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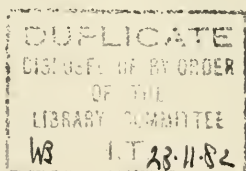
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SHERBORNE SCHOOL BEFORE, UNDER, AND AFTER EDWARD VI.

By ARTHUR F. LEACH, F.S.A., formerly Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford.

Sherborne, Dorset, is a place of great interest to the historian and the antiquary, not only for its castle with memories of the great Bishop Roger its builder, and the greater Sir Walter Raleigh, from whom James I "mun have it for Carr"; for its abbey, tracing its origin back to the dim days of the Saxon Aldhelm; for its almshouse, with a magnificent charter of Henry VI, and an existence certainly before that, and probably long before that; but, above all, for its school. This, as a still flourishing institution, is more interesting than all the rest, since it may not improbably claim to be older than all the rest, and may certainly claim to have been the chief cause of the preservation of that which is most ancient in Sherborne.

Nowhere else in England, probably, is the connection of the present with the past more marked, certainly nowhere more pleasingly marked, than in the buildings of Sherborne School. The way in which the ancient buildings of the dead abbey have been made to minister to the needs of the living school, transformed without being deformed, reflects the greatest credit on the authorities and architects of the school. The ancient buildings absorbed in the modern ones stand out clearly as ancient, while the new buildings, thanks in great part to the character of the native building-stone of the district, are erected in a style which, while it does not ape the ancient in impossible imitation, clearly shows that they are new and not old, yet harmonises admirably with the old.

When we compare the quadrangle which has been made at Sherborne, having the abbey church for its southern side, with the havoc that has been wrought at Canterbury—a school the history of which goes back a century beyond what we can even infer for that of Sherborne—with the ancient almonry buildings given to the school by Cardinal Pole, swept away to be replaced by modern structures

entirely out of harmony with their surroundings, our gratitude to the Governors of Sherborne School is not diminished. While the Norman staircase leading up to the sham Norman Steward's hall at Canterbury is more picturesque than any one thing at Sherborne, its survival amid the surrounding destruction only emphasises the superiority of the lay body over the ecclesiastical one, in its love and care for the ancient and historic buildings.

The immediate reason for bringing the history of Sherborne School before the Institute is of a more historical nature than the architectural considerations above mentioned.

Sherborne School, though not, as I shall show, the earliest of the so-called Edward VI foundations, is one of the earliest. Its charter, which is printed for the first time *in extenso*, was the model for many others to follow. Its accounts, the first eight of which are also now printed, are, I believe, the earliest accounts of any school, other than those of Winchester and Eton Colleges, now extant, beginning as they do with the sixth year of Edward VI, and containing the items of the re-building of the first school after the re-foundation.

But the most interesting document which I am able to present is one, which puts beyond doubt the fact of the existence of Sherborne School before the endowment by Edward VI, besides providing the name of the then schoolmaster, and which, while it does not wholly clear up the status and constitution of the school in its prior existence, yet shows conclusively that it was not kept, as has been commonly asserted, by the monks of the abbey.

The Old Sherborne School not Monastic.

I must here break a lance with Mr. W. B. Wildman, one of the house masters of Sherborne School, whose admirable *Short History of Sherborne* (F. Bennett, Sherborne, 1896) is a model of what such a history should be. To him this paper is due; to his agency I am indebted for the photographs which adorn it; for the school account rolls, printed below, a summary of which he has given in his *History*; for the almshouse account rolls; and for help of every kind. And so, "after salutations," I pro-

ceed to show the sincerity of my gratitude and the warmth of my thanks to him by an assault on his account of the pre-Edwardian education of Sherborne.

In his *History*, at p. 36, he says: "For $8\frac{1}{2}$ centuries the Monastery and School of Sherborne had existed, doing their work more or less successfully for the education of men and boys in this part of England, till, on the 18th of March, 1539, Abbot John Barnstaple, with 16 monks, surrendered the Abbey, with all that belonged to it, into the hands of King Henry VIII." A little lower he says: "Thus was withdrawn from what was, on the face of it, a corporation engaged in education and religious work, a property with an annual rental of £820 11s. $3\frac{3}{4}d.$, without taking into account the Priory of Kidwelly."

I venture to think that these remarks show a misconception of the part played by the monasteries—at all events, in their latter years. I will not go into the question of their religious utility, beyond remarking that it is quite obvious, from Mr. Wildman's history of the abbey, that for the general body of the parishioners of Sherborne its use was *nil*. The parishioners had no part or lot in the abbey church which now belongs to them, but had to build and maintain at their own cost their parish church in a relatively humble building at the end of, and outside, the church of the lordly abbey.

Monks did not even, like the friars, endeavour to do good or harm, as we may regard it, by going about among the people preaching and teaching, granting pardons and indulgences, and exhibiting relics. They stayed, or ought to have stayed, in their cloister praying and praising, and cultivating their own souls. From all accounts they cultivated their skins a good deal more; and if they left their cloisters it was either legitimately on business connected with their property, or illegitimately for pleasure—never for the religious benefit of the people.

As for their share in education, that was entirely confined to their own members. They kept, or were supposed to keep, a grammar school for their own novices, to which they were expressly forbidden to admit outsiders. They mostly failed to do even that, as may be seen in numbers of Episcopal Visitations scattered through the centuries. In Dr. Jessopp's *Visitations of the Diocese of*

Norwich, 1492-1532, published by the Camden Society in 1888, where these Visitations are collected together for a single diocese, next to the complaints of *liaisons* with women mostly of the baser sort, one of the commonest complaints—so common that it is almost universal—is that no schoolmaster is kept. In 1514 this was the case at Norwich Cathedral Priory itself, as in 1511 it was at Canterbury Cathedral Priory. In 1494 the same was the case at Butley and Walsingham Priories, at St. Bennet's Holme and Wymondham Abbeys. At Bromehill Priory "the schoolroom called 'School house chamber'" was in such disrepair that it threatened to tumble down. I have not had the opportunity of ascertaining whether any Visitations of Sherborne Abbey are preserved, or whether there "religion was well kept," and education too.

Unfortunately, there are very few records of Sherborne Abbey extant. There are two or three MSS. at the British Museum, but they relate entirely to property, and shed no light on internal organisation or external relations. The MS. (Otho, A. XVIII.) from which Leland took the charters referring to the adoption of the Benedictine rule at Sherborne in 998 *expulsis clericis* (marked by Kemble as spurious), is only a charred fragment. There is said to be a Chartulary or Register in the Fenwick Library, formerly belonging to Sir T. Phillipps, at Cheltenham, but it is practically inaccessible.

The general outline of the history of the abbey seems, however, fairly well ascertained. It had not been a monastery for 800 years, or anything like it, when destroyed. Originally, and for nearly 300 years after its first appearance in history, Sherborne Minster was not an abbey or a monastery of any kind, but a cathedral church of secular clerks. We learn from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (V. 18) that in 705, on the death of Hædde, Bishop of the West Saxons at the Oxfordshire Dorchester, "the province of the bishopric was divided into two parishes." The principal one, with See at Winchester, the capital of Wessex and afterwards of England, was given to Daniel, whom Bede describes as still living when he wrote, and who was his authority for Wessex history. "The other to Aldhelm, who for four years most strenuously ruled it."

Bede gives a description of Aldhelm's writings, written when he was Abbot of Malmesbury, where he succeeded the founder, a Scotch (*i.e.* Irish)man called by Bede Maidulf, who was reputed a great scholar. Aldhelm himself had been a pupil of Archbishop Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury, and a scholar also of Maidulf. He combined the culture of the two great schools of learning then in Europe—that of Rome and that of Ireland; though it appears by a letter to a friend named Eahfrid (Plummer's *Bede*, II, 196) that even then he thought it *infra dig.* for the English to resort to Ireland for instruction. It is not suggested that Aldhelm founded, or that there was, at the time when the bishopric was erected there, a monastery at Sherborne. Indeed Faricius, Aldhelm's monkish biographer in the reign of Henry I, who professed to have older lives (Latin and English) before him, says that "as Bishop, hindered by worldly business, as is the case with all of them, he was not so virtuous as he was before." This presumably means that, having something better to do, he did not fast, write books in praise of virginity (as if that barren and futile vice were the highest virtue), and otherwise practise asceticism as he had done before. But we may be quite certain that he established a college of clerks at Sherborne such as there was at Winchester, and afterwards in Crediton, Exeter, Salisbury, and other cathedrals, taken out of the diocese of Sherborne; and if a college of clerks, then a grammar school. That there were no monks originally may be inferred not only from the silence of Bede, but also from the fact that it is on record that by a charter of King Ethelred in 998 the then Bishop Wulfsey was empowered to replace the secular canons by monks, as had already been done by Ethelwold at Winchester a generation before, under stress of the monastic *furor* which is connected with the name of Dunstan. At Sherborne, after this revolution, as at Winchester, Canterbury, and the other monasticised cathedrals, the Bishop, of course, stood in the place of Abbot to the monks; the monks stood in the place of Chapter to the Bishop. The school would have remained, as we find it at Canterbury in historical times, the school not of the monks, but of the Bishop.

Whether it did so remain or not is at present a matter of inference merely, from analogy with what went on elsewhere, and from three or four isolated and late records.

The first of these records owes its existence to the almshouse already mentioned. In the year 1437 the good people of Sherborne procured a licence in mortmain by Letters Patent from the Crown, and also from the Bishop and Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, together with a set of elaborate and magnificently illuminated statutes, for the regulation of the almshouse (*domus elemosinaria*) of the two Saints John, the Baptist and the Evangelist. Accounts of this almshouse are extant from the year 1426, before the foundation. As schools are often found in connection with almshouses or hospitals for the poor, it occurred to me that an examination of them¹ might show a payment to the schoolmaster or the scholars. It did not; but it did produce, quite incidentally, positive proof of the existence of a schoolmaster in Sherborne, who was not a monk but a secular clerk, who lived not in the abbey but outside. To defray the costs of the charters for the new foundation of the almshouse, and to provide funds for the rebuilding or enlargement of the house itself, a public subscription was set on foot in Sherborne and the neighbourhood. In Sherborne itself this subscription must have partaken of the nature of what nowadays, in the case of a provision of an elementary school "to keep out a School Board," is called a voluntary rate; for the collection was apparently from street to street and house to house, and few could have escaped contributing their quota. Fortunately two rolls, or at least one and a-half, are extant for this year—one said to be from Michaelmas, 16 Henry VI, to St. John the Baptist's day, 24th June, 17 Henry VI, for three-quarters of a year; the other simply for the 16th year of Henry VI. The second gives the expenses as well as the receipts; the first gives the receipts only, the other part of the roll having apparently been torn off and lost. It may be that one was the draft and the other the completed account. Each of them gives the subscription list; but

¹ I am indebted to the Prior and Brethren of the Almshouse and to Messrs. Bartlett and Sons for being allowed to examine the Almshouse Accounts from 1425 to 1547.

while the latter gives the subscription under street headings, the former gives them without any order, except apparently that of receipts.

The total sum raised was £80 4s. 9½*d.*, or some £1,600 of our money, of which £33 was under the heading of "Foreign Receipts," or receipts from outsiders, J. Fauntleroy, who is named as one of the founders in the charter and statutes, giving no less than £20. In the town the biggest contribution, as might be expected, is from "Chepstret" or Market Street, 34 persons contributing altogether £14 11s. 6*d.* Of the other streets 26 people in Long Street (Longstrete) contribute £4 0s. 8*d.*; 29 in Newland, £8 2s.; and 15, "round and towards the churchyard," contribute £3 12s. 8*d.* Cheap Street heads the list not only in numbers, but in riches. In Cheap Street the largest amount, £5, is received from John Baret, also named in the Foundation documents, while the "Rector de la Grene," the Incumbent of a chantry chapel up a hill above Cheap Street contributed £1. How he managed to contribute so much is a mystery, since in the Chantry certificate, a copy of which is printed here, it appears that the sole endowment of his free chapel of St. Thomas à Becket on the Green was 62s. a year. Perhaps the offerings of the faithful at the fane of Thomas the Martyr made up a good income. Other amounts given go down as low as 6*d.* Among the larger givers contributing a sum of 3s. 4*d.* is the "Schoolmaster" (*Magister Scholarum*). The plural form is almost invariably used for a single school from the twelfth century or earlier to the middle of the fifteenth century, and often later. This entry then shows us the grammar schoolmaster living in Cheap Street. I say "the" schoolmaster advisedly, as no more than a single schoolmaster of one kind, grammar or song, was allowed to "practise" in a single ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and I interpolate grammar with equal advisedness because the mention of a schoolmaster, without more, and with no context pointing to a different meaning, means a grammar schoolmaster. This is practically put beyond doubt by the subscription list as given in the other roll. In that, the names are given in no particular order, except that J. Fauntleroy and J. Baret head it with their £20 and £5

apiece, while Jane Cardemaker gives 16*d.*, and Robert the Apothecary ("Potycary"), 20*d.* Then, a little lower down, appears "3*s.* 4*d.* received of Thomas Copeland, Schoolmaster of Shirbourne aforesaid." Shirbourne is the method of spelling almost always adopted in these almshouse, and later in the school, accounts. Just as the vicar of Sherborne would still mean the vicar of the old sole parish church of Sherborne, so the "School Master of Sherborne" means the licensed, authorised, established master or head-master, of the sole public grammar school of Sherborne.

The next record is not in parchment, but in wood. It is to be found in the abbey church in a carving on the misericord of one of the ten surviving stalls of the abbey church, erected, it is supposed, during the abbacy of William Bradford, who reigned from 1436 to 1459. This carving shows a schoolmaster, a *plagosus Orbilius*, in the act of exercising what the straiter sect, especially the monks, regarded as the chief function and prerogative of a teacher. The victim, with his hose turned well down, is stretched across the operator's knee, one hand still clutching his book, showing that he is being chastised not for misconduct, but for some mistake or so-called stupidity, and the master, with uplifted arm, is about to bring a mighty birch down on the sacred spot prepared for it. It is not quite clear whether that spot is the one usually connected with birching, or the small of the back consecrated to the Winchester "bibling." One is pleased to think that whichever it is in such a posture the weapon can get but a limited sweep, and that its ends cannot curl round with the peculiarly stinging unfairness of more modern methods. Two other boys, one on each side, peruse their books with affected studiousness, looking out of the corners of their eyes the while with a not ill-pleased grin at the misfortune of their schoolfellow. Thanks to Mr. Wilman I am able to show the reader a faithful picture of this carving. It will be seen that the master is not a monk, with his cowl, but a secular, with a round cap or birettus on his head. Whether he is Mr. Thomas Copeland or a successor does not appear. Certainly he is not a follower of the rule of St. Benedict or St. Austin.

The last record is one that has been long in print,



MISERICORD, SHERBORNE MINSTER.

though not before noticed in this connection. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535, printed by the Public Record Commission in 1810, there are given for Sherborne Abbey the gross income, and fixed outgoings intended to be allowed as deductions from gross income to arrive at the net income to be taxed. The total income was over £800 a year, of which £7 16s. 2d. a year is attributed to "the office of the Almoner." From this is paid "In alms yearly distributed from the outgoings of the foresaid lands and tenements in Sherborne, for the maintenance (*exhibitione*) of 3 scholars in the Grammar School at Sherborne, of the foundation of Alfric Thornecombe, £5 2s. 8d."

It was on the faith of this entry that in my book *English Schools at the Reformation* (Constable & Co., 1896) I made the statement "The great Public School of Sherborne clearly existed before 1550, but it was not maintained by the monastery," which produced a challenge from Mr. Wildman and this paper.

If the monastery had maintained the school for the benefit of the public, and housed and boarded, as is commonly supposed, the scholars, a very much larger sum would have been spent in maintenance, and the pay of the master or masters would have been mentioned. At Dover Priory, for instance (*Val. Eccl.* I, 54), we find, out of a total income of £232 odd, the following educational payment: "Resolucion of yerely Fees of Scole Masters. First to the Scolemater of the Grammer Scole 53s. 4d. To the Scolemater of Song Scole 53s. 4d. Total £5 6s. 8d." It is certain that these schoolmasters were not monks or in the monastery, as their stipends were allowed as deductions from the amount on which the Tenth was to be paid as outgoings, whereas internal payments were not so allowed. At St. Mary's Abbey, York, there were 50 poor boys maintained at the monastery's expense in a house called the Clee; but it is expressly stated that they attended not the monastic school, the school of the novices—which would have been quite illegal—but the Cathedral Grammar School, the School of the City of York, now commonly called St. Peter's School. These boys cost the very considerable sum of £61 6s. 8d. a year.

The extracts from the Sherborne Hospital accounts

show that the statement made as to the præ-Reformation Sherborne School was fully justified. It is now certain that the master was not a monk, and did not live in the monastery.

The schoolhouse itself, however, was probably within the abbey precincts. On a plan given in Mr. Wildman's *Short History* it is shown as a separate building, standing close to the north-east side of the church, parallel to, but extending further east than, the Lady Chapel, a 13th century building, and the later chapel of Our Lady of Bow, or, the Arch, *i.e.* of the East Gate, a 15th century or early 16th century building, both of them eastern excrescences. This location is undoubtedly correct. For though neither the "School house" standing at the dissolution, nor the school house built almost immediately after the new foundation, the accounts of which are printed here, remain, a schoolhouse of the date of 1670 still stands on the site, though now no longer a schoolroom, but the hall or dining-room of the school or head master's house. Of this building Mr. Wildman says (p. 40) that "it stands on the very site; it represents the very building which King Alfred, which St. Stephen Harding knew as Sherborne School." Now, that there was a Public Grammar School at Sherborne, kept by the Bishop and his Chapter of Secular Canons in Alfred's time, I make no more doubt than Mr. Wildman, though whether it stood on the same site as this building there is, of course, no evidence whatever. But if this school was on the site of that which Stephen Harding, the founder of the Cistercian Order, knew (in the sense of being a scholar of) in the 12th century, then it was not the Public Grammar School in which Thomas Copeland taught in the 15th century, and in which the three abbey Exhibitioners learnt in the 16th century. For, according to William of Malmesbury, on whose authority (though a romancer of the first water, not to be trusted for a moment on any point in which there might be a question whether a famous institution was originally a monastery, or a famous man a monk), Mr. Wildman builds, Stephen Harding was "as a boy, a monk at Sherborne, afterwards as a youth teased by the itch of the world, hating that cloth, went first to the land of the Scots, then to France, and there, while pursuing liberal

studies, felt the spur of the love of God," and after a visit to Rome "returned to Burgundy, and there, in a great new monastery, cut his hair and easily reacquired the elements of the Rule."

Now, if Harding was brought up as a monk, he certainly was not educated in the Public Grammar School, but in the private Novices' School, usually held in a corner of the cloister, which, panelled off from the rest, might well be called "School-house chamber" or even "School house" in the sense in which the chapter house, which was no more than a separate apartment of the cloister, was called a "house"; but was almost certainly not a separate building far apart from the monastic quarters, and close to the gate leading to the outer world. If this building was the novices' school, then it might have been the building in which Stephen Harding learnt to hate the monkish cloth. But, if so, the continuity of the buildings of the grammar school is broken, as this could not then have been the Public Grammar School. If, however, as is more probable from its position, this building was not the novices' school, but the school in which Thomas Copeland, his predecessors and successors, ruled, then it was not the school in which Stephen Harding, the novice, was taught. It is, however, quite probable that William of Malmesbury misrepresented the facts. It is difficult to understand how Harding could have thrown off the monkish garb, however much he may have hated it, if he was brought up as an oblate in the monastery. It would be much more probable that he was merely educated as a cleric, not a monk, in the Public Grammar School, one of those *stabula clericorum*, or stables for clerks, as the envious monk calls them.

*The School from the Surrender of the Abbey to
Edward VI's Charter.*

When the monastery was surrendered to the Crown on 18th March, 1539, by Abbot John Barustaple, or Barscabull, as he is spelt in the print of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, and sixteen monks, the surrender apparently included the schoolhouse which stood within the precinct. Mr. Wildman assumes that the school itself

ceased. But this is by no means certain, and the probabilities are against it. The schoolmaster being a secular person outside the abbey, and not depending on a stipend from the abbey, was probably dependent for his living on tuition fees; and even if he was deprived of the schoolhouse would assuredly have made shift with a chamber in the almshouse, the parish church of All Hallows, or some other edifice. It is not certain that he was deprived of the schoolhouse. Within nine months of the surrender, on 4th January, 1540, the Court of the Augmentations of the Revenues of the Crown granted to Sir John Horsey, knight, who was, as the *Valor* of 1535 informs us, already steward of the monastery, a lease for 21 years of the site and buildings of the monastery, and the lands, called "le Great Courte, le Abbotts gardyne, Covent gardyne, le West gardyne. Pygges Barton, Rykes barton and Priours yard." Other lands, "the Quarre Close," and so forth, amounting in all to 155½ acres "being commonly called the Demesne lands," were also included in the lease; the rent for the whole being £5 4s. 8d. On the 21st March following, this lease was followed up by a sale for £1,242 3s. 9d., to the same person, of the reversion on the lease. (Pat., 31 Henry VIII, ii. 32.) As the sale comprised also the house of Wyke, let at £16 0s. 6d. a year, and some lands at Bradford belonging to Cannington Priory, we are not able to arrive at the precise number of years' purchase given; but it was clearly a full price. This grant comprised not only the lands included in the lease, but also "the whole church, bell tower, and church yard (cemetery) of the same." Sir John Horsey, of Clifton Maybank, was a near neighbour and friend of the good people of Sherborne. The first school account for 1553-4 now printed shows that the Governors of the School were not only in full possession of the schoolhouse at the not very onerous rent of 4d. a year (which, assuming the multiple of twenty times for the value of money then as against its value now, was only 6s. 8d.), but that they had already made arrangements for a building lease for 99 years, and for pulling it down and rebuilding it, which they did in that very year. It is therefore on the cards that either the Governors (who were the same people as the feoffees

of the almshouse) had in fact been in possession of the school all the time, or that the master himself had been allowed to use it. It must not, therefore, be assumed that the school ceased in 1539, or that it was materially affected by the dissolution of the monastery.

The circumstances rather point the other way. The next official documents that would possibly afford us information on the point, the certificates under the Chantries Acts, are unfortunately very imperfectly preserved for Dorsetshire. Of the certificates or surveys made under the Chantries Act of Henry VIII, there is none extant for Dorset. Under the Chantries Act of Edward VI, which provided for Commissions to certify the value of the Chantries, to pension off the incumbents, and to continue such as were thought fit to be continued as chapels-of-ease, endowments for grammar schoolmasters, preachers, and the poor, there is a certificate for Dorset. Unfortunately, it is a mere summary, and gives almost no details. It is probably not the original certificate, but an abstract of it prepared by the officials of the Court of Augmentations, which had been erected to deal with the confiscated property of the monasteries, and later of the chantries. It is bound up, as if it were the same document, with another of quite a different kind, namely the return, prepared by the officials from the certificate, of the pensions which ought to be paid to the holders of suppressed chantries, and the schools which ought to be continued or provided for. This latter document includes the almshouse at Sherborne, which was not within the Act at all, being purely a lay foundation for the relief of the poor; but had perhaps been included in the certificate under Henry VIII Chantries Act, which had included such almshouses under the name of hospitals. It sets it out as "the Hospital or Lepers house of S. John the Evangelist in Sherborne," and gives its net value, appropriated to the poor, at £20 11s. 10d. Opposite to this entry, written in the margin in two different hands, is, first, "Memorandum for a school to be in Sherborne," and then "*Continuatur quousque.*" It is not clear whether the latter words apply to the school or the almshouse, but probably the latter. Later on in the document, under the heading of Wym-

borne, is included the Chantry of Lady Margaret, Henry VII's mother, founded in the College of Wimborne to maintain a grammar schoolmaster. The certificate states that the school is in abeyance and in the King's hands through the death of the master, but "the town of Wimborne is a great market town and a thoroughfare, and hath many children therein, and there is no grammar school kept within 12 miles." "Therefore it is very requisite that the said school may remain still for the bringing up of young children in learning, freely, without any thing paying, as it was in times past." The same marginal notes then appear as at Sherborne: "Memorandum for a School to be had in Wimborne." "It is continued until further order." While there is added another: "Memorandum for the appointment of the Schoolmaster, Symon Smith, recommended by Mr. Cheke, appointed to be schoolmaster there *quousque*."

Finally, at the foot of the roll is added: "The officers think most convenient to appoint a School and an Hospital at Sherborne, and the like at Wimborne, being the places most meet for the purpose." This certificate is signed by Walter Mildmay and Robert Kelwaye or Keylway or Caylway, who was himself a Dorset man.

The result was, that a warrant dated 20th July, 1548, recited that a free grammar school had been kept in Wimborne, that the schoolmaster had £10 2s. 11d. a year, and directed that the school should continue, and "the schoolmaster there shall have for his wages yearly £10 2s. 11d." This was merely an *interim* order. In Wimborne, as in Sherborne, the inhabitants bestirred themselves for something better. At Sherborne their efforts were not crowned with success for some two years. On 29th March, 4 Edward VI, *i.e.* 1550, an order was made by Richard Sakevyle (Sackville) for the preparation of a "Bill" for the conveyance of lands to a corporation of twenty of the inhabitants of the town and parish of Sherborne as "governors of the possessions, revenues and goods of the said school," as the King's Majesty by the advice of his Privy Council is pleased and contented that a "Free Grammar School shall be erected and established in Sherborne."

This order I have already printed in *English Schools at*

the Reformation. Above it, on the same roll, is a schedule in Latin of the particular lands intended to be given. I only printed the summary of this; but as the governors are in possession of a contemporary copy of this schedule in English, it is now printed in full below.

Edward VI's Charter of Re-foundation.

The actual Letters Patent prepared in accordance with this order were sealed two months afterwards, on the 13th May. These are here printed below from the original Patent, with seal attached, still in the possession of the governors. Since they were in print I find that they had already been printed from the copy on the Patent Roll (4 Edward VI, i.), in Hutchin's *History of Dorset*, IV, 291, but abbreviated, and with many errors.

Mr. Wildman (*Short History*, p. 50) attributes the re-foundation of the school to the Protector Somerset, and claims this as the first of the Edward VI foundations. "In 1548 John Capon, Bishop of Sarum, was induced by the Protector Somerset to demise to him the Castle of Sherborne. The closing of the school being keenly felt by the people of Sherborne and the whole neighbourhood, a petition was presented to Somerset, probably while he was at the Castle, begging him to move the King to re-found this school. Somerset evidently was persuaded that there was a real want here, and the result was that on 13th May, 1550, King Edward VI re-founded the school, the first of a series of schools which were meant to carry on the work hitherto done by the monastic schools, but violently arrested some few years before." But we have already seen that the pre-existing school—without which, as Mr. Wildman rightly observes, "there was little reason why Sherborne should have been specially selected for Edward VI's first foundation"—was not, in the sense hitherto given to it, a monastic school at all. Further, there is no evidence whatever that the re-foundation was due to Somerset. On the contrary, the facts point the other way. The charter begins by reciting "the humble petition as well of the inhabitants of the town as of very many other of our subjects of the whole neighbouring country,"—not to Somerset, but "to us"—and proceeds to

grant it in the usual formula, "by our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion," adding the special clause "also by the advice of our Council." Nothing is therefore said as to Somerset. Nor indeed would Somerset have had any hand in it, for he was sent to the Tower early in January, 1550. The order for the grant was not made till 29th March following, and the Patent not passed till 13th May after that. While Somerset was in power it was the custom—and it was one of the marks of arrogance and ambition that caused his downfall—to attribute the action of the King specially to the advice "of his most dear uncle." This is clearly shown in the Commission for Continuance of Schools and Preachers, etc., printed in my oft-quoted book, which is said to be "by the advice of our most dearest and entirely beloved uncle and counsellor, Edward, Duke of Somerset, . . . and of other of our counsellors," so that it is the "dear uncle" first and the rest nowhere. After his fall the constitutional method of reference to our Council was again resorted to.

Anyhow, Sherborne was by no means the first of the re-foundations. In the first place, a good many—and some of the most important, *e.g.* Warwick Grammar School, and those of all the schools of the Cathedrals of the New Foundation—had taken place under Henry VIII. In the second place, divers such foundations had taken place under Edward VI himself. The credit of the refounding of Crediton (a college surrendered to Henry) and its school and church, regranted on 2nd April, 1 Edward VI, must be attributed to his father, under whom the arrangements had been made. The same may perhaps be said of Great Grimsby, Norwich, and Tamworth. But Stafford, Maidstone, (Saffron) Walden, Wisbech, and Newport are some only of the schools that were refounded by Letters Patent in the 2nd and 3rd years of Edward VI, and were certainly not due to his father. They are of course before the Sherborne Charter, which is only of the 4th year of his reign.

The Sherborne Charter begins with some very fine illuminated letters, which, as they are identical with those in the Patent of Morpeth School, now hanging up in the museum at the Record Office, may probably be taken to be a common form, kept in stock by the King's

stationers of the day. It consists of five parts: first, the creation, erection, or foundation of a grammar school in "Shirborne"; second, the nomination and incorporation of a body of governors; third, a grant of the lands assigned for the endowment of the school (this is the longest part); fourth, a grant to the governors of the appointment of the master and usher, and the power, with the advice of the Bishop of Bristol, of making statutes for the school as regards their salary and conduct, and also for the school and its property; fifth, a licence in mortmain to acquire other lands to the value of another £20 a year, making £40 a year in all.

The first part is rather curious, legally and historically. It purports to grant and ordain that there shall be one grammar school in the town of "Shirborne," which shall be called the "Free Grammar School of King Edward VI for the education, institution, and instruction of boys and youths in grammar, to endure for ever"; and then goes on with *verba de præsenti*, to "erect, create, ordain, and found that school of one Master or Pedagogue, and one Sub-pedagogue or under-teacher." The true and idiomatic translation is "Usher," now unfortunately regarded as rather a term of reproach, and perhaps somewhat even then, as the word "Hostiarius," used at Winchester College in 1400, had already, in the statutes of St. Paul's, 1512, given place to the term of sub- or sur-master.

The grant that there should be one grammar school in Sherborne was necessary, as no grammar school could be held in any place without the authority of the Ordinary, *i.e.* the direct ecclesiastical judge of first instance of that place, who was seemingly, after the establishment of the bishopric of Bristol by Henry VIII, not the Bishop of Salisbury, erst of Sherborne, to whom as lord of the manor the town mostly belonged, but the Dean of Salisbury. A strict monopoly was as a rule maintained in favour of the licensed grammar school of the place by the Ordinary. As late as 1620 this monopoly was invoked on behalf of the school of Winchester College against an usher or second master who had left his office, married a Winchester widow, and set up a school in St. John's Hospital in the town.

The Charter of the Crown as "Supreme Head," the supreme ecclesiastical authority, over-rode the Ordinary,

and was necessary, or at least useful, to prevent the Ordinary from stopping or interfering with the free grammar school on behalf of any private *protégé* he might set up. The school was to be for the education of youths, as well as boys; boyhood ending and youth beginning at fourteen years of age.

The words purporting to found a grammar school, consisting of master and usher, were rather unnecessary. They are probably a survival of the old ideas under which the school was itself created a corporation, and as a rule the master or master and usher were the "incorporators," to use a very vile and misleading legal term for the members of the corporation. Schools being of ecclesiastical origin and cognizance, it was natural to imitate the status of the ecclesiastical vicar, and set up a schoolmaster as a corporation sole; especially as before the dissolution of chantries many of them, as chantry priests, were so already. The Chantries Act of Edward VI distinctly contemplates the erection of schools with the schoolmaster as a corporation sole; section 2 of the Act, empowering the Commissioners in places where a grammar school had been kept under the name of a chantry or guild, to assign "lands . . . to remain and continue *in succession to a Schoolmaster for ever*, for and towards the keeping of a Grammar School, in such manner as they shall appoint." The vicars who were continued under that section have always been treated as corporations sole, like other vicars. The schoolmasters, continued in identically the same terms, have not been so treated, or have not so treated themselves, though undoubtedly they were intended to be so. At Pocklington, in Yorkshire, where the people, wise in their generation, procured a Private Act of Parliament to continue their grammar school, the schoolmaster and usher were formally incorporated and the school lands vested in them. It cannot be said that the experiment of an endowed schoolmaster being his own governing body worked very well. The later history of Pocklington School was one continued struggle against the insolvency produced by leases at an under-value made by successive masters.¹

¹ See a paper by me on "The Foundation and Refoundation of Pocklington Grammar School" in *Transactions*

of the East Riding Antiquarian Society, 1897, p. 63 seq.

The other and more common expedient was to make the grant of the property to the corporation of the town, enabling them to set up and manage the school.

Sherborne town was not sufficiently developed municipally to possess a Town Council; nor had even, like Wisbech, Stratford-on-Avon, and other places, a Guild powerful enough to obtain its own re-creation and conversion into a Town Council. Consequently, at Sherborne the expedient was adopted of creating a corporation of School Governors elected *ad hoc*, and existing simply and solely for the purpose of holding the school property, appointing the masters, and generally administering the school.

In this respect, and this respect only, I believe Sherborne may claim priority. It was not by many hundred years the first Free Grammar School. It was not by a long way the first of Edward VI's Free Grammar School foundations, or re-foundations. But its charter is the first which set up a purely lay corporation, with no other duties, religious or municipal, for the single purpose of maintaining a school. The governors of Sherborne School were, we may say, the first School Board—the first body whose first, last, and only duties were educational.

Mr. Wildman, indeed, informs us that the first School Governors were, in fact, the same persons as the master and brethren or governing body of the Almshouse. But the governing body of the Almshouse was not made the governing body of the School, or the School would have run the risk—which experience has shown is no slight one—of having its interests postponed, and perhaps its property applied to and for the benefit of the almshouse. It is so pleasant to be charitable when the charity does not come out of one's own pocket, when it commands patronage, power, and votes, and when its application saves the poor rate! The Governors were the same persons but acting in a quite different capacity; with distinct trusts, and, above all, an entirely separate purse. The School was once robbed by the Governors, as Mr. Wildman has shown, for the benefit of the church. But though there was, especially in early days, a free interchange of good offices between the School and the Almshouse, neither has, so far as is known, ever been robbed for the benefit

of the other; and consequently they have both thriven, and live in harmony to this day.

“To the effect,” says the charter, “that our intention may take better effect, and that the lands so assigned for the maintenance of the said School may be better managed, we will and ordain that there shall for the future be within the town and parish of Shirborne aforesaid, 20 men of the more discreet and better inhabitants, probiores [a word with a history, the *preux d'hommes* of French law], who shall be called the Governors of the possessions, revenues, and goods of the Free Grammar School of King Edward VI. in Shirborne in the county of Dorset.” They are incorporated accordingly, and made capable of perpetual succession, with power to hold lands and power to perpetuate their succession by co-optation; the surviving governors appointing a new governor when any governor died or went to reside out of the parish.

After the grant of the lands to them (with which we shall deal presently) the charter then proceeds with the usual clauses as to corporations, granting them the right to have a common seal; and to plead and be impleaded by their corporate name. Then follows the power, which was by no means common form even for a corporation of governors for purely school purposes, of appointing the master and usher, determining their salaries, and of making statutes from time to time as to the governance of the masters and the school. But, as usual, this statute-making power was to be exercised “with the advice” of the Bishop of the Diocese. He was in this case, the county having been taken out of Salisbury and transferred to the new see created by Henry VIII, the “Bishop of Bristol for the time being.”

Edward VI.'s Corporation of Governors of the school has been out-lived by the Almshouse Corporation of Henry VI.

The scheme under the Edward Schools Acts (one of the earliest made by the Endowed Schools Commissioners), approved by the Queen in Council 16th May, 1871, dissolved the corporation of governors and vested the lands (the holding of which was the main object of incorporation) in a new corporation the creature of Statute—

the Official Trustee of Charity Lands. The governors are no longer purely co-optative, electing their own successors, but consist of persons of high official rank—the Lord Lieutenant of Dorset, the Bishop of Salisbury, or their nominees; four representatives of the M.P.'s in Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Wilts; the Vicar of Sherborne, a representative of the masters in the school; and the other half, of the total number of sixteen, co-opted as before.

The School Endowment.

Mr. Wildman's *Short History* has already disposed of the entirely unfounded assertion that the lands with which the school on its refoundation was endowed were abbey lands, or even "lapsed chantries of the abbey." This was one of those wild guesses of which the local history of the past was full; which in this case the mere perusal of the charter should have instantly dispelled.

The "Particular for the School" now printed sets out the chantry lands in great detail. That there may be no mistake about their origin I have also printed the particulars of the various chantries given in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, the Chantry Certificate, and the Pension Certificate founded on it. These certificates do not, however, give the origin of the chantries, except in one case; but this information has been supplied from the county histories.

Mr. Wildman expresses a doubt whether the chantries "had been dissolved in 1545 or 1547, for it is not clear whether those chantries came under 37 Henry VIII, c. 4, or 1 Edward VI, c. 4." The chantries, in fact, came under both Acts, and there ought to be certificates of them under both Acts. But the Chantries Act of Henry VIII did not vest them in the Crown. It only enabled the King to have a survey made, and to enter into possession of them by a commission issued out of Chancery if he felt disposed. Commissions for the survey were issued 14th February, 1546; but the survey could not have been completed for some months. The certificates of the survey exist for many counties, but not for Dorset. The further commissions to enter into possession are

known to have been issued in the case only of four colleges, three chantries, and one hospital (that of St. Bartholomew the Great), none of which were in Dorset.

The Act was for Henry's life only, and expired with Henry in January, 1547. No chantries were dissolved in 1547. The Chantries Act, 1 Edward VI, c. 14 (not 4), was passed in Edward's first Parliament, which assembled in November, 1547. The exact date of it does not appear; but, as it vested the colleges and chantries in the Crown from Easter, 1548, only, it was probably not passed till January or February, 1548. As all the chantries, the lands of which were granted to Sherborne School, appear in the certificate prepared under Edward's Act, it is quite certain that they had not fallen under Henry's Act, but remained till Easter, 1548.

These chantries were five in number. The first is called simply "the Chantry of Martock" in Somerset. The foundation is not stated in the certificate; but according to Collinson's *History and Antiquities of Somerset* (Bath, 1791), III, 8, it was founded by John Say in the parish church of Martock, to pray for his soul, under licence from Edward II (Pat. 18 Edward II, m. 2). The chantry-house was, in 1791, still standing. The house alone was in Somerset; the endowment was in Bradforde Brande and Barnardesley in Dorset. The clear value is stated, in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, at £6 4s. 4d.; in the *Chantry Certificate* at £6 3s. 8d.; and in the *Particular* at £7 7s. The chantry priest is called John Stute in the printed *Valor*, but Skute in the *Certificate* 1548. The lands, 651a. 3r. 33p., now produce £465 a year net.

Next (I follow the order of the *Particular*) was the Chantry of St. Katharine, in the parish church of Gillingham. Dorset, worth £4 15s. 8d. clear according to the *Valor*; £5 9s. 7d. according to *Chantry Certificate*; £6 13s. 4d. (which should be £6 13s. 8d.) according to the *Particular*. This chantry was founded about 1330, as, 4 Edward III, there was an Inquisition, *ad quod damnum*, as to a proposed gift by John de Sandhull of a messuage and 58 acres of land and pasture for six oxen and one heifer to a chaplain to celebrate in the church of St. Mary of Gillingham for ever; and 22 Richard II a like Inquisition as to a gift of a messuage and 85 acres of land

to the chantry of St. Katharine (Hutchins' *History of Dorset*, Nichols and Sons, 1870, III, 642). The lands in Gillingham, consisting of 16a. 1r. 21p., are let for £50 a year. This looks as if there had been a sale. There were originally lands at Silton, Milton, and Combermeade, but these do not now appear in the School accounts.

John Barowe was chantry priest in 1535, Geoffrey Gyll in 1548. He was pensioned off with £5 a year. The grant to the school, as is the case with all such grants, was free of the pensions, which were paid by the Crown.

Third comes Gibbons' Chantry at Lychett Matravers, or Maltravers, in Dorset. Hutchins' *History* tells nothing of this beyond what is stated in the Chantry Certificates; and it is not mentioned in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. Its value is stated, in both the *Chantry Certificate* and the *Particular*, at only £2 a year, so that it is not surprising to learn from the *Pension Certificate* that John Carter, the incumbent, was non-resident, "but parson of Shirrington in Wiltshire as in the *Certificate* [not now extant] it appeareth." Nevertheless, he received the whole £2 a year pension. The lands were said to be in Lychett Matravers and Sturminster Marshall. The present possessions are a farmhouse and lands at Lychett Maltravers, 87a. 2r., let for £111 a year, and producing net £80 13s. 10d. Assuming that no lands have been sold, this shows that the growth in value is not twelve to twenty times, as commonly taken for this period, but forty times.

The Free Chapel of Thornton, in the parish of Marnhull, Dorset, supplies the fourth item of the endowment. Its value in 1535 was £6 6s. 8d.; in 1548 it is put at 53s.; in the *Pension Certificate* at 54s., and, deducting the tenth payable to the Crown, 49s. 9½d. This also was not a "living wage," and we find in the *Valor* that John Clement—the rector he is called—also held the chantry in Marnhulle Church worth £6 6s. 8d. He was pensioned off with 49s. 9d., the Crown making ½d. on the transaction. The lands are, however, stated in the *Particular* to be worth £2 14s. a year. The Free Chapel was only a chapel-of-ease in Marnhull parish. Hutchins has rather a confused story about it (III, 318). He says: "The church of Thornton was dedicated to St. Martin, 1464, but was

converted into a stable, being desecrated, probably about the time of the Reformation, when the parish was united to Marnhull; and was pulled down at the beginning of this century. Here was anciently a chantry, and indeed the church is sometimes styled so in the Salisbury Registers. In 1534, when it was styled in the Chantry Roll a Free Chapel, value 59s., John Clements was rector or incumbent of it, and, 1553, had a pension of £2 19s. 9d. But in another record of the same year he is said to be incumbent of Trinity Chapel in Marnhull, and the pension to be £6. Perhaps he was rector here and Chantry Priest of that chantry in Marnhull, or both." It is strange that Hutchins, or his editors, did not look at the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. The lands stated at 23½a. in 1548 are now reckoned at 21a. 1r. 13p., of which 17a. 2r. 18p. bear the suggestive name of "the King's Living." They are, therefore, no doubt the same lands, and are let for £70 19s. 9d., which is also not far short of forty times the value of 1548. In 1625 they were let at the "improved rent" of £40.

Last come 30 acres of land in the parish of Symonds-bury, in Dorset, part of the possessions of St. Katharine's Chantry in Ilminster Church, Somerset, by mistake called Dorset in the *Particular*, stated to be of the foundation of John Wadham. Collinson's *History of Somerset*, I, 7, gives no further information about this chantry. There are tombs in Ilminster Church of William Wadham, died 1410, and Nicholas Wadham, the founder of Wadham College, Oxford, in the seventeenth century; but apparently no memorial of John. There were other chantries in Ilminster Church, which were sold to Giles Kelway, a relation no doubt of Robert Kelway, the Chantry Commissioner, on 2nd April, 1550, and on 16th May, 1550 (I follow Collinson: the date is elsewhere put at 1549,) conveyed by them for a sum of £126 (which looks as if it were not full value) for the establishment of Ilminster Grammar School. So that here private enterprise was at least as forward in assisting education as the supposed royal inventor of grammar schools. The master was to live in the Cross-house, *i.e.* the house of the Holy Cross Chantry, a circumstance which strongly suggests the pre-existence of the school under the name of a chantry.

The 30 acres of land at Symondsburv were let for £2 a year gross, and, deducting a rent of 1s. a year for right of way to the land, £1 19s. net. The same property, now described as farm house and lands, are measured to contain 34a. 2r. 4p., and are let for £50 a year gross and £33 13s. 11d. net. This is an augmentation of twenty-five times only.

The Value of the School Endowment, 1550 and 1897.

Taking the whole, the school endowment with £20 a year in 1550 is now, notwithstanding that we are in the throes of the lowest stage of agricultural depression, let for £855 7s. 1d., or rather more than forty-two times the value. I am indebted for these figures and the others quoted as to the present value of the lands to the present headmaster, the Rev. F. B. Westcott.

In 1865 the income was £1,300 a year, and included a large amount of money in the funds, the proceeds of sale of lands and timber in the past. So that forty-two times the rental in 1550 is very largely under the mark.

In face of figures like these how misplaced was the criticism of a reviewer of *English Schools at the Reformation* in the *Athenæum* on 28th February, 1897. He objected to my standard of the respective value of money *temp.* Edward VI and now, "First, it is stated to have been from twelve to twenty-fold. Subsequently the equations are based on the supposition that twenty-fold, which is now generally acknowledged to be too high a figure, is correct." I do not know where and by whom twenty-fold is generally acknowledged to be too high. I do know that for the purpose of estimating the relative value of a school endowment twenty times is far below the true proportion. The ratio in any case depends on the matter in hand. If the price of corn is taken, twenty-fold is too high. If the wages of unskilled labour are considered, it is about right; but if the wages of skilled labour are considered, it is too low. When the rent of land and the incomes of chantry priests, schoolmasters, the clergy generally, and all whose endowment consisted in land, is concerned, the ratio of twenty is absurdly low; thirty would be under the mark even if

agricultural land only is considered. If town land is taken into the account, the ratio rushes up to 40, 50, 100, or indeed much higher figures, as Bedford and Birmingham Grammar Schools are alone enough to show.

It must not be forgotten in this connection, that the mere bare rental is not a true test of the real income of the owner of land in 1548. The rents stated are mostly the "ancient and accustomed rents," dating perhaps from the thirteenth century. But these, by the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI, had been supplemented by the system of fines, the tenant paying several years' value on each renewal of the lease, the lease being generally renewed on the "beneficial" system, on the dropping of each life, or at the end of every seven or fourteen years.

As this is a very material item in the indictment against Edward VI as not founder, but "spoiler of schools," it is worth some little space to insist on it. A reviewer in the *Guardian* endeavoured to meet it by the assertion that the system of fines was a later invention. But these accounts clearly show that this was not so. The very first extant account printed below, for 1553, includes the following items: "41s. 8d. in the full payment of the fine of William Cowarde; 33s. 4d. in full payment of the fine of Christian Kneplocke; 10s. in the full payment of the fine of William Asshecote; £3 in part payment of the fine of John Barons; 20d. for the heriot of William Clyffe." These sums amount to £7 6s. 8d., and the whole rents amount only to £21 5s. 10d., so that in this single year the fines amounted to an augmentation to the extent of one-third of the rental. In the next year we have: "Received of John Barons in full payment of his fine £4; of Richard Davy in part payment of his fine £3 6s. 8d.; of William Best in full payment of his fine 5s." The total is £7 11s. 8d., an augmentation of income from rents to the extent of more than a third. The same year the School Governors took a ninety-nine years' building lease of the old schoolhouse from Sir John Horsey, the grant of which is printed below. It was taken with the Plumb or lead house, and "the gardens to the said houses adjoining, whereof one was called the Abbey Lytton or Church Yard (it was the

monks' cemetery) and the other the Plumb house garden." They agreed to pay a rent of 13s. 4d. a year, and in addition a fine of £13 6s. 8d., or twenty years' purchase of the rent, of which £10 appears as paid in the account for 1554, and the rest in 1555. The rent, it is to be observed, was for the ground, not the house, and this was at once under-let for 18s. 4d. a year.

In 1555 there appear the following fines: John Cornysse, whole, 2s.; John Watts, part, 26s. 8d.; Richard Davy, in full, £3 6s. 8d. There were also two other augmentations, in the shape of the heriot of Richard Fryth, 2s.; of Chrystyane Russell, 33s. 4d. The total is £6 2s., which is short of a third of the rental. In 1556 £4 was received in fines. In 1557 the fines amounted to £26 14s. 4d., the whole rental only coming to £29 2s. Besides this there accrued another item of income, which was taken away in those cases in which the school received only a fixed stipend substituted for its lands, namely, a sale of timber and underwood. £2 6s. 8d. was received from the underwood on a coppice; £15 3s. 4d. for sixty-three oaks at Lychett Matravers. The result was that in this year the extra receipts were a good deal more than double the rental. Next year (1558) the fines were £3 6s. 8d., and "the price of one mare that came of an heriot of John Abbott, £1"—£4 6s. 8d. in all. In 1559 there was a fine of £6 13s. 4d. and a heriot of 4s. In the last account printed, 1561-62, there is a sum of "£3 received from Nicholas Ingelberde, for part of the debt of Thomas Kymes," which seems to be a fine. In the seven years for which the accounts are continuous (1553-1560) fines and wood bring in £79 18s. 8d., or an average of over £10 a year—one-half of the rental.

In some cases only are we able to arrive at the proportion which the fine bore to the rent. In the case of the fine paid by the Governors for the Churchyard and Plumb-house garden, it was, as abovesaid, twenty years' purchase. But that was a ninety-nine years' lease, and the defender of Edward VI might say that such a lease was exceptional and did not count. Still, it was a very important casual receipt which a school lost, or might have lost, by the confiscation of its lands. Mr. Trenchard, however, paid a much larger proportion in 1557 for his lease for thirty-

one year at £2 a year for the chantry lands of Lychett Maltravers, viz. rather over thirteen years' purchase.

The proportion of the fines paid at Gillingham was even larger. Cristian Knaplocke, succeeding to his (or her) father (or husband), paid 33*s.* 4*d.* in 1553 for the residue only of a fine in respect of a holding which, if it included both pieces of land held by William Knaplocke at the time the *Particular* was made out, was over two and a-half years' purchase. Probably 33*s.* 4*d.* was less than half of the whole fine. In 1553 and 1554 William Clyve *alias* Clyffe had to contribute a heriot worth 1*s.* 8*d.* on succeeding to a cottage and land rented at 7*s.* Richard Davy, succeeding John Davy in a burgage rented at 18*s.* 8*d.*, paid £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, or over seven years' purchase. John Barons, otherwise called Barnes, paid £7, or no less than fourteen years' purchase of his rent of 10*s.* a year at Bradford Bryant.

Lest it should be asserted that these fines were exceptional and due to a change of system, it may as well be stated *ex cautela* that in the School accounts (of which Mr. Wildman has made an abstract up to 1707, which he kindly lent me), year after year even up to that date there is a special heading for "Fines of land with other gifts," "Fines of land with heriots and other gifts," "Fines of land with heriots," and so forth. The fines in 1563 were £5 0*s.* 4*d.*; 1564, £14 4*s.*; 1565, £2 16*s.* 8*d.*; 1566, £1; 1567, 10*s.*; 1568, 10*s.* 6*d.*; 1569, £6 1*s.* 8*d.*; 1570, wood £10; Fines £9, and one other fine of which the amount is not stated in the abstract; 1571, £51 2*s.*; 1572, £40 19*s.* 4*d.*; 1573, £30 11*s.* 8*d.*, and so on. The total for ten years was £144, or rather less than double what it was in the preceding period; and was two-thirds of the rental. For the rental of the lands called Rents of Assize remained unchanged (except for a slight addition when lands formerly under-wood were let as arable, which change took place during the period of the accounts here printed) right down to 1652, when it was raised to £39. The first entry of what was called an improved rent, or, as it is less euphoniously called now, a rack rent, is in 1614, when Giles Buckman pays "£23 for rent, the improved rent of a tenement in Barnsley, late Philip Barnes." After 1625

and a suit in Chancery, the item of "Improved Rent" regularly appears in the accounts, and a further sum is paid by Mr. Trenchard, representing apparently the full value of the chantry lands of Lychett Matravers. The suit, which lasted from 1611 to 1622, seems to have been in consequence of the Trenchards claiming to hold at the fixed ancient rent of assize, subject to some fixed fine for renewal.

So much for the fines after 1553. But it may be urged that though these accounts prove that the system existed *temp.* Edward VI, after the school was refounded, they do not prove that it existed before. To this it may be answered that three out of the four fines paid in 1553 are stated to be "in full payment," words which, as the other accounts show, imply that part payment had been made before. When the whole fine was paid at once, it was so stated. Therefore fines were paid at least in 1552. Nor is this all. Mr. Wildman sent me, for a specimen of an impression of the school seal, the earliest deed on which one appears. Unfortunately, it is only a fragment. It is attached to a deed dated 13th August, 4 Edward IV, *i.e.* A.D. 1550—the very year of the charter to the school, and not three months from its date. Now, this deed happens to be a lease by the governors to John Rake, and his sons Richard and John Rake, of a close called Parson's Close, containing 12 acres of land and 2 acres of meadow in Thornton Mede, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres in Dunheds Moor, held by John Rake, as parcell of the late free chapel of Thornton, for the lives of them and the survivor of them, at a rent of 34*s.* a year payable quarterly; attending the court at Gillingham, and paying a heriot, or 13*s.* 4*d.*, at the governors' choice, on the death of any of the lessees.

It is odd that this lease should have been in the Governors' possession, as, being sealed with their seal, it is clear that it is the part of the indenture that went to the Rakes. Perhaps it was surrendered and not cancelled when a new lease was granted. Well, this lease, granted at the old rent of 34*s.*, is expressed to be made, in consideration of a sum of £10, payable by instalments over three years, the first of £5 on 6th October next, the second of £3 6*s.* 8*d.* on Michaelmas following, *i.e.* 1551,

and the third at Michaelmas following that, or 1552. Consequently, though no account is extant which includes this fine, yet here we have evidence that the system of beneficial leases was in full force, and six years' purchase paid by way of fine on the renewal of one lease, within three months of the grant to the Governors. During that time they can hardly have had time to organize an entirely new system of leasing.

But there is stronger proof to hand than this—not indeed from Sherborne, but from the other end of the country—that not only was the fine system in full force, but that, the fact that it was so, was one of the circumstances present to the mind of Edward VI, or rather his Government, when the schools were deprived of their lands and fixed stipends granted instead, such stipends being fixed by the net annual value of the endowment, not taking fines into account. This proof comes in the form of a letter by St. John's College, Cambridge, on behalf of Sedbergh School, with which it was connected, though not so intimately or exclusively, by the same kind of ties as New College, Oxford, was with Winchester, or King's with Eton; a certain number of scholars, though only eight in all, going yearly from Sedbergh to St. John's. The College (*Thomas Baker, History of St. John's College, Cambridge*, edited by John E. B. Mayor, Cambridge, 1869, p. 372) wrote on some date not given, but in 1549, a Latin letter to the Duke of Somerset on behalf of the school. From the abstract given by Professor Mayor, it appears that, after appealing to the sacredness of the pious founder's will, they urged "The Master will profit more by retaining the lands than by a yearly pension of £10. For on the death of a tenant, or the succession of a new master, a fine of double the rent is paid, which makes up the average rent to 20 marks or more," *i.e.* £13 6s. 8d., or at least one-third more than the fixed stipend would be—a proportion curiously corresponding with that at Sherborne. The Sedbergh petition was of course unsuccessful, and it was not till after a violent sermon by Lever, the master of St. John's, before Edward VI, that Sedbergh recovered its school, and was endowed with the plunder of other chantries, including part of the possessions of an earlier and a

greater educational foundation than Sedbergh had been—the Jesus College at Rotherham.

The measure of the spoliation of the schools is not merely the prospective and speculative value of the unearned increment, but the actual and realizable value of heriots, fines, timber and underwood, and other incidental profits.

Finances and Salaries of the Free School.

Even though Sherborne School came into speedy enjoyment of these, it seemingly had a hard struggle for existence, and had to partly depend on subscriptions from the Governors and others.

Being founded as a Free Grammar School the master and usher had nothing but their salaries to depend upon.

The first master mentioned by name is in the accounts of 1554–55, to which is appended a rough draft of items, apparently made at the time of payment. “In prinis paid to Mr. Coke for 3 quarters wages £10”; another quarter at £3 6s. 8d. is afterwards entered, making £13 6s. 8d. in all. The usher, whose name is not mentioned, got apparently £4 3s. 4d. But these two sums only make up £18, and the payment in the year 1553–4, the first extant account, is “of £20 paid to the Schoolmaster and Usher for their whole year’s wages.” In the years 1555–6 and 1556–7 the amount is to the schoolmaster “for his whole year’s wages £13 6s. 8d. and £4 paid to the Usher for his whole year’s wages.” It is quite possible that there was actually a reduction in the pay when the new building began, afterwards noticed, but perhaps more probable that the £20 of 1553–4 included some arrears.

In 1557–8 the amount is : Schoolmaster £14 3s. 4d. and usher £3 for three quarters’ wages. In 1558–9 it is again £20 “paid this year as well to the Schoolmaster as the Usher for their wages.” With the new master’s house hereafter noted, if not before, they seem to have begun a new master, Mr. Myddelton, but it would almost appear that there was another master between Mr. Coke and him. In the account for 1560–1 is an entry of “Maister Bagwell for a bedstead, with 2s. in charges at his wife’s departing hence,” immediately followed by “the charges

of 'Maister' Parvys coming from Oxford, his tarrying here and return again, with 6*s.* 8*d.* for sending a letter to Oxford to "him," "£1 9*s.* 8*d.*" Mr. Bagwell must be therefore, at all events, an usher, if not master. In the following year's accounts, 1561-2, the accountant "asketh allowance for wages paid to Mr. Myddelton, Schoolmaster there, £4, and to the usher £2 13*s.* 4*d.*"; while "Mr. Parvys" gets £15, and "Mr. Martyn" £5. Mr. Parvys probably came, therefore, in the beginning of 1562. The usher's wages were increased by a bequest of Bartholomew Combe, Esq., of a rent charge of £2 13*s.* 4*d.* charged on lands at Lillington, Dorset, which is still paid; the only permanent increase of endowment ever received by the school. In 1562-3 the master receives £20 and the usher £10, but four of the Governors have to subscribe 40*s.* "towards the wages of the Schoolmaster." Mr. Parvys and his usher, Mr. Martyn, disappeared in 1563-4, as he received £5 at Christmas; and then appeared "Mr. Wolveton, Schoolmaster, for $\frac{3}{4}$ of this year, £14," and "Mr. Peny, usher there, 60*s.*" Wolveton, Fellow of Merton, only stayed till Lady Day, 1565, and after a short interlude to Christmas of J. Delabere, student of Christ Church, Mr. John Hancock, fellow of Merton, came. To retain him the governors had to give the very curious bond, mentioned in the document printed below, by which the governors undertook to pay him £21 6*s.* 8*d.*, even when incapacitated by age or sickness, if he found a proper deputy. Even with this inducement he went in 1573.

It may be said, How do we know that there were no tuition fees? It is mainly a matter of inference and analogy.

The first statutes of the school are unfortunately lost, the earliest now extant being those for 1592. It is certain there were earlier ones. In the account for 1558-9 appears an item of "4*s.* 4*d.* paid for the book of articles of 'Powle' School" [*i.e.* St. Paul's] London. Mr. Wildman gives an extract from the accounts for 1565: "Paide for the wrytinge of the Statutes and Artycles belonginge to the saide Free Schole this yere 10*s.*" It is quite certain that these statutes must have provided for the school being free, *i.e.* gratis, in accordance with the Letters Patent.

The Statutes of 1592 followed the precedent of St. Paul's School in allowing an entrance fee, though the amount was 1s.—4*d.* to the master, 4*d.* to the usher, and 4*d.* for registration,—as against only 4*d.* allowed for the registration at St. Paul's. They also provided, in clause 8, that the master and usher “shall teach all alike”; they shall not “teach one more than another for reward or hope of gain from the rich.” The hope of gain refers not to tuition fees, but to the voluntary gifts given at Christmas, Shrove Tuesday, and so forth. In 1614 the Governors set up a statue of Edward VI in the school, under which were the lines—

En tibi, flos juvenum, Britonum decus, inelytus orbis
 Splendor, Apollinei deliciæque chori.
 Gymnasium hic pueris statuit gratumque Minervæ,
Ut gratis discant. Discito, gratus eris.

The words in italics are conclusive evidence as to what the Governors of that date thought a free school to mean. Dr. Kennedy, of Shrewsbury, had not then invented the preposterous definition of “free from ecclesiastical control,” which Mr. Wildman in his book judiciously modified into “control of a superior corporation.” “The school,” he says (p. 51), “is to be *libera*, free that is from the control of any superior corporation, unlike the monastic school which had been governed by the abbot and convent” (that has been already disposed of), “unlike the grammar schools of Winchester and Eton which were then under the control of the colleges of Winchester and Eton.” In point of fact, the school, or the seventy free scholars of Winchester, were a part, and the main part, of the corporation, the corporate name being “the Warden and Scholars, clerks, of Saint Mary College of Winchester,” just as the corporate name of Oxford University was the “Chancellor and Scholars.” The Fellows of Winchester, who, with the Warden, formed the governing body, were an after-thought, and a very unfortunate one too, which has been got over in these latter days by turning them into unpaid Governors. In fact, they were much less a “superior corporation” to the school than the Governors at Sherborne were to Sherborne School. They were not a body outside the school and above the school, but part

of the same body, sharing (unfortunately) the revenues with the school. This point need not, however, be further laboured here. In *English Schools at the Reformation*, and in some articles in the *National Observer* (which now observes the nation no longer), in October, 1895, the point has been proved to demonstration that a free school meant a gratis school. Certain it is, as Mr. Wildman states (p. 53), that "The School fees down to Mr. Wilding's time (1720-33), and even later, were in theory gifts given at Christmas." The first statutory recognition of them is in the School Statutes of 1827, in the form of an exemption for children of residents in Sherborne from fees; whereas by the charter all were free to come.

There is another interesting inscription, which we may here notice, over the door of the court leading to "Church passage":—

Edwardi impensis patet hæc Schola publica Sexti
Grammaticæ cupidis nobile Regis opus.

This, Mr. Wildman (p. 43) thinks, "must be among the earliest instances of the term Public School applied to a place of higher education." I have, however, come across it several times during the Middle Ages. On 7th April, 1364, the Bishop of Winchester, William of Edyngdon, wrote a letter to the Prior of Canterbury (Rolls Series, *Litteræ Cantuarienses* II, No. 85) asking him to return some property to Hugh of Kingston, late schoolmaster of the Almonry School at Canterbury, who had been induced to accept the office of "Master of the Public School (*Scolas publicas*) of Kingston-on-Thames, his native place, where a school had been long accustomed to be kept." In 1436 the still flourishing Grammar School of Lincoln, which is called before, indiscriminately, the Cathedral Grammar School, the City Grammar School, the Great Grammar School, and the General School, is mentioned as the "Public School." No doubt many other instances will turn up as the hitherto neglected records of schools come under examination.

The School Buildings after the Charter.

I now resume the history of the school buildings. The old school building, whether monastic or secular, was quickly found to be inadequate to the needs of the renovated foundation. In the first extant accounts, 1553-4, we find an entry which shows that preparations had already begun for a new one, viz., "Paid to Baller for sawing of timber in the park for the School 3s. 4d." Next year, 1554-5, we found the Governors getting from the Crown grantee a 99 years' building lease of the old schoolhouse and its barton, together with the plumb-house, or lead house, and the monks' churchyard or Abbey Litton. Also they bought the void ground or empty space "coming of the late chapel called the Bow & the Lady Chapel." These words would naturally mean that these chapels had been pulled down and that the Governors bought the vacant site of them. But, as in 1560 the Governors bought from the Master and Brethren of the almshouse the "part & parcell of two chapels sometime called our Lady chapels," it would appear that only part of these chapels had been pulled down. The schoolhouse, it would appear, they wholly pulled down; as they paid 2s. 8d. "for taking down the helyng" (*i.e.* roofing) "stones"—a mode of roofing which, fortunately for the solidity and picturesqueness of the school buildings, is still practised in Sherborne—and 3s. 9d. "for taking down of the walls & for ridding of the same." But this, again, seems to be partially contradicted by the entries of "paid to Darby the mason for making up of the two side walls of the said School house 24s.," and to the same "for meuding of the 'poyning' wall of the said house 2s." Next year, 1555-6, appears "6s. 8d. paid to Darby the mason for making higher the Schoolhouse walls, & for walling up of the doors there," and a like sum to the same person "for ridding of the foundation of the walls for the building of the shops," while Baller is paid 5s. 8d. "for making of the Schoolhouse doors"; but a lock and a staple were only furnished for one door—"the Schoolhouse door."

On the whole, it would appear that the old school building was not pulled down, but enlarged by extending it breadthwise, and raising its height. It seems to us odd that the governors should have built shops, standings or shambles, as they are indifferently called, right up against the schoolhouse, and against the wall surrounding it; but in so doing they were apparently only continuing the ancient practice; for among the receipts in 1556 is one of 20*d.* “for the timber of the old Stondynge and a plum tree”; while the “new standings at the Fair this year” produce a rent of 12*d.* This item, it must be allowed, strongly tends to show that the old schoolhouse was the old Grammar School, and not the Novices’ School, as it was so close to the market-place that standings for the fair were built up against it. Even if it was only accessible from the East gate—part of which still remains—it was accessible without any contact with the monks or interfering with their privacy—cut off as it was from the monastic buildings by the cemetery, and standing in its own garden surrounded by a wall.

The cost of the school building was—

	£	s.	d.
1553-4. Sawing timber		3	4
1554-5. Sum of the whole charges of the building ...	10	15	3
1555-6. Masonry, carpentry, &c.	2	10	4
1556-7. Cleaning up rubbish, &c.	1	5	2
Windows, glazing, &c.		12	0
Timber		8	0
1557-8. Timber	1	4	0
Glazing windows		11	1
1558-9. Seats in School	2	12	3
Boards, <i>i.e.</i> Shutters for windows		9	3
Crest tiles			6
Making plain the School Barton		3	8
	<hr/>		
	£20	14	10

The total cost of the schoolhouse or room itself was therefore £20 14*s.* 10*d.*

To this must be added the cost of the wall round the barton, 45 perches in length, besides the mending of part of the old wall left standing. It is difficult to get the exact cost of this, as it is more or less mixed up with

the cost of building the standings, which were a remunerative investment. But the wall cost in

								£	s.	d.
1556-7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	18	8
1557-8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		18	0
								<hr/>		
								2	16	8

The standings cost—

								£	s.	d.
1556-7.	Sawing timber...	...	...	...	...	...	...		9	3
	Carpentering ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	9	0
	10 ton Roofing stone ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
	The Tiler ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	4
	Lime, lathes, crest tiles, &c. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...		19	3
1557-8.	Clamps and Nails ...	...	...	...	...	...	...		3	4
								<hr/>		
								7	4	2

These were let for £2 2s. 8d. a year, which was not a bad profit; but one Elizabeth Bennett, widow, who had held the shambles from the Bishop of Salisbury, had to receive £2 a year for her life from this rent.

In 1558-9 appear items, amounting to 3s. 1d., "for making seats in the chapel for the Scholars." It does not appear whether this means that the School already had its separate chapel for service, or, as Mr. Wildman suggests, meant the fitting up of part of the Lady chapel for a classroom. A classroom would, however, be a very unusual, if not unprecedented, addition at that date, when at Winchester College the whole school of seventy College boys and a not less number of Commoners still met in the one room, now called Seventh Chamber, which has, however, as it stands, been curtailed by cutting off its Seventh Chamber Passage.

In the next year, 1559-60, the school being completed, the Governors proceeded to erect a Schoolmaster's house. The "glazing of the chamber windows" mentioned in that account was provided by gifts of the governors. "John Stevens giveth the glazing of the chamber window, price ,," and then follows a much-to-be-lamented blank in the MS. "Robert Hale giveth the glazing of 2 panes of the lower window, price ,," and then comes a like blank. Two others each give the glazing of another pane of the same window, with the same blank. At the end

of the account is—"Laid out this year for building and finishing of the Schoolmaster's house as particularly doth appear by a book thereof remaining" £18 17s. 2d. The "book," of course, does not remain, and as the account of the preceding year does not remain either, we do not know whether any more was spent on it. Mr. Wildman seems to think there was. This does not seem clear, because the house was not a new building, but an adaptation of the parts remaining of the two Lady Chapels,



ARMS OF EDWARD VI. BOW CHAPEL, SHERBORNE.

which were conveyed by the almshouse governing body to the School Governors in that year only; and the reference to a separate "book" makes it most probable that all the items were contained in that book. Besides, as the school, which was almost wholly rebuilt, cost £20 odd only, £18 odd would be a quite sufficient sum for the house. This building remains practically intact, and exceedingly picturesque it is. It remained the head master's residence till 1860. The "upper chamber"

inside is now occupied by one of the Assistant Masters, and the thirteenth century arches of the old Lady Chapel make it a most beautiful and interesting abode. The appended illustration shows this building, which is, to a considerable extent, the old late Perpendicular Bow Chapel, from the south. The arms visible on the wall are the arms of Edward VI, with the Tudor dragon as one of the Supporters. The cost of this work was relatively enormous. It is given in the 1560-1 account under the heading "Money given to the making of the arms of our Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth." Mr. Henry Semberbe gave four bushels of wheat, which fetched 8s. ; Mr. Hugh Meyre, and Mr. John Hilliard (who was churchwarden), gave 10s. each ; thirteen of the governors gave 3s. 4d.—a noble. The total was £3 11s. 4d. The initials of the donors are carved on the wall below. There are, however, two sets of initials which do not appear in the accounts—A. D. and R. G., for Anthony Delabere and Robert Geyns, or Jenyngs as he is otherwise spelt. From this and half-a-dozen coats of arms Mr. Wildman infers that there were other subscriptions besides those mentioned.

Included in the conveyance to the Governors of the Lady-chapels was "all that part and S. end of the house, commonly called the Dorter," the Frenchified word for dormitory, in vogue with the monks, "both timber & stone, as it adjoineth the N. aisle . . . from the Chapterhouse door unto the said N. aisle on the West of the Dorter, and on the E. part of the said Dorter all that building and stonework from and between the E. window of the said Chapterhouse and the said parish" (*i.e.* the abbey) "church." The chapterhouse, therefore, was not conveyed to the Governors, nor the whole of the dormitory, but only the south part of it between the chapterhouse and the church. Mr. Wildman thinks that this was pulled down and the stones used in converting the chapels into the headmaster's house. When the chapterhouse and the rest of the dormitory were pulled down does not appear. But they are gone and *perierunt etiam ruinae*.

The total cost of acquiring the site and buildings and fitting them for the School, so far as the accounts go, was,

including £2 paid for the leasehold interest of Henry Gardener,—

	£	s.	d.
Site of School	15	6	8
Building School	20	14	10
Wall round School	2	16	8
Shops	7	0	10
Master's House	18	17	2
	<hr/>		
	64	16	2

This large sum was found, in the first instance, by borrowing from the Churchwardens and the Almshouse. Thus, in 1557, £13 6s. 8d. is repaid "to J. Hillarde, Churchwarden, to the use of the parish church of Sherborne, borrowed by the Governors of the School of the Church Stock there," and next year £20 is paid to John Philipps, churchwarden, on the same account.

In 1560–1 £3 was lent by three governors, besides the sum subscribed, and in 1561–2 £6 10s. 10d. was given by the Governors and others. Ultimately the money was found out of the fines for renewal of leases and sale of timber.

Buildings were added to the school on the north side in 1607 and 1697, but they were entirely new, and not apparently on the site of, or conversions of, monastic buildings, but on the old monks' cemetery. These buildings disappeared in 1860 to make way for the present head master's house and the school boarding house.

Among the buildings of 1697 were "Chambers for sick boys," on which Mr. Wildman claims for Sherborne that it was the first school to have an infirmary or sick house. I am afraid this claim of priority also is not well-founded. The still used "Sick house," in Meads at Winchester, separated from the school by the whole width of "Meads," was built in 1640. (*Annals of Winchester College*, by T. F. Kirby. London: Henry Frowde, 1892, p. 326.) A century before that, in 1544, the college had erected a Sick-house at Moundsmere, thirteen miles from Winchester, a possession of Southwick Priory, which they had acquired by exchange from Henry VIII after the dissolution, to which sick scholars, and, in times of plague in Winchester, the whole of them, were sent. (Kirby, pp. 259–260.) It is highly probable that some such institution existed from the first.

In 1749 the Governors of Sherborne bought and, less careful, alas! than those of 1550 and 1560, pulled down the old priory or prior's lodging.

In 1851 Earl Digby gave the school all that remained of the monastic buildings, including the Abbot's Hall and his kitchen behind the refectory on the north side, and the Guesten Hall, probably the cellarer's lodgings, on the west side of the cloister. The cloisters themselves have quite disappeared.

The Guesten Hall, a fifteenth century building, was the big schoolroom till 1879, and now forms a school library, perhaps the most venerable and beautiful of all school libraries now existing. In it are preserved Edward VI's Letters Patent, the accounts, and other ancient documents of the school.

The lower part of the Abbots' Hall, of late Norman work, with massive pillars, stands as an undercroft to the School Chapel, of the upper part, which forms the school chapel, the less said the better. It is a thousand pities if, with the abbey church within a stone's throw, a school chapel was wanted, that a new one was not built. The Abbots' Hall has been translated very much in the manner of Bottom's translation. Part of the roof is fifteenth century, which only serves to increase the regret one cannot but feel at the rest of the building.

Here for the present I must leave the history of this very interesting school, as to the beginning of which one may hope that more light will yet be thrown. In parting from it one can but express the pious wish that, as it has been shown to have existed for upwards of 450 years, and may reasonably be inferred to have existed for 1,192 years, it may flourish for at least another period of the same length.

SHERBORNE ALMSHOUSE ACCOUNTS.

SHIRBORN.

*Compotus Ricardi Rochell, Magistri Domus Eleemosinariæ Sancto-
rum Johannis Baptistæ, et Johannis Evangelistæ ibidem, a festo
S. Michaelis archangeli anno regni Regis Henrici VI post con-* A.D. 1437-8.

questum 16° usque in crastinum S. Johannis Baptistæ anno regni ejusdem Domini Regis 17° ut pro 3 quarteriis anni.

Idem respondit de 73s. 6d. de arrearagiis ejusdem Ricardi comptantis et Johannis Dene custodum domus prædictæ in anno proximo præcedente

Et de	£20	receptis de dono	Johannis	Fauntleroy.	
„	„	100s.	„	„	Barett.
„	„	12d.	„	„	Bullock.
„	„	16d.	„	„	Johanna Cardemaker.
„	„	20d.	„	„	Roberti Potycary.
„	„	3s. 4d.	„	„	Thomæ Copeland, Magistri Scolarum de Shirbourne prædicta

[MS. torn away before total.]

SHIRBORN.

A.D. 1437-8.

Visus **com**puti Ricardi Rochell tam de diversis denariis per ipsum Ricardum receptis quam de diversis expensis necessariis per eundem factis ad usum Domus Eleemosinariæ de Shirborn prædicta anno regni Henrici VI post conquestum sexto-decimo.

	£	s.	d.
Idem respondet de arrearagiis	4 19 9½
<i>Chepstrett</i>	[14 11 6 (34)]
Et de receptis de Rectore de la Grene
„ „ „ Johanne Barett	100 0
„ „ „ Johanne Bullock	12
„ „ „ Johanna Cardemaker...	16
„ „ „ Waltero Weston	20 0
„ „ „ Roberto Potekary	20
„ „ „ Matilda Meryett	8
„ „ „ Stephano Rochell	6
„ „ „ Magistro Scolarum	3 4

	£	s.	d.
<i>Grene</i>	[3 14 2 (10) ¹]
<i>Newlond</i>	[8 2 0 (29)]
<i>Casteltown</i>	[1 10 6 (5)]
<i>Langstrete</i>	[4 0 8 (26)]
<i>Houndstrete</i>	[1 2 0 (3)]
<i>Circa et erga Cimiterium</i>	[3 12 8 (15)]
<i>Westbury</i>	[2 7 6 (15)]
<i>Akernanstret</i>	[12 10 (6)]
<i>Newell</i>	[2 0 0 (2)]
<i>Recepta Forinseca</i>	[33 11 2]

Total £80 4s. 9½d.

¹ The numbers in parentheses are those of subscribers in the various streets.

SHERBORNE ABBEY.

A.D. 1535-6.

VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS, I, 281-5.

(Public Record Commission, 1810.)

Monasterium Beatae Mariae Virginis de Sherborne.

Johannes Barseabull (*sic*) Abbas Monasterii praedicti qui non habet aliquam certam portionem ad usum aut commodum suum proprium sed habet et percipit omnia exitus reventiones et profieua possessionum monasterii praedicti ut fidelis administrator pro sustentatione et manutione Monasterii praedicti in omnibus requisitis et necessariis.

Valet

In Spiritualibus

Praebenda de Shirborne

Summa.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Valet in omnimodis decimis, per annum	37	13	4			
In oblationibus et aliis profieuis, per annum		33	4			
				39	6	8
Deductiones et allocationes secundum formam statuti						
In pensione (<i>sic</i>) annuatim soluta Praebendario praebendae de Axeeford, pro perpetua firma de Haydon et Promesley per compositionem ...		40	0			
Et in pensione (<i>sic</i>) annuatim soluta Vicario perpetuo de Burton...		53	4			
				4	13	4
Summa totalis omnium spiritualium possessionum supradictarum	103	18	0 $\frac{3}{4}$			
Summa omnium deductionum et allocationum spiritualium supradictarum	16	18	0 $\frac{3}{4}$			
In Temporalibus						
Maneria de Beere & Secten assignata ad praedictum officium coquinarii						

Assignata ad officium Elimosinarii.

Vale[n]t in redditibus assisae terrarum et tenementorum in Shirborne per annum 7 21 2

	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Et in redditu annuatim resoluto domino Episcopo Sarum pro terris et tenementis in Shirborne prædicta	16				
Et in elemosina annuatim distributa de exitibus prædictorum terrarum et tenementorum in Shirborne <i>pro exhibitione trium scoliarium in scola gramaticali apud Shirborne, ex fundatione Alfrici Thornecombe</i>	78	0			
Et in feodo Johannis Ordes, ballivi Elemosinarii prædicti colligentis tam omnia redditus et proficua tam spiritualium quam temporalium spectantium ad officium prædictum per annum, cum 10s. pro libertura sua	23	4			
	—		102	8	
Summa annui valoris omnium possessionum temporalium prædictorum	652	15		8	¾
Summa omnium deductionum et allocationum possessionum temporalium prædictorum	39	13		5	
Summa totalis annui valoris omnium supradictarum possessionum tam spiritualium quam temporalium	756	8		6	¾
Summa omnium allocationum deductionum supradictarum viz tam spiritualium quam temporalium	56	11		5	¾
Et remanet	699	17		0	¼
[Some other deductions are then added, including Fee of Sir John Horsey, Kt., chief steward of the monastery, 60s., and a new remainder produced] Et remanet clare	682	14		7	¼
Decima pars inde Domino Regi	68	5		5	¼

p. 164. ILMYSTER [Rectory appropriated to Muchelney Abbey].

Thomas Michell, cantarista ibidem

Cantaria S. Katerine ibidem valet per annum ut in terris et tenementis custumariorum tenentium utra.

4d. pro resolutione Priori de Monte Acuto

8s. „ „ Abbati de Muchelney

Et 20s. pro feodo Willelmi Vicary ballivi et receptoris ibidem per annum	6	19	0
Sic nunc remanet clare			
X ^{ma} inde	13	11	

p. 199. MARTOKE . . [Rectory appropriated to Treasurer of Wells Cathedral].

Johannes Stute cantarista ibidem

Cantaria ibidem valet per annum viz. in terris et tenementis jacentibus in Bradford Bryan in comitatu Dorset

clare	6	4	4
Decima inde	12	5	¼

		£	s.	d.
p. 286.	THORNETON LIBERA CAPELLA.			
	John Clement Rector ibidem			
	In terra gleba per annum	41		0
	CANTARISTA DE MARNHULL.			
	Idem Johannes Clement Cantarista ibidem.			
	In terra gleba per annum	6	6	8
p. 289.	CANTARISTA DE GYLLENGHAM.			
	Johannes Barowe Cantarista ibidem	106		8
	Inde soluto dominæ Reginae pro certo reddito annua-			
	tim et imperpetuum			11
	Et remanet	4	15	8

CHANTRY CERTIFICATE 16.

A.D. 1548.

THE COUNTYE OF DORSETT.

The certificate of Thomas Speke, Hughe Powlett, John Seintlowe, John Rogers, & Thomas Dyer, knights; Robert Kaylewey, William Morice, George de la lynde, and Robert Metcalfe, esquiers; William Hartegill and John Hannam, gentillmen, Commyssyoners appointed, of all and singuler lands, tenements, jewells, plate, goods, and Stockes apperteyninge or belonginge to any Colledge, Chauntrie, Free chappell, Hospitall, Fraternyte, Gylde, Salarye or Stipendarie prist, Anniversarye Obitts or lights, within the said Counttie;

By virtue of the Kinges Comysson to them directed, Dated the 14th day of Januarie in the second yere of the Reigne of Our Sovereigne lorde Edwarde the Sixth, By the Grace of God, Kinge of Englonde, Fraunce, and Irlonde, Defender of the Faythe, and in Erthe of the church of Englonde and also of Irelande the Supreme Headde, as hereafter particularly it appearithe;

That is to saye—

JURISDICTION SHIRBORNE.

		£	s.	d.
8.	The FREE CHAPPELL CALLED GRENE YN SHIRBORNE.	62		0
	Rents Resolute, none			
	And so remayneth... ..	62		0
	Ornaments, jewells, plate or other goods, none.			
	Item 2 bells	26		8
12.	The FREE CHAPPELL OF THORNETON in the parish of			
	MARNEHULL	53		0
	Rents resolute, none			
	And so remayneth	53		0
	Ornaments, jewells, plate or other goods, none.			
14.	The CHAUNTRYE OF SEINT KATHERYNE in the parisshe			
	of GILLINGHAM	6	13	4
	Whereof in Rents Resolute			11
	And so remayneth	6	2	4
	Ornaments, jewells or other goods, none.			

35.

DECANATUS DE WHITCHURCH.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The CHAUNTRY OF LEYCHET MATRAVERS called Gybbons		
Chauntry	40	0
Whereof in Rents Resolute, none		
And so remayneth	40	0
Ornaments, plate, jewells or other goods, none.		
	per me J. HANNAM.	

CHANTRY CERTIFICATE 16 (PART II).

A.D. 1548.

A breif Certificate of all and Singular Colliges, Hospitalles, Fraternyties, Guyldes, Brotherheads, and Stipendiaryes, as bene in the Kyngs Majesties Hands, by the late Acte of Parliament, not onely all the Names of the said Colliges, Chauntries, Hospitalls, Fraternyties, Guylds, brotherheads, and Stipendaryes, with the yerely value of the same, But also the Deductions, Reprises, and Clere remayne of the same, and how moche thereof dothe remayne to the Maisters, Governors, and incumbents of the same;

And also what Preachers, Beedmen, Power People, and Gramer Scoles, haith ben heretofore founde and relevyd by the same, as hereafter particulerly yt apperith;

That is to say;

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
76. Cantaria in LYCHETT MATRAVERS vocata Gybbons		
Chauntry	40	0
Johannes Carter incumbens ibidem.		

All which said sume of 40*s.* the sayd incumbent receavyd to his own use & towardes his fyndyng; and ys not resident uppon the same Chauntrye, but is parson at Shirryngton in Wylshire, as in the certyficat yt appearyth &c.

Pencio 40s.

JURISDICTIO DE SHIRBORNE.

91. ¹Memorandum for a scole to be in Shirborne. ¹Continuatur Quousque.

HOSPITALE SIVE DOMUS LEPROSORUM.

	£	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
S. Johannis Evangelistæ in Shirborne... ..	35	8	6
Whereof			
Deducted for Rents Resolute	4	3	6
And so remayneth clere	31	5	0
Of the which the prest ther hath yerely for his Stipend		106	8
And the resydw beyng £20 1 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> ² ys ymployed to the fyndyng of 12 poore impotent men & 4 powre women accordyng to the foundacion thereof &c			

¹ These two remarks are written in the margin of the original in two different hands. The words "Continuatur quousque" appear to refer to the

hospital or almshouse, which is continued until further order.

² There is some mistake here. The real residue would be £25 1*s.* 4*d.*

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
92. LIBERA CAPELLA vocata GRENE IN SHIRBORNE	66	0
Rogerus Hotedy nuper incumbens ibidem.		

All which sayd some of 66s. the Incumbent there receavyd to his owne use towards his fyndyng; and dothe no maner of service in the sayd chappell.

¹Ther ys no powre people, nor beadmen, found nor releavyd of the premisses.

Pencio 66s.

94. CANTARIA SANCTE KATERINE infra ecclesiam parochialem de GYLLYNGHAM.									
Galfridus Gyll nuper Incumbens ibidem						£	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Whereof						6	13	4	
Deducted for rent resolute						11	0		
² Decima						12	8		
And so remayneth cleve						5	9	7	

All which the Incumbent yerely receavyd to his owne use.

... .. *Pencio 100s.*

98. LIBERA CAPELLA DE THORNTON in parochia de MARNEHULL.									
Johannes Clement incumbens						54	0		
Decima						4	2½		
Remanet						49	9½		

Pencio Clement 49s. 9d.

CHANTRY CERTIFICATE 42.³

A.D. 1548.

DECANATUS DE CRUKERNE.

1. ILMYNSTER.

THE CHAUNTRY OF SAINCTE KATERINE within the paryshe church ther foundyd by John Wadham Esquier

Is yerely worthe, in—

£ *s.* *d.*

Landes, tenementes, rents, possessions and hereditaments in the tenure of sondry persones, as more at large particularly may appere by the Rentall of the same	10	4	0
---	----	---	---

¹ The meaning of this is that payments to the poor were directed by the Act to be continued.

² *I.e.*, the tenth imposed by the Act. It was for the assessment of this tenth, and not with a view to the suppression of the monasteries (as is often alleged), that the well-known *Valor Ecclesiasti-*

cus of 1535 was made. The valuation extended to all ecclesiastical foundations—from the archbishoprics down to the humblest vicarage and chantry; therefore it could not have been intended for the monasteries only.

³ There is no heading to this Certificate in the original.

	£	s.	d.
Whereof in—			
Rents resolute paide yearly to sondery persones ...		9	0
And so remayneth clere		9	15 0
Plate & ornaments. A chalise of silver			16 ozs.
Ornaments presentyd there.			
A suite and a cope of redde velvett; two other copes of the same.			
A suite and a cope of white damasee moche worne.			
A cope of blue sattin & blue velvett very olde, praised at			66 8
Memorandum—			
Thomas Michell, clerke of the age of 60 yeres, Incumbent ther, ys a man of honest conversation and indifferently lernyd, and he receyveth yerely for his wages by the hands of the Feoffees of the said Chaurtrie ...		6	0 0
The same Feoffees distributeth yerely out of the premisses to the poore people, in tyme of the anni- versarie yerely kept for the Founders		8	0
Item to the pore prisoners remaynyng in the Gaole of Ilchester yerely		3	4

DECANATUS DE ILCHESTRE.

140. MARTOCKE.

The Chaurtrie within the parishe church ther

Is yerely worthe, in—

Landes, tenements, and hereditaments in the tenure of sondery persones, as maye appere particulerly more at large by the Rentall of the same	14	5	
---	----	---	--

Whereof in—

	£	s.	d.
Rents resolute		5	0
Fees		2	3 4
and Annuyties		6	13 4
And so Remayneth clere		6	3 8

Plate and ornaments—

A Chalice of Tynne.

Ornaments prayسد at	2	0	
----------------------------	---	---	--

Memorandum—

John Skute, clerke, incumbent there.

LANDS APPOINTED BY THE KING'S MAJESTIE
FOR A FREE GRAMMER SCOLE IN THE
TOWNE OF SHERBORNE IN THE COUNTIE
OF DORSET.

A. D. 1550.

THE PARTICULER FOR THE SCHOLE.¹

CANTARIA OF MARTOCKE in the Countie of Somerset.

Valet in—

	£	s.	d.
A rente of one messuage with th'appurtenaunces in Bradforde Brande and Barnardesley, within the parishe of Wymborne in the Countie of Dorset, and leased to Walter Godderde by indenture for terme of yeres, paying by the yere	3	16	8 ²
A rente of one tenement with th'appurtenaunces ther, in the tenure of the forsaid Walter Godderde, paying by yere	3	10	0
A rente of certayn earable lande ther, in the tenure of Thomas Pryor, painge by the yere... ..		8	0
A rente of one pasture ther, now or late in the tenure of Nicolas Cocks, painge by yere		7	2
A rente of 2 closses, and 2 acres of arrable land ther, of late in the tenure of John Godderde, by Indenture by yere		11	8
A rente of one tenement or burgage ther, of late in the tenure of John Hannham, paing by yere		9	8
A rente of one tenement or burgage ther, of late in the tenure of John Davy, paing by yere		18	8
A rente of one tenement or burgage ther with thappurtenaunces in the tenure of Richard Russell, paing by yere	1	11	4
A rente of one tenement or burgage with thappurtenaunces ther, in the tenure of Philip Barons, paing by yere... ..		10	0
A rente of one tenement or burgage ther, with thappurtenaunces, late in the tenure of John Abbott, paing by yere	2	1	10
A rente of one mancion house of the forsaid Chauntrie in the tenure of [blank in MS.], paing by yere ...			4
	14	5	4

¹ Endorsed on the original, which is a Parchment Roll of two membranes.

² lxxvij^s viij^d in the original; I have here and throughout translated into Arabic numerals and modern sums.

	£	s.	d.
Inde—			
Reprises in—			
A rente going out of the same lands to George Antyll for a Fre rente, paing by the yere	6	13	4
A rente going out to Edwarde Twynhoo for Free rent, paing by the yere	5	0	0
	6	18	4
And so the clerely yerlie value fore and besydes the Repryses comethe to, by the yere	7	7	0

Memorandum that all the lands belonging to the Chantrye of Martocke aforesaid lyethe in the Countie of Dorset, except the Chantrye howse of the yerely value of 4^d. as is above mencioned.

And there is no other lands belonginge to the said Chantrye then is above mencioned.

THE CHAUNTRYE OF SANTE KATREN

within the parisshe churchē of GILLINGHAM in the countie of Dorset
aforsaid.

Valet in—

	£	s.	d.
A rente of a mancion house of the Chantrye aforesaid, in the tenure of [<i>blank in MS.</i>], painge by yere ...	2	0	0
A rente of one close of pasture in Gillingham, let to George Dirdo by Copie, painge by yere	13	4	0
A rente of two closses of pasture ther, let to Walter Hendbury by Copie, painge by yere	16	0	0
A rente of certain lande lying near Sylton, let to William Willoughby by Indenture, painge by yere... ..	10	0	0
A rente of one cotage with certen lands in Milton, let to William Butt by copie, and painge by the yere ...	10	0	0
A rente of one pece of pasture in Combermede, in the tennre of William Fryth, let to hym by copie, painge by the yere	8	0	0
A rente of one pece of pasture in Gillingham, in the tennre of Richarde Fryth, painge by yere	8	0	0
A rente of one pece of pasture in Combermed, in the tennre of Thomas Nicholls and Astyne Cuffe, let to them by copie, paing by yere	7	0	0
A rente of one pece of pasture in Combermede, in the tennre of John Chettley, painge by yere	5	0	0
A rente of one cottage in Gillingham, in the tenure of Edward Coke, paing by yere	6	0	0
A rente of certen carable lande in Gillingham, in the tennre of John Butt, let to hym by Copie, paing by yere	6	0	0
A rente of 2 parcells of pasture in Combermed, in the tennre of Alles Casse let to hir by copie, painge by yere	6	8	0

£ s. d.

A rente of one parcell of pasture ther, in the tenure of William Knaplocke. let to hym by copie, paing by yere	6	0
A rente of one Barton in Gillingham, in the tenure of Richarde Frythe, let to hym by copie, paing by yere	2	4
A rente of one pece of pasture nere Combermede, in the tenure of Robert Macham, painge by the yere ...	2	0
A rente of one pece of pasture in Combermede, in the tenure of Cecilie Lamberte, let to hir by copie, painge by yere	2	8
A rente of one Cottage in Gillingham, in the tenure of William Gilberte, painge by yere	5	0
A rente of one Cotage ther, in the tenure of John Clyve, let to hym by indenture, painge by yere	7	0
A rente of one acre of land ther, in the tenure of William Haskett, paying by yere	1	4
A rente of one Barne ther, in the tenure of Roberte Macham, let to hym by Indenture, painge by yere	1	4
A rente of one Close, being pasture grownd nere to the Chantrye, in the tenure of William Knaplocke, let to hym by Indenture, paing by yere	8	0
	<hr/>	
	6	13 4 ¹

THE CHANTRYE OF LYCHETT MATRAVERS, called GYBBONS CHANTRY,
in Comitatu Dorset.

Valet in—

£ s. d.

A rente or Farme of all the closes or tenements, pastures, medowes, with thappurtenaunces, in Lychett Martravers (<i>sic</i>) aforsaid and Sturminster Marchall in the countie of Dorset, belonging to the said Chantrye, with thappurtenaunces, let to Thomas Trencharde, knight, for terme of 21 ^{te} yeres, by indenture Dated the Syxt day of May in the yere of the regne of our Sovereign lorde late Kinge Henry the Eight 35 ^{te} , paing by yere	2	0	0
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THE FREE CHAPELL OF THORNTON within the parishe of MARTINHULL in the com[itatu] of Dorset.

Valet in—

£ s. d.

A rente of one close being pasture ground, with 3 acres and a halff of medo ther, in the tenure of John Raike, let to hym by indenture, paing by yere ...	1	14	0
A rente of 20 acres of earable land in the tenure of Robert Branker, let to hym by indenture, paing by yere	1	0	0
	<hr/>		
	2	14	0

¹ *sic*. It should be £6 13s. 8d.

Memorandum that ther is no other lands belonging to the Chauntries in Gillingham and Lichett Matravers, or the Free Chappell of Thorneton in the parish of Marnehull, then is above declared.

THIRTYE ACRES OF LAND in the parishe of SYMONDESBOROWE in the countie of Dorset, PARCELL OF THE CHAUNTRY OF SAINT KATRYNS OF THE FUNDACION OF JOHN WADHAM IN THE CHURCHE OF HINGSTON¹ in the countie of Dorset.¹

Valet in—

	£ s. d.
A rente of 30 acres of earable lande and pasture, in the parishe of Symondesborowe in Dorset, in the countie aforsaid, in the tenne of William Hunseshill, paing by yere	2 0 0

Reprises in—

A rente goinge oute of the same lande to George Broke, knyght, and to the [Lord] Cobham, for one hve way to go to the forsaid land in the parishe of Symondsborowe aforsaid, paing by yere	1 0 ²
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Et valet clare over and besyds the represses by yere ...	1 19 0
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SUMMA TOTALIS of the yerelie value of the land with the appurtenaunces belonging to the Chauntrie and the Free Chapells aforsaide ... 27 12 8

Inde—

In rents resolut as the particulers above apereth	6 19 4
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And so remaynethe clere by the yere ...	20 13 4 ³
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⁴Inde in—

Annuali redditu reservando domino Regi, 13s. 4d.

Et sic remanent clare, £20.

Examinatur per me Henricum Leke, deputatem Auditorem.

29 die Marcii, Anno Regni Regis Edwardi VI^{ti}. quarto.

The kinges maiestie by thadvise of his prevy Counsaill is pleased and contented that [a] free grammer Schole shalbe erected and established in Shirborne in the Countie of Do[rset, an]d Landes to the yerely value of £20 to be geven and assured by his highnes to the maynetenaunce thereof;

¹ *sic*. Is this a variant, or a mistake, for Ilminster? Dorset should be Somerset.

² Written by mistake 12s., for 12d., in the MS.

³ The gross sum should be 4d. more in consequence of the mistake as to the Gillingham Chantry.

⁴ The copy in the hands of the Governors of the School ends here.

The part which follows is from the Record Office original [Edward VI Grants for Schools, Roll 13], and is printed in *English Schools at the Reformation*, by Arthur F. Leach (Constable and Co., 1896), p. 59. In that book the particulars of the lands, which are given in Latin in the Record Office document, were omitted.

And that there shalbe a Corporaacion of 20 of the Inhabytautes of the Towne and parische of Shirbourne aforesaid to be enabled to haue properties [in] snession as gouernours of the possessions, reuenues and goodes of the same Scole, And to haue powre to Receyve the landes to be appoynted for the said Scoole, And to haue thorder and gouernaunce therof.

Wherefore there must be a bill therof deuysed accordingly, and a graunte to be made of the landes above rehersed with the Issues and proffittes therof from the annuncyacion of our lady last, to the Gouernours of the possessions, reuenues, and goodes of the said Scole, and to their Successours with a Lycence also that they may take and Receyve by waye of purchase or gifte other landes and heredytamentes hereafter to the yerely value of £20.

(Signed)

Ry. Sakevyle.

CHARTER OF RE-FOUNDATION.¹

A. D. 1550.

Edwardus Sextus Dei Gratia Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex fidei Defensor, et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et hibernicæ supremum caput Omnibus ad quos præsentēs litteræ pervenerint Salutem.

Sciatis quod nos, ad humilem petitionem tam inhabitantium villæ de Shirborne in Comitatu Dorsettensi, quam aliorum quam plurimorum subditorum nostrorum totius patriæ ibidem vicinæ, nobis pro Scola Grammaticali ibidem erigenda et stabilienda pro institutione et instructione puerorum et juvenum De gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nestrīs, necnon de avisamento consilii nostri, volumus concedimus et ordinamus, quod de cetero sit et erit una Scola Grammaticalis in dicta villa de Shirborne, quæ vocabitur **LIBERA SCOLA GRAMMATICALIS REGIS EDWARDI SEXTI**, pro educatione institutione et instructione Puerorum et Juvenum in grammatice perpetuis temporibus futuris duratura; ac Scolam illam de uno Magistro seu Pædagego et uno subpædagego sive hipodidascaleso pro perpetuo continuaturam erigimus, creamus, ordinamus et fundamus per præsentēs.

Et ut intentio nostra prædicta meliorem capiat effectum, et ut terræ, tenementa, redditus, reventiones et alia ad sustentationem scole prædictæ concedenda, assignanda et appunctuanda melius gubernentur, pro continuatione ejusdem, Volumus et ordinamus, quod de cetero imperpetuum sint et erunt infra villam et parochiam de Shirborne prædicta viginti homines, de discretioribus et magis probioribus inhabitantibus earundem villæ et parochiæ pro tempore existentibus, qui erunt et vocabuntur Gubernatores possessionum reventionum et bonorum dictæ Scolæ, vulgariter vocatæ et vocandæ liberæ Scolæ Grammaticalis Regis Edwardi Sexti in Shirborne in comitatu Dorsettensi.

¹ Engrossed on vellum: the E of Edwardus, the S of Sextus, the D. of Dei, the A of Angliæ, and the F of Franciæ are illuminated and of fanciful

design. The E represents Edward VI seated on his throne, holding in his hands sceptre and orb, and is evidently meant to be a portrait of him.

Et ideo sciatis quod nos assignavimus, eligimus [*sic*], nominavimus et constituimus, ac per præsentem assignamus, eligimus, nominamus et constituimus dilectos nobis Nicholaum Serger, generosum, Willelmum Mere, generosum, Johannem Yong, generosum, Waltherum Albone, Georgium Barton, Gervasium Aysshelec, Georgium Swettnam, Ricardum Cowper, Henricum Johnson, Ricardum Chetnolle, Johannem Stephens, Anthonium Dalyber, Nicholaum Engleberd, Hugonem Meyre, Johannem Frye, Thomam Weneff, Robertum Yong, Johannem Sowthaye, Thomam Maunfeld, et Johannem Philipps, inhabitantes dictæ villæ et parochiæ de Shirborne, fore et esse primos et modernos Gubernatores possessionum reventionum et bonorum dictæ et Liberæ Scolæ Grammaticalis Regis Edwardi Sexti in Shirborne in Comitatu Dorsettensi, ad idem officium bene et fideliter exercendum et occupandum a data præsentium durante vita eorum.

Et quod iidem Gubernatores in re, facto et nomine, de cetero sint et erunt unum corpus corporatum et politicum de se imperpetuum, per nomen 'Gubernatorum possessionum reventionum et bonorum liberæ Scolæ grammaticalis Regis Edwardi Sexti in Shirborne in Comitatu Dorsettensi,' incorporatum et erectum. Ac ipsos Gubernatores possessionum reventionum et bonorum Liberæ Scolæ Grammaticalis Regis Edwardi Sexti in Shirborne in Comitatu Dorsettensi per præsentem incorporamus, ac corpus corporatum et politicum per idem nomen imperpetuum duraturum realiter et ad plenum creamus, erigimus, ordinamus, facimus et constituimus per præsentem.

Et volumus et per præsentem ordinamus et concedimus, quod iidem Gubernatores possessionum reventionum et bonorum Liberæ Scolæ Grammaticalis Regis Edwardi Sexti in Shirborne in comitatu Dorsettensi habeant successionem perpetuam, et per idem nomen sint et erunt personæ habiles et in lege capaces ad habendum et recipiendum de nobis terras, tenementa, prata, pasturas, redditus, reversiones, possessiones, reventiones et hereditamenta subscripta et inferius specificata, ac alia terras, tenementa, possessiones, reventiones et hereditamenta quæcumque de nobis, sive de aliqua alia persona, seu aliis personis.

Et ordinamus et decernimus per præsentem quod, quandoenique contigerit aliquem vel aliquos dietorum viginti Gubernatorum pro tempore existentium mori, seu alibi extra villam et parochiam de Shirborne prædicta inhabitare ac cum familia sua decedere, quod tunc et totiens bene liceat et licebit aliis dietorum Gubernatorum superviventibus, et ibidem cum familiis commorantibus, vel majori parti eorundem, aliam idoneam personam vel alias idoneas personas de inhabitantibus villæ et parochiæ de Shirborne prædicta, in locum vel in locos sic morientis et morientium, aut cum familia sua sicut prefertur decedentis vel decedentium, in dicto officio Gubernatoris successurum eligere et nominare; et hoc totiens quotiens casus sic acciderit.

Et Sciatis quod nos intentionem et præpositum nostrum in hac parte ad effectum deducere volentes, de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, necnon de avisamento consilii nostri, dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentem damus et concedimus præfatis modernis Gubernatoribus possessionum reventionum et bonorum dictæ Liberæ Scolæ Grammaticalis de novo erectæ in Shirborne prædicta, totam nuper Cantariam de Martocke cum suis juribus et pertinentiis universis, in comitatu nostro Somerssettensi, ac totam

domum sive capitalem mansionem ejusdem nuper Cantariæ, ac omnia domos, edificia, curtilagia, ortos, pomaria, gardina, commoditates proficua et hereditamenta nostra quæcumque, eidem domui seu capitali mansioni adjacentia, spectantia seu pertinentia, cum suis pertinentiis universis, situata et existentia in Martoeke prædicta Necnon omnia messuagia domos edificia orrea stabula columbaria ortos pomaria gardina terras tenementa prata pascuas pasturas boscos redditus reversiones servitia et hereditamenta nostra quæcumque, cum pertinentiis, modo vel nuper in separalibus tenuris seu occupationibus Walteri Godderde, Thomæ Prior, Nicholai Cocks, Johannis Godderde, Johannis Hanham, Johannis Davy, Ricardi Russell, Philippi Barons, et Johannis Abbotte, scituata jacentia et existentia in Bradforde Brande et Barnardesley, et in parochia de Wymborne, seu alibi in comitatu nostro Dorsettensi, dictæ nuper Cantariæ dudum spectantia et pertinentia, ac parcelam possessionum inde nuper existentia.

Necnon totam nuper Cantariam Sanctæ Katerinæ fundatam infra ecclesiam parochialem de Gyllingham in Comitatu nostro Dorsettensi, cum suis juribus et pertinentiis universis, ac totam domum sive capitalem mansionem ejusdem nuper Cantariæ, cum pertinentiis, situatam et existentem in Gillynham prædicta in dicto comitatu nostro Dorsettensi, ac omnia messuagia, cotagia, gardina, terras, tenementa, prata, pascuas, pasturas, et hereditamenta nostra quæcumque, modo vel nuper in separalibus tenuris sive occupationibus Georgii Dyrdo, Walteri Hendebury, Willelmi Willoughby, Willelmi Butt, Willelmi Frythe, Ricardi Frythe, Thome Nicholl, Augustini Cuffe, Edwardi Coke, Johannis Chettle, Johannis Butt, Amicii Casse, Willelmi Knaplocke, Ricardi ffrythe, Roberti Macham, Ceciliæ Lambert, Willelmi Gylberde, Johannis Clyne, Willelmi Haskett, et Roberti Macham Situata, jacentia et existentia in Gillingham, Sylton, Milton et Combermeade, seu alibi ubicumque in dicto comitatu Dorsettensi, dictæ nuper Cantariæ de Gillynham prædicta quoquomodo spectantia vel pertinentia, aut ut parcella possessionum, jurium seu reventionum ejusdem nuper Cantariæ antehac habita, cognita, accepta, usitata seu reputata existentia.

Ac etiam omnia mesuagia terras tenementa, prata, pasturas, redditus, reversiones, servicia et hereditamenta nostra quæcumque, cum pertinentiis, nuper in tenura Thomæ Trenchard, militis, ac omnia alia mesuagia, terras, tenementa, redditus, reversiones, servitia et hereditamenta nostra quæcumque, situata, jacentia et existentia in Lychett Matravers et Sturminster Marshall in dicto comitatu Dorsettensi, nuper Cantariæ vocatæ Gybbons Chauntrye in Lychett Matravers in dicto comitatu Dorsettensi dudum spectantia et pertinentia, ac parcelam possessionum et reventionum ejusdem nuper Cantariæ habita, cognita, accepta, usitata seu reputata existentia.

Ac etiam omnia alia mesuagia, cotagia, domos, edificia horrea, stabula, columbaria, ortos, pomaria, gardina, terras, tenementa, prata, pascuas, pasturas ac hereditamenta nostra quæcumque in Martoeke prædicta in comitatu nostro Somersettensi, ac in Bradford Brande, Barnesley, et infra parochiam de Wymborne, ac in Gyllingham, Sylton, Mylton et Combermeade in dicto comitatu nostro Dorsettensi, dictis nuper cantariis sive earum alicui quoquomodo spectantia vel pertinentia, aut ut parcella possessionum, jurium, seu reventionum

earundem, siue earum alicuius, antehac habita, cognita, accepta, usitata seu reputata existentia.

Ac totam nuper liberam Capellam de Thorneton, infra parochiam de Marnehull in dicto comitatu Dorsettensi, cum suis pertinentiis uniuersis, ac omnia terras, prata, pascuas et pasturas nostra quæcumque, cum pertinentiis, modo vel nuper in separabilibus tenuris sive occupationibus Johannis Rake et Roberti Brauker, iacentia et existentia in Marnehull prædicta, in dicto comitatu nostro Dorsettensi, dictæ nuper liberæ Capellæ spectantia et pertinentia, ac parcellass possessionum inde nuper existentia, ac omnia alia terras, prata, pascuas, pasturas et hereditamenta nostra quæcumque, cum pertinentiis, in Marnehull prædicta, ac alibi ubicumque, dictæ nuper liberæ Capellæ quoquomodo spectantia vel pertinentia, aut ut parcella possessionum seu reventionum eiusdem antehac habita, cognita, accepta, usitata seu reputata existentia.

Necnon omnes illas triginta acras terræ arabilis et prati nostras, ac alia terras, prata, pasturas et hereditamenta nostra quæcumque, cum pertinentiis, modo vel nuper in tenura Willelmi Husenhill iacentia et existentia in parochia de Symondesborough, in dicto comitatu nostro Dorsettensi, nuper Cantariæ Sanctæ Katerinæ fundatæ infra ecclesiam parochialem de Ilmynster, in dicto comitatu nostro Somersettensi, dudum spectantia et pertinentia, ac parcellass possessionum inde nuper existentia, ac reversionem et reversiones quascumque omnium et singulorum præmissorum et enjuslibet inde parcellass.

