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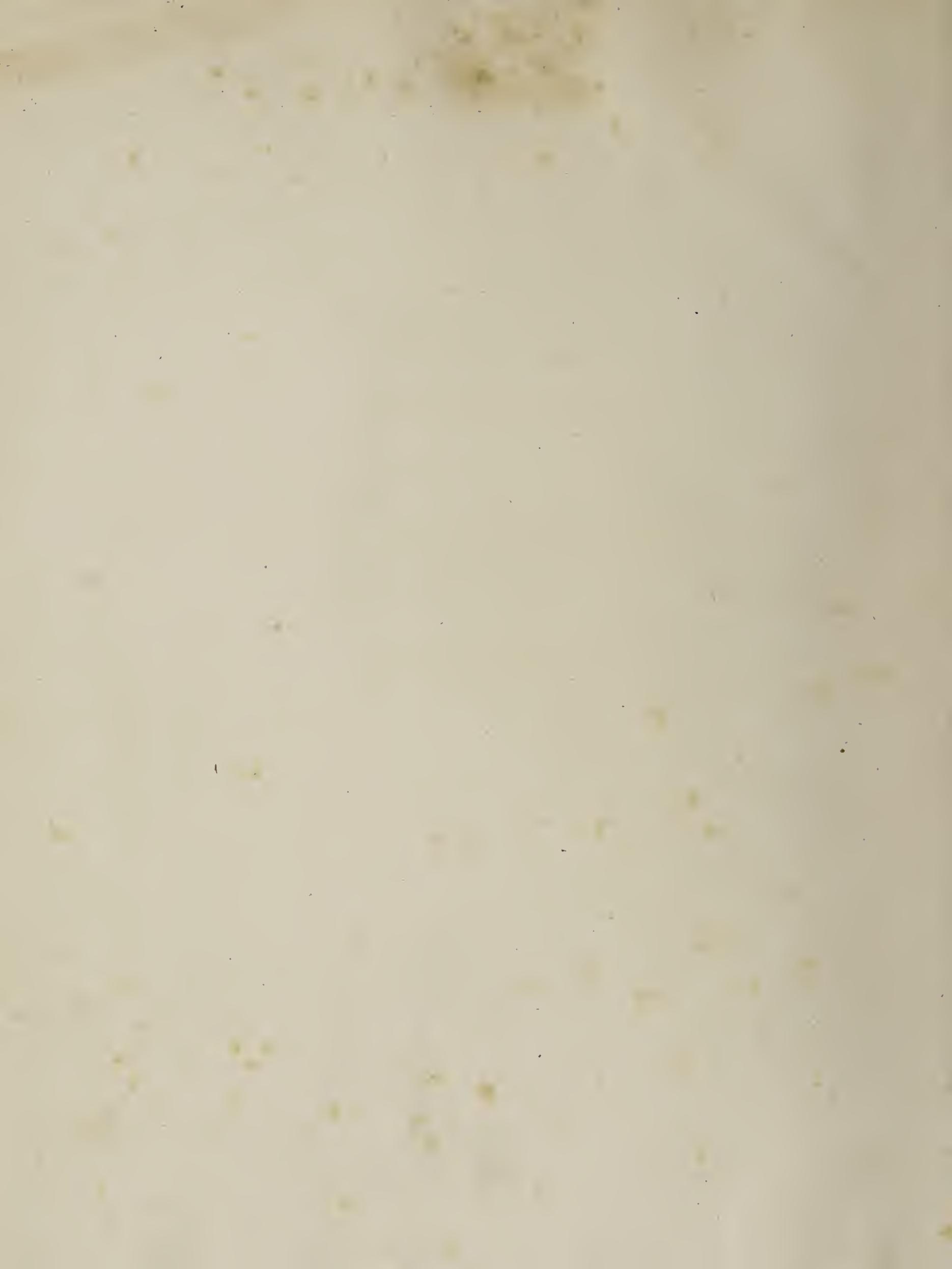
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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.



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# ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

## MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

### ANTIQUITY.

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*At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 31, 1782.*

**RESOLVED,**

**THAT** any Gentleman, desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir he may have presented to the Society, may be allowed, upon application to the Council, to have a certain number, not exceeding Twenty, printed off at his own expense.

*At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 23, 1792.*

**RESOLVED,**

**THAT** the Order made the 31st of May, 1782, with respect to Gentlemen who may be desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir they may have presented to the Society, be printed in the volumes of the Archaeologia, in some proper and conspicuous part, for the better communication of the same to the Members at large.

*At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 2, 1815.*

**ORDERED,**

**THAT**, in future, any Gentleman desirous to have separate Copies of any Paper he may have presented to the Society, which shall be printed in the Archaeologia, or Vetusta Monumenta, shall be allowed, on application in writing to the Secretary, to receive a number not exceeding Twenty Copies, (free of all expense,) of such Paper, as soon as it is printed.



ARCHAEOLOGIA ;  
OR,  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,  
&c.

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- I. *Of the King's Title of Defender of the Faith.* By ALEXANDER LUDERS, Esq. Communicated by SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V.P. F.R.S.

Read 1st May, 1817.

OUR Kings do not bear this title under the authority of Leo the tenth's Bull to Henry VIII. or that of Clement VII. his successor, who confirmed it. Although the original came from the church of Rome, the modern title is thoroughly English, and derived from our own legislature.

Henry was so pleased with the honour as to wear it after he had quarrelled with the Popes and denied their authority; and when he had ceased to be the Champion of the Holy See, in which character he had received the gift. From this time he became a founder of the title to his successors, who have held it under the authority of the statute 35 Hen. VIII. c. 3.

The original Bull of Leo is still preserved in the British Museum, though much impaired, of which there is a full copy in Rymer's *Fœdera*.<sup>a</sup> The Pope in this instrument lavishes abundance of praise

<sup>a</sup> Tom. xiii. p. 756, where there is a *fac simile* engraving of it: but a better has been lately added to the Reports on Publick Records, App. pl. 6. Selden likewise copied it in Tit. Hon. pt. 1. c. 5.

upon his dutiful son, for the zeal, learning, and other graces displayed in his book against Luther. He finds it to contain “*admirabilem quandam et cœlestis gratiæ rore conspersam doctrinam,*” for the utter confusion of hereticks; and affording a noble example to other Princes to maintain the orthodox faith with all their power. He then proceeds thus:

“ Now We holding it just to distinguish those who have undertaken such pious labours for defending the Faith of Christ, with every honour and commendation, and willing not only to extol and magnify with worthiest praises, the book which your Majesty hath written with most absolute learning and equal eloquence against the said Martin Luther, and to approve and confirm the same by our authority; but also to decorate your Majesty's person with such a name and title of honour, that all the faithful in Christ, in our own and all future times, may understand how pleasant and acceptable your Majesty's present, offered to us especially at this time hath been;

“ We who are the true successors of Peter whom Christ when about to ascend into heaven left for his Vicar upon earth, and to whom he committed the care of his flock, and who sit in this holy seat from whence all dignities and titles flow, after mature deliberation had upon the matter with our said brethren, have decreed with their unanimous advice and assent to confer upon your Majesty this Title, that is to say, *Defender of the Faith*; as we now do by these presents name you by such title. Commanding all the faithful in Christ by this title to describe your Majesty, and in their letters to add the words *Defender of the Faith* after that of *King*.”

The Pontiff adds that a more worthy title could not be found for such transcendent merit, and cautions the King not to be too much elated on the occasion; but to receive it with grateful humility, and go on in the same course, that he may become a glorious example to his posterity, and encourage them to deserve the same by treading in his steps. Granting his own and God's blessing upon him, his wife, and children, and all their descendants.

The date is of 11th Oct. 1521, 9th year of his pontificate. This

grant, we should say, according to our law, has no *proper words of limitation and inheritance*; for the blessing alone is conferred upon the wife and children and not the title. The inheritance seems not to be conveyed: So that none but the King himself could claim the honour, as peculiar to his person; unless in the opinion of his Holiness, the descendant should be thought to inherit the virtues of his ancestor. The original words of this article are, “*ut si tali titulo ipsi quoque, (i. e. posterì tui) insigniri optabunt, talia etiam opera efficere, præclaræque Majestatis tuæ vestigia sequi studeant; quam———unà cum uxore et filiis, ac omnibus qui à te et illis nascentur, nostrâ benedictione, in nomine illius à quo illam concedendi potestas nobis data est ———benedicentes—&c.*”

The Bull of confirmation granted two years afterwards by Clement VII. enlarges the King's praises beyond all bounds, of which it contains a load too heavy for any but a crownéd head to bear. But in respect of the title earned by his extraordinary merits, it simply confirms the grant of Leo to the King himself: *Approbamus, confirmamus, TIBIQUE perpetuum et proprium deputamus.*<sup>a</sup>

After the King's final breach with Rome he continued the use of the title as before; and as he wholly disregarded the Bull of Paul the Third, which declared him unworthy of that and every other dignity, and deprived him of his crown, his style and title were not affected by it. This Bull which issued in 1535 was afterwards suspended, and not finally put forth till 1538.<sup>b</sup>

After various acts of parliament had been made for declaring the succession of the Crown, it was thought proper to make one for the royal style and title. The statute of the year 1543, (35 Hen. VIII. c. 3.) had this object. It is called in the printed statute An Act for the ratification of the King's Majesty's Style. This takes no notice of any Papal Bulls, and declares the royal style in Latin and English, which “*shall be from henceforth—united and annexed for ever to the Imperial Crown of his Highness realm of England.*”

<sup>a</sup> Rym. F. tom. xiv. fol. 14.

<sup>b</sup> Burnet Hist. Ref. v. 1. Coll. pp. 166, 176.

Thus in Latin, “ H. VIII. Dei gratiâ Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex, fidei defensor, et in terrâ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum caput.” Thus in English, “ H. VIII. by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England and also of Ireland in earth the supreme Head.”

In this manner did an antipapal King and the Reformation Parliament give the most solemn effect to a Papal Bull, and fastened it to the Protestant King's Crown for ever.

Henry had assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church<sup>a</sup> by his own authority, at the time of its being acknowledged in Convocation, and some years before its establishment by statute 26 Hen. VIII.<sup>b</sup>

There were political reasons for assuming the title of *Defender of the Faith*, by those undutiful children of the Holy Father, Edward the sixth and Elizabeth, which perhaps would have led them to adopt the name, if it had not been prepared for them by law. For they wished to be held up to the rest of Europe as Defenders of the reformed Church, and were pleased with the opportunity of declaring this to all who might choose so to understand *the Faith* which they maintained and defended.

The statute beforementioned of 35 Hen. VIII. was repealed under Queen Mary, but was re-established by stat. 1 Eliz. c. 1. and under this authority the matter has rested.<sup>c</sup> The Kings of the Stuart family, popish or protestant, were all equally Defenders of the Faith, and William the Third as much so as James the Second, *by Statute in that case made and provided*. James the first issued a proclamation in the second year of his reign,<sup>d</sup> for declaring his royal title, in order to sink the names of England and Scotland into that of Great Britain; but

<sup>a</sup> See note (A) at the end.

<sup>b</sup> Co. Lit. 7. b.

<sup>c</sup> 4 Co. Inst. 344. The author considers the subject in another point of view, that this part of the act of Hen. VIII. was not repealed, but only the new treasons which it created.

<sup>d</sup> 20th Oct. 1604. See Book of Procl.

he made no other change: And none was made upon the subsequent union under Queen Anne. When upon the Irish Union it was judged expedient to reform the royal title, the sovereignty of France was thought superfluous and discarded. But the Defence of the Faith, though originating at Rome, seems to have been held too good a thing to be parted with.

The Kings of France, as eldest sons of the Church, had obtained their apostolical dignity much earlier. The title of *Most Christian* is considered to have been appropriated to them in the person of Lewis the eleventh;<sup>a</sup> a fine example to be held forth to the faithful, as the most Christian King; being one of the most odious wretches of a very vicious generation. Our Henry indeed proved an ungrateful child of the Holy See, but his character had nothing to disgrace the donor at the time of the gift; and though he renounced the Pope, he may be said to have defended the Catholick Faith to the last.

An examiner of more ancient history will find many instances where the Kings both of France and England, did occasionally assume titles similar to those which are now deemed peculiar to their several descendants. According to Henault, Pepin had received the title of Most Christian in A. D. 755, from the Pope, and Charles the Bald in 859 from a Council. Charles the sixth, in a charter of 1413 refers to ancient usage for the name. He makes use of these words, “—— nostrorum *progenitorum* imitatione——*evangelicæ veritatis*——*Defensores*. ——*nostra regia dignitas divino Christianæ religionis titulo gloriosius insignitur*<sup>b</sup>——.”

Lewis the eleventh in that formal set of instructions for his son which Comines has given at length,<sup>c</sup> mentions the title of *Très Chretien*, as acquired by the virtue, valour, and religious zeal of *many* of his ancestors. Francis the first in his memorial against the Emperor, derives it from the pious munificence of *his ancestors*, and the grateful acknowledgments of the Holy See.<sup>d</sup> In the reign of Charles the

<sup>a</sup> Nouv. Tr. de Diplom. tom. vi. p. 82.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 48.

<sup>c</sup> Mem. tom. v. p. 376. edit. Godefroi.

<sup>d</sup> Garnier Hist. de France, A. D. 1543.

eighth, the diplomattick use of it in publick instruments became regularly established. And it deserves to be remarked, (as if something curious and inconsistent were always doomed to attend these papal honours) that Pope Alexander the sixth endeavoured to deprive him of the title, that he might confer it upon Ferdinand of Arragon. But the Cardinals of the French party having remonstrated against his design, the Pope complimented the King of Arragon with the title of Most Catholick.<sup>a</sup> A favourite, indeed, full as worthy as he who had planted this jewel in the crown of France, too deep to be plucked away.<sup>b</sup> In a subsequent period Julius the second, when quarrelling with Lewis the twelfth, threatened to pursue the same course, and was actually preparing to transfer the title of *Most Christian*, from the King of France to Henry the eighth, when death prevented him.<sup>c</sup>

The earliest introduction of such phrases into the acts of the Kings of England, that has occurred to me, is of the reign of Richard the second. His charter to the Chancellor of Oxford in the 19th year of his reign has these words: “Nos zelo fidei catholicæ, cujus sumus et erimus Deo dante Defensores, salubriter commoti.” This zeal of the King was for the condemnation of Wickliffe’s *Triologus*.<sup>d</sup> The occasion of Charles the sixth’s charter beforementioned was similar in kind: so that both these instruments may be called theological. Henry the fourth of England in an instrument of the

<sup>a</sup> Ib. tom. ii. p. 183. and Giannone, tom. iii. p. 516.

<sup>b</sup> If the reader desires to see all the historical authorities relating to this article of French antiquity, he should read a learned tract by M. Bonamy, in the 29th volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, p. 268, to which is annexed a long list of quotations from their publick acts, tending to prove that the title *Christianissimus* has been often given to the Kings of France from the time of Pepin; and generally and constantly from the time of Lewis the Fat. It is not supposed to have been derived from any positive law or papal Bull. The note (B) at the end of this essay shews instances in which the ancient Kings of England have received it likewise. Selden in treating of this subject in his *Titles of Honour*, Part 1, chap. v. considers it as originally intended by the Popes to mark an exclusion of paganism or judaism, which that of *Most Catholick* in Spain signified against heresy; of which he refers to very ancient examples, even before the Saracen invasion.

<sup>c</sup> Guicciardini, lib. 11<sup>mo</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Rym. F. tom. vii. p. 806.

same character, it being for the punishment of Sorcerers and Witches, uses a phrase like that of his predecessor.<sup>a</sup> The writ de Hæretico comburendo in his reign is in this style, viz. *Zelator justitiæ et Fidei catholicæ cultor*;<sup>b</sup> in support whereof the Sheriff is commanded, *according to law divine and human to burn with fire, &c.*

If according to the french authors the dignity of Très Chrétien was considered to have belonged peculiarly to their sovereigns, this will account for the more frequent appearance of the phrase in our acts and instruments of state during the time of Henry VI. His having been crowned in France with the usual ceremonies, may have led to the current use of the title in his person. Its first application to him that has occurred to me, is of the year 1432, in the opening of the parliament,<sup>c</sup> and near the time of his french coronation. But it occurs in a more remarkable instance in the year 1440, the 18th of his reign; in a treaty with a prince of the blood of France.<sup>d</sup> The Duke of Orleans a prisoner here from the battle of Agincourt, in the articles for his deliverance, is made to give Henry the title *Christianissimus*; and, more extraordinary, does not so describe his own King and cousin. However at this period it is not found in common use among the french acts of state.

But before this time Richard the second had described himself in the same manner, in letters addressed to the Pope; of which there are two examples in Rymer (one a duplicate of the other, and sent at a different time) wherein he styles himself *Vester filius christianissimus*.<sup>e</sup> Yet Edward the third does not appear ever to have assumed the title himself, or to have been so addressed or described in publick acts. His royal style was not changed in this respect, after the assumption of the title of France, which he was always anxious to place first and foremost. But as the French Kings, after it became common with them, did not take the addition in describing them-

<sup>a</sup> Rym. F. tom. viii. p. 427.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. p. 627.

<sup>c</sup> Parl. Ro. tom. iv. p. 388.

<sup>d</sup> Rym. F. tom. x. p. 776.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. tom. vii. p. 207, 361.

selves, only requiring it in the third person, the abovementioned style of Richard II. cannot be called french, or derived from the forms of that court.

The authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie* refer to one example only of such form, which they take from Rymer's collection.<sup>a</sup> It appears in the oath whereby Francis the first confirmed his treaty with Henry VIII. in 1527;<sup>b</sup> but not in the instruments of the treaty itself. The example is therefore an extraordinary one, and not so properly a form of state as of religion.

There are some instruments in the Parliament Rolls of Henry the sixth's reign in which the King is styled in english *Most Christian*, and in latin *Christianissimus*. The first is of the 20th year in the grant of a peerage.<sup>c</sup> Edward IV. followed this example; as appears in his treaty with the Earl of Ross of the Isles, in the first year of his reign,<sup>d</sup> and in a treaty with the King of Denmark in his fifth year.<sup>e</sup> In the former, in english, he is styled *Most high and christian Prince, and most christian King*: In the other, in latin, *Illustrissimus et Christianissimus Princeps*. In his first parliament upon assuming the crown, the Speaker addresses him as "Most Christian King," and again in the 12th year.<sup>f</sup>

Hen. VII. likewise used this style, of which there is an instance in his contract with the Abbot of Westminster for the foundation of his chapel there, in his 19th year.<sup>g</sup> This hard-hearted and unchristian prince was the last of our Kings who described himself as most christian. His son having obtained a more exalted name, as champion of the Faith, from the father of the Church, had no occasion to derive any honour of that sort from a borrowed crown.

Inconsistent as this popish heraldry appears on the crest of a pro-

<sup>a</sup> Vol. vi. 99.

<sup>b</sup> Rym. F. tom. xiv. p. 216. *Nos Franciscus Dei gratia Francorum Rex Christianissimus, promittimus, &c.*

<sup>c</sup> Parl. Ro. vol. v. pp. 40, 45.

<sup>d</sup> Rym. F. tom. xi. p. 484.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. 552.

<sup>f</sup> Parl. Ro. vol. v. 462. Ib. vi. p. 8.

<sup>g</sup> See note (B) at the end of this essay.

testant King, there is high authority and example for the case. The custom of styling every Roman Emperor *Pontifex Maximus*, i. e. High Priest of the Gods, had become so fixed in their imperial state, that the idolatrous phrase was continued for many generations, and even centuries, after the empire became Christian, and after idolatry had been declared a capital crime. It is equally extraordinary that a modern Emperor should have assumed this inconsistent title. Yet the fact is told of Maximilian I. in a book of the best authority. Abbé du Bos in his history of the League of Cambray relates,<sup>a</sup> that when he formed the extravagant design of becoming Pope, he sometimes described himself in his imperial style *Pontifex Maximus*. We learn from Selden<sup>b</sup> that the Emperors had from very early times been styled *Defensores ECCLESIAE*; which he derives from their oath in the formal inauguration, *to be everlasting defenders of the Church of Rome*.

<sup>a</sup> Liv. 2. A. D. 1510.

<sup>b</sup> Tit. Hon. part 1. c. 5.

*Note A referred to in p. 4.*

Giannone has passed his censure on this high stretch of power exercised by our King. He argues against it from the nature and principles of spiritual authority, as distinguished from the temporal. Those who may have occasion to examine the subject should read Bishop Ellys's Tract upon it, and will also find instruction in the last chapter of the first book of Giannone's *Istoria Civile di Napoli*. This author shews that there is the same kind of error in the papal claim of temporal authority, as derived *Apostolico Jure*; citing a letter of St. Bernard's to the Pope, in which he tells him, alluding to St. Peter, "nec enim ille tibi dare quod non habebat potuit."

But I find the measure to be of more ancient date than the reformation, or Henry the eighth. The project of Maximilian to become Pope is well known; but he entertained another ambition more dangerous to the Papacy. This was to get himself declared by a general Council *Head of the Church*, in quality of Chief of the Empire, and to unite the spiritual and temporal powers, after the manner of the Roman Emperors. With this view he took the title of *Pontifex maximus*. Du Bos who relates this, writes (*a*) that the learned Ockham, our countryman, who fled from the Pope's excommunication to the Emperor Lewis V. of Bavaria, (Emperor from the year 1322 to 1347, and likewise excommunicated by the Pope)

(*a*) Ligue de Camb. liv. 2.

had published a book in which this scheme is recommended to the Emperors, in order to fortify themselves against Papal usurpations. It does not appear that Lewis, though he deposed the Pope and was able to maintain the imperial against the papal authority, put the design in practice. But as Ockham's writings, according to Sleidan, were much esteemed in Germany and among the Ghibellines, it is very probable that Maximilian may have been encouraged by them to make the attempt. Thus Henry the eighth's conduct may have proceeded as much from example, as from any fancy of his own. In Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica* there is an account of Ockham and his writings.

*Note B referred to in pp. 6 and 8.*

See N° 1498 of the Harleian Manuscripts. The learned writer of the first Harleian catalogue, Mr. Wanley, who describes the article in which this instrument of Henry VII. is contained, adds a note upon the King's use of the title, for the purpose of mentioning some examples that he had found, both before the Conquest and after, in which it had been given to Kings of England. His researches in english history were extensive.

T. Wikes in his Chronicle applies it to Henry the third in 1268, in the following words—“*annuente Christianissimo Anglorum Rege.*” Thomas Elmham and Titus Livius à Frulo-visiis, writers of Henry the sixth's time, apply it occasionally to him and Henry the fifth in the same manner. But these examples carry no authority with them. If the title should be found bestowed upon Kings of England in the Bulls of Popes, perhaps it would appear to have been occasioned by peculiar circumstances : such, for instance, as their engaging in a Crusade, or the like. Of this there is an example in the case of Edward the first, upon the expedition proposed by him in 1291. The Pope on that occasion describes him as *Christianissimus Princeps Edwardus Angliæ Rex.* (a)

(a) Rym. F. tom. ii. p. 114. 514.

II. *Copy of a Letter from Queen Elizabeth to King James the Sixth of Scotland, in the possession of Mrs. Barker. Communicated by the Rev. S. WESTON, B.D. F.R.S. and S.A.*

Read 8th May, 1817.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

THE care of your estate, with feare of your neglect, so afflicts my mind, as I may not overslip the sending you a noble man to sarve you, for a memoriall of my readines, and desiar of your Spede. The sledik dame who whan she is turned leaves no after step to witnes her arrival save repentance, that beareth to sower a recorde of her short abode, may make you so far awake that you have never cause throuwe long discourtesy to loose the bettar knowledge of hidenst tressor. One hour bredes a dayes gain to gilefull spirits, and gilty conscience skills more to shift than ten wisar heds knowes how to win. Let the anfld be striken while hit is warm, for if hit growe colde, the Goldsmith mars his worke, and the owner his Juels; hit vexith me to se that thos of whom the very filds of Scotland could, if the might speke truly, tel how ther banners wer displaid again your pson who divers nights did sentenel ther acts; thos selfe same be but now bid to award who long ago God wot aught so have smarted as you nede not now examen ther treachery. All this I say not for any gaping for any man's bloud, God is witnes, but wische you savid wher ever the rest go; and this, I must tel you, that if the lands of them that do deserve no brethe wer made but yours (as ther owne acts have caused) you should be a richer prince, and than abler of your owne to defend a King's honor, and your owne Life. Me thinks I frame this lettar like to a Lamentation wiche you wyl pardon whan the matter bids hit so. I cannot but bewaile that any lewd unadvisid hedsick fellow, a subject of myne, should make his Soveraen be supposed of les gouvernement than mistres of her word. I have never yet dishonored my tonge w<sup>t</sup> a leasing, not

to a menar person than a King, and wold be ashamed to desarve so fowle an infamy. I vow I never Knewe but did forbid that ever he should enter my territory that so boldly attempted your dores. You knowe best what I writ for that, and he, as I heare, hath hard it so much as hardly he wyl trust my hands to be his safe refuge. Yet you knowe best what was offerd, and why he was not made more desperat. If your long expected and never had as yet answer had not lingard, I think he wold have gone far ynough or now. Let this suffice, be your doinges as sounde as my profession staunche, and I warrant no Spaniard nor ther King shal have ever footing so nere to you or me. Trust I pray you never a Conquerar w<sup>t</sup> trust of his kindnes, nor never raign *precario more* whan you may rule *regis regula*. Now I do remember your Cumbar to rede such skribled Lines, and pray the Almighty to cover you safely under his bleased wings.

Your most loving

Sistar

ELIZABETH R.

To our deare Brother the  
Kyng of Scotts.

Delivered by the L<sup>d</sup> Borrough  
y<sup>e</sup> vi M<sup>r</sup>che 1592.

III. *An Attempt at a Glossary of some Words used in Cheshire.*  
 By ROGER WILBRAHAM, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A. Commu-  
 nicated in a Letter to SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V.P. F.S.A.

Read 8th May, 1817.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

ALTHOUGH a Glossary of the words peculiar to each County of England seems as reasonable an object of curiosity as its History, Antiquities, Climate, and various Productions, yet it has been generally omitted by those Persons who have undertaken to write the Histories of our different Counties. Now each of these Counties have words, if not exclusively peculiar to that County, yet certainly so to that part of the kingdom where it is situated, and some of those words are highly beautiful and expressive; many of their phrases, adages, and proverbs are well worth recording, and have occupied the attention and engaged the pens of men distinguished for talents and learning, among whom the name of Ray will naturally occur to every person at all conversant with his mother tongue, his work on Proverbs and on the different Dialects of England being one of the most popular ones in the English Language. But there is a still more important benefit to be derived from this custom, were it practised to its full extent in a publication comprising all the provincial Dialects of England, as they would when united all together form the only true and solid foundation for a work much wanted, a General Dictionary of the English Language.<sup>a</sup>

Far be it from me to attempt in the least to depreciate the wonderful powers displayed by Dr. Johnson in his Dictionary, although it is now pretty well ascertained that he was himself much dissatisfied

<sup>a</sup> This deficiency will soon be supplied by the completion of a new edition of Johnson's Dictionary by the Rev. H. J. Todd, whereof ten Parts out of eleven are already published. The whole form the most comprehensive and satisfactory Dictionary of the English Language.

with it; but as an **Etymological Dictionary**, it certainly has no claim whatever to praise; for the learning of **Dr. Johnson**, extensive as it was, yet did not embrace a knowledge of the Gothic, Teutonic, or Anglo-saxon Languages, nor of the other various Northern Sources of our Language; and moreover he seems to have had very little acquaintance with the old French or Norman Languages. By following the traces of **Junius** and of **Skinner**, he has indeed, though not very successfully, attempted to supply the former deficiency; but to remedy the latter, namely, his ignorance of the old French Language, was not so easy a task; his own labour and industry in that branch of learning being absolutely necessary, as there is scarcely a single **Lexicographer** of the English Tongue, who, though aiming at **Ety-mology**, seems to have possessed a competent knowledge of the old French Language.

Most of the leading terms in all our provincial **Dialects**, omitting those which are maimed and distorted by a coarse or vicious pronunciation, are not only **Provincialisms** but **Archaisms** also, and are to be found in our old English authors of various descriptions; but those terms are now no longer in general use, and are only to be heard in some remote province where they have lingered, though actually dead to the Language in general.

Ut Silvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos

Prima cadunt, ita verborum vetus interit Ætas.      HOR.

The truth of this observation of the poet is fully illustrated by an example taken from this very **Cheshire Dialect**, there being several words recorded by **Ray** as belonging to it, which are even now no longer in use, at least as far as it could be ascertained by the investigations made by the writer of this; so that they have actually perished since the time of **Ray**.

Provincial words accompanied by an explanation of the sense in which each of them still continues to be used in the districts to which they belong, would be of essential service in explaining many obscure terms in our early poets, the true meaning of which, although it may

have puzzled and bewildered the most acute and learned of our Commentators, would perhaps be perfectly intelligible to a Devonshire, Norfolk, or Cheshire Clown.

Some of our provincial Dialects, as the North Devon, Lancashire, and a few others, are already in print, though in a very imperfect state, but by far the greatest number of them, either have not yet been collected, or if they have, exist solely in MS.

To bring these all together, as well those which have already been published, as what might be collected from different MS. copies, as well as from Individuals now living, is a most desirable object, and would form a work eminently useful to any English Philologist who might have the courage to undertake and the perseverance to accomplish A General Dictionary of the English Language.

In a letter I formerly received from the late Jonathan Boucher, Vicar of Epsom, (a gentleman, who, had he lived to execute his plan of a General English Dictionary, would probably have rendered the observations here made quite superfluous,) he mentions the great similarity in many instances between the Dialects of Norfolk and of Cheshire, though the same similarity does not subsist between either of them and those of the interjacent Counties, and expresses his wish to have some Reason given for this circumstance. His observation I knew at that time to be well-founded, but I professed myself unable to explain it; however having since that time reflected a good deal upon this singular circumstance, I will endeavour at least in some measure to account for it.

The truth of the Observation made by the same learned Gentleman, that all Provincialisms are also Archaisms, to those who are well acquainted with our old English authors is too evident to stand in need of an Illustration. Now the County Palatine of Chester, having been in great measure a separate Jurisdiction till the days of Queen Elizabeth, had very little intercourse with the neighbouring Counties; the principal Families of the County, and much more those in a middle station of life, for the most part intermarried among each other, and rarely made connections out of the County, a prac-

tice which is recommended in an old Cheshire adage; so that the original customs and manners as well as the old Language of the County have received less changes and innovations, than those of most other parts of England.

The Inhabitants of Norfolk too, living in an almost secluded part of England, surrounded on three sides of it by the Sea, having little intercourse with the adjoining Counties have consequently retained in great measure their ancient Customs, Manners, and Language, unchanged by a mixture with those of their neighbours. Even at this day in Norfolk a person born out of the County is called a Shireman or rather Sheerman, i. e. one born in some of the Shires or Counties of England; not without some little expression of contempt on that very account. So that the two Languages of Cheshire and Norfolk, having suffered less innovation from a mixture with others, have also retained more of their originality, and consequently must bear a closer resemblance to each other than what is observable between most of the other Provincial Dialects of England.

Dr. Ash in his English Dictionary has admitted many words which belong to the Cheshire Dialect; these he has evidently taken from Ray's Proverbs; others he marks as obsolete or as local. With regard to those called by him obsolete, it is apprehended, if they are still in use in any part of England, the term obsolete is improper. Of those which he calls local he does not specify their precise locality, so that the reader is left at liberty to assign them to whatever district of England he pleases. He has some Cheshire words also to which he has attributed a different meaning from what they now bear in the County. These three last descriptions of words, namely those Dr. Ash marks as local, those called by him obsolete, and those to which he has given a different sense from what they now convey, have all a place in this imperfect Glossary.

A few words are likewise admitted on the sole authority of Ray, though some of them never occurred to the Compiler of this Catalogue, whose communications in different parts of the County have since his early days been very slight and merely occasional.

The very great resemblance of the Dialects of Cheshire and of Lancashire may be observed by the frequent repetition of the Abbreviation Lan. in this Glossary.

One peculiarity in the English Language is to change, if I may not say soften the pronunciation of many words in the middle of which is the letter L preceded by either of the consonants A or O. Thus in common discourse we pronounce Bawk for Balk, Caaf for Calf, Haaf for Half, Wawk for Walk, Tawk for Talk, Foke for Folk, Stawk for Stalk, and St. Awbans for St. Albans; but in the Cheshire Dialect as in all the other Northern ones this custom as well as the practice of substituting the *o* for the *a* and the double *ee* for the *igh* is still more, thus we call

All . . . . .	aw	Hall . . . . .	haw
Always . . . . .	awways	Long . . . . .	lung
Alsager	} names of places {	Man . . . . .	mon
Altrincham		Auger	
Alvanley		Autrincham	
		Moldy . . . . .	mouldy
Bold . . . . .	bowd	Many . . . . .	mony
Calf . . . . .	cauf	Manner . . . . .	monner
Call . . . . .	caw	Might . . . . .	meet
Can . . . . .	con	Mold . . . . .	mowd
Cold . . . . .	cowd	Pull . . . . .	poo
Colt . . . . .	cowt	Soft . . . . .	saft
Fold . . . . .	fowd	Bright . . . . .	breet
Gold . . . . .	gowd	Scald . . . . .	scawd
False . . . . .	fause	Stool . . . . .	stoo
Fowl, dirty . . . . .	fow	Right . . . . .	reet
Fool . . . . .	foo	Fine . . . . .	foin
Full . . . . .	foo	Twine . . . . .	twoin
Fine . . . . .	foin	Flight . . . . .	fleet
Hold . . . . .	howd	Lane . . . . .	loan or lone
Holt . . . . .	howt	Mol . . . . .	mal
Half . . . . .	hauf	Sight . . . . .	see
Halfpenny . . . . .	hawpenny	Sit . . . . .	seet
		Suck . . . . .	sick

The following Abbreviations have been adopted :

Lancashire	-	-	-	-	-	Lan.
Junius, Etymologicon Anglicanum	-	-	-	-	-	Jun.
Skinner, Etymologicon Ling. Angl.	-	-	-	-	-	Skin.
Wachter, Glossarium Germanum	-	-	-	-	-	Wach.
Ihre, Glossarium Suio Gothicum	-	-	-	-	-	Ihre
Kilian, Etymologicon Linguae Teotiscæ	-	-	-	-	-	Kil.
Somner, Dictionarium Saxo-Latino-Anglicum	-	-	-	-	-	Som.
Jamieson, Scotch Dictionary	-	-	-	-	-	Jam.
Law Latin Dictionary	-	-	-	-	-	L. L. D.
Nyerup, Glossarium Linguae Teotiscæ	-	-	-	-	-	Nye
Promptorium parvulorum Clericorum	-	-	-	-	-	P. P. C.
Ortus Vocabulorum	-	-	-	-	-	Ort. Voc.
Ray's Proverbs	-	-	-	-	-	Ray.
Grose's Provincial Glossary	-	-	-	-	-	G. P. Gl.
Ash's Dictionary	-	-	-	-	-	Ash.
Palsgrave, L'Ecclaircissement de la langue Francaise	-	-	-	-	-	Pal.
Hormanni Vulgaria	-	-	-	-	-	H. V.
Littleton's Dictionary	-	-	-	-	-	Litt. D.
Benson's Anglo-saxon Dictionary	-	-	-	-	-	Ben.
Shakespeare	-	-	-	-	-	Shak.
Old Word	-	-	-	-	-	O. W.
Preposition	-	-	-	-	-	Prep.
Verb	-	-	-	-	-	V.
Participle	-	-	-	-	-	Part.
Substantive	-	-	-	-	-	S.
Adverb	-	-	-	-	-	Ad.
Adjective	-	-	-	-	-	Adj.
Anglo-saxon	-	-	-	-	-	A. S.

#### A.

Achorn, or rather Aitchorn, *s.* to go aitchorning is to go gathering

Acorns. The Pigs are gone o' aitchorning.

Ackersprit, *adj.* said of Potatoes, when the roots germinate before

the time of gathering them, and consequently are of little value. Corn and particularly Barley, which has germinated before it is malted, is said by the Malsters in the eastern Counties of England to be acrespired or eagerspired, i. e. early grown.

Ackerspyre, to sprout, to germinate. Jam.

Agate, adverbial expression, means not only a person up and recovered from a sick bed, but also one that is employed; he is agate marling or ploughing.

Aitch, Aitches, *s.* so pronounced; ache, aches, pain, pains. It is also used for a paroxysm in an intermitting Disorder. This seems to be the same word in an extended sense. A. S. Ace, dolor; pain, ach. Som.

Agoe, *s.* Ague.

Anainst, *prep.* opposite, over against. O. W. Chaucer.

Aneend, *adv.* upright, not lying down, on one end; when applied to a four-footed animal it means rearing or what the Heralds call rampant. It is always pronounced añēēnd, and possibly should be written on eend. Aneend means also perpetua y, evermore.

Antrims, *s.* whims, vagaries, peevishness; the same as Tanterums or Anticks. Anticks however is common.

At after, *adv.* afterwards.

## B.

Bacco, *s.* Tobacco. Lan.

Bagging-Time, *s.* Lan. the time of the afternoon Luncheon.

Baith, *adj.* both.

Bandy-Hewit, *s.* a little bandy-legged Dog, a Turn spit. Of Hewit I can make nothing unless it be a corruption of Keout, which itself is probably derived from Skout. See in voce Keout, Lan. where a different explanation of it is given.

Bain, *adj.* near, convenient; common in the North. Jamieson derives it from the Islandic been-a expedire.

Ballow, *v.* to select or claim. It is used by boys at play, when they

select a goal or a companion of their game. I ballow, or ballow me that situation, or that person.

**Batch, s.** besides the common sense of a general baking, implies the whole of the wheat flour which is used for making common household bread, after the bran alone has been separated from it.

**Batt, v.** to wink or move the eye lids up and down; to bate is a Term of falconry, when the Falcon beats his wings in this manner.

**Bawm, v.** to prepare, dress or adorn. At Appleton in Cheshire it is the custom at the time of the wake to clip and adorn an old Hawthorn which stands in the Town. This Ceremony is called the Bawming of Appleton Thorn. I am inclined to think the word should be bouning. To boun is an old North Country word meaning to prepare or make ready. Bo, Boa, is the Sui. Got. for to prepare; Ihre. Bwa is Islandic for the same.

**Bawson, or Bawsin, s.** a Badger. Skinner derives it fantastically enough from Beau Sein, &c. &c. Bawsand, Bassant, or Bawsint in Jam. is a term applied to a horse or cow having a white spot in the forehead or face, which is exactly the case of the Badger, and seems a more appropriate Etymology of the word, which on that account alone (it being in Johnson) has a place here.

**Bedeet, part. or adj.** dirtied, seems to come from the Scotch word Bedyit dipped, and that from the A. S. word Deag-an tingere, imbuere. See Jamieson. To deet is to dirty.

**Been, or bin,** is the plural of the present tense of the verb to be. Lan. Beet the fire; to light, or, as we say, to make the fire: from boeten het vier, struere ignem. Kil.

**Berry, s.** a Gooseberry.

**Bidding, s.** an invitation to a funeral is so termed.

**Bight, s.** a projection in a river, a projecting or receding Corner. It is commonly used in Sea voyages. The Bight of Benin on the Coast of Africa. It is an O. W. for the elbow. A. S. bygan, flectere. Som.

**Bing, v.** to begin to turn sour, said of milk.

**Bir, Birre, Ber, Burre, s.** impetus; to take birr is to run with violence

as a person does before taking a great leap. See the Glossary to Wicliffe's New Testament by Lewis, Matt. 8. "and lo in a great bire al the Drove (of Swine) went heed-lyng into the Sea." See also Apoc. c. 18. Bir, ventus secundus. Hickes's Island. Dict. See also Douglas's Glossary. From the same source is derived what is called the bore or eager in a tide-river.

Bobber, *adj.* bobberous the same word, sawcy, pert. Bob, or dry bob is an old word for a merry joke or trick. Dobson's Drybobs is the title of a merry Story Book, we still use the phrase to bear a bob, or bobbish, for pretty well, in familiar Discourse.

Boke, *v.* to poke, or thrust out. Lan.

Boosy Pasture, *s.* the pasture which lies contiguous to the Cow Stall or Boose.

Booty-house, *s.* is an expression used by Children for an old Box or Shelf, or any place ornamented with bits of glass or broken earthen ware in imitation of an ornamented Cabinet, probably a corruption of Beauty.

Boss, *s.* a hassock to kneel upon in Church, by Grose erroneously, as I apprehend, called a Doss or Poss.

Bout, *adv.* or *prep.* without; "Better bad than Bout," as I heard a woman say when urged to quit a bad Husband. See Jam. under But and Ben, the outside and inside of a House.

Bracco, or Braccow, used only when compounded with another word, as work-bracco, diligent, laborious. Ray.

Brēad (pronounced long) breadth or extent; there is a great bread of corn this year, i. e. a greater extent of land than usual, sown with corn this year.

Bricko, *adj.* brittle. Brica, ruptor, A. S. Som.

Brid, *s.* bird, O. W. Wicliffe's New Testament. P. P. C.

Brief, *adj.* Rife, prevalent; said chiefly of disorders. Agoes been brief. Agues are common.

Brimming, *adj.* or *part.* Lan. A Sow is said to be brimming when maris appetens, A. S. Bremend, mugiens, fervens. Som.

C.

- Cale, or Kale, *s.* turn, chance, perhaps only call. It is used by Persons doing any thing by rotation. It is my cale now. Kele, Lan. Cant, *adj.* strong, lusty. Ash calls it local.
- Capo, *s.* a working horse, Ray. Corrupted from Capyl or Capel, O.W. or Ceffyl, Welsh.
- Carve, or Kerve, *v.* to grow sour: local according to Ash.
- Cauf-kit, or Crib, *s.* a place to put a sucking calf in. A. S. Crybbe, præsepe, Som.
- Chem, or Tchem, *s.* team, a team of horses, a team of wild ducks. Somner talks of a team of young pigs.
- Childer, *s.* Children, Lan. The Ang. Sax. plural termination.
- Chimly, or rather Chimbley, *s.* Lan. the chimney.
- Chunner, *v.* to grumble: a chunning ill-conditioned fellow. Ceonian obmurmurare, Ben.
- Clap, *v.* to squat, to take her seat as a hare does; from the French, se clapper, se tapir, se cacher dans un trou.
- Claver, *s.* idle talk; Scotch, Jam. Claffer is German for garrulus.
- Clem, *v.* clem'd part, Lan. starved with hunger. Ash calls it local.
- Clots, or Clouts, *s.* Burdock, Teut. Clotte, so says Skinner.
- Clussum'd, *adj.* clumsy, Lan. according to Ray, but it means more, *i. e.* a hand benumbed with cold, and so far clumsy; perhaps a corruption of closened.
- Cob, *v.* to throw, Lan.
- Coggle, Keggles, Kickles, Tickle, *adj.* easily moved, all I believe the same word.
- Collow, *v.* to blacken, to colour, to make black with a cole. Charbonner. Pal.
- Commin, *s.* the common, waste land.
- Conny, or Canny are used as brisk, lively. In all the dead Northern Languages their Etymology may be found.
- Cooth, *s.* a cold. Coth. A. S. morbus, valetudo, Som.

- Cotter, *v.* to mend, repair, or assist with little effect.
- Cowlick, *s.* is that part of a cow's hide where the hairs of it having different directions meet, and form a projecting ridge of hair. This is believed to be produced from the cow licking herself. The same term is used when the same thing occurs in the human head.
- Cow-Shorn, or Sharn, as in Lan. *s.* the leavings of the cow. In Cumberland, according to Grose, it is Cow-skam. Dung, in Teutonic, is Sharn; in Suio Got. Skarn, and a Shar Bud is an O. W. for a beetle, rather called so from continually living under horse or cow dung, than for its being found under shards or broken earthen-ware. A. S. Scarn, Fimus, Stercus, Cow-dung, Som.
- Cradant and Cradantly, *s.* and *adv.* Crassant and Crassantly, which two last words are admitted on the sole authority of Ray, coward, cowardly; to set cradants among boys is to do something hazardous, to take any desperate leap which cradants dare not undertake after you.
- Creem, *v.* the same as teem, to pour; also to put slyly into one's hand. Ash calls it local.
- Crewdle or Croodle, *v.* to crouch together like frightened chickens.
- Crewdling, *s.* a dull stupid person, a slow mover.
- Crope and Croppen, *v.* and *part.* perfect tense and participle of the verb to creep, Lan.
- Currake, *s.* cowrake, used to clean the cow-house from filth.

D.

- Daddle, *v.* to walk with short steps, Lan. much the same as dawdle. See Jam.
- Dagg, *v.* to moisten or wet the feet or lower clothing, Lan. generally used to females who wear petticoats. Dagg is an O. W. for dew. In Norfolk a shower of rain is called a Dagg for the turnips. Johnson calls it a low word, it is however in common use in Cheshire and elsewhere: daggle-tailed is also common. A. S. dcaghan, tingere.
- Dander, *v.* to wander about. It is also used for to ramble in conver-

sation, to talk incoherently. Jam. explains one of its meanings, to bewilder oneself on a way, generally including the idea of want of attention, or of stupidity.

**Dandy Cock or Hen**, are Bantam fowls.

**Dangerly**, *adv.* possibly, by chance.

**Deaf**, *adj.* a nut without a kernel is said to be deaf.

**Deavely, or Deafly**, *adj.* lonely, retired, a deavely place.

**Demath**, *s.* a daymath or a days mowing for one man, generally used for a statute acre, but erroneously so, for it is properly one-half of a Cheshire acre, which is to the statute acre as 64 to  $30\frac{1}{4}$ , consequently the Demath bears the proportion of 32 to  $30\frac{1}{4}$  to the statute acre.

**Diddy**, *s.* the female breast with milk in it. It is used also for the milk itself; to give the child some Diddy is to give it some milk.

**Dig, or Digg**, *s.* a duck.

**Dithing**, *s.* a trembling or vibratory motion of the eye, from dither or didder.

**Dōe**, *v.* pronounced as the female deer is, to live or fatten on little food. It is generally used to cattle. Scotch, Jam. A Cheshire adage says, "hanged hay never does cattle," bought hay, which has been weighed in the scales is not economical. I believe it to be only an extended sense of the verb to do, i. e. to do well.

**Dōesōm**, *adj.* healthy, thriving upon little, Lan.

**Dree**, *adj.* long in continuance, tedious, abundant in measure, more than it appears to be. A dree rain is a close thick small rain.

Ihre has draella, stillare, unde aliquid crebro decidit. Sui. Göt.

**Drumbow, or Drumble**, *s.* a dingle or ravin, generally with trees in it.

**Dungow-dash**, *s.* dung, filth. When the clouds threaten hail or rain, it is said, there is a deal of dungo-dash to come down.

**Dunnock**, *s.* the hedge sparrow; from the very dark or dusky appearance of that bird. Dun was antiently a dark colour, very different from what is now called a dun colour. See Shakspeare, *passim*.

E.

Eam, or Eem, *v.* to spare time, to have leisure. Lan. I connoh eam now. A.S. æmtan, quies, otium, tempus, rest, leisure, spare time. Som.

Easings of a house, *s.* the eaves. Lan.

Eaver, or Eever, *s.* quarter of the heavens. The wind is in the rainy eaver. The Scotch use in this sense Art, Arth, Airt, or Airth. Jam.

Elder, *s.* the udder of a cow. Lan. See Skinner, Belgice elder.

Eller, *s.* the elder tree.

Eshin, or Ashin, a pail. They are I believe always made of ash wood.

Ess, or Esse, *s.* Ashes, or the place under the grate to receive them in.

Expect, *v.* to suppose, believe, or prognosticate; rather an extended sense of the word.

F.

Fantome Corn is light Corn. Fantome Hay, light well gotten Hay. North.

Farand, or Farrand, *s.* manner, custom, appearance. O. W. we have old farand: farantly: to do things in the right or wrong farand.

Farantly, *adj.* or as usually pronounced, farancly or farincly, is supposed to be composed of the two words fair and clean, but it is simply the adjective of farand, and means clean, decent, orderly.

In Scotland well or ill-farand are used for well and ill-looking, to fare is there also to go, and a farand-man is a traveller or stranger.

Jam. In P. P. C. we read, comly or well farynge in shape; elegans.

In *Hormanni Vulgaria* we have, he looked unfaringly, aspectu fuit incomposito.

Farther, expressive of repugnance; I will be farther if I do that, means, I will never do it.

Faugh, *s.* fallow; an abbreviation of the word.

Fay, or Faigh, *s.* the soil before you reach the marl. To fay, is to remove it; in other parts of England to fie is to cleanse a ditch or pond. Fowings, emundacio in P. P. C.

Fend, *v.* to work hard, to struggle with difficulties. In hard times we must fend to live. Lan.

Fettle, *s.* order, good repair.

Fettle, *v.* to repair, or put in order; a different sense from that of Johnson.

Few, *v.* flew, perfect tense of the verb to fly.

Few, *adj.* is not only a small number but also a little quantity, a few broth. Fea, A. S. pauci, Som.

Flange, *v.* or flange out, to spread, diverge, to increase in width or breadth.

Flash, or Plash, *s.* a shallow piece of water.

Flasker, *v.* to choke or stifle; a person lying in the mud and unable to extricate himself, is said to be flaskered. In Lan. it bears a different sense.

Flatter Dock, or Batter Dock, pond weed, or potomogeton.

Flee, *s.* a fly.

Fleetings, or Flittings, or Fleetmilk, *s.* part of the refuse milk in the process of cheese making. Belg. Vlot melch. Skinner. In P. P. C. Flet of mylk or other like, despumatus.

Fleck, Flick, Fleg, Flegge, Flig, *v.* to fly, A. S. fleog-an, to fly. Ben.

Flig, or Fligge, *adj.* spoken of young full fledged birds. Flygge plumea, Pal. Fligge as bird, matus, P. P. C.

Flough, pronounced gutturally; a flea. In Lan. Fleigh.

Fretten, *part.* rubbed, marked, O. W. used chiefly in pock-fretten.

Frim, *adj.* tender or brittle. Lan.

Frowart, or Frowarts, *adv.* forward.

Förthink, *v.* to repent. O. W. Chaucer. Piers Ploughman. Jam.

Förthought, *s.* repentance. Fōrethought is forecast or prospective wisdom; but our word has quite a different sense, signifying privation, as in forget, forgo (as it ought to be written and not as it generally is forego); the pronunciation of Förthought is very different from that of fōrethought.

## G.

Gee, *v.* to fit, sute, or agree together. Lan. from the O. W. to gee or to gie, to go.

Gell, *s.* a great deal.

Gheeten, *part.* gotten.

Giller or rather Guiller, *s.* several horse hairs twisted together to compose a fishing line.

Gil-hooter, *s.* an owl.

Gird, *s.* and *v.* a push, to push as a bull does. Shak. Ash calls it a twitch, a pang, but I apprehend wrong. Gyrd perce or strike thorow with a speare or weapon, Pal. Johnson gives it a different sense from what it bears in Cheshire.

Globed to, *part.* wedded to, foolishly fond of. Ray alone from Glop, fatuus, Ihre.

Gloppen, *v.* to astonish, or stupify : from Glop also.

Gliff, *s.* a glimpse.

Golding, *s.* a marygold.

Good, *s.* property of any kind.

Goody, *s.* Goodwife ; a kind of familiar address or title given to women rather in an inferior station of life. It grows much out of use.

Gradely, Greadly, Graidly, *adj.* decent, orderly, good sort of man, thriving honestly in the world ; gradus, latin, or to gree. O. W. for agree.

Guill, *v.* to dazzle.

Gueout, *s.* the Gout ; it is also a soft spongy part of a field, full of springs, a defective place, perhaps used in a figurative sense.

Gull, *s.* a naked gull, so are called all nestling birds in quite an unfledged state. They have always a yellowish cast, and the word is I believe derived from the Ang. Sax. *geole*, or the Sui. Got. *gul*, yellow. Som. and Ihre. The Commentators, not aware of the meaning of the term naked gull, blunder in their attempt to explain those lines of Shakespear in Timon of Athens,

Lord Timon will be left a naked Gull,  
Which flashes now a Phoenix.

## H.

Hagg ; to work by the Hagg is to work by the great, in contradistinction to day-work. Day-labour is pretty much fixed, but to work

by the Great or by the Job must be subject to a bargain, i. e. to a Hagg or Haggie, the usual consequence of bargaining.

Haigh, or hay, *v.* to have. Lan.

Halow, or hailow, *adj.* Lan. awkwardly bashful, or shy, from the A. S. hwyl, bashful. Lan. healow.

Hantle, or handtle, *s.* a handful. Jamieson rightly explains this word, as it is commonly used in Scotland, by a great quantity; but the doubt which he expresses of its being derived from handful, when we state that the two similar words of piggintle and noggintle are in constant use in this County, is wholly done away.

Hattle, *adj.* wild, skittish. Ash calls it local.

Haviours, *s.* behaviour, to be on ones haviours is to be on ones good behaviour. Jam. uses havins, or havings, in the same sense.

Hidlands, *s.* concealment. When a Person keeps out of the way from the fear of being arrested, he is said to be in hidlands.

Hilling, or heeling, *s.* the covering of a book, the quilt or blanket. Lan. to hill, or hilling. It is a good O. W. used by Wicliffe in his translation of the New Testament, but I never heard it used in common conversation, except in Lancashire and Cheshire.

Hinge, *adj.* active, supple.

Hobbity Hoy, an awkward stripling between Man and Boy. Tusser calls it Hobart de Hoigh. I believe it to be simply Hobby the Hoyden, or Robert the Hoyden. The word Hoyden is by no means confined to the female sex; antiently indeed it is believed to have been confined to the male sex, meaning a rude ill-behaved person. See Todd's Dict. in voce Hoiden.

Hog, or Hogg, *s.* a heap of Potatoes of either a conical or roof-shaped form, probably so called from its resemblance to a Hog's Back. It is always covered within with straw and earth to preserve them from the frost, the usual mode in Cheshire.

Hogg, *v.* to put up Potatoes in this way.

Hure, *s.* the hair. Lan.

Hoo, or rather oo, *pron.* She. This word which is in common use in the Counties of Chester and Lancaster, is merely the An. Sax. Heo.

See Lagamon of Ernley's translation of Wace's Brut, Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle passim, and Somner.

Hurry, *s.* a bout, a set to, a scolding, a quarrel.

I.

Jack Nicker, *s.* a Gold Finch, why so called I cannot conjecture.

It is particular however to observe the appropriation of Christian Names to many kind of Birds. Thus all little Birds are by Children called Dicky Birds. We have Jack Snipe, Jack Daw, Tom Tit, Robin Redbreast, Poll Parrot, a Gill-hooter; a Magpie is always called Madge, a Starling Jacob, a Sparrow Philip, and a Raven Ralph.

Jack Sharp, or Sharpling, *s.* a small fish called a Stickle Back.

Jag, or Jagg, *s.* a parcel, a small load of hay or corn. In Norfolk it is called a Bargain.

Jersey, or rather Jaysey, a ludicrous and contemptuous term for a lank head of hair, as resembling combed wool or flax, which is called Jersey. He has got a fine Jaysey.

Insense, *v.* to instruct, to inform; to lay open a business to any one is to insense him.

Intack, *s.* an inclosure on a common, waste, or forest.

Jurnut, or Yernut, *s.* a pignut, *Bunium Bulbocastanum.*

K.

Kale. See in voce Cale.

Kailyards, or rather Kelyards, the name of certain orchards in the city of Chester. Kailyard in Scotch is a Kitchen Garden. Jam.

Kazardly, *adj.* Lan. unlucky, liable to accident: perhaps a corruption of hazardly.

Keck, *v.* to put any thing under a vessel to make it stand uneven.

In Lancashire Keyke or Kyke, is to stand crooked. Keck, *v.* is usually to heave at the stomach.

Keeve, *v.* to overturn, or lift up a cart so as to unload it all at once. Ash calls it local.

Kench, *s.* a twist or wrench, a strain or sprain.

Keout, *s.* a little barking cur-dog. Randle Holme uses Skaut or Kaut for the same, which seems to designate Scout for its etymology, and this is partly confirmed by that line of Tusser—

Make Bandog thy Scout-watch to bark at a Thief.

Kerve, *v.* to turn sour.

Kid-crow, or Kid-crew, *s.* a place to put a Sucking-Calf in.

Kind, *v.* to kindle the fire.

Kitling, *s.* a kitten. Ash says it is not common. It is Scotch, Jam.

Kytlinge, Catellus, P. P. C.

Kiver, *v.* and *s.* used by Wicliffe in his MS. translation of the Psalms.

Knocker-knee'd, *adj.* said of those knees which in action strike against each other. It is usually called Baker-knee'd.

Knotchelled or notchelled, *adj.* or *part.* When a man publicly declares he will not pay any of his wife's debts, which have been contracted since some fixed day, she is said to be knotchelled, a certain disgraceful imaginary mark. Lan.

### L.

Lat, *s.* a Lath, Lan.

Lat, *adj.* Lat, Lattance, *s.* hindrance, lat, *v.* to hinder. Jam. has lattance as well as to lat, *v.* to hinder. Ang. Sax. lat-an, to hinder.

Lathe, *v.* to ask, to invite, O. W. Lan.

Laws you now, exclamation. See you now, used as Lo! The An. Sax. 'is La.

Leet, *v.* to let, also to light with a person, or meet him.

Leet, leeten, *v.* to pretend or feign. You are not so ill as you leeten yourself, as you suffer yourself to appear. In Jam. Scotch Dictionary we read to leit, leet, let, to pretend to give, to make a shew of. Junius assigns laeten, Belg. for its origin.

Licksome, or Lissome, *adj.* lightsome, pleasant, agreeable. Lissome often means active, agile, the same as hinge.

Light, *s.* a little. A farmer after enumerating the number of acres he has in wheat and barley, will often add, and a light wuts, i. e. a little oats.

- Lipp'n, *v.* to lippen, to expect. A. Sax. Leaf-an credere.
- Lithe, *v.* to lithe the pot is to put thickenings into it.
- Lither, *adj.* Lan. idle, lazy; long and lither is said of a tall idle person. Ash calls it obsolete A. S. lith, mollis, lenis. Chaucer uses it as wicked.
- Lithing, or Lithings, *s.* thickening for the pot, either flour or oatmeal
- Lyder, Islandic, to alye, is an O. W. for to mix.
- Litigious, *adj.* I have heard weather that impeded the harvest so called, but believe it is only a cant term, and not a true county word.
- Locked, *part.* a faced card in a pack is said to be locked.
- Loom, *s.* a utensil, a tool, a piece of furniture. Som. says Geloma, utensilia, supellex, utensils, things of frequent necessary use, household stuff. Belgis eodem sensu alaem alem. Hinc jurisperitorum nostrorum heir lome, pro supellectili hæreditaria.
- Lop, loppen, perfect tense and participle of the verb to leap.
- Lorjus, an exclamation. Lord Jesus.
- Luck, *v.* to happen by good fortune. If I had lucked.
- Lungeous, *adj.* ill tempered, disposed to do some bodily harm by a blow or otherwise. Allonger, French, to lunge. A lunge is common for a violent kick of a horse, though Dr. Ash has omitted it.

## M.

- Madpash, *s.* a madbrain. Pash is the head. See Jam.
- Maigh, or may, *v.* Lan. to make. Maigh th' Dur or th' Yate, shut or fasten them, perhaps an abbreviation of make fast.
- Marefart, *s.* the name of the yellow Ragwort.
- Masker, *v.* the same as Flasker. Jam. has to mask, to catch in a net.
- Maw-bound, *s.* said of a cow in a state of costiveness. Maw is the stomach.
- Mawks, *s.* a dirty figure, or mixture. Ash calls it colloquial.
- Meal, *s.* the appointed time when a cow is milked. She gives so much at a meal. A. S. Mael, portio aut Spatium temporis, Som.
- Measter, *s.* Master.

Melch, *adj.* mild, soft; perhaps from milk, either through the medium of the A. S. meolc or the Belgic melk. Lan.

Mich, *adj.* Michness, *s.* Scotch. Jam. mich of a michness, much the same.

Mickles, *s.* size. He is of no mickles; he is of no size or height.

Mid-feather, *s.* is a narrow ridge of land left between two pits, usually between an old marl-pit and a narrow one which lie contiguous to each other.

Mizzick, *s.* mizzicky, *adj.* a boggy place. Johnson has mizzy.

Mizzle, *s.* small rain. Dr. Ash admits the verb to mizzle, but rejects the substantive.

Mot, *s.* mote, generally that which surrounds an antient country seat.

Mortacious, *adj.* mortal, mortacious bad.

Muckinder, *s.* a dirty napkin or pocket-handkerchief. In Ort. Voc. we have Muckeder, mete cloth or towel. Littleton has muckinger.

Much, *s.* a wonder, an extraordinary thing. It is much if such a thing happen.

Mun, must.

Muncorn, blencorn, *s.* maslin, wheat and rye mixed together as they grow, quasi, mungril corn. Mungril is mixed. See Minsheu.

Mÿsëll, *pron.* so pronounced, myself.

## N.

Naar or Nar, nearer. Littleton has narr for nearer.

Natter'd, *adj.* natured, i. e. ill-natured, very nattered is very ill-tempered. Knattle in Lan. is cross, ill-natured.

Neest, *s.* Nest. The boys say to go birds neezing.

Neese, *v.* to sneeze.

Neezle, *v.* to nestle, to settle oneself in a good situation.

Nobbut, none but. Who was there? Nobbut John.

Noggintle, a Nogginful.

Nogging, *s.* the filling up the interstice between the timberwork in a wooden building with sticks and clay is called the nogging.

Noint, *v.* to anoint; figuratively, to beat severely.

Nought, or Naught, *adj.* Lan. bad, worthless, stark nought, good for nothing.

Nought, naught; to call to naught, to abuse very much. To call to naught, is in Hor. Vul. p. 134, in tergo.

O.

On, *adv.* a female of any kind who is maris appetens is said to be on.

Onliest, *adj.* pronounced ownliest, superlative of only, the best or most approved way of doing any thing is said to be the onliest way.

Oss, or Osse, *v.* Lan. to offer, begin, attempt, or set about any thing, to be going away. Ash calls it local. Holland in his translation of Plutarch has "Osses and Presages," where I suppose by Osses he means beginnings or attempts; to osse is likewise to recommend a person to assist you.

Ownder, or Aunder, *s.* the afternoon. Undern is used by Chaucer.

Owether, either. O. W. Piers Ploughman, Whitaker's Edition.

Owler, *s.* the alder tree. Allar and Eller are Scotch. Jam.

P.

Pewit Land, *s.* moist, spongy land; such as the Pewit usually frequents.

Piggintle, *s.* a pigginful.

Pilpit, Pulpit. A Cheshire Farmer, on being asked how he liked the new Clergyman, replied, He is a pretty rough man in the reading desk, but when he gets into the pilpit, he goes off like the smoke of a ladle.

Pink, or Penk, *s.* a menow, a small fish. Littleton has Penk.

Pip, or Peep, *s.* a single Blossom, where flowers grow in Bunches, (as in the Auricula) hence a spot on the cards is called a pip, fiori in Italian being the name of one of the suits of cards.

Pipe, *s.* a small Dingle or Ravin, breaking out from a larger one.

Plat, *s.* a small bridge over a stream or gutter, probably from flat.

Plim, *v.* to plumb or fathom with a plummet.

Plim, *adj.* or *adv.* perpendicular.

Poller, or Powler, *v.* properly to beat in the water with a pole; figuratively, to labour without effect.

Poppilary, or Peppilary, *s.* the poplar tree.

Poss, *v.* to poss is a jocular punishment common among marlers when any one comes late to work in the morning, he is held across a horse with his posteriors exposed, and struck on them with the flat side of a spade by the head workman, called the Lord of the marl pit.

Pote, or Pawt, *v.* Lan. to kick with one foot. Jam. has to paut. Belgice, *poteren.* Jun.

Powse, Pous, or Poust, *s.* Lan. filth, dirt; perhaps from the French *poussiere*, dust. See Skinner in voce Poust, also Piers Ploughman.

Prove, *v.* to prove pregnant, spoken of cattle.

#### Q.

Quick, *s.* Quickset. Quicks are plants of Quicksets.

#### R.

Radling, *s.* Lan. a long stick or rod, either from a staked hedge, or from a barn-wall made with long sticks twisted together and plaistered with clay. See Ellis's Specimens of early English Poetry, Vol. i. p. 318. "Radyll of a Carte, Costèe," Pal. Quære if not a rodling? Raddles are hurdles.

Rake up the fire, is not only to rake the bottom of the grate, but also to supply it well with coals, that it may continue burning all night, a custom regularly observed by the Kitchen maid to the Kitchen fire in all the northen counties, where coals are abundant.

Rame, Ream, or Rawm, *v.* to stretch out the arm as if to reach any thing, from *raemen extendere.* Kil.

Rappit, a Rabbet.

Rappit it, or rot it, a trivial exclamation expressing dissatisfaction.

Rase-brained, *adj.* violent, impetuous, perhaps only rash-brained, though *rasend* in German is mad.

- Raught, perfect tense of the verb to reach; used by Shakspeare.
- Ready, *v.* to comb the head with the wide-toothed comb. Jam. has to red the head or the hair, to loosen or disentangle it.
- Reean, *s.* Lan. a small gutter. A. S. Rin, a Stream. Som.
- Reef, *s.* a rash on the skin: the itch or any eruptive disorder: from its being Rife or reef, i. e. frequent on the skin.
- Render, *v.* Lan. to separate or disperse. It is commonly used as in the phrase, to render Suet, which is to break it to pieces, cleanse it, and melt it down. See Jam. in voce rind. Islan. raenn-a, rinde, liquefacere, to melt.
- Rid, *v.* in the sense, get rid of. It is used to clear a hedge or bushes on a piece of land, chiefly to rid gorse.
- Riner, *s.* a toucher. It is used at the game of Quoits. A Riner is when the Quoit touches the peg or mark. A whaver is when it rests upon the peg, and hangs over, and consequently wins the cast. To shed Riners with a whaver is a proverbial expression, from Ray, and means to surpass any thing skilful or adroit by something still more so. Rinda Ost. Got. Ihre—rennen, tangere; Wach.
- Rise, or Rice, *s.* a twig, a branch. O. W. Chaucer. In our county it is still retained in the compound, Pea-Rise for Pea-Sticks. Ash calls it obsolete. Danis riisz, est virga; Jun. Riis, sirculus; Kilian.
- Rish, *s.* a rush, it was anciently written Rysch, or Rysshe. P. P. C. and Ort. Voc.
- Risome, or Rism, *s.* the head of the oat. Well risom'd is well headed: some think it comes from racemus, but probably it has the same origin as Rise. Randle Holme, in his Academy of Armory has "Rizomes, the sparsed ears of oats in the straw. A Rizome head" a chaffy sparsed head; the corn in the oats are not called ears but rizomes."
- Rotten, *s.* Lan. a rat or rats; rotta is Suedish for a rat. See Screnius's Swedish Dictionary.
- Ruck, *v.* to get close or huddle together as fowls do.
- Ruck, *s.* Lan. a heap; not quite peculiar to this County. Scotch. Jam Ruga vel Ruka Sui. Got. cumulus, acervus. Ihre.

Ruckling, *s.* the least of a brood.

Rute, *v.* to cry with vehemence, to strive, as children do sometimes in crying, to make as much noise as they can, to bellow or roar. Ash calls it obsolete. It is admitted here on the sole authority of Ray.

Rynt, Roynt, Runt, *v.* Lan. in voce rynty, to get out of the way. Rynt thee, is an expression used by milk-maids to a cow when she has been milked, to bid her get out of the way. Ash calls it local. It is used by Shakspeare, and puzzles the Commentators. Possibly it may owe its origin to the old adverb Arowne, found in P. P. C. and there explained by remote, seorsum, or from Ryman, or ruman, A. S. to get out of the way. Rym thysum men setl, give this man place. Saxon Gospels, Luke c. 14. v. 9.

## S.

Safe, *adj.* sure, certain. He is safe to be hanged.

Sapy, *adj.* foolish, perhaps only sappy ill-pronounced. Sap-scull is common.

Sarmon, *s.* a sermon.

Saugh, *s.* the sallow tree, as Faugh is from fallow.

Sblid, oath; by his blood.

Scrattle, *v.* to scratch, as fowls do.

Scutch, *v.* Lan. a rod, a whip, perhaps switch corrupted. Ash admits the substantive and rejects the verb.

Scuttle, *s.* a small piece of wood pointed at both ends, used at a game like trap-ball, perhaps from scute, O. W. for a boat, it being exactly of that shape. Johnson explains the word in a different sense.

Seech, *v.* seeched; *part.* to seek.

Seech, Sech, Sike, or Syke, *s.* Lan. a spring in a field which, having no immediate outlet, forms a boggy place. Sich, Ang. Sax. a furrow or gutter, Som.

Seechy, *adj.* boggy.

Segg, *s.* a bull castrated when full grown, Lan. Scotch. Jam.

Shape, *v.* to begin, to set about any thing; to be shaping is to be going

- away. Shape me ; prepare me, make me ready, m' apprester, Pal.  
To shape one's course is a common expression, either in nautical or familiar discourse. See Ort. Voc. in *voce* Evado.
- Sell, *pron.* in the compounds mysell, yoursell, hissell.
- Selt, *s.* chance, a thing of rare occurrence ; hence, seldom and selcouth (a northern term) Ang. Sax. seld, rarus.
- Shed, *v.* to surpass, or divide ; perhaps it should be written sched. Scotch. Jam. to shed hair, to separate it in order that it may fall on each side ; " as heaven's water sheds or deals " (to deal is to separate) is a northern expression for the boundary of different districts, generally the summits of a ridge of hills, from scheeden, separare. Kil.
- Shepster, *s.* the starling, a bird which frequents sheep.
- Shewds, *s.* quasi sheds, Lan. the husks of oats when separated from the corn.
- Shippin, Shippen, or Ship'n, *s.* the cow-house : I suppose it is originally sheep-pen.
- Shoat, *s.* in some places a Shot, a young pig between a Sucker and a Porker ; it is also a term of contempt when applied to a young person.
- Shoo, *s.* a shovel.
- Shoo, or Shu, *v.* to shoo, to drive away any thing, particularly birds from the corn or garden. Lan. Scheuchen, Germ. to drive away.
- Sibbed, *adj.* related to, of kin to. Lan. Sib or Sibbe is a good O. W. for relationship, still retained in gossip, i. e. Gods Sib. Sibbe, *affinitas*, Teut. Kilian.
- Sirry, *s.* sirrah, a contemptuous term often used to dogs.
- Skeer, *v.* to skeer the esse, is to clear the grate ; separating the ashes from the live coals.
- Skelp, *v.* to leap awkwardly, as a cow does. Skelp, Scotch. Jam.
- Skellerd, *adj.* crooked, out of the perpendicular, from Schcel, obliquus, transversus. Kil.
- Sken, *v.* to squint.
- Skew, or Skew-bald, *adj.* a Skewbald is a piebald horse.
- Skrike, *v.* to shriek out loud. Lan. O. W. Skraik is Scotch, Jam.

- Skufft, *s.* the back part of the neck.
- Slack, *s.* small coal; Lan. sometimes pronounced sleek, also a low moist place between two hills. Scotch. Jam.
- Slather, or Slur, *v.* to slip or slide.
- Sleck, *v.* to extinguish. Lan.
- Sniddle, *s.* long grass, Lan.
- Sope, *s.* a sup; a sope of rain is a great deal of rain.
- Spact, *adj.* quick, comprehensive, also in one's senses. He is not quite spact, means he is under some alienation of mind. Ash calls the word local, and does not give this last meaning.
- Spocken, participle of the verb to speak. Spak. Ost. G. Ihre.
- Springow, *adj.* nimble, active. Littleton has springal.
- Squander, *v.* to separate or disperse; to squander a covey of partridges.
- Staggering Bob, or Yellow Slippers, names given by butchers to very young calves; when in that state their hoofs are yellow.
- Staw, *v.* i. e. to stay: a cart stopped in a slough, so as not to be able to proceed, is said to be stawed.
- Stele, or Steal, the stalk of a flower, or the handle of a rake or broom: stele, Ang. Sax. Ash calls it local.
- Stepmother's Blessing, *s.* a little reverted skin about the nail, often called a back friend.
- Stowk, *s.* stalk or handle of a pail; it is also a drinking cup with a handle; a stowk of ale.
- Stract, *adj.* abbreviation of distracted.
- Streea, *s.* a straw, one who goes out of the country for improvement and returns without having gained much, is said to have left it to learn to call a streea a straw.
- Strushion, *s.* destruction, Lan.
- Stubbo, or Stubbow, *s.* stubble.
- Stut, *v.* to stutter or stammer.
- Swippo, or Swippow, *adj.* supple.
- Swippo, *s.* the thick part of a flail is so called. In Scotch swap is a sharp stroke, Jam.

T.

Taching end, *s. i. e.* attaching end, a shoemaker's waxed string.

Tack, *s.* a lease, or part of a lease, for a certain time is called a tack, *i. e.* simply a take.

Tack, *s.* hold, confidence, reliance: there is no tack in such a one, he is not to be trusted. Johnson has this word, but not in this sense.

Taffy, *s.* what is called coverlid; this is treacle thickened by boiling and made into hard cakes. Tafia, or taffiat, sugar and brandy made into cakes, French.

Taigh, or Tay, *v.* Scotch, to take. Jam.; to tack is also to take.

Tchem, *s.* vide in Chem.

Teen, *s.* anger, Ray, Lan. tynan, A. S. incitare, Som.

Tent, *v.* to attend or guard; also to hinder or prevent, Lan.

Thatch-pricks, *s.* or simply the latter word, sticks used in thatching.

That'n, a that'n, *adv.* in that manner.

Think on, *v.* to remind.

This'n, *adv.* in this way.

Thrippa, *v.* to beat.

Thrunk, *adj.* thronged, crowded. "As thrunk as three in a bed," is an adage.

Thrutch, *v.* Lan. to thrust or squeeze; squeezing or pressing the cheese is called thrutching it. Palsgrave says, "Threche, pynche, pincer, this is a farre northern term."

Thunna, *s.* and *v.* thunder.

Tickle, see Kickle or Coggle.

Tin, or Tyne, *v.* Lan. to shut. Tin the dur, shut the door.

Tin, *adv.* till.

Toot, *s.* to pry curiously or impertinently into any little domestic concern. Toten, O. W. for to look out. Chaucer has toteth for looketh; a tote-hill is an eminence from whence there is a good look-out.

Turmit, *s.* a turnip, Lan.

- Twitchel**, *s.* i. e. tway child, twice a child. A person whose intellect is so weakened by age as to become childish is called a twitchel.
- Twitchel**, *v.* to geld a bull or ram by forcing the chords of his testicles into a cleft stick, so that the chords rot and the testicles fall off. A. S. twiccan, vellicare. See Skinner.

## V. U.

- Value**, *s.* amount, as well in measure as in quantity; circiter; when you come to the value of five feet deep.
- Variety**, *s.* a rarity.
- Vew**, or **View**, *s.* a yew-tree, Lan.
- Unbethink**, *v.* to recollect, often implying a change of opinion. Ash calls it local.
- Unco**, **Uncow**, or **Unkert**, *adj.* awkward, strange, uncommon, Lan. Cockeram in his Dictionary has "Uncoth, unknown, strange, merely uncouth."
- Undeniable**, *adj.* good, with which no fault can be found. An undeniable road is not only a long established road, but also one in perfect repair.
- Up and told**, or rather **upped and told**, making a verb of up; to tell with energy or animation. Perhaps merely rose up and told.

## W.

- Waiter**, *s.* water.
- Wall**, *s.* a spring of water, O. W. walle, Teut. ebullitio, Kil. weallan, bullire. A. S.
- Wall up**, *v.* to spring up.
- Warch**, *s.* pain, Lan. Scotch. See Jam. under Wark.
- Warre** or **Worre**, worse; warre and warre, worse and worse.
- Wart**, or rather **Walt**, *v.* in Lan. to wawt, is to overturn; chiefly used to carriages. To walter, in Scotch, is to overturn, and a sheep awalt is a cast sheep. Skinner derives it from the Islandic Valter.

Weet, *s.* wet weather, Lan.

Weet, *v.* to rain rather slightly, Lan.

Welly, *adv.* well nigh.

Wern, *v.* abbreviation of weren, the plural of the perfect tense of the verb to be : used only when the following word begins with a vowel.

Wetshet, or Wetched, *adj.* wet shod, wet in the feet.

Will-Jill, or Will-Gill, *s.* an Hermaphrodite.

Withering, *adj.* tall, strong, Lan.

Wharre, *s.* crabs, or the crab tree. Sour as wharre.

Whave, *v.* to hang over.

Whaver, *s.* See in voce Riner.

Wheady, *adj.* that measures more than it appears to be. Dr. Ash explains it ill by tedious, and calls it local.

Wheam, *ad.* Lan. lying near, convenient, ready at hand ; perhaps from home, here pronounced whōme.

Wheamow, *adj.* nimble, active. Ray.

Whick, *adj.* alive.

Whin-stone, *s.* a coarse-grained stone, toad-stone, rag-stone. Jam.

Whoave, *v.* Lan. to cover or overwhelm. Ray.

Whōme or Whoam, *s.* Lan. home.

Whooked, *adj.* broken in health, shaken in every joint. Ash calls it local, perhaps merely shook.

Whot, *adj.* hot.

Wooan, or Wone, *v.* to dwell ; wooant, did dwell. Lan. Ash calls it obsolete, woonen, habitare. Kil. A. S. wunian, the same.

Wuts, Whoats, *s.* oats.

Wych-waller, *s.* a salt boiler at one of the wyches in Cheshire. Wice, Sax. Sinus, or the bend of a river. "To scold like a wych-waller" is a common adage.

Wyzels, *s.* the green stems of potatoes. Randle Holme, in his Academy of Armory, calls them wisomes, and uses the term to carrots or turnips. Weize is the German for corn, as holm is for straw. Peas-holm is still in use.

## Y.

**Yaff**, *v.* to bark. A little fow yaffing cur, is a little ugly barking cur.

Scotch. Jam. Gaf. Ang. Sax. a Babblers.

**Yate**, *s.* gate. Lan.

**Yed** or **Yead**, *s.* head.

**Yedward**, **Yethart**, *s.* Lan. Edward.

**Yelve**, *s.* a dung fork, or prong.

**Yelve**, *v.* to dig chiefly with the yelve.

**Yern** or **Yarn**, *s.* a heron.

**Yernuts**, *s.* see Jurnuts.

**Yewking**, **Yewkingly**. *adj.* and *adv.* having a sickly appearance.

IV. *An Account of a Stone Barrow, in the Parish of Wellow, at Stoney Littleton in the County of Somerset, which was opened and investigated in the Month of May 1816. Communicated by SIR RICHARD COLT HOARE, Bart. F.S.A.*

Read 22d May, 1817.

IN my introduction to the Ancient History of South Wiltshire, I have endeavoured to investigate with accuracy and minuteness, the various barrows with which our chalk hills particularly abound. I have stated their forms, construction, and contents. Those which occur most frequently, may be divided into four classes. I. The long barrow. II. The bowl-shaped barrow. III. The bell-shaped barrow. IV. The Druid barrow. The two first, from the general simplicity of their structure, appear to be the most ancient; for in N° 3 we find a great degree of symmetry in the design, which corresponds with the figure of a bell: and N° 4 varies materially from all the preceding. I know not from what circumstances the learned Dr. Stukeley appropriated these low tumuli to the British order of Priests called Druids; I am rather inclined to think, from the result of our own researches, that they were destined to receive the bones and the ashes of the *female* tribe of Britons; for the articles generally found within them, both with regard to size and quality, have been such as were more becoming to a lady than a priest. But the most inexplicable of all the barrows, and the most distinguished by its size and construction, is the *Long Barrow*, consisting of an immense long ridge of earth, pointing most frequently from East to West; and rising to a higher degree of elevation towards the former aspect. These are the barrows which the Northern Writers describe as ship barrows—*carinae instar*.

In endeavouring to investigate and develope the history of these great efforts of human art, much time and expense have been lavished, and I fear, without much profit or information. We have invariably

found the sepulchral deposit placed under the East, or most distinguished end of the tumulus; and the interments to consist of skeletons buried in an irregular and promiscuous manner, and unaccompanied by those fine urns, gilt daggers, &c. which have rewarded our labours in the bowl and bell-shaped barrows. From these circumstances we might be led to suppose that they had been raised over the bodies of the lower class of people; but can we suppose that the British tribes would have raised such immense mounds for this purpose?

A false idea has prevailed respecting the sepulchral mounds which we see so thickly dispersed over the chalky hills in Wiltshire and Dorset. They have been called *battle* barrows, as if raised over the bodies of the Britons who were slain in battle. The barrow, in my opinion, was a grave of honour, raised over the ashes of the chieftain, not of the vassal, whose remains were deposited in the parent earth, without the distinguishing mark of an elevated mound. I am inclined to form this conjecture, from the frequent discoveries made on our bare downs of skeletons, *sine tumulo*, and many of our large barrows, have been found to contain the bones or ashes of one single corpse. Still, however, the verdant mound raised over the body of the deceased, whether interred *toto corpore*, or reduced to ashes by cremation, appears from uncontested evidence, to have been the most ancient and simple mode of burial; and whether we consider the sepulchral mounds on the shores of the Hellespont, &c. or compare the gigantic tumuli at Abury and Marden with the humble grave in our English church-yards, still we may adopt in their descriptions, the words of Tacitus,

*Sepulchrum cespes erigit.*

A new species of tumulus now excites my attention, which I shall denominate the **STONE BARROW**, varying from the Long Barrow; not in its *external*, but in its *internal* mode of construction. None of this kind occurred to me during my researches in South Wiltshire; for the material of stone with which they were partly formed was wanting. But some I have found in North Wiltshire, and will be

described in my ancient history of that district. I have met with some specimens both in Ireland and in Anglesey, but none corresponding in plan, or more perfect in its construction, than the one which I have now the honour to submit to the consideration of my brother Antiquaries.

The first sight I had of this barrow was at a time when Colonel Leigh of Combe Hay had ordered a Roman pavement to be uncovered at Wellow, in the year 1807, for the satisfaction of his friends and the curious in Antiquities.<sup>a</sup> It was then pointed out to me at some distance from the spot on which we were engaged with the Romans; and Colonel Leigh, in the most obliging manner, offered to have it opened whenever I could attend. But various other antiquarian researches attracted my attention till the year 1816, when my friend Mr. Skinner, the Rector of the adjoining parish of Camerton, kindly offered to undertake and superintend the necessary operations.

Under his judicious and able guidance, an opening was made in the roof, and the whole of the passage cleared of its rubbish; and he had the satisfaction to find that the interior had suffered very little by the lapse of time, having experienced only one inconsiderable fracture in the roof, which being enlarged, served as our adit on this occasion.

This singular burying place is of an oblong form, measuring 107 feet in length, 54 feet in extreme width over the barrow, and 13 feet in height. [Pl. I.] It stands on the side of a sloping field, called "*Round Hill Tynning*," about three quarters of a mile to the S. W. of Wellow church, and nearly the same distance to the South of Wellow Hays (the field in which is the Roman pavement), and a short half mile from Stoney Littleton house. The entrance to this tumulus faces the North West: a large stone upwards of seven feet long and three and a half wide, supported by two others, forms the lintern over a square aperture about four feet high, which had been closed, by a

<sup>a</sup> I was present at the uncovering of this fine mosaic pavement, and saw with astonishment an engraving made from it, at the period of its first discovery, which differed so totally from the original, that I could almost fancy it had been done from memory.

large stone, apparently for many years. [Pl. II.] This was removed in my presence, and the original entrance restored. It then discovered to us a long and narrow passage or avenue, extending in length forty-seven feet six inches, and varying in its breadth. The straight line is broken, if I may use the modern expression, by three transepts, forming as many recesses on each side of the avenue. These correspond only in their relative situation, as being placed opposite to each other; not in the uniformity of their construction, as will be seen by the annexed section. [Pl. I.] The side walls are formed of thin laminae of stone piled closely together without cement, and a rude kind of arched roof is made by stones so placed as to overlap each other. Where the large stones in the side walls did not join, the interstices were filled up with layers of small stones, as described in Pl. III.

