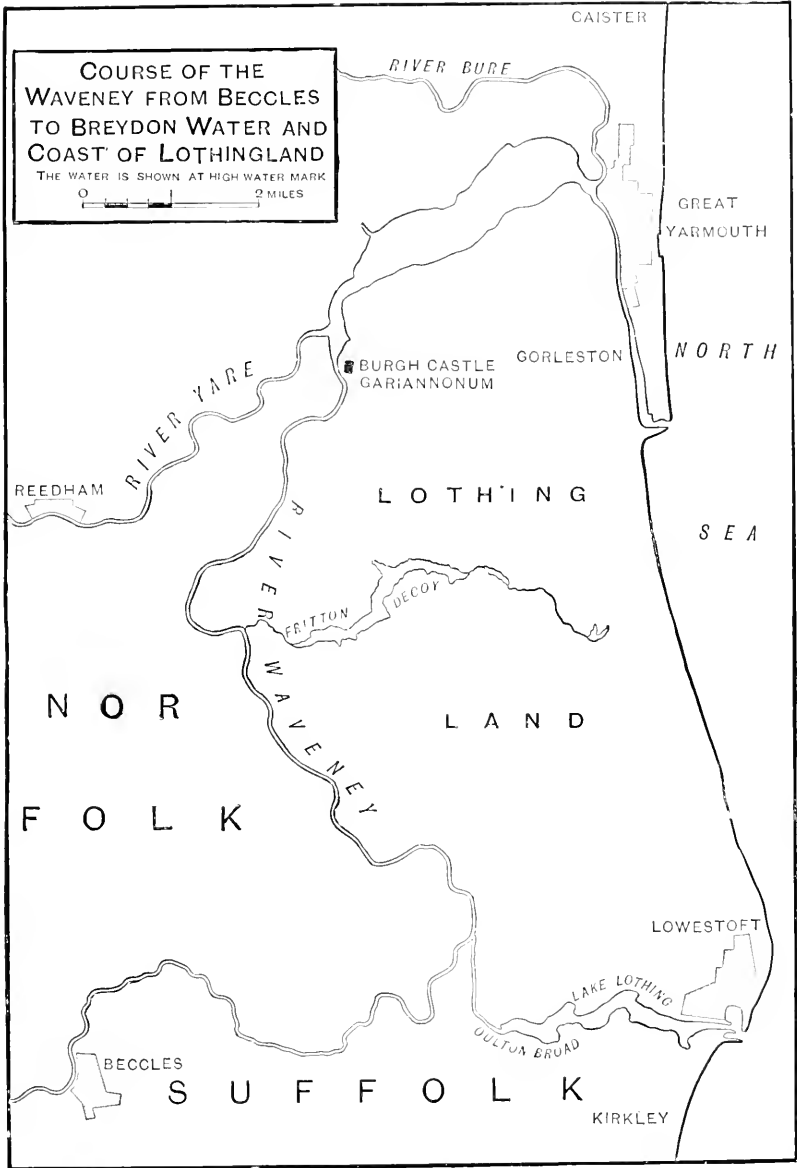
The mention of this Itinerary naturally leads to the subject of the Roman roads in Suffolk. Of actual traces there are very few,² but from Camden's time till the present, scheme after scheme relating to these ways has been evolved by antiquaries, there being little reason to believe that one is more correct than the other. Two main lines may perhaps be guessed at. One is made to run from Stratford St. Mary, the supposed *Ad Ansam* of the IX Iter of Antonine, through central Suffolk, passing from this point on the Stour through Baylham and the Stonham parishes and by Stoke Ash, crossing the

¹ See Appendix under Dunwich.—In a communication to the *Archaeological Journal* in Vol. XXXV, by Dr. Raven, entitled, *Roman roads in the East of England*, it is stated that "the enclosure of the Grey Friars at Dunwich abounds in fragments of Roman tile and other *débris*," from which it might be inferred

that some Roman house had once stood on the site; but with the ruins of a monastic house close by, especially in this district, mediæval brick would be sure to be found, which, unless of special form, might easily pass for Roman.

² For these traces see Appendix.

PLATE V.



Waveney at Scole, and so onwards to Caister, near Norwich (Venta Icenorum). The other and far more important road, starting from that just named at some point north of Ipswich, is believed to have run easterly through Burgh, near Woodbridge, on to Dunwich, from whence in a northerly direction it passed to a ford of the Waveney at Wainford Mills, and so proceeded onward in the same direction to Caister near Norwich.¹

In favour of the correctness of this latter conjectural line of road is the fact that it is the only line which could be laid down so as to avoid the estuaries of the Stour, Orwell, Deben, and Alde, just as the present railway does. If the supposed direction of the road be correct there must have been some branch starting possibly from a point of the main way not far north of Ipswich, and running down the peninsula between the Orwell and the Deben to the station at Felixstow. This line might have been much the same as that of the present high road from the former town to the coast. Or a road from Burgh, near Woodbridge, may have skirted the Deben to the fortress in question.

Again, it cannot be supposed that Gariannonum was left with no means of communication. There must, therefore, have been some branch from the main road to it, and this probably ran nearer the coast than the main way. It might have started from the ford of the Blythe, passed through the present parish of Benacre, through the isthmus between Lake Lothing and the sea, and thus onward to the eastern gate of the Roman station overlooking the mouths of the Yare and the Waveney.

Finally, I must acknowledge with thanks the readiness with which the aid of local knowledge has been afforded me and the courtesy of those who have permitted me to inspect and take notes from the collections of drawings and objects of Roman antiquity in their possession appertaining to the county of Suffolk.

¹ See the latest published map of Roman Britain, ed. by F. Haverfield, in the *Historical Atlas of Modern*

Europe, ed. by R. L. Poole, Oxford, 1896, Part I.

APPENDIX.

NOTES, AND A LIST OF ROMAN DISCOVERIES IN SUFFOLK.

Difficently is encountered in determining the period of certain cemeteries and interments alike in Suffolk as in Norfolk, though perhaps not to the same extent as in the latter county. In both divisions of East Anglia cemeteries or urn fields occur containing the incinerated remains of the pagan Angles, who burnt their dead and deposited the ashes in urns in a somewhat similar manner to the Romano-Britons, but it is only in comparatively recent times that this fact has been recognised by antiquaries, and therefore such deposits when met with have often been confounded with those of the Roman period. Such it would seem has been the case with the urn field discovered at Eye in 1818 (see *Gent. Mag.* for that year, Part II, 131, 133). Here, on the Abbey Farm, a mile from the town, in digging for gravel labourers turned up in a space of 120 square yards as many as 150 urns. These were filled with calcined bones covered with a fine sand. The ornament on these urns was of the simplest kind, consisting of lines, dots, and curves marked in the clay. A few small objects were found about them, such as tweezers, tiny shears, etc., in bronze, and buttons of bone. No mention in the account given of the discovery is made of any pottery or glass distinctively Roman and from this it may be inferred that the cemetery was an Anglian one.

What has become of the urns which were preserved, for some at least were saved, it is impossible to say, but perhaps a single specimen has found its way to the British Museum. This urn, figured by Akerman in his *Pagan Saxondom*, 1855, Plate XXII, is described by him as having been found in a sand pit at Eye, "many years ago."

Another cemetery, one at Ingham, though given in the following list as possibly Roman is, from the absence of a detailed account respecting it, of doubtful date, and may have belonged to the pagan Angles.

There appears to be a burial ground of some importance at or near Icklingham which from the vague reports of it would seem to contain a mixture of Romano-British and Anglian interments. A careful exploration of this site is much to be desired.

Gough in his Additions to his edition of Camden's *Britannia*, II, 81, makes the mistake of confounding the village of Icklingham with that of Exning, or Ixning as he spells it, and in speaking of the church of All Saints in the former place mentions the pavement of the chancel as floored with Roman bricks which had been ploughed up from a neighbouring field. The pavement in question is of mediæval tiles.

No notice of Brettenham will be found in the following list of Roman sites. Nothing is recorded to have been discovered there to

show Roman occupation. Nor is South Elmham included, as unless more evidence is forthcoming of Roman occupation than that afforded by the lines of the existing quadrangular enclosure, the origin of such an enclosure must necessarily remain doubtful.

A vague account is given by Suckling (*History of Suffolk*, 1846, I, 360) of human skeletons and quantities of bones having been dug up at Gorleston, but from his description it is impossible to assign a period to these finds.

The state of the coast line of East Anglia from the third to the fifth century, regarded in the light which the position of the Roman stations throw upon the question, is a matter which scarcely seems as yet to have received consideration. With respect to that portion of the line which comprises the outfalls of the Bure, the Yare, and the Waveney combined, the popular notion is, that in the Roman period an estuary extending in width from Caister on the north, to Gorleston on the south, filled the valleys of the rivers named, and that the land on which Yarmouth now stands was completely submerged beneath the waves of the North Sea. This view cannot be accepted without question.

Perhaps the earliest positive evidence obtainable of the condition of the coast line here is to be found in Domesday Book. From that record it is clear that in the time of Edward the Confessor not only was the land lying between the lagoon of Breydon into which the rivers named now fall, and the sea, in existence, but that a town of Yarmouth was in being upon it. This land must therefore have been well above the sea level for some length of years before the Confessor's reign. For how long before the beginning of the eleventh century, whether through eight or nine previous centuries or more it barred the eastern end of Breydon, can only be a matter of conjecture. There appears to have been, during the Middle Ages, a passage from Breydon to the sea called Grubbs Haven, or Coekle water, through this barrier of land, between Yarmouth and Caister on the north, and also a long passage on the south. The latter has remained open to this day, while the former gradually silted up, and by the reign of Elizabeth was altogether obliterated.

Such in short, and omitting details, is all that is absolutely known of the changes undergone by this part of the East Anglian coast between the eleventh and the end of the sixteenth century. Therefore, as far as records which may be depended on are concerned, with the exception of one wide outlet to the sea (*i.e.*, Grubbs Haven), the outfall of the rivers, for at least 900 years, seems to have been much as it is at the present day.¹

Spelman in his *Icenia* speaks of the tradition in his day that the waters covered the sand on which Yarmouth stands until the time of Canute; Camden has nothing on this point; but by the time of Blomefield (1739) we get to positive assertions respecting it. The historian of Norfolk has no doubt on the matter, and with him the open estuary story is developed and the site of Yarmouth practically considered open sea.²

¹ See Manship's *Hist. of Great Yarmouth*, ed. by C. J. Palmer, 1854, for the two passages to the sea.

² F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the county of Norfolk*, 1739, II, 2.

Ives in his *Gariannonum* (1774) holds much the same opinion, and as helping to establish its correctness, inserts in his work a copy of an old map called the "Hutch Map," from its having been kept in a hutch or chest with other documents belonging to the Corporation of Yarmouth. This map is still preserved in the Town Hall at Yarmouth. It is of the time of Elizabeth or James I, is executed in colours on parchment, and shows an estuary with huge extensions up the valleys of the Waveney, the Yare, and the Bure. It also shows the site of Yarmouth as a sand bank in the main sea, and to be exact as to date, places the words "Anno Domini Millesimo" upon it.¹

The notion as to the estuary grew apace, for Woodward in his map of Roman Norfolk (1831), and in his series of maps illustrating his work on Norwich Castle, gives an archipelago along the whole eastern coast of Norfolk with arms of the sea extending for miles into the county, the station of Gariannonum being placed on an island separated from the mainland by a channel two miles wide, a singular position for a station for the cavalry force in garrison there!²

Suckling (1846) follows Woodward and accepts the estuary view in its fullest extent. He sees, however, the unsuitableness of the site of Burgh as a post for cavalry, if that view be accepted, and in consequence proposes to place Gariannonum somewhere else, at Burgh Apton, where no Roman remains have been found.³

This view, maintained by the writers named, was no doubt based in great measure on an acceptance of the Hutch Map as a dependable authority on the question, yet it is difficult to understand in what way a chart, executed in the reign of Elizabeth or James I, certainly with few pretensions to accuracy, could be looked upon as offering a sure foundation for such a view. Whoever he may have been who drew the chart in the sixteenth century, he could have known no more, probably very much less, of the conditions of land and water at the beginning of the eleventh century than is known now, to say nothing of such conditions at a much earlier period.

The discovery by Harrod of the foundations in the marsh of the west or river wall of the station of Gariannonum (see *ante*, p. 120) is of itself sufficient to prove that the relative heights of land and water were, under ordinary conditions, much the same in the Roman period as they are at the present day. The situation also of the fortress itself with relation to the land about it, must be taken into account. It is not conceivable that any Roman fortress was ever placed at random, and the reasons for the placing of any one of them on a given spot, if we can discover these reasons, will throw a light upon the particular nature of the country by which it is surrounded.

As to the access of the Waveney to the sea through Lake Lothing it is doubtful if anything definite can be learned respecting it earlier than the sixteenth century. In Camden's day at least there was no such passage, for he distinctly says in his *Britannia* (p. 77, Gough's edition), that the Waveney, after vainly endeavouring to make its way to the sea through Lake Lothing forms the penin-

¹ J. Ives, *Remarks upon the Gariannonum of the Romans*, 1774.

² *Archæologia*, XXI, 1831, Pl. 31, and Woodward, *The Hist. and Anti-*

quities of Norwich Castle, 1847. Appendix, Pls. I and II.

³ Suckling, *The Hist. and Antiq. of the county of Suffolk*, I, 329 *et seq.*

sula called Lothingland. It is true that in the eighteenth century the narrow isthmus at the east end of the lake was burst through by the waves of the German Ocean, but the breach did not become a permanent one. There may also have been for a period a passage to the sea by way of Kirkley. But the coast line at Lowestoft has been subjected to many changes, sands heaped up here, and washed away there, so much so that no definite conclusion can be come to in the matter.¹ Under these circumstances the known position of the Roman station should be taken into consideration. If that station was intended to bar the advance of pirate vessels up the Waveney, any access to that river through Lake Lothing at a point considerably above it would have completely nullified the reason for its existence on Breydon. It may be added that Lothingland and the whole coast district for miles south of it is well adapted to the evolutions of cavalry, the marsh lands, intersected by dykes, where such a force could not act, lying along the rivers and away from the sea line. It is therefore a reasonable conjecture that Lothingland was a peninsula rather than an island in the later centuries of Roman dominion.

Though not strictly falling within the period dealt with, two interesting discoveries may here be mentioned. Gough, in his *Additions to Camden's Britannia*, II, 90, records that in a barrow on Bloodmore Hill, Pakefield, a skeleton was found in 1758, and that from its neck was suspended a gold coin of Avitus; also that amongst the bones was a gem set in gold, an onyx, on which was engraved "a man standing by a horse whose rein he holds, with a hasta pura in his hand and a star on his helmet." A figure perhaps of one of the Dioscuri.

The second was a still more curious discovery. An account of it was given in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (2nd Ser., II, 1863, 177 *et seq.*) At Snape, on the common, was a barrow, and in this was found the remains of a boat or ship burial. Amongst other articles in the boat was a gold ring of late Roman type, set with a stone on which was "a youth with two ears of bearded corn in one hand and a bowl in the other." A full report of this find may be read in *Notes and Jottings about Aldburgh, Suffolk*, by R. H. Hele, 1870.

Finally, for the identification of the various sites spoken of, where discoveries have been made, the sheets of the Ordnance Survey will be found of use, but the periods assigned by the survey to earthworks or objects of antiquity recorded, cannot always be depended upon.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Camd., *Brit.*, ed. Gough.—*Britannia*, by William Camden, edited by Richard Gough. With additions. 3 vols., 1759.

Ives, *Garian*.—*Remarks upon the Gariancunum of the Romans*, by John Ives, Esq., 2nd edit., 1803.

Suekling, *Hist. of Suff.*—*The History and Antiquities of the County of Suffolk*, by the Rev. Alfred Suekling. 2 vols., 1846.

¹ See for the changes of the coast *account of the ancient town of Lowestoft* E. Gillingwater, *An historical* *toft, &c.*, 1790.

Raven, *Hist. of Suff.—History of Suffolk*, by the Rev. J. J. Raven, D.D., 1895.

Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.—Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Archæologia—Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries.

Ipswich Jour.—Ipswich Journal.

Gent. Mag.—The Gentleman's Magazine.

Arch. Jour.—The Archæological Journal.

Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.—Journal of the British Archæological Association.

Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archæology.—Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History.

East Anglian Notes.—The East Anglian Notes and Queries.

Davy, *Suff. Coll.—Davy's Suffolk Collections*, Brit. Museum MSS.

Suff. Illust. (Fitch Coll.).—Suffolk Illustrations (Fitch collection), in Library of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology, Bury St. Edmunds.

Layard Coll.—Collection of drawings by Mr. Hamlet Watling in possession of Miss Nina Layard, of Ipswich.

Ordnance Survey.—Ordnance Survey Maps 6 inches and 25 inches to a mile.

ALDEBURGH.—Between Aldeburgh and Orford small Roman coins of the Lower Empire found in great quantities on the sea shore. *Soc. Antiq. Lond. Minute Book*, 1743, IV, 190.

ASHBOCKING.—At a spot on a farm in this parish, lying between two mounds and enclosed with ditches, a considerable quantity of scattered broken pottery. Davy, *Suff. Coll.*, B.M. MSS. VIII, 19084, f. 30.

BARDWELL.—Near gravel pit 330 yards south of village "Roman Pottery found A.D. 1840." *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to the mile, sheet XXXIV, N.E.

Fibula, bronze enamelled, diamond shaped, found May, 1869. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1871, XXVII, 258–259, figured full size, Pl. 12.

BARKING.—A bronze statuette was found near Barking Hall about the end of the eighteenth century, buried about 12 feet below the surface of the ground. It is 22 inches in height and represents an imperial personage in full armour, but bareheaded. The left arm is lost, the right is raised, the fingers of the hand being bent, an indication that they once grasped a spear. Besides the general goodness of the workmanship, the figure exhibits a fine instance of metal inlay and niello work, the cuirass being covered with scrolls and leaves of the latter work, interspersed with flowers and leafage formed by thin laminæ of white metal. The bronze serving as a ground to this ornamentation was of a fine golden colour. The figure was found on land belonging to the Earl of Ashburnham, who presented it to the British Museum in 1813. It is well illustrated in *Vetusta Monumenta* of the Society of Antiquaries, IV, Pls. XI–XV.

BARROW.—A Roman key. Museum, Bury St. Edmunds.

BARSHAM.—Gold ring found about 1816 near Barsham Hall, engraved with a figure holding a standard. Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.*, 1846, I, 44.

BAYLIHAM.—Traces of a Roman road found in this parish called to the present day “the Great Road.” Near it have been found pseudo-Samian pottery, painted white ware, and other remains, together with coins, one of which was a first brass of Hadrian. A considerable number of coins found had been sold to different people. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1869, XXV, 387, 388. Knife with bone handle and ring of bronze found with Roman urns. *Suff. Illust. (Fitch Coll.)*, Vol. 13, drawings, and *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1886, V, 117.

Amongst the pottery found was a piece of figured pseudo-Samian, part of a vase of early type, three flanged basons, the rim of one painted with white scroll work, all three of the same ware; pans of pseudo-Samian; different sizes of brown and pale buff ware, and two ollae, one pale red, the other brownish buff ware, and a one-handed bottle with short small neck, of black ware. Together with these a plan of the site showing the track of the Roman road, and a note where a bronze box was found, are figured on Chart, *Layard Coll.*

BELTON.—Pottery from tumulus. *Proc. Arch. Instit. Norwich*, 1847, xxviii.

BENACRE.—“A few days ago, as the workmen were making a new turnpike road at Benacre . . . one of them struck his pickaxe against a stone bottle which contained about 920 pieces of silver coin . . . supposed to have been laid there 1,500 years.” *Ipswich Jour.*, May 27th, 1786. A further reference to this find is in *Gent. Mag.* as follows: “the coins alluded to were in good preservation, and included a large series (some few before Domitian). They are all about the size of a sixpence, nine of them weighing an ounce . . . Sir Thomas Gooch purchased near 700. Some were bought by different persons; and the remainder sold to a Jew, who retailed them at a low price in the neighbourhood. Impressions of Aurelian, Germanicus, and Nerva Trajanns, are in my possession; drawings of which I have sent. . . . R.L.” *Gent. Mag.*, LVI, Pt. I, 1786, 472-3.

In *Excursions in the County of Suffolk*, 1818-19, II, 130-31, it is stated that none of the coins in this hoard were prior in date to Vespasian.

In Benaere park is a clump of trees near the road from Lowestoft called “money tree clump.” *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet XIX, s.w.

BLAXHALL.—In a field in which stands Grove Farm “Roman coins, urns, etc., found A.D. 1863,” and in same parish, on Blaxhall Heath, “Tumulus. Roman urns found A.D. 1827.” *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet LIX, s.e.

BLITHBURGH.—The following entries record the discovery of Roman remains. “Not many years ago there were Roman urns dug up here among old buildings.” *Magna Britannia*, 1730, V, 193.

From Grose we have the statement, “a number of Roman urns dug up here about the year 1678.” Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales*, III, 1775.

Suekling says, that after a fire which much damaged the village in 1676, the labourers in clearing the ground for fresh buildings found several Roman urns and coins. Suekling, *Hist. of Suff.*, 1848, II, 142.

BLYFORD.—A bronze statuette of a nude Venus holding a dove in the right hand. Figure 6 inches high. Formerly in the possession of the late Rev. S. B. Turner. Found in a field near Blyford bridge.

Between Blyford and Sotterly was found an urn of buff ware. Chart, *Layard Coll.*

BRANDESTON.—A coin of a Roman emperor; large brass. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1855, X, 90.

BUNGAY.—In sinking a well in Earsham Street, near the castle, in 1826, a coin, first brass of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and one a second brass of Faustina were found. The next year a coin of Gordianus Pius was turned up in the garden of Mr. Barlee near Dukes bridge. Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.*, 1846, I, 130. "Part of Trinity parish lies by the side of the old Roman road called Stone Street, at the distance of about 5 miles from the town." *Ibid.*, p. 133.

Bronze coins of Nero, Antoninus, Anrelius, Faustina the younger, and Carausius were dug up in the town and more than 1,000 *minimi* were ploughed up outside the common in 1812. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archæology*, 1863, III, 414.

A coin of Nero, second brass, turned up from the railway cutting on the common, 1862 (?). *East Anglian Notes*, 1864, I, 249.

A coin of Clodius Albinus, first brass, was dug up in Mr. Lait's garden at the "back of the hills," and another of Vespasian with mense reverse was found near the town. Raven, *Hist. of Suff.*, 1895, 30.

Trench across neck of common marked "Roman remains," and about the centre of it "Roman coin found A.D. 1862."

The Stone Street running in a north-west direction makes an angle in the town and after crossing the river Waveney starts again due north. It crosses the marshes north of the river at about their narrowest part, and passes about a quarter of a mile south-east of the bank called "Roman remains." See *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet VIII, S.E.

Road called "Stone Street" running in north-west direction through the parishes of Spexhall and Ilketshall St. Lawrence, between Bungay and Halesworth. See *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet XVIII, S.W.

BURGH.—Near Yarmouth. A walled station. For early descriptions and plans, see Sir Henry Spelman, *Icenia*, ed. 1723, 155, *Camd.*, *Brit.*, ed. Gough, 1789, II, 77, and *ibid.*, Add. 90. Ives *Garian.*, 2nd ed., 1803. E. King, *Munimenta Antiqua*, 1800, II, 52-55, 116 *et seq.*, Plate XXVIII, Fig. 2, and $\frac{\text{XXVIII}}{4}$ Fig. 5.

The following details may be added to the general description of this station, see *ante*, p. 120 *et seq.* The body of the walls is of flint rubble concrete, and they have facing courses of tiles six of which may yet be seen. These courses run two tiles deep into the wall and are three in width. The spaces between these tile courses vary from 1 foot 8 inches to 2 feet 1 inch in width, showing a faced flint facing. The walls are faced on the inside, but the facing courses are irregular and fewer than on the outside, and the flint facing is ruder also.

The mortar employed in the outer facing is pink with coarsely

pounded tile. There is no regular rule in the employment of it throughout the walls, but if anything it is associated with the tile courses. At the broken west end of the north wall where the high land slopes to the water meadows, there are some indications of a stepped line in the tile courses to meet the last of those in the west or river wall. Where the wall is fractured there is a drop in the tile courses which shows in the section. The west wall, that next the river, was founded on piling, the piles being 1 foot apart and the interspaces filled with clay and chalk stones strongly rammed down.

If all the bastions of the station had foundations like that of the tower on the south side it would appear that they were founded on a bed of timber planking. The tower referred to has fallen over, and on its base could be seen, in 1774, the imprint in the mortar of the planking on which it had been built.

The best and most complete account of the station is that given by Harrod in *Norfolk Archaeology*, 1859, V, 146 *et seq.*, three views, plan to scale and seven elevations and sections in the text. See also *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, 1856, III, 227 *et seq.*, plan to scale and section of west wall.

With respect to the supposed cemetery of the station, Ives says (*Garian.*, pp. 34-5), "The field adjoining the eastern wall of Gariannonum, was the place allotted for depositing the ashes of the dead . . . Here a great number of Roman urns have been found . . . They are made of a coarse blue clay brought from the neighbouring village of Bradwell; ill-formed, brittle and porous.—In the year 1756, a space of 5 yards square was opened in this field, and about 2 feet below the surface a great many fragments of urns were discovered, which appeared to have been broken by the ploughs and carts passing over them: These and the oyster shells, bones of cattle, burnt coals, and other remains found with them, plainly discovered this to have been the Ustrina of the garrison. One of these Urns, when the pieces were united, contained more than a peck and a half of corn, and had a large thick stone operculum on the top of it; within was a considerable number of bones and ashes, several fair pieces of Constantinian, and the head of a Roman spear." The illustrations given by Ives, Plate, p. 34, show the head of a spear, a Roman fibula, and two urns which are Anglian, not Roman.

Two cinerary urns were found in the same field, called brick kiln piece, in December, 1843, at a depth of 2 feet. They were partly filled with bones and one contained four iron nails. Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.*, 1846, 333. For an illustration of one of these urns see *Suff. Illust. (Fitch Coll.)*, Vol. 3.

A vase of dark brown Durobrivian ware, decorated with white scrolls in slip and with a female mask at the mouth, was found between the station and the church in 1851. *Norf. Archy.*, 1852, III, 415, illustration same page. Also in Dawson Turner *Coll.*, B.M. Add. MSS. 23062, f. 95.

In a field, the position of which is not specified, a number of circular pieces of stone (?) were discovered "flat on one side and slightly convex on the reverse; of a dingy black colour interspersed with dull red spots." (Spindle-whorls of pottery?) Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.*, 1846, 333.

According to Ives (*Garian.*, 30-31) no coins found were earlier than Domitian, and most of them much later, of the lower empire. Few were of any other metal than bronze though he had one of silver of Gratian. It was said that a considerable number of that metal as well as two of gold had once been ploughed up. The coins in the possession of Sir Francis G. M. Boileau, Bart., F.S.A., the owner of the site, range from Gallienus to Areadius, of which latter emperor there is one silver piece.

Objects from this station in the possession of Sir Francis G. M. Boileau, Bart., F.S.A., 1889.

Fragments of iron nails, one with a flat square head and 4 inches of shank remaining, together with pieces of flat iron bands, found within the east gate, 1847. Small flat square of bronze with male head on it in low relief within a circle. Harp-shaped fibula of bronze $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with remains of blue enamel about the head and a sinking for the setting of stones, found 1847. Very small fragment of a thin glass vessel, found by the late Sir J. P. Boileau, Bart. One fragment of pseudo-Samian ware with ornament in white painted on it, found 1859; other pieces all plain, one showing a flanged rim. Small globular bottle of buff-coloured ware, 2 inches high, with very small neck. One perfect urn and fragments of another, of coarse grey ware, found 1848. Pan of the same coarse ware. Pieces of flue and roof tiles. Horns of deer with portion sawn off.

In Museum, Norwich. Fragments of a vase found in 1852, presented by G. J. Chester, Esq. Fragments of bronze buckles and other small objects. Presented by W. Squire, Esq. One of these bronze buckles is a portion of an Anglian fibula.

In the British Museum. Bronze ball, and small hollow cylinder of the same metal.

For site see *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet II, s.w., and 25 inches to a mile, 5 and 9, LXXVIII. Norfolk.

BURGH.—Near Woodbridge. For description of site, see *ante*, p. 112, "About a mile to the south-east of Clopton." The church "stands within the enclosure of a Roman station." *Excursions in Suff.*, 1818, II, 19, 46.

Coins have been found on the site; one possibly of Tiberius, another of Crispus, with a second, illegible, of the same period, and a minim of Constantine II. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archeology*, 1894, IX, 335.

"Burgh churchyard is well scarped to the south and west and at about 200 yards to the south the remains of a trench now filled in may be clearly seen. This at a point east-south-east of the church, turns northward, and between the two churches (Burgh and Clopton, a mile away) westward, till it meets the scarp. The name Castlefield is still preserved, and the late Major Rouse of Woodbridge could remember the ruined walls. Here, a few years ago, a gold Roman bracelet was found, and at the further end of Clopton in 1883, a boy named John Gardiner found a gold Roman coin which he sold to a watchmaker in Woodbridge. Fictile remains are found strewn on the ground." . . . Raven, *Hist. of Suff.*, 1895, 30 *et seq.*

For site see *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet LVIII, s.w.,

where the field in which is the church is marked "site of camp," though the traces of the fosses are not given.

BURGHOLT EAST.—A number of urns evidently sepulchral, from the ashes they contained, were found in 1838 in digging foundations for a house in a field about a quarter of a mile north of the church, on a hill towards Stratford. They lay in a circle with a diameter of about 12 or 14 yards, and were much broken. Those in the centre were of fine earth inclining to white, the outer ones were of a coarse red earth. The necks of some were entire and about the size of a common bottle. Note from E. Dunthorne, September, 1838. Davy, *Suff. Coll.*, B.M. MSS. XXVIII, 19104, f. 134.

BURY-ST.-EDMUNDS.—"Glass unguentarium;" found near skeleton on site of Mr. Farrow's house in the churchyard. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1853, I, 343.

Several Roman coins from the Botanic Garden. *Ibid.*, 1859, II, 28.

Head of a one-handled vase of red ware covered with a cream coloured slip found 1848. Mr. E. Acton's coll. *Suff. Illust.* (*Fitch Coll.*), 17.

CAVENDISH.—A sepulchral urn. *East Anglian Notes*, 1866, II, 29.

CLARE.—Little bronze figure of Mercury found. About one mile from the town of Clare in constructing a roadway, in 1864, on the glebe land just where the railway leaves that land in the direction of Cavendish, the workmen came upon a quantity of Roman urns about 1 foot 6 inches below ground. Seven or eight were found within the space of a few yards. One only had any ornament on it; they were of quite common material, and all full of bones and ashes. Near where they occurred is a plot of broken ground called the "Dane pits." *East Anglian Notes*, 1864, I, 203, and 1866, II, 29.

This discovery is noted on *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet LXXI, N.E., and described as having been made on the Suffolk bank of the Stour where the railway (Cambridge, Haverhill, and Melford line) crosses the river.

Small figure of a dancing boy found at Clare. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1865, XXI, 343 *et seq.*

COCKFIELD.—About a mile north-east of the church is a place called Colchester Green, and near it a farm where in 1834 some mounds were to be seen. Perhaps on this site but certainly only a quarter of a mile from Colchester Green, Roman tiles had been found about 2 feet under the surface. A fragment of one of these which was preserved, showed part of a turned up edge and a scored surface, and was apparently part of a flue tile. Davy, *Suff. Coll.*, B.M. MSS. I, 19077, 243.

Within an encampment known as the Warbank was found a small bronze bust of a female figure, the hair plaited in twelve twists and fastened on the top of the head with a bow. Also the bronze handle of a knife or mirror with a crowned female head at the end. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1877, XXXIII, 117.

For banks called "the Warbanks" in this parish and that of Lawshall see *ante*, p. 109, and for site of them *Ordnance Survey* 1885, 25 inches to a mile, sheet LXIII, 4.

CODDENHAM.—Traces of a Roman road. These were come upon in 1823, on the property of Sir William Middleton, by labourers

employed in draining, to the west of the turnpike road from Ipswich to Scole (the Pye road), near the seventh milestone from the former town. This ancient road was traced in nearly a straight course to a former ford over the river Gipping, through a field retaining the name of Sharnford and by a cottage called Sharnford Cottage, and across another field named Causeway Meadow, and so onwards in a southerly direction towards Great Blakenham Church. When this road was cut through, it was found to consist of a very solid stratum of stone and gravel about 6 or 7 yards wide.

In December of 1823 a labourer digging in an enclosure to the west of this road and near the river Gipping discovered at some 2 feet from the surface of the ground a Roman urn of coarse slate-coloured ware containing human ashes. Close to it was a smaller vase of fine light red ware, and with the urns was turned up a small double bronze mirror $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, having on one side a head of Nero and on the other a general addressing his soldiers. These remains appear to have been deposited in the earth unenclosed in any cist. A further search in the enclosure just named showed that the ground was full of shards of different kinds of pottery to a depth of 3 feet. Amongst them were fragments of pseudo-Samian ware, and pieces of brick and tile were scattered through a great part of the field, together with large oyster shells, ashes, and some slag. A wall was uncovered also, about 30 yards in length and 2 feet in thickness, running in a direction nearly east and west. Probably the site was that of a villa. The coins found were: a supposed one of Claudius, a middle brass of Nero, one of Vespasian, and one of Trajan, a silver denarius of Crispina, and three small brass, one of Magnentius, one of Valentinian, and one of Constantius.

Gent. Mag., 1824, Pt. I, 261. *Ibid.*, 1825, Pt. I, 291-293. *Archæologia*, 1838, XXVII, 359, 360, Pl. XXV. Map of the site will be found in Chart, *Layard Coll.* The mirror was presented by Sir W. Middleton, Bart., in 1838, to the British Museum.

COOMBS.—Patera of pseudo-Samian ware found 1855. Potters' stamp SIGNIVS. Ipswich Museum.

COVEHITHE.—Between the years 1871 and 1876 in the cliff between the Benaere road and the lane leading down to the beach from this village, was exposed by a fall of the earth what looked like half a square well. One-half of this well was still remaining in the cliff, the other had fallen and been washed away by the sea. It was not constructed with masonry but with boards in the usual Roman fashion, the boards having ties crossing the angles, and it was filled with earth for some feet below the present ground level.

In April, 1890, another of these wells came to light under the end of the road which terminates abruptly at the edge of the cliff. Very little of the woodwork of it was visible, but the beach was said to have been strewn with fragments of pottery which it had contained. Some few spikes or nails and the bones of some small animal were the only other contents of these wells. They were, however, never properly examined. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archeology*, 1891, VII, 303-304. (See find of a similar well at Easton Barent near Covehithe.)

COWLINGE.—Small bronze figure of Mercury, the eyes in white metal, found at Flempton Hall Farm. Also one of Hercules. A

mask of dark grey terra-cotta, Tymms's Coll. All three objects in Museum, Bury St. Edmunds. Coins: one brass of Maximinus, one brass of Magnentius, and a silver denarius of Antoninus Pius. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1859, II, 211. Roman flue tiles found at Kirtlinge (? Cowlinge). *Ibid.*, 1853, I, 232.

CREETING.—Black urn and red pot-shaped vase. Map of site where found. Chart, *Layard Coll.*

DEBENHAM.—Silver coin of the Emperor Carausius. On the reverse two figures holding a standard, and circumscribed EXPECTATE VENI. *Ipswich Jour.*, February 9, 1828. *Gent. Mag.*, 1828, Pt. I, 164.

DENNINGTON.—In a field close south of Dennington Place. "Roman coins found" A.D. 1843. *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet XLVIII, N.E.

DUNWICH.—"The antiquity of this place is rendered very probable by this, that Roman coins are often found here. . . ." *Mag. Brit.*, 1730, V, 191.

"Mr. T. Martin exhibited some brass instruments, supposed to be a species of Fibulæ or Bodkins and a young Hercules in lead (?) which was found in a burying ground near Dunwich." *Soc. Antiq. Lond. Minute Book*, 1758, VIII, 67.

Collection of Frederick Barne, Esq., of Dunwich. Amongst other relics of Dunwich a large brass coin of Nero, well preserved. Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.*, 1848, II, 262.

In a visit paid by the Rev. Greville Chester to Dunwich in June, 1858, he says, "in various places in the face of the cliff, within 5 feet of the top, I observed numerous pieces of coarse blue, black, and brown pottery, some of which were manifestly of Roman manufacture, while other fragments were perhaps Saxon. Of one variety I found fragments lying together almost enough to form an entire urn. Animal bones, with teeth of the ox, sheep, and deer, were also numerous. In one place I discovered a rounded seam of black earth full of bones, ashes, charred wood, cockle, oyster, and whelk shells, with broken fragments of Roman pottery. This apparently was an ancient rubbish pit." "I saw an imperfect small brass coin of the lower empire, which was picked up near this spot." Among the objects collected by Mr. Chester on the site were some keys, apparently Roman, especially one of bronze, and a bow-shaped fibula. *Arch. Jour.*, 1858, XV, 155, fig. of key in text 155.

The enclosure of the Grey Friars abounds in fragments of Roman tile and other *débris*. *Arch. Jour.*, 1878, XXXV, 82.

In Museum at Ipswich. Some objects of bronze, doubtfully Roman.

EASTON.—Near Wickham Market. A Roman vault or grave found in March, 1850, at Rose's pit by men digging for gravel, 4 feet from the surface and about 2 feet deep and 1 foot 6 inches wide. There were five urns, some bones and teeth and a horn. Everything was destroyed. In March, 1851, another urn was found in this pit, and in 1853 seven or eight more small Roman urns, one of which was full of bones and ashes. These fell to pieces on exposure to the air. From the same pit was picked up a bronze fibula of common type. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1853, VIII, 159-160.

Some Roman coins with a flint arrow-head were turned up in

a brick kiln field here. The coins were destroyed by the plough. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1855, X, 383.

EASTON BAYEN.—The remains of a boarded Roman well observed in the cliff on the sea shore, in the autumn of 1888, about 10 yards north of where the old farmhouses formerly stood. A considerable quantity of pottery is said to have come from this well. *Proc. Suff. Inst. of Archaeology*, 1891, VII, 304.

EXNING.—“Mr. Martin had some Roman coins and fibulae found here in 1720,” *Camd., Brit.*, ed. Gough, 1789, Add. II, 81.

Several interments found here in 1832 and following years in a gravel pit. In 1832 pieces of coarse black ware mixed with large sandy grit, and two small vases filled with ashes and bones, were turned up, and at the same time appear to have been found five or six bronze objects resembling padlocks with a loop at the top for suspension, but with a circular hole through the centre. They were all of different sizes, the metal of which they were formed was very thin, and they were filled with a light coloured earth. Besides these were found an object like a carpenter's gonge, spear-heads, an arrow-head, pieces of metal, possibly parts of armour, and masses of metal apparently fused by fire.

In the first week of February, 1833, in the same spot, two more small earthen vessels were discovered, one 7 inches, the other 9 inches high, filled with burnt bones, together with a “small stone pot,” and three days later came to light a nearly perfect skeleton. It was found about 2 feet 6 inches from the surface of the ground, lying upon its face, near the vessels just mentioned. Round the neck was a necklace of beads of ring-like form of glass, the colours purple, yellow, and light green. One was veined and opaque, another opaque, formed in ridges and rough in texture. A small bronze tube was with these, probably the fastening of the necklace. The arm was encircled by a bronze bracelet. At a slightly later date and near the skeleton, two more urns, one of which was $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, filled with bones, were dug up together with a patera, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, of pseudo-Samian ware with leaves on the rim. Other articles from the same site, but from a depth of 10 feet (?) and from a long trench, were discovered in 1834. The list is as follows: A small glass bottle, very thin and opalised; a ring of wood, very black (probably Kimmeridge shale); a bronze pin and chain; various rings of bronze differently ornamented, and one of twisted wire; many beads; and some iron nails and a fragment of a black pot.

The greater number, if not the whole of the objects described, were purchased by Davy. For full account and drawings of them see Davy, *Suff. Coll.*, B.M. MSS., Vol. III, 19178, 216, 221, and XIX, 19095, ff. 87, 116–118.

Vase of the shape called thumb-pot; bracelet of bronze with three ring-like beads threaded on it; vase of light brown earth; small globular vase ornamented with rows of dots in slip, all figured in *Suff. Illust. (Fitch Coll.)*, Vol. 12.

In Museum, Bury St. Edmunds. Fragments of figured pseudo-Samian ware; three fragments of greyish ware with stamped ornament; chain (Acton Coll.); necklace of glass beads and amber; top of bottle, black ware; fragment of grey ware with incised circles.

In Museum, Ipswich. Large thumb-pot.

In British Museum. A pot of grey ware with lines of dots in slip; upright pot of reddish drab ware; jet spindle-whorl; lead pin; portion of bone comb; bronze pin; seven armlets; a neck ring; necklace of jet and glass beads. The smaller objects purchased, 1832-33.

Eye.—Discovery of a hoard of gold coins. The following is the first account of this find: "One day this week, as two labourers were digging in a sand-pit at Eye . . . they struck their spades against a case covered with lead, within 2 feet of the surface, which gave way, and discovered upwards of 600 Roman gold medals . . . They are of the purest virgin gold as fresh as if just coined . . . We hear Mr. Pitt, the proprietor of the soil, has put in his claim," *Ipswich Jour.*, May 19, 1781.

A further notice speaks of these coins as of the reigns of "Valentinian (senior and junior), Gratian, Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius," *Camd., Brit.*, ed. Gough (Add.), 1789, II, 90. A mention is made that human bones were found near this treasure by Gillingwater, *Hist. of Lowestoft*, 1790, note to p. 38.

The hoard is said to have been turned up on Clint Farm, *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1886, V, 109, and the spot is thus noted. "Roman coins and coffin found about A.D. 1781," on the *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet XXXVI, N.E.

A small wingless Cupid in bronze 4 inches high, found at Eye (possibly Roman), see for drawing of it, *Suff. Illust. (Fitch Coll.)*, Vol. II. For remains of a Roman building discovered in 1857, see *ante* p. 92, also *East Anglian Notes*, 1864, I, 249, and *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet XXXVI, N.E.

FELIXSTOW.—Roman station known under the name of Walton Castle, formerly existing on land near the village of Felixstow, which has long been washed away by the encroachments of the sea. The site of the cemetery attached to it still remains. The following are the authorities for the former existence of the station

A communication from Dr. Knight to the Society of Antiquaries of London, inserted in the Minute Book of that Society, 1718-1732, I, 71, 2. The letter is dated November 28, 1722, see *ante*, p. 115.

For a notice of the site, see *A Tour in the Whole Island of Britain*, by a Gentleman, 3rd ed., 1742, 39-40.

An account of the remains dated September 16, 1725, is given by T. Martin in his *Church Notes*, I, 185. He says, "About half-a-mile from the town (*i.e.*, of Felixstow) are the ruins of a Roman fortification upon the brink of the cliff (great part being already fallen down, a few years are likely to put a period to the whole), 'twas built very substantially with rock-stone and Roman brick, The Rock-stone is first only the soil of the Cliff of the substance of a foot clay" . . .

A description of the portion of this wall of the station still standing in 1740, and of the site generally, will be found in J. Kirby's *Suffolk Traveller*, 2nd ed., 1764, 89-91, see *ante*, p. 115.

Camden mentions Walton Castle, but not as a Roman station. Gough in his edition of Camden (in his Additions) under Walton, speaks of "a castle, the foundations 187 yards long and nine fess thick" . . . and adds, "plenty of Roman coins and other

antiquities found here," *Camd., Brit.*, ed. Gough, 1789, II, 85. The mention of the length of wall remaining is probably taken from Kirby.

For Grose's account see *ante*, p. 116. Accompanying his text a view is given showing the remains of the wall lying upon the beach. The view appears to have been taken in 1766. Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales. Supplement* 1787, II.

Besides the view of the ruined wall in Grose's account others may be mentioned. There is a small sketch in Indian ink entitled "Remains of Felixstow Castle 1780, the drawing being by Isaac Johnson, in the 2nd vol. of *Suff. Illust. (Fitch Coll.)*. Another drawing in pen and ink, washed, is in the collection of Mr. Eyre of Ipswich. It purports to be a copy from a print in the possession of Mr. Oxburgh of Harteliff in Kent, the print itself having been executed from a drawing made in 1700 by Thomas Bates of Ipswich. A second copy of this print is in the collection of Miss Nina Layard of Ipswich. Neither print nor original drawing are now traceable. These copies show the ruins of a circular bastion on the edge of the cliff, evidently that of the one at the south-west angle of the station, with a small portion of the south wall running seawards, and overhauling the precipice. Masses of the same wall lie upon the beach.

Also in Mr. Eyre's possession is a tracing from a pen and ink outline drawing washed with colour, of much earlier date than the last spoken of. Upon the original drawing there appears to have been this inscription in writing of the seventeenth century "E Pros (?) Walton Castel," and it was signed in one corner "John Sheppard 1623." The sea front of the station is represented entire, the edge of the cliff being in the foreground. A circular bastion is seen at each angle and a wide break about the centre of the front marks a gateway. Beneath the view is a rough plan indicating that the walls of the station formed a parallelogram with a bastion at each angle. The drawing from which this tracing was made is not now to be found, and judging from the tracing it had more the character of a sketch of the eighteenth rather than one of the seventeenth century, although the writing upon it seemed to be of this latter period. Unless something more could be ascertained respecting the original drawing from which the tracing in question was made, its value as an authority for the condition of the remains early in the seventeenth century must be considered doubtful.

Many objects of the Roman period have been found about the site. Beginning with coins, it may be mentioned that in Davy's *Suff. Coll.* B.M. MSS., 19087, ff. 53-60, a collection made at Felixstow in the years 1742-3 and 4, is described in full detail. The coins range from Pompey the Great, of whom there was one example, to Honorius, and their total number amounted to 420. This collection was the property of the Rev. W. Brown of Saxmundham, and at his auction in 1827, it passed into the possession of the Rev. W. Layton of Ipswich. For coins found at a later date, of Victorinus, Tetricus, Urbs Roma, Valens (2) and Gratianus, see *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1858, XIV, 271; on p. 339 is also a notice of a gem of oval form, possibly a cornelian, engraved with a figure wearing a petasus, and with a panther skin hanging from one arm. In the right hand it held a poppy head and wheat ear, and in the left a pedum.

During the process of digging for coprolites in the field known as the Park near Felixstow church, many objects of the Roman period were turned up. Such as were noted were as follows:—Vase of pseudo-Samian ware, with hunting scenes and ornament of oak leaves and acorns. (Purchased by the South Kensington Museum.) Fine tiles, amphorae, lagenae, a small glass phial, bronze pins, tweezers, a speculum, several fibulae, and gold rings, silver rings, some set with stones, a gold chain of twisted wire, and a bronze bracelet, a bronze disc enamelled (a circular fibula?), a bronze enamelled tag or fibula and other objects in the same metal. Coins of gold, silver, and bronze, of Severus, Gordianus, Gallienus, Victorinus, Constantius and Arcadius. There was a great quantity also of mussel, periwinkle, and cockle shells, and of snail shells. Many sepulchral urns were dug up containing bones and ashes, closed in some instances with a cover, in others, only with a stone, see *ante* 117, and *Proc. Soc. of Antiq. Lond.*, 2nd Ser., 1885, XI, 12, 14. (Communication from E. H. F. Moore, Esq., of Woodbridge.)

Roman objects of bronze in the Collection of Lord Londesborough from this site. A bust of Mercury and several keys, Vol. 3, Pl. 25. *Antiquarian Etching Club Publications*.

In Ipswich Museum. Three fine tiles, perfect, one of large size with reeded ornamentation. Vessels of ordinary ware some probably cinerary urns. A large thumb pot of unusual size. A harp-shaped fibula $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. Here are preserved an arm and one finger bone of one of the skeletons found by Professor Henslow, together with bronze bracelets. The objects recently added to the museum (1897) consist of fragments of vases of Durobrivian, Upchurch, and pseudo-Samian ware (all plain). The animal remains consist of fragments of horns of red deer, etc., and there are some oyster shells. Pieces of a glass vessel and one fragment of window glass. Small portions of roof and flue tiles.

In Norwich Museum (Fitch Coll.). Bronze. Keys, tags of belts, tweezers, fibulae, two perfect, two in fragments, nails, rings, a small bronze column 3 inches high, a figure of a goat, a head of an animal, two small busts, one perhaps of Mercury, a leaf, a portion of a vase and fragments of ligulae. All these bronzes appear to be water-worn.

In Bury Museum. Small vase, black glaze, presented by the Rev. Lord John Hervey, 1853. Needles and bone pins, Acton Coll. Implement in bone probably a mesh gauge. Jet pins. Double comb in bone. Button in shale I, in jet I.

In British Museum. Bronze studs found in a leaden coffin, 1853. Central band of an enamelled buckle. Bronze toilet implement, brooch, pin, beads, armlet. Necklaces of beads of glass and shell found in a glass urn with bone bracelets, 1853. Engraved glass bead. Other glass beads. Small rude flanged pan of dark drab ware. Pot of grey ware ornamented with groups of dots in slip. Small black vase with glazed bands. Small pot of rough reddish grey ware. Vase, reddish grey with black bands. A large and fine vase of pseudo-Samian ware of unusual shape, globular, with short upright neck; the ornament forms a broad band on the body of the vase bordered by a narrower band above and below, the lower band has branches of vine leaves with a bird between

each branch, the upper band is similarly ornamented, a rabbit being substituted for the bird. The broad band or body has alternately a figure and a branching vine, the figures being either seated or standing. These figures appear to be on plaques applied to the body of the vase, the foliage is described as being in slip. A second vase of the same ware and of the same form but smaller has the body ornamented with a wide band with simple marginal lines, this band having vine foliage as in the preceding one, amongst which are interspersed figures of stags. The animals appear to be of slip work and much resemble those seen on Durobriyan ware. Both these vases were "given by A. W. Franks, Esq., 1881."

For site see *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet XC, n.w. and s.w.

FRITTON.—Near the Broad, half-a-mile to the north of it, in a small hillock, pieces of pottery are occasionally found. Suckling, *Hist. of Suff.*, 1846, I, 353.

GATESFORD.—A bronze bowl (Anglian) and another (Celtic) with a coarse buff earthenware pot which contained coins dating from Antoninus Pius. Chart, *Layard Coll.*, and note by Mr. H. Watling.

GLEMSTON.—A first brass coin of Antoninus Pius. *Proc. Bury and West Suff. Arch. Instit.*, 1853, I, 235.

GRUNDISBURGH.—Small pan of reddish cream-coloured ware. Top of neck of a vase with oval mouth-piece, pseudo-Samian. Ampulla of buff ware. Flat circular glass bead found in 1848-50. Drawings, Davy, *Suff. Coll.*, B.M. MSS., Vol. III, 19178, 57.

Two terra-cotta lamps with part of a third. Drawings, *Suff. Illust. (Fitch Coll.)*, Vol. 2.

HAYERHILL.—In the summer of 1759, between Withersfield and Haverhill, a cemetery appears to have been discovered. The site of it was in a disused lane, beside the old Roman road from Cambridge to Colchester, near a rivulet under the wood by Haverhill Castle. In digging for gravel at this spot labourers removed many cartloads of human bones besides complete skeletons, and in the same place the earth was black with the ashes of burnt bodies; also about the spot several large glass urns had been found. The Rev. Mr. Barnard, the then Rector of Withersfield, had a number of the objects dug up in his possession. They consisted exclusively of glass and earthen vessels, no coins having been discovered. The following is a list of them. A large white transparent glass vase, capable of holding two gallons, with a ribbed handle and short neck. A small bottle of transparent white glass, filled with an unctuous substance. Another of the same character. A round squat vessel of transparent glass. A small patena of pseudo-Samian ware standing on a foot, the rim ornamented with sprigs and leaves. It had a potter's mark which was not recorded. Another, without a foot and a portion of a third, of the same ware. A large urn of whitish ware of coarse texture full of burnt bones. Another of the same ware with handle and straight neck. A small ordinary lamp of red ware. Besides these there were many pieces of urns and paterae with ashes and partly burnt bones. Coles MS. B.M. MSS. V, 31, f. 92, 93, and for drawings of some of the objects f. 91 b., f. 92 b.

HAWKEDON.—Amphora of globular form deprived of neck and handles. Within it two fragments of statuettes of pipeclay, both

representing a nude type of the goddess Venus, found in draining the Glebe farm. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, VI, 1888-9, 2 Pls., *illustr.*

The fragment of one of these statuettes and the amphora are in the Museum, Bury St. Edmunds.

HELMINGHAM.—Roman remains are reported to be found here, by the Rev. G. Carden, but the account given is by no means definite. See *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1865, XXI, 267 *et seq.* A common red pan and a black olla from this site are shown on Chart, *Loyard Coll.*

HEPRINGFLEET.—Roman bronze vessel with the maker's name Quattenus engraved on the handle (the stamp appears to read QUATTENVS F), found July, 1742. Presented to Norwich Castle Museum by Col. H. M. Leathes, of Herringfleet Hall. *Genl. Mag.*, 1844, Part I, 634. *Suff. Illust. (Fitch Coll.)*, Vol. 3, drawing in sepia. *Arch. Jour.*, 1880, XXXVII, 151, and 1881, XXXVIII, 391. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1863, III, 406 *et seq.* *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, VII, No. 1167. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, 1895, 2nd Ser., XVI, 237 *et seq. illustrations in text to scale*, 238, 239.

HOLBROOK.—Four third brass coins, 1. Maximinus Daza, struck at Trèves. 2, Constantine the Great, struck at Trèves. 3, another struck in London; and 4, a different mintage of the same coin. All found on the banks of the Stour. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1853, I, 151.

HOLLESLEY.—In Brit. Museum. Vase of grey ware with broad band of incised waved ornament.

ICKLINGHAM.—For description of site see *ante*, p. 111. The following discovery is recorded by Salmon, who says, "About three years ago a Leaden Cistern was found here by a Ploughman, the Share striking against the edge of it. The Treasure it had concealed was gone. The Cistern is in being; it contains about sixteen gallons, perforated on each side for Rings to lift it by. There is ornamental work on the Outside of it, imitating Hoops of Iron, but cast with the Thing itself. On one side is a Mark A, perhaps intending the Measure or the Use of it." (This cistern might possibly have been Roman.) *A New Survey of England* . . . By N. Salmon, LL.B., in two volumes, 1730, I, 158 *et seq.*

A gold ring, exhibited at a Meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London, which was picked up in a field between Mildenhall and Icklingham. A figure on it perhaps of Mars, holding a Victory in his hand. *Soc. Antiq. Lond. Minute Book*, 1824, XXXV, 72.

Objects exhibited to the same Society, by Mr. Acton. These formed a service of pewter, which consisted of one large flat round dish, two very small ditto, two deeper round ditto, one square ditto, one amphora, two standing dishes with octagonal borders, and one little pan. They were found in 1839, by labourers trenching heath land for the purpose of floating it. They lay 1 foot 6 inches beneath the surface of the ground, and seemed to have been hastily buried. Two small second brass coins, illegible, were turned up at the same place. *Archæologia*, 1842, XXIX, App., 389.

Funnel-shaped vessel of bronze belonging to E. Acton, Esq., 1850, *Antiquarian Etching Club*, Vol. 2, Pl. 46.

An urn of large size found in 1851 in a sand-pit, from which pit

many skeletons had been dug up at various times,' *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1853, I, 343.

Exhibited from this site in temporary museums of the Ipswich Congress of the Brit. Arch. Assoc. Two silver rings, one silver fibula, ten of bronze, five bronze bracelets, one glass ring or bracelet (black), one string of beads. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1865, XXI, 345. Mention of a coin of Honorius found, *Ibid.*, 1869, XXV, 82.

From the most southerly field of Dix's Charity land were turned up by a man ploughing in July, 1877, fragments of a vase of Durobrivian pottery and a hoard of coins, of which perhaps the full number may have been about 400. The coins were all silver and generally in good condition. Shards of different kinds of pottery were scattered about the spot where they were found. The following is the list of those which were saved:—Constantius I. Julianus 19. Jovianus I. Valentinianus 28. Valens 73. Gratianus 41. Valentinianus II, 9. Theodosius 43. Magnus Maximus 48. Victor 2. Eugenius 11. Arcadius 51. Honorius 22. In all 349. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1874, IV, 282 *et seq.* Vase of Durobrivian ware found. *Ibid.*, 367 *et seq.*

Roman house found in a field called "The Horselands," and partially excavated by Mr. H. Prigg, see *ante*, p. 94; *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1878, XXXIV, 12 *et seq.*, one plan to scale. The remains found in this house were, fragments of different kinds of pottery, bones of animals, including those of the horse, ox, goat, pig, fox and hare; with these, many shells of a large kind of oyster and of the common snail, and part of one of a pearl-mussel. Of metal, there were three iron holdfasts, nails, and an axehead of Saxon type. The coins discovered were all small brass, and much oxidised. The chief of these were a Magnia Urbica from a small heap lying on one of the walls and a Carausius of an ordinary type.

