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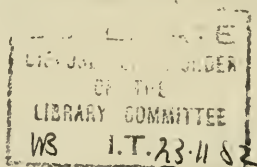
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“LANCASHIRE, OLD AND NEW.” THE PRESIDENTIAL
ADDRESS TO THE LANCASTER MEETING OF THE
INSTITUTE.¹

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

I have to begin with two apologies—one for myself and one for my address. It is a great disappointment to me, as I know it must be to you, that Lord Derby cannot be here to-day to speak to you on behalf of this great county, of which he is the feudal chief, and to bid you welcome. Our purpose and aim as a Society is to investigate history in all its departments, but more especially the local and provincial history of England, and, in coming to Lancashire, you visit a county almost every byeway of whose history, especially in dramatic times, is intertwined with the name of Stanley. Surely there is a romantic flavour about every personal name which occurs in the pages of *Shakespeare*; and I shall never forget a conversation I once had with my old friend and neighbour, John Bright—who knew his *Shakespeare* from end to end—when he enlarged to me on that famous scene which preceded the Battle of Bosworth—the scene when Richmond and Richard the Third were about to join issue and to decide the fate of modern England, and when Stanley with his men took up his position on the hill to watch which way the tide would flow, and eventually decided the fight in favour of Richmond—John Bright told me he thought it perhaps the most dramatic scene in all English history. It was certainly the beginning of modern England, and Stanley was there as a chief actor. Two centuries later and we have another famous drama enacted in English history—the great Rebellion; and who will ever forget the stirring story impossible to fitly describe in prose—the defence of Lathom House by Charlotte de la Tremouille, Countess of Derby, and the execution of the heroic and chivalrous Earl in the market-

¹ Delivered July 19th, 1898.

place of Bolton? Two centuries again pass by; and who has not heard of the Scorpion Stanley, the Rupert of debate, the brilliant orator and statesman, whose keen eye and eagle face impressed me as a boy as the *ne plus ultra* of a manly, high-bred Englishman? He was the father of my noble friend who, with his gentle wife, dispenses the hospitalities of his house so generously, and represents so well, the dignity and courtesy of his historic family. We are pleased to think that his son, my friend and colleague, Lord Stanley, who represents an important division of Lancashire, has all the promise of following the difficult example of so many famous forefathers with conspicuous ability and urbanity.

These phrases will explain to you why we are disappointed that the Earl of Derby could not be with us to-day and why I have to apologise for having to perform vicarious services which no efforts of another can make equivalent to what they might have been.

Still, there might have been some compensation if this chair had been filled by my predecessor as President, Lord Dillon. Who is there here who has not a kind word and a gentle thought for him? He will be here, we hope, before the week is over. Meanwhile, I am echoing your thoughts, I know, in speaking of one who has presided over you so long and so ably, and who combines in our eyes all the qualities of a learned antiquary, with the rarer ones of a handsome presence, a witty tongue, and a flavour of old world courtesy. We are very sorry he has resigned his position, and we hope that the skies will always be blue over him and his gentle wife, and that the old knights who lie encased in armour on many a lordly tomb will continue to have his keen eye and unparalleled knowledge devoted to their elucidation and history.

I have further to apologise, my friends, for my address. No one in this room, I feel sure, has more burdens on his back than I have; and no one feels a greater sympathy with Martha, who was troubled about many things, than I do. I have had a very hard Session in the Committee Rooms of the House of Commons, and manifold engagements of other kinds, and have literally not had time or opportunity to do justice to my subject, to yourselves, or to my own

scanty reputation. You will therefore have to put up with the aimless scribbling of a worn-out quill and the casual and disintegrated thoughts of a discursive and multifarious antiquary.

Those of you who have visited Lancashire for the first time must have been immensely struck by the proofs you have seen on all sides of extraordinary wealth and prosperity, the thick population, the almost continuous towns, the vigour and energy of its people, and the industrial and commercial enterprise of its capitalists. One tall chimney sentinels another tall chimney from one end of the county to the other, and there are only short and transient breaks between its factories, its collieries, &c., &c.

It is hard to believe that, only one hundred and fifty years ago, Lancashire was one of the poorest of English counties, with a somewhat cold and austere climate, with long stretches of barren moors and uplands, with an altogether not too fruitful soil, a backward agriculture, bad roads, a rough, unpolished, uncouth people. It was the fashion, we are told, for the stranger who crossed its borders to make his will. For the most part, Lancashire had an isolated life behind its rampart of hills, and had not much to do with the general course of English history.

You will naturally repeat a question which has been often asked, and which I well remember being asked in a history paper when I was a schoolboy at Rossall why, and how, did this change come about? Why was it that Norfolk and Suffolk, and Gloucester and Somerset, which in the early and late middle ages were the great homes of English industry and English commerce, should have lost the supremacy they once held and should largely have fallen back into mere agricultural communities, while Lancashire and Yorkshire have in so short a time sprung from a position of comparative obscurity into the very forefront among the energetic and prosperous communities of the world? The answer is simple, and it is plain: it has been due to the substitution, in the great struggle for life, of the man with the iron hand for the man of flesh and blood; of steam for human strength alone, and of the supreme advantages possessed by the northern counties over those of eastern and southern

England in this new struggle. It is the coal and the iron under our soil, the damp climate, the good harbours, and perhaps, more than all, the strong, rough virtues of our peasants and our handicraftsmen, fed for generations on oatmeal and milk, and possessing the grit and endurance, which they derive from their northern blood, which enabled them to take advantage of their surroundings when the industrial revolution came round.

This is an object-lesson on a large scale—a good proof of how empire and its consequences are eventually based upon physical facts, as much, if not more, than upon personal qualities. We are too apt, as historians, to speak of the decay of nations: it would be a truer phrase to speak of the stagnation of nations. Those who fall out of the race do not necessarily fall back, nor travel at a slower pace; they are merely outstripped by those who have greater advantages and greater vigour. We have no reason to think that contemporary Spaniards and Swedes and Italians are less gifted than their ancestors, or that their resources are more paralysed; but the Englishman, the American, and the German, armed with the gifts of the nineteenth century, are more than a match for men who are merely armed with the weapons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Presently we may have to give way to others less handicapped, may be, by poverty in their lower ranks, by Imperial and municipal debts, by the moral and physical diseases which prevail in towns, and possibly by the exhaustion of energy and initiative which always overtake the traveller when he runs too fast. It is not the future, however, nor the present, which you have mainly come here to study, but the past; and you will pardon my leading your thoughts thither. When we turn our lantern back upon the beginning of our history when men used only stone and bronze for their weapons and their tools, we shall find little to distinguish Lancashire from the rest of England. The valleys were no doubt largely uninhabitable, undrained, and occupied by forest and marsh; and people lived, as is shewn by their grave-mounds, and other remains, on the uplands and the hills—a pastoral and semi-nomadic race, planting occasional patches of oats, and diversifying their shepherd lives by hunting and fishing.

The next chapter in our history coincides with the introduction of iron, and a vast advance in metallurgic and artistic skill. The period is one of the deepest interest—an interest concealed at present behind a mysterious veil. Whence the culture came, which has been so illustrated and illuminated by the researches of Sir Augustus Franks, Miss Margaret Stokes, and Mr. Arthur Evans, is still a puzzle. The beautiful so-called trumpet scrolls, forming the chastest and soundest of ornamental styles; the marvellous skill shewn in casting and chasing metals; the odd, queer shapes of the objects, the purpose of many of which we cannot discover; the use of chariots, of enamel, of glass beads of a peculiar kind—all mark off this period as most interesting, and worthy of closer study. May I make an appeal from this chair to the authorities of the British Museum to display the part of their treasures illustrating this period in a worthier manner? for the collection is a unique one, and was the especial delight of “our father Anchises” Franks. His successor, our accomplished friend Mr. Charles Reid, would soon put this right if the accommodation was furnished him.

The perspective about these times, it seems to me, has been distorted by taking too literally Cæsar’s words, or rather applying them too directly to a period a century later when Claudius began the actual conquest of the country. A great change had taken place meanwhile; and the race which we call Neo-Celtic, and which Cæsar calls Belgic, must have occupied in the time of Claudius the greater part of this country. Nowhere have more interesting remains of it been found than in far-off Dorsetshire, among whose hill-forts its beautiful remains are discovered mixed with the coins of Claudius and Vespasian. From the English Channel to the Grampians, with the exception perhaps of parts of Wales, the whole country had been overrun by them and the earlier Celts been driven away. Behind the Grampians, in the broughs, the vitrified forts, &c., &c., we get an entirely different story; so, may be we do, among the black-haired south Welsh, but otherwise there must have been great homogeneity throughout the British tribes notwithstanding their local divisions. The great roads which were afterwards

occupied and used by the Romans, such as the Watling Street, the Ikniel Way, &c., traverse the whole land, and must have been made by a people who had a great *solidarité* among them. Caractacus, you will remember, who fought against the Romans in South Britain, ended his career in Shropshire. The whole country was much more a united community than we have been led to suppose in our popular histories. One priesthood largely dominated it all, and no doubt also one "Imperator" in the genuine sense of that word.

I have no doubt that Cæsar's conquest of Gaul caused one of the greatest race movements that ever took place in Western Europe, and led to a vast migration of the Gallic tribes hither and to a great afflatus in art and culture. I feel also sure that when the mystery surrounding this Neo-Celtic period is explained, the key to the puzzle will be largely found among the Brigantes, who occupied Lancashire and Yorkshire when the Romans came here. They were probably the most powerful of all the British tribes; they had apparently large colonies in Ireland, and must have been a vagabond and wandering race, for their name is probably still preserved at Breganz in Switzerland, in more than one classical name in Spain, and possibly in our word "brigand." One of the most interesting relics of this period that is extant—a beaded bronze torc, of fine style—was found in the parish of Rochdale, and is now in the possession of my friend Mr. James G. Dearden.

We now reach Roman times, and in Roman times Lancashire must have been a prosperous and wealthy part of the empire. Manchester and Lancaster mark two of its military stations, and, with Chester, no doubt formed a bulwark against aggressions not only from the mountains of Wales and Cumberland, but from the Isle of Man and from Ireland, where many British fugitives must have gone, and whence many piratical attacks no doubt came, long before the invasion of the Picts and Scots.

The Roman sites in Lancashire, although none of them have been systematically examined, have furnished a remarkable number of objects of fine artistic taste, a proof perhaps that they were violently destroyed and rapidly abandoned, and did not gradually decay away.

Ribchester is especially remarkable in this behalf, and I wish we could at this meeting initiate a plan for the systematic exploration of Ribchester. There is a certain Fox whom we all love, and of whose bite some of us are a little afraid, who I wish would make his burrow at Ribchester for a year or two. We should all feel that the digging would then be done in a scientific way.

However the Roman domination in other parts of Britain came to an end, it seems very certain that in Lancashire its end was a violent and rapid one. Lancashire was directly in the track of those invaders from Ireland and the Isle of Man who swept over the north-west of England when the Roman legionaries were largely withdrawn, who are called Picts and Scots by the classical writers, and who in some way or other, which we cannot yet understand, revived the Celtic communities of Britain under a new form. We are apt to look upon them as pirates and scourges, who brought nothing with them but the sword and the torch; but it becomes increasingly evident that they were the heirs and partners of that Neo-Celtic culture to which we have already referred, and whose perhaps most attractive remains are to be found in the illuminations of the earliest extant MSS. written by Irish scribes and in the lovely very early crosses, of which remains are so often found in Lancashire.

The invaders were not all of the Gaelic branch. We have still to learn whence the Welsh Celts came from; who wrote the heroic poems of Taliesin and the other bards, edited by Skene, who are said to have been led by Cunedda and his sons, and who came from the mysterious land of Manan. It may have been the Isle of Man: it may have been Southern Scotland, as Skene has argued; but I am not at all sure it was not partly from Ulster and the country of the Irish Picts. It seems impossible to believe that the peculiar art and the peculiar mythology and ideas that pervade the earliest Welsh poetry is consistent with the race and its culture having lived on under the shadow of the Roman domination in greater Britain, and the absence from the earliest Welsh of larger traces of Latin points the same moral. They would rather seem to me to have come from Ireland, where traces of

Roman influence are so slight and where vast numbers of British fugitives must have settled.

What is plain is that these invaders founded a new kingdom on this side of St. George's Channel. It was known to the Gaelic Scots of Argyll as Strathclyde from the great Strath or valley of the Clyde which formed its notable feature, while its indigenous name was Cumbria. The latter still survives in Cumberland and the islands of the greater and lesser Cumbrae. Of Cumbria Lancashire formed an integral part, and Lancashire remained Celtic probably longer than any other part of England. We know historically how late it was conquered by the Anglian race, but we have evidence of another kind pointing to the long survival of Celtic elements here. The physical characteristics of our peasants, especially in the remoter valleys in the south; the considerable element of Celtic in our southern dialect, to which attention was long ago called by Garnett; the same element in our place-names, not merely in the primitive names of hill and river, but of such place-names as Eccles, &c., &c., and the dedication of at least one Lancashire church—the old church at Heysham—to St. Patrick, whose name, as Miss Grafton has pointed out to me, also occurs elsewhere. Other traces perhaps remain also in the humour and mental dexterity of our Lancashire folk.

As I have said, Lancashire was a late conquest of the Anglian race, and it was so conquered from two different sides and by two entirely different branches of that race, a fact which is stamped most clearly into its history at all points. Lancashire north of the Ribble and Lancashire south of the Ribble are two very different communities speaking two different English dialects. North of the Ribble Lancashire was in every way a part of Northumbria. Ecclesiastically it belonged to the Northumbrian archdiocese of York and the archdeaconry of Richmond, while its language is virtually that of Yorkshire and the Dales, and it must have been conquered and colonised by Northumbrians, as we in fact are told it was in the Chronicle.

South of the Ribble things are entirely different. That part of the county is essentially Mercian. It belonged

ecclesiastically to the Mercian diocese of Lichfield and afterwards of Chester, and its language is pure Mercian like that of Derbyshire and Staffordshire; and it must have been colonised from Mercia, and was probably Christianised by St. Chad, to whom very early churches at Whalley and Rochdale are dedicated. The fact I want to emphasise most strongly is that under the name Lancashire we include two entirely different communities with a different origin and history. The very late occupation of Lancashire by the Anglian race explains the absence from the county of remains belonging to pagan Saxondom. We have no Saxon graveyards, and in fact I know of no remains that have occurred here from the pagan English period. The earliest Anglian remains which have occurred are the sculptured crosses and other traces of the early missionaries of which, as I have said, we have very remarkable examples in the county at Whalley, Heysham, and Winwick, and elsewhere, which deserve to be treated in a monograph. We also have a site which divides, with Oswestry, the claim to be the battlefield of Makersfield.

The early Christianity of Lancashire was apparently a transient phase. It was largely stamped out by a new set of pagan invaders from the sea, who in the ninth and tenth centuries found its broken shore and its creeks a very congenial trysting-place. Few parts of England have more traces in their topography of the Danish invasion than North Lancashire. The hundreds have Danish names, so have many of the villages and the headlands. There is more than one Tynwald in the county marking the place where the Danish inhabitants had their courts. The northern part of the county is divided into wards—a Danish division; and when the great Survey was made nearly all the landowners in the county, as in Yorkshire, had Danish names. The Norse language has also left a large infusion in the dialect, and the tall, red-haired quarrymen, and others of the Lancashire dales who lived on oatmeal cakes and griddle-bread, are the unmixed grand-children of the old sea-rovers.

The mention of Domesday-book reminds me that the use of the word "Lancashire" in the preceding pages is an anachronism. No such thing as Lancashire existed until

long after the Conquest. We must always remember that, with the doubtful exception of Rutland, Lancashire was the last of the English counties to be so constituted. When Domesday-book was compiled Lancashire north of the Ribble was an integral part of Yorkshire, and was so treated. Its manors are all enumerated under Yorkshire. Lancashire south of the Ribble was treated as a separate Royal domain and attached to no county. When, under Edward the Elder, Mercia was divided into counties South Lancashire was apparently treated as a special territory, and so it remained when Domesday-book was written, when it was entered under a special heading as *Terra inter Ripam et Mersem*. This great domain, which had belonged to Edward the Confessor, was made over to Roger of Poitiers, the son of the great Earl of Shrewsbury, who had his chief castle at Clitheroe in Blackburn Hundred. He held many manors in many counties, and his vast holding was designated an honor, and Clitheroe Castle was the focus and capital of it all—the *Caput Honoris* as the feudal lawyers called it. Roger's lands were presently confiscated for treason. They were largely restored to him by William Rufus. He then, in addition, obtained a second honor, that of Lancaster, with a vast territory north of the Lune. His possessions were again confiscated by Henry I, but the honors which he had held were kept together and became the patrimony of one Royal prince after another, until they finally became the heritage of John of Gaunt and his descendants. Eventually—we do not know when, but later than has been generally thought—they were constituted a county; and being the patrimony of a Royal Duke were also granted a Palatine jurisdiction that is in many respects a Royal and paramount jurisdiction, and so the county has remained to our own day a County Palatine, with its own Court of Chancery, &c., &c., and with the distinction of being a Royal duchy always vested in the Sovereign.

To revert somewhat, the feature about Lancashire which strikes the student of Domesday is the enormous size of the parishes in its southern part compared with the multifarious parishes in the north, marking no doubt the disparity in population between the very thinly-

peopled Hundreds of Salford and Blackburn compared with the districts north of the Ribble.

Lancashire partook in the great afflatus of religious energy which followed the Norman Conquest. While I know of no Anglo-Saxon monasteries in the county, few of their establishments elsewhere rival the great abbeys of Furness and Whalley, beside which we had several subsidiary houses in the county. So far as we can gather from the chartularies, these houses were tenanted by monks recruited almost entirely from the gentry of the county, who in the first centuries after the Conquest endowed the monasteries lavishly. The Black death which devastated the county, as it did others, swept away many of the old families, and from that terrible visitation the peasant monk replaced the monk of older days, and the higher ideal of cenobitic life, self-sacrifice, &c., &c., went to the wall, and lower morals and more uncultivated communities caused many scandals and paved the way for the Reformation.

Lancashire is peculiar among English counties in having retained so many of its old gentry and county families. Nowhere in England are there so many families whose pedigrees go back to the beginning of our evidence, and in some cases overstep the great historical Divide—the Norman Conquest.

The finding of coal and iron under their green fields, and the conversion of their greener meadows into smoky towns, has made our Lancashire proprietors largely independent of agriculture, and enabled them to survive the catastrophies which have overtaken the country gentry elsewhere; and De Trafford and Tempest, Hulton and Gerard, Starkie and Clifton, and many others, still remain among us to witness to the glorious continuity of English history and to the fact that the oldest and best blood among us is not always in the Peerage, but is in the main to be found among the country gentry. It is a special delight to me to remember and recall that an old friend of mine, Mr. Hulton of Hulton, who is now constable of Lancaster Castle, is the head of a family which has been in the forefront of Lancashire local history since its earliest records, and, for aught I know, may have been in possession of Hulton Park and

of Pendleton since the years immediately succeeding the Deluge. If Lancashire be a paradise of wealthy new families, it is assuredly also one of the most famous of English counties in its roll of country gentry with long-drawn-out pedigrees.

Their more or less rugged acres, however, did not afford for the most part any extravagant incomes. The great house of Stanley throughout the Middle Ages probably had statelier surroundings and a larger establishment than any subject of the crown. The De la Warres, the Asshetons, and a few others were also wealthy, but for the most part the Lancashire gentry were people of modest incomes living in small manor houses. In the south of the county these were like those in Cheshire—in many cases magpie houses, made of timber and lath and plaster and coloured black and white: in the north and in the hills, made of the richly-coloured sandstone and grits which abound here. The churches also were modest and small, very few dating from Norman or Early English or Decorated times. The more important ones, like Manchester Cathedral, Cartmel Priory, and the town churches such as Bolton and Bury and Eccles and Warrington, &c., &c., dating for the most part from Perpendicular times.

Of feudal castles we have few and unimportant examples only. There were no enemies at the gate of Mediæval Lancashire, and no necessity therefore for many great castles. Of these, Lancaster, Clitheroe, and Haughton Tower, where the Baron of Beef was knighted, are perhaps the best known. Among the later domestic buildings two are more than remarkable: The Chetham College at Manchester, a unique and most interesting specimen of a Mediæval town house of a great baronial family; and Levens, which you will presently visit, assuredly the most picturesque and complete of gabled and pinnacled Tudor houses with the most complete and picturesque of Jacobean gardens, and the very type we all like to remember of country gentry in my kind friend Captain Bagot and his graceful wife.

As I have said, our county was largely secluded, and lived a life apart behind our English Apennines; but it could not entirely escape the greater waves of historical moment that affected the land. We sent our contingent

to Agincourt, and some of the archers who went there are figured in the stained glass at Middleton. If the Wars of the Roses passed us largely by we gave a name to one of the two factions and a name also to a Royal House; and Henry IV, when Duke of Lancaster, was perhaps the richest prince in Europe, and took a hundred knights in his train when he went to the last of the crusades—a very belated one—against the Letts and Poles. It was Lord Derby's men who decided the battle of Bosworth. In Tudor times we had our domestic dramas. The abbots of the two great Lancashire monasteries, Furness and Whalley, headed the Pilgrimage of Graer, perhaps the most dangerous rebellion we ever had in this country until Charles the First's time, and they both suffered for their temerity with their lives. We possibly burnt more witches than any other county. We harboured Dr. Dee and his necromancy at Manchester; and when the Reformation came about, no part of England was more stirred and nowhere did Puritanism fix itself more firmly than in our remoter valleys. We furnished contingents to either side in the war of the great Rebellion, and here, as elsewhere, heroic men on either side fought out a struggle of principles and secured a new condition of things—the platform on which modern England is planted; but the Rebellion left few traces behind of permanent confiscations or wasted houses. We were too far away from London to receive many Royal visits or to pay the heavier penalties attaching to Royal favours or misfortunes. In one famous struggle in later English history Lancashire took a foremost part—namely, in that of 1745. Prince Charles and his Scotchmen made free with our hospitality in many places, and have left traditions behind. Assuredly few more touching and affecting ballads are anywhere to be found than “Farewell Manchester.” Few more loyal and chivalrous champions of a beaten cause are to be found than our Lancashire Jacobite poet, Dr. Byrom, the author of “Christians, Awake,” and virtually the first introducer of shorthand into these realms.

I sometimes think that the sharp-witted cattle dealers and others, of whom we have a few here—and they have more in Yorkshire—must be a graft from that Scotch

invasion when so many rogues and vagabonds came down upon us and doubtless appropriated our pretty women, as Scotchmen still have the habit of doing, and gave a sharpening edge to their wits.

We now reach a time when the old Lancashire gave place to the new, when steam and machinery revolutionised our life and manners, and when the chaces and rude mountain valleys of Rossendale, of Rochdale, of Oldham, of Bolton, and Bury became the centres of a vast population; when a succession of brilliant mechanical geniuses arose in our midst and decided the fate of the industrial fight. The genius of our people has been largely of the practical kind, involving the application of abstract science to the needs and requirements of men; but it will not be forgotten that in the mental evolution that has marked the last century no names stand out more prominently as scientific discoverers than Dalton and Priestly and Joule, than Whewell and Sedgwick and Roscoe. Few statesmen have left their mark on the Empire more effectually than Gladstone and Bright and Peel. Few literary men have written more graceful English than De Quincey and John Morley; while no son of the soil writing in the vernacular dialect of his fathers, with the single exception of Burns, can approach the delicate poetry, the humour, and imagination of Edwin Waugh.

You will think all this very tedious, very boastful, and very immodest; but I was a little puzzled what to address you about, and it is perhaps a compliment you will not spurn that, in bidding you welcome to this old county, "*Mater dilectissima*" as she is to some of us, we should wish to condense into a few phrases some of the claims we have to your attention. We hope your visit will be a pleasant one. We think you will like us better the longer you know us. We have too often a dull sky and a smoky atmosphere; but, as you will see, we also have some of the most beautiful country in lovely England, and we think that the hard, horny hands of our folk can give as hearty a grip as most. Ladies and gentlemen, we bid you welcome.

ANTIQUITIES OF LANCASTER AND DISTRICT: BEING
THE ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE ROYAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, JULY 20TH, 1898.

By J. HOLME NICHOLSON, M.A.,

President of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.

The ancient and venerable town of Lancaster, which the Institute has this year chosen for its annual gathering, stands on the threshold of scenery which has inspired the pen of the poet and the pencil of the artist, and which has become the paradise of the brain-weary toiler, who seeks and finds amidst its sylvan and pastoral beauties, its enchanting lakes, and its mountain solitudes, rest and refreshment from the labours, the cares, and the anxieties which in this active busy nineteenth century is the lot of most of the dwellers in our towns and cities. Here we have just left behind us the grimy homes of the manufactories and workshops, whose products are distributed over the wide world, civilised and uncivilised alike. The exigencies of modern life have hardly as yet sullied and vulgarised the charms of nature, and traces of our remote ancestors are not entirely obliterated. Celt, Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman, still speak to us through the remains they have left behind them, and if we let our imaginations have full play, we may in some measure realise the conditions under which they lived.

In the few remarks which I have the honour to address you as introductory to the Session of the Historical Section, I propose in brief terms to glance at the landmarks which the successive occupants of this district of North Lancashire have left behind them, and the chief incidents in their history, which touch the great events in our National History. In doing so, I make no claim to the production of any new and original matter. The main facts which I shall bring to your notice are very generally known, or may be readily learnt by a study of our

local historians, and the transactions of our Historical and Antiquarian Societies, but as it is probable there may be many attending this meeting who are more or less strangers to the district and its history, I have thought it might be useful to them if I were to gather up from various sources a story of the past.

Of the earliest race of men who are known to have peopled Britain in prehistoric times, those belonging to the Palæolithic, or early stone age, we have no authentic vestiges such as are found in the river gravels of Southern England in the shape of rudely fashioned and unpolished stone implements. At that period Northern Britain was covered with glaciers descending from the great ice sheet which overspread all Northern Europe. If there was a population here at all any relics of it must have been swept away in the great geological changes which took place subsequently.

North Lancashire, however, furnishes undoubted evidence of the people who succeeded them, those of the Neolithic or newer Stone Age. This evidence chiefly rests on specimens of stone axes, perforated hammer heads, and other implements and weapons, well-shaped and polished to a smooth surface, various articles made from flint, such as knives, scrapers, spear points, and exquisitely wrought arrow heads. Some of these it is possible belonged to the latest portion of the Neolithic Age, and may indeed have been contemporary with the coming in of the Bronze Age. In the south-eastern portion of this county, on the flanks of the Pennine range, distinct Neolithic floors are found, that is to say, that on removing the surface soil flint chippings, cores, finished and unfinished implements are found in great abundance, in one spot indeed there seems to have been a regular manufactory of flint implements.

In the Furness district, on the high moor lands between the valley of the Crake and the Duddon, are very extensive remains of a human settlement. They consist of walled enclosures, the smaller of which are probably the walls of dwellings, whilst the larger ones would serve for the shelter and protection of the flocks and herds of their inhabitants. Cairns and evidences of burial, or cremation abound in and about these settlements. As no implements

or weapons of metal have been found near these settlements, we are justified, I think, in ascribing them to the Neolithic Age.

The Furness district is also rich in archaeological remains which may be ascribed either to the Neolithic Age or that which succeeded it, namely, to the period when weapons and implements of bronze had superseded stone and flint. Amongst the most interesting of these may be mentioned several hut circles, or camps at Holmbank, Sunbrick, Scales, and Birkrigg, in the parish of Urswick. For the most part they take the form of oval enclosures formed of loose earth and stones with traces of a protecting ditch. The largest and most important of these is commonly known as the "Stone Walls." Dr. Barber describes them as "two enclosures, one an elongated circle or rude oval, the other rectangular in form and placed to the southward of the first. The principal figure measures 350 feet by 315 feet, these dimensions including the outer walls, which are from 9 to 10 feet in thickness at their foundations. The plan of these walls is very curious. They are composed of blocks of limestone placed without mortar, the basement stones being in some instances of huge proportions and set endways in the ground in double rows, other stones of smaller size being filled in between. A portion of the enclosure is covered with wood and intersected by a fence-wall. Within this oval, but not quite in the centre, is a smaller circle communicating with the outer wall by several slightly curved ways which divide the whole into a series of compartments." I have quoted this description in detail, as I think it gives us a good idea of the conditions under which the people lived at that time. A small tribe or clan built their rude huts around that of their chief, and the whole settlement was surrounded by a vallum of earth and stones with a ditch on the outer side, and its entrance probably protected by trunks of trees. It is the common type of settlement prevailing among savage people in other lands.

So far we are dependent for our history of North Lancashire on deductions drawn from a study of the remains which the earliest inhabitants have left behind them. With the advent of the Romans, we have, in

addition, the light of written history for our guide, and this begins for us with Agricola's northward march. The Britons inhabiting the North-West of England, consisted of various tribes leagued together under the general name of Brigantes. They seemed to have maintained their independence for some time, but were in A.D. 69 and 70 reduced to submission by Petilius Cerealis. The subjugation, however, was not complete. The spirit of insurrection broke out from time to time—but they were soon to fall under a master's hand—Agricola assumed the command in A.D. 78. and having during the latter portion of that year, by severe repression and wise administration, brought North Wales and Cheshire into a state of quiet, he in the Spring of 79 turned northwards.

His progress must have been difficult, as Lancashire was mostly a vast tract of forest and bog. Reaching the site of the town we are now assembled in his most direct route seemed to be by the valley of the Lune, and for a long time it was generally supposed that it was the route actually taken, but the researches of the late Mr. William Jackson, F.S.A., and Chancellor Ferguson have, I think, conclusively shown that Agricola, with consummate judgment and daring, crossed the sands of Morecambe Bay and the Duddon Sands, and proceeded by the coast of Cumberland to the shore of the Solway. The camps which he formed to keep open his base in North Lancashire are still conspicuous at Ribchester and Lancaster, but we find no trace now existing of another camp on the coast route until we reach Ravenglass in Cumberland.

Sites for camps of some kind have been suggested at Cartmel and Castle Head, near Lindal, and at Dalton in Furness. The positions in the centre of the two peninsulas seem to be suitable for the purpose.

A considerable number of Roman coins have been found at Castle Head, and slight indications, now levelled down, of a rampart at Cartmel. The Roman roads running through North Lancashire are those of the Maiden Way from Ribchester through Overborough up the valley of the Lune by Tebay, and so on through Westmorland and Cumberland to the Great Wall at Thirlwall Castle—a road from Ribchester, and another from Walton near Preston which converged near Galgate,

then ran through Lancaster, whence it threw out three branches, the eastern one to Overborough, the central one to Kendal, and the western one to Hest Bank, and across the Cartmel and Low Furness peninsulas. These roads are in some places the sites of modern roads and lanes, and in other places have only been discoverable when the surface soil has been disturbed by draining, ploughing, or building operations.

The period which followed the departure of the Romans early in the fifth century was one of anarchy and misery to the unfortunate Britons, harassed on all sides by savage foes. North Lancashire would no doubt suffer perhaps to a greater extent than many other parts of the Kingdom, as it lay exposed to easy attack from the Picts and Scots from Ireland and the West of Scotland. We know the old story how the Britons, unable to withstand their enemies, called in the aid of the Teutonic tribes, and how eventually, but not until after long struggles, they became their masters and founded the English nation. The history of the making and conquest of England is told in the most complete and graphic manner by the late J. R. Green, and from it we learn that the English supremacy was not established over the Northern Britons until A.D. 603, when Æthelbert gained a victory over them and their allies the Scots at the battle of Daegsastan, localised by Green in Liddesdale.

The antiquarian remains in North Lancashire during the Anglo-Saxon period until the Normans were in full possession, nearly five centuries, are chiefly earthworks and moated mounds or "Burhs," possibly a few examples of architecture and sculptured stones and crosses. The Saxon Thane seems in many instances to have fixed his dwelling on some steep natural or artificial mound, and to have encompassed it with a ditch, sometimes a dry one but filled with water when this was possible, but always strongly palisaded. The accommodation on the top of the mound must have been limited, but probably he desired to have none but his own family and a few of his most trusted dependents very near him. For the bulk of his dependents he provided room in an outer bailey, which would probably be also protected by palisades. Four of these mounds are in the Lune Valley

between Lancaster and Kirkby Lonsdale, viz., at Halton, Arkholme, Melling, and Gressingham, and one named the Moat Hill at Aldingham in Low Furness. The last named is interesting from the fact that contiguous to it is a moated enclosure on the level ground which probably was the outer bailey, such as I have described.

Dr. Barber is of opinion that the Moat Hill was originally a barrow, and mentions that the late Col. Braddyll sunk a shaft down the centre of the hill from the top, and portions of human bones were brought to light; this fact, however, is not incompatible with the after use of the mound as the "burh" of a Saxon lord.

The traces of early Christianity in the district are, I believe, few, but what we have are interesting. The earliest churches were mostly wooden ones, and would therefore soon disappear, but one at least of stone at Heysham is, I think, long anterior to the Norman Conquest. I refer to the small chapel or oratory of St. Patrick which stands on the headland overtopping the present parish church, itself a structure with remains if not of Saxon of very early Norman work. The late Rev. Thomas Lees, F.S.A., who had devoted much study to early church history and architecture, conjectured that St. Patrick's Chapel might have been a cell or oratory of a hermit, or an anchorite, and that the graves hewn in the solid rock on which the chapel stands may have been those of successive occupants of the monastic cell. I do not think this explanation is quite satisfactory, for one at least of the graves is that of a child. That the graves belong to the Anglo-Saxon period may be inferred from the fact that on removing the surface soil from the rock in which the graves are cut interlacing knot-work so characteristic of the period was discovered by Mr. Roper. But whatever has been the nature of this chapel I think there can be little doubt that it owes its foundation to that missionary zeal of the Irish Celtic Church which spread the Gospel among the British tribes of Strathclyde. If we accept the opinion of Monsignor Gradwell we have also in the parish church of Overton, but a few miles distant near the mouth of the Lune, and which is also dedicated to St. Patrick, an edifice which dates as far back as the seventh century. I cannot myself

see any valid evidence for ascribing so early a date for this church. The most distinctive feature of its architecture is its doorway, but that in my judgment is early Norman. Churches of pre Norman date existed at Lancaster and Halton, as examples of carved stones, characteristic of work of the period, are to be found inserted in their walls. The most important relic of the early church at Lancaster is the Runic Cross, which was discovered in 1807, in digging a grave in the churchyard. After many vicissitudes it has found a resting place in the British Museum. There it is lost to the general public, for who would notice it amongst the crowd of monuments of antiquity. I think it would have been better to have preserved it in the place to which it belonged, and where it would have helped to illustrate the local history. Its special features of interest lie in its being one of the few Christian monuments in Great Britain bearing inscriptions in Anglian Runes. The reading generally accepted is that suggested by the late John Mitchell Kemble, as slightly varied by Professor Stephens, "Bid (pray ye) for Cūnibalth Cuthbærehting (Cuthbert's son)," and its erection is ascribed to the seventh century. To this date, or the eighth century, may also be ascribed a fragment of a cross at Heversham, and the still more important crosses at Halton and Heysham. At Heysham we have one of those curious sculptured pre Norman stones, known as "Hogbacks," which has long been an object of speculation and interest. I forbear to say more about the Heysham stone and the Halton cross as we shall have an opportunity of visiting them, and hearing the interpretation which the learning and research of the Rev. W. S. Calverley and Dr. Colley March have put on the figures sculptured thereon.

At the time of the Norman Conquest Lancashire must have been but thinly peopled. Vast tracts of forest overspread the country, the lower lying lands were interspersed with bog and morasses. Isolated portions were cleared and cultivated, and here the wooden dwellings of the free man or ceorl, with those of the unfree man or læt, the tiller of land which another man owned, clustered around the castle or fortified habitation of the thegn.

The land we now know as Lancashire did not exist as a separate county at the time of the Norman invasion. The southern portion was described in Domesday Survey under Cheshire, but it formed no part of that county, but was spoken of as the land between the Mersey and Ribble. Its ecclesiastical ties, its dialect, and its people were all Mercian. The land north of the Ribble was settled, not from Mercia but from Northumbria, and its traditions, people, and dialect were Northumbrian, and in the Survey it was treated as a part of Yorkshire under the sub-head of "Agemundrenesse," and it includes not only the modern hundred of Amounderness but the whole of Lancashire north of the Ribble, and a number of manors in Craven and Westmorland. In the century or two which preceded the Conquest, this northern portion had been the scene of constant conflict between Saxon and Dane, and a great portion of the land laid in consequence thereof untilled, and is described in Domesday Survey as waste and of no value. This was perhaps more especially the case in the land between the Ribble and Lune than in Lonsdale. Col. Fishwick, from data furnished by the Survey, estimates that out of over 78,000 acres in three parishes of Amounderness only 8,400 were under cultivation. From this it would appear that, in this district at least, nine-tenths of the land was forest, moorland, or waste.

Lancaster from its commanding position, and from its having been a fortified camp of the Romans, and probably of the Britons before them, must have been the place of greatest importance in the district, but strange to say, in Domesday it appears only as a dependency of the manor of Halton, which had been held as part of the possessions of Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, one of the sons of the great Earl Godwin, and the brother of Harold, the last of the Saxon Kings. Tostig fell at the battle of Stamford Bridge, three days before the landing of the Normans.

Soon after the Conquest the land between the Mersey and the Ribble was granted, with other large territories in many other counties, to Roger of Poitou, a scion of the great Norman family of Montgomery. Whether it was he or his father who commanded one of the divisions of William's army at the battle of Senlac was the subject of

an interesting controversy some years ago, between our President, Sir Henry Howarth, and Mr. Freeman, the historian of the Norman Conquest. The arguments on either side were weighty, and I will not presume to judge between two such competent advocates, but we may take it that the rich endowments he received were the reward for valuable services rendered, if not by him personally, by his family. At the time of the Survey, Lancaster was amongst the King's lands in Amounderness and belonged to his demesne; at a later period it appeared to have been granted to Roger, and became the *Caput Honoris*.

Thereupon he restored and partially rebuilt great parts of the Castle, and erected the massive Norman Keep, still the most important and imposing part of the Castle. After repeated rebellions Roger de Poitou was banished in 1102, and his possessions were escheated to the Crown. Four years later it was granted to the successor of Ivo de Taillebois, the first baron of Kendal. The fifth baron of Kendal assumed the name of De Lancaster, and in this family it remained until it passed by an heiress to the FitzReinfreds until the reign of King John, when it became temporarily alienated from them in consequence of FitzReinfred having joined the Barons in revolt against the King, but it was restored to William de Lancaster the third in 1241, at whose death without issue it reverted to the Crown. In 1267 Henry III granted the Castle, honour and town of Lancaster, to his second son Edmund (surnamed Crouchback), creating him at the same time Earl of Lancaster. His son Thomas, second Earl, vastly increased his possessions by marriage with the heiress of Henry de Lacy, and in virtue of that marriage became the most opulent as well as the most powerful subject in England, possessed in his own right and that of his wife of the Earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester, Lincoln, and Salisbury, with all the jurisdiction and power which in that age were annexed to such dignities. The part he took in heading the opposition to the King's favourites, Gaveston and the Le Despencers, brought about his fall and his humiliation, and his tragic end forms a notable incident in our national history. His honours, of course, were forfeited, but his brother and heir, Henry, was restored in blood and honours. He died in 1345 and was

succeeded by his son and heir, a second Henry. In him the family fortunes culminated. He was created Earl of Derby in his father's lifetime, the Earldoms of Lancaster and Leicester devolved upon him at his father's death, the Earldom of Lincoln was bestowed upon him a few years after by a new grant, and finally he was raised to the highest rank as Duke of Lancaster, "with power to have a chancery in the county of Lancaster, and to issue out writs there under his own seal, as well touching pleas of the Crown as any other relating to the common laws of this realm; as also to enjoy all other liberties and regalities belonging to a County Palatine in as ample a manner as the Earl of Chester had within that county." The "Good Duke of Lancaster," as he was called, died of the plague, and left two daughters coheireses. The Lancaster estates with many others fell to the share of the younger, Blanch, who had married John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III. By the death of the elder without issue, the remainder of her father's great possessions came into the hands of the Lady Blanch. Of this lady Chaucer, alluding to her name, says:

" And goode faire White she hete,
That was my lady name ryghte.
She was bothe faire and bryghte.
She hadde not hir name wronge."

but her personal charms were not her only endowments—

" Trewely she was to myn eye,
The soleyne fenix of Arabye;
For thier lyveth nevyr but oon,
Ne swich as she, ne knowe I noon.
To speke of godenesse, trewely she
Had as moche debonairyeté
As ever had Hester in the Bible,
And more, yif more were possyble."

She fell a victim to the last visitation of the Black Death in 1369, during the absence of her husband in France, leaving a son, the future King Henry IV.

During the reign of Edward II the county of Lancaster had suffered greatly from the devastations of the Scots. One of their incursions was made in 1320, when the town of Laneaster was burnt, and the Castle alone survived the fury of the invaders, though it did not escape the marks

of their violence. They ravaged not only Lancaster but the whole district round for a period of eighteen days. The inhabitants were reduced to a dreadful state of misery, and it was only by slow degrees that the town was rebuilt and the Castle recovered from the ruin, but under the munificent hand of John of Gaunt it was restored with more than its original strength and splendour. The name of John of Gaunt, "time honoured Lancaster," is intimately associated with the ancient town and Castle. Here he had held his court with almost regal pomp, and received the homage of his dependent knights and feudal tenants, and bestowed his protection and patronage on the burgesses of the town, obtaining for them several Royal Charters which granted them many important privileges.

None of the great Wars of the Roses were fought out in Lancashire, but Lancashire blood was copiously shed in those hideous and remorseless conflicts, and the castle was held at various times by both parties.

In the Scottish invasion of England in 1513, Lancashire men played an heroic part at the battle of Flodden under their brave leaders, Sir Edward Stanley of Hornby, and Bryan Tunstal of Thurland, the latter of whom fell in the battle—

" It is, I see
 Bryan Tunstal, that bold esquire,
 For in his banner I behold
 A curling cock, as though he would crow
 His clean and undefiled blood
 Good speed doth promise at my heart."

Tunstal is generally designated as the undefiled or "stainless knight," but this honourable appellation belonged to his father, Thomas Tunstal, and was bestowed upon him by Henry VII, after the battle of Bosworth—

" With Earl of Richmond he remained,
 And Lords of the Lancastrian kin ;
 When then the Earl the crown had gained,
 And England's empire fair did win,
 He rendered Tunstal all his right,
 Knowing his valiant blood unstained,
 The king he caused this trusty knight
 Undefiled Tunstal to be named."

The great religious movements which began, or rather

were revived, in the reign of Henry VIII, and which have influenced the whole current of our National History, stirred profoundly the hearts of Lancashire folk. Here were situated the great Abbeys of Whalley, Furness, Cockersand, with many smaller religious houses. The suppression of the monasteries in 1536 and the following years, caused great excitement in the northern counties, and led to the uprising, known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace." The Abbots of Whalley, Sawley, and Furness, either joined the army of the Commons or exercised their influence in inducing others to do so. Large numbers assembled around the Market Cross in Lancaster, and under the exhortations of the Abbot of Whalley, took the oath of fidelity to the Commons. The temporary success of the insurgents, and the melting away of the rebel host are matters of general history. Severe retribution fell upon the instigators and leaders. At the Spring Assizes at Lancaster in 1537, John Paslew, the aged Abbot of Whalley, was sentenced to death, and was hanged on a gallows near his own monastery. Two days previously the Abbot of Sawley and two monks of Whalley suffered death on Lancaster Moor. The Abbot of Furness and the Prior of Cartmel, though their sympathies were with their co-religionists, had been careful not to commit themselves to their extreme measures, but they did not escape the heavy hand of plunder and confiscation. The Commissioner reported that he "had determined to assay the Abbot of Furness himself, whether he would be contented to surrender to the King the said monastery, which thing so opened to the Abbot fairly, we found him of a very facile and ready mind to follow my advice in that behalf." The deed of surrender was accordingly signed by the Abbot and his brethren. The former was consoled by the gift of the Rectory of Dalton, and small pensions were granted to the monks. Thus fell the great Abbey of Furness, the second in England of the Cistercian order, and exceeded in opulence only by Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire.

North Lancashire was the scene of many stirring events during the early years of the Civil Wars, the tide of battle on many occasions surged up the valley of the

Lune. The Castles of Lancaster, Hornby and Thurland were besieged, taken, and retaken, and once Lancaster suffered severely by fire and sword, but I will not weary you with details, for which time will not allow, nor will I recount the incidents of the two attempts in 1715 and 1745, of the Stuarts to regain the throne of their ancestors so far as they relate to this county.

My endeavour in this brief account has been to show that this corner of our country is full of interest to the antiquary and the historian, and that the Royal Archaeological Institute has done well in inviting its members to visit "the good old town of Lancaster."

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ROMAN OCCUPATION UPON
THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN CUMBER-
LAND AND WESTMORLAND.

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

The subject of the moral condition, numerical strength, and political organization of the Northern Britons in the period succeeding the Roman evacuation is one of great obscurity. In the following pages we shall call attention to a certain group of facts; which being determined by only one of numerous methods of investigation, needs unquestionably to be examined alongside a quantity of other evidence. This, however, is not the purpose of the present paper, in which we shall attempt only to approach a difficult subject from a particular standpoint: and it will remain to be judged whether certain conclusions, pointed to mainly by archæological evidence, can be over-riden by the united testimony of the Welsh and Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and the Annals of the early Celtic Church. It seems to us, however, that before such a question can be conclusively answered, a much larger area than that we treat of—the Northern half of the Province of Britain in fact—should be subjected to an examination on the lines which we propose to attempt here.

Most people who have travelled at all widely in the old world must have been struck by the fact that in some countries, such as the Nile Valley, continuity of residence has been the general rule from remote ages; that is to say, that although some countries have, no less than others, been subject to conquest by alien races, and have been repeatedly swept over, and occupied or colonized, by new waves of conquest, the original centres of population have been invariably re-inhabited: whereas in other countries, densely populated in ancient times, the newer arrivals have ignored the sites of early towns and villages, which can now be traced only by mounds and ruins. As a type of this class we may take the lower Euphrates especially as, like the sister valley of the Nile, it was the scene of one of the great Biblical civilizations, and fell at the same periods approximately, beneath the Roman Eagle and crescent of Islam.

Of course there are reasons for these anomalies, although they are not in all cases very apparent. There are many things to consider: the vigour or degeneracy of the conquered race; the question whether it was only subdued or whether it was exterminated or dispersed; or, in the case of the occupation of a barbarous country by a civilized power, whether the garrison was ultimately entirely withdrawn, and if so, whether the withdrawal was, or was not, followed by internal political complications, or aggression on the part of neighbouring peoples. We should also look at the habits and customs of any supplanting or incoming race; and examine the suitability of the old sites for their requirements. For in some cases the newcomers may have been precluded, by a narrow geographical range, from forming new centres, and have become merged in the conquered population: while in others a wide and varied country face may have encouraged them to pick and choose according to their traditional requirements, and so neglect the existing towns.

Most of us who have examined at all carefully the Archæological map of our district (Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire over Sands) will probably have been struck by the fact that while the known Roman sites are very numerous, the number which are occupied by ancient towns or villages is comparatively small; the actual ratio, as we shall see, being in fact about ten or eleven out of about thirty-five of the principal castra or stations. In the following pages we shall try to find an explanation of this. In the ensuing table—

Column A	contains	Roman camps, the sites of which are occupied, or surrounded, by ancient market towns or villages.
Column B	„	Camps, the sites of which are unoccupied by, and isolated from, ancient towns or villages.
Column C	„	Camps, the sites of which are adjacent to an ancient town or important village.
Column D	„	Camps, within which, or close to which, are ancient parish churches.
Column E	„	Camps containing the site of a mediæval castle or stronghold.
Column F	„	Camps contiguous to harbours or roadsteads.

R.W. = Roman Wall.

CAMPS, &c.	A. Occupied by an ancient village.	B. Unoccupied and isolated.	C. Adjacent to an ancient village.	D. Parish church.	E. Medieval castle.	F. Ancient harbour.
1. Bewcastle	—	—	—	St. Mary or St. Cuthbert (close to).	1	—
2. Birdswald, R. W. . . .	—	1	—	—	—	—
3. Berrans Ring (Ambleside) . . .	—	—	Near Ambleside.	—	—	—
4. Bowness-on-Solway, R. W. . . .	1	—	Near Brampton.	St. Michael (close to).	—	—
5. Brampton (?), R. W.	—	—	—	—	—	—
6. Brough-under-Stainmore. . . .	1	—	Near Penrith.	—	—	—
7. Brougham	—	—	—	—	—	—
8. Bugh-on-Sands, R. W.	1	1 (?)	—	St. Michael.	—	—
9. Burrow Walls (Workington) . . .	—	1	—	—	1	Workington.
10. Cambeck Fort (Castlesteads), R. W.	—	1	—	—	—	—
11. Carlisle, R. W.	1	—	—	1	—	—
12. Caermot	—	1	—	—	—	—
13. Copeland Beck	—	1	—	—	—	—
14. Dalton-in-Furness	1	—	—	St. Mary.	—	—
15. Drumburgh, R. W.	—	1 (?)	—	—	—	—
16. Egremont (site doubtful).. . .	1	—	Near Maryport.	St. Mary or St. Michael (?)	1 (?)	Maryport.
17. Ellenborough	—	—	—	—	—	—
18. Hardknott	—	1	—	—	—	—
19. Keswick (camp site doubtful) . .	1 (?)	—	—	—	—	—
20. Kirkby Thore	1	—	—	—	1 (Whelp Castle).	—
21. Low Borrow-bridge	—	1	—	—	—	—
22. Maiden Castle (Stanemore) . . .	1	—	—	—	—	—
23. Mawbray or Mawburgh	—	1	—	—	—	—
24. Moresby	1 (?)	—	—	—	—	—
25. Mincester	—	1 (?)	Near Ravenglass.	St. Bridget.	—	—
26. Netkerby	—	1	Near Wigton	—	—	—
27. Old Carlisle (Wigton)	—	—	Near Cocker- mouth.	—	1	—
28. Pap Castle	—	—	—	—	—	—
29. Plumpton Wall (Old Penrith) . .	—	1	—	—	1 (Pipers Castle).	—
30. Redlands (Crackenthorpe Common)	—	1	—	—	—	—
31. Reycross	—	1	—	—	—	—
32. Stanwix, R. W.	1	—	—	St. Michael.	—	—
33. Watchcross (?), R. W.	—	1	—	—	—	—
34. Watercock (Kendal)	—	—	Near Kendal.	—	—	—
35. Whitbarrow	—	1	—	—	—	—
Approximate Totals	10	17	8	8	8	5

St. Catherine's hole
(Roadstead).
Parton.
Ravenglass.

NOTE TO THE TABLE.

It is almost impossible to reduce this table to any degree of exactness. Moresby, for instance, occurs in both Columns A and B, because it contains the church, and perhaps the ancient village was alongside it. In Column B there is really an ancient village at Drumburgh, though it is unimportant. Burrow Walls is close to Workington, a modern development as a town; but looking at the name, we conclude there was an early Anglian settlement there, so that perhaps Burrow Walls should really be in Column C. In Column C, in like manner, Ellenborough is two-thirds of a mile from Maryport, which is modern, but had an ancient settlement on the Castle Hill. In the same column also occurs Brampton, which we hear has recently been dug into, and is believed to be non-Roman. But since it has been always classed as a Roman Station, we necessarily include it until the evidence for its elimination be published. In Column D the exact boundaries of the original camp area at Carlisle, Egremont, and Dalton are uncertain, so that it cannot be said whether the church is or is not included by them. The mediæval stronghold which gives Burrow Walls a place in Column E rests only on evidence which must be examined in Hutchinson's *Cumberland*, p. 262, and *Transactions C. and W. Antiq. and Arch. Assoc.*, V, 22. Walls Castle, really a Roman villa just outside the Muncaster camp, was by tradition the ancient Castle of the Penningtons; and it certainly seems possible that it may owe its preservation to adoption in early times as a fortress. In Column F it should be noted that all the harbours were probably used in Roman times, though Parton and Maryport were modern re-developments. It seems, however, doubtful if any except Ravenglass were in regular use in early mediæval days.

On looking at this table a number of questions, by no means easy to answer, at once present themselves. To begin with, the first three columns raise an interesting point, viz. to what extent the camps themselves influenced the placing of the various Teutonic settlements. The fourth column naturally suggests further scrutiny of the supposed Roman-British and early churches, while the list of names of sites, offers a mass of material which requires sifting for indications of the races which settled in or near the camps.

Of what may be termed reliable historical information relating to our own locality at the close of the Roman occupation and the period immediately succeeding it, there is very little indeed. What there is we shall later revert to. But were we in absolute darkness we should naturally conclude that the buildings, barracks, and towns lying behind the Cumberland wall would be occupied, upon the withdrawal of the Roman garrison, by the Britons in the vicinity. The Roman occupation must have bequeathed to the district a considerable semi-Romanized population of mixed blood—a poor hybrid race, there is reason to believe, washed over little more than skin-deep with a coat of Roman culture. Yet though we may be justified in believing this to have been the case, it is undoubtedly a matter of much difficulty to decide whether, and if so for how long, they retained any semblance of civil or military organization or political cohesion.

History has often shewn that though the occupation of a weak or barbarous country by a strong civilized power may improve the country, it does not always succeed in improving the people. We all know what would happen if England withdrew from Egypt, and it is quite possible that a similar lapse might take place in Britain on the termination of Roman rule. Roman civilization in Northern Britain may have been a shallow veneer only; because in spite of the advantages they inherited in the shape of fortified strongholds and roads, some acquaintance surely with architecture, engineering, and military discipline, the figure they make in local history in subsequent centuries is insignificant. The stage becomes crowded with the warlike and barbaric

figures of the Angles and Norse, while the Britons themselves, in spite of their 330 years of Roman tuition, appear as mere "supers."

The Teutonic Settlements.

The first method we shall attempt for elucidating these obscure questions is that of examining as well as we can, the systems followed by the various Teutonic settlers when they took up the land. The sites adopted in such settlements would in most cases be dictated partly by the productive quality of the land they invaded, partly by the position of actual sites occupied by the inhabitants, partly by the amount of successful opposition they encountered, and of course partly by their own wants and habits. If we find on the one hand that the newcomers habitually occupied the camp sites, the natural conclusion would be that they found them habitable, and that they expelled the occupants and took their homes. If on the other hand they avoided them, it would point rather to the invaders finding them uninhabited and uninhabitable, though it is certainly a possible hypothesis that, under certain circumstances, newcomers might settle without conflict with, and in the neighbourhood of, the occupying race.

The various events in the Anglian advance from the East, which led up to the settlement of the more fertile districts of Cumberland and Westmorland, need hardly detain us here¹: it is sufficient to say that while some few Anglians may have established themselves soon after the occupation of the Dee and Mersey districts, it is generally agreed that it was during the time of Ecgfrith

¹ The principal are—

c. 607.—The splitting in two of the Kymrie realm by the English occupation of Dee and Mersey district. Battle of Chester 607. After this the Lake district became the southern end of Northern Cumbria or Strathelyde, although south of the River Derwent was perhaps considered Anglian by the Angles.

635.—Victory of Oswald over Caedwalla near Hexham. Mission work of Aidan. Bewcastle cross erected 670.

670–685.—Cumbrian Britons broken up by Ecgfrith and possibly driven into the hills of the Lake district. The Cumberland and Westmorland plain settled by the Angles. About this time the southern parts of the counties were regarded as Deiran territory.

677.—Gift to St. Cuthbert by Ecgfrith, of Cartmel and all the Britons in it (Bede).

685.—Gift to St. Cuthbert by the same King, of Carlisle and fifteen miles round it (Simeon of Durham).

(670–685) that most of the early settlements were made. It was therefore only some 260 years after the final withdrawal of Roman government.

The Anglian advance entered the district from the East following the Roman wall, on the line of which they placed numerous settlements adjacent to, but seldom upon, the Roman castra. From Carlisle they swept round the coast by the older Roman road, and they spread along other Roman ways to Wigton, the Penrith district, and to Englewood: and again we shall find that they carefully avoided occupying the actual Roman centres.¹

It may be convenient to make an examination of the names in some detail as we proceed; but we must be cautious not to place too much reliance on this method. The analysis of the modern names of Roman camps would have considerable value if every site had a name of its own, and was not named, as is often the case, from an adjacent village or physical feature. Moreover, the derivation of place names is as yet no exact science, and often even when sure of the meaning, we cannot be equally certain of the language from which it is directly derivable.²

To begin with, Column A of our table shews only three Roman camps the sites of which are occupied by ancient towns, the names of which appear to be Anglian or Anglo-Saxon. They are Dalton, Burgh, and Brough.

The last two belong to a particular group of names which, occurring as they do in our district in an Anglian settled locality, we are probably justified in deriving from the A.S. "burh,"³ which again represents the Greek *πύργος* and the Latin "burgum." Vegetius (A.D. 375) defines the

¹ For practical purposes we may ignore the Saxons as a separate factor in race immigration in our district. "Ham," the test word, is found in South Westmorland and Furness as Heversham, Beetham, and Aldingham. Further north, Brougham is a Roman site, but it looks like a corruption of Brocavum, its Roman name. "Ham" is certainly, in some cases, a corruption of "holm."

² The derivations, or perhaps it should

be said, the classification, of the names here suggested, are at best only tentative: for though the present writer has visited a large number of the ancient sites, he cannot claim great familiarity with the various neighbourhoods.

³ It is remarkable that Dr. Christison cannot find any regular application of the forms "burrow," "burgh," &c., in Scotland earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century. *Early Fortifications in Scotland*, p. 41, &c.

smallest kind of Roman fortress "Castellum parvum quoddam burgum vocant."¹

But in this group of names we find altogether—

Burgh on Sands. R.W. (Burgo in the Wetheral Chartulary.)

Brough under Stanemore. (Burgo in the Wetheral Chartulary.)

Mawburgh.

Birdoswald (Burgh Oswald). R.W. (Bordoswald in the Wetheral Chartulary.)

Ellenborough.

Burrow walls.

Low Borrow bridge.

Whitbarrow (probably correctly Whiteborough).

Brougham (perhaps the A.S. edition of Brocavum).

Drumburgh. R.W. The ancient forms Drumboc and Drumbeigh render this extremely doubtful.

Here we observe that though we have nine or ten camps, which were apparently named by the Angles as towers or fortifications, there appear to have been only two—Burgh on Sands and Brough—where settlements were made which became permanent.

Turning to the Anglian test word "ton," we find a group equally suggestive—

Dalton, believed to occupy site of a Roman camp.

Workington, near the camp Burrow walls.

Wigton, " " Old Carlisle.

Plumpton, " " Castlesteads (old Penrith).

Walton. R.W. " " Castlesteads.

Irthington. R.W. " " Watchcross.

Brampton, " " Brampton camp,

which apparently indicates that the Anglians planted one "ton" settlement on a camp site, and five or six in the immediate vicinity of, but not upon, the actual sites of

¹ The Norse may have picked up their "borg," and the Arabs their "burj"

برج from their respective early collisions and connections with the Byzantines.

Roman camps. In other words, in all the cases except one the actual camp site was purposely avoided.¹

What Danish influence can be traced in our locality, is due to the incursions of Halfdene, who ravaged Cumberland, sacked Carlisle, and sore distressed the Strathclyde Welsh in 875, or something less than 500 years after the Roman evacuation. The countrymen of Halfdene who settled in the district were by no means so numerous as the Angles: though, in the same way, we can trace them along the lines of Roman road by the place names, in their advance from the East.

The Danish "bys" were often planted cheek by jowl alongside the Anglian "tons." The camps which remain unoccupied, and in the vicinity of which Danish settlements can be traced, are numerous. On the other hand, we find four camps only, which from their names may have been appropriated by Danes: and of these, one—Netherby—now contains a stronghold instead of a village. They are—

Moresby.

Netherby.

Kirkby Thore.

Stanwix. R.W.

The Norse immigration came over the sea from the West, but the date, unrecorded in history, is not even yet quite certain. It was, however, either in the latter half

¹ "Mot" in Caermot, perhaps Anglian, is very difficult to deal with. It seems to be identical with "mota," the name of the A.S. "burhs" in post-Conquest charters. But there is no evidence that in Anglo-Saxon times this class of earthwork was known to the people by any other word than "burh." Yet in Scotland, at the present day, they are often called "Motes," and also in our own district, where we find the characteristic examples of Aldingham, Liddell, and Brampton Motes. To account for this, it has been suggested that the word was introduced into the north in post-Conquest times; and it is worth noting that in Galloway there are numerous forts thus known which are not of the A.S. "burh" type. (See Christison's *Early Fortifications in Scotland*, Chaps. I-III.)

If we accept the assumption that "mot," as applied to any sort of fortification, is of late introduction in the north, we may possibly be justified in classing with it such fortified sites as contain "mont," which perhaps indicates the original form. Thus Egremont (*Agremont temp. Hen. II*) has a very Norman-Latin sound, though Mr. Collingwood suggests Egener-mot, the "mot" on the Egen or Ehen formed with the Scandinavian genitive. On the other hand, Eamont (spelled by Leland Emot) has been tentatively identified with Eamot or Eamotum, the site of Athelstan's treaty in 926 (*A.S. Chronicle*). Whether this identification be correct or not, it seems possible that the name originally was applied to the Roman camp at Brougham or the great stony ring at Mayborough, and not to the river.

of the ninth century or in the middle of the tenth.¹ The Vikings took little notice of Roman roads and cared nought for Roman camps. They marched straight up into the fells, and settled right and left in the very hiding places where the Britons are supposed to have been if the earlier date be the true one. If it be not, and the Norse did not come till after the battle of Dunmail Raise in 945, the Britons had got their quietus; but whichever was the case, it is plain that though the Vikings had no particular taste for the neighbourhood of the Angles and Danes near the sea, they did not care two straws for all the Britons who were in the fells when they arrived.

Norse place-names, therefore, do not help this enquiry very much, because there are few camps in the fells where the Norsemen chiefly settled. Keswick and Bowness on Solway are, however, perhaps examples of camp sites actually settled; but neither example is reliable, for Bowness may be Danish, while the actual site of the Keswick camp, and also the derivation of the name are questionable. On the other hand, Ambleside and Kendal may be fairly taken as examples of Norse settlements placed purposely clear of Roman camps. The name Borrans applied to the first, and Burwens, at Kirkby Thore, may be Celtic loan words or adoptions into the vocabularies of the Scandinavian settlers.²

The word "castle," found at at least nine or ten Roman sites,³ may be an echo of the Roman "castellum" or of kindred Celtic forms, but it seems likely that it was not applied to the ruined camps till the date when "castle" was the recognized popular word for a fortress. Considering how varied were the elements which formed the people, that date would probably be comparatively late.⁴

¹ The later theory, based on certain data in the Sagas, is that it took place between 870 and 895. The older one, that the immigration followed the wasting of Cumbria by King Edmund, and the battle of Dunmail Raise (945).

² Various and widely distributed forms are found in Ireland, Scotland, Orkney, Man, and Cumbria: sometimes applied to natural rocky exereescences, in other cases to ruined sites. A "borran" in the Lakes is still a heap of rocky *débris* or a cairn.

³ Castlesteads at Watercrook, Plumpton Wall, and Cambeck Fort. Castle-rigg and Crag near Keswick: Hardknott Castle. The Castle, an old name for the Ambleside Camp (*vide West's Guide*), Castlefields, Mawburgh. Bewcastle and Pap Castle contained the mediæval fortresses of Bueth and Piperd.

⁴ It would be possible, though probably not very profitable, to carry the enquiry into the origin of the site and settlement names a good deal further.

It is certain that the evidence of the settlements must have some sort of meaning; and it would seem that we are fairly justified in concluding that during all the period of Teutonic settlement, that is approximately from the middle of the seventh century to the middle of the tenth century, the rule of the newcomers was to avoid the old Roman centres. This is especially noticeable on the Roman wall along which the Angles, the most numerous of all the immigrant races, entered the country. For on the Cumberland part of the Wall there are about nine large castra and minor stations between Birdoswald and Bowness inclusive, yet only four—Bowness, Burgh, Stanwix, and Carlisle¹—retained a continuity of population through to mediæval and modern times.² We find also in our table that seven or eight ancient towns or settlements, all still populous, were purposely built a mile or so clear of the old castra. Why so? May we not fairly answer that the settlers found them uninhabited ruins, and, ignorant of their history, regarded them superstitiously as the work of the devil or of enchanters. For the same reasons numerous other sites were carefully given a wide berth. Yet we find that about eight camps contained mediæval castles; but this may only mark the decay of superstition as the country people in a few centuries became familiar with the ruins.

Clearly, if, when the Angles came about 670, the Roman

It may, however, be worth while to apply the same method of classification to Columns A, B, and C of the Table. In Column A (sites occupied) we find one site with a pure Celtic name—Carlisle; three with names probably Anglian—Dalton, Burgh and Brough; and three with Danish names—Stanwix, Moresby, and Kirkby Thore; while two—Bowness and Keswick—are presumably Norse, and one—Egremont—perhaps mediæval.

In Column B (unoccupied sites) Maiden Castle is alone certainly Celtic; six—Birdoswald, Burrow walls, Mawburgh, Plumpton wall, Low Borrow bridge, and Whitbarrow—apparently Angle or A.S.; one Danish—Netherby. Cambeek sounds Norse, but Mr. Collingwood suggests it retains a familiar name applied to St. Finian; and the remainder are mediæval or uncertain.

In Column C (where the settlements are clear of the sites) the adjacent settlements are two Angle or A.S.—Brampton and Wigton; two Norse—Ambleside and Kendal. The date of the old settlement at Maryport is uncertain. And the origin of Penrith and Ravenglass is obscure.

¹ As Chancellor Ferguson, in his *History of Cumberland* (p. 159) points out, the very fact that Carlisle retained its name shews that the 200 years during which the chroniclers say it was uninhabited must not be taken too literally.

² Carlisle retained, probably till 573, a sort of Roman supremacy in the north. Stanwix lived only, I think, as a suburb of Carlisle. Bowness and Burgh may have had special reasons for continuous existence, to which we shall refer later.

sites were still the centres of population, there would have been a struggle between the two races. Yet there does not seem to have been, because, if the Angles had beaten the Roman Britons, they would no doubt have occupied the enemy's strongholds. If the Angles were worsted, they would surely never have dared to settle so near the victors, if indeed they settled at all. What they seem to have done, was to plant their homesteads alongside the camps, because there the land was most fertile, but hardly ever on them, from ignorance and superstition. So also the Danes. On the other hand, the Norse knew they could not hit it off with their Teutonic brethren on the plains, and went straight to the fells. Evidently in the high ground also, the British were at that period an enemy not worth the consideration of a band of marauding Vikings.

The Spread of Christianity.

Another method can be applied to test the movements and condition of the Roman Britons when left to themselves. If we can establish the existence of a Christian Church before the earliest arrival of the Teutonic races, there must have been a resident population to work on. Further, if we can prove that these pre-Anglian missions planted the cross on the sites where the Romans had dwelt, we must conclude that the Britons still inhabited them, and either welcomed, as Christians, the priests of the faith, or if still Pagan accepted the faith itself. Conversely, if the early churches were placed clear of the Roman sites, the population must have been scattered, and certainly were not carrying on the traditions of Roman culture.

The Roman-British Church.

Christianity became practically the State religion of the Roman Empire with the proclamation of Constantine the Great in 324 A.D., although Paganism was not proscribed. At the final evacuation of Britain in 409, Christianity had been (with a brief break in the reign of Julian) the State religion of the empire for about 85 years: or, reckoning from the first withdrawal of the army in 387, from which date the neighbourhood of the Wall was a theatre of

bloodshed, there had been only some 63 years for the new faith to make its way among the Britons.

Although at first sight it seems remarkable that Christian relics of the Roman period are practically unknown in Cumberland, and are indeed of extreme rarity in Britain, the causes really are fairly plain. The disturbed condition of the Empire of the West during the fourth century when the very fabric of the realm was tottering, the great distance of the northern frontier of Britain from the Imperial capital, the fact that the garrison troops were chiefly levies from all corners of the Empire, and not native Italians, caused a complete neglect of religion in the district of the Roman Wall. There might be many zealous Christians among the officers; but to attempt to push the faith among the wild Batavians, Moors, or Spaniards would have probably brought the staff face to face with mutiny. No orders were issued for the erection of garrison churches, and the army of occupation remained, to all intents and purposes, a Pagan force.

The influence of at least four distinct Celtic Churches can still be traced in the district; and for convenience we may adopt Mr. W. G. Collingwood's handy classification,¹ though it must be understood that the date of each Church does not necessarily imply an equally early period in the local development:

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------|-------------|
| 1. Roman-British of Ninian | .. | 4th century |
| 2. Irish of Patrick | .. .. | 5th .. |
| 3. Kymric of Kentigern | .. .. | 6th .. |
| 4. Anglo-Scottish of Cuthbert | | 7th .. |

The British Church of St. Ninian.

The evidence of any local development of Ninian's Church south of the Wall in the fourth century is quite inadequate. Ninian, a Solway-born Briton, founded Whithern at the end of the fourth century, and died in 432 A.D. In our own part of Cumbria we find a Ninian church near Brougham (a Roman site), and wells at Brisco (fairly close to a main Roman road), and Loweswater (quite clear of Roman remains).

¹ In his paper "Lost Churches in the Carlisle Diocese."

The proposition made by Mr. Lees, that Ninian himself entered Cumberland as a mission field, never found much acceptance. As a matter of fact, if we reject entirely the idea of a Roman-British Church or a Roman-Christian garrison, the proposition falls to the ground.¹ If Ninian was enabled in such terrible times to enter Cumberland as a missionary, he would have to approach the Roman executive as the representatives of the Government and the head-quarters of the district. Can we imagine that he would have any encouragement from the military authorities, who from 396 to 402 had their hands full, and whose only policy, even in tranquil times, was to let religion slide completely in the garrison? Ninian might certainly be licensed to work among the British tribes which were not in contact with the garrison, but he would be peremptorily warned off all Roman stations, and no St. Ninian's Church, we may rest assured, was founded till well after 409 A.D. The very fact that two of the sites where the name is preserved are on Roman lines refer them almost conclusively to a post-Roman date. They may well be as late as the time of Kentigern.

*The Irish Church of St. Patrick.*²

The Patrick and Bridget dedications undoubtedly bear witness to the presence of Irish missionaries in our district; but there appears to be no evidence that they are early. Mr. Collingwood, in his paper on "Lost Churches," says:—

"The traditional date of the founding of St. Bees about 650 is just the date of strong Irish influence in Anglian Cumbria. . . . There was constant intercourse between the Anglian Kingdom and Ireland."

The six churches dedicated to St. Bridget, Patrick's fellow worker, lie in a fairly compact group on the west side of Cumberland, and near the coast, just as we should

¹ See "St. Ninian's Church, Brougham," by Rev. Thomas Lees (*Trans. C. and W. Arch. and Antiq. Soc.*, IV, p. 420). Mr. Lees would bring Ninian to Brougham in 396, the very year Stilicho's legion came hurrying back to the border

to drive out the Picts and Scots, under whom the whole district was being wasted.

² St. Patrick was sent to Ireland 433 A.D., immediately after Ninian's death.

expect to find the traces of Irish missionaries. They are—

1. Bridekirk, about 2 miles from Papcastle Camp.
2. Brigham, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Papcastle.
3. Beckermet, 3 miles from the camp at Egremont.
4. Bassenthwaite, no camp in vicinity.
5. Moresby, in the camp.
6. Kirkbride,¹ where there is a doubtful Roman camp.

The attributions to St. Patrick are widely scattered, and far less satisfactory. Aspatria, and Patrickeld near Calder, which are both on the west of Cumberland, are no doubt authentic, and Patterdale also has both a church and a well, called from the saint.² All three are fairly close to Roman roads, but clear away from camps. But Preston Patrick and Bampton Patrick in Westmorland are doubtful, for they may have been named from an early Lord, although the Bampton Church is a Patrick dedication. Ousby in Cumberland is also questionable.

The Kymric Church of St. Kentigern.

There are eight Kentigern churches all lying north of the River Derwent. They are generally considered to be proprietary dedications, *i.e.* dedicated to the missionary who founded them. Kentigern visited Cumbria just after the middle of the sixth century, but possibly the churches were not erected till after the battle of Ardderyd (A.D. 573), which placed Rydderch Hael, the British chief, on the throne of Strathclyde, and recalled Kentigern to his nominal diocese.³ They may therefore possibly be older than the Bridget and Patrick dedications.

¹ See R. S. Ferguson, *History of Cumberland*, p. 77.

² It is worth noting, however, that a well at Glenaston in Furness, once Sir Michael's Well (after an early le Fleming), is now St. Michael's Well.

³ This same battle of Ardderyd is so encrusted with the usual extravagant Celtic romance that its historical value

is uncertain; but there is good reason to believe it was partly the outcome of intrigues carried on by Columba and Kentigern among the various British princelings from Dalriada or Argyle to Wales proper. See also Canon Rawnsley's *St. Kentigern and St. Herbert*, 1892, pp. 38-41, 50 and 51.

The Kentigern churches are :—

1. Irthington.
2. Grinsdale.
3. Caldbeck.
4. Castle Sowerby.
5. Mungrisdale.
6. Crosthwaite.
7. Aspatria (apparently a re-dedication of a Patrick church).
8. Bromfield.

Of these, Irthington and Grinsdale are on the Roman Wall, but not at camps. Crosthwaite is carefully removed a short distance from the presumed camp at Keswick, and the other five are distinctively non-Roman.

The two Columba dedications, Askham and Warcop, may probably be put about the same date, *i.e.* after the middle of the sixth century. Here, again, they are on Roman roads, but not at Roman camps. The same remark applies to St. Columba's Well at Kirkby Lonsdale.

The Anglo-Scottish Church of Cuthbert.

The numerous St. Cuthbert dedications in the diocese are not of importance to this enquiry, as it has been shewn that a number of them date from the strange journey of the dead saint's body some two centuries after this time. The territorial grants of Carlisle and Cartmel to Cuthbert were however made in 670 and 685, and there is little doubt that Carlisle is a "proprietary" dedication of the seventh century.

With the exception of a few other dedications, such as the four churches of St. Oswald, and one of St. Begha, which may be early, but are not easy to place chronologically, the dedications in the Carlisle diocese are probably later than 685, and hardly require present consideration.

Summing up, it does not appear that there is any actual evidence of Christian foundations in the diocese before the sixth century; and even in the end of it, when

the Kentigern churches were founded, there is nothing to shew that there was anything more than pioneer missionary work. But especially must the significant fact be noticed that all the eight Kentigern churches which preceded probably the Anglian settlements by 100 years were placed clear of Roman camps, although three were in Roman localities. Turning to the Patrician missionaries who, not improbably, were working contemporaneously with the Angle immigration, we find that, while following the Roman roads, they avoided the camp sites in five out of seven Bridget foundations. The few Patrick churches of which we have any certainty, tell the same tale. Yet the Roman camps were the very places where we might have expected at this period to find the densest, most cultivated, and intelligent British population. Again we cannot help asking, What can this indicate but that the Roman camps were mostly abandoned, and that the Britons were either very few in number or had reverted to the uncultured and barbarous condition in which the Romans had found them?

We have attempted to shew that with a Pagan garrison and a frontier subject to continuous bloodshed, a Roman-British Church in Cumberland was practically impossible. Any missionaries who might come before 409 would have to keep clear of the Roman castra; but there is no evidence that any ever came. Among seven churches now found in or near Roman posts there are but two which date before the end of the seventh century—that of Cuthbert at Carlisle, the history of which is clear; and that of St. Bridget at Moresby, which probably marks the landing point of an Irish missionary in the sixth or seventh century. The fact that this camp contains a church, *but no village*, again looks as if it was in ruins. The missionary built his church because stone was in plenty, and to hallow an unholy site. But his little band of followers camped outside in wigwams, and built houses only when the land was cleared of scrub.

On the other hand, Kentigern looked askance at the Roman ruins in Derwent valley. If the camp had been inhabited, his church would have been there; but it was a haunted ruin, so he planted his cross a little distance away. It looks as though the Norseman who came later

was a Pagan, and here preferred the haunted ruins to the proximity of the church.¹

It will be urged, no doubt, that so far we have persistently followed certain lines of negative archaeological evidence, and purposely neglected both local Celtic evidences and local history.

But, in regard to the first, what is there beyond the Celtic Church which we have discussed? There is no series of post-Roman British relics, nor indeed of structural remains that we can identify. But there are, as a matter of fact, a fairly numerous group of place-names, generally applied to the higher fells and to other physical features; but they, of course, do not bear in any way upon the position of the post-Roman Britons in regard to the camps.

Turning to the Roman sites themselves, we find that six names only have any appearance of being Celtic in origin, and several are very doubtful—

Carlisle (Caerluel, &c.).

Caermot.

Stone Carron (the old name of Whitbarrow Camp).

Maiden Castle and Maidenhold.

Drumburgh (? Drumbog = little ridge).

Muncaster (Meolcastre ?)²

¹ Brampton, if a Roman camp, is a more curious case. Here the church is half a mile west of the camp, and the camp one mile west of the town. At the east end of the town is an Anglian "burh" or moated-hill, shewing where that race made a settlement. In this case, however, there must have been originally two settlements a mile and a-half apart. The west one was just clear of the Roman camp in the usual way. For some reason, of which we have lost knowledge, the inhabitants of this were drawn to the east settlement, and the church remained alone.

² Carlisle (Celtic, *Caer*; Irish, *Ka-hiv*) is clear, and shows a post-Roman Celtic occupation. Carron, found elsewhere in the Lakes, like Cairn, is Celtic, but very likely a Viking importation from Man.

"Caster," in Muncaster, introduces a whole series of difficulties. Dr. Christison has shewn that the forms "easter," "chester," and the like, are frequently in Scotland applied to small non-Roman forts; and shews good reasons that in

that country these words were introduced by the Saxons, or (we may presume) the Angles. That though, in England, the Saxons applied them to towns of Roman origin, the Romans themselves did not call their towns by the name of "Castrum," nor did the Roman-Britons subsequent to the evacuation. Muncaster, therefore, as a Roman-British name is very doubtful.

Maiden Castle, Maiden Way, and Maiden Hold (a fort near Crackenthorpe), though very obscure, are almost certainly Celtic. "Den" is pretty certainly "dun," a hill or ridge, or, as in Wales, a fort. The first syllable has been the subject of innumerable suggestions and "shots," among which are Dr. Stuart's "mag," pronounced "mai," and "maes," a field or a battle. The word crops up again in the camp Mawbray or Mawburgh, where it is associated with a later non-Celtic word. And also in the parallel form of Mayborough, the great ring of cobbles near Penrith, and Maeshowe in Orkney.

And of these it may be noticed that Drumburgh and Muncaster may be Anglian; Caermot, which involves "mote" (already discussed), is a very doubtful form, while Carron is not improbably a loan word brought by the Norse at a later date from Man. We should also observe that only one of these (Carlisle) retains an urban population on its site, and there is an old but insignificant village at the questionable example of Drumburgh.

Again, as to local history of this period what have we? There is the story of King Cunedda and his realm, who was of Roman descent and ruled from Carlisle to Wearmouth some time after the Romans left. His title of Wledig is supposed to be the Welsh equivalent of the office of Dux Britanniæ, the general in command of the northern frontier garrison. But very little is certain.¹ There are the sixth century Welsh poems, which have been pronounced "too vague and obscure for the purposes of history,"² and there are the Arthurian legends, which are certainly no better. Besides, all that we can gather from these sources applies to general Welsh and Cumbrian history, and affords little or no purely local evidence.

There remains, however, one chronicler whose evidence, if we may trust it, is of the greatest importance to the questions we have been discussing. The Chronicle of Gildas was written about 546 A.D., or about 140 years after the Roman evacuation; and although it has been the fashion to treat his story as fabulous romance, it has been shewn by Skene that, read aright, it corroborates completely the evidence of Greek and Roman authorities, while it adds immeasurably to the detailed information, of the events of the period on the northern frontier.³

The story of Gildas, where we take it up, is the story of the Roman Wall from A.D. 383, in which year Maximus was proclaimed Emperor, and, having repressed the Picts and Scots, led away the garrison of Britain and "the flower of her youth" to Italy.⁴ This was in 387.

¹ See Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 102, 116, 117, and 135.

² Elton, *Origins of English History*, 261.

³ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I, 112-113.

⁴ This was not, of course, the first appearance of the Picts and Scots. They gave great trouble during the reigns of the heirs of Constantine the Great (337-350). Constans and Con-

Gildas, in Chapters 15 to 19, describes in melodramatic detail the tragic events which followed. No sooner had the garrison departed than Britain, "utterly ignorant as she was of the art of war, groaned in amazement for many years under the cruelty of two foreign nations—the Scots from the north-west, the Picts from the north-east."

This was the incursion of 396 A.D. Gildas tells us how the Britons sent an embassy to Rome with a piteous message asking for help. He describes how a legion, which we know from other sources was under Stilicho, was despatched, and how the enemy were dispersed with great slaughter. The Britons then built a wall under the tuition of the Romans, "which being of turf instead of stone was no use to that foolish people who had no head to guide them."¹

The legion was then withdrawn (A.D. 402), and at once this action was followed by the return of the enemy "like ravening wolves rushing with greedy jaws upon the fold which is left without a shepherd."

Gildas describes the "strength of the oarsmen," shewing that some, at any rate, came by sea, and how they broke the boundaries and overran the whole country.

Again the Britons sent an embassy "with their garments rent, and their heads covered with ashes—like timorous chickens, crowding under the wings of their parents"; to which the Romans responded by sending "their unexpected bands of cavalry by land and mariners by sea," who again drove the enemy beyond the sea. This was the return of Stilicho in 405 with the full British army of three legions. Gildas then describes the final evacuation of the Romans (407), telling the Britons, among much other good advice, "that they should not suffer their hands to be tied behind their backs by a nation, which, unless they were enervated by idleness and sloth, was not more powerful than them-

stantius are both said to have despatched expeditions against them, but without any permanent result. More incursions followed in the time of Jovian (363-4), and in 368-9 they penetrated to the south coast, threatened London, and

were driven back by Valentinian's general, Theodosius, who cleared the country between the walls, which then received the name of *Valentia*.

¹ Supposed to be the Clyde-Forth wall.

selves." Patterns of arms were left with the "miserable natives," with whose help, and by subscriptions, another wall of ordinary construction was erected.¹

Chapter 19 of Gildas is a vivid and picturesque account of the horrors that followed. The Picts and Scots, coming forth like "worms from their holes," land from the canoes which have transported them over the Cichican Valley.² He tells us how they fell upon the garrison, equally slow to fight and ill adapted to run away—"a panic-struck company,"—and dragged them with hooks from the wall; how they dispersed, abandoning both the cities and the wall itself, and how the enemy pursued and butchered them like sheep; and lastly how, driven by despair and want, they turned upon and massacred each other.³

There are many different suggestions as to the routes by which the enemy entered Britain. Gildas, as we have seen, more than once alludes to their arrival by water, and it may be accepted that they came both from Ireland and Scotland, landing on the West Cumbrian coast, and also crossing the Solway fords and the Wall itself. There is no evidence that the Roman ports mentioned at the beginning of this paper were maintained by the Romanized Britons, or even by the Anglians. No doubt the Irish contingent destroyed them, or, speaking more correctly, the camps protecting them, at the first onslaught after the Roman garrison had gone. The Anglians had no trade on this side of the country to necessitate reopening them.⁴ Those invaders who came over the Solway may have occupied and maintained the camps at Bowness and Burgh

¹ The Solway-Tyne wall. "Erected" should no doubt read "repaired."

² Query: the Irish Sea or the Solway?

³ The reader must refer to Skene for the excellent tabulation of Gildas and other authorities, which shows exactly how they tally. It leaves only one difficulty. Chapter 19 of Gildas, as we see above, describes the Pictish raids of 407 A.D. Chapter 20 immediately proceeds with the notorious message of shame, "the groans of the Britons," which was sent in the 3rd Consulate of Actius in 416 A.D. Mr. Skene shews that this chapter, or perhaps the message only, is misplaced, and refers to the Saxon raids (which, according to Nennius, had begun in 374 A.D.) and not

to the Pietish troubles at all. (See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. I, 104-7, 113, 145, 152.) Chapters 20-25 of Gildas are also of great interest, though they have not so much local bearing. Chapter 21 is a fearful indictment of the British character and the falseness and vice, both in the Church and laity, in the fifth century. Chapter 24 is important as describing an early Anglian raid across the country, till the western sea was reached, and a city, apparently in Cumbria, sacked and destroyed.

⁴ Wright, in *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon* (1861, p. 392) adduces archaeological evidence that camps in Cumberland, Lancashire, and Wales were thus destroyed.

to secure the Solway fords, and this may account for the continuity of population at these sites.

It was long the fashion to reject the Chronicle of Gildas as totally fanciful; apparently more because of the shame it casts on the name of Briton than for any sufficient reason. But Bede the venerable accepted it, and embodied the main points of the narrative; and it has remained for the author of *Celtic Scotland* in our day to replace it upon our shelves as a work which may not be neglected in the study of this obscure period.

The evidence of the sites and names we have gathered in this paper corroborates, we think in a great measure, the story of Gildas. Luxury, effeminacy, cowardice, and disease were no doubt the miserable heritage which the Romans left at their camps and towns. A race so degenerate had no chance with the hordes of wild, hard northern barbarians. They swarmed in over the Wall and over the Irish Sea, and the wretched Britons were almost exterminated. When the missionaries came—when the Angles came, it was a howling wilderness. Roman power had gone; British pluck had proved a will o' th' wisp; and such Britons as survived, cowered in the forests and bogs, or fled to inaccessible glens and moors as the newcomers appeared.¹ But that they survived as a race in our part of Cumbria with any culture, number, or organization, for any length of time after 409, all the evidence which is available seems to give little warrant for believing. No doubt one of the strongest arguments which can be brought in favour of an united and organized community in these parts in post-Roman times is the slow advance of the Anglians to the west and the length of time before they settled the plains. But in 573, or a hundred years before this date, the battle of Ardderyd removed the seat of Cumbrian power from Carlisle to Dumbarton; yet the Angles did not settle the land, rather, we would suggest, on account of the rugged and inhospitable character of the

¹ Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, p. 120, Vol. I) points out that the Roman rule "did not leave . . . a provincial people speaking the Roman language and preserving their laws and customs," and that though in the south the effects

were deep and lasting, the Britons in the north and west "were more in the position of native tribes under a foreign rule," and that withdrawal in these parts meant a reversion to their primitive methods.

country, than because any serious opposition was encountered or apprehended.

The blessings of civilization we often hear of ; but the contact between civilization and barbarism is not always a boon. The ultimate effect of it in the Cumbrian Celt was the same which we may see to-day among the copper-coloured Americans (Indians) or the Aborigines of Australia. It requires either a very vigorous race like the negro, or a magnificent faith like that of the Moslem, to pass unscathed the ordeal.

SOME NOTES ON THE FAMILY OF SHIREBURNE OF STONYHURST.¹

Some twenty-five years ago, when closely studying the condition and persecution of the Roman recusants in the times of Elizabeth and James, more particularly in connection with Derbyshire, and giving some assistance to the late Mr. Foley in compiling his several volumes of the *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, I came frequently into contact with references to members of the once powerful and influential family of Shireburne of Stonyhurst. As the members of the Institute are about to visit the mother church of Mitton, where the Shireburne memorials abound, it is probable that a few records pertaining to that family will be of interest. In the putting together of these notes the latest editions of the histories of Baines and Whitaker have, of course, been consulted, and more particularly that handsome quarto, *The Centenary Record of Stonyhurst College* (1894), by Father Gerard (a copy of which has been kindly put at my disposal by the Rector of Stonyhurst), as well as various volumes of the Chetham and Surtees Societies. But the greater part of this information is original, and has been recently extracted by me from the prolific stores of the Duchy of Lancaster now preserved at the Public Record Office. Only a trifling portion of one section of the history of the Shireburnes can be now incidentally dealt with, for the materials are so voluminous. For instance, there are 109 distinct sets of pleadings and depositions dealing with the Shireburnes in the single reign of Elizabeth. It is to be hoped that someone will be fired to write a monograph on the subject, or to give a life of the great Sir Richard Shireburne. An immense amount of light would thereby be shed on the life of this part of England, and on the religious struggles and local jealousies of Lancashire. When this comes to be done, certain parts of the hitherto printed pedigrees of Shireburne and ac-

¹ Read at the Lancaster Meeting of the Institute, 25th July, 1898.

counts of the family will have to be considerably modified and corrected. The best pedigree is that in the last edition of Whitaker's *Craven*, but it is faulty in several particulars, as can be proved by inquiries, wills, and pleadings.

Stonyhurst lies in the valley of the Ribble, close to the boundary between Lancashire and Yorkshire. The parish of Mitton, in which the house stands, is partly in both counties, an arrangement that is quite exceptional. The church is in Yorkshire, but three of the eight townships are in Lancashire, namely, Aighton, Bailey, and Chaigley. Stonyhurst is in Aighton, on the lower slope of Longridge Fell.

Hugh Mitton, of Mitton, at the close of the twelfth century, conveyed his property in the township of Bailey to his brother Otto, who hence acquired the surname of Bailey, dropping that of Mitton. His great-grandson, Walter Bailey, held Stonyhurst, in the township of Aighton, in the reign of Edward I. The great-grandson of Walter, Richard Bailey, married, in 1377, Margaret, daughter and co-heir to Sir Richard Shireburne. Richard took the name of his wife, and her arms (Shireburne) were eventually placed in the first and fourth quarters of the combined coat.

It is generally supposed that the Shireburnes took their name from Shireburne, a township of Norfolk—they were said to have been Saxons, and their estate given by William the Conqueror to Earl Warren, but on their proving that they had not fought against the Normans their estate was restored. At all events, it seems clear that the Lancashire Shireburnes came from the eastern counties. Shireburne, or the stream between shires, is a fairly common-place name in England, and would be a singularly suitable one for the Mitton house of the family. The first Shireburne of the North Lancashire branch of any note was Sir Robert Shireburne, who played a conspicuous part in the history of his time. He was knighted by Edward I in 1294, elected a knight of the shire in 1335, and held the office of steward of Blackburnshire and Clitheroe. He died in 1342, having married the daughter and co-heiress of John Blackburn, of Wiswall, and Margaret Holland. His son, Sir John Shireburne,

“particularly assisted with one knight, three esquires, and the like number of archers on horseback, at the siege of Calais under King Edward III.” He also fought at Crecy under the banner of his cousin, Thomas, Lord Holland. He was elected a knight of the shire of Lancaster in 1336, and on his triumphant return from France in 1346, he was chosen Parliamentary burgess by the citizens of York.

Sir John was succeeded in 1355 by his son, Sir Richard Shireburne, who had married Alice, daughter of Sir William Plumpton, of Plumpton, in 1351. It is not a little remarkable, as stated by Jeremy Collier, that Sir Robert, Sir John, and Sir Richard—father, son, and grandson—were all knights at the same time. Sir Richard had two daughters, Margaret and Joan, the latter of whom died unmarried. Margaret, the heiress, as has been already mentioned, conveyed, in 1377, Stonyhurst and other property to her husband, Richard Bailey, who assumed the name and arms of the older and far more distinguished family.

Richard Bailey, or Shireburne, had only a brief married life, and was succeeded by his infant heir, Richard. This Richard Shireburne was born on October 12th, 1381, and baptised at Mitton church. In 1420, and again in 1421, he was knight of the shire of Lancaster. He married Agnes, daughter of Sir William Stanley, of Hooton, Cheshire, and died in 1441. By his will, dated January 3rd, 1436, he left his body to be buried “in ye Parysh Kirke of Mitton, before ye auter of Seynt Nicholas.” He bequeathed to that altar a vestment of blue velvet, four altar cloths, three towels, a missal, a chalice, a corporas case, a paxbread, a ferial vestment, and a chest to keep all the gear and appurtenances of the altar. He also willed that “a closet be made honestly” about the altar of St. Nicholas. This closet or *parclose* would be a screen encompassing the altar and providing a seat for those who heard mass at that altar. A few of such closets still remain; there is one at Fenny Bentley, in Derbyshire. There are three remarkable examples of late closets (there termed “cages”) in the neighbouring parish church of Whalley. He provided for a special mass for a year at St. Nicholas’ altar, and left 40*d.* to the ornaments

of the high altar. He further ordered that twenty white gowns were to be furnished to twenty poor men each bearing a torch about his corpse on the day of his burial; thirteen of the torches were to remain at the high altar, three at the Lady altar, and four at St. Nicholas' altar.

The screens to form the closet round the altar of St. Nicholas were erected in 1441, and bore an inscription on the oak cornice asking for the prayers of the faithful on behalf of Richard Shireburne and his wife, Alice Hammerton. When new screens were placed there, about a century later, the 1441 screens were moved to the west end of the church at an entrance to the tower. There they remained with portions of the inscription until they disappeared in an unhappy restoration about thirty years ago.

The will of Agnes Shireburne, widow of Richard Shireburne, is dated November 3rd, 1444, and proved on the 30th of the same month. By it she left her body to be buried before the same altar of St. Nicholas. She left to the Vicar of Mitton a pair (or set) of jet beads "for to mynde my soule and mynde me in his prayers," and to William of Bradley, priest, another like pair for the same object: "and to William of Broughton, my preste, to syng for my soule a hole yere at my said auter of Saint Nicholas vjmarc, iijs., iiijd; and he sal fynde hymselfe bred and wyne and wax."

The young Richard Shireburne had died before his parents, having married Alice, daughter of Lawrence Hammerton, of Hammerton-in-Bowland, by whom he left a son, named Robert, who was 12 years of age at the death of his grandmother, but was already married to Joan, daughter of Thomas Ratcliffe, of Wimmersley!

In connection with finding Richard a married man at 12, it may be remarked that child marriages were far from uncommon. They were usually contracted for reasons pertaining to real property. A recently issued volume of the Early English Text Society, by Mr. Furnivall, should be consulted, wherein he cites a great variety of such cases from the Chester Diocesan Records. The most scandalous of these was a bridegroom of three and a bride of five, the parents making the responses

for the infants, and the priest daring thus to yoke them together!

This Robert Shireburne lived till 1494, Stonyhurst continuing to be the family mansion. Although there was a private chapel connected with the manor house, where mass was said four times a week, the rights of the parish church of Mitton were observed, the family baptisms, marriages, and burials being all performed within its walls.

To Robert succeeded his eldest son, Sir Richard Shireburne, who had married in 1472 his kinswoman, Jane, daughter of Sir Ralph Langton, of Walton-in-the-Dale. Being within the prohibited degrees, a dispensation, granted by Philip Calandrimi, Cardinal Bishop of Porto, had to be obtained. He was knighted by Edward IV, and died in 1512.

The unpublished records of the Duchy show that there was much jealousy between this Sir Richard of Stonyhurst and some of his neighbours. Two or three of the previous generations of Shireburne had been stewards of the neighbouring and important fortress of Clitheroe. But during most of Sir Richard's lifetime Sir Peter Legh was Steward of Clitheroe, though Sir Richard was the most influential of the local magistrates, and apparently held the position that was soon afterwards termed deputy-lieutenant. The latter, in 1505, lodged a complaint before the Chancellor of the Duchy, the pleadings of which are of no little interest. The complaint of Sir Richard set forth that Sir Peter Legh, Knight, on October 23, 1505, did, without any cause shown or known, commit one John King, household servant of the complainant, to the Castle of Clitheroe, and there keepeth him in prison; that bail has been refused for his release; and that he asks for a fair trial or that John King should be immediately set at liberty. The pleading, in writing, of the Steward of the Castle puts a different complexion on the matter.

Sir Peter Legh said that most of the matter contained in the bill of complaint of Sir Richard Shireburne was untrue and malicious; that Sir Richard Shireburne, the Sunday next before the exaltation of the Holy Cross, caused divers proclamations to be made in divers

churches in the counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire, commanding generally the king's subjects in those parts to muster and appear before the said Sir Richard the following Wednesday "in harnesse and fensable arraye," in a place called Whalley Moor; that on the Tuesday proclamation was made at the king's court, held at the Castle of Clitheroe, that none of the king's subjects should make muster, insurrection, or unlawful assembly contrary to the king's mind and his laws; that at that proclamation John King, porter of Clitheroe Castle was present; that contrary to that proclamation John King assembled on Wednesday at Whalley Moor "with many other not wise persons," to the number of about 300, and mustered before Sir Richard Shireburne; that afterwards Sir Peter Legh, being the king's steward at Clitheroe, examined him of his misdemeanour and contempt of the king's court, and because he could make no reasonable answer he committed him to ward until such time as he knew of the king's pleasure: that immediately after this was done Sir Peter proceeded to inform the king's grace of his action and "to knowe his Highnesse's mind in the matter."¹

Unfortunately, as is so often the case, the conclusion of this litigation is not known. John King was probably not resident as porter at Clitheroe Castle, which was a position of some little importance, giving a right to certain lucrative perquisites. The office was most likely filled by a deputy, so that it was possible for King at the same time to be a household servant at Stonyhurst. Probably Sir Richard Shireburne was in the right: it is hardly possible to conceive his calling this array of arms unless he had authority, and it may be that Sir Peter Legh had also some justification, no special warrant having been addressed to him as steward of Clitheroe. Altogether it forms a very pretty little quarrel, sufficient to whet our appetite for more.

To Sir Richard succeeded his son Hugh Shireburne, who married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Talbot, of Bashall. Hugh made very considerable additions to the existing mansion of Stonyhurst, most of which was then of the date of Edward III. Some portions of his work

¹ *Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings*, 20 Henry VII, Vol. II, s. 6.

still remain. The minstrel's gallery of the refectory bears his name and the year 1523.

The chantry of St. Nicholas in the parish church of Mitton is described by the commissioners as being of the foundation of Hugh Shireburne, Esq. Richard Gradwell was the incumbent, and he was maintained by lands and tenements in Aighton, Chaigley, and Bailey. It is declared that the duties of the chantry priest were not only to pray for the souls of the founder, and to celebrate mass at the altar of St. Nicholas, but also to help in divine service in the church itself, and to help the curate (or vicar) in times of necessity to administer the sacraments to the parishioners of this wide and scattered parish. This affords yet another proof that the ordinary English incumbent of a chantry was not a mere mass priest, but practically an assistant curate for the parish at large. But yet, on the plea of superstition, the Crown under Edward VI seized all the lands which had been given for parochial purposes but a few years before under Henry VIII. The parish is described by the commissioners themselves as "wyde," and as having 1,200 "housesyng folk" or communicants. Richard Gradwell, the unhappy chantry priest, was 51 years of age, and is mentioned as "indifferently learned, but hath none other lyving than the said chantrie." Hugh was, after all, only the re-endower of an older chantry founded by the same family in the same place about two centuries earlier; he assigned for definite endowment 80 acres of land in Aighton, Bailey, and Chaigley.

Hugh Shireburne died in 1527, leaving his estates to his son, Thomas Shireburne, who married Jane, daughter of Sir John Townley, of Townley. Soon after his accession to the estates, the young Thomas Shireburne, who farmed certain parts of the adjacent Royal forest of Bowland, got into trouble through certain charges of poaching which were made to the Chancellor with much detail.

Thomas Fenger, underkeeper of the king's park, of Lagram, in Bowland Forest, testified that about midsummer, 1529, Thomas Shireburne entered the park and killed a deer; that about the Nativity of Our Lady he entered the park and killed a deer; that on the Nativity of Our Lady, 1530, when walking by the pale of the park, he saw the spoor and track of men and dogs, and

presently saw people and dogs making towards the lodge where Thomas Shireburne did usually lie; that he got so near them that as he entered in at one door they entered in at the other with a buck in a sack upon a horse, and one Thomas Bradley and Hugh Asshe, servants of Thomas Shireburne, with the buck; that Thomas Shireburne on St. Thomas's Day last past did come into the park with four or five brace of greyhounds, and they killed two does, one of them in fawn; that on last St. Martin's Day about sunrise he saw four persons in the park cutting up a deer, and when they saw him approaching two of them went their way, and then one Richard Shireburne, servant to Thomas Shireburne, came to meet him and desired him to make no further search and to be his friend, and that he the said person, perceiving they were four and that he was by himself, "and it so tymely in the mornynge," did return again and said he would report what he saw and no further; that on Friday next after last Twelfth Day about sunset he met a dog of Thomas Bradley's running a deer and Bradley and William Shireburne following, and the dog drove the deer into the forest; that Thomas Shireburne and his servants doth hunt the hare with hounds and greyhounds in the park at all times of the year, and specially in the spring "when the deer should resort together and take rest"; that since the time Thomas Shireburne had his last lease and take of the herbage of Lagram he did ryve up the wood and inclosed the lands and coppices with double dyke and hedge which were wont to be kept for the king's game, and now the game is driven down into low carrs and marshes and will soon perish; that Thomas Shireburne hath set up houses and farmholds within the park to the damage of the game; that the pale which he is bound to uphold sufficiently is let down so that horses and beasts come in and out as they please by four or five roads, and the deer go forth into the towns in the winter when they be feeble and weak and are easily destroyed; that Thomas Shireburne and his servants, between Holy Rood Day and Michaelmas Day last past, killed one of the greatest harts that belongeth to the park in a place called Chepyng Cowyngs.

The result of this information was that Thomas Shireburne, farmer; Thomas Bradley, of Chyppyndale, gentleman; Richard Shireburne, of Chadisley, gentleman; William Shireburne, of Chadisley, gentleman; and Roger Shireburne, of Wolfhouse, gentleman, were all summoned to appear before the Chancellor of the Duchy; but the final issue is unfortunately not known.

It was in the time of Thomas Shireburne that the neighbouring great Abbey of Whalley was suppressed, as well as that of Cockersand, to which the church of Mitton was appropriated.

Dying in 1537 Thomas was succeeded by his son, Sir Richard Shireburne, who held the Stonyhurst and adjacent property for fifty-seven years, and was one of the most conspicuous figures in the history of Lancashire and the North during that changing and eventful period. He was but fourteen at the time of his father's death, and when only just twenty-one was knighted in 1544 at Leith, by the Earl of Hertford, for his signal valour against the Scots. He married Maud, daughter of Sir Richard Bold of Bold, when only fifteen years of age. By her he had three sons and three daughters. On the death of his wife in 1588, after half a century of wedlock, Sir Richard married Isabel Wood, a lady of good family, but who had long been his mistress, and by whom he had had three base-born children. The pedigrees uniformly ignore this second marriage, but it is proved by the wills both of Sir Richard and Isabel.

Sir Richard Shireburne was a man of great power and eminence. Though, as we shall presently see, always clinging to the Roman obedience, he was not a man of the strongest religious convictions, or he could scarcely have retained the goodwill of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. Dods-worth says that in the latter Sovereign's reign his recusancy was winked at, and he was tacitly permitted to have chapel and priest with Roman rites at his great house at Stonyhurst. Canon Baines, in more than one of the Chetham Society series, asserts that Sir Richard was a reformer, but there is no doubt whatever that he is wrong. Father Gerard quotes from the Domestic State Papers, temp. Elizabeth, a report "that he and his family

are recusants and do not go to church; or if they do stop their ears with wool lest they should hear; that he kept a priest in Queen Mary's time; had one brought to confess his wife when ill; that he relieves Richard Statedant, who is conversant with Dr. Allen and other Jesuits, and is suspected to be a Jesuit; that he says he could apprehend missing priests, but will disturb no man for his conscience." To this could be added five or six other pieces of evidence of a similar character that we have collected from the same sources. On the other hand, he was one of the local commissioners of both Edward VI and Queen Mary's Chantry Commission, which are wrongly said by Father Gerard and others to be "quite out of harmony with each other." Had Sir Richard been a very staunch Roman, we readily grant that he would scarcely have acted on Edward VI Commission, but he probably reconciled it to his conscience by thinking he could in such a position abate some of the mischief proposed to be done. The Commission of the second year of Mary was no attempt to undo the work of the previous Commission, but was simply a supplement to it in the matter of bells.

The Duchy depositions show that a Commission was issued by Queen Mary to Sir Richard Shirburne and others on March 1st, reciting a former Commission of 7 Edward VI to inquire what lands, tenements, bells, chalices, plate, jewels, stocks of kine and sheep, money and other things belonged to the chantries in the counties of Lancaster and Stafford, and to deliver the same to Edward Parker for his Majesty's use; but that divers bells in several parishes had not come to his hands, and the parishioners still detained the same, and a further inquiry was to be made and inventory taken of such bells. The result of the Commission was a precise return as to bells from sixty-seven chapels.

Sir Richard held many public appointments. He was member of Parliament for Lancashire in 1553, for Preston in 1554 (which was the Parliament publicly absolved of heresy by Cardinal Pole), and for Liverpool in 1555; Master Forester and Steward of Bowland Forest: Butler and Searcher of Port of Liverpool; Steward of the Manor of Sladeburne; Lieutenant (under the Earl of Derby) of

the Isle of Man; and a most active magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant of Lancashire. He was nominated by the Earl of Derby to accompany him to France as Elizabeth's Ambassador to Henry III, but was excused on account of illness.

As an instance of the boldness or effrontery of Sir Richard may be mentioned the complaint of the bailiffs of Clitheroe against the youthful Richard, then only 19, and a young neighbour of his, which we recently took from the Duchy proceedings:—James Nowell and Hugh Standen, late bailiffs of the town of Clitheroe, on behalf of the whole commons of the town, reciting their incorporation by Henry de Lacy, Duke of Lancaster, complained that last Trinity term Richard Sherburne and John Talbot, esquires, and others, strangers and not inhabitants, entered the town and left a court and made commandment that none of the townsmen should obey the town charter and its conformations, and in order to cancel and frustrate these ancient grants sent for the said James Nowell and Hugh Standen the then bailiffs, to bring with them the authority of the Corporation of the town, and one of them James Nowell, “being a playne man, mynding no deceyte, and trusting on the obediens that every man ought to the kinges autoritie,” came and showed them the ancient charter and other confirming evidences, merely intending them to be inspected: but they detained the writings and still detain them, and divers of them held the bailiffs by force whilst they were being abstracted. The bailiffs asked for Shireburne and Talbot to be summoned before the Duchy Courts at Westminster. Here again we have to acknowledge our failure in trying to obtain the result of the bailiffs' action.