After a lapse of so many centuries since the probable formation of this sepulchre, our antiquarian zeal could not be carried to such a pitch, as to lead us to the expectation of making any new or perfect discovery; and indeed we were informed, by the neighbouring inhabitants, that it had been resorted to as a stone quarry by a farmer, and as a hiding place by a fox, who had taken shelter there, but in vain. Our investigation fully proved, that the interments had been disturbed, and their deposits probably removed; for, in the long avenue, we met with many fragments of bones, &c. which had probably been removed from the sepulchral recesses; many of which had been filled up with stones, and other rubbish. In the furthestmost recess at A. were leg and thigh bones, with smaller fragments. At B. there were confused heaps of bones and earth. At C. four jaw-bones were found, the teeth perfect; also the upper part of two *crania*, which appeared to us remarkably flat in the forehead: there were also several leg, thigh, and arm bones, with *vertebræ*, but no perfect skeleton. This cell had been less disturbed than the others, owing to one of the side stones having fallen down across the entrance. In the cist D. were fragments of an earthen vessel, with burned bones; also a number of

bones, which from their variety seemed to have been the relics of two or three skeletons. At E. there is a stone placed across the passage, for which I cannot well account, except we suppose that the sepulchral vault extended *at first* only thus far; and in later times was enlarged to the present extent.

I have had occasion to remark in former publications, that the *Long Barrow*, in its local disposition, was generally directed from East to West, and that the broadest end was inclined towards the former point; but in this tumulus now under consideration, there is a variety in its position, which bears nearly North East and South West, and has its broadest point towards the South East.

By the annexed Sketches, which I have the honour to lay before the Society, it will appear, that a certain rude uniformity has been observed in the general plan; and that each side of the vault corresponds in the number of its recesses: but these vary in their dimensions, and no attention has been paid to the size or symmetry of the stones which line the sides, and which are placed in the same rude state as when extracted from the quarry, and at a period, probably, when the use of tools was unknown. The remains of bones, and fragments of pottery dispersed about this barrow, prove that the two systems of burial were here adopted; the interment of the body entire, and cremation: and after the most minute investigation, I have never been able to separate, with any degree of certainty, by two distinct periods, these different modes of burial: I am, however, inclined to think, that the very *earliest* mode of interment, was the gathering of the legs up towards the head: and that the *latest* mode was, extending the body at full length. We find also a variety in the system of cremation: for in some instances, the sepulchral urn is placed in an upright position: but much more frequently reversed over the ashes of the deceased. We have also found the two systems of burial and burning adopted in the same barrow.

I shall now request the attention of my brother Antiquaries, and especially of those versed in the science of Craniology, to the two

skulls discovered in this tumulus, which appear to be totally different in their formation from any others which our researches have led us to examine: being "*fronte valde depressa.*"<sup>a</sup>

I have always combated the vulgar idea that our barrows were raised over those fallen in battle; and am inclined to think, that at the period when these mounds were first raised, *peace* rather than *war* prevailed in our island. Only one or two instances have occurred where we have found any defect or pressure on the skull, indicating a mortal wound: but in one of the barrows near Stonehenge, we dug up a skull, which appeared to have been cut in two by some very sharp instrument, and as nicely as any instrument of Savigny could have effected. This skull was re-interred in the same barrow.<sup>b</sup>

The singular beauty of the teeth has often attracted our attention: we have seldom found one unsound, or one missing, except in the cases of apparent old age. This peculiarity may be easily accounted for. The Britons led a pastoral life, feeding upon the milk of their flocks, and the venison of their forests; and the *sweets* of the West Indies were to them totally unknown.

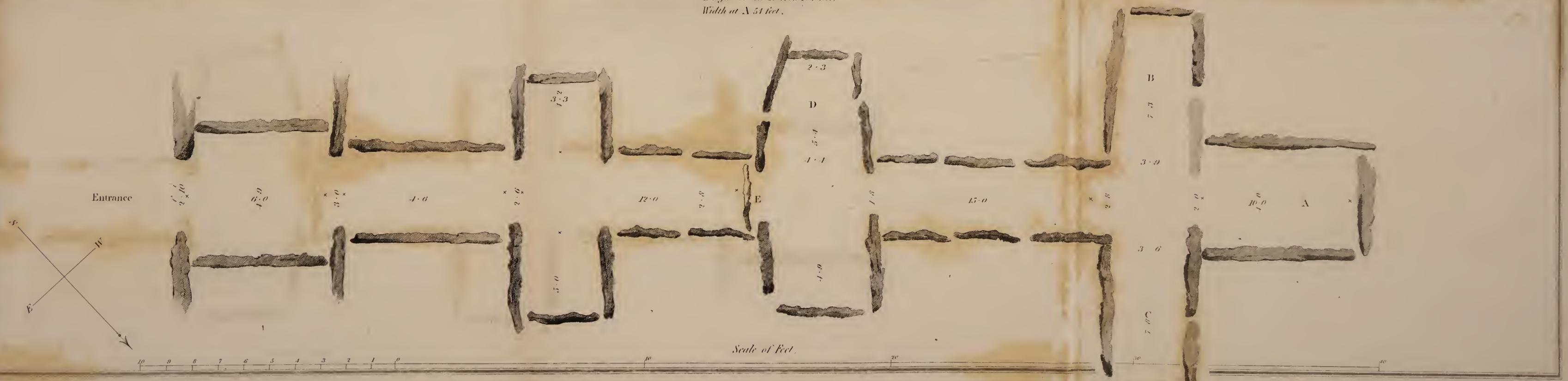
RICH. COLT HOARE.

<sup>a</sup> A similar instance occurred in Tumulus 173, page 206, Ancient Wilts.

<sup>b</sup> In Tumulus 36, Ancient Wilts, page 163.

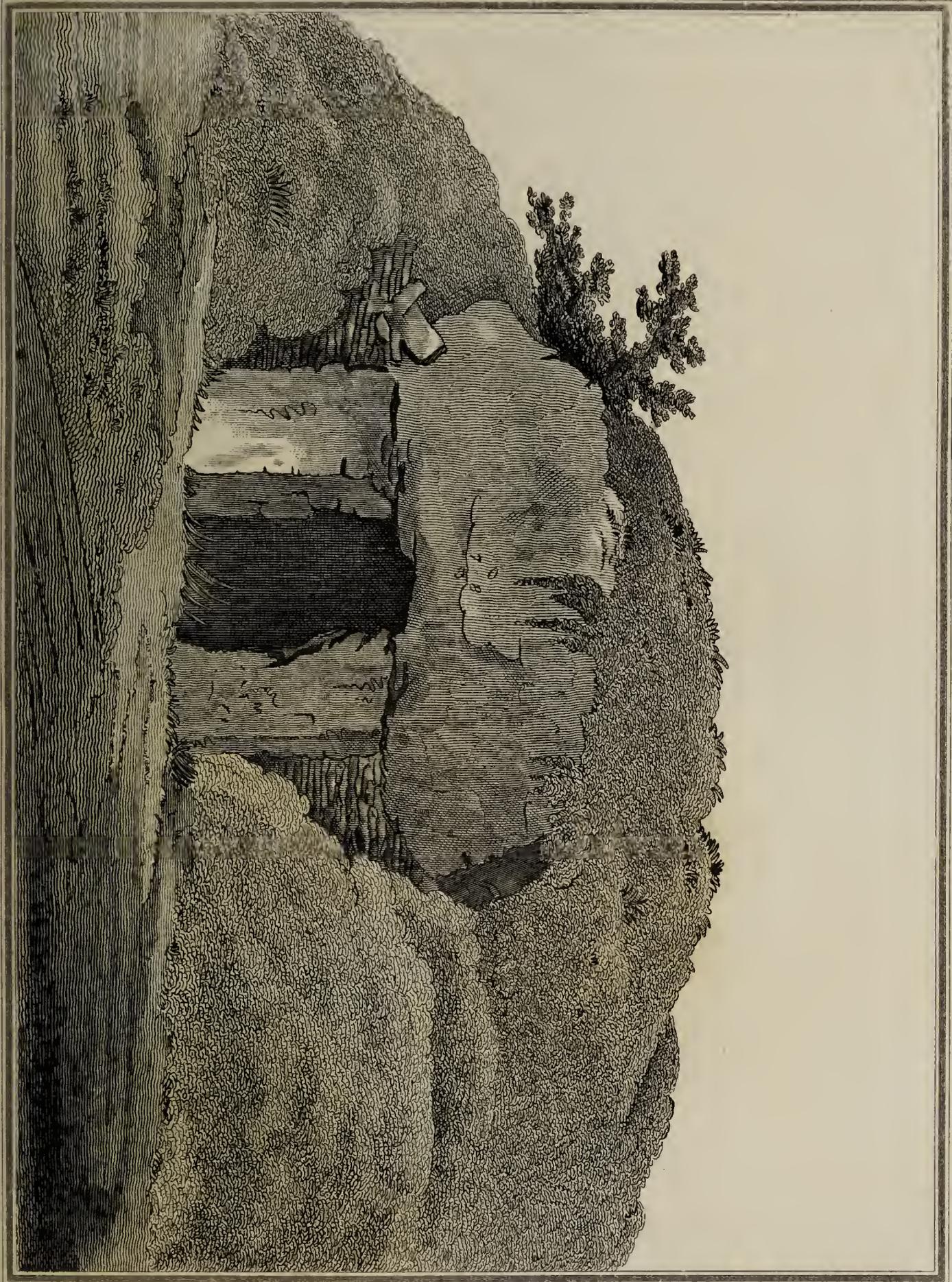


Length of the Barrow 107 feet.  
Width at A 51 feet.



Plan and Section of a Stone Barrow in the parish of Wellow, Somersetshire.

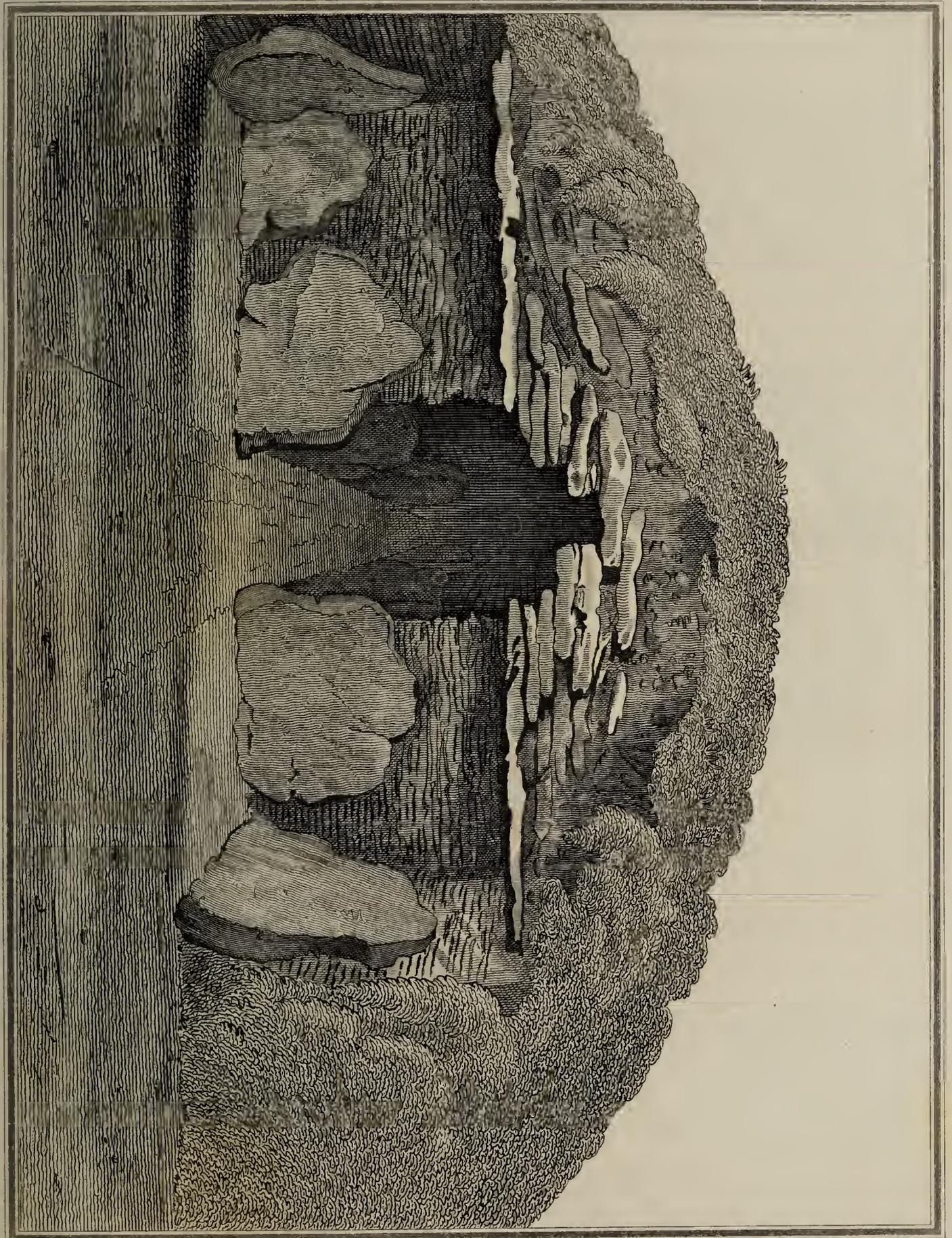




South East Entrance to the Barron

J. Bussey, sculp.





*Section of the Barrow, from N.E. to S.W.*

*J. Beane, sculp.*



V. *An Account of two Seals attached to a Deed of the Twelfth Century, granted by the Prior and Convent of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield. By RICHARD POWELL, M.D. In a Letter to WILLIAM GEORGE MATON, M.D. F.R.S. and S.A.*

Read 27th Nov. 1817.



DEAR SIR,

THE Society of Antiquaries have preserved in their publications two Seals of the ancient Convent of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, and I am therefore induced to hope that the present communication of a third Seal used by the same Body may not be wholly unacceptable or uninteresting to them.

With respect to the two Seals alluded to as already engraved, one of them will be found in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. xv. It was used, as is there stated, by the Friars Preachers, or Black Friars, when in the reign of Mary that part of the original Church which survived the ravages of the dissolution was restored to their use. The other is given in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. ii. Pl. 36, over the figure of the monument of Prior Rahere. To this latter the accompanying history affixes no date, but it is said to be taken from the original in the Augmentation Office. That it belongs, however, to a much less early period than that which I have now the honour to submit to the Society is manifest from a variety of circumstances. The ornamented seat upon which a bearded figure is placed on one of its faces, and the Church of a crucial form, with long pointed windows divided by mullions and surmounted by trefoil and quatrefoil ornaments, and with a tower surrounded by battlements, which is represented on the other, prove it to be the work and to represent the architecture of a later age. This use, however, of different Seals at different periods is not uncommon in the history of our religious establishments, and each of them supports and illustrates rather than invalidates the authority of the other.

I remember to have seen the subject of my communication some years since when I was engaged in an inquiry into the ancient state of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, which formed a most honorable and useful appendage to the ancient neighbouring Convent, and an accidental circumstance has recently brought it again under my notice.

The Deed itself is beautifully written in the characters of its period upon parchment, and is in good preservation, and contains a life grant of the Church of St. Sepulchre from the Prior and Convent of St. Bartholomew, upon the condition of certain payments. It appears that this Church was under the patronage of the Convent at that period by the Charter of Henry I.<sup>a</sup> which describes it in the following words as one of their possessions. “ *Ex dono Rogeri quondam Sarum Epis-*

<sup>a</sup> *Dugd. Mon. Angl. tom. ii. p. 171.*

copi, ecclesiam Sancti Sepulchri de ballio London cum pertinentiis suis infra Burgum et extra." Now the above named Roger was Bishop of Sarum from 1107 to 1139,<sup>a</sup> and he is also one of the witnesses to the Charter given by Henry I. to the Convent of St. Bartholomew, which bears date 1133.<sup>b</sup>

I read the Deed itself as follows: "Notum sit universis fidelibus quod ego Raherus Sancti Bartholomei qui est in Smethefeld prior, totusque Ecclesie nostrae Conventus, Ecclesiam Sancti Sepulchri Hagnoni Clerico, si regulam alterius professionis non inierit usque ad finem dierum suorum, in eleemosina concessimus. Illud autem scitote quod idem praedictus Hagno singulis annis ad usum Canonicorum simul & pauperum in Hospitali degentium quinquaginta solidos nobis reddet. In festivitate Sancti Michaelis xxv. solidos, xxv. in Pascha. Anno incarnationis Domini 1137, anno vero secundo imperii Stephani regis in Anglia: his existentibus testibus, Haco Decanus, Hugo Sancti Martini canonicus, Gwalterus frater Gulielmi archidiaconi, Haroldus canonicus, Radufus Magister, Gilebertus presbyter, Osbertus presbyter, Rodbertus de Sancta Maria, Algarus presbyter, Godefridus filius Baldwini saccarius, Rogerus magister, Alexander, Odo, Gaufridus cunestable, Ricardus presbyter, Burdo clericus, Gaufridus de Heli."

At the bottom of the Deed, through separate apertures cut in the parchment, are passed two long double slips, also of parchment, and to which two large seals of red wax are affixed.

The Seals are distinct and not of the same form; that on the left of the Deed being round and of the diameter of  $2\frac{1}{10}$  inches; that on the right being oval in its form and of  $2\frac{6}{10}$  inches by  $2\frac{2}{10}$ . The form of the latter is much less oval than that which has been since chiefly adopted for ecclesiastical seals, and to which some mystical signification seems to have been attached.

The first and principal of these Seals is the round one: it has a surrounding inscription which is somewhat broken and imperfect, but the

<sup>a</sup> See Britton's Salisb. Cathedral.

<sup>b</sup> See Dugdale, tom. ii. p. 386. where he is described as Episcopus Salesbiriae.

letters, particularly the M, and, except in one instance, the E also, approximate more in their shape and arrangement to the Roman manner, and may therefore perhaps lead to an inference that it is the older of the two. I conjecture that it may thus be read, those letters which are printed in italics being supplied :

**SIGILLUM CONVENTUS ECCLESIAE DEI ET SANCTI  
BARTHOLOMEI DE SMETHFELDE.**

Within the circle of inscription is represented the external figure of the south side of a Church. This is perhaps somewhat imperfectly expressed as to its general perspective, but still it bears a more perfect relation of the several parts to each other, than many portraits of the same sort of buildings which are engraved upon the conventual seals of after ages. These latter also may be generally held to represent with considerable accuracy the fashion of the prevailing architecture of their day.

To me, who have looked somewhat at our ecclesiastical architecture, this undoubted portrait of any Church which, as here given, existed in the early part of the 12th century is exceedingly curious and interesting, it affords a fair specimen of the general mode of building Churches employed at the period when the Seal was engraved, and seems, therefore, to deserve particular attention.

The southern side of a Church is exhibited, to the eastern end of which a lower chapel is attached. In the side wall of the body, and at a considerable height, are two round headed windows. These are larger and also broader in proportion than the external windows of that period have been usually held to be, and in their general form seem much to resemble that of some of the internal apertures in the second tier of some of the naves built by Gundulph in the early part of the same century. I think that under the western of the two there are some imperfect signs of a door, but without any porch, and whether the undulating direction of the lines from thence eastward are mere cracks of the wax, or meant to represent rising ground, I cannot

determine. There is one window also in the attached chapel which is in a lower line than the others, and smaller than them, but of the same general form. The side wall also of this chapel appears to come forwarder than that of the body of the church. The roof of both is sloping, high pitched, and covered with tiles: and it overhangs the side walls, which of course do not rise into a parapet. At each end of the roof of the body, and from the sloping disposition of the lines I should also say from the middle of each end, arises a lofty round tower terminating in a dome like an overhanging top. In the centre is another tower of about equal height, but broader, and it has two rather long but narrow openings visible in it. The eastern chapel has the same form of roof but lower, and is terminated at its point by a cross, which appears, as do the towers also, to be of too large a proportion for the building they surmount. The eastern end is decidedly square and not circular, as was the case in most of the early churches.

I think the above circumstances are evident on inspection. It is another question whether the portrait be ideal and moulded according to the fancy of the cutter, under the influence of the fashion of the time, or a representation of some existing church either English or foreign. Unless it was executed before the erection of any part of that building whose remains at present exist, it certainly could not be designed to represent the church of the convent.<sup>a</sup> The end thereof, east of the tower and the south transept, are the only parts which could have been built in the twelfth century. The disposition of the pillars proves the eastern end to have been a semicircular one, and there is also a southern transept of the same date, neither of which are found in the figure under consideration. Still, however, it is right to notice

<sup>a</sup> It is to be lamented that amongst all the modern attempts to preserve the memory of ancient buildings, no sufficient engravings or ground plan of this venerable church have yet been published. The part used as a parish Church is in good preservation, and the restorations and repairs are in the old style, but the adjoining buildings are rapidly losing their original character, and within a very few years the last remaining arch of the south aisle of the nave has been closed with modern brick work. In a few more no traces of the conventual buildings will probably remain, except in the plans and drawings of Mr. Hardwicke.

that in one of the miracles recorded in the Legend, upon the authority of which Rahere is honoured as the founder both of the Hospital and Monastery (Mus. Brit. MS. Cotton. Vesp. B. 9.), an eastern chapel is said to have existed: "In orientali parte ejusdem Ecclesiæ est Oratorium et in eo altare in honorem beatissimæ & perpetuæ virginis Mariæ consecratum:" and this legend with all its improbabilities is further vouched to have been written whilst some who remembered the earlier part of the life of Rahere were alive to vouch for its truth. It is perhaps impossible in the present day to ascertain whether the honour thus bestowed upon the memory of Rahere is merited. Leland<sup>a</sup> says, "Henricus primus fundator," but I do not find upon what authority, and seeing that Rahere is not mentioned in that character, in any charter, or even upon his monument, and comparing the probable dates of his life and those of the style of building, I cannot but incline to those circumstances which militate against his claim to the honour of having founded an establishment of which the most ancient Hospital in the city of London for the relief of the sick was an original part, and which has preserved its destined object, and largely diffused its benefits in an uninterrupted series through seven centuries unto the present day.

The second or oblong Seal, may be supposed from its shape alone to be of a later date than the round conventual Seal before mentioned; and this supposition will derive some degree of support from the form of the letters, which has less resemblance to the Roman character. The inscription which surrounds it is imperfect in some of its most important words, but the following are sufficiently evident:

✠ SIGILLUM - - - - BARTHOLOMEI DE  
SMETHFELDE.

Those which intervene between the two first are unintelligible, though I cannot but think that the letters RAH are those which occur immediately after SIGILLUM, and that CO precede BARTHOLOMEI,

<sup>a</sup> Collect. tom. i. p. 54.

and, if so, this is an impression of the official Seal of the prior Rahere, as the former was of the convent at large. It must, however, be left to more experienced judges than myself to speak with confidence upon these letters.

Within the centre stands an ecclesiastic clothed in an under garment with full loose sleeves and descending to the ankles, below which the feet are seen and appear to be bare. Over this, and reaching to the middle of the leg there seems to hang a rochet, open down its sides, and across the breast and right shoulder there is an ornamented vestment which probably belongs to the hood. In the right hand, which is raised across the breast, he holds a processional cross; if the cross bar be single it is I believe one of the usual insignia of an Archbishop, but I have doubts on examination whether there be not two bars, which would designate the bearer as a Patriarch. The left hand is also elevated from the body and supports a book. The neck is bare, and the face and head are rather disfigured, but still I think it is evident that there is a mitre upon the head, and that this ornament is proportionally of considerable height. The several circumstances of the dress seem to counteract the opinion which might otherwise have been entertained that the figure was intended to represent the Prior himself.

Most of the points upon which I have touched, although they may appear minute and perhaps futile, have been the subjects of discussion among learned men, and I may therefore be excused for pointing out the probable bearings of this particular example. It may not weigh much in the scale on either side, but perhaps there are few subjects more alluring or more interesting than the state of our early church establishments, and the progress and principles of their architecture towards that perfection which it finally reached.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your's sincerely,

RICHARD POWELL.

Bedford Place, Nov. 17, 1817.

VI. *An Account of some Antiquities found at Fulbourn in Cambridgeshire, in a Letter addressed to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary; by the Rev. E. D. CLARKE, LL.D. Professor of Mineralogy in the University of Cambridge.*

Read 4th December, 1817.

SIR,

THE observations already transmitted to the Society of Antiquaries, respecting some *Celtic* remains discovered near *Sawston*, were hardly communicated to the Society when our attention was again called to similiar antiquities of much more elegant form, and very superior workmanship, that were found by a party of labourers in the service of *Greaves Townley, Esq.* of *Fulbourn*, as they were digging upon *Fulbourn* common. Mr. *Townley* had the kindness to send these men to me at *Cambridge*, with the curious reliques they had brought to light; and as he allowed me to make what use of them I pleased, I am enabled to lay before the Society such other remarks as appear to me to be worthy of notice; accompanied, as before, with a drawing, by Mr. *Kerrich*, of the things as they were found, remarkable for its fidelity and exactness of delineation.

These antiquities are five in number, and all of them consist of *bronze*; namely, two swords, a spear-head, and two ferrules, which we suppose to have been the feet of spears. One of the swords was found broken into four pieces; the other into three pieces.<sup>a</sup> A part of the second sword we have used in a chemical analysis of the alloy,<sup>b</sup> and for estimating its specific gravity. Originally they were both of the same length, viz. two feet; and they measure in the widest part of each blade, one inch and three eighths; the handle and blade, in either instance, being all of one piece of metal. The thickness of each blade is nearly equal throughout, measuring two-eighths of an inch.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See Pl. IV. fig. 1, 2.

<sup>b</sup> See the deficiency marked by dotted lines, Pl. IV. fig. 2.

<sup>c</sup> See the sections, Pl. IV. fig. 3, 4.

Fig. 1.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 10.

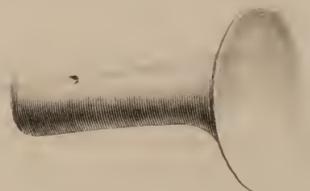


Fig. 11.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 12.

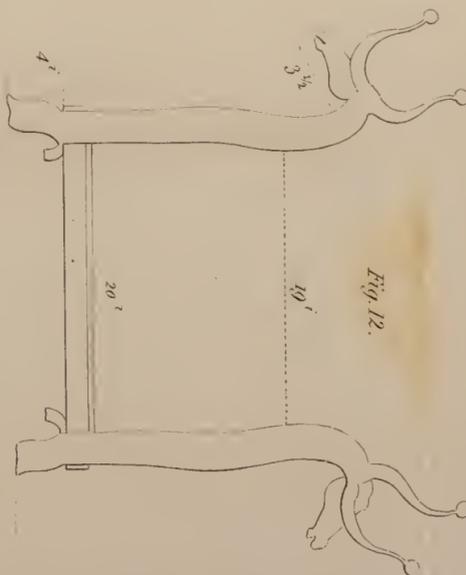


Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 13.



Fig. 4.



7. Kerckhove, 1872.

1872, Kerckhove, 1872.

Roman antiquities found at Fildon and in a tumulus called Hay-hill in Cambridgeshire.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, Jan. 5<sup>th</sup> 1839.



In the handles, which are flat like the blades, there are still remaining *bronze* rivets, as if those handles had been formerly coated with ivory, bone, wood, or agate. The spear-head, which is of singularly elegant workmanship,<sup>a</sup> measures ten inches and a half in length, two inches in the widest part, and the opening, where it received the point of the lance, is an inch in diameter. The ferrules<sup>b</sup> exhibit fastenings and apertures precisely similar to those of the spear-head; which add to the probability of their having been the feet of two spears. They have a circular basis of two inches diameter. Such feet for spears may be observed upon *Grecian* weapons of a very early age, as they are represented upon painted *terra-cottas*;<sup>c</sup> although they be more frequently figured without this termination; in other respects the *Fulbourn* spears seem to have been most correctly modelled after the most ancient form of spear used in ancient *Greece*. The Swords are also decidedly after the *Grecian* model;<sup>d</sup> differing materially from the swords in use among the *Romans*, both as to their shape and materials. But the very remote age to which the real history of such bronze reliques would refer us, does not seem to have been noticed by our Antiquaries. Perhaps there is no passage in ancient history more decisive upon this point than that which occurs in *Plutarch*; where he mentions the weapons that were found by *Cimon* in the tomb of *Theseus*. They were of *bronze*, and corresponded in a remarkable manner with the *Fulbourn* weapons; being a *bronze spear-head* (αἰχμή χαλκῆ) and a *sword* (ξίφος).<sup>e</sup> Many years ago, when Dr. *Knowles* was Prebendary of *Ely*, he had in his possession a sword corresponding with these found at *Fulbourn*. It was taken out of the river *Cam*, between *Cambridge* and *Ely*, by some workmen employed in cutting

<sup>a</sup> See Pl. IV. fig. 5, also the sections in fig. 6 and 7, and the enlarged representations, showing the fluting at the point in fig. 8 and 9.

<sup>b</sup> Pl. IV. fig. 10, 11.

<sup>c</sup> Millin, Peintures de Vases, tom. ii. p. 25.

<sup>d</sup> Mus. di Real. Acad. di Mantov. tom. v. p. 58. See also Millin, Galerie Mythologique, tom. ii. Planche cxvi. 428, &c. &c. Paris, 1811.

<sup>e</sup> Εὐρέθη δὲ θήκη τε μεγάλου σώματος, αἰχμή τε παρακειμένη χαλκῆ, καὶ ξίφος. Plut. in Vit. Thes. tom. i. p. 35. Lond. 1729.

sedge with an instrument, called “*a bear*.” This *bronze* sword was perfectly entire. Captain *Tolver*, then living at *Ely*, was Adjutant of the Militia; upon its being shewn to him, he immediately recollected that such *bronze* swords, of the same shape, had been found in *Ireland*; where they were so much admired by Marquis *Townshend*, then Lord Lieutenant, that he ordered several steel swords to be manufactured of the same form; it being urged, that with a sword of this shape, “*a Man might hold his cut*;” which was the expression used; and thereby inflict a more deadly wound. The *Celtic* origin, therefore, of the *Fulbourn* swords, is hereby rendered extremely probable; perhaps it may now appear that, by a careful attention to their *chemical analysis*, this is made capable of demonstration.

The *alloy*, of which all these antiquities consist, is hard and brittle; the surface disclosed by fracture being earthy, of a white colour, and totally destitute of any metallic lustre; but upon the action of a file its appearance is very different; it then exhibits all the splendour and colour of gold.<sup>a</sup> Its specific gravity ascertained in pump water, at a temperature equal to 56° of *Fahrenheit*, amounted to 9,200; proving the curious fact mentioned by *Beaumé*,<sup>b</sup> and by many subsequent writers,<sup>c</sup> and observed even by *Paracelsus*,<sup>d</sup> that *tin* combining with *copper* besides communicating to it part of its fusibility, affords an *alloy* which is of greater specific gravity than either of the metals separately possessed; because, during their combination, their particles mutually penetrate each other. Having divested a portion of one of the swords<sup>e</sup> of all *patina* and adherent impurity, for the purpose of estimating its specific gravity, as aforesaid, 200 grains of it, carefully weighed, were placed in highly concentrated *nitric acid*; the acid acting vehemently upon the metal, and leaving a white insoluble pre-

<sup>a</sup> Mr. *Pott* in a German letter to *Von Justi* printed in 1760; describes an *alloy* of *copper* and *tin*, as affording a gold-coloured metal called *Tombac*. See *Lewis's Commerce of the Arts*, p. 624, Lond. 1763.

<sup>b</sup> *Manuel de Chymie*, p. 149.

<sup>c</sup> See *Watson's Chemical Essays*, &c. &c.

<sup>d</sup> See also the “*Art of Distillation*,” by *French*, book v. p. 164. “I suppose,” says this old writer, “the *copper* condenseth the body of the *tin*, which before was very porous, which condensation rather addes then diminisheth the weight thereof.”

<sup>e</sup> See Pl. IV. fig. 2.

precipitate of *tin* oxide, which when washed and dried weighed 34 grains. According to *Proust*,<sup>a</sup> the white oxide produced by the utmost action of *nitric* acid upon *tin*, is composed of 28 per cent of *oxygen*, and 72 of *tin*. Hence therefore it follows, that

$$100 : 72 :: 34 : x = 24, \frac{48}{100},$$

and that this *alloy*, as in almost every instance where ancient bronze has been submitted to a regular analysis, consists of 88 per cent of copper added to 12 per cent of *tin*. The proportion of metallic *tin*, in the *white oxide*, as here stated upon the authority of *Proust*, is founded upon the increase of 40, which 100 parts of the metal receive by oxygenation; and its accuracy is further proved by the uniformity characterizing all the results which different chemists have obtained in the analysis of ancient *bronze*; a degree of uniformity hardly to be explained without supposing that there may have existed a native compound of the two metals thus united. In almost every instance the proportion of the *copper* to the *tin* has been as 88 to 12. This was the result of the analysis made by Mr. *Hatchett*, of the *bronze* nails brought by Sir. *Wm. Gell* from the *tomb of Agamemnon* at *Mycenæ*; the same result was also obtained in the analysis, by Dr. *Wollaston*, of some arrow-heads of *bronze* found in the *South of Russia*; and I have found the same constituents similarly combined in various specimens of *bronze* from *Grecian* and from *Celtic* sepulchres; in the *bronze* lamps of ancient *Egypt*, and in the *lares, weapons*, and other *bronzes* of the same country. That in the analysis of *bronze*, found in countries widely separated, there should not be a more perceptible difference in the proportion of their chemical constituents, is a remarkable circumstance. The *Gaulish* axe<sup>b</sup> found in *France*, by *M. Dupont de Nemours*, and which cut wood like a *steel* axe, might be considered as an exception; because it contained, according to the

<sup>a</sup> See the *Journal de Phys.* tom. li. also *Aikin's Chemical Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 422. Lond. 1807.

<sup>b</sup> It was in all probability a *Celt*; the antiquities denominated *Celts* in this country having been originally *axes*; as may be proved with reference to the short *axes* of the Coast of *Malabar*, where the same instrument is still in use. A gentleman recently returned from *India*, upon seeing a parcel of *Celts* in *Cambridge*, immediately recognized the *Malabar axes*.

analysis of *Vauquelin*, 87 parts of *copper* combined with 9 parts of *tin*; but in this *axe* there were also present 3 parts of *iron*;<sup>a</sup> perhaps an impurity of the *tin*; which is rarely free from an admixture of other metals. The *tin* of the *Fulbourn* swords, when exposed to a violent heat, yielded an alliaceous smell denoting the presence of *arsenic*; and a very small portion of a black insoluble powder remained in the *nitric acid* after the solution of the *copper*.

To conclude, therefore, if we be permitted to consider these *bronze* reliques as so many characteristical vestiges of a peculiar people, to whom the art was known of giving a *maximum* of density to *copper* and *tin*, by a chemical operation, we shall be at a loss, either to ascertain their origin, or to account for their wide dispersion. Such reliques, as it has been proved, are found alike in *Egypt* and in *Greece*, in *Great Britain*, and in *Ireland*. To this it may be added, that the most ancient *bronze* coins of *India* (of which I have lately analyzed some that were found near the *Byzantium* of *Larice*, upon the *Barygzenus Sinus*) consist of a similar *alloy*; and I have reason to suspect that the *bronze* idols of *Tahtary*, and of *China*, will, upon a chemical examination, be found to contain the same ingredients. Should this be true, it may possibly afford new light for investigating some of the most interesting parts of ancient history; especially as far as it relates to the origin of the *Greeks*: in the mean time, as a most singular fact connected with this enquiry, it is proper to mention, that the oldest representation which exists of the *Athenian Minerva*, exhibits the goddess in the regular costume of *China*; with the same sort of scalp-like cap upon her head, and the same braided *queue* hanging down her back,<sup>b</sup> which are now worn by the inhabitants of that country.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE.

CAMBRIDGE, Nov. 27th, 1817.

<sup>a</sup> Humboldt's *New Spain*. Jameson's *Mineralogy*, vol. iii. p. 102. Edin. 1816.

<sup>b</sup> See a *terra-cotta* vase discovered at *Athens*, now in the possession of Mr. *Burgon*, late *British Consul* at *Smyrna*.

P.S. In the course of the last summer I opened a very considerable *tumulus*, called *Hay-hill*, standing by the remains of the old *Roman* road westward of *Cambridge*, beyond the village of *Barton*, towards *Wimpole*. Some curious remains, made of *iron*, had been found near the spot; of which I have also sent a sketch made by the Rev. Mr. *Pemberton*, Minister of *Barton*. They consisted of a chain with six collars for conducting captives;<sup>a</sup> and a double *fulcrum*, intended to support a spit for roasting meat, the coals being placed under the spit;<sup>b</sup> illustrating a well-known passage in *Virgil*:<sup>c</sup>

“ Subjiciunt verubus prunas et viscera torrent.”

That they were *Roman* antiquities is therefore very probable; but in opening the *tumulus*, nothing further was discovered likely to decide this point. Upon the floor of the *tomb*, about nine feet from the summit, we found the remains of a single human skeleton; the head, separated from the body, was lying upon the right ear, *north* and *south*; the top of the skull pointing to the *south*. The bones of the body were lying *east* and *west*. The *skull* was removed, and it is now in our University Library.

Since writing the above, (so lately as *April 15*, 1818) some labourers, being employed digging gravel near the same *tumulus*, discovered, at the same distance, and on the same side, of the *Roman* road, fourteen inches below the surface of the soil, a rude stone slab, covering the mouth of an *Amphora*. Upon raising the stone, there were found within the *Amphora*, which was full of water, a black *terra-cotta* vase of elegant form, half filled with human bones; also two other smaller vessels of red *terra-cotta* with handles. I am at this moment engaged in removing these antiquities to our University Library. This discovery remarkably illustrates the meaning of the *Amphora* as a symbol upon the gems and medals of the ancients; its *sepulchral* use rendering it an appropriate type of *Hades* and of *Night*; wherefore it was also figured with an *owl*.

<sup>a</sup> See Pl. IV. fig. 13.

<sup>b</sup> See Pl. IV. fig. 12.

<sup>c</sup> Virgillii *Æneid*, lib. v. 103.

VI.\* *Copy of an Order made by Cardinal Wolsey, as Lord Chancellor, respecting the Management of the Affairs of the young Earl of Oxford. Communicated by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary, in a Letter to MATTHEW RAPER, Esq. V.P. F.R.S.*

Read 11th Dec. 1817.

DEAR SIR,

British Museum, Nov. 30, 1817.

AMONG the Manuscripts which were some time ago purchased by Government of the Representatives of Mr. Francis Hargrave, and which are now deposited in the British Museum, I have laid my hand upon the Transcript of an Order made by Cardinal Wolsey, as Lord Chancellor, for the regulation of the Household Expences and general Management of the Affairs of the young Earl of Oxford, then a minor. In the 15th year of King Henry the 8th. A.D. 1524.

I transmit you a Copy of it in the hope that it may prove worthy to be communicated to the Society of Antiquaries.

I am, dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

To MATTHEW RAPER, Esq. V. P.

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[MS. Hargr. Num. 249, fol. 226.]

“ An Order made by the reverend Father in God Thomas Woolsey Cardinall of England, by directon from the King, to lymitt John Earle of Oxenford in the orderinge of his Expences of Household and other his Affaires in his yonger yeares, as also for his demeanor towards the Countess his wief in the xv<sup>th</sup> yeare of King Henry 8th.

Firste, it is ordered by the most reverend Father in God that to the intent the said Earle yett beinge younge and nott at all foredele to

maintaine a great and ordinarie House maie not onely by Example of other have better Experience and Knowledge hereafter of such things as be requisite for him to know in that behalfe, but also by spareing and moderate Expences in the beginning of his Youth be more abundantlie furnished beforehand for the supportation and maintenance of those and other Charges when the cause shall require, and in the mean time bee the better able to serve the King's Grace as shall appertaine.

The same Earle shall incontinentlie discharge and breake his household, sojourning, hee and the lady his wief, their family, and servants hereafter to be mentioned, with his father-in-law the Duke of Norfolk, at such convenient prizes for their boards as betweene the same Duke and the Ladie Dutchess his wife and the said Earle of Oxford, by mediation of his friends, can be accorded, covenanted, and agreed.

Item it is further ordered that for good Councell to bee given, and due service to bee done unto the said Earle and the Countess his wief, aswel in ordering of his Lands as otherwise, they shall have the number of Officers and Servants underwritten; viz. for his lands John Josselin to be his Auditor, and Surveyor and receivor of the same, and for the said service of them both; one Chaplain; twoo Gentlemen; sixe Yeomen; three Groomes and three horse-keepers; with a Page; two Gentlemen; and one Chambermaid; to attend upon the Lady his wife. Of which said Men and Women servants now to be deputed, chosen, and assigned, the said Earl of Oxenford shall with all diligence certifie the names in writing unto the said most reverend Father, to the Intentt thatt upon Inquirie and Knowledge had of their sadnes, good demeanor, and fidelities they maie bee by him approved, or not being found of such qualities rejected and excepted. And semblable from time to time the said most reverend Father in God shall approve such Officers and Servants as hee shall thinke good to be about the said Earle and Countesse his wief for their most weale, honour, and proffite; and them upon their meritts or demeritts to accept or expell att his pleasure, whereunto the said Earle shall at all seasons be conformable, nott admitting or

takeing into his service any Person but such as shalbee by the said most reverend Father soe allowed and approved, as aforesaid.

Item the said Officers and Servants, and everie of them, from time to time being, shalbee taken, used, and ordered as Officers and Servants indifferently to the said Earle and Lady his wief being obedientt to their services and good Commandments, without any speciall limittacōn of any of the said Officers or men servants to be either the said Earles or the said Countesses servants onelie: whereby there should appeare or arise any particuler or partiall distinction, some of them to belong unto the said Earle and some to the said Countess.

Item the said Earle of Oxford shall sadly, moderately, and with temperance and discretion use himself, from time to time, aswell in his Expences as in his Diett and other his dailie Conversacōns forbearing to make or pass any Grant of Annuitys, Offices, or otherwise, but by the advice and consentt of the said most reverend Father in escheweinge the great Decaie of his Lands and hindrance in his substance. Semblably for conservation of his Healthe and avoiding sundry Inconveniencies hee shall have a vigilant regard that he use not much to drink hot wines, ne to drink or sitt up late, or accustom himself with hotte or unwholesome meats, contrary to his Complexion whereby he may be brought into Infirmite and Disease.

Item the said Earle shall also moderate his hunteing or other Disports, or hunting or useing the same excessively, daily, or customably; but onely at such tymes and seasons as maie bee convenientt for the wealth and recreation of his bodie, and as by the sadest and most discreteste of his servants shalbee advised and thought expedientt.

Item, in all other the gestures and behaviours of the said Earle he shall use himself honourably, prudently, and sadly, forbearinge all riotous and wild companies, excessive and superfluous apparell: and namely he shall, as to a Nobleman apperteigneth, lovinglie, familiarlie, and kindlie intreate and demeane himself towards the said Countesse his wief as there may be perfect love, concord, and unity engendered, nourished, and continued between them, as to the laws of God; and

for bringeing forthe fruit and children between them to God's pleasure doth appertaine wherein the said Earle shall specially see that he give no Ear to simple or evil tongued Persons which for particular malice, or to attaine favor, thanks, or otherwise, shall contrive seditious or slanderous Reports between them, but like a Nobleman shall cherish, love, and entertaine the said Countess with all gentleness and kindness to be used either to other. And, generally, the said Earle shall discreetly, substantialy, and sadly governe, use, behave, and order himself in all his Acts, Demeanors, Gestures, and Proceedings as to such a Nobleman doth and shall appertaine. For observation of which premises, devised by the King's speciall commandement for the publick ordering, wealth, and increase of the said Earle, as is aforesaid, not only he standeth bound with sufficient sureties to the said most reverend Father; that is to say, he himselfe in the summe of two thousand pounds, and six sureties, every of them in Five hundred Marks, but also these present Articles in Papers indented tripartite, the one remaining with the same most reverend Father, another with the said Earle, and the third with the Executors of the Laste Will and Testament of the late Earle of Oxford, signed with all their hands, bee alternately and interchangeably delivered, either to other, the 16th Day of February the 15th Year of the Kings Reign.

T. CAR<sup>LIS</sup> EBOR.

John Oxenford.

VII. *Observations on the Seal of Evesham Abbey in Worcestershire.*  
 By WILLIAM HAMPER, Esq. Communicated in a Letter to  
 NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.

Read 8th Jan. 1818.

Deritend House, Birmingham, Dec. 19, 1817.

DEAR SIR,

THE Seal of Evesham Abbey, in the County of Worcester, having been hitherto imperfectly delineated and explained, particularly as respects its inscriptions, I beg you to do me the favour of laying before the Society of Antiquaries a restored outline of that very interesting subject, Pl. V. which I have completed from two Impressions of the Seal, in my own possession, aided in a very few parts by the Plate of it in Tindal's History of Evesham.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

WM. HAMPER.

NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. Sec. S. A.  
 &c. &c. &c.

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EXPLANATION OF EVESHAM ABBEY SEAL.

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*Obverse.* The principal figure represents *Eoves*, the swain or countryman, who first gave name to the place, standing in a wood, with his porcine herd near him. He carries a long staff, such as was probably used for the purpose of beating down acorns and beech-mast; and is encompassed with a label bearing a Saxon Inscription, which Dr. Nash (Worcestersh. vol. i. p. 396,) reads as follows: *EOVESDE. VENETIE. AIT. WAS. SWIN. CORLIMEN. CLEPET. VIS. EOVISDOM.* Thus explained by a learned friend, (possibly *Mr. Gough*, who is known to have supplied other Translations from the

Saxon in the same work,) Eoverhe ðen et ie Ait ƿar ƿþin [evidently misprinted for ƿar ƿþin] Coplimen clepet ðis Eovirhom. *Eoveshe servus apud insulam Ait erat porcorum, rustici homines vocant hanc Eovesi habitationem.*"

Tindal (History of Evesham, p. 142,) copies this reading, and adds, by way of English Translation, "*Eoveshe was Keeper of swine at the Island Ait. The country people call this the habitation of Eoves.*" Your worthy Member, Edward Rudge, Esq. F.R.S. (proprietor of the manor, site, and demesne lands of the Monastery) in a communication to the Editors of the New Monasticon, Vol. ii. p. 13, has adopted the following interpretation :

" EOVES. HER. WENEDE. MIT. WAS. SWIN.

" ECGWIN. CLEPET. VIS. EOVIHOM.

" Eoves here wended with his swine,

" Ecgwin named [it] Vic Eovishom."

The true reading is evidently thus :

✠ EOVES. HER. WONEDE. ANT. WAS. SWON.

FOR. ƿI. MEN. CLEPET. þIS. EOvesHOM.

Eoves here dwelt and was a swain,

For why [i. e. the cause why] men call this Eoveshom.

With regard to SWON for Swain, Lye's Dictionary refers us from SUON to *Swan*, which latter word is explained "bubulcus." *Inde nostra Swaine, &c.*"

The upper compartment exhibits the Blessed Virgin appearing to Eoves, who is seated under a tree, with his hands in the attitude of devotion; and her subsequent interview with Bishop Egwin, who on his knees is receiving her directions to found a Church in that place; the representation of such an Edifice being pointed to, by a cross which she holds sceptre-wise in her hand, and her injunction expressed by the words, ECCE. LOC<sup>9</sup>. QVE. ELEGI. The circumscription of the whole is ✠ SIGILLVM. SANCTE. MARIE. ET SANTI. [not *Sancti*] ECGWINI. EPI. EOvesHAMENSIS. MONASTERII.

*Reverse.* Bishop Egwin is seen in the upper compartment presenting his Church to the Virgin, and, in the lower, receiving (not from a King, attended by a Queen and an Officer, as Dr. Nash supposes, but) from his *three Royal Patrons*, Etheldred, Kenred, and Offa, a Charter of Privileges, inscribed DAMVS REGIE LIBERTATI, to which is appendant a Seal, charged with three Lions passant guardant. The circumscription has been thus given by Dr. Nash (ut supra) DICTIS. € . . . . . VBERATRINI. OMNIBVS. VNDE. PIE. NITET. AVLA. SAC. MARIE: which is repeated by Tindal, p. 143, who supplies the second word with ECGWINI. Mr. Rudge proposes DICTIS. ECGWINI. DAN. . . . . FRATRI. RI. OMNIBUS. UNDE. PIE. NITET. AULA. . . . . SACRAE. MARIE. The restored outline clearly produces these two leonine verses:

DICTIS. ECGWINI. DANT. REGES. MVNERA. TRINI.  
OMNIBVS. VNDE. PIE. NITET. AULA. SACRA. MARIE.

Which may be thus rendered, in a homely, though almost literal, English couplet:

At Ecgwin's call, three Kings with bounty come,  
Whence godly prospers Mary's sacred dome.

Judging from the form of the letters, I cannot assign an earlier date to the seal than the beginning of the fifteenth Century, or during the Abbacy of Richard de Bromsgrove (from A. D. 1418 to 1435) whose Correspondent Richard Leyot, in a Letter published by Nash and Tindal, repeatedly uses the conjunction *and* with the same orthography as upon the obverse. For instance:—"I recomaunde me to your goode *ant* bountenouse fadrehede—desiryng ever the welfare *ant* the felicite of your reverent fadrehede, as of myself."

As my impressions of the Seal accompany these observations, the Society will have an opportunity of determining for themselves how far the proposed reading of the Inscriptions may be relied on: though I think I may venture to assert that there is authority for every word





of the disputable parts, excepting only the first and the last of the obverse, viz. **DICTIS** and **MARIE**, which Mr. Tindal's plate has supplied.

Dr. Nash, Mr. Tindal, and Mr. Rudge have been more or less misled upon the subject, partly by imperfect impressions of the reverse, and partly by another matrix of the obverse (which is still in existence, and in the possession of a gentleman at Hartlebury) executed by a workman ignorant of the Saxon characters, though we are not, on that consideration, less indebted to them for their several and ingenious remarks.

VIII. *Some Observations on an Antique Bas-relief, on which the Evil Eye, or Fascinum, is represented.* By JAMES MILLINGEN, Esq. F.S.A.

Read 8th Jan. 1818.

THE monument of which a drawing is presented to this learned Society, (see Pl. VI.) is the only one of the kind that has been hitherto discovered. It is interesting not only from its singularity, but as illustrating various doubtful points of antiquity.

The original is a Bas-relief in marble, double the size of the drawing. In the centre, a human eye is represented, with the lids and brow. A male figure, the head covered with a Phrygian tiara, is sitting on the eye in an indecorous posture. On one side is a gladiator, wearing the girdle called *subligaculum*; holding in one hand a short sword, and in the other a kind of trident, (*fuscina*) with which he strikes the eye. The gladiators who used weapons of this kind were called Myrmillones. A similar figure was probably on the opposite side of the bas-relief which is now wanting. On the lower part, are five animals; a lion, a serpent, a scorpion, a crane, and a crow, who all attack the eye with great fury.

On a mature consideration of this monument, no doubt can be entertained but that the evil eye or *Fascinum* is here represented.

It was an ancient superstition, that some persons were endued with the power of injuring those on whom they cast a hostile or envious look. The eyes of such persons were supposed to dart noxious rays fatal to every object on which they were fixed. This power of injuring with the eye was called *Βασκανία* by the Greeks, and *Fascinatio* by the Romans. Several writers<sup>a</sup> who have collected the testimonies of the ancients concerning it, may be consulted for particulars.

<sup>a</sup> Alsarius de Fascino. Antiq. Roman. a Grævio, tom. xii. p. 885. Potter Archæol. Græca. lib. ii. cap. 18.

Those who enjoyed great prosperity, or met with any extraordinary good fortune, such as were too much elated by praise and flattery, were more particularly liable to the effects of fascination. Hence when the Romans praised any thing or person, they used to add, *Præfiscini*, or *Præfiscine dixerim*, to avert any fascination that might ensue, and to prove that their praise was sincere.

It is remarkable that the same superstition prevails to the present day in several parts of the world, even in the northern part of our Island, and in Ireland. In Greece it is called, *κακο ματι*, and its effects are averted by spitting,<sup>a</sup> in the same manner as was practised by the ancients against fascination<sup>b</sup> and ill omens of every kind. In Italy it is called the *Mal-occhio*, and among the lower orders of people, its effects are supposed to be very powerful and fatal. When praise is bestowed on beauty, riches, or any other advantages, the person praised immediately exclaims, “*se mal-occhio non vi fosse;*” from an apprehension that the praise may not be sincere, but proceed solely from a malicious intention to injure. This exclamation is accompanied with a sign of the hand imitating the *phallus*, or by holding up pieces of coral, shells, or various kinds of stones, worn as amulets.

The animals on the lower part of the bas-relief are Mithraic, they attack the eye in order to avert its evil effects. The figure with a tiara is Mithras, who is usually represented as a young man in a similar dress. The crow, the scorpion, and the serpent, are animals commonly seen on Mithraic monuments.<sup>c</sup> The lion was also consecrated to the same divinity, in whose ceremonies those who were initiated bore the name of lions, and appeared disguised in the skins of that animal. The crane, which was the symbol of Piety, appears here for the first time among the Mithraic animals.

<sup>a</sup> I am indebted for this information respecting the prevalence of the superstition of the evil eye in Greece to my friend Mr. Dodwell.

<sup>b</sup> *Ὡς μὴ Βασκανθῶ δὲ τρις εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπιυσα κολπον.* Theocr. Idyl. vi. v. 39.

<sup>c</sup> Turre, Monum. Vet. Antii Roma 1700, p. 157, and Visconti Museo Pio-Clementino, tom. vii. p. 10.

The belief in fascination is extremely ancient, and appears to have originated in Africa. It is connected with the story of Medusa and the Gorgons, whose eyes caused immediate destruction. Hence the artifice to which Perseus had recourse in cutting off Medusa's head. Some author's describe the Gorgons as having but one which they used alternately.<sup>a</sup> From this source the superstition of the evil eye is probably derived.

The ancients employed various methods to avert the effects of fascination. Sometimes necklaces composed of shells, coral, and various sorts of stones, rough or engraved, particularly jasper, were used. But the charm most generally employed was the *phallus*, which on that account was placed on the doors of houses and gardens, on terminal figures, and was hung about the necks of women and children. In general any obscene or ludicrous action or figures were thought efficacious; which accounts for the indecorous posture of the figure of Mithras in this monument. The Italian sailors at the present day, when the wind is contrary, think to dispel it, by turning themselves in a similar manner towards the point from which it blows.

A representation of the object possessing the power of fascination was also considered as a preservative or amulet. It is for this reason that we meet so frequently with the *γοργόνειον*, or head of Medusa, on ancient gems, and on the coins of a great number of cities.<sup>b</sup> From Euripides<sup>c</sup> we learn that numbers of similar figures were placed around the temple of Delphi. The opinion of Eckhell<sup>d</sup> that these masks represent the moon appears unfounded. The head of Medusa is frequently placed on the egis of Jupiter, on that of Minerva, and on the shields and armours of warriors, as an amulet and as an object of terror to the foe. It is sometimes remarkable by the action of putting out the tongue, any ridiculous or obscene action being considered, as I have already remarked, a preservative against fascination.

An eye is sometimes represented on the shields of warriors;<sup>e</sup> and

<sup>a</sup> Aeschylus. Prometheus, v. 794.

Minerva Polias at Athens. Eustat. in Homer. Iliad. p. 1704, l. 32.

<sup>b</sup> The *γοργόνειον* was placed in the temple of  
<sup>c</sup> Ion. v. 225.

<sup>d</sup> Numi Vet. Anecdoti, p. 12, et seqq.

<sup>e</sup> Millingen. Vases de Sir John Coghill, p. 14.

frequently on the sides of ancient vessels near the prow. Even at present, it is sometimes painted on the forepart of the Sicilian and Maltese feluccas.

Winkelman<sup>a</sup> who made the remark, confessed that he could not account for this custom; but may we not infer by analogy that it was considered as an amulet?

The superstition of the evil eye was intimately connected with the goddess Nemesis. Pliny<sup>b</sup> says that at Rome sacrifices of a particular nature were offered to Nemesis with a view to avert fascination. This goddess was revered as the avenger of injuries, who punished such as prosperity had made insolent. There was, however, another Nemesis,<sup>c</sup> whose attributes were of a more odious nature, and who was considered as the deity of envy.

A terra-cotta bas-relief published by Winkelman,<sup>d</sup> represents a female figure holding a basket of figs, among which is a phallus; a winged figure standing by, turns aside terrified at the sight. Winkelman supposes this to be the goddess Pudicitia, but in my opinion it is Nemesis, who is deterred by the powerful spell of the phallus from injuring the fruits of the earth with the eye of envy.

In the British Museum<sup>e</sup> is a similar bas-relief, where a Satyr is added, which shows that the scene takes place during a festival of Bacchus. The basket of figs is an offering to that god,<sup>f</sup> who was considered not only as the giver of wine, but of all the fruits of the earth, whence he is called ὠρεῖος θεός.<sup>g</sup>

From the style of workmanship, it would appear that the origin of the singular monument which forms the subject of this memoir may be assigned to the time of Septimus Severus, when the worship of

<sup>a</sup> Monumenti Inediti, tom. ii. p. 26.

<sup>b</sup> Hist. Nat. lib. xxviii. cap. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Hesiod.

<sup>d</sup> Monumenti Inediti, tom. ii. p. 32.

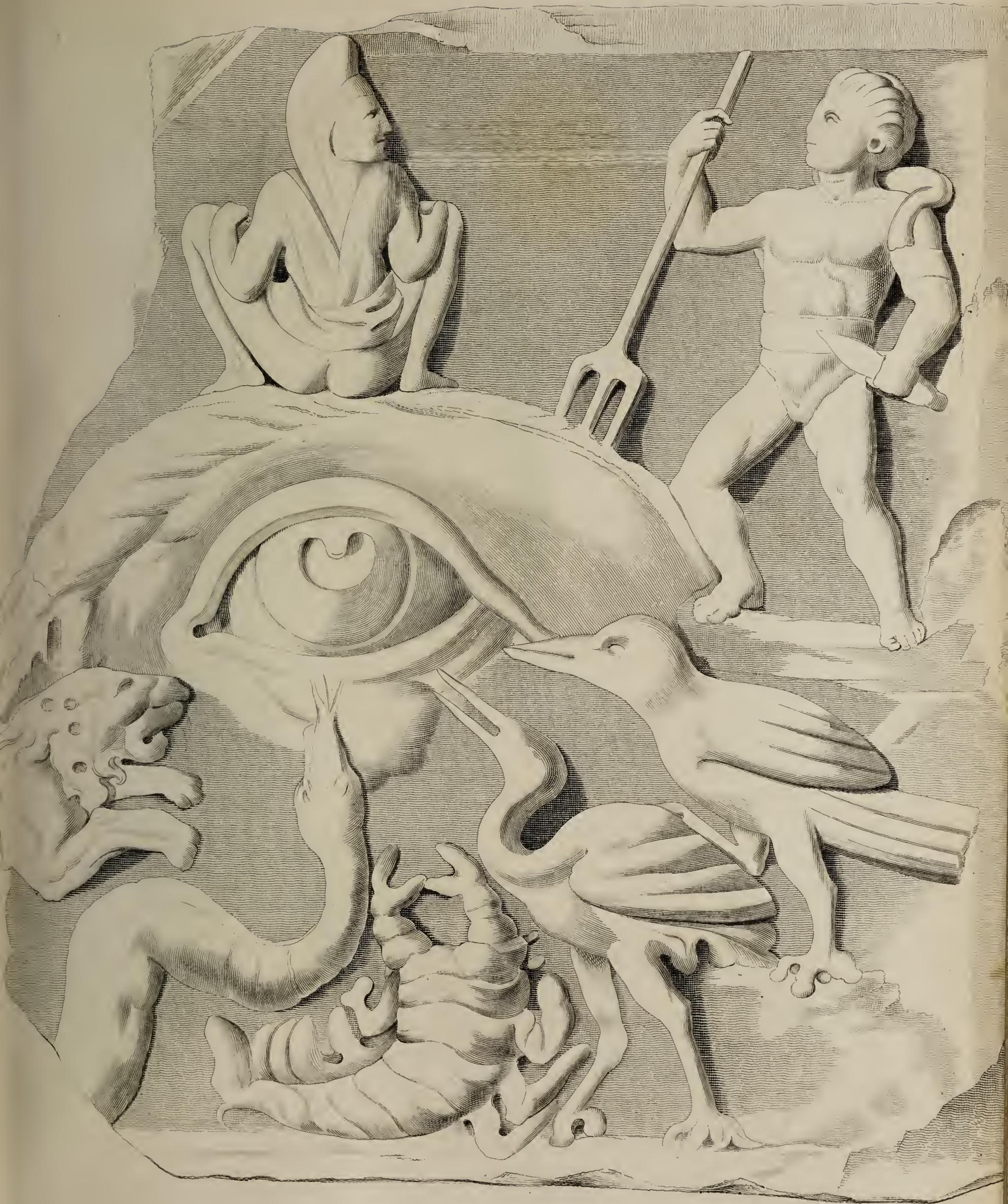
<sup>e</sup> Description of Antient Terra-cottas, pl. xvi. p. 27.

<sup>f</sup> The fig was particularly held sacred to Bacchus. A vessel of wine and a basket of figs were in early times the rewards for Comedy. Plutarch de Divit.

<sup>g</sup> Aristophanes, Ranæ v. 307.

Mithras began to be widely diffused in the western part of the Roman empire.

The circumstance of a gladiator being represented, leads to a conjecture that it was executed for a *lanista*, or director of a troop of gladiators, who was at the same time a votary of Mithras. It may have been placed over the entrance or on some part of his house, as a charm against the baneful effects of the evil eye.





IX. *Observations on the Site of the Priory of Halywell in Warwickshire, a Cell to Roucester Abbey in the County of Stafford.* By WILLIAM HAMPER, Esq. In a Letter addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.

Read 22d Jan. 1818.

Deritend House, Birmingham, Dec. 17, 1817.

DEAR SIR,

THE subject of the following Observations having been already brought before the Society of Antiquaries, no apology will, I trust, be deemed necessary, for my requesting you to do me the honour of presenting them to that learned body.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

WM. HAMPER.

HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Sec. S.A.

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Bishop Tanner in his *Notitia Monastica*, under Warwickshire, Article XIII. places the Austin Cell of "*Halywell upon Watling Street*," and describes it as "a Cell or chantry of Black Canons belonging to the Abbey of Roucester in Staffordshire, which on account of its solitary and dangerous situation was, 19 Edw. II. A. D. 1325, removed to the conventual church of the Abbey." He then adds, as his authority, the following extract from the Patent Roll of that year, p. 1. m. 10. "Rex concessit Abbati de Roucestre in Dovedale, quod ipse *Capellam de Halywell* in com. Warwic. quæ sita est in loco solitario et periculoso, super regiam stratam de Watlyng Strete, ubi latrones frequenter latitant et canonicos ibidem morantes depredantur, a loco illo amovere, et cantariam pro animabus Roberti de Cotes et Ricardi Filon [Fiton] in eadem capella dudum ordinatam in ecclesia conventuali

ipsius Abbatis de Roucestre facere et sustentare, ac duas virgatas terræ et dimid. cum pertinentijs, in Halywell, Churchwaure, et Clifton, quas idem Abbas tenet pro cantaria illa prædicta facienda et sustentanda, libere retinere, &c.”

Dugdale does not notice this ancient religious establishment; and from the circumstance of finding no place now known by the name of Halywell, either upon or near the Watling Street, your worthy Secretary, Mr. Carlisle, in the Sixteenth Volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 326, conjecturally places it at *Stonythorpe near Southam*, in another part of Warwickshire, where a spring of fine clear water is still called Holywell, or Halywell; observing at the same time, that, “as the Roman *Fosse Way* running northward out of Gloucestershire, is about two miles and three quarters from hence, and *the Watling Street* being far distant from it, it would seem more proper to designate this Cell, Halywell *near the Fosse Way*, than *upon the Watling Street*.”

The result, however, of a recent investigation, in company with my Friend Abraham Grimes, Esq. of Coton House, the proprietor of the estate, joined to the advantage of reference to his Title Deeds, enables me to fix its site at *Cave's Inn*, upon the Watling Street, in the manor of Coton, and parish of Church Over; where a rapid and unceasing spring still preserves the character of the spot, though the tradition of its former sanctity and importance has totally ceased; and where in the year 1791, in sinking the foundation for the present Inn, which succeeded a decayed half-timbered house, several bushels of human bones were discovered. Cave's Inn was so denominated, as will be seen below, from its occupier Edward Cave, grandfather of the original projector of the Gentleman's Magazine, whose biographer, Dr. Johnson, calls it “*Cave's in the hole, a lone house on the street road*,” adopting the very phraseology of the above-recited Patent, in the 19th Edw. II. “— *in loco solitario — super regiam stratam de Watlyng Strete*.”

I shall now proceed, as far as my scanty materials will allow, to trace the history of this long-neglected place; premising that your

worthy member Mr. Caley, did me the favour to examine the Minister's Accompts and various other Records in the Augmentation Office, relative to Roucester Abbey, both before and after the Dissolution, without finding one word of Halywell, though, as he observes, "it undoubtedly belonged to it at an early period, as is apparent both from the Patent and Close Rolls." Robert de Cotes and Richard Fiton, whose Chantry was here established, were cotemporaries, or nearly so, the former residing at Cotes, or Coton, in 1206,<sup>a</sup> and the latter at the adjoining parish of Shawell in the county of Leicester, in 1235;<sup>b</sup> and it seems likely that its establishment took place between the years 1240 and 1270. A.D. 1279, the following Inquisition occurs: "Shathewell [i. e. Shawell] est de feodo Verdon, et Willielmus Fyton tenet in eâdem quartam partem unius feodi militis, &c. Item. *Prior de Halywell*, et Abbas de Croxton, [quere, if not a clerical error for *Roucester*] tenent duas virgatas terræ in perpetuam eleemosynam; quo warranto ignorant."<sup>c</sup>

The following process concerning a boundary ditch at Shawell, is undated. "*Prior de Haliwell* nihil capit per assizam versus Thomam Fithon, Alanum Ram, &c. de fossato quodam levato in Chawell."<sup>d</sup> A.D. 1291, in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV. the Abbat of Roucester is rated Twenty-six Shillings and Eight Pence, for Temporalities within the Archdeaconry of Leicester, fol. 109, b. which subsequently appear, fol. 119, b. to have been in the Deanry of Gudlakston, doubtless at Shawell beforementioned. A.D. 1301, Pope Boniface VIII. in a Bull of Confirmation and Protection to the Abbat and Convent of Roucester, of which a curious early English Translation is now before me, recognizes, inter alia, their "*Chirche of Seint Gyles of Halywel.*"

Bishop Tanner, under Roucester, *Notitia Monastica*, Article XXI. in Staffordshire, refers to the Patent Roll, 11 Edw. II. p. 2, m. 35, for an entry, "de messuagijs et terris in Holm juxta Clifton," [now

<sup>a</sup> Dugdale's Warwicksh. edit. Thomas, p. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Nichols's Leicestersh. vol. iv. p. 335.

<sup>c</sup> Nichols's Leicest. vol. iv. p. 336, from Esc. 7 Edw. I. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 336, from Mr. Roper's MSS.

called *Biggin*, and lying contiguous to Cave's Inn]; and to Dods-worth's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, for "Preceptum Regis de *Capella de Haliwell, in com. Warwic.* habenda Abbati et Conventui;" also to the Close Roll of the 14th year of that King.

A.D. 1325, 19 Edw. II. license was obtained, as has been before observed, to remove the establishment at Halywell to the Conventual Church of Roucester, for which the Abbat paid a fine of Twenty Shillings;<sup>a</sup> and from that time, for a period of two hundred and sixty years, viz. till the 28th of Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1585, I find no traces of it; when "a close or pasture, in Coton, called *Hallowell*," occurs as part of the possessions of Elizabeth Dixwell, widow, by whose family it was probably purchased at the dissolution.

A.D. 1634, the premises are let upon lease, for six years, to Nicolas Day of Daventry, Millwright, by the name of "*Hollywell house*," with six acres of land adjoining; and in 1657, described in a Deed, as "all that auncient message or tenement now beinge in the tenure of *one Edward Cave*, and commonly called *The New Inne, alias Hallowell house*, and all those closes commonly called *Hallowell close* and *Hallowell meadow*."

In the last named year, 1657, Elias Ashmole, Esq. writing to Dugdale on the subject of Roman Antiquities in this neighbourhood, says, "a mile further [from Lilburn], in the valley, stands a house called *The New Inn*, distinguished only by its lying under Shawell. Mine host told me it had been *an Abbey called Holywell*."<sup>b</sup>

A.D. 1687, Brent Dixwell, Esq. grants a lease of it, for sixty years, to Edward Cave, by the concise designation of "*The New Inn*;" and, the name of the tenant ultimately prevailing, the place from thenceforward appears to have been known only, as it is at present, by the appellation of *Cave's Inn*: to the utter exclusion and extinction of its once celebrated name of Halywell.

<sup>a</sup> Abbreviatio Rot. Orig. Ro. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Nichols's Leicestersh. ut supra, p. 82.

X. *Account of the Lottery of 1567, being the first upon Record, in a Letter from WILLIAM BRAY, Esq. Treasurer, addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 29th Jan. 1818.

DEAR SIR,

AMONGST many curious papers at Mr. Molyneux's ancient seat at Loseley in Surrey, some of which I have, with his permission, laid before the Society, is one which perhaps at this time is unique, and as such not altogether unworthy of notice, though it is only a Scheme for a Lottery; it is, however, of so early a date as 1567, and is the first Lottery of which I have found mention, though such there may have been earlier. If you think it worth laying before the Society you will please to do so.

I am, Sir,

Your very obedient humble servant,

W. BRAY.

Great Russell-street, 27th Jan. 1818.

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Mr. Stow tells us under the year 1569, that "a great Lottery being holden at London in Paule's Church-yard, at the West doore, was begun to be drawne the 11th of January, and continued day and night, till the sixth of May, wherein the sayd drawing was fully ended."<sup>a</sup>

This was the Lottery for which the following proposals were issued by the Queen's authority. At the top of the sheet is this title: "A VERY

<sup>a</sup> Annales, edit. 1631, p. 663.

**RICH LOTTERIE GENERALL, WITHOUT ANY BLANCKES;** under this is a copper, or wood plate, in the center of which are the Queen's arms, supported by a lion and griffin, with the motto of the Garter; on one side of this is a view of London, "*Civitas Londinum,*" in which the church of St. Paul's with its very lofty spire makes a conspicuous figure. On the other side is a hill with four large trees on the top; in the bottom between that and another hill, and behind the supporters, is seen a continuation of the houses of the city. Below the Royal arms are those of the City of London, immediately under which in the center is a large coffer full of pieces of money, below that are several bags also full of money; and various articles of plate, forming part of the prizes, are exhibited on seven shelves on each side, consisting of cups, vases, beakers, spoons, &c. with bags of money interspersed. At the bottom in the center is the Judgment of Solomon, a man holding a child in one hand, a sword in the other ready to divide it, the mother on her knees, the other woman standing unconcerned.

Underneath these is the following:

"A very rich Lotterie generall, without any blanckes, containing a great number of good prizes, as wel of redy money as of plate and certaine sorts of merchandizees, hauing ben valued and priced by the commaundment of the Queenes most excellēt Majestie, by men expert and skillfull: and the same Lotterie is erected by hir Majesties order, to the intent that suche commoditie as may chaunce to arise thereof after the charges borne, may be converted towards the restoration of the Havens and strengthening of the Realme, and towards such publique good workes. The number of Lots shall be four hundreth thousand, and no more: and [the price of] every Lot shall be the summe of Tenne Shillings sterling onely, and no more."

"Three Welcomes."

"The first person to whom any Lot shall happen, shall have for his welcome (besides the advauntage of his adventure) the value of fiftie poundes sterling in a peice of sylver plate gilte.

"The second £30 }  
"The third £20 } in Plate."

“ The Prices.”

“ Whosoever shall winne the greatest and most excellent price, shall receive the value of five thousande poundes sterling, that is to say, £3000 in ready money, £700 in plate gilte and white, and the rest in good tapisserie meete for hangings and other covertures, and certaine sortes of good linnen cloth.”

“ Second great price, £3500, i.e. £2000 in money, £600 in plate, and the rest in tapisserie and linnen.”

It goes on in like manner to 11 more, diminishing in value, the last being £140. Then, various prizes from £100 to 14 shillings.

12	prices of	£100	0	each	}	Part in money, part in plate and goods.
24	-	-	-	50 0		
60	-	-	-	24 10		
90	-	-	-	22 10		
114	-	-	-	18 0		
120	-	-	-	12 10		
150	-	-	-	8 0		
200	-	-	-	6 10		
300	-	-	-	4 10		
500	-	-	-	3 10		
500	-	-	-	3 0 in plate	}	money
500	-	-	-	2 10 money		
2000	-	-	-	2 0 in plate		
6000	-	-	-	1 5		
10,000	-	-	-	0 15	}	money
9,418	-	-	-	0 14		

All the rest 2s. 6d. at least in money.

“ Conditions ordained for the advauntage of the Adventurers in this Lotterie, bysides the prices before mentioned in the Charte.

“ The Queenes Majestie of hir power royall giveth libertie to all maner of persons that will adventure any Money in this Lotterie to resort to the places underwrytten and to abyde and depart from the same in maner and forme following : that is to say to the Citie of

London at any time within the space of one moneth next following the feast of S. Bartholomew in this present yeare 1567, and there to remaine seven days: and to these Cities and Townes folowing, Yorke, Norwich, Exceter, Lincolne, Coventrie, Southampton, Hull, Bristoll, Newcastle, Chester, Ipswich, Sarisbury, Oxforde, Cambridge, and Shrewesbury, in the Realme of Englande, and Dublyn and Waterforde in the Realme of Ireland, at any time within the space of three weekes next after the publication of this Lotterie in euery of the sayd severall places, and there to remaine also seven whole days without any molestation or arrest of them for any maner of offense, saving treason, murder, pyracie, or any other felonie, or for breach of hir Majesties peace, during the time of their comming, abidyng, or retourne.

“ And that every person adventuring their money in this Lotterie may haue the like libertie in comming and departing to and from the Citie of London during all the time of the reading of the same Lotterie, untill the last adenture be to them answered.

“ Whoso shall under one devise, prose or poesie, adventure to the number of thirtie Lotts or upwards within three months next after S. Bartholomew, and gaines not the third pennie of so much as they shall haue adentured, the same third pennie, or so much as wanteth of the same shall be allowed in a yearly pencion from the end of the Lotterie.

“ Whosoever shall gaine the best, seconde, or thirde great price, having not put in the posies whereunto the sayd prices shall be answerable into the Lotterie, within three months next after S<sup>t</sup> Barth<sup>w</sup>. shall have abated out of the best price £150, the 2d, £100, the 3d, £80, to be given to any Town corporate, haven, or to any other placē, for any good and charitable use, as the party shall name; and for inferior prices £5 out of every hundred, to the like uses.

“ Whoever having put in 30 Lottes under one device or poesie within the 3 moneths shall win the last Lot of all, if before that Lot wonne he have not gained so much as hath by him ben put in, shall for his long

tarying and yll fortune be comforted with the reward of £200, and for every Lot that he shall have put in bisydes the said 30 Lots, he shall have 20s. sterling.

“ The last Lot save one, £100, and above 30, 10s.

“ Whoso takes from 40 Lots upwards under one devise or poesie, may lay down half in money and give bond for the other half to the Commiss<sup>r</sup>. for the Citie or Towne where the party shall pay his money, with condition to pay in 6 weekes before the day appointed for the Reading of the Lotterie, which day of Reading shall begin in the Citie of London the 25 June next.

“ If the Reading is prolonged for any urgent cause, the party having paid his money shall be allowed ten in the hundred till the very day of the first Reading.

“ Prices to be delivered the next day, and being a stranger born, he shall have libertie to convert the same, being money, into wares, to be exported, paying only half custom and duties.

“ If any one have 3 of his owne posies or devices coming immediately after one another, (being put in within the 3 moneths) he shall have £3 besides the prices.

4	-	-	-	£	6
5	-	-	-	-	10
6	-	-	-	-	25
7	-	-	-	-	100
8	-	-	-	-	200

for every increase of number £100.

“ The Collectors to bring in their bookes by 1 May next.

“ Hir Majestie and the Citie of London will answer for the prices.

“ The shewe of the prices and rewardes shall be seene in Cheap- syde, London, at the sign of hir Majesties arms in the house of M. Dericke, Goldsmith, servant to hir Majestie.

“ God save the Queene.

“ Imprinted at London, in Paternoster-row,  
by Henrie Bynneman, anno 1567.”

A proclamation was issued by the Lord Mayor of London, that the Lord Mayor, his brethren the Aldermen, with the assent of the Common Council, declared that the Adventurers in this Lottery should be duly answered; that the Reading of the Lottery should not be deferred beyond the 25 June then next, without urgent cause, and at farthest not beyond the feast of the Purification of Saint Marie the Virgin, 1568. [1568-9]

These papers were sent to the principal Gentlemen of the Counties, to be circulated by them, and they were accompanied with the following letter, under the Queen's Sign Manual.

“ ELIZABETH R.

Trustie and welbeloved we grete you well where we have comāunded a . . . . Cart of a lotterie to be published . . . . Sheryff of that . . . . in the pryncypall towne of the coun . . w<sup>ch</sup> we send youe . . . . copies for the further execusion . . . reof it is expedient . . . . some psons appoynted of good . . . to receave such . . . . somes as o<sup>r</sup> subjectes shall of their o . . free disposition be . . . . to delyver uppon the said lotterye w<sup>ch</sup> . . . . shall w<sup>th</sup>out faile . . duellie answered as their adventures shall happen w<sup>th</sup>out eythe<sup>r</sup> doupt or delaye; we have thought meet to recomende the choyse of the Collectors requisite to be had in the said Countie to yo<sup>r</sup> cōsideracoñ and therefore we will and require you imediatlie uppon the receipt hereof first to conferre w<sup>th</sup> this boarde and thereuppō after you shall have beene well instructed, to make choyse of such and so many Collectors w<sup>th</sup>in that Countie as for the circūstance of that matter you shall fynd mete and requisite, as well for their trust as for convenient knowledge, and to the intent the chardgis as well of the said Collectors, for the gatheringe, as other charges for the sauf kepinge and bringinge up to the chamber of o<sup>r</sup> Citie of London may be well and duellie rewarded it is ordered that for every pounce sterling that shall be by yo<sup>r</sup> meanes in this sort w<sup>th</sup>in that Countie collected and sent up, there shall be allowed uppon every pounce sixe pence, whereof you shall limytte to

the inferyor collectors such porcōn as ye shall thinke mete, and the rest to such other as by yo<sup>r</sup> order shall take the chardge to bringe and pay the same to the said Chamber of London, of w<sup>ch</sup> we require you allso to make good choyse: and to the intent the Collectors may be orderly aunswered we will you shall appoint such psons as be sufficient, of whom you shall take bondes to o<sup>r</sup> use in such somes of money as shall amount to the doueble quantitie and value of the Billetes stamped w<sup>ch</sup> you shall delyv<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> the bookes of nombers to the said Collectors according to such instrucons as youe shall haue by this bearer. And fynallie we require you to use all good meanes to furthe<sup>r</sup> this service, for that you may be well assured, that e<sup>v</sup>y pson shalbe duelie answered of that w<sup>ch</sup> you shall cause to be paid into the Chamber of London accordinge as is promised and contained in the Cart printed. And whatsoever may or shall happen to aryse after all chardges borne any thing advantagious is ordered to be employed to good and publike use beneficiall for o<sup>r</sup> Realme and subjects, and if any malicious or suspicious persons shall seke to devyse or . . . ent doubttes in any . . . subjectes myndes of any other use . . . mente they playne . . . good we would have you to dissuade . . . same consideringe . . . both well foreseene and determined . . . yd all mann' of . . . and after yo<sup>r</sup> dissuasion, if . . . shall notwithstanding the same willfullie reiterate . . . doubtfull matter . . . an offence or myslikinge amongst o<sup>r</sup> subjectes, Our pleasure is that yo<sup>w</sup> do cause the same to . . . apprehended, used, and punished as psons chargeable w<sup>th</sup> slaunderous reportes according to the lawes of o<sup>r</sup> Realme therefore provided. Geven under our Signet at our Castle of Wyndsor the last of August 1567 the nynth yere of o<sup>r</sup> reign.

Postscripta. It is ment also for a further rewarde that for e<sup>v</sup>y fyve hundred poundes that you shall cause to be sent to the Chamber of the Citie of London there shalbe allowed besides the some w<sup>thin</sup> mencōned, fyftie shillings.”

(The seal broken off.)

“ To our trusty and welbeloved Willm. Moore, Esquier.”

Amongst the inducements to adventurers one is a suspension of Law by the Queen's Prerogative. A man who might be desirous of paying his Creditor by the obtaining one of the great prizes, but might be a little shy of meeting him in the mean time, might go to London, or any of the great Towns where these Plans, or Charts as they are called, were to be seen, remain there 7 days, and return home, exempt from arrest by any civil process.

Tempting however as the offers were, a sufficient number of adventurers had not been induced to risque their money, for on the 3d day of January following, the Queen issued a proclamation that in sundrie parts of the Realme the principal persons appointed to be Treasurers had not received their instructions in due time, some were dead, and some too much engaged in publick affairs to attend to this, so that the three months after S<sup>t</sup> Barth<sup>m</sup> passed over to the detriment of the adventurers, and therefore extending the advantages of those three months to a further term of three months from the 24th of December then last.

The whole number of prizes was 29,988, the value of which in money and goods was about £55,000, exclusive of the rewards for the "comfort" of the adventurers, attached to some circumstances, and the sum of 2s. 6d. to be given to each of the remaining Tickets; to this is to be added the charges of collecting, and paying, and managing, so that if the whole number of tickets was purchased, the nett produce would probably be about £100,000.

From the expression of "Reading the Lottery," it seems that each adventurer, on paying his money, gave a device in prose or poetry, one of which, drawn we must suppose from the general collection by persons appointed for that purpose, was attached to some one prize, and that on what we now call drawing the Lottery, this device was publickly read.

Mr. Stow also tells us that "in 1586 a Lottery for marveilous rich and beautiful armour was begun to be drawne at London in Saint

Paules Churchyard, at the great West gate (an house of timber and boord being there erected for that purpose) on Saint Peters day in the morning, which lottery continued in drawing day and night, for the space of two or three dayes."

There was another Lottery in the time of King James I.

XI. *Observations on an Historical Fact supposed to be established by the Bayeux Tapestry.* By THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.

Read 26th Feb. 1818.

Downing-street, Feb. 24, 1818.

DEAR SIR,

IN an interesting paper which has been recently published by the Society, entitled “*Observations on the Bayeux Tapestry,*”<sup>a</sup> that very curious monument of antiquity is said to contain “an Apologetical History of the Claims of William to the Crown of England, and of the breach of faith and fall of Harold.” The historical fact which the tapestry is supposed to establish, namely, that of Harold’s mission to Normandy by the Confessor to offer the succession to William, is so important if true, and is at the same time involved in so much doubt and obscurity, that I shall perhaps be pardoned if I venture to offer a brief notice and examination of the original authorities which have a reference to the subject. I should not indeed have presumed to solicit the attention of the Society to this discussion, if the Tapestry itself had not been rendered highly interesting to us by the striking and elegant delineations of it which now adorn our walls.

It is agreed, I believe, by all the Historians of the times, that Harold was shipwrecked on the coast of Picardy—that he was there made a prisoner by Guy Earl of Ponthieu—that he was released at the instance of the Duke of Normandy—and that he then proceeded to the Court of that Prince, where he was treated with great hospitality and distinction. It is equally indisputable that, while at the Norman Court, Harold, by whatever motives actuated, bound himself by a solemn oath to support William’s claim to the English succession.

<sup>a</sup> Archæolog. Vol. XVIII. p. 359.

The occasion of Harold's voyage is the only fact which has been the subject of contention.

Concerning this fact there are three distinct stories.

The first of them is, that Harold merely went out to sea on a fishing party from his country seat at Boseham, and was driven by a storm on the opposite coast. The earliest authority for this statement seems to be William of Malmsbury, the most learned, vigorous, and esteemed historian of his age. He admits indeed that another story was in circulation, for he says that it was held by some persons that Harold was sent to Normandy by the King;<sup>a</sup> but he gives the former account as that which appeared to him to be nearest to the truth, adding that the story of the mission was craftily fabricated by Harold in his confinement, for the purpose of inducing William to enforce his liberation. I am not aware that this statement is confirmed by any contemporary writer;<sup>b</sup> but it was adopted above a century afterwards by Matthew Paris,<sup>c</sup> an author justly valued for his judgment and fidelity, and subsequently by Matthew of Westminster,<sup>d</sup> who, however his merits may have been overrated, was at least one of the most popular of the monkish historians.