Necnon redditus et annualia proficua quæcumque, reservata super quibuscumque dimissionibus et concessionibus in præmissis, seu de aliqua inde parcella, quoquomodo factis adeo plene, libere et integre, ac in tam amplis modo et forma, prout aliqui Cantaristæ, Capellani aut aliqui alii Gubernatores vel ministri dictarum nuper Cantariarum et liberæ Capellæ, seu earum alicujus, aut aliquis alius, sive aliqui alii, præmissa aut aliquam inde parcellass antehac habentes, possidentes aut seisiti inde existentes, eadem aut aliquam inde parcellass umquam habuerunt, tenuerunt vel gavisii fuerunt, habuit tenuit seu gavisus fuit, aut habere tenere vel gaudere debuerunt aut debuit, Et adeo plene libere et integre, prout ea omnia et singula ad manus nostras ratione vel prætextu ejusdam actus de diversis Cantariis, Gildis fraternitatibus et liberis Capellis dissolvendis et determinandis, in parlamento nostro tento apud Westmonasterium, anno regni nostri primo, inter alia editi et provisi, seu quocumque alio modo, jure seu titulo devenerunt, seu devenire debuerunt, ac in manibus nostris jam existunt, seu existere debent vel deberent.

Quæ Quidem mesuagia, terræ, tenementa, redditus, reversiones servitia, ac cetera omnia et singula præmissa, modo extenduntur ad clarum annum valorem viginti librarum, tresdecim solidorum et quatuor denariorum.

Habendum Tenendum et gaudendum prædicta omnia mesuagia, terras, tenementa, redditus, reversiones, servitia et cetera omnia præmissa, cum pertinentiis, præfatis modernis Gubernatoribus possessionum reventionum et bonorum dictæ Liberæ Scolæ de novo erectæ, et successoribus suis imperpetuum **Tenendum** de nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris, ut de manerio nostro de Stalbrige in dicto comitatu nostro Dorsettensi, per fidelitatem tantum, in libero socagio **Ac** reddendo inde annuatim nobis, heredibus et successoribus nostris,

tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios legalis monetae Angliæ ad Curiam nostram Augmentationum et reventionum coronæ nostræ, ad festum sancti Michaelis Archangeli singulis annis solvendos, pro omnibus redditibus, servitiis et demandis quibuscumque.

Necnon dedimus et concessimus, ac per presentes damus et concedimus prefatis Gubernatoribus omnia exitus, redditus, reventiones et proficua predictorum terrarum tenementorum et ceterorum premissorum, a festo Annunciationis beate marie virginis ultimo præterito huc usque provenientia sive crescentia Habendum eisdem Gubernatoribus ex dono nostro, absque compoto seu aliquo alio proinde nobis, heredibus vel successoribus nostris, quoquomodo reddendo, solvendo vel faciendo.

Et ulterius volumus, ac pro nobis, heredibus et successoribus nostris, per presentes concedimus prefatis Gubernatoribus et successoribus suis, quod de cetero imperpetuum habeant commune sigillum, ad negotia sua præmissa et cetera in his litteris nostris patentibus expressa et specificata, seu aliquam inde parcellam, tantummodo, tangentia seu concernentia deserviturum. Et quod ipsi Gubernatores per nomen 'Gubernatorum possessionum reventionum et bonorum Libere Scolæ Grammaticalis Regis Edwardi Sexti in Shirborne in Comitatu Dorsetensi,' placitare possint et implicitari, defendere et defendendum [*sic*] respondere et respondendum [*sic*] in quibuscumque curiis et locis, et coram quibuscumque Judicibus, in quibuscumque causis, actionibus, negotiis, sectis, querelis, placitis et demandis, cujuscunque naturæ seu conditionis fuerint, præmissa et cetera subscripta, aut aliquam inde parcellam, aut pro aliquibus offensis, transgressionibus, rebus, causis vel materiis, per aliquas personas seu aliquam personam, factis seu perpetratis, aut fiendis vel perpetrandis, in vel super præmissis vel aliqua inde parcella, aut aliquod in presentibus specificatum tangentibus seu concernentibus.

Et ulterius de uberiori gratia nostra, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, necnon de avisamento prædicto, dedimus et concessimus, ac per presentes damus et concedimus prefatis modernis Gubernatoribus et successoribus suis, ac majori parti eorundem, plenam potestatem et auctoritatem nominandi et appunctuandi Pedagogum et Subpedagogum Scolæ prædictæ totiens quotiens eadem Scolæ de pedagogo vel subpedagogo vacua fuerit; Et quod ipsi Gubernatores, cum advisamento [*sic*] Episcopi Bristollensis pro tempore existentis, de tempore in tempus, faciant et facere valeant et possint idonea et salubria statuta et ordinationes in scriptis, concernentia et tangentia ordinationem gubernationem et directionem Pedagogi et Subpedagogi ac Scolarium Scolæ prædictæ pro tempore existentium, ac stipendii et salarii eorundem Pedagogi et Subpedagogi, ac alia eandem Scolam, ac ordinationem, gubernationem, præsertionem et dispositionem reddituum et reventionum ad sustentationem ejusdem Scolæ appunctuatorum et appunctuandorum, tangentia et concernentia. Quæ quidem Statuta et ordinationes sic fienda volumus, concedimus et per presentes præcipimus inviolabiliter observari de tempore in tempus imperpetuum.

Et ulterius de uberiori gratia nostra, et de avisamento prædicto, dedimus et concessimus, ac per presentes damus et concedimus, prefatis modernis Gubernatoribus possessionum reventionum et bonorum dictæ Libere Scolæ Grammaticalis Regis Edwardi Sexti in Shirbourne prædicta, et successoribus suis, licentiam specialem liberamque et licitam facultatem, potestatem et auctoritatem, habendi,

recipiendi et perquirendi eis, et eorum successoribus imperpetuum, tam de nobis hereditibus vel successoribus nostris, quam de aliis quibuscumque personis, et alia persona quacumque, maneria, messuagia, terras, tenementa, rectorias, decimas, aut alia hereditamenta quacumque, infra regnum Angliæ, seu alibi infra dominationes nostras, dummodo non excedant clarum annum valorem viginti librarum, ultra dicta mesuagia, terras, tenementa et cetera premissa, præfatis Gubernatoribus et successoribus suis, ut præfertur, per nos in forma prædicta concessa Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis, aut aliquo alio statuto, actu, ordinatione seu provisione, aut aliqua alia re, causa vel materia quacumque, in contrarium inde habito, facto, ordinato seu proviso in aliquo non obstante.

Et Volumus ac per præsentis concedimus præfatis modernis Gubernatoribus, quod habeant, et habebunt, has litteras nostras patentes sub magno sigillo nostro Angliæ debite factas et sigillatas, absque fine seu feodo magno vel parvo nobis, in Hanaperio nostro, seu alibi, ad usum nostrum, proinde quoquomodo reddendo, solvendo vel faciendo.

Et quod Expressa mentio de vero valore annuo, aut de certitudine præmissorum, sive eorum alicujus, aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos præfatis modernis Gubernatoribus et successoribus suis, ante hæc tempora factis, in præsentibus minime factis existit. Aut aliquo statuto, actu, ordinatione, provisione, sive restrictione inde in contrarium facto, edito, ordinato sive proviso, aut aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacumque in aliquo non obstante.

In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes.

Tertio me ipso apud Westmonasterium tertio decimo die Maii anno regni nostri quarto.

Per ipsum Regem et de data prædicta, auctoritate parlamenti

Standysshe.

[Tied here, by green and white silk cord, is an impression in wax of Edward VI's Great Seal, in excellent preservation.]

LEASE FOR 99 YEARS BY SIR JOHN HORSEY TO
GOVERNORS OF SHERBORNE SCHOOL OF
THE SCHOOL HOUSE AND SITE.¹

This Indenture made the 24th day of March in the firste and seconde yere of the reynge of Philippe and Mary, by the grace of God, of Englonde, Fraunce, Napils, Jerusalem and Irelande, Kynge and Quene, Defenders of the Faithe, Pryncees of Spaine & Cicile, Archeduks of Auster, Duks of Millayne, Burgunde and Brabante, Countises of Haspurge, Flanders and Tyrolls

Betwyne Syr John Horsey of Clyfton Mabaneke in the countie of Dorset, Knyght, of the one partie, And John Yonge, William Meyre, George Barton, Gerves Assheley, George Swetnam, Richarde Cowper, Henry Johnson, Richarde Chetnoll, Johannes Stephens, Anthony Dalaber, Nichelas Engleberde, Hwegh Meyre, John Frey,

¹ This is from the original lease which remained with the Governors. They are also in possession of the counterpart, which was handed over when, in 1605, they took a new lease for 1,000 years at

the old rent from Sir Ralph Horsey. By deed of Dec. 1, 1628, for £12 the fee was conveyed to them, together with the old conduit in the Market-place, by the trustees of Robert Coker, Esq.

Thomas Wynnyff, Robertns Yonge, Johannes Sowthey, Thomas Maundefelde and John Phyllyppes, Inhabitants of the Towne of Shirborne in the said Countie of Dorset, and firste and now Governors of the possessyons Revenewys and goods of the late erected Free Gramer Schole of our late Soveraynge lorde Kyng Edwarde the Sixte in Shirborne foresaid, of the other partie :

WYTNESSETH that the said Syr John Horssey, Knyght, for the Somme of £13. 6 8 of good and lawfull money of Englonde, for and in the name of a Fyne, unto the said Syr John Horssey by the said Governors in hande paide, at the enseallynge of these presents, whereof and wherewith the said Syr John Horssey knowledgeth hym self to be well and truly satisfied, contented and paide, and therof dothe by thes presents clerely acquyte and discharge the said Governors and their successours for ever by these presents;

HATH DEMYSED, graunted and to Ferme letten, and by these presents doth demyse, graunte and to ferme lett, unto the foresaid Governors and to their successours;

All those his two howses called & knowen by the names of the Schole howse, and the Plumbe howse, and the gardens to the said howses adjoynynge; whereof one garden was sometyme called the Abbay Lytten or chirche yarde, and the other garden is called the Plumbe howse garden;

And also the said Syr John Horssey hathe by thes presents demysed unto the said Governors & to their successours one parcell of grounde, adjoynynge to the said Schole howse on the Sowthe parte, called the Schole Barton; and all that voyde grounde lyenge betwyne the este end of the parisshe church of Shirborne forsaid & the said Schole Barton, Where uppon the Chapell of our Lady, the Bowe Chapell, and the Ankres-howse were some tyme bylded, with all & singuler their commodities & appurtenaunces

TO HAVE AND to holde all the said howses gardens barton and voyde grounde above said, with all and synguler their commodities and appurtenaunces, unto the foresaid Governors & to their successours, to the use and behowfe of the said Free Gramer Schole, from the feast of the Natyvytie of Saynte John Baptiste laste paste before the date hereof unto thende and terme, and by all the terme, of fower skore and nyntetene yeres, next and immediately folowynge and fully to be completed and ended;

YELDYNG, and payenge yerely for the premysses, duryng the said terme, unto the said Sir John Horssey Knyght, his heyres and assignes, 13^s 4^d of good and lawfull money of Englonde, at two termes of the yere, that is to say at the Feasts of th'annunciation of Our Lady the Vyrgyn and Sainte Mighell th'archaungell by evyn porcions.

[Power to re-enter, if rent unpaid, and no sufficient distress be found on the premises. Covenant by the Governors to repair. Warranty of title.]

In wites wherof, to the one parte of this Indenture remaynynge with the said Governors, the said Syr John Horssey his seall have put to; the other parte of this Indenture, remaynynge with the said Syr John Horssey, the said Governours the seall of the said Schole have put to, the day & yeres above wrytten.

Endorsed : 24^o March 1^{mo} and 2^{do} Phillipi and Mariae.

Sir John Horsey's Lease for 4 Score & 19 yeares of the Schoole house & Plumbe house to the Governors of the Schoole.

[His seal, showing a horse's head caboshed on a shield, is still attached by a parchment thong.]

ACCOUNTS OF GOVERNORS OF SHERBORNE SCHOOL,
1553-1561.

SHERBORNE SCOLE.¹ *Anno Domini* 1553.²

The accompte of George Swetnaham, Warden & Receptor of all the rents & Revenewys of the said Scole, from the Feast of Saynte Mighell th'archungell in the Sixte yere of the Reyngge of Our late Soveraynge lorde Kyngge Edwarde the Sixte, unto the said Feaste of Saynte Mighell in the Firste yere of the Reyngge of our Soverayngne lady Marye, quene of Englonde, Fraunce & Irelonde &c

Thaccompts of George Swetnaham and Jarveys Assheley
Annis 1553-1554.

	£ s. d.
In primis, the said Accomptante accomptith of £13 17s. 7d., by hym recevyd of John Yonge upon the last accompte 13 17 7	13 17 7
³ Item of £7 6s. 4d. of the rents assi[s]e in Bradforde Bryane & Barnardsley	
Item of 6s. 8d. for one message in Martocke	
Item of £6 18s. 10d. for the rents of assi[s]e in Gyllyng- ham	
Item of 54s. for the Rente of Thorneton	
Item of 40s. for the Rente of Lychette matraverse	
Item of 40s. of the Rents of Symondsborough	21 5 10
Item of 41s. 8d. in the full payment of the Fine of William Coverde	
Item of 33s. 4d. in full payment of the fyne ⁴ of Cristiane Kneplocke	
Item of 10s. in the full payment of the fyne of William Asshecote	
Item of £3 in parte of payment of the fyne of John Barons	
Item of 20d. for the heryotte of William Clyffe	7 6 8
<i>Summa totalis receptæ</i>	42 10 1

¹ The headings are written in the margin in the original.

² On paper, two sheets, book-form ; stitched together with the account for the following year ; so that the account for 1553-4 occupies the first leaf, written back and front ; and the account for 1554-5 occupies the next leaf, back and front, and the front of the third leaf, the back of which is not written on. The fourth leaf, written back and front, appears to belong to the year 1554-5,

and to be an entry of the items paid, when paid. Probably both accounts are drafts intended to be fair copied on parchment in roll form.

³ These items are written continuously, not set out as in the print, but included in a bracket, outside which the total is given.

⁴ This is nearly 2½ years' value for part of fine only of Kneploeces holding of 14s. a year.

	£	s.	d.
(l.b.) Whereof the said Accomptante praieth to be allowed of £20 paide to the Scolc mayster & Ussher for their hole yeres wages	20	0	0
Item for 2 yeres rente paid to the Quenys Hyghnes	26	8	
.. for 2 acquytaunces for the same			6
.. paid for the Steuerds Fee	13	4	
.. for the rente of the Scolc-house			4
.. allowed for reparacions of the Ferme of Bradforde	6	4	
.. paid to Baller for Sawyng of tymber in the parke ² for the Scolc			3 4
.. for expences of the Courts this yere & and for the recepte of the rents	11	2	
.. for paper & parchement			4
<i>Summa totalis allocationis</i>	23	2	0 ³

Liberacio denariorum ad manus Jarvacii Assheley super compotum	19	8	1
Et eligerunt in officium Gradiani Ricardum Coper.			
Henry Heubury debts for Gylynyngham	18	10	
Recepta per Jarvacium Asshelye	13	9	3
Item paid for fyer at the laste accompte			4

VILLA DE SHIRBORNE¹

Tercio die Decembris anno Reginae nunc m. primo
 Recepta de Gubernatoribus bonorum et revencionum liberae Scholae villae ibidem, pro quodam annuali redditu Dominae Reginae praedictae et successoribus suis imperpetuum reservato, ad 13s. 4d. per annum; ac sibi debito pro 4^{or} annis finitis ad Festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli ultimum praeteritum, quinquaginta tres solidos et quatuor denarios... ..

	53	4
--	----	---

John Aylhworth

Rec[eptor]

SHIRBORNE SCHOLE. Anno Domini 1554.⁵

The accompte of Jarves Assheley, Warden & Receptor of all the Rentes & revenues of the said Schole, from the Feaste of Saynte Mighell tharchaungell, in the First yere of the Reyng of our

¹ These items are set out as printed; "Item" being written in each case in full under Item.

² The Bishop of Salisbury's Park of his manor and castle of Sherborne; afterwards acquired by Elizabeth for Sir Walter Raleigh; and, after reverting to the Crown on his attainder, eventually sold to Charles I.'s Lord Digby, in whose family it remains.

³ sic. It should be £23 2s. 4d. The

4d. for paper and parchement was perhaps an afterthought.

⁴ This receipt is on a separate slip tacked on to page 1.b. of the account. It appears to be the original receipt, as the signature of the Receiver is in a different handwriting, and is followed by an elaborate device in the nature of a notary's mark.

⁵ See note to beginning of first account.

Soveraynge lady Quene Mary, unto the said Feaste of Saynte Mighell, in the Firste & Seconde yere of the Reyng of Philippe and Mary by the Grace of God of Englonde Fraunce Napilis Jerusalem & Ireland, Kyng & Quene &c.

Argentum.

	£	s.	d.
In primis the said Accomptante accomptith of	£19	8s.	1d.
by hym receyvyd of George Swetnaham uppon the laste accompte	19	8	1

Redditus assisæ.

Item of £7 6s. 4d. [etc. as in last account, except that the word "capitall" is inserted before message, and the words "rents of assie" inserted in each item] ...	21	5	10
--	----	---	----

Fines.

Item, Receyvyd of John Barons in full payement of his fyne	£4		
Item receyvyd of Richarde Davy in parte of payment of his fyne	£3	6s.	8d.
Item receyvyd of William But in full payment of his fyne		5s.	
		7	11
Item receyvyd for olde Tymber that came of the olde Schole house		20	0
<i>Summa totalis Recepte</i>	49	5	7

Whereof the said Accomptante prayeth to be allowed of £13 6s. 8d. paid to the Scholemaister for his wages

Item paid to the Ussher for cristemes quarter ...	33s.	4d.	
Item to the Ussher for the other 3 quarters wages	£3		
		18	0
Item paid to the Quenys Magestie for the Chyfe Rent of the Schole this yere		13	4
Item paid for the Steward's Feed		13	4
Item for the expences of the Courts & recepte of the Rents this yere		11	10
Item paid for parchement and paper for this accompte ...			6
Item paid for the expences of Richarde Chetmyll, Hugh Mayre, at Dorchester for the Schole matters ...		3	2
<i>Summa</i>		20	2
		2	2

£ s. d.

Item paid to Sir John Horssey, knyght, in parte of payment for the Schole-howse & the Plumbe-howse with 2 Gardens; whercof one is called the Abbay Lytton, with all the voyde Grounde commyng of the late chapell called the bow & the lady chapell, & also all that grounde belongyng to the said Schole howse, for the terme of 99 yeres	10	0	0
Item paid for the takyng downe of the Helyng stones of the said Schole-howse	2s.	8d.	
Item paid to Damper for takynge downe of the walles of the said Howse & for Ryddyng of the same	3s.	9d.	6 5
Item paid to John Yonge for a tree bowght in the parke for the Schole	6s.	8d.	
Item for the fellyng of the same	4d.		
Item paid for caryng of 3 cutlod of Tymber from the parke... ..	4s.		
Item paid to Henry Gardener for tymber Redy sawne in the parke	8s.		
Item paid to Wryght for caryenge of the same	16d.		
		20	4
Item paid for 8 lods of Helyngstones & for caryage of the same	45	6	
Item paid to Baller the Carpenter for makyng of all the Tymber warke of the said Schole-howse	45	0	
Item paid to Darby the mason for makyng uppe of the 2 syde walls of the said Schole howse	24s.		
Item paid to the said Darby for mendynge of the poynyng wall of the said Howse	2s.		
		26	0
Item paid to John Baller for 18 potts of erthe for the same warke	9	0	
Item paid to Lane for coverynge of the said Schole-howse, contaynyng 6 perches & an halffe, every perche	4s.	4d.	
	28s.	2d.	
Item paid for sande for the said warke	8d.		
Item paid for 27 th sacks of lyme for the same	19s.	4d.	
Item paid for 8 ^c of lathes	7s.	4d.	
Item paid for 4 ^m of lathe nayles	5s.	6d.	
Item for Hache nayle & borde nay[1]es for the same	16d.		
Item for a dozen of crests	14d.		
		3	3 5
<i>Some of the hole charges of the byldyng is £10 15s. 3d.</i>			
<i>Summa totalis allocationis...</i>	40	17	10
And in money lyvered to the hands of Richarde Cowper uppon this acompte	8	7	9
<i>Summa omnium allocationum et liberationum</i>	49	5	7

*qua est summa cor[r]espondens summe superius onerata. Et sic
Quic[us] est.*

Et eligerunt George Barton in officium Gradiani.

f. 4.

¹Annose.

	£	s.	d.
In primis received of for (<i>sic</i>) Rakes bargayne for 3 quarters, ² each 8s. 6d.	25	6	
Item received of Walter Henbury for the half at Our Lady Day... ..	3	6	8
Item received of the fermour of Bradforde for the half yeres rent at Our Lady Daye	3	6	8
Item received of Hemersyll for the half yeres rent of Symonds borowgh at Our Lady Daye... ..	20	0	
<i>Summa</i>	8	18	10

Termino Sancti Johannis

Item receyved of Walter Henbury for rent of Gyllyngham, ¹ each 27s. 8d.	53	4	
Item receyved of Brancker for the hole yeres rent ...	20	0	
Item, Master Trencharde for the holle yeres rent of Lychett matravers	40	0	
Item of Radder	13	4	
Item for the f[in]c of Will But	5	0	
Item received of John Barnes for his fyne... ..	4	0	0
" Richard Davy for his fyne	3	6	8
" Thomas Wynnyff for in parte of Bradford rent	4	marks	
<i>Summa</i>	16	5	0

Item receyved of Thomas Wynnyff for Bradeforde & Symondsborough rents	33	4	
---	----	---	--

f. 4.b.

In primis paid to Mr Coke 3 qrs wages	10	0	0
Item, to the Ussher for Cristes quarter	33	4	
" paid to the Ussher for half wages	40	0	
" " to Sir John Horssey for the Sckole howse ...	10	0	0
" " to Thomas Wynnyff for his Fee	13	4	
" " for fyer at the laste account			4
<i>Summa</i>	24	7	0
" " to the Sckole maister for his quarter's wages...	3	6	8
" to the Ussher for his quarter's wages	20	0	

¹ Such the word appears to be; but it does not seem to have much meaning. It is a vile scrawl.

² These words are in the margin in the original, written: ez viijs. vjd.

SHIRBORNE SCHOLE. OF RICARDE COWPER, GEORGE BARTON, ANNIS
1555 AND 1556.

Anno Domini 1555.¹

The accompte of Ricarde Cowper, Warden and Receptor of all the
rentz revenues of the said Schole [etc as in last, from Michaelmas
1 & 2 to Michaelmas 2 & 3 Philip & Mary.]

Argentum

	£	s.	d.
[as in last] rec ^d . of Gerves Assheley	8	7	9
[The rents of assize the same as in last account, but in addition]			
Item received of John Bollyng for one quarters rent of the Plome house garden 15 <i>d</i> .	21	7	1
	£	s.	d.
Item rec[eived] of John Cornysse for his hole fyne	20	0	
„ „ John Watts for in part of his fyne	26	8 ²	
„ „ for the heryott of Richard Frythe	2	0	
„ „ of ³ Richard Davy in full pay- ment of his fyne	3	6	8
„ „ for the heryott of Crystyane Russell	33	4	
			6 2 0
Item received of John Stevens for the olde Grate of the Scole howse			2 0
<i>Summa totalis receptæ</i>	35	18	10

Whereof the said Accomptante prayeth to be allowed of
£13 6*s.* 8*d.* paid to the Scholemaister for his hole yeres
wages

Item of £4 paid to the Ussher for his hole yere's wages 17 6 8

Item of 13*s.* 4*d.* paide to the Quenys Maiestie for the Chyffe
rent

Item paid to Sir John Horssey for the rent of the Schole-
howse 13*s.* 4*d.*

Item of 13*s.* 4*d.* paid to the Stuerde for his Fee 2 0 0

¹ This account is also on paper. It is
bound up with that of the following year.

² Crossed through in the original.

³ Richard Davy's fine £6 13*s.* 4*d.* on

the rent of 18*s.* 8*d.* given in the "Parti-
cular for the Schole" is more than 7
years' purchase.

	£	s.	d.
Item of £3 6s. 8d. paid to Sir John Horssey, knyght, in full payment of the purchase ¹ of the Scholehowse			
Item of 40s. paid to Henry Gardener for his interest & tittle in the said Scholehowse		5	6 8
Item of 6s. 8d. paide to Darby, the mason, for makyng hygher the Scholehowse walls, and for wallyng uppe of the dores ther			
Item of 6s. 8d. paid to the said Darby for Ryddyng of the foundation of the walls, for the Byldynge of the Shoppes		13	4
Item of 4s. paid for 8 bussells of lyme			
Item of 6d. paid for 4 bushells of here			
Item of 5s. 8d. paid to Baller for makyng of the Scholehowse dores, and for the seatis in the said Scholehowse			
Item of 18d. paid to Roger Smyth			
Item of 2s. 2d. paid to the Smyth of Yevyll ² for hoks & twysts & one hundred of nayles		13	10
			s. d.
Item paid to John Smythe for a locke and a Staple for the Scolehowse dore		16	
Item paid to Mone the Smyth for a c of nayles ...		12	
Item paid to Richarde Chetnell for bords and plancks for the Schole	16	0	
Item paid to Thomas Wheler for caryenge of the same		12	
			19 4
Item paid to William Baker for beryng of the Helyng stone in to the plumbe howse, that remayned of the Scholehowse		4	
„ „ to Baller for 3 potts of erthe		18	
„ „ to John Stevens for a locke and kaye for the Plombe howse dore	2	0	
			3 10
„ „ for expences of keyng the Courts and for the recepte of the rents this yere	10	6	
„ „ for parchement and paper for this accompte		6	
			11 0
Item allowed to John Godder, fermone of Brade 16s. 8d. for half the heryott of Cristyane Russell, towards the reparacions of the ferme ther, by an order & agrement made betwyne the Governours and the said Godder ...		16	8
<i>Summa totalis allocationis</i>		28	11 4

¹ The purchase was only for a lease of 99 years. £10 was paid in the preceding year's account.

² Yeovil. The other two smitlrs mentioned appear to be trade titles, not surnames.

Item in money delyvered uppon this accompte to the hands of George Barton	£	s.	d.
... ..	7	7	6

Summa totalis allocationum et liberationum ... 35 18 10
que est summa correspondens summe superius onerata. Et sic Quietus.

Et eligerunt in officium Gradiani John Sowthey.

SHIRBORNE SCHOLE [1556].

The accompte of John Sowthey, in the behalf of George Barton deceased Warden & recevoir [etc 2-3 to 3-4 Ph & M]

	£	s.	d.
[Balance]	7	7	6
[Rents of assize]	128	4	8
Item of a newe rent of William Rydeowt for the great Garden and the Plumbehowse	13	4	
Item of John Bollynge for the lyttell Garden ...	5	0	
Item for the new standyngs at the fayr this yere	12		
		19	4
Item receyvvd of Nicholas Englebearde in parte of his fyne	40	0	
Item of Bryane Cole & of Baller for the tymber of the olde stonyng & a Plome tree	20		
		2	1 8
Item receyvvd of John Starre in parte of his fyne	40	0	
		2	0 0
<i>Summa totalis recepte</i>	40	13	2
Whereof the said accomptaunte askyth allowaunce of £6 13s. 4d. for a Free rente payde owt of Bradforde and Barnardesley to George Antyll			
Item of 5s. for a Free rent payde owt of the same londs to Edwarde Twynhoo			
Item of 13s. 4d. for a chyffe rent paid to the Kynge & Quens Maiegites			
<i>Summa</i>	7	11	8
Item [Schoolmaster and Usher's wages and Steward's fee as in last account]			
Item of 16s. 8d. paid to Sir John Horssey for the Skole rente for 5 quarters ended at Michelmas laste			
<i>Summa</i>	18	16	8
Item 10s. paide to John Baller, Richarde Baller, John Sampson, Walter Soper for caryenge of Roble from the Skole howse barton with ther plowes			

¹ The sum differs, because £14 5s. 2d. instead of £7 6s. 4d. is received for rents in Bradford and Barnardsley. But this is balanced by the two free rents being

paid by the governors instead of (apparently) the tenants. There is, however, an odd 6d. unaccounted for.

	£	s.	d.
Item of 15s. 2d. paid to Richarde Godlyn, John Godlyn, John Forte, John Togood, Richarde Hutton, Richarde Harby & Sawnder for dyggyng uppe the said Roble and for fyllyng the said putts			
<i>Summa</i>	25		2
Item of 7s. 8d. paid to Richarde Hutton, Henry Damper, & Richarde Gulley for dyggyng uppe of stones and for ryndyng of the foundation of the Skole walle			
Item 30s. paid to Andrue Mason for makynge of the said wall, contayning 45 th perches, every perche 8d.			
Item of 8s. paid to John Baller & to Walter Soper for 17 potts of erthe for the same wall			
Item of 3s. paid to the said Andrue & his man for 3 dayes worke for dyggyn of stones & for hewyng of the base stones for the standyngs, and for mendyng of the olde wall			
Item of 2s. 8d. paid to Baller for quarteryng of tymber in the parke for the Sekole			
Item of 5s. 4d. paid to John Phylippes & John Sowthey for carynge of 4 lods of Tymber from the parke, for every lode 16d.			
Item of 9s. 3d. paid to John Williams for sawynge of 7 ^c of Tymber for the Stondyngs, and for beryng the same into the howse			
<i>Summa</i>	3	5	11
Item of 20s. 9d. paid to Baller the carpenter and his man, for framynge of the Tymber worke of the said Stondyngs, & for settyng uppe of the same, & for other worke abowte the Skole, by the space of 14 dayes, takyng for every day 18d., lackyng one day 3d.			
Item of £3 paid for 10 Tonne of Helyngstones for the said Stondyngs, and for the caryage of the same			
Item of 23s. 4d. paid to the Helyer for helynge of the said Stondyngs, containing 4 ^{or} perches, lackyng 7 fote, every perche 6s.			
Item of 5s. 4d. for 8 saxes [<i>sic</i>] of lyme for the same			
Item of 3s. 8d. for 3 ^c & a half of lathes for the same			
Item of 4s. 10d. for lathe nayle, borde nayles, hateche nayles & spryggs			
Item of 3s. 9d. for 3 dozen & 7 Crests for the same			
Item of 20d. paid to John Sowthaye for Tymber to fynysse the said Stondyngs			
<i>Summa</i>	7	5	4
Item of 7s., in parte of payment, for the Glasynge of the Skolehowse wyndowes			
Item of 5s. paid for gemoues, twystys & hoks for the Skole barton dore & the wyndowes			
Item of 6d. for a kaye for the charnell-howse dore			
Item of 12d. paid for wyne geven to M ^r Chauncelor & to Goderd the fermour			
Item of 20d. paid to Davy for carynge of a letter to the said fermour			

Item of 5 <i>s. 8d.</i> for the expences of the collection of the rents, & kepyng the courts this yere	£	s.	d.
Item of 6 <i>d.</i> for parchement and paper for this present accompte			
<i>Summa</i>		21	4
<i>Summa totalis allocationis</i>		38	6 1

Item in money delyvered uppon this accompte		47	1
<i>Summa totalis allocationum et liberationum</i>		40	13 2

que est summa correspondens summe superius oneratae. Et sic recedit a compoto suo Quietus.

Et eligerunt Johannem Stevyns in officium Gradiani.

Indenturæ deliberantur ad manus Johannis Stevyns et Sigillam receptum in custodiam Georgii Swetnaham.

¹27 die Octobris annis regnorum Philippi et Mariæ Regis et Reginae 3^{ci}o et 4^{to}

Receyved of the [<i>sic</i>] Wardens of Sherborne for the Scholehouse ther dew at the feast of S. Michael th'archangell last past	per me John Hannam	13	4
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(Back of last page.)

Soluti Johanni Stephyns	{	Nicholas Engleberde debet for parte of his fine	40	0
		John Sterr [do]	3	0 0
<i>Summa</i>			5	0 0

²Nomina Gubernatorum—

Willelmus Meyre
 Garves Asshely
 Ricardus Cuper
 Henry Johnson
 Ricardus Chetnole
 Johannes Stephyns
 Anthony Dalaber
 Nicholas Engleberd
 Hugh Meyre
 Johannes Frey
 Thomas Wynnyff
 Robertus Yonge
 Johannes Sowthey
 Thomas Mamefelde
 Johannes Phylypes
 Robertus Bennyng
 Johannes Oke

¹ This receipt is as usual pinned on to the back of the first page of the account.

² It will be noticed that in 6 years no less than four governors have disappeared.

SHERBORNE SCHOLE. TH'ACCOMPTS OF J. SOWTHEY AND JOHN STEVENS,
WARDENS, &C., ANNIS 1557-1558.

Anno Domini 1557

The accompte of John Sowthey [etc. as in last, but adding to the title "Archeduks of Austrige, Duks of Millagne, Burgunde and Brabante, Countises of Haspurge, Flanders and Tirolle," 3-4 to 4-5 Ph. & M.]

In primis the said accomptante dothe yelde accompte of 47*s.* 1*d.* receyvvd by him uppon the last accompte

[Rents of assize as in last, except that it specifies the "capital messuage in Martocke called the Chantrey Howse."]

	£	s.	d.
<i>Summa totalis reddituum assise ultra 47s. 1d. remanentes in pede compoti precedentis</i> ...	28	4	8
Item of 5 <i>s.</i> for a new rente of John Bollynge for the lyttell Garden			
Item of 4 <i>s.</i> for a new rent receyvvd of Roberte Yonge for one of the new Stondyngs			
Item of 4 <i>s.</i> for a new [etc. as above] of John Stevyns for the seconde Stondyng			
Item of 3 <i>s.</i> [etc. as above] of William Pope for the third Stondyng			
Item of 16 <i>d.</i> receyvvd this yere at diverse tymes for the other 2 stondyngs			
<i>Summa</i>		17	4
Item of 46 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> receyvvd of John Goderde for one Copie or underwode called Gomeryge, conteynnyng by estimacion 4 acres, lyeng in Lychett Matravers solde to the said Godder			
Item of £9 receyvvd of the said John Godderde for 30 ^{oks} .			
Item of £5 receyvvd of M ^r . Trencharde for 18 oks to hym solde out of 2 parocks of grounde lyen on the Este parte of Lychet howse			
Item of 20 <i>s.</i> receyvvd of M ^r . Philippes for 9 oks to hym solde out of one close of pasture lyeng Northe from the said Howse			
Item of 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> for 6 oks solde to Thomas Barbour out of one close of pasture lyeng by Este the said copie called Gomeryge			
<i>Summa bosci</i>		18	0 0
Item of £26 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> receyvvd of M ^r . Trencharde for a fyne ¹ of the Chauntry lande there & styrmester Marshall for terme of 21 yeres			
<i>Summa</i>		26	13 4

¹ This is a tremendous fine on a rental of £2 a year for 21 years.

Item of 20s. receyvyd from the Gyfte of George Swetnaham	£ s. d.
Item of 20s. of the gyfte of Mr. Younge	
Item of 6d. from the fyne of Roberte Yonge for his Stondynge	
Item of 6d. for the fyne of John Stephyns for his stondynge	
<i>Summa</i>	2 1 0
<i>Summa totalis recepte</i>	<hr/> 78 3 5
Whereof [etc. as in last, Free and Chief rents].	
<i>Summa</i>	7 11 8
Item of £14 13s. 4d. paid to the Skolemaister for his wages this yere	
Item of £3 paid to the Ussher for 3 quarters wages this yere	
[Steward's fee and rent of School-house as before]	
<i>Summa</i>	19 0 0
Item of £13 6s. 8d. paid to John Hillarde, church warden, to the use of the parishe church of Shirborne, borowyd by the Governors of the Skole of the church stocke there	
Item of 24s. paid to Henry Johnson for 3 peces of Tymber for the said schole	
<i>Summa</i>	14 10 8
Item of 3s. 4d. paid to Roger Smythe for a Clampe of Iren & nayles for the Stondynge	
Item of 13s. 4d. paid to Darby, the mason, for the makynge of a wall in the Schole Garden	
Item of 2s. 7d. for 6 putts of erthe for the same	
Item of 11s. 1d. paid to the Glasyer for the Glasynge of the Skolehowse wyndowes	
Item of 11d. paid to Roger Loker for a locke & a kaye for the schole-barton Dore	
<i>Summa</i>	1 11 3
Item of 39s. 10d. for the expences of the Wardens & Steuerde this yere for the collection of the rents & Salle of the said wods	
[Parchment, etc. as usual]	
<i>Summa</i>	2 0 4
Item of 20s. paid to Richarde Cowper for the half yeres rent of Lychett Matravers as yet remaynyng in the hands of Mr. Trencharde	
<i>Summa</i>	1 0 0
<i>Summa totalis allocationis</i>	<hr/> 45 13 11
Item in money delyvered uppon this accompte to John } Stephens next warden }	32 9 6
<i>Summa omnium allocationum et liberationum</i> ...	<hr/> 78 8 5

quæ est summa correspondens summæ superius onerata Et sic prædictus computans recedit a compoto suo Quietus.

¹At this accounte is graunted to Mr. Haward the revercion of his bargayne to 2 of his sones, for the fyne of 26s. 8d.

The seall delyvered to Garves Asshely.

Et eligerunt in officium Gradiani Hugonem Meyre.

SHERBORNE SCHOLE

12^{mo} die

Anno Domini 1558

Decembris

The Accompte of John Stephyns Warden & Receptor [etc., giving no titles except Kyng Philippe & Quene Mary; 4-5 to 5-6 Philip and Mary]

Arregergia

	£	s.	d.
In primis the said accomptante dothe yelde accompte of 20s. of arregerges of one half yeres rent for Lychett matravers remainyng in the hands of Mr. Trencharde			
<i>Summa</i>	1	0	0
Item of £32 9s. 6d. received by the said accomptante uppon the laste accompte			
<i>Summa</i>	32	9	6
Item of £14 11s. 8d. for rent of assise in Bradeforde Bryane and Barnards with 6s. 8d. of a new rent improvdy of one Copise called Gomerydge, so letten to John Godderd for the terme of 21 yeres. hoc anno primo			
[other rents as before]			
<i>Summa</i>	28	11	2
Item of 3s. 4d. receyvyd this yere of John Bollynge, for his garden			
Item of 4s. receyvyd of William Pope, for the rente of one of the new Stondyngs			
Item for 2 stondyngs late in the tenure of Robert Yonge & John Stevyns; nichill hoc anno quia remanent in manu Gubernatorum, ultra 8d. inde levatos hoc anno			
<i>Summa</i>		8	0
Item of 40s. receyvyd of Nicholas Engleberd in full payment of his Fyne			
Item of 26s. 8d. for the Fine of Richarde & Thomas Hannam			
Item of 20s. for the price of one mare that came of an heryott of John Abbotte			
<i>Summa</i>	4	6	8
<i>Summa totalis oneris</i>	66	15	4

¹ This note, though written at the end of the account for 1557-8, was apparently written at the end of 1558, being opposite the first page of the account

for the latter year. Hugh Meyre was warden for 1559. It does not appear where the "bargain" was.

	£	s.	d.
De quibus			
Whereof the said accomptante askyth allowance of £6 13s. 4d. for a Free rente paid out of the lands & tenements of Bradford Bryan and Barnardsley to George Awntyll Esquyer [etc. as in last account]			
<i>Summa</i>	6	11	8
Item of £20 paid this yere as well to the Scholemaster as to the Ussher, for their wages			
Item 13s. 4d. paid to the Steward, for his fee			
Item of 13s. 4d. paide to Sir John Horssey, Knyght, for the rente of the Scholehouse			
<i>Summa</i>	21	6	8
Item of £20 paid to John Philippes, churchwarden, to the use of the parisshe church of Shirborne forsaid, borowyd by the said Governoures of the said Sekole of the Churehe-stock			
<i>Summa</i>	20	0	0
Item of 24s. paid to Peter Joyner & his son for makyng of the Seatis abowt the Sekole			
Item of 5s. paid to Richarde Bartelett to helpe hym			
Item of 12s. 3d. paid for Sawinge of 9 ^c fote of Tymber & bords for the same Seatis, every c 17d.			
Item 16d. for makyng of the sawe pytt and for beryng of the said tym[b]er to the Skolehouse			
Item of 9s. 2d. paid for borde nayles and hatchesayles for the same warke			
<i>Summa</i>	52	3	
Item of 4s. 8d. paid to Peter Joyner for makyng of the Wyndows of the Schole & for bords for the same			
Item of 3s. 4d. paid to Roger Boker for jemowys and hoks for the same			
Item of 13d. for nayles for the same			
Item of 20d. paid to John Hyllarde, churchwarden, for tymber to make seatis in the ¹ Chapell for the Scholers			
Item of 12d. paid to baller for makyng of the same Seats			
Item of 5d. paid for nayeles for the same			
<i>Summa</i>	12	2	
Item of 20d. paid to Cobbe for 2 loks for the Cheste to kepe our evydenses			
Item of 6d. paid for 3 Crests & setting of the same upon the Schole howse			
Item of 3s. 8d. paid to Richarde Bartlett for makyn playne of the Schole barton			
Item of 2d. for mendyng of the Scholehowse dore			
<i>Summa</i>	6	0	

¹ What chapel? The Lady Chapel already used for the School?

Item of 4s. 4 <i>l.</i> paid for the boke of Articles of powle Schole	£	s.	<i>d.</i>
Item of 10s. for half the heryott of John Abotte, allowyd to John Godder, fermour of Bradforde, for the reparacions of the ferme place ther			
Item of 11s. 5 <i>l.</i> for the expences of keypyng of the Courts & collection of the rents this yere			
Item of 6 <i>l.</i> for parchement and paper for this Accompte			
<i>Summa</i>		26	3
<i>Summa totalis allocationis</i>		53	15 0

Et debet £13 0s. 4*l.*, unde

In money delyvered uppon this accompte to Huege Mayre next warden 12 0 4

Et debet 20s. the wiche some is sett over unto the next Warden, for that it remayneth in the hands of Mr Trencharde, and afore charged in arrere in the some of 20s.

Et sic predictus computans recessit a compoto suo predicto Quietus

(Back)

Item there remaynyth 5 planks of Tymber in the Scholehouse William Yonge. Hewgh Mayre, and Nich. Engleberde

SHERBORNE SCHOLE. *Decembris Anno Domini* [1560-61]

The accompte of Thomas Maundfylde [etc. 2-3 Elizabeth]

Arreragia.

In primis. The said accomptant yeldyth accompte of £ s. *d.*
13s. 4*l.* for parte of the Fyne of John Watts, yet remaynyng in the hands of the said John

Summa 13 4

[Rents of assize as before, but in Thornton] with 12*l.* improvyd for a new rent of the chapell ther letten to Thomas Branker; [and in Gillingham] with 4*l.* of a new rent improvyd of one parcell of grownde letten to [blank in original]

Summa 28 12 6

Redditus pencionis

¹Item of 53s. 4*l.* of a perpetuall pencion yerely payde owt of the lands & tenements of Bartholomew Combe, Esquier, deceased, by hym graunted to the said Schole for ever, in the augmentation of the Usshers wages

Summa 53 4

¹ This is the first and, I believe, the school after Edward VI's grant. sole additional endowment given to the

Redditus Shamellorum tentorum de Episcopo Sarum

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Item of the rents of 4 Shamells	32	0				
Item for Hyds stonyngre	4	0				
" " Myles	2	8				
" " Roberte Hart's stonyngre... ..	2	0				
" " Pope's Stondyngre of the Schole landes	2	0				
<i>Summa</i>				42	8	

Item for the fyne of Thomas Wynnyff for the revercion of Richarde Russell, to hym letter for 31 th yeres	6	13	4			
Item for certen Corne solde at Trente in parte of payment of £19 2s. 10½ <i>d.</i> of the dett of Roberte Yonge deceased... ..	4	6	8			
Item for the heryott of Mistres Alice Hanham, wydow	4	0				
<i>Summa</i>				11	4	0

Pecunia prest

Item receyvyd of Lawrence Bysshope, lente to the Scole	20	0				
Item receyvyd of Robert Jennyngs, lente to the Scole	20	0				
Item receyvyd of William Downton, lente to the Scole	20	0				
<i>Summa</i>				3	0	0

Mony geven to the making of the armes of our late Soverayn lord Kyng Edward the Sixte.

	£	s.	d.	
Item for the price of 4 bushells of whete geven by Mr. Henry Sembarbe to the said Schole		8	0	
Item geven by Jerves Assheley		3	4	
" " " Hughe Mayre		10	0	
" " " John Hillerde		10	0	
" " " William Cowthe		3	4	
" " " Thomas Wynnyff		3	4	
" " " Richarde Cowper		3	4	
" " " John Frye		3	4	
" " " John Sowthey		3	4	
" " " Richarde Okely		3	4	
" " " Lawrence Bysshope... ..		3	4	
" " " Roberte Albone		3	4	
" " " Roberte Jennyngs		3	4	
" " " Bryante Cole		3	4	
" " " Lawrence Swetnahan		3	4	
" " " William Downton		3	4	
<i>Summa</i>		3	11	4

Item of 7s. receyvyd of Lawrence Swetnaham for olde Iron	£	s.	d.
<i>Summa</i>		7	0
Item John Stevens geveth the Glasyng of the Chamber window, price [<i>blank in MS.</i>]			
Item Robert Hale geveth the Glasyng of 2 panes of the lower wyndow, price [<i>blank in MS.</i>]			
Item Robert Albion geveth the Glasyng of 1 pane of the same wyndowe, price [<i>blank in MS.</i>]			
Item Thomas Maundefylde geveth the Glasyng of one other pane of the same wyndow, price			
<i>Summa totalis oneris</i>		52	4 2
Whereof [etc.]			
[Free rents]		7	11
Item, paid this yere to the Scholemaster & Usher as particulerly apperith by a boke thereof made & remaynege	£	s.	d.
		16	16 8
Item paide to Sir John Horssey, knyght, for the rente of the Scholehowse...		13	4
Item paid to Elizabeth Benett, widow, for certen Shamells & Stondyngs in the markett place afore charged at the some of 40s. 8d., allowed to her in recompence of the same Shamells & Stondyngs during her lyff		40	0
<i>Summa</i>		19	10 0
Item, paid for surplus money due unto hym upon his laste accompt, anno præcedente		26	10
Item, for the expences of keypyng the Courts, collection of the rents, & making of sondry vewys, betwyne the Quenys Maiesties Tenaunts and others, for certen lands & grownds & commons beyng in varyance betwyne them, with 5s. 8d. for wyne and suger geven to M ^r Waldron & M ^r Hyett at the New yn		34	4
Item, for half heryott of Mistres Alice Hanham, allowed to John Godderd, fermour of Bradforde, for the reparacions of his ferme		2	0
Item paide to Henry Gardener for the gettingyng owt of the copy of Mr. Combes wyll		6	8
Item paid to Maister Bagwell for a bedstede, with 2s. in charges at his wyff's departyng hence		15	4
Item for the charges of Maister Parvys comyng from Oxforde, his taryeng here & retorne agayne, with 6s. 8d. paid for sendyng of a letter to Oxforde to the said M ^r Parvys		1	9 8
Item for paper and parchement, etc.			6
<i>Summa</i>		5	15 4

Item, for parte of the Fyne of John Watts aforecharged in th'arrerages & yet re- mayning in the hands of the said John Watts	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	13 4	
Item, layd owte this yere for the byldynge & fynysshenge of the Scholemaister's Howse, as partycularly dothe appere by a boke thereof made & remaynge ...	18 17 2	
<i>Summa</i> ... ..	...	19 0 0
<i>Summa totalis allocationum</i> ... ..	...	51 17 6
<i>Et sic debet</i> 6s. 8d., que solvit ad manus Johannis Freye Brant Cole next Warden		<i>Et sic</i> Quietus

SHYREBORNE SCHOLE, [A.D. 1561-2].

The accompt of John Frye Warden & Receyvoir [etc. 3-4 Eliz.]

		£ s. d.
De arreragiis ... ..	...	6 8
De redditibus assisæ ibidem per annum ... ..	...	28 12 6
De quadam annuitate concessa per Bartholomæum Combe armigerum defunctum in augmentatione stipendii Ipodidasculi ... ..	...	53 4
De redditibus shamellorum ... ..	...	42 8
De denariis receptis de Nicholao Ingelberd ... ..	...	70 0
<i>Summa oneris cum arreragiis</i> ... ..	...	37 5 2
De quibus Idem petit allocari		
De quodam reddito soluto annuatim soluto (<i>sic</i>) Georgio Ancketell	£ s. d.	6 13 4
Item in allocatione redditus annuatim soluti Edwardo Twynhowe per annum	5 0	
Item in allocatione redditus annuatim soluti Dominae Reginae per annum	13 4	
<i>Summa</i> ... ..	...	7 11 8
In stipendio Pedagogi per annum	20 0 0	
„ „ Ipodidasculi	10 0 0	
„ redditu soluto Johanni Horsey militi	13 4	
Item solutis Elizabetha Bennett	40 0	
„ allocatione redditus Nicholai Myles pro una stacione	2 8	
<i>Summa</i> ... ..	...	32 16 0
In expensis receptæ et generali	10 0	
¹ Item pro acquietancia	4	
<i>Summa</i> ... ..	...	10 4
² <i>Summa allocationum predictarum</i> ... ..	...	40 16 0

¹ i.e. for the chief rent to Crown.² These words are crossed through in the original.

SHYRBORNE SCHOLE

The accompte¹ of John Frye Warden and Receyvor of all the Rents and Revenues of the said Schole from the feaste of Saincte Mychell th'archaungell in the thirde yere of the reigne of our soveraigne lady Elizabeth, by the grace of god, Quene of England, Fraunce and Irelande, Defender of the faith &c. Unto the saide feaste of Saincte Mychell tharchaungell in the fourthe yere of the reigne of our saide Sovereigne lady quene Elizabeth; That is to save for one hole yere.

Arrerages

The same Accomptaunte dothe answer of 6s. 8d. of the arrerages of Thomas Maundfelde of the laste yere, receyvved by this said Accomptante, as yt appeareth in the Fote of the saide laste yeres Accompte

Summa 6s. 8d.

Rents of Assyse

And of £14 11s. 8d. of the rents of assyse in Bradforde Bryante and Barnardisley, with 6s. 8d. of a new rente improved, of one copiee in Lychet Mawtraverse called Gomerydge, so letten to John Goddarde, for the terme of 21 yeres

And of 6s. 8d. of the rente of one capitall mesuage in Martocke

And of 53s. of the rente of assyse in Thorneton, with 12d. of the rente of one chaple there, so letten to Thomas Prankerde, by the yere

And of £6 19s. 2d. of the rente of assyse in Gyllingham, with 4d. of a newe rente of one parcell of land letten to [blank in MS.], by the yere

And of 40s. of the rente of assyse in Symonds Boroughe, by the yere

And of 40s. of the rente of assyse in Lychet Mawtraverse and Styrmyster Marshall, by the yere

Summa £28 12s. 6d.

Annuytie

And of 53s. 4d. of a certaine yerely rente goinge oute of the lands and tenementes late of Bartholomewe Combe, esquier, in Lyllyngton in the countie of Dorset; given by the saide Bartholomewe to the saide Free Schole for ever, towards the maynteynaunce of the wages of the Ussher of the same Schole, by the yere

Summa 53s. 4d.

¹ This is the first extant account proper, the former ones being only drafts. It is written on a parchment roll of two membranes written back and front; which contains also the accounts

for the next two years. The account for 1561 occupies the whole of the front of the first membrane and about a third of the back.

Rents of the Shamells holden of the lorde Buysshope of Sarum

And of 3 <i>s.</i> of the rente of foure shamells late in the tenure of Peter Bennett by the yere				
And of 4 <i>s.</i> of the rente of one standinge nowe in the tenure of John Hyde				
And of 2 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> of the rente of one standinge now in the tenure of Roberte Harte				
And of 2 <i>s.</i> of the rente of William Pope for one shamell buylded againste the walle of the said Free Schole, by the yere				
And of 2 <i>s.</i> of the rente of one standinge late in the tenure of Nycholas Myles				
<i>Summa</i>	...	...	...	42 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>

Forene Receytes

And of £5 8 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> received of Wyllyam Couthe (20 <i>s.</i>), Bryane Coole (10 <i>s.</i>), Laurence Buysshope (6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>), Laurence Swetnam (10 <i>s.</i>), Thomas Wynneff (6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>), Rycharde Okeley (10 <i>s.</i>), Hughe Mayer (5 <i>s.</i>), Nycholas Ingelberde (6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>), Thomas Maundfeld (6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>), John Whitehed (15 <i>s.</i>), Robert Wase (3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>), Roberte Genyns (5 <i>s.</i>), and of certen of the Governors (3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>), of the Schole for dyverse things and busynes done in and aboute the said same Schole this yere				
And of 20 <i>s.</i> received of the gyfte of Roberte Yonge deceassed this yere				
And of £5 received of Nycholas Ingelberde for parte of the debte of Thomas Kemys				
And of 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> received of the gifte of Thomas Moleynes this yere				
<i>Summa</i>...	...	...	...	£11 10 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>

<i>Summa of the hole charge</i>	...	...	...	£	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
				45	6	0

Whereof

Wages

The same accomptaunte asketh allowaunce for wages payde to Mr. Myddelton, Scholemaster there	...	...	...	4	0	0
And for wages paid to the Usher	...	...	...	53	4	
And paid to Mr. Parvys for his wages	...	...	...	15	0	0
And paid to Mr. Martyn for his wages	...	...	...	5	0	0
<i>Summa</i>	...	...	...	26	13	4

Rents Resolute with other payments

And in rente payde to George Ancketyll, Esquyer, for a certaine free rente goinge oute of the lands and tenamentes in Bradforde Bryante and Barnardisley, by the yere, due and payable to the same George and to his heyers for ever	...	...	...	6	13	4
And in the like rente payde to Edwarde Twynehowe, Esquyer, goinge oute of the lands and tenamentes aforesaide by the yere due and payable to the same Edwarde and to his heyers for ever	...	...	...	5	0	

	£	s.	d.
And in rente payde to oure Sovereigne ladye the Quene, goinge oute of the lands and tenements of the saide Schole, by the yere	13	4	
And payde to Sir John Horsey, knighte, for the rente of the Scholehouse, by the yere	13	4	
And payde to Elizabeth Bennet, wydowe, for the Sha- mells aforesaide, by the yere	40	0	
And in expences of Courtes this yere	11	0	
And in allowaunce of parte of the rente of the Shamells, in the tenure of Nycholas Myles, this yere ...			16
And in money payde to Thomas Maundfelde, by hym lente to the Schole	6	8	
And payde to the Caryer for the caryage of M ^r . Parvys things	6	10	4
And payde for the expences of M ^r . Doctor Cotterell at hys beinge at Shyrborne	6	8	
And payde by the same accomptaunte this yere for reparacions and other necessaries done aboute the saide Scholehouse this yere, as yt appeareth particu- larly by a byll of the parcells thereof, uppon this accompte shewed and examyned			6 8
<i>Summa</i>	18	7	8
<i>Summa of the allowances abovesaid</i>	45	1	0

And so the said accomptaunte dothe owe this yere 5s.

There is nothing noticeable in the account for 1562-3; except a fine of 33s. 4d. by Richard Davy for a license to have an undertenant in his tenement at Barnardsley for 6 years: and contributions of 40s. from four Governors "towards the wages of the schoolmaster," which were £20, besides £10 to the usher.

In 1563-4 Davy pays a further 26s. 8d. for the same fine.

The Wages item is as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
And in the wages of Mr Parvys, Scholemaster there, due at the feaste of the Nativitye of oure lorde god in the sixthe yere of the reigne of oure saide Sovereigne lady Quene Elizabeth	5	0	0
And in the wages of Mr Martyn, Ussher there, due at the saide feaste in the same yere	50	0	
And payde to Mr. Wolveton, Scholemaster there, for his wages for thre quarters of this yere	14	0	0
And paid to Mr. Peny, Ussher there, for his wages for thre quarters of this yere	60	0	

Draft of a Bond given by the Governours to John Hancock, M.A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, Master of Sherborne School 1565-1573.¹

To all faithful people to whom this present writing shall come, the Governours of the Possessions, goods, and revenues of ye free gramer schole of King Edward the Sixt in Sherborne, in the countie of Dorset, greetinges in him that liveth for ever.

Knowe ye, that wheras the said King Edward of most blessed memorie, in the fourthe yere of his reigne, founded and erected a Free gramer schole in Sherborn aforesaid for the better instruction and education of youth in those parties in the knowledge of good Letters and Lerninge, and, to the intent that good purpose of his might take effect and be the better continued to gods glorie, hathe assigned and given diverse parcells of Lands, tenements, and hereditaments to the same governours and their successours, beinge incorporate as is afforsaid, for the maintenaunce and Livinge of a meet Scholemaster and Hussheire, to be appointed by the said Governours frome time to time as neede shall require;

We, the said Governours, having had goode and sufficient triall of the honestie, diligence, and habilitie of John Hancock, Master of Arts of the Universitie of Oxford, and present scholemaster of our said gramer schole, for that he hath nowe and for some time served us in the office and place of the said scholemaster (alreadie), and that for manie other causes we are minded to procure by all meanes that we maie the continuance of the said John in the said place and office, have constituted, ordeined, and appointed, and by these presents do constitute, ordeine, and appoint, and for us and our successors have given unto the said John Hancock the said office, place, and romm of scholemaster of the said Free gramer schole;

And further by these presents we give and have given to the said John Hancock the house, wherein he nowe remaineth, called the scholemaster's house, with the appurtenaunces, that is to saie two gardens, one Barton, one house called the Plomhouse, and whatsoever easment of ours therto belonginge he presentlie enjoyeth;

And further by these presents we give and for us and our successors have given to the said John Hancock one anuitie or yerelie stipende of one and twentie pounds and a noble of good and Lawfull monie of England, to be paid to him by us or our successours or our or their assignes yerelie, at foure usual termes in the yere by even portions, that is to saie at the feast of the nativitie of Christ sixteine nobles, at the Annunciation of ~~our~~ **Ladie** the blessed Virgine sixteine nobles, at the nativitie of S. John Baptist sixteine nobles, and at the feast of Michael tharcaungell sixteine nobles;

To have and to hold the said office together with the howse, Anuitie or yerelie stipend of xxi^{li} vi^{s} $viii^{\text{d}}$, and other the premises, so longe as the said John shalbe willing to exercise and serve in the same office and place as becometh an honest man.

¹ Mr. Wildman kindly copied this deed. I have not seen the original.

² This erasure occurs in the draft.

Provided always that if it shall happen the said John to be longe sick, or, by meane of anie plage that maie happen, the schollers to be kept from him, or in case he continewe so longe in the office till for age he shall not be able in his own person to discharge the same, it shall not for anie of these causes be Lawfull for us or our successours to debarre him of anie of these forsaide grauntes, so that he be willinge to provide us at his own charge an honest and sufficient man to supply his want as besemeth. [*Here a space of about two inches is left.*]

And because we meane to have these forsaide graunts well and trulie, without all fraud or contradiction, performed and kept, that our said scholemaster maie therby the more quietlic and thoroughlie attend to his charge, we have bound our selves and our successours therunto by Letters obligatorie in this behalf, bearinge date of these presents, sealed with our comon seale, delivered to and remaininge in the hands of the said John.

In witnes wherof, etc. Dated¹

¹ No date is given.

SHERBORNE SCHOOL.

APPENDIX TO THE CLERK'S ACCOUNTS.

Revenue for the Year ending 31st December, 1896.

Lands, &c.		Tenant.	Tenancy.	Gross Annual Income.	Outgoings.		Net Annual Income.	
				£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
1	Lands at Gillingham ..	A. R. P. 15 3 21	G. B. Matthews ..	Lease for 5 years, October, 1893.	50 0 0	Taxes, &c. ..	2 17 9	47 2 3
2	Read's and Bowles' Tenements..	0 2 0	Fred. Green ..	Lease for 99 years, determinable on death of one life aged 57.	3 0 0	.. ..	.. ..	3 0 0
3	Farm House and Lands at Lytchett Matravers ..	87 2 0	E. A. Groves ..	Lease for 7 years from Sept., 1893.	111 0 0	Taxes, &c. ..	30 6 2	80 13 10
4	Rent Charge on Manor at Lillington ..	—	In Hand ..	.. ..	2 13 4	.. ..	.. ..	2 13 4
5	Lands at Marnhull ..	0 1 15	C. Andrews ..	Yearly ..	0 13 9	.. ..	.. ..	0 13 9
6	Trooper Inn and Lands at Marnhull ..	3 1 10	Messrs. tynng ..	Lease for 7 years, Midsummer, 1893.	30 6 0	Taxes, &c. ..	7 2 1	23 3 11
7	Lands late "King's Living," ditto	17 2 28	Wm. Hunt ..	Yearly ..	40 0 0	Taxes.. ..	1 1 0	38 19 0
8	Farm House and Lands at Symondsburv ..	34 2 4	Jesse Spence ..	Lease for 7 years from Oct., 1863.	50 0 0	Taxes, &c. ..	16 6 1	33 13 11
9 & 10	House, garden, orchard, &c. ..	5 2 21	Rev. F. B. Westcott	Yearly ..	58 0 0	} Taxes ..	2 0 3	65 19 9
11	Close of Land in the Abbey ..	1 2 36	Ditto ..	Ditto ..	10 0 0	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
12	Bradford and Barnsley Farm and 11½ Beast Leazes, Wimborne	651 3 33	J. G. Good ..	Ditto ..	500 0 0	Land Tax and Charities ..	34 8 8	465 11 4
				855 7 1				855 7 1

A SAXON CHURCH AT BREAMORE, HANTS.

By the REV. A. DU BOULAY HILL, M.A.

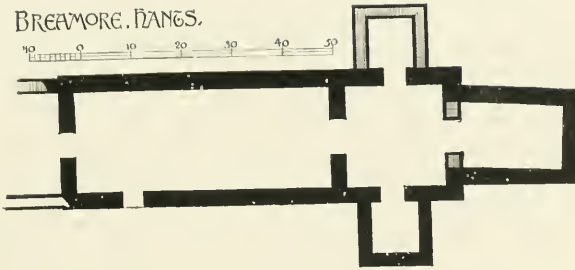
The parish church of St. Mary, Breamore, about 9 miles south of Salisbury, may now be added to our list of Saxon buildings.¹ It is a cruciform church with a central tower rising to the ridge of the nave roof, the interior length being 96 feet 6 inches, and the width of the nave 20 feet 6 inches. In the accompanying plan what remains of the original Saxon ground-plan is shown black, and the parts conjecturally restored to it on more or less certain evidence are scored. Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite has kindly supplied for comparison his plans of the Dover Castle and Deerhurst churches, on a corresponding uniform scale of 32 feet to the inch, from his paper on "Saxon Church Building."² Thus it can be seen that we have here an example of the Dover type of the later period of Saxon church building, more complete than any yet known except that at Dover Castle itself. The roofs retain their original pitch, and except for the insertion of later windows the church presents much of its original appearance. The chancel has undergone some rebuilding, but the lower stones of its eastern quoins show that it represents the ground plan of the Saxon church.

The walls are of flint with hardly any attempt at herring-bone work, and with long-and-short work of green sandstone in the quoins and vertical pilaster strips. The walls were covered externally with yellowish plaster (now all removed) worked up to a straight rebate on the quoins and strips. The windows were simple round-headed openings in the rubble masonry, plastered, and splayed inside and outside. Two windows only remain in the north wall of the nave, and two in the

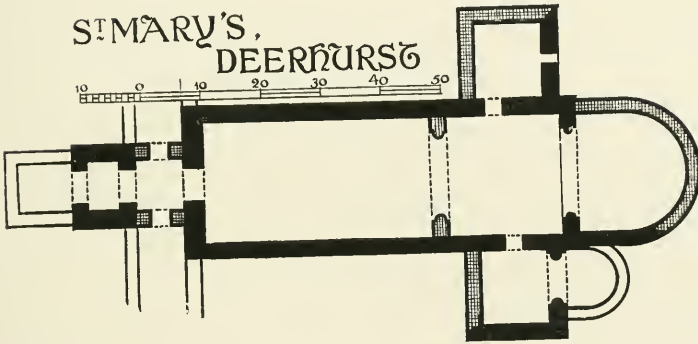
¹ The church has recently undergone restoration under the direction of Messrs. Christian and Purday.

² *Archæological Journal*, Vol. LIII, p. 293.

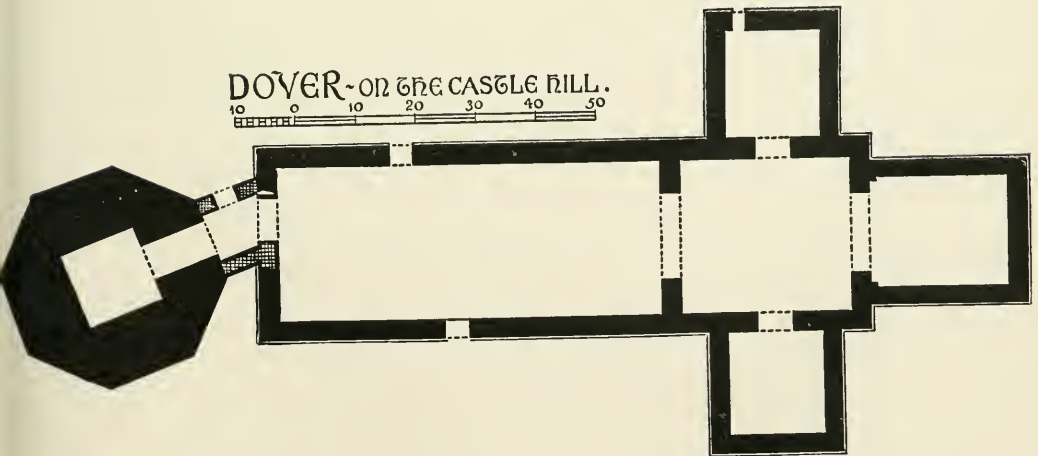
BREAMORE, HANTS.



SIMONY'S,
DEERHURST



DOVER - ON THE CASTLE HILL.





south wall are now blocked by the addition of the porch.

Below an original window in the east wall of the south transept an archway has been found blocked up, the external half of the stonework of the arch alone remaining. It is apparently an insertion of a later date, but still Saxon in character. It may have been an entrance, but more probably it was an opening into an apsidal altar space, not in the original plan, corresponding to that shown conjecturally on the plan of St. Mary's, Deerhurst. It seems to indicate that the transept floor was about 18 inches below the level of the floor of the tower.

Traces of a western extension of the north wall of the church give evidence of the existence of a west chamber of the same width as the nave, and the jambs of a doorway, 5 feet 6 inches wide, leading into it from the nave are visible below the ground line, though the whole of the wall above it has been rebuilt.

The north transept or chamber has disappeared, but the jambs of the tower arch, and the weathering on the northern face of the tower, clearly indicate its position. The east and west tower-arches have been replaced by wider four-centred corbelled arches of the fifteenth century, but portions of a low stone screen of this later date still rest upon the foundations of the original western tower-arch 6 feet 8 inches wide. The only one of the four tower-arches now remaining complete is that leading to the south transept. It is a tall narrow arch, 4 feet 11 inches wide, with bold cable moulding on its projecting imposts. On the tower face of the arch is the following inscription cut in the stone in capital letters 6 inches high, which when found were filled with plaster and coloured red, with a red line above and below:—

HER SPVTELAD SEO GECPYDRÆDNES ÆE.

The three letters *gec* in this inscription are cut upon a piece of white stone inserted as a patch in the green sandstone arch.

Another fragment of stone built into the adjoining wall bearing the letters *DES* gives evidence that the inscription was continued over the other arches. The language

is grammatical Old-English, and Dr. H. Sweet is of opinion that it is not much earlier than the middle of the eleventh century, and that the shapes of the letters do not contradict this date. *Swutelath* (*sweetelian*) has a rare intransitive meaning—"becomes manifest," "appears"; *gecwyrædnes* is no doubt a late unusual form of *gecwyræden*—"compact," "covenant"; and the inscription, which seems to be legal rather than scriptural language, perhaps refers to the fulfilment of some church-building vow, and may be thus translated—

"Here the covenant becomes manifest to thee."

It is possible, however, that the reference may be to the baptismal covenant, and the words may indicate the use of the south transept as a baptistery.

The discovery of this inscription is most valuable as affording an unexpected corroboration of the late date assigned by Mr. Micklethwaite to this type of building.¹

Another point of interest in this church is a large stone rood built into the external wall of the nave, over the south doorway. It has been so defaced as to show only the outline of the three life-sized figures which stood out in relief from the plastered wall. At the ends of the arms of the cross there are square panels which may have contained representations of the sun and moon, and above the top of the cross is a stone carved with wavy lines representing clouds from which proceeded a hand, as in the Romsey crucifix. I have little doubt that this rood, which occupies the space between two original windows, is coeval with the Saxon wall into which it is built; and that the doorway below it (now a twelfth century arch with its rebate cut away) represents the position of the original south entrance. In the twelfth century a low porch was built against the plastered wall of the church, the roof of which must have come just below the central figure of the rood. A small circular stone medallion with an *Agnus Dei* carved on a sunk panel, inserted over the south door, probably belongs to this date. In the

¹ The Rev. E. P. Dew, Rector of Breamore, suggests that the inscription may have been placed on the arch, when the priory was founded at Breamore in the twelfth century, as a record of the agreement between the owners of the

church and the founders of the priory. No doubt the Old English language still continued colloquially among the people, and as an academic study among monks. . .



SOUTH TRANSEPT ARCH, BREAMORE, HANTS.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY G. H. DUNMORE, DOWNTON.



ROOD IN CHAMBER OVER SOUTH PORCH, BREAMORE, HANTS.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY G. H. DUNMORE, DOWNTON.

fifteenth century the walls of this porch were carried up so as to enclose the rood in an upper chamber or parvise, which was fitted up as a chapel and frescoed, exactly as in the case of the very similar rood on the west wall of the Saxon church of Headbourne Worthy, near Winchester.

As to the existence of dwelling chambers within the church there is but little evidence here. The four tower windows above the transept roofs were splayed downwards, as though originally open to the ground as at present. Some carved corbels remain at a higher level. There used, however, to be a belfry floor at a lower level, which may possibly have rested on ancient corbels now removed, but the entrance to this chamber seems to be merely a modern opening made in the south wall of the tower. Under the roof of the south transept, where it abuts against the tower, the wall is plastered, and still shows the marks of the original roof timbers—a king-post with two oblique struts; but the space here available must have been very small.

The western chamber is not exactly like any other known example, and it is unfortunate that interments and the rising ground have prevented any further investigations of the plan and purpose of this part. If, as I suppose, the south door was the original entrance, it would not have been merely a vestibule. It may have been the baptistery, and, at any rate in its upper storeys, may have been the priest's dwelling place.

In the twelfth century a small priory of Austin Canons¹ was founded at Breamore. They were no doubt provided with suitable buildings elsewhere than in the church, and the dwelling chambers would thus become disused. But they found the church on the whole sufficiently large and suited to their requirements; and except for the insertion of larger windows, the disuse of the appended chambers (the south transept was shut off by a wall with a small Tudor doorway in it), and the widening of the chancel arches, there have been few structural alterations in this ancient edifice.

¹ At the end of Henry I's reign. Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, "Bromere."

EXCAVATIONS AT SPRINGS BLOOMERY (IRON SMELTING-HEARTH) NEAR CONISTON HALL, LANCASHIRE, WITH NOTES ON THE PROBABLE AGE OF THE FURNESS BLOOMERIES.

By H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

Heaps of slag, the *débris* of old iron smelting operations, are very numerous in High Furness, and have for many years attracted the attention of the curious, including the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, which has on more than one occasion visited such sites. Nevertheless, no attempt has hitherto been made to obtain, by the use of the pick and shovel, any information as to date, or methods in use: both of which have in consequence remained obscure. With this object in view the large bloomery at the Springs near Coniston Hall was trenched and examined this year, under the superintendence of Mr. W. G. Collingwood and the present writer: and although the excavations lacked any sensational discoveries, it is thought that the results should be recorded. To this report of work are added notes of certain analogies, and a list of bloomeries known to the excavators is also given. This last could no doubt be supplemented.

I. *Previous Literature.*

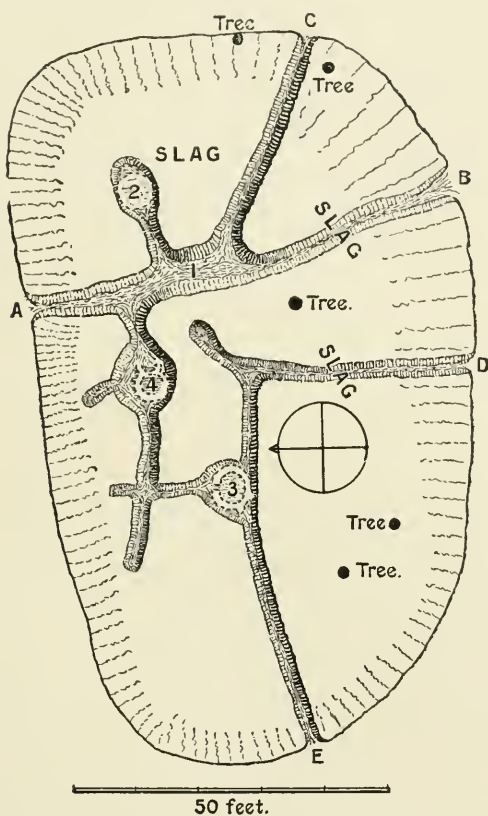
In Vol. VIII of the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, p. 85, is a paper by the Rev. T. Ellwood, rector of Torver, on the "Bloomeries of High Furness." This should be read before perusing the present paper.

II. *The Excavations.*¹

Work was commenced on May 12th with five men, and carried on on the 13th and 17th with two men. During the

¹ The excavators are indebted to Mr. S. H. le Fleming, of Rydal Hall, for permission to dig.

week ending May 29th also, several days were occupied by two men on the site, and the trenches thus formed are shown in the plan here given.



PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS AT A BLOOMERY NEAR CONISTON HALL.

It will be seen that the mound is of oval form, lying with its narrower end towards the west. There are five trees growing upon it, and the surface is fairly covered with turf. The trenches cut show, however, that the material of which the mound is composed is not homogeneous over its entire area, and that it varies somewhat in depth.

The exact measurements of such a mound are of but small importance, and it suffices to say that its entire length is 115 feet, and its central width 69 feet.

The trench A B passes through the deepest part of the mound, being in places about 4 feet deep. The northern half of it was cut through charcoal, with little or no slag; but on the southern side the trenching revealed slag only, loosely packed together, and very little bound with mould.

At 1 burned clay was found at the bottom, but there was no other evidence to show that there had ever been an actual hearth at this spot. The radial trench to C passed through slag, but nothing was found.

At 2, in a shorter radial trench, an undoubted hearth was found—a circular foundation of rough stones, about 7 feet in internal diameter, with a flooring of stones packed with clay. Although poorly preserved, there could be no doubt as to the original purpose of this structure.

The remaining trenches shewed a less depth of material—generally 1 to 3 feet. That ending at D passed through slag, but revealed nothing.

At 3, in mixed earth and slag, another hearth, the best preserved of all—was laid bare. It was a roughly-built circular foundation of stones, the external diameter of which was 6 to 7 feet, and within about 4 feet. On the north side there was an opening in the walling, and on the south-west an arrangement of large stones forming low radiating walls with apparently a pit between them. This arrangement, which we also found elsewhere (at 4), was probably to run off the molten metal, and should be compared with the Mashonaland hearth mentioned further on.

The only other discovery was at 4, where a very much-destroyed foundation 4 to 5 feet in diameter was laid bare. The segmental or radiating walls, with enclosed pit, were here on the east side. Mr. Collingwood thinks that this was another furnace like that at 3, but that, with No. 2, it had been disused, and the refuse over it came from later-used hearths. Throughout the diggings no relics which bore decisively on the question of age were found.¹

The site of this bloomery has been described by Mr. Ellwood and elsewhere, so we need only notice here that Hoathwaite Beck, which runs out to the lake, is about 50 yards from the mound. At the nearest point by the

¹ See Appendix.

beck-side is a small heap of slag and charcoal which could not be dug into, as a boundary wall crosses it; but between here and the bloomery the space is strewn with slag. We should note also that the beck does not run here in a gully or gorge.

During the excavations, however, visits were made to neighbouring bloomeries, and two other smelting-hearths were discovered in fair condition, uncovered by slag or rubbish. Both were close to the margin of the lake, of similar construction, with a diameter of about 9 feet, at about 3 feet from where the floor was estimated to be. The first is at Nappingtree, half a mile south of the excavated bloomery, and the other in Harrison Coppice, about two-thirds of a mile from the same place. In each case there is a small "syke" joining the lake at about the same distance from the hearths, as Hoathwaite Beck is from the Springs bloomery.

Bloomeries and Smelting Hearths.

As the construction of smelting-hearths in ancient times, or amongst semi-civilised races at the present day, may not perhaps be familiar to everyone, a few notes will now be given which will serve to explain the subject, affording as they do some clue to the methods adopted at our own local bloomeries; for the working of metal is one of the oldest of human industries, and it is only within quite modern times that new processes have completely replaced in civilised States those archaic appliances which were universal amongst both ancient civilised peoples and modern barbarous and semi-civilised communities.

Roman Bloomeries.

These have been to some extent examined in the Forest of Dean, and in the Forest of Anderida, in Sussex and Kent. A Roman bloomery is believed to have been a small walled building (probably circular in form) covered with clay, with holes left near the bottom to admit the wind, and to allow the metal to run out. They were usually placed upon sloping ground, and bellows for creating an artificial draught are supposed to have been sometimes used. In Sussex and the Forest of Dean, water

tanks have been found, but the exact method in which they were used does not seem to be known.¹ The Egyptians in smelting certainly used bellows for the operation, as depicted upon a tomb of Thothes III., c. B.C. 1500,² and the Greeks seem to have been far advanced in iron manufacture, for a passage in Aristotle is thought to prove that they made "cast" as well as "wrought" iron.³ Cast-iron is, however, almost or quite unknown amongst collections of ancient objects.

Europe.

The richness of Spain as an ore-bearing country is well known, and iron has been for ages worked there. So much is this the case that a particular form of smelting-hearth—the "Catalan"—has received its name from the province of Catalonia, where, no doubt, it was first noted. It does not, however, follow that the type emanated in Catalonia, for it is widespread both in remote parts of Europe and elsewhere. It may well be a modification or possibly improvement on the Roman bloomery.

The Catalan hearth is described as a rectangular hearth in a permanent building without a chimney, but with a hole in the roof, and the smelting operations will give employment to about ten men. In charging the furnace, dry wood is first put in, then an 18-inch layer of charcoal, then alternate layers of charcoal and ore. As in Roman bloomeries, holes were left at or near the ground level, and into these were inserted earthen "tuyeres" or blast pipes, which were removable. Until about the seventeenth century, the blast was applied through these by hand-worked bellows; but it is now obtained by a downward suction of air in a falling column of water, and directed on to instead of through the incandescent mass.⁴

Writers differ somewhat in their descriptions of the Catalan hearth. Mr. Starkie Gardner says that six hours

¹ See Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 1861, p. 238.

² Burton, *Book of the Sword*, p. 119.

³ Starkie Gardner in *South Kensington art handbook Ironwork*, p. 13, quoting Dr. Perey. Mr. Gardner says that in Britain and Gaul exposed places were selected, and the holes were left upon the windward side.

⁴ For the ingenious method by which this water-power air blast was obtained see the diagram in Mr. W. Iveson Mac-Adam's "Notes on the Ancient Iron Industry of Scotland," printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.

after the blast was turned on the iron is found separated, and manipulated until it coalesces into a lump, when it is levered out of the furnace ready for hammering.

Mr. Thomas Roper, however, who was formerly manager of some of the Furness charcoal smelting works, says that the furnace was kept going several days. On the second night some of the tubes or "tuyeres" were removed and the air allowed free access. On the third night the remaining tubes were extracted, but the metal was left for several days until all was cool. He estimates the result of the operation, occupying three days and nights, as one hundred-weight.¹

The Prussian Stückofen or improved Catalan Hearth.

In this type a chimney or shaft is substituted for the simple air-hole, and the whole stands 10 to 16 feet in height. Agricola, the metallurgist, describes it in use in Prussia in the sixteenth century, and it was capable of producing both malleable and cast iron, the latter being run liquified from the furnace into moulds. The type, as we shall see, was not confined to Europe.

Asia.

In Asia and Africa very rude smelting hearths have been observed by travellers, though, wherever the industry is carried to any extent, the Catalan type is more or less followed. Charcoal is always used for the fuel, and where an artificial blast is attempted, tuyeres, and either rude bellows, force pumps, or palm-leaf fans.²

In India Dr. Percy enumerates three types:—1. Rude, like chimney pots: used by the hill tribes of Western India, the Deccan, and Carnatic. 2. Simple Catalan forge. 3. Early form of Stückofen, both in use in Central India and the North-West provinces. The same

¹ Mr. Roper's description was given in a lecture in 1867, and is quoted in Tweddell and Richardson's *Furness, Past and Present*, Vol. II, p. 181. It is, however, not quite clear whether he meant his description to be that of a pure "Catalan" hearth, a similar African form, or a suggestion as to the

old Furness type. The text reads as if he meant the first. He describes, however, a circular clay tower ten feet high, three feet in diameter, bound with withe bands to keep it from cracking.

² *Iron Work*, p. 9; Burton, *Book of the Sword*, p. 117.

authority gives a detailed description of a hearth 2 to 4 feet in height set up against a rock, on three sides of which were two holes for blast pipes, while the fourth side had a hole for the removal of cinder. The charge was the same as the Catalan, and bellows were worked all the time. In this hearth the metal was only rendered malleable, and the smelters were itinerant, setting up their hearth where it was required, and where fuel was forthcoming.

Mr. Wright has quoted a description of a smelting-hearth in the Himmaleh mountains in Central Asia. In this case there was a clay chimney $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, 15 to 18 inches in diameter, erected on a stone stage over a fireplace. The metal was apparently liquified, for it flowed through an opening left below the stage: which could be plugged with clay or earth. The charge of charcoal and ore was inserted apparently into the mouth of the chimney, and for a blast two pair of goatskin bellows were in use.¹

Africa.

Burton mentions very rude South African hearths, consisting only of small clay furnaces 4 feet high and 1 or 2 feet wide: and he gives a most interesting illustration of one in use by the Maravé people north of the River Zambesi.² It appears to be of the improved Catalan type, with a chimney, and worked with three bellows. There are projections between the bellows which he does not explain. They may be additional plugged holes, if during a wind the natural blast is found sufficient.

Mungo Park found in Africa a similar clay tower to the Himmaleh mountains hearth, only it appears to have been more rude, as they trusted partly to the wind for a blast.

A small smelting furnace was noticed by the late Mr. Theodore Bent in Mashonaland.³ Unfortunately the author gives us no measurements; but it is very low in

¹ Wright, *The Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 240n.

² Burton, *Book of the Sword*, p. 118. The writer notes that he borrows the illustration from *O Muata Cazembe*, a

publication or MS. of which he gives no further mention.

³ *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, 1896, p. 308.

comparison to its width, and is probably of rather small dimensions. Mr. Bent's description does not, unfortunately, go far. He tells us that it is "heated with charcoal and kindled by two men with four bellows, each worked by one hand." He describes the blowing process, and we infer from the text that the ore is rendered only malleable, not liquified. The mouth of the furnace is shewn in the figure very wide and the chimney very low, but we are not told how the furnace is charged. Neither is the object of the two radiating walls in front explained. Nevertheless, the Mashonaland forge seems to be a simple form of the improved Catalan type.

America.

The Peruvian silver smelting-hearths described by early Spanish writers are worth mention. They were built on eminences because the air was freest. No artificial blast was used, but holes were left on all sides, and operations only carried on in a wind. A peculiar feature was that ledges were left under each hole, on which were placed burning coals to heat the air.¹

Local History.

Having now glanced at the different sorts of smelting-hearths formerly, and still, in use, let us see what local history has to tell us about the Furness bloomeries. On this question we find a certain amount of evidence—not very definite, but still valuable—in the Abbey Coucher Book. What there is, however, points to the fact that the industry was of a valuable and important character in pre-Reformation times. It was no doubt one of the Lord Abbot's sources of revenue. The ore was mined in Low Furness, and then conveyed to the fells, because the plentiful supply of fuel made it worth while. Transport would be partly by pack-horse and partly by the waterways of Coniston and Windermere.

On this subject Mr. Atkinson has in his preface to the Chetham Society edition of the Coucher Book some interesting remarks.² He points out, however, that

¹ *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 240n.

² Vol. XIV, p. xii. *et seq.*

in this book we get no information as to the extent to which the iron was worked by the Convent, what the fuel was, or where it was obtained; while from the Gisburne (Guisborough) Chartulary we learn that there no limit was placed to the use of timber and wood; and at Rievaulx that the monks might use deadwood only. At Gisburne, too, we learn from him that the furnaces (*astra, favercae, fabricae, forgiæ*) were built in groups of three, four, or more; and that water was a desideratum, if not a necessity; although how it was used is not exactly ascertained. In the Furness Charters, however, we hear of water privileges, the water being "*ad lavandum*," *i.e.* for washing the ore. The Convent also bestowed on their tenants yearly one ton of *livery* iron for repairing their ploughs and farm gear.¹

All this, however, does not take us very far, and we have to wait till Reformation days for more definite information. In the certificate of the revenues of the Abbey in 1537, it is stated that the King's Commissioners were able to lease sufficient wood in Furnessfells to maintain three bloomsmithies only to William Sandes and John Sawrey for £20, a considerable sum in those days. It appears that the lessees in this case took up the manufacture of iron with the intention of supplying the forged metal to the tenants of the Abbey manors, their needs in this respect having been satisfied, at any rate to some extent, direct from the Abbey prior to the dissolution. But this speculation—for a speculation it undoubtedly was—was not destined to be successful; for in the 7 Elizabeth (1564) the smithies were put an end to by a Royal decree, in consequence of the destruction to the woods, which were required by the flocks of High Furness. That there was much truth in this we need not doubt; but it is also probable that the tenants were naturally somewhat aggrieved at finding themselves compelled to buy from a private firm what up to that date they had probably received freely from their feudal lords in payment for their services. So long as the destruction of the woods entailed by the manufacture directly benefited the Abbey, and indirectly themselves, they had not

¹ Atkinson, *Furness Coucher Book*, also Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p. Chetham Society, Vol. XIV, p. xv.; 14.

grumbled, but they naturally found the case altered when the profits were passing into the pockets of private individuals.

The decree by which these bloomsmithies were abolished is, like the Commissioners' Certificate of 1537, useless for identifying the sites of the hearths. It is printed in full, as Appendix No. IX, in the first edition of West's *Furness*, and as it is extremely diffuse and technical it is unnecessary to give here more than the briefest abstract. We find first that the rent of the smithies to be abolished was to be made good to the Crown by the tenants of Hawkshead and Colton; and at the same time certain regulations concerning musters and fines were enacted; and because after the closing of the bloomsmithies the tenants "shall hardly come by iron, by reason that seldom any is brought from the partes beyond the seas, into any of the coasts near adjoining . . . and when any shall happen to be brought . . . yet the same cannot . . . be carried . . . because the ways . . . be so straight and dangerous, and do ly over such high mountains and stoney rocks, that no carriage of any weight can there pass"; it was further enacted that the tenants themselves were to be at liberty to make iron for themselves, using only the "shreadings, tops, lops, crops, underwood," but not the timber, "at or in any iron smithys, or other convenient place, at or upon *any water, stream, or beck.*" Hence arose the bloomsmithy rent, payable until recently by the tenants of High Furness, which, in some townships, is not yet extinguished. It was payable on the feasts of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, and St. Michael the Archangel—Lady Day and Michaelmas.

In the middle of the seventeenth century charcoal smelting furnaces were reintroduced into the district as private ventures, and wood for charcoal becoming valuable, the tenants enclosed portions of their woods to preserve them for this purpose. Ironworks were commenced at Force Forge by Captain William Rawlinson, of Rusland, who died in 1680, and soon after at Cunsey by Myles Sandys, of Graythwaite, the last being, we believe, on the site of one of the old ones abolished by the Elizabethan decree. The Backbarrow Furnace was founded in

1710,¹ and still works; that at Newlands, in Ulverston Parish, in 1747, and this was in use as late as 1880. The Lowwood Ironworks were, we believe, erected at about the same time as those at Backbarrow; at any rate they were in blast in 1766, at which date also were those at Low Nibthwaite. The Duddon Bridge Works, it is supposed, date from about 1745.²

There is very little history to be found about these bloomeries which are outside the Abbey Estates: yet probably a complete search would reveal numerous sites. William de Lancaster granted to the Canons of Conishead for their bloomeries all the dead wood in Blawith, and we know from the report of the Keswick German miners that a smelting hearth was in operation close to Coniston about 1650; and in 1674 we have the following entry from Sir Daniel Fleming's account book: "March 24, 1674-5. Given as earnest unto Charles Russell, hammer man, now at Conswick,³ to be hammer man at Coniston Forge, for 35s. per tun, to have grease for the bellows, and leave for some sheep to go on the fell, £00 05s. 00d." This forge, which still bears the name, was in use in 1750; but of the numerous sites on the lake margin we have no sort of record, and it remains to consider if anything in the excavations justify any inferences as to date and origin.

Summary of Evidence.

Upon the bloomery excavated, and also upon another within the old park of Coniston Hall, there are a few well-grown oak and timber trees; and it has been argued that this is a proof that these bloomeries existed long anterior to the formation of the deer park. But these trees on the excavated bloomery are, in the opinion of competent judges, not over fifty years of age, and it is doubtful if any within the park exceed a hundred years. Therefore they are quite useless for fixing a date to these hearths,

¹ The Backbarrow Works were probably on the site of an older bloomery. The furnace has just been under repairs and alterations; but part of the original hearth remains, and over it an iron plate inscribed "T.M.W.R.S.C. 1711 * H.A. & Co. 1870."

² Mr. Roper says 1747, but they are shewn in West's Map, which is dated 1745.

³ A clerical error for "Consey," as the Parish Register shews.

for in the absence of all local tradition we may feel quite certain they have not been in work during the past century.

The absolute lack of any certain relics is unfortunate ; but we are hardly justified from this in concluding that the bloomeries were worked by poor and savage tribes, who would have few manufactured objects. Iron smelting did not necessitate the use of fictile vessels as some industries did, nor can we expect rubbish heaps such as accumulate near inhabited sites. The furnace master who smelted, and the forge master or smith became in England distinct callings.¹ Furnaces and forges were, however, often together ; and we shall shew that there is reason to believe that this was the case at many, if not all, of our local bloomeries.

Though the bloomery is turfed over, and soil has penetrated the slag for 12 to 18 inches, the loose condition of the material generally seems to argue against a high antiquity.² But it is very singular that there is absolutely no known record of the use of these sites. Mr. S. le Fleming believes that amongst his numerous documents relating to the manor there is no reference to iron smelting ; and it must be allowed that when the Flemings lived at the Hall, they would hardly approve of smelting operations of any extent in their park. The size and shape of the hearths seem to shew that they were rude simple erections, in no way superior to those described as in use till recently by semi-barbarous races ; and as the foundations are only a course or two high, and but few stones of size were found near them, it may be concluded that they were not lofty erections with tall chimneys. The fact that several hearths were found in the same bloomery indicates probably that as work went on it was easier to build new hearths, utilising as far as possible the material of the old ones, than to clear the *débris* and rubbish from the site. Possibly it may also mean that to extract the bloom it was necessary to partly destroy the hearth.

The next questions that arise are, how the blast was

¹ Starkie Gardner, *Iron Work*, p. 11.
² Though such a matter is difficult to judge, the writer, if suddenly confronted with a section of the bloomery, having

had no previous knowledge of the subject, would certainly have said that in his opinion it had been made within at least the last 300 years.

obtained, and for what reason the smelting was performed in the vicinity of a running stream?

In the case of the bloomery examined, the stream could hardly have been intended for washing only, because the lake is close at hand; though it is possible that running water would be more effective. Yet we can hardly suppose that, as the ore had to be carried all the way from Low Furness, this would have been done without first cleansing it to lighten weight, and lessen bulk. It has occurred to us, indeed, that a small waterwheel may have been erected near the bloomery to press the bellows, and a little millrace carried from the stream for power. The fact that there is no trace of an embanked race proves nothing, because it might be contrived of wooden troughs carried a short distance on trestles.¹

There are, however, in the opinion of the writer, objections to this explanation. At Farra Grain Bridge, near Satterthwaite, the slag heap of a bloomery is of large dimensions, and placed on the summit of a steep knoll above the stream. The smelting was of course on the summit of this knoll; and though a millrace could be brought from a considerable distance up stream, it is almost certain that if the water was thus utilised the smelting-hearth would have been placed close down by the water-side.

Exactly the same thing is found at a bloomery at Tarn Gill; and the distance between the hearths at Springs Bloomery and the beck side adds to the objection.

In fact, from the small size of the hearths and their rude construction, we would rather believe that hand-bellows or natural air blasts were in use; so that if the streams were used neither for washing nor blast, what was their purpose?

The conclusion seems to the writer almost inevitable; that in all these smaller bloomeries there was a small smithy at hand for working up the metal on the spot. This would account for the necessity for running water; for the manufacturers would be saved the labour of

¹ Charcoal hearths, as used last century, had a millrace and waterwheel. Traces of one can be seen at Cunsey, and such is the system at Backbarrow, the only charcoal hearth in use. The ob-

jections noticed above apply equally to the supposition that the draught was obtained by a falling column of water such as was in use in some Catalan forges.

carrying their blooms to distant centres. This system was undoubtedly the one in use in the larger works of known date, the sites of which are still universally called "forges."

Though there is therefore no evidence to put an actual date to the Coniston Hall bloomery, and still less to the numerous other slag heaps in the district, the result of these excavations tends to place them at a more recent epoch than has sometimes been suggested. We have seen that by the Elizabethan decree the tenants of the Abbey were left at liberty to make iron for their own use; and the writer inclines to think that these rude smelting-hearths are in most cases the sites of the operations thus carried on by the inhabitants of the fell districts since that period.¹ Some of course may be earlier; but the Commissioners' Certificate of 1537 states that the Convent had had a smithy, or sometimes two or three, so that probably these pre-Reformation bloomeries were on a considerable scale, as so few were in operation. It is probable that they were on the Crake and Leven, where fuel was plentiful and water power excellent; and possibly at Cunsey, where the Sandys family erected their bloomery in later times. The extreme rudeness of the methods adopted must not be taken as evidence of early date. It should be remembered that in 1564, the fell-side farmers had to turn to an industry of which they had hitherto had no experience. In the seventeenth century the reintroduction of commercial smelting put an end to these local hearths, which would soon be forgotten. So far we have not one tittle of evidence that any hearths in the fells of Lancashire date from Roman or pre-Norman times; and we cannot refrain from expressing a doubt if such evidence will ever be forthcoming.

APPENDIX.

Mr. W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., who with the writer conducted the excavations, went to Iceland immediately after their conclusion, and the foregoing paper was written in

¹ This appears also to be the opinion of Mr. MacAdam in the paper before referred to.

his absence. As he differs materially with the writer in his conclusions as to the age of this bloomery, these, and the reasons for them, are here recorded.

Mr. Collingwood would relegate this bloomery to an earlier date than has been suggested above, because the deer park would not be made before the fifteenth century, and was in use until the end of the seventeenth century. He does not think it likely such an industry would be permitted at that time, and he believes that a later date is even more unlikely, as the great furnaces were then established. From this evidence he would accordingly date the bloomery before the fifteenth century. He points out that Mr. J. C. Atkinson has, in his preface to the Furness Coucher Book, estimated that Furness Abbey had forty furnaces at work,¹ and, although out of the Abbey lands, Mr. Collingwood thinks that this site may have been a hearth of the same sort. Such a date (*i.e.* prior to the fifteenth century) he considers would explain, or account for, the lack of evidence or tradition of its use.

During Mr. Collingwood's journey in Iceland he noted similar heaps of iron slag, and on this question he sends me this interesting note:—

“Though the exact construction of the Viking Bloomery is not known, the early Icelanders were great ‘smiths,’ and smelted ore with charcoal. Many notices of their work are given in the Sagas referring to the tenth and eleventh centuries, and at one site, Ljárskogr in Hvammsfjord, specimens of slag were found identified by tradition with the work of a well known historical character who lived in the tenth century. If, as is believed, our district was settled by members of the same race, which at the same period colonized Iceland, there is no reason to doubt that they might have carried on the art of iron smelting in this country.

No remains have been found, however, to support this view, nor anything to disprove it.”

¹ We have pointed out above that in 1537 the Commissioners reported that the Abbey had had a smithy, or sometimes two or three, in Furness Fells;

and if anything like Mr. Atkinson's estimate ever existed many must have been in portions of the Abbey possessions outside the fells.—H.S.C.

*Note on the character of the Slag, Clay, etc., found :
by W. G. Collingwood.*

Ironstone.—A very few bits of hematite.

Slag.—Mostly black and heavy ; some red ; some light black dross ; and a few pieces of the purple dross—light like Pumice—found also at recent excavations at Peel Island. This last seems, from an analysis made by Mr. T. Barlow Massicks, to be dross from the flux used in smelting. At the western end of the mound a few pieces resembling copper slag were found.

Clay.—The stones of the furnaces were packed with blue clay, but the inside was lined with a reddish-yellow clay, of which much was also found in broken pieces with charcoal mixed in it, and trodden into the floor round the furnaces. Sometimes slag and baked clay adhere together, showing that the furnace was broken after smelting. This clay was dug in Waterpark Field close by, which adds to the argument that the bloomery was used before the park was formed.

Iron.—Two bolt-heads about an inch across were found, and were similar to many found at Peel Island. Also a bolt or nail with metallic iron core in the middle of the mass of rust, like those of Peel Island. This suggests a contemporary date for the Island remains and the bloomeries, *i.e.* early mediæval.¹

List of Charcoal Smelting-hearths in High Furness and neighbourhood.

Ancient Chapelry of Hawkshead.

					Ordnance 6-inch maps
Backbarrow*	...	...	...	...	12 N.W.
Beck Leven, W. side of	Coniston	Lake	...	...	4 S.E.
Blelham Tarn	...	...	...	...	2 S.W.
Colthouse Heights	...	...	...	...	5 N.W.
Cunsey Forge*	...	...	...	...	5 S.E.
Cunsey Mill*	...	...	...	...	5 S.E.
Elinghearth	...	...	...	...	8 S.W.

¹ The Peel Island is a small rocky islet once inhabited, and recently excavated by Mr. Collingwood. Many rusty nails and pieces of iron were found, but the only articles to which

any date could be put were fragments of earthenware considered by competent judges to be thirteenth century, or at any rate early mediæval.—H.S.C.

	Ordnance 6-inch maps.
Finsthwaite "Cinder Hill," near Finsthwaite House	8 S.W.
Force Forge*	8 N.W.
Nibthwaite (Low Nibthwaite Forge)*	7 S.E.
Penny Bridge Furnace ?	11 N.E.
Rusland, near Belhecar Moor (? Ashslack)	7 S.E. or 8 N.W.
Rusland and Grathwaite (between) "Cinder Hill"	8 N.W.
Rusland near, "Cinder Hill"	8 N.W.
Rusland, $\frac{3}{4}$ mile S.E. between Birch Parrock and Walker Parrock	8 S.W.
Satterthwaite ("Cinder Hill," Farragrain Bridge)	5 S.W.
Satterthwaite, Low Dale Park... ..	8 N.W.
Stott Park near, "Smithy Haw" wood ?	8 S.E.
Tarn Gill, Tarn Hows, Monk Coniston	2 S.W.
Yewdale, near the Limekiln, Low Yewdale ? ..	1 S.E.

Lancashire Fells outside the Chapelry of Hawkshead.

Coniston, The Forge*	4 N.E.
Coniston Lake, below Fir Island	4 S.E.
Coniston Lake, The Springs Deer Park, Coniston Hall	4 N.E.
Coniston Lake, Water Park, Coniston Hall	4 N.E.
Coniston Lake, Harrison Coppice	4 S.E.
Coniston Lake near, Stable Harvey	7 N.E.
Coniston Lake, Moorgill	4 S.E.
Dunnerdale, Cinderstone beck, near Stonestar	6 N.E.
Spark Bridge*	11 N.E.

Ancient Parish of Ulverston.

Newland in Egton*	11 S.E.
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Ancient Parish of Cartmel.

Lowwood, River Leven*	12 N.W.
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Westmorland on confines of Hawkshead Chapelry.

Colwith forge*	25 S.E.
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Cumberland on confines of Lancashire.

Duddon Bridge, the Forge*	88 E.
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Of those starred there is historical record of smelting operations. Backbarrow turned out about 260 tons of bar-iron in 1750, and 769 of cast-iron in 1796 (J. D. Kendall, *Iron ores of Great Britain*).¹ At Cunsey Forge and Cunsey Mill there are separate heaps of slag: at the former a charcoal store barn, remains of a mill-race, and, it is said, circular hearths. Mr. Collingwood

¹ And in 1738 only 16 tons of pig-iron. See Mr. MacAdam's paper already referred to.

says the landing-place on the Lake (Windermere) for these two was at Hammerhole, close to Holme Well. Eling hearth is doubtful; but West, in his *Antiquities of Furness* (1st Ed., Appendix No. IX), says: "Eling" signifies "wood ashes." Spark Bridge Furnace turned out 120 tons in 1750; and Newland, in 1796, was making 700 tons of cast-iron. Mr. Collingwood says that the ore for Coniston Forge was landed at Robin Wray, near the present gondola (steamer) station, and for Tarn Gill (or Tom Gili) at the head of the lake near Mr. Marshall's boathouse; which accounts for occasional pieces of slag and ore at each place. Colwith Forge is mentioned by the Rev. T. Robinson in 1709 in his *Natural History of Cumberland*. Duddon Bridge Furnace was in existence about 1745, and was worked till about 1866 (T. Barlow Massicks in *Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, XIV, p. 448). Coniston Forge in 1750 was turning out 80 tons of bar iron in the year.

MR. GEORGE THOMAS CLARK.

The death on Monday, January 31st, of Mr. G. T. Clark in his eighty-eighth year, is the severance of a long link with the past, and there must be few antiquaries in England who have not received the announcement with deep regret. Certainly it is a loss which will be keenly felt by the members of the Archæological Institute.

For more than half a century Mr. Clark has been a conspicuous figure in the archæological world, and has long been looked up to as the highest authority upon mediæval earthworks and castles. Working from a somewhat different and earlier point of view to that of the late Mr. Hartshorne—who frequently included in his numerous essays upon castles the Parliaments held in connection with them in Edwardian times, thus adding the political to the military aspect, and both authors basing their labours upon personal surveys and original documents—Mr. Clark was the first to give a clear insight into the military and historical importance of the earthworks, the burhs, throughout the country, and to show the value and the use made in Norman times of the mound “the hill of the burh.”

The whole matter is fully and admirably set forth in the series of papers which appeared some years ago in *The Archæological Journal*, and which form so pertinent an introduction to Mr. Clark's collected papers comprising the two volumes of “Mediæval Military Architecture.” It was a happy thought to extract, so to speak, from their graves in forgotten numbers of *The Archæological Journal*, *The Archæologia Cambrensis*, *The Builder*, and many journals of country archæological societies, the whole of Mr. Clark's papers. The book is not likely to be superseded, though small additional matters of detail will no doubt be gathered in course of time, and add still more to the value of the work. Fortunately the moderate price of the volumes brings them within the easy reach of all students interested in this branch of archæology. Appropriately

dedicated to Mr. Freeman, the genial author contrasts his share of labour in this field with the wider range of the work of the distinguished historian; and while contenting himself as regards his contributions with the relative position of a mason, is almost tempted sometimes, on seeing the brilliant uses to which Mr. Freeman had put them, to feel as if he had a slight share in the glory of the architect.

But while Mr. Clark held, as it were, the earthworks and the castles in the hollow of his hand—he had, indeed, their history at the tips of his fingers—this branch of learning was not his sole relaxation. He was thoroughly versed in heraldry and genealogy, and he shrank not from the depressing drudgery of a pedigree. To give only one instance, he compiled and printed privately a few years ago, with characteristic munificence, a pedigree of the Babington family, which is perhaps unsurpassed for its dimensions and grandeur of type. In late years he undertook the collection and publication of the whole of the Charters of Glamorgan, a great enterprise, sumptuously printed for private circulation. Unexpected and considerable accessions from the muniment room of an ancient Glamorgan family increased the work to many and bulky volumes, and it is to be hoped that the generous author has completed his self-imposed labour. That Mr. Clark would wear his harness to the last is certain; indeed, it was only a few weeks before his death that he sent the present writer some succinct notes on the military works at Bridgnorth and in the neighbourhood.

Mr. Clark's death is not only the severance of a link with the past; for the members of the Archæological Institute it has a more special and a sadder significance. It almost brings to an end the long list of distinguished historical students and scholars who rallied round Mr. Albert Way, and took a prominent part in the movement in 1843 which, as its most important result, brought about the foundation of "The Archæological Association," now "The Royal Archæological Institute." With the work of this Society Mr. Clark was constantly associated for more than forty years, his first paper on "Military Architecture" appearing in 1846 (*Archæo-*

logical Journal, Vol. 1; p. 93). He attended the annual meetings of the Archæological Institute year after year, almost without intermission, taking the earthworks and the castles, after Mr. Hartshorne's death in 1865, as his natural share of the work. No meeting seemed complete without him, and with him its success was assured, for he was unapproachable as a field lecturer. And who among those who attended the delightful yearly gatherings in the earlier days will not readily recall his fine manly presence, his piercing dark eyes, and his singularly clear and eloquent discourses as he stood upon a bare "hill of the burh," within the desolate polygonal space of a shell-keep, or in the enceinte of an Edwardian castle?

Under his skilful touch what scenes of antiquity lived again! The burh was palisaded before our eyes; the home of the English lord, stockaded afresh, rose again on its hill; the covered way was manned, and the long peaceful grassy slopes became crowned with bristling defenders! His vivid and faithful imagination accurately re-erected in the mind's eye the timber or stone dwelling of the Conqueror's Earl, and the offices and pent-houses within the crumbling walls of an early Norman shell. Or, he pictured the attack and the defence, and the horrors of a long siege of a Norman keep, mitigated only by the security of the well within its walls, and by sublime heroisms. Or, again, according to his subject, he re-peopled with easy familiarity the Edwardian fortress, and showed its battlements alive with mailed warriors, and mangonels and catapults, in martial array.

Such were the recreations only of the busy life of a born leader, and all of those intelligent throngs who listened to Mr. Clark at such historic sites as the mounds wrought by the Lady of Mercia, the castles of Bamborough, Rockingham, or Lewes, who sat under him in the great hall of Caerphilly—of which the history has well-nigh perished save for one shameful Edwardian episode in 1326—specially roofed for the meeting of the Archæological Institute on a memorable occasion by "My Lord of Caerphilly" in 1871, after a desolation of five centuries and a half, or followed his leading to countless fortresses on Welsh or Scottish borders,—must retain a lasting impression both of the speaker and

his texts. And all will doubtless long cherish the memory of a worthy scion of a worthy stock, of a man of rare gifts and ready tact and courtesy, such as the present generation of antiquaries is hardly likely to meet with again.

A. H.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

[February 2nd, 1898.

JUDGE BAYLIS, Q.C., M.A., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. GEORGE E. FOX, F.S.A., exhibited a series of tinted rubbings of the ornamentation of the white marble panels from a dwarf wall guarding the stairway to the crypt of the Cathedral Church of San Ciriaco, Ancona. The church stands upon a height above the city, said to have been occupied in Roman times by a Temple of Venus, the marble columns of which have been used again in the nave arcades of the present building. As rubbings the designs come out dark upon the light ground; but in the actual work the effect is exactly the reverse, the figures telling white on a dark brown ground, the markings of the feathers of the birds, etc., are incised in the white marble, the grounds being dug out and filled in with a blackish-brown composition. Three of the panels represent, respectively, a pair of peacocks fronting one another, with a tree between them; a pair of cranes, their necks curiously intertwined, also standing on either side of a tree which bears pomegranates; and a pair of griffins seated back to back against a central tree with their wings raised. The fourth panel represents an eagle displayed with a hare in its talons. The designs of these panels are in all probability either copied from, or suggested by, the patterns of Sicilian silken fabrics of late eleventh century work, such designs having been introduced into Sicily by the Saracens on their conquest of that island in the ninth century. The arrangement of birds and beasts in pairs with a tree between them comes from the East, and may be traced in sculptured forms back to Persia and Assyria.