With regard to Bowland Forest, the tables are now turned. It is no longer a youthful owner of Stonyhurst summoned for poaching, but Sir Richard Shireburne, of Stonyhurst, is vigorous as High Forester in preserving the King's game. The following is but an instance of many that we could cite:—

Sir Richard Shireburne, Knight, steward and high forester of the Forest of Bowland, complained in 1564 that Cuthbert Musgrave, Adam Turner, and others, about Holy Rood Day last past, did hunt a stag with hounds in

a place within the forest called Depeclough : that Cuthbert daily kept in his house within the forest a cross bow and a hand gun, as well as greyhounds ; that on the last day of November he did hound two greyhounds at a deer at Birkhill Moor within the forest ; that on the Monday after Holy Rood Day he did strike a great stag with a cross-bow, and pursued after it unto the White Well.

Among the various businesses entrusted to Sir Richard may be mentioned a commission issued from the King in 1547 to Sir Richard Shirburne, Knight, Richard Townley the younger, Esquire, and four others, to inquire of the coal and lead mines in the wastes in the townships of Totyngton and Rossyngdale, and of the intakes or woods taken, stabbed, or felled in the forest of Bowland. Most interesting depositions are annexed to this commission.

The Acts of the Privy Council, that have been lately calendared, also bear witness to the multitudinous affairs entrusted to Sir Richard as a thorough man of business. Such are the orders directing him to inquire into a dispute among the trustees of the Free School at Urswick, Lancashire, or to call one Roger Bradshaw, Esquire, before him, to inquire into his treatment of a poor widow who was one of his tenants.

Towards the close of his life, namely, in 1592, he set about the rebuilding of Stonyhurst on a grand scale, but he only lived to carry out a small part of his conceptions.

At Mitton church he pulled down the old north chancel chapel, and "builded," as Dodsworth says, "a chapel from the ground, with consent of the parish, for a burial place for himself and his successors." This, too, was just at the end of his life. Over the west door of the chapel are the quartered arms of Shireburne and Bailey, and the date 1594. It was in that year that he died.

Sir Richard Shireburne's will is dated October 22nd, 1593. He left his body to be buried in Mitton church "in the mydest of my newe quere." He was spoken of by his contemporaries as a very free liver, and his will bears unblushing evidence to that effect. He leaves £300 each "to Jane and Grace, base daughters of me and Dame Isabel, my wife"; "to John, my base sonne, begotten of

Grace Ryddyng, one annuity of £10 10s. ”; and a further bequest to another base son, Richard. A remarkable curiosity is named in this will, as left to his heir Richard, viz., “one pece called an egge, beyng an oyster’s egge, garnished with a cover, garnished with silver!” Probably oyster is a slip of the pen for ostrich. It cannot mean, as has been suggested, a pearl. With regard to the unfinished plan of Stonyhurst, he left to his eldest son “all my iron to build withall, so that he finish the building therewith now already begonne, the leade, buildinge stone, and wrought tumber.”

The successor of Sir Richard was his son of the same name, who for many years governed the Isle of Man. He married three times, on each occasion to staunch Romanists; firstly Catherine, daughter of Charles Lord Stourton; secondly, Anne Kighley, widow of Thomas Hoghton; and thirdly, Anne, daughter of John Holden, of Greenacre. He carried on his father’s building at Stonyhurst, and, dying in 1629, was buried at Mitton.

There is a curious mural monument to him and his first wife on the north wall of the St. Nicholas quire.

This tomb was evidently erected in his lifetime, for in his will, dated 4th September, 1627, and proved about two years later, he desires to be buried “in my new queare in Mitton Church as neare to my new tombe as conveniently can bee.” He directs that the body of his first wife, buried in the Isle of Man, should be disinterred, placed in a new coffin, and buried with him at Mitton.

When William Howitt visited this church in 1836, he was told by the ancient sexton that the nickname by which this Richard Shireburne was remembered as “Old Fiddle o’ God,” because when he was in a passion that was his word. At all events the will shows that he was fond of music. He leaves to his son and grandchild Richard Shireburne, “a paire of organes standinge in the hall at Stoniehyrst, all my armour and weapons, flagg, and tents, and all my wyndy instruments lyeing in a chest at Lawnd as heirelooms at Stoniehurst.” He also leaves to his daughter “a paire of virginalls which was my mother’s, and a lute.” He was succeeded by another Richard Shireburne, then 46 years of age, who married firstly, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Molyneux, of Sefton;

and secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Walmesley, of Dunkenhalgh.

In the Great Rebellion the Shireburnes were staunch loyalists, six of the family shedding their blood for the King; whilst the head of the house is described on his monument as an "eminent sufferer" for the same cause. In 1648 Oliver Cromwell twice tarried at Stonyhurst, namely, before and after the battles at Preston and the immediate neighbourhood. The table below the minstrels' gallery, whereon it is said that Cromwell slept, is still pointed out. The compounding calendars show that Richard Shireburne was frequently and heavily fined for having his children educated abroad as Papists. He died in 1667, aged 81, and was buried at Mitton.

He was succeeded by his only son Richard, who married Isabel, daughter of John Ingleby, of Lawkland in Craven, who, through her mother, was heiress of two families—Townley of Royle, and Woodruff of Banktop, in Burnley. This Richard was full of charity, and was the founder of the stately and picturesque almshouses still standing on Longridge Fell, above Stonyhurst. In 1679 the infamous Titus Oates, of ever execrable memory, brought trouble upon Stonyhurst by describing it as the centre of a damnable Jesuit plot, and the son and heir had to fly the realm. The Revolution of 1688 found this Richard Shireburne staunchly on the Stuart side; he was cast into prison at Manchester and died in gaol, but was allowed to be buried at Mitton on August 27th, 1689.

His eldest son, yet another Richard Shireburne, generally described as of Wigglesworth, married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of John Cancefield, of Cancefield. He only held the property for a very short period, dying without issue in April, 1690, and being buried at Mitton.

To these three successive Richards, dying in 1687, 1689, and 1690, and to Isabel, wife of the central one, are four recumbent statues of white marble with elaborate epitaphs. The three men are all represented in coats, breeches, and high-heeled shoes, with a loose gown over all. Each is cross-legged (the last-known instances, and they, at all events, were not Crusaders!), and each has his right hand thrust into the breast of his coat. These four

statues were placed here by Isabel, the wife of Richard Shireburne, who died in Manchester Gaol. Isabel died on April 11th, 1693. The figures were the work of William Stanton, who lived near St. Andrew's Church, Holborn, who was paid £253 for the four. He is described by Walpole in his *Anecdotes of Painting* as a statuary of some eminence, who had wrought a monument in good taste in the church of Stratford-on-Avon.

The last of these three Richards was succeeded by his brother, Sir Nicholas Shireburne, who had been created a baronet by James II, during the lifetime of his father and elder brother, on February 4th, 1685. He married Catherine, third daughter and co-heiress of Sir Edward Charleton, of Hesleyside, Northumberland, her mother being daughter and co-heiress of Sir Edward Widdrington, of Cortington, in the same county. Sir Nicholas, mainly through his marriage, became a man of great wealth. On the death of his mother he came into Stonyhurst, and spent great sums of money on laying out the gardens and grounds in the Dutch style, in adding the two open cupolas or towers, and in much extending the buildings. But his hopes were blighted by the early death of his only son, Richard Francis, who was born on December 3rd, 1693, and died suddenly on June 8th, 1702. Tradition has it that he died from eating poisonous berries, generally said to be yew, which are supposed to be depicted on his tomb. The old sexton's story, related to William Howitt, has a more probable air:—"He went to play in the garden when green fruit was rife, and he eat something that was poison, and died."

Sir Nicholas was a staunch Jacobite. He sent his daughter to be touched for the King's Evil to James II at St. Germain's. Though too old and infirm in 1715 to take an active part, he showed his sympathies. On November 10th, three days before the affair at Preston, there was a supper party of thirty Jacobites at Stonyhurst, who spent the night in casting bullets, and rode off the next morning with seven or eight guns, a blunderbuss, a sackful of pistols, and four of Sir Nicholas's coach horses.

In 1709, his only child Mary married Thomas, eighth

Duke of Norfolk, when there was a most profuse and long-sustained expenditure. Sir Nicholas died on December 16th, 1717, and with him ended the race of Shireburnes, of Stonyhurst. His daughter, left a widow in 1732, contracted a second marriage with her kinsman, Peregrine Widdington, but by neither husband had she any issue.

In the north-east corner of the Shireburne chapel is a mural monument to the memory of Sir Nicholas and his lady. The elaborate epitaph is from the pen of his daughter the Duchess.

“Sir Nicholas Shireburne was a gentleman of great humanity, sympathy, and concern for the good of mankind, and did many good, charitable things while he lived; he particularly set his neighbourhood a spinning of flesy wool, and provided a man to comb the wool, and a woman who taught them to spin, whom he kept in his house, and allotted several rooms he had in one of the courts of Stonihurst for them to work in, and the neighbours came to spin accordingly; the spinners came every day, and span as long a time as they could spare, morning and afternoon, from their families: this continued from April, 1699, to August, 1701. When they had all learn’d, he gave the nearest neighbour each a pound or half a pound of wool ready for spinning, and wheel to set up for themselves, which did a vast deal of good to that north side of Ribble in Lancashire. Lady Shireburne was a lady of an excellent temper and of fine sentiment, singular piety, virtue, and charity, constantly employed in doing good, especially to the distressed, sick, poor, and lame, for whom she kept an apothecaries shop in the house; she continued as long as she lived doing great good and charity; she died Jan. 27th, 1727. Besides all other great charities which Sir Nicholas and Lady Sherburn did, they gave on All Souls’ Day a considerable deal of money to the poor; Lady Sherburn serving them with her own hands that day.”

Through the courtesy of Mr. J. C. Hodgson, F.S.A., I am able to give the following abstract of particulars of estates, registered with the clerk of the peace for North-

umberland, according to the Act providing for their registering the lands of Papists:—

CARTINGTON.

Registry and Particulars of the Real Estates in Northumberland of Sir Nicholas Shireburn of Stonyhurst in the co. Pal. of Lanc. Bart. dated 12 Ap. 1717.

	£.	s.	d.
A tenement in Cartington in the parish of Rothbury in the possession of widow Hogg, Isaac Botham and John Buddell of the yearly rent of... ..	27	0	0
A farm in Snitter in the said parish in possession of the same tenant at the yearly rent of	90	0	0
A farm in Snitter in the possession of John Detchon at the yearly rent of	26	0	0
A farm there in the possession of George Lawson of the yearly rent of... ..	8	16	0
A farm there in the possession of Ralph Pratt of the yearly rent of... ..	8	16	0
A farm there in the possession of Robt Grey at the yearly rent of... ..	8	16	0
A farm there in the possession of John Lawson at the yearly rent of... ..	6	7	6
A farm there in the possession of Edward Gibbon and Nesbit at the yearly rent of	8	16	0
A farm there in the possession of Tho. Mangling of the yearly rent of... ..	0	10	0
A farm of the tithes of Netherton in Alwinton in the possession of Ralph Potts and William Buddle upon the yearly rack rent of	30	0	0
A farm in the parish of Alwinton called Newball in the possession of Chr. Robson upon the yearly rack rent of... ..	16	0	0
A farm called Sheepbanks in the possession of John Alder at the yearly rack rent of	15	0	0
A farm at Parkhead in the said parish in possession of Luke Clennell of the yearly rent of	0	16	0
A farm there in the possession of Robt. Storrer at the yearly rent of... ..	0	15	0
Thos. Selby, Esq., for tithes, the yearly rack rent of ...	1	15	0
Two farms in the said parish of Alwinton called Windyhaugh & Dungsburne (?) in the possession of Alex. Potts upon the yearly rent of	65	0	0
A farm in the parish aforesaid called Bygate Hall in the possession of Andrew Henderson and George Potts upon the yearly rack rent of... ..	62	0	0
A farm in the said parish of Alwinton called Lungerknow ? in the possession of Robt. Rutterford at the yearly rack rent of	31	0	0

	£	s.	d.
A farm in the parish of Elsdon called Burdhope in the possession of Thos. Riddell upon the yearly rack rent of	17	0	0
A farm in the said parish called Featherwood in the possession of Tho. Story upon the yearly rack rent of	21	0	0
A farm in the said parish called Cottonhope and Middle Quarter in the possession of Ralph Horne [or Home] and Mark Hedley upon the yearly rack rent of	15	0	0
A cottage in Snitter aforesaid in the possession of Tho. Nichols	15	0	0

Of all which premises except some of the Lands holden by lease from the Duke of Somerset the said Sir Nicholas Shireburn is seized on fee, subject to the outgoings after mentioned.

To the Duke of Somerset for Newhall & Sheepbanks the yearly rent of £24.

To the Duke of Somerset for lands in Snitter holden of him by lease for 21 years, the yearly rent of £12 17s. 1d.

To the Crown yearly a Vis-countal rent of 7s.

To the parson of Rothbury yearly for Snitter hay tithe 19s. 6d.

To the parson yearly for other customary rents for lands in Snitter, £5 6s. 8d.

Yearly at Rothbury for assigned (?) Pennies 2s. 8d.

Yearly to Mr. Howard for fee farm rents for Windy Haugh, Dungsburne, Cottonshope, and Burdhope, £10 16s.

Yearly to the parson of Alwinton, £2 15s.

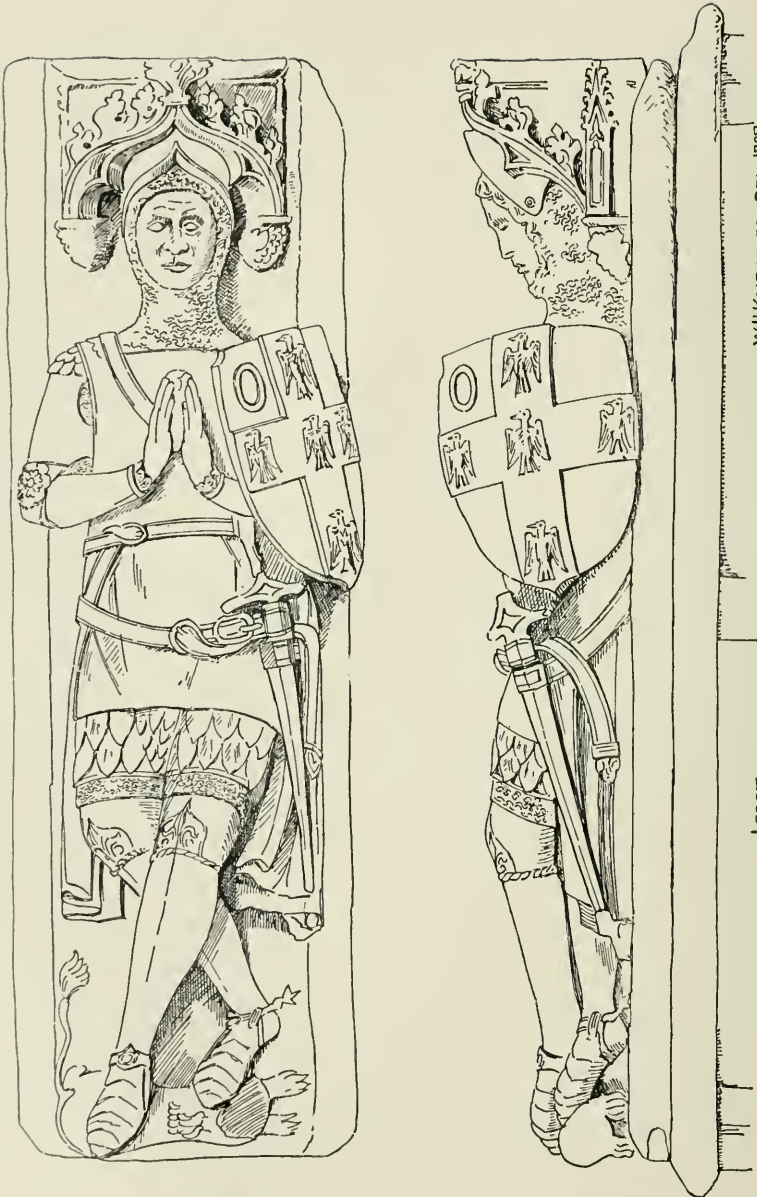
Yearly to the Crown a certain rent due out of Alwinton Rectory of £7 5s.

Yearly to the Widow's Alms House of Cartington, £6.

Signed,

W. SHIREBURNE.





W.H. KNOWLES, DEL. 1898.

1 FOOT

EFFIGY OF A KNIGHT, WARKWORTH CHURCH.

AN EFFIGY OF A KNIGHT IN WARKWORTH CHURCH,
NORTHUMBERLAND.

By W. H. KNOWLES, F.S.A.

Warkworth, which is pleasantly situated within a mile of the sea coast, is surrounded on three sides by the River Coquet. The ground occupied by the town rises rapidly to the south, and is crowned by the castle, a prominent and picturesque object in the landscape, and rich in historical associations with the Percys. At the north end of the village, and bordering on the river, which at this point is spanned by a mediæval bridge with a gate-house tower, is the Church of St. Lawrence, a fine example of early twelfth century architecture with a vaulted chancel.

At the west end of the south aisle of the church is an effigy of more than ordinary interest. It appears impossible to determine the person to whose memory it was erected, there being no inscription, and the arms on the shield, *a cross charged with five eagles displayed, in the dexter chief an annulet*, not belonging to anyone as far as is known connected with Warkworth. In the Treasury at Durham is a seal of an ecclesiastic, John de Derlington, prebendary of Esh, in the collegiate Church of Lanchester, in the county of Durham, on which are the same arms with the exception of the annulet for difference.¹ As, however, there are no tinctures on either shield or seal, it cannot be asserted that the arms on the effigy and those of the seal have any connection. The date of the deed to which the seal is attached is 1380, but the details of the armour of the effigy imply a much earlier date.

In a Roll of Arms, c. 1295, there is a coat *or on a cross sable five eagles displayed argent*,² attributed to Nichol

¹ In the treasury of Durham (loc. I) dated Aug. 2, 1380, the seal described in Surtees *Hist. of Durham*, Vol. IV, p. clxx, and illustrated Vol. I, Plate XI, No. 29.

² A Roll of Arms, Hen. III and Edw. I, c. 1295. *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 431, No. 395.

Ablin, but without anything to identify him. It seems on the whole probable that the person commemorated, although of good position, was merely one of the officials, either of John de Clavinging (the assumed name of John Fitz Robert), or of Henry de Percy on whom Warkworth and its manor was afterwards (1329) bestowed by Edward III.¹

Apart from the identification of the person represented, considerable interest attaches to the effigy; and to ascertain approximately the date of its execution, it will be necessary to compare the several portions of the equipment and accessories with other and dated examples of similar figures.

The figure of the knight is placed on a slab 7 feet by 2 feet 2 inches,² over the head is an ogee crocheted canopy trefoliated within, springing from carved bosses and flanked by diminutive gabled and crocheted buttresses. The top or end of the canopy—semi-circular in shape—is filled with foliage. The canopy resembles that over the head of Brian Fitz Alan, d. 1302, in Bedale Church, Yorkshire,³ and that attributed to Eufemia, daughter of Sir John de Clavinging, and the first wife of Ralph Neville, Lord of Raby, in Staindrop Church, county Durham,⁴ which must be placed before 1331, in which year Ralph Neville died.

The knight wears a mixed armour of mail and plate, the head being enclosed in a hood of mail which slightly overlaps the surcoat on the right shoulder, and has a movable plate visor attached. The latter must have been pivotted to a plate cap worn inside the chain mail. This feature appears to be unique as regards actual examples in stone or brass. In a MS. of Matthew Paris, "Lives of the two Offas,"⁵ is a group which "represents

¹ In 1329, Hartshorne, *Archæological Journal*, Newcastle volume, p. 193.

² The slab rests on a tomb of seventeenth century date, bearing a late inscription: The effigies of Sir Hugh [of Morwicke who gave [the common to this [Towne of Warkworth. The statement as to the common is not a fact, nor are the arms those of Morwick.

³ Hollis, *Monumental Effigies*, p. iv, and Blore's *Monumental Remains*, Plate III.

⁴ In an enriched recess of the south

aisle built 1343, by the famous Ralph Lord Neville, of Neville's Cross, see description of the church by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, M.A., in the *Architectural and Archæological Society of Northumberland and Durham*, Vol. IV, p. 91, and an illustration in *Surtees History of Durham*, Vol. IV, p. 129.

⁵ Cotton MS. Nero, D.I., copied by Strutt in his *Horda*, Vol. I, Plate XLIII, and by Hewitt, *Ancient Armour*, Vol. I, p. 303.

the Mercian King Offa, combating in behalf of the King of Northumberland, and defeating the Scottish army," in which "on one of the figures the head defence composed of a mask of steel placed over the coil of banded mail, is very remarkable."¹ This is the only parallel that can be offered to the visor of the Warkworth effigy, and I am much indebted to Viscount Dillon, P.S.A., for kindly drawing my attention to this interesting manuscript. Matthew Paris died 1259, but the illuminations may very probably be of a date not earlier than the close of the thirteenth century.

The chain hauberk with long sleeves is seen at the armpits, beneath the elbows, at the wrists, and above the knee caps. These details are quite consistent with sculptured work belonging to the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

A scale skirt overlies the mail hauberk, the scales being pointed at the ends and ridged on the top, the skirt terminates above the knees in a band or border connecting the points, the middle scales are smaller. A skirt of scale work is to be seen in the Moccas effigy in Moccas Church, Hereford, and in the effigy of a knight at St. Peter's Church, Sandwich, c. 1320.² The skirt is sometimes worn over the mail hauberk as at Warkworth, Sandwich, and in the effigy of John of Eltham,³ and sometimes under as in the brass of Sir John de Northwode, at Minster, Isle of Sheppey.⁴ Examples of scale work, a variety of the studded garment, and most probably of leather, are of frequent occurrence in the fourteenth century for portions only of a knight's defence, and appear in every kind of monument.

The arms are sheathed in plates, and have elbow caps, with embossed rosettes at the shoulder and on the elbow caps, the plate on the forearm is ridged on the underside, and at the wrist and edges of the plate there is an incised line. A heart is borne in the hands which are bare, and point upwards in the attitude of prayer. The legs are

¹ Hewitt's *Ancient Armour*, Vol. I, p. 22.

The nearest approach is in the basinet on one of the sleeping guards in the Easter Sepulchre at Lincoln Cathedral of early fourteenth century, J. Starkie

Gardiner, *Armour of England*, *The Portfolio*, July, 1897, p. 24.

² Hewitt, Vol. II, p. 115.

³ Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, Plates LV and LVI.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Plate LIV.

crossed the left uppermost. The knees and legs are encased in plate ridged down the centre, the knee caps being embossed with a fleur-de-lis pattern, and girt below with a cable or thong-like band. The chausses may be drawn together behind the legs, but there is no indication of the manner in which the plates covering either the legs or the arms were secured. The feet in articulated sollerets, rest on a lion now much mutilated. The spurs are of the star rowel kind, secured with straps buckled over the instep, where appears a pointed piece to cover the junction of the chausses and solleret, the end of the strap is pendent on the outside of the foot. An early example of the rowelled spur occurs on a seal of Henry III, but it is not common until the fourteenth century.

The moulded and embossed pattern of the leg armour, considered in conjunction with the scale skirt seems to indicate that the material of which these defences were made was *cuir-bouilli*. Armour of leather appears in the inventory of Louis Hutin in 1316, and of Sir Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, in 1322.¹

The cyclas surcoat which covers the body armour is sleeveless, supported from each shoulder by narrow bands, and is short and tight fitting in front, and at the back hangs in simple folds below the level of the knees. Garments so shaped were common in the early part of the fourteenth century and examples occur in the effigy of Sir John de Ifield, Ifield Church, Sussex, 1317,² and in the brass of Sir John de Creke, Westley Waterless, Cambridgeshire, c. 1325.³

The surcoat is girt at the waist by a strap or belt buckled and pendent on the right side, and below is encircled by the sword belt with strong buckles; the end of the strap passing under and over the belt hangs by the side of the sword on the left of the figure and is terminated by an ornamental tag. The sword with shaped cross piece, extends from the hip to the knees, it is damaged at the pommel and foot.

¹ *Archæological Journal*, Vol. II, p. 319.

² Stothard, Plate LIX.

³ Waller's *Monumental Brasces*.

Waller, Part VIII. Lyson's *Magna Britanna*, Vol. II, Cambridgeshire, p. 65.

Supported by the guige passing over the right shoulder is a bowed triangular shield, reaching from shoulder to hip. It bears, *a cross charged with five eagles displayed, in the dexter chief an annulet*, all the bearings are in relief.

The arrangement of the sword, belt, girdle, and the knee caps, and the equipment generally have a marked resemblance to the effigy of an unknown knight at Norton Church, county Durham, c. 1300,¹ to the effigy of Brian Fitz Alan at Bedale, Yorks, 1302,² to Sir John de Ifield, died 1317,³ a knightly figure at Ash by Sandwich⁴ and of Sir John d'Aubernoun, Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, died 1327,⁵ and including the plates and sollerets to John of Eltham.⁶

During the first quarter of the fourteenth century the body armour varied considerably in form, but few if any of the figures exhibit such a curious mixture as the Warkworth effigy. The various examples cited above appear to show that it may be assigned to a time between 1310-1330.

The Warkworth effigy cannot be placed among sculptured art of the highest class, yet there is considerable merit in the modelling and general composition of the figure and its accessories which place it far above the rude sculpturing of the few examples of such work which still remain in Northumberland. The monument is at present most unfortunately placed in a dark corner below the level of the windows and against the south aisle wall. It seems desirable that a work which possesses such interest and antiquity, and includes at least one unique feature, should be afforded a better position in the church.

¹ Surtees *History of Durham*, Vol. III, on plate at p. 117.

² Hollis, p. IV.

Stothard, Plate LIX.

⁴ *Archæological Journal*, Vol. I, p. 247.

⁵ Stothard, Plate LX.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Plate LV and LVL

NOTES ON THE SAXON CRYPT, SIDBURY CHURCH,
DEVONSHIRE.¹

By WALTER CAVE.

In September, 1898, some work was being done to the chancel of this church which led to the discovery of an undoubted Saxon crypt. The Norman chancel originally extended some 14 feet eastwards beyond the chancel arch. The north and south walls only, now remain, and the foundations of the square eastern termination were found during these excavations. All the Norman foundations are in good condition and average some 4 feet in depth below the Norman chancel floor level and on each side rest partly on the walls of the Saxon crypt.

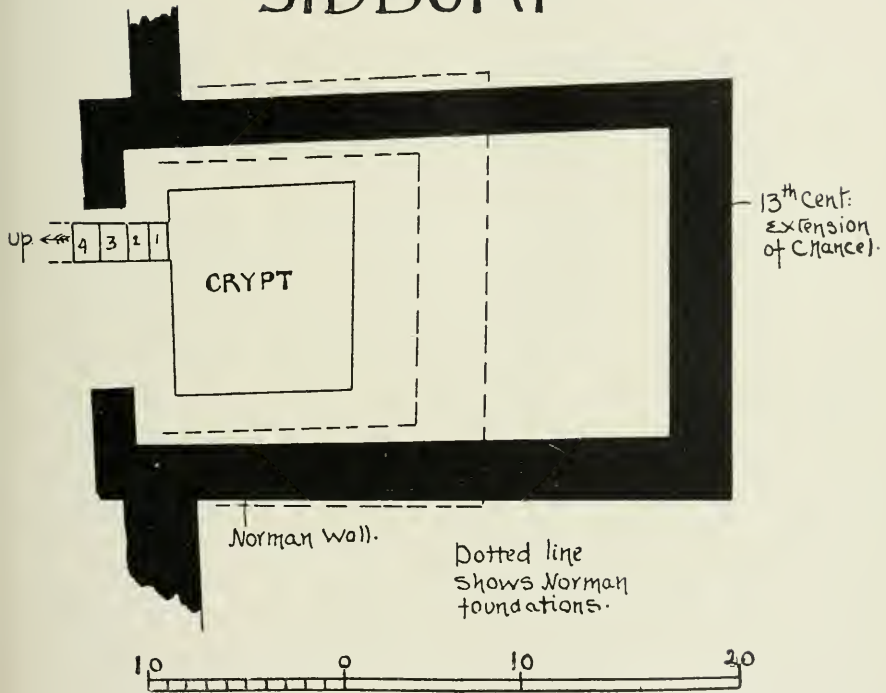
Excavations were being made for some heating pipes, and the clerk of the works, Mr. Mann, found some traces of walling below the Norman foundation of the north wall which being further exposed brought to light the outlines of the Saxon crypt. On reference to the plan it will be seen that the crypt is practically a square chamber, within the lines of the original Norman chancel, with an entrance in the west wall and a flight of steps leading into the nave.

Unfortunately there is little left of the walls except on the west side where against the jamb of the doorway the Saxon masonry is some 4 feet high, with two stone quoins still in position which are fair specimens of Saxon axed work in good condition. The treads and risers of the steps are rough, and these, with a part of the floor of the crypt, are still covered with a coating of lime plaster, which Mr. Micklethwaite, in writing of the Saxon Crypt at Brixworth, describes as "the degenerate descendant of the Roman '*Opus signinum*.'"

The four corners of the crypt are however quite distinct, but there is no where height enough of the

¹ Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, February 1st, 1899.

SIDBURY



walling to tell if there were any windows, or in what manner it was covered in, nor are there any traces of piers in the centre, so it may be assumed that it was vaulted in one span.

The walling is rough and there is no evidence of any faced stone work, excepting the two quoins above referred to, and the whole was possibly covered with the same plaster as the floor and steps. The mortar with which the walls are built is of inferior quality and easily distinguishable both in colour and texture from that used in the Norman foundations.

From the position of the entrance and the flight of steps it may be assumed that the original Saxon church had no aisles but otherwise was built somewhat after the manner of St. Wilfred's churches at Hexham and Ripon. The churches of this description, according to Mr. Micklethwaite's valuable treatise on Saxon church building (*The Archaeological Journal*, December, 1896), had a raised platform at one end where the altar stood and beneath this was a vault called the "confessio."

This confessio or crypt was of a variety of shapes, in fact no two yet discovered are the same in arrangement, and was intended for the deposit of sacred relics, and where the levels allowed of it there was a window below the altar through which the confessio could be seen into from the church.

Now in this instance at Sidbury the centre of the entrance to the crypt is 2 feet 8 inches north of a central line drawn through the church from east to west, and the reason for this becomes apparent, when we consider that the steps leading up to the presbytery would probably be placed as nearly central as possible and therefore the steps down to the crypt would have to be on one side.

The only other five examples known of Saxon crypts in England (*i.e.*, those at Hexham, Ripon, Wing, Repton, and Brixworth) have quite a different place of entrance, and with the exception of Ripon each has the remains of two entrances from the church, and in each case outside passages round the central chamber. But at Sidbury there is but one entrance and this is *direct* from the nave, and the crypt itself is unbroken by any divisions.

From the above remarks we can draw the following conclusions, before the Norman church was built at Sidbury there existed on the *same* site a small Saxon church with a nave and narrow presbytery and crypt below, the latter arranged in a manner that differs from all known examples.

It is interesting to note that though the Norman chancel was built outside the lines of the Saxon one, it bears towards the south while the walls of the Saxon crypt now exposed are nearly straight with the present nave.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 1st, 1899.

EMANUEL GREEN, Hon. Director, in the Chair.

FLEMISH TOBACCO BOXES.

Mr. E. PEACOCK, F.S.A., Member of the Institute, sent two old Flemish tobacco boxes for exhibition and inquiry.

1. Box, oblong, 7 by 2 inches, brass lid and bottom, both engraved with numbers arranged as a calculation table and calendar, the meaning of which is not obvious. Engraved motto on side meaning *Straightforward*, and on bottom meaning, *Not art but riches men can love, therefore is art preferable to riches*. At the corners are engraved a female half-figure 45, a male figure 1582, a man with a globe 1497. These cannot be the dates of the box, which probably belongs to the earlier part of the eighteenth century.

2. Box, oval, $5\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 inches, brass, has been partially gilt; engraved on lid figure of the Virgin and Child in grand costume, motto meaning *Pilgrims come altogether to visit her at Kevelaer*. Bottom engraved a figure of St. Antony of Padua with the infant Jesus naked on his lap. The saint's face, grotesque and small in proportion to the figure, projects forwards from a long attenuated neck, seemingly expressing contempt or derision. Mr. Peacock refers to a beautiful poem by Haine (the German), a pathetic episode to a pilgrimage from Cologne to the Lady of Kevelaer, but it does not add to the facts of its history or locality. (See the NOTE concerning Kevelaer at the conclusion of these remarks.)

In order to draw further attention to Mr. Peacock's exhibits, the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. J. Hilton, F.S.A., brought for exhibition fifteen other Flemish tobacco boxes kindly lent for the purpose, Nos. 3, 4, and 5 belonging to Mr. J. C. Gooden-Chisholm, Member of the Institute, viz. :—

3. Box, oval, $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, brass, lid engraved the Lady of Kevelaer resembling box No. 2, bottom St. Antony of Padua with face not grotesquely represented, the infant Jesus on his lap. Inscription to the same purport as on box No. 2.

4. Box, oblong, with rounded ends, $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, lid engraved with Christ and the woman of Samaria at the well, inscription meaning *Christ gets water from a Samaritan woman*. Bottom inscription meaning: *Although you have to leave the world quickly you have to believe in God*. No date.

5. Box, oblong, with rounded ends, $6\frac{1}{4}$ by 2 inches, brass, all the ornamentation stamped in relief (not hammered up). The lid is inscribed *Heros seculi Defensor Germanie protector patrie et religionis*. A figure of Fame, &c. beneath. The central portion is occupied by a half-length figure in military costume in colours of applied metals—

blue for the hat and coat, copper for the vest, brass for the belt and sword; inscription, *Fridericus Magnus Borussorum magnus rex*; the Prussian eagle in copper, and the maker's name, I. H. Hamer fecit. Bottom with two sides of a copper coin of Frederick inserted, and two copper plaques stamped with battle scenes of Loswositz and Praag, and a stamped-up three-line inscription in German, meaning *Your name is sufficient to conquer all. The whole world knows your wars. You commence and leave off conquering. I. H. Hamer.* Inside the lid an eleven-line German inscription stamped in relief and same maker's name. There is no date. Frederick II (the Great) reigned 1740-1786.

The next eleven boxes belong to Mr. Jonathan Smith:—

6. Box, all brass, of about the same dimensions and form as the last-mentioned one, No. 5, and resembling it in subject. In the centre of lid is a stamped-up portrait medallion of *Fridericus Borussorum rex*; on either side are stamped-up inscriptions in German and Dutch, surmounted by eight allegorical figures, meaning *The father of his people; this father in the war performed great deeds, and through his own merits got the upper hand of Germany. Pro gloriâ et patriâ.—Veritate et justitiâ.* On the bottom, in the centre, is stamped a battle scene inscribed *Completa victoria by Praag door de Pruisen bevochten, den 6 May 1757*; and on either side, within circles, battle scenes inscribed *Victorie by Reichenberg 21 Ap. 1757—Bombardamen van Praag 30 May 1757.* Beneath all is a five-line inscription, the first line being a Latin chronogram of the year 1757—FRIDERICVS BORVSSORVM REX VEXIT VICIT FVGAVIT HOSTES PATRIÆ SVÆ. The remaining four lines are Dutch or Flemish, meaning *The Great Frederic is victorious, and drives Austria out of the field through his sword. Through the power of his sword a fortress surrounds Praag the great town of Bohemia.*

7. Box, all brass, oblong, with rounded ends, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. All the ornamentation is engraved but obscured by frequent polishing and use. The lid shows New Testament scenes in oval-shaped compartments—the Annunciation, the Salutation, Christ born, the Presentation; on the bottom, the Agony in Gethsemane, bearing the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Burial. On the sides are twelve other scenes of Scriptural events, but almost obliterated.

8. Box, brass lid and bottom, copper sides, all engraved. The lid shows Elijah ascending heavenwards in a chariot, his mantle falling on Elisha; Flemish inscriptions almost illegible, meaning *Keep nothing but the skin for yourself. Do not be sorry for the punishment; pray God for His grace.* Inscription on one side imperfectly interpreted; the words, meaning *love, favour, art*, can be made out. The bottom shows five of the wicked children mocking Elijah, who stands in the group; in front are two animals intended for the devouring bears; their faces have a human rather than an ursine aspect. Short inscription nearly rubbed out.

9. Box, all brass, $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, with rounded ends, covered with handsome engraved ornamentation except where occupied by circles enclosing subjects or inscriptions: those on the lid show four—Hope, Charity, &c.—and inscriptions meaning *I hope through belief and love; Strength comes from Almighty God.* The bottom shows four—Peace,

Justice, &c. Inscription meaning *Through peace lives God. Trust in Him, and He will bless you with much earthly good.*

10. Box, all brass, oblong, with rounded ends, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches; sides with boldly engraved ornament; the lid and bottom similarly engraved except where occupied by the subject. On the lid is engraved what looks like a butcher's slaughtering place and people looking on, with two inscriptions. The bottom shows less doubtfully a butcher's premises, two men and two slaughtered cows, with inscriptions. In the box is an iron tobacco pipe in two pieces, bowl and stem; the mouthpiece is wanting; all made to screw together for use. Inside the lid is a brass loop intended to hold a mouthpiece.

11. Box, lid and bottom of brass, copper sides, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 inches, oblong, with rounded ends, the subject stamped up in strong relief. On lid three men with dog, out shooting, one holding up a shot hare. On bottom similar scene—man about to shoot a bird. No ornamentation or inscription.

12. Box, all brass, oval, 5 by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, covered with excellently engraved ornament except where the subject appears; the lid and bottom are bevelled towards the engraved subjects. The top shows the armorial devices of the seven provinces; inscription meaning *The seven provinces*. The bottom shows a lion prancing towards a lamb; on either side is a human face in profile, showing similar unpleasant features whether viewed as upright or upside down; that on the dexter side wears a citizen's hat, the sinister one wears a pope's triple crown; probably a political satire. Inscription meaning *Union is strength*.

13. Box similar to the foregoing one, No. 12. The devices on the lid are nearly identical, inscription meaning *Unity is strength*. On the bottom appear three sailing ships with small craft, inscription meaning *The growing navy*. Inscription superadded, John Lake 1736.

14. Box very like the foregoing (Nos. 12 and 13), but a trifle larger and with more beautifully engraved ornamentation. The lid shows a busy scene: A man sits by a cask smoking, a boy is in a floating boat, ships in the distance; all is surrounded by six small oval compartments representing Europe, Asia, and the four Seasons. Inscription meaning *I am sitting smoking like a man who has no money. The boy eats pap like a peasant; after he smokes he is done for*. On the bottom three lively women are at tea under a tree; surrounding them are six small oval compartments representing Africa, America, and the four Elements. Inscription meaning *A little snuff and a cup of tea is very agreeable for the wife, but I do not want her to come home*.

The last three boxes are of superior workmanship; the age of any in the series is doubtful, but probably within 200 years.

15. Box for tobacco made of wood, oblong, with rounded ends, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, shallow; the subjects carved in strong relief. On the lid Jonah is seen emerging from the mouth of a sea monster, also some foliage ornament. The bottom shows three woolly sheep and shepherd and foliage. Sides ornamentally carved. No inscription.

16. Box for tobacco of dark brown wood, oblong, with rounded ends, $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Subjects carved in strong relief. The lid shows Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac. The bottom shows a man

and woman standing at opposite sides of a table furnished with bottles and drinking cups. Sides with flowers and foliage. Inside the lid is incised DENZMAART 1817 HJVZ.

17. The next, and last, box belongs to Mr. W. T. Gibbes: brass, square-shaped, 5 by 3 inches, slightly rounded at the angles, shallow, apparently of old workmanship. The engraved lid shows a cow being milked, a man standing by smoking. Flemish inscription meaning *A thing to be wondered at by everyone, that a black cow gives white milk.* On the bottom is only an inscription meaning *A salt sea gives fresh fish. Een soete meydt sout water pist.*

All the interpretations of the Flemish inscriptions (not literal translations) are supplied by one who is acquainted with Flemish, Dutch, and the *patois* of those languages.

NOTE.—As connected with Mr. Peacock's inquiry, and the lids of boxes Nos. 2 and 3, I exhibited a rare little book of sixteen pages printed at Geldern, on the occasion of a festival held at Kevelaer in honour of the Virgin Mary and her image preserved there. The title-page of the book shows a rough woodcut of the image, and is entirely in chronogram of the date 1792. It is as follows:—

JUBILæUM VIRgInIs keVeLarIensIs	
VersU DeCLaratUr,	(= 1792)
JUGItèr JUBILans triUMphatrIX	
rItè CoLLaUDatUr;	(= 1792)
eXaLtate sUPra sUPeros, VersUs,	
et præConIUM DICatUr.	(= 1792)
DIXIt psaLtes:	
beatUs popULUs, qUI sCIt JUBILatIoneM. Psalmo 88, v. 16.	(= 1792)
Cum approbatione, et permissione.	










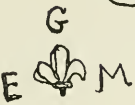



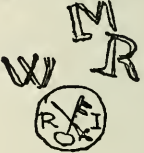




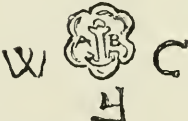





The book contains no date other than the chronograms, which are 100 in number, and all making 1792. The subject is composed mostly in the same fashion, and in terms of extravagant adulation of the Virgin in Latin prose, and hexameter and pentameter verse; also in Latin poems or hymns of varied metre, but not chronogrammatic. The following extract from one of the latter, at page 15, affords a clue to the date when the image came to Kevelaer:—

“Quinquaginta (ter notando)
Annis floret patria,
Solatricem venerando
Multâ gaudet gratiâ:
Jubilæum teneatur,
Sonent, fiant júbila,
Grande festum habeatur,
Procul absint nubila.”

Thus, the amount here indicated (150 years) being deducted from 1792, the date of the jubilee, gives 1642 as the date of the image.

Kevelaer is a town on the line of railway northwards from Cologne to Arnhem, about sixty miles from the former city. It is still frequented by pilgrims. I do not find that the image has the repute of working miracles as is recorded of that at Omel in North Brabant and other places to which pilgrims resort. On this subject my last published volume, *Chronograms Collected*, 1895, pages 213 to 233, will afford information which would be out of place if repeated here. See also *Chronograms Continued*, 1885, pages 244 to 249; and, *inter*



Maidenhead.		In bowl.	
Crown Knop.			Slipped in stalk.
Strawberry.			
Acorn.			Ditto.
Baluster.			
Ditto.			Ditto.
Seal Head.			
Ditto.			Ditto.
Ditto.			
Slipped in stalk.			Ditto.
Ditto.			
Ditto.			Puritan.
Ditto.			
Split end.			Ditto.
Wavy end.			

alios, a sumptuously printed folio book, *Sanctum Seculare Mariinum*, by Andreas Bartetschko, printed at Olmütz 1732. Gumpfenberg and other authorised writers record hundreds, and even thousands, of miracle-working images of the Virgin.

J. HILTON.

March 1st, 1899.

The Rev. Sir TALBOT B. BAKER, V.P., in the Chair.

PEWTER AND BASE METAL SPOONS FOUND IN LONDON.—Exhibited by F. G. HILTON PRICE, Dir.S.A.

This exhibition consists of a small collection of spoons of base metal, such as of pewter, latten, and brass, which have been discovered in various parts of the City of London during the past few years.

They are especially interesting as illustrating about a dozen varieties ranging from the fourteenth century up to the eighteenth century. It is not my intention to read you a paper upon them, as that has already been done by Mr. C. J. Jackson, F.S.A., entitled "The Spoon and its History, &c.," which was read before the Society of Antiquaries on February 13th, 1890, and published in *Archæologia*. In this paper he gave an interesting and valuable history of spoons and their uses from the time of the Ancient Egyptians, with excellent illustrations. Spoons of the materials now before you are supposed to have been in common use from about the fourteenth century. In arriving at an approximate date for the various examples, I have been guided by the specimens given by Mr. Jackson, as his were of silver, stamped with the hall marks, thus giving a date to them. It is quite possible and probable that the spoons of base metal may even be earlier, or perhaps served as patterns from which those of silver were made. Those that I now place before you are specimens of various types such as those known as "Diamond points," "Maidenheads," "Crowns," "Strawberry," "Acorn," and "Baluster Knops," "Slipped in the stalks," "Seal tops," "Puritans," "Split ends," "Wavy ends," &c. All the spoons from the fourteenth to well over the middle of the seventeenth centuries have oval bowls widening out at the base, with hexagonal stems with ornamental knops.

The first to mention are two pewter examples of "Diamond points" or hexagonal spear-heads, as they are the earliest, and may be referred to the fourteenth century; the next is a pewter spoon of similar form, with hexagonal stem, knopped with a female head wearing a horned head-dress, which belongs to the period of Henry V in the early part of the fifteenth century, and is a very rare specimen even in this base metal. A similar specimen realized a large sum at a sale at Christie's in 1889.

Of the "Acorn" I exhibit four specimens, some very poor, but the knops are good; they are made of pewter. The smaller knops are of earlier date, and belong to the fifteenth century: the larger Acorns are supposed to be later; one is marked in the bowl AB within a circle.

Maidenhead spoons are of the sixteenth century. One, of pewter, was found in London; it has the maker's mark S in the bowl; but the two specimens in brass, I am inclined to consider, are of foreign manufacture.

Two specimens of the Crown knobs, in pewter, of the sixteenth century: the maker's mark is probably R. P.

Two specimens of the Strawberry knob in latten. This type of spoon also belongs to the sixteenth century, but they differ in form, inasmuch as the stem is flatter than in the preceding types, and in one example the bowl is larger and in shape like late seventeenth century spoons. Mr. Jackson has already observed that these spoons differ from the other types of the period. They bear the maker's stamp of "three spoons" within a circle.

Three Baluster-headed spoons, in pewter, belonging to the middle of the sixteenth century: the maker's mark in the bowl is very indistinct.

Three specimens of Seal-headed spoons in latten, likewise belonging to the middle of the sixteenth century; two are marked with a rose, and one with a fleur-de-lys within a circle, and the latter has the owner's initials ^G_{E M}.

There are sixteen examples of spoons "Slipped in the stalk": five are of latten and eleven of pewter. This style of spoon was in use from the time of the Tudors to early in the reign of Charles II, and they have hexagonal stems. They nearly all bear makers' marks, some being roses, and one, a fleur-de-lys; the pewter spoons bear the marks of "keys" with initials of the maker.

"Spoon and dagger," "Anchor" spoons, and one, a short-stemmed specimen, is stamped with the Tudor rose crowned. All these pewter spoons have the initials of their former owners stamped upon them.

"Puritan" spoons, so called, came into fashion at the middle of the seventeenth century; they have wider bowls and flat stems.

Two specimens in latten bear the makers' marks of "three spoons"; two other like spoons in pewter, with flat but hexagonal stems, are dated. One is stamped 1670, with a shield, and the other one 1683, which has an embryo rat tail at the back.

Next to mention are the spoons with the Split ends made of latten and silvered or "double-whited," and two of them are so stamped; they belong to the latter part of the seventeenth century, and the three "Wavy end" spoons to the period of William III.

Mr. H. S. COWPER read a paper "On the Influence of the Roman Occupation on the Distribution of Population in Cumberland and Westmorland." He pointed out that the method he had adopted in this inquiry was somewhat new, and the conclusions pointed to would no doubt require further discussion. It would be natural to imagine that on the Roman evacuation the Britons would form permanent settlements in the deserted camps. When, however, he tabulated those in his district, he found that while ten camps were occupied by mediæval towns or villages, seventeen were isolated, and about eight were in the vicinity of villages, but not built on. It appeared that the Anglian settlers who came in the seventh century carefully avoided the Roman camps, for there are only three towns on Roman sites which bear Anglian names, while there are about fifteen camps

where, though the names are Anglian, there are no towns on the sites. In like manner, though the Danish termination "by" is common in the vicinity of Roman camps, there are only four camps which have themselves names which seem Danish. Mr. Cowper suggested that this pointed to these Teutonic settlers finding the camps deserted and ruinous, and in consequence avoiding them as "uncanny" places; for if they had been inhabited by Britons there would have been a conflict, after which the new-comers, if victorious, would have occupied the sites. The evidence of the early Christian Church seemed to give similar indications; there appeared no good proof of Christian foundations in this district before the sixth century. The Kentigern churches, which preceded by a hundred years the Anglian settlements, were in the same way placed clear of the Roman camps, and the Patrician dedications told the same tale. One could not help feeling that if, when the earliest missionaries arrived, the Roman camps were the centres of British population, there the missionaries would have planted the earliest churches. Yet it was not so. Coming to historical evidences, Mr. Cowper pointed out how little there was recorded of this district. There is, however, the sixth-century chronicler Gildas, and though he has been repeatedly questioned, Skene has shown how much is trustworthy in this historian's work. Gildas has recorded in ghastly detail the weakness and cowardice of the Britons about the Roman Wall, and what terrible and repeated massacres were inflicted on them by the Picts and Scots at and just after the Roman withdrawal. And his evidence, coupled with that of the sites themselves and the nomenclature, almost seems to justify the belief that the Britons on the frontier were nearly annihilated, and that when the Teutonic settlers appeared on the scene the district was depopulated, and the camps and forts left desolate and in ruins.

Mr. W. H. Knowles communicated a paper "On an Effigy of a Knight in Warkworth Church, Northumberland." This figure is one of particular interest, for to the mail hood is attached a movable visor, which must have been pivoted to a plate cap worn inside the hood, an arrangement unique, as far as is known, on effigies. The details of armour point to a date between 1310 and 1330.

Notices of Archæological Publications.

THE BOOK OF THE SETTLEMENT OF ICELAND. TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ICELANDIC OF ARI THE LEARNED. By the REV. T. ELLWOOD, M.A. pp. xxxi and 244. Kendal: T. Wilson. 1898.

The Book of the Settlement of Iceland is probably better known to most of our readers as the *Landnáma Bók*, at once the Doomsday Book and the Golden Book of Iceland. The first compiler of the *Landnáma Bók* was Ari Froði (Ari the Learned), the eighth in descent from King Olaf the White, and his Queen Aud, who landed in Dublin in A.D. 852, and founded a Norse Principality. Olaf Feilan, grandson of Olaf the White, and son of Thorstein the Red, was born in the western islands, probably in Dublin, but settled and died in Iceland. Ari, the sixth in descent from Thorstein the

Red. was born in Iceland in 1067; on his father's side he was descended from Gudrun, the heroine of the Laxdala Saga: on his mother's side he was sprung from Hall-o-side, from whom the three great Icelandic historians all trace their descent. From his connections he gathered much information about the settlement of Iceland, and the early settlers. All this he reduced to writing, and made into a "Bók," as distinguished from a "Saga," or *viva voce* tradition, which had never been written down, but merely passed on orally. He thus produced the greater part of the Landnáma Bók, or *Book of the Settlement of Iceland*, but not the whole. He wrote the history of the discovery of Iceland, and the settlement of the west, north, and south quarters; the settlement of the east quarter was written by Ari's contemporary Kolskegg Asbjornson. The joint work of these two was edited by Stymir, son of Kari, who died in 1245. This edition was revised by Sturla Thordson (1214-1284), and this edition was again revised by Hank Erlendson: there was a further recension by an unknown writer. The work done by those various editors mainly consisted in bringing up to date the genealogical matter. The settlement of Iceland is in great measure contemporary with the reign in Norway of Harald Fairhair, son of Halfdan the Black: Harald Fairhair was born about 850; he began to reign in 860, and died in 933, aged 83. Following the policy started by his father, he reduced under his rule the jarls, or independent kinglets of Norway, and hammered their little territories into one kingdom. He also subdued the Vikings of the out-islands—the Orkneys, Shetlands, Hebrides and Man. All this caused much disturbance among the proud Norsemen, some flying to the Orkneys, Shetlands, and Hebrides, without being able to ultimately escape the rule of King Harald the Shockhead: some fled to Iceland and the Faroe Islands. The fighting was fierce for ten or twelve years, during which King Harald neither cut nor combed his hair, and hence his earlier name of Shockhead: on ridding himself of the remarkable crop which must have accumulated during these years, he was renamed Harald Fairhair, the name by which he is best known. *The Book of the Settlement* contains a brief prologue and five parts, each part divided into from thirteen to thirty-three short chapters, each giving an account of some particular settlement, of who made it, and of how and why the maker got there, together with much genealogical information.—not a little picturesque gossip. Mr. Ellwood has spent over eleven years in making the translation now laid before the public: we can hardly say that it is a book which many people will apply themselves continuously to, with a view of reading it from end to end: we could hardly say that of Burke's *Landed Gentry*, or of Fox Davies' *Armorial Families*, but anyone who did brace himself up to so doing would be rewarded by picking up a considerable amount of Norse folklore, in which he will be greatly assisted by Mr. Ellwood's brief and terse notes, drawn from his knowledge of Lakeland. To the curious, in the place-names of Lakeland the book is indispensable: an appendix contains a directory of over 500 place-names, each with its translation into English, and a reference to its place in Ellwood's translation of the *Book of the Settlement*. Now nearly all these names have their counterparts in Lakeland.



CONSISTORY COURTS AND CONSISTORY PLACES.

By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A., Chancellor of the Diocese of Carlisle.

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INTRODUCTION.

In the course of their annual wanderings up and down the members of the Royal Archæological Institute have occasionally come across in various churches, parochial as well as cathedral, places set apart for the sittings of Ecclesiastical Courts, more or less marked or fenced off, and more or less supplied with furniture suitable for such courts. But curiously enough, such places do not always occur in churches where one would expect to find them, or where they must once have existed, while on the other hand they occur in churches where only the initiated would look for them. Thus, as a Bishop has an undoubted right to hold his Consistory Court in his cathedral, one

would expect to find such a court in every cathedral. Such is not the case; in some cathedrals there are consistorial places, fenced off and handsomely furnished: in other cathedrals the consistorial places are neither fenced off nor furnished at all; in many cases only some old official can point them out; sometimes no one can be found who knows anything about them, while in other cathedrals the bewildered enquirer will hear of two or even three court places.¹ These courts, or rather the relics or wreckage of them, occasionally exist in parish churches; and in other churches, where they do not now exist, the aged inhabitant, particularly if a limb of the law, can tell of consistorial places that have totally disappeared.

For the understanding of these puzzles it will be necessary to go briefly into the jurisdiction of the various Ecclesiastical Courts, and first of all of that held by the Bishops. The best way will be to quote from Reeves' *History of the English Law*²:

"An English bishop, consistent with the scheme we have just given from the canon law, had spiritual jurisdiction through his whole diocese. The person who executed all of this charge, which did not belong to the bishop by reason of his order, was the Chancellor; though it is remarkable that he is not so named in any of the commissions that he holds, nor executes the proper duty of a Chancellor. In early times it is said bishops had such an officer, who kept their seals. The Chancellor of a bishop in this country usually holds two offices, that of *vicar-general* and that of *official principal*.³ . . . Though these two have been usually granted together, yet there are instances of vicar-generals being appointed separately, upon occasional absence of the bishop; which, indeed, was the original design of such establishment. The authority of a Chancellor, like that of a bishop, is generally given so fully as to extend over the whole diocese to all matters and causes ecclesiastical. But a bishop might create some exceptions to this general jurisdiction by giving a limited one to a *Commissary*. A Commissary's authority was restricted to certain places and to certain causes. . . . Another

¹ At Lincoln the Registrar, Mr. A. N. Bowman, of the Consistory Court, of which I am Judge, could find no one who could tell where the Consistory Court of Lincoln was held, or point him out any court places, though there were once no less than three court places in Lincoln Cathedral. He found the same lack of information at Ely. In the case of Ely, however, the ignorance might be excusable, as will hereafter appear.

² Edited by W. F. Finlason, Vol. III, p. 106.

³ While the Official Principal heard causes between party and party and dealt usually with matters of *temporal* interest, such as marriage, wills, and the like, the Vicar-General exercised a jurisdiction only in spirituals, such as the correction of morals, granting institutions, preserving discipline, and so forth. See Phillimore, *The Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England*, 2nd edition, p. 928.

exception to the jurisdiction of the Chancellor was that of the archdeacon. In some archdeaconries, partly by grants from the bishop, and partly by custom, the archdeacon exercises both spiritual and judicial authority; and this, as to causes or things, is of more or less extent in different places; and in some is peculiar and exempt from the bishop, in others only concurrent. . . . Thus there was in every diocese a court held before the Official Principal of the bishop; and in some there was also one held by the bishop's commissary, and by the official of some archdeacon. Besides there were courts of the archbishops who had two jurisdictions: one diocesan, like the other bishops, the other was a superintendence over the bishops of their respective provinces."

This repeated overlapping of the Episcopal and Archidiaconal Courts was well calculated to produce confusion, but such confusion was still further confounded by the existence of numerous courts called "Peculiars." Of these courts there is a clear and interesting account by the late Mr. C. S. Perceval, LL.D., Dir.S.A., in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*,¹ of which I propose to make much use. These Peculiars were places (franchises they would be called in the Common Law) in which a local jurisdiction was enjoyed by some person (as it were, *in peculio* or as private property) more or less independently of the ordinary or other person having judicial authority in the surrounding district. The following list is from Mr. Perceval's paper²:

"Jurisdictions peculiar and exempt from the Diocesan are:

1. Royal Peculiars. 'The King's Free Chapel is a royal peculiar exempted from all spiritual jurisdiction, and referred to the immediate government of the King: there are also some peculiar ecclesiastical jurisdictions belonging to the King, which formerly pertained to monasteries or religious houses.'³

2. Archbishop's Peculiars. 'Archbishops had their peculiars, which are not only in the neighbouring diocese, but dispersed up and down in remoter places; for it appears by Eadmerus that wherever the archbishop had an estate belonging to him he had sole jurisdiction as ordinary.'⁴

3. The peculiars of certain Deans and Chapters, as of St. Paul's, of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, depending upon ancient compositions entered into between them and their respective bishops.

¹ *Proc. S.A.*, 2nd Series, Vol. V, pp. 238-250. A very clear account of the origin of the Archidiaconal Courts and of the Peculiar Jurisdictions by the Bishop of Oxford is in *Historical Appendix I to the Report of the Com-*

mission on Ecclesiastical Courts, Vol. I, pp. 21-26, 1883. ² *Ut ante*, p. 239.

³ Wood's Institute, 530, cited by Perceval *ut ante*.

⁴ Aycliffe, Parerg, 418, cited by Perceval *ut ante*.

4. Certain peculiarities belonging to certain monasteries.

There are also peculiar jurisdictions not exempt from, but subordinate to, the bishop of the diocese. Such are peculiarities which belong to Deans and Chapters (other than the exempt jurisdictions just mentioned), or to a prebendary exempt from the archdeacon only. 'They are derived from the bishop of ancient composition, and may be visited by the bishop, in his primary and triennial visitations: in the meantime the official of the Dean and Chapter, or the prebendary, is the judge; and from hence the appeal lieth to the bishop of the diocese.'¹

The rectors and vicars of several parishes, particularly in the diocese of Worcester, had also peculiar jurisdiction similar to that exercised by the prebendaries of whom mention has been made, and doubtless originating also from episcopal grants. So had some lords of manors, mostly in courts, belonging originally to dissolved monasteries, which had exempt jurisdiction. In all there were in 1832 in England no less than 285 Courts of Peculiarities.² In addition to the confusion created by this large number of small local courts, further confusion was again created by the Bishops having power to inhibit or suspend the powers of the Archidiaconal Courts and the Courts of Peculiarities during their primary and triennial visitations. During these inhibitions, which were of various length—two months, three months, six months or more, according to the custom—the business of the inhibited court was carried on in the name of the Chancellor of the diocese, who got the fees.³ It would be an interesting, and far from impossible, task to trace most of the 285 peculiarities and exempt jurisdictions to their origin, but it would be a prolonged task for any one man to undertake 285 such

¹ Wood's Institute, 530, cited by Perceval *ut ante*.

² Perceval *ut ante*, p. 241. They exist mainly in the rich dioceses of the south of England: there are none in the four dioceses of Wales, and only two very insignificant ones in the diocese of Carlisle.

³ Some Courts of Peculiarities were never inhibited. Where a Bishop had two courts, over one of which his Chancellor presided, and over the other his Commissary, it sometimes happened that one person held both offices; so that at one time he presided in the Commissarial Court as Commissary, but, when it was inhibited, he presided as Chancellor.

Accounts of these courts and their bewildering ramifications and inhibitions, of their registries, or places of deposit for their documents, of the fees they received, &c., are to be found in the following Blue Books: *The Returns; Probates of Wills*, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 1829; *Returns respecting the Jurisdiction, Records, Emoluments, and Fees of Ecclesiastical Courts* 1830; *Reports Ecclesiastical Courts of England and Wales* 1832; *Report Ecclesiastical Courts Commission* 1883. They contain much *pabulum* for the ardent antiquary.

investigations: the origin of the prebendal peculiars of the diocese of Lincoln will be given presently as an illustration.

Mr. Perceval says:

“The main advantage accruing to the possessors of these peculiars were the exemption from the visitation, and consequent exactions by way of procurations and fees, of the Archdeacons and their officials; and the profits of testamentary and sometimes matrimonial jurisdiction. At Lincoln, for instance, the prebendaries possessed the right of proving wills and granting administrations of the goods of persons dying within the jurisdiction, concurrently with the consistory court of the bishop, but to the exclusion of the courts of the bishops’ commissaries in the four archdeaconries and of the archdeacons themselves. . . . Testamentary jurisdiction survived theoretically in all or nearly all of these courts up to the year 1857, when the Act of Parliament was passed which constituted Her Majesty’s Court of Probate. The matrimonial jurisdiction, where it existed, had been seriously affected, and even abolished in some cases by the operation of statute law. Practically the proving of wills in the smaller courts had in a very large number of cases fallen into desuetude for a length of time before the passing of the Probate Act.”

Enough has now been said to explain the existence of court or consistorial places in cathedrals and churches: and of more than one in some cathedrals, for Deans, and Deans and Chapters, like Bishops, held their courts in their cathedrals, while Episcopal Commissaries and Archdeacons held theirs in convenient churches within their several jurisdictions, and so on in the cases of the lesser jurisdictions.

It now remains to explain why we do not find in existence the court or consistorial places for each jurisdiction that existed prior to 1857.

Nothing seems to be known as to the places of holding these courts in the middle ages. Mr. Micklethwaite, V.P.S.A., tells me he does not remember to have found a place fitted up for such use earlier than the seventeenth century. But my learned predecessor in the Consistory Court of Carlisle, Dr. Burn, in his well-known treatise on *The Ecclesiastical Law (sub voce Consistory)* says:

“Consistory is the court Christian or spiritual court, held formerly in the nave of the cathedral church, or in some chapel, aisle or portico belonging to it.”

He quotes also *verbatim* from Spelman’s *Villare Anglicum* the charter by which William the Conqueror

effected the separation of the Ecclesiastical from the Temporal Courts. The concluding words of the latter part, dealing with offenders against the ecclesiastical laws, are :

“Hoc enim defendo, et mea auctoritate interdico, ne ullus vicecomes aut praepositus, seu minister regis, nec aliquis laicus homo, de legibus quæ ad episcopum pertinent, se intromittat, nec aliquis laicus alium hominem sine justitia episcopi ad iudicium adducat : *Judicium vero in nullo loco portetur, nisi in episcopali sede, aut in illo loco, quem episcopus ad hoc constituerit.*”¹

The “episcopal seat” was of course the cathedral. Thus the will of Robert de Tibbay de Karliolo was proved in 1373 *in ecclesia Cathedrali Karl.*² But nearly all the fourteenth century Carlisle wills are proved at Rose,³ the episcopal residence, seven miles out of Carlisle, a convenient arrangement for the Bishop and his officers, who would mostly be of his household. The will of Nicholas Hall of Crossby was proved in the Chapter House, Carlisle, 1362,⁴ and the will of the rector of Burgh was proved at Penrith before the Bishop in 1382.⁵

No special court furniture was permanently placed in the cathedrals prior to the Reformation ; at least, no traces of such remain : the existing furniture of some chapel or portico or aisle would suffice. At the Reformation these places would be swept and garnished, *i.e.* ruthlessly gutted of their fittings. The courts, too, were deprived of much of their importance ; and their officers were probably content to carry in and out of some empty chapel in the cathedral such moveable furniture as might be necessary for the transaction of business, and thus they established consistorial places. With the revival of the Ecclesiastical Courts in the seventeenth century came in a wish for permanent furniture, and many, but not all, courts were handsomely fitted up with furniture of that period,

¹ “This also I forbid and by my authority interdict, that no sheriff or reeve or officer of the King nor any layman, do intermeddle with the laws which belong to the bishop, nor any layman to draw another man to judgment, except by the jurisdiction of the bishop; and let judgment be given in no place but in the episcopal seat, or

in that place which the bishop for this shall have appointed.”

² *Testamenta Karleolensia* (1353–1386), published by the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, p. 104.

³ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

as shown in the illustrations given with this paper of the Consistory Courts of Lichfield and Norwich. Both are fitted up with considerable stateliness, and the Chancellor sits in a seat with arms, and canopy over his head. The seal of my predecessor, Chancellor Lowther of Carlisle, appointed in 1661, shows him as seated in a large chair, with huge round knobs on the corners of the back and on the ends of the elbows. The chair is within a round arched canopy, supported by fluted pillars with Corinthian capitals. I think this seal represents what Chancellor



Lowther thought he was entitled to have in Carlisle Cathedral: not what he got. Browne-Willis, in his *Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, Carlisle, &c., &c.*, 1727--30, shows the consistorial place at Carlisle where it is now, and apparently furnished as at present.¹ I have no canopy to supply me with dignity: a simple raised seat with elbows and a long book board in front suffices: I have to rely for dignity on such as I can evolve out of myself.

Chancellor Lowther's seal was exhibited in the tem-

¹ The shabby railing, whose position is shown in Browne-Willis's plan, was, by my consent, removed in 1898.

porary museum formed at Carlisle on the occasion of the visit of the Royal Archæological Institute, and is thus described in the catalogue :

Brass matrix of pointed oval form, a seal of a Chancellor of Carlisle. A figure in a flowing dress and flat cap, appears seated under a round arched canopy ; beneath it is an escutcheon charged with this bearing : six annulets, 3, 2, 1, (Lowther). Legend

✠ REVEREND. EPISC. CARLIOL. CANCELL.

In 1857 the more remunerative cases that used to come before these courts—those relating to marriage and to wills—were removed elsewhere.¹ And in 1868 church rates were abolished,² and with them went the cases of the compulsory providing for the repair, or for the goods, of the church. The result has been the gradual, but practical, extinction of the general Archidiaconal Court, though it still legally exists, and the reduction of the jurisdiction of the Chancellor to little more than the granting of faculties.³ Owing to the vanishing of most of the business, the courts became more or less waste places—those in parish churches almost absolutely so : the restoring parson and his architect soon cleared out the Jacobean furniture because it was not correct, because room was wanted for an organ, for an organ chamber, or for a monument to a local worthy. The courts in cathedrals have not fared much better : the Chancellors in the south of England have too frequently contented themselves with holding their sittings in their chambers in the Temple, and not in their consistorial places, while Deans and Chapters have not been slow to find the almost abandoned courts useful as receptacles for choristers' robes, or for coals and ladders and brooms. The band of the garrison at Carlisle stack their instruments in my court when they attend service on Sunday. I do not object to that, but I did on one occasion object to it being filled with jam pots intended to hold the floral decorations for some festivity.

I now propose to give an account of the court or consistorial places in each of the English and Welsh

¹ 20 & 21 Vict., c. 85, 20 & 21 Vict., c. 77.

² 31 & 32 Vict., c. 77.

³ See Archdeacon Prescott in *Visita-*

tions in the Ancient Diocese of Carlisle. Carlisle : Chas. Thurnam & Sons, Cambridge ; Deighton, Bell & Co., 1888.

cathedrals. To compile these accounts has involved an immense research into old plans and guide books, into county histories, and into such books as Browne-Willis's works, Winkle's *Cathedrals*, and more modern works of that character. I have been in correspondence with ecclesiastical officials at every cathedral, English and Welsh; and since I have been Chancellor I have visited every English Cathedral: the Welsh remain over at present unvisited by me. I have endeavoured to get photographs, but have failed; they do not exist—the courts being frequently in dark or otherwise (photographically) impossible places. I cannot attempt to give any accounts of the Archidiaconal Court places, or of the court places of the numerous peculiars that once existed: the task would be too tremendous; but under the head of each diocese I propose to record the Archidiaconal Courts and the Courts of Peculiars, so that a local or a wandering antiquary may be able to identify court or consistorial places when he falls in with relics of them, and may also know where to expect to find them.

PART I.—PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

CANTERBURY.

The Archbishop of Canterbury

“ had five courts: (1) the court of arches; (2) and (3) two courts of peculiars; (4) the court of audience; and (5) the prerogative court. The former was usually held in Bow Church, called *ecclesia Sancte Marice de arcubus*: and so from the church this court was called *curia de arcubus*; and it was held by the *official principal* of the Archbishop, called *officialis de arcubus*. One court of peculiars was held by the *dean of the peculiars*, having jurisdiction over the thirteen parishes called the peculiars of the Archbishop in London: the dean used also to hold his court in Bow Church. The other court of peculiars was held by the same person by the title of *Judge of the Peculiars* and he had jurisdiction over fifty-seven parishes lying in different dioceses and not subject to the local bishop or archdeacon, but to the archbishop. The *court of audience* used to be held in the Archbishop's palace before auditors, who heard such matters, whether of contentious or voluntary jurisdiction, as the Archbishop thought fit to reserve for his own determination: they prepared evidence and other materials to lay before the Archbishop for his decision. This was afterwards removed from the Archbishop's palace, and the jurisdiction of it exercised by the *Master, or Official of the Audience*,

who held his court in the consistory place at St. Paul's. The three great offices of the *Official Principal of the Archbishop*,¹ *Dean or Judge of the Peculiars*,² and *Official of the Audience*³ have since been united in one person, under the general name of the Dean of the Arches, who is also Vicar-General of the Archbishop. These courts are at present (1869) all held in Doctors' Commons, as is also the Prerogative Court by the Judge of the Prerogative Court. This court was for the cognizance of all wills, where the testators having *bona notabilia*, the proof and administration, according to Lyndwood, belonged to the Archbishop by a special prerogative.⁴

These offices have, however, been separated by the Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874, under which provision is made for the appointment of a Judge of the Provincial Court of Canterbury and York, who thereby becomes *ex officio* Official Principal of the Arches Court of Canterbury, Master of the Faculties to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Official Principal or Auditor of the Chancery Court of York. Lord Penzance is now under this Act Official Principal, or Dean of the Court of Arches and Master of the Faculties to the Archbishop of Canterbury⁵: Sir James Parker Dean is the Vicar-General, and Dean or Judge of Peculiars: as Vicar-General he holds court in Bow Church for the confirmation of Bishops of the province.

The Archbishop of Canterbury in 1829 had also a Consistory Court for the diocese of Canterbury with powers over fifty-two parishes in Kent, in which his Commissary presided. The Archdeacon of Canterbury had a similar court over two hundred and sixteen parishes in Kent, over which his Official presided.

Neither Sir John Hassard, K.C.B., the Principal Registrar of the province and diocese of Canterbury, nor Mr. H. Fielding, the Deputy Registrar of the diocese, can tell me of any Consistory Place or Court in the Cathedral of Canterbury. This is not to be wondered at, London being so much more convenient a centre at which to get legal assistance, while Bow Church, the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth, the Consistory Place at St. Paul's,

¹ The Judge of the Court of Arches.

² The Judge of the Court of Peculiars, thirteen parishes in the diocese of London and fifty-seven parishes in various places.

³ The Judge of the Court of Audience.

⁴ Reeves' *History of the English Law*, edited by Finlason, 1869, Vol. III, pp. 107-8.

⁵ This paper was written prior to the recent resignation of Lord Penzance.

and Doctors' Commons were available as courts: the Commissary of the Archbishop, or Judge of the Archbishop's Consistory, seems to sit generally in the library at Lambeth.

LONDON.

At the time of the Returns of 1829 and 1830¹ the Consistorial Episcopal Court of the Bishop of London had jurisdiction to grant probate of wills and letters of administration throughout the diocese of London, with the exception of the Peculiars, hereafter mentioned. The Court of the Commissary of London, of the Commissary of Essex and Herts, and five Archidiaconal Courts, viz., London, Middlesex, Essex, St. Albans, and Colchester, had each within its boundaries concurrent testamentary jurisdiction with the Consistorial Episcopal Court, but were inhibited by the Bishop once in four years for three months. The Archbishop of Canterbury had three Peculiars in the diocese—the Deanery of Bocking, the Deanery of Croydon, and the Deanery of the Arches. The Peculiars of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's included twenty-two parishes, and the Royal Peculiars of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster included the parishes of St. Margaret and St. John, Westminster: the precinct and exempt jurisdiction of St. Martin-le-Grand, London, and of St. Mary Maldon, Essex. The county of Essex also contained the Peculiars of Hornchurch and Havering-atte-Bower, of Writtle with Roxwell, of Good Easter, and the Sokens. There had been a Royal Peculiar in the diocese (that of St. Catherine), its jurisdiction extending over the precincts of St. Catherine, near the Tower, but the whole area had been converted into wet docks and the hospital removed in 1825. Thus the entire jurisdiction was completely annihilated.

The Consistory Place or Court in Old St. Paul's was a building in the angle between the north transept and the

¹ Throughout this paper I deal with the various dioceses as they stood at the time of the Returns of 1829 and 1830. To do otherwise would involve an enormous amount of profitless labour, as those Returns have no index of places: hence the hunting of a peculiar jurisdiction from one bishopric

to another is very troublesome. Of course, dioceses created since those Returns must be dealt with as they now stand, it being kept in mind that the peculiar jurisdictions do not now exist, though some of the districts once under them are now included in the new bishoprics.

choir, over the "Shrowds," and next to "The King's Closet at attending the preaching at Paul's Cross." It is shown in a view given in the *Builder* newspaper in January, 1892.

Let Dr. Tristram, the Chancellor of London, describe the present court :

The Wellington Monument in St. Paul's.

To the Editor of *The Times*.

Sir,

It appears not to be generally known that the chapel¹ in St. Paul's in which the Wellington Monument now stands, from the date of its completion by Sir Christopher Wren to the time of its diversion for the location of the monument, was appropriated and used solely as the Bishop of London's Court in substitution for the Court in old St. Paul's. My recollection of it is that of a most convenient and ornate court with internal fittings of extremely handsome carved oak of the period of its creation. Upon its being selected as the site for the monument, without any previous intimation given (so I have always been assured) either to the Bishop of London, who there held his Church Wardens' Visitations, or to Dr. Lushington, who there held the Consistory Court, when the Court in Doctors' Commons was required by the Arches or Prerogative Courts, it was wholly dismantled of its internal fittings.

So long as the Court in Doctors' Commons existed only occasional inconvenience was felt by this action of the Dean and Chapter. But on my being appointed Chancellor of London in 1872 I found myself without a Court.

I thereupon wrote to Dean Church and claimed, as of right, that I should be provided with a Court in St. Paul's on the ground that every Bishop is entitled by law to have his Consistory in the Cathedral Church of his diocese.

The Dean answered that the Chapter were prepared to accede to my request, and proposed that on the monument being completed the Court should be held in its former place of sitting, and that with this view the Chapter would order proper moveable Court fittings to be constructed. The Dean added that up to the receipt of my application he had seen no prospect of the completion of the erection of the monument, and expressed a wish that I would communicate direct with the Committee with a view to the attainment of that object. I did so, and since its completion the sittings of the Court have been held there.

I beg to remain, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

T. H. TRISTRAM.

12, King's Bench Walk, Temple.

April 14, 1892.²

¹ In the south-west corner of the nave.

² From *The Times* of April 18, 1892.

Three of the Archidiaconal Courts, viz., those of Middlesex (part only), Essex, and Colchester, and the Court of the Commissary of Essex and Herts, kept their records in an office over the south porch of the church of Chelmsford, and so probably had a court in that church. The Archidiaconal Court of St. Albans was probably held in the abbey of that name, and the wills were certainly kept in a wooden cupboard in the presbytery of the abbey.

The Dean and Chapter of Westminster have a very small Consistory Court in the Abbey in the south-west tower or baptistery. It has some rather pretty wood fittings, which were threatened under a recent *régime* with restoration, but were spared: the Judge's seat still remains on the south side in the wood panelling at the back.

WINCHESTER.

The jurisdiction of this See extends over Hampshire, West Surrey, and the Channel Islands: at the time of the reports of 1829¹ and 1830² it included the whole of Surrey. There were then (and are now) two principal Ecclesiastical Courts in the diocese, namely, the "Consistory Court of the Lord Bishop of Winchester" and the "Consistory Court of the Commissary of the Bishop for that part of the Diocese comprising the County of Surrey." The courts of the Archdeacon of Winchester and Surrey had jurisdiction in some parishes to grant probate of wills only, but not letters of administration, as also had the rectors and vicars of certain parishes. The Archbishop of Canterbury had a peculiar jurisdiction in the Deanery of Croydon to grant probate of wills and letters of administration; so had the incumbent of the Donative of North Baddesley in Hants in that parish. The Chancellor of Winchester now presides over the two courts first mentioned: in the "Consistory Court of the Bishop" he presides as Chancellor, but in the "Consistory Court of the Commissary" he presides as the Bishop's Commissary.

The Consistory Court of the Bishop of Winchester is in

¹ *Returns: Probates of Wills*, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 16 April, 1829.

² *Returns: Ecclesiastical Courts*, ordered to be printed 26 March, 1830.

his cathedral. It is small (about 18 feet square), and is fitted with a Judge's seat and enclosed table below. It occupies what was formerly used as a minstrels' gallery, and is over the western bay of the north aisle of the nave. One passes under it in entering the cathedral by the north-west door of the nave. The floor rests on stone arches about 20 feet above the floor of the nave. This is described in Savage's *Guide to Winchester* as

"the tribune above the door at the western extremity. This is the same workmanship as the adjacent parts, and, of course, formed a portion of the Wykeham original plan. It is at present made use of as an Ecclesiastical Court, but seems to have been erected to contain the minstrels who performed on all grand occasions."

The Registrar of the diocese of Winchester holds the key of this court, as well as keys enabling him to unlock the iron outer gate of the cathedral and the door at the foot of the turret stairs leading to the court; but he cannot get into the building at night, when the great wooden doors are locked. The court is used constantly for granting faculties; but when there is a contest, an adjournment takes place to a larger room in Wolvesey Palace (the ancient palace in Winchester of the Bishops of Winchester, now used as a Church House) or to the Grand Jury Chambers.

I am indebted for the above information to Charles Wooldridge, Esq., Registrar of the diocese of Winchester, for that part of the diocese forming the county of Hampshire.

The "Consistory Court of the Commissary" used to be in the church of St. Saviour, Southwark, but that church is now in the diocese of Rochester, and the Commissary is left without any fixed court in which to hear cases: he holds his visitations in the vestry of Holy Trinity, Guildford, and in the church room at Dorking.

I am indebted to W. P. Moore, Esq., the Registrar for Surrey, for the above information.

BANGOR.

The Consistory Court for this diocese is now held in the diocesan registry at Bangor, but it was formerly held

in the north-west corner of the nave of Bangor Cathedral. Of it Browne-Willis gives the following account :

“On the north side of the steeple is the Consistory Court, which has a handsome seat for the Judge, wainscoted behind, and canopied overhead, with a form before him, which is always covered with a decent cushion, when he sits there. It is ascended by three steps on both sides, and hath proper seats for the Register (*sic*), Proctors, etc., as is usual in other places of the like nature.”

I am indebted for information to R. H. Pritchard, Esq., the Registrar of the diocese. The Consistory Court of Bangor had, and has, the entire jurisdiction over the whole diocese of Bangor, without interference by any Peculiar Jurisdictions. Happy Bangor! It was never the practice of the Consistory Court of Bangor to have wills “proved or administrations granted in open court (unless in cases where the grant is opposed and a suit established).”¹ This, perhaps, is the reason why the court in the cathedral has been abandoned.

BATH AND WELLS.

The Consistorial Episcopal Court of the diocese of Wells is in the base of the north-west or Bubwith's tower of Wells Cathedral, being the Chapel of the Holy Cross. This has been the Consistory Court from time immemorial, and has jurisdiction over the diocese of Bath and Wells. It is always used by the Chancellor on the somewhat seldom occasions when he holds a court. His right to the sole use of it has never been questioned, but a late Dean took upon himself to use it as a robing room for the choristers, and they have so continued to use it until the present time. Whenever a court is to be held, the sacrist takes care to remove the boys' cassocks and other things. It is a square room, wood-panelled around. There does not appear to have ever been any Consistory Court at Bath.

I am indebted for the above information to R. Harris, Esq., the Registrar of the diocese.

In 1829 and 1830 this diocese was blessed, in addition to the Consistorial Episcopal Court, with the Consistorial Archidiaconal Court of Wells, the Consistorial Archidia-

¹ Return, 1830, p. 11, *ut ante*.

conal Court of Taunton, the Consistorial Decanal Court of Wells, and the Consistory Court of the Dean and Chapter of Wells. The Precentor, the Chancellor, and the Sub-Dean of the Cathedral Church of Wells each had his Peculiar, with jurisdiction in certain parishes; so had each Prebend to the number of sixteen, and, in addition, there were four other Peculiars.¹

The severity of these arrangements was somewhat mitigated by the numerous registrarships and deputy-registrarships being nearly all held by the same person.

BRISTOL.²

This diocese was first founded in 1542 by taking portions from the three dioceses of Worcester, Bath and Wells, and Salisbury. The Consistory Court of the Bishop at Bristol had at the date of the Returns of 1829 and 1830 jurisdiction over the portions taken from the dioceses of Worcester and Bath and Wells, namely, the city of Bristol, sixteen parishes in the county of Gloucester,³ and one in the county of Somerset. Within this area there are no peculiar or exempt jurisdictions. The Consistorial Episcopal Court at Blandford had jurisdiction over the rest of the diocese, namely, the county of Dorset, which, with its 400 churches and chapels, or thereabouts, had been taken from the diocese of Salisbury; but on this transference the peculiar jurisdictions of the Dean of Salisbury, of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, and of the Canons of Salisbury, whose "prebends" lay in the county of Dorset, were preserved: the Archdeacon of Dorset had testamentary jurisdiction, while there was a Peculiar Court of Milton Abbas, and four peculiars belonging to Wimborne Minster: there was a royal and exempt jurisdiction at Gillingham.

At Bristol the Consistory Court is in the cathedral. Browne-Willis says:

"Access to the Consistory and Registrar Office is by a staircase at south end of the great cross aisle."

¹ Returns of 1829 and 1830 *ul ante*.

² Bristol was a separate diocese at the time of the Returns of 1829 and 1830, and now is one again, but with very different boundaries to what it had at the date of the Returns of 1829 and

1830; from 1836 to 1897 it was united to Gloucester.

³ Some of these parishes and part of the city of Bristol were in the archdeaconry of Gloucester in the diocese of Worcester.

The Consistory Court in the cathedral is fitted up with a chair and desk for the Chancellor, and also for the Registrar, and benches for the practitioners. There is very little litigious business in the court. The Chancellor occasionally sits there. In important cases the Dean has sometimes allowed him the use of the Chapter House.

The court of the Salisbury jurisdictions in Dorset appears to have been the Dean's Court over the north porch of Salisbury Cathedral.¹

At Wimborne Minster

"the part of the north aisle westward of the north door was formerly appropriated to the Consistory Court at which the official of the Peculiar presided. Its jurisdiction having been abolished by a recent Act of Parliament, all traces of the court have been removed."²

I am indebted for information to W. H. Clarke, Esq., the Registrar of Bristol; to the Rev. F. J. Huyshe, Vicar of Wimborne Minster, and to the Rev. Sir Talbot Baker Bart.

CHICHESTER.

The Bishop of this diocese, according to the Return of 1829, has two courts—the "Consistorial Episcopal Court at Chichester" and the "Consistorial Episcopal Court at Lewes." The first had jurisdiction over the archdeaconry of Chichester or western part of the county of Sussex; the second over the archdeaconry of Lewes or eastern part of the same county. This division of the courts still continues, and the court at Lewes is presided over by a Commissary, who is the same person who presides at Chichester as Chancellor. The Dean of Chichester had a peculiar jurisdiction over nine parishes adjacent to the city of Chichester, while the Archbishop of Canterbury had peculiar jurisdiction over eight parishes in the deaneries of Pagham and Tarring, and in the city of Chichester, and thirteen in the deanery of South Malling. The Peculiar of Battel was also an exempt jurisdiction.

The ancient Consistory Court of Chichester is a spacious room over the sacristy, which is on the west side of

¹ See Returns 1829, *sub voce* Salisbury.

² *History and Antiquities of Dorset*, by Hutchins, p. 201; published 1869.

the south transept of Chichester Cathedral, between that transept and the south porch. Access is by a spiral staircase in the nave just without the transept. The original Chancellor's chair and some wainscoting are still in existence. The last conceals a secret room, to which access is had by a sliding panel in the wainscoting. This is called the "Lollards Prison," but in reality it was a treasure chamber. The present Consistory Court at Chichester is in the south transept of the cathedral, a portion being railed off for the purpose.

There is no recognised court or seat of judicature at Lewes; but when a court is necessary, the Commissary sits in the church of the parish to which the enquiry relates. Dr. Tristram, Chancellor of Chichester and Commissary of Lewes, recently held a court in the church of St. Mary-in-the-Castle, Hastings, in the matter of a faculty for the removal of remains from the closed churchyard there.

I am indebted for information to Sir R. G. Raper, the Registrar for the archdeaconry of Chichester; and to E. C. Currey, Esq., the Registrar for the archdeaconry of Lewes.

ELY.

The "Consistory Court of the Lord Bishop of Ely" had jurisdiction for proving wills and granting letters of administration over the whole of the diocese of Ely except fifty-two parishes, which lie in the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Ely, who was inhibited by the Bishop for fourteen weeks previous to, during, and after his Episcopal Visitation. The peculiar jurisdiction of Thorney belonged to the Duke of Bedford. The peculiar jurisdiction of King's College in the University of Cambridge belonged to the Provost and Scholars. This extended over the precincts of the college, which is in the diocese of Lincoln, and included several tenements adjoining the college. The court of the Chancellor of the University of Cambridge had jurisdiction over the wills of matriculated persons, but the jurisdiction was discontinued in 1765. The Bishop of Rochester had also a peculiar jurisdiction in the peculiar of Isleham.

The Consistory Court of the Lord Bishop of Ely is not held in his cathedral, but in Great St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, at the western end of the north aisle. The tower at the west end of the church originally projected beyond the west front; but about 1514 the nave aisles were lengthened so as to include the tower on both of its sides, thus forming two chapels, which were partitioned off from the church. The Consistory Court is in the north-west one, and is provided with a high chair or throne, in front of which is a large square pew containing an oblong table with benches round it. The woodwork suits the date of 1735, when the galleries were erected in the church. The place is kept locked, and the key is held by the vergers on behalf of the Chancellor, who usually uses this court; but in cases of contested faculties, or when a prolonged sitting is expected, a room is usually hired in the town, or leave is obtained to use the Guildhall.

Convenience of access, and facility for consulting men of the law, are probably the reasons why this court is at Cambridge and not at Ely.

I have to thank W. J. Evans, Esq., the Registrar of Ely, and Professor Clark, LL.D., F.S.A., for information.

EXETER.

At the date of the Returns of 1829 and 1830 the diocese of Exeter included the whole of the counties of Devonshire and Cornwall, in which were the four archdeaconries of Exeter, Barnstaple, Totnes, and Cornwall, each of which had a Consistorial Archidiaconal Court with power to grant probate of wills and letters of administration, each within its archdeaconry.

The courts of the Bishop were two—the “Episcopal Principal Registry of Exeter” and the “Consistorial Court of the Bishop of Exeter.” The first dealt with probates of wills and letters of administration (1) of persons dying in the diocese of Exeter, possessed of personalty in more than one jurisdiction within the diocese; (2) of all beneficed clergy dying within the diocese, not having *bona notabilia*; (3) of all persons within the archdeaconries during their periodical inhibition by the Bishop. The second court had the juris-

diction over probates of wills and letters of administration of all persons dying in thirty-seven parishes in the counties of Devon and Cornwall known as the Peculiars of the Bishop, and the Consistory Court of the Dean and Chapter had similar powers over some thirty other parishes. The Peculiar Court of the Custos and College of the Vicars Choral of the choir of the cathedral had the jurisdiction over the parish of Woodbury in Devonshire; the Dean over the parish of Braunton in that county, and over the Cathedral Close, while the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury intruded into the diocese of Exeter with jurisdiction over the parish of Uffculm in Devonshire. The deanery of St. Buryan in Cornwall was a Royal Peculiar.

The ancient Consistory Court at Exeter is in the Chapel of St. Edmund, which is built out at the west end of the north aisle, close to the north-west entrance into the cathedral. The fittings have been removed, and it has not been used for some years, though the Chancellor has the right to use it, if he so please. Meanwhile it is used by the Dean and Chapter for the storage of various articles. The Chancellor now holds his court either in the Chapter House or in the chapel situated between the Chapter House and the south tower of the cathedral called the Chapel of the Holy Ghost.

I am indebted to Arthur Burch, Esq., the Registrar of the diocese, for information.

GLOUCESTER.

At the date of the Returns of 1829 and 1830 there were only two Peculiars in the Diocese of Gloucester, viz., the Peculiar of the rectory of Bishop's Cleeve and the Peculiar of the vicarage of Bibury: with these exceptions the Consistorial Episcopal Court of Gloucester covered the diocese.

According to the plan given by Browne-Willis in his *Survey of Gloucester Cathedral*, the Consistory Court was in the west end of the south aisle of the nave, and is shown to be railed off. The present Registrar writes that—

“The Consistory Court (of Gloucester) formerly sat in the south-east (*sic*) corner of the cathedral here, and the space was railed off,

but the Dean and Chapter have allowed a large font to be placed in the centre of the said Court, and the later Courts have been held in the old Chapter House here by permission of the Dean and Chapter. There is some furniture there, but I cannot say to whom it belongs."

I am indebted to B. Bonnor, Esq., the Registrar for the diocese of Gloucester.

HEREFORD.

The Consistorial Episcopal Court of Hereford had jurisdiction over the whole of the diocese, with the exception of thirty-five parishes. Thirty-one of these were subject to the Consistorial Court of the Dean of Hereford; the two parishes of Little Hereford and Ashford Carbonell formed a peculiar appendant to the Chancery of the choir of the Cathedral of Hereford, while each of the Peculiars of Moreton Magna and of Upper Bullinghope were annexed to Prebends of the same name.

I am indebted to the Deputy Registrar of the diocese, H. C. Beddoe, Esq., for the following:

"The Consistory Court of Hereford is now held in the south transept of the Cathedral. This portion of the transept was formerly fitted up as a Court, but on the restoration of the Cathedral by Dean Merewether, some fifty-five years ago, the fittings of the Court were removed, and up to a recent period the Consistory has been held in the Common Room belonging to the College of Vicars. Some two years ago the College of Vicars declined to allow the use of their Common Room any longer for holding the Court, and our Chancellor (Dr. Tristram) then directed the Courts to be held in the Consistory Place in the Cathedral, which was in the south transept."

In Price's *Guide to Hereford*, published in 1796, the south transept is marked as "The Spiritual Court."

LICHFIELD.

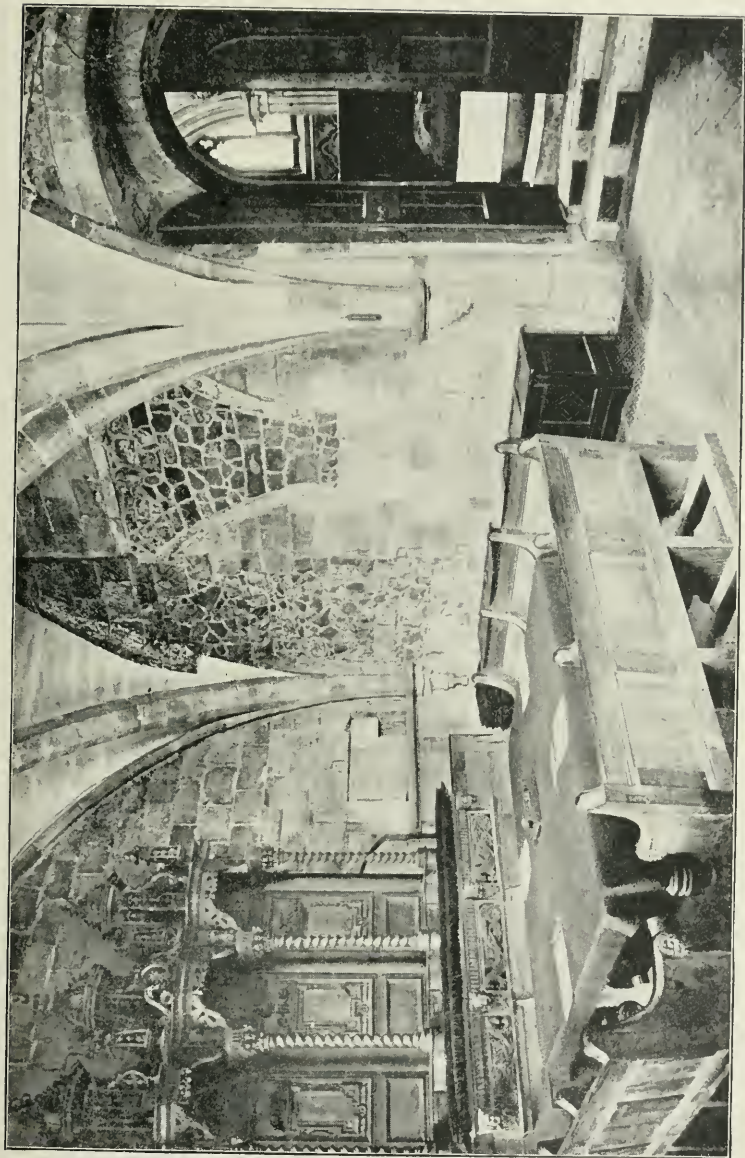
This diocese at the time of the Returns of 1829 and 1830 was known as the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, and was occupied by a distracting number of courts. The Bishop's Consistory Court had jurisdiction over the whole diocese except in the numerous exempt jurisdictions, which were exempt even from periodical inhibition by the Bishop. The Dean and Chapter's Court had jurisdiction over twenty-five parishes at all times, and also over all the Prebendal Courts for six months in every third year: of these Prebendal Courts there were twelve. The Dean had

a court which had jurisdiction over nine parishes, and he also had a court for the manor of Hartington; and there were fourteen other Manorial Courts with ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and five Royal Peculiars. There was also a court for Peak Forest, another for the town and liberties of Ellesmere, another for the manor and peculiar of Dale Abbey; and, finally, there was the Peculiar jurisdiction of Buildwas Abbey in the county of Shropshire. It had jurisdiction over the parish of Buildwas, which had less than 300 inhabitants, and yet marriages to the number of over a hundred a year were there celebrated, for it had, in addition to testamentary jurisdiction, the power of granting marriage licenses, and served as a *Gretna Green* for the country far and wide; it is characterised in the Returns as a "lawless place" by its own official, the then Vicar, who appears to have refused to exercise jurisdiction except in special cases.

Browne-Willis shows that both the Bishop and the Dean had courts in the cathedral. He shows the Bishop's Court in the east aisle of the north transept, and marks it in his explanation of his plan as "E. The Bishop's Consistory and St. Stephen's Chapells." He also indicates on his plan the fittings of the court. He also gives, in a precisely similar position in the south transept, the "Dean's Consistory Court," but does not indicate that it had any fittings. The present Dean of Lichfield tells me that twenty years ago the Dean's Consistory retained some semblance of its former use, viz., a chair of state, and a table, but these were removed to make room for a monument to Admiral Parker. At the restoration of the cathedral the Bishop's Court was given up to make room for the organ, and a new one was fitted up in the south transept in what was formerly the Prebendaries' Vestry. It is properly fitted up as a court with carved oak canopied seat for the Judge, and enclosed seats below for the Registrar, Counsel, and Proctors; it is used for Consistory Court business.

I am indebted to the Registrar, Hubert C. Hodson, Esq., for a photograph of it, and much information.

There is now no Dean's Court, and the Dean and Chapter do not now appoint a Commissary or Judge.



CONSISTORY COURT, LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL.

LINCOLN.

At the date of the Returns of 1829 and 1830 the diocese of Lincoln included six archdeaconries, namely, Lincoln, Stow, Bedford, Buckingham, Huntingdon, and Leicester. Of these Bedford and Huntingdon are now in the diocese of Ely, Buckingham in that of Oxford, and Leicester in that of Peterborough.

The Consistory Court of the Lord Bishop of Lincoln had power to prove wills and grant administrations throughout the diocese of persons possessed of *bona notabilia* in divers archdeaconries, or in an archdeaconry and a peculiar. Each of the six archdeaconries had two courts, the court of the Commissary of the Lord Bishop of Lincoln in the archdeaconry and the court of the Archdeacon. These courts had concurrent jurisdiction in the archdeaconry, *i.e.* a will might be proved in either court. Sometimes the Bishop's Commissary and the Archdeacon's Official were one and the same person; sometimes two distinct persons. In the case of their being the same, the probates were granted in the name of both of his offices; in the event of two separate Judges probate was granted in the name of both and the fees divided: this does not apply to all the archdeaconries; in some of them a person applying for probate had an option as to which court he would go to. The appeal from a Court of the Commissary of the Bishop was to the Arches Court of Canterbury; from an Archdeacon's Court to the Consistory Court of the diocese.

The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln had a court with jurisdiction over twenty-four parishes and one hamlet in the close, city and county of Lincoln: they had also courts for two peculiars in Oxfordshire and three in Buckinghamshire, and the Sub-Dean had a peculiar jurisdiction at Kirton-in-Lindsay. The diocese also enjoyed the administrations of twenty Prebendal Courts,¹ four

¹ "Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, about the year 1160, by an instrument under his seal, released perpetually all the prebends in the church from episcopal rights and exactions, willing that the canons of Lincoln should have perpetual liberty in their prebends and

all possessions thereto belonging. So that thenceforth it should be unlawful for any archdeacon, or officials of an archdeacon, to exact anythings—procurations, visitations, fees, etc.—from the prebends or churches appertaining to the Church of Lincoln, or to implead

Manorial Courts, and one royal and exempt jurisdiction. There was also in 1829 the court of Old Dalby in the county of Leicester, which had neither officers nor registry: it was supposed to be commensurate with the manor of Old Dalby, once the property of the Knights Hospitallers.

The cathedral of Lincoln contains, or did contain, according to Browne-Willis, no less than three consistory or court places, viz., “Consistorium Episcopi,” “Consistorium Decani et Capitulae,” and “Curia Galileae.”

The “Consistorium Episcopi,” or Bishop’s Consistory Court, is in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, an annex on the south side of the nave, immediately to the east of the Ringers’ Chapel, or Chapel of St. Hugo, under the south-west tower of the cathedral. This chapel has been used from time immemorial as the Consistory Court of the diocese. It used to be fitted up as a court, and prior to the passing of the “Probate Act, 1857” courts were held in it once a fortnight. After the passing of that Act it was dismantled, and is now provided with a table and moveable seats for visitations, &c.

The “Consistorium Decani et Capitulae” is in the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist, the central chapel of the three in the eastern aisle of the great south transept. It is not now furnished as a court, and the Dean and Chapter have exercised no legal jurisdiction for many years. The “Curia Galileae” was in a chamber over the Galilee Porch, at the south-west corner of the great south transept; here the Dean and Chapter formerly held a court known as “The Galilee Court.” The Chapter muniments are now preserved in it.

I am indebted for information to John Swan, Esq., the Registrar of the diocese.

any of their tenants: but that they (*i.e.* the canons) should have in all respects the same liberty as the canons of Salisbury had in their own churches. And at the same time this bishop addressed a mandate to each of his archdeacons, informing them that he had absolved all the canons of Lincoln from the subjection which the archdeacons theretofore had used to require from the prebends of

the canons, as well in respect of the prebends themselves (*i.e.* the manors and churches) as the inhabitants thereof.” *Proc. S. A.*, 2nd series, Vol. V, pp. 239, 240, from a paper by the late G. S. Perceval, LL.D., Dir.S.A. The above is a very clear account of the origin and establishment of the peculiar jurisdiction of the prebendaries in the Church of Lincoln.





CONSISTORY COURT. NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

LLANDAFF.

There has never been any other ecclesiastical court within the diocese of Llandaff but the Consistorial Court of the Lord Bishop of Llandaff.

The Consistorial Court of Llandaff is in the east end of the south choir aisle, next the Lady Chapel, as shown in a plan in the *Builder* of May 7th, 1892. The same plan shows as "Site of Consistory Court burnt down in the 16th century," a building projecting southwards from the south aisle of the nave. This building is shown in Browne-Willis' plan; it apparently has a table in the centre, and seats all round it. Browne-Willis says:

"The Consistory Court and the Chapter House join to the South Ile. The Consistory Court is near the old Western Tower: It is a tolerable room, fifteen feet square in the clear, with one window six foot broad and four foot high and two other lesser ones over that, one foot three inches broad, and three foot high apiece. The door that goes into it out of the South Ile is of Free stone arch'd."

I am indebted to Arthur G. P. Lewis, Esq., the Registrar of the diocese, for information.

NORWICH.

The ecclesiastical courts in the diocese at the date of the Returns for 1829 and 1830 were somewhat similar to those in the diocese of Lincoln; that is to say, in addition to the Consistory Court of the Bishop, there were in each of the four archdeaconries (Norwich, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Sudbury) the Court of the Commissary of the Bishop in the archdeaconry and the Court of the Official of the Archdeacon of the said archdeaconry. The Chancellor, as Judge of the Consistory Court, has a general testamentary jurisdiction over the whole diocese (except in the peculiars), concurrently with the officials in their respective archdeaconries: the Bishop's Commissaries have the same powers, except that they are restricted from proving the wills of noblemen, esquires, clerks, and beneficed persons. The Dean and Chapter of Norwich had a peculiar will jurisdiction over fifteen parishes in the city of Norwich and in the county of Norfolk; and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Norwich,

the Bishop of Rochester, and the Rectors of Great Cressingham and Castle Rising, each had a peculiar jurisdiction.

The Consistory Court of the Bishop of Norwich is held in the Bauchun Chapel of Norwich Cathedral, and is properly fitted up as a court. At the suggestion of Dr. Bensly, F.S.A., who unites the offices of Registrar of the diocese and Chapter Clerk, the canopy of the eighteenth century episcopal throne was removed from the choir to the Consistory Court, when the new Pelham Throne was erected a few years ago. On a panel at the back of it is a crimson plush dossal (the gift of Mrs. Bensly) embroidered with a mitre, the arms of the first and last Bishops who used the throne, and the arms of the present Chancellor. In Blomefield's *Norfolk*, Vol. IV, p. 9, it is stated that the Consistory Court has been held in the Bauchun Chapel since the time of its foundation. Harrod (*Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, p. 303) is content with stating that the chapel has for many years been the Consistory Court.

I am indebted to Dr. Bensly for information and for a photograph of the court, taken, however, when the bench that should be on the right hand side of the table was temporarily removed.

OXFORD.

At the time of the Returns of 1829 and 1830 the diocese of Oxford was co-extensive with the county of that name. The Consistory Court of the Bishop had testamentary jurisdiction to grant probate of wills and letters of administration over the diocese of Oxford, except the Peculiars "at all times on a vacancy" (see the Return of 1829)—an expression which I do not quite understand. The court of the Archdeacon of Oxford had the same jurisdiction and limits "at all times when not inhibited"; which it was for nine months during the Bishop's triennial visitation.

The court of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford had the same jurisdiction of all members of the University (either governors of colleges, members of colleges, professors, &c., and all other matri-

culated persons, among whom were always many tradesmen) dying possessed of property within the University alone. The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln had two peculiars in the diocese of Oxford, viz. Banbury and Thame, and the prebendal jurisdiction of Langford Ecclesia in the cathedral of Lincoln partly extended into the diocese of Oxford.

There was also a peculiar exemption of Dorchester, and the Archbishop of Canterbury had a peculiar—the deanery in Monk's Risborough, co. Berks—part of which extended into Oxfordshire. The Manorial Court of Sibford had testamentary jurisdiction. Little business was done in any of these courts except those of the Bishop and Archdeacon.

The Consistory Court of the Bishop of Oxford is in a chapel of the University Church, St. Mary Magdalen. This chapel is not fitted up as a court, but is stated by the Registrar, T. M. Davenport, Esq., to whom I am indebted for the information, to be

“fairly adapted for the purpose. It is only used on rare occasions of contested faculties.”

It is curious that both at Oxford and at Cambridge the Consistory Court of the diocese is held in the University Church.

PETERBOROUGH.

In this diocese, at the date of the Returns of 1829 and 1830, there was a curious division of the jurisdiction—the Consistorial Episcopal Court had jurisdiction over the whole diocese (except the peculiars) to grant letters of administration: the Consistorial Archidiaconal Court had jurisdiction over the same area to grant probate of wills, except when it was inhibited for six months in the year of the Bishop's triennial visitation: the jurisdiction over the probate of wills then passed to the Bishop's Court. There were two Prebendal Courts in the diocese—the Prebendal Court of the peculiar of Nassington and the Prebendal Court of the peculiar of Gretton—both in the diocese of Lincoln, out of which the diocese of Peterborough was taken in 1541. Browne-Willis, in the plan he gives in his *Survey of Peterborough Cathedral*, gives

“D. The grand entrance at the front under the Consistory Court,” thus showing that in 1729 the Consistory Court was held in the parvise, or upper chamber of the porch in the west front. At present (1897) the Consistory Court is held in the chapel or chapels of St. James and St. John; that is, the eastern aisle of the north transept, called by Browne-Willis “L. The North Cross Isle and St. James and St. John’s Chappells.” This aisle is fitted up as a court, and is used as such. Bishop Creighton sat in it with his Chancellor at his last visitation of the diocese.