A second account of this transaction is, that Harold went to Normandy with the permission, though contrary to the advice of King Edward, for the purpose of procuring the liberty of his Brother and Nephew, whom William had detained as hostages. This statement appears to have been originally, as well as very circumstantially given by Eadmer,<sup>e</sup> a nearly contemporary writer, of considerable elegance for the times in which he lived, and much esteemed for his veracity. He was followed by Simeon of Durham,<sup>f</sup> whose History closes a few

<sup>a</sup> Ferunt quidam ipsum Haroldum a Rege in hoc Normanniam missum, p. 93, edit. Francof. 1601.

<sup>b</sup> Henry of Huntingdon assigns no motive for the Voyage, as he only says "Haroldus vero transiens in Flandriam, tempestate compulsus est in Ponticam provinciam," p. 366, edit. 1601.

<sup>c</sup> P. 1, edit. 1640, a Wats. Milton has made a distinction between the statements given by Malmsbury and Matthew Paris, but they will appear on comparison to be the same in effect.

<sup>d</sup> P. 426, edit. 1570.

<sup>e</sup> P. 4, edit. Selden, 1623.

<sup>f</sup> Twysden. Script. x. col. 195.

years after that of Eadmer, by Alfred of Beverley,<sup>a</sup> and by Roger Hoveden.<sup>b</sup> The latter writer only is quoted as to this fact by Baron Maseres, in his useful volume of Extracts from the Norman Historians.<sup>c</sup> It appears to have escaped the learned and venerable editor that there were at least three older and better authorities on this point than Hoveden, who did not write till about a century after Eadmer, and has nearly transcribed his words. Brompton,<sup>d</sup> Diceto,<sup>e</sup> Knighton, Higden,<sup>g</sup> Hemingford,<sup>h</sup> and some later historians have adopted this tale of Harold's Voyage for the liberation of his relatives.

The third statement, and that which the Tapestry has been supposed to establish, is, that Harold was sent to Normandy by Edward expressly for the purpose of offering the succession to William, or rather of confirming an offer of it which had been previously made to him. For this account Mr. Lethieullier, in the Introduction to his Description of the Tapestry,<sup>i</sup> has referred to Ingulphus. But that writer (as Baron Maseres has already observed) makes no such statement. His words are merely "Haroldus Major Domus Regiæ *veniens* in Normanniam, &c." without pretending that the King had sent him thither.<sup>k</sup> The earliest writer by whom the story of the mission appears to have been related is William of Poitiers, the biographer and

<sup>a</sup> P. 125, edit. 1716, a Hearne. Eadmer, Simeon, and Alfred were contemporary writers. The first appears to have died in 1124, the second about 1130, and the last, according to Bale and Pits, in 1136, but according to Vossius, about ten years earlier. On a comparison of these three writers, I think no doubt can be entertained of the priority of Eadmer's account of this transaction. It should be observed too that Eadmer was the companion and biographer of Archbishop Anselm, who at the time of the conquest was Abbot of Caen in Normandy, and was likely to be well acquainted with the transactions of that period, his knowledge of which he probably communicated to his friend and follower.

<sup>b</sup> Script, post Bedam. p. 449, edit. 1601.

<sup>c</sup> P. 122.

<sup>d</sup> Twysd. x. Script. col. 947. Brompton places Harold's voyage as early as 1056. I am not aware of his authority for this date. Other writers fix the period at about 1064.

<sup>e</sup> Twysd. col. 481.

<sup>f</sup> Twysd. col. 2337.

<sup>g</sup> Gale, tom. iii. p. 283.

<sup>h</sup> Gale, tom. ii. p. 456.

<sup>i</sup> Appendix to Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 3.

<sup>k</sup> Gale, tom. i. p. 68. It is to be observed, however, that Mr. Turner has cited Ingulphus in support of the Norman story. History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 466, 4to. edit.

partizan of the Duke of Normandy.<sup>a</sup> His account is followed by two other Norman Historians, William of Jumieges<sup>b</sup> and Ordericus Vitalis.<sup>c</sup> The latter indeed was an Englishman by birth, but was sent at an early age to a Norman Convent, of which he became the Historian.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Duchesne Hist. Norman. p. 191.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 285.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 492.

<sup>d</sup> The authority of the chronicler and poet Wace, though a Norman, does not confirm the statement above referred to. In his History of the Dukes of Normandy in the British Museum, (Bibl. Reg. 4 C. xi. 9) he leaves the question undecided. Perhaps a short extract or two from this very curious manuscript may not be wholly unacceptable. He begins the story by a panegyric description of Harold :

En la terre out un Senescal  
 Heraut out nō noble vassal  
 Por son pries & por sa bonte  
 Out el regne grant poeste—  
 Li plus fort hoem fu del pais  
 Fort fu domes, fort fu damis—  
 Engleterre out en sa baillie  
 Com hoem q'a Senechaucie, &c.

After tracing his pedigree he goes on to relate that Harold

En Normandie volt passer  
 Por les hostages delivrer,

which the king endeavoured to dissuade him from attempting. But Wace adds,

Issi lai io trove escrit,  
 Et uns altres livres me dit  
 Q'li Reis le roua aler  
 Por le realme asseurer  
 Al' duc Guill' son cosin  
 Q'il leust empres la fin,  
 Helai mie certe achaison

*Mais l'un & l'autre escrit trovon, &c.*

He then proceeds to give the story of the shipwreck and the oath, nearly in the manner in which it is related by Eadmer.

In the MS. chronicle called "Le Brut," also in the British Museum, (Lib. Cott. Vitellius A.X.) which has been shewn by the Abbé de la Rue to have been versified by Wace, who was also probably the author of the continuation of it, the story is related in a manner somewhat differing from all the other accounts. It is there represented that Harold applied to Edward for

That the authority of the Tapestry is also in favour of this statement appears to me to be doubtful. Mr. Lethieullier indeed has taken it for granted that Edward is represented as *giving orders* to Harold to depart on his embassy; and the author of the late invaluable History of the Anglo-Saxons has admitted the correctness of this explanation. But, as Lord Lyttelton has observed, the inscription gives no account of the commission or business on which Harold was going. There is nothing in fact in this representation of the King and of Harold which does not as well accord with the story related by Eadmer; for the King may with equal justness be supposed to be in the act of addressing Harold in the manner in which Eadmer asserts he did address him, namely, by permitting his journey, but expressing the strongest doubts of its success. The inscription, it may be remarked, is sufficiently full and explicit in other parts of the Tapestry, and if the Norman story was really the true one, it seems strange that an opportunity should here have been neglected of asserting it in unequivocal terms. This omission indeed is a stronger argument as to the falsehood of the story than the assertion of it would have been for its truth. For supposing the Tapestry to have been the work of Queen Matilda (a point which is not meant to be here discussed) her testimony could be of no value, as she would of course tell her story in conformity with the declaration which her husband had found it his interest publickly to promulgate. And supposing with Lord Lyttelton that this interesting relic was the work of the *Empress* Matilda in the following century, there would still have been motives for adopting that story which was most favourable to the Norman cause, while in point of time the authority of the Tapestry as a historical document, would be considerably weakened. In either case, it

leave to pass over to Normandy, in order to speak to William, without assigning any other purpose for his voyage; that, without mention of the remarkable incident of the shipwreck, he was graciously received by William; and that after a visit of a month, William, on his application for leave to depart, imposed on him his oath of allegiance. The conversations are given in French verse, varying but little from Eadmer's report of them.

would of course tell the "Court story," as the Author of the recently published Observations has properly expressed it.<sup>a</sup>

Upon a comparison of the above authorities, I certainly incline to think that the Norman story is not the true one.

1st. Because it is only asserted by the Norman Historians; the English writers, who were well enough affected towards William after the Conquest, having given contrary accounts.<sup>b</sup>

2dly. Because Ingulphus, the Secretary of William, who may be presumed to have been desirous, as well as called upon by the duties of his station, to confirm the assertion of his Master had he believed it, does *not* confirm it.

3dly. Because it seems improbable that William, if he believed Harold to be really Edward's ambassador, would have imposed an oath of allegiance on him, or that Harold would in that capacity have

<sup>a</sup> The real value of the tapestry appears to me to consist, not so much in its importance as an historical document, as in the delineations which it contains of our ancient costume. Some interesting memorials, however, it has undoubtedly preserved of various minute particulars connected with the battle of Hastings, and which may be fairly admitted as correct, wherever national or party feelings are not interested in their truth or falsehood. I will take this opportunity of noticing, that among other forgotten fables of the times, Giraldus Cambrensis in his Itinerary (edit. Francf. 1603, p. 874,) asserts that it was believed that Harold escaped from the battle of Hastings, pierced with wounds, and with the loss of his left eye, and that he ended his days holily and virtuously as an anchorite at Chester. This story was afterwards quoted by Brompton, Knighton, and some other writers. It will be recollected that a similar fable has since been related, and partially believed, of the escape of James the 4th of Scotland from Flodden Field. King Arthur, Charles of Burgundy, and Don Sebastian of Portugal, have also been made the heroes of popular tales of this description.

<sup>b</sup> I am aware that *some* of the English Historians of the middle ages adopted the Norman account, particularly Robert of Gloucester, Wykes, and Walsingham. But the two former of these did not write till towards the end of the 13th century, nor the latter till a much later period. Walsingham too in the *Ypodigma Neustriæ* was writing a Norman History and naturally following the Norman authors. It is proper to add that Mr. Carte, to whose great merits as a historian justice has at length been rendered, has made choice of the Norman statement as the true one. But this learned writer is perhaps more to be commended for his great diligence and integrity, and for his clear and copious narration, than for the general solidity of his judgment.

volunteered such an oath. While on the other hand, either of those suppositions is sufficiently probable, if William stood in the situation of a benefactor to Harold, either by restoring to him his brother and nephew, or by simply releasing him from captivity. It is to be observed that the act of releasing him could have conferred no *personal* obligation on him, had he really been an ambassador from Edward, and the bearer of such welcome intelligence. I am aware that it may be said, that, whether Harold was or was not Edward's ambassador, it appears even by Malmsbury's account that he represented himself as such to William. But William had too much penetration to be deceived by a story thus fabricated, though he might find it convenient to *seem* to credit it; and his tendering the oath to Harold appears to me to afford an inference that he knew Harold was not an ambassador, and therefore sought to entrap him in his own snare.

Of the two English accounts, it is not of much historical importance which is the true one. It is remarkable that no light on this question is to be derived from either the Saxon Chronicle or Florence of Worcester, the two most exact authorities of the times.<sup>a</sup> Lord

<sup>a</sup> The obscurity in which this important event appears to be involved, is the more extraordinary, when it is considered that the period at which it took place abounded more than any subsequent one for many centuries in historians of talent and character. Besides the valuable records preserved to us by the Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester, the names of Malmsbury and Eadmer, Henry of Huntingdon and Simeon of Durham, Ingulphus and Ordericus Vitalis, would have done honour to a far more polished period. These were not, generally speaking, obscure monks immured in cloisters, but were, on the contrary, men of a certain rank and importance in society, possessing ample and undoubted means of information. The excellence of our early historians has been strongly insisted on by two of the most celebrated ones of modern times, Dr. Henry and Mr. Gibbon. Among the posthumous works of the latter, will be found an eloquent and masterly essay, strongly recommending the publication of our *Corpus Historicum*, with English notes. This plan, however, in the execution of which Mr. Gibbon had himself consented to assist, was relinquished, probably from its being found that the republications of these ancient writers would necessarily bear a larger price than even the old editions of them could still be procured for. The late learned and excellent Dr. Sayers of Norwich (whom the writer of this paper cannot name without the strongest emotions of personal regard and regret) has, in his "Disquisitions," (2d edit. 1808, p. 244) earnestly recommended the translation of portions of our early historians.

Lyttelton adopts the story given by Malmsbury, which appears also to have been preferred by Milton: while, on the other hand, Rapin and Hume have followed the more circumstantial narration of Eadmer. Without venturing to express any decided opinion on this point, I may be permitted to observe that it is the common fault of Historians, not less than of Criticks, to “find out meanings never meant,” by ascribing to design what has been merely accidental. As it is now much too late to dive, with any hope of success, into the state secrets of the Courts of Edward and William, it might be safer to admit the simpler story, in preference to the more elaborate one; though that must be allowed to derive much weight from the character of its author for information, veracity, and judgment. Whichever may be the true account, I feel that I have already trespassed too largely to be allowed to proceed in the discussion; and I have only therefore to subscribe myself with much respect,

Dear Sir,

Your very faithful and obedient Servant,

THOMAS AMYOT.

To HENRY ELLIS, Esq.

Mr. Sharpe has laudably commenced that task, by translating William of Malmsbury; and the English reader will soon, it is understood, be in possession of the Saxon Chronicle. Except the old translations of Gildas, Bede, and Jeffery of Monmouth, I am not aware that any others of our ancient chroniclers have yet appeared in an English dress, though in the British Museum a MS. translation of Florence of Worcester, by Holinshed, will be found among Stow's collections. I have only to add, that whoever will take the trouble to peruse the venerable Fathers of our English history, will not fail to regret, that they should have hitherto remained

“Like unregarded Age in corners thrown,”

and will find them abound in interesting delineations of early manners and character, more than sufficient to compensate for the barbarism of their style, and the errors of their superstition.

XII. *Observations on a Roman Encampment near East Hempstead, in Berkshire. By JOHN NARRIEN, Esq. of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. In a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 22d Jan. 1818.

Sandhurst, Jan. 15, 1818.

DEAR SIR,

THE drawing, (Pl. VII.) is a correct plan of the Roman Encampment near East Hempstead in Berkshire as it now stands. Its situation, at one extremity of a large plateau, rendered it very fit for a permanent military station, as it must have been of difficult access on every side except that by which it is connected with the principal hill.

The level of the camp and the adjoining plateau is in most places about fifty feet above the surrounding country, which at one time must have been an entire morass : many parts of it are at present impassable except by the hunting roads which have been made across it, and also across the hill itself.

The Foss of the camp has been formed by digging along the side of the hill, and throwing up the earth on the exterior to form a parapet ; an interior parapet higher than this has been made on the brow of the hill by earth dug from the interior ; and on the side adjoining the plateau a double ditch appears to have been formed for the purpose of increasing the defence on the side which was most exposed to the enemy after he had got possession of the hill.

A Pit is observed in the middle of the camp, which probably may be the remains of a well. There could have been no difficulty in obtaining water, as there are springs on the east side of the plateau, and the low grounds are full of them. On the north side of the camp, at the foot of the rampart, appears to have been once a considerable pond, which

is now dried up: its place is easily distinguished by the aquatic weeds which still grow there.

The ground enclosed by the parapet is sufficient, according to the Roman form of encampment, to have contained about 9000 men.

Upon the hill, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile south-east of the camp, there remain a few very old thorn trees which are called Wickham Bushes: among these the soil appears to be of a better quality than in any other part of the hill, and indeed of the surrounding country, for a considerable quantity of grass is found there mixed with the furze, which alone grows in every other part. This spot was formerly the seat of a Roman Town or Villa, as appears by the bricks and remains of pottery which have been dug up at various times, and may still be found in the wheel tracks which cross the place.

The irregular form of the rampart of this encampment has given rise to an opinion that it may rather have been a British than a Roman work: we know that the temporary encampments of the Romans were of a square form, but it was not uncommon with that people to avail themselves of the advantage of a high ground for the places of their permanent stations, in which case the rampart was made to follow the sinuosities of the hill.

Any attempt to ascertain the date of the construction of this work is at present in vain, nor can I learn that any discovery has been made from which it can be known by what legions it was ever occupied.

Numerous remains of this kind, like the camp in question, have received the appellation of Cæsar's camps: there is no foundation, however, for supposing that Julius Cæsar had penetrated so far into the country as this camp is situated, since it appears from the Commentaries that in his first expedition he did not leave the eastern parts of Kent: in the second expedition he marched against Cassivellaunus, and crossed the Thames probably about Oatlands or Kingston: whence he advanced and took Verulam (St. Albans,) leaving the seat of this encampment far to the west. From this expedition

Cæsar returned immediately to his camp on the coast, having received the submission of the Trinobantes, &c.

It is more probable that this camp might be one of those constructed by Plautius, or by his general Vespasian when he made the conquest of the south-western parts of the island during the reign of Claudius: it might then become a permanent station of the Roman legions, which from that time were successively retained to keep the people in subjection.

The whole of the country about this place must have been of considerable consequence at the time the Romans were in Britain, as appears from the remains of antiquity which are constantly discovered in it. Besides the camp and buildings which stood on the spot of which we are speaking, the place where the Military College of Sandhurst now stands must have been occupied, as in digging behind that building two silver medals, which are now in the possession of the Hon. Sir A. Hope, were lately found: one of them is inscribed with the name of Marc Anthony, and the other is a consular medal of the Papia Family: not long since also an urn containing coins, some of which were of Constantine, was turned up by a plough near Ockingham. All these places are nearly in a line between London and Silchester. From London a road passed through this place, the remains of which, now called the Devil's Highway, are still to be seen.

I beg to present to the Society of Antiquaries another drawing, which they probably will not think it necessary to engrave. It is a military Sketch of the whole Plateau, on the north side of which the Encampment is situated. The angles between the roads were taken by a sextant, but the distances were determined by pacing, and the form of the ground was described by hand.

I am, dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

JOHN NARRIEN.

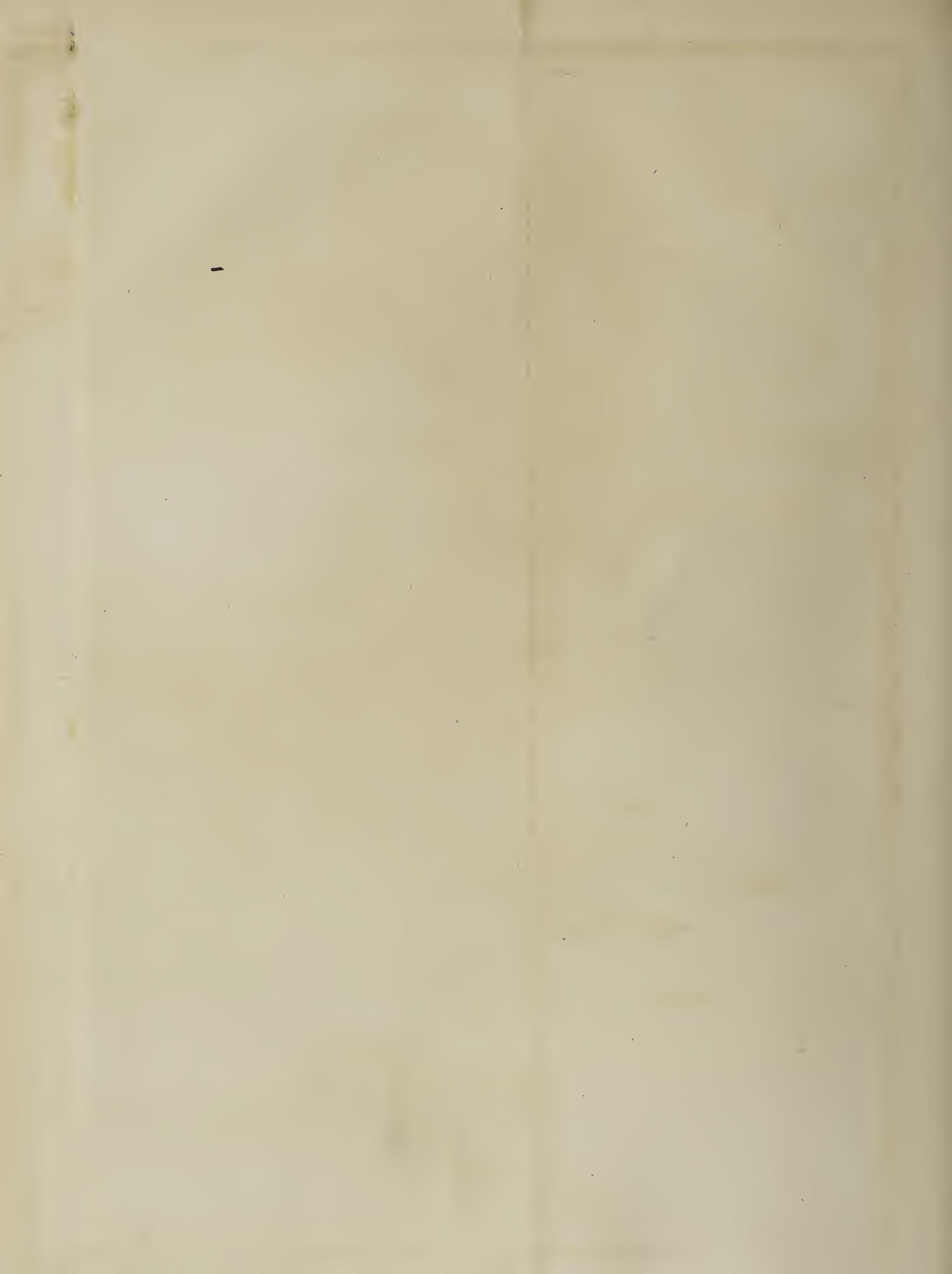


*PLAN*  
*of the Remains of a*  
**ROMAN ENCAMPMENT,**  
*near*  
**EAST HEMPSTEAD, BERKS.**

0 100 200 Yards.

A 129 ft. 27 ft. 21 ft. 51 ft. Level of the Camp 60 ft. 39 ft. 74 ft. 67 ft. 50 ft. 50 ft. 71 ft. B

Section on the Line A.B.



XIII. *Further Observations on the Bas-relief, supposed to represent the Evil Eye. By the Rev. STEPHEN WESTON, B.D. F.R.S. In a Letter to the EARL of ABERDEEN, K.T. F.R.S. Pres.*

Read 29th Jan. 1818.

MY LORD,

THE curious morsel of antiquity which Mr. Millingen has laid upon the table of the Antiquaries, and an explanation of which has been read by the Secretary, I beg still farther to comment on and illustrate, and to endeavour to show that the whole is an allusion to, and representation of the sacred rites of Mithra,<sup>a</sup> and the ceremonies to be observed by all those who were candidates for initiation into the Mithraic mysteries; and in doing this, I shall not detain your Lordship long, or occupy much of the time of the Society, but content myself by laying before you the testimonies of antiquity, with the proofs and authorities on which I found my opinions.

First then I am to explain what is the meaning of various figures of men and animals, surrounding an eye, and attacking it, as it should seem, in all directions. Mr. Millingen tells us with much ingenuity, that this eye is the evil and fascinating eye, of which we read in Virgil and Theocritus, and in our own country; at which in this bas-relief all nature is pecking: but I rise still higher, and say, that the eye portrays Mithra, or the Sun, and the figures aiming at it, are the metamorphoses of the candidates for initiation into the mysteries of the Mithraic worship; and in order to prove this assertion, I conceive that I have nothing to do, but to show what was required of those who were desirous of being admitted into the ceremonies, and assisting at the sacred functions of the religious rites.

<sup>a</sup> Μῆτρα, the Sun in Persia, as Osiris in Egypt, of which the hieroglyphic is an eye. See Plutarch de Iside et Osiride, fol. p. 354. F.

The origin of the word Mithra is to be sought for in the Persian Mihter (مِهتر) which means Lord, and the name by which the Sun was called in many ancient inscriptions; as DEO SOLI: SOLI INVICTO MITHRÆ: DOMINO SOLI:<sup>a</sup> and represented under the form of an eye, ΠΑΝΔΕΡΚΕΟΣ, all seeing,<sup>b</sup> ΗΕΛΙΟΥ 'ΟΣ ΠΑΝΤ' ΕΦΟΡΑ. The sacred rites performed to Mithra were in a cave,<sup>c</sup> or deep recess, because the eye of day was nightly obscured, and clouds and darkness surrounded it. In this cavern were the portentous images under which St. Jerom<sup>d</sup> tells us Corax, Gryphus, Miles, Leo, Perses, were initiated. Tertullian describes the ceremony of crowning a soldier of Mithra, who was led into the abyss, and saw nothing but lions, hogs,<sup>e</sup> crows, serpents, and scorpions, into which the candidates were to be transformed and officiate as lions, and crows, eagles, hawks, and birds and beasts of all kinds, and be called by their names. These transformations carried no real fear or danger with them,<sup>f</sup> but the things in these mysteries, "plena timoris et periculi," says Salmasius, were the κολάσεις the castigations and mortifications to be endured in the preparatives for initiation, which Nonnus<sup>g</sup> details. No one can be admitted to the ceremonies, to perform them, unless he shall have previously gone through all the probations, insensible to pain, unhurt, and sanctified. There are twelve degrees of temptation or trial to which the candidates for initiation must be exposed, and show them superior to all before they may be pronounced proper subjects for reception.

The ordeals of the self-devoted victims in the shapes and under the forms of the men and animals exhibited on the Stone, exceeded in

<sup>a</sup> See Hesychius in *Μητρ.* Reland, Dissertation viii. p. 198. Selden, *Additamenta*, p. 52. de *Diis Syris*.

<sup>b</sup> Homer *Od.* λ v. 108.

<sup>c</sup> Selden, *Addit.* p. 272, 3, 4. Hyde, *Religio Persarum*, c. 4, p. 116, E. O. 4to.

<sup>d</sup> *Epist. ad Lætam.* Milês in lapide, et Perses.

<sup>e</sup> Casaubon ad Commodum, p. 498, 9. *Histor. Aug. Script.* tom. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Salmasius de *sacris Mithriacis eodem loco.*

<sup>g</sup> Nonnus on Nazianzen's second *Steleuteutic.*

severity the temptations of St. Anthony and the sufferings of the Indian Fakirs; they consisted in starving, burning, living in rivers, and in deserts, and under every kind of privation, till the whole number of trials, in all, as some say, eighty, should be exhausted, and then, if life remained, they were declared duly qualified; whether the Leontica had been performed, or the rites of the Coraica<sup>a</sup> enjoined, they were received according to those, or any other prescribed forms.

I have the honour to be

Your Lordship's and the Society's

Very humble Servant,

STEPHEN WESTON.

Edward's Street, Portman-square, Jan. 26, 1818.

<sup>a</sup> Nonnus ibidem.

XIV. *Observations on an ancient Celt found near Boston in Lincolnshire.* By the Rt. Hon. Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. G.C.B. P.R.S.

Read 29th Jan. 1818.

NEAR BOSTON in LINCOLNSHIRE, a considerable tract of land has been, from the earliest times of which we have record, so much flooded with water descending from the higher country beyond it, as to be of little use to its proprietors. The extent of this level is 40,000 acres; the surface is higher on the west, and lower at the easternmost extremity, where the part of it called the East Fen is situate, consisting of about 10,000 acres, of which about 6000 acres were water, or shaking bog, the water from four to six feet deep, standing in pools from 50 to 500 acres in extent, and abounding in fish and wild-fowl. This fen, as well as all the others, have been drained by the skill of Mr. Rennie; and every part of all of them, even the scites of the deepest pools, are now arable, meadow, and pasture.

The largest and deepest of these pools was called Silver Pit. In the bottom of this, and of most of the others, the roots of immense trees appeared, on the receding of the waters, standing where they had at some former period grown and flourished, with the fangs of their roots below fixed in blue clay, laying under a thin stratum of peat moss, with which the bottom of the pool was every where covered.

In removing one of these roots for the purpose of clearing the ground for tillage, the Celt now exhibited (Pl. VIII.) was found. It appears to have been much used by the proprietor, before it was lost by him, and also much corroded, especially on one side. But whether the most corroded side lay in contact with the clay or the peat moss, was not observed by the person who found it.

From the situation in which this instrument was found, it appears certain that it must have been lost by its owner before the tree, under the roots of which it was found, had begun to grow, which was long prior to the oldest traditional accounts of this island any where recorded. The time when these fens were dry land and covered with timber, is probably the same when the submarine forests which lay about and below the level of low-water mark on the coasts of Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and, in truth, in most other parts of the coast of England, were dry land; at that time the level of the sea must have been lower, or that of the land higher, than is the case at present.

Celts, as our speculative Antiquaries have thought fit to call them, have been found in great abundance, and of a variety of different shapes, as may be seen in the fifth volume of the *Archaeologia*, where in Plate X. one exactly resembling that now exhibited is figured. They have been hitherto generally considered as warlike weapons, though, in truth, ill suited for any kind of attack. The similitude which the more simple of them bear to the stone axes such as are not uncommonly found in all parts of England, leads to a probability of their being intended for the same purpose, and used by our remote ancestors as working tools, for which they are not ill adapted.

The chief use of timber among the ancient Britons was for the construction of canoes, of which five have been found in draining the fens: they are trunks of trees hollowed out, and differ very little from those now in use among the nations who are yet uncivilized. Few tools are so well adapted to the hollowing a canoe as the one here described.

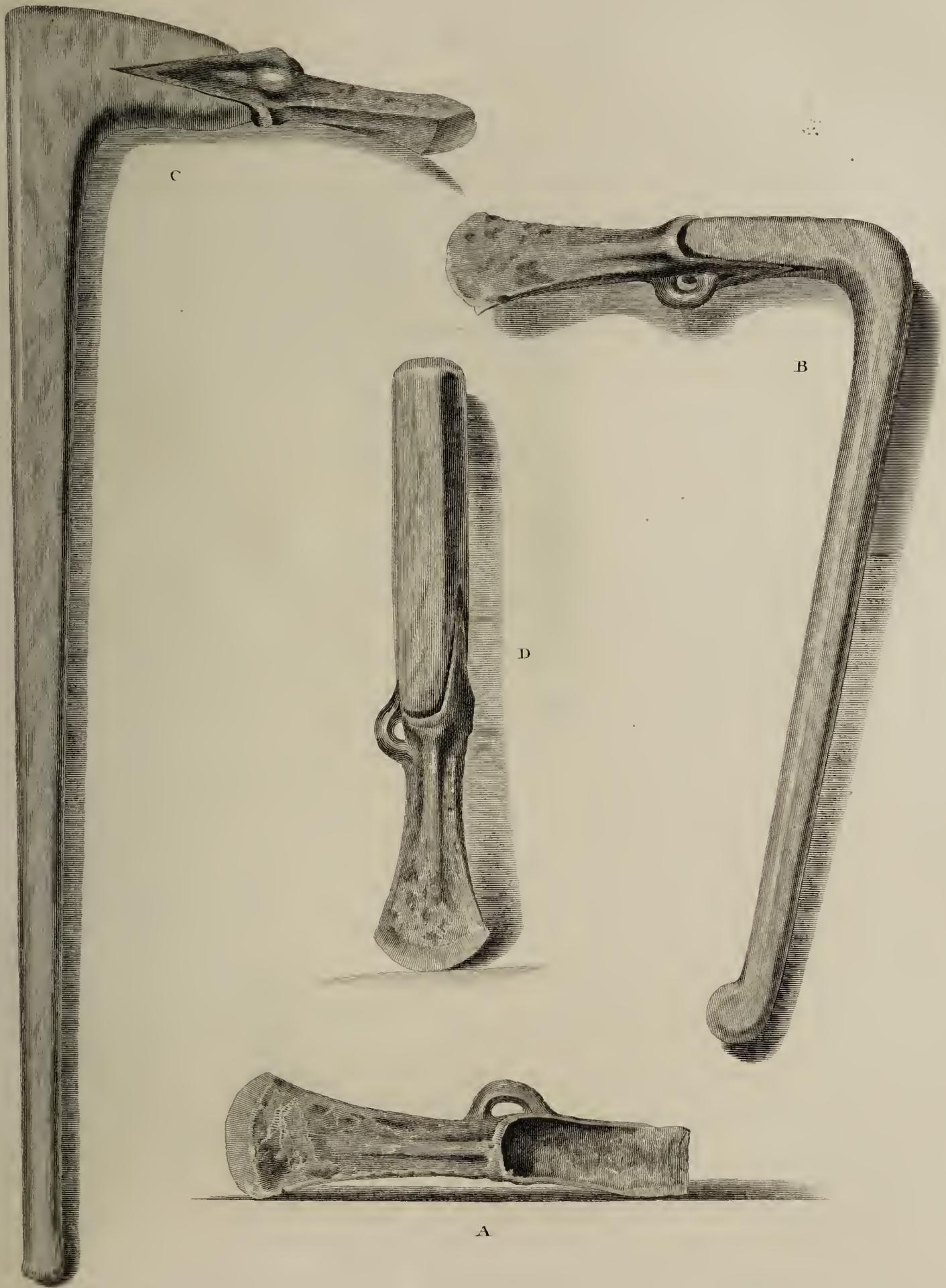
Many of the celts have sockets into which a handle may be easily fastened. The present one has shoulders to receive the wood, and could only be held fast on its place by the use of strings tied round it, as the stone axes used at present in the South Sea Islands are fastened to their handles; and as those of our ancestors, no doubt, were secured. The annexed drawing shows in what manner they were probably fitted up.

In another part of the fen, where a deep peat moss is found, laying upon a much higher level than the watery and quaking bogs mentioned before, an instrument perfectly similar to this was found by a labourer in digging a fence ditch. It differs from the former in nothing whatever except in colour, which is of a high yellow, much resembling the colour of gold; in truth, so very like that metal, that the labourer who found it retained it three years before he could be persuaded to part with it at any price below that of standard gold.

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*Explanation of the Plate.*

- a* The instrument.
- b* The instrument mounted as an axe.
- c* Ditto mounted as an adze.
- d* Ditto mounted as a chisel.



J<sup>s</sup> Basire. sculp



XV. *Copy of a Letter to Sir Robert Atkyns, Knight of the Bath, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Speaker of the House of Lords, in the Reign of King William, from his brother Sir Edward Atkyns, who was also Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Written from London during the Fire 1666, to his Brother at Sapperton, his residence in Gloucestershire. Communicated by the Rev. STEPHEN WESTON, B.D. F.R.S.*

Read 12th Feb. 1818.

GOOD BROTHER,

I RECEIVED your letter, and shall give you the best account I can of our late sad fire, tho' it is scarcely possible for any man fully to describe it. It began at a Bakers house in Puddinglane, near Thames Street, on Sunday morning, about two or three of the clock; and burnt doune several houses, but could not be quencht, in regard it was a narrow place where y<sup>e</sup> engines could not play, & y<sup>e</sup> Lord Maior did not thinke fit to pull doune any houses to prevent y<sup>e</sup> further spreading of y<sup>e</sup> fire. About 10 of ye clock whilst wee were at Church, there was a cry in y<sup>e</sup> streets, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Dutch and French were in armes, & had fired ye Citty, & thereupon y<sup>e</sup> Ministers dismiss their several Congregations, but wee y<sup>t</sup> were soe remote, thought little of it. In y<sup>e</sup> afternoone I went into y<sup>e</sup> Temple Garden, where I saw it had made an unhappy progresse, & had consumed towards y<sup>e</sup> Thames side many houses, and two or three churches, as Lawrence Pountney Church, which I saw strangely fired, & other churches, & at last growing something violent, & meeting with many wharfes, and the wind being high, it grew very formidable, and wee began to thinke of its nearer approach. By Monday morning it had burnt all Thames Street, New Fish Street, and some p<sup>t</sup> of Cannon Street, and there-

upon the Citizens began to neglect y<sup>e</sup> fire, & to secure their goods, & in fine & to be short, by Wednesday evening, it had burnt all the Citty. Yesterday I went from St. Dunstans Church to Bishopsgate Street, & there is not one house standing betwixt those places; there are only, within the wall, but part of these three streets remaining, viz. p<sup>t</sup> of Leaden Hall Street, Basinghall, & Bishopsgatestreet, all y<sup>e</sup> rest burnt to y<sup>e</sup> ground, & not soe much as a considerable piece of timber, as I could see, secured from the fire. It is impossible almost to conceive the total destruction; all the churches burnt, nay some of the churches, as Bow Church, & have not so much as the walls standing. All the Halls, as Guild Hall, Merchant Taylors Hall, Mercers Chappel, Old Exchange, burnt doune to the ground, soe y<sup>t</sup> you can hardly tell where such a Parish or Place was. I can say but this, that there is nothing but stones and rubbish, and all exposed to the open air. Soe y<sup>t</sup> you may see from one end of the Citty almost to y<sup>e</sup> other. St. Pauls Church, y<sup>e</sup> very stones are crumbled and broken into shivers, & . . . . . and you can compare London (were it not for y<sup>e</sup> rubbish) to nothing more than an open field. The Citizens were forced to remove their goods into ye open fields, and £10 a cart was now demanded to carry away y<sup>e</sup> goods. Y<sup>e</sup> Inner Temple almost burnt, & pull'd doune, except the Temple Church, the Hall much defaced, and the Exchequer Office; Serjeants Inn in Fleet-street, and all to St. Dunstans Church, and soe on y<sup>e</sup> other side to Holborne Bridge. Y<sup>e</sup> King & Duke of Yorke were exceeding active, or otherwise I doubt the suburbs had undergone y<sup>e</sup> same calamity; some have conceived y<sup>t</sup> it was a Plott, but most, & the King himself, belevee y<sup>t</sup> it was only the hand of God. Y<sup>e</sup> King comforts the Citizens w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> rebuilding of the Citty, but God knows when yt will be; y<sup>e</sup> Exchange is now kept at Gresham Colledge, where I heard yesterday there was a full exchange of Merchants. My fathers house at St. Ellens, stands well. The fire began to seize upon Chancery Lane, having burnt up all Fetter Lane, & come as far as Brides-lane and Whites-Alley; but blessed be God

supprest, and all things safe at your house and chamber, but Mr. Harrison of Cateaton street, Mr. Long has enquired for, and cannot learn of him: his house suffered the common calamity. Dr. Tillotson has lost many goods, and a £100 worth of Books: he has taken a house in Lincolns-Inn-fields, where his father-in-law purposes to remain. £40,000 quarters of Corne destroyed in Bridewell, being the Citty store: Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Backhouse has lost £1600 per an: in houses and in the benefit of the New River:—Sir R. Lucy, & ye Lady Allen, & Lady Fairfax, about 3 or 400£ per an;—Sir Richard Broon's house burnt to the ground, where he has sustained great losses, and my brother Browne likewise, for my sister being then very ill, all ye care was to remove her: they are all now at the Red Lyon in Holborne:—my Sister at her Sister Howards house at Roehampton. My father came up on Monday, & stood removing his goods till Wednesday morning, & sat up all ye night, but through mercy, Chancery lane is yet standing, except the St. Johns head near Lincolns-Inn, wh<sup>h</sup> was pulled downe, by way of prevention, and another house towards Holborne. The Parliament will certainly meet at y<sup>e</sup> day: y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Albemarle is now in London. There was a flying report of an engagement at Sea, but not confirmed. Several persons, foraigners, are in prison upon suspicion, but little will be made of it, as I am informed.—The Attorney General very ill.—My father and his family are well at Albany, where my wife went on Thursday last. I had gone my Circuit & my last two Counties this week, but the fire prevented my intentions. If we cannot find out your cousin Harrison, I will go to Totnam on Tuesday next, and enquire after him, & how it stands in reference to your goods in his custody, but I believe he having notice sufficient, & being a prudent man has secured both his owne, and your goods. Houses are now at an excessive rate; & my Lord Treasurers new buildings are now in great request. I think it best for you to remove noe goods either in your house or chamber, for I doe believe y<sup>e</sup> danger is well over, only wee have frequent false alarums of fire, sometimes in one place, and then in another; it now

burns only in cellars, & warehouses, where either coals, spirits, or other combustible matters were lodged. I thinke it convenient you should be here against the sitting of Parliament, for there will be need of you. Great watch is kept, for though the judgments of God have been soe remarkable, yet you would wonder at the profaneness of people, & how little some are concerned in this sad calamity. My hearty service to my sister, & nephew Sir Robert. My father writt a letter this week to you, but no Post went, and I cannot come at the letter. My Mother has had a great losse in her sister Lady Ludgald. In what service I can perform, pray command me. My paper bids me end. Our Navy is come into St. Hellens Bay. I am your ever loving brother

most ready to serve you,

EDW<sup>d</sup>. ATKYNS.

Lincolns Inn

Sep<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup>.

66.

I thinke not fit the Messenger should goe to Totnam, but Mrs. Low shall give you an account, . . . . . thinke and verily believe all is safe with him, except his house.

XVI. *An Account of some Anglo-Saxon Pennies found at Dorking, in Surrey. Communicated by TAYLOR COMBE, Esq. Sec. R.S. Director.*

Read 12th March, 1818.

A VERY interesting discovery of a considerable number of Anglo-Saxon Pennies having been made last year in the neighbourhood of Dorking, I feel great pleasure in being able to communicate an account of them to the Society of Antiquaries.

The field in which the coins were found belongs to the Rev. Mr. Turner, and was at the time and is still in the occupation of George Dewdney, Esq. It is situated in the Parish of Dorking, in Surrey, at a short distance from the Roman road called Stone-street, leading out of Sussex through Surrey to London; and near the camp called Hanstie-Bury, which is of a circular form, and has the banks of ditches nearly perfect at this time. Mr. Manning<sup>a</sup> is inclined to consider this camp as Danish.

The coins were found in the month of April 1817, by a ploughman who was at work in the field; the plough struck against something which on examination proved to be a wooden box, containing about seven hundred Saxon coins, and about six ounces of fragments of coins. The wood of which the box was made crumbled to pieces immediately, so that it was not possible to ascertain either its form or dimensions. The coins, particularly those which lay uppermost, were cemented firmly together by metallic incrustations of a green and blue colour, which were carbonates of copper, formed by the decomposition of the metal used as an alloy to the silver. The coins were lying about ten or twelve inches below the surface of the ground, in a spot where the colour of the earth is particularly black, and which

<sup>a</sup> Manning and Bray's Hist. of Surrey, Vol. i. p. 579.

has always been remarked to produce better corn than any other part of the field.

The following is a list of the kings whose coins were contained in this parcel, together with the number of coins belonging to each king.

*King of the West Saxons.*

Æthelweard . . . . . 16

*Kings of Mercia.*

Ciolfulf I. . . . . 1  
 Biornwulf . . . . . 1  
 Wiglaf . . . . . 1  
 Berhtulf . . . . . 23  
 Burgred . . . . . 1

*Kings of the East Angles.*

Eadmund . . . . . 3  
 Ethelstan . . . . . 3

*Abp. of Canterbury.*

Ceolnoth . . . . . 86

*Sole Monarchs.*

Ecgbearht . . . . . 20  
 Ethelvulf . . . . . 265  
 Æthelbearht . . . . . 249

*King of Soissons.*

Pipin . . . . . 1

These coins, with about 40 others which I have not seen, and which were dispersed soon after they were found, constituted the whole number.



improbable that such a close resemblance should be found in any coins struck at so great a distance of time from each other; and we believe that no other instance of a similar kind is to be met with in the history of any country, either in ancient or modern times.

There is in point of fact no king of the name of Aethelward among the kings of the West Saxons; and it seems probable that the English Antiquaries not finding the name of Aethelweard in the list of Saxon kings, were led to appropriate the coins with this name to Æthelheard, a king of the West Saxons, whose name resembles that of Aethelweard more than any other, both in sound and orthography.

#### CIOLVVLF I.

The single coin of Ciolvulf I. of which a figure is given in Pl. IX. fig. 2, is very similar to the one engraved in Mr. Ruding's XXVIIth Plate, but the name of the moneyer is different, namely, EALH-TAN for EALHSTAN, which name occurs in another coin of this king; see Ruding's Plates, Pl. VII. fig. 1.

#### BEORNVVLF.

The coin of this king differs very little from that published in Mr. Ruding's XXVIIth Plate; but, as it may be interesting to mark any variation, however minute, in a coin of such great rarity, a figure of it is annexed, see Pl. IX. fig. 3.

#### WIGLAF.

This is the only coin which has ever been discovered of this king; a figure of it is given, Pl. IX. fig. 4. The name of the moneyer is HVVNOELL, a name which does not occur, I believe, in any other Anglo-Saxon coin.

#### BERHTVLF.

Of the 23 coins of this king, 18 have been already engraved in Mr. Ruding's work, and are here referred to.

	No. of Coins found.
Ruding, Pl. VII. fig. 1. . . . .	2
. . . . . VII. fig. 2. . . . .	6
. . . . . VII. fig. 3. . . . .	5
i. e. BRID. . . . .	2
OZVVLF. . . . .	1
ZIGEHEAH . . . . .	1
VVINE ; . . . . .	1
. . . . . VII. fig. 4. . . . .	2
i. e. LIABAYND . . . . .	1
DENEHEAH . . . . .	1
. . . . . VII. fig. 5. . . . .	2

Both with the name of BVRNVVALD, for the moneyer.

. . . . . XXVII. fig. 3. . . . .	1
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The five remaining coins of this king are unpublished, and are represented in Pl. IX. fig. 5, 6, 7, 8, and Pl. X. fig. 13.

**BVRGRED.**

The coins of this king are much more common than those of any other Prince in the Mercian kingdom; it is therefore remarkable that only one coin of his should have been found in this parcel. The coin is similar to that engraved in Mr. Ruding's work, Plate VIII. fig. 17.

**EADMVND.**

The three coins of this king have been already engraved in Mr. Ruding's Plates.

	No. of Coins found.
Ruding, Pl. IX. fig. 2. . . . .	2
. . . . . IX. fig. 8. . . . .	1

**ETHELSTAN.**

The three coins of this king have also been published in Mr. Ruding's Plates.

Ruding, Pl. IX. fig. 4. . . . .	1
. . . . . IX. fig. 7. . . . .	1
. . . . . IX. fig. 9. . . . .	1

## CEOLNOTH.

All the coins of this Prelate, consisting of 86 in number, have been already published. The following is a list of the different types and moneyers, with the respective number found of each. Several of the moneyers are new.

## Ruding, Plate XIII. fig. 1.

BIARNRED. . . . .	15	EDELVALD. . . . .	1
BIARNVLF . . . . .	5	ÆREBEARHT. . . . .	1
CEALMOD . . . . .	1	HEBECA . . . . .	12
CENVAꝥ . . . . .	1	LIABINCG . . . . .	15
CIALMOD . . . . .	1	TOCGA . . . . .	3

## Ruding, Plate XIII. fig. 7.

BIORNȚOD. . . . .	7	VVÆRE. . . . .	8
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## Ruding, Plate XIII. fig. 5.

BIORNȚOD . . . . .	2	VVINHERE . . . . .	1
ΣVEBHEARD . . . . .	1	VVVNHERE. . . . .	1

## Ruding, Plate XIII. fig. 6.

BIORNȚOD . . . . .	2	VVNHERE . . . . .	2
ΣVEBHEARD. . . . .	5		

## Ruding, Plate XIII. fig. 3.

DOROVERNIA. CIVITAS. . . . .	1
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## Ruding, Plate XIII. fig. 4.

LIL. MONETA. DOROVER . . . . .	1
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## ECGBEORHT.

Of the ten coins found of this king, eight are similar to fig. 3, in Mr. Ruding's XIVth Plate, but have the names of different moneyers.

BIORNMOD . . . . .	1	DIORȚOD . . . . .	1
BIOΣEL . . . . .	1	OBA . . . . .	2
BOΣEL . . . . .	3		

The two other coins, (on one of which is his portrait in the usual style of rudeness,) are inédited, and are represented in Pl. IX. figures 9, 10.

**ETHELVVLF.**

The coins now discovered of this Prince, no less than 265 in number, present us with a great variety of types, many of which have never been published.

Ruding, Pl. XIV. fig. 2, is the type which includes the greatest number of coins. The names of the moneymers belonging to this type, are as follow :

DELBEARF.....	7	HVNRED .....	13
DIAR.....	2	MANINC .....	11
DVDVINE.....	1	MANNA .....	4
EDELLEARD .....	4	TIRVALD .....	5
EDELMOD .....	7	TORHTVLF .....	11
EDELNOÐ.....	19	VERMVND .....	4
HVNBEARF.....	17		

Ruding, Plate XIV. fig. 4.

BIARMOÐ.....	1	HVNBEAHT.....	1
BRID .....	2	MANINC .....	6
DEINEAH.....	1	OΣMVND .....	4
EAMVND.....	3	VVILHEM .....	1
EALMVND.....	1	VVELHEARD .....	1
EALMVND.....	3	VVEALHEARD .....	1
EDELMVND.....	6	VVEALHEARD.....	1
EDELERE.....	1		

Ruding, Plate XIV. fig. 1.

BIARNNOÐ .....	2
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Ruding, Plate XXVIII. fig. 3.

EDELHERE .....	2
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Ruding, Plate XV. fig. 6.

DIAR.....	4	OΣMVND.....	13
HEDEBEALD .....	3	TORHPALD.....	1
MANNA .....	7		

Ruding, Plate XV. fig. 7.

OCCIDENTALIVM SAXONIORVM.....	6
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Ruding, Plate XV. fig. 8.

EDELHERE..... 2

Ruding, Plate XIV. fig. 3.

BEALȚYND..... 6            VVELHEARD..... 1  
BEALȚYND..... 1

The remaining coins of this king are inedited, and are represented in the annexed engravings :

Pl. IX. fig. 11.. DIAR..... 1	Pl. X. fig. 7... BRID..... 1
HEREBEALD . 1	FILHEAH... 1
MANNA..... 1	VVILHEAH 1
OΣMVND.... 1	Pl. X. fig. 8... DYN..... 1
Pl. IX. fig. 12.. HEREBEALD 1	Pl. X. fig. 9... HEBECA ... 2
HVNBEARHT 1	Pl. X. fig. 10... HVNBEAHT <sup>3</sup>
LIABA..... 1	Pl. X. fig. 11... DIAR..... 2
OΣMVND .... 8	Pl. X. fig. 12... DEINEAH ... 8
Pl. X. fig. 1.... OΣMYND .... 1	DEINEAH ... 2
Pl. X. fig. 2.... HEREBEAED 1	DIAR..... 7
Pl. X. fig. 3.... DEINEAH.... 2	EANMVND. 7
Pl. X. fig. 4.... BEALȚYN ... 1	LIABA..... 3
VVILhEAh ... 1	LIVBA ..... 3
Pl. X. fig. 5.... DYN ..... 1	MANNA.... 9
DYYN..... 1	<sup>a</sup> MYNN ..... 4
Pl. X. fig. 6.... BEALȚYND... 1	OΣMVND... 1

### AETHELBEARHT.

There are only two types known of the coins of Aethelbearht, and it is not a little remarkable that the coins of this king found at Dorking, 249 in number, should all be of one and the same type. The number of moneyers is very great, and presents us with forty-

<sup>a</sup> The letters on three of these coins read backwards, both on the obverse and reverse.

eight new names in the mintage of this reign; they are here marked with an asterisk.

Ruding, Plate XV. fig. 1.

* BADEMVND .....	1	* HEABEARHT .....	3
* BADENOD .....	2	* HEBECA .....	1
* BEALMVND .....	3	* HEBEALD .....	5
BEAHMVND } .....	13	* HEREFRED .....	14
BEAHTVND }		* HERELEARD .....	2
BIARMOD .....	5	* HEREMVND .....	6
* BIARNVINE .....	1	* HVNBEARHT .....	6
BVRNVALD .....	1	HVNRED .....	26
* CEALEARD .....	1	* LIABINC .....	1
* CENRED .....	2	* LIABINCE .....	3
CENVEALD .....	4	* LVCEMAN .....	4
CVNEFRED } .....	5	* MANINC .....	15
CVNEFRED }		* NOÐVLF .....	2
* DEALLA .....	2	* OSBEARHT .....	4
DELBEARHT .....	10	* OSHERE .....	2
* DELLAF .....	5	* OSHERE .....	8
* DENEMVND .....	1	* SEFRED .....	5
* DIALMOD .....	1	* SELERED .....	1
* DIARMOD .....	6	SILEMERE .....	3
* DVDVINE .....	16	TORHTMVND .....	1
* EADVLF .....	1	* TORHTVLF .....	3
* EALDRED .....	1	* VERMVND .....	2
* EDELLEARD .....	8	* VIOHTMVND .....	10
* EDELHERE .....	2	* VLANCEARD .....	2
* EDELNOÐ .....	4	* VIINOÐ .....	2
* EDELRED .....	5	* VVLFEBARD .....	6
* EDELREED .....	2	* VVLFHEARD .....	1
* EDELVEALD .....	2	* VVLFHEARD .....	2
* EDELVLF .....	1	* VVMBEARHT .....	3
* EÐERED .....	1		

PIPIN, KING OF SOISSONS.

This coin, belonging to the father of Charlemagne, is the only foreign coin that was found in the parcel. An engraving of it is given in Pl. X. fig. 14.

In order to ascertain, as far as we can, the probable time when the above coins were lost, it will be worth while to enquire at what periods the different kings, under whom they were struck, began and finished their respective reigns.

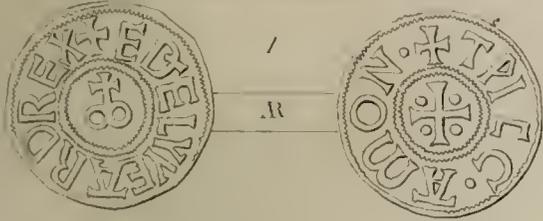
Aethelheard, king of the West Saxons, began his reign in 726 and died in 740; but as it is almost certain that the coins bearing this name, must have belonged to another Prince nearly coeval with the time of Eadmund, king of the East Angles, these dates are of no use in our present enquiry.

Ciolvulf reigned from	819	to	820
Beornvulf . . . . .	820	..	824
Wiglaf . . . . .	825.		
Berhtulf . . . . .	839	..	852
Burgred . . . . .	852	..	874
Eadmund . . . . .	855	..	870
Ethelstan . . . . .	870	..	890
Ceolnoth . . . . .	830	..	870
Ecgbearht . . . . .	827	..	838
Ethelvulf . . . . .	838	..	857
Æthelbearht . . . . .	860	..	866
Pipin . . . . .	752	..	768

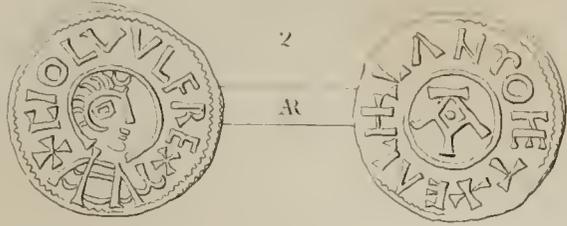
From the above table it will appear that these coins could not have been buried in the earth before the year 870, in which year Ethelstan began his reign; and that it could not have been long after that time, may reasonably be inferred from the circumstance, that not any coins were found either of the successors of Ceolnoth in the see of Canterbury, or of Æthelbearht among the sole monarchs.

I have now nothing more to add, except to state the means by which I have been enabled to examine so large a portion of the coins discovered at Dorking; and in doing this I feel infinite pleasure in acknowledging the great obligations the British Museum is under to

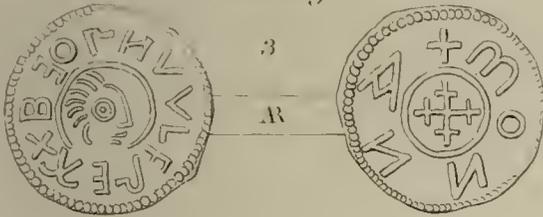
*Aethelweard.*



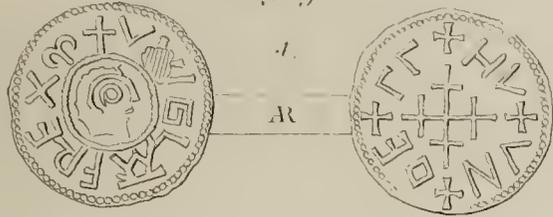
*Cioldulf 1.*



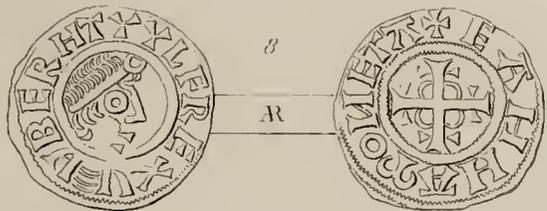
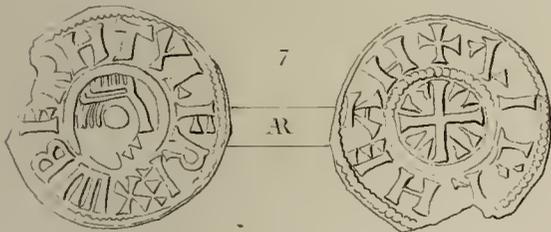
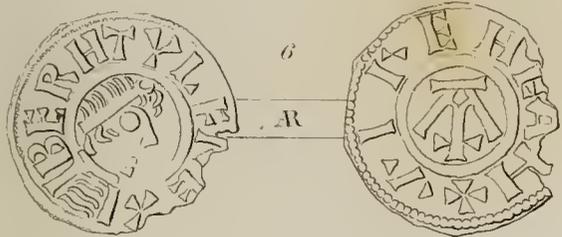
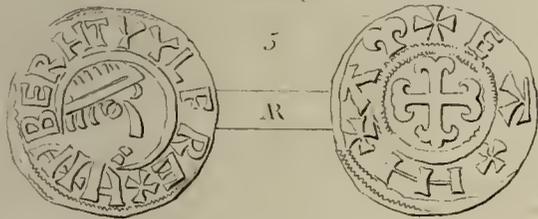
*Beornulf.*



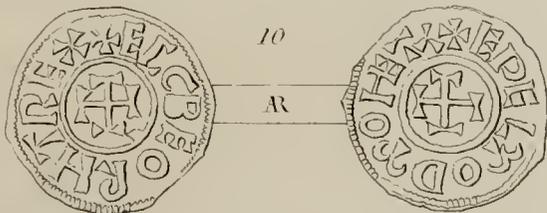
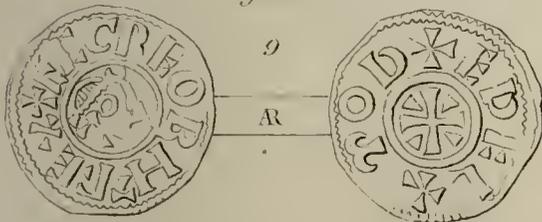
*Wiglaf.*



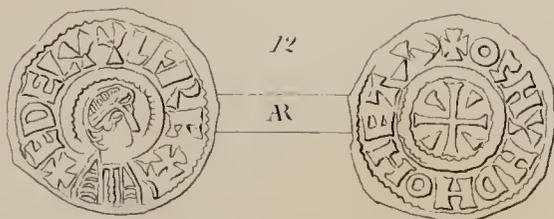
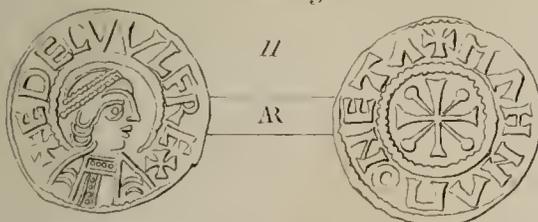
*Berhtulf.*



*Ecgbeorht.*

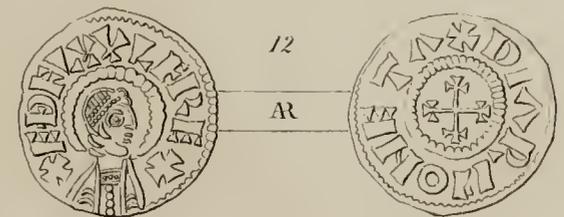
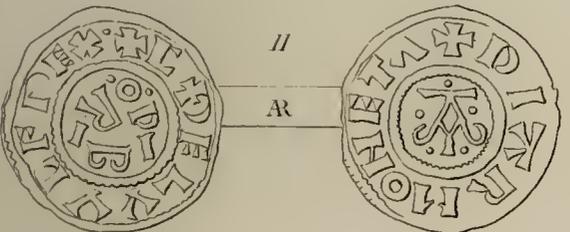
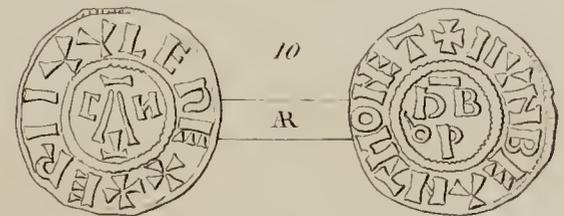
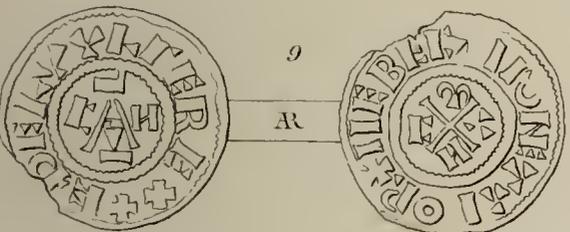
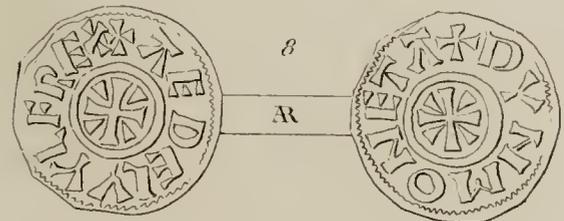
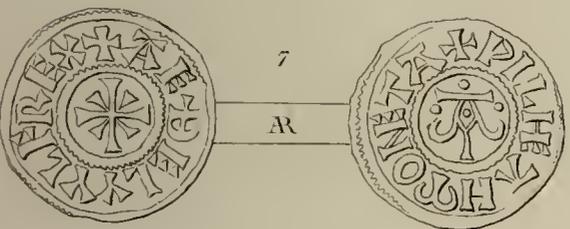
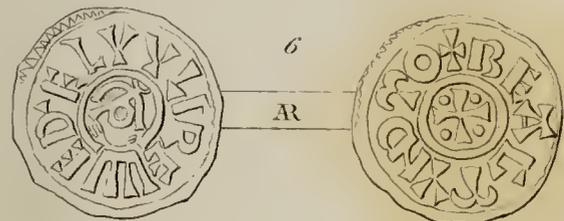
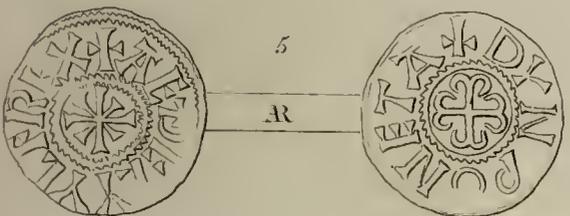
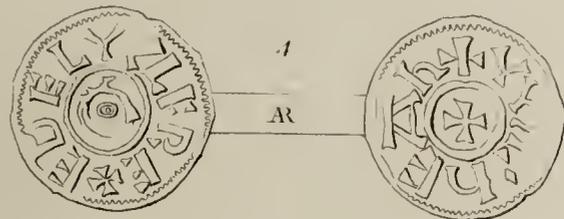
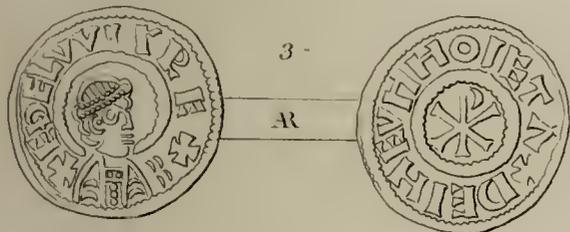
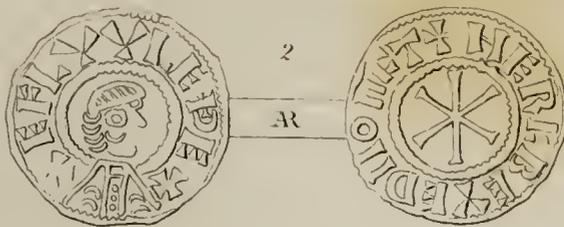
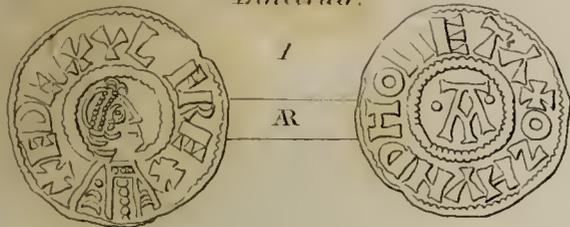


*Ethelulf.*

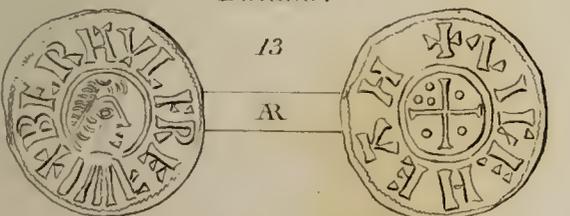




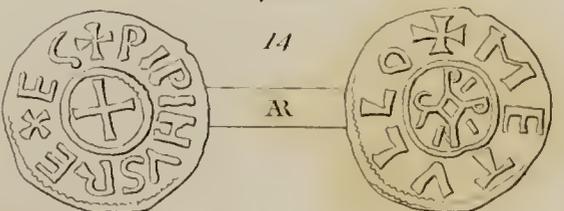
Ethelvulf.



Berhtulf.



Pipin.





Robert Barclay, Esq. of Bury-hill, in the county of Surrey, who fortunately for the cause of science, became the proprietor of 553 of these coins, which he purchased on the spot. This gentleman, with a liberality entitled to the highest praise, immediately sent the whole of his collection to me, requesting that I would select for the British Museum, every coin not already in the National Collection.

The Museum is also under obligations to George Dewdney, Esq. of Dorking, in Surrey, who sent for my inspection 100 coins found in the same parcel, and handsomely allowed me to retain for the trustees of the British Museum, several pieces not already in their collection.

The Museum has by these means received the important addition of 174 coins in the Anglo-Saxon series; and, with the exception of three coins, namely, Ciolvulf I. Beornvulf, and Wiglaf, it now possesses a specimen of every Saxon coin recorded in the present account.

March 12, 1818.

XVII. *Observations on the Body-Armour anciently worn in England.*

By SAMUEL RUSH MEYRICK, LL. D. in a Letter addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.

Read 9th April, 1818.

DEAR SIR,

As I think the subject has not received that attention which the interest it occasions merits, I am induced to trouble you with some remarks on the various species of body-armour worn in England from the time of the Conquest to that of Henry VI. It is however very difficult to affix a precise date to each variety, because the new invention, not being generally adopted, did not altogether exclude the old; and such was the extent of military caprice, that ancient fashions, modified but in a trifling degree, were frequently revived.

Our martial sovereigns Edw. I. and Edw. III. are in some respect exceptions from this charge, and afford us certain data for two important changes in the formation of body-armour. With the former originated that well known species termed double-chain mail, consisting of interlaced rings; and to the latter is to be ascribed the mixed, which was formed from such additions as gave rise to plate-armour.

I shall, however, in the course of this letter endeavour to give a chronological arrangement to the various kinds of hauberk worn before the first of these periods, and after pointing out the alterations that preceded the second, take some notice of the changes that subsequently occurred.

Previous to the time of Edward I. the body-armour may be distinguished by the appellations *trelliced*, *ringed*, *rustred*, *mascled*, *scaled*, *tegulated*, *single-mailed*, and *banded*. On each of these I have to submit the following observations.

### THE TRELICED.

The seal of David, Earl of Huntingdon, in Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ*, represents that nobleman armed with a cuirass, which is bound over with cross pieces, so as to form large intervening squares placed angularly, in the centre of each of which appears a round knob or stud. This seems to me to answer exactly to that species which the early Norman writers termed *trelliced*. This Earl, afterwards David I. of Scotland, lived at the commencement of the twelfth century, and was brother to Eadgar I. of Scotland. This is little more than thirty years after the Conquest, and his Saxon origin directs us to what people we should look for its invention. The *trellice-work* we find formed after the same design as the *cross-gartering* observable on the legs of the Saxon youths in many illuminated MSS. of that people, and which had been adopted in imitation of the protecting *hay-bands* worn by their rude ancestors. But if there was any doubt to what nation this species of military habit should be attributed, I think the point would be settled by a reference to the Norman writers themselves. Instead of giving it the name of *Hauberk*, we find them calling it *Broigne*, evidently a corruption of the Saxon *Býpn* or *Býpna*. Thus in the *Roman de Garin* we have

En son dos vest une Broigne trelice.  
On his back he wears a trelliced Broigne.

and in the *Roman de Gaydon*,

L'escu li peree, et la Broigne treslit.  
His shield was pierced, and his trelliced Broigne.

The writers of the middle ages manifestly derived this word from some Gothic source, as the terms *Brunia*, *Brunea*, *Brugna*, *Bruna*, and *Bronia*, occur principally in the Latin documents relating to Charlemagne. But having adopted it, probably to denote the smaller species of body-armour, they make use of it frequently. Thus in the *Roman de Garin* we read,

Et mainte Broigne percier et estroer,  
Et mainte vassal trebuchier et verser.

And many a Broigne to pierce and cleave,  
And many a vassal to beat down and overthrow.

And again,

L'escu li perce, s'a la Broigne faussée.  
The shield he pierces, and the Broigne is broken.

In the Roman de Roncevaux, we have,

L'a veist-on tante Broigne saffrée.  
There he put on such an embroidered Broigne.

And in the Roman de Rou, written not long after the Conquest, we find it distinguished from the Hauberk, thus :

Des Haubers, et des Broignes mainte male faussée.  
Of Hauberk and Broignes a great number were badly broken.

The armour of the knights in the Conqueror's time, we also learn from Robert Wace, was called *Hernoiz*, a word that may have been derived from the Celtic *Hëarn*, iron, i. e. *clad in steel*; but it must be confessed that the trelliced kind comes nearer to our ideas of *harness* than any other.

The composition, however, of this cuirass is not so easily settled, having no decisive information on the subject. I certainly have not therefore any conclusive ground for the idea, but I am led to imagine it was made of linen or woollen cloth several times folded and rivetted together by studs of steel, rather than formed of leather. That the original Saxon military tunics were made of linen, we have the positive testimony of Alcuin, who in his book *De Offic. Divin.* says, "Solent habere milites tunicas lineas, sic aptas membris ut expediti sint dirigendo jaculum, tenendo clypeum, librando gladium, &c." "*The knights were accustomed to wear linen tunics, so well fitted to their limbs, as appears in the seal of Earl David, as to enable them with the utmost expedition to direct the dart, hold the shield, wield the sword, &c.*"

And this custom was continued so late as the time of Henry II. as we see by the following words of Giraldus.

*Cum panno loricæ ocreali ferro utrinque.*

With a coat of mail greaved with iron on both sides.

Ocreali, or “greave-fashioned,” seeming to refer to the above presumed origin.

But of what the trelliced work was composed, I have as yet found nothing that leads to a conjecture. Whether it was made of thick thongs of leather merely, or of pliable plates of steel, there is no absolute data on which to determine. I feel compelled therefore to leave this point in uncertainty; merely observing that the legs of the military were thus protected so late as the commencement of the thirteenth century, as appears in two figures of an illuminated MS. in the Bodleian library at Oxford, marked 86, Arch. B. From the colouring of these, the studs only appear of steel, and the trelliced work of leather, probably therefore a small plate of iron within the cloth was fastened by each stud.

#### RINGED.

What I have denominated ringed-armour is that species which consisted of flat rings of steel placed contiguous to each other on a quilted linen tunic. The earliest example we have of this occurs in an illuminated Saxon MS. of the time of Cædmon, in the Cotton Library at the British Museum, marked Claudius B. iv. and was probably the most esteemed of the two kinds of *Lehpyngeð Býpn*, or ringed broigne.

It again appears on the Norman warriors depicted in a MS. Life of Christ, written in the eleventh century, prefixed to a Latin and Franco-Norman version of the Psalms, in the Cotton Library, marked Nero C. iv. and lastly in the celebrated Baieux Tapestry. We find therefore that it was continued in use until the time of Henry II. as that curious remnant of antiquity has, by uncontrovertible arguments been shewn to have been fabricated under the directions of the Empress Maud.

Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, thus describes the *Lehpyngeð Býpn*

which he, towards the conclusion of the eleventh century, translates by the word *Lorica*.

Roscida me genuit gelido de viscere tellus,  
 Non sum setigero lanarum vellere facta ;  
 Licia nulla trahunt, nec garrula fila resultant ;  
 Nec croceâ scres texunt lanugine vermes ;  
 Nec radiis carpor, duro nec pectine pulsor  
 Et tamen, en ! Vestis vulgi sermone vocabor ;  
 Spicula non vereor, longis exempta pharetris.

The dewy earth produced me from its congcaled bowels,  
 I am not made from the rough fleeces of wool,  
 No woofs drew me, nor did the tremulous threads resound ;  
 Nor did the yellow down of silkworms form me,  
 I passed not through the shuttle, nor was I stricken with the wool comb ;  
 And yet, behold ! a Vesture am I commonly called ;  
 I fear not the darts that are drawn forth from the long quivers.

Although the hauberk exhibited in the seal of William the Conqueror seems to be single-mailed, of which I shall speak hereafter, yet I cannot help thinking that the one which we are told, by William of Poitou and an anonymous author of the same period, he accidentally put on inverted when preparing for the battle of Hastings, was of the ringed kind, for the rings being thus quilted flat on linen easily account for its pliability.

From the Baieux Tapestry, as has been before observed, we know that this kind of hauberk was worn by the knights so late as the commencement of the reign of Henry II.<sup>a</sup> but whether it was afterwards adopted by the infantry or not, I will not determine. Bohaddin, however, the Arabian historian, and secretary of the renowned Salhadin, speaking of the army of our first Richard, observes, that the infantry, who marched in a hollow square to protect the other troops within, wore a habit which consisted of pieces of cloth fastened toge-

<sup>a</sup> In the accurate representations of the royal seals published in the new edition of the *Fœdera*, Henry I., Stephen, Eustace his son, and Henry II. all appear with this kind of hauberk, though the first seal of Henry I. exhibits one covered with flat circular plates not perforated.

ther with rings, so as to resemble dense coats of mail, hence though they were overwhelmed with arrows their progress was not impeded. He adds that he "saw with his own eyes several who had not one or two merely, but even ten darts sticking in their backs, and yet continued their march with a calm and cheerful step without any trepidation." If this writer describes the same ringed armour as Aldhelm, his testimony bears ample proof to the last line of the prelate's epigram; but whether it was exactly the ringed armour, or a distinct species partaking somewhat of the nature of the gambeson, that was worn by the English troops, I will not take upon me positively to decide.

### RUSTRED.

For the name of this peculiar kind of hauberk we are indebted to the vocabulary of our ancient heralds, who in the exuberance of their fancy have transmitted it to us, as forming one of the charges of blazonry. The rustre may be seen in fig. 70 and 71 of the 14th plate to the 2d volume of Edmondson's Heraldry; and the term, though omitted in his Dictionary, will be found in French works on the same subject. That many bearings in blazonry arose from the adoption of the different parts of the habiliments and equipments of the knight, has been asserted by several authors, and that it was so in the case of the rustre is evident by comparing that charge with a carving in ivory represented Pl. XXXII. fig. 1, of 1st volume of the *Monarchie Française*.

Their form seems to have grown out of the ringed armour that had been used at the Conquest, they being nothing more than one row of flat rings about double the size of those then used, laid half over the other, so that two in the upper partially covered one below.

Though I hardly think this species answers to Bohadin's "thick strung pieces of cloth fastened together with rings," yet am I much inclined to believe it the *lorica hamata* of Richard the First's historian Vinesauf. That writer describing the French army says, Lib. III. c. 5. "Inestimabilem, ibi, videres armatorum multitudinem armis decenter

instructam, *tot nitentes hamatas loricas, tot galeas, rutilentes, &c.*" "There you might behold an inestimable multitude of armed men, properly furnished with arms, *so many shining hooked loricae, so many glittering ruddy helmets, &c.*" *Hamatas*, though a word used by the ancients in this author's meaning, implies, I conjecture, that the rings passed through or were hooked into the quilting, for though such an expression might be applied to the single-mail, which was composed of rings set edgewise, it seems more suitable to the rustred, in which part of the rings were absolutely hid.

### MASCLED.

The earliest specimen I have found of the mascléd hauberk since the Conquest, for it seems from an illuminated prayer-book belonging to Cnute to have been worn by the Anglo-Danes in his reign, occurs on the seal of Milo Fitzwalter, Earl of Hereford. We meet with it again in an engraving of the accurate and indefatigable Mr. Strutt from an illuminated MS. Psalter of the twelfth century, in the possession of our worthy member F. Douce, Esq. and as we find it in the Baieux Tapestry we have evidence that it was occasionally used so late as the time of Henry II. In the rude workmanship of the time, it has the appearance of intersecting wires, but a reference to the Norman writers, and a further inquiry into heraldry, (our great assistant in matters connected with ancient armour,) lead us not only to its name, but also to its formation. By referring to Edmondson's Heraldry<sup>a</sup> we find that the masclé, a charge which the celebrated Du Cange has proved was borrowed from the armour worn by the knights, is in shape like a lozenge, but distinguished from it by being always perforated, and that it is sometimes borne singly, and at others in numbers so as to cover the field.

We are thus led to discover that the mascléd, or maculated hauberks, were composed of several folds of linen, covered with diamond-shaped pieces of steel touching each other, and perforated; and from

<sup>a</sup> Vol. II. Pl. II. fig. 66 and 67.

Johannes de Janua that they were so called from their resemblance to the meshes of fishermen's nets, termed, by the Romans, *maculæ*. That the ground was linen appears by the expression of Nicholas de Braya, who in his *Life of Louis VIII.* says,

*Nexilibus maclis vestis distincta notatur.*

By its interwoven mascles, his military tunic is conspicuously marked.

For by *Vestis*, we have seen in the epigram of Aldhelm, was understood the quilted linen tunic. This species of armour is mentioned by Guillaume le Breton in the 2d book of his *Philippics*,

————— inter

*Pectus et ora fidit maculas toracis.*

————— between

His breast and mouth, he cleaved the mascles of his thorax;

alluding to that part of the armour which was sometimes a part of the hauberk, and sometimes separate from it, which was termed *Camail*.

And again,

*Restitit uncino maculis hærente plicatis.*

He stood his ground, altho' an oucin was sticking in the folded mascles :

meaning by *plicatis* that the lower point of one mascle was suspended over the upper one of that underneath. The *Oucin* was a staff with a hooked iron head.

The Pere Daniel, in his *Histoire de la Milice Francoise*, Vol. I. p. 280. has given us the substance of a quotation from a MS. of the twelfth century, written by Le Moine de Mairemontier, which recounts the ceremonies used at the creation of a knight. But I cannot help regretting that he has not presented it in its original language, because I think the word "double" is not there to be found. He says, "When Geoffry, Duke of Normandy, was knighted, his arms were brought to him, and he was invested with an incomparable coat of mail (*loricâ incomparable*) wrought with *double chains or links* (*maclis*) of iron, so closely interwoven that it was impenetrable to the

point of the lance or the arrow; the chausses, or boots of mail, made also in like manner with *double chain* work, were then given to him, and a pair of gilt spurs were put on his feet. This done a shield was hung upon his neck ornamented with lions of gold; an helmet richly decorated with precious stones, and so well tempered that no sword could make any impression upon it, was set upon his head. A lance was then brought him, made of oak, and surmounted with a head of Poictou iron, and lastly a sword from the Royal Treasury." It appears to me that the Pere Daniel had no Latin in the original signifying *double*, and that "double chains or links" is his translation of the mere word *maclis*, to which the epithet is perhaps *nexilibus*, and which he has subsequently rendered "closely interwoven;" for where the adjective does occur he inserts it as *lorica incomparabilis*. The military dress therefore of Geoffry Duke of Normandy, was a hauberk and chausses, or pantaloons, covering the feet, also of masled armour, exactly as they are depicted in Mr. Douce's MS. Psalter before noticed.

#### SCALED.

It is probable that the perforations in the rustres were found too large securely to protect the body from the points of adverse weapons, as we find in the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. that they were filled up, and perhaps made less thick, in order that the weight might not be increased. This at once produced scale-armour, and may be seen in the seals of the Scottish kings from Alexander I<sup>st</sup> to Malcolm IV<sup>th</sup> inclusive.

Imitations of the natural protections of fish had been early adopted in the East, as coverings for defence, and had been copied by the Greeks and Etruscans, as well as Dacians and Sarmati, but I am not aware of their having been used in England at any other period than during the two reigns above mentioned. Johannes de Janua calls this species of hauberk *Lorica squamata*, the name by which it was known to the ancients.

From the observations of a foreigner we are often led to conclude what must be the custom of his own country. Thus when Giraldus in the time of Henry II. speaks of the armour used by the Welsh, he enables us by pointing out their deficiencies to judge of what were possessed by the English. “*Utuntur,*” says he, “*loricis minoribus, ocreisque ferreis rarius.*” *They make use of the smaller kind of cuirass, i. e. such as covered the body only; (broignes, as in the seal of David, Earl of Huntingdon;) and very rarely coverings for the legs studded with iron.* Now from this observation it is clear that in England there were two kinds of armour, which we have seen from other writers were the hauberk, and the broigne or haubergeon, and specimens of both of which we find in the illuminations of that period. Giraldus himself, however, does not leave us in doubt upon this point, for in his remarks upon the best mode of carrying on a campaign in Wales, alluding to the English troops, he says, “*Sicut igitur, ubi militares acies de plano conveniunt, gravis illa et multiplex armatura, tam linea sc: quam ferrea, milites egregiè munit et ornat; sic ubi solum in areto confliguntur, &c.; longè levis armatura præstantior.*” *Where, therefore, the armies engage in a flat country, a heavy armour made of many folds of linen covered with steel, both protects in a superior degree and decorates the soldier, but when the engagement is in narrow defiles, &c. a light armour is far preferable.*

At a later period the scales appear lengthened, so as to resemble leaves or feathers, but in this form they occur mostly in representations of St. George, St. Michael, or other allegorical figures.<sup>a</sup> We have, however, a very curious specimen in an illuminated MS. of the thirteenth century in the Royal Library, now at the Museum, marked 20, B. XI. entitled, “*Les etablissementz des Chevalerie.*” It is of a knight practising cutting at the pell in banded armour, over which are two tunics, and then a surcoat, with leaf-like scales on it. Leaf-like scales occur also on a large gorget which hangs down to the waist, worn by a warrior

<sup>a</sup> The seal however of William II. is a very early specimen of this.

in banded armour, in an illumination of a MS. marked Claudius, D. II. in the Cotton Library. This large gorget or tippet was called *Tournicle d'eschaille*, or little tunic of scales, as we learn from the Chronicle of Flanders, which speaks of a knight wearing above his hauberk,

Un tournicle dessus aussi come d'eschaille.

A tournicle thereupon also like scales.

### TEGULATED.

The scaled armour was succeeded by that made of little square plates, covering one another in the manner of tiles; whence not having precisely ascertained its original appellation, I have presumed to denominate it tegulated. This kind was chiefly worn during the reigns of John and Henry III<sup>d</sup>, though it had commenced in that of Stephen, and was not wholly laid aside even in the time of Edward II<sup>d</sup>. The tomb of Sir Hugh Bardolfe, in Barham church, Norfolk, some of the figures in the Temple church, the seal of Rich<sup>d</sup>. Fitzhugh, Constable of England, A. D. 1140, and published in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, that of Edward II. and of the Scotch kings of this period, afford specimens of this species of armour. Although this hauberk had sometimes its capuchon or hood, we do not find that the laminæ covered the head; but that they were laced to a tight skull-cap, and though they extended themselves over the hands, they did so without dividing the fingers.

The knights of Richard the First's army were probably some clad in this armour, and some in the scaled, for from Vinesauf's description it must have been of such a kind that when bent one part would scrape against the other. He thus describes their preparations in lib. 3. c. 35. "*Rotantur loricae ne rubigine squallescant, tractantur galeae mapulis, ne forte pallescant, humore lambente fulgorum gladium birris exterguntur mucrones, ne qua humectatione claritudini inimica corrumpantur.*" *They whirled about their hauberks lest they might be foul from rust; they rubbed their helmets with cloths, lest they might have become*

*tarnished, the damp having dimmed the refulgence of their swords, they wiped the blades with their cloaks, that the hostile moisture might not spoil their brightness.* This same author who was a witness to the fact relates, that Richard Cœur de Lion observing one of the Turks parading the fortifications of Acre in the armour of a celebrated knight who had fallen, aimed his weapon with such strength and certainty that the javelin it projected buried itself in his bosom.

William le Breton seems to describe the tegulated armour in the following lines in a skirmish before Mante in the time of Henry II.

Tot ferri sua membra, plicis, tot quisque patenis  
Pectora tot coriis, tot Gambesonibus armant.