Mr. J. L. ANDRÉ, F.S.A., read a paper entitled "Notes on the Rose and remarks on the Lily,"¹ describing various customs connected with the former flower and tracing the use of the lily in ancient art, and its adoption in later times as a symbol of purity. Mr. André also touched upon the origin of the fleur-de-lys in heraldry and its extensive use in French armory. The various orders of the lily and the use of the fleur-de-lys in knightly badges were also noticed. A large number of drawings and rubbings were exhibited in illustration of the subject. This paper will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. J. R. MORTIMER communicated a paper on "An ancient British Settlement, consisting of a double row of pits on Danby North Moor, Yorkshire." This paper will be printed in the *Journal*.

¹ See the *Journal*, Vol. LII, p. 207, for Mr. André's former paper entitled "Antiquarian Notes on the Rose."

March 2nd, 1898.

VISCOUNT DILLON, P.S.A., PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The PRESIDENT referred to the great loss that archaeology had sustained by the death of Mr. G. T. Clark, a Vice-President of the Institute and for many years a constant attendant at its Annual Meetings.

The PRESIDENT then read a paper on "Tilting in Tudor Times," noting the safe phase into which the dangerous jousting of the earlier times had passed. It was shown how most of the jousting of the Tudor times took place with the combatants charging in opposite directions along the opposite sides of the tilt, then a wooden barrier some six feet in height, but in its earlier form, as its name implies, a cloth hung on a cord. It was seen that in this way the riders had to carry their lances to the left side, and if a blow was given it was at least at an angle of 30 degrees from the course of the riders. The system of scoring, as shown in a tilting checque preserved in the Bodleian Library, was also explained, and the great number of extra pieces of armour which went with a suit was illustrated by photographs from the album of Jacob Topf, a German armourer, who, during his stay in England, made the Wilton, Appleby Castle, and many other fine suits which have come down to us, and at the same time impressed his style on the later English armourers.

The President's paper will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

Mr. A. F. LEACH, F.S.A., read a paper on the "Origin of Sherborne School, Dorset." This paper is printed at p. 1.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

GREEK VASES, HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE, WITH SOME BRIEF NOTICES OF VASES IN THE MUSEUM OF THE LOUVRE AND A SELECTION FROM VASES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By SUSAN HORNER. Swan Sonnenschein.

This little book is intended for "general readers" and those desiring "some elementary preparation before visiting any great collection of vases, such as that of the British Museum or of the Louvre."

Myths and "usages of daily life" are specially noted, as well as questions of style; while processes of manufacture are well described. After a list of "Books consulted," in which the usual mistakes in nomenclature are not unrepresented, we have "Typical Forms and Uses of Greek Vases," with useful illustrations. It may, however, be doubted whether the distinctive names of vessels handed down from antiquity can be assigned with such absolute exactitude. The abbreviated forms *Lekyth* and *Phial* strike one as somewhat strange, the latter as even misleading.

The first chapter treats of the earliest Greek vases; the second of the following period; then we have the history of the best period of Greek ceramic art; while the decline in the manufacture is dealt with in the fourth and concluding chapter. The examples throughout are taken from the collections in the Louvre and the British Museum.

One appendix is devoted to deities and heroes in general who are represented on Greek vases; a second is specially reserved, perhaps unnecessarily, for those of them who appear in Homeric episodes.

There are, of course, some statements which should be accepted with caution. I am not so sure as Miss Horner is that "Statues by Pheidias still exist." A careful reader will find many inaccuracies to correct, e.g. Peisistratos did not die in 560 B.C. The temple of the Cabiri was not "in" but near Thebes. In Hellenic stories Hades is a person rather than a place. *Oinochoe* is not a plural form, nor is *Bacchante*. Peloponnesos should not be excluded from "Greece proper." The battle of Chaeronea was fought in 338 B.C., not 336. When it is asserted that "Attic vases have been found amidst the ruins of ancient Italian cities" we must interpret ruins as tombs. Miss Horner's Spartan colonies in Sicily would be as difficult to find as her Athenian.

Exception may be taken to the spelling of *Gea*, *Pinacae*, *Amphytrion*, *Astralagus*, *Grecia*, *Perithoos*, *Deineira*, and a few other names.

But, after all, these are small blemishes; and taken as a whole Miss Horner's book is fairly free from errors, considering the great number of items discussed. It will probably prove a valuable aid to those who are glad to learn something of things Hellenic without spending thereon too much of their time or thought.

PREHISTORIC PROBLEMS. By ROBERT MUNRO, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.E.
Edinburgh and London, 1897. William Blackwood and Sons. Octavo, pp. xix,
371.

The second title to this book is *A Selection of Essays on the Evolution of Man and other Controverted Problems in Anthropology and Archæology*. The book is also divided into "Part I, Anthropological" and "Part II, Archæological." It is not so very many years ago, within the recollection of many now living, that the scattered elements of Anthropology gained sufficient coherence to be formulated into a science; its struggling period terminated with the publication of Sir Charles Lyell's work on the *Antiquity of Man* which appeared on the 6th of February, 1863, the natal day of the new science: it may be noted that ere the year was out no less than three editions of the book were called for. Many people find it hard to understand where the dividing line is drawn between Anthropology and Archæology, but Dr. Munro gives definitions of one and the other so clear cut that we do not hesitate to quote them: "The science of Anthropology," writes Dr. Munro, "in its widest sense, embraces all the materials bearing on the origin and history of mankind. These materials are so comprehensive and diversified, both in their character and methods of study, that they become necessarily grouped into a number of subordinate departments. From a bird's eye point of view, however, one marked line of demarcation separates them into two great divisions, according as they relate to the structure and functions of man's body, or the works he has produced, a classification well defined by the words *Anthropology* and *Archæology*. The former, in its limited acceptation, deals more particularly with the development of man—his physical peculiarities, racial distinction, linguistic manifestations, mental endowments, and, in short, every morphological or mental modification he has undergone amidst the ever-changing phenomena of his environments. The latter, on the other hand, takes cognizance of man merely as a handicraftsman. During his long journey in past time he has left behind him, scattered on the highways and byways of primeval life, numerous traces of his ways, his work, his culture, and his civilisation, all of which fall to be collected, sorted, and interpreted by the skilled archæologist." In the first part of the book now before us Dr. Munro includes his remarkable paper "On the Relation between the Erect Posture and the Physical and Intellectual Development," which excited so much attention when delivered at Nottingham in 1893 as the Presidential Address at the Anthropological section of the British Association. Up to that time the erect posture had not been regarded as an important factor in the evolution of man, but the theory that it is seems to be now widely adopted. There are two other papers in this part—one deals with "Fossil Man," and is a careful and critical examination of the anthropological value of a few of the more important of the fossil skulls on record; the other on "Intermediary Links between Man and the Lower Animals." The Archæological Part contains four papers: "Prehistoric Trepanning and Cranial Amulets": "Otter and Beaver Traps"; "Bone Skates"; and "Prehistoric Saws

and Sickles"—all very careful pieces of work, and dealing with matters which, in England at least, Dr. Munro was the first to take up, and which he has made his own. With regard to Bone Skates, the doctor shews that there is no evidence that they were in use in prehistoric times. The wildest conjectures have from time to time been made as to the wooden machines described under the title of Otter and Beaver Traps—pumps, peatmaking machines, cheese presses, musical instruments, parts of a yoke or breast plough, etc., nor is it yet certain that they are Otter or Beaver Traps, though traps they seem to be: fish and fowls have been suggested as their victims, but we can find nothing like them in Macpherson's exhaustive *History of Fowling*. Still, we think the mystery may yet be solved: ask some poacher in an English gaol, or a fur trapper in the Far West. We may add that these things, be they what they may, much resemble a butcher's tray *minus* the projecting handles, but they have a large rectangular hole in the bottom, fitted with valves, which are closed by an arrangement of hazel rods.

Writing in this Journal in 1891 on Dr. Munro's monumental work, *The Lake Dwellings of Europe*, we stated that it contained many interesting episodical bits, and we instanced the jade problem and the beaver trap episode. The four problems dealt with in the book before us were all touched upon in the greater work. We hope the doctor will in another book expand some more of the problems to be culled from *The Lake Dwellings*. He possesses the art of putting ponderous problems into plain language, and anything he writes will be pleasant to read and good to remember. By-the-by, has he not promised us a work on *The Megalithic Monuments of the World?* We note that he has in preparation one on *Prehistoric Scotland*.

THE CITIES AND BISHOPRICS OF PHRYGIA. By W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D. Vol. I. Part II. WEST AND WEST-CENTRAL PHRYGIA. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1897, pp. xvi, 440. Royal 8vo, linen.

The second title of this handsome volume is *An Essay of the Local History of Phrygia from the Earliest Times to the Turkish Conquest*. The first part was published some time ago and dealt with the Lycos Valley and South-Western Phrygia, while the second part deals with West and West-Central Phrygia. Phrygia, as our readers are aware, is one of the inland provinces of Asia Minor, forming the western part of the great central table-land, as Cappadocia does the eastern. This table-land on the west breaks up into the ridges which separate the great valleys of the Hermus, the Maeander, &c., and it is with the territories along the valley of the Maeander that Part II of this work mainly concerns itself. These territories are: Eumeneia, Apameia, the Banaz-Ova, Akmonia, and the Pentapolis. Two chapters deal with the Christian Inscriptions of South-Western Phrygia and of Central Phrygia, and a third with the Jews in Phrygia. Another deals with the question of the Trade Route to the East; it does not, however, advance the question very far, but relegates it for fuller discussion to a future volume, when further explorations by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson shall have been completed. Strabo gives an interesting account of this road starting from Ephesus, but

Professor Ramsay says that in some of the stages that writer much under-estimates the number of stadia. We cannot honestly say that this work is ever likely to be a popular work; a reader must be to a great extent a scholar to understand and appreciate it, but those who can do so will place a high value upon this book, at once a monument of the adventure, of the industry, and of the learning of Professor Ramsay, who, on all subjects connected with Asia Minor, is the greatest living authority.

THE OLDEST REGISTER BOOK OF THE PARISH OF HAWKSHEAD IN LANCASHIRE 1568-1704. Edited by H. S. COWPER, F.S.A., with Introductory Chapters and four Illustrations. 1897. London: Bemrose and Sons, pp. civ, 451.

Antiquaries, genealogists, and others have of late years had their attention much directed towards the transcription and publication of parish registers. Many such have already been printed and published, but none that we know of have been done with such thoroughness as our member, Mr. Cowper, has thrown into the transcribing, printing, and publishing of the oldest register of the parish of Hawkshead in Lancashire, which covers the period between 1568 and 1704. The result is a noble octavo, running to 555 pages, of which the index alone, in double column, takes 40. The references therein to the name of Rigg, or Rigge, are 1,631 in number, occupying $2\frac{1}{2}$ pages; those to the name of Satterthwaite are 1,539, and to the name of Braithwaite 2,513. Nine families have over 400 entries each, and twenty-one have from 100 to 400 apiece. What dreadful labour, and what dull results! will be the idea that will (secretly, perhaps) occur to the minds of many of our readers. Not at all: out of these dry bones, and unpromising materials, Mr. Cowper has built up, in 104 pages, a most fascinating history of the parish of Hawkshead from the first settling near Esthwaite Water of some yellow-haired Viking from over the sea, Haukr or Hákonar by name, down to the days of the typical fell-side farmer, aged 92 in February, 1897, whose portrait adorns the volume. He shows how Hankr-sete or Hákonar-sete, the farm or habitation of Haukr or Hákonar gradually extended its name over all the other Norse settlements around, not because Viking Haukr or Hákonar was lord or master over his brother Vikings, but because he had been clever enough to occupy the position, which afforded the best site for a market. Then the district fell under the rule of the Abbot and Convent of Furness, and grew to be, at the time of the Dissolution, the richest of all the spiritualities in the possession of the Abbey. A second chapter gives an account of Hawkshead and its large-boned statesmen and buxom farm wenches in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the homesteads they lived in, the provisions they nourished their big frames upon, the industries they followed, and the sports they affected. Crime was rare: drinking, illicit distilling, poaching, and come-by-chance children. The third chapter deals with ecclesiastical matters and the history of local nonconformity, while the fourth more immediately concerns itself with the registers. From them Mr. Cowper shows in what parts of the parish

of Hawkshead the great families, or *quasi*-clans, some of whose names we have mentioned, were located. Of them he considers the Satterthwaites, the Sawreys, the Rigges, the Rawlinsons, the Mackeretts, and the Banks to be autochthonous to the parish. The *quasi*-clan of Sandys migrated into the parish from St. Bees in the fifteenth century. The fact that the prevalent surnames in the parish are very few, though numerous in the individuals that bear them, shows that the strain of blood must have been kept pretty pure, a conclusion to which local folklore and tradition also point. The curious surnames of Godmunt (or Godmunte), Moser (or Mozer), Phemecke, Puthpker (Pughpker, or Poughpker), and Raylesley (or Relsle) came into the district in the sixteenth century from the colonies of German miners at Keswick and Coniston. The parish suffered at times severely from the plague which was never absent from the northern counties between 1570 and 1598. The registers of Hawkshead show a curious fact—that in the years in which the death rate was high, so also was the marriage rate. We would suggest as an explanation that the young people married to take the vacant farms, or a widower married to get a housekeeper, or a widow a man to manage. In an appendix Mr. Cowper gives a list of all those buried in woollen, between 1680 and 1696, for whom certificates to the number of 194 still exist.

We must congratulate our member, Mr. Cowper, on the industry with which he has copied these registers, and compiled most valuable tables of statistics, and with which he has hunted up every fact that shows light upon the entries. No amount of labour seems to deter him, and his wide knowledge of local and general archæology enables him to clear up many obscure points. We shall look forward with eagerness to his promised history of the parish of Hawkshead.

A KEY TO ENGLISH ANTIQUITIES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SHEFFIELD AND ROTHERHAM DISTRICT. By ELLA S. ARMITAGE. Sheffield, 1897: William Townsend, pp. vii, 331.

The idea of a guide book or introduction to different classes of antiquities is one that has suggested itself to various writers—to Akerman with his *Index to Celtic, Romano-British, and Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*; to Godwin with his *English Archæologist's Handbook*; to Bontell with his *Manual of British Archæology*, and to others whose names we need not to recapitulate—the best of all (and the cheapest) being *The Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland*. Into this class of books our authoress has dared to obtrude another; to the task she has brought great courage—she does not hesitate to challenge a fall with “Castles” Clark himself; great industry, as evinced by the list of books she recommends to students; personal investigation—she has visited every church, ruin, or earthwork that she describes; and a sound practical method, based upon the system invented by that hard-headed Yorkshireman, the late Mr. Wackford Squeers, who was wont to shew a pupil how to spell horse, h-o-r-s-e, and then set him to strap one down by way of impressing the letters upon his memory. So Miss Armitage describes and explains to the lucky inhabitants of the Sheffield and Rotherham District one or other class of English antiquities, and

then packs him off, still with her book in his hands, to study the instances she gives within that district. A young person might do worse than take this book as a guide to a series of holiday excursions (the weekly half or whole day); he or she would be upon the high road to become, first a student, and then a competent antiquary, or as the authoress in her Preface seems to prefer, an "antiquarian"; more particularly as curiosity would probably induce him or her to consult at the Sheffield or Rotherham free library the well-selected list of books given by the authoress for the guidance of students. Students would do well to read and bear in mind the advice given in the excellent Preface—not to take theories, especially their own theories, for facts. The writer cautions them, among other wise cautions, to beware of the Druids: we would add (especially for the benefit of the Ordnance Surveyors now engaged on the new Survey), beware of the Romans—every rectangular earthwork is not Roman.

The longest chapter in the book, being indeed one-third of it, is occupied with an attempt to catalogue the ancient churches which are to be found within twelve miles of Sheffield or Rotherham, sixty-one in number, and to trace their architectural history. This is a painstaking and creditable piece of work. Some of these churches are in Derbyshire, and Miss Armitage does not hesitate on occasions to differ from Dr. Cox's *Derbyshire Churches*. Occasionally she makes a slip, as when she takes a stone chair found in Sprotborough churchyard to be a Frith stool or sanctuary seat; she gives no documentary evidence to prove that the rare rite of sanctuary existed at Sprotborough, but jumps to the conclusion, because similar chairs exist at Hexham and Beverley, both places which undoubtedly had the right of sanctuary, therefore Sprotborough must also have that right. The Hexham and Beverley stools were most probably ancient episcopal chairs. A skeleton map is given of the district, and a number of useful sketches of typical antiquities. There is a full index, and a good glossary of architectural terms. The writer is now and again careless: Mr. G. T. Clark figures both as Clark and Clarke: the author of *Rude Stone Monuments* is Ferguson, not Ferguson: Canon Cox reads strange to Members of the Institute; and the degree of Doctor of Laws is denoted by LL.D., not L.L.D.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE ANCIENTS. By the Rev. M. G. WATKINS, M.A. London, 1897. Elliot Stock. pp. xiii, 258.

This book is a collection of essays on a few of the curiosities connected with the natural history of the ancients, and is due to the author's explorations in the by-paths of classical literature. Of these essays, Mr. Watkins himself says: "They are, at all events, a contribution to a fascinating study—speculations rendered venerable by their antiquity, rather than by the credit due to the writers, who are here laid under contribution." The age was an uncritical one: ignorant alike of anatomy and physiology, and classical writers jotted down the distortions and exaggerations of travellers and of sailors, and, instead of asking the narrators for proof, or testing their stories by experiment, themselves exaggerated, and distorted in a greater degree. Yet many of these classical writers enjoyed

opportunities which were wanting to their successors of mediæval times. The inhabitants of ancient Rome must, one would imagine, have been familiar, from their appearance in the circus and in triumphs and on State occasions, with the personalities of the nobler mammals—much more so than the inhabitants of England in the seventeenth century, who would see few strange beasts beyond the lions at the Tower of London, and an occasional dancing bear or performing ape on circuit. Of other foreign animals their knowledge would be derived from chap-books, decorated with worn-out wood blocks, handed down from the mediæval bestiaries.

Perhaps the most interesting of the essays in this book is that headed "The Romans as acclimatizers in Britain." There appear to have been three great epochs of acclimatization of plants and animals in Britain—the Roman—the return of western chivalry from the Crusades, and the influx of monks, which overspread Britain during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. According to our author, it is improbable that peas, poppies, flax, carraway-seeds, apples, pears, and bullaces, though cultivated by neolithic man on the Continent, found their way into Britain prior to the Roman invasion. Mr. Watkins considers that if the Romans did not actually import into Britain the short-horned Celtic ox (*bos longifrons*), they were the first to domesticate it, and that they improved the breed by judicious crossing from abroad. The ass, the mule, the goat, the cat, the fallow-deer (a re-introduction), and the rabbit—all came to us from Rome. Peacocks, pheasants, guinea fowls, and turtle doves have the like origin, and improved varieties of geese and ducks were imported by the Romans to be crossed with the native breeds. Much longer is the list of trees and vegetables with which the Roman Conqueror endowed us—the laurel, the myrtle, the ilex, the rhododendron, the small-leaved elm, the cypress, and the Oriental plane: among fruit trees, the walnut, the peach, the apricot, the filbert, the quince, the mulberry, the chestnut, the plum, the vine, the fig, and the cherry. Our peas, cucumbers, leeks, onions, and garlic have the same history. Mr. Watkins does more than tell his readers that the Romans introduced these animals and plants into England: he tells us where the Romans found them, but our space forbids us to follow him further. In fact, the Romans knew all the good things of this earth, except the turtle of the West Indies, and the mulligatawnny and curry of the East, and were kind enough to acclimatize them here for our benefit. Our author, by the way, does not allude to the tradition current along the Roman Wall that the Romans introduced the edible snail from Italy, and the *Erinus* Hispanics from Spain.

Other essays in this book deal with dogs (British, Greek, and Roman), cats, pygmies, horses, elephants, roses, wolves, mythical animals, and many more kindred subjects, and we can well commend the book to the members of the Institute, amusing and interesting to read, and most valuable as a book of reference, though, alas! it has the serious fault of lacking an index.



AN EFFIGY TO A MEMBER OF THE MARTIN FAMILY
IN PIDDELTOWN CHURCH, DORSET.

By VISCOUNT DILLON, HON. M.A. OXON., P.S.A.

The very beautiful effigy of a Martin in the Martin Chantry of Piddletown Church, Dorset, has unfortunately no exact attribution as to the person represented. There are, however, many points about the effigy by which we may assign a very approximate date to its execution.

To commence with the head-piece, which is a visored salade. This is a rare form of helmet to find in effigies, but a very similar one in shape and treatment is seen on the head of a Nevill in Brancepeth Church, Durham.¹ It is also seen in a figure at Meriden Church, in Warwickshire, figured by Bloxham in his *Monumental Architecture*. In brasses we have it in that of Edmund Clere (1488) in Stokesby Church, Norfolk;² and in that of Robert Staunton (1458) at Castle Donnington, Leicestershire.³ In the latter the chin-piece is omitted. Abroad we find the salade and its chin-piece pretty frequent in Germany, as in the Henneberg effigy (1490), a cast of which is in South Kensington Museum. Albert Dürer's "Death and the Knight" (1513) and his portraits of the brothers Baumgartner (1506), now in the Pinacothek, Munich, also show these defences. The famous bas-relief on the Porto Nuovo at Naples, of Alphonso the Victorious and his companions executed in 1470, is yet another example; while in a picture in the Uffizi Gallery of Florence we have the chin-piece shown without the salade. It is a portrait called that of the famous Captain Gattamelata Erasmo da Narni (1438-1441), with his squire by Giorgione.⁴ It is the squire who has the chin-piece, and instead of the salade he is seen with a cap only. This cap is very curious as giving a detail not often seen. Fitting tightly to the head

¹ Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, Plates 134, 135.

² Cotman's *Brasses of Norfolk*, Vol. I, Plate 36.

³ Boutell's *Series of Monumenta Brasses*.

⁴ 1478-1511.

there is a stout roll or padded projection above the brow, evidently intended to lessen the effect of a blow on the front part of the head. A similar cap is seen on the head of St. George in the picture by Dosso Dossi¹ of "The Virgin and SS. George and Michael," in the Modena Gallery. That this cap was not always worn under the *salade* is clear from the Baumgartner portraits and the etching of "Death and the Knight," but it is an interesting piece of *knightly underwear*.

To return to our knight, he wears round his neck a collar of Suns and Roses, but without any distinctive pendant badge. The collars of this kind belong to the period 1461-1485. The Harcourt effigy of 1471 has a white lion of Edward IV pendant, as also has the brass of Bouchier, Earl of Essex (1483), while Ralph Neville, who died 1484, displays the White Boar of Richard III.

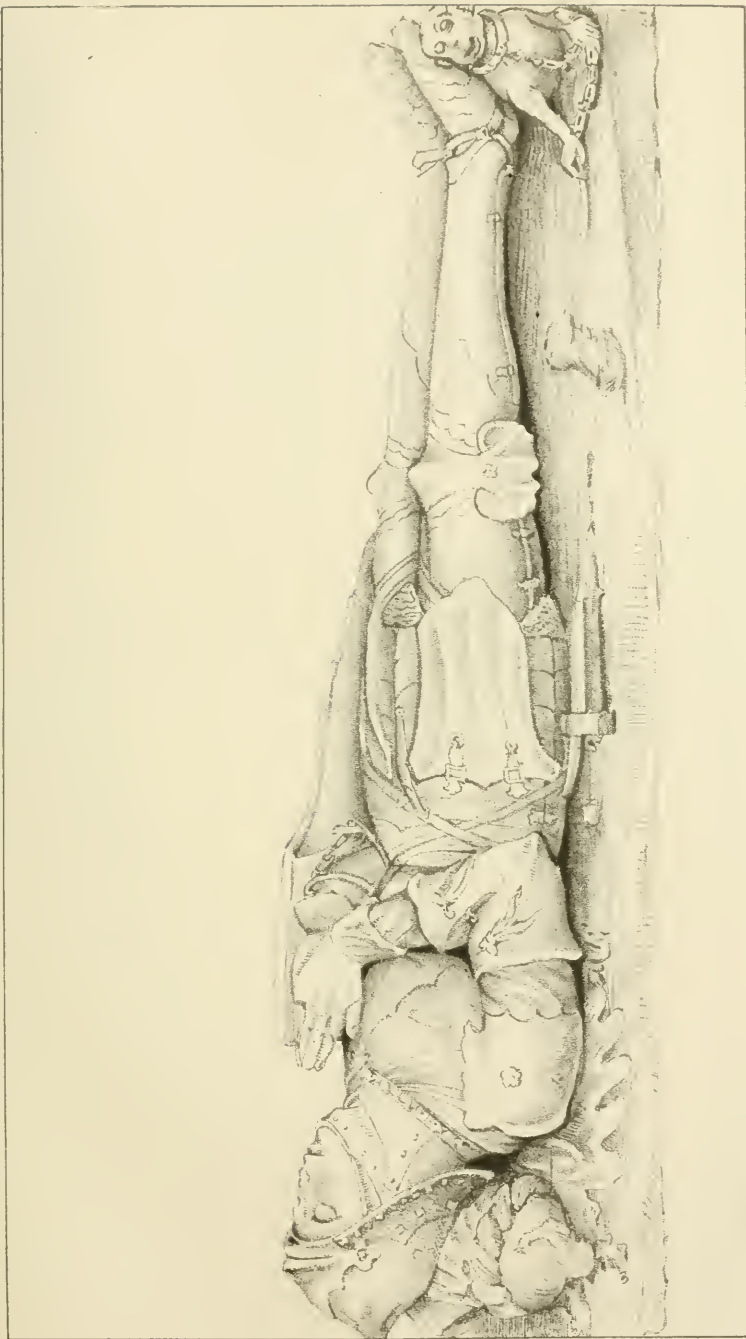
The knight's breastplate is in two pieces: the lower one, or *pounce*, having engrailed margins as in the Harcourt and Erdington effigies.² The broad lower taces, or *falde*, below the waist have also engrailed upper borders. The pendant tuilles are fluted as in the Crosby (1475), Harcourt (1471), and other effigies of that period, and hang from the third of the seven broad taces.

The pauldrons, or shoulder defences, show the slight upright neck guards, erroneously called *pasguards*. The *rerebras* and *vambras* protecting the upper and fore arms have faint spiral ridges on them as seen in the Crosby (1475) effigy. The elbow caps, of elegant form, are attached to the *rerebras* and *vambras* by arming points, as in the Harcourt (1471) and Crosby (1475) figures. These arming points are also well shown in the Hungerford effigy (1455) in Salisbury Cathedral.

Beneath the broad taces, or *falde*, hangs the lower margin of the shirt of chain mail as often seen, cut in points. The *cuissards*, unlike the arm defences, are smooth, and the knee caps, with ridged fans, have two extra plates above and below with engrailed margins. Below these again a reinforcing plate with engrailed margin. The *cuissards* show the external hinges as do the greaves, which reach to above the ankle. The spurs and spurstraps are seen, but the rowels have been broken

¹ 1490-1500.

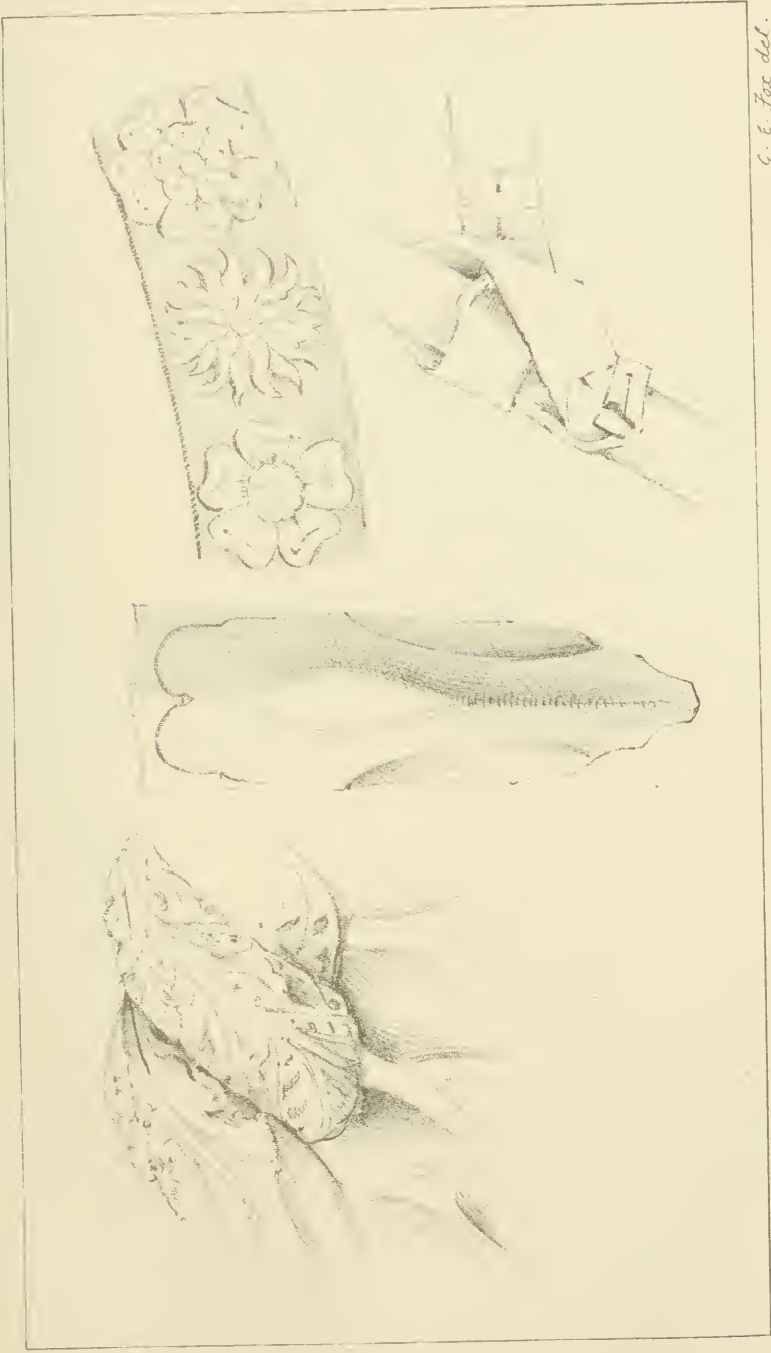
² Hollis' *Monumental Effigies*.



G. E. Fox del.

ALABASTER EFFIGY. PIDDLETOWN, DORSET.

Scale 1 inch to the foot.



G. E. Fox del.

DETAILS OF EFFIGY. PIDDLETOWN, DORSET.

All full size, except the shield, which is to the scale of 1 inch to the foot.

off. The feet are protected by a series of overlapping plates with engrailed margins, but they have not reached the period where the arches are so arranged that those covering the instep overlap downwards on to the tread-piece, while the arches below that part overlap upwards. In all respects the sollerets of this figure correspond with the Harcourt and Crosby figures. The sword is suspended by a narrow strap sloping downward across the loins from the right hip, while the dagger on the right side (of which only the sheath remains) was slung by a similar narrow strap from the left hip across the loins.

One of the most peculiar features of the effigy is the long and narrow shield, fluted and ribbed like the tuilles, and borne on the knight's left arm. The occurrence of the shield in effigies of so late a date is almost unique, and gives the idea of the execution of the effigy being foreign. This, however, cannot be the case, unless the Harcourt, Crosby, Erdington, and many other undoubted English effigies be assigned to foreign workmen.

The knight's head rests, as usual, on his tilting helm, which is girt about with a beautiful wreathen orle with a foliage design. The feet rest on an ape, which has a clog attached by a chain round its neck.

It will be seen, then, that the effigy belongs to about 1471-1475, and a pedigree of the Martin family should easily assign an owner to it. The whole is in fair preservation.

Mr. Fox's beautiful drawing gives a very faithful representation of this interesting and handsome effigy.

The Institute is indebted to Mr. W. Pearce for his contribution of the plates illustrating this paper, and to Mr. G. E. Fox, F.S.A., for the loan of the drawings from which the plates were made.

OLD AND NEW METHODS IN WRITING HISTORY,
BEING THE OPENING ADDRESS OF THE HIS-
TORICAL SECTION AT THE DORCHESTER MEETING.¹

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

I find myself by your favour in a position of doubt and difficulty. I am expected to say something new and inspiring on a subject which has exercised human thought and ingenuity since Apollo and Athene presented their compositions before the Critics of Olympus, and in which every grain of ungleaned matter must consequently bear the character of a paradox; but a graver difficulty remains. I am asked to speak to you about a subject whose limits, scope, and purpose have never been defined, and are perhaps incapable of definition.

What is History? Is it a story or a sermon? Is the historian a prophet and a teacher as well as a retailer of old tales? Ought he, in writing the epitaph of the past, to tell us what it was, or rather, like other writers of epitaphs, to tell us what it should have been? Are all well-attested facts properly available as bricks with which he may build his walls, or should he throw the great mass of them into the pit of oblivion and select only those which are attractive to the poet or the artist? Is it Truth that he should rigidly follow, or that which is more entertaining and less soporific than Truth—the material with which the Romancer and the teller of Tales likes to fill his pages with—the picturesque and the sensational?

Is it his purpose to be read or only to be spoken of as a learned man? These are some only of the questions which rise up when we are bidden to say something on history in general.

Unfortunately, they are all capable of more than one answer. Fashion, taste, temper—each and all govern the position in different ways; and, apart from these controlling influences, there are as many kinds of history as there are motives for human inquiry and study.

¹ Read at Dorchester, August 4th, 1897.

One man wants knowledge in its most concrete form. For him the panorama of life has no moral. For him history is a scroll inscribed with a mere photograph of the past, just as the scenes followed each other on the stage, and all the picture is equally in focus. All knowledge is to him equally knowledge. The ploughboy tuning his voice as he swings to and fro on a gate at dinner-time is as important a figure in its way as Napoleon or Alexander. The doings and sayings of a County Council are to be recorded as carefully as those of the Mother of Parliaments, which has marked the world with everlasting furrows.

Facts are what he wants—facts and not inferences; sober narrative, and not imaginative poetry, sentiment, or moralising. The mediæval chronicle is his ideal, and a Chinese book of annals his highest level. We cannot question that this is history. It may not be very readable history, but that may be the fault of the reader who has no imagination of his own to clothe the scaffolding with, or the narrator who cannot represent in languages pictures or landscapes in which the facts shall tell their own story.

While this is what attracts some students, others wish for no pictures at all. To them facts are mere counters, from an examination of which laws can be deduced and inferences drawn. What they want is the Philosophy of history. Their object is not so much to trace out the former path of the ship as to secure lessons from which to learn how that path shall be steered in the future. To them history is essentially what it was once defined, viz. philosophy teaching by examples. To trace the inevitable course which certain streams are bound to run, to measure and gauge the various moods of what the ignorant call Fortune and the wise know to be the certain results of certain causes. This is his theory of history, and history assuredly it is, but history generically different from the last kind. In this kind of history the tale has no value at all: the whole value is in the moral.

A third kind of history, again, imports imagination very largely into the story. We all know that the facts which have been saved from the sphere of forgetfulness are necessarily only scraps of the whole story—a mere wreckage. shreds and threads of a once continuous pattern—detached

tesseræ from a once complete mosaic. To detail these, in however graphic language, is to present but blurred and fragmentary pictures which the great majority of students who have no imagination cannot clothe with appropriate colour or outline. For them the fragmentary picture or the torso have no meaning. They see ruin and nothing but ruin in the Parthenon and the Colosseum. For them another kind of artist is needed who can imagine, fill in the wanting words, the gaps in the picture. Emendator, restorer, call him what you will, his *rôle* is to reconstruct the lion from one of its claws—the statue from a broken limb. His own personal equation is present everywhere: he introduces the Romancer into the province of the Annalist. In some cases there is a good deal of importation, and in others there is less. We cannot, in fact, definitely separate the picturesque historian from the writer of historical fiction—Macaulay and Froude from Walter Scott and Dumas. There is no difference in kind and in essence between them. It is merely a difference of degree. Freeman's Harold is as imaginative and fantastic a figure and as far removed from the Harold of the documents as is Kingsley's Hereward. It is a poetical inspiration of the writer in either case. Nor am I sure that the Romancer's story is not truer history than that of the polemical historian.

We know perfectly well that the speeches reported by Thucydides, or by any other ancient writer, are the composition of the scribe, and as like what the characters depicted really said as is the picture drawn by a practised advocate in a court of law like the true story of the career of the prisoner he is defending. There is point, therefore, in Professor Seeley's continual warning against picturesque history, but it is a Cassandra's song after all. If the individual did not exist in that shape the class did. It is not every babe which can digest the strong food which forms the narrative of a mediæval monk, or extract honey from the rugged contents of the book of Deuteronomy.

Again, another form of history is that which consists in drawing characters and tracing motives. This, again, is legitimate enough. It is not sufficient for some readers that we should figure the motley crowds that pass across

the canvas as we unroll the years that are gone. Many of us yearn to know why men acted as they did, whence they got their inspiration and their teaching, what influences moulded them, and why and whence the changes, the growth, the life of communities sprang. In such moods we do not care to linger much on the doings of the common herd—the human kine which graze the same meadows perpetually in the same fashion, with the same appetites and tastes, and roll on their great and weary loads monotonously. They have little to stir us. We want rather to study those who have the spark of movement in their marrow and their souls—who have thought and said and done new and great things; who have had the divine gift of driving or leading men, and who have shaken the golden fleece until it dropped its load of fertilizing drops. Drum and trumpet history it is sometimes called. Hero worshipping it is sometimes called. It, at all events, regards the drama of life in its more stirring periods, its tragedies and its comedies, as the main object of study rather than the dull and monotonous tapestry that covers the greater part of the walls of Time.

This is very elementary trifling you will say. So it is. It is only meant as a protest against those who look upon history as necessarily belonging to one or other of these categories only, instead of embracing them all. We cannot expect to have them all in the same covers. They presuppose different tastes, gifts, and sympathies. They ought to be the handiwork of different hands, and are meant for different readers. We must concede to each its own special sphere and dominance. What we can and must insist upon is, that whichever special branch of history is in question, it should be written according to the laws and rules of the combined science and art of history, as it is understood by its highest votaries, and must sweep away with the broom of destruction the crudities and the imbecilities that in the name of history crowd our shelves with ephemeral rubbish, and which waste our lives and tempers in a search after Truth where the conditions of Truth do not exist. This is to be the burden of my sermon. Let us come down from abstract phrases to more concrete teaching. The traveller differs

from the historian mainly in this : that the former can test his knowledge by his own senses, and can report what he sees and hears or experiences ; while the latter, who has to record the events of other days, has to extract his story from other witnesses than himself. The former has to take care to be vigilant, observing, and truthful ; the latter has to sift the vigilance, powers, and opportunities of observation and truthfulness of others, partly the testimony of living or once living witnesses, and partly the testimony of monument and relic.

It seems to me that the process of testing the witness before we turn to his narrative is a very modern one, and was first pressed home in its best and most rigid forms in Germany. It has been very much neglected in the historical writing of our own country. The older historians apparently treated all testimony as equally valuable and trustworthy. The man who actually saw the strife, and the man who wrote about it from hearsay or otherwise many a decade later, were deemed of equal value and of equal importance as witnesses. It is pitiful what masses of books exist in which the author never seems to have realised at all the prime necessity of testing his witnesses before quoting them, and this among historians often put in the first rank.

Yet we have at our elbows a perpetual living school of teachers from whom better things could have been learnt, namely, those who practice in our Law Courts. The historian is, in fact, in the position of a Judge, and the testimony he has to examine, like that produced in a court of law, ought to be first put into the crucible and the dross separated from the gold before the gold is used to gild the silver salver with. It seems to me that no better rules could be drawn up for the historian in this behalf than those which control the actions of courts of law and are known as the Laws of Evidence.

The first and cardinal rule of our courts of law is that secondary evidence is not admissible when primary evidence is available. That we ought not to quote the copyist and the compiler when we can get at the original source ; and that in every case we must quote the author who lived nearest to the events, and beware of the picturesque phrases of much later writers who were

constrained to gild the not too refined gold and to paint the not too well preserved lily.

When Henry of Huntingdon, or some poet like Gaimar, touches up the bald story of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle with a few rhetorical touches, we must beware of mistaking these touches for what is called local colour, or treat it as an independent tradition.

It is pitiable to turn over the pages of popular historians where this cardinal law of evidence has been entirely overlooked, and where authorities of very different dates, and who had very different opportunities, are quoted as if they were of the same value. The earlier and duller man being often brushed aside in favour of the later manufacturer of picturesque phrases. Mr. Freeman was a great offender in this respect. In the long-drawn-out and remarkable account he gives of the Battle of Hastings it is quite surprising to find how to him apparently William of Poitiers and the Peterborough Chronicle were of no greater authority than Wace, who not only wrote a hundred years after the event, but whose touches, which look so picturesque and have such apparently local and personal colouring, are in so many cases the necessary frailties of his narrative, which required a rhyme or a rhythmical phrase at all hazards. This criticism was not reserved for to-day. It was the subject-matter of a good-natured polemic in which he and I engaged many years ago. I hope I shall carry your general assent with me in saying that no statement in an historical work ought to be attested in any case by a second-hand authority when the first-hand authority is available and accessible. What is the use for instance of quoting the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for statements which have been immediately derived by the compiler of that work from Bede, and for which Bede is the prime authority; or to quote William of Malmesbury or Matthew Paris for statements which were directly derived by those writers from still extant lives of saints or diplomatic documents? Such quotations would not be permitted in a court of law. This method of writing history has become quite discredited in Germany, and it ought to have no place with us; and if it be a reasonable rule to adopt in writing European history, how much more so in

writing Eastern history, where compilation is the rule and original composition the exception, and where late fourth and fifth-hand compilers are continually paraded as witnesses for facts, when the original sources are available and open? Here, therefore, the personal equation and the personal frailty of a succession of copiers has unnecessarily sophisticated the story at every point. What is the use of quoting Mirkhavend and Kluhandemir for information which has come to them from Rashid ud din or Ibn al Athir through many polluted channels and conduits, when we can go direct to the original fountain?

This rule of historical testimony involves another, namely, a much more rigid editing of our sources. It is monstrous that we still should have editions of chronicles and texts in which those facts which are original and those which are borrowed are not sharply defined. No statement in a properly-edited historical source ought to appear without its being at once obvious, either from the nature of the print or from distinctly-marked marginalia, whether the statement is an original one or not; and if not an original one, whether it is the earliest source. All the mere *copy* should be put in smaller type with warning notes attached, and it ought to be made a criminal offence to quote passages thus printed in smaller type unless they either vary in some way from the original source or there is substantial value in the testimony as corroborative or otherwise.

Another rule which seems to me to be paramount is that only the best and most critical editions of texts should be used and quoted, and that the particular edition of the work used should always be named. Who would dream of quoting a classical text which was edited before the days of Bentley and of Heyne before collation had been made a paramount necessity of editing? and why should any other rule be applied to other than classical texts and authorities?

What is the use of quoting editions of old English chronicles or of old English literary works published from a single manuscript, or from corrupt examples, when critical editions dependent on all existing MSS. are available? To most writers of historical manuals in England all editions of a book seem to have the same

value and authority. Again, in the case of many authors who have preserved for us lost sources, how necessary it is that we, in England especially, should cultivate the German method of diligently tracking, when we can, the originals of these quotations that we may give them their due weight, and, having done so, refer to both the original writer and also the immediate source. Diodorus Siculus is a very entertaining, but a very late writer. His testimony, however, becomes far more valuable and interesting when we know that a large part of his composition is derived directly from much older and now lost authors, just as Josephus' history is. These earlier writers in such cases are the real witnesses, although their evidence is only available now in hearsay and secondary fashion, and they ought to be quoted accordingly. The discussion of the relative merit and value of the authorities and the *fontes* ought to be an indispensable part of every scientific history, and it ought to be impossible in these days to turn to an historical work of any character or repute which does not contain a careful *apparatus criticus* in which the witnesses are cross-examined as to character, ability, and truthfulness, just as witnesses are similarly arraigned in a court of law. Where is anything of the kind to be found, except of the most perfunctory and childish character in such well-known works as Freeman's *Norman Conquest* and Green's *History of England*? If these authors are turned to, it will be found that a work like the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for instance is treated as a divinely-inspired document instead of being a very late compilation from Bede, the lives of the saints, etc., none of it probably dating from before the reign of Edward the Elder. The earliest part of it is an artificial and utterly baseless story, while in later times it is vitiated by many mistakes and a sophisticated chronology. The statements in the *Chronicle*, before the conversion of Ethelbert of Kent to Christianity, are many of them as trustworthy as the story of Romulus and Remus; and yet we have the doings of Cerdic and his son, etc., etc., discussed with the same gravity as if they had filled a similar *rôle* in history, and one as well attested as that of Vasco de Gama or of Mr. Cecil Rhodes. And this is done by a

whole school or rather *clique* of writers, who will tolerate any fantastic reasoning from one of their own number if he will only accept the common shibboleths of the sect.

To quote an example. Can anything be more like *Alice in Wonderland* than many of Dr. Guest's lucubrations on the settlements of the Anglo-Saxon tribes in Britain, based upon the tales about Cerdic and Cynric and Cissa and Port and all the other *gentes fabulosi* of the chronicler?

I am well aware that we have some notable exceptions to this rule, and that Stubbs, Skene, Haddan, and Yorke Powell, Hodgskin, Bury, Round, and others I could name, have worked on different lines and have imported and followed up German methods. These lights, however, only make the general waste more desolate-looking, and it will remain so so long as our historical writing is so little directed and so little methodised. Every man who can write clear English thinks he can write history, forgetful that the craft of the historian is one calling for more special training than almost any other branch of inquiry, where Truth has to be sifted out of manifold testimonies and evidence has to be weighed and measured. When shall we have in England an institution like the *Ecole des Chartes* in France, teaching young men how documents should be edited, a school of diplomatic training in the wider sense of the term, instead of such editing of documents and of chronicles being left to the untrained instincts and the untaught methods of every literary privateer with a yearning to write a book.

When, again, will our professors of History at the Universities learn from Germany that there are two kinds of students of history: those who wish to pass examinations and those who wish to prosecute original research? Where have we here the young men who have gathered round Mommsen and Sybel and Curtius and others in Germany, and have learnt their profession by working in the workshops of real masters—doing the hodman's work for the practical builder and brick-setter. What a charming thing it would be to find my distinguished and very learned friend, Lord Acton, teaching the young people under his charge how the bricks and mortar of real history are made; how historical walls

and buttresses should be built if they are to stand up against the ravages of time, and presently, when they have progressed further, how lordly façades and buildings are to be designed if they are meant to live as the works of Thucydides or Gibbon or Mommsen live! We may, and we do, rebel very often against German style and German opacity in narrative, but we must all do homage to the scientific spirit in studying history which they have cultivated so well and which they have recently inoculated the French with. Why should we be so far behind?

Is it not a stupendous leap when we turn from Grote and Merivale, to quote two fine examples of the old methods, to Busolt and Mommsen among the moderns? What a gap there is between history as we were taught it as boys and history as we may learn it now! but in learning it we must go elsewhere than to our own teachers. It would be impossible for a German student to publish the ridiculous and uncritical crudities which sometimes pass for history among us. He would be killed with ridicule and contempt; and why is this? Have we no men equal to the task—no materials, no taste, and no learning? Of course we have, as good as there are anywhere; and, in addition, a finer judgment and a truer historic instinct. Publications like the *Historical and the Classical Reviews* and the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and the periodical publications of our Universities, are a measure of the advances we have made, but it is sporadic and individual. I am pleading for a truly scientific training in modern methods of writing history. I would begin by imposing upon every man who takes Honours in the History Schools at the Universities the obligation of producing some original "Programme," or Dissertation, or Memoir, as a proof that he has learnt his trade. To give a man Honours in history because his memory can retain a great load of undigested materials, or because he can answer a number of absurd conundrums which the fatuous ingenuity of an examiner has devised, is a ridiculous test of the capacity of an historian, however much it may be a test of the industry and retentiveness of the human mind in pursuit of a Fellowship or of the monstrously base uses we put our clever men to; but let us pass on. As we have seen, to go back to the earliest witnesses and

to get those witnesses' testimony in its purest form are the two cardinal factors of historical composition. A third one equally important requires the acumen and skill of the Judge. Contemporary witnesses do not, of course, stand on the same level, and to discriminate between different witnesses in regard to the weight of their testimony is the most trying of the historian's duties. This, again, is a duty which has only recently been insisted upon.

Those among us who are in the thick of living politics, who know how entirely different the very same circumstances (of which we have been witness ourselves) appear to, and are reported by, any two men who happen to differ in temper, acuteness, or opinion, know full well how great is the human factor and the personal equation of the reporter in every narrative, even when it is supposed to be the bald and meagre and neutral report of simple facts. For example, who would accept Mr. Labouchere's dissection of Mr. Rhodes' recent actions in South Africa much less his dissection of Mr. Rhodes' motives, or of his own, as history?

I am not sure that the safest witnesses, after all, are not the strong partisans on either side. We are on our guard with them when they abuse their opponents. It is more difficult with such a reporter as Tacitus, for instance, whose plausible phrases are so full of innuendo and of scarcely tangible sophistication of the truth which have imposed on generations of students. Who with any judgment would now accept the Tiberius of Tacitus any more than the Richard the Third of Shakespeare as pictures of the men? Tacitus wrote for the Roman nobles who hated the Empire, and Shakespeare for the granddaughter of Richard's rival. We forget that in former days, as now, the reporter had very frequently to meet the taste of his audience. He was not expected to tell what was quite true, but what was interesting and tickled the ear. Without dishonest motives he invented not the speeches that were made, but those he thought dramatically appropriate, and moulded the characters of his heroes in corresponding fashion.

Another kind of witness whose testimony is most important has been quite unappreciated by historians of

severely logical minds. I mean the reporter of old wives' tales, of the miracles of saints, the prodigies of nature, the supposed pranks of the devil—all the machinery, in fact, of mythology, or superstition, or credulity, or what you will, which fills the lives of saints and the records of sinners at certain dates. Fables no doubt they are, but fables genuinely believed to be true, and for that reason marking the mental outlook of the story-teller, and in no sense to be ignored, and yet they are as rigidly ignored by some modern historians as they were implicitly followed by those of another day; but how are we to write the history of Europe from the seventh to the eleventh century without them? These, and such as these, are the frailties of nearly all human witnesses—are the frailties, in fact, of those not gifted with omniscience, and it is unfortunately from such as these we must try and get the truth.

Again, as to written testimony: The chronicler and professed historian have been until lately the main props of the historian. We now feel that a much better kind of evidence in every way than even contemporary annals or chronicles are contemporary State or private documents and contemporary archaeological remains. These, for the most part, tell no lies; they remain, too, as they left their maker's hands. I am not, of course, speaking of Napoleon's bulletins, of Pope's letters, of the famous decretals, or the obituary notices of great and little men, but of legal and judicial documents—of deeds not meant for publication: the hard and bald business-like documents in which the personal equation of the narrator is largely absent. What a revolution took place in England in the theory and methods of writing history when the Keeper of the Records stopped the publication of the Mediæval chronicles and began to publish indices to the large masses of diplomata in the Record Office! To some of us the former series was too abruptly concluded. We still want critical editions of Florence of Worcester, of the Lives of the Early English Saints, of Orderic, and of others we could name, but this is a mere fly in our pot of ointment. The tremendous gain is that involved in teaching the English historian that if he wants to really let us know what was done, say, in the reign of Henry the Third, we must not turn to the professed chroniclers, but

to the almost endless records in which the doings of the King, of Bishops, of Lords and peasants, are actually inventoried and entered by contemporary and official scribes, by clerks and routine officials who had no care for reputations and no motives and no opportunities for deliberate misleading. It was Mr. Freeman who first taught us what an inexhaustible mine of materials is contained in Domesday Book, not for purposes of local topography and local genealogy only, but for picturing the full story of our realms at a critical time. If he had lived twenty years earlier he would have given quite as great an importance to the *Codex Diplomaticus*, to the Chartularies of the great Abbeys, and to the vast stores of our judicial and State records, instead of labouring the minute and rhetorical variations of the various professed chroniclers. It is thus that the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, &c., &c., has so largely displaced the ancient professed writers of Greek and Roman history in the pages of Mommsen and Duruy and others.

But this is not all. It is not only that greater weight is now given to contemporary documents stamped with the mint-mark of authenticity; but we now feel that the story cannot properly be told if we limit ourselves to a few picked authorities and if we do not take note of all the evidence, fragile as well as strong.

Who would now attempt to write a history of Wales or of Ireland or of Anglo-Saxon England compiled from diplomata, however genuine, or from the statements of arid and prosaic chroniclers, ignoring the literature of the period, its poetry, its science, its fables, its Saints' lives—ignoring, in fact, the fresh food upon which the minds of its people were fed? Turn, for instance, from Mr. Green's account of Henry the Fourth to that of Mr. Wylie. How every page of the latter is lighted up with real life by the passages from friars' sermons and rhymers' ballads, by glimpses into the necromancer's study, and witty phrases from divines like Wiclif and wits like Chaucer, and by the queer, odd tags and tatters, fringes and ornaments from all kinds of dusty corners. Thus the bones are wrapped, if not in human flesh, at least in a living form. The very things which the Chronicle never mentions, because they are so familiar to

him, are the things we want to know most about. We who live so far off their times and their modes of thought long for the casual testimony of a casual vagabond, such an one as he who has visited a new country for the first time and stayed only a fortnight there, and has noted all the things which were new to him but which are stale and stupid and unprofitable to the man who has lived there for six months. What would not some of us have given for a history of the Norman Conquest such as Freeman's picturesque men could have written if he had spared us the hundreds of pages of polemic about the supposed heroic prowess of a decaying and, to speak plainly, of a swinish race and its pinchbeck heroes: about the calculating, cruel, selfish Danish family of Earl Godwin if he had given us a truer picture of the people and their mode of living: if he had told us more about things which neither William of Poitiers nor the *Peterborough Chronicle* would deign to notice, and thus given us an insight into the mental life of the people and the literature they read and the things they used: searched through the songs, the travellers' tales, the bestiaries, the crude scientific manuals, and let us peep into kitchen and hall and parlour, into cottage and castle; and not merely escorted us from one battlefield to another?

Again, we hold that, as far as may be, both sides should be heard, and sometimes more than two sides. How can we understand the inner history of England at certain periods without an intimate knowledge of that of Scotland and Ireland and Wales as well; and not merely the history of these other lands as it appeared to Englishmen, but as it appeared to their own folk? Freeman, while at every turn he glorified the Saxons and Anglians, utterly mistook the perspective of history in speaking of and treating them as English.

We English are a mixed breed of Teutons and Frenchmen. May not we thank heaven for that? But we are more: we also have a large Celtic strain in our blood. Freeman had no patience with the Celts, who had taught the rude Anglian very nearly all the civilisation he had, who had taught Western Europe the art of making romances, who kept alive poetry and art and most of those ideals which were not merely animal in mediæval

life. He consequently converges nearly all his story upon battles and pageants, and ignores the yeast and leaven which was working its way into the sturdy bones of Anglian and Dane and Roman at the time he writes about. What kind of history is that? It is merely history as presented by a man with a brief for one side, and that side the soldier's side only. We must confront independent witnesses with independent stories to tell, with each other if we are to get at the truth, and especially put in the foreground the witnesses who have told unpalatable truths. It is in the mocking and sarcastic ballads of the peasants' rhymers and the friars that we get the best antidote to the optimistic sycophancy of the Courtly annalist of the Plantagenets or the distorted narratives of the monks, whose looking-glass did not reflect what would discredit his cloth or his Church or his party. In searching for historic truth it is the writings of heretics, of political outcasts, of pariahs, which are most profitable to consult.

Aristophanes and Wycherley are often better witnesses than Plato and Bishop Burnet. They represent a mass of opinion which it was dangerous to utter except through the medium of caustic comedy.

What a gain it has been to us of late to rediscover the actual homilies of the Valentinians and the service books of the Gnostics, and to judge those persecuted sects not by the fiery and hasty judgments of their opponents and by passages torn from their context by some orthodox critic, but by their own statements. What a gain it has been, on the other hand, to recover Aristotle's Athenian polity and to put before our youth, who for generations have been misled by a spurious political philosophy, a sounder creed! What an advantage it is to be able to put as an antidote beside the futile hopes and fantastic experiments of the glorious century before the Peloponnesian war the masculine comments of a strong man like Aristotle, who had seen the rainbow dissipated and the old idols burnt to ashes! Or, to come to our own day, what a gain it is to have the real grim facts presented to us about the French Revolution instead of the Utopias and ideals which grew like wallflowers on the ruined walls of the Bastille, and this by some master of his craft

like Aristotle was in old days, and Taine, or my friend Mr. Lecky, in our own. In dealing with times when sentiment and passion were rife we need the frigid analysis of some man of the world who had seen many rainbows come and go, and leave no path across the sky along which hapless men in a difficulty could pass over or through the hurricane!

If it be wise to confront opposing teachers and schools with each other, it is equally necessary, if some historian of the future is ever to give us judicial decisions on historical problems, that the fanatical champion on one side should be answered by the fanatic on the other. It is well to confront each man with a brief for his own side and his own opinion, making the best fight he can for that view and that opinion, dissecting, analysing, and answering his rival, and then permitting the judge, or perhaps the jury of Public Opinion, to decide between the two.

But let us pass on to another analogy from our courts of law. It is only in a certain number of cases that we can fall back upon spoken or written testimony, and the world is learning rapidly that in history, as in law, circumstantial evidence fills a great place and probably produces the most complete convictions. It is not the old-fashioned evidence with which modern historians have revolutionised both our methods and results; but by going far afield—Archæology, Philology, Comparative Mythology, Folk Lore, the survival of old creeds and of old institutions. These, and such as these, furnish the best of the modern historians with their most effective bricks and mortar.

The written records go back only a short way. Thus the Greeks only began to write down their then scanty literature in the seventh century B.C., and their genealogical lists and similar *disjecta membra* of early records do not go back beyond the eighth, shewing that in all probability the beginning of epigraphic writing was limited to that date. Beyond that those who wish to travel (and who does not yearn to know the causes and the beginnings of so much that is precious and unmatched?) must go into other fields. Formerly men turned to the Epic poems, and the first volume of Mitford and of Grote shews the method employed and the result obtained. Now, as any-

one may judge by turning to the last edition of Busolt's great work, they turn elsewhere also, and from archæology and the history of language and religion squeeze out a generous vintage of manifold inspiration which illuminates the Epic poems in a way undreamt before. This enables us in some measure to test their relative date, importance, and value, and at the same time floods the canvas with a wealth of details on the manners and customs, the thought and opinions, of the primitive world as inductive, as true, and as lasting in value as the record engraved on brass or scrawled across the more perishing papyrus. What a revolution this implies to those fed upon the kind of history which satisfied Robertson or Hume in the last century!

As I came westward last week to see my old friend General Pitt-Rivers I stayed at Salisbury, where another cherished friend the Dean, from that most delightful of carpets the green sward in the Close, pointed out what I was ashamed not to have known—namely, that in Salisbury as it stands we have a living specimen to illustrate what a brand-new town was like in the twelfth century. Do you quite realise that the whole thing was entirely begun *de novo* at that date? The Cathedral was transplanted from old Sarum. That we all know; but the new town was laid out around the Cathedral with its streets arranged in chequers as we see it still; and this evidently on a distinct plan. Is not that an eye-lesson as good as a chapter of William of Malmesbury?

Again, as I stood at the Deanery door a brave and deserving soldier was waiting there to ask the Dean if he might have his banns published in the Cathedral instead of in his parish church, where the young ladies would all look round at him and make him feel shy; and the kind Dean said that, although he could not promise this, he could give him a special licence; for when Henry the Second was having his mortal struggle with Becket, the then Dean of Salisbury was given a local and plenary jurisdiction in certain matters, including this one of special licences. What a romantic thing it is to think that this power has survived through all the centuries since, and survived also the tramping of the heavy boots of the Tudor sovereigns, male and female! Is not this, again, a

lesson as good as can be gathered from any life of Becket, or from that philosophical and delightful chronicler Mathew Paris? And when the Dean went on further to explain that among his functions and privileges was that of inducting not an Incumbent, but a real Prior, which he had twice performed—a right which had belonged to the Deans of Salisbury since Plantagenet times—and that both Prior and solemn induction had survived the desperate pertinacity of Thomas Cromwell and all the other iconoclastic foes of Priors and Abbots, Monks and Friars, it seemed to me that one's historic blood began to flow more quickly than it would have done if the same fact had been read out of Dugdale's very plain but very English Latin.

This is all true you will say, and all very trivial. I know it is, for I am trivial too. If I were not I should not be so impertinent; but what I wish to moralise about is that if it be true it is clear that the historian should see that his archæology is a really scientific archæology, and not slipshod and fantastic. Is there no need of the warning? Mine is assuredly no wolf's cry: there is no question more pressing.

When, some years ago, Dr. Guest wrote his lucubrations on the so-called Belgic ditches, the hill-forts, the dykes and ramparts of beautiful Dorsetshire, he took captive many people and some impulsive historians, and yet there are few works which are so absolutely wanting in inductive authority. What is the use of describing at great length the purpose and the date of certain green mounds which startle everyone by their obvious romance if we do not know anything more about them than their outlines and green covering? We may as well try to ascertain the solid beds which underlie a country by examining the potatoes and turnips which grow on its surface soil. The true inductive method was discovered and was carried out at great cost and with infinite patience and care by my old and very accomplished friends, Canon Greenwell and General Pitt-Rivers (a Durham Canon and a Dorsetshire soldier), the latter of whom, with his rival Mr. Mansell Pleydell, this county ought to be proud of, for they have done more for its actual culture and elevation in manifold ways, and done

more to illustrate its real history, it seems to me, than most people. I of course exclude Cerdic, who was a mythical personage; that glorified pirate Raleigh, and that sententious and most queer of learned people Sir Kenelm Digby, who poisoned his wife in his experimental efforts to make her beautiful for ever.

General Pitt-Rivers has always insisted that the spade is the true key with which to unlock the secrets of these mounds and dykes and ramparts. He has urged that by cutting through them we may ascertain their date; and that we can generally find in their various layers witnesses to their chronology. He has diligently applied this test, and now we are beginning to be in a position to really say when these several monuments were made, and consequently to read their story aright; but he has done more than this: he has taught us what a sacred trust a man has in his hands when he is permitted to dig into and explore a primitive monument, and thus to interfere with its integrity. He has taught us that we are, in fact, trustees for future generations.

We have no right to destroy historical evidence and to put our spade into these old monuments unless we most carefully and religiously record every fact, however apparently trivial, in regard to them, and thus prevent our children from suffering from our laxity. Not only ought we, however, to exercise the most conservative solicitude in digging over the ground, but we must also take care that we publish the results in fullest detail also; and this as soon as may be. "*Bis dat qui cito dat*" is an exemplary motto when we are dealing with evidence so easily lost.

Have we no lessons in Dorsetshire, and have we none in Wiltshire to hasten our pen when writing this homily? In this county you have, as you must know, some of the most important remains existing anywhere of the so-called Neolithic, or, as I prefer to call it, the Belgic, age, answering to the First Iron age of the Scandinavian antiquaries. Hill forts, which were apparently the strongholds of these early men, and which teem with remains especially interesting because they overlap with the earliest Roman remains, certifying to the fact that it was the Belgic culture which was put aside by the Roman, and

interesting further, since almost every object dating from this period has its own peculiar features. One of the most interesting of these hill-forts—Hod Hill—has been dug over by the ploughboy and his master, and the remains found were preserved in a fashion and are now in the British Museum; but almost the whole value of the discovery has been lost to science. We know virtually nothing of when and how the things were found; and they were apparently dug up with as little concern as if they had been potatoes in a field, and then piled together in the same heedless fashion. The Wiltshire Downs, again, with their manifold tumuli were dug over by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, and his harvest is now at Devizes, but they were dug over in a most perfunctory manner. He seems to have hated bones and the less showy articles, which are, in fact, the most important keys of the whole story. No doubt he was a pioneer and did his best, and did much better than many others; but how much better it would have been if the mounds on Salisbury Plains had in many cases been left alone until some “*Canonicus furibundus cognomine Greenwell*,” or some “*Centurio etiam furibundus cognomine Lane-Fox, Pitt Rivers aut Rivers Pitt, fratres incomparabiles*” had arisen who insist that we must measure and weigh and test every little circumstance, and publish it all in the minutest detail! We feel very angry when we contemplate the cruel work that was done by the old restorers of churches, and the old destroyers of cathedrals, of whom the greatest offender of all had the ill-luck to be successively Bishop of your own diocese and Bishop of Durham, and who left his ruthless handiwork in both dioceses; but we palliate and excuse the smaller criminals who have destroyed or mutilated our older and more fragile and less recorded monuments. May I again express the hope from this chair that those who have the custody of what remain will refuse to allow amateurs and people without the requisite training, knowledge, or resources to tamper with these invaluable documents—the very title deeds of our earliest history—just as they would forbid a quack or empiric to practise upon their children? While we are talking of archæology may I be permitted on this not unfitting occasion to do my humblest homage to the memory of my dear old friend and master

Augustus Franks, whom we have so recently lost? I have not known in my pilgrimage a man who combined so completely the unassuming modesty of a kind English gentleman with the never-failing stream of learning and of accurate knowledge of a great antiquary. I would we were more like him—we whom he taught so much of what we know!

Archæology is not the only handmaid of history which has revised its methods and which it is important we should use in a more critical way. Philology in its double capacity is another—first, as the direct index of relationship among peoples; and, secondly, as a guide to local topography. We now know that language, like art, changes continually, and changes, too, according to definite rules and principles; and if we are to compare words which have adopted different forms, we must see that the changes involved have been consistent with precise laws, and that it will not do to scramble to some hapless conclusion by seizing on casual resemblances or differences. We must do this especially in our inductions from local topography.

We know now that we must not attempt to jump at an etymology from the names we find on our maps, but we must trace them back to their earliest forms. Toad Lone, in my old borough of Rochdale, has nothing to do with either toads or sycophants, but is merely a corruption of Towd Lane—the old lane; as the Billy Ruffian of the sailor is a corruption of Bellerophon. Cateaton Street in London is not the street where sausages were once made, nor is Maiden Castle connected with the Lady of Shalot. Scientific etymology in the field of local nomenclature is a serious science, requiring long training and skill and patience; and the man who ventures into this field without due preparation ought to be treated as a kite or a jay is treated by a gamekeeper, and nailed to the historical lamp-post, if not with an iron staple, with a sufficiently crushing criticism. Isaac Taylor first held up the true lamp in these realms on this subject, and I know few worthier followers of him than my good friend Sir Herbert Maxwell, whose ancestor, King Maccus, would have been proud if he had thought that one of his descendants would combine the critical acumen of a

scholar with the reputation of a Leader of Fashion in the House of Commons.

We thus see that wherever we turn the processes of writing history have become more difficult, more precise, and more methodical, and that there is less and less room for the untrained, untaught, and unscholarly amateur. I feel that it required very considerable presumption and impertinence to put these harmless, abstract propositions into a concrete shape, and to point its moral by personal and particular references. No one but an unconventional and impertinent person with experiences of Mongolia, and by taste therefore, if not by descent, a Tartar, would have selected this quiet, respectable, dreamy, and very conservative county for airing such revolutionary theories, and stating these unpalatable truths; and no one but a man who had himself often offended against every canon which he now maintains would have dared to shoot his arrows about him heedless of the people—in this very room, may be—whom he is hitting. At all events, you will forgive me. The fact is, you must forgive me, for you will need me again. My kind friends, we have come from the four winds of heaven to encamp awhile in a very old corner of England. We are all delighted with its beautiful scenery, its lordly houses, its kind people, and the monuments that cover its many hills. We feel that it is a good epitome of the England which we love best; which Shakespeare and Tennyson loved best, and which attracts the American pilgrim to our shores—the England which contains some romance, some legend or interesting old relic, some tragedy or comedy in every cubic yard of its soil. We can almost fancy ourselves seated in the fierce sunshine on the grassy slopes of the amphitheatre close by while a British bear and a British bull were having a tussle in its arena in the days when Vespasian and Titus were destroying Jerusalem. We can almost fancy ourselves present when the West Saxons made Dorchester their first capital and their first see, and follow the long and diapered course of English history as reflected in the daily drama in its streets. It is our anxiety to know the best and the most accurate records available of all this romantic story, and much more, which makes us adopt

our Mongolian attitude towards the slipshod history and the archaeological charlatanry which some folk have mistaken for history in many a shameless volume. May we hope that when the Institute again visits Dorchester another long step will have been taken in the direction of our Ideal; and in the meantime may we be allowed to say our *Nunc Dimittis* with the hope in our hearts that Ceres and Abundantia will pour out and empty their sacks of all that is best and most lasting over the green fields and pleasant homes of this fair county of Dorset!

Let me finish in the words of your own kindly old bard Barnes:

“Come along an’ you shall vind
 That Do’set men don’ sheame their kind.
 Use ’em well, they’ll use you better;
 In good turns they won’t be debtor.
 They be zound, and they will stand
 By whed is right wi’ head an’ hand—
 Fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers.
 Happy, happy be their life!
 Vor Do’set dear
 Then gi’e oone cheer;
 D’ye hear?—oone cheer.”

THE REMAINS OF CARMELITE BUILDINGS UPON THE
SITE OF "YE MARYGOLD" AT TEMPLE BAR.

By F. G. HILTON PRICE, D.R.S.A.

In the years 1878 and 1879 extensive excavations were made at Temple Bar for the purpose of building the new bank of Messrs. Child & Co. Operations were commenced in the Spring of 1878 by pulling down No. 2, Fleet Street, and a row of houses known as Child's Place. These buildings were erected in 1787 upon the site of the famous "Devil Tavern," which premises having been purchased by Messrs. Child & Co. were then demolished in order to make room for the buildings which were pulled down in 1878.

I have already stated in another place, *i.e.* before the London and Middlesex Archæological Society,¹ that very extensive cellarage extended under the whole of the area of Child's Place, the majority of which were undoubtedly occupied as cellars by the various vintners who kept the "Devil Tavern," and in which Simon Wadlow of immortal memory kept his fine wines. Wadlow has been immortalised by Ben Jonson, who called him Sim, The King of Skinners. I may here remark that when these cellars were being cleared out previous to destruction, many old wine bottles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were found buried in the sawdust, but the most interesting find of all was the discovery of a sound bottle holding about a pint of a rosy-coloured fluid—perhaps port. The bottle, which belongs to the eighteenth century by its shape, is coated over with a splendid iridescence, and the cork of it is apparently quite sound. This specimen is, I am pleased to say, preserved in my collection.

This cellar had a very mediæval appearance. It was evidently much older than the "Devil Tavern," and gave one the impression that it was a crypt of some more

¹ *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 231-243.

ancient building long since demolished, and of which no history could be gleaned. A portion of this cellar had a pointed roof, which was supported by several large stone pillars. Some of these being quite sound were utilised by the architect, and worked in as supports to some of the new strong rooms of the bank. Three feet beneath the flooring of this old cellar a layer of encaustic tiles, having a green and yellow glaze, was discovered: unfortunately, none were preserved. At the further end, in a vaulted chamber, was a well. I remarked at the time "that it was highly probable that these cellars formed part of a building that existed on the site even before the days of the 'Devil Tavern,' and may have had some connection with the remains of arches which I propose to describe further on in this paper."²

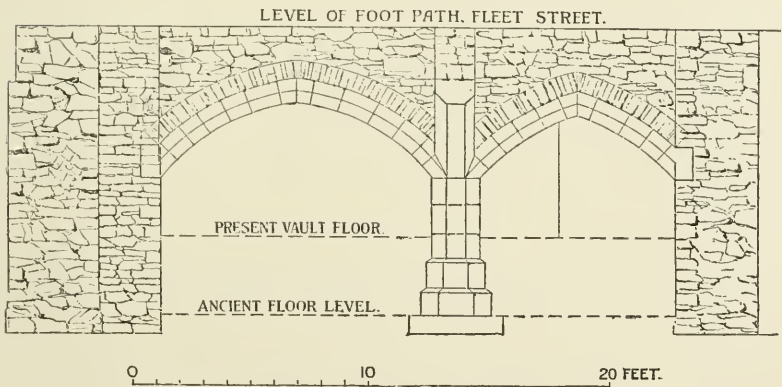
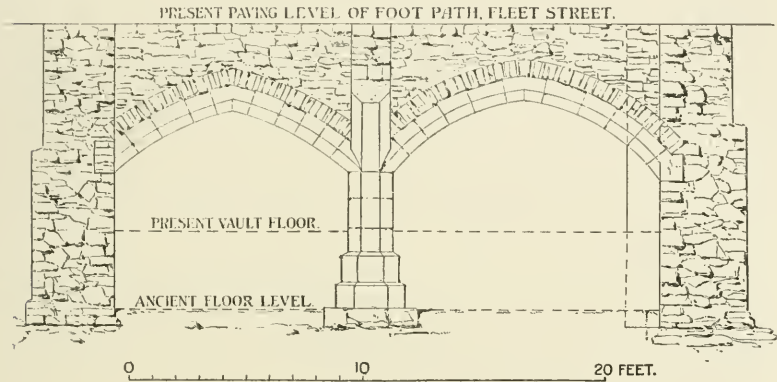
During the progress of excavation many cesspools were discovered containing a large quantity of sixteenth and seventeenth century tobacco pipes—a few of unusual length; many Bellarmine or Grey-beards, jugs of cream-coloured ware, having green glazed tops, belonging to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; also black glazed Tygs, stoneware pots of a variety of forms, ointment jars, &c. Many of the Bellarmine were plain; that is to say, without any bearded head, and were covered with a claret-coloured glaze. These may be assigned to the Fulham Pottery.

In making preparations for the new buildings, the workmen had recourse to underpinning the last house on the west side of Middle Temple Lane, which was then occupied by the under-porter of the Inn. In doing so they came upon a large quantity of human bones arranged in five regular rows. The labourers had to cut through this layer, with the result that they obtained more than a cartload of leg-bones (which were removed to Woking). The remainder of the skeletons they could not disturb, and they are still beneath the foundations of the house. I noted at the time that they laid north-east and south-west, and that nothing whatever was found with them.

The question arose, What could they have all been

¹ *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 231-243.

buried in one grave for, and in such a locality? It was undoubtedly an ancient interment, and probably belonged to a period when the Temple extended further westwards than it does at present. It was also surmised that this might have been the site of an early plague pit, which was unlikely, as that part of London was too much



VAULTED CELLARS UNDER MESSRS. CHILD'S BANK, FLEET STREET.

occupied for pits to be opened for that purpose—certainly as recently as the time of the last great plague year, 1665.

Beneath the bank itself, which was known by the sign of "Ye Marygold," were very extensive and ancient cellars, which from their massive structure and other circumstances were supposed to have belonged to a far earlier

building than the superstructure just demolished, which was not more than three centuries old.

Upon the removal of the superstructure, the builders cleared away all walls which were considered to be of more recent date, in order to develop the crypt-like arches which were found beneath the west side of Temple Bar, extending beneath the pavement and under the roadway.

They then exposed to view a large central pier composed of upper greensand (the firestone of Kent), with four arches of the same stone springing from it, two of which were east and west, and two, north and south. The ends of these arches rested upon an ancient wall composed of blocks of chalk, indicating the whole had formed a square chamber. It is much to be regretted that no measurements were taken. Architects who visited the excavations expressed their opinion that the roof of this crypt had been groined, that it must have carried a large building, and, further, that the date of the arches discovered must be of the thirteenth century.

A wall composed of blocks of chalk, varying in thickness from 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet, extended the whole length of the area from north to south, beginning near the street immediately beneath the wall of Temple Bar, which caused some of us to imagine at the time that this wall might possibly have some connection with the western boundary of the limits of the city. The thickness of this wall on the south was $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

A brick pavement formed the floor at the base of the pier; a few inches above which was a layer of cinders, then a narrow stratum of concrete, which extended over the whole of the area excavated. Three and a-half feet above this was a layer of flat bricks which composed the floor of the old cellars of the bank. A shallow well $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep was found under these arches, which yielded a few pots of fourteenth and fifteenth century date.

A copper cauldron or cooking-pot, standing upon three stout legs, was discovered under a portion of the chalk wall. This I showed at the time to the late Sir Wollaston Franks, who pronounced it to be a vessel of the time of King John, which coincided with the supposed date of the

chalk walls, and which we had already imagined belonged to the thirteenth century.

At the time of this discovery I made all sorts of enquiries in the libraries of the Inns of Court with a view of ascertaining whether any of them had any records of their property extending over this site, but without any results.

Upon consulting Stow's *Survey of London* it will be observed that the Temple had larger possessions in the reign of Edward II: it was then called the New Temple, and extended into the district then known as Ficquettes Croft, which comprised, according to *London Past and Present*, by H. B. Wheatley, based upon P. Cunningham, all that plot of ground, about ten acres in extent, from the Bell, *i.e.* Bell Yard at Temple Bar to Portugal Street, lying in the Parishes of St. Clement's Danes and St. Dunstan's in the West, including Carey Street and the courts behind, Old and New Boswell Court, Portugal Street, Cook's Court, Serle Street, and part of Lincoln's Inn, New Square down to Chancery Lane end of Carey Street, formerly called Jackanapes Lane. This field was also called the Templar's Field.

This description of Ficquette's Croft brings it down to Fleet Street, on the north side of Temple Bar, but it apparently did not extend across the street on the south side; therefore we were fairly puzzled to know what buildings these crypts and interments could possibly belong to, and we continued to be in the dark until this year, when I received an intimation from my friend Mr. W. F. Noble which threw considerable light upon this matter. He knew that I was greatly interested in the history of "The Marygold," in Fleet Street, and during his researches into the old documents at the Record Office he came across some interesting and valuable deeds relating to the history of the site of "Ye Marygold."

The first communication received from him was the following abstract from Roll 40, Common Pleas Deeds enrolled in Recovery Roll for Easter Term in the seventh year of James I. :—

"This Indenture made the 24th day of April in the seventh year of King James the first [1610] Between Anthony Attwood of Addington in the County of Kent, Gentleman and Margaret his wife of the one

part and John Wainwright, Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London of the other part Witnessing for the sum of Three hundred pounds (£300) paid by the said John Wainwright the said Anthony Attwood and Margaret his wife grant bargain and sell 'All that their house or tenement called the Marygolde with thapptenances with all Cellars, Sollers Shoppes yarges backsides lights wages passages easen^{ts} profyotts comodytyes emoluments &c' to the same belonging situate in the parish of St. Dunstons in the West in or nere flecte streate, London some tymes granted by Kinge Henry the eight to one Thomas Brooke and his heirs by Letters Patent dated at Westminster the 19th day of January in the 35th year of his reign and afterwards alyened from him the said Thomas Brooke to one Henry Leighe late of London, gent and to Isabell his wife. To have and to hold the same for ever and which premises are now in the tenure of Thomas Fretwell, Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London and were parcel of the possessions of the late dissolved Priory of Carmelite fryers in the suburbs of the City of London and sometimes in the tenure of Henrye Leighe and afterwards in the tenure of Robert Westwood and also the reversion &c."

Upon receipt of this interesting communication, which seemed at once to account for the existence of the crypts already mentioned, I wrote to Mr. Noble and begged him to give me further particulars of this valuable discovery, tracing the site of the premises back to a Carmelite Priory in 1241.

This request resulted in his writing me a most interesting paper which he entitled "Ye Marygold, or a History of No. 1 Fleet Street in the City of London," based upon the information he had found in the Public Record Office. Commencing with the foundation of the Carmelite Friars in 1241, he traces the descent of the ownership of the site and premises down to the present year 1897, a period of 656 years. Considering the interesting and valuable character of this paper I feel I cannot do better than read you *verbatim* the first part of it, as it seems to clear up all doubts concerning the ancient crypts discovered at the time when the old foundations were dug out for building the new banking premises, and may also account for the presence of the human skeletons found in Child's Place, beneath the house by Middle Temple Lane, in 1878:—

"The site of the premises known at one time as 'the Marygold,' and being No. 1 Fleet Street, and now (1897) part of the banking-house of Messrs. Child & Co., originally was parcel of the possessions of the White Friars,¹ or, the Friars¹ of our Lady of Mount Carmel,

¹ *Sic.*

called 'Fratres beatae Mariæ de Monte Carmeli,' first founded (saith John Bale) by Sir Ric. Gray, K^t. Ancestor to the Lord Gray of Codnor in the year 1241. King Edward I. gave to the Prior and Brethren of that House, a plot of ground in Fleet Street, whereupon to build their House; which was since re-edified or new builded, by Hugh Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, about the year 1350, the 24th of Edward iii." (Styrye's *Stow's Survey*, Vol. 1, p. 267.)

The Priory has handed down to us the name of Whitefriars Street, and it is but a short time since an ancient crypt was discovered in Britons Court, and which is said to have formed part of the buildings, and which changed hands by auction. It is not, however, the Alsatia I am writing the history of, but of one house only—now of considerable dimensions—known at one time as "The Marygold," and which site belonged to the Carmelite Friars, founded, as before said, in the year 1241.

From this date to the dissolution, the site of the premises formed part of its possessions. The first Ministers' Accounts I find in Her Majesty's Public Record Office is dated 31/2¹ Henry VIII, and under the heading "The Carmelite Friars"—

"And of xx^s of the farm of one tenement there in the tenure of Thomas Leigh, Esq., per annum payable at equal terms." (Roll 112, m. 57, P.R.O.).

I am of opinion this was the house on the site at that time, as it was in the tenure of the Leigh family. Other properties parcels of the possessions included "The Borys Hede" in Fleet Street, "The Bolt in Tonne," and "The Blake Swane."

It was not until the thirtieth of Henry VIII (1544) that particulars for grants were ordered to be made out for Thomas Broke. They are dated July 2nd. of that year; and among the considerable property granted afterwards I find [Section 2, P.R.O.]—

"And all that tenement or house with shops, cellars, solars and all and singular their appurtenances situate adjacent and existing in flete strete in the parish of St. Dunstan in the West in which John Onley lately inhabited and a piece of land of seven feet to the same tenement adjacent, demised to Henry Leigh or his assigns by indenture dated April 8th in the 25th Henry viii for 40 years payable at the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. iiiij^{li} (€4)."

By the following extract from the Auditor's (Thomas Mildemaie) Account, it is shown the then premises were fast going to decay, for he states in the same record—

“The teñt above valued at $iiij^l$ wherin Harry Leighe dwelleth in ys sore indecaye and almoste in Rewyn in backe and fore pte of the same.”

In the same year, 35 Henry VIII, and dated January 19th, although the particulars are dated July 2nd, Letters Patent were given at Westminster to Thomas Broke, to him and his heirs for ever, for the sum of £384 2s., conveying the same premises with many others, and rendering to the King yearly for the message in the tenure of Henry Leigh 8s. [Pat. Roll 731, Mem. 22 (17), P.R.O.]. However, the same year, 35 Henry VIII, for 53s. paid in the hanaper a licence to alienate was given for sale to Henry Leigh; and dated February the 18th [Pat. Roll 739, Mem. 22 (33), P.R.O.] of among other properties—

“Also all that message with all & singular rights, members and appurtenances and all and singular solars, cellars and houses, edifices &c. in St. Dunstan in the West in flete Strete now or late in the occupation of John Onley and all that piece of land in latitude seven feet to the same message or tenement in the parish of St. Dunstan in the West in flete Strete now or late in the tenure of Henry Leighe or his assigns. To hold to him and Isabelle his wife.”

In Hilary Term, in the same year, we find Henry Lee and others levying a fine for the purchase of other property in St. Dunstan in the West. (Feet of Fines, P.R.O.).

Other tenants of the premises, which appear to have been divided into three messages, were John Burde and Roger Mellie. The principal, or “Ye Marygold” proper—and that that was passed as that sign—no doubt was in the tenure of the owner Henry Leigh, for he is found assessed at 50s. on £50 value in St. Dunstan in the West in the fifth year of Elizabeth. (1563, P.R.O., Lay Subs., City of London, No. $\frac{145}{218}$).

The first mention found of “The Marygold” as a sign is in the inquisition taken at the Guildhall, in the City of London, on 7th July, in the tenth year of Queen Elizabeth (1568), after the death of Henry Leighe of London, gent., in which is recited various Letters Patent, including those to Thomas Broke. The premises are stated to be in the

tenure of Henry Leighe, John Burde, and Roger Mellie. When John Onley had it it seems to have had only one tenant, but divided after. The inquisition further recites—

"and which said message in the tenure of Henry Leighe is now called the Marigowld and a piece of land of seven feet in the same parish of St. Dunstan in the West and adjacent to the message in the tenure of Henry Leighe had by the licence of alienation to him and his wife Isabelle."

Henry Leighe probably named these premises "The Marygold." On the 6th April, in the same year, he made his will, and in that he devised to Alice, wife of Gerard Leigh—

"all that my dwellinge house in flete streat called the Marigould with appurtenances &c."

Gerard Leigh died October 13th, 1563, before his father. Alice Leigh devised the premises to Edward Leigh, the son and heir of Gerard Leigh, which continued in his possession until his death in the thirty-second year of Elizabeth. Two years after his death an inquisition was taken at the Guildhall, in the City of London, on June 10th, in the thirty-fourth year of the same reign, and wherein he is described as a gentleman, and the jurors found he was seised of other properties in the City of London, including "The Marygold."

"The Marygold" was valued at £7 per annum. Edward Leigh died June 12th, 1590, and soon after the estate was divided. Elizabeth and Alice, two of the daughters of Garrett (Gerard) Leigh, died in the lifetime of Edward and Margerie. It next descended to his sisters Susan, Margaret, and Anne, 1594-1608; from them to Robert Atwood, 1608-1610; from Robert Atwood to Anthony Atwood, 1617; from Anthony Atwood to John Waynwright, 1632; John Waynwright to his daughter, Joane Dixon, in marriage with Robert; and from them to Elizabeth Hampden, widow; from her it passed, in 1676, to John Land; in 1697 he devised it to the Minister and Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Dunstan in the West; in 1875 Messrs. Child & Co. purchased the freehold from the trustees.

I consider that I have now read you all the principal extracts from the paper relating to the property of the

Carmelite Friars. The remainder of it, which is most interesting and valuable, consists of important extracts from deeds and other documents which prove the descent of ownership of the site in question from the year 1241 to 1897 ; but as this portion does not immediately concern the subject of this communication, I shall not further dwell upon it.

In conclusion, I think if we weigh the evidence we have heard about the crypts or arches with the old encaustic tile pavements, that it is fairly proven that they belong to a monastic building which formed part of the Carmelite Priory which formerly stood upon this site, and that the human bones discovered beneath the old house were those of the poorer brethren of the Carmelite Friars, and that the three-legged copper cauldron may have been used by them for cooking their dinners.

AN ANCIENT BRITISH SETTLEMENT, CONSISTING OF
A DOUBLE ROW OF PITS ON DANBY NORTH MOOR,
YORKSHIRE.

By J. R. MORTIMER.

These lines of excavations are the most regular in size and arrangement of any I am acquainted with, and, reviewed as a whole, they seem to have a greater claim to be the remains of pit-dwellings than any other group which has come under my observation.

Nevertheless, the application of the pick and the shovel is the only reliable means likely to determine their original use.

The first published description of this and other neighbouring groups of pits is by Dr. Young, in 1817,¹ of which the following is an abstract :

“ These three clusters of pits have all the same form and appearance, but other three have been discovered in the district, differing from them very materially. The most singular is on Danby Moor, between Danby Beacon and Wapley. Here the pits are also round, but, instead of being scattered about irregularly, they are arranged in two parallel straight lines; and the earth dug out of the pits at their formation, instead of forming a border round each pit, has been taken to form a wall or fence on the outside of the lines, so that two walls run parallel to the two rows of pits throughout their whole length, inclosing the pits between them. The pits are not placed in the zigzag form, but opposite each other; and while the outer margin of each row is close to the vallum (*i.e.*, bank) on the outside of it, there is a vacant space between the rows. These double lines of cavities, with their enclosing walls, are not all in one spot, in the same continued lines, but are found partly on one side of a hollow or valley, with a stream running through it, and partly on the other. The stream runs from south to north, or rather from south-west to north-east; and the lines on both sides are nearly at right angles to it. Those on the east begin on the verge of the sloping bank on that side of the valley, and extend eastwards above 100 paces. In this range are 28 pits, 14 in each row. The breadth of the whole range is about 50 feet, including the walls on each side. The breadth of each pit is about 10 feet, which is nearly the distance between one pit and another. Beyond this range, 100 paces to the south-east, is the commencement of another, containing only 6 pits, 3 in each row,² yet

¹ Young's *History of Whithy*, Vol. II, p. 672.

² These are not shown on the Ordnance Survey.

having a wall on each side like the other. But the principal collection is on the west side, commencing at about 150 paces from the western edge of the valley, and extending westwards to a great distance. This collection, which is not exactly in a line with the first range, being a little south, is composed of two ranges: the one 130 paces in length, comprising 30 pits, 15 in each row; the other about 140 paces, containing 34 pits, 17 in each row. These two ranges are nearly in a line, an interval of 25 paces being left between them. They are a little broader than the first range, a wider space being left between the rows of pits, which are enclosed by the same kind of low earthen walls on the outside. There are no walls at the ends of any of the ranges, these being left open, apparently with a view to admit of additions. The most westerly range, which is also the largest, is distinguished by this peculiarity: that near the middle of the south row we find, instead of a pit, a circular space, 35 feet in diameter, enclosed by the low wall on this side, which here projects in a semicircle outwards, and another semicircle inwards, to form this circular space; the centre of which is, therefore, not in the line of the pits, but in the line of the wall."

Secondly, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1861, in an article on encampments and earthworks, this series of pits is also referred to, as under :

"The most interesting and instructive site (speaking of pit settlements) is that on the Danby Moors. For the following account of this remarkable spot I am partly indebted," says the writer, "to a MS. report of an investigation by a party of gentlemen 12 or 14 years since" (about 1846), "but not less to my own personal and repeated examinations. The site consists of a collection of pits. These pits are circular in form, and divided into separate groups; but every group is arranged in two parallel lines—pit over against pit; an arrangement which is deviated from, in one or both particulars, in other sites, both here and elsewhere.

"All of these excavations have been from 4 to 5 feet deep, as compared with the present surface of the surrounding moor; all of them paved at that depth with stone, and probably rough-walled with uncemented stone within as well, and from 10 to 12 feet in external diameter. (These measurements were obtained from the explorations made by the Whitby gentlemen previously referred to.)

"There are two principal groups:—One composed of two members, or streets, not in exactly the same straight line, and with an interval of 25 feet between their several terminations; the other which lies beyond a small stream, and on the verge of the slope towards it, is smaller in dimensions. It contains 30 or more pits. About 100 yards to the south of this is the supposed commencement of another. This contains six pits. Some, it is supposed, have become indiscernible through lapse of time and its effects. The one upon the further or western side of the stream is larger, and numbers 68 excavations in all—30 in one division and 38 in the other. This range is broader by some feet than the eastern group, which is 50 feet from side to side. That measurement includes the walls, formed of earth heaped over stones and fragments of rock, and each 2 to 3 yards thick, which

encloses the sides of each group of pits. In the larger sub-group of the western division, one of the excavations (see Fig. 1) in the south row is of much greater dimensions than any other in the assemblage, being not less than 35 feet in interior diameter; and on coming to it the enclosing wall, which, if continued, would pass through its centre, sweeps round it in a semicircle and then continues its rectilinear course. But the enclosure of the pit in question is completed by the addition of an interior semicircular wall. This interrupts the regularity of the 'street' in this case. In each of the other groups the street is perfectly straight and even. The ends of the rows or so-called 'streets' are open in every case; although in one instance the two pits at the end are placed nearer each other than the remaining ones, so as to contract the entrance to the interior. If all were placed end to end the total length would be from 1,200 to 1,300 feet."

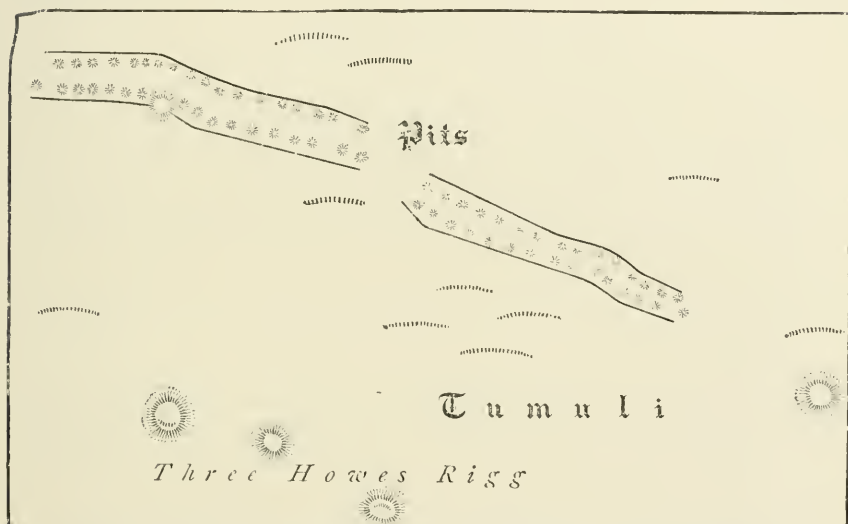


FIG. 1.—THE BRITISH SETTLEMENT ON DANBY NORTH MOOR FROM THE 25-INCH ORDNANCE MAP.

Thirty years later, Canon Atkinson, the writer of the previous article—after having, it may be supposed, obtained new facts and further information on the subject—like a true philosopher, changes his views, as in his *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*, published in 1891, he abandons entirely the pit-dwelling theory, and assigns almost every group of pits to mining operations, and at p. 175, in specially referring to the pits now under discussion, says:

“Even at the British village on our Danby North Moor, between the Beacon and Waupley—perhaps honoured with more pilgrimages

than any other on the list—the tale-telling map places a seam of ‘impure ironstone’ inconveniently close by. And yet this is the one, of all others, the circumstances and surroundings of which admit of most doubt as to their original intention or *raison d’être*. For they are not only not arranged in more or less quincunx order as the rest are (or have been), but they are in two parallel rows, and apparently with an intended outside bank or protection. They have never been properly examined, or indeed subjected to any process of exploration that would satisfy the merest tyro in such inquiries: for the recorded examination already referred to was, as a scientific examination, altogether delusive. True, the inevitable ‘bottom’ and the inevitable ‘charcoal’ were found, and the burnt stones, and so forth. But the full and convincing investigation remains to be made; and from my own personal experience on the spot, I am disposed to think that when true bottom is found, the British village theory will be disposed of for good.”

At p. 174 Canon Atkinson remarks:

“For my own part, if only the opportunity could be achieved, I should go in for an examination of any of those so-called British villages with very definitely preconceived opinions as to what should be looked for, and the way in which the looking for it should be conducted; and for one thing I should have no more doubt about finding horizontal operations than about the fact that the pits were there. If I did not find the ironstone it would be because it had been removed.”

This is strong faith, without the least attempt to verify it.

Being desirous of personally inspecting these pits, I took the train to Lealholm Station on August 28th, 1893, in company with Dr. Wood, of Driffield, and then walked to Danby North Moor.

Though we were supplied with a 6-inch Ordnance map, on which the pits were very distinctly shown, after traversing the moor in various directions, we were much disappointed in not being able to find them. On July 4th, 1894, in company with Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, and Mr. T. Boynton, of Bridlington Quay, I was more fortunate. We found these pits to be very uniform in size and arrangement, considering that they were much encroached upon and partially filled in by the growth of peat. From external appearances their age seemed uncertain. Though my two colleagues thought they might not date back more than two or three centuries, I am inclined to think that they are much older.

After our return, I informed Canon Atkinson of our visit, and expressed my surprise that some antiquary interested in those pits had not during the last twenty years attempted to settle their origin by carefully cleaning out two or three of them. I received the following reply :

“ The pits you refer to were dug into by and in the presence of a large body of wise men of Whitby, some fifty years ago, and a long report of the exploration of the pits, and of the adjacent howes, drawn up and presented to the then lord of the manor, and by his son, the Lord Downe, was handed over to me. I have it still, and I can say of it that it is *absolutely valueless*. Many years ago I did something towards an investigation, and soon convinced myself that these wisecrates had not reached the bottom, as they said they had. I proposed to Mr. Greenwell (as he was then) to come over and join me in a thorough examination of their nature. Circumstances at the time intervened to prevent the scheme, and I need not tell you, who have seen them with the water standing in them, that it is not every year, if any, that investigation is easy, or indeed possible. I chose a dry year : yet not more than three or four permitted deeper digging than $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet. When that depth was reached, water began to stand in them. I do not seem to think that they would have been very comfortable or healthy residences under such circumstances.”

Believing that nothing less than a further and careful application of the pick and the shovel in the hands of an experienced workman would give any certain clue to their age and purpose, and dispel these contradictory reports, I wrote a letter to Canon Atkinson on May 20th, 1895, an abstract of which I give below.

“ I have just read your account of the Danby North Moor group of pits, in your very interesting book (*Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*), and I have the same doubts as to their origin as you seem to express at p. 175. To endeavour to clear up this doubt it does seem to me most desirable that two or three of the Danby North Moor pits should be emptied by an experienced workman. I therefore beg you will excuse me taking the liberty of saying that, if you will kindly obtain permission to excavate, say two or three pits, I will undertake to send (supply) a competent workman, and pay all expenses.”

I was disappointed in receiving the following reply, dated May 25th, 1895 :

“ Dear Sir,—Viscount Downe absolutely prohibits any such tampering with the pits on Danby North Moor as that suggested in your letter to me, and desires that the manorial officers should be warned against any possible attempt of the kind. From my last

letter you would see that, so far as your project was intelligible to me, I am heartily at one with his lordship.

“Faithfully yours,
“J. C. ATKINSON.”

To this I answered :

“May 29th, 1895.

“Dear Sir,—I beg you to excuse the trouble I have given you in writing about the pits. I feel I must apologise for not making the matter more clear to you in my letter of the 20th inst. What I meant, and what I should have said, was, I would *take* a competent workman—not send one. Of course you would have had an opportunity of being present, and also Canon Greenwell, and any one you desired, to see the excavations. Perhaps I seemed to you to put too much reliance on ‘a competent workman,’ but no stranger to such work would be likely to distinguish the limits of the original pits; hence the probability that he would, unknowingly, break into the sides and bottom of the pits, and so their true size and shape would not be ascertained. No antiquary would wish to remain in the interior of the pits all the time the work was going on; therefore an experienced workman should be employed—of course under proficient supervision. Your knowledge of this kind of work for over forty years, and my experience (without any theory to support) for more than thirty years, should be something better than tampering with the pits. The next generation even may not be able to supply much longer experience than ours in this matter. Again apologising for the trouble I have given you,

“I remain,

“Yours truly,

“J. R. MORTIMER.”

After this refusal I thought that the next best thing would be to revisit and carefully examine the pits, in company with my friend, the Rev. E. M. Cole, F.G.S., of Wetwang, whose knowledge of earthworks in general is well known. On July 8th, 1896, Mr. Cole and I visited these pits, and the following is Mr. Cole’s opinion :

“On July 8th, 1896, I accompanied my friend, Mr. J. R. Mortimer, to make an inspection of the pits on Dandy North Moor. By an unaccountable order of Lord Downe, the owner of the manor, we were debarred from making any excavation, which is the only possible method of obtaining a correct result. Seeing that the pits in question are in an open moor, far from any human habitation, it seems absurd to suppose that any harm could be done by emptying a few of them of the sludge which in course of ages has collected in them, for the purely scientific purpose of trying to ascertain their origin. But I do not wish to blame His Lordship; I think he has been unwisely influenced, and would withdraw his opposition were the matter laid properly before him.

“The difficulty was to find the pits. From Danby Station you

must first find your way to Beacon Hill, N.E. This is easy enough. Then a mile away over ling and heather, N. by E., you must direct your course for three 'howes,' which stand on a ridge between two hollows on either side excavated by incipient streams. About a hundred yards to the north of the howes are the pits which are the subject of this memoir. They have been so correctly described by preceding authorities, narrated above by Mr. Mortimer, that little information is wanted here. My own opinion is all that is asked, but this is no easy matter to give. The pits were filled nearly to the top with a black-looking sludge, in which grew rushes. There was every indication of abundance of water; though the weather for a long time had been exceptionally dry. It seemed to me that if the pits had been emptied of sludge they would quickly have been filled with water. Under such conditions the idea of their having been habitable seems absurd. But when they were excavated might not the moor have been forest, and the climate different? Possibly, but the more forest the greater rainfall; so that does not help us.

"What is meant by being 'paved with stone' at the bottom? The geological formation shows a thin bed of Kellaways sand-rock resting on Cornbrash. The Cornbrash is limestone, and the only limestone available for a long distance. Could the limestone have been quarried for smelting purposes? But as the limestone comes nearer the surface, a few yards south of the howes, one would think that would have been the more suitable place for obtaining it. But the said limestone is also ferruginous, and has been worked in various places, though with little success, for iron. True, but the same remark applies as before: Why not have sought the ore where it comes to the surface? Still, it is an important fact to bear in mind, in considering the origin of the pits, that both iron and lime could be obtained there, and to my mind the probability that this is the true explanation is very great. It follows that the pits need not be very ancient. If something more fanciful is sought for, at all events let the habitation theory be discarded, and then consider the following brilliant suggestion now invented for the first time:

"As nothing but hoary antiquity will suit, imagine a body of ancient Britons with flint-tipped arrows and bronze daggers issuing from their wigwams which clothed the sides of Roseberry Topping, and making for the vast forest which covers the hills to the east and conceals amid its gloomy recesses the burial mounds of their more gifted chiefs. It is a hunting expedition. Their object is to capture the wild animals—deer or blue hares—which inhabit the forest, and so provide food for their little ones and pit-holds. For this purpose they have skilfully constructed a series of pitfalls extending across some rising ground from one slight valley to another, in the immediate neighbourhood of three recently-erected howes, and moreover concealed the approach by earthen banks on either side, so that when the affrighted animals leap the bank they shall fall unconsciously into, &c.

"If this fails to satisfy, I have nothing more to add."

My doubts as to the origin of these pits being still as strong as those of Mr. Cole, I decided to make, at the

first opportunity, a clandestine examination of them. Therefore, on July 19th, 1897, I, in company with an assistant, revisited these pits. This time I was supplied with a pointed steel rod, for the purpose of probing them, believing we should do no more harm to the heather-clad moor than would be done to a rick of hay by pricking it with the point of a needle. Though this proceeding was much less satisfactory than would have been the application of the pick and the shovel, we obtained results which, to a great extent, may be relied upon.

We probed and measured five pits situated in different places in the group with considerable care, and their close uniformity in size is shown by four having a depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet and the fifth of 4 feet. In each pit the probe (steel rod) reached the hard undisturbed rock at the bottom. To make allowance for the crumbling in of the edges of the pits, we took two opposite diameters of each pit, and in every instance by measuring from the edge of the pit where the probe reached the firm rock at a depth of 18 inches. From these points the diameters of the pits ranged from $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet to $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet.¹ This group of pits, consisting of two rows similarly arranged, is distinctly different from the single lines of small pits forming the groups on Allerston Moor, in the neighbourhood of Scamridge Dykes; and it differs from the group known as the "Killing Pits," on the north-west brow of Goathland Moor. Both these groups have been described by me in previous numbers of the *Archæological Journal* (Vol. LII, p. 266, and LIII, p. 144), also in the *Proceedings of the Yorkshire Geological and Polytechnic Society's Journal*, Vol. XIII, 1896.

Mr. Cole's pitfall theory seems at first sight a plausible one, but for such a purpose the wide opening or gateway shown crossing the Group No. 2, near the centre, presents a decided objection.

Neither is the situation near the foot of the sloping

¹ These measurements closely correspond with those given by Mr. Atkinson (as he then was), the writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1861, which I quote at p. 156. These are the measurements obtained during the ex-

cavations made by the Whitby gentlemen quoted, and then believed in by Mr. Atkinson in 1861, though afterwards he stigmatised these same as "wisecraces."

ridge well chosen, as the animals would have been much more readily forced into pitfalls situated in the hollow ground (small valleys) through which run little streams of water near the ends of the line of pits, as shown on the accompanying map (Fig. 2). Besides, the pits in the two lines should not have been planned diametrically opposite, as they really are, so as to give a clear passage straight between two pits in both lines. Moreover, the bank of earth—traces of which still remain—fencing the

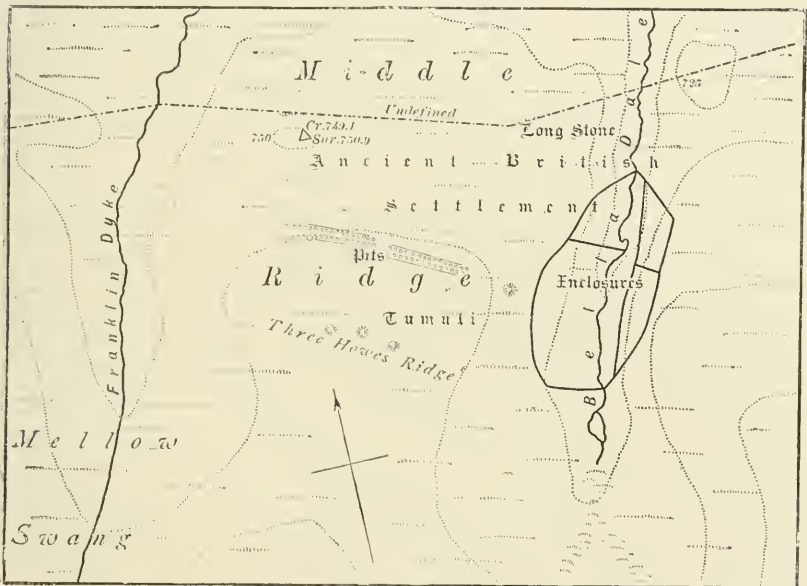


FIG 2.—THE BRITISH SETTLEMENT ON DANBY NORTH MOOR FROM THE 6-INCH ORDNANCE MAP.

pits on both sides is, I think, fatal to their having been constructed to drive wild animals into. On the other hand, their small and uniform depth, as well as their arrangement at regular distances one from another, in two parallel lines, would not have been adhered to had they been made to obtain minerals of any kind. Besides, there is no mineral worth excavating.

Therefore, if we must admit these objections against their suggested origin, for what purpose were they made? The old belief that they were pit dwellings Canon Atkinson

at one time very strongly supported;¹ and—as we must believe—from what he considered reliable evidence. However, it will have been observed that later he firmly opposed this view. His chief objection seems to have been that these pits are mostly in a swampy condition. Why did he not observe this during his early studies of these pits, and at the time he so ably pleaded their habitation purpose? Might it be because the pits were then less charged with slushy peat than now? This is very probable; and it is quite possible that, through some different surface conditions existing when the pits were dug, the peat had not even commenced to form, there being then nothing (as hinted at by Mr. Cole) to prevent the natural drainage of the sloping surface, which consequently might be firm and dry. In this case we must assume the growth of peat to have taken place afterwards. Such an instance is given by the Rev. H. H. Hutchinson in *Prehistoric Man and Beasts*, p. 26. He alludes to a bed of peat, 5 to 6 feet in thickness, that had accumulated over a pavement of small stones in the centre of a small circle at Moyness, in Nairnshire. Other instances of a similar kind could be given.² That these pits now hold surface water is mainly due to the growth of heather and peat, which in this case is probably of somewhat modern accumulation. Taking all the evidence into consideration, I am now—though in the absence of positive proof—strongly inclined to believe—at least, until further evidence is obtained—that this series of pits (unlike many others) was an assemblage of primitive habitations. The site is a well-chosen one, near the foot of a low ridge (Three Howes Rigg), between two small streams of water. The diameters of these pits are of convenient size for being roofed by placing round their edges branches of trees, leaning inwards and meeting at the top. Their depths also are just such as would enable an adult to tumble in and scramble out unaided by mechanical assistance.