Some notices of a cemetery apparently of mixed interments Anglian and Roman, and of other sepulchral remains in the parish, are afforded in papers contributed by Mr. H. Prigg to the *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Association*. In one of these he says that he found a large Saxon cemetery near Icklingham, in which the remains were all of urn burial, the urns being of Roman manufacture. Such of the urns as he describes are, however, of Saxon form. See *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1881, XXXVII, 154-5. In the same cemetery was found in April, 1881, a silver ring set with an intaglio representing a genius holding in one hand a bunch of grapes and in the other two ears of corn. *Ibid.*, 214. In *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1888, VI, 56, is a mention of a leaden Roman coffin with nails about it in a Roman burial place (the aforesaid cemetery?) partly explored in 1871, and of a late Roman interment at Mitchell's hill in Icklingham parish.

Four tumuli in a row, with a single one some distance south-east of them, are to be seen in a field less than a quarter of a mile from Bernersfield farm. These are noted on *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet XXI, S.E. Also on sheet XXXII, N.E., "site of villa," and at a bend of the road a short distance farther south, "Coffins found A.D. 1877" (Roman?).

In the Museum, Bury St. Edmunds. Jar of bright red ware 6 inches high, 5½ inches diam., and another, 1860. 2 vases of red

ware, and a third, 1861. 1 vase of red ware. Black glazed, globular urn, 1 foot 6 inches high, pres. by Rev.—Gwilt. Bronze fibula. Bronze tweezers. Handle of knife, bronze, from Rom.-Brit. cemetery Stone Pit Hill. Acton Coll. Fibula, silver, bow-shaped. Fibula gilt, damascened with silver, found with glass vessels in same cemetery. Armillae, 5 various, in bronze, same cemetery, Acton Coll. Rondel of white clear glass with male bust in relief and NC in raised letters. Another, with galley having two rowers, Warren Coll. Spindle whorl in basalt $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches diam., Tymn's Coll. Bronze knife and chain.

In Brit. Museum. Large pan of black glazed ware. Small one-handed bottle, red ware. Bowl or basin of coarse red ware. Half of a pair of compasses, bronze. Flat-headed pin. Twisted bronze ring; boss; 4 small keys; 2 brooches; a weight; 8 armlets; a pedestal. A bone pin. Armlet of Kimmeridge shale. Square pewter dish with circular sinking, and other plates and dishes, all purchased in 1844. A pewter vase of simple form without handles.

ICKWORTH.—A large pot of Roman coins found, mentioned by Archdeacon Batteley. *Camd., Brit.*, ed. Gough. 1789, Add., II, 81.

ILKESHALL ST. JOHN.—A billon denarius of Postumus, sen., found on a farm in the occupation of Mr. J. O. Wayling. *East Anglian Notes*, 1869, III, 90.

INGHAM.—A cemetery appears to have been found about the year 1823 or 1825, on land originally heath close upon the Culford boundary towards the south end of the parish. The land sloped upwards in a northerly direction from marshy meadows through which flowed a stream running from Liversmere through Culford to fall into the river Lark. In a field here, lying on the eastern side of a shallow depression bounded by a ditch, was the site of the cemetery.

The report of a labourer of the name of Banham, who afterwards became parish clerk of Ingham, and who as a young man worked on the Hall farm, on which this spot was situated, is to the following effect. He with other men one harvest time about the year mentioned was set, owing to an interruption of the harvest work by wet weather, to dig over the spot in question and they turned over the surface for the space of 4 rods. A dozen pots were found and various bottles and other things, which were all delivered to Mr. Worledge, the then tenant of the farm. No metal seems to have been found with the pottery, only fragments of bone, and patches of dark soil. An urn of red-coloured pottery, presumably a cinerary urn, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, was discovered in 1825, 2 feet below ground, together with a patera of pseudo-Samian ware, on this same farm, and may have come from this cemetery. Also on the same estate and possibly from the place named, though at a later date than 1825, was dug up the upper stone of a quern of pudding stone. It was 18 inches diameter and showed traces of an iron rim and the central point. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1853, I, 230, and 1888, VI, 52. The urn is in the Museum, Bury St. Edmunds.

Discovery of another cemetery made in 1873, when the railway between Bury St. Edmunds and Thetford was in course of construction. The site is in a field called Cowpath Breck, west of the road to Thetford, and between it and the farm road to Bodney Barn.

Nineteen interments were observed. The following is a list and description of them. There was this number at least, and the bodies appear to have been buried in coffins, the nails of which were found. Interment No. 1 (close to 5th milestone from Bury) 4 feet 6 inches below surface, north and south direction, head to north. Iron nails found with it and pieces of a globular urn of dark ware. Skull and long bones remained. Twenty yards northward occurred interment No. 2, at depth of 5 feet, same direction as No. 1. Skeleton fairly entire. Only nails found with it. Some yards farther in advance of this last fragments of large vase of red ware covered with cream-coloured slip. The vase had contained calcined human bones. Some way from it lay an urn of red ware, but not of the same kind as the vase. A short way farther lay a group of rubbish pits. From these came some animal bones and pieces of pottery, amongst which occurred some of coarse ware with a "stellate pattern in relief." Interment No. 3 same depth as No. 2. Skeleton that of a woman buried in a coffin, direction of grave east and west. At the head, to the west, a cup of Durobrivian ware 6½ inches high. Amongst the bones more than a dozen horses' teeth. No. 4 was 44 feet north of No. 3, the bones much decayed and nothing with them. No. 5. This was 34 feet farther, on the west edge of the railway cutting. The bones lay in an east and west direction, and were much decayed. With them was a fragment of coarse red ware with two dogs and a boar upon it; perhaps part of a vase of Durobrivian ware. No. 6. 17 feet further on east side of cutting, and at a depth of 3 feet 6 inches, in a long coffin, skeleton of a man well preserved, the skull perfect, lying with head to the north-east. Owing to untoward circumstances this was the last interment carefully observed, but there is a record of 12 more. Nails were seen in some of the graves: the bones in most were much decayed. The graves appeared to lie generally across the line of the railway cutting, that is, they would have been in an east and west direction. Many no doubt were not recorded. The site of the cemetery was not far from Icklingham. *Ibid.*, 1888, VI, 41 *et seq.*

IPSWICH.—Tall vessel of brownish ware with slip ornament, Castor ware. Globular urn found enclosed in a larger urn which was broken. Head of a vase, white ware, 2½ inches across, with fragment of handle, and on the opposite side a female head. Details of head and a rude cross mark in brown paint. Found on Bolton farm, Ipswich, September, 1863. *Suff. Illust. (Fitch Coll.)*, Vol. II, *Drawings*. Globular vessel with large circular incised ornament on it. Vessel with short neck and handle found in foundations of Paul's brewery. Urn found in digging foundations of Paul's brewery. Globular vessel with short neck and handle. *Ibid.*, Vol. III.

Fibula in form of a bee. Bronze lamp in shape of a dog, the head lost. Found near Ipswich, 1883. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, 2nd Ser., 1886, XI, 98-9.

Fragments of Roman pottery found in High Street. Vase and pottery from site of New Gas Offices, Carr Street. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1891, VII, 368.

Tetina of brown ware found in 1892 when the new bank was built. Chart, *Layard Coll.*

In excavations on site of Carmelite convent fragments of pottery

from depths ranging from 10 feet to 23 feet have been brought up, but although some of these fragments have a certain resemblance to pottery of the Roman period, it is scarcely possible to identify any of them as of that age. Nothing definitely Roman appears to have been found. *Arch. Jour.*, 1899, LXI, 236.

In Museum, Ipswich. Pot-shaped vase found in carrying out sewage works in Burlington Road.

In Museum, Bury St. Edmunds. Two fibulae, bronze. Chain, Acton Coll. One bronze chain Castle Museum, Norwich, Fitch Coll.

In British Museum. Bronze vessel found in the garden of Cardinal Wolsey's College. Purchased, 1857.

IXWORTH.—A bronze fibula found in 1834. It was circular, convex, and set with concentric zig-zag circles of enamel. With it at the same time was turned up a silver coin of Septimius Severus, and from the same spot a few coins of bronze.

In 1838 some pieces of pottery were dug up in digging the foundations for the parsonage.

In 1846 more pottery was found, a part of a glass vessel, the tusk of a boar, and the skull of an ox with the horn cores remaining.

In 1834, near the road to Stow Langtoft, about half a mile south of the village, the remains of a chamber with an apsidal end, and with a pillared hypocaust, were discovered in the course of ploughing. Though attention was called to the discovery in the following spring (1835), no further investigation was made until the year 1849, when the place was cleared for the inspection of members of the Suffolk Institute at a meeting at Ixworth. For description of these remains see *ante*, p. 92.

The main objects turned up included a grotesque mask, part of a vase, some black pottery, and a small bronze coin of Constantine. A silver coin, of which the inscription was illegible, had been picked up previous to the excavation of the site. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1853, I, 74 *et seq.* Map of Ixworth and Pakenham, p. 74. Plan of hypocaust, p. 77 and illustration of mask, p. 78; both the latter in text. For site see *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet XXXIV, s.w., where it is marked (*Baths, site of*).

Dug up in churchyard, a circular bronze fibula with 8 semi-circular projections. It was enamelled in blue, yellow, and perhaps red, and was $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1853, VIII, 364, illust. in text.

A bronze circular fibula, gilt, hoed up in a field where Roman remains have been found. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1859, II, 275, illust. in text. For other bronze fibulae see *Ibid.*, 1863, III, Pl., p. 296 and p. 402.

From churchyard, coins: 1 Antoninus Pius first brass; 2 *idem*, middle brass; 1 Trajan; 1 small brass of Licinius; 1 small brass of Constantine. All found at different times. *East Anglian Notes*, 1864, I, 437.

A bronze key shown in temporary museum at the Ipswich Congress of Brit. Arch. Assoc., see *Jour.*, 1865, XXI, 345.

A shield-shaped bronze enamelled fibula, *Ibid.*, 1872, XXVIII, 282, and 1873, XXIX, 90.

Fragments of pseudo-Samian ware figured. Vase of same with hunting subjects found in 1840. Illust. of hypocaust found between

Ixworth and Stow Langtoft. *Suff. Illust. (Fitch Coll.)*, Vol. 19. Roman Key Museum, Bury St. Edmunds.

KELSALE.—About Kelsale Lodge many urns were found of ordinary black ware, and vessels of various shapes in red and buff ware. Chart, *Layard Coll.*

KENNY HILL.—Bronze head found about 3 miles north of Mildenhall. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, 1892, 2nd Ser., XIV, 155.

KESGRAVE.—Roundel in terra-cotta. Medallion in terra-cotta, Bestiarius and lion. Both from Acton Collection. Museum, Bury St. Edmunds.

KETTLEBURGH.—Small vase of grey ware. Drawing, Davy, *Suff. Coll.*, B.M. MSS., Vol. 3, 19178, f. 237.

KIRTON.—Large pot-shaped urn. Ipswich Museum.

LAKENHEATH.—Not far from Feltwell (Norfolk) was found a small pot containing brass Roman coins. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1880, XXXVI, 104.

In British Museum. Bronze brooch. Another, circular; 4 pewter plates, circular, bought 1871. A number of iron fragments, hinges, adze head, bill hooks, padlock, handle of bucket, knife, etc., presented by Walter K. Foster, Esq., F.S.A., 1882. Small blackish drab vase. Large vase of coarse blackish brown hand-made ware of coarse black paste, ornamented with a broad band of incised cross lines making a pattern of diamonds, the rim flat, with three ribs.

LAVENHAM.—Coins found in 1823 near the site of the Manor House. A third brass of Domitian, of Hadrian, and of Faustina.

A silver coin perhaps of Trajan found in 1826. Davy, *Suff. Coll.*, B.M. MSS., I, 19077 f. 371.

A fragment of a glass vessel, enclosing a small quantity of liquid of a pinkish colour, and with a whitish sediment. The glass was of pure white crystalline texture. *Arch. Jour.*, 1846, III, 69. Illustrated in text.

A labourer, on June 10th, 1874, ploughing in a field near Lavenham Lodge, came upon a rude earthen urn about a foot beneath the surface of the ground containing 197 silver coins, of which 184 were saved and the rest dispersed. The following is the list of those saved:—M. Antonius 3, Augustus 1, Tiberius 1, Claudius 1, Nero 4, Galba 4, Otho 1, Vitellius 4, Vespasian 65, Titus 23, Domitian 42, Nerva 6, Trajan 28, in all 183. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1874, IV, 414 *et seq.*

This find is marked on the Ordnance Maps as occurring at a spot three fields west of Lavenham Lodge Farm, thus: *Roman coins found* A.D. 1874. *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet LXIII, N.E.

MARTLESHAM.—In British Museum. "Base of an equestrian figure with dedication to Mars Corotiaeus by Simplicia. Made by Glaucus. (Hübner, No. 93A) purchased 1858." Bronze.

MELFORD, LONG.—"Many years since several Roman urns were dug up here in a gravel pit." *Excursions in Suff.*, 1818, I, 19, 59.

In March, 1823, at a distance of 300 yards from the river Stour near Mr. Almack's house, some workmen digging for gravel came upon a glass vessel at a depth of 6 feet from the surface of the ground, together with 2 urns. The vessel and the urns stood upright at a distance of 2 feet from each other, and the former was

covered by a patera reversed, by way of a lid. It had contained calcined bones. The larger of the two urns had a coin in the mouth, but too corroded to be made out. Both urns appear to have held ashes. Near where this discovery was made, skeletons, with broken urns, and coins of Hadrian, Vespasian, etc., had been dug up at different times. *Archæologia*, 1831, XXIII, Append., 394-5.

Coins have been found on land called Stoney Land, and in a meadow the property of Mr. Churchyard, a small vase, a patera of pseudo-Samian ware and more coins. The two fields are not far from each other. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archæology*, 1853, I, 223.

Some urns and a small cup of green glass exhibited at a meeting of the Suff. Inst. at Melford by Mr. Almack, at which meeting a 2nd brass of Vespasian was also shown. *Ibid.*, 1859, II, 96-97.

Drawings of two vases of brown buff ware, wide mouthed and low, are amongst the *Suff. Illust. (Fitch Coll.)*, Vol. 25, and are also figured on a Chart in *Layard Coll.*

In British Museum. The glass vase found in 1823. Presented by Sir W. Parker, 1825.

MELLIS.—Lower stone of a quern. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archæology*, 1859, II, 277.

MELTON.—The discovery, of which the following is an account, quoted from a description in Davy's *Suffolk Collections*, was made in December, 1846, in a field on a farm in Melton in the occupation, at the time named, of Mr. Isaac Churchyard.

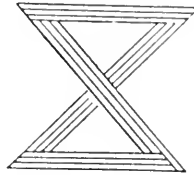
"Mr. Churchyard's bailiff having, for several years past, observed that the corn on a particular part of the field was much more luxuriant and productive than on the remainder, was thus induced from curiosity . . . to examine into and ascertain if possible the cause of it; he accordingly dug a hole on the spot. At the depth of about 4 feet, he came to a considerable number of large tiles, laid in regular order upon each other to the depth of three feet or more; between each layer of these tiles, there was a layer of loam, of like thickness.

"On 12th Dec. Mr. Churchyard, desirous of making a further investigation, employed two of his labourers to make a more extensive opening. At the depth of about 5 feet the men came to a level floor, apparently of clay, but hardened by the action of fire. On the right hand side of this floor, the tiles had been piled up in a regular way in courses, to the depth of about 4 feet, and for the length of 10 feet or more: on the opposite side of this pile was another of the same kind, but it does not appear to have extended more than 3 or 4 feet from the East end; the space between these two piles was not more than 3 feet. These piles were thoroughly burnt, and fit for use. At the end of this fireplace, if such it was, that is, to the E., there was a similar pile of tiles in the state in which they were, when they came from the manufacturer's hands; these had also the layer of loam or clay between each course: the fire had never reached these; they were as easily cut thro' with the spade as they would have been the moment they came out of the mould. . . ."

"Some hundreds, perhaps, of the tiles might have been extracted, and about 40 or 50 whole ones were taken out and preserved: the following are the dimensions of these tiles:—length, 14 inches; breadth, $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches; thickness, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch:—There were besides

portions of another kind of tile, having the opposite edges turned up about 2 inches, intended evidently to cover a flue; scarcely a whole one of this kind was thrown out, the dimensions of one . . . which had the greater part of the turned up edge broken off, are, length $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches, breadth between the turned up edges 6 inches and the thickness $\frac{3}{4}$ inch; on the upper side lines were scored, in a very rough manner, by way of ornaments; one . . . has them in the following form." (Fig. 1.)

Fig 1.

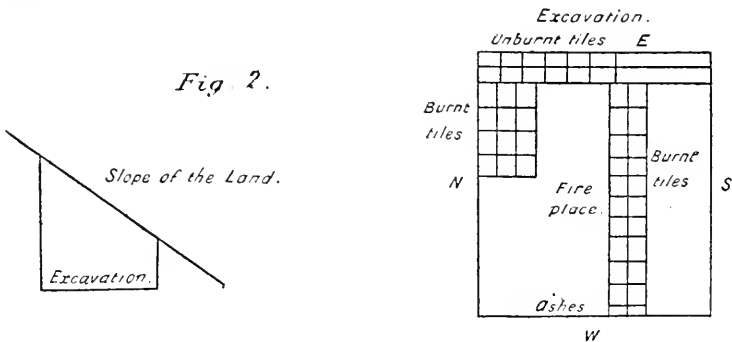


"The earth of which these tiles are made is of good quality but the manufacture is very coarse."

There were no other kinds of tile found but the two named with the exception of "a small fragment of pipe, the diameter of which within side may have been about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the thickness about $\frac{5}{8}$ inch; at one end there is a shoulder of about half the thickness of the pipe, which is left in order that the next piece of pipe might be fitted into it."

"At the west end of the opening which has been made there appeared a considerable quantity of wood ashes; and here was probably the mouth of the furnace; the land slopes towards the west, the lowest part, and the opening of the kiln was, no doubt, to that point. The whole of the soil which has been removed is of a red colour, as if formed of powdered tiles; mixed, however, here and there, with pieces of a hard, coarse white substance, which, upon being broken, have a disagreeable pyritic smell." (For plan and section of site see Fig. 2.)

Fig 2.



The writer of this account, Mr. Davy, expresses the opinion that from the shape and dimensions of the tiles a manufactory of Roman tiles had been found on this spot, and also, in further confirmation of his opinion, speaks of the scored tile (Fig. 1) as resembling another, undoubtedly Roman, dug up at Colchester Green in the parish of

Cockfield. (See under Cockfield.) Davy, *Suff. Coll.*, B.M. MSS., XXXVII, 19113, f. 194, a and b.

MICKFIELD.—Black urn of ordinary type, one smaller of red ware, and a bottle-shaped one-handed vase of buff ware. Map of site where found. Chart, *Layard Coll.*

MILDENHALL.—With other remains were found in the parish, in 1833, a glass vase with ashes, destroyed by the labourers who dug it up, and two clay vessels containing Roman coins not far from the same spot. *Archæologia*, 1834, XXV, Append., 609. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archæology*, 1853, I, 24.

A cinerary urn with burnt bones; a portion of a quern of lava; two bronze dishes found with a third, one within the other; a bronze winged figure holding flowers; a dagger with ivory (?) handle; some coins, silver and bronze; all found in Mildenhall fen. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archæology*, 1853, I, 312–13.

A portion of a concave mirror, the handle of bronze 3 inches long. Near this object was found a bronze hand $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, the fingers extended, evidently part of a figure which was not found. Two blue and white glass beads, and a button of transparent light green glass $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter. All found lying on the clay beneath 6 feet of vegetable mould in a fen near Mildenhall. At the same time and place coins scattered about of Hadrian, Vespasian, and Constantine. *Ibid.*, 310 *et seq.*

Ring with female figure at an altar, the stone an amethyst set in silver. *Ibid.*, 1863, III, 406.

Vase of Durobrivian ware ploughed up at West Row in 1869. *Ibid.*, 1874, IV, 374.

In Museum, Bury St. Edmunds, one of the earthen pots containing coins, with the glass vase having an inscription in relief, found near Holywell Row in 1833, and a small black vase, exhibited, and the latter presented, by Sir Henry Bunbury. A steelyard hook and chain and loops of steelyard hook, bronze. Acton Coll.

NEEDHAM MARKET.—Bronze-handled bowl. Chart, *Layard Coll.*

NEWMARKET.—Several coins of Trajan, one of Maximianus I, one of Faustina, found on the heath in the eighteenth century. *Excursions in Suff.*, 1818, I, 19, 91.

Fibula and coin found in levelling the course. In possession of Lord Lowther. *Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, *Minute Book*, XXXVI, 42.

NOWTON.—A fragment of a quern of pudding stone. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archæology*, 1853, I, 304 *et seq.*

PAKENHAM.—A tessellated pavement was discovered in this parish on a farm called Redcastle farm, in grass-land near the farm house, and was taken care of for a time, but was finally destroyed by cattle getting into the enclosure which had been made for its protection. *Camd.*, *Brit.*, ed. Gough, 1789, II, Add., 81; *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archæology*, 1853, I, 74. For site see map same page.

A burial place was opened early in the nineteenth century by a man digging for brick earth. This appears to have been at a spot near Pakenham Mill. The report of the man who made the discovery was to the effect that he found a square place full of pots set in rows. He could not tell the number of the pots, but there were a great many, and they were of a dark colour. Mr. Sharpe of Ixworth, who saw them, reports that several of them had covers. No care

was taken to preserve them. *Ibid.*, 75. One of these urns is figured on a Chart in *Layard Coll.*, where it looks like a Roman cinerary urn.

In digging for gravel in 1844, two perfect skeletons were discovered as also fragments of pottery, parts of two bronze plated spoons, hair pins in bone and bronze, a stylus, a piece of a stag's horn, and an object of iron. Besides these there was a bronze handle of good workmanship which, from fragments of wood adhering to it, may have belonged to the lid of a box holding some of the articles mentioned. At a somewhat later date, a coin of Constans was turned up here. In 1845, a bronze bracelet and an enamelled fibula were found (for illust. of these see *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1863, III, Figs. 5 and 6, Pl. p. 296 and p. 402-3), and at the same time, four or five urns of common ware, not cinerary, and some fragments of pseudo-Samian ware together with pieces of thick buff ware and a large brass coin of Nerva. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1846, I, 138, and *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1853, I, 74 *et seq.*

Silver coin of Julia Donna with reverse of Geta. Found in a village adjoining Ixworth (Pakenham?), *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1851, VI, 445.

The traces of a Roman road occur in this parish on the Queach farm, tenant Mr. Waites Matthew. When a ditch was cut through the line of the road in 1856, the section showed gravel about 10 yards wide, and about 1 foot thick at the crown. The road passed through fields formerly part of Pakenham heath, and near it was a place called Puttocks-hill where was once a tumulus. As far as it is possible to trace it, its course is roughly west and east. In a small field where the line of it can be best seen, was found a brass coin of Trajan and a harp-shaped enamelled fibula. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1853, I, 74 and 1859, II, 212 and 221. *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet XXXIV, s.w.

A mortarium was found on Messrs. Burrell and King's land, on south-west side of Ixworth bridge. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1891, VII, 214.

Denarius of Tiberius found in a field at fork of roads through Pakenham to Bury and to Thurston station. Raven, *Hist. of Suff.*, 1895, 26.

PEASENHALL.—Close to the remains of Sibton Abbey, quarter of a mile N.E. of the village of Peasehall, traces of a *supposed Roman road* running north of east and some 600 feet long. *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet XXXVIII, s.e.

PLAYFORD.—Vase 6 inches high, the same in diameter, found in an old fosse; Museum, Bury St. Edmunds.

POSLINGFORD.—Roman coin, brass weight and a key, found at the Hall. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1853, I, 87 *et seq.*

REDGRAVE.—Urn dug up, about 3 feet 6 inches in circumference, *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1853, I, 148. This may be the one of buff ware from Redgrave preserved in the Museum, Bury St. Edmunds.

ROUGHAM.—Close to the highway and at the junction of the roads to Hersett and Bradfield Manger, is a mound called Eastlow Hill, and not far from it two mounds between 50 and 60 feet in diameter. Various objects of the Roman period had been discovered in the neighbourhood from time to time. The land where these mounds

stood had been common until 30 years ago (*i.e.*, till about 1813). About 250 yards east of these tumuli were discovered remains of buildings, and in the middle of the field the traces of a floor were uncovered composed of a bed of pounded tile and mortar, and upon that a layer of white calcareous stucco. *Cent. Mag.*, 1843, Pt. II, 190, 528.

The barrows mentioned (of which there were four not three) were examined by Professor Henslow in 1843 and 1844. His long and elaborate accounts are here condensed. These barrows lay in a continuous line north-east and south-west, the one called Eastlow Hill being the largest. In July, 1843, labourers were employed in taking earth from the most northerly of the smaller ones, when they came upon a cist of tile which appears to have been a cube of 2 feet. Hollow flue tiles as well as the ordinary tiles were used in its construction, and the roof was of a single layer of large flat tiles. Within were found a large iron lamp with a short handle, and a square urn of green glass filled with burnt human bones. The urn was 8 inches square, 12 inches to the shoulder, and 16 inches full height, and the mouth $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. The cist according to the workmen contained nothing else.

The next barrow to this, to the south-west, was opened on September 15th of the same year, by cutting a trench 4 feet wide across the middle of it, in a north-east and south-west direction. In diameter it was 54 feet and in height from the natural surface of the soil about 6 feet. In the centre and beneath the surface of the soil, lay a cist or chamber built of tiles, each 17 inches long, 12 inches broad, and 2 inches thick. The chamber measured slightly over 2 feet square (2 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 2 feet 1 inch). It was 2 feet 3 inches high from the floor to the crown of the straight-sided arch covering it, formed of five courses of tiles overlapping each other till they were covered by a row of single tiles at top. Heaped above the cist was a mass of broken brick rubbish, then a layer of loam somewhat rounded, above the natural ground level, and finally a coating of pounded brick and mortar.

The cist contained the following objects: 1. An urn of bluish-green glass with broad reeded handles, the body nearly spherical, and about 9 inches in diameter, the neck 4 inches long and the opening of the mouth 3 inches wide. It had a foot 4 inches across. It had fallen in pieces and lay heaped up with the burnt bones it had contained. 2. A lachrymatory or perfume bottle of glass, in form a long neck with a small flattened body. It had been placed on the bones within the urn and contained a brown matter. 3. A coin, apparently a second brass, but illegible. 4, 5. Two small plain jars of coarse black ware, the one 3 inches high, 2 inches in diameter, the other $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and 3 inches in diameter. They lay on their sides near the cinerary urn. They had perhaps been painted and gilt. 6. A spherical pitcher of coarse buff ware, 10 inches high and 8 inches in diameter, with a narrow neck and one handle. 7. A similar vessel of smaller size. 8. A patera of dark red ware (pseudo-Samian ware), 7 inches in diameter with a potter's stamp badly impressed. The name might be BIFVSA. Near this were fragments of bone, perhaps the handle of a knife. 9. A very similar patera, the same diameter, the potter's mark ALBVCI. 10. A third

patera, a trifle smaller, potter's mark MICTOF. This patera had in it some chopped fragments of unburnt bone, pieces of neck bone of an ox. 11. Another patera, potter's mark ILLIOMRIX. 12. An iron lamp hung from a twisted iron rod driven into the south-west wall of the chamber. The lamp was 5 inches long and open at the top. It had remains of a wick in the nozzle. 13. Two iron rods $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, possibly handles of a small wooden chest or casket, traces of which lay in the east corner of the cist. Pieces of burnt bones were found lying near patera No. 10, which appeared to have been either covered with gold dust or gold leaf.

The third and last of the small barrows was opened on September 22nd. It had been so much injured by the removal of earth, and by a road having been driven across it that the exploration of it had but indifferent results. Two cinerary urns containing some bones, which appeared to have been placed upon the surface of the natural soil, were found and a few pieces of pottery amongst them, two fragments of pseudo-Samian ware. No signs of any cist were discovered.

Professor Henslow, in the following year (on July 4th, 1844), opened the largest and last of this group of four barrows, called Eastlow Hill. A tunnel was driven into the mound towards its centre and at a distance of 50 feet from the foot, a tomb was reached. This stood on the level of the natural soil upon a square platform of concrete. The tomb placed upon this platform was a diminutive model of a roofed building. It was constructed of flint rubble with rows of tile and tile quoins, and gabled at each end, the roof consisting of 4 rows of tiles on each side, with a ridge of flue tiles. In the rectangular chamber formed by this masonry was found a skeleton of a man enclosed in a leaden shell, the body having been wrapped in the hide of some beast, as there was hair with the bones. Also, from the mass of carbonaceous matter at the bottom of the tomb, and from the nails from 2 to 12 inches long, lying with it, it was clear that the leaden shell had been enclosed in a wooden coffin. This shell measured 6 feet 9 inches in length by 1 foot 5 inches in breadth, and had a depth of 1 foot 4 inches. The little rectangular chamber appears to have been just large enough to contain the coffin, and was covered by an arch turned with brick. At the head of the tomb was a small addition extending beyond the concrete platform. There was nothing about it to tell for what purpose it had been used. No objects appear to have been found with this interment. See *An Account of the Roman Antiquities found at Rougham near Bury St. Edmunds on the Fifteenth of September, 1843, by the Rev. J. S. Henslow, M.A., Professor of Botany in the University of Cambridge and Rector of Hitcham, Suffolk. Printed by Gedge and Barker, 26, Hatter Street, Bury.* Also for the account of the Eastlow barrow see a letter to the Editor of the *Bury Post*, entitled *The Roman Tumulus, Eastlow Hill, Rougham, opened on Thursday the 4th of July, 1844*, with three illustrations. A reprint of these two accounts edited by Professor Churchill Babington appeared in *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archeology*, 1874, IV, 257 *et seq.*, with two plates taken from the original account, in which the measurements relating to the chamber in the Eastlow barrow, given by the scale accompanying the drawings, do not correspond with those quoted in the text.

Reference is made by Professor Babington in his introduction to

the reprint of these papers, as to the state of the barrows in June, 1871. Only two then remained, the large one, and one of the three smaller ones. The large barrow, Eastlow Hill, had an elliptical rather than a circular form and was four times larger than the smaller one. It had a height of 17 feet. The tunnel made in 1844 was still open and the tomb within the barrow could still be seen *in situ*. The roof was for the most part intact, and the bones of the skeleton yet lay within the chamber although the skull had been removed to the Anatomical Museum at Cambridge, and the leaden coffin to the Fitzwilliam Museum at the same place. The barrow which had contained the cist with the glass urn and much pottery, yet existed, showing the trench cut through it. It measured 56 feet in diameter and was then something less than 5 feet high.

Shown at meeting of Suffolk Institute at Thetford, September 29th, 1849, a bronze lamp found in one of the tumuli at Rougham, *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1853, I, 150.

For site of tumuli see *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet XLV, s.w. A full-sized model of the small chamber found in the second barrow described, is to be seen in the museum at Bury St. Edmunds, containing all the antiquities found in it. These were presented to the museum by the owner of the estate, Mr. P. Bennet of Rougham Hall. A number of fragments of plain and figured pseudo-Samian ware dug up at Rougham, have lately been deposited in the same museum (1899).

SANTON DOWNHAM.—Hoard of British coins found near Brandon a little to the south of the Little Ouse. Amongst them, two second brass (*dupondii*) of the Emperor Claudius. The probable date of the deposit may have been from A.D. 50 to 55. *Arch. Jour.*, 1870, XXVII, 92 *et seq.*

SNAPE.—In British Museum. Pot of pale buff ware ornamented with a chequer of slip dots.

SCOTTERLY.—Between Sotterly and Weston an olla of ordinary form was found. Chart, *Layard Coll.*

SOUTHWOLD.—A middle brass coin of Constantius I ploughed up here. On the reverse MEMORIA FELIX. It had a hole through it for suspension. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, 1851, II, 184.

STANTON.—About a quarter of a mile from the village, a good many fragments of Roman pottery and some coins found. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1849, IV, 72.

STOKE ASH.—“Drawings were exhibited (at a meeting of the Brit. Arch. Assoc. in 1868) by Mr. H. Watling, of Roman remains consisting of ollae and other vessels of red and dust-coloured terracotta. On the handle of an amphora is stamped ENN IVL (Ennius Julianus), and among the Samian ware is a portion of a fine bowl with hunting subjects bearing the stamp ALBVCI.” *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1868, XXIV, 394.

A group of this pottery figured on one of Mr. Watling's charts of Roman remains in Suffolk (*Layard Coll.*) shows, besides the bowl previously mentioned, a small fragment of figured pseudo-Samian with a rabbit upon it. The stamp on the handle of the amphora is thus given, ENNIV. There is also a plan of the site where the pottery was found, which shows spots in fields east and west of the main road, and south of an inn called the White Horse Inn between it and the

river. On the east side of the road, which runs due north, sepulchral urns occurred, one of which lay mouth downwards on a tile. It is also noted on the chart referred to that the bed of the river contained a great quantity of animal bones and shards of pottery.

Some coins were found, amongst them one of Crispus. From Stoke Ash, the road (presumably a Roman one) goes north by Scole, Dickleborough, and Long Stratton, to Caister (Norfolk), and it is said by the road makers that there is a great difference in its character to the north and south of the White Horse Inn. Raven, *Hist. of Suff.*, 1895, 25, 30.

STONHAM, THE.—These parishes (Little Stonham, Earl Stonham, and Stonham Aspall) lie close together, and upon the Roman road through the county from south to north.

Found at Stonham Aspall, an unguentarium containing traces of unguent within it. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1853, I, 24.

Discoveries recorded at East (Earl?) Stonham. Some of the objects found appeared to be British, but Roman cinerary urns were observed, as also tiles, fragments of pseudo-Samian ware, etc. These discoveries are said to have extended over several acres. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1867, XXIII, 300.

The following extract is from a communication to the British Archæological Association, by Mr. Hamlet Watling, of Stonham:—"A vast quantity of Roman and other remains have been found lately in the valley intersecting the two parishes of Earls Stonham and Stonham Little. This valley was apparently devoted to the purpose of dwellings, and that to the south was devoted to the purposes of interments; a vast quantity of urns of a dark colour, covered with a tile and containing human bones, with long nails, etc., . . . occur. On the north of the church is an extensive barrow, in the vicinity of which urns of a grey colour are found, and within the yard is a tumulus. In consequence of stoppages through agriculture only fifteen rods have as yet been excavated; but from so small a piece of land vast quantities of pottery, iron, lead, glass, copper coins, querns, flue tiles, etc. have been obtained, also flint implements and a quantity of oyster and other shells and horns and bones of deer, hog, horse, ox, wolf, goat, etc." With this account, the following objects were sent for exhibition:—Animal remains as noted, knives, a key and nail of iron, a leaden weight, a grotesque mask originally forming part of a vessel of brown ware, the bottom of a vase with the potter's stamp $\frac{G}{FAF}$ the two last letters ligulated. The depth at which the Roman remains occurred appears to have been about 1 foot 10 inches beneath the present surface of the soil. *Ibid.*, 1868, XXIV, 184-5, 286 and 394. The coins found, identified by the Rev. C. E. Searle, were mostly third brass of the lower empire. Those read with certainty were of Claudius Gothicus, Diocletian, Carausius, Constantinus, Constantinus II, Magnentius, Valens (?). There was one plated denarius and a minimus.

At a later date drawings of objects found at Stonham were sent for exhibition to the British Archæological Association. These drawings showed various vessels ornamented with white slip, perhaps Durobrivian pottery. Two mortaria, one of red, the other of grey ware, with loop handles. Near the former were found two

flint pounders, also an object of lead resembling a key. These remains lay amongst ashes, together with coins of Constantine, bones, and cut horns of deer. Spindle whorls, and upper and lower stones of querns of pudding stone, of Andernach lava, and of other stones, and flue tiles were shown on the drawings. *Ibid.*, 1871, XXVII, 385-6.

In the restoration of Earl Stonham church a conical muller of jasper was found, with fragments of Roman pottery, in the south transept. *Ibid.*, 1875, XXXI, 216.

The drawings mentioned, with others also by Mr. H. Watling, representing objects from the same site, are in the collection of Miss Nina Layard, of Ipswich. The pottery represented in these drawings is of the character usually found on Roman sites and includes specimens of red, black, and buff or stone-coloured ware, with a very small proportion of pseudo-Samian fragments. In one of these latter is a potter's mark SEVERIM. One fragment is shown of New Forest ware. Portions of flue tiles are also figured. The objects of iron are of the usual character—keys, knives, shears, etc. Amongst those in bronze may be noted three diminutive wide-mouthed pots, each with one handle, joined together in a group. Of lead there are two or three articles, and of Kimmeridge shale one, a simple ring bracelet.

On a chart with these drawings is given a plan of part of the parishes where the discoveries were made. The remains appear to have been found for the most part in the glebe land, south-west of the rectory of Earl Stonham, and in the fields west of this land, divided from it by a small stream. Other finds occurred in a field north of the rectory, and a line of them extended from the church of Earl Stonham to that of Stonham Aspall.

Drawing of shears from this site found 1867, in *Suff. Illust.* (*Fitch Coll.*), Vol. 14.

Arch. Jour., 1869, XXVI, 401. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1886, V, 117.

See *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet LVII, N.W., for sites of discoveries.

STOW, WEST.—Potter's kilns on the heath. They were found in the spring of 1879 on a slight ridge. The first was circular in form, 3 feet 6 inches in internal diameter, with a furnace chamber, also circular, attached to the east side. The walls were 1 foot 6 inches high and 4 inches thick, and were of puddled clay with a large admixture of chalk pebbles. Nothing of the upper floor of the kiln remained, but in one place half-way up the wall a triangular brick pierced in the centre remained. It was vitrified on the surface, and was the only indication left of the baking floor. Other perforated tiles, however, were found in the rubbish.

A second kiln, 8 feet south of the first, was only 3 feet in diameter. The furnace was formed by walls with an outward splay. Bricks 1 foot 1 inch long by 8 inches wide and 3 inches thick, each perforated with two holes $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, lay in the kiln—the remains of the baking floor—and a number of circular bricks $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and from 3 to 4 inches thick were with them, evidently the fragments of the pilae supporting this floor. The method of construction of the kiln was clear. The earth had been dug out in

a circle to the depth of 4 feet, the bottom of the excavation filled with clay well trodden down, and then the walls to a height of some 18 or 20 inches were formed against the side of the excavation, and the baking floor constructed.

The pottery found about kiln No. 1 consisted principally of pieces of globular vessels with one handle, the vessels perhaps capable of holding from one pint to two quarts. They were rather fine ware, ruddy in hue. With them were some remains of little bowls of light red ware with machine-made markings, and some few other fragments.

The pottery found about kiln No. 2, which had been used occasionally as a smother kiln, was somewhat more varied. Fragments of urns resembling some kinds of cinerary urns, some small jars of black ware ornamented with burnished lines as a diaper, fragment of a jar with broad bands of dots in slip, and also pieces of a ware showing a micaceous glaze, lay about this kiln.

On a spot about half a mile from the kilns to the east, and near the river (the Lark), were a series of basin-shaped pits. It is possible that these pits were made by the potters in obtaining clay.

Skeletons were discovered in digging for sand in an elevation of the land dividing the heath of West Stow from meadows by the river, not far from the kilns described. By the right side of one of these, which lay north and south, was a patera of black ware placed edgeways. It had a potter's mark in a label, apparently an X between two dots, and from the disturbed soil near was turned up part of the rim of a mortarium with the stamp ABICOF with the lettering reversed.

The potters works were only half a mile from the supposed Roman station at Icklingham. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1881, XXXVII, 152 *et seq.* 1 Pl.

More kilns were discovered on the same site on West Stow Heath in and previous to the year 1890. The fragments found about the 5th consisted of portions of a shallow bowl in fine grey pottery, bowls of buff and brown ware, the rims ornamented with patterns in slip of various colours, parts of two smaller and deeper bowls of fine light red pottery with circles and lines in darker slip upon them. Also ampullae of large size in buff coloured ware. In the kiln were found two coins, small brass of Constantius. *Ibid.*, 1891, XLVII, 94.

In Bury Museum. Vase of buff ware $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.

In British Museum. A bronze brooch.

STOWLANGTOFT.—In a field half a mile below the church “was found in 1764 a pot full of Roman coins of the lower empire.” *Camd., Brit.*, ed. Gough, 1789 (Add.) II, 81. Beside a lane called Barber's Lane, *Roman coins found*. See *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to mile, sheet XXXIV, s.e.

STOWMARKET.—Coin of the Emperor Trajan. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1859, II, 214.

STRATFORD ST. ANDREW.—A small urn found here. Chart, *Layard Coll.*

STRATFORD ST. MARY.—In this parish in 1877 was found a ridge of hard ground, apparently traces of a road. Near it several cinerary urns were dug up. All were broken. Fragments of one are in the Colchester Museum. *Arch. Jour.*, 1878, XXXV, 82.

Between Stratford and Sproughton a wide-mouthed urn of brown ware was dug up. Chart, *Layard Coll.*

SUDBOURNE.—In British Museum. Small two-handled vase, between 2 and 3 inches high, of buff ware.

SUDBURY.—Three vases found in 1848. One of red ware with very small spout (a tetina). One globular with broad neck and one handle, grey ware. One an olla of buff ware. Davy, *Suff. Coll.*, B.M. MSS., Vol. I, 19176. Water-colour drawings, no scale. Drawings of these are to be found in *Suff. Illust.* (*Fitch Coll.*), Vol. 26, where they are stated to form part of the collection of Mr. E. Acton, Grundisburgh. Roman coins are found in the neighbourhood. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1853, I, 221 *et seq.*

SUTTON.—Labourers in digging for coprolites (in 1870?) found a vessel, which is said to have contained nearly a bushel of Roman coins, belonging to the period of Constantine, and for the most part of ordinary types. *Arch. Jour.*, 1871, XXVIII, 34 *et seq.*

A further mention of this discovery. Hoard of coins, third brass, in a hand-made dark brown pot, now in the Colchester Museum. Note on drawing in Chart, *Layard Coll.*

The following probably also refers to this find:—Close to Sutton Hall, *Two urns containing Roman copper coins found* A.D. 1870. *Ordinance Surrey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet LXXVII, s.w.

TATTINGSTONE.—Globular urn of red ware covered with a buff slip. Smaller bottle-shaped vessel of buff ware. Ipswich Museum.

THORINGTON.—In digging the foundations for a cart-shed to a new farmhouse on Col. Bence's property in this parish in 1824-5, six or seven Roman urns, much broken, were found. Davy, *Suff. Coll.*, B.M. MSS., Vol. VI, 19082, f. 359.

THURLOW, GREAT.—A strigil found. *Proc. Suff. Inst. of Archaeology*, 1894, VIII, 218.

TRIMLEY.—Large urn of greyish yellow ware. Ipswich Museum.

WAINFORD.—Various fragments of Roman pottery, some pieces of pseudo-Samian ware, and calcined bones found in 1856. *Proceed. Bury and West Suff. Arch. Instit.*, 1863, III, 413 *et seq.*

Near the bridge over the Waveney were found, in 1856, Roman coins and a flint arrow-head, and in 1893 a coin of Philip the Arabian and one of Antoninus Pius. Raven, *Hist. of Suff.*, 1895, 30.

WANGFORD.—In British Museum. Spindle whorl of pottery and "head of a glass pin."

WELNETHAM, GREAT.—"A few years since were found, in digging. Abundance of Platters and Potsheards of Roman earth, some of which had inscriptions upon them, as also Coals, Bones of Sheep and Oxen, with many Horns, a Sacrificing Knife, Ashes and Urns, Evidences that some Heathen Deity had an Altar here." *Mag. Brit.*, 1730, V, 246.

This statement is repeated with the omission of the last few words respecting the pagan worship in Camd., *Brit.*, ed. Gough, 1789 (Add.), II, 81.

WESTHALL.—A space about two acres in extent of a field called Mill Post field, bordered on the east by a watercourse, showed in every part, at a depth of 1 foot 6 inches, much burnt soil and a great quantity of broken pottery. One piece only of pseudo-Samian ware was dug up, a part of a plain patera. Enamelled horse trappings of

Celtic character were found about the centre of the space at a depth of 2 feet from the surface. They appeared to have been contained in a bronze vessel of the same character, and with them were six hollow bronze cylinders $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, a small blue glass bead, a bronze lamp with a crescent-shaped ornament over the handle, and a brass coin, said to be of Faustina. *Archæologia*, 1855, XXXVI, 454 *et seq.* Plate XXXVIII. See also *Arch. Jour.*, 1855, XII, 276.

WESTLETON.—In 1845, on Scotts Hall farm, was dug up a coarse earthen pot $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick and from 8 to 10 inches high, containing eighteen or twenty pieces of Roman coin, some few silver and the rest brass. The coins were too decayed to be identified. Near this pot was a smaller one, but empty. Davy, *Suff. Coll.*, B.M. MSS., Vol. VII, 19083, f. 132.

WHERSTEAD.—South of Wherstead Park, south-west of Vicarage and Redgate lanes, *Roman coins found* 1810. *Ordnance Survey*, 6 inches to a mile, sheet LXXXII, N.E.

WHITTON.—In Castle field, near Ipswich, in the year 1854, when the present house and buildings on the site were erected, traces of a Roman villa were come upon. It was situated on the brow of a hill overlooking Ipswich, which is to the south, and it lies behind the modern house of Mr. Orford, which is between it and the high road. Nothing is to be seen of it but some fragments, in a newly planted orchard, of a floor, of coarse buff sandstone and red tile tessera, probably that of one of the corridors of the Roman house. No plan of what foundations were found of the villa, or notes respecting it, appear to have been made when the new farm-house was built, but all the Roman building material dug up seems to have been used up in the substructures of the modern building. A portion of a pavement of one of the principal chambers of the villa was, however, fortunately preserved and is now in the entrance hall of the museum at Ipswich. It is the only specimen of Roman mosaic existing in Suffolk. A drawing made shortly after its discovery shows a central square surrounded by seven concentric bands of varying widths ornamented for the most part with simple braids, or with straight or curved sided triangles, the bands being separated from each other by broad or narrow lines. Right and left on either hand, a band over 1 foot wide containing a series of black scrolls on a white ground was added to the square composition, and the whole was set in a field of coarse red tile tessera. In the hall of the residence on the spot are preserved three vases, one a small black cinerary urn, another a flowerpot-shaped vase ornamented with two rows of flutings divided by a fillet found with it, and a globular amphora with its handles and neck removed. The cinerary urn when discovered was full of ashes and bones. The amphora was found in 1894, and all three vessels came from a gravel pit close to the site of the villa. The amphora was emptied by the labourers who found it, and it is supposed that it may have contained some coins, but of this nothing certain could be ascertained. Three coins were preserved with these vases, one of Rome, with the wolf and twins on the reverse, one of Constantinople, and one of an emperor of the Constantine family. *Gent. Mag.*, 1855, Part I, 179, and from personal observation (G. E. F.). With the fragment of the mosaic pavement in the museum at Ipswich are photographs of the plain pavement mentioned, and a coloured print

to an inch scale of the more elaborate one, published by H. Davy, Globe Street, Ipswich, May, 1855. This was from a drawing made on the spot, when the pavement was first uncovered.

WICKHAM BROOKE.—Fibula ploughed up in a field called "Four Acre Honeycomb" on the Lodge farm about 1 mile from the mediæval entrenchments at Lidgate. The fibula was of bronze gilt, oval in shape, and set with a stone like an amethyst, rising nearly to a point. Some coins found with it were mostly of Constantine, with some of Probus and of Pertinax. Also at the same time a bronze figure of a bird, an eagle or hawk, perhaps part of the handle of some vessel. *Gent. Mag.*, 1788, Part II, 702.

Small bowl of figured pseudo-Samian ware, diameter at top $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, depth $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, ornamented with medallions, in one of which is a Cupid, and surrounded by an egg and tassel band, found in 1830 about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the church (of Lidgate?) towards Badmonsfield Hall. Davy, *Suff. Coll.*, B.M. MSS., V, 5, 19180, 2.

A small bronze figure (Hereules?) and a handle of some object ornamented with four faces, and some Roman coins (one of them of Constantine the Great, third brass), found before 1859 in draining the "Honeycomb" field before mentioned. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1853, I, 151 and 1859, II, 98.

WINGFIELD.—Silver Roman coins and some objects of the same metal found about 1836, the find vouched for by Miss Hayman, the sister of the then vicar of Fressingfield, Sir H. P. Heyman, who saw some of the coins. Attached to the find is a story of buried treasure. Davy, *Suff. Coll.*, B.M. MSS., XV, 19092, f. 379.

WIXOE.—In Easford, near the Stour, many coins found. Two noted, one of Nero, the other of Constans. *Archæologia*, XIV, 71.

WOODBRIDGE.—A small bronze globular vessel with two handles found near this town. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, 1886, 2nd Ser., XI, 174.

WOOLPIT.—Large entrenchments on Warren Farm, supposed to be Roman. *Mag. Brit.*, 1730, V, 249, 250. Kirby, *The Suffolk Traveller*, 1732, 4, p. 62. *Camd., Brit.*, ed. Gough, 1789 (Add.), II, 84.

Bronze fragments of horse furniture and two Roman coins were found within these entrenchments. *Proc. Suff. Instit. of Archaeology*, 1859, II, 207 *et seq.*

Spoon and spatula of bronze, Acton Coll. "Amulets" (?), two of bronze, annular, with loops for suspension. They are filled with fine clay; diameter, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Acton Coll. Mus., Bury St. Edmunds.

WORLINGWORTH.—Found in 1827 in making a road in front of the parsonage some bones, and an urn, and four Roman coins, three of which were possibly of Allectus. Davy, *Suff. Coll.*, B.M. MSS., Vol. XV, 19092, f. 417.

WRATTING, GREAT.—Amphora and patera "found in a field called Nine Acres, upon Monks Land, belonging to Sotterly Green farm." Great quantity of Roman pottery, coins, urns, etc., found in this field. *Gent. Mag.*, 1804, Part II, 1006, and illust., Figs. 2, 3.

LULLINGTON CHURCH, SOMERSET.

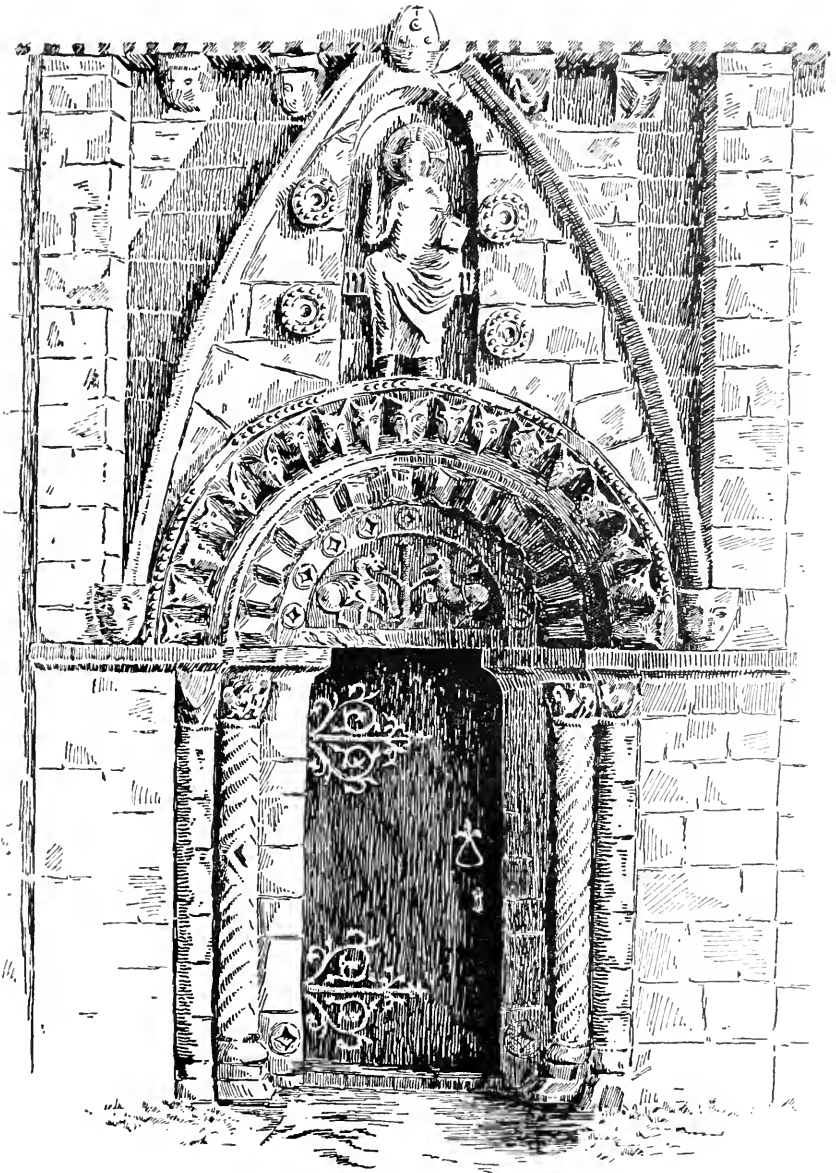
By the REV. J. G. MARSHALL.

The church of All Saints, Lullington, is a small but most interesting building consisting of a Norman nave with a central tower and a chancel of the Decorated period. There is also on the south side of the nave, west of the tower, a chantry chapel in the Early English style.

From Domesday Book we learn that Lullington was one of the many manors in Somerset given by William I to Geoffry, Bishop of Coutances; and that while he let the other estates to various tenants, he kept that of Lullington and the adjoining one of Orchardleigh in his own hands.

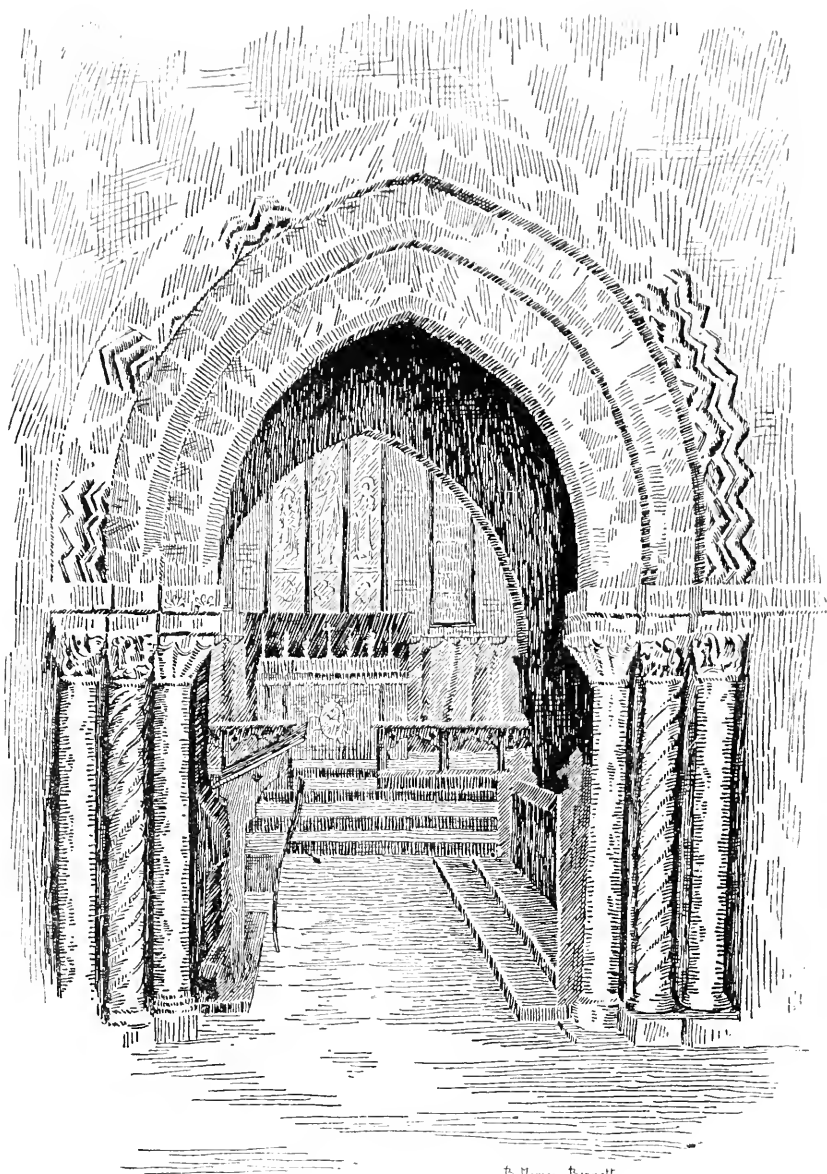
For some reason not known Geoffry seems to have taken a special interest in this small but beautiful property, and possibly intended to build a church there himself.

He may, indeed, have commenced the work, but it is rather more probable that after his death it was built by his nephew, who was Earl of Northumberland, as a memorial to the bishop, who was buried under the high altar. That the greatest care and best available talent was lavished on the little church is evident from the exceeding richness and beauty of the workmanship throughout, while the theory that it was the memorial to the bishop is borne out by various features in the church itself. For instance, during the restoration a sepulchral stone was discovered, broken indeed, but so far preserved that on it can easily be seen a cross of early date, of very beautiful design and most delicate workmanship in low relief; over the head of this cross is a hand extended in blessing, coming down from the clouds of heaven. This symbol, which is generally held to denote the First Person of the Blessed Trinity, is very rare on monumental memorials in England: there is one over the old crucifix in the south cloister of Romsey



Milner R. Pennell.

LULLINGTON CHURCH. NORTH DOORWAY OF NAVE.



B. Marian Bennett.

LULLINGTON CHURCH. WESTERN ARCH OF TOWER.