Their limbs with so much iron, each with so many little folding plates,  
Their breasts with so many leathern coats, so many Gambesons, they arm.

That this tegulated armour was sometimes gilt, appears by the figure of St. Michael, in alabaster, found at Porth Sini Crân in Monmouthshire, and now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

That kind of armour termed Jazerant de fer, or Jazerant d'acier, seems to have originated from the tegulated, but it differed in these respects, that the pieces of which it was composed were not square, but long horizontally, and ranged above each other in the same lines. It originated in Italy, where it was termed Ghiazzzerino, probably from its resemblance to the overlapping planks of a boat. Grose in his *Antient Armour*, pl. XXX. fig. 3, gives the representation of a jazerant cuirass formerly at Don Saltero's Coffee-house; and said, but I imagine without good foundation, to have belonged to king Henry VIII<sup>th</sup>. He describes it as consisting of small laminæ of metal fixed on leather, which yield to the motion of the body by sliding over each other. I believe there is a similar one at Warwick Castle. But sometimes these plates were worn inside, being fastened by brass nails on a buckram jacket, the heads of which appearing outside upon red silk gave it an ornamented appearance. Such an one is in Mr. Gwennap's *Hoplotheca*, and represented in Montfaucon's *Mon. Fran. Vol. II. Pl. CXCIV*. The earliest mention of the "hauberk-jazerant" is in the

Roman de Gaydon, and the Chronicle of Bertrand de Guesclin shews the estimation in which it was held, calling it "noble jazerant." From the latter composition we learn, that not only the knights but their horses were thus protected.

Bien estoient armez de noble jazerant.  
They were well armed with noble jazerant.

And,

Chascun et cheval couvert de jazeran.  
Each had his horse covered with jazeran.

We also learn from him that it was worn externally, as he says,

L'escu li desrompi et le bon jazerant,  
Mais le haucton fut fort qui fut de bouquerant.  
His shield was pierced and his good jazeran,  
But his haucton was strong, being made of buckram.

The jazerant armour was however principally used in the fourteenth century.

### SINGLE MAIL.

The single mail composed of rings set edgewise on quilted linen, came into general use about the close of king John's reign, and continued to be partially worn till that of Edward I. If, however, we can depend upon the delineations in a Saxon MS. in the Cotton Library, marked Cleopatra, C. VIII. we find that it had been known in England as early as the ninth century; and would then be a species of *Gehpynzed Býpn*. In these it occurs on cuirasses, or rather broignes, but the seal of William the Conqueror appears to represent him in a hauberk of single-mail. An illuminated roll in the Sloane Library, marked Y. VI. of king John's time, containing a life of St. Guthlac, exhibits a soldier also clad in this manner, with the addition of a capuchon. At the commencement of Henry III<sup>d</sup>'s reign it covered not only the head, but hands, legs, and feet, but although it may be seen on the seals of this period, and more distinctly on several monu-

mental effigies, I need only advert to that of Peter, Earl of Richmond, in the collegiate church of Aquabella, in Savoy, an engraving and description of which may be seen in the eighteenth volume of the *Archaeologia*.

Large thick rings, sewn so close together, must doubtless have been found very heavy. Two examples are mentioned of this inconvenience, which seem to account for the long interval between its disuse and revival. William the Conqueror, before his encounter with Harold, went out with twenty-five companions to explore the country; and his contemporary, William of Poictou, informs us, that the road was so deep and rugged that much praise was due to the Norman Duke for having burthened himself with the hauberk of one of his party, who was unable to get to the camp without putting it off. We again learn from Ingulphus that when Earl Harold in 1063 marched against the Welsh, his troops could not pursue them in their heavy coats of mail, and that to ensure success he was compelled to relinquish them for the less cumbrous leathern armour.

The single-mailed armour was subject to another evil, viz. that the rings were liable to be cut off by the blow of a sword, and the tunic laid bare. Thus a French MS. entitled the *Roman d'Aubery*, says,

Et le hauberc vait après desmaillent,  
Auis le cope come fit un bouquerant.

And the hauberk became, after they had despoiled it of its mail  
By such a blow, as if it had been simply of buckram.

So also William Guiart, under the year 1285.

Hyaumes fondent, targes deffacent,  
Mailles chicent de gorjerettes.

Helmets they indent, targets they deface,  
The mails fell from the gorgets.

And again in the year 1304,

Bacinez fondent, boucliers faillent,  
Haubers et gorgieres desmaillent.

Basnets they beat in, bucklers they render useless,  
Hauberks and gorgets they deprive of their mails.

**BANDED ARMOUR.**

Perhaps it was the last mentioned circumstance that produced the contrivance of banded armour. However, be that as it may, all the illuminations of the reign of Henry III. and part of that of Edward I. represent the combatants, and other military figures, in a singular species of armour which does not occur in the sepulchral effigies. Those of two knights in Tewkesbury church, Gloucestershire, exhibit something like it, but not exactly. I conceive their armour to be of rings hooked into bands of wire. It occurs, however, attached to a basnet in an illumination of Edward III. among a collection of Treaties of peace between France and England in the Cotton Library, marked Nero D. VI. It is also to be met with on painted glass, but I must confess I have not been able to determine of what materials it was composed. From a comparison of several representations, I am, however, led to conclude that it consisted of small parallelogramic pieces of metal sewed on linen, so placed as to fold perpendicularly over each other like palings, and kept in their places by bands or hoops of leather. That these bands could not have been made of iron, is clear from their passing, in some specimens, longitudinally, while the little plates are put horizontally. This mode, however, seems of later date, as it is accompanied with ailettes, which were not introduced till the middle of Edward I.'s reign. Specimens of the first kind may be seen in the *Livre des Histoires MS.* in the Royal Library, marked D. I. ; in the *Gestes des Roys de France*, 16 G. VI. in the Sloane collection, 316, as well as in all the illuminations of this period; and of the latter in the Sloane MS., 3983, a book on Astronomy, where the warrior has on a tegulated gorget, ailettes, and greaves. But the flexibility of the bands is more evidently demonstrated by an illumination representing the Virgin resuscitating a dead warrior, and presenting to him a hauberk of this very kind, at the foot of a page in the MS. Psalter in the Royal Library, marked 2 B. VII. A print of this may be seen in Strutt's Supplement to his Ecclesiastical Antiquities, pl. III. N° 3.

In all the specimens, the head, hands, legs, and feet are covered with the same kind of manufacture, but the fingers are not divided, a separation which seems first to have been generally adopted in the time of Edward III<sup>d</sup>. It is with this species of armour that knee-caps and elbow-pieces appear to have been first used; the former hemispherical, called poleyns,<sup>a</sup> and the latter flat circular plates, simply so termed.

I have been often inclined to consider the banded hauberk as the gambison or wambais, because it seems to answer the description of that species in many respects; but as Roger Hoveden tells us that it was only such as were not rich enough to provide themselves with hauberks, that were compelled to procure the wambais, (while in the illuminations we constantly see even kings thus habited,) and as the female gambison given by Strutt is without sleeves, and not at all like this, I feel compelled to give up this opinion.



We now reach an Epoch, as it were, in the history of old English Armour, the triumphant reign of Edward I.; and, between that and his great-grandsons, the improved kinds were the Double-chain mail, the Double-chain mail greaved, and the Double-chain mail greaved with ailettes.

### DOUBLE-CHAIN MAIL.

The warlike Edward, whose splendid victories tended to augment his ardent thirst for military fame, was not long in adopting from the Asiatics the more flexible hauberk of interlaced ringed armour, consisting of four rings within a fifth, each of which was rivetted, according to the Chronicle of Flanders,

Un hauberk clavez de double maille.

An hauberk of rivetted double mail.

<sup>a</sup> See the explanation of the word Poleyn in the index to the Account of the Wardrobe in the time of Edward I. published by the Society of Antiquaries.

Sepulchral effigies in this armour are extant in many churches in England. Among others may be noticed that of Robert de Ros, in the Temple church, from which instructive specimen we learn that the chaperon de mailles, or covering for the head and neck, was sometimes thrown down so as to lie on the shoulders. The two fine monuments attributed to the Earls of Clare in Danbury church, Essex, if rightly drawn by Strutt, are good examples of this kind; but according to Gough, they appear in tegulated armour. No ancient real specimens of this armour now exist. It covered the hands and feet, being tied over the soles like the five last described species.

Such was the approbation of this convenient armour, that the English monarch was not long in adopting also the Asiatic custom of clothing his horses in mail, as may be seen in his great Seal and that of his son; and when he prepared to attack the renowned Scottish chieftain Wallace, he had, according to W. Hemingford, 3000 select knights on horses that were mailed, and 4000 on unarmed steeds.

### DOUBLE-CHAIN MAIL, GREAVED.

The shield and helmet amply protected the head and body of the knight, independent of his armour; but his legs were still exposed to the lances and weapons of the infantry. To remedy this defect the double-chain mail was covered in front of each leg with an additional protection of leather or quilted linen, on which were placed the ancient flat contiguous rings, and a knight so equipped may be seen in an illuminated Latin Psalter of this time in the Royal Library in the British Museum, marked 2. A. XXII.

But as there was no necessity for this additional guard to be flexible, the adoption of a piece of steel soon superseded that above described. The original idea was probably borrowed from the statues of the ancient Greeks, for the earliest specimen with which I am acquainted occurs on the seal of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders and Emperor of Constantinople. These guards were called Bainbergs, or Bembergs, from

the German Bein-bergen, and afterwards Jambes, or Jambers. Whether they were the same as the Emperor Leo in his Tactics calls *ποδοψελλα σιδηρα* “iron feet-guards,” I am not quite certain; but in the illumination before noticed, where they are composed of flat rings, the guards are not only in front of the legs, but cover the whole of the feet.

In the will of St. Everard, Duc de Frejus, we meet with the bequest of “Bruniam unam, cum halsberga, et manicam unam, *bemivergas* duas, &c.” A broigne, with a hauberk, and one muffler or glove not divided into fingers, two bainbergs, &c. And in another place, “Bruniam unam, helmum 1, et manicam 1, ad ipsum opus *bembergas*, &c.” A broigne, one helmet, and one muffler, to the same work bembergs, &c. The Lex Ripuar. c. 36, s. 11. estimates “*bainbergas* bonas pro vi. sol. tribuat.” Good bainbergs at six shillings value.

The poleyns were generally worn with the greaves, as they had been without; and in this manner we find a knight of the Barri family accoutred in the monumental effigies represented by Sir Richard Hoare, in his edition of Giraldu Cambrensis, vol. ii. as well as in other sepulchral remains.

### DOUBLE-CHAIN MAIL, GREAVED, WITH AILETTES.

The warlike spirit of the age appears to have occasioned a continual application towards discovering the best means of improving the known modes of defence, as well as attack, and this was not confined to the labours of the engineer, but extended alike to the armourer. Towards the close of the thirteenth century and not long after the commencement of the reign of Edward I. a new mode of protecting the neck was invented, which consisted of small plates of steel placed on the shoulders, sometimes called, from their resemblance to little standards, Gonfanons. They are likewise mentioned by the name of ailettes, or little wings, in that curious document of the sixth year of this monarch, relative to a tournament in Windsor Park, given in the XVIIIth volume of the Archaeologia; and in the Statuta armorum in Torniamentis,

a few years after, by that of shoulder plates. We find that they were sometimes worn with the banded-armour, as it was occasionally used during this period. No notice, however, is taken of any thing of this kind in that valuable detail of expenses printed by the Society of Antiquaries, entitled, “An Account of the Wardrobe in the 28th year of Edward I.” Among the payments there enumerated for the “*factura diversorum armorum*,” we find those for *jamberis*, *greaves*, *poleynis*, *knee-pieces*, and *platis*, *elbow-plates*, but not a word that can be construed into the signification of gonfanons. We learn, however, from seals and illuminations that they continued in fashion till the middle of the reign of Edward III.

In the specimens extant, we see them placed sometimes in front of the shoulders, sometimes behind, and at others on the sides; whether, therefore, they were fixed in these positions or made to traverse, I cannot pretend to determine; though from one appearing in front, while the other is behind in the pair worn by the knight in the *Liber Astronomiæ*, a MS. in the Sloane Library, marked N<sup>o</sup> 3983, I am inclined to the latter opinion. Their shape was equally varied; they were square, round, pentagonal, and shieldlike; sometimes plain, but generally ornamented with the family arms, or the cross of St. George.

In the illumination just mentioned they are worn with greaves without poleyns. In a very fine specimen, viz. the monument of Sir Roger de Trumpington, in Trumpington church, Cambridgeshire, they appear with the poleyns, but without the greaves. The *Chronicon Colmariense*, under the year 1298, gives us a very instructive account of the armour of that period, but omits to notice the gonfanons. “*Igitur Rex Adolphus contra Ducem Austriæ cum magnâ multitudine venientem, in occursum currit cum hominum armata multitudine copiosa. Armati reputabantur, qui galeas ferreas in capitibus habebant, et qui wambasia, id est, tunicam spissam ex lino et stuppa, vel veteribus pannis consutam, et desuper camisiam ferream, id est, vestem ex circulis ferreis contextam per quæ nulla sagitta arcus poterat hominem vulnerare. Ex his armatis centum inermes mille lædi potuerunt. Habe-*

bant et multos, qui habebant dextrarios;<sup>a</sup> id est, equos magnos, qui inter equos communes, quasi Bucephalus Alexandri, inter alios eminebant. Hi equi cooperti fuerunt coopertoriis ferreis, id est veste ex circulis ferreis contexta. Assessores dextrariorum habebant loricas ferreas, habebant et caligas manipulos ferreos, et in capitibus galeas ferreas splendidas et ornatas, et alia multa quæ me tædui enarrare.” “Therefore King Adolphus marched with an immense multitude of men at arms to meet the Duke of Austria, who was coming against him with a powerful army. Those termed men at arms, wore iron helmets on their heads, and wambases, which were thick tunics quilted with linen and tow, or old cloth; and upon their wambases a shirt of mail, that is, a garment woven together of circles of iron, through which no bow had power to send its arrows deep enough to wound a man. Of these men at arms one hundred were enough to injure a thousand unarmed. They had also many who were mounted on chargers, that is, great horses, which excelled common ones, as Bucephalus the steed of Alexander did. These horses were barded with iron housing, that is, with vestments woven together with iron circles. The riders of these chargers wore iron loricas, boots and gloves of iron, and on their heads splendid and highly ornamented iron helmets, and had *many other appointments*, which it would be tedious to detail.” It may be observed here that the *camisia ferrea* which is said to be made not of *annulis* but *circulis ferreis*, is distinguished from the *lorica ferrea*, the usual expression for the hauberk or coat of mail. Is it the same as the *mailles rondes de haute cloëure* of this period? and do they refer to the banded armour? I must confess I have not met with housings thus depicted in any illumination.

But what was considered a full appointment in this very year, 1298, seems pointed out by the will of Odo de Rossilion. “Item do et lego Domino Petro de Monte Ancelini prædicto centum libras Turonenses, et unam integram armaturam de armaturis meis, videlicet, meum heaume à visiere, meum bassinetum, meum porpoinetum de Cen-

<sup>a</sup> They were called Dextrarii, or Destriers, because the attendant led them by the right hand.

dallo, meum godbertum, meum gorgretum, meas buculas, meum gaudichetum, meas trumulieres d'acier, meos cuissellos, meos chantones (qu. if not Chautones) meum magnum cutellum et meam parvam ensem." "Item, I leave and bequeath to the Lord Peter de Montancelin aforesaid, a hundred pounds Tournois, (about £25. sterling) and one complete suit of armour from my collection, namely, my vizored helmet, my basnet, my pourpoint of taffety, my godebers, (a military vest, qu.) my gorget, my buckles, my gaudichet, my steel leg guards, my thigh coverings, my . . . . . (qu. if chauçons, i. e. breeches of mail) my great knife, and my little sword."

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Our second epoch in the history of armour may be dated in the latter part of Edward III.'s reign, in which the double-chain mail became so covered with pieces of steel to cause them in a little time to supersede it altogether. This, therefore, the prototype of plate armour, I have termed mixed.

### MIXED.

The monumental figure of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died in the year 1370, and was buried in St. Mary's Church, Warwick, compared with some others of the same period, and that of Sir Guy Brian, A. D. 1391, will afford a very good idea of what I have denominated Mixed Armour. The double-chain hauberk, owing to its weight, had been found to press injuriously upon the chest, and therefore productive of sudden faintings, and inability to proceed in such an active manner as military evolutions require. To remedy this, a breast-plate of steel was contrived, called *plastron de fer*, which being placed underneath, kept the mail supported at a sufficient distance from the stomach. The fine equestrian statue at Milan of Bernabo Visconti, of which very accurate engravings are given in the XVIIIth volume of the *Archaeologia*, affords a very decisive proof of this useful invention. The idea, however, was not altogether new, a small piece

of steel had been worn by the nobles in their tilting matches, so early as Henry II<sup>d's</sup> time; for William le Breton speaking of one between William de Barres and Richard Cœur de Lion, then Earl of Poictou, observes, that they encountered with so much fury that their lances pierced through each other's bucklers, hauberks, and gambesons, but were resisted by a plate of wrought iron worn beneath.

Utraque per clipeos ad corpora fraxinus ibat  
Gambesumque audax forat et Thoraca trilicem  
Disjicit; ardenti nimium prorumpere, tandem  
Vix obstat ferro fabricata patena recocto.

Through both shields did the ashen lances reach their bodies,  
Entering the daring gambeson, the treliced hauberk  
Being pierced, they charged with such excessive ardour that  
The little plate of wrought iron scarce resisted the blow.

In an illuminated MS. in the Royal Library, marked 14. E. V. written at the commencement of the fifteenth century, which is soon after the adoption of the breast-plate, is a military figure, having on a cuirass, over which he is slipping a coat of mail. About the same period we find it noticed by Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales*, by the name of *Haubergeon*, which in the above noticed illumination it appears by its pendant chain fringe somewhat to resemble. This old poet in his *Rhyme of Sir Thopas* thus describes his military habit,

He did on his white lere  
Of cloth of lake fine and clere,  
A breche, and eke a sherte,  
And next his shert an Haketon,  
And over that an Habergeon  
For Percyng of his herte  
And over that a fine Hauberke.

But besides this improvement, the sleeves of the hauberke upon each shoulder were covered by four overlapping plates, pendant from which on the exterior of the upper arm, was a plate which reached within four or five inches of the elbow. This was fastened on by two straps,

and denominated Brassart. The elbow, as before, was protected by a circular plate, at first a little curved, and afterwards made convex, sometimes termed elbow-gussets. The lower arm was enveloped by a steel covering called avant-bras, or vambrace, the under part of which, for it consisted of two pieces joined by hinges, was termed arrière-bras, or rerebrace. For the hands were invented gloves of plate with fingers, called gauntlets. The mail on the thighs had, in front, plates of steel denominated cuissets; and sometimes, as in the instance of Bernabo Visconti, behind, coverings composed of six parallel longitudinal pieces each. Below the poleyns, the legs were encased with steel called jambers, between which and the instep, the chain for the convenience of bending the foot remained visible. In the instance of Sir Guy Brian, instead of these we see three long plates of steel above and below the knee-caps, one in front, and one on each side. The instep was covered with a plate, between which and the cap over the toes were four overlaying pieces, the whole being rivetted together. Instead of the gonfanons the throat was protected by a chain covering that surrounded the neck and hung down to the shoulders like a tippet, being appended to the basnet. This was called the cerveliere.

This mixed armour is well enumerated in the Libertates Brianzon. Anno 1343, “Et omnes de dicto numero cum propunctis, gorgeriis, bacignotis alberjontis, cirothecis ferreis, platis seu alberjonis malliæ competentis, &c.” “And all of the said number competent to wear pourpoints, gorgets, basnets furnished with chain-mail hauberkwise, iron gauntlets, plate armour, or haübergeons of mail, &c.” The gorget I have not described, it was evidently in the above quotation not the double-chain envelopement. By a French statute in the year 1351, Ordinat. Reg. Franc. tom. iv. p. 69, artic. 8, it appears to have been worn with it: “Armé de plates de cervelliere de gorgerette, &c.” “Armed with cervelliere plates, with gorget, &c.” And yet from William Guiart we learn that it was of laced work:

*Hyaumes mis, Górgières laciés.*  
Helmets fixed, gorgets of laced work.

In a poetical Romance in MS. entitled *Le Chevalier délibéré*, it is thus described.

Je te donne pour ton prouffit  
Ce Gorgery fait de tel guyse  
Qu'il est meslé de barbe grise.

I give thee for thy benefit  
This gorget, made in such a manner  
That it is mixed with grizzled beard.

In a charter dated 1324, Reg. Rob. Comit. Provin. the cervelliere and gorget occur as distinct, thus, “*Certæ quantitatis coriarium, gorgialium, cervellarum, &c. gorgialium et cervellarum CCL.*” Of a certain quantity of leathern coats, of gorgets, cervellieres, &c. of gorgets and cervellieres two hundred and fifty.

The armour, however, of a few years later seems best to explain the distinction; for we then observe that the sepulchral effigies have round the neck a plate of iron, and below it a tippet, which hung over the chest and shoulders; the former of these was the cervelliere, the latter the gorget.

## PLATE ARMOUR.

The adoption of the mixed armour soon pointed out by experience the inutility of retaining the ringed hauberk and chausses. The thighs and legs were no longer covered with double-chain mail, and the arms only partially, and in few instances. A back-plate was added, which with the breast-plate formed a cuirass; to this two or three overlapping encircling plates were rivetted, from which before and behind hung an apron of double-chain mail.

Such was the armour of a knight during the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. and such a cuirass though not earlier than the time of Edward IV. may be seen in Mr. Gwennap's *Hoplotheca*. So late as this last monarch's time it was used by the private soldiery, and especially the archers, but without any surcoat, as appears from the en-

gravings to the second volume of Strutt's *Manners and Customs of the English*. The latest monument, however, on which we find this armour, (used with a surcoat) is that of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, in Staindrop church, Durham; and he died in the year 1426.

So early as the middle of Henry IV<sup>th's</sup> time the plated armour first appeared divested of its surcoat, and improved by roundels in front of the shoulders, with a garde de rein of several overlapping pieces to protect behind from one hip to the other, and a similar guard in front, which Pere Daniel terms tassettes, a word of German imposition, from their covering the pockets; in imitation of which those large flaps appended to the breast-plate of the pikemen in the time of James I. were made and denominated. These supplanted the use of the aprons of double-chain mail.

The first specimen in which also the roundels are quite round, is afforded by the monumental effigies in brass of Sir John Lysle, who died in 1407, and was buried in Thruxton church, Hampshire. His elbows are protected by fan-shaped gussets. No chain is used at all, but eight successively pendant plates form the tassettes, and the gorget is also of plate.

But this improvement was not generally adopted till ten years after, when round, pentagonal, hexagonal, winged, shield-like, and other fancifully shaped roundels made their appearance. The poleyn also became adorned at the termination of the fourteenth century by a plate just below laid upon the jamber, and fastened by straps round it; and about the year 1430 by a similar one above. These were afterwards increased in number, and made pointed or invecked, according to the caprice of the wearer. They were about this time termed *genouilleres*.

The Duke of Somerset's monument at Wimborne Minster, Dorsetshire, demonstrates that the roundels in the year 1440 had been exchanged for the more beautiful fan-shaped pauldrons, or epauldrons; and that the lowest plate of the tassets had, buckled on and pendant from it, two small ornamented plates, one of which hung over each

cuisse, or thigh piece, and denominated cuissart. Sometimes a similar one was placed between these, and this fashion continued till the latter part of the reign of Henry VII<sup>th</sup>.

About the same period a curious kind of armour was adopted for tournaments, which was intended to supersede the use of the shield. It may be seen made of brass or copper gilt on the monument of Richard, Earl of Warwick, in St. Mary's church, Warwick. The joints for the left elbow are made of four successive pieces, increasing in height as they approach the shoulder, so as, when the arm was bent in the natural position for holding the bridle, to form a kind of shield. The cuisses are in several pieces and covered by cuissarts. The upper edges, in this instructive specimen of plate armour, of the pauldrons, are turned up so as in some degree to protect the neck, which evidently gave rise to those perpendicular plates subsequently fixed on the pauldrons, and termed pass-guards. This mode of protecting the neck is more clearly defined in the curious monumental brass of Sir Thomas Sherbone, at Sherbone in Norfolk, who died in the year 1458.

I have now brought down my remarks on body-armour to the close of the reign of Henry VI. after which period it seems to be pretty generally understood. I might have offered some observations on the gambeson, hauberk, and other military habiliments, but I am aware I ought rather to beg your pardon for troubling you with this long letter, which seemed fast approaching to a treatise. In the hope, however, that the facts it contains may not be unacceptable to the Society of Antiquaries, I shall at once bring it to a close, by subscribing myself

Your's most respectfully,

SAM. R. MEYRICK.

College of Advocates, Doctors' Commons,  
6th Nov. 1817.

To HENRY ELLIS, Esq.

XVIII. *Communication of the Seal and Style of the Master and Chaplains of the Savoy Hospital in the Strand. By WILLIAM BRAY, Esq. Treasurer, in a Letter to SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. Vice President, &c. &c.*

Read 12th March, 1818.



SIR,

Great Russell-street, 5th March, 1818.

**T**HE Savoy in the Strand was built by Peter de Savoy, uncle to Queen Eleanor, wife of Hen. III. and took its name from the builder. It belonged to Hen. VII. as Duke of Lancaster, and he began to build an Hospital here to provide lodging, food, fire, and attendance,

for a certain time, for the poor, sick, lame, or travellers. Stow tells us, that this king died before he had finished it, but by his will provided for that purpose, and left it well endowed. It was completed by his son Hen. VIII. who perhaps spared it on the dissolution from respect to his father's memory. It did not escape so well in the time of his successor; King Edward's guardians seized it under an act which they got passed for suppression of Chantries. The estates were, however, applied to better purposes than many others were; the king gave them with Bridewell to the city of London, to found a work-house for poor and idle persons, and to enable them to finish the hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark.

When Queen Mary came to the crown she re-founded it, the ladies of her court storing it with beds and other furniture. It consisted of a Master and four Chaplains, and they remained under Queen Elizabeth and her successors. Tho. Thurland was master in the early part of her reign, and is charged with having wasted the goods and estate which belonged to it.

From that time the Crown appointed the Masters, the last of whom was Dr. Killigrew by Charles II. in 1663. The Chaplains were proposed by the Master, and appointed by him and the other Chaplains. In 1661 the Chaplains' lodgings were burnt, and by an Act 22, 23, Cha. II. 1670, power was given to lease them for 40 years. In the Dutch war 1675, the dormitory and beds were taken for the sick and wounded soldiers and seamen, under a promise to restore them; but instead of that a regiment of foot was put in, and the Crown has kept possession ever since. In the time of Charles II. it was much resorted to by the Popish priests, and under James II. they set up a Popish school here. King William settled many French Protestant families in it on their flying from the French persecution.

Under Charles II. there was a visitation of this Hospital, and another under James II. but nothing was done on either. In 1700 there was another by the two Archbishops, several Bishops, Noblemen, and some of the Judges; a report was made, but King William dying, it

took no effect. In 1702 it was again taken up by the Lord Keeper Wright, as Visitor of all Hospitals of royal foundation; four Chaplains appeared, but there being no Master, the Lord Keeper removed them, and declared the Hospital dissolved, and ordered that it should be certified to the Exchequer, in order that the Queen might found another. A bill was brought into, and passed, the House of Commons, to incorporate one Master, one Chaplain, and twenty poor Widows, but was rejected by the Lords, who declared that a Visitor was to correct abuses, not to dissolve.

The building of Waterloo bridge has occasioned the destruction of great part of the buildings which remained.

I am not aware that the Seal of this Hospital has been engraved; if you think a drawing of it taken from one of the leases granted in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, with the long title of the Master and Chaplains there inserted, worth the notice of the Society, you will please to lay it before them. I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

W. BRAY.

*Description of the Master, &c. of the Savoy, taken from a Deed dated early in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*

Mağrm perpet' Hospitalis de ley Savoy in parochia Sti Clement. Dacoř extra Barras Novi Templi London. et nup paroch' bte Marie de Stronde in Cořm Midd vocat' Hospitale de le Savoy ex fundatõe Henrici Septimi nup Regis Anglie avi Dne Marie nup Regine Anglie et Capellanos ppet' hospital. predict', alias dict' Mağrm et Capellanos perpet' Hospitalis de le Savoy in p. Sti Clement. Dacoř extra Barras Novi Templi London et nup poch' Ste Marie de Strond in Cořm Midd vocat. Hospitale de le Savoy ex fundatõe Henrici Septimi nuper regis Anglie avi domine Marie nup regine Anglie, alias dict' Mağrm et Capellanos ppet Hospital. de le Savoy ex fundatõe Henrici Septimi quondam regis Anglie avi dne Marie nup regine Anglie, alias dict' Mağrm Hospitalis de le Savoy ex fundatõe Henrici Septimi quond. Regis Anglie avi dne Marie nup Regine Anglie et Capellanos ppet. Hospitalis pred. alias dict' Mağrm et quatuor Capellañ ppet Hospitalis de le Savoy ex fundatõe Henrici Septimi nup regis Anglie avi dne Marie nup regine Anglie, alias dict' Mağrm Hospital. de le Savoy ex fundatõe Henrici Septimi nup regis Anglie avi dne Marie nup regine Anglie et quatuor Capellanos ppet Hospitalis predict' alias dict' Mağrm Hospital. Henrici nuper regis Anglie septimi de Savoy in Cořm Midd et Capellanos perpet. ejusdem Hospitalis, alias dict' Mağrm et Capellanos ppet' Hospital. Henrici nup regis Anglie septimi de Savoy in Cořm Midd.

XIX. *Six Original Letters addressed from Persons high in the State, in the Years 1647 and 1648, to Col. Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight, chiefly relating to the intended Escape of King Charles the First from the Castle of Carisbrook. Communicated by TAYLOR COMBE, Esq. F.R.S. Director.*

Read 28th May, 1818.

N<sup>o</sup> 1.

*Original Letter from Oliver Cromwell to Col. Robert Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight. Jan. 3<sup>d</sup>, 1647.*

“ Deere Robin,

“ **N**OWE (blessed bee God) I can write and thou receaue, freely, I never in my life sawe more deepe sence, and lesse will to shewe ill unchristianly, then in that w<sup>ch</sup> thou diddest write to us when wee were att Windsor, and thou in the midst of thy tentation, w<sup>ch</sup> indeed (by what wee understood of itt) was a great one, and occasioned the greater, by the letter the Generall sent thee, of w<sup>ch</sup>, thou wast not mistaken, when thou didest challenge mee to bee the pēner. How good has God beene to dispose all to mercy, and, although itt was trouble for the præsent, yett glory is come out of itt, for w<sup>ch</sup> wee prayse the Lord with thee, and for thee, and truly thy carriage has beene such, as occasions much honor to the name of God, and too religion, Goe onn in the strength of the Lord, and the Lord bee still with thee. But (Deere Robin) this businesse hath beene (I trust) a mighty providence to this poore kingdom, and too us all. The House of Comōns is very sensible of the Kg<sup>s</sup> dealinges, and

of our Brethrens, in this late transaction. You should doe well (if you have any thing that may discover juglinge) to search itt out and lett us knowe itt, itt may bee of admirable vse att this tyme, because wee shall (I hope) instantly goe upon businesses in relation to them, tendinge to præuent danger. The house of Com̄ons has this day voted as followes, first that they will make noe more addresses to the K. 2. none shall applye to him without leaue of the two houses vpon paine of beinge guilty of high Treason; 3<sup>ly</sup>. they will receave nothings from the Kinge nor shall any other bringe any thinge to them from him, nor receave any thinge from the Kinge. Lastly the membres of both houses, whoe were of the com̄ittee of both Kingdoms are established in all that power in themselves for England and Ireland which they had to act w<sup>th</sup> both kingdoms, and S<sup>r</sup>. John Evelin of Wilts is added in the roome of M<sup>r</sup>. Recorder, and Nath. Ffienis in the roome of S<sup>r</sup>. Phillip Stapleton, and my Lord of Kent in the roome of the E. of Essex. I thinke itt good you take notice of this, the sooner the better.

“ Lett us knowe how its with you in point of strength, and what you neede from us; some of us thinke the Kinge well w<sup>th</sup> you, and that itt concernes us to keepe that Island in great securitye because of the French, &c. and if soe, where can the Kinge be better, if you have more force you wilbe suer of full prouision for them. The Lord bless thee, pray for

Thy deere freind and seruant,

“ O. CROMWELL.”

my L<sup>d</sup> Whartons, neere tenn att night,

Jan. 3<sup>d</sup>. 1647.

“ Ffor Col. Robert Ham̄ond, Gouvernor of the Isle of Wight theise.  
For the seruice of the Kingdom, hast Post hast.

OLIUER CROMWELL.”

N<sup>o</sup> 2.

*Original Letter from Lord Say and Seale to Col. Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight. Jan. 31, 1647.*

“ S<sup>r</sup>,

“ WEE have received yo<sup>r</sup> Letter of the 28<sup>th</sup> instant, wherein you desire to have the approbation of this Committee concerning the fower Gentlemen by you appointed to watch in their courses at the Kings Chamber dore. Wee thinke it fit that in this businesse you should make your application to the Houses, from whom Wee doubt not you will receive Orders in that particular. For the money appointed for the fortification of the Castle it was to be furnished by the Committee of the Army by the appointm<sup>t</sup> of this Committee w<sup>ch</sup> accordingly they presently did, & desired them to send thither with all speed, & of this, informacōn hath beene given to the Gentleman you mention, who sollicits yo<sup>r</sup> businesse which is all that can be done at this Committee for it.

“ Signed in the name and by the warrant of  
the Committee at Derby House, by

Your affectionate friend,

W. SAY & SEALE.”

“ Derby House, 31<sup>o</sup> January 1647.”

“ For Colonel Robert Hammond, Governour of  
the Isle of Wight, these are.”

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N<sup>o</sup>. 3.

*Original Letter from General Fairfax to Colonel Robert Hamond, Governour of the Isle of Wight. Feb. 5, 1647.*

“ S<sup>r</sup>,

You see by these inclosed Votes how great a burthen the parliam<sup>t</sup>. hath laid vppon me. I doe heerby send to you, That you would instantlie send mee a List of such as are att present about the

Kinge who are psons fitt to bee confided in, if you have any in the Island worthy of that trust, I would desire you to send their names alsoe in the same List: And if you cannot fill uppe the number of thirtie with you, which I should bee glad you could, then I desire you to send mee the Qualitie of those that will bee wanting that soe they may bee supplied from hense: It will bee necessarie That you hasten this Businesse seing the parliam<sup>t</sup> expects a speedy and effectuall obervance of their comānd heerin. I purpose soe soone as I have received yo<sup>r</sup> list to make the number vppe, and lay itt before the parliam<sup>t</sup> to receive their approbation and allowance for my indempnitie; you see by the votes, That the Number of thirtie (of all sortes) Gentlemen, and their servants, Cookes, Butlers, &c. may nott bee exceeded, and therefore it will bee fitt, That a respect bee had to all occasions and necessities of the Household; wishing you all successe in your great trust and charge: I rest

“ Yo<sup>r</sup> assured freind,

“ T. FAIRFAX.”

“ Queenstreete, 5<sup>o</sup> Februarij 1647.”

“ For Colonell Robert Hamond,  
Governo<sup>r</sup> of the Isle of Wight.”

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N<sup>o</sup> 4.

*Original Letter, in cypher, from Lord Northumberland to Col. Robert Hammond. March 13, 1647.*

“ Sr,

“ Wee have received informacon that there are now 60. 83. 48. 50. 166. 21. 11. 8. 6. 12. 29. 15. 39. 82. 53. 76. 41. 85. 76. 41. 58. 9. 87. 88. 32. 88. 4. 140. 75. 164. 84. 26. 99. 71. 18. 64. 44. be 58. 57. 61. 49. 32. 45. 42. in 101. 1. 83. 148. & y<sup>t</sup> the 114. 103. 74. 17. 40. 52. 50. 67. 84. 97. of 67. 3. 99. 21. 9. y<sup>t</sup> no 78. 6. 15. 34. 41. 14. 133. 114. 23. 7. 99. 88. who 107. 91. 15. 95. 50. 120. 87. 9. 100. 120. 56. 76. 61. 34. 77. 9. 46. 15. 11. 35. 33. 1. 3. 53. 18. 164. 116. who the 103. 104. 10. 61. 17.

78. 45. 93. 40. 35. 8. 83. 15. 20. 11. 60. 46. 76. 23. 50. 87. 110. 61. 120.  
73. 64. 47. 95. 57. 82. 12. round 60. 1. 26. 50. 104. 3. 40. 69. 34. to 17.  
65. 7. 34. 85. 64. 1. 81. 50. 29. 52. service 109. 103. 32. 116. 88. 53. 64.  
109. Yet Wee thought fitt to give you this advertisement that you  
might y<sup>e</sup> more carefully watch against itt.

Signed in y<sup>e</sup> Name and by y<sup>e</sup> Warrant of  
y<sup>e</sup> Com<sup>tee</sup> sitting at Derby House by  
Yo<sup>r</sup> very Loveing friend,  
NORTHUMBERLAND.

“ Darbie House,  
13<sup>o</sup> Martij, 1647.”

“ For Colonel Robert Hammond,  
Govern<sup>r</sup> of the Isle of Wight.”

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*Decyphered as follows :*

SIR,

WEE have received informacon that there are now *some desynes in agitation concerning the King's escape, who is to be carried into France,* and that there are *two of those that now atend the King upon whom they rely for efecting this escape.* Who they are we cannot discover, nor yet what grounds they have to expect their service in it; Yet we thought fitt to give you this advertisement, that you might the more carefully watch against it.

Etc. etc. etc.

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N<sup>o</sup> 5.

*Original Letter from H. Ireton, T. Harrison, John Disbrowe, and E. Grosvener to Col. Robert Hamond. Nov. 14, 1648.*

“ Sweete Robin,

“ OUR relation is soe nigh upon the best accompt, that nothing can concerne yow or us, but Wee beleeve they are of a mutuall concernm<sup>t</sup>: And therefore wee hold ourselues much obliged to transmitt you this inclosed (co<sup>m</sup>ing from a sure hand to us) not onely as relating to yours or o<sup>r</sup> particular, but likewise as a matter of vast importance to the publick.

“ Itt hath pleased God (and wee are perswaded in much mercy) euen miraculously to dispose the heartes of yo<sup>r</sup> freinds in the Army, as One man (together w<sup>th</sup> the concurrence of the godly from all parts) to interpose in this Treatie, yett in such wise both for matter & manner as, wee beleewe, will not onely refresh the bowells of the Saints, & all other faithfull people of this kingdome, But bee of satisfaction to every honest member of Parliam<sup>t</sup> when tendred to them & made publick, which wilbee w<sup>th</sup>in a very few daies; And considering of what a consequence the escape of the king from yow (in the Interim) maie prooue, Wee hast this dispatch to yow together w<sup>th</sup> o<sup>r</sup> most earnest request, That (as yow tender the interest of this Nation, of Gods people, or of anie morall men: or as yow tender the ending of Englands troubles, or desire that Justice & Righteousnes maie take place,) Yow would see to the securing of that Person from escape, whether by retorning of him to the Castle, or such other waie as in thy wisdome & honesty shall seeme meetest. Wee are confident yow will receiue in few daies a Duplicate of this desire, and an assurance from the Generall & Army to stand by yow in itt: And in the meane time for o<sup>r</sup> parts (though itt maie not bee very considerable to yow) Wee doe hereby ingage to owne you with o<sup>r</sup> lives & fortunes therein, W<sup>ch</sup> wee should not so forwardly expresse, but that Wee are impelled to the premisses in dutie & conscience to God and Men.

“ The Lord (yo<sup>rs</sup> and o<sup>r</sup> God) bee yo<sup>r</sup> Wisdome & Courage in this & all things, however Wee have done or duty, & witnessed the affections of

Deare Hamond

Yo<sup>r</sup> most intire & faithfull

brethren, freinds, & servants,

“ Windsor, 14<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>ber</sup> 1648.”

H. IRETON,

T. HARRISON,

E. GROSVENER, JOHN DISBROWE.

“ For o<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>ble</sup> freind Colonell

Robert Hamond,

theise.

N<sup>o</sup> 6.

*Lord Salisbury to Col. Hammond. Nov. 18, 1648.*

SIR,

SINCE our last Wee have receiued againe advertisem<sup>t</sup> from a good hand that the designe holdes for the kings Escape, and to escape all suspicion from You, he intends to walke out on foote a mile or two, as usually in the daytime, & there Horses are layd in the Isle to carry him to a boate. If he cannot doe this, then either over the House in the night or at some privat Window, in the night, he intends his passage; W<sup>ch</sup> we thought fitt againe to give you notice of, that you may make such use of it for prevention as you shall see Cause.

Signed in the name & by the Warrant of the Committee  
of Lords & Commons at Darbyhouse by

Your very affectionate Friend

“ Darbyhouse, 18, Novemb. 1648.”

SALISBURY.

“ P. S.

We desire you to co<sup>m</sup>unicate this to the Commission<sup>rs</sup> there, And also, if you shall finde the king hath escaped, to give Us notice with all possible speed.”

“ For Collonel Robert Hammond  
Governor of the Isle of Wight.”

XX. *Observations on a Fragment of a very ancient Greek Manuscript on Papyrus, together with some Sepulchral Inscriptions from Nubia, lately received by the Earl of Mountnorris; in a Letter from THOMAS YOUNG, M. D. F. R. S. addressed to TAYLOR COMBE, Esq. F. R. S. Director.*

Read 11th June, 1818.

I. THE fragment of papyrus contains eight parallel and equidistant lines of the original manuscript, with five interlineations in a different hand, apparently unconnected with them, and consisting chiefly of numbers, with some abbreviated words. It is a sort of genealogy, perhaps the beginning of a deed; the characters are much like those of the manuscript deciphered by Schow, but more distinct; and there is every reason to think them at least as ancient: so that if Schow was right in considering the Borgian manuscript as of the second century, we must refer this fragment to the same period. It was sent over from Egypt by Mr. Salt, together with a variety of other remains of antiquity, many of them extremely interesting, but without any account of the exact place in which it was found. In modern characters it must stand nearly thus:

|   |   |
|---|---|
| ... , του πατρ αμενουφως μητρος τιο . . . τια | Patris Amenuphis, matris Tiu . . tia . .          |
| θης , του πρεσ αιτναιουτοι μητρος θινσατρο    | . . thes : patris Aetnaeuti, matris Thinsatir . . |
| πατρ αμενουφως του τινεσουηρωσ μητ . . η      | patris Amenuphis, filii Tinesueris, matris E. .   |
| τινεσουηρωσ του πατερωσ αμισιοσ μητρο         | Tinesueris, patris Amisis, matris . . .           |
| . . . . . πατραμενουφωσ                       | . . . . . patris Amenuphis . . .                  |
| . . . . . ρου                                 | . . . . . ri                                      |
| . . . . . αυτων του εωσ                       | . . . . . eorum istum ad                          |
| . . . . . ωσ                                  | . . . . . um.                                     |

The interlineations seem to be principally memorandums of weights; λυ appears to be meant for λίτρα, the ι and υ having been perpetually

confounded by the Egyptians; the Δ turned sideways, <, was the mark of a drachm, and probably the original of the modern 3, to which the character of the fragment approaches in a slight degree. The mark for ounces is wanting.

The sepulchral inscriptions are from Kalabshe or Calaptshi: they are very coarsely engraved on sandstones, and emulate in their orthography the accuracy of our own country churchyards.

II.

ΤΗ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ ΔΕΣΠΟ  
 ΖΟΝΤΟΣ ΖΩΝ  
 ΤΑΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΚΡ  
 ΟΥΣ ΕΧΡΗΣΑΤΟ  
 Η ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΑΙΔ  
 ΕΟΣΑ ΤΕΛΕΙ ΤΟΥ  
 ΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΝ Μ  
 Ν ΠΑΧΩΝ ΙΕ ΙΝ  
 ΔΙ, Ι Ο ΘΣ ΑΝΑ  
 ΠΑΥΣΗ ΤΗΝ ΨΥ  
 ΧΗΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΝ  
 ΟΚΤΙΝΙΑΙΣ ΑΓΙ  
 ΩΝ ΑΜΗΝ ✠

Jussu Dei domi-  
 ni vivo-  
 rum et mortuor-  
 um: Usa est  
 beata Aed  
 eosa fine  
 vitæ hujus men-  
 sis Pachon seu Maii XV. In-  
 dict. X. Deus tran-  
 quillet ani-  
 mam ejus in  
 habitationibus sancto-  
 rum. Amen. ✠

III.

ΕΝΘΑ ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΚΗΤΗ Ο ΜΑΚΑΡΙ  
 ΟΣ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΕΤΕ  
 ΛΕΟΘΗ ΤΥΒΙ ΙΗ ΙΝ  
 ΔΕΚ, Ι, Ο ΘΣ ΑΝΑ  
 ΠΑΥΣΟΝ ΤΗΝ Ψ  
 ΥΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΣ.  
 ΕΝ ΚΟΛΠΙΣ ΑΒ...  
 ΑΜ Κ, ΙΣΑΚ Κ...  
 ΑΚΩΒ ΑΜ...  
 ΕΙΣΚΥΝΗΥ...  
 .....ΝΜΙ ...

Hic ja-  
 cet bea-  
 tus Abraam. Perfec-  
 tus est Tybi seu Jan. XVIII. In-  
 dict. X. Deus tran-  
 quilla ani-  
 mam servi tui  
 in sinibus Abra-  
 am et Isaac et J  
 acob. Amen.  
 .....  
 .....

..ΝΘΑ ΚΑΤΑΚ..  
 ΤΕ Η ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ  
 ΘΙΣΑΥΡΙΑ ΕΤΕΛΕΩ  
 ΘΗ Μ̄ ΑΘΥΡ Δ ΙΝ  
 ΔΙ, Η: °Ο ΘΣ ΑΝΑΠΑΥ  
 ΣΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧΗΝ  
 ΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΚΟΛΛΙ  
 ΠΙΣ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ Κ,  
 ΙΣΑΑΚ Κ, ΙΑ  
 ΚΩΒ ΓΕΝΙΤΟ  
 ΑΜΗΝ ✠

....Α ΚΑ...  
 ..ΗΤΗ Ο ΜΑΚΑ  
 ΡΙΟΣ ΣΑΜΣΩΝ  
 ΕΤΕΛΕΟΘΗ ΠΑ  
 ΕΙΝ ΜΗ ΚΑ ΕΝ  
 ΤΕΚΔ ΙΔ ΣΙΟ  
 Ο ΘΣ ΑΝΑΠΑΥ  
 ΣΟΝ ΔΟΥ ΤΟΥΛ  
 ΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΣΑΜΣΩ...  
 ΕΝ ΚΟΛΠΙΙ..  
 ΡΑΑΜ Κ, Ι...  
 Κ Κ, ΙΑΚΩΒ  
 Α Μ Η Ν

† . ΙΕΧ... Ι... ΒΙΟΥ  
 ΕΧΡΗΣΑΤΟ Ο ΜΑ  
 ΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΜΗΝΑ  
 ΕΤ'ΕΛΙΩΘΗ Μ.  
 ΦΑΜΕΝΩΘ Γ  
 ΙΝΔ̄ ΙΔ̄ ΚΕ ΙῩ ΧΕ̄  
 ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝ ΤΗΝ  
 ΨΥΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟ  
 ΣΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΦΩΤΙΝ  
 Ω ΕΝ ΤΩ ΑΝΑΨΥΧΕΥ  
 . . . ΛΠΟΝ ΑΒΡΑΑΜ

## IV.

Hic ja-  
 cet beata  
 Thisauria. Perfecta  
 est M. Athyr seu Nov. IV. In-  
 dict. VIII. Deus tranquil-  
 la animam  
 ejus in sinu  
 bus Abraam et  
 Isaac et Ja-  
 cob. Fiat.  
 Amen. ✠

## V.

Hic ja-  
 cet bea-  
 tus Samson.  
 Perfectus est Pa-  
 yni mensis seu Jun. XXI. In-  
 dict. XIV [anno xmo?]  
 Deus tranquil-  
 la serv  
 i tui Samson  
 in sinibus Ab-  
 raam et Isaa-  
 c et Jacob.  
 Amen.

## VI.

Fine vitae  
 usus est bea-  
 tus Mena.  
 Perfectus est M.  
 Phamenoth seu Mart. III.  
 Indict. XIV. Domine Jesu Christe  
 tranquilla a-  
 nimam servi  
 tui in splendor  
 e, in revivificatione  
 . . sinum Abraam.

## VII.

✠   ✠   ✠  
 ὙΠΕΡ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ  
 Κ, ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΕΩΣ  
 ΤΗΣ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑΣ  
 ΝΙΚΕΑ ΕΤΕΛΕ  
 ΩΘΗ ΠΑΥΝΙ  
 ΙΘ: ΙΝΔ, Ε  
 ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΗ  
 Ο ΘΣ ΕΚ ΚΟΛΠΟ..  
 ΑΒΡΑΑΜ

Pro memoria  
 et requie  
 beatae  
 Niceae. Perfec-  
 ta est Payni seu Jun.  
 XIX: Indict. V.  
 Tranquillet  
 Deus in sinu  
 Abraam.

The Christians of Africa seem invariably to have employed the Julian year, beginning however with September; the pagans of ancient Egypt probably never adopted it. The dates of these monuments affording us only the year of the Indiction, we cannot judge precisely of their antiquity: in the fifth inscription there seems to be something like the number of the Indiction itself, as if it were the tenth year of the fourteenth Indiction: but this inscription is extremely ill engraved, and it is scarcely probable that the antiquity can be so great as this date would make it. At the same time we have little reason to doubt the existence of Christianity in Nubia, from the time of Queen Candace, whose eunuch was baptized by Philip, until that of Sultan Selim, or even still later, notwithstanding the erroneous assertion of Bruce, that there had been no Christians in Nubia for 500 years before the visit of Brevdent and Poncet in 1700. In the tenth century we find a George king of Nubia mentioned in the history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria; in the eleventh, a Solomon, who resigned his crown in favour of his nephew, and became a monk, is noticed in the history of the Arabians. According to Hartmann's Edrisi, Abulfeda in the 14th century, and Bakui in the 15th, speak of the Nubians as being still Christians: and Vansleb, who was at Cairo in 1673, tells us that the churches in Nubia were still entire, but shut up for want of pastors; and this account is rendered perfectly credible by the late observations of Captain Light. The metropolis of Nubia is said to have been

formerly Nuabah, which some consider as synonymous with Meroe: but Dungola was certainly a part of it, and appears to have been latterly the residence of its kings, as well as of a patriarch whom d'Herbelot mentions, in the seventeenth century, as still appointed by the patriarch of Alexandria.

There can therefore be no question that the "Christian king John" mentioned in the Thebaic manuscripts, brought by Mr. Legh from the island Elephantine, and now deposited in the British Museum, must have been a king of Nubia, and probably a predecessor of the Mek of Dungola: and there is no reason for supposing that the Greek emperors had ever any authority in Nubia, much less that they could have been acknowledged there when Egypt was under the dominion of the Arabians. Syene was always considered as the limit of Egypt and Nubia; and Kyrshé, to which Mr. Legh's manuscripts relate, is two or three days journey further south.

#### VIII.

It is only by the assistance of these epitaphs that we can form any satisfactory conjecture respecting the original state of the Thebaic inscription on a marble slab, which was found in the same neighbourhood, but broken and greatly defaced. It begins with the sign of the cross and the word GOD: near the middle we observe the syllable RAH and afterwards KOB; and upon trial we find that the intermediate traces of characters agree with IN THE BOSOM OF ABRAHAM AND ISAAC AND JACOB, IN A PLACE OF GLORY. This singular association of the three patriarchs is derived from the Thebaic version of St. Luke, ch. xvi. where we have the parable of the rich man, "whose name was Nineve," and the beggar Lazarus, carried by the angels "into the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob." The end seems to have been something like this: "The Saviour shall say these words OF COMFORT: COME thou good AND FAITHFUL servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord. . . In the . . . year of the Martyrs of DIOCLETIAN."

London, 8th June, 1818.









XXI. *An Account of a Chain of Ancient Fortresses, extending through the South Western part of Gloucestershire.* By THO. JOHN LLOYD BAKER, Esq. F.S.A. Communicated by WILLIAM BRAY, Esq. Treasurer.

Read 4th and 11th June, 1818.

ALONG the southern part of the vale of the Severn, beginning at the Somersetshire Avon, and extending upwards of forty miles in a north easterly direction, may be traced a chain of Ancient Fortresses, so situated as to be capable of communicating with each other by signal: but before a description of them is attempted, it will be satisfactory to give a slight one of the surrounding country, and also an extract from Taylor's Map of Gloucestershire, loosely taken on a reduced scale, [Pl. XI.] in which is inserted the names of a few large and well known towns, in order to give the bearings, and also those of several other places of less notoriety, but which will afford entertainment to those who are fond of antiquities of various sorts.

At the point where the Avon falls into the Severn the latter river is about three miles broad. On the north western side it runs very near the hills of the forest of Dean. To the south eastward there is (with the exception of a few small hills) an extent of a flat alluvial land of the breadth of from one and a half to three miles more or less. Then a steep ascent, from the top of which the country is generally, but not uninterruptedly level, till it reaches the Cotswold Hills, at a distance of from five to ten miles. Higher up the river the tide rises with unusual rapidity, the sand banks which are numerous, are often shifting their situations, and the course of the river is constantly changing. A few small detached hills stand near it, and about seven or eight miles up it is the Trajectus, near to what is now called the Old Passage, but

many are of opinion (and with very great reason) that its exact scite was at Oldbury. The Cotswold Hills form the south eastern boundary of the vale, and their brow extends from near Bath, in a north easterly direction, far beyond the limits now under our consideration.

1. The first entrenchment occupies the whole of the eminence on Clifton Down near Bristol, immediately over St. Vincent's rock, the steepness of which is a sufficient defence to it on one side. Its dimensions are from east to west about an hundred yards, and from north to south about one hundred and seventy. It seems to have consisted of three banks and ditches, and to have had an entrance towards the east end of the south side. In the upper bank there is occasionally the appearance of ill-burnt lime, so that pretty certainly it has at some time been surrounded by a wall. There is no appearance of bricks. The whole is nearly in the form of a parallelogram, but the natural shape of the ground would hardly allow it to be otherwise. The ditches have been dug with great labour in the limestone rock. It can be seen from Kings Weston Hill, Blaize Castle, Knoll, and Old Sodbury, and most likely from Horton.

2. Kings Weston Hill is the next. It measures about an hundred yards from south east to north west, and about sixty-four from south west to north east. It is of no regular figure, but conforms to the natural shape of the ground. It consists of two banks and ditches, on the outside of which is another bank and ditch, most probably formed at a different time. From it may be seen Clifton Down, Elberton, Oldbury, Old Sodbury, and perhaps Horton and Dyrham.

3. Very near this on a high conical hill is Blaize Castle. On the south side, this hill is impregnable from its steepness, but on the others it has been defended by at least two banks and ditches, which are now overgrown with wood, and not easy to be traced. An old stoned road called the Foss-way is observable up the north-east side, at the top of which is an entrance, and there is another entrance towards Kings Weston Hill. Its shape is irregular, and coincides with that of the ground. From it may be seen Clifton Down, Kings

Weston Hill, Knoll, Oldbury, Old Sodbury, Westridge, and Drakestone; and perhaps Oldbury and Horton.

4. The next is at Knoll Park near Aldmondsbury. It occupies a small but steep eminence on the edge of the level mentioned in the general description of the vale as being next above the alluvial ground. It is a most beautiful and commanding situation, having an uninterrupted view of the shore of the Severn, from Aust Cliff to the Avon, and far down the coast of Somersetshire, together with a perfect command of the Severn itself, its opposite shore to a great extent, and the whole level of the alluvial ground from the Avon nearly to Oldbury and Elberton. A large house, formerly the residence of the Chester family, but now of Mr. Worrall, is built in its area. It conforms to the shape of the ground, and seems to have had its entrance at the north east end, but this is not perfect. It may be seen from Clifton Down, Kings Weston Hill, Elberton, Old Sodbury, Westridge, Drakestone, and most likely from Blaize Castle, Dyrham, and Horton.

5. Elberton is the next. It stands on a projecting point of the same level as that on which Knoll stands. It is nearly but not quite an obtuse angled parallelogram of about one hundred yards, and consists of two banks, with a ditch between them. Its situation is commanding to a considerable extent, but there are many others near it which seem more advantageous, so that it is not easy to guess why this was chosen. It may be seen perhaps from Kings Weston Hill and Blaize Castle, certainly from Knoll, Westridge, and Drakestone.

6. The next is at Oldbury. The church covers the top of a very small but steep and entrenched eminence, about a quarter of a mile from the Severn, and very near it is Oldbury Pill,<sup>a</sup> which, as was observed before, is supposed by many to be the exact scite of the Trajectus. From Aust Cliff, which is high and bold, to about half a mile above Oldbury Pill, the shore is flat and alluvial, therefore most probably this fortress was formerly much nearer to the Severn than the

<sup>a</sup> Pill is a small creek capable of holding vessels to load and unload. It is perhaps a word peculiar to the Severn.

present course of that river. Above the Old Passage the river is very shallow and may almost be forded, so that it was placed with very great judgment. Kings Weston Hill, the Abby, Westridge, Drakestone, and perhaps Old Sodbury, Horton, Dyrham, and Blaize Castle, may be seen from it.

7. The next is in a piece of ground called the Abby, as Sir Robert Atkyns thinks from an old house near it which formerly belonged to an Abby.<sup>a</sup> It is about a mile from Alveston, and near the eleven mile stone in the road from Bristol to Gloucester. Its dimensions are about two hundred and forty yards from east to west, and about three hundred and forty from north to south. It is much mutilated by the plough and other things. It may be seen from Oldbury, Old Sodbury, and Westridge. Most probably also from Dyrham, Horton, and Drakestone.

8. The next is called Bloody Acre, and is in Lord Ducie's park at Tortworth. It was planted several years ago, and the trees are so high and thick that it is difficult to ascertain its size, its shape, or the points from which it can be seen. It appears to be somewhat of an oblong square form, with a precipice on the south and east sides, which renders very little or no entrenchment necessary. At the west end of the north side are two banks and ditches. On the west side there are three, the outward one being further from the middle one than the middle one from the inward one. No entrance can be traced with certainty, but there are many gaps, through any of which there may have been one or more. Old Sodbury, Horton, Westridge, and Drakestone, may most probably be seen from it, but the plantation makes it very difficult, if not impossible, to speak with certainty.

9. Nearly in a line from Blaize Castle to Old Sodbury is another on the Bury Hill, about a mile from Winterbourne. It consists of two banks with a ditch between them. It is about two hundred yards long, and about one hundred broad. Its shape is nearly a parallelogram with the corners very much rounded off. Its entrance is on the

<sup>a</sup> See Atkyns's Gloucestershire.

south side. Westridge and Drakestone may be seen from it, and perhaps some others. We now ascend the Cotswold Hills.

On a point of Lansdown above North Stoke, and on another hill about half a mile beyond the monument, both on the left of the old road from Bath to Gloucester, are the remains of some trenches, but they were probably thrown up at a very different time from the others, and seem to have no connection whatever with them.

10. The first, therefore, is near Dyrham, and consists of a very deep and perfect ditch, and of an high steep bank, which cross a point of the hill, the brow of which is too steep to need any defence. Mr. Camden and Sir Robert Atkyns seem to be of opinion that this work was used when Ceaulin, King of the West Saxons, obtained his decisive victory over the Britons, but they give no hint as to the period of its formation. Old Sodbury, Westridge, Drakestone, and perhaps most of those in the vale can be seen from it.

11. Old Sodbury is the next. Mr. King in his *Munimenta Antiqua* has given so full a description of it, and it is otherwise so well known, and so generally allowed to be a Roman work, that it scarcely needs a description. Suffice it then to say, that it is nearly of an oblong square form, about three hundred yards long, and about two hundred yards broad, with an entrance on the east and another on the west sides, one of which is so defended by the steepness of the hill, that little or no entrenchment is necessary. It stands about a quarter of a mile from the road from Bath or Bristol to Oxford, and about half a mile from an inn called Cross Hands, the sign of which purports to be taken from the reverse of a Roman medal which was dug up there, though the hands are now ornamented with a pair of old-fashioned regimental cuffs, a variety of rings, &c. &c. It may be seen from Clifton Down, Kings Weston Hill, Blaize Castle, Knoll, the Abby, Bloody Acre, Drakestone, and possibly from Oldbury.

12. The next is at Horton about a mile northward of the last. It consists of a single high bank and ditch on the north and east sides. On the south and west sides the brow of the hill is so steep that there

is no necessity for their being so high. It is an irregular four sided figure, at first sight appearing to be a parallelogram, but its west side is about two hundred yards long, its east side about one hundred and forty, its north side about one hundred and ten, and its south side about one hundred and twenty. There seems to have been an entrance from the vale in the north side. In the bank are evident marks of fire and lime. It can most likely be seen from all the entrenchments that can be seen from Old Sodbury.

13. The next is situated on a projection of the Cotswold Hills near Wotton-under-edge, far in a large wood called Westridge, through which there is no road excepting for the passage of waggons when the wood is cut; and there is nothing to induce any one but a sportsman or a woodcutter to go near it; in consequence of which, very few even of those who live within a short distance of it, are aware of its existence. There are two banks and ditches which run straight across this projection of the hill, near each end of which there seems to have been an entrance. The remainder of the work conforms to the shape of the ground, but the wood which grows on it is so thick that it is difficult to gain a correct idea of its shape. It measures about seven or eight hundred yards round the trench, and extends from one end of the straight trench round the point of the hill to the other. It may be seen from Knoll, Elberton, Oldbury, the Abby, and probably from Bloody Acre.

14. There are several pretty extensive vallies or coombes hereabouts which extend more or less into the hill, of course leaving projections of the hill between them. A little beyond Westridge is a considerable projection called Stinchcombe Hill, which ends in a point not more than ten yards wide, called Drakestone. Across Drakestone there are three nearly perfect banks and ditches, but none round it. This is the very highest point of Stinchcombe Hill, and commands one of the most extensive prospects in England. When considered singly it is not easy to guess what could have been the use of a work apparently so insignificant, but it most probably was a sort of Beacon, for from

Westridge, Uley Bury, which is the next fortress, cannot be seen, but Drakestone can be seen from both, as well as from Knoll, Elberton, Oldbury, the Abby, Old Sodbury, Bredon Hill, and perhaps from Bloody Acre and Horton.

15. Uley Bury, one of the largest and certainly the most remarkable one of the whole, comes next. It is on a large projection of the hill, and contains about thirty-two acres of land within the trenches. A reference to the annexed plan<sup>a</sup> [Pl. XII.] will here be necessary. At the principal entrance the hill is very narrow, and very steep on both sides, and the road to Frocester, Stroud, &c. ascends from it, so that the area can be overlooked from West Hill, the Freeze, &c. &c. a circumstance of much less importance before the introduction of gunpowder than it would be now. At the principal entrance then it is obvious that it would be very easily defended. Two pretty large banks and ditches now remain, which command the approach as well as the entrance itself, and a short turn in the upper bank commands it from within very completely. It cannot be doubted that the trenches here were much stronger than they now are, for a road has been made across one end of them which has mutilated them a good deal.

The area **D** is ploughed and surrounded by a wall. Its level is about five feet higher than that of the large ditch within the upper bank. At the point **FF** there was another entrance leading towards a smaller projection of the hill **K**, the level of which is still lower than that of the area **D**. Down each side of this projection runs a hollow way, separating at the top, and uniting again about half way down the hill. Within the memory of some people now alive, the road from Frocester to Uley went from the Freeze by the principal entrance along the lower ditch **BB**, and down the hill as marked in the plan, but a new road separating from this at **N**, and joining it again as in the plan, is now in use. In consequence of the old road having gone for ages

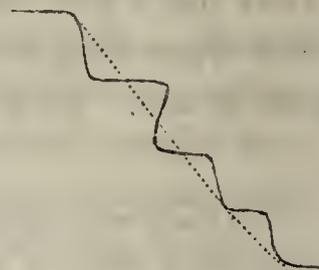
<sup>a</sup> For the greater part of this plan I am indebted to Mr. Samuel Lysons, who kindly allowed me to take it from his account of the Roman remains that have been discovered at Woodchester.

down this hollow way, it is large and deep, whereas that on the other side, which must be now considered, is almost filled up at the top. A little way down the hill an enclosure L crosses it, and it is totally lost, but it is found again on the other side of the enclosure. Now this field is at present laid down in grass, but no doubt it was formerly ploughed, and in it are some meers,<sup>a</sup> which clearly prove that the shape of the whole surface of the ground has been changed, and of course that any hollow way which might have been there was filled up, and this is a satisfactory reason why no vestige of it is to be found in the enclosure.

At HH is another entrance leading towards another projection of the hill I, similar in size and shape to the last, having a similar hollow way down each side of it, the one being a road and the other nearly filled up at the top, but easily traced to an inclosure L, in which there are meers, and through which it is lost, but found again at the end of the field, where it joins the other, in a manner exactly similar to that which has just been described. From this junction a hollow way continues across the valley, and up the hill on the opposite side towards Kingscote, Tetbury, &c.

There is little doubt that these hollow ways were all connected with the entrenchment, and were covered ways, similar to those on Salisbury Plain. Those down the projection K cannot have been made in after times, because no one standing at the entrance FF, and wishing to form a new road to the village of Uley would take the direction of the right hand hollow way, and turn it round to the left to the place where the two unite, and had it gone in any other direction it would have been found, because beyond the enclosure L there are no meers

<sup>a</sup> This word is used for want of a better. It means the practice common in hilly countries, of making a portion of the hill running along the side of it, level for the purposes of cultivation, leaving it nearly perpendicular for a few feet, and beginning another level at the bottom. The dotted line representing the original slope.



nor any appearance of the shape of the ground having been materially changed. Neither is it probable that the left hand hollow way was made in after times for this purpose, because it is so circuitous, but being there it is very likely that it should be used. It can be seen from Drakestone, Broadridge Green, Painswick Beacon, Crickley Hill, and perhaps from Bredon Hill.

16. The next entrenchment like the others is on a projection of the hill called Broadridge Green, just above the village of Haresfield. It is about nine hundred yards long; its sides are nearly parallel, but not straight. It conforms to the shape of the ground, and at the east end there seems to have been an entrance. About three hundred yards from the west end, a strong bank, nearly twice as large as any of the others, and apparently thrown up at a different time, crosses the area, and joins the two banks which form the sides of the work, cutting off a portion of it, and forming as it were a smaller and entire entrenchment. A little to the westward of this are two entrances opposite to each other, and if this part be considered separately it will be found to be nearly a parallelogram, and about one hundred and seventy yards from entrance to entrance. At the south-west corner there seems to have been a sort of beacon. There are two banks and ditches at the west end where the hill is not very steep, but every where else only one. It can be seen from Uley Bury, Painswick Beacon, and Bredon Hill.

17. Painswick Beacon is the next, and is said to be on nearly the highest point of the Cotswold Hills. It is nearly, but not quite, a parallelogram, one end being shorter than the other. It consists of three banks and ditches on the south, east, and west sides; on the north side the steepness of the hill is a sufficient defence. It is very much mutilated by stone digging. There may have been an entrance on the south side near the south-east angle. It may be seen from Uley Bury, Broadridge Green, Church Down, High Brotheridge, Bredon Hill, and perhaps from Cleeve Hill and Nottingham Hills.

18. Church Down is the next. It is on a small but steep hill in the vale. Its shape is very irregular, conforming entirely to that of the

ground. It is rendered very imperfect by stone digging, and little or nothing satisfactory can be said of it. It can be seen from Painswick Beacon, High Brotheridge, the hillock behind the Roman villa at Whitcombe, Cleeve Hill, Nottingham Hill, and Bredon Hill.

19. High Brotheridge is on the Cotswold Hills. On the south side, a bank and ditch are clearly visible, but on the north side a vast quantity of stone has been dug, and several land slips have occurred, which make it impossible to trace them. There may have been a smaller one within it, but this also cannot be traced with certainty. It can be seen from Painswick Beacon, Church Down, Whitcombe, Crickley Hill, and Leckhampton Hill.

20. Just below this entrenchment has lately been discovered at Whitcombe a very interesting Roman villa on Sir William Hicks's property, which he is opening at much expense, and of which a description will be published by a very able Member of the Society of Antiquaries.\* Suffice it then to say, that within a few yards of it is a high ridge, which terminates in an elevated point or hillock, which without being opened cannot safely be asserted to be artificial, though it most probably is so. The Roman road from Gloucester to Cirencester ascends the Cotswold Hills, and crosses the line at or near Birdlip, more than a mile from this spot, and on the top of the hill a few barrows are thinly scattered about. From this hillock at Whitcombe may be seen Church Down, High Brotheridge, Crickley Hill, Cleeve Hill, Nottingham Hill, and Bredon Hill.

21. Crickley Hill is the next. Like Drakestone it crosses a projection of the hill, which is about two hundred and fifty yards wide. It consists of two banks and ditches, the inward one much smaller than the other, and perhaps thrown up at a different time. The outward one has a perfect entrance, defended by an advanced bank and ditch, and is about an hundred and twenty yards from the inward bank. It can be seen from Uley Bury, Painswick Beacon, High Brotheridge, Whitcombe, Cleeve Hill, Nottingham Hill, and Bredon Hill.

\* Samuel Lysons, Esq.

22. On Leckhampton Hill a single bank and ditch form two sides of a pretty large fortress. The brow of the hill from its steepness is a sufficient defence every where else. In the bank, wherever it has been opened, are evident marks of fire, but none of vitrification. It can be seen from High Brotheridge, Church Down, Cleeve Hill, Nottingham Hill, and Bredon Hill.

23. Cleeve Hill is the next and most puzzling of them all. Its shape is almost an acute-angled parallelogram, with the two obtuse angles very much rounded off. It is about an hundred and eighty yards from one acute angle to the other, and about an hundred yards from one obtuse angle to the other. It is on the brow of the hill, which is steep enough to be a sufficient defence to it, and there seems to have been an entrance from the vale. On the other side it is defended by two banks and ditches. There is another entrance towards the western end. The outward bank is low, and the ditch not deep, but between them the space is unusually large. The situation of this fortress is very remarkable. In approaching it, the ground falls almost every where towards the outer ditch, and at the distance of half a bowshot from it, a person may see the area over the bank; while about two hundred yards to the eastward there is a spot of high ground which would be much more easily defended, and about half a mile still to the eastward there is a yet more commanding situation. It is not easy to say why one of these was not preferred as the scite of the entrenchment. It may be seen from Church Down, Whitcombe, Crickley Hill, and perhaps from Painswick Beacon.

24. Nottingham Hill is the next. It is on a projection of the hill across which, as at Westridge, two banks and ditches are made. What defence there was round the hill cannot easily be ascertained, as the ground has been much disturbed; but in a wood on the south side of it, there appears to have been two very strong banks, which probably extended round it. It is one of the largest of them, and may be seen from Painswick Beacon, Church Down, Whitcombe, Crickley Hill, and Bredon Hill.

25. Bredon Hill is not a part of the Cotswold Hills. It stands in the vale by itself, and on it is an entrenchment of about an hundred and seventy yards by an hundred and thirty. On two adjoining sides, the brow of the hill is a sufficient defence. On the other two it is defended by two banks and ditches, which are near fifty yards asunder, and are not straight or quite regular: were they then thrown up at different times? The entrance is at one corner, Drakestone, Uley Bury, Broadridge Green, Painswick Beacon, Church Down, Whitcombe, Crickley Hill, and Nottingham Hill may be seen from it.

Such is the description of this very curious and well connected<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The connection between them and the consequent ease and certainty with which an alarm might be given in case of the appearance of an enemy, or any other communication made by signal, appears to be a leading and most important point. In order to bring it under one view I take leave to copy from the several descriptions as above given, the names of the different entrenchments which can be seen from each; and here I must observe, that I dare not hope I am quite accurate, because since I visited some of them I have heard of others which I did not then know were in existence, and consequently I could not look for them, and because when I was at Bury Hill, Dyrham, and Horton, the weather was very hazy. Several of those in the vale cannot be ascertained from those on the hills, though a fire, a smoke, or any other signal would be easily distinguished. The connection then (so far as I know it) is as follows, but most likely it is more extensive.

1. From Clifton Down may be seen, Kings Weston, No. 2; Blaize Castle, No. 3; Knoll, No. 4; and Old Sodbury, No. 11; and most likely Horton, No. 12; and Dyrham, No. 10.

2. From Kings Weston Hill may be seen Clifton Down, No. 1; Elberton, No. 5; Oldbury, No. 6; and Old Sodbury, No. 11; and most likely Horton, No. 12; and Dyrham, No. 10.

3. From Blaize Castle, Clifton Down, No. 1; Kings Weston Hill, No. 2; Knoll, No. 4; Oldbury, No. 6; Old Sodbury, No. 11; Westridge, No. 13; and Drakestone, No. 14; and perhaps from Oldbury, No. 6; and Horton, No. 12.

4. From Knoll, Clifton Down, No. 1; Kings Weston, No. 2; Elberton, No. 5; Old Sodbury, No. 11; Westridge, No. 13; Drakestone, No. 14; and most likely from Horton, No. 12; and Dyrham, No. 10.

5. From Elberton, Knoll, No. 4; Westridge, No. 13; Drakestone, No. 14; possibly Kings Weston, No. 2; and Blaize Castle, No. 3.

6. From Oldbury, Kings Weston, No. 2; the Abby, No. 7; Westridge, No. 13; Drakestone, No. 14; and perhaps Old Sodbury, No. 11; Horton, No. 12; Dyrham, No. 10; and Blaize Castle, No. 3.

chain of forts, and though loosely made it will be found sufficiently accurate for the purpose for which it is intended. It now remains to conjecture at what time and for what purpose they were formed, and

7. From the Abby, Oldbury, No. 6 ; Old Sodbury, No. 11 ; Westridge, No. 13 ; most probably from Dyrham, No. 10, Horton, No. 12, and Drakestone, No. 14.

8. From Bloody Acre, Old Sodbury, No. 11 ; perhaps Horton, No. 12 ; Westridge, No. 13, and Drakestone, No. 14.

9. From Bury Hill, Westridge, No. 13 ; and Drakestone, No. 14 ; and perhaps some of the others.

10. From Dyrham, Old Sodbury, No. 11 ; Westridge, No. 13 ; Drakestone, No. 14 ; and perhaps most of those in the vale.

11. From Old Sodbury, Clifton Down, No. 1 ; Kings Weston, No. 2 ; Blaize Castle, No. 3 ; Knoll, No. 4 ; the Abby, No. 7 ; Bloody Acre, No. 8 ; Drakestone, No. 14 ; and perhaps even Oldbury, No. 6.

12. From Horton, most likely the same as the last.

13. From Westridge, Knoll, No. 4 ; Elberton, No. 5 ; Oldbury, No. 6 ; the Abby, No. 7 ; and most likely Bloody Acre, No. 8.

14. From Drakestone, Knoll, No. 4 ; Elberton, No. 5 ; Oldbury, No. 6 ; the Abby, No. 7 ; Old Sodbury, No. 11 ; Westridge, No. 13 ; Uley Bury, No. 15 ; Bredon Hill, No. 25 ; most likely Bloody Acre, No. 7, and Horton, No. 12.

15. From Uley Bury, Drakestone, No. 14 ; Broadridge Green, No. 16 ; Painswick Beacon, No. 17 ; Crickley Hill, No. 21 ; and probably Bredon Hill, No. 25.

16. From Broadridge Green, Uley Bury, No. 15 ; Painswick Beacon, No. 17 ; and Bredon Hill, No. 25.

17. From Painswick Beacon, Uley Bury, No. 15 ; Broadridge Green, No. 16 ; Church Down, No. 18 ; High Brotheridge, No. 19 ; Nottingham Hill, No. 24 ; Bredon Hill, No. 25 ; and perhaps Cleeve Hill, No. 23.

18. From Church Down may be seen Painswick Beacon, No. 17 ; High Brotheridge, No. 19 ; Whitcombe, No. 20 ; Cleeve Hill, No. 23 ; Nottingham Hill, No. 24 ; and Bredon Hill, No. 25.

19. From High Brotheridge, Painswick Beacon, No. 17 ; Church Down, No. 18 ; Whitcombe, No. 20 ; Crickley Hill, No. 21 ; and Leckhampton Hill, No. 22.

20. From Whitcombe, Church Down, No. 18 ; High Brotheridge, No. 19 ; Crickley Hill, No. 21 ; Cleeve Hill, No. 23 ; Nottingham Hill, No. 24 ; and Bredon Hill, No. 25.

21. From Crickley Hill, Uley Bury, No. 15 ; Painswick Beacon, No. 17 ; High Brotheridge, No. 19 ; Whitcombe, No. 20 ; Cleeve Hill, No. 23 ; Nottingham Hill, No. 24 ; and Bredon Hill, No. 25.

22. From Leckhampton Hill, Church Down, No. 18 ; High Brotheridge, No. 19 ; Cleeve Hill, No. 23 ; Nottingham Hill, No. 24 ; and Bredon Hill, No. 25.

I much wish this was in abler hands. They seem all, with the exception of one or two, to have been originally British, and I think there can be little doubt that they were the frontier towns of the Dobuni. It will be recollected that the Silures, who were only separated from them by the Severn, were the most active, resolute, and persevering of all the British nations, in opposition to the Romans, whilst the latter were settling themselves in the country, and therefore it is fair to conclude that they were troublesome neighbours, and that more than common caution was necessary in order to be safe from them, which may account for finding so many stations here.

But it has been observed that the entrenchment at Old Sodbury is decidedly a Roman work. At Uley Bury and at Broadridge Green, which seems to have been altered, Roman coins have been found, and at Whitcombe as before mentioned are the remains of a Roman villa, from its situation peculiarly adapted to the residence of a military man. It cannot be doubted then that these fortresses were known to and used by the Romans; and it appears probable that Ostorius, who it will be recollected succeeded Plautius in the year 51, made the one at Old Sodbury, and adopted some or all the others when he prepared, as Tacitus tells us, “*cinctos castris Antonam & Sabrinam fluvios cohibere.*” This passage has been fully considered and often commented upon. Mr. Camden and Dr. Gale are of opinion that the rivers here alluded to are the Severn, the Warwickshire Avon, and the Nen, which at that time bounded the Roman province. Dr. Gale gives a list of stations, along the latter of these, but seems unacquainted with the country through which the two former pass. Now the Avon falls into the Severn at Tewkesbury near Bredon Hill, and I cannot find that there

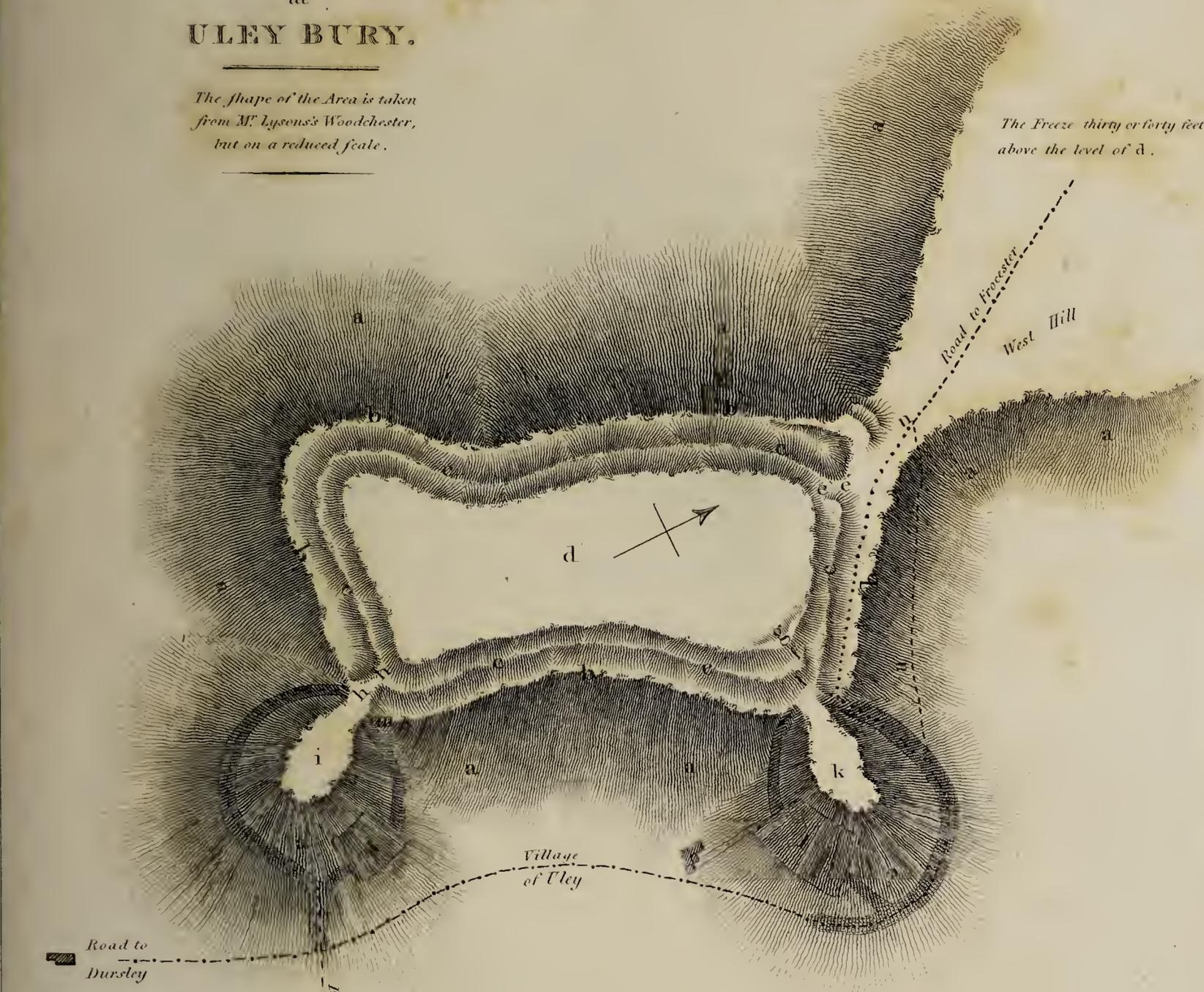
23. From Cleeve Hill, Church Down, No. 18; Whitcombe, No. 20; Crickley Hill, No. 21; and most probably Painswick Beacon, No. 17.

24. From Nottingham Hill, Painswick Beacon, No. 17; Church Down, No. 18; Whitcombe, No. 20; Crickley Hill, No. 21; and Bredon Hill, No. 25.

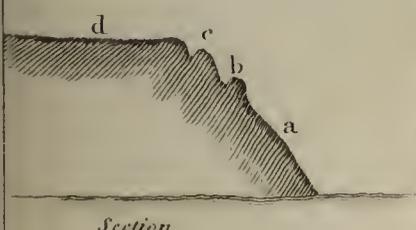
25. From Bredon Hill, Drakestone, No. 14; Uley Bury, No. 15; Broadridge Green, No. 16; Painswick Beacon, No. 17; Church Down, No. 18; Whitcombe, No. 20; Crickley Hill, No. 21; Nottingham Hill, No. 24; and Bredon Hill.

PLANN  
of the  
Entrenchment  
at  
ULEY BURY.

The shape of the Area is taken  
from M. Lysens's Woodchester,  
but on a reduced scale.



The Freeze thirty or forty feet  
above the level of d.



Road to Tebbury through a Hollow way  
almost all across the Valley

R E F E R E N C E S .

- a a a The side of the Hill.
- b b b The lower Bank and Ditch now nearly filled up.
- c c c The upper Bank and Ditch 8 or 10 yards higher up the hill than the last.
- d The Area of the Camp three or four feet higher than the top of the upper bank
- e e The principal Entrance.
- f f A smaller Entrance.
- g A Bank for the defence of the last.
- The Hollow ways.
- - - Roads now in use.
- ..... Old Road not now in use.
- - - New and Old Roads over the same scite.
- h h Another small Entrance.
- i k Two projections of the Hill thirty or forty feet lower than d.
- l l Two Fields formerly ploughed, but now laid down and having meers in them up to which, but not through which, the Hollow ways may be traced.
- m The lower Vallum is here mutilated by a Stone quarry
- n Here it is mutilated by the new Road.







are any entrenchments (with the exception of one or two very small ones somewhat like that on Cleeve Hill) to the north-eastward of Nottingham and Bredon Hills. So far then the opinions of Mr. Camden and Dr. Gale are supported by this chain of forts; and if the communication could be discovered to be kept along the Warwickshire Avon it would be still more materially corroborated. At all events, whether this conjecture be correct or not, or in whatever point the thing be viewed, so extensive and so well connected a series of ancient entrenchments, cannot but be worth the attention and further examination of those who are fond of antiquities.