Most probably their interiors would be lined by small twigs and dry grass, making them places of warmth in winter and cool retreats in summer—just such places as

¹ See his anonymous paper in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1861.

² Several occurrences are given in *Loch Etive*, by A. Smith.

would well serve a small community of primitive hunters living mainly in the open air.

That these pits were contemporaneous with the contiguous howes, and that under these barrows now rest the remains of the chiefs of this early settlement is not improbable.

The conclusion derived from the exploration made by what Canon Atkinson terms "the large body of wise men from Whitby" I believe to be the true one.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE ROSE, AND REMARKS
ON THE LILY.

By J. LEWIS ANDRÉ, F.S.A.

In the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. LII, pp. 207-221, will be found a short paper on the Rose, and as since that date I have met with some further particulars concerning the Queen of Flowers, I venture to place them before the members of the Institute, and to offer a few remarks on the Lily, a flower so often associated with the Rose, and of nearly equal interest.

THE ROSE.

It is generally supposed that the French word for Easter, *Paque*, was, like our term Paschal, confined to Easter-tide; but this is not exactly the case, as the expression was also used in France in connection with the other great festivals of Christmas, the Epiphany, the Ascension, and Whitsuntide. As regards the first-named, we find an illustration of this employment of the word *paque* in the *Memoirs of Marshal Bassompierre*, in which he tells us that in 1599 he arrived with a companion at Paris on Christmas-Eve, and made his "Pasques" that night in the chapel of Nôtre Dame de Lorette.¹ In a similar way Pentecost was termed the *Paques des Roses*, and Lacroix informs us that—"In many churches on that day, at the *Veni Sanctus Spiritus* in the Mass, a trumpet suddenly sounded to recall to mind the great noise in the midst of which the Holy Ghost descended on the Apostles; sometimes also, to add another feature to the scenic imitation of this mystery, tongues of fire fell from the vaulting, or rather, a shower of red rose leaves, and doves fluttered about the church."²

¹ *Memoires du Mareschal Bassompierre*, Vol. I, p. 39.

² *Vie Militaire et Religieuse*, pp. 258, 259.

France being pre-eminently the land of the rose, we find that it has been extensively used in religious ceremonies, and a fourteenth century representation of a Procession of the Host in Paris shows both priests and laymen crowned by chaplets of roses, or *chapels* as they were termed; whilst a pretty incident in the life of St. Louis of France is related, to the effect that he made his children to wear crowns of roses every Friday, in memory of the Crown of Thorns, which on that day was borne by the Saviour.¹

On the Continent garlands are still employed in church ceremonies, and Mr. S. George Mivart, describing the first High Mass of an Austrian Benedictine monk, says, "all the choir boys had garlands of flowers round the left arm, with flowers round the candles they carried, as marks of rejoicing."² Wreathed candles, similar to the above, were used formerly in England: "garlandis and pakthredde" for the torches upon Corpus Christi Day are mentioned in the churchwarden's accounts of St. Martin's Outwich, London, in the reign of Edward IV.

Roses are still used in the ceremonies connected with religion in the East, as, for instance, in the rites associated with the naming of a newly-born Cingalese, when a procession takes place in which a boy, with a gilt bowl full of rose petals, walks before the babe, whilst a priest scatters the leaves over the child, and prays that the parent may be as pure and lovely as the flowers.

In some French towns the cultivation of roses was not allowed to be exercised by everyone, but was a particular privilege. In Paris the *rosier de la Cour*, or Court rose-grower, and the makers of chaplets enjoyed this right, but were bound to present every year to the overseer of the highways three garlands of flowers on the Epiphany and a basket of roses at Ascensiontide, as a consideration for a supply of water."³

From the fourteenth century a custom prevailed in France by which it was required that when a lay peer had an action before the Parliament, he was expected to

¹ Madame de Renneville, *Coutumes Gauloises*, p. 166.

² *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, 1886, p. 385.

³ *Coutumes Gauloises*, p. 167.

present roses to the magistrates. The Duke d'Alençon, son of Henry II, submitted to this act of homage, and in 1586 Henry IV complied with the usage, but is said to have been the last to do so. Another observance required that when the Constable of France served the King at table, he should do so staff in hand, and wearing a chaplet of roses on his head.¹

Garlands were formerly so much used in France that the artificial florists were designated "chaplet makers in flowers," and during the middle ages rose-water was largely employed in French cookery. Lacroix gives a curious account of the manner in which it was prepared. Speaking of sauces, he says "perfumed waters were often added to them, such as rose-water, which was abundantly made by exposing to the sun a basin-full of water covered with another of glass, under which was placed a small vase to keep a certain quantity of rose petals from contact with the water."² Such is Lacroix's account; but as he, as usual, gives no reference as to the source from which he obtained his information, and from the scarcity of glass vessels in the middle ages, this use of glass basins seems to have been unlikely. Madame de Renneville gives the recipe for one of these perfumed sauces called *eau benit*, and says that it consisted of equal parts of rose-water and verjuice, with the addition of a little ginger and marjoram all boiled together.³ Rose-water was also mingled with ragouts, pastry, fruit, and different kinds of drinks.

In my former paper on the Rose reference was made to its use in Heraldry as a royal badge, and I may add that the adherents of the Yorkists were conspicuous for their display of the emblems of their party—the sun in his splendour, and the white rose. These badges occur on the collars of both sexes, as represented on monumental effigies and brasses. An example of the former is furnished by the recumbent statue of a Countess of Arundel, dated 1487, at Arundel, in which the lady is shown wearing an elaborate collar composed of circles enclosing suns and

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

² Lacroix, *Mœurs et Usages*, pp. 178, 179.

³ *Coutumes Gauloises*, p. 163.

roses connected by oak leaves, the badge of her family.

The brasses of Joan Colte, dated 1471, at Roydon, Essex, and that of Sir Anthony Gray, 1480, at St. Alban's, show this collar on the effigies. Besides appearing round the necks of ladies, the Yorkist cognizances appear to have been occasionally introduced into their head-dresses, an interesting instance of which may be noticed on the brass of Christiana Phelip, dated 1470, at Herne, Kent, where the cauls of the coiffure have in their meshes alternately a sun and a rose. Inscriptions on monuments also had their badges separating the words, as on the epitaph to Sir Humphrey Stanley, 1505, at Westminster Abbey.



CHRISTIANA PHELIP, 1470, HERNE, KENT.

The union of the Houses of York and Lancaster gave rise to a large number of symbolical devices in which the rose formed a prominent feature, and one of these conceits may be seen on a medal struck to commemorate the marriage of Henry VII in 1486, on one side of which are figured the bride and bridegroom, and on the other a wreath of roses encircling the words *Uxor Casta Est Rosa Suavis*.

In the next century Queen Elizabeth appears to have delighted in references to the rose, an example of which is furnished by a portrait shown at the Tudor Exhibition in 1890. In this picture there is represented a flower-vase out of which grow a red and white rose tree and a lily, across these being a scroll inscribed *Felicioꝛ Phœnice*, and below the emblems are the words *Rosa Electa*. A medal in the same collection was one commemorative of the assistance rendered by Elizabeth in 1585 to the United Provinces, and on which she appears seated,

holding a rose branch, and presenting roses to the deputies of these States.¹

THE LILY.

Although the rose is the Queen of Flowers, the lily possesses an importance only second to it, and its beauty, both in form and colour, caused it in very early times to be freely introduced into Poetry and Art. In the Old Testament are several poetical allusions to the lily, and its appearance on Jewish art is seen in the descriptions left us of Solomon's Temple, in which it is stated that Hiram of Tyre wrought the capitals of the porch pillars with lily-work, and also that he surrounded the molten sea with a brim bearing flowers of lilies.²

St. Clement, writing against the use of garlands of flowers by the Christians, mentions that the lily was the emblem of Juno, and among the early Romans it was also, though but rarely, considered one of the attributes of Venus. As such it appears on a silver basin of the fourth or fifth century figured in d'Agincourt: here Venus is seen at her toilet attended by two cupids; one of whom holds a mirror, the other a lily.³ Under the conventional form of the fleur-de-lis, this flower is found ornamenting Roman altars; and medals were stamped with it, besides being used in decorative paintings.

The lily was one of the flowers with which both Greeks and Romans adorned graves, and was extensively cultivated by the latter people, together with roses and violets. Virgil alludes to its use in decking the abodes of the dead, as he says that to the grave of Marcellus "hands full of lilies should be brought."⁴

Although occasionally introduced into artistic work by the early nations, it is only during the ages which have elapsed since the introduction of Christianity that the lily has taken a prominent place in both religious and secular art, and two reasons may be assigned for this prominence of the lily and of its conventional representa-

¹ Catalogue of the *Exhibition of the Royal House of Tudor*, 1890, p. 100.

² In the *Book of Judith*, Chap. X, v. 3, we read of that heroine that she adorned herself with various ornaments and "bracelets of lilies," which were sup-

posed by Grotius to be necklaces. See Calmet, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II, Lily.

³ *History of Art, Sculpture*, Pl. IX.

⁴ *Aeneid*, Book VI, v. 383.

tive the fleur-de-lis. The first reason is that this flower has been universally received as an emblem of purity; and the second, although of vastly less importance than the former, is that it was extensively used in heraldry, in which it often became employed in a sense quite apart from its original symbolic meaning.

From an early date the lily has been an emblematical flower jointly associated with our Lord and His Mother, as may be seen on a very ancient stone cross at Sancreed, Cornwall, where under the crucifix there is sculptured a lily-pot on the shaft of the cross. Of a similar character is a very curious example of later date at Kingswood, Wiltshire, where the monastic gatehouse has in its front a two-light window, the dividing mullion of which bears on its face a branch of lily, whilst the gable, in place of the more usual cross, has a crucifix. Another frequent suggestion of the union of Christ and St. Mary is produced by making the flower branch form the cross of the Saviour. This occurs in a mural painting on the south transept of Gadshill Church in the Isle of Wight, where a triple-branched lily of gigantic size supports the figure of the Redeemer. Other examples are furnished by stained glass at Oxford, in St. Michael's Church,¹ and by a sculptured panel on the tomb of one of the Erneley family at West Wittering, Sussex. This peculiar combination of the crucifix and lily forms a somewhat favourite emblem of many saints, of whom St. Anthony of Padua, St. Catharine of Sienna, and St. Theresa, may be cited as instances. A modification of the same idea occurs in the very common fleur-de-lis-ended cross, and is still more clearly expressed when the lily itself not only forms the terminations of the cross, but also sprouts from the stem, as on a thirteenth century slab at Elford, Staffordshire.² Sometimes, in figures of the Blessed Virgin and Child, the infant holds a cross and St. Mary a fleur-de-lis sceptre, as on the seal of St. Mary's Priory, Clerkenwell.³ On another seal, that of Thornton Abbey, the mother of Christ is seen crowned with the Holy Child in her lap,

¹ Engraved in Barr's *Anglican Calendar*, p. 60.

² Engraved in Cutt's *Manual of*

Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses, Pl. LIV.

³ Engraved in Cromwell's *History of Clerkenwell*, p. 186.

whilst she holds in one hand a cross, in the other a lily. At other times the fleur-de-lis and the monogram of our Lord—the I.H.S.—are shown alternately, as on the mutilated cornice of the Easter Sepulchre tomb at Harlington, Middlesex. In heraldry, this coupling of the emblems of our Lord and His Mother are very frequently met with, and will be noticed further on.

It is in representations of the Annunciation that the lily in connection with St. Mary is most commonly met with, and which is so well known that little need be said respecting it here. In early works St. Gabriel is seen, not with a lily branch, but with a fleur-de-lis sceptre, as he appears in the Salutation in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, and in a picture by Cimabue. Later he is presented to us with the lily, but not always so, as instances are met with in which he bears an olive or almond branch. Occasionally St. Mary holds the lily, as on the twelfth century tomb called that of Bishop Hedda, at Peterborough Cathedral, and in the stained glass at Brown's Bede House, at Stamford, in which she carries a three-branched lily in her right hand and a triple rose branch in her left.

When the lily-pot was introduced into this scene, it at first took the form of a simple vase; but in later works it became an elaborately wrought vessel, as on the screen at North Walsham, Norfolk, and on the Erneley tomb before mentioned; a feature very noticeable in Flemish and German religious art.

At Yatton, Somerset, the scroll with the Angelic Salutation "Ave," &c., winds round the lily.

Sometimes the Annunciation is enclosed in three separate panels, of which the central one is devoted to the lily-pot, as on a chest found in a cottage at Milton, Cambridgeshire, and of fourteenth century date. This triple division occurs also on the brass of Bishop Andreas at Posen, dated 1479, where the lily-pot forms the central upright band of the episcopal mitre, on one side of which kneels the Archangel, on the other St. Mary.

At Banwell, Somerset, the first story of the church tower has on its west face one of those blank windows so common in that county, and in the sinister light of which is a sculptured lily-pot, whilst the window is flanked by

niches still containing the full-length figures of the Angel and St. Mary.

Representations of the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin appear on English brasses. The oldest of the examples I know of is of late fifteenth century date from Cirencester, Gloucestershire, and is only a fragment showing St. Gabriel and the lily-pot. Next in point of antiquity is also a fragment from the same church, being part of the flower vase only. The brass of Anthony Hansart, dated 1517, at March, Cambridgeshire, exhibits the entire subject, and in it we see St. Mary as having risen from her seat of throne-like form, and fallen on her knees in astonishment at the appearance of the heavenly messenger: her dress is that of a fashionable lady of the period, and the lily vase, as usual, forms the central feature. Lastly is a very beautiful example of this subject from the brass of William Porter, warden of New College, Oxford, and Canon residentiary of Hereford Cathedral, in which church it is found; the date is 1524. Here, contrary to the usual practice, the Blessed Virgin is on the dexter side, of the picture. St. Gabriel wears the peculiar alb seen in some late examples, as in the Annunciation before noticed at North Walsham, the vestment being open at the side showing the bare legs of the angel. The Dove appears in the midst of divine rays, but the figure of the Father sending the Holy Ghost is wanting.¹

Often the lily-pot occurs as an emblem of the Virgin, as at Woodbridge St. Mary, Suffolk, where it fills a panel on the stem of the font, and at Erpyngham St. Mary, Norfolk, carved on the tower, whilst at Cowfold, Sussex, it is on the canopy above the site of an altar. It was worked on vestments, examples of which are mentioned in an inventory of church goods at Ely, dated 31 of Henry VIII, where it is stated that in Bishop Alcock's chapel there was "a single vestment of white damask imbroidrede with lily pots," and in the Ladye Chapel chamber "a vestment of old damaske with lily potts."² On a reliquary at Cologne, where the Presentation in the Temple is

¹ At Fovant, Wilts., is an oblong plate in memory of a rector of that church, George Rede, dated 1492, and with a representation of the Annunciation on a background powdered with

roses. See Oxford Architectural Soc. *Manual of Brasses*, p. 35, No. 105.

² *Gent. Magazine Library*, Vol. Ecclesiology, p. 157.

represented, a lily-pot standing on the Jewish altar is seen placed between St. Mary and St. Simeon. In modern days the inn sign of the flower-pot, occasionally met with, alludes to this emblem, and perhaps the more common sign of the fleur-de-lis may have reference to the Blessed Virgin. A vase, wreathed with lilies, is stated by Mr. Lecky to have been considered a symbol of the maternity of St. Mary,¹ and a lily among thorns was also a type of her. Blomefield mentions that in 1559 the Church of St. Martin's at the Plain, Norwich, had a velvet carpet for the altar presented to it by Lady Calthorpe. It was "adorned with roses and lilies and the holy name of Jesus," with the text "Sicut Liliū inter spinas, sic amica mea inter Filias."²

The universal association of the lily with the Blessed Virgin may be seen by a reference to Lady Shiel's *Life and Manners in Persia* (p. 37), in which she informs us that in Persia the tall white lily is to this day called "Goole Miriam," or "flower of Mary."

The conventional form of the lily, the fleur-de-lis, often encircles the crown represented on her image, as on brasses at Cobham, Kent, and Cowfold, Sussex, both of fifteenth century date; and at Sutton, Norfolk, the former position of her statue is indicated by a large fleur-de-lis terminating the label over the empty niche. Occasionally this emblem is prettily combined with the rose of St. Mary, as on the brass of Robert Langton, dated 1518, at Queen's College Chapel, Oxford, where the cope worn on the effigy is diapered with fleurs-de-lis, whilst the morse bears the rose in glory. At Dowdeswell, Gloucestershire, a brass of about the same date as the last named has a figure whose cope is ornamented in precisely the same manner.

The lily is the proper emblem of the archangel St. Gabriel; but when introduced at the death of St. Mary, he appears in mediæval representations of it with the palm branch of victory.

In ancient art St. Joseph always bears the lily as his emblem, and is never seen carrying the Holy Child when he appears apart from any group composing the Holy Family. The same flower is the special attribute of

¹ *History of Rationalism*, p. 234.

² *History of Norfolk*, Vol. IV, p. 371.

St. Dominic, and it occurs on the arms of his order of Friar Preachers. Cahier says that St. John the Baptist is reported to have been represented with this flower, but he admits that he is unacquainted with any instances of it.¹ The same writer gives a list of twenty-two saints who are portrayed with lilies in their hands, and relates some of the legends respecting the causes of their association with this flower; suffice it to say that the arms of the Republic of Florence appear to have been derived from the tradition that the patroness of that city, St. Reparata, appeared in the midst of a battle with a blood-red banner in her hand, charged with the device of a lily, which subsequently became the arms of that State.

St. Etheldreda; as seen in the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, bears a double-branched lily, which Cahier thinks may have reference to her celebrated dream of the branches springing from the staff she bore with her on her travels, or as an indication of her having founded two abbeys. The same writer states that SS. Anne and Joachim, the parents of St. Mary, have been pictured as facing each other, with a sprig proceeding from the mouth of each, and joining together to form a lily-crowned branch, from the blossom of which issues a bust of their daughter; thus forming a kind of genealogical tree similar to the well-known one of Jesse. He also informs us that SS. Julian and Basilissa hold a lily between them, having married but lived separate lives, or as single persons, and for a similar reason SS. Chrysanthus and Daria; SS. Elzear and Delphina, each hold a lily.²

The Romans symbolized the human soul under the form of an eagle, and in the middle ages it took the shape of a small sexless human being, or that of a dove; but St. Norbert is depicted as sending forth his spirit in the semblance of a lily.

Guillim, in his *Display of Heraldrie*, after describing the "Herbes Nutritive," whose forms appear in the science of the herald, turns to the consideration of herbs *coronare*, as he terms them, and which he tells us derived this appellation from being used in crowns and garlands. After a long list of these plants, he states that "Of all

¹ Cahier, *Characteristiques des Saints*, Vol. II, p. 546.

² *Ibid*, p. 517.

other, the Flower de lis is of most esteeme, having beene from the first *Bearing*, the *Charge* of a *Regall Escocheon*, originally borne by the *French Kings*, though tract of time hath made the *Bearing* of them more *vulgar*.”¹ Planché states that, next to the origin of heraldry itself, perhaps nothing connected with it has given rise to such controversy as the origin of this celebrated charge.”² Much of the disputation noticed by the above writer has arisen from the presence of the fleur-de-lis in the French arms as noticed by Guillim. Mr. Boutell, speaking on the matter, says that the figure was considered the emblem of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and thinks “there can be little doubt that the Kings of France, from Clovis downwards, bore a field covered with golden lilies, and that Charles V. reduced the number to three, either to symbolize the three different races of the Kings of France, or the Blessed Trinity.”³ Whatever may have been the origin of the fleur-de-lis in the arms of France, it is almost impossible to over-estimate the influence which this charge has exercised in heraldry; and, as Planché remarks, “The flower adopted by the mighty sovereigns of France as their family ensign, cognizance, or device became differently tinctured, the armorial coat of numbers, who could claim connection with, or owed fealty to, them.”⁴ The coat was assumed by some religious orders which took their rise in France, among them being the far-famed, and still vigorous, order of Cîteaux, founded in 1075; that of the Norbertines, or Premonstratensians, created in 1120; and that of the Maturins, or Trinitarians, established in 1198. Each of these religious bodies assumed the arms of the French nation, with variations in the charges. In a similar manner many saints connected with the royal house of France have been represented in art with their habits, or priestly vestments *fleur de lisée* or *semée de lis*; such are St. Louis the King, and St. Louis, Bishop of Toulouse, his nephew. The latter is a conspicuous example as he appears in a painting by Cosemo Roselli, a work in which the Bishop is seen in a blue cope with golden fleur-de-lis

¹ *Display of Heraldry*, p. 152.

² *Pursuivant of Arms*, p. 100.

³ Boutell's *Heraldry*, pp. 148, 149.

⁴ *Pursuivant of Arms*, p. 102.

powdered over it. Other French saints were distinguished in like manner, as SS. Isburga, Mauront, and Requier.

Planché implies that the French arms furnished the motive for the introduction of the fleur-de-lis in English armoury, and says that "Whatever may have been its derivation, its appearance in English coat-armour is early and frequent, as may be expected when we remember the land from whence issued so many followers of the Norman William." No doubt the presence of fleur-de-lis in many English arms may be thus accounted for; but in late times—in one case at least—it appears to have been a charge awarded the bearer of a coat for valour displayed against the French, as Sir Cloudesly Shovel was granted a fleur-de-lis in his arms for his prowess in a victorious battle with that nation.

The quartering of the French arms with those of England originally showed them *France ancient*; and when the lilies were reduced to three, we followed the example set us, and retained the arms France modern until 1801. Shakespeare refers to this quarter of the English coat in Henry VI, in which play a messenger reporting the English losses says—

"Cropped are the fleur-de-luces in your arms,
Of England's coat, one half is cut away."

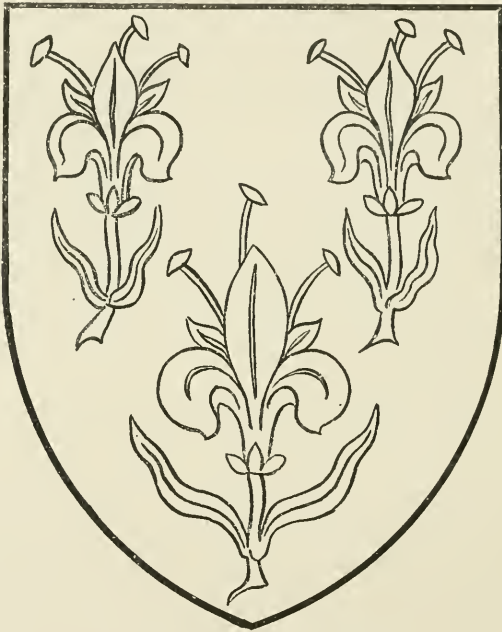
Act I, Part I, Sc. 1.

But however much we may have been indebted to the French for the use of the fleur-de-lis in English Heraldry, the charge must have been often assumed in honour of our Lord and His Mother, as when we find it combined with the cross, of which an instance is furnished by the arms or Neave, which consist of a cross charged with five fleurs-de-lis and the crest of a lily. Another example occurs in the Bankes coat, which has a cross between four fleurs-de-lis.

The royal crowns of England exemplify the union of the cross and lily very clearly, and these emblems, I believe, are first to be noticed on the diadem of King Henry VI, and they have encircled the crowns of our monarchs from the time of that King until the present day. On the revival of the monarchy under Charles II,

¹ *Pursuivant of Arms*, p. 102.

a warrant was issued by him directing that the heir apparent, and other sons of the reigning monarch, as well as the King himself, should wear crowns with crosses and fleurs-de-lis composing the borders. Boutell informs us that the coronets of "the princesses, the daughters of Her Majesty," the present Queen, "are formed of a circle of gold, surrounded with four fleurs-de-lis and four crosses pattées," and that the coronets of Princes and Princesses, the grandsons and granddaughters of the



ARMS OF WINCHESTER COLLEGE.

Sovereign, have the circle of gold heightened by two crosses pattées, four fleurs-de-lis, and two strawberry leaves."¹ So that by the above we perceive that the further from the throne the fewer are the above emblems surrounding princely diadems. A circlet of fleurs-de-lis is seen on the crest of Sir John Harpedon on his brass, dated 1437, at Westminster Abbey, and in the same edifice on the coronet of the effigy of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, who died in 1509.

¹ Boutell's *Heraldry*, p. 266.

The lily itself enters into the composition of many English coats-of-arms, especially in those of religious and collegiate bodies, as in the coats assumed by the Abbeys of Barking, Essex, and Cerne, Dorset ; also in one of those borne by Walsingham Priory. The Colleges of Eton, Winchester, and of Corpus Christi, or Benet's College, Cambridge, show the lily as an armorial bearing. Respecting the last example, Blomefield relates an interesting incident connected with Parker, Archbishop



DEVICE OF THE ORDER OF SERVITES.

of Canterbury, whom he states to have had these arms in a book. They are Quarterly of four, I. and IV. a pelican, II. and III. three lilies ; and underneath this scutcheon the Prelate wrote—

Signat avis Christum qui sanguine pascit alumnos,
Lilia virgo parens intemerata refert.¹

The mediæval letter **ſt** was often ornamented with a lily-pot, having the branches of the flower running up

¹ *History of Norfolk*, Vol. III, p. 317n.

the centre bar of the letter and turning down the sides of it, as may be seen in a beautiful example engraved in Miss Twining's work on symbolism. A triple-branched lily formed into the same letter, as the monogram of St. Mary, was the device of the Order of Servites, founded in 1233.

Three Orders of the Lily testify to the popularity of this flower as a badge of knighthood, the eldest of these being that of the Lily of Navarre, which was instituted about the year 1043 by Garcias IV, King of that State, the badge of the Order being a lily embroidered upon the breast. Next came the Order of the Lily of Arragon, created in 1410 by Ferdinand of Castile, and its collar was composed of lilies and griffins. Lastly, there arose the Italian Order of the Lily, founded in 1546 by Pope Paul III, the badge of which was a golden medal bearing a lily in silver. It took its origin in the City of Viterbo, and a seal matrix of the Order is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, where it forms one of the objects in Dr. Robinson's collection of Italian seals.

The lily was the badge of Bishop Wainfleet of Winchester, who also bore three lilies in chief on his arms. Besides being a well known Tudor cognizance, the fleur-de-lis was also that of the Stuart Kings—James I and Charles I.

Like most objects of fourteenth century art, the fleur-de-lis of that period is often of very graceful outline, as



FLEUR-DE-LYS.

may be seen on the brass of Sir John Giffard, about 1348 in date, at Bower's Giffard, Essex; but even previous to this the form had occasionally acquired a kind of angular stiffness as exhibited on the brass of Nicholas de Gore *circa* 1320, at Woodchurch, Kent, as here shown, though it was reserved to the eighteenth century to produce the most debased specimens. The arms of Florence, and the badge of the Order of Servites show how, in Italian art, the form of the lily itself could be so altered as to be almost unrecognisable, whilst in some instances the fleur-de-lis

is formed of three lilies combined. Besides being frequently found as the ornament of encaustic tiles the fleur-de-lis formed the finials of bench-ends, and the terminations of door hinges, whilst its outline may be traced in flamboyant panel work, and even in the tracery of some foreign windows.

Jewellery was often made to take the form of a fleur-de-lis, instances of which may be seen in the will of Isabel Fleming, proved in 1544, in which she bequeaths to one



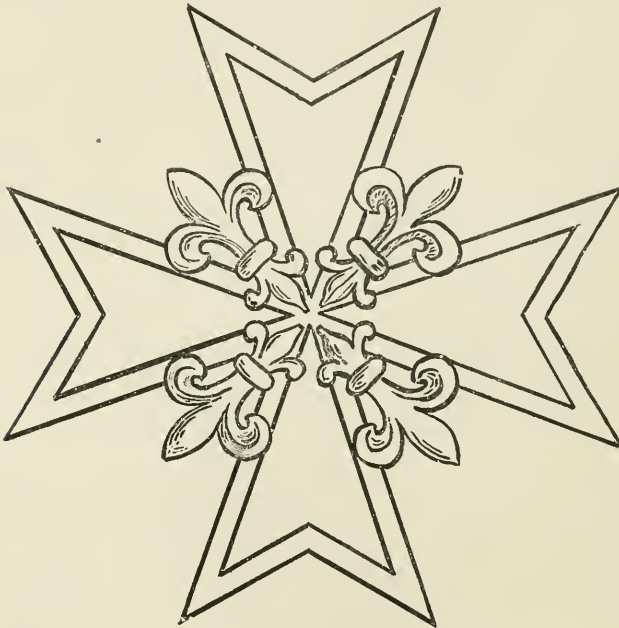
ARMS OF FLORENCE.

Millicent Harman her “brooche of goulde made like a castell with a floure de luce of Emerawds,” and to another person leaves her ring with a “flower de luce of rubes.”¹ At St. John Lateran, Rome, there are reliquaries in the forms of two busts containing the heads of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul: they are each ornamented with a large fleur-de-lis covered with precious stones, and were the gift of Pope Urban V, who occupied the papal throne from 1362–1372.

¹ *Surrey Archæological Collections*, Vol. VII, pp. 252 and 254.

Du Boy informs us that Henry VIII had a splendid fleur-de-lis of diamonds, which once belonged to the house of Burgundy, and which Philip the Handsome, the father of Charles V, had pledged to the English monarch for the sum of fifty thousand crowns; and the writer further states that Henry sent this jewel back to Francis I, and forgave the debt as a bribe to gain his favour in the divorce of Queen Katherine.¹

Finally, it may be observed that the Lily, like the Rose, was formerly much esteemed in medicine; and in the plan



BADGE FROM A PORTRAIT BY REUBENS.

of the physic garden attached to the celebrated monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland, there appears a bed devoted entirely to the cultivation of the white lily. Distilled lily water is mentioned in the *Dictionnaire portatif de Santé*, published at Paris in 1783, and also the lily root, which is still a rustic remedy in some complaints. Moreover, the petals of the flower, preserved in brandy, are a favourite cure for bruises and scalds in Sussex, and I have heard that the lily is still, though rarely, employed in diseases of the heart.

¹ See Du Boy, *Life of Catharine of Arragon*, Vol. II, p. 139.

MORE PICTURE BOARD DUMMIES.

By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A., Chancellor of Carlisle.

In May, 1890, I had the honour of laying before the Institute an account of two Picture Board Dummies, or life-sized figures of Grenadiers, the property of the County Hotel Company, Carlisle.¹ On December 5th, 1894, I had the further honour of laying before the Institute an account of several Picture Board Dummies of various kinds—soldiers, sweeping housemaids, lads and lasses, grotesques, and the like.² Owing possibly to these two papers—though I hardly venture to so far flatter myself—a boom has taken place in Picture Board Dummies: their value has gone up: the County Hotel Company at Carlisle have put their interesting Grenadiers under glass: the curiosity shops exhibit Picture Board Dummies in their windows; and the manufacture of them has been resumed. Sir Henry Dryden, who has taken great interest in this subject, tells me that he has been informed by Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A., that “a good many of these board figures of less than life-size have been made from commonplace Dutch paintings on panel, cut to the outline, and put on a stand, as they fetched more that way than in their original state.” Mr. Sephton, the artist, tells me that a Dutch figure of a child in the National Gallery has recently been painted on canvas several times, for the purpose of being cut out and glued to a board. Not very long ago I saw a pair of Picture Board Dummies (Dutch boy and girl) in a curiosity shop, and went in to look at them. On looking at their back, I noticed that they were painted on mahogany, and were evidently quite new. On pointing this out to the dealer, he at once replied, “Oh, yes; I bought them in Holland, and had to wait while they were being finished.” Furthermore, Mr. Andrew Lang

¹ Printed in the *Journal*, Vol. XLVII,
321.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. LII, p. 1.

has written a leaderette upon them in the *Daily News* of September 13th, 1895.

And, first of all, I would like to deal with the remarkable herd of dummies at Dorchester, of which a couple were suspended in the room in the Town Hall, in which Lieutenant-General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S., F.S.A., delivered his presidential address: another couple or so adorned the staircase, and others slumbered in the municipal cellar. Several of our members called my attention to them and asked what they were: that is my excuse for bringing their history, such as it is, before you to-day. For this I am indebted to Mr. Moule, to whom so much of the success of our visit to Dorset was due. These figures are life-size, or larger, clad in armour with surcoats over it; each has his hand resting on a large shield with armorial bearings thereon. Beneath the feet of each is a sham bracket, slightly projecting. They were made and painted some thirty years ago by a local coachbuilder, on the occasion of a visit to Dorchester of the Bath and West of England Agricultural Society. They were suspended from Venetian masts, and formed part of the decorations of the streets. The shields seemed to have been intended to bear the armorial insignia of the chief county families. These figures are not feather-edged from the back to the front, as is usual with the older and genuine Dummies (see my previous papers).

I am indebted to Mr. Moule for information as to a pair of most interesting Picture Board Dummies, which were formerly in his charge in the Dorset Museum. They are painted on boards (no canvas) of Red Baltic deal; are feather-edged from the back to the front, and formerly belonged to the old Dorset family of the Trenchards of Wolveton, near Dorchester. They are now the property of Sir E. R. P. Edgcumbe. They represent a boy and a girl: the girl wears the "Fontange" headdress, thus fixing the date as 1694-1699, or, if the figure is English work, a little later—Queen Anne, 1702 to 1714. She has long sleeves, richly laced, an apron apparently of black silk, and carries a little dog under her left arm. Her companion wears a plumed hat, a large lace cravat, a loose coat down to his knees, and long stockings, shoes and buckles. Not having been able to see the originals, I

have no information as to the colours of the dresses of this pretty couple. I am indebted to Sir E. R. P. Edgcumbe for permission to have these dummies photographed, and to Mr. Moule for calling my attention to them. The boy is 3 feet 4½ inches high and the girl 3 feet 7½ inches: they are very well painted. These Dummies are represented on the accompanying Plate.

Our member, Miss Frere, informs me of a Sweeping Housemaid Dummy at Tregehan, Par, Cornwall. The figure is in the attitude of listening, and may represent a lady, who has disguised herself in order to overhear the plans of some conspirators, as in the legend told about the Dummy at Folkington, near Polegate, Sussex.¹

Sir Henry Dryden informs me of a maid [a sweeping housemaid?], the property of Morgan Williams, Esq., of Aberpergwn, Glamorgan.

I also exhibit a photograph, showing the two Picture Board Dummies at Powderham Castle, Devonshire, which I described in 1894.² The photograph is marked copyright, and cannot therefore be reproduced. The costumes of the figures are of the time of George II.

The "Shakspeare Lodge, Spilsby, 426," possess two Dummies representing Grenadiers; a sketch of one of these is here reproduced; but there is not sufficient detail to show what regiment is intended to be represented. A paper upon these Dummies and upon other furniture of the Lodge was read in London at a meeting of the Lodge "Quatuor Coronati." I do not know whether this paper is published, but no history is attached to these Dummies, except that they were purchased when the Lodge was founded. The Secretary of the



DUMMY GRENADIER. SPILSBY.

¹ See the *Journal*, Vol. LII, pp. 9 and 10.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 18 and 19.

Lodge informs me that a friend of his has a Picture Board Dummy representing a girl with an apple in her hand and a dog running at her side.

There are four Picture Board Dummies at Raby Castle. Two of these represent Grenadiers, but the figures are so dark that they photograph badly, and the details are difficult to make out. One, if not both, of them belong to the 23rd Fusiliers; they are of the time of George II.

Of the other two Dummies at Raby, one represents a peasant woman with a basket of eggs; the other, a man with slouch hat, long coat, and knee breeches and stockings; he carries a goose, and probably represents one of the Irish jobbers who every autumn bring over Irish bred geese for sale to the farmers to fatten on their stubbles against Christmas.

The late Major Brown, of Callaly Castle, Northumberland, possessed a very charming Picture Board Dummy, representing a partridge plump little Dutch girl, holding a parrot in her left hand. For information about these last five dummies I am indebted to Mr. Blair, F.S.A., one of the Secretaries of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.



PICTURE BOARD DUMMIES,
FORMERLY IN THE DORCHESTER MUSEUM.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 6th, 1898.

E. GREEN, F.S.A., Hon. Director, in the Chair.

MR. MILL STEPHENSON exhibited rubbings of incised stones from the churches of Madron, Ludgvan, and St. Buryan, Cornwall. These slabs of black slate are peculiar to the county and are of local manufacture; the figures are in slight relief, with the inscriptions and epitaphs incised. They are all of the seventeenth century.

MR. TALFOURD ELY, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on "The Antiquities of Hayling Island." In 1045 the manor was granted to the church and monks of Winchester; but William the Conqueror gave the greater part of Hayling to the Abbey of Jumièges. In the reign of Henry III a priory was built, but on the suppression of alien priories by Henry V it was bestowed on his new foundation of Carthusians at Shene. Henry VIII granted the priory to the college of Arundel. Before the building of the priory there was a church in Hayling, but it was swallowed up by the sea in Edwardian days. The older font in South Hayling Church may have belonged to this earlier edifice. The later church dates from the thirteenth century, and contains many curious features. North Hayling Church is perhaps more ancient. Near it is the oldest house in the island. The manor house dates only from 1777, but stands on the site of an older building, to which belonged the moat, the square well, and the manorial dovecote. Close by is the old tithe barn, 140 feet long by 40 feet broad, said to be "capable of holding upwards of 150 loads of sheaf wheat." Its stone basement is said to date from the fourteenth century. In 1293 we hear of the prior holding a "watermill worth by the year sixty shillings." This was no doubt represented by the tidal mill, some of the charred timbers of which are still standing. Tourner Bury is an almost circular space surrounded by an earthen rampart and fosse, and is of British origin. In "the Towncil Field," not far from North Hayling Church, are the foundations of a large building, near which much pottery has been found, and also coins ranging from a middle brass of Augustus to a British imitation of a coin of Postumus. During an experimental excavation of this site, Mr. Ely discovered, in a trench 21 feet long, over fifty *tesserae*, which had obviously formed part of a mosaic pavement. This established the Roman origin of the remains. The paper was illustrated by the above-mentioned coins, several sketches, photographs, and specimens of pottery from the site in question.

Chancellor FERGUSON, F.S.A., contributed a paper entitled "More Picture Board Dummies."¹ Those in the Town Hall, Dorchester, were first noticed. These figures are life-size, clad in armour, each having his hand resting on a large shield with armorial bearings thereon, and were made some thirty years ago as a decoration of the town on the occasion of a local festival. He also gave descriptions of two dummies in the possession of Sir E. R. P. Edgecombe, representing a boy and girl; also of a little Dutch girl, the property of Major Brown, of Callaly Castle, Northumberland. Perhaps the most interesting of the series were four from Raby Castle. Two of these are grenadiers, one a peasant woman with a basket of eggs, and the other a man carrying a goose. Of the first two Chancellor Ferguson brought detailed evidence to show that they represent Royal Welsh Fusiliers of the time of George II. Photographs and drawings of the various dummies described were exhibited. This paper is printed at p. 183.

May 4th, 1898.

JUDGE BAYLIS, Q.C., M.A., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. ANDREW OLIVER exhibited and described a number of rubbings of monumental brasses from the churches of Whaddon, Dauntsey, and Broughton Gifford, Wiltshire, and Childrey, Berkshire.

Professor BOYD DAWKINS, F.R.S., F.S.A., read a paper on "The Excavations made in Hod Camp, near Blandford, in 1897." This fortress of Hod Hill forms one of a series of strongholds on the river Stour to guard the country to the east from attack from the direction of the low-lying valley of Blackmore. Hod Hill 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 the west, facing the river, which itself forms the second fosse. It is roughly rectangular in form, with rounded angles. There is also an inner camp, in the north-east angle of the Hod Camp, known locally as Lydsbury Rings, and this is fortified entirely on a different principle from that of the outer. Professor Boyd Dawkins assigned this inner camp to the work of the Roman engineer, whereas the outer stronghold belongs to the time immediately before the Roman conquest, or, in other words, to a late period in the prehistoric Iron Age. The interior of both fortresses contained unmistakable traces of occupation in circular pits, and, in the outer fortresses, in circular enclosures. The pits in the outer fortress, sunk from three to six feet in the chalk, are the bases of old habitations more or less filled with refuse, and had flat bottoms. The refuse belongs to two different periods—that at the base to the prehistoric Iron Age—and contained rough and coarse pottery with bones of domestic animals. The weights of the loom pointed in the direction of weaving. In some were fragments of human bones, and in one a perfect skeleton was discovered, proving that the body had been interred resting on its side in a

¹ See the *Journal*, Vol. LII, p. 1, for Chancellor Ferguson's previous paper.

crouching posture, a mode of burial prevalent in Britain from the Neolithic Age. In the upper stratum unmistakable proof of Roman influence was to be seen in the fragments of Roman pottery, including Samian ware, iron fibulae, and oyster-shells. The exploration of the pits within the Roman fortress revealed the date of this occupation. Roman remains of various kinds were met with. Among the coins were one of Augustus struck in the reign of Tiberius and one of Caligula. With the exception of one coin of Trajan, the whole series belong to an early period in the Roman conquest or immediately before. It may, therefore, be inferred that the military occupation was not continued far into the second century after Christ.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

WREKIN SKETCHES. By EMMA BOORE. London, 1897. Elliot Stock. pp. x, 306.

The proud Salopians consider their well known hill, the Wrekin, to be the hub or centre of the earth, and that the toast, popular in Shropshire, of "All friends round the Wrekin" includes Salopians all over the world. Hence we need hardly be surprised to find that under the title of *Wrekin Sketches* Miss Boore includes in her indexless book a collection of essays and notes upon subjects, which range from the village of Uppington under the Wrekin to Iona and Lindisfarne, while the Druids, the Empress Helena, Queen Boadicea, old King Coel, and the Phœnicians meander through her pages. There is a very interesting and valuable chapter on Uppington Church illustrated with two pictures, one of "Uppington Church before it was restored, 1885," the other of "Present Church, Uppington." These present a most useful object-lesson—an example of a thorough and drastic restoration, much reprobated by our authoress. Beyond this the book is of little value to archaeologists: the writer puts together a variety of unarranged information, mostly from sources easy to be got at, and does not supply an index. It is nowhere so stated, but the book gives one the idea that it has been passed, in snippets, through the columns of a weekly county paper.

ECCLESIASTICAL VESTMENTS, THEIR DEVELOPMENT AND HISTORY. By R. A. S. MACALISTER, M.A. London. Elliot Stock.

It is evident that Mr. Macalister has been drawn to the study of ecclesiastical vestments by the interest of the subject, and his book shows that he has worked industriously amongst the more easily accessible authorities. The last English book on the subject of any importance is Mr. Wharton Marriott's *Vestiarium Christianum*, published just thirty years since. It is useful for the large gathering together of references to the vestments by ancient writers, but, apart from them, it is of no value to antiquaries, for two reasons: first, because Mr. Marriott did not know anything about the vestments himself, and, next, because he wrote with a controversial purpose. As we remember it said at the time, and with very little exaggeration, he tried to prove that Saint Paul officiated at the altar in a starched surplice, a black scarf, and an Oxford hood.

Mr. Macalister does know the difference between a chasuble and a cope, and his endeavour is to find out the truth, and not to seek arguments in support of any preconceived theory. If we differ from him in any details we do it with the same intention. And we do differ in some, although on more we find ourselves in full agreement with him. His contempt for the mystical school of ecclesiologists is pleasant, and popular errors about the crosier and the archbishop's cross and the uses of them are properly castigated.

The opening chapters of the book treating of the genesis of the ecclesiastical vestments cover a subject too complex to be discussed in a short notice. But it seems to us that Mr. Macalister has scarcely made his area wide enough. There are just three vestments which seem to be, or to have been, in use in every ancient branch of the Church—the long linen tunic which we call the alb, the scarf which we call the stole, and the close cloak which we call the chasuble. In nearly every case the two last have been much altered in form in the course of time, so that now the differences amongst them are often more evident than the resemblance. But if the history of each is traced back to its beginning one form is found to be common to all. These, then, must be the primitive vestments, whatever be their origin. The other ornaments vary much, and have been drawn from many sources.

Coming to the Mediæval period the evidence becomes plentiful, and except in minor matters, or with respect to the rarer ornaments, there is not much room for difference of opinion. About the eleventh century we find a great increase in the magnificence of pontifical ornaments owing to the bishops adopting those of the Jewish high priests in addition to what already belonged to themselves. Most of these soon went out of fashion. They were probably found to be too troublesome. But we owe to this movement the mitre and the bishop's tunic, which last Mr. Macalister does not mention amongst those of Jewish origin. It was so, however; and, in imitation of the original, seems at first to have been blue.

The *rationale*, another of these ornaments, should, we think, not be confused with the brooch sometimes seen fixed to the front of the chasuble in figures of the thirteenth century, though the old writers were not careful in their choice of words, and very likely this name may sometimes have been given to the brooch. The true *rationale* was square, and was suspended by chains from the shoulders or from the *superhumerales*—an ornament intended for the ephod.

There are a few questions which occur to us in this part of the book. Did the chasuble, round, oval, or any other shape, capable of being laid out flat, ever exist till modern times? Many books say it did; but what is the evidence? The earliest chasubles of all countries seem to have been of the conical form which would not open out.

Is it really by a blunder, as stated on p. 80, that the effigies wearing dalmatics show the stole worn over both shoulders? Instances of this are so common that, rubrics notwithstanding, the custom of so wearing it probably existed in England.

Is the Y cross, as it is called, so common on chasubles, as is implied on p. 88? We should have said it was a rare form.

Is there not at Luton an effigy shewing a cassock with many buttons after the modern fashion? We write from an old memory, but we think such a one will be found there.

After dealing with the vestments of the Western Church, our author passes in review those of the Greek and other Churches of the East. This part might be fuller; for instance, the Coptic Church, particulars as to which might have been taken from Mr. Butler's book, is not included, but a good deal of information is got together in a convenient form. In comparing the different uses Mr. Mac-

alister is not always happy; for instance, the Greek *epimanikia* do not "correspond to the Western maniple" as stated on p. 180, but with the apparels on the sleeves of the alb. The real Greek representative of the Western maniple is the *epigonation*. Each is derived from the handkerchief—in one case held in the hand, and in the other tucked into the belt.

A singular feature in the book is a chapter on the vestiary customs of the Protestant sects. The material is somewhat scanty, but it is well to put on record what these usages have been before all memory of them passes away.

The chapter on the costumes of religious orders at the end of the book would have been better omitted. It has nothing to do with the rest, and is too meagre to be of any real use.

The Rhind Lectures in Archæology for 1894.

EARLY FORTIFICATIONS IN SCOTLAND. By DAVID CHRISTISON, M.D., F.R.C.P.E., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Sm. 4to, pp. xxvi and 407. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1898.)

In 1885 and 1886, when Dr. Christison was residing in Peebles, and searching for some inducement to take daily exercise, beyond walking for mere walking's sake, he "could think of none that promised so well as an investigation of the so-called forts with which the map of the country was profusely studded." The choice proved a most happy one, for which archæologists must ever be grateful. It resulted, immediately, in a paper, published in *The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, on "The Pre-historic Forts of Peebleshire," which was followed in due course by similar papers dealing with other districts in Scotland. It ultimately resulted in the accumulation of sufficient material for a general treatment of the subject. This Dr. Christison has done, first when Rhind lecturer in 1894, and secondly in the interesting book now before us. The book is divided into three parts, very unequal in length, dealing respectively with (i) Motes; (ii) Rectilinear Works; and (iii) Curvilinear Works or Forts proper; each part having an excellent coloured contoured map of large size, showing the geographical distribution throughout Scotland of the works with which it deals.

Motes.—The principal conclusion that Dr. Christison draws on the subject of Motes he sums up as follows:—"A class of fortresses of well-defined character are met with in France and other parts of the European Continent, and in England, Ireland, and Scotland, consisting in typical instances of an artificial earthen mound, trenched at the foot, and originally fortified by palisades. In all these countries departures from the type occur, natural eminences having been carved or adapted, or even utilised with little change; but this happened peculiarly in Scotland, where suitable natural eminences abound." He further points out the curious fact that in the present day the English people have no generic name at all for this class of fortresses, though they once were wont to call them by the term "burh," and though in Latin charters, after the Norman

Conquest. they employed the word "mota." The word itself is curious, and Dr. Christison refers it to the Italian *motta*, which means either a heap of earth or a hollow—a confusion between the mound and the hollow from which it was thrown up, which obtains in other cases, as in English *dyke* and Latin *vallum*.

Rectilinear Works.—Part II, dealing with Rectilinear Works, is of a highly iconoclastic character. The late Mr. Hill Burton committed himself to the statement that Roman camps in Scotland were so numerous "as to justify the belief that there are more known and recognised Roman camps in Scotland than in all the rest of the world." Dr. Christison reckons that the total number of forts in Scotland that have, or might have, been attributed to the Romans, exclusive of the Antonine *Vallum* and its forts, is 112, of which about 90 may have been rectilinear. Of these he shows that only seven, viz. the *Vallum*, the "settlements" at Newstead, Tappuek, Inveresk, and Cramond, and the stations of Birrens and Ardoch have been proved to be Roman, by the discovery of inscribed stones and other relics. Strageath and Lyne may put in a claim on account of their correspondence with Birrens and Ardoch in respect of size, form, and multiple intrenchments. Fifteen large, rectilinear, and chiefly rectangular, forts may have some claim, from their form, low position, and other features, to be called Roman, but the claims of the others to that designation have little to rest upon. As our author says, "The scanty evidence of continued occupation by the Romans of the country even between the Walls shows how slight was their hold of Caledonia at any time." This part contains a most interesting account of Ardoch, which should be read by those members of the Institute who visited Maiden Castle in Dorset.

Curvilinear Works.—Part III, on Curvilinear Works or Forts proper, is the largest of the three parts, taking up, roughly speaking, three times as many pages as the other two parts, put together, do. It deals with the largest class of primitive fortresses in Scotland, known under various names, such as hill-forts, British forts, prehistoric forts, &c. Of these Dr. Christison tells his readers that the remains of fully 1,000 are still traceable in Scotland. If we add to these, well-ascertained sites from which all traces have vanished, the total, with or without remains, is nearly 1,100. But an enormous number must entirely have disappeared. The study of this class of forts has been much neglected. "The early antiquaries," says Dr. Christison, "fascinated by the classical bent of the time, paid little heed to the works of their ancestors, whom they probably regarded as barbarians, with a contempt hardly less than that felt for them by the Romans themselves." Sir James Simpson, in his Presidential Address to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries in 1860, was the first to draw attention to the importance of procuring full descriptions and accurate drawings of such of these forts as were remaining. This stirred up Sir William Chambers to do a little, and Miss Christina Maclagan to do much more. Finally Dr. Christison, urged, as mentioned before, by the necessity for daily exercise, took up the subject, being followed by Mr. F. R. Coles and the Rev. Mr. Hewson, to whom he acknowledges his obligations. Into the work Dr. Christison has put great energy, not only into the field work, the pacing, measuring, plotting and

sketching these forts, but also into the laborious work of searching Ordnance maps; of compiling elaborate tables; of investigating charters, and other historical documents; and of chasing place-names to their first origins, earliest forms, and true meanings. One thing he has not done: he has not done—the impossible: he has not employed pick and spade, and excavated. Had he done so, he could not, for want of time, have produced the comprehensive survey his book contains. It remains for local men to shoulder the antiquary's arms—the pick and the spade—and clothe with flesh and muscle the great skeleton the doctor has made. The doctor himself is fully sensible of this inevitable piece of involuntary shortcoming, and tells his readers that in consequence he is unable to discriminate between a rampart of earth pure and one of earth and stones; or between a mere rickle of stones and the *débris* of a built wall of dry masonry. Of the so-called vitrified forts he considers our knowledge must continue to be wholly insufficient and unsatisfactory until several of the best examples have been scientifically explored by uncovering the walls wherever they are concealed, and by making sections through them down to the ground.

Dr. Christison divides these forts into eight varieties, viz.: (a) earthworks; (b) forts with ramparts of earth mixed with stones; (c) forts with walls of unbuilt stones; (d) forts of dry masonry; (e) forts of dry masonry and timber; (f) stone forts with intrenchments; (g) terraced forts; and (h) vitrified forts. Those of dry masonry predominate, particularly in the Highlands, where the thickness of their walls varies ordinarily from 8 to 12 feet, though a width of from 14 to 18 feet is by no means rare; at *Dùn-da-Laimh*, Strathmashie, Inverness, and *Burghead*, on the Moray Firth, it amounts to from 22 to 24 feet. Chambers and stairs in the walls are rare, and port-holes are absent, though there are slits in the walls at Castle Law. Only two—Burghead and Castle Law—are of masonry and timber. The traces, or ground plans, of these forts were essentially curvilinear, nearly always circular or oval, subject to modification, in accordance with the exigencies of the site, into an oblong with straight sides and rounded ends, or into a pear shape. A few forts are mainly rectilinear, but not therefore necessarily rectangular. In many cases the *enceinte* is incomplete, because one or more sides are so strong by nature as to require no further aid; those, for instance, which stand on the edge of a precipice or steep bank, and those in which the end of a promontory is cut off.

With regard to their distribution, the map shows large spaces wholly destitute of them; for instance, the interior Highland glens, except those close to Loch Ness; other blank spaces occur in the centre and east of Ayrshire, and the neighbouring parts of Lanark and Galloway. Taken as an index of population, it would seem that some parts of Scotland during the fort period were thickly peopled, while others were but scantily settled, and some vast tracts quite uninhabited. This further leads to the supposition that in the fort period Scotland was divided into several independent States. Excavation is required before the forts in a district can be classified as to time or race, or both. Surely the two Caterthuns, in every way so different, though but half-a-mile apart, cannot be the work of one and the same people at the same time. Nor can forts constructed

of a mere rickel of stones be contemporary with those with well built walls. But here the necessity for excavation comes in, for apparent rickel walls are often mere surface deceptions, concealing wall foundation. "Dig, dig, dig" should be impressed upon the Scottish antiquaries; and if they will only put into a few curvilinear forts the like energy to that they put into the Roman camp at Birrens, we shall see great discoveries. We incline to think that many hill forts are mere walled villages, such as may be found on the fells in the Lake District or in Cornwall, walled against casual marauders, or perhaps merely against wolves. And may we not suggest to Dr. Christison that the "exceptional work, almost grotesque in form" at the fort of Commonlaw, Peeblesshire, is a deer trap! A supposed deer trap on a large scale is on Torver Fell over Coniston Lake.

The book contains two valuable chapters on the "Relation of Place-Names to the Forts." In them Dr. Christison discusses the roots found in the names of the forts, of their sites, or of the places nearest to them, which seem to signify "fort." These are *dun*, *rath*, *lis*, *car*, *chester*, and *burgh*. *Chester* and *burgh*, not being Celtic, are considered in connection with supposed Roman and Saxon works. The first, contrary to the usual case in England, is not in Scotland applied to Roman sites: with the exception of Bonchester in Roxburgh, the places in Scotland called *chesters* are insignificant, and differ in no way from other camps not called *chesters*. The word would seem to have been imported into Scotland by the Saxons; *burgh* to have been imported by the English not earlier than the twelfth century. The other four—*dun*, *rath*, *lis*, and *car*—are, mainly at least, Celtic; and of them *dun*, from its frequency and wide distribution, is by far the most important of the roots signifying fort in Scotland. It is the almost universal name for them in the Highlands, and it is met with, although in a much smaller proportion, very generally in the Lowlands. But it must not be taken that a fort has existed wherever *dun* occurs in a place-name. In the Highlands it is generally found in connection with Celtic prefixes or affixes; in the Lowlands with Teutonic. *Rath*, which is very common in Ireland, as applied to a class of earthworks inferior to the *duns*, is very rare in Scotland in the sense of a fort. *Lis*, very common in Ireland as applied to the third or smallest class of earthen forts, is rarer in Scotland than *rath*. *Car* is not uncommon in the place-names of every division of the British Isles, as well as in Brittany, but it is capable of so many various meanings that it is difficult to be certain that its occurrence in a place-name implies a fort. We have not, however, space to follow Dr. Christison further into this interesting subject. A short chapter deals with the relics found in the eleven forts (eleven only out of 1,100!) known to our author to have been excavated, but only in an incomplete and unsatisfactory manner, two of them being complicated by the presence of brochs. Into details we cannot go: as far as the relics found show, the range of occupation may have lain between the early centuries of our era and some period in the middle ages. A more remote antiquity might be claimed for Dunbuie, founded on some cup-and-ring-like markings on stones, and some stone spear-heads; but the latter were of soft slaty stones, and could have been of no use.

and the former differ widely from rock sculptures. Another short chapter deals with forts so grouped as to suggest that their aggregation may be due to a desire for mutual protection, or other political or military reason. Such is the group to the south of Hawick, connected by the mysterious Catrail and other lines: and such are the lines of trenches, mounds, and forts around Castle O'er in Dumfriesshire. A valuable Biography of Scottish Motes and Forts and of Roman Camps, and some tables conclude the book, which is well printed and got up, and provided with a good index.

We would especially commend this book to the working antiquaries of the Lake District and of Dorsetshire. The former have a grand opportunity: the Ordnance surveyors are even now re-surveying the Lake District, and are anxious for the co-operation of the local antiquaries. But the man who would assist must not only first assimilate this book, but he must be sound of limb and lung, well fit "to set a stout heart against a steep brae."

THE REGISTER OF THE PRIORY OF WETHERHAL. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by J. E. PRESCOTT, D.D., Canon of Carlisle Cathedral, and Archdeacon of Carlisle. 8vo, pp. xliii and 552. (London, Elliot Stock: Kendal, T. Wilson. 1897.)

Dr. Prescott in his Preface says:—"This book cannot be expected to have many readers." It certainly, to judge from the meagre list of subscribers—but 105 all told—has not yet found many buyers. We are afraid that the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, or whoever stands behind them, must suffer serious pecuniary loss by their courageous venture. We own to a feeling of surprise that the clammy Cumbrians should not have rallied to the support of a publication which goes to the very roots of their history, and deals with no sparing hand with several serious errors which long have encrusted it. We hope that the Society will not be discouraged from carrying out their expressed intention of putting into print all the registers and chartularies relating to the diocese of Carlisle. We must, however, admit that registers and chartularies are not very popular reading: even a hardened antiquary may find it difficult to bring himself to the perusal of a register or chartulary which does not relate to his own district: a rapid chase through the indices for names he knows, or for allusions to his special hobbies, and the book, if he has been generous enough to subscribe for it, goes upon his shelves and gathers the dust in perfect peace.

The fundamental error in the local histories of Cumberland has, by now, been exploded, and lingers only in obscure archæological backwash. No one now believes that William the Conqueror parcelled out Cumberland and Westmorland into baronies, or that he had the power to do so. Never again, we imagine, will *The Times* allow its columns to be used for a discussion as to why the whole of those two counties are not included in Domesday Book. But William the Conqueror being got out of the way, other difficulties confront the student of Cumbrian history.

At an early date we find from various monastic records that the land of Carlisle was in the possession of Ranulph Meschin. The foundation charter of the Priory of Wetherhal, as given by Dugdale,

states that that Priory was endowed by Ranulph Meschin for the soul of King Henry, in addition to the members of his own family. Hence that great local authority, Mr. Hodgson-Hinde, concluded that Ranulph Meschin was indebted to Henry I for the territory, a portion of which he thus devoted to pious uses. In 1888 Dr. Prescott in a Visitation Charge pointed out that the MS. transcripts of the Register of Wetherhal in the Harleian collection, and in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, give the foundation charter of Wetherhal as made *pro anima Domini mei Regis Willielmi*, and not *Regis Henrici*. Chancellor Ferguson, in *Popular County Histories, Cumberland*, which was noticed in the volume of this Journal for 1890, considered the point remained undetermined as to whether Ranulph Meschin obtained the land of Carlisle during the last eight years of William II or in the reign of Henry I. Dr. Prescott, in a carefully reasoned out appendix to the book now before us, has gone into the history of Ranulph Meschin, afterwards Earl of Chester, in greater detail than any previous writer: the crucial case of which King was mentioned in the foundation charter of Wetherhal Priory he has not been able to settle authoritatively, but he shows with great probability that it must have been William II. This point, however, may possibly be shortly settled beyond all power of cavil, as we learn that the publication of Dr. Prescott's work has had the happy result of bringing to light the original MS. Register or Chartulary of Wetherhal Priory, long missing from the custody of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle. In this appendix Dr. Prescott further deals with the individuality of Meschin's wife Lucia, or Lucy, daughter of Ivo Taillebois, and of Lucia, or Lucy, daughter of one Torold of Lincolnshire: the younger Lucy married first Roger de Romara, by whom she had a son, William de Romara; second, Ranulph Meschin, Earl of Chester (in 1120), by whom she had a son, William Ranulph (Gernons), Earl of Chester. These two Lucys have frequently been mistaken for one another, and even maintained to be identical—one and the same lady—to the utter confounding of the descent of great estates in the North of England. This appendix also proves that the land of Carlisle was an "honor" and not an earldom, as Freeman, misled by Matthew of Westminster, had concluded.

Ranulph Meschin, his wife, and his estates having been put upon a proper footing, two other errors in the early local history, of almost equal importance and antiquity, demand attention: they receive it in Appendices B and D. The first deals with the date of the foundation of the Priory of Carlisle, which is usually asserted by the local historians to be the year 1102: they also say that Athelwold, the first Bishop of Carlisle (a see to which he was consecrated at York on August 6, 1133, and which he held until 1156), was the same man as the Athelwold, who was the first Prior of Carlisle: he must, then, have held the important posts, first of Prior, and then of Bishop of Carlisle for the long period of fifty-four years—a statement in itself sufficient to create considerable suspicion as to the accuracy of the dates. But he was also Prior of Nostell, in Yorkshire, before he came to Carlisle, and he held that priory until his death. The Archdeacon shows that Nostell was not founded until 1121, and from that circumstance and other evidences he proves that the Priory of Carlisle was not founded until 1123, a much more probable date than 1102. The

Archdeacon, by the way, in a footnote to this Appendix B, throws cold water upon "the legend told by J. Denton (*Cumberland*, p. 97) of the heap of coins buried under the steeple of St. Cuthbert's Church in Carlisle at its first foundation." But J. Denton, writing in 1610, may be relied upon for a find of coins in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which he probably saw, or heard of from eye witnesses. That the coins were under the steeple proves they were older than the date of its foundation, and being of base metal they must have been stycas, or else Roman minims. There is nothing improbable in the finding of a hoard of stycas in such place: in 1832 more than 8,000 stycas were found in a brass bucket in Hexham churchyard.

Appendix D treats of Bernard, the second Bishop of Carlisle, a shadowy person, whose very existence has been denied by such an authority as the present Bishop of Oxford. By dint of patiently hunting him from one charter to another Dr. Prescott establishes the fact that, between the death of Bishop Athelwold in 1156 and the appointment of Bishop Hugh in 1218, a poverty-stricken foreigner, Bernard, formerly Archbishop of Ragusa, was Bishop of Carlisle in the reign of King John, probably from the year 1204 to the year 1214.

Minor errors of the local historians are relentlessly exposed by the Archdeacon in the copious and learned notes with which he illustrates the various charters: nor does he always pause to gild the pills he administers to those gentlemen. His plan of editing the Register has been, first to get as correct a text as possible, and then to annotate every place or personal name appearing in the charters. To carry out such a plan, with the thoroughness that the Archdeacon has put into it, must have been the labour of years: for such labour pecuniary reward cannot be expected, but the result is to put the Archdeacon at one bound into the first flight of the blackletter archæologists—scholars who deal with original documents, and do not trust to second-hand information. To go through these interesting notes is impossible in the space at our disposal: we can only pick out a plum here and there. We should not omit to mention that these notes contain very terse and clear explanations, taken from the best authorities, of the legal terms occurring in the charters. The Archdeacon has, in fact, combined in this volume a Law Dictionary, a Landed Estates Guide, and a Who's Who in the North of England for the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Yorkshire antiquaries will find much in the volume to interest them, as, from the fact of Wetherhal Priory having been a cell of the great Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary at York, many York and Yorkshire magnates, both ecclesiastical and lay, occur in the charters, and consequently in the illustrative notes. These notes also contain some very useful pedigrees, which explain the tangled descents in early days of the great Cumbrian estates.

One of the most important facts brought to light in this book is the existence in Carlisle, shortly before the year 1195, of a Provost (*Prepositus*) or Reeve of Carlisle, Syward by name. The first Mayor of Carlisle whose name is on record, Richard, son of Walkelin, *circa* 1240, was also unearched by the Archdeacon from these charters. Canon Raine, in his *Historic Towns: York*, proves that in 1200 York was governed by a Provost or Reeve, while it had acquired a Mayor by 1217; and Chancellor Ferguson, in his *Popular County*

Histories: Westmorland, shows that Appleby first developed a Mayor in the first half of the thirteenth century. Carlisle probably set up a Mayor about the same time, but he was not officially recognised by the Crown until much later. The City of London first started a Mayor about 1191, whose recognition the Crown sullenly postponed as long as possible (see this *Journal*, Vol. L, p. 258). It is interesting to see how quick these northern towns were to follow London in the setting up a Mayor, an idea taken from the French *commune*.

A work like this, going into so many minute details, cannot escape wholly free from mistakes. We notice one surprising and important one. In the general index is: "Coningsheved (Coniston) Priory," meaning, we suppose, that Coningsheved Priory is at Coniston, or is now called Coniston Priory. There is no Priory at or near Coniston, but Conishead Priory is plainly to be seen upon the Ordnance map in old English letters: it is on the Leven, about a mile from Ulverston. Much may be found about it in Dugdale and in West's *Furness*: naught now remains of the buildings, the site being occupied by a huge modern house, the ruin of more than one once wealthy family: is now a hydropathic or an hotel. The mistake is repeated in the body of the work, in a note to p. 64. The name *Spendline* occurs in several charters: this must be some transcriber's error for Spendlune, that is Spendlave, a name which actually occurs in another charter; it is the mediæval form of the modern name Spenlove, or Spenlow. Ulmsby must be another transcriber's error: the f in Ulf would mutate into u for v, as wolf. wolves.

The book is provided with two capital indices: is well printed (at the Cambridge University Press), neatly bound, and is a model of what an edition of a Register or a Chartulary should be.

TITULI HUNTERIANI, AN ACCOUNT OF THE ROMAN STONES IN THE HUNTERIAN MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW. By JAMES MACDONALD, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., with prefatory note by JOHN YOUNG, M.D., Professor of Natural History in the University, and Keeper of the Hunterian Museum. Photogravure plates of all the stones. 10 inches by 7½ inches. (Glasgow: T. & R. Annan & Sons. 1897.)

About the end of the seventeenth century certain noblemen and gentlemen, some of them *alumni* of the University of Glasgow, into whose possession stones found along the Vallum of Antoninus Pius had come, resolved to present them to the University, presumably for safety, if not also in the belief that from its associations no more suitable place could be found. "It is to the enlightened disinterestedness," says Dr. Macdonald, "of these early benefactors of the University and of archaeology that we owe the preservation of so many monuments of great importance in connection with the Roman occupation of the North." Many additions were made to the collection between 1694, the year of its commencement, and 1771; about which time some carefully-executed engravings of the stones were published at intervals at the expense of the University under a long Latin title, commencing—*Mouimenta Imperii Romani in Scotia*, etc. It will thus be seen that these stones form no part of the munificent gift bestowed

on the University of Glasgow by Dr. William Hunter in 1783, but they naturally gravitated towards the building erected for the reception of the Hunter collections. When the University removed to Gilmorehill, a special room was assigned for the Roman stones, but prior to their removal they were photographed by the late Mr. Thomas Annan under exceptionally favourable conditions. Professor Young long contemplated their publication in an album, similar to the engravings of 1771, but the project fell through. At last the co-operation was obtained of that accurate archæologist, Dr. James Macdonald, a scholar who has made a special study of Roman Scotland. He has had assistance from the ubiquitous Mr. Haverfield (ubiquitous wherever Roman remains occur), and the result is a most interesting book—a really valuable addition to the Roman Bibliography of Great Britain.

Dr. Macdonald's introductory matter includes a brief account of what is generally designated "the Antonine Wall," a term he proposes to abolish in favour of "the Pius Vallum." This we cannot accept: "the Pius Vallum" is calculated to provoke a smile, which the doctor would hardly like, taking archæology, as he does, very seriously: we will agree to "the Antonine Vallum," for Vallum the structure is called on two of the stones, and those who cut the stones assisted to raise the structure. This vallum, dyke, defence or wall, as it is commonly called, consists of five parts: (1) a rampart of earth towards the north; (2) a great ditch: to the south of this (3) another and larger rampart of earth: at certain intervals upon this last (4) stations; and to the south of them a causeway for the march of the troops. The researches of the Glasgow Archæological Society have shown that (3) is a *murus caespiticius*, or earthen wall built (if not wholly, to a large extent at least) of sods laid one upon another after the manner of the courses of a stone wall. The question has arisen, based upon a passage in Bede, whether this turf is not a later addition, and whether the original vallum was a military defence, or a *limes*—that is, a civil boundary? Upon these we will not venture an opinion, bearing in mind the ever unexpected aspects revealed yearly by the spade upon the so-called barrier of Hadrian under the auspices of the Cumberland Excavation Committee.

The Roman Room of the Hunterian Museum contains upwards of forty stones from the Antonine Vallum. Of these thirty-six are inscribed stones; the rest are uninscribed sculptures or fragments. These, together with one or two other Roman stones—notably one from Ardoch—and a bronze jug of Roman work found in 1807 on the farm of Sadlerhead in the parish of Lesmahagow, are most beautifully and clearly reproduced in seventeen photogravure plates, each plate as a rule containing two stones, but some have three, four or five: the bronze jug has the seventeenth plate to itself. With these stones Dr. Macdonald deals in sections, each headed with the name of a station on the Antonine Vallum. The inscribed stones from the barrier of the upper isthmus differ in kind from those of the lower isthmus: on the latter, altars are by far the most numerous class of antiquities, while centurial stones and sepulchral monuments abound. The distinguishing feature of the upper barrier, as distinguished from the lower, is the number of distance stones, while the other three classes are comparatively infrequent. This points to a more

permanent colonization by the Romans of the south than of the north. Dr. Macdonald prefaces each section with a brief account of the station, whose name is at its head. Then follows the account of the stones belonging to that station: in every case the author who first mentions a particular stone is cited, and references given to the *Monumenta Imperii Romani*, etc.: to the latest edition of the *Caledonia Romana* of Stuart, and the seventh volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. The inscription on each stone is set out: then follows its expansion and translation and some scholarly notes. We can sincerely congratulate Dr. Macdonald on the way in which he has succeeded in the task he set himself to do—"to give an account of the stones, which will, I hope, prove sufficiently popular to be welcome to the ordinary reader, and yet technical enough to satisfy the wishes of the epigraphist."

The book does the publishers great credit: it is well printed, on good paper, and neatly bound in cloth.

A SERIES OF PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHS OF THE MONUMENTAL BRASSES IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY. By E. M. BELOE, JUNIOR. Published by subscription. Folio. 8 plates. To be obtained from the Author, King's Lynn.

In 1890 Mr. Beloe published a series of plates of the principal brasses in Norfolk, and has now brought out a complete series of those in Westminster Abbey uniform in size with his previous work. The eight plates contain (1) a reproduction in gold and colours of the curious fragment of a cross brass, the field inlaid with glass mosaic, of thirteenth century date, and usually attributed to some member of the De Valence family. This fragment was found under the step leading from the Confessor's Chapel to the chantry of Henry V by the late Sir Gilbert Scott; (2) John de Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury and Lord High Treasurer, 1395, showing some details now lost; (3) Robert de Waldeby, Archbishop of York, 1394; (4) Eleanor de Bohun, widow of Thomas de Woodstock, 1399; (5) Sir John Harpedon, 1437; (6) Abbot John Estney, 1498; (7) Sir Humphrey Bourghier, 1471, Sir Thomas Vaughan, 1483, and Sir Humphrey Stanley, 1505; (8) Dean William Bill, 1561, Thomas of Woodstock, 1397, reproduced from Sandford's *Genealogical History*, and Abbot Edmund Kirton, 1466, from Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*.

The lithographs are well executed by Messrs. Griggs, and all antiquaries and brass-rubbers are indebted to Mr. Beloe for publishing this series.

BIBLIOTHECA NORFOLCIENSIS. A Catalogue of the writings of Norfolk men and of works relating to the County of Norfolk in the library of Mr. J. J. Colman at Carrow Abbey, Norwich. Privately printed. Large 8vo. Norwich, 1896.

Mr. Colman, in his preface to this very handsome volume, modestly suggests that it is not exhaustive; perhaps no such work can be, but those who may be privileged to see these nearly six hundred large pages will conclude that it must nearly approach being so. Moreover,

those who have seen the collection will well remember the careful manner in which it is housed and cared for: evidently no pains have been spared to make it as perfect as possible. The plan adopted for the Catalogue is that now in general use, known as the alphabetical under the authors' names, but we would venture to suggest that this noble volume would be of more general use and be made to give up its treasure story if an index of subjects, place names, &c., were added.

THE RECORDS OF THE BOROUGH OF NORTHAMPTON. Two volumes, illustrated. Preface by the BISHOP of LONDON. Introductory chapter on the history of the town by Mr. RYLAND D. ADKINS, B.A. The first volume edited by CHRISTOPHER A. MARKHAM, F.S.A. The second volume edited by J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A. Published by order of the Corporation of the County Borough of Northampton. (London: Elliot Stock.) Royal 8vo. Northampton, 1898.

Two handsome volumes which should be a source of pride and gratification to all concerned. Centrally and strongly situated Northampton has been of increasing importance from Norman times, had its full share of royal attention, and has shown its own capability as a civic borough. Dry records there may be here noticed, but full with details showing exactly the daily past life, and giving all a graphic picture. Such work must surely stimulate local interest. Documents are given often in full and translated so that all can read and judge. Pipe Rolls, Patent Rolls, Acts of Parliament, and Charters are all laid under contribution. Especially interesting is the *Liber Custumarum*. Always quaint, this rare form of document is most interesting; all the customs and laws of the town are noted from the year A.D. 1430, and here we learn how the traders and dealers were regulated, and the orders against pigs roaming about the streets. Yet this invaluable record but just escaped being burned in the great fire of 1675. Thanks to the Corporation we now know all about it, and being printed it is fairly safe. These documents always show a vigorous municipal Commonwealth. At the end of Volume I is a most useful and necessary Glossary explaining the old words so often used. Volume II is concerned with the town muniments and their history, necessarily those which escaped the fire in 1675. Full extracts are given where necessary, and thus the stories of the popular assembly, the civic government, and the often squabbles, are traced, and an account given of the town property, buildings, and revenues. There is a curious story of an alderman who was found with a bundle of old deeds before him which he was quietly mutilating with a pair of scissors for the sake of the seals. Both volumes are indexed, and at the end is a plan of the old town.



THE MOSAIC OF MONNUS.

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

I had intended to prepare a paper on the antiquities of the Lower Rhine, which might be supplementary to one on the Middle Rhine, that I had the honour to read before the Institute in the year 1889.¹ For this purpose I collected some literary materials and illustrations, but finding that the task exceeded the narrow limits of my strength and leisure, I thought it best to confine myself, for the most part, to a monument in the Provincial Museum at Trèves, which had been discussed by at least three German savants, but had not been made the subject of a memoir by any of our compatriots.²

The present seems an appropriate time for calling attention to a mosaic, and specially so in our London,

¹ The following publications would be found useful by those who wish to pursue this extensive subject:

Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande, usually quoted in an abridged form — *Bonner Jahrbüch.*

Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz, Erster Band . . . herausgegeben von Paul Clemen. For Xanten (*Castra Vetera*) see pp. 72-164, with many plates, 1892.

Brambach, *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum*, 4to.

Anton Kisa, *Römische Ausgrabungen an der Luxemburger Strasse in Köln*, 1895, Tafel I, Metallarbeiten; Taf. II, Glassgefäße. *Funde in Köln*, Tafel V, Römischer Mosaikboden; *Die antiken Thonlampen im Museum Wallraf-Richartz in Köln*. Aufgestellt von Prof. Dr. H. Düntzer, 1885. *Katalog des Königlichen Rheinischen Museums vaterländischer Alter-*

thümer bei der Universität Bonn, 1876.

Führer durch das Provinzial-Museum zu Bonn, 1895.

The activity of German antiquaries in our time is well known, but it is still further attested by the report of a meeting at Cologne in 1895: *Verhandlungen der dreiundvierzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Köln vom 24. bis 28. September*, 1895, Archäologische Sektion, pp. 157-173, published at Leipzig, 1896.

² See F. Hettner, *Zu den Römischen Altertümern von Trier und Umgegend* (Separatabzug aus der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, Jahrgang X S. 209, fg.), p. 40. Trendelenburg, *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, 1889, S. 82. Studemund, *Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Instituts*, 1890, S. 1-5. The last author calls attention to MSS. preserved at Paris and Vienna, where we observe a tripartite division consisting of the Muses, their arts, and men distinguished in each department. *Τὰ δνόματα τῶν θ μουσῶν καὶ ποίας τέχνης ἐκάστη ἐπιστατὴ καὶ τίς ἐκάστης μμητής.*

as the metropolitan cathedral of the National Church is now (1896) being embellished with decorations of this kind—a work of colossal size and aesthetic merit that would sustain comparison with the finest examples at Rome and Ravenna—an ornament to our city and a glory to our country, because here, for the first time, no foreign aid has been sought, but the grand composition has been designed by an English painter, and executed in all its details by English hands.¹

My remarks on the Mosaic of Monnus, which I had the pleasure to inspect under the guidance of Dr. Hans Lehner, are founded on a memoir by Dr. Hettner, the learned Director of the Trèves Museum, well known as a classical scholar and antiquary; however, I have not been content merely to translate him, but have added observations derived partly from new research, partly from recollection of former travels and studies.

In the year 1884, while workmen were excavating for the foundations of the new Provincial Museum,² they discovered remains of a large Roman building; but the outline was not investigated beyond what was necessary for their purpose. On this occasion a hall was brought to light, whose dimensions were 5 mètres 69 centimètres in length and breadth, having for its floor a fine mosaic pavement. It probably was the central and most important room immediately behind the façade, as the wall was much thicker here than in most other parts of the structure. At the west end was an apse, the border of which, ornamented with stars consisting of four leaves united by a knot in the centre,³ enclosed a space covered

¹ The London illustrated newspapers that appeared after the insertion of these mosaics in the walls contain articles with engravings that will enable the reader to understand the position of the decorations, and, in some measure, to appreciate their excellence.

² The importance of this collection is proved by the following statement: *Das Provinzialmuseum zu Trier*, 1877, *mit gemeinsamen Mitteln von Staat und Provinz begründet*, 1884, "in die Verwaltung des rheinischen Provinzialverbandes übergegangen, umfasst ausser den eigenen Erwerbungen (P. M.) die Sammlungen der Gesellschaft für nützliche Forschungen zu Trier (G.);

der Kgl. Regierung zu Trier (R.); des Vereins zu St. Wendel (W.) und (Saal 24, 25) die der Stadt Trier zugehörige Sammlung Hermes (H.); *Führer durch das Prov.-Mus. zu Trier*, 2nd edn., 1894, p. 1.

A Catalogue of the Stone Monuments, with copious references, 375 illustrations, and four Indices, pp. 294, has been compiled by Dr. Hettner; it costs only 4 marks.

³ Compare the *Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens*, published by the Société Archéologique in that city. Photographures, Planche XX, No. 1, "Corniche avec retour d'angle; caissons décorés de rosaces, creusés sous le larmier, entre

by aquatic plants. The præfurnium and hypocaust underneath supplied the heating apparatus.

The chief destruction of the mosaic is supposed to have taken place in the Middle Ages, when the walls of the hall and the low pillars of the hypocaust were removed for building materials. But it had previously suffered from a terrible conflagration, most likely in the fifth century, when burning rafters fell on the *tessellæ*, reduced some of them to ashes, and caused the supporting pillars to totter. Hence the present condition of the pavement serves as a commentary on the words of Salvianus (*De Gubernatione Dei*, Lib. VI, pp. 194–196, ed. Lincii, anno a partu Virginis MDCCLXIII), who is said to have been born near Trèves, and speaks as an eye-witness. He tells us that the city was four times taken by storm, and portrays in the most gloomy colours the horrors of war, and the demoralized inhabitants:—"minus tamen eversos rebus fuisse quam moribus." A similar misfortune befell the mosaic at Reims—one of the finest in France; the traces of fire are well shown in the photograph accompanying Loriquet's description of it.¹

Monnus, the name of the mosaicist, being uncommon, arrests our attention. I think it will not be found in ordinary Latin Dictionaries, but De Vit gives it in his *Onomasticon*. The derivatives occur, though not often—Monnata, Monnia, Monnina, and Monnica (more rarely Monica)—the last of them is best known because it was borne by the mother of Augustine, *pietate insignis*, who has been canonized, and, if we accept the testimony of her son, deserved that honour as well as most of those who have received it. Monna appears also as the name of a deity.²

les modillons, le tout vu en dessous. XXIII, No. 3, Fragment de corniche vu en dessous, et présentant de riches moulures : denticules, torsade de rubans, perles, raies de cœur, modillons ornés de feuillages et caissons fleuronnés. XXVII, Nos. 1 and 2, Caissons et modillon appartenant à des plafonds de corniche." In these examples the four leaves are distinctly visible.

¹ See my Paper on "The Antiquities of Trèves and Metz," p. 15. Loriquet's book, *Les Mosaiques des Promenades de Reims*, is one of the best authorities for gladiatorial combats; besides the plates

of single figures in each compartment, he has added at the end of the volume a photograph of the whole pavement as it exists at present.

² De Vit, s.r. Monnus. "Cognomen Romanum ejusdem originis ac Monna." *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*: X, 6792, Aur. Monnus, Marini Arr., p. 622. Monna dea quaedam unice mihi nota ex Inscr. in Ephem. Epigr. I, p. 544, n. 1245 quae sic se habet MONNAE AVG | SAC.

"Natalem Monicae celebrat Ecclesia die IV Non. Maii"—*vide Acta Sanctorum*.

The mosaic originally filled a square area, and, notwithstanding the injuries done to many portions, its general features can still be clearly discerned. All the figures in the middle relate to the Muses and the arts over which they presided; those near the border, to the months and seasons of the year. Inscriptions add much to the value of this monument, and give it a superiority over many others of the same kind; we have here a solid basis for inquiries, and a standard that may serve for comparison, just as a coin with a legend often assists us to explain an engraved gem. A cable pattern enclosed each compartment, as well as the whole quadrangular space; and again an edging of scroll work completed the frame of the picture.¹

The representations in this mosaic may be divided into six classes:—

- I. In nine octagons, a Muse instructing a mortal.
- II. In eight squares round the central octagon, busts or heads of Greek and Roman poets and prose-writers.
- III. In eight squares further from the centre, busts of dramatic characters.
- IV. In pentagons at the four corners, the four seasons.
- V. In twelve trapeziums, the Zodiacal signs.
- VI. In twelve squares, above the pentagons and between the trapeziums, the months of the year.²

Our mosaicist seems to have used for the composition of his design some treatise on the respective functions of each Muse, and on the inventors of the arts over which they severally presided. A parallel passage is supplied by the *Stromata* of Clemens Alexandrinus, Book I, Chap. XVI (Vol. I, p. 364 *fin.*, edit. Potter), where he

¹ The border is very similar to those found in our own country. Comp. Buckman and Newmarch, *Cori niu* (Cirencester), Plates facing pp. 32, 33, 38. This work has also an engraving of the supporting pillars in the hypocaust mentioned above; *v.* p. 64. Thomas Morgan, *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements*.—For those that are

inscribed *v.* pp. 77, 212, 213, 219, 222.

² We have here a great variety of Geometrical figures. At Sens there is another, *viz.* the hexagon; *v.* *Gallo-Rom. Mus., op. citat.*, Planche XXVII, No. 3, "Claveau d'archivolte, orné de rosaces inscrites dans des hexagones réguliers, bordés de perles."



says that Terpander of Antissa was the first to write lyric poetry; that Lassus of Hermione discovered the dithyramb; Stesichorus of Himera the hymn; Alcman, a Lacedaemonian, choral music; Anacreon of Teos erotic poetry; and Pindar dancing with pantomimic action, &c.

The title of this book *Στρωματεῖς* is remarkable, for the Greek word means the coverlet of a bed, which in ancient, as in modern times, was often made of patchwork; hence it very appropriately describes Clement's rambling and discursive Miscellanies "without system, order or method."¹

Now that political circumstances, and (which more immediately concerns us at present) the very interesting explorations and publications of Professor Flinders Petrie have riveted our attention on Egypt, I may perhaps be allowed, in passing, to mention this early Christian writer as our principal authority for hieroglyphics. In the fifth book he informs us that the educated Egyptians learned: first, the epistolary mode of writing; secondly, the hieratic employed by sacred registrars; thirdly, the hieroglyphic of which there are two kinds—one expressing the meaning by means of the first elements (probably pictures), and the other symbolical. He gives us examples of the subdivisions of the latter kind: (1) the sun represented by a circle, and the moon by a crescent; (2) the oblique course of the stars by serpents, and the sun by a beetle (*scarabaeus*).²

I proceed to examine the octagons in detail, beginning with the central one, and taking the rest in the order indicated by the sequence of the figures representing the months.

1. *Ingenium, Omerus, Calliope.* Above their heads the

¹ Clement of Alexandria, thus distinguished from the Apostolical Father Clement of Rome, flourished under Severus and Caracalla, and was a contemporary of Tertullian. At this period many learned men were patronised by the Empress Julia Domna.

² Clement's *Alex.*, edit. Potter, p. 657 (555 in margin), 'Αντίκα οἱ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους παιδευόμενοι, πρώτον μὲν πάντων τὴν Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων μέθοδον ἐκμανθάνουσι, τὴν ἐπιστολογραφικὴν καλουμένην· δευτέραν, ἣ

χρῶνται οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς ὑστάτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν, τὴν ἱερογλυφικὴν ἥς ἢ μὲν ἴστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων, κυριολογικὴ ἢ εἰ, συμβολικὴ. κ.τ.λ.

See Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, *The Egyptians in the time of the Pharaohs* (being a companion to the Crystal Palace collections), to which is added an *Introduction to the Study of Egyptian Hieroglyphics*, by Dr. Samuel Birch, pp. 177, 181, 185, with references in the notes; v. especially p. 184 sq., translation of Clement, *loc. citat.*

words **MONNVS FECIT** are inscribed. Homer occupies the place of honour in the midst of the mosaic, between Calliope on the spectator's right, and Ingenium on the left. Evidently the poet's name was here **OMERVS**, as there is no room for the initial **H**. We may account for this spelling by reference to the Greek form, as it appears on coins, **OMHPOΣ**, the aspirate being usually omitted in Greek capitals. *V. Combe's Catalogue of the Hunterian Collection*, p. 280, Tab. L, No. 6, Smyrna: *Obverse*, **OMHPOC**, Homer sitting to right, his right hand resting on a stool, a roll in his left hand; *Reverse*, **CMYPNAIΩN** in oak wreath. The medals of other cities—Amastris in Paphlagonia, and Ios, a small island south of Paros—also commemorate the poet by exhibiting his portrait; see Visconti, *Planches de l'Iconographie Grecque*, folio, I, No. 5; II, Nos. 1, 2.¹

It should be noticed that in these examples, as in the Mosaic at Trèves, Homer's head is encircled by a *taenia* or narrow diadem, an ornament employed specially for priests and priestesses, prophets and poets; but no better illustration can be supplied than the bust in the British Museum, of the best style and well-preserved, representing

¹ Visconti, *op. citat.*, p. 55, says that Amastris was probably a colony from Smyrna; if this was the case, we cannot be surprised to find the daughter city imitating the type which the mother country had adopted. The *rev.* is thus described in Hunter's *Catalogue*, p. 20: **MEAIHC**, "Flumen decumbens ad sinistram, dextra lyram, sinistra arundinem." I exhibited at the meeting of the Institute a coin of Ios. On my last visit to Paris M. Babelon kindly opened the cabinet containing several examples of it. None were as well preserved as the one in my possession. Hunter's *Catalogue*, p. 159, *obr.* **OMHPOC** "caput barbatum et vitta redimitum ad dextram." *Rev.*, legend **IHT.**, palm-tree in the space between the letters. Ios is one of the Sporades. According to some traditions Homer died and was buried there. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, Lib. IV, Cap. 12, § 23, "in ea sepultus est Homerus oraculo jubente. Ita etiam refert Strabo." B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum Veterum*, p. 510, Smyrna—Imperial—Divinities; **OMHPOC** seated with a book in his hand, a copy perhaps of some statute in the *Ὁμήριον* at

Smyrna. These coins were called *Ὁμήρεια*, Strabo, p. 646, XIV, 1, 37, *ἔστι δὲ καὶ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Ὁμήριον, στοὰ τετράγωνος, ἔχουσα μὲν Ὁμήρου καὶ ἔσσανον μεταποιούντα γὰρ καὶ ὄντοι διαφερόντως τοῦ ποιητοῦ, καὶ δὴ νόμισμά τι χαλκῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς Ὁμήριον λέγεται.* Head, p. 432 *sq.*: Amastris, situated on the sea-coast of Paphlagonia, twelve miles east of the mouth of the river Parthenius, was founded by Amastris, niece of Darius Codomannus; not to be confounded with a former Amastris (Amestris), wife of Xerxes; her jealousy and horrible cruelty are recorded by Herodotus, IX, 110–112. *Ibid.*, p. 414, Homer is also said to have been born at Ios of an Ietan mother. The palm-tree (*φοῖνιξ*) alludes to the more ancient name of the island, Phœnice (Stephanus Byzantinus *s.v.*). Hodie Nio, in *Ἴφ.* Pausanias, Book X, Chap. xxiv, 2, Frazer's Translation, with Commentary, Vol. V, p. 349 *sq.* A likeness of Homer in bronze on a monument. The oracle which is said to have been given to him. Beware of the riddle of young children. Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Geography*, *s.v.* Ios.

the bard at an advanced age, with a mild and venerable expression.¹ On the other hand, in contorniate medallions of a late period, fourth or fifth century, the fillet is wanting, Visconti, *op. citat.*, Text, tome I, p. 58, *sq.* I need hardly add that all these portraits are ideal. Pliny in his *Natural History* made this remark, and modern critics have generally agreed with him.²

Calliope appears in the central octagon—the most prominent in the mosaic—because the place of honour should be given to her as the chief of the Muses; so Hesiod calls her *προφερεστάτη ἀπασέων*, *Theogony*, v. 79.³ She presided over heroic poetry. Hence Juvenal in the first paragraph of the fourth *Satire*, where the style is a mixture of Epic and Comic, invokes her aid before he proceeds to relate the story of the capture and cooking of a huge fish in Domitian's time—IV, 34,

Incipe, Calliope: licet et considere: non est
Cantandum: res vera agitur.

The attributes of Calliope are a *stilus* (iron pen), tablet and roll of paper. As Hirt observes in his *Bilderbuch Für Mythologie*, the *stilus* with a broad, flat blade for erasing letters on the wax-tablet, is peculiarly suitable in this case, as no kind of composition would require more revision and correction than poetry. Compare Horace, *Satire* I, x, 79,

Saepe stilum veritas, iterum quae digna legi sint
Scripturus: neque te ut miretur turba labores,
Contentus paucis lectoribus.

So Milton in his invocation to the heavenly Muse says, "fit audience find, though few." On a Capitoline relief,

¹ Sir H. Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, Vol. I, p. 350 *sq.*, Room III, No. 44. The bust was found with the head of Hippocrates near Albano. Taylor Combe, *Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, Part II, Pl. XXV.

² Pliny, XXXV, II, § 9, edit. Sillig, "quin immo etiam quae non sunt finguntur, pariuntque desideria non traditi vultus sicut in Homero evenit (lect. dub., traditos vultus?)." See Spon, *Miscellanea eruditae antiquitatis*, p. 140, Homer, Solon, Euclid, &c.

³ Hesiod gives the reason for preferring Calliope, v. 80: ἢ γὰρ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἄμ' ἀειδοῖσιν ὀπηθεῖ. Similarly Ausonius, *Idyll*, XX, Musarum Inventa

et Munera. v. 9, Carmina Calliope libris heroïca mandat. Edit. Schenk, p. 291.

So Horace, *Odes*, III, 14, where he sings the praise of the Muses, mentions Calliope alone by name, and that too in the first Stanza—

"Descende coelo, et dic, age, tibia
Regina longum, Calliope, melos."

Afterwards he speaks of these deities collectively—

"Vester, Camocnae, vester in arduos
Tollor Sabinos,
Vos lene consilium et datis, et dato
Gaudetis, almae."

now in the Louvre, Calliope appears erect, holding a roll and conversing with Homer; in the Museo Pio-Clementino, seated with tablets on her lap. The primacy which I have mentioned seems to be indicated by her having the first place among the Muses in the *Apotheosis of Homer* belonging to the British Museum, which corresponds well with the mosaic at Trèves.¹

“. . . Die edle, welche den Schwestern
Weit vorragt; denn sie waltet der ehrenvollen Gebieter.”

Pausanias informs us that, according to one account, there were originally three Muses, “Meditation,” “Memory,” and “Song”; Homer, though only in one passage, mentions nine—where he relates how they lamented the dead Achilles in a dirge, and their plaintive song drew tears from the eyes of all the Greeks.² Down to a late period they were not distinguished by special attributes; even Horace “knows nothing of any division of the branches of poetry amongst the Nine.” But the progress of civilization led men to specialize more and more, and under the influence of Polytheism it was natural that deities should be assigned as patrons to each pursuit, and that poets and artists should adorn them with appropriate emblems.

The British Museum possesses another representation of the nine Muses; it is the front of a sarcophagus, divided into five arcades by fluted columns, and decorated with festoons of foliage. Sir H. Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, Vol. II, pp. 184–190, with two woodcuts. Here the arrangement should be observed—the goddesses are grouped in pairs according to the connection of their respective departments of art; thus Clio is placed at one

¹ Ellis, *op. citat.*, Vol. II, pp. 118–130, a full description with three woodcuts. Calliope is here the first figure to the spectator's left, known by her tablets. Millingen, *Unedited Monuments*, Series II, Pl. XIII, from a silver vase found at Herculaneum—the same subject, but treated with less composition. Homer is borne aloft by an eagle as the Roman Emperor carried up to heaven appears in sculptures, and on coins with the legend CONSECRATIO. “The field is occupied by arabesque ornaments disposed with taste.”

Conf. omnino Baumeister, *Denkmäler der Klassischen Altertums*, Vol. I, p. 112, *s.v.* Archelaos, the name of the artist, inscribed on the Apotheosis of Homer in the British Museum.

² Pausanias, IX, XXIX, § 2, Μελίτην καὶ Μνήμην καὶ Ἀοιδίην. Homer, *Odyssey*, XXIV, 60—

Μοῦσαι δ' ἐννέα πᾶσαι, ἀμειβόμεναι ὅπι
καλῷ
Θρημνον' ἔνθα κεν ὕπτιν' ἀδάκρυτον γ'
ἐνόησας
Ἄργείων τῶτον γὰρ ὑπόρορε Μοῦσα
λίγηα.

end in juxtaposition with Calliope, Polyhymnia with Urania at the other extremity. This example, though evidently of a late period and coarse in execution, is superior to most of its class. That in the Louvre shows us additional features—Socrates talking to Erato, as well as Calliope with Homer, mentioned above. Baumeister remarks that these subjects in Roman times were frequently chosen for the sepulchral monuments of poets and learned men: *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, Vol. II, p. 973; he also gives an engraving of a *Musen-sarkophag* in the Glyptothek at Munich, Abbildung, 1186, not published previously. In this relief all the Muses have on their foreheads feathers as trophies, taken from the wings of Sirens who ventured on a contest with them and were defeated.¹

Other deities also are represented—"Minerva," in the centre of the composition, helmeted, leaning on her spear, with the owl at her feet—an accessory with which Athenian coins have made us familiar—and Apollo at the end towards the spectator's right, his left hand resting on a lyre, and next him a griffin, with reference to his sojourn with the Hyperboreans, neighbours of the Arimaspians, who fought for gold with these fabulous creatures: compare Professor Basile, *Sull' antico edificio della Piazza Vittoria in Palermo*, Tav. II; and Tav. III, coloured plate of a mosaic, "Apollo riding on a griffin," C. O. Müller, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, § 361 sq.²

Those who wish to pursue this subject further will obtain ample information in the following books:—

Millin, *Galerie Mythologique*, 1811, *Planches*, XX-XXV, and especially XX No. 64, XXIV No. 76; also *Explication des Planches*, Vol. I, pp. 15-19; Dieux du Ciel, *Les Muses*, pp. 124-131.

Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture* 1850, *Texte*, tome III, pp. 243-303; *Planches*, tome II, Plate 205, 45—good outlines with name of Muse appended to each figure.

Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, 1854, *Musen*, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, § 393; *Fortsetzung*,

¹ Baumeister, III, 1643, Abbildung 1700, Odysseus und die Seirenen.

² See my Paper on "Antiquities in the Museum of Palermo," *Archæol. Journ.*, 1881, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 149.

Text, pp. 27--33, with many references on the last page ; Taf. LVII-LIX, Nos. 730-750.

W. Fröhner, *Notice de la Sculpture Antique du Musée Impérial du Louvre*, 1870, Vol. I, pp. 350-366. *Les Muses*.

II and III octagons.—Only small fragments of drapery have been found, also letters which may have belonged to this compartment—CA and EN—the latter probably a remnant of MELPOMENE, the “ Muse of Tragedy ” whose usual attributes are the club of Hercules and a heroic mask ; she wears *cothurni*, boots with thick cork soles, such as increased the stature of actors. Compare *Juvenal*, VI, 506—

“ nullis adjuta cothurnis,”

where he is speaking of a short lady. Gifford paraphrases—

there's some excuse,
If every art, to aid her height, she use.
Vol. I, p. 258, *note*.

See *Juvenal*, *ibid.* V, 634, “ altum Satira sumente cothurnum.”

I exhibit a photograph of the Melpomene in the Louvre, which, from its colossal size and conspicuous position, if for no other reason, must be well remembered by visitors to the Gallery of Antiques ; Fröhner, pp. 357-361, No. 386.¹

IV. [*Tham[y]ris* and [*Erato* ?] Little remains in this octagon besides the letters which I have indicated as extant. We should expect to find Erato coupled with Thamyris, as she is said to have been his mother. This Muse personifies lyric, and especially erotic poetry, hence she is often, though not invariably, represented holding a lyre ; Hirt, *op. citat.*, p. 209, Tab. XXIX, Fig. 9. We can hardly look at the mosaic without thinking of our own Epic poet, and especially of a passage in the third book of the *Paradise Lost*, verses 26--35.

¹ Fröhner, p. 358, “ une des plus grandes statues qui existent.” It is supposed to have adorned Pompey's

theatre on the borders of the Campus Martius.

Yet not the more
Cease I to wander where the muses haunt.
* * * * *

nor sometimes forget
Those other two equal'd with me in fate,
So were I equal'd with them in renown,
Blind Thamyris and blind Maeonides.

The former is mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, Vol. I, p. 363, edit. Potter (132, 47, edit. Sylburg), as having invented the Doric harmony.¹ Bishop Newton in his note on the *Paradise Lost*, I, 550—

Anon they move
In perfect Phalanx to the Dorian mood
Of flutes and soft recorders ;

remarks that the Lydian (mode) was the most doleful, the Phrygian the most sprightly, and the Dorian the most grave and majestic ; and quotes a passage, in support of his explanation, from Milton's *Speech for the liberty of unlicensed Printing*, Vol. I, p. 149, edit. 1738.² The poet probably had in view the graphic description Thucydides gives of the Spartans who advanced to battle at Mantinea slowly to the sound of flutes, preserving an even and unbroken front.³

According to Homer, Thamyris challenged the Muses, and was punished by them with blindness and the loss of the gift of song. Their contest with the sirens, mentioned above, also appears on a sarcophagus-relief at Florence (Uffizi Gallery), which has been engraved and described by Millingen, *Unedited Monuments*, Series II, Plate 15, pp. 28-30 ; see also Müller-Wieseler, *op. citat.*, text p. 33, Plate LIX, No. 750. Lord Byron concludes a beautiful stanza on Parnassus (*Childe Harold*, Canto I, LX) with the following lines :—

The humblest of thy pilgrims passing by
Would gladly woo thine Echoes with his string,
Though from thy heights no more one Muse will wave her wing.

But, as far as I am aware, there is no precedent in

¹ Καθ' ἕπερ Φρύγιον ἄρμονίαν, καὶ μίξοφρύγιον καὶ μίξολύδιον, Μαρσίαν, τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντα τοῖς προειρημένοις χώρας· καὶ τὴν Δώριον Θάμυριν ἐπινοήσαι τὸν θράκα.

² "No music must be heard, no song be set or sung but what is grave and

Doric." Bp. Newton observes that Milton uses grave and Doric almost as synonymous terms. Vol. I, p. 57 of his edition.

³ Thucydides, Lib. V, Cap. 70, ὁμαλῶς μετὰ ῥυθμῶν βάνοντες.

classical art or literature for assigning such an appendage to any of the Nine Sisters.

V. [Ac]icar(us)? and Polymni(a)—ICAR is all that now appears, and the first letter might be only an upright stroke, forming part of H, M or N. The name Acicarus has been inserted here from a conjecture of Studemund;¹ it is plausible because the word occurs in the *Stromata* of Clemens Alexandrinus, whose writings present some coincidences with our mosaic—for instance, we also find in both Agnis, another uncommon personage. Moreover the blank space would be sufficient for the missing letters AC.²

The inventor of some art, which we are unable to specify, is seated on a stool, probably with a roll of papers in his hand, like Aratus in the next compartment. A Muse stands clothed in a chiton (*tunica*) and himation (*pallium*); the latter is thrown across over the breast, and hangs down to the knees. She holds with both hands a long pole, thicker at the upper end, possibly a torch. Polyhymnia generally appears in an attitude of meditation, leaning on a rock, perhaps of Mount Parnassus, wrapped in a mantle, and without any distinctive attribute, which is unnecessary as her posture speaks for itself; *loquitur gestu*, as Ausonius says, *Idylls* XX, 9. The statue of this Muse in the Louvre is a very beautiful one, but it should be borne in mind that the upper part has been restored. She wears a crown of roses, for which I think there is no ancient authority. Nor can I see any reason for selecting this flower, which has no particular connection with memory or reflection. *Pansies* would have been more suitable according to Shakespeare who puts into Ophelia's mouth the words "that's for thoughts," *Hamlet*, Act IV, Scene V, 176.³

¹ In the *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Band V, 1890, Erstes Heft, p. 4 *sq.*, he mentions that *Acicarus* is the title of a book in Diogenes Laertius, V, II, 50 (Vol. I, p. 295, ed. Meibomius); it was written by Theophrastus.

² Quoted by Hettner, *Zu den Römischen Altertümern von Trier und Umgegend*, p. 46: *Stromata*, I, xv, Vol. I, p. 356 *sq.*, edit. Potter, Δημόκριτος γὰρ τοῦς Βαβυλωνίους λόγους ἠθικοὺς πεποίηται λέγεται γὰρ τὴν Ἀκικάρου στήλην ἐρμηνευθεῖσαν τοῖς ἰδίοις συν-

τάζει συγγράμμασι. The passage is obscure; see the long note by Reinesius *in loco*.

³ This would seem to be connected with the French *pensée*. *Paconcies*, folio edit., Halliwell, Vol. XIV, p. 296; n. 25, p. 312. "Thus are my thoughts fed with fancies, and, to be brief, my life is lengthened out by fancies; then, Madam, blame me not if I like *penses* well, and thinke nothing if I set no other flowre in my nosegay," &c.—"Alcida," Greene's *Metamorphosis*, 1617.

Our mosaic has POLYMNI(*a*), retaining the Greek form Πολύμνια (French Polymnie), but we often find in Latin authors—Horace, Ovid and Martial—Polyhymnia, which suits their metre. There is also in some cases another reading, Polymneia, making the *y* short, and separating the vowels *e* and *i* by Diaeresis: the latter part of the word is μνεία memory, and this would agree with the common notion that the Muses were daughters of Jupiter and Mnemosyne.¹

VI. Aratós and Urania. This octagon has suffered from fire more than any other of those that remain. The weight of rafters falling down bent the pillars that supported the hypocaust, and made the mosaic take the form of a trough: the tessellae were burnt even to the centre. Aratus seated, wrapped in a mantle, holds with both hands a roll of parchment. We should observe the acute accent on the last syllable of Aratos; usually it is on the first syllable when the word is a Proper Name. But when the accent is on the ultima ἀρατός, Ionic ἀρητός (ἀράομαι), the meaning is prayed for, won by prayer. Liddell and Scott compare the Hebrew *Samuel*, First Book of Samuel i, 9–11, 20; see the marginal note “asked of God.”²

The Muse bends towards Aratos in an ungraceful posture, but this arises from the sinking of the mosaic; her head is adorned with the Siren-feather. Hirt, *Bilderbuch* (Text p. 210, Plate XXIX, Fig. 11), gives an engraving of Urania in the Museo Pio-clementino wearing three upright feathers, like the Prince of Wales' crest. A carefully painted hydria from Vulci, now in the British Museum, represents the Sirens perched on rocks, and endeavouring to allure by their songs Ulysses who is tied

¹ *E.g.* Horace, *Odes*, I, 1, 33—

“nec Polyhymnia

Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.”

Virgil, *Ciris*, v. 45—

“Nam verum fateamur, amat Polym-
neia verum.”

² Forbiger's 3rd edition, “Secunda corripitur Graeco more ut in Clytemnestra facit Ausonius Epitaphia No. 2”; but Schenkl here reads Clytemestra.

² Orelli's collection gives examples of accents in Latin Inscriptions; some-

times they are placed on letters where we should not expect to find them.

The historical personality of Aratus is remarkable here, for he occupies a place amongst mythical celebrities. This may be accounted for, if we remember his great popularity with the Romans. Ovid, *Amores*, I, xv, 16—

“Cum Sole et Luna semper Aratus erit.”

Cf. Cicero, *de Oratore*, I, 16; *De Natura Deorum*, II, 41.

to the mast of his ship; they have the heads of women and bodies of birds. In some respects the treatment of the subject differs from Homer's narrative, *Odyssey*, Book XII. This vase is engraved in Smith's *Classical Dictionary*, revised edition 1894, woodcut inserted in p. 618.¹

Urania wears a tunic and mantle over it, the broad sleeve of the former garment being arranged so that the end of it falls within the folds of the latter, and the forearm is left bare; hence there is nothing to interfere with her attitude as she points to a globe at her feet, which shows a great variety of colours—dark brown in the lower part, white in the upper, and grey in the rest. Between the two hemispheres lies a zone of blue tessellae, and on the upper hemisphere three red semi-circles are visible. The astronomical Muse, so occupied, may remind us of Virgil's lines, *Eclogue* III, 40 *seqq.*,

“In medio duo signa, Conon, et quis fuit alter,
Descripsit radio totum qui gentibus orbem,
Tempora quae messor, quae curvus arator haberet?”

Mitten darauf ist Konon geschnitzt, und wie heisst noch der andre,
Welcher beschrieb mit dem Stäbchen des Weltalls Kreise den
Völkern,

Was dem Ernter für Zeit, und dem krummen Pflüger gerecht sei?

Compare *Aeneid* VI, 850,

“coelique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent.
und die Bahnen des Himmels

Zeichnet genauer ihr Stab, und verkündiget Sternen den Aufgang.”