I am indebted for information to H. W. Yates, Esq., the Deputy Registrar of Peterborough.

ROCHESTER.

Both the Consistorial Episcopal Court of Rochester and the Archidiaconal Court of Rochester had jurisdiction over the whole diocese (except the two peculiars of Shoreham and Cliffe) to prove wills and to grant letters of probate, but the Bishop inhibited the Archdeacon for six months in the year of his triennial visitation.

The Archbishop of Canterbury had a peculiar jurisdiction in the deanery of Shoreham, which covered thirty-one parishes and four chapelries; and the Rector of Cliffe had a peculiar in his parish.

The Consistory Court for the diocese of Rochester is held in the Lady Chapel of Rochester Cathedral, where there formerly were proper court fittings. These were removed some years ago, when the chapel was restored, and have never been replaced; but arrangements are made for tables and chairs, whenever the Chancellor sits there.

“A Court is held in the Consistory Court, Rochester Cathedral, every Tuesday at 11 a.m. when the Registrar and (if necessary) the Chancellor attend. By special appointment the Court may be held at the Lady Chapel, St. Saviour, Southwark, the Vestry of St. Alphege Church, Greenwich, or elsewhere within the diocese.”

(From the rules of the Rochester Consistory Court.)

When St. Saviour’s, Southwark, was in the diocese of Winchester, the court of the Commissary of the Bishop

of Winchester for the county of Surrey was held in the Lady Chapel or Retro-Choir of that church, which was furnished as a court. The Lady Chapel is now used occasionally by the Chancellor of Rochester for holding courts, but the furniture disappeared long ago.

I am indebted for information to G. H. Knight, Esq., Registrar of the diocese of Rochester, and to the Rev. W. Thompson, Rector of St. Saviour, Southwark.

ST. ALBANS.

This being a new See, created in 1877, the Chancellor has no regularly - appointed court in the cathedral. Courts are held, when necessary, in the cathedral vestry. On one occasion Chancellor Jeune held a court for this diocese in the Royal Courts of Justice, and Chancellor Kemp has held one in St. Andrew's Church, Romford.

I am indebted to G. H. Knight, Esq., the Registrar of the diocese, for information.

ST. ASAPH.

The Consistory Court of the Bishop of St. Asaph is the only court that exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction within this diocese, and had full testamentary jurisdiction. Browne-Willis writes of the Consistory Court of St. Asaph—

“The *Consistory Court* which stands at the upper end of the great South Cross Ile is not a distinct room by itself, but only a wainscot enclosure with a bench and seats within it. It is in length north and south, 13 foot and a half, and in breadth only 7 foot. However it is designed to be made larger, and remov'd to the upper end of the opposite North Ile, and placed under the great Window, and this South Ile to be enclos'd and converted into a Library and Vestry, the materials lying all ready for this purpose.”

(Edition of 1720.)

In the edition of 1801 the same account is given as far as the words “seven foot and a-half,” and then goes on to say “it is made use of as a Library and Vestry.” By Vestry, Chapter House is meant. The Registrar of the diocese, H. A. Cleaver, Esq., writes as follows :

“The Chancellor's Court for this diocese is at present in a state of transition. In the Chapter room of our Cathedral is a Chancellor's Court fitted up with an elevated seat for the Chancellor; beneath in

what may appear to be an old-fashioned pew, are seats for the Registrar and Counsel. At the time of the appointment of our present Dean he raised an objection to secular work being carried on in the Cathedral and virtually prohibited the Chancellor from holding his Court there any longer. The Dean has provided what is called a Chapter Library, a building altogether apart from the Cathedral and in this building he proposes that the Chancellor shall sit in future. The Chancellor lodged his objection, but to no purpose.

“Some hundred years ago there was an old Chapter House attached to the Cathedral, but not communicating, and in this the Chancellor used to hold his Court. On its being taken down the Court was removed to the present Chapter House.”

ST. DAVID'S.

In 1829 and 1830 there were three Consistorial Episcopal Courts in this diocese, viz., those of Carmarthen, St. David's, and Brecon; a multiplicity which probably arose from the inaccessibility of the cathedral, situate in the most remote part of the diocese. Browne-Willis shews a Consistory Court in the north-west corner of the nave of the Cathedral of St. David, an enclosure without fittings. He says in 1715:

“As you enter the Nave there was formerly a Consistorial Court at the North West corner finely enclosed with a screen of wood. It was taken down of late years.”

A Consistory Court is provided in St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen, for the whole diocese, and properly fitted up. It is in the south-east corner of the church at the eastern end of the southern aisle.

I am indebted to J. H. Barker, Esq., the Registrar, for information.

SALISBURY.

The diocese of Salisbury, or Sarum, at the time of the Returns of 1829 and 1830, was possessed of a great variety of courts. The Consistorial Episcopal Court of Sarum had jurisdiction to prove wills and grant letters of administration of all persons dying possessed of goods in ten parishes in Wiltshire, being the Peculiar jurisdiction of the Bishop of Sarum; and also of all Rectors dying within the diocese, according to an ancient composition between the Bishop and the Archdeacons. There were four Archidiaconal Courts, those of the Archdeacons of

Berks, Sarum, and Wilts, and of the Sub-Dean of Sarum, who appears to have been a sort of Archdeacon over five parishes in and near to Salisbury. These four courts were inhibited by the Bishop for six months in the year of his triennial visitation, during which time his court exercised the jurisdiction. The Dean of Sarum had a Peculiar Court with jurisdiction over the Close of Sarum, eight parishes in Wilts, seven in Berks, and twenty-six in Dorset. He was in fact a little Bishop, and held triennial visitations, during which he inhibited for six months the seventeen Prebendal Courts in the diocese of Sarum, and also the Peculiar Court of the Dean and Canons of Windsor in the diocese of Sarum.

The Dean and Chapter of Sarum, the Sub-Dean of Sarum, and the Treasurer of Sarum, had Peculiar Courts, which neither Bishop nor Dean inhibited. The Lord Warden of Savernake Forest had a Peculiar jurisdiction, in part of which he was inhibited by the Bishop, in other part by the Dean. There was a Royal and Exempt jurisdiction at Gillingham, and the Vicar of Corsham had a Peculiar Court in which the Bishop of Sarum and the Archdeacon of Wilts had concurrent jurisdiction.

The Consistory Court of the diocese of Salisbury was formerly held in a room at the south-west corner of the nave, between the nave and the cloisters, shown in a plan given in various guide books to the cathedral. But upwards of thirty years ago Sir R. J. Phillimore, the then Chancellor of the diocese, consented to the permanent substitution of the use of the Chapter House for the Consistory Court: the Chapter House is fitted up for the purpose when required. I have not been able to ascertain where the Dean and the Dean and Chapter held their courts, probably in the Chapter House. I am indebted to Messrs. Macdonald and Malden, the Deputy Registrars of Salisbury, and to C. W. Holgate, Esq., the Bishop's secretary, for information.

SOUTHWELL.

This diocese only came into existence in 1884. I am indebted to the Registrar, John Borough, Esq., for the following information:

“The Chancellor of Southwell holds a Consistory Court as and

when required. There is no fixed place. The Chapter House in Southwell Minster is well adapted for the purpose, but the few Courts that have been held hitherto have been in All Saints Church, Derby, and St. Mary's, Nottingham, as more convenient to the parties. If a case came from the neighbourhood of Southwell, the Chancellor would sit there—or even at Chesterfield or Glossop if desired."

There is a Chancellor's chair in the north aisle of All Saints' Church, Derby.

TRURO.

This diocese was restored in 1877. The Registrar, Arthur Burch, Esq., writes as follows :

"On the only occasion of a sitting of the Consistory Court of Truro, it took place in the Town Hall, which was lent for the purpose. There has never been a sitting in the Crypt of the Cathedral. I daresay the Crypt of Truro might be used on a future occasion."

WORCESTER.

At the time of the Returns of 1829 and 1830 the Consistorial Episcopal Court of Worcester had jurisdiction to grant probates of wills and letters of administration of all persons dying within the diocese of Worcester possessed of personal property within the said diocese. The Rectors of nine parishes in the counties of Worcester and Warwick had also the same jurisdiction, each within his respective parish, and the Dean and Chapter had the same jurisdiction within five parishes in the county of Worcester. But these ten Peculiar Courts were inhibited by the Bishop for one year of his triennial visitation.

According to Browne-Willis, the Consistory Court at Worcester is the south-west end or bay of the nave, and his plan would seem to indicate that it was enclosed, but that it had no furniture. At present, by an agreement between the late Bishop, Dr. Philpott, and the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, the court is held in the Chapter House. At one time it appears to have been in the Lady Chapel, but neither there nor in the nave was there any permanent furniture.

I am indebted for information to John H. Hooper, Esq., the Registrar.

PART II.—PROVINCE OF YORK.

YORK.

In the Return of 1829 the Courts of the Archbishop of York having testamentary jurisdiction are stated as the Prerogative Court, the Exchequer Court of York, and the Chancery Court of York. The Return of 1830 specifies "The Exchequer and Prerogative Court" and "The Consistory and Chancery Court," while Phillimore in his great work, edition of 1895, p. 922, says the Archbishop of York's courts are "the Supreme Court, called the Chancery Court, the Consistory Court, and the Court of Audience."¹ To-day, under the Act of 1874, Lord Penzance is Official Principal or Auditor of the Chancery Court of York. Lord Grimthorpe is Vicar-General of the province and Chancellor of the diocese of York. The court in which he sits is described as "The Consistory place within the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of Saint Peter in York."² The Archbishop had also in 1829 two Peculiars, that of Ripon and that of Hexhamshire; the Dean and Chapter of York and the Dean of York had also courts, the first with jurisdiction over thirty-five parishes in the counties of York, Nottingham, and Leicester, and the second, over nineteen parishes in the county of York. The Archdeacon of York, the Archdeacon of the East Riding, the Precentor, the Chancellor, the Sub-Dean, and the Succentor of York, all had peculiars, and so had eighteen Prebendaries. Thirteen other Peculiar Courts also contributed to the confusion of 1829 and 1830. The peculiar and exempt jurisdiction of the Provost of the Collegiate Church of Beverley terminated at the dissolution of the monasteries.

"The Consistory place within the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of St. Peter's in York" is in the Old Ecclesiastical Court, situate at the south side of the minster, having the vestry on its east side, which again has Archbishop Zouche's chapel on its east side. In this room all the courts connected with the province and

¹ As this court had no testamentary jurisdiction it would not be mentioned in the Returns of 1829 and 1830.

² Phillimore's *The Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England*, 2nd edition, p. 926.

diocese are held. In Browne-Willis's plan this room is called "The Treasury," and the "Archbishop's Consistory Court" is shown on the plan in the north end of the west aisle of the north transept, but the present officials have no recollection of this court having ever been used, or even existing. Nor is it known where the courts of the Dean and Chapter and of the Dean were held.

I am indebted for much trouble to H. A. Hudson, Esq., the Registrar of York.

DURHAM.

At the time of the Returns of 1829 and 1830 the diocese of Durham had but one court with testamentary jurisdiction, namely "The Consistory Court of Durham." This court had jurisdiction over the diocese of Durham, which comprised the county of Durham, the county of Northumberland (except Hexhamshire, which is a Peculiar of the Archbishop of York), the Borough of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and the parish of Alston in Cumberland.

The Galilee Chapel of Durham Cathedral is the place where the court is usually held; but on the occasion of a trial under the Clergy Discipline Act, 1892, as the Galilee Chapel proved too small for the necessities of the court, the proceedings were opened there, and then adjourned to the Chapter House.

I am indebted for information to T. B. Lazenby, Esq., one of the Registrars of Durham.

CARLISLE.

Only two insignificant Peculiars interfered with the jurisdiction of the Consistory Court of the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, namely the Manorial Court of Ravenstonedale, a manor which formerly belonged to the priory of Watton of the order of Sempringham in Yorkshire; and the Manorial Court of Temple Sowerby: this last was practically obsolete in 1829 and 1830, as persons resorted to the Bishop's Consistory, which had a concurrent jurisdiction. Temple Sowerby was formerly a manor belonging to the Knights Templars. Bishop





CONSISTORY COURT. CARLISLE CATHEDRAL.

Nicolson, in his "Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle," published by the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, p. 42, says of Ravenstonedale Church—

"The Altar has no rails and stands at a distance from ye East-window; having two rows of seats or benches betwixt it and that for the Scholars. They have a tradition that ye Steward and Jury of ye Mannour sate formerly on these benches in judgement (of life and death) upon such malefactors as were arraigned for any capital crime."

This was clearly the court of the Manor and Peculiar for all purposes, and shows how the seigniorial jurisdiction and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction had gone together in the creation of Peculiars. See Stubbs' *Historical Appendix I. Report of Commissioners on Ecclesiastical Courts*, Vol. I, pp. 21, 26.

The Consistory Court of Carlisle is in the north transept of the cathedral, and is shown in Browne-Willis's plan of the cathedral, which also shows a seat for the Chancellor opposite the Bishop's Throne, and near to the easternmost (or Mayor's) stall on the north side. This disappeared long ago, as the Chancellors, being generally Canons or Archdeacons, had their own stalls in the cathedral and preferred to use them. My predecessor, Chancellor Burton, having been enthroned and installed as deputy for more than one Bishop, claimed to sit, and always sat, in the Bishop's stall on the right hand side of the entrance to the choir.¹ The Consistory Court of Carlisle is shown in a coloured plate of the transept of Carlisle Cathedral drawn and lithographed by E. H. Buckler, and published by Charles Thurnam and Sons of Carlisle.

I am indebted to my friend Warwick Hele, Esq., for his pains in taking the photograph here reproduced.

CHESTER.

The courts in this diocese at the date of the Returns of 1829 and 1830 were the Consistorial Court of the Vicar-General or Chancellor of the Diocese, with testamentary jurisdiction over the whole diocese, which consisted then

¹ The Bishop of Carlisle has both a throne and a stall in his cathedral, and on his appointment is both enthroned and installed.

of the whole counties of Chester and Lancaster and part of York, Westmorland, Cumberland, and Flint; the court of the Rural Dean of the twelve deaneries of the archdeaconry of Chester, with jurisdiction over all decedants within the archdeaconry the value of whose effects is below £40, clergymen and esquires being wholly excepted; and the Consistorial Court of the Commissary of the archdeaconry of Richmond.

There were eight Peculiars in the diocese, viz., the Royal Peculiar of Middleham, the Peculiar Court of Hawarden in Flintshire, the Peculiar Court of the united parishes of Masham and Kirby Malzeard¹ in Yorkshire, and the Manorial Courts of Arkingarthdale, Hunsingore, and Knaresborough; and two other Peculiars, one under the Dean and Chapter of York, the other under the Precentor of that cathedral.

The Consistory Court at Chester is under the south-west tower of the cathedral, and is permanently fitted up as a court.

I am indebted for information to Messrs. Gamon, Farmer, and Gamon, of Chester.

LIVERPOOL.

The Consistory Court for Liverpool is held in the Vestry of St. Nicholas Church, Liverpool, the pro-cathedral. The See was founded in 1880. I am indebted for information to Messrs. Gamon, Farmer, and Gamon.

MANCHESTER.

The See of Manchester was founded in 1848. Mr. Chancellor Christie in 1887 informed me that his predecessors never held any courts at all; and when he was appointed, he found no court: for many years he sat in a small room in the registry: in contentious cases he obtained the loan, somewhere, of a proper court. Several successive Deans of Manchester were anxious that Chancellor Christie should hold his court in a chapel in the cathedral, but the arrangements, for various reasons, fell

¹ For some information as to these Peculiars see *Proc. S.A.*, 2nd Series, Vol. IV, pp. 270-1. Since 1829 these

parishes have been transferred to the new diocese of Ripon.

through. Chancellor Vernon Smith now holds his courts, by permission of the Dean of Manchester and other officials concerned, in the Derby or St. John's Chapel in the cathedral, which is in the second aisle on the north side of the choir.

I am indebted for information to E. P. Charlewood, Esq., the Registrar of Manchester.

NEWCASTLE.

This is a new See, founded in 1882. The Chancellor has not as yet acquired any fixed court.

I am indebted for information to T. B. Lazenby, Esq., one of the Registrars of the diocese, and to R. Blair, Esq., F.S.A.

RIPON

The Consistory Court for this diocese is in the nave of the cathedral, at the west end of the north aisle of the nave. There is a wall between it and the space under the west tower, and there is also a wall on the south side of the court, between it and the nave; it is separated from the north aisle by an iron railing, shown in a view of the interior of the nave of Ripon Cathedral, given in Murray's *Handbook to the Northern Cathedrals*, Pt. I, opp. p. 154. The court contains an official chair and table, but is only used in contentious cases, and once when the Bishop had to pronounce sentence of deprivation. As the See was only revived in 1836, this court must be of modern origin, unless it was, as is probable, the court for the official of the Archbishop of York for his Peculiar of Ripon.

I am indebted for information to F. D. Wise, Esq., the Registrar of the diocese of Ripon.

SODOR AND MAN.

The Chancellor and Vicar-General holds his courts, when necessary, in the Court Houses of the different towns in the Island.

I am indebted for information to Frank J. Johnson, Esq., of the Diocesan Registry.

WAKEFIELD.

This See was only founded in 1888, and no place has yet been fixed for the Consistory Court of the diocese. In a recent case¹ the Chancellor of the diocese delivered judgment in the cathedral, though the case itself was heard in the Church Institution at Wakefield. The eastern part of the chapel north of the chancel of Wakefield Church, near the cathedral, used to be fitted up court fashion. My informant, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, V.P.S.A., tells me that

“the walls were panelled round and a bench fixed against them with an elbowed seat in the middle of the east side. The work seemed to be of the eighteenth century, but there were also some very massive desks, not fixed, but placed in front of the benches. They were *tempore* James I, as I think.”

These were, however, destroyed, and the place is now occupied by a vestry and an organ.

I am indebted for information to W. F. L. Horne, Esq., the Registrar.

¹ On the 17th of March, 1897.

AN ACCOUNT IN ENGLISH OF THE ANOINTING
OF THE FIRST KING OF PRUSSIA IN 1701.

By J. WICKHAM LEGG, F.R.C.P., F.S.A.

The anointing of kings at the beginning of their reigns has a very considerable antiquity. It is spoken of in the Book of Judges, in Jotham's parable of the trees going forth to anoint a king over them:¹ so that, even at this early time, it must have been a well established custom to have been used as an illustration in Jotham's remonstrance. The idea of the importance for a king of this ceremony of anointing has persisted in quarters where such a survival would be least expected. In the Cromwellian usurpation it would hardly be looked for that any great respect would be shown for the quasi-Sacramental rites of the Church; yet Cromwell was invited, shortly after he shut up the Long Parliament, to receive the royal anointing and thus to become king.

Assend three Thrones, great Captaine and Diuine
In th' will of God, Old Lyon, they are thine,
Come, Priest of God, bringe oyle, bring robes, bring gould,
Bring Crownes and Septers; its high time,² &c.

Thus, notwithstanding all the Presbyterian and Independent influences predominant in the middle of the seventeenth century, the tradition still held its ground

¹ Judges ix. 8. Dr. Neubauer tells me that this parable is probably one of the oldest of the Hebrew writings, and he ascribes it to the time of Samuel, if not earlier.

² Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. lii. fo. 13. These lines are the beginning of

verses hung up in the Exchange under a portrait of Cromwell on May 19, 1653. The Long Parliament was dispersed by force on April 20, 1653. (S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, Lond. 1897, vol. ii. ch. xxv. pp. 205 & 228.)

that anointing was essential to the making of a king,¹ and this is probably due to the prominence given to the idea in the Old Testament, especially in the Book of Samuel.

Though we have no distinct information² that Charles the Great was anointed at his coronation on Christmas Day, 800, in the Vatican Basilica at Rome, yet the idea of the importance of the anointing, as expressing the sacred character of the king, took root early in Germany, and anointing soon became an acknowledged part of the ceremonies of the coronation; it may be noted that the emperor in his imperial coronation at St. Peter's³ was not anointed by the pope, but by the cardinal of Ostia, not at the high altar where he was crowned, but at a low altar, that of St. Maurice.⁴

The idea of the importance of the royal anointing survived the Lutheran reformation. Frederick II. King of Denmark, in his coronation in 1559, was anointed, then vested and crowned.⁵ So also Frederick, the Elector Palatine, when he was crowned King of Bohemia at Prague in 1619 was first anointed and afterwards invested with the royal ornaments.⁶ Charles XI. King of Sweden, in 1676 received first the anointing, and then

¹ It may be noticed that the ceremonies are mentioned in the same order as in the ancient consecration of the king of England. First, the anointing; secondly, the investing with the royal robes, which are the rochet or albe, the stole, the tunicle or dalmatic, and the cope; thirdly, the golden ornaments of the King, which are to be given in their old order, the crown before the sceptre; not, as in the present day, the sceptre before the crown. (Chr. Wordsworth, *The manner of the Coronation of King Charles the First*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1892, p. 38.)

² See the annals in Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores, vol. i.

³ St. Peter's at Rome is not a cathedral church, although Mr. Herbert Fisher (*The Medieval Empire*, London, 1898,

vol. ii. p. 220) gives it this title. Crowning places have been more often collegiate than cathedral churches; at Milan, it is not the Metropolitan church, but St. Ambrose; and Aken was only cathedral for a few years in quite modern times, though Mr. Fisher speaks of "the Cathedral of Aix" in the time of Otto I. (*op. cit.* ii. 2). Other instances will readily occur, as Westminster, and Seone; and later on Holyrood, and the church of St. Petronius at Bologna.

⁴ L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venetiis 1748, t. ii. col. 458.

⁵ Simon Schardius, *Schardius Redivivus*, Giessa, ex officina Seileriana, 1673, t. iii. p. 65.

⁶ *Actus Coronationis Serenissimorum Dr. Friderici, &c.* Praga, apud Danielem Carolidem, 1619. Sign. B.

the royal robe; after this he crowned himself with his own hands, and took the sceptre, orb, key, and sword.¹

It is not then surprising that when Prussia was declared a kingdom at the end of the seventeenth century it should have been thought proper that the new king should receive the royal anointing. This ceremony took place early in the eighteenth century, in the first month of its first year, on January 18th, 1701. There is an English record of it, which is the subject of this paper, in the British Museum, Harleian MS. 6821. This is a collection of genealogical and heraldic tracts, put together by Gregory King, Rouge Dragon in 1677 and Lancaster Herald in 1689, and who died in 1712.² He had a great deal to do with the coronation of King James II. and of King William III. and had a large share in bringing out Francis Sandford's magnificent work on the coronation of King James. Thus the account of a coronation or anointing, even if it were foreign, would be known to be of interest to him.

This account of the Prussian anointing begins on the 191st leaf of Harl. 6821. It is in 8 leaves, eight inches high by six and a quarter broad, in two gatherings of four leaves each. The first leaf is headed: *Coronation service for the King of Prussia a° 1701, Jan. 18*, written in a clear hand, while the rest of the manuscript is written by a German, if we take the appearance of the u-sign as evidence of this. The use of this sign is not uniform, but it is frequent. This hand is an ordinary one of the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century. It may be noted that the scribe often uses the semicolon where another would have used the full stop.

¹ *Diarium Europaeum*, Theil 23.

[? 1677.] Appendix, p. 329.

² See MS. *List of the Officers of the*

College of Arms, p. 197, at the Heralds' College.

Alterations have been made in a blacker ink: and these alterations consist mainly in changes of the verbs from the present or future to the past in what may be called the rubrics; there are also a few interlineations. These alterations suggest the idea that the version had been made from a German original, and drawn up before the ceremony; and then, after the ceremonies had really taken place, the English verbs were altered accordingly.

The English is by no means pure, and can hardly be the work of an Englishman. Yet the writer shows himself acquainted with the authorised version of the Bible; as when he speaks of Kings as nursing fathers and Queens as nursing mothers,¹ of which the German is "Könige zu Pflegern, and Königinnen und Fürstinnen zu Säug-ammern." In other places he does not follow the authorised version, as in § 1, where psalm cxxi. is quoted from a version very different from the English Bible.

Now Gregory King had accompanied the mission which decorated with the Garter the Elector of Brandenburg, soon to be King of Prussia.² It seems not impossible that he may have had friends in Prussia, who sent to him this English version of the official account of the anointing. Knowing the work that he had done upon coronations in England, they may have thought that this paper would be an acceptable gift to him.

Besides this Harleian MS. Mr. Everard Green, now his successor as Rouge Dragon, has drawn my attention to a manuscript in the Library of the Herald's College which is a copy of the document in Harl. 6821. It is bound in modern half green morocco, the written part consisting of 12 leaves, 166 by 131 mm. It is neatly written, in a hand which reminds one of the title to the Harleian

¹ See § 5.

² Mark Noble, *History of the College of Arms*, Lond. 1804, p. 341.

MS. Red ink is used for the title-page, and the heading of the second leaf, and for the bounding lines. The title is : The | *Coronation* | or | *Royal Unction* | of | *Frederick* | King in | *Prussia*, | at | *Konigsberg* | xviii. Ian. MDCCL. | All the words of the title are written in capitals, red and black, and at the lower right hand corner of the space bounded by the red lines are these initials: G. K. Lanc. that is, Gregory King, Lancaster. On the verso of the title is fixed the book plate of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury.¹ The press mark is C. G. Y. 861, and the volume was bought of the executors of Sir Charles George Young, Garter, on November 4th, 1869. The text is evidently that of the Harleian MS. The spelling of the words differs here and there, and the scribe has written the verbs in the past tense at first, not altered them into it. Occasionally he has altered the words further so as to make a better construction ; for example in § 1 while the Harleian MS. has "Then did the aforesaid Mr. Consecrator address himself," the Heralds' manuscript has "Then the aforesaid Lord or Mr. Consecrator addressed Himself." The Heralds' MS. retains certain grotesque translations ; as, for example, in § 2, "the organs made a preamble," which appears to mean that they played a voluntary. The differences between the two MSS. as a rule are slight and unimportant : as the Heralds' MS. is plainly a copy of the Harleian, it has not been thought worth while to collate it with the Harleian MS.

The German original of this English version may be found in a collection of sermons printed by Benjamin Ursinus or von Bär.² It is evidently the official programme of the

¹ "Mr. Johnson, nephew to Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury," was colleague to Gregory King in the mission with the Garter to the Electoral Court of Brandenburg. (Mark Noble, *loc. cit.*)

² Benjamin Ursinus, *Die königliche Majestät*, Cölln an der Spree, Ulrich Liebpert, 1701. 4to. I have seen a copy in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It has many paginations, and about the third

ceremony of the anointing, divided like the English version into forty sections, containing the rubrics and prayers of the rite. It is plainly the German original used by the translator of the document in Harl. 6821, and in this German text the verbs are not in the past, but in the present or the future.

There is also a French version of the German rite in print.¹ It shows the same construction of the verbs as the German.

Where it has seemed possible that a better understanding of the English version might follow, the German original or French version has been added in foot notes under the symbol "Germ." or "French."

The Harleian manuscript has been followed as closely as possible in the printing; I have tried to reproduce exactly the spelling, punctuation, and use of capitals. Where words have been underlined by the writer, they have been printed in italics.

An elaborate account of the ceremonies followed at this coronation and anointing was published a few years after by Johann von Besser, one of the committee that was appointed to overlook the coronation. This work² rivals Sandford's account of the coronation of King James II. of England, published 25 years before.

An account closely akin to the document printed by Ursinus, but certainly not the same, is contained in a

is: Reglement | Welcher gestalt | Die | Königl. Salbung, | Den 18. Januarii, dieses 1701. | Jahrs, zu Königsberg in Preussen | in der Kirchen verrichtet. wer- | den soll. It consists of 7 leaves.

¹ I have found this also in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Its press mark is G. Pamphlets 1791. (17.) Its title is: Reglement | des | Ceremonies | Qui sedoivent pratiquer dans l'E- | glise, à Cunigsberg en Prusse; | Le 18. de Janvier 1701. | Au sujet du | Sacre Royal. It consists of four leaves, cut

down to the quick, so that only the printed matter remains, in size about 165 by 122 mm. There is no printer's name, date, or place of printing. This version is much freer than the English.

² [Johann von Besser], *Preussische Krönungs-Geschichte*, Cölln an order Spree, Bey Ulrich Liebpert, 1712. There is an accompanying volume of engravings. In this paper references to the letter press are given as *von Besser* with the number of the page after.

collection of tracts published at the time of the coronation.¹

Of the ceremony itself a few words may now be said. For a description of the robes and regalia, recourse may be had to von Besser's work²; I would here deal only with the actions connected with the anointing. On the morning of Tuesday, January 18, at 8 o'clock, the King, being already vested in his royal robes, betook himself to the hall of audience, and there crowned himself with his own hands. Having done this, he proceeded to the Queen's apartments, and there crowned the Queen. At ten o'clock the procession to the church was formed, and there the religious ceremony of the anointing took place.

There is a new departure here in the order of proceeding. In most coronation rites the anointing is the first ceremony, and then follows the investing with the royal ornaments, such as the vestments, crown, sceptre, and orb, &c. But in the Prussian rite, the crown is taken first, with the sceptre, orb, and sword. No religious ceremony accompanies the putting on of these ornaments. They are taken in the castle, in the hall of audience. The anointing, on the other hand, is done in the church and is accompanied by prayers, a blessing of the oil, and a singing of *Veni Creator*; and it is done, not by the King's own hands, but by the hands of a minister. It may have been thought that as a man cannot baptize himself, so a King cannot anoint himself.³ There is an analogy with this rite in the coronation of the Emperor of Russia, who crowns himself, but is anointed by a

¹ *Auszug verschiedener Die Neue Preussische Crone angehörender Schriften, [? Königsberg] 1701. sign B. Press mark in the British Museum:*

9326. df. 1

1—10

² von Besser, 25.

³ But I am not sure of what von Besser (36.) says on this point.

bishop. It was the same with the King of Sweden in 1676.

The *Schloss-Kirche* was Lutheran, but being near to the castle was chosen for the ceremony: the King also had been baptized in it, and so it was said, where he had been spiritually anointed, he willed there to be bodily anointed. Two Court-preachers were appointed "consecrators," one Benjamin Ursinus, and the other Bernard von Sanden. The rivalry between the Lutheran and the Reformed or Calvinistic Confessions appears in this appointment. There is a desire to give an advantage to neither of the confessions. Ursinus was Reformed, and his assistant, von Sanden, Lutheran.¹ So of the six preachers named to attend upon the consecrators, three were Reformed and three Lutheran.² The two consecrators had been named bishops for the day by the King, "out of the fulness of his own power," as a German writer has it.³ J. von Besser also remarks that no one but the King could give power to the consecrator to anoint him.⁴

The service itself seems quite new. I can find nothing at all like it elsewhere. Some portions of it, as the hymns *Veni Creator, Gloria in excelsis, Te Deum*, and the like, are old; but the prayers generally do not seem to have been drawn from antiquity. For instance, the long prayer in § 5. has nothing in it ancient. The belief that by the anointing grace is given to the sovereign to perform the duties of his office and that thereby the Holy Ghost descends upon him is so wide spread that it is not

¹ von Besser, 29.

² von Besser, 33.

³ "Der König hatte Beide für diesen feierlichen Tag aus eigener Macht-vollkommenheit zu Bischöfen ernannt." Werner Halm, *Friedrich der Erste*,

König in Preussen, Berlin, 1851. p. 178.)

⁴ "Seine Majestät liessen das Salb-Oel ueberreichen: weiln keiner als Sie, die Macht Sie zu salben, dem Consecrator ertheilen konte" (v. Besser, 36).

surprising to find it present in this prayer.¹ The special gifts of the Holy Ghost are prayed for by name. There is no need to suggest that this portion was adapted from the Coronation Service of William III. in 1689. It happens that a prayer for the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Ghost was for the first time inserted into the blessing of the oil in the English rite at this coronation. A detailed account of the ceremony in German was published at Hamburg immediately after,² but it does not give the words, or even an abstract, of the new prayer; so that the idea could not have been conveyed thereby to the Prussian ministers; while on the other hand there are similar ideas contained in the rites of neighbouring lands: as in that of the King of Denmark and Norway in 1671,³ and eighty years before the same idea appears in the coronation of Frederick King of Bohemia, when at the anointing these words *Unyat et is Te Spiritu Sancto suo* were said to him.⁴ So that it is only to be looked for that in the prayer in § 5. the anointing with the Holy Spirit should be asked for, and again in § 16 when the King is being anointed, that the consecrator should say *Let the Lord our God himself here-with anoint your royal Majesty with the Holy Ghost*. There is no need to look outside Protestantism or to England for these ideas. It is however to be noticed that the Prussian

¹ Mr. Henry Jenner points out to me that the Russian Church has carried this idea so far as to anathematise those who reject it. On Orthodoxy Sunday (the first Sunday in Lent) some sixty anathemas are pronounced. Arius and Nestorius and other notable heretics are abjured. Also: "To them who say that Orthodox Princes do not ascend their thrones by the special grace of God, and do not at their unction receive the gift of the Holy Ghost for the discharge of their great office Anathema, Anathema, Anathema." (J. M. Neale, *History of the Holy*

Eastern Church, London, 1850. Part i. p. 875.)

² *Crönungs - Actus Beyder Mayst. Mayst. Wilhelm des Dritten*, &c. Hamburg, about 1689. sign. B. verso.

³ Johan Wandal, *Den Stormagtigste . . . Konnings . . . Christian den Femtes*, Kjöbenhavn, 1671. Sign. F. 2.

⁴ *Actus Coronationis Serenissimorum Du. FridERICI, Com. Pal. Rheni, S.P. (sic) Imperii Principis, elect. Ducis Bojarie, &c. Praga, apud Danielem Carolidem*, 1619. Sign. B. Press mark in Brit. Mus. 811. c. 42.

is the only mid-European rite in which I find *Veni Creator* sung.

There seems no evidence that the King and Queen received the communion save in one author,¹ who wrote 150 years after the event. If the accounts given by the contemporary writers be at all complete, the idea must be almost excluded.

Mr. Carlyle, from contemplating the silences, the eternities, the life everlasting and the death everlasting, or the eternal soul of things, or the abysses and the black chaotic whirlwinds, has come down to this earth so far as to tell us the story of Queen Charlotte's pinch of snuff during the coronation or anointing. Which he says "is not in these Folios at all," and yet he does not take the trouble to give the reference where the account may be found of this "symbolic pinch of snuff," the "inexorable quiet protest against cant, done with such simplicity,"² or at what part of the ceremony the pinch of snuff was taken. A man immersed in the contemplation of the infinities cannot of course condescend to such trifling incidents as accuracy of references.

/Coronation Service for the King of Prussia [fo. 191 a°. 1701. Jan. 18.

The Proclamation | 66 |

Seing, the most Wise Providence of God has so orderd it that this *Souveraine* Dukedome of Prussia, should be made a Kingdome, & the *Souveraine* thereof the Most Serene, & most Potent Prince and Lord; Lord *Frederich*, King in Prussia; This therefore, by these presents, is published, proclaimed, & made

¹ Otto Forster, *Friedrich Wilhelm der Grosse in Preussens Ruhmes- und Ehrenhalle*, Sondershausen, 1857. Lieferung i. p. 166.

² Thomas Carlyle, *History of Friedrich II. of Prussia*, Book I. Chap. v. London, 1858. vol. i. p. 62. One who

has recently gone through Mr. Carlyle's work on the French Revolution tells me that about two-thirds of Mr. Carlyle's references are inexact: but, on the other hand, towards the end of the work the references increase in accuracy.

known to all whom it may
concern ;
Vivat
Frederich
Our most Gracious King
Vivat
Sophia-Charlotta
Our most Gracious Queene ;

/The Order. & Method¹

[191. *b.*

of the Royall Unction or
Anointeing

Performed the 18th of January, of this present 1701st
Yeare, in Königsberg in Prussia, & in the Church there ;

§: 1: When both their Majestys, the *King & Queene*
enter² into the church, wch is in their castle, they ³shall
be³ most submissively received, & saluted, by the first-
Royal-grand-court-Preacher-consistory-& church-coun-
seller-M^r Benjamin Ursinus⁴, as Lord⁵ consecrator, ⁶or
chief,⁶ or *first Bisshop*, as also by the Royal-Prussian-
Grand-Court-Preacher and assessor of the Provincial
consistory of Sambia⁷ ; M^r Bernard V. Sanden Doctor
& primary Professor of Divinity in the Academy,
⁸together wth the other six assisting⁸ as *assisting*
Bisshop, together with the other six attending Ministers
of the Gospel, to witt, the Prussian-Royal-Reformed-
Court-preachers, M^r/ Cochius, M^r Lursenius, & [fo. 192
M^r Mell ; & the Royal-court-Preacher, M^r Gotfried
Wegener,⁹ Doctor, & professor in ⁸Ordinary⁸, of
Divinity ¹⁰in ordinary¹⁰, M^r Pomian Pesarovius¹¹ Doctor &
professor in ordinary, & Pastor of the Cathedral church,
and also assessor in the aforesaid Provincial consistory of
Sambia ; & M^r Bartholem : Goldbach Pastor of the old
towns church, and assessor in the aforesaid consistory ;

Then shall¹² the aforesaid M^r consecrator address him-
self to both their majestys, in these terms ;

¹ Ursinus begins here.

² a d has been added to this word.

³⁻³ struck through and were inter-
lined.

⁴ German: ersten Königlichen Ober=
Hoff=Prediger, Consistorial und Kir-
chen=Rathe, Herrn Benjamin Ursino.

⁵ interlined.

⁶⁻⁶ struck through.

⁷ Germ. Samland.

⁸⁻⁸ struck through.

⁹ Germ. Wegner.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ interlined.

¹¹ Germ. Pesarovii. French Passovii.

¹² struck through and did interlined.

Lett the blessed of the Lord, our King, & Queene, enter in, in the powre of our God; And lett their comeing in, & goeing out, be blessed before the Lord, from this tyme forth, & even for ever more, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen;

§: 2. Hereupon immediately, the Organs ¹made a¹ præamble² and while they playd, M^r Consecrator, & his M^r Assistents³; As also, all the other attending M^r^r Preachers, march⁵ to the altar, & M^r Consecrator, & M^r Assistent, place⁶ themselves before the altar, &⁷ the other attending Preachers on each side of the Altar, three on each side;

§: 3: Both their majestys, attended wth their [fo. 192. b. Royal Traine, walk⁸ under the Organs, towards their Royal throne, & place⁸ themselves upon it;

§: 4: As soone as they sit⁹ down, upon their throne the musick begins¹⁰ from the Chores; & then the whole congregation sing¹¹ the known¹² Hymne.

God be mercifull unto us; etc.

(NB: this is Luther's version of the 67 psal: Davids¹³)

§: 5: while the last verse is¹⁴ a singing, M^r consecrator retreated¹⁵ from the altar, into the Vestrie: after this Hymn is¹⁴ sung, M^r Assistent before the altar, wth his face towards their majestys, makes¹⁶ this following Prayer;

Eternal, allmighty, Onely Wise, Great God, thou art our Refuge, for ever, & ever; God of Gods, King of Kings, & Lord of all Lords, a father of mercys, in Jesus Christ our Lord, thy onely beloved son; Wee acknowledge, that thou alone, makest men¹⁷ Great, & Potent, & it is of thy Grace, & faithfulness, when thou givest to thy people, Kings to be their nursing fathers, & Queenes to be their nursing Mothers; Hence it is,

¹ *interlined.*

² *Germ.* præambuliret: *French* un prélude sur l'orgue.

³ *the final s struck through.*

⁴ *struck through.*

⁵ *a t has been added to the word.*

Germ. gehen.

⁶ *a d has been added to the word.*

⁷ *interlined.*

⁸ *a d has been added to this word.*

⁹ *altered to satt.*

¹⁰ *altered to begun.*

¹¹ *altered to sung.*

¹² *this word is not in the German.*

¹³ *Germ.* Es woll uns Gott genädig sein, &c. *The sentence within brackets is not in the original.*

¹⁴ *altered to was.*

¹⁵ *Germ.* geht . . . ab.

¹⁶ *struck through, and made interlined.*

¹⁷ *a letter at the end of this word has been struck out.*

that thou at this tyme, present's before our eyes, wth all his Royal ornaments, our *Dread¹ Sovereign*, thy /Prince & servant, *Lord Friederich, King in* [fo. 193 *Prussia*, & thy Princess & Servant, *Lady Sophia Charlotta, Queene in Prussia*; who now in thy sanctuary, with all their hearts present ²& devote to thy Honour² to thee, the most high God; & devote to thy Honour & Glory,³ their Royal Highness & dignity, their Royal thrones their Royal crowns, Scepter, Sword, Seal, & other ensignes of royalty, as they have received them, from thy hands; And seing thou hast in particular putt it into their hearts, that they should publicly receive, the Unction, where with, thou formerly didst appointe & order, the Kings of thy people of⁴ Israel to be anointed, Wee therefore humbly pray thee, that thou thyself ⁵wouldst sanctify⁵ O God, thou holy one of Israel wouldst sanctify, this holy action, to⁶ the bodys & on the soules, of our *King*, and *Queene*; lett them bee to them, ⁷sure and certain signes & tokens⁷, that thou wilt *anointe* them, wth the Oyle of Gladness, wth thy Holy & Good Spirit; do thou, by this, poure ⁸upon them⁸, thy Love, that on them may rest, the Spirit of wisdome, and understanding, the spirit of counsell & of strength; the spirit of knowledge, and of the feare of the Lord; Lett them, from this, receive powre & strength, to growe in all royal virtues, /to the Glory of thy name, to the [fo. 193. b. consolation of thy church, to the Joy & interest of their Royal House, and of all their territorys and subjects; pardon us also all our sinns; for thy beloved sons sake grant thy blessing to the preaching of thy word; lett also, all our purposes, at this tyme, by the ministry of thy word, & by prayer, bee throughly sanctified, And thou, O God, sanctify us all, through & through, that our whole Spirit, Soul, & body, may be preserved blameless, till the comeing, of our Lord & Saviour Jesus christ. Amen;

¹ *Germ.* theuresten.

²⁻² *struck through and againe interlined.*

³ *this comma struck out.*

⁴ *interlined.*

⁵⁻⁵ *struck through.*

⁶ *struck through, and on interlined.*

⁷⁻⁷ *Germ.* ein gewisses Wahrzeichen. Cf. the definition of a sacrament in the xxvth Article of Religion: "Sacraments . . . be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace."

⁸ *struck through, and into their hearts interlined.*

§: 6: after this prayer, ¹will be¹ sung, & playd on musical instruments, the Hymn, wch begins, *Glory be to God alone, in the highest*, ²(NB it is the Angelical song Luc: 2: according to Luthers version, & paraphrase³:)² & while the last verse is⁴ a singing, Mr Consecrator will⁵ ascend the pulpit, & make a short sermon, upon the words⁶ of god, written j sam: cap: 2: *¶ 9 for them that Honoure mee, I will Honoure,*

§: 7: After Sermon, the Organs are ⁷plaid upon,⁷ & wth them, ⁸will be sung⁸ *¶ 2: 3: 4: 5: 6: 7: 8, & ¶ 14: of the 21st psal: 9*(NB: in the English Bible, & translation, they are, *¶ 1: 2: 3: 4: 5: 6: 7: & ¶ 13.*)⁹

¶§: 8: While this musick is¹⁰ continued, Mr [fo. 194. Consecrator will¹¹ descend from the pulpit, & go¹² into the Vestry; & before it be¹⁰ quite ended, Hee, with his assisting Bishshop place¹³ themselves againe, before the altar, wth their faces towards their Royal Majestys; & the other attending Preachers stand¹⁴ in their former order, on both sides of the altar;

§: 9. when the musick is¹⁵ ended, the whole congregation ¹⁶will sing¹⁶; & the chore wth musical instruments & voices, will¹⁷ play¹⁸ the Hymn, wch begins

Come, O God creator, Holy Ghost, etc:

(¹³NB: is Luthers Version of the knowne and antient Hymn²⁰, called, *Veni Creator Spir: 19*) when this Hymn is¹⁵ ended, the Drums & trumpets play¹⁸ a short note, or two;

§: 10: ²¹while the drums & trumpets, make²² such a noise²¹ His Majesty the *King*, offers²³ or presents²⁴ himself,

¹⁻¹ struck through, and was interlined.

²⁻² struck through. It is not in the original German.

³ Germ. Allein Gott in der Höh sey Ehr, &c.

⁴ altered into was.

⁵ struck through, and did interlined.

⁶ final s struck out.

⁷ struck out. Germ. musicirect.

⁸⁻⁹ struck out, and was sung interlined. In the original German the verses are given in full.

⁹⁻⁹ struck through. The sentence enclosed in brackets is not in the original German.

¹⁰ struck through, and was interlined.

¹¹ struck through, and did interlined.

¹² struck through, and went interlined.

¹³ d added at end.

¹⁴ altered into stood.

¹⁵ struck through, and was interlined.

¹⁶⁻¹⁶ struck through, and sung interlined.

¹⁷ struck through.

¹⁸ d added at end of word.

¹⁹⁻¹⁹ struck through. It is not in the original German.

²⁰ Germ. Komm Gott Schöpffer Heiliger Geist, &c.

²¹⁻²¹ Germ. Unter deren Schall.

²² altered to made.

²³ altered to offered.

²⁴ altered to presented.

to receive the Unction; & Mr Consecrator, with his Mr Assistent, descend¹ from the altar, to a little bench², whereon the King must³ kneele, and receive⁴ the Unction;

§: 11: Mr Consecrator, haveing in his hand, a plate of pure Gold; His high-Excellence & Grace, his Royal majestys Grand-Chambelane Monseigneur V: Wahrtenburg⁵, Count of the Empire; setts⁶ upon the Plate, a Vessel of *Jaspis*, wherein the Anointeing oyl [fo. 194. b. was;

§: 12: This Plate, wth the vessel aforesaid, & the oyl Mr Consecrator, afterwards gives⁷ to his Mr assistent, to hold;

§: 13: Here upon his Majesty the king himself; takes the crown from his head, & lying⁸ the crowne together with his scepter, upon a cushion beside him; &⁹ kneele.¹⁰

§: 14: So soone as his Majesty the King was kneeled the Grand Chambelane aforesaid, drew his Majestys periwig a little backward, that his majestys forehead was quite bare, & free;

§: 15: Then Mr consecrator tooke the vessel with the anointeing oyle; from the Golden Plate, & poured a little thereof, upon the two foremost fingers,¹¹ of his right hand; & anointed his majesty the King therewith, first upon his forehead then the Pulse of the right hand, after this the Pulse¹² of the left hand; and so sett the vessel with the oyle upon the Golden Plate againe.

§: 16: Then the drums & trumpets must¹³ cease, and Mr Consecrator, with a loud voice, addressed his Royal Majesty, in these words;

Let Your Royal Majesty receive this Unction, as a divine signe & token whereby /God formerly, By [fo. 195. his Priests & prophets, did testify to the Kings of his

¹ ed added to word.

² Germ. Bänckgen.

³ struck through, and did interlined.

⁴ d added to word.

⁵ Germ. Königl. Herrn Ober-Cammer-Herrn Reichs-Grafens von Wartenburgs, Hoeh Gräffliche Excellenz und Gnaden.

⁶ struck through, and did sett interlined.

⁷ struck through, and gave interlined.

⁸ The l has been altered into a capital. Germ. leget.

⁹ struck out.

¹⁰ a d has been added at end of word.

¹¹ Germ. zwey fördersten Finger.

¹² Germ. Puls.

¹³ struck through and did interlined.

people, that hee himself alone, is the most high God ; & that hee makes, sets up, & appointeth Kings ; And lett the Lord our God, himself, Herewith anoint Your Royal Majesty, with the Holy ghost, that You, as an anointed of the Lord, with a resolute, couragious, & willing heart, may rule & govern this Your people, & Kingdome ; and in good health & prosperity, for many years, & tymes to come, may serve the counsell & will of your God ; through our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen ;

§: 17: immediately after this, wth instrumental & vocal Musick, were sung these words

Amen, Amen, prosperity¹ to the King prosperity to the King, Prosperity to the King ; God grant him length of days ;

§: 18: Then again begunn the drums to beate & the trumpets to sound, a short Note or two ;

§: 19: ²during the noise of the trumpets & drums² the above said Grand Chambelane³ wth a cloath prepared for that purpose, washed⁴ the oyle from his Majestys, the kings foreheade, & both his hands, & gave the cloath to m^r consecrator ;

§: 20: & after this m^r consecrator, deliverd [fo. 195. b. back againe, to the Grand Chambelane, the vessel of Jaspis wth the oyle, upon the golden Plate ; & his Majesty the King, returned to his throne & satt⁵ himself upon it.

§: 21: M^r Consecrator, & m^r Assistent, remaine⁶ standing before the Bench, whereon his Majesty the King kneeled ; & the noise of drums & trumpets continuing, her Majesty the Queene presented herself, to be anointed, & kneeled

§: 22: & then the Grand Chambelane⁷ aforesaid, gave the same Vessel with Oyl, to the consecrator who received it, on the Golden Plate aforesaid, & deliverd it, to m^r Assistent

§: 23⁸: from whom M^r Consecrator, received it againe, & haveing anointed her majesty the queene on the fore-

¹ Germ. Glück.

^{2,2} Germ. Unter deren Schall.

³ The last u seems as if erased.

⁴ struck through, and wiped interlined.
Germ. wischet.

⁵ The word has been altered.

⁶ ing has been added.

⁷ a dash has been made between e and l.

⁸ Germ. Dann nimmt der Herr Consecrator das Gefässe mit dem Salb-Oele, giesst sich etwas auff die fordesten Finger seiner rechten Hand, und salbet Ihre Majestät die Königin, auf der Stirne, &c.

heade, & on the Pulses of both arms, (after hee had poured a little thereof on the forefingers of his right hand;) hee sett the vessel, wth the remaineing oyle, in its appointed place;

§: 24: When the noise of drums & trumpets ceased Mr Consecrator, with a loud voice said to her majesty, as followeth

Lett your Royal Majesty receive this Unction, as a divine signe & /token, that Your majesty have this [fo. 196. anointing and appointment to Royal Dignity, & Majesty, from God; who espoused You to Your King; That hee should have from you both¹ Joy & comfort; And the Lord our God anointe You, more, & more, wth his holy Ghost, that You may be courageous & willing to glorify god, and serve him; for Jesus christ our Lord; Amen

§: 25: Here upon from² the chore, wth instrumental & vocal musick, was sung, & playd, as before

Amen, Amen, prosperity to our Queene, prosperity to our queene, prosperity to our queene, God grant her length of days;

§: 26: then again begunn the noise, with drums & trumpets, & the *Dutchess of Holstein* washed³ the Oyle⁴ from⁴ her majestys the Queenes forehead, & her arms, with a cloath prepared for that purpose, wch cloath shee afterwards deliverd, to Mr consecrator;

§: 27: Then the consecrator delivered to the Grand Chambelane aforesaid, the Vessel wth oyle as hee received it from him; in the mean tyme her majesty the queene retreats⁵, & while the drums & trumpets make⁶ a noise, placeth⁷ her self upon the Throne,

§: 28: whereupon Mr consecrator, & [fo. 196. b. Mr assistent return⁸ to the altar, & when the trumpets & drumms ceased, they both in company wth the rest of the attending preachers presented themselves before his Majesty the King; first stood a while, afterwards bowed themselves, & made a very deepe reverence & worshipped him, as the Scripture saith⁹; then said Mr Consecrator

¹ *This word has been altered.*

² *Germ. auf.*

³ *Germ. wischet.*

⁴ *altered.*

⁵ *altered to retreated. Germ. gehen ab.*

⁶ *struck through, and made interlined.*

⁷ *altered to placcd.*

⁸ *a d added at end.*

⁹ *Germ. stehen, bücken sich auff tieffste und beten Sie an, wie die Schrift redet.*

*Prosperity to ¹the King¹
King Frederick
King in Prussia*

And the Lord, the God of our Lord the King say so ; as the Lord has beene wth him, hithertowards, so lett him be wth him, for the tyme to come ; that his Royal Throne, may dayly be greater & greater, Amen ;

§ : 29 : Then the vocal & instrumental musick from the chore, repeated againe

Amen, Amen, prosperity to the King prosperity to the King, prosperity to the King, God grant him length of days

§ : 30 : So soone as all was still & quiet, all these Ministers, presented themselves in like manner before the queenes Majesty ; & the /consecrator speaks² to [fo. 197. her, with a loud voice ³these words³

*Prosperity to the Queene,
to Sophia-charlotta, queen in Prussia*

The Lord our god, make you a blessing to his people, & grant you may see the prosperity of your Royal house, & childrens children, in Jsraels Peace, Amen

§ : 31 : then againe begann the instrumental & vocal musick to repeat

Amen, Amen, Prosperity to the Queene prosperity to the queene, prosperity to the queene ; God grant her length of days

§ : 32 : after a short Pause, the musick begann againe, & first a discantist⁴, sung alone, and afterwards, the whole chore, these words

*Glory to god, on high
Peace on Earth, &
Good will towards men*

§ : 33 : dureing this musick, & singeing, all the Ministers (: haveing made a very deepe reverence towards both their majestys.) retreated and M^r Consecrator,

¹⁻¹ struck out. In the German Frideric stands in one line by itself.

² altered to speake ; intended, it would seem, for spoke or spake.

³⁻³ added.

⁴ Germ. Discantist. In English a discanter was "one that can extempore

sing a part vpon a playne song." (Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to practisall Musicke*, London, Peter Short, 1597. p. 70.) But in 1701, it was most likely one who sang the "discantus" or treble part.

& Mr Assistent, placed themselves againe before the altar. when /all was still, & quiet againe, Mr [fo. 197. b. Consecrator wth a loud voice, as to the people, said these words

fear god, Honour your king, & yo^r queene.

Let their help come from the Lord, who made heaven & earth, psal : 121 :

The Lord suffer not thy¹ foote to be moved,

The Lord be their keeper & their shade on their right hand, that the sunn² smite them not by day, nor the moone by night ;

The Lord preserve them from all evill

The Lord preserve their soule

The Lord preserve their going out, & their coming in, from this tyme forth, & forever more, Amen

§ : 34 : ³Then the vocal & instrumental musick sung & playd these words³

Lord beginn⁴ even now, to bless the house of thy servant Friederich, King in Prussia, that hee⁵ may bee before thee for ever, for what thou blessest o Lord is blessed for ever ;

§ : 35 : after this piece of Musick was ended, the whole congregation, joyneing wth the Musick in the chore, sung the 2 last verses, of /the known [fo. 198. Hymn of Paulus Speratus, wch begins thus, *Our salvation comes alone, from free grace & mercys⁶* etc : but the 2 last verses begin thus, *Praise & glory be to thee for so great mercys⁷* etc :

§ : 36 : Mr Assistent, to conclude, repeated⁸ this prayer before the altar.

Almighty, Eternal God, most mercifull & faithfull father, in christ Jesus, our Lord, & saviour, Wee praise & glorify thy holy Name that thou hast given to us, not onely thy onely begotten son, Jesus christ, to bee our everlasting King ; & in & through him, has given to us, the everlasting Kingdome of heaven, for an inheritance of the Saints in Light ; But also that at this tyme, thou hast granted to us this Special Grace, that wee may now

¹ *struck out, and their interlined.*

² *The final n struck out.*

³⁻³ *Germ. Hier auff werden musiciret und gesungen diese Worte :*

⁴ *Germ. liebe an.*

⁵ *struck out, and it interlined.*

⁶ *Germ. Es ist das Heyl uns kommen her, &c.*

⁷ *Germ. Sey Lob und Ehr mit hohem Preiss, &c., &c.*

⁸ *Struck out, and said interlined.*

with our eyes see, thy anointed, our King & queene, in thy sanctuary; As thou now hast beene pleased to grant grace to this holy action, of the Royal Unction, & here in this world, hast erected a Kingdome, for our King; so wee pray thee o god, thou wouldst please, to strengthen it, & bee a wall of defence aboute it, for it is thy own work Lett therefore be recommended to thee, /as the apple of thy eye; his Royal Majesty *friederich*, [fo. 198. b. our most gracious King, & souveraine Lord; together with his Royal Spouse Her majesty, our Queene; His Royal Highness, our Crown-& Hereditary-Prince The Royal Lady his¹ daughter, the Royal Lord his Brethren, & Ladys his² sisters; and all that are related & allyed to this Royal & High house; preserve them from all evil bless them with all good things; both in their³ bodys & in their⁴ soules; yea so bless the hous of thy anointed; that it may bee before thee for ever, for what thou Lord blessest is blessed forever; Heare us, oh! our heavenly father for Jesus christs sake Amen;

§ : 37 : immediately after this, the usuall blessing was said;

§ : 38 : after that, with trumpets & drums ⁵was sung⁵ Te deum Laudamus; etc: and then all the bells in the citty rung, the great gunns from the walls were discharged, & the Vollys were given by the souldjery;

§ : 39 : Then was a general pardon proclaimed and after that the drumms & trumpets made a noise againe;

§ : 40 : & while this continued their majestys returne⁶ from the church :

NOTES.

The original of the Proclamation may be found in von Besser's work (17.). It is not given by Ursinus.

§ 1. In the address to the King and Queen, there is a quotation from the eighth verse of the cxxi. psalm (*Levavi oculos*). A similar quotation occurs in the welcome of Frederick King of Bohemia at the door of the church at Prague before his coronation.

§ 5. The long prayer contained in this section may be looked upon as the blessing of the oil. It contains a prayer for the descent

¹ interlined.

² interlined.

³ added in margin.

⁴ interlined.

⁵⁻⁵ interlined.

⁶ d added to word.

of the Holy Ghost upon the King and Queen through the anointing, and the coming of the special gifts of wisdom and understanding, counsel and strength, knowledge and the fear of the Lord, six of the sevenfold gifts.

§ 6. "Glory be to God alone" is not the English version.

The Sermon by Ursinus may be found in his collection already quoted, *Die Königliche Majestät*.

§ 9. *Veni Creator Spiritus* comes here immediately before the anointing. It is not found in the Bohemian, Danish, or Swedish rites.

§ 15. The consecrator anointed the King in the form of a circle or crown; and von Besser explains this by saying that the Hebrews anointed their Kings in the form of an O and that a circle is the most perfect figure known to the mathematicians. The high priests on the other hand were anointed in the form of an X or of a cross: von Besser (37 note) quotes Schickardus *Jure Regio c.i. Theo.* 4 p.m. 75. [W. Schickard, *Jus regium Hebraeorum, Argentinae, 1625. p. 27.*]

The King of Denmark in 1559 was anointed with a fragrant oil in the form of a cross, on the breast and shoulders certainly, if not on the head and elsewhere as is likely, his dress being torn somewhat to allow this. (Simon Schardius, *loc. cit.*)

§ 23. It may be noted that only two places are to be anointed: the head and the hands. The King kneels during the anointing.

Charles XI. King of Sweden was anointed, kneeling, on the forehead, shoulders, and hands by the Archbishop of Upsal.

The King of England is now anointed sitting in his chair, and only in three places, the forehead, the breast, and the hands.

§ 28. There is a long note in von Besser (39 note) on the salutation or adoration prescribed in this section. *Anbeten* is merely *adorare*, such a word as we retain in our marriage service up to this day, and in the title of "Worship" given to Mayors and other officers.

§ 33. This blessing seems to be a survival of the old episcopal benediction.¹

§ 35. These two last verses of the hymn of Paulus Speratus are according to Lauxmann, in frequent use, and they contain a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer. He notes their use on this occasion.²

The text of this hymn of Paul Speratus may be found in C. J. Cosack, *Paulus Speratus Leben und Lieder*, Braunschweig, 1861. p. 240. It consists of 14 stanzas. It is the best known hymn of this writer; to whom the title of Reformer of Prussia is given. He died in 1551.

§ 38. *Te Deum* is an almost invariable ending to the coronation rite in modern times.

¹ See the various *Ordines* in E. Martene, *De antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, Lib. ii. cap. x. (Bassani, 1788. t. ii. pp. 214 *et seq.*).
² E. E. Koch, *Geschichte des Kirchenlieds*, Stuttgart, 1876. 3te Auflage, Bd. viii. p. 240.

RITUALISTIC ECCLESIOLOGY OF NORTH-EAST SOMERSET.

By J. LEWIS ANDRÉ, F.S.A.

Just ten years ago, I had the honour and the pleasure of reading a paper before this Institute, which I ventured to entitle *Ritualistic Ecclesiology of North-east Norfolk*, and I now beg to offer some remarks of a similar character on the churches of a corresponding portion of the county of Somerset.

As in the structures of our churches we find marked localisms in their details, and also rich and noble edifices in one district, and comparatively poor and simple ones in another, so in some districts the ritual arrangements are strikingly prominent, whilst in others they are far less pronounced. It is also to be noticed that whilst in one locality we find certain ritual requirements to have been objects of much care, in others they have been often neglected. In Norfolk, for instance, it is evident that much attention was bestowed on the font, and it is made as conspicuous and as elaborate as possible, whilst in Somerset the baptismal vessel seems to have been considered of much less importance. On the other hand, the western county has made the sancte bell cote, and the rood stairs turret almost indispensable adjuncts to each church, whilst in Norfolk the sancte bell cote is very rarely met with, and the rood stairs turret is a much less prominent feature.

The original altar stones remain in three north-east Somerset churches: of these two slabs are at Weston-in-Gordano where they have been replaced, one in the chancel, and the other in the chapel of S. Mary Magdalen. At Long Ashton the altar stone lies under the present altar, whilst at Portbury the slab lies in the cross passage of the north aisle, and bears upon it a sixteenth century epitaph. It was originally eight feet long by three wide, but about a third has been lost.

A long moulded panel over the altar site in the south chapel at Chelvey, is undoubtedly a portion of the original reredos, and the east window over it is flanked by niches of large size. Part of the reredos of the high altar remains at Congresbury, consisting of large niches with smaller ones over them, and at Nailsea the lowered sill of the east window indicates where the altar tables used to be. Clapton-in-Gordano has a remarkable reredos with two large brackets on either side of the altar, of 1st P. foliage work, and these still support altar candlesticks of brass, which are no doubt the successors of the original altar lights, placed not on the altar, it will be remarked, but on each side of it. These candlesticks are of the wreathed kind with very broad bases, suited exactly to the size of the stone brackets; they are about sixteen inches high, and have movable nozzles, being probably of seventeenth century date like the silver ones at Lambeth Palace Chapel.

At Uphill the high altar had no window over it, and there does not appear to have been an east window in the north chapel in the neighbouring church at Worle.

Chapels in East Somerset are often east of the south porches, as at Kew Stoke, East Brent, and Chelvey, and the latter example appears to have been designed expressly to include a range of three tombs in the south wall. The three tombs form one continuous design and each is under a two-light window. At Nailsea the north chapel is only six feet wide and is covered by a lean-to roof. A remarkable transeptal chapel on the north side of the chancel at Portbury will be noticed further on.

At Compton Bishop is an extremely interesting and beautiful 1st P. piscina. It is of the double form and has two arches within an enclosing one; in the head of the latter is an aumbry which retained its original door and strap hinges till recently, when they were replaced by fresh ones. At Congresbury is a single bowl piscina under two arches, the drain being beneath the western one. A peculiar but elegant 3rd P. piscina with foliated and bracketed bowl is at Berrow, and in the porch of the same church is a stoup exactly like it. Piscinas occur in the east walls at South Brent and Yatton, the latter forming an elaborate 3rd P. composition, and at Worle

there is a drain formed in the flat sill of a window in the east jamb of which there is an aumbry of small size.

Sedilia are not common, but at Portbury there are two sets, one in the chancel the other in the south aisle, or *azel* as it is termed in Somerset. The former is of very rich 1st P. work, with trefoil arches, and with the piscina forms one design. The aisle sedilia are very similar but plainer, and the piscina has been fitted with a stone shelf, though the rebate for the wooden one remains. At Worle there are two seats under ogee headed and crocketed arches. Ranges of triple sedilia of modern work are at Kingston Seymour and Wraxall.

There are numerous examples of squints, Clevedon church possesses two, one from each transept, and there are single ones at Axbridge, Banwell, Nailsea, Wraxall, Worle, and Yatton. At Clapton-in-Gordano one in the north chapel has a bracket piscina connected with the flat sill. Most of these squints are plain in character, but at Kingston Seymour, the one from the south aisle into the chancel breaks into the jamb of a window of which part of the mouldings are cut away, whilst the rest form a mullion dividing the hagioscope. In the north-east angle of the tower at Loxton there is a noteworthy example, as the tower forms a south porch and it is evident that the squint was to enable a person standing in the tower to ring a bell at the Sanctus and Elevation in the Mass, celebrated at the high altar; this squint is also interesting from its retaining its original grille.

As already noticed the sancte bell cote forms an important feature in most of the east Somerset churches, and many retain the sancte bell within them, as at Clapton-in-Gordano, Portishead, Weston-in-Gordano, Wraxall, and Wrington. At Tickenham this feature is very small, and at Hutton it is a poor modern Gothic affair.¹

A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1794 remarks of a sancte bell hanging in its cote at Mells, Somerset: that it was then "usually rung as soon as the officiating

¹ Pt. II, p. 702. Reprinted in *Gent. Mag. Library, Topography*, pt X, p. 281. The sancte bell still hangs in its cote at Wooton S. Mary, Beds, and at Long Compton, Halford, and Wickford, Warwickshire; whilst at Great Stough-

ton, Hants, the bell, cote, and the chain by which the former was rung, still exist at Gadshill, I. of Wight; the bell is in a recess at the apex of the gable of the S. transept.

minister was in his place to give notice to the people without, that the service is about to begin." This usage may, I think, be an ancient one, as it was customary in the Pre-Reformation ritual for a small bell to be rung as the priest left the vestry to begin mass.

I have only met with one Easter Sepulchre: it is at Hutton, and has at the back of the recess a brass for Thomas Payne, Esquire, dated 1528. The canopy is panelled, but the front of the tomb is a perfectly plain piece of walling. At Clevedon a perfectly unadorned arched recess may have served for an Easter Sepulchre, and the chapel before alluded to at Portbury may, it has been conjectured, have been applied to the same purpose. This chapel is extremely curious, being of a transeptal form, gabling north and south, and standing just outside the sanctuary of the chancel; a passage, or aisle, connecting the chapel with the north aisle of the nave, and passing behind the north stalls. The whole is of stone, the roof being a pointed barrel vault with ribs following the outline of the vaulting. Whatever was the use of this singular chapel, it is clear that it was intended to be approached from the nave aisle and not from the chancel. There are no traces of an altar or its piscina, which favours the theory that this transeptal addition to the choir may have been employed as a suitable place for the erection of the Easter Sepulchre, and may not the fact of the whole structure being in stone suggest a grave hewn in a rock, if the use of it for a representation of Our Lord's tomb be the right solution of its purpose?¹

Low-side windows are not at all common, and the only instance I can cite is at Bleadon, where a two-light 2nd P. window has a transom across both openings and under it very oddly cut tracery with quatrefoils over trefoiled lights, the hooks for the hinges of the shutters remaining within memory. This lychnoscope, be it observed, is on the south side of the chancel, whilst the village of Bleadon is north of the church.

¹ It would be interesting to ascertain if in England the Easter Sepulchre was ever erected in any other position than near the north side of the high altar. On the continent, in Germany at least, its locality was not so restricted, for Dr. Lubke says that the sepulchre at Cou-

stanz Cath., was "in a chapel behind the choir," at Gmund, Holy Cross, "in the centre chapel of the choir corridor," and at S. Mary's, Reutlingen, "at the end of the northern side aisles." See Lubke, *Ecclesiastical Art in Germany*, pp. 250, 251.

Very curious stalls exist at Weston-in-Gordano, and date as far back as the fourteenth century. Till recently these choir fittings were perfect, but now only those on the north and south sides remain. They differ in several respects from the commoner fifteenth century examples, as each curved elbow has an upright piece in front of it, and the subsellia have rude carvings of a man holding a bolt or short arrow in each hand, and other devices.

At Worle are five miserere stalls on each side of the chancel, and these according to tradition came from the neighbouring Priory of Woodspring. They are good examples of 3rd P. work, and on one is carved a capital P and the letters R and S conjoined.

Although in north-east Somerset there are no examples of fonts which can compare in splendour with many in East Anglia, there are several noteworthy ones, and it is remarkable that a large number of Norman fonts are retained in churches possessing no other features in that style. Out of thirty churches I visited, thirteen have twelfth century fonts, or nearly half, two are of thirteenth century date, seven of fifteenth century, and the rest are modern. Six of the Norman examples have circular bowls and six are square, and as regards the last named they are smaller than usual, and the basins are also four-sided, and not circular as is generally the case, like those at East Meon, Hants, and Willesden, Middlesex, two examples of many such. At Chelvey there is an octagonal Norman font bowl, which appears to have been originally a square one, altered to its present form in the fifteenth century, a transformation wrought on some other fonts at that period as, for example, at Ingoldsthorpe, Norfolk, and on another now forming part of an ecclesiological rockery in the churchyard at All Saints', Warham, in the same county. At Banwell the font is a circular one covered with 3rd P. ornamentation, including a cornice of quatrefoiled panels, above peculiar upright branches of foliage, but as the round bowl is but seldom, if ever, met with in late Gothic work, it is probable that this font is a Norman one of originally plain character decorated in the fifteenth century. If so, this example is not singular, for there is a very striking one at Mountfield, in Sussex, where, as in some cases in that county, the

font bowl of Norman work was a very large but perfectly plain circular mass, but late in the fifteenth century the upper edge of the bowl has been worked into a battlement cornice, and panels with fleur-de-lis and other foliage cut out in the surface of the bowl.

By far the most curious of the Norman fonts in north-east Somerset is the one at Locking. It is square, and at each angle is alternately a full length figure of a man or woman with their arms bent back in an impossible manner, and clasping each other's hands, the rest of the bowl is filled in with two rows of entwined spotted snakes. I regret to say that at Yatton the plain but good circular Norman font has been destroyed, and buried I believe in the church, whilst at Portishead the simple but excellent little font of the same period has been discarded for a florid Gothic memorial one, and now stands in a corner of an aisle.

A pretty 1st P. font with trefoil arches on the bowl is at Tickenham, and at Kenn there is an octagonal bowl supported by a cluster of 1st P. pillars.

A very beautiful but mutilated 2nd P. font has been transferred from the old church at Uphill to the modern one. It has remarkably crisp foliage work of German character on an octagonal bowl. Another interesting font in the same style is at South Brent, in which the bowl is a waved or ogee quatrefoil in outline, which shape is followed in the basin.

At Clapton-in-Gordano the font bowl is also a quatrefoil, and now has the remarkable peculiarity of a basin sunk only about two inches, resembling in this respect some shallow piscinas.

The 3rd P. fonts are not noteworthy, but one at Wrington has half effigies of angels singularly naturalistic in their treatment, a feature characteristic of the sculpture in this locality when of late fifteenth century date. No other religious emblems are to be noticed on the north-east Somerset fonts, except that at Nailsea there is an example bearing a shield with the five wounds.

Only five out of the fonts above noticed retain ancient covers, and these are all of Jacobean date, occurring at Banwell, Compton Bishop, Chelvey, Loxton, and Puxton: they are all octagonal in shape and each has a band of foliage or carving round the base.

As before observed, the rood-screen, with its loft and staircase turret, formed a very prominent feature in a Somerset church, and in this county occurs the, I believe, unique example of a Post-Reformational rood-loft, which still exists at Rodney Stoke. At Banwell there is a richly painted and gilt screen supporting an equally fine loft carried on fan-shaped groining. Curiously enough, over the doorway in the screen is a shield emblazoned with the arms of France and England, very nearly the position assigned to them on many screens after the Reformation. Traditionally this beautiful work came from Bruton Abbey, but this is disproved by the Churchwarden's Accounts for 1521, where the expenses connected with its erection are fully set forth, and include the expenditure of *iiij^d* "for paper to draw the draft of the rode lofte," and notify the cost of the stained cloth before it. Here the platform before the screen remains, and at Bleadon the stairs to the loft are about six feet west of the chancel arch, indicating that this gallery must have been a wide one in that church. A modern loft has been constructed at Wraxall, but appears to be a narrower one than its predecessor. At Tickenham the loft was over the chancel arch, which is a very low one, and was entered from a doorway in the south part of the wall over it, whilst in the north portion is a lancet for the purpose of looking down into the chancel. Congresbury has a wooden screen above a breast-high stone one, and at Puxton is a very late stone screen of massive character about four feet in height. Loxton retains a late but beautiful screen with the holy doors intact, doors which at Congresbury now adorn a western tower screen. At Portishead fragments of the chancel enclosure were worked up into altar chairs, and at Cheddar into a reading pue. The original painting and gilding of the easternmost bay of the nave roof, over or near, the rood, remains at Cheddar, and the same part of the nave roof is of richer character than the rest at Backwell. The similar decoration at Weston-in-Gordano is modern.

In many churches the rood stairs remain with both doorways, as at Wick St. Lawrence, and most of these stairs were in octagonal turrets of bold projection, and rising above the nave walls occasionally are crowned by

lofty spirelets, as at Barrington, Winscombe, and Worle. Often they are richly panelled, and when not capped by a spirelet have open parapets. The Barrington example is remarkable in having a very lofty spirelet and bold turret attached to a comparatively insignificant church, and like most of these stairs they are on the north side of the church.

At East Brent is a large and curiously carved west gallery with highly enriched columns beneath it, erected in the seventeenth century. Berrow has the remains of a quaint gallery set up against the tower walls, and it is somewhat like the last example, and bears the following curious fragmentary inscription on the front—

“ I was set up right and even 1637, the yeare of the Lord.
Accurst that in the delings are not just. . . . ”

I do not know whether the inhabitants of the western counties had any marked predilection for preaching in the middle ages—perhaps they had, for the will of Humphrey, Earl of Devon, dated 3rd September, 1463, directs “ that two Franciscan Friars of Exeter should go to every parish church in the counties of Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, Devon, and Cornwall and say a sermon in every church—town or other.”¹ Certainly in Somerset we have a large number of Pre-Reformation pulpits, many of them of rich and costly design, highly carved, and several still retaining their original colours and gilding. Like most mediæval pulpits they are small in size and constructed on one plan, being generally attached to the north or south walls of the naves of the churches and entered by stairs contrived in the masonry. In some cases the rood loft stairs serve also as those by which the preaching-place was entered as at Hutton, Nailsea, and Uphill. At Portishead the stairs are in a large buttress-like projection with two doorways in the south wall, whilst at Weston-in-Gordano, where the tower stands south of the nave, a passage is hollowed out in the jamb of the arch between the two for the stairs, and the front of the pulpit is flush with the inner face of the south wall, the pulpit itself being a small square chamber quite devoid of ornament. At Compton Bishop the pulpit is also square, but the form which

¹ *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 301.

the majority of these preaching places take is a half octagon, the sides of which are panelled and the whole carried on an engaged stem or shaft. Among the ornaments on the cornices of these pulpits may be noticed a kind of 3rd P. dog-tooth, and one which occurs on the arch of the porch at the rectory at Congresbury, built about 1470. This peculiar moulding is a slight indication, amongst others of much greater importance, of the tendency displayed in the latest form of Pointed art to revert to earlier forms, a tendency more fully exhibited at Wrington in the treatment of the inside of the clerestory, where the bays are divided from each other by shafts from which spring large trefoil wall arches, each of which encloses a three-light 3rd P. window. To return from this digression, we find that in Somerset stone pulpits were made until the commencement of the seventeenth century, an example of this period, dated 1621, is at Dinder, and bears on it the text "Blessed are they who hear the word of God and keep it." A rich wooden pulpit of Jacobean date is at East Brent, and there are plainer ones at South Brent, Tickenham, and Clevedon, the latter with Flemish panels with scripture scenes inserted in it. At Puxton the iron hour-glass frame remains. In several places the mediæval pulpit is said to have come from Woodspring Priory, which may be true in one case, as at Worle it stands on the site of the south altar in the nave. At Portbury there are two modern pulpits.

At Chelvey, and Clapton-in-Gordano, there are quaintly cut solid bench ends, which somewhat resemble those at Elkstone, Gloucestershire, figured in Parker's Glossary; square bench ends remain at Puxton and Weston-in-Gordano, and some plain poppy-ended ones are to be seen at Weston, and Clevedon. Both East and South Brent possess beautifully carved seating, and at the latter church the ends have the most complete series of grotesques that I have met with. Good bench ends and seats also remain at Cheddar, and much of the elaborate pewing at Wraxall is made up of old work. At Clapton-in-Gordano the western seats are shorter than the rest, and the massive sill to which the bench-ends are fixed is curved to suit the reduced length of the pewing, as by this means a free passage round the font is secured, and a

similar arrangement occurs in some Norfolk churches, as at Barningham-Northwood and Sherringham.

The nave piers at Portbury rest upon nosed plinths nearly five feet square, and evidently intended for seats, whilst a similar bench table runs along the walls of the aisles, a feature which I have heard is to be found in the south aisle at Priddy.

Chests of Jacobean date remain at Loxton and Compton Bishop, the latter standing on four legs, whilst at Portbury is one of those poor man's chests which were directed to be in every church in the sixteenth century: it is about three feet long and strongly clamped with iron, and moreover still serves its original purpose of an alms chest.

A very pretty holy water stoup remains just inside the south doorway at Weston-in-Gordano, the back of the recess containing it being panelled with delicate arcaded tracery. There is also a carved recess for the stoup at Portbury, and, as before noticed, the basin at Berrow is a repetition of the high altar piscina. At Wraxall the bowl has the unusual form of a quatrefoil, and is singularly deep. Priddy is said to have a good stoup.

In 1849 a curious reliquary was found in the north wall of the nave at Kew Stoke, and this has been conjectured to have contained some blood of S. Thomas of Canterbury. A full description, illustrated by engravings, will be found of this reliquary in the sixth volume of the *Archæological Journal*. A very similar reliquary was discovered many years back in the wall of the north transept at Yaxley, near Peterborough. At Congresbury when putting in a heating apparatus, a very large and massive stone coffin was disinterred, which, for some reason or other, has been supposed to have formed the last resting-place of S. Congar, a hermit who lived there, and has given his name to the parish, but not to the church, which is dedicated to S. Andrew, and in a similar way the village of Kew Stoke is called after S. Kea, though the church is, I believe, one in honour of S. Paul.

One of the most interesting localisms of the ecclesiology of north-east Somerset is connected with several of the south porches. It occurs with slight variations in those of Clapton-in-Gordano, Clevedon, Portbury, Portishead,

Wick St. Lawrence, Wraxall, and Wrington, and there may be other examples with which I am unacquainted. All of these churches have south porches, and appear to have had galleries across them, the usual arrangement being as follows: In the centre of the inside of the east wall is a doorway connected with stairs which end in the north-east angle of the porch, whilst the space over the inner doorway has a niche, the position of which indicates that the staircase did not lead up to a parvise, but to a gallery or loft. At Weston-in-Gordano this gallery remains perfect, and has a moulded and battlemented girder with curved braces beneath it, the underside of the floor being panelled, and the whole picked out in colours. At Portishead the loft also remains, but in an altered state and now opening into the nave.

As to the purport of these galleries, the general opinion is that they were employed in connection with the Palm Sunday procession outside the church, a theory favoured by a rubric for the ceremonies of that day in the Sarum Missal, which gives the following directions for this procession: "Here let the second station be made on the south of the church where let seven choristers sing in a conspicuous place" the hymn "Gloria laus et honor, &c." A southern gallery, such as that described here, would thoroughly meet these directions both as to the side of the church and the conspicuous place required, in which the hymn was to be chanted.¹ The fact also that a porch was sometimes called "the procession porch," as in the churchwarden's accounts of S. Mary's, Sandwich, favours this theory, which, if correct, shows how exact the observance of this rubric must have been in north-east Somerset, when it was thought necessary to provide a gallery to be used only once in the year, though it seems probable that expositions of relics may have also taken place in these lofts, as they would have been excellently adapted for the purpose.

At Congresbury there is a parvise now made use of as

¹ Sometimes the hymn appears to have been chanted from the roof of the church, probably that over the south aisle, as aisle roofs were often lean-to ones and nearly flat. In the churchwarden's accounts of S. Mary Wool-

noth, London, under date 1540, is the entry, "Item for setting up the rails upon the leds on Palme Sunday iijd." See *S. Mary Woolnoth, and S. Mary Woolwich*, p. xvii.

a vestry, and other examples of this chamber are at Winscombe and Yatton. Christon possesses a remarkable porch, being entirely of stone, and consisting of a plain barrel vault, on equally plain walls. The church is a twelfth century building, and the late Dr. Neale considered the porch a Norman one, but I confess that to me it appears to be Jacobean, though somewhat similar vaulting occurs in connection with the north porch at Uphill. If in their original places, two brackets in the inside of the east wall of the porch at Kew Stoke, and a niche over a modern door, may perhaps indicate that an altar once stood there.

The only original vestry I know of is on the north side of the chancel at Banwell.

Sculpture appears to have been freely used, and most of the church towers have niches for saintly figures, as at Banwell, where they contain images of the Blessed Virgin and S. Gabriel; these flank a two-light blank window, in one light of which is a large lily-pot, the whole forming a cleverly introduced Annunciation. At Tickenham the parapet of the tower contains a series of panels carved with events in the histories of SS. Julietta and Ciriacus, the patrons of that church. The Crucifixion was sculptured on a panel inside the east wall of the porch of the old church at Weston-super-Mare; with SS. Mary and John, another example remains on the north wall at S. John's Church, Glastonbury. Neale mentions that the death of the dragon is appropriately set forth on the rood-screen at Cleve. The Holy Trinity is met with in niches at East Brent, Wrington, and Yatton, the Blessed Virgin on the tower at East Brent and the porch at Axbridge, and there is a mutilated figure of S. Giles inside Cheddar Church. Sacred persons and emblems occur on the seats at both the Brents.

Although not a ritual feature, I cannot help mentioning that at South Brent the nave floor slopes from east to west, at a much greater inclination than any other example I have met with, the fall being probably as much as one in twenty, much greater than the examples in the Sussex churches at Fletching, Portslade, or Rottingdean.

Many sepulchral monuments have sacred sculpture introduced upon them, and at Bleadon there is a very

elegant panel, now in the porch, showing the Blessed Virgin and Child between kneeling figures of a hooded man and a lady, the whole being enclosed in a crocketed ogee arch of fourteenth century date; whilst at Yatton a very good and nearly perfect Annunciation remains at the back of a fifteenth century tomb in the Newton chapel. At Weston-in-Gordano the monument of Richarde Perseyvale, dated 1483, has, at the back of the canopy, three curious figures of scroll-bearing angels, which are quite naturalistic in treatment, as are the angelic figures on the tomb of Sir E. Gorges, dated 1510, at Wraxall.

I regret to say that at Bleadon there are two fine monumental effigies lying in the churchyard, and that a fourteenth century figure of a civilian is exposed in like manner at Berrow.

The remains of stained glass are mostly concentrated in the noble and beautifully situated church at Winscombe, which forms a perfect treasure-house of fifteenth century painted glass. Like many old examples, colour is here but sparingly introduced, and there is one window of three broad lights, each of which is occupied by a full length single figure entirely in white costume. The dexter of these effigies is that of S. Paul, the central one S. Peter, and the sinister another S. Peter in a canon's dress, and bearing what seems to be a holy water sprinkler, but the identity of this figure I am unable to specify. Another window having four lights has S. Anthony in the outer dexter opening, next comes S. Mary in white dress over which is a crimson mantle and hood; the third light has the Crucifixion, of which Dr. Neale has remarked that the arms of our Lord are not extended, a treatment which is required by the necessities of its position, and therefore bears no Calvinistic signification. The cross has the peculiarity of rising from an ornamental panelled base, and not from a rock; the fourth light has S. John the Evangelist, and beneath each figure are small ones of kneeling donors, bidding their beads and bearing labels with invocations of the saints above them. These windows were restored, or rather the glass was reset, in 1850, and either at that date, or since, the whole of the glass filling one window in the north aisle was transferred to one in the south

aisle—a freak paralleled by one carried out at the church of Winfrith-Newburgh, Dorset, where the old east window is now the west one, and a north window at present helps to light the south side of the nave.

At East Brent there are several fragments of stained glass, which are described as follows in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1838. "In the windows of that church," it says, "are the remains of some excellent painted glass. In one are the subjects of the Salutation, the Nativity and the Wise Men's Offering; in another the Virgin with her Infant Son; in another the Scourging; and in others the Imprisonment and Decollation of John the Baptist, and figures of S. John the Evangelist, and S. James the Less." There are many fragments of subjects also at Banwell, and at Compton Bishop are the Annunciation and Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, and the Holy Trinity. At Tickenham, our Lord enthroned is in the east window of the south chapel, and His Crucifixion in a south window of it, the green cross being covered with an ornamental pattern. Christon has a perfect little figure of S. John the Evangelist, with his eagle standing on a closed book, and there are quarries and fragments at Weston-in-Gordano, whilst armorial glass remains at Cheddar and Chelvey.

There is a singular absence of any remains of wall painting in these north-east Somerset churches, and in this respect they compare unfavourably with the churches in Sussex, which, small and unadorned as many of them are, have nearly all exhibited traces of mural decoration in colours. The valuable South Kensington *List of Buildings having Mural Decorations*, informs us of a S. George painted on the tower at Cheddar; a female holding a cross at Clapton-in-Gordano, and a S. Christopher at Loxton, all of which have perished. At Uphill, the east wall of the chancel is said to have had figures of thirteenth century date pictured upon it. At Clapton-in-Gordano a consecration cross appears on the tympanum of the Norman doorway, and another inside on the north wall of the chancel, also at Chelvey there seems to be one of these crosses also on the north wall. Whilst on the subject of wall paintings, I cannot help remarking on the destruction of the curious picture formerly on the north

wall of a chapel in S. Cuthbert's Church, Wells. It represented our Lord as the *Salvator Mundi*, a full length figure with bare feet and arms, but with a globe in the left hand, whilst the right was upheld in benediction; over this effigy was an angel bearing a shield with the five wounds. I notice this picture both because it was a singularly perfect work of the fifteenth century, and also to record its destruction at the restoration of the church which contained it.

But although wall painting is conspicuous by its absence, there are several examples of colour on church fittings, some of which have already been alluded to. At Pórtbury there exists a mutilated but very richly painted and gilt niche over the south doorway of the porch, and the stone pulpits at Cheddar and Loxton still glow with colour, though the latter is a restoration, and a text on it in English is evidently modern. The colouring of the fine screen at Long Ashton is said to be a careful reproduction of the old.

The churchyard and village crosses are numerous, though none are remarkable. At Bleadon the cross stands outside the churchyard immediately in front of the tower. Yatton possesses the steps and base of a very large cross, and Wraxall has an excellent example, with pedestals for statuettes at the angles of the shaft. In some cases both churchyard and village cross remain as at Congresbury, Kingston Seymour, and Wick St. Lawrence.

GUNDRADA DE WARENNE.

By HAMILTON HALL.

The paper on "Gundrada de Warenne" by the late Mr. R. E. Chester Waters, first read in part at the meeting of the Archæological Institute at Lewes, 3rd August, 1884, and subsequently printed in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XLI, No. 163, September, 1884,¹ and published in pamphlet form also, Exeter, 1884, 8vo, appears to have passed uncriticised in the *Journal*; and it may be worth while, therefore, to examine various points, statements, and inferences in this paper; because several of these appear to be capable of bearing an interpretation differing widely from that advanced by Mr. Chester Waters.

In the first place it may be remarked generally that there is, throughout the paper, a tendency to make positively statements, often as to trivial matters, which cannot possibly be proved; and in a scientific discussion such things should be expressed as opinions, not as facts. There is for instance the assertion² that the daughter of Richard II of Normandy "married without disparagement" the advocate of St. Valerie. Very likely that may be so, but how can it possibly be known that it was "without disparagement"? A more important instance is found in the quite inaccurate statement³ that "in the case of all the other marriages which were inhibited at this Council" of Rheims, October, 1049, "the canonical impediment was that one of the parties was not free to marry by reason of having a wife or husband living." This is advanced as a "singular coincidence"; but Hugo de Braina was excommunicated for having put away his wife and taken another, whereas the Counts Ingram and Eustace were excommunicated for incest, that is for having married within the prescribed degrees, namely with women not more remote from them than fifth or sixth cousins. Count Theobald again was cited for

¹ With a postscript in Vol. XLIII, No. 171, September, 1886.

² p. 300.

³ p. 302.

having put away his wife.⁴ Thus two of the delinquents had married within the forbidden degrees, and two others had been guilty of repudiating their lawful consorts. This leaves nothing by way of "coincidence" for inclining to the opinion that the inhibition of William's marriage with Matilda, which occurs in the same passage, was because Matilda had a husband already; or, on the other hand, that the inhibition was because Matilda had some consanguinity with the Conqueror. In truth the "coincidence" is wholly imaginary.

Another very curious statement requiring examination is conveyed in the words⁵ "there were no Earls in Normandy outside the pale of the reigning family," and with this goes the assertion "William de Warenne is not described as an Earl in Domesday, but the four Earls mentioned in that record were all palatine Earls." That there were no *Earls* in Normandy is literally true, inasmuch as Earl is an exclusively British dignity. Since this is probably not what Mr. Waters designed to express, we must suppose that he intended to say that there was in Normandy no *Comes* "outside the pale of the reigning family." It is quite impossible to say what the meaning, and what the limitations, of this phrase may be; in the absence of any sort of definition the statement may be right or wrong. William de Warenne and Roger de Montgomeri were both descended, it is believed, from sisters of Gunnora, so the objection that these two earls in particular were "outside the pale" is sufficiently mysterious. But the darkness deepens on a second perusal. Battle Abbey Charters are quoted from the Monasticon, III 245 viz. number IX of which the date is 1086 or within a month or two later, and number X, of which the date is 1076 or just possibly 1077, to prove that in those years William described himself as Comes de Warenne. Then it is said "It is almost superfluous to remark that William . . . could not style himself Earl until after he had been invested with an English earldom." If that remark means anything at all it means that the Charter proves him to have had an English Earldom in 1076. It is a totally superfluous remark,

⁴ Labbe, *Concilia*, ed. Cossart, xix: col. 742; tom. canons xj and xij.

⁵ p. 307.

for the fact was not so, as is immediately afterwards admitted in the observation that he is not called an Earl in Domesday. *i.e.* in 1085. This very nearly amounts to a proof, if any were needed, that in 1076 William was described by his Norman title, the conclusion which the argument seemingly sought to disprove by the evidence of these Charters. This "incontrovertible evidence," as he calls it, Mr. Waters immediately discards because, as he appears to consider, these comites were "outside the pale." Manifestly either they were within "the pale," or the evidence is not incontrovertible, or the allegation is not true. Otherwise it remains only that William de Warenne was palatine Earl of Surrey, which was "never a palatine earldom." The assertion as to Domesday and the "four earls" therein named is no less difficult of comprehension. There are no earls, but many a comes, named in Domesday. Comes Goduinus, Comes Heraldus, Comes Guerd were not within "the pale." Comes Moritonensis, Comes de Ow, Comes Rogerus, were not palatine earls.

Selden certainly speaks of Earl Roger de Montgomeri as exercising very great authority in his county of Salop, but Chester was the only palatinate of the Domesday period, with true viceregal dignity and authority, palatine courts, palatine baronage, palatine justiciaries, and all the apparatus of royalty on a scale less in degree, but virtually equal with the Crown itself in power. If it is here to be understood that the expression palatine earls is to mean vaguely the more powerful Norman nobility then it does not appear why "four earls" only, and which four in particular, are indicated; and generally of these statements about earls it can only be said that the assertions are surprising, and the explanatory remarks are unintelligible. On the other hand Courthope in his *Historic Peerage* recognises as earls various personages, *inter alia* this William de Warenne, at the time of, and prior to the compilation of, Domesday. Under Albemarle—where he quotes from Domesday the "Comitissa de Albamarle"—he makes some eminently sensible remarks upon these dignities, then in a state of transition, and by no means permitting of close limitations at once arbitrary and undefined, and contrary to the facts.

On the subject of Bishop Ivo's letter⁶ in the matter of the first marriage of Elizabeth of Vermandois there are one or two points worth noting. It is stated that Elizabeth was "for a long time" inhibited from marrying with the Count of Meulan, her third cousin once removed. The "long time" according to this version of the facts appears to have been three months at most. "So soon as Bishop Ivo heard" of it he inhibited his clergy from celebrating the proposed marriage, by a "letter evidently written in the beginning of the year 1096"; and the marriage was solemnized, after dispensation, before Hugh Magnus started for the Crusade in April, 1096. Taking these dates as correct it could more plausibly be maintained that the dispensation was obtained without delay, as soon as the necessity for this dispensation had been officially indicated.

A far more important misapprehension is involved in the assumptions which are read into this letter. It is advanced that because we know that this dispensation was obtained; and, as stated, because we do not know that any second dispensation for the marriage of Elizabeth with William de Warenne was also obtained; that therefore:—firstly, there was no such second dispensation, or "we should be sure to have heard" of it:—secondly, therefore these parties were lawfully married without need of dispensation:—thirdly, therefore William and Elizabeth were not within the seventh degree of consanguinity. Not one of these three assumptions is warranted, the first of them is improbable, the second is impossible. We cannot expect to know of every dispensation granted in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and we are not in the least "sure to have heard" of any one dispensation in particular. Next there is an irresistible presumption that dispensation must have been obtained for the marriage of William and Elizabeth, although we have not heard of it; because the general opinion, accepted also by Mr. Waters, is to the effect that there had been adulterous intercourse between William and Elizabeth during the lifetime of Robert her first husband. Adultery *per se* was not a dirimental impediment, but there is excellent authority for stating that it was a diriment impediment

⁶ p. 308.

in certain special cases, *e.g.* when accompanied by a promise of marriage, or by the murder of the innocent partner by either of the guilty parties, or in the case of murder arranged by both the guilty parties, even without actual adultery committed. There is an absolute inconsistency in supposing that no dispensation was required for this marriage, and at the same time supposing it to have been a valid union. The legality of Elizabeth's second marriage has never, so far as the writer is aware, been contested; and therefore we are driven to the conclusion that the parties did succeed in making out for themselves some sort of case, and so far mitigating their conduct as to obtain a dispensation for their offence, which had raised between them an impediment distinctly graver than their kinship. That evidence of any such dispensation is not now available is no argument whatever; and the third assumption that the non-existence of such evidence demonstrates absence of consanguinity between William and Elizabeth, baseless in itself, is untenable in connection with the very strong presumption that a dispensation was absolutely necessary to them on quite different grounds. That the descendants of this union adopted for their bearing the coat of Vermandois, which is consequently familiar all over England as the chequy or and azure of Warenne, may be of no particular import in either sense, but at any rate the coat is not differenced in any manner whatever, as other continental derivatives of this coat are, even among very early examples. Lastly it only remains to remark that, deprived of these assumptions, the letter of Bishop Ivo in regard to Elizabeth's first marriage is totally irrelevant in the matter of her second union.

Exception can be taken to the way in which Stapleton's suggestion that Gundrada was daughter of Matilda and of Gherbod⁷ is airily described as "disposed of," because this theory is only disposed of by accepting St. Anselm's letter as being absolutely right, and further deeming it to demonstrate Stapleton's explanation to be totally wrong. This is only accomplished by assuming a great deal more than appears by the evidence, as for example, that the letter states all that St. Anselm knew of the matter, and further that he knew all there was to know about it. It

⁷ p. 309.

must be urged on the other hand that Stapleton's magnificent industry and insight explained in this instance, as in many others, much that was highly mysterious before; and that St. Anselm's letter leaves unexplained much that greatly needs elucidation. That he was precisely and exhaustively right Mr. Stapleton himself would probably not have maintained. That his explanation is remarkably plausible and has great appearance of being very near the truth many competent authorities freely admit. If Mr. Waters intended to accept the genealogical authority of Anselm the priest rather than that of Stapleton the genealogist, that circumstance of itself would not "dispose of" Stapleton and his "audacity"; and if the advantages of contemporary evidence are to be insisted upon, then it is to be observed that St. Anselm is in disagreement also with Orderic the historian, of whom, as of Stapleton, one hesitates to "dispose" on any but the most convincing evidence.

In his concluding passages Mr. Waters criticised adversely Sir George Duckett's proposed "fosterage" relationships, and gives a very apposite quotation distinctly damaging to that highly imaginative theory. He also treats with no undeserved severity Mr. Rule's equally imaginative spiritual relationships. But when Mr. Waters says⁸ that "it is canonically impossible that a man and his wife could ever be both sponsors to the same child" he appears to be himself wrong, or at least he is in disagreement with unquestionable canonical authorities, as to the nature of the impediment arising by spiritual relationship. Leaving the case of sponsors previously married, Mr. Waters takes the case that common sponsorship, both persons sponsors in their celibacy to the same infant, are thereby inhibited, and alleges,⁹ without quoting any authority at all, that "a marriage between" [such] "sponsors was not only prohibited but invalid." The writer is greatly indebted to the kindness of a very learned canonist¹⁰ for references to definitions which show that this opinion is unfounded. Spiritual relationship was of three kinds, paternitas, compaternitas, and fraternitas. The last does not apply to the argument advanced;

⁸ p. 311.⁹ p. 311.¹⁰ The Very Rev. Canon Lalor.

compaternitas is defined in a classic treatise¹¹ to exist "inter parentes baptizati et baptizantem et patrilios," and in like manner between the parents of the confirmed and the bishop confirming; and paternitas "inter baptizantem et baptizatum et inter confirmantem et confirmatum et similiter inter patrilium baptizati vel confirmati et baptizatum vel confirmatum." It is impossible that language could be more explicit, but there is nothing whatever to indicate that there is *cognatio spiritualis inter patrilium et patrilium alterum*, and this is what is assumed in the passage criticised. It has been acutely observed by the previously mentioned canonist that the spiritual relationship, being as it were a spiritual adoption, and closely resembling the Roman law of adoption, we should not expect to find any impediment between the sponsors themselves, inasmuch as no such persons were to be found in that law; and further as the eminent canonical authors quoted do not mention in their definitions any such impediment, we may fairly assume that they did not recognise any between sponsors as such. This is unquestionably a very cogent argument, and makes it very difficult to accept the dilemma upon which Mr. Rule's theory is impaled, a circumstance which helps that theory in no degree whatever.

On the subject of Richard Guet, Mr. Waters again very severely criticises Mr. Rule, but again somewhat overstates his facts. The presumption that Richard Guet was a brother of Gundrada may be as contemptible as Mr. Waters indicates it to be, but various other writers do not agree that it is so. It is not particularly evident from what Mr. Waters advances in the matter that Richard Guet, or as he corrects it Goet, was of the family of Perche. If he had any evidence for that, it is unfortunate for the less well-informed that he did not state it. It is not proved that William de Warenne I. had any second wife, whether of the family of Perche or of any other. As to "his widow the countess" sending alms of 100s. to the monks of Ely, the assertion, and the tale of the Abbot who in his miraculous vision recognised the cries of the oppressive Earl being borne off by night in the clutches

¹¹ Sanchez, de Matrim., Lib. vij. Disp. 54. Schmalzgrueber and Benedict XIV concur in these definitions.

of the adversary, were both rejected by Dugdale with as little hesitation as Planché expressed in discarding the further allegation that not a monk of Ely would touch this 100*s.* of the money of one damned. If it is upon evidence of this thinness that Mr. Waters based his belief in a countess "not mentioned elsewhere," he cannot be thought to have had much right to scoff at Mr. Rule for supposing the Bermondsey Charters to show that Gundrada had a brother Richard Guet, which, *primâ facie*, the passage does appear to suggest. It is very possible that this Richard was not a brother of Gundrada at all, and this passage from the Bermondsey Charters relating to the gift of Cowick, may admit of an explanation which is far less superficial, but it is a digression too long for the present occasion. It is at any rate very difficult to suggest whose brother he was, independent of the curious description of him as brother of the Countess Warenne. Cases in which a man is described as brother of his sister are sufficiently rare to attract attention whenever they occur. But when we find that two men, Gherbod and Richard, both comparatively unknown, are also both more or less distinguished by the fact that a woman, presumably the same woman, was their sister; a woman as to whose parentage though much has been surmised, little is known, and as to which contemporary authorities appear to differ, and lastly as to which lofty claims are advanced, and supported by mediæval forgeries; but on the other hand as to which grave suspicions have been raised and widely entertained; then it is somewhat curious that a manifestly false legend should be accepted as a solid basis for the assertion that these two Countesses Warenne were not the same lady, quite irrespective of whether they really were so or not; and it is most surprising that this story of a dream, if it was not an invention pure and simple, should be so accepted as evidence by one claiming the attention which is due to serious and scientific genealogy.

The next point is the conjecture advanced by Mr. Waters that the expression "Stirps ducum" of Gundrada's tombstone is a reference to the ducal house of Burgundy. Notwithstanding that Mr. Waters himself calls this a conjecture, he makes the astonishing state-

ment "All that we know about Gundred points to a Burgundian connection." From this it necessarily follows that nobody knows or ever did know anything about Gundrada, for Mr. Waters has never been accused of any plagiarism in his Burgundian conception. The literal truth is that we know absolutely nothing pointing to such a connection, and further it is impossible to accept the suggestion that Gundrada was of the house of Burgundy without rejecting all that we hitherto conceived ourselves to know, or to have good reason to believe, about her, for none of these now-to-be-rejected details point in this direction. That Gundrada had a son named Reynold is little to the point unless Burgundy had a monopoly of that prænomen. If it could be shown that the house of Burgundy had a daughter, contemporary or earlier, named Gundrada, that might be an argument, though not of a kind upon which to rely over-confidently, because a Gondrede held Garinges of King Edward.¹² If Mr. Waters is correct in thinking that nothing but Gundrada's ancestral ties, supposedly Burgundian, could account for this Cluniac foundation, then it would be interesting to know why William directly, and Matilda through Gundrada, made grants to the Lewes Priory. If it was not for the sake of Gundrada, then it may have been because they also had a special predilection for the Abbey of Clugni, being likewise Burgundians, if we could but know the truth. The suggestion that Gundrada was descended from the house of Burgundy is extremely unconvincing. It is advanced confessedly as a guess, supported by no evidence, merely to account for the expression "Stirps ducum" on her tombstone. This phrase, on the other hand, has already a sufficiently probable explanation; it might mean anything, and were it not for the fact that it really is in the ordinary style of the period, it might give rise to the suspicion that its vagueness was not wholly undesigned. Elsewhere¹³ Mr. Waters refers to this description as contra-indicating Gundrada's alleged royal birth, and, not without some ambiguity, argues¹⁴ that Matilda's own epitaph recognises her descent from the Kings of France in the words

¹² Domesday Sussex, fo. 25a, col. 1,
line 2.

¹³ pp. 301, 304, 305.

¹⁴ p. 305.

“Germen regale.” But as to Matilda herself it simply says “Regi magnifico Vvillermo juncta marito.”¹⁵ The argument, however stated, lacks weight, because it overlooks the fact that the Dukes of Normandy long regarded their English kingdom as quite a minor dignity; and in any case it is not possible to argue from the words of one epitaph what the expressions on another tombstone ought to be. The two inscriptions both unquestioned, are both intelligible, and both florid in style, but neither gives much information. There can be but little doubt that Gundrada’s inscription did by intent convey the suggestion that she was the daughter of the Norman Duke William. If that was a false suggestion perhaps it was not the first prevarication consecrated to a pious memory.

Mr. Waters’s paper contains two leading points, the letter of St. Anselm; and the suspicions raised against the Lewes charters. Taking the latter first, it is highly probable that Mr. Waters is right in his criticism¹⁶ of the entry relating to Carlton in the Leiger book. His emendation consists in omitting the first “et” and reading—“Karletuna quam dedit Matildis regina mater Henrici regis [*et*] Gundredae Comitissae; et ipsa Gundredae dedit nobis.” This is extremely plausible and it is not very likely that any will dispute the justice of Mr. Waters’s criticism. His further suggestion that the so interpolated “et” may be taken to imply bad faith, or plainly that it was a deliberate alteration, made at the time of the writing of the Leiger book in the fifteenth century is also worth consideration and is probably well founded; it is certainly supported by other contemporary proceedings.

Next comes the Walton charter over which discussion has raged, and to which Mr. Waters has added a useful fact by obtaining the valuable opinion of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope¹⁷ that if the faded words “pro me et heredibus meis” did follow the word Gundredae, then there was no room for the words filiae meae inserted above the line—“in a modern hand” as Mr. Waters describes it. Stapleton’s description “in a modern hand of the fifteenth

¹⁵ Orderic, Book VII, cap. ix.

¹⁶ p. 305.

¹⁷ p. 303, note.

century" is more precise and conveys a truer impression. While on this point it must be remarked that Professor E. A. Freeman was hardly justified in stating¹⁸ on this passage—"Stapleton silently reads 'pro me et heredibus meis'"—passing over the *filiae meae* that is to say, for Stapleton did not really do so. After expressly pointing out that "In the new edition of the *Monasticon* is a copy of this charter with the words *filiae meae* after *Gonfredae* as part of the original"—Mr. Stapleton on the same page¹⁹ said:—"The charter of William the Conqueror is apparently as follows," and with Mr. Stapleton's use of the word *apparently* it is only fair to recognise that certain small parts of the text as printed by him are included in brackets, especially "pro anima Guillelmi de Uuarena et uxoris sue Gon (dra) de (pro me et heredibus meis) quandam mansionem nomine Waltonam," etc. Mr. Freeman's remark might well convey to the general reader that Stapleton had evaded a difficulty; whereas he criticised the *filiae meae*, and rejected it as an interpolation so artless as not to deceive for a moment; and gave his reading of the faded words with quite sufficient reserve. His opinion has enjoyed very general acceptance, and the charter is now recognised by all as genuine itself, but altered from its original form in this very awkwardly important point. The mere fact that in the fifteenth century, accepting as conclusive Mr. Stapleton's judgment on that point also, it was thought worth while to improve this charter shows that it was then regarded as authentic; and that its custodians then regarded Gundrada as daughter of the king, or desired so to present her. Mr. Waters, however, having discarded the "*filiae meae*" drops the charter altogether, although he acknowledged it to be "beyond all dispute authentic," without pausing to consider or explain why King William should have given this manor for the soul of the Burgundian's husband.