Abbey—and it is found occasionally on the Continent—there is one which closely resembles it in the Monastery of S. Sauveur near Coutances itself. This most interesting stone, which has now been built into the wall of the vestry, very possibly marked the resting place of the body of Bishop Geoffry.

Again, in the north wall of the nave there is a very beautiful and elaborate Norman doorway. On the capitals of the pillars of each side of this doorway are various emblems carved with great vigour. On the eastern side appear (1) Samson breaking the jaws of the lion; and (2) a peacock. Both these are symbols of the Resurrection of Our Lord:—Christ breaking the jaws of death being the idea conveyed by the first, and the yearly renewal of the brilliancy of the peacock's plumage making the second appropriate. The first of these symbols is very rare, the only other instance of which I have heard, being found in the Church of S. Pierre at Caen—the next diocese to Coutances. On the opposite side is the figure of a stag hunted by a centaur armed with a bow and arrow—representing the Christian soul attacked by the devil. While the idea of this symbol is common enough, the huntsman is generally represented as armed with a spear—but there is in the same church of S. Pierre at Caen a very similar carving in which he is represented with bow and arrow. It is certainly very remarkable that in these two churches so far apart, one so large and the other so small, there should be side by side these two rare symbolic carvings. Surely if not executed by the same hand we may well imagine that both might be the work of the same guild of artists.

This rich Norman doorway, which is in remarkable preservation, is also interesting in other ways as will be seen from the accompanying drawing. It has over it a niche containing a figure of Our Lord seated in glory. His right hand is raised in blessing while His feet rest upon the grotesque heads—representing the powers of evil trampled under foot—which form the decoration of the outer member of the arch below; a variation of the beak moulding as it is sometimes called. The tympanum of the doorway itself is filled up with a single stone on which is carved the representation of two animals—one

winged—fighting for or feeding upon—or supporting a tree or cross. I should be glad to know the meaning of this device, which I believe is not uncommon.

Returning to the interior of the church one cannot help being struck with the beauty of the aspect eastwards. The central space under the tower is always dark, but the chancel itself is beautifully light, and the altar stands out framed by the striking arch which supports the western side of the tower. This arch springs from a cluster of Norman columns—now slightly out of the perpendicular—the centre one of which on each side is ornamented with spiral mouldings and surmounted by a compound cushion capital. The four other capitals are carved with admirably executed and well preserved emblems of the four Evangelists. The arch was doubtless circular when the church was first built and with the chevron moulding all round. This moulding now runs up but a short way on each side, and the arch, which has been transformed into a pointed one, is now finished in plain stone, the soffits of the Norman voussoirs retaining their original curved surfaces as items of the circular arch. And that this is not the original form of the arch is further borne out by the fact that high up in the wall of the tower there is a piece of stone moulded in this way, and so probably taken from the arch itself when the tower was built or rebuilt in the fourteenth century.

The font is a very remarkable one. It is large, circular, of Early Norman date and elaborately decorated, and bears the following inscription in Roman letters:—

HOC FONTIS SACRO PEREUNT
DELICTA LAVACRO.

There are also traces of another inscription on the edge which is now well nigh indecipherable.

The chantry on the south side is separated from the nave by a very good plain chamfered late Early English arch; the responds which support it are good and the capitals boldly carved with foliage. It has a beautifully proportioned East window, a mutilated piscina, and an aumbry.

In the chancel there is another piscina of inferior

design, a well-proportioned priests' door with ogeed and foliated head; and close by it a small two-light Decorated window of very good design, in addition to three other larger windows.

With so long an architectural history there are naturally many other features of interest in Lullington church that must further arrest the attention of students, but which cannot be enumerated here. And while the appearance of the outside of the building is greatly enhanced by the beauty of the colour which time has given to the local stonework—the tower and its details being particularly good—the situation of the church at one end of the village green is most picturesque.¹

¹ Lullington is three miles to the north of Frome and twelve miles south of Bath just off the Warminster road.

CHANCELLOR FERGUSON.

The losses to the Institute by death during the last few years have been heavy indeed, and it now becomes a duty to pay a last and well-earned tribute to a highly-valued fellow-labourer, lately removed from among us in the fulness of zeal and purpose. It was in the nature of things that the distinguished men who rallied round the unique personality of Mr. Albert Way, nearly sixty years ago, such as the Marquis of Northampton, Dr. Hewell, Professor Willis, Dr. Guest, Mr. Hartshorne, Dr. Buckland, Dean of Westminster, Mr. Petit, and others whose names will readily occur to the mind, should have long since departed. Associated with later days, when Mr. Ferguson joined our ranks, we recall the familiar and courteous presence of Lord Talbot de Malahide, Mr. Bloxam, Mr. G. T. Clark, Precentor Venables, Mr. Beresford Hope, the striking individuality of Mr. Freeman, and the co-operation of numerous earnest workers, all borne away in their turn on time's ever-rolling stream. Many, indeed, had long passed the allotted period of the Psalmist, and it is a melancholy thought to members of the middle period of the Institute's life, who had so willingly followed their leading, and admired them, busy and keen to the last, that the old volume is now well-nigh finally closed.

Within the recollection of the members now fast merging into the elders of the Institute, methods have changed, and the conditions of the pursuit of archæology have changed with them. In the general movement that brought about these changes an active antiquary like Chancellor Ferguson naturally took a part, and it is well if we can feel assured that the work so solidly founded and raised is still being carried on by at least not less capable hands than those of the founders of the Society.

Some there may be still among us who heard the idols demolished at Carnarvon, who have conversed with Way in one of his delightful "temporary museums," or sat at the feet of Willis, hailing him as the true "professor,"

while he unfolded "the architectural history" of a cathedral. Chancellor Ferguson was not then of the elect, but he listened many a time with admiration at Annual Meetings to a vivid exposition of a Hill of the Burch, wrought, for example, by the Lady of the Mercians, or followed the scheme of a Shell Keep under the magic touch of a master, and sure may we be that the information sank deep into his receptive mind. And he certainly realised with ardent appreciation, among many other impressive addresses in the Historical Section at the yearly gatherings, the place of a great Border City in English history, set forth in eloquent and stirring words under his own municipal leadership at Carlisle in 1882, hearing with delight, and as he well knew, that Rufus, and not the Conqueror, was the father and founder of his native city.

We may, indeed, feel satisfied that members of the Institute who enjoyed, as Chancellor Ferguson did, at least some of the privileges to which these retrospects refer are capably carrying on the torch, and trust that younger men who had no such advantages are referring to them for guidance, because it is to the experience and teaching of the elder antiquaries of the present generation that rising students must in their turn look.

To say that our lamented friend was a most competent and willing teacher, a modern antiquary of the best type, a scholar, a gentleman, and a worthy successor of the great men of the Institute who have passed away, is but to put on record what is well known to the general world of archæology. Fortified by his bringing-up at Shrewsbury, St. John's, Cambridge—where he graduated as 27th wrangler—and at Lincoln's Inn, his unusual capacity quickly ripened, and long ago procured him the seat of Chairman of Quarter Sessions and his Ecclesiastical dignity. He brought to the consideration of knotty points in Roman archæology the powers of a well-balanced intellect, and to his exertions the present efficient state of revised knowledge respecting Hadrian's Great Barrier is largely due. Occasional papers from his ready and straightforward pen have appeared in the *Journal*, and during many years at the prompting of the Editor he contributed excellent notices of antiquarian

works. Diligent and conscientious as he was in the pursuit of archaeological knowledge in many branches, it was naturally towards the antiquities of his native city and county that his activity was mainly directed, and a worthy monument of his great industry remains in the sixteen volumes of the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, founded chiefly through his exertions, edited by himself from the beginning, and long carried on under his able presidency up to the time of his death. It is by far the best of the county society transactions.

Early in Chancellor Ferguson's antiquarian career he recognised the importance of recording evidence, and that with tireless energy he worked to this end his numerous contributions to the *Transactions* fully attest. Allusion has been made to his readiness in imparting information to less favoured friends. In this regard his promptitude was conspicuous—antiquaries may note with advantage that his answers usually came by return of post—and that his hand never wearied or his feelings wavered, the present writer has full evidence in a cordial and unbroken friendship and constant correspondence of more than a quarter of a century. Others will speak more at large of his multifarious labours in Carlisle, which city to its honour gave him its Freedom, and had his portrait painted in duplicate, and of his stimulating example, and continual exertions on behalf of Cumberland and Westmorland antiquities, setting the study of the teeming history of those wide districts on a firm and solid basis—assuredly no one man ever did so much for them. Doubtless others also, with the evidence of Chancellor Ferguson's industry and wide grasp constantly before them, will carry on the work thus so well advanced, for northern antiquaries in general and Cumberland men in particular are the most loyal and forward of modern inquirers. A better monument to their dead leader there could not be.

Though many years of Chancellor Ferguson's work were years of suffering, and his strength constantly labour and sorrow, he bore himself throughout with manly courage, facing the end with calm steadfastness at the early age of sixty-two. His terse diction, native

humour, and bright flashes will long be remembered, and he will be missed in countless northern circles where knowledge is appreciated and learning held in repute, while those who had the privilege of his intimacy will cherish the memory of an upright, warm-hearted man, a true and faithful friend.

A. H.

LIEUT.-GENERAL A. H. LANE FOX PITT-RIVERS.¹

General Pitt-Rivers, who died on May 4th, at the age of seventy-three, was, without any exaggeration, one of the first men of the century as an anthropologist and exact antiquary. As a young officer in the Grenadier Guards he went through the Crimean campaign with considerable distinction, being mentioned in the despatches. But at an early age his tastes and abilities developed in an extraordinary degree in the direction of collecting from all countries objects which illustrated the history of human development. He began this work just fifty years ago, and gathered together, mainly through personal travel, ethnological specimens, not as mere interesting curiosities, but with the idea of showing "to what extent the modern savage actually represents primeval man." Notwithstanding many instances of remarkable similarity in habits, uses, and culture, he came to the conclusion that the modern savage presents us with a traditional portrait of primeval man rather than a photograph, and that the resemblance might well be compared to that existing between recent and extinct species of animals. In 1874 the catalogue of the anthropological collection lent by Colonel Lane-Fox (as he was then termed) to the Bethnal Green branch of the South Kensington Museum was published by the Science and Art Department, with a valuable introduction. This, with various additions of later years, forms the grand Pitt-Rivers collection, illustrative of savage life and embryo civilization, which was so generously presented to the New Museum, Oxford.

In 1880 Colonel Lane-Fox inherited the very extensive Rivers estates, on the death of the sixth Baron Rivers, in accordance with the will of his great-uncle, the second baron. General Pitt-Rivers has more than once told the writer of this notice how, when he visited the Rivers

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property early in the "fifties," and noticed the signs of abundant prehistoric remains, the thought flitted through his mind how desirable such an estate would be to an antiquary of his tastes. But he almost instantly dismissed the idea as an impossibility, for there were at that time twelve lives between him and the succession. However, by a strange series of accidents and incidents, and through the fifth baron having only eight daughters, and the sixth dying childless, this distinguished anthropologist came into that great tract of Wiltshire land, formerly Cranborne Chase, which closely borders on Dorsetshire. This area proved indeed to be a most happy hunting-ground for a prehistoric archæologist. Works of excavation were begun in 1881, and from that time to the end of his life the most patient, minute, and thorough investigations were being continuously made and duly recorded throughout the district, under the immediate supervision and direction of the General. He realized that the determination of the age of prehistoric works of the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages depends almost entirely on the identification of relics, such as fragments of pottery or broken household utensils, and therefore nothing was too small to be noted, and its exact site duly marked. The results of these explorations have been summed up in four magnificent quarto volumes, sumptuously illustrated, and privately printed for personal friends and museum libraries. The first was printed in 1887, and the last in December, 1898. The three earliest volumes were devoted to villages of the Roman or Romano-British type, and to tumuli of the Bronze Age. The fourth volume chiefly relates to the Bronze Age, and to a single long barrow of the Stone Age.

With regard to the finds themselves, General Pitt-Rivers most wisely decided that they should not leave the locality, and, with the utmost generosity, supplied not only admirable rooms for their accommodation, but provided every facility for the comfort of those desirous of visiting the collections in the model country museum of the little village of Farnham. This museum consists of eight rooms and galleries. Here in side cases, against the walls of the four largest rooms, are exhibited the

various objects from the different Romano-British villages that have been uncovered, whilst exact coloured models of the excavations occupy the centre parts. Other rooms contain specimens of peasant costume and personal ornament of different countries; peasant carvings, chiefly from Brittany; household peasant utensils from all parts; a marvellous collection of ancient and mediæval pottery, literally of all nations and countries, from early Celtic, Swiss lakes, and Etruscan, to mediæval British, Moorish, Cingalese, and Peruvian; the history of glass-making from the earliest times, including three stages of Egyptian glass; and agricultural implements and appliances. Another room contains an interesting and unique collection of primitive locks, keys, and padlocks, showing their gradual development. On this last subject General Pitt-Rivers issued in 1883 a valuable monograph, excellently illustrated, which was published by Messrs. Chatto and Windus. It is the only English treatise of any real worth on the subject.

Not far from the museum is "King John's House" at Tollard Royal. It is a building of the thirteenth century, considerably altered and enlarged during the Tudor period. It contains a series of small, and for the most part original pictures, illustrating the history of painting from the earliest times, beginning with Egyptian paintings of mummy heads of the twentieth and twenty-sixth dynasties (B.C. 1200-528), and one of the first century A.D. General Pitt-Rivers took the keenest interest in the exceedingly careful restoration of this historic house during the latter part of his life, as well as in the purchase and arrangement of the remarkable series of pictures. He wrote a good treatise on it, which was well illustrated and privately printed in the year 1890. It was characteristic of the man that he should do all this for the good of the public, and it was a special delight to him to find the number of visitors to the museum, to King John's House, and the beautifully laid out Larmer Grounds steadily increasing year by year.

It would take far more space than can possibly be spared to enumerate, even after the most abbreviated fashion, the vast number of papers and reports on

almost every branch of anthropology and prehistoric research. The index volume to the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* shows that General Pitt-Rivers was a constant and prolific contributor from the origin of this association in 1871, and, indeed, for several years previously, when it was known as the Anthropological Society of London. The list of his contributions covers nearly three pages, and includes such diverse subjects as remains of pile-dwellings near London Wall and Southwark, discovery of chert implements in stratified gravel in the Nile Valley, the Egyptian boomerang and its affinities, arrow-marks in use among the Esquimaux, a dug-out canoe in the Thames at Hampton Court, votive statuettes found at Tanagra, Bœotia, and a rough stone implement from Borneo. On three occasions he gave the anniversary address to the Institute—namely, in 1876, 1877, and 1882—and was for many years its president.

The reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science from 1872 to the time of his death afford proof of the important part that General Pitt-Rivers took in their discussions. For more than twenty years he was never absent from their annual gatherings, and was always considered one of the most distinguished of their number. Even during the last two or three years of his life, when his health was unhappily failing, he took an active interest in much of the work of the Association, particularly in connection with the two committees on which he was serving, the Ethnological Survey of the United Kingdom, and the Lake Village of Glastonbury.

In addition to being a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries, General Pitt-Rivers was an active member and vice-president of the Royal Archaeological Institute. For this last society he wrote in 1866 on Roovesmore Fort, co. Cork, and the Ogham inscriptions there, and in addition to other contributions delivered remarkable presidential addresses to the members of the Institute when they met at Salisbury in 1887, and again at Dorchester in 1897. The address at Dorchester was his last public deliverance, and was in the main a summary of what he had accomplished

on his Wiltshire estates. The address at Salisbury, in 1887, on early man was slightly controversial, and one sentence gave rise to much subsequent discussion. Dealing with the question of the very low type of skull of many of the earliest specimens, he said: "Nor are our relations with the Supreme Power presented to us in an unfavourable light by this discovery, for if man was originally created in the image of God, it is obvious that the very best of us have greatly degenerated." The result of this and other like reflections was that they brought forth two powerful sermons on the origin of man, on the following Sunday, in Salisbury Cathedral: one by Bishop Wordsworth, and the other by Canon Creighton, now Bishop of London.

One of the disappointments of General Pitt-Rivers's life was the very little good he was able to achieve in the honorary office that he held of inspector under the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882. He would occasionally wax indignant over the timidity of the Act, and over the thoughtless and selfish ignorance of certain English landowners. Until his health began to fail, the General was a most able conversationalist, and would pour forth from his abundant treasure-house of knowledge the most varied information, provided he was in scientific company or with those who were genuinely anxious to learn. The extraordinary variety of his knowledge, and the rapid way in which he could turn from one subject to another, reminded us on several occasions of Mr. Gladstone. We can call to mind one occasion, in his own grounds at Rushmore, when, well within an hour, he discoursed most learnedly and clearly on forestry, on Mexican pottery, on Egyptian painting, on modern brass bands, on the forms of the Christian cross, and on simony in the Church.

He was generous in his gifts of his noble and costly volumes, but only provided he felt sure they would be really appreciated. On one occasion he was deceived, and listening to the importunate hints and eventually downright request of a troublesome museum visitor, he presented him with the first of his great volumes on the Rushmore excavations, but not without some misgivings and a variety of questions as to his identity. Within a

mouth of the gift the General found this very volume at a second-hand bookshop at Exeter. He had no legal remedy, but he left no stone unturned till the man was found, and then gave him no peace until he had paid two guineas to the Dorset County Hospital.

He was a man of wide sympathies and generous instincts, in addition to being the possessor of a rare and discriminating intelligence. He will be sorely missed by many in different walks of life, as well as by the scientific world at large.

Proceedings at Ordinary Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 4th, 1900.

Sir H. H. HOWORTH, President, in the Chair.

Mr. MILLER CHRISTY exhibited a rubbing of an incised slab to Jehan de Trouville, at Héricourt-en-Caux, near Yvetôt, dated 1305. The slab is 7 feet 3 inches in length, and 3 feet in width. Upon it is engraved the effigy of Jehan de Trouville, a former priest of the parish, beneath an arched canopy, the whole design being surrounded by a marginal inscription in Lombardic characters. The slab is in an exceptionally fine state of preservation. A large chip has been broken out of one side, and the surface is a little broken in places, especially on the sinister side; but most of the engraved lines are still almost as sharp and clear as on the day when they were cut. The slab owes its freshness, in all probability, to its having been long buried beneath the flooring. It is now placed against the wall in the north-west corner of the church. The priest is represented life size, and attired in the ordinary eucharistic vestments. In his hands he holds a chalice, and his feet rest upon a crouching hound. The maniple, and the apparel at the foot of the alb, are ornamented with a pattern of *fleurs-de-lys* set in diagonal spaces. The canopy has slender shafts, supporting a pointed arch, crocketed and cusped. Above the arch, on each side, are angels swinging lighted censers, a feature common on Continental slabs of the kind and date. The slab lacks, however, another feature common on similar specimens, namely, the Hand of God, which is generally seen above the head of the effigy. Just above the spring of the arch, on each side, is a small animal couchant, apparently a rabbit.

The inscription, in Lombardic characters about 2 inches high, is as follows:—

CI. GIST . IEHAN . DE . TROUVILLE . IADIS . PRESTRE .
DE . SAINT . DENIS . DE . HERECOURT . QVI . TRESPASSA .
LAN . /DE . GRACE . M.CCC.V . LE IEVSDI . DE/UART . LA .
SAINT . PHELIPPE . ET . S . IAQUE . DEX . AIT . MERCI . DE .
SAME . AMEN .

It is worthy of note that the slab bears five small plain crosses, one just above each shoulder, one on each foot, and one on the centre of the chasuble. These may be of later date than the design, and perhaps indicate that the slab has been used at some time as the *mensa* of an altar.

Mr. CHRISTY also showed two rubbings of brasses to priests from the churches of Middleton and Bradwell. Both were dated 1349, and were of foreign origin.

Mr. MILL STEPHENSON exhibited, in illustration of the preceding, rubbings of incised slabs from the following places:—

Harptham, Yorkshire, to Sir William de St. Quintin, 1349, and wife, 1382, date of slab 1382; Brading, Isle of Wight, to John Cherowin, Esq., constable of Porchester Castle, 1441; Selby Abbey, Yorkshire, to Abbot Laurence Selby, 1504, and Abbot John Barwic, 1526; Howden, Yorkshire, to John Saltmarshe, Esq., 1513; Aldbourne, Wilts, to John Stone, priest, 1508; Walberswick, Suffolk, to Thomas Elderton, mariner, 1534, the central device being his merchant's mark; Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight, the upper portion of an early figure of an abbot or prior.

The PRESIDENT read a paper on "The Cyclic Poems and the Homeric Question," in which he tried to show that the Greek romantic epos relating to the tale of Troy and the story of Thebes was preserved originally in a mass of poetry afterwards known as Cyclic, and that these so-called Cyclic poems, instead of being younger than the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, were really earlier and older.

The paper is printed at p. 10.

Dr. J. WICKHAM LEGG contributed a paper on "The Gift of the Papal Cap and Sword to Henry VII." The paper contained a transcript of a Cotton MS. (Julius B. xii, fo. 51), describing the arrival of the Pope's cubicular in England and the ceremonious delivery of the cap and sword at St. Paul's in the late autumn of 1488. The speech made by the cubicular on this occasion had been preserved by the Poet Laureate, and the form of service had been found on the first leaf of a Lincoln Pontifical in the University Library, Cambridge.

A second gift of the same decorations was made to the same king by Alexander VI, on All Saints' Day, 1496; and a third by Julius II at Midsummer, 1505.

Messrs. BAYLIS, GREEN, and HOPE took part in the discussion.

May 2nd, 1900.

JUDGE BAYLIS, Q.C., M.A., V.P., and subsequently Mr. J. HILTON, Honorary Treasurer, in the Chair.

Mr. TALFOURD ELY exhibited a silver seal bearing the arms of Ely of Dedham, and dating from the earlier part of the last century, about 1720.

A paper by the Rev. J. G. MARSHALL on Lullington Church, Somersetshire, was read by the Honorary Secretary in the absence of the writer. The paper consisted of a short historical and architectural account of the building, which the writer considered to be connected with Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, and to show in some of its details an affinity with French work. Some excellent pen and ink drawings illustrated the paper, which is printed at p. 166. In the discussion which followed Messrs. Peers and Wilson took part.

Mr. R. J. MORTIMER contributed a paper on Embankment Crosses, being a description of a series of embankments, most of them cruciform in plan, situated in the East Riding of Yorkshire. These were held by the writer to be early Christian Moot-hills.

June 6th, 1900.

MR. E. GREEN, Honorary Director, in the Chair.

VISCOUNT DILLON read a paper on some representations of early Irish costumes. These ranged in date from a MS. of Giraldus Cambrensis to Elizabethan times, and comprised the following items:—Some sketches of the time of Edward I in the Public Record Office; the deposition of Richard II; a drawing by Albert Dürer, dated 1521; a group of Irish at the siege of Boulogne, 1544; a unique woodcut in the Bodleian Library of some drawings from a diary of about 1574; a portrait of Captain Thomas Lee in Irish costume with bare legs and feet, of Elizabethan date, and now at Ditchley, Oxon. Reference was made to the interesting suit of Irish garments found at Sillery, co. Sligo, which, as well as the P.R.O. sketches, proved the illumination in the Alexander MS. at Oxford to be a representation of Irish dancers, and not, as generally considered, a dance of fools. The custom of wearing the long forelock, or glib, was referred to. This lock of hair was allowed to grow to such a length that in some cases it could be used as a disguise, the wearer allowing it to fall over his face to conceal his features.

MR. F. G. HILTON PRICE read a paper on "Early Clay Tobacco Pipes," exhibiting in illustration of the paper a long series of specimens, all found within the City of London, and ranging in date from the reign of Elizabeth to that of George II. As the number of dated pipes known is very small, any attempt at a chronological arrangement must for the present be somewhat arbitrary. The most probable sequence in date, in the opinion of the author of the paper, was as follows:—1st, the very small pipes, known as "fairy pipes"; 2nd, the small barrel-shaped pipes with flat heels which might be assigned to the time from James I to Charles II; 3rd, the pipes with a pointed spur or heel; 4th, the pipes of larger size which came in with William III, and from which all later forms were evolved. The paper will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

MR. H. BOMPAS exhibited a number of pipe-stoppers, in illustration of the paper.

VISCOUNT DILLON and MESSRS. GREG and BOMPAS took part in the subsequent discussion.

THE GIFT OF THE PAPAL CAP AND SWORD TO HENRY VII.

By J. WICKHAM LEGG,

Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians and of the Society of Antiquaries
of London.

Chairman of Council of the Henry Bradshaw Society.

Henry VII. became King of England on the death of Richard III. at Bosworth Field, a victory won in the course of a successful invasion of the realm begun on the 1st of August, 1485. All England was not agreed upon Henry VII.'s right to be King, and the circumstances remind us, in more than one particular, of the coming into England of William of Orange some two hundred years later. Such being the case, King Henry VII. would naturally be desirous of strengthening his position wherever he could, and he would be ready to welcome any support and assistance that might be given him by the Roman Court. Accordingly we find him sending messengers to the Court of Rome as soon as he is settled in his kingdom: ten days before the coronation, on November 20th, 1485, letters patent are ordered to be made out for John Dunmowe, afterwards Bishop of Limerick, to proceed to the Roman Court¹: on February 4th, 1486, Christopher Urswick, the King's almoner, is provided with a passport for going to Rome and Naples²: and on the 28th of the same month the Bishop of Durham, John Dunmowe, and Hugh Spalding, are appointed the King's proctors at the Court of Rome.³ The result of this activity may be seen perhaps in the issuing, or purchase⁴ as it was called, of three bulls, dated

¹ *Materials for a history of the reign of Henry VII.* Rolls Series, 1873. Ed. W. Campbell, vol. i. 176.

² *Op. cit.* 275.

³ *Op. cit.* 323.

⁴ On October 12th, 1488, there is a mandate to the treasurer and chamberlains of the exchequer to pay to "Thomas Parterige the summe of vi.ii. xvii. s.

vi.ii. which the Right Reverend Fadre in God the bisshophe of Lymeryke, [John Dunmowe] our procuratour in the courte of Rome, hath laide downe for vs for the purchesinge of a certeyne bulle touching the collectourship of oure land of Irland." (*Materials, &c.*, vol. ii. 355. On p. 391 this £6 17s. appears again.)

respectively March 2nd, March 27th, and July 23rd, 1486,¹ of which the most important is that of March 27th, for it not only dispenses with the canon law which created impediments to the marriage of Henry VII. with Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV., but it declares Henry VII. to be King of England by right of war and also by a notorious and undoubted title. This bull seems to have been considered of sufficient importance to be translated into English and printed: for Mr. J. Payne Collier found the English version as a folio broadside, forming a flyleaf of an old book; and he was of opinion that the printer of the flyleaf was William Caxton.²

Henry VII. was married to Elizabeth of York on January 18th, 1486; but she was not crowned till November 25th, 1487. Bacon, in his history of Henry VII., says, after speaking of the coronation of the Queen, that "the King sent an ambassadour to Pope Innocent VIII. to signify unto him his marriage."³

This intelligence is not very precise as to date, and it must be owned that the moment of this embassy to the Pope can only be arrived at approximately. William, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, had, the last day of February, 1487, granted him a reward for going on an embassy to the Pope.⁴ There is the will of Walter Hungerford, knight, dated February 8th, in the second year of Henry VII., that is 1487, made while intending to go to the Court of Rome by commandment of the King⁵: and Thomas, Bishop of Hereford, has a reward granted him on March 2nd, 1487, for going as ambassador to the Pope.⁶ It may therefore be surmised that an embassy was sent to the Pope about the month of March in 1487; so, if this be accepted, it would be after the marriage of the King, but before the Queen's coronation.

In one of the manuscripts in the British Museum there is a rough draft of the speech intended to be made to Innocent VIII. apparently on the occasion of this embassy.

¹ Thomas Rymer, *Foedera*, Londini, 1727, t. xii. 294, 297, 313. The bull of March 27th may also be found in *Materials*, &c., just quoted, vol. i. 392.

² *Camden Miscellany*, Camden Society, No. 39, 1847.

³ Francis Bacon, *Historie of the Raigae of King Henry the Seventh*, London, 1622, p. 38.

⁴ *Materials*, &c., vol. ii. 114.

⁵ *Op. cit.* 122.

⁶ *Op. cit.* 128.

It is complimentary, not to say flowery. The Pope is informed that he is the undoubted successor of St. Peter, the shepherd of the Lord's flock, the keeper of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven¹; while the King recommends himself and his dominions and kingdoms to the papal protection.² Is it to this speech or to the one actually delivered that Bacon refers when he speaks of the King "offering both his *Person* and the forces of his *Kingdome* vpon all occasions to doe him service"³?

Whether as the result of this embassy or not, Innocent VIII. certainly looked upon Henry VII. with great favour. When the bishops in Ireland crowned Lambert Simnel as Edward VI. there seems to have been no difficulty in obtaining bulls ordering inquiry into this action,⁴ and threatening the rebels with excommunication.⁵

One mark of signal favour conferred upon Henry VII. by the Roman Court was the gift of the cap and sword. Of the reception of this gift in London we have a detailed account in one of the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum. The text is apparently contemporaneous with the events that it describes, but the writing, Mr. Francis B. Bickley tells me, is of the time of Henry VIII. The account is as follows⁶:

The receyving of a cap and sword sent from the Pope to the King: [written in margin in red ink one hundred years later than the text.]

¶ Also at the breking vp of the conseilie ther entrid In to this reauime a cubicular of the popes whice broght to the kyng a suerde and a cappe whiche for honor of the pope was honour-

¹ Te certum et indubitatum beati petri successorem: Te pastorem domini gregis: Te denique clauigerum regni celestis profitemur. (British Museum, *Cleopatra E.* iii. fo. 126*b.*)

This would seem to have been suggested by the opening passages in *Te Deum*, turned into praise of the reigning pope.

² Ergo tandem scipsum: dominia: et regna que sibi nunc iure debentur: tue clementie: tue fidei: tue que protectioni commendat: pro cuius (*sic*) tue sanctitatis felicissimo statu: nihil unquam arduum: nullum periculi: nullum laboris: aut difficultatis genus recusat (fo. 129*b.*)

³ Francis Bacon, *loc. cit.*

⁴ T. Rymer, *Foedera*, London, 1727, t. xii. 332 and 333. Both bulls are dated January 5th, 1488. See also British Museum MS. 15,385, fo. 315. *Letters and papers . . . of Richard III. and Henry VII.* Rolls Series, 1861. Ed. J. Gairdner, vol. i. 94.

⁵ Rymer, *op. cit.* 341.

⁶ Julius B. xii. fo. 51*b.* This manuscript is a collection of heraldic and ceremonial tracts dealing in the main with the early years of Henry VII. There is an imperfect eighteenth century transcript of this account in Harl. 7048, fo. 255.

ably receiuid by the kinges commaundement In manner as enseweth.

firste the king sente an officer of armes to the see side also to cause thos Religions places of canterbury And outhur townes by the way to make hym goode chiere and well to entret themme

after that his highness sent certaine knightes to met hym as fer as rochester

And after them the reuerentz faders In gode the bishoppe of Durame the bishoppe of exceter the bishoppe of rochester therle of shrewsbury therle of wilshire the lorde morley the lorde hastings & the prior of lantony with many mor lordis and knightes whos names I haue not receiued hym at blakbeth and after theme the bishoppe of winchestre and therle of arundell met hym at saint georges In southwerke wher the cappe was sette vpon the pointe of the swerde

and so the saide cubiculer Riding betwen the bishoppe of winchester and therle off arundell openly bar the said swerde thorowt southwerke and on london brigge wher he was also receiued and well comed by the maire of london and his brethern and so as he procedet thorow the cite to poulles stode all the crafes In ther clothinges and at the west ende of poulles he was Receiuid by the metropolitan and diuers outhur bishopes In pontificalibus and *with* the procession and so *proceeded* to the high autar and from thens it was borne In to the¹ Reuentry In to the morne

That same sonday the king remeued from westminster to the bishopes pales and the quene and mylady the kinges mouder and ther was so grete a miste vpen times that ther was no man cowde telle of a grete season in what place in temps the king was and an the morne whan the king was commen In to his trauers the cape was brought oute of the reuentry to bifore the high auter by the said cubiculer acompagnied *with* the bishoppe of winchester and therle of arundell and many outhur nobles bothe espirituel and temporell

and the king come forth of his trauers wher the saide cubiculer *presentit* the king a *letter* frome the pope closit with corde and lede that was rede by the reuerent fader In god the lord Jhn morton archebishope of canterbury then chaunceler of england that doon the said cubiculer holding the said suerde and cape made a noble exposicion to the whiche the said lord chaunceler ansuerde full clerely and nobly

Present the ambassatours of fraunce also ambassatours of the kinges of romanis and of the kinges of castille and of bretaigne and of flandres *with* diuers outhur straungiers as scottes esterlingis and outhur

and that finished the king and all those estates went a procession and the cape was borne ou² the pomel of the suerde by the saide cubiculer and whan procession was done during al the masse hit was set on the high auter the messe doone the archebishope song certain orisons *ouer* the king whice come from his traners bifore the high auter to the highest steps nexte the auter whiche orisons and

¹ Here the hand changes, a new leaf, fo. 52. being begun which is headed: *Anno iiii^o H. vii.*

² *interlined, over by erased.*

benediccions done the archebishope in ordre after the booke whiche was brought frome rome gerdit the suerle aboute the king and set the cape on his hede and so the king so turned to his traners whilles te deum was a singing and the coler rede¹ And it was taken of again and as bifore borne by the said cubiculer to the bishopes palles and thier delinert to the chamberlain

that day the king made a grete feste and kepte open housholde and by cause the palais was so littill for suche a feste the said cubiculer dynmyt in the deanis place acompagnied with diuers bishopis and lordis as the lorde of saint Johns and outhre

We have also another contemporary account from the poet laureate, Bernard André. He tells us who the cubicular of the pope was; one Lionel Chieregato, a bishop of Concordia,² who was also papal ambassador in France. Cubicular in the English of the period seems to mean chamberlain,³ but in Latin it is rather a chaplain.⁴ The poet laureate also gives us what there can be little doubt is an abstract of the cubicular's speech made at St. Paul's, in the delivery of the cap and sword, called above in the description of the ceremony "a noble exposition," to which the chancellor Morton, afterwards Cardinal, "answered full clerly and nobly."

Per idem tempus Innocentius Pontifex Maximus reverendissimum episcopum Concordiensem una cum ense auro gemmisque galero atque ornatissimo ad regem legavit. Qui postquam honorifice in urbe Londino receptus est post aliquot dies ab ipso rege in conspectum reverendo admodum vultu prodiit vir inquam venerabilis et perfacundus. Cui postquam fandi data est copia post relatas ultro citroque salutes quanto Pontifex Maximus gaudio affectus est propter adeptam ipsius victoriam enunciavit; dein majestati suae magnopere summa cum facundia gratulari; neque unquam sanctitatem suam dubitasse qui⁵ Dei nutu sua sublimitas ad vota perveniret; Deum sic solere regna disponere ut aliquandiu illis impunitatem istis iniuriam perpeti concedat, tandem ins suum unicuique reddere; et quoniam audivit ad extremum sic evenisse omnia, tanquam

¹ See below, Appendix i, p. 201.

² Concordia is a suffragan see to Aquileia in the Venetian territory. According to Gams (*Series Episcoporum*, Ratisbonae, 1873, p. 788.) Lionel Chieregato was Bishop of Concordia from October 22nd, 1488, to August 19th, 1506. See also *Calendar of State Papers*, Venetian, 1202-1509, p. 182.

³ See Dr. Murray's *New English Dictionary*, s.v.

⁴ The name occurs in *Ordo Romanus XI.* (J. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Lut. Parisiorum, 1724, t. ii. 122, et

seq.) See also L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, Paris, 1886, t. i. 239. S. Leo I. Hic constituit super sepulchra apostolorum custodes qui dicuntur cubicularii ex clero Romano; and it is explained in A. Ciaconius, *Vitae et Gestae Summorum Pontificum*, Romae, 1601, p. 126, thus:

S. Leo I. Hic etiam constituit, et addidit supra sepulchra Apostolorum et Clero Romano Custodes, qui dicuntur Cubicularij, quos modo dicimus Capellanos. Cubiculum enim idem erat apud antiquos, quod hodie apud nos Capella.

⁵ Thus in *MS.* for quin.

pignus et monumentum fidei nostrae perpetuum ad bonorum exemplum malorumque formidinem gladium iustitiae, galermi vero longanimitatis ac perseverantiae ad se misisse, sperareque illum aliquando totius rei Christianae monarchiam adversus militantis ecclesiae hostes trulentissimos defensurum.

Quibus verbis ab ipsius regis cancellario [Domino Ioanne Morton]¹ non minus prudenter quam discrete responsum est. Ille responsione tam benigna contentus amplis donatus numeribus laetabundus abiit.²

One incident in the ceremony deserves to be noticed: the coming on of a London fog: "there was so great a mist," it is said, that no man could tell of a great season in what place the king was. London, from its position on the river, must have always been open to the invasion of ordinary fogs; but we have this instance to show the existence of black fogs at the end of the fifteenth century, probably, as now, due to the use of sea coal as fuel.

It is plain that it was not an ordinary white country fog, but a darkness or gloom; which is indeed the early meaning of the word mist.³

The Bishop of London's palace, to which the pope's cubicular carried the cap and sword after the ceremony at St. Paul's, is assigned by tradition to the north side of the western end of St. Paul's churchyard,⁴ a tradition confirmed by finding a passage in that neighbourhood now called "London House Yard." There is also a lease given by Bishop Boner which speaks of the old palace in the churchyard of St. Paul's.⁵ But after, if not before, the great fire in 1666, the bishops had a house in Aldersgate Street, for in 1688 Princess Anne of Denmark fled to the Prince of Orange from the Bishop of London's house in that street.⁶

For some reason or other King Henry VII. did not dislike living at the bishop's house in St. Paul's churchyard. Immediately after the battle of Bosworth Field

¹ Supplying a blank in manuscript.

² Bernard André's *Life of Henry VII.* in *Historia Regis Henrici Septimi*, ed. James Gairdner, Rolls Series, 1858, p. 46.

³ Cf. the use of the word in the authorised version of the Bible: "And immediately there fell on him a mist and a darkness." (*Acts* xiii. 11.)

⁴ W. Sparrow Simpson, *Chapters in*

the history of old St. Paul's, London, 1881, p. 28.

⁵ British Museum, Harl. MS. 2296, fo. 136b. "The ould Pallace sett liege and beinge in the churche yarde of the Cathedral churche of St. Paule in the parishe of Saint Gregorie within y^e Citie of london."

⁶ *A Complete History of England*, London, 1719, second ed., vol. iii. 531. [British Museum, 678. i. 15.]

he took up his abode there on coming to London, when he "made Offertorie of his *Standards*" at St. Paul's and "had Orizons and *Te Deum* again sung."¹ This king seems to have treated the houses of the bishops of London very much as if they were his own. Later on in his reign we find that he assigns Fulham as a residence to the ambassadors of the King of Castile; but on the Princess of Wales desiring to live at Fulham he says that the ambassadors must be lodged elsewhere and declares the house at Fulham to be quite at her disposal.² The confiscation of church property in succeeding reigns was only one step further in this direction.

The bishop's house could not have been very large; for the cubicular was forced, on the day of the ceremony, to dine in the deanery. Nor could the dean's house have been remarkable for its size in 1522, probably the same house as in 1488; it contained only "a hall, parlour, vj chambres, ij garrettes, oon chapell, with all houses of offices complete, and x fether beddes."³

The same Cotton manuscript that describes the ceremony gives, immediately before it begins to speak of the receiving of the cap and sword, the names of some of the foreign ambassadors in England at that time. Very likely then these are also the ambassadors whom it speaks of as being present at St. Paul's. The manuscript runs as follows:

And from windsor the king the queene and the housholde remeid to westmyenster to the gretest conseille that was many yers without the name of parlement And also ther wer at that season many enbassatours that is for to say from fraunce the lorde charbenell and the prothonotoire of sandenill And frome the king of Romains the lorde malpertus a breton and maister piers le puissant also enbassatours frome the king of spaine.⁴

The presentation must have taken place some time in November or December, 1488, as it was immediately

¹ Francis Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

² *Calendar . . . of State papers . . . at Simancas, Henry VII.* 1485-1509, London, 1862, vol. i. p. 401. Edward V., the son of Edward IV., was lodged at London House before he was sent to the Tower. (Sir George Buck, *History of . . . Richard the Third*, London, 1648, *Lib.* 1. 11.)

³ *Rutland Papers*, Camden Society, 1842, ed. by W. Jerdan, p. 86. When the Emperor Charles V. came to England in 1522, the houses round St. Paul's were taken for his train, the deanery among them, and lists drawn up of the accommodation that might be secured in each house.

⁴ British Museum, Julius B. xii. fo. 51b.

upon the breaking up of the council¹ that the cubicular came into England. And it could not have been later than the end of December, 1488; for on January 2, 1489, the king thanks the pope for the honours done him, saying: "the sword and hat sent to us by you we received with great joy and gladness,"² and apparently the gift was made before the sending of ambassadors to the foreign powers, which took place on December 11th, 1488,³ and which our manuscript represents as following immediately upon the presentation of the cap and sword, for

Incontinent after the king sente his ambassatours into diuers parties.⁴

The letter from the pope closed with cord and lead must have been an official letter. This I have not been able to find;⁵ but the "order after the book which was brought from Rome" containing the orisons and benedictions which the Archbishop of Canterbury sang, I have been fortunate enough to discover in the University Library at Cambridge. They have been written on the flyleaf of a Pontifical (Mm. 3. 21.) in which Mr. Henry Bradshaw has written "Lincoln Pontifical;" and they are in a different hand from all the rest of the book.⁶ I may add that a good part of the contents of this manuscript has become widely known in consequence of the use made of the book by the late Mr. William Maskell in his *Monumenta Ritualia*; but he has not noticed these rather curious liturgical forms at the giving of the cap and sword. These I have thought of sufficient importance to add to this paper in an appendix. They are quite different from those drawn up later by Urban VIII., which have been printed by Theophile Raynaud.⁷

The pope who sends this cap and sword is in these liturgical offices distinctly said to be Innocent VIII.

¹ This was held in November, 1488, and immediately after, on December 11th, the King sent his embassies abroad. (*Dictionary of National Biography*, Henry VII. vol. xxvi. 72.)

² *Calendar of State Papers*, Venetian, 1202-1509, p. 176.

³ *Dictionary of National Biography*, loc. cit.

⁴ British Museum, Julius B. xii. fo. 52.

⁵ Mr. Hubert Hall assures me that there is no copy of this in the Record Office; and Mr. W. H. Bliss has looked in the *Secreta* at the Vatican without success.

⁶ See below, Appendix i. p. 199.

⁷ Th. Raynaud, *Opera*, Lugduni, 1665, t. x. 533. See below, Appendix ii. p. 201.

Bernard André also affirms that it was Pope Innocent; and thus the period, within which it is possible that the gifts should have been sent is limited to the years between 1485, the year of King Henry's accession, and 1493, the year of Pope Innocent's death. Bernard André, the Cotton manuscript, and the Chronicle of Richard Arnold,¹ combine to place the receiving of the cap and sword in the fourth regnal year of Henry VII.

Thus it can hardly be doubted that a cap and sword were sent by Innocent VIII. to Henry VII. in the fourth year of his reign.

But this was not the only occasion on which the king received these papal marks of approval. For there is evidence of later sendings of caps and swords to Henry VII. by other popes, who succeeded Innocent VIII., that is, by Alexander VI., and by Julius II.

Of the gift by Alexander VI. we have evidence in a Harleian manuscript in the British Museum.² The handwriting, Mr. Bickley tells me, is of the early sixteenth century. The All Hallows of the twelfth year of Henry VII. would be November 1st, 1496. The extract runs as follows:

Howe pope Alexsaunder sent in England in kyng H. the vijth days the cape and Riche sworde.

Memorandum that on halhallowe even the xijth yere of kyng Harry the vijth the pope alexsaunder sent the cape and a ryche sword to our soveraigne above said which was honerably Received by the bushope of wynchester and therle of arundell and many other estates and so conyaved through the cytie of london.

Memorandum the lord John marton cardynall and arehebushope of Caunterbury dyd the devyne serveyce and the Duke of bokyngham bere the cape and therle of arundell the sword all the procession tyme, and to the bushopes palace after the devyne service on al halowyde, but the pope offyceers brought the cape through the towne, the cape vpon the poynt of seabert of sword to powls.

This is confirmed by a statement made in a letter from Henry VII. to the Doge of Venice, Agostino Barbarigo,

¹ "the iiiith yezzer." "This yere the king sente . . . and the cap of mayntenance brought fro Rome." (Richard Arnold, *Customs of London*, often called *Arnold's Chronicle*, [British Museum 21, a. 10. J. Doesborke, Antwerp, 1503, fol. A. vi. recto.]

Mr. St. John Hope has pointed out to me a passage in Wriothesley's Chronicle, "Henrici VII. Anno 4 . . .

A capp of mayntenance brought from Rome to the Kinge." (*A Chronicle of England . . .* by Charles Wriothesley, Camden Society, 1875, vol. i. 2.) But in these early parts of Wriothesley's Chronicle it is said that he does but follow Arnold.

² British Museum, Harl. 158, fo. 120b. There is an imperfect copy of this in Add. 6113, fo. 209.

dated 29th of October, 1496.¹ The king says that on All Hallows day, he intends to receive at St. Paul's the cap and sword sent to him by the pope, a statement which agrees exactly with the foregoing extract.

We may note that in the account of the receiving of the cap and sword sent by Alexander VI., there is a resemblance in certain particulars to the account in the Cotton MS. In both it is the Bishop of Winchester and the Earl of Arundel who receive the papal messenger. In both it is the Archbishop of Canterbury who does the divine service. In both there is the return after mass and procession to the Bishop of London's palace. But in the face of the evidence, it is hardly possible to doubt the truth of either one or other of these presentations.

Of the gift by Julius II., I have as yet only the statement contained in Stowe's *Annals*, which is very short.

"1505 About Midsummer, Pope *Julius* the 2. sent to the King a cap of maintenance, and a sword as to defender of the church, the which cap and sword were received with many and great ceremonies, which I overpasse."²

The sword and the cap have been presented to other English sovereigns besides Henry VII. Sixtus IV. presented them to Edward IV., of which ceremony we have an account in the notes of Francis Thymme, Lancaster Herald, copied from an earlier document. It is clear that the ceremony took place at Windsor, in St. George's Chapel.

The feaste one seint georges day.

And³ when the kinge was comen into his stall he proceded to fore the highe auter where [*a space in the MS.*] lossy [*sic*] one of the popes cubiculars presented to his highnes a letter from thee poope with a swerde and a cappe of meintenanne and the archbishoppe of yorke chauncelor⁴ of englonde redde the letter and declaredde the effecte of the same and then girte the swoorde aboute the kinge and sett the cappe one the kinges hedde and forthwithe tooke yt of ageyne and so proceded to the processione and the forsayed cappe was borne one the pointe of the said sworde by the lorde staneley,⁵ present the reuerende fathers in godde the cardinall of Canterburye the Bishoppes of durham norwiche, Lincolne, Wiscester, Ely, Rochester

¹ *I Diarii di Marino Saanto*, Venezia, 1879, t. i. col. 413.

² John Stow, *Annales*, London, 1631, ed. Edm. Howes, p. 484.

³ Capp and sworde sent to y^e kinge by the pope *in m.*

⁴ archbishopp of yorke chaunceler *in m.*

⁵ L. Staneley *in m.*

and landaffe At what time the Bishoppe of London sauge the masse.¹

To this document Anstis adds the following note :²

The Instrument follows immediately the Narrative of the Kings keeping Christmas in 1481 in his 21 Year, and evidently relates to this Feast, Alfonsns King of Portugal died 24 Aug. 1481. 21 E. IV, and John Rosse Hist. p. 211. saith Huic [Eduardo Quarto] Dominus Papa Sixtus illius nominis quartus misit Gladium & Calepstram regia dignitati congruentem, which Cap this King sometime wore.

At the funeral of Edward IV. this sword was offered at the altar by the heralds.³

Of the presentation of the cap and sword to Henry VIII. by Leo X., in May, 1514, we have a full account in one of the Lansdowne manuscripts, with notes of the address given by the cubicular who brought the sword and cap to England.⁴

fo. 12b.]

Leonardi Spinolli Sanctissimi domini nostri pape [*interlined*] Cubicularii oratio habita ad Serenissimum Regem Anglie 21 Mai 1514

Misit me serenissime et Gloriosissime princeps sanctissimus d. n. divina providentia pontifex. Romanus. Leo. x. et ex infinito servorum suorum numero me unum ideo vt credo elegit qui beneficio et honori a gloriosissima Maiestate vestra ornatus aliquando grati mimi et fidei merito diligentior finitimis eam in ferendo sibi munera quod [*sic*] in saceratissima dominice nativitatis nocte Romani pontifices Ecclesiastice defensionis premium Christianis Regibus mittere soliti sunt Cuius Iudicio anima Recte fraudatur et sapienter constituitur et communi omnium fama qua verissima meritissimo principi et invictissimo Regi destinatum est Noverint siquidem omnes que vbiunque sunt quales Christiane fidei consortes quanta sit Anglici Regis sedes quanta cunctis religio quanta etiam Regis pietas. quantum illi studium pacis quanta vis et potentia in Armis quales et quanti Ecclesiam [*sic*] omni tempore defensores extitere Anglie Reges. pro quibus sola omnium virtus honore digna est Manus hoc sibi per me misit in quo Gladius pileo coniunctus esset Bellice virtutis et Iacunde Libertatis felicissima domino Insignia. vt habeat Gloriosissima Maiestas vestra quo rem Ecclesie propitius tueri et lebertates [*sic*] eius augere valeat Suscipe igitur Serenissime Rex. quod sancti Romani pontificis nomine a me indigno et huius-

¹ British Museum, Stowe MS. 1017, fo. 210b. A common place book of Francis Thynne, *Lancaster Herald* from 1602 to 1608.

² John Anstis, *The Register of the most noble Order of the Garter*, London, 1724, vol. i. 211a. I have verified the quotation from John Rosse. In the British Museum he is catalogued as

John Rows, *Historia Regum Angliae*, Oxon, 1716, and again 1745. He was a contemporary writer.

³ *Archæologia*, 1801, Third Edition, vol. i. 380. "a rich swerde whiche had be sent from the Pope."

⁴ *British Museum*, Lansdowne MS., 818, fo. 12b.

modi utriusque servulo in manus traditur pontificalis gladii et pilei
munus, etc.

to. 13.]

The pope Leo. sent by a Prothonotary the Cape }
and the Suerd to the king } A^o vj^{to}. H 8.

In the yeare of our Lord 1514 the sixth daye of Maye being frydaye the said prothonotary entered into *London* whiche before according to the old pesedentes was mett at the Sea sid and at *Canterbury* and at *Rochester*. with the Bushops and at blackheathe there mett with him the duk of *Suffolk* the Marquis dorsett the B. of *Lyncolne*. Therle of *Essex*. with all the Speares divers other knightes and esquires suche as at that tyme were present in the Court and at *London*. And so proceded thoroughe *London* the Duk on the right hand and the Marqnis on the left hand the Bushop of *Lincoln* by him. The Maior Aldermen and Craftes stod in the streetes according to theyr order. And when he was come to the west dore of *Pouls*. he and the Noble men descended from theyr horses where at the same dore stod Reddy the ArchB. of *Canterbury* the B. of *wynton* The B. of *dunelm*. B of *Exon*. all in pontificalibus. the quere of *Pouls* and so singing an Antipho.¹ proceded to the high Altar wher the cape and the Sword were sett and so after borne to the *Revesfrye* the sayd Prothonotary was convoied to the *Augustin* fryars And on sundaye following the Kinges grace right nobly accompanied with the nobiliti and the embassators of *Spayne* and *Venic* of *Saxoñ* and *fryseland* The duk of *Longevile* ²of france² being then³ prisoner the officers of Armes ruling theyr Attendance The duk of *Norfolk* as³ erle marshall of England bare the Staff of his office next before him Garter King of Armes and the Lo. Maior of *London* Mr. Wm. Browne and then all other noble men according to thyr estate. and degrees went before and proceded from the Bushops palace where the king was Loged vnto the quier of *Powls*. where nygh to the highe altare was set vp the Kings Travers. where the king remayned vntill the Popes messenger cam. accompanied with the B. of *dunelm* the Lo of *S^t Johns*. the Lo. Fines chif Justice the Lo. Reed the Lo chefe Baron vj other knyghtes ij doctors. and ij esquires for the kinges body wh all went and were appoynted to accompany him for that daye. and Brought him to the kinges presence where he deliverd to the king the Popes Letters. after made the⁴ proposition to whom Doctor *Tunstall* made Answere. After the king went a procession And bothe the Sword that the Poope had sent and the kinges Sword The popes orator Bare the Sword that he brought the procession did begin the masse. song by the Arch B. the B of *London* Gospeller the B of exeeter Epistoller. The cape was put on the kings hed. and the Sword gyrt about him by the ArchB. of *Cant* after the order of the Book. And after masse when the king Returned the Sword that the Pope sent was borne alone by the duk of *Suffolk*. and by him in the kings Chamber delivered to the vise Chamberlen in Lieu of the Lo. Chamberlen. The Strangers were

¹ *Ecce ego mitto angelum*: see below,
Appendix i. p. 199.

² *interlined.*

³ *interlined.*

⁴ *written over a.*

Here the account ends abruptly. For the transcription of this passage I am indebted to my son.

This is one of the instances in which the sword and cap were sent to Henry VIII. An article in the *Quarterly Review* says that "the hat, the sword, and the golden rose had repeatedly been sent to him."¹ The golden rose was received about April 5th, 1510, being sent by Julius II.²

One of these papal swords was amongst the jewels and other parcels within the King's secret jewel house within the tower of London according to an inventory made in the reign of James I.³

Item one greate Twoe handed Sworde garnyshed wth sylver and guylte and presented to King Henry the viiith by the Pope.

And it seems that this sword, or one like it, was still in the possession of King James II. and used by him in ceremonials.

On Saturday the king was pleased to send to my Lord Pois [Powys] to let him know he had the sword the pope sent King Hary the eight, and that he should have the honour to carry it beefore him on ister day.⁴

Edward VI. was not likely to receive any compliments from the pope; but his successor Queen Mary, together with her husband, King Philip, received the gift of the golden rose and the cap and sword from Julius III.⁵ It

¹ *Quarterly Review*, 1877, vol. 143. 22.

² J. B. Brewer, *Letters . . . Henry VIII.* 1862, vol. i. 146. Beyond this gift of the golden rose and later on of the cap and sword already mentioned, I do not find in this volume of Mr. Brewer any other papal gift. But the index to this volume and indeed to the whole of these important volumes has been made on a method which is not easily understood. For example, there is no mention in the index to be readily found of the cap and sword or of the golden rose.

³ *The antient Calendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer*, ed. Sir Francis Palgrave, 1836, vol. ii. 306.

⁴ *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, edited by Margaret M. Verney, London, 1849, vol. iv. 341. In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford there is pre-

served a sword which from the founding of the Museum has been said to be that sent by Leo X. to Henry VIII. in 1521, when conferring the title of Defender of the Faith. By the courtesy of Mr. Bell, the underkeeper of the museum, I have been allowed to examine the sword, but I must own that I am not convinced that it is papal, of the kind usually sent with the cap.

⁵ I find no account of this embassy of Antonio Augustino to England in the Calendars of the State papers. He was bidden to return into the Low Countries in October, 1555. (*Nouvelle Biographie générale*, Paris, 1855, t. iii. 726.) As Julius III. died on March 23rd, 1555, it seems likely that the presentation of the cap and sword took place between April and October, or even between April and August, when Philip left England for the Low Countries.

was one of the last acts of this pope. We have the text of the address to the sovereigns on this occasion by Cardinal Pole, explaining the mystical significance of these ornaments.¹

No sovereign of England with the exception of James II. is likely after Philip and Mary to have received the cap and sword from the pope, and with them we may in all likelihood close the list of English kings who have received this decoration.

We need not go back, with some writers, to the time of Judas Macchabæus² for a precedent for the giving of a sword to a soldier who has deserved well of the Roman See. In the eighth century Paul I. sent to Pippin a great sword,³ apparently forming the chiefest of the gifts presented at that time. There was also a ring; with a pallium adorned with peacocks, and these are still part of the ornaments given to kings at their coronation. In the order for the coronation of the Emperor printed by Muratori⁴ there is delivered to the Emperor a sword taken from the body of the blessed Peter, just as the pall delivered to metropolitans is taken from the body of the blessed Peter and receives its blessing thence.⁵

The practice of sending a cap and sword from the Roman Court as a decoration to a sovereign or other prince whom it wished to honour was already well established in the time of Henry VII. It is spoken of in the book presented by Agustino Patricio Piccolomini to Pope Innocent VIII. in the very year in which Henry VII. first received the cap and sword.⁶ This work was afterwards put forth as his own work by Christopher Marcellus, the elect of Corfu; and in it may be found details of the blessing of the cap and sword, which takes place in the papal chapel before the mattins of Christmas Day. The liturgical forms are attributed to Sixtus IV.

¹ *Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli S. R. E. Cardinalis*, Brixiae, 1757. Pars v. 36.

² ii. Macchab. xv. 15.