I have copied the translation by Voss because it reproduces both the meaning and the metre of the original.²

The staff (*radius*) with which geometers and other scientists drew figures or diagrams is also mentioned by Cicero *Tusculan Disputations*, Book V, Chap. XXIII, § 64, where he relates his discovery of the tomb of Archimedes

¹ On a vase in the British Museum we find the name of a Siren inscribed ΗΙΜΕΡΟΓΑ. Compare Aglaope and Parthenope; ὄψ, ὀπός a voice, akin to ἔπος, ἐπειν, root Επ. Old Catalogue, Vol. I, p. 229, No. 785—Κηληδόνας the Charmers are mystical songstresses, like the Sirens, but harmless: Pindar, *Fragments*, 25. Liddell and Scott *s.v.*

² When Milton in his invocation, *Paradise Lost*, Book VII, init. says, “Descend from heaven, Urania,” it has been supposed that he has in view Sylvester's poem “Urania, or the Heavenly Muse,” translated by Du Bartas, 1621, p. 425 *seq.*; note in Vol. II, p. 235, of Todd's edition of Milton's poetical works.

at Syracuse, "ex eadem urbe humilem homunculum a pulvere et radio excitabo . . . Archimedes." His expressions in a subsequent section, 66, serve for a commentary on our Mosaic, which exhibits the Nine Sisters in connection with art and literature. "Quis est omnium, qui modo cum Musis id est, cum humanitate et cum doctrina habeat aliquod commercium, qui se non hunc mathematicum malit, quam illum tyrannum?"

Aratus is interesting for two reasons. 1. His poems "Phaenomena" (Φαινόμενα) and "Prognostica" (Διοσημεία) were translated by the orator, and considerable fragments of these versions still remain. He was not a mathematician or an observer, but only imitated in poetry the writings of Eudoxus. It is not quite certain to which of these two authors Virgil refers in the passage of the *Eclogues* cited above. 2. Aratus is quoted by St. Paul in his sermon on Mars' Hill; Acts xvii, 28, Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἑσμέν, "For we are also His offspring." Alford observes that *καί* (also) has no connection *here*, but refers to the words immediately preceding. Πάντη δὲ Διὸς κεχρήμεθα πάντες, in every way we all have need of Jove. Nearly the same phrase, Ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἑσμέν, occurs in the Hymn of Cleanthes to Jupiter, which closely approaches Christian sentiment; and as the Apostle uses the plural number, he may have had both poets in his mind (ὅς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν).

It was quite natural that St. Paul should cite Aratus in his address to the Athenians, for they were both natives of the same province, Cilicia; Soli, the birth-place of the latter being distant about 24 miles south-west from Tarsus. It was afterwards called Pompeiopolis, because it was restored by Pompey the Great after his successful war with the pirates. The coins of this place are remarkable for the effigy of Aratus on one side, and Chrysippus on the other.² Here the writer on astronomy

¹ For an exposition of this Discourse see Bentley's *Boyle Lectures*, II, preached April 4, 1692. *Works*, edit. Dyce, Vol. III, pp. 26-34.

² Baumeister, *op. citat.*, s.r. Aratos, "Die Stadt Soloi nur diese zwei berühmten Männer hervorbrachte." But according to Strabo, XIV, v. 8, p. 671, the poet Philemon also was a native of this place. Legend ΘΚC 229,

counting from the æra of Pompeiopolis, i.e. A.D. 162. This Aratus must not be confounded with Aratus of the Achaean League. Pape, s.r. 1. Σολεύς, der bekannter Dichter; 2. ὁ Σικωνίσιος, berühmter Feldherr der Griechen. From Soli the word solecism is derived; hence we infer that the inhabitants spoke very incorrectly. Liddell and Scott, seventh edition, s.r. σόλοικος.

is appropriately portrayed looking up heavenwards; while his fellow-townsmen stroke his beard—a gesture that seems to denote meditation.

VII. Cadmus and Clio. The former is probably the Phœnician, who, according to Herodotus, introduced the alphabet into Greece;¹ and not Cadmus of Miletus, author of a history of that city and Ionia, mentioned by Strabo together with the earliest Greek prose-writers, Pherecydes and Hecataeus. This interpretation agrees with the mythical character of other personages appearing in these compartments, and with the passage in Clement already quoted—a literary parallel to the artistic work we are now considering.

Some lines of Ausonius have been adduced by Professor Bücheler as an illustration of our mosaic: *Epistles* IV, 74, edit. Schenkl, p. 161,

“cum tibi
Cadmi nigellas filias,
Melonis albam paginam,
Notasque furvae sepiae,²
Gnidiosque nodos prodidit.”

compare *ibid.* XVIII, 1, 14, edit. Schenkl, p. 81,

“Said to come from the corruption of the Attic dialect among the Athenian colonists of Σόλοι in Cilicia,” Strabo, Bk. XIV, Chap. III, § 1, p. 664.

On the contrary, Tarsus was a city where “Greek literature was studiously cultivated,” for which we have the testimony of Strabo, XIV, v, § 13, p. 674, a very competent judge, and, as he was born at Amasia in Pontus, likely to be well acquainted with the cities of Asia Minor. See Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 8vo edition, Chap. I, p. 27; also Chap. III, p. 130. They give a free translation of the passage just cited; it begins as follows:—

Τοσούτη δὲ τοῖς ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώποις
σπουδὴ πρὸς τε φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
παιδείαν ἐγκύκλιον ἵπασαν γέγονεν, ὥσθ’
ὑπερβέβηται καὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἀλέξ-
άνδρειαν καὶ ἴτινα ἄλλον τόπον δυνατὸν
εἶπεν, ἐν ᾧ σχολαὶ καὶ διατριβὰι
γεγύνασι.

The geographer’s account of Tarsus and its intelligent population goes far towards explaining the philosophical tone of St. Paul’s Epistles, which we observe especially when we compare them with other parts of the New Testament.

As solecism comes from Soli, so with a false analogy ἀσελγεια (intemperance, insolence—Demosthenes, *Philipp.*, I, 9), has been derived from Selge, a town in Pisidia, some supposing that *a* is privative (στερητικόν) and that all the citizens were virtuous; others that *a* is intensive (ἐπιτατικόν) and that they were wicked and wanton. Such guesses are a specimen of the absurd conjectures with which many of the earlier etymologists amused themselves; see Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, edit. 1831–1856, Paris, Vol. I, Pt. 2, col. 2155, and Suidas: ἀσελγής may be connected with θέλω by a common interchange of θ and σ, e.g. in the Doric dialect σείος for θείος; others compare σαλακών, a swaggerer; Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* seventh edition.

¹ Herodotus, Book V, Chap. 58, ‘Οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὐνοὶ οἱ σὺν Κῦδω ἀπικόμενοι, . . . ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ Φῆ καὶ γράμματα’ οὐκ ἴδοντα πρὶν Ἑλλησι, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖν. See the note in Baelh’s edition. *Kentrick’s Phoenicia*, Chap. V, Alphabet, Language, and Literature.

² *Sepia* is the cuttle-fish, which discharges a black fluid concealing it from

“Aegyptio Melone majorem, frigidiorē Scythico Tanai
 . . . reddidisti.”

Melo is another name for the Nile, perhaps akin to the Greek μέλας, *avos niger*: compare Virgil, *Georgics* IV, 291 (293). Et viridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat arena.

The black daughters of Cadmus *i.e.* letters of the alphabet are contrasted with the white papyrus, the pith used to make paper being of that colour.¹

There are said to be some indications that Cadmus held a roll of parchment in his hand, but in the engraving these are not evident. Clio wears as an ornament to her head the Siren-feathers, and a lock of hair hangs down on her shoulder; her left hand seems to rest on a lyre placed on a pedestal. Between the two figures we

the fisherman. Persius, *Sat.*, III, v. 13,

“Tunc queritur, crassus calamo
 quod pendeat humor,
 Nigra pond infusa vanescat sepia
 lymphæ,”

uses this word to mean ink (*atramentum*), whence we have *atramentarium*, an inkstand. The cuttle-fish appears on a coin assigned to Gortyna in Crete by Combe's *Catalogue* (Description) of the *Hunter Cabinet*, p. 147, “Rev., *Polypus*. Supra \sqcap in quadrato ineuso,” Tab. XXVIII, fig. 20. C. Knight's *Cyclopaedia of Natural History*, Vol. IV, cols. 749-756, with several engravings. *S.v.* Sepiadae, col. 752: Of one genus it is said, “The ink was black, of the same tint as the China ink.” Cf. Horace, *Sat.*, I, iv, 100, “Hic nigrae succus loliginis.” The expression here is, of course, figurative. Orelli remarks, “It would be in prose *maliguitas ac livor*.”

Combe is mistaken in his attribution of the coin mentioned above, for it really belongs to Eretria, which the letter \sqcap in the field indicates, B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 306, Fig. 207. The sepia (τεuthίς) points to the cultus of Poseidon. This creature appears to have been the well known and recognised device or ‘arms’ of the town of Eretria, just as the owl was of Athens; for Themistocles, on one occasion, mockingly compared the Eretrians to cuttle-fish: τὸς δὲ Ἐρετριῶτες ἐπισκόπων ἔλεγεν ὡσπερ τευθίδας μάχαιραν μὲν ἔχειν, καρδίαν δὲ μὴ ἔχειν.

Plutarch, *Apophth. Reg. et Imp.* (Themist.), XIV; also *Vita Themist.*, XI. No notice of sepia as a type used at Gortyna occurs in Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*; Lenke, *Numismata Hellenica*, or the *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins* (Crete, pp. 37-47, Plates IX-XI).

Combe's error is not corrected in the “Notes on his Catalogue” by Mr. George Macdonald, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1896, Pt. II, pp. 144-154.

Conf. omnino Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums von Imhoof-Blumer und Otto Keller, Leipzig, 1889. P. 10, “Übersicht der Abbildungen Sepien und Polypen,” VIII, 15-25, Taf. XXIV, 44-47; “Erklärung der Münztafeln,” p. 51 sq.; “Erklärung der Gemmentafeln,” p. 148. The Plates are exceptionally fine.

From *sepia* an island in the Aegean Sea may take its name—Sepiussa, near Caria, Pliny, V. 31, § 134, in *Ceramico sinu*. Jacobi Bailey *Auctarium* in the Appendix to *Forcellini's Lexicon*.

¹ Sir Gardner Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. III, p. 61 sq., and especially pp. 146-155, where an account is given not only of papyrus, but also of parchment and other materials that superseded it. At p. 150 he cites Pliny, XIII, 12, § 78, “Besides the breadth, the fineness, thickness, whiteness, and smoothness are particularly regarded.” *Practerea spectatur chartis tenuitas, densitas, candor, levor.*

see a table on which is placed a spherical object, from which two small sticks project: perhaps an ink-bottle, quill pen and stilus are here represented.

Clio, as the Muse of History, is fitly invoked by Horace when he celebrates the praises of mythical personages and illustrious Romans; *Odes I, XII, 1.*

“Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
Tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?”

What man, what hero, on the tuneful lyre,
Or sharp-ton'd flute, will Clio choose to raise
Deathless to fame?”

Francis' translation.

Hero or demi-god would be a more accurate rendering of the original.

Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie, Archäologie und Kunst*, Plate XXXI, Fig. 1, has an engraving from a picture found at Herculaneum. Clio is seated and holds a roll of paper open, near her chair a round box is placed full of rolls: (see Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, s.v. *Capsa*), and compare Hirt, Plate XXIX, 4, a statue in the Museo Pio-Clementino (Hall of the Muses). Hirt erroneously says that the Apotheosis of Homer exhibits Clio standing next to Apollo in the Corycian Cave. This female is the Pythia offering a libation—compare full page Plate in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, Vol. I, p. 112, *Abbildung No. 118.*

The Corycium Antrum figured here is on Mount Parnassus in Phocis, higher up than the Castalian spring, and must not be confounded with another cavern bearing the same name, near Corycus, the most Western town of Cilicia Campestris—a region to which Virgil alludes in the *Georgics IV, 125–127.*

“Namque sub Oebaliae memini me turribus altis,
Qua niger humectat flaventia culta Galaesus,
Corycium vidisse senem.”¹

Here I may remark that the epithet *niger* applied to the River Galaesus corresponds with Melo (black) a synonym of Nilus, and the River Blackwater in the south of Ireland. Forcellini mentions the usual attri-

¹ The Corycian old man had probably been transferred to Calabria by Pompey the Great after conquering

the Cilician pirates: see the notes of Forbiger and Conington, Virgil *loc. citat.*





OCTOB

SANTA ANNA

SIC HVS

EN IVS

THE MOSAIC OF MONJUS. TRÉVES MUSEUM.

butes of Clio, Pingitur dextra tubam, sinistra librum tenens. The names of the Muses are prefixed to the books of Herodotus and Clio comes first, but these inscriptions probably did not proceed from the author: see Baehr's edition, Vol. IV, p. 415 *sq.* *De Vita et Scriptis Herodoti*, § 13.¹

VIII. Agnis and Euterp(e). This is the best preserved octagon, and therefore it has been selected for a coloured engraving in the Denkmäler of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute. The Muse, leaning on a desk, holds with her left hand two flutes crossing each other furnished with upright stops to open or close the holes, which, however, do not seem as convenient as those now in use: with her right hand she grasps the end of the upper flute. Agnis bending forward listens attentively to the teaching of the goddess, and extends his right hand towards the musical instrument, while he holds a crooked staff with his left. Before him stands an open book-box containing six rolls, and the cover leans against it; behind him is an arm-chair with curved back, such as may be seen in the Plates accompanying Panofka's *Bilder Antiken Lebens*.² Agnis is the form of the name which we read in the Mosaic unmistakably; but in the text of Clement quoted above, we find Hyagnis, who, it is said, was a Phrygian, and discovered the harmony of chords consisting of three notes. In the same passage he informs us that Satyrus, also a Phrygian, invented the Pan's pipe (σύριγξ). Studemund thinks that the reading Agnis should be restored to the author in accordance with the inscription on the octagon.³

¹ Baehr quotes Lucian, and adds, "Unde hoc certo mihi colligere posse videor, Luciani actate hanc et distinctionem et appellationem jam obtinuisse, ab Alexandrinis, opinor, criticis introductam."

² Panofka, *op. citat.*, Tafel IV, *Musik*, Figs. 2, 5, 6, 10; und Tafel XIX, *Frauenleben*, Figs. 1, 5: "Auf einem 'Lehnstuhl' sitzt eine Frau mit Weben (ὑφαίνειν) oder Sticken (ποικίλλειν) mit der Nadel (ῥαβδίς) emsig an ihrem Rahmen; . . . beschäftigt."

³ *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Band V, 1890, Erstes Heft, Studemund, "Zum

Mosaik des Monnus," p. 3, "Nun ist aber in den Handschriften des Eusebius (*Praeparatio Evangelica*, X, 6, 11) ergänzt, welcher den Clemens wörtlich ausschreibt. Nun ist aber in den Handschriften des Eusebius nicht ὑαγνίω überliefert, sondern ἄγνιω. Somit hat schon Eusebius bei Clemens wahrscheinlich ἄγνιω gelesen. Diese Form nicht nur bei Eusebius, sondern auch bei Clemens in den Text zu setzen rät die nahe Berührung, welche die Beischriften des Trierer Mosaiks auch aufser der überlieferten Namensform Agnis mit den dieser Stelle benachbarten Partieen des Clemens Alexandrinus aufweisen."

Double flutes are mentioned by Terence and other ancient writers; they are also frequently seen in works of art.¹ We need not go beyond the Provincial Museum at Trèves to find an example—No. 232 [XII]. Four blocks of a sepulchral monument left unfinished, found in 1885 and 1886 in the Roman fortress at Jünkerath in the Eifel district. On the pilasters we see the calyx of the acanthus, and a satyr standing upon it and blowing the double flute; he has goat's ears, and a panther's skin over his shoulder: Dr. Hettner's *Catalogue Die Römischen Steindenkmäler*, pp. 105–107, figure repeated on different

¹ See the Frontispiece to Bentley's edition of *Terence*, 1727, repeated on a reduced scale with an explanation in Madam Dacier's edition, 1732. The design is modern, but conceived in a classical spirit. A boy playing the double flute stands behind the poet, who offers his comedies to the goddess Roma. She in return presents him with the cap of liberty (*pileus*).

This illustration corresponds with the notice (*didascalía*) prefixed to the Andria—MODOS FECIT FLACCUS CLAUDI TIBIIS PARIB. DEXTRIS ET SINISTRIS—from which we learn that the play was accompanied by a double set of pipes, one pair of which were both bass, the other both treble; Rich., *Companion to the Latin Dictionary*, s.v. Tibia; see also Tibicen and Tibicira. *Didascalía* does not occur in the classical authors with the meaning given above. They use it to signify the rehearsal of a chorus, the drama acted on the stage, and, in the plural, Catalogues of dramas; v. Stephens' *The-saurus*, and Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, seventh edition. The *tibia* held in the right hand produced bass notes, that in the left treble, resembling the sexual distinction in the human voice. Herodotus, I, 17, speaks of the male and female pipe, Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ (Ἀλνύττης) ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων, καὶ ἀλδὺν γυναικίῳ τε καὶ ἀνδρῆϊο, with the notes of Baehr's edition and Rawlinson's translation. We often find in works of art the two pipes connected by a check-piece (*capistrum*, *Mund-band*), which had an opening at the mouth, and enabled the pipers to produce a better tone from their instruments. The analogous word in Greek, φορβεία, is found in an author of the best period—Sophocles, *Fragment*, 753.

Poetae Scenici Graeci, edit. Dindorf, quoted by Cicero, *Epistles to Atticus*, II, 16, "Cneus quidem noster jam plane quid cogitet nescio:

Φυσῆ γὰρ οὐ σμικροῖσιν ἀλλήκοις ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἀγρίαις φύσαισι φορβείας ἄτερ.

i.e. sine modo—capistrum quo tibicines os sibi obligabant et buccas substringebant, ne ultra justum modum inflarentur, et turpiculum os redderent, tum ut violentia nimii spiritus coliberetur," is the explanation of Salmasius repeated in the note of Graevius, *loc. citat.*

φορβεία, from φέρβω, properly means a feeding-string—a halter for horses or other animals tied to a manger.

Virgil, *Georgics*, III, 399—

"Multi jam exeretis prohibent a matribus haedos, Primaque ferratis praefigunt ora capistris."

"Mancher wehrt von der Mutter sofort das gesonderte Böcklein, Und umheftet die Schnauze von vorn mit gestachelter Halfter."

I have cited the translation by Voss as being more literal than the English version, besides preserving the metre of the original, which, as Bentley remarks (*De Metris Terentianis*, ΣΧΕΔΙΑΣΜΑ), "*patria lingua non recipit*." Here *capistrum* is used to mean a muzzle, but Juvenal applies it figuratively to the bonds of matrimony (*Satires*, VI, 43)—

"Stulta maritali jam porrigit ora capistro;"

"Shouldst stretch the unsuspecting neck, and poke

Thy foolish nose into the marriage joke?"

Gifford's *Translation*.

Capistrum is nowhere used by a Latin author with reference to the flute.

scales—1:50 and 1:15. So Horace, *Odes*, Book I, 1. 32, uses the plural number, though his metre does not require it.

“ si neque tibus
Euterpe cohibet,”

IX. [Thalia] and? In this compartment only the lower left-hand corner of the picture is still entire. Here we have on a pedestal a comic mask, ornamented with a wreath, and over it a shepherd's crook—in front of these objects there are only remains of a tunic and himation, which indicate a standing figure. The *pedum* may remind us of Virgil, *Eclogues*, VI, init. :—

“ Prima Syracosio dignatast ludere versu
Nostra, nec erubuit silvas habitare Thalia ;”

where we may remark that *Syracosio* agrees with *Συρακοσίω* in the famous Syracusan medallion.¹ In all the other octagons the Muse stands on the right side, but here on the left, a fact which was corroborated by the discovery of fragments under the Ennius-square, viz. :— a part of the Muse's head with a small blue stone belonging to the Siren-feather, and her left arm enveloped in the himation. Supposing that Erato is correctly inserted together with Thamyris, seven of the Nine Sisters have been accounted for, and the two remaining compartments would be occupied by Melpomene and Terpsichore. If we begin with Clio, the order of the goddesses will correspond with that given by Hesiod, and observed also by Ausonius in his Twentieth Idyll.²

¹ B. V. Head, “On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse.” See esp. Chap. VI, “Time of Dionysios and his Successors, B.C. 406-345,” pp. 20-23. To the tyranny of Dionysios must be classed the finest of all the Syracusan coins, both in gold and silver. Plates IV, V, which are also in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, Vol. XIV.

² *Theogonia*, vv. 76-80—

Ἐννία θυγατέρες μεγάλου Διὸς ἔκγε-
γανῖται,
Κλειώ τ' Ἐυτέρπη τε Θάλεια τε
Μελπομένη τε,
Τερψιχόρη τ' Ἐρατώ τε, Πολύμνια τ'
Οὐρανίη τε
Καλλιόπη θ' ἢ δὴ προφερεστάτη
ἔστιν ἄπασίω,
ἢ γὰρ καὶ βασιλεύουσιν ἄμ' ἀιδίοισιν
ὀπηδῶσι.

Ausonius, edit. Schenkl, p. 251, Appendix III; Catonis *De Musis Versus*; edit. Delphin, p. 400, marginal No. 367, Edyll XX; cf. *Anthologia Latina*, edit. Burmann, Vol. I, pp. 50-53, Nos. LXXIII-LXXV.

“Clio gesta canens transactis tem-
pora reddit,
Dulciloquus calamos Euterpe flati-
bus urget,
Comica lascivo gaudet sermone
Thalia,
Melpomene tragico proclamat
maesta boatu,
Terpsichore affectus citharis movet
imperat auget,
Plectra gerens Erato saltat pede
carmine vultu,
Signat euncta manu loquiturque
Polymnia gestu,

Eight squares contain busts of poets and prose-writers, with a single exception which shows us only the head of Virgil.

1. Hesiod better executed and preserved than the rest. He is adorned with a white fillet (*tuenia*). The initial H is omitted, as in the case of Homer, and, I presume, for the same reason. A writer in the *Jahrbuch d. deutschen archäol. Instituts* 1890, S. 213 *sq.* argues from the representations of Hesiod and Ennius in our Mosaic that the marble heads usually assigned to Apollonius of Tyana¹ and the elder Scipio should be transferred to these two poets.

2. T [Livius]. Only the outline of the right side and breast is preserved together with the initial letter T of the praenomen. Most probably we should read here Titus Livius; perhaps for want of a cognomen, the

Urania † poli motus scrutatur et
astra,
Carmina Calliope libris heroica
mandat
Mentis Apollineae vis has movet
undique Musas:
In medio residens complectitur
omnia Phoebus."

¹ Wolters *Zum Mosaik des Monnus*. This memoir is illustrated by good engravings of Hesiod in the mosaic, and of a bust in the Capitoline Museum, where the arrangement of the hair and beard is similar. For Scipio's portrait he refers to Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, I, p. 36 *seq.* and p. 47 *seq.*, the latter passage being a criticism of the attribution, "Ich möchte diesmal nur auf die Verwandtschaft hinweisen, welche die beiden besterhaltenen Bildnisse des Mosaiks, die als Ennius und Esiodus bezeichneten (*Ant. Denkm.*, I, 1889, Taf. 49), mit erhaltenen Büsten besitzen."

Apollonius was a Pythagorean philosopher who pretended to supernatural powers, and a native of Tyana in the south-west of Cappadocia. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Chap. XI, note 63, Vol. II, p. 22, edit. Smith, says that "he was born about the same time as Jesus Christ. His life (that of the former) is related in so fabulous a manner by his disciples, that we are at a loss to discover whether he was a sage, an impostor, or a fanatic." Philostratus is our chief ancient authority for this

subject: edit. Kayser, 4to, 1844, eight books, pp. 1-173, *Φιλοστράτου τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανία Ἀπολλώνιον*. Smith's *Classical Dictionary* has an article that will satisfy the curiosity of the general reader.

Seeing that Hesiod flourished at a very remote period, about B.C. 735, I think it most likely that his portrait in the Mosaic is ideal, like those of Homer mentioned above. Hesiod is interesting to us partly because he wrote the earliest didactic poem, "Works and Days" (*Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμίραι*), and partly because Virgil in the *Georgics* has imitated him.

Cf. Georg., II, 176—

"Ascrænumque cano Romana per
oppida carmen."

"And sing Ascræan verse in Roman
towns."

Ascræ in Boeotia being the poet's birth-place.

Ibid., III, 10 *sq.*—

"Primus ego in patriam mecum,
modo vita supersit,

Aonio redivens deducam vertice
Musas."

Eclogues, vi, 70—

"Hos tibi dant calamos, en
accipe, Musæ,

Ascræo quos ante seni."

Conf. omnino Conington's *Virgil*, Introduction to the "Georgics," Vol. I, pp. 118-126; sketch of "Works and Days," pp. 121-124.

historian was so called, as the French always say Tite-Live.

3. Vergilius (*sic*) Maro. Only the head and neck are portrayed, because the name, occupying two lines, leaves no space sufficient for a bust. The head in this case is youthful; the others show a more advanced age. The Epic poets of Greece and Rome are here in juxtaposition, as they are mentioned together by Thomson in his *Castle of Indolence*, Canto II.

“Great Homer’s song had never fired the breast
With thirst of glory and heroic deeds;
Sweet Maro’s Muse, sunk in inglorious rest,
Had silent slept amid the Mincian reeds.”¹

E in the preceding inscription should be noticed. It is now generally admitted that Vergilius ought to be preferred to Virgilius, though it may not succeed in supplanting the latter. Similarly, incorrect names of statues and busts in the course of time establish a kind of prescriptive right.² Our mosaic here agrees with the Medicean Manuscript and the Scholia, edited by Angelo Mai. A sufficiently full discussion of the subject will be

¹ Virgil, *Georgie*, III, 14—

“tardis ingens ubi flexibus
errat
Mincius et tenera prætexit arun-
dine ripas.”

“Where Mincio’s stream bedews the
verdant field;
And spreading wide his ling’ring
waters, feeds
Around his winding shores the
tender reeds.”

“The Mineio spreads into a lake close to Mantua,” Conington’s note *in loco*. These lines probably suggested Thomson’s allusion to Virgil quoted above.

² *E.g.* a figure in the Capitoline Museum is usually called “The Dying Gladiator,” and Lord Byron’s beautiful stanzas in Canto IV, cXL *sq.*, of *Childe Harold* have helped to perpetuate the error: it is known to be a barbarian from one of the Northern nations, probably a Gaul, which a *torquis* (collar) round the neck indicates. See Mr. James Yates’s *Memoir to the Archaeological Institute at Bristol*, 1853; *Roman Court Catalogue, Crystal Palace*, p. 56, *sq.* Similarly, “The

Fighting Gladiator” is an improper appellation: the statue is nude, and it seems to be “an imitation of a bronze of the Macedonian period. The parts of the body are long-drawn, and much divided,” quite different from the style of Phidias. The warrior of Agasias is the best name, as ΑΓΑΣΙΑΣ is inscribed on the pedestal: *Greek Court Catalogue, Crystal Palace*, p. 52, No. 5. Both these catalogues were compiled by the late Sir George Scharf, and contain many useful references to modern authorities. A group called “Pætus and Arria” in the *Villa Ludovisi* is another example of a misnomer: Emil Braun, *Ruins and Museums of Rome*, pp. 341-343. Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, 1826-1851, Texte tome V, p. 64, Planche 825 (*Villa Ludovisi*), No. 2072, calls these figures “Macarée et Canacé.” They were guilty of incest, and both committed suicide. Maffei thought that Menophilus, eunuch of Mithridates, and Doretina, daughter of this monarch, were represented here. There seems to be no sufficient reason for either of these suppositions, but the names of Arria and Pætus are still more inappropriate.

found in Forbiger's *Dissertatio de P. Virgilio Maronis Vita et Carminibus*, prefixed to his third edition of the author, *Lipsiæ*, 1852; and in Wagner's *Orthographia Vergiliana*, pp. 479-481.¹ As usual, the English editor is inferior to the German; Conington has only a meagre note on the subject: *Bibliotheca Classica*, Virgil, Vol. I, Preface, p. XI. The same variation occurs in *Virginius and Verginius*: Juvenal Sat. VIII, 221:—

“Quid enim Verginius armis
Debit ulcisci magis?”

so Rupertus and Otto Jahn read; see their critical notes; compare also *Tacitus Annals*, XV, 23, edit. Orelli, “Habet Verginio M.,” *i.e.* the Medicean Manuscript at Florence: *ibid.* Chap. 71, “Verginius Rufus rhetor exulat.” So we have Vergiliae and Virgiliae, the name of a constellation, *i.e.*, Pleiades: E and I, being pronounced almost alike, would easily be interchanged.

Virgil is a Celtic name, and, one might say with some show of reason, even Irish—the same as Feargil or Feargal, modern Farrell and Ferrall; F taking the place of V, both being dentals, just as the Germans write the latter and give it the sound of the former letter. A friend reminds me that Virgil, born near Mantua, was a native of Gallia Cisalpina, which was subjugated by the Romans at a comparatively late period. *Zeuss Grammatica Celtica*, second edition, p. 11 (13) supports this etymology: “Nomen vix dubiae originis Gallicae.” The root of the word is the Welsh *guerg* (gloss. *efficax*), which also occurs in “Vergobretus”: *Cæsar Bell. Gall.*, I, 16.² Lastly, compare the Greek *Ουεργίλιος*, Nomen proprium (Suidas) and *Ουεργίουιος ὠκέανος* (Ptolemy).³

¹ *Virgil*, edit. Burmann, 4to, Amsterdam, 1746, pp. xxxvi-xli, “Nicolaï Heinsii Dissertatio de Codice Mediceo Virgilio et Turcio Rufo Asterio Codicis illius emendatore.” Facsimile facing p. xxxvi, P UERGILI MARONIS near the bottom of the page.

The “*Orthographia Vergiliana*” will be found in Heyne's *Virgil*, re-edited by Wagner, Vol. V, pp. 381-486, inserted between the Text of the author and the Index to Heyne's notes.

² C. W. Glück, *Die bei Cains Julius Cæsar vorkommenden Keltischen Namen*, pp. 167-184, Verbigennus,

Vercassivellaunus, Verocletius are fully discussed.

³ *Geographia*, II, III, 2, Albion, *Δυσμικῆς πλευρᾶς περιγραφὴ, ἢ παράκειται ὅ τε Ἰηρικὸς Ὠκεανὸς καὶ ὁ Οὐεργίουιος*. Occidentalis lateris descriptio, cui adiacet et Hibernicus Oceanus et Vergionius: for variants of *Ουεργίουιος* ride Carolus Müller's note *in loco*. Cf. Pape, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen*, s.r. “Ein theil des an den Süden Britanniens grenzenden Meeres.” Ptol., vi, 60 (61), Hispania Tarraconensis, *Οὐεργιλία*. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, III, III, S. 4, § 25, Virgilienses, the ethnic name.

About the middle of the eighth century, Irish missionaries preached the Gospel in Germany together with St. Boniface. Virgilius was one of them, and became Archbishop of Salzburg. Here again we have a confirmation of the Celtic derivation given above.¹

4 and 5 contain fragments that can scarcely be defined; letters, however, are quite distinct—R in one square and DIO in the other.

6. [Tul]lius [Cic]ero. The face seems to have formed a complete oval, but only half of it remains. As the nose and mouth are almost unwrought, no individuality can be discerned. Behind the left shoulder the back of an arm-chair is visible. It was formerly supposed that a coin of Magnesia bore the portrait of the Orator, who subsequently to his consulate was Governor of Cilicia; but this attribution is now exploded; perhaps the face on the obverse may be his son's. The finest portrait of Cicero now existing is a bust at Madrid, inscribed AN. LXIII—the year of his assassination—with letters in the Augustan style. It shows a high forehead, sunken cheeks, and an intellectual expression.²

7. Men[an]d[er]. The greater part of the face has perished; the hair is adorned with a laurel wreath. A seated figure, which, together with Poseidippus, was formerly in the Church of San Lorenzo Panisperna at Rome, makes us acquainted with the features of the chief dramatist of the New Attic Comedy, and therefore supplies what is wanting in our Mosaic. These two statues have a singular history, for they were venerated as saints during the Middle Ages, which Emil Braun has proved in his *Ruinen und Museen Roms*, S. 365; English translation, p. 225.³

¹ Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, 1822, Vol. III. pp. 179-186, 205-207, with notes appended to text: cf. *omn.* note 127 on p. 180. The Irish *Fear*, sometimes contracted into *Fer*, has, in latinizing names, been not seldom changed into *Vir*. For *Fear* in Irish signifies *man*, as *Vir* does in Latin. *Fear* and its derivatives; *v.* Armstrong's *Gaelic Dictionary*, p. 245; cf. O'Hart's *Irish Pedigrees*, 1876, p. 214, De Verdon, p. 410, Index of Surnames (*sic*), note 273—Irish Fhear-duinn.

² The best authority for portraits of Cicero is J. J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, 1882. Erster Teil, pp. 132-144; p. 138, Fig. 19, intercalated in the Text, Marmorkopf des Cicero in den Uffizien zu Florenz, Face und Profil; Plates, Marble busts of Cicero, X im Museum zu Madrid, XI im Museo Chiaramonti, XII im Capitolischen Museum.

³ For the bust of Menander see Visconti, *Iconographie Grecque*, Vol. I, Tav. 6, Figs. 1, 2, 3; and Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, Planche 811, No. 2118

S. Ennius is next in place to Hesiod, and next in preservation. He is beardless, and also wears a laurel wreath. A mantle covers his left shoulder. The scanty growth of hair on his head is hardly sufficient evidence to justify Wolters in assigning to Ennius busts, which have the same peculiarity, and usually bear the name of the elder Scipio. On the other hand it would seem strange if our Mosaic is the only monument now existing that represents the national poet, whom Cicero quotes as *noster Ennius*—our countryman—thus contradistinguished from the Greeks. In fact, his case presents a parallel with our own literature, for he versified the annals of Rome as Shakspeare has dramatized the history of England. Cicero, Livy, the elder Pliny, and Valerius Maximus mention a statue of Ennius, which must have been well known, and probably was often reproduced or imitated.¹

(statue): for the bust of Poseidippus, Visconti, *ibid.*, Figs. 4 and 5; Clarac, Pl. 841, No. 2120; and *Crystal Palace Catalogue of the Roman Court*, p. 50 sq., Nos. 290, 291, where other references are given.

Julius Caesar in a famous epigram called "Terence" a half-length Menander:

"Tu quoque tu in summis, O dimidiata Menander,
Poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator," etc.

These words will be found in the "Life of Terence" appended to the text *ex Dav. Heinsii recensione*, Amsterodami, A° c15 l5cXXVI; it has been ascribed to Donatus, also to Suetonius, and therefore printed together with his biographies of Roman Emperors. This edition of Terence also includes passages from the Greek poet (Loea Menand.), 5 pp, which the Latin imitator has derived from him. Another Roman comedian borrowed largely from the same author, for which we have the testimony of Horace, *Epistles*, II, 1, 57—

"Dicitur Afrani toga convenisse
Menandro."

¹ The great popularity of Ennius is shown not only by frequent quotations in Cicero's works, but also by the epitaph which he composed for himself—

"Adspicite, o cives, senis Enni imaginem formam.

Hic vostrum panxit maxuma facta patrum.

Nemo me lacrimis decoret, nec funera fletu

Faxit. Cur? volito vivu' per ora virum."

Tusculanarum Disputationum,
Lib. I, Cap. xv, § 33.

Conf. *ibid.*, C. XLIX, § 117; and *De Senectute*, C. XX, § 73.

Davis here has *pinxit*, and endeavours to justify his reading by several authorities, and amongst them Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, VIII, 12—
Τί με χρί τὰς πολυτρόπους ἀκίας
ΑΝΑΖΩΓΡΑΦΕΙΝ τῶν θανασιῶν Χριστοῦ
μαρτύρων.

But Bentley in his learned note, "Emendationes ad Cicerois Tusculanas," for which *vide* Davies's edition of the *Tusculans*, Oxonii, 1805, p. 408, states clearly the argument for preferring *pinxit*.

Pango, to compose, in a literary sense, occurs in writers of a good period—Cicero, Lucretius, Horace; we also meet it when the Latin language had reached decrepitude, so Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitou (Pictaviensis), who flourished in the sixth century, begins one of his hymns thus:—

"Pange lingua gloriosi praelium certaminis."

Eight squares containing theatrical personages. Of these two and a fragment are preserved. Between the mouths of June and July is a bearded head, looking to left, ornamented with vine-leaves, and wearing a covering whose ends project over the temples. Between October and November we see a head, nearly bald, with scanty grey hair, shaggy beard, arched eyebrows, turned-up nose and goat's ears—the type of Silenus—the aged attendant of Bacchus, and a prominent figure in the Dionysiac cycle. Virgil, in the *VIth Eclogue*, v. 16 *sq.*, describes the garland fallen from his head and the goblet with worn handle as signs of his intemperate habits :

“Serta procul capiti tantum delapsa jacebant,
Et gravis attrita pendebat cantharus ansa.”

These characteristic attributes are wanting here.¹

Corners occupied by pentagons, in which the Seasons are personified as Cupids or Amoretti riding. Winter has

Vid. Abbè Migne, *Patrologia*, Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 87. *Miscellanea*, Lib. II, Cap. 11.

Ennius is included by Bernoulli amongst the Apokryphe Republikaner-bildnisse, *Römische Ikonographie*, Vol. I, p. 233 *seq.* Q. Ennius (239 bis 169 v. Chr.).—Amethyst bei Cades, V. 214, “mit der Büste eines kahlköpfigen (bald-headed) Mannes nach rechts. Er hat ein Gewand um die Brust geschlungen, welches die rechte Schulter bloss lässt. Vor ihm ein Lorbeerzweig, hinter ihm die Buchstaben Q. E.”

¹ The sixth Eclogue of Virgil is entitled *Silenus* in Forbiger's edition; others have proposed *Varus*, for Virgil himself, v. 11 *seq.*, says—

“nec Phoebæ gratior ulla est,
Quam sibi quæ Vari præscripsit
pagina nomen.”

The Cantharus was a large cup with two handles, sacred to Bacchus, who is often represented holding it. *Dict. of Antiq.*, s.v., shows an example from an ancient vase.

Ovid supplies us with a passage closely parallel with that quoted above from Virgil. *Metamorphoses*, Lib. XI, v. 90—

“At Silenus abest. Titubantem annis-
que meroque

Ruricolæ cepere Phryges: vine-
tunque coronis
Ad regem traxere Midan.”

This mythical personage is here mentioned in connection with the story of Midas turning into gold everything that he touched. In Cicero's writings—Silenus plays a different part—that of a philosopher: “Affertur etiam de Sileno fabella quaedam, qui, quum a Midâ captus esset, hoc ei muneris pro sua missione dedisse scribitur: docuisse regem, non nasci homini longe optimum esse; proximum autem, quam primum mori:” *Tusc. Disp.*, I, 48, § 114; see the Notes *b* and *c* on Chap. 48 in Davies's excellent edition, and edit. Kühner, *Index historicus*.

Many examples of Silenus on gems are given by Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* mit 71 Lichtdrucktafeln und 129 Textbildern (Königliche Museen zu Berlin), Nos. 1706–1710, Kithara spielend, esp. 1710, “am Boden hockend, vor sich einen Schlauch (ασκός, wine-skin). Fell um den Rücken”: comp. Rich., s.v. *Uter*, woodcut from a painting at Pompeii, a female pouring wine out of a skin into a cantharus held by Silenus; Nos. 3926–3973—3927, “schreitet drunken wankend nach r”; 3957, “die Doppelflöte blasend.” Tafeln 17 and 30.

quite disappeared, two or three broken pieces of Spring remain.¹

The upper part of Summer and an animal's ear are still preserved; he is clothed in a grey chlamys, and has on his head a red ornament, which may be intended for poppies. In his right hand he holds three small sticks—perhaps ears of corn—and in his left an object whose outlines resemble a basin. Autumn, almost entire, with the name inscribed, wears a garland and bestrides a female panther. In the great Mosaic, found at Vienne, now deposited in the Louvre, each Season rides on a different animal, and we may presume that there was the same variety at Trèves also.²

The divisions of the year were a favourite subject with the ancient mosaicists, and hence the frequent repetition of it by mediæval artists may be accounted for; only the latter preferred to represent the occupations belonging to each month, as we see them in a row of twelve pairs of agricultural labourers that decorate the portal of Ste. Marie at Oloron (Basses Pyrénées).³

Trapeziums with the zodiacal signs. Of Cancer only the claws remain, but Leo is almost uninjured. The latter appears between June and July, whereas he ought to have his place between July and August. When we consider the number and position of the trapeziums next to the months, and the vestiges still existing, there can be no doubt that the course of the sun through the ecliptic is indicated here.

Lozenges with figures of Months. From December to

¹ In the mosaic at Cirencester Spring is symbolized by Flora, wearing a chaplet of flowers, with a swallow perched on her left shoulder; for Summer we have Ceres, crowned with leaves and ears of corn, having a reaping hook on her left shoulder; and for Autumn Pomona, adorned by a coronet of fruits interwoven with autumnal leaves; but Winter, as at Trèves, is entirely lost to us; Buckman and Newmarch, *Remains of Roman Art at Corinium*, pp. 42-45, coloured plates III, IV, V.

² The Mosaic at Trèves has the Muses and Literature for its subject; the one found at Vienne is an agricultural design. However, notwithstanding

this difference, they present some points of resemblance and contrast. The Seasons occupy corners in the German pavement—they are the *central* group in the French; see the *Revue Archéologique*, Troisième Série—Tome XIX, Mai-Juin, 1892 (Rhône), pp. 322-347, Memoir by M. Georges Lafaye with illustrations, esp. p. 323, "Seuil de la porte d'entrée, Ensemble de la Mosaïque"; and my Paper on the "Antiquities of Vienne," *Archæol. Journ.*, 1894, Vol. LI, pp. 371, 372-376.

³ These labourers are figured on the lower of two over-arching voussours, extending above the tympanum, *Archæol. Journ.*, 1879, Vol. XXXVI, p. 30.

March nothing is left, of April the first three letters of the name. For May we have apparently some portions of a *caluceus* (herald's staff) which would symbolize Mercury. The next compartment contains a head of Juno, veiled and ornamented with a fillet, and close to it, the top of a sceptre. July has a bust of Neptune with his usual attribute—a trident. To August a fragment of a youthful male head has been assigned conjecturally. September has a head of Vulcan with tongs. October, the season of vintage, is appropriately represented by the youthful Bacchus with the *thyrsus* over his shoulder. Lastly, in the November square we see Isis horned, with the *sistrum*.¹ The British Museum possesses a similar example of this rattle in a mosaic from Carthage—No. 17 on the staircase leading to the Egyptian rooms. Under the figures the names of the months were inscribed respectively.

Vulcan is here presiding, like a patron saint, over September, in accordance with the Roman Calendar. The other deities have been selected from the date of their festivals, or because their names agreed with those of the months. The fête of Bacchus was celebrated in October, and that of Isis in November. Mercury was allocated to May, being the son of Maia, as we learn from Horace, *Odes I, II, 43*; compare *ibid. X, 1*, “*facunde nepos Atlantis.*”²

¹ The reverse of a sestertius of Hadrian has the legend AEGYPTOS, and for the device a recumbent figure of the Province holding a sistrum (rattle) in the right hand. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, Vol. II, p. 180, No. 637, Pl. IV, “*Devant elle, un ibis debout sur un cippe.*” Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. II, pp. 316, 322-327, woodcuts 230-235. *Ibid.*, p. 316, perhaps the peculiar title of “the holy instrument” ought to be confined to the sistrum. Cf. Persius, *Satire, V, 186*—

“*Hinc grandes Galli, et cum sistro
lusca sacerdos.*”

Juvenal, *Sat.*, XIII, 92 *seq.*—

“*Decernat quodcumque volet de
corpore nostro.
Isis, et irato feriat mea lumina
sistro.*”

Martial, *Epigr.*, XII, xxix, 19—

“*Linigeri fugiant calvi sistrataque
turba.*”

There is no proof that the Egyptians used this rattle for military purposes, so that Virgil's words in *Aeneid, VIII, 696*—

“*Regina in mediis patrio vocat
agnina sistro*”

must be regarded as a poetic fiction; *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiqu.*, Article by Mr. James Yates.

² Conf. *omnino Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, Vol. VI, *Urbs Roma*, pp. 637, 638, Nos. 2305, 2306. “*Menologium rusticum Colotianum*” and “*Menologium rusticum Vallense*”: the names are accounted for in the notices prefixed—“*apud Angelum Colotium episcopum Nucerinum,*” and “*in domo nobilium de Valle.*” I

This pavement belongs to a late period, and may be regarded as contemporaneous with the Porta Nigra,¹ so-

subjoin some extracts from the former monument:

MENSIS MAIUS * * * *	MENSIS SEPTEMBER * * * *
TVTELA * APOLLIN SEGET RVNCANT OVRS TVNDNNT LANA * LAVATVR IVVENCĪ DOMANT VICEA PABVLAR SECATVR SEGETES LVSTRANTVR SACRVM MERCVR ET * FLORAE	TVTELA VOLCANI DOLEA PICANTVR POMA * LEGVNT ARBORVM OBLAQVIATIO EPVLVM MINERVAE
MENSIS OCTOBER * * * *	MENSIS NOVEMBER * * * *
TVTELA MARTIS VINDEMAIE SACRVM LIBERO	TVTELA DEANAE SEMENTES TRITICARIAE ET * IORDIAR SCROBATIO ARBORVM IOVIS EPVLVM HEVRESIS

We may observe some peculiarities in the orthography of these Inscriptions: tundunt (*i.e.* tunduntur) for tenduntur; vicea, dolea, oblaquiatio, Deanae, for vicea, dolia, oblaqueatio, Dianae respectively.

See also Gruter's *Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pag. cxxxiii-cxli, especially pp. cxxxviii and cxxxix. Above the calendar of each month we see figures of the Zodiacal signs—Aries, Aquarius, &c. After the *Kalendarium Colotianum in extenso* is added a brief notice of the *Kalendarium Vallense*: the last Inscription is Christian. *Tabulae inveniendi Paschatis*, C. I. L., Vol. I, p. 358 seq.; *Fasti Anni Juliani*, *Menologia Rustica*, xxii A, xxii B.

Ducange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, column 926 seq., gives a different meaning for *Μηνολόγιον*, "Liber Ecclesiasticus Graecorum, qui Latinis vulgo *Martyrologium* dicitur, in quo Sanctorum vitae quolibet die per totum annum summam exponuntur, vel certe nomina recitantur."

¹ K. Arendt, *Das monumentale Trier von der Römerzeit bis auf unsere Tage*, folio, 1892, p. 8, Porta media on the South-West side; Porta alba on the South-East; Porta inclyta on the North-West, with a beacon upon it, at the Mosel-bridge; Porta Martis (nigra)—later Simeon's church—on the North-East towards the suburb Maar. Tafel 1 is entitled "Topographie des Monumentalen Trier, Versuch." Besides the gates it shows the Basilica, Imperial Palace, Baths, other buildings and Roman roads to Colonia Agrippina (Cologne) and Mogontiacum (Mayence). Taf. 2, "Grundriss der Thermen in St. Barbara." Taf. 3, "Porta Nigra, Ruinen, Grundriss und Aufriss des Amphitheaters Basilika," the part which is best preserved of the Mosaic of Monnus, &c.

The Porta Nigra belongs to a late period, when the correct architectural proportions were still preserved, but the decadence of art appeared in the coarse execution of details. This inferiority becomes more evident if we compare the Gate at Trèves with those of Arroux and St. André at Autun, probably of the Augustan age, and the Porta Praetoria at Ratisbon, which may be attributed to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius: see the Illustrations accompanying my Papers on the "Antiquities of Autun," *Archaeol. Journ.*, 1883, Vol. XL, facing p. 31; and on "Augsburgh and Ratisbon," *ibid.*, 1891, Vol. XLVIII, facing p. 400. Johann Leonardy, *Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen*, p. 24 seq., has two engravings of the Porta Nigra—Stadtseite und Nordseite. A superstitious peasantry ascribed this solid and colossal structure to the agency of the Daemon; and when it was converted into a Christian Church they imagined that the Evil One endeavoured to overturn the altar, and left upon it an impression made by his claws. Similar legends obtained circulation with reference to the Roman boundary wall (Grenzwall). "Limes trans-Rhenanus and trans-Danubianus": Gibbon, Chap. XII, Vol. II, p. 47, edit. Smith. Some antiquaries supposed that this gate was erected in the Middle Ages—a notion less absurd, but equally

called Basilica and Thermae—buildings of the fourth century,¹ when Trèves was an imperial residence and seat of government for the Western Provinces, afterwards transferred to Arles as being more remote from the barbarians, every year increasingly formidable. The stamped tiles found in the same apartment as the mosaic and in its surroundings corroborate such a date; moreover, decoration with glass mosaics in walls and ceilings does not appear to have been applied to architecture at Trèves before Constantine. The situation and extent of the edifice lead us to conclude that it was erected for some public purpose, while the choice of figures in the mosaic indicates that, if it was not wholly devoted to art and literature, it at least included a library.²

Speaking generally, mosaics that we see in museums have been removed from localities more or less distant in

unfounded. Not to speak of other evidence, the connection of the building with adjoining Roman walls, of which the foundations remain, proves the edifice to have been built by the same people.

The dimensions of the Porta Nigra are, length 132 feet 7 inches, height of towers 94 feet 8 inches. It formerly contained a collection of monuments of the Early and Middle Ages, which have, I presume, been removed to the new building of the Provincial Museum, opened in July, 1889.

¹ For the Basilica *vide* Leonardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-63, with woodcut. A notice of the results of recent investigations will be found in Leonardy's *Geschichte des Trierischen Landes und Volkes*, 1877, p. 223, with which compare Arendt, *op. citat.*, Taf. 3, "Roemische Periode, Ansicht der Basilika im 17 Jhd^t. (nach Wiltheim)," and No. 5 Basilika in its present condition.

When Leonardy published the fifth edition of his *Guides to Trèves* (1868)—the one which I have quoted—the site of the Thermae was not well understood; in Arendt's, Taf. 1, "Topographischer Plan der antiken Stadt," it is correctly marked near the Bridge over the Moselle. This Plate also contains scenes of Roman life from the fragments of sepulchres found at Neumagen.

Arendt's Plan of the Thermae, Taf. 2, indicates that the men's and women's baths were separate, being placed at

opposite sides of the edifice; a comb and hairpins were found in the latter. The same arrangement prevailed at Badenweiler in the Grand Duchy of Baden. There also articles of the female toilette made the identification certain, and therefore refuted the old theory that one set of baths was assigned to the military and the other to civilians. See *Die Römischen Bäder bei Badenweiler im Schwarzwald*, nach der natur aufgenommen im Sommer 1855, und mit rücksicht auf frühere editionen erläutert von Dr. Heinrich Leibnitz, mit 2 lithographirten tafeln, Leipzig, 1856. The frontispiece vignette has been inserted in this work evidently under the impression that it reproduced a fresco in the thermae of Titus at Rome. This painting was supposed to be ancient, and accordingly has been copied in many compilations; it is now known to be modern, and therefore cannot be quoted as an authority. See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, third edition, Vol. I, p. 272, with woodcut.

² The inscribed tiles above mentioned bear the letters AD^T, ARM, ARM^O, ARMTRIA, CAMAR, which are the same as those found in the Imperial buildings at Trèves, or at least belong to the same class—Professor Felix Hettner, *Zu den Römischen Alterthümern von Trier und Umgegend*. (Separatabzug aus der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, Jahrgang X, S. 209 fg.), 1891.

which they were originally placed; the one at Trèves is almost *in situ*, having been only raised to the upper storey, where it is in a better light, and can therefore be inspected at greater advantage. As usual, three layers, consisting of chalk, sand, brick-dust, and fragments of bricks, form the bed on which the *tessellæ* are placed. They are carelessly arranged, with little attention to solidity, and thus present a contrast with the skill and labour bestowed on the composition superimposed.

The figures, in which brown, green, and blue are judiciously blended, stand out on a yellow ground; here the flesh tints and the shading of the hair are specially admirable. Our mosaicist has avoided glaring colours, and produced a picture with a subdued tone, such as a carpet ought to have.¹

We have been considering a mosaic which is by no means one of the finest that antiquity has bequeathed to posterity.² Not to speak of the magnificent specimens of this art—Pagan and Christian—to be seen in Italy, it cannot vie in design, extent, and preservation with one at Nennig, only 25 miles distant from Trèves.³ Still,

¹ "Die verwendeten Farben sind nur selten grell nebeneinandergestellt und der gedämpfte Ton eines Teppichs ist im Ganzen gewahrt," Hettner, *ibid.*, p. 43.

² In one respect the work of Monnus surpasses some other mosaics, which rank among the most important. It is a composition with the Nine Muses for its principal subject, consisting of groups of two personages in each compartment, and these are surrounded by heads or busts of Greek and Roman poets and prose-writers; while the border is filled up with the Seasons, Signs of the Zodiac, and Months. On the other hand, the Mosaic at Reims and that in the Baths of Caracalla show us only single figures of gladiators and athletes. Ch. Loriguet, *La Mosaïque des Promenades et autres trouvées à Reims*, 1862. Planche XVIII, Photograph between pp. 345 and 345, "Les taches noires et les taches blanches indiquent les parties brûlées." Plate IV, facing p. 105, is coloured. Many engravings also are inserted in the text. Secchi, at the end of his book on the Baths at Caracalla at Rome (1843)—the most perfect edifice of the kind

there—has two plates: one on a large scale is entitled "Musaico delle Terme Antoniniane rappresentante la Scuola degli Atleti, ora collocato nel Palazzo Lateranese." It is described pp. 31–89. See also Emil Braun, *Ruins and Museums of Rome*, p. 450. He calls these renowned combatants "over-fed monsters: the mirror of the times—where we find brute force and the lowest selfishness celebrating their triumph." Some are given at full length, others are only busts, the latter occupying squares inserted between parallelograms. Professor Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, 1892, Vol. II, pp. 161, 162, 173, 176, "Gladiators and athletes, of colossal size, coarse execution and the most ungraceful drawing, a striking example of the very rapid decadence in taste which had taken place in Rome since the reign of Hadrian, who died in 138 A.D."

³ The grand Mosaic at Nennig has hitherto received little notice from English antiquaries, though it is easily accessible by railway from Trèves or Metz, and, as far as I know, it is the best ancient representation of gladiators. *Vid. Die Römische Villa zu Nennig und*

I hope the preceding description shows that it is not unworthy of notice, and requires only a slight effort of the imagination to fill up outlines and supply deficiencies. If regarded in connection with history and literature, it may pleasantly occupy a leisure hour, and, when we relax from arduous duties or severer studies, suggest trains of thought, both instructive and entertaining. But for some among us such pursuits have also an additional charm: amidst the languor and infirmities of age they afford a welcome solace, employing and stimulating our intellectual powers without unduly fatiguing them.¹

APPENDIX.

For double flutes used by an Asiatic nation see Sir A. H. Layard, *Assyria and Babylon*, 1853, Chap. XX, "Discoveries at Kouyunjik," p. 454 seq.; woodcut of bas-relief—"Musicians and singers come out to meet the conquerors. First came five men, three carried harps of many strings . . . ; a fourth played on the double pipes, such as are seen on the monuments of Egypt and were used by the Greeks and Romans. They were blown at the end like the flutes of the modern Yezidis. (Compare our clarionet.) The men were followed by six female musicians . . . one playing on the double pipes."

This reference illustrates a phrase in Horace, *Satires* I, II, 1, *Ambubaiarum collegia*, on which Orelli has the following note: "Ambubaiæ dicuntur mulieres Tibicines lingua Syrorum a v, abub, ambub, tibia SCHOL." Compare Sir J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, first edition—Table of Contents prefixed to Vol. II, pp. XIV, XVI, XVII; *ibid.*, pp. 227, 232, Fig. 183, "The harp and double pipe"; pp. 234–237 and accompanying plates, esp. pp. 309–312, "The double pipe"—Fig. 227 from Herculaneum, 228 from Thebes. The engravings show that the band was variously composed, consisting of harps and guitars as well as flutes, and that the minstrels were both male and female.

Cf. omnino Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, Vol. I,

ihr Mosaik erläutert von Domcapitular Von Wilmowsky, Bonn, 1865—an excellent description with numerous references.

¹ Lord Macaulay, *History of England*, Chap. XIV, Works, Vol. III, p. 171, characterizes Tillotson's style: "His reasoning was just sufficiently

profound and sufficiently refined to be followed by a popular audience with that slight degree of intellectual exertion which is a pleasure." A French critic has correctly appreciated the eloquence of "the great Archbishop," as Dryden calls him: *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 1863, Vol. XLV, col. 385.

pp. 553-563, Art. "Flöten": Figs. 590, "Flötenvirtuos"; 591, "Flötenunterricht"; 592, "Flötenspieler der Satyr und Dionysos"; 594, "Doppelflöte und Hirtenflöte." *Ibid.*, pp. 563-569, contain an account of the ancient water-organ (*hydraulus*), with Figs. 600-603, the last being a compartment in the Mosaic at Nennig, of which Wilmsowsky has a coloured plate.

Quicherat, in his *Addenda Lexicis Latinis*, p. 33, gives a derivative from *capistrum*—a cheek-piece used in blowing flutes (Rich., *Lat. Dict.*)—*capistrarius*, ii, m. "Qui capistra facit aut vendit," and cites Orelli's *Inscriptions*, t. II, p. 249, No. 4158; c. XVIII, "Artes et Opificia." On the same page other words will be found similarly formed—"bractearius" (gold-beater), "candelabrarius, cartarius, cassidarius, ciliciarius" (maker of hair-coverings—a coarse kind of cloth).

See *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, Vol. XII, edit. Hirschfeld, "Gallia Narbonensis-Narbo," p. 548, No. 4466, found at Narbonne—

"VIVONT
L·OPPIO·QVIETO
CAPISTRARIO·ET
MALLÆ·CARÆ
CONTVBER·PERANNOs///
SINc iVRGIO·VIVONT

"Fortasse annorum numerus post mortem sive mariti sive uxoris addi debuit."

"When a free man and a slave, or two slaves, who were not allowed to contract a legal marriage, lived together as husband and wife, they were called *contubernales*," and their dwelling *contubernium*: *Dict. of Antiqq.*, 3rd edition, I, 540. Tacitus, *Histories* III, 74, in his account of the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, the conflicts of their partisans, and the burning of the Capitol, relates that Domitian was concealed in the apartments—*contubernium*—of the sacristan (*aedituus*, *ιερόδουλος*), cf. *ibid.*, I, 43; Merivale, *Rom. Hist.* VI, 469. This word, compounded of *con* and *taberna*, has another signification, viz. the accompanying of a general in order to learn the art of war, so Tacitus informs us that Agricola was the *contubernalis* of Suetonius Paullinus, commander-in-chief in Britain: *Vita Agricola*, Chap. V. The connexion with the original meaning—living in a tent—is apparent here also.

Compare Horace, *Epistles* I, III, 6, "Quid studiosa cohors operum struit?" and *ibid.*, IX, 13, "Scribe tui gregis hunc," which Orelli explains thus: "Recipe eum in cohortem comitum tuorum." *Cohors* and *grex* are equivalent to *contubernales*. V. Tacitus, *Annals* I, 29, "eques Romanus e cohorte Drusi." Cicero, *Epistles and Quintum Fratrem*, I, I, 4, "ex cohorte praetoria."

The preceding Inscription records that a husband and wife spent many years together without a quarrel (*sine jurgio*); if they had lived in our time and in our country, they might have competed successfully for the Dunmow Fitch of Bacon, as a prize for conjugal harmony uninterrupted.

After noticing the ancient flutes, I cannot refrain from quoting Milton's beautiful lines in the *Paradise Lost*, Book I, vv. 549-554—

“Anon they move
In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
Of flutes and soft recorders; such as rais'd
To height of noblest temper heroes old
Arming to battle; and instead of rage
Deliberate valour breath'd, firm and unmov'd
With dread of death to flight or foul retreat”;

He seems to have derived his idea from Thucydides' description of the Spartans marching with admirable discipline to the battle at Mantinea, Book V, Chap. 70, *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ βραδείως καὶ ὑπὸ ἀυλητῶν πολλῶν νόμῳ ἐγκραθεστώτων, . . . ἵνα ὁμαλῶς μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ βαίνοντες προέλθοιεν*. V. Goeller's note, *loc. citat.*, which contains many references, beginning with Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, I, 11.

Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 8vo edition, Vol. II, p. 429, have the following note on the Syracusan Medallion, “which, properly speaking, is a Pentekontalitra or Decadrachm.” “In earlier types of this magnificent coin the fish are seen moving in the same direction round the head. An ingenious theory suggests that this was the case so long as the old city on Ortygia was an island, and that the change in the coins symbolised the joining of Ortygia to the mainland.” Compare Head, *op. citat.*, Pl. II, Figs. 6 and 7, with Pl. IV, Figs. 3-7. In the time of Thucydides, Ortygia was united with the mainland probably by a causeway, Book VI, Chap. 3, *ἐν ἣ τῶν οὐδέτι περικλυζομένη ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐντὸς ἐστίν*. See the excellent article by Sir E. H. Bunbury in Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Geography*, s.v. “Syracusae,” Vol. II, p. 1062 *seq.*, Sect. III. Topography No. 1: also the map published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and repeated in the *Harrow School Atlas*, which inserts references to Thucydides and Livy, and at foot a view of Syracuse from the theatre. Compare the similar, but not exactly parallel case of Leucadia (Sta. Maura), Livy, XXXIII, xvii, 6, “Nunc insula est . . . tum paeninsula erat.”

The fullest and best information about Sicily generally, and Syracuse in particular, will be found in Meyer's *Reisebücher, Unter-Italien und Sicilien*, von Dr. Th. Gsell-Fels, Zweiter Band: Sicilien. Sect. 20, “Syrakus,” with accompanying plans (opposite col. 680) of the city and environs, also of modern Syracuse. This book is more needed now, Mr. Dennis's *Guide for Sicily* having been for some years out of print. At col. 751 there is an engraving “Latomia de' Cappuccini”—the quarry where the Athenian prisoners in great suffering pined away: Grote's *History of Greece*, Vol. VII, p. 475.

Gsell-Fels, *ibid.*, col. 753, “Schon zu Ibykos' Zeiten (Olymp. 63, floruit circa 560 A.C.) war die Insel mit dem Festland verbunden und blieb es während ihrer ganzen geschichtlich bedeutsamen Periode.”

Poetae Lyrici Graeci, edit. Bergk, p. 767, Fragment 22 [32, 33, 34]—

. . . παρὰ χέρσον
λίθινον ἐκλεκτον παλάμαισι βροτῶν
πρόσθε δέ νιν πεδ' ἀναριτῶν (sea-snails)
ἰχθίνας ὠμοφάγοι νέμοντο.

Scholiast on Pindar, *Nemean Odes* I, 1: 'Ἡ Ὀρτυγία πρότερον μὲν ὄρεσσα νήσος ἔτα προσχωσθεῖσαι χερσόνησος (peninsula) γέγονεν, ὡς καὶ Ἰβυκος ἱστορεῖ. cf. Strabo, I, p. 59; Chap. III, Sect. 18: 'Ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸς Συρακοῦσας νήσου νῦν μὲν γέφυρά (bridge) ἐστὶν ἢ συνάπτουσα αὐτὴν πρὸς τὴν ἠπειρον, πρότερον δὲ χεῖμα (causeway), ὡς φησὶν Ἰβυκος λογαίου λίθου, ὃν καλῶ ἐκλεκτον.

In its prosperous time Syracuse was the greatest of all the Greek cities. Its modern representative, as I can testify from personal observation, has shrunk back within its original limits—the island Ortygia; the opposite coast is to a great extent uncultivated.

Syracusan medallions afford a curious coincidence with an example in the series of our national coinage. Cimon's name appears in small characters on some decadrachms, and he is one of the best Sicilian engravers. Simon, Cromwell's medallist, "executed the Protector's bust most beautifully, in a manner far superior in point of art to anything that had ever been seen upon an English coin before." We have here, where we might not have expected it, a proof of the marvellous energy by which every branch of his successful administration was pervaded. (Humphreys, *Coin Collector's Manual*, Vol. II, p. 474.) Comp. Akerman, *Numismatic Manual*, pp. 297-299.

Christian writers have borne testimony to the moral excellence of Apollonius, and their evidence has the greater weight because they would be predisposed to take an unfavourable view of his character on account of his having been set up by some philosophers as a rival to our Saviour. One example may suffice here: Sidonius Apollinaris, (*obit* A.D. 482), *Epistles* VIII, 7, *Leoni suo Salutem*, p. 417, edit. Baret, expresses his opinion very distinctly.

"Historiam flagitatum tunc recognosces opportune competenterque, si cum Tyaneo nostro, nunc ad Caucasum Indumque, nunc ad Aethiopum Gymnosophistas Indorumque Bracmanas, totus lectioni vacans, et ipse quodammodo peregrinare. Lege virum, fidei catholicae pace praefata, in plurimis similem tui, id est, a divitibus ambitum, nec divitiis ambientem; cupidum scientiae, continentem pecuniae; inter epulas abstemium, inter purpuratos linteatum, inter alabastra censorium: concretum (*i.e.* sordidum), hispidum, hirsutum, in medio nationum delibutarum" etc. Apollonius imitated Pythagoras in travelling as well as in doctrines. Cicero, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, Lib. V, Chap. XXIX, Sect. 87, "Cur ipse Pythagoras et Aegyptum lustravit, et Persarum magos adiit? cur tantas regiones barbarorum pedibus obiit? tot maria transmisit?"

Emil Braun, in his *Ruins and Museums of Rome*, pp. 341-343, describes the statues usually called Arria and Paetus as a "Group of a Gaul stabbing himself and his wife," and at p. 342 gives his reasons for this interpretation: "The moustaches and whole physiognomy of the man and the short-clipped hair and peculiar attire of the woman and the form of the shield . . . indicate the Celtic race." A remark at the close of the section deserves attention: "The names above mentioned were bestowed at a time when the learned thought they had done everything possible for the understanding of works of art by conferring upon them mythological or historical names which were frequently in direct contradiction with them."

In Clarac's *Musée de Sculpture*, Texte, Tome V, p. 64, we find Tacitus referred to as an authority for the deaths of Arria and

Paetus, but the historian only makes a passing allusion to the circumstances: *Annals*, XVI, 34. Pliny the Younger, *Epistles*, II, 16, informs us how she encouraged her husband, who had been condemned by Claudius, to put an end to his life: "Praeclarum quidem illud ejusdem, ferrum stringere, perfodere pectus, extrahere pugionem, porrigere marito, addere vocem immortalem ac pacis divinam 'Paete, non dolet.'" With heroic fortitude, she drew a sword, pierced her breast, and handing the weapon to her husband said, "It does not pain me."

Compare Martial, *Epigrams*, I, 13 (14)—

"'Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci non dolet,' inquit;
'Sed quod tu facies, hoc mihi, Paete, dolet.'"

It is quite possible that the statues in the Villa Ludovisi may have been part of a group of sculptures commemorating the victory obtained by the Greeks at Delphi over the Gauls, who, with Brennus for their leader, invaded Macedonia and Greece B.C. 280, 279. These figures belong to the same class as those executed at Pergamus, and now dispersed in various European collections, for the latter relate to the successful resistance offered by Attalus I and Eumenes II, who encountered and defeated other hordes of this barbarian race: W. C. Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Chap. XLVI, "Plastic Art in Pergamon," esp. pp. 537-542, Figs. 218-228, chiefly Gauls; *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Casts from the Antique, in the South Kensington Museum*, by the same Author, pp. 93-96, No. 195: "Marble Statues of Gauls, Persians and Amazons from the sculptures dedicated by Attalos," and Nos. 196, 197. Bunsen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, 3 Band, pp. 586-588, "Neuntes Buch, Dritte Abtheilung," B. "Beschreibung der einzelnen Merkwürdigkeiten" Sect. 42. Von Platner. This article recapitulates the opinions of Winckelman, Heyne, Mongez, and Visconti.

To the references for Silenus given above add Furtwängler, *Geschnittene Steine*, Museum zu Berlin, No. 3963, "Silen Marsyas, den schlauch auf der l. schulter . . . nach der statue des Marsyas auf dem Forum in Rom."

Horace, *Satires* I, VI, 120—

"obeundus Marsya, qui se
Vultum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris."

V. note. edit. Delphin, "satyrum fuisse scribit Ovidius *Metamorphoses*," VI, Chap. 5.

Martial, *Epigrams* II, LXIV, 8—

"Ipse potest fieri Marsua caudidicus."

The statue was in front of the Rostra with uplifted hand, the emblem of civic liberty: Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, Art. "Roma," Vol. II, p. 785, and *ibid.*, p. 772, "Plan of the Forum during the Republic." *Servius ad Aeneid*, VI, 58; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, III, 12; Juvenal, *Satires*, IX, init.

"Seire velim, quare toties mihi, Naevole, tristis
Occurras fronte obducta ceu Marsya victus:"

with Rupert's commentary. These lines have been imitated by Boileau in the beginning of one of his Satires :

" Quel sujet inconnu vous trouble et vous altère ?
D'où vous vient aujourd' hui cet air sombre et sévère ? "

Statues were often represented on coins and gems : *Greek Court in the Crystal Palace*, described by the late Sir George Scharf ; Introduction, p. 37, *Reverse* of a medal of Faustina Senior, with Venus draped, probably the Venus of Cos, legend VENERI AUGUSTAE, S.C. ; *ibid.*, the goddess of Cnidos, legend, ΚΝΙΔΙ ΩΝ, the celebrated statue of Praxiteles. See also *Greek Court Catal.*, p. 107. Comp. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, Vol. II, p. 452, No. 279, "Venus debout à droite, ramenant de la main droite la draperie de sa robe sur ses épaules et tenant une pomme."

There is a coin of Nero intermediate in size between the large and small brass (more correctly called *bronze*) : Cohen, Vol. I, p. 201, No. 214, Pl. XI, "Neron lauré debout à droite en habit de femme, chantant et s'accompagnant de la lyre." Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. VI, p. 276, says that Nero in his dress imitated Apollo, *cum cithara et citharodorum stola* ; hence it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the device on this *reverse* may resemble a statue of the god on the Palatine : Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXIV, vii, Sect. 18, § 43, where he is describing Colossi, "Videmus certe Tuscanicum Apollinem in bibliotheca templi Augusti quinquaginta pedum a pollice, dubium aere mirabiliorem an pulchritudine."

Again, the beautiful coinage of Rhodes furnishes us with another example of the reproduction in miniature of a gigantic work of art. The radiate head on the tetradrachms of the period B.C. 304-168 may serve to give us some idea of the style and general aspect of the features of the colossal statue of Helios by Chares of Lindus, commonly called the Colossus of Rhodes. B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 540.

In one of the most famous mosaics of our own country Silenus appears sitting backwards on an ass : Buckman and Newmarch, *Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester, the site of Antient Corinium*, coloured plate of Mosaic facing p. 38 : see also *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements*, with plates, plain and coloured, by Thos. Morgan, F.S.A., 1886, pp. 82-85.

The publications of the British Museum and of the Cabinet de Médailles at Paris should also be consulted : *Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, by Mr. A. H. Smith, A° 1888, Nos. 981-997, 1000-1010, etc. ; *Notice Sommaire des Principaux Monuments exposés dans le Département des Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1889, Table des Matières, p. 159 sq. Silène bas-relief en terre cuite, bronzes, intailles, plaque d'or ; (Buste de), (Masque de), (Tête de), (Triomphe de), (Vase en forme de), etc.

Tassie, *Descriptive Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, 1791. Vol. II, *Index des chefs memorables, Noms des Sujets et Portraits*, p. 44, where the various representations of Silenus are classified. C. W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, 1872, Vol. I, p. 263. "His (*i.e.* Bacchus) foster-father Silenus with his Fauns, Satyrs and Nymphs disport themselves at full length upon the gem, or merely display their heads or busts (*ibid.*). As for Silenus, his laughter-stirring visage was

. . . esteemed a potent amulet, . . . forming an essential part of almost every Gryllus or astrological talisman." *V.* p. 303, Woodcut, and p. XVI, "Description of the Woodcuts in the Text." Vol. II, Plate XXVII, 7, "Silenus inspired with wine singing lustily to his lyre before a rural shrine"; 10, "Instructing Bacchus in the ceremonial of sacrifice." Plate XXIX, 2, 4, "About to replace the emptied crater upon its stand," *incitega*. Plate XXX, 1, 3.

The same author in an earlier work, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, 1866, p. 90, quotes Böttiger ("Kleine Schriften," III, 9), who describes the *bird-chimæra*—a grotesque combination of different creatures, like a caricature. "The Silenus-mask (*mark* here is a typographical error) set upon the cock's breast in front is the so-called *oscillum*, or amulet-mask, which used to be hung up on trees, house-doors, and fixed on shields, for the purpose of scaring away evil-spirits and for the promotion of fruitfulness."

Virgil, *Georgics*, II, 387-392—

"Et, te Bacche, vocant per carmina laeta, tibi que
Oscilla ex alta suspendunt mollia pinu.
Hinc omnis largo pubescit vinea fetu;
Complentur vallesque cavæ saltusque profundi,
Et quocumque deus circum caput egit honestum."

Lastly, compare Story-Maskelyne, *The Marlborough Gems*, p. 34 *seq.*, "Dionysiac Cycle," Nos. 202-209, drunken Silenus, &c.

Some other monuments may serve to illustrate the representation of the Seasons; *e.g.* front of a sarcophagus, where they appear as four females in the following order—Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter. The drapery in each case corresponding with the temperature: Professor Adolf Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 374, and Plate facing it, "Ince Blundell Hall, near Liverpool." Compare Cohen, *op. citat.*, Vol. II, Plate XIX, *s.v.* "Annius Vêrus." Bronze medallion, bearing on the *obverse* the youthful heads of Commodus Caesar and Verus Caesar, and on the *reverse* four children with the legend—TEMPORVM FELICITAS; three are nude; the fourth, emblematic of Winter, is draped; each has characteristic attributes which Cohen describes fully (*ibid.*, p. 608). Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. VII, p. 83 *seq.*, "Elegans hic typus nunc primum in moneta comparet, quem in numis suis resuscitabunt Commodus, Caracalla, Diocletianus, aliique." He adds quotations from the Greek poets. Dean Milman's edition of Horace, *Carmina* IV, VII, 9-12. See an engraving of this coin—one of the illustrations contributed by the late Sir George Scharf.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II, 27-30—

"Verque novum stabat, cinctum florente corona:
Stabat nuda Aestas, et spica sarta gerebat.
Stabat et Autumnus, calcatis sordidus uvis,
Et glacialis Hiems, canos hirsuta capillos."

The bas-reliefs on the octagonal tower at Athens, north of the Acropolis, vulgarly called the Temple of the Winds, but more correctly the Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, present a similar variety in the dress of the different personifications: *e.g.* Boreas is warmly clad, wears boots, and protects his face with

his mantle. Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie, Archäologie und Kunst*, p. 143, Taf. XVII, "Seine Fussbekleidung, so wie die kurze Jacke mit Ärmeln über die Tunica, und sein faltiger Mantel (*Chlamys*) erinnern an eine sorgfältigere Bekleidung, besonders im Winter." Rheinhard, *Album des Classischen Alterthums Stuttgart*, 1870, I; Landschaften und Bauwerke. a. Griechische, Taf. 7, Thurm der Winde in Athen. "Lips (South-West wind, Africus) und Zephyros (West wind, Favonius) haben nackte Beine, die übrigen sind mit Halbstiefeln bekleidet."

Heuresis, at the end of the Calendar for November, quoted above, has been explained as meaning the festival which commemorated the discovery of Proserpine by Ceres, after searching for her all over the earth. *Appuleius Metamorphoses*, Lib. VI. Chap. II, *fin.*, edit. Hildebrand, Part I, p. 401, "Illuminarum Proserpinae nuptiarum demeacla, et luminosarum filiae inventionum remeacla." See De Vit's edition of *Forcellini's Lexicon*, s.v. Heuresis (*ἑυρησις* and *ἑυρεσις*), or Bailey's *Auctarium* in the Appendix to the English edition of the same work.

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV, 268 *seqq.*—

"Nor that fair field
Of Enna, where Proserpine gathering flowers,
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
Was gathered, which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the world."

Bentley has enclosed these beautiful lines in brackets, as spurious; addressing the supposed editor, he says "Pray you, Sir; no more of your Patches in a Poem quite elevated above your Reach and Imitation." See an Article in the *Curiosities of Literature*, by Isaac Disraeli, entitled "Critical Sagacity," and "Happy Conjecture"; or Bentley's *Milton*, tenth edition, 1838, p. 134.

Heuresis and Euresis also occur as proper names, the aspirate being often omitted in Latin: *Inscription apud Gruter*, p. 674, 10, "Anicia Euresis fecit Calpurniae Euresis (lege Euresi)." Other examples from *C. I. L.* are given by De Vit in his *Onomasticon*.

Besides Arendt's Plan of the Baths at Trèves, I have one on a somewhat larger scale by Seyffarth, "Die Roemischen Thermen aus constantinischer Zeit (erste Hälfte des 4 Jahrh. n. Chr.) in St. Barbara bei Trier im September 1885." It shows adjacent Roman roads and the channels by which the water was carried off to the Moselle (Abfluss), and differs from the former in some other particulars. I should give the preference to Arendt, because his work is dated seven years later; being the State-architect in Luxemburg he is likely to have profited by recent explorations. The important passage in *Ausonius* (*Idyll*, XVIII, 337, Mosella), where he describes these Baths, has been quoted in the *Archæological Journal* (1889), Vol. XLVI, p. 411, Appendix to my Paper on "Trèves and Metz." It is evidently an imitation of some lines of Statius, who flourished nearly three centuries earlier.

Silvæ I, III, 43—

"An quæ graminea suscepta crepidine fumant
Balnea, et impositum ripis argentibus ignem?
Quaque vaporiferis junctus fornacibus amnis
Ridet anhelantes vicino flumine Nymphas?"

Beraldus, in his edition of this poem, prefixes these words—

“In gratiam Manlii Vopisci, villam amoenissimam, quam Tiburi habuit, tanta carminis elegantia describit, ut attentus lector in ea spatium sibi videatur.”

The following inscription was placed on an oculist's stamp (*Artz-Stempel für Salbenstübchen*) found in the baths at St. Barbara:—

CATTIVICTORINI
DIAMISADCICATRI

Expansion.

C. Atti Victorini diamisus ad cicatrices.

Translation.

Vitriol prescribed by C. Attius Victorinus to cicatrize, *i.e.* to induce the formation of a cicatrix, or skin, in wounded or ulcerated flesh. Vitriol is a “soluble sulphate of any of the metals”—green vitriol (iron), blue (copper), white (zinc), red (cobalt). For this explanation of medical terms I am indebted to Professor Charles. *Diamisus* (not *diamysus*) is the correct form of the word, because it is derived from the Greek *μίσω*: *V. Archaeological Journal* (1888), Vol. XLV, p. 225, text and notes. An account of some inscriptions on oculists' stamps will be found *ibid.*, pp. 221–227; and much more copious information in *Cachets d'Oculistes Romains*, par. A. Héron De Villefosse et H. Thédenat, Tome I, avec 2 planches et 19 figures intercalées dans le texte. As far as I am aware, the second volume has not appeared. See the *Catalogue of the Münz-und-Antiken Cabinet in the Museum at Vienna*, by Von Sacken und Kenner, p. 127 sq., where several specimens are mentioned.

For explanation of the words *Expurgatio* and *Repletio* De Villefosse and Thédenat, p. 10, quote a parallel passage from Pliny in which *cicatrix* also occurs, *Natural History*, XXXVI, xxi. § 155, edit. Sillig. “Usus farinae (pumicis) oculorum maxime medicamentis; ulcera purgat corum leniter, expletque cicatrices et emendat,” with M. Littré's translation. “Cette poudre s'emploie souvent dans les compositions ophthalmiques; elle modifie doucement les ulcérations des yeux, les cicatrise et les corrige.” *Cf.* Pliny, XXXI, vi, § 130. XXXII, ii, § 24, and Sillig's Index, *s.v.* *Oculus*.

We meet frequently with the name Attius (*v.* De Vit, *Onomasticon*, Vol. I, p. 565, *s.v.* “Attia gens Romana”). He gives various forms—Actia, Accia, Atia; and the derivatives Actianus, &c., and observes that there is confusion in the Manuscripts; *v.* also “Attii sine cognomine,” and “cognomine distincti,” *ibid.*, pp. 568–570. Of this family the poet Attius was the most celebrated member: Cicero had often conversed with him (*Brutus*, Chap. XXVIII, § 107), and Horace classes him with the early dramatists Pacuvius, Afranius, Plautus, Caecilius and Terence: *Epistles*, II, ii, 55—

“aufert
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti:”

Under *gens Atia* Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, p. 48, No. 17, Plate VII, has a coin bearing the name of Quintus Labienus, son of Titus Labienus, lieutenant of Julius Caesar in Gaul, who afterwards deserted him; but there is no proof that he belonged to the Atian

family. *Ibid.*, Pl. XLVIII, there is a bronze medal of M. Atius Balbus, who married Julia, sister of Julius Caesar; their daughter was Atia, mother of Augustus. This Balbus was Proprætor in Sardinia, and in his case we have the first example of the likeness of a provincial governor on money struck by him under the Republic: the *reverse* bears a barbarous head and the name of Sardus, said to have colonized Sardinia: Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, Vol. I, p. 222. Notwithstanding many changes, internal and external, human nature in its leading features remains the same as it was two thousand years ago. Some persons in our time assume armorial bearings to which they are not entitled, so the Atii, a plebian family, may have derived their origin from the Phrygian Atys, beloved by Cybele. But another explanation seems more probable, viz. that, out of flattery to Augustus, who was connected with the Attii on the mother's side, Virgil has traced their descent from Atys, a King of Alba, and suggested the commencement of their alliance with the Julian line. *Æneid*, Book V, 568—

“Alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini;
Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iulo.”

Comp. Livy, I, III, 8. Latino Alba ortus, Alba Atys, Atye Capys, Capye Capetus, Capeto Tiberinus.

Another Atys, king of Lydia, is mentioned by Herodotus, I, 7: ‘Οι δὲ πρότερον Ἀγριμενος βασιδείσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρας (Lydia), ᾗσαν ἀπόγονοι Διὸς τοῦ Ἄττιος ἀπ’ οὗθεν ὁ ἔθνος Λύκιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς ὅστος, πρότερον Μηίων καλεόμενος: Rawlinson's Translation, Vol. I, p. 357 sq., Appendix to Book I, Essay I, “On the early chronology of Lydia,” § 4, “Dynasty of the Atyadae.” Tacitus, *Annals*, IV, 55 “Nam Tyrrenum Lydumque Atye rege genitos ob multitudinem divisisse gentem”: with the note of Lipsius.

Victorinus appears both in political and literary history. One of the so-called Thirty Tyrants bore this name. According to *Eutropius*, IX, 9, p. 115 in the edition of Anna Tanaquilli Fabri filia (afterwards Dacieria, Madame Dacier), Paris, 1683, he succeeded Postumus as Governor of Gaul, had shining talents, but licentious passions, the indulgence of which caused him to be slain at Cologne by injured husbands. The character of Victorinus, delineated by Atherianus, has been copied by Trebellius Pollio, “Triginta Tyranni,” Chap. 6, Augustan History, edit. *Lugduni Batavorum*, 1671, Vol. II, pp. 264-266; edit. Peter, 1884, Vol. II, p. 103; and again by Gibbon, Chap. XI, note 47, edit. Smith, Vol. II, p. 18. The historian remarks that “it is worth transcribing, as it seems fair and impartial.” The coins of Postumus (Cohen, Vol. V, Pls. I and II) are exceptionally fine, and we admire them the more if we remember the late period in which they were issued. A bronze medallion appears to be the most remarkable in the series of Victorinus (Cohen, *ibid.*, Plate III, note 85). *Reverse*, Victorinus raises a female representing Gaul; he is crowned by Victory: Felicitas holds a cornucopie and sceptre. Legend (Restitutori) GALLIARVM, and in the *exergue* VOTIS PVBLICIS. Victoria, mother of Victorinus, reigned in the West “with a manly vigour, under the name of Marius and Tetricus, dependent emperors,” and received the title MATER CASTRORVM, which had been conferred on preceding empresses—Faustina, Julia Domna, and

Mamaea. Cohen, *op. citat.*, Tome II, Plate XIX. Grand Bronze, No. 194, p. 599. DIVAE FAVSTINAE PIAE; *Rev.*, MATRI CASTRORVM S.C. "Faustine (ou l'Éternité ?) assise à gauche, tenant un globe surmonté d'un phénix et un sceptre; devant trois enseignes." Admiral Smyth, *Descriptive Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman Imperial Large-Brass Medals*, p. 147, No. CCLXX. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. VII, p. 79, "Prima Faustina (Junior) hoc titulo usa est. . . . Eodem serius nomine gloriata quoque est Julia Donna Severi, et posthac plures aliae in numis Alexandrinis; *ibid.*, p. 288, Mamaea, mother of Alexander Severus, *cf.* Cohen, Tome IV, Plate III, No. 32; legend of the reverse, MATER AVGVSTI ET CASTRORVM. She was contemporaneous with the still more celebrated Queen of Palmyra and the East—Zenobia. For *Victoria* we find in the Manuscripts *Vitruuia* and *Victorina*: see the notes of Salmasius, Gruter and Casaubon.

It is said that three grammarians were named Victorinus, but the statement has been controverted. The best known among them ranks with the Scholiasts on Cicero, as he wrote a "Commentarius sive Expositio in libros de Inventione"; it occupies pp. 1–180 in the fifth volume of Orelli's edition of the Orator's Works, 1833.

I have stated above that in the Thermae at Trèves the apartments of men and women were separate; but it appears from Martial that, at least in some cases, both sexes bathed together promiscuously. *Epigrams*, III, LI, 3—

"Et semper vitas communia balnea nobis.
Numquid, Galla, times, ne tibi non placeam ?"

On this passage the recent editor, Friedländer, has the following note: "Ueber die gemeinschaftlichen Bäder von Männern und Frauen . . . Marquardt, *das Privatleben der Römer*, 275." Comp. Martial, *ibid.*, LXXII, and VII, XXXV, 5—

"Sed nudi tecum juvenesque senesque lavantur."

Here again the poet is addressing a woman—Laecania, v. 3. The custom of promiscuous bathing is fully discussed in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, third edition, Vol. I, p. 270, with references to Christian as well as heathen authorities. Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, 1889, p. 97: Edicts of Emperors directed against this practice. Professor J. H. Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, 1892, Vol. II, p. 114.

For a general account of Roman Baths *v.* Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments*, Article "Balneum, Balneae," Tome I, pp. 648–664, Figs. 744–769. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums, s.v.* Baden, I Band, pp. 241–244, Figs. 219–222; Smith, *op. citat.*, Vol. I, pp. 269–284. For the baths at Pompeii, Overbeck's *Pompeii*, second edition, 1866, Erster Band—Die älteren Thermen S. 188, die neuen Thermen S. 204, Figs. 138–149.

With reference to the subject of the Mosaic at Trèves, *viz.* the Nine Muses, we find the best illustration in one discovered at Italica, on the right bank of the River Baetis (Guadalquivir), north-west of Hispalis (Seville)—birth-place of the Emperor Trajan, and, according to some authors, of Hadrian also: Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. VI,

p. 473, text and note *d*. See the sumptuous folio of Laborde, "Descripción de un Pavimento en Mosayco descubierto en la antigua Itálica hoy Santiponce, en las cercanías de Sevilla acompañada con varias investigaciones sobre la pintura en mosayco de los antiguos y sobre los monumentos de este genere ineditos, escrita por Don Alexandro de Laborde, Paris, M.DCCCVI." The medals of Itálica are engraved on the title page. Plan Général del Mosaico. Plate I (Lamina). Circular medallions. II, Clio and Euterpe—beautiful heads, but the attributes had perished. III, Thalia—comic mask. IV, Terpsichore, with attribute, not found in other monuments—le corte de una sala destinada à este uso (la danza) TREP SICHORE (*sic*). V, Erato reciting verses—one of the most remarkable figures in the Mosaic, says Laborde—as in medals of the gens Pomponia; she carries in her hand a branch of laurel; her tunic has only one sleeve. VI, POLY PNI (*sic*) *i.e.* Polyhymnia. Similarly *solepne* is said to occur for *solemne*: compare the Greek ἴπνος with the Latin *somnus*. Forcellini, in his Lexicon, *s.v.* quotes Aulus Gellius, XIII, 9: "Quod item illi ἴπνος, nos primo *syppnus*, deinde per y Graecae Latinaeque litterae cognationem somnus [†Al. sumpnus]. De Vit, *op. citat*, *s.v.* SOLLENNIS—in Codicibus quibusdam etiam *sollempnis* scriptum reperitur. V. SOLLENINZO, coll. SOMNUS, § c. So I have seen in a manuscript of Juvenal, *Sat.* I, v. 20, *alumpnus* for *alumnus*. VII, Calliope—the forefinger and the next one to it are extended, as of an orator beginning a speech; she wears a necklace, KALIOPE (*sic*). VIII, Urania—with feathers on her head: Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie*, p. 210, No. 8, describes a statue of this Deity in the Museo Capitolino at Rome, "Auf dem Kopfe hat sie die Zierde von drei gerade aufstehenden Federn . . . Diese Federn sind eine Anspielung auf den Mythos, nach welchem die Musen die Sirenen im Wettstreit überwandten, und ihnen zur Strafe ihrer Verwegenheit die Federn ausrauftten" (Tab. XXIX, 11).

Santi Ponce, now a miserable village, is said to be a corruption of San Geroncio (its Gothic bishop), Ford, *Handbook of Spain*, p. 324, "Excursions from Seville," edit. 1878; but Heiss, *Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne*, 1870, p. 378, derives the name from *sauciorum positio*, "puisque en effet, à l'origine, Itálica ne fut autre chose qu'un dépôt de militaires invalides." Scipio Africanus founded Itálica, B.C. 207, after pacifying Hispania Ulterior, and peopled it with his disabled veterans. The authority for this statement is Appian, who flourished in the Antonine Age—De Bello Hispanico (Ἰβηρικῆ). The distance of Itálica from Hispalis is given as six Roman miles in the *Antonine Itinerary*, p. 413, edit. Wesseling; p. 196, edit. Parthey and Pinder; it is also mentioned on the route from the mouth of the River Anas (Guadiana) to Emerita (Merida), *ibid.* p. 432, Wess.; p. 206, Parthey and Pinder.

For the medals of this town see Heiss, *op. citat*, Plate LVI, "Monnayage Latin, Bétique, Conventus Hispalensis. Turdetani-Itálica," Nos. 1-7, and Plate LVII, "Tibère, Germanicus, Drusus." The coins are described p. 379, *e.g.* No. 1, MVNIC · ITALIC · PERM · AVG; *rev.*, GEN · POP · ROM. No. 5, Le Capricorne sur le revers—Suetonius, Augustus, Cap. XCIV in fine. "Tantum mox fiduciam fati Augustus habuit, ut thema (horoscope) suum vulgaverit, unumquemque argenteum nota sideris Capricorni, quo natus est, per-

cusserit." So the Capricorn appears in the Vienna cameo, over the head of Augustus; Von Sacken und Kenner, *Das Münz- und Antiken-Cabinet-Wien*, pp. 420-422; August's *Pannonischer Triumph (Sogenannte Apotheose)*, Müller-Wieseler, pp. 83-86; Plate LXIX, No. 377.

Uebersicht der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses; Die Antikensammlung von Dr. Robert Ritter v. Schneider, Saal XIV, Schrank VI, p. 101, "Ueber dem Kaiser das Sternbild des Steinbockes, unter welchem er geboren ward; zu seinen Füßen der Adler." The history of this incomparable specimen of Roman glyptic art is given on the following page.

Forellini's account of Capricorn *s.v.* is quite applicable to the representation of this monster on coins. "Pingitur in caelo superiori parte capri pedibus anterioribus, pectore, capite, et cornibus; inferiori piscis longa intortaque cauda, et in latum desinente." Cicero, *Fragmenta-Arati Phaenomena*, v. 58(292).

"gelidum valido de pectore frigus anhelans,
Corpore semifero magno Capricornus in orbe;
Quem quum perpetuo vestivit lumine Titan,
Brumali flectens contorquet tempore curram."

Opera, edit. Orelli, Vol. IV, Part II, p. 533, with a Commentary. Cicero also quotes these lines in his *De Natura Deorum*, II, 44, where see the notes of Davies. Compare Manilius, *Astronomicum*, II, 499—

"At leo cum geminis aciem conjungit, et aurem
Centauri gemino, capricorni diligit astrum.
v. 552. Erigone Cancerumque timet, geminumque sub arcu
Centaurum, et pisces, et te, capricorne, rigentem.
Maxima turba petit libram, capricornus et illi
Adversus cancer, chelis quod utrumque quadratum est."

Horace, *Odes* II, xvii, 20. The sun enters this Zodiacal sign at the winter solstice, and the fish's tail of Capricorn is supposed to indicate the rainy weather of this season. No. 9: *Reverse*, MVN · ITALIC · IVLIA · AVGVSTA. Livie assise à gauche, tenant un sceptre et une fleur ou des épis.

The letters P E R M in No. 1 stand for *permissu*: Orelli, *Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. II, p. 275. Gruter, Vol. I, Pag. DCLXII, No. 8—ISDEM. CORPORIBVS. TRALATIS. PERM. TRIB. PL.; *id.* Vol. II, Pag. DCCCXXXII, No. 8—IN HOC MONVMENTO. SIVE SEPVLC. CORP. PER. AEDIL. INFERRI. LICEBIT. Cicero and Livy use *permissus* only in the ablative case. For the former *v.* Merguet, *Lexicon zu Reden des Ciceroes mit Angabe sämtlicher Stellen*, Vol. III, p. 603. *Permissus, Erlaubniss*: constructed with auferre, contineri, liberari, statuere, vendere. See also Gerrard, "Siglarium Romanum," reprinted at the end of Bailey's edition of *Forcellini's Lexicon*: PER—Permissu, Permittendo, Permittente.

The tunic with one sleeve which Erato wears is called in Greek χιτών ἑτερομάσχαλος (μασχάλη, ala, axilla—the armpit) as distinguished from ἀμφιμάσχαλος, covering both arms; it seems to have been similar to the *exomis*, worn by persons engaged in manual labour. Rich, *op. citat.*, *s.v.* with woodcuts. Compare Smith's *Dict. of Antiqq.*, third edition, Vol. I, p. 814a, *s.v.* Exomis; Vol. II, p. 321b, *s.v.* Pallium

C. O. Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst*, §. 337, Remark 3, and §. 366, Remark 6. pp. 400, 458, 459, English Translation: Baumeister, Vol. 1, p. 112, Fig. 118, "Apotheose Homers"—a very good engraving of this celebrated bas-relief in the British Museum—described *s.v.* Archelaos the sculptor, whose name appears in the upper part of the marble upon the rock immediately below Jupiter.

ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ ΠΡΗΝΕΥΣ

Sir H. Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, Vol. II, pp. 118-130, with four full page woodcuts.

Spon cited by Eckhel, *Miscellanea Erulitæ Antiquitatis*, p. 44. Sarcophagus Marmoreus Musas exhibens, folio plate, No. III, 8, "Erato Elegiarum inventrix, caput cubito sustentat cogitabunda, ut snam meditetur Elegiam." Erato in the "Apotheosis of Homer" has the right shoulder bare, and is represented dancing: Hirt, *Bilderbuch*, p. 209, §. 6, Tab. XXVIII, 1: "Anmuthig tanzt sie am Abhang des Helicon in der Apotheose, und in ähnlichem Akte sehen wir ihre Statue auch in der schwedischen Sammlung." A passage in Pausanias supplies an analogy with the laurel-branch of the Muse, Lib. IX. (Boeotia), Cap. XXX, §. 3, Κάθηται δὲ καὶ "Ἡσίοδος κισθάραν ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥόνασι ἔχων, οὐδὲν τι οὐκείων Πησιότῳ φόρημα δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐξ ἀντῶν τῶν ἐπῶν ὅτι ἐπὶ ῥάβδου δάφνης ἦεν. Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, edit. Frazer, 1898. Translation, Vol. I, p. 480; Commentary, Vol. V, p. 154, where Hesiod is quoted; Theogony, v. 30—

"Ὡς ἔφασαν κόυραι μεγάλου Διὸς ἀρτιέπειαι·
Καὶ μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὄζου
† Δρέψασθαι θηγτόν·

V. note in Paley's edition, and reference to C. O. Müller, *History of Greek Literature*, Vol. I, p. 107, English Translation. Mr. Frazer renders ἐπὶ ῥάβδου δάφνης ἦεν, "sang with a laurel wand in his hand." Compare the Epistle to the Hebrews, xi, 21, πῶς ται Ἰακώβ ἀποθνήσκων . . . προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ, in the Authorised and Revised Versions, "worshipped leaning on the top of his staff," where the italics should be observed, indicating that the word does not occur in the original. Some Roman Catholic commentators have proposed another interpretation of this passage, apparently founded on the *Vulgate*, "adoravit fastigium virgæ ejus." Alford has discussed it in a long note. The word ῥάβδος has also been interpreted differently, viz., as meaning "a bed's head," v. Bloomfield in *loc.* F. Rendall, *Epistle to the Hebrews, in Greek and English*, with critical and explanatory notes, 1883, p. 113.

The Latin version of Pausanias, *loc. citat*, edit. Schubart and Walz, has "quum . . . ad Lauri virgam caneret." Hesiod's posture may have been like that of Augustus in the Vienna cameo, who grasps with his left hand a sceptre placed upright: Müller-Wieseler, *Text*, Part I, p. 84, Plate LXIX, No. 377.

The only known example of the name Calliope on coins is the legend of a small bronze of Probus; Cohen, *op. citat*, Vol. V, p. 249, No. 151; *Reverse*, CALLIOPE AVG. "Calliope debout à droite, jouant d'une lyre placée sur une colonne, sur la base de laquelle elle

pose le pied gauche. *Tanini.*" Price 100 francs. For the connection between history and the medals of Probus see *Étude historique sur M. Aur. Probus d'après la numismatique du regne de cet empereur*, par Émile Lépaulle, Lyon, 1884.

Calliope's extended fingers in the medallion at Italica may remind us of the beckoning with the hand at the commencement of a speech, mentioned twice in the Acts of the Apostles, xii, 17: *κατασείσας δὲ ἀντοῖς τῇ χειρὶ σιγῶν ἐιρηγήσατο κ. τ. λ.* *Ibid.* xxi, 40, 'Ὁ παῦλος ἐστὼς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναβυθῶν κατέσεισεν τῇ χειρὶ τῷ λαῷ. So in the sepulchral monument figured and described by Spon, *op. citat.*, p. 44 *sq.*, a Muse appears with arm outstretched, No. 7; "Polyhymnia (?) cui Rhetoria tribuebatur, dextram in orationem componit." Compare Cicero, *De Oratore*, III, LIX, 220, "brachium procerius projectum quasi quoddam telum orationis"; and *Orator*, XVII, 59, "brachii projectione in contentionibus."

We find the best numismatic illustration of the Mosaic at Trèves in the denarii of the gens Pomponia, and it is not an improbable conjecture that here, as in some well-known medals, the engraver's art has reproduced in miniature full-length statues, with more or less fidelity. A passage in the *Oration of Eumenius* (floruit A.D. 300), *Pro instaurandis scholis*, Cap. VII, is so important that it deserves citation, "Aedem Herculis Musarum in circo Flaminio Fulvius ille Nobilior ex pecunia Censoria fecit . . . quod in Graccia cum esset imperator, acceperat Herculem Musagetem esse, id est, comitem duccmq; Musarum: idemque primus novem signa, hoc est, omnium Camenarum, ex Ambraciensi oppido translata sub tutela fortissimi numinis consecravit; ut res est, quia mutuis opibus et praeemiis juvari ornarique deberent: Musarum quies defensione Herculis; et virtus Herculis voce Musarum." *V. Traduction des Discours d'Eumène*, par M. L'Abbé Landriot et M. L'Abbé Rochet, accompagnée du texte (Publication de la Société Éduenne), p. 115; Notes p. 221.

These words serve as a commentary on a coin of this family: Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, Plate XXXIV, Pomponia 4, HERCVLES MVSARVM. "Hercule Musagète debout, nu, avec la peau de lion sur les épaules, jouant de la lyre; à ses pieds, une massue," where we see the usual attributes of this demi-god. Cohen, *ibid.*, p. 269, directs attention to the accent on the letter V of MVSA, which proves that it was pronounced *Mousa*. This accent was called *Apex* by the Romans: De Vit, *s.v.* Virgula, "extensa jacens supra vocalem, quam appingebant Veteres ad ostendendum eam vocalem longam esse, et ad tollendam legentium dubitationem in iis verbis, quae plura et inter se diversa significant, ut in *malus, aret, venit, legit.*" At the end of his Article he subjoins Nota II ad § 10, "De apicibus . . . docte admodum disseruit cl. Garrucci in Dissertatione, cui titulus *I segni delle lapidi latine volgarmente detti accenti*, Roma, 1857. *Sicilicus* means a comma, and is also a sign of the doubling of consonants, Smith's *Latin-English Dictionary*, *s.v.* For other significations of the word, which seems to be the same as the Oscan *Ziculus*, *v.* Donaldson's *Varronianus*, Bantine Table, and Commentary upon it, pp. 117-127 especially pp. 117 and 124.

In the denarii of the gens Pomponia we find it difficult, in some cases, to assign to the Muses their respective characteristics; and

the same remark applies to the sarcophagus figured and described by Spon, *Miscellanea*, *loc. citat.* This monument bears an inscription :

A · PINARIUS · A · L · ANTEROS · O · L · MYRSINE.

On the *obverse* of each coin is a laureated female head, which Eckhel supposed to be Mnemosyne, mother of the Muses. The accessories deserve notice; in No. 5, "Pomponia," Cohen, Plate XXXIV, behind the head is a key to string a lyre—No. 12, tortoise. Horace, *Odes*, III, XI, 3—

"Tuque, Testudo, resonare septem
Callida nervis."

"And sweetest shell of power to raise,
On seven melodious strings, thy various lays;"

Francis's *Translation*.

Compare Horace, *Odes*, I, x, 6, with note, edit. Delphin, and *ibid.*, xxxii, 14—

"dapibus supremi
Grata testudo Jovis,"

Gray has imitated the Latin poet in the phrase "Enchanting shell," *Progress of Poesy*, I, 2.

Testudo means a tortoise, and tortoise-shell; from the arched shape of a tortoise-shell, any stringed instrument of music of an arched shape—a lyre, lute; Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary*, s.v. No. 13, the sock of Comedy (*brodequin*) v. the woodcut in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, third edition, Vol. II, p. 679b; woodcut—comic actor wearing *socci* from an ancient painting: he is dancing in loose yellow slippers. Compare Horace, *Ars Poetica*, v. 80, "Hunc socci cepere pedem (iambum)."

No. 6. Clio, the Muse of History, holds a book; No. 9, Melpomene, the Muse of Tragedy, a tragic mask and the club of Hercules; No. 13, Thalia, who presides over bucolic Poetry as well as Comedy, has a shepherd's crook (*pedum*); No. 14, Urania places a globe on a tripod by means of a wand, thus indicating Astronomy as her province. From this imperfect notice the high interest of the series will be sufficiently evident.

The deities here represented allude to the name of the moneyer Musa, which was in only one instance borne by a man, who became celebrated amongst the Romans—Antonius Musa, physician to Augustus, whom he cured by the cold-water treatment. A good account of him will be found in Milman's edition of *Horace*, amongst the "Personae Horatianae," p. 144; Suetonius, *Octavianus*, cc. 59, 81. Horace, *Epistles*, I, xv, 2-5—

"nam mihi Baias
Musa supervacuas Antonius, et tamen illis
Me facit invisum, gelida cum perluor unda
Per medium frigus."

Wieland, *Horazens Briefe*, Vol. I, p. 230 *sq.*, Erläuterungen. "Er (Musa) verordnete dem Kranken eine erfrischende Diät, liess ihn beynahe nichts als Lattich essen, kalt trinken, und ihn fleissig mit kaltem Wasser begiessen."

Quintus Pomponius Musa in the legend of coins is not otherwise

known to us. Pomponius was the *nomen gentile* of Atticus, Cicero's most intimate friend. His sister Pomponia, as usual with Roman ladies, had the same name as the family; she married Quintus Cicero, the orator's brother, and lived very unhappily with him. We meet with a similar allusion to the name of an individual in the marble sarcophagus mentioned above. *Anteros* occurs in the inscription—Græcè *Ἀντέριος*—which is said to have two very different meanings: a god who avenged slighted love, and a god who struggled against love. V. Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, s.v. The latter signification (*amori contrarius*) seems to apply here, as the Muses, who are sculptured below, are said to be *amoris nesciæ virginesque*: Spon, *op. citat.*, p. 45. This is the general notion about them, and Juvenal refers to it in his sarcastic manner, *Sat.* IV, 35—

“Narrate, puellæ
Pierides: prosit mihi vos dixisse puellas.”
“Relate it, then, and in the simplest strain,
Nor let the poet style you MAIDS, in vain.”

Gifford's *Translation*.

Vide Heinrich, edit. *Juvenal*, Vol. II, p. 176, *Erklaerung*, “Prosit—puellas; dass ich euch das Compliment gemacht habe, euch *Jungfrauen* zu nennen.” For the deity *Anteros*, *vide* Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, III, XXIII, § 60, “*Tertius* (*Cupido*) qui idem est *Anteros*, *Marte* et *Venere tertia* (natus)” with Davies's note. Frazer's *Translation of Pausanias*, Vol. I, Book I. “*Attica*,” Chap. xxx, § 1 Book VI. “*Elis*,” Chap. xxiii, § 4 (5), “*Love and Love returned*”; with notes in the *Commentary*, Vol. II, p. 390 *sq.*, Vol. IV, p. 103. In Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, IX, 14, § 2, and XI, 1, § 1, *Anteros* is a slave or freedman of the latter. L in the inscription, of course, stands for *libertus* and *liberta*.

Lastly, Roman literature supplies a very apposite illustration of Roman mosaics. Cicero, in his treatise *De Oratore*, explains the rhetorical art which he had practised so long and so successfully, and, Lib. III, Cap. XLIII, § 171, compares the arrangement of words with that of the small cubes of a tessellated pavement: “*Collocationis est componere et struere verba sic, ut neve asper eorum concursus neve hiulus sit, sed quodam modo coagmentatus et levis.*” Then follows a quotation from the old Satirist *Lucilius*:—

“*Quam lepide lexeis compostæ! ut tesserulæ omnes
Arte pavimento atque emblemate vermiculato.*”

These lines are repeated in the *Orator*, Chap. XLIV, § 149. Piderit, in his edition of this latter work, interprets *emblemata* by the word *Medaillon*, which is inconsistent with the adjective *vermiculato*, resembling the tracks of worms: “the dies . . . followed the sweep and undulation in the contours and colours of the object represented”: Rich., *op. citat.*, article “*Pavimentum*,” § 4, and woodcut.

Emblema has two meanings: 1. An ornament affixed to some work of art, e.g. cups or vases of which we have examples in Cicero's *Verrine Oratión*, *De Signis*, Lib. IV, xvii, 37, “*scaphia cum emblematis*”; xxii, 49, “*duo pocula non magna, verumtamen cum emblematis*”; and see Mr. George Long's note on Chap. xiv, § 32, *scyphi*

sigillati, in the *Bibliotheca Classica*, Vol. I, p. 458. 2. Tessellated work or mosaic, composed of small cubes variously coloured, and this, without doubt, is the meaning of *emblema* in the line of Lucilius quoted above. The diminutive of *tessera* is *tesserula*, and from it *tessella* is formed by contraction. Similarly from the archaic *puera* we have *puella*. *Composita* is used for *compositae*, *metri gratia*, as in Virgil, *Georgics*, III, 527, "non illis epulae nocere repostae"; compare *Aeneid*, I, 26, and *ibid.*, 249, "nunc placida compositus pace quiescit." *Arte*, the ablative of *ars*, is nearly equivalent to *artè*, which would not suit the metre, because the last syllable is long. Some editors have substituted *endo* for *arte*, the conjecture of Ursinus—a dishonest scholar, notorious for asserting that he had found in manuscripts readings which were inventions of his own.