Finally there is the "foundation charter," the confirmation charter in fact, which Mr. Waters criticises at length, in general and in detail, and to which he contrives to give a distinctly unfavourable aspect. In brief he regards it as a fabrication, remarking that the original is not forth-

¹⁸ *Norman Conquest*, v. III, note N.

¹⁹ *Arch. Jour.*, March, 1846, p. 2.

coming, and that the earliest copy we have is a fifteenth century transcript, made for Prior Auncell in 1444.²⁰ Supposing for a moment, merely for the purposes of argument, that this confirmation charter is absolutely false, then clearly the forger believed that Gundrada was daughter of Matilda because he explicitly calls her so, and does not in actual words call her daughter of William, although he comes so near to it in one passage as to suggest the fancy that he must have recognised the necessity for stopping short of the actual assertion. But the forging of this charter would not negative Orderic's statement that Gundrada was sister of Gherbod. At the most it only shows that in the fifteenth century the belief prevailed at the Priory that Gundrada was daughter of Matilda. Also in the fifteenth century the Walton charter was amended by the interpolation of the words *filiae meae*, in order to make it appear, or to add the information, that Gundrada was also daughter of William: and in the same fifteenth century the Leiger book was probably also amended by the before-mentioned interpolation, so as to read *Gundredae* for a genitive instead of a dative. There is thus a general suggestion that all these alterations may have been the handiwork of the same resourceful genius who, having reached the conclusion that none of the records actually called Gundrada daughter of William, adopted this method of amplifying the archives in that respect.

If such an impression as this is not ill founded, then it may be deduced:—Firstly that when the records of the Priory were still complete, intact in their original form, and all available save only the first charter to the Abbey of Clugni, and when moreover these records were not the half of their present age; that even then with all these advantages those who believed Gundrada to be the daughter of the Conqueror could find nothing in all their store to justify that belief.—Secondly that if they had their doubts about her father, they had none whatever that her mother was Matilda.—Thirdly that if although

²⁰ In his Postscript Mr. Waters noticed an earlier copy of 1417, mentioned by Sir George Duckett, bt. F.S.A., in his paper *Yorkshire Archaeol. and Topog. Jour.* Vol. IX, where, it

may be observed, the learned baronet did not correct his proofs, or else prefers to call this Prior "Amiceil" more than once.

their general tradition, quite unbroken, was to that effect, then the absence of any evidence to the point in the original charters, for they must have had some genuine charters in their collection, is strongly suggestive of the explanation that the fact was not so, and that the makers of the original charters were well aware of it.

As it is not disputed that William gave Walton-Prior to St. Pancras, so it is not disputed that Matilda gave Carlton to Gundrada, nor that Gundrada gave it to the same priory. But if there is no obvious reason why William should give a manor for the soul of the Burgundian's husband still less is there any known reason why Matilda should give a manor to the Burgundian lady who was of no kinship with her. Neither of these grants is disputed by Mr. Waters, who is content simply to reject the only relationship which would amply explain them. Some counter-explanation of these gifts is, however, highly desirable. Supposing some kind of explanation to be forthcoming, there is still Orderic's statement that Gundrada was soror Gherbodi, and as Mr. Waters refuses to fritter away this soror as a foster relationship or a spiritual relationship, then it follows that Gherbod must needs be a Burgundian also. Even if we did not know perfectly well that that was not the case, we should still require, and if possible more than ever require, some sort of reason to account for the grant to Gherbod of the earldom of Chester, something to render ordinarily probable the amazing story of his elevation, and the still more amazing story of his fall. Nothing is suggested by way of possible explanation for any of these events, and in place of simple natural reasons for these grants to the Priory and to Gundrada and to Gherbod, we are left with three disconnected and totally incomprehensible freaks of favour.

Lastly, there remains St. Anselm's letter, and this, as before mentioned, has been advanced to prove that the genealogy therein indicated gives the whole and only kindred existing between William de Warenne II and the issue of King Henry I, William being son of Gundrada, and King Henry as son of Matilda being Gundrada's brother or half-brother according to one or other of the two ordinarily received opinions. Mr. Waters

read the letter in this comprehensive and exclusive sense, and he prevented any doubt that this was his understanding of the matter by saying²¹ "it is absurd to suppose that the archbishop would have judicially inhibited first cousins from marrying on the ground that they were fifth cousins." These are his words though he gives on the preceding page a tabular pedigree showing these fifth cousins to be third cousins twice removed. Superficially this *obiter dictum* may possess a specious appearance of reason, but it is nevertheless permissible and possible to question it. The circumstance that, taken in this sense, the archbishop's letter requires the rejection of all other evidence in the matter whatever did not lead Mr. Waters to entertain any doubt as to the accuracy of his views, but it is in itself a point worth a moment's consideration. That which St. Anselm wrote, St. Anselm believed, unquestionably. This probably is the sense in which Mr. Freeman said²² that St. Anselm's testimony is not to be gainsaid, for Mr. Freeman's intellect would not have allowed him to think that Anselm's moral character was a measure of Anselm's genealogical knowledge. As a matter of fact Anselm claimed no genealogical knowledge, propounded no descent, and guarded himself against any possibly erroneous statement by the words "si ita propinqui sunt." To say that this letter "proves beyond doubt that Gundred was not the daughter of Queen Matilda" is to overstate the case, and to defy the first principles of logic. All it does prove is that Anselm did believe William de Warenne II and King Henry's natural daughter to be respectively fifth and seventh in descent from a common ancestor, and therefore related on the one part in the fourth, and on the other part in the sixth, degree. If Anselm believed that to be the case then the proposed marriage would be consanguineous, and within the limits forbidden by the Canon Law, and it was a perfectly justifiable ground of inhibition, even if he had also confidently believed them to be first cousins. It may be assumed for the moment that the kinship by Gundrada did exist, and that Anselm was not ignorant of it. If it existed it is not easy to see how he can have been ignor-

²¹ p. 304.

²² *Academy*, February 1st, 1879.

ant of it, although a very few years later William of Malmesbury could make nothing of the circumstances and difficulties of Matilda's marriage, and it is not impossible that Anselm may have been equally without information on the matter. The Norman chroniclers William of Poitiers and William of Jumièges had done their best to obscure the facts, and mystify the affair, and considerable success had attended their efforts. Assuming however that Anselm knew the parties to be in fact first cousins, or first cousins of the half blood, then it must be observed that he was in this letter taking judicial ground; and inhibiting the marriage on a kinship which, if disputed, he might be under the necessity of proving. The more remote kinship would serve his purpose quite well. If the nearer kinship existed, but only surrounded by circumstances of such doubtfulness as to render possible or plausible a direct denial, that would not be a suitable ground on which to base his objections, and even if untrue, it is quite sufficiently probable that he might have had great difficulty in demonstrating the falsity of the denial.

This suggestion is not advanced as *the* reason why St. Anselm took his objections on the kindred he stated, but simply by way of showing that he may have had good reasons, and in opposition to the gratuitous statement that it is absurd to suppose that he should select the more remote degree, or that his action was absurd if some other kindred, nearer in degree, was co-existent. We cannot doubt that St. Anselm had his reasons for adopting his grounds of objection, and we cannot doubt that these were valid reasons; whatever they may have been his letter gives no clue to them. It stands as a piece of evidence, for the recognition of which we are indebted to Mr. Waters. On the face of it there is a disagreement between this and other good evidence, but the conception that either witness falsifies the other is utterly fallacious, and can only be attained by a syllogism such as this: Anselm asserts the parties are remote cousins—remote cousins are not near cousins—therefore Anselm asserts the parties are not near cousins. But with such a minor any conclusion might be reached. Having reached this conclusion, in his Postscript Mr. Waters raises the in-

tension to the statement²³ "We have on the one side the judicial declaration of Archbishop Anselm that Gundrada was *not* the king's daughter." The italics are *his own*, and the statement is a remarkable illustration of the extent to which we are liable to unconscious exaggeration, for in sober truth we have nothing whatever of the kind, whether she was so or not.

Apparent discrepancies between individually credible statements must be reconciled, if research can reconcile them. They can only be held to be inconsistent when they are mutually contradictory, and it is in the highest degree illogical to infer, because on one side or the other some fact is not asserted, that therefore it is denied. To presume such a denial is to strain unwarrantably the language of the record, valuable so far as it goes, but beyond that point only subject of speculation. To advance still further, and propound a theory, novel *ab initio*, to fit the supposed necessities of the presumed denial, is to pursue a path so thickly set with pitfalls as to render disaster not probable but certain.

²³ *Arch. Jour.* XLIII, p. 309.

A PERSIAN TALISMAN.

Exhibited by Chancellor FERGUSON, April 5th, 1899.

I have the honour to exhibit a circular plate or disc of thin brass, which was brought from Persia to Windermere by a lady, who did not know what the object was. She, therefore, sent it to a bazaar to be sold for a charity. It was purchased by a curate, who sent it to me, by way of a Christmas card, with a note that it seemed to have upon it the signs of the Zodiac in some irregular order.

The disc is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. Its centre is occupied by a circle of $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter containing a rude human face, representing the sun. Ranged round the central sun, in a circle or ring, are twelve cartouches, each containing a short inscription in either Persian or Arabic, the letters of the alphabet in those two languages being the same. To this ring of cartouches I shall return: outside of it comes a ring of twelve circles or roundels each touching its two next neighbours, and each containing a figure, human or bestial. In the spandrils, or triangular gores, between the roundels are markings resembling the characters of the inscriptions in the ring of cartouches.

Not being myself either a Persian or an Arabic scholar, I sent the disc to our member Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A. He found the inscriptions were in Persian, and not in Arabic; this was what one might expect from the known history of the disc, and he conjectured that it was a talisman of one sort or another. He also made out the figures in the roundels to be the signs of the Zodiac, thus:

“Beginning under the face of the sun and reading from right to left:

1. Cancer.
2. Taurus.
3. Virgo.
4. Libra.
5. Gemini.

6. Leo.
7. Aquarius or Sagittarius??
8. Scorpio.
9. Aries.
10. Pisces.
11. Capricornus, with a fish tail?¹
12. Capricornus?

If No. 12 had been an archer it would have filled in well; but there seems one mountain goat too many."

It will be observed that the signs are not arranged in the usual order, as recorded in the well-known memorial hexameters:—

Sunt Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo,
Libraque, Scorpius, Arcitenens, Caper, Amphora, Pisces.²

Now every one of these twelve signs was supposed to have an influence or power over certain parts of the human body. Thus Chaucer tells us "euerich of thise 12 Signes hath respecte to a certein parcelle of the body of a man and hath it in gouernance; as aries hath thin heued, & taurus thy nekke & thy throte gemyni thyn armholes & thin arnes, & so forth: as shal be shewed more pleyn in the 5 partie of this tretis."³

Unluckily, Chaucer, for some reason or other, never wrote the fifth part of his treatise on the Astrolabe, from which the above is taken.⁴ But a MS. copy of the treatise in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, contains a diagram which shows the influence of the Zodiacal signs upon parts of the human body.⁵ This diagram

¹ Capricornus is frequently represented with a fish tail, symbolising the sun rising out of the ocean.

² The same twelve signs in the same order as in the hexameters, are in use in Persia under the following names:—

Verak (the Lamb).
Tora (the Bull).
Do-pat kar (the Two Figures).
Kalakang (the Crab).
Sèr (the Lion).
Khusak (the Virgin).
Tarâzuk (the Balance).
Gazdum (the Scorpion).
Nma-p (the Sagittary).
Vahic (the Sea-goat).
Dut (the Water-pot).
Mah k (the Fish).

The Arabs banished human figures from the signs, replacing—

Gemini, } by { the two Peacocks,
Virgo, and } the Wheatsheaf, and
Aquarius } the Mule.

We are indebted for this information to a paper by Robert Brown, jun., F.S.A., "On a German Astrological Manuscript, and on the Origin of the Signs of the Zodiac," *Archæologia*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 336-360.

³ From "A Treatise on the Astrolabe," by Geoffrey Chaucer, edited by W. W. Skeat for the Early English Text Society.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Plate VII, Fig. 19, and p. lxix.

shows that Aries takes the head, and that the order of the Zodiacal Signs is gone regularly through, descending the human body, and ending with Aquarius for the legs below the knee, and Pisces for the feet.

Thus much at present for the ring of roundels with Zodiacal Signs.

With regard to the inscriptions in the ring of cartouches, I have had much difficulty in obtaining a construe. Mr. Cowper submitted the disc in Edinburgh to a distinguished Persian scholar, long resident in the country. He conjectured each cartouche contained one of the names of God, but was unable to read them, as the letters were either of an archaic character, or else engraved by an illiterate person. I next sent the disc to a friend of mine in London, a retired Indian official, who took it to the library of the India Office, with no better results. The disc was then sent to Mr. E. G. Browne, of Pembroke College, University Reader in Persian at Cambridge, who sent the following account of it.

PEMBROKE COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE.

Dear Sir,

May 5, 1898.

I must apologise very much for not having sooner replied to your letter of 26th April, but I could not satisfy myself as to the use for which the disc was intended, and kept it back in the hopes of obtaining some light on this. Professor Rieu (formerly keeper of the Oriental MSS. in the British Museum, now Professor of Arabic here), who has a large experience in such things, is of opinion that it is of the nature of a charm or talisman, and he is probably right.

The twelve figures in circles which run round the circumference, are, I think, intended to represent the twelve signs of the Zodiac. Some of them, *e.g.*, the Fish (حوت), the Scorpion, the Scales (میزان), the Goat, etc., are pretty clear, while some of the animals are somewhat ambiguous. The small characters lying above and below the points of contact of the circles are too vague in their isolation for me to be able to identify them, but the twelve groups of characters in the inner circle, round the rudely-

drawn face in the middle are various attributes of God, with the يا ("O") of the vocative prefixed, *e.g.*:—

يا سلطان, *Yā Sultān!* ("O King!")

يا مَنَّان, *Yā Mannān!* ("O Beneficent One!")

يا سُبْحَانَ, *Yā Subhān!* ("O Laudable One!")

I have not made a sufficiently careful study of talismans and charms to enable me to say more than this about the disc. If I had been in London, or had been able to keep the disc by me till some of my Persian friends came to see me, I might have consulted them as to its nature. If the owner is very desirous to know more of its uses and properties, he might, if in London, call at the Persian Legation (30, Ennismore Gardens, South Kensington), and ask for *Mirzā Husseyn Kuli Khān*, one of the Secretaries, who is a very old friend of mine, and knows both Persian and English very well, and who would, I am sure, if this letter was sent in to explain the matter, look at the disc and throw any light he could on it.

Yours very sincerely,

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

Accordingly I called at the Persian Legation and saw *Mirzā Husseyn Kuli Khān*, who was most courteous and obliging. He and another gentleman, also a Persian, confirmed Mr. Browne's statement that the inscriptions in the cartouches are the names of God.

A friend has supplied the following list and translation.

Yā Sultān	O! King!
„ Hannān	„ compassionate
„ Mannān	„ beneficent
„ Daiyān	„ judge
„ Rahmān	„ merciful
„ Subhān	„ glorious
„ Hannān	
„ Mannān	
„ Daiyān	
„ Rahmān	
„ Subhān	
„ Ghufrān	„ pardoner. ¹

¹ The letters composing each name are not engraved in the order they would be written in a manuscript, or printed in a book, but are dotted about the cartouches in any order.

Yā Sultān is opposite the Bull, and the list just given proceeds from left to right. Yā Sultān occurs once, as does Yā Ghufrān; the others are repeated twice, but the reading Yā Rahmān under the Fish is disputed.

No one has yet been able to read the letters, if letters they are, in the spandrils above and below the points of contact of the circles; one Persian scholar declines to admit them to be anything else but ornament. I, however, do not see much that is ornamental about them, but I am not a Persian scholar. If they are letters, they probably would explain the connection between the ring of cartouches, and the ring of roundels.

Mirzā Husseyn Kūli Khān and his friend recognised the disc as a talisman used by the poorer classes to avert disease, but how used, they did not seem to know. I would suggest that probably a person desirous of averting an attack of, say, gout in the foot, would consult the talisman and then address his prayers to God by the name opposite the Sign, Pisces, which has influence over the feet.

NOTES ON A DOOR LOCK.

By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A., Chancellor of the Diocese of Carlisle.

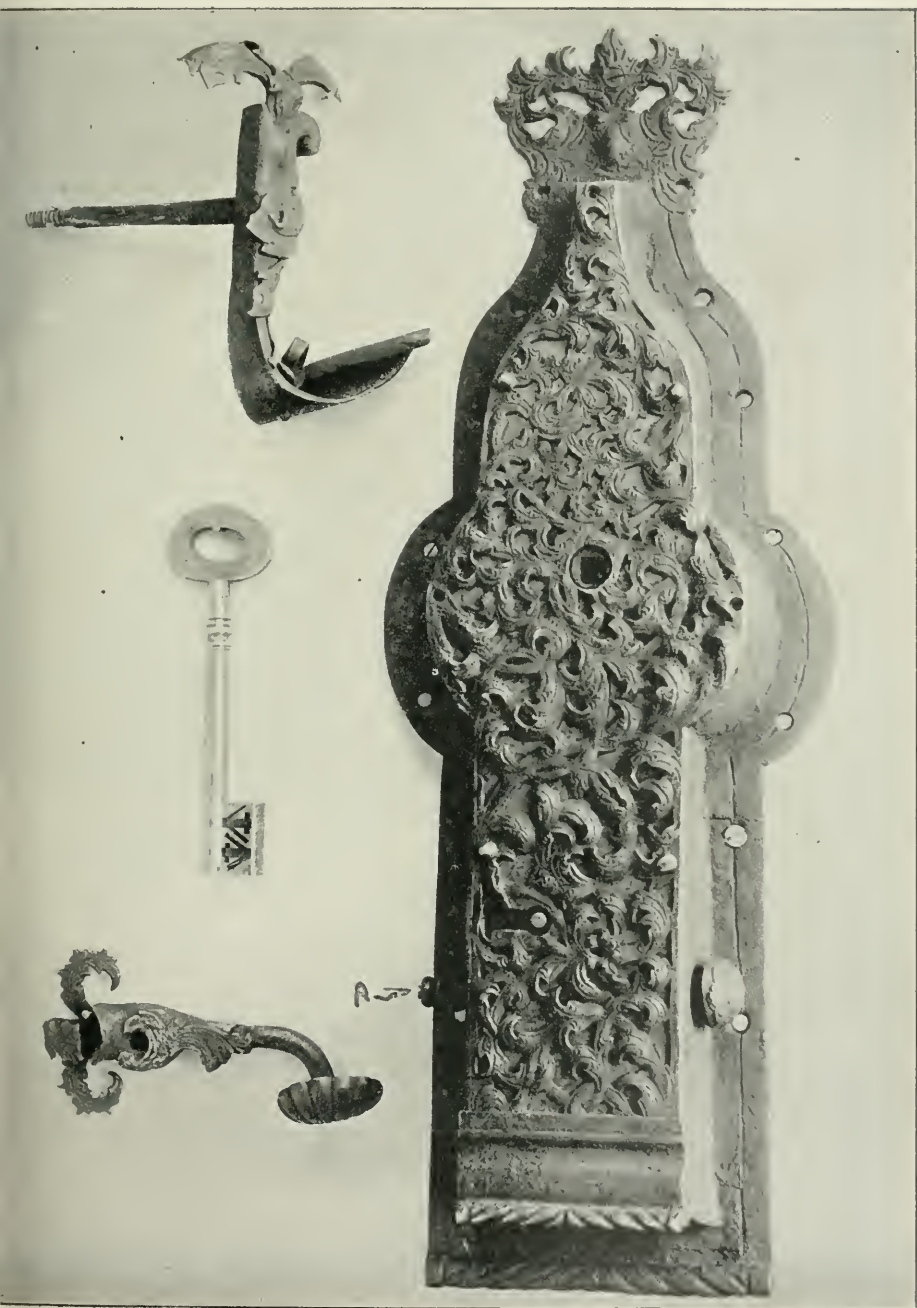
I have the honour to exhibit two photographs (No. 1 front and No. 2 back) of a large door lock, which was presented to the Museum in Tullie House, Carlisle, by our late member, Mr. Robert Ferguson, F.S.A. No history is known of this lock. Mr. Ferguson purchased it from a dealer for the purpose of adding it to the curious collection of locks and keys in the Museum—a collection in which he took much interest.

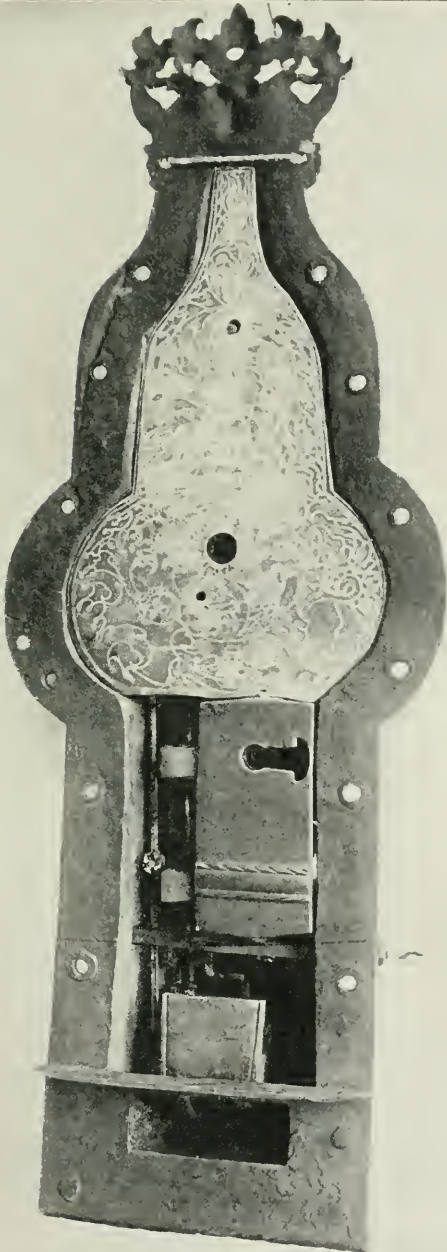
The lock is about 2 feet 1 inch in length, and in breadth is 7 inches at the fore end, or end nearest the door post on which it falls to. The rim or flange of the lock is provided with fifteen bolt-holes for the purpose of fastening it to a door.¹

Classified according to its construction, this is a warded lock; classified according to the purpose to which it is to be applied it is a spring draw-back lock—that is, a lock whose bolts, when the door is closed, to which the lock is fixed, automatically spring to and fasten the door, requiring to be drawn back by a handle or key before the door can be opened. The lock under consideration has three bolts, and the box or case of the lock is prolonged so as completely to cover the ends of the bolts, which shoot into a staple on the door-post on which the door falls to; thus, when the door is closed, the box of the lock covers the works, the bolts, and the staple, so that pressure cannot be brought to bear on the ends of the bolts in order to force the lock open, which otherwise would be quite possible; in fact, now that the springs are rather weak from age, I can force the bolts back with my thumb. I have said that this lock is,

¹ In the photograph of the front of the lock, two or three of these holes are occupied by modern screw-heads, which were used to hold the lock in

position before the camera. A string does that work in the photograph of the back.







as regards its construction, a warded lock. A warded lock is one in which there are wards, certain contrivances or barriers for preventing the passage of the key, unless its web or bitt has clefts cut in it to fit the wards. The wards of a lock, and consequently the clefts of the bitt of its key, are frequently very complicated. The wards, or wheels, in this lock are fairly so, as you may see from the photograph of the key (Photograph No. 1).¹ As is generally the case, the clefts in the lower half of the bitt of this key are exactly the same as those in the upper half, only reversed, that is, the other way up. Such keys generally have solid stems, and can open a lock from either side, the upper half of the bitt being employed to open the lock from the one side, and the lower half from the other side. A key with a pipe or barrel, fitting on a pin or pipe-shaft, can only open a lock on one side. To that rule this key is an exception: it has a pipe or barrel, fitting on a pin, and yet can open this lock from either side. On looking at the photographs of the locks, a key-hole is seen on both the front and the back of the lock. But these key-holes are not opposite to one another—they do not run through the lock; there is no key-hole that the curious can clap ear or eye against. The fact is that this lock contains duplicate sets of works or wards, one set in advance of the other about 2 inches. The set nearest to the fore-end of the lock has a key-hole to the front of the lock; the set nearest to the butt has a key-hole to the back of the lock.² There is a handle on each side of the lock, and a catch or pin with a large head drops vertically through the box of the lock, between the front key-hole and the fore end of the lock. This catch under certain circumstances drops and fastens back the top and bottom bolts of the three. When not so engaged its head stands up nearly a quarter of an inch above the upper side

¹ This key, as is apparent at a glance, is not coeval with the lock; as a matter of fact, it was made a few weeks ago, since the lock came into the possession of the Museum. But it is an honest key, accurately fitting and traversing the wards of the lock, and not evading them, as a master key, or a picklock does. It cost 16s. and is a clever piece of smith's work.

² The key-hole to the front has a pin to receive the pipe of the key; the one to the back has not. I see no reason for the difference. In neither key-hole can the key be turned round the whole circle—it can only be turned a little past the half-circle, and must be turned backwards before it can be withdrawn.

of the box of the lock.¹ All the three bolts are then free to act, and if the door be shut to, they shoot under the staple on the door-post placed for their reception, and the door is then locked and cannot be opened without the key.

To open the door from the *outside*, two operations are necessary: *firstly*, to insert the key and turn it as far as it will go—it draws back the top and bottom bolts—the catch then drops automatically, and these two bolts are fastened back; *secondly*, to draw back the middle bolt by aid of the handle outside of the door; the door can then be pulled open. If the catch be not raised, the lock becomes a simple one-bolt draw-back lock, opened from either side by depressing a handle, without using the key at all. The worn condition of the end of the middle bolt compared with the ends of the other two shows that the lock was generally used in this way, and for this purpose it has a handle on each side.

To open the door from the *inside* requires only one operation, viz., to insert the key, and turn it as far as it will go—it draws all three of the bolts—the catch or pin fall drops and fastens back the top and bottom bolts, and the door can be pushed open. The lock has also become a simple one-bolt draw-back lock as before. It should be noticed that the catch or pin is an excellent tell-tale as to whether the door is locked or not: when the head of the catch sits down on the side of the box of the lock, the door can be opened by either of the handles; when the head is a little way above the side, the door is locked and the key is required.

The front of the box of the lock is covered by wrought iron scroll work representing conventional foliage; it is backed by a thin sheet of yellow metal, which shows through the interstices of the scroll work. The back of the box is partially covered by a thin sheet of white metal. This has lightly engraved upon it the figure of a coarse-featured woman amid scrolls of foliage. One wonders why ornament is wasted here, where it must be concealed when the lock is fastened to a door.

¹ Its head and tail are seen in this position in the photograph of the front of the lock, No. 1. The photograph of

the back, No. 2, shows part of the works of the lock including this bolt.

This lock is remarkable as an example of the blacksmith's art, but not of the locksmith's craft. Admirable as it may be as a specimen of iron work, it is contemptible as a lock: it would be easy to make a skeleton key or a picklock that would evade the wards and act upon the bolts.

Various conjectures have been made about its use. A prison lock was an obvious suggestion, and the independent key-holes, one on either side, somewhat favoured the idea, for the locks of the great prisons of Paris are said to have required two men to open them, the chief turnkey on one side and the sergeant of the guard on the other, each with his key. But that idea was knocked on the head, when it was found that one and the same key, applied to either side, would unlock the door. Nor is it likely to be the lock of a treasure chamber; the wearing away of the end of the middle bolt shows that this lock was generally used as a spring lock, opened by its handles without the intervention of a key. Even when locked it gives no great degree of security from the operations of a thief.

I am inclined to think that this lock has been used on the door of the strong room in a bank, or other office, where were kept books, papers, etc., to which several persons had to have access during office hours. For their accommodation the catch or pin would be allowed to fall and would be kept in that position during those hours, so that the door could be opened from either side by depressing the handle. When work ceased, the door would be locked by simply pushing up the catch, but it could not be opened again until the custodian of the key—probably the senior partner or the manager—had produced it. It may be asked why should the door of a strong room be made capable of unlocking from the inside. A short story will answer that question. A friend of mine, whose strong room door had a spring lock, went inside it—the key in his pocket. Some mischievous nephews slammed the door to. It took the smiths twelve hours to open that door, and an angry man came out. He banished those nephews, and left his fine estates to a distant relative in India.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 5th, 1899.

EMANUEL GREEN, Honorary Director, in the Chair.

Chancellor FERGUSON exhibited a Persian talisman of which he gave a description. Printed p. 174.

Mr. J. L. ANDRÉ read a paper "On the Ritualistic Ecclesiology of North-east Somerset." Printed p. 144.

Mr. J. P. HARRISON read a paper "On the Influence of Eastern Art on Western Architecture in the Eleventh Century." So little is known of the state of architecture in France and England in the first half of the eleventh century, that it seemed well to give some of the information bearing on the subject which has lately been gathered from the works of Baron de Caumont and M. Viollet le Duc. The chief information from these authorities is the influence exerted in the centre of France by a colony of Greek merchants who established an emporium at Limoges, whence Eastern art and architectural ornament were diffused along trade routes in different directions early in the eleventh century, besides the introduction of cupolas and vaulting in Aquitaine. A second important improvement in architecture—in this case in Normandy, at Rouen and Bernay in the time of Duke Richard II—appears to be due to visits from Syrian and Armenian bishops and monks at about the same date. Symeon, the abbot of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, in particular spent two years at Rouen, and built a church there for a Norman nobleman. M. Ruprich-Robert describes the architecture at Bernay as entirely different from the Norman work at Caen, evidently by a foreign artist. The date of the church is pronounced by M. Robert to be before 1050. Another point of considerable importance on which he throws light is the introduction into Western Romanesque of a feature derived from Syrian art. It is the change of a Latin plan of church for an Eastern arrangement of pillars, 2 and 2, of different sizes at St. Etienne at Caen by Lanfranc in 1064, with a view of introducing vaulting. Mr. HARRISON pointed out that alternate pillars and wall shafts like those at Caen exist in Harold's church at Waltham believed to have been built at nearly the same time; and that the chevron ornament on the nave arches was not a Norman invention.

May 3rd, 1899.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, M.P., President, in the Chair.

Chancellor FERGUSON exhibited photographs of a large door lock in the Tullie House Museum, Carlisle. Printed p. 179.

Dr. J. WICKHAM LEGG read a paper "On the account in English of the anointing of the first King of Prussia in 1701." Printed p. 123.

The Rev. W. G. CLARK MAXWELL read a paper "On the Roman Towns in the Valley of the Bœtis," being a record of six months' investigation of the Roman sites, etc., on the banks of the Guadalquivir between Cordova and Seville. After contrasting the thickly populated condition of the country in Roman times, as evidenced by the abundant traces of occupation, with its present scanty population, he described his method of investigation, which was to walk along the river bank, noting and marking on a map those places which presented evidences (such as bricks, etc., and "tierra de villar") of Roman settlement; remains of more extensive building, perhaps representing the *latifundia* of classical times; and such large collections of fragments of amphoræ or kilns as to suggest the site of a potter's workshop. He then gave a more particular account of the tentative excavations carried on at Penæ Flor, Penæ de la Sal, and Alcolea, the modern representatives of Celti, Arva, and Canana. A certain number of new inscriptions were discovered, while others were verified. A number of amphora handles bearing stamps were picked up, many of the stamps being the same as occur in other places, notably among the rubbish of which Monte Testaccio in Rome is composed. Mr. Clark Maxwell was of opinion that these were mostly made in Bœtica to contain the produce of that region when exported to Rome. A number of graves built of bricks and tiles were discovered, which, from their situation, orientation, and absence of objects deposited with the bodies, might be referred to the Christian period. At Alcalá del Rio, the Roman walls of concrete partly remain, as well as the ruined fragments of quays and river walls, which bear evidence to the forgotten time when Bœtis was a highway of commerce.

The Rev. E. S. Dewick, Mr. F. Spurrell, and Mr. H. Jones took part in the discussion.

June 7th, 1899.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, M.P., President, in the Chair.

Chancellor FERGUSON, F.S.A., read a paper on "Consistory Courts and Consistory Places." Printed p. 85.

Mr. ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A., contributed a long paper on Samuel Daniel the poet, and Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery, his pupil and patroness. After a rapid sketch of the general conditions under which literature was practised in England from Elizabethan times to the present day, an account was given of Daniel's works, and particularly his masques. It was indicated that he probably became tutor to Anne Clifford in 1596, when she was in her seventh year, and that he supervised her education until her marriage in 1609. Daniel's first introduction to the Court was in 1603 at Burley-on-the-Hill, when he presented a "panegyric congratulatory" to the King, then on his progress to take possession of the throne; and it was shown that Anne Clifford's first appearance at Court was during the last illness of Queen Elizabeth, and that she first saw Anne of Denmark at Dingley, near Leicester, whither she and her mother and relatives had gone to greet the Queen on her journey from Holyrood to Windsor a few

months later. The retirement of the poet when at the height of his fame and at the early age of 47 from the Court and from the society of his numerous distinguished noble and literary friends in London seemingly at the end of 1610, when he took to a pastoral life in the remote Somerset village of Beckington, was commented on. Mr. Hartshorne gave an account of the existing remains of the house which he has identified on the small estate still called Cliffords Farm where Daniel died in 1619, and described the monument in Beckington Church set up by the Countess. Sketches of the house and monument and a rubbing of the inscription were exhibited. With regard to Lady Pembroke, reference was made to her struggle for years to regain the rights of which her father's unjust will had deprived her, and also to the noble uses to which she put her great fortune when at last it fell to her in 1643, restoring the ruined castles of her inheritance, rebuilding churches, and exercising bountiful hospitality until 1675, when she died in her eighty-seventh year.

Judge Baylis, Dr. Wickham Legg, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, and Mr. Em. Green took part in the discussion on these papers.

A vote of congratulation was passed to the President on his appointment as a Trustee of the British Museum.



BIB. INT. TEMPLI



MONUMENT OF SAMUEL DANIEL IN BECKINGTON CHURCH.



SAMUEL DANIEL AND ANNE CLIFFORD, COUNTESS OF
PEMBROKE, DORSET, AND MONTGOMERY.

By ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A.

Nothing is more honourable in the history of English literature during the Elizabethan age, and up to the end of the reign of George I, than the protection which was given, and the position which was accorded, under varying conditions, to men of genius, and the friendships which they gained. Thus, to take a few notable examples, Shakespeare—who needed, indeed, no patron or protector for his deathless works—found a friend in the young Earl of Southampton; Spenser was the associate of Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir Fulke Greville; Ben Jonson was befriended by the King, by Lord Bacon, by the learned Selden, and by Camden, who sent him to Westminster; and Samuel Daniel was taken in hand by the powerful families of Clifford, Russell, and Pembroke. Another poet, and Westminster boy, scion of a noble house—the saintly George Herbert—sought neither patron nor notice during his brief and zealous life. Cowley, again a Westminster boy, was private secretary to Henrietta Maria, and Milton served as Latin secretary to Cromwell. Dryden—“Glorious John”—the great English poet *par excellence*, yet another old Westminster, lived for forty years among the first men of the age. Such were some of the spontaneous tributes to genius in Elizabethan times and in the seventeenth century.

In the next period “the great” Mr. Congreve was a veritable pluralist in Government places. Steele was knighted, made a captain of horse, a member of Parliament, and a commissioner of stamps; Prior and Gay became secretaries of embassies; and Addison Secretary of State.

But these high rewards were artificial and venial though grateful encouragements of literature, and not for its own sake. They were the evidences of a system of political tactics which passed away soon after the death of Queen

Anne. For political reasons again, namely the withdrawal by Walpole of ministerial support from men of literary genius, the poets of the early Georgian era—with some brilliant exceptions, such as Pope, who had survived, with his aquiline acumen, from the older generation, and was socially independent of party, and by nature averse to open patronage—fell upon bad times. Their vices were abundant, inherited from the poets of the Restoration, but with so much of added grossness that the very name of “poet” became a term of reproach and “Grub Street hacks” a synonym for an unbridled, irregular, and servile band, turning night into day after any good luck, or living from hand to mouth on the pitiful doles of avaricious booksellers, with the occasional God-send of five guineas for a fulsome dedication. “Toil, envy, want, the patron, and the jail” wrote Dr. Johnson, in bitter remembrance of passage through deep suffering, and such was then the meed of many an unhappy, disorderly, and gifted man who, like the great moralist, could “bear privations with fortitude” but could not “taste pleasure with moderation.” Their sad lot may be generally contrasted with the fortune of the poets of the illustrious Elizabethan era.

With the middle of the eighteenth century came the blessed change, when the genuine patronage of a discerning and grateful public succeeded the days of starvation, the fitful and degrading help of the patron, and the grinding of the “Curlls” and the “Osbornes” of the past. The age of intelligence had arrived; the distressful period, often vaguely classified as one of “the good old times,” vanished away, and the increase in the value of literary labour, which came about nearly a century and a half ago, rapidly induced a self-respecting feeling among authors; and the high social position which was then regained has, we know, been brilliantly upheld, and with extraordinary and increasing popular support up to the present day.

In a special notice of an Elizabethan poet, his works, his patrons, and his friends, it has been thought desirable first to set down, in as few words as possible, some of the general conditions under which this branch of literature has been practised in England during three centuries and

a half, showing it to have been successively influenced or controlled, from the middle of the sixteenth century to the present day, by the action of the court, the government, the patron, the booksellers, and the public.

In this critical age the absorbing interest of the history of English literature, and particularly that of the Elizabethan period, has been set forth by a multitude of ardent students, and with an insight, appreciation, and justice which would have astonished and delighted the ancient authors, and that might stand, if such pattern were needed, as a model to the entire literary world. Daniel, indeed, looked forward—as surely all poets with a touch of the divine afflatus rightly may—to an earthly immortality through the power of his song, as in *Musophilus* :—

And give our labours yet this poor delight,
That when our days do end, they are not done ;
And though we die we shall not perish quite,
But live two lives where others have but one.

and :—

O blessed letters ! that combine in one
All ages past, and make one live with all.
By you we do confer with who are gone,
And the dead-living into council call :
By you th' unborn shall have communion
Of what we feel, and what doth us befall.
Soul of the world Knowledge, without thee,
What hath the Earth that truly glorious is ?
Why should our pride make such a stir to be,
To be forgot ? What good is like to this,
To do worthy the writing, and to write
Worthy the reading, and the world's delight ?

His pure and modern diction, so different from the ancient style of his contemporary and friend, Spenser, is to be noticed.

In touching now upon the career and works of “the well-linguaged Daniel,” we shall show that the esteem in which he was held by his learned contemporaries justified him in these aspirations, and that modern critics and biographers have fully endorsed the high opinion which was formed during his lifetime of the endowments of his mind by his compeers of the spacious times of Elizabeth. His famous pupil and patron, Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, must have gathered from his teaching, quite

early in her long and eventful life, much that contributed to the development of her excellent judgment and intrepid spirit. She was, indeed, a unique and striking personality, which only England, and those times, could have produced, and who would have adorned any age. We shall duly see, and without surprise, some of the reasons why her name still sounds stirring, two centuries and a quarter after her death, throughout the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland.

Samuel Daniel is said to have been born near Taunton in 1562.¹ He is reported to have been the son of a music-master, of whom, however, Dr. Burney makes no mention. He was entered of Magdalen Hall, now Hertford College, in 1581, being described as "pleb"; he remained three years, but took no degree. On quitting Oxford in his twenty-first year, he appears to have at once devoted himself to the study of poetry and philosophy, particularly the works of Italian authors, which afterwards strongly influenced his style. He is thought to have gone to France in the embassy of Lord Stafford in 1586, and it was, doubtless, his ardour in literary pursuits which took him to Italy and procured him the friendship of John Florio, the erudite author of *A Worlde of Wordes*, first published in 1598, and who is spoken of as his brother-in-law.

Daniel's first production, at the age of 23, was a translation of Paulus Jovius's *Discourse of Rare Inventions*, in 1585, and his first known volume of poetry appeared in 1592. This contains the series of fifty-seven *Sonnets to Delia*, which have an even and limpid flow, and were often reprinted during his life. In the same year he produced the romance called *The Complaint of Rosamund*, and the tragedy of *Cleopatra* two years later, a severe classical study. The first four books of *The History of the Civil War* appeared in 1595, in octave stanzas, established by Boccaccio as the Italian measure for narrative poetry. This is a long recitation of dry events, in excellent diction, but the subject is ill suited for poetic treatment.

¹ He has had several biographers—Johnson, Chalmers, Maunders (*Biographical Treasury*), Morley (*First Sketch of English Literature*), Gosse

(*Encyclopædia Britannica*) &c., the latest notice being by Mr. Sidney Lee in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Now a difficulty is generally acknowledged in the bibliography of Daniel's works. The probability seems to be that in the last-named year, or in the next, 1596, when the Lady Anne Clifford was in her seventh year, that Daniel became her tutor.¹ In 1599 he brought out a volume of poetical essays which included, besides *The Civil War*, extended to five books, *Musophilus*, a general defence of learning, dedicated to his friend, Sir Fulke Greville, and a *Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius*, presented to Margaret, Countess of Cumberland. These works placed the poet at the height of his fame, and they stand as purple pieces among the somewhat dull grey of his historical narrative. In 1601 appeared *Epistles to Great Personages*, and in 1602 a sixth book of *The Civil War*. It was seemingly at this time, namely in the last year of Elizabeth, that Daniel was first particularly noticed by the court, and in consequence, it is stated, of the action of Florio. If a reason for this advance need be sought for it would rather appear that the interest of the Cliffords, the Russells, and the Sidneys, and, most of all, the poet's well acknowledged talents, then justly ensured his recognition in the highest places.

Queen Elizabeth died at 2 A.M., March 24th, 1603, and was buried in the Abbey April 28th. Among the multitude of poetic effusions which deplored her loss, *England's Mourning Garment*, and *Sorrowes Joy*, a tribute from members of the University of Cambridge, are noteworthy. In the former, a production of Henry Chettle, a playwright of some repute, several poets, including Daniel, Chapman, Drayton, and Shakespeare, are rebuked for their silence.

The fateful and officious ride of Sir Robert Carey to the north, and the delivery of "the blue ring" and the news of his accession to King James at Holyrood, and the subsequent express from the English "Princes, Peeres, and privie Counsellors of Estate," soon set the monarch on his journey southward, leaving, for sound political reasons, the heir, Prince Henry, in Stirling Castle, under the care of the Earl of Mar, much to the chagrin of his

¹ Mr. Sidney Lee considers that it was four years later. In having the courage to differ from so high an authority, the writer has been influenced

by Anne Clifford's remarks in her *Diary* concerning her education and by the seeming hiatus in Daniel's published works at this time.

capricious Queen. A most eventful progress, with extraordinary display of hospitality, brought the King from Edinburgh to Berwick, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Durham, York,¹ Newark, and Belvoir, to Burley-Harrington, or Burley-on-the-Hill, which was reached on Saturday, April 16th, 1603, the journey having been signalised by the dubbing of a great number of knights.

An untoward and painful incident happened at Newark. A cut-purse, in the garb of a ruffling gallant of the court, having been caught in the exercise of his avocation, was ordered by King James, in the heat of the moment, to be hung out of hand. This Oriental procedure, this sudden conjunction of northern Jedburgh Justice and mediæval Lidford Law, was much commented upon to the King's dispraise. For it implied the arbitrary seizure of justice, and men said that if one should be hung without trial why shall not another be haled to prison on no offence, or tried before he had offended!

At Burley, a large and ancient house of many periods, then the property of Sir John Harrington, Daniel appeared with a long *Panegyric Congratulatory* "delivered" to the King, it must be supposed in MS. only, for the monarch had hunted, according to his custom, all the way from the Earl of Rutland's at Belvoir, and after dining at Burley proceeded to "Burleigh House near Stamford town," hunting bagged hares as far as that place. Entertainment so open and profuse that one is tempted to think that the true practice of this particular English virtue is now greatly moderated, greeted the King here, at Hinchinbroke, Theobalds and the Charter House, the teeming progress ending at the Tower of London on May 11th. The royal sportsman, in his most awkward costume for such efforts, hunted a poor tame deer—the "traine" subtly made to suit the regal pace—with hounds in full cry from Stamford Hill to London.

At Burley Daniel had no doubt attached himself to the King's ever increasing retinue, and when the sovereign went on his journey towards the north to meet Anne of

¹ "As the king came out of Scotland, when he lay at York, there was a strife between my father and my Lord Burleigh, who was then President, who should carry the sword; but it was ad-

judged on my father's side because it was his office by inheritance, and so is lineally descended on me."—*Diary of Anne Clifford*.

Denmark, who with her children started from Scotland on June 20th, it is probable that Daniel formed one of the party of the Cliffords, their relations, and friends, in number about 300, who went on their own account from London to greet the new Queen. It may here be mentioned that the only ladies of Queen Elizabeth's bed-chamber whom Anne of Denmark would appoint to her service were the Countess of Harrington and the Dowager of Bedford, the latter aunt of Anne Clifford. Lucy, Countess of Bedford, and daughter of Lady Harrington, was appointed to the privy chamber.

It was at Dingley near Leicester, at Sir Thomas Griffin's, that the only child and heiress of George, Earl of Cumberland, first met the Queen who proved so faithful a friend to her. The royal parties joined at Sir George Fermor's at Easton Neston, Northamptonshire, June 27th, "where there were an infinite company of Lords and Ladies and other, that the country could scarce lodge them," says the *Diary of Anne Clifford*. In running only rapidly through the moving events of this particular time, and with which Daniel was so much concerned, an idea may be gathered of the feverish public excitement and wild convivial turmoil amidst which James VI of Scotland succeeded to the English throne. Indeed, so eager and pressing were the crowds that the King himself, in a kind of frenzy after tame deer and bagged hares, complained that the people hunted him! Some incidents of Anne Clifford's participation in this royal progress will be touched upon presently a little more at large. It will be noticed that the poet and the pupil made their acquaintance with the new court under the same auspicious and emotional though somewhat bewildering circumstances.

The installation of Prince Henry, and others, as Knights of the Garter having taken place July 2nd, and the Coronation of the King and Queen solemnised July 25th, progresses were made into Surrey and the south of England, as far as Wiltshire, returning through Oxfordshire; and so the autumn passed away.¹

¹ Considering the cumbersome methods of transport, the bad condition of the roads, and the vast numbers that took part in these progresses and removals from one royal house to another,

it is remarkable how rapidly the country was traversed, and how much was accomplished in a short space of time. This speaks well for the official measures. By arrangement, each county

To return to the poet. The license for the Globe Theatre had been granted to Shakespeare, Burbage, Heminge, Condell, and others, on May 19th, 1603. The popularity of the masque, the lineal descendant of the revels of Henry VIII's time, and which had replaced the coarse or profane mediæval mummeries—had been established in the preceding reign, and these entertainments had been brought to their highest beauty by the learning and with the bright fancy and splendid diction of Ben Jonson. It now fell to Daniel to write his first masque, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, for the Christmas festivities at Hampton Court, January 8th, 1604, afterwards printed with a "description dedicatory" to the lovely Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford. In this graceful work the goddesses appear under different representations, indicating, as the poet explains, the blessings and beauties that preserve and adorn empire and dominion, a sentiment that has been well illustrated in our own time under the happy rule of a beloved and venerable sovereign. Queen Anne chose the significant office of Pallas, or "Armed Policie," and eleven of her ladies took the other parts, the last being Tethys, indicating "Power by Sea." If there were any "Little Englanders" then, this would surely have been classified by them as a reprehensible "Jingo" parade!

Wolsey's great hall was the theatre of the entertainment, with scenery devised and arranged by Mr. Sanford, and we shall now join the brilliant be-ruffled company and see what a masque was like. The proem of the *Vision* was the arising of Night in black vesture set with stars, who wakes her son Somnus, sleeping in his cave, and apparelled in a transparent white vestment over black, signifying the day and the night, with sable wings, and crowned with poppies. He bears respectively a white and a black wand in his hands, and by their deft use causes the temple, with Sibylla seated therein, to become apparent. Hereupon Iris descends from a mountain at the lower end of the hall, approaches the Temple of Peace, announces the coming of the Goddesses to Sibylla, and delivers to her a "prospective," or representation, by

contributed its quota of carts, tumbrils, &c., at fixed rates, for the movement of

baggage from place to place and for the supply and carriage of provisions.

which she can identify them. The "prospective" is the original of the modern illustrated "programme." The twelve fair divinities, in their proper attires, preceded by the Three Graces in silver robes, with white torches, and hand-in-hand, now descend from the mountain, three and three, and between each rank of goddesses march three torch bearers, their heads and robes decked with stars. During their descent the comets, sitting as satyrs, half hidden in the concaves of the mountain, sound a stately march. Arrived at the Temple, "consorte musicke" begins, the Three Graces standing by and singing in a most engaging manner, while the Goddesses solemnly ascend, one by one, into the Temple, are addressed in poetry by Sibylla, and present their offerings, namely, the emblems of their several conditions. Now the divinities return into the midst of the hall, and dance with great majesty and art, to the music of the viols and lutes, in circular, square, triangular, and other rare figures full of variety. They then place themselves in a circle, the Graces again singing to the music of the Temple, and lead out the young lords of the court to dance measures, galliards, and currantos. Thus the fair maskers merge their grave Olympian divinity with the graceful accomplishments of the courtly cavaliers in their gay and mundane costume. Finally Iris again appears and notifies the pleasure of the divine powers to depart, which, after a short dance with some pleasant changes, they accordingly do, ascending the mountain in the same order as they came down, the cornets of the graceless satyrs again sounding a march, the whole play forming a delightful excursion into realms of classic fancy. It will be noticed how cleverly Daniel adapted his scheme to the different levels of the great Gothic hall.

We have gladly taken this as a proper opportunity for giving a sketch of the scheme and character of a masque, and the more so because those by Daniel are very little known. It may be that the world has now grown too cynical, too hard and old, to appreciate the fairy-like delicacy and tender lyrical spirit of these creations. And although they have not satisfied some stern critics of a century ago, who have denounced them as "fooleries," "wretched performances," and "bungling shows," we

make bold to suggest that the censor who is not charmed by Ben Jonson's *Entertainment at Althorp*, or Daniel's delicious *Tethys's Festival*, "put on the stage" by Inigo Jones, must be an "arbiter elegantiarum" indeed!¹

It must have been about this time that Daniel was appointed Gentleman Extraordinary and Groom of the privy chamber to the Queen, who had great delight in his conversation and works. In 1603 he had brought out *Musa*, a defence of Rhyme, as against a proposed classical measure, addressed to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and in 1604 he completed the *Civil Wars* in eight books. The masque then entitled *Arcadia Reformed*, and afterwards *The Queen's Arcadia*, was written by Daniel and produced before the Queen at Oxford—"being indeed very excellent," August 30th, 1605. In the same year appeared *Certain Short Poems* and the tragedy of *Philotas*. On June 5th, 1610, the day following the creation of Prince Henry Prince of Wales, the masque of *Tethys's Festival* or "The Queen's Wake," by Daniel, was presented with great splendour at Whitehall, the "artificial part"—that is the scenery, machinery, and costume, by the great "Archetictor" Inigo Jones. Anne Clifford, then Countess of Dorset, personated the Nymph of Aire. This will be referred to again. Subsequently Daniel published in prose *Collection of the History of England* from Roman times to the end of the reign of Edward III, first brought out in 1613, and again in 1618, the year before his death.

As to the merits of the works of Samuel Daniel all the critics agree that his style is better suited for prose than measure, but both his contemporaries and his modern judges place him very high among the poets of the Elizabethan age. One of the former speaks of—

The pithy Daniel whose salt lines afford
A weighty sentence in each little word.

¹ A full idea may be formed of the rich and fantastic character of some of the dresses worn at masques, from the descriptions furnished by the authors of such plays as are given in Campion's masque at Lord Hay's Marriage on Twelfth Night, 1607, and in Ben Jonson's masque at Lord Haddington's marriage in the year following. This information may be supplemented by

the study of the long training panoramas in grisaille on great German drinking glasses from the Forest, representing persons in dresses with odd classical or Renaissance details, such as were never worn, to use a modern expression, "off the stage"; though some of the extravagant early seventeenth century German modes seem only fitting for "masquers" in the present sense of the word.

The brilliant Drayton, reluctant to censure him, says—

His rhimes were smooth his metres well did close;
But yet his manner better fitted prose.

A third, again, alludes to him—

My dear sweet Daniel, sharp-concepted, brief,
Civil, sententious, for pure accents chief.

while his friend Fitz Geoffrey wrote—

Spenserum si quis nostrum velit esse Maronem,
Tu, Daniele, mihi Naso Britannus eris.
Sin illum potius Phœbum velit esse Britannum,
Tum Daniele, mihi tu Maro noster eris.

Of modern critics Headly considered that his language was so pure that it would never become obsolete. It is, indeed, in marked contrast with the quibbles and conceits of pulpit eloquence of his time and the whimsical crotchets of other minor branches of literature. Mr. Lowell held *Musophilus* as “the best poem of its kind in the language,” and a distinguished living authority speaks of his style as “full, easy, and stately” and that “though wanting in fire and passion, he is pre-eminent in scholarly grace and tender mournful reverie.”¹

With regard to the personal history of Daniel little is known. He rented a small house and garden in Old Street, St. Luke's, and married a wife named Justina—perhaps a sister of John Florio—by whom he left no issue. His brother John, a composer of music, published an edition of Samuel's works in 1624, dedicated, on behalf of poesy and music, to Prince Charles. To this edition a portrait is prefixed. This was engraved by Thomas Cookson for an edition of the *Civil Wars* which appeared in 1610. There is reason for thinking that John Daniel furnished the musical scores of his brother's masques. Fuller, who lived near enough to Daniel's time to speak with accuracy, recalls his pure and high religious character—so different from that of the generality of his literary *confrères*—and he relates that he was used to retire for long periods in his house in Old Street for quiet communion with the muses. Here he received his friends, among them Shakespeare, Chapman, Marlowe of the “mighty line,” Drayton, and Jonson, besides the

¹ Edmund W. Gosse in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, edit. 1898.

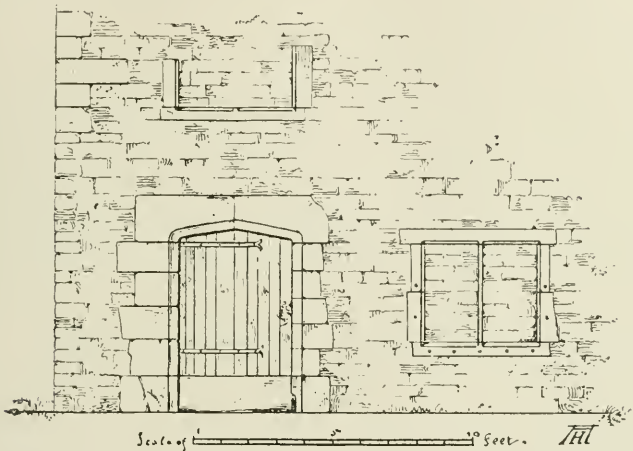
numerous persons of position who loved the gentle man, and had themselves been touched on the lips with a live coal from the altars of Parnassus.

It seems that the poet took the remarkable step—apparently at the end of the year 1610, and but a few months after his signal success with the masque of *Tethys* and when only in his forty-eighth year—of retiring to Beckington, Somerset, and adopting an agricultural life. His duties of tutor to Anne Clifford must have ended with her marriage, February 27th, 1610. Well versed as Daniel was in Virgil—his fellow-husbandman poet—Fuller considered that something more than having the *Georgics* by heart was desirable for success in farming, and while doubting whether classic husbandry would fit the English style, he suspected that “Mr. Daniel his fancy was too fine and sublimated to be wrought down to his private profit.”

It remains a secret locked in the past whether failing health, social stress, or the uncommon diffidence he had of his own abilities caused Daniel to suddenly quit the sunny court and exchange, for instance, the privilege of hearing what Fuller calls “the wit combats” between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, and of seeing the things “Done at the Mermaid,” for the dreary even tenour of a pastoral life in remote Somerset. In his voluntary exile he retained so much affectionate regard for his pupil and her family that he called his house and small estate “Cliffords Farm,” a name which has continued to the present day through all the changes of nearly three centuries. It is apparent, from some windows *in situ* in the south front of the present farmhouse, that there was a very small and rude dwelling here at least as early as about 1430. This would have been abandoned by Daniel when his new house was built.

This is prettily situated within a bend of the rapid river Frome, on the right bank, and exactly a mile from Beckington church, with an ascent to the Bath road, from which it is plainly seen by travellers. Apparently about a hundred and fifty years ago the place was changed from pastoral to commercial uses. Daniel's house was doubled in width and greatly lengthened, so that a large part of the original Jacobean dwelling, though in a way swallowed up, still remains at the south-east corner of

the later building, to a height of about fourteen feet, and a width of eighteen, much as in the poet's time. As to the enlarged building forming a mill, a cutting was made to bring the stream to the further end of it, with a back-brook from it, and cloth and paper making and dyeing have been successively carried on. The Jacobean mullioned windows are walled up, another farmhouse has been fashioned out of the mediæval buildings, the machinery of the mill is dislocated, and with it the remains of the poet's house and the mill itself stand forsaken and desolate. A pictorial record is here presented of the remains of the local home of one of Somerset's best worthies.



In this humble abode Daniel lived until 1619, when his refined spirit was recalled to the mercy and mystery of God. There are no indications of other entrances or windows of the poet's period, and it must be that his dead body was borne forth through the existing doorway, when his earthly part was laid to rest in the north aisle of Beckington church—as the rugged parchment register has it, under the year 1619, with rude spelling and inverted figures, “Ano Domina Master Samuell Danuell buried the 41 of October.”

Whether Daniel prospered in his uncongenial occupation we know not, but we gather with pain, from the fact that no coeval memorial marked his grave, that troublous

days came upon him, and that this default was a natural consequence of the sad vicissitudes of things. Long after, the "Countesse Dowager of Pembroke," presumably distressed at this omission, set up the monument with a bust to the memory of the mentor to whom assuredly she owed much. It is a slight, but a picturesque and touching incident of her life, and worthy of her loyal character.

The bust bears no resemblance to the engraving from the picture in the possession of Lord Hothfield, or to another showing the poet at an earlier period of his life, prefixed to one of the editions of his works. It is a laureated head in white marble of a poet *quelconque*, accidentally, but fitly, much after the style of the bust of Tasso in his chamber in the Onofrio at Rome; it is doubtless from the chisel of John Stone.¹

We pass from the poet to the pupil.

It is by no means surprising that so much should have been written in county histories, and in numerous historical and antiquarian works, concerning the renowned Anne Clifford. Her illustrious descent from two ancient and noble families, her own two distinguished alliances, her beauty, her popularity, her accomplishments, her strong sense, her intrepidity under adverse

¹ With the same generous appreciation of genius, the Countess of Dorset erected in 1620 the monument to Spenser in the Abbey, for which Stone tells us in his *Note Book* he was paid £40; and in a similar spirit she put up in the same sanctuary the monument with a bust to Drayton, the opening sentence of the inscription being exactly similar to that on the memorial to Daniel, indicating that both compositions are from Anne Clifford's pen.

The productions of the Stones (Nicholas, and his sons Henry—called "Old Stone," to distinguish him from his brothers—Nicholas and John) are almost invariably in white marble, and are numerous and unmistakable. Extracts from the *Note Book* of the father are given in Walpole's *Anecdotes*. A volume illustrating the works of these revivers of the monumental effigy in England would be a valuable contribution to the history of native art. Profile busts of the father and the two sons, superposed one upon another, are in St. Martin's Church, London.

Henry Stone was also a painter, and an excellent copier of Vandyck.

The laudable custom under which patrons and lovers of literature dedicated memorials to departed poets has often been exemplified. To give further instances, Nicholas Brigham set up in the Abbey, as a monument to Chaucer, in 1555, one that the Dissolution had caused to be ejected from Grey Friars, and which originally commemorated Sir Walter Blount, K.G., died 1477, or Lord Mountjoy, 1485. (See *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 361; paper by M. H. Bloxam.) The monument and bust of Dryden was erected in the Abbey by Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, in 1720. The plaster bust at Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire, the picturesque seat of Sir Alfred Dryden, is doubtless a cast from the sculptured head of the famous Old Westminster. His name is largely cut on one of the rude benches that stood in the *Shell* of Westminster School up to the time of the unhappy demolition of that classic feature in the old Benedictine dormitory.

circumstances, and her final triumph over her enemies have contributed to illustrate a great character. The long period of more than thirty years of an unusually prolonged life, which were spent among her own people, restoring and beautifying, with singular antiquarian zeal, the castles and houses of her great inheritance, at last regained, and her many and enduring works of mercy, have alike combined to bring down and vividly carry on her fame to posterity; and after two centuries and a quarter her name still sounds as a trumpet blast in wide districts of the North. To have borne a part in the formation of so striking and masterful a character is no small tribute to the tact and teaching of Daniel.

Having regard to what has already been set down in so many printed books—most of them, however, difficult of access—concerning Anne Clifford, and bearing in mind that antiquarian dissertations, while naturally apt to err in being rather dry, the more often offend in being too long, it will be found convenient now to give only a rapid sketch of her career, dwelling more particularly upon the few circumstances or occasions on which the pupil and the poet were jointly or publicly concerned, and making use, as far as possible, of the illustrious lady's own *Diary*.¹

The Lady Anne Clifford—"Countesse Dowager of Pembroke, Dorsett, and Montgomery, sole daughter and heire

¹ There are several MS. copies of the *Diary*, more or less full, and some with striking personal details, but complete copies seem to be difficult to get a sight of. Apparently the original of them all is the *Sumarie and Memorial*, dictated, corrected, and interlined by the Countess of Pembroke in 1652. This record appears at the end of the third of the three volumes of documentary evidence at Skipton Castle, collected by Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, for the prosecution of her daughter's rights to the inheritance of her ancestors, and thus compiled in 1649. There is also at Skipton Castle a small quarto MS. entitled, *A True Memoriall of the Life of Lady Anne Clifford, &c.*, consisting of an abstract of the three greatbooks, and a condensed account of the *Life* comprised in the third volume. This latter record has been printed at the

end of the second of the *York Volumes* published by the Archaeological Institute in 1846, transcribed and edited by "E. H." For the general events of Anne Clifford's personal history the present writer is indebted to an article by Canon Raine in the *Archæologia Eliana*, 2, S., Vol. I, page 1, compiled from Atkinson's *Worthies of Westmerland*; Coleridge's *Northern Worthies*; Noble and Grainger's *Biographical History of England*; Gilpin *On the Picturesque*; Ballard's *Memoirs of Illustrious Ladies*; Nicholson and Burn's *History of Westmerland*, and Whitaker's *Histories of Craven and of Whalley*; and for particulars to the extracts from the *Diary*, given by J. H. Wiffen, the accomplished translator of Tasso, in his *Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell*, and in Nichols's *Progresses of King James*, vol. i.

to the late right noble George Clifford, Earle of Cumberland, and by my birth from him Lady of the Honor of Skipton in Craven, Barronesse Clifford, Westmorland, and Vessey, and High Sheriffesse by inheritance of the county of Westmorland"—was born in Skipton Castle January 30th, 1590, her father George, Earl of Cumberland, being one of the most distinguished and reckless men of the time of Elizabeth, and her mother Margaret, youngest daughter of Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, and sister of the heroic William, Lord Russell of Thornhaugh.²

Her two brothers died within sixteen months of her birth, and, disappointed in his hopes of an heir to carry on the name of Clifford, and living at great variance with his wife, the Earl of Cumberland, while his daughter was yet in her cradle, fine-barred his father's entail, settled his Westmoreland estates on his wife, by way of dowry, and all his other lands upon his brother Sir Francis Clifford, with remainder to his daughter only in default of male issue to Sir Francis. These unjust disposals were the source of long-continued and ruinous suits at law, which only ceased at the death of Henry, Earl of Cumberland, son of Earl Francis, in 1643 without heir male. With a great part of her life strenuously spent in struggling to regain her honest rights, and urged thereto by the untiring example of her mother, the development of Anne Clifford's masterful character is not surprising.

With regard to the introduction of Anne Clifford to the court the *Diary* may now speak for itself:—

“ In 160 $\frac{2}{3}$, at Christmas, I used to go much to the Court and some-

¹ Thus she gives her styles and titles in her will, oddly interpolating the dignity of her first marriage between those of Herbert of the second, such being the chronological sequence of the three creations. The same order is observed on her coffin plate and on which *Dorset*, perhaps on account of his adverse action in the long litigations, appears in smaller lettering than *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*.

² This eminent captain was present at the battle of Zutphen in 1586, and there soothed the last hours of Sir Philip Sidney, who bequeathed to him his best gilt armour, a chivalrous episode! He succeeded “that famous spirit” in the Governorship of Flushing, “the key of the Netherlands,” and on

his recall in 1593 was constituted Lord Deputy of Ireland. He left an only child, Francis, who succeeded his cousin Edward as fourth Earl of Bedford in 1627, and will long be remembered as the “Wise Earl of Bedford” and the patriotic drainer of the Fens. On the north side of the tomb, with the effigy of Lord Russell, in Thornhaugh church, Northamptonshire, who died in 1613, are figures of his three sisters (his three brothers being on the south side). Anne, wife of the Earl of Warwick; Elizabeth, wife of the Earl of Bath; and Margaret, wife of the Earl of Cumberland. They kneel before faldstools bearing their impaled arms, and wear jewelled cauls, ruffs, and scarlet mantles lined with ermine.

times did lie in my aunt of Warwick's chamber on a pallet, to whom I was much bound for her continual care and love of me ; in so much as if Queen Elizabeth had lived, she intended to have preferred me to be of the privy chamber ; for at that time there were as much hope and expectation of me, both for my person and fortunes, as of any other young lady whatsoever. A little after the queen removed to Richmond, she began to grow sickly. My lady used to go often thither, and carry me with her in the coach ; and using to wait in the coffer-chamber, many times came home very late. About the 21st or 22nd of March, my aunt of Warwick sent my mother word, about nine o'clock at night, she lying then at Clerkenwell, that she should remove to Austin Friars, her house, for fear of some commotion, though God in his mercy did deliver us from it. Upon the 24th, Mr. Hocknell, my aunt of Warwick's man, brought us word from his lady that the queen died about 2-3 in the morning: the message was delivered to my mother and me in the same chamber where afterwards I was married. About ten o'clock, King James was proclaimed in Cheapside with great joy and triumph, which triumph I went to see and hear.

"The peaceable coming in of the king was unexpected of all sorts of people. A little after this, Queen Elizabeth's corse came by night in a barge from Richmond to Whitehall, my mother and a great company of ladies attending it, where it continued a good while standing in the drawing chamber, and was watched all night by several lords and ladies ; my mother sitting up with it two or three nights ; but my lady would not give me leave to watch, by reason I was held too young." (She had entered her fourteenth year two months before this date.)

"When the corse of Queen Elizabeth had continued at Whitehall as long as the council had thought fit, it was carried from thence with great solemnity to Westminster, the lords and ladies going on foot to attend it ; my mother and my aunt of Warwick being mourners ; but I was not allowed to be one, because I was not high enough, which did much trouble me then. But yet I stood in the church at Westminster to see the solemnity performed.

"A little after the queen's funeral my lady and a great deal of other company . . . went down with my aunt of Warwick to Northall, and from thence we all went to Theobalds to see the king, who used my mother and my aunt very graciously ; but we all saw a great change between the fashion of the court as it was now and of it in the queen's time. Innumerable were the knights that were then made.

"All this early spring I had my health very well ; my father used to come sometimes to us at Clerkenwell, but not often ; for he had at this time, as it were, wholly left my mother."

The impressive circumstances under which the young girl Anne Clifford first made her acquaintance with the court will be noticed, as well as the proximity of Daniel's house in Old Street, St. Luke's, to that of the Countess of Cumberland at Clerkenwell, enabling the poet to continue with facility the supervision of his pupil's education.

“About this time my aunt of Bath and her lord came to London, and brought with them my Lord Fitzwarren, and my cousin Frances Bourchier.” They were joined near London by her cousin, the young Earl of Bedford, and his newly-married wife, the beautiful Lucy Harrington, by her uncle Sir William Russell—created Lord Russell of Thornhaugh July 21st—and many more. The Countess of Warwick and others went forward to meet the Queen in the Shires. The Countess of Cumberland and her daughter followed the next day. They killed three horses in the heat and hurry, and got as far as Lord Kent’s house at Wrest. Finding it deserted with only a caretaker, they slept in the great hall and hasted away betimes in the morning, and came at night to Rockingham Castle, where the Warwick party was rejoined. It was a long and hot journey on horseback for a child in her fourteenth year, but the ladies of the old court were eager to forestall the Council in the appointments in the new one. A few days later they all proceeded to Sir Thomas Griffin, at Dingley, near Leicester, as we have seen. Here they first met the Queen, “who kissed us all and used us kindly.”

An excursion was made by the Cliffords from Dingley to Combe Abbey, near Coventry, to pay their respects to the Princess Elizabeth, who had gone there from Dingley under the charge of Lady Harrington, the chatelaine, and the Countess Kildare. Sleeping that night at Sir Richard Knightley’s, at Fawsley, near Daintry, “where my Lady Elizabeth Knightley made exceedingly much of us,” they rested the next day in that secluded and pleasant place, and no doubt dined in the great hall and sat in the storied bay window, discussing the moving events of the time. Meanwhile the Queen and her train arrived on that morning at Holdenby House, the noble mansion built by Sir Christopher Hatton, and the whole cavalcade went on to Althorp, the seat of Sir Robert Spencer, in the cool of the day, Saturday, June 25th. Anne Clifford and her mother and her “aunt of Warwick” attended the court at Althorp the next day, “which Sunday was kept with great solemnity,” and here she met, for the first time, her cousin Henry, who eventually kept her so long out of her estates.

On the greensward of Althorp Park a delightful masque by Ben Jonson was performed on Saturday by the sons and daughters of the county gentry, personating satyrs and fairies. In the course of the entertainment a rich jewel was given to Anne of Denmark by Queen Mab, and a dog named "Ringwood" to Prince Henry. The royal *cortège* left Althorp on Monday¹ for Easton Neston, near Towcester, and having there joined that of the King, as we have seen, the great company proceeded to Grafton—an ancient royal house, then in the occupation of the Earl of Cumberland—and were sumptuously entertained. With his usual impetuosity the Earl of Cumberland "did run and course at the field, where he hurt Henry Alexander very dangerously." He wounded the Countess his wife still more deeply, for, as the *Diary* says, "At this time of the king's being at Grafton my mother was there; but not held as mistress of the house, by reason of the difference between my lord and her which was grown to a great height." Thus Margaret, Countess of Cumberland was not suffered to take the head of her own table on so notable an occasion. From Grafton the court went to Salden House, Muresley, Buckinghamshire, and so to Windsor.

On July 2nd, at the Feast of St. George, on the installation of Prince Henry, Anne Clifford "stood with my Lady Elizabeth's grace in the shrine in the great hall, to see the king and all the knights sit at dinner. Thither came the archduke's ambassador, who was received by the king and queen in the great hall, where there was

¹ On the morning of the Queen's departure from Althorp, a morris of clowns was introduced by a speech written by Ben Jonson, and spoken by "Nobody," who thus alludes to Hatton:—

"They come to see and to be seen,
And though they dance before the
Queen,
There's none of these doth hope to
come by
Wealth to build another Holmby:
All these dancing days are done,
Men must now have more than one
Grace to build their fortunes on,
Else our soles would sure have gone
All by this time to our feet.—

I do not deny where Graces meet
In a man that quality
Is a graceful property:
But when dancing is his best,
Beshrew me I suspect the rest."

It was quite clear that Queen Elizabeth was dead!

An octagonal font in Holdenby church was painted in the time of Sir Christopher Hatton, with seven impaled coats showing the marriages of as many generations of Holdenbys, the last being the alliance of the heiress of Holdenby with Hatton, grandfather of Sir Christopher. This interesting record was abolished when the church was "restored" in 1867.

such an infinite company of lords and ladies, and so great a court, as I think I shall never see the like. At Windsor, there was such an infinite number of ladies sworn of the queen's privy chamber, as made the place of no esteem or credit. Once I spake to my lady of Bedford to be one, but had the good fortune to miss it." At the Coronation, her father and mother both attended in their robes—"which solemn sight my cousin Frances stood to see, though she had no robes, and went not amongst the company; but my mother would not let me see it, because the plague was so hot in London."

Anne Clifford took no part in Daniel's *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, performed, as we have seen, by the Queen and eleven of her ladies; indeed, she tells us that although "in my youth I was much in the court with her, and in masques attended, I never served her."

It has been suggested above that Daniel became tutor to Anne Clifford in the year 1596. It is probable that his direction of her studies was not entirely broken off when she took her place at the court in 1603. The poet's own position there would have enabled a general direction and supervision of his noble pupil's training to be still carried on, and it is likely enough that this did not cease until her marriage in February, 1610, when she had just entered her twenty-first year.

On October 30th, 1605, George, Earl of Cumberland died, being finally reconciled with his long-suffering wife. His daughter saw him for the last time "in the open air" on Greenwich Heath, September 1st. So passed away at the early age of forty-seven a very striking and popular public figure. Excelling in the accomplishments of the courtier and in the ancient exercises of chivalry, then fast dying out, and famous as a fighting man by land, he was yet more so at sea. He furnished, at ruinous expense to his estate, a series of naval expeditions, and with undaunted patriotism constantly urged his relentless sword against the Spaniard. On the other hand, his prodigality impoverished for a time his great estate, and his profligacy brought affliction upon his wife, while the disposition of his lands entailed upon her and upon his only child and rightful heir a course of harassing legal suits which continued during many weary years.

At the end of a vivid description which Anne Clifford gives in the "memorables of myself which I have caused to be written" of her appearance at the age of eighteen,¹ she thus alludes to her education—"And my mother did with singular care and tenderness of affection educate me, as her most dear and only daughter, seasoning my youth with the grounds of true religion and moral virtue, and all other qualities befitting my birth. In which she employed, as her chief agent, Mr. Samuel Daniel, that religious and honest poet, who composed 'the Civil Wars of England between the two Houses of York and Lancaster,' and also writ many other treatises both in prose and verse. I was not admitted to learn any language, because my father would not permit it; but for all other knowledge fit for my sex, none was bred up to greater perfection than myself."² A more genuine testimony to the poet's worth there could not be.

Anne Clifford married on February 27th, 1610, Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, heir apparent of the Earl of Dorset, who succeeded his father two days later. By him she had three sons, who died young, and two daughters, who married, the one John, Lord Tufton, Earl of Thanet, and the other James Compton, Earl of Northampton. Lord Dorset died March 28th, 1624.

On January 14th, 1608, she took part in Jonson's *Masque of Beauty* at Whitehall, and was one of the "Celebrators" in his *Masque of Queens*, February 2nd, 1609. On June 5th, 1610, the part allotted by Daniel to the Countess of Dorset in his masque of *Tethys's Festival*, or "The Queen's Wake," was the Nymph of Aire, the river that runs near

¹ She speaks of her eyes black like her father's, and quick and lively like her mother's; her very long and thick brown hair, her "exquisite shape of body," her memory, judgment and discernment.

² Her range of information was so extensive that Dr. Donne said she could talk on any subject from predestination to sea silk.

It may reasonably be assumed that Daniel was for a time domiciled in the house of the Earl of Cumberland. It will be remembered that Andrew Marvell was tutor to Mary, daughter of the great Lord Fairfax, who afterwards became Duchess of

Buckingham. Spenser was received into the household of the Earl of Leicester. Butler, the most daring and felicitous of wits, lived successively in the families of Mr. Jefferies, the Countess of Kent, and Sir Samuel Luke. Locke, an old Westminster, lived for many years with his friend Sir Francis Masham, and died in his house. It is not generally known that the reading of Locke was first introduced into Cambridge by Charles Kidman, for many years fellow and tutor of Bennet College, who died in 1740. Swift spent eleven years, in three periods, eating his proud heart out in the family of Sir William Temple.

Skipton Castle, where she was born. Delightful as the whole "glorious masque" was, the most interesting scenes were those in which the youthful Duke of York appeared as Zephyr, in a robe of green satin, embroidered with golden flowers, wearing silver wings, and crowned with a floral chaplet of many colours, and attended by eight little naiads. Zephyr, supported by two Tritons, presented costly gifts to the King and to Prince Henry—namely, a golden trident to the sovereign, then, as now, hailed as "Monarch of the Ocean," and a richly jewelled sword to Prince Henry, in honour of whose creation as Prince of Wales this festival was ordained. Important features of the masque proper were the dances performed by Anne of Denmark as Tethys, "Queen of the Ocean," and her thirteen ladies as nymphs of the rivers, in a most brilliant scene and with appropriate dresses, designed and minutely described by the "Archetictor" Inigo Jones, and their subsequent measures, corantos, and galliards with the lords of the court.

In the conclusion of the ante-masque Prince Charles and the eight sylph-like naiads, of his own age and height, in the palest blue satin, embroidered with silver flowers, "their seemely hayre downe-trailing on their shoulders," danced an intricate ballet, the figures so contrived that the princely Zephyr was always encircled by the fair children. Thirty-eight years later, when Charles Stuart stood upon the brink of the grave—the most lonely, and pathetic, and perhaps the guiltiest figure of English history, declaring, with the true spirit of his race, that he feared not death, that he had "a just cause, and a righteous judge"—did memory recall these innocent and fairy-like scenes of his childhood?

The lamentable death of Prince Henry in 1612, far-reaching in its consequences, changed the whole course of English history. The Earl of Dorset walked at the funeral, with eleven others of his rank, as assistants to the chief mourner, Prince Charles. Neither the King nor the Queen were present.

In 1613 the Countess of Dorset went with the Queen on her progress to Bath, and on April 2nd, 1616, she took her last leave of her "dear and blessed mother" in the

open air near Brougham Castle, and where she subsequently set up a pillar of stone, which still remains. The Dowager of Cumberland died in Brougham Castle May 24th, 1616, and was buried in the church of St. Laurence at Appleby.¹ Now the Westmoreland estates, the dowry lands, by the will of Earl George passed to Francis, Earl of Cumberland, and the personal connection of the Countess of Dorset with her ancestral lands was quite cut off.

Thus it fell to the daughter to continue alone the long litigation which her mother in her behalf had so persistently but unsuccessfully carried on, the object having been to wrest from Francis, Earl of Cumberland the lands that his brother had settled on him. Anne Clifford's difficulty was increased by the continued opposition of the King and the adverse action of the Earl of Dorset.

She married secondly, 1630, Philip Herbert, K.G., Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, one of the greatest noblemen of the kingdom, who had succeeded his brother William three months before. He died in 1655.

It will not be in accord with the compass of the present account to touch at all upon the details of the legal transactions in which Margaret, Countess of Cumberland and her daughter were so long and with so much determination engaged. Suffice it to say that Time brought the relief which Law was powerless to grant. In 1640 Francis, Earl of Cumberland died, and three years later, namely in December, 1643, his son Henry, fifth and last Earl of Cumberland, succumbed to a burning fever, leaving no issue male. Consequently all the ancient lands of her family reverted to the Countess of Pembroke. Her reinstatement in her ancestral estates, from which she had been so long and so unjustly interdicted by her father's will, and the noble use she made of her fortune, form a romantic and chivalric narrative almost surprising enough for an Oriental tale by Shehazarade.

¹ For an account of the tombs of Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, and the Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery, see *Transactions of the*

Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, vol. for 1885, p. 174, article by R. S. Ferguson.

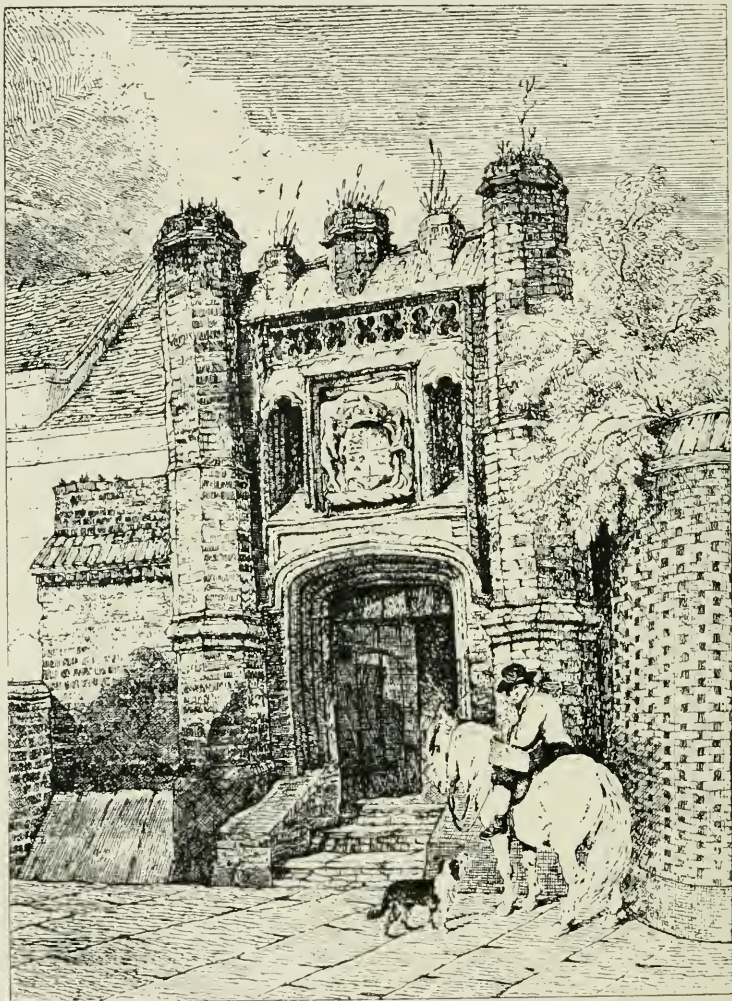
And although the story of Anne Clifford's buildings, and restorations, and charitable deeds has often been recounted, the present notice of her tutor and his pupil would be incomplete without once more recalling that on regaining her great domains she made it her business to restore and beautify her castles and houses, dismantled or "slighted" during the Civil War, or earlier; her duty to increase or rebuild the churches in which she had interest; while she found her greatest pleasure in the exercise of true hospitality in her own country, for which she had so great an affection.

Thus the castles of Skipton, Brougham, Appleby, Brough on Stane mere, Pendragon—the Vetricont stronghold, which had lain waste ever since 1341—and Barden Tower were put in order, made habitable, and hospitably dwelt in by herself from time to time. Brougham Hall she bought. The rebuilding or additions to the churches of Appleby, Skipton, Bradgate, Brougham, Nine Kirks, and Mallerstang testify to her religious zeal, the results of the teaching of Daniel, while almshouses, bridges, and other works of public benefit evince her open-handed and wise generosity. She set up a tomb in Skipton church to the father who wronged her, one with an effigy to her mother in Appleby church, and there, like an orderly person, she made her own vault in 1655, where she now lies.

Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery, died in Brougham Castle March 22nd, 1675, in her eighty-seventh year, and was succeeded by her grandson, Thomas, Earl of Thanet—eldest son of her elder daughter, Margaret Sackville, one of the co-heirs of her first husband, Richard, Earl of Dorset—whose direct line has only come to an end in our own day.

* * * The writer has pleasure in expressing his obligation to his old friend Chancellor Ferguson for references to books and for other assistance most kindly given.



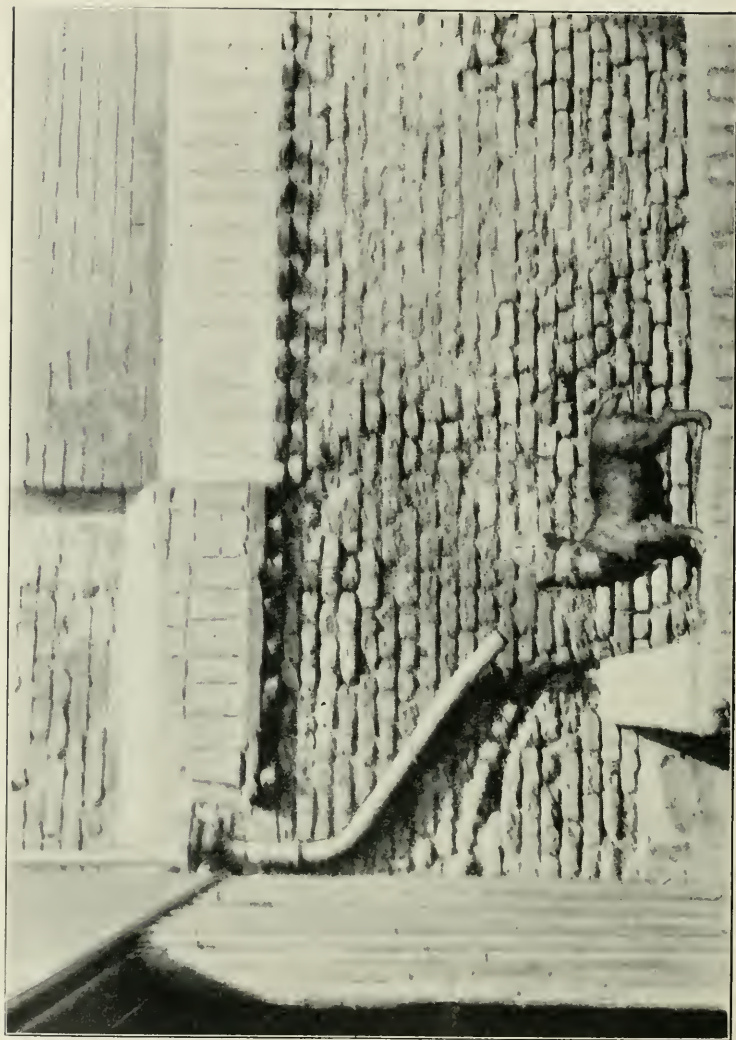


NO. 1.—GATEWAY TO WOLSEY'S COLLEGE, IPSWICH.

(Showing coping of wall on the left.)

By permission of Mr. W. E. Harrison.

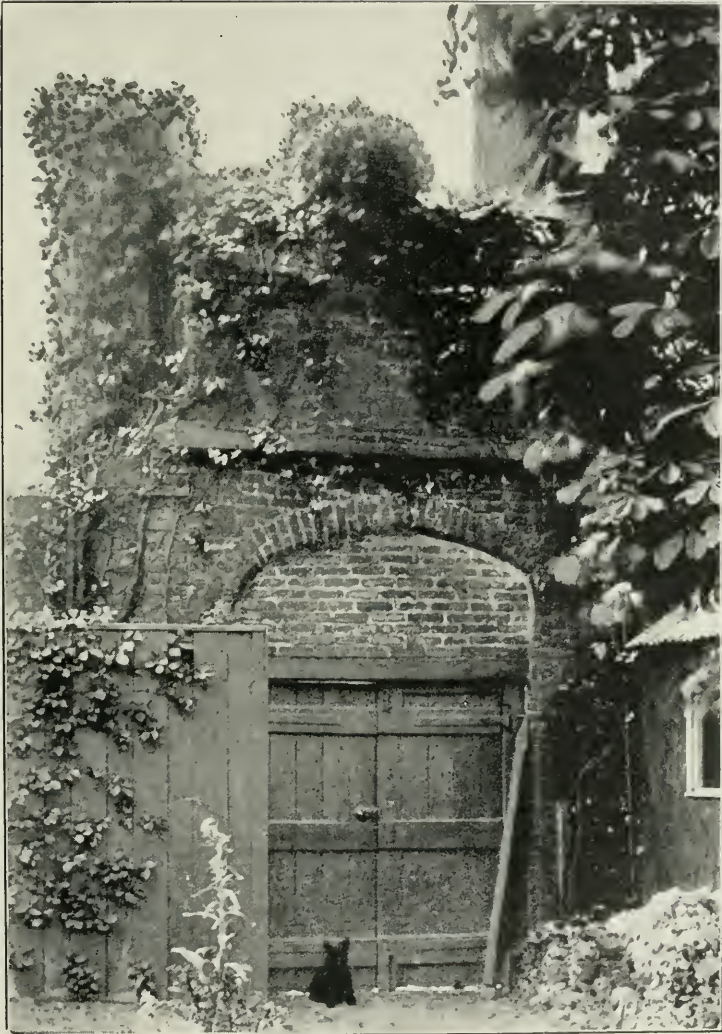
To face plate 3.



NO. 2.—ARCH EXACTLY OPPOSITE THE GATEWAY.

(Discovered by N. F. Layard, June, 1899.)

By permission of Mr. W. E. Harrison.



NO. 3.—INTERIOR OF GATEWAY OF WOLSEY'S COLLEGE SHOWING THE ARCH.

By permission of Mr. W. E. Harrison.

REMARKS ON WOLSEY'S COLLEGE AND THE PRIORY
OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL, IPSWICH.

By NINA FRANCES LAYARD.

Wolsey's College, erected upon the site of the Priory of St. Peter and St. Paul, consisted either of additions to the buildings already standing, or was a completely new edifice, the exact position of which it is difficult to determine. As to the time of its commencement historians have naturally accepted the date recorded on the foundation stone which was discovered in a wall in Woulfern's Lane more than a hundred years ago. On it was the following inscription:—"In the year of Christ, 1528, and the twentieth of Henry VIII, King of England, and on the 15th of June, laid by John, Bishop of Lincoln." This, however, does not seem to tally with a letter written by the Cardinal to the Count de Beaumont dated "26th day of January in the year 1528." In it he says, "*Some time since* I began to build and erect two Colleges to the honor of God Our Creator, one in Ipswich which is the place of my birth," etc., unless we are to suppose that the less important parts of the establishment were already commenced before the foundation stone was duly laid.

Wolsey had obtained bulls from the Pope and letters patent from King Henry VIII, for the suppression of the Priory in order to make room for the college, and for its endowment he had also procured possession of many other small monasteries, including Snape, Dodnash, Wikes, Hoakesley, Tiptree, Rumburgh, Felixstow, Bromehill, Blithburgh and Mountjoy. It was the Cardinal's intention that the college should be built of stone from Harwich Cliff, but he had been misinformed as to the quantity obtainable, and when he forwarded a request to the Dowager Countess of Oxford to allow him to take "as much stone from her cliff at Harwich as should be needful for his purpose," he was met by a somewhat spirited refusal from that lady, who protested that "no stone existed at Harwich at least in the cliff" except that which

formed a foreland which could not be removed without endangering the town.

Such a reply hardly suited the high-handed Wolsey, who was quite unaccustomed to being thwarted in his desires, and his uncourteous rejoinder that "her refusal to his request arose from another and unworthy motive," throws a side-light upon the arrogant character of the King's favourite.

It was useless, however, to resist a request which was practically a command, but we can read both disgust and irritation in the final reply of the Countess, "Be it hurtful or otherwise, your Grace to do your pleasure."

And so what stone could be obtained was brought from Harwich, but the supply soon fell short and Wolsey was obliged "to apply to the French King for permission to take stone from the quarries at Caen."

This scarcity of stone in the neighbourhood may account for the fact of the gateway, which is still standing, being built of brick.

If we can place any reliance upon the small plan of the college given in a quaint little work by Mr. Grove, of Richmond, dated 1761, and entitled "Two Dialogues in the Elysian Fields between Cardinal Wolsey and Cardinal Ximenes," it would appear that the actual entrance to the college building stood considerably behind the present gateway, and this would in all probability have been built of the stone obtained from Harwich and Caen, but Clark, in his *History of Ipswich*, gives it as his opinion that "the front of the College was fronting to the West," and founds his belief on the fact that "the old church was taken down for the purpose of enlarging the site of the new buildings."

Wolsey's Gate, as it is called, which is now standing, must have been merely an entrance gate to the grounds of the college. It is constantly mentioned as the only portion of Wolsey's buildings left standing, but I have recently made a careful examination of the site, with the result that a large part of the original wall, which was built at the same time as the gateway, is found to be still existing.

Starting from the left of the gateway, it takes a turn to the right and is continued along St. Peter's churchyard,

till at the back of the chancel of the church it meets and is fitted on to an old rubble wall which has every appearance of having belonged to the ancient Priory of St. Peter and St. Paul, although Wooderspoon informs us that "but few remains of the Priory have been found, and none above ground." This rubble wall continues for a distance of $43\frac{1}{2}$ feet, when Wolsey's brick wall is again built on to the older structure, and continues as far as the boundary of the Turnery yard. Here, turning again to the right, it becomes the dividing wall between Mr. Edward Turner's property and Mr. Oxborrow's on the left, and Turret Lane on the right.

It is not difficult to trace the wall, as the particular coping which may be seen very clearly on the left of the gateway is continued throughout. In it the bricks are so arranged that the corner of each brick projects exactly in the centre (see Illustration No. 1). This is not the case with the coping on the rubble wall, although apparently an attempt has been made to copy it, but here the bricks are placed at a slightly different angle, from which I presume that the rubble wall, though made use of by Wolsey, was of previous date.

The discovery of a built-up Tudor archway at the far end of the brick wall, where it turns to the right, and exactly opposite to Wolsey's Gate, confirms my conclusion that the whole of the wall is connected with the old entrance. (See Illustration No. 2.)

This arch, which is 5 feet wide, is at the present time about 4 feet above ground, but Mr. Edward Turner informs me that the ground is higher here by 4 or 5 feet than it was originally. This would give a height of 8 or 9 feet to the archway. In order to show the correspondence between the two arches, I have had two photographs taken, one of the inner side of Wolsey's Gate, where the shape of the archway is very clearly shown (see Illustration No. 3), and the other of the arch in the wall, which has nearly disappeared after the accumulation of years. (See Illustration No. 2.)

In tracing out the probable position occupied by the college the discovery of this arch is of considerable value. It carries the property certainly as far as and into that now occupied by Mr. Oxborrow, and I think the founda-

tions of a rubble wall may be traced up Turret Lane below the more recent brick wall, especially at the entrance to a small garden gate opening into the lane.

Whether the site occupied by the old Priory and subsequently by the college extended as far as Rose Lane must at present remain an open question, though I gather that the extent of the college property, mentioned in Taylor's *Index Monasticus* as being six acres, was the measurement of the estate of the Priory, which is all, as far as I know, that was granted to the Cardinal.

In comparing various records a curious question arises as to the demolishing of St. Peter's church. In Taylor we have not only an account of its suppression, but it is mentioned that "since therefore the inhabitants of St. Peter's had no place for their attendance on divine service the Cardinal determines to place them under the pastoral care of the clergy presiding over those churches which are nearest to the Monastery of St. Peter, and accordingly he appoints the above William Capon to go to the aforesaid college *where the Church of St. Peter formerly stood*, and to assemble the parishioners in a convenient place in order to consider the matter, &c." At the same time, we find among the expenses incurred by the Cardinal at this time the following items in connection with the maintenance of the church:—

"Item one to kepe the vestry and the churche in due order and cleainesse taking by the yere x^ls.

"Item oon to be bellringer taking by the yere xxvj^s viij^d.

"Item for the com'ons of viij queresters after vj^d a weke ev'y of them x^l viij^s.

It was also arranged that the annual procession to the chapel of our Lady of Grace in Lady Lane should start "from his College and the Church of St. Peter."

The question naturally arises as to whether Wolsey after destroying the church which was situated on the site chosen by him for his college, rebuilt it in its present position, but considering that from the time of the commencement of the college to its dissolution in 1530 less than three years had elapsed, this seems hardly probable. Moreover the north side of the present church and indeed the whole of the existing structure bears marks of greater antiquity than would thus be allowed for, and even if we

suppose that Wolsey moved it farther south, leaving the present north wall standing, we must then satisfy ourselves that the outside of the present north wall was originally the inside of the old south wall, after which the difficulty of want of time for the rebuilding must be overcome.

The following ballad of the period taken from *Bacon's Annals* shows that there existed an undercurrent of revolt against the methods adopted by the Cardinal to raise funds for his Colleges.

“ Hym men do worshyppe wth prayers and lyghte
 The peopyll do curse bothe day and nighte;
 Thys ys the Comon voyse.
 Wth Abbayes good thy colage y^u byldeste,
 Wth pore mens good thy place y^u gldeste;
 How Canste y^u thys Reioyse ? ”

THE INFLUENCE OF EASTERN ART ON WESTERN
ARCHITECTURE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE
ELEVENTH CENTURY.

By J. PARK HARRISON.

So little is known of the architecture of either France or England in the early part of the eleventh century, that it seemed well to give archæologists the information that has lately been obtained from the works of Baron De Caumont and M. Viollet-le-Duc, who had paid special attention to the subject.

I wish, however, first to mention what does not appear to have been at all a common belief of archæologists in this country—that Normandy, or rather Neustria, at the period when the ruthless Northmen settled down in their newly acquired territory and adopted Christianity as their religion, was without architectural remains which it was possible for them to utilise.¹ The new converts then had to borrow a style for their churches, and masons to build them from Maine or some other State with which they had commercial intercourse—a circumstance that appears sufficiently to account for the “marked severity of style” and sameness of purely Norman capitals and arcades which has been observed as existing until some years after the Conquest; whilst, in this country, Anglian and Eastern love of ornament gradually affected Norman architecture, now the ruling style in England, and transformed it into a type rightly designated by French archæologists *Anglo-Norman*.

In Germany, Herr Lübke, in his *History of Art*,² also credits English Romanesque with a like leavening influence—“On the conquest of England, Norman architecture began to predominate to the exclusion of the old; but the new style adopted certain elements of the earlier into its system, which thereby acquired a special national colouring.” This, it will be seen, would go far to explain

¹ Dictionaire Raisonné, Vol. I, p. 138.

² *History of Art*. Cook's translation, Vol. I, p. 514.

what has been considered by more than one architect of repute to be an almost impossible advance in style in a church like Waltham, though accepted as the work of Harold by Mr. Ed. Freeman, and Mr. Burges the architect employed on the restoration of the church, and confirmed by unanswerable constructive evidence from Mr. J. Arthur Reeve's measurements taken whilst the scaffolding was still standing.¹

To return to my subject. Baron De Caumont gives information of real importance regarding the very great improvement in art and architecture which occurred quite at the commencement of the eleventh century; and it was at this time that a colony of Greek merchants settled in Aquitaine near the abbey of St. Martin, and established an emporium at Limoges, from which as a centre the rich stuffs and art-fabrics of the East were distributed through France, and across Normandy to Rochelle for transport to the British Isles.² This, M. Viollet-le-Duc says, was just the epoch when the building art had to find the best means of restoring the roofs and other timber work that had been destroyed by fire in the devastated provinces of France. It was not surprising then, he adds, "if the rich strangers desired to see stone vaults and cupolas introduced like those in their own land"; and it is thought they probably supplied funds for erecting the fine church of St. Front, Perigueux, with its purely Greek plan and five domes, the first large church of the Greek style known to have been erected in France, and one that has been called the sister of St. Mark's, of Venice, and for some time supposed to have been copied from it, though this was subsequently found not to have been the case. It is, however, thought that the two churches may have had a common origin, namely the church of the Twelve Apostles at Constantinople, or rather Byzantium.

The first church or "basilica" of St. Front at Perigueux, according to old records, was founded (*conditur*) by Chronopius, the second bishop of that name,³ circa 620, but was ruined in the wars. The consecration

¹ See *The Architect*, Vol. XV, p. 46, and plates.

³ *L'Abbée Frag.*, p. 736, and *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. VI, p. 1456.

² V. le Duc, Vol. I, p. 137.

of what Baron De Caumont believed to be the "second" church of St. Front, forming part of the great monastery so named, and commenced by Froterius in 984, took place in 1047. It is called in the *Gallia Christiana* "nova ecclesia Sancti Frontonis."

The early date of the existing church, with its five cupolas, which have of late years been almost rebuilt, appears to have been accepted by De Caumont partly from records to which M. de Verneilh had access in the Archives of the Province, and partly from the fact that the Comtesse Emma de Perigord built a chapel circa 1000, dedicated to St. Andrew, in it. She was the mother of Bishop Froterius, who died in 991.

What appears to have been part of the first church and the great monastery of St. Front was burnt in 1120, but the cupolas would have protected the "nova ecclesia" from injury. It should be mentioned, too, when St. Front of Perigueux is said to have been the only large church of purely Greek plan with five cupolas in France, numerous domed churches were subsequently erected in Aquitaine and neighbouring provinces; these French archæologists call Byzantine, but they were all on a Latin plan. St. Astier was, perhaps, the earliest of the Latin basilican type, with five domes, three of which are over the nave, and it appears to have been built soon after St. Front in the eleventh century.¹

Domed churches on a purely Greek plan were not unknown in France at an earlier period, having, it is believed, been introduced by Charlemagne. War, however, and rapine put an end to the Carolingian advance in art before the end of the ninth century. A church of this period was described by Mr. J. H. Parker in the *Archeologia*,² viz., the little church of *Gernigny sur Loire*.

Oriental influence, due to the frequent intercourse between the towns in the maritime provinces of France and the East, led, Viollet-le-Duc tells us, to a markedly Greek element being introduced into French architectural ornamentation. The following are some of the principal features enumerated:—Polygonal apses; blank arcades;

¹ A learned memoir on the supposed Byzantine character of St. Front was communicated to the Institute of British Architects in 1896. It gives reasons,

principally structural, for assigning a later date to St. Front.

² Vol. XXXVII, where see plates.

pilasters decorated with friezes of flat leaves; mouldings of slight projection and several members; ornaments presenting strange combinations of flowers and foliage; leaves sharply pointed and denticulated; and sculptured fruit copied from examples in the Holy Land.

A trained eye will often detect similar Oriental features in other churches both in France and England, where unusually good work might have been expected to be met with of an early date, for the same or similar reasons that occurred at Bernay and Perigueux.¹ It would account for Sir Gilbert Scott expressing himself as struck with some of the foliage at Oxford cathedral as influenced by a Greek motive.

The sole example of a dome in Normandy is at Bernay, but there appear to be constructive reasons that lead M. Ruprich-Robert, the author of the important work on Norman architecture, to entertain doubts whether the rather flat cupola in the south aisle of the church was not a later addition. The monastic church itself he pronounces to be early eleventh century work, founded in 1000 by Judith, Duchess of Brittany, the wife of Duke Richard II of Normandy, and completed by him on her death. Ruprich-Robert quotes William of Jumieges as attributing to the Duke not only Bernay church, but the erection, or part erection, of several other large and equally good churches; amongst them St. Michelle Mont, Evreux, St. Taurin, and the abbey church of Fécamp, some remains of all of which, it is said, still exist.

In the appendix to a lecture in the Chapter House at Oxford ten years ago I pointed out that Ethelred II, the brother-in-law of Duke Richard II of Normandy, was engaged at the beginning of the eleventh century in building or rebuilding a minster, now part of the cathedral, towards the cost of which, he stated in his charter of 1004, that the whole of the English people contributed funds. The abbey church at Fécamp was in course of construction at this time, besides Bernay church, and bishops and abbots from the Holy Land and Syria were frequent visitors to the court of Duke Richard. The

¹ It is worth noticing that Ravel de Contré, Bishop of Perigueux, who died 1013, had visited the Holy Land, and

that a Greek bishop may have suggested a cupola for Ely.

chronicles of Fontenelle (St. Wandrill's) Abbey, and Verdun Monastery, when recording this intercourse make special mention of Simeon, the Abbot of St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, who stayed two years at Rouen and superintended the erection of a church dedicated to St. Catherine on a hill in the suburbs of that town, in which he deposited relics of the saint which he had brought with him from the East. Of this church an interesting fragment is preserved in the garden of Rouen Museum, a photograph of which was taken for me a few years ago; a typographic block has since been obtained from it (see Plate). It should be mentioned that the choir and its aisles at Bernay are older than the nave, but Ruprich-Robert considers the entire church to have been erected in the first half of the eleventh century. He also says that no part of it was built by a Norman architect or artist, the style of the arcades and the capitals being quite different from those in the Conqueror's church at Caen, and apparently the work of a foreigner. Yet an "extension lecturer" has recently pronounced the architecture of Bernay to be "characteristic Norman," like the *Abbaye aux Hommes* and *Jumièges*, which shows how greatly an untrained eye may mislead an archæologist who, though a ready writer, has not had the advantage of practical architectural experience.



PALM CAPITAL, CHOIR-AISLE, BERNAY.



EASTERN CAPITAL AT ROUEN.



THE FAMILY OF CLARE.

By J. H. ROUND, M.A.

It is now more than twelve years since I wrote for the *Dictionary of National Biography* five articles on the house of Clare, one of them dealing with the family as a whole, and four others with members of the house who flourished in the Norman period. Having, since then, further studied its early ramifications, I propose to touch on certain points to which I have given special attention in the history of "a house which played," to quote Mr. Freeman's words, "so great a part alike in England, Wales and Ireland."

A Suffolk Congress of the Institute is an eminently suitable occasion on which to deal with the family of Clare, which derived its name from the great stronghold that the Institute is about to visit, and the founder of which obtained in Suffolk so vast a fief at the Conquest. And here I may observe that this fief was the source of one of three "Honours" prominent in Suffolk history. Three of the leading followers of the Conqueror, Richard de Clare, William Malet, and Hugh de Montfort, obtained between them in Suffolk, according to Dugdale's estimate, some 350 "lordships," and each of them had for the "caput" of his fief, I would point out, a moated mound, from which these fiefs became known as the "Honours" of Clare, of Eye, and of Haughley. Eye and Haughley were forfeited to the Crown, and Clare passed to it by descent. "The Honour of Clare" now forms part of the Duchy of Lancaster,¹ but its separate existence is still, I believe, recognised by a court of the Honour of Clare held by an officer of its own.

As is known to most of you, the Suffolk stronghold, whatever was the origin of its own name, has originated,

¹ In 4 & 5 Philip and Mary (1558) an Act of Parliament united to the Duchy "all that Honour, Lordship, or Manor of Clare in our county of Suffolk," &c.

not only that of its lords, but several others as well. The Royal Dukedom of Clarence, county Clare in Ireland, Clare College at Cambridge and Clarenceux King of Arms all derive their names from the same source. In the case of County Clare there has indeed been a question. In "Clarence, the origin and bearers of the title," the Rev. Thomas Parkinson derived the name of county Clare from Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, better known as "Strongbow."¹ But Mr. J. Donaldson had long before suggested that it was really named after Thomas de Clare, a younger brother of the head of the house, who obtained, in some way, the land of Thomond about 1267.² It may be useful to note that Thomond was granted him in tail, to hold by the service of ten knights, January 26th, 1276.