³ Cajetan Cenni, *Monumenta Dominationis Pontificæ*. Romæ, 1760, t. i. 159.

⁴ L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venetiis, 1743, t. ii. col. 461. Some manuscripts say that the sword is girt about the emperor. The mediæval

ritualists attach much importance to this girding. See the work edited by Philip Zazzera, *SS. Ecclesiae Rituum*, &c., Romæ, 1784, cap. cexl. p. 416.

⁵ See my paper on the blessing of the pall, in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, September, 1898, Vol. XV. 121.

⁶ I. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Luteciae Parisiorum, 1724, t. ii. pp. v. and 584.

the pope immediately before Innocent VIII. and they are given by Marcellus at length.¹

It so happens that of the blessing of the cap and sword given by Alexander VI. to Henry VII. we have an account given by John Burchard, of Strassburg, the papal *Ceremoniaris*, as follows :

In nocte inter septimanam et octavam horam. Papa indatus cappa de cremesino et aliis more solito, venit ad capellam, episcopo Segobriicensi fimbrias deferente. Sed antequam cappa indueretur, benedixit ensem, stans in illo loco ante lectum paramenti ubi paramenta acceperat, D. J. Drago auditore coram ex [*sic*] genuflexo ensem cum capello desuper manibus erectum tenente, quia nullus clericius camere interfuit. Benedicto ense, cardinale S. Anastasie ministrante, Papa imposuit incensum, deinde incensavit ensem et venit ad capellam, ut prefertur, cardinalibus Papam sequentibus. Ensem portavit profatus auditor immediate ante crucem incedens : Papa incepit matutinum, dixit absolutiones et benedictiones omnes in libro.²

At the Christmas of 1487, when the first gift to Henry VII. should have been blessed, there is nothing said about the cap and sword by Burchard; though there is a full account of the ceremonies. The Christmas before, the sword and cap were delivered at St. Peter's, on Christmas day, to the ambassador of the King of Spain, and the form is given.³

Of the blessing of the sword sent to Henry VIII. from Leo X. we have an account by Paride de Grassi, but, as his custom is, less diffuse than that of the Strassburger.

In nocte Nativitatis Domini, hora nona, sonata campana palatii, matutinum inchoatum est, et Papa antequam indueret cappam benedixit spatam apud lectum: adfuit cum cardinalibus dux Bari, missa finita est hora quasi duodecima.⁴

Moroni tells us that this practice of blessing a cap and sword before the mattins of Christmas Day continued down to his times, which were those of Gregory XVI.⁵ Whether it has been left off with the other papal functions since 1870 I do not know.

The papal sword follows a certain type which some of

¹ Christopher Marcellus, *Rituum Ecclesiasticorum*, Venetiis, 1516. Charta xxxvi. of Lib. I. See also Lib. II. charta lxxvi.

² Ioannis Burchardi *Diarium*, ed. L. Thuasne, Paris, 1881. t. ii. 259. Feria quinta, 24 decemb. 1495.

³ Burchard, *op. cit.* t. i. 289 and 230.

⁴ *Il diario di Leone X. di Paride de Grassi*, ed. M. Armellini, Roma, 1881, p. 12. This was the Christmas of 1513.

⁵ Gaetano Moroni, *Le Capelle Pontificie*, Venezia, 1841, p. 340.

us may remember to have seen in the specimen preserved in the castle of Edinburgh, the sword sent by Julius II. to the King of Scotland. It is adorned with the arms of the family of Rovere. Other papal swords may be found represented in Wendelin Boenheim's album, which Lord Dillon, with his accustomed kindness, has pointed out to me in his collection. They show swords presented by Julius II. in 1510, Pius V. in 1568, and Gregory XIII. in 1582.¹ In the engraving in Angelo de Rocca's book, the sword is much later, and bears the arms of the Albani family, those of Clement XI.²

This engraving in Rocca also gives a representation of the cap, which is made of much more perishable materials than the sword, and is thus rarer. I do not remember ever to have seen one. Cancellieri describes it as made of crimson velvet, lined with ermine, adorned with pearls, and surrounded with a band of gold, with a dove in the midst, as a symbol of God the Holy Ghost.³ This is alluded to in the delivery of the cap in the liturgical form of Urban VIII. in Appendix II.

Owing to the state of my eyesight I have not been able to correct as fully as I could have wished the proofs of this paper. My son has read the excerpts from manuscripts with the originals in the British Museum. I must beg the indulgence of members of the Institute for the rest of the paper.

¹ Wendelin Boenheim, *Album hervorragender Gegenstände aus der Waffensammlung des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Wien, 1894. Tafel XI. and XXVII. See also pp. 7 and 15.

² Angelo de Rocca, *Opera Omnia*, Romae, 1719. t. i. 207.

³ Francesco Cancellieri, *Descrizione de' tre pontificali*, Roma, 1814. p. 12. On p. 17 there is a list of the writers on this subject.

APPENDIX I.

LITURGICAL FORMS AT THE GIVING OF THE CAP AND SWORD OF THE
TIMES OF INNOCENT VIII.¹

[**Q**uando recipitur Nuncius apostolicus Qui portabit Capellum et
ensem domino Regi Anglie

Quando erit intraturus Oppidum seu Castrum ubi dominus Rex
residenciam facit. Et erit dies festus

de mane bona hora exibunt ei obuiam multi ex quocunque statu eciam
Magnates et principes de mandato domini Regis

Et ipse Nuncius erit inter duos honorabiliores seu potenciores Ibit
eciam obuiam ei processio usque ad portum Civitatis seu loci cantando,
ymnos, etc. vel saltem si in aliquo modo propter tempus malum vel alias
impediretur Saltem usque ad portas ecclesie

Et immediate ipse Nuncius et alii cum viderint processionem de
equis descendunt pro reuerencia ipsius

Dominus Rex autem erit in ecclesia Cathedrali siue principali ipsius
loci expectando

processione uero precedente uenient omnes pedestres sociando ipsum
Nuncium cum processione ad ecclesiam

Cum processio intrauerit ecclesiam siue fuerit in portis ecclesie
cantabitur antiphona per illos de processione
ant'.

[**E**cce ego mitto angelum meum qui preparabit uiam ante faciem
meam . et statim ueniet ad templum sanctum suum domi-
nator quem uos queritis et angelus testamenti quem uos uultis

Nuncius ergo apostolicus portabit ensem et in summate ensis erit
capellus et ibit usque ad altare ubi erit prelatus qui celebraturus est
paratus

qui prelatus . capiet ensem cum capello posito in summate ensis et
ponet super altare in medio

Deinde finita antiphona Ecce ego etc. Incipiet introitum misse qui
finita non faciet prelatus benedictionem (Quia in fine post dacionem
capelli et ensis fiet: dabitur ensis et capellus Serenissimo Domino Regi
Anglie per dominum .N. uel eo absente per alium prelatum Quem
Rex ipse ad id duxerit eligendum nomine Serenissimi in christo patris
et domini domini Innocencii diuina providencia pape viij Sacro[sancte]
ecclesie Romane ac vniuersalis ecclesie summi pontificis

Stabit itaque Dominus Rex genuflexus coram prelato parato ante
altare pileo et ense in altari existentibus et prelatus dicat alta uoce Et
compleat secreta usque Pater noster Et ne nos [inducas in tempta-
cionem]

¹ From the first leaf of a Lincoln Pontifical in the Cambridge University Library (Mm. 3, 21). Capital letters wanting in the manuscript have been supplied between square brackets; and

where an obelus follows a word it is meant to indicate that the word is printed precisely as in the manuscript.

The transcription has been made for me by Mr. Alfred Rogers.

R. Sed libera nos [a malo.]
V. Saluum fac seruum tuum domine
R. Deus meus sperantem in te
V. Esto ei domine turris fortitudinis
R. A facie inimicorum suorum
V. Nil proficient in eo inimici
R. Et filii iniquitatis non noceant ei
V. Domine exaudi [orationem meam]
R. Et clamor meus atq[ue] te perueniat
[V.] Dominus nobis[cum]
R. Et cum [spiritu tuo]

Oremus.

[D]omine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus qui cuncta solus
 ordinas et disponis qui ad coerendam† maliciam reproborum
 ac perfidorum infidelium et hereticorum usum gladii in terris hominibus
 tua salubri dispositione permisisti et militare ordinem ad populi
 protectionem instituisti clemenciam tuam domine suppliciter exoramus
 ut sicut dauit puero tuo goliath superandi largitus es facultatem et
 Iudam Machabeum de feritate gentium nomen tuum innocentem
 triumphalem fecisti. ita et huic famulo tuo Henrico Regi nostro qui
 pro tui nominis honore ac fidei et ecclesie† trincione collum supponit
 pietate celesti uires et audaciam ad fidei et iusticie ecclesieque
 defensionem tribuas et prestes fidei et caritatis augmentum Et da ei
 timorem pariter et amorem humilitatem perseueranciam obedienciam
 et pacienciam bonam et cuncta in eo recte disponas. omnia ipse recta
 et insta disponat defendat perfidorum infidelium et hereticorum
 feritatem confundat uictoriam de eis optatam tua ineffabili
 interueniente benignitate per omnia assequatur per christum

[D]eus in cuius manu sunt corda Regum et qui omnium regnorum
 protector existis inclina ad preces humilitatis nostre aures
 misericordie tue et Henrico Regi nostro regimen tue sapencie appone
 ut haustis de tuo fonte consilii [fo. 1 b.] tibi placeat et cunctis bonis
 operibus semper intendat

Alia Oratio

[P]retende quesumus domine famulo tuo Henrico Regi nostro
 dexteram tuam celestis auxilii ut te toto corde perquirat et que
 digne postulat assequi mereatur.

*Datur pilus et in capite ponitur domino Regi per ipsum prelatum
 dicendo*

[A]ccipe signum glorie et honoris de benedictione apostolica ✠
 [i]n nomine pa✠tris et filii ✠ et spiritus ✠ Sancti Amen

Datur Ens domino Regi dicendo

[A]ccipe gladium istum de benedictione apostolica ut sis defensor
 fidei et iusticie protector ecclesiarum uiduarum et pupillorum.
 In nomine pa✠tris et ✠ filii et spiritus ✠ sancti. Amen. Et utaris
 eo ad defensionem sancte dei ecclesie et ad confusionem omnium
 inimicorum sancte fidei christiane necnon tuam† et corone Anglie
 quod ipse prestare dignetur. qui cum deo et spiritu sancto uiuit et
 regnat in secula seculorum Amen.

[A]ccingatur per prelatum Ensem† dominus Rex capellum in capite
 teneus qui prelatus dicat

[A]ccinge gladio tuo super femur tuum potentissime. Et attende quod sancti non gladio sed per fidem uincerunt† regna in nomine domini ihesu cristi. Amen.

Item dicat prelatus

[E]xciteris a somno et uigila in fide christi et fama laudabili.

Item dicat prelatus

Speciosus forma pre filiis hominum diffusa est gracia altissimi in te Accinge gladio tuo super femur tuum potentissime.

Dicat prelatus

R. Dominus uobis[cum]

Oremus

[O]mnipotens¹ potentissime et sempiternus deus super hunc famulum tuum. Henricum Regem nostrum qui eminenti hoc mucrone circumcingi desiderat gratiam tue benedictionis infunde et dextre tue uirtute fretum fac cuncta aduersancia celestibus armari presidiis quo nullis in hoc seculo tempestatibus bellorum ac inimicorum nostrorum perfideorum infidelium et hereticorum turbetur per

Deinde dicat prelatus†

Pax tecum

R. Et cum [spiritu tuo]

Et Regi det osculum pacis deinde chorus cantabit

Te deum laudamus

Que† finito prelatus dabit benedictionem Et erit finis

His peractis Nuncius ante Regem portet eusem sub quo sit capellus Donec Rex sit in Palacio suo ubi deosculetur breue .d. pape² et regi offerat etc.

APPENDIX II.

LITURGICAL FORMS AT THE GIVING OF THE CAP AND SWORD OF THE TIMES OF URBAN VIII.³

A. Adiutorium nostrum in nomine† domini.

R. Qui fecit caelum, et terram.

A. Pater noster &c.

Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

R. Sed libera nos a malo.

A. Esto nobis Domine turris fortitudinis.

R. a facie inimici.

A. Nihil proficiat inimicus in eo.

R. Et filius iniquitatis non apponat nocere ei.

A. Fortitudo mea, et lans mea Dominus.

R. Et factus est mihi in salutem.

A. Si consistant aduersum me castra.

R. In hoc ego sperabo.

¹ Erasure of one word here.

² Scratched out partly in MS.

³ Theophile Raynaud, *Opera*, Lugduni, 1665. t. x. 533. A variation of this order may be found in Joseph Carafa,

De capella regis utriusque Siciliae, Romae 1749. p. 390, for use on the occasion of the sending by Innocent X. of the sword and cap and of the golden rose to the king and queen of Poland.

- V.* Non salvatur Rex per multam virtutem suam.
R. Et Gigas non salvabitur in multitudine virtutis suae.
V. Hi in curribus, et hi in equis.
R. Nos autem in nomine Dei exercituum.
V. Domine exaudi orationem meam.
R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.
V. Dominus vobiscum.
R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, praeliantium fortitudo, et triumphantium gloria, dilectum hunc filium tuum coronatum scuto bonae voluntatis tuae, armare digneris galea salutis; et diadema perfecti decoris impone super caput eius, ut saevientibus periculis, e medio umbrae mortis abire possit incolumis, ad tutelam fidelium populorum, et gloriam Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui tecum vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Pontifex deinde sedet, et cooperto capite pileum accipiens, principis seu Regis capiti imponit, dicens;

Accipe dilectissime Fili noster, pileum hunc aureis Spiritus sancti radiis micantem; ubi candentes uniones non rapaeis aquilae crudelitatem, sed paciferae columbae innocentiam effingunt. Cogitare enim debes, bella tum demum iusta esse, cum non usurpandi imperii, aut opum rapiendarum cupidine geruntur; sed suscipiantur Spiritu sancto admonente, ad propugnandam fidem, et ad stabilendam pacem, quae relicta Principibus fuit haereditas Christi in caelum redeuntis, qui vivit, et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Assurgit deinde Pontifex, et accipiens gladium e vagina eductum dicit.

- V.* Veli genti insurgenti super genus meum.
R. Dominus omnipotens vindicabit in eis.
V. Maledictus homo qui prohibet gladium suum a sanguine.
R. Et non fecit vindictam in nationibus non credentibus.
V. Apprehende Domine arma, et scutum
R. Et exurge in adiutorium mihi.
V. Indica Domine nocentes me.
R. Et expugna impugnantes nomen tuum.
V. Gladius eorum, intret in corda ipsorum.
R. Et arcus eorum confringatur.
V. Laetabitur iustus cum viderit vindictam.
R. manus suas lavabit in sanguine peccatoris.
V. Notum fecisti in populis virtutem tuam.
R. Redemisti in brachio tuo, filios Israel, et Ioseph.
V. Domine exaudi orationem meam
R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat
V. Dominus vobiscum.
R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Omnipotens bellator, qui terribilis es apud reges terrae, et doces praeliantium digitos ad bellum, dilectum hunc filium nostrum N.

præcinge gladio illo ancipiti qui profligat legiones inferni, ut militet cum eo orbis terrarum adversus insensatos, et molas Leonum conterat, et dentes peccatorum confringat; ut in splendore fulgurantis hastæ tuæ, barbaras nationes subdat Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui tecum vivit, et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Pontifex sedens, capite cooperto, ensen nudum tradit Principi, dicens;

Accipe dilectissime Fili noster, N. unceronem Domini, et gladium salutis, et fiat in dextera virtutis tuæ, innocentium tutela, et impiorum flagellum, et ad gloriam Dei omnipotentis, et sanctæ marris Ecclesiæ illucescant coruscationes eius orbi terræ.

Deinde Pontifex gladium vagina tegit, Principem eo accingit, dicens;

Accingat te gladio suo super femur tuum potentissimus, qui superbis resistit, humilibus autem gratiam dat. Tu autem crebris victoriis cole Deum exercituum, et ultionum Dominum, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Terque super Principem Pontifex benedicit, et Princeps Pontificis pedem, manum, et os osculatur; eique gratias agit.

SAINT GEORGE THE MARTYR, IN LEGEND,
CEREMONIAL, ART, ETC.

By J. LEWIS ANDRÉ, F.S.A.

Probably no saintly legend has, to use the words of a well-known advertisement, had "such a world-wide circulation" as that usually connected with S. George, and certainly no military hero has enjoyed a greater celebrity in either Eastern or Western Christendom. In the former he soon became known as THE GREAT MARTYR, and very shortly after his death, which took place about A.D. 300, a church was dedicated to his memory at Constantinople; whilst in the west his fame in the fifth century had become so great, that Pope Gelasius I. judged it fit to expunge from the church offices various apocryphal stories which had already debased the history of the saintly warrior.

Some have doubted the existence of S. George,¹ but the extremely rapid growth of the honour paid him all over Christendom points conclusively to the truth of his personality, though beyond the fact of his having been a Christian soldier and martyr, very little, if anything, can be safely asserted respecting him. According to Metaphrastes, he was born in Cappadocia, embraced the profession of a soldier, and was preferred to a high position by Diocletian, but on the persecution of the Christians by that emperor, he expostulated with him on his savage edicts, was thrown into prison, tortured, and finally beheaded by the sword. This history, quoted by Alban Butler,² is in no way improbable, but the ordinary legend of the saint is scouted by the above-named author and all recent writers on the subject.

¹ Aubrey says of Dr. Featly's *Handmaid to Devotion*, that in it "he speaks of St. George, and asserts the story to be fabulous, and that there never was such a man," and says that in a copy of a book, at this page "William Cartwright writes in the margin 'for this

assertion was Dr. Featly brought upon his knees before Wm. Laud A-Bp. of Canterbury.'" *Remains of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, p. 69, ed. Folk Lore Society.

² *Lives of the Saints*, April, p. 3, ed. Richardson.

In order to understand the various scenes in the life of S. George as represented in art, it will be necessary to relate briefly the various legends which have sprung up in the course of time around the simple biographical outline written by Metaphrastes.

The dragon myth, upon which the fame of S. George rests in the minds of the populace, relates that at Sylene, a city of Libya, dwelt a fearful dragon which devoured a maiden every day, and at this city arrived S. George in the nick of time to prevent the king's daughter being the victim, which he did by slaying the dreaded reptile in a terrific combat. This forms the subject of innumerable paintings, of which some have been noted on the walls of our churches, as at Croydon, Surrey, and Hadleigh, Essex. The lady is by some named Cleodolinda, by others Sabra, and in a few late works she has been made the principal figure in the battle with the dragon, as in a picture by Tintoretto, now in our National Gallery. Sometimes a lamb is seen by the maiden's side to denote her innocence and gentleness, and at others her parents figured in the scene, as at Bassingbourne, Cambridgeshire, where carved images of the king and queen were grouped around that of S. George. After the deliverance of their daughter, it was only natural that the family should embrace the religion of their benefactor, and S. George baptized them; he then went to Palestine, where, apprehended for being a Christian, he drank of poison administered to him by a magician; he was stretched on a wheel, which was destroyed by an angel, and at his prayer the temple of Apollo fell down. Finally he was decapitated.

Another legend asserts that S. George, before his contest with the dragon, had been killed by the Gauls, and raised to life by our Lord, or His Mother, as may be seen in the early sixteenth century glass at St. Neot's Church, Cornwall.

Spenser in his *Faerie Queen* has taken S. George for his hero, whilst his heroine is Cleodolinda; but he has woven round these personages a legend of his own.

S. George was not only the patron of the military profession, and of the trades connected with it, but also

of all those who go down into the deep¹; he was the patron saint of many countries and districts, among them being Aragon, Armenia, England, the Republic of Genoa, Georgia, Hanover, Hungary, Lithuania, Portugal, Schleswig, and Vendôme, besides an almost countless number of towns and villages.²

In the present paper only a rapid glance will be taken at the rise of his popularity in England, which, simple as it appears at first sight, is beset with difficulties, as authorities both ancient and modern disagree on many points; some, for instance, advancing proofs of his great popularity in our land during Saxon times, whilst other writers proclaim that he only enjoyed a fame here which was common with the rest of Christendom. Venerable Bede simply mentions him in his martyrologium on April 23rd as S. George the Martyr; but his name seems to have been inserted in some early missals in the Canon of the Mass, and there is a metrical biography of him in Anglo-Saxon, now in the University Library at Cambridge. It is a work stated to be by Bishop Ælfric, and has been published by the Percy Society.

S. Edward the Confessor was, in early Norman times, considered the patron saint of England, but was gradually superseded by S. George, two events materially contributing to this result. The first was the reputed appearance of the three warrior saints George, Demetrius, and Mercurius, at the battle before Antioch in 1098; and the second, the miraculous vision of the martyr to King Richard the Lion-hearted at Acre, which, being reported to the Christian troops, made a profound impression on them. In 1222, a council held at Oxford is generally believed to have commanded his feast to be kept throughout England as a holiday of

¹ Froissart, describing an expedition in 1390 against the kingdom of Barbary, says of the troops that, "putting themselves under the protection of God and St. George," they "took to the deep." *Chronicles*, p. 385, ed. Routledge. The Slavonian sailors founded for themselves a charitable brotherhood at Venice under the invocation of S. George and S. Tryphon, in 1451.

² Among these may be noted Braganza, placed under the patronage of S. George, from the fact of that town having been captured from the Moors on his feast day. He is the patron also of Antioch and Constantinople, and in France of Belloy, Epinay-sur-Seine, and Liège.

lesser rank; but it is probable that the cult of S. George was greatly advanced by Edward III., who chose him for his patron, and instituted the Order of the Garter in honour of God, our Lady, and S. George. In the reign of his successor, in 1399, at the desire of the clergy his feast was ordered to be observed "as a holiday, even as other nations observe the feasts of their patrons"; and when Henry V. was about to depart for Normandy the solemnity of the festival was enhanced by the command that abstinence from servile work should be observed, and that everyone should attend church, pray for the saint's patronage, and for the safety of the king and kingdom. At Agincourt, the *English Chronicle*¹ tells us that when all was ready for the fray, the king said:

"with a highe vois, In the Name of Almygte God and of Saint George, Avaunt baner, and Saint George this day thyn helpe. Thane the two bataillez mette togedir and fouzten sore and long time, but Almyzte God and Saint George fouzten that day for vs and graunted our King the victory."

Shakespeare often alludes to the war-cry of the English, "God and Saint George!" and in later times it was used by the followers of Prince Charles Stuart, when in 1715 they attempted to overthrow the Hanoverian rule. It was also a battle-cry of the Portuguese, as noticed by Froissart.

Henry VII. took S. George for his chief patron, and the cult of the saint was at its apogee during the earlier part of the Tudor period, so that at the beginning of the religious changes in the sixteenth century it was not thought fit to abolish the commemoration of this martyr, and Fabyan records in his *Chronicle*² that on July 22nd, 1541, there

"was a proclamation that no holy daye should be kept except our Ladyes dayes, the apostle Evangelists, S. George, and S. Mary Magdalen";

but eleven years afterwards the *Grey Friars Chronicle*³ says:

"Item also wher it hath bene of ane olde custome that sent George shulde be kepte holy day thorow alle England, the byshoppe of

¹ *English Chronicle*, p. 41, ed. Camden Soc.

² *Chronicles*, p. 701, ed. Ellis.

³ *Grey Friars Chronicle*, p. 74, ed. Camden Soc.

of London (*i.e.*, Ridley) commandyd that it shulde not be kepte, and no more it was not."

A singular speech respecting the champion saint of England has been attributed to Oliver Cromwell, who is reported to have said to the Spanish Ambassador respecting Genoa :

"Do you not perceive that England and Genoa are republics? Hence they wish to do themselves mutual honours, being as they both are under the protection of Saint George."¹

Barr, in his *Anglican Calendar*, states that 162 parish churches are dedicated to S. George. Manchester Cathedral is called after Our Lady, S. George, and S. Denis. During the eighteenth century his name was given to several newly founded churches, as at Yarmouth in 1715, and at Deal in 1716 Archbishop Wake consecrated a chapel-of-ease dedicated to S. George the Martyr. S. George's, Hanover Square, was opened in 1724, and S. George's-in-the-East in 1729; whilst S. George's, Bloomsbury, was dedicated in 1731. The latter church has a figure, not of the saint, but of King George II. on the summit of its steeple, which gave rise to this epigram :

"When Henry VIII. left the Pope in the lurch,
His subjects made him the head of the Church,
But George's good folks, the Bloomsbury people,
Instead of the Church, made him head of the steeple."

Originally orders of knighthood were also religious societies in the middle ages, examples of which may be noticed in the Spanish Orders of Alcantara, founded about 1156, of Calatrava, incorporated in 1164, and of S. James of Compostella, created in 1175; each of these being at first celibate bodies, and the two former governed by modifications of the rules of the Cistercian Order of monks. In Portugal, the Order of Avis, originated about 1140, also followed the Cistercian rules, as far as it was possible for secular persons to do so; and the following extract from Froissart shows its former connection with the subject of this paper. Speaking of a feast given in honour of the Duke of Lancaster in 1386, the chronicler observes :

"There were many persons present, and the feasting lasted till

¹ See *Antiquary*, Vol. IV, 153.

night. The King of Portugal was that day clothed with white lined with crimson, with a red cross of Saint George, being the dress of the Order of Avis, of which he was Grand Master. When the people elected him their King, he declared that he would always wear that dress in honour of God and Saint George; his attendants also were dressed in white and crimson.¹

Although not the oldest Order established in honour of S. George, that of the Garter has attained a pre-eminence over all other orders of knighthood at home and abroad. Before its actual institution, Berry informs us that Edward III. had given his companions in arms little images of S. George, and when the King had gained a decisive battle, supposed to have been that of Cressy, he installed this Order, which was not confined to knights alone, but included ladies, who were entitled *Dames de la Confraternité de S. George*.² The ceremonies at the investitures and installations of the knights show how thorough was the intention of the royal founder that it should be in honour of S. George, and this was its characteristic feature until the time of Edward VI. This youthful monarch appears to have had an aversion to our saint, and it is related of him that when in his coronation procession S. George appeared in the pageant, and "would have spoken," says Leland, "his Grace made such speed that for lack of time he could not." Such being the case, we cannot wonder that he endeavoured to entirely banish any connection between S. George, and the Order of the Garter, and drew up an entirely new set of rules for its government, which were, however, in force for only a few months owing to Edward's death.³

On the accession of Queen Mary the old rule of the Order, with its ancient ceremonies, was revived, and with unimportant changes appears to have continued in force until the present day, as may be gathered from an account given by Berry of the investiture of the Honourable Charles, Duke of Beaufort, on January 17th, 1805. At this ceremony each article of the insignia was bestowed with an accompanying "admonition" by the Registrar of the Order, the said admonitions being similar in

¹ Froissart's *Chronicles*, p. 295.

² *Encyclopædia Heraldica*, Vol. I, article "Knight."

³ A paper on the revision of the Statutes of the Order of the Garter by Dr. E. Maunde Thompson will be found in the *Archæologia*, Vol. 54, N.S., 173.

character to the prayers offered at the clothing of clerics, monks, and nuns, and also at the coronations of our sovereigns. Thus when the garter was buckled round the Duke's leg by the sovereign, it was stated to be

“To the honour of God omnipotent, and in memorial of the blessed martyr S. George.”

When the ribbon was put about his Grace's neck, he was exhorted as follows:—

“Wear this ribbon about thy neck adorned with the image of the blessed martyr and soldier of Christ S. George, by whose imitation provoked thou mayest so overpass both prosperous and adverse adventures, that having stoutly vanquished thy enemies both of body and soul thou mayest not only receive the praise of this transient combat but be crowned with the palm of eternal victory.”

The ceremonial at the installation of the knights is similar in character, and the investiture with the Collar and George is accompanied by the “admonition” just quoted, and the mantle is bestowed with the injunction to

“Receive this robe of heavenly colour, the livery of this most excellent Order in augmentation of thy honour, ennobled with the shield and red cross of our Lord,” etc.

Many Orders of S. George have been established abroad, one or two of which appear to date as far back as the twelfth century. The Bavarian Order of S. George, one of very ancient foundation, after falling into abeyance till 1729, was then revived and still flourishes, for in 1884 several knights were formally installed at Munich by the uncle of the King of Bavaria, when, it is said, every detail of the quaint pageantry characteristic of the Order was carried out minutely.

In 1818 an Order of SS. Michael and George was founded with the object of bestowing honourable distinctions upon the natives of Malta and the Ionian Islands, to whom it is strictly confined.

Many guilds and trading companies in England took S. George for their patron, and amongst these none held a higher place than the Fraternity and Guild of S. George at Norwich, a city, be it observed, which had three churches dedicated to the warrior martyr. It was founded in 1385, and escaped destruction in the time of Edward VI. from the fact of its having been considered

a part of the Corporation of the city. Certain alterations having been then made in the rules, and the word Fraternity in the title having been changed into Company, the society existed till 1721, when it was dissolved and its charters and books delivered up to the City Committee. The members of this guild were men of good position and not exclusively citizens of Norwich. In the days of Henry VI. the brethren numbered among them the Bishop of Norwich and many nobles, of whom Bloomfield supplies us with a lengthy list, and adds that the annual procession "was always very grand, and contributed much to the honour of the city."¹

Another prominent guild was that of S. George at Chichester, of which Seldon writes that in 1368 certain persons proposing to found a fraternity or guild, and impelled by the highest devotion towards S. George, placed, as a preliminary step, an image of him in the Cathedral Church of Chichester. "In this Cathedral," he continues, "they had daily mass in the chapel of S. George, said by the guild chaplain." To be a freeman of this guild was one of the three qualifications giving a right to vote for members of Parliament for Chichester.²

In the sixteenth century there was a Fraternity of S. George in the Tower of London, to encourage the science of shooting with longbows and hand guns throughout England.

Frequently there were inns or hostelries connected with guilds or fraternities of S. George, as at Norwich, where there was a George Inn belonging to the guild of that name, until it was sold in 1519. At Glastonbury and Norton S. Philip, in Somerset, are still picturesque George Inns of fifteenth-century date. Shakespeare alludes to the common use of this sign, and in King John speaks of

"Saint George who swing'd the Dragon, and e'er since
Sits on his horseback at mine hostess' door."

K. John, Act II, Sc. 1.

It was a very popular sign, and in Kent there are still sixty-three inns called after the saint or his dragon, and at

¹ Blomefield gives a long and interesting account of this Guild, in his *History of Norfolk*, Vol. IV, 347-353.

² A full description of this "Merchant Guild of Chichester" is given in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. XV, pp. 165-177.

Alfriston, Sussex, although the village inn is the Star, there is an early sixteenth century statuette of S. George carved on its front.

At the present day there is one body which may be said to be connected with our saint: it is the Society of Antiquaries of London, whose seal bears his arms, and the fellows of the society, who, according to their Royal Charter, are recommended to be chosen "by how much the more eminent they shall be for piety, virtue, integrity, and loyalty," celebrate their anniversary on S. George's Day.

The Greek Church still keeps the feast of S. George as a holiday obligatory on all its members, and in England, the Sarum Missal and Breviary show that it was observed as a lesser double, with proper collect, epistle, secret, and post-communion in the mass of the day. The members of the saint's guilds attended at mass and duly lighted tapers in his honour, as for instance at King's Lynn, where five candles burnt before his altar and three torches, or larger tapers. On this day the Knights of the Garter kept the feast with so much solemnity that their proceedings were often recorded by the chroniclers of the period. Machyn in his diary notices some of these anniversaries, and respecting one attended by Edward VI. in 1552 he simply remarks that the King wore his robes, had his sword borne before him, attended and made his offering at the church service, and finally heard evensong.¹ The same writer tells us, of the festival in 1555, that the clergy attending the procession sang the anthem *Salve Festa Dies*, or "Hail festive day"; but in the same procession in 1561, both Machyn and Strype record that in place of the above was sung "O God, the Father of Heaven," or the Litany, then called the English Procession, from the fact that the old form of it had been in great part so chanted. Evelyn, writing in 1667, says that he saw the sumptuous supper held in the banqueting house at Whitehall, on the eve of S. George's Day, at which all the Companions of the Order were present, and on the feast itself the diarist witnessed the procession of the knights and noted how the Dean "had about his neck the book of the statutes

¹ Machyn's *Diary*, p. 17, ed. Camden Soc.

of the Order" and that the Chancellor, Sir Henry de Vic, "bore the purse about his neck."¹

The Guild of S. George at Norwich kept his festival, as before noticed, with great splendour, and the procession which always took place on that day was remarkable for the pageant of the saint and his dragon. S. George was on this occasion represented by a man chosen annually for the purpose, who wore a crimson velvet gown ornamented with blue garters. He was encased in armour beaten with silver, bestriding a horse whose harness was of black velvet decorated with gilt copper buckles. Two henchmen in white gowns attended him, whilst four trumpeters had banners of the saint's arms suspended from their instruments, and there were also borne in the procession other banners pictured with his image. With S. George rode S. Margaret, termed "the lady" in the guild records, she probably owing her presence in the cavalcade to the fact that she, like the warrior, derived her fame from a combat with a dragon. Until 1558 both saints appeared in the procession, but in that year it was determined "that there be neyther George nor Margett, but for pastime the Dragon to come in and show himself as in other years." This dragon was a formidable monster, and was retained until the dissolution of the "Company" in 1731, when the goods belonging to it were handed over to the Corporation of Norwich, and in the inventory of them then made is found the item, "One new dragon, commonly called Snap-dragon." This is still preserved by the municipality of the town, and forms a prominent object in the Castle Museum. It is of wickerwork, covered with tightly stretched canvas, over which are gilded scales picked out with red, and the machine was moved by a man standing within it, who was supplied with air by an aperture between the wings, whilst his legs were concealed by a kind of drapery hanging from the dragon's body. The jaws were provided with metal teeth, which were made to gnash together by means of cords moved by the man within the body of the dragon. Mr. Llewellym Jewitt,

¹ *Diary of John Evelyn*, Vol. II, 22, ed. Bray. Chambers, in his *Cyclopædia*, Vol. II, pub. 1752, says that the duty of

the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod "is to bear the rod before the King at the feast of S. George at Windsor."

in his description of this monster, says truly that it may vie in interest with the London Gog and Magog and the Salisbury Giant.

At Leicester there was also a magnificent procession on S. George's Day, called "the riding of the George," whilst similar observances took place at Coventry, Sandwich, and Stratford-on-Avon.

At Chichester the earliest of the city fairs was held on this day, and in 1522 Robert Sherbourne, bishop of that see, bestowed on the local Guild of S. George some land which produced a rent of twenty shillings per annum, and this he directed should purchase a quarter cask of choice wine to be kept "bene, fideliter, et integre" (well, truly, and wholly) in reserve for the next feast day of S. George, when part was to be consumed by the brothers and sisters of the guild, and part by the populace assembled round the city cross, where there was an image of the saint in one of the niches which embellished it.²

Abroad, S. George formed a prominent figure in the processions on the feast of Corpus Christi, and Misoon, who died in 1721, relates in his *Travels* that whilst at Munich he saw on this festival how "at the head of their respective orders rode S. George and S. Maurice in Roman habits, while S. Margaret was represented by a young lady dressed as a vestal, leading after her a large dragon, in which two men were enclosed to give it the necessary movements" (*The World Displayed*, Vol. XVIII, p. 125). Still later, a description of this feast at Lisbon, published in 1827, relates how his image was brought to join the procession from the Castle of S. George, the guns of that fortress announcing that he had done so, and as he passed along the troops presented arms, and their commander saluted him. After being carried in the procession, S. George was "reconducted to his chapel in the Castle, where he is laid up in ordinary

¹ S. George's horse, harnessed, used to stand at the end of S. George's chapel, in S. Martin's Church, Leicester," quo. *County Folk Lore of Leicestershire and Rutland*, p. 101.

² *Suss. Arch. Coll.*, Vol. XV, 175. The Canons of Dureford Abbey, Sussex,

were given lands in 1260, under the condition of presenting "a wax candle of 1 lb. weight at every feast of S. George to the church of Trotton, Sussex, which was dedicated to this saint. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, 60.

till next June" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1827, Part I, p. 13).

That juvenile festive rite, the kindling of a bonfire, appears to have been a characteristic of S. George's Day, as well as of S. John's Eve, and in *Henry VI.* Shakespeare makes the Duke of Bedford exclaim :

"Farewell, my masters, to my task will I,
Bonfires in France I am to make
To keep our great S. George's feast withal."

Pt. I, Act. I, Sc. I.

Miracle plays of the marvellous history of S. George were not only performed on his festival day, but at other feasts. Thus at Bassingbourne, Cambridgeshire, the Churchwarden's Accounts inform us that in 1511 the parishioners, after having provided their church with a new image of S. George, at a cost of 33s. 1d., indulged in a representation of that saint's legendary history at their village feast on S. Margaret's Day, after having invited contributions in money and kind from no less than twenty-seven neighbouring villages to help them defray the attendant expenses, which included payments of

"xx^s ij^d to the garnement man, for garnements, and for a play book ;
xxj^d for painting three 'fawchous' and iiij 'tormentours axis,' and
also 'for ffitting y^e dragon in expenses beside y^e ear' viii^d."¹

A play of S. George appears to have been one of the amusements of a country gentleman's house, for Sir John Paston, writing to his brother John, April 16th, 1473, laments that a manservant of his named Plattying had left him suddenly, and says, "I have keptyd him thys iii yere, to pleye Seynt Jarge, and Robin Hood and the Sheryff of Notyngham."²

A kind of mongrel and distorted play of S. George continued to be acted in Cornwall and other parts of England till quite recently. It was also performed at Tavistock, in Devon, and at Horsham, in Sussex, at Christmas-time. It was called "tip-teering;" at the latter town, and the last performance I know of took place about 1870.

¹ See article in the *Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p. 25.

² *Paston Letters*, Vol. III, 89, ed. Gairdner.

In the middle ages, besides the miracle play, there appears to have been a series of *tableaux vivants* of the life of S. George, of which there is recorded an instance at Windsor Castle in 1416, when a performance took place before the Emperor Sigismund and Henry V. It was divided into three parts—first, the arming of S. George, with an angel fixing on his spurs; second, the combat with the dragon; and third, the final triumph of the warrior, who led the king's daughter and her lamb to the gates of her father's castle. Another example is furnished by the reception of Prince Edward at Coventry in 1474, when S. George was seen at the city conduit, with Cleodolinda kneeling before him, whilst her grateful parents looked down from a tower above.

Besides the more important figure-pieces representing the saint, he appeared sometimes at the festive board under the form of a "sotyltie," as at the coronation feast of King Henry VI., when he was so portrayed with S. Denis, on either side of the Blessed Virgin, S. George being in the act of presenting the new monarch to her, and the whole was accompanied by an appropriate scroll inscribed with a verse, and held by the King.¹

In art S. George is represented either on foot or horse-back, and generally in combat with the dragon, or with the monster dead at his feet. In England I do not know of any example in which the dragon is absent, but Mrs. Jameson observes that "when he figures as patron saint of Venice the dragon is usually omitted,"² and this is the case also in a noble statue by Donatello at Florence.

We have early examples of S. George sculptured on some Norman doorways. His combat with the dragon is seen at Brinsop, Herefordshire, Ruirdean, Gloucestershire, and Pitsford, Northants; in the last case he is on foot, as he appears on a small capital at Steetley, Derbyshire. In a carving of about 1160, at Fordington, Dorset, the apparition at Antioch may be the scene intended. Thirteenth or fourteenth century examples in English sculpture appear somewhat rare. In fifteenth century

¹ Fabyan, p. 601.

² *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Vol. II, 402.

work he is represented on the font bowl at Ware, Herts, and on the tower at Saham Tony, Norfolk.

Of the earlier part of the sixteenth century numerous instances remain of his statuettes on tombs, as at Broadwater, Selsey, and West Wittering, Sussex, and the monument of Henry VII. at Westminster. Four examples on brasses may be noted—Elsing, Norfolk, 1347, Cobham, Kent, 1407, and two at Tattershall, Lincolnshire, dated respectively 1455 and 1479.



FROM THE BRASS OF SIR NICHOLAS HAWBERK, 1407, AT COBHAM, KENT.

If comparatively few sculptures representing S. George remain in England, we have records of a large number of paintings which once ornamented the walls and screens of our churches, the South Kensington list noting between seventy and eighty examples. There are also many representations in stained glass known to have existed or still remaining.

In mediæval art we constantly find certain saints associated together, as SS. Peter and Paul, SS. John

the Baptist and John the Evangelist, the deacons Stephen and Lawrence, and the virgin martyrs Catherine and Margaret.

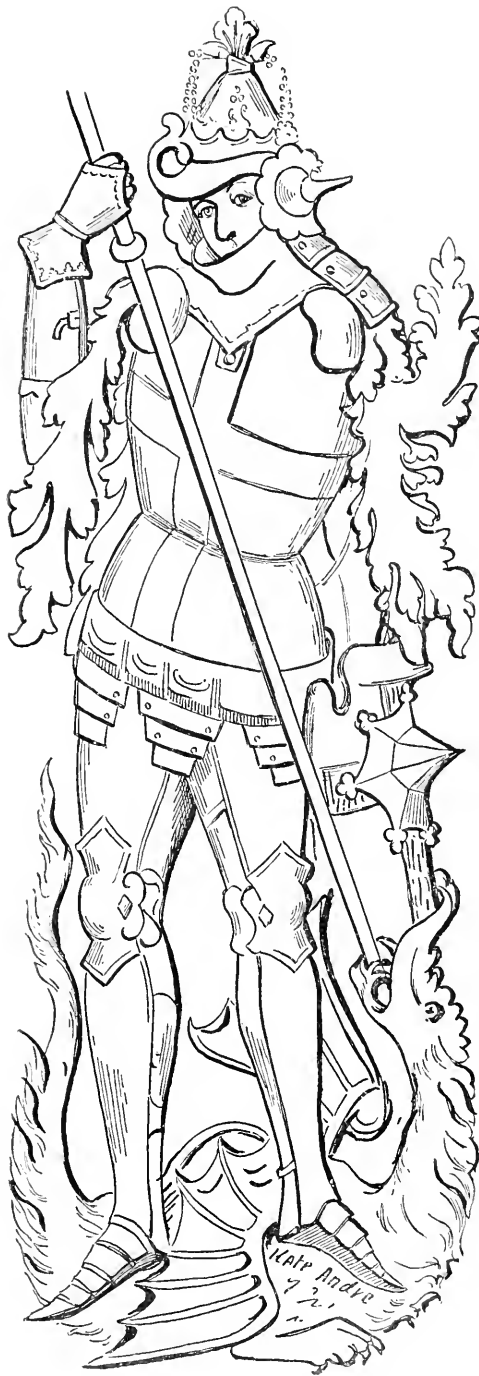
In like manner in Italian art S. George is paired with S. Sebastian; in French, Mrs. Jameson remarks, with S. Maurice or S. Victor; whilst in German works he appears as a companion of S. Florian.¹ In England a large number of examples prove that S. George was usually associated with S. Christopher. Both occurred on the north walls of the churches at Bradford Combust, Suffolk; Devizes, Wilts; Drayton and Fritton, Norfolk; Gawsworth, Cheshire; Hargrave, Northants; Pickering, Yorkshire; Raunds, Northants; Slapton, Sproughton, and Troston, Suffolk; Whimble, Devon; and Whitton, Norfolk. At Croydon, Surrey, they were on the south wall. At Eversden, Cambridgeshire, S. Christopher was on the south wall, S. George on the north; and at Stedham, Sussex, the former was on the south wall, the latter on the north; whilst at Preston, Suffolk, both appeared over the chancel arch. In only two cases have I found English wall paintings where S. George is paired with S. Sebastian; these occur at Pickering, Yorkshire, and Bradwinch, Devon.

S. Michael, either combating the dragon, or weighing souls, is often seen in company with S. George, as at Bovey Tracey, Devon, and Slapton, Northants. They were sculptured on a door at Coventry and appear on either side of Henry V. on his great seal.

Several Norfolk screens bear the effigy of S. George on their lower panels, and one at Somerleyton, Suffolk, shows the saint bareheaded except for a chaplet of flowers. The remains of a screen at S. Peter's, Isle of Thanet, bear traces of a figure of S. George, which is mentioned here as it does not seem to be generally known.

Probably the most perfect history of S. George in stained glass is at S. Neot's, Cornwall, and is a work of the sixteenth century, in which many of the incidents before noticed in his legend are portrayed in twelve panels. At East Thorpe, Essex, he was seen in a window, "lifted up under the arms by two angels, and

¹ *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Vol. II, 411.



FROM SCREEN, FILBY CHURCH, NORFOLK.



FROM SCREEN, HEMPSTEAD CHURCH, NORFOLK.



FROM SCREEN, SOMERLEYTON CHURCH, SUFFOLK.

his helmet taken off by another."¹ A work entitled *Sidmouth Scenery* (p. 91) says that at Lympstone, Devon, is the figure of S. George in stained glass, with the legend :

". . . . The holy knight
Who slew the dragon by his might."

In the east window at Gloucester Cathedral is an image of the martyr, but without the usual nimbus, and it is said that it was not uncommon to omit the aureole over the head of S. George, and an instance has been noted of this at the church of Aldwinkle S. Peter, Northants.²

Scenes in the saint's life are met with on a chasuble preserved at Sawston Hall. It is of early sixteenth century date, and has six events embroidered on it, the last being the restoration of the martyr to life by means of our Lord.

According to Murray there was a painting on the walls of Astbury Church, Cheshire, showing S. George receiving the thanks of the rescued princess Cleodolinda, and the honour of knighthood from the Blessed Virgin, who holds the Infant Saviour in her arms; and after the date of the creation of the Order of the Garter, it is not uncommon to find our hero arrayed with its insignia, as in a miniature in the Bedford Missal, a work of the fifteenth century, in which the Duke of Bedford is seen kneeling in prayer before the saint, who stands uncovered, clad in a white jupon charged with a large red cross, and holding the mantle of the order around him, the cloak having the badge of the society, and long cords and tassels. In the background is seen the saint's squire carrying the martyr's helm and shield, whilst he holds the lance to which his banner is attached. A picture by Raphael, now at S. Petersburg, is described by Mrs. Jameson as having been originally painted as a

¹ *Excursions in Essex*, Vol. I, 63.

At the west end of the north aisle at S. Gregory's Church, Norwich, is a painting about 1450 in date, where S. George and his steed appear of life size; Cleodolinda kneeling on a rock to the right holding a lamb by a ribbon. "In a cavern underneath her are seen the progeny of the scaly monster"—the dragon—"issuing forth as if looking

eagerly for its return with the expected prey."—*Archæological Journal*, Vol. XIX, 81. In the same Journal, Vol. IX, 102, 103, will be found a full account of a remarkable picture of the same scene, found on the walls of Gawsworth Church, Cheshire. The date of the design is about the reign of Henry V.

present from the Duke of Urbino to our King Henry VII.; it shows the garter, inscribed with its motto, round S. George's leg.

The martyr was considered the especial champion of and knightly attendant on the Blessed Virgin, and Fabyan quotes some lines to that effect as follows:—

“ O blessyd Lady, Christes Moder dere
And thou Seynt George that called art her knyght.”

A picture by Van Eyck embodies this, as it shows our Lady and Christ enthroned, whilst S. George on her left hand is portrayed doffing his helmet, and presenting a kneeling client to the Blessed Virgin. Tintoretto, also, has left us a work of his in which an enthroned Madonna is guarded by the warrior saint seated on the steps of her throne.

S. George and the dragon appear on two coins of Henry VIII., but I believe it was not until the reign of George III. that his effigy was reintroduced to embellish our coinage. Some tokens also have it.

In wall paintings S. George appears oftener on horseback than he does when seen in sculptures, and the steed on which he is seated was, says Cahier, such a magnificent animal that the Picards have retained the expression *Saint George belle monture* for a fiery steed.

The arms of S. George, the field *argent*, charged with a plain cross *gules*, it is said, became those of the saint from his having appeared at Antioch, bearing a red cross on a white banner. In some representations S. Michael carries a similar flag, as in a painting by Mabuse; and he has also occasionally the same shield, as in a beautiful little piece of stained glass at Goodnestone, Kent. Not only do these arms enter largely into the composition of three of our national flags, but they form the armorial insignia of our metropolis, and of the Corporation of the Trinity House, and formerly of the East India Company, the latter having had also supporters of lions bearing S. George's ensigns.¹

Several relics of the saint seem to have found their way into England, and in 1369 Thomas, Earl of

¹ The crowned initials of the patron saints of some Norfolk churches appear in panels on the stems of their fonts;

as at SS. Peter and Paul, Fakenham, and S. George, Hindolveston.

Lancaster, left to his son William a casket of gold with a bone of S. George, respecting which he says in his will that it was bestowed on him at his christening by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster.¹ The inventory of goods of S. George's Guild at Norwich, dated 1468, states that there was belonging to that body in the cathedral

"a precious relique that is to sey one angell silver and gnylt beryng the arme of Saint George y^e whiche was given by John Fastolf Knight,"²

and in 1522, at the parish church of S. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, was a relic of the saint set in gold. King Henry VII. had a great respect for S. George, and a well-known picture belonging to the Queen represents the monarch and his family witnessing the contest between the saint and the dragon. Henry completed S. George's Chapel at Windsor, which had been begun by Edward IV., and he mentions S. George in his will as one of his "accustomed avoures," or patrons, and, as such, directs his image to be placed on his tomb, where it still appears, and another statue of the martyr is amongst those adorning the fabric of Henry's Chapel. Such being the veneration of the King for S. George, the present which he received in 1504 must have given him much gratification. Respecting this gift, Fabyan writes as follows :

"Upon Saynt George's day the King went in procession in Paules church where was showed a legge of Saynt George which was newly sent to the King."³

That Henry valued this gift highly is proved by his will of 1509, in which he bequeathed to the altar connected with his tomb

"the precious relic of one of the legs of Saint George, set in silver parcel gilt which came to the hands of our brother and cousin Lewis of France, the time he won and recovered the City of Milan, and given and sent to us by our cousin the Cardinal of Amboys, Légat in France."⁴

At Lincoln Cathedral was a little cross of gold with a

¹ *Testamenta Vetusta*, 80.

² Blomefield, Vol. IV, 349.

³ Fabyan, 688.

⁴ *Test. Vet.*, 31.

fragment of the cuirass of S. George, and in a chest belonging to the same church was

“a bone of gorge closed yn gold with an Image of seynt George syttyng of horse covered wth one case of blew welvett and perles of every side.”¹

At S. George's in Velabro, Rome, are preserved several memorials of this saint, and amongst them a portion of his banner in a casket under the altar. Murray's Guide says it is of red silk, a colour hardly to be expected.

In the fifth volume of the *Archæological Journal* is engraved a silver reliquary of S. George, which was found in 1831, suspended from the neck of a skeleton disinterred in the churchyard of S. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, London.

George as a Christian name did not become very popular until the reigns of the four Georges, but there were exceptions, and we find, for instance, in the family of the Gorings of Sussex, that there was a long succession of Georges from the end of the sixteenth century downwards; and another Sussex family seems to have delighted in the name long before the first George was king, as eight members of the Courthopes bore the name in unbroken succession, commencing with Sir George Courthope, who was knighted in 1641.²

The feminine name Georgiana seems to be a compound of George and Anna, according to Miss Strickland, who quotes an entry to that effect from the registers at Wimbledon, under date 1616. S. George was the name of a Sussex family, and probably that of Gorge is only a corruption of George, as it is often so written in old records.

¹ *Archæologia*, Vol. 53, N.S., 16. Hnghson, in his *History of London*, Vol. II, p. 302, quotes Ribadencira to the effect that his heart was kept in S. George's Chapel, Windsor; having been “a present from the Emperor Henry V.” At a meeting of the Archæological Institute on June 6th, 1862, there was exhibited “a circular massive ornament of gold, chased and enamelled with translucent and opaque colours. . . . On one side is S. George, on the other the emblems of the Passion. . . . This precious ornament, which measures

about three and a half inches in diameter, belonged, according to tradition, to Sir Thomas More.” It is probably a reliquary. See *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XIX, 292.

² Col. Grant Maxwell says that S. George is one of three favourite patron saints of families in Servia, each family having one, and he adds that “households having the same patron saint consider themselves in a holy relationship to each other, so much so that in some districts they do not intermarry.” Slava in *Folk Lore*, Vol. II, 65.

S. George appears to have been more popular amongst lay folk than clerical ones, as I have failed to find either hymn or sequence in his praise amid the numerous writings of Adam of S. Victor, or Neale's *Sequentiæ Ineditæ*, though in both laudatory poems are to be found in honour of much more obscure saints. Probably the extremely mythical character of S. George explains this. As a patron of the military profession he is still honoured in England, witness the statues of him crowning the Guards Memorial, Westminster, and the Wellington Monument in Brighton Parish Church.

NOTES UPON SOME EARLY CLAY TOBACCO PIPES,
FROM THE SIXTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURIES, FOUND IN THE CITY OF LONDON,
IN THE POSSESSION OF THE AUTHOR.

By F. G. HILTON PRICE, Dir.S.A.

Before proceeding to describe the old pipes, I think it may be as well that I should preface these notes, by giving a short account of the introduction of tobacco, and for that purpose I cannot do better than make some quotations upon the subject from the interesting book entitled *Tobacco: its History and Associations*, by the late F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A., published by Chapman and Hall in 1859.

It is not certain whether the use of tobacco was known in the East before the discovery of America, but it has been supposed by some authorities that it was probably smoked by the Chinese long before.

Tobacco is said to have been first introduced into Europe by Francesco Hernandez, a Spanish physician, about 1560, who had been commissioned by his Most Catholic Majesty Philip II. of Spain to visit Mexico. Jean Nicot, Lord of Villemain and Master of Requests of the French King, was sent in 1559 as ambassador to the Portuguese Court, and while at Lisbon he purchased some tobacco seed from a Flemish merchant who had obtained it in Florida. This he sent to the Grand Prior of France, and the herb was originally known as *Herbe du Grand Prieur*. When Nicot returned to France in 1561 he presented the Queen, Catharine de Medicis, with some of the plants, and its name was then altered in compliment to her to *Herbe de la Reine*, and *Herbe Medicée*. The native name of Petun was, however, occasionally used. But all were allowed to fall into disuse for one constructed in honour of the original importer; thus *Nicotiana* became its recognised name, a term still preserved to us in *Nicotine*,

the scientific name for the essential oil the tobacco plant contains.

After receiving a variety of different names in many parts of Europe, the Spanish name *tabaco* triumphed over all and became (with slight variations) that universally recognised. The Spaniards still use the name in its old purity of spelling; the Portuguese and Italians add an additional letter and term it *tabacco*; we alter the first vowel improperly and call it *tobacco*; the Poles term it *tabaka*; the Danes and Swedes shorten it to *tobak*; the Germans, Dutch, and Russians spell it *tabak*, a close approach to the French *tabac*.

When tobacco was first introduced it was thought to be a panacea for all sorts of diseases and ailments, and was considered especially beneficial in cases of the plague and gout, as also against hunger and thirst.

It is a very vexed question to determine the period at which tobacco was first introduced into England, as is also the question as to who first introduced it; the honour has been variously assigned to Sir Walter Raleigh, Mr. Ralph Lane (Governor of Virginia, who returned to England in 1586), Sir John Hawkins, Captain Price, Captain Keat or Koet, and others.

Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt¹ states that it has been inferred that herbs and leaves of one kind or another were smoked medicinally long before the period at which tobacco is generally believed to have been brought into England. Coltsfoot, yarrow, mouse-ear, and other plants are still smoked by the people for various ailments in rural districts. He further states that he has known them smoked through a stick from which the pith had been removed, the bowl being formed of a lump of clay rudely fashioned at the time, and baked at the fireside.

Pennant, in *Tour in Wales*, 1810 (Vol. II, p. 151), speaks of Captain Myddelton, who fought at Azores in 1591: "It is sayed that he, with Captain Thomas Price of Plasyollin, and one Captain Koet, were the first who smoked, or (as they called it) 'drank tobacco publickly,' in London, and that the Londoners flocked from all parts

to see them. Pipes were not then invented, so they used the twisted leaves or segars." He gives this on the authority of the Sobright MS., and adds: "The invention is usually ascribed to Sir Walter Raleigh. It may be so, but he was too good a courtier to smoke in public, especially in the reign of James." Yet he enjoyed his pipe. At first they smoked silver pipes, but the ordinary folk before the introduction of the clay pipe used a walnut shell and a straw. It appears that one pipe was handed round from man to man when it first came into fashion as noted in Barnaby Rich's *Irish Hubbub* (1622): "One pipe of tobacco will suffice three or four men at once." This same writer records an amusing story of "a certain Welchman newly come to London, and beholding one to take tobacco, never seeing the like before, and not knowing the manner of it, but perceiving him vent smoke so fast, and supposing his inward parts to be on fire; cried out, 'O Jhesu, Jhesu man, for the passion of Cod hold, for by Cod's sphid ty snowt's on fire,' and having a bowle of beere in his hand, threw it at the other's face, to quench his smoking nose."

In the early days of James I. smoking was called drinking tobacco, which no doubt originated in the practice of inhaling the smoke and passing it out through the nose. As an illustration: "We'll stay here to drink tobacco," *Miseries of Inforced Marriage*, 1607. (Dodsley's Old Plays.)