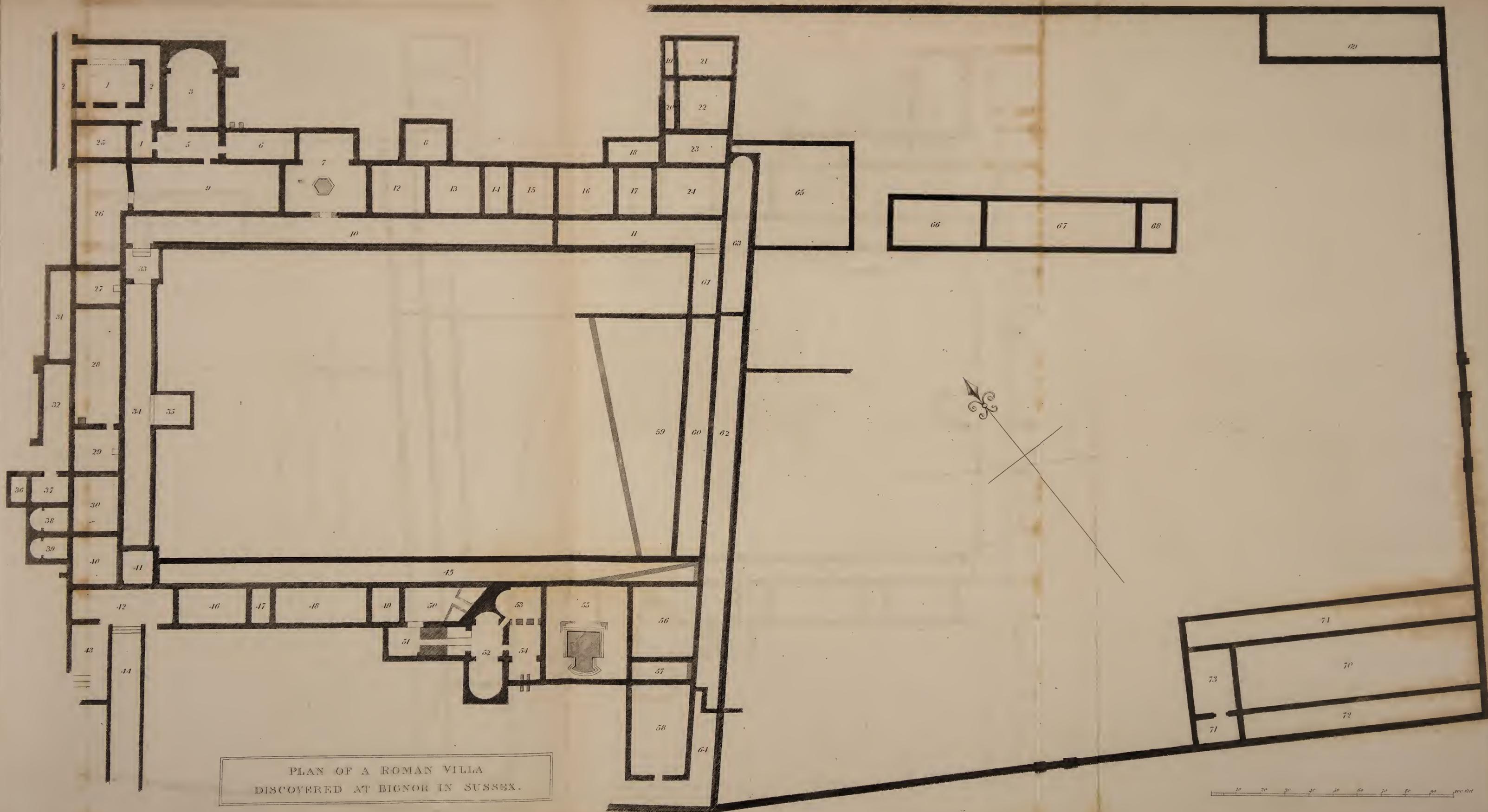
XXII. *Account of further Discoveries of the Remains of a Roman Villa at Bignor in Sussex.* By SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq.  
V. P. F. R.S.

Read 4th February, 1818.

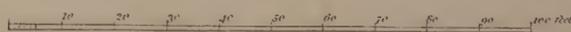
SINCE the early part of the year 1815, when I communicated to the Society of Antiquaries an account of the remains of a Roman villa discovered at Bignor in Sussex, further discoveries have been made, to a considerable extent, as will appear by the annexed plan, (Pl. XIII.) in which the several rooms, contained in the plan published in the eighteenth volume of the *Archaeologia*, are marked with figures from No. 1 to No. 26, and from 28 to 44.

During the years 1816 and 1817, by tracing the foundations of walls on the east and west sides of the great court, mentioned in the former account, it was discovered that the crypto-porticus extended all round that court. The western crypto-porticus (No. 46) was 8 feet wide and 108 feet in length, including a small room at the north end (No. 45) which had a Mosaic pavement, in the middle of which was a rude representation of the head of Medusa, within three circular borders, the innermost formed of ivy leaves, the next of a single guilloche very rudely executed, and the third consisting of a double fret, and rude figures of fish and birds, rhombs, &c. In the spandrils were figures of four human heads, very rudely executed. From the coarse execution of the greater part of this pavement, the design of which is good, it seems probable that it was formed at a late period, after the design of a more ancient one, which had gone to decay. This room communicated with the northern crypto-porticus by means of steps, being about three feet below its level.

Several rooms, Nos, 27, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, and 57, besides the crypto-porticus and passages, were discovered on the western side of



PLAN OF A ROMAN VILLA  
DISCOVERED AT BIGNOR IN SUSSEX.





the great court, most of them extending into an arable field belonging to the Rector of Bignor. No remains of pavements were discovered in this division of the building, except those in the crypto-porticus abovementionēd, and some fragments of the coarser kind in the rooms, No. 28 and 29. Many large tesserae were found among the rubbish in the passage No. 50.

By digging further to the eastward of the single wall mentioned in the former account, that wall was ascertained to be part of an eastern crypto-porticus, (No. 60, 61) which completed the inclosure of the great court; and the foundations of buildings were discovered in the field called the Town-field, extending 181 feet eastward (No. 62 to 71). Several of these buildings were of large dimensions, and they were inclosed within a boundary wall of considerable thickness, not built at right angles with the eastern side of the principal court, but in a very irregular manner; the following being the dimensions of the several sides of this court, viz. the eastern side, 277 feet 4 inches; the west side, 385 feet 5 inches; the north side, 286 feet; and the south side, 322 feet 8 inches. No Mosaic pavements, fragments of painted plaster, or other Roman remains were discovered in this part of the building. The walls of the building at the south-east corner of this court were from two feet eight inches to three feet thick, and well built of hewn stone,

S. LYSONS.

XXIII. *Account of the Remains of a Roman Villa discovered in the Parish of Great Witcombe, in the County of Gloucester.*  
By SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V. P. F. R. S.

Read 30th April, 1818, and 4th February, 1819.

IN the month of February 1818, some labourers rooting up an old ash-tree in a field called Sarendells, in the parish of Great Witcombe, in the county of Gloucester, discovered a large hewn stone about six feet in length; on the removal of which, it appeared to have rested upon two other large upright stones. Sir William Hicks, Bart. of Witcombe Park, the proprietor of the ground, immediately gave directions that the earth should be removed, in order to pursue the discovery, when it was ascertained that each of the two upright stones was six feet two inches in height; and that they formed a door-way leading into a room 19 feet  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 13 feet 7 inches, (No. 1 in the annexed plan, Pl. XIV.) the walls of which remained in a very perfect state, to the height of from five feet four inches to six feet. When first opened they were covered with a coat of stucco two inches thick, painted in pannels of different colours. The greater part of this soon fell off in consequence of the continual rains which immediately followed the discovery.

This room was paved with large stones, of the kind of red sandstone found on the opposite side of the Severn, in the forest of Dean; and nearly in the middle was a cistern  $20\frac{1}{4}$  by  $22\frac{1}{4}$  inches, and two feet one inch in depth, formed by four of the same sort of stones placed upright; the bottom being of clay. On the east side of the room were three projections, or buttresses, one foot six inches square, carried to the top of the wall, and resting on a plinth, about four inches above the level of the floor, adjoining which, just within the

door-way, was a stone raised a little above the pavement,  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 14 inches, (marked *a* in the plan) on the outside of which was a border of brick tiles.

A passage six feet wide (No. 2) was also discovered, leading by a descent of several steps to the room above described; the walls, which remained nearly to the same height as those of the room, were plastered, and painted in pannels, formed by stripes of light blue and orange colour, on a white ground; having elegant ornaments of ivy leaves, &c. between them. In this passage and the adjoining room were found Roman coins of the lower empire, and many bones of animals, among which were several skulls of bullocks and goats, with fragments of stags' horns; and an iron axe similar in form to that which frequently appears among the instruments of sacrifice in bas-reliefs and on coins.

It did not appear that the room above described communicated with any other, but the walls of the building were found to extend further westward, and on the earth being removed, several rooms were discovered (Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 10 in the annexed plan) which exhibited a very complete set of Roman baths, and left no room to doubt that these remains were part of a Roman villa, of considerable extent.

No spot in this island could perhaps be pointed out, more likely to have been fixed on, by one of the superior officers of the Roman government in Britain, for the erection of such an edifice. The situation is particularly striking, being on the upper part of a sloping ground, near the foot of Cooper's Hill, facing the south-east; well sheltered with fine beech woods, having a small stream of water running at a small distance below it; and commanding a very agreeable near view; and a very extensive distant one, of the great vale of the Severn, and the mountainous district beyond it, which in the Roman times was the country of the *Silures*. It lies at the distance of about three quarters of a mile from the great Roman road leading down Birdlip Hill, between the two Roman cities of *Corinium* (Ciren-

cester) and *Glevum* (Gloucester) which was a colony of the Romans, and one of their most important stations in the west of England, being the frontier town, next to the country of the *Silures*, the last retreat of the Britons. These remains are five miles distant from Gloucester and eleven from Cirencester. About two miles and a quarter from the camp on the summit of Painswick hill, and about three from the camp upon Crickley hill.

Several circumstances tend to prove that the first room discovered (No. 1 in the plan) had been appropriated to sacred uses; indeed it would be difficult to imagine, for what other purpose it could have been designed. The decorations of the walls sufficiently indicate that it could not have been designated for any mean use; the stone just within the doorway, separated from the pavement by a border of brick tiles, seems to have been the base of an altar, and the recesses abovementioned were probably designed for the reception of statues, as well as to strengthen the wall built against the high ground. The *piscina* or cistern was a common appendage of the Roman temple or other sacred edifice. The bones and horns found in this place, were no doubt those of victims. This building seems to have been that kind of chapel or place of worship which sometimes formed a part of the Roman dwelling-house; and was denominated *Sacrarium*. On the outside of this building, in the court No. 12, was found the figure of a lyre cut in stone, 2 feet  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, and part of another, which seem to have been placed on this building.

The rooms, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 10 in the plan, exhibit perhaps the most complete example of the Roman baths, which has been discovered in this country; and will serve to throw considerable light on what has been preserved on that subject in the Roman writers. They are not on so large a scale as the baths in the Roman villa at Bignor, but of those little remains above the level of the floors, whilst in the villa at Witcombe, several of the walls still exist to the height of from 4 feet to 5 feet 4 inches, and most of the doorways are preserved, formed by single upright stones. These are rendered more interest-

ing, from the circumstance of very few entire door-ways having been discovered in the remains of Roman buildings in this country.

The room, No. 5, is 13 feet 6 inches by 12 feet 10 inches; the walls, which remained to the height of from 4 feet to 5 feet 4 inches, were plastered and painted in pannels; on three sides were funnels laid horizontally, at the height of about two feet from the floor, communicating with others placed upright, for conveying heat from the hypocaust, the fire-place of which was an arch, 3 feet 4 inches wide, under the wall of this room (at *c*,) in the court, No. 12. The pavement was of Mosaic work, and enriched with a great variety of ornaments, consisting of nine octagonal compartments, five of which enclosed circles; the whole being connected by a single guilloche, and formed into a square by a double one. This square is bordered on three sides by a single fret, and on the fourth by a double one. In the centre of the pavement is the figure of an urn with ivy leaves. The outlines of all the ornaments and the frets are of tesserae formed of the hard argillaceous stone called blue lyas: the guilloches, &c. being red, a light yellowish brown, and white, are composed of a white calcareous stone, a brown clay stone and a fine sort of brick. This room seems to have been the *apodyterium* or dressing-room, communicating with the hot and the cold baths, by different doors.

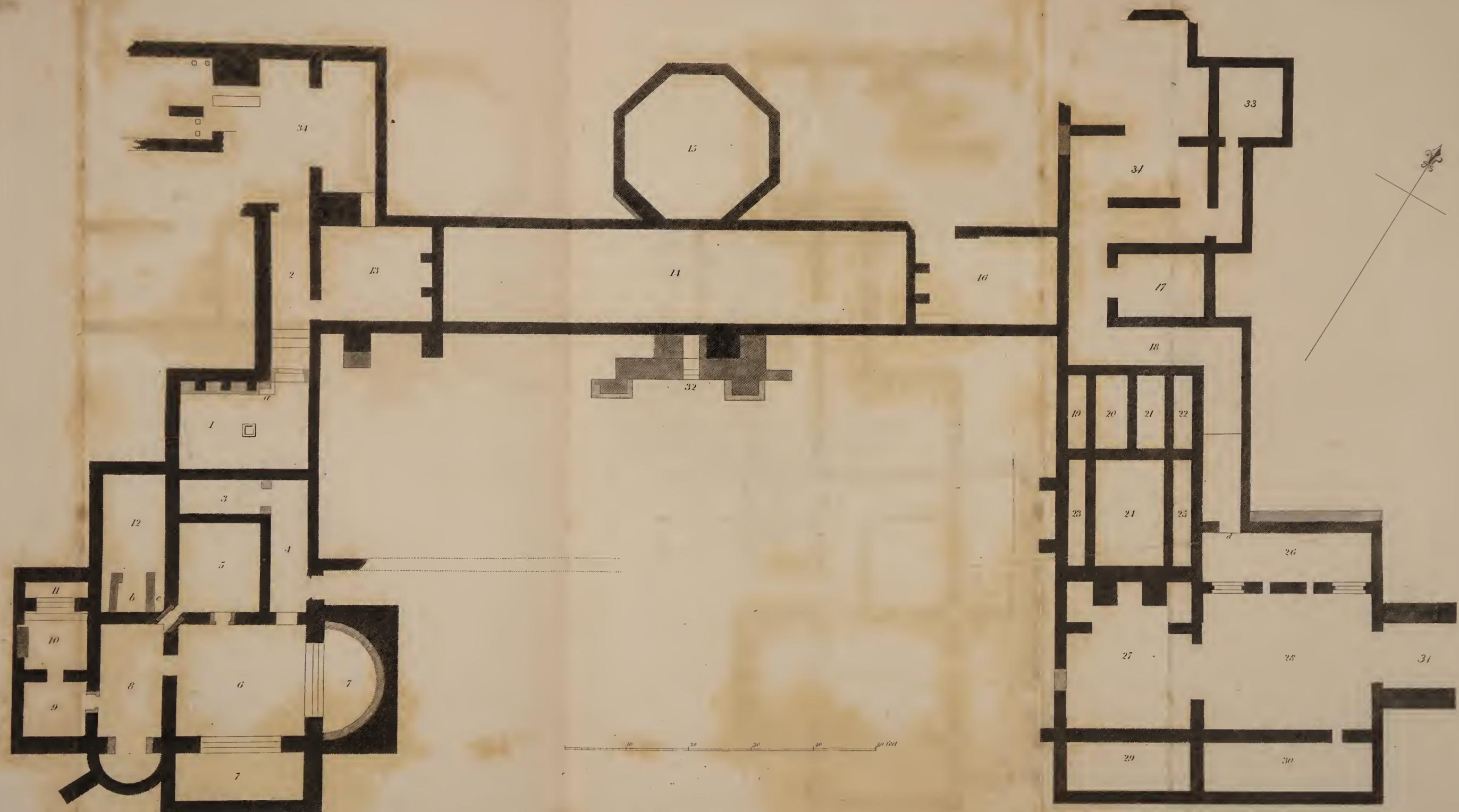
The room, No. 6, is 19 feet 8 inches by 17 feet 4 inches, and has a Mosaic pavement ornamented with figures of fish and sea monsters, in blue on a white ground, enclosed within a border formed by a double fret. This pavement has been much injured by the slipping down of the ground on which it was laid, and some parts are separated by cracks to the extent of several inches. On two sides are *Baptisteria*, or cold baths, (No. 7) the one semicircular, 8 feet 6 inches in diameter, floored with brick tiles, 16 inches by 11½ inches, and plastered on the sides; the other oblong, and 19 feet 8 inches by 7 feet 5 inches; and covered with a coat of stucco, eight inches thick at the bottom, and two inches thick on the sides: both of these baths have been very

much injured; and some parts are separated from others by the slipping down of the ground.

The next room, No. 8, was most probably the *tepidarium*, which appears to have been always placed in the Roman baths between the *frigidarium* and the hot baths, consisting of the sudatories, and the *calida piscina*, or hot water bath; these unquestionably occupied the spaces marked 9, 10, and 11 in the plan. Under No. 8 was a hypocaust, several of the piers of which remained, formed of brick tiles,  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches square; the *præfurnium* was at *b* in the court, No. 12. The sudatory, No. 10, is 8 feet  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 6 feet  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and has a Mosaic pavement, ornamented with squares, circles and rhombs: the doorway between this and the anti-room, No. 9, is only one foot 11 inches wide; on one side of the room is what seems to be the remains of a seat, about two feet high, formed of brick tiles; a hot bath, 9 feet  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 2 feet 10 inches, covered with a coat of stucco, and painted red, adjoins the sudatory; and communicates with it by an opening, 5 feet 7 inches wide, with steps. Round the hot bath and sudatory are funnels in the walls, laid close to the floors; and communicating with the hypocaust beneath, the *præfurnium* of which has not yet been discovered.

The drought of the last summer having occasioned the traces of an extensive range of buildings, to the north-east of the baths, and connected with them, to be plainly distinguished on the grass; considerable openings were made in the course of the ensuing autumn: and the parts of the building shewn in the annexed plan, from No. 13 to No. 31, were ascertained.

The room, No. 15, is an irregular octagon, whose greatest diameter is 26 feet  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and its smallest 25 feet 6 inches; it had a checkered pavement, of which a small fragment remains, formed of squares of five inches, and some triangles of a white calcareous stone and blue lyas. The cross walls between No. 19 and No. 22, and those between Nos. 23 and 25, appear to have been originally subterraneous,



S. Lyons del.

J. Bagnall sculp.

Plan of the Remains of a Roman Villa, discovered in 1818 at the parish of Great-Witcombe in Gloucestershire.



the spaces between them being filled with clay. The room, No. 27, is 22 feet 4 inches by 19 feet 8 inches. It is paved with large rough stones, among which are two querns or hand-mills. The wall at the end of the room, where it joins No. 24, remains to the height of seven feet, with two large buttresses of excellent masonry, evidently built for the purpose of strengthening the building against the hill. Near to one of these was found the base and part of the shaft of a small column with the same mouldings as those which have been discovered in the ruins of other Roman buildings in this country. Several fragments of columns have been found in other parts of the building, but none of them in their original positions: fragments of cornices of white marble were also found in the remains of the baths.

The room, No. 26, communicating with the court, No. 28, appears to have been subterraneous. The doorway of the passage, No. 18, at (*d*) being 6 feet 8 inches above the level of No. 26. In the wall between No. 28 and 30 are several large upright stones, some of them four feet high, resting on plinths. Several large pieces of pit-coal, with coal ashes, were found in this part of the building. The space between the baths and No. 19 and 23 has not yet been opened, except for a few yards round No. 32, which appears to have been a small cold bath. Much of this building yet remains to be explored; it appears to have been very extensive, and I have great pleasure in announcing to this Society, that the proprietor of these interesting remains, is determined to have the whole of the walls laid open.

Many Roman coins of the lower empire, from the time of Constantine the Great to that of Valentinian and Valens, have been found in every part of the building; and a great variety of utensils, &c. the most remarkable of which, are a small *statera* or steelyard with its weight, an ivory comb, a stone mortar six inches in diameter; and a ploughshare of iron weighing seven pounds and a half, which has been presented by Sir Wm. Hicks to the British Museum. Many *fibulæ*, buckles, pins, and various other relicks in copper and iron, have also been found, and a British hatchet of flint, five inches and a half in length, and two and a half in width.

S. LYSONS.

XXIV. *Some Observations on the Bayeux Tapestry.* By Mr. CHARLES STOTHARD, in a Letter addressed to SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq. V.P. F.R.S.

Read 25th February, 1819.

DEAR SIR,

ON finishing and delivering to the Society of Antiquaries the Drawings which complete the series from the Bayeux Tapestry, I think it necessary to address you on the subject, for the purpose of stating what licences I may have thought proper to take in the discharge of my commission, and at the same time to point out such circumstances as have presented themselves to my notice during the minute investigation in which I have been necessarily engaged. I shall beg leave to offer with the latter such comments as I have made, hoping if I have produced nothing that will lead to just conclusions on the age of the Tapestry, I shall at least have furnished some useful materials for others. I believe in a former paper I observed that the work in some parts of the Tapestry was destroyed, but more particularly where the subject draws towards a conclusion. The traces of the design only existing by means of the holes where the needle had passed. On attentively examining the traces thus left, I found that in many places minute particles of the different coloured threads were still retained; a circumstance which suggested to me the possibility of making extensive restorations. I accordingly commenced on a small portion, and found it attended with so much practicability as well as *certainty*, that I believed I should be fully justified in attempting to restore the whole; more especially when I reflected that in the course of a few years, the means of accomplishing it would no longer exist. I have succeeded in restoring nearly all of what was defaced.

Such parts as I have left as traced by the needle, either afforded no vestiges of what the colours were, or such as were too vague in their situation to be depended on. On a comparison with the print in Montfaucon's work (if that be correct) it appears that this part of the Tapestry has suffered much injury even since his time. The restorations that I have made commence on the lower border with the first of the archers. Of these figures I found scarcely one whose colours of any kind remained perfect. In the upper border and historical part, the restorations begin a little after, with the Saxons, under the word "*ceciderunt.*" From the circumstance of the border being worked down the side at the commencement of the Tapestry, it is evident that no part of the subject is wanting; but the work in many places is defaced, and these parts have been restored in the same manner as at the end; but the last horsemen attendant on Harold in his route to Bosham have been partly torn away so as to divide them. The two fragments were ignorantly sewed together. This in the drawing has been rectified, and shews the portion wanting. In that part of the battle between William and Harold, where the former is pulling off his helmet, to shew himself to his soldiers, under the words "*Hic est Dux Wilelm,*" there is on his left hand a figure with outstretched arms, bearing a standard; above which a part of the Tapestry has been torn away, and only the two last letters VS of an inscription apparently remaining. On carefully examining the torn and ragged edges, which had been doubled under and sewed down, I discovered three other letters, the first of the inscription an E, and T I, preceding V S, a space remaining in the middle but for *four* letters, the number being confirmed by the alternations of green and buff in the colours of the letters remaining. I therefore conjecture that the letters as they now stand may be read *Eustatius*, and that the person bearing the standard beneath is intended for Eustace Earl of Boulogne, who I believe was a principal commander in the army of William. By a similar examination of the end of the Tapestry, which was a mass of rags, I was fortunate in discovering a figure on horse-

back, with some objects in the lower border. These are additional discoveries not to be found in Montfaucon's print. The figure of the horsemen certainly decides the question, that the pursuit of the flying Saxons is not ended where the Tapestry so unfortunately breaks off.

Before I proceed to state my remarks, I must urge a point which cannot sufficiently be insisted upon, that it was the invariable practice with artists in every country, excepting Italy, during the middle ages, whatever subject they took in hand, to represent it according to the manners and customs of their own time. Thus we may see Alexander the Great, like a good Catholic, interred with all the rites and ceremonies of the Romish Church. All the illuminated transcripts of Froissart, although executed not more than fifty years after the original work was finished, are less valuable on account of the illuminations they contain not being accordant with the text, but representing the customs of the fifteenth century instead of the fourteenth. It is not likely that, in an age far less refined, this practice should be departed from. The Tapestry, therefore, must be regarded as a true picture of the time when it was executed.

In the commencement of the Tapestry it is necessary to observe, that the Saxons appear with long mustachios extending on each side the upper lip, which continues with some exceptions (the result perhaps rather of neglect than intention) throughout the whole work. But in no instance but one, I believe, is this distinction to be found on the side of the Normans. This exception occurs in the face of one of the cooks, preparing the dinner for the Norman army after their landing in England. It may be also remarked in various places, that the beard is another peculiarity common to the Saxons; it may be seen in the person of Edward the Confessor, and, several times represented amongst the Saxon warriors. It is rarely to be observed among the Normans, and is then chiefly confined to the lower orders. It does not appear probable that the above noticed distinctions existed after the Conquest among the Saxons.

On coming to that part of the Tapestry where Harold is prisoner in

the hands of Guy earl of Ponthieu, a most singular custom first presents itself in the persons of Duke William, Guy, and their people: not only are their upper lips shaven, but nearly the whole of their heads, excepting a portion of hair left in front. It is from the striking contrast which these figures form with the messenger who is crouching before William, that it is evident he is a Saxon, and probably dispatched from Harold.

It is a curious circumstance in favour of the great antiquity of the Tapestry, that time has I believe handed down to us no other representation of this most singular fashion, and it appears to throw a new light on a fact, which has perhaps been misunderstood: the report made by Harold's spies, that the Normans were an army of priests, is well known. I should conjecture, from what appears in the Tapestry, that their resemblance to priests did not so much arise from the upper lip being shaven, as from the circumstance of the complete tonsure of the back part of the head.

The following passage seems to confirm this conjecture, and at the same time to prove the truth of the Tapestry.

“Un des Engles qui ot veus,  
Tos les Normans res et tondus  
Cuidà que tot provoire feussent  
Et que messes canter peussent.”

*Le Roman du Rou, fol. 232.*

How are we to reconcile these facts with a conjecture that the Tapestry might have been executed in the time of Henry the First, when we are well assured that during the reign of that king the hair was worn so long, that it excited the anathemas of the church? There are many examples of sculpture on the continent, which exhibit the extravagant fashions of that time. The men are represented with long hair, falling below their shoulders; the women with two locks, plaited or bound with ribbands, and falling over each shoulder in front, frequently reaching below their knees. The only examples I believe of this kind, that can be cited in England, are the figures of Henry the

First and his queen on a portal of Rochester cathedral. It may be asked at what period these fashions arose. From the violent censures which teemed throughout England and France in reprobation of them at the beginning of the twelfth century, it is not probable they had been then long established with the people.—A passage in William of Malmesbury indicates that these fashions sprung up with some others during the reign of William Rufus. “Tunc fluxus crinium, tunc luxus vestium, tunc usus calceorum cum Arcuatis aculeis inventus. Mollitie corporis, certare cum fœminis, gressum frangere gestu soluto, et latere nudo incedere, Adolescentium specimen erat.”<sup>a</sup>

The figures on horseback where Harold is seized on his landing in the territory of Wido, bear on their shields various devices, but none which may properly be termed heraldic. Neither here nor in any other part of the Tapestry is a lion, fess, chevron, or other heraldic figure to be found; they are almost entirely confined to dragons, crosses, and spots. Nor do we find any particular or distinguished person twice bearing the same device. The pennons attached to the lances of the Normans are similarly ornamented, with this exception, that they bear no animals.

It is not easy to fix the time when heraldic bearings assumed a more decided character than in the Tapestry, but there appears to exist some proof that heraldic bearings were used in the time of Henry the First. John, a monk of Marmoustier in Touraine, who was living in the time of Geoffrey Plantagenet, on that prince's marriage with Matilda the daughter of Henry the First, at Mans, describes him previous to his being knighted as having put on him a hauberk and stockings wrought with double mailles, golden spurs fastened to his feet, *a shield emblazoned with little golden lions* hung about his neck, and a helmet glittering with precious stones on his head. The only representation of Geoffrey Plantagenet, I believe, known to exist, is upon a beautifully enamelled tablet of copper, which depicts him bearing an immense shield emblazoned with *golden lions* on a field azure. The number of

<sup>a</sup> Edit. 1596, fol. 69, b.

the lions is not certain, as but one half the shield is seen, yet it seems probable there were six, 3, 2, and 1, as we find his bastard grandson, William Longespee, on his tomb in Salisbury cathedral, bearing on his shield in a field Azure six lions Or, or 3, 2, and 1.

The beautiful memorial of Geoffrey Plantagenet here alluded to, (a drawing of which is now exhibited) formerly hung in the church of St. Julien at Mans, but disappeared during the revolution. It has, however, been lately saved from the melting pot, to which the unsparing hands of the revolutionists had consigned it, and is now preserved in the public Museum of that town. Geoffrey Plantagenet died in 1150, and there can be little doubt from the style in which it is executed that this memorial is of that date. A similar enamelled tablet representing Ulger Bishop of Angers, who died in 1149, formerly hung over his tomb in the church of St. Maurice at Angers, but was destroyed during the revolution.

Under the words *Ubi Harold et Wido parabolant*, the figure holding by the column on the left of Wido, from his antic action, and the singularity of his costume, I imagine is intended to represent a fool or jester, attendant on Guy Earl of Ponthieu.

There are only three female figures represented in the whole of the Tapestry, Ælfgiva, Editha the queen of Edward the Confessor, who is weeping by the death bed of the king, and a female flying from a house which is on fire. These females, by the manner in which their hair is invariably concealed, bear a strong resemblance to the delineations of women to be found in our Saxon MSS.

The armour represented is entirely different in its form from all other examples: instead of the hauberk being like a shirt, open at the bottom, it is continued as breeches, reaching to the knees; the sleeves are short. Formed thus, it does not appear how it is to be put on, but it seems probable from some contrivance of rings and straps, which are represented on the breast, in many instances, that there was an opening at the collar sufficiently large for the legs to enter previously to the arms being put into the sleeves. There is an apparent confirmation of this conjecture in that part where William is giving

armour to Harold: the former is represented with his left hand putting the helmet on the head of the latter, and with his right hand apparently fastening a strap, which is drawn through the rings on the breast of Harold. The armour of William is fastened in the same manner. In general the legs are bound with bands of different colours, but in some instances they appear covered with mail, and when this is the case it is only found to be so on the legs of the most distinguished characters, as William, Odo, Eustatius, &c.

It is remarkable that a principal weapon used in the Norman as well as the Saxon army, resembles a lance in its length, but is thrown as a javelin or dart. This is the only manner in which it is used by the Saxon soldiers, and there are two instances of Saxons being armed with three or four of these weapons. The Normans not only appear to use them in this manner, but also as lances, and always so when the pennon or small flag is attached. I believe examples of this sort of weapon are very rarely if at all to be seen long after the Conquest.

The Saxons are invariably represented as fighting on foot, and when not using missiles are generally armed with axes; their shields are many of them round, with a boss in the centre, as in the Saxon MSS., and in no instance do we find a Norman bearing a shield of this form. These three last mentioned circumstances are, I think, strong arguments in favour of the opinion that the Tapestry is of the time of the Conquest.

A single character in some parts of the Tapestry is so often repeated, almost in the same place, and within so small a space, that the subject becomes confused; there is an example of this in the deaths of Lewine and Gyrrh, the brothers of Harold; and another instance, better defined, in the death of Harold, who appears first fighting by his standard-bearer, afterwards where he is struck by the arrow in his eye, and lastly where he has fallen, and the soldier is represented wounding him in the thigh.

The supposition that Taillefer is depicted throwing up his sword is a mistake so evident, that the slightest observation of the Tapestry must correct. The weapon in the air is clearly a mace: this may be

proved by comparing it with the weapons in the hands of the three last figures at the end of the Tapestry.

In the Tapestry there is no attempt at light and shade, or perspective, the want of which is substituted by the use of different coloured worsteds. We observe this in the off legs of the horses, which are distinguished alone from the near legs by being of different colours. The horses, the hair, and mustachios, as well as the eyes and features of the characters, are depicted with all the various colours of green, blue, red, &c. according to the taste or caprice of the artist. This may be easily accounted for, when we consider how few colours composed their materials.

That whoever designed this historical record was intimately acquainted with what was passing on the Norman side, is evidently proved by that minute attention to familiar and local circumstances evinced in introducing, solely in the Norman party, characters certainly not essential to the great events connected with the story of the work; a circumstance we do not find on the Saxon side. But with the Normans we are informed that Turoid, an individual of no historical note, held the horses of William's messengers, by the bare mention of his name. And again, the words, "*Here is Wadard,*" are simply written, without more explanation. Who Wadard might have been, history does not record; we must therefore conclude he was a character too well known to those persons acquainted with what was passing in the army of William to need any amplification to point out his rank, but not of sufficient importance to be recorded in history. The same application may be made in regard to Vital, whom William interrogates concerning the army of Harold.

The interesting subject of these remarks has induced me to extend them beyond my first intention. I trust this will plead my excuse for having so long trespassed upon your time. I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir, very respectfully yours,

CHARLES A. STOTHARD.

XXV. *A Defence of the early Antiquity of the Bayeux Tapestry.*  
 By THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F. S. A. in a Letter addressed to  
 HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.

Read 11th March, 1819.

DEAR SIR,

Downing-street, March 1, 1819.

IN the observations which I addressed to you on the historical fact supposed to be established by the Bayeux Tapestry, I purposely abstained from investigating the age of that venerable and interesting relick. Such an attempt, indeed, would have been foreign to the object of my inquiry, believing as I then did, and as I still do, that, to whatever period this work may be ascribed, it cannot justly be considered as furnishing any evidence whatever of Harold's mission to the court of Normandy. But as the whole subject of the Tapestry is now fairly before us, most ably illustrated both by the pencil and the pen of Mr. Stothard, jun. I am tempted to avail myself of the opportunity thus afforded me of adverting to the question which has been so long at issue. This may perhaps seem the less necessary, when I profess myself to be abundantly satisfied with the proofs adduced by Mr. Stothard in support of the tradition which makes the Tapestry coeval with the events it celebrates. As, however, he has omitted to notice the objections raised against that tradition by the Abbé de la Rue,<sup>a</sup> I have thought that an attempt to invalidate those objections might not be unseasonable. I ought to premise that, in treating the arguments used by the Abbé de la Rue as inconclusive, I am not unmindful of the respect which this Society must entertain towards its learned correspondent; nor am I insensible of the obliga-

<sup>a</sup> Archaeol. vol. xvii. p. 85.

tions which ought to be felt by the English literary publick for the valuable information which he has communicated respecting the early poets of Normandy. Though he may have been, as I think he is, mistaken on the question before us, he is so profoundly skilled in the learning connected with it as to render his observations fully entitled to attentive consideration.

To prevent misunderstanding as to the question in dispute, it may be proper to explain, that the tradition which is here meant to be defended is that which reports the Tapestry (or more accurately speaking, the needlework which passes under that name) to have been prepared by Queen Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror, either with her own hand, or under her superintendance, and to have been presented by her to the cathedral church of Bayeux, as a memorial of the Conquest of England.

The first objection raised by the Abbé de la Rue against the early antiquity of the Tapestry is, that it is not noticed among the treasures possessed by the Conqueror at his decease. To this it may be sufficient to reply; that the tradition describes it to have been given to the church of Bayeux by Queen Matilda, who died four years before William.—It is no impeachment therefore of that tradition to shew that the property which she had thus given away (most probably soon after the dedication of the cathedral in 1077) was not found some years afterwards in the possession of her husband.

The next objection is, that it is not included in an agreement made between William Rufus and the monks of Caen, by which the crown and jewels bequeathed to them by the Conqueror were intended to be exchanged for the lordship of Coker, in the county of Somerset. Two remarks readily occur in answer to this. First, that it has never been supposed that the monks of Caen had any controul over this tapestry, as that had been given, not to them, but to the cathedral of Bayeux, which had Odo, the Conqueror's brother, for its bishop, and which was undoubtedly chosen to be the depository of this gift, not merely on that account, but from its having been the scene of Harold's oath, one

of the principal events which is there recorded. Secondly, that even if it were possible that these monks could have had any property in the Tapestry, it is highly improbable that Rufus, of whose cunning rapacity some amusing anecdotes<sup>a</sup> are extant, could have ever thought of putting a long roll of linen, which had no marketable value, in the same scale with the gold and jewels which he was to purchase with lands and lordships. After all, it appears that this intended exchange was not completed in Rufus's time, but that a similar one was afterwards effected by his brother and successor, Henry the First, in which the Tapestry was still not included. But the character of Henry, as the Abbé de la Rue observes, gives us good reason to believe that he would have had too much respect for his father's memory to remove the record of his proudest triumphs. Now this remark (in itself a very just one) shakes to its foundation the argument before attempted to be built upon the fact that all notice of the Tapestry had been omitted in the exchange.

The learned writer then proceeds to notice the dedication of the church of Bayeux by William in 1077, and to remark that in two MSS. of the *thirteenth* century, no mention is made of the donation of the Tapestry, although the forest of Ele is stated to have been bestowed by the king on the bishop and canons. Now it is by no means necessary to suppose that the Tapestry was given at the time of dedication. Perhaps it may be more natural to conjecture that the thought of such a decoration might first suggest itself to the queen on her being present at that ceremony. Neither is it very surprising that a monk who wrote two centuries after the event should either not have known

<sup>a</sup> The most amusing is that which is related by Eadmer (p. 47), who says, that the king undertook for the sum of 60 marks to reconvert a Jew's son from Christianity to Judaism, but failing in his attempt, he insisted on his right to receive from the old Jew *half* this *douceur* as a reward for his having *used his endeavours* to accomplish the object required. The Jew reluctantly consents, and "the devil and the king divide the prize." The anecdote has been often referred to, but it is worth while to turn to it in the original author, who has given it a dramatic effect:

when the Tapestry was bestowed, or should not have thought of coupling it with so very dissimilar a gift as that of a forest.<sup>a</sup>

The next objection is of a different nature. It is stated that at the storming of Bayeux by Henry the First in 1106, that city, with its cathedral, was destroyed by fire, having been first plundered by the soldiers; and it is inferred that the Tapestry, had it existed, could not have escaped the devastation. This inference, however, may not appear to be quite a necessary one, when we recollect how many remains of antiquity have been preserved in our own churches, notwithstanding the plunder and storm to which most of them have been in turns subjected, particularly during the period of the rebellion. And in point of fact, it is admitted by the Abbé himself, that many monuments of greater antiquity were preserved in this very cathedral. Besides, notwithstanding the expressions used by Wace, the authorities quoted below afford strong ground for believing that the cathedral was not *totally* destroyed in 1106. Indeed as the present church was not built till 1159,<sup>b</sup> it is difficult to conceive that during a period of fifty-three years, remarkable beyond all others for the erection of sacred edifices, the rich and important see of Bayeux could have been entirely left without an episcopal church.<sup>c</sup> It may be suggested too with some shew of proba-

<sup>a</sup> It seems not improbable that there is a source left from which some valuable information might still be gained, respecting the cathedral of Bayeux and its treasures, including perhaps the Tapestry itself. From the preface to *Neustria Pia* (Rothomag. 1663, fol.) it appears that Father Du Monstier, the author of that posthumous work, left four other volumes in manuscript, one of which is stated by the editor, M. Gallemand, to treat, “de sex Ecclesiis Metropolitanæ in Neustria suffraganeis; de suorum Episcoporum adventu; successione; synodis; epistolis; *munis*, et præclaribus gestis.” This MS. the editor says, was deposited with the others in the convent of the Recollects at Rouen. If it should have survived the storm of the revolution, I cannot help inferring, from the diligence which the author has displayed in his published volume, that it would repay the trouble of a search.

<sup>b</sup> Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*, p. 77.

<sup>c</sup> That the church was not *totally* destroyed, and that *repairs* were soon afterwards bestowed upon it, will be found on consulting William of Malmsbury, who, after mentioning the conflagration, adds, “*detrimenta Ecclesiæ Rex mirificè resarcivit*,” (edit. Francf. p. 157.) It appears too from Robert De Monte that Philip, Bishop of Bayeux, contributed to *restore* the

bility, that the respect entertained by Henry for his father's fame, before noticed by the Abbé de la Rue, might have led him to give orders for the preservation of this relick. And as to the little regard which the Abbé supposes the besieging army would of themselves have shewn towards such a monument of Norman achievements, he seems to have forgotten that this army (which was perhaps chiefly composed of the descendants of Normans) included in it, as he had just before stated, the troops of the province of Maine, whose ancestors it is well known had been enrolled in the victorious army at Hastings. May it not also be conceived that during the siege some precautions might have been taken by the ecclesiasticks or citizens of Bayeux to preserve from destruction the work of Matilda, the mother of their sovereign, Duke Robert? Whichsoever of these suggestions may be thought the most probable, it is surely too much, in the absence of detailed evidence, to infer that the Tapestry *must* have been destroyed, beyond the possibility of redemption.

It is then attempted to be shewn, that because Queen Matilda did not dispose of the Tapestry by her will, her silence is sufficient to prove that it was never in her possession. This is surely a strange inference! The cathedral had been dedicated six years before Matilda's death. Why might it not have been presented by her during that interval? And if it had, why need she give any testamentary confirmation of it? Why should her will have been rendered a boasting catalogue of her former bounties? But the learned writer maintains that she could not have given it in her lifetime, because it was an unfinished work. This however seems from Mr. Stothard's examination not likely to have been the fact. The end of it appears to have been injured, but the story, it is probable, was not meant to be continued, beyond the termination of the battle of Hastings,

church. His words are, "Ecclesiâ Bajocensî igne combustâ, Philippus Episcopus in ejus *restauracione* iterum viriliter laborat." (Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, tom. 13, p. 305.) If then the church was not *irreparably* damaged, there is no difficulty in conceiving that a favourite ornament like the Tapestry might have been saved from destruction, as well as the relicks mentioned by the Abbé de la Rue.

which, it has been well observed, completes "a perfect and finished action."<sup>a</sup>

Another objection, and one on which the author appears to place much reliance, is drawn from the silence of Wace, who wrote his *Metrical Histories* nearly a century after the Tapestry is supposed to have been executed. Now it certainly does not appear to me at all surprising that Wace should not have thought it necessary to quote such an authority in support of facts which were probably just as well known in his time as those of the wars of Marlborough are in ours. As well might we doubt the age of the tapestry in the House of Lords, because historians have not derived from that source their narratives of the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Or to come nearer home to us, as well might the pictures which adorn our walls be deemed modern fabrications, because Holinshed and Speed have not quoted them in their descriptions of the Battle of Spurs, or of the Royal Interview in the Champ de Drap d'Or. It should be remembered that monuments of this kind derive much of their importance from antiquity, and are never exalted to the rank of historical documents until time has mouldered away most of those which have had a better claim to that title. Wace and his contemporaries probably admired the Tapestry for what *they* deemed the skill of its workmanship, and the brilliancy of its colours, the beauty of its design, and the truth of its delineations: qualities which call less loudly for admiration at the end of seven centuries;—but they little dreamed that, when that period should arrive, learned historians would be found gravely citing as a document what they had considered only as a pleasing picture.

But it seems that Wace has not only *not* quoted the Tapestry, but has varied from it in a manner which proves that he had never seen it. The instances given of this variation are however a little unfortunate. The first of them is very unimportant, for the difference merely consists in placing a figure at the stern instead of the prow of

<sup>a</sup> See "Observations on the Bayeux Tapestry, by Hudson Gurney, Esq. M.P. F.S.A." in *Archæologia*, Vol. XVIII. p. 361.

a ship, and in giving him a bow instead of a trumpet. From an authority quoted by the Abbé himself, it appears that, with regard to this latter fact, the Tapestry was right and Wace was wrong; and thus an argument is unintentionally furnished in favour of the superior antiquity of the Tapestry. The second instance of variation, namely, that relating to Taillefer's sword, may be easily dismissed, since, after all, it now appears from Mr. Stothard's examination, that neither Taillefer nor his sword are to be found in the Tapestry. The lively incident here alluded to, so well described by the poet Gaimar, would probably have had its place in the Tapestry, if, as the Abbé de la Rue in a former paper supposes, that performance bore a later date than Gaimar's verses.<sup>a</sup> As it is, the gallant minstrel lives in a poetical but not in a pictorial clothing,

I now come to the position advanced by the Abbé de la Rue, that the Tapestry is not of Norman but of English workmanship. This opinion I confess I feel little desire to controvert. The question of antiquity seems not at all affected by it, and as it is not very probable that the whole work was executed by Matilda's own hand, it is of little importance whether her assistants were selected from her Norman or her English subjects. Indeed this singular monument would certainly not be rendered less interesting to us, if it should turn out to be of English execution. However, as I cannot consider the learned author's arguments to be quite conclusive, and as they involve some curious questions arising out of the Tapestry, I shall not scruple to proceed with the investigation.

<sup>a</sup> In the Abbé de la Rue's excellent account of Gaimar (*Archæol.* Vol. XII. p. 308) he supposes that poet to have been anterior to Wace, and to have written before 1150, many years preceding the date which he has assigned to the Tapestry. It should be observed that, in support of the story of Taillefer and his exploits in the battle of Hastings, there is a respectable prose authority, at least as old as the poetical ones, Wace and Gaimar. It is Henry of Huntingdon, who says, "*Quidam vero nomine Taillefer diu antequam eoirent bellatores, ensibus jactatis ludens eorum gente Anglorum, dum in eum omnes stuperent, quendam vexilliferum Anglorum interfecit. Secundo similiter egit. Tertio idem agens, et ipse interfectus est.*" (p. 368, edit. Francof. 1601.) A free translation of the verses of Wace and Gaimar, describing this incident, will be found in the APPENDIX to this communication, see p. 206.

The first question relates to the Saxon name *Ælfgyva*, given to a female who is shewn in conversation with an ecclesiastic, immediately after Harold's reception in William's palace;—the inscription being “*UBI UNUS CLERICUS ET ÆELFGYVA.*” It is not clear whether the priest is bringing intelligence or bestowing a benediction; and it is extremely doubtful what female is thus represented. There is much difficulty in conceiving that either a Norman or an English artist would have designated Queen Matilda under a name or title which she never assumed. Mr. Douce supposes that Adela, or Adeliza, the daughter of William, who was betrothed to Harold, is the personage thus portrayed, and he thinks it probable that her name was corrupted into *Ælfgyva*. This justly distinguished writer seems also to suspect that the word might have been incorrectly transcribed from the Tapestry, but this I am assured by Mr. Stothard is not the case, it being very distinctly legible. That Adeliza (or Agatha, as she is called by Ordericus Vitalis) could not have been the person meant, is clear, I think, from her having been a mere child, almost an infant, when Harold visited Normandy. William, her father, was not married till 1056, according to the Chronicle of Tours,<sup>a</sup> though other writers place that event two years earlier. Adeliza is generally represented as the third daughter, and must have been younger than her brothers Robert and Richard. If Harold's voyage, therefore, took place even as late as 1064 (and by some writers it is placed much earlier) it seems unlikely that Adeliza could have been more than four or five years old; consequently the figure in the Tapestry, though of short stature, could not have been intended for her. Some historians have reported that she died while still a child, prior to the invasion; but others have prolonged her life, and married her against her will to a king of Galicia. I have thought it worth while to collect in a note the scattered testi-

<sup>a</sup> *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, Vol. II. p. 342. But I ought to observe, that on referring to the Chronicle of Tours, as published in the 12th volume of the justly praised Benedictine Collection of French Historians, I do not find this date marked, though it occurs in the index to that volume. Some authors fix the marriage in 1053.

monies I have found concerning this mysterious princess,<sup>a</sup> but for the more mysterious portrait I own I am at a loss to find an original;

<sup>a</sup> The history and even the name of this rejected princess are left in inexplicable confusion. The Norman writers, who might have been presumed to be the best informed, are completely at variance with each other. William of Jumieges calls her *Adeliza* (i. e. Alice,) and Ordericus Vitalis, *Agatha*; while in the Chronicle of Normandy she is named *Alle*, answering to Adela; thus confounding three daughters of William, who are generally described elsewhere as distinct personages. Some of the English writers have called her *Adeliza*, and others *Adela*, while Malmsbury honestly confesses that her name has escaped him. Even *Matilda* is among her *aliases*, but I am not aware that she was ever called *Ælfgiva*. Next, as to her fate, Malmsbury has cut it short by asserting that she died before the Norman invasion, without having attained a marriageable age. William of Jumieges says, that she lived to maturity, but died unmarried. Eadmer represents her to have been living at the time of the invasion, for he says, that Harold being called on by William to complete his contract, attempted to justify his refusal by alleging the impropriety of his placing, *inconsultis principibus*, a female foreigner on the throne of England. This phrase, *inconsultis principibus*, seems to involve rather a curious question as to the authorities whose opinions it might have been necessary to solicit. It would be tedious to burthen this note with references to subsequent writers who have transcribed their accounts from one or other of these original sources. But I cannot help remarking, that Ordericus Vitalis, as if this poor princess had not already experienced sufficiently mortification, has related a pathetic tale of her being betrothed against her inclination to Alphonso, King of Gallieia. Having seen and loved the Englishman who had abandoned her, she, with feelings equally perverse and disinterested, hated the Spaniard whom she had not seen, but who was willing to receive her. With tears, therefore, she implored Heaven to relieve her by death from this bondage. Her prayer was heard. She died on her voyage towards Spain, and was carried back to be buried at Bayeux. This story appears to be in part true, though not fixed by this author on the right person. Malmsbury refers it to another nameless daughter of William, with this whimsical addition, that from the frequency of her prayers, it was found, after her death, that her knees had grown callous, translated by Sandford *browned*, and by others *horny*. Baron Maseres, thinking such an extraordinary proof of piety would best accord with the character of an abbess, has conjectured that the person meant to be described was *Cecilia*, William's eldest daughter, who presided over her mother's abbey at Caen. But this reverend abbess was devoted by her parents to a religious life from her infancy; and so far from dying through love or vexation, it appears in the *Neustria Pia* that she reigned in her monastery 47 years, and lived to a good old age. On the whole, it seems that the name and adventures of Harold's betrothed princess must remain an impenetrable secret, not indeed much worth knowing, but serving as an addition to the very numerous instances of contradictory testimony to be found in writers of general veracity, and apparently possessing means of information on the subjects of which they treat.

though I admit that if the difficulties I have started could be surmounted, either Matilda or her daughter would have a fair claim to consideration. Ælfgyva was one of the names or titles of the queen of Edward the Confessor, the sister of Harold. It was also the name of Harold's wife, sometimes called Algytha, the sister of Earls Edwin and Morcar, whose very existence is doubted by Lord Lyttelton; though I incline to think that the balance of the authorities on this subject (to which references are subjoined)<sup>a</sup> leaves her some pretensions to be

<sup>a</sup> It is remarkable, that the wedded as well as the betrothed wife of Harold should have been left by the historians of the day in uncertainty and obscurity. This supposed queen of Harold is represented by a Norman writer, William of Jumieges, (Duchesne Script. Normann. p. 285) to have been the daughter of the renowned Earl Algar, and widow of Griffin, King of Wales, whom Harold had overthrown during the reign of the Confessor. His account is followed by Ordericus Vitalis, (Duchesne, p. 492). No notice, however, appears to be taken of her either in the Welsh or the Saxon Chronicle, nor are the histories of Malmsbury, Eadmer, and William of Poitiers more communicative. There is, besides, a passage in Ingulphus (already cited by Lord Lyttelton) which tends to negative Algytha's existence, by asserting that Earl Algar, who died some years before Harold's accession, left but one daughter, named Lucia, who is known to have married three husbands, the last of whom was Ranulph, Earl of Chester. In support of Ingulphus's authority, it should be observed, that he was not only contemporary with the fact related, being nearly thirty years old at Algar's death, but that he was afterwards Abbot of Croyland, a monastery to which that nobleman was a munificent benefactor. On the other hand, Florence of Worcester (on whose authority very great reliance is placed as to the events of this period) has certainly described this queen as the sister of Earls Morcar and Edwin, the sons of Algar, and has related that, on receiving the intelligence of Harold's death, she was removed by her brothers to Chester (p. 430, edit. 1592). This passage, the best authority perhaps in support of Algytha's existence and claim to royalty, is not noticed by Lord Lyttelton. It appears *verbatim* in the almost contemporary history of Simeon of Durham, and has been generally copied by subsequent historians; but Brompton, I observe, has understood it to apply, not to Harold's queen, but to his sister Editha, the widow of the Confessor (Twysden, Script. X. col. 961). In his construction of the words "*sororem suam Algytham Reginam*," he appears to have considered *suam* as having reference to Harold, who is named in the preceding sentence. But besides that this construction is not the obvious one, it seems improbable that Florence, by whom Edward's queen is repeatedly named *Eadgytha*, should on this solitary occasion have given her the appellation of *Algytha*;—and that this is not a mistake in the printed copy, I have ascertained by referring to two MSS. (Harl. 1757, and Cot. Vitellius, E. XIII. 1.) in the British Museum. Nor does any reason appear why King Edward's widow should have been under the special protection of Edwin and Morcar. It may be remarked, perhaps, that among Harold's excuses for the non-performance of his contract with William's daughter, he does not allege as an

ranked among the queens of England. Could either of these princesses have been the *Ælfgyva* of the Tapestry? The conjecture is, I admit, an improbable one, and I must now leave the question where I found it, just observing, however, that this very obscurity is perhaps a strong proof of the greater antiquity of the work. Had it been executed a century after the Conquest, the leading and well known events of the story would only have been depicted, for its minuter details would have been forgotten.

The figure over which is inscribed "HIC EST WADARD" I consider to be no longer doubtful. The word is not Saxon, nor the name of any office, as the Abbé de la Rue supposes, but is the proper name of the individual represented. I am indebted to your kindness for the confirmation of my conjecture on this subject, by the references with which you obligingly furnished me to Domesday Book, where his name occurs in no less than six counties as holding lands of large extent under Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, the tenant *in capite* of those properties from the Crown.<sup>a</sup> That he was not a guard or centinel, as

impediment his marriage with another. But in an age when wives were easily repudiated, this would not have been admitted as imposing any difficulty; more especially as the former contract might have been held to invalidate the marriage. Yet, on the whole, though *Algitha's* name has generally been found in the pages of later historians, and though Speed and Rapin have called her the mother of Wolf, the son of Harold, who was afterwards knighted by William Rufus, I am disposed to admit that *some* doubt may reasonably be entertained how far the testimony of one English and one Norman historian (for the rest are mere transcribers) ought to weigh against the counter evidence of Ingulphus, and the silence of the other chroniclers of the times.

The question, after all, is one of very slight importance. A Saxon queen more or less will not much enrich or impoverish our Royal Tables, especially so transitory a queen as *Algitha*, who may be said, like the crowned progeny of Banquo, to "come like shadow, so depart." The best apology I can offer for this minute and perhaps tedious discussion is, that the subject has before engaged the attention of so able a writer as Lord Lyttelton, and that many of the points above referred to appear to have escaped his observation.

<sup>a</sup> Wadard's name will be found as tenant to Odo in the following pages of the first volume of Domesday, viz. Kent, fol. 6, 7 b, 10; Surrey, fol. 32; Wilts, fol. 66; Oxfordshire, fol. 155 b, 156, 156 b; Warwickshire, fol. 238 b; Lindsay (in Lincolnshire) fol. 342, 342 b, 343 b. That he was a person of some importance is apparent from the number and extent of his possessions. In Oxfordshire alone he was under-tenant in different places for no less than forty hides and a half, making, according to the usual computation, 4860 acres.

the Abbé de la Rue supposes, but that he held an office of rank in the household of either William or Odo, seems now decided beyond a doubt. This agrees with the conjecture of M. Lancelot, as well as with that of Mr. Gurney,<sup>a</sup> who supposes him to have borne the rank of *Dapifer*, an office concerning which it may be useful to observe, that much curious information will be found in Spelman's Glossary. The circumstance of Wadard being a follower of Odo seems to connect the latter more closely with the Tapestry, and to render probable a conjecture which I have before offered, that it was presented on his account to his episcopal church by Queen Matilda, his sister in law;—nor does it seem unlikely to have been executed with his knowledge, and even under his superintendence.<sup>b</sup> I cannot help adding, that the clue thus furnished to Wadard

<sup>a</sup> Archaeol. Vol. XVIII. p. 368.

<sup>b</sup> This conjecture is rendered very probable by the account which is given by Ordericus Vitalis (Duchesne, p. 664) of the great munificence of Odo towards the churches in his diocese, and particularly towards the cathedral, which he built from its foundation. As he makes a prominent figure in the Tapestry, he may here be briefly noticed. He was the son of William's mother by her husband Herluinus, and he appears to have possessed many of William's brilliant and commanding qualities. Ordericus in strong terms extols his eloquence and vigour, but in another place admits that he had vices mixed with his virtues, and that his character was more worldly than spiritual. Malmsbury charges him with turbulence, dissimulation, and rapacity. Upon his seal (engraved in Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities) he is represented on one side in the habit of an ecclesiastic, and on the other as a warrior mounted and armed for action. An anecdote furnished by Malmsbury seems to illustrate this description. When he revolted from the authority of his brother (who had created him Earl of Kent, and granted him very large possessions in various parts of England), Archbishop Lanfranc advised the king to imprison him. To this William objected that he was a clergyman; when Lanfranc replied, "It is not the Bishop of Bayeux, but the Earl of Kent, whom you will imprison." This brings to recollection a story somewhere told of a German episcopal sovereign who, when reproached with having committed a flagrant action, attempted to justify himself by alleging that he had done it as a prince, not as a bishop. "But," said his monitor, "if the prince should go to the devil for it, what would become of the bishop?"

*Robert, Earl of Moriton, or Moritol* (more properly *Morteuil*) another conspicuous person in the Tapestry, was the brother of Odo, and half brother of William. He is described by Malmsbury as dull and indolent, *crassi et hebetis ingenii hominem*.

*Eustace, Earl of Boulogne*, whom Mr. Stothard has discovered to have a place in the Tapestry, was a nobleman of great influence, which, though he had fought under William's

supplies another argument for fixing the date of the Tapestry at no remote period from the Conquest, for without having any pretensions to historical fame, he would hardly have occupied the niche he now fills, had the work been executed a century later. The same observation may be applied with reference to the minor *dramatis personæ*, Turoid and Vital.<sup>a</sup>

I must in candour admit, that the word *Ceastra* has a Saxon aspect, but I cannot agree that the two inscriptions in which the term *Franci* is applied to William's troops are proofs of English workmanship. It should be recollected, that the invading army was composed of troops collected from Maine, Britany, and many other parts of France. The general term "Franci" was therefore more applicable to them than "Normanni" would have been. And that this word was not used invidiously by the English is quite clear from an Act of the Conqueror himself, printed in Dr. Wilkins's collection, of which the style runs thus: "Willielmus Rex Anglorum, Dux Normannorum, omnibus hominibus suis *Francis* et *Anglis* salutem." The distinctions *Francigena* and *Anglus* prevail through this Act, as well as in other instruments recently published in the new edition of Rymer's *Fœdera*.

The question raised by the Abbé de la Rue respecting the use made of Æsop's fables in a part of the border of the Tapestry, would call for more attention if it were ascertained beyond dispute that these fables were not known in Western Europe till after the first crusade. But as that conjecture seems unsupported, I shall hasten to conclude an examination already I fear too far extended, by just noticing the rules which the learned author has quoted from Freret, for distinguishing a true from a false tradition. These rules (resembling those

banners at Hastings, he shortly afterwards exerted against him. He deserves notice as the father of the illustrious Godfrey of Boulogne, immortalized by Tasso's Poem.

<sup>a</sup> A tenant named *Vitalis*, probably the person described under the appellation of *Vital* in the Tapestry, appears, in Domesday, to have held lands under Odo in Kent; and the son of a person named *Turoid* is found among the undertenants of that prelate in Essex. If these explanations be admitted, Wadard, Vital, and Turoid, three obscure personages, whose appearance in the Tapestry is otherwise unaccounted for, appear to have owed that distinction to their having been followers of Odo; and thus the connection of the Tapestry with Odo ascertains its age.

which lawyers employ in the investigation of a *modus*) will hardly be considered as applying unfavourably to the antiquity of the Tapestry, after the proofs afforded by Mr. Stothard of its conformity in every point with the costume and character of the times.

In thus attempting to defend the traditional age of the Tapestry, it will perhaps be thought that I have allowed it every claim to attention except that of being an historical document. But that it *is* one I have never denied. I have only thought, and I still think that it neither does decide, nor, even were it more explicit, ought it to decide the important question canvassed in my former letter. It is perhaps a characteristic of the literature of the present age to deduce history from sources of second-rate authority;—from ballads and pictures, rather than from graver and severer records. Unquestionably this is the preferable course, if amusement, not truth, be the object sought for. Nothing can be more delightful than to read the reigns of the Plantagenets in the dramas of Shakspeare, or the tales of later times in the ingenious fictions of the author of Waverley. But those who would draw historical facts from their hiding places must be content to plod through many a ponderous worm-eaten folio, and many a half-legible and still less intelligible manuscript.<sup>a</sup>

Yet if the Bayeux Tapestry be not history of the first class, it is perhaps something better. It exhibits genuine traits, elsewhere sought in vain, of the costume and manners of that age which of all others, if we except the period of the Reformation, ought to be the most interesting to us;—that age which gave us a new race of monarchs, bringing with them new landholders, new laws, and almost a new language. As in the magic pages of Froissart, we here behold our ancestors of each race in most of the occupations of life—in courts and camps—in pastime and in battle—at feasts and on the bed of sickness. These are characteristics which of themselves would call forth a lively interest; but their value is greatly enhanced by their connection with

<sup>a</sup> These remarks do not apply to the admirable use which Mr. Turner, in his *Anglo-Saxon and Norman Histories*, has made of documents of the description alluded to, in illustrating the manners, customs, genius, and literature of the times.

one of the most important events in history, the main subject of the whole design. Most sincerely therefore do I congratulate the Society on possessing a faithful and elegant copy of this matchless relic, affording at once a testimonial of the taste and liberality of our Council, and of the diligence and skill of our artist.

I remain always, my dear Sir,

Very sincerely your's,

THOMAS AMYOT.

To HENRY ELLIS, Esq.

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## APPENDIX.

*Referred to in the preceding Communication page 198, note a.*

Gaimar's spirited verses, describing the minstrel Taillefer's achievements in the battle of Hastings, have been already extracted from the MS. in the British Museum, by Mr. Douce, as well as Wace's relation of that incident, in his history of the Dukes of Normandy. But as the obsolete Norman dialect of these old chroniclers renders them unintelligible to the general reader, I venture to think that a free translation, rather amplified, may not be wholly unacceptable. I am the more disposed to this belief, from observing that Mr. Douce has strongly recommended a translation of that part of Wace's MS. which relates to the battle. In the following attempt, I have taken the liberty of blending the two passages, as each contains particulars which are not found in the other; the song of Roland, and the minstrel's prayer to William, being only mentioned by Wace, while the trick of catching the lance and sword, and the odd incident of the horse, owe their notice to Gaimar.

### THE ONSET OF TAILLEFER.

Foremost in the bands of France,  
 Arm'd with hauberk and with lance,  
 And helmet glittering in the air,  
 As if a warrior-knight he were,  
 Rushed forth the minstrel Taillefer.—

Borne on his courser swift and strong,  
He gaily bounded o'er the plain,  
And raised the heart-inspiring song  
(Loud echoed by the warlike throng)  
Of Roland and of Charlemagne,  
Of Oliver, brave peer of old,  
Untaught to fly, unknown to yield,  
And many a knight and vassal bold,  
Whose hallowed blood, in crimson flood,  
Dyed Roncevalles' field.

Harold's host he soon descried,  
Clustering on the hill's steep side :  
Then turned him back brave Taillefer,  
And thus to William urged his prayer :  
" Great Sire, it fits not me to tell  
" How long I've served you, or how well ;  
" Yet if reward my lays may claim,  
" Grant now the boon I dare to name :  
" Minstrel no more, be mine the blow  
" That first shall strike yon perjured foe."  
" Thy suit is gained," the Duke replied,  
" Our gallant minstrel be our guide."  
" Enough," he cried, " with joy I speed,  
" Foremost to vanquish or to bleed."

And still of Roland's deeds he sung,  
While Norman shouts responsive rung,  
As high in air his lance he flung,  
With well directed might ;  
Back came the lance into his hand,  
Like urchin's ball, or juggler's wand,  
And twice again, at his command,  
And whirled it's unerring flight.—  
While doubting whether skill or charm  
Had thus inspired the minstrel's arm,

The Saxons saw the wondrous dart  
Fixed in their standard-bearer's heart.

Now thrice aloft his sword he threw,  
'Midst sparkling sunbeams dancing,  
And downward thrice the weapon flew,  
Like meteor o'er the evening dew,  
From summer sky swift glancing :  
And while amazement gasped for breath,  
Another Saxon groaned in death.

More wonders yet !—on signal made,  
With mane erect, and eye-balls flashing,  
The well-taught courser rears his head,  
His teeth in ravenous fury gnashing ;  
He snorts—he foams—and upward springs—  
Plunging he fastens on the foe,  
And down his writhing victim flings,  
Crushed by the wily minstrel's blow.  
Thus seems it to the hostile band  
Enchantment all, and fairy land,

Fain would I leave the rest unsung :—  
The Saxon ranks, to madness stung,  
Headlong rushed with frenzied start,  
Hurling javelin, mace, and dart ;  
No shelter from the iron shower  
Sought Taillefer in that sad hour ;  
Yet still he beckoned to the field,  
“ Frenchmen, come on—the Saxons yield—  
“ Strike quick—strike home—in Roland's name—  
“ For William's glory—Harold's shame.”  
Then pierced with wounds, stretched side by side,  
The minstrel and his courser died.

XXVI. *Observations on the antient Military Garments formerly worn in England.* By SAMUEL RUSH MEYRICK, LL.D. in a Letter addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.

Read 1st April, 1819.

College of Advocates, Doctors' Commons,  
Dec. 28th, 1818.

DEAR SIR,

THE favorable reception which the Society of Antiquaries has been pleased to give to my paper on the Body-armour antiently worn in England, induces me through your means to lay before them some remarks on those parts of military Costume which were worn with it. The subject however is one of considerable difficulty, because several of the garments greatly resembled one another, and because they were worn sometimes under the hauberk, and sometimes without as armour themselves. On this account Strutt and other writers on the subject have considered them as the same, or confounded them one with another. It would be presumption therefore in me to speak positively in this attempt at elucidation, so that all I shall advance will be offered as conjecture.

It seems to me, nevertheless, that they may be classed under the following heads, in which order I propose to consider them.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| The Wambeys,<br>The Hauketon,   | } Worn under the Armour, or as Armour themselves. |
| The Pourpoint,<br>The Jacque,<br>The Doublet,                               | } Alone, or over the Armour.                      |
| The Armilause,<br>The Surcoat,<br>The Cyclas,<br>The Giupon,<br>The Tabard, | } Worn over the Armour.                           |
| The Cointisse,<br>The Birrus,   | } Exterior Garments.                              |

### THE WAMBEYS.

This word is derived from the antient German Wamba or Wambon, the Abdomen, whence the Saxon Wambe, and English Wombe. The Wambeys therefore signifies “A covering for the belly.” It has however been corrupted by the writers of the different nations by which it was adopted into Wambais, Wambasium, Gambiex, Gambaisson, Gamboison, Gambaycho, Gambocia, Gambeson, Gambison, Gamvisum, Gombeson, Gaubeson, Goubisson, and Gobisson.

Even Cluverius seems not to have distinguished this under-habit from the others, for in his *Antiquitates Germ. Lib. 1. c. 16*, he says, “Eam vestium partem, quam vulgus nunc Latinorum Thoracem appellat, patria vero lingua Wammes, et inferioris Germaniæ dialectus Wambeis, Dania Wames, Hispani Jubon, Itali Giupone, Galli Pourpoint, Angli et Leodicenses ad Mosam amnem Doblet,” &c. “That piece of clothing, which is now by the vulgar called the Roman Thorax, but in the country language Wammes, and in the dialect of Lower Germany Wambeis, in Denmark Wames, by the Spaniards Jubon, the Italians Giupone, the French Pourpoint, the English and the inhabitants of Liége on the river Meuse, Doblet,” &c. Strutt delivers the same sentiments, though without noticing that the remark had been previously made.

With respect to the composition of this vestment, the Scholiast on Thucydides states it to be Πῖλον τὸ ἐξ ἐρίου πηκλὸν, “a body-covering of wool beat up together closely,” and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his *Tactics* Στολὰς εἶχον οἱ τοιοῦτοι ψιλοὶ ἰσχυρὰς καὶ πηκτας, “a stout military vest of felt, such as is worn by light troops.” An anonymous author, *De Rebus bellicis Notitiæ Imperii subjectum*, says it is Vestimenti genus quod de coactili ad mensuram et tutelam pectoris humani conficitur, de mollibus lanis. A kind of garment made to the full size of the breast, in order to protect it, of felt and soft wool.

Nicetas in his 1st book of the *Life of the Emperor Isaac* describes it as “a quilted tunic well stuffed with wool, that had been washed, and beat up with vinegar, and therefore supposed to resist steel.” In

an Account of Expences, entitled *Computis Baillivorum Franciæ*, an. 1268, one of the items is *Expensæ pro cendatis, bourra ad Gambesones, Tapetis, &c.* “Money paid for Sandal, for flocks for Gambesons, for embroidery,” &c. It is described in the *Chronicon Colmariense* an. 1298 as *Tunicam spissam ex lino et stuppa, vel veteribus pannis consutam.* “A thick tunic with flax and tow, or pieces of old cloth sewn within it.”

From a Roll in the Chamber of Accounts at Paris, an. 1332, quoted by Du Cange, we learn that this habiliment was made by the Armourers, for the item runs “*Adæ armentario 40 sol 4 den. pro factione Gambesonarum.*” “To Ada the armourer 40 sol 4 den. for the making of Gambesons.”

It was worn under the Hauberk, for the *Chronicon Colmariense* informs us that *desuper camisiam ferream*, “upon it was put the shirt of mail;” and as the anonymous author before cited observes, its object was to prevent the body being galled by the armour, *ut hoc inducta primum Lorica vel Clibanus aut his similia, fragilitatem corporis ponderis asperitate non læderunt;* “That this being put on first the Hauberk, or Clibanus (so called from its resemblance to flagree work) or other kinds of body-armour, might not by the asperity of their weight do any injury to the delicate parts of the body.” The Scholiast on Thucydides describes it, *ὡσπερ θωράκιον τι, ὑπὸ τὰ στήθη, ὃ ἐνδουομεθα,* “as a kind of thorax which was put on under the pectoral:” and the words of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus are *ἀντὶ κλιβανίων, καὶ λωρικίων* “put on before the Clibani and the Loricæ.” On this account it was sometimes called *Subarmale*.

From the expression of Lord De Joinville, I am inclined to think that the Wambeys was so tightly stuffed that it would not have curved round the body were it not for several longitudinal slashes made on the outside and stitched down; for in his Account of the Campaign of St. Louis he tells us “he found luckily a Goubison of coarse cloth which had belonged to a Saracen, and turning *the slit part* inward, he made a sort of shield, which was of much service to him.” The parallel lines made by this contrivance appear on several monuments

below the hauberk, and are well defined in that of a knight in Hitchendon church, Herts. The Norman writers also affirm that it was worn under the hauberk. Thus William de Guignaville, in his MS. entitled *Le Pelerinage de L'ame*, says—

Là sont heaumes et hauberjons,  
Gorgeretes et Gambisons.

There are helmets and haubergeons,  
Gorgetts and Gambisons.

But that it was put on as a tunic is more evident from a subsequent passage.

Le Gambison vesti Jesus  
Quant por ti en croix fu pendus.

Jesus was clad in a Gambison  
When for thee he was suspended on the Cross.

And William Brito in his *Phillipics*, Lib. II. has

Gambesumque audax forat et thoraca trilicem.

And boldly pierced his Gambison, and treliced Broigne.

The armour being mentioned last merely on account of the metre.

The Wambeys is described as generally having sleeves, for Albertus Argentin. pag. 104, has this passage—*Ubi manicas Wambasii sui fractas cum novis peceis reparans*: “repairing the sleeves of his Wambeys with new pieces where they were torn.” We further learn from this author that it was generally of a red colour, for in page 112 he says, *Quidam carnifex Episcopum super dextrario in rubea Wambasia circumventum . . . . . cuspide perforavit*. “A certain butcher thrust his . . . . . lance through a bishop riding on a charger clad in a red Wambeys.” The parallel lines before spoken of representing the *slit-part* of the Wambeys may be seen not only below the hauberk, but also on the wrists and necks of several sepulchral effigies of the Bourbon family in the 1st vol. of Montfaucon’s *Monarchie Française*.

The Gambeson, however, was sometimes used instead of a coat of mail, being found sufficiently strong to resist the ordinary force of a weapon. Thus the *Roman de Gaydon MS.* says—

A ces paroles li vavasors s'arma  
D'un Gambison viez enfumé qu'il a.

At these words the Vassal armed himself  
With an old smoky Gambison which he had.

And the Roman de Jordain MS. tells us—

Chascun avoit son Gambison vestu.  
Every one had clothed himself in his Gambison.

So likewise the Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie says—

Plusours ourent vestus Hambeis  
Cojures ont chaint et Carquois.

Many were clad in the Hambeis  
Being girt with belts and quivers.

This seems to point out that it was appropriated to the Infantry, and indeed it seems at first to have been allowed only to such as through insufficiency of fortune were unable to purchase the more costly hauberks of mail. Thus Roger Hoveden sub anno 1181 says, *Omnis autem homo habens in catallo 40 vel 30 vel 25 libras Andegavensis monetæ, ad minus haberet albergellum, et capellum ferreum, et lanceam et gladium; cæteri autem omnes haberent Wambasium, capellum ferreum et lanceum et gladium.* “Every man having chattels to the value of 40, 30, or 25 pounds of the money of Anjou, must at least have an Haubergeon, a chapel de fer, a lance and a sword; and all others must possess a Wambasium, a chapel de fer, a lance and a sword.” The same ordinance appears in the old *Costumier* of Normandy, *Se n'est pas Chevalier, ne il n'a point de fieu de Hauberc . . . l'amende l' y doit estre par un roncin, par un Gambiex, par un chapel, et par un lance.* “If he happens not to be a Knight, and does not possess a fief de Hauberc, the appearance with which he must make amends must be a horse of inferior kind, a Gambiex, a chapel and a lance.” Thus Guillaume le Breton notices this among the variety of armour worn in the twelfth century.

*Pectora tot Coriis tot Gambesonibus armant.*

So many arm their breasts with Coria, so many with Gambesons.

I conceive the *Corium* to be that habit which resembles in shape a tunic, but is covered with overlapping flaps of leather of two colours. It appears in the Bayeux tapestry on persons of consequence, but in an illuminated MS. in the Bodleian Library 86 Arch B, it is worn by a common soldier. It is called *Corietum* in the *Leges Normann: apud Ludewig* in this passage: *Ad diem autem duelli assignatam debent se pugilles in curiâ Justiciario offerre, antequam hora meridiei sit transacta; apparati in Corietis vel tunicis consuetis et cum scutis et baculis cornutis armati.* “On the day assigned for the duel, the combatants ought to present themselves in the Justice hall before twelve o’clock has expired, clad in *Corieta* or in stitched tunics (*Wambeys* or *Hauquetons*), and armed with shields and batons having two horns.”

The stitching of those *Wambeys* which were worn without other armour was made very ornamental, and gave rise to the *Pourpoint*. Hence in the *Pelerinage de l’ame* we read—

De tout ainsi comme fait est  
De pontures le Goubisson  
Pourquoi *Pourpoint* le appelle-t-on.

Entirely covered as the *Gaubisson*  
Is made to be with punctures,  
On that account it is called *Pourpoint*.

This and several other passages in this poem seem to indicate that it was the same as the *Pourpoint*. The *Consuetudo Brageriaci*, art. 28, points to something of this kind. *Item armaturæ, utpote enses, lanceæ, scuta, boglaria, loricae platae, pileus ferreus sive capellus, perponcha sive Gambaycho, guisarma, nec alia genera armorum necessaria ad tuitionem corporis pro ullo debitu pignorentur.* “Also arms, as swords, lances, shields, bucklers, breast and back plates, a steel cap or *chappelle*, a *Pourpoint* or *Gambeson*, *guisarmes*, nor any other kind of arms necessary for the defence of the body, shall be pledged for any debt.” But in a Charter of Philip the Fair, an. 1303, they are evidently distinguished, for the words are, *Et seront armez de porpains et de hauberjons, ou de Gambaisons.* “And they shall be armed with *pourpoints* and with *haubergeons* or with *Gambesons*.”

In the same manner it was sometimes confounded with the Hauqueton, for it is evidently that which is described in the Siege of Karleverok MS. in the Cotton Library.

Meinte heaume, et meint chapeau burni  
Meint riche Gamboison guarni  
De soie de cadas, et coton,  
En lour venue veist on.

Many a helmet, and many a chapelle burnished  
Many a rich Gambeson furnished  
With silk, with tow of silk, and with cotton,  
On their arrival they put on.

Probably then the Wambeys which was worn without a hauberk was nearly the same as the Pourpoint; and it appears from the lines just quoted, that under such circumstances the materials were sometimes changed to those of the Hauqueton.

Indeed I am led to imagine that the Wambeys which was worn alone is more strictly that which the French termed *Cote gamboisée*, and I am more than ever inclined to think that we see it in those representations which I called hesitatingly Banded-armour. The objection I then started, that kings are depicted as wearing it, is materially lessened by making this distinction between the Wambeys, and *Cote gamboisée*, particularly as we find the latter frequently enumerated in the inventories of arms belonging to the kings of France. Thus in one dated 1316 we have, *Item une Cote gamboisée de cendal blanc, item 2 tunicles et un gamboison de bordure des armes de France; item un Cuissiaux gamboisez, et uns esquivelans de cuir.* “Also a gamboised coat of white sandal, also two tunicles and a Gamboison with a border of the arms of France; also a thigh-piece gamboised, and a guard-lance of leather.” William Guiart under the year 1298 speaks of it by this name—

Que seul des Cotes gambesies  
Pouvoit-on emplir maintes jailles.

That with gamboised coats alone  
Could one fill many standard measures.

And under 1304—

Espées d'estos et de taille,

Cotes gambesies, ventailles.

Swords to thrust and cut,

Gamboised coats and Ventailles.

In the MS. Statutes des armoiers et coustepointiers de Paris we read, Item se l'en fait cotes gamboisiées, que elles soient couchées deuëment sur neufves estoffes et pointées, enfermées, faites à deux fois, bien et nettement emplies de bonnes estoffes, soient de cotton, ou d'autres estoffes, &c. "Also if any one makes gamboised coats, that they may be laid two-fold on new stuffs and stitched, compact, made double proof, well and neatly filled with good stuff, whether of cotton or other stuffs," &c. Further on, reference is made to Houpelandes Gamboisiées, "Gamboised shagged cloaks." Other Statutes of the year 1296 decree, Que nul doresnavant ne puist faire Cote gamboisiée, ou il n'ait 3 livres de cotton tout net, si elles ne sont faites en fremes, et au dessous soient faites entremains, et que il y ait un ply de vieil linge, enprez l'endroit, de demie aulne, et demy quartier devant, et autant derriere. "That no one henceforth may make any gamboised coat, which has not three pounds neat of cotton, when made in a frame, or under when made by hand, and that there be a fold of old linen near the place of half a yard and an eighth before, and as much behind."

Indeed Gamboisié seems to have implied stitched and padded work generally, for in an account of Rob<sup>t</sup> de Seris in the Royal deposit of charters in France, one of the items is, Une selle de la taille d'Alemagne et ce siege de cendail vermeil, gamboisié et pourfillée d'or. "A saddle of the German shape, and its seat of vermilion sandal, gamboised and stitched with gold."

The Wambeys likewise under the title of Gambaiseure formed a covering for horses, for in a letter of John king of France, an. 1353, is Que chascun ait le plus qu'il pourra de chevaux couvers de mailles et de gambaiseure. "That every one should have as many horses as he could, covered with mail and with padded work." The inventory of

arms before cited, an. 1316, calls this *Couverture de gamboisons*, “a housing of gambesons.”

The Wambeys, as we have seen, descended to the middle of the thigh, and had sleeves; a similar garment, but without sleeves, was worn by the women to regulate their shape. Fauchet, who was contemporary with our Queen Elizabeth, observes however, that it was not so stout or strong either in materials or quilting. We have the figure of a woman thus represented without any other clothing in a MS. in the Cotton Lib. marked Tib. A. VII. entitled “The Pilgrim.” The poem states, that

Save a Gambesoun (she) was naked.

And speaking of herself she says,

And the world I have forsake,  
Richesse and alle pocessyoun,  
Save only this Gambesoun.

The result of this inquiry into the Wambeys acquaints us, that when worn under the body-armour it was a tunic with sleeves, which reached nearly to the knees, made of stout coarse linen cloth stuffed with flax, tow, flocks, or bits of old woollen cloth sewn down longitudinally, so as to have the appearance externally of clefts; that when worn as an outer garment, the materials with which it was wadded were cotton and silk, like the *Hauqueton*, and that it was sometimes so superbly stitched as to render it almost the same as the *Pourpoint*.

### THE HAUQUETON.

Called also *Hoqueton*, *Haukton*, *Auketon*, *Aketon*, and *Akton*. The origin of this word is involved in some obscurity. Boxhornius would willingly give it a British derivation, and says it was so called from the Welsh word *Actuum*, which he adds implies a double-cuirass; but unfortunately for this etymology there is no word in that language which bears the slightest analogy to this supposed source. Perizonius says it comes from the Greek  $\delta \chiιτων$ , but surely the article would not have been thus corrupted. It has undoubtedly a Gothic

origin, and I am inclined to refer it to the German language; from Hauen to hew, cut or tear, and Quittung, a getting rid or quittance; hence it would imply "an obstacle to wounds."

From the MS. Chronicle of Bertrand Du Guesclin, compiled at the commencement of the fifteenth century, we learn that it was made of buckram, for it observes,

Le Hauqueton fut fort ; qui fut de bouquerant.

The Hauqueton was strong, being made of buckram.

And from the Roman du Ride et du Ladre that it was stuffed with cotton.

Se tu vueil un Auqueton  
Ne l'empli mie de coton,  
Mais d'œuvres de misericorde  
Afin que Diablies ne te morde.

If you wish to have a Hauqueton  
Do not fill it with cotton,  
But with works of mercy,  
In order that you be not bit by Devils.

We are further informed by a wardrobe account dated 1212, in the Harl. Library, marked 4573, that a pound of cotton was expended in stuffing an Aketon belonging to king John, which cost twelve pence; and that the quilting of the same was charged at twelve pence more. Hence we learn that the materials were different from those used for the original Wambeys, and that while it was rendered stiff from being of buckram, so was it thinner, owing to the use of cotton instead of tow or wool. It has been observed that it was stitched, and we find that was done sometimes in an elegant and very expensive manner; thread of gold being occasionally adopted. Thus in the Roman de Gaydon is,

L'Auqueton qui d'or fu pointurez.

The Hauqueton which was stitched with gold.

From the proverb Plus blanc d'un Auketon, "Whiter than a Hauqueton," we learn that it was generally white. This, however, was

not invariably the case, for Matthew De Couci, in his History of Charles VIIIth, says; *Portoient Auctons rouges, recoupez dessous sans croix.* “They wore red Hauquetons cut open below without a cross.”

Like the Wambeys, the Hauqueton was worn sometimes under the hauberk, and sometimes by itself as armour, and this fact may account for their being confounded. Thus in the Roman de Gaydon we are told a warrior

Sor l’Auqueton vest l’Auberc-jazerant.

Over the Hauqueton put on the jazerant-hauberk.

And again,

Sor l’Auqueton qui d’or fu pointurez

Vesti l’Auberc qui fut fort et serrez.

Over the Hauqueton, which was stitched with gold,

He put on the Hauberk, which was strong and compact.

And it is said in the Chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin to have saved a warrior from hurt after his shield and hauberk had been pierced. Should those be specimens of the Hauqueton, worn under the armour, as I conjecture, in the monuments of Sir John D’Auberon, John of Eltham, and an unknown knight at Ifield church, Sussex, it appears to have been padded only to the termination of the body, allowing the buckram to form a puckered skirt round the thighs.