It should be hardly necessary to dwell on the greatness attained by the Clares. But some of the sidelights thrown on that greatness by sundry scattered passages may now be quoted. Richard, the founder of the family in England, married Rohese, daughter of Walter Giffard the elder, in whose right his descendants inherited a moiety of the Giffard fief. The alliance of these two families is referred to by the Ely writer when he speaks of their son, Richard, his abbot, as

"parentum undique grege vallatus, quorum familiam ex Ricardis et Gifardis constare tota Anglia et novit et sensit. Ricardi enim et Gifardi, duo scilicet ex propinquo venientes familiæ, virtutis fama et generis copia illustres effecerat nateles suos, et quoscunque nobilium conventus se ageret illorum pompa, terribili multitudine ferebatur."

It is important to observe that the Clares are here called "Ricardi," as they are in another passage,³ after the founder of their house. A similiar allusion is made by the Colchester Abbey writer when he says that Eudo Dapifer, a son-in-law of this Richard, was spared by the King for the sake of his wife's family, "erat enim haec de genere nobilissimo Normannorum, filia scilicet Ricardi, qui fuit filius Gilberti comitis duxitque Rohaisam uxorem," etc.⁴ Moreover, he alleges that on Eudo's death,

¹ Paper originally read at Clare before Essex and Suffolk Archæological Societies, August, 1868, and published long afterwards in *Antiquary*, V, 60-65.

² "The Duchy of Clarence, County of Clare, and Clarenceux King of

Arms," read December 14th, 1848 (*Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institute's Proceedings*, I, 5-6).

³ See *Feudal England*, p. 469.

⁴ *Ibid.*

there was an idea, among his widow's brothers, of strengthening their position by marrying her to Henry the First, then a widower. I am still working out the history of this mighty house in the Norman period, especially its connection with the conquest of Wales. When I have finished doing so, I expect to find that they owed to Henry I an immense accession of wealth and consequently of power.

Under Henry II we have another interesting glimpse of their position in Fitz-Stephen's remark that "nearly all the nobles of England were related to the Earl of Clare, whose sister, the most beautiful woman in England, had long been desired by the King."¹ The death of William, Earl of Gloucester, in 1173, led to a vast increase of their estates and the eventual acquisition of his title; and "from this time the house of Clare became the acknowledged head of the baronage."² Gilbert de Clare, "The Red Earl," became the son-in-law of Edward I and the greatest subject in the kingdom. It is worthy of remark, that in what is known as "the Parliamentary Roll of Arms," assigned to 1307,³ the Earl's coat immediately follows that of the Sovereign himself. But the house was greatest on the eve of its end; Gilbert, the Red Earl's successor, fell on the field of Bannockburn (1314), the last of the Earls of his house.

Apart from the usual sources of genealogical confusion, the family history of the Clares has been rendered specially difficult by their habit, born perhaps of pride, of deeming superfluous any suffix, and styling themselves only "Richard son of Gilbert," "Gilbert son of Richard," and so forth. As I wrote in the *Dictionary of National Biography* :—

"Dugdale is perhaps the chief offender, but, as Mr. Planché rightly observed, the pedigree of the Clares as set down by the genealogists, both ancient and modern, bristles with errors, contradictions, and unauthorised assertions. His own paper (*Journal Archeological Ass.* XXVI, 150 et seq.⁴) so far as it goes is probably the best, that of Mr. Clark on 'The Lords of Morgan' (*Archæol. Journal*, XXXV, 325) being, though later, more erroneous."

Count Gilbert of Brionne, the ancestor of all the Clares, was the son of Godfrey, a natural son of Richard the Fear-

¹ *Becket Memorials*, III, 43.

² *Archæological Journal*, XXXV,

337.

³ Edited by Mr. Oswald Barron.

⁴ See also his papers in *The Conqueror and his Companions*.

less, Duke of Normandy. Count Gilbert, one of the guardians of Duke William when a child, was murdered by Ralph de Wacy in the year 1040, whereupon his two sons, Richard and Baldwin, fled to Flanders. Returning to Normandy in later years, they received fiefs from William, Richard obtaining Orbec and Bienfaite¹ (Calvados) while Baldwin had Meulles² (Calvados) and Le Sap (Orne). From these possessions the two brothers were known respectively as Richard de "Benefacta" (Bienfaite) and Baldwin de "Molis" (Meulles) in addition to the names they derived from their parentage and from their seats in England. Moreover, when the Suffolk Domesday shows us a Roger "de Orhec" holding under Richard at Bricett (II, 393b), we need not hesitate to say that he must have derived his name from that Orbec in Normandy which, we have seen, was held by his lord, Richard.

Before we pass from Normandy, it is necessary to insist on the close connection between all the Clares and the famous Abbey of Bec Hellouin, "the most renowned school of the learning of the time," and one which "gave," in Mr. Freeman's words, "three Primates to the throne of St. Augustine." Founded (1034-1037) by Herlwin, a vassal of Count Gilbert of Brionne, with the help and favour of the Count himself, it was claimed by the latter's great-grandson, the first Earl of Pembroke, as under the special protection of his family and as having been founded by his ancestors.³

It is difficult to give any conception of the errors and confusion, on the Clares and their branches, in Dugdale's *Baronage*; and, in some respects, later writers have increased rather than lessened it. Instead therefore, of attempting a general pedigree of the family, I propose, as a more useful undertaking, to mention some of the leading errors against which antiquaries have to be warned and some of the new points established by my own researches.⁴

I have shown in my chart pedigree of the family how closely its successive generations identified themselves with Bec, but I may here observe that as Richard the first lord

¹ Now Orbec-en-Auge and St. Martin-de-Bienfaite.

² Between Orbec and Le Sap.

³ Cott. MS., Faust. A. IV, fo. 73.

⁴ A chart pedigree of the family, for three generations from the Conquest, will be found in my *Feudal England*, facing p. 472.

of Clare founded St. Neot's Priory as a cell to the abbey of Bec, so Gilbert, its second lord, bestowed on the abbey the collegiate church of St. John, with its prebends, which his English predecessors had endowed at Clare itself.

The two sons of the murdered Count received in England vast possessions at the hands of the Conquering Duke. Baldwin was made Sheriff of Devon and obtained a great fief in that county, where his headquarters were at Exeter itself. He was known in consequence as Baldwin the Sheriff or Baldwin of Exeter, as well as Baldwin de Meulles, or Baldwin the son of Count Gilbert. Of his three sons, who, like himself, were all benefactors to Bec, Robert held Brionne, in 1090, against the Duke of Normandy, while William and Richard succeeded in turn to the shrievalty of Devonshire and their father's fief. Here the important point to notice is that Richard was totally distinct from Richard de Revers (father of the first Earl of Devon), with whom he is so persistently confused, but who died thirty years earlier than he did.

I hasten to pass to Count Gilbert's other son, Richard, styled once in the Suffolk Domesday (II, 448a) Richard "de Clare," but more usually Richard de Tonbridge or Richard the son of Count Gilbert. Here in Suffolk he obtained the lands of two great owners under Edward the Confessor, namely Wisgar the son of Ælfric of Clare and Phin, known as Phin the Dane. Both of these had held property in Ipswich itself, which duly passed to Richard.¹ As we have seen, he married Rohese, daughter of Walter Giffard, and their daughter Rohese (for the name was kept up in the family) married Eudo Dapifer, founder of Colchester Abbey. I cannot refrain from pointing out that the handsome treatise published in connection with the town hall now being built at Colchester bestows on her the truly delightful name "Rhodesia." This "up to date" version is worthy of that enterprising borough which has revived its imaginary "Portreeve" by a special Act of Parliament. Those who are familiar with Mr. Planché's work can imagine how that bold punster would have styled this delightful name the invention of a *chartered libertine*.

Richard left many children, of whom Gilbert suc-

¹ Domesday, II, 392b, 393a.

ceeded to his English fiefs, and Roger to Orbec in Normandy, while Walter and Robert obtained, I hold, fresh fiefs from Henry I. I was the first to discover that one of the daughters, Adeliz, married the famous Walter Tirel, who held, under her father Richard, the manor of Langham, Essex, on the Suffolk border.¹

Gilbert, the second lord of Clare, had, like his father, several children, of whom the eldest, Richard his heir, is persistently said to have been made the first Earl of Hertford. But although this is the view adopted in *The Lords' Reports on the Dignity of a Peer*, it is, I have shown, absolutely wrong.² Another son, Baldwin de Clare, Stephen's spokesman at the Battle of Lincoln, was, I have shown,³ ancestor, through an heiress, of the Lords Wake, Dugdale being here again hopelessly wrong. Another of his grievous errors on the Clares has been exposed by me in a paper on the abbey of Stratford Langthorne,⁴ where I have shown that its founder, William de Montfichet, married Margaret, a daughter of Gilbert, the second lord of Clare, by whom he was father of Gilbert de Montfichet living under Henry II. Now Fantosme, in his poem on the great revolt against that monarch, writes, speaking of London :—

Gilebert de Munfichet sun chastel ad fermé
E dit qui les Clarreaus⁵ vers lui sont alié.⁶

Castle Munfichet was, we know, a bulwark of the city on the west, and "Clarreaus," which the Rolls editor does not attempt to explain, is, in my view, an allusion to Gilbert's cousins, the Clares, a branch of whom, we shall find, held the adjoining stronghold know as Baynard Castle. But I must first deal with another branch.

The most famous of the younger branches of the great house of Clare was that which was founded by Gilbert, a younger son of Gilbert, the second lord of Clare. This younger Gilbert, we are told by the continuator of William of Jumièges, inherited the lands of his paternal uncles

¹ See my paper on Walter Tirel and his wife (*Feudal England*, pp. 468-479, 575).

² See my *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 39-40, and *The Complete Peerage*, II, 267.

³ See my *Feudal England*, p. 474.

⁴ *Essex Arch. Soc.* (N.S.) V, 141.

⁵ "Clarels," in another reading.

⁶ Rolls edition, p. 338.

Walter and Roger, younger sons of Richard, first lord of Clare.

He obtained the Earldom of Pembroke *temp.* Stephen, as did his nephew and namesake the Earldom of Hertford. As heir to his uncle Walter, the founder of Tintern Abbey, he became the lord of Gwent in South Wales. And this leads me to make a striking and, so far as I know, a novel suggestion. This Gilbert's son Richard, who succeeded him as Earl of Pembroke, has long been familiarly known to all the world as "Strongbow." It has been held, however, that this name was one of later invention, nor indeed is it found, we learn, in any contemporary authority. But the singular thing is that, although hardly known, Richard's father Gilbert is also styled "Strongbow." A charter of Richard's grandson and heir, granted within fifty years of his death, distinctly applies the name "Strongbow" both to Richard and his father, and my friend Sir James Ramsay has called my attention to the fact that the chronicle of Melrose similarly speaks of them both as "Strongbow" not long after their time.¹ Now Gilbert, we have seen, was lord of Gwent, and although no one, I believe, has thought of putting, in homely phrase, "two and two together," it is a striking fact that the men of Gwent were famous above all others for the strength of their mighty bows.

In his *History of the Art of War* Mr. Charles Oman writes:—

"The men of South Wales were the most skilled of all the inhabitants of Britain in archery, and drew the longest and the strongest bows" (p. 400).

Giraldus Cambrensis, as he observes,

"describes the bows of Gwent as astonishingly stiff, large, and strong" (p. 559).²

Now, in the paper I contributed to the *Journal* of the Institute on "the introduction of armorial bearings into England," I gave an illustration of the startling seal of this Earl Gilbert,³ in which he holds in his right hand a

¹ "Richardus comes de Penbroc, filius Gūliberti comitis Stranbouc" (*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 82). Richard is also called "Strangbo," Sir James points out to me, by the *Annals of Loch Cé*.

² The interesting passage in *Itin. Camb.*, p. 54, should be studied for this.

³ *Arch. Journ.*, LI, 45.

weapon which is clearly a formidable arrow, some six feet in length! Is it not possible, nay probable, that this design is really an allusion to the name of Strongbow which, as we have seen, this Earl Gilbert bore, and that it displays in an exaggerated form that arrow used by the men of Gwent which excited the wonder of Giraldus? We have here, if so, the first glimpse—for Earl Gilbert died in 1148—of that fearful weapon which proved its power and revolutionised warfare two centuries later, on the fatal field of Crécy.

I have two more points to note before we leave this Earl Gilbert. In my *Studies on the Red Book of the Exchequer*¹ (p. 7) I have quoted from the Lewes Cartulary (Cott. MS. Vesp. F. XV., fo. 73) a charter which confirms his connection with Pevensey, alluded to in the *Gesta Stephani*, by showing him in possession of its rape. The other point is the demonstration in my newly-published *Commune of London*² that he did not, as alleged, obtain the office of “Marshal of England” and transmit it to his heirs.

In this connection I may mention that I have shown in the same work (pp. 309–310) that the earl’s son and successor Richard did not, though the fact has been styled “certain,” have a son Walter, whose existence has been evolved only from the garbled text of a charter. This correction is of some consequence in view of the romantic story of his alleged son’s death, and the well-known monument assigned to him.

Oddly enough, a daughter of the first and sister of the second Earl of Pembroke married the head of the house, Gilbert, Earl of Hertford, whose son Richard succeeded (1245) in her right to vast estates in England and Ireland.

We may now turn to the cadet branch founded by Robert, a younger son of Richard, first lord of Clare. This Robert was granted the fief forfeited by the Baynards, including Dunmow, Essex, famous for its “flich,” and great estates in Norfolk and Suffolk. Mr. Eyton questioned the accepted view that this Robert was the founder of the baronial house of Fitz-Walter on the ground of chronological difficulties.³ But in spite of

¹ Privately printed 1898.

² Constable and Co., 1899.

³ Add. MSS. 31, 938, fo. 98.

their undoubted difficulties, I have worked out the pedigree of the house, and shown that the descent is true.¹

The Fitz-Walters held a peculiar position in connection with their stronghold of Castle Baynard on the walls of London, namely that of banner-bearer and leader of the City's forces, and I have already suggested that they were the "Clarreans" of Fantosme. I have lately noted the interesting fact that the tenants of their fief, formerly Baynard's, owed castle ward to the said Castle Baynard.

As Dugdale was wrong on the founder of their house, so was he wrong on the lords of Daventry, who descended from one of their younger sons.² It is interesting to note that while the Clare earls ended in 1314, the Lords Fitz-Walter continued to flourish in the male line down to 1432. Their cadets, the lords of Daventry, had ended with a last male in 1380, and, although they themselves had thrown off a younger branch, this ended with the death of John Fawsley, of Fawsley, in 1392, childless. His name may remind us that even as we saw, before the Conquest, in Normandy, the acquisition of a fresh lordship would give the house a fresh name, it did so still as late as the fourteenth century; so that genealogists may yet discover, however small the chance may be, a male descendant of the race of Clare.

And now I turn to Clare Castle. In what I have written on the moated mounds, especially in a paper on "the Honour of Ongar,"³ I have endeavoured to investigate the *status* of their sites on the eve of the Conquest, as bearing on the question of their origin. Mr. Clark jumped, somewhat rashly, at the conclusion that, even before the Conquest, these sites could be identified as the *capita* of great estates. But in many cases this was not so, and in these cases the presumption is that the mound was only raised when the site became such *caput*, that is, after the Conquest. At Clare, however, it is quite possible that we have a case in Mr. Clark's favour. "The great mound at Clare," he writes (I, 22), "was the fortified seat of Earl Aluric, who held an enormous estate in

¹ *Feudal England*, pp. 475, 575, and
Essex Archaeological Transactions
(N.S.) VII, 329.

² *Essex Arch. Trans.*, *ut supra*.

³ *Essex Arch. Trans.* [N.S.], VII,
143-4.

that district." Other writers similarly speak of its English lord as "Earl Aluric," but I do not know of any ground for assigning him that title. Ælfric, for such would be his real name, was a great Suffolk thegn, founder under Edward the Confessor of the collegiate church of St. John at Clare. On this foundation he bestowed the manor; and it seems to me that, although possible, it is hardly likely that he gave the church what Mr. Clark styles his own "fortified seat." Nor, indeed, is there any evidence that it was his "fortified seat" beyond Mr. Clark's assumption to that effect.

Ælfric, who was the son of a Wisgar, was succeeded also by a son of that name, who held his estates at the time of the Conquest, and whom King William, we may gather from Domesday, did not at first dispossess. His lands, however, were, during the reign, bestowed on Richard the son of Gilbert, founder of the house of Clare.

This Richard is shown us by Domesday as in possession of Clare itself, which the King had taken from the clerks of Ælfric's foundation. It is entered at the head of his Suffolk estates, and we learn from Domesday that he had there a vineyard. In my paper on "Essex Vineyards in Domesday"¹ I have argued that the mention of a vineyard implies the residence of a Norman lord; and the inference that Richard resided at Clare is confirmed by the fact that his son Godfrey was there buried, as we learn from the local cartulary.

In considering the question whether it was Richard who first raised the mound at Clare, it must be remembered that, although in Suffolk he was known, from his stronghold, as Richard de Clare, in Kent he is styled by Domesday Richard "de Tonebridge." Is it not then desirable to compare the ground plan of Tunbridge Castle, his Kentish stronghold, with that of the castle at Clare? In both there is a moated mound on the *enceinte*; in both it is about the same circumference; in both the ground-plan appears, roughly, to consist of two quasi-rectangular enclosures, forming an inner and an outer ward, which appear to communicate with one another in much the same way. I have not had the opportunity of studying

¹ *Essex Arch. Trans.* (N.S.) VII, 249, *et seq.*

either the sites themselves or accurate ground-plans of them, but if there should prove to be any real resemblance of design, it would afford evidence of the highest value in favour of the Norman design of both these strongholds, an origin which I, in opposition to Mr. Clark, have claimed for some of the moated mounds.

Before leaving Clare itself, I would allude to the charters of Stoke Priory. There are printed in the Appendix to the new Monasticon two lengthy and important charters of confirmation to this house, which I have seen assigned to Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Archæologists should be warned that in several cases, within my own experience, charters of "T" Archbishop of Canterbury have been wrongly assigned to the famous Becket, when really granted by his predecessor, Theobald. In this case I should have recognised the charters as granted by Theobald, not by Thomas; but what gives them a special interest is that Becket himself is a witness to the first of the two, disguised as "Thomas clericus de Lond."¹ It is well known that, when a clerk in the household of Archbishop Theobald, Becket was styled "Thomas of London," and the witness, therefore, it should be noted, though styled "Thomas clericus de Lond.," was really "Thomas of London," clerk.

Of the heraldry of Clare I need only say that I discussed their coat in the *Journal* of the Institute a few years ago, and claimed its occurrence on a seal, in the time of Stephen, as probably the earliest authentic occurrence of armorial bearings in England.²

¹ *Mon. Ang.*, Vol. VI, p. 1660.

² *Arch. Journ.*, LI, 44-48.

ORIGINAL RESEARCHES ON THE SITES OF RELIGIOUS
HOUSES OF IPSWICH: WITH PLAN OF EXCAVATION.

By NINA FRANCES LAYARD.

The history of Ipswich, including that of its Religious Houses, has been repeatedly written, and to give even a *résumé* of all that has been said on this subject would be merely to express lamely what has been so well put together from time to time.

Instead, therefore, of attempting to go over the same ground again, I will confine my remarks to the results of some original research made on the sites of one or two of the convents of Ipswich.

As little or nothing beyond a fragment of wall here and there is left above ground, it has been difficult to ascertain at all positively the exact position of the various houses. In order, therefore, to get a clearer idea of their whereabouts for working purposes, I have attempted roughly to construct a composite map, subject, of course, to revision as fresh light is thrown upon the matter. I do not know whether this plan has already been made use of by others, but as I have found it of great service, it may be worth while to explain the method adopted. Taking an Ordnance Survey map, which is printed in black, I have laid down upon it in colours, first of all the probable outline of the ancient city wall and ditches, which will in a general way mark out the older portions of the town, and then the areas occupied by the Priors and Friaries and other ancient buildings, as far as they are at present ascertained. Thus it will be seen at once that Trinity Priory, upon the site of which Christchurch Mansion now stands, was without the city walls, as also was Grey Friars in St. Nicholas Parish, while the house of the Carmelites, the Black Friars and the Priory of St. Peter and St. Paul were all included within it. By a careful comparison of ancient maps and pictures of Ipswich from Speede's map, dated 1610, to Pennington's, 1778, the various changes may be traced as old buildings fell into decay and were superseded by later

structures, or new roads intersected or replaced the picturesque but narrow streets of the old town.

Working in this way, it is not only easy to realise over what spots sacred to past memories we are treading, but we know what to expect to find when fresh excavations are made for building or other purposes. For want of some such system much has already been lost to our town, and little or no record kept of the position of underground walls, which marked the foundations of the old Religious Houses.

When, for instance, James Street and Edgar Street were made, was it realised that the whole of the site of the Grey Friars Church was laid open? Doubtless the workmen who picked up the strong foundations were aware that they had come upon ancient work, for they know this substantial underground masonry pretty well by this time, and much trouble it gives them, but workmen are not sentimental and their one object is, of course, to remove the obstruction as expeditiously as possible. It is, alas, too late now to redeem those splendid opportunities which are lost for ever to the antiquary, but of the little that remains we may at least gather up the fragments. It was my good fortune a month or two ago to have a visit from a working-man, who brought with him a few broken pieces of Roman (?) pottery. On learning that they had been found behind the Grand Hotel in Butter Market, where Mr. Walter Cowell is building new premises, a reference to the composite map at once showed this to be the position of the old Carmelite convent, long since razed to the ground. Here was an opportunity not to be lost of visiting the interesting site so soon to be built over and effaced for ever. In Dugdale's *Monasticum Anglicanum* the position of the convent is described as being "about the middle of the town, in the parishes of St. Nicholas and St. Laurence." Taylor, in the *Index Monasticus*, further states that "it was of considerable extent, reaching, according to Kirby, from St. Nicholas Street to St. Stephen's Lane, and that a portion of the building was after the dissolution used as the county gaol," and these two descriptions are supplemented by Wooderspoon, who speaks of land occupied by this convent as reaching "from St. Stephen's Lane to Queen Street on the south side of

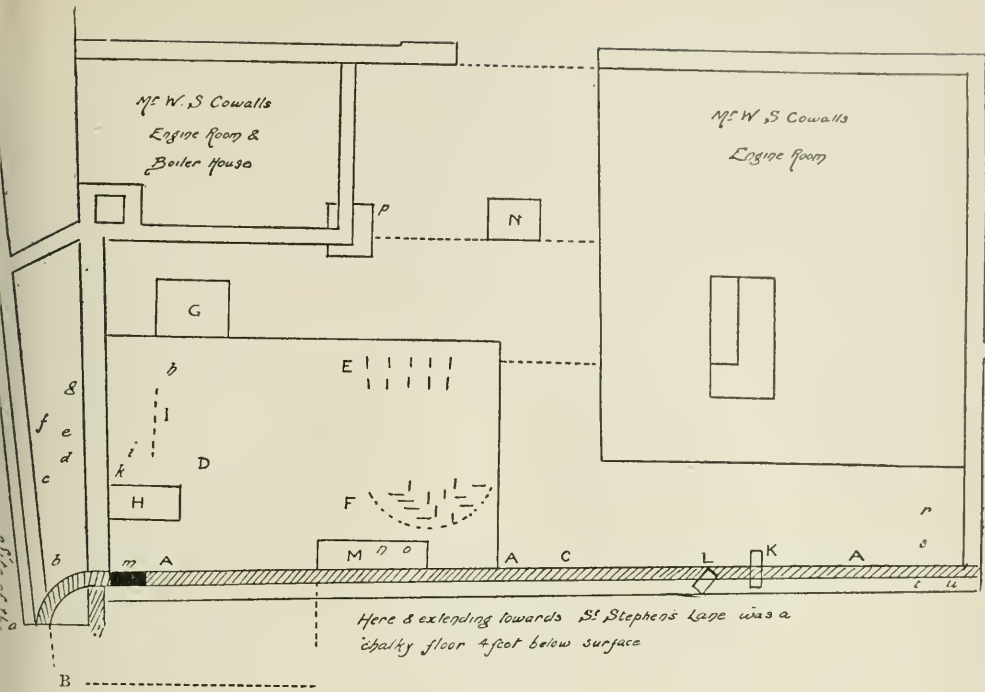
the Buttermarket." By piecing these accounts together and finding from old maps the position of the county gaol, we are able to locate the house of the Carmelites with some degree of certainty, but I am not aware that any portion of the building itself has been visible since the destruction of the old gaol, until these recent excavations disclosed the foundations of an ancient wall of the convent. Although I was not in time to see the whole length of the wall, which had been almost entirely demolished by the workmen, sufficient was still left for examination, and I made a plan of the excavation to procure a record of its position. The portion left standing was rubble, of massive masonry, and the wall stretched southward from the back of the houses in Butter Market, turning off at right angles towards St. Stephen's Lane (A).¹ Beyond the angle there appeared to have been an archway measuring 9 feet across and opening in the direction of the Old Cattle Market. (See B on plan.)

With the kind permission of Mr. Cowell, the owner, I have spent a great deal of time examining the locality and taking notes of the position in which the various objects were found.

The excavation was carried out to a depth of 23 feet. A section through it showed generally from 8 to 12 feet of made-up earth, which points to a depression in the land, which had been filled up. Below this was some 2 feet of loamy sand resting on soft gravel, and here and there a substratum of clay became visible. As might be expected, relics characteristic of many different periods came to light. Among those that may perhaps be associated directly with the Carmelite convent, the most interesting are an ornamental glazed tile, a broken mug of quaint pattern, and a delicately sculptured figure in white marble (C). It is robed in rich garments with girdle and tassels, and is doubtless of ecclesiastical design. Unfortunately, having been fractured, the head and upper part of the figure are missing. This sculpture has now, I believe, been presented to the Ipswich Museum.

While I was watching the spadefuls of earth as they were thrown out by the workmen, two or three Nuremberg tokens came to light, and near to them a fragile metal

¹ See plan, on which the wall is marked.



EXCAVATIONS ON THE SITE OF THE CARMELITE CONVENT,
IPSWICH, 13TH APRIL, 1899.

- A. Wall of Carmelite Convent, discovered during excavation and entirely demolished.
- B. St. Stephen's Lane.
- C. Marble figure, discovered at a depth of 4 feet.
- D. Medallion: Our Lady of Pity, discovered at a depth of 13 feet.
- E. Two orderly rows of skeletons, discovered at a depth of 7 feet.
- F. Skeletons irregularly placed.
- G. Pit, 20 feet long, alternate layers of lime and black mould.
- H. Pit, 20 feet by 8, 17 feet deep, alternate layers of lime and decomposed animal matter with bones to a depth of 10 feet, below that 4 feet of rubbish, below that to a depth of 8 feet the same alternate layers, below that undisturbed clay.
- I. Oyster shells, lying at a depth of 10 feet.
- K. Grave, 6 feet by 2, 15 feet down. In it many Roman burial urns, jaw of animal with teeth and grey pottery.
- L. Grave, 4 feet by 2, 11 feet down, full of fragments of urns.
- M. Section at side of cutting: Made earth, 12 feet; loamy sand, 2 feet; soft gravel, 9 feet.
- N. Shaft: Horn knife or comb, 4 feet, stag's antler with tines sawn off, at a depth of 8 feet.
- a & b. Rubble arch, about 9 feet wide.
- c. Piece of jug, hole in side, at depth 15 feet.
- d. Fragment of thin red pottery.
- e. Piece of glazed mug, at depth 15 feet.
- f. Large jug, 12½ inches high, 9 inches across, yellow-green glaze.
- g. Jug cover, yellow-green glaze.
- h. Fragments of very coarse urns, 10 feet, 15 feet, 17 feet below surface.
- i. Grey rim with spout, 17 feet below surface.
- j. Red rim with spout, 10 to 13 feet below surface.
- k. Pigs' jaws and tusks and pottery, Roman?
- l. Fragment of fresco, 13 feet below surface.
- m. Three tokens, 13 feet below surface.
- n. Two Bellarmine jugs, 10 feet below surface.
- o. I saw this piece of wall still standing.
- p. Bone needle, horn awl.
- q. Two horn implements, two animals' jaws, a few bones.
- r. Shaft, 6 feet square, 17 feet deep, bones at bottom.
- s. Antler, 22 feet below surface.
- t. Lead weight, 7¼ ounces, 10 feet below surface.
- u. Fragments of glazed pottery, horn of Bos longifrons, 23 feet below surface.
- v. Yellow pottery with pattern.

medallion (D), the pattern of which it was difficult at first to determine. Presently, however, as verdigris appeared upon it, the beautiful design became apparent. It represents the Virgin sitting or kneeling and supporting the dead Christ. In the background is a cross with the nails and scroll, and round the margin runs a cable pattern, though this is partially destroyed. A medallion very similar to this was found when removing the stalls of St. Mary's church at Bury, and a copy of it may be seen in the *Proceedings of the Bury and Suffolk Archaeological Institute* for December 14th, 1848. Though in this case also the design is a pièta and is surrounded by the cable pattern, the two delineations are not identical. As was to be expected, a large number of human remains were found within the precincts of the convent. Two orderly rows of skeletons, about ten in number, lay in their old burial ground 7 feet below the surface (E), and a few feet lower in another part skeletons were again found, placed in irregular positions (F). Indeed, there were tokens on every hand that the greater part of the area opened had been devoted to the purpose of burial.

In more than one place other methods to dispose of the dead had been employed, and large pits could be traced, which had been dug to a depth of 17 feet, filled with alternate layers of lime and black mould, in which latter occasional human bones were discovered. The upper part of one of these pits measured 20 feet by 8, and the lower part 8 feet by 5 (G, H).

When the friars dug their graves and laid the foundations of the Friary wall they broke into ground which had been previously occupied by earlier folk, possibly Roman, for a large quantity of broken pottery of very coarse material and rude ornamentation was found at depths varying from 10 to 23 feet. Much of this lay immediately below thin layers of oyster shells and surrounded with very dark mould (I), but many fragments of pottery were found heaped together in two graves dug in the gravel below the foundations of the convent wall. These graves measured respectively 6 feet by 2, and 4 feet by 2, one of them being 11 feet below the surface and the other 15 feet (K, L). In one of these, besides many fragments of urns, or perhaps, more correctly speaking, household

utensils used for burial purposes, the spiral stem of a somewhat massive vessel was found, and in the other a roughly shaped leaden weight. The finding of a similar weight and two leaden discs is mentioned in the guide book to Roman remains found at Wilderspool, near Warrington. It would take too long to describe individually all the rest of the relics which came to light. Two rims of vessels with spouts are among the most interesting, and the core of a stag's horn with several of the tines sawn off.

Horns of *bos longifrons* and jaws and tusks of pigs were also lying among the pottery. Some of the fragments are unusually thick and heavy, and in a few cases hand-made pottery seems to point to a very early period.

I have compared many of these specimens with incontestably Roman pottery in Colchester Museum, and have found nothing corresponding exactly to them. As the area excavated was of considerable extent and carried to a depth in some parts of 23 feet, it is possible that among the finds are some of pre-Roman date.

Several bone and horn implements were discovered in the gravel below the foundations of the convent wall. These were at a considerable distance from the pottery, and were imbedded in gravel which appeared to have been undisturbed, at a depth of 23 feet below the surface (M). A section at this spot showed 12 feet of made-up earth resting on 2 feet of loamy sand, below which was soft gravel to a depth of 9 feet, which was as deep as the excavation was carried. There was no dark earth surrounding the implements, as was invariably the case where pottery was found. The objects found here consist of a bone needle or bodkin with broken eye, a horn awl, another horn implement partly hollowed and grooved, perhaps to be more firmly held in position, and a horn implement with holes bored in it. It has been suggested to me that this was used for making the meshes of nets. Associated with these were one or two fragments of bone which appeared to be extremely old.

Nearer to the surface, and on the other side of the cutting, a portion of a bone knife or comb with rudely ornamented handle was found lying near to a skeleton (N). This was at a depth of 4 feet, but here the ground had not, I think,

been made up. In another part two broken Bellarmine jugs came to light, one bearing arms and crest.

While these excavations were being carried on behind the Butter Market, I paid occasional visits to College Street in St. Peters, where some old houses were being pulled down to make room for other buildings. In digging down below their foundations the old river bed was reached, for it is well known that this was originally part of the quay. Here, lying beside the remains of a female skeleton, which had been thrown out by the workmen, I found two bones of very different appearance, which I at once saw had been roughly shaped, though for what purpose it was difficult at first to conjecture. These, with the kind help of Dr. Laver and Mr. Spalding, Curator of Colchester Museum, I have since identified as bone skates. They are, however, without the usual holes bored through them by means of which they could be attached by thongs to the boot. An account of such skates given by Fitz-Stephen in his *History of London* describes the manner in which they were used in Henry II's reign.

“The young men fastened the leg-bones of animals under their feet, pushing themselves by means of an iron shod pole. Imitating the feats of the tournament, they start in career against each other, meet, and use their poles for a blow, when one or other would be hurled down.” Skating by the help of bones was well known in Holland, and a quaint picture is given in Chambers's *Book of Days*, Vol. I, p. 138, showing a child using the jawbones of a horse as a kind of sledge. The child is seated upon them, and is propelling itself by means of a pointed stick in either hand.

Bone skates are dredged up from the bottom of the Thames, and are also found in Holland, Scandinavia and Sweden, and, I believe, are still in use in Iceland.

The Convent of Black Friars, which was situated in St. Edmund-a-Pountney Lane, now Foundation Street, covered an area of very considerable extent, and much of the original building was standing when Kirby made his sketch of it in 1746. This, however, has long since disappeared, and nothing remains but a portion of the Refectory wall with some early English arches, which may still be seen forming the boundary wall of the Girls' Endowed

School. I made considerable excavations on this site in August of last year, with the result that a portion of the west wall of the Refectory was found, also a floor of pinkish red tiles, some of which had formerly been glazed, lying at a depth of 4 feet 5 inches below the surface. The tiles had been arranged in a pattern, there being alternately one large tile and four smaller ones. Having traced the foundations of the old Refectory wall across School Street, I found it continued again in the yard of a house opposite (No. 9, School Street), and this gave the length required for the room, which was considerably more than 100 feet.

Nearer to Foundation Street and running obliquely across School Street, I came upon the foundations of the walls of the old Friary Church, which apparently stood north and south instead of east and west. The walls were of rubble with masses of hard mortar, and measured 40 inches across. Here a small piece of lead light was thrown out, also a glazed tile, but beyond this nothing of special interest was found. In marking out the probable position of the Friary on my map, I have been guided by the descriptions given in various histories, which correspond with the plan to be seen on Ogilby's map of Ipswich, dated 1674.

Before closing, I should like to take this opportunity of exhibiting a large stone vessel, which I found in a farm-yard at East Bergholt, near Ipswich, a few months ago.¹ There have been many opinions expressed about it, but up to the present time none have been given with any degree of certainty. It has been suggested that it is a mortar, but against this the softness of the stone and the unusually pointed base are objections. Others have concluded that it was a font, but the porousness of the stone is a difficulty. To Mrs. Mellor, of Ipswich, I am indebted for the suggestion that it might be an ancient drip-stone or filter, and an experiment with a canful of water soon shows that it would have been suitable for this purpose, for the water filters slowly through. The stone is a soft red sandstone, which turns grey on the exterior.

¹ See illustration.



STONE VESSEL FOUND AT EAST BERGHOLT.

Height from rim to base, 22 inches; circumference of rim, 69 inches; greatest diameter of rim, 22 inches; diameter of mouth of vessel, 14 by 14 inches.



CHURCH RESTORATION.¹

By the VERY REV. R. MILBURN BLAKISTON, M.A., F.S.A.,
Rector of Hadleigh, Suffolk, and Dean of Bocking.

I have to thank the Institute for having done me the honour of asking me to preside over the Architectural Section of this meeting, which honour I have accepted with much diffidence, as I am only too conscious of my unfitness for such a position.

It might be very properly expected of me, as you are gathered in this important centre in East Anglia, that I should direct your attention to some of the many features of architectural interest with which this neighbourhood abounds; but, in the first place, I am quite a new comer into Suffolk, and, as it is almost a *terra incognita* to me, my place is more properly that of a learner than a guide; and, secondly, there is the less need of any such guidance being given at this meeting, inasmuch as you are engaged every day in seeing with your own eyes the chief objects likely to interest you within a considerable area around this centre.

It has therefore seemed to me that on the present occasion it would be better that the few remarks I have to make should be of a general character. Not, indeed, that I am going to deal with the subject of architecture as a whole, or attempt to deal comprehensively in this brief paper with a subject which occupies ninety-three pages of the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

But, as it has been my duty in the last twenty-five years to concern myself in an official manner with what is known in popular language as church restoration, I thought it might not be out of place for me to say a few words on that subject to-night.

It will doubtless be allowed that, being a priest of the Church of England and not a professional architect, my

¹ Paper read at the Architectural Institute in the Town Hall, Ipswich Section of the Royal Archæological Friday, July 28th, 1899.

observations will properly be concerned with "restoration" as applied to churches, rather than in connection with secular buildings.

Now, what is the true meaning of the much misused word "restoration"? If I turn to Latham's edition of *Todd's Johnson's Dictionary*, I find the simple explanation that restoration is the "act of replacing in a former state"—or, more fully, the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* explains thus, "Restauration se dit, particulièrement, en Architecture, d'un travail fait d'après un édifice antique, pour en rétablir les parties qui n'existent plus."

There still remains, however, a considerable ambiguity about the word. If you have the misfortune to lose the sight of an eye on account of the formation of a cataract, perhaps, under the hand of a skilful operator, the cataract may be removed and you have with the aid of glasses a perfect restoration of your sight; but if, unhappily, your eye is smashed up completely by an accident, and the surgical-instrument maker fits you with a glass eye, carefully tinted to match the other, you would not call that "restoration."

At the close of the nineteenth century we have arrived at a period when church restoration is more a thing of the past than of the future; and can we say that, on the whole, the work has been done wisely and well?

Probably, within the present century, at least £50,000,000 has been spent upon the fabrics of churches, though it is quite impossible, owing to no records having been preserved in some parishes, and only very imperfect records in others, to arrive at any accurate detailed statement on the subject. The return obtained from Parliament by the late Lord Hampton (better known as Sir John Pakington) is so deficient as to be of but little use. Perhaps if we divided the sum I have named above equally between new churches and old ones, we should not be very wide of the mark, and therefore we have the sum of twenty-five millions as representing the voluntary contributions raised for church restoration since the close of the eighteenth century.

This is a very large amount of money, and it may well be asked whether it has been always laid out

judiciously. Those of us who are old enough to remember what our parish churches were like forty or fifty years ago can well allow that very much was needed to be done in order to make them at all fit for the high purpose for which they were intended. The gross neglect of the two centuries preceding only evidenced too plainly the need there was for extensive repairs. A friend of mine, vicar of a Devonshire parish, had to take an umbrella up into the pulpit on a rainy day to hold over his head when he was preaching, as the rain poured down in a stream from a hole in the roof over the preacher's head. No one can complain of the repairs which were needed in this church; but, unfortunately, many ardent spirits elsewhere thought that repair always involved "restoration," and such restoration as their own minds suggested rather than that which the necessities of the case demanded.

But, in many instances, even "restoration" was not deemed sufficient, and demolition was thought to be the only cure for a church in which the incongruous insertions of post-mediæval date abounded. A case in point occurs to me. In a quaint churchyard in one of our southern counties stood a quainter church. Perhaps the fabric was not rich in features of fifteenth or fourteenth century or of earlier date; but the interior was the quaintest part of all. I was preaching in the church on July 12th, 1874, and from the pulpit I could count seven galleries—some of them consisted only of a tiny pew, to hold two persons, or even but one, perched up against the capital of a nave pillar with a little staircase all to itself. The church had been beautified in the approved churchwarden style; that is to say, it had been whitewashed all over and bands of black some two or three inches wide were painted round the doorways and windows, while a few texts of Scripture within oval black lines adorned the walls here and there. That which immediately faced the preacher was "How dreadful is this place." Well, an eminent architect was called in, and the church was absolutely condemned, and now a brand new church, entirely featureless, and devoid of a single interesting or restful point upon which to fix the eye, occupies the site of the old one.

Again, in a guide book to a large church with which I am acquainted the reader is told, in some such words as these, that the church was elegantly restored a few years ago, nevertheless some objects of antiquity still remain.

How often have we read in the penny-a-liner's account of the reopening of a church that it has been completely restored to its "pristine" condition? I very much question, if the actual thirteenth-century builder of such a church could now visit it, whether he would recognize in the work of the nineteenth-century workman any similarity to his original conception. Unless you have the actual designs of the original fabric before you, it is rubbish to talk of the guesswork of the modern "restorer" as "replacing the church in its former state."

Next, I should like to say a few words on the methods that have been often used. Given, we will say, a church of the Early Decorated period. The date of its erection can be pretty accurately determined by one who has made a study of the subject and is familiar with the indications afforded by material, locality, plan, and the details of mouldings, &c. But, upon close observation, it is found that there are traces, more or less marked, of work of later date. Perhaps there are one or two Perpendicular windows or even of the Debased period—a Jacobæan pulpit, woodwork of a later date, an organ case of the Georgian era with gilded pipes in front, and so on. Your correct restorer tells you these are modern additions, and therefore ought to be done away with and the church restored to the exact state in which it first took shape in the Decorated period. This kind of treatment strikes me as falsification of history; and, speaking from the point of view of a Churchman as well as that of an antiquary, I look upon all such restoration as deplorable. The Church of England has a grand history. We pride ourselves upon its continuity from the days of St. Augustine and St. Aidan, and it does seem to me to be simple barbarism to wipe away all the outward landmarks of such history. It is not a history without its vicissitudes, and there may have been periods of which we cannot be very proud; but is it just, is it true, is it right to try and obliterate all such historical records in order to

arrive at what cannot be more than a fraudulent attempt to pass off nineteenth century work as that of the fourteenth?

But to the arguments I have used this objection may be urged. A person will say, "Our old church is not large enough for the needs of the parish, and a separate additional church is not needed. What is to be done? May we not touch the fabric at all?" I should reply without hesitation, "You must first of all meet the needs of the parish; therefore, if necessity demands it, your old church must be enlarged." But, in doing so, use the greatest care to interfere as little as possible with existing work. Except in a few very rare cases where you have a priceless relic of early times which it would be a sin to destroy, it may generally be managed that the additional work can be added without very serious meddling with old work; and, indeed, if the old work must be altered, your needed addition will but be an extra step in the ladder of the church's history. The fifteenth-century architect did not hesitate so to deal with the work of his predecessor in the fourteenth century when the actual need arose, and the same course may be of paramount necessity now; though we must always bear in mind that every church thus altered removes one more from the constantly dwindling specimens of early work.

So, too, in the matter of repairs. I have not a word to say against carrying out necessary repairs if they are done in a proper spirit. The ravages of the weather in our variable climate create such a necessity; and, as I have before mentioned, we have inherited at least two centuries of heartless neglect. But it is when the man who is called in to repair a church is allowed to try his hand at "restoration" that it becomes necessary to raise one's voice in solemn protest. It is on this account that I always prefer to speak of "repairing" rather than of "restoring" a church.

Before concluding, I should like to touch delicately on one matter which as a Churchman I cannot altogether pass by. In many of the thousands of sets of drawings for the so-called "restoration" of English parish churches that I have seen, there has evidently been a great lack of knowledge of what is the real use of a church.

In our Book of Common Prayer there are many very plain directions in reference to the arrangement and disposition of the internal fittings of a church, and yet these are so often overlooked that one wonders sometimes if the architect employed has ever studied the Prayer Book at all. It is on this ground that I always think that the person who is selected for the work of repairing an old or building a new church should be himself an earnest Churchman. His conceptions of what a church is for must necessarily differ from those of a person of another persuasion, who cannot possibly share the Churchman's views of what is necessary for the purposes of divine worship. I have ventured to mention this subject because I cannot look upon a church as merely an object of architectural interest, or for antiquarian study alone. We must remember that, just as music and painting have been for ages past utilised in the service of the Church, and considerably developed thereby, so—and in a more marked degree—architecture rose to much of its grand nobility under the fostering care of the Church, and always had relation to the requirements of the Church services.

We can hardly claim for the century which is now drawing to a close that it has developed a style of architecture peculiar to itself, which will be the pride of succeeding generations. Whether the twentieth century will do so we cannot foretell; but at least we have a grand inheritance of the works of previous centuries, which we should treasure for their own intrinsic merits and for the valuable historical lessons which often they alone can teach us.

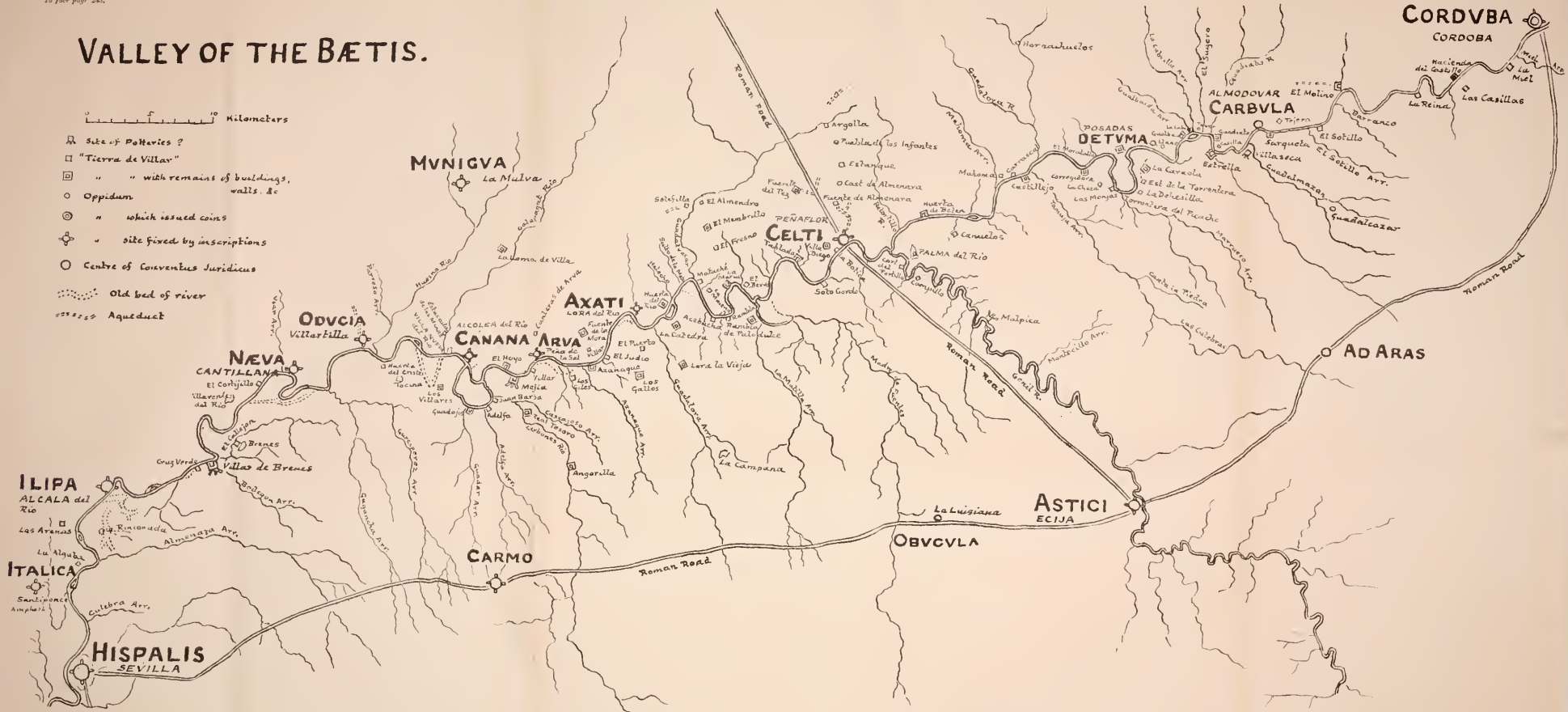
In whatever century we live, we should regard ourselves as trustees of the vestiges of the past, both for our own satisfaction and also for the edification of those who succeed us; and we ought to be very jealous of any wanton interference with the labours of those who have long since been laid to their rest.



VALLEY OF THE BÆTIS.

0 5 10 Kilometers

- Site of Potteries?
- "Tierra de Villar"
- " " with remains of buildings, walls, &c
- Oppidum
- ⊙ " which issued coins
- ⊕ " site fixed by inscriptions
- Centre of Conventus Juridicus
- ⋯ Old bed of river
- Aqueduct



THE ROMAN TOWNS IN THE VALLEY OF THE BÆTIS,
BETWEEN CORDOBA AND SEVILLE.

By the REV. W. G. CLARK MAXWELL, M.A.

PREFACE.

The exploration, excavations, &c., mentioned in the following paper were undertaken during the months December, 1889—April, 1890, in the valley of the Guadalquivir. The Trustees of the Craven Fund at Cambridge made a grant of £80 for excavations, &c., in this part of the world. The smallness of the sum in proportion to the size of the area taken in hand made it necessary to employ but few workmen—at Peñafior four; at Peña-de-la-Sal, first two and then four; at Alcolea three. Mr. Bonsor, the discoverer and excavator of the Necropolis of Carmona, accompanied me, and his ready help and practical acquaintance with the country were, of course, invaluable.

The method pursued by us was as follows:—We determined to make a careful personal inspection of both banks of the river, usually in company, and almost always on foot. In spots where remains appeared specially abundant, and where we could obtain the owner's permission, we made trial trenches and in one or two instances somewhat more extended investigations, but anything like systematic excavation of a site was rendered out of the question by the lack of means at our disposal.

INTRODUCTION.

Between Cordoba and Seville is a stretch of 120 English miles of the Guadalquivir, in which we find record from Pliny and other ancient authors of ten Roman cities—Carbula, Detuma (or Decuma), Celti, Axati, Arva, Canana, Oducia, Næva, Ilipa, and Italica. The progress of the centuries has entirely obliterated some (*e.g.*, Oducia and Arva) and much diminished the importance of others. Only one at the present day can at all lay claim to the

title of town, and one post-Roman town, Palma del Rio, has grown up. The reasons for this decline are not very plain; the almost constant state of war in which the south of Spain was involved from the time of the invasion of the Vandals, followed by that of the Goths (*c.* 400) down to the final expulsion of the Moors from this part about 1280, may account for much destruction and more decay. In an age of plundering warfare, as was that which preceded the "Reconquista," the sites suitable for commerce, but exposed to attack, which the Romans had occupied, were gradually abandoned for natural strongholds in the spurs of the Sierra Morena; and the chief memorials of the Moorish occupation are the square keeps, which served as towers of refuge for the travellers from town to town, and which bear a strange resemblance to the peels of the Scottish Border.

The campaigns of Ferdinand the Saint brought a measure of peace, which was perhaps after all but exhaustion, to the valley of the Guadalquivir. The energies of Spanish chivalry were henceforth directed to the final expulsion of the infidel, and commerce and the internal development of the country were neglected for this more important end. Simultaneously with the capture of Granada came the discovery of the New World. The energy and enterprise of Spain were diverted into this fresh channel, and the Guadalquivir was finally abandoned as a water-way and an important means of inland communication. Man's imprudent destruction has completed what the neglect of man had begun; the forests with which the Sierras of Spain were anciently clothed have been cut down and converted into charcoal, without replanting to remedy the deficiency. For this reason the rainfall is now insufficient and uncertain; the noble river is encumbered with shoals and weirs, and has a stream insufficient for commerce, except when rolling down in destructive flood, sweeping away bridges, cutting out new courses for itself in the rich alluvial plain, and carrying down to the sea thousands of tons of fertile soil.

All this must have presented a very different appearance during the long ages of peace which the country enjoyed under the Roman rule. At every step along the banks of the river the traveller comes across some trace of their

careful and enlightened system of agriculture and irrigation. Here it is a river wall of concrete to restrain the river from encroaching on a now vanished town ; there a series of tanks, now empty, broken and useless, which formerly collected the surface-water or drainage from the hills and stored it up, to provide against the possibility of drought ; there again, the ruined and disused conduit of an aqueduct which conveyed water from an abundant spring to the town, sometimes six miles distant, on the banks of the river. At very frequent intervals, too, we find the traces of one of the Roman villages or "*latifundia*," where the soil is thick with fragments and handles of amphoræ, tiles, tesserae of mosaic, and the fragments of the marble lining which once decorated the rooms of the more distinguished inhabitants. On the outskirts of some wretched village, such as Santiponce (Italica), or a place of somewhat greater importance, as Alcalà del Rio (Ilipa), or a city like Carmona (Carmo), we find the circuit of the Roman wall now enclosing olive-yards and corn-fields, while the modern houses of tapia or sun-dried mud are supported by hewn Roman stones stolen from the ruins of a neighbouring amphitheatre or mausoleum. The marble columns which once adorned some public edifice now serve as the threshold of a labourer's cottage, while the pedestal which records the erection of a gilded statue of a public official by the municipium which he had benefited forms part of the floor, mingled with pieces of tessellated pavement and bricks of all sizes and dates. The owners themselves, in most cases, care nothing for the objects in their possession, and only begin to feel an interest in them when they see the explorer's note-book produced, an interest which speedily grows to devotion if they see the remotest possibility of an offer of purchase. Local science or enthusiasm has as yet done little for the preservation and systematic investigation of the remains of antiquity which occur so thickly in their midst ; and those who have occupied themselves with the ancient topography of Bætica have for the most part contented themselves with tracing resemblances, fanciful and unscientific, between ancient and modern names, and thus identifying places which often have never had any connection with each other. There are, however, honourable

exceptions, notably in the case of the early members of the Academia Sevillana, who were diligent and painstaking investigators, under conditions much less favourable than those which surround the explorer of the present day.

The noble work done by Dr. Emil Hübnér in Vol. II of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* is of the very greatest use, and a comparison of the inscriptions which he reports as extant at a locality with those that are to be found there now shows how immeasurably we should be the poorer had that work not been undertaken. But it could not reasonably be expected that in the course of so short a time as Hübnér devoted to the compilation of so bulky a volume he should have been able to visit each and every locality from which he records inscriptions; thus we find that in many cases where he did not personally copy the inscription certain mistakes in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* may be detected, and of course other inscriptions have since been brought to light, which have not yet found their way into the supplements published in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*. Thus even in that branch of Spanish archæology which Hübnér has specially made his own, it is possible in some degree to supplement his work.

With regard to topography, as mentioned above, hardly any work of real value has been accomplished. Owing to the unfortunate preference for study over field work, many of the proposed sites and identifications are hopelessly incorrect and misleading. Such conclusions as we have ventured to suggest in the pages which follow will be found, I think, to be based upon observed phenomena, and worthy of at least serious consideration.

The books chiefly consulted have been these:—

Hübnér. Vol II of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

His *Arqueologia de España* (Barcelona, 1888, 8vo). A most valuable work, giving a complete account of the science of archæology in Spain up to the present, with a full list of authorities, and bibliography.




An Article by Dressel in the *Annali dell' Istituto*, Vol. L, 1878, p. 118. ff. on the excavations carried out by him in the Mte Testaccio at Rome. He comes to the conclusion that most of the stamps which he there found on the handles of amphoræ are of Spanish or African origin, and in fact, we have been able to confirm this conclusion with additional evidence, by the list which is given in the Appendix of the stamps collected by us.

There is also a good deal of information to be gathered from the *Memorias de la Academia Sevillana*, Vol. I (the only one published), 1773, as regards the sites of Axati, Arva, and Munigua.

An Article by *Dellefsen* in the *Philologus*, Vol. XXX, 1870, p. 265 f. on "Die Geographie der Provinz Bätica bei Plinius," which contains many useful suggestions as to the classification and status of the various towns.

ROMAN REMAINS ON THE BANKS OF THE GUADALQUIVIR BETWEEN CORDOBA AND PEÑAFLOR.

I. *Right Bank*, as far as Almodovar.

April 13th. As soon as we were free of the outskirts of the town, we followed the margin of the river, wherever practicable, but where we saw an old bed of the stream, we preferred that, as experience taught us that such was the most likely place in which to find a Roman "*despoblado*," or land now waste but showing signs of former occupation. There are various degrees of *despoblado*. (1) "*Tierra de Villar*," where the ground contains potsherds, tiles, &c. This we have indicated in the map with  in red. (2) When such a spot has such masses of fragments of amphoræ, &c., or many handles bearing the same stamp, as to suggest the débris of a potter's kiln, even if such have not actually been found we have used this mark . (3) Where the remains are of such extent, or contain so many fragments of walls or cisterns, as to suggest a larger settlement, a *latifundium* or *centuria*, we have marked it thus .

The first site which we come upon on this side is near the farm of *Hacienda del Castillo*, about 7 kil. from Cordoba. Here there are two or three cisterns at somewhat wide intervals, one of them, of which only one side remains perfect, measuring 4·80 m. in length, 1·15 in height, the walls ·55 thick, being coated in the interior with (1) a thick layer of pounded brick and lime, (2) a thinner skin of lime and fine sand. The corners are finished with a roll moulding, originally designed to prevent leakage. The sides are of concrete.

The next Roman site is at some distance, being fully

12 kil. down stream ; on the way, a good many bricks, &c., are seen here and there, but so widely scattered, and so sparsely, that we do not feel justified in placing at any particular spot the mark of a despoblado. At *El Molino*, however, where there is a mill turned by the stream Guadaroman, there is a large collection of débris on a height between that stream and the river. There are traces of an aqueduct which apparently supplied this spot, which is crossed by the railway between Almodovar and Cordoba.

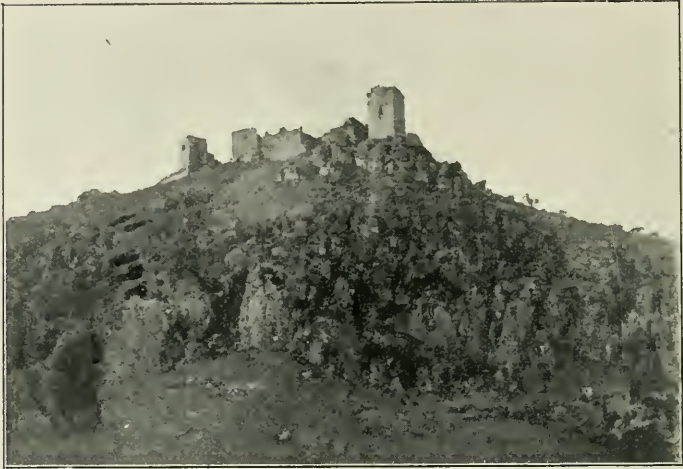
The next site of any note is at *La Tejera*, about 6 kil. farther on, and this time not quite on the river, but on a small stream of that name. (The site has no special name, hence in such a case we give the name of the stream, or of some natural object near.) The remains here are slight—a few squared stones, evidently Roman, and the usual potsherds, tiles, &c.

Another $1\frac{1}{2}$ kil. brings us to *Almodovar*.

II. *Left Bank*, as far as Almodovar.

April 15th. Soon after leaving Cordoba, we cross the stream of *La Miel*, with a small despoblado, but not more than tierra de villar is to be noticed. Four kil. farther on, on the west slope of a hill which overhangs the river, is *Las Casillas*, with tierra de villar, and a strong spring enclosed in a well house, which may have some remains of Roman work, but it was not possible to be certain. We next pass the river Guadajoz, and follow the river bank for about 5 kil., when we come to the site of *La Reina*, which shows signs of Roman occupation, and where a handle with the mark A·FER was picked up. There now follows a long stretch of bank unmarked by any decided signs of habitation, a large portion of it being “land which the rivers have spoiled,” and we only reach unequivocal Roman remains at *El Sotillo*, 17 kil. farther down. Here there is much tierra de villar and fragments of wall projecting from the face of the bank. These walls are constructed, as commonly in this part, of potsherds, the interstices being filled either with earth or mortar. This makes a very strong wall, and must have cost but little for materials in a country where pottery was so abundant and to all appearance so extensively made. (See illustration of wall at *La Botica*,





ALMODOVAR CASTLE FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.



PEÑA DE LA SAL. PLACE WHERE THE TOMBS WERE FOUND.

Peñaflor, where amphora-necks are also inserted into the wall.)

At about 5 kil. distance is *La Barqueta*, where there is besides the ordinary tierra de villar a large cistern of the ordinary kind, measuring 21 m. in length by 8·80—depth unobtainable for the earth. The concrete walls are ·75 in thickness. Three other smaller cisterns are broken and fallen by the action of the current on the bank in which they stood. A very short distance now brings one to Almodovar.

CARBULA.

With regard to the identification of this site, it must be admitted that we have but slight evidence to go upon. Inscriptions are not very satisfactory in this case, the only one with local bearing having been found in Almodovar¹ at the end of the last century. It consists of a dedication to Vespasian and his sons, dated A.D. 74.

IMP · CAES · VESPASIANO · AVG ·
 PONTIF · MAX · TRIBVNIC · POTEST ·
 V · IMPERATORI · XI · P · P · COS · V · DES · VI
 CENSORI · LIBERISQVE · EIVS ·
 PAGANI · PAGI · CARBVLENSIS ·

The two others from this district given by Hübner are merely funeral tituli, and furnish no information.²

In default, then, of evidence to the contrary, Carbula may most naturally be placed in Almodovar, and an examination of the ground tends to favour this view. Almodovar is built on the east slope of a large spur of limestone rock which strikes south from the outskirts of the Sierra Morena and ends in an imposing cliff 400 to 500 feet above the river, on the summit of which is placed the Castle of Pedro of Castile.³ It is a natural stronghold, and completely commands the road from Cordoba along the right bank of the river, and hence has always been considered as one of the keys of Andalucia. The Moorish name which it bears leads us to suppose that they did not neglect the great natural advantages of the situation. Is it too much to suppose that the first syllable

¹ *C.I.L.*, II, 2322.

² *Ib.*, 2323, 2324.

³ See photograph No. 1.

CAR in Carbula has reference to the same magnificent fortress? (*Cf.* Car-mona, Granada (Karnatta), Cor-doba? &c.)

The splendid castle which now crowns the summit of the hill of Almodovar has nothing distinctively Roman—the main fabric is, as stated above, of the time of D. Pedro (1369–79), with certain additions, apparently of the 15th century. The substructures of the castle walls, however, are older than the building above them, and appear to be of Moorish work, since they much resemble some of the masonry to be seen in the Moorish walls of Cordoba, in the south-west angle of the city near the Palace of the Archbishop. After so many additions and alterations, it is not wonderful that the original Roman building, if there ever was any, should have been so completely removed or concealed. In the town itself there are to be seen, as in almost every other town of this district, a considerable number of squared Roman stones, which now serve either for the corners of houses or for protecting the corners of the streets from damage by vehicles. There are also some fragments of marble columns, but on such slight indications one cannot build anything certain, since the Spaniard will frequently go five miles to fetch a stone, rather than cut it at his own door.

The ground, too, shows signs of Roman occupation, though not to the same extent as many to which allusion will be made subsequently.

These various signs, taken together, seem to indicate that there was not a very large Roman town here, if this was the site of Carbula. Yet this same town was of sufficient importance to strike its own coins,¹ and that, too, at a short distance of the capital, Cordoba.² May we conclude that its importance was due to its strength as a position, rather than for any trade facility which it offered?

We visited in the neighbourhood of Almodovar, on March 31st, some quarries which appear, from the method

¹ *Coins of Carbula*, Eckhel, I, 16. Delgado, Nuevo Método, &c., I, 52, Pl. VII.

² A careful survey of the river bank for a considerable distance, both above and below Almodovar, failed to bring to light any remains of large settlement.

employed in cutting the stone, to be of Roman foundation ; but subsequent work has so much altered the quarries in most places, that the evidence is not very clear.

III. *Right Bank*, from Almodovar to Posadas.

March 31st. A short distance from the town there is to be seen a wall of concrete barring a small valley, probably intended to act as a reservoir. A little farther on is La Casilla, where there is some extent of tierra de villar. Near the mouth of the *Guadiato*, however, and on the bank of that stream, is a large despoblado, which we have named after the river. Here there are great collections of potters' débris, proving that this was a pottery. Six stamps which we found here all bore the same C·IV·BAR. There also appear to be the remains of concrete reservoirs.

Crossing the *Guadiato* by a fine 15th-century bridge, and passing a portion of bank at a considerable elevation above the river, we come to *La Torre Cabrilla*, a 14th-century tower of refuge, situated about halfway between Almodovar and Posadas. Just beyond this is a despoblado of the same name between the streams La Cabrilla and Gualbaida, chiefly remarkable for a face of wall 25·50 m. long and 3 high, made of alternate bands of brick and river-stones. Just beyond the *Gualbaida* is another despoblado, to which we have given the name of the stream ; here is much débris of pottery, but no stamps were obtained. Just before reaching *Posadas* we came across extensive remains of reservoirs, &c., one of which was apparently vaulted in two stories, though but little now is left of it. It is probable that we have here the remains of the ancient Detuma or Decuma, all squared stones, &c., having been long ago removed for use in more modern buildings.

IV. *Left Bank*, from Almodovar to Posadas.

March 31st. The bank for some little way is much altered from its original course, and is flat, sandy, and overgrown with tamarisk, &c. The first signs of Roman occupation are to be seen at *Villaseca*, near the mouth of the Guadalmozan, and on the bank of the old course of the river. Here are large quantities of potsherds, and the abundance of clay here suggests a pottery. Here two marks were picked up, but so badly preserved as to be

almost illegible. Continuing to descend the river, we find that the old bank diverges to the south of the present course. Nothing, however, is to be observed on either till they reunite at *La Estrella*, where there is much tierra de villar and some imperfect cisterns. This is also situated near a modern farm, on the stream whose name it bears, and which probably furnished the reason for its first planting.

From this place to Posadas (11 kil.) is land which has been at various times the bed of the stream and thus contains no sites.

DETUMA (DECUMA).

This is a town of some considerable uncertainty, both as to position and history. It occurs in the list given by Pliny, 3, 3, 10, as "Decuma" in the usual text.

In Ptolemy, it has the form *Δητοῦνδα*, or at least that word occurs in his list, in a position which corresponds very well. (*Ptol.* II, 4, 9.)

In any case, the town of Detuma or Decuma lies between Carbula and Celti, which may be identified with certainty with the modern Peñaflor.¹ There are only two sites between Cordoba and Peñaflor which at all seem to show signs of considerable Roman occupation, such as would indicate the site of a town. These two sites are Posadas and Almodovar, and till further information is made available to locate them elsewhere, they may be considered respectively to represent Detuma and Carbula.

Meagre as was the information obtainable from inscriptions in the case of Carbula, we are still worse off in the matter of Detuma. Only one inscription, and that merely a funeral titulus, has come to light in the neighbourhood of Posadas, and it gives us no local information whatever.²

The name of Decuma or Detuma, too, is epigraphically unknown, and so far as our information serves us, there are no coins of the town.

In the outskirts of Posadas and for a short distance up the old course of the river (somewhat north of the present) are remains of concrete walls, apparently some founda-

¹ *I. infra*, p. 259.

² *C.I.L.*, II, 2325.

tions, but principally cisterns of various shapes and sizes, which probably served for water storage or deposition of sediment, the water being supplied from a rivulet which now runs through the centre of the town and away to the river. The ground here is not quite so full of potsherds as, for instance, at Peñafior, but the signs of occupation are unequivocal, and Detuma may with considerable confidence be referred to Posadas.

V. *Right bank*, from Posadas to Peñafior.

March 31st. On the outskirts of the town there is to be seen the tower part of a Roman mill in the hedge at the right hand side of the road.

The first despoblado is to be found near the farm of *Antonio Serrano*, and is situated on an old bank of the stream, at some distance from the present bed. Here the *tierra de villar* is of great extent. There exist the remains of a large reservoir, and many amphora handles are to be noticed. Hence we got the following marks :

CVC . . . (159)

G. DEC (160)

Can the latter have some reference to Decuma? Compare the marks from sites just opposite this, *Estrella de la Torrontera* and *La Dehesilla*.

Four kilometres below this spot, near the stream of *Moratalla*, is another despoblado, which, however, was not so easily investigated, owing to the trees and undergrowth with which the site is covered. Here we found the mark :

PIOEBI.

We next arrive at *Hornachuelos* station on the railway. Here the river *Bembezár* is crossed by a now broken bridge of the 15th century. Ten kilometres up this stream is situated the town of *Hornachuelos*, which we visited in the hope of finding Roman remains, but were unable to discover anything older than the Moorish occupation. There remains yet one arch (originally five) of a handsome Moorish bridge about a kilometre below the town.

Returning now to the river, we find after an interval the despoblado of *Carrascal*, where is a strong spring bubbling up among remains of concrete buildings which seem to have been a reservoir ; round about are fragments of pottery. At a very short distance, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ kil. from the river, is *Mahoma*, a small despoblado without

anything to mark it beyond the usual *tierra de villar*. We then pass another stretch of river, arriving, just after crossing the modern road to Ecija from Palma station, at the *Huerta de Belen*, close to the sanctuary of that name. (March 19th.) Here the strong spring which serves to irrigate the fruit-garden attracted Roman cultivators and potters to settle, as is proved by the great quantities of débris of pottery, large and broken reservoirs, and walls constructed of potsherds in the manner formerly described. Among the marks on amphoræ collected here are :

FORTVNATM (146)	SX·FRCÆIΛR (147)
F·S·F·A·QVA . . . (148)	SAXoFERR (149)
. . . FERR EVY (150)	. . . RATrT. (152)

Similar marks have been found in France.

We next pass the Retortillo by an ancient bridge. This probably formed the boundary between the *conventus juridicus* of Corduba and that of Hispalis, as it did till recently between the Provincia de Cordoba and that of Seville. Two kilometres farther on we come across a large and scattered despoblado at *Cortijo de la Vega*, and shortly to *Peñaflor*.

VI. *Left Bank*. Posadas to Peñaflor.

April 1st. The first trace of Roman occupation is to be found at *Caraola*, where there is very little of the *tierra de villar*, usually so abundant, but a series of reservoirs on the slope of the low height which here bounds the valley, doubtless originally constructed to guard against a drought. Three of these cisterns measured respectively :

- (1) 2·60 × 2·30.
- (2) 4·60 × 4·70.
- (3) 2·16 × 2·24. (In metres.)

The depth in no case could be exactly ascertained, as there was too great an accumulation of earth at the bottom.

We next come to *La Estrella de la Torrontera*, where there is much *tierra de villar*, at the beginning of the rise of the great *barranco* or cliff which here turns the current of the river. A kilometre farther on *La Dehesilla*,

much remains of pottery ; perhaps the site of kilns. Marks from these two places :

Est. de la T. G DEC (164) M·IΘFI (165)
 TVOO (166)

La Deh. LFC (167) MIVO (168)
 F·SCVFM (169) LFCCV (170)
 GFSCVFM (172) FCCV·FM (171)

Cf. those of Ant. Serrano.

Arrived at the heights of the Torrontera del Picacho, we continue along them for some time, then descend, cross the arroyo Marruecos, and come to the farm of *Las Monjas*, where tierra de villar is to be seen, but nothing else of consequence. Following the old bank of the river south of its present course, we come in succession to *La Choza* (tierra de villar) and where the river once more occupies its old bed, to *La Corregidora*. Here there are traces of a settlement of somewhat more importance than those which we have hitherto been considering. The tierra de villar covers an area of 300 or 400 metres each way. There are ruins of walls, one piece measuring 20 metres in length by .75 in breadth, and several broken cisterns. Among the marks picked up here are :

FIGED OC · · · (174) PM incuse (175)
 PPAEF A · · (174)

We next pass the arroyo Tamujo and approach a large rock which overhangs the stream and attracts attention, first, from the rarity of rock on this side of the river, and next from its remarkable shape, which strongly resembles a fortification and has doubtless suggested its name, *Castillejo*. On the farther side of this we find a despoblado, to which we have given the same name. Tierra de villar, amongst which we picked up this mark :

LFCCVFZ (176) *Cf. those above.*

Hence to Palma is a stretch of country containing, so far as we were able to discover, no certain traces of Roman settlement, with the exception of *Cañuelos*, a small

¹ Apparently made by a signet.

despoblado with a spring and remains of some conduits which now irrigate a *Huerta* or orange garden.

March 19th. Palma itself, despite the classical origin sometimes claimed for it by local historians, has nothing to show in the way of Roman remains. We have indicated it in the map as tierra de villar, but this is somewhat a concession to popular clamour and a desire to avoid wounding the feelings of the Palmeños. Here we cross the Genil (Singilis) which perhaps was the boundary between the conventus of Corduba and Hispalis on this side of the river.

This is perhaps a suitable place in which to discuss a puzzling phrase in Pliny's *Hist. Nat.*, 3, 3, 10. "Dextra Corduba . . . inde primum navigabili Bæte; oppida Carbula, Decuma, fluvius Singilis, eodem Bætis latere incidens. Oppida Hispalensis conventus Celti, Axati, &c."

The obvious meaning of this passage is that all the towns mentioned and the river Singilis are on the right or north bank of the stream, and in fact, we have given reason to show that Cordoba, Carbula, Decuma, Celti, Axati, &c., are all on the north side; but the river Singilis, which beyond all doubt is the Genil, flows in from the south. How is this to be explained? For we can hardly say with (for instance) the Delphin editor of Pliny, 1826, "Dextro scilicet, et meridionali."

Some have maintained that Decuma must have been situated on the left bank, and sometimes place it in Palma; but though there is indeed little at Posadas, where we place it, there is less at Palma. The most considerable site between the Genil and Almodovar, on this side, is Torregidora, and there is certainly not sufficient evidence there to place a town of such size as to be mentioned in Pliny.

We are thus driven, unless we adopt the somewhat heroic course of writing "altero" or "ex adverso" for "eodem," to the conclusion that Pliny must have made a mistake; it is very possible that by the method of extracts which we know he employed, a phrase may have been inserted which destroyed the original connection of "eodem" with some previous entry referring to the left bank. Or, again, Pliny may simply have blundered.

March 29th. Seven kilometres up the Genil from Palma,

or between ten and eleven from the Guadalquivir, is the despoblado of *Malpica*, which has one of the largest collections of fragments of amphoræ which we found in the course of this exploration. The heap forms a bank 10 metres and more high, on the bank of the Genil. Among the marks are the following :

C · I · B · SA (177).	C · I · AL · B (178)
C · I · A (179)	C · I · A · FIA (180)
C · I · A L · B (181)	ϠΛΛΙϠ (182)
G · I · A · B (183)	PAIC (184)
Q · I · A (185)	ϠϠAI-O (186)
QIA (187)	QIMEN (190)
Q · I · C · SEG (188)	Q · I · G · SEG (189)

May these last refer, possibly, to a Segovia in Bætica in this neighbourhood? (Cæsar d. B. Alex, c. 57, 6. *Segoviam ad flumen Singiliense.*)

March 19th. Between the mouth of the Genil and Peñasflor are two despoblados, *Huerta del Campillo* and *Cortijo del Portillo*, neither of much importance. From the latter :

VFNCEPA
CORALODFA

CELTÆ.

The case with the identification of Celti is considerably easier than that of Carbula or Decuma. That it was a place of distinction among its fellows of the river bank is indicated by the fact that it issued coins¹ and was a station on the road from Obucula to Emerita.² It was also a mark on the river, above which it was navigable only for boats of a shallower draught than those which plied below.

All this would lead us to expect considerable remains of the Roman town at some site on the river. This we find at Peñasflor, where there are perhaps the most considerable remains between Cordoba and Italica. The mass of Cyclopean masonry, called by the natives the "Higueron," and many remains of dwellings, baths, pave-

¹ Delgado. Nuevo Método de clasificación de las monedas autonomas de España, Vol. I, p. 114, Pl. XVI.

² *Ib.* Anton., 414, 5.

ments, &c., all testify to the former existence of a city of some considerable size. There are two inscriptions which bear upon the locality of Celti, both discovered in Peñafior, but unfortunately neither of them extant.

Item	VENEREM · AVG · CVM · PARERGO	Item
phialam	AEMILIA · RVSTICI · F ·	tabulam
argenteam	M · ANNIVS · CELSITANVS	argent.
	TEST · SVO · POST · MORTEM	
	AEMILIAE · ARTEMISIAE · VXORIS	
	ET · HAEREDIS · SVAE	
	PONI · IVSSIT	
	AEMILIA · ARTEMIS · SATYRA · POS	
	EADEMQVE · DE · SVO · ANNVLVM	
	AVREVM · CVM · GEMMA · MELIORE ·	
	<i>C. I. L.</i> , II, 2326.	

In this inscription we may notice the curious spelling, CELSITANVS for CELTITANVS. *Cf.* the legends of the coins of Celti.

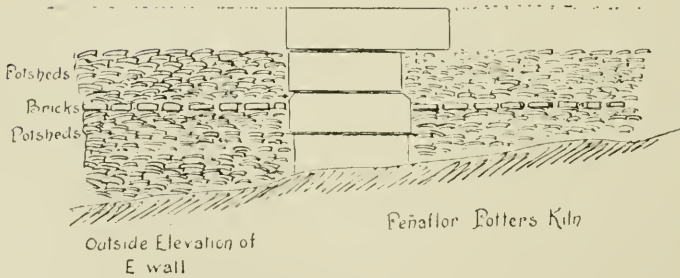
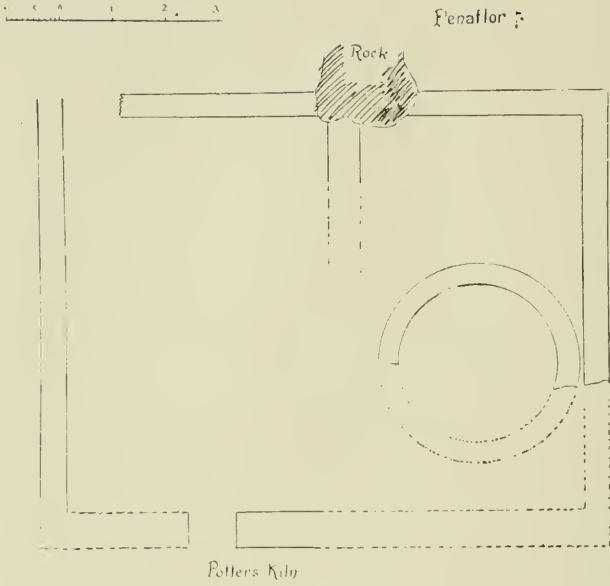
The other is an "inscription" on baked clay, ^{POP} _{CELT} as given by Bravo and repeated from him by Hübner, *C. I. L.*, II, p. 321. A possible correction appears to be [P · CI · CELT] a potter's stamp on amphora handles occurring in our experience at Peña de la Sal (37, 39, 57, of the list in the Appendix). If this be so, the value of such a stamp in determining locality is considerably diminished, and we have but the one insertion first mentioned to help us. But there can hardly, I think, be any doubt as to the real position of Celti, and those who have placed it at Puebla de los Infantes or elsewhere¹ must have done so without sufficient knowledge either of the written notices of Celti or of the present topography of Peñafior.

The coinage of Celti, a considerable number of specimens of which have been found in and about Peñafior, is not very extensive, and nearly all the coins bear as their distinctive type a wild boar on a spear.²

¹ P. de los Infantes. Eckhel, *Doctr.* Numoram, I, 18; Ukert; Sestini.

² Delgado, *l.c.* Eckhel, *t.c.*

PLAN 1.





To face page 261.



ALCOLEA. "LA BOLA."



PEÑAFLORES. "HIGUERON."

WORK AT PEÑAFLOR.

Work was begun on this site on March 18th, and continued till April 2nd. We had previously paid a flying visit on February 14th–15th, when we saw that there was at least plenty of evidence of Roman occupation. The town is situated, as are all the Roman towns which we investigated, with the curious exceptions of Cordoba and Seville, on a rising ground on the outside of a bend of the river. This has necessitated the construction of river defences, some portion of which yet remain, though now partially covered by deposit from the turbid stream. Below these river-walls, which are constructed of concrete, may be seen a most remarkable construction called by the natives "El Higuero," from the fact of two or three wild fig-trees having taken root in it (see photograph). It is a construction of enormous blocks, apparently of hard limestone, measuring in some cases over 12 feet long and forming a species of bastion projecting from a wall of similar though less massive masonry. Its dimensions are about 30 feet long, 15 feet deep, and 12 high. It much resembles in character of construction the so-called Cyclopean gate at Tarragona.

Continuing to follow the river bank, we come to a very large collection of débris of a potter's workshop. Here the soil is almost literally composed of fragments of earthenware of various kinds, comparatively few specimens of the coarse yellow ware of which amphoræ were composed, and which is so common at Peña de la Sal, a good deal of Saguntine ware, both of the finer and coarser varieties, and a great quantity of a yellowish paste decorated with bands of dark red ochre, and in some cases entirely painted over with it. In all this mass of pottery we were unable to find one unbroken vessel, or even one of which the shape was still recognisable. Here we also discovered remains of what seemed to be a potter's kiln, a circular structure of concrete, but broken at the top (see plan 1).

It was here that we first broke ground, proceeding to clear out the walls, &c., which had formed part of the potter's workshop, which also included the kiln. This work was finished March 20th. There was not much of

interest found during the excavations ; a few Roman coins of emperors, two of Claudius, and one of Seville Colonia Romula were picked up, but all in a very bad state.

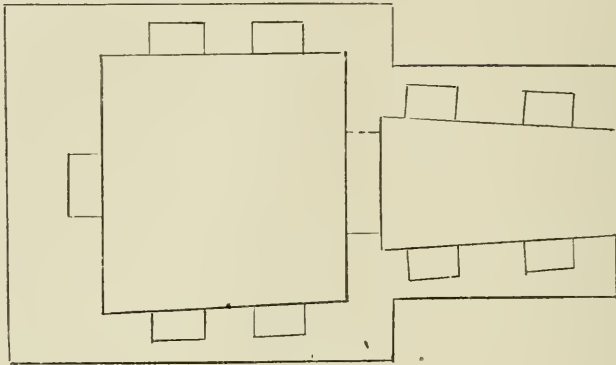
On the 21st March we tried in a new direction, that is, about the probable line of the Roman road from Celti to to Detuma along the line of the river. We were guided in this by the reports which we had heard of the discovery of Roman tombs during some alterations at the house of D. Carlos Mesa in the Calle Mayor of the present town. According to the story told to us, there were some twelve sepultures found in this place, one "of stone, containing a lead coffin, a lachrymatory and some small vases," as well as "a funeral inscription." None of these various objects were now to be found, though the alterations during which they were found were still in progress. We therefore obtained permission to search an adjoining plot of ground which seemed likely to contain similar graves, and accordingly put two men on it, but various trials during three days resulted in reaching the undisturbed soil in every case without any traces of sepulture. From the character of the earth it appeared almost probable that the ground had been disturbed, if not deposited there, comparatively recently. We therefore discontinued our search.

In the meantime, we had employed our other two men in opening trenches in the olive-yard called La Pared Blanca, to the west of the present town and above it. This is separated by a road from the olive-yard of Las Moneruas, which would have been the most favourable spot probably in the whole of Peñafior ; but unfortunately it was this year ploughed and sown, and by this time the young crop had grown so well that the question of compensation, which might have been considered at an earlier period, was now rather too much for us to undertake. This was unfortunate, as we saw in the house of D. Pedro Parias, Diputado, and owner of this ground, a base of a magnificent marble column of reddish (Cabra) marble, which had been found in company (apparently) with others in digging the foundations of a house. From its size it must, I think, have belonged to some public building. Another base very similar in size is to be seen in the house of D. José Maria Ariza, the Cura, where it serves as the bed of a potter's wheel. It is in Las

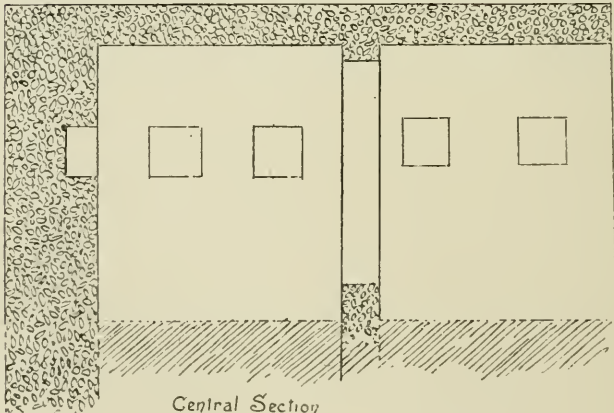
PLAN 3.



Penaflo
Tomb of Concrete

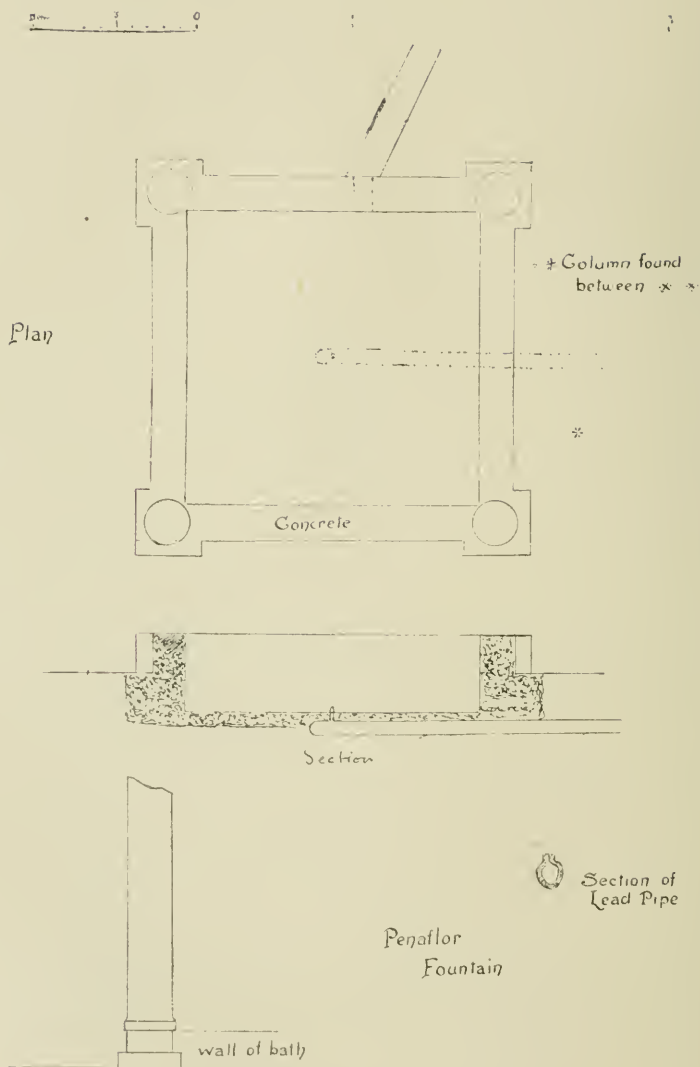


Plan



Central Section

PLAN 2.



Moncruas, too, where it slopes to the river, that we saw a semicircular hollow in the ground, where tradition asserts that many steps were found when the railway was made. This sounds like an account of a theatre, but here again we were unable to dig.

To return to La Pared Blanca, inland from this. With the permission of D. Antonio Cobra, the Alcalde and owner of the land, we opened various trenches, and came upon a large number of ruined walls, but the small accumulation of débris since the Roman period had not protected them much from the spade and ploughshare. We worked on this spot till April 2nd, first with two men, and afterwards with four. The most important discovery was that of a small square reservoir with the remains of what seemed to be a pillar at each of the external corners. In the centre was a leaden nozzle projecting from the floor and communicating with a leaden pipe, which passed under the cement floor, and presumably joined a larger pipe or main outside. We did not discover any traces of a tap or other apparatus for regulating the supply. Presumably, therefore, such an apparatus, if it existed, was on that portion of the pipe now destroyed (see plan 2).

There is also in the courtyard of the Hermita de la Encarnacion, adjoining the Moncruas, but on the town side, a row of flat stones, which we imagined might be the remains of a cleaca, since we heard much of the great distances to which it was possible to penetrate, after removing one or two of the covering stones. A practical test, however, soon dissipated these opinions; the supposed passage is a disused burial vault about 12 feet square!

There is, however, on the outskirts of Peñafior a very interesting tomb, originally, I have no doubt, subterranean, but now partly exposed, owing to denudation. It is constructed entirely of concrete, and bears a remarkable resemblance to some of the rock-cut tombs of Carmona.

The entrance is by a narrow passage, on each side of which are two niches for the reception of urns. The main chamber is roughly square, and contains five such niches (see plan 3). It is possible that excavation might reveal further tombs of this class. The existence

of this specimen was unsuspected till it was discovered by accident by some men yet living in Peñafior. They do not, however, recollect anything of what was found.

NEIGHBOURHOOD OF PEÑAFIOR.

Peñafior was supplied by an aqueduct which was fed by two springs called collectively *Las Fuentes de Almenara*, about 5 kil. from the town in the direction of *Puebla de los Infantes*, and not far from the Moorish stronghold of *Almenara*, which commands the road between the two towns. This was presumably also the line of the Roman road through *Celti* to *Regiana* (*Reyna*) and *Emerita*. There is not, however, much sign of the more familiar type of Roman road, as the present way is nothing more than a mule track winding up the course of streams between steep-sided hills.

The two springs which supply the aqueduct are, or were, each enclosed in a well-house or other receptacle for collecting the water. A channel then led from each, joining at a short distance, and thence pursuing a single course to Peñafior. The conduit lies nearly all the way above ground, or very slightly below it, and is traceable at intervals for the whole distance, occasionally making a *détour* to avoid a descent and rise. The engineers who laid it down appear to have been able to avoid carrying the conduit on arches at any part of its course.

There is also near the *Barranco del Portugués* the remains of another aqueduct, independent of the one mentioned above. The first traces of it, so far as we were able to find them, are four or five "lumbreras" or man-holes near the slope of the serro which here forms the out-lying spur of the *Sierra Morena*. Some of these have been cleared out, doubtless in order to obtain the water, which still may be heard and seen trickling at the bottom. The aqueduct then disappears under a rise in the ground, to reappear on the other side as carried on a rough arch, now broken, across a dry watercourse. It is then again lost for a few hundred yards, to reappear at the edge of a Roman quarry, and apparently to traverse one side of it. On the farther side the specus is well to

be seen, and is of sufficient height to admit a man. Further progress is, however, barred by the accumulation of earth, and beyond a manhole about fifteen yards farther on, the line of the aqueduct is untraceable without excavation. There are, however, a series of disused water-tanks in a field about a quarter of a mile off, and doubtless these at least were once supplied by the water which the modern Spaniard has let run to waste.

It is perhaps unnecessary to mention that after the aqueduct disappears under the first hill there is no water even when the specus is visible.

Peñaflor and the neighbourhood has lately shown signs of increased activity owing to the exploitation of copper and lead mines in the immediate vicinity; and the same revival has extended to Puebla de los Infantes, which we visited on March 22nd. We imagined that we might find considerable traces of Roman occupation, as it has occasionally been identified with Celti. We found, however, no such traces in the town; there is a *despoblado* called *Margolla* in the vicinity, but no town.

Plin. *Hist. Naturalis*, III, 3, 10.

“. . . dextra Corduba colonia Patricia cognomine, inde primum navigabili Bæte, oppida Carbula, Decuma, fluvius Singilis, eodem Bætis latere incidens. Oppida Hispalensis conventus Celti, Axati, Arva, Canama, Evia, Ilipa cognomine Ilpa, Italica, et a lævo Hispal Colonia cognomine Romulensis, . . .” &c.

Translation.

“On the right bank is the colony Corduba surnamed Patricia; below this the Bætis is first navigable, the towns of Carbula, Decuma, and the river Singilis falling into the Bætis on the same side. The towns of the conventus of Hispalis are: Celti, Axati, Arva, Canama, Evia, Ilipa surnamed Ilpa, Italica; and on the left bank the colony Hispal, surnamed Romulensis.”

Strabo. Bk. III, c. 2, § 3. (c. 142.) Ed. Kramer, 1844.

μέχρι μὲν Ἰσπάλιος ὄλκασιν ἀξιολόγοις ὁ ἀνάπλους ἐστὶν ἐπὶ σταδίουσιν οὐ πόλῳ λείποντας τῶν πεντακοσίων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἄνω

πόλεις μέχρι Ἰλίπασταῖς ἐλάττωσι μέχρι δὲ Κορδύβης τοῖς ποταμίους σκάφεσιν πηκτοῖς μὲν τὰ νῦν, τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ καὶ μονοξύλοις. τὸ δὲ ἄνω τὸ ἐπὶ Καστλῶνα οὐκ ἔστι πλοῖμον.

Translation.

“As far, then, as Hispalis, merchantmen of considerable size can sail, a distance little short of five hundred stadia, while to the upper towns as far as Iliipa lesser ships can ply and river-boats as far as Corduba. These are now built, but were formerly also ‘dug out’ of one tree. The upper reaches towards Castulo are not navigable.”

Id. c. 5, § 8. (c. 174.)

αὐτὸς δὲ (Σέλευκος) κατὰ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς περὶ τὴν πανσέληνόν φησιν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ γενόμενος τῷ ἐν Γαδείροις πλείους ἡμέρας μὴ δύνασθαι συνεῖναι τὰς ἐνιαυσίους διαφορὰς περὶ μέντοι τὴν σύνοδον ἐκείνου τοῦ μηνός, τηρῆσαι μεγάλην παραλλαγὴν ἐν Ἰλίπα τῆς τοῦ Βαίτιος ἀνακοπῆς παρὰ τὰς ἔμπροσθεν, ἐν αἷς οὐδὲ ἕως ἡμίσεως τὰς ὄχθας ἔβρεχε τότε δὲ ὑπερχεισθαι τὸ ὕδωρ, ὥσθ' ὑδρεύεσθαι τοὺς στρατίωτας αὐτόθι (διέχει δ' Ἰλίπα τῆς θαλάσσης περὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίου) τῶν δ' ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πεδίων καὶ ἐπὶ τριάκοντα σταδίου εἰς βάθος καλυπτομένων ὑπὸ τῆς πλημμυρίδος.

Translation.

“He (Seleucus) says that when he once happened to be, at the summer solstice, about the full moon, in the Heraclium at Gades for several days, he could not hit upon the annual differences; but that about the end of that month he noticed a great change at Iliipa in the holding up (by the tide) of the Bætis from former occasions, on which not half the bank was covered; whereas then the water rose so high that the soldiers drew water in the town itself. Now Iliipa is about seven hundred stadia from the sea. And the plains towards the sea were covered for a distance of thirty stadia, to a considerable depth.”

THE RIVER FROM PEÑAFLORE TO PEÑA DE LA SAL.

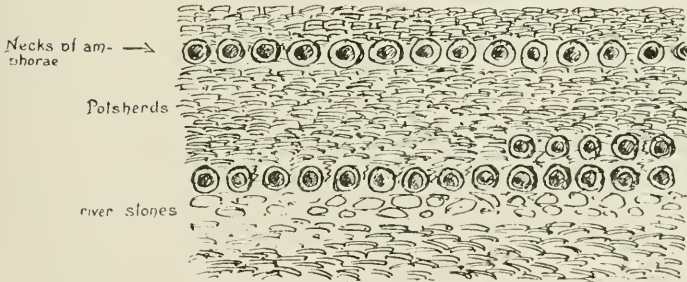
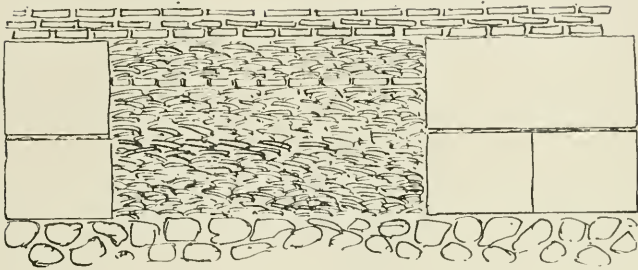
I. *Right bank*, from Peñaflore to Lora del Rio.

February 14th. About 2 kil. below the town is a despoblado, not of any great extent, but chiefly remarkable for a defending wall against the current, constructed partly of potsherds, as is the common custom, with rows of bricks at intervals, and partly of rows of amphora-necks, the mouths of which form a series of holes in the wall. It is this peculiarity of appearance which has led to its local name of *La Botica* (see plan 4).

PLAN 4.

Wall of large Stones
and Potsherds

Peña de la Sal.



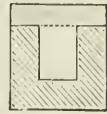
Wall at La Botica near Peñaflores
height 50 m. no scale

Peñaflores



A short distance lower down, and at about 1 kil. from the river, is the tower and church of *Villa-Diego*, where there are considerable indications of Roman settlement. The spring, an almost unfailing indication of a Roman site, appears to flow from an ancient Roman channel, but as it is situated at the bottom of a dark hole, investigation is naturally somewhat difficult. In the corral of the church is to be seen a handsome Corinthian capital of white marble.

March 24th. The next despoblado to be met with is that of *La Tablada*, on the arroyo of that name; here there is a considerable extent of tierra de villar and the remains of several cisterns. In one of these the extant part is semicircular in plan, 5·95 m. internal diameter, ·55 thickness of wall (concrete); but whether the circle was originally complete cannot now be determined. In another case the cistern is rectangular, 3·02 m. in width by at least 3 m. in length, the further end being broken, depth 1·45 m., thickness of wall ·45. Another has fallen almost entirely into the river below, which at this point has eaten away much of the bank. The spring, which once doubtless supplied these cisterns, now breaks out in the face of the river bank at a much lower level, owing, perhaps, to the stoppage and destruction of the ancient Roman aqueduct. Remains of such an aqueduct are to be seen about 300 m. lower down the stream, near the arroyo *Los Gatos*, consisting of Roman hewn stones of the usual dimensions, 1·20 by ·60 by ·60, with a rectangular channel of perhaps half these measurements cut in them, and then possibly closed with a thinner slab of stone at the top, thus. There is also sufficient tierra de villar to distinguish this as a separate settlement.



From Tablada, according to D. Antonio Parias, came an inscription which we saw in his house, but from its size, which appears to indicate the architrave of a temple or public building, and the apparent mention of a *Sevir Augustalis*, this seems unlikely, and it is more probable that it came, originally at least, from his olive-yard "Las Moncruas," of which we have spoken above in treating of Peñafior (p. 262).

The next despoblado is to be found on the arroyo of

El Berro, but there is not much to be seen except *tierra de villar*; but at a short distance down the river we come to the farm of *La Maria* or *Aldelamaria*, which is one of the sites mentioned by Guseme in 1758 in the *Mem. Acad. Sevill.*, 1773, as a Roman station. He speaks there of "numerous remains," "the spring," which yet exists and is very strong, and "concrete, which appears to be the base of a tower," doubtless a square cistern, which, however, is not now to be seen. He also gives the following inscription as extant there:—

IVNIVS
P · I · S · S · [T · T · L (C. I. L., II, 1069).

This inscription we were unable to find. (Cean Bermudez, in copying this description, here places "Nema Turdetanorum," for what reason was doubtless best known to himself.) There are also on the river bank considerable remains of walls of potsherds.

Following now the ancient bed of the river, to the north of the present, we come to the hut of *La Maiena*, where there is much *tierra de villar*. The following marks were found, but as yet are unintelligible, all badly formed:—

AV:HR? (140) RAN? (141)
AVHЯ? (142) AITA (143)

A little farther on, where the arroyo *Matachè* joins the river, there is an unimportant *despoblado*, containing nothing but *tierra de villar*, to which we have given the above name.

We now cross the *Guadaluvar* and the arroyos *Salto de la Mata* and *Helechó*, close to which there is a fountain, probably of Roman origin. Close by, on the old bank of the river, now 300 m. from the present, is *Las Huertas del Rio*, a *despoblado* of considerable extension, and containing large accumulations of potter's refuse. Here we found the following stamps on amphora handles:—

IIENN · IV^{3/4}* (135) PECSÆN (136)
SÆNANS (138) · · AENI (137)
IIIMMI · RIV (139)

135 occurs also in *C. I. L.*, II, 4968, 27, doubtless from the same spot, and also in Rome. As we found five examples in about a quarter of an hour, and Hübner

gives another, it is possible that this was the place of their manufacture.

March 9th. Though it does not by any means lie on the river, but at a distance of 5 kil. to the north, it may not be out of place here to give an account of the famous sanctuary of Setefilla, which has been considered a Roman site, as well as one occupied during the middle ages. It is best approached from Lora. A short distance before reaching the Convent we pass a Roman aqueduct in a ruined state, which, however, crosses the road and does not follow it. We then see some tumuli grouped together on the upper side of the road, and then, having gradually been rising all the way from Lora, we descend into the steep ravine of the Guadalvacar, and rise again, perhaps even more steeply, to the isolated rock of Setefilla. A few moments assured us that we had here no Roman site, at least of the ordinary kind; there was no concrete, no tierra de villar, such as we were accustomed to, but on the other hand a castle built with tapia walls, and a hewn stone tower of the 13th or 14th centuries.

Cisterns there were, but of Moorish type, underground, with barrel vaults, and lined with characteristic reddish cement. The inscription *C. I. L.*, 1071, which is the only one reported from this place, we found at last in a stable under more than a foot of manure. It is correctly given. It at present serves as part of the foundation of the stable, and has been there beyond the recollection of the inhabitants. There is, however, no reason why it should have been originally set up there, especially since at a short distance, close to the farm of *El Membrillo*, we find an extensive Roman despoblado, which was once the establishment which grew up round the sulphur-spring, which is still in great repute in the neighbourhood. Is it not possible that the *LACVS · ET · AERAMENTA* mentioned in *C. I. L.*, II, 1071 as erected by *Sergia Salvia* in accordance with the will of *Saturninus Rufus*, her late master, may be tanks for containing this same medicinal water, and the copper fittings thereof? There have been a great number of coins found here, many perhaps votive offerings to the goddess of health, but we did not see any of them.

We saw in the courtyard of the farm the following fragmentary inscription :—

DIVO · AVGVSTO

in letters about 6 cm. high, apparently of the age of Tiberius (unpublished).

About 1 kil. from this, in the direction of the river, is a large tank 11·00 m. by 5·50, and still containing water, which is exceptional among Roman cisterns. There are also traces of the aqueduct which apparently supplied the water. A small quantity still trickles along it.

II. *Left Bank.* Peñafior to Lora del Río.

March 24th. The first despoblado which we come across is at the arroyo of *Sotogordo*, which contains a good deal of tierra de villar, and what appears to be a well—a circular structure of ·73 m. internal diameter, ·45m. thickness of wall, depth unascertainable, as it was choked up at a few feet from the surface. It was built, not of concrete, but alternate layers of water-worn stones and bricks set in mortar.

There is now a large space unoccupied by Roman remains. We cross the river Madre de Fuentes, climb the lofty Barranco de los Ciegos, and descend to the stream of Matillas. After this we come to the farm of *La Rambla del Palo Dulce*. Here there is a despoblado, containing a cistern with circular mouth of ·90 aperture, expanding somewhat below, thickness of wall ·52. From the shape this might at first appear Moorish, but the concrete is completely Roman in appearance, as well as the lining cement, which differs completely from the reddish cement usually employed by the Moors. There is also here a great reservoir 32·20 m. by 19·75 m. The walls remain to about ·80 in height, are ·51 in thickness at one end, and ·62 elsewhere, there being a set-off at that end, and are supported by buttresses at the corners.

March 10th. At *La Rambla*, strictly so-called lower down the river, there appears to have been found a leaden coffin “with inscription” some years ago (it was impossible to ascertain the date). It seems to have been sold.

At *El Acebuchal*, farther down, we noticed tierra de villar, and picked up an imperfect amphora handle:—

L · T · L · · · · (144).

At *La Catedral* we passed over a large extent of tierra de villar, without discovering anything of importance.

This brings us close opposite Lora, but it will be best to diverge somewhat to the south and describe *Lora la Vieja*, an important despoblado 5 kil. south-east of Lora. It is mentioned by Guseme with La Maria (r. supra) as well as Los Gallos, Setefilla, &c., of which afterwards. It is situated on the crest of a low hill which bounds the valley proper of the Guadalquivir, and no doubt was a strong position on the road from Axati to Astigi, which passed here. Guseme mentions a pool at the top; this doubtless, again, was a reservoir, but has now disappeared among the numerous formless concrete fragments which strew the ground. Here among the bricks, potsherds, &c., which abound, we obtained the following marks:—

L.V.TROPIM (113) (*Cf. C. I. L.*, XII, 5683, 305)
and ORFS (114).

Returning towards Lora, we have 3 kil. to the west the farm of *Los Gallos*, where one can see now, as Guseme did in 1758, much tierra de villar, Roman hewn stones, &c., and a spring.

El Puerto is half-way between Gallos and Lora. Here there are also remains, but of no great importance, and here was found the inscription published *C. I. L.*, II, 1058, 9.

AXATI.

The next town given in Pliny's list is Axati.

From an inscription given by Hübner (*C. I. L.*, 1055), said to be extant in the parish church of Lora, but which now seems to have disappeared, we may conclude that Axati stood on or near the ground occupied by the modern Lora del Rio, and this has been the opinion of all writers who have occupied themselves with the subject. There are other inscriptions found in Lora, which indicate that there was there a town of some

little importance (1054, 1057), but these unfortunately do not give us the name of the town to which they belonged.

In the modern town we find the usual indications of the proximity of a Roman site—squared stones, fragments of columns, capitals, &c. The height occupied by the ruins of the mediæval castle of the Knights of St. John is just such a height as the Romans sought, on which to plant their cities.¹ The soil, however, though containing a good deal of broken pottery, is not so full of it as either at Peñafior or Peña de la Sal, of which we shall treat presently.

III. *Right Bank.* Lora del Rio to Peña de la Sal.

January 25th. In this comparatively short stretch of river, we have no Roman des poblados on the actual bank, but there is on the line of the present (1889) road, and doubtless on that of the Roman, a huerta called *La Fuente de la Mora*, about half-way between the two towns. There is here the usual spring, in this case retaining part of the Roman channel, much tierra de villar, and other débris. About twenty years ago there were some sepultures found, with fragments of funeral inscriptions, which have now disappeared.

Between this site and the river there is a small des poblado with remains of a reservoir, to which we give the name of *Villar* for want of another.