We cannot refrain from admiring the felicity of Cicero's diction in this passage: he employs terms which suit equally well for describing a mosaic pavement, and a Latin sentence. The comparison made by Lucilius can be appreciated only by those who have read the Roman authors with attention, and perceived how much the beauty of their style consists in the proper arrangement of words. This is specially requisite in a language which has no article to distinguish the subject from the predicate. Here the Greek has the advantage, which the familiar example, Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, is sufficient to prove.

For the subject of Mosaics, treated generally, consult an excellent Article by the late Professor J. H. Middleton in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ninth edition, 1883, Vol. XVI, pp. 849-855. Its value is enhanced by five illustrations, and a copious list of authorities for Classical Mosaics, Christian, Moslem, and Wood-Mosaic, Tarsia. The writer directs attention to the wonderful taste and skill of the Roman artists, shown in harmonious combinations of colours, and the richness of effect given by gradations of tints, and grand sweeping curves of acanthus and other leaves. Hence ordinary engravings and photographs are quite inadequate to convey a correct idea of these beautiful compositions, where the colouring deserves our praise as much as the design. The materials used vary with the countries in which the Mosaicist worked.

See Buckman and Newmarch, *Corinium*, pp. 48-61—the *tessellae* discovered there. Facing p. 48 is a Plate showing the colours and substances, both natural and artificial; a full discussion of the subject ends with Dr. A. Voelcker's *Report on the Analysis of Ruby Glass, found at Cirencester*. The foundations of mosaics at Wroxeter and Woodchester are described in quotations from Thomas Wright and Lysons: Morgan's *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements*, Introductory chapter, p. xxvii.

In the Autumn of 1895, after examining the Mosaic of Monnus at Trèves, I visited some towns in the North-West of Germany, which seemed to be interesting on account of their historical associations or existing monuments. Xanten (*Castra Vetera*) is situated on rising ground near the junction of the rivers Rhine and Lippe; its position, therefore, is like that of Mainz (*Moguntiacum*), nearly opposite the place where the Main falls into the Rhine. Hence we see that the Romans were careful to select localities suitable for great military stations. *Vetera* is repeatedly mentioned by Tacitus, both in the *Annals* (I, 45), and the *Histories* (IV, 36, 60, 62, etc.). It was the

scene of a formidable mutiny of the fifth and twenty-first legions, when Germanicus commanded the Roman army on the Lower Rhine; and at a later period, during the civil war between the partisans of Vitellius and Vespasian, it was besieged and plundered by the Batavian chieftain Civilis. On this occasion the garrison endured the greatest hardships, and were reduced to extremities, feeding on shrubs and herbs that grew between the stones of their walls: the camp was burned, and those who had survived a massacre were destroyed by fire. Mogontiacum and Vindonissa (hodie Windisch in Switzerland, Canton Argau) were the only forts which the Romans still retained. Merivale relates this revolt of the Gauls and Germans in his fifty-eighth chapter, Vol. VI, pp. 490-528, 8vo edition.

The importance of Mogontiacum (Magontiacum, which comes nearer to the modern name) as a great stronghold on the frontier is inferred not only from the testimony of ancient writers, but still more clearly from the numerous sepulchral monuments erected to Roman officers and soldiers; in this respect the Central Museum at Mainz surpasses all other collections with which I am acquainted. See Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer Unserer Heidnischen Vorzeit*, Erster Band, "Römische Skulpturen," Heft III, Taf. 7; IV, 6; VIII, 6; IX, 4; X, 5; XI, 6; and my Paper on "Roman Antiquities of the Middle Rhine," *Archaeological Journal*, 1890, Vol. XLVII, pp. 196-202.

Xanten is a disappointing place: the classical tourist has known its ancient name even in his school-days, and afterwards he may have read that many Roman remains have been dug up, but he will find very little there to reward him for a long journey through a flat and uninteresting country. The town has its Stadt-museum, and the landlord of the Ingenlath Hotel has a collection of local antiquities; neither is important, the principal objects having been dispersed: amongst them was a bronze statue, which the Berlin Museum recently purchased for 8,000 thalers. So the results of investigations conducted by the Reichs-Limes-Commission were, in the case of each country, transferred to the German capital, e.g. to Karlsruhe in the Grand Duchy of Baden.

For an elaborate account of *Castra Vetera v. Paul Clemen*, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, Erster Band, Heft III, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Moers*, 1892; "Xanten," pp. 72-80, "Römische Funde," beginning with Bibliography, figures intercalated in Text, 16 Birten. "Römisches Amphitheater," Jansen, a well known Dutch antiquary, *Mus. Lugduni Batavorum*, p. 79: "*Vetera videtur esse vicus Birten prope Xanten.*" v. Orelli's note on Tacitus, *Annals*, I, 45: 17, Clemen *ibid.*, "Ausgrabungen der Colonia Trajana"; 18, *ibid.*, "Thor in Colonia Trajana."

It does not fall within the scope of this Memoir to describe St. Victor's Church at Xanten—a masterpiece of Gothic architecture, which also contains some remarkable paintings. I can only refer again to P. Clemen, *op. citat.*, pp. 81-153, Figs. 20-58, Plates III-VIII, except No. III, full-page phototypes beautifully executed. It is stated that some bones of the Theban legion are preserved here; according to the legend, it consisted of 6,000 Christian soldiers, who suffered martyrdom during the persecution of Maximian and Galerius. Gibbon has refuted this exaggeration in his sixteenth chapter, note 144, Vol. II, p. 267, edit. Smith.

Nauten is a small and dull town with about 4,000 inhabitants, but it has the advantage of being near Cleves, which is well situated on a ridge of hills, and affords a convenient halting-place; the accommodation at the Hotel Maywald is excellent, the prospect extensive, and the walks and drives in neighbouring parks very agreeable: Baedeker's *Rheinland*, edit. 1886, pp. 400, 401, and Map between pp. 402, 403, "Der Rhein von Düsseldorf bis Emmerich."

At Cologne the colossal marble mask of the dying Medusa, beheaded by Persens, surpasses all other works of ancient art in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum. Some *connoisseurs* consider it to be superior even to the famous Rondanini Gorgoneion in the Glyptothek, Niobiden-Saal (Munich): Daremberg and Saglio, *Diet. d'Antt., Gr. et Rom.*, 21^e Fascicule, p. 1628, Fig. 3644, *s.v.* Gorgones. It is fully described by Professor H. Düntzer in his Catalogue—*Verzeichniss der Römischen Alterthümer*—I. Ground-floor (*Erdgeschoss*), pp. 3-5, with references. For the archaic treatment of the same subject see the group amongst the Selinuntine Metopes, Serradifalco, *Antichità di Sicilia*, Vol. II, t. 26, and Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, Part I, Plate V, No. 25, text p. 4.

Next in importance to the Medusa I should place a Mosaic (discovered in building a new hospital) which is well seen from above. It represents busts of seven Greek philosophers and poets with their names inscribed—Diogenes, Socrates, Aristotle, Chilon, Plato, Cleobulus and Sophocles—so that this pavement may sustain comparison with the work of Monnus at Trèves. Professor Düntzer has explained it, *op. citat.*, pp. 12-14, No. 30, with the title "Mosaik der Weisen." The Museum also contains some fine Roman busts, of which, as well as of the Medusa, photographs on a large scale may be obtained.

A Congress of German philologists and teachers was held at Cologne, 24-28 September, 1895, when the Archaeological Section met in a hall of the Museum newly embellished by the Director, Hofrat Aldenhoven. He has adorned the adjoining rooms with wall-paintings in the antique style, and arranged casts of reliefs and statues completely coloured, and those of bronze made to resemble the material of the originals. Compare *Fine Arts Courts, Crystal Palace, North-West Side*, 1854; *an Apology for the colouring of the Greek Court*, by Owen Jones, with *Arguments* by G. H. Lewes and W. Watkiss Lloyd; *Material Evidence, and Essay on the Origin of Polychromy in Architecture*, by Professor Semper. The proceedings of the Archaeological Section are recorded in the *Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Köln*, 1895, pp. 157-173.

To the publications mentioned above in the first note add the following Catalogue, which is illustrated: *Die Antiken-Cabinette der Herren, F. Herm. Wolff in Köln* and Prof. Dr. E. aus'm Weerth zu Kessenich bei Bonn, Köln, 1895.

Many details relating to recent discoveries of antiquities at Cologne will be found in Articles by Dr. Anton Kisa in the *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, Vorrömische und Römische Zeit redigiert* von Prof. Hettner and Dr. Lehner, Trier:—Mai, 1893, Jahrgang XII, nr. 5, cols. 95-103, "Funde in Köln und Gleuel"; Januar. u. Febr., 1895, Jahrgang XIV, nr. 1, cols. 1-6, "Matronenstein, Der Kanal in der Budengasse"; Mai, 1895, *ibid.*,

nr. 5, cols. 85-92, Neue Inschriften: I, Votivtafel an Juppiter Dolichenus; II, Grabstein eines Veteranen der legio X gemina und seiner Gattin. Woodcut showing figures in relief and a remarkable Inscription, "Merkwürdig ist die doppelte Heimatangabe."

In the autumn of 1865 the water of the Moselle was unusually low, and thus remains of a Roman bridge were suddenly brought to light; and, as might have been expected, the German *savants* were not slow to investigate them. Accordingly, the *Bonner Jahrbuch* for 1867 contains five memoirs on this subject, pp. 1-63:

- a. "Bericht über die Ausgrabung und Aufnahme der im Flussbette der Mosel bei Coblenz aufgefundenen Pfahl- und Steinreste," von Wasserbaumeister Schmidt in Coblenz.
- b. "Betrachtungen über die aufgefundenen Ueberreste einer muthmasslichen Römerbrücke im Flussbette der Mosel bei Coblenz," von Strombaudirector Nobiling in Coblenz.
- c. "Idee einer Reconstruction der im Moselbette aufgefundenen römischen Brückenreste," von Geometer Albert Hoyer in Coblenz.
- d. "Bericht über die in der Mosel entdeckten Pfahl- und Steintrümmer," von Archivrath Elteter in Coblenz.
- e. "Die Coblenzer Pfahlbrücke," von Prof. Hübner in Berlin. These papers are accompanied by two Plates: I, Situationsplan der Stadt Coblenz und ihrer Erweiterungen von den ältesten Zeiten an, showing distinctly the *Pfahlreste* in the river, and Castell Confluentes near its bank; II. Specialplan der Pfahlreste in der Mosel bei Coblenz. The piles made of fir are distinguished from those of oak.

The *Kölnische Zeitung*, Sonntag, 29 September, 1895 (*Feuilleton*), "Das römische Castell bei Ehrenbreitstein," opposite Koblenz, gives an account of recent excavations by which the ancient fortress has been completely laid open. The enclosing wall—a rectangle with rounded corners—is 1.25 mètres thick, 175 m. long, and 155 m. broad, and consequently contains an area of 27,125 square mètres; so that this *castellum* is one of the largest on the Roman boundary (*Limes*). It was protected by a double trench round the wall. The *Porta praetoria*, as well as the three other gates, was flanked by two towers; at Ratisbon a part of one in good preservation may still be seen: my Paper on the "Antiquities of Augsburg and Ratisbon," *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 399-401, with photograph. Hence the arrangement of gates and towers in mediaeval castles is easily accounted for. In the middle of the space before the *Porta decumana* was the residence of the Commander (*Praetorium*), and in front of it a well; on the left side of the latter the Romans placed their station for artillery, *bellica tormenta*; close to it, Dahm met with the foundation-walls of an extensive building, probably the arsenal, as in it numerous remains of missile weapons and parts of *ballistae* and catapults were discovered.

We may compare the *ballistarium* at Housesteads (Borcovicus), where a group of large, roughly rounded, stones was found—collected for the purpose of hurling them from the engines planted on a peculiarly solid portion of the walls, which formed a kind of platform. See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, edit. quarto, "Ballistarium,

Housesteads," p. 189 with woodcut; "High Rochester (Bremenium)," pp. 321-323, with Fac-similes of two Inscriptions in which the word *ballistarium* occurs. Tacitus, *Histories* III, 23, "Magnitudine eximia quintae decimae legionis ballista ingentibus saxis hostilem aciem proruebat," with the quotations from Vegetius and Lucan in the note of Brotier. There is an elaborate Article in Baumeister's *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums, Festungskrieg und Geschützwesen*, Vol. I, pp. 525-551; see especially pp. 545-548, and woodcuts 581, 582. "Nannte man die erste Klasse *ὄξυβελῆς* oder *καταπέλται* (*catapultae*), weil man nur Pfeile aus ihnen schoss, die zweite dagegen *λιθοβόλοι, πετροβόλοι* (*ballistae*), weil man meist Steinkugeln, seltener balkenartige Pfeile damit warf."

The missiles found at Ehrenbreitstein may be divided into three classes: 1. Slingstones in form and size like an egg. 2. Stone-balls 1 decimètre in diameter, *i.e.* about four inches—both kinds of basalt. 3. Balls of tufa, much lighter, which apparently served for practice. Many writers have discussed the use of the sling among the ancients. *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 96-107, Letter from Walter Hawkins, Esq., F.S.A., . . . accompanying a present to the Society of a Lead-pellet or Sling-bullet, found lodged in the Cyclopean Walls of Samé in Cephalonia; compare Livy, XXXVIII, 29, "Centum funditores ab Aegio et Patris et Dymis aditi. . . . Itaque longius certisque et validiore ictu quam Baliares funditor, eo telo (funda) usi sunt." Darenberg and Saglio, Art. "Glans," Fasciculus, XXI, pp. 1608-1611, Figs. 3622-3628; compare Art. "Funda," Fasciculus, XX, pp. 1363-1366, Figs. 3323-3329; *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1894, pp. 268-271, Monsieur Michon, associé correspondant national, entretient la Société des balles de fronde conservées au Musée du Louvre; Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, I, 316-318, Fig. 36, and Fig. 73, Nos. 4 and 5 on p. 406; *Antike Schleudergeschosse beschrieben und erklärt*, von Wilhelm Vischer, with lithograph, 4to, Basel, 1866; *Epigraphische und archäologische Kleinigkeiten*, von Wilhelm Vischer, with two lithographs, 4to, Basel, 1871. But the most comprehensive treatise on this subject has appeared in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica, Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum, Supplementum*, and occupies the whole of the sixth Volume. "Insunt Glandes Plumbeae," editae ab Carolo Zangemeister, pp. 143, Accedunt Tabulae Heliotypicae tredecim. At p. xxxvii of the Preface this author corrects some mistakes, especially with reference to Captain (afterwards Admiral) W. H. Smyth's *Sicily and its Islands*, made by Mr. Hawkins in the letter cited above. Baumeister, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 2077 sq., "Abbildung 2315 Schleuderblei—Zangemeister . . . sämtliche vorhandene Exemplare, echte und unechte, mit grosser Genauigkeit behandelt, und damit für dieses Gebiet eine feste Grundlage geschaffen hat."

In the front half of the fortress on the left is a workshop, on the right an officers' house with slated roof and a cellar underneath. Next to the enclosing wall was a brick-kiln, previously known—Dahm found a tile inscribed "Coh(ors) VII Raet(orum) E(quitata)." The *Raeti* (from the Tyrol and adjacent countries) here mentioned remind us of the wise policy which quartered soldiers in provinces far distant from those in which they were recruited. Similarly we meet

with DELMATARVM on a sepulchral monument found at Bingen in 1860, Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer unserer Heildischen Vorzeit*, Heft X, Taf. 5; CIVES · RAETINIO, a citizen of Raetinium, also in Dalmatia, found near Mayence; my Paper on "Roman Antiquities of the Middle Rhine," *Archaeological Journal*, 1890, Vol. XLVII, pp. 200–202, especially p. 200. Our own country furnishes many examples of this practice. The First Cohort of Vardulli (from the North of Spain) garrisoned Bremenium: Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 324. For the Astures (Asturias) in Britain see the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, Nos. 27, 28, 116, 121, &c.

Near the south corner of the wall an altar was erected that bore the following dedication:—

Fortunae
Cn. Calpurnius
Verus > praefectus
Coh. VII Raetorum
equitata.

Similarly among the tiles at Saalburg, near Homburg, we find the inscription COH · II · RAE—second cohort of Raetians; v. *The Roman Castellum Saalburg*, by Col. A. Von Cohausen, Conservator, and L. Jacobi, Architect; translated from the German by F. C. Fischer. > stands for Centurio—Orelli, *Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 513, "Index rerum et Latinitatis, Centuriae signum >," No. 446; and *Lapidar. Septentr.*, p. 487, Index XIII, "Marks, abbreviations and peculiarities in spelling." Centurio and Centuria are indicated by >, C,), CE,).

Close to the altar of Fortune, was a large Bath well fitted up; the pavement consisted of *opus-signinum*, and paintings adorned the walls, which were hollow, probably for heating apparatus, like the *caldarium* in the Pompeian Thermae, discovered 1824, and described by Overbeck in his work entitled *Pompeii*, First Volume, II, "Drittes Kapitel," p. 198, "hohlen Wänden, durch welche die heisse Luft strich"; and compare p. 201, "eine grosse Röhre, indem vier Zoll von der Mauer eine Verkleidung von Thonplatten gebildet ist, welche mit jener nur durch eiserne Klammern verbunden sind." This construction is mentioned by Vitruvius, Lib. V, Cap. 10, edit. Rode, p. 119, "De balnearum dispositionibus et partibus; eaeque camerae in caldariis si duplices factae fuerint, meliorem habebunt usum."

In front of the *Porta principalis dextra* many indications of the *Canabae* became apparent—the German *Kneipe*, a beer-house, looks as if it was only a Teutonic form of the same word. These dwellings were public-houses occupied by sutlers and camp-followers (*Lixae*). V. the German original of the Memoir on Saalburg, p. 36 *seq.*, and Tafel I, Uebersichtsplan, in which the *Buergerliche Ansiedlungen* are marked adjoining the gates *Principales, dextra et sinistra*. *Canaba* does not occur in Latin authors of a good period, but in inscriptions under the Empire—v. Ducange, *s.v.* 1, Canava, Cannava. We find also *canabenses, vivandieri*—Gruter, LXXIII, 4, "Fortunae Aug. Sacrum, et Genio canabensium," and *cf. ibid.* CCCCLXVI, 7. Orelli, *Inscriptions, cellu vinuria*, Nos. 39, 4077. Compare Tacitus, *Histories*, IV, 22, "subversa longae pacis opera, haud procul castris in modum municipii extructa, ne hostibus usui forent." Festus *s.v.* *Procestria*

edit. Mueller, p. 225. Dnebner's note quoted by Orelli *in loco*; *Gloss. Vet.*, ἀκήματα πρὸ παρεμβολῆς, cf. De Vit, Lex. s.v. and Cohausen, Text, *Der Römische Grenzwall in Deutschland*, § XIX, "Von der Saalburg bis zum Feld-berg-Castell," p. 115, Canabenses, where the cellars are described.

A collection of objects found is deposited in an inn at Ehrenbreitstein, including the pedestal of a life-size statue of an Emperor, *stilus*, *fibula*, various weapons, coins, vases, earthenware vessels—one of which would contain about twenty quarts—with potters' stamps. At the west end of the Castell was a burying ground, but as yet it has not been fully explored. My account of these discoveries is derived from the *Cologne Gazette*, but probably fuller details would be given in the *Bonner Jahrbuch*, or *West-Deutsche Zeitschrift*, or in both.



THE RELATION BETWEEN ARCHÆOLOGY, CHRONOLOGY,
AND LAND OSCILLATIONS IN POST-GLACIAL
TIMES; BEING THE OPENING ADDRESS TO THE
ANTIQUARIAN SECTION AT THE LANCASTER
MEETING.¹

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Antiquaries of Scotland.

One of the most remarkable features of the Ice Age is the correspondence which runs between the variations of climate and the successive land oscillations which have taken place, in Western Europe, during quaternary times—it being now generally admitted by geologists that the maximum cold in each glacial epoch coincided with the maximum submergence of the land. If the astronomical theory, as propounded by Dr. Croll and modified by Sir Robert Ball, be accepted as the best explanation of these fluctuations in climate, we have to assign to the interval between each of these glacial epochs, at least, 21,000 years. I mean, by the astronomical theory, that which accounts for these glacial and interglacial epochs as the combined effects of the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, and the precession of the equinoxes—a result which, however, may be considerably modified by the distribution of land and water. Sir John Lubbock, in discussing this theory, makes the following remarks:—

“The interval between the times at which perihelion occurs on the same day of the year, is about 21,000 years. At some future day, about 5,000 years hence, the perihelion will occur on the 20th March, and in about 21,000 years it will again be on the 31st December. The aphelion changes of course in the same way, and, consequently, the northern and southern hemispheres alternately enjoy a preponderance of summer. The year 1248 A.D. was that in which the first day of winter corresponded with the passage of the earth into perihelion, and consequently was the period when the balance of summer in favour of the northern hemisphere was greatest. Up to that date the duration of summer was increasing; it is now, and has been for 630 years, gradually diminishing.” (*Prehistoric Times*, p. 414.)

¹ Delivered at Lancaster, July 19th, 1898.

According to these calculations, the last cold epoch would have occurred about 11,000 years ago. Our first object, in attempting to draw a comparison between positive chronology and the results of archæology, is to find some fixed landmark which can be correlated with that event. Let us, therefore, assume, as a probable basis for such an inquiry, that the last cold epoch corresponded with the time when the clays in the Carse of Stirling were deposited—the greatest submergence and cold having occurred when the land sat 50 feet lower in the sea than it does at the present time. This corresponds with Professor Geikie's fifth glacial epoch,¹ which he correlates with the 50-foot sea margin extending along the Scottish shore-lands. The subsequent interglacial epoch he associates with the re-emergence of the land, the retreat of the valley glaciers, and an arborescent growth known as "the upper buried forests." It was during this period, as we shall subsequently see, that neolithic man appeared in Central Scotland, and, although we have no reason to suppose that his immigration dates as far back as the maximum period of cold, we have positive proof that he was resident in the country when the sea washed its shores some 25 or 30 feet higher than it does at the present time. On this hypothesis it will be the special object of this communication to show that there is a striking parallelism between astronomical and archæological deductions: so much so, that, instead of regarding them as useless speculations, we shall be forced to admit them within the category of subjects for legitimate investigation, and, perhaps, finally to accept their conjoint results as valuable data in defining, more accurately than hitherto, the limits and phases of human civilisation.

That subterranean causes are sufficient to alter the relative level of sea and land is patent to everyone who has studied the stratification of the earth's crust; and it seems to me that the elevation of the 25-foot raised beach, in Scotland, was due to some local disturbance of this kind, and not to glacial phenomena, as maintained by Professor Geikie. (*Loc. cit.*, p. 612.) That this movement took place since the locality became inhabited by man is now well established, as will be afterwards shown.

¹ *Great Ice Age*, 3rd edit., p. 612.

But, on the other hand, there is ample evidence to prove that, contemporaneous with this upheaval in Scotland, submergence was going on in other parts of Britain. However inexplicable such land oscillations may be it is capable of demonstration that they are often limited, both in duration and in the areas of their occurrence. In support of these general statements, I submit the following notices of researches which, whatever their correct interpretation may be, bear evidence of having been conducted and recorded by experienced observers.

Changes of Level on the Coast of Lancashire.

The following series of deposits have been recorded by Mr. De Rance, as occurring on the coasts of Cheshire and Lancashire from above downwards (*Quart. Journ. Geolog. Soc.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 657), with which he correlates certain archæological discoveries and well-known historical events.

<i>Deposits.</i>	<i>Archæological Remains.</i>
(1) Sand dunes	Present time to Norman Conquest.
(2) Clays and silts, partly } marine and partly fresh- } water. }	Danes and Saxons.
(3) Peat and forest bed ..	Romans and Celts.
(4) Clay and silt, like No. 2 }	Neolithic weapons.
(5) Marine sands. . . . }	
(6) Peat and forest bed ..	No trace of man.

According to the above statements, Roman and Celtic remains were found in the upper peat (No. 3), which underlies marine deposits. Hence, a post-Roman submergence must have taken place since these peat and forest growths formed the land surface.

Submergence in the South of Sweden.

At the meeting of the International Congress of Pre-historic Archæology (*Compte Rendu*, p. 15), held at Copenhagen in 1869, Dr. N. G. Bruzélius, Director of the College at Ystad, gave a description of some very remarkable discoveries made during the year 1868, while excavations were being made to deepen and widen the

small harbour of Ystad, in the extreme south of Sweden, of which the following is an abstract :—

- (a) Beds of sand and gravel, forming part of the present sea beach, amounting to a depth of over 3 mètres.
- (b) At 3 mètres below the normal level of the sea, and 5 mètres below the bank of the quay, there was a peat bed, composed of the decayed roots of trees and some alluvial clay, to a depth of from 10 to 18 inches. About 100 roots of trees, chiefly oak, of various sizes were discovered, some of the roots being 2 or 3 feet in diameter, and there could be no doubt that they grew *in situ*, as their rootlets ramified deeply into the underlying clays.
- (c) Beneath this peat and forest bed there was an old moraine containing glacial (striated) gravel, and on the surface of it, here and there, were patches of alluvial sands and clays.

In the upper of the layers an extraordinary collection of mediæval relics was found, none of the objects, however, being older than 400 or 500 years. Among them were twenty-three well-built ordinary boats, one of which was laden with tiles; six brass cauldrons (with handles), the largest being 18 inches in diameter; two copper pans and a tin plate, etc.; two primitive guns or arquebuses, 4 feet 6 inches in length, the barrel of one being made of brass, and that of the other of forged iron; eight cannon balls (six of iron and two of stone); two iron hatchets; a stone candle-holder, etc.; and a huge quantity of the bones of domestic and wild animals, chiefly skulls.

Beneath the peat were some alluvial deposits, overlying the old land surface into which the roots of the trees had deeply penetrated, in which a totally different class of relics was found. Among them were a flint flake-knife, 4 inches long, half of a polished flint axe, and a beautifully worked dagger of flint, 8 inches long—all these being about a foot below the peat. An Etruscan club-head of bronze (*massue*) ornamented with prominences, and a beautifully carved knife-handle of bone, terminating

in a dragon's head, were also found, but only slightly below the peat.

As corroborative evidence that the trees grew *in situ*, at a time when the morainic land was above water, it is stated that land shells, *elytra* of insects, a number of fresh-water plants, branches of trees, &c., were found in the peat.

The *tout-ensemble* of the phenomena observed warrants the following inferences:—

That during the Stone and Bronze Ages, and probably as late as the ninth century A.D. (the date assigned to the carved knife-handle), the forest of oaks was still above the sea level; that during the decay of the trees, peat had formed; and that, finally, submergence had taken place some time prior to the early part of the fifteenth century.

These conclusions are more remarkable in face of the well-known fact that Norway and the middle regions of Sweden, as far south as Calmar, are now, and have been for several centuries, undergoing a movement in the opposite direction. (Nilsson, *Loc. cit.*, p. 53.)

The depression at the port of Ystad is not, however, a local phenomenon; for M. Nilsson (*ibid.*, p. 59) has shown that an analogous movement has been going on all along the coast of the extreme south of Sweden. In excavating the harbour of Malmœ, not only was there a submarine peat-bed containing worked flints found, but also a submerged street. In 1749, Linnæus measured the distance between the sea and a large stone called *Stafstén*, near Trelleborg. This same distance M. Nilsson re-measured nearly 100 years later, and found it diminished by about 100 feet. (See also Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, Vol. II, p. 190.) According to Sir J. Lubbock, the middle and northern parts of Denmark have not undergone any material change in the relative level of sea and land since the period of the Kjökkenmöddings. (*Prehistoric Times*, p. 235.)

Subsidence of the Shores of Brittany since the Stone Age.

On Er-Lanic, a small rocky islet situated close to the island of Gavr' Inis, in the Morbihan Sea, M. de Closma-deuc has discovered (*Bull. de la Soc. Polymathique du*

Morbihan, 1867, p. 18), two cromlechs or stone circles, placed so close to each other as to resemble the figure 8, the peculiarity of which is that only a portion of the upper circle is on dry land, the rest, as well as the whole of the lower circle, being under water—the latter being only visible when the tides are exceptionally low.

On their sites numerous objects characteristic of the Stone Age have been collected—such as pottery, flint implements of all kinds, including axes of fibrolite and diorite, similar to those found in the dolmens of Brittany. “Des centaines de Celtæ, ou haches en pierre, de toute forme, de toute dimension, le plus grand nombre en diorite; très peu en quartz-agate, en fibrolite, etc; presque tous brisés.” (*Ibid.*, 1882, p. 10.) Since it cannot be supposed that these cromlechs were originally erected under water the land must have sunk, and so permitted the waves to wash over a portion of the island, including that on which these stone monuments were placed.

M. de Closmadeuc has also observed, in confirmation of this opinion, that some of the stones in the celebrated dolmen of Gavr’ Inis, are of a kind of rock which is not found on the island, but at some distance on the mainland. Hence he suggests that, when the dolmen was built, Gavr’ Inis was not really an island but part of the mainland. (*Ibid.*, p. 12.)

There are several other remains of antiquity in the Commune of St. Pierre-a-Quibéron, which clearly show that the sea has greatly encroached upon the land since Neolithic times. Among these may be mentioned the standing stones of St. Pierre, near the village of that name, two dolmens at Port Blanc, and a Celtic cemetery on the Isle of Thinic. (For further particulars and references see *L’Homme*, 1884, pp. 421–424, and *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, Vol. XIX, p. 198.)

The Abbé Hamard (*Études Critiques d’Archéologie pré-historiques*, p. 37) points out that the subsidence of the coast of Brittany offers the best explanation of the curious description which Cæsar has given of the towns of the Veneti, from which the following passage may be quoted:—

“The sites of their towns were generally such that, being placed on extreme points [of land] and on promontories, they neither had

an approach by land when the tide had rushed in from the main ocean, which always happens twice in the space of twenty four hours, nor by ships, because, upon the tide ebbing again, the ships were likely to be dashed upon the shoals. Thus, by either circumstance, was the storming of their towns rendered difficult; and, if at any time perchance the Veneti, overpowered by the greatness of our works (the sea having been excluded by a mound and large dams, and the latter being made almost equal in height to the walls of the town), had begun to despair of their fortunes; bringing up a large number of ships, of which they had a very great quantity, they carried off all their property and betook themselves to the nearest towns; there they again defended themselves by the same advantages of situation." (Book iii, Chap. xii.)

But there are now no towns or promontories on these shores to which this description can be correctly applied, and hence the supposition that they have partly disappeared below the present sea-level, and partly become the islets and rocks now seen scattered in the adjacent sea.

Traditions and legends of buried towns, as, for example, the submersion of the once opulent city of Is, in the fifth century—the work of Divine vengeance for the iniquity of its inhabitants—are more prevalent in Brittany than anywhere else in Western Europe. (*Barzaz Briez*, by Villemarqué, p. 39.) The ruins of ancient buildings and streets are said to be seen passing under the sea at the village of Troguer, on the desolated shores of the Bay of "Les Trepassés," which covers the supposed site of Is. In the vicinity are also found quantities of Roman bricks and pottery of the third and fourth centuries. (*Guide Joanne*, p. 567.)

M. Jéhan, in his picturesque sketches of Brittany (*La Bretagne*, p. 42), describes several cities which have been destroyed by the advancing sea within historical times. Tolente, the most commercial town of Armorica, and historically known to have been pillaged and destroyed by the Normans, in 875, is now entirely under the sea, and its very site is unknown.

According to the Abbé Hamard (*Loc. cit.*, p. 37), there is an old manuscript, of the eighth or ninth century, preserved in the library of Avranches, in which it is stated that, formerly, there was, in the vicinity of Mont-Saint-Michel, a dense forest, extending six miles from the sea, which harboured all manner of wild beasts. Now the whole district is covered by the sea and sand beds.

From another manuscript, also preserved in the same library, and dating from the end of the fourteenth, or beginning of the fifteenth century, he gives the following extract:—

“Avant la révélation de l'ange (à Saint Aubert), nous dit-il, le pays environnant était rempli de forêts et de grands arbres, de sorte que, du bourg d'Avranches à Dalet (Aleth), qui tire aujourd'hui, et à juste titre, son nom de Saint-Malo, il n'y avait par mer aucun passage facile ni même possible, tandis que maintenant l'on peut se rendre avec sécurité jusqu'à Poulet (le Clos-Poulet entre Saint-Malo et Châteauneuf).” (*Loc. cit.*, p. 39.)

To show how much the sea has encroached on the land in these parts he reproduces an old map of Cotentin, of the thirteenth century, which shows Mont-Saint-Michel a long way inland, the island of Jersey as united to the Continent, and a corresponding increase of land all along the adjacent shores.

The older land oscillations are also intelligently discussed by the Abbé. Certain marine deposits at the foot of Mont-Dol, investigated by M. Sirodot, have yielded remains of quaternary mammalia, including the reindeer and Irish elk, associated with the industrial relics of man, which M. de Mortillet assigns to the Époque Moustérienne. The upper of these deposits stood 13·10 m. above the present sea level. From these facts we infer that man was an inhabitant of the country when the sea washed the foot of Mont-Dol, that upon the retreat of the sea its exposed bed became overgrown with great forests, and that, after a long interval, the sea again encroached on the land and submerged the forests within early historic times.

Further Evidence of Submergence in Central Europe.

Evidence of submergence of the land has been observed over a large portion of Western Europe. The Zuydersee, once a marsh, seems to be still sinking, as it is said that in recent years vessels of heavier burden than formerly can now sail over it. A tomb of the Stone Age is said to have been found in the midst of a submerged forest of birch at the bottom of the port of Husum, in Schleswig. Remains of submarine forests have also been observed on

the shores of the island of Bornholm, in Pomerania, and in Eastern Prussia.

I need not occupy your time by describing the numerous submerged forests on the shores of England and Ireland. So far as this kind of evidence goes it proves that man inhabited the country when the land stood, some 30 or 40 feet at least, above its present level; and since all the relics hitherto found consist of a few flint knives, and bones of the stag, horse, hog, and *Bos longifrons*, we may safely conclude that the time when these forests flourished was the early Neolithic period. Mr. Ellis found a large quantity of flint flakes and cores, bones, teeth, oyster shells, &c., over a space of only several square yards, as well as mammalian remains, in the submerged forest of Barnstaple, in North Devon. (*International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology*, p. 89, 1868.)

With regard to the submerged forest on the coast of West Somerset, described by Sir Henry de la Beche and Mr. Godwin-Austen (*Quart. Jour. Geol. Soc.*, 1865), Professor Boyd-Dawkins makes the following remarks:—

“These submerged forests are mere scraps, spared by the waves, of an ancient growth of oak, ash, and yew, extending, in Somersetshire, underneath the peat and alluvium, and joining the great morasses of Glastonbury, Sedgemoor, and Athelney, in which Neolithic implements have been met with by Mr. Stradling. The discovery of flint flakes and an old refuse-heap with mammalian remains, by Mr. Ellis, in the submerged forest of Barnstaple, affords the same kind of evidence that man was living in Devonshire while the land stood considerably higher than it does at the present time. The bones of Celtic short-horn (*Bos longifrons*), stag, sheep, and goat, had evidently been accumulated around the piles before they were in their present position between high and low water mark, since such an accumulation would have been impossible in a spot between tides. In all probability the piles were driven into a peaty morass on the land surface.

“Conclusive proof of submergence within comparatively modern times is brought forward by Mr. Pengelly, in his paper ‘On the Submerged Forest of Torbay.’ The forest consists of a layer of peat, sometimes ten feet thick, which sweeps upwards from low water mark to the higher ground, the sub-aërial portion being covered with three feet of loam. From it have been obtained the stag, hog, horse, and Celtic short-horn, and antlers of stag cut by man. Here, therefore, as well as in North Devon and Somersetshire, man was in possession of the country when the land stretched farther out to sea than at the present time. In this particular case, Mr. Pengelly estimates the submergence to have been not less than forty feet since the forest was alive.” (*Early Man in Britain*, p. 251.)

From these examples of subsidences of wide areas, in comparatively recent times, we pass on to Scotland, where I propose to show that an elevation of the land has taken place since Neolithic man came into the country.

The MacArthur Cave at Oban.

The cave known under this name was discovered in December, 1894, by quarrymen, while removing stones for building purposes from the cliff facing the bay of Oban. In the course of these operations, a cavity was exposed in the rock which proved to be a cave, 25 feet long and from 16 to 20 feet broad. This opening was made near the back of the cave, but its natural entrance, which had been effectually concealed by an old talus of earth and stones was at the other (north) end. Before the discovery came under the notice of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the whole of the roof had been removed by the quarrymen, but as the floor, already ascertained to be an accumulation of relic-bearing *débris*, remained practically undisturbed, it was decided to have it thoroughly excavated. Subsequently, a full report of the investigation was read at a meeting of the Society, 11th March, 1895, by Dr. Joseph Anderson, who superintended the excavations.

The contents of the cave consisted, first, of a layer of black earth in which, besides the bones of various animals, some human remains were found. It is unnecessary to examine the special characters of these human bones as, from their superficial position in the cave, their owners had probably no relationship with the cave-dwellers who left the implements and weapons in the subjacent deposits. The next layers are thus described by Dr. Anderson:—

“ It was found that underneath the layer of black earth there was a bed of shells, varying from 27 inches to about 3 feet in thickness, extending over the whole floor of the cave, and showing little or no intermixture of black earth or gravel, but here and there patches of ashes mixed with wood-charcoal and charred splinters of bone. Under this shell-bed was a bed of fine clean gravel, composed entirely of small water-rolled stones. In this gravel, at a depth of about 18 inches (where the section was first made), there was intercalated a deposit of shells, which we at first spoke of as the lower

shell-bed, but which proved to be of partial extent and unequal thickness, thinning out towards the sides and towards the mouth of the cave, and in several places presenting an irregular or patchy appearance in the section, as if the shells had been deposited in heaps or pockets in the gravel. Underneath this intercalated layer of shells the gravel extended for about 4 feet or more to the cave-bottom, where it was mixed with large and small fragments of loose rock. The whole thickness of the gravel-bed under the upper deposit of shells was thus about 6 feet, including the intercalated lower deposit of shells."

Both the upper and lower shell-beds were composed of the shells of edible species found on the neighbouring shores, and of the bones of land and marine animals, the entire mass being a true refuse heap, evidently the result of a lengthened occupation of the cave by people who fed on the fauna represented in it. The bones were, for the most part, broken into splinters, both for the purpose of extracting the marrow and of manufacturing bone implements, of which a large number was collected.

All the implements recovered were made of bone or deer-horn, with the exception of three hammer-stones, and a few flint flakes.

The bone and horn implements consist of three pins, three borers, and a few bones pointed or flattened at one end, 140 "round-nosed, chisel-ended implements having an extraordinary likeness to each other," and seven harpoons (two being entire) made of deer-horn. The larger of the entire harpoons is six inches long and has four barbs on each side, and a perforation at the butt-end. The other differs from the former only in being smaller ($4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length), and having no perforation at the butt-end.

The animal remains from the respective deposits were identified by Mr. James Simpson, assistant to Sir William Turner. All the layers included bones of the ox, pig, red deer, roe, badger, and various birds, together with the vertebræ of fish, claws of crabs, shells of patella, solen, whelk, and the ordinary edible molluscs—oyster, cockle, and mussel.

Only in the black earth was the dog represented, and, in the lower shell-bed, bones of the cat and otter were recognised.

The evidence of the fauna conclusively proves that the

chronological horizon to which the Oban Troglodytes must be assigned is the Neolithic period in Scotland.

After careful consideration of the phenomena disclosed by the investigation of this cave, I hold that the layer of clean-washed gravel, which so completely separated the upper and lower shell-beds, was the result of a severe storm, during which the waves dashed into the cave, carrying with them a certain amount of shingle; and that the cave-dwellers, after the abatement of the storm, again resumed occupancy of it.

If this be so, the importance of the discovery at Oban cannot be exaggerated, because it proves that man was an inhabitant of the district when this cave was on the sea-beach sufficiently near the water to permit of the waves to enter it. But the beach of to-day is 100 yards distant, and the lower shell-bed lay fully 30 feet above the present high-water mark. (In addition to Dr. Anderson's report, see *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, May 21st, 1896.)

Rock-shelter at Oban.

At the beginning of May, 1898, another discovery was made at Oban which yielded similar remains of human industry associated with a refuse-heap of shells and broken bones, precisely analogous to those from the MacArthur cave. This was a rock-shelter at the base of a steep rock overlooking a marsh in which some years ago the remains of a lake-dwelling were found. The area of this shelter was some 10 feet square and the refuse-heap had been covered for ages by a deep talus. It was while clearing away this talus that the shell-heap became exposed. Among the relics were a few stone hammers or polishers, a number of "round-nosed" chisels of bone, and the front portions of two harpoons made of deer-horn, of the same character as those found in the MacArthur cave—differing from them only in having the barbs (three barbs in each case) on one side. M. Piette also records unilateral barbed harpoons from the cave of Mas-d'Azil, in France. Hence the discovery of this variety at Oban only strengthens the remarkable analogy between these relics in the French and Scottish caves, a subject which I have elsewhere discussed at considerable length. (See *Prehistoric Problems*, pp. 60-77.)

Stag's-horn Implements found along with Skeletons of Whales in the Carse of Stirling.

On the 17th September, 1889, Professor Sir William Turner read a paper at the British Association, then held at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, "On implements of Stag's-horn associated with Whales' Skeletons found in the Carse of Stirling." In this paper the author describes a perforated horn implement, shaped like a hammer-axe head, 11 inches in length, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in its greatest girth. It was found in 1877, resting on the skull of the skeleton of a Balænoptera, exposed in the course of drainage operations on the estate of Meiklewood, a few miles west of Stirling. In 1819 and 1824 it is recorded that implements of deer-horn (two of which are described as having been perforated with a round hole about one inch in diameter) were found also associated with whales' skeletons, but they appear to have been lost. (*Wernerian Soc.*, Vol. V.)

Sir William Turner sums up his remarks on these discoveries as follows :

"The discovery of those horn implements proves that, when the fertile land now forming the Carse of Stirling was submerged below the sea level, the surrounding highlands were inhabited by a hardy Caledonian race, who manufactured, from the antlers of the red deer, useful tools and weapons. I have already stated that there is nothing in the form of these implements to lead one to suppose that they could be used in the chase of the whale as lances or harpoons. It is probable that the whales by the side of which they were found had been stranded during the ebb of the tide, and that the people had descended from the adjacent heights, and, with the aid of their chisels of horn, had spoiled the carcass of its load of flesh and blubber. In support of this view I may state that the three skeletons along with which the implements were found were lying in proximity to the edge of the Carse-land, where it approached the adjacent high ground."

Further corroborative evidence of these views has recently been found at the village of Causeway Head, on the south side of the Abbey Craig. While a drain leading from the village to the river Forth was being excavated numerous portions of the skeleton of a whale were dug up, and along with them a pike-like implement made of a stag's horn, and a portion of a whale rib, both of which bear certain markings which have been pronounced by

competent authorities to be due to man's hand. (See Mr. D. B. Morris, in *Stirling Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 16th November, 1897.)

Canoes found in Raised Beaches.

The finding of canoes in the Carse lands of the Forth is well authenticated. Sir John Clerk, in *Reliquiæ Galeonæ* (*Bib. Top. Brit.*, No. II, p. 241), informs his correspondent that a "very ancient curiosity" was found in the Carse of Falkirk, in the month of May, 1726. "The washings of the river Caron discovered a boat, 13 or 14 feet under ground; it is 36 feet in length and $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth, all of one piece of oak. There were several strata above it, such as loam, clay, shells, moss, sand and gravel: these strata demonstrate it to have been an antediluvian boat. The tree of which it was made was, no doubt, very big, but still no bigger than one which is yet alive not far from that place, which is about 12 or 13 feet in diameter." To this he adds a cutting from a contemporary newspaper, in which the boat is described as finely polished and having a pointed stem and a square stern. At a later period another writer mentions that a canoe was found near Falkirk, 5 fathoms deep in the clay, and that anchors were dug up in the ground between Alloa and Stirling, which he instances as a proof that these lands were formerly under sea. (*Beauties of Scotland*, Vol. III, p. 419.)

Professor James Geikie records the discovery of a canoe in a brick-clay pit at Friarton, Perth, underneath 10 or 11 feet of clay. It measured 15 feet in length, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth, and 3 feet in depth. This clay, according to the Professor, belongs to the second series of terraces in the Carse lands of the Tay Valley, rising from 25 to 40 feet above the mean tide mark. (*Scottish Naturalist*, Vol. V, p. 167.)

Some twenty-five canoes have been recorded from time to time as being found imbedded in the basin of the estuary of the Clyde, some of them over 20 feet above present high-water mark, and deeply buried in the estuary deposits. Two of these boats contained stone celts. (See Appendix to Smith's *Newer Pliocene Geology*, 1862; Wilson's *Pre-*

historic Annals of Scotland; *Proc. Glasgow Arch. Soc.*, Vol. II, pp. 77 and 121; and Chambers' *Ancient Sea-Margins*, p. 206, *et seq.*)

Another locality which has yielded evidence of the same nature is Lochar Moss, in Dumfriesshire, long utilized as a storehouse of fuel for the neighbouring inhabitants. It extends to the Solway, with a fall of about 30 feet, over an area of 12 miles in length and, in some places, 3 miles in breadth.

The Rev. James Lawrie (*Sinclair's Statistical Account*, Vol. I, p. 160) thus describes the opinion current about this moss at the end of last century:—

“There is a tradition, universally credited, that the tide flowed up this whole tract above the highest bridge in the neighbourhood. In the bottom of the moss sea mud is found, and the banks are evidently composed of sea sand. A few years ago, a canoe of considerable size, and in perfect preservation, was found by a person when cutting peats, 4 or 5 feet below the surface, about 4 miles above the present flood-mark; but it was destroyed before any antiquarian had heard of it. Near the same part of the moss, and about the same depth, a gentleman found a vessel of mixed metal containing about an English quart. . . . Antiquities of various kinds are found in every part of this moss where peats are dug, even near its head, such as anchors, oars, &c., so that there is no doubt of its having been navigable near a mile above the highest bridge, and fully 12 miles above the present flood-mark. Near the manse there is a narrow gut, between two sandy hillocks, called *Collyveat*, supposed to be a corruption of Collin's boat, where it is thought there was a ferry, which indeed would be very necessary, on the supposition of the tide flowing there.”

Pennant (*Tour*, Vol. II, p. 107), in 1782, also describes the finding of two canoes in Lochar Moss, one near a place called Kilblain.

Sir Arthur Mitchell (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, Vol. V, pp. 20–29) has put on record some very interesting observations on the ancient forest of Cree, in Galloway. According to him the Mosses of Cree, Carsegown, and Borrow, cannot cover less than 1,500 to 2,000 acres, and average 7 to 8 feet in depth. The peat lies immediately over the clay, the line of separation being sharply defined. But I cannot do better than quote Sir Arthur's own words:—

“These trees, which, so far as I know, are all oak, are found in two distinct positions—first, in the channel of the Cree, or projecting into its channel from the banks at the side, many of these last having

10 to 15 feet of sandy clay above those parts of them which are on the bank and an unknown number of feet of clay below; and secondly, under the peat, on the surface of the clay.

"The existence of this ancient Cree forest does not rest on our finding some half-dozen trunks. You may count them by the hundred, exposed in the bed of the river, between Newton-Stewart and Barsalloch; and you may reckon roots by the score where the moss has been cleared away near the mouth of Lime Burn."

The trees are described as of great size, and specimens measuring 15 feet in girth and 50 feet in length are not uncommon. The objects which were found with them, or "in such positions as lead to the possible conclusion that they are coeval with the trees," are the following:—Two canoes, a quern, a Roman battle-axe, a couple of stone celts, and one bronze celt, together with horns of deer and several heads of the extinct Urus. A great deer-horn was found under 12 feet of clay along with "some human bones said to have been of great dimensions." Unfortunately the precise localities where the heads of the Urus were found, whether in the clay or in or beneath the moss, are not given. In commenting on these discoveries, Sir Arthur makes the following remarks:—

"It thus appears that very interesting remains are found in close association with the vestiges of this forest. The country appears to have been peopled when these trees were living. On the margins of this forest man paddled in his canoe, and under the shade of these mighty trees he pursued the red deer and the Urus. He cultivated corn in the neighbourhood, and ground it. He was of goodly stature, and carried formidable weapons of war. These things, at least, are possible, if not probable inferences from the facts I have detailed."

Other Relics of Man associated with Raised Beaches.

In 1883, I contributed to the *Collections of the Ayr and Galloway Archæological Association* (Vol. IV., p. 1), "Notes on the discovery of five bronze celts of an early type, bound together with a bronze wire, in an excavation near the shore of a small bay on the Ayrshire coast." They appear to have been concealed in a crevice in a rock, the opening to which had been subsequently covered over by sea gravel. At the present time the sea is 100 yards distant from this spot, and the high-water mark is 25 feet lower.

Mr. Alexander Gray (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 263) describes, in the town of Campbeltown, in Argyllshire, refuse of a flint factory some 30 feet above present sea level, and above which were deposited several layers of beach shingle.

I believe that further important information bearing on this point would be forthcoming were a careful inspection made of the flint-bearing sand dunes on our coasts. I am informed by experienced collectors that relics of Neolithic types are never found at, or near, the present sea level, but always considerably above it and sometimes at long distances from the sea, especially where the shore is flat. This is quite in accordance with the little practical experience I have gained by a few visits to the sand dunes at Irvine, in Ayrshire, and Glenluce, in Wigtownshire.

On the north coast of Ireland, along the shore of Belfast Lough, especially at Larne and Island Magee, there are raised beaches some 20 or 25 feet above the present level of the sea, probably corresponding to the 25-foot beach on the opposite coast of Scotland, in which an abundance of worked flints has been found.

Land Oscillations and Chronology.

From the above rapid survey of the phenomena of land oscillations which, were it necessary, could be elaborated to a much greater length, the two following important generalisations are brought out:—(1) Along a line passing from the north of Ireland through Central Scotland and Sweden, the land has risen during the Neolithic period; and (2) in the south of England, the extreme south of Sweden, the southern shores of the Baltic, and on through Central Europe to the coasts of Brittany, the land has been gradually sinking during that same period. Hence these later land oscillations must be assigned not to astronomical but rather to local causes inherent in the crust of the earth. Possibly the weight of the ice itself might have had something to do with depressions during the glacial periods, and, when its accumulation was extensive, there can be no doubt that it would be sufficient to sensibly alter the centre of gravity of the globe, and so cause the water, which

is a pliant medium for precise adjustment of this kind, to rise higher in the glacial regions.

Reverting now to the supposition that the last two cold epochs took place 32,000 and 11,000 years ago, it becomes an attractive problem to seek out some well-defined group of archaeological phenomena which can be correlated with these dates. If two such points of coincidence could be fixed in the chronological scale, the subsequent phases of civilisation would be approximately adjusted. It is manifest that it is to the fauna of the period that we must look for guidance in such an investigation. Now the reindeer is, *par excellence*, an animal that has always been associated with a sub-Arctic climate, and it was so abundant at one time in Central Europe, that, in the writings of Lartet, Christy, Dupont and other palæontologists, it has given the name "Reindeer period" to the time when the caves and rock-shelters of France, Switzerland, and Belgium were inhabited by man. The disappearance of the reindeer from these regions is doubtless coincident with the subsequent amelioration of climate and the advent of arborescent growths, although it lingered in isolated localities, such as the north of Scotland, to a much later period. Hence the conclusion seems to me inevitable that the reindeer period was coincident with the last sub-Arctic climate which prevailed in Western Europe. And this view harmonizes with the evidence of recent archaeological discoveries which tend to bridge over the so-called "hiatus" between Palæolithic and Neolithic times, by showing that men inhabited at least some portions of Europe during both periods without any break of continuity.

On two occasions, within the last few years, I have taken the opportunity of directing attention to various facts which seemed to me valid evidence in support of this view. In 1895 (*Rambles and Studies in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia*, pp. 305-16), I discussed the "hiatus" problem in its more general aspect, in connection with some remarkable discoveries made shortly before in Bosnia, and maintained that there was no evidence against "the idea that the Quaternary men of Europe survived till the arrival of these Neolithic immigrants." Again, in 1897 (*Prehistoric Problems*, pp. 60-81), I

continued the discussion of this subject more in detail, bringing forward, as arguments in favour of my views, the results of discoveries made in the rock-shelter of Mas-d'Azil (Ariège), the cave of Reilhac (Causses du Lot), the cave of Kesslerloch, near Schaffhausen, the Balzi Rossi caves, near Mentone, the MacArthur cave at Oban, the Victoria cave at Settle, &c. To-day, though entirely in an incidental manner, the facts which I am about to lay before you will, in my opinion, give the *coup de grâce* to this *quaestio vexata*, by showing that there is no chronological interval between Palaeolithic and Neolithic man, at least, in one portion of Central Europe. These facts are based on the results of the exploration of the rock-shelter of Schweizersbild, recently published by Dr. Nüesch of Schaffhausen, which, for completeness and accuracy of details, I consider one of the most valuable contributions that has ever been made to the science of archæology.

Schweizersbild Rock-shelter.

The Schweizersbild is situated in a small valley of the same name, about 2 miles north of Schaffhausen and within 4 miles of the famous Kesslerloch, a cave of the "reindeer period," explored by Mr. C. Merk in 1874. The special features which induced man to take up his abode in this locality were due to the protection afforded by an isolated lime-stone rock which protrudes through the meadow land. It rises to the height, at its highest point, of 16 m. and presents an abrupt face looking southwards. At the present time this rocky wall is only slightly overhanging, but, owing to long-continued disintegration, this feature is probably less striking than it was in earlier times. Roughly speaking it is a concave hollow, approximating along its base to a semi-ellipse, the major axis of which measures 36 m. and the greatest distance of the rock from this line is 12·5 m. The semi-elliptical area thus defined covers 207 square mètres, and the gradual accumulation of *débris* over its floor, partly from the disintegration of the overhanging rocks, and partly from vegetable mould and other sub-aërial causes, had raised

its surface to 2.5 m. above the surrounding plain. Dr. Nüesch informs us that during the day the heat within a few yards of the wall was almost unendurable, on account of the reflection of the sun's rays from the surface of the limestone rock; and hence he inferred that the shelter would remain free from snow in the winter time. Its elevation above the sea is 472 m., and as it occupies the water-shed of the valley, it was not subject to flooding. These topographical and natural advantages rendered the rock-shelter of Schweizersbild a common rendezvous to the hunters of all ages. The discovery of this fact by Dr. Nüesch in 1891 induced him to have it thoroughly and systematically explored.

Although these explorations were finished in 1893, it was not till last year that the final results were given to the world, the delay having arisen partly from the vast amount of material to be examined, and partly owing to the severe illness of the author. The work now published is enhanced by the fact that all the relics collected have been examined and reported on by specialists. Besides the explorer's description of the archaeological discoveries, the work contains articles by ten other contributors, the whole forming Vol. XXXV. of the *Neue Denkschriften der allgemeinen schweizerischen Gesellschaft für die gesammten Naturwissenschaften*.

The names of Professors Th. Studer, A. Nehring and J. Kollmann, who have between them exhaustively treated of the fauna, are a sufficient guarantee that we have here set before us the most trustworthy results that modern science can produce.

Professor Nehring, who has made a special study of the characteristic fauna of the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions under the names of Tundra and Steppe fauna, finds that a corresponding series of animals formerly existed in the regions around Schweizersbild, both of which were superseded by a forest fauna, thus indicating that a gradual change from an Arctic climate and fauna to those of the present day has taken place since man appeared in the district—a transformation which is fully borne out by the stratigraphical arrangement and contents of the deposits. Accordingly we find the deposits which yielded these different remains characterised as Tundra, Steppe, Forest,

and Domestic fauna, as illustrated by the following tabular statement :—

Deposits.	Depth in c.m.	Age in years.	Characteristic fauna.
(1) Humus-bed	40-50	4,000	Domestic fauna. Iron and Bronze Ages.
(2) Grey relic-bed	49	4,000	Forest and lake-dwelling fauna of the Neolithic period.
(3) Breccia-bed. This deposit had a thin layer of dark earth some 10 c.m. thick about its middle, called upper Rodent-bed.	80-120	12,000	Forest fauna: transition from the previous. (<i>Steppen fauna.</i>)
(4) Yellow relic-bed.. ..	30	3,000	Sub-Arctic fauna. (<i>Steppen fauna.</i>)
(5) Lower Rodent-bed	50	5,000	Arctic fauna. (<i>Tundra fauna.</i>)
(6) Gravel-bed (glacial deposits) ..	150+	..	No relics.

The following notes may serve to give some general idea of the industrial remains of man found in these deposits, as well as of a few of the fauna associated with them; but I must at once say that they are utterly inadequate to convey to your minds the great ability and fulness with which all the details have been worked out in support of the important deductions founded on them.

The lowest stratum, according to Professor Penck, is a fluviatile deposit of the last glacial epoch in Switzerland, formed just as the ice was finally retreating from the valley. It was dug into to the depth of 1·5 m. without reaching the bottom, but, as it contained no human relics, it is here of no special importance beyond determining its geological character. Subsequently, when the locality became dry, man frequented the rock-shelter, and the *Lower Rodent-bed*, No. 5, began to accumulate.

This layer was composed of yellowish earth, mixed with fragments of limestone from the overhanging rocks. Throughout its whole depth, but sparsely scattered, were found various implements of flint and worked objects of

bone and horn, such as needles, harpoons, awls, chisels, &c., all of which were recognised as characteristic specimens of the "reindeer period." It may also be noted that all the mammalian bones were broken for their marrow. Burnt bones were rare, and only one fireplace with ashes was encountered, so that, upon the whole, it appeared to have been only occasionally visited by man.

The chief interest of the layer, however, centred on its organic contents. The characteristic fauna of the Tundra, according to Professor Nehring, are the following:—Bandlemming, Obi lemming, Arctic fox, mountain hare, reindeer, and musk-ox. With these are frequently associated a number of animals of more or less migratory habits such as northern vole, water-rat, glutton, ermine, little weasel, wolf, fox and bear. Now the extraordinary fact is brought out that of these fourteen species only the Obi lemming and the musk-ox are unrepresented in the Lower Rodent Bed of the Schweizersbild. The latter was, however, found in Kesslerloch cave in the vicinity. It appears that the banded lemming (*Myodes torquatus*) and the Arctic fox are the two most persistent animals of the Tundra fauna, and their presence in the rock-shelter is alone sufficient proof that the climate of the period was of an Arctic character. In the upper portion of this deposit relics of new animals began to appear, indicating a change to a sub-Arctic climate. But these found their highest development in the next succeeding layer, viz., the *Yellow Relic Bed*, No. 4.

The colour of this deposit was due to a mixture of yellow loam, a large number of yellow-stained bones, and some stones reddened with the action of fire. It lay immediately over the rodent-bed, but in some places, where the latter was absent, it rested on the glacial gravel-bed. Evidence of man's presence was now greatly multiplied. Anvils, half buried in flint chips, wasted flint implements, hearths and stones, cracked and reddened by the action of fire, layers of ashes, broken bones, bits of charred wood, pieces of worked and unworked lignite, a large number of implements made of bone, horn, and flint, together with some specimens of the characteristic art of the reindeer hunters, are the salient features of this relic bed. A somewhat rare piece of art is a stone tablet having the

outlines of a wild ass and of a reindeer incised upon it. To show how Dr. Nüesch manipulates his statistics we may quote the following items:—14,000 worked flints, 180 fragments of bone needles, 41 reindeer whistles, 42 pierced ornaments, made of shells and teeth of the Arctic fox and glutton, etc. The whole collection of relics from this layer is typical of the latest phase of Palæolithic civilisation, such as has been found in the reindeer caves of the Dordogne.

The fauna has undergone a considerable change by the disappearance of some animals, such as the banded lemming and a number of others; while, on the other hand, new ones have taken their place, all of which changes, according to the above eminent authorities, indicate a sub-Arctic climate.

The next layer is the *Breccia-bed* No. 3, which contains, about its middle, the upper Rodent-bed. During this period there is a gradual transition to a forest fauna, the various species of which appear to be of a somewhat mixed character. The climate has become mild and damp and more favourable to arborescent growth. Man's presence was indicated by ashes, worked flints, split bones, but no implements of bone or horn were found in this layer. Dr. Nüesch thinks that only small groups of reindeer hunters occasionally visited the shelter during this period.

In the next layer (*Grey relic-bed* No. 2) we are among the remains of Neolithic civilisation, attested not only by an assortment of characteristic objects, but also by the fact that the rock-shelter now became a cemetery and contained no less than twenty-two interments. The graves were dug into the underlying Palæolithic deposits. Ten of them contained the remains of children. The fourteen adult skeletons, reported on by Professor Kollmann, show that they belonged to two distinct races, one being of fair size, 1,600 mm. (5 feet 3 inches) and more, and the other much smaller—in fact, a race of pigmies.

Dr. Nüesch thinks that the rock-shelter was then no longer inhabited by man, but only visited by him for the purpose of burying, or perhaps cremating the dead—an idea suggested by the large quantity of ashes it contained. The reindeer was now scarce in the district, and its place

was taken by the red deer. It was a true forest fauna, of which the following were represented in the Schweizersbild: Brown bear, badger, marten, wolf, fox, wild cat, mole, hare, beaver, squirrel, Hamster, water-rat. Urus, *Bos longifrons*, goat, sheep, stag, roe, reindeer, wild boar, horse, and ptarmigan. Among these, the newcomers were badger, wild cat, hare, Urus, *Bos longifrons*, goat, and sheep; while of those animals which were represented in Palæolithic times the following are wanting: Manul cat, Arctic fox, ermine, weasel, gnutton, spider musk-shrew, field vole, red suslik, pica, Alpine hare, bison, ibex, maral deer, wild ass, and all the birds with the exception of ptarmigan. In short, the Steppe fauna had in its turn given way to a forest fauna, and, synchronous with these changes, Palæolithic man and the reindeer gradually vanished from the district. Dr. Nüesch, with the assistance of his collaborateurs in this great work, has clearly demonstrated that Tundra, Steppe, Forest, and Domestic Fauna have succeeded each other in chronological sequence in North Switzerland.

I do not regard the chronological deductions founded on the investigations at the Schweizersbild as *data* on which absolute reliance can be placed, as from the very nature of the subject precision is unattainable. This Dr. Nüesch fully admits, and, indeed, he himself has advanced several considerations which might considerably reduce his highest estimate (29,000 years) of the time since man began to frequent the neighbourhood—as, for example, that conclusive evidence of the presence of man in the lower Rodent-bed was not found till near its middle. But, after all allowances for possible errors are made, he thinks the date of man's first appearance in the district cannot be less than 20,000 years ago. One thing, however, is certain, as the explorer pertinently remarks, that *hundreds of thousands of years* cannot have elapsed since the Reindeer period and its civilisation flourished at the Schweizersbild.

How far this order of climatic and organic changes can be correlated with analogous changes in Britain can only be dimly outlined. At the beginning of the transformation scene which followed the gradual retreat of the glaciers, clays, sands, and gravel would be washed into

all the hollows left on the surface of the *moraine profonde*, but as the ice vanished the streams would be less muddy. Clear water, fed by calcareous streams, were the most favourable conditions for the development of the great beds of shell-marl which form the basis of the peat in nearly all the lake-basins of Western Europe. To this period can be assigned the first great forest growths of pines and oaks which spread over the uplands of Scotland. Then come the peat-bogs which may be correlated with the 50-feet submergence of the land in Scotland.

The third and last glacial period in Switzerland would appear to correspond with that which occurred in Scotland when the land was submerged to the 100-feet level. (Geikie's *Fourth Glacial Epoch*.) According to astronomical data, the maximum amount of cold would be reached 32,000 years ago; but as it is probable that, in all these successively recurrent cold and warm epochs, the full effect of their respective climatic changes would only be experienced some centuries later, for the same reason that, in the succession of the seasons, the greatest cold of winter, and the greatest warmth of summer, are not felt in December and June, but a month or six weeks later. We may therefore assume that the subsequent amelioration of climate in Western Europe would begin some 30,000 years ago. How many centuries rolled by before the country around the Schweizersbild was in a condition to afford sport, as well as the means of livelihood, to the reindeer hunters we can only conjecture. From Dr. Nüesch's calculations it would be not more than 29,000 years, and not less than 20,000 years ago—say 24,000 years—a date which synchronises with the astronomical calculations to marvellous nicety.

The gradual amelioration of the climate would continue, on the astronomical basis, for 10,500 years, during which the country would pass through the climatic conditions that would permit of a Tundra and a Steppe fauna. Towards the close of this period, in obedience to the climatic and meteorological environments, great forests and a luxurious vegetation would spring up and cover the surface of the land. That transformation would bring us well on into the period of his Breccia-bed in

the Schweizersbild, a date which, according to both methods of calculation, would be 18,000 or 19,000 years ago. Similar arborescent growths had spread over the British Isles which, by this time, had risen from an insular condition to be part of the Continent. Meantime, not only had the Tundra fauna given place to the Steppe fauna, but this latter had now to struggle with a new set of animals which the forest growths had attracted hither, or perhaps called into existence. This was a period of transition and of long duration; in the Schweizersbild it is represented by the Breccia-bed, which, according to Dr. Nüesch, covers a period of 12,000 years.

But now another astronomical cycle had come round, bringing with it a second cold period as well as a re-submergence of Britain to the extent of 50 feet in Scotland. The corresponding climate, however, even at its maximum, was by no means of Arctic severity. Although cold, damp, and foggy, it did not greatly modify the conditions of life of the forest fauna. The flora of this period, however, underwent considerable modifications, especially in the direction of developing peat-bogs and marsh plants. This condition of the environments culminated in the destruction of arborescent growths on the higher lands—but still admitting of forests in the lower districts—and a partial recrudescence of glaciers in the mountain valleys of Scotland. The maximum effect of this reversion to a cold period would be experienced about 10,000 years ago. 2,000 years later we find a new civilisation had supplanted Palæolithic man and the reindeer at the Schweizersbild, both of which had apparently vanished from the district. If Neolithic man appeared in northern Switzerland 8,000 years ago, as Dr. Nüesch's calculations indicate, we may suppose that he was an occupant in southern lands long before this. At any rate, previous to this date the country was inhabited by a people who cannot be regarded as typical representatives of either the old or the new Stone Age men. In regard to this transition period we have much yet to learn of the character and civilisation of the people before the *hiatus*, which undoubtedly exists between the two civilisations, can be fully explained. One thing, however, which appears to be demonstrated

by Dr. Nüesch's investigations is that Man was a continuous occupant of North Switzerland since the days of the reindeer hunters to the present time.

We have no means at present, as far as I know, of dating the first appearance of Neolithic man in Britain. We have noted the remains of his handiworks in the submerged forest at Barnstaple, and other localities in the south of England, and in the raised beaches of Stirling and Oban. But, although it is very probable that it was the same land oscillation that depressed the one and elevated the other, we cannot identify this earth movement with any other physical event which can be dated. All we can venture to say is that in Scotland this movement was subsequent to the appearance of man in the district, but prior to the Roman occupation of Britain.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF HAYLING ISLAND.

By TALFOURD ELY, M.A., F.S.A.

“ And islands that are set the bord’ring coast before ;
As one among the rest, a brave and lusty dame
Called *Portsey*, whence that Bay of Portsmouth hath her name ;
By her, two little Isles, her handmaids (which compared
With those within the *Poole*, for deftness not out-dar’d)
The greater *Haling* hight ; and fairest though by much,
Yet *Thorney* very well, but somewhat rough in touch
Whose beauties far and near divulgéd by report,
And by the Tritons told in mighty Neptune’s Court
Old Protens hath been known to leave his finny herd,
And in their sight to sponge his foam-bespawled beard.”

(Drayton, *Polyolbion*, 2nd song, line 431, foll.)

Walking along the South coast, some thirty years ago, I reached a point near West Wittering, where I had to take boat to Hayling Island, that “ Deserted Island ” as it has been called by a well-known critic. Deserted, indeed, it may well seem to the traveller who reflects that the wave now rolls and the shingle spreads over many a broad acre once tilled by the hand of man. The written history of Hayling begins in 1045 with the grants by Queen Emma and Bishop Alwyn of the Manor of Hayling to the church and monks of Winchester on occasion of her successfully passing through the ordeal of treading barefoot on nine red-hot ploughshares.¹

This portion, however, of the grateful Emma’s bounty was not long fully enjoyed by the good monks of Winchester, for after the Conquest it was the Abbey of Jumièges that held the greater part of Hayling by the Conqueror’s gift, as we learn from a confirmation by Henry II.² Such was the irony of fate, for Emma’s accuser, Robert, was “*monachus Gemeticensis.*”

¹ Rudbörn, *Histeria Major Wintoniensis*, in Wharton’s *Anglia Sacra*, p. 235 ; Dugdale, *Monasticon* (Caley’s edition), I, pp. 194, 207, 208.

² Ellis, *Introduction to Domesday*,

Book I, 327. Ex dono regis Willielmi in Angliâ majorem partem insulæ Harengee, cum ecclesia, et decimas totius insulæ, exceptis decimis leguminis et arenæ in terrâ episcopi Wintoniensis ; et

In the reign of Henry III a priory was built in Hayling, the site of which has been identified near Tourner Bury,¹ a lucrative dependency which brought a yearly revenue of 1,100 gold crowns to the Norman abbey² till the suppression of the alien priories by Henry V, who bestowed this Benedictine cell on his new foundation of Carthusians at Shene. When the latter was dissolved Henry VIII granted the Priory of Hailing to the College of Arundel, in exchange for another estate.³

Long before this, however, there must have been a church in the island, a church eventually swallowed up by the encroachments of the sea in the times of the Edwards, its site being still known as "The Church Rocks," at some distance from the present shore.⁴

To this now lost church once belonged, apparently, the ancient font placed near the pulpit in South Hayling church; a font traditionally said to have been washed up by the sea. Its curious shape, partly square, partly curved, and also the existence of a large hole in one side as well as the small hole at the bottom, made me think it had been a cistern rather than a font; while the Vicar of Hayling, who kindly acted as my guide, informed me that some thought it had been originally a Roman fountain.

This church of St. Mary, South Hayling, though later than the one submerged, is of early English style, dating from the latter part of the thirteenth century. It is spacious, and its arches are remarkably large and bold. They spring from points considerably above the capitals of the columns, which are so slender that it has been found necessary to restore them in *granite*. The bases, with heads of animals at their corners, remain intact. The clerestory windows are placed not above the arches, but above the columns, so there is space below them for

in eadem insulâ saccam et socham et tol, et team, et infanethf cum omnibus aliis consuetudinibus. *Carta Regis Henrici Secundi*, quoted in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Vol. VI, p. 1087.

In the *Carta de Haringey, per Regem Henricum Primum*, "Sciatis quod ego concedo S. Petro Jumeticensi Haringejam, et omnia que ad illam pertinent, cum sacâ et socâ, et tol, et team, et infangenethf, cum aliis omnibus consue-

tudinibus; nec volo pati ut aliquis quicquam inde auferat neque minuet."

¹ Longerft, *Topographical account of the Hundred of Bosmere*, pp. 176, 177.

² Deshayes, *Histoire de l'Abbaye royale de Jumièges*, p. 51.

³ Tanner, *Nolitia Monastica Hampshire*, XVI; Dugdale, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 1049.

⁴ Longerft, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

splaying, and thus giving more light to nave and aisles, which would otherwise be too dark, their windows being but small.

The church contains many curious features, and especially noteworthy are two crowned heads carved on corbels, and supposed to represent Edward I and Eleanor of Castile; the symbolical heads carved on a font, which though of later date than the one already mentioned, seems older than the present church; and a serpent—or, rather, dragon, for I detected a leg—which has somewhat incongruously found its way *within* the sacred edifice.

In the churchyard stands one of the finest yew trees I have ever seen.

Smaller, and perhaps more ancient, is the picturesque church of St. Peter at North Hayling¹; and not far from this stands the oldest house in the island, recently repaired by its owner, Mr. Carpenter Turner.

The existing Manor House, in spite of its venerable appearance, dates only from 1777; but it stands on the site of an older building, the Grange, to which belonged the moat, the square well in the garden, and the ancient manorial dovecote, a most interesting structure, with its vast number of niches for the former inmates. The privilege of possessing such an establishment was jealously reserved,² and it was not every man who could set one up. So Selden remarks,³ “The matter is, whether he be a man of such Quality, that the State allows him to have a Dove-house, if so there’s an end of the business, his Pidgeons have a right to eat where they please themselves.”

Close to the Manor House is the old Tithe Barn, with its lofty roof supported by oak posts. Its stone base-ment is said to date back to the fourteenth century. According to Mr. Trigg⁴ the building is 140 feet in length by 40 in breadth, and “is capable of holding upwards of 150 loads of sheaf wheat.”

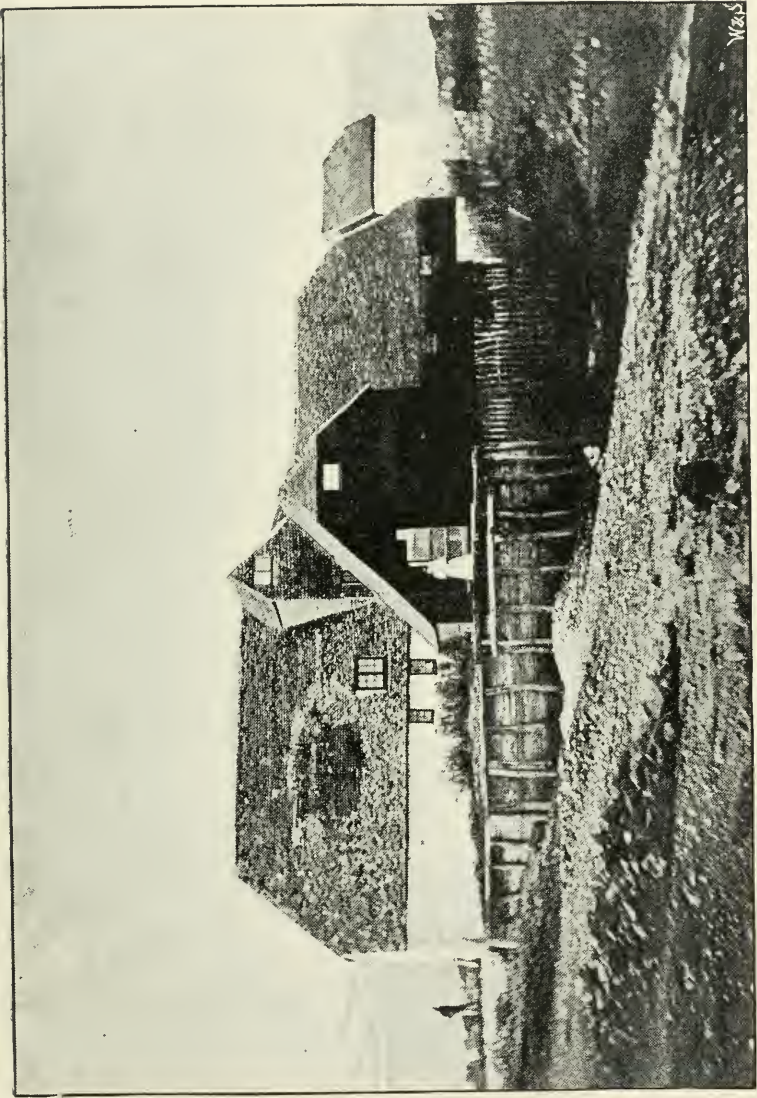
In 1293 we hear of the prior holding a “watermill

¹ The abbey church of Jumièges was dedicated to the Blessed Mary and St. Peter, hence probably the dedication of the two Hayling churches to those two saints.

² See David Murray, *An archaeological Survey of the United Kingdom*, p. 78.

³ *Table Talk*, p. 40, Arber’s edition.

⁴ *Guide to Hayling Island*, p. 28.



OLD MILL, HAYLING ISLAND.



worth by the year 60s.”¹ This was no doubt the ancestor of the tidal mill, some of whose charred timbers are still standing about half-way up the eastern coast of the Island, though in 1877 the mill was destroyed by fire. Such mills, the feeding ponds of which are filled by the rising tide, are now, I believe, far from common.²

At no great distance are the remains of a saltern, perhaps the one mentioned in *Domesday*.

A little to the south of the mill is seen the wood covering Tourner Bury or Tunorbery, an ancient enclosure of doubtful origin. A space of some acres is surrounded by an earthen rampart, now about 6 feet high, and a fosse originally no doubt at least as deep.³ The enclosure is nearly circular, with a greater diameter of 240 yards and a lesser of 200.⁴

All other Hampshire camps are on elevated sites,⁵ but Tourner Bury is nearly on the sea level.

As yet nothing has been found to identify the people who constructed and held this stronghold. Some refer it to Aella and his Saxons, but it is more probably of Celtic origin. Local antiquaries speak of the Romans as having had something to do with it. If so, they probably inherited it from the natives, for there is little about the place characteristic of Roman work, though in connection with it there are said to be traces of a Roman road.

Mr. Trigg's recent excavations seem to prove its British origin⁶; and Mr. Roach Smith speaks of it as a “British or Celtic oppidum.”⁷

Till recently the relations between Rome and Hayling Island were, to say the least, somewhat uncertain. Discoveries made within the past few years have, however,

¹ *Guide to Hayling Island*, p. 55. In Dugdale, *op. cit.* VI, 34, we have “Hayling Mol'quat'” valued at £1 in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 26 Hen. VIII.

² A tidal mill is mentioned on the first page of *Domesday*. For the loan of the block illustrating the destroyed mill the Institute is indebted to Mr. H. R. Trigg.

³ *Oppidum autem Britannii vocant cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt.* Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, V. 21.

⁴ See *A Topographical and Historical Account of Hayling Island*, published at Havant in 1826.

⁵ See Mr. Shore, *Hampshire Field Club Papers*, No. 1 (1887), p. 22.

⁶ Mr. Trigg recently had two trenches dug across Tourner Bury, and others at right angles to these. He found only two pieces of British pottery and remains of fires under the surrounding earthwork. He is convinced that the place is not Roman.

⁷ *Journal of the Royal Archaeological Institute*. XXX, p. 495.

proved indisputably that Roman influence *did* penetrate to this remote corner of the land.

Not far from the northernmost point of the island, and a little to the west of North Hayling Church, a large field of 20 acres bears the name of the Towncil Field, an appellation that has been interpreted as a corruption of *Council*, with a derivation from either *concilium* or *consilium*. It seems to me that the change of the first letter in this name may be due to the Teuton invaders, to whom "Tun" or "Town" would be a familiar sound.

A variation of the name, viz., "The Town's Hall Furlong," is found in *A Topographical and Historical Account of Hayling Island*, published in 1826; and it has been suggested that the original form may have been Tunstall, a place-name occurring in at least seven English counties. Another variant is "Townsel."¹

Be this as it may, the field in question comprises within its limits indubitable tokens of Roman civilisation, though they are not ordinarily visible to the passer-by.

I for one spent a considerable time in traversing the neighbouring land, and only guessed at the position of the buried foundations by noting a certain slight swelling in one of the fields.

On a subsequent visit I had the help of the farm bailiff, who unearthed with his stick a portion of the wall composed of a rough soft stone, together with flints, many of which also lay on the surface of the ploughed land. I was informed, however, that in summer, just before harvest, the plan of a large building, with inner partition parallel to the outer wall, is easily traced by the corn ripening much more quickly above these foundations.

I had myself no opportunity of tracing and measuring the outline of the structure, but according to a sketch shown me by Mr. H. R. Trigg, and one sent to me by Mr. Carpenter Turner, its plan was that of a Basilica, with apse and surrounding aisles subdivided into several chambers.

Mr. Trigg (who gives the length as 131 feet, with a breadth of 63 feet²), informs me that he came upon other

¹ See below, p. 291.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

foundations, including one of circular form; and he has shown me a bronze finger-ring, an iron spear-head, several portions of tessellated pavement, and much pottery—black, drab, and “Samian”—the fruits of some slight excavations. He also possesses a fine sepulchral urn, 12 inches high by 10 inches in diameter, discovered in an adjacent field. Of his Roman coins I will speak presently.

Two “Roman plates” are in the possession of Mr. W. C. Turner, the present owner of the Towncil Field. In 1896 I called on this gentleman twice, but was not fortunate enough to find him at home, so it was at the time impossible for me to ascertain whether the potters’ names were to be found on the ware, as I had been told was the case.

After leaving Hayling, however, I received from Mr. Turner a letter, of which the following is an extract:—

“Some years ago, when putting in ordinary drain pipes, the men found the two plates I have about 200 yards from the ‘Townsel,’ and at a depth of about 18 inches. The plates are round, of the size housewives call pudding plates. One is of the common thick brown, or nearly black, ware so often seen in museums; the other is red, and probably was glazed. It is much thinner, and of better design than the brown. I think it is Samian. It had something stamped in the middle: O H L, but unfortunately the men, rather elated at the discovery, and not waiting for my arrival, nor knowing that these articles, having been there over 1,000 years, must be very fragile, broke them in removing them from the retentive clay soil, and, alas! erased the stamp (at least it cannot be deciphered) by *scraping* the soil from it.

“I think there must have been a *large* encampment round about the ‘Townsel,’ because when draining we came across so many small trenches or ditches, parallel, and apparently open, and for the purpose of carrying off surface water, the land being so flat. Into these open drains refuse must have been thrown, as we constantly found fragments of charcoal, ashes, and especially quantities of oyster shells, etc.

“About forty years ago a plowman here found a valuable twisted gold wire British ring; it got into the possession

of the Longcroft family at Havant, and I believe one of them must have it now."

Last August I was more fortunate in finding Mr. Turner at home, and he showed me the two plates. The red one is remarkably light, and evidently of superior material.

Mr. Turner most kindly allowed me to select specimens from a considerable number of fragments of pottery discovered from time to time in the neighbourhood, and he directed my attention to a low cliff on the western shore of the island in which such fragments often occur.

Of all the contents of Mr. Trigg's interesting collection of local antiquities the most important for our purposes are the three Roman coins found in or near the Towncill Field, viz., a denarius of Antoninus, and two bronze coins, one a *dupondius*, or middle brass of Augustus, the other of Faustina.¹ The latter is in good condition, but the former is of especial value, for bronze coins of Augustus are rarely met with in this country. The obverse is inscribed "Augustus," the head being well preserved; the reverse presents the letters C.A. in a wreath, in reference to *Caesareia Augusta*, probably the modern Saragossa. The usual view, however, is that these coins were struck specially for Syria.² So our bronze coin may have been treasured in the pocket of a Roman soldier or a *mercator* till it passed from the south-east of the Roman Empire to a province in the extreme north-west.

The legions stationed in Britain were the second (*Augusta*), sixth (*Victrix*), ninth, fourteenth, and twentieth. Of these the sixth did not reach Britain till the reign of Hadrian, when the southern part of the island had been thoroughly pacified and reduced to subjection; so that this legion is not likely to have been employed in Hayling.

It was the second legion, as we learn from Tacitus,³ that was placed by Claudius under Vespasian's command, when that general undertook the conquest of the Isle of Wight and the neighbouring coast.⁴ The second legion may well, therefore, have visited Hayling.

¹ This coin must have been struck between A.D. 141 and 161.
See *Eckhel*, III, 339.

³ *Histories*, III, 44.

⁴ See Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, 4.

I am not aware, however, that any of these legions of Britain had been engaged in the east during the early empire. It must, nevertheless, be borne in mind that besides the regular legions recruited in Italy, large bodies of troops were raised in the various provinces to guard the distant frontiers of the empire. Thus the fortifications, extending from Wallsend to Bowness on the Solway, were entrusted to the care of Spaniards and Batavians, Gauls and Thracians; and among the Roman remains discovered during the excavation of the camp at South Shields, the tombstone erected in memory of Regina by the Palmyrene Barates¹ shows that Syrians also found shelter under the imperial eagles.

There is nothing, indeed, in this monument to show that Barates was a warrior. He may have belonged to that tribe of *mercatores* who followed in the wake of armies then as in all other times; and it is possible that our coin, if struck for distant Syria, was brought to Hayling by one of his fellow-countrymen employed in similar business. It is, however, unlikely that a *Syrian* coin would have a *Latin* inscription (though some colonies have); and Mr. Grueber thinks that the long straight back of the head on this coin has a Gaulish look.²

Though so little is yet known as to these Roman remains, they seem to have attracted some attention even seventy years ago; for in *A Topographical and Historical Account of Hayling Island*, published anonymously³ in 1826, I find the following remarks⁴:—

“In the north parish there still remain some remarkable appearances of a building of great magnitude. About the centre of Stokefield, in a part of it called the Town’s Hall Furlong, there is a slight elevation, or brow as husbandmen designate it, which has evidently not been raised by nature but by the levelling of materials which constituted the foundations of a building. . .

¹ See Bruce, *The Handbook to the Roman Wall*, p. 239 (third edition).

² This *dupondius* of Augustus was found a few years ago on the site of a trench dug by Mr. Trigg in the Towneil Field, in which trench he found the spear-head and *tesserae* mentioned above, p. 291, and a British imitation of a coin of Postumus, who

reigned from A.D. 258 to 267. Other coins are said to have been found in the Towneil Field.

³ Since this was written I have seen the *Bibliotheca Hantoniensis*, in which the above work is referred to Richard Scott.

⁴ pp. 94-96.

Curiosity, however, has never induced the proprietor of this part of the field to descend below the penetrations of his ploughshare."

It is further stated that a parallelogram occupying nearly an acre "is described by a line of 3 feet in thickness. Within this figure, and at about 14 feet distance, another is found, and joined to it by lateral lines of nearly the same thickness, at various intervals around, so as to exhibit areas between the two of unequal dimensions. In the centre of the whole there is a perfect circle of nearly 40 feet diameter, the line describing which is somewhat thicker."

The unknown writer concludes with the remark: "We are not prepared to render any account of the building which existed here other than what conjecture may furnish."

These words were written upwards of seventy years ago, and we do not seem much better informed at the present day.

Looking, however, to the plan of the foundations in question, although one might at first sight be inclined to compare it with those of the Basilicas at Wroxeter and Silchester, yet in the absence of any record of the existence of a town in the neighbourhood, it will be safer to suppose we are dealing with a private house of the "courtyard type." For such a residence the locality would be most suitable. There is not, indeed, that attractive slope in the ground which seems so often to have decided the site for a Roman villa,¹ but on the other hand there were great facilities for obtaining such important commodities as fish (including oysters), salt, and wood, together with the advantages of water carriage and excellent harbours close by. While protected by its insular position, the settlement lay only a couple of miles off the main road joining *Portus Magnus* (Porchester) with *Regnum* (Chichester), and was within easy reach of both those important stations, by sea as well as by land.

That the manufacture of pottery was carried on in Hayling in former times is shown by the existence of "pot-holes," *i.e.*, holes from which clay has been taken, as well as by the frequent occurrence of fragments of

¹ *e.g.*, at Chedworth and Morton.

earthenware in the north-western portion of the island.¹ These traces of ceramic industry occur at no great distance from "the Towncil Field," and belong no doubt to the same settlement.

With a view to deciding the character of this settlement, I set to work last summer with spade and pickaxe, and after tracing the substantial foundations of various walls, I discovered in one of my trenches, about 21 feet long, upwards of fifty tesserae, which had obviously formed part of a mosaic pavement.

This established the Roman origin of the remains.

In August next I hope to resume my digging, and to learn more as to the antiquities of Hayling Island.

The derivation of the name Hayling is not easily settled, as it occurs in several very different forms. I have myself found in *Domesday* and other early documents no fewer than twelve varieties. If we had to deal simply with the *Domesday* forms, Halingei, Helinghei, and Helingey, we might cite the analogous cases of Heligoland and Holy Island, and derive the name from *halig*—holy. This would fall in well with the prevailing idea of the island sanctuary, as Greece had her holy island of Delos, Rome her *Insula Tiberina*, devoted to Æsculapius, the northern Pagans Rügen, with its worship of Hertha, the Christians their hallowed Lindisfarne.

But the case is complicated by the existence of the variant Haringeja or Haringey as early as Henry the First's charter, while Henry the Second's also has Harengée, and Tanner writes "Hailing *olim* Haringeye." This might seem to point to a derivation from *haering*, with reference to fisheries.

Since the island fell so completely into the hands of the Church early in the eleventh century, and before the *Domesday* Survey, the name might easily have been corrupted (with a very slight change of consonant) into one more in keeping with its clerical associations.

¹ See Trigg, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

TILTING IN TUDOR TIMES.¹

By VISCOUNT DILLON, HON. M.A. OXON., P.S.A.

I have taken this as the title of my paper, as it is of tilting of this period that we have the most full details. So much has been written of tilts and tournaments that is very pretty but no less incorrect, that a short examination of what tilting was, the place of exercise, the arms used, and the armour worn may be of interest to those who read novels, as well as those who study military sports and pastimes.

As we all know, jousting or riding at an opponent with a lance was of great antiquity. Probably, the first thing a well-mounted man with a good lance would wish to do would be to ride at another man. In early times this would be with stout lances with sharp heads, and the endeavour would be to drive the lance through the opponent. But for practice this would be decidedly troublesome; and as an actual enemy might not be always forthcoming, and a friend might be killed or kill the well-mounted man, it came to be arranged to have blunted or rebated points to the lances. The result, then, would be that, as the opponent's armour was not penetrated, he would be, at all events, loosened in his saddle, and perhaps forcibly ejected. The high backs and encircling arms of the tilting saddle would, of course, assist him to retain his seat, but he would, if hit, receive a shrewd blow, his helmet might be knocked off in spite of the straps fastening it to his body armour, or he might be bent backwards over his saddle cantle. There would be more ways than one of riding at one's opponent, and some unsportsmanlike jousters would try to jostle their opponents and so unhorse them. Accordingly, at first it was arranged to have a long cloth (*toile*, Fr.; tilt, Eng.²) hung on a stout rope so as to divide the lists or

¹ Read at the monthly meeting of the Institute, March 2nd, 1898.

² We have the word "tilt" in English for boat tilt, waggon tilt, the sort of

canvas cover for these. In artillery inventories of to-day will be found wadmiltits, a kind of tarpaulin covering for stores.

exercising ground into two parts just along the centre of the ground. The riders then stationed themselves one on each side and one at each end of this *toile* in such a way as to have the *toile* on the left hand. When the signal for the course was given each rider would then charge along and pass his opponent left arm to left arm. Now, in order to reach his adversary with his spear it was necessary to put the spear on the left side of the horse's neck, and so we see it represented in the middle ages, whether it is two knights jousting, or as in Rous' *Life of the Earl of Warwick*, Cott. MS., Julius, E. IV., where we also have horsemen charging others in war-time. St. George himself is also almost always so shown.

Now, in Froissart's and Monstrelet's *Chronicles* we have many references to jousts and tournaments, and sometimes interesting details. But, as is stated in a note to the English translation, the first time the tilt is mentioned in these chronicles is on the occasion of some jousting at Dijon in July, 1443. The challenge was in March, 144 $\frac{2}{3}$.

Ollivier la Marche, in describing the lists at Dijon for mounted contests, says, under the year 1443, that there was a "toille pour la conduite des chevaux et pour servir à la course des hommes d'armes comme il est de coutume en tel cas." It is difficult to say from this whether La Marche, writing at a later date, is referring to the custom of his day, or that such had been the custom for some time. Anyhow, the first introduction of the tilt may be assigned to the first half of the fifteenth century.

The following extracts from the chronicles of St. Remy and Monstrelet would show that the tilt originated in Portugal, and was used as early as 1430 by the Burgundians:—

"1429-30 at Bruges on the occasion of the marriage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy and Isabella, daughter of the king of Portugal, 14th January, 'Le samedi se firent une joustes à l'usage de Portingal, que les Portingallois firent sans donner pris. Et furent abatues toutes les liches qui estoient faictes sur la place: sy firent une seulle liche à travers, de fort marien, haulte jusque aux espaulles des chevaux, et furent tendues de drap bleu tout au long. Et en la fin de la jouste, demora icelluy drap aux cocquins par pièces et bendeaulx: et joustoient ainsi, au long de la lisse, l'un d'un costé et l'autre de l'autre, à escus couvers de fin achier, et les healmes à la façon en selles de guerre. Et n'yeult que deulx ou trois estrangiers contre eux, et dura la jouste assez longement à peu

rompre de bois ; car les roches ne pouvoient prendre sur les escus et harnois, nonobstant qu'ilz y meetoient grant peine ; et furent assez richement habilliez à l'usage de leur pays.'”

Chronicles de St. Remy, Cap. CLXIII.

It was on the occasion of this marriage that the Duke founded the order of the Golden Fleece.

On the 20th of February of the same year there was a tournament held at Arras. It lasted five days, and we are told

“et estoit preparé un grand parc couvert de sable au milieu duquel avoit une lice garnie d'aiselles à fin que les chevaux ne se peurent rencontrer l'un l'autre.”

Chronicles de Monstrelet, Cap. LXXX.

St. Remy, Chap. CXLV, mentions this combat, but gives no particulars as to the lists, and says it took place in the month of March.

As to the height of this toile it appears to have varied, and in some challenges a special height is mentioned.¹ It should be noted that the cord and cloth soon gave place to a wooden partition, though from an incident in the *Romance of Petit Jean de Saintré*, written in 1459, it was sometimes continued in use. In the romance referred to it is mentioned that during a joust Saintré's horse broke its shoulder, and Enguerrant's horse fell, they having collided, in spite of the cord, on which was hung a crimson cloth, Cap. XXXVII.

The rules observed at jousts and tournaments appear to have been drawn up in 1466² by John, Earl of Worcester. Copies of these, varying slightly one from another, are to be found in the Bodleian Library and other places. In the *Antiquarian Repertory* is printed a set which were copied by Oldys from a MS. marked I. 26 in the library of the Heralds' College, and in the 1769 edition of *Nugæ Antiquæ* is another copy; and in the famous Tournament Roll in the Heralds' College, which has been engraved in *Vetusta Monumenta*, is yet another set of the rules. These were the rules observed in Henry VIII's time, and the 1769 *Nugæ Antiquæ* says, but without giving any authority, that “they were commanded in Elizabeth. 4

¹ In Charny's challenge at Dijon it was to be 6 feet high.

² This was the year of the challenge of Lord Scales to the Bastard of Burgundy.

The fight came off in 1467, June 11th. There was no tilt on this occasion, and the spears were sharp.

to be observed & kept in all manner by Justices of Peaces Royall within this realm of England." This is, of course, a careless transcript.

Generally speaking, the rules for the jousting were to this effect :

Breaking a spear between the saddle and the fastening of the helmet to the breast (for so we may interpret the charnell of the helmet) ...	1 point.
Breaking a spear above this place ...	2 points.
Breaking a spear so as to unhorse the opponent or unarm him, so that he could not run the next course ...	3 points.

but

Breaking a spear on the saddle would cause the forfeiture of ...	1 point.
Striking the tilt once ...	2 points.
Striking the tilt twice ...	3 points.

Breaking a spear on the sight of the helmet three times would count towards the prize before breaking most spears, and striking coronal to coronal twice would be better still; though upsetting the opponent was yet better.

Striking a horse or an opponent on the back or after he was disarmed or striking the tilt thrice, would prevent the prize being gained at all; as also anyone losing his helmet twice except by fault of his horse. If the spear broke within a foot of the coronal it would only count as a good attempt. It is clear that striking coronal to coronal was as good for one combatant as for the other, also that unless the opponent rode close to the tilt it was impossible for the best joustier in the world to score. Considering all things, scoring points depended more on the adversary running against the lance point, than on any skill on the part of a joustier.

Of course, in the later days of jousting there was little chance of upsetting an opponent.

W. Segar Norroy, king of arms, in his *Honor Military & Civill*, 1602, mentions a Solemne Triumphe held at Richmond before Henry VII. It lasted a whole month; and Sir James Parker, running against Hugh Vaughan, was hurt and died 1494. Another Triumph was held in the Tower of London in 1502.

In Henry VIII's reign these joustings were very

frequent, and we have, in the splendid roll in the Heralds' College, the valuable representation of the magnificent tilting held in 1511, when the King and chief nobles took prominent parts. (Fig. 1.)¹ It was not, however, always an unmixed honour to joust with the King, and we find in *Ellis' Historical Letters*, Vol. III, Series I, a letter from Buckingham to Wolsey asking that he may not be obliged to joust against the King, but, if at all, then as one of the King's party. He pleads that for some five years he has not practised, but the evident reason was the danger that might be incurred if too successful. Of such danger we have an instance in the accident which befel Brandon, the King's own brother-in-law, when the King, having neglected to close his visor, the two rode at each other, and by a happy chance Brandon's lance struck the King's helmet just above the exposed face. This was in 1524, and had a fatal accident occurred Brandon might not have had as long a respite from a shameful death as Mongomeri had when, in 1559, he was the cause of the death of Henry II. Mongomeri certainly escaped at the time, but Catherine de Medicis had him executed in 1574. Gabriel de Lorge, Comte de Mongomeri, was captain of the Scotch Guard.

The Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 was the occasion of much jousting, and Henry and Francis both distinguished themselves.

In a note on the *Field of Cloth of Gold* printed by Jehan Lescaille, it is ordered

"In consequence of the numerous accidents to noblemen, sharp steel not to be used as in times past, but only arms for strength, agility, and pastime; the gentlemen will answer all comers with blunt lances with pièces d'avantage cramponées ou non cramponées without any fastening to the saddle that might prevent mounting or dismounting with ease. Each challenger to have 8 courses with middle size lances or greater if any prefer it between one hour after dinner and 6 p.m. The gentlemen (8 English and 8 French) shall ride each one course in the open field with all comers, as many strokes to be given as the comers shall demand, great lances to be used and single handed sharp swords with blunt points. Closing not allowed unless the comers demand it . . .

"If the horse of a comer bolts from the lists and yet runs the course it shall be counted.

¹ The illustration has been kindly lent by Mr. James Parker of Oxford from Vol. III, Hewitt's *Ancient Arms and Armour*.

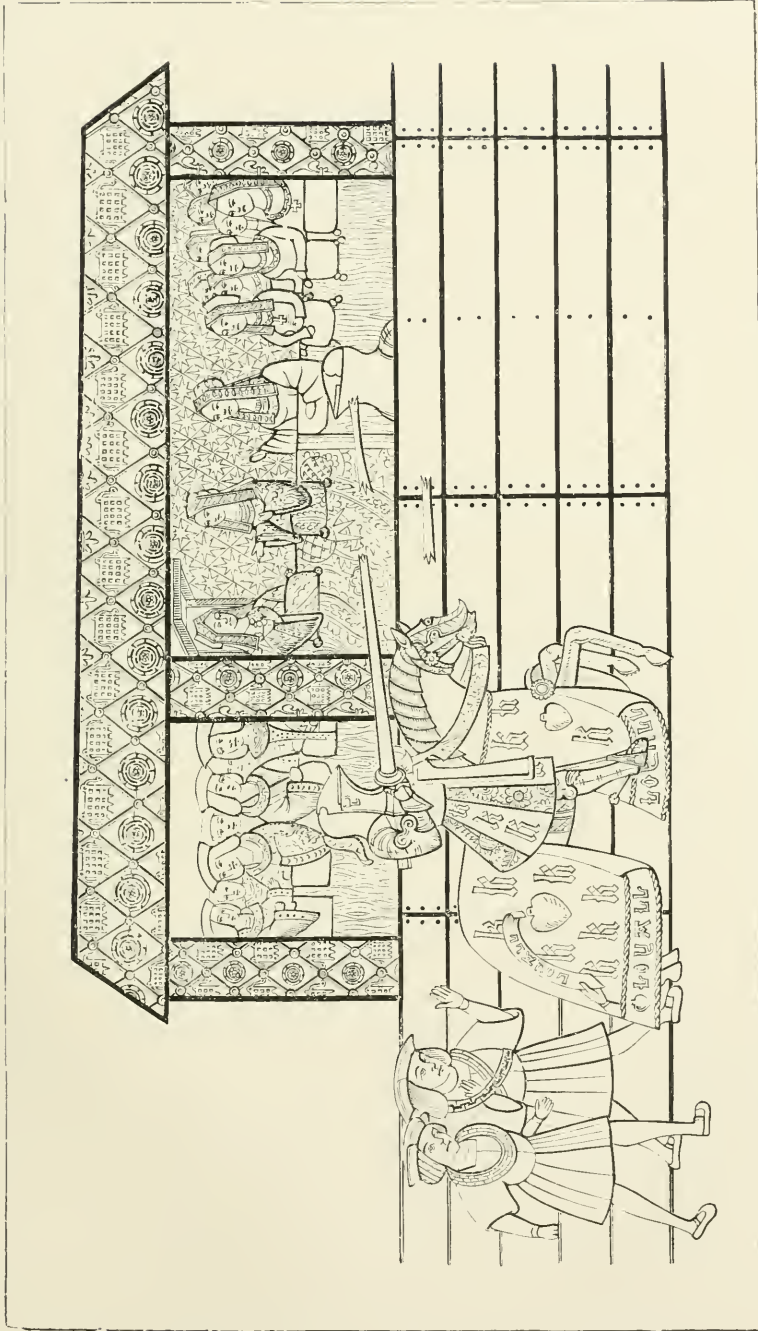


FIG. 1.—COEUR LOYAL (HENRY VIII) JOUSTING. (From the Tournament Roll, Heralds' College.)



“Anyone striking a horse not to run again that day except by the ladies’ leave.

“Anyone striking his opponent’s saddle to be disallowed 2 broken lances.”

At the Field of Cloth of Gold one Frenchman died on the 16th of a blow he got the previous day.

In 1540 there was a challenge by Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, and others.

On the death of Henry VIII or the accession of Edward VI, though there do not appear to have been any joustings in London, yet we have an interesting account of a scratch tournament at Calais.

“Sir H. Poulet and Sir J. Harington to the Lord Protector (Somerset), February 24, 1547, from Calais

‘6 of the men at arms of this town did challenge all comers at the ring, for lack of a tilt. Henry Dudley, to enlarge the same triumph devised to run at random with every of the challengers and to assay the thing what they could do. Dudley and Jerningham the Thursday before met in the field in their hosting harness and ran the one against the other with coronet staves, and at the second counter met so freely that both went to the ground, their harness flying about the field and their horses astonished, but (thanks to God) without hurt; both leaped on horseback again and brake sundry staves very honestly.’”

The reign of the precocious Edward was too full of politics and successful war with Scotland to afford much occasion for tilting, and the practical and earnest work at Pinkie was of more use than many shows. The Lord Grey of Wilton at that battle received a great wound in the mouth with a pike such as clave one of his teeth, struck him through the tongue and three fingers’ deep into the roof of his mouth. This, with the dust, &c., would have choked him but for the Earl of Warwick lifting a firkin of ale to his head as they went through the Scotch camp. This was the 10th September, and on the 22nd he was appointed to receive delivery of Hume Castle.

In 1515, at the jousts at Paris on the occasion of the King’s marriage, Francis, afterward King, proclaimed a challenge in which he and nine others would meet all comers at tilt, barriers, &c. Five courses were to be run at tilt and five at random with sharp spears and all pièces d’avantage. Three hundred and five persons attended

this joust, and some were killed: Francis himself was hurt.

In February, 1515, Suffolk, writing to Henry VIII, says:

"Yesterday at the tilting (at Paris) many had been hurt and one to-day in the throat like to die. Mons. de Bourbon, the Great Constable, sore hurt in the left arm for lack of good armour."

He further mentions

"The tilt in such harness as they run last four courses with mournes and by garstawys, and in the field 2 courses with sharp staves, and the tournay with schowrdys, and at the barrier on foot with the easting staff and the sword with one hand."

Ollivier la Marche mentions jousts at Brussels in 1414 where

"et furent joustes sans toile sans frens ou sablon."

Also at Dijon they had

"joustes à selles plates et en harnais de joute de jeunes gens et de nouveaux jousteurs pour apprendre le mestier."

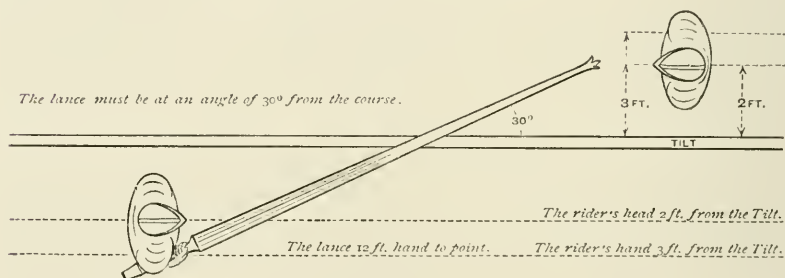


FIG. 2.

In 1518 Charles V of Germany took part in a tournament in January, where twelve horses were killed, and at another, in March the same year, where seven men were killed.

If the jousts rode straight at each other—even a very light and brittle lance, with the weight of a man and horse behind it, let alone the impetus of the opposing rider and horse—would do much execution, and probably pierce the body it struck fair on. But we know that the riders were on opposite sides of the tilt, and, allowing the lances to be 12 feet in the length in front of the joust, the other 2 feet being under the arm and behind the body, also.

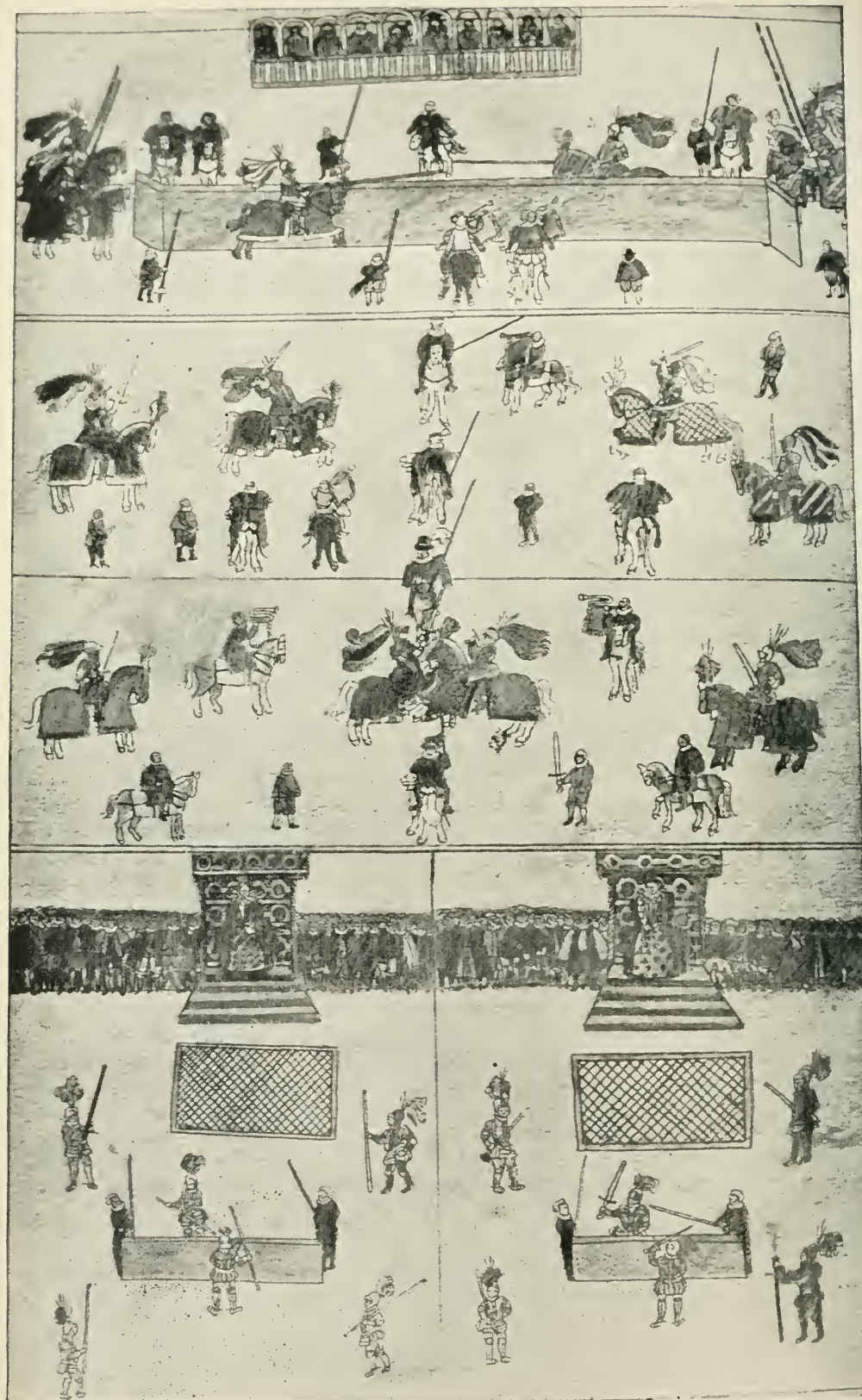


FIG. 3.—TILTING, TOURNEY, AND BARRIERS *temp.* ELIZABETH. (From M.S. *pnes.* A. Wood Acton, Esq.)

admitting that the riders moved on lines parallel to the tilt but 2 feet on each side of it, we shall find that the lance of each was held at an angle of 20° with the line of riding. If 3 feet be allowed on each side so as to allow the horses freedom for the pace at which they travelled, then the angle would be 30° , Fig. 2.