The term was used until the middle of the seventeenth century, for the catalogue of Rubens's effects, sent over by Sir Balthazar Gerbier to Charles I. in 1640, calls a Dutch picture of smokers "The Tobacco Drinkers."

Paul Hentzner, who visited England in 1598, notes the constant custom of smoking at all public places. He visited the Bear Garden in Southwark, and says:—"At these spectacles, and everywhere else, the English are constantly smoking tobacco, and in this manner: They have pipes on purpose, made of clay, into the farther end of which they put the herb, so dry that it may be rubbed into powder, and putting fire to it, they draw the smoak into their mouths, which they puff out again, through their nostrils, like funnels, along with it plenty of phlegm and defluxion from the head."

At the beginning of the seventeenth century smoking had become so general that even the ladies indulged in it, and there are many allusions to the practice to be found in contemporaneous literature.

Tobacco in the early part of the seventeenth century was very expensive. Amongst the Penshurst papers is a note of expenses of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, among which occurs 3*s.* for one ounce of tobacco. This was within three years of its first introduction into England and would be equivalent to about eighteen shillings of our present money.

Whittaker, in his *History of Craven*, p. 275, says: "The last heavy article of expense was tobacco, of which the finest sort cost 18*s.* per pound and an inferior kind 10*s.*"

In 1626 we read in the diary of Sir Henry Oglander, of Nunwell, Isle of Wight, that he paid 5*s.* for eight ounces of tobacco. I think the fact of the great expense of tobacco at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries fully accounts for the smallness of the bowls of the clay pipes. Smoking became so general that our King James I., who detested it, sent forth his *Counterblast*, which was soon followed by other crowned heads. In Russia it was punished with amputation of the nose, in the canton of Berne in Switzerland it ranked in the table of offences next to adultery, whilst Urban VIII. in 1624 excommunicated all those who used tobacco in churches, and Innocent XII. in 1690 did the same. Amaratth IV. of Turkey even tried to suppress it by inflicting cruel punishments, as did the King of Persia. King James did not attempt to inflict any torture, but did all in his power to damage the cause of tobacco. He is thus described in the *Ingoldsby Legends* in the "Witches' Frolic":—

"A gentleman called King James,
In quilted doublet and great trunk breeches,
Who held in abhorrence tobacco and witches."

He wrote very strongly against what he called an "evil vanitie," saying, amongst other things, "that it was the lively image and pattern of hell and that it was like hell in the very substance of it, for it is a stinking

loathsome thing; so is hell!" And further, "His Majesty professed that, were he to invite the devil to dinner, he should have three dishes; 1. a pig; 2. a pole of ling and mustard; and 3. a pipe of tobacco for digesture."

The importation duty up to this time was 2*d.* a pound, but he brought in an Act raising it to 6*s.* 10*d.* a pound.

Notwithstanding this, smoking increased, and hundreds of songs and poems in praise of it, and against its use, were written.

During the reign of Charles I. no alteration was made in the restrictive laws against tobacco. He, like his father, continued its sale only as a royal monopoly.

Cromwell believed with King James I. that growing tobacco in England was "thereby to misuse and misemploy the soil of this kingdom"; and he sent his troopers to trample down the growing crops wherever they found them.

At the restoration King Charles II. confirmed the laws for the suppression of its culture.

During the Great Plague tobacco was recommended as a preventive of infection, and it is said to have been used by the doctors attending the sick and by all people who came in contact with them, and those conducting the dead carts round the city always smoked pipes. Pepys in his Diary, under date 7th of June, 1665, writes: "The hottest day that ever I felt in my life. This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and 'Lord have mercy upon us!' writ there: which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that to my remembrance I ever saw. It put me in an ill conception of myself and my smell, so that I was forced to buy some roll tobacco, to smell to, and chaw, which took away my apprehension."

Again, on 3rd November, 1665, Pepys records that he went to Greenwich, upon business of the Fleet. "We after this talked of some other little things and so to dinner where My Lord infinitely kind to me and after dinner I rose and left him with some Commanders at the table taking tobacco."

The same author mentions that on one occasion tobacco smoke was used for a horse suffering with the staggers by blowing it into his nose (Vol. VII, p. 72).

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, with William III., tobacco smoking increased and the bowls of the pipes became much larger. The incorporation of the craft of tobacco pipe makers took place on the 5th October, 1619. "Their privileges extending through the cities of London and Westminster, the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales. They have a master, four wardens, and about twenty-four assistants. They were first incorporated by King James in his seventeenth year, confirmed by King Charles I., and lastly on the twenty-ninth of April in the fifteenth year of King Charles II., in all the privileges of their aforesaid charters."

We are all familiar with the small clay tobacco pipes which are constantly being unearthed in all parts of the kingdom. Large quantities have been found in those places where soldiers have been quartered, notably where troops of King Charles I. and the Parliament have held their camps, or where there have been plague pits, or in the vicinity of towns. They are most especially numerous in the City of London, where they are found buried beneath the foundations of buildings, in cesspits, and elsewhere. During the excavations at Temple Bar some twenty years ago a large quantity were found in the cesspits, etc., on the site of the "Old Devil" tavern and the "Sugar Loaf" tavern.

The specimens I now exhibit were all found in the City and represent a fairly typical collection from the time of Queen Elizabeth to that of George II. These pipes have had different names and dates assigned to them in different places. For instance, the old pipes are called "Fairy Pipes" and "Danes' Pipes," "Mab Pipes," "Elfin Pipes," "Celtic Pipes," "Old Man's Pipes," "Cromwellian Pipes," etc. The usual name for them in Ireland is "Fairy Pipes," and in Scotland they are known as "Elfin Pipes."

The smallness of the bowl of the earliest examples is doubtless due to the great expense of tobacco in those days. These pipes have been even found in close

proximity to Roman remains, and some people have been puzzled to know what period they could assign them to, and it is stated that such specimens have been described in the Antwerp Museum as Roman! (See footnote p. 166 in "Fairholt.")

It is somewhat difficult to classify these pipes in chronological order, owing to insufficient data, so few of them having been found bearing dates. I have therefore arranged them very much in accordance with their size, considering those with the very small bowls to be the earliest, and taking into consideration the arrangement of pipes in the Guildhall Museum and elsewhere. I have classified them as follows¹:—



Cards Nos. I, II, III, IV contain, in my opinion, the earliest forms in my collection. Beginning with No. I, which contains nine specimens, it will be seen that they all have very small bowls with flat heels to rest them upon. Four of them are stamped on the heels with the maker's initials or his marks, thus: I.R., S, , , and some of these specimens have a kind of milled pattern round the mouth of the bowl (see Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4).



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

¹ As a matter of convenience in exhibiting these pipes, when the paper was read in the rooms of the Institute, June 6th, 1900, they were affixed in groups to cards, of which frequent men-

tion is made in this paper. Selections have been made of the most interesting specimens for illustration. All illustrations are drawn to the full size of the originals.

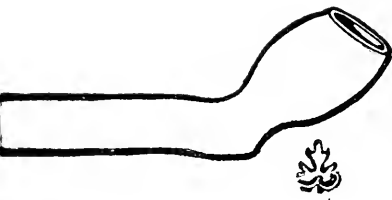


FIG. 3.

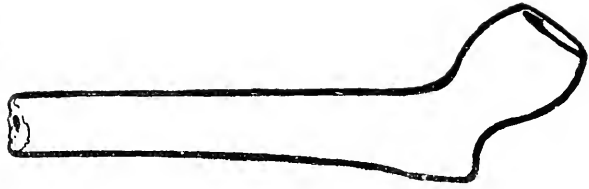


FIG. 4.

Card II also contains nine pipes, three of which have been well smoked. Two of them are quite black. They are much of the same form as on the preceding card. Two of them have marks stamped upon the heels—W.B. and S. (see Figs. 5, 6).

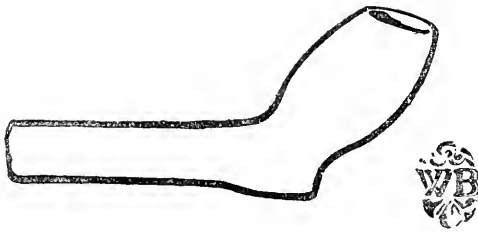




FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

Card III gives examples of pipes of various form. The two specimens on the top of a cup-like shape, without either flat heel or spur, with a rim round the mouth, very thick stems, and stamped upon the heel with  and  respectively, are certainly of very early date (see Figs. 7, 8). But whether they be earlier than the specimens on Cards I and II, I cannot say, though I feel convinced that they must belong to the latter part of the sixteenth century; the other specimens on Cards III and IV are in my estimation of the same period. The last pipe upon Card IV is perfect and measures 7 inches in length (see Fig. 9). I think these four cards of pipes may be assigned to the end of the sixteenth century, that is to say, the reign of Queen Elizabeth,

and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the reign of King James I.

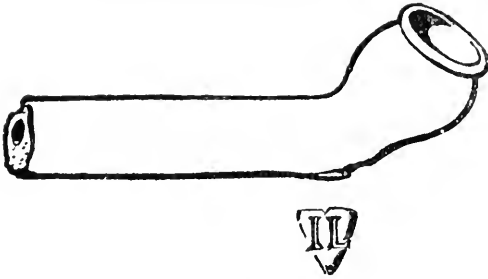


FIG. 8.

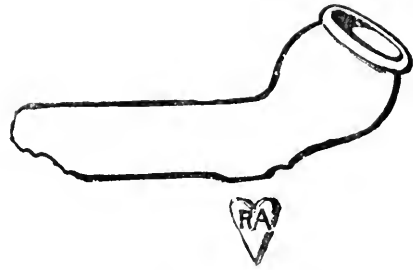


FIG. 7.

Card V.—This contains specimens of pipes belonging to the first half of the seventeenth century, that is to say, from the time of James I. to Charles II. They were all found in Childs' Place in 1878, on the site of the "Old Devil" tavern; they have plain flat heels without any makers' marks whatever (see Fig. 11). These pipes

FIG. 11.



FIG. 11A.

are interesting to look upon, as they may very well have been used by famous people who frequented this tavern, to say nothing about Simon Wadlow the vintner and Ben Jonson, who was one of its most celebrated frequenters.

Card VI.—The pipes upon this card are of precisely similar forms and belong to the same period.

Card VII.—The specimens upon this card may be considered to cover the same period as the last; they are,

however, somewhat more interesting in consequence of their having the makers' marks stamped upon the heels, which heels are of rounder form than the foregoing, with the exception of one marked R.T. The other specimens are simply stamped with star-shaped marks of various designs, the makers of which we are at present unable to identify (see Fig. 11A).



FIG. 10.

The three extra marks (Fig. 10), are upon pipes of the same type as the preceding.



FIG. 12.

The next card, No. VIII, contains five pipes of similar shape bearing makers' initials upon the heels: I.B., W.B., I.R., H.S., and may be considered to belong to the first part of the seventeenth century, that is to say, up to the reign of Charles II. (see Fig. 12). The pipe marked I.A. (see Fig. 13) on the heel is somewhat larger and of barrel-shaped form, but may be included in the same period, it being merely a variety of the manufacture, as also may be the four pipes upon Card X, which are precisely similar, only without any marks on the heel: the remaining two, together with the four on Card XI and

Card XI A, are of different form and with long stems and small bowls which are furnished with a pointed heel and bear no makers' marks (see Fig. 14).

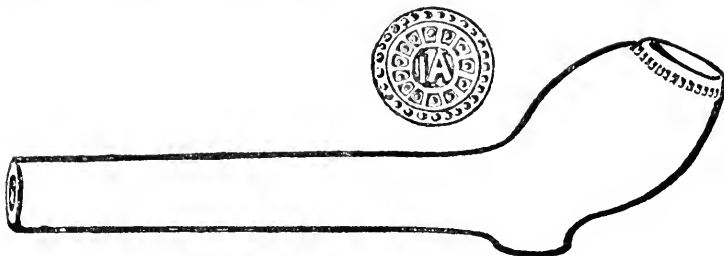


FIG. 13.

This style of pipe I am inclined to consider of slightly later date than the flat-heeled specimens, say late Charles II. or James II. It has been surmised that this pointed form of heel was introduced from Holland.

No. IX contains three pipes of quite a different shape from the preceding examples. They are barrel-shaped and possess flat heels stamped with the names of John Hunt and Thomas Hunt (see Figs. 15, 16). The third

FIG. 17.

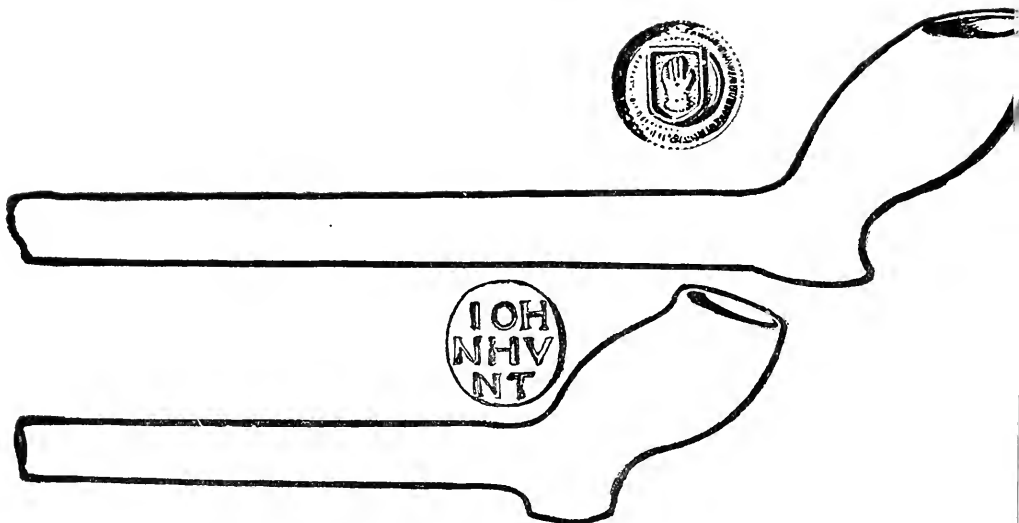


FIG. 15.

is stamped with an open hand, the badge of a celebrated pipe-maker named Gauntlett (see Fig. 17), whose factory was near Winchester, and from which circumstance these pipes were called Gauntlett pipes. Samuel Decon, of Broseley, employed the same mark, with the addition of his initials S.D., late in the seventeenth century and early in the next.

The Hunts had a factory in the vicinity of Bath in the early part of the seventeenth century. Therefore these pipes probably belong to the period from James I. to the end of the reign of Charles II. The shapes of these pipes are very similar to those found at Broseley by Richard Thursfield, figured in his paper "on Old Broseley," in the *Reliquary*, Vol. III, 1862-3, p. 80, which

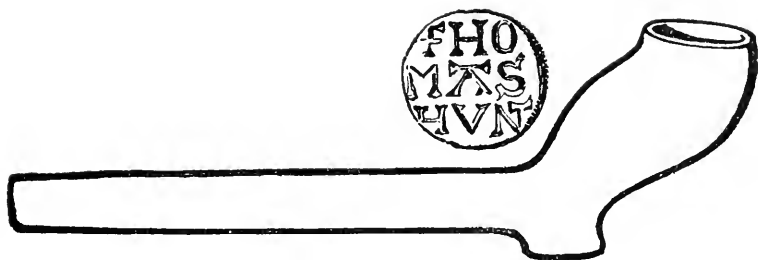


FIG. 16.

he has been able to date from 1600 to 1729 by reference to the Broseley parish registers, he having found a great many with the names of the makers on the spur or heel. These specimens were disposed of to Mr. Bragg, and are now in the British Museum.

Upon making a careful examination of these old pipes, it will be observed that many of the older forms appear to have been scraped by hand into shape after coming out of the moulds.

The pipes upon Card XII are probably of Dutch origin, as they compare very well with the specimens in Bragg's Collection—marked pipes from Holland, with the exception of the fifth or last pipe on the card marked G.B. upon the upper part of the stem close to the bowl, which is English, and probably belongs to the time of

James II. (see Fig. 18). Pipes decorated in the manner in which these are, are rather rare.

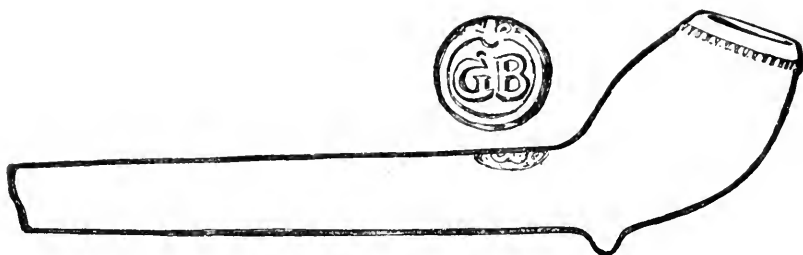


FIG. 18.

The top one on the card is curiously ornamented with bands of various designs, one band consisting of the letter B several times repeated (see Fig. 19). The bowl, though quite small, has a cross-lined pattern and has a mark upon its flat spur or heel (Fig. 19). This pipe

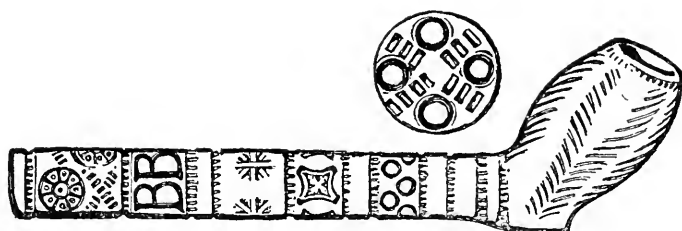


FIG. 19.

I consider to be of Dutch origin, and it may be regarded as belonging to the first half of the seventeenth century.

The next under consideration is a stout little pipe which has probably been twice as long, and has been broken off in the middle of the stem, where two milled lines encircle it; above this on the top of the stem are five *fleurs de lis* stamped upon it, and below the lines were probably some more, as the upper part of another is visible. It has a flat heel with maker's mark consisting of the figure of a bird standing with open wings (see Fig. 20).

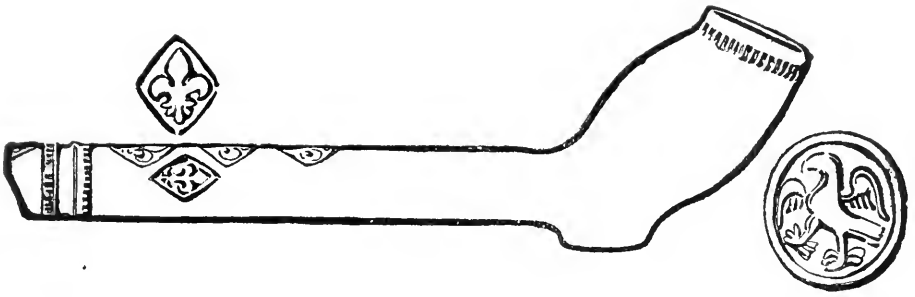


FIG. 20.

Another pipe of unusual shape, made of a more vitreous sort of clay, has slight milling round the rim, and a round flat heel marked D.D. It has also a concentric milling round the centre of the stem, which is very thick. It is evidently of the seventeenth century and possibly of foreign origin, and is very similar to the pipe marked with *fleurs de lis* last described (see Fig. 21).

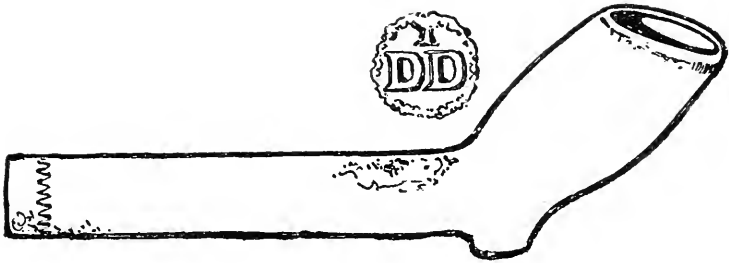


FIG. 21.

The next bowl is small and has a face in profile on each side of it, surrounded with floral decorations in relief (see Fig. 22).



FIG. 22.

Another specimen of similar style, a little larger, has figures in relief upon it, representing on one side a woman standing amidst flowers with a dog and a rabbit; on the other side stands a man clad in armour with a dog on its hind legs beside him. There are also some floral decorations (see Fig. 23).

Card No. XIII consists of nine pipes having elongated barrel-formed bowls with flat heels and long stems; one measures 8 inches in length. From examples I have had to compare with them, I am inclined to think they may be assigned to the latter part of the reign of Charles II. and James II., and even a little later. It is quite



FIG. 23.

unusual to find old pipes with such long stems as these (see Fig. 24).

Card XIV contains thirteen pipes which have principally narrow elongated bowls with flat heels or spurs, although some of them vary slightly in form. I think they all belong to the reigns of William III. and Queen Anne. They appear to show the signs of the Dutch influence and are similar to those figured by Llewellyn Jewitt in the *Reliquary*, p. 76, said to illustrate the types found where Dutch troops are known to have been quartered. These evidently had long stems and were similar therefore to those pipes afterwards known as *aldermen*, and later still as *churchwardens* or *yards of clay* (see Figs. 25, 26, 27).

Card No. XV.—This is a peculiar and unusual shaped pipe (see Fig. 28). It has evidently had a long stem and is furnished with a long narrow bowl, having a milled

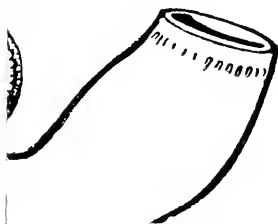
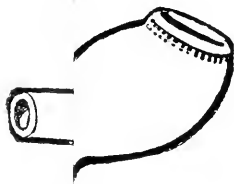


Fig.

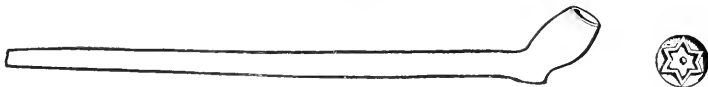


Fig. 3

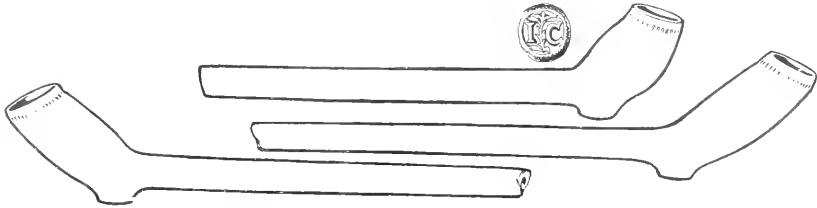


Fig. 4

Fig. 4

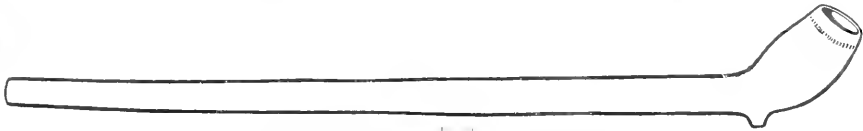


Fig. 5

ornament running round the mouth of the bowl and has no heel or spur. This pipe has perplexed me a good deal, but I consider it is a variety or fancy of some manufacturer of the time of William III.

Card No. XVI contains ten pipes with long thick stems with elongated bowls and pointed spurs on the heels. One is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length (see Fig. 29). It is rare to meet with such long stemmed pipes in excavations. As only one of this lot will permit of the ordinary seventeenth century pipe stopper being inserted, I am inclined to place them at the beginning of the eighteenth century, say during the reigns of Anne and George I. The last pipe on the card is of a different date: you will observe it



FIG. 28.

more fully agrees with those pipes I have assigned to the time of James II. The bowl is much smaller and the stem thinner than in the other specimens.

Card No. XVII contains four pipes, two of which have long narrow bowls and may be assigned to the time of William III., or of Anne, whilst the other two, with much wider mouths, are probably of the time of George I. and II. (see Fig. 30). They were found in excavations in Childs' Place, Fleet Street, in 1878, upon the site of the "Old Devil" tavern.

It is a difficult task to attempt to localise any of these pipes to particular manufactories, but I do not think any of them are of Broseley make, as upon comparing the pipe maker's marks given in Mr. Thursfield's paper on

“Old Broseleys,”¹ I fail to find any that I can actually identify with the marks upon my pipes. What we require in order to definitely fix the dates of these pipes is a thorough search into the records of pipe makers in various places as was done by Mr. Thursfield in the parish registers of Broseley, and to ascertain the periods



FIG. 30.

in which they lived, together with the marks they used; until that has been done, the dating of the pipes can only be provisional. But I trust that the details and descriptions with the illustrations I have given in this paper may prove serviceable to future investigators of the subject.²

¹ *The Reliquary*, Vol. III, p. 79.

² Mr. C. R. Peers has kindly shown me a tradesman's token of Billericay in Essex, which reads:—

The pipes upon the token are similar to those I have figured as belonging to the period of Charles II.

O. MILES HACKLUITT · 1666: Three tobacco pipes.
R̄. IN BILREKEY · IN · ESSEX: HIS HALFE PENNY ·:

ON SAMPLERS.

By H. A. LEDIARD, M.D., F.R.C.S. ENG.

To give an account of the child's sampler is not a difficult task, because up and down the country there may still be seen in farm-houses and in cottages many examples of this kind of work, framed and hanging on the walls of the kitchens or parlours.

There is a great likeness in all these children's samplers, but great variety in design is evident. That all so-called samplers were the work of children is difficult to understand, and the collector soon finds that there are obvious samplers of a much older period, the work of which is very superior to that seen in any child's sampler.

The design of these older samplers is more definite, and the work is more elaborate, so that the question naturally arises why this fine work came to be called a sampler at all.

The answer is not far away, and in this short paper I shall attempt to sketch the connection which undoubtedly exists between the child's sampler and the samplers of the seventeenth century.

To give a history of the origin of the sampler is almost an impossibility, for not only is there no literature dealing with the subject from which the needful information can be gathered, but the effort to rescue this kind of work from destruction is of very recent origin.

In attempting then to build up the story concealed in the variety of old samplers extant, we are forced to use some conjecture, a proceeding which adds not a little to the interest of the study. There is no mystery, so far as I can see, in the matter, and if we cannot mark the date of origin, we can at least mark the date of the decline of the custom, for a custom it was in years gone by to work samplers.

At the outset it can be assumed as correct that the

oldest sampler was the best, and that the youngest sampler was nearly the worst. This decline may be well described as a sort of degeneration from a type. The beauty of the early sampler gradually merged into the ugliness of the nineteenth century school production. The interest of the subject is enhanced when it is found that the custom of working samplers was not confined to England, and probably did not originate in this country, for samplers are to be seen coming from Germany, France, Spain, Portugal and Holland, as well as other European countries.

In all probability the first sampler was introduced into England from a religious establishment on the Continent at a time when needlework was the chief pastime of the nobility. As to the date this is not capable of proof, but the sampler was probably known in England long before the sixteenth century, for Milton and Shakespeare both allude to samplers, the former in "Comus" and the latter in "Midsummer Night's Dream," and Herrick in the "Wounded Heart" has it:

"Come bring your sampler and with art
Draw in't a wounded heart."

In the sixteenth century various kinds of needlework were practised by English ladies, as may be gathered from some of the poems of the laureate Skelton.

With that the tappettis and carpettis were layd,
Whereon theis ladys softly myght rest,
The saumpler to sow on, the laciis to enbraid;
To weve in the stoulesume were full preste,
With slaiis, with tauellis, with hedellis well drest.¹

John Skelton was Poet Laureate, born 1460, died 1529.

Many other poetic allusions to samplers may also be found, but that by Skelton is the oldest I have met with.

The working, therefore, of a sampler was a common occupation among the well-to-do three or four hundred years ago.

The oldest sampler in the S. K. Museum is dated 1666, but I expect that older dated examples may yet be found.

The material upon which the sampler was worked did

¹ "Garlande of Laurell." ll. 787-91. Ed. Dyce, 1843.

not vary much, as the old samplers were done on either linen or canvas.

The school sampler was, so far as I know, always worked on canvas, some fine and some coarse.

In a recently published work on Point and Pillow Lace by A. M. S. (John Murray) 1899, the authoress makes brief reference to samplers under a chapter dealing with English and Irish lace.

“Linen cut work,” she states, “was made in England very extensively during the sixteenth century, and besides articles for use domestic or otherwise a considerable number of samplers have come down to us. They were worked at schools or kept as collections of patterns of embroidery by industrious housewives.”

Under the heading of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire Lace in the same book, it is stated that “a tradition exists that Catherine of Aragon taught the Bedfordshire women cut work or reticella made out of linen, an art which we know to have been practised in Italy and Spain at the time, and which the early evidence of old English samplers proves to have been also made, though with less taste, in England.”

The patterns and designs were worked with thread, silk, and wool, plain or in colours. Drawn work is done with thread, but some of the embroidery on linen is done with coloured silk; most of the fine canvas work is done with silk, but the modern child's sampler is sometimes done with wool. With coarse canvas and thick wool in brilliant colours, the sampler lost its interest and its popularity.

The early samplers were generally long and narrow, all done on linen; there was, however, a tendency to broaden out, and some samplers may be seen rather broader than they are long, and some were worked in squares.

The object for which the sampler was worked has clearly been changed, and this leads to the statement that sampler work was originally work done to fix and retain a pattern, considered of value, but that in recent times the sampler was done to exhibit the skill of a beginner. If these two objects are kept in mind some of the confusion surrounding the sampler may be cleared away.

The upper classes in old times worked at samplers from old sampler patterns as an occupation, but the child was set to work a sampler as a part of the educational scheme of the eighteenth century. In either case the knowledge gained proved to be a mastery of the art of needlework.

When the sampler was at its best, probably embroidery and needlework generally was the chief occupation of women of the upper classes. The modern eighteenth century sampler was worked either at home or at school; in either case there was the copy to take the pattern from, and school mistresses kept a stock of samplers, which were used by the scholars, who practised letters and patterns before they were transferred to the sampler. In this manner the sampler took a long time to finish—perhaps a year—and possibly much unpicking was done before the work was completed. A child worked at her sampler for perhaps half an hour a day, and perhaps not more than two letters were worked in the time. Great efforts were made to complete the sampler by a certain age, and the name and age of the child were worked as well as the date.

Much variation is found in the age at which the school sampler was finished; in my own collection of samplers the ages run from five to fourteen years. It is somewhat marvellous that a child of five, six, or seven could give sufficient care and skill to execute even a poorish bit of sampler work.

On some samplers the name of the school is worked, thus showing that the sampler formed a part of the school curriculum, and that the sampler when finished, framed, and hung up was retained as a sort of diploma. Not being an expert in the art of needlework I can only indicate generally the kind of stitches found on samplers. Some samplers show cross stitch throughout, others show short satin and cross stitch: tent, stem, and cushion stitches are also seen, as well as drawn work.

It is with regard to the subject of the sampler itself that the greatest variety is met with. On the oldest and best samplers will be found bands of various patterns throughout the work, with or without the alphabet in a subordinate position, and in these old samplers the

patterns run across the linen or canvas from edge to edge, so that the sampler seems to have been cut out of a larger piece of work.

This characteristic is not found to be lasting, for when the sampler became a sort of picture to be framed an elaborate border was invariably added to enclose the work.

I believe that the samplers without borders were those which were retained as real patterns of work from which others might copy. English and Spanish samplers worked in these numerous and successive broad or narrow bands of patterns show the best designs and the best work: they are more valuable for that reason. If the alphabet and numerals so frequently met with in the work of a modern sampler occupied only a subordinate position, in the oldest samplers extant a time came when more attention was paid to this kind of work, and in the seventeenth century alphabets and the names of the sampler workers may be found. The letters of the alphabet in capital and small type were made to share the bands of patterns of scroll or floral design in equal proportion, and the numerals, generally up to ten, also found a place.

The period of the beautifully worked bands of patterns was now over and the sampler began to degenerate. Perhaps the patterns were too intricate for the child into whose hands the sampler was now put, and to meet the case broken up and isolated bits of pattern were introduced, together with zoological and botanical specimens.

The sampler was now a thoroughly mixed affair, obeying no order except in certain particulars. "Busy fancy fondly lent her aid" in the execution of houses and cherubs, stags and frogs, birds and ships, windmills and gateposts, the Garden of Eden with our first parents, Solomon's Temple, or the House that Jack built; the animals clearly were copied from a child's Noah's ark, and to crown all, verses began to appear, some good, but many bad and indifferent.

It is not surprising then to find that the sampler worked on fine canvas and with silk thread is now a thing of the past. That the sampler should not always

remain a dead letter is the subject of an article in *The Studio*, written by Mr. Gleeson White in 1896, entitled "The sampler: an appreciation and a plea for its revival."

Mr. White holds that the sampler is of educational value, and that its revival might exercise a very important influence on the art of embroidery.

In spite of the destruction of the original type of the sampler pattern, it is possible to trace in the modern sampler the final extinction of these bands, for on many samplers will be found divisional lines going across the work to separate the letters of the alphabet, the picture scenes, or the verses.

These lines are often worked with different patterns, and as many as eight or nine different divisional lines may be counted on some samplers.

In the seventeenth century the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments are to be found worked on the sampler, alone or associated with alphabets, numerals, floral decoration and the like. The working of these small letters must have proved a hard task to the child who bent over the canvas; from the look of these samplers, the design was taken from the church in which the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments were formerly seen placed at the East end.

A distinctly religious or moral tone came over the sampler, because the Psalms were sometimes chosen for working, and at others verses like Dr. Watts are often met with.

There was one use the sampler was put to but infrequently. I allude to the family register: in some samplers may be seen the names and ages of births and deaths of the members of a family.

Another variety of sampler is the needlework picture.

I do not suppose that these old needlework pictures were done by children, and in them no name, age, or date is given, but there can be no question of their dating from the seventeenth century.

That the alphabet came to occupy a commanding position on the sampler there can be no question, any more than there can be little doubt that the alphabet lost its influence and gave way to the working of objects

calculated to amuse and interest a child in the course of her work.

Where the alphabet has a place in the sampler I can quite readily believe that the letters when worked must have taught a child for ever after the way to mark household linen of all kinds, but I am not disposed to admit that the child was taught her letters at the same time. I suspect that the alphabet and writing were taught in the usual manner, and that Mr. Tuer's suggestion as to the association of the sampler and the hornbook is not entirely well founded.

The sampler, according to Mr. Tuer, taught letters and stitches at one stroke. "It served in fact the purpose of a hornbook to many generations of little girls."

If this view is correct it certainly cannot apply to samplers on which no letters are found, nor to those on which texts, verses, pictures, and maps are alone seen. Of the eleven illustrations in Mr. Tuer's *Hornbook* only five of the samplers show an alphabet, and two of the illustrations show needlework pictures.

I stated at the opening of my paper that there was no literature from which anyone could build up the history of the sampler, but several papers have been contributed on the subject, to which reference must be made.

Mr. Tuer's *Hornbook* contains a long reference and some well chosen illustrations.

Mr. Gleeson White, in a paper in *The Studio* for 1896, has contributed a very useful and interesting article, by far the best I have seen, on samplers; illustrations are also copiously given.

In the *Reliquary*, 1898, and in the *Architectural Review* (February, 1900), much information in two papers has been given by Miss Peacock.

In the *Lady's Realm* for August, 1897, is a short note on samplers by Mrs. Wilson Noble.

The whole subject is now ready to be dealt with in a monograph, and I have little doubt that someone of sufficient leisure and interest in the subject will be found to write it.

¹ Winter number, p. 58.

SIR TALBOT HASTINGS BENDALL BAKER, BART.

We have very much to regret our sad loss by the death of Sir Talbot Baker, bart., a loss which cannot be passed without record.

Born 9th September, 1820, in due course Mr. Baker went up to Oxford to Christ Church, where he took his B.A. in 1843, and M.A. in 1847. In 1844-1845 he was ordained in Lichfield diocese, and from 1844 was curate of Brewood, near Wolverhampton, until 1848, when he was collated to the vicarage of Preston with Sutton Poyntz, in Dorset. In 1868 he was appointed honorary canon of Salisbury, and in 1870 was made rural dean of Dorchester, second portion. On the death of his brother, 29th March, 1877, he succeeded as third baronet, and removed to the family seat at Ranston, near Blandford, resigning all clerical duty, retaining only the canonry which he held to the time of his death. He acknowledged that the taste for archæology which developed in his college days was afterwards fostered, as doubtless with many another, by a study of Rickman and of Parker. In time he became a member of the Cambridge Camden Society and of the Institute. He was elected on the Council of the Institute, and afterwards appointed a vice-president, and in all the affairs or work accruing he always took the greatest interest. Whenever in town, he was present at the general meetings or a Council, and was ever an attendant at the larger annual meeting. Not being a fluent speaker he was not perhaps so much heard as his undoubted information and qualification would have warranted, but yet he was ever ready to speak if called upon.

He did not contribute often to the Journal. In 1888 he gave a paper on Wisby and some churches of South Gotland, which was printed in Vol. XLV; and at the Dorchester meeting in 1897 he gave an excellent and scholarly paper on the House of the Vestals in the

Forum at Rome and the discovery of Anglo-Saxon coins in the excavations there.

At the Salisbury meeting of the Institute, in 1887, he took an active part in making the arrangements, which were admirable in every respect, and took a house in the Close so that he might entertain during the meeting. At the Dorchester meeting, too, he was greatly interested, and lent his aid towards making it the great success it was. He offered hospitality at Ranston, but it was found that the district could not be included in the programme. At Ipswich in 1899, two years later, he appeared well and hearty save for a diminishing eyesight, which made occasional assistance, if unobtrusive, rather valued, but he entered gaily into all the work and joined the excursions and discussions as if he were ten years younger than he was. His last appearance at the Institute was at the general meeting in Hanover Square on the 7th March, 1900, when he took the chair as vice-president. Afterwards he expressed his pleasure in anticipating the Dublin meeting, which he had planned to attend, and by letter to the writer later he again mentioned how much he was looking forward to July, and hoped the time of the meeting would not clash with the coming of age of his son in that month. Alas! he was destined to see neither event. He passed away suddenly, but peacefully, from "heart failure," on the morning of Saturday, 7th April, and the Institute can know him no more.

Besides his attachment to the Institute, he was, as may be supposed, a great supporter of his own county antiquarian society, and in all other respects locally fulfilled the quiet duties of a country gentleman. Yet he will not be more missed in this circle than he will be by the members of the Institute, by whom he had been so long known and valued for his regular attendance and very welcome presence.

Proceedings at Ordinary Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

JULY 4th, 1900.

Sir H. H. HOWORTH, President, in the Chair.

Mr. T. T. GREG, F.S.A., exhibited two pieces of pottery, a stove tile of the seventeenth century, and a "curfew" of the eighteenth century, and made the following remarks upon them:—

The stove tile is interesting because of its date, which is later than any which have as yet come under my notice. At the British Museum are two similar tiles, one of the same size as this, and one a little smaller, both of which belong to the time of Queen Elizabeth, while this is of the time of James I. Like them, it is made of a red clay and covered with the rich green glaze which is so commonly found on the domestic utensils of the Tudor and earlier periods. The fact, however, that these vessels were of a yellow or buff clay, and rarely glazed so deeply or uniformly, coupled with the more fatal fact that the design and manufacture of the present example betray a degree of technical excellence very unusual in English pottery of the period, bring me reluctantly to the conclusion that this fine tile was, like many another good thing, made in Germany.

It is $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and the design, which is heraldic in character and bold in treatment, is sunk about half an inch below the outer rim. This precaution, however, has not prevented the chipping off of the glaze in some of the more prominent places. It is divided horizontally into two sections, in the lower of which, between two Renaissance columns carrying a narrow arch with the motto "Dieu et mon droit," is a large Tudor rose surmounted by a royal crown, on either side being the letters I.R. At the base, inside the columns, are on one side a rose, and on the other a thistle, treated realistically. In the upper section are the Royal Arms of England, as worn by James I, encircled by the Garter, with its motto, "Honi soit qui mal y pense," and supported by the then novel supporters, the lion and the unicorn. The blank space is filled in with the rose and thistle, treated realistically, but showing a fine sense of decoration. From an heraldic point of view, the tile is interesting. The coat of arms on the British Museum tiles is simply France and England quarterly, with supporters, on the dexter side a lion, or, on the sinister a dragon, gules. On the accession of the Stuarts to the throne, the arms of Scotland and Ireland were combined with those of France and England, as on this tile, viz.: Quarterly of four; 1 and 4, Grand quarters, France and England quarterly; 2, Or, a lion rampant within a bordure fleury counter-fleury, gules, for Scotland; 3, Azure, a harp, or, stringed argent, for Ireland. Supporters, dexter, a lion rampant, or, imperially crowned; sinister, a unicorn, argent, armed, unguled, and crined or, gorged with a coronet to which a chain attached passing

between the forelegs and reflexed over the back of the same. It will be noticed that in the tile the dexter supporter is a lion rampant. To be quite correct it should be a lion rampant guardant.

The second piece of pottery, for want of a better name, I have called a curfew or cover-fire. It is a square-shaped slab or shield with a rounded top, and furnished with two stout handles. It is $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide by $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, made of a coarse red earthenware, and decorated with rude floral and geometrical patterns in yellow and brown slip. It bears the letters and date—

F
T E
1758

At the bottom may be noticed two slight projections or rudimentary feet, which are not, however, sufficiently broad to act as real feet, which would keep the slab in an upright position when placed vertically, without further support. It was bought in Guildford, and I have assumed, without any proof, that it has come from some Surrey or Sussex farmhouse. From the general style and character of the potting, decoration, and glazing, it is difficult to assign its origin to any particular county. It is not rich enough nor decorative enough for Wrotham, or even the comprehensive Staffordshire. It might have been the work equally of a Welsh or Devonshire potter; indeed, it might have been made anywhere in England, and have been used for almost any purpose. It might have been used as a fire-grate, fire-ornament, or fire-blower, or, again—and this is a very probable suggestion—as a door to the bread oven which was found in every farmhouse in the eighteenth century. In old Sussex farms the ovens, I am told, have doors much of this shape, but made of iron to resist the heat. But the doors of many ovens are a long way removed from the ovens themselves, and an earthenware door like this, held in its place by an iron or even a wooden bolt, run through the two handles and fastened into staples or sockets in the wall, would answer the purpose quite safely, and be at the same time something of an ornament. Lastly, it may have been a curfew.

In the eighteenth century the fire-place in the house or farm in which this piece of earthenware would have been found was an open hearth, on which wood would be the only fuel. When this wood had burnt itself nearly out, leaving a great heap of embers, it is not an unnatural thing to suppose that before the room was left for a lengthened period the ashes would be raked into a heap, and this curfew placed on the top of them to prevent the wind or draughts from blowing them about the room. In the *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1775, Vol. I, 89, is an engraving and description of a curfew made of sheet copper riveted together, 10 inches high by 16 inches wide, forming a sort of box with two sides and a top. It was placed in front of the ashes on the hearth and pushed forward, taking the ashes with it, until it was flush against the fire-back or chimney wall, when, the air being excluded, the fire went out. This view of the use of the object seems to have been contested at the time, though some confirmation of it may be obtained from a mention in 1626 of "pots, pans, curfews, counters, and the like." At one time I conjectured that this object might have been a toasting or baking stone, like

those used in Scotland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for toasting oat-cakes before an open fire—that is, a fire on a hearth and not in a grate. Unfortunately this “baking-stone” will not stand upright, nor if it would is there any ledge, as in the Scottish examples, on which the oat-cakes might be placed.

In conclusion, I think that it must be either the door of an oven, or a rude fire extinguisher or enfew.

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS read a paper on “Roman Antiquities at Baden (Switzerland) and Bregenz.” The excavations begun in March, 1893, by Herr Meyer at Baden resulted in the discovery of what was considered to be the site of a Roman hospital, many surgical instruments being found, amongst them being part of a catheter, a forceps, spatulas, alembics, little bone spoons, balances for weighing drugs, and 129 probes (*specilla*). The difference between the objects of Roman hospitals and those of the present day were notable, for the former were established for the use of soldiers and slaves, and not simply for charitable purposes. In support of Herr Meyer’s views, Professor Lewis remarked on the proximity of a Roman camp at Vindonissa, and also referred to the fact that the waters of Baden (Aque) were much used in Roman times for their medicinal value.

The second group of excavations, conducted by Dr. Jenny at Bregenz (Bregantium), had brought to light not only the Roman roads connecting Angsburg (Augusta Vindelicorum) with Windisch (Vindonissa), but also the site of many of the important buildings of the town. The paper was illustrated by maps, photographs, and prints.

Mr. J. LEWIS ANDRÉ, F.S.A., read a paper on “Saint George the Martyr in Legend, Ceremonial, Art, etc.,” which is printed at p. 204.

Messrs. GREEN, TALFOURD ELY, and RICE took part in the discussions.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE PARISH AND CHURCH OF GODALMING. By S. WELMAN. London: Elliot Stock, 1900. 4to, pp. 74. Thirty-seven illustrations.

The architectural history of Godalming church, which takes up nearly the whole of this little volume of 74 pp., is well and carefully worked out by the author, by means of a series of plans and perspective views, showing the progressive stages in the development of the building from the eleventh century to the present time. The evidence for the existence in pre-Norman times of a small church consisting of nave and chancel seems conclusive, and the western wall of the central tower is shown to be built on the almost unaltered eastern gable of the nave of the early church, the area of the tower being that of the original chancel.

Mr. Welman goes on to trace the development of the cruciform plan, and the subsequent enlargements of the church in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, and carries the structural history of the building down to the calamitous "restorations" of 1840 and 1879, when the western portion was practically rebuilt, the western tower arch destroyed, the eastern arch "altered," and much of the ancient ashlar of the chancel so ruthlessly dragged that the original tooling was entirely obliterated. It is sad to see that these barbarities are recorded without a word of condemnation, and it might even be inferred from the context that some of them are rather commended than otherwise.

An excellent feature of the book is the insertion of a plan and three sections to scale, though it is a pity that the longitudinal section should not have been reproduced to the same scale as the other three drawings.

The remaining plates and illustrations in the text sufficiently explain the author's views, but in some cases leave a good deal to be desired in the matter of execution. It was inevitable, in the following out of the scheme of the book, that a perspective view of the pre-Norman church should have been attempted, but the presentment given on Plate XII rather suggests in the proportion of its windows and other details a building of middle twelfth century date than one of the first half of the eleventh, the period to which the early church is here assigned.

THE ABBEY CHURCH OF TEWKESBURY, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PRIORY CHURCH OF DEERHURST, GLOUCESTERSHIRE. By H. J. L. J. MASSÉ, M.A. London: George Bell and Sons, 1900. 8vo, pp. 126. Forty-four illustrations.

This volume, published uniformly with Bell's Cathedral Series, is a welcome addition to this series of handbooks, which are designed to supersede the unsatisfactory class of local guide books with which

the visitor to any of our great churches has too often to be content. Like all the former volumes of this series, it is neat, compact, and portable, and liberally provided with illustrations.

The first twenty-seven pages of the book are taken up with a history of the fabric from its foundation to the present time. The visitor is then conducted round the exterior of the church, starting from the north transept, and finishing at the south-east of the choir, after which the interior is systematically perambulated, the nave being taken first, then the north transept, the ambulatory and chapels as they occur, the south transept, and finally the choir, everything of interest being commented on in its turn.

The result of this method undoubtedly makes for thoroughness in the matter of sight-seeing, and the visitor who takes Mr. Massé's book for his guide will have the satisfaction of reflecting, on leaving the church, that he has seen every "object of interest" which it contains. But whether he will have any clear idea of the development of the building, and the sequence and intention of the various alterations, will depend rather on himself and his own powers of observation than on his guide. And be this said without any wish to detract from the value of the descriptions of the various portions of the building; but at the same time, a more methodical system would undoubtedly add to the value of the book. Take, for example, the description of the central tower, which is placed, somewhat unexpectedly, between that of the north porch and that of the west front. The pinnacles and battlements are first mentioned (as far as a fallible memory serves, the date on the north-west pinnacle is 1600, and not 1660 as given). Then the tower piers are referred to, and then the stages of the tower above the roofs, beginning with the lowest. The features of the first three are briefly noted, but the topmost stage, by no means the least imposing, is dismissed with the remark that in it is "another range of arcades and columns." The use of the word "wall-plate" to denote the weather mould which marks the pitch of the former roof is inadmissible, and in several other places a looseness in the use of architectural terms is apparent, as when, on p. 34, the eastern cloister doorway is described as having a low pointed arch, struck from two centres. On the opposite page is a photographic reproduction of this doorway, from which it is clear that the arch in question is struck from four centres, and not from two.

On p. 71 is the statement that all the Norman choir above the Norman capitals (*sc.*, of the main arcade) was pulled down in the early part of the *thirteenth* century, and that the Norman pillars were then carried up three feet, and fitted with Decorated capitals. This is perhaps a misprint, but as it stands is clearly impossible. It is also difficult to see why Mr. Massé considers the windows of the choir to be considerably later than the arcade below them, or why the circle in the head of the eastern window should be described as "a fine catherine-wheel."

The canopy over the tomb of Sir Hugh le Despenser is said to have "trefoil-headed" arches throughout (p. 91); this should, of course, be "cinquefoiled."

In the account of Deerhurst Priory church, the earliest mention of the priory, or abbey as it then was, is rightly referred to 804. The

point is worth mentioning, as Leland's mistake as to the Venerable Bede's acquaintance with Deerhurst is often repeated in modern descriptions.

The tower is said (p. 108) to have been reduced in height—probably when the “steeple” (*sc.*, spire) was blown down in 1666—but as the preparation for the base of the spire still exists in the topmost stage of the tower, the reduction in height can have been little, if any, more than that occasioned by the loss of the spire itself.

The projecting stones above the ground and second floor openings in the west wall of the tower are here considered to have a resemblance to “a broken mechanical contrivance for hoisting up weighty goods into the upper part of the tower.” This seems a little far-fetched. It is worthy of note that the opening in the second floor is clearly a doorway, and not a window, as here stated.

The description of the body of the church is supplemented by a long quotation from Mr. Micklethwaite's paper in the *Archæological Journal* (Vol. LIII, 293), with a plan of the church and a section of the tower from the same source.

In the present state of our knowledge, any attempt at dating Saxon buildings must be considered purely speculative, and liable to be upset at any time by some definite discovery; and Mr. Massé wisely leaves the question of the age of the building untouched. But apart from this, there is a good deal of information to be obtained from the descriptions of Buckler and Butterworth, and from the building itself, which might have been with advantage included in the present account, due allowance being made for the condensed form which a handbook of this kind must take. Mention should have been made of the very interesting moulded stringcourse which runs all round the nave walls outside, just below the apex of the present aisle roofs; of the relief facing the west doorway of the tower; of the projecting stone over the door of the south transept, similar to the two on the western face of the tower; and of the ribwork remaining on the fragment of the presbytery wall, south-east of the blocked arch in what is now the eastern wall of the chancel.

The remains of the monastic buildings, which are shown as of fifteenth-century date on the plan facing p. 126, though they contain at least one fourteenth-century feature, are shortly described. The statement that the destroyed western range “perhaps comprised the prior's apartments and a dormitory or infirmary” might have passed muster fifty years ago, but, at the present day, is hardly worthy of a place even in guide books of the type which Messrs. Bell's publications have practically rendered obsolete.

A short notice of Odda's Chapel and plans of Deerhurst Priory and Tewkesbury Abbey conclude the volume.

A HISTORY OF OXFORDSHIRE. By J. MEADE FALKNER. (Popular County Histories Series.) London: Elliot Stock, 1899. 8vo, pp. 328.

Mr. Stock's Series of Popular County Histories proceeds steadily, and now includes over a dozen volumes. Cambridgeshire has been

succeeded by Oxfordshire, which, though a small county, has contrived to supply material for a larger volume than any preceding one in the series. This is due mainly, as the author points out, to the necessity of linking the history of the University of Oxford with that of the city and county, as had already been done in the case of Cambridgeshire. The fact is that Oxfordshire, like other of the Mercian shires, has little or no individual history of its own. Counties like Norfolk, Kent, and Devon have preserved a distinct and separate existence from the earliest times; their inhabitants have marked individual characteristics and distinct dialects, and generally exhibit a stronger local pride than men of the shires. But Oxford and other Mercian shires only sprang into separate existence in comparatively late Saxon times; the period is not in this case or in others exactly to be determined (but we fancy that the Rev. C. S. Taylor has thrown some light on the subject, in his paper in the *Bristol and Gloucestershire Transactions*, Vol. XXI, p. 32).

However, the fact remains that Mr. Falkner has contrived to produce a very interesting volume. University history plays a large but not too large a part; it might, however, have been as well if the first two chapters had been slightly abridged, and some of the irrelevant matter relating to Roman history and to more remote times omitted. That Mr. Falkner is intimately acquainted with the topography of the shire, his editorship of Murray's *Handbook to Oxfordshire* is a guarantee: but why, oh, why, does he not provide a map? Without a map at hand for reference a county history loses half its interest; and a few rough sketch-maps in the text, illustrating the different periods of history, would have been better than nothing. It is, in fact, a want common to the whole of the series, and we hope that the publishers will in future adopt a more enlightened policy in that respect.

There are, in our opinion, other deficiencies in the work, regarding it from the archæological rather than the purely historical point of view; for instance, there might have been a fuller discussion of the ecclesiastical architecture, a point in which Oxfordshire takes high rank among English counties, presenting a variety and average excellence only surpassed by its neighbour Northants. Secondly, we should have liked to see more discussion of place-names, and the light they shed on the history of the county. No allusion is made to the traces of Danish settlements as indicated in the hamlet of Thrup, near Woodstock, at Heythrop, near Chipping Norton, Neithrop (a suburb of Banbury), and the border villages of Adlestrop and Southrop in Gloucestershire. And thirdly, the interesting comparative table of town populations on p. 315 might well have been supplemented by other statistical tables, as Mr. Conybeare has done in his excellent *Cambridgeshire*.

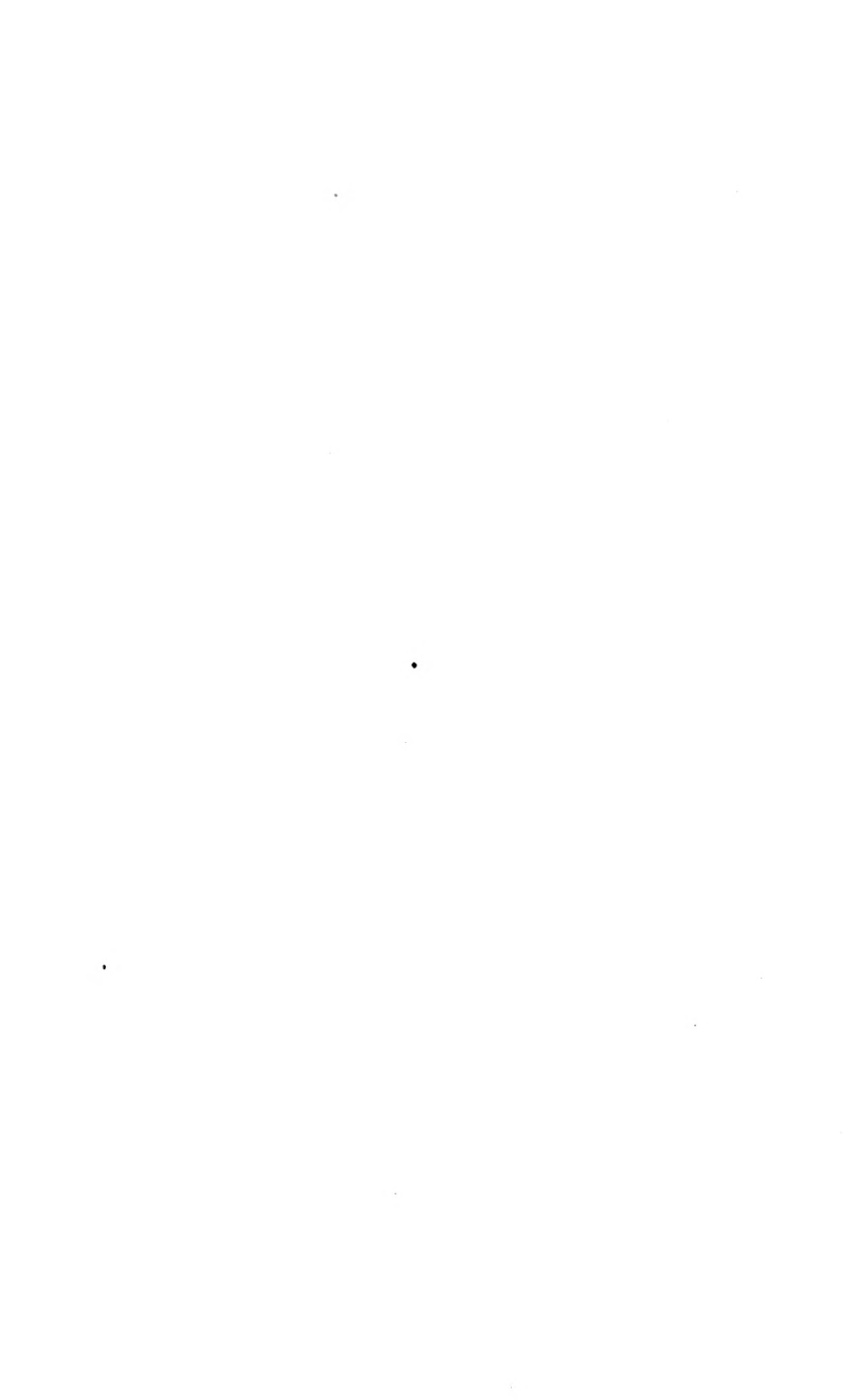
We have read this history with great pleasure from beginning to end, especially the account of the Reformation period and Civil Wars, in both of which times Oxfordshire and Oxford played a striking part. Mr. Falkner's style is vivid, and his pages are brightened by numerous quotations from contemporary writers, such as Antony Wood, with his delightful picture of the "juvenile Muses in the Vicaridge" at Thame, and the fright that they, "particularly A. W.," received from the advent of the Parliamentarians

one Sunday in 1645. We think we can detect anti-Protestant and anti-Puritan sympathies throughout the author's account of these times—a bias that in no way detracts from the merits of his narrative.