Its value in point of protection and lightness was so well proved that, as I have observed, it was itself sometimes used as armour. Thus Tho<sup>s</sup> Walsingham, the historian of Edward III<sup>d</sup>’s time, tells us, *Indutus autem fuit Episcopus quadam armatura quam Aketon vulgarter appellamus.* “But the bishop had put on a certain kind of armour which we commonly call Aketon.” And in a Statute of Oudoard Lord of Hamen, A.D. 1328, occurs this passage: *Se aucuns hustions est fais as armes en la dite ville teles come Auqueton, espée, coutel et boucler.* “If any quarrel is made with arms in the said city, such as a Hauqueton, a sword, a cultellus and buckler.” In Scotland

also it was considered as armour, for in the Statutes of Robert the 1st we read, *Quilibet habeat in defensione regni, unum sufficientem Actonem, unum basinetum et chirothecas de guerra,* &c. “Whosoever may have in defence of the kingdom one sufficient Acton, one basinet, and gauntlets,” &c. *Qui non habuerit Actonem et Basinetum, habeat unum bonum habergellum, et unum capitium de ferro.* “Who shall not possess an Acton and basinet, let him have one good haubergeon and one chapelle de fer.” By which it appears that the Hauqueton in that country was very expensive, and had the preference to the Haubergeon. It likewise is mentioned as armour in Rymer’s *Fœdera*, Vol. 4. p. 203. *Aketonis, borcinettis, et aliis hujusmodi armaturis.* “With Aketons, borcinets, and other armour of this kind.” It may not be improper to observe that the supposed specimens I have noticed are of the time of Edward IIId, or commencement of Edward IIIId, whereas the quotations to shew that the Hauqueton was worn alone as armour, are most of a date subsequent to that time.

In a letter of the year 1478, the Hauqueton seems to have taken the form of a Gorget of plate covering the chest, for the words are, *Lequel Perrin bailla à icellui Mace ung coup de la fourche en la poitrine, dont il le navra, et l’eust tué n’eust esté son Hoqueton d’argent.* “Which Perrin aimed at the said Mace a blow with his military fork\* in the chest, by which he wounded him, and he would have been killed, had it not been for his silver Hauqueton.”

#### THE POURPOINT,

Also denominated Prepoint, Perpunctum, Porpunctum, and Propunctum, took its origin in France, being derived from the Wambeys and Hauqueton, but probably not quite so thick and clumsy as the former, nor quite so stiff and inflexible as the latter. The principal distinction however I imagine may be traced in the name, which seems to import that it was stitched through, so as to appear on both

\* A specimen of the Fourche, or military fork, is in my son’s armoury. It resembles a halbert, except that instead of being furnished with a spear-head it has two prongs.

sides, but with the threads knotted on the exterior, or as it were embroidered. Hence this expression of William Guiart, anno 1304,

Si comme de cotes faitices  
De coton, à poins entaillier.

Resembling the coats manufactured  
With cotton, with their stitches formed into elegant shapes.

Its facing or exterior covering was silk, but sometimes of that very fine and rich kind so highly esteemed in the middle ages, called Cendal or Sandal, and which was purchased at a great price. Hence Odo de Rossillon by his will, dated anno 1298, gives to the Lord Montancelin his Porpointum de cendallo, "Pourpoint of sandall." From these observations I am led to conjecture that the monuments cited as affording specimens of the Hauqueton represent also the Pourpoint as lying over the hauberk, and under the cyclas; for in that garment appear several poins entailliez: should however the word entailliez be construed "shaped out or jagged," it may apply to the termination of the same, which is scalloped, and on that account resembling those of the Wambeys in the sepulchral effigy at Hitchendon church.

The Pourpoint was furnished with sleeves; for in letters remissory, an. 1463, preserved at Paris, it is said that with a baston Icellui Jehan persa le manteau, et la manche du Prepoint du suppliant, that "John pierced the cloak, and the sleeve of the Pourpoint of the suppliant;" and yet those garments on the sepulchral effigies I have considered as pourpoints are without sleeves. It is probable however that it was only when worn as armour itself that this was the case, and under such circumstances it was almost identified with the Wambeys.

The authorities which I have been enabled to collect, though they do not shew that it was ever worn under the body-armour, prove that it was used with it, as well as without. Indeed it seems to have been distinguished from the Wambeys as worn under the armour, the density of which made it nearly equal to an haubergeon. Thus in a

charter of Philip the Fair, anno 1303, it is said, *Et seront armez de Porpains et de Hauberjons ou de Gambaison.* “And they were armed with Pourpoints, and with Haubergeons or Gambaisons.” In Spain it was worn with the coat of mail; for in the Chronicle of the Kings of Arragon, by Raimond Montanerio, c. 227, we read, *Eyo ab un bon cavall, què tenia mi terç de Cavallers, armats ab Llorigues et Perpunts, &c.* “They who hold land by knight’s fee shall appear with a good horse, armed with hauberks and Pourpoints.” So in a MS. history *Excidii Acconis*, anno 1191, we meet probably with the earliest notice of it. The words are, *Portantes ibidem lanceas, falcastra, cassides et loricas, scammata et perpuncta, scuta cum clypeis, &c.* “Carrying there lances, bills, helmets and hauberks, scaled armour and Pourpoints, shields with bucklers,” &c. But if Du Cange be right in considering the Gonjo the same as the Wambeys, we have it clearly distinguished from this vestment in the *Registrum Homagiorum Nobilium Aquitaniæ*, an. 1273. *Bertrandus de Podenssac domicellus dixit, quòd ipse tenet à D. Duce Podendiarum, &c. et debet facere personaliter exercitum cum Gonjone et Perpuncto si sit sanus, &c.* “Bertrand de Podenssac, housekeeper, says that he holds of my lord the Duke of Podentz, &c. and is compelled to take the field in person, if in health, with a Gonjo and Pourpoint:” and again, *Geraldus de la Mota domicella, &c. debet etiam D. Regis obsequium exercitus de uno Milite armato Perpuncto et Gonjone.* “Gerald de la Mote, housekeeper, &c. and owes military service to our lord the King to furnish a knight armed with a Pourpoint and a Gonjo.”

It seems however, from the *Statuta Foro-Julien*: an. 1235, to have been worn by the knights with the hauberk, and by the infantry as armour of itself. *Militem sine equo armato intelligimus armatum Auspergote et Propuncto et scuto; Peditem armatum intelligimus armatum scuto et Propuncto seu Aspergote.* “By a knight without an armed horse, we understand one armed with an Haubergeon, a Pourpoint, and a shield; by a foot-soldier we understand one armed with a shield, a Pourpoint, or an Habergeon.”

The name seems to have been first introduced into England in the

time of Henry III. for Matthew Paris, detailing the ordinances of that king, says, *Ad centum solidatas terræ unum Perpunctum, capellum ferreum, gladium, &c.* “Those possessing land to the value of 100 shillings must provide a Pourpoint, a chapel de fer, a sword, &c.” So it appears reckoned a species of armour in the *Libertates Briançon*, annō 1343. *Omnes de dicto numero cum Porpointis, gorgeriis, chirothecas ferreis.* “All of that said number with Pourpoints, gorgets, gauntlets.”

It was likewise called *Contrepointe*, for it is so denominated in an Inventory, dated an. 1296. *Præterea inveni in dictis bonis quinque Alberions, et unum Alberc, et unam Contrepointe.* “Besides I find in the said goods five Haubergeons, one Hauberk, and one Contrepointe.”

The making of these vestments was called *Ouvrages de Pourpointerie*, and at the close of the fourteenth century there were several Pourpointers in Paris and London. One of the latter, John Tycle, we learn from Froissart, assisted the insurgents under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, in the year 1381; with sixty Pourpoints, for which he demanded thirty marks; from which we may perceive that they were severally valued at the rate of six shillings and eight pence.

I have endeavoured as far as I was able to point out in what the three vestments which I have described differed, but the difficulty has been considerably increased by the cotemporary authors themselves, who have not attended to the minutiae which constituted the variety. To shew how very much these names have been used promiscuously, I have only to quote a passage from the *Roman de Percival*:

Puis il font vestir un Gambès  
De soie et d’Auqueton porpoint,  
Qu’il i ont un Auberc vestu  
Si fort, &c.

Then they made him put on a Wambeys  
Of silk, and a pourpointed Hauqueton  
That he might be clad in a Hauberk  
So strong, &c.

## THE JACK.

Jaque, Jacket, Jaquetanus, Jaquemardus, and Jacobus, was probably of Teutonic origin, the hunter's vest made of prepared leather being so called in that language. It was sometimes however termed by the French writers *Jacque d'Anglois*, which points to England as the country in which it was most in fashion. Nicot defines it as an habiliment for war stuffed with cotton; but as I am not aware he has any authority for this, I am induced to conceive that he has confounded it with the *Hauqueton*. According to Strutt its facing, that is its external surface, was of leather; but Coquillart, a French writer, *sur les Droits nouveaux*, describes it as of Shamois, and extending to the knees, and from being stuffed with flocks, and consequently stitched, as a kind of *Pourpoint*.

C'etoit un Pourpoint de Chamois  
Farci de boure sur et sous  
Un grand vilain Jáque d'Anglois  
Qui lui pendoit jusq'aux genous.

It was a Pourpoint of Shamois  
Stuffed with flock, above and below,  
A great villainous English Jack  
Which hung down as low as his knees.

This is evidently that which is depicted in an illumination in the Harleian Lib. marked 4425, as worn by a Pavisor in the fifteenth century, where it appears excessively cumbersome, with wide sleeves padded in the same manner. Lacombe in his *Dictionnaire du vieux langage François*, gives a very good description of it. He says "it was in the form of a short surtout, not reaching lower than the knees; it was composed of many buck-skins laid upon each other, and stuffed within with flocks and linen, which rendered it very incommodious; to remedy this fault they took care to have it made very large, so that a man, as it were, floated in it. Sometimes thirty buck-skins were used for the strongest; those who wished to have them lighter made use of a species of taffety which was called *Cendaux*. Some-

times this Jack was covered with the most precious stuffs." Pere Daniel, in his *Histoire de la Millice Françoise*, gives a somewhat similar description, adding; "this was not only to prevent the lance or sword piercing it, but to prevent those contusions which the blow of the lance or sword might occasion."

It must have been of very tough materials, because Walsingham detailing the conduct of the rioters in the fourth year of Richard II. A. D. 1381, tells us that they plundered and burnt the palace of the Duke of Savoy, and took vestimentum pretiosissimum ipsius quale Jacke vocamus, &c. "His most precious garment which we call Jack, and stuck it on a spear as a mark to shoot at, but finding their arrows could not damage it sufficiently, they chopped it in pieces with swords and hatchets."

But the materials of the Jacket seem to have varied, according as it was intended to be worn with other armour or by itself. Hence Froissart describes that of Sir John Laurence, who was slain at the siege of Lyxbone, in Castille, as stuffed with silk; and the same is asserted in the Chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin,

Car il fut bien armez de ce qu'il luy failli,  
S'ot un Jacque moult fort de bonne soie empli.

For he was well armed, with that which he wanted  
If he had a Jack very strong, and filled with silk.

And this will account for Walsingham's expression *pretiosissimum*. The same poem instructs us that it was worn above the hauberk.

S'avoit chascun un Jacque par dessus son haubert.  
If each had a Jack above his Hauberk.

On an attentive consideration of these remarks, I think no one can view the monument of Eudo de Arsic, without being convinced that he is clad in the Jack last noticed. It is made with sleeves which fit pretty close to the arms; as does the vestment round the body, being buttoned down the front, and having a puckered skirt reaching to the knees. If this be the case, this vestment is as old as the time of Henry IIIId, and greatly resembles the Hauqueton, which was worn

under the armour. The German Jacks were not made so long as those of the English, for in the year 1399, they are thus spoken of, “ Et voit adonc vestu un court Jaques d’un drap d’or à la façon d’Allemagne. “ And then he appeared clad in a short Jack of gold in the German fashion.”

But the cumbrous Jack was a species of armour. Hence in Lit. remiss. an. 1374, at Paris, it is stated that Prædictus monachus monachali habitu abjecto se armavit, et indutus quodam indumento vulgariter Jaque nuncupato. “ The aforesaid monk, having laid aside his monastical habit, armed himself, and put on a certain garment, vulgarly called a Jack.” So Walsingham, sub anno 1379, has Quod mille loricas vel tunicas quas vulgo Jackes vocant redemerit de manibus creditorum. “ Because he will redeem from the hands of his creditors a thousand Loricæ, or tunics, which they commonly call Jacks.”

Louis XI. King of France adopted the leathern Jacks for his archers; and as we learn from the Memoire containing the order, these Jacks were proof, and in this armour soldiers were seldom killed. The ordinance is worth transcribing at length. Memoire de ce que le Roy veult, que le Francs-Archers de son royaume soient habillez en Jaques d’icy en avant, et pour ce à charge au Bailly de Mante en faire un get: et semble au dit Bailly de Mante que l’habillement de Jacques leur soit bien proufitable, et avantageux pour faire la guerre, veu que sont gens de pié et que en ayant les brigandines, il leur faut porter beaucoup de choses, que un homme seul et à pie ne peut faire. Et premierement leur faut desdit Jacques de 30 toilles où de 25 a ung cuir de cerf à tout le moins; et si sont de 31 cuir de serf ils sont des bons. Les toilles usées et deliées moyennement sont les meilleurs, et doivent estre les Jacques à quatre quartiers, et faut que les manches soient fortes, comme le corps reservé le cuir. Et doit être l’assiette des manches grande et que l’assiette prengne pres du collet, non pas sur l’os de l’espaule qui soit large dessous l’aisselle, et plantureux dessous le bras, asses faulce et large sur les costes bas, Le collet fort comme le demourant du Jacques: et que le collet ne soit

pas trop hault derriere, pour l'amour de salade. Et faut que le dit Jacques soit lassé devant et que il ait dessous une porte piece de la force du dit Jacques. Ainsi sera seur le dit Jacques et aisé moiennant qu'il ait un Pourpoint sans manches ne colet, de deux toilles seulement, qui n'aura que quatre doys de large sur l'espaule, au quel Pourpoint il attachera ses chausses. Ainsi flotera dedens son Jacques, et sera à son aise: car il ne vit onques tuer de coups de main, ne de fleche desdans les dits Jacques ses hommes, et se y souloient les gens bian combattre. "Memoire in what manner the king chooses that the Free Archers of his kingdom should be clothed in Jacks from henceforth, and for which he has commissioned his Baillif of Mante to give in a design. And it appears to the said Baillif of Mante that the vestment of Jacks would be good for them, profitable and advantageous for the purposes of war, seeing that they are infantry, and that in having Brigandines, they may carry many more things than a man alone and on foot could otherwise do. And first there wants for those Jacks 30 or 25 cloths, and a buck-skin at least, and if they be of 30 and a buck-skin they are best. Cloths, second hand, and undone, nevertheless are better, and the Jacques should be in four quarters, and the sleeves should be as strong as the bodies, with the exception of the leather; and the make of the sleeves should be large, and the shape should draw in near the collar, not on the back of the shoulder, which must be wide under the armpits, and plentiful under the arms, sufficiently loose and broad on the sides below. The collar should be like the rest of the Jacks, and this collar must not be too high behind for the sake of the salade. And these Jacques should be laced before, and that there be below a port-piece of the strength of the said Jacks. Thus these Jacks will be sure and easy, notwithstanding they are worn with a Pourpoint without sleeves or collar, of two cloths only, which is only four fingers wide on the shoulder. To this Pourpoint the chausses will be attached. Thus the wearer will float in his Jack and be at his ease. For the Baillif has never seen six men in the said Jacks killed by stabs, or by the piercing of arrows, of those who were men accustomed to fight."

It may be worth remarking by the way, that this description of the Pourpoint tends greatly to confirm my conjecture, that it is represented in the sepulchral effigies before noticed.

The Jack seems to have been the usual habit of the archers before the adoption of what was more strictly the Brigandine. Thus the words of the last Count of Provence, anno 1481, are, *Item Hectors de Montebruno capitaneo gardæ idem Dom: noster Rex exsolvi ordinavit per dictum Christianissimum Dom: Regem Francorum hæredem suum universalem xxv marcas argenti per ipsum Dom: capitaneum gardæ exbursatas in faciendo fieri Jaquetonos sagittariorum, sive Archeriorum dicti Dom: nostri Regis.* “Also to Hector de Montbrun, captain of the guard, our said Lord the King hath ordered to be paid by his said Christian Majesty the King of France, his universal heir, xxv marks of silver, through the hands of the said Lord the captain of the guard, for causing to be made Jaquetons for the archers or bowmen of our said Lord the King.”

It was also worn by the archers in England, for in an Indenture of Retainer of Henry VIth, it is ordered that “all the said archers specially to have good Jakks of defence, Salades, Swerdes and sleeves of XL arwes atte lest.” And I am told that at Melton Hall, Norfolk, there still remains the original Jack of Sir Jacob Astley’s ancestor, who fought with the renowned Arragonese knight in Smithfield, in the reign of that monarch.

They were sometimes termed Northern Jacks, which seems to point to their Teutonic origin. Thus in an Inventory of Armour 1st of Edw. VI., there occurs in the charge of Hans Hunter, armourer, Westminster, “Item, one Northern Jacke, covered with lynnem.”

### THE DOUBLET,

Though it greatly resembled the Jack, was certainly different from it; for in the 8th Vol. of Rymer’s *Fœdera*, p. 384, they are mentioned in such a manner as to imply a distinction. Thus, “25 Doublettes, 25 Jakkas &c.” Du Cange says it was of French origin, and

that it was made of flax and cotton woven together. Whether it be of French or English invention, it certainly received its name from being double, that is two-fold.

It was called in the corrupt Latin of the middle ages, *Dobletus* and *Dublectus*, by which latter word it is mentioned in the *Fœderal Constitutions of the King of Sicily*, c. 107. *Item quod prædicti comites, magnates, barones, milites et uxores eorum possint habere in æstate, guarnimentum unum de serico, sub eo farsetum, vel Duble-tum ac Juppam.* “Also that the aforesaid earls, noblemen, barons, knights, and their wives, may have in summer one garment of silk stuffed within, or a *Dublet* and a *Juppa*.”

The *Dublet* in shape was open at the sides, for Sir John Paston in one of his letters, in the time of Edw. IVth, sends for a *Deacon's* vestment of white damask, to convert it into an *arming-dublet*, white being the field of the Paston arms. “Item I praye you to sende me a newe vestment off whyght damaske ffor a *Dekyn*, whyche is among myn other geer. I will make an *armyng Dublet* off it.” The shape of the military *Dublet* was, however, more correctly speaking, that of a waistcoat with large flaps open from the hips, which fitted close to the person, and had sleeves.

In one of the *Wardrobe rolls of Edw. IIIId*, orders are given to prepare for the King on occasion of a tournament, inter alia, a *Dublet* of linen, having round skirts, and about the sleeves a border of long green cloth, worked with representations of clouds, with vine branches of gold, and this motto, dictated by his majesty: “It is as it is.” Silks, however, were more generally used as the outer covering of *Doublets*, and hence we read in the words of *Richard Ireleffe*, Clerk of the Green Cloth to *Rich. IIId*,

Yeomen and Gromes in cloth of silk arrayed  
Sattin and Damask, in *Doublettes* and gownes  
In cloth of greene, and scarlet for unpayed.

In the reign of Edward IVth, the price charged by the tailor for making *Doublets* with linings for the use of the King, according to a

MS. inventory, Harl. Lib. 4780, was six shillings and eight-pence each, which further shews that silk in velvet, or some other mode of fabrication, was preferred for the facing. "Item a Doublet of crimson velvet lined with Holande cloth, and interlined with busk."

Stubbs, who wrote at the close of the fifteenth century, describes them as "reaching down to the middle of the thighs, though not always quite so low, being so hard quilted, stuffed, bombasted, and sewed, as they can neither work nor yet well play in them. They make their bellies appear to be thicker than all their bodies besides. They are stuffed with four, five, or six pounds of bombast at the least, and made of satin, taffeta, silk, grograine, chamlet, gold, silver, and what not? slashed, jagged, cut, carved, pinched, and laced with all kind of costly lace of divers and sundry colours." Such Doublets may be seen represented in the Triumph of Maximilian Ist.

In an inventory of apparel made at the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII., MS. Harl. 1419, we meet with "an Armyng Doublet of crimson and yellow satin, embroidered with scallop shells, and formed down with threads of Venice gold."

Bulver, who wrote in 1563, calls the Doublets of his time "long peasecod bellied Doublets," and thus speaks of them: "When we wore short-waisted Doublets, and but a little lower than our breasts, we would maintain, by militant reason, that the waist was in it's right place as nature intended it; but lately as we come to wear them so long waisted, yea, almost so long as to cover the belly, &c. the waist as one notes is now come to the knee; for the points, that were used to be about the middle, are now dangling there; and more lately the waist is descending toward the ankles."

Doublets of this kind may be seen worn by the King's guard, in a MS. in the Cott. Lib. in the British Museum, marked Aug. II.

In the sleeve of one of the figures are apertures through which chain mail is perceptible, and this I conceive to be the mailed Doublet such as is mentioned in the Paston letters in the time of Henry VIth. The expression there is, "A Doublet of velvet mailed."

### THE ARMILAUUSA.

Armilausia, Armilcasia, or Armigaisia, as it was variously termed, was the prototype of the Surcoat. The Emperor Maurice, in his *Strategies*, calls the short military tunics which reached only to the knees, Ἄρμελαύσια, and tells us that they were ἐπάνω τῶν ὀπλων, put on over the armour. Isidorus, *Lib. 19, Orig. cap. 22*, says, *Armelausa vulgo vocata, quod ante et retro divisa, atque aperta est, in armos tantum clausa quasi armiclausa c littera ablata.* “That garment is commonly called Armelausa which has the forepart divided from the hind part and left open, closed only on the armour, hence it was called from the word Armiclausa, the letter c being left out.” It probably originated in the Roman Empire in the east, and appears to be represented in a Mosaic in the church of Ravenna, as worn by the soldiers of Justinian. It there seems longer than the knees, and fastened to a pectoral of flat-ringed armour, the opening of the right side being seen, and the garment evidently without sleeves.

An old interpreter of Juvenal's *Satires* explains *Viridem thoracem*, *Sat. 5*, by *Armilausiam prasinam*, “A green Armilausia;” and Paulinus, in his seventh *Epistle*, uses the term *Sibi ergo ille habeat Armilausiam suam, et suas caligas et suas buccas.* “He may therefore have for himself his Armilausia, his boots, and his clasps.”

The Gothic invaders of Italy adopted this habit from their vanquished enemies, for Anastatius informs us, that Luitprand, King of the Goths, *Quæ fuerat indutus exueret, et ante corpus Apostoli poneret Mantum Armilaüsiam, Baltheum, Spatam, atque Ensem deauratum.* “Took off the clothes which he had put on, and placed before the body of the Apostle his Armilaüsian cloak, his belt, dagger, and sword, ornamented with gold.”

It had also reached England at an early period, for in a deed of King Ethelbert, preserved in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, he says, *Missurum etiam argenteum, Scapton aureum item sellam cum freno aureo, et gemmis exornatam, speculum argenteum, armilaisia oloserica, camisianus ornatam prædicto Monasterio gratanter obtuli.* “I will-

lingly give my silver dish, my golden vessel, also my saddle, with a gold bit and bridle ornamented with jewels, a silver mirror, an Armilaisia wholly made of silk, and an embroidered tunic, to the aforesaid monastery.”

### THE SURCOAT.

The Armilaisia seems to have been disused during some length of time before the Surcoat was adopted, for none of the great seals of the English monarchs, down to the second one of Richard Ist inclusive, represent their figures thus habited. The seal of John, which he used before his elevation to the throne, and in all probability during his brother's expedition to the Holy Land, is the first which exhibits the equestrian figure adorned with that vestment. This fact would induce us to suppose that the custom originated with the Crusaders, both for the purpose of distinguishing the many different nations serving under the banners of the Cross, and to throw a veil over the iron armour, so apt to heat excessively when exposed to the direct rays of the sun.

It seems to have differed from the Armilaisia in length, generally reaching half way down the legs, and in being closed on the side by a lace. It was likewise, generally speaking, without sleeves. That of Philip de Valois, however, in Montfaucon's *Monarchie Française*, has short wide ones.

They were at first without any distinguishing mark, either of one colour simply or variegated. Indeed in an illuminated MS. in the Brit. Mus. Royal Lib. 20. D. I. written about the year 1250, the knights appear with their arms emblazoned on their shields and the caparisons of their horses, while their Surcoats are quite plain. This seems to shew that the fashion of emblazoned Surcoats was not generally prevalent in the time of Hen. III. A Surcoat of this kind it is which is spoken of in the *Statuta Conradi, Archiep: Coloniensis*, c. 5, where it states *Statuimus inhibendo ne aliquis Monachorum Surcotiis, &c. utantur.* “We decree that no one of the Monks shall be permitted to use Surcoats, &c.” And in the *Annales Colmarienses*, under

the year 1298, where the words are, *Fecerat hoc anno ante festum S. Michaëlis, Milites, quos omnes vestivit ad minus triplici vestimento, scilicet Tunica pretiosa, Surgotum . . . . . nobili vario, Suchornam cum vario pretioso.* “ He created this year before the feast of St. Michael, Knights, all of whom he clad in threefold attire at least, that is to say, with a costly Tunic, a variegated and noble Surcoat, a suchorn with various precious ornaments.” There are, however, a few instances on record of Surcoats bearing distinctive marks at a much earlier period; one of these I met with in an old pedigree. However, as its authority might be questionable, I shall pass it by, and merely notice one other. When Magnus Berfetta, or Barefeet, the son of Olaf-Kyrre, who succeeded his father in the Norwegian throne, A. D. 1093, invaded Ireland, he was thus attired according to the Edda of Snorre Sturleson. “ He put on his helmet, braced his red shield, on which was a golden lion, and took his favourite sword, called Leg-biter, and his battle-axe, and threw over his coat of mail his red silk vest, on which appeared a yellow lion, that the King might be conspicuous.”

But Surcoats, with armorial bearings, were not common in the thirteenth century, for Lord De Joinville tells us, that “ when he was conversing with Philip the Fair, on the pomp and expense of dress, and on the embroidered coats of arms, which are now in fashion with the army,” he observed, that “ during the whole time he was beyond sea in the army with St. Louis, he never once saw an embroidered coat or saddle, either belonging to the King or any one else.”

The emblazoned Surcoat, however, became afterwards very serviceable to the Knights; when they neglected to put it on, the consequences were sometimes serious. Thus Moor relates, p. 594, that in the battle of Bannockbourne, the Earl of Gloucester would not have been killed, but that he went into the field without his *Toga propriæ armaturæ*, “ emblazoned Surcoat,” and therefore was not recognised. A very early specimen of the Cote-armure, charged with armorial bearings, occurs in an illumination in the British Museum, Royal

Lib. marked 2. A. xxii. certainly not later than the commencement of the reign of Edw. Ist.

The Sicilian Knights seem to have been forbidden to wear their Surcoats on common occasions, for in the constitutions of Frederick, King of Sicily, c. 96, it is enacted, *Volumus insuper quod liceat eisdem militibus habere ultra prædicta tria guarnimenta Sycotum unum sine manicis cum quo comedant et morentur in domibus, quamdiu ibi steterint: sed eo extra domos aliquatenus non utantur, sub pœna amissionis ejusdem Sycoti.* “We will, moreover, that it be lawful for the same Knights to have, besides the three garments aforesaid, one Surcoat without sleeves, in which they may take their meals, and abide in their dwellings as long as they remain at home; but they shall not use the same when any where from home, on pain of forfeiting the same Surcoat.”

The exterior surface of the Surcoat was of silk, but it had a lining of stouter materials.

#### THE CYCLAS.

Ciclaton, Sigleton, Singlaton, or Chigaton, appears to be that garment which immediately succeeded the Surcoat. The *Monachus Pegavensis sub: an: 1096*, thus describes it, *Cycladem auro textam instar Dalmaticæ et pretiosissimi operis quam sub mantello ferebat etiam auro texto induto.* “He wore a Cyclas woven with gold, in form resembling a Dalmatic, and of most expensive workmanship, which he had put on under his mantle, also woven with gold.” From this we learn that it was not any kind of cloak, but a garment resembling a Dalmatic. It seems indeed to have been borrowed from the Greeks, by whom it was called *Κυκλας*, from its fitting close round the body, the Surcoat differing from it in being roomy. *Guil: le Breton* gives it a Greek origin, but I cannot go the length with him to suppose it derived its name from the Cyclades, to the inhabitants of which isles he attributes the invention. He describes it in his *Phillip<sup>s</sup>* as of

*Stamina Phœnicum serum, Cycladumque labores.*

Phœnician silk (*Tiretain*) in fabric, and the manufacture of the Cyclades.

Matthew Paris, in the year 1236, tells us, the citizens of London were *Sericis vestimentis ornati, Cycladibus auro textis circumdati*, “Adorned with silken garments, and enveloped with Cyclades woven with gold.” Probably at this time, on the marriage of King Henry III<sup>d</sup> with Eleanor, daughter of Raymond, Count of Provence, it had not become a military garment; but the Chronicle of Bertrand Du Guesclin, composed about the time of Richard II<sup>d</sup>, and referring to events in the preceding reign, speaks of a warrior who rode out before the army by way of challenge, thus—

Henry of a nom,  
Qui devant sa bataille venoit sur un Gasson,  
Armez de Haubregon, couvert d'un Singlaton,  
C'estoit Hanris armés à loy de champion.

Henry was his name,  
Who before the line to which he belonged advanced on a Gascon  
Horse, armed with an Haubergeon covered with a Singlaton,  
Thus was Henry armed in the legal manner of a champion.

I doubt not but that the military vest on the monuments of the time of Edward the II<sup>d</sup>, such as those of John of Eltham, Sir John D'Aubernoun, &c. is the *Cyclas*. If so, it was as long behind as the *Surcoat*, but open at the sides, and reaching in front only half way of the thighs, the body fitting quite close, and being without sleeves.

We have seen that its texture was silk, and when not emblazoned, its colour was generally vermilion. Thus the *Roman de Garin MS.* has

Et par desure un vermeil Ciglaton.  
And above a vermilion Ciglaton.

And the *MS. Roman de Roncevaux*,

Hascons couvert d'un vermeil Syglaton.  
Each covered by a vermilion Syglaton.

They were afterwards plaided; hence in the *Roman de Garin* we read,

Emprunte pailles et Ciglatons plaiés.  
Borrowed cloaks and plaided Ciglatons.

But it ultimately became so richly ornamented as to give name to a species of cloth of gold: thus in the 3d Vol. of the *Monasticon Angl.* p. 316, we find that the *Capa Joannis Maunself*, “Hood of John Maunsell, was made” *de panno aureo, qui vocatur Ciclatoun*, “of cloth of gold called Ciclatoun.”

### THE GUIPON,

Called likewise Gyppon and Jupas by the English, Jupon and Juppel by the French, Giupone by the Italians, and Aljuba by the Spaniards, was of Arabic origin; and derived from the word *Guibba*, which signified the Moorish Thorax.

Almost all the authorities seem to shew that this was an exterior garment; yet we read in *Lit. remiss: anno 1380*, of a *Juppon de bougran*, “Juppon of buckram;” and Chaucer, in his *Canterbury Tales*, exhibits the knight as not having time to change his clothes since his journey, and that he therefore wore a Gyppon of fustian, which had become dirty from the use of his *Haubergeon*.

Of fustion he wered a Gyppon  
Al besmotied with his Haubergion.

And in a MS. entitled *Miracula Urbani V<sup>o</sup> P. P.* *Erat armatus de Jupone, de tunica ferrea et Jacque de veluto cum bacineto legato et stachato ut moris est, baceriis et gantelletis, ense et cultello cinctus, in pondere prædictorum arnesium 150 libras.* “He was armed in a Jupon, a shirt of mail, and Jack of velvet, with a basinet fastened with cords and links, according to the fashion of the day, with arm-plates called braces, and gauntlets, with a girdle, from which was suspended a sword and dagger, the weight of the aforesaid arms being 150 pounds.”

These authorities would lead us to regard the Guipon as an under vest, and probably one of a similar form of buckram or fustian may have been worn under the *Haubergeon*, but the Guipon, properly so called, was a kind of *Surcoat*, and of silk or velvet. Hence *Jupam de Serico*, “a Jupas of silk,” in the constitutions of Frederick, King of

Sicily; and the antient order of Pope Alexander IVth, who, having assigned to the Knights Hospitalers black Surcoats, that they might be distinguished from other brethren of the same order, adds, *In bellis autem sive in præliis utantur Jupellis, et aliis superinsigniis militaribus, quæ sint coloris rubei in quibus etiam Crux albi coloris sit in eorundem vexilli modum assuta, &c.* “But in war time or in battle they may use Juppels and other upper military insignia, (or distinguishing garments), which be of a red colour with a white cross, in the same manner as their standards are made.” Hence also the Monks by the *Reformatio Mellicensis*, *non utantur camisia linea, sed lanea tantum, nec Bambasio vel Joppa, &c.* “May not wear linen shirts, but only such as are made of wool, nor garments any way resembling the Wambeys or the Juppas.”

In the *Annales Genuenses apud Muratori*, we read, *Et statim Consul Pisanus cum Bucio ascendit galeam, et posuit in capite elnum, et Juppum in dorso.* “And immediately the Pisan Consul ascended the galley with Bucius, and put his helmet on his head; and his Juppon on his back.” And in another place, *In quâ ultra ccccliii guarnimenta ferri, ultra Juppones, helmos, clypeos, et alia arma, multa ceperunt.* “In which ship they took many things besides 353 garments of mail, besides Juppons, helmets, shields, and other arms.”

As it was copied from the Moorish Thorax, it could not have reached much below the hips; I therefore take the Guipon to be the small Surcoat introduced in the time of Edward IIIrd. This superseded the Cyclas which had been adopted in lieu of the Surcoat, and continued in use, with partial intermissions, to the death of Henry Vth. From that time the warlike genius of the English was on the decline, and the expeditions of the house of Anjou to Naples, brought into use the fantastic fashions of Lombardy.

The Guipon, however, which appears so suitable for warriors, seems to have been revived for a short time during the wars of Edward IVth, as the monument of J. Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, that ascribed to Lord Wenlock, at Tewkesbury, and that of one of the Vernons, in Bakewell Church, Derbyshire, indicate.

I had almost forgotten to mention, though it might have been discerned from the regulations of Pope Alex<sup>r</sup> IVth, for the Knights Hospitallers before noticed, that the Guipon was generally emblazoned.

### THE TABARD.

This was a species of mantle which covered the front and back of the body, hung loosely, though stiff, and was open at the sides, generally from the armpits downwards. It reached a little lower than the loins, and had open sleeves which hung down to the elbows.

From the time of its first introduction it was used by the military, being found so convenient on horseback, and it was emblazoned with armorial bearings. Henry de Knyghton, sub an: 1295, says, *Dederantque signum inter se, ut sic suos mutuo cognoscerunt in congressu cum Anglicis, ut Scotus dixeret, Anglice Tabart, alter responderet Surcote et è converso.* “And they appointed a sign among themselves, that by that means they might mutually know their own adherents in the congress with the English, as a Scot should say, in English Tabard, another would answer Surcoat, and vice versa.

The clergy were anxious to wear Tabards, but that was not permitted, unless they were made long enough to reach to the feet. Long Tabards were however assumed by the nobility on state occasions, and such we see worn by Richard II<sup>d</sup>, while a boy, depicted in a Psalter which formerly belonged to that monarch, in the Cotton Lib: at the Brit: Mus: marked Dom. A. XVII. But these were not usual, for the Latin name of the Tabards was *Renones*. Hence in a Latin and French Glossary written in the year 1348, this word is thus explained: *Renones a renibus dicuntur, Gallicè Tabart, quia usque ad renes contingunt.* “Renones were so called from the reins, in French Tabart, because they reached as low as the reins.” The longer ones indeed were peculiar to the English, and called *Midlags*, because they extended as low as the middle of the legs.

The amplitude of the Tabard occasioned it to conceal the dagger, though the length of the sword-hilts made them protrude beyond it.

Hence in Litt: remiss: anno 1445, we are told, *Icellui Nicaise tira son coustel hors de sa gaigne, qu'il avoit mis dessous son Tribart,*" &c. "That same Nicaise drew his dagger out of its scabbard, which he had put under his Tabard."

The Tabard continued in use till the time of Henry VIIIth, and is still the state dress appropriated to the Officers of the College of Arms.

### THE COINTISSE.

This word appears to have implied "Elegance," and in a MS. entitled *Le Livre des Moralitez*, it is even put among the virtues; thus *Honesté est departie en 4 choses, en Cointisse, en forche, en droiture en atempranche. Cointisse est un vertue qui fait connoistre les bonnes choses des mauvaises, et enseigne à departir les unes des autres. "Honesty is divided into four things, Cointisse (Penetration), acknowledgment, rectitude, and temperance. Cointisse is a virtue which enables us to discern good things from bad, and a mark by which we may separate the one from the other."* Hence also the verb *Cointiser*, which signifies to adjust ones clothes, or prepare oneself in the manner of a fop or coquette. The kind of dress to which it gave name was a scarf. It was however in a military point of view applied to the ornamental streamers which adorned the helmets of the knights; which indeed were originally their ladies' scarfs; as well as to that elegant vestment which passed round the body and over the shoulder.

An illuminated MS. in the Bodleian library, marked 86, Arch B. written about the time of Henry III, exhibits a warrior wearing the Cointisse; and William Guiart, sub an: 1105, says,

*Cil escuier ot le jour mise  
Sur ses armes une cointise.*

*That Esquire had on that day put  
Over his arms a Cointisse.*

And this he tells us was red, powdered with mullets of silver; and in another passage, sub an: 1304, he speaks of Cointisses of silk orna-

mented with tissue. Matthew Paris, sub: an: 1252, tells us that the Cointisse was high in estimation in England. Mille enim milites et amplius vestiti serico, ut vulgariter vocamur Cointises, in nuptiis ex parte Regis apparuerunt. “For there were upwards of a thousand Knights cloathed in silk vestments, which we call in common language Cointises, who appeared on occasion of the king’s nuptials.” The author deplores this extravagance as being but too general, and this seems to be the case, as it is represented in several illuminations of the time of Richard II<sup>d</sup>, particularly in one in the Royal Lib: in Brit: Mus: marked 16. G. VI.

### THE BIRRUS.

This was the common large wrapping cloak of the military, and appears on a knight sitting in a chair, carved in stone, being one of the figures in the west front of Exeter Cathedral. It was made of coarse woollen cloth, and intended solely as a defence against the inclemency of the weather.

From the Roman de la Rose we learn, “that red or grey,” rouge ou grisatre, were its general colours, but that it was sometimes of a russet hue. With these woollen cloaks, which were worn so early as the time of Richard Ist, and probably long before, though the figure at Exeter Cathedral is as late as Edward II<sup>nd</sup>, the military sometimes wiped their weapons. Thus Vinesauf, speaking of Richard’s army, Lib. III. c. 35, describes the preparations preceding the battle in these words: Tractantur galeæ mapulis ne forte pallescant, humore lambente fulgorum gladium Birris exterguntur mucrones, ne quâ humectatione claritudini inimica corrumpantur. “They rubbed their helmets with cloths lest they might have become tarnished; the damp having dimmed the brightness of their swords, they wiped the blades with their Birri, in order that the moisture, so inimical, might not spoil their brightness.”

I have troubled you with a long letter, but which I hope contains some interest. I trust you will believe me,

Yours very truly,

SAM. R. MEYRICK.

XXVII. *Observations, tending to show, that the following Document, which was published by Selden, in his "Titles of Honour," is SUPPOSITIOUS. By GEORGE CHALMERS, Esq. F. R. S. and S. A. Communicated in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 24th June, 1819.

I PROPOSE to show, that the following document, which was published by Selden, in his *Titles of Honour*, the second Edition, p. 846, from a MS. on parchment, in a hand of the time, is supposititious. Truth can only be established on the ruins of falsehood. This document has been introduced into Parliamentary Proceedings; it has been cited in our *Peerages*; it has been quoted by intelligent Antiquaries: and after it has deluded the legal, and antiquarian world, for so many years, the time is come, when its pretensions to genuineness may be examined, and its spuriousness exposed. Here it is:

“Willielmus Rex Scotorum universis Episcopis, Comitibus, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Baronibus, Militibus, Thanis, & Præpositis, & omnibus alijs probis hominibus totius terræ suæ tam clericis quam laicis, Salutem æternam in Domino; Sciatis præsentis & futuri Morgundum filium Gillocheri quondam Comitibus de Marre in mea præsentia venisse apud Hindhop Burnemuthe, in mea noua foresta, decimo kalendarum Junij, Anno Gratiae MCLXXI, petendo ius suum de toto Comitatu de Marre, coram communi Consilio & exercitu Regni Scotiæ ibidem congregato. Ego vero cupiens eidem Morgundo & omnibus alijs iura facere, secundum petitionem suam, ius suum inquisiui per multos viros fide dignos, videlicet per baronias & thanos Regni mei; per quam inquisitionem inueni dictum Morgundum filium et hæredem legitimum dicti Gillocheri Comitibus de Marre, per quod concessi & reddidi eidem Morgundo totum

“ Comitatum de Marre, tanquam ius suum hæreditarium sicut præ-  
 “ dictus Gillocherus pater suus obijt vestitus & saisitus; tenendum  
 “ & habendum eidem Morgundo & hæredibus suis de me & hæredibus  
 “ meis in feodo & hæreditate cum omnibus pertinentijs, libertatibus,  
 “ & rectitudinibus suis adeo liberè, quietè, plenariè, & honorifice, sicut  
 “ aliquis Comes in Regno Scotiæ, liberiùs, quietiùs, plenariùs, & ho-  
 “ norificentiùs, tenet vel possidet; faciendo inde ipse & hæredes sui  
 “ mihi & hæredibus meis forinsecum servicium, videlicet Seruicium  
 “ Scoticanum sicut antecessores sui mihi & antecessoribus meis facere  
 “ consueuerunt. Eodem vero die & loco post homagium suum mihi  
 “ factum coram communi Consilio Regni mei, prædictus Morgundus  
 “ petijt sibi ius fieri de toto Comitatu Morauia de quo prædictus Gil-  
 “ locherus pater suus obijt vestitus & saisitus, super qua petitione sua  
 “ per quamplures viros fide dignos, Barones, Milites, & Thanos Regni  
 “ mei inquisitionem facere feci, & per illam inquisitionem inueni dic-  
 “ tum Morgundum verum et legitimum hæredem de Comitatu Mo-  
 “ rauia, & quod eodem tempore propter guerram inter me & Anglicos  
 “ grauiter fuissem occupatus, & Morauenses, pro voluntate mea, non  
 “ potuissem iustificare, dicto Morgundo nullum ius facere potui. Sed  
 “ cum guerram inter me & adversarios meos complere & rebelles Mo-  
 “ rauenses superare potero, & dicto Morgundo sibi & hæredibus suis  
 “ promitto, pro me & hæredibus meis, fideliter & plenarie ius facere de  
 “ toto Comitatu Morauia. Et vt hoc factum meum alijs certificaretur  
 “ prædicto Morgundo has literas meas dedi Patentis. Teste me ipso  
 “ eodem anno die & loco supradicto.”

I shall state my objections to it under distinct, and several heads :

*First Objection.*

“ Willielmus Rex Scotorum,” not *Scottorum*, with a double(tt).  
 All genuine Charters of that age, and the prior times, says Ruddiman,  
 use the double (tt) in *Scottorum*: all the inscriptions on the great  
 Seals of the Scottish Kings have *Rex Scottorum*, not *Scotorum*, long  
 after the accession of the Steuart family. The learned Ruddiman, in

his Introduction to Anderson's Diplomata, lays down this expressly. The Seal of the Pretender, Edward Baliol, which was, probably, made in France, forms the only exception to this general rule. But, all the legends of the great Seals of the Scoto-Saxon period; of the Bruces; of the Steuarts; have the double (tt) in Scottorum. Thus, then, it fails, in legitimate accuracy.

### Second Objection.

The old formula, in the Address of the Charters, was, to Bishops; Abbots, Earls, and Barons. This document is addressed, "Universis Episcopis, Comitibus, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Baronibus, Militibus, *Thanis*, & *Præpositis*, &c." In the progress of refinement, indeed, the Scottish Parliament, which was assembled, by Edward I, at Brigham, in March 1289-90, and which sat, certainly in one Chamber, were thus arranged: Bishops, Earls, Abbots, Priors, Barons; but without any other ranks. [Rym. Fœd. II. 471.] Into this supposititious formula, indeed, are introduced, after the Barons, "Militibus, *Thanis*, & *Præpositis*." This minuteness, as well as the lowness of the degrees, form a strong objection. In a Charter of William [Diplomata Scotiæ, No. XXIX.] when the same King wished to be minute, he addressed himself, "Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciarijs, Vice-comitibus, *Præpositis*, Ministris, & omnibus probis hominibus totius terræ." In the many Charters of William, which I have read, I have, seldom, or never, seen *Thanis* introduced. The *thing*, and the *name*, were altogether Saxon; as we may learn from Spelman: if so, they could not have existed, in *Celtic* Scotland. *Thanes*, then, could not have existed, in Scotland, till after the commencement of the 12th century. A *Thane*, says Spelman, was not, properly, a *title of dignity*, but of *Service*; so called, in the Saxon, of *thenian*, Service, and in Latin, *Minister à ministrando*. In the Scottish Charters, the *Thanes* never appear, but in the character of *Service*, as mere *bailiffs*, or landstewards; as we may see in Caledonia, vol. I. p. 717. The Scottish historians, indeed, Boece and Buchanan, who wrote, without enquiry, invest the *Thanes* with high dignities; as Governors of Provinces,

principal Ministers of Justice, Sheriffs, &c. The introduction, therefore, of *Thanes* into this document is a strong objection to its genuineness, whatever Selden might think.

### *Third Objection.*

It recites, that Morgundus, the son of Gillocher, *quondam* Earl of Mar, came to my presence, at Hindehope burnemuthe, in my *new forest*. (1.) The origin of the Earldom of Marr is said to be lost in its antiquity. It is supposed to have existed before our records, and before the æra of genuine history, saith Lord Hailes, in his Additional Sutherland Case. This learned disquisitor appears thus not to have known, that the epoch of Earldoms, and the epoch of genuine history, and of records, are the same. Celtic Scotland knew nothing of Earldoms. It was divided into districts, or departments, which were governed by *Maormors*, or great men, upon Celtic principles. When a Scoto-Saxon government was introduced, with the sons of Malcolm III., and Edgar assumed the sceptre, in 1097, A. D., then were introduced Charters, and history: and at the same epoch, in such Charters, the old *Maormors* were called *Comites*: the district of the Maormor was called *Comitatus*, and this, when translated into Scoto-English, became *Earldom*. We thus see, then, a change of *names*, but little more. In the Charter of Alexander I. to the Abbey of Scone, in 1115, A.D., we first see, distinctly, half a dozen *Comites*, as witnesses to the grant: and *Gartnach, Comes*, in that Charter, is supposed to be the Earl of Marr. But, another half century elapsed before the Earls were known, by their *Titles*, or the appellations of their Earldoms. (2.) Yes; in a Charter of Malcolm IV, who demised in 1165; and thereby transferred his Kingdom to his brother William, who is the King, whose *Letters Patent*es this document is said to be, there is one *Gillocher*, who is a witness to Malcolm's grant; but we must still *suppose*, that he was Gillocher, *quondam* Earl of Mar. Crawford, the first Peerage Writer of Scotland, considered the said Gartnach as the *first* Earl of Mar; Douglas, the second Peerage Writer of Scotland, considered Gartnach as the second Earl, and

one Mortach, *thane* of Mar, as created Earl, by Malcolm III.; that is, a Celtic King introduced a Saxon *Earl*, while the whole polity of Scotland was Celtic. When men undertake to make Peerages, who do not understand the meaning of the very words, which they use, we must expect some juridical nonsense. Douglas now makes Gartnach, the father of Morgund, or Morgan, who was a witness to the Charter of David I, to Dumfermlin, for which the Chartulary is quoted. He left two sons, says Douglas, *Gillocher*, or Gilchrist, and Congal. Gilchrist, or Gillocher, is said to be the fourth Earl of Mar, and witnessed a Charter of Malcolm IV.; and Gillocher is supposed to have died, in the beginning of the subsequent reign. This Gillocher is the person, who in 1171, was called *quondam* Earl. He was succeeded by Morgund, who complained to the King, in 1171; as we learn from that supposititious document; who may be considered as a real person, as Earl of Marr: but, why he claimed justice, and right, from the King, when no one disputed his title, does not appear, from this document. That Gillocher died seized of the Earldom, and that Morgund was his son, and heir, was found, by an inquest of *barons* and *thanes*, though such an inquest, so composed, does not appear, in any genuine Charter. But, let us appeal, from such idle statements, to real Charters. Earl Morgund witnessed a Charter of David I, to the Abbot of Dumfermlin, between the years 1147 and 1152, which mentions Earl Henry, the son of David, who died in 1152. [MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 106.] Earl Morgund witnessed a Charter of Malcolm IV, to the same Monastery, between the years 1153, and 1160, [Ib. 108; and Chart. Dumfermlin, fol. 11.] These Charters, then, evince, that Morgund, was Earl of Mar, during the reigns of David I, who demised, in 1153, and of Malcolm IV, who died, in 1165. Morgund Earl of Mar, granted the Church of Tarland, in Mar, to the Canons of St. Andrews. [Chart. St. Andrews, fol. cxiii]. Morgund Earl of Mar, granted to the same Canons the Church of Mogvie, in Mar. [Ib. cxiiii.] There remains a Charter of Agnes, Comitissa de Mar, the wife of Morgund, granting to the same Canons the same Church of Mogvie, which is witnessed, by Ada, Comitissa,

the King's mother, who died, in 1178. [Chart. in the Advocate's Library; and Chron. of Melros.] There is a Charter of King William, the son of Ada; confirming to the same Canons the Church of Tarland, which had been granted to them, by Earl Morgund. [Chart. of St. Andrews, fol. 102.] We thus see, then, Morgund, Earl of Mar, not only living under David I, and Malcolm IV, but also under William, who succeeded Malcolm, in 1165, A. D. We may, therefore, infer from those Charter notices, that Douglas was, certainly, mistaken, in saying that Gilchrist, or Gillocher, the Earl of Mar, and father of Morgund, witnessed a Charter of Malcolm IV; and that Gillocher died, in the beginning of the reign of William: All this is, delusively, stated, in contradiction to the several Charters, which have been already quoted, to prove, that Morgund, Earl of Mar, lived under these successive Kings, David I, Malcolm IV, and William. Morgan, and Agnes, his wife, were probably alive, in 1171; and dying soon after, left four sons; Gilchrist, Gartney, Duncan, and James: Duncan left a Charter, some time after the demise of William, in 1214, wherein he recognizes Morgund, and Agnes, as his father, and mother.

Now, those genuine Charters falsify the statement of the supposititious document, in Selden, when he speaks of Morgund claiming the Earldom of Mar, as heir of Gillocher, who never existed, but in the fictitious pages of the Peerage Writers.

#### *Fourth Objection.*

The minuteness of the date, namely, "decimo kalendarum Junij Anno Gratiae MCLXXI;" which is so contrary to the practice of those times, forms a considerable objection. The Charters of William, as his reign was long, are very numerous; yet, are they generally executed at some place, without a date. Two or three of his Charters mention the year of the Incarnation, a few of them the year of his reign. [Caledonia I, p. 755-6]. But, the *year of Grace*, which first began on the Continent, in 1132, never occurs, during the reign of William, as far as I have observed. [Id. Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie, Tom. VI. p. 74]. The tenth Kalends of June, that is, the

23d of May, 1171, was *Sunday*, which adds to the improbability of such a date; as well as the unlikelihood of the whole document to truth. The *year of Grace* was a very frequent formula with Hoveden, at a somewhat later period.

#### *Fifth Objection.*

In this Document, the reserved Services are in this unusual manner: “Faciendo inde hæredibus meis forinsecum servitium, videlicet, *Servitium Scoticanum*, &c.” This form may be considered under two heads: 1st, *Forinsecum Servitium*: 2dly, *Servitium Scoticanum*: The first may be regarded as the payment of aids, Scutage, or other extrinsic or extraordinary burdens of Military Service; in contradistinction, to *intrinsicum Servitium*, which was the common, and ordinary Services and *duties within* the Lord's Courts, and local liberties: But, 3dly, the *Servitium Scoticanum* is not so easily ascertained. *Servitium Scoticanum* is, certainly, a Service frequently mentioned in the records of Scotland; and the question is, what does it mean, as Skene, the great expounder of *hard words*, is silent: Scot, Scotta, Scottus, signified, says Spelman, pecunia, census, *pars*, symbolum. *Scot*, a part, or portion, according to Rastal, is a certain custom, or common tallage: hence, *scottare*, to pay *Scot*, or customary dues: and hence, also, in a Charter of Henry I, to the Abbey of St. Edmund, in Suffolk: “Et prohibeo ut Homines Sancti Edmundi & terra suæ non aliter *scottent* quantum temporis fecerint:” So *scottare*, to tax, gave rise to *Scottican*, *Scotticanum*, a tax, or tallage; as Scutage is translated into Scutagium. Hence, *Servitium Scotticanum*, signifies a service in tallage, not a personal service; amounting in sense, to the *Scutagium*, or *Escuage* of the English law, and history. It should seem, then, from the authority of that document, that the *forinsecum Servitium*, and the *Servitium Scoticanum*, are synonymous, in terms, though they be different in their meaning. Forinsecus, in the English Law, means outward, or on the outside: [*Excepte uno Selione forinseco illius croftæ versus austrum ad faciendum quondam*

*viam.*] The outward ridge, or furrow, to be left, for a path, or common way. [Kennet's Glossary to his Par. Antiquities.] Forinsecum Manerium, the Manor *without* the town: so, the *forinsecum* servitium, the payment of aid, Scutage, and other *extraordinary* burdens of Military Service; opposed to *intrinsecum* servitium, which was the common, and ordinary duties, *within* the Lord's Court, and local liberties. [Kennet's Glossary.] Yes, saith Skene, *Servitium forinsecum*, signifies "Sik Service, as the Vassal, or tenant suld do to his overlord or maister, *fra haime*, or in *time of warfare*. We may see, indeed, in the Great Seal Register of Robert Ist's reign, the *forinsecum servitium*, not unfrequently reserved: But, in the Charter to Henry de Anandia, [Ib. 17,] we see both those services reserved in the same Charter; *faciendo inde nob. & hered. nostris forinsecum servicium nostrum quintum p̄tinet ad dimid. partem Servicij unius Militis—et Scoticum Servicium nostrum, pro omni alio Servizio, &c.* We herein see, that the two Services were quite different; while, in the supposititious document, they are one, and the same; as the *videlicet* supposes. It is probable, indeed, that the Scribes, in the Chancery of Scotland, may not have been very well acquainted with the origin, and the meaning of the *Scoticum Servitium*; or the *Scoticanum Servitium*: and may have even supposed, that the *Scoticum Servitium* may have, merely, meant the Scottish Service. But, in the jurisprudence of Scotland, there were no services, or tenures, distinct, from those of England. We are not enquiring about the old Customs of Celtic Scotland, before the feudal, or municipal law of Scotland, was there introduced, in the twelfth century. We may see, indeed, in Simeon of Durham, when he is speaking of William, the Conqueror's, treatment of the English: "Et omnem injustum *scottum* interdixit, & concessit omnibus Silvas suas & venationem." [X. Script. 215.] It is pretty plain, that Simeon's *scottum* is, merely, the Saxon *scot*, with a Latin termination. And *scot*, as we have seen above, by a slight deviation, from the original meaning, signified a *tax*, or *tallage*: and hence Scotagium, otherwise *Scutagium*, is *Servitium a Scuto dictum*; whence

according to others, Scutigium is from the French *escu*, Scutum, Escuagium; and hence the vulgar *escuage*. See Somner's Glossary to the X. Scriptores, under *Scot*, *Scottum*, *Scotagium*, *Scutigium*.

#### *Sixth Objection.*

Morgund, moreover, claimed to be put in possession of the *Comitatus Moravie*, of which, said he, his father Gillochier died seized. The early Annals of Moray are covered with a vast cloud of ever-during darkness. The Lady Gruoch, the grand-daughter of Kenneth IV, King of Scots, for her first husband, had Gilcomgain, the *Maormor* of Moray, a person of the first consequence, next to the royal family, by whom she had a son, Lulah. Gilcomgain was burnt, with fifty of his adherents, within his castle. The Lady Gruoch had, for her second husband, the far-famed Macbeth, the *Maormor* of Ross, who, after his marriage with the Lady Gruoch, became, during the infancy of Lulach, the *Maormor* of Moray. After the death of Macbeth, with Lady Macbeth, and the demise of Lulach, under the sword of Malcolm III, in 1057, Moray, according to the Scoto-Irish customs, came to the people of Moray, the *Moravienses*, and not to the King. Lulach left a daughter, who, by whatever husband, had a son, Angus, who, in right of his mother, and grandfather, attempting to regain his right to Moray, was slain, in the attempt, during the year 1130. In this year, says Lord Hailes, in his Annals, p. 66-7, Angus, *Earl* of Moray, was slain at Strickathrew: and he quotes the Chronicle of Melros, and the Chronicle of S<sup>ta</sup> Crucis. Nothing is known of the causes, and circumstances of this event, adds the Annalist; but, Robert de Monte, in his Appendix to Sigibert, asserts the same fact: *Occiso Aragois [Anegus, Angus] Comite Morafiæ [Moraviæ], Rex Scotiæ, David, ex tunc habuit illum Comitatum.* [Guiberti Abbatris Opera, D'Acherii, 755.] The same work goes on to quote from the MS. of Gemeticensis the same passage, which Lord Hailes disbelieved in Ordericus Vitalis. The Annals of Ulster, edit. Johnston, clear away much of the obscurity of that event. We thus see, then, that the old historians are confirmed, as to the general fact, that Angus was slain, though with regard to the inferences, arising from the

fact, we may be allowed to form our own opinions. Angus, or Anegus, claimed, merely, to be chief of the district of Moray; and when he fell, David seized what he left in his fall, as forfeited to him.

Let us now advert to that ancient description of Celtic Scotland, which is No. 1 in the Appendix to Innes's Critical Essay; and which is supposed to have been drawn up, from the information of Andrew, Bishop of Cathness, who died in 1185: and Muref and Ros are described, *ut sextum regnum* Albaniae; that is, in the exaggerated language of the Celts, Muref and Ross are called the sixth *Kingdom*. In the more sober speech of the Scoto-Saxons, the same countries were called the sixth *district*, or department: but, they are not called a *Comitatus*, or Earldom, of which the Celtic people of that age, knew nothing; and the Scoto-Saxons very little. David, the King, succeeded to the territory, which he granted, as he had a right to do, to such settlers as he thought proper to encourage; but no *Comitatus* was formed, during the forty years which elapsed, from the insurrection of Angus till the claim of Morgan. The six Earls, who witnessed Alexander Ist's Charter to Scone, in 1115, were of Fife, Strathern, Menteith, Ross, Athol, and *Marr*: but, we see not, then, or for years afterwards, any Earl of *Moray*: and among the twelve Earls, who sat in the great Parliament of Brigham, in 1289-90, under the summons of Edward I, there is not any Earl of *Moray*. [Rym. Fœd. tom. II, p. 471.] Moreover, in the Charter which Robert I. granted, 1321, to his nephew Randolph, for all those lands in *Moray*, as they had been in the hands of the late Alexander III, who demised in 1285, which were now erected *in libero Comitatu*; and which, as such, were conferred, by the grant, on his nephew, Randolph. [There is a copy of this Charter, in Shaw's *Moray*, Appendix, No. 1, and a more correct copy, in Robertson's Index to the Records, xlix.]

From this deduction, we may see, clearly, that there was no *Comitatus Moraviae*, at the demise of David I, in 1153; and none, at the demise of Malcolm IV, in 1165; and none, we may presume, in 1171, under his brother, and successor, William; and certainly none mentioned in the Parliament of Brigham, 1289-90. Morgund, indeed, does not say, that his father Gillochier, who, if there ever were such

a person, must have lived under David I. and his successor Malcolm, had obtained a grant of Moray, as a *Comitatus* or Earldom. There is a Charter of Malcolm IV, confirming to the Monks of Dumfermling the grant of his grandfather, David I, which is witnessed by six Earls, among whom is Morgund, Earl of Mar; so that if Gillocher ever lived, he must have existed under David I, who demised in 1153, A.D. He merely states, that he died seized of the *Comitatus* of Moray. This leads us to the

#### *Seventh Objection.*

William, King of Scots, speaks, in 1171, of his war with England as already passed; whereas it only began, in 1173; and he was taken prisoner in 1174. And during this war, the Moravienses, or men of Moray, took possession of the country, and prevented him from putting Morgund in possession of his right to the *Earldom*, which did not then exist. History knows nothing of such an event, as the Moraymen seizing, or over-running a country, which they already possessed. I say nothing of Morgund's right to this Earldom being tried by an inquest of Barons, Knights, and *Thanes*, men all worthy of credit; but, not the kind of men, who ought to have decided a question of peerage. The frequent recurrence of *Thanes* in this Document, is a clear proof of its supposititious nature.

#### *Eighth Objection.*

The King is induced to say, that he has made these his *Letters patent*. This formula has a very modern appearance; and leads us to the

#### *Ninth Objection.*

*Letters patent*, say the lawyers, conclude with, *Teste meipso*, &c. Charters with *Hiis Testibus*. And, for this intimation the second Institute of Sir Edward Coke is quoted. Now, here is what Sir Edward Coke says, in his Commentary on Magna Charta; “It is true, “that of ancient time, nothing passed from the King of franchises, “liberties, privileges, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, “of any estate of inheritance, but it was by the advice of his council

“ expressed under *hiis testibus*, as it was then and continues to this day, in the creation of any to any degree of nobility; for thereto *hiis testibus* is still used.”

This conclusion of the King's grants with *hiis testibus*, was used by King Hen. III<sup>d</sup>, and his progenitors, Kings of this realm before him, and by his son, Edw. I, and by Edw. II, and Edw. III, after him. Afterwards in the beginning of the reign of Rich. II<sup>d</sup>, I find the clause of *hiis testibus* was left out, and instead thereof came in, *teste meipso*, in this manner; *in cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso*, which since, by his successors, Kings, and Queens, of this realm, (except in creations) hath been used.

But, with great submission to the learning of Sir Edward Coke, the epoch of the introduction of the formula of *teste meipso*, has been carried as far back as the reign of Richard I<sup>st</sup>. [See Ruddiman's Introduction to the Diplomata Scotiæ, § XII.]. And see this formula of *teste meipso*, during the first year of the reign of Richard I<sup>st</sup>, in Kennet's Parochial Antiq. 1<sup>st</sup> edit. p. 146; which quotes the MS. Register of Oseney: yet, this epoch is so far under the date of 1171, that it fully supports the objection to this supposititious document of Selden. *Teste meipso* first occurs in Rymer's Fœdera, A. 1190: and yet, in a supposititious Charter of David I, in Orem's History of the Chanonry of Old Aberdeen, p. 3, we may see, “*Teste meipso, apud Forfar.*” But, this circumstance is only an additional proof of the fictitiousness of this supposed Charter of David I, who demised in 1153.

All which, I beg to submit to the judgment of those, who possess more learning, than I pretend to; as satisfactory proofs of the spuriousness of Selden's document. Like other scholars and antiquaries, Selden had been imposed upon. And, we may perceive, in the introduction to this very document, 2<sup>d</sup> Ed. p. 846, how Selden allowed himself to be imposed upon, by the fallacious relations of Buchanan, by speaking, familiarly, of *Thanes* and *Abthanes* among the Celtic people of Scotland, under the Celtic government of Malcolme Mac-kenneth, from 1003 to 1033, A. D.

GEO. CHALMERS.

XXVIII. *Observations on some Ruins recently exposed in St. Martin's-le-Grand, in clearing the Ground for a new Post-Office.* By J. B. GARDINER, Esq. *In a Letter addressed to ALEXANDER CHALMERS, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read 25th March, 1819.

DEAR SIR,

AN article having appeared in the Times newspaper of the 25th September last, relative to the ruins in St. Martin's-le-Grand, which (in consequence of sundry buildings having been taken down, in order to clear the ground for the site of the New Post-Office) had, then, lately been exposed to view; I was induced, from my natural inclination towards subjects of this kind, to visit the ruins; and I expected, from the mention of semicircular arches in the above article, to find a valuable specimen of our Saxon style of architecture, in some remnant of the College of St. Martin, recorded to have been founded there before the Norman conquest; and that the writer was mistaken in assigning the reign of Henry IIIrd, as the period of their erection. Upon visiting the spot, however, I found that the arches to the eastern parts were in the pointed style, and not semicircular. And as upon inspection of the western parts, I noticed sundry indications of these parts having probably been built at a much earlier period than the time of Edward the VIth, (the date of them mentioned by the aforesaid writer,) I repeated my visits, for the purpose of taking drawings of these remains, and of examining the principles of their construction, so as to render myself better informed respecting them. The result of my labours will be explained to you by the following remarks; in the progress of which I shall introduce such extracts from the History of London, by Maitland and others (published in 1756), as may appear to me to be necessary to the historical detail. I have also prepared two explanatory drawings; See Pl. XV. and if these papers

should, in any degree, meet with the approbation of your learned Society, I shall feel that the time I have, necessarily, withdrawn from the more practical employment of my profession has been advantageously expended.

I shall first direct your attention to the three vaults, westward of those which have been built in the pointed style.

One of them is 7 feet 6 inches broad: the two others are 19 feet 6 inches long, and occupy together a breadth of 19 feet 4 inches: they have originally been separated by the center pier only, which has been built of freestone: the wall northward of the pier, and the brick arches immediately connected with that wall, being evidently no parts of the original building.

I think it quite clear that these buildings extended more southward, from the circumstance of the two quoins being perfect on the south side of the pier marked (A) on the plan; and from there being evident remains of an arch which turned from it, at the same level as the springing of the arch on the opposite side of this pier. The form of the vaultings adjoining the south end of the western wall seems to indicate a passage originally through this part of it; and the idea is corroborated by the present wall not being (what is technically termed) bonded in with the adjoining pier. On the north side, a passage still remains communicating with the westernmost vault: which has most probably been arched over; and there has been an aperture on each side of it. From the quoin-stones which appear in the north wall of the middle vault, I have no doubt, when the present mass of rubbish shall be cleared away, of some traces being found of another corresponding passage. I believe the eastern vault did not extend farther northward than at present; for the stonework to the walling appears to me to be bonded in at the angles. In this part, however, a heap of bones has been collected together; and the access to them having very properly been boarded up, I have not had the opportunity of examining the north wall of this vault so closely as I have done the other parts of these buildings. A stone coffin, six feet nine inches long, of rude shape and workmanship, was found among

these ruins, and has been also placed within the said enclosure. The upper parts of the north walls to the two westernmost vaults, are modern.

The arches over these three apartments and their connecting passages, are some of them semicircular, others semi-elliptical, but none of them pointed. The dotted lines on the Plan shew the arrisses as now presented to us: and these vaults were (I have no doubt) built before the use of the pointed arch was established, and not in the reign of Edward VIth, as has been supposed.

The stonework consists almost entirely of rag-stones. Some squared freestones occur at the quoins, and one of the inner piers (as before mentioned) seems to consist wholly of them: a few fragments of Roman bricks occur in some of the arches. Some portions of the vaulting have been reinstated with common brickwork, and in one repaired place a patch occurs consisting of tiles similar almost to those now made use of. A few flints are to be met with, but chiefly in the western wall, which has certainly undergone alteration.

My reasons for supposing the foregoing buildings to have been erected previously to the use of the pointed style of architecture, instead of after its decline, arise from the massiveness of the piers (except the one above mentioned), from the solidity of the spandrils, the rudeness of the materials, and the mode of workmanship by which these parts have been constructed.

I am of opinion that the rag-stones, as well as the fragments of bricks which I have mentioned, were taken from London wall, which passed near the spot, or from some other Roman building; and I am ready to admit that the materials of the *piers* afford no proof that these buildings were not erected by Edward the VIth, at the time the greater part of the college was taken down; but I cannot suppose that irregular flat rag-stones would have been adopted for the arches at a period when common brickwork had been a considerable time in use, and would have been much lighter and more suitable in many other respects for the purpose; nor do I think that workmen of that period

would have loaded the solid spandrils with rag-stones, or with any other equally ponderous material; the stones in the spandrils are, nevertheless, rag-stones, and (as far as I have had opportunities of inspecting them) with scarcely an exception.

That a building did at an early period exist on this spot, or nearly so, will appear on reference to the History I have mentioned. The writer, after having set forth the streets, courts, and places of note, in the Liberty of St. Martin-le-Grand, continues the subject as follows: "This Liberty was an ecclesiastical foundation. It takes its name originally from a collegiate church founded by Ingalricus and his brother Edward, A. D. 1056, for a dean and secular canons, or priests, and dedicated to St. Martin, with the addition of Le Grand, from the great or extraordinary privileges of sanctuary, &c. granted by divers monarchs thereto." Whether the buildings which I have been describing formed any part of this collegiate church, it is almost impossible to determine; but the repeated considerations which I have given to them have led me to conclude this circumstance to be very far from improbable.

It seems that "anciently when this College flourished, a curfew bell was rung here, as was at Bow, Saint Giles's, Cripplegate, and Barking. It was a great bell to be heard at a distance, to give the citizens warning of the time of night, and to keep within doors. King Edward the 1st, in his reign, in orders sent to the city for keeping the peace, against many mischiefs and murders, robberies, and beating down of people by certain hectors walking armed in the streets at nights, commanded, that henceforth none should be so hardy to be found wandering in the streets after curfew bell sounded at St. Martin's-le-Grand."

William the Conqueror granted a charter to this Liberty; and other charters and confirmations of privileges were given by succeeding monarchs; by Henry the IIIrd in particular; and I suspect that the eastern parts of the ruins were erected during his reign.

They are in the pointed style; and I think they have formed part

of a crypt belonging to some other edifice. The shape of these apartments being such, from the shortness of the columns, as not to have admitted of much room for active purposes.

The dotted lines express the arched ribs. Four angle ribs and two ribs adjoining the walls were the only ones which remained entire when I made my examinations: but the springing stones over the two octagon columns remained, and sufficiently testify that ribs have branched from each of them in eight different directions.

The Rev. James Bentham, in the fifth section of his *History of Ely Cathedral*, having described several specimens of buildings which display the intermixture of the early Norman with the pointed style, introduces the fashionable mode of architecture used during the whole reign of Henry the III<sup>d</sup>, and observes—"There was also some variety in the form of the vaultings in the same reign: these they generally chose to make of chalk from its lightness; but the arches and principal ribs were of freestone. The vaulting of Salisbury Cathedral, one of the earliest, is high pitched between arches and cross springers only, without any further decorations; but some that were *built soon after*, are more ornamental, rising from their impostes with more springers, and spreading themselves to the middle of the vaulting, are enriched at their intersections with carved orbs, foliage, and other devices."

In our present subject the vaulting is high pitched, the ribs consist of arches and cross springers only, and the mouldings of the ribs are very simple; these are of freestone, and the fillings-in are of chalk.

The columns are very short, and the length of the circular ones next the walls is nine inches less than that of the two octagon columns. The mouldings of the capitals and bases correspond in style with those found in many of the early buildings of the pointed style; those, however, of the bases I should state, are so much mutilated as to be scarcely discernible.

Mr. Bentham mentions detached shafts of Purbeck marble among the characteristics of the style prevalent during the above reign. The shafts in these ruins are detached from the walls, and together with the bases and capitals, consist of a greyish marble, probably of Pur-

beck; but I am not certain as to this particular. In many of our old churches I have seen insulated shafts of columns consisting of similar marble.

In the north wall there has been a window (or aperture for some purpose): the upper part only of which is now visible.

The floors of these apartments must have been about twenty feet below the present levels of the neighbouring streets: the westernmost octagon column is situate about fifty-three feet from the fronts of the houses on the west side of Foster Lane, and about forty feet from the north boundary wall of the burial ground of St. Leonard.

In regard to the demolition of the College of St. Martin-le-Grand, I find the following notices in Maitland:

“This College was surrendered to King Edward the Sixth, the second of his reign, in the year of Christ 1548; and the same year the Collegiate Church was pulled down, many houses built, highly prized, and let to strangers born, and such others as claimed benefit of the privileges granted to the canons, serving God day and night (for so are the words in the Charter of William the Conqueror): which may hardly be wrested to artificers, buyers, and sellers, otherwise than is mentioned in the 21st of St. Matthew's Gospel.”

“In the east part, where the collegiate church stood, was afterwards a large tavern built, and down to the west, and so throughout the whole precinct of that College, it was new built upon.”

The following quotation also from the same writer's description of the parish of St. Leonard, Foster Lane, has a close connection with our immediate subject:

“This late church (See Newc. Rep. Eccl. Paroch.) I take to have been founded about the year 1236, by William Kirkham, Dean of St. Martin's-le-Grand, in the court or yard of that collegiate church, for the use of the inhabitants of the sanctuary. Almost contiguous to this church on the north, was situate the stately College of St. Martin's-le-Grand, which was founded Anno 1056, by Engelrick and Edward his brother, for a dean and secular canons, (See Stow, Sur. Lond.) Some time after, at the general suppression of Monas-

teries, this College was surrendered to Edward the Sixth, in the year 1548, when the church thereof was demolished and a tavern erected in its stead, at the upper or east end of New Rents; in the cellars of which are still to be seen divers of its pillars, as under the neighbouring houses is its cloister."

The expressions as to the pillars and the cloister seem to refer to two separate buildings. Upon inspection of the premises, however, I do not find any other ruins than those I have been describing; and which from their locality, with reference to New Rents, must be the remains alluded to.

Upon reference to the items of claim to privilege of sanctuary, which were preferred subsequent to Henry the VIIIth's reign by the abbot of Westminster, (to whom the liberty of St. Martin-le-Grand then belonged,) and to the copy of a plan printed with those items, it seems that the church of St. Leonard was included within the boundaries of the space possessing the said privilege, and at the north-east corner thereof; but that the said boundaries did not extend northward or eastward beyond the said church. I suspect that the present church-yard occupies the site of the church itself. The inscription<sup>a</sup> on the stone over the entrance seems to justify this idea; and so does the following extract from Maitland. "A dark entry, very ordinary, gives a passage into St. Martin's-le-Grand. On the north side of this entry was seated the parish church of St. Leonard, Foster Lane; which being consumed in the fire of London, is not rebuilt, but the parish united to Christchurch; and the place where it stood is enclosed within a wall, and serves as a burial place for the inhabitants of the parish."

Supposing the church to have been thus situated, the original church-yard might probably stand on the space of ground between the north wall of the church and the present ruins. There are several appearances of bones, &c. in this ground, which seem evidently to indicate that it has been made use of for purposes of interment.

<sup>a</sup> The inscription runs thus: "Before the dreadful Fire, Anno Dom. 1666, here stood the Parish Church of St. Lenard, Foster Lane."

The following observations will explain the Drawing which I have prepared as an accompaniment to the foregoing remarks.

The View of the ruins is given as they appeared in the early part of this present month (October 1818). In this I have shewn two only of the western vaults; for I could not find a spot from which all three of them were visible, without at the same time, finding some object which interfered with a view of the eastern part of the fabric. The wall near the side represents the north-west angle of the boundary wall to the church-yard of St. Leonard.

The Plan is of such parts of the ruins as could be seen at the times of my visiting them. Other parts will perhaps be traced, upon clearing away the present masses of ground and rubbish; but I do not expect that any forms of building or modes of construction will be unfolded, varying from those which have been exposed already.

The light shadings of the piers and walling express parts of comparatively recent construction, wherein stone-work and flints are blended with common brickwork; the other light shadings shew such portions of the vaultings as have been reinstated or repaired with tiles or common brickwork.

The Drawing also contains a section from east to west: herein I have shewn the pointed top of the window which has been mentioned in the course of my descriptions; and I have left some parts of the section unshaded, in order to make the subject more clear. The height of the central pier in the western vaults, from the set-off at bottom to the springing of the arch, is five feet ten inches; and the arch rises three feet five inches. All the crowns of the arches in these western parts are as nearly on a level as the rudeness of the stone-work, &c. would lead us to expect.

The figures to which the letters B. and C. are affixed, are drawn to a scale one-eighth of their actual size. B. represents one of the arch ribs, C. a capital of one of the octagon columns. These columns are nine inches in diameter, their capitals ten inches high; those of the circular columns are only eight inches high. The mouldings of all the

capitals are, however, of the same species; and all of them have the upper members circular on plan. All the bases are six inches high: they are, as I have before mentioned, so much mutilated, that the original forms of the mouldings are not clearly discernible. The circular columns are seven inches in diameter, and the height of them, including base and capital, is three feet eleven inches: the height of the octagon columns, with their appendages, is four feet eight inches.

The height of the pointed arches, from the top of the capitals, is six feet nine inches.

I have the pleasure to be, Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

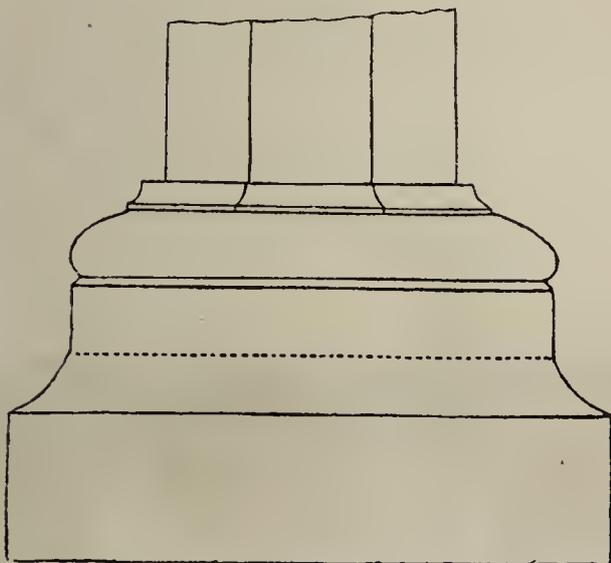
JOHN BULL GARDINER.

*Wormwood Street, City, October 1818.*

#### POSTSCRIPT.

*November 30th, 1818.*

I, by chance, visited the ruins in St. Martin's-le-Grand on the 19th instant, just after the base-stones to the easternmost octagonal column had been dug up: they were bedded on freestone (or rather the lower piece was so bedded.) I found the mouldings in very good preservation; the wall which enclosed, and thereby preserved them, having been most likely built many years. I took the necessary measurements, and the forms of the mouldings are described in the annexed sketch, which is delineated to the same scale as the capital is.

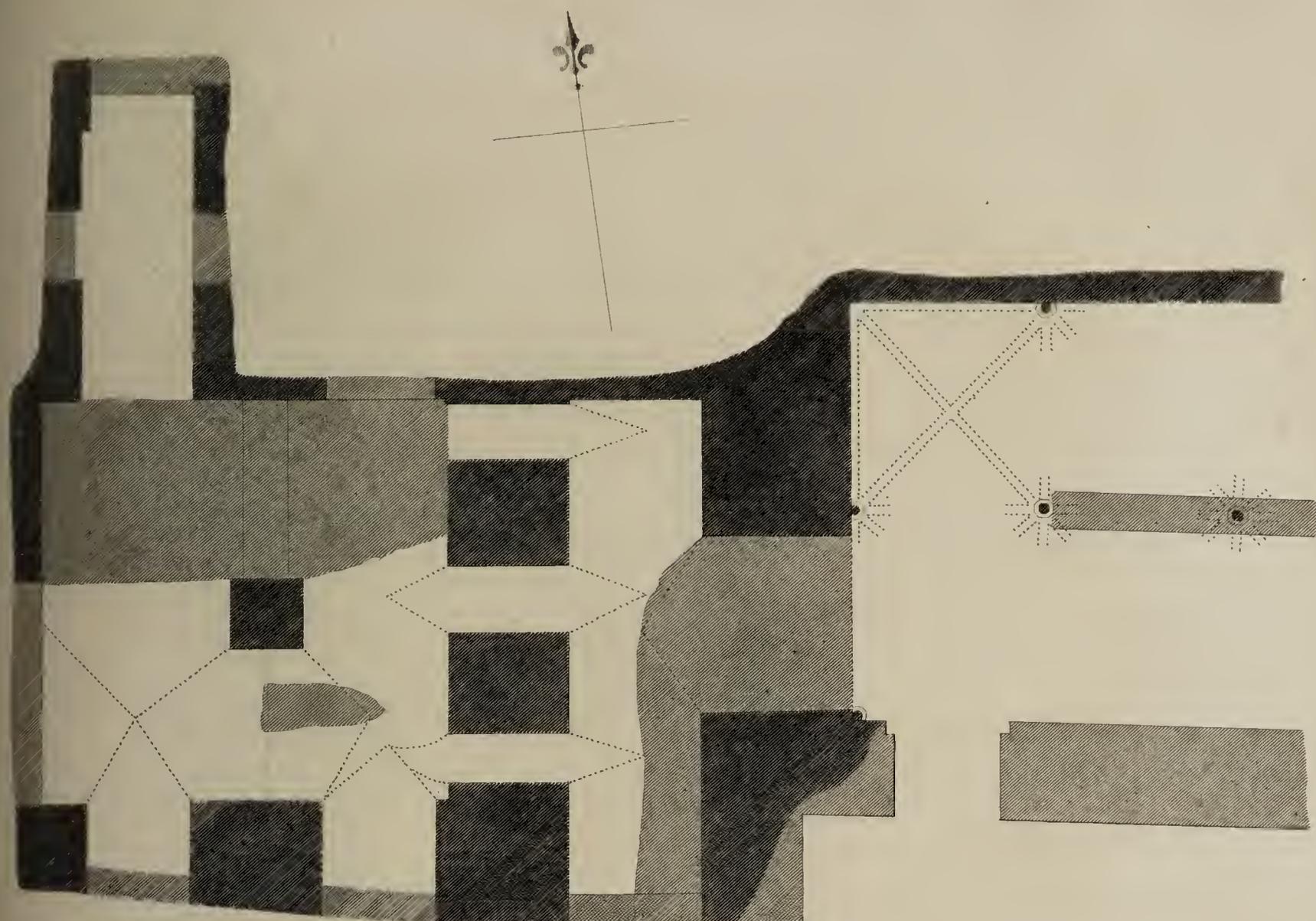


They occupy a height of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches. I rather think that the mouldings of this base did not correspond with those of the other bases. The sub-plinth, with its hollow moulding, was in a separate piece of marble  $6\frac{5}{8}$  inches thick, and one foot  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter. The bases of the columns next the walls certainly had not a sub-

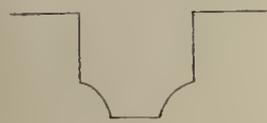
plinth: I have re-examined them, and under the moulded stones (which, as before mentioned, are six inches thick) I find freestone. The Base to the other octagonal Column had been removed; but, from my former inspections, I have no reason to suppose it ever had a subplinth.

I would remark in respect to Purbeck marble (what most likely has been very often noticed before by many persons,) that I believe there is at this period no supply, or if any, a very inconsiderable one, of the light grey kind; such as the small shafts in Westminster Abbey of the work of Henry III's time are composed of; and very likely the small shafts in these Ruins also. Dr. Aikin, in his "England Described," having mentioned the Stone of the Purbeck Quarries, says, "It is of the calcareous kind, but distinguished into numerous sorts, of which the finest take a polish and deserve the name of Marble. *These are nearly black*, and some abound in shells, and are used for chimney-pieces, grave-stones, hearths, &c."

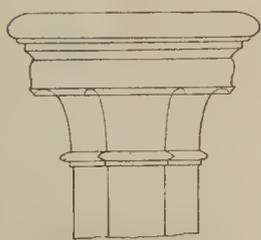
JOHN B. GARDINER.