At such an inclination from the direct line of movement there is no pretence of a direct thrust, and it is clear that with such weights behind the lance it must snap very easily. Consequently, the chances of any damage to the opposing rider's armour or body were very slight.

A very interesting drawing of tilting, tourney, and barriers, *temp.* Elizabeth (Fig. 3), is here given from a manuscript formerly in the possession of Sir Wm. Gregory, who died 1696, and now the property of A. Wood Acton, Esq., of Acton Scott, Salop. Mr. Everard Green, V.P.S.A., Rouge Dragon, informs me that the MS. is the work of Wm. Smith, Rouge Dragon in 1597.¹

Although the riders at the tilt always did and are generally represented as passing left arm to left arm, yet Jost Amman, in some of his drawings of joustings, shows them passing by the right arm. This is not a case of the reversal on the wood or copper, for the knights hold the spears under the right arm, but it evidently is a mistake.

In Rous' *Life of the Earl of Warwick*, the knights, charging both in tiltyard and in war, are always shown as passing left arm to left arm; and as late as 1632 Cruso, in his work on Cavalry, quotes Basta as to the necessity for the lancer to "strive to gain the left side of his enemy and charge him on the left." He mentions that the Turks and Hungarians charge by the right, and some prefer that way because "in charging by the left the Lancier must incline his bodie to the left and so sitteth the lesse sure in his saddle."

Mr. Burges² upset the notion that Henry II of France was slain through the door of the helmet flying open, but it may be worth while noting the account of the accident by an English eye-witness. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton,

¹ This illustration has been kindly lent by Messrs. Lawrence and Bullen.

² *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXXVI., p. 78.

writing to the Council from Paris 1st July, 1559, says

“The 30th (June) the Prince of Nevers, called Count d’Eu, came to the tilt with his band. No other Ambassador besides himself (Throckmorton) was there to see them run. Whereat it happened that the king, after running a good many courses well and fair, meeting with young M. de Lorge, captain of the Scottish Guard, received at his hand such a counter-buffe as, first lighting on the king’s head and taking away the pannage (whereupon there was a great plume of feathers), which was fastened to his headpiece with iron, did break his staff, and with the rest of the staff hitting the king’s face gave him such a counter-buffe, as he drove a splinter right over his eye on the right side, the force of which stroke was so vehement and the pain so great, that he was much astonished and had great ado to keep himself on horseback, and his horse also did somewhat yeild. Whereupon with all expedition he was unarmed in the field even against the place where he (Throckmorton) stood as he could discern.”

This account shows that the real cause of the King’s accident was the fact that De Lorge did not, as Pluvinel tells us was the custom, raise the portion of the lance remaining in his hand, and then, stopping his horse, throw the broken staff out of the lists. Pluvinel says this is the proper thing to do. Consequently, the stump, with its splintered end, struck the King’s helmet, and, entering the sight, inflicted the fatal wound.

Carrousel.

Luigi Santa Paulina, in his *Arte del Cavallo*, Padua, 1696, thus describes the origin of the Carosello :

“It takes its name from the carosello, which is simply a ball made of clay of the size of a big hen’s egg or a small apple, and made of that shape, but hollow, and pierced from end to end. Of these a quantity are taken, and should be carried in a basket by a servant, who supplies them to the horseman, who appears armed with a shield of suitable size held on his left arm. Having assembled and gone into the field, the riders take up their positions, holding some of these caroselli in the fingers of the left hand. Placed in order, two of the first party start off against two of the opposite side, and throw at them with boldness two caroselli; they then turn to the right and rejoin their party. So on, the two parties in pairs throw these caroselli at their opponents, who take them on their shields. They then perform the same practice one squad against the other, always passing left arm to left arm. The two parties then continue the practice in various ways, advancing in line, abreast, or like a snake, but always meeting in the centre of the field. This, we are told, is a very pretty sight for the spectators.”

This sort of carrousel was in use in Spain, and there called *Alcançias*; but sometimes long canes were thrown, when it was called *feste di Cannas*.

Another variety of this game was also practised in Spain, and called *Running Parejas*, which consisted in pairs of horsemen riding against each other shoulder to shoulder, and in this steady riding was the chief difficulty and excellence.

In this game the whole equipage of each party there took part in forming various figures, first, with all the mules, shields, cars, canes, and caroselli, and then proceeding to the throwing of the canes or *alcançias*. When performing the whole the riders appeared in armour; but for the casting of canes, &c., the national dress only was worn, but of some smart colour, and with plumed heads and richly-barded horses.

Lists.

As to the Lists, we have no definite account of the size of the enclosure except on certain occasions; but when preparing for the Field of Cloth of Gold, St. N. Vaux speaks of the ground being firm, and says it will not do to scatter the earth taken from the ditch over it,

“for it woll marr all the gronde that none shalle galop nor renne surely upon it.”

In many towns there seem to have been tilts permanently kept, as at Calais, and the Tilt yard at Westminster, Hampton Court, and Greenwich. In the Westminster case the tilt is shown in old maps, and the name exists to this day, the Horse Guards parade being the site, and the guard room there still known as the Tilt Guard.

According to Stowe, the lists for Lord Scales' combat in 1467, were 120 yards and 10 feet by 80 yards and 10 feet, double barred, and 5 feet between the bars.

According to the account given in *Excerpta Historica*, these lists were 90 yards by 80.¹

¹ It must be remembered that the fine illumination in Froissart showing the Jousting at St. Inglevert with the tilt, &c., was executed in the time of

Edward IV, nearly 100 years after the event, at which time the tilt was not in use. The tournament took place 1389-1390.

In 1513 jousts were held at Lisle in a large room paved with black marble, the horses being shod with felt or flocks (*felto sive tomento*) to avoid slipping.

At the Field of Cloth of Gold, in 1520, Gioan Joachino, Secretary of the Governor of Genoa, and residing at the French Court, writes :

“The lists are in a large plain 400 paces by 200, round which is a ditch and a bank 9 feet high enclosing the Field as they call it. To this are two entries—at opposite ends; the lists, 150 paces in length, lying between them and well arranged.”

Soardino, the Mantuan Ambassador, writes to his Duke that

“there were no counterlists (this was at Henry VIII's wish), so that the horses often swerved and strokes were made but rarely.”

Sir Nicholas Vaux, Captain of Hammes, writing to Wolsey about the preparations for the *fête*, mentions that

“the same tilt, counterlists, stages, and barriers that were set up in Paris (probably for the French Queen's marriage) will be used at the Field.”

At the Field of Cloth of Gold, according to the *Sanuto Diaries*,

“there was a large square of greater length than width enclosed by a ditch and dike, the entrances being to the front with bars to correspond. On each of the sides within were stages for the spectators, and in the centre was the tilt yard with its lists; and at the extremity, towards the English Pale (that is, Northward) two chambers were erected on each side well and richly furnished for the accommodation of the kings to arm and rest themselves. At this extremity beyond the ditch was another square on each side, where tents and pavilions were pitched for the service of the jousts, those of each nation having their own side

“At the end of the Tilt yard, in the direction of the two houses (of the kings) was a tree like an elm, around which was a square mound made of timber covered with green damask. The trunk was clad in cloth of gold as well as two branches, and on the bank were the rests for the heralds and for the shields and arms of the jousts. . . . At the English entrance were the French foot archers, and at the French entrance the English, and mounted ones patrolled the environs to prevent any one crossing the ditch.

“The heralds brought the two shields of England and France, and, preceded by 30 trumpeters and 22 heralds, carried them round the lists and placed them on the trunk of the tree—the French on the right, the English on the left. Below these were three others—one striped longitudinally tawney and murrey, with a gilt inscription in French ‘For the courses to be run in the Tilt yard’; the second similarly striped yellow and white, with ‘For tourney’; the third all white,

with 'For the battle on foot at the Bars.' Round the rails of the mound were the badges and names of all who were to tilt."

The whole is well shown in the engraving of the Hampton Court picture.

Lances.

Hall, in the sixth year of Henry VIII, mentions that at the Tournaments, &c., at Paris, on 7th November

"The Countie Galeas came into the place on a jennet trapped in blue satten and he himselfe lykwise apparelled and rand a corse with a spere which was at the hed v inches on every side square that is xx ynches about and at the but ix ynches square that is xxxvi ynches. This spere was tymber and yet for al that he ran cleane with it a long course and slightly avoyded it to his great honour."

Also that

"Anthony Bownarme came in the field all armed and on his body brought in sight x speares that is to wyt iii speares set in every stirrope forward and under every thygh ii speares upwarde and under the left arm was on speare backward & the x in his hand and when he came before the Queen he let his horse ronne & never stopped tyll he had taken every spere after other & broken it on the grounde and he never stopped his horse tyll all were broken. This gentleman was highly praysed and so he was worthy."

In 1520, among payments for the King's arms, &c., are

"4 tuns for the burre morns & counterrowndels, 4^s. 4^d.

3 vamplates, 3/.

mornes of steel glazed at 18^d., cownter-roundels at 10^d., burre filed at 16^d., vamplates from Innsbruck at 5/ (vamplates from Antwerp also mentioned) for grinding & glazing each 10^d., & for garnishing & lining them 6^d."

In 1520 a payment to Wm. Hayward of £39 3s. 2d. for making, garnishing, and burring with leather 800 spears.

In 1521 a payment to Wm. Hayward for righting, heading, and burring 200 spears, and seasoning and making 500 spears for Sir J. Walpole to be sent to Ireland. £42 18s.

As to the lance end or point, of course in the serious joustings sharp points were used such as would penetrate the metal defences if the point, as it were, bit. In John Rous' *Life of the Earl of Warwick* we see how he sent his lance right through the heart and back of a certain "mighty Duke who challenged him for his lady's sake." The Earl's lance is seen half-a-yard beyond the Duke's backplate; and no doubt the Emperor Sigismund and

the Empress were, like the rest of the public, convinced of the superiority of the claims of the English lady in whose cause the Earl jousted so successfully.

For jousts of peace, however, the lance-head was either rebated, as in the example in the Rotunda at Woolwich, Fig. 4, No. 14, and figured by Hewitt in *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXI, p. 295, or the coronel was used. This, as its name implies, was in the form of a small crown the fleurons of which would be more likely to bite the breast-plate and at the same time not penetrate it. Hewitt has given, in connection with the above-mentioned woodcut, other cuts of coronels from various sources.

The word is sometimes written *cronettis*, *cornallys*, *coronolls*, and *cornalles*.

In the *Sanuto Diaries* it is mentioned that at the Field of Cloth of Gold the tilting was performed with "spears with not very large buttons at the points."

For tilting lance-heads see Wendelin Boëheim's work on the Vienna Armoury, in which are photographs of examples in that collection. And Fig. 4, No. 11, in the Tower of London.

In the Musée d'Artillerie at Paris is a curious lance-head arranged for shifting the point, and putting a fresh one. It was probably only an invention, and not generally used.

St. Remy mentions *lances courtoises* being used on some occasions: these, of course, were not sharp.

The *lancez des dames* was the last encounter of a challenge.

In the Tower collection are several lances for the tilt-yard, Fig. 4. Of these the largest is that generally attributed to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and as such shown to and described by Hentzner in 1598, Nos. 1 and 2. The total length is 14 feet 4 inches, of which the butt is 24 and the grip 8. The girth just in front of the grip is 27½ inches. The shaft is fluted with twelve deep grooves for about 6 feet 6 inches from the grip. This lance is hollow, and weighs 20 lbs.: the lance-head is about 4 inches long, fluted, and ending in a conical point, Fig. 4, No. 12.

The next two lances, Nos. 3 and 4, are also hollow, and as one has been broken it is possible to see the construction. A hollow groove about 2 inches in diameter

goes from the front of the grip to about 15 inches from the point. The exterior is fluted with eight deep grooves reaching about 5 feet 9 inches from the grip. These lances weigh 10 lbs., and are 12 feet 6 inches long; and the unbroken one has a metal head similar to Brandon's.

The next variety, Fig. 4, Nos. 5 and 6, of which there are several in the Armoury, are 11 feet 7 inches long, and weigh 6 lbs. each: they have an octagonal section in front of the grip with eight grooves running about 4 feet 9 inches toward the point. There are no vamplates at present in the Armoury which would suit this type of lance, as the mouths of all the vamplates are circular, and too small for these lances.

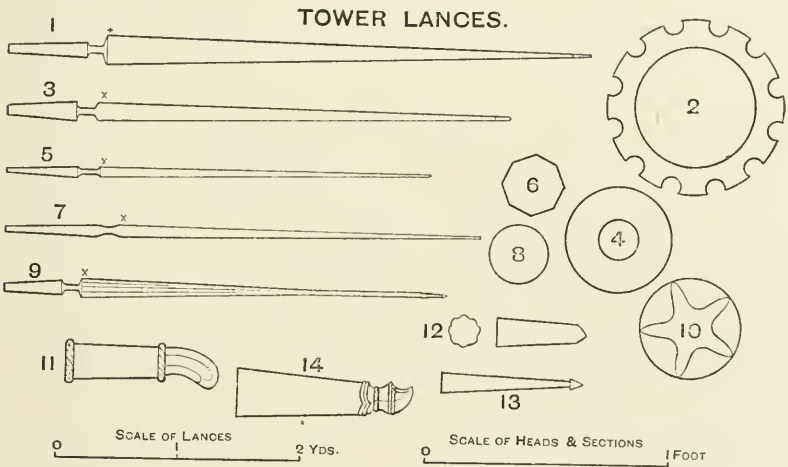


FIG. 4.

Yet another type, Fig. 4, Nos. 7 and 8, about 12 feet long and of slighter stuff, have the grip less abruptly marked. These also, fluted with eight grooves, have a circular section, with a maximum girth of 9 inches. They weigh $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. each, and are painted like barbers' poles.

The Hatton and Prince Henry vamplates are truncated cones with a larger diameter of 8 inches, and the mouth is about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the truncated cone being $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high.

Another vamplate, much flatter (being only $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high), has a major diameter of 11 inches.

There are also some of the large German vamplates

which covered the arm half-way to the shoulder. These *Garbeisen* are seen in the Triumph of Maximilian, as carried by the knights equipped for the Pundtremen.

Besides these lances there is one of a much later type and similar to that figured by Pluvinel, Fig. 4, Nos. 9 and 10. It is for running at the ring, and consequently has no vamplate. It is, in reality, a light lance with five strongly-marked flanges running some 8 feet from the grip forward. The total length is 10 feet 7 inches, besides a 7-inch head. The lance weighs 7 lbs. The head is peculiar, being a long conical ferrule with a small solid cone at the tip, Fig. 4, No. 13. This was to prevent the ring, when drawn from the stand, being dropped on the ground and so not counted. The butt of this lance is also peculiar: it is $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and originally of a tapering cylindrical form, increasing from 10-inch girth to 13 inches at the grip. A piece of wood was cut off so as to make a flat side for the greater ease of the rider, who thus had a flat surface against his side. Of course, these lances for the ring were very slight in make, and some specimens in the Musée d'Artillerie at Paris have the flanges much carved with pierced work. That in the Tower has been painted red semée with silver guttæ or tears.

In the Armeria at Madrid is one of the arrangements for holding the rings at the exercise. It is a tube slit on both sides, and down this slides a split pin holding the ring, and with its split portions just holding in the tube. As soon as the lance is put through the ring the pin pulls out, and another ring descends to the position of the first. This arrangement is figured by Jubinal.

Of course, these lances for running at the ring have no burres.

The Tower lances, most of them, have leather burres fastened by nails and standing up about $\frac{1}{3}$ – $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch from the butt of the lance.

Randall Holmes describes the burre as follows:

“It is a broad ring of iron behind the handle, which burre is brought into the *sufflue* or rest when the tilter is ready to run against his enemy or prepareth himself to combate or encounter his adversary.” (*Academy of Armoury*.)

In the Saffron Walden Museum is an object described in *Archæological Journal*, Vol. V, p. 227, and figured. It

is there called a coronel, but from its size and form I am inclined to think that it is a metal burre. It is shaped like a crown, and is 3 inches in diameter.

The grate and graper of old inventories appear to have been the same as the burre; they are mentioned generally in connection with vamplates and in addition to the coronels. The object of their use was, by being pressed against the lance-rest, to distribute the shock of impact over the body and so relieve the cramped-up hand. Gay's *Glossaire Archéologique* gives the reference to them from the Comte de Belval's MS. on military costume.

In 1361 is mentioned 1 grate *pour joutes*.

In the Paxton MS., Lansdown 285, of the time of Edward IV, it is mentioned that the jousts are to show "their speris garneste that is coronall vamplate & grapers all of acise."

And in the same MS., among the "Abilments for the Justus of Pees" are

"vi vamplates and xii grapers and xii cornallys and xl sperys.—*Archæologia*, XVII.

In 1519 Hayward receives for 206 spears, burres, hydres, nailes, &c., £24 5s. 8d.

In 1520 the charge for making, garnishing, and burring with leather 800 spears was £39 3s. 2d.

In the preparations for the Field of Cloth of Gold counter-roundels at 10d. and filed burres at 16d. were purchased.

In 1521, making, righting, heading, and burring 200 spears for service in Ireland, and for seasoning and making 500 more, £42 18s. is charged.

In 1546, for spears, spear-heads, burres, nails, workmanship, and carriage of spears, John Crocket, the King's armourer, and William Hayward, King's joiner, receive £35 18s. 6d.

In 1520 vamplets of Isebrok at 5s., and a charge of 10d. for grinding and glazing, and 6d. for garnishing and lining.

Armour.

According to Wendelin Boëheim, armour for the tilt-yard, and such like exercises of peace, began to differ from the Hosting Harness about 1400. Before that period the knight or squire who took part in such showy and generally safe displays would wear some, or all, of the panoply in which he faced his enemies. But when it became recognised that the armour for the field was not

in all respects suited to the requirements of the tilt-yard, no doubt a great impetus was given to the making of those stouter and richer suits whose stoutness and richness have contributed in no small degree to their survival to our days.

Then again, roughly speaking, there was only one way of fighting in earnest. In those times an English army had not to face both ends of the thermometer as it may have to do within a few months nowadays. But in the tilt-yard there were many kinds of combats, and as for those "made in Germany" their number was very great, and the slight differences between them are hardly now to be appreciated, though no doubt a different kit was required for most of them. We have only to look over some of the Tourney books of Burgkmair, Jost Ammon and others, or to examine the various groups of horsemen shown in the "Triumph of Maximilian," to see what a great variety existed. A little later, in the sixteenth and in the seventeenth centuries, Wulson de la Colombière, in his two volumes, shows us how the expiring flame of chivalrous exercises flared up in the extravagant and childish displays in France.

In England, in the Tudor times, the armour worn at the joust appears to have been somewhat similar to that for war, but much stouter and more richly ornamented. Of course, special helmets were used, as we see in the College of Arms Tilting Roll; and later on, when the armet came into use for the tilt-yard also, it had no air-holes on the left side of the visor.

In addition to the ordinary tilting armour extra pieces were worn: The grandguard and volant piece, very often riveted together; the elbow or pasguard, and the manifer or miton gauntlet for the bridle hand.

The Leicester suit (Fig. 5), in the Tower, was made, as we know, between 1566, when he received the Order of St. Michael, the collar of which is engraved on the suit, and 1588, when Dudley died.

It will be seen that the grandguard and volant piece cover the left side of the head and body, the volant piece conforming exactly to the shape of the armet, to which it was attached by a hasp at the back of the head and a linch-pin on the right front. It also conforms to the



FIG. 5.—ARMOUR OF ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER, WITH EXTRA PIECES FOR THE TILT. (From the Tower of London.)
(From a photograph by the Author.)

curves of the neck, shoulders, and breastplate, to which it is bolted by a pin passing through the tapul of the breast. The pasguard is also linched on a pin standing out of the elbow-piece, and the grandguard and pasguard are ornamented with the same designs of the *ragged staff* and bands of engraved ornament as the suit: so also is the manifer. This last might be worn with or without a gauntlet, and if with would complete the doubled defence of the left side of the joust.

In the Tower are several grandguards and some pasguards for the two suits there of Henry VIII, and at Windsor are several more. One at the Tower has a small extra grating, making the defence of the face more sure. I do not know of any suit in Paris, Vienna, or Madrid which surpasses this Leicester suit in the respect of having its extra pieces of the same design. The Prince Henry suit at Windsor, by George Pickering, also has these pieces, but the suit is much later, though at Madrid some of the suits of Philip II and others have enough extra and change pieces to cover two and three figures.

It will be seen by the Leicester tilting-suit how very constrained the position of the tilter was. From the waist upward he was in one piece, and could not move his head either to avoid a blow or to obtain a better view than the narrow sights of the visor afforded him. It will be remembered that Brandon said he could not see out of his helmet, besides being short-sighted; and Leicester was not any better off.

The Leicester suit, though not that seen in Jacob Topf's book, much resembles it, and may be taken as the type of the English fashion of 1570. We see the toes have become pointed; the articulation of the ankle is very complex, and the peasecod-bellied doublet is reproduced in steel.

Abroad many other styles of armour were worn for the many varieties of tilting: sometimes a kind of shield fastened by bolts to the left breast, and of this kind there are examples in the Tower.

Then for the Real gesteck the shield was ribbed so as to give a good hold for the lance-head. Of this shield there is also an example in the Tower.

In 1522 Sir Richard Wingfield, writing to Wolsey from

Brussels, says that the Emperor had arrived with ten of his nobles armed at all points, each with a target on his shoulder in place of the grandguard.

In Germany for some kinds of tilting a shield was worn on the left breast, and fastened by a stout plaited lace, the ends of which, passing through it to the front, were tied in a knot, and hung down. Of this kind there are five or six examples in the Musée d'Artillerie at Paris. In Madrid also are examples of the wooden shield fixed by three bolts to the left breast and worn in some of the German varieties of jousting.

Horses and Horse Armour.

In 1515 Sir Richard Jerningham, writing to Henry VIII from Tournay, tells him he knows where two or three good tilt horses may be had, and adds: "And it be not for that feat for the Tilt they be but Roylles for any other feat."

The King, we know, bred horses in several establishments, or *Races* as they were called, in various parts of the country, and especially in Wales. He had many Flanders mares evidently to improve the English breed, which, though much abused by all foreigners, still had good points, being especially easy for riding, and therefore sought for by aged persons. The sires appear to have been Italian, Spanish, and Barbary horses. He had sent to him, in 1523, some Spanish horses partly broken into heavy armour.

No doubt stout horses were required for the armed riders and the heavy bards.

We find £8 17s. 7d. given for two horses for the army, and £44 and £50 given for horses for the King.

The bard of his engraved suit in the Tower weighs 92½ lbs., and it is not an excessively heavy one.

1515, July 24. Sir R. Wingfield writes to Henry VIII that

"the Emperor gave to the King of Poole two coursers all covered with steel to the fetlocks and round the belly save in the spurring place."

This armour for the horse must have been such as is seen in the portrait (now in Vienna) of Maximilian's

“Harnisch Meister Albrecht,” painted in 1480. It is engraved in Von Leber’s *Wiener Zeughaus*, and in the Porte de Hal at Brussels is a portion of such armour for the horse’s hock.

Tavannes, in his *Memoirs*, Vol. XXVI, p. 141, speaks of his “compagnie bardeé des premières bardes d’acier qui s’etoient vues.” This, of course, refers to the ordinary troopers, and is of the date 1554, at Ranty. A note says that in 1550 he had mentioned “cent gentilshommes ayans leurs cent chevaux bardez d’acier.”

At the Battle of the Spurs in 1513 it is mentioned that the French cut off their bardes to “ronne” the lighter. Patten, in his account of the battle of Pinkie, 1547,

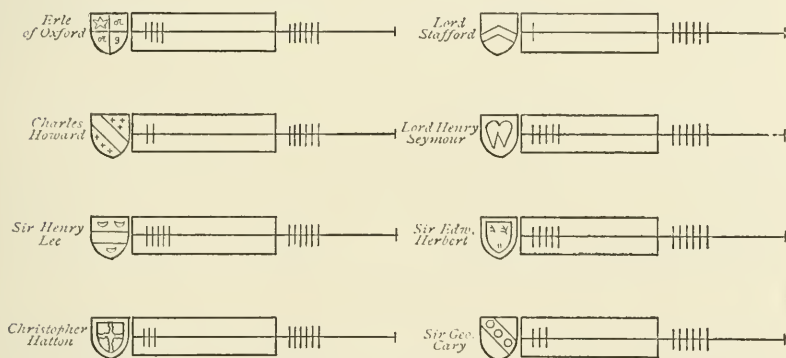


FIG. 6.

mentions that the English cavalry had not put on their bardes that day, as they did not expect to fight.

In the Tower of London is a *cuir bouilly* crupper, probably the only survivor of many used in the sixteenth century.

Ollivier la Marche, pp. 156, 159, mentions gold letters on the edge of the trappers.

In the Bodleian Library, at fol. 164 of Ashmolean MS. 845, is a *cheque* or scoring paper of a jousting or tilting which took place at Westminster in the year 1570, on May day. Fig. 6 shows the top of this cheque.

The defenders were the Earl of Oxford, Lord Charles Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and Christopher Hatton. Their opponents were Lord Stafford, Thomas Cecil, Henry

Knolles, Thomas Knyvet, Robert Colsell, Thomas Bedingfield, and Thomas Conniesby, who jousted against the first defender; Lord Henry Seymour, Henry Grey, Henry Knyvett, William Knolles, Launcelot Bostock, Thomas Moore, and Roger Clopton against the second; Sir Edward Herbert, William Howard, William Norreys, Rauf Lane, Brian Annesley, William Worthington, and Robert Alexander against Sir Henry Lee; and Sir George Cary, Sir Jerome Bowes, Richard Burkley, George Delves, Henry Macwilliam, and Richard Blount against Christopher Hatton.

On the *checque* are tricked small shields of the arms of all these, except of Alexander; and Sir Henry Lee has two coats shown—one of the Lees of Quarendon, the other a special coat granted to his father, Sir Anthony Lee. The tinctures are all noted by letters, and the whole is a

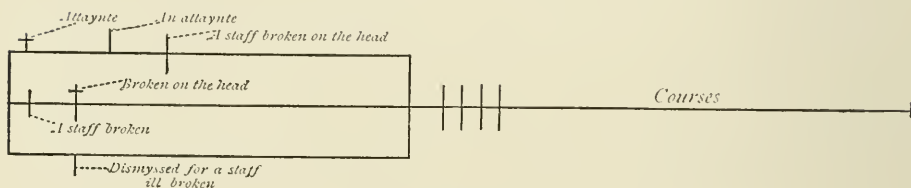


FIG. 7.

pleasing instance of Heraldry being utilised to identify the individuals taking part in the exercise, Fig. 3.

This Tilting was proclaimed at Hampton Court by Clarendieulx, King of Arms, on Twelfth Day at night, but took place on Tuesday, 1st of May. On Thursday, the 3rd, was a Tourney, and on Sunday, the 6th, there was Barriers.

It will be seen, on examining the *checque*, that Sir Henry Lee ran 41 courses and broke 32 lances, but none on the head. With two of his opponents he broke each of the 6 lances. The Earl of Oxford, who got the prize, ran 42 courses, broke 32 lances, and twice broke his 6 lances, but in addition he scored three attaints on the head.

From this MS., and another one at the Bodleian, Rawlinson B 146, Fig. 7, as well as from Harl. MS. 69, we may see how the score was kept. A parallelogram, with a line passing through and out of it, is drawn, and on the line within are made marks showing the lances broken; marks on the

top line of the parallelogram show the attaints on the head, while those on the lower side show the points subtracted for ill-broken staves. On the line outside the parallelogram the number of courses run is indicated by similar marks.

In Peele's *Polyhymnia*, describing in heavy verse the *fête* at the Tilt-yard, Westminster, on 17th November, 1590, when Sir Henry Lee resigned his self-imposed office of Queen's Champion in favour of George, Earl of Cumberland, we get many interesting details of the Elizabethan form of this exercise. Sir Henry Lee had many years before instituted a series of annual joustings, &c., which took place on Queen's day, as the 17th November is still called in the Temple. At these meetings Sir Henry Lee presided as general manager, and his travels in Europe had well qualified him for the post, being a very accomplished knight not only in the tilt-yard, but also in warfare on the Scottish border, and in 1574 having commanded a battery at the first successful siege of Edinburgh.

It seems that on these occasions the knights taking part in the exercise generally had their attendants clothed in colours similar to those they themselves wore. So also the lance staves, the plumes for man and horse, were *en suite*. Master Henry Nowell certainly wore black armour, and his attendants were clothed in purple liveries, but the rule was as above stated, both for man and horse trappings. Essex, however, had all black, and Peele suggests it was so in mourning for "Sweet Sidney," who had died three years before. Large horses of Naples breed are mentioned. The Poet is very ecstatic over the magnificence of the scene, but has no exciting incidents to recount in what he calls "this delightful war." The twenty-six knights shivered their spears as was expected of such accomplished gentlemen, and then Sir Henry Lee, having unarmed, presented his successor to the Queen. Peele, in *Anglorum Ferie*, describes another of these *fêtes*, and he mentions Dudley, whose horse at first shied, but, by dint of spurring, his rider made him make "dreadful harmony, grating against the rails." It sounds bad for the rider's leg, but that is not referred to.

The following dialogue from Pluvinel's great work published in 1625, affords some interesting information on various points connected with jousting :

Pluvinel.

Formerly the knights broke their lances in the field without enclosures without lists, but such serious accidents happened occasioning loss of life to man or horse, that the high lists were first invented. These reached to the *arrest de la cuirasse*. Later they devised low lists reaching to the calf of the rider and calculated to prevent the horses on which lances had been broken from starting from the track: and as in spite of these precautions some riders still received hurt in the head-pieces which endangered their lives, means were taken to prevent such—first, by fastening the *salade* fore and aft by strong fastenings to the *cuirasse*; then by a *plastron* of one piece which covers the front of the *cuirasse*, *i.e.* the whole left side and shoulder to the gauntlet and the right side as far as the *arrest*, leaving the lance arm free and also the *salade* up to the sight. Thus a man is safe, but he cannot raise, lower, or turn his head or left shoulder; he can only, by movement of the fore arm, stop his horse. In this way his head cannot be forced back by blows on the throat, owing to the two straps and the *plastron* called the *haute-piece*.

The King.

It seems to me that such a man would have difficulty in getting on his horse, and, being on, to help himself.

Pluvinel.

It would be very difficult, but with this armament the case has been provided for. In this way, at triumphs and tourneys where lances are to be broken, there must be at the two ends of the lists a small scaffold the height of the stirrup, on which two or three persons can stand; that is to say, the rider, an armourer to arm him, and one other to help him, as it is necessary in these dangerous encounters that an armourer should always be at hand, and that all should be ready. Then the rider being armed, and the horse brought near to the stand, he easily mounts him; for, as your Majesty will see, the rider must start square to his front—first, because, being heavily and inconveniently armed, he might displace his equipment, which would be prejudicial to his success; and secondly, that the two must start at the same moment so as to meet in the centre opposite the King, &c. For this reason the horses must be steady, and keep their heads in the proper direction.

In Claude François Menestrier, *S.J.'s Traité des Tournois, Joustes, Carrousel et autres spectacles publics*, published at Lyons in 1669, we have a long and somewhat tedious description of the *carrousel* as practised in France, with very faint allusions to the more manly aspect of the sport. *Carrousel* had by this time descended to merely magnificent and costly displays of the courtiers of the French King, with a bastard classic

veneering. Though Menestrier refers to the older forms of tournaments, it is more with Running at the Ring, Mascarades, Lotteries, and Ballets that he is concerned. He revels in descriptions of fanciful dresses, cars designed to show emblems, musical devices, and all the luxury of the French Court. He tells us that he can scarce keep from laughing at the description by Ollivier la Marche of the magnificent *fêtes* on the occasion of the marriage of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, with Margaret of York; and he finds that such displays as those were all very well for the days when men were *moitié bestes*, but that we who live in such a polished age require something more ingenious than those fooleries. But to the modern reader it is probable that the best days of the brilliant Burgundian Court were not so full of folly as the times of the *Roi Soleil*. At all events, there were men in those early days who could and did fight as well as dance. It seems curious when he mentions that in 1642, some thirty-seven years after the appearance of *Don Quixote*, a *carrousel* was held at Ivrée, when a nobleman, who had caused a challenge to "all knights errant" to be proclaimed at a ball, appeared as the knight of La Mancha, and was accompanied by thirteen other horsemen, who assumed the parts of the personages in that immortal tale. Of these, Prince Thomas and the Marquis of Rocavignion took the characters of the two doctors; two others played the parts of the windmills. It turned out that Prince Thomas was the unknown challenger; and after the *cartel* was accepted, he handed over his medical character to his brother, Prince Maurier, and assumed the part of Don Quixote himself, eventually carrying off the prize. For anyone who wishes to see to what lengths of splendour, folly, and extravagance the noble of the seventeenth century could go Menestrier is of use; but as for information touching the laws and usages of tournaments, jousts, &c., the book is of no value. He certainly gives a list of meanings to be attributed to various colours worn by the partakers of these *fêtes*, but there seems to be as little reason in the selection as there was sense in the Latin mottoes affected by the various characters.

German Tilting.

The Triumph of Maximilian, written at the Emperor's dictation by Marc Treitz-saurwein in 1512 and illustrated by Hans Burgkmair, shows us parties of horsemen equipped for some of the numerous styles of tilting practised in Germany. German modern writers confess that it is difficult nowadays to perceive the differences between some of these fashions of running; but no doubt, when they were in vogue, the professional tilter at least saw marked differences in the various manners.

After groups of foot soldiers, triumphal cars, and other pageants have passed, we have tourneyers on foot and tourneyers on horseback. Those on foot have no vamplates to their lances, which only have a simple point. After these comes a group armed for the Welsch gestech, or Italian joust: these have coronels and vamplates. The next party are for the Hochenzewg gestech, or jousting with the high bard: they have coronels and vamplates. Following these are five riders armed for the Teutsch, or German joust: these have very stout lances with coronels and vamplates, and the Schwänzel or tail lance-rest is necessary for the great weight of the lances. The horses also have the brunt, or fore part of the trapper, covering a large mattress-like protection for the chest such as is figured in René's *Tourney book*.¹ A group for the gestech in Bainharnische; that is, with leg armour: these also have coronels and vamplates and tail lance-rests. Next come those armed for the Welsch rennen mit den Murneten, or Italian joust with mornets or rebated spears: these have no tail lance-rests. The Pundt rennen or Bund joust is next represented by five riders with rebated spears and large vamplates: they have tail lance-rests and protections for the upper parts of the leg, while the lower part is unarmed: they also wear tilting salades and a wooden defence for the left side of the body: the horses have trappers covering their eyes. The next party are armed for the Geschift rennen or joust with the targe futée: these also are armed like the last, but they wear leg armour, and the wooden shields in

¹ The horses are hooded so as not to be able to see.

front of the body are arranged to fly up in the air if hit in the right spot.¹ The next group show the Scheiben rennen, or joust with the small shield: this shield, which is fixed on the defence for the left side, is made to fly off if properly hit. The next style shown is for Pfannen rennen, or the pan joust: the riders appear unarmed, but with a square metal shield on the breast: the horses are hooded. In this and the last three kinds of joust the tail lance-rest is used.

The Schweifrennen, or tail joust, appears to be like the Pundt rennen, while the Velt rennen, or field joust, only differs from the last in having leg armour, no tail lance-rest, and bards, chamfrons, and crinet for the horses. The Wulst rennen, or pad joust, appears to have been run in civil costume, with the thigh defences and wooden guards for the left side, which are seen in the Pundt and Schweifrennen.

These are only twelve out of the forty-three kinds of jousting, but it will be seen that the differences must have been very slight between many of them.

The Gestech uber das dil or dull (diele = plank) is spoken of in German books as being the Walisch, or Italian style. Now, it is clear that it was not known or practised in France or the Burgundian territories much before 1430; so if it came from Italy, it must have been in practice there at an earlier date. It is difficult to see how the "tilt" could be used with the joustings in which the Schwänzel or tail lance-rest was used, for in them the lance could not be turned to the left as was done in the tilt joust.

In the Real gestech the ribbed shield was used, also for the Schiltrennen. The Real gestech and the Welsch gestech or gestech uber das dill, *i.e.* with a tilt, were very similar, but the latter was run with a doppelachsel and a doppelmausel, *i.e.* a shoulder-piece and an elbow guard for the left side. If a suit has the screw-block for the stahlbart and the shield, then we may be sure it is for the Real gestech, always supposing it is of the period when the Real gestech was in vogue.

¹ The horses are not hooded.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

June 1st, 1898.

JUDGE BAYLIS, Q.C., M.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN announced that Viscount Dillon had resigned the Presidency of the Institute, and that the office had been offered by the Council to Sir Henry Howorth, K.C.I.E., M.P., and by him accepted, subject to the approval of the General Meeting. The election was unanimously confirmed.

Professor W. FLINDERS PETRIE had been announced to give a description of the excavations at Denderah, but was unable to be present owing to illness.

Mr. GEORGE E. FOX, F.S.A., exhibited a drawing of a mosaic floor in the house of M. Caesar Blandus at Pompeii, and gave a brief description of this and other mosaics in the baths of some of the principal houses.

Mr. GEORGE E. FOX, F.S.A., and Mr. FREDERICK DAVIS, F.S.A., gave a description of the dwelling-house recently uncovered during the excavations on the site of the Roman city at Silchester. The house, one of the largest yet discovered, is of the courtyard type, and one of the rooms contains the fragment of a fine mosaic pavement.

Mr. MILL STEPHENSON read some notes on the palimpsest brass at Okeover, Staffordshire, and exhibited rubbings. The brass was originally laid down to the memory of William, Lord Zouch of Haryngworth, on the death of his first wife in 1447, but in 1538 was converted into a memorial for Humphrey Oker and his wife and family.

July 6th, 1898.

JUDGE BAYLIS, Q.C., M.A., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. F. G. HILTON PRICE, Dir. Soc. Antiq., exhibited a fine example of a thirty-hour alarum cloek watch by Thomas Tompion, made about the year 1670, and read the following notes thereon :

The watch I have the pleasure to exhibit to you this afternoon is a thirty-hour cloek and alarum watch by Thomas Tompion, made about the year 1670, it is of great beauty and is, of course, all handmade. Tompion should be considered the greatest English master, and has been described as the father of English watchmaking. He was born at Northill, Bedfordshire, in 1638; his father, it has been supposed, was a farrier. However, he came up to London: I believe it is not known to whom he was apprenticed. He lived in Fleet Street, at

the corner of Water Lane, now called Whitefriars Street, at the sign of the "Dial and Three Crowns"; the *Daily News* now occupies its site.

He was made free (as a great clockmaker) of the Clockmakers' Company, September 4th, 1671. It appears from a paper in the *Journal* (Vol. XL., p. 193, 1883) by the late Octavius Morgan upon a List of Members of the Clockmakers' Company, that clockmakers who had exercised their business as such before being admitted to the Company, were admitted as brothers, and at the time of their admission were called "Great Clockmakers." He was elected on the Court of Assistants September 7th, 1691; served the office of Warden 1700-1703, was chosen Master September 29th, 1704. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and died November 20th, 1713, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He was succeeded in his business by his nephew, George Graham, likewise a most famous clockmaker, and like his uncle found a resting place in Westminster Abbey.

Tompion made a watch for Charles II, with a spiral balance or pendulum spring; one end of the spring was made fast to the arbor of the balance wheel, whilst the other was secured to the plate, and the oscillations were rendered equal and regular by its elastic force. He invented the cylinder escapement with horizontal wheel, in 1695.

His portrait is in the Guildhall Museum.

As I am rather a novice at the mechanism of clocks and watches, I asked Mr. Charles Shapland the clockmaker, well known for his knowledge of ancient clocks and watches, to give me a description of it, which he has kindly done, and which is as follows:

"Thirty-hour clock and alarum watch, by Thomas Tompion, made about 1670. He should be considered the greatest English master.

"As to the dial—the inner revolving dial has a pointer attached to its edge, this indicates the time of day on the outer circle.

"As to the inner circle of the dial, it revolves, the movable arm that is athwart it used for putting a period of silence for a certain number of hours—desired number is indicated at edge of inner dial and is to be counted from the going time hand.

"Such a watch would have originally had a strong and handsome outer case of tortoiseshell or of shagreen, most probably of leather 'picqué' in gold, and with holes around, about the size of a pea, to emit the sound.

"As to the silver case—it is beautiful and intricate, and more wealthy in design than at first sight appears. I consider the case English, despite the six French marks that are on it, and the lilies; two of the marks on one side of bow stem are assay, one of them a spider, an ancient mark of Alençon; the two other marks are, one on back and one inside back, by screw hole of bell. But in spite of this I consider it an English case, the points being the weight and feel of the case and the leafy circles and roses, which are also on the brass work under the dial.

"As to the movement, it is a fine specimen of Tompion, and (bar springs) is original in all parts and remarkably well preserved; the back plate has four small dials, the two smallest are stop plates to prevent over-winding, the largest a count plate to prevent error and check accuracy of striking gear, the other dial to regulate."

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on "Roman Antiquities in South Germany," in which he noticed the following remains :

(1) A mosaic at Rottweil, in the kingdom of Würtemberg, where the principal figure is Orpheus. He is represented, as usual, seated, playing the lyre, and wearing the Phrygian cap ; but the expression of his countenance is remarkable : he looks upwards to heaven as if inspired by the Deity. (2) An inscription at Constance, which was formerly at Winterthur, in Switzerland. It belongs to the period of Diocletian, and, though only a fragment, is useful for deciphering inscriptions still more imperfect. The date is A.D. 294. (3) Badenweiler, in the grand duchy of Baden. The Roman baths here are the best preserved in Germany. They consist of two equal parts, each containing two large and some smaller apartments, and separated by a thick middle wall. It was formerly supposed that the division was made between the military and the civilians ; but as no objects have been found belonging to the former class, it is now generally agreed that this division had reference to the two sexes. No halls are to be seen, as at Pompeii ; on the other hand, enough remains of the foundations and walls to enable us to trace the ground plan distinctly. (4) The Roman boundary wall in Germany, which has been much discussed, is now being explored with great care, under the auspices of the Reichs-Limes Commission, by various local *savants*, who are producing a series of monographs upon the forts (*castella*). Many important discoveries have been made. One of the most interesting is a Mithras-relief at Osterburken, which ranks first of its class for size, for Mithraic legends, mysterious deities, and the union of Persian, Greek, and Chaldean elements.



Notices of Archaeological Publications.

EXCAVATIONS IN CRANBORNE CHASE, NEAR RUSHMORE. By Lieutenant-General PITT-RIVERS, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c. Printed privately. 1898. Vol. IV.

When General Pitt-Rivers presided at the Dorchester meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute, he took for the subject of his presidential address a sketch of the results of his investigations in Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, other than those printed in the previous volumes of *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*. Those previous volumes—three in number—were devoted to villages of the Roman Age, and tumuli of the Bronze Age.¹ The fourth volume, now before us, relates chiefly to camps of the Bronze Age, and to a single long barrow of the Stone Age, namely Wor Barrow on Handley Down. It was of course impossible within the limits of a presidential address to give a detailed account of the work with the necessary precision, but General Pitt-Rivers laid upon the table for distribution among the members fifteen copies of the four parts of letterpress and illustrations, which make his fourth volume, while he confined his address to giving a general outline of the results. That address is printed in our *Journal*,² and is now reprinted as the preface to the fourth volume of *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*. To it we need not further allude, except to remind all would-be excavators among our readers that the address contains most valuable hints on how to excavate—particularly on contouring the ground before beginning, and on the absolute necessity of accurately recording the results.

The volume now before us is an imperial quarto, like its fore-runners, and contains 246 pages, in addition to thirty, occupied by the presidential address, which has a separate pagination. There are eighty-four maps and plates of the objects found, all drawn with the utmost minuteness of accuracy by the General's able staff of assistants. In addition there are numerous relic tables. It is unnecessary and indeed superfluous to go into any detailed account of the contents of the volume; the General has done that himself in his presidential address, and to that readers must refer; we can only pick a few plums here and there. Thus the young excavator will find in the section devoted to South Lodge Camp, Rushmore Park, some useful directions as to how to distinguish between a ditch that has, from long exposure to atmospheric influences, silted itself up, and one that has been purposely filled up; the ability born of experience, to do this, has proved highly valuable to the party of Oxford and local men engaged in excavating on the Cumbrian portion of the Roman wall; but the presence of chalk in Wiltshire and Dorsetshire makes the task easier

¹ Notices of Volumes I, II and III, XLV, p. 311; Vol. XLVI, p. 78; and will be found in this *Journal*, Vol. XLIX, p. 314.

² Vol. LIV, p. 311.

in those counties than in Cumberland. Some very interesting photographs, reproduced in this volume, well illustrate the process of silting up. A singular fact is mentioned by the General, viz. : that a silted up ditch showing no sign at all on the surface of a grass grown downland, may be detected by hammering on the surface with a pick; the excavated part gives a much deeper sound than the undisturbed surface; this does not apply to cultivated grounds.

By far the largest section in the volume is that devoted to the results of excavations on Handley Hill and Handley Down, which places proved themselves most happy hunting grounds. Besides the Wor Barrow, already mentioned as being a long barrow of the Stone Age, six other barrows of the Bronze Age were excavated. A singular discovery was made at Wor Barrow, viz., in a number of secondary interments in the Barrow, and in its ditch, the skeletons had been decapitated, which induces the General to think that the Barrow had been used as a place of execution in the Roman period. Eight out of nineteen skeletons were found headless. The Angle Ditch near Wor Barrow, a ditch which the General supposes to have guarded an oblong area, occupied in the Bronze Age and in Roman times by a British and subsequently by a Romano-British camp or place of residence, when cleared out, showed a line of spud marks in chalk on the side of the ditch near the bottom; close by on the bottom was a broken bronze celt or palstave, which may have been the very spud which was used to dig out this part of the ditch. In this connection it is interesting to learn that a narrow spade used in Iceland to break the ice in winter, and to part the clods of earth, which in that country is dug and not ploughed, is called a *paalstav*.

The third section of the volume deals with the excavation of Martin Down Camp, in Wiltshire, an enclosure of the Bronze Age, which seems to have been chiefly used for the pounding of cattle. The last section is on the Distribution of Chevron Patterns, and the Oblong Punch-Mark on fragments of pottery with a view of comparing the ornamentation of the tumuli with that of the camps; by such minute comparison it becomes possible to identify the periods of the various earthworks in which they occurred. The General says: "It is now beginning to be understood that a fragment of pottery, judged by quality as well as ornament, is as good as a coin, and when this is once established, it will be no more necessary to insist upon its value as evidence than it is now to uphold the value of fossils as evidence in the study of geological formations."

Happy the working antiquary who, through the generosity of General Pitt-Rivers, has on his book shelves these four magnificent volumes. Not only is he possessed of a complete treatise on the art of digging and recording, but the numerous and beautiful plates give him a ready key to the identification of most relics that he is likely to find, while at any time he can pleasantly and profitably pass a spare hour or so by a dip at random between the covers of these volumes; he will be full sure to come upon information and hints that will equip him the better for his own work, be that excavation or anything else. Patience in investigation and accuracy of record are necessary in all branches of archæological research.

A great change has come over the spirit in which archæologists undertake the work of excavation. Previous excavators, we will not say how long ago, were rather treasure hunters than scientific explorers: they looked to stocking the cases of their museums with specimens, but they kept no records by which each specimen could be assigned to its proper *gisement*. So ardent an excavator as Sir Richard Colt Hoare, who explored numerous tumuli in Wiltshire and Dorsetshire, took no notice of human skeletons, by which omission not only was the important evidence of race afforded by them lost, but it was destroyed for ever. A new school of excavators has arisen headed by the veteran Canon Greenwell, whose pupil General Pitt-Rivers declares himself to be. The new school introduced more scientific methods, and the General called in the aid of photography to ensure the more accurate recording of the *gisement* of his finds. It seems probable, it certainly would be advisable, that archæological excavators will in future make still more extensive use of the camera. Photography cannot, however, be always trusted; no photographs of skulls, for instance, can be taken that are perfectly true. The rounding of the surfaces, and the perspective, preclude the possibility of representing the photograph of a skull in such a manner as to agree with the measurements. To supplement their deficiencies the General has contrived a machine, a craniometer, for measuring "the profiles of skulls and living heads." The last three words cause us some apprehension, if the instrument gets into common use; it is bad enough to be photographed as it is at present, with one's head thrust into a supposed support to steady it; but what will it be, when in addition the operator inserts into the victim's ear-openings the blunt points of a craniometer, and follows that up with an application of calipers.

HISTORY OF SELATTYN PARISH. By the Honourable Mrs. BULKELEY-OWEN (Gwenrhian Gwynedd). Woodall & Co. Svo. Oswestry. 1898.

A carefully edited volume of great local interest by Mrs. Bulkeley-Owen, who, as a bard of Britain, is also known as Gwenrhian Gwynedd. The descent of the manor from early times is shortly told, and afterwards in the general history of the parish we have more than usual information about the families and their neighbours, all worked out laboriously, as may appear by the pedigrees given. To many in greater England outside the district treated the extracts relating to the civil war, here published for the first time from the Brogyntyn MSS., will be of great interest. Sir John Owen appears as Coll. Sergeant Major General of foot. A capital account too is given of Dr. Sacheverell who was rector, especially by the notice of the pamphlets and sermons, and the catalogue of satirical prints and drawings issued at the time. As in all cases the vestry parochial records afford not only information but some amusement. The modus for the tithe may inform some readers to-day of a position they have never perhaps realised. For every lamb up to four the rector received twopence; for five, half value of one lamb; for six, three pence above the half value; from seven he took one lamb, the owner receiving a penny halfpenny; for eight, one lamb and paying

the owner one penny; for nine, a lamb, paying the owner one half-penny. From ten, one lamb. Every cow a penny, every mare and colt a penny. From one goose only in stubble time no tithe feathers. An egg for every hen and two for a cock. There are several illustrations, and a good index has not been forgotten.

HEREWARD THE SAXON PATRIOT: a History of his Life and Character, with a Record of his Ancestors and Descendants, A.D. 445 to A.D. 1896. By Lieutenant-General HARWARD. Elliot Stock. London. 4to. 1896.

Considering his hero as too much disregarded, as an ill used man, the author has here attempted to recall and collect the history and lineage of one whose name always excites English sympathies. Three chapters tell this story, and we can recommend them to the attention of readers wishing minute references. The etymology of the name and its various spellings are treated, and from this it seems that the pronunciation is Harward, as the author writes his own name, claiming descent from the original. The name le Wake, to which we are so accustomed, it seems was not heard of with Hereward until the fifteenth century. It arose from a different person and not a Hereward. A Count of Anjou, always attacking by night, kept the garrisons so much without sleep that he became known as the wake dog and afterwards le Wake. Thus the name, it may be noted, is not used here on the title page. A very severe and close examination of doubtful claims to lineage is made in the later chapters, and here the author is clearly carrying out one intention of his work. The book is well printed on excellent paper and has a good index.



ADDITIONAL NOTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF TILTING IN TUDOR TIMES.¹

By VISCOUNT DILLON, HON. M.A. OXON., P.S.A.

A few additional notes on tilting in general may be of use for the better understanding of the subject of tilting in Tudor times. Accordingly, a few notices of some varieties of the sport, as well as some particulars as to time occupied, general results, &c., are here added.

St. Remy, in mentioning, under the year 1429, the introduction of the tilt or barrier for jousting, leads one to suppose that it was a Portuguese practice, and as yet we do not know whether the "Portingallois" were the real originators of the idea; but it is probable that there were many varieties of jousting peculiar to certain countries, and we know how very many styles there were in Germany. There is, however, one peculiar method of jousting which is not often mentioned, but would appear to have been practised in Naples. In Ashmolean MS. 1116, at fol. 111, is a transcript from some MS., whose source is not mentioned, of "A demonstration by John Writh alias garter to king Edward the fourth touching three knights of High Almain who came to do arms in England with the instructions by them given unto the said Garter & the articles of their feats and enterprise."

Now this title sounds all right, but Writh was made Garter in 1487-8, two or three years after Edward IV's death, and no mention of the three knights' visit to England can be found in the works of Habington, Hall, or Holinshed. Still, the account may be true, and the mention of Writh and Edward IV may refer to an earlier period of Writh's connection with the body of Heralds. The date, 19th June, and the place, Canterbury, may lead to the identification of the three knights and of their visit to England.

¹ See p. 296.

Their names were Vladislaus of Bodua, Fredericus of Wardma, and Lancelagus of Tresalwen.¹

The first Article says that fifteen courses were to be run after the manner of Naples. The first five courses were to be run in the following curious style: The comer to choose whether he or Vladislaus shall stand two lance lengths from the tilt end while his opponent shall run at him. The next five courses to be run under reversed conditions, and the last five courses to be run in the accustomed manner. The comer was to bring his spear garnished with grapers, vamplate, and coronel, and these to be equal in length and size of coronel, the weapons being inspected by the herald. This strict equality referred to the first ten courses, but for the last five, only equal length was necessary. If a spear was dropped another was not to be supplied. For this contest Viadislaus offered a jousting coronel of gold as the prize.

The second day Fredericus offered a spear-head of gold as a prize for the contest under the following conditions:—

Twenty courses to be run along a tilt nailed and boarded on both sides.² The spears were to be inspected two days previously, and to have heads of the breadth of a groat. Each combatant was to get his spear from a scaffold, and not, as usual, from an attendant. If he dropped it he could not get it again till he had told his opponent the first letter of the Christian name of his lady; and if he dropped it a second time, "he must then 'assoile his fellow' (answer his opponent) such a question as he will ask him, or else cause some lord's daughter to desire the forbearing of the answering of the question." If both lose their spears they would have to hold the tilt for eight hours against all comers.

¹ They appear to have been on a pilgrimage to St. Jago de Compostella, and took England on their way home. They had had "great cheer" at Calais, and were still suffering from the effects of their passage from that place; but they were anxious to perform some feats of arms before New Year's day, till which date the indulgence for the pilgrimage lasted. They brought letters to the King, and also to the Queen, from

the Queen of Hungary. The prizes they offered were to be worn by those knights accepting their challenge from the date of acceptance until the contest came off.

² Monstrelet, cap. lxxx, mentions "une lice garnie d'aiselles." Gay gives this word *aiselle* as equivalent of "ais," the thin boards used for bookbinding, and now replaced by stout cardboard.

The third day Lancelagus gave as a prize a sword of gold to be competed for as follows: Each rider, with spear on thigh and sword by side, to run without any tilt till one or both spears be broken. If the spear be dropped the rider doing so shall give a diamond to his opponent for his lady. If both lose their spears in one course either may have his spear again "so that each of them require it of the other for his lady's sake by an officer of arms," and then to run again together. After this contest twenty-five strokes to be given with the sword by each, above the saddle, any way but foining.¹ If either drop his sword, he is not to have it till it be asked for by a gentlewoman authorized in the name of the ladies and gentlewomen of the court. If dropped a second time he is only to have it by the King's special command. Should both drop their swords, then they can only have them by order of the King's eldest daughter.

The King was to settle the thickness of the spear-heads and the sword points, and thickness of the edges of the swords. Either of the combatants hurting his opponent's horse to give the owner such a piece of armour as he will choose, and if a horse be killed then his own horse to be given. For running against an opponent's horse wilfully the individual was to be punished as the ladies might ordain.

With regard to this manner of Naples, the first part of the first day's performance looks very like the persistence of the idea of the quintain. We are not told if the knight sitting still, was to have a lance in his hand; but if he had, there would be a slight chance of his being able to parry his antagonist's stroke. The rules as to the penalties for dropping a weapon on the second and third day look like a polite game of forfeits, and the divulging the first letter of the christian name of the lady has a very innocent ring about it. The rules as to the horses being hurt or killed seem very equitable.

On page 296 reference has been made to unfair riding as one of the causes of the adoption of the tilt; but even after that had been introduced, some riders appear to have indulged in peculiarities which were not in the true spirit

¹ Thrusting with the point.

of the joust. The two instances here given from the memoirs of Ollivier de la Marche will show this :

In 1443, at l'Arbre Charlemaigne, when Guillaume de Vaudrey jousted with le Comte de Saint Martin it is mentioned that

“lediet comte avoit accoustumé de courre d'un coin de la lice, et d'aborder sur son homme, comme au milieu de la toile et que de celle traverse lediet de Vaudrey (qui courroit du droit et, du long de la toile) le veiot venir en croisée, le bras de la lance, a la fante de la garde, nu, et que de l'autre course le luy avoit mandé le Seigneur de Charny, lui conseillant qu'il courust du long de la toile.”

In 1446, at the Pas de la Pelerine, the Seigneur de Haubourdin

“ (qui prit sa course au coing de la lice et vint aborder à la toile ainsi qu'en croisée) assit sur le bord du clou qui tient la visiere de l'armet. Et l'armet (qui n'estoit pas ataché mais l'avoit lediet Messire Bernard de Béarne seulement mis en sa teste ainsi que communément l'on court es Espaignes) se haussa d'iceluy coup qui fut durement atéint et tellement que lediet Messire Bernard fut froissé et bléçé en trois lieux au visage dont le plus fort et le plus grief estoit au menton et de ce saignoit très fort.”

Ollivier de la Marche, in his account of the jousting at the Pas de la Pelerine, 1446, mentions the Spanish custom of having the helmet placed on the head, but not made fast. This fashion evidently prevailed also in Portugal; for in 1414, during the siege of Arras, at a meeting held between that town and Lens, Alardin de Monsay, jousting against a Portuguese knight, unhelmed his opponent each time in the first four courses; but having his horse killed by a lance stroke in the head in the fifth course, the jousting terminated.

In 1468 Charles, Duke of Burgundy, and his Duchess, Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV of England, on the occasion of their marriage, presided at a great *fête* at Bruges on the market-place of which town jousting took place. The *Arbre d'or* was placed just in front of the fine belfry, and gave the name to the *fête*. Close to this was the judges' stand, where were assembled, besides many nobles of both countries, Garter king-of-arms and *Toison d'or*. In front of this stand the lances were measured and headed. Adolf de Cleves, Seigneur de Ravestain, who, with the Bastard of Burgundy, acted as defender of the *Arbre d'or*, then entered with a dwarf clad half in

white and half in figured crimson leading a giant by a chain. After these had made their salute to the company, the dwarf fastened the giant to the *Arbre d'or*, and then placed himself on the flight of steps with his trumpet and sand-glass, while Ravestain went to prepare himself for the contest. As soon as all were ready for the jousting, the dwarf blew his trumpet and turned his sand-glass, which ran for half-an-hour. When this had elapsed the dwarf again blew his trumpet, and Ravestain having broken most spears received the gold ring—the appointed prize. The lances were then taken from the jousters, and a *poursuivant* gave to each a *gros planchon blanc* painted with *Arbres d'or*. They jousted with these, but without touching each other. This finished the day's jousting, which was followed by a great feast, which lasted till 3 a.m.

So on each day¹ succeeded dinners, jousting for an half hour, a course with planchons, two more half hours and planchons, and then a heavy banquet with *tableaux* of the Labours of Hercules, &c.

We are told that spears were not counted as broken “*s'il n'y avoit quatre doigts de francs au dessous du roquet, ou devant la grappe.*” On the Friday the dinner appears to have been late, as it was a fast day, and as such much observed by the English. It is also noted that Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy being “brothers in arms,” and having already met in the lists in London 11th June, 1467, would not run against each other: Adolf de Cleves therefore took the place of the Burgundian. On Sunday, the eighth day of the *fête*, Philippe de Poitiers was wounded so that he had to disarm. The sand-glass was at once laid down, till it was settled that the Marquis of Ferrara should take his place. His horse, however, would not run along the tilt, so nothing was done. After the banquet and *tableaux* there was dancing. Monday, the ninth day, the Duke of Burgundy himself jousted with Ravestain, breaking eight spears to Ravestain's eleven. The Heralds then made up the score. It was then found that Mons. d'Arguel, who ran on the third day and had broken thirteen spears, had won the prize, which consisted of a destrier with rich trapper and two

¹ On Friday there was no banquet.

panniers, in which was the complete jousting panoply of the Bastard of Burgundy. The prize was presented by the Seigneur de Ravestain on behalf of the ladies and judges.

Workmen then pulled down the tilt and the judges' stand, and the tourney began. The twenty-five jousts who had run against the defenders were now opposed to twenty-five others, who included in their numbers Philip de Commines and three English knights. The Duke of Burgundy then inspected the whole company, after which the trumpet sounded, and the two parties rode lance on thigh at each other. Next, they fought with the blunt tourney swords, and so earnestly that they could not be parted until the Duke, who had taken his part in the tourney, as he had previously in the jousting, took off his helmet, and, sword in hand, made them separate. Even then they continued to fight in small groups till the Duke succeeded in stopping the contest, and persuaded the excited knights to leave the lists and prepare themselves for the last banquet. After the banquet there was dancing; then the ladies decided that the Duke should have the prize for the tourney. This he refused to accept, and it was eventually awarded to John Woodvile, brother of Edward IV's Queen, and for these reasons, viz. : First, he was a stranger, and to strangers honour should be done in all noble houses; second, he was a young and handsome knight, and to such encouragement should be given; and, third, that he had acquitted himself well and honourably. The prize was accordingly presented to him by an English lady of good family, as is the custom.

Next day M. d'Arguel, the winner, held another joust, at which he won the prize as defender, while a young squire, with the quaint name of Billecoq, won that of the assailants.

A grand banquet wound up the *fête*, at which the heralds received *largesse* in a sack supported on a staff, borne on the shoulders of two of their number. The Duke changed the names of several of the officers of arms of his household, and created heralds kings of arms, *poursuivants* heralds, and "baptisa" new *poursuivants*, as is customary. The noble company then separated with gifts from the Duke.

The Seigneur de Chasteau Guion, who ran against the knight of the *Arbre d'or* on the second day, had never jousted before, and his nine spears broken to the ten of the challenger got him great praise. Messire Jehan de Chassa, who ran on the fourth day, found that he was not sufficiently well armed; and lest he should take up the time of other better-equipped jousts, he asked to retire, which was allowed. On this day the Bastard of Burgundy assumed the part of defender, and ran with two of the assailants, and the next day ran against his brother Baldwin. The sixth day the Bastard of Burgundy nearly had his leg broken by the kick of a horse, and so had to lie in a litter whilst the jousting was done by Ravestain and afterwards by Charles de Visan. On the seventh day Philippe de Poitiers acted as defender, and jousted against five opponents. Again on Sunday he defended the *Arbre d'or*, but, as has been mentioned, his second opponent disabled him, and had to surrender his charger to the Marquis of Ferrara, who, after his turn, gave the post of defender to the Seigneur de Contay.¹

In these days of electric lighting and enormous roofs as at the Military Tournament, the feats-of-arms, tent-pegging, &c., seem to be performed as well by night as by day; but though the jousts of former days had not these resources of science, they managed sometimes to hold their performances by artificial light. Thus, when the French Ambassador, Anne de Montmorency, came over to receive the Garter in June, 1572, a jousting was held at Westminster before the Queen and Court at night; the scene being lit up by Yeomen of the Guard holding "an infinite number of torches on the terrace and so in the preaching place." Walter, Earl of Essex, and twelve gentlemen then entered, and drew up on the east side; and the Earl of Rutland, with twelve others, drew up on the west side. After a chariot with a damsel and an old knight had appeared, and the usual speeches, &c., made, the two bands engaged in what must have been a tourney.

¹ At the Barriers in Paris, 1514, Holinshed says, p. 833, "the judges suffered manie more strokes than were appointed." The proper number was six foines with hand spears, then eight

strokes if the spear lasted so long, and, after that, twelve with the sword. "This was to favour an Almain provided by the Dauphin to have had the Duke of Suffolk rebuked."

The jousts held at Lisle in 1513 in a large room paved with black marble, when the horses were shod with felt to avoid slipping, must have also been artificially lighted. This affair reminds one of the Fool in *King Lear*, Act 4, Sc. 6, when he says, "It were a delicate stratagem to shoe a troop of horse with felt."

Lord William Howard, writing to Henry VIII from "Shattelerhaut" on 9th June, 1541, mentions that at the approaching marriage of the Duke of Cleves and the Princess of Navarre "there shall be a justis both by daylight & torchlight. . . ."

The work of a *Tenan* at a *pas d'armes* must sometimes have been pretty heavy. Thus, in 1450, at the Fontaine de Pleurs, Lalain fought nine times in fourteen days and sometimes twice in one day. At the tournament in 1510 Henry VIII and his three friends encountered twenty-one opponents, besides the four courses the King ran for the ladies' sake.

At the tilting in 1570 the Earl of Oxford and his three companions met twenty-seven *venans*.

Henry II of France was not the only tilter who received hurt in the eye by the shivering of a lance, for in 1525 Henry VIII's friend, Sir Francis Bryan, lost an eye from this cause.

Sometimes the ladies received more substantial compliments than the *Ladies' lance*, for in 1513 Henry VIII and his brother-in-law Brandon, having ridden about to show themselves, threw off their upper apparel, which in the King's case was a scopelarie mantle and hat of cloth of silver; and in the Duke's case, black velvet, and sent them to the ladies for a *largesse*.

The lances were often coloured or otherwise adorned, as we see by the following examples:—

In 1435, at the tilting at Arras in August, Counts de St. Pol and de Ligny had lances *qui etoient toutes bleues*. Merio's lances were white.

In 1448, at the French King's entry into Rouen, the Count de St. Pol's pages bore lances covered with crimson velvet and figured gold tissue.

In 1450 Jacques Lalain had three large and long lances (here called *bourdons*) with "*Qui a belle done, la garde bien*" written on them.

In the *Romance of Petit Jehan de Saintré* twelve large lances are mentioned, of which six were covered with cloth of silver “à ses couleurs fourrées de martres,” and the other six painted in like fashion.

At the jousts on the occasion of the marriage of M. d'Alençon we learn from a letter of Louis XII that the lances used were small ones on account of the young princes who took part in the *fête*.

The lance-rest is found in many varieties of form. In one class it is simply a curved bracket, bolted by a plate to the breast. Sometimes the bracket is hinged in such a way as to fold up against the breast when not used for couching the lance. A frequent form in the sixteenth century is that of a bracket with a plate pierced with oblong slots. These slots pass over a series of oblong-sectioned pins standing out from the breast, and pierced with holes, through which a linch-pin is passed from above downwards. By fixing the hook and its plate over higher or lower pins the height of the rest can be altered to suit the convenience of the jouster. Sometimes the rest has a somewhat sharply-square edge so as to catch the burre of the lance.

Another form of rest is sometimes seen in which a kind of skeleton bracket is fixed to the breast, the interior being filled with soft wood against and into which the grappe or burre, furnished with sharp points, will bite, and so prevent the lance from slipping.

That it was not too easy to make attainments when the tilt was used is very evident¹ when we examine the scores made at some of the meetings. If we take that which was performed in the months of July and August, 1443, at the Arbre de Charlemagne near Dijon, we shall see that there were thirteen contests which were completed, and two others—one of them with sharp spears, in which, owing to the damage done to the armour of the combatants, the final results had to be postponed to some future occasion. At each of these thirteen contests eleven courses were run, and we find that out of the total hundred and forty-three courses, there were no less than

¹ In 1435, at Arras, Charny tried his horse for two courses before the regular business began, and when it did Merlo's

steed “*fuyoit toujours*,” so his rider had to get another courser.

one hundred in which both riders failed to touch their opponent. In two challenges neither jousting touched the other once in the eleven courses, and in no single challenge were hits scored in every course. Generally the first two or three courses of each challenge had no result. In the joust with sharp spears between Jacques de Challand and the Spaniard, Diago de Valière, after the first course the armourers had to be called in to work for three hours at the repair of the Spaniard's *garde de bras*, and the Duke of Burgundy and the general company filled up the time by a banquet, of which they partook on the spot. When the contest was resumed the Spaniard's horse was overthrown by the shock, and his rider's armour so damaged that it was impossible to conclude the challenge in the few days which remained before the close of the six weeks fixed as the duration of the meeting.

In December, 1446, at Ghent, when the accomplished Jacques Lalain and Jehan Bonniface, after their combat on foot, ran with lances at the tilt, although the daylight did not allow of more than twenty-seven courses, on only four occasions did the knights fail to strike each other, and fifteen lances were broken or damaged between them. But these were very good performers, Bonniface being one of the hundred special jousting whom the Duke of Milan entertained.

Chastelain, in his life of Lalain, remarks that though Bonniface on this occasion broke more lances than his opponent, yet the latter made as many, or more, hits as the Sicilian knight, and also the hits were harder. On this occasion the tilt was only five feet in height, and the prize was to go to the jousting who first broke six lances, but merely breaking the heads off was not to count. The two knights each broke five lance-staves, but Bonniface broke three heads to Lalain's two.

At the tournament of 12th February, 1511, illustrated by the Herald's College Roll, there were in all 264 courses run, and only 129 hits made. Of these 77 were scored by the Royal and noble challengers, who, after all, only made a little over one hit in two courses. Of the Venans one made no hits, and six only struck once in six courses. Henry VIII himself made thirty-eight hits out of fifty-two courses.

At the tilting in 1570, out of 314 courses, 207 hits were made. Of these hits the four challengers in their 157 courses made 122 hits, and six of the Venans only scored one hit each in their six courses.

As to the time taken for running we are told that at the jousts at Bruges in 1468 during one half hour eighteen courses were run and ten lances were broken by one of the challengers, while his opponent, who had never before jousted, managed to break nine.¹

On another occasion each of two jousters broke thirteen lances well.

On yet another day five lances broken by each jouster in the half-hour seems slow work. A jouster who had no chance of scoring was invited to retire so as not to take up the time to no purpose. And during the discussion arising from the wounding of one rider the sand-glass was laid on its side till another knight could take his place.

It should be noted that no lance was counted as broken unless the shaft was smashed four fingers' breadth from the point or from the grip. Mere hits, or even the lance-head being broken off, did not count on this occasion.

Mr. Hartshorne, F.S.A., informs me that at Willington, in Bedfordshire, where Sir John Gostwick, Master of the Horse to Henry VIII, lived, among the buildings erected by him for the keeping of the King's horses are traces of a running ground for practising jousting. Also at Kenilworth Castle there is, as noted by the late Mr. G. T. Clark, a similar site. Our treasurer, Mr. Hilton, F.S.A., tells me that at Mantua a tilt still exists.

At page 299 I have mentioned that striking coronal to coronal was thought a good feat in jousting. Now, on referring to the diagram on page 302, it will be evident that this could only happen at the moment when each rider brought his lance to a point just over the tilt. This shows that each jouster started on his career with the lance straight to the front and only inclined it inwards when close to the opponent.

¹ Twenty-two courses and seventeen lances broken seems to have been the best half-hour's work, but the prize went

to d'Arguel, who broke thirteen, as did his opponent, but the number of courses is not mentioned.

SOME FURTHER NOTES ON SAXON CHURCHES: BEING
THE ADDRESS AT THE OPENING OF THE ARCHITECTURAL SECTION OF THE LANCASTER MEETING.

By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, V.P.S.A.

As I have been honoured with office of President of the Architectural Section in this meeting, it becomes my duty to say something by way of opening the business of the section. What I say must be short, partly because, for reasons I could not help, the time available for the preparation of it has been less than I should have liked, and partly because, when I have done, a paper on a very interesting subject is to be read, and I must not tire you before it comes.

The Archæological Institute is not concerned with Architecture as an art, but with the record of the past which may be preserved in it if only we know how to read it. And it may chance that a rude and ruined fragment has more value in our eyes than a perfect and stately building. It happens that such time as I have been able to give to the archæological side of architecture has lately been spent chiefly upon the rude and ruined.

At our meeting at Canterbury two years ago I tried to put into some sort of order what we know of our English churches from the end of the sixth century to the middle of the eleventh; and by means of the ground plans I think I succeeded in shewing that within that time there were several well-marked and widely-different types of church in use, and that there is good reason for placing some of these types early in the period and others later. And I take this opportunity to say a little more on the subject rather in the way of confirming former conclusions than adding new ones.

I am glad to know that the classification which I ventured to make at Canterbury has the approval of some of our best architectural antiquaries, but it is not

received every where, and we still, from time to time, see repeated such statements as that the church in Dover Castle is of Romano-British date. As to this it is enough to answer that a church planned from the beginning to have a central tower can not have been built before church towers came into use. The claim for so early a date is not one to be discussed seriously.

The claim of a like age for St. Martin's Church at Canterbury made by Canon Routledge and reasserted by him in a well-illustrated little book published a few weeks since¹ is not so unreasonable. But whilst I thank him much for his industrious examination of the building, I am quite unable to accept his conclusions concerning it.

It will be remembered that two years since, working chiefly on evidence collected by Canon Routledge and Mr. Livett, I made the first church of St. Martin to be a small example of the same type as that of St. Pancras near by; and, from the similarity of the work in the latter to that in what I believe to be the earliest part of the former, I hold that they must have been built within a short time of one another. As to the work, Canon Routledge asserts that there is a difference between the two, the walls at St. Pancras's Church being 1 foot 10 inches thick and those of St. Martin's 2 feet 2 inches thick, with "a much larger proportion of whole bricks." The difference in thickness is not important, and that in the walling I must say seems to me imaginary; but assuming that it exists, the resemblance between the two is much more remarkable than the difference. In each case we have a wall well built of bricks and mortar only, with a fair face to the outside, but many broken bricks used to fill up inside; and no such wall has yet been found in any other building claimed to be of Romano-British or Anglo-Saxon work. Till some such is found the burden of proving that these two are of different dates lies with those who assert it.

Then Canon Routledge alleges differences in the form of St. Martin's from those of other churches with which it is classed. With the plans before you you can see what the differences are, and that they are not more than

¹ *The Church of St. Martin Canterbury: an illustrated account of its History and fabric.* London: George Bell & Sons. 1898.

would be expected in churches of different sizes and built each under its own conditions. Indeed, although one is a small church and the other a large one, the resemblance of St. Martin's to the type church of St. Pancras is in one respect closer than is that of any of the others, for it has the south porch, which none of them has. Canon Routledge makes it a distinction that it has not also the north porch. But why should it have? If a church of a certain size is provided with two or three entrances, it does not follow that one a third of the size must have the same. As for the western porch—which there was at St. Pancras's, and which Canon Routledge calls a tower—it is only an assumption to say that the like did not exist at St. Martin's. But it does not matter for the argument whether it did or it did not.

Another point, not however put forward with much confidence by Canon Routledge, is the alleged former existence of a cross wall on the site of the present chancel arch and contemporary with the earliest building. The arguments for it seem to me far from conclusive, but the matter deserves further examination. It does not, however, affect the question of date; for if the wall be proved to have been there, it only makes the nave of the church shorter than I have supposed, and adds to it a chamber at the west such as may be seen at the *Old Minster* at South Elmham, built about 670.

We have, indeed, Bede's statement, "*erat autem prope ipsam civitatem ad orientem ecclesia in honorem Sancti Martini antiquitus facta dum adhuc Romani Britanniam incolerent*"¹; but it was written three hundred miles away and a hundred years after Austin's occupation of the church. And any one who has had to do with buildings and their stories knows that half that time is more than enough for very erroneous ideas about one to grow up even on the spot and now, when the means of record are so much greater than they were then. What Bede says proves that when he wrote there were people who thought that the church of St. Martin then existing at Canterbury was a Roman building. But their opinion is of no more value than that of those who hold the same

¹ *Ecce. Hist.*, Lib. I., c. 26.

belief now, and weighs little against the positive evidence of the work which still remains for us to see.

Two years ago I said of the Old Minster at South Elmham that almost certainly it had the arcade of three arches before the presbytery, and that a little digging might prove it.

Last October, by help of our friends Canon Manning and Dr. Raven, an exploring party was formed and leave to open the ground was given by the owner, Sir Hugh Adair, Bart. Although a great deal of the walling remains, all the stone dressings, even to the quoin stones, have been picked out and carried away for use elsewhere. We therefore scarcely hoped to find any of the pillars themselves, but we found a strong foundation wall 3 feet 9 inches thick all across the opening of the presbytery; and the responds, part of each of which remains, are so far apart that a single arch bridging the space between would be quite without parallel in Saxon buildings, and the abutment at the ends would not be sufficient to receive the thrust of it. The space, therefore, must have been subdivided by pillars standing upon the foundation wall. After the visit to South Elmham I noticed, in Mr. Livett's plan of the early church at Rochester, what I ought to have seen before—that he had found evidence of the existence of a similar foundation wall in front of the apse there. So that now we have evidence of the use of the arcade of three in all the six observed churches of the St. Pancras type except in St. Martin's, which may have had it also, although from the small size of the building it seems perhaps more likely that a single arch served there.

About a fortnight since six members of the Coked Hat Club, with our industrious Director, Mr. Emanuel Green, acting as Chairman, went down to hold an Ecclesiastical Visitation in Romney Marsh. I will not trouble you with a full report of our proceedings. But at Lydd we found some architectural remains certainly of Saxon date, and of very curious character. They now form the west end and the western part of the north wall of the north aisle of the fine mediæval parish church. They are cut about by later alterations, and obscured inside and out by plaster and patchings. But enough

remains to shew that we have here the north wall and most of the west wall of the nave of an aisled basilican church on a very small scale, the whole length of the nave being only about 26 feet inside. (Fig. 39.)¹ The north wall

LYDD, KENT.

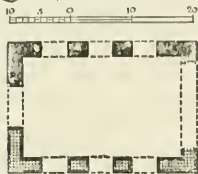


FIG. 39.

has had three arches, the openings between the piers being about 4 feet, and the piers plain rectangular pieces of wall about 3 feet 2 inches by 2 feet 6 inches. There are plain "stepped" imposts of two members on the soffits only, and the arches are rather wider than the openings below. The arcade is, indeed, a small model of those at Wing. Above the arcade the wall is thinned by splaying it backwards, just as it is at Brixworth and at Wing, the only two places in which we have Saxon nave arcades still standing; and above the thinning there remains visible one clearstory window. It is small and splayed outside. No doubt it is also splayed inside, but there it is blocked. Whether the middle slab remains is uncertain. The window is over a pier, and there was probably one over each. The west end is quite plain and pierced with a round arch 6 feet 6 inches wide. Assuming that this was in the middle the nave was about 16 feet wide. We have the full length, but nothing of the south side or the east end, or what may have been beyond it, and nothing to tell the width of the aisles. But enough remains to shew that we have here a very remarkable monument, and one which, by analogy of form, seems to belong to the earliest days of English Christianity. At the latest it can not be beyond the eighth century. The arch at the west end is too large for a doorway. It may have led to a baptistery, or it is possible that the altar here was at the west, and the arch that of the presbytery. The sexton remembered the repewing and repaving of the church, and, in answer to questions, said that there had been found a vault and some walls below the floor about the east end of the Saxon work, but he was not sure of their exact positions.

¹ The figures are numbered in continuation of those in the former paper.

Archæological Journal, Vol. LIII, pp. 292-351.

It is just possible that there may remain something of the old presbytery there, and even of a *confessio*.

I think Lydd Church has not been noticed before as one containing Saxon work. The arches are mentioned by the late Canon Scott Robertson in *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XIII, p. 428, but he says that they are "sharply pointed" and that they "may have been constructed at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century."

Soon after my former paper appeared in print Mr. Robert Blair, well known as one of the secretaries of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, wrote to me concerning Jarrow Church that "there are straight breaks at the same distance from the side walls at the present east end of the church." Both Canon Fowler and I had overlooked these; and although this evidence was scarcely necessary to prove the former existence of a presbytery east of the present building, it is very interesting to have it. Mr. Blair uses the word *apse*. I think a square-ended presbytery more likely, but either is possible. He hints at the ground being opened there. The chance that all has been destroyed in grave-making is considerable, but the trouble would be small and the experiment worth making. If an *apse* were found there it would be in keeping with what we have already noticed about Benedict Biscop mixing the Italian and the Celtic traditions.

Last year, at Dorchester, the Rev. A. Du Boulay Hill made a notable addition to our list of known Saxon buildings by calling attention to the parish church of Breamore in Hampshire. And he has since contributed a description of it to the *Journal*. It is a fine example of the Dover type and almost as complete as the church at Dover itself. (Fig. 40.) As is usual with parish churches

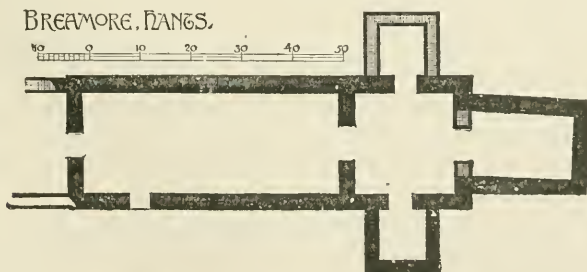


FIG. 40.

we have no written record of its building, but over the arch towards the south transept there is an inscription in letters which paleographers tell us belong to the early part of the eleventh century. This is an interesting and valuable confirmation of the date we had already given to churches of this type.

In February last Mr. Bilson wrote to me that during some alterations lately made in the old church at Barton-on-Humber the ground east of the tower had been opened and that foundations were found of a square presbytery just as was shewn conjecturally upon the plan two years since.¹ This too is an interesting confirmation, although with the proved plan of Broughton there could be no doubt as to that of Barton-on-Humber. It now remains to find the presbytery plan at Earl's Barton.

Although the Saxon west towers of late date and ordinary type are so many that they may almost be called common, something more than a local interest attaches to Mr. Park Harrison's discovery, recorded in our *Journal*, that the well known Carfax tower at Oxford was one of them, and has some of the original work still to be seen in it. I hope it may be possible to say the same when the "restorers" have done there.

On the whole, I think that the classification of church plans tentatively put forward two years since is supported by later observation, and at least it may be taken, so far as it goes, as a useful working theory. But a great deal yet remains to be done, especially in tracing the history of architectural forms and their connexion with the several types of plan. I will name one question to which I should like to have a satisfactory answer. Whence came the "long and short" rib work? We used to be told that it was imitation of wood construction, which does not seem very satisfying, and I think may be put into the same pigeon-hole as the derivation of the Gothic vault from an avenue of trees. Then it has been said that the rib is the last degenerate descendant of the pilaster of Roman architecture. This seems more plausible, but there is the diffi-

¹ I also owe to Mr. Bilson the information that there was at one time a doorway of some sort at the west end of the baptistry at Barton-on-Humber,

but whether it is of any antiquity he is not able to say. That part is now uniformly covered with roughcast.

culty that the ribwork is not found in those buildings which we have reason to place earliest in date and nearest to the Italian influence.

Another matter which gives promise of much archaeological sport to any one who can take it up is the tracing of the course of the transition from what we call Saxon architecture to what we call Norman. The accepted doctrine has been that the Norman was perfected abroad and was brought over here as a fully formed style about the middle of the eleventh century. But for some years the conviction has been strengthening with me that the so-called Norman grew up here in England by regular development from the Saxon which went before it. A like development was no doubt going on in Normandy at the same time, but I have had even less opportunity of tracing it there than I have at home. The free intercourse which existed between the two countries must have led to frequent interchange of ideas and probably of the workers themselves; and, whatever the earlier stages of growth may have been in each country, before the end of the eleventh century a style had been reached which was common to both. But long before that we find works which are without doubt Saxon, but which have in themselves the germs of forms which afterwards became fixed in the Norman. And they certainly are germs, and not trickings borrowed from another style. Clumsy they are and perhaps artless, but they are the work of men who were beginning to feel their way forwards. It is the darkest but yet the most important time in the whole history of Architecture—the birthday of Gothic art.

They who begin the story of Gothic with the appearance of the pointed arch are as illogical as those who begin English history with the battle of Hastings or that of the Church with the Reformation. The true beginning was when men broke away from the bondage of the Romanesque tradition and tried to go forward by themselves. Their first steps were indeed hesitating and uncertain. It could not have been otherwise after so long a lethargy. But there was in them the life and movement which was to go on till it gave us the glorious piles of York and Westminster, of Lincoln and of Wells.

It may not be possible to name the first step in the

forward march. But I am inclined to see it in *subordination*; that is, the building of an arch in a series of *orders* or rings of stone, the outer of the thickness of the wall and the inner set back from it. The earlier arches built on the Romanesque tradition went straight through the wall. But here was an entirely new system of construction, and one big with possibilities, as the succeeding ages shewed. The subordered arch perhaps did not appear much, if at all, before the eleventh century, but it did some time before the end of the Saxon period. We have it at Broughton in work which is earlier than the still Saxon work of the western stair turret; and at Barton-on-Humber, which seems for several reasons to be earlier than Broughton, we find it used with the pilaster strip and the turned baluster.

I can not follow out the story now: I rather suggest it for some one with more leisure for such work than I have.

P.S.—At Heysham, which we visited during the Lancaster meeting, the parish church has a good deal of Saxon work remaining in the west end of the nave, and there was more on the north side until a few years since, when it was pulled down for the addition of an aisle. Some of it has been set up as a quasi-ruin in the church yard. The church has been of the common plan with a nave and small presbytery. There has been a western and a northern door; and, as the approach is from the south, there was probably one on that side also. The work is perfectly plain, and there is no detail to suggest its date,¹ but, from the absence of long and short and rib work, I am inclined to think it not of the latest.

HEYSHAM

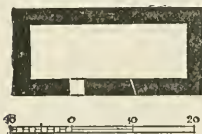


FIG. 41.

The church yard of Heysham abounds in remarkable things, but, of all, the most remarkable is the ruined chapel of St. Patrick, which crowns a rock overlooking the sea. It is (Fig. 41) an undivided oblong building 26 feet long inside by only 8 feet 9 inches wide. The walls are

¹ There is some ornamental detail about the chancel arch which has been thought to be Saxon, and the extreme rudeness and the nondescript character of the work make the opinion a not

unreasonable one. But I am convinced that this arch, though taking the place of an elder and very likely Saxon one, itself belongs to the seventeenth century.

2 feet 6 inches thick, and formed of irregularly coursed rubble. There is no window at the east end, where most of the gable is standing, nor any on the north so far as the wall there remains. On the south the west jamb of a window, splayed on the inside only, remains towards the east, and towards the west is the doorway. It has straight jambs made of few stones rudely wrought and not bonded into the walling, and a semicircular head cut in one stone of irregular shape. On the outside the doorhead is scored round with three hollows or flutes, the ridges between which stand out slightly beyond the face of the stone. A rebate to fit a door to the inner side of the doorway has been formed at some time long after its first building. The western wall and the western part of the north wall are ruined to the foundations, and there is a gap between the window jamb just mentioned and the south-east corner.

I do not know anything amongst Saxon churches which is like this chapel either in plan or in detail. Its parallel must be sought in Ireland and remote parts of Scotland. The traditional dedication to St. Patrick suggests an Irish origin, and the chapel is *Celtic*, quite differently from those English buildings which, having been planned under the influence of Celtic tradition, I have called of Celtic type. I do not venture an opinion as to its date.

THE OLDEST EXTANT MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE
GOVERNORS OF SHERBORNE SCHOOL.

Communicated by W. B. WILDMAN, M.A.

Not long ago I was looking through some Court Rolls in the Library of Sherborne School; these Rolls refer to the School Estate at Gillingham, and sewn up with these I found the following Draft of Minutes of a Governors' Meeting. This Draft is all in the handwriting of Thomas Wynnyff the Steward, except a few alterations, which are in another hand. The Minutes run as follows:—

“*Scirburn Scole.* Ordynaunces made the VIIIth day of October, An^o. Regⁿⁱ. Regis Ed: VI. quarto by the holle concente of the Gov^{rs}. then beyng nomynded uppon the Kyngs Maiesties letters pattentes ffyrste that ffrom henseforth the Scolemayster shalbe p'sent w^t the said Gover^s. ffor the xamynacon and electyon of Ussher of the said Scole.

“Itm yt ys ordeyned by the said Gover^s. that no Gove^r. ffrom henseforth to be elected after the death or avoydance of any of the Govern^s. now beyng but that the said Govn^r. so to be admytted shall make a corporalle Athe to obs^o. and kepe all ordynaunces allredy made or hereafter to be made.

“Itm yt ys ordeyned that no Govn^r. now allredy appoynted or hereafter to be appoynted shall diselose or open any counsaile or communycacon hadde bethwyx the said Govn^s. in their comon house or ells where soever they shall assemble them selfs to gether for any matters concernyng the said free scole uppon payne of deprivacon and utter expellyng of hym so offendyng from the said corporacon for ever.

“Itm that every year w^{tin} VI. wekes and inmedyaty after the ffeaste of the nativity of Saynet John the Baptiste ther shallbe elected one new warden and that the olde wardens shall then render and make ther Accompte for the yere paste.

“Itm yt ys ordeyned y^t the Wardens w^t the Steward shallbe at the Courts kepte uppon the said lands and ther to lerne the best offer of every burgage or fferme ther to be lette or sette and that same offer to be presented before all the said Govn^{rs}. at their retorne home to Shirborne and the partye makyng that offer to be by all the said Govn^{rs}. appoynted tennante.

“Itm yt ys ffurther ordeyned and concluded that neither tenement burgage ne fferme now belongyng or hereafter that shalbelong unto the said free scole shall at any time be granted lette or sette by the said Wardens and Govn^{rs}. other wyse than for iii lyffes or xxi yeres.

“Itm yt ys ordeyned that yf any of the Govn^{rs}. be lawfully warned

by the Wardens for the tyme beyng to assemble and come to gethere to their comon house and do wylfully absent hym self havynge no lawfull excuse and not makynge his depute shall for every tyme so offendynge paye xii^d. to the hands of the Wardens.

“ Itm yt ys ordeyned and graunted by the said Govn^{rs}. that Master Gybson now beyng Scolemaster of the said Scole shall have yerely for his salary and wages xvi^{li} to be payde at the iiiij usual termes of the yere.

“ Itm yt ys graunted and ordeyned by the said Govn^{rs}. that Thomas Wynnyff for the terme of hys life now beyng appoynted by them to be Steward of the said lands shall have yerely for his ffee xiii^s. iiiij^d. to be payde by the Wardens.

“ Itm yt ys agred and covenanted be twen the said Govn^{rs}. and the said Thomas Wynnyffe that the said Thomas shall make and engross every Wardens accompte ffrom yere to yere and allso kepe and wrytt one boke of ordynances nowe made for the said Scole and also shall by hym self or his sufficient depute kepe yerely all the Courts apperteynyng to the said Scole and the said Thomas shalbe allowed his charges at the said courts and for such paper and parchement as he shall expend for the same.

“ Itm yt ys ordeyned that the said Warden so elected and chose as ys aforesaid shall chuse to hym self one of ii persons whyche ii persons shalbe appoynted by the hole Govn^{rs}.

“ Thes aforesaid ordynaunces are made the viijth daye of October, An^o. R. R. Ed. vi. iiiij^{to} in o^r Comon House by us, &c.”

On the next page follows a list of rents and fines due and a rough sketch of the School Seal. This makes us ask whether we have actually before us the original sketch of it? Turning over three leaves we come to the following entries made the

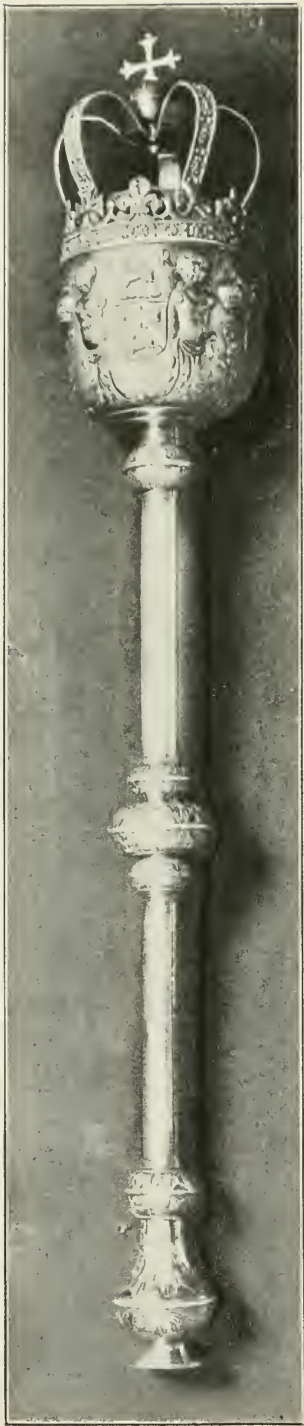
“ ‘ xxx^{mo} Die Octobris Anno Regni Dicti Domini quarto ’ : Itm paid to the Skolemāster for iiiij quarters wages endyd at Mich’as xvi^{li}. Itm to the Usher for iiiij quarters wages ended at the said feaste v^{li}. Itm paid for the Seall xx^s.’

These entries teach us a good deal that we did not know or were not certain of before: we get the name of the man who was the last Headmaster under the old system and the first Headmaster under the Charter of reFOUNDATION of King Edward. As he is paid a year’s salary on the 30th October, 1550, it follows that he was Master before the reFOUNDATION in May, 1550; under the old scheme, too, there was evidently an Usher as well as a Master. It seems also probable that this Usher left in October, 1550, as one of these ordinances quoted above provides that the Master shall aid the Governors in the election of an Usher.

It is now proved without a doubt that Mr. A. F. Leach was quite right in his view (which he put forward in his

paper read before the Archæological Institute in March, 1898) that there had been no break in the continuity of Sherborne School in spite of the dissolution of the Monastery. No doubt, however, the School suffered by that; it must have lost, for instance, the Exhibitions which the Abbot and Convent had, according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, given to the School.





c



b



a

MACES OF THE TOWN OF LANCASTER.

a. Small mace *temp.* James I. b. Royal Arms on head of small mace.
c. Large mace dated 1702.



THE CORPORATE INSIGNIA, PLATE AND CHARTERS OF LANCASTER.¹

By T. CANN HUGHES, M.A., Town Clerk, and W. O. ROPER, F.S.A.

THE CORPORATE INSIGNIA AND PLATE.

By THOMAS CANN HUGHES, M.A., Town Clerk of Lancaster.

The earliest remaining Corporation possession of this nature is a fine old seal possibly of the time of Henry III, known as the "Mayor's Seal."

This seal is $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and bears on the field three castles, and in base a lion guardant crowned, and a fleur-de-lis. There is no reference to Lancaster in the inscription, which reads :

[+ S. HENR. DE G. RE. ANGLE FRANCE. & DNS. HIBE.]

but the present arms of Lancaster contain a part only of the device, the three castles having been dropped.

The two curious brass halberds are ancient. They are even yet placed on either side of the entrance of the house of His Worship the Mayor (if he resides within the borough), and on the west door of the Town Hall if he resides outside, as is the case in the present year. This curious custom, Mr. Hope tells us in his well-known book on Corporate Insignia, is peculiar to the towns of Lancashire. There are several old halberds in the attics of the Town Hall, and there is a record of one being stolen from the door of the Mayor (Thos. Shepherd) on 17th November, 1802.

I now direct your attention to a very fine series of measures and weights of the reign of Elizabeth, marked with her crown and dated 1588, and said to have been made from cannon taken in that year on the defeat of the Spanish Armada. These are certainly of great interest. They are supplemented by three other Elizabethan measures (all dated 1601). The first is a large circular

¹ Read at the Lancaster Meeting of the Institute, July 22nd, 1898.

measure of bronze or bell metal, 1 foot deep and 1 foot 7 inches in diameter, inscribed—

“Elizabeth dei [a crowned rose] Gracia Angliæ [crowned portullis] Franciæ et [crowned fleur-de-lis] Hiberniæ [crowned rose]. Regina, 1601.”

The second is a corn gallon, and the third (Regina, 1601) an ale quart.

In the Charter of 1604 the town was granted a Common Seal, and it is possible that at that time the present Corporate Seal was made in pursuance of the Charter. It is $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, and is inscribed—

* SIGILLVM : COMVNE : BVRG. : SIVE : VILL :
LANCASTRIE.

We next come to two articles presented to the town by one Thomas Fanshaw :

The first of these was the old mace, which evidently weighed 37 oz. 4 dwt., and the subsequent history of which afterwards appears.

The other article was “The Mayor’s Staff,” still carried by His Worship in all State processions. It is 5 feet $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and made of ebony, and corresponds to the Mayor’s bamboo still preserved in the city of Chester.

It has a silver head, on top of which are the town arms, and around the following inscription :—

“This Staff was the Guift of Thomas Fanshaw, Esq^r. sometime auditor of the Duchey of Lancaster and Burgesse of the Towne. 1613.”

The donor was M.P. for Lancaster in seven Parliaments, 1604–1629, and was subsequently created a Viscount.

Three silver bowls were presented to the town early in the seventeenth century :

The first, which weighed 10 ozs. 15 dwts., was the gift of Thomas Braithwaite, on 12th April, 1615.

The second weighed 13 ozs. 7 dwts. 12 grs., and was given by the will of George Tompson in 1618.

The third weighed 14 ozs. 12 dwt. 12 grs., and came to the town under the will of William Parkinson in 1622.

The next presentation is entirely a conjecture of my own. I think it consisted of a silver-gilt cup with a cover, and was given, probably in 1630, by Sir Humphrey May,

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. More of this hereafter.

In 1632 George Braithwaite gave a silver salt cellar.

About this time were probably obtained our two smaller maces, both of silver-gilt; they are now carried in processions by the Mayor's serjeant and Town serjeant respectively. They have no hall-marks. On the flat top of each are the Royal Arms of James I, and the initials I.R. will be found three times over around the heads. The scroll-work at the base is worth notice.

In 1675 Thomas Foster gave a large silver tankard, which we still possess; it is 7 inches in height, and inscribed—

“The gift of Thomas Foster. Free Burgesse of Lancaster. To goe Successiftly from Mayor unto Mayor 1675.”

In 1688 there was apparently some confusion as to where some of the Corporate Insignia had been placed, for we find on the 11th October that the Corporation gave orders that the charters, plate, and books should be produced yearly on the Thursday after the election of Mayor and Bailiffs, and that each succeeding Mayor should give a receipt for them when so handed over by his predecessor.

In 1702 Lancaster obtained its largest possession in the way of insignia—the Great Mace. Curiously, this mace was not exhibited at Burlington House in June, 1888, or at the great collection of maces I was privileged to assist in getting together at the Institute Congress at Chester in 1886. It was exhibited at Manchester on 15th December, 1893, before the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society in illustration of Chancellor Ferguson's paper “On the Dignity of a Mayor,” the practical result of which was the presentation of a handsome mace to the city of Manchester.

The Lancaster Great Mace is 54 inches in length, and is headed like the maces of Chester and Congleton, and many more, by an open-arched crown. Round the head are five compartments divided by half figures terminating in foliage. In these are the four Royal Badges, each between the letters A.R.; in the fifth, the arms of Lancaster. It is worthy of note (as pointed out by Mr. Roper in a paper he read before the Historic Society

of Lancashire and Cheshire on "The Charters of Lancaster" on 8th February, 1883) that the arms as here represented are "per fess in chief a castle of four towers in base a lion passant guardant." It will be noticed that on the Mayor's Seal there are *three* towers, each triple-turreted, and the lion has a fleur-de-lis on his tail. The castles are absent from the representations of the borough arms in the corridor of this building, which dates from 1688, and on the front of "The Corporation Arms" in Penny Street—shortly to come down for improvements, when it is hoped the arms will be preserved in the Storey Institute or elsewhere.

The Great Mace was the gift of Robert Heysham, and was acquired by the borough in 1702 in the Mayoralty of William Penny, who gave his name to Penny's Hospital.

On 22nd October, 1703, when Mr. Penny gave up office, he took a receipt from his successor for the following articles (*inter alia*):—

"The large mace the gift of Mr. Heysham & the Case.

[There is now no proper case for the mace.]

The old mace

The two sergeants maces

One large silver Tankard

One large silver bowl with a Cover

Three lesser silver bowles

and one silver salt with a cover."

The next phase in the history of our Corporate plate is one all too frequent in our municipal history generally.

In the 1723 accounts of the bailiffs we find the following significant entry:—

"Allowed them p^d for Exchange between Three silver bowles one salt and one old mace and a silver punch bowl £3. 1. 3."

So our original mace passed not, as a councillor once informed me to swell the coffers of Charles I, but to provide the punch bowl and ladle from which Mr. Mayor drinks the health of the friends who entertain him every 9th November.

Just at this time we find a record on the accounts which may be interesting to our lady friends, for the bailiffs enter in their books a payment for a "ducking-stool," which doubtless did duty in the mill dam now arched over and covered by the works of Messrs. Gillow.

In 1740 another exchange took place, for we find in the minutes of 10th September—

“Agreed that the old gilded silver cup and cover be applied towards purchasing a new silver presenter for the use of the Corp^r and that a sum not exceeding five guineas be laid out and added to the value of the said cup towards purchasing such new presenter which is recommended to Mr Sinoult the present Mayor to take care of to get done in such manner as he shall think proper.”

This presenter or salver is still preserved at the Mayor's house. It bears the following inscription :—

“Sigillum olim Serenissimi et Prudentissimi regis Jacobi pro Comitatu suo Palatinatus Lancastriæ. Et dono Humfridi May militis Cancellarii ejusdem. Comitatus et Ducatus Lancastriæ.”

The Hall-mark is that of Newcastle of 1740. There is very little doubt that Sir Humphrey May gave the cup and cover which the Corporation in 1740 changed for a salver, but perpetuated on it the gift they had destroyed.

The next piece of plate was another salver which has a representation of the present Town Hall, over which are the words

“Oedif. XXIII Geo III” and beneath “MDCCLXXXIII.”

On the back is the following :—

“The unanimous gift of the Corporation of Lancaster to Robert Tomlinson gentⁿ for his great and serviceable attention to the building of the Town Hall.”

Mr. Tomlinson's salver came back to us; for another inscription tells us—

“Mr Tomlinson's effects having been sold this Salver was purchased by Anth^y Atkinson Esq^r Mayor of Lancaster and by him given to the Corpⁿ the 19th day of October 1791.”

In 1832 yet another silver salver came into the possession of the town. It is 26 inches by 19 inches and beautifully ornamented with flowers and scroll-work. In the centre are the arms and motto of the donor. The inscriptions explain its history—

“To David Campbell M.D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians Edinburgh: Physician to the Lancashire Lunatic Asylum the first and for more than Twenty Years sole Physician to the Lancaster Dispensary Presented by his friends in the Town and Neighbourhood of Lancaster as a memorial of their esteem for his eminent talents and as a mark of their high sense of his beneficent exertions during a Period of Fifty-five years June 1827.”

The tale is thus continued—

“Afterwards bequeathed by Dr Campbell to the Mayor Bailiffs

& Commonalty of the Boro' of Lancaster for the sole use and benefit of them and their successors in office."

Dr. Campbell was a well-known Lancastrian in his day: he resided in Castle Grove in the house now occupied by Alderman Gilchrist, and his initials in white cobble stones mark the fact at the entrance of The Grove.

In 1859 Mr. William Whelon gave a solid gold ring with the arms of Lancaster and the words

"The Mayor of Lancaster."

The ring bears the inscription—

"The gift of W^m Whelon, Mayor 1859-60. To go from Mayor to Mayor."

In 1878, in the mayoralty of Abram Seward, Councillor Stephen Wright Wearing (brother-in-law of Lord Ashton) presented the Mayor's Chain and Badge "to the Corporation for the use of the Mayor of the Borough for ever, as a memento of his long and pleasant connection with that body, and of the attachment he feels for his native Town."

The stocks are still preserved in the attics of the Town Clerk's office. They stood in the Town Hall Square. They were last used in 1878.

The pillory which stood near the entrance to the castle was last used on 1st August, 1807, when Thomas Bolton was placed therein.

The whipping post in the Town Hall Square was last used for a vagrant on 16th February, 1803.

There is no record of any use of a brank or scold's bridle in Lancaster history.

In conclusion, my very cordial thanks are due to His Worship the Mayor (Alderman Huntington) for permission to use the old minutes; to Aldermen Kitchen and Gilchrist and Councillor Satterthwaite for valuable aid; to the Finance Committee for permission to photograph the Insignia; to Mr. J. Balderston Briggs for his photographs; to Mr. St. John Hope for ample use made of his handsome volume; and last, but by no means least, to my friend and predecessor, Mr. Roper, and to Mr. J. S. Slinger for that help which they with ripe experience and profound knowledge in local history are ever willing to place at the disposal of their fellow-students in the archæological field.

THE CHARTERS.

By W. O. ROPER, F.S.A.

For the earliest existing Charter we must look back to the days of Richard I—to those times when that monarch, fired with military enthusiasm, was carrying the renown of the English name into the East, and fighting for the Holy places of Palestine. At home his brother John, treacherous always, was plotting his ruin, and seeking to gain the people of England to his cause. Whether John wished to obtain the support of the town of Lancaster or whether the burgesses had given him some tangible consideration for his favour does not appear, but in 1193 John granted to Lancaster its earliest existing Charter.

“John Earl of Moreton”—so runs a free rendering of the Latin tongue—“to all his friends in France and England greeting. Know ye that I have granted and by this my Charter have confirmed to my burgesses of Lancaster all the liberties which I have granted to the Burgesses of Bristol. Furthermore I have declared the same Burgesses freed from suit to my mill and from ploughing and other servile customs which they used to do. . . . I have granted also to the same Burgesses . . . the Pasturage of my Forest as far from the Town of Lancaster as their Cattle can go and return in a day. I have granted also to them of dead wood in my Forest so much as shall be needful to them for burning and of other wood so much as shall be needed for building under the Survey of my Foresters. . . . In the fourth year of the reign of our Lord King Richard on the morrow of St. Barnabas the Apostle at Dorchester.”

The liberties of Bristol referred to in this Charter were very extensive and included provisions that no burgess was to be impleaded except within the walls of the town; that all were to be quit of toll and lastage and pontage throughout the kingdom; and that no stranger was to establish himself within the town for purposes of trade for a longer period than forty days; the Guilds were to be upheld, and all lands within the town were to be held in free burgage tenure.

Six years later John came to Lancaster. In that old Norman keep which still frowns down on Lancaster we can picture on an October morning the knights and nobles of the district assembled. On the dais sits the

King, and on bended knee before him is the Northern monarch Alexander of Scotland doing solemn homage for the lands which he held in Cumberland yet expressly reserving his sovereign rights. This act of homage rendered in the Castle of Lancaster was only one of the many links in the chain with which England strove to unite to herself her Northern neighbour and which through long ages have at length become firmly welded into an indissoluble bond of union.

But while the attention of the assembly is occupied with matters of State, the eye falls upon a group of representatives of the ancient borough of Lancaster. They were the burgesses to whom John, when he ascended the throne, gave the earliest *Royal Charter* of which the borough now can boast.