A few small points strike us as requiring comment. On p. 28 mention might have been made of the use of the local Stonesfield slates for the roofing of the Roman villas, also of the probability that the windows were glazed as an additional protection against the severities of the climate (evidence of this exists in Gloucestershire). It should be pointed out that the Angel Choir at Lincoln is *not* the earliest Pointed work in England (see p. 74), nor is it pure Early English (if that is what the writer intends); it is, of course, St. Hugh's Choir that takes rank as the earliest pure Gothic work in England.

On p. 218 Burford is spoken of as noted for bell-casting in the seventeenth century; but the foundry of the Keenes at Woodstock was far more important at that time, and their fame quite eclipsed Edward Neale's, as is evinced by the comparative numbers of their bells remaining. The Bagleys, of Chacombe, belong to the latter half of the seventeenth century, not the early part as here stated (Henry Bagley's earliest bells are dated 1632). Some mention might be made of the tradition that the author of *Piers Plowman* is associated with Oxfordshire; it is not, however, certain whether he derives his name of Langley from a hamlet near Burford or from one in Salop (see the introduction to Dr. Skeat's edition, p. xv.).

We hope that all future volumes of this series will preserve the high standard set up by the present one, which we can confidently recommend to readers.



THE TRUTHFULNESS OF ANCIENT IRISH HISTORICAL RECORDS: BEING THE OPENING ADDRESS OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION IN DUBLIN.¹

By PATRICK WESTON JOYCE, LL.D., M.R.I.A.

Of Irish Historical Records there are many classes, three of which I will notice here:—Historical Tales; Annals; and Genealogies. These, along with Biographies, are the ultimate authorities on which all modern writers of the Ancient History of Ireland have mainly to depend; and it is important to inquire how far they may be regarded as trustworthy guides, and what corroboration they receive from independent testimonies.

It is to be observed at the outset that modern writers of Ancient History, that of England as well as of other countries, have to depend largely on statements of writers of the middle ages, which, so far as testimony is concerned, are of much the same character as our Irish Historical Tales, a mixture of truth, exaggeration, and fable. Those old writers, like the people in general of those times, believed in magic, charms, witchcraft, and preternatural agencies of various kinds; and they everywhere mixed them up with their narratives, and magnified the deeds of their favourite characters. Hume, Lingard, and other modern writers of the Ancient History of England had to wade through whole volumes of half fabulous matter, and select truth from fable, and reduce exaggeration to reason, as best they could, before they produced these narratives that we now read, and that seem to us so precise and so free from doubt or fiction.

Historical Tales.—Our Ancient Literature includes a vast number of Historical Tales of various dates, from the eighth or ninth century down to recent times,² in which truth and fiction are mixed up in varying proportions, fiction being often brought in to embellish the

¹ Read in Dublin, July 21st, 1900.

² They will be found described in

O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, and in Dr. Hyde's *Literary History of Ireland*.

dry historical record. Some are almost purely historical, as the "Wars of the Gaels with the Galls." Some may be set down as half and half, as the Battle of Moyrath, the Battle of Moylena, and the story of *Borumha* or Leinster Tribute; while others again are either unmixe-
fiction or rest on a thin substratum of fact, such as the three tragedies called the "Three Sorrows of Story-telling," the Battle of Ventry, and the *Tain*, or Cattle-spoil of Quehna with its accompanying tales, about thirty in number. The Historical Stories belonging to all three classes form part of our authorities for the Ancient History of Ireland; and we use them exactly as Hume and Lingard used their materials, sifting out, testing, and setting forth the truth by all the means at our disposal.

But Irish historical investigators have an all important additional help in their Annals and Genealogies, which are more extensive and accurate than those of any other nation in Europe, and which, with little exception, may be regarded as trustworthy from and after the fourth or fifth century of the Christian era.

Annals.—Among the various classes of persons who devoted themselves to Literature in Ancient Ireland, there were special Annalists, who made it their business to record, with the utmost accuracy, all remarkable events simply and briefly, without any ornament of language, without exaggeration, and without fictitious embellishment. The extreme care they took that their statements should be truthful is shown by the manner in which they compiled their books. As a general rule they admitted nothing into their records except either what occurred during their lifetime, and which may be said to have come under their own personal knowledge, or what they found recorded in the compilations of previous annalists, who had themselves followed the same plan. Those men took nothing on hearsay; and in this manner successive annalists carried on a continued chronicle from age to age, thus giving the whole series the force of contemporary testimony. Of course it is not claimed that they are infallible; but that they took great care to be accurate. We have still preserved to us many books of native annals, which need not be set forth here as they are fully described in several well known works.

Most of the ancient manuscripts whose entries are copied into the books of annals we now possess have been lost ; but that the entries were so copied is rendered quite certain by various expressions found in the present existing annals. The compiler of the *Annals of Ulster*, for instance, Cahal Maguire, an eminent divine, philosopher, and historian, who died of smallpox, A.D. 1498, often refers to the authorities that lay before him in such terms as these :—“ So I have found it in the Book of Cuana ” ; “ I state this according to the Book of Mochod ” ; “ This is given as it is related in the Book of Dubhdaleith,” and such like ; but nearly all the authorities he refers to have disappeared.

As an example of what manner of men the annalists were I will instance one of the earliest of those whose books are still extant :—Tigernach O'Breen, who died in 1088. He was abbot of the Monasteries of Clonmacnoise and Roscommon, and was one of the greatest scholars of his age. He was acquainted with the chief historical writers of the world known in his day, and it is clear that he had the use of an excellent library in Clonmacnoise. He quotes the Venerable Bede, Josephus, St. Jerome, Orosius, and many other ancient authorities, and of course he made use of the works of all previous Irish historians and annalists. Like most of the other books of annals, his work is written in Irish, mixed with a good deal of Latin. One very important pronouncement he makes, which has been often referred to and discussed, that all the Irish accounts before the time of Cimbaeth King of Ulster (B.C. 305) are uncertain : a statement that shows his critical and upright turn of mind.

Genealogies.—The genealogies of the principal families were most faithfully preserved in ancient Ireland. Each king and chief had in his household a *Shanachie*, or Historian, whose duty it was to keep a written record of all the ancestors and of the several branches of the family. There were several reasons for their anxiety to preserve their pedigrees, one very important one being that in case of dispute about property or about election to a chiefship, the decision often hinged on the descent of the disputants ; and the written records, certified by a

properly qualified historian, were accepted as evidence in the Brehon Law Courts. We have many books of Genealogies, the most important of all being the great *Book of Genealogies*, compiled in the middle of the seventeenth century from older books, by Duaid Mac Fírbis, the last and most accomplished native master of the History, Laws, and Language of Ireland. The authenticity of the Genealogies, as of the Annals, dates from a period not long after the beginning of the Christian era. The Genealogies are very valuable as tests of the accuracy of other parts of Irish history.

TESTS OF ACCURACY.

There are many tests by which we are enabled to determine the degree of correctness of the three classes of records just mentioned, but I will notice only three here :—Physical phenomena, such as eclipses and comets ; the testimony of foreign writers ; and the consistency of the records among themselves.

Whenever it happens that we are enabled to apply tests belonging to any one of these three classes—and it happens very frequently—the result is almost invariably a vindication of the accuracy of the records. I will give instances here ; but they are not selected with a view to a foregone conclusion : that is to say, I have not brought forward the favourable cases and held back those that tell unfavourably. I take them as they come ; and those I give may be considered types of all.

PHYSICAL PHENOMENA.

Let us first instance the records of physical phenomena : and of these I will set out with one very instructive and impressive example—the solar eclipse of A.D. 664, a year rendered memorable by the ravages of the terrible Yellow Plague, which swept over all Europe. The Venerable Bede, writing fifty or sixty years after the eclipse, records it as he found it mentioned—vaguely as regards time—in some written record, or perhaps from the reports of some old persons who had seen it. At any rate he calculated the date backwards, using the

only means then known for such calculations—the Dionysian Cycle—which was a little incorrect. This led him to the 3rd May, 664, as the date of the eclipse—two days wrong. The Annals of Ulster in their brief and simple record, copied from an older document, give the correct date, 1st May, and even the very hour : a striking proof that the event had been originally recorded by some Irish chronicler who actually saw it, from whose record—or perhaps from a copy—or a copy of a copy—the writer of the Annals of Ulster transcribed it.

The Irish annals record about twenty-five eclipses and comets at the several years from A.D. 496 to 1066, which are collected from various books by Cahal Maguire in the Annals of Ulster, and which will be found set forth in one list by O'Donovan in his Introductory Remarks to the Annals of the Four Masters. The dates of all those, as entered in the Annals of Ulster, are found, according to modern calculation, to be correct. This shows conclusively that the original records were made by eye-witnesses, and not by calculation in subsequent times : for any such calculation would be sure to give an incorrect result, as in the case of Bede.

A well known entry in the Irish account of the battle of Clontarf, fought A.D. 1014, comes under the tests of natural phenomena. The author of the *History of the Wars of the Gaels with the Galls*, writing early in the eleventh century, soon after the battle, states, in his detailed account, that it was fought on Good Friday, the 23rd April ; that the battle commenced in the morning at sunrise *when the tide was full in*, that it continued the whole day till the tide was again at flood in the evening, when the foreigners were routed :—“ They [*i.e.* the two armies] continued in battle array, fighting from sunrise till evening. This is the same length of time as that which the tide takes to go and to fall and to flood again. For it was at the full tide the foreigners came out to fight the battle in the morning, and the tide had come to the same place again at the close of the day, when the foreigners were defeated.” So the Irish record.

The time of high water, it is to be observed, is noticed incidentally here in order to account for the great

slaughter of the Danes in the evening during the rout; for as the tide was at height at the time, they were not able to reach their ships, which were anchored in the bay, and which they might wade to at low water. Their only other means of escape—the single bridge that led to their fortress in Dublin, at the other side of the Liffey—was cut off, partly by the tide and partly by a detachment of Irish: so that the chronicler goes on to say:—“An awful rout was made of the foreigners, so that they fled simultaneously, and they shouted their cries for mercy; but they could only fly to the sea, as they had no other place to retreat to seeing they were cut off from the head of Dubgall’s Bridge.”¹

As soon as Dr. Todd, the translator and editor of the *Wars of the Gaels with the Galls*, came across this passage, in the year 1867, it struck him at once that here was an obvious means of testing—so far—the truth of the old narrative; and he asked the Rev. Dr. Haughton, a well known eminent scientific man, a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, to calculate for him the time of high water in Dublin Bay on the 23rd April, 1014. After a laborious calculation, Dr. Haughton found that the tide was at its height that morning at half past five o’clock, just as the sun was coming over the horizon, and that the evening tide was at 55 minutes past 5: a striking confirmation of the truth of this part of the narrative. It shows, too, that the account was written by, or taken down from, an eye-witness of the battle.

We must not omit a corroboration of the general truthfulness of the Irish account coming from a very different source. All the Irish chronicles state that a general rout of the Danes took place in the evening: which is fully corroborated in the Norse records. There is a brief description of “Brian’s Battle,” as the Danes called it, in the Danish saga or story “Burnt Nial,” in which this final rout is recorded by the Norse writer—the best possible authority on the point under the circumstances—in language much more simple and terse than that of the Irish chronicler: it is merely this short sentence:—“Then flight broke out throughout all the [Danish] host.”

¹ Dr. Todd’s translation in his edition of the *Wars of the Gaels with the Galls*.

TESTIMONY OF FOREIGN WRITERS.

Events occurring in Ireland in the middle ages are not often mentioned by British or Continental writers: they knew little of the country, which was in those times a very remote place. But in the few cases where they do notice Irish affairs, they are always—or nearly always—in agreement with the native records. A few of these corroborations, moreover, may serve as a warning to us not to be too ready to reject ancient narratives as unworthy of notice because they happen to have about them an air of romance or fiction.

Irish bardic history relates in much detail how the Picts, coming from Thrace, landed on the coast of Leinster in the reign of Eremon, the first Milesian king of Ireland, many centuries before the Christian era: that they aided the King of Leinster to defeat certain British tribes who had given great trouble: that when, after some time they proposed to settle in the province, Eremon refused to permit them, advising them to cross the sea once more, and make conquests for themselves in a country lying to the north-east, *i.e.*, in Alban or Scotland, and promising them aid in case they needed it. To this they agreed; and they requested Eremon to give them some marriageable women for wives, which he did, but only on this condition, that the right of succession to the kingship should be vested in the female progeny rather than in the male. And so the Picts settled in Scotland with their wives.¹

Now all this is confirmed by the Venerable Bede, but with some differences in detail. His account is that the Picts, coming from Scythia, were driven by wind on the *northern* coast of Ireland. The Irish refused them land on which to settle, but advised them to sail to a country lying eastward, which could be seen from Ireland, and offered them help to conquer it. The Picts obtained wives from the Scots (*i.e.*, the Irish), on condition that when any difficulty arose they should choose a king from the female royal line rather than from the male; “which custom,” says Bede, “has been observed among them to this day.”²

¹ See Irish version of Nennius (Irish Arch. Soc.), 121 *et seq.*; and O'Mahony's *Keating*, 216.

² Bede, *Ecc. Hist.*, I, i.

Coming down to more historic times, there are in Irish Records detailed accounts of migrations of Irish to Alban, or Scotland. The first colony of which we have distinct mention was that led by Carbery Riada (first cousin of Camac Mac Art, king of Ireland, in the third century): a large following of fighting men with their families, who settled among the Picts. Carbery Riada was one of three brothers who were intimately connected by blood with the reigning families of Ireland, and from him all that western district of Scotland was called *Dal-Riada*, *i.e.*, Riada's *dal* or portion. Other and still more important colonisations followed, which need not be noticed here: it is enough to say that those enterprising Irish people ultimately mastered all Scotland, which received its name from them; for at that time the Irish were known by the name of Scots. Now, possibly some might look on all this as fiction if the Venerable Bede did not step in and confirm it in its main features. Here are his words.¹ In course of time Britain, besides the Britons and Picts, received a third nation, the Scots, who, migrating from Ireland under their leader Reuda, either by friendship or force secured for themselves settlements among the Picts, which they still possess (*i.e.*, in the beginning of the eighth century). From the name of their leader they are to this day called Dalreudini; for in their language *dal* signifies a part. I may add that this word *dal* or *dail* is still a living word.

All the Irish annals, as well as the *Wars of the Gaels with the Galls*, record a great defeat of the Danes near Killarney, in the year 812, which so deterred them that many years elapsed before they attempted to renew their attacks. This account is fully borne out by an authority totally unconnected with Ireland, the well-known book of Annals, written by Eginhard, the tutor of Charlemagne, who was living at this very time. Under 812 he writes:—"The fleet of the Northmen, having invaded Hibernia, the island of the Scots, after a battle had been fought with the Scots, and after no small number of the Norsemen had been slain, they basely took to flight and returned home."

¹ Bede, *Ecel. Hist.*, I, i.

Sometimes confirmation comes from the most unexpected quarters. In one of the historical Tales of the *Tain*, or Cattle-spoil of Quelna, which took place in the first century of the Christian era, we are told that King Concohar Mac Nessa conferred knighthood on the great hero Cuculainn (or as the Gaelic writers express it, Cuculainn "took valour") at seven years of age, and that during the ceremony he broke many weapons by sheer strength. We find this event also mentioned in the Annals of Tigernach, in the simple record that Cuculainn took valour at seven years of age. This appears to have established a precedent, so that the fashion became common of knighting the sons of kings and great chiefs at the age of seven years.

Now all this looks shadowy, romantic, and mythical; yet we find it recorded in the pages of Froissart that the custom of knighting king's sons at seven years of age existed in Ireland in the end of the fourteenth century, having held its place, like many ancient Irish customs, for at least fourteen hundred years. When Richard II. visited Ireland in 1394, he entertained the Irish Kings and Chiefs in a magnificent manner, and proposed to confer the honour of knighthood on the four provincial kings, O'Neill, O'Conor, MacMurrough, and O'Brien. But they told him they did not need it, as they had been knighted already; for they said it was the custom for every Irish King to knight his son at seven years of age. The account of all these proceedings was given to Froissart by a French gentleman named Castide, who had lived seven years among the Irish. The narrative goes on to describe the Irish manner of conferring knighthood; that a shield was set up on a stake in a level field; that a number of little spears were given to the youthful aspirant; that he thereupon hurled them against the shield: and that the more spears he broke the more honour he received; all closely corresponding with the ancient Irish romantic narrative.

CONSISTENCY OF THE RECORDS AMONG THEMSELVES.

Testimonies under this heading might be almost indefinitely multiplied, but I will here instance only a few.

The names of fifteen abbots of Bangor who died before 691 are given in the Irish Annals at the respective years of their death. In the ancient Service Book, known as the *Antiphonary of Bangor*, which is still preserved on the Continent, brought away from Ireland in the early ages by some Irish missionary to save it from destruction by the ravages of the Danes, there is a hymn in which, as Dr. Reeves says,¹ "these fifteen abbots are recited in the same order as in the Annals: and this undesigned coincidence is the more interesting because the testimonies are perfectly independent, the one being afforded by Irish records which never left the kingdom, and the other by a Latin composition which has been a thousand years absent from the country where it was written."

References by Irishmen to Irish affairs are found in numerous volumes scattered over all Europe:—Annalistic entries, direct statements in tales and biographies, marginal notes, incidental references to persons, places, and customs, and so forth, written by various men at various times, which, when compared one with another, hardly ever exhibit a disagreement. Perhaps the best illustration of this is Adamnan's *Life of Columba*. Adamnan, like Columba himself, was a native of Tírconnell, or Donegal: he was ninth abbot of Iona, and died in 703. He wrote his *Life of Columba* between the years 692 and 697, which is admitted to be one of the most graceful pieces of Latin mediæval composition in existence, and has been exhaustively edited by Dr. Reeves. Adamnan's main object was simply to set forth the spiritual life of St. Columba, who lived about a century before him, to describe as he expressly tells us, the miracles, the prophecies, and the angelic visions of the saint. But in carrying out this ideal, he has everywhere in his narrative to refer to persons living in Ireland and Scotland, mostly contemporaries of Columba, as well as to the events and customs of the time, references which are mostly incidental, brought in merely to fix the surroundings of the saint and his proceedings. Beyond this Adamnan was not at all concerned with Irish history, genealogy, or social life. But

¹ Reeves, *Ecl. Antiq.*, 153.

when we come to test and compare these incidental references with the direct and deliberate statements in Irish annals, biographies, tales and genealogies, which is perhaps the severest of all tests in the circumstances, we find an amazing consensus of agreement, and never, so far as I can call to mind, a contradiction. It is not necessary to enter into details ; and even if I desired to do so, this short address would afford neither space nor time ; but it would be easy to give scores of striking instances.

It may be said without fear of contradiction that the more the ancient historical records of Ireland are examined and tested, the more their truthfulness is made manifest. Their uniform agreement among themselves, and their accuracy, as tried by the ordeals of astronomical calculation and of foreign writers' testimony, have drawn forth the acknowledgments of the greatest Irish scholars and archæologists that ever lived, from Ussher and Ware to those of our own day, and especially of Dr. Reeves, the learned editor of Adamnan's *Life of Columba*. These men knew what they were writing about ; and it is instructive, and indeed something of a warning to us, to mark the sober and respectful tone in which they speak of Irish records, occasionally varied by an outburst of admiration as some unexpected proof turns up of the faithfulness of the old Irish writers and the triumphant manner in which they come through all ordeals of criticism.

CHRISTIAN ICONOGRAPHY IN IRELAND.

By MARGARET STOKES.

THE ZODIAC.

The place of the sun in the Zodiac served among the ancients to regulate the seasons of the year, and the representations of the figures associated with the groups of stars in its circle were almost constant ornaments of religious edifices.

Mr. Fowler has shown in an eloquent passage at the conclusion of his essay "On Mediæval Representations of the Months and Seasons,"¹ that such subjects in ancient Christian ecclesiastical architecture had a mystic or symbolic import. The churches were to be the books of the unlearned, as St. John Damascene has said of sculptured images:—

The learned have them as a kind of book which is for the use of the unlearned and ignorant.

And the Abbé Suger inscribed these words on the façade of St. Denis:—

Mens hebes ad verum per materialia surgit
Et, demersa prius, hæc visa luce resurgit.

"The slow mind rises to the truth through material objects, and though it has been sunk, rises when it sees this light."

The intense love of nature and religious feeling of the Gothic mind was reflected in the encyclopædias or *specula*, written in stone or mosaic or fresco. The *Speculum Naturale*, beginning with the creation of the world and of man, includes the subject of these Zodiacal representations, which is one of those which manifest the enthusiasm and love of nature, the delight in God's works, that forms a most important moral element in the Gothic mind.

¹ *Archæologia*, XLIV, 137—183, Months and Seasons," James Fowler, F.S.A.
"On Mediæval Representations of the

These signs were as naturally associated with the actions of the every-day life of our forefathers as the months and days of the month are with our own and as clearly suggested to the devout the duties and obligations of the seasons. When that, for instance,

“The yonge sonne
Hath in the Ram his halfe course i-ronne,”

it also represented the course of the Sun of Righteousness through the festivals of the church. This idea is embodied in some verses preserved by Vincent de Beauvais (*Spec. Nat.*, XV, 64) and by Durandus.

Festum Clementis hyemis caput est orientis,
Cedit hyems retro, cathedrato Simone Petro,
Ver fugat Urbanus, æstatem Symphorianus.¹

(The Feast of Clement marks winter's rising,
When Simon Peter is throned winter turns back,
Urban puts spring to flight, Symphorian summer.)

Thus the Christian Year formed a kind of Zodiacus Vitæ:—

Quia vita per ipsum
Ducta nitet, ceu sol per sua signa
(Because life so guided shines,
Like the sun wandering through his constellations.)

The mystic Honorius of Autun held that the year, with its four seasons and twelve months, is a figure of Christ with His four evangelists and twelve apostles. Our subject is included in the *Speculum Naturale* of Vincent de Beauvais, which was the text-book with the sculptors and architects of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but it must be remembered that in dealing with Irish Christian art we have to seek the origins of our types at a date preceding this by two or three hundred years.

In the first volume of the *Ancient Laws of Ireland* we have a poem, showing how the King of Heaven ordained the procession of the Sun through the twelve signs, from the Cain Patraic, which is termed the *Senchus Mor* or Great Book, and was first known under the name Cain Patrick, *i.e.* Law of Patrick, all that was really attributed to Patrick being a compilation of pre-existing laws. In

¹ Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, fol. 1486 (?), VIII, 192, col. 1.

this work the division of the firmament from chaos into twelve parts recalls the 28th canto of the *Paradiso* of Dante.

This same King also formed and measured the space from the earth to the firmament, and it is by this the thickness of the earth is measured.

He fixed after this the seven divisions from the firmament to the earth—Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Sol, Luna, Venus.

The distance which he measured from the moon to the sun is two hundred and forty-four miles; the name of this is the nether-heaven without wind.

The measurement of the space which he left between the sun and the firmament is three times the above, as it has been measured by calculators; and this is the immovable Olympus, which is called the third heaven.

The measurement of the space between the firmament and the earth is one thousand five hundred and twelve miles, and the distance from the earth to the firmament is equal to that from the firmament to the *celestial* palace, three thousand and twenty-four miles, besides the *thickness* of the firmament. And the distance from the earth to the latter is equal to the distance from the earth down to the depth of hell.

It was this King—that is, the King of Heaven and Earth—who separated the firmament from the great formless mass; and he ordained five zones in it, viz. a fiery zone (*i.e.* between the two temperate zones), two temperate zones, and two frigid zones, viz. one to the south and another to the north.

And the first form of the firmament was ordained thus:—As the shell is about the egg, so is the firmament around the earth in fixed suspension; and in circumference its measurement is taken, and it is not in diameter that it is measured.

And the heavenly King after this ordered it to be divided into twice six parts, and corresponding to them twice six months, each part to make a month, so that it is at the end of a year the circuit is complete. There are six windows in each part of them through the firmament to shed light through, so that there are sixty-six windows in it, and a glass shutter for each window; so

that the firmament is a mighty sheet of crystal and a protecting bulwark round the earth with three heavens, and three heavens around it, and the seventh was arranged in three heavens. This last, however, is not the habitation of the angels, but is like a wheel revolving round, and the firmament is thus revolving, and also the seven planets, since the time they were created.

The same King divided it into twelve divisions, and gave a name to each division respectively; and the figures of the divisions are set each in its own place around the firmament, and it is from these figures they are named, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus. And these are the twelve divisions through which the sun and moon run; and the sun is thirty days ten hours and a half in each division of these, and on the fifteenth it enters each division.

In the month of January, the sun is in Aquarius; in the month of February the sun is in Pisces; in the month of March the sun is in Aries; in the month of April in Taurus; in the month of May it is in Gemini; in the month of June it is in Cancer; in the month of July it is in Leo; in the month of August it is in Virgo; in the month of September it is in Libra; in the month of October it is in Scorpio; in the month of November it is in Sagittarius; in the month of December it is in Capricornus.

These are the twelve divisions through which the sun runs.

There are five things that should be known every day to every intelligent person who has ecclesiastical orders, viz. the day of the solar month, the age of the moon, the flow of the tide, the day of the week, and the festivals of saints. *Finit.*¹

Four centuries later we find our subject introduced in a manner that closely resembles the method of Vincent de Beauvais. It is the early Irish notice of the procession of the sun through the Zodiac in the first poem of the *Saltair na Rann* ("Psalter of the Staves or Quatrains") a collection of early Irish poems attributed

¹ *Extract from Ancient Laws of Ireland (Senchus Mór)*, I, 29, 31. Cain Patraic—Patrick's Law.

to Oengus, the Culdee, who flourished in the beginning of the ninth century.¹ This poem deals with the subject of the signs of the Zodiac (205-220); the time—30 days 10½ hours—that the sun is in each; the day of the month on which it enters each; the month in which it is in each sign (233-256); the division of the firmament into twelve parts; the five things which every intelligent man should know, namely, the day of the solar month, the age of the moon, the height of the tide, the day of the week, saints' festivals.

A third notice occurs in an astronomical tract in the Royal Irish Academy Library marked Stowe B. 2, 1, Ashburnham Collection, the approximate date of which is not given.

We now pass on to the first appearance in early Christian art of illustration of the passage of the sun through the circle of the Zodiac.

In the *Byzantine Painters' Guide* are a series of allegories and moralities which were to form part of the subjects illustrated in sacred buildings, among which we have "How to Represent the Illusive Seasons of this Life."

Although the date of this Greek manuscript is uncertain, yet we have many other authorities for proving that the custom of ornamenting churches with a calendar in stone was not only established from the earliest period of the Christian era, but was practised in pre-Christian temples. Pavements of churches and primitive basilicas in early times were decorated with symbolic images of the seasons such as we find in the mosaic of the church of Tyre, brought to the Louvre by the missionary Renan; and in the churches of Aosta, Ainay, Lyon, and St. Remi, early examples either still exist, or were to be found at a recent date. These mosaic pavements recall not only the cycle of seasons and their labours, but also a cycle of prayers and liturgical festivals. Mr. Fowler² enumerates various foreign and British representations of these signs in manuscripts before the fourteenth century, but he does not appear to have heard of one drawn by an Irish illuminator and scribe in a manuscript now to be seen

¹ *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, I, Pt. III, Oxford, 1882.

² *Op. cit.*, 138-182.

in the Library of Basle, which is of greater antiquity than any of his list. This manuscript is marked FF. iii, 15a, and is entitled *Liber S. Isidori Hispalensis de Natura Rerum*. It has been published by Dr. Ferdinand Keller.

In this Zodiacal Circle we find indicated, not only the signs, a rude drawing of each of which is given, but also the names of the guardians of the signs, Pagan, Jewish, and Christian. These drawings and inscriptions are found within each one of the twelve panels between the outer and the inner circle, and the number of the month is also added, September being marked as the beginning of this calendar.

With three exceptions, the names of the Jewish and Christian guardians, that is, the twelve tribes of Israel and the twelve apostles, are outside the panel, and the number of the month and the sign are within it. The following table will illustrate the arrangement—

		Sign.	Pagan.	Jewish.	Christian.
September	No. i.	Libra	Orcus	Simeon	
October	No. ii.	Scorpio	Chronos	Reuben ...	Peter.
November	No. iii.	Sagittarius ....	.....	Benjamin ...	Paul.
December	No. iv.	Capricornus	Iperion	Joseph	Matthew.
January	No. v.	Aquarius ....	.....	Asher	Matthias.
February	No. vi.	Pisces....	.....	Gad	Thaddeus.
March	No. vii.	Aries	Oceanus	Naphtali	
April	No. viii.	Taurus	Mereurius ...	Dan	James.
May	No. ix.	Gemini	Saturn	Zebulon....	Thomas.
June	No. x.	Cancer	Jupiter	Issaehar....	Bartholomew.
July	No. xi.	Leo	Pluto	Judah	Philip.
August	No. xii ...	Virgo	Neptunus	Levi	James.

It is curious that the month of September (Libra) should be counted as the first month; but although the Zodiac and seasons were generally arranged so as to remind us of the course of the sun, yet these calendars elsewhere do not always commence at the same sign. For instance, at the church of St. Savin in Poitou, Aries (March) is counted as the first month, while in the cathedrals of Amiens and Nôtre Dame, Paris, the year opens at Capricornus (December), and at Chartres at Aquarius.

Sagittarius is, as we know, generally represented

as a centaur, *i.e.* a composite being with a human head, bust and arms, but with the legs and lower parts of a horse. But in the sign in this drawing only the head is human, and that is covered by a long hood, pointed behind, and instead of the bow and arrow he usually holds, some implement is represented bending from his neck and passing along the ground beneath his feet. Can the occupation of threshing be here intended? For Vincent de Beauvais tells us in the *Speculum Naturale* that this is the most natural time for threshing wheat. Tusser attributes this occupation to November—

November take flaile
Let skep no more faile.

This is the sign also given in the cathedral at Rheims. Sagittarius is also represented as beating oaks for feeding swine on the thirteenth century font at Brookland, in Kent.

The sign of Aquarius for January in this manuscript is unusual. He is generally shown as a water carrier, pouring water from a pitcher, and is also occasionally represented as a wood-cutter carrying a tree or branch; but in this manuscript he is shown kneeling on one knee, while on the other he supports some kind of stringed instrument on which he plays with his right hand. The idea of festivity connected with January may explain the introduction of the musical instrument here. On the font at Brookland, in Kent, we find Aquarius as a two-faced figure sitting feasting; he is also represented as a figure drinking or feasting at Cremona, at Rheims, and at Amiens. At St. Alban's, in England, the symbol for January was a man and woman feasting. Among the Irish any festive scene seems to have been generally symbolised by musicians.

Coming to the sign for February (Pisces) it should be observed that only one fish is given here, instead of two. This also happens in the Cologne Bede, and in the Runic calendar illustrated by Cahier.¹

The attribute of the sign for August (Virgo) is also difficult to decipher. It may possibly be meant to represent a sheaf of corn. This is given in the zodiac on

¹ *Caractéristiques des Saints*, Le P. Ch. Cahier, i, 160.

the Brookland font in Kent, on the porch of St. Margaret's Church in York, in the wood-carvings of Worcester and St. Alban's, as also on the west door of Rheims Cathedral.

The Pagan guardians of the months in this Irish drawing must represent divinities of the constellations so named, but their order does not correspond with that of any other instance we have found. In the museum of the Louvre there is a very ancient mosaic which seems to have come from some hall of a Roman villa, and M. Ménard publishes in his work on mythology in art an illustration of a fine monument called the Table of the Twelve Gods,¹ each of the divinities being supposed to dwell within the constellation that bears its attributes.

Four of the Pagan deities enumerated here also occur in the Irish Zodiac, but they are not associated with the same Zodiacal sign. Thus, Apollo is associated with Pisces in the Table of the Gods, and with Capricornus in the Irish manuscript; Jupiter with Taurus in the Pagan, and with Cancer in the Irish; Mercury with Scorpio in the Pagan, and with Taurus in the Irish; Neptune with Capricornus in the Pagan, and with Virgo in the Irish. A cornaline gem is to be seen in the museum of the Louvre, where Jupiter is represented as seated on a throne resting on a veil inflated with the wind, suggestive of the Spirit of God moving on the waters. The heaven that Jupiter represents is characterised by the signs of the Zodiac round the composition, and he is attended by two divinities, Mars and Mercury.

In the association of the twelve signs of the Zodiac with the twelve tribes of Israel, the Irish table seems to stand alone. In the great mass of illustration collected by Mr. Fowler, there is no instance of the tribes of Israel being reckoned among the guardians of the month. The association of Judah with Leo may be suggested by the verse, "The lion of the tribe of Judah." The association of Levi with Virgo and Neptune may point to the celibacy of the priesthood, and to the fact that the Levites had no territorial possessions; but how to trace any association between the remaining signs and months and the tribes of Israel I cannot as yet discover.

¹ Ménard, *Mythologie dans l'Art*, Introd., xiii.

The idea of the guardianship of the apostles over the months seems to have been more generally entertained than that of the tribes of Israel. But we question whether any illustration of this idea has been found of older date in Christian art than that which appears in this Irish manuscript. The significance of the course of the sun through the Zodiac has been already dealt with, and Mr. Fowler points to the paintings of Giotto in the Arena Chapel at Padua as illustrating the parallelism in mediæval art of the natural and mystic zodiacs. In the work of Giotto, each apostle here originally presided over the sign of the Zodiac and the labour of the month during which his festival fell. (See *Ann. Arch.*, XIX, 242.)

At Veozelay, Christ is sculptured in company with twelve apostles; and at Malmesbury, in the tympanum over one of the doorways of the south porch, our Lord and two angels and the twelve apostles and labours of the months are sculptured. As the natural sun is replaced in these examples by the Sun of Righteousness, so are the signs of the Zodiac by the apostles, the first to reflect the light from our Lord, and to be the pathway of His grace; and as the stars of the Zodiac possessed an interest to the ancient astronomer which no other stars possessed, so the apostles here shine forth as a kind of synecdoche of that greater company of saints which are as the stars in multitude.¹

The date of the manuscript at Basle in which this curious illustration of the Zodiac is found has not been determined, but it is unlikely that it is later than the eighth century. And the next example that we have found in Irish art is probably a century and a half later, of the time when Muredach, Bishop of Monasterboice, carved the bas-reliefs on the base of the high cross which bears his name, now standing in the cemetery of that church.

Hitherto no effort has been made to decipher the figures on this frieze. It was only some months ago that I recognised in the rubbing I had made of the panel on the east side the outlines of three forms, which are unmistakably those of Aries, Taurus, and Gemini, the

¹ Fowler, *op. cit.*, 185.



MONASTERBOICE CROSS.

Zodiacal signs for March, April, and May. Perceiving that the signs of these three spring months were appropriately placed facing the east, I at once turned to the north side, and there I recognised the signs of the three winter months—Sagittarius, Capricornus, and Aquarius. I then turned to the west side, but here the task at first seemed hopeless, so utterly destroyed did the surface of the stone appear to be. However, with the help of comparative study of other early representations of the Zodiac (western side), some of which representations bore inscriptions giving the name of the sign, I was able to identify the traces of figures still left, and I now hope to establish that the subject of this frieze on the base of Monasterboice cross is the procession of the four seasons and the sun through the Zodiac.

Commencing at the east corner of the south side immediately after Leo, the Zodiacal sign for July, we have the two-horsed chariot of the sun, preceded by riders on horseback; these I am inclined to interpret as the four seasons—summer, autumn, spring, and winter.¹

In a German manuscript described by Mr. R. Brown,² there is an old treatise on the signs of the Zodiac, where the heavens are described, and it is said that under the circle of the fixed stars there is another circle, that of the Zodiac. The writer goes on to enumerate the seven ancient planets, each of which is accompanied by that Zodiacal sign in which the particular planetary exaltation occurs. Here Leo is to accompany Sol; the wheel is a solar emblem; the car and horses resemble that of Auriga. In ancient art it occasionally occurs that two horses alone form a symbol of the sun, and Phaethon is drawn by two horses on a gem in the museum of Florence. All these images correspond with the sculptures on our frieze, where we have Leo for July, the driver in the two-horsed chariot for summer, and the three horsemen for the other three seasons. In Milton we read—

“The sun
Was bid turn reins from the equinoctial road,”

and in this instance the reins are strikingly visible

¹ See *Archæologia*, XII, 209; XVIII, 205; XLIV, 137.

² *Archæologia*, XLVII, 337.

twisted into the form of 8. Horsemen are often seen to figure as symbols of some one month. In five Anglo-Saxon manuscripts enumerated by Mr. Fowler, a horseman is the symbol of the month of May, as also in Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel at Padua, and in the pavement at Aosta in Italy; also in France, in the pavement of St. Denis, and the doorway of Chartres, and in England at St. Alban's and Gloucester Cathedral.

There can be little doubt about the identification of Leo, Taurus, Aries, Gemini on the east, Capricornus and Sagittarius on the north; but it would be quite justifiable to question the accuracy of that of the other six, and the appearance of the goat and the kid and moon, between Cancer and Libra on the west, also requires explanation.

To begin with Aquarius, it may be asked how this Irish image of a centaur carrying a tree or a branch of a tree can be meant for the sign of January, which is usually symbolised by a water-carrier. However, further research will show that a tree, or the branch of a tree, held in his right hand or over his right shoulder, instead of a pitcher or leathern pouch for water, is no uncommon symbol for Aquarius. And this, indeed, is one of those instances in which the mere sign for the month is combined with the symbol for the occupation of the month. Now it was considered by writers before the date of Vincent de Beauvais that the occupation for January was the felling of wood. Palladius, describing winter months, says, "One can almost hear the resounding axe of the woodman in the frosty air, see the bright golden-coloured chips and piles of brown shells of bark upon the ground, and smell the fresh sylvan odour of the scattered boughs. Pine, elm, ash, cypress, fir, poplar, these are best felled for timber in winter."¹ And Pliny further says, "As for the timber that is squared with the axe and by that means rid from the bark, it should be fallen or cut downe between mid-winter and the time that the wind Favonius bloweth."²

At Padua, Giotto has painted January as a youth richly clothed, carrying a tree in each hand; while

¹ *De re Rustica*, Nov. xv, 1; Dec. i, 1; Jan. xxii.

² Pliny, Holland's *Translation*, XVIII, 30.

Ruskin, describing the Zodiac on the great porch of St. Mark's in Venice, which is held by Lazari to date from 1205, remarks—

“The months are personified as follows. JANUARY. *Carrying home a noble tree on his shoulders, the leafage of which nods forward, and falls nearly to his feet.* Superbly cut. This is a rare representation of him.” Spenser gives the same symbol as that on St. Mark's.

“Then came old January, wrapped well
 In many weeds to keep the cold away;
 Yet did he quake and quiver like to quell,
 And blow his nails to warm them if he may;
 For they were numbed with holding all the day
 An hatchet keen, *with which he felled wood,*
And from the trees did lop the needless spray:
 Upon a huge great earthen pot steane he stood,
 From whose wide mouth there flowed forth the Roman flood.”¹

However, though some instances may occur of Aquarius carrying a tree, I have not yet found any example in Christian art of Aquarius being represented as a centaur, as well as Sagittarius. A centaur holding a branch is described by Dennis² as appearing on the storied urns of Volterra; but what the signification of this image was I have no means of discovering.

However, looking into Inghirami's Etruscan monuments, I find that the centaur has been treated as an emblem signifying water because he was born of Nepheli, signifying Cloud. In a restoration this writer gives of a celestial planisphere as conceived by the Etruscans, we have (only better executed) the same image as we see here—a centaur holding a branch of a leafy tree.

But I could find no way of connecting this image, which occurs when the sun is between Libra and Scorpio, with Aquarius. I had to seek help from some other more learned than I, and I hope no gentleman present will feel jealous if I say that I turned in the first instance to two women astronomers whose names should be as household words among us, Miss Clarke and Lady Huggins, sending them proofs of the phototype from my drawings. I now ask permission to

¹ *Mutabilitie*, Canto VII, 42.

² *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, II, 174.

read some of the remarks of that most sweet and gentle Lady Huggins.

She begins, "You have marked Aquarius as doubtful. I incline strongly to believe this figure is meant for Aquarius. The Arabians represented the sign by a saddled mule carrying two water barrels.

"As you mention Etruscan matters, I quite agree that the object in the hand of Aquarius is very like a tree branch treated Etruscanly. And I dare say you have noticed that the very peculiar way in which the legs of the horsemen are carried forward on their steeds is an attitude that occurs in Etruscan art."

I suppose the instance Lady Huggins refers to is that on the tomb of the Tarquini, of which I have a tracing; but if you will observe any barelegged Irish boy riding a barebacked horse up a steep hill you will see that he leans back and thrusts his legs forward exactly in the position of those old Etruscan Kings, and it is possible that the idea of ascension is meant to be conveyed.

Turning to the west side of this frieze, we find traces of a figure throwing up its arms, which we believe to be all that remains of the sign of Libra. Ruskin describes such a figure for September on the fifth side of the twenty-fifth capital of the Ducal Palace in Venice as a woman standing in a wine tub. In the fragment on the cross, only the head and arms are visible; the stone has been so broken that the outline of the tub has disappeared. The labours of the vintage were held to be the occupation for September. In the classical representations of the months enumerated by Mr. Fowler we find symbols of the vintage in an illuminated calendar dated 354. Also in the Bede woodcuts, in Cot. MSS. Julius A. vi, and Tiberius B. v, and in the cathedral of Aosta a man standing in a vat treading grapes is inscribed "September." On a doorway at Sens in France the signs of the Zodiac occur in company with a series of symbols of the months, and here the vintage is the occupation for September. In the projecting porch of the central doorway in the cathedral at Cremona, and also on the projecting porch of San Zeno at Verona, and in the baptistry of the cathedral at Parma and

the archivolt of the west doorway of the cathedral of St. Mark at Venice. -

Although owing to the ruined condition of the western side of the base of this monument at Monasterboice the attempt at interpretation of these figures may be considered as mere guesswork, yet the fact that the three signs for spring and the three for winter are still recognisable on the eastern and northern sides confirms the belief that the remaining six of the Zodiacal signs completed the frieze, and the discovery of this subject on a monument of Irish ecclesiastical art of this early date, the close of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century, is of much importance in the history of the development of Christian art. We have here a survival from paganism three hundred years before we find it taking its place in the divine comedy of Dante, in Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespere, and Milton, and with regard to the literature of the subject it is curious to observe that the most striking quotations here given are from poems that first saw the light in Ireland, the "Law of Patrick," and the verses of Spenser on "Mutability."

We must dwell on the poetic aspect of the subject if we would understand why the course of the sun as conceived by the ancients was such a favourite subject in Christian art.

The attitude of the human mind in contemplation of the works of the Creator as revealed in the Zodiac from the earliest Christian period to the middle ages forms an interesting chapter in the history of Christian art and poetry. In the first instance the "Cain" Law of Patrick tells us that the Creator, the great King, who separated the firmament from chaos, made seven divisions between the earth and the firmament, naming them after the seven planets, while between the sun and the firmament came the third heaven, that named the immovable Olympus. The earth is mid-distance between the firmament and the depth of hell, the firmament surrounding the earth as a shell surrounds an egg. And the heavenly King divided the firmament into twelve parts corresponding to the twelve months in the year. This firmament is said to be a mighty sheet of crystal, and it and the planets have been revolving ever since

creation like a wheel, and the names given to the divisions of this wheel are those of the Zodiac.

Then Oengus the Culdee in the eighth century writes in the *Saltair na Rann*:—"The Creator named every constellation after the shapes of those stars that surround the firmament, even as he disposed the mountains in their ranges above the plains, so did he ordain the stars in their vast masses. And these are the twice six constellations that the white God has created."

Then the writer of the Irish *Treatise on Astronomy* continues:—"The Creator, having created Man, whose end was His glory, shows that by the passage of the sun through the successive signs of the Zodiac we enjoy the blessed influences of the four seasons."

The ethical idea which we find in embryo here is developed throughout the periods we term the dark ages and the middle ages in the works of Dante and Chaucer, and exquisitely versified by Spenser, though with more of classical than Christian devotional feeling. Dante makes Beatrice bid the poet enter that part of heaven in which, according to his astronomical system, the equinoctial circle and the Zodiac intersect. The wonders of the mighty Architect are revealed; we are bid to see

"How thence oblique
Brancheth the circle where the planets roll
To pour their wishéd influence on the world,"

and to consider that if the Zodiac circle did not thus bend, much power would be lost to the earth. There must be no departure here from the universal order. The sun is described as

"The great Minister
Of nature (that upon the world imprints
The virtue of the heaven and doles out
Time for us with his beam) went circling on."

Then we have the wonderful picture of spring with which Chaucer introduces the *Canterbury Tales*, telling of its freshness and revivifying power, and how the melody of birds and all the quickening energies of Nature are awakened when

"The yonge sonne
Hath in the Ram his halfe course i-ronne,"

and Shakespere in his few lines at the opening of the second act of *Titus Andronicus* gives us a picture splendid in colour as the Aurora of the Italian painter—

“As when the golden sun salutes the morn
And having gilt the ocean with his beams
Gallops the Zodiac in his glistering coach
And overlooks the highest peering hills.”

Spenser in his beautiful poem on “Mutability” describes order, bidding the times and seasons of the year pass in procession before the throne of Nature in her majesty—

“Still moving yet unmovéd from her sted.”

Here the four seasons are followed by personifications of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, who come riding by. In seven instances out of the twelve, Spenser gives an entirely new poetry and symbolism to the old-world, time-worn signs. The first rider, Mars, is borne by Aries, the Ram, who, in his verse, becomes transformed to that golden ram that bore the flying Helle through the air—

“The same which over Hellespoutus swam.”

In February, Taurus becomes the bull all garlanded with spring flowers that bore Europa

“Mid waves through which he waded for his love’s delight.”

In the Gemini of May he shows the twin sons of Jupiter and Leda, Castor and Pollux, who bear upon their shoulders “the fayrest mayd on ground.” Leo is transformed to the lion once conquered in the Nemean forest by Hercules the Amphytrionide.

The sign for October in Spenser’s hands, combining the tales of Homer and Ovid, becomes that dreadful scorpion—

“The same which by Diana’s doom unjust
Slew great Orion.”

As Ovid tells us, Orion died by a scorpion’s bite, and Homer says, “Even so when rosy-fingered dawn took Orion for her lover, ye gods that live at ease were jealous thereof, till chaste Artemis of the golden throne slew him in Ortygia.”

Sagittarius is identified with Chiron, son of Saturn and fair Nais, one of the Oceanides, and mother of Glaucus, although Chiron was the son of Saturn and Phillyra, the most righteous of the centaurs and teacher

of Achilles in the arts of music and of war: till finally December rides forth, forgetful of the cold, "his Saviour's birth his mind did so much glad." And Capricornus becomes the shaggy-bearded goat who nursed the infant Jupiter upon Mount Ida.

The longer we dwell upon these successive images, the more we feel the exquisite imaginative power of the poet by which he revivifies and transfigures the stereotyped forms of ancient classical iconography.

Milton recalls us to the religious aspect of the subject, and he seems to develop the thought of the third Irish writer here quoted, as also of Dante, on the blessed influences of the Zodiac, whose path, says Dante,

". . . Not bending thus in Heaven above,
Much virtue would be lost."

Milton goes on to show the ruin that would ensue without this annual progress of the sun—

"Else how had the world
Avoided pinching cold and scorching heat."

Before concluding this subject, it may be well to observe that it was not only poets and saintly writers of old who gave the Zodiac so prominent a part in their works. The architects of those great cathedrals of Gothic art on the Continent, following the same religious and poetic instinct, were wont to place these signs in the most prominent parts of their buildings. It was upon the archivolt of a great porch, on a doorway, or a portion of the interior pavement nearest to the door that they were generally found. Symbols of the passage of time and the chances and changes of this life, they were also to convey some special message to the worshipper on his first entrance into the temple. It will be remembered in connection with the particular instance which forms the subject of our paper that the class of monument—that is, the high cross—on which this Zodiac is carved is, if not a doorway or porch to a sanctuary, at all events a sign set up to mark its limits, and is the first point at which the sacred precincts might be entered; and the thought suggested by this coincidence is that the fitting prelude to all religious service should be the contemplation of the order of God in creation and the glory of God in the heavens.

DUBLIN FOR ARCHÆOLOGISTS: BEING THE OPENING
ADDRESS OF THE ANTIQUARIAN SECTION IN
DUBLIN.¹

By SIR THOMAS DREW, R.H.A., F.R.I.B.A.

INTRODUCTORY.

I feel in this chair, in this old room of the Royal Irish Academy house haunted by the spirits of great Irishmen—scholars and archæologists—how it is in the land of surprises that such a one as he who is called to address the Antiquarian Section of the ROYAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND should take this honourable place. It is a notable occasion when such a society has transferred its session from the capital of the United Kingdom to a provincial chief city. The occasion puts it on me a first duty of courtesy to pronounce words of heartiness to our visitors of the Institute in the name of its two kindred societies—of the Royal Irish Academy, and the Royal Society of the Antiquaries of Ireland; in the names of the Church dignitaries custodians of our ancient and chief treasure-houses; in the name of scholars far above me; in the name of the keepers of our national and civic records; in the name of a host of well-meaning amateur archæologists (with whom I am classed); in the name of all stranger-loving hospitable citizens of Dublin—to say WELCOME!

Yet there is for one who has known it long and revisits this room a note of sadness in thinking that this meeting in Ireland has been deferred so long. It seems but so few years since among the hosts of the Institute might have been some of the greatest of Irish scholars and archæologists—now, alas! but great names. There is perhaps the cheering side that our meeting now is in the day of popular archæology for everybody, when for one profound archæologist of the past day, there are now ten unprofound but interested followers of archæology as a popular diversion. Our oak trees seem to have fallen,

¹ Read in Dublin, July 18th, 1900.

and our aftergrowth of the woods is not quite the same. Among those whom it has been my privilege to know in forty years, this room suggests the memory of such as these:—

WILDE.—Sir William Wilde, an Irishman of Irishmen, who first gave to Irish archaeology a breath of popular life; scientist and scholar; the accurate exponent and cataloguer of our Collection of Irish Antiquities; but, with a noble savagery of his Irish origin, happiest as the open-air archæologist, among the mountains and glens, and by the rivers and lakes of his, to him, incomparable native land, with its folk-lore, chronicles, and memories.

FERGUSON.—Sir Samuel Ferguson, surely the poet of Irish archæology *par excellence*; whose *Lays of the Western Gael*, *Congal*, and the *Book of Howth* have charmed many romantic souls into the paths of archæology; yet who, as the editor of the *Leabhar Breac* and writer on Ogham inscriptions, and as the methodical Deputy Keeper of Irish records, was no less the sane and accurate student.

REEVES (better known in best years of a long, laborious life as Dean Reeves), sometime Bishop, first of Irish scholars and ecclesiastical historians, kindest and most courteous of great men, is a familiar and handsome presence missed in this chamber.

STOKES.—George Stokes, D.D., the historian of the Celtic and Anglo-Norman Churches, who breathed life into the dry bones of Irish ecclesiastical history, and made it fascinating as a subject to ordinary Irish people—lately gone.

GILBERT.—Sir John Gilbert, historian and profound scholar, first of editors of Irish records, who made this city of Dublin that you are visiting an open book, and a fascinating one too, in his history of its highways and byways, who contributed more to the true history of Ireland in a long and laborious life than any other writer. This is a figure whose presence and genial companionship is but lately missed. We have not the survival or replacement of Irish scholars of their day and class to present to you—visitors—a learned address upon Irish archæology. So it falls to the ordinary “man of the street” (yet one who knows and loves his streets) to tell visitors something

of what Dublin can show to the roving archæologist. It may be a little better than the guide-book of commerce, for never was any decent old city with a history so ill provided with decent handbooks of fairly accurate or reliable information.

And now for the paradox of the occasion, for I am addressing you as archæologists pure and consistent. You have not come to visit an Irish city at all! You are not now even in the city of Dublin or very near it! As archæologists you must shut your eyes to much that is present, and see visions. This map on the wall presents the main part of what is to the modern man Dublin, but this little red patch is but the Dublin *intra muros* which a rightly minded archæologist should condescend to recognise.

As for your present location, you are far away from the City—in its eastern suburbs. You are in pleasant green fields known by the name of the “Mynchens’ Mantle” (a pretty name, Mynchyn, I believe for nuns of doubtful age and antecedents). There is a village of “Le Hogges” lying between you and Dublin with an archæological history of its own. Walk straight down this street, now called Dawson Street (if you open your eyes for a minute), and but a bow-shot from this place you are barred in your northern course by the south wall of the dissolved monastery of All Hallows. You are in Patrick’s Well Lane—*Venella quæ ad fontem S. Patricii ducit*. I presume you do not look for anything newer than 300 years ago and forbear to read the signboard with “Nassau Street” overhead. You are standing over a sacred well of St. Patrick. It is the veritable one, according to Gilbert’s excellent authority, and it is there still and can be entered and venerated from the provost’s garden. For the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of the College and University of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, founded by Queen Elizabeth near Dublin, have taken the place of the prior and monks of All Saints’ Irish Priory, which an Irish king, Dermot Mac Morough, founded in 1162. This is a *civitas* within itself, and an Irish one. Dublin you have ostensibly come to visit. It is a town of foreigners and lies within its own walls away to the west. All Hallows you may revisit when you have exhausted interest in

Dublin City proper. It has no inconsiderable store of archæologic interest of its own, although no trace of the monastery is now on view.

The Dublin which you are on the way to visit is as absolutely un-Irish in its history and associations for the archæologist as if it were in another land. The archæologist is to look for nothing in it that is Celtic and no Irish hand or influence in its architecture. You must go beyond the Irish Pale to study any of the interesting characteristic architecture of the mere Irish school. Within the colonists' city of Dublin there is none, for no native had footing in the exclusive fortress of the foreign invaders—first Dane, then Anglo-Norman—who held him at bay without the walls through some centuries of history.

Somewhere about 850 A.D.—allowing a discount of 400 years or so to Irish chroniclers—it may have been when the now interesting marauders, white “Gaels” or black, Vikings, Northmen, Ostmen, makers of history in these islands, ran their long galleys into the Liffey estuary, and made a footing on Irish shore. It was in a time when, in the wide Delta of the river, spring tides would have rippled up to the walls of the chapel of All Hallows, where the modern belfry of Trinity College stands on the site of the old one. But a few months ago I uncovered the old river margin in the college and its landing stage for boats. The Northmen liked such low estuaries in England, Ireland, and Scotland, where they could run in and beach their sea-going galleys, and here, according to custom, they did so, and set up the “Great Steyne,” a standing pillar-stone which gave its name in like way to Steyn in Scotland, Staines at Windsor, and probably Brighthelmstone or familiar Brighton. This our record of the Danes was standing within the century and probably now lies buried under the raised street at Crampton's monument in College Street. The meadows of the Steyne and Hoggen Green, now known as modern College Green, and Dame Street, lying outside the fortified entrenchment of the city, the Danes held through their occupation of 300 years at least, for their law-giving, warlike games and recreation and burial purposes. The Dun of Dublin, a crest or ridge of strategic capability, now crowned by the ancient city cathedral which we shall visit to-morrow, they made their

circumvallated fortress. It had an Irish name, tradition said, of *Druim-Coll-Choil*, the "Wood of the Ridge of the Hazels." Henceforth in foreign Danish or Anglo-Norman holding it was to know no Celtic name for twelve centuries. Yet in this year of 1900 barrow-loads of hazel-nuts, thrown up from the peat that crowns the Dun, attest the tenacity of name tradition.

This is to be remembered in understanding ancient Dublin—that it gives up its own internal evidence that it had no existence as a city, Ptolemy and the Dublin guide-books to the contrary notwithstanding, until the Danish pirates made it their *piéd-à-terre* and held it grimly against the natives until 1014. In that year a famous battle, fought with an Irish coalition under King Boroinbe at Clontarf, weakened their hold on Dublin, but did not dislodge them. A certain amount of fusion, that resulted through intermarriages with daughters of native race, softened animosities; a certain fashion of a sort of Christianity, that reached them from their relatives of Scandinavia, spoiled their fine qualities for murdering, pillaging, and annexing Irish Church treasures as matter of business. In 1038 Sigtryg Silkbeard, the Danish King of Dublin, with Donatus, his Danish bishop, actually founded a Christian church. He called it a CHRISTCHURCH, *i.e.* a head church or cathedral, and so left us one more Scandinavian word among the dozen or so we can quote in Ireland among proper names and place nomenclature. You can walk to-morrow in the crypt surviving of Sigtryg's church. I know of no other Danish church yet to be pointed to in the many foothold settlements all over the British Islands of these strange people who left so little written record of their occupation. I can, however, warn from the example of Dublin that there is much interesting unworked archæology for the English and Scottish archæologist in Danish ecclesiastical foundations. For instance, he who would take Christchurch, Hampshire, in hand would throw a new and interesting light on its history.