Between Fuente de la Mora and Peña de la Sal, at the passage of the stream *Algarín*, there may be seen some large Roman stones, and a few metres farther the remains of a small reservoir.

IV. *Left Bank,* from Lora to Peña de la Sal.

February 13th. The first Roman site is at the farm of *El Indio*. The bank here is much undermined by the current, and many fragments of concrete and stone are lying in the river. There also appears to be, half buried in the bank, a Roman kiln, which is now half destroyed, and the rest buried.

January 25th. At *Azanaque*, a short distance farther down the stream, and at the mouth of the small river of that name, is a Roman des poblado, though, as might

¹ There does not appear to be anything older than Moorish tapia in the walls of the Castle.

be guessed from the Moorish-sounding name, the remains of the Roman occupation have been almost hidden under later constructions of tapia and weak concrete. Still, there remains sufficient to enable us to class it under the head of Roman *despoblados*, though not among the most important.

On an old bank of the stream, about $\frac{1}{2}$ kil. from its present course, is to be seen a small and unimportant *despoblado*, to which we have given the name of the adjacent farm of *Los Giles*.

We are now opposite Peña de la Sal.

ARVA.

Arva is placed by Hübner at Alcolea de Rio, following in this the lead of erroneous information¹ and apparently unaware that as early as the end of the last century, Thomas Guseme, a judge at Lora, had published in the memoirs of the Seville Academy a paper, in which he assigned to Arva its true situation at Peña de la Sal, about three miles above Alcolea. From this spot come all the inscriptions which mention the name of Arva, with one exception (*C. I. L.* 1060), which is stated as being in Alcolea by Caro, and here there are very extensive remains of building, such as arches of concrete, baths, river wall, &c. The ground is full of fragments of amphoræ, marble slabs, &c., and other evidences of a considerable Roman town. Here, too, has been found the hitherto unique coin of Arva, if coin it can be called, discovered in 1885—of lead, blank on one side, and having the figure of a horse with the letters M.F.A. on the other. A large number of the amphora handles discovered here last winter had AR as their final element (*e.g.*, No. 53).

The identification of Arva with the Peña de la Sal may thus be considered certain.

PEÑA DE LA SAL.

Work on this site was begun on December 12th, but owing to various difficulties with the owner of the greater

¹ *E.g.*, 1064, where Hübner does not realise the distance between Alcolea and the Peña de la Sal.

part of the ground operations had to be postponed, and were not resumed till January 22nd, when we set to work in earnest. The site consists of an irregular elevation on the right bank of the Guadalquivir, and bounded by two small streams, the Arroyo de la Mezquita, and another which is usually dry. On the farther (eastern) side of the first-named may be traced at intervals the channel of the aqueduct which supplied the former town, and down which the water of the present arroyo must in great part have run.

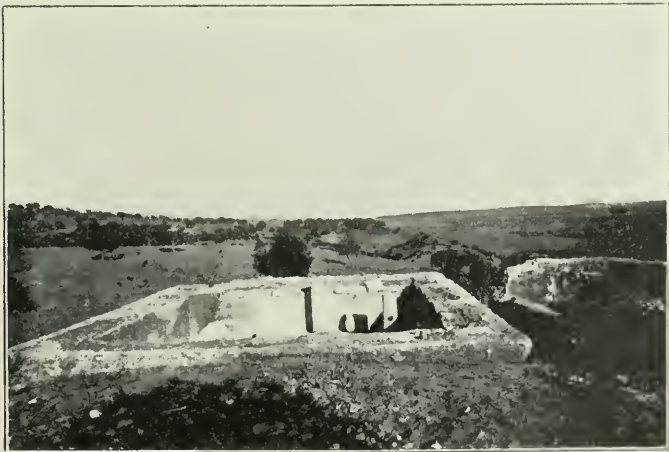
The extent of the town is fairly clearly marked by the potsherds, which begin almost suddenly after crossing the arroyos, on the bottom of the valley which bounds the site on the north, and cover the whole area thickly. The greater part of these potsherds are fragments of amphoræ, and include those which are entered under the head of "Peña de la Sal" in our list of potters' marks. There also occur large quantities of the so-called "Samian," Arretine, or Saguntine ware, both of the finer and coarser varieties; but comparatively little with reliefs, and very few potters' stamps.

The ancient city appears to have consisted of (1) the higher or northern portion, which may be considered as the citadel, and which in the last century was surrounded by at least the remains of a wall, with towers at regular intervals; and (2) the lower portion between this and the river, which also appears to have been inhabited by the poorer part of the inhabitants. This lower city was defended from the encroachments of the river by a concrete wall, which is still clearly traceable for some hundred yards, though now at a little distance from the water, owing to a retreat of the river-bed. There is also just inside the wall a bath of a most remarkable shape. In the upper part of the city are the following remains of building above ground:—

- (a) A square erection, with another adjoining it, of a semicircular shape, which turned out, on investigation, to be a bath, so far as we were able to judge.
- (b) A mass of concrete in the form of a rough arch, whether original or thus shaped by excavators



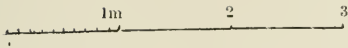
"LAS TORRECILLAS."



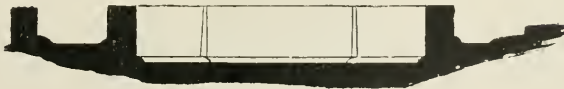
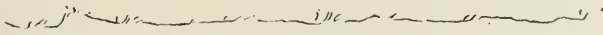
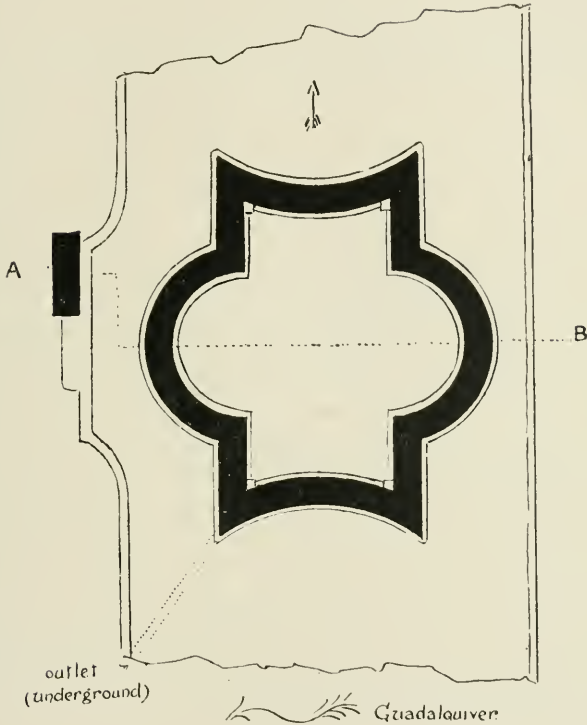
PEÑA DE LA SAL. LARGE BATH.



PLAN 5.

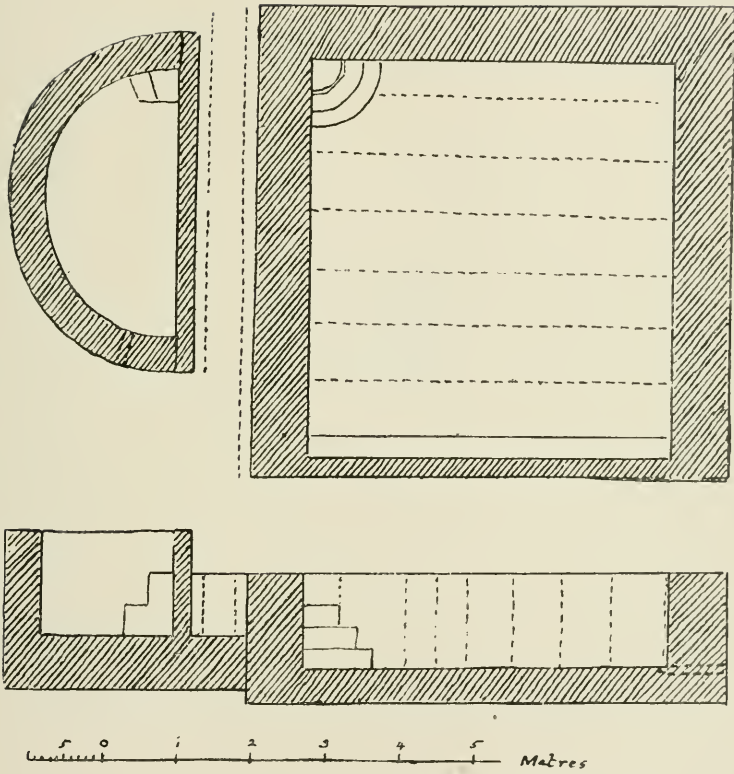


La Peña de la Sal
Small Bath



Section AB

PLAN 6.



LARGE BATH. PEÑA DE LA SAL.
Plan and Section.



admits of some doubt. Its original use and form we were unable to decide.

- (c) Some ill-defined concrete constructions on the side of the hill towards the river, which appear to have been the substructures of some large building which has now disappeared. Though now choked with stones and undergrowth, to an extent which makes the introduction of a human body a matter of considerable difficulty, they have the appearance inside of having been cast round arched centering.

We selected for our first trials the large square bath, of which but little was to be seen beyond the outline of two sides. This was begun on January 22nd, and finished on the 30th. Its general plan and appearance when clear may be gathered from the plans and photograph. It seems to have consisted of a square tank lined at bottom and sides with thin marble slabs, with three steps each of a quarter-circle in plan at one corner. It seems to have had an open colonnade round at least three sides; what the arrangement of the fourth was we have not been able to determine. The columns were monoliths of a species of marble common in this district—greenish grey with purplish veins. Several fragments of these columns were found lying in confusion at the bottom of the bath, but though we were enabled to piece in one instance three fragments together, we were unable to recover a complete specimen, which must have been about 8 feet long. That the capitals of these columns were Corinthian is rendered probable by the discovery of the extreme corner of such a capital in the earth which was removed. The fragment is not above 3 inches long, but is clear evidence of the form which the capital had when perfect. Of the entablature we can unfortunately form no idea.

Adjoining this bath and between it and the apsidal portion there is a passage, which perhaps served as a conduit for the water which supplied the baths. For that the apsidal portion too was a bath is proved by the prints of the marble lining-slabs on the floor, and by the holes which held the iron and bronze clamps (in some cases still remaining, though broken) to secure similar

slabs to the walls. I have called this passage a water conduit, since there appears to come from it an opening into at any rate the square bath, at a higher level than the floor. It was originally brick-lined; what the covering, if any, was is now only a matter of conjecture.

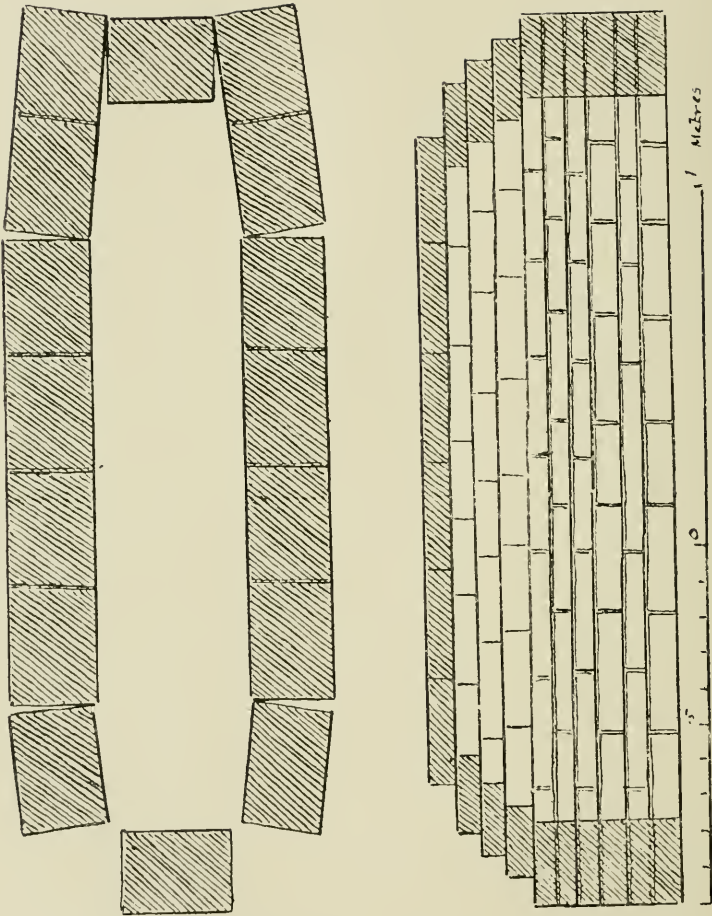
Beyond the apsidal portion there are traces of brick-faced concrete walls, but no certain information is to be derived from them. And here attention may be drawn to a distinction which exists between these (and all other brick-faced walls which we found in Spain) and the similar walls which abound in Rome. The Roman examples are faced with triangular tiles with their points inward; the Spanish walls with rectangular tiles laid stretcher-wise.

We are thus left in a state of almost complete ignorance regarding the appearance when perfect of the structure of which these tanks formed a part. We are not in much better case with regard to the lower bath, mentioned above as just inside the line of the river-wall. Of this also we give plans and a photograph.

The material of which the core is built is concrete, but of a softer kind than that employed in the upper bath, and easily damaged by an incautious stroke of the pickaxe. The shape of the bath will be readily understood from the plan, more so than from any description. This has also been lined with slabs of marble, as is proved from the prints yet to be found in the cement at the bottom, and from small fragments of the slabs themselves remaining here and there in the corners. A noticeable feature of this bath is that both the outer or shallower and the inner or deeper portion were intended to hold water, since we find in each that peculiar roll in the corners and joints which was used by the Romans when intending that any construction should be water-tight. (See a good example of this in Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 168-9, ed. 1853.) This bath was excavated by ourselves simultaneously with that described before.

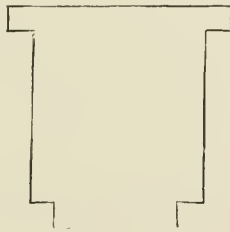
On the 28th of January the site was invaded by an army of workmen engaged on the construction of a new carretera or high road from Lora to Alcolea and Villanueva. To obtain a level road, they cut a trench some 25 feet wide and of varying depth, up to 9 feet in some

PLAN 7.



PEÑA DE LA SAL. (Tomb No. 1.)

parts, through the whole length of the site from end to end. We therefore not unnaturally concluded that such an excavation could hardly fail to bring to light some objects of interest. Nor were we disappointed. On the second morning of their work, we heard that they had found a tomb. On investigation we found it to be a grave built of brick and covered by overlapping layers of the same. Similar tombs appear to have been found in England (see Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 312, for mention of apparently such a tomb in Bartlow, in Essex), but whereas in the English example the tomb was under a tumulus, lay north and south, and contained burnt bones in a glass urn of a type uncommon in Spain, in those at Peña de la Sal there was no such tumulus, the body lay east and west and was buried unburnt. (See plan and Section 7.) The most careful search of the small layer of earth which covered the bottom failed to discover a single object which had been buried with the corpse. The bricks of which the grave was composed were of two classes—(1) those which formed the sides, plain bricks $29 \times 23 \times 6$ cm. and (2) others formed thus:—



On the following day (January 29th), the workmen came upon two more sepultures of the same kind, and precisely similar. From the third we succeeded in extracting the skull, which was in good preservation, but did not find a single object. On the 31st five new graves were discovered, three of them of small size and apparently of children, otherwise of exactly the same construction as those previously discovered, one of full size. The remaining sepulture was similar to a class of grave discovered in the necropolis at Carmona, being

formed of six large tegulæ or roofing tiles, three on each side inclined to one another, and covered at the ridge with smaller pieces, while the ends are closed by two more tiles. Underneath these the body was laid, apparently without a coffin. Such an arrangement was, naturally, not so efficient a protection for the body as the graves previously discovered and described, and accordingly, in this and all other subsequent interments of the same nature, the grave chamber was found full of earth, and the bones completely decayed. Similar graves to these, and their parallels at Carmona, have been discovered at York, one of which, discovered in the year 1833, is preserved as it was found in the museum of that city. The only difference in construction observable between the Spanish and English examples is that the York grave is covered at the ridge by four ridge tiles, and has each side composed of four instead of three tiles. Another example from the same neighbourhood was composed of three tiles on each side, but differed from those at Peña de la Sal in covering several urns, standing on a flat-tiled pavement. This class of sepulture has not, I believe, been found in England elsewhere than at York, and it is a noticeable fact that each of the tiles which composed these bore the stamp LEG · IX · HISP,¹ thus pointing to a possible Spanish origin of the practice (Wright, p. 304, and plate). Similar graves to this have also been discovered at Strasbourg, belonging to the eighth legion.

On the 1st of February three or four new tombs were found, and by the 2nd their number was increased to 21; 17 being of brick, of which four were small, apparently of children, and four of tiles. Not one of these contained a single object, nor did any of those subsequently discovered, which brought the number up to 32. All the brick graves were similar, not varying more than an inch or two in length, breadth, or height. But one (21) had an addition to the ordinary type, by being roofed at the top of the sides by four tegulæ laid across, above which were the overlapping courses of brick, as usual.

Another, discovered on February 1st, was roofed with

¹ This inscription dates the grave between 71 or 72 and c. 123 (*English Hist Review*, Vol. 2, p. 645-651).

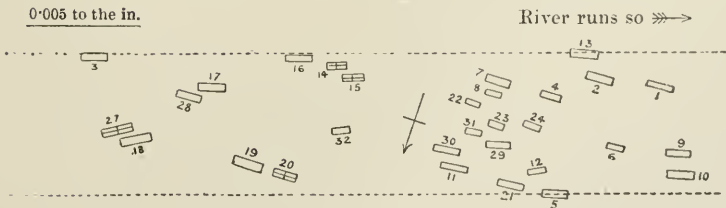
Tombs at Peña de la Sal.

(MEASUREMENTS IN METRES.)

*1.	Bricks	1·92 × ·40 × ·40 deep.				
2.	"	1·75 × ·45 (W.) to ·43 (E.)	...	...	...	bottom of 3 tiles.
3.	"	1·77 × ·49	...	...	...	skeleton in good preservation.
4.	"	1·22 × ·34 to ·30	...	...	...	a child's.
5.	"	2·3 × ·54 to ·43.				
6.	"	·87 × ·35	...	...	...	a child's.
7.	"	...	...	...	...	"
8.	"	1·16 × ·34.				
9.	"					
10.	"					
11.	"	2·00 × ·60 to ·54	...	...	...	bottom of bricks.
12.	"	·77 × ·30 to ·28	...	...	...	child's, bottom of tiles.
13.	"	...	...	...	...	child's.
14.	Tiles	...	...	...	...	of 4 tiles.
15.	"					
16.	Brick.					
17.	"					
18.	"					
19.	"					
20.	Tiles.					
*21.	Brick	...	...	...	...	double roof, tiles and bricks.
22.	"	...	...	...	...	child's.
23.	"	...	...	...	...	"
24.	"	...	...	...	...	"
25.	"	...	...	...	...	covered with flat stone.
26.	"	...	...	...	...	double roof.
27.	Tiles	...	...	...	...	skull extracted.
28.	Bricks	...	...	...	...	"
29.	"	1·87 × ·47	...	...	...	bottom of 3 tiles.
30.	"	1·72 × ·46 to ·44	...	...	...	"
31.	"	...	...	...	...	child.
32.	"	·88 × ·25 to ·20.				

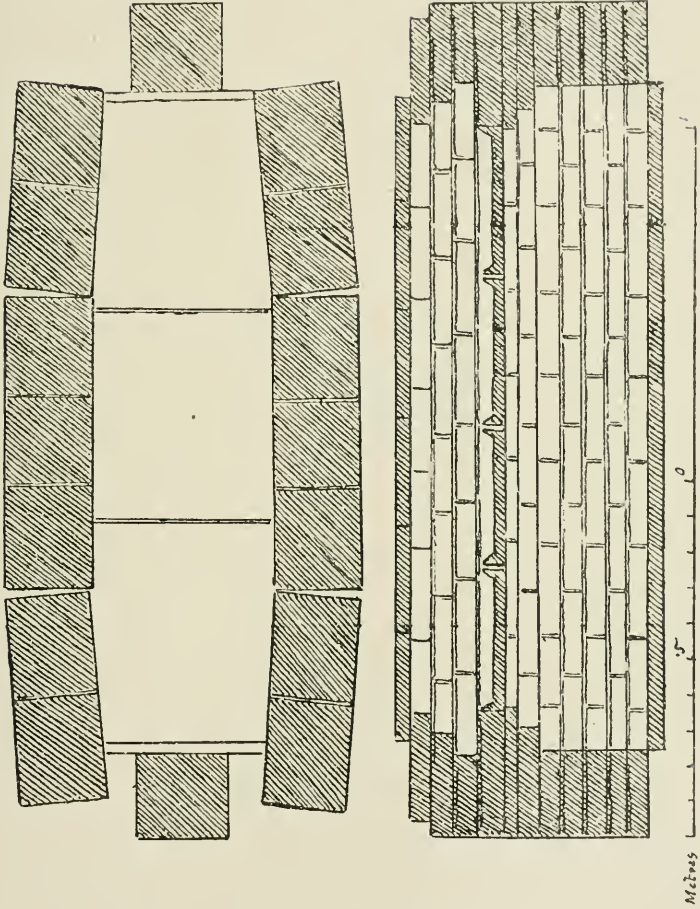
* See separate plans to larger scale.

PLAN 9.



ROUGH KEY-PLAN OF THE POSITIONS OF THE SEPULCHRES AT PEÑA DE LA SAL.

PLAN 8.



PEÑA DE LA SAL. (Tomb No. 21.)



a large stone slab instead of the usual bricks, but this probably is due rather to accident than design.

Taking into consideration the following: (1) the complete lack of objects in these graves; (2) their position in every case east and west, and in every case where evidence was certain with the head to the west; (3) their place, in the lower part of the old Roman town—it seems on the whole probable that they are of late date, and very possibly Christian in character, if not actually of Christians.

On the 5th of February we removed our workmen from the vicinity of the carretera, where they had been working since the completion of the large bath, and set them to try the ground on the high ground to the north beyond the arch. After some time we came across traces of painted plaster, and eventually succeeded in exposing about 3 ft. 6 in. in height of painted plaster forming the end of a small room; the sides also remained for a short way, but after a few feet were ruined. A portion of the mosaic floor was still *in situ*, some of which we raised. We also succeeded in rescuing in fragments from the earth the various parts of a small but interesting painting *in tempera*, which had formed part of one of the side walls, and had fallen inward when the walls gave way. The ground colour of the wall was red, with the picture, and probably others at intervals, inserted in a purplish border. The lower part of the wall was occupied by a "dado" of black relieved by small coloured patterns, and between the black and the vermilion ran a small frieze of alternating winged human faces and T-shaped ornaments on a yellow ground.

On February 10th one of the workmen on the carretera discovered six amphoræ underneath one of the tile graves, four of which he succeeded in extracting whole, and which we bought of him for 12 pesetas, together with three shallow dishes of coarse pottery. The amphoræ were apparently of a smaller size than those on whose handles we observed stamps, and had nothing on their handles. The bodies were nearly spherical, and the amphoræ much resembled that figured in pl. d'agg. L. of the *Annali dell' Istituto*, vol. 50, 1878, in illustration of an article by Dressel on the M. Testaccio in Rome.

After we had left Peña de la Sal and were at work on

another site, we heard of further discoveries on the carretera, so proceeded thither to investigate. We found that there had been found a leaden coffin. It lay apparently east and west, was devoid of ornament of any kind, and had contained nothing when first discovered. There is an ornamented one from Italica in the Museum at Seville.

THE RIVER FROM PEÑA DE LA SAL TO ALCOLEA.

I. *Right Bank.*

December 15th. There is in this part only one des-poblado of importance, namely, that of *Hoyos de S. Sebastian*, a farm on the bank of the river, about half-way in a direct line. Here there are vestiges of wall constructed of potsherds visible in the face of the bank and a large extent of tierra de villar. We give some handles from this site (79-89 and probably 122-126), which bear considerable resemblance to those from Peña de la Sal.

Between Peña de la Sal and Alcolea, but at a little distance from the river, are the ruins locally known as *Las Torrecillas* (see photograph, page 274). They consist now of shapeless masses of brick-faced concrete masonry, scattered about in apparent confusion near the road. They seemed to have formed part of a large building, possibly thermæ, since there remain the ruins of an aqueduct, traceable at intervals for some 4 kil., which apparently supplied it. It is, however, difficult to state the object of a building whose plan could only be revealed by excavation; this we were unable to carry out.

On following the above-mentioned aqueduct towards its source, it is found to be at first raised above the present level of the ground on a wall of concrete. The specus is merely represented by the bottom thereof, which was lined with flat bricks of the dimensions usual in this part (29 by 23 cm.). Farther on its track is only marked, and that at intervals, by the spots where the plough had not been able to pass, owing to the obstruction presented by the foundations. We then lose sight of it altogether, after following it for about 1 kil., for about the same distance, after which we come upon it again, this time as a cut in the soft rock and containing running water, which supplies the huerta of Las Lumbreras. Its further

course is underground, and marked at intervals of 50 to 60 m. by "lumberas" or air-holes of varying depth, but gradually deeper as we ascend the hill. These holes are now mere pits covered with brushwood and often partly choked with rubbish, but originally they doubtless were clean-cut shafts. We lose them at last, and this time finally. The aqueduct appears to originate, not in any spring as usual, but to collect water by filtration from the rock during its underground course. The water supply of Carmona, which also appears to be Roman, is collected in the same way.

II. *Left Bank, from Peña de la Sal to Alcolea.*

January 27th. The first site is a small and inconsiderable despoblado which we call *Villar de Mejia* to distinguish it from a larger one close at hand, which will be found on the map as *Mejia*. In the first there is nothing but tierra de villar; in the second, besides about 800 metres of this, there is some extent of wall of potsherds. In this second site we collected amphora handles with the following marks.

T · FANN (99, 97, 100)

LMVE (98).

The whole of the next sweep of the river as far as the mouth of the Corbones contains no Roman sites, and indeed, the river has shifted so much at this part that all this side of it is waste land. Arrived at the junction of the Corbones with the main stream, we ascend it for about $2\frac{1}{2}$ kil. to the farm of the *Real Tesoro*, where are traces of a large Roman settlement, though nothing to indicate one as large as a town. The ground is covered with fragments of stone, tiles, pottery, &c., but the only vestige of any construction which we could see was on the opposite side of the Corbones, where the fountain which still supplies the farm seems to be raised on Roman foundations.

Some 6 kil. farther up this stream is the despoblado of *Angorillas*, of considerable size, according to report, and the place whence came some portrait statues now at Carmona. But as we did not visit it on the present occasion, we cannot describe it more minutely than that there appears to be a hypocaust exposed.

March 25th. Returning now to the main stream, we

come upon three des poblados in quick succession—Cortijo de *Juan Barba*, *Adelfa* and *Guadajoz*. The first-named is perhaps of the greatest extent, and yielded handles which bear the stamps 192-197; of these, LSPBoEQ (192, 3) occurs again in Rome and in France (*C. I. L.*, XII, 5683, 261). *Adelfa* is smaller, and *Guadajoz*, again, of a larger size. The latter contains some walls, though in a very ruinous condition. We got the mark $\bar{\text{II}}$ SER (No. 1) from this spot. Below *Guadajoz* the river, which is here much reduced in volume owing to the short cut of the *Sairon* produced by a flood about forty years ago, has, so far as we could see, no Roman sites on its banks.

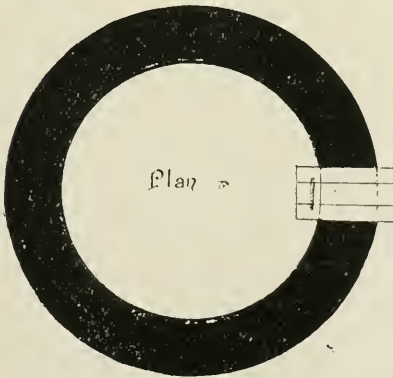
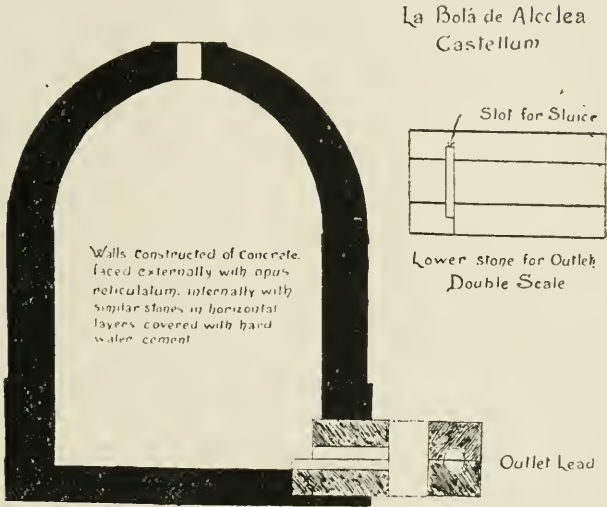
ALCOLEA DEL RIO.

Some excavations here were undertaken during the time when work was stopped at *Peña de la Sal* (December 15th-21st.)

The most conspicuous object on the *Mesa de Alcolea* is the "Bola" (see photographs and plan, &c., 10). This seems to be a "castellum" or reservoir for distribution of water to the town. It is of concrete, dome-shaped, with a circular aperture at the top, the whole resembling to a certain degree, both in shape and material, *Agrippa's Pantheon* in Rome. It is faced externally with *opus reticulatum*, and internally with similar blocks of stone disposed in horizontal layers. There are two large holes broken in the side, and a large portion of the floor is gone, otherwise the building is in fair preservation. It owes this comparative immunity to the fact that till within recent years the building was used as a chapel, and was thus protected from violence. This is doubtless the reason that during the excavation of the rubbish in the days December 19th, 20th, 21st, an *azulejo* or enamelled tile of early type was found and fragments of two or three others.

On one side of the *Bola* project the remains of the first stage of the distributing pipe. It consists of two similar blocks of stone with a channel cut in each. When in position one was reversed on the top of the other, and a massive pipe thus formed. In the lower and longer stone, which was nearly *in situ*, we found the slot which

PLAN 10.





was intended to receive the sluice which regulated or stopped the emission of water from the "castellum."

The rest of our time was employed in making somewhat fruitless trials in various parts of the ground. In most cases we came upon the old level at a very small depth, such as a couple of feet. At so shallow a depth, it was hardly to be expected that well preserved remains should be found, and, in fact, everything was very much destroyed. The Mesa of Alcolea is divided into a number of small holdings separated from each other by imaginary boundary lines, often a matter of dispute between the owners themselves. As some of these small owners had given us permission to dig and some had not, we several times found ourselves unconsciously trespassing, and had to retire and pacify as we best could the irate owner.

The river has made, and is still making, great inroads on the Mesa, the cliff of clay and alluvial soil on which the town originally stood is being gradually swept away, and probably the present does not cover more than one-half of the former extent of the site. The reason for this destruction is most probably to be sought in the erection by the Moors of the great dam across the river, in the construction of which they probably made use of the old river wall, thus at once depriving the bank of its former protection, and causing the current to impinge more directly on the site than heretofore. This destruction of the higher ground has probably led to the migration of the town to its present position higher up the stream and on lower ground, and possibly also to the establishment of the "new town" of Villanueva, a mile or two down stream from Canana.

The river wall to which allusion has just been made in part still exists above the dam, and at the lowest part of the modern town. It now consists of a "battering" face of concrete nearly 20 feet high and about 40 feet long, which, smooth in front, but curiously formed into steps behind, after this fashion, though whether it was originally backed with stone, since removed, or was given this shape in order to obtain a better hold of the earth behind it is not clear.



THE RIVER FROM ALCOLEA TO ALCALÀ DEL RIO.

I. *Right bank*, between Alcolea and Cantillana.

This contains but little. Below Alcolea we follow the high barranco of the Mesa to Villanueva, which has been hitherto identified with the ancient Canana. But as I think we have shown subsequently (p. 287), this is an unfounded assumption, and Villanueva contains nothing Roman, except a very few stones which may well have come from the Mesa de Alcolea. The church, which we visited in search of inscriptions, has none, and we were unable to obtain any information as to *C. I. L.*, II, 1076, which Bravo states to be in Villanueva.

There is a small despoblado about $1\frac{1}{2}$ kil. from the town on the river Viar, but only a small one, called *Estacada de las Minas*. Some 8 kil. farther is a somewhat more considerable one, *La Loma de Villa*, with some remains of building, and the following inscription :

D ♪ M ♪ S ♪
M · AVRELIVS
CEMERVS
VIXIT · ANNIS
XXXX · III · MEN ·
V · DIES · VII · PI
VS · IN SVIS
H · S · E
S · T · T · L

(Unpublished.)

Returning to the main stream, and following it, we come upon nothing till we pass the mouth of the river Huesna (or Guesna), on the heights beyond which are the remains at *Villartilla* of the ancient Oducia, which has hitherto been without a local habitation, but has occasionally been lodged at Tocina, of which more afterwards. To judge from Mr. Bonsor's description, who, alone, visited the spot after my departure, there are considerable remains here, and as fair a site for excavation as at La Peña de la Sal. He mentions aqueducts, baths,

reservoirs, "and a great building with several rooms which I think may prove to be thermæ. Columns, inscriptions, mosaic pavements, coins, everything has been found, and is still found there." There appear, however, not to be any remains of a quay, such as we would expect from the example of Cantillana. I have given below (p. 288) the reasons which lead me to look for Oducia about this point; and Mr. Bonsor's discovery comes as a happy confirmation of my theory.

The bank between Villartilla and Cantillana contains not one single despoblado, unless we count a doubtful one near the ferry towards Tocina.

II. *Left Bank, between Alcolea and Cantillana.*

This is also a very unproductive stretch of river for the archæologist. Starting from Alcolea, we follow an old bend in the river to *Los Villares*, where is a despoblado of some little size, and where we picked up a handle with the mark AVG (145). Continuing, we find nothing as far as Tocina, a town which has sometimes been believed to be the site of Oducia. This, however, it cannot be, as (1) it is not, and apparently never was, on the river; (2) it contains, so far as we could see, no Roman remains whatever, less than even Villanueva. The name however, may be an echo of the departed Oducia (see p. 287). One kilometre west of Tocina is the *Huerta de Cristo*, a despoblado with tierra de villar. It may be from this site that the inscription *C. I. L.*, II, 1265, was brought. It is the funeral inscription of one Fabius Aurelianus, and is described as coming from Tocina, from the Santo Cristo de la Vera Cruz to Seville, where it now is. From this point to Cantillana there does not occur within our observation a single despoblado.

CANANA, ODUCIA, NÆVA.

These three towns are mentioned together in an inscription (*C. I. L.*, II, 1182) first given by Caro as existing at Seville, near the Puerta de Carmona. It now appears to have entirely disappeared, and was not seen by Hübner. It runs as follows:—

C · AELIO · C · F · C · N
 QVIR · AVITO
 LYNTRARIORVM · OMNIVM · PATRO
 NO · LYNTRARI · CA
 NAMENSES · ODVCI ·
 ENSES · NAEVENSES

L. 3, 4. LYNTR. leg. LINTR.

L. 4, 5. CANAMENSES, leg. CANANENSES. Cf. Alcolea.

L. 6. NAEVENSES, correxit tacite H.

It is the dedication of a statue to C. Ælius Avitus by the lightermen of Canana, Oducia, and Næva. The word "lintrarii," which occurs here, is a very rare one; besides this instance I have only been able to discover one other instance of its use (*Ulp. Dig.*, 4, 9, 1, § 4), though "linter" is, of course, considerably commoner. We may therefore not unreasonably conclude that it has some special significance in the present case, and the meaning which seems most appropriate to the various instances of the use (exclusive of the poets), of "linter" and "lintrarius" is that "linter" is a large flat-bottomed cargo-boat (what is called a lighter on the Thames), and "lintrarius" a man who navigates such a boat, which must have somewhat resembled the "barca" in use to-day as a ferry on the Guadalquivir. That such boats should have been in use in Roman times is in itself extremely probable, to convey the cargoes of the sea-going ships which arrived at Ilipa (Alcalà del Rio),¹ up to which point the tides reached, to the towns higher up the river. One fact follows at once from this determination of the meaning of "lintrarius," namely, that the towns Canana, Oducia, and Næva must have been situated actually on the banks of the river Bætis; further, that in all probability they were situated above the limits of the tide, *i.e.*, Ilipa. We may also assume from the fact of the three guilds of lightermen thus making a joint dedication, or perhaps speaking as but a single corporation, that the towns were situated together, and probably close together.

Taking now the first of these names, Cananenses, we find the site already well identified. The various inscrip-

¹ Strabo, 3, 3, c. 142, l. 5, § 8.

tions collected by Hübner under the head of Canana, though erroneously attributed by him to Villanueva del Rio, and still more, the inscription of Thacius found and removed to Carmona in 1888, prove beyond reasonable doubt that the site of Canana is to be found at the modern Alcolea del Rio, or rather just below the town on the height called La Mesa de Alcolea. There are still remains to be seen of the old concrete river wall just above the town (destroyed by the current lower down), built somewhat in this way, about 20 feet high:—



This may be part of the wharf to which the *lintrarii* would bring their freights, but in the presence of so few fragments, and so imperfect, it is better perhaps not to speak with certainty.

The next town, Oducia, presents greater difficulties in identification. An echo of the name may linger in the modern Tocina, but beyond all doubt the modern town does not occupy that, or indeed any, ancient site. Indeed, were there signs of Roman occupation, as there are not, the position would preclude any identification with Oducia, as it is not on the river, but at some distance from it, nor does the stream appear ever to have run much nearer than now.

If we leave the question of the position of Oducia for the moment undecided and pass to the consideration of that of *Næva*, we find more help. Starting up stream from Alcalà, the first Roman remains of any importance which we come across are to be found at Cantillana, where is to be seen, besides an aqueduct, which carries an abundant supply of water to within a short distance of the town, and a large number of fragments of columns, &c., scattered through the town, a large collection of *débris* of concrete walling, with one or two pieces yet standing, though the whole is so much shattered as to make the plan irrecoverable. This evidently was a place of some importance in the way of shipping, as the ruins of the port show, and as it is the first place above Alcalà which has such signs, we may not unreasonably conclude

that Cantillana occupies the site of the ancient Næva. The inscriptions which preserve the name of Næva are unfortunately not conclusive in determining the position. Besides the one prefixed to this section there are two at Seville in the museum, without indication of their provenance,¹ and another in a private collection in the same city, said to have been found "not far from Cazalla de la Sierra," an obviously inconclusive notice, since we have already seen that Næva must have been on the river.

The inscriptions found at Cantillana prove nothing.

We thus limit the range of river within which we must place Oducia to the part between Villanueva above and Cantillana below. The former place is excluded by (1) its name; (2) its proximity to the "Mesa de Alcolea"; (3) its entire lack of Roman remains, with the exception of one funeral titulus from the neighbourhood. Hübner, it is true, identifies it with Canama (*sic*), but this was without personal observation.

The inscriptions of Oducia are lamentably few, consisting (except that of which we are now treating) solely of one, "Cornelia, l. f. Rustica. Oduciensis. Huic Ordo . . ." said to have been seen, now in Lora del Rio, now near Italica. It thus proves nothing.

There is a place called Cortijo del Indio, on the right bank of the river some little way below the railway bridge of Tocina, which has, so far as could be discerned from the other side of the river, remains of concrete constructions near the water's edge. In default of a more definitely indicated site, it would do very well as the position of Oducia, as it is sufficiently near the present Tocina to account for the transference of the name when the modern town was built.

If this be so, the three towns lay at about equal distances apart, on the right bank of the Bætis, and formed a distinct division on the river between the tidal and upper waters, in which the carrying trade was performed in large flat lighters. This distinction would appear to have been kept up to some extent even in Moorish times, for to the present day, while every town above Alcolea has its Moorish dam, extending across the

¹ One (*C. I. L.*, 1166), has the notice, "Encontrado en la calle de la Compañía," which proves nothing.

river and effectually barring the progress of boats, there is no such obstruction either at Villanueva, Cantillana, or Alcalà, or at any point below Alcolea, thus showing that it was at least possible for such a trade to have been carried on.

Since writing the above, I have been informed by my friend and colleague Mr. Bonsor that ruins which probably indicate the site of Oducia are to be seen, not at the Cortijo del Indio, "but 4 kil. from there down the river in the direction of Cantillana, near the union of the river Huesna to the Guadalquivir. . . . The place is called Villartilla, which seems to suggest some ruins." (Villar, as well as Castillejo, Torreon, &c., is a common word to designate a Roman site—"tierra de villar" meaning earth with bricks, potsherds, &c., in it.) "These are still existing in comparatively good condition. They are mostly water works . . . and a great building with several rooms, which I think may prove to be *thermæ*."

We thus transfer the site of Oducia from Cortijo del Indio to Villartilla, a little lower down the river.

III. From Cantillana, to Alcalà. Right Bank.

In this stretch there is very little. In fact, the nearer we approach Seville, the more thinly are the *despoblados* scattered, and the more considerable appear the towns to have been.

The first and indeed the only indisputable *despoblado* to be met with on this side is found soon after passing the river Viar, a task of some uncertainty on foot, if the river be swollen by recent rains, as was our case. It is called *El Cortijillo*, and besides the usual *tierra de villar* contains only a shapeless mass of concrete about 3 feet high in the middle of a field. We next come to Villaverde, which is, for archæologists at least, a modern town, and contains no Roman remains. Beyond this is the "Cañaveral," an immense plantation of reeds, which makes it an impossibility to keep to the river bank, but this is of the less consequence, as a low-lying tract like this is found, in our experience, never to yield any Roman sites. The country onward from here to Alcalà is dreary in the extreme, and contains no ancient remains and but two modern farms in its whole extent.

IV. The *Left Bank*, from Cantillana to Alcalà.

April 9th. The case is somewhat better on the left bank, but even here there is not much. From Cantillana, as far as Brenes, there is nothing, as is the case with that town itself. On its outskirts, however, we find three masses of concrete, apparently the remains of arches which once carried an aqueduct, called *El Callejon*, and just beyond it a despoblado of tierra de villar. Just beyond the mouth of the Bodegon arroyo there is a despoblado of considerable size, called *El Villar de Brenes* by us, which seems to have had potteries, to judge from the large accumulation of refuse. We obtained from this spot marks (199-203) among them

HERMES (199) ISHERME (200) QVCVIR (203).

A little way lower down, just beyond the barqueta or ferry, is a smaller despoblado of tierra de villar, called *La Cruz Verde*. From this point onwards to Alcalà there is nothing. The earlier part of the way, indeed, was perhaps rather perfunctorily performed, being an enclosure of a bull-breeder and rather dangerous as late as the month of April.

ILIPA.

Surnamed "Magna," to distinguish it from other towns of the same name (Ptolemy, 2, 4, 13).

For the identification of its site we have two very trustworthy pieces of evidence:—(1) That up to Ilipa sea-going vessels of light draught plied (Strabo, III, 3, c. 132); (2) the story of the remarkable spring-tide observed by Seleucus at Ilipa (Strabo, III, 5, § 8).

These two references taken together would seem to prove (1) that the tides were appreciably, and occasionally strongly, felt at Ilipa; (2) that they were not felt much above that place, since it was the limit of the smaller sea-going ships.

Turning now in search of some Roman site to which the tides extend, and beyond which they are not felt, we find that at Alealà del Rio is the present limit of the tidal water, further, that there are very considerable remains there of Roman walls and of Roman pier-

construction; therefore, with Carrillo and others,¹ Alcalà may be identified with Ilipa with the utmost confidence.²

There is a curious delusion prevalent in some quarters, and more especially among the natives of the town, that Peñaflores is the modern representative of Ilipa. The idea, I believe, was started by Rodrigo Caro, but the reason for it I have never been able to discover.

The error has found its way into Murray's Guide-book, the confusion being increased by a misprint of Ilissa for Ilipa.

ALCALÀ DEL RIO.

This town was visited by us on April 10th and 11th, but no excavations were undertaken, as well on account of the lack of time and money as because the modern town occupies the same ground as the ancient Ilipa, thus making excavation a matter dependent on a large expenditure for compensation.

The city owes its present name, as does also Alcolea, to the Arabic equivalent for castle, thus indicating that both these places were considered strong defensive positions. In the case of Alcolea, however, the inroads of the river have led to the abandonment of the higher position and the removal of the town to the present lower site. Alcalà, better defended, or not so much exposed to the attacks of the stream, has continued to the present day in its original position.

There are abundant traces of Roman work to be observed throughout Alcalà, but the chief points of interest are the Roman walls, which yet exist to a considerable extent, and the Roman quay, which is unfortunately so much broken by the undermining action of the river that its original plan is not now recoverable.

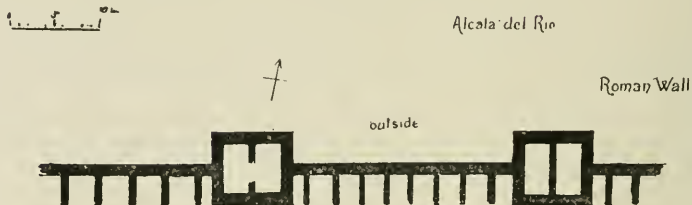
Plan 11 also gives the ground plan of these walls and towers, showing some curious projections on the inner side which I believe to have served originally as supports to arches which carried a broad walk round the top of the wall. Each tower was also divided into two parts; but

¹ Alf. Carrillo. "Discurso geográfico sobre que Ilipa magna no es Peñaflores, sino Alcalà del Rio." (Read before the Madrid Academy, 1743; mentioned by Hübner, *C. I. L.*, II, p. 141.)

² For the coins of Ilipa (mostly found at Alcalà), see Eckhel, I, 22 Delgado, 2, 100, plate xxxvii.

the upper storey having now gone, it is difficult to reconstruct the original building in its entirety. (See in

PLAN 11.



Pl. B. The whole is of Concrete, of great hardness. The wall now stands to the height of 6 to 9 feet in parts

illustration to this *Encycl. Brit.*, art. "Rome," Fig. 25, plan of part of Aurelian's wall. Piranesi, *Ant. di Roma*, I, tav. 8, 2.)

There are also at Alcalà in the Plaza foundations of Roman buildings to be seen; but their plan is not to be made out.

As regards inscriptions, our experience was that of Hübner, who writes, "titulos inveni pæne nullos." Besides *C. I. L.*, II, 1089, the inscription of Dasumia, the only one which Hübner copied, we only saw one other, and that an unintelligible fragment.

OPCI —

THE RIVER FROM ALCALÀ TO SEVILLE.

I. *Right Bank.*

There is but one despoblado, *Las Arenas*, between Alcalà and Santiponce (*Italica*) situated on a slight rise, which may be the ancient bank, rather more than half a kilometre from the present. The wretched town of La Algaba contains a fine Moorish tower, but no Roman remains; thence to *Italica* there is nothing.

Italica itself has furnished too many an occasion of moralising to guide-books and travellers' diaries to need particular description here. Suffice it to say that the

plan given by Demetrio de los Rios shows more of the walls than can at present be seen except in the north and north-west parts, and that the projection towards the south-east is not now to be traced. It seems to have been a quay of like nature to that at Alcalá.

Hence to Seville is flat, and contains no site.

II. *Left Bank.*

This is flat and desolate the whole way and does not contain a single despoblado. Probably the liability to flood acted as a deterrent in this part of the river, except on high sites, as Villar de Brenes.

ITALICA.

On the site of this well known town little need be said. It was Ambrosia de Morales who first pointed out that the ruins of Santiponce were not those of Seville, as had been previously supposed, but of a separate town, and that town Italica. In his day the name yet survived in a somewhat altered form, the fields in the neighbourhood being called "Los Campos de Talca" (*v. Hübner, C. I. L.*, II, p. 146). Since the time of Morales, various investigators have made excavations on the site, tempted thereto in great measure by its proximity to Seville and the prominence of the ruins of the amphitheatre. Among the first of these was the monk José Moscoso, who in 1799 laid bare and enclosed with a wall a large pavement of mosaic, now, unfortunately, ruined by exposure to the weather.

Since that time the most important work on the site has been the following:—The excavation of the thermæ by D. Demetrio de los Rios in 1860 (see *Annali dell' Inst.* 33, 1861, p. 375 seq.). The amphitheatre (in part) by the same, 1862 (*Memoria arqueológico-descriptiva del anfiteatro de Itálica, acompañada del plano y restauración del mismo edificio por . . . D. Demetrio de los Rios, Madrid, 1862*). These have plans of the two buildings executed with great accuracy.

MVNIGVA.

Though the site of this town does not, strictly speaking, lie on the banks of the Guadalquivir, but at a distance of

some kilometres, yet it may well be included in the present account, since the stream on which it is situated, the Guesna,¹ is a tributary of the Guadalquivir.

The town of Munigua is not mentioned in any ancient author, and its existence was unsuspected till the expedition of Cortes, referred to subsequently, published in the *Mem. Acad. Sevill.*, 1773, revealed the former existence of the town at the place now called Castillo de la Mulva. Another expedition was made about the same time by Guseme of Lora, but since that time the site appears not to have been visited by an archæologist.

The inscriptions found on the occasion of Cortes's visit (*C. I. L.*, II, 1049, 1050), as well as another not mentioned in either account, but extant in the museum of Seville, and described by Hübner as "reperta una cum 1049, 1050," leave no doubt that this was the site of Munigua, a town of some importance, since in the reign of Titus it was a municipium, and that too, not of Flavian creation, as the absence of "Flavium" or "F." would lead us to infer (*C. I. L.*, 1051).

An account of a visit which we made to the Castillo de Mulva on January 10th will be found in the following pages. I have thought it worth while to describe it at length, as it may perhaps give some notion of the character of the country in which it is situated—a character which is shared by the whole of the outskirts of the Sierra Morena, but where, with this exception, we found no traces of Roman occupation.

As will be seen, we are able to bear witness to the continued existence at Mulva of inscription 1050, to which Hübner appends the note "videtur periisse" in the *Cornus*. Nos. 1052, 1053, we did not see, but, as Hübner says of them, they may still be there.

On the 10th of January, 1890, we left Carmona by the 4 a.m. train for an expedition to Mulva and its vicinity, and arrived about eight at Villanueva de las Minas, where we got out. Inquiring for an arriero, who might provide donkeys or so, we found that such a thing was not obtainable, but gained the information that Mulva was close to Arenilla, the next station on the line—a hint for

¹ Or Huesna, see p. 284.

future expeditions. So we started to walk along the line (7 kil.). The scenery here was quite different from the country below, as we were now in the outskirts of the Sierra Morena. Cultivation was only represented, and that sparsely, by a few olive fields in the distance. The whole landscape was composed of low rounded hills covered with a dense growth of myrtle, dwarf willows, tall rosemary, and stunted holm oak. A few stone pines and holm oaks stood up among these, but the country could not be called wooded. Among these hills were one or two streams, also a difference from the Vega and Carmona—clear running brooks with stony beds. We crossed the largest of these, the Guesna, on a very narrow iron railway bridge.

We eventually came to Arenilla, and from a few yards beyond it Mulva is well seen in the middle of the valley below. We now struck straight across through the scrub, for it passes a tributary of Guesna. We reached it at ten. The castle is situated on a small eminence, surrounded by this stream, steep by nature and apparently made more so by art, on the top of which rise the walls. These consist of concrete, with bands at intervals of brick. Frequent buttresses, the majority of which have now disappeared, protected them from any thrust, and these again seem to have had subsidiary buttresses near the foot. The walls on the west side are the best preserved. The castle is roughly rectangular in shape, the length being from north to south, and had the entrance on the east, facing the tower. The probable site is marked by a semicircular recess. Inside the castle there are remains of later construction, though still, I believe, Roman. Of these the most remarkable is the north wall of a room, which is ornamented on the inside with an arcade of three arches. There are also, at the south extremity of the castle, remains of two constructions, lined with cement, and apparently intended as receptacles for storing water.

On the lower slopes of the east side of the hill on which stands the castle were found the various inscriptions mentioned by Cortes and Guseme (*op. cit.*). Of these we found one still existing (*C. I. L.*, II, 1050, Hübner, "videtur periisse"). The other two mentioned by

Guseme *may* be there still, but we failed to see them. Here also are ruins of Roman masonry. One is a chamber or passage, about 20 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 12 feet high, the original use of which it is difficult, without excavation, to decide.

On the level ground at the foot, and for some distance, are abundant traces of Roman occupation in the shape of squared blocks of granite, fragments of concrete, drums of columns, bricks, and tiles without number. The tiles which we found here, as well as the bricks, and the few fragments of amphoræ which we saw, are of a totally different clay to those at Carmona, Peña de la Sal, or Alcolea, being red, sandy, and full of mica, whereas those are yellow, without sand or mica. Where were they made? There seems to be no clay in the immediate neighbourhood.

Of the scorïæ mentioned by Cortes as abundant we saw none; but in a site which in parts is densely covered with undergrowth it is not easy to see everything. Nor, again, could we find the subterranean excavation called "La Mina" (*ib.*). But the somewhat remote position of Munigua (doubly so at the present day), and the mineral wealth to be found at Pedroso, about nine miles farther on, make it seem probable that the origin of the town was connected with mines. Munigua was a municipium and acquired the surname Flavium, but probably not from the Flavian emperors.

Leaving the Castillo about 2.30, we went back to the railway, and followed it towards Villanueva, about half-way, when we struck off to the right or westward towards the Serro de la Encarnacion, a commanding hill about two miles off. We could see, from the railway, buildings on the top, and we had heard wonderful accounts of the remains to be seen there—castles, halls, underground chambers, and what not. These accounts, indeed, we considered to be thoroughly untrustworthy; but this was an opportunity which we were not likely to have again of discovering the truth, if any, which underlay them. We therefore made our way to the base. The walking was very bad—through brushwood as high as a man and abounding in thorny plants. A short but steepish climb brought us to the top, where at first we

discovered nothing, but later on we came across some rocks, which made us think that we had mistaken natural formations for buildings. However, on the farther edge of the plateau we found the remains of a castle, alas! not Roman, but Moorish, being made of tapia, with strengthening quoins of brick and rubble masonry. There was also at a little distance south the remains of apparently a church (*cf.* the name of the hill), of somewhat similar construction. Not a vestige of anything Roman was to be seen. But though we were disappointed in the object of our search, the situation was magnificent. The plateau here ends in a sheer precipice to the north and west, separated by some convulsion of nature from a similar though lower crag on the adjoining hill. At the bottom of the gorge thus formed runs a small stream (the Parroso, or one of its feeders), which takes its course towards the Guadalquivir, in the direction of Tocina. The fortress is built on the very verge of the precipice, with a clear drop of some hundreds of feet to the bed of the stream beneath, and commanding a magnificent view to the south over the Guadalquivir, the Vega beyond, and as far as Carmona, which stands up well on its ridge. On a clear day the mountains of Ronda should be distinctly visible, but on this occasion we could not see them.

At 4.40 we began the descent on the south-west slope and made our way over broken ground, through a pine wood and various olive fields to the Guesna, which we had to wade, and so through more olives and waste land to the railway and the station of Villanueva y Alcolea, whence, after forty minutes' wait, we took the train to Tocina. There after some search we obtained a primitive meal, at a primitive posada, of fried eggs and native sausages, and obtained some, but not much, information as to sites in the neighbourhood. There seems to be nothing of antiquity in Tocina, but reports of remains at Villa verde, below Cantillana.¹ At 9 o'clock we left and walked in the dark along the line to Tocina Empalme, whence we eventually got a train to Carmona, arriving just before midnight.

¹ This was subsequently found to be untrue.

APPENDIX.

A. ADDITIONS TO C. I. L., II.

CELTI.

Peñaflor, In domo Antonii Parias, literis magnis, sæculi, ut videtur, II ineuntis. (Cf. 2328.)

IIII]VIR ♪ AV[G
GVMGRA ?

Ibidem ‘encontrado en el sitio que llaman
Las Moncruas’

ROMVLA · AN · XVI ·
PIA IN SVLS

H · S · E · S · T · T · L · D · M · S
Insolito loco positum est D · M · S.

AXATI.

‘En el cortijo del Membrillo, cerea de Setefilla termino de Lora.’ In lapide, lit. quadratis 6 cm. altis

DIVO ▲ AVGVSTO

Ævi videtur Tiberiani.

CANANA.

Repert a. 1888 en Alcolea del Rio. a. 1889 traslatum Carmonam, ubi servatur in museo.

M · THA]CIO · L · F · QVR · LV[PO
HVIC · ORDO · MVN · [FL ·
CANANLOC · SEPV[LT ·
FVNER · IMPENS[AM
STATVAM · PEDÉS[TR
DE[CR]EVIT
L · THACIVS · LVPVS
PATER · ET · CORNE[LIA
SECVNDA · MAT[ER
H] · V · I · R

Alcoleæ, in domo Camili cujusdam

[STA
TVAM · EQVESTREM
AVRATICIAMPONI

Ibidem, literis satis bonis.

POM]PEIO
D S]P D [D

Alcoleæ, in limine domus Joannis Ricuero
· · · · ERG · SENECIO literis evanidisEn la Loma de Villa, termino de
Villanueva del Rio

D M S
M · AVRELIVS
CEMERVS
VIXIT · ANNIS
XXXX · III · MEN
V · DIES · VII · PI
VS IN SVIS
H · S · E
S · T · T · L

B. POTTERS' STAMPS ON AMPHORA HANDLES.

(The numbers in brackets give the number of duplicates
of that stamp found in the same place.)

No.	Where Found.	
1	Guadajoz	II SER.
2		
3		
4		
5		
6	Alcolea	MFDLA.
7	„	BCCLLM.

No.	Where Found.	
11	Peña de la Sal	... C · ANN · R · FN (2). <i>Cf.</i> 60.
12	"	... C · N · · · ·
13	"	... · · · · OA.
14	"	... · PAEOA.
15	"	... LPAEOA (11).
16	"	... SLAEON.
17	"	
18	"	... IIII ?
19	"	... III.
20	"	... NN.
21	"	... N · · · (2).
22	"	... PN · ·
23	"	... A · V · ✕ (2). <i>Cf.</i> 69.
24	"	... MEYIANF (2). <i>Cf.</i> 130.
25	"	... LPAEOA.
26	"	...
27	"	... PNN ² SI (2).
28	"	... PNN (4).
29	"	... NIII (2).
30	"	... III.
31	"	... SALSX.
32	"	... SA · L · SA. <i>Cf.</i> 129.
33	"	... EYEA.
34	"	... NIII.
35	"	... · · · III.
36	"	... M · P · F.
37	"	... CII CELI
38	"	... CLODICH (2).
39	"	... C · CEL
40	"	... PNN.
41	"	... P · NN.
42	"	... GRATI. <i>Cf.</i> 62.
43	"	... NIII.
44	"	... M · E · EB.
45	"	... NI ² · · ·

} *C. I. L.*,
v.
XII, 68.

No.	Where Found.	
46	Peña de la Sal	... · DL ···
47	”	... ··· SIS.
48	”	... PERZEV. On the body.
49	”	... M · PPM ?
50	”	... M · ÆM · RVS (2). <i>C. I. L.</i> , VII, 1331, 6.
51	”	... · FRRIV. <i>Cf.</i> 109, 128.
52	”	... P · N · N.
53	”	... PNNAR [✱] .
54	”	... L · STA. <i>C. I. L.</i> , XII, 285.
55	”	... PERZEI (3). On handle.
56	”	... PNN.
57	”	... CICE _L .
58	”	... M · ÆM ···
59	”	... · P · N · N ·
60	”	... L · ANANAV. <i>Cf.</i> 11.
61	”	... MÆM · RVS.
62	”	... GGR. <i>Cf.</i> 42.
63	”	... ΕΖΙΑΖ. <i>Cf.</i> 31, 129. ?
64	”	... · NNSE.
65	”	... ST · PE.
66	”	... MFD ····
67	”	... ··· TIT.
68	”	... FIGMED.
69	”	... AV _ϕ . <i>Cf.</i> 23.
70	”	... M · E ····
71	”	... E2 ···
72	”	... ···· IE ·····
73	”	
74	”	... M · E · F (4).
75	”	... C · M ····
76	”	... II Scratched after baking.
77	”	... X
78	”	... X Scratched before baking.

No.	Where Found.	
79	Hoyo de S. Sebastian...	M · C · S.
80	„	... MCSR.
81	„	... PNN (7).
82	„	... PNNF.
83	„	... · · CLM.
84	„	... ···· W.ICO.
85	„	... DEF.
86	„	... CLLM.
87	„	... ···· PIII. Cf. 113.
88	„	... QVA ····
89	„	... F♦F.
90	Peña de la Sal	... Q · AG.
91	„	... NFOI.
92	„	... CN · ·
93	„	... MÆMRVS.
94	„	... · · MIM.
95	Alcolea ...	... OFAMAN. On Samian ware.
96	„	... ···· NN · IV [✱] . Cf. 135.
97	Mejia ...	... TFANN.
98	„ ...	... LMV.
99	„ ...	... TFAN ?
100	„ ...	... TFANN ?
101	Peña de la Sal	... · PNN.
102	„	... STA(cc. Cf. 105.
103	„	... CALI2NF. On body.
104	„	... · NNSIS.
105	„	... SLACCI. Cf. 102.
106	„	... NIII.
107	„	... PNN [✱] .
108	„	... PNNSI.
109	„	... QFRS+SS : (2). Cf. 51, 128.
110	„	... COR · ·
111	„	... G · ST.
112	„	... ST · P ?

No.	Where Found.	
113	Lora la Vieja ...	L · V · TROPIM (2). Cf. C. I. L., VII, 1331, 115.
114	" ...	ORÉS.
115	Peñaflor ..	Q · FC (4).
116	" ...	OFC ·
117	" ...	O · T · V.
118	" ...	CNAC.
119	" ...	DAP.
120	" ...	CIB.
121	" ...	-T: A.
123	Alcolea ...	L · Q ·
124	" ...	PNN. Cf. 81.
125	" ...	MCSR. Cf. 80.
126	" ...	MMCSV.
127	Peña de la Sal	L · G · G.
128	" ...	QFRMED (2). Cf. 51, 109.
129	" ...	ΛΖΙ·ΑΖ. Cf. 31, 63.
130	" ...	MEDAN. Cf. 24.
131	" ...	· · DED · · · ? (2).
132	" ...	OE · · · · ·
133	Guadajoz ...	· · MMF · D. Rest illegible.
134	" ...	ϠϠϠ?
135	Huerta del Rio	III ENN · IV Ϡ* (5). Cf. 96.
136	" ...	PECSÆN.
137	" ...	· · · AENI. Cf. C. I. L., VII, 1331, 102; 12, 5683, 231.
138	" ...	SÆNANS. Cf. M. 69.
139	" ...	III MMI · RIV.
140	Maiena ...	AV · HR.
141	" ...	RAAN?
142	" ...	AVIHЯ.
143	" ...	AITA.
144	Acebucha ...	L · EL.

No.	Where Found.	
145	Los Villares ...	AVG.
146	Belen (Palma) ...	FORTVNATM.
147	„ ...	SX · FRCÆLVꝛ (2).
148	„ ...	F · S · F · A · QVA ?
149	„ ...	SAXOFERR (2).
151	„ ...	{ ... FERR } = 149.
152	„ ...	EVY
153	Portillo (Palma) ...	RATVT.
155	Peñaflor ...	VFNCEPA } Cf. CORALODFA } Dressel, p. 141.
156	„ ...	· II FF IILV · ·
157	„ ...	TREPIL.
158	Moratalla ...	NIL.
159	Ant. Serrano ...	PIOEBI.
160	„ ...	CVC · · ·
161	Guadiato ...	G DEC · · ·
162	Villaseca ...	C · IVI · BAR (4).
163	„ ...	T · · · VA ?
164	Est. de la Torrontera...	· · · bC · · ·
165	„ ...	G DEC = 160.
166	„ ...	M · IPII.
167	La Dehesilla ...	· FVCO · ·
168	„ ...	LFC · · I arge.
169	„ ...	MIVC · · ·
170	„ ...	FSCVFM ?
171	„ ...	LFCCV · · · ·
172	„ ...	· FCCV—FM.
173	Corregidora ...	GFSCVFM.
174	„ ...	{ FIG ED } + (⊙)(3).
175	„ ...	{ · · OC.
176	Castillejo ...	{ · · A.
177	Malpica ...	PM · · large and incuse. LFCCVFZ (3). C · I · R · SA.

No.	Where Found.	C · I · A · B.
178	Malpica ...	...
179	" ...	... C·I·A.
180	" ...	... C · I · A · FIA · ·
181	" ...	... C · I · ALB.
182	" ...	... ΚΛΑΠ · Ο.
183	" ...	... G·I·A : B.
184	" ...	... P·AIC.
185	" ...	... Q · I · A.
186	" ...	... ΣΤΑΙ-Ο.
187	" ...	... QIV.
188	" ...	... Q · I · C · SEG (2).
189	" ...	... Q · I · G · SEG.
190	" ...	... QIMEN.
192	Juan Barba ...	... LSP · RO.
193	" ...	... · SPBOEQ.
194	" ...	... L · E · FPO.
195	" ...	... { G·A·F. ROVTO.
196	" ...	... LERP.
197	" ...	... ΗΙΗΡΒΕΟ.
198	La Reina ...	... · · · A · FER.
199	Villar de Brenes ...	... HERMES.
200	" ...	... ISHERMEI-
201	" ...	... N · IR · III.
202	" ...	... VIRAV.
203	" ...	... QVCVIR.
204	Alcalà... ...	... BAR · · · · SI.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological
Institute.

Wednesday, July 5th.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, M.P., F.R.S., the President, in the Chair.

The President exhibited a unique bronze gilt medal of William Pitt. Obverse:—GVLIELMO PITT, R.P.Q.B. Bust of Pitt to the left. Signed Webb. Reverse:—PATRIAE COLVMEN DECVS. A rock in silver standing in a gold sea. Below:—OB.A. MDCCCVI. Mr. Talfourd Ely exhibited a silver cover of a patchbox of the date of 1680 or 1690. The open-work tracery was formed by etching and then cutting the metal. The ornament consisted of foliage, birds, &c., with a coronet. It appeared to be foreign and there was a monogram SLIC duplicated underneath; the lid was shagreen and on the inside a looking-glass.

A paper by Dr. S. RUSSELL FORBES on "Recent Excavations in the Forum at Rome" was then read (to be printed in the *Journal*).

A paper followed by Professor B. LEWIS, F.G.A. on "Roman Antiquities in the Rhineland" (to be printed in the *Journal*).

DISCOVERIES IN THE FORUM.

By S. RUSSELL FORBES, Ph.D.

THE CREMATING OF CÆSAR.

During the month of December, 1898, the interior of the hemicycle platform of the Rostra Julia was cleared out, with the following results. The hemicycle wall of tufa, upon two first courses of travertine, shows traces of having been cased with marble, therefore the straight wall in front of it is an addition. The space between the two walls at its greatest width is 11 feet, and is occupied by an octagonal base of three steps, 10 inches, 17 inches and 11 inches high, thus forming a base 3 feet 2 inches high; this base stands on travertine blocks raised $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the original level, and is mostly composed of small pieces of broken marbles of different varieties. It was veneered with marble, one side comes up close to the straight wall, of which 19 feet remains; it was originally 25 feet long. The opposite side is 2 feet from the hemicycle wall, which is 39 feet long and $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and is broken down at each end. The Rostra platform extends 16 feet 10 inches on each side of the hemicycle recess.

We must now turn to the historical records. Livy, who passed most of his life in the court of Augustus, and was 15 years of age at the time, says, Ep. 116, "The body of Cæsar carried through the Campus Martius, is cremated by the people before the Rostra." Suetonius, A.D. 79-135, says, "Both magistrates and functionaries of honour carried the bier to the Rostra in the Forum," *Cæs.* 84. This was from his house on the Via Sacra on March 17th, B.C. 44. He was murdered on the 15th. Appian (about the same date) says, B.C. II, 42, "Piso (his father-in-law) caused the body to be brought to the Forum, and placed it before the Rostra." It was from here that Anthony delivered his famous speech and soliloquy to Cæsar's body, then, as Appian records, "he stretched out

his hand towards the Capitolium (Temple of Jupiter), and in a loud voice invoked Jupiter." This demonstrates that Anthony was facing towards the Capitoline Hill, and the only Rostra that did so was the Rostra Julia. Pliny, X, 60, speaks of it as looking towards the Forum.

"Suddenly two of them, girt with swords, and carrying two javelins, set it on fire with lighted candles." Used in funerals then as now. Suetonius, *Cæs.* 84. "They carried the body from the Capitol back to the Forum, and in that place, in sight of the old monumental Regia¹ of the Romans, gathering together all the wood from the seats in the Forum and neighbourhood, raised a magnificent pyre, upon which placing the body, they set it on fire. In that place at first an altar is erected, now the Temple of Cæsar himself, is placed by Octavius." Appian, B.C. II, 42. "Caius Amatius (Marius, a supposed kinsman of Cæsar's) constituted an altar before the pyre. The people demanding the magistrates to consecrate the Altar of Amatius, and to perform the first sacrifices to Cæsar." Appian, B.C. III, 1.

"Afterwards a solid column, nearly 20 feet high, of Numidian marble, was erected in the Forum, and inscribed, PARENTI PATRIÆ (To the Father of his country). At which for a long time they sacrificed, made vows, and settled disputes in which they swore by Cæsar." Suetonius, *Cæs.* 85. "After the taking of Perugia (B.C. 39) 300 prisoners were selected from the rest and slaughtered, like victims, before an altar raised to Julius deified upon the Ides of March," (15th) Suetonius, Aug. 15. The altar was not erected till after the 17th.

"The people erected an altar in that place where the pyre had been (in the meantime his freedmen took away the ashes and placed them in his family sepulchre), and established sacrifices upon it, and burnt victims to Cæsar, as to a god, but the consuls overturned the altar." Dion Cassius, XLIV, 51. "The same men were erecting a tomb in the Forum, who had performed that irregular funeral." Cicero, *Phil.*, I, 2.

"When you yourself (Anthony) were absent, what a day was that for your colleague (Dolabella, Cicero's son-

¹ Horace, O. I., 2, gives it the same title.

in-law) when he overturned that tomb in the Forum, which you were accustomed to regard with veneration." Cicero, *Phil.*, II, 42. Dolabella was chosen consul instead of Cæsar on March 16th, B.C. 44. He pulled down the altar of Amatius a short time afterwards. It would seem that the altar and column are the same thing, for all the authors call it an altar except Suetonius, who says it was a column. Suetonius says they offered sacrifice there for a long time, and instances the slaughter of B.C. 39 already quoted. He must mean by this at the Temple erected afterwards. "Augustus erected a temple in the Forum in that place where he (Cæsar) was cremated." Dion Cassius, XLVII, 18. It was commenced B.C. 33 and dedicated August 18th, 28 B.C. (A.U.C. 725).

Appian and Dion Cassius both say the Temple of the deified Cæsar was built in that place where he was cremated. This is not strictly correct, for he was cremated in front of the Rostra, whilst the Temple is behind the Rostra. In that place means perhaps in the Forum, not the exact spot of cremating. It follows that the body was cremated in front of the Rostra in the hemicycle recess, the walls of which show distinct traces of fire along the lower courses of stones. In this recess the altar, in the form of a column, was erected on the octagonal base now discovered; this was pulled down by Dolabella in a very short time, before the murder of Cicero in 43 B.C.

When Augustus erected the Temple Tomb he built it up close to the rear of the Rostra, which formed a rectangular platform along the front of the Temple; and he enclosed the hemicycle recess by building a wall across the opening, thus giving the front of the Rostra Julia a straight line, as represented on coins, and on the Relief of Marcus Aurelius in the Forum; and upon it he fixed the rams (Rostra) of Mark Antony's fleet, captured at the battle of Actium B.C. 30. Dion Cassius, LI, 19.

THE TOMB OF FAUSTULUS.

In ascending the rather late road passing under the Arch of Septimius Severus some narrow pieces of white

marble were noticeable forming part of the road near the edge of the silex pavement on the right, about 75 feet from the arch and 150 feet out from the front of the Senate House, S. Adriano. On January 10th the excavations along the north side of the Forum revealed the fact that this late road continues all along that side, and that the narrow pieces of white marble formed part of the top of a balustrade 2 feet 3 inches high, formed with four slabs of marble, enclosing a sacred area paved with irregular blocks of Nero Antico marble. The area is 12 feet by 12 feet and may have been somewhat larger, the balustrade being on its south side, with traces of its existence half-way along the west and east sides; the remainder of these sides and the north side have no traces of the balustrade left. The slabs forming the balustrade originally formed part of the facing of the base of the Arch of Severus, and are from 5 to 6 inches in thickness, thus demonstrating that their present use is very late. They are inserted in a groove cut in slabs of travertine stone which bound the black marble paved area, and is raised 12 inches above its level. This south balustrade is not straight, but curved inwards. The whole was covered over when the late road was formed to pass under the Arch of Severus, probably in the sixth century. In front of the slabs, south side, a gutter is cut in the travertine stone base as though for drainage purposes. The pavement is of black marble with veins of white, known as Nero Antico, from Tænarium in Laconia, now called Cape Matapan. Pliny, XXXVI, 29, says, "There are black stones (Nigri) which are esteemed as marbles, the Tænarian for example." Some small fragments of similar marble were found at the recent excavations of the Rostra Julia, and a large slab, broken and scarred, is on the east side of the Temple of Castor and Pollux. The slabs of the area rest on made earth. Festus, the fourth century critic, says, "The Black stone in the Comitium signifies a mournful place to others, destined for the death of Romulus, but did not happen to be so used, but there is buried Faustulus, who brought him up. The tomb to have been there of old Quintilius, Ti From whose family, it is said, the party who followed Romulus had from him even the name

Quintilia." "He laughed, and was pained that Remus and the Fabii had been able to win, his Quinctilii had not been able." Ovid, *F* 2, 377.

Faustulus was killed in the dispute between the brothers, before the building of the city, so Festus is in error in connecting the spot where they intended to murder Romulus with the tomb of Faustulus. When Faustulus was killed the Comitium was outside the city bounds, and so he could have been, and according to Dionysius, I, 87, was buried there. "It is said by some that the lion of stone, which stood in the Comitium of the Forum, near the Rostra, was placed over the body of Faustulus, where he fell, and had been buried by those who found him." Plutarch, however, says he was buried on the Remuria with Remus. "Hostus Hostilius, the grandfather of Tullius Hostilius" (who fought with the Romans against the Sabines, Livy, I, 12 and 22), "was buried in the principal part of the Forum, and honoured by the kings (Romulus and Tatius) with a column, and an inscription testifying to his valour." Dionysius, III, 2.

Helenius Acron, an interpreter of Horace in the fifth century, says, *Ep.* XVI, 13, "Varro says, 'The tomb of Romulus before the Rostra; where within his memory two lions have been erected by a decree. From whence is made funeral orations as before the Rostra.'" This passage does not exist in any of Varro's extant works, but if he says so, either he or his quoter have written Romulus for Faustulus, for Romulus had no tomb, but, according to all the historians, ascended to heaven.

Horace in his sixteenth Epode, 11, says:—

"Alas! the victorious barbarian shall stand upon the ashes of the
city,
And the horseman shall smite it with sounding hoofs:
And will insolently disperse, horrible to see!
The bones of Quirinus which are free from the wind and sun."

This is a hyperbole, poetry. Horace does not mean to infer that they possessed the bones of Romulus in his day. His commentator, Pomponius Porphyrius, of the sixth century, says, "This is said as if Romulus might be buried, not carried off or dispersed to the heavens. For Varro says, the sepulchre of Romulus to have been

behind the Rostra.’” Both these authors agree that Varro says the sepulchre of Romulus was in the Forum, but they materially disagree in its position. Acron says *pro rostris*, Porphyrius *post rostra*, showing that they did not quote from the same manuscript. In fact, the black marble pavement found is, *post*, behind the site of the original rostra. Neither of these commentators speak of the sepulchre from their own knowledge; whether of Romulus or Faustulus; that of the latter having been where was afterwards the Comitium, and in evidence in the days of Varro and Dionysius, commemorated by a lion or lions. Neither the *Notitia* of the first part of the fourth century, nor the *Curiosium Urbis* of the second part of the fourth century, mention any tomb in the eighth or Forum region, though both enumerate the House of Romulus on the Palatine, which did not then exist, and the tomb of Titus Tatius (Armillarium) on the Aventine. Plutarch, *Rom.* 23. So it is evident that the memory of a tomb on the Comitium had passed away in their day; till the *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ* of the twelfth century identified the Pyramid tomb of Honorius, A.D. 423, near the Castle S. Angelo, as the Tomb of Romulus, and it is so represented on the bronze doors of St. Peter’s by Antonio Filarete in 1447.

What reasonable explanation can we give of the sacred enclosure recently uncovered? is now the question.

THE MUNDUS.

That this enclosure was something venerated up to a late period is evident from the fact that it is enclosed with slabs taken from the comparative recent Arch of Severus, and so respected till buried under the late road, formed, we believe, after the sacking of Rome by the Goths under Totila in 546 or 549.

We think this sacred enclosure to have been the Mundus, or sacred foundation pit, made at the first enlargement of the city when the Palatine and Capitoline hills were enclosed. Dionysius, II, 66. “A circular pit was dug about what is now called the Comitium, and the

first-fruits of everything that is reckoned either good by use or necessary by nature were cast into it, and then each party (Romans and Sabines) bringing a small quantity of the earth of the country from whence they came, threw it in promiscuously. This pit had the name of Mundus, the same with that of the Universe. In the next place they marked out the city, like a circle, round this centre." Plutarch in *Romulus*. Ovid, F 4, 821, speaking of the Mundus of Roma Quadrata, which still exists upon the Palatine, says :—

"A pit is made down to the solid (clay or rock). All kinds of (first) fruits are thrown to the bottom, And earth obtained from the neighbouring soil. The pit is filled in with earth, and when full an altar is set up, A flame kindled and the new hearth is served."

In continuing the excavations on January 21st, 5 feet from the black marble area, off its north corner, but within the north line, a pit was discovered 5 feet in diameter and 15 feet deep, filled with moist black earth, decayed vegetation; in clearing it out it was found to contain clear water, percolation, which was pumped away into a branch of the Cloaca Maxima. It is lined with pieces of marble and travertine, old material re-used. On January 26th a dozen terracotta vases and jugs, many broken fragments of others, and a piece of rare African marble were extracted from the bottom of the pit. Perhaps this pit is the actual Mundus described by Plutarch, and upon the black marble area was the altar similar to that spoken of by Ovid, the gutter being the trough to carry off the blood.

It was closed with a stone (*Manalis Lapis*), "Yet the dismal lower gods may open in a manner the door when the Mundus may be opened." Varro, quoted by Macrobius, Sat. I, 16. Festus says, "The *Manalis Lapis* was thought to be the mouth to *Orcus* (*Pluto*) by which souls passed from the inferior to the superior (world) who are called ghosts" (*Manes*). He quotes *Capito Atecus* for its being open three times a year, but omits to mention the second occasion, which is supplied by Paul the deacon. On these occasions offerings were thrown in, and the first-fruits were renewed.

- August 24th. The day after the Volcanalia,
August 23rd.
- October 5th. The third day before the Nones of
October.
- November 8th. The sixth day before the Ides of
November.

This was probably part of the area called the Vulcanal, "above the Comitium," where grew the lotos-tree which spread its roots as far as Cæsar's Forum, Pliny, XVIII, 86, and on which was "the altar to Vulcan, upon which live fish taken from the Tiber were sacrificed in propitiation for human souls." (Festus.) This part of the Forum had been subject to volcanic action, and so the Altar of the Mundus may have become identified with Vulcan. Romulus and Tatius held their assemblies in the area of Vulcan, which stands a little above the Forum (Dionysius, II, 50), and he also tells us that Romulus had his judgment seat in the most conspicuous part of the Forum, and refers to a legend that Romulus was murdered there, II, 56, which is also mentioned by Plutarch. "The Senators, who were convened in the Temple (? area) of Vulcan, fell upon Romulus and killed him, on the 7th of July as it is now called, then Quintilis." Gruter, LXI, 2, gives the fragment of an inscription of B.C. 8, found in 1554 near the Arch of Severus, which corresponds with a complete inscription of B.C. 9, found in the Forum at the Temple of Castor in 1548, then called Saturn, in which the volcano is mentioned. All this accounts for the connection of this part of the Forum with Romulus, whose statue stood in a bronze chariot which he had consecrated in the area of Vulcan, having captured it from Cameria. (Plutarch in *Romulus*.)

HISTORICAL PEDESTALS.

Further explorations during May show that the black marble pavement, discovered in January, rests on dumping 5 feet above a platform of tufa, 1 foot high, but at a different plane.

Remains of two blocks of tufa with mouldings exist

on the east end forming part of a pedestal 9 feet long, 4 feet 3 inches wide. There is a similar pedestal at the west end. Between the two pedestals is a space 3 feet 3 inches wide, occupied at the north end by a square, isolated, block of tufa. Close by, beyond, at a different angle, is a square base upon which is a truncated column of tufa 2 feet $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches high. These were, we believe, occupied by the Lion of Faustulus, Dionysius, I, 87, the Lion of Quintilius, Festus, Acro quoting "Varro; and the Column of Hostus Hostilius," Dionysius, III, 2, Livy I, 12 and 22; all erected before the union of the Palatine and Capitoline hills into one city, 748 B.C. Another extraordinary proof of the truth of the written history of early Rome!

In the dumping between the black marble pavement, the Mundus, and the tufa platform, six bronze statuettes were extracted, one of them being that of an augur, the others Lares, a terracotta statuette with the arms down by its sides, and numerous small terracotta vases and bronze fragments have been found. The whole of the dumping has not yet been examined; the marble pavement has been underpinned so as to preserve it, so more objects may yet be found.

Numerous bones of sheep, boar, and ox were also discovered close by. This points to the site of the sacrifice of the Suovetaurilia, when Camillus purified the city after he had delivered it from the Gauls ("Next Camillus sacrificed to the gods, and purified the city, in a form dictated by the pontiffs," Plutarch in *Camillus*), instituted by Servius Tullius, Livy, I, 44, and performed by Constantine in 316 A.D. as recorded in relief on his pedestal in front of the Rostra Vetera; and twice on the reliefs of Marcus Aurelius close at hand.

THE ROSTRA VETERA.

We have much pleasure in announcing the discovery in the Forum of some remains which we have demonstrated to be the Rostra Vetera. Livy, VIII, 14, tells us that in 338 B.C. "a *Suggestum* (pulpit) was erected in the Forum and propitiously adorned with the prows of the captured fleet of the Antiates; the same was called a

Temple and Rostra." This seems to have been the rebuilding, or an addition to an earlier suggestum, for he uses the word Rostra in anticipation when he speaks of the statues of the four murdered ambassadors being placed in the Rostra in 438 B.C. Varro, L, L, 14, says, "the Rostra was in front of the Curia." (S. Adriano.) Cicero, pro L. Flaccus, 24, says, "The Senate-house commands and surveys the Rostra." Asconius, *Cicero pro Milone*, says, "Then indeed the Rostra was not in that place where it is (they are) now (the Rostra Julia was an innovation) but on the Comitium almost adjoining the Curia." Dion Cassius, XLIII, 49, also says the same thing, referring to another change. The Rostra of his day was the new one, Rostra ad Palman, erected by Severus on the south side of his arch. Asconius, *Pro Milone*, 15, says, "that when the body of Clodius was cremated and the Senate-house burnt down, that the tribunes M. Plaucus and P. Rufus had to flee from the Rostra on account of the heat." This also shows that the Rostra could not have been far from the Curia or Senate-house.

The marble slabs on the south side of the *Niger Lapis* (the Mundus) have been found to stand on a hemicycle wall of travertine 6 feet wide, as revealed by the excavations made towards the end of April, the curve of which is 86 feet long. The upper part of this construction is composed of blocks of travertine stone, the lower part of the western half of blocks of tufa, and 23 feet of the eastern half is of *opus incertum*; 3 feet in front of this is another curved wall of *opus incertum*; both these walls show traces of having been coated with stucco. This construction is a work peculiar to the second century B.C. In the front centre of this curved wall, and 2 feet below the top of it, are the remains of an irregular platform of tufa stone, so constructed that it has the appearance of a triangle jutting out from the curved wall, the south point of the platform being $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the centre of the hemicycle wall. The west side of this platform also shows construction of *opus incertum*, repairs. The north side of this platform has been traced under the *Niger Lapis*. We believe that this tufa platform is the original *Suggestum*, and that the hemicycle wall is the

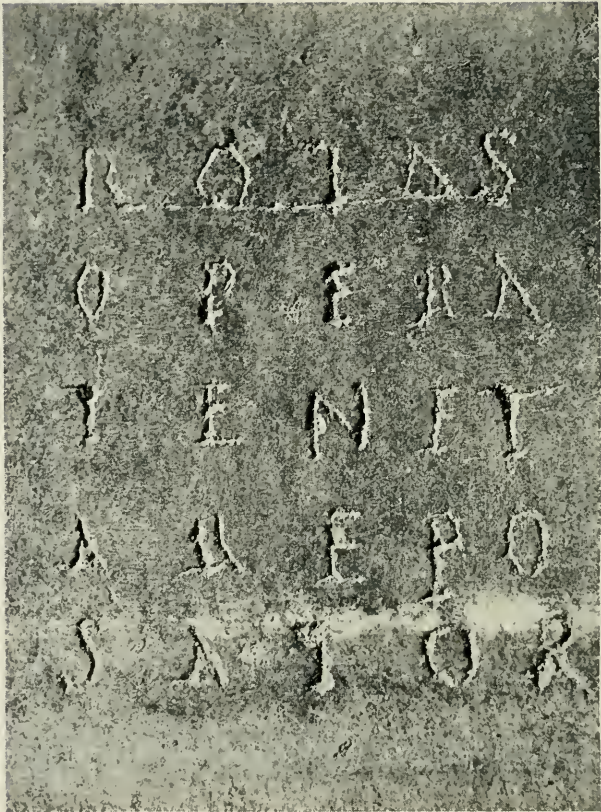
substructure of the Rostra. It answers topographically to all the passages above cited, as being on the Comitium and in front of the Senate-house. Frontinus, Ep. I, 2, says, "the top of the Rostra is but little superior to the Forum and Comitium, rather lower (down) even are the prows of the ships of the Antiates. This lower platform is spoken of by Livy, VIII, 33, in B.C. 323, as where private citizens had liberty of speech. "Papirius ordered Fabius to be taken down from the Rostra to the lower part." "Cæsar when Prætor had ordered Q. Catulus to speak from the lower place, he now brought Vettus on to the Rostra." Cicero, *Ad Att.*, II, 24, 3. "Whether it speaks from a lower, or an equal, or a superior place." Cicero, *de Oratore*, III, 6. This lower place in the Rostra Julia is an exedra; there Cæsar's body was cremated. Upon this lower tufa platform, close up to the curved wall, are three blocks of peperino (Alban) stone upon which are two circular indentations, 2 feet in diameter, $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart. The first is one foot to the east of the meridian line; this is probably the site of the sundial of Marcus Philippus, 163 B.C., and the more easterly marks that of M. Valerius Messala of 262 B.C., which Pliny, VII, 60, says was brought from Catina in Sicily, but was not exact. This was owing to the fact that Catania is 3.25 south and 2.34 degrees east of Rome. The south point of the tufa platform in front of the curve is S.S.W., $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet west of due south, as proved by an observation made by the authorities on May 2nd. Pliny's description, VII, 60, of how "the Accensus (crier) of the Consuls proclaimed the hour of noon, as soon as from the Senate-house he caught sight of the sun between the Rostra and the Græcostasis" (which was to the right of the Curia), exactly tallies with this spot, as we have often demonstrated.

This discovery finally does away with the erroneous opinion, held by so many, that the Rostra ad Palmam, on the south side of the Arch of Severus, was the Rostra Vetera, and which we have always maintained was erected by Septimus Severus when he laid out the Forum anew after the earthquake and fire of 192. The last historical notice of the Rostra Vetera is by Spartianus when he tells us Didius Julianus addressed

the people in A.D. 193, "from the Rostra in front of the Curia."

A denarius of M. Palikanus of the Lollia gens represents this Rostra; he was an orator, Cicero, *Brutus*, 62, and tribune of the people, B.C. 69, when Pompey restored the Tribunitial power, hence the head of Liberty on the obverse of the coin. Five arches are represented as springing from columns, supporting a curved parapet on which is a square desk or table. The rams of three vessels are shown obtruding from the base of the columns outwards, the concave of the curve being towards the spectator, giving the idea that a person could see through the arches from the Senate-side towards the Forum.

From this Rostra Cicero made many of his famous orations, and upon it his head and hands were exposed after his murder, which more people came to see than went to listen to his voice.



A ROMAN CHARM FROM CIRENCESTER.

By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

In some excavations near the Victoria Road at Cirencester there was found in 1868 a fragment of painted wall plaster, with the following letters scratched upon it through the surface colouring. In order to ensure that his letters should be even, the inscriber has drawn a guiding line along the bottom of *Rotas* :

R O T A S
O P E R A
T E N E T
A R E P O
S A T O R

It is now in the Cirencester Museum, where I have been able to examine it. The plaster on which the letters are scratched seems certainly to be Roman, and I am assured by Prof. A. H. Church that the circumstances under which the object was found preclude all suspicion of forgery, as it was taken out of the ground under the eyes of Captain Abbott, then curator of the Museum, and no one benefited pecuniarily by the finding. The letters, too, are such as would naturally be taken to be Roman, notably, the letter A in four out of the five lines. The accompanying plate shows it full size.

The combination of letters used for the inscription was employed as a charm extremely often in the middle ages, and is not uncommonly met with in modern times, but in no instance does it seem to be earlier than the eighth or ninth century. Mr. Heim, in the course of an exhaustive article on Greek and Latin charms, quotes many parallels, and assigns the inscription to some monkish rule. It is, he says, SAT ORARE POTENter ET OPERAre Ratio TuA Sit. This explanation is too subtle and far-fetched, and it conflicts with the Roman origin which it seems natural to assign to the Cirencester specimen. More probably the charm was invented during, and perhaps in the last days

of, the Roman empire, and was then used to ward off misfortune just as, in the last century at any rate, it was used in Abyssinia and in Brazil against toothache or the bite of a mad dog. At the same time it must be recollected that this Cirencester fragment is the only known instance in which this widespread charm can be attributed to a Roman date. The only other instance which has been suggested to be Roman, is one found at Rochemaure in the Rhone valley near Montélimar, in the south of France. This, however, though ascribed by French writers to a Roman origin and by Hirschfeld to possibly the seventh century, seems really to be mediæval. According to a copy of it made by the Rev. T. V. Bayne, Keeper of the Archives in the University of Oxford, and Student of Christ Church, it is in full as follows:—

S	A	T	O	R	GIROV
A	R	E	P	O	
T	E	N	E	T	VM BERT
O	P	E	R	A	
R	O	T	A	S	ME FECIT

It is, Mr. Bayne tells me, on a slab of terracotta over the door of the choir in the chapel of St. Laurent, about two kilometers west of Rochemaure. The letters given in Mr. Bayne's copy on the right hand side, which were unrecorded by previous explorers, seem to prove that this is one of the many mediæval instances of the puzzle.

Nor can I find any exact parallel to this puzzle among objects of definitely Roman date. The parallels sometimes quoted, such as,

G R A S
R O M A
A M O R
S A R G

are, I believe, all certainly mediæval, and the anagrams and "recurring" verses and the like, which were very common in the later empire, are not precise parallels. Such is, for instance, the pentameter,

Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor,

which reads the same way backwards and forwards. Such again is the elegiac couplet quoted by Apollinaris Sidonius, IX, 14, 4 :—

Præcipiti modo quod decurrit tramite flumen,
Tempore consumptum jam cito deficiet.

which if read backwards becomes :—

Deficiet cito jam consumptum tempore flumen,
Tramite decurrit quod modo præcipiti.

These have been quoted as parallels, but they are hardly close enough to throw any real light on the matter. More like are some of the "Palindromes" which occur on late pavements and in late poems. As, for instance, on two pavements at Orléansville in Algeria, on one of which is an inscription of which each outer side is AISELCECLESIA while the other has a similar square formed on its four outsides by the letters SODRECASA CERDOS. The former contains on its outside the word *Ecclesia*, and its inside (it is in all 169 letters) is constructed out of variations on "*Sancta Ecclesia*," with the curious provision that while *Ecclesia* appears in full, *Sancta* always wants its S. Similarly with the other; on the outside *Sacerdos* is given in full, in the inside *Marinus Sacerdos*, but here again the first letter of *Marinus* is carefully omitted. The idea in each case, I suppose, must be in some way to make the thing more of a cryptogram. These seem to presuppose the existence of such shorter devices as that which we have been considering.

[The following references may be added :—R. Heim *Incantamenta magica græca et latina* in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*, XIX Supplement, pp. 463-576; Schwartz, *Indogermanische Volksglaube*, p. 257; Kopp, *Beiträge zur griechischen Excerptenlitteratur*, p. 65; *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XIX (1887), p. 72; *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie* in the just-mentioned *Zeitschrift*, 1880-4; *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*, VIII, 9710, 9711. Mr. James Hilton, F.S.A., has very kindly supplied me with a reference to the "Metametrica" of Jean de Lobkowitz Caramuel, Bishop of Vigevano, Section cccxiv,

where a seal is mentioned, inscribed with this charm. The "Metametrika," published at Rome in 1663, is a rare book, which appears to be neither in the British Museum nor in the Bodleian Library.

It will be noticed that I have said nothing above about the derivation of "Arepo." This is because I do not see that there is anything definite that can be said. The word has often been connected with the Gaulish *arepennis*, a measure of ground, a word itself connected with *arare*, to plough. If this be so *arepo* may mean the ploughman or the plough, and the charm may be of Celtic, that is, Gaulish or British, origin. The French scholar, Ernault, translates "the laborer, Arepo, holds the wheels with care," and if we substitute plough or ploughman for Arepo, we get a certain sense. But in devices of this sort, it is not in the least necessary that all the words should have sense. The fundamental idea in them is to arrange letters in such a way that certain combinations recur and recur, and it is not imperative that every recurrence should be intelligible.]

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

I have a record of the charm with the variation of TERET for TENET, but it is fifty years ago, and I have unfortunately not preserved the reference. About that time there were many similar things in *Notes and Queries* and in Willis's *Price Current*. This form would be fatal to Mr. Hein's interpretation. The recurring verse Mr. Haverfield quotes was given in Willis's *Price Current* of March, 1852, as the second of an elegiac,

"Signa te, signa, temere me tangis et angis.
Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor."

Both read the same backwards and forwards. Again,

"Sacrum pingue dabo, non macrum sacrificabo,"

is a hexmeter and refers to Abel's sacrifice. Reversed, it is a pentameter and refers to Cain's.

"Sacrificabo macrum, non dabo pingue sacrum."

This was in *Notes and Queries*, xxxvi, p. 141.

Of palindromes, in the church of St. Salvador, Oviedo, on the tomb of one Silo, is a square inscription, where, beginning with the centre letter and working to any corner, you can read (it is said) 270 ways the legend: SILO PRINCEPS FECIT.

I suppose the first one Mr. Haverfield quotes was as

follows. If the centre letter was omitted, it is easily supplied.

A	I	S	E	L	C	E	C	L	E	S	I	A
I	S	E	L	C	E	A	E	C	L	E	S	I
S	E	L	C	E	A	T	A	E	C	L	E	S
E	L	C	E	A	T	C	T	A	E	C	L	E
L	C	E	A	T	C	N	C	T	A	E	C	L
C	E	A	T	C	N	A	N	C	T	A	E	C
E	A	T	C	N	A	S	A	N	C	T	A	E
C	E	A	T	C	N	A	N	C	T	A	E	C
L	C	E	A	T	C	N	C	T	A	E	C	L
E	L	C	E	A	T	C	T	A	E	C	L	E
S	E	L	C	E	A	T	A	E	C	L	E	S
I	S	E	L	C	E	A	E	C	L	E	S	I
A	I	S	E	L	C	E	C	L	E	S	I	A

Begin with the large S in the middle and go up or down, right or left, turning off at a right angle at any letter till you come to a corner A, it always reads SANCTA ECLESIA. It is very difficult to count the number of different ways, but they must be many more than 270.

THE ARCHAIC INSCRIPTION

By S. RUSSELL.

The archaic inscription, found in the Forum under the Niger Lapis, upon a cippus of tufa three feet high, is boustrophedon, or written from right and left, then to right. The upper part of the inscription was unfortunately knocked off by the Gauls in 390 B.C. It tapers off slightly from the base, and so had the appearance of an obelisk. It is not exactly square, and the edges are bevelled, the south-west corner being inscribed, as though there was not room on the face of the cippus for the law. The inscription commences at the lower right-hand corner of

		Read	Thus
West side 1 ft. 11 in. high.	IOBIOVQ	R to L	quoi hoi
	QVOIBOI	L to R	sakros es
	SAKPOSEΣ EDΣOPM	R to L	ed sorm
North side 1 ft. 10 in. high.	IAIAS	L to R	e iasias
	IAIAS	R to L	regei lo
	PEΓEILO	L to R	devam
	DEVAM QYOPE	R to L	quos re
East side 2 ft. high.	OTAZAKM	R to L	-m kalato
	PEWBAP	L to R	hap uer
	NEWXOYDIOG	L to R	giod ioux men
	VATODAITAKAT	R to L	ta kapia dota v
South side 2 ft. 1 in. high.	MITEPK	R to L	m ite ri k
	ABIOYQ	L to R	m quoi ha
	VLDOMVQ	R to L	velod nequ
	ODIOVESOD	L to R	od jove stod
S.W. corner. 1 ft. 10½ in. high.	VOIVOID	L to R	voi vovio

FOUND IN THE FORUM ROMANUM.

FORBES, PH.D.

the west side, and reads up perpendicularly, so it was, and is, necessary to stoop and twist about in order to read it.

The inscription has nothing whatever to do with the other memorials found, neither with the Niger Lapis nor with Romulus. It is part of a sacrificial law of Numa's and has reference to the institution of the Suovetaurilia. It is the oldest Latin inscription existing, and its interest is paleographical rather than topographical; the letters are deeply and well cut, averaging three inches high.

th. <i>Prof. Luigi Ceci reads it.</i>	<i>Interpretation by Prof. Luigi Ceci, of the University of Rome.</i>
{ quoi hordas ueigead .. ueigētod sakros ses- .. ed sordas, sakros sed ..	Qui fordas consecret, consecrato. sacellum versus (or ad sacellum). Sordas (sc. qui sordas consecret, consecrato) seorsum a sacello.
{ eid iasias. regei loiba adferat .. ad rem devam .. quos rex per mentorem. .	Idiariis (= Idibus). regi liba adferat. ad rem divinam (= ad sacrificium). quos rex per augurem.
{ kalatorem .. hapead endo .. adagiod ionx menta .. { capiad, dota voueat ..	Calatorem. indulhapat (= consecratum admittat). adagio (= carmine) (or, in sacro loco), ^r (is) pprecibus. auspicia capiāt, dona votiva voueat.
{ inim ite ri koised .. { nounasias im quoi ha- .. velod nequam sied dolod .. { malod diove estod ..	Itemque rei (sc. rei divinae) curet nonariis (= nonis) ibi. qui auspicio. nequam sit dolo malo. jovi esto.
{ quoi voviod, sacer Diove .. { estod	qui voto (sc. qui voto nequam sit dolo malo) sacer jovi esto.

THE SEPULCHRAL BANQUET ON ROMAN TOMBSTONES.

By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

Among the many loans which Roman decorative art owes to the Greeks is the practice of putting a relief showing a banqueting scene on tombstones. It is one of the loans which resulted in a purely conventional ornament, of which there is a great deal in the Roman art of the Empire. That art possessed other and really original features. In many points it owed little to the Greeks, and in some it far transcended them. In the present case I wish to consider a detail which is almost entirely borrowed from Greece, and which the Romans treated almost entirely in a conventional and unoriginal manner.

The origin of the relief that I am going to consider can be traced far back beyond Greece; a relief found in the Euphrates valley by Sir Henry Layard shows the king Assurbanipal reclining on a couch, which is just like an ordinary sofa, and holding in his hand a cup; in front is a small round three-legged table, near his feet is his queen seated in a chair, above is foliage suggesting a garden, and at either end of the relief are servants waiting upon him.

This form of relief was adopted by the Greeks for funeral monuments. It was apparently combined with another form of relief, in which the hero is seated on a chair holding out a cup while his horse and dog stand by, the whole being probably an illustration of ancestor worship, the worship of the hero by his descendants or tribesmen. The exact idea, however, which the Greeks actually associated with these reliefs is not quite certain. They accepted pre-existing forms but they have not recorded precisely how they have interpreted them, whether as banqueting scenes from real life, or as a funeral banquet, or as a banquet in Hades; they have also mixed up this particular ornamentation of tombstones with such things as the worship of Bacchus, or in later

times of Mithras. Certain, however, it is that reliefs of one or two persons reclining on a couch and partaking of a meal more or less closely resembling the relief of Assurbanipal, were common in Greece, and particularly in Attica.

From Greece this kind of relief passed to Italy and first to Etruria; it is there represented on a few tombstones, and it forms the subject of three-quarters of the paintings on the walls of Etruscan tombs. Either from Greece or from Etruria it passed to Rome.

Its diffusion in the Roman world is somewhat curious and has perhaps been insufficiently noticed. At Rome itself and in Italy in general it is not very common, and it appears principally as a minor ornament of tombstones of distinctly Greek or Grecizing character. One inscribed instance, first quoted in this context by Stefani, seems to illustrate a Roman literal view of the relief:—

. . . Discumbere ut me videtis
(sic) et apud superos annis quibus fata dedere
animulam colui.

The writer of this lucid, if unmetrical, epitaph goes on to advise his friends to enjoy life, for (he says) afterwards there is nothing.

However the only case in which this form of tombstone is really common at Rome is in the cemetery of the Equites Singulares, the imperial body-guard. In view of what we find in the provinces, it is noteworthy that this is a military cemetery, and that the soldiers in question were largely recruited on the Rhine. When we turn to the provinces, we find as might be expected some instances of Roman date in the Greek lands of the east. But in the west the provinces of Gaul, Spain and Africa show scarcely any instances. Thus the province of Gallia Narbonensis seems able to boast of only one instance, and in Gallia Belgica the only cases found occur in the valley of the Mosel, where the vigorous native art occasionally adapted the relief to its own purposes in an unconventional manner. In Spain only seven instances are quoted, and if I understand the description right, they are the relief of seated not of reclining persons; that is, they are not true instances. It is also to be noticed that six out of the seven have been

found in one place. In Africa this type of relief is equally rare; out of some fifteen thousand tombstones, I can only find twelve instances, and not all of these are satisfactory in their strict adherence to the type. It is curious that about two-thirds of them include figures of women reclining on the couch, and several of them are more or less closely connected with the army. A good instance is a tombstone 6 feet high by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide found at Auzia (Aumule). It represents the dead man, who had been a soldier, and his wife and two children all standing upright; below is the inscription, above in the semi-circular top of the stone is a small relief of two persons on a sofa, a three-legged table in front, and two lions by way of ornament. I am indebted to M. Cagnat for a photograph of this stone.

The case is very different on the frontiers of the empire. The fortresses along the Danube show several instances though perhaps not a very large number; the fortresses on the Rhine show a great many more, and in most cases both on Rhine and Danube the majority of the stones are in some way closely connected with the army. On the Rhine the greatest number of instances at any one place seems to occur at Cologne where, according to a recent catalogue of the museum, eight instances, all military, have been discovered; further, the examples found on the Rhine are sufficient to prove that this type of relief was in use in the first, second, and third centuries. It has been suggested that the frequency of this relief on the Rhine may be due to the influence of the Greek Massilia, moving up the Rhone and across the pass of Belfort. But there is no evidence that the relief was common at Massilia or in the Rhone valley.

In Britain this form of relief is no less common than on the Rhine, and, as there, it occurs almost entirely in military posts. Two specimens have been found on the Vallum of Antoninus Pius in a curious sepulchral edifice at Shirva, along with the tombstone of a soldier in the Second Legion. These reliefs are so broken that it is difficult to be certain if they included the usual three-legged table; they certainly show in each case a man reclining on a couch with a dog near him. For this dog there are precedents elsewhere; it may be noted that the

men have their knees bent, that is, their legs tucked up. On the wall of Hadrian only one instance is known to me: a monument, found at Procolitia, to the wife of an inferior officer, which shows the three-legged table and food set thereon, but is otherwise too much broken to be worth describing. The forts near the Wall have yielded more instances; at Corchester there has been found a relief now in the Blackgate Museum, which shows two persons reclining on a couch, but this like the last is much broken. At South Shields a much more ambitious and better preserved relief has been discovered, the monument of a certain Victor, freedman of a cavalry soldier; it shows the deceased on an elaborately carved couch with a small slave and a worked basket of food in front; the deceased has in one hand a bunch of grapes and in the other a cup or saucer. Lanchester has yielded a much defaced relief now in the collection of Canon Greenwell. Finally from Kirkby Thore we have a grotesque relief of a woman, daughter of an under officer, reclining on a couch with a table in front with food on it, holding a two-handled cup in one hand and receives food from a servant with the other hand. To these we may add two examples found in York, where the Sixth Legion was stationed. One shows man and wife on a couch with a slave and three-legged table in front, and in the wife's hand a cup; the inscription below is in memory of a woman, but it is unfortunately very imperfect. The other York instance is a fragment without an inscription showing a woman holding a small cup in her hand.