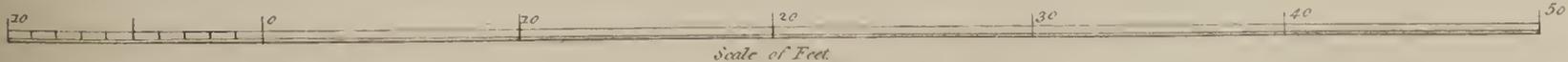
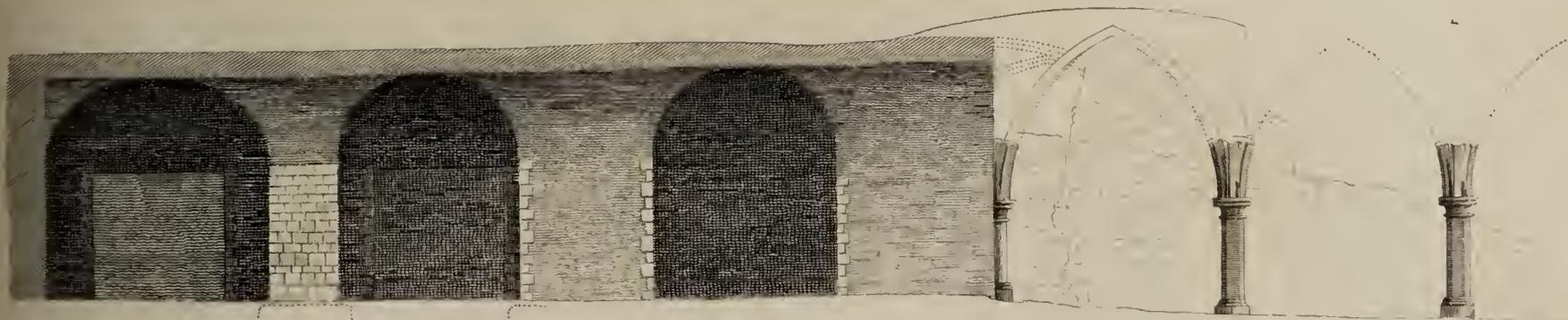
A



B



C



Plan and Section of Ruins in St. Martin le Grand A. D. 1818.



XXIX. *An Account of the Confinement of Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, by Order of Queen Elizabeth, in 1570, first at the house of Alderman Becher, in London, and then at Loseley in Surrey, the seat of Wm. More, Esq. (afterwards Sir Wm.) taken from Original Papers there preserved, and now in the possession of James More Molyneux, Esq. the representative of that Family (1819.) Communicated by Wm. BRAY, Esq. Treasurer.*

Read 11th Nov. 1819.

MR. CAMDEN, in his History of Queen Elizabeth, says that on the 7th Sept. 1571, the Duke of Norfolk was sent to the Tower (from whence he had been released a year before) on account of some practices with the Queen of Scots; and says, "Afterwards Banister who was the Duke's Counsellor of Law, the Earls of Arundell and *Southampton*, the Lord Lumley, the Lord Cobham and Thomas his brother, Henry Percy, Lowder, Powell, Goodyer, and others, were committed to prison, who *every one of them*, in hopes of pardon, confessed what they knew."

This account, with respect to the Earl of Southampton,\* is certainly a mistake. In 1569 the Duke of Norfolk had been sent to the Tower, but in 1570 had been released; there is no mention of the Earl of Southampton having been committed on this occasion, and that he was not so on the Duke's being again sent to the Tower in Sept. 1571 is proved by authentic documents in the possession of James More Molyneux, Esq. at Loseley, which shall be stated here.

\* Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton and Baron of Titchfield, married Mary daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, viscount Mountague, by whom he had a son Henry, born at Cowdray, in 1573, as will be after mentioned. The Earl was a Roman Catholic.

The Earl lay under suspicion of being concerned with the Duke in the matters for which the latter had been the first time sent to the Tower, or had by some means incurred the Queen's displeasure, for before the Duke was again imprisoned the Earl was committed to the custody of Mr. Becher, one of the Sheriffs of London and an Alderman of that city, by a warrant from the Privy Council, dated Hampton Court, 16th June 1570; from thence he was removed, by a like warrant dated 15th July following, to the house of Wm. More, Esq. at Loseley before mentioned, where he continued till July 1573, and was then suffered to go to the house of the Lord Viscount Mountague (whose daughter he had married) at Cowdray in Sussex.

It is therefore quite clear that the Earl was not sent to the Tower at the time mentioned by Camden, and it is no where said that he had been committed with the Duke the first time.

The warrant for his commitment to the custody of the Alderman states, "that the Queen having just cause given her to conceive some displeasure towards this Earl, had thought good to commit him to his charge and custody until it should like her otherwise to determine;" and the Alderman was required to receive him and cause him to be lodged in some convenient place in his house, where he should remain without having conference with any, and only to have one man of his own, such as he should choose to attend upon him till her Majesty's further pleasure should be known.<sup>3</sup>

Some verbal directions were given, as the Alderman wrote to Mr. More, when his lordship was delivered to the custody of the latter, viz. that the Earl should neither write nor receive any letter without its being seen by the Alderman; and that when strangers were out of the house, the Earl might walk in the garden, the Alderman or a trusty servant being with him.

The Plague was at this time in London, and the Alderman seems to have taken advantage of that circumstance to get rid of such a

<sup>3</sup> A Copy of this warrant signed W. Howard, H. Knowllys, Will. Cecille, was sent by the Alderman to Mr. More.

guest by alarming the Earl, on whose representation to the Council an order was made for removing him into the country, to Mr. More's house at Loseley. This order is dated at Otelands, 15 July 1570, addressed to Wm. Moore, Esq. and stating the commitment to the custody of the Alderman, that the Queen was not yet resolved on the Earl's full liberty, but understanding that the Plague was somewhat near the Alderman's house, that the Earl was not in good health, of which she was careful, had graciously accorded that the Earl should be removed, and should remain with Mr. More under his charge; the Council therefore require Mr. More to repair to the Alderman's house in London, receive the Earl and convey him to Mr. More's house by Guildford, there to remain under his charge till her Majesty shall determine for his further liberty; in the mean time to be kept as at Mr. Becher's, except that here he might have one or two servants to attend on him in his chamber, without conference with any other, and further as Mr. More should learn from Mr. Becher.

A Postscript is added that the expenses of the Earl were to be at his own charges.\*

At the same time the Council signed an order to Mr. Becher to deliver the Earl to Mr. More, informing him of the order in which he had been appointed to keep the Earl.

The Alderman lost no time in applying to More to relieve him from his charge; the next day (being Sunday) he sent a copy of the order which he had received, to deliver the Earl to him; the application for the Earl's removal had been on account of the Plague being near the Alderman's house, but he writes on this occasion to Mr. More that God be thanked his parish was clear, and any near adjoining, but that the deaths in London had increased by twenty-four in the last week, which made my lord very desirous to be out of the city, and he hopes that Mr. More will come the next day, to be gone on Tuesday; that he should set his horses at Lambeth, where the Earl's were, ready.

\* From the original warrant signed R. Leycester, E. Clynton, W. Howard, F. Knollys, James Croft, W. Cecill.

His lordship sent his servant to Mr. More, with the Council's order, and a letter from himself, in which he says, "you shall perceive that I am appointed to continue with you for a time; I assure you your guest cometh with no very good will, as having rather to be at my own house, if it had pleased them, but since it is their pleasure: otherwise I am glad they have placed me with so honest a gentleman and my friend," and desires him to come on the morrow.

It does not appear on what day the Earl went to Loseley, but by a letter from the lord Viscount Montague to Mr. More, dated 24 July 1570, we find that he was there at that time. The Viscount encloses a letter to the Earl, which Mr. More will deliver or stop as saw fit.

Mr. More soon began to be tired of his guest, as Mr. Becher had been, and on 8th Aug. (1570) he wrote to Lord Wm. Howard, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, a friend of his, representing the inconvenience he was put to and the restraint on his liberty, that he could neither visit his lordship nor travel in the execution of a public commission, in which he had been joined with Mr. Onslow and Mr. Browne; that he had gone to the Court at Osterley to pray the Lords of the Council to discharge him, and intreating his lordship's assistance.

Lord William answered this letter the next day, saying that when the matter was first moved at the Council Board he had spoken in his behalf, but prevailed not; that for his good will to visit him, he most heartily thanked him, and accepted the good will as much as if he had taken that travail. As to the Commission, although Mr. More's presence might further it, yet having such an occasion he may be very well spared, the rather for that there are others sufficient to perform the Queen's expectation in that behalf; that as to the continual keeping his house, as well to avoid all conference with the Earl out of his hearing, as to see the letters which the Earl received or sent, he (Mr. More) did very well therein, for in those two points consisted the greatest part of his charge.

It seems that Mr. More had remonstrated with Mr. Becher on his having represented to the Council, in order to get the Earl removed,

that the Plague was coming near his house, and yet writing to Mr. More that he might come with safety to fetch him, as the distemper was not in his parish, or in other places very near adjoining; for on the 14th Aug. (1570) the Alderman writes to Mr. More, endeavouring to reconcile this contradiction.

There are several letters from Lord Montague to Mr. More, making anxious inquiries after the Earl's release. In one of 5th Sept. 1570 he thanks Mr. More for having applied to the Earl of Leycester on his behalf, and requesting his further assistance, says that Lord Southampton and himself shall always remember his kindness. In another, dated the last of October, he says that he hears a Poursuivant was at Loseley with letters touching the Earl, whether for good or no he knew not, more than that by his (the Earl's) message, his wife had cause to hope the best; if there did not appear to Mr. More any likelihood of his discharge, he prays him to send word what he thinks, that his (the Earl's) wife may for discharge of her duty make suit as she may.

The errand of the Pursuivant mentioned in the preceding letter, was to bring a letter from the Privy Council to Mr. More, dated 23d Oct. 1570, requiring him to signify to them whether the Earl of Southampton comes to Common Prayer or not, and in case he has not so done, they require Mr. More, as of himself, to move and persuade him thereunto, and to advertise them of what he hath done, or shall do, and his answer thereupon.<sup>a</sup>

The applications to Lord Wm. Howard and the Earl of Leycester were fruitless, but Mr. More persevered and wrote to Mr. Secretary Cecill, with what effect cannot be ascertained, as, in the copy kept by Mr. More, the date is omitted, but it seems it had no effect, as the Earl remained at Loseley till July 1573.

The next document we find is a letter from the Privy Council to Mr. More, dated 5th May 1573, in which they signify the Queen's

<sup>a</sup> From the original letter, signed W. North, F. Bedford, R. Leycester, W. Howard, F. Knollys, James Croft, W. Cecill, Wa. Mildmay.

pleasure that the Earl should be set at more liberty, that his wife, other friends and servants should have access to him; that he should be suffered to go abroad with them sometimes for taking the air, Mr. More being with him; that he might now and then go to a house of his in Hampshire which he was then building, Mr. More going with him, and they returning to Loseley at night. They say that Mr. More was not to be charged in any respect with his diets, or otherwise, but that the Earl either should bear them himself or see Mr. More well satisfied and contented, as to his estate and in right appertaineth.<sup>a</sup>

This was soon followed by a permission for the Earl to go to his father in law, the Viscount Montague, at Cowdray, dated 14th July 1573, in which he has leave to repair to the house he was building, as he did when at Mr. More's, but by reason of the distance from Cowdray, he had leave to stay one night at a time.<sup>b</sup>

Irksome and burthensome as this confinement must have been to Mr. More, the conduct of both parties was such as to establish a mutual esteem and friendship. This appears by several letters from the Earl and his wife. One from the Countess to Mrs. More inquires after her little Mall (probably one of Mr. More's daughters) pressing for her coming to Cowdray, adding, "I send your good husband and you ten thousand commendations with no less thanks for all the great courtesy which for my part I acknowledge myself to have received at your hand, for the which I rest your debtor, ready in good will to requyte it when any occasion shall be offered. Farewell good Mrs. More with all my heart: good Mrs. Polsted I must not forget. I wish me with you every day an hour or two."

The Earl himself writes from Cowdray; "after my hearty commendations to you and your good wife, tho' it is so happened by

<sup>a</sup> From the original, signed W. Burghley, E. Lyncoln, T. Sussex, R. Leycester, T. Smith, R. Sadleir, Wa. Mildmay.

<sup>b</sup> From the copy given to Mr. More by the Earl, signed W. Burghley, T. Sussex, F. Bedford, R. Leycester, F. Knollys, F. Smyth.

“ the sudden taking of my wife that we could not have her present as  
“ we desired, yet have I thought good to imparte unto you such  
“ comfort as God hath sent us after all my long troubles, which is,  
“ that this present morning at 3 o'clock, my wife was delivered of a  
“ goodly boy (God bless him) the which although it was not without  
“ great peril to both, yet they are, I thank God, in a good state. If  
“ your wife will take the pains to visit her, we shall be right glad of  
“ her company. And so with my hearty commendations to your son  
“ Polsted and his wife and to good Mr. T if he be with you, I  
“ end for this time, bidding you heartily farewell. From Cowdray,  
“ this present Tuesday, 1573.” (The month omitted.)

He died 4th Oct. 1581, leaving the son mentioned in the above letter his heir.

XXX. *Copy of a Survey of the Priory of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, taken about the 32<sup>d</sup> year of Henry VIII. Communicated by JOHN CALEY, Esq. F.S.A. Keeper of the Records in the Chapter-House at Westminster: in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 9th March, 1820.

DEAR SIR,

*Gray's-Inn, 8th March, 1820.*

IT is much to be regretted that the Surveys of the Religious Houses dissolved in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, preserved in the Augmentation Office and Chapter-House at Westminster, do not, in general, describe the state of the edifices themselves at that period with any degree of exactness. I have, however, found in the latter Repository, a survey of the Priory of Bridlington, in the East Riding of the County of York, which is not liable to this objection, and which, on that account, you may perhaps think deserving of being read to the Society of Antiquaries; for this purpose I beg leave to enclose a Transcript of it. The Survey is without date, but from its having the signature of Richard Pollard, who was one of the King's General Surveyors, the time of its being written may be fixed at about the thirty-second year of Henry VIIIth, immediately after the Dissolution. I will merely add, that the Priory of Bridlington was a Priory of Black Canons, of the Order of St. Austin, and that it was founded by Walter de Gant, early in the reign of King Henry the First.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

JOHN CALEY.

*The Discripc'on of the Monastery or Pryory of Byrdlington withe the Church there, beyng in dystance halfe a myle from the See.*

#### THE GATEHOUSE.

Ffurste the Priory of Bridlyngton stondyth on the Est parte of the Towne of Brydlyngton, and at the cummyng yn of the same Priory is a Gatehouse foure square of Towre facyon, buylded with Ffrestone, and well covered with leade. And one the South Syde of the same Gatehouse ys a Porter's lodge w<sup>t</sup> a Chymney, a rounde Stayre ledyng up to a hye Chamber wherein the three Weks Courte ys alwayes kept in w<sup>t</sup> a Chymney in the same, and betweene the Stayre foote and the same hie Chamber where the Courte ys kepte be tow proper Chambers one above the other w<sup>t</sup> Chymneys. In the Northe syde of the same Gatehouse ys there a Prison for offenders. w<sup>in</sup> the Towne called the Kydcott. And in the same Northsyde ys a lyke payre of Stayres ledyng up to one hye Chamber in the same Towre with a Chymney.

M<sup>d</sup> that all the Wyndowes of the sayd Towre be clerely w<sup>out</sup>e glasse.

#### LODGYNGS AND STABLES FOR STRAUNGERS.

Itm one the Northsyde of the same Gatehouse, to the Priory warde, be dyvers Lodgyns and Stable for Straungers wiche be greatly in decaye for lacke of reparacyon and covered with slatt.

#### THE CHURCHE.

Ffurst the seid Churche ys well buylded w<sup>t</sup> stone and tymber and cov<sup>d</sup> w<sup>t</sup> lead, whiche Churche conteynyth in lenthe from the ende of the parysshe Churche Estward lvijj pac's and in bredyth xxvj pac's.

The Steple beyng Towre ffashyon ys highe & daungerously in decaye.

There be in the same Steple seven Bells mete to be rongen all at one tyme yff yt so happen.

The seyd Church ys devided the on part for the Pryory and Covent and the nether parte for the parysshe Church.

The on part of the seyd Church ys well coveryd w<sup>t</sup> Waynscott.

The Stalls of the Quear be substancyall and newly made aft' the right goodly fashyon.

The Reredose at the highe Alter representyng Criste at the Assumpcyon of our Lady and the xij Appostells, w<sup>t</sup> dyvers othe great Imagys, beyng of a great heyght, ys excellently well wrought and as well gylted, and betwene the same and the Est Wyndow ys Saynt John of Brydlyngton Shryne, in a fayre Chappel on hyghe, having on ayther syde a stayre of Stone for to goo and cume by.

It'm under nethe the sayde Shryne be fyve Chappells w<sup>t</sup> fyve alters and small Tables of Alleblaster and Imag's.

It'm towe lytle Closetts of waynscott on eyther syde the quear one w<sup>t</sup> Alters.

Item a lytle Chapell w<sup>t</sup> yron gratys of eyther syde conteyneth in lenght v pac's and a halfe.

It'm the South yle of the quear contayneth lvj pac's in length & iiij pac's in bredyth, w<sup>t</sup> narrowe Glasse Wyndowes, ev'ry one of theym of one hyghe, and toowe Wyndows w<sup>t</sup> fyve lyghts a pece. And a double Storye all white Glasse.

Item the North yle of the quear conteynyth lvj pace in lenght and foure in bredyth, w<sup>t</sup> a xj narrowe Glasse Wyndowes of one hyghe whyte Glasse.

It'm in the Est ende of the Church ys a xj Wyndows, whereof x be of one lyghte and one of three lyghts.

It'm on the South Syde of the same Church ys the Vestrye well covered with lead.

#### THE PRYORS LODGYNG.

There standith on the South syde of the seid Church the Priors Lodgyng, wherain ys a hawle, to the whiche hall ledyth a Stayre of iiij foote brode and of xx Steppys highe, whiche Stayres be on the South Syde of the same hall; the seyd hall conteyneth in length from

the Skyven to the highe Deske xviiij pac's, and in breddith x pac's, and well covered with lede.

It' on the North Syde of the same Hall ys there a great Chamber where the Priour alwayes dyned, conteynng in lenght xx pac's, and in breddyth ix pac's, well coveryd withe lede.

It' at the west ende of the same great Chamber ys there a proper lytle Chamber whiche was the Priors slepyng Chamber, covered w<sup>t</sup> lede; and ov' the same Chamber ys a Garrett.

It' at the Est syde of the same great Chamber ys a lytle Chappell, with a Closett adioynng to the same.

It' at the South ende of the Hawle ys the Buttrie and Pantrie under one Office, and one the same ende a Chamber called the Audytors Chamber.

It' at the same ende of the Hawle, & on the west syde ys a fayre plo'r, or a Chamber called the lowe Som' parlo'r, ov' the whiche Som' Parlor or Chamber ys another ffayre Chamber covered w<sup>t</sup> lede, and adioynng to the same highe Chamber on the Est Syde be thre lytle Chambers for Servaunts.

It' at the South ende of the same Hawle ys the Pryors Kechyn, whiche ys an olde Kechyn w<sup>t</sup> three lovers covered w<sup>t</sup> lede, and adjoynng to the same Kechyn ys there a Chamber called the South Sellerers Chamber.

#### THE CLOYSTER.

It'm on the Est syde of the Pryors Hawle stondythe the Cloyster, whiche conteynyth in length xxxviiij pac's and in breddyth foure pac's and so foure square w<sup>t</sup> lyke length and breddyth, & well covered w<sup>t</sup> lede.

#### THE FRATRIE.

It' on the South Syde of the same Cloyster ys the Ffratre whiche conteynyth in length. xxiiij pac's & in breddyth, x pac's buylded w<sup>t</sup> ffire stone and well covered with lede.

#### THE CHAPTER HOUSE.

It' on the Est syde of the same Cloyster ys a very fayre Chapter

House w<sup>t</sup> ix fayre lyghts aboute the same, w<sup>t</sup> whyte glasse and sume Imagerie, coveryd w<sup>t</sup> lede spere facyon.

#### THE DORTOR.

It' on the same syde of the Cloyster ys the Dorto' goyng up a payre of stayres of stone xx steppes highe, lying North & South, & conteynyth in length lxxvij pac's and in bredyth ix pac's, also well covered wyth lede, and at the South ende and West syde of the same Dortor ys a long house of Offyce covered with slatt.

#### THE TRESAURIE HOUSE.

It' at the ende & syde ys the Tresaurie House covered w<sup>t</sup> lede and tower fashion, whiche ys a Strong House.

#### THE OLDE FFRATRIE W<sup>t</sup> THE FFARMORYE.

It'm on the Est Syde of the same Dortor ys the olde ffratrie and farmory, covered w<sup>t</sup> lede and under one Rooff, and on the Est Syde of the same ffratrie ys a Chamber covered w<sup>t</sup> lede, called the Highe Cellerers Chamber.

#### SAYNT CUDBERDDS CHAPPELL'.

It' on the Est Syde of the same ffarmory ys a Chappell called the farmory Chappell' otherwyse called Saynt Cudbardds Chappell' whiche ys well covered with lede.

#### THE NEW CHAMBER.

It' on the North syde of the same Chappell ys a propre new buyldyng called the New Chamber, in whiche S<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Constable muche laye in; covered w<sup>t</sup> slatt.

#### THE BAKEHOUSE AND BREWE HOUSE.

It' on the South Syde of the same Monast'y ys a Bakehouse and a Brewehouse whiche by reporte of olde men was sumtyme a Nunrie. By syght the Bakehouse was the Body of the Church, the Rooff whereof is covered w<sup>t</sup> slatt and the Iles w<sup>t</sup> lede. The Brew House

ys where the quere semed to be; and ys coveryd w<sup>t</sup> lede adjoynng unto the Est part of the Bakehouse.

**THE MYLNE.**

It' on the Northsyde of the same Bakehouse and Brewehouse standyth a ffayre Horse Mylne newly buyldyd & covered w<sup>t</sup> Slatt.

**THE BARNE YARDE.**

It' there ys a great Barne Yarde on the Northsyde of the seyde Pryorye cont' by estymacyon foure Acres.

**THE BARNE.**

It'm there ys on the Northsyde of the same Barne Yarde a very fayre Barne conteynng in length Est and West, Cxvij pac's, and in breddith xxvij pac's well covered with lede to the value of fyve hundred m'ks, and so yt ys offered for.

**THE GARNERD.**

It' on the South syde of the same Barne standyth a Garnerd to lay Corne in, conteynng in length North & South. xxvj yards, and in breddyth x yards covered with lede.

**THE MALTHOUSE.**

It' on the Est syde of the same Garnerd standyth the Malthouse cont' in length North & South xliij yerds, and in breddith xvij yards, well covered w<sup>t</sup> lede; and on the North syde of the same Malthouse standyth a prety House with a Chamber where the Hervest men dyd alwayes dyne, covered with slatt.

**THE KYLNE HOUSE.**

It'm on the Est syde of the same Malthouse standith a Kylne House covered with slatt.

**OLDE STABLES & OXESTALLES.**

It'm on the Est & West syde of the Barne Yerde standyth olde Stables, Oxestall's, w<sup>t</sup> other olde houses buylded w<sup>t</sup> stone, covered with slatt, greatly in decaye.

**RYCHARD POLLARD.**

XXXI. *A Dissertation on the Lotus of Antiquity.*  
 By R. DUPPA, Esq. LL. B. F. S. A.

Read 16th March, 1820.

THE Lotus of the ancients has given rise to many interesting inquiries among the learned; but, like the *Pale Violet* of Horace and of Virgil, and the *Hyacinth* of the Greek and Latin poets, we are still without any certain or accurate knowledge upon the subject. In this short Essay, which I presume to lay before the Society to which I have the honour to belong, I propose to shew from ancient authors, that plants of very different characters were known to the Greeks by the name of Lotus: but the particular object which I have in this dissertation, is to shew that the Indian plant known to the Greeks by the name of *Κύαμος* and *Αιγύπτιος κύαμος*, and to us by *Nelumbium speciosum*, or *Cyamus nelumbo*, was never called Lotus by the ancient Greeks or Egyptians; and I have been the more desirous to establish this fact, as Mons. Savigny, de l'Institut d'Egypte, in his learned paper in the *Annales du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle*, has considered it to be a Lotus of the ancients; and in all modern works which have fallen in my way, I have observed a repetition of the same error.

The etymology of the word *Lotos* is unknown: and from this expression in Herodotus, it is probably of Egyptian origin; for, in speaking of a species of water-lily, most probably the *Nymphæa Lotus* of Linnæus, in Book II. c. 121, he says *κρίνεα πολλὰ, τὰ Αιγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτόν*. So that here Herodotus evidently calls these lilies by the name by which they were then known in Egypt.

In Homer there are two very different plants called Lotus, which may be clearly and distinctly discriminated from each other by the characters and qualities which he himself has supplied us with. In the 9th Book of the *Odyssey*, he speaks of a people which he has

called Lotophagi; who ascribed to the Lotus the most fascinating attractions :

Τῶν ὅσους λατοῖο φάγοι μελιηδέα καρπὸν,  
 Οὐκ ἔτ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι πάλιν ἤθελεν, οὐδὲ νέεσθαι·  
 Ἄλλ' αὐτοῦ βούλοντο μετ' ἀνδράσι Λατοφάγοισι  
 Λατὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι μενέμεν, νόστιν τε λαθέσθαι.<sup>a</sup>

Herodotus says that this fruit is in size about as large as the Σχίνος,<sup>b</sup> in sweetness like the fruit of the palm-tree, and from which the Lotophagi made wine.

Theophrastus describes the Lotus-tree to be somewhat less than the size of a pear-tree, and to have a serrated leaf like our ever-green oak.<sup>c</sup> Polybius says, the tree is of no great height, and is rough and thorny, and that the fruit at first is like white myrtle berries both in size and colour, but when it ripens it turns to purple, and is then about the size of an olive; it is round, and, when ripe, has a small stone: it is gathered and bruised among bread-corn, put into a vessel, and kept as food for the servants: it is dressed after the same manner for the family, the kernel being first taken out; it has the taste of a fig, or date, but a far better scent. Wine is likewise made of it, by steeping and bruising it in water, which has a very relishing taste, like wine tempered with honey. It is drank without being mixed with water, but will not keep more than ten days, therefore it is made in small quantities for

<sup>a</sup> ——— of which fruit what man soe'er  
 Once tasted, no desire felt he to come  
 With tidings back, or seek his country more,  
 But rather wish'd to feed on Lotus still  
 With the Lotophagi, and to renounce  
 All thoughts of home.——— COWPER.

<sup>b</sup> Herodotus, Lib. IV. c. 177. p. 359. Wessel. edit. fo. vide Dioscorides, L. i. c. 89 & 90. This is supposed to be the fruit of the Mastick-tree of the old writers, from which the resinous gum-mastick is produced, and which by modern writers is thought to be the *Pistacia lentiscus* of Linnæus, the berries of which yield an oil fit for the lamp and the table.

<sup>c</sup> Theophrastus, Book IV. Δ' c. 4, δ. Some commentators have supposed the true reading of the original to be *πριωνᾶδες*, like a saw, serrated, instead of *πρινᾶδες*, like the *Ilex*. But Pliny, who appears to have seen this description by Theophrastus, has conformed to *πρινᾶδες*. See Lib. xiii. c. 17.

immediate use. Vinegar is also made of it. This is an extract preserved in the works of Athenæus, from the 12th Book of Polybius, which is lost.

Virgil also speaks of a Lotus as a tree.

Præterea genus haud unum, nec fortibus ulmis,  
Nec salici, *lotoque*, neque Idæis cyparissis.

GEORG. II. v. 83.

Trees very much resembling Polybius' description are now found in great abundance in almost all the sandy and dry plains in the kingdom of Tunis, particularly on the borders of the Desert and in the environs of the lesser Syrtis, which by botanists are supposed to be some species or variety of the *Rhamnus Lotus* of Linnæus.<sup>a</sup>

The other Lotus which we find in Homer, would seem to be some sort of clover or trefoil, for he often alludes to its excellence as constituting good pasturage, and as food for horses. In the second book of the *Iliad* he says

. . . . . ἵπποι δὲ παρ' ἄρμασιν οἷσιν ἕκαστος  
Λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοί . . . . .<sup>b</sup>

And when he describes the contest between the Greeks and the Trojans in the 12th Book, he characterises the overwhelming devastation produced by the conflict, by comparing its effects to snow descending, which alike covers the summits of lofty mountains, of cultivated fields, and the *Lotus* plains.

In the 14th Book, at the embraces of Jupiter and Juno, the earth is made spontaneously to produce, with the hyacinth and crocus, the *dewy Lotus*. And in the 4th Book of the *Odyssey*, where Telemachus contrasts the vegetation of Sparta with the barrenness of

<sup>a</sup> According to Dr. Shaw, this shrub is the *Seedra* of the Arabs. *Dr. Shaw's Travels*, 4°, p. 143. Mungo Park says that it is found in great plenty on the sandy soil of Kaarta, Ludamar, and the northern parts of Bambarra, where it is one of the commonest shrubs of the country. *Travels in Africa*, 4°, c. 8. p. 99.

<sup>b</sup> Unharness'd at the chariot's side the steeds  
Cropp'd the green Lotus.

Ithaca, its abounding with the Lotus is mentioned as one circumstance to mark the superior fertility of Sparta :

. . . . . σὺ γὰρ πεδίοιο ἀνάσσεις  
 Εὐρέος ᾧ ἔνι μὲν λωτὸς πολλὸς, ἐν δὲ κύπειρον,  
 Πυροί τε, ζειαί τε, ἰδ' εὐρυφυῆς κριθ' λευκόν,<sup>a</sup>

Such passages clearly indicate that this Lotus was some plant which made a desirable part of pasture land, and it could by no possibility be any species of *Nymphæa*, or water-lily, as Homer has made it to spring up on the top of mount Ida, in the 14th Book of the *Iliad*, which I have just referred to.

Theocritus also mentions a Lotus which must have been a low herbaceous plant, growing in the meadows where he describes the Spartan maids as making a wreath for Helen on her marriage with Menelaus :

Πράτῃ τοι στέφανον λωτῶ χαμαὶ ἀξομένοιο,<sup>b</sup>

and we have the authority of Dioscorides, for the existence of a Lotus which was a papilionaceous plant. In Book IV. c. 111 and 112, he has described two species.

Besides these two kinds, we learn from Herodotus, Theophrastus, and Dioscorides, that there was an herbaceous plant resembling our water-lily, which was called Lotus by the Egyptians. The description of it by Herodotus is, that it had a seed-vessel like a poppy, and petals like a white lily ; its root was esculent, and its seeds, which were small and numerous, were employed to make bread ; that the plant abounded in Egypt, in the plains overflowed by the Nile, where it was particularly cultivated by the inhabitants for food.<sup>c</sup> Theophrastus says that this Lotus grows chiefly in the plains where the country is inundated ; the flower, white, the petals, narrow like

<sup>a</sup> For thou art lord of an extensive plain  
 Where Lotus, herbage of all savours, wheat,  
 Pulse, and white barley, clothe the fruitful soil.

<sup>b</sup> Be flowering Lotus twined, that loves the ground.

<sup>c</sup> Herodotus, Book II. c. 121.

those of the lily, and numerous as of a very double flower, the seed-vessel, like that of the common poppy, and the seed, like millet.<sup>a</sup> Dioscorides gives a similar account of this plant.<sup>b</sup>

Athenæus is the only ancient author in whose works I have been able to find any description of a blue and a red Lotus growing in Egypt: they grow, he says, in the lakes in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, and blossom in the heat of summer. In his *Deipnosophistes* he has thus introduced these flowers:

“Timachidas and Simmias, the Rhodians, both mention the Isthmian crown; which is mentioned also by Callixenus, who was also a Rhodian by birth, and writes as follows in his account of Alexandria. As I have mentioned Alexandria, I know that in that fine city they have a crown called Antinoëan, named from the plant which is there named *Lotus*, which plant grows in the lakes in the heat of Summer, and there are two colours of it; one of them is of the colour of a rose, of which the Antinoëan crown is made; the other is called *Lotinus*, and has a blue flower.”

The rose-coloured Lotus appears to have been a favourite flower in Egypt from the poetical fiction of its origin, which we derive from the same author, who says, that “one *Pancrates*, a poet of the country, with whom I was acquainted, when the Emperor Adrian was at Alexandria, presented to him a rose-coloured Lotus with great ostentation, saying, that it ought to be called Antinoëan, as it sprung from the earth when it received the blood of the Moorish Lion, which Adrian had killed near Alexandria in a hunting party. This Lion was an immense beast, which for a long time had preyed on all Africa, so as to render a great part of it uninhabitable. The Emperor being pleased with the invention and novelty of the thought, gave him his commons in the Temple of the Muses.<sup>c</sup>

It is from this story I believe that the opinion has prevailed, among modern writers, that this red-coloured Lotus could be no other than the *κύαμος* of Theophrastus, the *Nelumbium speciosum* of Will-

<sup>a</sup> Theophrastus, Book IV. c. 10.

<sup>b</sup> Dioscorides, Book IV. 114.

<sup>c</sup> Athenæus, Lib. XV. c. 6.

denow: from this extravagant compliment of Pancrates this flower could not, in the reign of Adrian, have been long known in Egypt; whereas the *κύαμος* is particularly described by Herodotus as growing and cultivated for food in Egypt more than 560 years before that time. As there is great probability that the *κύαμος* was originally introduced from India,<sup>a</sup> this rose-coloured Lotus may, in the reign of Adrian, have been recently imported from the East, where it now abounds as a native plant in great plenty; and an additional reason for importing it into Egypt might have been, its producing seeds, which at this day are esteemed wholesome, and eaten by the natives of Hindostan, both raw and boiled, and the root is also eaten in times of scarcity. This red Lotus of Athenæus I believe to be the plant which, by modern botanists, is called *Nymphæa rubra*, or some variety of it, and not the *κύαμος* of Theophrastus.

The Egyptian *κύαμος* is described by Herodotus, Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Strabo, and Arrian, and without once confounding it with the liliaceous Lotus, as has been the practice of modern writers.

The description of it by Herodotus is, after describing the plant, which I consider to be some species of *Nymphæa*: he says, “There are likewise other lilies like roses, and these too grow in the river Nile; whose fructification is produced in a separate seed-vessel, springing like a sucker from the root, in appearance exactly resembling a wasps’ nest, and containing a number of excellent seeds, about the size of olive berries. These are also eaten, when tender, and dry.”<sup>b</sup>

In the early ages great importance was attached to the *κύαμος* as an article of food; and in Egypt it seems to have obtained religious

<sup>a</sup> The passage in Arrian is favourable to this conjecture. “On the banks of the Hydaspes, after Alexander had prepared many vessels with two and with three banks of oars, and ships for the transport of his horses and his army, he resolved to sail down the river as far as the ocean. Here he first saw Crocodiles in the Indus, which he had never before seen in any river but the Nile; and *beans* growing on the banks of the Acesines, such as are produced in Egypt: and having heard that the Acesines discharged itself into the Indus, he thought that he had discovered the sources of the Nile. *Arrian, Exped. Alex. Book 6. c. 1.*

<sup>b</sup> Herodotus, Lib. II. c. 121.

veneration, as the figure of the plant frequently occurs in sculptured ornaments and symbolical pictures in the remains of ancient Egyptian Temples; and in the third volume De l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions there is an engraving of a bronze figure of Isis represented seated on its seed-vessel. Montfaucon supplies many similar examples.

In Hindostan this plant appears to have been considered with religious veneration in the remotest antiquity. In the caves of Carli and Elephanta are numerous representations of it in the architectural ornaments, and in religious symbols. And in the present mythology of that country, *Surya*, the god of the sun, is usually represented with one flower of the *κόσμος*<sup>a</sup> in each hand.

This plant having been anciently common to the Nile, and to the marshes of Egypt, and now, and for ages past, not discoverable in that country, it may reasonably be supposed to have been originally imported from the East, where it still flourishes in plenty and in great luxuriance. This conjecture, if it were established, would serve to shew that there was a communication between those distant nations anterior to historical record: and as this plant is used as a religious symbol, and in religious ceremonies, wherever it has been found indigenous in India, it would afford one conjectural point, among many, that the religion as well as the arts of Egypt were indebted to nations of still more remote antiquity.

<sup>a</sup> In Shanskreet this plant has many different names, as *Támarasa*, *Padma*, *Kamala*, *Satapatra*, *Sahasrapatram*, &c.

XXXII. *Extracts from "The Booke of the howshold Charges and other Paiments laid out by the L. North and his commandement : beginning the first day of January 1575, and the 18 yere of" Queen Elizabeth. Communicated by WILLIAM STEVENSON, Esq. of Norwich, F.S.A. in a Letter to THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read 2d December, 1819.

NORWICH, 25th Nov. 1819.

MY DEAR SIR,

I SEND you, for the inspection of the Society of Antiquaries, two MS. volumes, entitled, "The Booke of the howshold charges and other payments laid out by the L. North and his comāndement, beginning the first day of January, 1575, and the 18 yere of our most gratius Soverain's (i. e. Queen Elizabeth's) raigne." These volumes I purchased about two years ago. Though they are in general in a fair and legible state, I have thought it desirable to select and transcribe such passages as have appeared to me to be more particularly deserving of notice; including the expenses incurred during the Queen's visit to Kirtlinge in 1577.

The minute attention, observable in these accounts, and the curious specimens of prices contained in them, will probably be considered as attaching some degree of interest to these extracts, independently of the celebrity of the mansion of Kirtlinge, and the distinguished character of Roger Lord North, its then possessor, both of which are too well known to require any particular notice from me on the present occasion. The few notes I have added are merely intended in explanation of such passages as stand more immediately in want of it.

I remain, dear Sir,

most faithfully yours,

WM. STEVENSON.

THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.S.A.

*Specimens of the Weekly Accompts. Vol. i. fol. 4.*

1575-6.

## Sunday first January

Gifts rewards. Geven Mistrells vs. amongst my  
 men vs. to Sleggs man ijs. vjd.  
 to Foxons mā ijs. vjd. to Moat  
 man ijs. to Colletts man, Parts,  
 and Dearsleies man iiijs. to  
 Jacobbs man ijs. to Hawfelds  
 man iijs. to Stodhers man iijs.  
 to Killingbanthe man ijs. to  
 Hawsed ijs. vjd. to Good-  
 wins man iijs. to Tassll's man  
 ijs. to R. Giles his man vs.  
 to Danes man ijs. to Molls and  
 Tar man xijs. to Ballaams man  
 iijs. to my brother Paitons man  
 ijs. vjd. to Mistres Bedels man  
 ijs. vjd. to Pratts man ijs. vjd.  
 to Pitches man iiijs. to my  
 brother xxs. . . . .

} iiiij li. xj s. viij d.

## Monday 2 January, to Saturday 7 January

|                |   |    |    |                         |   |
|----------------|---|----|----|-------------------------|---|
| Ordinary fish, | 24  | 11 | 22 | } iiiij li. xvj s. v d. |   |
| flesh, fowle,  | P <sup>d</sup> for mallards, teales, plov'rs, |    |    |                         |   |
| eggs.          | 12  | 72 | 24 |                         | 4 |
|                | snypes, larkes, coñyes, par-                  |    |    |                         |   |
|                | tryches, herneshewes, & other                 |    |    |                         |   |
|                | ffowle. And for veales, piggs,                |    |    |                         |   |
|                | eggs, a horseloode of fish, &                 |    |    |                         |   |
|                | other ordynn <sup>ry</sup> fish, as appear-   |    |    |                         |   |
|                | eth p'ticlerlye by the Clerke of              |    |    |                         |   |
|                | y <sup>e</sup> kyche his bill . . . . .       |    |    |                         |   |

## R.NORTH

Som' of this Wekes }  
 charge cometh to } ix li. viij s. jd. \*

\* In many of the Weekly Accompts which follow these, the sums total are faultily cast up.

Sunday 8 January,

Monday 9 January, Tuesday 10 January.

|                |  |                          |
|----------------|--|--------------------------|
| Gifts rewards. | Geven George North <i>vli.</i> to Min-<br>strells <i>iiijli.</i> to R. Giles man <i>vjs.</i><br><i>viiid.</i> to M <sup>r</sup> Wrens man <i>vs.</i> to<br>Wrens man <i>iijs.</i> to Killing-<br>worths man <i>iijs.</i> to Foxon<br>man <i>iijs.</i> to the Kitching folks<br><i>xijs.</i> to Pritcherds sarvant <i>xd.</i> to<br>W.B. <i>xs.</i> to Stearns man <i>iijs.</i><br>to Buller <i>vjs.</i> <i>viiid.</i> to Ship-<br>wright. <i>iijs.</i> to Balls men <i>xjs.</i><br>For a martch pain <i>ijs.</i> <i>vjd.</i> to<br>Alin <i>ijs.</i> to Wall <i>iijs.</i> . . . | } <i>xi li. xiiij s.</i> |
|----------------|--|--------------------------|

Wensday 11 January, Thursday 12 January.

|                           |  |                        |
|---------------------------|--|------------------------|
| Forein charg,<br>hedging. | Paid Boosom of Cambridg for<br>Norberys debt <i>viijs.</i> <i>ijd.</i><br>for a plo <sup>m</sup> er <i>ijs.</i> <i>viiid.</i> for<br>hedgin ditching 115 pole in<br>pond medow at <i>ijd.</i> ob. the<br>pole, <i>xxiijs.</i> <i>id.</i> . . . | } <i>xxxv s. ij d.</i> |
|---------------------------|--|------------------------|

Friday 13 January, Saterdag 14 January.

|  |  |                       |
|--|--|-----------------------|
| Ordinary fish,<br>flesh, fowle,<br>eggs. | Paid for fowle as by the clarks<br>bill apears <i>xvjs.</i> <i>xd.</i> to Dane<br>for conies <i>iijs.</i> <i>ijd.</i> <i>vj</i> piggs<br>bowght by Stanton <i>vjs.</i> for<br><i>ij</i> porks and a half <i>xxvs.</i> for<br>neats towngs and cowes ud-<br>ders <i>viijs.</i> for sea fish <i>viijs.</i> for<br>eggs <i>ijs.</i> . . . | } <i>iiij li. xs.</i> |
|--|--|-----------------------|

|               |  |                   |
|---------------|--|-------------------|
| Moat-laborers | Paid Adam for xij men this weke<br>in the worke in the moat<br>xxxvjs. vjd. Paid to Leake of<br>Market for 3 hogsheads of<br>beare xxijs. vjd. | } lviiij s. xj d. |
| Beere bowght. |  |                   |

## R.NORTH

|                    |                         |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Som' of this wekes | } xxli. xvij s. viij d. |
| charge cometh to   |                         |

\* \* \* \* \*

Vol. i. fol. 7.

*The Charges of my Lords buildings at his howse in Charter House<sup>a</sup> Yeard  
nere London, done there betwene ye last of August 1575 and the last  
of January 1575. And also of the Howsehold stuff & other neces-  
saries for ye same howse bought win ye said tyme as appeareth more at  
large by p'ticler Bills thre of*

## Buylding.

|            |  |       |                       |
|------------|--|-------|-----------------------|
| Bricklayer | P <sup>d</sup> to the Bricklayers          | . . . | lxiiijli. xjs. ij d.  |
| Mason      | P <sup>d</sup> to the free Masons          | . . . | xxxvjli.              |
| Carpenter  | P <sup>d</sup> to the Carpenters           | . . . | xxxixli. xvs.         |
| Smyth      | P <sup>d</sup> to the Smythes              | . . . | xvli. xvjs. iij d.    |
| Joyner     | P <sup>d</sup> to the Joyners              | . . . | xxjli. xiijs.         |
| Plom'er    | P <sup>d</sup> to the Plomer               | . . . | xli. xiijs. vj d.     |
| Glasier    | P <sup>d</sup> to the Glasier              | . . . | vli. ix s. xj d.      |
| Tyler      | P <sup>d</sup> for Bricke and Tyles        | . . . | iiijli. xjs. iiij d.  |
| Nayles     | P <sup>d</sup> for Nayles                  | . . . | xxxiijs. vd.          |
| Lyme       | P <sup>d</sup> for Lyme, Sand, & Lathe     | . . . | xxxviijs. iij d.      |
| Pavying    | P <sup>d</sup> for paving tyles and paving | . . . | iiijli. iijs. viij d. |

<sup>a</sup> The site of the Monastery of Charter House was given by Henry VIII, Apr. 14th, 1545, to his lordship's father, who died in 1563-4. Dr. Bancroft, on the authority of Dudley Lord North, tells us, that, Sir Edward, being commanded to attend the King, after his Majesty had eyed him angrily, some time, he accosted him with—"We are informed that you have cheated us out of certain lands in Middlesex." To this Sir Edward answered negatively in a plain and humble manner. The King then said, "How was it then, did we give those lands to you?" "Yes Sir," replied Sir Edward, "Your Majesty was pleased so to do." The monarch then assumed a milder countenance, and conferred privately with him. Roger Lord North sold the Charter House to the Duke of Norfolk in 1565, except the part on the East side the chapel, now called Rutland Court, alluded to above.

|                  |   |                         |
|------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Plastering . . . | P <sup>d</sup> for Plastering . . . . .   | iiijli. vijs.           |
| Cariages . . .   | Carriage of gravell & rubbyshe  | xiiijs.                 |
| Howsehold Stuffe |   |                         |
| Napery . . .     | P <sup>d</sup> for Naperie . . . . .  | ixli. ijs.              |
| Sheets . . .     | P <sup>d</sup> for Sheetes . . . . .  | xli. xiijs.             |
| Pewter . . .     | for Pewt <sup>r</sup> Vessell . . . . .   | lijs.                   |
| Tables . . .     | for Tables, cupbords, bed-<br>steads, & stooles . . . . .                       | xijli. xvjs. iiijd.     |
| Bedding . . .    | for feath <sup>r</sup> bedds, com'inge, &<br>oth <sup>r</sup> bedding . . . . . | xxiiijli. xiijs. iiijd. |
| Carpetts . . .   | for grene table Carpetts . . .  | iiijli. vijs. vjd.      |
| Hangings . . .   | for mending of hangings . . .   | iiijli.                 |
| Potts . . .      | for black jacks & hall potts . . .  | xiijs. vjd.             |
|                  | for necessary howsehold stuff<br>for the kychen . . . . .                       | xxxixs. vjd.            |
| Hangings,&c.     | for howsehold stuff bought of<br>Mr Halton . . . . .                            | li. ijs. iiijd.         |

R.NORTH

|   |   |                    |
|---|---|--------------------|
| Sum'a tot'lis of the Charges<br>of the sayd buyldings<br>and Howsehold stuff<br>bought within the said<br>tyme ys . . . . . | } | iiijCxxvijli. xjs. |
|---|---|--------------------|

\* \* \* \* \*

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1577.

*A brieff Collec'on & Declaracon, of all suche provision as was spent at y<sup>e</sup> howse of y<sup>e</sup> right honourable the Lord North off Kertlinge, at y<sup>e</sup> Q Maties comyng thither on Monday y<sup>e</sup> first of Sept. to supp<sup>r</sup> & taryng there untill Wednesday aft<sup>r</sup> dynn<sup>r</sup> next following (being in the xx<sup>th</sup> yeare off her Maties reigne) And also a brieff Note of the gifts rewards & oth<sup>r</sup> charges y<sup>t</sup> grewe upon y<sup>e</sup> same.*

|                |      |   |      |   |                                   |   |                     |
|----------------|------|---|------|---|-----------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| Manchett . . . | 1200 | { | cast | { | w <sup>ch</sup> was made of . . . | { | xvijli. xis. iiijd. |
| Cheatbread     | 3600 |   |      |   |                                   |   |                     |

## White bread and cheat bread

|   |  |                                |
|---|--|--------------------------------|
| bought . . . . .                            | xxiiij dooss. . .                        | xxiijs.                        |
| Hoggesheads of beare . . . .                | lxxiiij . . . . .                        | xxxij <i>li</i> . vijs. vjd.   |
| Toonnes of Ale . . . . .                    | ij . . . . .                             | iiij <i>li</i> . xiijs.        |
| Hoggesh' of claret wyne . . .               | vj . . . . .                             | xxvij <i>li</i> .              |
| Hoggesh' of white wyne . . .                | i . . . . .                              | iiij <i>li</i> . xs.           |
| Rundlets of Sack cont: 20 Gall <sup>s</sup> | i . . . . .                              | liijs. iiijd.                  |
| Hoggesh' of vinegar . . . . .               | i . . . . .                              | xxxiijs. iiijd.                |
| Steares and Oxen . . . . .                  | xi dī . . . . .                          | xlvi <i>li</i> .               |
| Muttons . . . . .                           | lxvij . . . . .                          | xxvij <i>li</i> . xvjs.        |
| Veales . . . . .                            | xvij dī . . . . .                        | xj <i>li</i> . xiijs. iiijd.   |
| Lambes . . . . .                            | vij . . . . .                            | xxxvs.                         |
| Piggs . . . . .                             | xxxiiij . . . . .                        | xxxiijs                        |
| Geese . . . . .                             | xxxij . . . . .                          | xxxijs                         |
| Capons . . . . .                            | xxx doos & iij . . . . .                 | xxvij <i>li</i> . iijs. vjd.   |
| Turkies . . . . .                           | vj . . . . .                             | xxs.                           |
| Swannes . . . . .                           | xxxij . . . . .                          | x <i>li</i> . xiijs. iiijd.    |
| Mallards and yong Ducks . . .               | xxij doos. & ix . . . . .                | v <i>li</i> . xvjs. vjd.       |
| Cranes . . . . .                            | i . . . . .                              | xiijs. iiijd.                  |
| Hearnshewes . . . . .                       | xxviij . . . . .                         | iiij <i>li</i> . xiijs. iiijd. |
| Bitters . . . . .                           | <sup>xx</sup> v. x . . . . .             | xvij <i>li</i> . vjs. viijd    |
| Shovellers . . . . .                        | xii . . . . .                            | iiij <i>li</i> .               |
| Chickins . . . . .                          | <sup>xx</sup> iiij xix doos dī . . . . . | xix <i>li</i> . xviijs.        |
| Pigeons . . . . .                           | cv <sup>xx</sup> xvij doos . . . . .     | x <i>li</i> . xvjs.            |
| Pewytts . . . . .                           | viiij doos, x . . . . .                  | v <i>li</i> . xvjs. viijd.     |
| Godwyttts . . . . .                         | lxviij . . . . .                         | xvij <i>li</i> .               |
| Gulls . . . . .                             | xviij . . . . .                          | iiij <i>li</i> . xs.           |
| Dottrells . . . . .                         | viiij doos, iij . . . . .                | v <i>li</i> . viijs.           |
| Snypes . . . . .                            | viiij . . . . .                          | iijs.                          |
| Knotts . . . . .                            | xxix . . . . .                           | xxixs.                         |
| Plovers . . . . .                           | xxviij . . . . .                         | xxxs.                          |
| Styntts . . . . .                           | v . . . . .                              | vs.                            |

|  |                                     |                        |
|--|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Redshanks . . . . .                              | xviiij . . . . .                    | xviiij s.              |
| Yerw helps . . . . .                             | ij . . . . .                        | ij s.                  |
| Partriches . . . . .                             | xxii . . . . .                      | xi s.                  |
| Pheasants . . . . .                              | i . . . . .                         | iiij s.                |
| Quailes . . . . .                                | xxvij doos, ij . . . . .            | xiii li. xi s. viij d. |
| Curlews . . . . .                                | ij . . . . .                        | xij s. iiij d.         |
| Connyes . . . . .                                | viiij doos . . . . .                | iiij li. xvj s.        |
| Staggs . . . . .                                 | iiij made into 48 pasties . . . . . |                        |
| Buckles . . . . .                                | xvi made into 128 pasties . . . . . |                        |
| Gamonds of bacon . . . . .                       | viiij . . . . .                     | xxx s.                 |
| Larde . . . . .                                  | xiiij lbs. . . . .                  | viiij s. viij d.       |
| Neats tongs, feet, & udd <sup>rs</sup> . . . . . | xi <sup>xx</sup> . i . . . . .      | liij s. iiij d.        |
| Butter . . . . .                                 | iiijC xxx lb. . . . .               | vj li. vij s. vj d.    |
| Eggs . . . . .                                   | ijMvC. xxij . . . . .               | iiij li. iiij s.       |
| Sturgeons . . . . .                              | iiij caggs . . . . .                | xlviij s. viij d.      |
| Craye fyshes . . . . .                           | viiij doos . . . . .                | xiiij s. iiij d.       |
| Turbutts . . . . .                               | viiij . . . . .                     | liij s. iiij d.        |
| Oysters . . . . .                                | a cartload & 2 horseloads . . . . . | v li.                  |
| Anchoves . . . . .                               | 1 barrell . . . . .                 | x s.                   |
| Pykes . . . . .                                  | ij . . . . .                        | xx s.                  |
| Carpes . . . . .                                 | ij . . . . .                        | vj s. viij d.          |
| Tenchies . . . . .                               | iiij . . . . .                      | vj s.                  |
| Pearchies . . . . .                              | xii . . . . .                       | xii s.                 |
| Redd herring . . . . .                           | iiijC . . . . .                     | vij s. vj d.           |
| Holland Cheeses . . . . .                        | vj . . . . .                        | xx s.                  |
| M <sup>r</sup> che panes . . . . .               | x . . . . .                         | v li.                  |
| Ypocras . . . . .                                | vj gall'. . . . .                   | xxx s.                 |

|   |               |
|---|---------------|
| Gyftes and Rewards to y <sup>e</sup> Quenes Ma <sup>ties</sup> Officers<br>and servants . . . . . | } xlviiij li. |
| Rewards to Noble mens servants, Gent. servants,<br>and others . . . . .                           |               |

|   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| Paym <sup>ts</sup> to sundrie p'sons labouring and taking<br>paynes about this busyness . . . . .   | } vij li. vij d.          |
| Charge of y <sup>e</sup> bancketting howse, y <sup>e</sup> new Kychens<br>& tryming upp chambers & oth <sup>r</sup> rowmes . . . . .                    | } xxxij li. ij s. iiij d. |
| Basketts, hamps, jacks, casks & oth <sup>r</sup> necess <sup>s</sup> . . . . .  | xj li.                    |
| Carriage of provisionsh y <sup>e</sup> hale, and oth <sup>r</sup> things . . . . .  | iiij li. xiiij s. viij d. |
| Ryding charges & furniture of horses . . . . .  | iiij li. xix s. xi d.     |
| Wax lights and toorchies . . . . .  | iiij li. vij s.           |
| Suger . . . . .   | xvj li. iiij s.           |
| Grocerie ware, bancketting stuff, salletts, rootes,<br>and hearbes . . . . .  | } xxxix li. xxi d.        |
| Keping off Wyldefowle . . . . .   | xx s.                     |
| Hying of pewt <sup>r</sup> vessell . . . . .  | xx s.                     |
| Keping & scowring of pewt <sup>r</sup> vessell . . . . .  | xxvj s. viij d.           |
| The losse of pewt <sup>r</sup> vessell <sup>a</sup> . . . . .   |                           |
| Charcoales bought & spent . . . . .   | iiij li. iiij d.          |
| P <sup>d</sup> to y <sup>e</sup> Cookes of London . . . . .   | xxi li.                   |
| Making a standing for y <sup>e</sup> Q. in the p'ke . . . . .   | xxv s.                    |
| Candles spent v <sup>xx</sup> . lb . . . . .  | xxv s.                    |
| Wheat flower and Rye meale spent in y <sup>e</sup> pastrie . . . . .  | iiij li.                  |
| Thincrease of expences (above the ordin <sup>'ie</sup><br>charge) by the space of a fortnight before and<br>aft hir Ma <sup>ties</sup> comyng . . . . . | } xx li.                  |
| Fforen charges about this busynes . . . . .   | iiij li.                  |
| Laburers wages after y <sup>e</sup> Q. departure . . . . .  | xxij s. ij d.             |
| The Jewell given to y <sup>e</sup> Quenes Ma <sup>tie</sup> . . . . .   | Cxx £                     |

**R. NORTH**Tot<sup>'lis</sup>—vij C. lxij li. iiij s. ij d.

<sup>a</sup> The amount of this Item, which is here omitted, will be found under the date of October 4 following, viz. xlv lb. at viij d. 1e lb. --- xxxij s. ij d.



|            |  |                        |
|------------|--|------------------------|
| Aug 6      | Lost at Maw w <sup>h</sup> the Queen . . . . .   | xxviiij li.            |
|            | Lost at Primerow . . . . .   | xxxiiij li.            |
| 27         | L. of Surreis Man for a Stag . . . . .   | xiiij s. iiij d.       |
| Sep. 2     | A rownd basin and Ewer w <sup>th</sup> a piss-<br>pot of Silv <sup>r</sup> weigh <sup>g</sup> 57 Oz. paid for<br>the waight 5 <sup>s</sup> p <sup>r</sup> Oz and 6 <sup>d</sup> an Oz<br>for the fashion . . . . . | } xv li. x s.          |
| 18         | Minstrells . . . . .   |                        |
|            | Godsoon Millicent <sup>a</sup> . . . . .   | x s.                   |
| Oct 2      | Lost at Post . . . . .   | v s.                   |
| 12         | Labourers in Hopp Ground . . . . .   | xiv s.                 |
| 25         | Sholder of Venison . . . . .   | j s.                   |
| Nov 2 to   | } Lost at Play w <sup>h</sup> the Queen . . . . .  | . xxxij li.            |
| Dec 16     |  |                        |
|            | Apparel . . . . .  | xx li. xviiij s.       |
|            | A Lease of a House and household<br>stuff given to M <sup>r</sup> Tho North . . . . .  | } xlvj li. xj s. xj d. |
| Dec. 21 to | } Apparell for my Lord . . . . .   |                        |
| Feb 22.    | } The Queens New Years Gift . . . . .  | . x li.                |
|            | Given in Co'te at New Years Tyde . . . . .   | xvj li. x s.           |
|            | Lost at Play to the Queen . . . . .  | lxx li.                |
|            | P <sup>d</sup> to Whythe for my L. Henrie . . . . .  | x li.                  |
|            | Boat hier and torches . . . . .  | ix s. x d.             |
|            | A Butt of Sack . . . . .   | x li.                  |
|            | A Rundlet of Wyne . . . . .  | j li. xiiij s. iiij d. |
|            | A hand gonne & gonne Powder . . . . .  | xxxij s.               |
|            | Moneys layed out for Mr. John<br>North in Italye . . . . .   | } xlix li. x s.        |
|            |  |                        |

<sup>a</sup> Millicent was one of Lord North's Gentlemen Retainers. The name appears in the list entered on the first leaf of the MS. dated 28 July, 1578. His Lordship's standing godfather to the son of this person, and his making presents to his servants upon their marriage and the christenings of their children, are worth notice, as proofs of his condescension and kindness to his domestics.

|       |   |                     |
|-------|---|---------------------|
| Mar 5 | A Toon of Gascoine Wine . . . .   | xii li.             |
|       | 20 Gallons of Sacke . . . .   | x li.               |
|       | 12 Score Yards of Matts for the great Chamber . . . . .   | } iij li. xs.       |
|       | The Bishopp of Ely for a Leaze of Swaffam, Lxvj li. xiii s. iij d. wh <sup>h</sup> lease ys made to Fakes of market; for the w <sup>ch</sup> Fakes must deliver yerly for viij yeres following xxx quarten malt and for xii Yeres after that xxxv quarters malt at the howse of me L. North situate in Kirtling . . . . . |                     |
| 14    | R John to mew a Cast of Hawkes, the Goshawke and y <sup>e</sup> faulcon . . . .   | } xs.               |
|       | A fresh Salmon . . . . .  |                     |
|       | A pownd of fresh butter . . . . .   | xiij s. iij d.      |
|       | Black Soape . . . . .   | iiij d.             |
| 18    | 40 Yards of tawnie cloth for liveries at viiid. the Yerd, xvj li. iij s. and given my Retainers xs. the pice to by cates . . . . .  | } xxviij li. iij s. |
|       |   |                     |

Lenten Stuff

|   |  |                         |
|---|--|-------------------------|
| 3 | Barells of Whight herring              | iij li.                 |
|   | iiij s. vj d. ij Cades of Redd herring |                         |
|   | xx s. ij Cades of Spratts              | iiij s. viij d.         |
|   | xx Salt eels                           | xxvj s. viij d.         |
|   | a barrell of salt Salmon               | iiij li. xiij s. iij d. |
|   |  | } xli. ix s. iij d.     |
|   |  |                         |

1577

|              |   |            |
|--------------|---|------------|
| Apr 14 & 15. | Fower quarters Rent Wheat at viij s. a Q <sup>r</sup> . . . . . | } xxxij s. |
| 16 Apr to    | Apparell for Edward North when he                               |            |
| 6 May        | went to my L. of Bedforth . . . . .                             | } iij li.  |

|         |   |                            |
|---------|---|----------------------------|
|         | For a thosand and xxiiij ownzes half<br>of Silver dishes : at iiij s. x d. ob. the<br>ownze CCxlix li. viij s. vj d. for<br>making the same, at iij s. the ownz<br>xij li. xvj s. iij d. in the hole CClxij li.<br>xiiij s. ix d.   |                            |
|         | The Parcells by thus devided. 13<br>littell dishes w <sup>s</sup> . Clix oz. iij qt. di:<br>13 greter dishes w <sup>s</sup> . CCxviiij Oz.<br>iij q <sup>t</sup> . 13 greter dishes w <sup>s</sup> CCiiij <sup>xx</sup> Oz.<br>iij qt di: vi great plattr w <sup>s</sup> . Ciiij <sup>xx</sup><br>v Oz. iij qt: on gret charger, &<br>ij platters, w <sup>s</sup> . Clvj Oz. di qt <sup>r</sup> : viij<br>Sawsers w <sup>s</sup> . xlij Oz. iii qt <sup>r</sup> . . . . . | CClxij li. xiiij s. ix d.  |
| May 22  | A Paire of hose for the foole . . . . .   | xij s.                     |
| 30      | Mr Pooley for his howse and all his<br>Land in Mildnall iij C li. w <sup>h</sup> . a Lease<br>w <sup>h</sup> . he hath from Michell Howse for<br>36 Yeres now to come: he ys to<br>have the Land during his Life, and<br>his wives freely. For making the<br>convaiance and for licence of alien-<br>ation iij li. xs. for the seale xxii s.:<br>for wrighting xiiij s. iij d. for waxe<br>& other fees xii s. . . . .  | iij Cix li. viij s. iij d. |
| May 30  | To my Piper . . . . .   | ij s. vj d.                |
| June 25 | Lost at Play at Kenelworth <sup>a</sup> . . . . .   | L li.                      |
| Aug 4   | Given Ritcherdson to his maraeg <sup>b</sup> . . . . .  | xl s.                      |

<sup>a</sup> Lord North was from home from June 26th until the 8th of July; and he has noted in the margin "to my L. of Leicester." The queen at this time visited Kenilworth.

Things bowght at Sturbridg faier

|         |   |   |                           |
|---------|---|---|---------------------------|
| Sep. 14 | A C. Salt fish Lix s. whight Salt iij s.<br>1 qt iij lb. xiiij s. bay Salt iij qt Lvj s.<br>2 Kettles xiiij s. vjd. ix dust baskets<br>iiij s. vj pailles ijs. vjd. 2 firkins of<br>Soape xxix s. Feather bed tike<br>xix s. a Jacke ijs. ijd. a frieng pañe<br>ijs. ijd. hors meat xvjd. 20lb of<br>raissins vs. 20lb Corants vijs. vjd.<br>10 lb prewens xxs. Liiij lb. gon Pow-<br>Lviijs. vjd. for 14lb Matches iij s.<br>ixd. dogg Cowples xx d. 10lb Sugar<br>xii s. vjd. | } | xiiij li. xiiij s. iij d. |
| Oct 2   | Paid unto the Bishopp of Rochester<br>for his half Yeres rent due for the<br>parsonage of Kirtlinge ending at<br>Michaelmas last 1577: paid in the<br>Closet at Winsor at Evening prayer  | } | vij li. xs.               |
| Novr 26 | To Spinola for Jhon Norths being in<br>Ytaly ij Cli. beside a Cli. given him<br>at his goeing himself, his ij men<br>apparrell and horsed: he was out<br>but ij Yeres ij Moneths gave him<br>by Mr Osborne and myself at his<br>com̄ing home to furnish him<br>w <sup>h</sup> all Lli.  | } | ij CL li.                 |
| Nov. 26 | A Litter to convey my Sister North<br>to London . . . . .   | } | xxxvijs. ix d.            |
|         | Stanton of Tower-hill for fortie<br>calivers furnished . . . . .  | } | xxvj li. xiiij s. iiij d. |
| Dec 3   | To my L. Howards Plaiers . . . . .  | } | vs.                       |
| 8       | For soling iij paire of my Shooes . . . . .   | } | iij s.                    |

|             |   |                          |
|-------------|---|--------------------------|
| Dec 9, 10.  | For xvj ells of Cloth for y <sup>e</sup> table in<br>y <sup>e</sup> hall . . . . .  | } xxi s.                 |
|             | Mending my Pearle Spoons . . . . .  | ij s. vj d.              |
| 25 to 26    | ij Saddells coverd w <sup>b</sup> storks skins . . . . .  | xxi s.                   |
| 30 to 31    | A C of Hopps <sup>a</sup> . . . . .   | xx s.                    |
|             | (Lost at) Play (London) . . . . .   | xxvij li. x s.           |
| Jan 20 to   | Subside paid to M <sup>r</sup> Pole . . . . .   | xi li. ij s. iiij d.     |
| Feb 15      | Armor for xlij morions vj li. xij s. for<br>chests, matches, and other things<br>to them xix s.   | } vij li. xi s.          |
|             | A Tonn and half of wine . . . . .   | xxv li.                  |
| Mar 5 & 6   | Matting <sup>b</sup> 3 Chambers w <sup>b</sup> Bedfordsheer<br>matts being in hole vj <sup>xx</sup> Yards at v d.<br>the Yard Lj s. viij d. Given the men<br>for their paines vj s. viij d. | } Lvij s. iiij d.        |
|             | Boate hire . . . . .  | xxxvij s.                |
| 1578        |   |                          |
| 24 Mar to   | Armor <sup>r</sup> bowght . . . . .   | xxxvj li. xi s. iiij d.  |
| 6 May       | Comm <sup>n</sup> Livires <sup>c</sup> . . . . .  | xxiiij li. ij s. viij d. |
|             | Paid my La. Worcester due at L <sup>y</sup> D <sup>y</sup>  | x li.                    |
| 9 & 10 May  | Matting the upper Gallarie 37 Y <sup>ds</sup> . . . . .   | xv s. ix d.              |
| 18 to 20 My | Armour for a Cote . . . . .   | x s.                     |
|             | To Mores Dansers . . . . .  | ij s. vj d.              |
|             | To 6 of my men to buie Coats . . . . .  | iiij li.                 |

<sup>a</sup> Notwithstanding considerable purchases of Hops frequently occur in these accounts, his lordship had a hop-ground of no small size, as the charges for labour and rates sufficiently prove.

<sup>b</sup> Although mats and carpets were now in use, they had not superseded the ancient custom of strewing rushes over the floors of the apartments. A custom still kept up, at least a few years ago, in the Trinity-House, Hull, and here we have frequent charges for them, "for the chambers."

<sup>c</sup> The expenditures on account of his Liveries, no less than on account of his own apparel, annually, compared with the present value of money, are very considerable, and show that Lord North was not inattentive to the splendid appearance which his rank and situation in life required him to keep up.

|            |   |                        |
|------------|---|------------------------|
| May 15 to  | Shooes and Stocks for the foole, and            | } iij s. xd.           |
| 17         | a Capp . . . . .                                |                        |
|            | Lost at Saint <sup>a</sup> . . . . .            | xv s.                  |
| June 3 to  | Goeng towards Buxton . . . . .                  |                        |
| July 18    | A Saddell trimed w <sup>h</sup> velvet and Har- | } vij li. xs.          |
|            | ness for myself . . . . .                       |                        |
|            | Play and Cockepitt . . . . .                    | xiiij li.              |
| Omitted.   |   |                        |
| Nov. 6     | Paid the Mr of the Rolls a Cli. wh <sup>h</sup> | } Cli.                 |
|            | my brother tooke upp of his Chil-               |                        |
|            | drens Portion . . . . .                         |                        |
| Dec. 19    | The polers of my hoppgrownd in part             | } xs.                  |
|            | of a more <sup>b</sup> soom . . . . .           |                        |
| July 23 24 | A new Saddell & furniture . . . . .             | vj li.                 |
|            | ij new Motley Saddells . . . . .                | xxx s.                 |
|            | A barrell of Sturgeon . . . . .                 | Ls.                    |
|            | Hem Sed for Quailes . . . . .                   | xd.                    |
|            | A lode of rushes . . . . .                      | xv s.                  |
|            | Sundry of my Men to bye Cotes . . . . .         | vj li.                 |
| Aug 8. 9   | xiiijlb of Hopps . . . . .                      | iiij s. iiij d.        |
|            | 4lb of Wax Lights 2 in lb . . . . .             | iiij s.                |
| 22. 23     | Printed Paper . . . . .                         | xij s.                 |
|            | Sundrie of the blacke gard traveling            | } viij s. vj d.        |
|            | by the way . . . . .                            |                        |
| Sep 1      | My L. of Lestors Cookes . . . . .               | iiij li.               |
|            | To Harbingers . . . . .                         | xx s.                  |
|            | To the Usher . . . . .                          | iiij li. vj s. viij d. |
|            | To Cookes to visit me . . . . .                 | xx s.                  |

<sup>a</sup> Cent, or Saint, was played by counting the cards, and probably did not differ much from Picquet.—Strutt's Sports, &c. p. 248.

<sup>b</sup> Similar to this expression is the passage in Shakespeare's King John. Act 2. Scene 1. "To make a more requital to your love."

1578

|                                |   |   |                     |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---------------------|
| Sep. 28                        | }   | For stamping Crabbs . . . . .   | iijs ix d.          |
| to Oct. 4                      |   | Vessell lost at the Queen's being<br>here xlvlb. at viij d. le lb. . . . .      | xxxii s. ij d.      |
| 8 & 9                          | }   | For Pewter at Cambridge which was<br>lost at the Q. being here . . . . .        | xxx s.              |
| 17 & 18                        |   | 3 Quarters Crabbs . . . . .   | v d.                |
|                                |   | lxij Lings bowght at Ely faier . . . . .  | iiij li.            |
|                                |   | (Foot post to London) or as it is . . . . .                                     | } vj s.             |
| 19                             | My footman to Court . . . . .   |   |                     |
|                                |   | 20 Stears bowght at Ely faier . . . . .   | xxxij li.           |
| 22 23                          |   | 20 Weathers . . . . .   | vj li.              |
|                                |   | 3Clb. of candell . . . . .  | iiij li. xvi s.     |
|                                |   | 25 Eues and lambs . . . . .   | v li.               |
| Nov 3. 4                       |   | Geven Elizabeth North for Smocks . . . . .                                      | x s.                |
|                                |   | L. Lesters plaiers . . . . .  | xl s.               |
|                                |   | For a Peticote vj li. gloves xij s. for<br>buskins xxx s. . . . .               | } viij li. xii s.   |
| 25                             | Tents of all my Land in Middellsex<br>xxiv li. xiv s. vij d. q <sup>r</sup> : and tents of<br>my lands in Suffolke and Cam-<br>bridgsheare xii li. v s. viii d. ob. . . . . | } xl li. iiij s. ob   |                     |
| 28 29                          | ij Hogsheds of Wine & Carr <sup>s</sup> . . . . .   |   | x li.               |
|                                |   | to La. N. . . . .   | xl s.               |
| Dec <sup>r</sup> 5. 6          | }   | A Supper for my L. of Surrey, be side<br>all my P'vision, at Cambridg . . . . . | xlvs.               |
|                                |   | Geven Bess North to buy a Peticote . . . . .                                    | vij s.              |
| 7. 8. 9                        |   | To a purswivant . . . . .   | v s.                |
|                                |   | Velvet, lace, and making of a doblet<br>& hose of leather . . . . .             | } vij li. v s.      |
| Jan <sup>y</sup> 21 to         | }   | A fanne of feathers . . . . .   |                     |
| 19 Fe <sup>b<sup>y</sup></sup> |   | ij Toones of Claret & 1 hoggeshead<br>of white bowght at Lynne . . . . .        | xxvij li. v s. x d. |

|            |   |   |                               |
|------------|---|---|-------------------------------|
| Mar. 7     | A Butt of Sacke from London <i>xli.</i>                         | } | <i>xj li. vj s. viij d.</i>   |
|            | carieng the same <i>xxvj s. viij d.</i>                         |   |                               |
| 8          | The footman to runn to London . . .                             |   | <i>iiij s. vj d.</i>          |
| 12. 13. 14 | For riding rodts . . . . .                                      |   | <i>iiij s.</i>                |
| 1579       |   |   |                               |
| Apr 8. 9   | For walking Staves . . . . .                                    |   | <i>iiij s. vj d.</i>          |
| 16         | Worke done about the chappell . . .                             |   | <i>vij s. xd.</i>             |
| 25         | For 4 Quarten rent Wheat . . . .                                |   | <i>xxxij s.</i>               |
| June 2     | Given to Sarjant Suite a Hogshed                                | } | <i>iiij li. vj s. viij d.</i> |
|            | of Wine . . . . .   |   |                               |
| 8. 9       | To Shutviles Mariaeg . . . . .                                  |   | <i>xs.</i>                    |
| 14         | For carieng upp the Q. tenths . . .                             |   | <i>xiiij s.</i>               |
| 17 to 29   | A riding Clocke <i>lij s. doblents 1 s.</i>                     | } | <i>xv li. viij s. viij d.</i> |
|            | Silk nether Stocks <i>xl s.</i> for Yarne-                      |   |                               |
|            | hose <i>xxx s.</i> ij hatts <i>xl s.</i> ij pair boot           |   |                               |
|            | hose <i>xxiiij s.</i> for Camericke an ell                      |   |                               |
|            | <i>xij s.</i> for Gloves <i>xx s.</i> Garters <i>vj s.</i>      |   |                               |
|            | Sweet baggs <i>xxij s. viij d.</i> for Points                   |   |                               |
|            | 4 dozen <i>viij s.</i> . . . . .                                |   |                               |
|            | Lost at Play . . . . .  |   | <i>xxvj li.</i>               |
| June 16    | ij Paiments of the last Subside                                 | } | <i>xxxvij s.</i>              |
|            | grawnted, 18 of the Q. ending this                              |   |                               |
|            | yer 1579 for Kirtling Parsonag <i>3 s.:</i>                     |   |                               |
|            | <i>xij</i> for quitance . . . . .                               |   |                               |
| 30         | 3 Quarten of bay Salt at <i>viij s.</i> the Q <sup>n</sup>      | } | <i>iiij li. xvj s.</i>        |
|            | ij Qua <sup>n</sup> of Whight Salt at <i>viij s.</i> 1e         |   |                               |
|            | Q <sup>n</sup> <i>xliiij s.</i> Clb. of candell <i>xxxij s.</i> |   |                               |
| Aug 12     | For working a flanell Peticote . . .                            |   | <i>xiiij s. iiij d.</i>       |
| 17         | The Bishop of Ely for conveying a                               | } | <i>xx li.</i>                 |
|            | Leas to me of the p'ions and amerce-                            |   |                               |
|            | ments of the Yle . . . . .                                      |   |                               |
| Sep. 14    | Lost to the Queen . . . . .                                     |   | <i>iiij li. xs.</i>           |
|            | H. North at his parting to Yrland                               | } | <i>xxviij li.</i>             |
|            | <i>xxvij li.</i> besid all furniture; geven                     |   |                               |
|            | his ij Men <i>xx s.</i> apece . . . . .                         |   |                               |

|        |   |                 |
|--------|---|-----------------|
| Oct 6  | To Roges for pas ports . . . . .  | ij s.           |
| 12. 13 | 3 Yards of Tawniy for a Carpet for<br>y <sup>e</sup> littell parlor . . . . . | } xxij s. vj d. |
| 25     | Adam to cristen his Child . . . . .   |                 |

## 1580

|                         |   |                                      |
|-------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| Jan <sup>y</sup> 20. 21 | ij Toon of Wine at Ypswitch . . . . .   | xxviiij li.                          |
| Mar. 14<br>to 25        | for the diet of the Justice of assise<br>and other Justices at Ely for vj<br>meales xii li. for hors meat there<br>for the Justices horses xxx s. for<br>my horsmeat xvj s. . . . . | } xiiij li. vj s.                    |
|                         | Geven in sondrie places in Norfolke<br>at xi severall howses . . . . .  |                                      |
|                         | Geven H. North toward apparrell<br>xxij li & paid for him beside y <sup>t</sup> he<br>spent in Yrland xxx li. . . . .   | } lxxvij li.                         |
| Apr 18 to<br>May 8      | } Aparrell . . . . .  |                                      |
|                         |   | Linnen cloth for the howse . . . . . |
|                         | Law matters . . . . .   | iiij li.                             |
| 9                       | To Soams christening . . . . .  | liii s. iiij d.                      |
| 15 to 17                | To my L of Lesters Plaiers . . . . .  | xxv s.                               |
| July 10<br>to 12        | } A foot post from London . . . . .   | iiij s.                              |
| 16 to 23                |   | vj Bucks . . . . .                   |
|                         | A Stagg . . . . .   | xiiij s. iiij d.                     |
| Aug 6 to 17             | ij Clb. of Candells . . . . .   | iiij lb. vj s. viij d.               |
| Dec 7 to 10             | 200 lb. of Candell . . . . .  | iiij li.                             |
|                         | 200 both to be delivered before Jan <sup>y</sup> vi   | iiij li.                             |

## 1581

|                          |                                       |                          |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Jan <sup>y</sup> 9 to 25 | Charges of Justices Diet at Ely       | } ix li. iiij s. iiij d. |
| Mar.                     | assizes . . . . .                     |                          |
| Mar 31 to<br>May 9.      | } A Silver Rapeir 34 Ownzes . . . . . | xj li.                   |

|            |   |                           |
|------------|---|---------------------------|
| May 24     | A Cupp of gold xxxvi Oz at lvs. the Oz and iijs. the Oz.<br>the making Cvj li. iijs. Geven Away.  |                           |
|            | Lost at Play . . . . .  | xxviiij li.               |
|            | ij Toons Gascoin Wine . . . . .   | xxxiiiij li.              |
|            | A butt of Sack . . . . .  | x li.                     |
| Apr & June | Apparell . . . . .  | xlij li. xviiij s. xj d.  |
| May 24     | } Lost at Play . . . . .  | xxx li.                   |
| to 17 June |   |                           |
|            | Build <sup>s</sup> a howse over my bowling alie   | xvj li. xs.               |
| 21 to 22   | For a Garter to were my ring bye }<br>(at Market) . . . . . }   | xvj d.                    |
| Aug 7      | For Bagots Pasture and Meadow }<br>lieng in Mildenhall ijCxxiiiij li. xs.<br>for writings and assurance w <sup>h</sup> cown-<br>sell in Lawe viij li. to the Attorney }<br>for the Lease of Michell howse in }<br>Mildenhull iCij li. vs. for Assurance }<br>xxs. . . . . } | iiijCxxxv li. xv s.       |
| 26         | Board wags of xii men xii daies . . . . .   | vij li. iiij s.           |
|            | vij score Yards of freese (for Liveries)  | viiij li. iiij s. iiij d. |
|            | A Clock geven to my L. of Lester }<br>with a diall . . . . . }  | v li. xs.                 |
| Oct 29     | A Cup to geve my Ladie Penelope }<br>to hir Marriadg xi li. xvj s. . . . }  |                           |
| Nov 12     | 4 Servis bookes . . . . .   | viiij s. viij d.          |
|            | Geven John North to his Mariaeg . . . . .   | iC li.                    |
|            | Leverais Ls. other gifts at the Ma- }<br>riaeg xls. . . . . }   | iiij li.                  |
| Nov 20     | Froggs and Flies for the Queens Gloves  | 1 s.                      |
|            | Gloves for the Queen xv s. for myself   | vij s.                    |
|            | Making a horss amble . . . . .  | xiiij s. iiij d.          |
| Dec 13     | A POUND made and sett upp at Cowlinge xxxv s. iiij d. ob.   |                           |
| 20         | Pr'sents against New Y <sup>r</sup> Day . . . . .   | liij s. xd.               |
| 27         | vj Cotes of Plate . . . . .   | iiij li.                  |
| Jan' 1     | Newe Yeres Gifts . . . . .  | xxxij s.                  |

XXXIII. *An Inquiry concerning the Kings of the East Angles, from the Murder of Ethelbert in 792, to the Accession of Edmund the Martyr in 855.* By THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.

Read 22d June, 1820.

James Street, Buckingham Gate,  
21 June, 1820.

DEAR SIR

OUR learned Director, Mr. Combe, in his "Account of some Saxon Pennies found at Dorking,"<sup>a</sup> has communicated to the Society his belief that the coins which have been hitherto attributed to *Aethelheard* king of the West Saxons, belong in reality to some unknown king, named *Aethelweard*, who reigned over the East Angles. This opinion, which has since been quoted by our late member, Mr. Ruding, in the second edition of his valuable "Annals of the Coinage of Britain;"<sup>b</sup> certainly derives much weight from the close resemblance of the coins in question to those of Edmund the Martyr, the last of the East Anglian Princes. The resemblance indeed is so exact, as to extend (as Mr. Combe observes,) even to the formation of the letters, and the names of the moneyers. It would therefore warrant a conjecture that *Aethelweard*, if not the immediate predecessor of Edmund, was not long anterior to him. The history of the East Anglian branch of the Heptarchy, is in fact very imperfectly related by our earlier chroniclers, particularly during about sixty-three years which preceded the reign of Edmund; that is, from 792 to 855; and as no light has been thrown on that period of its annals by our later historians, I have ventured to think, that, with reference to Mr. Combe's observations, it might not be wholly unacceptable to the Society, to be furnished with the result of a collation which I have made of the few original authorities of that age which are now remaining to us.

<sup>a</sup> Archaeologia, Vol. XIX. p. 111.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. I. p. 321.

The period during which the East Anglian history is more than usually obscure, commences with the murder of king Ethelbert at the court of the Mercian Monarch Offa. That event (the remarkable circumstances of which have been copiously, but variously related)<sup>a</sup> is stated in the Saxon Chronicle to have taken place in 792,<sup>b</sup> though Florence of Worcester assigns it to the following year.<sup>c</sup> After this, Malmsbury says, *few kings* reigned in the East Angles until the time of Edmund, *pro violentiâ Merciorum*. It seems probable indeed, that during the remainder of Offa's life, as well as in the reigns of Egferth and Kenwulf, his sons and successors, the East Angles had no kings, having been subjected to the Mercian sway through the successful result of that cruel policy which had prompted the murder of their sovereign. But it is ascertained that they had afterwards kings whose names have not been transmitted to us. Even during the reigns of Offa's sons, it does not appear that the Mercian kings assumed their ill-acquired East Anglian title; for in Kenwulf's Charter to the Abbey of Croyland, preserved by Ingulf,<sup>d</sup> as well as in others which have been published by Dugdale and Hearne,<sup>e</sup> he simply styles himself *Rex Merciorum*. Kenwulf, according to the Saxon Chronicle, died in 819. Mr. Carte,<sup>f</sup> says, he was slain in an insurrection of the East Angles, and erroneously quotes the Saxon Chronicle as his authority. No such cause is assigned to this event, either in that record, or by Florence, or Malmsbury; and Carte's authority was probably Bromton,<sup>g</sup> who seems to have confounded Kenwulf with one of his successors named Beornwulf, hereafter noticed.

Whether the East Angles revolted from or remained subject to Kenwulf's immediate successors on the Mercian throne, Kenelm and

<sup>a</sup> The fullest account I have met with, is in Bromton (Twysd. X Script. Col. 750, &c.) who wrote indeed many centuries afterwards, but might have had access to authorities which no longer exist.

<sup>b</sup> P. 65. edit. 1601.

<sup>c</sup> P. 281. edit. 1592.

<sup>d</sup> Ingulf. p. 6. Oxon. 1684.

<sup>e</sup> Mon. Anglic. vol. I. p. 100, 101. &c. Hemingi Chart. Wigorn. vol. 1, p. 1, 23, 25. From many other Charters preserved in the latter work, it appears that *Rex Merciorum* was the title borne by Kenwulf's predecessors, as well as more generally by Offa before the murder of Ethelbert.

<sup>f</sup> Vol. I. p. 275.

<sup>g</sup> Col. 776.