It seems to some archæologists of Dublin that one who would take up fresh study of another Christchurch of the Holy Trinity, *nomine vocatam* Canterbury Cathedral,

might, in the light of Irish discovery, find some unwritten records analogous to our Dublin ones, and an unsuspected connexion with Danish England beyond the mere occupancy of the see by Odo "the Severe," a Dane by birth, A.D. 942-959.

At Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick we have still the separate Danish communities within their own walls surviving after Clontarf battle in 1014 until the Anglo-Norman invasion of 1169; somewhat mixed in matter of marriages, and Christians of their own fashion, but with neither part nor lot with the ancient Celtic Church of the country. They elected their bishops by lay vote and sent to Canterbury for orders or consecration. Armagh, primatial see of Ireland, and native orders they treated with scorn, and held themselves free, as in the good old free times, to burn it or pillage it of its pious relics if so minded.

Some elementary sketch of the history of Dublin is necessary to be taken in before intelligently understanding its archæology, and especially that of its chief monuments, the cathedrals.

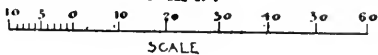
The history of present Ireland starts, according to chronicle, at 1169. It is unnecessary to fix it at an arbitrary date, or be concerned with the petty faction fights and tribal incidents of an inglorious warfare earlier. The wave of settlement of the dominant and masterful people of Anglo-Norman ascendancy on the neighbouring island of Ireland, was as inevitable as fate. It was but the destiny at its birth of an imperial race—yet to overflow many lands in seven centuries to follow—to pass over a narrow sea to master a ruder, divided people. Their history of petty skirmishes, much dwelt on by local chronicles, are not, as history, now worth time to read about. They shrink, to be but trivial incidents in the march of historic event. I do not recommend to the exhaustive study of any visitor the history of the invasion of Ireland; yet in making intelligible what Dublin has for the archæologist, it is absolutely necessary for him to take in some incidents of the English settlement in it.

For instance, I have to face the inevitable query, "Why has Dublin two cathedrals?" It is not a conun-

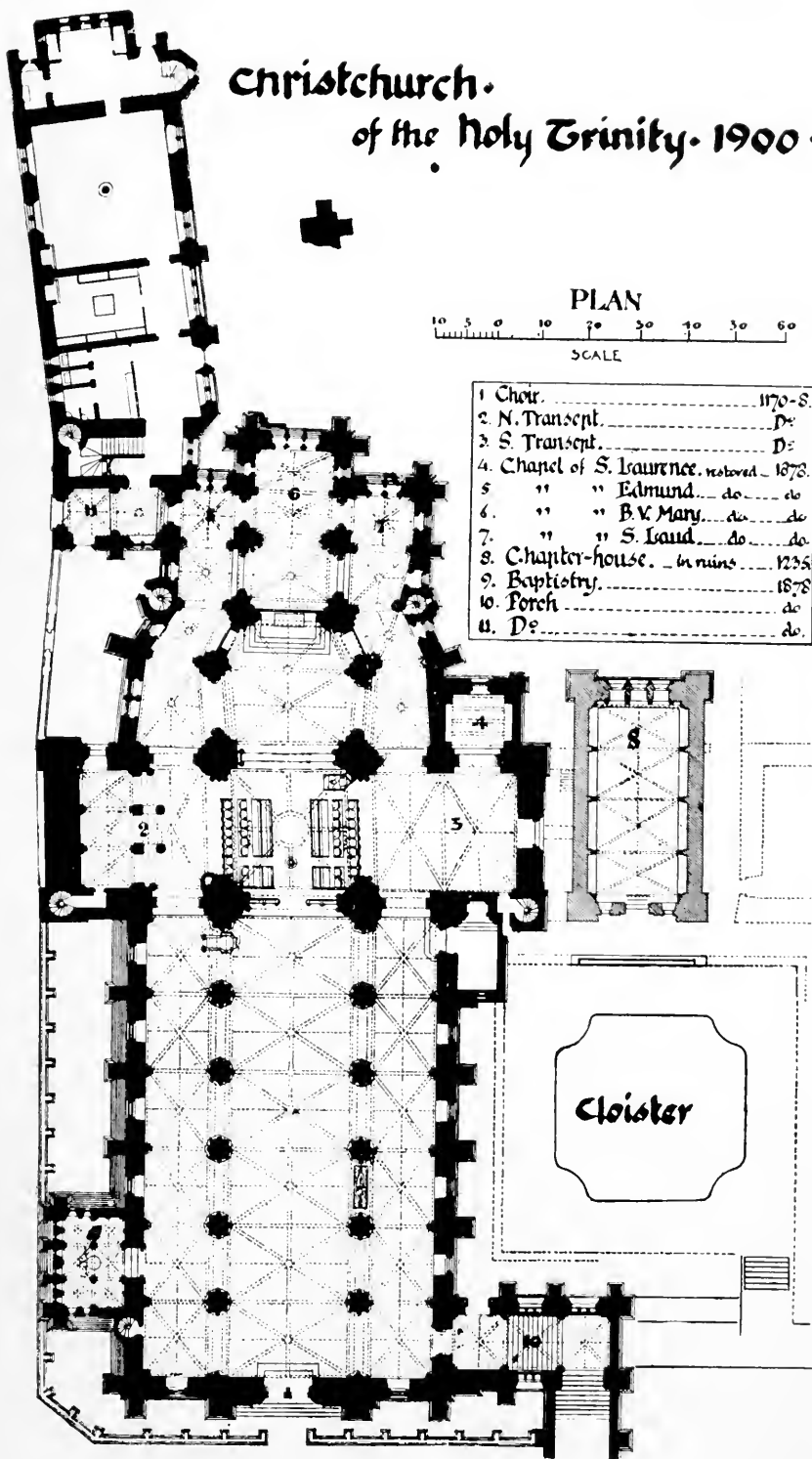
Christchurch. of the Holy Trinity. 1900.



PLAN



1. Choir.....	1170-S.
2. N. Transsept.....	Do.
3. S. Transsept.....	Do.
4. Chapel of S. Lawrence, restored.....	1878.
5. " " Edmund.....	do do
6. " " B.V. Mary.....	do do
7. " " S. Laud.....	do do
8. Chapter-house.....	in ruins 1235
9. Baptistry.....	1878
10. Porch.....	do
11. Do.....	do.



drum—I could bear with that kind of thing; but it is a question which becomes a terror when scores of times put, sprung on one as congenial conversation by a next-door neighbour at dinner, and by the tourist or mere tripper as one passes through either cathedral. Therefore will I be borne with if I anticipate the querist by giving so much history of the Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland as accounts for two cathedral churches of one communion standing side by side, for the most part each of contemporaneous English style, both by the hands of English builders, and of materials sea-borne from the same English quarries.

No warrior, no Churchman, no battle-field struggle, could have diverted the destiny of Ireland, but the personality of some engaged in history-making, and leaving record in the architectural monuments which the archæologist studies, cannot be ignored. Therefore shall I inflict on you such sketch of history as is bound up with its chief monument and standing witness, the old City and Diocesan Cathedral. It will deal with the personalities of “Strongbow,” first and principal invader, of his sister Basilea, the wife of Raymond-le-Gros, and of Laurence O’Toole, their ally, the Hiberno-Danish Bishop of Dublin, who received the invaders in friendship and joined with them.

Strongbow and his *entourage*, militant and cleric, arriving in Dublin, found themselves in the midst of a community somewhat self-contained and barbarous too, in a diocese which was coincident merely with the Danish “Kingdom of Dublin,” that is, its little city and few outpost seaports in the present county of Dublin, such as Dalkey, Howth, etc. It found a Church, somewhat barbarous and unlearned, isolated from that native Celtic Church which had still traditions of ancient learning, of noble seminaries, and a certain simple and apostolic flavour. In the Danish “Churchman” it needed but to scratch him skin deep to find the pagan with much of his Norse superstition abiding underneath. There stood out, however, one remarkable man and figure among them, yet not of them, *Laurence O’Toole*, Bishop of the Hiberno-Danes of Dublin.

Laurence was no Dane but an Irishman of gentle

birth and educated at one of the famous Irish seminaries still surviving, of fine presence, one who had travelled, and was known in Rome as a distinguished man, and at Dublin as the friend of the poor, of simple and austere life, a firm ruler in his diocese and chapter, "a holy man," says his biographer, "reverent and religious, a lover of honesty, zealous." Laurence had, five years before the coming of the English, shown his impatience of his barbarous surroundings and undisciplined and unlearned clergy, who knew not even the tongue in which they were supposed to say their offices in their rude church. At one stroke he had superseded the old Danish community of seculars and brought from Flanders a community of Arroasian canons, as we can now see, to reform the administration of the service of the church. From his life we learn that "he first caused men and boys in his cathedral at Dublin to stand in order about the altar and lend to their service decorum, and to their voices harmonies." So we can date at 1165 the introduction of a choral worship which has been maintained by unbroken devolution, if in varying form, in the church of Laurence for seven hundred years. Laurence joined hands with the gentlemen immigrants, more in sympathy with him than his rude people; and soon, zealous Churchman that he was, influenced them to mark their possession of the land by founding for him a nobler church such as he had seen in other lands. Strongbow, FitzStephen, and Raymond-le-Gros are by the record the co-founders with Laurence, now first Archbishop of Dublin. The sidelights of history constrain me to believe that there was a lady in the case, and that it was to the sympathy of the remarkable sister of Strongbow we owe particularly our Anglo-Norman church. Husband, brother, and all relatives were hard-pressed warriors fighting for existence at Waterford or Limerick, and with no time for planning churches. At Dublin was the clever and spirited lady in charge. There was also at Dublin the handsome young bishop (for he was not yet forty), accomplished in church architecture and music, and saintly in his life withal. The conjectural story is as old as the church—the pious and devoted female, the charming and wor-

shipped cleric, and they two running together a "church improvement fund." It was, I have no doubt (for there is no other female to which it could be assigned), the effigy of Basilea, the noblest "Sister of the Congregation of the Holy Trinity," which was found in the place of honour in the chapter-house in 1886, and now lies near the (so alleged by tradition) heart of St. Laurence suspended in a casket in the chapel of St. Laud at Christchurch.

I am almost tempted to digress to tell a story characteristic of the ability and courage of this lady, who has undeservedly dropped out of history—but forbear.

Laurence, who was in touch with Rome, and knew Italy and the church building of the Comacine Brotherhood beyond Ireland, brought a foreign architect to Ireland. He knew where to find him—a Comacine master of Parma, and then in the province of Asturias of Spain, with which there was familiar Irish intercourse of trading.

It may be asked where this record is found. English archæologists know how rare is the record in England of the architect or master-builder of any cathedral. It was the custom of the haughty Norman Churchman to ignore him and take the honour and glory of building. In Italy and Spain it was otherwise. The honoured magister, *maestro*, *Lombardo*, was recorded in his buildings and the archives.

In the last few months Dublin Cathedral has given up the name of its Italo-Spanish architect, one John. An inscription, long misunderstood and long preserved and traditionally honoured, has given up its meaning to modern students of Norman-French. It runs thus :—

John, the master-builder of the Brotherhood of Parma, and Dame Ramez Perez of St. Salvador of Asturias.

Another hand has added :—

His wife and all his family, who died in this land, lie here.

It is to this masterly John that we may ascribe the remarkable and unique plan of Christchurch. It was not to eliminate the ancient church, but to overbuild (*superadificare*), that he laid his mind. He pulled down

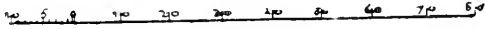
its rude arched and stone-covered roofs, leaving its intact ground plan as seen in the present crypt. On this, pier over pier, and following the substructure as he found it, he designed the remarkable plan of a superstructure which presents itself to us. It is a curious plan. It is neither consistently square-ended nor apsidally ended. There is said to have been once such a quaint plan of a church at Pershore, in Worcestershire. It is not there now at all events, and no church-plan in all the kingdom resembles that of the Dublin Christchurch.

A fair remnant of the work of Laurence and his Comacine architect survives in the transepts and part of the sanctuary of the Christchurch. It gives up a history, too, of the Somerset school of masons, who were its builders.

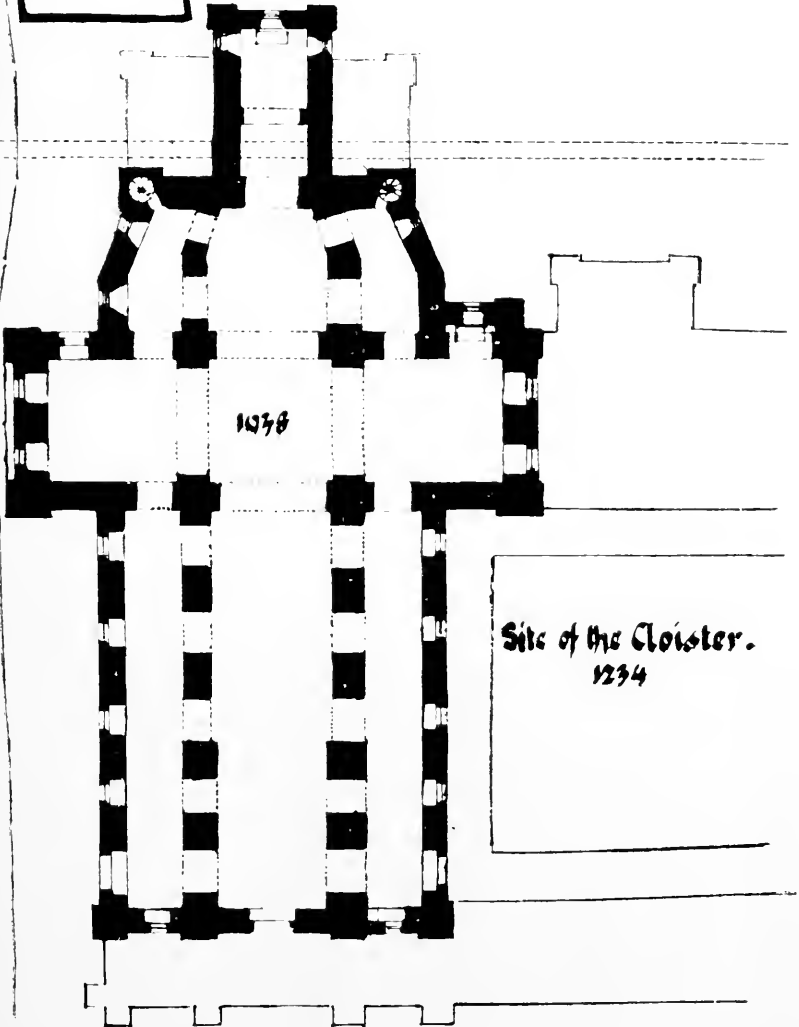
Strongbow died (it was of a bad foot), and was buried in the lines of the yet unbuilt nave—in *conspectu crucis*—and so lies until this day. Laurence was summoned to Rome, and going or returning falls sick and dies at Eu or Auge, in Normandy, where a grand church dedicated to his saintship still recalls him. *Reliquie* of his poor body he desired to be transferred to that church of his affections in his native land. Building at Christchurch stood suspended. Comyn, a haughty Anglo-Norman prelate, and successor of Laurence, coming into strange Ireland, did not take kindly to his metropolitan church and its independent and easy-lived clergy. It is evident enough, without special record, his motive in conceiving a new and grand church—a collegiate church without the walls of Dublin—destined to be a cathedral church, and on the lines of Salisbury and Wells. He adopted an ancient church of St. Patrick de Insula, lying in the low valley outside the walls, as its nucleus. He apportioned and mapped the manse of his coming dignitaries, but Comyn did not (don't believe Dublin guide-books) build any part of St. Patrick's in 1190. The building is its own record that its beautiful geometrical plan and all its details are later than Comyn by from thirty to sixty years. We recognise then the strange coincidence that one Archbishop Luke, succeeding in 1220-30, was favouring building both at St. Patrick's *extra muros* and the more ancient city church *intra muros* of contem-

The Christchurch of Sitric. founded 1038... the Crypt in 1900.

Chapel of
S. Nicholas
1038



SCALE.



poraneous Early English style, but by the hands of utterly different schools of mason-builders.

The nave of Christchurch is dated for us, and witnessed by a western arch existing on the north side. On the 25th of September, 1234, the King granted to his good men of Bristol in Dublin, license to close an ancient street passing the west end of the Church of the Holy Trinity *ad elongandam ecclesiam*. The arch tells its own history—how the completion of the nave had stood still for a time until this leave was obtained to extend the church by another bay beyond the lines of Sitric's church, and how when this western bay to complete was taken in hand it was not by those who had done the previous work. It is ruder in moulding, and has no sculpture. The band of masons from Somerset who had done the rest of the work had probably passed to their native country.

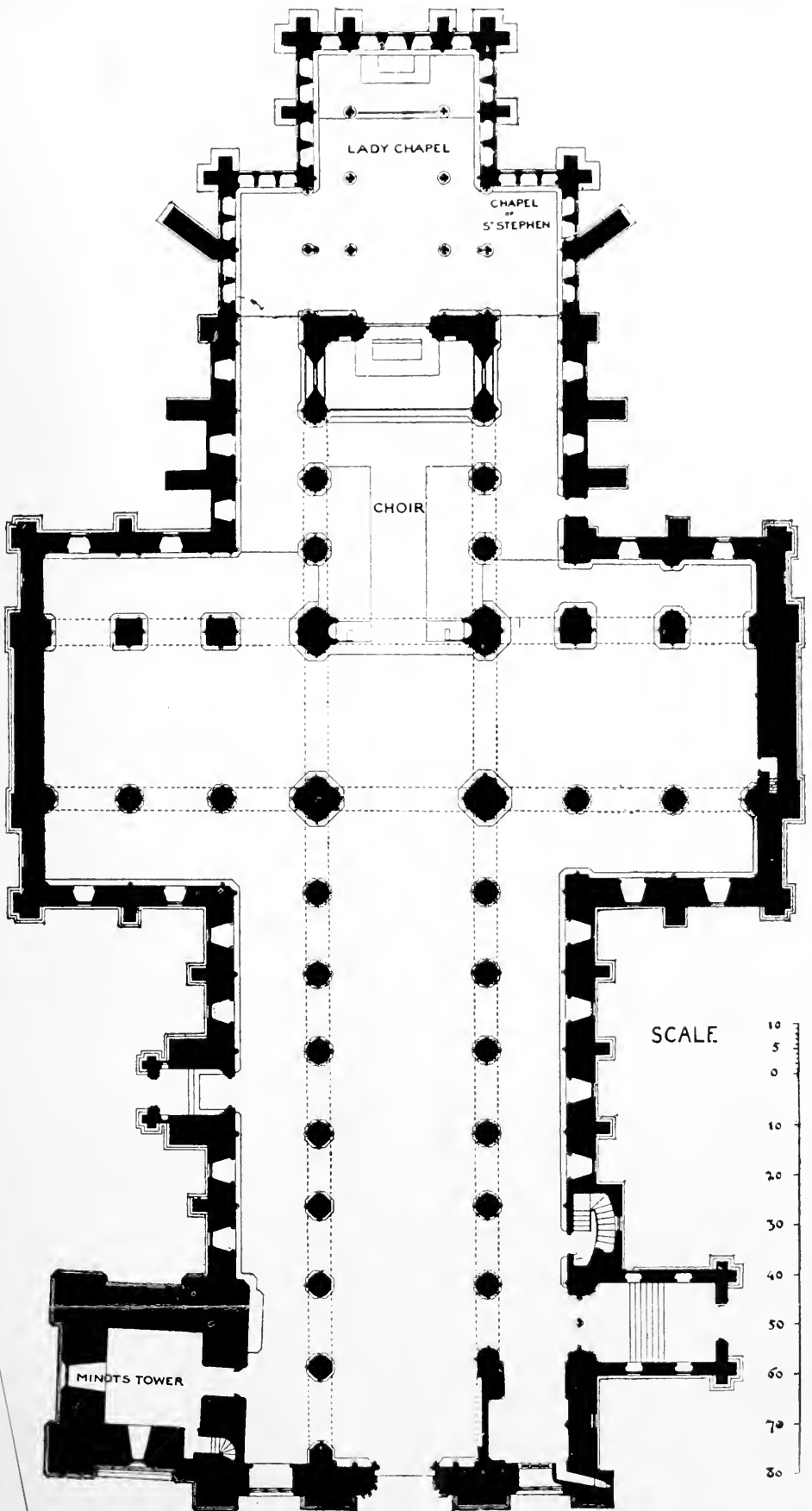
It is to be noted of the church of the Anglo-Norman garrison in Dublin that it was not only of English workmanship, but of English materials, water-borne, and landed within the lines of the fortress. The wrought stone was an oolite from Somerset. The nook-shafts of windows and doors were composed of little columns of Purbeck marble uniformly $16\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, imported in quantities, and adapted by introduction of annulets of stone, which are characteristic. Tiles, slates, the very lime used, seem to have been imported by a beleaguered people who could not obtain materials outside their walls.

Beyond study of its architecture, Christchurch has for the archæologist a wealth of MSS. Its White and Black Books contain a vast amount of interesting, and for the most part unpublished, knowledge, and are the authority for nearly all that is recorded of ancient Dublin City. Its Chapter Acts exist from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Book of the Obits (deposited in Trinity College) is a remarkable record of the life of a curious and unique community, while its vast possessions of leases, papal bulls, miscellaneous records passing back to Sitric's Danish grants of 1038, to the number of 2,040, have been not long since transferred to the Record Office. Of fine plate, chiefly of early eighteenth century sort, it has good store for the hall-mark enthusiast. For the musical archæologist it has a well kept library of

English cathedral music of the last century, some rare, or only now found here, in MSS. It is an epitome in illustrations of Dublin history ; of its Danish origin, its Anglo-Norman possession ; of the Protestant Reformation in Ireland under Elizabeth ; of the rule of Queen Mary, of Oliver Cromwell, of James II., and the Revolution ; of the Huguenot immigration after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which brought, it may be said, the arts, and chief industries, and commercial enterprise into Ireland.

All Christchurch has for the archæologist is mainly unworked ground for study, and its records, yet to be published. During centuries of neglect its architecture was obscured and buried, it may be said, awaiting a resurrection to the light of day in 1886. Its treasures of record were but known by the sparse quotations of one writer, Ware, in the seventeenth century, and undisturbed by scholars since. What it can present of interest is now all accessible, and has the charm for the true enthusiast in archæology that it is fresh in the finding.

Passing to St. Patrick's, without the walls, the interest in it lies chiefly in tracing the noble conception or a cathedral establishment conceived by its founder, Comyn, never to be realised. The church plan as carried on by his successor is perfect, and is itself a beautiful study of a symmetrical plan and exquisite proportions, and remarkable as the outcome of design in a mathematical exercise. The entire plan and internal divisions of bays and elevation are apploited on a rigid system of lines of equilateral triangles of like area throughout. Through more than six centuries its design was obscured and inappreciable. Poverty and vicissitude had left it unfinished. Its south transept was walled off as a chapter-house, its north transept, in like separation, assigned to the parishioners of St. Nicholas Without, its Lady-chapel alienated and subsequently assigned as a built-off church to the Huguenot settlers for a French church. It was not until 1864 that, by the discrimination of an eminent citizen of Dublin, the interpolated walls and obstructions were removed, and it first dawned upon Dublin's citizens what a noble and symmetrical great church it was their fortune to possess. In



fact, it may be said that it is not half appreciated yet, and a casual belief exists in Dublin that it is a church of many restorations and effacements. It is an undertaking for the genuine archæologist to demonstrate to Dublin citizens themselves how much of ancient worth survives, especially in its crossing, choir, and stone-roofed aisles, and in Minot's noble tower of 1380, a feature which, in another city, would be famed and written of as an historic monument, while among the Dublin natives it scarcely commands a passing interest or any pride.

St. Patrick's Liberty was designed as a separate and fortified city within itself. It had flanking towers and walls, independent charters and immunities and jurisdictions. In fact, Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, so late as the middle of this century, paramount within the liberties of St. Patrick and St. Sepulchre, might, if he were so minded, have hanged offenders.

The laying out of the grand scheme is traceable now for the archæologist on ancient maps. The manses of the dignitaries, canons, and petty canons were all assigned, and, indeed, built, it would appear, but it was a failure. The clerical system was not strong enough to man its battlements against the aggressive Irish enemy. It is recorded in *The Well of St. Patrick and its Quest*, which I have written for local interest, and read extracts from here.

Passing from the two mediæval cathedrals, I would but mention for the visitor that one other mediæval church of which remains survive, St. Audoen's, within the city walls, is worthy of some interest. He may also remark in the parish names that, within the walls, such as St. Audoen, or Owen, St. Werburgh, St. Michael and St. John, St. Andrew, and Mary-le-dam indicate English fashion and connection. Without the walls, St. Patrick, St. Bride, or Bridget, St. Kevin, etc., indicate Irish sympathies. In the suburbs the names of St. Michan, of Oxmantown, *i.e.* Ostmantown on the north of the Liffey, St. Mary Ostmanby, and on the south St. Andrew Thingmote, are associative with Danish Dublin.

CONCLUSION.

For Dublin as happy hunting-ground and excursion for the archaeologist I have no more to say, for is it not written, of its attraction for the foreigner even in Danish times—

Why should we hurry home?
For my heart is at Dublin,
And this autumn I will not visit
The matrons of Drontheim.

I am happy that a young woman
Does not forbid my addresses,
For there is an Irish girl
That I love better than myself.

Such is the Saga of Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, who, in 1102, visited Dublin. One of his commanders counsels him to break through the Irish who barred the way and go home to his native Norway, but Magnus demurs. Dublin was good enough for him. The natives, and especially the female sort, were taking, and good company, and hospitable. May our trippers of 800 years later find us so, linger with us, and come again.

MISCELLANEA HERALDICA.

By J. LEWIS ANDRÉ, F.S.A.

Before offering some remarks on heraldry to the members of our Institute, it is only right to say that I make no claim to the learning of a herald, and only propose to place before my hearers some miscellaneous illustrations of the science, and these chiefly artistic, poetic, and legendary.

At the present day heraldry has lost so much of its importance in the eyes of the multitude that it is difficult to realise the very great influence it possessed from the beginning of the fourteenth century until the close of the sixteenth. During that period the possession of the right to a coat of arms was cherished by the owner with the same care as that bestowed by him on his civil rights and worldly possessions. So deeply valued was this privilege of bearing arms that those who were unable to obtain it resorted to various devices to compensate for their want of it, and in place of family arms used those of the guilds with which they happened to be associated, rather than appear to be destitute of coat armour. This, no doubt, is trite to all of us, but is mentioned here to show how greatly valued was even the semblance of a right to bear arms in mediæval days.

Much as heraldry was valued in England, abroad it seems to have been still more esteemed, and the quaint old traveller Coryat relates, in his *Crudities*, that when he visited Padua in 1608, he found at the Star Inn there "a great company of noblemen's arms wherewith the room was hanged" in which he "dined and supped, no less than fifty-five armes of Earles, Barons, Counts, and worthy gentlemen of sundry Nations and Provinces. The like," he continues, "I noticed in Venice also. For it is much used in Italy to garnish their houses with the arms of great men. But much more in Germany. For there not only the inside of their houses is adorned with them,

but also the outside, especially in Inns which have the walls of their courts hanged about with arms."¹

In England, the shield, even when it bore no emblem or armorial charge, became a favourite ornament on buildings in the fifteenth century, a remarkable example of which is furnished by the west front of the tower of Hickling Church in Norfolk, where there are no less than forty-one plain scutcheons on the two lower stories only, and it may be noted here that in East Anglia we find shields frequently introduced in the tracery of the windows of the ringing chambers of the church belfries,

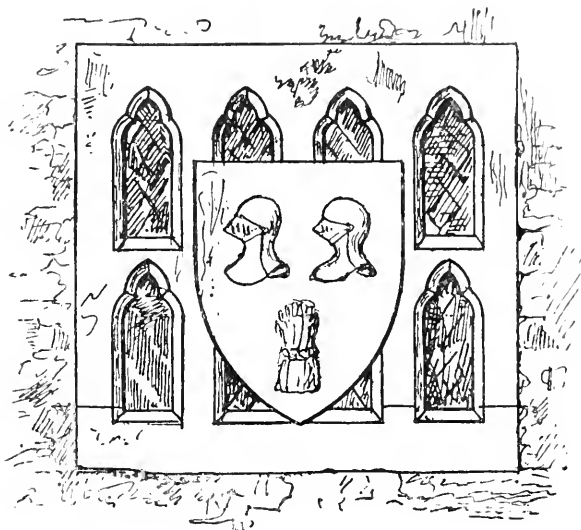


FIG. 1.

as at Carlton Colville, North Walsham, and West Winch (Fig. 1).

As regards tinctures in heraldry, it seems somewhat remarkable that green was so seldom used, as it was a colour much esteemed in the middle ages, and as Mr. Turner observes in his work on *Domestic Architecture* was the favourite tint in all the decorations executed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries both in England and France,² a predilection which continued after that period, and of which examples may be noticed in the

¹ Coryat's *Crudities*, I, 189, ed. 1776.

² *Domestic Architecture*, I, 87n.

screens of Norfolk churches, the panels of which are almost invariably painted alternately red and green, whilst I know of only one instance in which red is alternated with another colour, namely, at Gillingham, where the red alternates with blue.

It appears that some objects were popular as charges in arms but little used as crests, as, for example, the cross. On the other hand, the ostrich is often met with as a crest, or supporter, but seldom as a charge; whilst the woodhouse was extensively employed as a supporter, or crest, but rarely as a charge.

Of the Royal Arms of England it has been said that Richard II. impaled them with those made for St. Edward, because the Confessor was his patron saint, but it may have been that Richard joined them to the national standard, as those of the champion saint of England, not yet quite supplanted by St. George. Two excellent examples of these combined coats may be seen on the brasses of Archbishop Robert de Waldeby, 1397, at Westminster Abbey, and of Richard's standard-bearer, Sir Simon Felbrigg, 1416, at Felbrigg, Norfolk.

Shakespeare alludes to the Royal Arms in his play of *Henry VI.*, where a messenger reporting our losses in France says—

“Cropp'd are the fleurs-de-lieces in your arms,
Of England's coat one half is cut away.”¹

And again in the same play Talbot exclaims—

“Hark, countrymen! either renew the fight,
Or tear the lions out of England's coat.”²

But the fleur-de-lis continued in the national arms until 1800, when the following notice appeared in a magazine of that date—

“A complete alteration has taken place in the arms of Great Britain. The *fleurs de luce* were yesterday (November 7th) struck out and a new great seal ordered, which will not, however, be used till January. We understand that by an act of Council the title of King of France is no longer to be inserted in the customary papers and documents.”³

¹ *Henry VI.*, Pt. 1, Act I, Sc. 1.

² *Ibid.*, Sc. 5.

³ *Lady's Magazine*, 1800, 622.

Among the beautiful encaustic tiles at Dale Abbey, Derbyshire, is one with a kind of interlacing fret, which cleverly epitomises the Royal Arms, the ends of the strap-work terminating in lions' heads alternating with fleur-de-lis.¹ Apart from the coat, the Lion of England destroying the Gallic Cock has been conspicuously sculptured over the portals of Blenheim House, in memory of the Duke of Marlborough's victories.²

The position of the French arms in the national coat has varied, sometimes being in the chief quarter, at others in the second, and I have a standard weight of Charles I. in which France modern has been relegated to the fourth quarter.

In England during the middle ages only bishops impaled the arms of their sees with their own, and later on with those of their wives also, but recently, so close has become the connection of other cathedral dignitaries with the sees of whose chapters they are members, that they do not hesitate to impale the arms of the diocese with which they are connected with their own coat armour. An instance of this may be seen at Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, where, on the monument of a former treasurer of Chichester Cathedral are his arms joined with those of the see and of his wife.

On the brass of Lambert von Brunn, Bishop of Bamberg from 1374 to 1399, of which an engraving is given in the ninth volume of our Journal, a large shield appears beneath a demi-figure of the bishop, and on it are quartered the arms of the four bishoprics with which he was connected, whilst an inescutcheon bears his paternal coat.

Many bishops took religious emblems for the charges on their arms, such as those of the Evangelists, the figures of the Magi, or the crowned initial of the Blessed Virgin. Cardinal Ximenes assumed the wounds of St. Francis as his own arms, and encircled them with the cord of the Franciscan Order of Friars.³

The arms of the Bishopric of Sodor and Man have an

¹ See engraving in *Reliquary*, V, N.S., Plate II.

² See *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," 311.

³ *Histoire du Card. Ximenes*, 526.

inescutcheon charged with those of the Isle of Man, or, as Weever says, "the armes or rather if you will the legges of the Isle of Man."¹ These singular arms are still borne by the family of MacLeod of Lewes, and they appear to embody a very ancient conceit, for F. Sanadan says of Sicily that, being of a triangular form, it is represented on an ancient coin as a woman with three legs.² A somewhat similar charge is given by Gwillim as being the arms of Tremaine of Devon, namely, three conjoined human arms (Fig. 2).

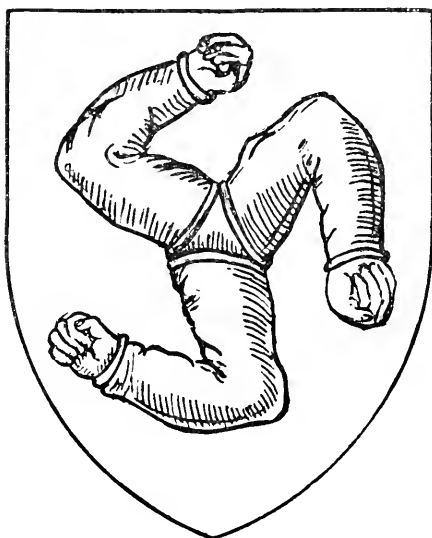


FIG. 2.

The arms of the new see of Newcastle, Australia, are those of Beaulieu Abbey, Hampshire, the first bishop of the new foundation having been incumbent of Beaulieu.³

Abbots and priors but rarely impaled the arms of their monasteries with those of their families, but an example is, however, furnished by a shield in painted glass engraved in the thirteenth volume of our *Journal*, and on which are depicted the arms of Walsingham Priory impaled with those of Prior Vowel.

On the brass of Thomas Aileward, Rector of Havant, Hants, 1413, the garbs on his arms are prettily introduced

¹ *Funerall Monuments*, 686.

² *Œuvres d'Horace*, VI, 245.

³ *Diocesan History of Winchester*, 97.

in the orphrey of the cope which his effigy is wearing, and the curious effigy of "Grofyn ap Davyd," *ca.* 1370, at Bettws-y-Coed, Carnarvonshire, has the arms of the deceased both on the jupon and on a small shield fixed in front of the sword-belt.

Of rampant lions we have enough and to spare in heraldry, native and foreign, but another savage beast, *the tiger*, is not so common. The arms of Lightwood, as given by Glover, are *ar.* a chevron *azure* between three tigers *vert*, beholding themselves backwards in a glass *or*, and he gives the armorial bearings of the Tatersall



FIG. 3.

family as being the same with different tinctures.¹ Gwillim engraves similar arms but with a single tiger, and states that he saw them at the church of Thame, in Oxfordshire (Fig. 3). Somewhat resembling the above arms was a sotylytie or device exhibited at the coronation feast of Katharine, Queen of Henry V., which conceit Fabyan tells us was "a tigre lokyng in a mirror and a mā syttyng on horse backe clen armed holdyng in his armys a tigre whelpe—and with his one hande makyng a countenance of throwyng of mirrours at

¹ See Glover's "Ordinary of Arms," printed in Berry, *Encyclopædia Heraldica*, Vol. I.

the great tigre."¹ This curious device of the tiger and mirror is explained by the following passage from John Swan's *Speculum Mundi* (p. 435), in which he describes the "Tigre and his properties." When the hunters would steal the tiger's whelps he says that "some times they make round spheres of glasse which they cast before her (*i.e.* the tigress) when she cometh, and thinking by reason of her own shadow that she seeth her young ones there, she rolleth it to her denne where she breaketh it with her claws, and finding herself deluded, runneth after the hunters again, by which time they are gone too far for her to find."

The brass of Nicholas Kniveton, 1494, at Mugginton, Derbyshire, bears his effigy with a helmet under the head, showing the crest of a tiger *regardant* a mirror (see engraving in *Archæological Journal*, XXXI, 382).

Planché observes of that fabulous animal the *unicorn* that it is "rarely met with as a coat of arms"²; but this, I think, is scarcely correct, and it is seen in those of Chapman, Cooke, Farrington, Head, Harling, Misterton, Shelley, Wombwell, and many others.

The *water bouget* is a charge supposed to have been derived from the East, and Maspero engraves an example of Egyptian pottery singularly like this device, it consisting of two conjoined but quite independent vessels.

Among singular charges, that of the *Man in the Moon* may be noticed as being reported the armorial bearing of John Presberger, of Euwelstadt, Bavaria, who lived in the seventeenth century.³ The Newtons of Beverley are said to have borne "a *Spectre* passant shrouded sable," whilst a *nude man*, with arms extended, was the sole charge in the arms of the Irish Earls of Carnworth. Those of Bromall are *argent*, three *Bacchus faces*, coupéd at the shoulders, and the crest another portrait of the jovial god—singular bearings should that family be a "temperance" one.⁴

¹ *Chronicles*, 587.

² *Pursuivant of Arms*, 99.

³ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd series, XIV, 24.

⁴ To bear arms reversed was a token of disgrace and contempt, as noticed by the poet Spenser, who says of the

vanquisher of Sansfoy that the shield of the latter

" . . . He beares renverst, the more to help disdayn."

Faerie Queene, Bk. I, Canto IV.

When in 1407 Pope Benedict XIII.

Mr. Grazebrook notes that even in the thirteenth century a lozenge-shaped shield seems to have been reserved for ladies,¹ but I confess I know of no examples



FIG. 4.

earlier than the fifteenth century, at which period one occurs in a MS. illumination showing Christine of Pisa

(Della Luna) excommunicated the King of France, Master Sansein and the messenger from the Pontiff, "who had brought the letter and bull of excommunication to the King, with mitres on their heads, and having surcoats emblazoned with the armes of Pietro della Luna reversed, were carried most disgracefully in a dung cart from the Louvre to the court of the Palace, and"

were set on a pillory (see Wright's *Archaeological Album*, 107).

In England the same treatment was awarded those considered traitors, and when in 1497 James, Lord Audley, was executed, he was, it is said, led from Newgate to Tower Hill in a paper coat, torn, and painted with his arms reversed, and there beheaded.

¹ quo, *Reliquary*, 1890, 255.

presenting her book to the Queen of France: also another is seen in a picture of Charlotte of Savoy, second wife of Louis XI. of France, where the arms of France modern are represented impaled with those of Savoy, both being dimidiated. In the next century examples

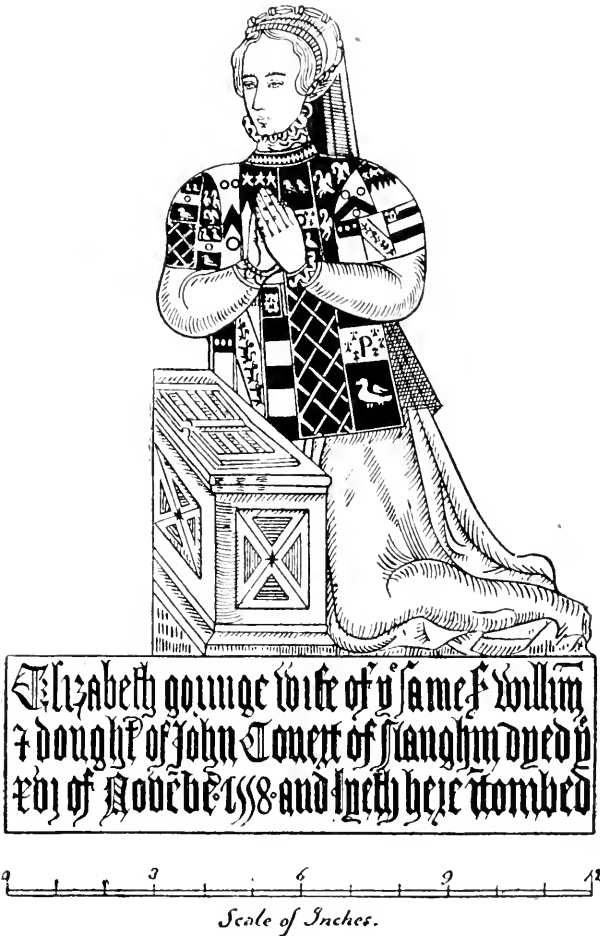


FIG. 5.

are common at its close. Two earlier in that epoch may be seen on the brasses of John Leigh, Esq., and Isabel, his wife, dated 1544, at Addington, Surrey, and on that of John Shelley and Mary, his wife, dated 1550, at Clapham, Sussex.

Whilst on the subject of the manner in which arms are borne by ladies, it may be noted that Francis Nichols, in his little work the *Irish Compendium or Rudiments of Honour*, published about 1745, gives little sketches illustrating the correct method of marshalling arms, headed as follows, "Batchelor, Maid, Marry'd, two wives, three wives," and so on up to "six wives," beyond which he does not carry us.

Ladies, we all know, had arms emblazoned on their gowns and mantles, and I am acquainted with only one existing example of an exception to this, and in which a lady is represented in a tabard of arms, though Weever, in his *Funerall Monuments*, engraves the effigies, he supposes, of Adrian d'Ewes and his wife from a window in the church of St. Michael Bassishaw, London, both figures wearing armorial tabards (Fig. 4). The example still left us is the brass of Lady Elizabeth Goring,¹ wife of Sir William Goring, and who died in 1558 (Fig. 5).

Camden remarks of arms that they "as silent names doe distinguish families," which in the early days of heraldry was probably true, but when the number of families entitled to bear arms increased, it became necessary that the names of the bearers should be written near their respective coats. At first the name was placed above the coat of arms, as on the brass of Cuthbert Blakedon, 1548, at Thames Ditton, but the modern practice of placing the owner's name under the coat occurs on the memorial of John Fuller, 1610, at Uckfield, Sussex. Initials and arms were often combined, and a very quaint example of this is engraved in Blomefield's *Norfolk*, I, 107. It remained in 1736 in the windows at Fersfield Church in that county, and showed, the author states, "a J and H joined for John Howard, with the bend and cross-crosslets of his coat; also an M with six scallops in it to signify Margaret Scales, his mother. These," he adds, "are memorials for Sir John Howard, knight"² (Fig. 6).

Beyond a few hatchments, we seldom find funeral achievements remaining in our churches, but the writer just quoted mentions that at Langford, Norfolk, there

¹ At Burton, Sussex.

² *History of Norfolk*, I, 107.

was, when he compiled his history, a monument to members of the Garrard family, which retained a "shield, mantle, torse, helmet, spurs, sword, and several banners."¹ In 1858 I noticed a tabard, helmet, and iron gauntlets hanging in the nave of Kingston Church, Kent. A hatchment was usually placed outside the house of a deceased person, even when not one of the nobility, and this practice continued down to the middle of the nineteenth century, but appears to have now almost died out. When the deceased was the last of his or her race, a skull was painted above the arms.

The *mitre*, which is used by bishops instead of a crest, seems in some cases to have been also employed instead of armorial bearings, as may be seen on the monument of Bishop Langton, *ca.* 1360, at Chichester Cathedral, where

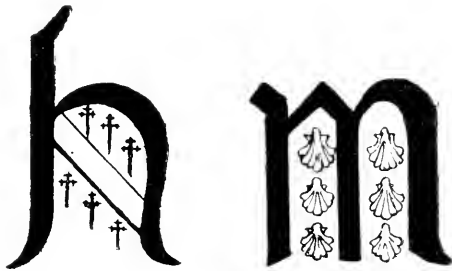


FIG. 6.

the six panels in front of the tomb are filled with mitres only and not the usual shields. The arms of Archbishop Parker, granted him in 1559, are surmounted by a mitre round which is inscribed *MUNDUS TRANSIT*, a very unusual addition, and one which may have been suggested by the mitre of the Jewish high priest, which, by divine direction, had inscribed on it *HOLINESS TO THE LORD*.

Prince-bishops, so common on the Continent, appear to have been unknown in England, with but one exception, that of the Bishops of Durham, who are both spiritual and temporal peers. As such, a ducal crown encircles the mitre over each episcopal coat of arms. Lord Crewe, when Bishop of Durham, was pictured in his episcopal

¹ *History of Norfolk*, VI, 24.

robes, and holding in his hand the coronet of a baron, as symbolical of his episcopal and temporal dignity.

From the commencement of the seventeenth century, the clergy in many cases have had crests placed over their arms, as may be seen on the brass of Isaiah Bures, 1610, vicar of Northolt, Middlesex, and on that of Radulphus Rand, 1648, Rector of Oxted, Surrey.

Crests, apart from the arms to which they belong, were sometimes used as decorations, as in a window near the tomb of Dr. Butts, 1583, at Thonage, Norfolk, which is plentifully powdered with his crest of a black wivern.

Gwillim observes of the ostrich that "some have doubted whether he should be reckoned a *beast* or a *jowle* in respect of some participation of both kindes."¹ But, whether bird or beast, the ostrich, or estridge, as it was anciently called, forms a rather favourite crest, and has often a horseshoe in its mouth, as in the crests of members of the Digby, Fagge, and Fraser families; at other times it holds a key, as in those of Baron Carysfort, or a spear-head, as in that of the Carique family. The reason why the ostrich holds one or other of these metallic objects is found in a statement of John Swan that she "is of such strong digestion that she will eat iron."²

Adam of St. Victor, in one of his sequences, compares St. John the Evangelist to the eagle gazing at the sun, and Shakespeare, alluding to the legend that the eagle soars with its eaglets towards the sun, and if any of them cannot bear its brightness, drops them as not being his true progeny, makes Richard, Duke of Gloucester, exclaim—

"Nay, if thou be that princely eagle's bird,
Show thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun."
Henry VI., Pt. III, Act II, Sc. 1.

And an eagle gazing at the sun forms the crest of the Monteiths, Culmes, and Seymours, also Monros of Scotland.

The *mermaid* is not often seen as an armorial bearing, but occurs in the arms of the family of Ellis of Lanca-

¹ *Display of Heraldrie*, 225.

² *Speculum Mundi*, 387. An ostrich holding an horseshoe forms the crest also of the families of Dewelles,

Edgar, Ferrers, Ketley, and Kentish; with a key in its mouth, of those of Echard and Hutton.

shire, but as a crest it is more frequent, being that of the Garneys of Suffolk, and may be noticed, cast in terracotta, over a monument outside Ringsfield Church in that county; the Pooles of Cheshire have the same crest, and it is on the brass of a Captain Richard Poole, 1632, at Old Shoreham, Sussex.

Besides her appearance in heraldry, the mermaid is often met with in the art and literature of the middle ages. Her reality was firmly believed in from early times almost to the present day. Beowulf, the Anglo-Saxon, speaks of—

“ The sea-wolf of the abyss,
The mighty sea-woman.”

And later on Swan, in his *Speculum Mundi*, after describing the wonders of the ocean, exclaims, “But above all, the mermaids and mermen seem to me the most strange fish in the waters,” and even Chambers, in his *Cyclopædia*, published in 1752, deals cautiously with this subject, saying that “however naturalists may doubt of the reality of mermen or mermaids, if we might believe particular writers, there seems testimony enough to establish it.”¹

The Blounts of Sodington have the peculiar crest of “an armed foot in the sun,” and the Blounts of Sussex “the sun in glory, charged in the centre with an eye issuing tears.”

Edmonson, in his *Body of Heraldry*, remarks that “there have been many who although they were neither ennobled, nor ever enjoyed any public office under the Crown, assumed and bore SUPPORTERS, which were continued to be used by their descendants until the extinction of the family; as, amongst others, the Haverings of Sussex; the Stawells of Somersetshire; Popham of Hants; Covert of Sussex; Savage of Cheshire.”²

Among supporters we find one which was used soon after their introduction, and which appears to have continued a favourite through many ages, namely, the

¹ *Encyclopædia*, II, article “Mermaid.” The merman sometimes figured in public pageants; thus in 1590, at the Lord Mayor’s Show of that year, there appeared a merman

ridden by a man who recited some doggerel verses, and made a speech in favour of fish as well as flesh days.

² *Body of Heraldry*, I, 191.

woodhouse, woodwyse, or wild man a figure common in the pageants and festivities of the middle ages, and one which appears to have been most popular. A notable instance, though a melancholy one, is furnished in the account by Froissart of the ballet performed by the French King, Charles VI., and four of his courtiers, who dressed as woodhouses, or savages, when, as is well known, in the midst of a wild dance their dresses took fire and all except the King were burnt alive. In our own land the woodhouse was also a favourite, and we read that on Twelfth Day, 1515, when Henry VIII. kept Christmas at Greenwich, amongst the shows performed before the King and Queen was one of a "rich mount" covered with golden damask and which was drawn before the royal spectators by four woodhouses.¹ In 1575, when Queen Elizabeth visited Kenilworth, she was suddenly met by a man habited like a savage, covered with ivy, and holding in one hand an oaken sapling torn up by the roots. This savage man recited a laudatory poem in honour of Her Majesty, and the same monarch, when she in a progress stayed at Cowdray House, in Sussex, in 1591, was again entertained by a wild man clad in ivy.

Curiously enough, the woodhouse was not only a popular feature in secular festivities, but was introduced into religious art and ceremonial, and at Aele and Ludham, in Norfolk, seated lions and woodhouses are grouped round the stems of the fonts, and in the latter example the savages are male and female. Perhaps, being associated with lions, these odd images may typify the strength given in baptism. In a niche over the entrance of the south porch at Potter Heigham, Norfolk, is now placed the mutilated statue of a woodhouse, and in a volume of the books of accounts still extant of the College of Mettingham, Suffolk, under date 1415-1416 is the entry, "Item. solut. eidem pro j wodwyse faciend', 40^d," the sum paid for this image to the sculptor, Thomas of Yarmouth.² Even in religious processions the woodhouse made his appearance, and as late as 1799 a writer

¹ See Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, 161. At the Lord Mayor's Show in 1553, Machyn tells us there were "ij grett wodyn with ij grett clubs all in grene and with skwybes borning . . .

with gret berds and syd here and ij targets a-pon ther bake" (*Diary of Henry Machyn*, p. 47).

² See *Archæological Journal*, VI, 64, 67.

in the *Sporting Magazine* of that year was able to describe a religious procession at Dunkirk, where he tells us there was a pageant of a large wood with men in it dressed in green, a green scaly skin drawn over their own, and their faces masked to appear as savages.

Spenser, in his *Faerie Queene*, describes woodhouses thus—

“But far inland a salvage nation dwelt,
Of hideous giaunts and hafte-beastly men,
That never tasted grace, nor goodness felt.”
Faerie Queen, Bk. II, Canto X.

And again—

“It was to weet a wilde and salvage man,
Yet was no man, but onely like in shape,
And eke in stature higher by a span,
All overgrown with haire. . . .
And in his hand a tall young oke he bore,
Whose knotte snags were sharpened all afore.”
Ibid., Bk. IV, Canto VII.

The woodhouse is not often met with as a charge in arms, but Glover gives three wild men with clubs and shields as the arms of Wood, it is the sole charge in the arms of Emyly, and as a crest it forms that of the Middleton family; but the chief use of the wild man in heraldry is as a supporter of arms, an early instance of which occurs in connection with those of Patrick de Dunbar, Earl of March, as seen on his seal appended to a document dated 1334.¹ Baron Woodhouse naturally had wild men for his supporters.

I have enlarged somewhat freely on the subject of the woodhouse because his importance in heraldry has been strangely overlooked in modern works on the subject, being entirely passed over by Berry, Boutell, and Planché, yet a glance over the pages of Burke's *Peerage* shows that forty-nine noble families have woodhouses for one or both of their supporters.

According to the French writer on heraldry, Menestrier, the use of *angels* as supporters was not a privilege of the Kings of France and royalty only, but was considered fit also for use by others in churches. “Thus,” he says, “one often sees that a family which has lions,

¹ Engraved and described in *Archæological Journal*, XXXVII, 200.

eagles, dragons, or savages for supporters has angels in churches."¹ If such a privilege obtained in England, royalty seems to have used it freely in association with their arms, an instance of which is seen on the screen connected with Henry V.'s Chapel at Westminster Abbey, which has in the spandrils of its arch two shields of the royal arms, each scutcheon upheld by four angels very beautifully grouped; another example occurs in Henry VII.'s Chapel, where a band or string under the inside of the windows is entirely composed of angels bearing the badges of that monarch (Fig. 7). In Sussex there are several monuments, about 1530 in date, which have armorial scutcheons supported by amorini, as at Petworth and Racton, and in the little chantry chapel of the



FIG. 7.

De La Warrs in Boxgrove Priory Church there are panels forming a cornice in which are shields upheld alternately by nude amorini, or fully vested mediæval angels.

Sir John Hobart Caradoc, Baron Howden, had *ibises* for his supporters, each holding a serpent in its beak, and of this bird Swan says, "This is a strong bird with a bill of great length, he doth exceeding much good in destroying serpents."²

Oliphant being the old name for *elephant*, we naturally find that the Barons Oliphant in Scotland had two elephants to support their arms and an elephant's head for a crest.

On the brass of Sir Hugh Halsham, dated 1441, at West Grinstead, Sussex, and on a few other examples, small banners of arms are inlaid, and perhaps the

¹ *Usage des Armoiries*, 1673, *quo. Archaeological Journal*, VIII, 99.

² *Speculum Mundi*, 387.

banners carried by the supporters of some arms may be a survival of this practice. An instance may be cited in the men in armour supporting the arms of Sir William Hamilton, who carry banners charged with his armorial bearings.

BADGES form most interesting objects in heraldry, and many families appear to have held them in equal honour with their armorial bearings, and who paraded them on all possible occasions, and decorated every object capable of being ornamented with them. Ben Jonson, in his well known ballad of the *Old and Young Courtier*, eulogises the old courtier's lady, who "kept twenty thrifty old fellows with blue coats and badges," and sometimes even sovereigns, and not only serving men, assumed the badge of a noble to do him honour. Thus Rous relates of Earl Beauchamp, who died in 1439, that "the Empresse of Almayne, taking the Erle's livery, a Bere, from a knight's shoulder, and for great love and favour setting hit on her shouldre"; and at Parham, Sussex, is a portrait of Queen Elizabeth, in which she appears in a gown embroidered with the ragged staff of Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

Shakespeare has many references to badges, some of which clearly indicate that his hearers must have had a fairly good knowledge of heraldry to perceive the drift of his allusions, as, for example, in this passage in *Richard II.*—

"See! see! King Richard doth himself appear,
As doth the blushing discontented sun,
From out the fiery portal of the east,
When he perceives the envious clouds are bent
To dim his glory."

Richard II., Act III, Sc. 3.

The monarch's badge of the sun emerging from a cloud being thus beautifully described. Again, how full of pathos is the following from *Henry VI.*, in which the King, gazing on one slain at Towton, soliloquises on the York and Lancaster badges—

"The red rose and the white are on his face,
The fated colours of our royal houses;
The one, his purple blood right well resembles,
The other, his pale cheeks, methinks, presents."

Henry VI., Pt. III, Act II, Sc. 5.

Lastly may be cited two allusions to the Yorkist badges, the first from the same play, when York exclaims—

“Then will I raise aloft the milk-white rose,
With whose sweet smell the air shall be perfumed.”

Henry VI. Pt. II, Act I, Sc. 1.

The other from *Richard III.*, the beginning of Gloster's well-known speech—

“Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by the sun of York.”

Some badges take forms of great antiquity. The Bouchier knot, for instance, is met with on a bas-relief of Roman work found at Resingham, Northumberland, and now preserved in the Library of Trinity College,

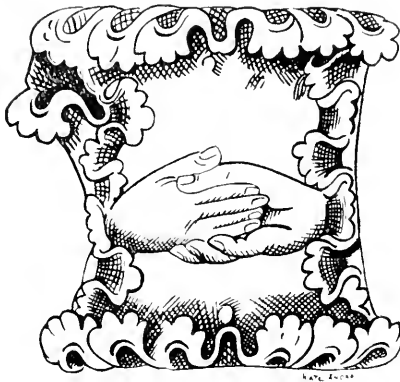


FIG. 8.

Cambridge. The device of the L'Estrange family (Fig. 8), the clasped hands, is also found in Roman times, being on a ring engraved in Jones's *Finger Ring Lore*.

Two Sussex knights, John de Pelham and Roger de La Warr, captured John, King of France, at Poitiers, and both received augmentations to their armorial bearings in consequence of their deed. Pelham being granted the device of a buckle, and La Warr that of a crampette, or the end of a scabbard. The Pelham family were extremely proud of their badge, the buckle, and displayed it wherever it was possible to do so. We find it on the walls of several East Sussex churches; at Chiddingly, Crowhurst, and Laughton it forms the ends of the labels over the tower doorways; and at Burwash

and Crowhurst it is ingeniously introduced into the window tracery, whilst it figured as a stained glass bordering in the window-ways, an example of which is preserved in the museum at Tufton Street, Westminster (Fig. 9). It was frequent on fire-backs and dogs, and the Pelhams marked their sheep with it. The La Warrs were not so profuse in the use of their crampette, but it is seen on tombs of the family at Broadwater. In monumental inscriptions, badges are often inserted between each word or sentence, an early example of which occurs on the beautiful brass of Alianore de Bohun,

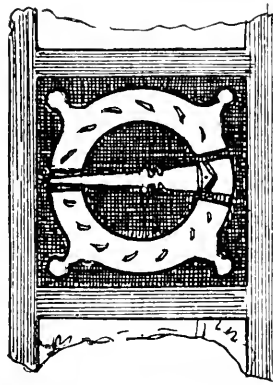


FIG. 9.