But the greatest number of such reliefs in Britain come from the cemetery of the Legions stationed at Chester. The tombstones of Furius Maximus of the Twentieth Legion, of Aurelius Lucianus and of Cecilius Donatus, soldiers whose Legion is not mentioned, of Curatia Dinysia, of Fesonia Severiana, of Restita and Martia, of Flavia Saturnina, and of two persons, apparently females, whose names are almost entirely lost, all exhibit the same type. Besides these, one or two stones now wholly devoid of lettering exhibit the same type. Chester we may compare in this connection with Cologne on the Rhine, and as the population of Chester was throughout

composed of soldiers and their belongings, we may conclude that here as elsewhere these sepulchral banquets owe their appearance to the presence of soldiers; we may also notice that, as elsewhere, the type was largely though not exclusively used for the tombstones of women. In point of art the Chester reliefs are as conventional and monotonous as could well be wished, and they are interesting for this very reason. For they show how conventional and wanting in originality some branches of art in certain contexts became under the Empire, and they show also how closely the ultimate conventional type of the Romans resembles as by a sort of atavism the far-off Assyrian original. The table in front of the couch with food on it, the slave standing by, the recumbent figure holding a cup, even the festoons of foliage, which are frequently carved at the top of the Roman reliefs, all reproduce primitive features. Perhaps there could be few better instances of the permanence of the details in a type which must have lasted in Asia and Europe for at least a thousand years.

To the student of the Empire the interest of these Sepulchral Banquets is many-sided. He sees in their conventionality an illustration of the worst side of imperial art; he sees in their distribution, and in their special occurrence in the two great military districts, an example of the variety which really pervaded the Empire, and differentiated districts and provinces from one another; he sees thirdly in their occurrence, especially in Britain and in Gaul, an illustration of the connection in military matters, in recruiting, in supplying troops, which existed between the two great frontier administrations of North Britain and the Rhine. One thing remains unexplained, the special choice of this relief for the tombstones of females, and this puzzle I must leave others to solve.

[The following references may be added:—Perrot and Chipiez, *Chaldée et Assyrie*, p. 107; P. Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, p. 188; Roscher, *Lexicon*, i. Pl. 2539, 2557; L. Stephani, *Der ausrühende Herakles* (Mémoires de l'Académie de S. Petersbourg, Series VI, tome viii, 1855), p. 299; Burmann's *Anthologia Lat.*, IV, 377; *Philologus*, XL, 257; *Bonner Jahrbücher*, XXXVI, Pls. I and IV; Helmer, *Rheinisches Museum*, XXXVI, 438; Alexander Wiltheim Lucili-

burgensia (printed at Luxemburg, 1842); *Revue Archéologique*, IX (1887), p. 83; *Jahrbuch des deutschen Instituts*, 1887, p. 24; Boletín de la real Academia de la Historia (Madrid, 1892), tome xxi, p. 530; the series of catalogues of the Tunisian and Algerian Museums by Cagnat and others; the catalogues of the Rhenish Museums. For the British examples, see especially Bruce's *Lapidarium*, 705, 752, 926; the catalogue of the Blackgate Museum (ed. 1886), No. 150, *Arch. Æliana*, X, 314, and my catalogue of the Grosvenor Museum, Chester.]

RESTORATION CONSIDERED AS A DESTRUCTIVE ART.

By SIR W. BRAMPTON GURDON, K.C.M.G.

It has been very justly said by one of the most distinguished members of our County Archæological Society that the modern restorer is a far more dangerous person than Dowsing, because Dowsing's work was only partial, whereas the restorer aims at being thorough, that is, at destroying every vestige of architectural beauty and historical interest.

We all agree that a copy of an antique statue or of a picture by an old master is not as valuable as the original, and that a restored statue or picture is reduced in value by the process; but we do not all seem to recognise that the same holds good of an architectural building. Yet a careful examination of a mediæval traceried window will show that its curves are not segments of circles, as in the new work, and that its mouldings have endless varieties of sections. If a new window is inserted in an old building, it is usually an imitation of the window next to it. But is it not plain that while the one is soft and graceful the other is hard and mechanical? Direct and simple copying, as Ruskin has said, is palpably impossible. What copying can there be of surfaces that have been worn down half an inch? The whole finish of the work was in the half-inch that has disappeared. In the old work there was life; there was suggestion of what it had been, and of what it had lost—some sweetness in the gentle lines (I quote Ruskin) that sun and rain had wrought. There can be none in the brute hardness of the new carving.

In mediæval times the artists carved the work themselves. Now, of course, we have only designers or modellers, and workmen carry out their directions with mathematical exactitude, with square, line, and compass. It is the difference between a beautiful flowing hand, expressive of every word that it writes, and the copy by a lawyer's clerk, or, worse still, a typewriter.

I myself believe that, much as we may regret some of the mutilations which occurred during the Commonwealth, probably a good many of the pictures and ornaments swept away by Dowsing were vulgar, tawdry, and objectionable in other ways; and I often cannot help hoping that some modern Dowsing may arise, who will destroy some of the interpolations introduced by the so-called restorer. There can be no doubt that any one who wishes to earn a crown of martyrdom would deserve most highly of posterity if he were to go round the churches of this country with a pocketful of stones, and to destroy nine-tenths of the coloured windows, the tasteless designs, the crude greens and blues of modern glass, the product of the half-century now drawing to a close, much of which is literally only painted. I remember being very much shocked at some windows which Wales (whose infamous memory is connected with a peculiarly offensive blue in many church windows) introduced into what is now the cathedral at Newcastle; and the verger sympathetically pointed out that they would not last long, as the congregation had amused themselves, during dull sermons, by scratching the paint off the lower lights with the points of their umbrellas.

It is not only the bad glass which is objectionable, but its introduction into buildings where it is altogether out of place. Few "restorers" seem to understand that stained glass was only invented about the Decorated period, and that our ancestors, wiser than ourselves, recognised that even the increased size of the windows of that style would not give sufficient light if filled with colour; and they introduced the great windows of the Perpendicular style, in which to fit the beautiful glass of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Such buildings as Bath Abbey or King's College Chapel are admirably suited for the display of stained glass; and in windows of such proportions coloured glass, even if bad, is at least not out of place.

But it is certainly wrong to darken the small windows of the Norman or even of the Early English period, to hide the architectural beauties of the finest churches of our country, and to render it impossible to hold service even at midday without the use of light, very frequently gas,

which in itself acts as a disintegrating agent, aggravated by the bad air which is the unhappy accompaniment of crowded congregations in unventilated buildings.

At Glasgow the very beautiful old cathedral has been ruined by the introduction of a vast quantity of bad Munich glass. I remember a story of a well-known antiquarian, who was so much shocked on his first entrance that he sat down flat on the floor of the nave and burst into tears. I confess that I nearly did the same.

Any one who has travelled through Normandy and other parts of northern France, examining the wonderful stained glass which decorates the great churches of Rouen, Chartres, Le Mans, and which may often be found even in comparatively unknown churches, will return with disgust to the garish colours which disfigure so many ecclesiastical buildings in England.

There is an unfortunate desire among many ministers of every denomination to leave some mark by which their ministry may be remembered. They wish it to be said: "This screen was put up in the Rev. Jones's time; this chapel was seated in the Rev. Brown's time." And when Brown has signalised his pastorate by substituting benches for pews, he is succeeded by Smith, who hands down his name to posterity by abolishing the benches and replacing the pews. And among the worst of these memorials are the painted windows.

I often think of Oliver Cromwell's wise saying:—"I heed God's house as much as any man; but vanities and trumpery give no honour to God; nor do painted windows make man more pious."

I suppose we are all agreed that what is called cathedral glass is an abomination. There seems to be an idea that the beautiful works of nature should be hidden from the church-goer. To me the sight of the green trees and the blue sky are an aid to devotion.

And there is a horrible fashion, lately introduced by glaziers, of alternating square panes with diamond panes in the same window. The combination is most unsightly. I lately entered a church in Suffolk, where the Decorated tracery of the windows, as viewed from the outside, was remarkably beautiful; from the inside, the effect was

entirely marred and lost by the insertion of the sort of coloured glass which is common in the bar windows of small beer-houses, combined with the mixture of square and diamond panes to which I have already alluded. When I sadly remarked on this fact to the clergyman, he drew himself up proudly, and said: "That is a matter of opinion; we think the coloured glass very beautiful, and the alternate square and diamond panes relieve the eye."

It might be the saving of many interesting and beautiful relics of the past if bishops would instruct their examining chaplains to set papers in architecture, as well as in theology, and there seems to be no reason why architecture should not form part of the curriculum of theological colleges. No doubt there are some of our clergy who are well instructed and take a real interest in the subject; but the deplorable devastation of the grand monuments raised by our forefathers shows a lamentable and, I am afraid, a general ignorance of the first principles of art, an ignorance which is not confined to clergymen. Take, as an instance, the hall of the Society of Civil Engineers in Great George Street. It was originally a perfect and uniform type of Renaissance architecture—not, perhaps, specially beautiful or attractive, but pleasing from its correctness. It has lately been necessary to make some structural alterations. The roof and the upper part of the walls, have been left intact, with the rich colours and gilding of the original hall; the lower part of the walls after an interval of an ugly wall-paper, is of the severest Old English oak panelling. Personally, I suppose that we should most of us prefer an Old English oak-panelled hall to a room copied from an Italian palace; but I should have thought that the mere light of nature would have shown to the architect responsible for the alterations the extraordinary incongruity of the two styles in one hall.

What we want, therefore, is to make generally known the simple rules of art and of good taste. The ignorance and vulgarity of the present day are appalling. When one enters some churches, one is almost tempted to suppose that some people believe vulgarity to be an essential part of religion. The most beautiful and interesting carving is studded with nails introduced to

support tinsel and cotton-wool decorations. Thousands, I might almost say millions, of pounds have been spent in absolute crime, for I can call it nothing else. Even the liquor traffic pales by the side of this terrible evil; for I believe that it does actually give some people pleasure to get drunk, whereas no one, as far as I know, except the actual "restorers," takes delight in the destruction of St. Paul's Cathedral, which has been temporarily delayed by the unanimous voice of the nation.

And this brings me to another very abominable practice of the modern restorer—stencilling. Of all the cheap and nasty styles of so-called decoration, this is the nastiest—at least, as it is used in the present day. Those who practise it, and who imagine that they are restoring the fresco patterns of which traces are to be found in some of our old churches, do not seem to understand that when a pattern is repeated by hand it is never exactly the same. It is the exact reproduction of the flower or other ornament, every little bulge and dent the same, by means of the stencil plate, over and over again, which is so unpleasant. Stencilling is no doubt an excellent invention for lettering trunks or bales of goods, but it is not suitable for the decoration of church walls. In Hadleigh, in this county, the whole chancel has lately been stencilled in such a way that it exactly resembles the farthing-a-yard paper which you see in cottage bedrooms. In the church of Stoke-by-Nayland, a very beautiful monument to Sir Francis Manocke has recently been repainted. All the armorial bearings look as if they had come straight out of a coach-builder's yard. And worse than that, the plain stone back of the arch, behind the recumbent figure, has been stencilled (although I believe there was no trace of former colouring), and that with so mean a pattern that a visitor actually said to me a few months ago, in perfect innocence, "What a pity that they have papered the back of the monument!"

Let me give a word of advice to any one that is interested in a monument which really requires some renewal of colour. Do it with your own hands. The hired artist must necessarily repaint with the brightest colours and the most correct outline, after the fashion

of the coach-painter ; he is bound to do it ; whereas the armorial bearings should only be sufficiently touched up to show the metals, colours, or furs plainly, without making them appear new. Moreover, arms were seldom painted very carefully three or four centuries ago, and the somewhat rough outlines of the ordinaries should remain intact. I know that, in a very interesting wall-painting of the arms of the principal families in Suffolk in the reign of James I, which I restored myself at Grundisburgh Hall, with the aid of an old MSS. in Fitch's *Suffolk*, the arms, which were entirely obliterated, and to which I had consequently to give a fresh outline, can be perfectly distinguished by their more correct drawing, although I hope that the difference is not glaring. Moreover, in the early Jacobean monuments there is a great deal of colour and gilding. I think that it will not be found advisable in any case to restore this to its pristine brilliancy, which would not accord with the time-worn and darkened surface of the material, whether stone, marble, or alabaster.

There is another point in which, in my opinion, the church restorer fails, and that is in the monotonous sameness of the church furniture ; the same benches are reproduced in almost the same form in every village church. It is really quite a relief nowadays to find oneself (and how rarely !) in an old-fashioned churchwarden building, with a three-decker, high pews, and a gallery. I do not pretend to admire the style, but it is at least a change from the everlasting pitch-pine seats, and I wish some few of these churches could be preserved, as specimens of their period. There was, until recently, a fine example at Orford—the old Corporation pew, the gallery advancing well into the nave, and the pillars still bearing the lines of black paint which they had worn since the funeral of the last Earl of Orford buried in the church.

At Coddendam there were not long ago exceedingly beautiful carved oak pews. They have all been swept away, and replaced by the worst abomination of all, chairs, except in one corner, where Lord de Saumarez, with a patriotic instinct which does him infinite credit, refused to allow his own seats to be removed ; and they

remain, an isolated evidence of the beautiful work once to be seen there, and which is now probably adorning the house of some one who had the discrimination to buy it.

The mania for varnished pine-seating has extended to Nonconformist chapels, and it is rendered additionally objectionable by the fact that the contractors have an ingenious plan of fixing a sharp projecting board on the back of the seat, an instrument of torture which renders attention to the service difficult or impossible, and which is apparently derived from the Roman Catholic doctrine of penance.

At Tuddenham, a church which contains some very fine carving, the top of the old screen, consisting entirely of elaborately carved and extremely sharp points, has been very cleverly fixed at the back of the chancel seats, from which it projects several inches at the exact height of the human head.

There is an unfortunate fashion among "restorers" of replacing the old three-decker by a stone pulpit. It is obvious that, in the somewhat cold interiors of our English churches, it is desirable to introduce, where possible, a touch of some dark shade, and there is no doubt that the rich colour of old oak furniture (and all oak will become old in time, if not "restored" away) greatly improves the general appearance of the building. Stone pulpits and chairs add to its cold and un hospitable look.

The "restoration," as distinct from the preservation, of screens seems to me to be another mistake; the introduction of screens, where no traces are left, a very serious one. The uninterrupted view of a large church from west to east is a very great beauty, especially when the architecture is of the same style throughout. Take Hereford Cathedral, a very perfect example of Norman architecture, cut into two parts by a gaudy coloured bronze screen, introduced by Sir Gilbert Scott, of whom I can never trust myself to speak. At Woodbridge you will have an opportunity of observing a "restored" screen, and I think that you will agree with me that the contrast between the new work and the old is a melancholy sight, and that the appearance of the fine

church has greatly suffered. Of course I am all for the preservation of a really fine old screen where it exists, but restoration and preservation are very different things, and at its best, a screen tends to impair the congregational character of the service. The attempt to restore, when you are not even certain what has been destroyed, is generally, if not always, a failure. There is a very fine roof in Grundisburgh Church, but I doubt whether it was wise to give new wings to the angels, which now look like bats tied to the beams and struggling to be free.

I cannot leave the subject of screens without saying one word about the reredos. In how many churches have we not seen the proportions of a fine old East window completely spoilt by a modern reredos, which projects above its base! Some years ago, when Rochester Cathedral was under restoration, I was delighted with the exceeding beauty of the six-lighted Lancet window at the east end. The next time I visited the cathedral this lovely feature was entirely spoilt, cut to pieces by a reredos. The top of the reredos must never rise above the base of the window.

Norfolk and Suffolk are pre-eminently rich in fine buildings, both ecclesiastical and domestic, and it is our duty to use our best efforts to preserve them, not only by arresting decay, but by stopping the ruthless work of the so-called "restorer."

It is a matter of great regret that so many beautiful old halls (for in old days every manor had its manor house or hall, as it is called in the Eastern Counties) are being gradually allowed to fall into decay, or are spoilt by the introduction of bow-windows and other horrors. Why people of independent income do not try to purchase these exceedingly comfortable, well-built houses, instead of erecting for themselves ugly, jerry-built, and very uncomfortable Cockney villas, I have never been able to understand. I need not describe the Suffolk hall, the plan of which has been so admirably explained by Mr. Corder, in the preface to his work on the "Corner Posts of Ipswich"; but I cannot refrain from saying that the archæologist may spend many happy days in this corner of England in examining such interesting relics of by-gone architecture as Seckford Hall (built by Sir Thomas

Seckford in 1586), Otley Hall (much older and little known), the stately Helmingham Hall, the well-known Parham Old Hall, and such less famous manor houses as Newbourn, Grundisburgh, Mock Beggars Hall, and many others. Almost every little town in Suffolk contains work of the most lovely and interesting character. I could go on for hours describing the buildings which I have so loved to study, but the time has come for me to sit down and I must therefore briefly state my conclusions. What I specially wish to press on the Meeting is:—

1st. The study of architecture. Try and induce others to take the same interest in architecture that you do yourselves; it is so engrossing and attractive a study that it can hardly fail to interest if once taken up. Perhaps it might be taught in secondary schools.

2nd. Take the greatest care of your monuments, and you will not want to restore them. A few timely repairs to the roof, a few sticks and leaves cleared from the water-courses, may save both roof and walls from ruin. Above all, keep a sharp watch at Easter, Christmas, and Harvest time. Strictly forbid the entrance of nails and hammers into the church. Do not let a really fine bit of carving be broken off because it gets in the way of a sprig of holly.

3rd. When reparations are necessary, new stones may be substituted for decayed ones, when they are absolutely essential to the safety of the fabric; portions likely to give way may be propped with wood or metal; sculptures ready to detach themselves may be bound or cemented into their places. But no modern or imitation sculpture should be mingled with ancient work; and no attempt should be made to repair or restore carving, painting, or stained glass.

4th. It often happens that those who wish to preserve some ancient part of the church feel that their want of archæological knowledge disqualifies them from opposing the more fully informed architect. They should not let themselves be overawed by learning which in reality does not affect the question. It needs no special training to understand whether the architect's plans aim at preservation or alteration. It is a simple question of fact, and what has to be decided is, "Shall the old church be maintained,

or shall we have an archæological exercise by the architect?" The changes involved in such an exercise are often undertaken with a light heart by those whose taste follows carelessly the passing fashion of the hour, and to whom it has never occurred that their church is already one of great beauty; but a little reflection would often convince those whose imaginations are not wholly dulled that there is little gain and much loss in such changes.

5th. Avoid varnished pine, cathedral glass, and encaustic tiles. In my own church at Assington, some barbarian has covered up the gravestones of my ancestors, which I know from the inscriptions on the monuments must be lying below, with the most hideously vulgar, garish, encaustic tiles. It is a great grief to me, and I know not when public opinion will allow me to tear up the floor of the chancel.

Our most precious heirlooms are the ecclesiastical buildings scattered about our country. Many well meaning, I might say excellent, clergymen have an idea that we are wanting in reverence when we discourage attempts to restore their old buildings to their supposed original plan, and to embellish them with ornament of the style in vogue at the particular period to which it is aimed to bring them back.

The venerableness, charm of originality, distinction as a work of art, must be lost in their reproduction, however ingeniously carried out; while many links with the past, and associations with the simple faith and earnest lives of our forefathers, are swept away.

THE GALLO-ROMAN MUSEUM OF SENS.

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

At a meeting of the Institute, in the year 1882, I had the honour to read a paper on Autun—a subject which Mr. Freeman had previously treated, and I said that my line of investigation would be different from his.¹ The present case is similar; he has discussed the mediæval antiquities of Sens; I propose now to describe the Roman remains in that city, and therefore hope to escape the censure implied in the Latin proverb *actum agere*. Mr. Freeman's essay shows great knowledge of French history and ecclesiastical architecture; but it also shows, as is common with English authors, ignorance of the good work done by foreign antiquaries. On the present occasion a detailed account of the annals of Sens would be unsuitable; however, we may observe, in passing, that the city has a connection with important events in Italy and in our own country.² The Senones were a powerful Gallic tribe and took part in the capture of Rome; they were actors in that tragic scene which Livy has described with a power of word-painting never to be surpassed.³ Again, when an attempt was made during Henry the Second's reign to assert the supremacy of the civil power, and resist the clergy who claimed to be exempted from secular jurisdiction, Becket opposed these measures, and in consequence was a "mendicant exile" in France for six years, part of which he spent at Sens.

¹ Vol. XXXIX, No. 154, 1882, pp. 97-116.

² There is also an architectural connexion with our own country. "In the rebuilding of Canterbury choir after the great fire in 1174, the fire and the rebuilding which Gervase and Willis have made memorable, the work was begun by William of Sens and carried on by William the Englishman." Freeman, *ibid.*, p. 106 *sq.*

³ Niebuhr, Vol. II, pp. 543 *sq.*, English Translation, speaking of Livy's description of the taking of Rome says, "A more vivid one is not to be found in any Greek or Latin historian." Livy, Book V, Chap. 35, "Tum Senones recentissimi advenarum, ab Utente flumine usque ad Aesim fines habuere. Hanc gentem Clusium (modern Chiusi) Romanque inde, venisse comperio."

The following Inscriptions have been discovered in this city:—

IN · HO . . . VG · MART · VOLK · ET DEAE SANCTISS ·
VESTAE M · MAGILIVS HONOR OTO POS
· VISQV . . .

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. SEXT · IVL · THERMIANO
SACERDOTI · ARAE · IN
TER · CONFLVENT · ARAR
ET · RHODANI · OMNIB · HO
NORIBVS · APVD · SVOS
FVNCTO · SOCERO</p> | <p>2. AQVILIAE · FLAC
CILLAE · CIVI
AEDVAE · IVLI
.</p> |
| <p>3. IVLIAE THERMIO
LAE · IVL · THERMIA
NI · FLIAE
. . . . NIVGI</p> | <p>4. IVLIAE · REGINAE
MAGILI · HONORA
TI · ET · IVLIAE · THER
MIOLAE · FLIAE</p> |
| <p>5. M · MAGILIO · HONORATO
FLAMINI · AVG · MVNERA
RIO · OMNIBVS · HONORIB
APVD SVOS FVNCTO</p> | <p>6. M · AEMILIO NOBILI
FLAMINI · AVG · MVNE
RAR · OMNIB · HONORIB
APVD · SVOS FVNCTO
FRATRI¹</p> |

Expansions.

In honorem domus Augustae, Marti, Volkano et deae sanctissimae Vestae, Marcus Magilius Honoratus ex voto posuit pro se suisque.

1. Sexto Julio Thermiano, sacerdoti arae inter confluentes Araris et Rhodani, omnibus honoribus apud suos functo, socero.

¹ M. G. Julliot, *Quelques Inscriptions Romaines des Musées de Sens et de Lyon. Restitution de deux monuments élevés, l'un chez les Sénonais, et l'autre au confluent de la Saône et du Rhône*, p. 3: "Les pierres qui composent le premier ont été extraites, pendant ces dernières années, des fortifications de la ville de Sens, par les soins de la Société Archéologique de cette ville, qui les a rapprochées et pour ainsi dire remises en place." M. Lallier, *Détails donnés sur les inscriptions gallo-romaines découvertes à Sens*. Congrès Archéologique de France, 1848, p. 155, "Nous nous trouvâmes en possession d'une série de pierres inscrites, épaisses de 0 m. 58 c.,

hautes de 0 m. 66 c., et au rang supérieur de 0 m. 62 c., longues de 0 m. 95 c. à 1 m. 70 c., et formant par leur réunion un monument d'une longueur totale de plus de 12 m." Mr. Freeman describes the great wall of Sens, and notices the difference between the masonry of the early Empire and repairs executed in a later Roman style, but he seems to have been quite ignorant of the epigraphic treasures which this fortification contained; yet he wrote more than thirty years after the excavations which revealed them. One would almost think that he wished to verify Virgil's line, *toto divisos orbe Britannos*, and to prove that it is not obsolete even now.

2. Aquiliae Flaccillae, civi Aeduae, Juli (conjugi, socerae).

3. Juliae Thermiolae, Juli Thermiani filiae (co)njugi.

4. Juliae Reginae, Magili Honorati et Juliae Thermiolae filiae.

5. Marco Magilio Honorato, Flamini Augustali, munerario, omnibus honoribus apud suos functo.

6. Marco Aemilio Nobili, Flamini Augustali, munerario omnibus honoribus apud suos functo fratri.

Translations.

In honour of the house of Augustus, Marcus Magilius Honoratus, in accordance with a vow, has erected this monument to Mars, Vulcan and the most holy goddess Vesta, for himself and his family.

1. To Sextus Julius Thermianus, priest at the altar situated at the confluence of the Saône and Rhône, who held all the magistracies in his own country, my father-in-law.

2. To Aquilia Flaccilla, an Aeduan citizen, wife of Julius.

3. To my wife Julia Thermiola, daughter of Julius Thermianus.

4. To Julia Regina, daughter of Magilius Honoratus and Julia Thermiola.

5. To Marcus Magilius Honoratus, priest (*flamen*) of Augustus, who has exhibited gladiators and held all the magistracies in his own country.

6. To Marcus Aemilius Nobilis, who has exhibited gladiators and held all the magistracies in his own country, my brother.¹

In these Inscriptions there are some words and phrases to which I would invite attention. The expression *In honorem domus Augustae* occurs with some variety not unfrequently. Orelli gives the following examples, Vol. I, p. 181, No. 738 init. IMAGINVM DOMVS//AVG.

¹ *Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens Catalogue avec courtes notes explicatives* . . . par Gustave Julliot, 1891. "Note historique, p. I. Le Musée Gallo-Romain, . . . provient presque en entier des pierres qui formaient, il y

a soixante ans encore, les assises inférieures des murailles d'enceinte de la ville, p. III. Aujourd'hui, le nombre des pierres s'élève à près de quatre cents."

CVLTORIB; and p. 108, No. 277 init. NVMINIBVS // AVG // ET DOM DIV; p. 116, No. 339, PRO SALVTE DOMVS DIVIN—the last two found in Switzerland.

At Trèves we meet with the abbreviation D.D.

IN. H. D.D. DEAE
EPONE · VICAN
I · BELG · P · CV
RANTE · G · VEL
ORIO · SACRIL
LIO · Q

In honorem domus divinae, deae Eponae vicani Belginae posuerunt, curante Gaio Velorio Sacrillio Quaestore.¹ See *Panorama von Trier und dessen Umgebungen* . . . von Johann Leonardy, p. 85, Brambach, *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum*, p. 388, Index XV, *Notae aliquot explicatae*; the phrase IN H · D · D. is so common that the word *passim* is appended to it. *Domus divina* reminds me of the Austrian title *Allerhöchstes Kaiserhaus*, which sounds almost profane to English ears, as we reserve for God the epithet Most High, or in the Prayer Book version of the Psalms “Most Highest”—a double superlative.² Compare *Die Römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier* . . . von Prof. Dr. Felix Hettner, Direktor des Museums, Index III, Epigraphisches, sect. 8, donavit, d(ono) d(edit), donum dedit, d(ederunt). See also Gerrard’s *Siglarium*, D.D., D D &c.

Volk., here we have two variations from the usual form *Vulcanus*. The interchange of O with U is too frequent to require notice here, but we may pause to observe the

¹ For Epona compare *Sonderabdruck aus dem Werke: Der Obergerm.—Raet. Limes des Roemerreiches im Auftrage der Reichs-Limes-Kommission. Die Kastelle bei Öhringen (mit vier Tafeln) Streckenkommissar: Prof. E. Herzog. Steine: No. 12, p. 28. Relief einer Epona mit Pferden, die linke obere Ecke abgebrochen. Epona in Tunica und Überwurf, thronend mit einem Korb auf dem Schoosse; hinter ihr auf jeder Seite ein Paar Pferde, das eine Paar gegen das andere gerichtet. Lettenkohlsandstein, 60 cm. breit, 68 cm. h. : with engraving. Thomas Hodgkin,*

Essay on the “Pfahlgraben” in the Transactions of the Societas Aeliana at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, p. 34 sq. and Plate IV. Juvenal, Satire VIII, 156 sq. jurat Solam Eponam et facies olida ad praesepia pictas.

² *Vide* Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, s.v. ελάχιστος III. From ελάχιστος came a new comparative ελαχιστότερος, less than the least: St. Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians III, 8, ἐμοὶ τῶ ελαχιστοτέρῳ πάντων ἁγίων ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις αὐτῆς; Superlative ελαχιστότατος, very least of all, Sextus Empiricus M, III, 51.

use of K. Professor Key, *Alphabet*, p. 72, remarks that it appears in Latin only before the vowel A, and accounts for the fact, saying that K formerly had syllabic power, and represented the sound KA. He adds twenty-four examples from Inscriptions—the list beginning with *Kaeso*, ending with *Volkanus*. See Forcellini, s.v., who refers to Gruter. He also cites, but does not endorse, the opinion of Vossius, who thought that this name was corrupted from Tubalcain, “an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron,” Genesis IV, 22.

The classical scholars who flourished at the Revival of learning, were disposed to connect Greek and Latin with Hebrew—a fancy that led them to invent many absurd etymologies. See Casaubon’s *Commentary on the Prologue of Persius*, p. 10, where he endeavours to explain in this manner the names *Parnassus*, *Helicon* and *Cithaeron*. In those days the difference between the Indo-European and Semitic groups of languages was not understood, for Comparative Grammar is a new study, like Geology among the Natural Sciences. *Vulcanus* is with greater probability considered to be akin to *fulgere*, *fulgur*, *fulmen*: see Smith’s *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, Article by Dr. Leonard Schmitz.¹ Our Inscription shows *Vulcan* and *Vesta* in juxtaposition, thus agreeing with the statement of Dionysius, that *Tatius* established the worship of these deities conjointly. Its political importance appears from the site of the *Vulcanal* close to the *comitium*, the place where elections were held: Smith’s *Dictionary of Classical Geography*, s.v. *Roma*: Plan of the Forum during the

¹ This name is akin to φλίγω, and φλόξ, genitive φλογός—the latter approaches closely to the archaic form *Volcanus*; in Greek the liquid precedes the vowel, but in Latin follows it, a variation that often occurs, e.g., βάλλω, βίβληκα, βέβλημαι. Moreover Homer has φλόξ ‘*Ἡφάεστοιο* (i.e., *Vulcani*) *Iliad*, XVII, 88; and the interchange of F (φ) with V appears in the German preposition *Von*, pronounced *Fon*. So one of the rivers in hell is called *Phlegethon* (Fire-blaze) (πυριφλεγέθων, Plato, *Phaedo*, 114, A), *Paradise Lost*, Book II, v. 580, “Fierce *Phlegethon* Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage,” a passage where the names of other infernal

streams are explained both accurately and poetically.

I have just met with another example of F taking the place of V. It occurs in an ancient sketch-book by an unknown author preserved among the MSS. of Trinity College, Cambridge, signed R 17, 3a, and described by Professor Adolf Michaelis in the *Jahrbuch (Sonder-Abdruck) des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Band VII, p. 92 seq., Zweites Heft, 1892. This account is very conveniently bound up with the sketch-book. Under the drawing of the Apollo Belvedere the words *in belle fidere* are inscribed; under the figure of the Tiber we see *in belle videre*.

Republic, No. 4, p. 772, and p. 776 *sq.*¹ The Vulcanalia were celebrated on the 23rd of August. Pliny the Younger in an interesting epistle (III, 5), where he enumerates the writings of his uncle, the great naturalist, informs us that he used to begin his studies by lamp-light at the time of this festival. The name *Magilius* (perhaps originally Celtic, *cf.* Vergilius) and the Roman gens *Magilia* are only known from Inscriptions; De Vit in his *Onomasticon* gives references to Garrucci and the *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* On the other hand, *Honoratus* occurs frequently both in books and monuments, especially, according to the same authority, in the gentes *Arria*, *Domitia*, *Egnatuleia* and *Vitellia*²; I do not find it in M. Babelon's *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, and therefore conclude that none of this name struck coins under the Republic. But the *Honorati* are far more conspicuous in ecclesiastical history—the series begins with the founder of the monastery of Lérins (caenobii Lirinensis) and its first abbot, about the end of the fourth century. He was afterwards elected Archbishop of Arles, and is still commemorated by the church erected in his honour, well-known to travellers on account of its proximity to the Aliscamps: see Lalauzière, *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire d'Arles*, p. 59—years 426, 428, 429. He was succeeded by St. Hilaire, *ibid.*, pp. 61–63; and No. 154, p. xx, the long epitaph placed on his

¹ Τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, Dionysius, VI, 66, 67. Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, English Translation, Vol. I, p. 543, note 1205, and *ibid.*, p. 609, note 1344; and *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 233, note 527.

² We meet also with Honorata and Honeratus; and in the later age of Latinity, the first syllable is lengthened, the second shortened. Among the women who bore this name the earliest was martyred A.D. 304, *v. De Vit.*, *op. cit.*, s.v. "Honorata in civitate Abitinensi in Africa, ut testantur *Acta SS. Saturnini et Socc. mm.* apud *Ruinart.*"

Another Honorata of a later period is mentioned in the *Acta Sanctorum*, edit. Bollandists, Januarii, Tom. I, p. 680, 11 Jan., Ticini in Italia, Circiter A.N.D. She was a sister of St. Epiphanius, Bishop of this city, became a nun

(*monialis*), when *Odoacer* plundered Ticinum, and was carried into captivity, but ransomed by Epiphanius: Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Chap. XXXVI, note 135; Vol. IV, p. 302, edit. Dr. Wm. Smith. At the translation of her body from St. Vincent's church to another, many miracles are said to have been worked. "Mulier quoque aegra, ut nec loco moveri nec loqui posset, viso Sanctae Virginis corpore, opeque ejus postulatâ, integram sanitatem retulit."

Ticinum was called Pavia by the Lombards; this name may be explained by the fact that the inhabitants had been enrolled in the Papien tribe—hence the modern appellation *Pavia* is derived: *v.* Sir E. H. Bunbury, Article "Ticinum" in Smith's *Dictionary of Geography*.

tomb, in the "Recueil des Inscriptions" at the end of the volume. From the school in this monastery issued forth some of the most learned doctors and bishops of the Gallican church, amongst them Vincent de Lérins (Vincentius Lirinensis): he strenuously supported the doctrine of tradition in a book entitled *Commonitorium Peregrini pro catholicae fidei antiquitate*.¹

The word which we have been considering as a proper name, occurs on monuments as a participle of the verb *honoro*. Spon, *Miscellanea Eruditae Antiquitatis*, 1685, p. 258 *sq.*, gives us examples which are useful, because they show how abbreviations may be explained by comparison. In the first inscription from Komorn (Comora) in Hungary we have EQ. PVB.; in the second from Rome EQVO. PVBLICO; in the third from Nyons in Switzerland EQVO PVBLICO HONORATO, so that the grammatical construction of the ablative is clear. Spon adduces as a parallel expression *Caesares tribunitia potestate, i.e., exornati*. He also corrects the error of Gruter, who reads *Valeriano* for VOL. RIPANO, *i.e., Voltinia tribu*, in accordance with common usage.² We may here remark the superior merit of this writer: few, if any, modern compilers have presented epigraphy to the reader in a form so perspicuous and attractive. For the *equus publicus* see Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, English Translation, Index s.v. Knights' horses; Orelli, *Inscr.*, Vol. I, p. 113, No. 313, the same as the third quoted above from Spon; p. 266, No. 1229, SACERDOTI HONORATO // EQVO PVBLICO AB // IMP. ANTONINO AVG.; Vol. II, p. 104, No. 3457, EQ. P. EXORN.

¹ For the situation of Lérins v. Jcanne's *Guide-book*, edit. 1877. Map of Provence, Département de Var, facing p. 88, and Map of Département des Alpes Maritimes facing p. 112; compare Text pp. 289-293. The Isles des Lérins, Saint-Honorat and Sainte-Marguerite, are opposite Cannes, and two leagues from Antibes (Antipolis); in the former was the monastery; in the latter the Man with the Iron Mask, and, in our own time, Arab prisoners from North Africa and Marshal Bazaine were incarcerated. Vincent is best known as the author of a famous maxim: *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus traditum est*, which

occurs in the book cited above. He died before A.D. 450, and was a contemporary of Salvianus, the Jeremiah of the fifth century, who spent five years at Lérins, well known from having written the treatise *Le Gubernatione Dei: Les Moines de l'Occident depuis Saint Benoît jusqu'à Saint Bernard*, par le Comte Montalembert, Tome I, p. 228 *sq.*; see also *Les docteurs et les Saints de Lérins*, pp. 227-235.

² Spon, *loc. citat.*, p. 259. "Confirmatur correctio ex eo quod plures alii ejusdem familiae hujusce *Voltiniae* tribus fuisse observantur in aliis lapidibus à nobis ad historiam Genevensis relatis."

M. Julliot conjectures that the surname Thermanus may have been conferred by his compatriots on the builder of the Thermae at Sens, in gratitude for the service which he had thus rendered to the city. The name is certainly an uncommon one, and I have not met with another instance of it hitherto.¹

The priesthood of the altar erected at the confluence of the Rhône and Saône was an honour highly esteemed among the Gauls; we may imagine that those who held it had a rank like that of cathedral dignitaries among ourselves.² Strabo, IV, p. 192 A, ed. Casaubon, describes the structure with the accuracy that makes his works so valuable: he informs us that this remarkable altar bore the names of sixty nations inscribed upon it; there were statues representing each of them, and one of Augustus larger than the rest, according to the emendation of the corrupt text proposed by Groskurd, and adopted by succeeding writers. This correction is almost certain and agrees with the practice of ancient art, which thus denoted the superior importance of some great person-

¹ Thermanus is not to be found either in Forcellini's *Lexicon totius Latinitatis*, or the Supplement by Bailey, the English editor, called *Auctarium* (an addition); and De Vit's *Onomasticon* at the present time (November, 1893), as far as I know, has only advanced to *Nonnus*.

² Juvenal, *Satire* I, 44.

"Aut Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram."

V. Heinrich's note in his edition of *Juvenal*, Vol. II, p. 49, *Erklaerung*, "Es war ein eigenes Priesteramt dabei." Suetonius, *Vita Claudii*, cap. 2, "Natus est . . . Lugduni, eo ipso die, quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est." Caligula, 20. "Edidit et peregre spectacula; in Sicilia Syracusis asticos ludos, et in Gallia Lugduni miscellos; sed et certamen quoque Graccæ Latinaeque facundiae," etc. Compare Gifford's *translation of Juvenal*, note, Vol. I, p. 16. See also *Heinrich on Sat.*, XI, 20, "sic veniunt ad miscellanea Indii."

In the *Epitome of Livy*, Book CXXXVII, Drakenborch's edition, Vol. VI, p. 969, *sq.*, has the following words with reference to this altar, "sacerdote creato C. Julio Vereundar,

Dubio Aeduo," on which J. Fr. Gronovius remarks "corruptum nomen Gallicum." But Madvig omits *Periochæ* (= *Epitomæ*) CXXXVI and CXXXVII; Weissenborn says that the latter is wanting.

An altar was erected in honour of Augustus in the Rhine-land, which also had its own priesthood: Tacitus, *Annals*, Book I, chap. 39. It was called *Ara Ubiorum*: see Orelli's note, "Aliis colonia Agrippinensis . . . sive Agrippinensium (Cologne) . . . aliis vero Bonna videtur, D'Anvillio Gotsberg," now called Godesberg, south of Bonn, where there is said to have been a Roman settlement: Bædeker's *Rheinlande*, edit. 1886, p. 340, and Map, No. 29, *Der Rhein von Koblenz bis Bonn*, S. 318. *Ara autem vocabatur, quia ibi totius Ubiorum populi publica sacra celebrabantur.* Tacitus, *ibid.*, chap. 57, we read concerning Segimundus (Sigismund), son of Segestes, "sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles." The historian appears to speak of a *sacerdotium Romanum*, v. *Interpres*, and especially the note of Lipsius, Tacitus, p. 30, folio 1607. Antverpiæ, ex officina Plantiniana.

age; so in the monument of Manius Caelius, who fell in the defeat of Varus, now preserved in the Provincial Museum at Bonn, the figure of this Roman officer (*optio*) is half-length, and on a larger scale than the busts of his two freedmen accompanying him. See Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer unserer Heidnischen Vorzeit*, Erster Band, Sechstes Heft, Tafel V; and Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, Art. "Waffen," Vol. III, pp. 2049-2051, Pl. 2263, where the inscription is better explained.

Similarly in Christian art, the ancient sarcophagi at Arles show us the persons on whom our Lord worked miracles inferior in size to Him and the apostles. A good example is given by M. Edmond Le Blant in his book on this subject—Pl. V, Text, p. 9, where we see Lazarus raised from the dead, the woman with an issue of blood, the blind and the paralytic. Compare *ibid.*, p. xiii (Introduction), and p. 19, Christ *exceptionally* represented smaller than others.¹

Mention of this Lyonnese altar recurs on the arch at Saintes near Rochelle, and we may observe that the phrase SACERDOTI · ARAE · INTER · CONFLVENT · ARAR · ET · RHODANI at Sens corresponds with SACERDOS · ROMA · ET · AVGVSTI · AD · ARAM · QVAE · EST · AD · CONFLVENTEM at Saintes. Thus one monument supplies what is wanting in the other—the former names the rivers and the latter the deities who were worshipped. My Paper on the "Antiquities of Saintes," *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 179-184, contains an account of the Inscriptions on the arch; in the foot-notes to this memoir will be found references to Chaudruc de Crazannes, who has an engraving of it, as a frontispiece; also to Bourignon, Audiat (*Épigraphie Santone et Aunisienne*) and the *Histoire Monumentale de la Charente Inférieure et de*

¹ The Collection in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome has a predominant personage indicated in the same manner. Two figures grouped together, of which one is much larger than the other, are with good reason supposed to be Orestes and Electra. A good photograph of these statues forms the frontispiece to Professor Keene's edition of the *Electra*

of Euripides. "She is represented as a head taller than her brother, perhaps, as has been suggested, to signify the motherly relation in which she stood to Orestes whom she had reared, or the prominent part she takes in originating the plot against Clytemnestra," Introduction, p. XL. ("The Story in Art").

la Vienne; La Sauvagère, *Recueil d'Antiquités dans les Gaules*, may also be consulted with advantage.¹ Planches VII–XII. Some of these engravings are very interesting, e.g., VII, p. 41, "Carte Topographique qui fait voir les Rivières de la Charente et de la Seugne telles quelles couloient du tems des anciens Romains sous la ville de Saintes: IX, p. 49, Pont de Saintes sur la Charente en 1560 d'après les desseins de George Braunius," *Mundi Theatrum*, Tom. III, N. 17. We find on the frieze of the arch at Saintes the names of the dedicator C. Julius Rufus, also of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather—Ottuaneunus, Gededmon and Epotsovoridus, evidently Celtic, while the language of all the inscriptions is Latin; so that this monument is more fully entitled than that at Sens to the epithet Gallo-Roman.

The words *Sacerdoti arae inter confluent Arar et Rhodani* imply the worship of Augustus; but I have already more than once enlarged upon this kind of monotheism, so that repetition on the present occasion seems unnecessary. See *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 17, "Antiquities of Tarragona": *ibid.*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 234–239, "Antiquities of Pola and Aquileia."

De Vit in his *Onomasticon*, s.v. Flaccilla enumerates six women who bore this name; the most celebrated among them is the wife of Theodosius the Great, Aelia Flaccilla Augusta on coins (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. VIII, p. 164) and mother of Arcadius and Honorius.² The name occurs at a much earlier date,

¹ A list of this author's writings is given in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*. On the title-page of the *Recueil* he says that his work is intended as a sequel to the *Antiquités* of the Comte de Caylus. The fine plates by which it is illustrated were engraved by Madame Laitré. Sauvagère died poor, having ruined himself by the expenses incurred in archæological researches and publications.

² Eckhel, *loc. cit.*, Obv. AEL. FLACCILLA AVG., Rev. SALVS REIPUBLICAE S, in the exergue CONOB. "Additum S aliud non est quam nota arithmetica *senarium* indicans, cujus copiosa jam dedimus exempla." *Senarius* is a term usually

applied to metre. "Senarii versus est absolute *Senarii* sunt, qui constant sex pedibus."

De Vit, *Lexicon*, s.v. comp. Horace, A.P. 253.

"cum senos redderet ictus, Prius ad extremum similis sibi."

Cicero, *Orator*, c. 55, § 184, "comitorum senarii," 56, § 189.

Phaedrus, *Fabulae*, *Prologue init.*

"Aesopus auctor quam materiam repperit,

Hanc ego polivi versibus senariis."

Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, V, xxiii, 64, a curious passage in which the author describes the discovery of the tomb of Archimedes at Syracuse, unknown to the inhabitants, which had

for Martial begins the thirty-fourth Epigram of his fifth book with the following verses:—

“Hanc tibi, Fronto pater, genetrix Flaccilla, puellam
Oscula commendo deliciasque meas.”

The poem, which is very pathetic, commemorates Erotion, a little slave girl who died just before completing her sixth year. The last couplet,

“Mollia non rigidus cespes tegat ossa, nec illi,
Terra, gravis fueris: non fuit illa tibi,”¹

by contrast reminds me of the satirical epitaph composed for Vanbrugh, the architect of Blenheim Palace,

“Lie heavy on him, earth, for he
Laid many a heavy load on thee.”

In the seventh line the words *veteres patronos*, relating to Fronto and Flaccilla, make it very probable that they were Martial's parents.

We meet with various forms of the name—*Flacilla*, Πλάκιλλα, Φλάκκιλλα; there is reason to doubt whether the primary word *Flacca* occurs either in authors or in inscriptions. Sometimes both appellations are used, Prisca and Priscilla, Lucia and Lucilla, Livia and Livilla, Drusa and Drusilla. Doubtless in many cases,

the figure of a sphere and cylinder inscribed upon it. “Tenebam enim quosdam senariolos, quos in ejus monumento esse inscriptos acceperam,” *ibid.* 66, “Apparebat epigramma, exesis posterioribus partibus versicolorum, dimidiatis ferè.” Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, Tome VI, p. 462 sq. “Femme éminente par ses vertus fut mise au rang des saintes, No. 1, Obv. Son buste à droite avec un tres-riche diadème.” *Catalogue of the Collection Ponton d'Amécourt*, p. 122, No. 779, *photogravure*. Rev. Victoire assise à droite, écrivant le monogramme du Christ sur un bouclier posé sur un cippe.

¹Friedländer, edit. Martial 1886, Vol. I, p. 407, quotes similar inscriptions on Greek sepulchres (*Grab-schriften*).

“Ἐστω σοι ὁ πᾶς κοῦφος λίθος,
Κούφη σοι κόνις ἴδε πέλοι,
Ἀλλὰ σὺ γᾶια πέλοις ἀγαθῆ κούφη
τ' Ἀκυλείω,

Ἐυξάμενος κούφη (sc. γῆν);”

also a Latin epitaph,

“Terraque, quae mater nunc est, sibi
sit levis, oro,
Namque gravis nulli vita fuit
pueri.”

Hence the abbreviation S.T.T.L. is explained, *i.e.*, “Sit Tibi Terra Levis. Orelli, *Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum*,” Vol. I, *Index Notarum*, Nos. 159, 4749. Compare Persius, *Satire* I, 37,

“nunc non cinis ille poetae
Felix? non levior cippus nunc im-
primit ossa?”

with the *Commentary of Casaubon*, edit. 1615, p. 85. “Inimicis quorum memoriae non favebant, nullum saxum imponebant, et gravem tamen terram, atque ut pondere urgerentur, optabant. Tibullus,

Quisquis es, infelix, urgeat ossa lapis.
Propertius,
Urgeat hunc supra, vis, caprifice,
tua.”

Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. II, p. 693. Index: “Tituli Sepulerales. Acclamations. Sanctiones. Sit tibi terra levis.”

both of common and proper nouns, the Latin diminutive lost its special meaning, like the modern Italian *fratello*, *sorella*.

The titles *Flamen* and *Augustalis* are common enough; abundant information concerning these offices is supplied by articles in the third edition of Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*; the best and most recent authorities are also cited. On the other hand, *munerarius* or its equivalent *munerator* is rather uncommon. According to Quintilian, Augustus was the first to use the former word. Cicero in his letters to Atticus, II, xix, 3, says, "Gladiatoribus, qua dominus qua advocati sibilis conscissi." At the combats of gladiators both the exhibitor and his friends were overwhelmed with hisses; here *dominus* has the same signification as *editor*, i.e., qui munus edebat.¹

These Inscriptions have a genealogical interest: Marcus Magilius Honoratus, the dedicator, mentions in them members of his family:—his father-in-law Sextus Julius Thermianus, his mother-in-law, Aquilia Flaccilla, his wife Julia Thermiola, and his daughter Julia Regina. Three inscriptions have been found at Lyons, which evidently relate to some of the personages who appear in the one at Sens; so that by a comparison of the two monuments, we obtain a part of the pedigree of a great Gallo-Roman family, branches of which were settled at Sens, Lyons and probably Autun.² The nearest parallel

¹ Quicherat, *Addenda Lexicis Latinis*, *Munerarius*, a, um, adj. Ad munus vel largitionem pertinens. Cassiodorus, *Variarum (Epistolarum)* Lib. VI, 7. "Sed huic, ut ita dicam, munerariae dignitati praekonem largitatis nostrae . . . adjungimus." He adds *Gloss. Cyril. Φιλότητος*, ambitiosus, munerarius, liberalis. *Ibid.*, Χαριστικός, munificus, munerarius. Cf. Ducange, *Gloss. Ἀγωνοθέτης*.

On *munerarius* occurring in the Inscription at Sens Monsieur Arnauld observes, "Remarquons que Sextus Julius Thermianus n'est pas *munerarius*, il n'a pas donné de jeux, ni de combats de gladiateurs . . . Les deux flamines de notre texte sont *munerarii*: ce sont des fonctionnaires religieux de Sens, non de Lyon et de l'autel des Trois-Gaules: *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1833 (1894), tome quatrième, p. 87. "The

person who exhibited a show of gladiators was honoured, during the day of exhibition, if a private person, with the official signs of a magistrate:" *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, third edition, Vol. I, p. 916, second column.

² *Catalogue des Inscriptions du Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens*, par M. G. Julliot, pp. 5-9, Nos. 16-30, p. 8. "Les métropoles de la première et de la quatrième Lyonnaise possédaient donc deux monuments considérables élevés à une même famille, et la comparaison des inscriptions qui sont parvenues jusqu'à nous nous porte à croire le monument de Lyon un peu postérieur à celui de Sens, puisqu'il nous révèle l'existence d'un petit-fils de S. Julius Thermianus, qui ne figure pas sur le monument sénonais et qui semble être le frère puîné de Julia Regina."

that I remember is furnished by the famous tomb of the Scipios outside the Porta Capena at Rome, discovered in the year 1780; see Orelli, *Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. I, p. 149 *seq.*, Nos. 550–558; and Labruzzi, *Via Appia Illustrata*, where the engravings are almost facsimiles.

Of the monument we are considering only the upper part has been preserved; it is 12 mètres 18 centimètres long, 2·01 mètres high, 0·58 mètres thick. Probably it was surmounted by busts of the imperial family, of divinities to whom the building was dedicated, and of persons mentioned below the topmost line. The letters, carefully formed, belong to a good period, not later than the second century. If any one will study the Paper read by M. Lallier at the Congrès Archéologique, XIV^e Session, séances tenues à Sens, 1847, with accompanying Plate; the Catalogue of the Inscriptions in the Gallo-Roman Museum of that city by M. Julliot and the Memoir by M. P. Arnaudet, dated 23rd May, 1894, Soc. des Antiquaires de France, he will see the pains taken by the French antiquaries both in making excavations and in describing their results, and he will be able to appreciate the measure of success that has rewarded their exertions. It is only since 1891 that the blocks of stone, which had been dispersed, were united again. They are now placed in the garden adjoining the museum, and arranged in a manner corresponding with their original position, so that a visitor can examine them conveniently.¹

I copy the following Inscription, because it seems more interesting than the rest:—

Also by the same author, *Quelques Inscriptions Romaines des Musées de Sens et de Lyon*. Lecture faite à la Sorbonne, le 5 Avril, 1877: p. 11 *sqq.* 1^o Monument élevé chez les Sénonais, p. 15 *sqq.* 2^o Monument élevé au confluent de la Saône et du Rhône.

Mémoires des Antiquaires de France, *loc. citat.* "Nous renvoyons au tome II des Inscriptions de Lyon de MM. Allmer et Dissard pour les détails sur l'autel des Trois-Gaules et ses prêtres, sur le culte de Rome et d'Auguste à Lyon, ouvrage où sont réunis tous les

textes épigraphiques et historiques sur cette importante institution."

¹ See especially the folding plate at the end of M. Bulliot's lecture containing: I. The inscription of a votive monument erected by Marcus Magilius Honoratus, and now preserved in the Lapidary Museum of Sens. II. Restoration of the inscription of a votive monument, erected near the altar at the confluence of the Rhône and Saône by Sextus Julius Thermianus, a Senonese, priest of Rome and Augustus.

T · GERM · DAC
 NVS · ET · T · FRISC
 VS · ET AMBVLAT
 ET OLEV M · P · INP

M. Arnauld et completes the fragment thus:—

[Pro salute imp(eratoris) Caesaris, divi Nervae filii, Nervae Trajani Augus]t(i) Germ(anici) Dac[ic(i) p(ontificis) m(aximi,) tr(ibuniciae) p(otestatis). . . , co(n)-s(ulis), p(atris) p(atriciae), . . .]nus et T(itus) Prisc[us . . . aediles civit(atis) portic]us et ambulat[orium] aedific(averunt) et dedic(averunt) et ob dedic(a-tionem) vinum] et oleum p[ropriis] imp(ensis) [populo deder(unt)].¹

Some of the words added must be regarded as conjectural. Probably the Emperor mentioned here is Trajan, who received from his adoptive father the names of Nerva and Germanicus, in A.D. 97; after the defeat of Decebalus, king of the Dacians, he returned to Rome in triumph, and assumed the title of Dacicus, A.D. 103. On this supposition, if the complete Inscription contained the word Parthicus, it would belong to the year 116 or 117, in the latter of which Trajan died. But Hadrian also had the surnames *Germanicus*, *Dacicus* (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. VI, p. 475, letter F), so that a later date might be assigned to the monument.² NVS in

¹ Julliot, *Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens, Catalogue, avec courtes notes explicatives*, 1891. Note Historique, p. iii, and p. 1, No. 5 (Pm). "Inscription rappelant l'inauguration de portiques, de promenoirs élevés dans la capitale des Sénonais sous l'un des empereurs Trajan ou Hadrien."

² Both these titles occur in Juvenal's Sixth Satire, v, 205,

"quum lance beata
 Dacicus et scripto radiat Germanicus
 auro."

The poet here mentions the expenses that followed the marriage ceremony, a feast, wedding cakes, *mustacea* (as in our modern practice) for the guests, and a present of money to the bride. Gifford thinks that the reference is to coins struck by Domitian in consequence of his boasted victories in the Dacian war. On the other hand the old French commentator Achaintre says, "nullum

reperi numum Domitiani Imp. cum inscript. Germ. Dac." Many medals of Domitian are inscribed AVG GERM: v. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, Vol. I, p. 387 sq., Médaillons d'or et d'argent, Nos. 4, 5, 6; *ibid.*, p. 389, Médailles d'or et d'argent, No. 13 AVG · GERMANIC; p. 393, No. 49 GERMANICVS. Comp. the historical Introduction prefixed to this reign. "Il triompha et s'arrogea le titre de *Germanicus*, qu'il n'avait nullement mérité." In the dedication of Martial's *Eighth Book of Epigrams* we read, "Imperatori Domitiano Caesari Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Valerius Martialis S(alutem);" but it does not appear that Domitian himself assumed the last appellation, nor do we find it in his coinage. Juvenal, edit. Duff, Pitt Press Series, 1898, p. 227, note on *loc. citat.*

Trajan's money frequently bears both titles. Cohen, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 4, IMP

the second line might be the last syllable of Thermianus; but this is quite uncertain, because the termination ANVS in proper names, which indicated adoption, occurs very frequently under the Empire.¹ The two magistrates, whose names appeared here, were probably aediles, as the next line contained the words *porticus* and *ambulatoria*, which, as public buildings, would be under their superintendence. *Porticus* is in many cases translated better by *colonnade* than by *portico*, as it was "a long, narrow walk covered by a roof supported upon columns"; see Rich's *Dictionary*, s.v. This explanation agrees with some passages in Juvenal, *Satire* IV, 5, 6,

"Quid refert igitur, quantis jumenta fatiget
Porticibus?
Avails it then, in what long colonnades
He tires his mules?"

Ibid., VII, 178,

"Balnea sexcentis, et pluris porticus, in qua
Gestetur dominus, quoties pluit.

Where, while it lowers,
They ride, and bid defiance to the showers."

The second passage from Juvenal furnishes a good parallel, because *porticus* is mentioned in juxtaposition with *balnea*, as in our Inscription we have it coupled with *ambulatoria*, corridors which there is good reason to suppose were *dépendances* of the baths at Sens.

TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. It is needless to multiply repetitions of this legend. As Trajan took the cognomen *Dacicus* A.D. 103, the line quoted above assists us to ascertain approximately when the poem in which it occurs was written. For a discussion of the dates of Juvenal's *Satires* see Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, Vol. VII, p. 344, note 1.

¹ This practice was less frequent in Republican times; there is no name with the termination ANVS amongst the titles of Cicero's Orations, while, on the contrary, it often appears in the pages of Tacitus, e.g., Mucianus, Sejanus, Silanus. The most notorious example of adoption in the former period was that of P. Clodius, Cicero's enemy, a Senator of the noblest birth. "As all Patricians were incapable of the Tribunate, by its original institution, so his first step was to make himself a Plebeian,

by the pretence of an adoption into a Plebeian house." Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, Vol. I, p. 291. Clodius succeeded in this project, and was elected Tribune; he drove Cicero into exile, burnt his house on the Palatine, and persecuted his wife and children.

But earlier in Roman history, and in connection with great names, we find an instance of this transfer from one family to another. The younger son of L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, who defeated Perseus in the battle of Pydna B.C. 168, was adopted by P. Scipio, elder son of Africanus Major. He had the names P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor, was an intimate friend of Laelius, known to us from Cicero's *De Amicitia*, and took Carthage B.C. 146, after a desperate resistance on the part of the besieged. Comp. Juvenal, VIII, 3, "stantes in curribus Aemilianos," with note, edit. Duff.

A still more apposite citation is supplied by Plautus, *Mostellaria*, III, ii, 67 69,

"Set senex
Gunaéeum aedificáre volt hic in suis
Et bálineas et ámbulacrum et porticum :"

where we may observe that *ambulacrum* is a pre-classical word; see the note, edit. Lorenz, *in loco*, p. 168. M. Arnanldet expands, as we have already seen, AMBVLAT by *ambulatorium*, and remarks that *ambulatio*, which M. Julliot had previously suggested, means rather the *act* of walking than the locality which serves as a place for a walk.¹ But here he is not quite accurate, for *ambulatio* has both meanings in the Latinity of the best period, e.g., Cicero, *De Finibus* and *Ad Quintum Fratrem*.² It is quite true that the "terminations *tio* and *sio* signify the *act* of the verb, and are always joined to verbal roots": Dawson and Rushton's *Terminational Latin Dictionary*, p. 85. See also many examples, which support this statement, *ibid.*, pp. 85–100, or Roby's *Latin Grammar*, Word-Formation, Book III, Chap. VI, pp. 317–319. However, we meet with exceptions to this general

¹ *Mém. de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, Sixième Série, Tome IV, p. 105. "Le mot *ambulatio* signifie plutôt l'action de se promener que l'endroit qui sert de lieu de promenade."

² *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, V, i, 1, "constituimus inter nos, ut ambulationem postmeridianam conficeremus in Academia, maxime quod is locus ab omni turba id temporis vacuus esset," *Ad Quintum Fratrem*, III, i, 1. "Sed tamen nihil ei restabat praeter balnearia et ambulationem et aviarium," where *balnearia* and *ambulatio* are in juxtaposition, as in Plautus *loc. citat.* In the climate of Italy these colonnades furnished a suitable locality for philosophical discussions, affording a free circulation of air, as well as a shady refuge from the glare and heat of the sun; so Virgil says, "Frigus captabis opacum" (*Eclouge* I, v. 53), and Cicero, "Ad id aut sedens, aut ambulans disputabam" (*Tusculan Disputations*, I, iv, 7).

We find our best authority for this subject in Vitruvius, lib. V, cap. 9. He gives minute directions for the height and breadth of columns, and for the intervals between them (*Intercolumnia*).

v. Atlas of Plates, edit. Rode, Tab. XIII (Forma XVI, No. 2) g. h. f. "Exemplum porticum post scenam et ambulationum Pompeiis in porticibus vulgo dictis *Castro de Soldati*." See also Overbock's *Pompeii*, Vol. I, p. 210, "so werden wir mit Sicherheit die in der Inschrift mit der Palaestra zusammen genannte Porticus in dem schon besprochenen Säulungänge des Hofes, der mit diesem ja eigentlich ein Ganzes ausmacht, erkennen," v. p. 207, Fig. 146, *Plan der neuen Thermen*; p. 209, Fig. 147. *Hof der neuen Thermen, die Palaestra gegen Südost*.

De Vit, s.v. rightly divides *ambulationes* into two classes: "Apud Romanos duplicis generis erant, aliae scilicet *apertae*, aliae *tectae*"; and so Vitruvius, V. 9, med. says, "Hypaethrae (uncovered) ambulationes habent magnam salubritatem."

The Younger Pliny in his *Epistles* (II, 17, and V. 6) describes at great length not only his Laurentine and Tuscan villas but also the adjoining gardens, so that, from the context, we can ascertain clearly the arrangement indicated by the former adjective.

rule, like *ambulatio*; so *coenatio* is a dining-room in Martial, Epigram II, 59, v. 1,

“Mica vocor: quid sim cernis, coenatio parva.”

v. 3. “Frange toros, pete vina, rosas cape, tingere nardo,” illustrates the meaning.

Compare Juvenal, VII, 183,

“Et argentem rapiat coenatio solem,
An eating-room, that fronts the eastern skies,
And drinks the cooler sun.”

Similarly *factio* has two significations, (1) a making, as in *testamenti factio*; (2) a political party, also a company of charioteers (*aurigarum*) in the circus, distinguished by their colours—green, red, azure and white.

OLEVM is the word to which I would specially invite attention. Every author is his own best expositor; but when this source of information fails, we must have recourse to writers who were contemporary or nearly so. The same principle applies to every kind of historical documents; and in this case a monument of a date almost as ancient is not far to seek. I refer to an inscription at Barcelona, which Hübner has carefully described in the *Corpus*, Vol. II, No. 4514:¹ or see Wilmanns, *Exempla Inserr. Latin in Acad. usum* (No. 309, Vol. I, p. 96) in 8vo, and more convenient for reference. For our purpose the important passage in it is EX · X · CC · OLEVM · N · HERMS · PVBL^c.² The words IMP · M | AVR · ANT^oNINO · ET · AVR | VERO · AVG prove the date approximately. Incorrect expressions occur; *consecutus in honores, quos honor contigerit, vocitus, quot supra scriptum est*, and ungrammatical forms of words, e.g., *atlectus, at*. Cf. Wilmanns, *ibid.*, No. 319, pp. 110–112, especially the last page. *Lex collegii Dianae et Antinoi*; v. 91, “et die[bus natalibus] | Dianae et Antinoi oleum collegio in balinio (sic) publico po[nat. antequam] epulentur.”

¹ P. 604, Barcino, Tarraconensis. Hübner copied this important Inscription *summa cum cura*, and subjoins the expansion of it. His commentary begins with a reference to Augustinus. Misc. B b. 187, “idem edidit et explicuit *dialogos de las medallas cct* (1587) in dialogo nono.” For an account of the works of this very learned writer, who

was Archbishop of Tarragona, see the same volume of C.I.L. (Hispania) Praefatio, p. XV, No. 32, where he is characterised as *inter saeculi XVI doctos Hispanos facile princeps*.

² These words are the nineteenth line—exX (denarii CC (ducentis) oleum in thermas public(as)).

The inscription at Sens corresponds well with a mention of a largess made by the ædiles during the second Punic War (Livy, XXV, ii, 9), when fifty gallons of oil were distributed in each quarter of the city—"Congii olei in vicos singulos dati *quinquageni*," according to the text of Weissenborn:¹ *vicus* here means a sub-division of a region of the city, not a street, as Baker translates; Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, Third Edition, Vol. II, p. 955. A *congius* is rather less than six pints, but I do not know any English liquid measure that comes nearer to it than *gallon*. Hence we have the derivative *congiarium*, which is an adjective with the ellipse of *vas*, and means a vessel holding a *congius*; but it soon came to be used in a wider sense, as a distribution of gifts to the people—oil, wine, corn, money, etc.; *donativum* was a bounty given by the Emperor to his soldiers. The former is represented on one of the upper reliefs on Constantine's Arch at Rome, which belong to the time of Trajan. He is seated on a tribunal, and presents the recipients of his favours, as they approach singly, with a ticket (*tessera*) entitling them to obtain the amount written thereon.

Numismatic evidence on this subject begins with Nero; one of his medals bears on its reverse the legend CONG · DAT · POP, and is described by Eckhel, Vol. VI, p. 270 sq.; see also Cohen, Vol. I, p. 189, No. 110; cf. No. 118,

¹ In Drakenborch's edition the text stands thus: "Aedilitia largitio haec fuit. Ludi Romani pro temporis illius copiis magnifice facti, et diem unum instaurati, et congii olei in vicos singulos dati"; but this reading is not satisfactory. "Jac Perizonius ad marginem Livii in viros singulos scribendum conjicit."

Weissenborn prints *quinquageni* in italics, to show that the word is not found in the Manuscripts. He explains *vicus* in the following note: "Nicht Strassen, sondern Quartiere (eigentlich durch Kreuzstrassen geteilte Strassenquartiere), die auch durch religiöse Feierlichkeiten (*die Compitalia*) verbunden waren," and compares a passage in the same author where the adverbial derivative, formed like *viritim*, occurs: Livy, XXVI, 6, "magnam vim frumenti,

ex Hispania missam, M. Valerius Falto et M. Fabius Buteo aediles curules quaternis aeris vicatim populo descripserunt." *Ibid.*, XXV, ii, 9, Madvig's edition has "et congii olei* in vicos singulos dati, with a footnote ¹ Excidit numerus congiorum.

In Cicero, *Pro Milone*, chap. XXIV, § 64, *vicus* probably means a street on account of *angiportus* (an alley) which follows, as this author very often couples together words of similar meaning—a mode of expression which has had many imitators: "Nullum in urbe vicium, nullum angiportum esse dicebant, in quo Miloni non esset conducta domus." *Vicatim* from *Vicus* should not be confounded with *vicatim* = per vices, vicissim; De Vit, s.v. Also comp. Livy, X, 4, "vigiliae vicatim exactae."

CONG II.¹ The coins of Titus, Domitian and Nerva are inscribed in the same manner; sometimes we read CONGIAR, or CONGIARIVM *in extenso*, which explain with certainty the monosyllabic abbreviation and the well-known phrase *Panem et Circenses*.² At Athens the Hestiasis, a banquet given by a citizen to his tribe, and the Theoric fund, from which monies were distributed amongst the people, were institutions answering similar purposes—the poorer classes were fed and entertained at the expense of the state or wealthy individuals; thus they were induced to lead lives of indolence and self-indulgence.

The use of oil by bathers is proved by the mention in Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, Book V, Chap. 11, of an apartment called *elaiothesium* (ἐλαιοθέσιον)³ or *unctorium*

¹ It is fully described by Cohen, *loc. citat.* "Néron assis sur une estrade placée à gauche; sur le même plan, un homme assis faisant une distribution à un autre homme qui monte un escalier au bas duquel est un enfant; derrière l'homme assis, la statue de Pallas casquée, debout, tenant une haste et une chouette sur la main droite qui est tendue; devant lui, la Liberté debout, tenant une tessère." This coin (*Grand Bronze*) can be obtained in good condition, and at a moderate price; according to Cohen 20 francs. It is remarkable both as an important corroboration of history, and as containing an unusual number of figures.

Admiral W. H. Smyth, *Descriptive Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman Imperial Large-Brass Medals*, p. 41 *sq.*, thinks that CONG. II. records the munificence of the tyrant after the disastrous fire at Rome. But Eckhel is of a different opinion, Vol. VI. p. 271. "Non satisfaciunt antiquarii, qui congiaria hæc certis annis adfigunt." He also cites Tacitus, *Annals*, XIII, 31, "plebeique congiarium quadriugeni nummi viritim dati;" where the distributive numeral should be noticed.

² Juvenal, *Satire* X, vv. 78-81,

"nam qui dabat olim
Imperium fasces legiones omnia, nunc
se
Continet, atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem et Circenses."

and *ibid.*, VII, v. 174.

"qua vilis tessera venit
Frumenti."

See the notes of Duff on both passages, and Ruperti and Heinrich on the latter.

Suetonius, *Augustus*, chap. 41. "Congiaria populo frequenter dedit, . . . Frumentum quoque in annonæ difficultatibus sæpe levissimo, interdum nullo pretio, viritim adensus est; tesserisque nummarias duplicavit."

Persius has the diminutive of tessera, *Sat.* V, v. 74.

"Libertate opus est, non hæc, quam ut quisque Velina

Publius emeruit, scabiosum tesserculâ
far

Possidet."

"Freedom, in truth, it steads us much to have:

Not that, by which each manumitted slave,

Each Publius, with his tally, may obtain

A casual dole of coarse and damaged grain."

Gifford's *Translation*, Vol. II, p. 117.

Here we have the middle form between *tessera* and *tessella*, *tessellatus*, whence the English tessellated, often spelt with one *l* improperly. Compare *asella*, *capella*, *opella*: Dawson and Rushton, *Terminalional Latin Dictionary*, words ending in *ella*, and v. p. 35, *ellus*, *ello*.

³ Marquardt—*Das Privatleben der Römer*, Vol. I, pp. 279-281, *Einrichtung der Bäder*—mentions the arrangements for Greek gymnasia, "die Garderobe für die Palaestriten, Säulengänge und Xysten, die Conversationszimmer (*exedrae*), die Halle für den Unterricht, *ephebeum*, für die Oelung und Bestäu-

(sc. *cubiculum*) the anointing-room. At Pompeii in the old Baths it was at the end of the *apodyterium*, undressing-room. Here utensils of different kinds were kept, together with oil and salves: see Overbeck's *Pompeii*, Plan, p. 189, fig. 138. A picture representing the Thermae of Titus at Rome, and said to have been found there, has often been cited as an illustration, but it is now generally considered to be modern, and therefore like the restored parts of a statue, not authentic. Oil after a bath in a hot climate would serve as a protective coating to the skin, shielding it from the stimulating action of the sun; at the same time, it would be agreeable, and improve personal appearance. We have been considering an Inscription which is only a fragment; but enough remains to show that it belongs to the time of Trajan or Hadrian, and records the erection of a colonnade and promenade by two magistrates, and their distribution of wine and oil at their own expense.¹

bung *elaeothesium* und *conisterium*, für die Uebung mit dem *κάρυκος* und das Ballspiel (*καρυκίον* und *σφαριστήριον*), endlich die allgemeine *piscina*."²

¹ I think there can be little doubt that M. Arnauldet correctly supplied *vinum* before *oleum* in the Inscription at Sens. So we find wine and oil mentioned together in many texts of the Old Testament; some of them are very apposite, measures being specified, like the *congii* aforesaid. Cruden's *Concordance to the Holy Scriptures*, s.v. Oil, section Wine with Oil: 2 Chronicles II, 10 (Solomon's message to Huram, King of Tyre), "And, behold, I will give to thy servants, the hewers that cut timber . . . twenty thousand baths of wine, and twenty thousand baths of oil." Ezra VII, 22 (Decree of Artaxerxes in favour of Ezra), "and to an hundred baths of wine, and to an hundred baths of oil." Cruden says the bath is equivalent to seven gallons and a half.

Vulgate, Lib. II, *Paralipomenon*, cap. II, v. 10, "vini viginti millia metratas, olei quoque sata viginti millia." Lib. I, Esdrae II, 22, "usque ad vini batos centum, et usque ad batos olei centum. *Satum* vox Syriaca sive Syro-Chaldaica, *batus* a voce Hebraica," Forcellini's *Lexicon*, edit. De Vit; Ducange "*Batus* mensurae species." But compare Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, where it will be seen that different

opinions have prevailed concerning the capacity of the *bath*. Vol. III, pp. 1740-1742, Article, "Weights and Measures:" p. 1742, Ephah or bath (Josephus) gallons 8·6696, (Rabbinists), 4·4286.

In the New Testament wine and oil are twice mentioned together, and in that book which bears more deeply than any other the imprint of Jewish ideas: Apocalypse, VI, 6 (A command to the rider on the black horse symbolizing Famine, v. Alford *in loco*). "And see thou hurt not the wine and the oil," cf. *ibid.* XVIII, 13 (lament of the merchants over Babylon), *οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ σιμιθάλιν*. The Vulgate here has *simila*, which occurs in Martial, XIII, 10. "Nec poteris similiae dotes numerare, nec usus, Pistori toties cum sit et apta ceco." French *semoule*, Italian *semola*, v. Stephanus, *Thesaurus linguae Graecae*, Vol. VII, edit. Didot, 1848-54, with reference to Galen, who ranks *σιμιθάλις* next to *σιλιγνίς* (*siligo*), both meaning fine wheat-flour.

The ancients must have consumed an enormous quantity of oil; it was used for food, and, from the deficiency of pasturage, took the place which butter has in our own country. So even at Rome, within the memory of persons still living, butter could scarcely be procured, and was only provided to please English visitors.

Excavations in the walls of Sens have brought to light remains of another class, which many persons would consider more interesting than those already described—sculptured stones on which a variety of subjects are represented, some mythological, illustrating the legends and poetry of Greece and Rome, others relating to the arts and occupations of daily life. Of the former class the most important is a frieze (Mus. Gallo-Rom. de Sens, Pl. I), in which we see Orestes led, with hands tied behind his back (*manus post terga revinctae*),¹ by a Scythian to the altar of Diana, before which Iphigenia stands, and orders him to be set free. There could not be a better commentary on the following words put into the mouth of the heroine by Euripides in his play entitled *Iphigenia in Tauris*, v. 467, edit. Dindorf (469),

“Τὰ τῆς θεῶν μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καλῶς ἔχη
Φροντιστέον μοι. μέθετε τῶν ξένων χέρας,
Ὅς ὄντες ἱροί, μηκέτ’ ὤσι δέσμοι.”

“I must first take care that the rites of the goddess may be well performed. Loose the strangers’ hands, so that, as they are sacred, they may no longer be in bonds.”

With the reliefs at Sens we may compare the somewhat different treatment of the same subject in ceramic art.

¹ Compare the episode in the second book of the *Aeneid*, where Virgil relates the treachery of Sinon, who was dragged in this condition before Priam, v. 57.

“Ecce! manus juvenem interea post terga revinctum

Pastores magno ad regem clamore trahebant
Dardanidae:”

“Siehe, den Jüngling indess, die Händ’ auf den Rücken gefesselt,
Schleppen daher Berghirten mit grossem Geschrei zu dem König,
Dardaner:”

Translated by Voss, who follows the metre of the original, and reproduces its meaning more accurately than Dryden.

The best numismatic illustration is supplied by the well-known coin of the Emperor Titus, struck to commemorate the taking of Jerusalem A.D. 70, Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, Vol. I, p. 364, No. 194, Plate XVI (Grand Bronze), Rev. IVD. CAP. (Judaea capta) s.c. Palmier; à gauche, une Juive en pleurs, assise sur des armes; à droite un Juif debout, les mains liées derrière le dos,

&c., cf. *ibid.*, Vespasien, pp. 305–308, Nos. 302–313, note p. 307; the female seated on one side of the palm-tree may be in some cases a personage, in others Judaea. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. VI, pp. 326, 354.

Admiral Smyth, *op. citat.*, p. 61, says that the pinioned captive probably represents the reckless Sinon. In a footnote he mentions a book of the sixteenth century containing a print that exhibits, with a curious anachronism, Vespazyan (*sic*) with cannon on carriages near him, holding a parley with Pilate and Archelaus, who are upon the city walls, v. Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*, Lib. VII, ec. II, v. Whiston’s Translation, Pictorial edition, 1845, Vol. II, pp. 468–470, and 478. Concerning Sinon the Tyrant, how he was taken, and reserved for the Triumph; how he was slain in the forum.

The barbarous treatment of captives appears on the money of a later period, and we should infer from it that Christian Emperors were in this respect as cruel as their heathen predecessors.



ORESTES AND IPHIGENIA. MUSÉE GALLO-ROMAIN DE SENS.
(Photographe Dujardin.)

A hydria in the British Museum (*Old Catalogue of Vases*, No. 1362, Vol. II, p. 71 *sq.*, edit. 1870) bears the following design—Orestes bound on the altar of the Tauric Artemis; he is crouching on the altar, his hands tied behind his back . . . On the left are three figures, Pylades youthful, Iphigenia and the aged Thoas. Kratêr with medallion handles (*ibid.*, No. 1428, p. 117 *sq.*) exhibits the sacrifice of Iphigenia. Here we see the deities, Artemis and Apollo, and the priest Calchas holding the sacrificial knife.¹

The latter of these vases may remind us of the picture by Timanthes, where Iphigenia is borne to the altar by Ulysses and Menelaus, while Calchas stands by ready to strike the fatal blow. Artemis appears above, and one of her nymphs with the hind to be substituted for the victim. Her father Agamemnon conceals his face in his mantle, not because the painter was unable to express parental agony, but rather for an æsthetic reason, because he did not mean to distract attention from the principal figure. This celebrated work of art was admired by the ancients, as we learn from Cicero and Quintilian;² but we

¹ In the *New Catalogue*, compiled by Mr. H. B. Walters, 1896, f. 159, Vol. IV, p. 80, numerous references, chiefly German, are prefixed to an account of the vase. Iphigenia has . . . long *chiton* with *apoptygma*, a piece of drapery. *New Catalogue*, Vol. III, p. 365, E 773, Pyxis inscribed ΙΦΙΓΕΝΕΙΑ, the name is placed above her. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae ἀπόπτυγμα*, το, in inser. Att. C. I. Vol. I, p. 235, n. 150, 3 ἴριτος ῥυμός ἀπόπτυγμα, πέρωνα δύο, ποδῆρης Boeckhii illie et Oeconou, Athen, Vol. II, p. 244, "interpretatur Plicaturam de zona dependentem, Müllerus Lacinias diligenter sinuatas e latere ad suras dependulas." If Müller's explanation is correct, it seems to me that the word ἀπόπτυγμα would fitly describe the stiff and somewhat archaic folds of the garments worn by the Attic Virgins in the Panathenaic frieze, who are clothed to the feet. Sir H. Ellis, *Elgin Marbles*, Vol. I, p. 176 *sq.*, 179; slabs Nos. 17, 23.

² "Timanthes felt like a father; he did not hide the face of Agamemnon, because it was beyond the power of his art, not because it was beyond the

possibility, but because it was beyond the dignity of expression, because the inspiring feature of paternal affection at that moment, and the action which of necessity must have accompanied it, would either have destroyed the grandeur of the character and the solemnity of the scene, or subjected the painter with the majority of his judges to the imputation of insensibility." These words are only part of a long extract in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, Vol. III, p. 1133, taken from Fuseli, Lecture I, Vol. II, pp. 44-58, in Knowles's *Life and Writings of Fuseli*, in which he refutes the criticisms of ancient writers, and explains the motive of the picture. Quintilian, *Oratoria Institutio*, Lib. II, Cap. XIII, p. 174 edit. Burmann. "Nam cum Iphigeniae immolatione pinxisset tristem Calchantem, tristitorem Ulixem, addidisset Menelao quem summum poterat ars efficere moerorem; consumptis affectibus, non reperiens, quo digne modo patris vultum posset exprimere, relavit ejus caput, et suo cuique animo dedit aestimandum." Cicero expresses the same opinion, Orator, c. XXII, § 74, "si denique pictor ille

are not left to form our opinion of it only from their testimony, as a copy is preserved in the Museo Nazionale at Naples, brought from Pompeii. If we descend to modern times we find the same story exercising the genius of Racine and Goethe,¹ and supplying them with materials for tragedies usually reckoned among their masterpieces. Within the last month, in our own metropolis, the *Iphigenia in Aulis* of Euripides has been successfully acted, in the original Greek, before an academic audience.²

Here we may pause for a moment, and inquire why this legend should possess such a fascination for the minds of so many generations. The answer is easily given. It personifies self-sacrifice—an idea that has been dominant with the wise and good of every age, and has inspired their heroic deeds—an idea which Christianity consecrates

vidit, cum in immolanda Iphigenia tristis Calchas esset, tristior Ulixes, macreret Menelaus, obvolvendum caput Agamemnonis esse, quoniam summum illum luctum penicillo non posset imitari; si denique histrio, quid deceat, quaerit, quid faciendum oratori putemus? For the peculiar merit of this painter v. Piderit's second edition of the Orator, Erklärende Indices, p. 190, s.v. Timanthes. "Er zeichnete sich überhaupt durch die Gabe aus, in der Motivierung künstlerischer Aufgaben solche Momente aufzufinden, welche nicht nur die Sinne befriedigten, sondern noch mehr den Geist des Beschauers zum Nachdenken über das unmittelbar dargestellte hinaus anzuregen geeignet erschienen: in unius huius operibus intellegitur plus quam pingitur." Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, Lib. XXXV, Cap. X, § 73, edit. Sillig.

¹ *Oeuvres de J. Racine*, edit. Aimé-Martin, Vol. IV, pp. 3-6. The Preface by the dramatist himself is worth reading, because he mentions the accounts of Iphigenia given by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Lucretius, &c.; he especially acknowledges his obligations to a passage in Pausanias, *Corinthiaca*, p. 125. The traditions about Iphigenia varied: according to some she was daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, according to others of Theseus and Helen: Her name resembles one that we read in Homer *Iliad*, IX, 145, Iphianassa. Agamemnon says that he has three daughters,

and that Achilles might choose one of them as a wife for himself:

"Τρεῖς δὲ μοί εἰσι θύγατρος ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ
ἐπήκτω,
Χρυσόθιμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα
τάων ἦν κ' ἐθέλῃσι φίλην ἀνάεινον
ἀγέσθω
πρὸς οἶκον Πηλῆος"

These are high-sounding appellations. *Χρυσόθιμις* compounded of *χρυσός* gold and *θίμις* law, *Λαοδίκη* of *λαός* people and *δίκη* right; *Ἰφιάνασσα* of *ἴφι* strongly and *ἀνασσα* a queen. With the last compare *Ἰφιγόννη*, *Ἰφιδάμας*, *Ἰφικλος*, v. Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, s.v. *Ἰφιγένεια* strong-born. Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris* has been well edited by Professor Buchheim for the Clarendon Press Series; the fourth edition revised is dated 1895. The Critical Introduction begins with a history of the composition of this tragedy, pp. xvi-xx; then follows a contrast drawn between the drama of Euripides and that of Goethe, in which the moral superiority of the latter is clearly shown, pp. xx-xxxiii. The notes at the end of the volume contain many quotations from Greek plays, especially from the Euripidean Tauric Iphigenia, and assist the reader to understand classical allusions.

² See the Acting Version prepared for the performances at University College, London, 10-12 June, 1897, p. 71. A Preface and Argument are prefixed to the Greek Text and English Translation printed on alternate pages.

by the most sublime Example, and enforces in words of deep significance and universal application—"None of us liveth to himself."¹

I proceed now to another relief, also mythological, but different in kind; it represents Neptune armed with his trident and fighting with a giant, probably Polybotes. Part of a lion's skin is visible, with which, as with a shield, the latter is defending himself. Mr. C. W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, Vol. II, Pl. XI, No. 9, has a similar instance of a youthful giant, Otus or Ephialtes, who aims a large stone at his enemy. Pausanias mentions an equestrian statue of Poseidon at Athens, hurling his spear at Polybotes; and Strabo repeats a mythical story that this deity pursuing the giant tore away part of the island of Cos, threw it at him, and so buried him under it.

His fate was like that of Enceladus, whose body was pressed by the superincumbent weight of Etna. Virgil, *Æneid*, III, 578-582:

"Fama est, Enceladi semiustum fulmine corpus
Urgueri mole hac, ingentemque insuper Aetnam
Impositam ruptis flammam expirare caminis;
Et, fessum quoties mutet latus, intremere nemum
Murmure Trinacriam, et coelum subtexere fumo."

"Enceladus, they say, transfix'd by Jove,
With blasted limbs came tumbling from above;
And, where he fell, th' avenging father drew
This flaming hill, and on his body threw.
As often as he turns his weary sides,
He shakes the solid isle, and smoke the heavens hides."

Dryden's *Translation*.²

¹ St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians II, 20: "And the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me" (καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμοῦ). Epistle to the Romans XIV, 7. We should continue the quotation, for St. Paul adds *and no man dieth to himself*, or, according to Bentley, *καὶ οὐδείς*, and none (not no man, as in our English version, but none of us Christians) *dieth to himself*. Dyce's edition of his Works, Vol. III, Theological writings, p. 270. This verse is the text of an admirable sermon preached before King George I, on "February the third 1716-7," at his Royal Chapel of St. James's. In the first paragraph he

refers to an epigram by a heathen poet, "*sitting in pagan darkness and the shadow of death*," which teaches an opposite lesson.

"Uni vive tibi, nam moriere tibi.
Anthologia Veterum Latinorum
Epigramatum et Poematum," Tom. I,
p. 510, edit. Burmann, v. note † in
Dyce's edition of Bentley's Works,
Vol. III, p. 263.

² Voss's Translation, as usual, is much more literal than the English.

"Sag'ist, Enceladus Leib, den gebrandmarkt sengende Donner, Werde gedrückt von der Last, und der mächtige Aetna darüber Hingewälzt, verathme die Flamm' aus geborstenen Essen; Und wann er müd unwechslte die

In Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vincetus*, edit. Blomfield vv. 359–380;¹ and in Pindar, *First Pythian Ode*, edit. Negris vv. 13–28, the giant is called Typhon (Τυφώς).

The scene we have under consideration, Pl. XXXV, No. 1, Julliot, *Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens*, is made more intelligible by comparison with Pl. XXXI, Nos. 3 and 4, where the legs of giants ending in snakes are sufficiently well preserved: No. 4, a giant half prostrated holds a stone in his left hand, and a goddess takes part in the fight. In Latin these monsters are described by the word *anguipes*, which Ovid uses, *Metamorphoses*, I, 184 *sqq.*

“Non ego pro mundi regno magis anxius illa
Tempestate fui, qua centum quisque parabat
Injicere anguipedum captivo brachia coelo.”

It is analogous to *anguimanus*, snake-handed, the epithet applied to the elephant by Lucretius, with reference to his trunk or proboscis, II, 536, *anguimanos elephantos*; and again, V, 1301,

“Inde boves Lucas, turrato corpore, tetras,
Anguimanus, belli docuerunt volnera Poeni
Sufferre, et magnas Martis turbare catervas.”

The Romans called the elephant a Lucanian bull, because the latter animal was the largest with which they were previously acquainted. So missionaries inform us that the South-Sea islanders gave the name of man-carrying-pig to the horse.²

Gigantomachia was a favourite subject with the sculptors and gem-engravers of antiquity, doubtless because it afforded scope for their artistic skill in exhibiting various gestures of the human body, and especially in vigorous action. But it was also employed to symbolize military achievements; at Pergamus the frieze, that decorated the great altar, represented the battle of Gods

Seit', erzitterte murrend Ganz das
trinakrische Land, und Rauch umwalle
den Himmel.”

¹ Edit. Dindorf, *Poetae Scenici Graeci*, 1830, vv. 351–372. See especially 354.

“Τυφῶνα θεῶν, πᾶσιν ὡς ἀνίστη
θεοῖς.”

See also 364 *seq.*

“Κεῖται στενωποῦ πλησίον θαλασσίῳ
ἰπούμενος ῥίζαισιν Αἰτναίαις ὕπο.”

² Forellini, *Lexicon*, s.v. Bos Lucas.

“Cum enim hanc feram (sc. elephantem) primum vidissent in Lucania, Pyrrhi bello, ut est apud Plinium, I, 8, c. 6, § 16, ed. Sillig, “maximam autem quadrupedem, bovem nosset, et praecipuae magnitudinis essent Lucani boves . . . factum est, ut nullum aptius nomen significando elephantem esse ipsis videretur, quam si bovem Lucam nominarent.” Comp. Wakefield's note on Lucretius, *loc. citat.*, which supplies many references.

and Giants, the Zeus and Athene groups being the most remarkable; and it had reference to the victory of Eumenes II, son of Attalus I, over the Gauls, B.C. 168 (Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 543). A German engineer discovered these remains in 1870; many slabs, statues and inscriptions were found in 1879 and afterwards removed to Berlin. The Royal Museum in that city has published fine photographs of these monuments, admirably executed on a large scale. As illustrations of the Gallo-Roman reliefs at Sens they will be very useful. Though not of the best period, the Pergamene sculptures have great intrinsic merit, and they are also interesting because they seem to have suggested the motive of the Laocoon, probably a work of Rhodian artists.¹

Many other mythological scenes appear on these stones, which are often mutilated (*frustes*) to such an extent that the identification becomes uncertain; hence they only deserve to be noticed briefly. To this class belongs Ganymede, Plates II, 1, and XL, 1. He is being carried off by the eagle of Jupiter. In the former, the feathers of the bird are distinctly visible; in the latter, Ganymede holds in his left hand a shepherd's crook (*pedum*). We are reminded of Horace, *Carmina* IV, iii, *init.*—

“Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem,
Cui rex Deorum regnum in aves vagas
Permisit, expertus fidelem
Jupiter in Ganymede flavo.”²

¹ Walter Copland Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Chap. XLI, pp. 534–557, note p. 535, cites *Pausanias* I, xxv, 2. “Πρὸς δὲ τῷ τείχει τῶ νοτίῳ Γηγάντων, δι περὶ Θράκην ποτὲ καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Παλλήνης ὤκησαν, τούτων τὸν λεγόμενον πόλεμον, καὶ μάχην πρὸς Ἀμαζόνιας Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τὸ Μαρσιῶνι πρὸς Μήδους ἔργον, καὶ Γαλατῶν τὴν ἐν Μυσίᾳ φθορὰν ἀνέθηκεν Ἀτταλος, ὅσων τε δύο πηχῶν ἕκαστον.” Perry remarks, p. 536, that the figures on the South Wall are statues, and not reliefs. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Casts from the Antique in the South Kensington Museum*, by the same author, pp. 93–95, No. 195. Marble Statues of Gauls, Persians and Amazons from the sculptures dedicated by

Attalos. “Found in the 16th century in the region of the Thermae of Alexander Severus at Rome, and afterwards dispersed through various Museums at Venice, Naples, Rome, Paris, Aix.” Pp. 99–101, Nos. 205–208. Sculptures from the Great Altar at Pergamon in Mysia, Berlin.

² Cf. *ibid.*, III, xx, *fin.*

“Qualis aut Nireus fuit, aut aquosa
Raptus ab Ida.”
Virgil, *Aeneid*, V, 252–257, esp. 254
sq.

“quem praepes ab Ida
Sublimem pedibus rapuit Jovis
armiger unciis.”

Imitated by Spenser, speaking of Jupiter himself as assuming the shape of an eagle.

Compare Ottfried Müller, *Denkmäler*, Plate XXXVI, No. 148, and *Handbuch der Archäologie*, § 128, 1,—a group imitated from Leochares, concerning whom Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, xix, 17, says, “(fecit) aquilam sentientem quid rapiat in Ganymede, et cui ferat, parcentemque unguibus etiam per vestem.” See also Story-Maskelyne, *Catalogue of the Marlborough Gems*, p. 4, Nos. 20–23. 20. Eagle soaring with Ganymede: 23. Ganymede feeding the eagle of Jove.

Diana and Endymion, Plate VI, Nos. 1 and 1 *bis*, and XXXIX, 1. There seems to be little to warrant this attribution by the French local antiquary. I may remark, in passing, that the British Museum possesses a fine life-size statue of Endymion: the late Mr. James Yates in his *Textrinum Antiquorum* gives a full-page engraving of it as an illustration of the *petasus*, a hat with a broad brim. The figure is recumbent asleep upon a rock.¹

“When as the Trojane boy so fayre
He snateh'd from Ida's hill, and
with him bare,
Wondrous delight it was there to
behold
How the rude shepheards after him
did stare,
Trembling through feare least down
he fallen shoulde,
And often to him calling to take
surer hould.”

For this quotation I am indebted to Professor Yonge's note on Virgil, *loc. citat.*

Cicero's ethical remarks on the legend of Ganymede deserve attention: *Tusculan Disputations*, I, xxvi, 65. “Nec Homerum audio, qui Ganymeden ab dis raptum ait propter formam, ut Jovi bibere ministraret; non justa causa, cur Laomedonti tanta fieret injuria. Fingebat haec Homerus, et humana ad deos transferebat; divina mallem ad nos;” with Davis's *Commentary*. Haec laudat Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei*, IV, 26. “Merito displicuit viro gravi, divinorum criminum poeta confictor . . . Optime Longinus,” *Περὶ ὕψους*, De Sublimitate, Sect. 9, § 7. “Ὅμηρος γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ, παραδιδούς τραύματα θεῶν, στάσεις, τιμωρίας, δάκρυα, δεισμά, πάθη ἀμύφωρτα, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅσων ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει, θεοὺς πεποικέναι, τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπων. Translated by Boileau, *Oeuvres*,

edit. Amar, Didot, 1839, p. 379. “*Traité du Sublime ou du Merveilleux dans le Discours*, Chapitre VII. Et pour moi, lorsque je vois dans Homère les plaies, les liguees, les supplices, les larmes, les emprisonnements des dieux, et tous ces autres accidents où ils tombent sans cesse, il me semble qu'il s'est efforcé, autant qu'il a pu, de faire des dieux de ces hommes qui furent au siège de Troie; et qu'au contraire, des dieux mêmes il en a fait des hommes.”

¹ P. 401, Plate XII. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, I, xxxviii, 92. “Endymion vero, si fabulas audire volumus, ut, nescio quando, in Latnio obdormivit, qui est mōs Cariae, nondum, opinor, est expectatus. Num igitur eum eurare censes, quum Luna laboret? a qua consopitus putatur, ut eum dormientem osculetur.” The *petasus* was a low hat with a brim, well suited to a climate in which protection from the heat and glare of the sun was necessary. It is well shown in the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon, slab No. 54, worn by a horseman curbing his steed. Sir H. Ellis, *Elgin Marbles*, Vol. I, p. 206. “The *petasus* was one of the attributes specially distinguishing Mercury.” Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie*, Tab. VIII, 1. *Causia* (καυρία), broad-brimmed Macedonian hat, is evidently connected with *καίω*, to burn, and *κάυσων*, burning heat,

Phaethon or Icarus. As their fates were similar and we have here only a fragment, we cannot easily distinguish one from the other. Only two legs remain of a person who falls into the water, which may be the River Eridanus (Po) or the Aegean Sea.

Shields of Amazons, *peltae-lunatae* with crescent-shaped indentations, as architectural ornaments, sometimes alternating with *bipennes* (two-edged battle-axes) recur frequently, and are recognized easily; Plates II *bis*, 3; III, 5; XI, 3. When he sees them, the classical tourist will think of Virgil's beautiful lines which he read in early school-days, before he was capable of appreciating them:—*Aeneid*, I, 490 *seqq.*,

“Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
Penthesilea furens, mediisque in millibus ardet,
Aurea subnectens exertae cingula mammae
Bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.”¹

scorching wind. The latter word occurs in the Septuagint, and New Testament, Matthew XX, 12, “καὶ ἰσους ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπόησας τοῖς βαστάσασιν τὸ βάρος τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὸν καύσωνα.” Here the Vulgate has: “et pares illos nobis fecisti, qui portavimus pondus diei et aestus;” and the Revised Version *scorching heat*, in the margin, Or hot wind, *v.* Liddell and Scott, ἀνεμος καύσων of the sirocco, Jerem. XVIII, 17, &c. Those who have felt this fiery blast can never forget it, and they will realise the force of the Greek expression. For the *petasus* *cf.* Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, Tafel V, fig. 421. Athenische Trachten (zu Seite 353) *s.v.* Chlamys. Meist gehört zu dieser Tracht auch der gleichfalls thessalische Hut, der *πίρατος* (*s.* “Kopfbdeckung und Kopfschmuck”) nach Tischbein, I, 14, hier abgebildete Vasenbild.

¹ So we read in Juvenal, *Sal.* I, v. 22,

“Mevia Tuseum

Figit aprum, et nuda teneat venabula mamma.”

“and the bold fair

Tilts at the Tuscan boar, with bosom bare.”

Gifford's Translation.

Duff has the following note on this passage: “Mevia, an Amazon, and takes part in a *venatio* (beast-baiting), in the Amphitheatre.” Suetonius says of

Domitian (4) “*nec virorum modo pugnas sed et seminarum (edidit).*” Ruperti, *Commentary on Juvenal*, Vol. II, p. 13 of his edition, with references in the foot-notes. See also *Sal.* VI, vv. 246-267. Compare Heinrich on Juvenal, *Salire* I, *loc. citat.* “*Nuda mamma, exserta, im leichten Jagdgewande, die eine Brust entblösst, das costüm der Diana, ihrer Jagdnympfen und der Amazonen.*” Heyne ad Virg., *Aeneid*, XI, 618-653. Lipsius de Amphitheatro, c. V, *Opera*, Tom. III. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, 1867, “Die Schauspiele, Ungewöhnliche Mittel zur Steigerung des Interesses,” Vol. II, p. 219. “An dem December fest im Jahre 90 liess er (Domitian) Zwerge und Weiber fechten. . . . Frauen haben nicht selten in der Arena gekämpft, im Jahr 64 unter Nero selbst hochgeborene, und noch im Jahr 200 erfolgte ein Verbot gegen ihr Auftreten.” Tacitus, *Annals* XV, 32. “Spectacula gladiatorum idem annus habuit, pari magnificentia ac priora. sed feminarum illustrium senatorumque plures per arenam foedati sunt,” with extracts from Dio Cassius, cited by Lipsius, “καὶ ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον τὸ τε θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν εἰσῆλθον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀτιμώτατοι.” In the reign of Severus a decree of the Senate was passed *μηκέτι μηδεμίαν γυναῖκα μονομαχεῖν.*” V. Orelli on Tacitus, *loc. cit.*

A parallel passage is supplied by the same author's description of the Volscian heroine Camilla, *ibid.*, VII, *fin.*, imitated and exaggerated by Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, Part II, v. 372.

"Not so where swift Camilla scours the plain,
Flies o'er th' unbending corn, and skims along the main."¹

Now let us turn away from poetical myths, and descend to humbler, but not less interesting, scenes—the arts, trades and occupations of daily life. As so many fragments of ancient buildings have been discovered in excavating the walls, architecture is illustrated very copiously. The Museum contains, *e.g.*, part of a cornice richly ornamented with ribbons, dentils, foliage and rosette, Plate XXIII, No. 3; an Ionic capital with the upper part of a fluted pilaster, Plate XX, No. 4: key-stone of an arch, with rosettes inserted in regular hexagons, which are bordered with beads, Plate XXVII, No. 3.

Painting is represented by Plate VII, No. 3: two men on a scaffold are decorating a wall, *al fresco* apparently. Again, in Plate XXV, No. 4, traces of red have been observed in the capitals of columns—this colour was used for the veins of leaves, other parts being green, now become whitish.

For Music we have in Plate VIII, No. 3, a grotesque figure holding up cymbals (*cymbalista*)—No. 4, below, shows a book-box (*scrinium*), partly open, and rolls inside (*volumina*).² Comp. XXII, 4—here the artist

¹ Wakefield's note in Elwin's edition of Pope's works, Vol. II, p. 57. Our poet here endeavours to fasten on Virgil a most insufferable absurdity, which no poetical hyperbole will justify, &c.

² *Scrinium* (French *écrin*, which, however, is used in a somewhat different sense. "Petit coffret pour serrer les pierreries, les bijoux." Littré and Beaujean's *Dictionary*) has the same shape as *cista*, and the word is almost synonymous with *capsa*. *Dictionary of Antl.*, third edition, Vol. I, p. 358b. *Antike Denkmäler, herausgegeben vom Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Institut*, Band I, Viertes Heft (1889). Tafel 49 (coloured plate), *Das Mosaik des Monnus in Trier*, p. 36, No. 8. "Agnis . . . zu seinen Füssen steht ein mit sechs Schriftrollen gefülltes

Scrinium, an welches der Deckel angelehnt ist; hinter ihm ein Lehnstuhl."

In each Octagon a Muse is instructing a mortal, so that the design fitly illustrates a passage in *Propertius*, III, 1 (II, 10).

"Nunc volo subducto gravior procedere vultu:

Nunc aliam citharam me mea Musa docet."

Subducto has been translated by *subdued*, a meaning which the word never has. On the contrary, the signification is *elevated* or *sublime*, for *subduco* literally is to lead upwards from below, and, of course, is here used figuratively. This is proved by the context:

"Surge, anima, ex humili: jam carmine sumite vires,
Pieridæ: magni nunc erit oris opus."

has introduced a female playing the flute. Plate XXVI, 4, is said to be a herald sounding a trumpet (*tubicen*) and holding in his left hand a banner (*flammula*) used by Roman cavalry¹; but the stone is too much injured to determine the attribution positively.

Plate VIII, No. 1, is a bird-catcher (*oiseleur*); comp. *oiseau*, and *uccello* formed from a diminutive, in which we find the same root as in the Latin *avis*. Plate IX, No. 1, a man shearing cloth (*tondeur de drap*): *ibid.*, No. 6, tailor: No. 7, fuller standing in a tub; a garment hangs on a wall behind him.²

Surgo (to arise) is contracted from *survigo* (*sub rego*), so that the word is formed in the same way as *subduco*.

Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, Vol. II, p. 678. "Die meisten (*Cistae*) haben die Form eines Cylinders von 1 bis 2½ Palmen Höhe, und sind darin ähnlich den Büchersehachteln (*scrinia*), in welchen man Rollen aufbewahrte und transportirte, und welche häufig am Fusse von Statuen vorkommen; viele sind von ovaler Form. Beide Arten sind mit Füßen versehen, und haben einen flachgewölbten Deckel, auf welchem freistehende Figuren eine Henkelgruppe bilden." Note 1, Pollux, *Onomasticon*, X, 61. "Κεφάλαιον ΙΕ. Περὶ δικαστικῶν σκευῶν. Κιβώτια δὲ ἴσως γραμματοφόρα καὶ γραμματεῖα, καὶ κάλαμοι γραφεῖς, καὶ κληρωτήριον." Note 2, "Clio mit dem *scrinium*," *Pittura d'Ercol.* II, p. 13; "Statue des Sophocles mit einem *scrinium*, das an einem Henkel zu tragen ist," *Monum. d. Inst.* IV, tav. 27.

¹ Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, II, 1. "Equitum alares . . . quae nunc vexillationes vocantur a velo, quia velis, hoc est, flammulis utuntur." III, 5: "Muta signa sunt aquilae, draecnes, vexilla, flammulae, tufae, pinnae." Hence in late Latinity we have *Flammularius*. De Vit, s.v. quotes Joannes Lydus, *De Magistratibus Reipublicae Romanae*, I, 46, "Φλαμμολάριοι, ὧν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας τοῦ δόρατος φαινικὰ (φόνικα?) ῥάκη ἐξήρτηντο." The appearance of these standard-bearers must have resembled the Lancers in our army. Comp. Ducange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, s.v. "φλάμουλον, φλάμπυρον." Ammiano, lib. 20. "Occurrit passim apud Scripatores." *Vide Glossarium med. Latin.* in *Flammulum*. Φλαμμολάριος *vexillifer*—a word formed like *signifer* and *aquilifer*. Linden-schmit, *Die Alterthümer unserer heid-*

nischen Vorzeit. Central Museum in Mainz, Heft IV, Tafel 6, No. 1, Denkstein eines Adlerträgers der XIV Legion; No. 2. Signifer der XIV Legion. Hofner, *Das Römische Bayern in seinen Schrift- und Bildmalen*, VII. Index Rerum. Aquilifer legionis Italicae, 158, 169; Ex aquilifero legionis I, Adjutrieis, 41; Ex signifero legionis III, Italicae 150, 151; Signifer alae singularium consulis 66.

For Roman and Dacian standards consult Froehner, *La Colonne Trajane*. "Enseignes de cohorte 72, 78, de manipule, 72, &c., Serpent, enseigne dace 64, 90, 120. Les armes daces qui remplissent es quatre façades du pedestal . . . des peltes d'Amazone," &c., 63, 64. Compare Fabretti, *Colonna Trajana*, folio, with fine plates.

The name *flammula* is usually derived from the colour of the standard, like the *flammeum* (bridal veil), but Rich suggests that it may come from being notched at the end with long pointed forks, so as to resemble a flame (*flamma*), and gives as an example a wood-cut from the Arch of Septimius Severus at Rome; but the former explanation seems more probable.

² An excellent illustration of the relief at Sens is afforded by some paintings found at Pompeii, which have been engraved in the *Museo Borbonico* (now *Nazionale*), Vol. IV, Tav. XLVIII, folding Plate, XLIX, L; pp. 1-22, "Pianta, e Spaccato della Fullonica di Pompei, e delle case delle Fontane, e pitture di un pilastro nella Fullonica." The most remarkable figure is a man carrying a hemispherical frame of wicker-work. P. 12. "L'altro fullone che porta un trabiccolo ed un secchietto in mano ci mostra come i fulloni per sottoporre a suffumigi di zolfo i panni di lana si servissero di un ordigno del

In Plate VI, Nos. 2 and 3, we see a personage seated in an arm-chair of wickerwork; the position is the same as in a bas-relief at Trèves, where a lady is represented having her back-hair dressed by an attendant while another in front holds a mirror, the group corresponding with Juvenal's description of the female toilette. In the following Plate, five wicker baskets appear as ornaments of a frieze, some full, others empty.¹

So much having been written about the *Thermes* at Sens, we should naturally expect to find some indications of them in a lapidary collection, nor shall we be disappointed. Plate XXXI, Nos. 1 and 2, shows the mutilated busts of seven *baigneuses* in different attitudes; their linen is suspended at intervals on the wall. Above them are meanders of a large size, surmounted by the bead and roll pattern. It seems that these reliefs decorated the lower part of a window frame. Plate XIV, 1, 1 *bis*, 1 *ter*: Sepulchral monument in the form of an altar—the deceased in front, his slaves on the sides carrying utensils for the bath, a scraper (*strigil*), bottle (*ampulla*), etc. Marine subjects are frequent, obviously because they were considered appropriate for a bathing establishment:

tutto simile ad uno de' nostri scaldapani." In these pictures a man and three boys are represented in postures that correspond closely with the monument described above. The plates in the *Museo Borbonico* are copied by Baumeister, *op. citat.* s.v. Walker, Vol. III, pp. 2083-2085, figs. 2326-2331. "Grundriss einer Walkerei in Pompei—Darstellung der Verrichtungen des Walkgerbers. Das Austreten der Stoffe in der Walkgrube zeigt uns auch das Relief aus Sens Abbildung 2330; . . . und ein anderes Relief desselben Museums Abbildung 2331. . . führt uns eine andre Arbeit des Walkers vor, nämlich das Scheren des Tuches vermittelt einer grossen, mit breiten Schneiden versehenen Schere."

Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer, Das Walken und Fullones*, pp. 527-530, the process of fulling and the technical terms are explained (technischen Ausdrücke). Numerous references will be found in the foot-notes, especially to Pliny's *Natural History*. A passage in the New Testament may be appositely quoted here, the Gospel of Mark IX, 3, "καὶ τὰ ἰμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο (sic. ed.

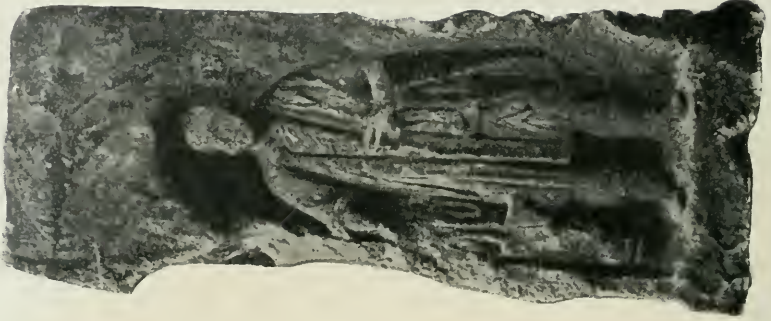
Tischendorf) στίλβοντα λευκὰ λίαν, διαγναφεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ δύναται οὕτως λευκᾶναι." In the Authorised Version. "And his raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow, so as no fuller on earth can white them." Alford *in loco* calls attention to the additional particulars in the text of Mark, and notices the very graphic and noble description in this verse.

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.* VI, 486-507. My Paper on the "Antiquities of Trèves and Metz," *Archæol. Journ.*, 1889, Vol. XLVI, pp. 220-222, with engraving of "Toilet Scene from Neumagen," facing p. 220. With Juvenal comp. Martial, Book II, Epigram 66, in which the last couplet is,

"Illoc salamandra notet vel sacra novacula nudet,

Ut digna speculo fiat imago tuo."

To explain the former line Friedländer and other commentators cite *Plin. Nat. Hist.*, X, 188 "(salamandrae) sanie, quae lactea ore vomitur, quacumque parte corporis humani contacta, toti defluunt pili." Petronius, *Sat.* 107f., "quae salamandra supercilia tua excussit?"



HUSBAND AND WIFE WITH ATTENDANT SLAVES, MUSÉE GALLO-ROMAIN DE SENS.
(Photographie Dujardin.)

e.g., Fins of a monster, waves, shell-fish, and dolphin's head. Plate XXXII. The upper part of the body of a genius beside the prow of a galley, on which is a woman's leg enveloped in long drapery. The position of the female may remind us of the winged Victory on a galley in the Louvre, which also appears on a tetradrachm of Demetrius Poliorcetes; *vide Denkmäler des Classischen Alterthums*.¹

Last but not least, the monuments at Sens are valuable for the history of Gallic costume, a speciality that has not escaped the attention of French antiquaries. This subject deserves the notice of the classical scholar, as many articles of dress, together with provisions and carriages, were at an early period imported from Gaul into Italy—just as we now copy French fashions—and are consequently often mentioned by Roman writers under the Empire.²

Plate XXI, 1, 1 *bis*, 1 *ter*: A funereal cippus of a married pair presents on three sides niches occupied by statues; the fourth must have been placed against a wall. In front, under a depressed arch (*surbaissé*) the husband

¹ Demetrius, King of Macedonia, son of Antigonus, derived his surname Poliorcetes (*Besieger*, literally Taker of Cities) from the gigantic machines with which he assailed the city of Rhodes. The coin above-mentioned was struck to celebrate the naval victory of Demetrius over the Egyptian fleet at the Cyprian Salamis B.C. 306. "Die Nike mit der Trompete und der Tropäonstange ausgestattet . . . auf der Prora stehend ist eine Kopie des Denkmals, welches im Kabirenheiligtum auf Samothrake zur Aufstellung gelangt ist, und heute in der Sammlung des Louvre sich befindet." Baumeister, *ibid.*, p. 1021, description of the statue; p. 1022, full-page engraving, Abbildung 1232, Siegesgöttin von Samothrake; p. 1023 Dieselbe restauriert, Abbildung 1233. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. II, p. 119, explains *πολιορκητής* by quoting Seneca de Constantia Sapientis, Cap. V, "cui (Stilponi philosopho) bellum et hostis ille, egregiam artem quassandarum urbium professus, eripere nihil potuit." He thinks that the female on the prow personifies Fame; equidem existimo nobis hoc signo Famam proponi; but later numismatists have not followed this attribution.

Fröhner, *Notice de la Sculpture Antique du Musée Imperial du Louvre*, p. 434, No. 476. Nike de Samothrace. "Le torse seul a été recomposé, au Louvre, de cent dix-huit morceaux." For bas-reliefs in which Nike appears *v. pp.* 42–47, Nos. 12–15. One of the most famous representations of the same goddess is at Brescia, "Giovanni Gozzoli, La Vittoria Greca, Cenni di Storia e d'Arte a proposito di un Bronzo Antico esistente nel Museo di Brescia."

² For an investigation of this kind the indices to Friedländer's edition of Martial may be consulted with advantage, because they are not only copious but classified. They afford a good specimen of German industry in the collection and arrangement of details. *Register*, "I, 1. Mythologische Namen; 2. Geographische und topographische Namen; 3. Autoren; 4. Historische Personen aus der Zeit bis zur Schlacht von Actium; 5. Römische Kaiser; 6. Wirkliche und fingirte Privatpersonen aus Martials Zeit (und der früheren Kaiserzeit); 7. Thiernamen. II, Wörterverzeichnis."

appears clothed in a tunic descending below the knees, and over it a mantle; his feet and legs are covered by some elastic material resembling that of our stockings. The wife's costume is similar, but her tunic and mantle are longer, and she wears boots. We may observe that among the ancients the difference of sex was not marked in apparel as strongly as at present. A female slave on the left is dressed in the same fashion as her mistress, with the exception that she has a boot on one foot and a stocking on the other. Her hair is gathered up in a bunch of curls on the top of the head, like the *corymbus* of Athenian women.¹ In the opposite niche a male slave stands, wearing an outer tunic—a sort of blouse without a girdle, reaching below the knees; he holds in his right hand a pot (*olla*) suspended by straps.²

Plate XXVII, 6, is the upper part of another cippus that shows us the bust of a young man clothed in a mantle with hood. Compare *Musée de Langres*, Planche 22, No. 1, Fragments Gallo-Romains (10^e d'exécution) published by the Société Historique et Archéologique of that city.³ Three persons are seated in a four-wheeled

¹ Thucydides, Book I, Chap. 6, "Χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδοίμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν." The Athenians tied up their hair in a knot by the insertion of golden grass-hoppers, probably a pin with a gold cicada for a head, v. Liddell and Scott, s.v. τεττιξ; *corymbus* is properly a cluster of ivy berries, afterwards it denoted human hair arranged in a similar form.

Goeller has a long note on this passage, and at the end of it quotes the Scholiast "κρωβύλος δὲ ἴστιν ἴδος πλέγματος τῶν τριχῶν—ἰκαλιτο δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν κρωβύλος, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν κόρυμβος, τῶν δὲ παιδῶν σκορπιός." Comp. Rich's *Dictionary*, "Corymbus and Crobylus, Dar-enberg and Saglio," Tome I, Deuxième partie, s.v. Coma, esp. p. 1358, figs. 1809, 1810. "Coiffure d'enfant," with copious references in the foot-notes 52-55. The article is a very elaborate one, pp. 1355-1371, and contributed by MM. E. Pottier, Maurice Albert and É. Saglio: it is illustrated by 79 woodcuts.

² A married pair often appear on sepulchral monuments. Two interesting examples will be found in Edmond Le Blant's valuable work entitled *Les Sarcophages Chrétiens Antiques de la ville d'Arles*, folio, p. 10, Text, § VIII,

Pl. VI, "Tombe de marbre à deux rangées de bas-reliefs. Au centre se détachent, sur une coquille, les bustes de deux époux." *Ibid.*, p. 14, § X, Pl. VIII, "Tombe de deux époux dont les bustes sont placés au centre, dans un cadre arrondi. Tout le travail de la sculpture est terminé, sauf pour ces deux têtes, que l'on devait tailler, après la vente du marbre, à la ressemblance des acheteurs." Cf. de Rossi, *Bulletin d'Archéologie Chrétienne* de 1865, p. 69. *Archæol. Journ.*, Vol. LIV, No. 213, 1897, my Paper on the "Antiquities of Arles," "Christian Sarcophagi at Arles," facing p. 46. "Raphaeli Fabretti . . . Inscriptionum Antiquarum quæ in aedibus paternis asservantur explicatio, 1699, p. 124, A. Quin imo majores quoque areas ita inconsulto incomparatas pluries agnovi; dum ceteris ornamentis diligenter expletis, defuncti effigies rudis et indistincta, prout ab incertis de ea Statuariis, ita ut plurimum heredum neglecta reperitur."

³ Cf. *omnino*, *Mémoires*, Tome I, pp. 59-64, an interesting essay by Monsr. Paul Péchiné. *Architecte*, in which he describes the garments worn by the Gauls. It is entitled, *Notice sur*

car drawn by four horses, the figures are somewhat mutilated, but the central one evidently wears a hooded cloak, *bardocucullus*. See my Paper on the "Antiquities of Langres and Besançon," *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XLIII, text and notes, pp. 103-106, where references to Martial, Juvenal and other writers are given.¹

The collections at Sens, Langres and Trèves furnish us with reciprocal illustrations; what is wanting in one of them may be supplied by another; they are not separated by a great distance, and therefore can be visited conveniently in the same tour. An example will explain my meaning. Dr. Hettner, the learned Director of the Provincial Museum at Trèves, in his Catalogue, p. 80 *sq.*, describes a sepulchral statue of a smith, seated and wearing the *sagum* with hood (*cucullus*); a small anvil lies between his knees. His left hand holds a pair of tongs on his lap, in his right is the handle probably of a hammer. At Sens, Plate X, No. 2, the whole of this tool is quite conspicuous on the monument of the smith Bellicus, in front of his figure, which is represented in a standing posture. The chaussure is the same as we have

les Costumes des Gaulois en général et des Lingons en particulier à propos de quelques monuments de l'ère Gallo-Romaine. This memoir contains explanations of the Gallic use of *bracæ*, *tunica*, *sagum*, *lacerna*, *cucullus*, *toga*, and *palla*, and is illustrated by Pl. XII, figs. 1-4, *e.g.*, p. 61, le bas-relief No. 1 représente un homme vêtu des braies, de la tunique et de la saie; le personnage de la fig. 3 porte des braies et seulement la saie plus courte, serrée par une ceinture à laquelle s'attachent deux bretelles qui désignent peut-être que cet homme est un soldat. P. 62, La *palla* remplaçait ordinairement pour les femmes le *sagum*, avec lequel cet habit avait beaucoup d'analogie; et sur la *palla*, les Gauloises portaient un manteau léger, etc."

¹ Friedländer's note on Martial, I, liii, 5, "Lingonius . . . bardocucullus. Kapuzenmäntel lieferten hauptsächlich die Gallischen . . . Weber-eien, in welchen vorzugsweise grobe, starke, zottige Tuche fabricirt wurden, die überall als Tracht der Soldaten und Feldarbeiter dienten." *Ibid.*, XIV, cxxviii.

"Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo.

Cercopithecorum paenula nuper erat."

There seems to be here an allusion to some dramatic piece in which apes appeared on the stage. Friedländer *in loco*. "Scheint sich auf ein kurz vorher veranstaltetes Schauspiel zu beziehen in welchem *Affen* aufgetreten waren (Vgl. XIV, 202, Callidus emissas eludere *simius* hastas, Si mihi cauda foret, *cercopithecus* eram), für welche die Kapuze lang genug war, um als mantel zu dienen." Cercopithecus, a compound of *κίρκος* tail, and *πίθηκος* ape, is said to mean a long-tailed monkey, produced by Aethiopia (Pliny, *Natural History*, VIII, 21, § 30), and venerated in Egypt according to Juvenal, *Satire* XV, 4. "Effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopithecii." The Cercopes were a mischievous monkey-like race of men whose name occurs in the legends concerning Hercules; they are described as alternately amusing and annoying the hero. C. O. Müller's *Dorians*, English Translation, Vol. I, pp. 422, 447.

already noticed, *vide* Plate XXI, Nos. 1 *bis*, 1 *ter*. The name appears in an inscription above the niche.

Looking at the style of the sculptures found at Sens, in connection with the Inscriptions, I should be disposed to assign some of them to the Antonine Period, taken in a wide sense, so as to include the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. Compared with works of the Augustan age, they show a declining art, but the downward course had not advanced so low as it did under Severus and the Emperors who succeeded him.

A great proportion of the objects I have endeavoured to describe may seem as insignificant as the cut of a sleeve or the length of a skirt, and so they are, if regarded separately; on the other hand, viewed collectively, they become interesting because they enable us to realize history and picture to ourselves the domestic life not only of an ancient people, but, as so many of us English are French by descent, I might even say of our own ancestors.¹

Among the coins of the Senones the most remarkable are those which have for their device two goats facing

¹ The local Archæological Society has issued a publication entitled *Musée Gallo-Romain de Sens*, which I procured with some difficulty; it consists of fifty-two plates, reproducing the originals for the most part on the scale of one-tenth. Short descriptions are prefixed to each of the three parts of the series. These plates are photographs by Dujardin, the same, I presume, as the artist employed to execute by the process known as "heliogravure," a fac-simile of the *Codex Bezae*, presented by the Refomer to the University of Cambridge in 1581. It was found in the monastery of St. Irenæus at Lyons, was nineteen years in Beza's possession, and seems to have been used by him in preparing his Latin version of the New Testament published in 1556. See Hartwell Horne, *Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*, Vol. II, pp. 113-117, fac-simile of Matthew V, 1-3, p. 114; and Vol. V, p. 15 *sq.* This MS., the most valuable in the University Library, occupies a separate glass case in Cockerell's building; it contains the Greek and Latin text of the four Gospels and Acts of 'Apostles, "in

evangelii Matthæi et Johannis et in actibus passim mutilum, aliquoties etiam posterioribus curis suppletum." Tischendorf's Greek Testament, editio stereotypa secunda, *Subsidia Critica*, p. xvi. Alford's Greek Testament Prolegomena, chapter vii; Apparatus Criticus, Section I, p. 85, D., *The Codex Cantabrigiensis or Bezae*. Its text is a very peculiar one, deviating more from the received readings and from the principal MS. authorities than any other. This manuscript has been edited by Kipling, and more recently by Scrivener. In the guide to Cambridge by the late Sir George Humphry, the Catholic Epistles are said to be included in the *Codex Bezae*, a statement for which I have discovered no foundation; moreover, the donor is described as "the great Swiss scholar and critic"; this inaccuracy has arisen from Beza's long residence at Geneva and predominating influence there. Like his still more famous predecessor Calvin, he was a Frenchman, né à Vézelay en Bourgogne le 24 Juin, 1519. *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, s.v. Théodore de Bèze, ou plus exactement Besze.

each other, and the legend in Greek characters ΑΓΗΔ, *i.e.*, Agenticum, which occurs in *Cæsar de Bello Gallico*, VII, 10 and 57.¹ We also find the form Agedincum; in Ptolemy, II, 8, § 9 Ἀγήδικον; in the *Table of Peutinger*, Agetincum; in the *Antonine Itinerary*, Agredicum or Agredincum. Mr. Freeman, "Essay on Sens and Auxerre," *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 99 and 101, writes Agelincum, but without authority, as far as I know. On an altar in the Museum at Langres we observe reliefs decorating the four sides. One is a laurel crown enclosing two animals, probably goats, standing upright and face to face (*affrontés*).

Nothing is to be seen in Sens itself that can be certainly identified as a part of the Roman aqueduct, but its course in the country has been traced by M. Julliot, and is marked in Plate II, of M. Belgrand's work entitled *Les*

¹ Adolphe Duchalais, *Description des médailles Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Royale*, 1846, p. 150, No. 432, ΔΗΙΑ retrograde (ΑΓΗΔ pour ΑΓΗΔ-ΙΚΟΝ). "Deux chèvres debout opposées l'une à l'autre. Grènetis au pourtour. Un globule au milieu du champ. . . Il (M. de Longpérier) y a reconnu avec raison une imitation des médailles frappées dans les villes Macédoniennes de Thessalonique et Amphipolis. British Museum, *Catalogue of Greek coins, Macedon*, &c., 1879. Index II, Types. Amphipolis, p. 48. Two goats fighting on their hind legs, face to face; Thessalonica, p. 109, similar device. See also "Catalogue of Greek coins in the Hunterian Collection by G. Macdonald," 4to, p. 495. 1899, Vol. I, Amphipolis, p. 276, Thessalonica, p. 366. The illustrations consist of XXX plates at the end of the Volume, Collotypes—photographs taken from casts, p. IV, Preface. Mr. Macdonald wrote an article in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd Series, 1896, Vol. XVI, pp. 144-154, "Notes on Combe's Catalogue of the Hunterian Cabinet" (*Descriptio*), in which many mistakes are corrected. The results are presented in a tabular form. The coins of Amphipolis are specially interesting, because they show an emblem of the toreh-race in honour of Artemis Tauropolos. Introduction, p. XLIII; Thessalonica, *ibid.*, p. LXII. Leake, *Numismata Hellenica*, European Greece, Amphipolis, p. 11, Thessalonica

p. 104. Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, quarto edition, "Amphipolis," Vol. I, p. 341 *sq.* Thessalonica, pp. 344-347, with engravings on wood of both places, the latter "from the sea."

Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, Vol. II, p. 67, *duo hirci coniscantes* (Hunter's *Catalogue*, s.v. Amphipolis, *cf. Lucretius*, II, 320, note, edit. Munro). "Typus haud dubie ad Panos cultum per Macedoniam vulgatum pertinet." The Greek name of this contest is *κυνθραία*, butting with the horns. See also Eckhel, *ibid.*, pp. 123-125. "Pellæ, in cujus numis coloniae nomine cuspis Pan sedens typus obruius. Notum etiam Aegæ, vetustam Macedoniam urbem, a capris Pani sacris traxisse nomen, notusque in mythologia Aegipan Jovis ex Aegæ Panis uxore filius." Pan is supposed to have caused sudden terror (*panic*) to Brennus and the Gauls at Delphi. "De Cornibus hircinis quæ reges Macedoniam galeæ inserere consueverunt," *cf. Livy*, XXVII, 33, "Ad eminentem ramum cornu alterum galeæ præfregit. Denarius L. Marcii Philippi pictum sistit caput Philippi V. Macedoniam Regis tectum galeæ, ex cujus vertice bina hircorum cornua protuberant." Cohen, *Médailles Consulaires*, p. 202, Marcia, No. 13. "Tête de Philippe V de Macédoine à droite avec un casque macédonien surmonté de deux cornes et attaché avec un diadème; devant, φ."

Travaux Souterrains de Paris. This important publication contains many fine heliogravures of aqueducts; as a specimen I exhibit those relating to the Aqua Claudia, which by its extent and preservation makes a lasting impression on visitors to Rome.¹

You will pardon me, if now, "in the evening of a studious life," I revert for a moment to the past; when I think of many a long journey and many a difficult investigation, I seem only to have plucked with feeble hands a few ears of corn; it remains for more energetic labourers to enter the field of research, to cultivate it diligently, and in due season reap an abundant harvest there.

APPENDIX.

The character and fortunes of Becket have a special interest for us during the present crisis in our National Church (1899). History does not repeat itself exactly, like phenomena in the material world, but a striking analogy often shows itself at periods separated by a wide interval from each other. If this were not the case, the events of former times would yield no lessons for us to profit by. Royal supremacy was the subject of contention between Becket and Henry II, and now the ultimate appeal from ecclesiastical to lay courts is engaging, I might almost say engrossing, public attention.

Few historical personages have been so variously estimated as this extraordinary man. In Hume and Lingard we read the most opposite views: according to the former he was a proud and ambitious Prelate, according to the latter a saint and a martyr.

Hume, *History of England*, Chap. VIII, Vol. II, pp. 383-423.

Lingard, Vol. II, pp. 126-163.

Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, Vol. I, §§ 139-142.

Augustin Thierry, *Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, Tome III, edit. Svo, Livre IX, "Depuis l'origine de la querelle entre le Roi Henry II, et l'Archevêque Thomas, jusqu'au meurtre de l'Archevêque, 1160-1171.—Haine des Normands contre l'Archevêque. Affection du peuple Gallois pour Thomas Becket. Il devient un Saint pour les Anglais de race." Thierry regards the quarrel as to a great extent racial, Becket being the first Anglo-Saxon who rose to high office under our Norman Kings.

¹ For the Aqueducts of the Eternal City in addition to earlier and well known authorities consult Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 1897, pp. 47-59, esp. fig. 19 facing p. 47, coloured map; and fig. 23,

p. 55. "The seven aqueducts at the Porta Maggiore," with bibliography at the end of the section. See also Indexes, Reference Tables, p. 573 *seqq.* Existing remains described alphabetically and chronologically.

Ambulationes were called in Greek περιπατικοί; from teaching and disputing as they walked in the porticoes of the Lyceum at Athens Aristotle and his followers obtained the name of Peripatetics or walking Philosophers: Conyers Middleton, *Life of Cicero*, Vol. III, p. 237. The modern word *ambulatory* comes, of course, from the mediæval *ambulatorium*. In the Cathedral of Saint Fin Barre at Cork, designed by the late Mr. Burges, the *ambulatory* is a semi-circular passage in the Apse behind the Communion Table. Its position is well shown by the ground Plan, Plate I, p. 9, Dr. Caulfield's *Handbook of the Cathedral*; for a description of it v. pp. 31, 32. See Architectural Publications Soc., *Dict. of Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 52; the Campo Santo at Pisa is mentioned as an example.

Xystus seems to have nearly the same meaning as *ambulatio*, when used with reference to a gymnasium. Vitruvius, V, 11, edit. Rode, Atlas, Tab. XV, Forma XIX, o Xysti, seu hypæthrae ambulationes; p. 9, p. Xystum, seu porticus stadiata. The word ξυστός is derived from ξίω, another form of ξέω, to scrape, polish, and denotes the smooth floor on which the athletes exercised. v. Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, s.v.; cf. ξυστικός II. Among the Romans it also signified an open piece of ground in a garden "divided into flower-beds of different shapes by borders of box." *Dictionary of Antiquities*, third edition, Vol. I, p. 976, second column, s.v. *Hortus*.

Plinius Junior, *Epistles*, V, vi, 15, 16; "atrium etiam ex more veterum. Ante porticum xystus concisus in plurimas species, distinctusque buxo." See the Variorum notes in the edition of Cortius and Longolius, p. 342. Compare Overbeck's *Pompeii*, Vol. I, p. 247 sq. "In mehren Fällen . . . können wir die durchaus architektonisch symmetrische Anlage der Beete noch erkennen, in dem dieselben mit hockkantig gestellten Ziegeln eingefasst sind. Der Geschmack solcher Anlagen ist in der modernen italienischen Gartenkunst ein ganz ähnlicher geblieben. Fig. 164 Beetanlage in den Xysten zweier pompejaner Häuser;" cf. p. 236, Fig. 157, Plan des römischen normalhäuses.

MM. Rollin et Feuarent in their *Catalogue of Gallic Medals* have followed the classification adopted by M. F. de Saulcy for his collection. At p. 29 sq. we find "Senones Agedincum, Nos. 327, 328; Senones, 329-332; Chefs Senones, 333-336;" with names on the reverse, YLLYCCI, GIAMILOS and SIINV. Compare Ernest Muret, *Catalogue des monnaies Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, p. 172, No. 7,471. "Rev. ECCAIOS. Cheval passant à droite et regardant en arrière; dessous, personnage courant à gauche." M. Charles Lenormant thought that ECCAIUS was the same as Iccius, a nobleman of the Remi, mentioned in Cæsar's *Commentaries*, Book II, Chap. 3. "Remi, qui proximi Galliae ex Belgis sunt, ad eum legatos, Iccium et Antebrogium, primos civitatis, miserunt." M. de Saulcy identifies ECCAIUS with ACCO *ibid.*, VI, 4.—a chieftain of the Senones and head of a conspiracy against the Romans. His condemnation and capital punishment are related, Chap. 44. "7490. Tête à droite, coiffée de quatre grosses mèches; devant la bouche, cercle de perles. Rev. KOIIAKA Oiseau éployé à gauche; anneau et point centré dans le champ. P. 173, 7493. Tête à droite, les cheveux divisés en quatre grosses mèches. Rev. Oiseau éployé à gauche; derrière, pentagramme, croix can-

tonnée de quatre points et de deux points centrés. VLLVCCI (Sens). P. 174, 7552. Rev. SIINV. 7554. GIAMILOS. Tête à droite. Rev. SIINV. Oiseau picorant à gauche; derrière, pentagone et deux points centrés. 7575. Tête de Venus à gauche. Rev. VOCVNILIOS. Aigle et pentagone (Vendôme). P. 175, 7577 NDN Buste barbu à droite. Rev. Aigle éployé." Coins of Meldi, *ibid.* The type is similar to the goats above mentioned. "7602. Deux taureaux opposés et affrontés. Rev. Aigle dévorant une alonette (Meaux)."

Compare *Atlas de monnaies Gauloises par Henri de la Tour* (1892), Planche XXX, especially figs. 7471-7575.

It seems likely that Peter, having been an eyewitness of the Transfiguration, would supply details not mentioned by the other Evangelists who have related the scene, comp. Matthew XVII, 1-8, Luke IX, 28-36. According to the unanimous tradition of the early Church Mark was the "interpreter" of Peter (*ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου*). This subject is fully discussed by Alford in the Prolegomena to his edition of the Greek Testament, Mark, Sect. I, II, especially pp. 32]-35]; he comes to the conclusion that this Evangelist "may have been able . . . to preserve in his Gospel those vivid and original touches of description and filling-out of the incidents which we now discover in it." Tischendorf omits the words *ὡς χιών*, as snow, which appear in the Authorised Version. For *γραφεὺς* we sometimes find *κναφεὺς*—Stephanus, *Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ*. De utraque forma *v. s.* *κναφεύω*. Professor Key, on the alphabet—a republication of Initial Articles in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, with the addition of some philological essays. G. § 1. This letter interchanges with K or C pronounced hard, e.g., *γόνυ* knee, genus kind, *γινώσκω* know. For *κναφεὺς v.* Bloomfield's note on Mark IX, 3, and compare Rich, *Latin Dictionary, Fullo and Fullonica*.

Alford in his note on Peter's Epistles, II, i, 16, *ἐπόπται γενηθύντες τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλειότητος*, suggests that these words might be translated "were admitted as initiated spectators of His majesty," because *επόπτης* is a technical word, used of those who were admitted to the highest degree of initiation in the Eleusinian mysteries. However, *επόπτης* also means a spectator without any such allusion, e.g., Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vincetus*, 299 (307).

καὶ σὺ δὴ πόνων ἐμῶν

ἢ κcis ἐπόπτης;

where it is equivalent to *ἀντόπτης*, which occurs more frequently, e.g., Herodotus, *Euterpe*, Book II, Chap. XXIX, "*μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἀντόπτης ἔλθων τὸ ἔ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοῇ ἠδὲ ἱστορέων*"—an important passage which shows how far the historian had pursued his researches. The Island Elephantine is situated opposite Syene (hod. Assuan) and near Philæ, below the First Cataract—at the boundary of the Roman Empire. Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 59-61, relates the visit of Germanicus to Egypt, and concludes with the following words, "Exin ventum Elephantinen ac Syenen, claustra olim Romani imperii, quod nunc rubrum ad mare patescit." The word *olim* contains an allusion to the change of the limits caused by Trajan's victories A.D. 114, 115, v. Duebner's note cited by Orelli. Rawlinson's *Translation of Herodotus, loc. citat.*, Vol. II, p. 38, foot-note,

enumerates the Cataracts of the Nile, and describes their position. For the time, extent and completeness of his travels, v. *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 8-14.

The long dress of the Roman matron is referred to by Horace, *Satires* I, II, 28, *seq.*

“Sunt qui nolint tetigisse, nisi illas
Quarum subsuta talos tegat instita veste.
Mancher rührte euch
das schönste Weib nicht an, wenn die Besetzung
an ihren Rocke nicht die Knöchel deckt.”

Horazens Satiren aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt, und mit Einleitungen und erläuternden Anmerkungen versehen, von C. M. Wieland, edit. 1819, p. 50, *ibid.*, p. 61, note 7. “Dress of Roman ladies.” The words *instita*, *palla*, and *togata* are explained. Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, Book III, Vol. I, p. 478, ed. Delph., compares the gay colours usually worn to the flowers of spring :

“Elige certos (succos),
Nam non conveniens omnibus unus erit.”

Cf. Catullus; *Elegies* LXIV, v, 308.

“Vestis
Candida purpurea talos incinerat ora.”

Quoted by the Delphin editor.

Böttiger's *Sabina*, edit. 1806. Zweyter Theil, S. 96. “Die Tunika einer Matrone hatte hier noch einen besondern Ansatz, eine in viele Fältchen zierlich gelegte Falbel, die so weit herab ging, dass man dahinter kaum etwas von den Fufsspitzen erblickte.” *Anmerkungen*, p. 116, l. *Petronius*, cap. 126, p. 604, edit. Buecheler, 1862, p. 174, “pedum candor intra auri gracile vinculum positus”; whence we may remark that the Roman lady exposed her foot sometimes more than we see it in Böttiger, *ibid.*, Tafel X, facing p. 81. For the whole subject of female dress see *Sechste Szene*, pp. 81-98. *Anmerkungen*, pp. 99-118—an interesting portion of a work which unites with great erudition a natural and lively style that reminds the English reader of our own Addison.

The woman's boots in the monument at Sens have the top turned over and hanging down in a flap, so that they resemble those described in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, third edition, s.v. *Endromis*, with illustrations from a Pompeian painting and a vase: *Darenberg and Saglio*, Vol. II. Première Partie, p. 615, *seq.*, where the uses of the word *Endromis* by the Greeks and Romans are carefully distinguished. *Grèce*,—demi-botte figs. 2668-2675. “*Rome*.—Les Latins . . . ont réservé le terme *Endromis* pour désigner un vêtement de dessus, un manteau.” Rich says that it was the peculiarity of the *Endromis* to leave the toes exposed, but this seems doubtful.

Pollux, *Onomasticon*, Lib. III, “Κεφάλαιον Α. Περὶ τῶν ἀγυνοθετῶν καὶ ἀλοθετῶν. § 155 Ἀοληταῖς εἰὼν προσήκειν καὶ ἐνδρομίεσ' ὄντω ἐῖκαλοῦντο τὰ τῶν ἐρομέων ὑποδήματα. Lib. VII, Κεφάλαιον Κ.Β. Ὑποδημάτων εἶδη καὶ ἰδέαι. § 93. Αἱ δὲ ἐνδρομίεσ, ἴτιον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδες τὸ ὑπόδημα.” *Endromis* according to its etymology means a boot for running, and is connected with *εὐόμος*, a race (τρέχειν, ἐραμῆν, ἐέρομα).

Callimachus mentions this boot as worn by Artemis in the chase, edit. Ernesti, Lugduni Batavorum, 1761, Vol. I, p. 70.

“Hymnus in Dianam, vv. 15–17.

Δὸς ἐέ μοι ἀμφιπόλους Ἀρμισίδας ἔκοσι νύμφας,
 Αἰ τέ μοι ἐνέρομιδας τε κῆι, ὀππότε μηκέτι λύγκας
 Μήτ' ἐλάφους βάλλομι, θοοῖς κῆνας ἐν κορέοιεν.”

and Vol. II, pp. 179–181, a long note by the learned Ezekiel Spanheim (*Ubertationes* in Callimachi Hymnos), who quotes a passage from Galen.

C. O. Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst*, § 363, 6, Eng. Transl., p. 453. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, Part II, Pl. XV, Nos. 157a, 158, 158a, and 159. Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, Pl. 571, No. 1,220; Pl. 572, No. 1,222: Text, Vol. IV, p. 46, La déesse est vêtue de la tunique et du péplus.

Endromis in Roman writers means a wrapper worn after exercise as a protection from chill. *Juvenal*, III, 102.

“Igniculum brumae si tempore poscas,
 Accipit endromidem.”

Gifford in his note appositely quotes Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act V, Scene II.

Hamlet: Your bonnet to its right use; 'tis for the head.

Osrick (a courtier): I thank your lordship, 'tis very hot.

Hamlet: No, believe me, 'tis very cold; the wind is northerly.

Osrick: It is indifferent cold, my lord, indeed.

Juvenal, VI, 246.

“Endromidas Tyrias et femineum ceroma Quis nescit?”

The epithet *Tyrias* should be noticed. This garment was usually of coarse woollen cloth, but *Juvenal* is here speaking of lady fencers, who adopted a variety different in colour and material—purple and made of fine linen or muslin.

Compare *Martial*, *Epigrams*, IV, xix, 1–4.

“Hanc tibi Sequanicae pinguem textricis alumnam,
 Quae Lacedaemonium barbara nomen habet,
 Sordida, sed gelido non aspernanda Decembri
 Dona, peregrinam mittimus endromida.”

Ibid. in the last verse,

“Nec sic in Tyria sindone cultus cris,”

we have a more expensive article of dress contrasted with a *sordida Endromis*.

Rich quotes *Martial*, II, 16, s.v. *Sindon* as an example of this word, but Schrevelius *Lugduni Batavorum* 1656, *Schneidewin* 1881, and *Friedländer* 1886 read *Sidone*, which suits the context better, and has the same meaning as *Sidonio ostro* in *Horace*, *Epistles*, I, x, 26. *Friedländer* in loco, *Sindon* für sidonischen Purpur auch, XI, i, 2; wie *Tyros* für Tyrischen, II, xxix, 3; VI, xi, 7. *Schrevelius* mentions a various reading *Sindone cinctus*, but, as far as I know, it has not been adopted by recent editors. *Sindon* is mentioned twice by *Herodotus* in his second book, c. 86, where he describes the process of embalming a corpse, “κατελίσσοσι πᾶν αὐτῶν τὸ σῶμα συνέδνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατετμημένοιαι”; and c. 95, in giving an account of precautions to

be taken against gnats, “ἐν ἱματίῳ ἐνελιζάμενος ἕσθη ἢ σινδῶνι.” The Gospels furnish us with passages parallel to these citations from the Father of History. Matthew XXVII, 59, “καὶ λαβὼν τὸ σῶμα ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐνετόλιξεν αὐτὸ ἐν σινδῶνι καθαρῷ.” Mark XIV, 51, “περιβεβλήμενος σινδῶνα ἐπὶ ρυμῶν.” In the former the Evangelist relates that Joseph of Arimathea wrapped our Lord’s body in a clean linen cloth. In the latter we read that a young man had a linen cloth east about his naked body. He seems to have been roused from sleep by the tumult consequent on Christ’s apprehension. The same word *σινδῶν* is used by both writers, but not exactly in the same sense, *v. notes* in Bloomfield’s Greek Testament. Stephani Thesaurus *Græcæ Linguae*, gives a reference to Galen, where the words correspond very closely with those of St. Mark, “Μὴ ρυμῶς κομιζέσθω· ἀλλ’ ἐπιβεβλημένος σινδῶνα μὴ ψυχρὰν, ἢ ἕτερον ἐπίβλημα.”

Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, in the section on clothing devoted to raw material (*Die Rohstoffe*), p. 489, discusses the derivation of the words *σινδῶν* and *ὀθόνη*. *Sindon* may come from *Sindhu*, the name by which the natives call the Indus; and this article of commerce probably was brought over land to Tyre, and thence conveyed by Phœnician traders to Italy. Ezekiel XXVII, 23, 24, “Χαρρὰ καὶ Χαναὰ, οὗτοι ἐμποροὶ σου (Tyrus): Ἀσσοὺρ καὶ Χαρμὰν ἐμποροὶ σου, φέροντες ἐμπορίαν ἰάκινθου, καὶ θησαυροὺς ἐλεγκτῶν ἰερεμῶνους σχοινοῖς, καὶ κυπαρίσσινα.” Böttiger, *Sabina*, second part, p. 26, justly remarks that the following passage in Pollux is most important (*Hauptstelle*): “Κεφάλαιον. Ἰς. Περὶ λινῶν ἐσθήτων καὶ ἀμοργίων. Σινδῶν ἐστὶν Ἀιγυπτία μὲν, περιβόλαιον δ’ αὖ ἐστὶν, τὸ νῶν δίκροσσον (double fringed) καλούμενον, ἔρρηται ἐστὶν καὶ τελαμῶν σινδωνίτης.” The island Amorgos lies to the south-east of Naxos; it was famous for growing fine flax.

Again *Sindon* occurs in *Thucydides*, II, 49, where he mentions the symptoms of the plague at Athens. “That which he describes most feelingly is the burning inward heat, which rendered even the slightest covering insupportable,” etc. “τὰ ἐν τῷ ὄντι οὕτως ἐκάετο ὥστε μήτε τῶν πάντων λεπτῶν ἱματίων καὶ σινδῶνων τίς ἐπιβολὰς μὴδ’ ἄλλο τίς ἢ ρυμῶν ἀνέχεσθαι.” The context illustrates the word we have been considering; comp. the paraphrase by *Lucretius*, VI, 1163,

“Nihil adeo posses quoiquam leve tenveque membris
Vortere in utilitatem,”

and see Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, 8vo edition, Vol. III, p. 100 *sq.* Text and Notes. Those who wish to pursue the subject further will find information in Kenrick’s *Egypt of Herodotus*, notes on *loci citati* of this author, pp. 113, 124; and Rawlinson’s *Translation*, Vol. I, p. 142. “*Sindon* was the general term for every fine stuff; so that it was even applied to woollen fabrics.” Baehr, on the other hand, *Euterpe*, II, 86, note, Vol. I, p. 676, says, “*vix dubitandum quin hoc loco cotoneum intelligi voluerit Herodotus* ;” but here, I think, he is mistaken.

The archaic metopes of Selinus serve as a commentary on the statements of authors concerning the Cereopes. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, Pt. I, Pl. IV, No. 24. “Metope von dem mittlern Tempel der Burg von Selinus, den Herakles vorstellen. welcher die gefangenen Kerkopen an einem Tragholze hängen hat. . . . Nach Serradifalco *Antichità di Sicilia*,” Vol. II, i, 25. The prisoners

have their heads downwards. This group reminds one of milkmaids carrying pails suspended from a yoke upon their shoulders, as we see them in London streets. Herodotus places the seat of these strange monsters at Thermopylæ, VII, 216, where he is describing the fatal path along the mountain, by which Xerxes was enabled to overpower the Spartans, "κατὰ Μελάμπυγον τε καλεόμενον λίθον, καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἕρπας." "The hinder parts of Hercules had become tanned by continued labours and exposure to the atmosphere." Hence he derived the epithet Melampygos. Rawlinson's *Translation of Herodotus*, Vol. IV, p. 181, note 9; Baehr's edition *in loco*, and note on C. 176, "omnis haec regio Herculis religione consecrata videtur."

The excellent guide-book of Gsell-Fels gives more details, *Unter-Italien und Sicilien*, Vol. II, Col. 222. "Palermo (Museo Nazionale: Erdgeschoss)—Herakles trägt die beiden neckischen und diebischen Kobolde Passalos und Akmon (Hammer und Amboss) die ihn in Schlaf störten, an Handen und Füßen festgebunden, auf seinem Rücken an einem Tragholz wie ein erbeutetes Wild davon." The importance of the series to which this group belongs in the history of early Greek art ("Incunabeln der Kunst") is too well known to require more than a passing allusion. See my Paper on the "Museum at Palermo," where the Sculptures from Selinus have been deposited, *Archæol. Journ.*, 1881, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 134. Watkiss Lloyd, *History of Sicily*, p. 160.

The short clothes of the Gauls are mentioned by Martial, I, xcii (xciii), 8.

"Cerea si pendet lumbis et scripta lacerna,
Dimidiasque nates Gallica braca tegit" (var. lect. palla).

They must have resembled an unbecoming fashion which has recently prevailed among ourselves. In his note on this passage Schrevelius quotes Strabo, Lib. IV, Cap. IV, "Mores Gallorum," § 3 Ἀντὶ ἐξ ἡγιῶνων σχιστοῖς χειρῶντοῖς φέρουσι μέχρι ἀϊδαίων καὶ γλουτῶν."

For the coins of the Senones consult Ernest Muret, *Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1889, p. 164 sq. Medals with legends CALEDV-SENODON, Nos. 7174-7184. De Lagoy regards the former as the name of an unknown chieftain, the latter as that of the capital of the Senones; but this attribution has been disputed. Senones, pp. 170-175, Nos. 7374-7601, especially 7465, deux chèvres dressés et affrontés, Rev. deux sangliers affrontés, 7467 similar, but Rev. loup et sanglier affrontés. *Sénones émigrés*, p. 213 sq., Nos. 9272-9279. There is a reference at p. 172, No. 7470, to Adr. de Longpérier, *Rev. numism. franc.*, 1844, p. 165.

Atlas de Monnaies Gauloises . . . par Henri de la Tour Sous-Bibliothécaire au Département des médailles et antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Senones, Pl. XXX, Nos. 7388-7600, *Senones Émigrés*, 9274, 9275.

I have spoken of the worship of Pan in Macedonia because the two goats, which are his attributes, on coins of the Senones seem to be derived from types belonging to Amphipolis and Thessalonica;

but this cult had Arcadia especially for its seat, and so we read in Virgil, *Georgic*, I, 16-18.

“Ipse, nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lyenci,
Pan, ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae,
Adsis, o Tegeae, favens.”

Cf. Eclogues, IV, 58; X, 26. “Pan deus Arcadiae venit.” Hunter’s *Catalogue*, s.v. *Arcadia Provincia*, p. 42 sq. Tab. VII, figs. 4, 5. “Pan nudus in scopulum sedens,” Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, Part I, Text p. 31, No. 181, Pl. XLI, silver coin of the Arcadian confederacy; on the obverse, according to Curtius, we see the laurel-crowned head of Zeus Lycaeus, who with Pan was worshipped on the mountain of the same name, and on the reverse Pan enthroned on Olympus (OΛΥΜΠΟΣ), an Arcadian mountain. Ottfried Müller and Raoul-Rochette explain the medal as relating to the war between Arcadia and Elis, and the occupation of Olympia by the former. Compare Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, Chap. XL, 8vo edition, Vol. V, pp. 181-187.

Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, Vol. I, p. 581. “C. Erde, Erdleben, und Unterwelt, § 9. Pan ein Kind von seltsam gemischter Bildung, ziegenfüssig mit zwei Hörnern und einem langen Barte . . . ὁ Πάνων d.i. der Weidende.” The name Pan is akin to πάσμαι, whence we have πᾶμα, ποιμήν, Πάν, pascō, pabulum, &c., “ein Gott der Heerden, vornehmlich der Ziegen, Berge . . . in Arkadien, immer voll von weidenden Ziegenheerden sind.” *Ibid.*, p. 587. “Πᾶνες oder Πανίσκοι, eine gemeine Art von Waldteufeln und bocksartigen Dämonen, welche die Menschen durch koboldartigen Spuk, Alpdrücken und böse Träume plagen.” Compare popular superstitions among the modern Greeks; Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, Vol. II, pp. 219-221. “A mid-day demon of the mountains,” &c.

For the worship of Pan among the Egyptians consult Sir J. G. Wilkinson, *On the Manners and Customs of that People*, Vol. IV, p. 150, and Vol. V, p. 32. The identity of Pan with the god Khem is shown by the authority of a Greek dedication at Chemmis, or Panopolis. Bunsen, *Egypt’s Place in Universal History*, Vol. I, p. 373, § II, Khem, Pan, the god of Chemmis. See the Chronology and Geography of this country illustrated by Plates of the Kings’ Names and Maps, by Samuel Sharpe, published by Joseph Bonomi, p. 19, in the Thebaid among the Nomes east of the Nile. No. 10 is Panopolites containing the cities Selinon, Panopolis or Chemmis; Thomum, Chenoboscium. Map 12, Ancient Egypt under Antoninus Pius. The Panopolis of the Greeks was north of Koptos and Thebes.

Herodotus places Pan among the eight great gods who preceded the rest. The most important passages in his writings are the following: II, 46, “τον Πάνα τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν λογίζονται ἕναί οἱ Μενέησιοι τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ θεοὺς τούτους, προτέρουσ τῶν ἐνωδέκα θεῶν φησὶ γενέσθαι. γραφοῦσι τε ἐὶ καὶ γλύφουσι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ τὸν Πανὸς τῷ γίγναται, κατὰ περ Ἕλληνας, αἰγροπρόσωπον καὶ τραγισκελεύ.” Kenrick’s *Egypt of Herodotus*, p. 75 note. It is singular that no such representation has yet been found; Rawlinson’s *Translation*, Vol. II, p. 85, note 4. *Cf. Herodot.*, II, 145. According to him Pan among the Egyptians was a most ancient divinity, but among the Greeks later than the Trojan War by 800 years. VI, 105, the historian relates

how Pan appeared on Mount Parthenius, above Tegea, to the courier Phidippides, when he was sent to seek aid from the Spartans against the Persians, previously to the battle of Marathon. He also mentions the cave of Pan and its position under the Acropolis (*ἰερόσταντο ὑπὸ τῆ ἀκροπόλι Πάνος ἱόνον*) as we see it on a rare Attic coin. The worship of this deity at Athens doubtless arose from the belief that he had assisted the Greeks by striking terror into their enemies.

Beulé, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 394, with three engravings; p. 395, "La grotte de Pan est non seulement très reconnaissable, mais l'exemplaire du cabinet de Paris que j'ai fait dessiner nous présente le dieu assis dans sa grotte et jouant de la flûte. Ainsi, ce n'était point par une vaine fiction qu' Euripide montrait le dieu Pan faisant retentir les Longs Rochers du son de sa flûte et excitant aux danses légères les trois filles d'Agraulé, dont le sanctuaire était voisin. P. 394, (La médaille montre) les Propylées avec leur fronton, le colosse en bronze de Minerve et le Parthenon, avec sa toiture continue qu'aucune ouverture n'interrompt. P. 395. Le grand escalier de marbre blanc qui conduisait aux Propylées a dû être restauré et remanié sous Adrien. Ce serait sous Adrien que les monnaies commémoratives auraient été frappées."

Pan presided over pastures, forests, flocks, shepherds and hunters, so we find him connected with other rural deities. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV, v. 705 :—

"In shadier bower
More sacred and sequester'd, though but feign'd,
Pan or Silvanus never slept, nor nymph
Nor Faunus haunted."

Faunus is probably the Latin form of the Greek Πάν—the letters F and P being frequently interchanged, e.g. German *fünf*, Greek *πέντε*: English *fell* (as in fellmonger) Latin *pellis*, v. Professor Key *On the Alphabet*, Letter F.

Cowper, *The Task*, Book VI, 231–234.

"Him blind antiquity profaned, not served,
With self-taught rites, and under various names,
Female and male, Pomona, Pales, Pan,
And Flora, and Vertumnus."

At an early period the name Pan was supposed to come from *πᾶς*, *πᾶσα*, *πᾶν*, the Greek adjective for *all*; hence we read in the Homeric Hymn 18, "ὅτι φέρειν πᾶσιν ἐτεροψεν." Again this incorrect derivation was used for another purpose; in later times the legends of Pan were enlarged, and he was regarded as a symbol of Nature, so Milton, *ibid.*, v. 266 :—

"while universal Pan,
Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance,
Led on the eternal Spring."

Lastly, an epithet used by Shakespeare corresponds well with the representations of Pan in ancient art which we have already noticed—horned and goat-legged, "a voluptuous and sensual being," *King Lear*, Act I, Scene 2. An admirable evasion of "whore-master man, to lay his *goatish* disposition to the charge of stars!"—text of Halliwell's edition, Vol. XIV, p. 378. See Hirt, *Bilderbuch für Mythologie, Archäologie und Kunst*, Zweites Heft (Die Dämonen der Gebirge,

Wälder, Fluren und Felder, 1) Panen, Panisken, Paninen, pp. 161-163; Tab. XX, Nos. 7-9: XXI, Nos. 1-5; and Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Alterthums*, Band II, pp. 1147-1151, Figs. 1340-1345, esp. 1340, Pan und Olympus. Welcker, *ibid.*, p. 1148, says, "Pan ursprünglich ein Lichtgott (= *φάων*), welchem ewiges Feuer auf Altären brennt und Fackelläufe gehalten werden"—*Pausanias*, VIII, xxxvii, 8, "παρὰ τοῦτω τῷ Πανὶ πῶρ ὄνποτε ἀποσβεννόμενον κίεεται." Comp. the *Bacchæ* of Euripides edited by Dr. Sandys, Public Orator in the University of Cambridge. The frontispiece is a Bacchanalian relief encircling a marble vase in the British Museum: Description of the woodcuts, p. cxiv sq. The last group closes with the goat-legged Pan—his left arm carrying an amphora of wine—the cut is reduced from Combe's *British Museum Marbles*, Part II Plate VII, a very fine engraving; but this figure is called a Satyr I think, incorrectly.

To Livy's notice of the *Senones*, V, 35, cited above, we may add *Florus*, lib. I, cap. 13, *Bellum Gallicum*, init. edit. Delphin, reprinted by Valpy, p. 73 seq., "Galli Senones, gens natura ferox, moribus incondita, ad hoc ipsa corporum mole, perinde armis ingentibus adeo omni genere terribilis fuit, ut plane nata ad hominum interitum, urbium stragem videretur."

Many references to the writings of M. Julliot, the local antiquary at Sens, show how much I am indebted to him: without his kind assistance the compilation of this Memoir would have been impossible.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

ANNUAL MEETING AT IPSWICH, July 25th to August 1st,
1899.

Tuesday, July 25th.

THE Meeting was opened at noon in the Town Hall, Ipswich, when the Town Clerk, Mr. BANTOFT, apologised for the absence of the Mayor, Mr. E. P. Ridley, in consequence of an unavoidable professional engagement. In the name of the Corporation and the inhabitants generally, he offered a hearty welcome to the Archæological Institute, and promised that everything in their power should be done to make their visit a success.

THE EARL OF STRADBROKE, President of the Meeting, then addressed the members. Disclaiming any special knowledge of archæology, he said that his chief claim to the position he occupied was the long connection of his family with the county. Indeed, he rather hoped to gain than to communicate information, but he heartily endorsed the welcome offered by the Town Clerk. The first feature that would strike a stranger was the great number of churches, whence was derived the popular nickname of the people. Of old, Suffolk people were called "seely," that is, holy, which has been perverted into the title of "silly Suffolk." The great size of many of these churches in what are now small villages was a proof of decreased population. Two striking features of the church architecture of this district were the round towers and the flint work, which in some cases is as good as when it was first put up. One of the most beautiful of the churches they would visit was Blythburgh, in a village which, though now small, was once a place of considerable trade with Holland and elsewhere, and exported large quantities of wool. There was a tradition that when Cromwell's soldiers visited this neighbourhood they planted their cannon on a mound which stands some distance from the church, being unable to approach nearer on account of the marshes. The villagers protected their church by hanging out sacks of wool on the walls. When a wall which formed part of the minster was pulled down about sixty years ago, a number of skeletons were found in the wall. Some thought that these were placed there at the time of the Black Death, and it was a curious coincidence that next winter a fever broke out in the village which caused many deaths. At Dunwich they would see the church standing on the edge of the cliff, the only one left out of seven and a cathedral. Whether they fell before the gradual encroachment of the sea or a sudden tidal wave was not known. The fishermen till lately asserted that, before a storm, the bells of the seven churches could be heard ringing beneath the sea. In 1672 a battle was fought in Sole Bay between

the English and the Dutch, when the town was in considerable danger. After referring to the battery of guns at Southwold and to the number of Roman camps in the county, his lordship concluded by wishing the Society a successful and interesting meeting.

Sir HENRY HOWORTH, M.P., President of the Institute, said he had to propose a vote of thanks to the representative of the Mayor of Ipswich and to Lord Stradbroke for having welcomed the Institute so heartily, and maintained the old reputation of Suffolk for its hospitality. (Hear, hear.) He proceeded: I wish to correct a misapprehension which seems to have overwhelmed the Town Clerk, and to some extent his lordship also, that we are a very grave and serious, and a very much too learned body. (Laughter.) I can assure you, my lord, that I have known these people for some years, and that I have never met such frivolous people. In saying this, I limit myself to the male portion of the members of our Institute, for I quite agree with one little touch of the Town Clerk, who, in addressing this large meeting, forgot altogether that there were ladies present, and paid them all the compliment of mistaking them for men—(laughter)—which is the one thing they are anxious to be now, and which I am afraid they will succeed in becoming. With regard to the county of Suffolk, which we are now in, what a number of reflections come floating to one's memory! Here we have the advantage and the distinction of being received by a great civic authority, and by a member of one of the oldest families in England, who represents the country gentry of this great county. As I have said often, when I have been speaking elsewhere, my opinion is that this England of ours was not made by its statesmen or by its soldiers, but by those citizens, both in town and country, who devoted their lives to the great and beneficent work of administering its affairs, not for pay or profit, but simply for the honour attaching to the conscientious discharge of such duties. (Hear, hear.) It seems to me that that is the great cardinal distinction between our community and every other community that is known to me, except the Romans of old days, who had the same sense of the duties of citizenship. We may compare towns like Ipswich and vanished Dunwich, and other famous places in the east of England—which, in times when the fisheries and the woollen trade were so prosperous, were really the centres of manufacture and of wealth and enterprise—we may compare them with the great towns of the Continent, with the towns of the Hanseatic League, the Low Countries, or of the great Spanish Monarchy; but they were entirely different in this respect—that while every one of these places abroad was officered, and governed, and administered by paid servants, either of the crown or the community itself, here in England affairs were administered by local effort and what may be called local patriotism. (Applause.) And what a curious thing it is to remember, that long before Lancashire was heard of at all, except as a remote corner of the country, so remote and dangerous that people used to make their wills before going to visit it—(laughter)—this county and the neighbouring county of Norfolk were thronged with people! We have all kinds of proof of it. One proof, of course, as mentioned by his lordship from the chair just now, is the number of the churches and the smallness of the parishes. But it seems to me the best proof of all

is the fewness of the Monasteries. If you take a map of England in which the Monasteries and the Friaries are set out, you will find that in the fourteenth century, to take that period as an example, the most populous parts of England were those in which there were the fewest Monasteries. There were plenty of Friaries, but the Monasteries were planted in scattered places where men could find peace, and they were numerous in the valleys of North Yorkshire and Lancashire. This is a very striking proof of the great population in this part of England. That there was plenty of wealth is proved, as his lordship has said, by the richness and the number of churches. If you remember that all through the great marsh which stretches up through Cambridge and Huntingdon there is hardly a stone to be found, and that all the stones used in the building of churches had to be brought by sea or otherwise, that all the quoins, and lintels, and binding stones had to be brought from elsewhere, you will well understand the amount of money that must have been spent in the erection of these churches. After pointing out that the round towers peculiar to this district had no fantastic origin, but were simply due to the paucity of stone, Sir Henry said: But we don't think so much of these material things when we come to see this lovely county, with its enormous stretches of golden corn and its rich and prosperous squires—prosperous still, notwithstanding all the terrible sufferings agriculture has gone through during recent times. I have noticed in the streets here to-day a large number of men whose physical appearance will, I am sure, be envied by a good many other scraggy people in this room besides myself. (Laughter.) They are the type of a grand old English rural county, a county which we must always think of as representative of Old England. (Applause.) After touching in an eloquent passage upon two Suffolk men—Constable the painter, and Crabbe the poet—Sir Henry referred to the ancient history of Southwold, and said: I think those old fishermen and sea-rovers of Norfolk and Suffolk did much to create the maritime glories of this country, more so, possibly, than any men of England, excepting possibly similar men of Dorsetshire and Devonshire. And here let me tell you a little story, though I may be boring you to death. Some years ago I wrote a book—a horrible book in four very fat volumes—on the *History of the Mongols*, and I have told therein that when they invaded Europe in 1242, and there was a risk that they would overwhelm the civilisation of the whole world, there was a Bull issued by the Pope by which the fishermen of Norfolk and Suffolk were permitted to eat fish in Lent because they had not been able to go to the herring fishery as usual in consequence of the tremendous dread that the Tartars would come and destroy their home. That is a very curious link which shows that all history is more or less a continuous chain. These same fishermen were the men who were so rich and generous that they paid for the building of these great church towers along the coast. When the time of the Reformation came, however, and when it was no longer compulsory to eat fish in Lent, a great paralysis and poverty came upon these fishermen, and we have extraordinary petitions to Lord Burghley, asking that they might allow the greater part of their churches to go to ruin because they could not afford to keep them up; and several of these churches without roofs over their

naves went to ruin simply because the fishing trade had become unprofitable. Giving a cordial invitation to residents to join in the excursions of the Institute, the President said he could assure them they could be entertained with some romance and some poetry, and a good deal of genuine knowledge. (Applause.)

Judge BAYLIS, Q.C., seconded the vote of thanks, and referred not only to the ancient wool trade of Suffolk, but also, amidst laughter, to the modern fame of Ipswich in the manufacture of corsets.

The TOWN CLERK and Lord STRADBROKE briefly acknowledged the vote.

At 2 o'clock the party set out to visit the places of interest in the town. Christchurch Mansion, the old residence of the Cobbolds, was first viewed and described by Mr. CORDER. The next move was to St. Margaret's church, which Mr. Corder explained as having arisen from the removal of the parish altar from the conventual church of Christchurch Priory to a new building. This was before 1309, but the church must have been built a little later. It has a chancel of two bays and a nave and aisles of five bays, and there were afterwards added a west tower, a south porch, and east of the aisles two transeptal chapels. The nave has a fine double hammer-beam roof, with singular painted panels and other decorations of the time of William and Mary. Over the tower arch, in a carved and painted frame, are the Royal Arms of Charles II. None of the old fittings remain except the font. Against the west wall of the north transept is a slab, once on a high tomb in the chancel, with the arms, motto (MORTVI SINE HOSTE) and monogram of Edmund Withipool, the builder of Christchurch Mansion, with the marginal inscription: SIBI ET POSTERITATI POSVIT EDMUNDVS WITHIPOLL A° DNI 1574. Thence the party proceeded to the old house in the Butter Market, long the residence of the Sparrow family. The quaint bow windows with their allegorical plaster-work and the other features of the front are of the time of Charles II, but some rooms behind belong to an earlier house, one having a fireplace dated 1567, and one wing retains an interesting open roof of the fifteenth century, now forming a garret. On the ground floor is a panelled room with elaborate mantelpiece dated 1603. But the prettiest feature is a little courtyard with an Elizabethan gallery on one side and an elaborate plaster frieze representing a triumph on the other. Mr. MICKLETHWAITE called attention to the moulded ceilings, which, in opposition to Sir HENRY HOWORTH, who thought they showed signs of Italian influence, he held to be purely English. Wolsey's gate was next visited, and on the lawn of Mr. J. T. Rainer's house Miss NINA LAYARD read a paper on her recent discoveries as to the great Cardinal's project in his native town and the limits of St. Peter's Priory (printed in the *Journal*). At St. Peter's church, close by, Mr. MICKLETHWAITE pointed out the proofs that it was a church of the fourteenth century restored and added to, and not, as has been asserted, pulled down by Wolsey and rebuilt in a fresh place. The font is of the date 1100, and is of Belgian black marble, or "touch," like those at Christchurch, Winchester, and East Meon. They must have been brought here by sea. The bowl of the font is carved in low relief with dragons and other monsters. The stem is of stone, early fifteenth-century work. Mr. Mickle-

thwaite said that the font had been asserted to be Saxon, but it was undoubtedly of the twelfth century. Part of a similar font was found not long ago in the town ditch, and is now in the Ipswich Museum. In the floor of the south aisle is a slab with the inscription SEPT. 14TH 1627 · HERE · THE · BODY · OF · ROBERT · SNELLING · AWAYTES · THE · RESVRRECTION. St. Mary Key church, built 1448, was also visited, and the "Fox and Goose" corner post at the bottom of Foundation Street. At the evening meeting the Historical and Antiquarian Section was opened by Sir W. BRAMPTON GURDON, who read a paper on "Restoration as a Destructive Art" (printed in the *Journal*). Miss NINA LAYARD followed with a paper on "The Religious Houses of Ipswich" (printed in the *Journal*).

Wednesday, July 26th.

At 9.45 the members started in carriages for Grundisburgh, where they were met by the Rector, the Rev. A. E. FLAXMAN. He described the church, drawing attention to the fine double hammer-beam roof, with its three rows of angels on each side. An appointment to this living by the Pope had been one of the causes which led to the passing of the Statute of Præmunire. Mr. St. JOHN HOPE also spoke in praise of the fine Georgian tower in red brick, the date of which is fixed by an inscription over the south entrance: "This Steeple Was Built, The Bells Set in Order And Fixt At The Charge of ROBERT THINGE, Gent. Lately Deceased, A.D. 1751-1752." The church first consisted of a thirteenth-century chancel and nave, with probably a south tower on the site of the present one. Early in the fourteenth century the nave was lengthened westward and a south aisle added east of the tower. During the fifteenth century the nave windows were replaced by those then in fashion and a clear story and new roof added. Lastly, in 1527, a chapel was added south of the chancel, by Thomas Awall, salter and citizen of London, the fact being recorded by an inscription below the parapet, interrupted by shields with the arms of the City of London and of the Salters' Company, and others charged with the builder's mark. The rood screen remains, a fine example with a good deal of colour and gilding, as well as a parclose between the south aisle and chapel. The visitors then drove through Hasketon, with its round church tower, to Woodbridge. Here at St. Mary's church they were received by the Vicar, the Rev. T. HOUSECROFT. Mr. St. John Hope said that there was no trace of the earlier church, but that the one they saw was built at the end of the fifteenth century. Its plan shows a chancel with south vestry and side chapels, and a lofty nave and aisles of six bays, with western tower and north porch. The nave roof, which also extends over the chancel without break, has had its pitch lowered in recent years. The font is a fine one, with mutilated sculptures of the Seven Sacraments. The rood screen is modern, but based upon the remains of the old one, with copies of the original painted panels with figures of saints. The original panels also exist, but, having been partly effaced and otherwise injured, these were lately removed by the present rector as not being smart enough, and fixed in glazed frames against the wall. Referring

to Sir W. Brampton Gurdon's paper of the night before, he showed that the panels of the screen were stencilled. But there was this difference between stencilling in those days and now: then there were little irregularities, while a modern workman made his ornamentation run in regular lines without a hair's-breadth of deviation. There was a fine alabaster monument to Sir Henry Pitman, a former high sheriff.

Mr. V. B. REDSTONE, speaking at some length, argued that as the screen was put up in memory of John Aldred, whose will was dated 1402, the church must be earlier, about 1380. There were also some curious corbels in the south aisle, two of which were exactly like two in Framlingham church. In the French war a barrel of tar was kept on the top of the tower, the next beacon being at Lowestoft. The Rev. Dr. Cox pointed out that the screen and corbels might well have been taken out of an older building and used in this, which could not be dated earlier than the fifteenth century.

The party lunched at the "Bull," and inspected the curious weighing machine, as well as the Seckford library and almshouses.

The next move was to Seckford Hall, a fine old brick Tudor house, now very ruinous and partly occupied as a farmhouse. There are fine moulded chimneys. The mullions, &c., of the windows and mouldings of the doorway are all cut in brick and stuccoed over to look like stone. In the central hall Mr. REDSTONE gave the history of the building, which was erected between 1533 and 1557 and was not built by the Seckford who was the benefactor of Woodbridge. The house had not been altered or restored for the last 200 years.

The drive was then resumed to Playford church, with its monuments to Clarkson and the celebrated brass to Sir George Felbrigg. As there was some time to spare, a visit was also paid to Tuddenham church on the way back. It consists of a chancel, nave, and west tower. It is apparently Norman, with later windows, and there is a fine open roof to the nave, and most of the old pews remain, with carved poppyheads. The pulpit, like the roof and seats, is of the fifteenth century with panelled sides. After dinner, at the meeting of the Architectural Section, Mr. G. E. Fox, F.S.A., read a paper on "Roman Suffolk" (printed in the *Journal*).

This was followed by a discussion, and a vote of thanks to Mr. Fox was moved by the PRESIDENT.

Thursday, July 27th.

The departure was by the 8.52 train for Halesworth, where the church contains several fragments of brasses, one of which was a palimpsest. Mr. RIDLEY BAX gave a description of them. Sir H. HOWORTH said that the most interesting object was a carved stone in the chancel, the ornament on which was Danish. The journey was then continued to Southwold church, where the painted screen is the finest in East Anglia, perhaps in the kingdom. Mr. G. E. Fox described it, pointing out that it was in three divisions, across the north and south aisles and the chancel. The upper part is mullions

and tracery and the lower solid panelling. The panels are covered by painted figures with delicate backgrounds. The panels of the northern screen have figures representing the host of heaven, the heavenly hierarchies, headed by the emblem of the Trinity. The southern screen has figures of the prophets, and the chancel-screen shows the apostles with their emblems. The figures of the southern screen are but ghosts of what they were. Those of the northern, originally far more beautiful, with shaded gold and rich harmonies of green and red, are much obliterated by time and evil treatment. The less interesting figures of the chancel-screen are more perfect, but have lost in genuineness from the restoration of the heads by the late Mr. George Richmond, R.A., the well-known portrait painter, father of the present Sir W. Richmond, who formerly resided in the neighbourhood. Yet in spite of time and wilful destruction and restoration, a great deal of the beauty of the original work remains. Notice the delicate gesso work with which the architectural mouldings and the backgrounds of the figures of the apostles are covered. In the panels, the figures being first drawn, the gesso or plaster was thickly applied to the ground and worked up to the outline of the figure. Then the plaster, whose setting had been retarded by mixture with certain well-known ingredients, such as honey, received the impressions of the different diapers by means of wooden stamps. On the flat face of the mullions of the chancel-screen are seen here and there little flat-backed niches impressed in the gesso, with delicately outlined and shaded figures in black upon the gold which covers everything. These little figures originally had a tiny piece of glass over them, the arrangement being meant to imitate enamel. A splendid example of this sham enamel work of a much earlier date is to be seen in the magnificent Westminster retable, now preserved in the Jerusalem chamber, which was exhibited at Burlington House in the rooms of the Society of Arts during the exhibition of mediæval paintings there a few years ago.

Who were the painters? We shall of course be confidently told the Flemings. But we need not go so far as Flanders, or even out of East Anglia, to find the men who made and painted the Southwold screens. In old documents preserved in the archives of the city of Norwich are found, from the thirteenth century down to the sixteenth, the names of painter after painter, all, with one or two exceptions, Norfolk men. We may come nearer than Norwich. Early in the fifteenth century, a college of canons established in the castle of Mettingham employed, as may be seen in the accounts of that college still preserved, a certain Thomas Barsham, *alias* Thomas of Yarmouth, to make and paint images and tabernacle work, and to paint tables or panels for the high altar of their chapel, and these canons paid him considerable sums for the same. It might therefore be possible that this Thomas of Yarmouth, or some of his pupils and successors, had a hand in the work at Southwold, especially as it is evident from these accounts that carving, gilding, and painting were all practised by the same artificer, and were not as now separate occupations. The separation of the different arts has led to increased mechanical dexterity, to the disadvantage of higher qualities.

Mr. Fox then called attention to the paintings of the bay of the

roof over the screen. They represent angels holding alternately scrolls with texts from the Benedictus and the emblems of the Passion. These latter emblems, treated heraldically, are constantly found in Norfolk and Suffolk churches, very often on the panels of fonts. The sum for painting such a roof may be read in the Mettingham accounts already cited, in which the painter, Edmund of Bradwelle, receives for his work in the chapel of the canons £13 6s. 6d. This was in 1416-17. Here, again, his name, like that of Thomas Barsham, is not that of a foreigner.

The system of external decoration employed in the churches of East Anglia is well exemplified in Southwold. It consists of flat panel-work of stone filled in with grounds of flint, the perfection in the exact cutting of which is something wonderful. So close are the joints that the blade of a penknife cannot be got between them. The style arose from natural conditions. Stone was scarcely to be obtained, flint was common enough. These conditions ruled in all building work, beginning with Roman times. The flint facings of Burgh Castle are admirable work, brick in the lacing courses taking the place of stone. Later, as Sir H. Howorth pointed out, the want of stone for quoins obliged the builders in the early middle ages to adopt the circular form for their church towers. By the time Southwold church was built, stone could be obtained in fair quantities, but it was costly material and had to be economised. The deeply recessed niches and panelling of Somerset were out of the question, and therefore, as fashion dictated that there must be panelling, it naturally suggested itself to obtain the desired effect by contrast of colour—black and white. By using the stone in thin flat strips, the precious material might be made to go a long way. These natural conditions have produced a style of considerable beauty. The inlaid work of the tower of the church is as good a combination of the two materials, stone and flint, as can be found in the county, the proportion of ornamented to plain surface being finely conceived.

Another point is the general delicacy of stone carving, due probably to the fact that the same men worked in wood and stone. If the sacred stone work of East Anglia be compared with that of the west of England, where the Perpendicular style also largely prevailed, the contrast will be found to be very marked. Some—a great deal—of the Somersetshire work looks as if it had been hacked out with a hatchet, while much of the East Anglian work is almost timid in its relief and as delicate as wood carving.

Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE next called attention to the architectural history of the building. It was, he said, at first merely a chapel-of-ease to the parish of Rushmere, founded early in the thirteenth century, but a deed dated 1458, whereby the prior and convent of Wangford gave lands to enlarge the cemetery for "the new chapel lately erected," gave the approximate date of the present structure. Bequests in 1461 and later for the making of the pews and candle-beam and other furniture showed that the main fabric was then complete, and others about 1470 for new bells indicated the finishing of the tower, while bequests in 1488 and 1489 were for the making of the porch. Mr. Hope specially called attention to the stately tower with its flint checker work and the inscription, "SCT EDMUND

ORA P[RO] NORIS " (in whose honour the church is dedicated) over the west window. With respect to the date of the screens, which had not been mentioned by Mr. Fox, Mr. Hope stated that Lord Dillon was of opinion, from the armour and costume of the figures, that the painting was not later than 1430. This would imply that the screens, as was certainly the case with the stalls, were removed from the older church. Mr. MICKLETHWAITE agreed as to the early date of the stalls, but thought that the screens were made for the present building. Sir H. HOWORTH related how he had been looking through the church books at the adjoining parish of Walberswick, and found that the burgesses held meetings and determined that the first storey in their church tower should be like one church in their neighbourhood, the second storey like another, and so on. He mentioned that Agnes Strickland was buried in the churchyard, and that a large portion of the *Christian Year* was composed by Keble in the garden of the Rectory at Halesworth.

After lunch in the Town Hall, a delay in the train service on this little single line obliged the excursionists to miss Wenhaston, with its panel painting of the Doom, dated about 1500, and they went on to Bramfield, where is another fine screen and a round flint tower standing apart from the church. The rood screen is of unusual merit, with very considerable remains of its original painting and gilding, and stamped and gilded gesso work, not unlike that at Southwold. Architecturally, as was pointed out by Mr. MICKLETHWAITE, the screen is superior to the Southwold one, but the painting and gesso work, though excellent of their kind, are inferior by comparison. Mr. Micklethwaite showed that the blank panels at either end indicated the former position of the two nave altars. The party then returned to Ipswich.

In the evening there was a conversazione at the Museum and Art Gallery, got up by the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History and the Ipswich Scientific Society. The great feature was the magnificent series of copies of stained glass windows, representing the life's work of Mr. Hamlet Watling. It is greatly to be regretted that every neighbourhood does not possess a man like Mr. Watling, who has not only investigated and collected the Roman remains of the county, but has at his own expense erected scaffolding and devoted all his spare time to copy accurately the church windows. Specialists are not always sufficiently grateful to such persons, who collect facts and preserve relics that only one on the spot can do. Ipswich is especially fortunate in possessing two such as Miss Layard and Mr. Watling. There were many fine rubbings of Norfolk and Suffolk brasses. Mr. WOOLNOUGH, the Curator, exhibited lantern slides of Old Ipswich. Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE gave a short lecture on maces, exhibiting those of Ipswich, Orford, and Beccles. He traced the evolution of the mace from a weapon of war to a civic emblem of authority, and pointed out the changes that the various parts had undergone in the process.

Friday, July 28th.

The annual business meeting was held at 10.15 in the Town Hall, the President, Sir H. H. HOWORTH, in the chair. The minutes

of the last meeting were read and adopted. The Secretary then read the report, disclosing a prosperous state of affairs.

Next year's meeting was fixed at Dublin.

REPORT OF COUNCIL FOR 1898.

The Council presents the fifty-seventh report on the affairs of the Institute and on the finances up to the end of the year 1898. The cash account prepared by the Chartered Accountant and examined by the honorary auditors is favourable, as showing a balance of cash in hand of £379 12s. 9d., an increase of £140 compared with that of the previous year. There are no outstanding liabilities, and members' subscriptions are closely paid up. This condition is mainly due to the gratuitous service still rendered by all who carry on the official duties needful for efficient management. There is no increase in the number of members, for although twenty-eight new members have been elected in the year, twenty-nine are removed by resignation and death; this latter cause deprives us of not fewer than twenty members, among whom our active members will recollect the Rev. W. S. Calverley, distinguished for his knowledge of Northern Antiquities; Mr. George T. Clark, the author of the noted work on *Medieval Military Architecture in England*, and whose learned and amusing descriptions of the castles when visited by the Institute cannot be forgotten. These must also be mentioned: Colonel Pinney and Mr. Henry Hutchings, familiar figures and formerly regular attendants at the Council or annual meetings; also Sir Stuart Knill, Bart., whose civic hospitality at the London Meeting and whose keen interest in archæological subjects was well known and must ever be remembered. Sir Edward A. Bond, of the British Museum, and Lord Carlingford, who presided at the Colchester Meeting in 1876, are also gone from our list of old members.

The members of Council retiring are Messrs. Griffiths, Gosselin, St. John Hope, Dewick, Micklethwaite, and Green. It is proposed that they be re-elected, and that Mr. W. H. Knowles, Mr. W. Hale-Hilton, and Mr. William Pearce be added to the Council, and that Sir Henry H. Howorth shall remain as President, according to the Articles of Association. Also that Mr. Emanuel Green do continue as director and that Mr. Walhouse and the Rev. E. H. Goddard be appointed as honorary auditors. It is also proposed that Mr. C. E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A., be elected a Vice-President in place of Judge Baylis, whose term has expired.

It is further proposed that Judge Baylis be elected an Honorary Vice-President.

The services hitherto rendered by Mr. Mill Stephenson have proved to be more than his available time will enable him to continue. The Council regrets to say that his editorship of the *Journal* has consequently ceased, as well as his exertions in arranging the multifarious details connected with the preliminary examination of the whole region to be visited at the Annual Meetings and the preparation of the programmes. These latter duties on the present occasion have been done by Mr. W. H. Knowles, F.S.A., of Newcastle-upon-

Tyne, while Mr. Henry Longden has effected the needful correspondence in London. The honorary editorship of the *Journal* is in the hands of a member of the Institute.

These circumstances have brought the Council to meet some difficult questions, and to entertain doubts whether some of the present honorary services must not be changed for the older system of substantial remuneration.

The question of the General Index to the *Journal*, having been left with the Council, was duly considered at their meetings, and was indefinitely postponed on financial grounds and the prospect of inadequate return of the cost of production.

The condition of the library, now deposited at University College (London), is unsatisfactory and requires some rectification.

The place for holding the next Annual Meeting must be considered, especially whether a visit to Ireland can be organised for that purpose.

A Sectional Meeting followed, at which a paper by Mr. J. H. Round on "The Clare Family" was read by the SECRETARY (printed in the *Journal*).

A start was made by the 12.13 train for Framlingham. After lunch at the "Crown," the party proceeded to the castle. Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE pointed out that it was not of the keep type, but was a fortified courtyard. It was a large area protected by a curtain, was strengthened by bastions outside, against the inside of which were pentices or lean-tos, to accommodate the garrison. The work was in the main due to Thomas de Brotherton (created Earl of Norfolk in 1312), to whom the castle passed from the Bigods in 1306, and through him to the Mowbrays and eventually to the Howards. Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, who died in 1524, made many alterations to the internal buildings, and to him we are indebted for the picturesque moulded brick chimneys, some of which still surmount the earlier work. The property now belongs to Pembroke College, Cambridge.

The church was next visited, where the Rector, the Rev. J. H. PILKINGTON, attended. In this fine building the chancel-arch is built up temporarily, and the nave alone is used for service, while the chancel, which is wider than the nave, is being restored. The Rev. Dr. Cox said that there was a church on this spot at the time of Domesday, but the present building was built in the second half of the fourteenth century, though some of the older work had been preserved. The great feature was the splendid west tower, second only to that at Southwold.

The Rector called attention to the organ, built in 1574 for Pembroke College, Cambridge, and presented by the college in 1708, when they required a larger instrument. The key-board was remarkable, having black keys, the sharps being distinguished by a white line down the middle. Dr. Cox proceeded to describe the tombs, comprising those of (1) Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, ob. 1554, and his second wife, Elizabeth Stafford, ob. 1558; of (2) Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, beh. 1546-7, and Frances Vere, his countess,

set up by their son Henry, Earl of Northampton, in 1614, and of (3) Mary and Margaret, the successive wives of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, *beh.* 1572; all in the style of the Flemish Renaissance, with recumbent effigies of the deceased. Here is also the singular, and probably unfinished, tomb, without effigy, of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, natural son of Henry VIII, who died in 1536, at the age of seventeen. The tomb was originally set up in Thetford priory church, but removed to Framlingham at the Suppression. Another good tomb is that of Sir Robert Hitcham, *ob.* 1636, made by Francis Griggs in 1638. Here time compelled the members to enter the carriages for a drive to Dennington. This church is of great beauty, and was described by Mr. St. JOHN HOPE. The chancel-arch dates from 1230 to 1240. The chancel was the next built, about 1330, and there were signs of a pause then, probably caused by the Black Death. Then followed in succession the nave, the south aisle, the tower, the north aisle, and the porch at the end of fifteenth century. The screen is painted gold and green, red and white. The seats have carved ends of about 1487. There is a three-decker pulpit. The roof is a wagon roof, and the spandrels of the aisle roof are black with white tracery. There is a fine alabaster monument to Lord Bardolph, who fought at Agincourt, *ob.* 1441, and his wife Joan, *ob.* 1446-7. An aged parishioner attended to exhibit a sand-board, on which he learnt his letters. It is a shallow trough filled with fine sand, which is smoothed by a movable board, and the scholars wrote on the sand with their fingers.

The members then returned to Ipswich by carriage and rail. In the evening the Architectural Section was opened under the presidency of the Very Rev. R. M. BLAKISTON, F.S.A., Rector of Hadleigh and Dean of Bocking, who delivered an address on "Church Restoration" (printed in the *Journal*). In the discussion that followed, Mr. MICKLETHWAITE pointed out the danger of a reactionary swing of the pendulum, and of the tendency to maintain our churches as museums; the fact ought, nevertheless, to be recognised that, although the churches of England are historical monuments, they are still living monuments, and should be regarded in that light.

Mr. V. B. REDSTONE then read a paper upon "Orford Castle." In the Pipe Rolls he had found the whole story of its erection. After touching upon the facts that the hamlet of Sudburnham, as it was called, was in the "Honour" of Eye, and that this "Honour" was held by Thomas á Becket from 1154 to 1163, Mr. Redstone showed by means of a rough map that the reason which induced the King (Henry II) to build Orford Castle was to provide a means of coast defence, in order to check the constant landing of hired troops from Flanders, who came over to support the Earl of Leicester and his ally, Roger Bigod, who held in his possession all the then existing castles of Suffolk which commanded the sea coast. This Roger Bigod is still, in these parts, Mr. Redstone maintained, the headless horseman of the untutored rustic. Between his Ipswich castle and his castle of Framlingham there were many lanes, down which he nightly rode, according to tradition, and along which, when he was in the flesh, he did actually lead his troops of mercenaries. The castle at Orford was begun in 1165. The earliest work undertaken was the construction of a road and the erection of a mill. It

was obvious that a road was required to facilitate the conveyance of stones from the sea-shore and of timber from inland. The walls were mainly built of materials furnished by the rocks of the neighbourhood, with a skin of Caen stone. The supervision of the work was given to Bartholomew Glanvil, Robert de Valeins (his son-in-law), and Wimar, the future Vicar of Orford, then chaplain. In the Pipe Rolls Mr. Redstone found a return of the expenditure on the work, drawn up by Oger, the Steward of the "Honour" and Constable of Eye Castle. Similar accounts for the following years are preserved, and these were kept with such exactness as to show a fine of five-pence which was inflicted upon a workman for neglect or bad work. Amongst those employed were two "Normans of Ipswich." The probability was that these men were skilled surveyors, because they were called in at the commencement, when the ground was prepared as a site for the castle, and again in 1170, when a great marsh was reclaimed and made fit for the herding of sheep. This marsh and others are still known as "King's Marshes." Touching upon the tragic murder of Thomas á Becket, Mr. Redstone said that this prelate was greatly honoured and revered in the county of Suffolk. An altar was dedicated to him in most of the churches, especially in the churches of the "Honour" of Eye; that in Orford church was so dedicated until just prior to the Reformation, when, by a mandate of Henry VIII, such veneration was ordered to be done away with. An important period in the history of the Castle was thus detailed:—"The quarrel with Becket was brought to a close at the prelate's murder in 1170; but a storm far more dangerous to Henry's power had been gathering both at home and in France. A rebellion broke out in 1173, and the Earl of Leicester, with his wife and a large force of Flemings, landed in Norfolk, and were welcomed by Hugh Bigod, who had received the promise of extensive honours from the King of France if the rebellion should prove successful. Bigod held all the castles of Suffolk, except Orford, which was in this contingency garrisoned and put into a state of defence. A large and deep fosse was dug around; a strong kind of wattled fence, strengthened with timber, was set up between the fosse and the keep; and wooden towers were erected to protect the stone bridge thrown across the moss. The services of the two Normans of Ipswich were again requisitioned to carry out this work, the total cost of which was £52 2s. 8d. A garrison of 75 men was placed within the castle, and provisions were collected to enable it to withstand a long siege. The purchases were recorded of 200 'seams' of wheat, according to Ipswich measure, at £21 13s. 4d., of 100 pigs at 2s. each, and 500 cheeses at 2d. each, together with iron, rope, and small cord, three hand-mills, and charcoal. The Flemings attacked the convoy guarding these provisions, but were only successful in carrying off four-fifths of the charcoal; and they also attacked the castle, but did little more than destroy the two towers, which the handy Normans repaired at a cost of about £12." Meanwhile, Norwich Castle was safely held for the King also, whilst William, Count of Flanders, was with Bigod, now at Bungay and now at Framlingham. When Bigod saw that the contest was hopeless, he made his submission to the King at Syleham.

Saturday, July 29th.

Proceeding by the 8.52 train to Wickham Market, carriages conveyed the members to Orford, where the castle was first visited, Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE pointed out that the keep is not on the usual plan—rectangular, with corner turrets—but, like Conisbrough and Odiham, is circular within and polygonal without, with bastions. It is not on an artificial mound. It owed its origin to the Glanvilles in the second half of the twelfth century. There are two storeys, with a basement, a cellar, and a well. There are several intermediate floors in the thickness of the wall. The first floor, approached by an outer stair, was the soldiers' barrack. The upper floor was for the lord. The chapel still has blocks to carry the altar. It is built of concrete, with a skin of ashlar.

In answer to Sir H. HOWORTH's question, why the Walpoles should have selected Orford for their title, Mr. REDSTONE said that the family once owned a great deal of land in the neighbourhood, and the great Sir Robert, he believed, went to school at Woodbridge.

At the church the visitors were received by the Rector, the Rev. E. M. SCOTT. The building is in process of restoration under the direction of Mr. MICKLETHWAITE, who described it.

It is only a chapel, but on a collegiate plan. It is of the fourteenth century, all but the roof. Nothing is known of its origin. The parish church of Sudbourne is some distance away. A town sprang up here, and hence we find many of the largest churches are only chapels-of-ease. This was built in the twelfth century with a central tower. This probably fell in the fourteenth, and the whole was rebuilt, widening the south aisle to the width of the transept, so that there was a collegiate choir and a parish nave. It was abandoned in the eighteenth century, and in the beginning of this an attempt was made to pull down the tower, but it was abandoned as too hard a task. Some of it fell in 1828, hence its incomplete appearance. There are several brasses in the chancel, but the inscriptions are lost.

Lunch was served at the "Crown and Castle," after which the drive was continued to Butley Priory, of which only the gatehouse is left, now occupied by the Rector, the Rev. E. T. ELAND, who welcomed the visitors. The archway has been converted into a fine vaulted room. But the great feature is the five rows of coats-of-arms over the archway, which Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE described. The gateway at Kirkham resembles this, but is a little earlier, and there the shields are in pairs, representing marriages. Mr. Hope showed, by an exhaustive analysis of the heraldry, that, so far as the shields could be positively identified in the absence of colour, they represented benefactors or patrons, all of whom were living in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The date of the work was further fixed by the arms of Edward I and Eleanor of Castile. The elaborately wrought niches, the traceried flintwork panelling, and the vaulting with its carved bosses, all bore out the tale told by the heraldry. Down to late in the last century the gatehouse was a ruin, but has since been converted into a house. By the kindness of the Rector of Butley, its present occupier, the visitors were allowed to inspect the groined vaults visible within.

The drive continued to Woodbridge, whence the party returned to Ipswich.

Monday, July 31st.

The departure was at 9.25 by special train to Clare. The abbey was first visited. Part of the building is now a dwelling, inhabited by Mr. and Mrs. Gunston, who gave the party a kind welcome. Mr. ST. JOHN HOPE gave the history of the building in the cloister square, now a garden. It was a house of Austin Friars, founded by Richard de Clare, Earl of Hertford (ob. 1262), to whom is attributed the bringing over of the Order of Friars to which it belonged. The first buildings could only have been of a temporary character, inasmuch as the church was not built until after the founder's death, by his widow, to which his son's wife, the Lady Joan of Acre, daughter of Edward I, added the chapel of St. Vincent. Her daughter Elizabeth, Lady de Clare, foundress of Clare College, Cambridge, built the dormer, chapter-house, and frater, and died in 1360. The grand-daughter of this lady, Elizabeth de Burgh, Countess of Ulster, married Lionel of Antwerp, son of Edward III, created Duke of Clarence 1362, both of whom were buried here. The existing remains of the monastery include the south wall of the church, the cloister, with the doorways into the chapter-house, frater, &c., the western range of buildings and a detached two-storied building on the south-east. Mr. Hope explained that the preservation of so much was no doubt due to the monastery being built outside the town, instead of inside as was more usually the case with friars' houses. The church was the normal friars' church—a nave and choir, separated by a narrow passage, with a bell turret. The separate building in good preservation was next visited, which Mr. Hope said was the farmery or infirmary.

The party next proceeded to the castle, where the Marquis and Marchioness of Bristol were waiting to receive them. This castle is a group of earthworks, and a great conical mound crowned by a keep, said Mr. Hope, which G. T. Clark calls a burh. It is surrounded by a ditch and contains two courts, in one of which is the railway station. At first it had a palisade on the top of the rampart, with a house on the mound. There is a picture of taking just such a mound in the Bayeux tapestry. In time the stockade was replaced by stone, a circular curtain with triangular buttresses. At Norwich Castle, Acre, and Mileham we find a keep on a made mound. Contrary to the general opinion, this burh may be, according to Mr. Round, Norman, not Saxon, for there is no mention of a castle here in Domesday. Richard Fitz Gilbert (ob. 1090), was of Clare and Tunbridge, and at the latter place there is a similar castle, so he may have built both. Windsor and Carisbroke are mentioned in Domesday. At Thetford there is a mound the same size as this, 100 feet high and 250 feet in diameter at the base; at Clitheroe a similar one, stockaded at first, and the masonry afterwards followed the line of the stockade. Nearly all the castles in Normandy were stockaded first without a keep. The few remains of masonry here seem to be of the fourteenth century.

At the church the Curate, the Rev. W. S. SWIFT, welcomed the visitors. This fine building, said Mr. MICKLETHWAITE, was entirely rebuilt in the fifteenth century, except the fine thirteenth-century tower, with later windows inserted. This tower had lately been pronounced in so dangerous a condition as to necessitate its rebuilding, but through the intervention of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, it had been placed in the hands of Mr. Detmar Blow, under whose direction the whole of the rubble core had been taken out and replaced piecemeal, with new cement, without any interference with the external facing. The tower was now stronger than it had ever been before, it retained all its ancient features untouched, and Mr. Micklethwaite had the assurance to add that the same process which had been carried out here with the greatest success could have been applied with equal ease to the west front of Peterborough, had the Dean and Chapter allowed it. Of the reasonableness of such a statement most of our readers are pretty well able to judge for themselves. Mr. BLOW also explained, in detail, how the work had been done, and Dr. COX described the church plate. The lectern is Flemish. Dowsing records that he here broke down 1,000 superstitious pictures. There is a chalice with a papal mark, said to have been given by Elizabeth and to have been taken from the Armada.

Lunch was taken at the "Bell" Hotel, after which some of the party inspected a curious crypt under the shop of Mr. Pashler, a baker.

The members then drove to Kentwell Hall. This is approached by an avenue of lime trees of great beauty. The hall is an Elizabethan house, in plan three sides of a quadrangle, and is surrounded by a moat, while a second moat encloses the garden. It belonged at one time to John Gower, and afterwards to the Cloptons, by one of whom, who died in 1597, the present edifice was built. Except for the perfect condition of the brickwork externally, the house is not in any way remarkable, and the interior fittings are hopelessly modern. As in the case of Sockford Hall, what should have been stone dressings are of brick plastered over.

They then proceeded to Long Melford church. This, Mr. MICKLETHWAITE said, was the finest church they had seen in East Anglia. It was 50 years in building, from 1440 to 1490. Each part was the gift of some donor, of the families of Clopton, Martin, Hill, &c. There is no chancel arch. We have an account of its state in the time of Henry VIII by Mr. Martin, who owned a chapel and a piece of the churchyard—a unique case. The Clopton tomb was used as an Easter sepulchre. East of the vestries was a unique chapel, separate, surrounded by a cloister. Mr. BRABROOK, C.B., described the stained glass, wherein is almost the only picture of a serjeant's coif, now represented by the frill of linen round the patch in a judge's wig. There is a poem by Lydgate written on the walls of the north-east chapel.

In the evening the concluding meeting was held in the Town Hall, the President in the chair. Sir H. HOWORTH hoped that one result of their visit would be to stimulate the somewhat flagging zeal of Suffolk people in the archaeology of their county. The following new members were elected :—J. C. C. Smith, M. R. Weld, C. H. Master,

Rev. A. J. C. Connell, A. H. Lloyd, G. M. Brierley, Miss E. Tilley.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Mill Stephenson, the late Secretary of the Meetings, and to Mr. Knowles, the present one, as well as to Mr. Green, the Director, who were responsible for the arrangements which had made the Meeting so successful.

Votes of thanks were passed to the Mayor and Corporation for the use of the Town Hall; to the presidents of sections, and to the Local Committee and Secretary; to the clergymen who had shown the party their churches, and the gentlemen who had welcomed them to their houses, to the readers of papers, and the local Societies for their hospitality at the conversazione.

Tuesday, August 1st.

Leaving Ipswich in carriages at 9.45 a.m., the party arrived in due course at Hadleigh, where, in the unavoidable absence of the Rector, the Very Rev. R. M. Blakiston, F.S.A., Dean of Bocking, the church was described by the Rev. Dr. Cox, who called attention to the chief features of interest, and the lead-plated spire, which, he said, recalled that of Chesterfield, Derbyshire, except that it was not crooked. The picturesque brick gatehouse, now the Deanery, was next examined, and declared by Dr. Cox to have been built in 1495. The picturesque half-timbered Guildhall, adjoining the churchyard, was also inspected.

After luncheon the carriages were again entered and the journey resumed for Giffard's Hall. Unfortunately the drivers were ignorant of the way, and an hour's valuable time was lost before the right road was found. Giffard's Hall, where Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Brittain received the visitors, is a quadrangular half-timbered house of the reign of Henry VIII, but it has sustained much modern "restoration," and the only redeeming feature is the picturesque gatehouse, which retains its original doors, carved with the linen-napkin pattern. Little Wenham Hall, which was next reached, was quite one of the "plums" of the meeting, it not being one's good fortune every day to see an untouched thirteenth-century house. It now consists of a vaulted basement, L-shaped in plan, with the hall and chapel on the first floor, and another room over the chapel which seems always to have been used as a pigeon-house. The arrangements of the hall and chapel can easily be made out, and the latter has a low side window on the north placed at such a height from the ground as to effectually negate the silly "confessional" theory. The kitchen and other offices seem to have been attached to the south-west corner of the hall, where the door from the screens remains. Little Wenham Church is an interesting structure of the same date as the hall, consisting of chancel, nave, and tower, but it is at present disused and in a sadly neglected state. A luxuriant growth of ivy has also caused the fall of part of the roof tiling and collapse of the plaster ceiling. There are several monuments of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, each excellent in its way, as well as some good remains of painting on the east wall. There are also the base of a stone rood-screen, with the marks of the

nave altars and their reredoses, and a number of the ancient pews. The deplorable state of so interesting a building—one, too, which could so easily be repaired and kept in order—called forth many strong comments from Sir HENRY HOWORTH, Chancellor FERGUSON, Sir FRANCIS BOILEAU, and others, and a resolution was passed calling the attention of the vicar, the patron, and the bishop to the matter, and urging in respectful words that such an edifice should be maintained in decent repair. A pleasant drive to Ipswich brought the day's proceedings to a close.

The Ipswich meeting was a most successful one in every way, and as will be seen from the detailed account of the proceedings, a due proportion was maintained in the selection of places to be visited, so that the secular and domestic side was not sacrificed, as it might easily have been in Suffolk, to the ecclesiastical. The popularity of the meeting was shown by the large number of tickets, over 140, taken by members and their friends. The secretaries for the meeting, Mr. H. Longden and Mr. W. H. Knowles, F.S.A., deserve special thanks for the admirable way in which they carried out their duties.

November 1st, 1899.

Sir H. H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., President, in the Chair.

Mr. C. J. PRÆTORIUS exhibited a bronze celt found in the parish of Llangefni, Anglesey. It was picked up in 1856 by a ploughman. There is no ornament or design on it, but it is somewhat larger and heavier than usual.

Mr. R. E. GOLDEN showed photographs of remains of pile dwellings found this year on his property at Hedsor, in Buckinghamshire, opposite Cookham.

Judge BAYLIS, Q.C., Treasurer of the Inner Temple, read a paper on two doorways and a fragment of a staircase and arch recently found in the east wall of the inner buttery of the Inner Temple, supposed to be part of the building occupied by the Knights Templars, and called the "Novum Templum." On removing a large cupboard, in order to place a safe there, an old doorway was found built up. On taking out the filling a small recess was seen, in the south wall of which was an arched opening. On cutting into the rubble work, between the doorway and the angle on the right, part of an old staircase with four steps intact appeared. At the upper or south end of this was another doorway, the sill of which was about three feet below the floor of the inner buttery. Over the lintel was built in a moulded bench end of Purbeck stone, apparently taken from some church or building of earlier date. In the north wall of the buttery is a diagonal passage, now a cupboard, leading probably to buildings now destroyed. The old hall was built in the reign of Edward III and did not extend as far west as the present one. To make room for this extension the outer buttery was pulled down, as well as the outer wall, archway, and part of the old staircase. The new hall was built in 1868. The inventory still existing in the Record Office, made in 1307, when all the goods of the Templars were directed to be seized, mentions this

outer buttery and other offices now demolished, and the inference is that these doorways and staircase were a means of communication between these offices and the present inner buttery.

The Templars, who were founded in 1118, had their first headquarters in this country, the Old Temple on the site of the present Southampton Buildings on the east side of Chancery Lane, and moved to their New Temple, where they built the present round church, which was consecrated by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1185. The oblong choir was added fifty years later. The destruction of the outbuildings is attributed to the mob under Jack Cade in 1381.

Judge Baylis exhibited photographs and plans by Mr. Downing, the surveyor of the Temple, who has caused these interesting relics to be carefully preserved.

Mr. F. J. HAVERFIELD contributed a paper on "The Sepulchral Banquet on Roman Tombstones" (printed in the *Journal*). He also sent a short paper on a Roman charm from Cirencester (printed in the *Journal*).

Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Mr. G. E. FOX, and Mr. TALFOURD ELY took part in the discussion that followed.

December 6th.

Mr. EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A., Honorary Director, in the Chair.

Mr. J. HILTON exhibited a seal or stamp of Chinese manufacture in the form of a square die, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches across with a monstrous animal for handle, the whole carved in ivory. The stamp is an inscription in Chinese or Mongolian characters. This was sent to illustrate a drawing, lent by another member, of a similar stamp, made of red jade. Chinese merchants and officials use such stamps to sign their papers with in place of written signatures, which an ordinary Chinaman could not read. Further information is desired about the red jade seal, which is very rare.

Mr. HAROLD BRAKSPEAR read a paper on "the Church at Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire," which will be printed in the *Journal*. Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE took part in the discussion.

Mr. G. E. FOX read a paper on "Roman Suffolk," being the first part of the paper which he read at the meeting of the Society at Ipswich. The whole of this paper will shortly appear in the *Journal*.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

PORTRAITURE IN RECUMBENT EFFIGIES, AND ANCIENT SCHOOLS OF MONUMENTAL SCULPTURE IN ENGLAND. By ALBERT HARTSHORNE. Exeter: Pollard & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. 36.

In this interesting monograph, Mr. Hartshorne, author of *The Recumbent Monumental Effigies in Northamptonshire*, is dealing with a subject which is his own—that of monumental effigies. On them he is the worthy successor of his relative, the Rev. Thomas Kerrick, of Stothard, the first draughtsman of monumental effigies to make his drawings to scale and to copy accurately what he saw before him; of the brothers Waller, whose great work on brasses is unsurpassed; and of the brothers Hollis, whose volume on effigies, with steel engravings, is so scarce. All these authorities, from Stothard downwards, have laid special stress upon the value of monumental effigies, as faithful representation of armour and costume. Gough, in his stately folios, *Sepulchral Monuments*, paid some attention to the importance of certain effigies as portrait sculpture, but he was imperfectly seconded by his artist, and his engravings lack the necessary exactitude. Mr. Hartshorne now takes up the work, and attempts to continue it farther, by endeavouring to localise in a general way certain centres of monumental artistic work, or schools of sculpture, in England, and to indicate to what extent portraiture was carried out. Mr. Hartshorne considers that a certain proportion of the military effigies belonging to the thirteenth and the greater part of the fourteenth century, previous to the introduction of the common use of alabaster, may be accepted as portraits, and that the proportion among the effigies of ecclesiastics is still more numerous. For illustrations he refers to the abbatial effigies at Peterborough and the episcopal ones at Wells. In further illustration of his proposition, Mr. Hartshorne gives four plates, showing no less than forty-eight heads from monuments, male and female, military, ecclesiastical, and civilian. These will well repay careful study. The deterioration of portraiture in effigies appears to have come in with the use of alabaster. Incidentally, Mr. Hartshorne gives much information about “horses,” and about the “lively effigies” carried in funeral processions. In conclusion, we commend this monograph to the committee of the Congress of Archaeological Societies, that has in hand the making of a guide for persons willing to catalogue monumental effigies; they will get many useful hints from it.

HAWKSHEAD (THE NORTHERNMOST PARISH OF LANCASHIRE): ITS HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY, INDUSTRIES, FOLKLORE, DIALECT, &c. By HENRY SWAINSON COWPER, F.S.A. London: Bemrose & Sons. Large 8vo, pp. xvi, 540.

We own to an idea that that adventurous traveller Mr. Cowper, when he returns, sick and tired, after wandering over-land to the

Persian Gulf, or risking his life and health in the interior of Tripoli, finds, like Antæus, new vigour by contact with his native soil, and refreshes himself after his foreign toils by bringing out a laborious work on his native parish of Hawkshead. His local works and his books of travel sandwich with one another with the utmost regularity. First we have *Monumental Inscriptions, Hawkshead Parish*, which we noticed in 1892.¹ This was followed by *Through Turkish Arabia*, and then Mr. Cowper sought recreation and health by publishing *The Oldest Register Book of the Parish of Hawkshead in Lancashire*, a noble octavo of 555 pages.² Then came a charming and learned book of travels in Tripoli, *The Hill of the Graves*, after which Mr. Cowper found it necessary to rehabilitate himself by contact with his native soil, the result being a nobler octavo (nobler by at least half-an-inch) of 540 pages. We hear that Mr. Cowper will shortly be *en route* for Tripoli and Asia Minor, and we look forward to another learned book of travels, to be followed by another on Hawkshead.

And Hawkshead responds well to these demands upon it. A large parish with a Norse settlement, it has until recently preserved its original peculiarities and characteristics, as a piece of Old England, due in great measure to the fact that it is much isolated, owing to its water-girt condition. It is closed in by Windermere, Coniston, and Elterwater lakes, yet of these three lakes, as Mr. Cowper shows, no part belongs to the parish of Hawkshead, thus settling the much vexed question between the County Councils of Westmorland and Lancashire, as to whether Lancashire intrudes into Lake Windermere or not. Hawkshead can, however, boast lakes all its own—Esthwaite Water and Tarn Hows, both possessing a beauty of their own. There has been much misconception about this name. It appears in the parish registers in 1598 as Tarn house, and applied to the farmhouse adjacent to the Tarns, for there were originally three, nowadays coalesced into one, owing to a dam made by their owner. Next the name appears in 1656 as Tarnhows, Tarnehowes, or Tarnchows, *i.e.*, the fellside adjacent to the Tarns, but the guide books now make the name Tarnhause, *hause* being a hollow in the hills. For this there is no authority, but all the guide books know about the place is that wagonettes daily during the lake season drive tourists round the Tarns.

Our author commences his book with a survey of the parish as it is. The pre-Reformation chapelry of Hawkshead became a parish in 1578, and in 1676 the lower half of the original parish was cut off and became the independent parish of Colton. These two parishes subsequently became divided into four quarters, and of each of these ancient eight quarters Mr. Cowper gives an interesting description which is supplemented by a very clear map. In connection with the history of the parish, which takes up our author's second chapter, he gives a most interesting map of "The Norse Settlements in Hawkshead Parish." On this map the pre-Norse works and remains are shown in red. They include main and minor Roman roads, finds of stone weapons and implements, cairns, inclosures, dykes, stone circles, &c., most of which have been excavated by Mr. Cowper, and

¹ *Journal*, Vol. XLIX, p. 94.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. LV, p. 115.

recorded in *Archæologia*. In other chapters Mr. Cowper deals with the archæology and architecture, the dalesmen, the industries and occupations, the folklore, the dialect, place and family names, biographies, parish books and accounts, and the grammar school, where Wordsworth was educated. Mr. Cowper has a keen sense of humour, which crops up now and again in the midst of the strict subject matter. He protests against the degradation of Lakeland by the cheap trips promoted by the railway companies and by the building of villas, whose architecture is utterly unsuited for Lakeland, and which form blots in the scenery. We hope to meet Mr. Cowper again, when mounted on his Hawkshead hobby-horse. Presently, perhaps, he will give us a book upon Asia Minor, after which there will still be unpublished Hawkshead registers for him to deal with.

A CATALOGUE OF THE SCULPTURED AND INSCRIBED STONES IN THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, DURHAM. THE ROMAN SERIES by F. J. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.; THE ANGLIAN SERIES by WILLIAM GREENWELL, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A. Durham: Thomas Caldeleugh, 1899. 8vo, pp. iv, 156.

A CATALOGUE OF THE ROMAN INSCRIBED AND SCULPTURED STONES IN THE MUSEUM, TULLIE HOUSE, CARLISLE. By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A. Kendal: T. Wilson, for the Public Library and Museum Committee, Tullie House, Carlisle, 1899. 8vo, pp. 43.

A GUIDE TO TULLIE HOUSE, CARLISLE. By Chancellor FERGUSON, M.A., LL.M., F.S.A. Carlisle: C. Thurnam & Son, 1899. 16mo, pp. 24.

The prices of these three publications are as follow:—5s., 6d., and 1d. The last of them, the penny booklet, may be dismissed at once. It is an attempt to make the uneducated and the tripper take an intelligent interest in the contents of the museum at Carlisle. In too many cases people walk into a museum, stare round them for a longer or shorter time, and go away no wiser than they came. To such people elaborate catalogues costing 6d. or more are no use; they will not buy them. What they want is not a catalogue, but a brief and plain account of the contents of each room, obtainable for a penny. Of the two more elaborate catalogues, little need be said beyond drawing attention to the names on the title pages of the experts who compiled them, Mr. Haverfield and Canon Greenwell—the first, a recognised master in Roman inscriptions and antiquities, as the second is on Anglian and Saxon remains. In the Durham catalogue Mr. Haverfield deals with 52 sculptured Roman stones, and in the Carlisle one with 109. Canon Greenwell deals with 68 Anglian inscribed and sculptured stones, and has also furnished a supplement of 22 or 23 pages upon S. Cuthbert's coffin. The production of these valuable catalogues is due to the energy at Durham of the Dean and Chapter and at Carlisle of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society. They are well and properly illustrated, thanks largely to the liberality of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, who placed their valuable stock of blocks at the service of the promoters of these catalogues.

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