That Charter grants to the burgesses of Lancaster all the liberties which the burgesses of Northampton had the day that King Henry II died in lieu of the liberties granted by John when Earl of Moreton.

Its terms at once necessitated an application to the borough of Northampton to know what liberties that town possessed. Accordingly from Northampton was received a parchment setting forth the liberties enjoyed in that borough and addressed

“To their most worshipful friends the Sheriffs and Bailiffs of Lancaster the Bailiffs of our Lord the King from Northampton Greeting—with love, rejoicing concerning the Liberties granted to you by our Lord the King. We send you a copy of the Charter which we have given from the King himself.”

The main privileges granted by this Charter were freedom of the burgesses from toll throughout all England, and that the burgesses might make a Mayor whom they shall choose from amongst themselves every year who shall be meet for us and them.

These privileges were confirmed by Henry III when he granted to Lancaster a Charter, given under the hand of the Venerable Father Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, the Chancellor, on the 16th of March, 1227.

But a Charter that brought still greater importance to Lancaster was that obtained through the intervention of John of Gaunt :

“Know ye”—runs a free translation of the deed—“that we of our

special grace and at the request of our beloved son John, Duke of Lancaster, have granted and by this Charter have confirmed to our beloved Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commonalty of the Town of Lancaster, that all pleas and sessions of whatsoever justices in the County of Lancaster assigned be held in the said Town of Lancaster as the principal town of the said County and not elsewhere in the said County."

It is under this Charter that at the present day the Quarter Sessions are always opened at Lancaster and only held by adjournment at Preston and Kirkdale. So also the Assizes are still held at Lancaster, though the larger portion of the business is now transacted at Liverpool and Manchester.

The days of this Charter were amongst the brightest in the history of the town, and enabled the burgesses to devote their attention to the preparation of a series of bye-laws.

These *Orders and Constitutions* are no less than 142 in number, and four times a year had the unfortunate burgesses to listen to the whole of those 142 Orders and Constitutions carefully read over in their ears. They provide for the regulation of the town's pasture, and are very jealous for the maintenance of the rights of freemen. They provide for the election of Mayor and Bailiffs—the bailiffs to keep their banquets at Shrovetide and Easter, and to charge the expense thereof upon the town. Provision was also made for the appointment of "a cobler to amend old shoes"; a swine-herd to keep all the swine of the town on Quernmoor, above the Moor Gate. "If any freeman do rayle or revile any man by any dangerous words he shall lose his liberty or else be grievously fined," but if the unfortunate offender were not free—mark the distinction between freemen and others—if he were not free he was to be committed to the gibbet. No wedding breakfast was to cost more than 4*d.* a head. Vagabonds or idle young persons were to be carted or scourged out of the town. Any man standing under any man's eaves, for eavesdropping, was to be fined 3*s.* 4*d.* All unlawful games were to be put away, and the young men were commanded to buy bows and arrows.

In 1384, and again in 1389, King Richard II confirmed the ancient Charters. The second confirmation expressly renews any privileges which may have been allowed to

lapse by non-user, and was granted "by the King himself for the fine of forty shillings and because the Town afore-said by misfortune has been often burnt."

In 1399 Henry IV confirmed the Charters, and in 1409 expressly ratified the exemption of the burgesses from toll. "We"—says the Charter—"greatly intending the weal profit & advancement of the same our Town of Lancaster have determined that the said grants shall stand & persevere in their full strength & virtue."

Then came the golden days of Henry V, when the noble gateway of the castle raised its front high above the town. Yet the burgesses seem to have been in trouble. In the second year of his reign Henry V "pardoned & remitted to Richard de Elslake Mayor of the Towne of Lancaster and the Bailiffs and Commonalty all manner of Trespasses by them before the 8th day of December in the second year of our Reign against the form of the Statutes concerning Liveries of Coats & Caps committed or perpetrated."

In 1421 Henry again granted a Charter to the borough, and especially confirmed the fairs and markets, the guild, and the holding of the Sessions at Lancaster.

In the reign of Henry VI the Mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty presented a petition for further liberties:

"Whereas"—say they—"Lancaster from time immemorial has been and still is the chief and most ancient borough within the County of Lancaster; to which borough there is a great confluence and con-course of people as well as of merchants denizens and others and before this time has been for the greater part inhabited by merchants: and because the mayor and bailiffs for the time being have not had power or authority to take recognizances by statute merchant, many of the said merchants, without any surety had, have furnished their goods and merchandise to divers people, and have fallen in great poverty, because they had not power by law in the borough to recover their debts promptly on the day fixed for payment, and for this cause many merchants have ceased to come to this borough with their merchandise, to the great damage of all the commonalty of the said borough."

The petition therefore prayed the King to grant to the Mayor and his successors power to take and record all manner of recognizances by statute merchant of the debts of all debtors who shall come before them. The prayer of the petition was complied with, and the burgesses, we hope, profited by their further privileges.

Then came the dark time of the Wars of the Roses ; and the reigns of Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III were occupied in more stirring matters than the granting of Charters to the borough of Lancaster.

Still there remains one gleam of light out of the darkness—to wit, the foundation by John Gardyner of the school which has now existed for four hundred years in Lancaster. Its management seems to have passed into the hands of the Corporation about the year 1500, for certain rules were then laid down. These rules provided that the schoolmaster was to be

“ a profound grammarian keeping a free school teaching & informing ye children unto their utmost profite nothing takyn therefor.

“ The time of the begyning of his informacion of ye Schole in ye morning tyde at 6 of ye Clocke & so continewng unto viij. The said Schole Maistr to begyn again at ye 'o'r of x & to contynue unto xij & then from ij afternone until six at Evyn, saying dayly at the breking up of ye scole *De profundis* for ye sowlys of J. Gardener & Isabell his wife, ye sowlys of bredn and sisters belongingy unto ye monastery of Seynt Brigitt of Syon & for all Crystyn sowlys.”

Early in the reign of Henry VII we find the burgesses petitioning for a confirmation of their Charters, and receiving a Charter in answer to their prayer.

The usual Charter of confirmation is not forthcoming in the reign of Henry VIII. But the preamble of an Act of Parliament passed in that reign shews that Lancaster was not then in a very prosperous condition.

“ In times past ”—says the Act—“ divers & many beautiful houses of habitation have been within the walles of the towne of Lancr which now are fallen down decayned & at this tyme remayne unreedified lying as desolate & voyd grounds & many of them adjoyninge nigh unto the high streetes, replenished with much ordure filth & uncleanness with pittes cellars & vaultes lying open & uncovered to the great peryll & daungier of all the inhabitants & all the Kynges subjects passing by the same, & some houses be very weak and feble redy to fall down & be very dangerous to passe bye to the decay & hindrance of the said boroughs and townes.”

The Statute therefore enacted that the owners of such houses should within two years repair them under pain of forfeiture.

Edward VI confirmed the Charters and extended the privileges of freedom from tolls.

In the reign of Queen Mary the burgesses complained that the Quarter Sessions had been removed from Lancaster

and that the liberties of the town had been greatly infringed and broken, to the great decay of the town and the impoverishment of the poor inhabitants of the same. Eventually an order was made that all general sessions of assizes and gaol delivery should from thenceforth be held in Lancaster, and not elsewhere in the county.

Shortly after came a precept addressed by

“ Philip & Mary by the grace of God King & Queen of England Spain France both Sicilies Jerusalem & Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy Milan & Brabant, Count of Aspurge Flanders & Tirol, to our trusty & well beloved the Mayor & Bailiffs of our Town of Lancaster & to all the Burgesses of the same & to every of them. Whereas,” says the precept, “ we be credibly informed that our said Town is in great ruin & decay by reason of such variance as hath been by means of taking of Liveries & Cognizance . . . contrary to our Laws . . . Wherefore we well and strictly charge . . . that you do make in our name proclamation that no manner of person . . . from henceforth retain any person nor be retained with any person or persons by oath livery sign Cognizance or otherwise, but as shall accord with our laws.”

In the fifth year of her reign Queen Elizabeth gave the usual Charter of confirmation, and the town seems to have grown steadily during her reign, and with the rise of England's sea power Lancaster became one of the principal ports of the North.

In 1604 James I, considering that the town is “ an ancient and populous Town and the Inhabitants of the Town time out of mind have had used & enjoyed divers franchises & willing that the Town from henceforth for ever may be & remain a Town of Peace and Quiet to the fear and terror of the wicked & for the Reward of the good ” granted Lancaster a Charter.

This deed placed the government of the town in the hands of a Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commonalty, and directed that the Mayor was to act as Justice of the Peace and Coroner.

In 1621 James granted another Charter expressly confirming the exemption of Lancastrians from toll in any part of his dominion.

Then came the Civil Wars, and during the fire which occurred in one of the many sieges of the town several of the Charters were damaged, and parts of some are almost illegible from this cause.

The next Charters are those of Charles II, granted in 1663 and in 1684, chiefly confirming the earlier deeds. The latter Charter exempted members of the Commonalty from service on juries outside the town. The governing body were to consist of one honest and discreet man who shall be and shall be called Mayor, one Recorder, seven Aldermen, twenty-four who shall be called the Common Council, of whom twelve shall be called Capital burgesses and twelve shall be called the Commonalty, two Bailiffs, one common clerk, one mace bearer, and two sergeants-at-mace.

Some of the charges in connection with the obtaining of this Charter are worth recording :

	£	s.	d.
To Mr. Jennings Counsel my Lord Chief			
Justices favourite	2	3	0
To the Foot boy	1	0	0
To an under officer at the door	2	6	0
To Mr. Johnson to expedite the Bill	2	2	0
To his man	1	1	0
To his boy... ..	1	0	0
Paid at the Privy Seal for the Chancellor			
£13 demanded but compounded for	5	10	0
For expedition	2	0	0
For Coach hire up & down	6	10	0
Expenses upon the Road up & down, at London for our Chamber & Fire, & treating of Gentlemen & Friends who gave us assist- ance in our business; Coaches & Boat hire & other Expenses	34	9	0
The total charges were	184	2	8

In the reign of George III, the Corporation again obtained a Charter the main provisions of which remained applicable until the Municipal Corporations Reform Act of 1835.

Such is an outline of the Charters of Lancaster. As time went on the deeds grew more and more lengthy, but perhaps the most interesting of them all is the shortest and the oldest.

All through the long centuries of sunshine and storm which have passed over the borough since the reign of Richard I this earliest Charter has been preserved. Through the palmy days of the Dukes of Lancaster, through the raids and fire of the Border tribes, through the wretched Wars of the Roses, past the time when monasteries founded

by Charters earlier and later than this have risen, flourished, and tottered to their fall, through the Civil Wars of England and the more peaceful times of the last 150 years, this parchment is almost as fresh as when the ink dried upon it in the time of John. Once it narrowly escaped destruction: when the Royalists besieged the town in 1643, when the great fire raged and Penny Street was burned from end to end, the Charter was in imminent danger. Its edges have been singed with the fire that burned the homes of our ancestors in their town, but the old Charter was rescued and appears before you to-night as evidence of the place which Lancaster held amongst the boroughs of England seven centuries ago.



ALDERMASTON CHURCH. WEST DOORWAY.

ALDERMASTON CHURCH, BERKSHIRE.

By CHARLES E. KEYSER., M.A., F.S.A.

It is rather a dangerous thing to invite anyone to read a paper on the subject of the parish church in which he is personally interested and which he has been chiefly instrumental in restoring; and one might reasonably fear that a detailed description of the new heating apparatus and other useful objects introduced into the church under his direction, as well as of the various additions, such as a new organ chamber, &c., still in prospect, might occupy no inconsiderable space in dealing with so congenial a subject. It will, however, be the endeavour of the writer not unduly to try the patience of his audience by any attempt at self-laudation in referring at length to improvements and necessary renovations which have been made to the fabric and furniture, but rather to point out all the objects of architectural and historical interest, with a short notice of the recent and present condition of the church, in the hope that approval may be elicited at the care and respect which have been paid to every minute detail in connection with it.

Before however commencing this description, it may be as well very briefly to refer to the history of Aldermaston generally to enable us the more easily to comprehend the various points as they arise with regard to the dates of the several portions of the church. And here it will be advisable to mention that an admirable account from the pen of that distinguished antiquary, Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., is to be found in the *Transactions of the Newbury District Field Club*, Vol. IV, pp. 122-138. This deals chiefly with the history of the manor, and the various distinguished personages in whom it was vested, and who in former times held large estates in Aldermaston and elsewhere in the county.¹

¹ Some account of Aldermaston is also to be found in the *Transactions of the Newbury District Field Club*, II, 111-

118, and the *British Archæological Association Journal*, VIII, 362, and XVI, 62-69, and 95.

The name Aldermaston or Aldermanton (=the Alderman's town) points to the early importance of the parish; and accordingly, in the Domesday Survey, it is mentioned as having been one of the possessions of Earl Harold, and consequently, after his death, of William the Conqueror. Both William the Conqueror, William Rufus, and Henry I are said to have occasionally resided here, until the last-named monarch, soon after the year 1100, granted this and four other lordships to one of his knights—one Robert Achard, with the advowsons of all the churches, fisheries, and other very extensive manorial rights, of which the principal (except this) was Sparsholt near Wantage. His son William, in 1166, gave the church of Aldermaston, with other property, to the alien Priory of Monk Sherborne, Hampshire, of which a considerable portion of the chapel, now used as the parish church of the village of Pamber, still remains.

The manor of Aldermaston remained in the possession of the Achard family till about 1360, when the daughter and heir of the last male representative of the family, Sir Robert Achard, married Sir Thomas De la Mare, a member of the family of the De la Mares, of Nunney in the county of Somerset, who thus, through her, became the owner of this estate and the "other faire landes in Barkshire," mentioned by Leland in his Itinerary. The manor and property continued in the De la Mare family till about the end of the fifteenth century, when Elizabeth, the granddaughter and heir of the last Sir Thomas De la Mare, brought this and the other estates to the Forsters by her marriage with Sir George Forster, of Harpsden in the county of Oxford. Their noble monument remains in the church, and will shortly be described.

The Forsters continued to possess this property till it came by marriage, in 1711, to Lord Stawell, of Somerton, whose family seat was at Cothelstone in Somersetshire, an interesting old house, still remaining as in his day. Their daughter married as her second husband Mr. Ralph Congreve, of Congreve in Staffordshire, in 1752. The Congreves held the estates for nearly a century, when, after the death of Mr. William Congreve, the estate was purchased out of Chancery by Mr. Higford Burr, and

continued in his family till his son sold it, in 1893, to Mr. Charles Keyser, the present owner. The ancient house is said to have been a fine quadrangular structure standing close to the church. In 1636 Sir Humphrey Forster erected a noble mansion on the same site, which was unfortunately partially destroyed by fire in the year 1843. After the death of Mr. William Congreve, it was sold to Mr. Higford Burr, who proceeded to build a new house from the designs of Mr. Philip C. Hardwick, some 200 yards from the site of the earlier ones, and on higher ground. The fine old staircase, with numerous mythological and other figures, and a portion of the heraldic glass, is preserved in the new house, and the dedication stone of the house erected in 1636 has been placed in the wall within the main entrance porch.

The fine brick chimneys are thought to be relics of the house existing prior to that erected in 1636, and are excellent examples of their style. Considerable additions have been recently made by the present owner. The old stables are certainly as early as the 1636 house, and probably earlier. The situation of the present mansion, standing above a fine piece of ornamental water, and surrounded by some of the oldest trees, and one of the finest parks in the kingdom, is greatly admired.

Many of the oaks especially are of great size and age, and said to be as much as 2,000 years old. One, which boasts the name of The Conqueror Oak, from some traditional connection with William the Conqueror, unfortunately collapsed in February, 1897; but as it is only a bare shell, it has again been set up. The advowson of the church was, in the year 1166, vested in the Alien Priory of Monk Sherborne; but, as an evidence of the troublous times, the presentation to the living was constantly being exercised by the Crown, and in the year 1461 it was given to the Domus Dei at Southampton. It appears to have been granted at the time of the Reformation to Queen's College, Oxford, who leased it for 500 years to William Forster in 1567. Mr. Congreve purchased the reversionary rights from the College under the Gilbert Act, and it is now attached to the estate. The living is a donative, a charge on the property having been established for the endowment of the Incumbent.

The parish church stands close to the manor house, the ancient brick wall, of about the 1636 date, forming a boundary to the churchyard on the south and east, and separating it from the "pleasaunce" of the former mansion. It is some distance from the pretty village, situate just outside the old park gates, and with its ancient inn still commemorating the Forsters by its sign, the Hind's Head—the crest of that family. A church is mentioned as being in existence here at the time of the Domesday Survey, but apparently no portion of the present edifice is earlier than the Norman period. As we now see it, it consists of a west tower with low shingle spire, nave with transept or chantry chapel on the south side, and chancel with vestry also on the south side. There is no division between the nave and chancel, and it is uncertain how far westward the chancel extended. As will be noted the church is most irregular in its form, the narrowest part being in the centre and opposite the transept or chapel, and it has clearly been enlarged and altered at several different periods. The approximate dimensions are as follows: Full length, internal measurement, from east wall to the interior west wall of the tower, is 103 feet. The tower is 11 feet east to west by 10 feet 2 inches north to south. The nave is 57 feet in length to present step to the chancel by 20 feet in breadth opposite the transept, and 25 feet at the west end. The chancel is 30 feet in length by 22 feet in breadth; the transept or chapel, 18 feet 3 inches from north to south by 15 feet 3 inches east to west, and the vestry 12 feet 8 inches north to south by 15 feet east to west. The earliest part of the church seems to be the eastern portion of the nave facing the transept, and the narrowest section of the church. This is clearly the original Norman, as a doorway of that period remains closed up on the north side. The first enlargement appears to have been towards the east during the Early English period; and there are some indications, which will shortly be referred to, of the church having extended further to the east than it does now. Towards the latter part of the thirteenth, or early in the fourteenth, century the church was extended towards the west, and the transept or chantry chapel was added on the south side. The tower arch may be of Decorated date; but the

west window is of the fifteenth century, and probably the tower was reconstructed at that period, and the fine Norman west doorway reinserted in the west wall. In the latter part of the seventeenth century the vestry was added, no doubt over a new vault for the Forster family, and a new south door to the chancel inserted; and at the beginning of this present century the restoration of the church was taken in hand, with the usual disastrous results attendant thereupon at that degenerate period. The roofs were underdrawn with plaster ceilings: solid deal battens were placed against the walls, with laths, and 4 inches of mortar fixed over them; and in some instances, where, as in the chancel, the walls have settled outwards, reducing the width of the church by nearly 2 feet.¹ The floors had been laid with similar deal battens with plain stained boards nailed over them.

A gallery remained at the west end projecting some distance into the nave, and entirely hiding the view of the tower arch and west window. A tortoise stove occupied the centre of the nave, with an iron pipe carried up to and through the roof. Such was the state of the church in 1893, well and reverently cared for by the vicar and churchwardens, but too much like a barn to inspire that feeling of awe and reverence for the Divine object for which our sacred temples were erected. Within the arch between the chapel and nave had formerly been situated the squire's pew, approached by a staircase in the east wall of the chapel. This fortunately had been removed some years ago.

The restoration, about which it will not be fair to say much to those not personally interested in the church, has, under the able guidance of Mr. E. Doran Webb, F.S.A., and the constant supervision of the vicar and churchwardens, and of the squire (at whose expense the whole work has been carried out), been completed, it is hoped, in a thoroughly conservative spirit. No unnecessary change has been made, and everything of value or local association has been most carefully conserved. The chief work has been the removal of

¹ Dovercourt Church in Essex, now (1897) undergoing restoration, has been treated in an exactly similar fashion. A date, 1811, chalked in several places

on the original walls, seems to indicate the date at which this beautifying process was carried out.

the various accumulations and additions to the walls, providing new roofs for the chancel, chapel, and east part of the nave, repaving the chancel with white marble, and the nave with a wood-block floor; rebuilding the arch between the nave and chapel, removing the west gallery, adding a new heating apparatus in place of the old stove and stove pipe, thoroughly repairing the roofs within and without, rebuilding the east gable and fixing a new gable cross, substituting oak seats and choir stalls for the painted deal ones, supplying a new ringer's gallery, besides minor alterations, which will be referred to in the course of the architectural description. A system of decoration for the walls will shortly be carried out of simple character and in imitation of masonry and other patterns found on the removal of the whitewash, except at the east end where a more elaborate scheme is contemplated. It has further been arranged to fill most of the windows with stained glass. The east window has already been carried out by Mr. C. E. Kempe,¹ and that on the north of the nave by Mr. P. H. Newman, as a memorial to the late Mr. Higford Burr, the somewhat unusual subject of Adam naming the animals having been treated with great success. A very handsome eagle lectern sold from Newbury parish church some years ago, and recently purchased, will also shortly be again restored to its original use in this church. It is also hoped that it may be possible to reinstate the screen. The main beams with traces of the original decoration have been preserved, and other portions are incorporated with the framework of the bells. This will tend to neutralise the present room-like appearance of the church, and more clearly accentuate the division between the nave and chancel. It will also make the difference between the centre of the nave and chancel less apparent, the ridge of the nave roof being between 1 and 2 feet to the south of that of the chancel, thereby producing an unsatisfactory effect to the eye of anyone standing at either end of the church.²

¹ Five more windows by Mr. Kempe and two by Mr. Newman have been added in the present year (1898).

² A handsome old brass candelabra

has been introduced in the chancel, and a triptych by A Van Orley, representing the Adoration of the Magi and Shepherds, placed above the altar.

So much for what has been, or is being, done. Let us now make a perambulation of the church, starting with the interior and examining in detail its various architectural features. The east window has three plain lancets, the central one being higher than that on either side. They have chamfered heads, and are separated by plain chamfered mullions. In this window were, till the recent restoration, two very fine panels of old glass, probably as early as the window itself, with representations of the Annunciation and the Coronation of the Virgin. They did not appear to fit into their then position, and have been taken out, carefully repaired, and are now reinstated within the lancets on the north side. There were also eight shields of arms with the various alliances of the Forster family, which were clearly out of place in this situation. Two of these shields, occupying the most prominent position in the window, had been put in upside down, an evident proof that they had been brought from elsewhere and carelessly fixed in by the local glazier. They have also been carefully repaired, and now occupy a more suitable situation in the large north window facing the chapel or transept.

On the north of the chancel are two large widely splayed lancets. In the sill of the east one were found traces of a water drain, and a piscina has been here inserted, though perhaps on inadequate authority, as it is unusual to find a piscina on the north side of the church. The head of the western of the two lancets is composed of old tiles, perhaps brought from the adjoining Roman town of Silchester. Some alteration seems to have taken place with regard to these two lancets, as on the exterior side some moulded stone fragments now form the angle of the sill, with remains of decoration in red and black still visible on them.

On the south side of the chancel near the east end is a semicircular-headed brick arch opening to the vestry, and probably dating from about 1660. Ashmole, in *The History and Antiquities of Berkshire*, states that "on the south side of the Chancel is a Chapel, having a vault under the same lately made." It is probable, therefore, that an earlier building was reconstructed at this period. Above the arch was found in the wall the hoodmoulding

of the window or doorway formerly existing here, and apparently of the Decorated period.

On the south of the chancel was a large plain Palladian window, set within the original Decorated containing arch. The base of the mullion still remained in the sill, and the turn of the arch of the original window could be clearly made out. It was therefore thought that here an attempt might be made to restore the original, and a segmental two-light window of Late Decorated character has been constructed. Farther west, and now to the west of the step leading up to the chancel, but probably within the former chancel, is one of the curiosities of the church, viz., a low and high side-window on either side. On the south the containing arch of the early low window remains, but a debased semicircular-headed light has been inserted; while the upper light, now a plain oblong, has been also altered: indeed, the whole south wall of the chancel appears to have been reconstructed at some comparatively recent period. During the restoration a circular space was found in the wall, probably for the staircase leading up to the roodloft.

On the north the low side-window has a cinquefoiled head, and appears to be of Late Decorated date. The upper window has a plain semicircular light, apparently an insertion of the early part of the sixteenth century. Both are set within plain square openings having a wooden frame or lintel across the upper part, partially old. The chancel roof dated probably from the 1660 period, with the exception of the tie-beams and king-posts of the earlier structure. These, three in number, have been carefully preserved, and a low-pitched oak-panelled ceiling has been introduced below the higher-pitched roof.

The head of the east window is formed by another tie-beam continued in the wall to the wall-plate of the north and south walls; and it seems possible, as has been suggested, that the chancel has been curtailed, and the east wall and window reconstructed. The pulpit is of varnished oak, a very good specimen of Jacobean work, with nicely-carved panels and sounding-board. A boss in the form of a rose showing remains of gilding and colour, now fixed to the centre of the sounding-board, appears to have belonged to one of the earlier roofs.

On the north of the nave, opposite the chapel or transept, is a large two-light window of Late Decorated character, with flowing tracery and a quartrefoil in the head. The lintel of the containing arch is of wood, and apparently old. A little to the west is a Norman doorway now closed up. It has a segmental arch in the inner wall, and a lower chamfered arch on the interior side of the outer wall. The recess in the wall has been utilised for a seat, and a small oval window has been pierced through the head of the wall blocking the doorway to light the occupant of this favoured situation. To the west of the doorway is a small niche for lamp or figure, and a similar one remains in the opposite wall on the south side. It is doubtful if these are in their original position. Above the Norman doorway has been inserted a stone corbel head of a bearded male figure, probably of the Norman period, discovered in the wall during the restoration. The roof above this portion is high-pitched and old, but it was in a bad state, and had not, it appeared, been ever open to the nave. It was therefore carefully repaired, and a low-pitched panelled oak ceiling, similar to that over the chancel, introduced below it.

Some nice oak panelling, formerly in the chancel, now forms a dado to the western portion of the nave. It is said to have been brought from Ufton Court, and is of late sixteenth or early seventeenth century date. To the west of the Norman doorway, and at the east end of the broader part of the nave, is another low side-window, almost identical with that in the chancel, with cinque-foiled arch and flat timber lintel to the containing arch. On the verge are painted a series of chocolate or deep red crescents, and some traces of these appear within the window head, thus proving the early date of these wooden frames. The situation of this low side-window is certainly unusual. It seems to have been inserted to enable any one from outside to get a view of the painting of St. Christopher on the south wall of the chapel, which can be well seen from this position.

To the west again is a large and rather singular window within square-headed containing arch, having two cinque-foiled ogee-headed lancets. It is probably of early fourteenth century date.

On the south side, but not quite facing it, is another large two-light square-headed window, of good Decorated character, and of early fourteenth century date. The roof over this part of the nave is wagon-shaped. It was formerly concealed by the whitewash, but this has been removed; and this interesting late fifteenth century work now adds an attractive feature to the church.

The tower arch is probably of the Decorated period, with two chamfered orders, the inner dying into the jambs, and the outer carried down without impost to the ground. There is solid oak framing formerly, though apparently not now, supporting the timber work within the tower. The west window is of Perpendicular character, of two lights, with large quatrefoil in the head. On the north side of the tower is a small four-centred arched doorway, opening to a newel staircase, leading up to the belfry of late fifteenth century date. There are six bells—two dated 1681, one 1787, two recast in 1860, and one presented in 1896. A board with the Royal Arms of Charles I, with date 1632, in excellent preservation, is fixed to the nave wall over the tower arch.

The south transept seems to have been a chantry or the lady chapel, and to have been for many years specially attached to the adjoining court or manor house. It has been the burial place of many of the former lords of the manor, and their monuments will shortly be described. It opens to the nave by an obtusely-pointed arch, which was thought to be of Transitional Norman date; but, on the removal of the yellow wash, it was found that the upper part of the arch was of wood, and a brick arch had been thrown across the wall above it to support the roofs. The jambs and the lower portion of the arch remained, and have been carefully preserved, and are probably of late thirteenth century date, and of the same period as the rest of the chapel. It is traditionally reported that some years ago this arch fell down, seriously injuring the beautiful monument erected below it. The arch has been restored in stone in the style of the lower portion, which remains *in situ*.

The chapel has a nice two-light south window of good Early Decorated character, and a single trefoil-headed lancet in the east and west walls. There is a large niche

for an image in the east wall near the south side, and a trefoil-headed piscina in the south wall of the same date as the rest of the chapel. The roof is of the same date as that over the eastern portion of the nave, and has been treated at the restoration in the same way.

The vestry on the south side of the chancel has been recently (in 1898) restored. It is entered through a semi-circular-headed brick arch, and was added or altered, as has already been suggested, partly to cover a vault of the Forster family, about the year 1660. It is composed of brick plastered over, with a high-pitched roof, and nicely moulded wall plate, a two-light window on the south, and single lancet on the east and west. In the head of the south window is a Hebrew inscription within a halo. There is also in the upper part of the eastern light a patchwork shield with the Achard, Kingsmill, and two other coats-of-arms, probably coeval with the chapel. A tablet recording various benefactions to the church is here preserved.

Before proceeding to describe the monuments, mural paintings, and old glass, it will be as well briefly to point out what remains of interest on the exterior. The church walls are composed of rough materials—flints, &c., and are covered with a coating of rough-cast of a yellowish colour, which has been carefully preserved. The roof is formed of red tiles, and is high-pitched throughout. The Decorated window on the south of the nave has a square label, and those on the south of the chapel, and north of nave facing it, have the usual arched hood moulding.

The window on the north side of the nave has a continuous hoodmould carried round each of the two lights. The small, high side-window on the north is set within a square frame with spandril spaces on either side of the head of the main light. There are nice angle buttresses at the east end of the chancel, and two large buttresses on the north of the chancel and nave, erected within recent times to support the walls which have given way on this side.

The north doorway, now blocked up, has a plain semicircular arch, with chamfered edge to the arch and jambs, and stops at the base of the jambs. The west

window has a hoodmould terminating on the head of a gentleman on the south, and a lady with horned head-dress on the north.

The west doorway is a very good specimen of Norman work, and is figured in Lyson's *Magna Britannia*. It has two reveals with a hollow and bold cable moulding on the outer order. This rests on a massive chamfered abacus, with a shallow pattern of saltires within squares scratched on the upper part. The shafts are ornamented, the north with the chevron, the south with the cable, pattern. On the capitals on either side are two doves in relief pluming, apparently of the same date as the rest of the arch. A shallow ornament similar to that on the abacus is incised above them. The inner order and jambs are plain. On both the outer and inner jambs are numerous small crosses, probably of a votive character, and commemorating promises of gifts to the church by former residents, when about to embark on a journey or other dangerous undertaking. They are to be found on most Norman doorways, and sometimes, as in the case of one at St. Margaret Roding, of an elaborate character. This doorway probably dates from the time of Henry I or *circ.* 1120, and is a good specimen of the Norman style, though not so ornate as those at Padworth, Bucklebury, and Tidmarsh in the same neighbourhood. It has clearly been shifted from its original situation, and the voussoirs of the outer order have been carelessly put together, so that the cable is not continuous, as it was of course originally designed to be.

The old glass formerly in the east window is certainly worthy of mention. The two early medallions have been carefully repaired, and now occupy the two lancets on the north side of the chancel. Rich scroll and other decorative patterns fill up the window, the work having been designed and carried out by Mr. P. H. Newman. In the east, within a circular medallion, is the Annunciation. St. Gabriel is on the west, with a yellow cloak having a kind of feathering on the upper part and green under garment; the right wing is painted red, white, and yellow, while the left wing is coloured white and yellow, and is extended over the scroll, with the words "Ave Maria Gra," which he holds in his left hand, while the



THE ANNUNCIATION.



HEAD OF THE VIRGIN AND PART OF SCROLL. FULL SIZE.



THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.
FROM PAINTED GLASS IN ALDERMASTON CHURCH.



right is raised in attitude of benediction. He has bare feet and a crimson nimbus. The Blessed Virgin has a white kerchief over her head, red nimbus, yellow dress and red cloak, and holds a book in her left hand, while her right is upraised. The Holy Dove, painted white, is descending towards her left ear. The ground on which they are standing is green. A scroll border in white on a black ground is carried across the centre of the medallion. The general groundwork is a very rich blue. In the western lancet is inserted the second panel within an octagonal border, and representing the Coronation of the Virgin. The Deity, to the east, with golden crown ornamented with three strawberry leaves, and brown hair, white vestment and red cloak, and with bare feet on either side of the orb, is seated at one end of a yellow settee, with left hand holding a book, and his right placing a crown on the head of the Virgin, who is also seated, with light hair, yellow dress, and green cloak, and both hands clasped and upraised in a devotional attitude. There is a small portion of green below the figures, but the general groundwork is the same rich blue as on the other panel. The date of these is probably of the latter half of the thirteenth century.

The coats-of-arms, eight in number, are now placed in the large window facing the chapel. Six of them have the various heraldic bearings assumed by the Forsters, viz., Achard, Delamare, Popham, Harpsden, St. Martyn, Zouch of Deene, Milborne, and one other—Roches quartering Brocas of Beaurepaire.¹ Two of the shields impale the arms of Sandys of the Vyne, and prove conclusively that this glass was put in by Sir Humfrey Forster, the son of Sir George Forster, who married a daughter of Lord Sandys of the Vyne, Hampshire. He was a man of considerable importance, and a member of the bodyguard of Henry VIII, who was entertained by him at Aldermaston in 1540. Each shield is enclosed within a circular border or wreath, and is a fair specimen of the heraldic glass of this period. In the quatrefoil in the head of the window are preserved some fragments of old glass, formerly in the south window of the chapel, namely the head of a bishop

¹ See Appendix A.

(probably St. Nicholas), and portions of heraldic and ornamental patterns. The repairs were carried out, and the new glass filling up the window designed by, Mr. P. H. Newman.

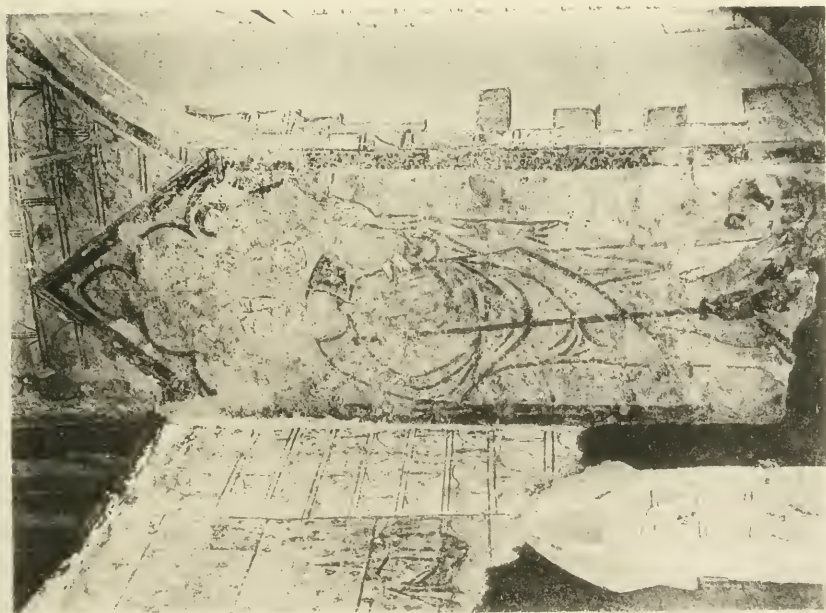
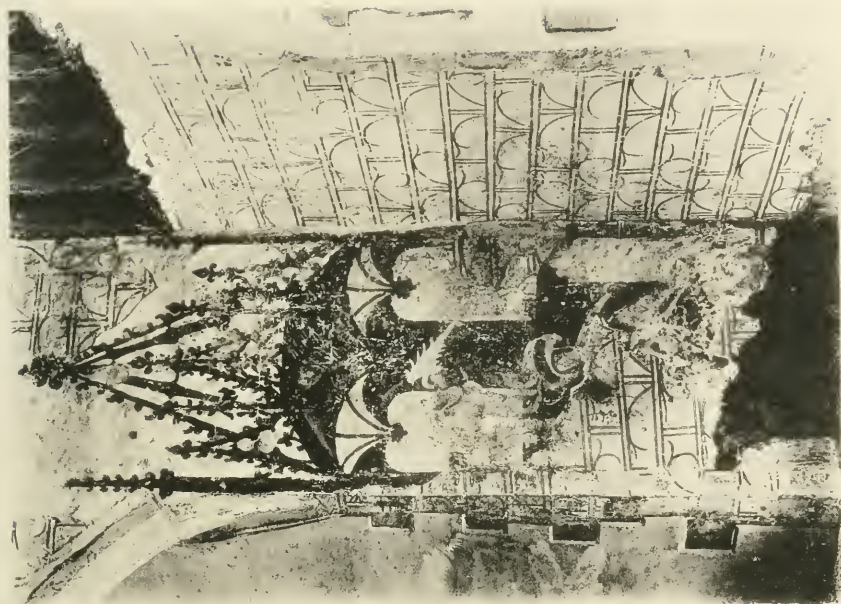
It will next be convenient to describe the paintings discovered during the recent restoration, of which brief mention has been made in the paper on recent discoveries of mural paintings read before the Society in 1896.¹ Colouring was found, more or less distinct throughout the church, on the jambs of all the windows and the arch opening to the chapel. On the arch itself is a kind of festoon ornament in red, and at least two courses of decoration on the splay; a very nice scroll border in red remains on the north wall of the nave near the west end, and parts of other early designs elsewhere on the walls. There is an early text much defaced within a red ornamental border, probably of sixteenth century date, on the north wall of the nave at the east end, and a similar one over the low side-window.

Three sets of the Commandments painted over each other were found over the blocked north doorway, and between the low side and adjoining window a record, twice depicted, of a sum of money bequeathed to the parish by Messrs. Blackman and Holliman in 1721. But the most interesting are those in the transept or chapel, which were found in 1896, and have been carefully preserved.

The whole of the chapel, except the portion occupied by the figure of St. Christopher, has been decorated with double masonry lines in Indian red, and with a rose or some other conventional flower on a stalk within each compartment. This ornamentation has been executed on the window splays, and at the back and sides of the piscina and niche for image. On the lower part of the jambs of the south window is a pattern of red blotches, not uncommon on arches of this same date. The decoration seems to date from about 1300.

On the south wall to the east of the window, and in full view from the low side-window in the nave, is a very large and early portraiture of St. Christopher. He is represented beneath a triangular-headed canopy in

¹ *Archæological Journal*, LIII, 175.



ALDERMASTON CHURCH. PAINTINGS ON SOUTH WALL OF SOUTH CHAPEL.

bands of red and yellow with a cinquefoiled fringe in red. He is apparently bare-headed, with cloak and tunic outlined in red, and bare below the knees. He has the Infant Saviour held to the west of him on his left hand. Our Saviour, with dark hair, holds the orb in His left hand, and is giving the benediction with His right. St. Christopher is advancing westward, and holds a curious sort of eel or fish spear with teeth on the lower part in his right hand. An eel and two or three fish are disporting themselves in the water, and a mermaid, with deep crimson hair, is introduced on the west side of the picture. The painting is a very early representation of this Saint, probably not later than 1350. A still earlier one was found not long ago at the church of Stanford Dingley in the same neighbourhood, which unfortunately has been destroyed. Part of a scalloped border in red and white alternately remains below the picture.

On the opposite side of the window is a later painting executed over the masonry pattern, and unluckily imperfect. We have here a very rich canopy with finials in yellow ochre, surmounting a chapel or other edifice, with two windows or compartments and a central shaft or pillar in deep red. The underside of the canopy has two pendants, and is painted a delicate pink. On the lower part is an altar with embattled verge, in front of which can be made out the head and shoulders, apparently, of the kneeling figure of a young man with yellow hair and cloak, low red cap with ostrich feathers, and the nimbus. Above can be discerned the wings and head of an angel descending with a mitre to the kneeling figure. It is uncertain to whom the painting refers, though probably either to St. Hubert, who no doubt would be honoured in this well wooded and sporting district, or it may possibly commemorate the miraculous restoration of his episcopal robes to St. Nicholas, after he had been unfrocked for boxing Arius on the ear at the Council of Nice in the year 325. This incident is represented by Paul Veronese, and other early painters, but not, it is believed, in mural painting elsewhere in England. The date of this Aldermaston picture is probably late in the fifteenth century. On the east wall above the image recess are three scenes, possibly alluding to St. Nicholas,

painted over the masonry pattern. In the lower tier are two ships, apparently tossed by the waves, with figures visible within them. In the next tier are two ecclesiastics with croziers, and above again two knights in armour, and what may be an altar. May this be intended to portray the aid of St. Nicholas being invoked, his appearance to the distressed mariners, and the grateful travellers making a thank-offering at his shrine? It is somewhat indistinct, and probably of fifteenth century date. The whole has a powdering of crimson cinquefoils, and a nice scroll border in red. A much earlier portraiture of St. Nicholas, and the miracle of the restoring the three students to life, still remain at the neighbouring church of Padworth.

With regard to the monuments in the church, it may at first sight seem curious that, considering the importance of the family residing within a stone's throw of the church, we do not find more memorials of the early members, who no doubt were regular worshippers in the church in the days of old.

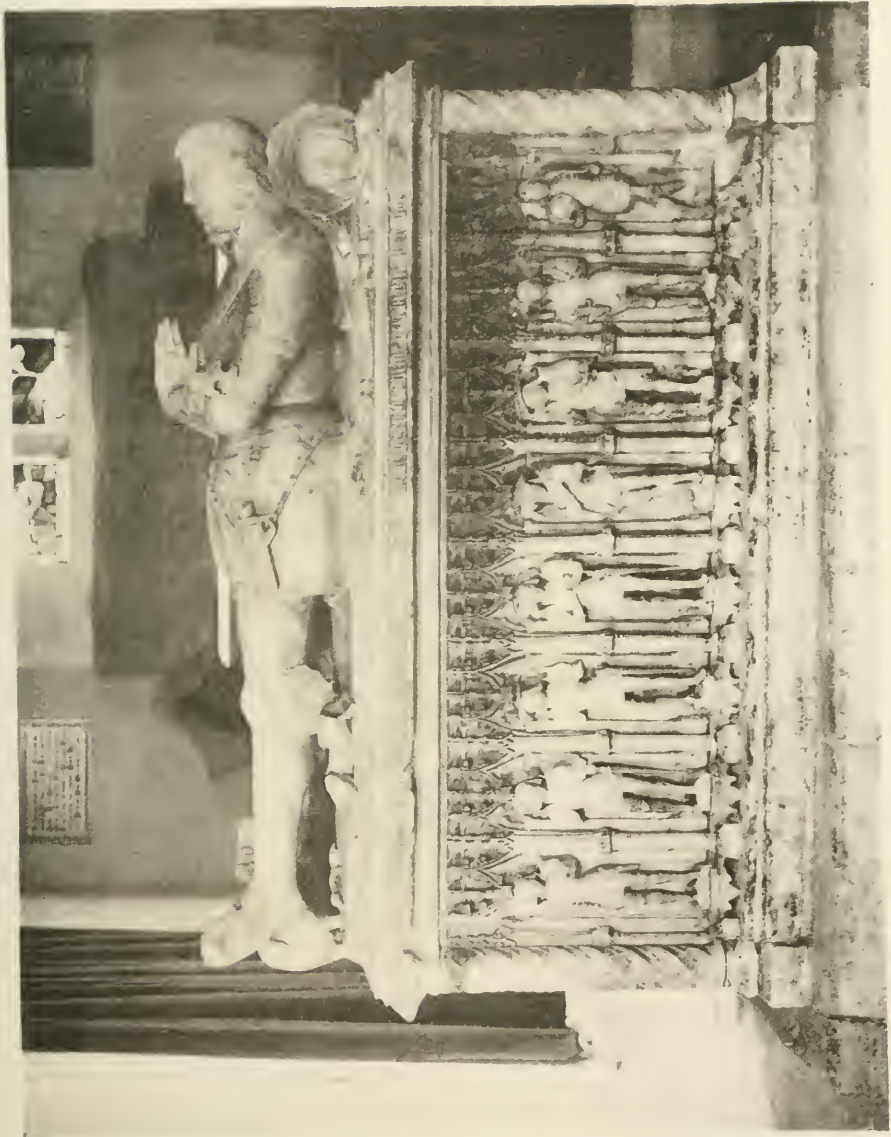
We must, however, remember that Aldermaston was only one of the residences of the Achards and Delamares, and that at an early date the rectory and other privileges annexed to the church were presented to the priory of Sherborne. It is therefore probable that the beautiful church of Sparsholt was from the earliest times selected as the final resting-place of the lords of Aldermaston; and we accordingly find there two noble cross-legged effigies under rich crocketed canopies, two knightly members of the Achard family, as well as wooden effigies of a knight and his two wives, probably commemorating the last of the original stock.

In many of the windows is the Achard shield (*or a bend fusilly sable*), and there can be no doubt from the excellence of the architectural features, mainly late Norman and Decorated, of the care and expenditure incurred by the lords of the manor on their parish church, which is one of the most interesting in the county. We do not therefore find any memorial at Aldermaston prior to the middle of the fourteenth century, the earliest being a large blue marble stone on the floor of the south transept or chapel. At three of the corners is a shield in brass

with the arms of Achard quartering those of Delamare (*gules two lions passant in pale argent*). The fourth shield has been torn away, as has a small brass plate from the centre of the stone, no doubt commemorating the name of the deceased. There is no record as to who was here interred; but from the armorial shields, it seems reasonable to conclude that here were laid to rest the remains of the lady, the last representative and heir of the Achards, who brought the possessions of her family to Sir Thomas Delamare by her marriage with him about the middle of the fourteenth century.

The next monument in point of date is very much later, and is the noble altar tomb to Sir George Forster and Elizabeth his wife, the last representative and heir of the Delamares, which stands in the south chapel beneath the arch opening to the nave. It is perhaps one of the most elegant and beautiful monuments of its period, and the wonderful attention shown to the most minute details, and the excellence of every portion of the carving, make it a work of art worthy of the most careful examination, and of a more graphic description than the writer is able to confer upon it. The whole of the monument and effigies is composed of alabaster of the finest quality. The effigies are of large size: that of the lady, who occupies the right or south side, being 6 feet 3 inches; while that of her husband is 6 feet 1 inch in length. They rest on a table tomb 6 feet 6 inches in length by 4 feet 3 inches in breadth and 3 feet in height. This is set on a stone plinth standing up about 4 inches above the present floor, and with a margin of about 7 inches all round the tomb. The lady lies with her head on two pillows, supported by an angel on either side. She has a kerchief in three folds round her hair, a long cloak carried in graceful folds to her feet, and fastened by a chain with a rose as a pendant across the chest. Her dress, also carried down to the feet, is cut with a square opening below the throat, showing the upper part of an under garment, or possibly a frill to the dress. This has slashed sleeves probably of velvet, with lace frills partly covering the hands. Another thin vestment, probably of silk, is shown, in some way fastened at the throat. She has a heart-shaped amulet attached to a

triple chain on the breast, and a girdle round the waist, with a buckle or fastening on the left side, to which was perhaps attached an ornament similar to that worn by the lady on the west face of the tomb. Her hands, now mainly broken away, are clasped on her breast. Her feet are shown enclosed in broad-toed shoes similar to those of her husband. A little dog wearing a collar is introduced on the north side, tugging at the bottom of her cloak. By her side lies her husband in complete armour. His head is bare, and rests on his tilting helm with the hind's head bearing a collar with chain and fetterlock attached as the crest. A cable band is carried round below the crest, and to this is attached the mantling, no doubt of silk, and in this instance unusually large. It is spread out in a very elegant fashion, the folds with two tassels on either side being carried down nearly to the waist on each side of the knight. The interior of the helmet is shown with the folds of the material, doubtless silk, forming the lining, probably to prevent the chafing of the metal. A very pretty border is displayed on the lower rim of the helmet, and the buckle with which it was fastened to the armour is also portrayed. The effigy presents us with a most complete specimen of the armour of this Transitional period. He has the steel cuirass, with the raised epaulieres fastened by a buckle on each side. The arm guards and elbow pieces of plate are clearly defined. The haubergeon, of link mail, appears under the cuissarts or thigh pieces, which are fastened by five buckles to the cuirass at the waist, and are folded back in front. The legs are encased in mail, with large genouillieres or knee guards. The sollerets are square-toed, and also of metal. Most of his sword, which is suspended at his left side from a belt attached to the back of the waist, is broken away. His gauntlets, also much damaged, lie on the tomb by his left knee, while his dagger is laid by his right side. He does not carry a shield; but on the cuirass on the right side is a loop, probably of leather, for the strap carried over the right shoulder as a support to the shield on the breast, as shown in the figures of the weepers below. His feet rest on a buck or stag, both the antlers being now broken away. His hands are bare, and clasped in



ALDERMASTON CHURCH. MONUMENT OF SIR GEORGE
AND LADY ELIZABETH FORSTER, NORTH SIDE.



attitude of prayer on the breast. He wears a very beautiful and remarkable collar of SS, with a portcullis and Tudor rose pendant, on which his hands are resting. It is probable that some colour and gilding was used to beautify parts at any rate of these figures, and traces are still apparent on the head-dress of the lady and the collar of SS of the knight.

The table tomb is divided on the north and south sides into eight compartments, with beautiful crocketed double canopies and central finial to each, and with a banded shaft forming a division between each compartment. On the north side are eight figures of knights, all in plate armour and varied in their attitudes. They all carry a shield on the left arm fastened by a strap over the right shoulder. Nos. 1 and 5 from the east hold the sword in their hands; the others have their swords in the scabbards at their sides. Nos. 1, 3, 5 and 6 have flat caps probably with plumes, the others being bareheaded. The western one is the most singular: He is represented as cross-legged and carrying a tilting helm in his right hand. The position of the hands is varied in each instance. The armour of the several figures is a miniature imitation of that of the effigy of Sir George. On the east side are three similar canopied compartments. The central one is now unoccupied, while in that on either side is the figure of a knight similar to those on the north.¹ On the south side are eight compartments similar to those on the north. There has been a female figure within each, but the fifth from the east has been removed. The effigies are all slightly varied in their attire and the pose of their hands, &c.; but they also are, in the main, miniature representations of the figure of the Lady Elizabeth above them.

On the west side, within an oblong panel, is a large armorial shield from which the tinctures have disappeared. It has formerly been surrounded by a circular frame or garter, but the sides have been broken off. There has been a raised inscription thrown out by colouring, of which the words "Monsyr Forster" alone

¹ Neale, in his notice of this monument, in the *Views of Seats, &c.*, Vol. IV, New Series, states "that

there are also at the foot three more sons." Was this an assumption, or has the figure been removed since his time?

remain. Above the shield is a tilting helm with the crest, probably the hind's head with a ducal crown round the collar and the chain and fetterlock attached to it. There is the flowing mantling fastened by a cable band to the upper part, and spread out in four pieces with large tassels at the terminations.

On the south kneels, on two cushions, a lady with right hand raised. Her costume is similar to that of the main effigy, and she has a girdle round the waist, with a circular object attached to it by a chain. At her feet is a helmet with mantling and goat's head for a crest.

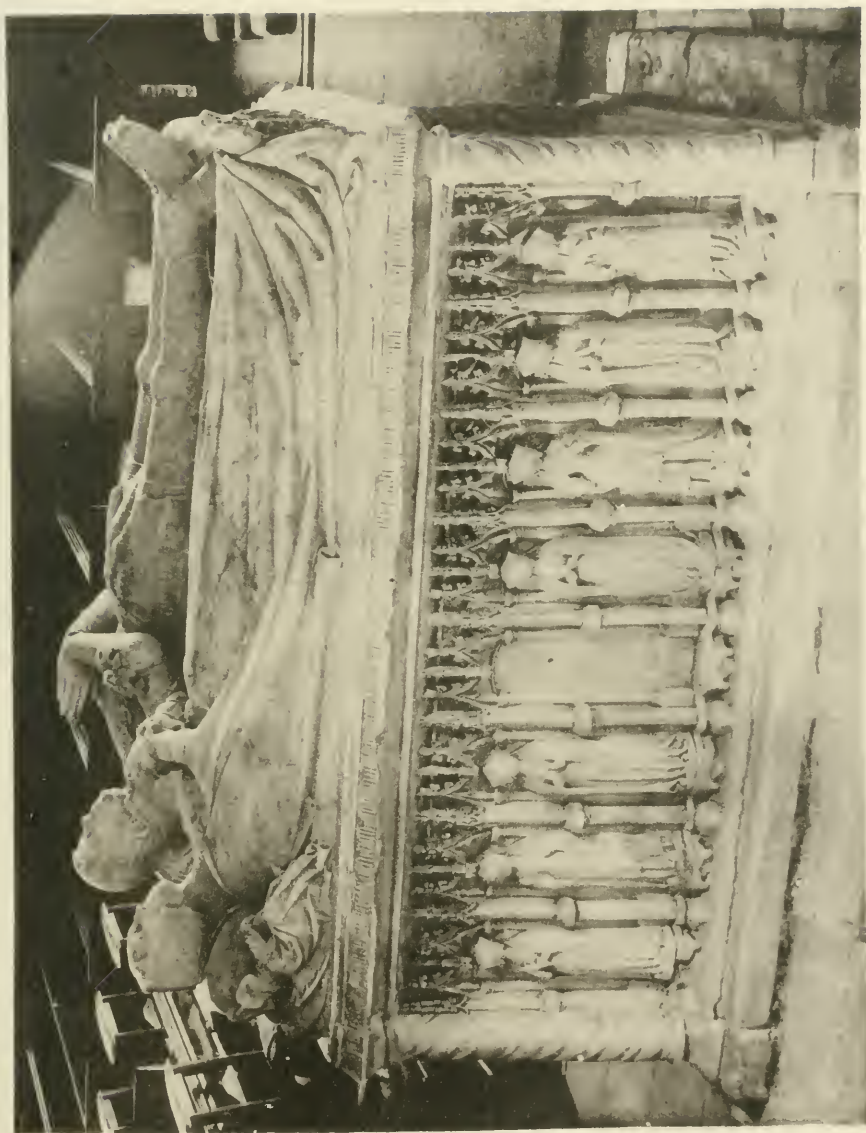
On the opposite (north) side, also kneeling on two cushions, is the figure of a knight in armour somewhat different to that of Sir George. He has a garment open at the sides over the armour and down to the thighs—the tabard. His hands are broken away. He is bareheaded, and his helmet with mantling and the hind's head crest, similar to that under the head, is placed on the ground in front of him.

It seems probable that these two figures on the west face of the tomb represent Sir Humphrey Forster, the eldest son and heir of Sir George, and his wife, the daughter of Lord Sandys of the Vyne, who have already been mentioned as having put in the armorial shields in old glass now placed in the north window of the nave facing this monument.

It has been thought by some that the figures round the tomb represent the children of Sir George and his lady, and the statement of Leland, in his notice of Sir George and Lady Elizabeth, that they had twenty children would support this contention.

In addition to the kneeling figures at the west face, whom we assume to be the eldest son and his lady, there are, including the missing figures, eleven more sons and eight daughters, which would make up the required number. It may, however, be possible that Leland, who probably saw this monument soon after its erection, may have jumped to the conclusion that these figures represented the children of the deceased, and not, as we usually interpret them, "weepers."

In most of the series assumed to be "weepers" we find religious personages introduced, and we should have



ALDERMASTON CHURCH. MONUMENT OF SIR GEORGE
AND LADY ELIZABETH FORSTER, SOUTH SIDE.



expected this to be the case here where there are so large a number of figures. It is possible, therefore, that the assertion that they are the portraits of the members of the family is correct. At the angles of the monument are engaged cable shafts of Italian character, and round the verge of the upper slab on which the figures rest is the following inscription, commencing at the west end of the south side :

“ Here lieth Sir george forster knyght son and heyre of humfray forster esquier coson and one of the heyres of Sir stephyn popham | knyght and elizabeth wif of the Same sir george daughtur and heire of John dalamare esquier | son and heire of thomas dalamare knyght wiche elizabeth dyed the vii day of december in the yere of our lord god M^oCCCC^o | XXV^o and wiche syr george dye in the yere of our lord god .”

The last date is left in blank, and no provision had been made to complete the inscription in raised letters, as in the rest of the legend. There are traces of colouring between the letters. The canopies above the smaller figures have been richly painted with blue and gold, and the backs of the several compartments have been similarly decorated. The monument is known to have been erected in the lifetime of Sir George, who died in 1533, and may justly claim to be one of the finest examples of monumental art to be found in any parish church in England.¹

On the tie-beam across the chapel is an iron bracket and spike, on which is fixed a helmet and crest said to have belonged to Sir George Forster. It has been carefully examined, and is pronounced to belong mainly to the period of the commencement of the sixteenth century, the vizor being possibly of rather later date. The crest, the hind's head, is of wood, and has been painted a delicate pink. It is somewhat worm-eaten, but otherwise in good preservation. Another of these wooden crests remains at Cobham Church, Kent, but it is believed they are very

¹ In the Rutland Chapel, on the north side of the nave of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, is the monument of Sir George Manners, Lord Roos, and his lady, who was the daughter of the Duchess of Exeter, and niece of King Edward IV. She died in 1526, in the same year as the Lady Elizabeth Forster. This monument resembles in a remark-

able manner the one at Aldermaston. The costumes of the main effigies are almost identical, and among the weepers or children is a small cross-legged knight corresponding with the figure at Aldermaston. Is it presumptuous to assume that these two monuments were executed by, or at any rate under the supervision of, the same artist?

uncommon. The banner of Sir George Forster also hangs from the king-post above the tie-beam. It does not seem to be so early as his times. It has his name and the following armorial bearings quarterly, viz. : (1) Forster, (2) Harpsden, (3) Popham, (4) Zouch of Deene.

On the floor of the chapel, close to the south side of the monument of Sir George, is a large blue stone with outlines of the figures of a civilian and lady with scrolls from their mouths, formerly represented in brass, but now removed, a goodly array of sons and daughters being now only shown in outline. The following inscription still remains :

“Here lyeth Willm̄ forster Esquier Lorde of Aldermaston sonne
and heyre of | Syr humffraye forster knyght and Jane his
wiffe one of the daughters of Syr | Anthony hungarforde of
Dolone Amney knyght wth Willm̄ deceased y^e xth daye of |
January Anno dñi 1574 and his said wyffe the daye
Anno dñi.”

There have been four large shields at the corners, but that at the south-east corner is lost. At the south-west is the shield of William Forster, divided into six compartments with the following arms: (1) Forster, (2) Popham, (3) Zouch of Deene, (4) Delamare, (5) Achard, and (6) Forster. On the other upper shield these coats-of-arms impale those of his wife with no less than three rows of quarterings, three coats in each row. The arms of Hungerford appear in the first field, and those of Courtenay are also included. The shield of the lady with the same quarterings remains below her effigy on the north-east corner of the slab. The brass figures were about 24 inches in height.

On a large ledger stone of polished black marble now let into the floor, but formerly, according to Ashmole, “on a raised monument adjoining to the South Wall of the said Chappel,” is a brass plate with the following inscription :

DEDICATED TO THE PRECIOUS MEMORIE OF FOURE VIRTUOUS
SISTERS DAUGHTERS OF S^r. HUMPHREY FORSTER B^r. ; AND OF
ANNA HIS WIFE, VIZ : ANNA, WHO DYED MAY THE 16
1638 AGED 18 YEARES 5 MONTHES, MARY DYED SEPTEMBER
THE 9th 1638 AGED 14 YEARES AND TEN MONTHES

BRIDGETT DYED MAY THE 29TH 1637 AGED 10 YEARES
 AND ONE MONETH AND MARGARETT WHO DYED FEB-
 RUARY THE 19TH 1623 AGED ONE YEAR & 6 MONETHS
 LIKE BORNE LIKE NEW BORNE HERE LIKE DEAD T^X LYE,
 FOUER VIRGINE SISTERS, DECKED WITH PIETIE,
 BEAUTIE, AND OTHER GRACES, WHICH COMMEND,
 AND MAKE THEM ALL LIKE BLESSED IN THEIR END.

Above, a square brass plate has been removed, mentioned by Ashmole as "having thereon engraven, the Pictures of four young Maidens, each less in Stature than the other." They were the daughters of the Humphrey and Anne Forster who built the fine mansion in 1636, which was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1843.

On another black marble slab to the east of this is an inscription to the said Anne or Anna Forster, viz. :

HERE LIETH THE LADIE
 ANNE FORSTER WIFE TO
 THE LATE S^R HUMPHRIE FORSTER
 K^{NT} AND BARR^T
 & HAD ISSUE 16 CHILDREN
 SHE DIED OCTO^B Y^E 12TH
 A^D 1673.

On a plain stone to the south of this is the following :

HERE LYETH THE BODY
 OF ANN DAUGHTER OF
 WILLIAM FORESTER
 ESQUIRE WHO DYED IN
 INFANCIE AND WAS
 HEARE BURIED
 JANUARI THE 12
 1654.¹

On a black marble stone on the north of that of the four children is the following :

*Here lyes the body of
 Rebekah the Daughter of
 Sir Humphrey & Judeth
 Forster who dyed aged
 2 years A^o Dom. 1676*

¹ This looks like 1654 altered to 1662.

On a plain stone to the north of the Achard heiress and to the west of that of William Forster, we find :

HERE LYETH THE
BODY OF M^R. JOHN
FORESTER WHO
DEPARTED THIS
LIFE DEC^{MOR} Y^E 12TH
1674.

On another large black marble slab is the following :

ANNE CONGREVE
LADY OF THIS MANOR
DIED JULY Y^E 18TH 1780.

Against the south wall is a large altar tomb of white marble, which has been treated in some way to give it the appearance of cement. On the main north front within canopied recesses are the following shields from the east : Achard, Delamare, Harpsden, Popham, Forster, Stawell, and Congreve, and there are three more on the north and south sides. On a plain tablet let into the south wall under the window we read :

HERE LYETH RALPH CONGREVE, ESQ^R, ONLY SON
OF COLONEL RALPH CONGREVE, SOMETIME COMMANDANT
OF THE GARRISON OF GIBRALTAR ; WHO WAS 3RD SON OF
JOHN CONGREVE, ES^{QR} OF CONGREVE IN THE COUNTY
OF STAFFORD. HE MARRIED THE HONBLE. CHARLOTTE
STAWELL, (SOLE HEIRESS IN RIGHT OF HER MOTHER, OF
SIR HUMPHRY FORSTER, BAR^T) BY WHOM HE BECAME
POSSESSED OF THIS MANOR, OF WHICH FOR MORE THAN
SIX HUNDRED YEARS HER ANCESTORS HAD BEEN LORDS.
HE DIED ON THE 6TH OF DECEMBER 1775, AGED 57 YEARS.

Brass plates to the memory of—(1) James Scudamore Burr, died 1854, and Edward Burr, died 1875 ; (2) The Rev. James Henry Scudamore Burr, died 1852, and Mary Burr, died 1877, are inserted in the south wall.

The south window, erected as a memorial to the late Mrs. Higford Burr, has the following inscription :

In loving memory of Ann Margarettta Higford Burr,
Born April 30th 1817 died January 22nd 1892.

In this chapel are preserved five achievements to members of the Congreve family, affixed to the north, east, and west walls.

On the south wall of the nave are white marble tablets to William and Mary Stephens, 1829 and 1832; and to Richard Keep, 1805; Elizabeth, 1836; William, 1846; and Sarah, 1857: also a brass plate to Mr. Richard Phillipps, died 1875.

On the north wall of the chancel is a plain blue stone with the following inscription:

*Near this place lyeth
the body of*
HANNAH STANTON
*second wife of John Stanton
late of this parish Gent
who died February y^e 23^d
ANNO DOM 170⁶/₇
aged 68 years*

Close to this is a large monument of various coloured marbles, the upper part of pyramidal shape. On a large white marble slab on the lower part is the following inscription:

In MEMORY of
The Honourable WILLIAM STAWELL,
only Son of the Right Honourable
WILLIAM LORD STAWELL,
BARON of SOMERTON,
By ELIZABETH his Wife, only Daughter of
WILLIAM PERT, of ARNOLD'S
HALL in the County of Essex, Esq;
and sole Heiress, in Right of her Mother, to
Sir HUMPHRY FORESTER
of this Place, Bart.
He died in FRANCE, and was here interr'd, A.D. 1740.
From a dutiful Regard to the Desire of
His much afflicted Mother,
(Who was buried near him, A.D. 1748.)
And a sincere Affection to Himself,
This Monument is erected
By the Hon. CHARLOTTE STAWELL his Sister
Now the Wife of
RALPH CONGRÈVE, Esq.
A.D. 1760.

On a sepulchral urn above is the following :

*On y^e 24th of July 1762, Died
The Hon^{ble} Charlotte Congreve
Whose Affection as a Wife, and
Whose sincerity as a Friend
Deserve the most lasting Remembrance.*

On a black marble slab under the Communion Table is the following :

*(Monogram R D)
In memory of
Robert Dixon M A
Tenth Son of
Percival Dixon of Fenwick
in Northumberland
He was buried Here A^D 1723
aged 75
He was Minister of Aldermaston
43 years
Att y^e same time
Rector of Woolhampton
28 years
Also the body of his Neice
M^{rs} Isabella Makepeace
obit 29th May 1743
Etatis Suae 66.*

Ashmole, when he visited this church, noted this monument; but the dates were left blank, as the Rev. Robert Dixon was then alive. He was the founder of four almshouses in 1706 in the parish, which still remain.

On a white freestone slab now beneath the organ is the following :

*M^{RS}
ISABEL LLOYD
WAS BURIED HERE, MAR. 12.
A.D. 1707. AGED 66.*

Now let into the south wall of the chancel, formerly above the entrance to the vault under the vestry are two stone tablets with the following inscriptions, no doubt to

the memory of those buried in the adjoining vault, viz., on the first :

Here lyeth Mary, the Daughter of S^r Mark Stewart married to S^r William Forster An. Dom. 1594 who had by him one Son and one Daughter. she was buried An. Dom. 1661.

S^r Humphrey Forster her Son married to Ann Daughter of Sir William Kingsmill who had by her 16 children. was buried here An. Dom. 1663 aged 68.

William Forster Son of S^r Humphrey Forster Married to Elizabeth Daughter of S^r John Tirrell: who had by her 5 Children was Buried here, An. Dom. 1660. Aged 36.

Stewart Forster, Son of S^r Humphrey Forster left 2 sons was buried here An. Dom. 1680 aged 45.

On the second stone :

William Forster Son of William Forster was Buried here An. Dom. 1677 aged 25 { John Forster Son of William Forster was Buried here An. Dom. 1683, Aged 25.

*Humphrey Forster, Son of Sir Humphrey Forster, Bar^t eldest son to William Forster, who married Judeth eldest Daughter to Sir Humphrey Winche Bar^t. was buried here 1682 aged 9
William Forster Second Son of S^r Humphrey Forster was buried here An. Dom. 1683 aged 7.*

In the churchyard are numerous old headstones. One has a date 1683, and the following legend :

STAY LOVING FRIENDS
AND THINK ON ME
AS I AM NOW
SO YOU MUST BE.

APPENDIX A.

The following Coats-of-Arms are displayed in the north window of the nave, facing the chapel :

Achard—*Or a bend fusilly sable.*

Delamare—*Gules two lions pass. in pale arg.*

Forster—*Sable a chevron engrailed between three arrows arg.*

Popham—*Arg. on a chief gules, two buck's heads cabossed or.*

St. Martyn—*Sable six lions ramp. or*

Zouch of Deene—*Gules a chevron between ten bezants or, 6 & 4.*

Milborne—*Gules a chevron between three escallops arg.*

Harpsden—*Gules a mullet or.*

Sandys—*Argent a cross raguléé sab. on a scutcheon.*

Roches and Brocas of Beaurepaire—*Quarterly 1 & 4 sable two lions pass. guard. or, 2 & 3 sable a lion ramp. guard. argent.*

A mistake has been made here in the tinctures; the lions of the Roches should be argent, that of Brocas or.

They are arranged as follows :

In the left hand, or western, panel—

- (i.) Quarterly—(1) Forster, (2) Delamare, (3) Achard, (4) Popham.
- (ii.) (1) Forster, (2) Delamare, (3) Popham, (4) St. Martyn, (5) Achard, (6) Zouch of Deene, impaling Sandys of the Vyne.
- (iii.) (1) Forster, (2) Delamare, (3) Harpsden, (4) Achard, impaling (1) Popham, (2) St. Martyn, (3) Zouch of Deene, (4) Milborne.
- (iv.) Delamare impaling (1 & 4) Roches, (2 & 3) Brocas of Beaurepaire.

In the right hand, or eastern, panel—

- (i.) Forster impaling (1 & 4) Popham, (2 & 3) Zouch of Deene.
- (ii.) (1 & 4) Forster, (2) Popham, (3) Zouch of Deene, impaling Sandys.
- (iii.) (1 & 4) Forster, (2) Popham, (3) Zouch of Deene, impaling (1 & 4) Delamare, (2 and 3) Achard.
- (iv.) Quarterly—(1) Forster, (2) Delamare, (3) Achard, (4) Popham.

NOTE.—The second shield in the eastern light has a blue wreath, while the others are surrounded by a green wreath.

APPENDIX B.¹

LIST OF INSTITUTIONS to the Vicarage of Aldremanneston otherwise Aldremanston otherwise Aldermanston otherwise Aldermynston otherwise Aldermaston, Berks.

Date.	Patronus.	Clericus.
19 Kal: February 1297/8	Prior and Convent of Sherborne	Willus de Appelby.
10 July 1332 ..		Thomas de Appelby per resignation Willus de Appelby.
7 Kal: October 1336	Ditto	Petrus Pax per exchange with Thomas de Appelby.
6 Kal: January 1343/4.		The King owing to the Priory of Sherborne being in his hands owing to War with France
13 September 1344	Ditto as above	Ricus de la Mote per exchange with Petrus Pax.
14 Kal: July 1347	Ditto as above	Robtus Done Wale de Aylesbury per resignation Ricí de la Mote.
8 March 1348 ..	Ditto as above	Johes de Lavyngton per exchange with Robtus Done Wale de Aylesbury.
12 March 1349/50	Ditto	Alexander de Chelseye per mort: Johis de Lavyngton.
27 March 1351 ..	Ditto	Nichus de Audele per exchange with Alexander Chelseye.
31 July 1353 ..	Ditto	Johes Scryncyn de Dorchester per resignation Nichi de Audele.
13 October 1361	Prior and Convent of Sherborne	Johes de Whitewell per exchange with Johes Scryncyn.
30 October 1393 ..		Robtus Atte Hethe per mort: Johis de Wothewell.
26 December 1393	The King Richard II ..	Robtus Hoke.
12 March 1395/96	Ditto	Reginaldus Clifton per exchange with Robtus Hoke.
6 January 1400/01	Ditto	Robtus de Burgh per exchange with Reginaldus de Clifton.
28 September 1401	The King Henry IV ..	Johes Salyng per exchange with Robtus Burgh.
4 April 1411 ..	Ditto	Johes Belyng per exchange with Johes Salyng.
18 December 1420	The King Henry V ..	Josephus Scovill per exchange with Johes Belyng.
6 May 1425 ..	The King Henry VI ..	Robtus Langthorn.
22 October 1449 ..	Ditto	Thomas Bailly.
		Willus Borde per resignation Thomas Bailly.

¹ Extracted from the Registry of the Lord Bishop of Salisbury.

Date.	Patromus.	Clericus.
7 July 1488	Custos of the Hospital of Saint Julian called Domus Dei Southampton and the Chaplains and Brethren thereof.	Jeronomus Sperkefeld per mort: Willi Porte.
23 April 1499	Christopherus Baynbrygge, Custodian of above Hospital as above.	Karolus Carleton per mort: Jeronimi Sparkforth.
13 September 1502	Ditto	Willus Lancastre per mort: Karoli Carlton.
2 September 1504 ..	Ditto	Willus Lancastr per resignation of the same.
10 October 1509	Edwardus Rygge, Provost of Queen's Hall, Oxford, and Custodian of above Hospital	Willus Langhorn per resignation Willi Lancastr.
9 June 1523	Provost of Queen's Hall, Oxford, and Custodian of above Hospital, and the Scholars of the same Hall, and the Chaplains and Brethren of the same Hospital.	Johes Pant per mort: Willi Langhorne. ¹
12 November 1533	Ditto. Proprietarios Prioratus quondam alienigenarum de Shirborn Monachorum	Willus Robertson per mort: Willi Batyson.
3 March 1574	Edwardus Hungerforde, Armiger	Edwardus Chesshere per Cession Nichi Pullen.
25 November 1617	Willus Forster, Miles ..	Georgius Bradshaw per mort: Johis Baulden.
1 June 1627	Humfredus Forster, Miles et Baronettus.	Stephanus Rose per mort: Georgii Bradshawe.
13 August 1633 ..	Ditto	Rodolphus Boder per Cession Stephani Rose.

License to the Perpetual Curacy or Vicarage of Aldermaston, Berks.

12 May, 1798.—John Churton, licensed on Nomination of William Congreve, of Iscoyd Park, Flint, Esquire.

¹ Will of Dominus Willielmus Langhorne, vicarius de Aldermaston—dat. Apr. 24, 1521; proved June 17, 1523,

“corpus meum sepelient in cancello ecelie de aldermaston coram ymagine Sæe Margarete . . . do et lego ad picturam imaginis Sæe Margarete xls.”

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

ANNUAL MEETING AT LANCASTER, July 19th to
July 26th, 1898.

Tuesday, July 19th.

AT noon His Worship the Mayor of Lancaster (Alderman HUNTINGTON) received the members of the Institute in the Town Hall.

HIS WORSHIP said his duties on this occasion were very light indeed, being simply, as Mayor of the town and acting on behalf of the inhabitants, to give a very hearty welcome to the members of the Royal Archaeological Institute. He hoped the visit of the members to Lancaster would be of benefit to them, whereby they could exercise their particular bent, with pleasure and profit to themselves and to the Institute to which they belonged. He extended to the members a most hearty welcome to the town of Lancaster, and hoped that during the few days of their stay they would obtain so much pleasure and enjoyment as would be an inducement to them to revisit Lancaster. His Worship then called upon SIR HENRY HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., M.P., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., the President of the Meeting, to deliver his opening address.

On the conclusion of the address,

The Rev. SIR TALBOT BAKER proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the President, and Dr. MUNRO, in seconding, congratulated the members upon the hearty reception extended to them.

The PRESIDENT briefly acknowledged the resolution, and proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor for presiding. This was seconded by Judge BAYLIS, Q.C., and carried unanimously.

After luncheon the members assembled in the church of St. Mary, where Mr. W. O. ROPER, F.S.A., gave an account of the origin and history of the church and Mr. H. J. AUSTIN described the architectural features.

Mr. ROPER said the earliest evidence of the existence of a church on the present site was a cross, which was stolen from Lancaster, heard of at Kendal, and later at Manchester, being subsequently transferred to the British Museum, where it was now to be seen. There were also in the west wall portions of similar crosses. From the time indicated by the cross they had no history of the church at Lancaster till they came to the period of the cartularies. The church at Lancaster was given, along with other lands, by Roger of Poitou, to the Abbey of St. Mary de Sagio in Normandy. Its history followed the lines of other religious houses adjoining, and the church existed under the flag of greater monasteries, such as those of Furness, Whalley, and Cocksand Abbey. The Priory of Lancaster was a comparatively small house. At the time of the dissolution

the annual income of the church was only £80, and the establishment consisted of a prior, five monks, and three travelling priests. There was no record of what the church was like at that time beyond the fact that there was an altar of Our Lady in the centre, and small altars in the aisles, one probably dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and the one in the south aisle dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury. From the time of the dissolution there was no history of the church whatever for a century, but in the time of the Civil War a large congregation assembled in the church to celebrate the clearing of the country from malignants. On the 18th December, 1645, the committee of the county assembled to celebrate the victory of the Parliamentary forces, the church being afterwards crowded with Puritan soldiers and people of the town. Extracts were given from the sermon of the sturdy Independent, the Vicar of Lancaster, and also the driving out and stoning of George Fox in 1652, a reference being also made to Fox's escape to John Lawson's house in Leonardgate and his subsequent disputations on theologic matters on the site of the present Friends' Meeting House. For fifty years more no item of interest occurred, and then the Jacobite forces, marching southward in 1715, entered Lancaster on the 8th November and held service in the church, a little bell which formerly hung on the south side of the chancel being rung to warn the people to come to prayers. The Rev. William Paul conducted the service, and in the prayer for the Queen in the prayer book razed out that of Queen Anne and substituted that of King James; in the prayer for the Royal Family he razed out the name of the Princess Sophia and wrote the King's mother. Three days later a different scene was enacted, when the whole of the Jacobite forces surrendered ignominiously at Preston, and most of them were taken prisoners. The Rev. William Paul was condemned to death, and died on the scaffold in cassock and gown with bravery unsurpassed by none of his fellows, and wishing he had quarters enough to send to every part of the kingdom, in order that it might be testified that a clergyman of the Church of England had been martyred for being loyal to his King. Thirty years later the Jacobites came again with Prince Charles Edward, and one of his officers played upon the organ the tune, "The King shall have his own again." A few years later the officer was tried for his life, and the only evidence against him was that he played that tune in the parish church at Lancaster. From that time the history of the church had been uneventful. The restoration of the building had been carried out within the past thirty years chiefly under the guidance of the late Mr. Paley. Mr. Roper concluded by referring to the principal windows and several of the memorial stones and crosses, particularly those perpetuating the memory of Dr. Whewell, the master of Trinity, and Thomas Covell, six times Mayor of Lancaster, forty-eight years keeper of the castle, forty-six years one of the coroners of the county palatine, &c.; and Sir Samuel Eyre, a judge of the northern circuit, who died at Lancaster, and whose remains were afterwards removed to Salisbury.

Mr. H. J. AUSTIN then conducted the members over the church, and referred to a discovery which had been made the previous day. The church authorities, desirous of ascertaining whether

there was an archway at the west end of the church, removed the plaster from the wall near the font, and laid bare an arched doorway, supposed to be about the date of 1360. The belfry wall, built in 1759, is erected against it on the other side. The doorway is certainly of the Decorated period, and is in a good state of preservation. In describing the architecture of St. Mary's Priory Church, Mr. Austin said that as regarded the masonry of the ancient work, up to the previous day it was thought that only two periods were represented, viz., the transition to Early English and the Perpendicular; but they discovered, on removing the plaster at the west end of the church, that remains of Decorated work were in existence. The Transitional work was represented by the south main entrance doorway, and by a moulded base stone which was found during the rebuilding of the vestry a few years since. These appeared to be about the date 1150. The Decorated work in which the newly-discovered doorway was built extended probably throughout nearly the whole of the western wall of the nave and aisles, including the south-west buttress; but it was evident that the church of that period was considerably narrower than the present Perpendicular building. The remainder of the nave, chancel, and aisles were of the Perpendicular period. Mr. Edmund Sharpe assigned the date of 1380 to the chancel arcades. The western tower placed against the Decorated west wall was rebuilt in 1759, and judging from old engravings replaced a somewhat massive tower which had a staircase turret at its north-west angle; this was probably of later Perpendicular work than the old western door, which might be about the year 1362 or earlier, and showed considerable signs of having been exposed to the weather. No signs of any tower arch had been discovered. The parallelogram of the church was divided into a chancel and nave almost equal lengths of 72 feet, the width being 24 feet 6 inches, and the large chancel might be accounted for by its having belonged to the Benedictine Priory. The north and south aisles were continuous on each side of the church, the eastern end of the north aisle being said to have been the Trinity Chantry, founded by Raufe Elcocke in 1372; that on the south side, dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, was taken by John Gardner, in 1472, as his chantry. A piscina existed on its south wall, and it was quite possible that a sedilia still existed under the plaster adjoining it. The south porch might be about the same date as the tower, or later. Several portions of pre-Norman work were built into the walls of the north aisle of the nave. The unusual features of the church were the equal length of chancel and nave, the absence of any western windows, the sameness of design in the heads of all the windows, those in the clerestory and aisles being three lights of one design, the east window showing the only variation. The western arches were much wider than the others; there was no step at the chancel arch, and the building of the south wall externally, as regarded its levels and masonry, was very remarkable. There were some interesting early and late grave slabs in and adjoining the vestry, and one under the north buttress of the chancel was worthy of attention. As regarded woodwork, a certain portion of the old oak roof existed in the north aisle of chancel and nave, and in the south aisle of the chancel, which contained a little sculpture in the

wall brackets. The great possession of the church, however, was the remains of the decorated stalls, which were probably unsurpassed for their date; they were said to have been brought from Furness or Cockersand Abbey, and this might be so; but the Flamboyant character of the tracery might suggest that the Abbey of Sels had some influence on the work: the mouldings were decidedly English in character, and had some similarity to the Chichester stalls. They were probably removed from their proper position when the galleries were erected. The backs of the uprights were ornamented with the most delicate traceried panels. The pulpit and font cover were fine examples of Jacobean work, and the church also possessed three fine brass chandeliers which, unfortunately, had lost their ancient sconces to make way for gas. The bells were modern, and no remains of the priory existed now.

From the church the members proceeded to the adjacent castle of Lancaster, where in the Shire Hall Mr. ROPER delivered an eloquent and vivid address on the origin and growth of the castle, and more especially on the stirring scenes associated with its walls. He was particularly successful in bringing before his audience the sad details of the execution of the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and of the barbarous doing to death of the Lancashire witches in 1612. By the courtesy of the County Council and Her Majesty's Commissioners of Prisons, the whole of the old parts of the buildings were thrown open to the inspection of the members.

In the evening, in the art gallery of the Storey Institute, Dr. ROBERT MUNRO, M.A., M.D., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, opened the Antiquarian Section with an address on "The Relation between Archæology, Chronology, and Land Oscillations in Post-glacial Times." This address is printed at p. 259.

Wednesday, July 20th.

At 9.50 a.m. the members proceeded by special train from the Castle Station to Furness Abbey, where Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., gave a short account of the Cistercian order and the Cistercian plan. The fine chapel without the gates was first visited, and then Mr. Hope led the party through the various buildings describing each in detail. The few remains of the first stone structure were pointed out in the transepts, but the church as a whole dates from 1170, many modifications being introduced in the fifteenth century, the last part of the presbytery being rebuilt from the ground. Mr. Hope also described the recent excavations carried out by himself under the auspices of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society. The interesting effigies now placed in the infirmary chapel were, in the absence of Viscount Dillon, commented on by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite and Mr. Hope.

After luncheon at the Abbey Hotel, the special train conveyed the members to Peel Pier, whence an enjoyable sail of about a mile took the party to the Peel or Castle of Fouldrey.

Mr. HOPE said the history of this island fortress could be told in almost a sentence. King Stephen gave the adjacent large island of Walney to the monks of Furness, upon condition that they would

erect and maintain a fortress or castle on the isle of Fouldrey, commanding the harbour entrance, to be a perpetual defence against the King's enemies. The remains now consist of an outer and inner ward, and a keep, after the Norman fashion, but all of fourteenth century date. Close to the outer entrance is the chapel, the base of the altar still remaining. Re-crossing to the main land, the special train was again joined, and the party arrived at Lancaster at 6 p.m.

In the evening Mr. J. HOLME NICHOLSON, M.A., President of the Lancaster and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, opened the Historical Section with an address on "The Antiquities of Lancaster and District." A paper of Mr. A. F. LEACH, F.S.A., on "The History of Lancaster School" was read by the Secretary in the unavoidable absence of the author.

Thursday, July 21st.

At 10 a.m. the members proceeded in carriages to Borwick Hall, which was described by Mr. W. O. ROPER, F.S.A. The hall was built by Robert Bindloss, a merchant of Kendal, about the end of the sixteenth century. His great grandson, another Robert Bindloss, was made a baronet in 1641. He died in 1688, leaving one daughter, the wife of Ralph Standish, who was "out in the Fifteen." The hall then passed, through the Towneleys, to the Stricklands of Sizergh, and finally to the present owner, Colonel Marton. The gate-house was erected in 1650, and bears the initials of Sir Robert Bindloss and his wife Rebecca. The hall itself is a fine, though plain, building, now uninhabited, and fast falling to decay. The panelled dining hall still contains the long oak table which was in use when Charles II visited Borwick. In one of the small panelled attic chambers Lord Clarendon is said to have written much of his "History of the Civil War." Leaving Borwick, the next halt was at Milnthorpe for luncheon, after which the drive was resumed to Levens Hall. By the courtesy of the owner, Captain Joscelin Bagot, M.P., the members were enabled to thoroughly inspect the house and gardens under the able guidance of Mr. J. F. CURWEN, of Kendal, whose paper will be published in a future number of the *Journal*.

In the evening Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, V.P.S.A., opened the Architectural Section with a paper on "Some further notes on Saxon Churches." This paper is printed at p. 340.

The Rev. W. S. CALVERLEY, F.S.A., contributed a paper on "Some Crosses and Pre-Norman Fragments," illustrated by a fine series of lantern slides. Attention was first directed to a map of the present diocese of Carlisle, with Halton and Heysham outside the boundary on the south, and Dumfries and Hoddam outside the boundary on 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. They were marked on the map by crosses, which stand thick along the coast-road and forward to Carlisle, and along the roads on the other side of the mountains by Appleby and Penrith. This corner of England contains far more remains of early Christian sculpture than any other portion of the same size. Mr. Calverley considered that a few of

the fragments may point to Romano-British Christianity. SS. Ninian, Patrick, Kentigern, and Cuthbert are the chief saints of the district. The crosses, "hogbacks," and fragments shown formed a most notable collection.

Friday, July 22nd.

At 11 a.m. the General Annual Meeting of the members of the Institute was held in the art gallery of the Storey Institute, the President, SIR HENRY HOWORTH, in the chair. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and adopted. The Chairman then called on the Honorary Secretary to read the report for the past year.

REPORT OF COUNCIL FOR 1897.

The Council has the honour of presenting the fifty-sixth report on the affairs of the Royal Archaeological Institute and the pleasure of laying before the meeting the cash account prepared by the Chartered Accountant and the honorary auditors for the year ended December 31st, 1897. The accounts show a balance of cash in hand at that period of £239 12s. 2d. It may be here noted how this is helped by the "Jubilee donation" from one of our lady members. In all other respects, the figures on both sides of this account represent the ordinary income and expenditure for the year, under the existing conditions of conducting our affairs, while there are no unpaid liabilities appertaining to the same period. There is a slight increase in the number of members in the past year; fourteen new members and five subscribing libraries have been added, but six old members have died and eleven have resigned during the year. Amongst the deaths are two honorary Vice-Presidents, Mr. G. T. Clark and Colonel William Pinney. An obituary notice of Mr. G. T. Clark has already appeared in the *Journal*.¹ Colonel Pinney was a very old member of the Institute, and took much interest in its work. Amongst the resignations the Council greatly regrets that of the Rev. Frederick Spurrell, an original member and a constant supporter, whose presence at our annual meetings will be well and agreeably remembered by all.

In April of the current year the office of President became vacant by the resignation of Viscount Dillon, who (having held it since August 9th, 1892) considered it inconsistent that he should occupy the chair in two societies working on almost identical lines, his Lordship having been elected President of the Society of Antiquaries on June 3rd, 1897. According to the rules of the Institute, the Council is required to nominate a successor, and a subsequent general meeting is to confirm the act. The Council is gratified to announce that it nominated Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., to be President, and the Council further proposes that the late President, Viscount Dillon, P.S.A., should be elected an Honorary Vice-President, and the Rev. J. C. Cox, LL.D., F.S.A., a Vice-President.

¹ See page 106.

The members of Council retiring are Messrs. A. E. Hudd, C. Waldron, Mill Stephenson, R. Wright Taylor, A. Day, and Somers Clarke. It is proposed that Messrs. Stephenson, R. Wright Taylor, A. Day, and Somers Clarke be re-elected, and that Messrs. H. Longden and C. E. Keyser be added to the Council. It is also proposed that Mr. M. J. Wulhouse be elected auditor for the ensuing year in the place of Mr. H. Longden.

The Council has had under consideration a strong wish, expressed by some members, to have a good index to the first fifty volumes of the *Journal*, which contain a record of a vast amount of fact and information. The index to the first twenty-five volumes is unsatisfactory, and one for the next twenty-five is greatly needed, as is felt when the individual volume indexes are consulted by inquirers and students. The initial consideration is the cost, the Council having determined that none of the balance of cash in hand can be employed for this purpose. A plan has been suggested, based on a valid proposal by one who is most competent to undertake the work, to obtain voluntary contributions from members and others to meet the expense of preparing a manuscript index worthy of the material contained in the fifty volumes. A list has accordingly been opened for the purpose of feeling how this preliminary expense is likely to be met. The further cost of printing and publication could possibly be met by the sale of the index volume to members and to the public. At all events, the Council cannot incur any expense without having in hand a special and sufficient fund.

The Institute was represented at the recent "Congress of Archæological Societies in Union with the Society of Antiquaries" by two delegates. Amongst the matters considered by the Congress was the making of efficient indexes to archæological and antiquarian transactions. The formula recommended will be the guide for the workers who may undertake our proposed index when the pecuniary means are available. The Congress hopes to establish a systematic unity of action among the kindred societies.

The London County Council invited the co-operation of the Institute, together with other societies, in furthering a scheme for the compilation of a register of ancient historical buildings in the Metropolis, with a view to their preservation. Mr. Hilton Price was accordingly appointed as a delegate to represent the Institute, and reports that such a register has been started for certain districts, and that the work is making fair progress.

On the motion of the PRESIDENT, seconded by Mr. HILTON, the report was adopted.

The HON. SECRETARY then read the balance-sheet (printed at p. 409), which was also adopted.

Twelve new members were elected. Some discussion then ensued as to the place of meeting for next year, but finally it was left to the Council to decide.

A Sectional Meeting followed, at which a paper by Viscount Dillon, P.S.A., on "An Inventory of the goods and armour of Richard, Earl of Arundel, in 1397," was read by the Hon. Director in the absence of the author.

In the afternoon the members drove to Heysham, where they were received by the rector, the Rev. C. T. ROYDS, who gave a short de-

scription of the church. The celebrated "hogback" stone in the churchyard, with its elaborate carvings, was minutely described by Mr. J. H. NICHOLSON in the absence of the Rev. W. S. Calverley. This stone was considered to be a striking example of the pagan and Christian overlap in the North of England, the one side being illustrative of the pagan sagas and the other of the story of Christ. To the west of the church, and on high ground overlooking the sea, stands the ruin of the early church or chapel of St. Patrick. The excellent character of the masonry, the details of a doorway, and other historic arguments led SIR HENRY HOWORTH to represent it as a Celtic chapel, showing Romano-British influence, of a date immediately after the time of St. Patrick.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE remarked that the chapel did not coincide with any Saxon work with which he was acquainted. West of the chapel are six coffins hewn out of the solid rock, with sockets at the head for crosses, which have long disappeared.

In the evening His Worship The Mayor entertained the members to a conversazione in the Town Hall. During the evening papers were read by Mr. W. O. ROPER, F.S.A., on "The Charters of Lancaster," and by Mr. T. CANN HUGHES, M.A., Town Clerk, on "The Corporation Insignia." The charters, maces, and plate were exhibited. The papers will be printed in the *Journal*.

Saturday, July 23rd.

This day was devoted to an expedition to Cartmel Priory Church. Leaving Lancaster by special train at 11.40 a.m. for Grange, where luncheon was served, the party drove over the hills to Cartmel. Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., described the priory church and the monuments. The priory was founded in 1188 by William Marechal, Earl of Pembroke, and was a priory of Austin canons. Mr. Hope pointed out that one main difference between this religious house and Furness was that, whilst at the latter the church was erected for the sole use of the Cistercians, the Austin canons on coming to Cartmel found a parish church already existing there, which they were content to share with the parishioners. Taking possession of the eastern portion of the church, they began to build a church for themselves on a much larger scale, consisting of central tower, north and south transepts, and a presbytery with its aisles. The difficulty generally experienced by architectural students in examining the transepts of this church and their arrangement was at once removed when it was pointed out and proved that the conventual buildings connected with the church had first been erected on the south side of the church, but soon afterwards removed to the north side. The peculiar and quite unique arrangement of the central tower excited much comment: the upper stage of the square tower is placed on a square diagonally to its base. Of the internal fittings, though much has been maltreated and removed during the last thirty years, the canons' seats and misericords in the presbytery excited no little attention. The seats themselves are of no great moment, and resemble many others of about the middle of the fifteenth century; but the beautiful and graceful canopies over them, together with the

screen-work across the entry to the choir, are most noteworthy, and are far the best examples of post-Reformation woodwork that English churches possess. They were given to the church by George Preston in 1617. At the east end of the north choir aisle is the present vestry, where is preserved one relic about two hundred years old, which excited much curiosity: it is the oldest known churchyard umbrella, for holding over the officiant's head at funerals. The stick or heavy staff is of walnut, and the curious wooden ribs are of oak, and it is covered with stout canvas, the paint on which has often been renewed. When opened it is so flat in appearance that it much resembles in shape the umbrellas of Japan. The vestry also contains a valuable library of some three hundred volumes, including a Virgil of 1509, and Spenser's *Fairy Queen* of 1596. This valuable collection of books, forming the best extant English parochial library of early date, was presented to the parish by Thomas Preston, of Holker, in 1692.

The return journey was made from Carl Station.

Monday, July 25th.

At 10 a.m. the carriages started for Halton, where the pre-Norman crosses in the church and churchyard were described by Mr. J. HOLME NICHOLSON. The shaft in the churchyard is another example of the pagan Christian overlap, one part showing the forging of Sigurd's sword and other incidents of Sigurd's life, and another part the crucifixion and glorification of Christ.

The next halt was at Melling, where the church was described by the Vicar, the Rev. W. B. GRENSIDE. The church presents several unusual features, and has been well repaired under the care of the present vicar. Owing to the slope of the ground on which it is built, the chancel is raised considerably above the nave. Several crosses and pre-Norman fragments are preserved in the vestry and in the walls. Just to the east of the church is a Saxon burgh, as at Halton.

From Melling the drive was resumed to Hornby, where, after luncheon, visits were paid to the church and castle. The Rev. Dr. Cox, F.S.A., shortly described the former. The tower, which was begun in 1513, is octagonal, and bears an inscription stating that it was erected by Edward Stanley, first Lord Monteagle. The chancel, erected soon after the tower, has an unusual apsidal end, and is much enriched. The nave was rebuilt in 1888. In the churchyard Dr. Cox drew special attention to a massive monolith standing five feet high, and situated on the south side of the church. This stone has slightly raised arcading on each side, and was pronounced by Dr. Cox to be of early Saxon work. From the church the party proceeded to the Castle, where the members were welcomed by the owner, Colonel Foster, M.P., who kindly threw open the whole building to their inspection.

Mr. W. O. ROPER, F.S.A., briefly outlined the history of the building and of the Stanley family and the battle of Flodden. He also traced the history of the castle through the Civil War, and the succession of lawsuits of which it was the object in the early days of the present century.

Leaving Hornby the return journey was made by way of Cloughton and the Crook of Lune.

In the evening a Sectional Meeting was held at which the Rev. DR. COX, F.S.A., read a paper entitled "Some notes on the Shireburne Family of Stonyhurst."

The general concluding meeting followed, the Rev. SIR TALBOT BAKER, M.A., V.P., in the chair. Several new members were elected. On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by the Rev. T. AUDEN, a hearty and unanimous vote of thanks was passed to His Worship the Mayor for his courteous reception of and hospitality to the Institute.

Judge BAYLIS, Q.C., V.P., proposed a vote of thanks to the Presidents of Sections. This was seconded by the Rev. E. H. GODDARD, and duly carried. Dr. MUNRO and Mr. J. HOLME NICHOLSON responded.

Mr. CHARLES BROWN then moved a vote of thanks to the Local Committee and the Hon. Local Secretary. Mr. JAMES HILTON, F.S.A., seconded, and the vote was carried with acclamation. Mr. T. CANN HUGHES, M.A., Town Clerk of Lancaster, briefly responded.

Votes of thanks were passed to the owners of houses visited and to the clergy who had allowed the Institute to visit and inspect the churches.

A vote of thanks was also passed to the Committee of the Storey Institute for placing the Art Gallery at the disposal of the Institute for the purpose of holding the Sectional Meetings.

A similar compliment was paid to Hon. Director and the Meeting Secretary; and, on the motion of Mr. H. LONGDEN, seconded by Mr. J. MOTTRAM, to the Chairman for presiding at the meeting.

Tuesday, July 26th.

At 9.40 a.m. the members proceeded from the Midland station by special train to Whalley, whence they drove to Mytton Church. The Rev. DR. COX, F.S.A., described the building and its monuments. The church was rebuilt in 1328, when a vicarage was formally ordained, the church being appropriated to Cocksand Abbey. The parish of Mytton is partly in Lancashire and partly in Yorkshire, and contains eight townships, three of which are in the former county and five in the latter. In the church are preserved eight churchwardens' staves, one for each township. The chief points of interest in the church are the chancel-screen, the font cover of 1593, a double-shuttered "low side window" on the south of the chancel, and the fine series of Shireburne monuments in the chapel of St. Nicholas.

Returning to Whalley for luncheon, the afternoon was devoted to an inspection of the parish church and the remains of the abbey.

Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, V.P.S.A., described the church, and drew special attention to the woodwork, the three "cages" or chantry-screen enclosures, and the beautiful fourteenth-century stalls which were removed from the adjacent abbey at its dissolution.

Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., then conducted the members round the extensive remains of the conventual buildings of the Cistercian Abbey, the great church of which has entirely disappeared.

Ordinary Meetings.

November 2nd, 1898.

JUDGE BAYLIS, Q.C., M.A., V.P., in the chair.

Professor T. M'KENNY HUGHES, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on "Amber," and exhibited a collection made chiefly in the Mediterranean and North Sea. After pointing out that strings of beads were commonly carried about by men in Southern Europe, who found that the mechanical task of telling beads relieved the feeling of unrest, and suggesting that a Roman lady in the hot Southern summer might have received more pleasure from holding a piece of cold quartz in her hands, Professor Hughes referred to some early notices of amber, described its composition and mode of occurrence, and pointed out that it could be made plastic, or worked into new compounds which would pass for amber, suggesting in this way a possible explanation of some of the exceptionally large vessels said to have been made of amber, and some of the unexpected inclusions said to have been found in it. He then gave a short sketch of the history of its discovery, described the differences of colour, and discussed the distribution of the several varieties, and the question whether the darker, and especially the ruby, colour was due to original difference of origin and composition, or was a superinduced character, due to the mode of preservation. If due to the various species of tree which yielded the resin, then it might depend upon climate and other geographical conditions, and thus be a more or less trustworthy indication of trade routes; but if it was due to difference in the mode of preservation, then the colour and the differences of composition which accompanied the colour could not be depended upon as evidence of the district in which it was produced. Among the specimens exhibited were some of dark ruby red, both from Sicily and from the North Sea; also from both districts specimens of honey and dark sherry-coloured amber. He explained that the proportion of ruby red to the yellow amber was very small in the North Sea, and very large in Sicily, but pointed out that most of that found in Catania was carried down the river Sineto from beds on the flanks of Etna, whereas that found in the Baltic and North Sea was washed out of marine silt, and had been long subjected to different conditions. He showed the red sort was produced by the mode of preservation, exhibiting specimens in which the different colours were seen on one fragment; also beads from a Saxon grave, which were presumably from the northern area, in which the yellow had been more or less changed to a dark red; and a series of amber ornaments from an Etruscan tomb, where all that were sufficiently well preserved to be examined were of a ruby red. He thought that there was a considerable original difference in the colour of amber, in some cases depending upon the varieties of tree and climate; that there is commonly a change of colour, due to the mode of preservation; but that colour and accompanying difference of composition cannot be relied upon to determine the region from which isolated specimens have been derived.

Mr. E. PEACOCK, F.S.A., contributed a paper on "The superstition that when a murderer touches the body of his victim the

wounds will bleed again," and dealt with the subject chronologically, giving instances recorded in the old ballad of "Earl Richard," and preserved in Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, as well as that of "Young Huntin."

Shakespeare's reference to this belief was illustrated in Lady Anne's address in *Richard III*; and Webster in his *Appius, and Virginia*, also refers to it in the passage—

"Pity, see
Her wounds still bleeding at the horrid presence
Of yon stern murderer, till she find revenge."

Mr. Peacock quoted a few interesting instances of depositions of an early date taken by Justices of the Peace, and possibly regarded as legal evidence: one respecting a murder committed in 1613 near Taunton, and another in 1624 near Blackwell, the latter being preserved at Durham. The superstition seems to have been preserved as late as the beginning of this century; and even to this day it appears to be a popular belief that if a person goes to see a corpse he should not on any account leave the room of death without touching the body. Here we have only the shadowy memory of times when deaths from violence were more difficult to detect than now, and when it might be very desirable to have the testimony of the dead that those who visited the corpse were innocent of its murder.

December 7th, 1898.

SIR HENRY H. HOWARTH, K.C.I.E., M.P., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.,
President, in the chair.

Mr. C. PRETORIUS exhibited a bronze horn (now in the collection of Canon Greenwell) found in the Drimoleague Mountains, County Cork. The horn was made by casting in two pieces, the joints being still visible. Near the mouth-hole, which is at the side, is an iron nail firmly fixed in the bronze; there are also indications of a roughly-scratched design on the surface.

Mr. R. GARRAWAY RICE, F.S.A., exhibited two bell-metal mortars of seventeenth century date, bought in Sussex, and an oval-shaped copper dish found near Morden, Surrey.

Mr. C. SEIDLER exhibited an album containing 119 photographs and drawings of enamelled crosiers ranging from the end of the twelfth to the first half of the fourteenth century. Mr. Seidler also communicated some notes on the *champlevé* enamel process commonly known as Limoges work.

Viscount DILLON, P.S.A., by kind permission of the authorities of the Tower of London, exhibited some gauntlets from the Tower collection, and read a paper thereon. Amongst the exhibits were two locking gauntlets incorrectly called "forbidden gauntlets," and used exclusively for the tourney with blunt swords and maces; also a very rare example of a gauntlet for use at barriers, with flanges to prevent the opponent's spear-point passing between the hand and the spear. Another gauntlet of Charles I when prince had a small pin on the knuckles to protect the hand from being jammed in the vamplate. A gauntlet of the so-called Essex suit was also shown in which the cuff piece suddenly became contracted, so as to prevent the cannon of the vambrace pushing the gauntlet off the hand.

Notices of Archæological Publications.

AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. By DAVID MURRAY, LL.D., F.S.A. (James Maclehose & Sons, 8vo, Glasgow, 1896.)

This little book of 113 pages full of suggestions and wisdom is issued in the hope of drawing attention to the necessity of having an Archæological survey of the United Kingdom similar to the Geological survey. Much has been done for our written records, but little for the unwritten or monumental. What is done for the unwritten is done by the various societies at present without concert and without uniform system: a survey, in fact, to be of value must be official. Such a survey leisurely taken would describe each monument exactly. All drawings and measurements would be on the same scale; but any two observers, even if skilled, viewing an object in different lights and having different time at their disposal, will with fair certainty give different accounts of it. Archæology must be exact, accurate—a demonstration from observed facts; and thus the reasoning and inference must be true. By such careful study it helps to cast light on every epoch and every phase of life in the past. Tradition should be avoided as much as possible, yet not neglected; used only as an aid to investigation, never for argument. With acknowledged rules for exactness, archæology has now attained a recognised status, and should claim to rank as a science. In a notice on treasure trove the author suggests that the law should be swept away. This would be good. Perhaps, first, the ignorance of the value of finds or of more visible monuments leads to a want of interest in their preservation; but the knowledge that finds may be taken away leads sometimes to their destruction—always to their secretion and often dispersion. Every find should be allowed to have a resting-place in the local museum. From the many references given to other authorities this little work is especially valuable.

LETTERS, ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL, RELATING TO THE ISLE OF WIGHT. By the late Rev. E. BOUCHER JAMES, M.A. Collected and arranged by his widow. (Henry Frowde, London, 2 vols. 8vo, 1896.)

The letters here collected and republished were originally contributed to a local newspaper. Widely useful as they must have been issued in that form, they should be equally so now, being most readable, instructive, and fairly exhaustive of the subject-matter treated. Beginning with a history of the earliest times, the events are noted chronologically, and the first volume ends with the sixteenth century. The second volume, beginning with the reign of James I, continues the narrative to the end of the eighteenth century. No subject or point of interest seems to have been overlooked, as, besides much history, there are accounts of the local

families and notes on many local customs. Particularly curious and interesting are the notices of the French raids on the island, to which in early days it was so much exposed, the chief of these being well recorded. There is also the account of an attempt to betray the island to France in 1556, and so down to 1782, when it was even proposed by the French Government that it should be ceded to France. There is an account of the feudal militia, a difficult and very interesting subject; and there is an account of how the land was defended in 1588 against the Spanish Armada. We need not say that Carisbrooke has its full share of notice. Stage travelling and its beginnings are prettily recorded, as also the pleasure of a voyage from London for health's sake—fifteen days from Gravesend. This leads to a description of the then process of landing at Ryde—much better to read about than to experience. An excellent and entertaining book.

DIARY OF A TOUR THROUGH GREAT BRITAIN IN 1795. By the Rev. WILLIAM MACRITCHIE, Minister of the parish of Clunie, Perthshire. With an introduction and notes by David MacRitchie, author of the *Testimony of Tradition*. (Elliot Stock, 8vo, London, 1897.)

Although, perhaps, not of very great merit, there is much in this slight diary showing how a traveller can be observant, and by taking notes leave some information and also some test of his own character for posterity. Setting out on horseback our author duly arrives at Gretna Green; and we learn here that the celebrated blacksmith was not a blacksmith, but was so called from his occupation of forging chains of matrimony. He made this his sole business, and adopted a clerical costume. Proceeding southward our author calls on a curate with whom he had some acquaintance, and drank rum and water with him; later, too, he refreshes himself with rum shrub, and, after viewing the caves at the Peak, on emerging he took a glass of rum. After a delightful ride, passing by Hornby, he arrived at Lancaster, and put up at the "King's Arms." As he proceeds his eye notices the richer appearance of the land, and the frequent windmills, these being uncommon in Scotland. He records, also, the good breeding of the people, who salute with a bow and a good-morrow or good-night; and, curious to us, he notes that the girls wear black stockings on week-days, which he considers by no means an improvement to their appearance. In London he put up at the "Bull and Mouth," and enjoyed a comfortable repose, having had none the two preceding nights, and having in thirty-six hours travelled 165 miles. Next morning, strolling out, he saw by good fortune the great anniversary sailing match from Blackfriars to Putney Bridge, a vast concourse of people, a vast number of boats and barges—a scene of perfect astonishment. Marylebone is of vast extent, magnificent buildings; elegance and convenience joined to magnificence—a wonderful place. With a friend he went to Vauxhall, to which he sailed from Westminster by light of the moon, and found the company numerous and brilliant. At eleven o'clock he and his friend retire to a box to refresh themselves with a bottle of port, and so until two o'clock, when, the fun becoming more boisterous, they retire to a dark corner to observe, and in the end our traveller moralises and concludes that

the Vauxhall manners were more calculated to confirm virtue rather than to weaken its influence on the reflecting mind. Something like this occurs on his journey south, when on one occasion he set out on a Sunday morning, and, thinking of home and what they would have said there, he excuses himself with the reflection that man can be devout in the fields as well as in the pulpit. After visiting Greenwich he set out for London in a long coach: this was our brake, the ordinary stage being known as a short coach. As an example of other curious, presumably common, expressions, on his return homewards he got "a berth on board" the coach, there being in all "six on board," *i.e.* outside, and "six in the hold." Passing in time the "village" of Gateshead, Newcastle was reached, a very ugly, large, irregular, nasty, sooty chaos of a town. This he left as soon as possible and reached home safely, convinced that the climate of the South of England was sensibly hotter than that of Perthshire. Being a botanist flowers are everywhere noted, often gathered, preserved, and sent off home. The price of wheat—a guinea a bushel,—the often movement of soldiers to quell riots, the meeting with French refugees, the daily distance made on horseback or by coach—all mark and help to bring before us the passing events of the time.

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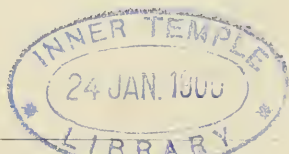
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