1399, in Westminster Abbey, and the celebrated badge of the bear and ragged staff is thus introduced on the monument of Earl Beauchamp at Warwick.¹ In St. Michael's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, the inscription on the mural monument of a Mrs. A. Kirton, dated 1603, is plentifully *guttée de larmes*, or besprinkled with tears.

Badges, however honourable they may have been originally, were subject to abuse, and as early as 1399, Knight tells us, an Act was passed to restrain the

¹ Shakespeare has allusions to this badge, and in *Henry VI.* makes Warwick exclaim—

“Clifford of Cumberland, 'tis Warwick calls,
And if thou dost not hide thee from the bear,
Now, when the angry trumpet sounds alarm.”

Henry VI., Pt. II, Act V, Sc. 2.

Warwick in the same drama also says—

“Now by my father's badge, old Nevill's crest,
The rampant bear, chain'd to the ragged staff.”

And York cries out—

“Call hither to the stake my two brave bears.”

i.e. Warwick and Salisbury.

reckless giving of badges to a host of vagabonds who generally did no service and received no pay, being only called upon in times of trouble and confusion to strengthen the turbulent lord whose badge they wore, and who on his side bound himself to protect them against the ordinary officers of the Crown or law, but this abuse lasted long after the passing of the Act, and we find traces of it as late as the time of Charles I.¹

The brothers and sisters in almshouses were often distinguished by badges, generally those of the founders, or their arms, but occasionally of the patron saints of the houses the almspeople belonged to. Sanctuary men also had their distinctive badges, and those at Westminster bore the crosskeys of St. Peter on their garments.

Badges were also used as tokens of infamy in the wearers, and were employed in this manner to distinguish the Jews from other people. Sometimes the badge worn by them was in the form of a wheel, red, yellow, or party-coloured, fixed upon the breast. In Germany and Italy a red cap was the mark of a Jew, but in the latter country the Israelites were compelled to change the colour from red to yellow owing to the following circumstance recorded by Evelyn in his *Diary* for 1645:—"The Jews," he says, "in Rome wore red hats till the Cardinal of Lyons, being shortsighted, lately saluted one of them, thinking him to be a Cardinal as he passed by his coach: on which an order was made that they should only use the yellow colour."²

In our own country, an Act of William III., 8th and 9th of his reign, cap. 30, required all persons receiving relief to wear a badge containing a large Roman P and the first letter of the parish from which they received relief.³

Some families were as proud of their MOTTOES as others were of their arms or badges. This was the case with the Percys, who were remarkably fond of their motto "*Esperance en Dieu*," even down to the commencement of the nineteenth century, and these simple words, with a very short inscription, form the sole memorial of Isabella Percy (wife of Algernon Percy), who died in

¹ Knight's *Pictorial History of England*, II, 6.

² *Diary*, I, 183, ed. Bray, 1854.

³ *Edinburgh Review*, 1841, 9.

1812, and lies in Westminster Abbey. Shakespeare was well acquainted with the value the Percys set on their motto and mentions it twice in *King Henry IV.* Henry Algernon Percy, 5th Earl of Northumberland, had couplets on his motto placed about the inside of his hall at Leekynfield such as—

“ *Esperance en Dieu—*
Trust in Him ; He is most true.
En Dieu esperance—
In Him put thine affiaunce.
Esperance in the world—nay,
The world varieth every day.”¹

Some mottoes seem to have been chosen for the alliteration of the words composing them, as in that of the Suffolk Garneys, “ *God's Grace Governs Garneys.*” Some families had a punning motto as well as a canting coat of arms ; thus the Mackerells of Norfolk bore per fesse *ar.* and *vert* three mackerels *or* for arms and had “ *Macte virtute patrum* ” for motto.

In the LIVERIES, still worn to a certain extent by the men-servants of the nobility and others, we see relics of mediæval customs, and it is within the recollection of many that the Beefeaters, as they were termed, in charge of the Tower treasures, wore their royal livery resplendent with the national arms embroidered on it. The colours of this livery seem to have varied, and in the *Chronicle of Calais* we are told that in 1511 Margaret, Duchess of Savoy, gave to the Englishmen then with Lord Poynings, when they left Gilderland for England, “ coats of whit and grene, red and yelowe, the whit and grene for the King of England's livery, the red and yelowe for the Duke of Burgoyne's livery, and the four colours were medeled together.”²

As a late example of the ceremonial use of a livery, it is related of Elizabeth Chudleigh, Duchess of Kingston, that when she was at St. Petersburg in 1776 she gave magnificent entertainments, at one of which one hundred and forty of her own servants attended in the Kingston livery of black turned up with red and silver.³

¹ Simpson's *Henry, Lord Percy*, 9, (privately printed).

² *Chronicle of Calais*, 8, ed. Camden Soc.

³ Baring-Gould's *Historic Oddities*, 47.

The ORDER OF THE GARTER has at all times been held in the greatest esteem both at home and abroad. Each member of the Royal Family invariably places immediately after his own name the letters K.G., and Shakespeare, in *Henry VI.*, makes Suffolk exclaim in proof of his nobility, "Look on my George, I am a gentleman."¹ A beautiful example of a knight's arms surrounded by the Garter is seen on the brass of Lord Camoys at Trotton, Sussex, 1426 in date (Fig. 10).

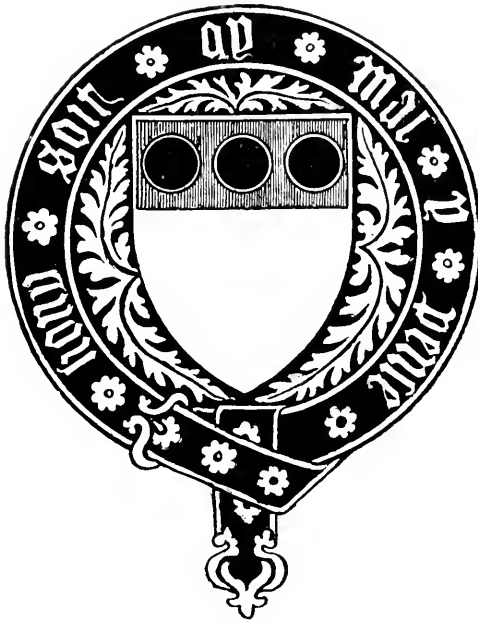


FIG. 10.

Another of the succeeding century is met with at West Firle, in the same county, on the monument of Sir John Gage, 1557, who, the inscription informs us, was a member "preclari ordinis Garterii."

The monastery of St. Paul Without the Walls, Rome, having been under the patronage of the English monarchs, the abbey arms, a hand grasping a sword, were accustomed to be surrounded by the Garter and its

¹ *K. Henry VI.*, Pt. II, Act. IV, Sc. 1. This exclamation is an anachronism on the part of the poet, as the

George was added to the other insignia by King Henry VII.

motto, and foreign monarchs still wear the insignia of this English order on special festivals; whilst in like manner, I believe, our Kings assume those of foreign orders on like occasions. Machyn informs us of an instance of this, and says that in 1551 "the XXIX day of September was Saynt Myghell, the King grace (*i.e.* Edward VI.) dyd where the robes of order of Myghell with skalopshelles of France."¹

Camden mentions "the Judges red roabes, and COLLAR OF SS which they used," he says, "in memory of St. Simplicius a sanctified lawyer and a senatour of Rome."²

According to a communication made by Mr. Albert Way at a meeting of our Institute in 1859, he found in Italy examples of the Collar of SS on the tombs of certain distinguished Italians, who had, he believed, visited our country in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, and he supposed these insignia to have been conferred on these persons as marks of royal favour.

A chain of the Lord Mayor of London is of pure gold, ornamented with links of double SS and Tudor emblems, and the Lord Mayor of Dublin has a silver collar of SS, presented in 1697 by King William III. to a former Mayor. An interesting paper on the collar of SS by Mr. A. Hartshorne, F.S.A., will be found in the *Journal*, XXXIX, 376, illustrated by some of the best examples of this curious device.

Boutell informs us that "to investigate, display, and enrol GENEALOGIES is part of the duties of the Heralds of the College of Arms,"³ and a pedigree surrounding a shield of arms occurs as an example of the union of arms with genealogy on the brass of members of the Lindley and Palmer families, dated 1593, at Otley, Yorkshire. But it has been said that the fancies of some writers on heraldry in tracing genealogies back to Adam, and furnishing the patriarchs with coats of arms, has brought discredit on the science of heraldry itself. But heralds alone have not been the only persons who have concocted fanciful genealogies, for imaginative descents were in fashion in ancient Rome. Probably the most remarkable

¹ *Diary*, 9, ed. Camden Soc.

² *Remaines*, 193.

³ *Heraldry, Ancient and Modern*, 332.

genealogy is that of the Jewish Rabbi Judah, son of Betherai, who is mentioned by his fellow-countryman, Benjamin of Tudela, in his travels in Palestine during the twelfth century. This Rabbi Judah, Mr. Wright informs us, "is said to have traced his descent from one of the skeletons restored to life by the prophet Ezechiel."¹

In conclusion, I must ask the kind indulgence of my readers for the very miscellaneous collection of heraldic notes I have placed before them.

¹ *Early Travels in Palestine*, 89 and note.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

ANNUAL MEETING IN DUBLIN, July 18th to
July 25th, 1900.

Wednesday, July 18th.

The proceedings of the meeting began at noon, with a reception of the members of the Institute, in the Oak Room at the Mansion House, by Alderman Flanagan, in the unavoidable absence of the Lord Mayor.

Alderman FLANAGAN expressed his regret that the Lord Mayor was unable to be present, owing to important business in London. His lordship had, however, asked him to welcome the Institute to Dublin and to Ireland. He hoped they would have a pleasant time, and would go away with agreeable recollections of their visit. He was in hopes that the Lord Mayor would be able to come to Dublin on Friday to meet them, as he was most anxious to do. It only remained to ask the Earl of Rosse to take the Chair as President of the Meeting.

The EARL OF ROSSE then delivered the Presidential address, giving a very hearty welcome to the members of the Institute in the name of the Royal Irish Academy and Irish Antiquaries in general. Although much interested in the numerous ancient remains scattered over Ireland he laid claim to no special acquaintance with them, and therefore his remarks would be brief. Ireland bore indications of having in remote times arrived at a state of civilisation much in advance of adjacent parts of Europe, as the architectural and other remains testified. But it was hard to realise that the pre-eminence could be fully established. During the wars and troubles so constant in the more populous places, devoted workers in art might have retired to secluded districts, where they could pursue their favourite avocations in peace. On the other hand, it was notorious that the more progressive a community was in population and commercial activity, the more liable were ancient remains to be swept away. There was probably no more ancient city in the British Islands than London, and yet how little that was old was now left on the surface. Even in a city so comparatively modern as Mexico, though it was once the centre of Aztec civilisation, the remains of that people had almost completely disappeared, and were only to be found in spots now uninhabited and overgrown with forest. Many places in Ireland which, judging from extensive ancient buildings, must at one time have been of considerable importance, were now entirely deserted, and in consequence were not likely to suffer except through the wanton action of boys on a Sunday afternoon, or of the more careless and uninformed excursionist.

Owing to the comparative remoteness of its situation, Ireland did not appear to have been invaded by so many different nationalities as England. The Romans never set foot on the island. The Danes, however, or Northmen or Eastmen as they were variously called, gave much trouble in some parts. They were for a time in possession of Dublin, and had their town or quarter on the site of the present Royal Barracks, in the district of Oxmantown, the town of the Ostmen.

Scattered over the country were many earthworks, the most frequent being those known as Rathes, circular in plan. These were often locally called "Danes' Forts," but there was no evidence to show that the Danes penetrated into the interior, though they are recorded to have gone up the valley of the Shannon.

But monuments older than Danish would probably occupy the attention of the Institute, ecclesiastical buildings, some of them reputed to date back to the fifth or sixth centuries, and the still earlier pagan remains, such as were to be well seen in the Isles of Arran in Galway Bay. In the larger of these islands, Inishmore, and also in the middle island, were some seven or eight forts, built of unhewn stone without mortar, and generally of considerable size, the walls being in some cases twelve feet thick by twenty feet high, and in the case of Dun Aengus there were three lines of wall, one inside the other. All were roughly circular in plan, as were the Cloghans or Beehive dwellings of the same period. In addition to these early buildings, the Arran Isles could show several specimens of the primitive churches, very small and plain, and a castle of the time of Cromwell.

It was strange that a place with so little soil, the patches at all ^{fit} for tillage being few, and even in these the solid rock showing in the furrows, should have been thought worth defending and occupying when the whole population of Ireland must have been scanty. ~~But~~ the people of those days were seafaring in their habits, and probably did not find it easy to penetrate into the forests and swamps of the interior, held as they were by a mixed hostile population. The forests of Ireland seem to have remained widely distributed to a comparatively recent date. In the seventeenth century it was a saying that a squirrel could hop from tree to tree from Birr to Portanna, some fourteen statute miles, and also that the danger was great in journeying from Birr to Banagher, as the woods were full of rogues and raparees. It was only the cutting down of the forests to provide fuel for the glass manufactures which put an end to this state of things.

An address like the present would not be complete without a mention of that feature so largely developed in Ireland, namely, the bogs, which, as elsewhere, overran and swallowed up extensive tracts of forest land, and to this day were of vast extent, particularly in the King's County, where one might walk twenty miles in a straight line over nearly continuous bog, the fringes only of which had as yet been consumed for fuel. Many objects of interest had been preserved by the bogs, such as "dug-out" canoes, articles of clothing, "bog butter," etc., and the body of a woman had been once found in so perfect a state of preservation, that an inquest was held on it, and the only verdict possible under the circumstances returned, "Found

dead." Some one had since remarked that it was not correct to have given the body Christian burial, as the woman probably died in pre-Christian times.

Of the later ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland, and of the Round Towers, some of which were to be visited by the Institute, it was not now necessary to speak, nor of the great collections of Irish antiquities in the National Museum, which were to be exhibited and explained by more competent guides.

In conclusion, Lord Rosse again offered a hearty welcome to the members of the Institute.

The PRESIDENT OF THE INSTITUTE, Sir Henry Howorth, M.P., said that the Institute had come to visit Ireland with the greatest delight and pleasure. It was a little corner of the Empire which seemed to him more steeped in poetry and drama than almost any other part of the world. They had come to Ireland to visit a realm of archaeology that was new and foreign to many of them, the land in which Wilde and Petrie wrote their great works, and which still contained many notable archaeologists; and in that connection he took the opportunity of expressing their pleasure at seeing Miss Stokes among them that day. With regard to their chairman, they could find no one better qualified to preside than was Lord Rosse. He was not merely a good Irish landlord, who lived among his own people, but he represented the science of these realms in its best form. On behalf of the Institute he expressed hearty thanks to Lord Rosse for presiding, and for the address he had delivered.

The EARL OF ROSSE having acknowledged the thanks of the Institute,

Judge BAYLIS, Q.C., proposed a vote of thanks to Alderman Flanagan for the manner in which, on behalf of the Lord Mayor, he had welcomed the Institute.

This was seconded and carried unanimously, and the proceedings terminated.

After luncheon the members drove or walked to St. Patrick's Cathedral, where they were received by Sir THOMAS DREW, R.H.A., the Cathedral architect, who gave an account of the building, which was afterwards inspected in detail. St. Patrick's was founded as a collegiate church by Archbishop Comyn in 1190, outside the walls of Dublin, on the site of an ancient church of St. Patrick de Insula. His successor, Henry de Loundres, made the church cathedral, meaning to supersede the more ancient foundation of Christchurch within the city. He surrounded it with a fortified wall, with four embattled gates, and built within the precinct houses for the cathedral dignities and all the secular clergy. Within the liberty of St. Patrick the Archbishops of Dublin, as Princes Palatine, exercised supreme jurisdiction up to the time of Archbishop Whately, 1860.

Being outside the city walls, it was exposed to the attacks of the Irish, and eventually became untenable, and was for a time abandoned. An Act of 17 and 18 Charles II. describes the ground surrounding the Cathedral as in a manner lying waste. The church as it exists to-day dates from the thirteenth century, though a long series of restorations and rebuildings have left little of the original masonry to be seen. In plan it is cruciform, 300 feet long by 157 wide

across the transepts, which have eastern and western aisles. The fine and massive north-western tower was added in 1381. In the nave very little ancient work remains, with the exception of a vaulted bay at the west end of the south aisle, which does not belong to the thirteenth century design; this bay is masked by the huge monument of the Earl of Cork, originally placed at the eastern end of the choir, and removed to its present position by Strafford at the instigation of Archbishop Laud.

Sir Thomas gave some account of the lost well of St. Patrick; the so-called well in the transept is only a hollow filled with water, less than a foot in depth, and has no claim to be considered the well of the Saint. The arches of the crossing were specially pointed out as fine specimens of the original work of the thirteenth century; they have only recently been freed from a covering of plaster which concealed all details of moulding. Dean Swift's pulpit and monument, and two interesting mural brasses in the South Choir aisle, of 1528 and 1537, attracted the attention of many members.

The Castle was next visited, under the guidance of Mr. R. COCHRANE, F.S.A., Secretary of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, who conducted the members through the State apartments and St. Patrick's Hall, where the banners of the Knights of St. Patrick were commented on by Mr. J. R. GARSTIN. The Chapel was afterwards visited, and the fine silver-gilt plate, the gift of William III., examined.

The Ulster Herald's office was also opened for inspection, through the courtesy of Sir Arthur Vicars.

Leaving the Castle, a short walk took the members to Trinity College, where they were received by Dr. PERCEVAL WRIGHT, and conducted to the Library. After a preliminary address, Dr. Wright exhibited and described some of the chief treasures of the collection, which had been placed in readiness by the kindness of the Librarian, the Rev. T. K. Abbott. These included the *Book of Kells*, the *Book of Durrow*, the *Book of Leinster*, the *Books of Dinmna and Mulling*, with their shrines or "Cumdachs," the leather satchel of the *Book of Armagh*, and other MSS., also the large gold fibula weighing 33 oz., and the ancient Irish Harp, which tradition assigns to Brian Boru, though it is probably a work of the fifteenth century.

The college dining hall was next visited, and a number of pieces of the college plate, specially brought out for the occasion, were commented on by Mr. J. R. GARSTIN. Two fine flagons of 1631 and 1638, and the Duncan Cup, which bears the Irish hall-mark for 1693, were among the most important pieces. It was explained that most of the plate which bears an Irish hall-mark was not made in Ireland, but imported, and marked on arrival. The loss of the Dublin Goldsmiths' books makes the identification of Irish marks very difficult.

The chapel, with its fine woodwork and elaborate ceiling, was then inspected. Here also a collection of plate was on view. Finally, the theatre, which makes an architectural balance to the chapel on the opposite side of the quadrangle, was visited, and a vote of thanks to Dr. Wright for his great courtesy was proposed by Sir Henry Howorth, and carried unanimously.

In the evening the Antiquarian section was opened in the rooms

of the Royal Irish Academy, which had been very kindly placed at the disposal of the Institute during the meeting, with an address by Sir THOMAS DREW, R.H.A., president of the section, entitled *Dublin for Archaeologists*. The address is printed in the *Journal*, p. 287. In the discussion which followed Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite questioned the interpretation of the John Lombard inscription in Christ Church Cathedral, there being no internal evidence that John built the Cathedral, or even that he was an architect at all.

Mr. G. COFFEY followed with a paper on *Optical Illusions in Mediæval Architecture*.

He gave an account of Professor Goodyear's investigations in the mediæval churches of northern Italy, in which he traced the survival of the use of curved lines and other refinements found in Grecian temples. The history of the discovery of the Greek curves was briefly noticed. Attention was directed to the fact that the curved line in architecture was first discovered by Pennethorn, in an Egyptian temple, Medinet Habon, but not published till after Penrose's measurements of the Parthenon. The Egyptian curves were in plan, the Greek chiefly in elevation. Mr. Goodyear had established the existence of curves in the courts of the temples at Luxor, Karnac, and Edfou. The dates of these temples were important, Medinet Habon, Luxor, and Karnac belonged to the Theban period, say 1400 B.C., Edfou to the Ptolemaic, and was not earlier than 250 B.C. Thus the use of the curve in Egypt was found to cover the Greek period. Penrose was not aware of the Egyptian curves (curves in plan or horizontal), and so overlooked the horizontal curves in the flanks of the Temple of Neptune, at Paestum. A horizontal curve looked at from below, convex to the spectator, as the curves in question were, has the effect of a curve in elevation, so that both groups of curves may be considered as one in effect. Illustrations, (selected from Mr. Goodyear's series of photographs) were shown on the screen to illustrate the different points dwelt on. Passages from Vitruvius were read to show that the curved line was known in Roman times, and the Maison Carrée, at Nîmes, was given as an example of the use of the curved line in provincial Roman building. Passing from the Roman period, a series of photographs were thrown on the screen illustrating the use of curved lines in elevation and in plan in the Romanesque churches of northern Italy. It was argued on grounds of tradition and continuity that it would be more difficult to account for the absence of these curves than their presence. The questions of leaning fronts, diminishing arcades, and other irregularities were next considered. An interesting case in Cormac's chapel on the Rock of Cashel, was shown as an example of continental influence in Ireland. An arcade of four arches diminished in the following order: 3 feet, 2 feet 11 inches, 2 feet 8½ inches, 2 feet 5 inches, the pilasters between the arches being each accurately 11½ inches. The corresponding drop in the arches of the series was also pointed out.

With regard to the meaning of the refinements under consideration, Mr. Coffey touched on the explanations given by Penrose and others, that they were intended to correct optical defects, such as apparent sagging of straight lines, etc. He mentioned also the opinions held by some authorities in reference to perspective illusions

and the sense of life and beauty given by an artistic rejection of symmetry. His own opinion was that no one explanation covered the facts. The correction of weak lines by the introduction of curves of contrary flecture to the apparent curve of weakness might be considered as an ascertained architectural fact, and this device was used by architects at the present day, but in an attenuated manner, and was capable of considerable re-development. Perspective illusions accounted for a particular group of the facts. But for the general treatment and the tact and subtlety in the application of asymmetry, a purely artistic explanation seemed to be the most acceptable. Architecture could not be considered to be an exception to the principles recognised in all other branches of fine art. A strict adherence to canon defeated its own end, the quality of artistic expression lay within the margin of departure from the canon which distinguished the artist from the practitioner, in which the artist found that freedom which controlled the rule and was not restricted by it.

Thursday, July 19th.

At 9.45 a.m. the members started from the Shelbourne Hotel in brakes, and drove to Swords, where they were received by the Vicar, the Rev. Canon Twigg, who led the way to the churchyard, which contains, beside the fine and well preserved Round Tower, the rectangular tower of a now destroyed mediæval church, of fifteenth century date, which shews, in common with many Irish ecclesiastical buildings, clear evidences of having been used as a dwelling place.

Canon TWIGG said that the church and town of Swords were always connected in ancient Irish history with St. Columba, Swords Columbkille being the name commonly used in the Annals. The church had always borne the name of St. Columba, who in 563 left Ireland and settled in Iona, having previously established several schools and churches in Ireland, one of them being at Swords. This would give to Swords an earlier date than any church in Dublin could claim. As to the derivation of the name of Swords, Archbishop Whately had concluded that as Swords was in ancient documents called *Sorda*, and as *surdus* was the Latin for "deaf," there must have been at some time a hospital for deaf and dumb persons, "Sourd Mutes," from which the name arose. Upon this the then incumbent of the neighbouring parish of Lusk had suggested that there might also have been at Lusk an ophthalmic hospital, for the *luscii* or one-eyed, which showed how dangerous it was to be guided by Saxon rather than Celtic authority in judging of the etymology of Irish words. In the *Leabhar Breac* in the library of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, the history of the name was given as follows: "Columbkille founded a church at Reclra (*i.e.* the island of Lambay), in the east of Bregia, and left Colman the Deacon in it. Also he founded a church in the place where Sord is at this day. He left a learned man of his people there, namely, Finan Lobhar, and he left a Gospel which his own hand wrote there; there also he dedicated a well named Sord, *i.e.* pure, and he consecrated a cross." In the ancient records of the town of Swords, mention was often made of a cross called "the pardon cross," which

once stood in the street of Swords; the well still existed as "Saint Columba's Well," though of late much changed in appearance. Swords rose to importance, according to Bishop Reeves, about the middle of the tenth century, and to this date he referred the erection of the Round Tower, the chief surviving relic of the ancient ecclesiastical establishment of the place. Canon Twigg considered that the Tower was built as a place of safety from the Danish marauders, citing the advice of an abbot of Normandy to his fraternity, that they should build a tower close to their church, to which in time of danger they might remove their plate and treasure. The opinion first formulated by the late Dr. Petrie, that a Christian origin was to be assigned to these buildings, was now generally accepted by all antiquaries of the present day. Dean Scardaville, who was Incumbent of Swords at the beginning of the eighteenth century, found the Tower in a state of dilapidation, and had it repaired, putting on some courses of masonry at the top and adding the cross which was now to be seen. This, according to tradition, succeeded a smaller cross, still to be seen in the churchyard. The mortar of the Tower was extremely hard, like cement, and there was a common belief that the lime used in these buildings was slaked with cows' milk, about which cows many marvellous tales were told. The entrance doorway was unusually low down, being quite accessible from the present ground level, and had the appearance of having been secured by strong bars or by stones. The first mention of Irish round towers by an English writer occurred in the works of Giraldus Cambrensis, who referred to them as *Turres Ecclesiasticæ*, showing that he regarded them as of Christian origin.

A short walk brought the members to the ruins of the Archbishop's Palace, generally known as the Castle, picturesquely situated on the bank of the stream. Canon Twigg was again the guide, and gave an account of the building and its history. He said that at the time of the English Conquest in 1172, the see of Dublin held considerable property in Swords, and it was seen to be desirable that the Archbishops should have a residence there. There was evidence of the existence of a Norman palace, fortified like the present building, and containing a chapel and all necessary buildings. In the reign of Edward II., Edward Bruce, brother of Robert Bruce King of Scotland, invaded Ireland, making Dundalk his headquarters, and gained possession of the whole country up to the walls of Dublin, thus making the palace of Swords untenable, and in consequence the then Archbishop, Alexander de Bickner, abandoned it and retired to Dublin. The palace fell rapidly into decay, and had never since been occupied for any length of time. Tallaght near Rathfarnham, to the south of Dublin, became the country residence of the Archbishops, and continued to be so from 1326 to 1821. Alexander de Bickner fell into disfavour with Edward II., who in May, 1325, made a formal complaint of him to the Pope, accusing him of fraud and maladministration of the Irish revenues. In the enquiry which followed, the Archiepiscopal possessions at Swords were examined, the inquisition being held in Dublin, March 14, 1326, at which it appeared that there were at Swords "a hall and the chamber adjoining the said hall, the walls of which are of stone crenellated after the manner of a castle, and covered with shingles. Further,

there is a kitchen, together with a larder, the walls of which are of stone roofed with shingles. Also there was in the same place a chamber for friars, with a cloister, which are now prostrate. Also . . . a chamber or apartment for the constables by the gate and four chambers for soldiers and wardens . . . under which are a stable and bakehouse." The rest of the buildings were of wood, all much decayed, and the whole premises were returned as of no value.

The journey was continued to Malahide, where after luncheon the Castle was visited, by permission of Lord Talbot de Malahide. The members were received by Mr. Dillon. The Castle shows little sign of age externally, but contains a fine dining hall with a gallery and open timber roof, some elaborate panelling, and a very interesting collection of pictures. The ruined Abbey Church close to the Castle next claimed attention. This is a small building consisting of nave and chancel, with a western bell turret; in the nave is the altar tomb of Maud Plunket, with an effigy in low relief. A thunder shower prevented a detailed inspection of the ruins, and a start was made for St. Doulough's, which was reached at 3.45, and the rain having ceased, the Vicar, the Rev. T. S. LINDSAY, gave an account of the church, a very remarkable fourteenth century building with a stone-gabled roof of steep pitch and a low central tower, divided internally into several storeys, and by its arrangements clearly showing its former use as a dwelling place. The plan is a plain rectangle, 48 feet by 18, divided into eastern and western portions by a cross wall, with stairways to the upper floors in both divisions. St. Doulough's well, to the north-east of the church, shows an octagonal stone-roofed well-house with a circular well, and an overflow channel supplying a cut stone trough outside the building, from which the water flows into a subterranean vaulted room known as St. Catherine's Pond. The building seems to be of the fifteenth century.

By the invitation of Mrs. Hone, the members were hospitably entertained to tea in the grounds of St. Doulough's Park, and subsequently drove back to Dublin.

In the evening, on the invitation of the Royal Irish Academy and the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, a *conversazione* was held in the Science and Art Museum, Kildare Street. A most enjoyable evening was spent, and every facility afforded for the inspection of the famous collection of Irish antiquities, which comprises among other things the Cross of Cong, the Ardagh Chalice, the Tara Brooch, and the Shrine of St. Patrick's bell.

Mr. G. Coffey, Curator, gave invaluable assistance in exhibiting and describing the objects placed under his care.

Friday, July 20th.

The day opened inauspiciously with a violent thunderstorm and heavy rain, but in spite of the weather a muster of eighty started from the Broadstone Station at 9.30 a.m. en route for Trim. By the time of arrival the weather had cleared, and the members started on Irish cars for the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, Newtown Trim,

which was reached after a short drive. There they were met by the Rev. Canon HEALY, M.A., rector of Kells, who gave an account of the buildings. The abbey was founded in 1206, and the ruined church appears to date from that period. It consists of an aisleless nave, which has been vaulted with a plain quadripartite vault, springing from engaged shafts resting on corbels. There are considerable remains of the conventual buildings to the south of the church, on the bank of the Boyne. To the east of the church are the ruins of a small building with a chancel and nave, into the walls of which a number of architectural fragments are built. It also contains the late sixteenth century altar tomb of Sir Lucas Dillon and his wife.

Leaving the abbey, the members drove back to Trim, where, after a short examination of the slabs and carved stones now built into the walls of the ruined chancel of the parish church, the castle was visited, under the guidance of Canon Healy. The ruins stand on a rising ground on the south side of the Boyne, and consist of a square central keep, with broad rectangular towers projecting from the middle of each face, enclosed on three sides by curtain walls with towers and a well preserved barbican to the south-east. Canon Healy said that the castle was begun about 1170 by Hugh de Lacy, who also built two other castles in Ireland, at Kells and Durov. The local name of King John's Castle was a misnomer. Several Parliaments had been held here, Trim having been a walled town of considerable importance, and at the time of the founding of Trinity College there had been a question whether Trim was not preferable to Dublin as a site. Considerable damage was done to the castle in the Cromwellian wars, when it was taken by the Irish, and recaptured in 1641.

After luncheon at the court-house the cars started for the Hill of Tara, where Mr. R. COCHRANE, F.S.A., gave an account of the legendary history of the place. He said that Tara first became the official residence of the Ardrioh, or chief King of Ireland, about 89 B.C., and continued to be so used till the latter half of the sixth century A.D., when it was abandoned as a result of the curse of St. Ruadhan of Lorrha on Dermot Mac Fergus, Ardrioh from 539 to 558. The greater number of earthworks still remaining were attributed to the time of Cormac Mac Airt, 227-266, and Laeghaire, in whose time St. Patrick came to Ireland, and at Tara converted the King to Christianity. The standing stone on one of the two mounds within the large circular enclosure known as the Rath na Riogh, was considered by some to be the Lia Fail, or Stone of Destiny, which, "when Ireland's monarch stepped on to it, would cry out under him, and her three arch waves boom in answer, as the wave of Cleena, the wave of Ballintoy, and the wave of Lough Rury. When a provincial king went on it, the flag would rumble under him." Coming to more modern times, Mr. Cochrane referred to the recent excavations undertaken by the searchers for the Ark of the Covenant, in the course of which the earthwork known as the King's Chair had been almost completely destroyed.

SIR HENRY HOWORTH said that it was his duty as President of the Institute, to protest with all the emphasis he could command against the great archæological crime of which they were witnesses at that moment. It was a perfectly monstrous thing, even in the case of

monuments of less general interest, that those who were the custodians of them should tolerate such a thing as had been done here. Interference with monuments dealing with the history of the country at a most critical and difficult period, should not be allowed, unless it was conducted with the most scientific care. There they had the spade put into the ground in the most reckless and outrageous way, leaving everything they saw around in a state of destruction. It was sorrowful to think that the Hill of Tara, the most famous of all archaeological monuments, should be subjected to such treatment in pursuit of a fancy which was childish, and outside the sphere of sane inquiry. They were standing in the presence of the greatest act of vandalism that had occurred in his long memory, and he protested in the strongest possible manner against the thing that had been done here.

Sir JOHN DILLOX displayed some drawings and photographs taken during the progress of the excavations.

A somewhat hurried drive brought the Members to Kilmessan Station, whence they returned to Dublin by train. In the evening, on the invitation of the Lord Mayor, a *conversazione* was given at the Mansion House, where the ancient corporation documents were exhibited, together with the maces and some of the civic plate, including the gold cup lately presented by Her Majesty the Queen. In the unavoidable absence of the Lord Mayor, the guests were received by Alderman Flanagan and his daughter, Mrs. O'Farrell, and a very pleasant evening was spent.

Saturday, July 21st.

At 10 a.m. the General Annual Meeting of the members of the Institute was held in the rooms of the Royal Irish Academy. The President, Sir HENRY HOWORTH, M.P., in the chair. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved. The balance sheet, printed at p. 325, was taken as read. The Chairman then called upon the Meeting Secretary, in the absence of the Hon. Secretary, to read the report for the past year.

REPORT OF COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1899-1900.

In presenting the fifty-eighth annual report on the affairs of the Institute for the year 1899, the Council must congratulate the members on the general position. The accounts are favourable, and show a balance of £298 16s. 0d., but besides this it must be noted that £200 have been placed on deposit with the bankers, thus making the amount £498 16s. 0d., as against £379 12s. 9d. last year.

There are no outstanding liabilities.

The membership is about the same, there being eight losses by death and ten retirements, as against twenty new members elected. Among the deaths in 1899 we have to regret the Rev. C. R. Manning, a pleasant companion and a leading Norfolk antiquary, and Mr. C. Drury Fortnum, who contributed from time to time to our *Journal*, and did much good work for other societies. Hitherto these obituary

notices have referred only to the year included in the accounts, but as by the time of our meeting in July other losses usually occur, it has been thought better to include and notice them at once. This year the record is heavy indeed. In the list comes Sir Talbot Baker, bart., a skilled archaeologist and annually with us, ever ready to aid our work in any way. He had attended a meeting in London, and was looking forward to being with us again this year, when soon after his return home, his summons came suddenly. General Pitt-Rivers, who died at Rushmore, which was visited by the Institute during the Salisbury meeting, was a thorough and skilled antiquary, who had done much careful work, a model for all who may follow him. Mr. E. C. Hulme, our Librarian, must next be noted. Lastly comes the name of Chancellor Ferguson. Richard S. Ferguson, M.A., F.S.A., Chancellor of Carlisle, died on March 3rd. Being in early days called to the bar, he practised for a time, but through failing health abandoned this work and travelled much abroad. After his return he attached himself to the study of archaeology, and became a regular attendant at our annual meetings. He also attended often in London, enriching our *Journal* with able and valuable contributions. Besides this and before all he was particularly prominent in his own district, where he revived and practically refounded the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological Society. Through his exertions, too, Carlisle has an excellent museum, which certainly will well perpetuate his memory. To the above list must be added with great regret the record of the loss to the Archaeological Society of France by the death of the Comte de Marsy, who was with that society at our London meeting, and who so courteously aided our visit to Boulogne. He was an accomplished archaeologist, an officer of Public Instruction, an honorary member of the Institute, and connected with many antiquarian, historical, and other learned societies.

The members of the Council retiring are Mr. Herbert Jones, Mr. Richards, Professor Petrie, Professor E. C. Clark, Mr. Griffiths, and Mr. Gosselin. It is proposed that Mr. Jones, Mr. Richards, Professor Petrie, and Professor Clark be re-elected, and that Mr. Peers, Dr. Munro, Mr. Charles J. Ferguson, Mr. W. H. Bell, and Mr. Walhouse be added to the Council, and that Mr. Bax be elected Auditor.

It is further proposed that Mr. E. Green and Mr. E. W. Brabrook, C.B., be elected Vice-Presidents to fill vacancies.

Mr. Knowles, who so kindly conducted the excursions last year, has found it impossible to continue in office by reason of his distant residence. The Council is pleased to announce that the duties have been undertaken by Mr. C. R. Peers, who has made all the arrangements for the present Meeting.

On the motion of the President, the report was adopted.

A printed notice by the Hon. Secretary referring to the sale of the Library of the Institute was read.

Mr. E. GREEN explained the reasons for the sale, and made a statement of what had been done in reference to the Library, up to the time of the Meeting.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE proposed the following resolution :

“That this meeting approves of the Council entering into negotiations with the Council of the Society of Antiquaries for the amalgamation of the libraries of the two Societies on the understanding that the members of the Institute have the use of the combined library.”

Mr. GREEN seconded the resolution, which, after a discussion in which Mr. W. H. Bell, Mr. Garraway Rice, Judge Baylis, Rev. E. H. Goddard, Mr. Rowley, and Mr. Tyson took part, was carried unanimously.

A discussion as to the place of the annual meeting for 1901 ended in the matter being left in the hands of the Council.

After the conclusion of the business meeting, the cathedral of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christchurch, was visited. Sir THOMAS DREW, Cathedral Architect, received the members, and gave an address on the history and fabric. The church was founded during the Danish occupation of Dublin in 1038 by Sigtryg Silkebeard, and in Sir Thomas's opinion, the ground plan and a considerable part of the existing crypt are of that early date. The choir and transepts are of the time of the English Conquest, about 1170, and the nave was completed about 1235. The south wall of the nave fell in 1569, bringing with it the vault, and the ruins remained on the nave floor till Street's restoration in 1873. Portions of the original floor tiles were then discovered, and served as a model for the existing pavement. In the chapel of St. Laurence O'Toole is the John Lumbar inscription, the reading of which provoked considerable discussion.

Sir Henry Howorth suggested that three persons were mentioned in it, instead of two, John Lumbar of Lucca, Garman of Parma, and the lady Rame Peris of San Salvador. On epigraphical grounds, the date assigned to the inscription, 1170 to 1179, seems too early. The matter being one of considerable interest, a facsimile is here given (p. 338). In the crypt were noted a number of architectural fragments and grave slabs, and a tabernacle and candlesticks of the time of James II. The cathedral plate and a series of documents and books from the library were to be seen in the chapter house.

After luncheon the members drove to Kilmainham Hospital, where they were met by Captain Fielding, and after paying a visit to the cemetery on the north side of the avenue, which contains the memorial cross of Murrough O'Brian, son of Brian Boru, walked through the quadrangle of the Hospital to the Dining Hall, a finely proportioned panelled room, containing a valuable collection of arms and armour, and a number of portraits. The Hospital was built in 1684 from designs by Sir Christopher Wren, and consists of four ranges of buildings enclosing a court, with colonnades on three sides, and the hall, out of which the chapel opens, on the north. The chapel has some good carved oak and a very elaborate plaster ceiling, which is unfortunately in a dangerous state owing to decay of the ceiling joists.

After a short drive the Four Courts and Record Office were reached. Here a series of documents and registers, etc., were exhibited, by the courtesy of Mr. H. F. BERRY, M.R.I.A., Keeper of

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INSCRIPTION IN CHRISTCHURCH, DUBLIN.

the Records, and an award in Irish signed by a Brehon was read and translated for the benefit of members.

Finally, in a heavy shower of rain, the Custom House was visited, where by the kindness of Messrs. Robertson and O'Shaughnessy, and Mr. Cochrane, Secretary of the Board of Works, tea was provided and the fine collection of photographs of national monuments which are under the care of the Board produced for inspection.

In the evening the Historical Section was opened with an address by P. WESTON JOYCE, LL.D., M.R.I.A., on the "Truthfulness of Ancient Irish Records." The address is printed at p. 259.

The President, Dr. Munro, Mr. G. Coffey, and Mr. Russell O'Neill joined in the subsequent discussion.

Monday, July 23rd.

A party of eighty-one left Amiens Street Station by the 9.0 train for Kells. On arrival they drove in cars to St. Kieran's well, under the guidance of Canon HEALY, LL.D., rector of Kells. The numerous votive offerings fastened to the fine ash-tree which overhangs the well excited much interest. Here, as at St. Doulough's well, the overflow from the spring runs through a trough-like channel, in this case cut in the solid rock. A short distance from the well is the ruined chapel of St. Kieran, standing in a graveyard whose boundaries are marked by three Termon crosses in perfect preservation, the base of a fourth being visible in the bed of the stream close by. Canon Healy called attention to the Ogham stone lately discovered here. On the return to Kells, luncheon was served in the Court House, after which the various objects of interest in the town were visited, beginning with the cross in the main street, which was fully described by Canon Healy, who then led the way to the early stone-roofed building known as Saint Columba's House. This, he said, was probably built by a colony which migrated from Iona in the opening years of the ninth century. The present door of entrance is modern, the original door having been at the west, though the evidence for this is much obscured by modern alterations. The original east window, a small round-headed light with a wide internal splay, remains, and a flat-headed opening with inclined jambs, also of original date, is to be seen above the present entrance doorway. Between the barrel vault and the steep pitched stone roof is a space divided into three chambers, and reached by a ladder through an opening in the vault. Ivy has done considerable damage to the building.

Crossing the road to the churchyard, the three fine crosses were examined. The most perfect is that at the foot of the Round Tower, having on the base an inscription "Crux Patricii et Columbæ." The difference between the Irish and the Anglo-Norman representations of the crucifixion was pointed out, in the Irish form the body being clothed, and the feet tied with a cord and not nailed. Of the two other crosses one is unfinished, thereby disproving the often-repeated statement that these crosses were not of local manufacture, but imported ready made. The Round Tower has lost its conical roof, but is otherwise perfect, built of rubble masonry, with ashlar in the doorway. There is practically no detail which might serve as a

guide to the date of erection. The present church of Kells is modern, but the tower of an older church remains, with an inscription recording its building in 1578.

In the evening the second meeting of the Antiquarian Section was held, Mr. E. W. Brabrook, C.B., F.S.A., a Vice-President of the Section, in the chair. A paper was read by Miss MARGARET STOKES on "The Signs of the Zodiac on the base of Muredach's Cross, Monasterboice," which is printed at p. 270. Many rubbings and drawings were exhibited in illustration of the paper.

Tuesday, July 24th.

At 9.0 a.m. the members left Amiens Street Station for Drogheda, where a start was made for Monasterboice. On arrival, Mr. GEORGE COFFEY, M.R.I.A., gave an account of Muredach's Cross, pointing out the details mentioned in Miss Stokes's paper of the previous evening, after which the High Cross was examined. This is a magnificent example 27 feet high, and in excellent condition, though in places the sculptures are obscured by lichens. The gabled capstone is hollowed out beneath, and fits on to a tenon on the top of the cross. It is suggested that it may have been used as a place for relics. The Round Tower, 110 feet high in its ruined condition, is a very fine specimen, built chiefly of blocks of mica schist and clay slate in mortar. The evidence is clear that the blocks were built in with a rough face, and afterwards dressed to the curve of the plan. The doorway somewhat resembles that at Kells. There are remains of two ruined churches, one apparently of fourteenth century date, the other earlier. An interesting early gravestone was pointed out, with an Irish inscription, "A prayer for Ruarchan," and a plain cross engraved on the stone.

Mellifont Abbey, three miles off, was next visited, and here Mr. ANTHONY SCOTT, M.S.A., gave a description of the site as excavated in 1884 by the Board of Works. Mellifont Abbey was a Cistercian house founded in 1142 by Donough O'Carroll, the church being consecrated in 1157. Of this church the foundations of the eastern part of the transepts remain, of very unusual plan, showing an arrangement of a square-ended chapel flanked by two apses projecting from the eastern walls of both transepts. The plan of the eastern arm of this first church is not known. Towards the end of the twelfth century, the eastern arm and transepts were rebuilt in the form now to be seen, and the most important remains of the conventual buildings date from this period onward to about 1240. The piers of the crossing have been altered in the fifteenth century, but were too slight to have carried a central tower of any size. Of the nave very little is left beyond the foundations. Enough fragments remain to show that the cloister had an arcade carried on twin shafts with scalloped capitals, of late twelfth century date.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE said that the buildings formed a good specimen of a Cistercian plan, with a vaulted chapter house of two bays, dorter and warming house on the east of the cloister, frater and kitchen on the south, with the very fine octagonal lavatory projecting into the cloister-garth opposite the frater door, and a few remains of the cellarer's buildings on the west. The lavatory was a two-storeyed

building, the lower storey having been vaulted, with a central pier round which the water-troughs were arranged, and supplied from a cistern on the upper floor.

Mr. PEERS called attention to the moulded brick label and the remains of brick mullions in the East window of the chapter house, of early date.

After luncheon the drive was continued, by permission, through the beautiful grounds of Townley Hall. On reaching the Hall, a halt was made, and Mr. B. R. T. Balfour, the owner, exhibited an ivory-handled sword once belonging to William III.

After a drive along the valley of the Boyne, the tumulus of Dowth was reached, and described by Mr. G. COFFEY, who pointed out the markings on the unhewn slabs comprising the roof and walls of the chambers in the mound, consisting of spirals, concentric circles, etc., and one drawing of a ship. On the floor of the central chamber, out of which three recesses open, is a flat stone hollowed out to form a shallow basin. On the opening of the mound in 1847 by the Royal Irish Academy, many bones, human and otherwise, were found, together with glass and amber beads, jet bracelets, and objects in stone, copper, and iron. The mound is about 45 feet high, and 200 feet in diameter, having a ring of large stones round the base. It is composed of loose stones heaped together, among which the chambers are built.

The members drove back to Drogheda, and thence took the train to Dublin.

The concluding meeting was held in the evening, the PRESIDENT in the chair.

On the proposal of the PRESIDENT, seconded by Dr. MUNRO, a hearty vote of thanks was given to the Earl of Rosse, President of the meeting.

The PRESIDENT also proposed a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, which was seconded by Mr. E. T. TYSON, and carried unanimously.

Judge BAYLIS, Q.C., proposed a vote of thanks to the Presidents of Sections, which was seconded by Mr. A. E. HUDD, and carried.

The Rev. T. AUDEN proposed a vote of thanks to the Local Secretary, Mr. Robert Cochrane, and the Local Committee. This was seconded by Mr. H. LONGDEN, and carried.

A similar compliment was paid to all who had acted as guides to the Institute at the various places visited. This was proposed by Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, and seconded by Mr. W. H. BELL.

A vote of thanks to the readers of papers was proposed by Mr. E. W. BRABROOK, and seconded by Mr. H. WILSON.

Dr. MUNRO proposed a vote of thanks to the Royal Irish Academy for the use of their rooms for holding the sectional meetings, and to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for much assistance and courtesy shown to the Institute during the meeting. The Rev. E. H. GODDARD seconded the vote, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. GARRAWAY RICE proposed, and Mr. WALTER ROWLEY seconded, a vote of thanks to the Hon. Director and the Meeting Secretary.

The proceedings ended with a vote of thanks to the President, on the proposal of Mr. J. L. THOMAS, seconded by Judge BAYLIS.

Wednesday, July 25th.

At 10.10 a.m. the members left Harcourt Street Station for Rathdrum, and thence a picturesque drive of nine miles through the Vale of Clara brought them to Glendalough, where, after luncheon at the "Royal" Hotel, a start was made, under the guidance of Mr. JOHN COOKE, for the ruins of St. Saviour's Priory, half-a-mile distant. On arrival the somewhat elaborate chancel arch and East window were commented on, and attributed by Mr. Micklethwaite to the end of the twelfth century. The chancel has been roofed with a semicircular waggon vault in stone. In the north wall is a curious recess, the back formed by what looks like a millstone set vertically, the hole in the centre being left open to the air. The next building to be visited was St. Kevin's Kitchen, a structure of the type of St. Columba's House at Kells, but having in addition a small round tower rising from the western gable of the stone roof. A chancel has been at some time added at the east, the arch of entrance cutting through the eill of the original east window, the blocked upper portion of which still exists. This chancel has disappeared, but a stone-roofed building on its northern side remains, of masonry very inferior to that of the earlier part. The original west doorway has a flat lintel with a relieving arch over. Part of the lintel projects some inches from the outer wall face, and has at either end a hole into which the heads of the doorposts may have fitted. The arrangement would, however, do equally well for a door hung vertically. Above the doorway is a plain string with joggled joints. The building is now used as a place of storage for the carved stones and slabs found on the site.

The ruined cathedral was next examined. This is the largest of the group of buildings, consisting of nave 48 feet 6 inches by 30 feet and chancel 25 feet by 22 feet, with a small building now ruined on the south of the chancel. The East window and remains of the chancel arch and north nave door show late twelfth-century detail, but the west doorway of the nave is of Irish character, being built of large granite blocks with sloping jambs and flat lintel with a relieving arch. The underside of the lintel is ornamented with a diagonal cross in low relief.

The Round Tower, with its conical cap re-built with the original stones, was then inspected, but St. Mary's Church had to be left unvisited, owing to rain, and the members drove back to Rathdrum, reaching Dublin at 7.30.

The only mishap of the meeting occurred on the return drive to Rathdrum, when, by the breaking of a girth, a car was upset, with fortunately no damage to its occupants.

The officers of the meeting were as follows:—

President of the Meeting.—The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Rosse, K.P., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.R.I.A.

HISTORICAL SECTION.

President.—P. Weston Joyce, LL.D., M.R.I.A.

Vice-Presidents.—J. R. Garstin, V.P.R.I.A., V.P.R.S.A.I.; G. le Gros.

Secretary.—R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A.

ANTIQUARIAN SECTION.

President.—Sir Thomas Drew, R.H.A., F.R.I.B.A.

Vice-Presidents.—R. Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.; E. W. Brabrook, C.B., F.S.A.

Secretary.—J. Mottram.

November 7th.

SIR HENRY HOWORTH, President, in the Chair.

MR. H. S. COWPER, F.S.A., exhibited a collection of over two hundred objects purchased during a journey through Tripoli, the Cyrenaica, Northern Egypt, and Asia Minor, in the winter of 1899-1900. The principal specimens were as follows:—

An Egyptian figure of mottled black granite, sitting with the knees drawn up, and holding in either hand an *ankh*. On the forehead is an uræus. On the front of the legs are the cartouches of Aahmes of the XXVIth Dynasty, and on the back of the figure an inscription, part of which is thus translated by Professor Flinders Petrie: "Horus establishing Justice, King Khnem-ab-Ra; Ptah his father, and Atmu loving him, give health, stability, and wealth to the great god, lord of two lands, Aahmes son of Neith, from Ptah of the South Wall, Tatnenn, for ever, and all gods great and mighty within the palace." Bought near Sais. Acquired by Cambridge University.

Bronze figures of Isis with Horus, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, Osiris, 6 inches high, and Neith, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. The last, from El-Bukha in the Delta, is of unusually clumsy fabric.

A primitive black earthenware figure from Adalia, under 2 inches high, of the type of the owl-faced figures found by Schliemann at Hissarlik, but showing more detail in the hands and the strangely deformed legs.

A Greek sixth century *aryballos* from Rhodes, in the shape of a female head of archaic type.

Three terra-cotta heads from Naukratis, good Greek work of the third or fourth century B.C.

A small black-figured *lecythos* with a quadriga, and an *askos* with a reclining figure having shield, spear, and helmet. Both from Cyrene.

A fine terra-cotta lamp from Apollonia, with a head of Silenus and a leaf-shaped handle, 9 inches long.

A Rhodian amphora-handle from Naukratis, stamped with a rose and ΕΗΙ ΑΡΧΙΝΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ.

An Egyptian cylinder of the Early Empire, from Medinet-el-Fayum, containing, according to Professor Sayce, a mention of "the Lake"; thus implying the existence of the Fayum lake nome at an early date.

A sard, oval, cut *en cabochon* with a concave back, having an inscription in, possibly, Hittite characters. With this may be compared an illustration on p. 146 of Ball's *Light from the East* (the topmost seal in the middle column).

A carnelian of Greek work, with a sow standing, of archaic type, sixth century B.C., also a chalcedony scaraboid of fine style, with a crouching figure of Aphrodite of the type illustrated in Furtwängler's *Antiken Gemmen*, I. Pl. XII, No. 33, and Pl. XIII, No. 24. Bought in Cairo, said to have come from Baghdad, through a Russian dealer. It is of the fourth century B.C., and is mounted in a modern gold hoop.

An agate of Roman work, from Athens, of early Imperial date, the subject being Scævola before Lars Porcena, with inscription C MVTI (Cains Mutius Scævola), cut to read on the stone, and not on the impression.

A nicolo, Roman, from Rhodes, *temp.* Diocletian, with a beardless seated Jupiter, with spear, victory, and eagle. A paste of Eros with bow and quiver, and game slung over his shoulder.

An obsidian with a figure of Psyche (?) inscribed PLOTIMI. A red jasper with Hercules and the lion, and on the back K K K, a charm against colic. See Cesnola's *Salamina*, Pl. XV, for a similar stone.

A few portrait gems, among them one of early Imperial date, perhaps of Lucretius Carus (see p. 365 of Seyffert's *Classical Dictionary*, English ed., 1899); also a rock crystal of the Emperor Maximian (?), an interesting example, both for subject and for date, if the attribution is correct. A number of coins and scarabs, among them two specimens of the Cyrenaic gold stater with quadriga on reverse, and magistrate's name HOMANOEYΣ.

Two stone hammer-heads from Smyrna, one a neatly made hammer-axe, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, the other a truncated cone flattened on two sides, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, with a maximum width of $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick, with a circular hole for the handle, $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch in diameter. This may have been a metal-worker's tool. Professor Petrie suggests that it is a weight converted into a hammer-head.

A number of flint implements from Egypt and Tripoli, also some beads and a set of thirteen stone weights from Naukratis.

A mediæval silver plaque, from Cairo, circular, $2\frac{9}{16}$ inches across, having six concentric circles of inscriptions, round a central space which contains an unexplained cabalistic sign. The inscriptions, from the outer edge inwards, are as follows:—

1st circle: Nineteen attributes of God.

2nd circle: "In the name of God the compassionate, the merciful," followed by the Throne verse from the Koran, Ch. II, v. 256.

3rd circle: Nineteen cabalistic formulæ.

4th circle: Nineteen letters in separate compartments, forming the sentence "In the name of God the compassionate, the merciful."

5th circle: Six attributes of God.

6th circle: "Healing for that which is in the hearts," Koran, Ch. X, v. 58.

The formulæ in the 3rd circle are made up of combinations of a figure like the Greek ρ . Schliemann found at Hissarlik a terra-cotta ball, decorated on one side with similar figures arranged in a cross and two circles (*Troy and its Remains*, 1875, 264).

There may also be mentioned a glazed earthenware disc, perforated in the centre, convex on one side and flat on the other, with a star pattern on both, and grooved round the edge, from Sakkarah; a leaden sling bullet from Rhodes, inscribed BABYPTA, weighing 680 grs. Troy; and a black stone amulet of Roman date, from the Fayum, in the shape of a face of negroid character.

Mr. J. LEWIS ANDRÉ, F.S.A., read a paper entitled "Miscellanea Heraldica," which is printed at p. 301.

The PRESIDENT and Messrs. GREEN, BRABROOK, and ALLEN BROWNE took part in the discussion.

December 5th.

Sir HENRY HOWORTH, President, in the Chair.

Mr. WENTWORTH STURGEON exhibited a collection of objects found during excavations on the site of the Priory or Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Lechlade, consisting chiefly of glazed tiles of late thirteenth and fourteenth century date, with some late mediæval glass and pottery, and a fragment of a moulded capital of about 1280, apparently of Belgian marble.

The Rev. J. C. COX, LL.D., F.S.A., read a paper on "Northamptonshire Wills, *temp.* Henry VIII.," which will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. P. M. JOHNSTON read a paper on "Wall Paintings at Hardham Church, Sussex," and exhibited coloured tracings of two of the subjects. The paper will be printed in the *Journal*. In the subsequent discussion Mr. J. G. WALLER, F.S.A., made some remarks on the nature of fresco as distinguished from wall paintings. He said that fresco painting was done with water as a medium on the wet plaster, which was applied to the wall in patches of such size that the whole could be painted in a day, and consequently a true fresco could always be distinguished by the joints in the plaster. It was a mistake to suppose that the colour sank into the plaster; it remained on the surface, while the water used as a medium went into the plaster. The medium used in the English mediæval wall paintings was size, and it was the perishing of the size which brought about the so-called fading of paintings, which would be more correctly described as disintegration of the pigment owing to the loss of the medium. The best method of counteracting this was to apply size in the form of a spray to the surface of the painting, by which means the original effect would be reproduced. Varnish was not desirable, as it would in time make a hard surface and crack off, taking with it the paintings it covered.

Messrs. GARRAWAY RICE, COX, and PEERS joined in the discussion.

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