Ceolwulf, does not appear. Their reigns were turbulent and transitory, for the former was murdered, and the latter deposed, in the short space of two years.<sup>a</sup> Beornwulf, the successor of Ceolwulf, is said by Malmsbury<sup>b</sup> to have been slain by the East Angles, in an attempt to compel their allegiance to him as subjects of Mercia from the time of Offa. This event took place in 823, and it is remarkable that both Florence and the Saxon Chronicle relate, that on this occasion the East Anglians and *their King*, had sought the protection of Egbert against the Mercian yoke.<sup>c</sup> The name of this king I do not find in any place recorded, but his existence is thus ascertained from the two best authorities of the times.

After the death of Beornwulf, the Mercian Crown devolved on Ludecan, whose reign was of no longer duration than that of his predecessor had been, and met with a similar termination; for in 825 (according to Florence<sup>d</sup>) in seeking to revenge Beornwulf's death, he was also killed in a battle with the East Angles, *cum rege suo*. The Saxon Chronicle, on this occasion, neither notices the East Anglian king, nor mentions by whom, or in what engagement Ludecan was slain, but that he fell in a contest with the East Angles, is confirmed by Ingulf and Malmsbury. The Chronicle merely says, that he was slain with his five *Ealdormen*, which Florence has rendered *Duces*.

The success of this last battle seems to have secured to the East Angles that independence of the Mercian yoke, which with such courage and perseverance they had been struggling to maintain. Their protector, Egbert, within two years afterwards, subdued Mercia, which however was still permitted to retain its own kings, subordinate and tributary to the West Saxon Monarch. The East Anglian kingdom appears to have been held on the same tenure, for there is no

<sup>a</sup> Flor. Wig. p. 286. Malms. p. 33. Ingulf. p. 7. Oxon. 1684. Alured Beverl. p. 87. The Sax. Chron. does not notice either the accession or death of Kenelm. But that he succeeded his father Kenwulf when a child, and was shortly after murdered by order of his sister Quendrida, are facts related by other historians, and by some of them very circumstantially.

<sup>b</sup> P. 33.

<sup>c</sup> Sax. Chron. p. 71. Flor. Wig. p. 287.

<sup>d</sup> Flor. Wig. p. 288. Malms. p. 33. Ingulf. p. 7. Alured. Beverl. p. 87. Ethelwerd on this occasion seems to have confounded Ludecan with Beornwulf, p. 842.

ground to believe that it was actually annexed to Egbert's territories. On the contrary, the kingdoms under his immediate government were but four, namely, those of Kent, and the West, East, and South Saxons. Over the others, as it appears from the Saxon Chronicle,<sup>a</sup> he merely exercised that superintending control which had been already enjoyed by seven preceding monarchs, at various periods of the Saxon Heptarchy.<sup>b</sup> The internal government, therefore, of the East Angles continued to be administered by its separate kings. Their names indeed have long been buried in oblivion, owing principally perhaps to the destruction by the Danes of the records of the

<sup>a</sup> P. 71. See also Ethelwerd, p. 842, edit. Francof. 1601, and Flor. Wigorn. p. 288.

<sup>b</sup> The story of Egbert's Coronation at Winchester as King of *England*, and of his Edict for changing the name of the Country, as related by Dugdale from the Winchester Annals, (Monast. Anglic. vol. 1, p. 32) has been credited by Stow, Tyrrell, and Strutt, but rejected by Mr. Turner and Mr. Lingard. Mr. Turner has truly observed, that these facts are not noticed by the best authorities. But Egbert's occasional assumption of the title of *Rex Anglorum* (which rests on the authority of a Charter in the Textus Roffensis, p. 97, supposed by Mr. Turner to be a forgery) is perhaps not wholly inconsistent with the supreme sovereignty which he claimed and obtained over the tributary kingdoms. Indeed, if an instrument which has been preserved by Hearne be authentick, that title had already been borne by the Mercian King Offa (see Hemingi Chartul. Wigorn. vol. 2, p. 377,) and although it does not appear that Ethelwulf and his sons, the immediate successors of Egbert, adopted the style of *Reges Anglorum*, yet Mr. Turner seems to have been too hasty in asserting that they always signed themselves Kings of the West Saxons; for the same volume (p. 375, 376) contains two documents in which Ethelbald (to whom his father Ethelwulf had bequeathed the separate government of the West Saxons only) is styled King of the *South Angles*. In the Textus Roffensis (p. 106) I find a Charter in which Ethelwulf himself is called by the more extensive title of *Rex Saxonum*. It may be further observed that Alfred, in a Charter dated 889 (Hemingi Wigorn. p. 43) writes himself *Rex Anglorum et Saxonum*, thus appearing to distinguish the classes of people over whom he governed; though in his will, as Mr. Turner has remarked, he is styled King of the West Saxons, and by Asser *Angulsaxonum Rex*. These diversities (which might be further multiplied) would hardly deserve notice, if they did not appear to shew that, in this early period, the nature and extent of the dominion of the West Saxon monarchs over the neighbouring territories were not very accurately defined. There seems no reason therefore to impeach the authenticity of the Rochester Charter, for having fixed on Egbert a title which was not new; more especially as it appears from Mr. Turner's own statement, that the name *Angli* had been common to the Saxons established in this Island, even as far back as in the time of Bede.

Monastic Institutions within this ill-fated district.<sup>a</sup> Engaged in continual warfare with their invaders, the history of the East Angles, from the close of their contests with the Mercians, till the death of Edmund, (a period of about forty-five years) appears to have had little connexion with that of their Anglo-Saxon neighbours, and was therefore but slightly noticed by them in the scanty annals of that period which have survived to us.

Whatever may have been the cause of this silence, I have not been able to find any East Anglian kings either named or alluded to, from the year 825, until the period when Edmund is said to have been adopted in the Holy Land, by a king named Offa. But as Offa is neither mentioned by the early authorities from whom these facts have been extracted, nor by Abbo Floriacensis, the ancient biographer of Edmund, his existence, as well as the romantick story with which he is connected, may well be doubted. Indeed Asser,<sup>b</sup> as well as Abbo, expressly derives Edmund's birth from the royal line of the East Angles. That one of this royal line was the *Aethelweard* pointed out by Mr. Combe, seems at least very probable. I am even inclined to hazard a conjecture that the ancient and royal town of Attleburgh in Norfolk, which is said by Galfridus de Fontibus to have been

<sup>a</sup> By consulting Tanner's Notitia, and more particularly Mr. R. Taylor's elaborate and well executed "Index Monasticus" of the East Angles, (published since the above paper was read to the Society) it will appear that very few of the religious institutions of that kingdom survived the Danish invasion.

<sup>b</sup> Annales, ed. Gale, p. 159. The story of Offa seems first to have been related by Galfridus de Fontibus, in his work "de Pueritia sancti Edmundi." See Batteley's and Yates's histories of St. Edmondsbury. Florence, (p. 300) speaking of Edmund, says, "ex antiquorum Saxonum prosapia oriundus." This may perhaps be thought to allude to the Saxons of the continent, as contradistinguished from the Anglo-Saxons. Milton, however, understood it differently, for he has described Edmund to have been "lineal from the ancient stock" of the East Anglian kings. In a Legend, edited by Mabillon, a story appears respecting a king named Adalbert, the brother and predecessor of Edmund, and who is said to have reigned 37 years, and 7 months; but Archdeacon Batteley supposes this account to have been founded on mistake, and that Ethelbert, who was murdered at Offa's Court, was the king meant to be alluded to.

founded by a king named *Athla* (or *Attlinge* as he is corruptly named in the manuscript romance of Brame, the Thetford Monk) may have really derived its name from Aethelweard; a suggestion which is not at variance with the supposition of Mr. Le Neve, that it was founded by an *Aetheling*, or Saxon of distinguished rank, and which is at least much more plausible than the derivation proposed by Blomefield.\* I cannot think that either *At-le-Burgh*, (the town at the Burgh), or *At-ling-Burgh* (the Burgh at the Marsh), affords a satisfactory explanation. The derivation I have offered may appear to receive some support from the manner in which Galfridus, (followed by Stow and others), had written the name of the town, viz. *Athel-bourh*, or Athelburgh. It is certain that this town was of such distinguished importance before the Conquest, that the tradition of its having had a Royal Founder is by no means an improbable one.

With this conjecture, submitted without confidence to its fate, I will close a notice, which, scanty as are its materials, may still be thought more minute and detailed than the uninteresting nature of the subject could require. To pursue it further, "though" (in the language of Milton) "it might be done without long search, were to encumber the story with a sort of barbarous names to little purpose."

I remain, Dear Sir,

Most sincerely yours,

THOMAS AMYOT.

To HENRY ELLIS, Esq. Sec. S.A.

\* Hist. Norf. vol. 1. p. 340. fol. The supposed Athla or Attlinge is indeed referred to a former age, but the tradition of the foundation of Attleburgh by an East Anglian king might have reached Galfridus, and the chronology might have been easily confounded by him. As for Brame's work, which still exists among the MSS. left by Archbishop Parker to Bene't College, and of which specimens have been given by Martin, in the Appendix to his History of Thetford, I had a hope that, notwithstanding its absurdities, it might, on examination, be found to throw some light on the subject of this paper. But a careful examination of it, obligingly undertaken at my request by two intelligent friends at Cambridge, has fully ascertained its worthlessness in this as well as in other respects.

XXXIV. *An Account of some Discoveries made in taking down the old Bridge over the River Teign, and in excavating the ground to the depth of fifteen feet five inches below the surface of the water.*  
 By P. T. TAYLOR, Esq. Communicated by SAMUEL LYSONS, Esq.  
 V. P. F. R. S.

Read 5th March, 1818.

**I**N the year 1814 the justices of the county of Devon resolved, at their quarter sessions, to rebuild the bridge over the river Teign (commonly called Teign-bridge), situated on the turnpike-road leading through Newton Abbot and Totness, to Plymouth.

In 1815 the work commenced, and as it was undertaken on urgent representations of its necessity, made by the writer of this account, he considered it to be his duty as a justice, resident within four miles of the spot, to pay particular attention to its progress, and to take care that the road and bridge constructed for the temporary accommodation of the public should be kept in constant repair.

The river Teign rises in Dartmoor, and after a course of twenty-five miles, during which it receives many tributary streams, discharges itself into the sea at Teignmouth. The common tides reach no higher than the old weir for catching salmon, about half a mile below the bridge, but the spring tides (according to the report of Mr. J. Green, the surveyor of the county),<sup>a</sup> rise nearly as high as the level of the water at the bridge.

Without doubt the estuary, which now terminates at the old weir, extended formerly for several miles above Teign-bridge, and many

<sup>a</sup> The old arches of Teign-bridge spring at  $\frac{15}{100}$  of a foot above the common height of spring tides, or at such time of the spring, when at Teignmouth the tide rises 22 feet.

(Signed)

JAMES GREEN,

Surveyor of County Bridges.

hundred acres, then covered by every tide, are now, by the accumulation of alluvial soil, converted into rich pasturage.

The bridge of two arches, through which the river flowed in 1815, before the new work began, was built of grey limestone in a very rough manner; the arches were turned on abutments of twenty-one inches thick, erected on the springs of the arches of a former bridge, the angles of which springs projected three feet from the piers; so that the waterway below those springs was twenty feet clear, and above them sixteen feet and a half. The time when even this bridge was built is unknown, and it was certainly a very ancient structure.

The second, to be called for distinction the *red bridge* (it being built of a hard fine red sandstone, rising in strata, in the adjoining parish of Bishops Teignton), was a work executed with great care; the masonry and cement excellent. The arches were turned with the red stones, twenty inches in length, and from three to five in thickness. Immediately above them another arch was turned of the same stones, seventeen inches in length, and projecting two inches over the lower arch; the piers and abutments were also of the same stone; the thickness of the piers twelve feet; the height from the pavement (of coarse stones taken from the Teignmouth Cliffs) to the spring of the arch was five feet; the rise of the arch from the spring also five feet, and a paved road was visible a few inches above the arches. The first and second arches of the red bridge were destroyed to build a higher bridge on their springs, as before noticed; the third was buried in the alluvial soil, but perfect in 1815, when it was destroyed to make room for one of the platforms laid to receive the foundations of the new bridge; the fourth and fifth still remain entire, and buried under the road.

On sinking under the first arch of the red bridge to lay the other platform, rhomboïdal frames of oak were discovered bedded in a stratum of loose stones and gravel.<sup>a</sup> On the angles of these frames the pier and

<sup>a</sup> These oak timbers appeared, when first taken up, to be sound, and not discoloured; no one would have then supposed they had been twenty years in the water. One log was sawn for the writer of this account into three inch planks; it opened like a fresh cut tree, but,

abutment were built. These frames had evidently, from their position, no relation to the superstructure, but were probably the basis of a wooden bridge<sup>a</sup> in use prior to the building of the red bridge, and the places where upright pieces had been morticed to these frames were visible. The timbers were from seventeen to twenty-four inches square; the side pieces eleven or twelve, and the center twenty-three feet in length. Under these no ancient work was discovered; but on removing the pavement of coarse stone under the third arch, a frame of oak timbers of the same square dimensions, but of a different form, was discovered, at exactly the same depth with the frames of the first arch, which was evidently a continuation of the wooden bridge. On this being removed, the piers of another bridge of fine white free-stone, ashler laid, were discovered; one pier of the red bridge was built perpendicular on one of these piers, their dimensions being the same; but the waterway of this bridge had been twenty-one feet six inches, therefore, the corresponding pier was not perpendicular on its base, but overhung eighteen inches, which eighteen inches rested on the wooden frame. These white stone piers stand on wooden platforms twenty-two feet five inches below the level of the meadow, fifteen feet five inches below the surface of the river, and the platforms on which the abutments of the new arch, fifty feet in span, are built, are laid at the same depth.

Nothing is to be found at all satisfactory concerning the antiquity of Teign-bridge; the springs of the arches of the red bridge were visible to every eye, and believed to be Roman. The writer of this account is no antiquary, but will offer his conjectures. He supposes the last or upper work to have been done in the sixteenth century; the red bridge to have been built in the salt marsh in the thirteenth century;

though placed in a dry loft, the wood has since cracked and shrunk much, and has assumed a very dark colour. Some of this wood, in the possession of a neighbouring gentleman, is now as dark as ebony.

<sup>a</sup> I suspect the stratum of stone and gravel in which the wooden bridge was bedded, and on which the red bridge was founded, to be factitious; but it did not occur to me to ascertain this fact during the short time the work was open.

since which time there has been an accumulation of soil to the depth of ten feet. He supposes the wooden bridge to be as old as the Conquest, and the white stone bridge to have been a Roman work.<sup>a</sup>

Teign-bridge, and its appendages, repaired at the expense of the county, extends nearly two-thirds of a mile; 840 feet of it were rebuilt and widened about six years since: pavements, and traces of old buildings were every where found, but none that appeared worthy of record. A roman road, the Fosse-way, certainly crossed the marshes in this place,<sup>b</sup> connecting the chain of fortified camps which extend along the coast, and particularly Ugbrooke Park four miles to the north, and Denbury-down three miles to the south of this bridge.<sup>c</sup> We know from Domesday-book, that the hundred of Teignbridge existed in the reign of William the Conqueror; it is therefore reasonable to suppose that the bridge which gave the name to the Hundred<sup>d</sup> existed also, and not only at that time, but in the time of Alfred, who is supposed to have first divided the kingdom into Counties, and the Counties into Hundreds.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> It was reported that a plate of some metal, having on it the figure of a Dog or Lion, was found by the workmen near the foundation of the white stone bridge. Persuasion and liberal offers, and afterwards threats were used to recover it, but without success. Some said it was of bronze with an inscription, and others that it was the iron back of an old chimney. Valuable or not it is lost.

<sup>b</sup> The writer of this Article, believes the Fosseway to have been a Roman work, and the white stone bridge to have been a part thereof: but he by no means asserts that the neighbouring camps are Roman; only that the camps in this part of Devonshire, whether formed by Romans, Saxons, Danes, or Britons, were connected with, and had some reference to this Roman road.

<sup>c</sup> Denbury Down, a camp of nearly ten acres, is pronounced to be a Danish encampment, Denbury being interpreted Danes-bury; the ancient name was however Devenibyr, or Devenibyrie; this name had certainly nothing to do with the Danes.

<sup>d</sup> The only notice of Teignbridge hundred in Domesday-book occurs in tom. i. fol. 101 a.

“Manerio Mortone pertinet tertius denarius de TANEBRIGE HVND.”

<sup>e</sup> The division of the western part of Devonshire may perhaps with more propriety be attributed to Athelstan, who, thirty-six years after the death of Alfred, conquered this county, driving the Cornish (who had occupied it from the evacuation of Britain by the Romans) beyond the Tamer. Totnes, therefore, is described as being in Angulo Cornubiæ.

**EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES IN THE PRESENT VOLUME  
WHICH ILLUSTRATE THIS ACCOUNT.**

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Pl. XVI. A—Elevation of the remains of four distinct bridges as they stood when the new bridge was begun in 1815. The dark line marks the surface of the ground and the bed of the river at that time; the strata of alluvial soil to the depth of twenty-five feet are also represented.

———— B—Plan of the position of the oak frames, supposed to have been the basis on which a wooden bridge was erected.

———— C—Sketch of the bridge of two arches, in use in 1814.

———— D—Sketch of the red bridge, as it probably appeared when perfect, and in use.

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Pl. XVII. A—The plan of Teign-bridge. Three thousand four hundred and one feet of masonry and road are maintained by the county. The number of arches has been greatly diminished by the late improvements, but thirteen of different dimensions still remain.

———— B—Section of the old road, where the temporary channel was formed, to convey the waters of the Teign whilst the bed of the river (secured by two strong dams) was pumped dry, in order to find a proper foundation for the platforms on which the abutments of the new bridge are built. Two ancient roads, with parapet walls, were hereby rendered visible, the lowest of which was paved; a flood bared the crown of an arch apparently ten or twelve feet wide, three feet and upward beneath the lowermost road, and six feet beneath the surface of the meadows. If the stones with which this arch was turned were fourteen inches in depth, its summit would be only four inches higher than the springs of the arches of the red bridge. This work, therefore, may fairly be supposed coeval with the white stone bridge.

———— C—Plan of Denbury Down, in the parish of Torbryan. The area of the entrenchment contains nine acres, one rood, and one perch. This hill commands an uninterrupted view of the country for six or seven miles in every direction; and twenty-two parish churches are visible from it.

———— D—Plan of the encampment in Ugbrooke Park, drawn for me by the Hon. Hugh Clifford. The circular work contains about six acres. The imperfect work would have been very large if completed, perhaps thirty acres. The situation is commanding.

C

D

N<sup>o</sup> 7.

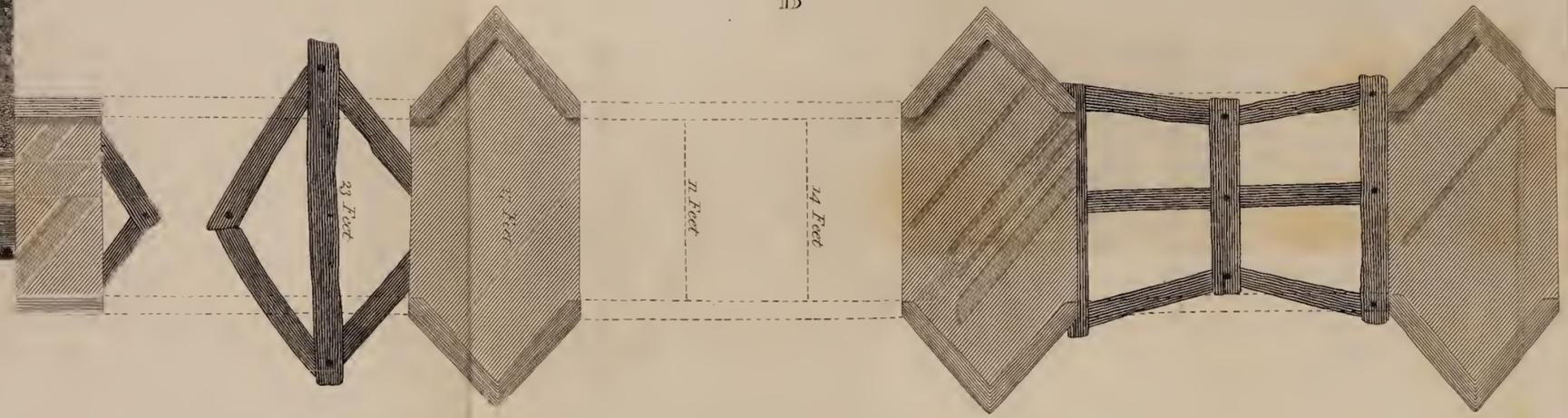
B

A



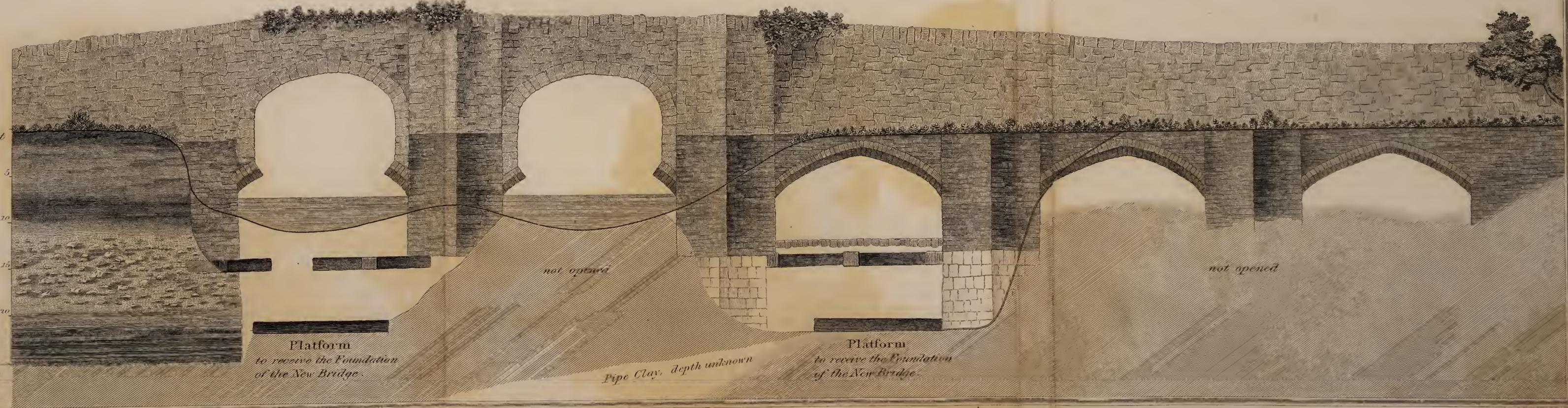
Teign Bridge, 1814.

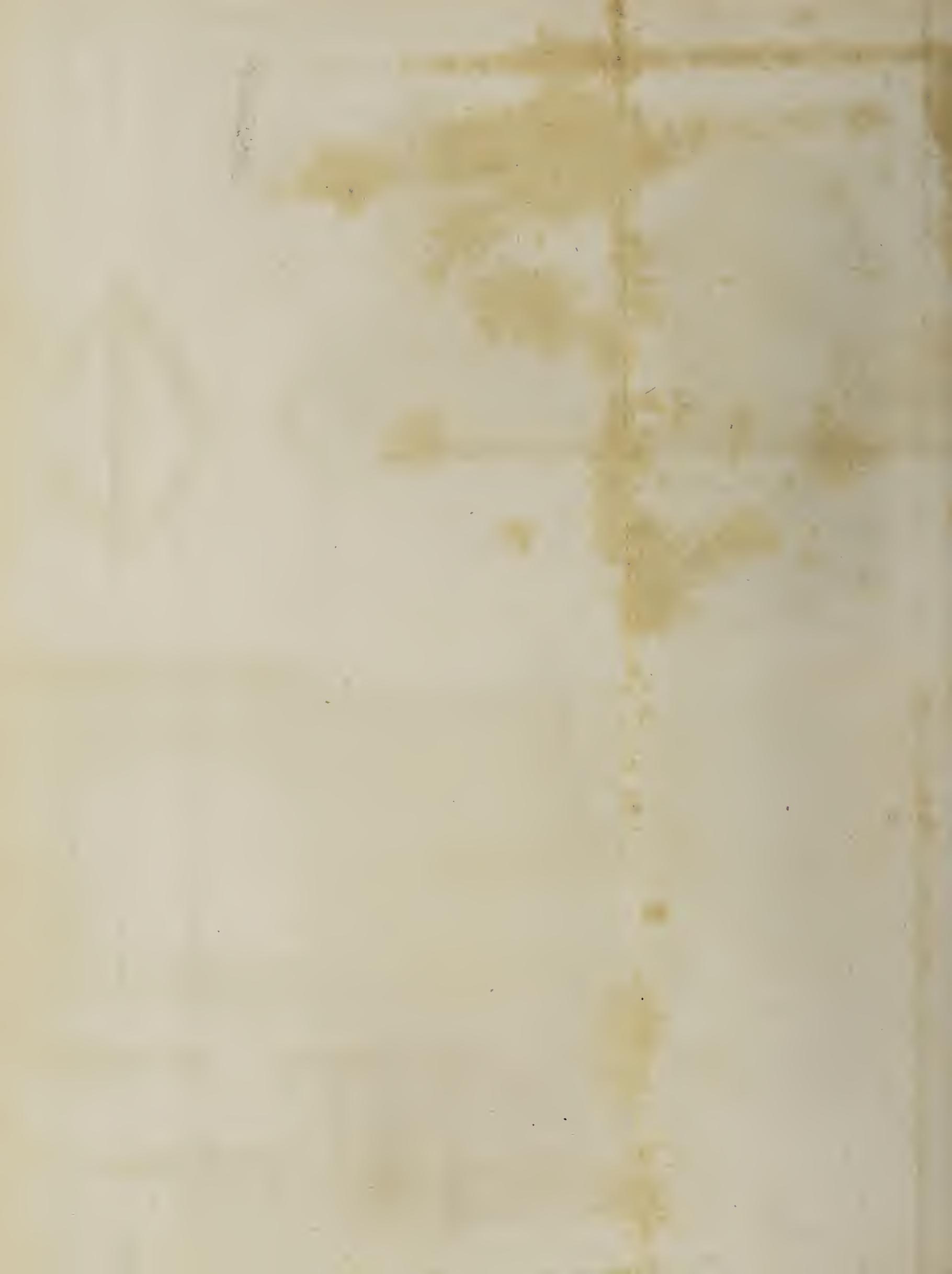
The Red Bridge



Feet

|                   |                 |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| Red Loam and Sand | 5               |
| Blue Mud and Sand | 5 <sup>10</sup> |
| Gravel and Stones | 7 <sup>12</sup> |
| Blue Mud          | 8 <sup>20</sup> |
| depth unknown     | 3               |
| Open to           | 25              |

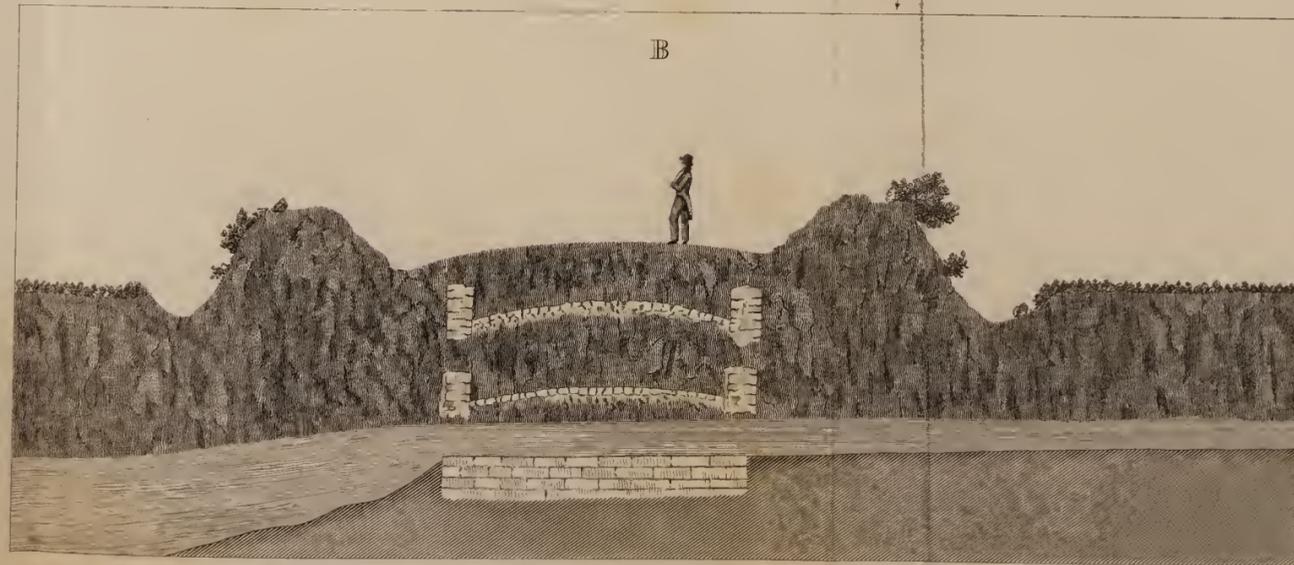
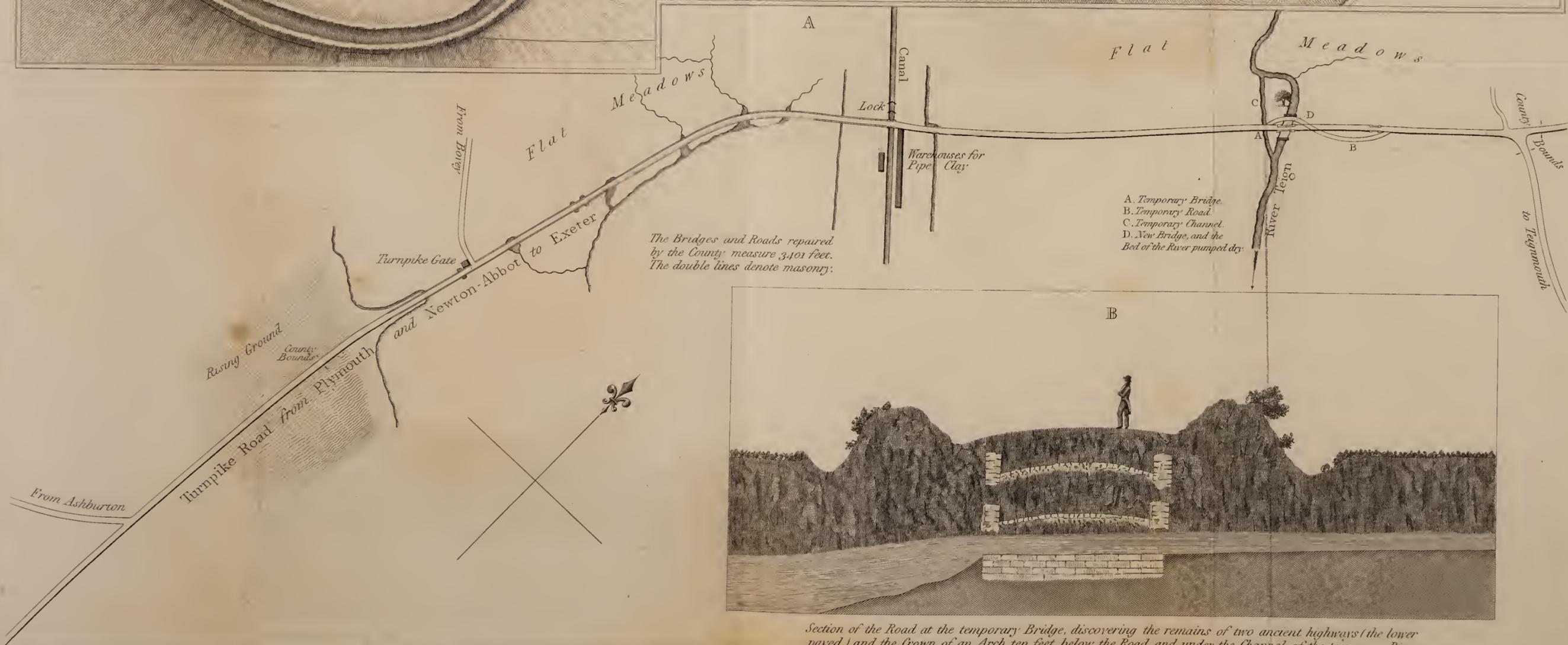




Denbury Down.



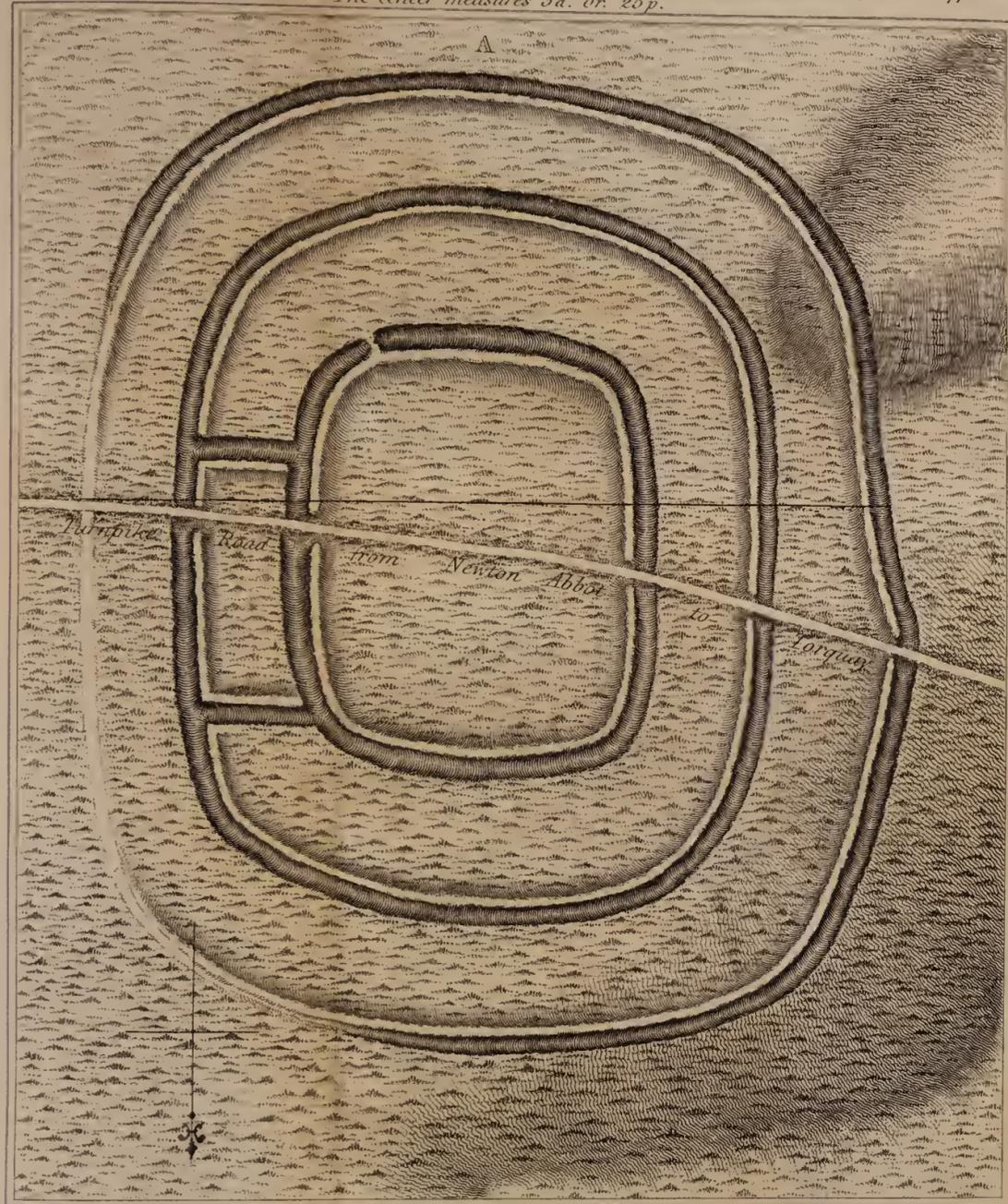
Castle Dike, in Ugbrooke Park.



Section of the Road at the temporary Bridge, discovering the remains of two ancient highways (the lower paved) and the Crown of an Arch ten feet below the Road, and under the Channel of the temporary River.

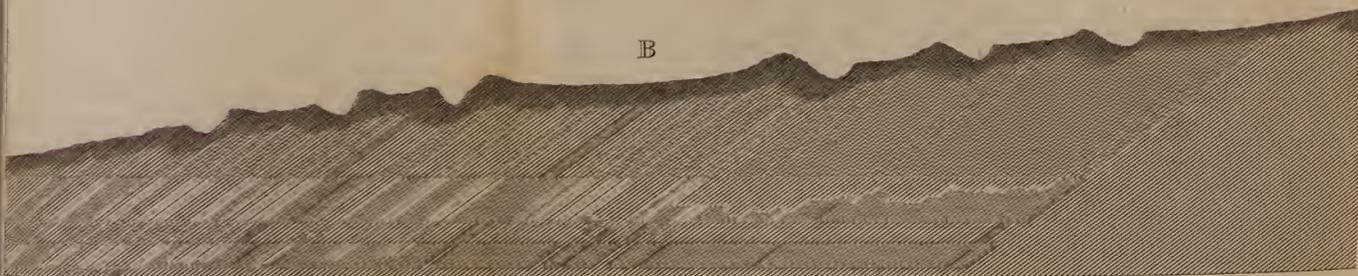


Encampment on Milberdown, near Newton Abbot, containing altogether 19 a. or 27 p.  
The center measures 3 a. or 25 p.



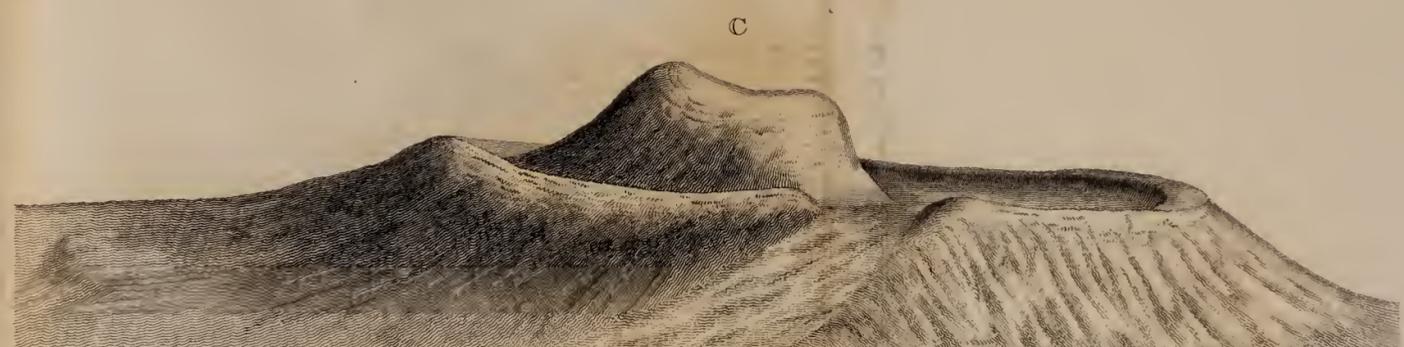
William the III. anchored in Torbay Nov. 4<sup>th</sup> 1688. landed his Army on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> on the 7<sup>th</sup> he came to Sir William Courtenay's House, at Ford, within half a mile of this encampment, in which his Park of Artillery was stationed, and the Army on the adjacent Heath.

B

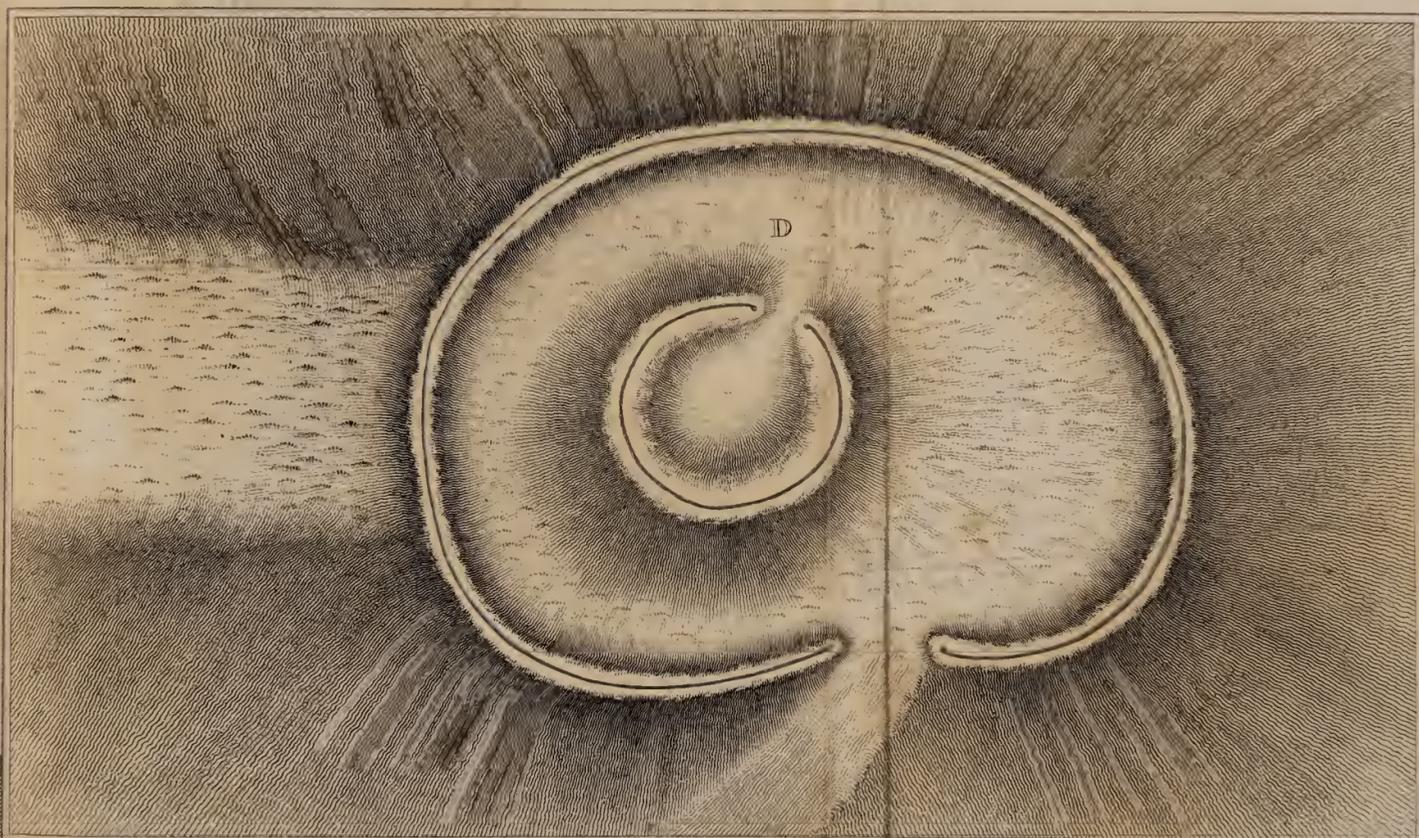


Section of the Encampment, at the black line.

Castle Field.



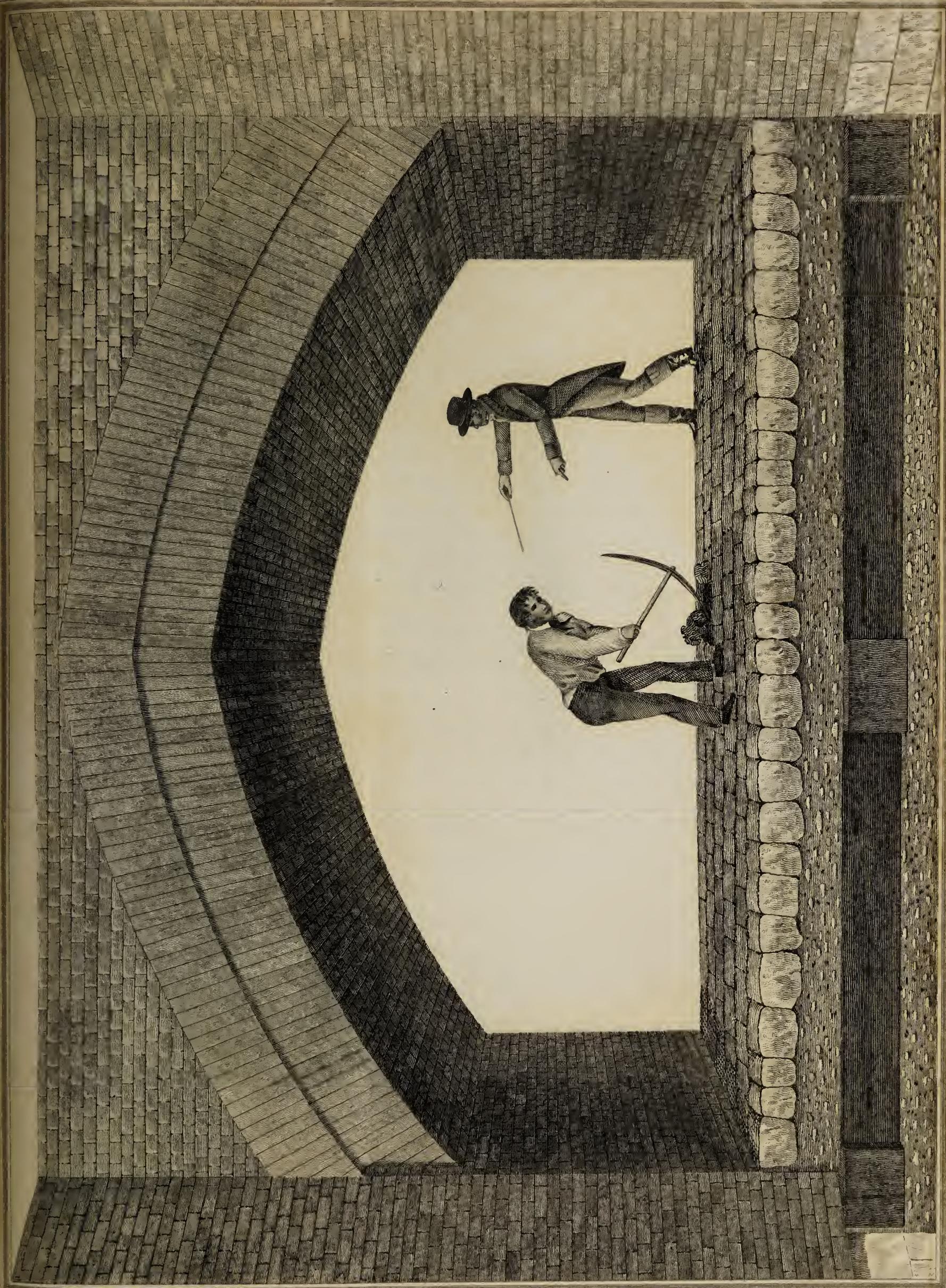
C



Plan of the Castle Field.

James Basire & Son, sculp.





J. Basire sc.

The centre Arch of the Red Bridge, which was entirely buried in alluvial soil, opened in 1815, and destroyed to make room for the abutment of the New Bridge.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 23<sup>rd</sup> 1821.



Pl. XVIII. A—Encampment on Milber Down, about a mile and a half from Teign-bridge.

———— B—Section of the encampment.—From this section it appears that this encampment is on the declivity of a hill, which continues to rise for near half a mile. It would have been as near to water on the summit, as in its present situation. The origin and uses of this curious work are not obvious to the writer, one half of the ground being planted and impenetrable. The accuracy of his measurements are not to be depended upon.

———— C—Highwick Castle-field, and plan.—Highwick is half a mile to the south-west of Teign-bridge, on the summit of a hill. A farmhouse thereon, is called Castle-ditch. The field behind the house is called the Castle-field. This castle must have been a very insignificant building. The area has not been measured, but it does not contain one eighth of an acre. The dark line marks the course of the supposed walls, but no vestiges of masonry are at present visible.

Pl. XIX. The center arch of the red bridge.

XXXV. *An Account of an unprinted English Poem, written in the early part of the fourteenth Century, by Richard de Hampole, and entitled "Stimulus Conscientiæ," or "The Prick of Conscience :"*  
 By JOSEPH BROOKS YATES, Esq. Communicated to the Society  
 by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.

Read 14th Dec. 1820.

OF all the important changes produced by the Norman conquest upon the people of England, perhaps none is more remarkable than that which took place with respect to their language. The dialect which at that time prevailed was the Danish Saxon, of which several specimens in verse and prose have been preserved in our manuscript libraries. There is indeed evidence to shew, that even previously to the descent of William, there was among the English considerable affectation of the Norman customs and language; and this circumstance may have facilitated the designs of the invader. Be this however as it may, one of the first efforts of his policy, was to obliterate as much as possible the language of the country.<sup>a</sup> The court became of course wholly French, and so continued for more than two succeeding centuries. A great part of the ancient metrical romances existing in that language, were composed, not for the court of Paris, but for that of London, during this period: and the exploits of the British Princes, Arthur and "Richard Cœur de Lion," were sung originally in the verses of French minstrelsy. The laws were ordered to be administered in the same tongue, which was even introduced into schools, to the exclusion of the native language. A barbarous and irregular dialect was in consequence formed, which, as might be expected, does not present a single example of elegant composition either in verse or prose. During this remarkable period, the English

<sup>a</sup> This intention of the Conqueror, has been disputed by Mr. Tyrwhitt, and Mr. G. Ellis. Their arguments however, do not seem entitled to much consideration when weighed against the direct testimony of ancient historians.

language found in Scotland that protection which was denied to it in the southern division of Britain.<sup>a</sup>

It was only during the reign of the third Edward, when the influence of the Commons began to prevail, that a stop was put to further inroads upon the native tongue. This great prince, yielding to the wishes of his English subjects, and willing to remove a badge of conquest, abolished the use of the Norman French in the public and judicial proceedings, and allowed the substitution of the language of the country. At this epoch, therefore, the history of our literature may be said to commence; and however uncouth the first efforts may appear, they are well worthy of attention, as tending to exhibit the rude foundations of that glorious and massive superstructure which English literature has conspired with English arts and valour to erect.

Dr. Johnson has well remarked,<sup>b</sup> that "Geoffry Chaucer may perhaps with great justice be styled the first of our versifiers who wrote poetically." He was indeed a Poet fit for the splendid period wherein he flourished; a period, in which information and refinement made a most sensible progress in superseding the rough manners of our forefathers. The Conqueror of Scotland and of France, had diffused around his court the romantic embellishments of chivalry, and introduced among his people a taste for luxury, commerce, and the arts.

At the commencement of this brilliant reign, however, and immediately preceding Chaucer, there appeared some efforts of the Muse, which from the circumstances above stated, are rendered very curious and interesting. One of these is a didactic poem, called "*Stimulus Conscientiæ*," or "*The Prick<sup>c</sup> of Conscience*," generally ascribed to

<sup>a</sup> An exposition of the claims of the Scottish Bards, may be found in Sir Walter Scott's ingenious introduction to the Metrical Romance of 'Sir Tristrem.'

The merits and history of the Anglo-Norman poets, are most ably enlarged upon by the Abbè de la Rue, in his various communications to the Society of Antiquaries, printed in the XIIth and XIIIth Volumes of the *Archaeologia*.

<sup>b</sup> Preface to his Dictionary.

<sup>c</sup> goad or spur.

Richard Rolle, and never yet printed. It is a work of very considerable extent, and of great labour and learning; presenting a view of the morality and the dogmas of the clerical orders of that day, who were then almost the only depositaries of information, and arbiters of conscience. From internal evidence it appears certainly to have had for its groundwork a treatise in Latin prose, which likewise is attributed to the same writer.

It is true that Warton has denounced this Poem as very dull, and has "prophesied that he should be its last transcriber."<sup>a</sup> Ellis, Campbell, and other succeeding writers have committed themselves without investigation to the opinion of Warton. Presumptuous as it may appear in a very humble individual, to defeat the prophecy of so acute and learned a critic as Warton, I have ventured to transcribe from a MS. in my possession, and to present some extracts which may give an idea of the work. Warton's extracts are taken from the beginning and the concluding parts only; perhaps, if he had transcribed or read more largely and attentively, he would have thought the subject matter more interesting. Moreover, it would appear either that his transcripts were imperfectly taken, or that the MS. from which he copied, was itself very imperfect. Numerous proofs of this were furnished by collating the specimens given in the "History of English Poetry" with the corresponding passages in my manuscript. Passages altogether unintelligible, or ridiculous in the former, appear in the latter quite clear. Take the following as an example:

*Warton's Transcript.*

"Certainly ellus he is not wise  
 "Bot he knowe kyndely what God es  
 "And what mon is that is les  
 "Thou febul mon is soule and body  
 "Thou strong God is and myghty  
 "Thou mon greveth God that doth not welle  
 "What mon is worthi therefore to fele

<sup>a</sup> History of English Poetry, Vol. I. p. 256.

“ Thou mercyfull and gracious God is  
“ And thou full of alle goodness  
“ Thou right wis and thou sothfaste  
“ What he hath done and shal atte laste  
“ And eche day doth to monkynde  
“ This schulde eche mon have in mynde.” &c. P. 258.

Corresponding passage in my Manuscript :

“ For he is a fole and nougt wyse,  
“ That wol nougt thenk withoute fayntyse  
“ How feble man es in soule and body,  
“ And how stalworth<sup>a</sup> God is and how mygtty,  
“ How man greveth God and doth nougt wele,  
“ And what he is worthy therefore to fele,  
“ And how merciful and gracious God es,  
“ And how ful he es of godenes,  
“ And how rightwise God is, and howe stedfast,  
“ And ever doth gode to mankynd fast;  
“ Thus schold we knowe and have in mynd  
“ What love God hath to mankynd.” &c.

Signature A 3 recto.

The nature of the Work too should be considered: the writer was not sitting down to depict those scenes

“ Where throngs of Knights and Barons bold  
“ In weeds of peace high triumphs hold,  
“ With store of Ladies, whose bright eyes  
“ Rain influence, and judge the prize. &c.

This privilege fell to the lot of that master spirit, who, at a later and more brilliant period of the same reign, sang, but

“ Left half told  
“ The story of Cambuscan bold.”

The task prescribed to our author was to denounce the vices of mankind, and to declare their consequences; subjects which all the efforts of modern genius and eloquence so often fail to render palatable. It may be asked, what nation can from the dark periods of its annals produce a didactic Poem which shall exhibit any considerable degree of taste or sentiment? To borrow the expression of that great

<sup>a</sup> brave

Critic, Warton himself,<sup>a</sup> "Men must be instructed before they can be refined; and in the gradations of knowledge, polite literature does not take place till some progress has first been made in Philosophy."

It is time however to proceed to the work itself, after saying a few words concerning the Author of it.

Richard Rolle, commonly called *Richard de Hampole*, was an Eremite of the order of St. Augustine. He was a doctor of divinity, and lived a solitary life near the Priory of Hampole, four miles from Doncaster, "where living (says Fuller,) he was honoured, and dead, "was buried and sainted." He was a very popular writer, and in prophetic denunciations threatened the sins of the nation.<sup>b</sup>

He died in the year 1349.<sup>c</sup> His Latin theological tracts, both in prose and verse, are numerous, and evince much learning. To him, as one of the chief precursors of Wickliffe, our country is indebted for an English version of the Psalms, and for comments upon various parts of the Sacred Writings. It would however be foreign to our present purpose, to consider his pretensions as an expounder and translator of the Scriptures, which are well worthy of a separate and more extended investigation than has yet been bestowed upon them. A brief outline is subjoined in a note.<sup>d</sup>

His principal pieces of English rhyme, are a Paraphrase of part of the book of Job; of the Lord's Prayer; of the Seven Penitential Psalms; and the PRICK OF CONSCIENCE.

<sup>a</sup> History Eng. Poetry.

<sup>b</sup> Fuller's Worthies, fol. 1662. p. 193, last part.

<sup>c</sup> Warton says (History Eng. Poetry, Vol. I. p. 256,) he *flourished* in the year 1349, though afterwards (p. 265, in a note) gives the year 1348, as the true date of his death. Bale in the first edition (Wasaliæ, 1549) of his 'Summarium illustrium script. Maj. Britanniaë,' falls into the error of stating that Hampole flourished in the year 1430. But in the subsequent edition which he lived to publish (fol. Basil. 1559,) he thus rectifies his mistake, 'Obiit anno Christi 1349, in festo Michaelis, honorifice sepultus in Hampolensi monialium coenobio, quod quatuor passuum milibus distat a Doncastrio, celebri. Eboracensis provinciæ oppido, in sanctos a Papistis, suæ olim doctrinæ contemptoribus, relatus ac veneratus,' p. 432.

<sup>d</sup> Lewis, in his History of the English Versions of the Bible, (2d edit. 8° 1739, p. 12—16) speaks of Hampole, as one of the first who attempted to translate into the English then spoken, the Psalter, and other parts of the Scriptures. "He translated and wrote a gloss

This work has never been printed, but there are several MSS. copies of it in the different libraries of this country.

One which is in my possession, appears remarkably legible and correct, and is evidently contemporaneous with Father Hampole, being written in the character used by the Monks towards the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>a</sup> From many passages in the poem it is evident, that it was composed by the holy Father of Hampole prin-

in English upon the Psalter." To his version is prefixed a prologue, before which, in the imperfect copy in the King's library, (No. 1512) is the following Rubric—"Here begynnith the prologe upon the Sauter that Richard Hermite of Hampole translated into Englyshe after the sentence of doctours and resoun." Lewis then describes the design of this prologue, and quotes the conclusion of it from the MS. in Sydney Coll. Cambridge, marked K. 5. 3. &c.; and the commencement of the commentary, which is in English, together with the titles of the Hymns and Canticles which follow the Psalter. At p. 32 he gives Hampole's translation of the Magnificat.

Dr. Waterland writes much to the same effect with Lewis: see Waterland's History of the Athanasian Creed, p. 82.

Pits says, "Relationes Historicae, 4to. 1619, (p. 465.) "Totum Psalterium ex Latino in Anglicum sermonem vertisse dicitur."

In a very curious passage of Usher's "Historia dogmatica Controversiæ inter orthodoxos et pontificios de Scripturis et sacris vernaculis" (edited by Henry Wharton, London, 1690) the following words are used—"Hampul Eremita, qui Psalterium in linguam Anglicanam transtulit, &c." p. 163. The same Henry Wharton, in his 'Auctarium' annexed to Usher, p. 428, after some other remarks speaks thus:

"Immo vero tandem comperi versionem Psalmorum Anglicam ab Hampolo evulgatam fuisse ex testimonio authoris *Speculi B. Virginis*, (de quo infra p. 447) qui in prologo sic scribit; Paucos admodum Psalmos translatos dedi, ideo quod vobis præsto sint ex Richardi Hampoli versione aut ex Bibliis Anglicis; modo licentiam eorum legendorum habeatis."

Since writing the above, information has been received from Cambridge that copies of Hampole's English Psalter exist entire in the Sidney, Bene't, and Trinity libraries. At the end of the Sidney College MS. is a note, from which it appears that the Sidney MS. is the most ancient, probably as old as the time of the author; that the Bene't copy is later, but free from interpolation; and that the Trinity copy is much interpolated. There is in Trinity library another MS. entitled 'Commentarii seu Glossæ in Psalmos,' marked B. 1. 15.

<sup>a</sup> See fac simile specimens of the character used by the Monks of the 14th century, in Astle's work on writing, plate 27. The MS. now under consideration presents, in common with others of the same period, an example of the loose and unsettled mode of spelling which prevailed.

cipally for the purpose of being read by the Monks to the "lewed," that is the lay or unlearned people of England. Accordingly it exhibits a transcript of the moral and religious opinions which prevailed among the English people, many of which are retained to this day by their descendants. It abounds in glosses or paraphrases of passages taken from Scripture and from the writings of the Fathers, some of which, even from the former, are misquoted, misinterpreted, and occasionally interpolated so as to suit the views of the monastic orders.

Some of the Latin metrical quotations are in Leonine or rhyming verse.

After an invocation of the Holy Trinity, and an exposition of its primary attributes, the writer urges upon his hearers the duty of acknowledging the mercies of Heaven in meekness and repentance. He enforces the necessity of self-knowledge, and enjoins the ignorant to resort for information to the "lerid" or learned. He then lays open in the following manner, the seven grand divisions of his work.

" This boke as hym self bereth wittenes  
 " In seven parties dyvysid es:  
 " The first parte to knowe and have in mynde  
 " Es the wrechednes of Mankynde;  
 " The secunde es of condicions sere  
 " And the unstabulnes of mannes lif here;  
 " The thridde party is in this boke contenyd to rede  
 " Of the deth whiche is to drede;  
 " The furthe partie is of Purgatorie  
 " Where soules beth clansid of her folye;  
 " The fyfft es of the day of Dome  
 " And the tokenes that bifore schal come;  
 " The sixte es of the peynes of Helle  
 " There the dampned soules schul dwelle;  
 " The sevent es of the joyes of Heven;  
 " These beth the parties seven."

Sign. A. 6 verso.

The author proceeds in the first part to describe the wretched and degrading terms upon which we hold our frail tenure of human life.

Beginning with the sordid and helpless condition of infancy, he draws a faithful picture of man in the subsequent stages of his uncertain being, the last of which is pourtrayed in the following masterly manner:

“ As man wexeth olde  
“ Thanne becometh his kynde <sup>a</sup> weyke and colde,  
“ And thenne anone chaungeth his complexion,  
“ And his maners beth turned into another condicion;  
“ For thenne wexeth his hert hevy and hard,  
“ And his heved <sup>b</sup> feble and ever downward;  
“ Thanne ryncleth his face ever more and more,  
“ And wexeth fouler than hit was bifore:  
“ His mynd es schort when he ougt thenketh,  
“ Hys nose droppeth, and foule stynketh,  
“ His een wexith dym and loketh under the browe,  
“ Hys bak es croked and geth stowpyng lowe,  
“ His eeren wexe def, and harde for to here,  
“ His tong and his speche may nougt long dure:  
“ He es lygtly wroth, <sup>c</sup> and also he es froward,  
“ And to turn hyme from hit es ful hard;  
“ He es covetouse and wel hard holdyng,  
“ His chere <sup>d</sup> es hevy and ever lowryng,  
“ He praysith olde men and holdeth hem wyse,  
“ And yong men hym liketh to despise;  
“ He es ofte sike and bygynmeth to grone,  
“ And ofte angry and thereof pleyneth sone;  
“ Alle these thyngis to an olde man falleth.” &c.

Sign. B. 5.

The death of a man is thus described :

“ The ende of mannis lif es ful hard  
“ When he draweth to the dethward;  
“ For whenne he is sike in any manere wise,  
“ And so sike es that he may nought ryse,  
“ Then beth men in doute and uncertyne  
“ Whether that he schal ever covere ageyne;  
“ And yut may sume that beth slye  
“ Witte whether that he schal lif or deye;

<sup>a</sup> Nature.

<sup>b</sup> Head.

<sup>c</sup> Easily.

<sup>d</sup> Countenance.

" Thurgh certeyne tokenes in pows <sup>a</sup> and brethe  
 " That bifalleth whenne he es nye the dethe,  
 " For thenne bicometh his frounte down to falle,  
 " And his browes bicometh (hevy) with alle,  
 " Also the lyfft ee of hym schal seme the lasse  
 " And narrower then the tother or he hennis passe; <sup>b</sup>  
 " His nose at the poynt schal scharp bicometh,  
 " And his chynne a doune schal be ynome, <sup>c</sup>  
 " His pows schal be stille without steryng,  
 " His fete schul wexe colde, his womb <sup>d</sup> clevyng.  
 " And if a yong man nye the deth be  
 " He is ever wakyng, for slepe may nought he;  
 " And if an olde man nye the deth be drawing,  
 " He schal unnethe kepe hym from slepyng."

The second book continues and enlarges upon the topics of the first, and discloses some mystical notions concerning the creation and government of the world. It sets forth the temptations incident to human nature, and the necessity of continual vigilance to counteract them.

<sup>a</sup> Pulse.

<sup>b</sup> The " slye," or observant people of this period, had likewise discovered a remarkable circumstance attending the birth of the human species, which is thus set forth by our author :

" Unneth [scarcely] is a child born fully  
 " That hit ne bigynneth to cry and wepy,  
 " And by that cry men may knowe than  
 " Whether hit be or Man or Womman;  
 " For when hit es born and crieth sa,  
 " If hit be a Man hit crieth a-a-  
 " Which is the first lettre of the name  
 " Of our forme fader Adame;  
 " And if the child a Womman be,  
 " When hit es born hit seyth e-e-  
 " That es the first lettre of the hede  
 " Of Eve's name that biganne our dede." &c.

Sign. A. 8 verso.

<sup>c</sup> Dropped.

<sup>d</sup> Belly.

The third part professes to treat of **Death**, and why it is to be feared.

The conversation which the **Devil** had with **St Bernard** upon his death-bed, is related, and it is asserted that he appeared to the **Almighty** himself, "Whenne that he deyed and gaf up the gost,"

" For grete doctours wittnessith hit  
" In hare bokes that beth of holy writ:  
" Thenne semed hit wel" (it is added) " that he wold thus  
" Suffre the fend of helle to appere to us  
" In the time of deth at our last end,  
" When that we schul from henns wend."

The writer then states the impossibility of any man's describing or painting the infernal fiend, and says,

" So hardi man was never none  
" That lyved in erthe in flesche and bone,  
" That if he seyge a Devyle in his figure aright,  
" He ne schold for drede of that foule syght  
" Wel sone dye or lese his wit,  
" As sone as he had biholden hit." &c.

E. 2 verso.

In the fourth part of this Poem the author proceeds to treat of **Purgatory**; and many of the leading features of his description closely resemble those which would be given at this day by a member of the **Romish Church**. The "stede" or site of **Purgatory** is said to be,

" Above the stede as clerks me telle,  
" Wher uncristene dede children dwell,  
" That from the faire sygt of Goddes face  
" Be put for ever withouten eny grace,  
" Thulke stede es even above helle pitte  
" Bitwene Helle and Purgatory sette." &c.  
" Yet above that there es another place  
" That Crist aftur his deth visited thurgh his grace,  
" And all that were there he with hym toke,

" And lefft none therinne, as saith the boke ;  
 " Ne fro that tyme as clerks can telle,  
 " Never come soules there for to dwelle ;  
 " Ne never here aftur schal none therein falle,  
 " That place hygt<sup>a</sup> Lymbus among clerks alle,  
 " The which es a prison as hit es in bokes founde,  
 " Where our soules lay in darkness ybounde." &c. E. 8.

Among the punishments of Purgatory are enumerated the following :

" Some for Pride that thai have usid ofte  
 " Schal have the cold Fevour that is nothyng softe,  
 " For that the soule schal dere<sup>b</sup> more bitterly  
 " Than ever here did Fevoure a mannes body ;  
 " And some schal have there for Covetise  
 " The Dropsie that thai schal nought upryse ;  
 " For some schal have in hare lif dayes aboute  
 " For sleuthe a Potagre, and thereto a cold goute,  
 " And Biles, and Felons, and a Posteme thereto,  
 " The whiche beth oft into mannes lymys ido ;  
 " And some for wrathe schul have the Palsy,  
 " The whiche schal do the soul moche vilony ;  
 " And some for Glotonye schul have ever more  
 " The strait Quynsy that schal greve sore ;  
 " And some for synne of Lechery also  
 " Schal have the Meselie<sup>c</sup> whider that thei go.  
 " Thus schal the soule dyvers peynes have  
 " In Purgatorie that God will save,  
 " That on erthe hadde (nought) very repentaunce  
 " And had nought fulfilled here penaunce." &c. F. 2 verso.

Then follows an enumeration of the deadly and venial sins, and the methods of absolution and remission in this world as well as the next.

<sup>a</sup> Is called. From this Limbo of the Schoolmen our great *Poet* has adopted (with variations) his idea of the "Paradise of Fools," as given in the 3d Book of the "Paradise Lost."

<sup>b</sup> Hurt.

<sup>c</sup> Leprosy.

The holy Father goes on to state that the day of Dome or Judgment would be preceded by the appearance of Antichrist ("the Devil's son"<sup>a</sup>) upon earth, and the destruction of the Empire of Rome. Antichrist was a prolific theme in the dark ages; it would be tedious to enumerate the various notions entertained at that time concerning him. In the present work he is endowed with all the supernatural gifts and qualities attributed to Christ in the sacred writings. His progress on earth is very fully described, the events of his life being the exact counterpart of those of Jesus Christ, until at last he shall obtain complete possession of the bodies and the souls of men. "Then," says our author,

"Grete persecution schul he wirche  
 "Ageynes Christen men and holy churche,  
 "For thenne he schal destroy al Christen lawe,  
 "And Gog and Magog to hym drawe;  
 "The which beth holden as men telle,  
 "The worst folke that on alle the world doth dwelle;  
 "And some saith that thai beth closid holly  
 "Biyonde the grete mounte of Caspy;  
 "But thai beth nought so enclosid aboute  
 "But thai may hem self lygtly wynne oute,  
 "And if a quene ne were that ever holdeth hem in  
 "Thurg strengthe that thai mowe nought oute wynne,  
 "The which is cleped quene<sup>b</sup> Amerone,  
 "Under whose powere thei dwelleth ichone,  
 "But yet thai schal oute breke atte last,  
 "And destroy meny londs and make hem sore agast." &c.

H. 7 verso.

The triumphs however of Antichrist's reign are to be of short duration.

The day of Dome or Judgment is the momentous topic of the fifth book; and the signs or tokens of that day are set forth in very impressive terms, resembling in a considerable degree, the description of them in Holy Writ.

The awful proceedings of the Judgment are depicted at length,

<sup>a</sup> M.S. penes mc. h. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Sic: probably intended for 'Amazone.'

but as these details also bear a close resemblance to those given in the Scriptures, it will be unnecessary to transcribe them.

The valley of "Jehosephat" is held to be the place from whence Jesus Christ shall "dome" or judge the world.<sup>a</sup> After describing the complacency of the Good, and the dismay of the Wicked, with the fearful array of accusers marshalled against the latter, the writer presents the following forcible summary of his ideas on the subject :

" Therefore men clepe that day  
 " The day of wrathe and of wrechednes,  
 " The day of bale <sup>b</sup> and of bitternes,  
 " The day of playnyng and of accusyng,  
 " The day of ansuere and of streyte reckenynge,  
 " The day of drede and of tremblyng,  
 " The day of wepyng and of waylyng,  
 " The day of Juggement withouten eny lisse,<sup>c</sup>  
 " The day of angur and of anguysse,  
 " The day of cryingng and nothyng to wynne,  
 " The day of sorowe that never schal blynne,<sup>d</sup>  
 " The day of mournyng and of grete affray,  
 " The day of partyng from Crist away,  
 " The day of louryng and of grete derkness,  
 " The day that es laste and of most smertnes,  
 " The day that God schal make an ende of alle,  
 " Thus men may that day scryne <sup>e</sup> and calle."

M. 1.

After the day of Judgment, the world shall according to our author appear " new made."

The sixth part treats of the pains or punishments of Hell, which is stated to be in the centre of the Earth, as the core in the middle of an apple, or the yolk in an egg. Few mortals having returned after once visiting that place, the writer intimates the difficulty of procuring authentic information concerning it, asserting however, that some intelligence had been received from those few, who by the especial grace of God, had been raised from the dead. Among these is instanced Lazarus, who of what

<sup>a</sup> Sign. K. 3. verso.

<sup>b</sup> sorrow.

<sup>c</sup> remission.

<sup>d</sup> cease.

<sup>e</sup> describe.

“ He then sawe nothyng forgate,  
 “ Bote sone thereaftur when he alyf sate,  
 “ With Crist at mete at Martha’s house  
 “ He tolde of the peynes so hideouse;  
 “ And yut durst he nought telle the peynes alle  
 “ For drede of Crist that sat in the hall,  
 “ And yut lived he thereaftur fulle fyftene yere,  
 “ And he ne loughed never, ne made no glad chere,  
 “ For drede of deth that he schold eftesones dye  
 “ And for the peynes that he sawe with his eye.” M. 6 verso.

There is not space to follow our Author through his masterly descriptions of the various punishments of Hell: but it is impossible not to remark the free use that Milton has made of the monkish opinions of the dark ages upon this subject. The striking, and almost literal resemblance between certain parts of the present work, and parallel passages in the “Paradise Lost,” would almost lead us to imagine, that our great Poet had before him the work now under consideration. Compare the following. Father Hampole in speaking of the *Darkness* of Hell, says:

“ So thick hit es that Men may hit grope,  
 “ But the synful may nought hit away swope;  
 “ For no hert may thenk ne tong telle,  
 “ The derkenes that es ever in helle.  
                   \*          \*          \*          \*          \*  
 “ For there es never day but ever nyght,  
 “ And there brenmeth fire—but it giveth no lyght;  
 “ But yet the synful openly schal se  
 “ Alle the sorrowe and care that there schal be,  
 “ And eche peyne and eche manere tourment  
 “ Thurg sparcles that aboute hem schal sprent;  
 “ Thus echone of thare peynes schal a sight have  
 “ Withoute eny comfort the which mygt hem save.”

N. 1 verso.

Milton writes,

“ A dungeon horrible, on all sides round  
 “ As one great furnace flamed, yet from those flames  
 “ No light—but rather darkness visible

\* Be sprinkled.

“ Served only to discover sights of woe,  
 “ Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace  
 “ And rest can never dwell.” &c. Paradise Lost, B. I. l. 61.

One of the punishments of Hell, as denounced by our author, is intense cold,

“ Thulk colde schal be so strong and kene  
 “ That thoug the most<sup>a</sup> rocke that ever mygt be sene,  
 “ Or the most<sup>a</sup> mouteyne that es in eny lond,  
 “ Were al at once turned to a fire broud ;  
 “ And amyde thulke colde were sette on,  
 “ Yut hit schuld frese and turne to yse anon ;  
 “ And the fendis schal hem from the fire take  
 “ And cast into that colde til thei gune quake,  
 “ And thanne draw hem fro that colde place,  
 “ And eftsones cast hem into that fire afore the fendis face ;  
 “ Thus schul thai be cast ever to and fro.” &c.

M. 7 verso.

“ Thither,” (says Milton, B. II. l. 596.)

“ by harpy-footed furies hal’d,  
 “ At certain revolutions all the damn’d  
 “ Are brought, and feel by turns the bitter change  
 “ Of fierce extremes—extremes by change more fierce—  
 “ From beds of raging fire to starve in ice  
 “ Their soft ethereal warmth, and there to pine  
 “ Immoveable, infixed, and frozen round  
 “ Periods of time—thence hurried back to fire.”<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> greatest.

<sup>b</sup> The idea that the punishment of the wicked in the infernal Regions would consist in a great degree in their exposure *alternately* to excessive *heat* and excessive *cold*, was very general in ancient times. According to the Greeks and Romans, the Coeytus, which was frozen (and is therefore called in Seneca, Herc. Œtæus. l. 1960, “*rigens Cocytus*,”) and the Puriphlegethon, which was a river of fire, were the instruments of this torture. Corresponding to the heathen Tartarus, was the Gehenna of the Jews. “The water on this side,” says the book Zohar, “and the fire on that, form the punishment of Gehenna.” The “treasures of snow” mentioned in the book of Job (ch. xxxviii.v. 22.) are supposed by the Chaldee Paraphrast, to mean “the snow reserved in Gehenna for the punishment of the wicked.” The 19th verse of the 24th chapter of Job, which describes the fate of the sinner, is thus translated by Jerome, who professes to follow the authority of the Jewish Rabbis,

The joys of Heaven are the subject of the last book, to the account of which a description of the actual situation of Heaven appeared a necessary preliminary. This introduces us to the following curious exposition of the astronomical theory of that period. It is founded on the Ptolemaic system.

“ Thre hevens there beth above us wel hye  
“ As clerkes sey that beth wise and slye:  
“ One es that we the sterred heven schal calle,  
“ Where the sterrs and the planetis beth alle;  
“ Another es that the clerks calle heven cristalle,  
“ The which in his kynde schyneth over alle;  
“ And sume clerkis hit calleth in this manere  
“ The watry heven, the which es wondur clere,  
“ That hoveth over as cristal there above,  
“ Where watur thurgh frost to greur es schove.<sup>a</sup>  
“ These two hevens aboute goth ay,  
“ And schal never cese til domes day,  
“ And of hare movyng have we no wondur,  
“ For all thyng hit norischeth that es there undur,  
“ Alle thyng lyvith both gras and tre,  
“ And all other thyng that in erthe may be;  
“ For if hit stode never so short time stille,  
“ All that es in erthe schold perische and spille.<sup>b</sup>  
“ Thus telleth the clerks of clergie  
“ That haveth lerned of Astronome.  
“ The thrid heven es ferre and hye,  
“ That nothyng may above that be sye:<sup>c</sup>  
“ Yut clerks of mo hevens maketh hare speche  
“ And of seven other hevens doth us teche,  
“ The seven planetis that beth aboute us:  
“ The first is the mone, thenne Mercury and Venus,

“ *Ad nimium calorem transeat ab aquis nivium;* ” and he afterwards explains it as describing the torments of Gehenna. We are thus able to trace the origin of Hampole's description.

Dante introduces the same circumstance—Charon says

“ *I'vegno per menarvi all'altra riva*

“ *Nelle tenebre eterne in caldo e'n gielo.* ” *Inferno. Canto III. l. 86 & 87.*

<sup>a</sup> Is shivered into hail.

<sup>b</sup> dissolve.

<sup>c</sup> seen.

" And also the Sonne, Mars, and Jubiter,  
 " And laste Saturnus that is above hem fer ;  
 " Eche of hem ever about us maketh  
 " Hare coursis as God's ordinances hem taketh ;  
 " Thai sticketh nought fast as smale sterres doth,  
 " But eche in hare courses thus aboute goth,  
 " And iche Planet fallith to be in his kynde  
 " Sume more hye than Man schal sone fynde ;  
 " And above us beth thes planetis seven,  
 " And iche cercul of hem es cleped an Heven,  
 " The whiche beth wondurly faire and bright,  
 " And serveth to our bihove both day and nyght ;  
 " Yut there es another heven that Men may the Ayer calle,  
 " The whiche is next a Man bifore the others alle,  
 " And hit es nought so clere ne to sight so clene  
 " As the other hevens beth ne so wele sene.  
 " And from the Erthe to the sercle of the Mone ys  
 " The space of five hundrid yere and no lesse y wys,  
 " As saith a philosophre of whom I telle can,  
 " That hygt Raby Moyses a wondur wise man ;  
 " And from the poynt of the Erthe to Saturnus  
 " (Whiche es the heghest Planet as clerks telle us)  
 " On the way of heven is a thousand outrygt,  
 " And thre hundret as it is written to our sygt ;  
 " And iche sercle that es to us sene  
 " Of eche planete may contain well evene  
 " As mucche space as Men may fynd here,  
 " As a Man may go in thirty yere ;  
 " For Raby Moyses in his boke saith all this,  
 " And thes wordis beth nought myn but his.  
 " But whether all this beth soth<sup>a</sup> or nought,  
 " God only wot that al thyngs hath wrougt,  
 " For he hymself upward hath mete<sup>b</sup> the way,  
 " Whann that he stegh<sup>c</sup> up into heven on holy Thursday.  
 " On the heghest place of the thred heven,  
 " Above alle other planets seven,  
 " Stondeth so meny sterres grete and smale,  
 " That no man may hem telle bi tale,

<sup>a</sup> true.<sup>b</sup> measured.<sup>c</sup> ascended.

“ The whiche fast stondest as the boke preveth,  
“ And beth had aboute with the heven that meveth  
“ As nailes that beth in wheles with oute,  
“ And ever with the wheles turneth aboute.  
“ The sterres semen smale as we demeth,  
“ But thei beth nougt so smale as thei semeth,  
“ For the leste sterre that we on loke  
“ Es more than al the Erthe as we fynd writen in boke :  
“ For clerkes sey thoug al the World a fire were,  
“ And hit were possible that a man myght be there,  
“ Him schuld thenk thoug al the World brenned light,  
“ Lesse than the leste sterre that shyneth by nyght :  
“ And to the heghe heven couthe never clerk by eny art  
“ The space gesse by a thousand part,  
“ For hit es so heyghe, Sidrac saith, in his menyng,  
“ That if a stone were there at with beyng,<sup>a</sup>  
“ And were of an hundred mennes lyfting,  
“ Yut hit schuld be in down fallyng  
“ A thousand yere and nougt one lasse,  
“ Or that hit myght al the hevens passe.  
“ This heven es heghest of hevens alle,  
“ For hegher es no thyng that may bifalle ;  
“ And as helle es lowest that men may fynd,  
“ So es heven the heghest that men may have in mynd.  
“ This heven es clepid heven empire,  
“ That es to say heven that es so ful of fire,  
“ For hit semeth as fire of grete myght,  
“ The which brenneth nougt and schyneth brigt ;  
“ This heven bifalleth nougt aboute to go  
“ Ne hit ne moveth nougt as doth thes other two,  
“ But stondest ever stille for hit es the beste,  
“ And the moste worthi place of pes and reste ;  
“ This heven is clepid Goddis owen see,  
“ For thereinne sitteth the holy Trinite,  
“ And alle aungelis, as the boke telleth,  
“ And all holy seyntis in this heven dwelleth.”

N. 8 verso. last line to O 2. verso. l. 9.

<sup>a</sup> were in existence there.

The joys of Heaven are very forcibly depicted : but previously to entering upon each individual delight, the author thus gives a summary of the whole :

“ There schal in heven be more blisse  
 “ Than hert may thynk when hit es in lisse.  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 “ For there es ever lif withouten deth,  
 “ And alle joyes that beth spoken with one breth,  
 “ And there es youthe withouten eny elde,<sup>a</sup>  
 “ And there es al manere welth that man may welde,<sup>b</sup>  
 “ And there es al manere gode that never schal faile,  
 “ And there es ever rest withouten travaile,<sup>c</sup>  
 “ And there es pes withouten eny strif,  
 “ And there es al manere likyng<sup>d</sup> of lif,  
 “ And there es ever day and never nyght:  
 “ Thidur bryng us God Almygt:  
 “ And there es ever somer bright to se,  
 “ For there es no Wyntur in that cuntre,  
 “ And there es al manere welthe and riches,  
 “ There es al manere Nobleth that man may gesse,  
 “ There es more worschip and honoure  
 “ Than ever King had or Emperoure,  
 “ And there is al manere powere and myght,  
 “ And there wol God our wonnyng<sup>e</sup> dyght,  
 “ And there is al manere ese and delite,  
 “ And there es siker<sup>f</sup> pes with oute edewyte,<sup>g</sup>  
 “ And there es joye ever and blis lastyng,  
 “ And there es murthe and likyng,  
 “ And there es parfite joye the whiche es endless,  
 “ And there es blisfulhede of pes,  
 “ And there is swettenes the which is certeyn,  
 “ And there is a duellyng withoute turnyng ageyne,  
 “ And there es ever preysyng among,  
 “ All manere melody and aungelis song,  
 “ And there is all manere frenschip that may be,  
 “ And there is al manere love and parfite charite,

<sup>a</sup> old age.<sup>b</sup> wield, manage.<sup>c</sup> labour.<sup>d</sup> pleasure.<sup>e</sup> deck or fit up our dwelling.<sup>f</sup> sure.<sup>g</sup> possibly, from the Saxon verb “*dwine*,” to waste.

“ And there is ever gode acorde and onhede,<sup>a</sup>  
 “ And yeldyng ageyne for eche gode dede,  
 “ And there is ever grete lowtyng<sup>b</sup> and grete reverence,  
 “ And there is ever buxomnes<sup>c</sup> and obedience,  
 “ And there is al manere virtues withouten eny vices,  
 “ And there is plenty of deyntes and delites,  
 “ And there is ever al gode thyng at wille,  
 “ And there es nothyng that may be ille,  
 “ And there es wisdom withoute foly,  
 “ And there is al honeste withouten vilony,  
 “ And there is brightnes and beute,  
 “ And there is al godenes that may be.”

O 2 verso. l. 11 to O 3 verso. l. 8.

The delights of heaven are then more particularly described under the following heads ; Brightness—Swiftmess—Might and Strength—Freedom—Health—Delights—Endless Life—Wisdom—Perfect Love—Accord and “ Onhed ”—Lordship—Worship—Surety and Siker-ness—Perfect Joy—

To a minute description of each, is appended “ the contrary of that bliss,” shewing the mental and bodily anguish which shall be inflicted upon the damned. These are followed by an exposition of “ five manner of Joyes, that the rightful men shall have in heaven, in their five wittes, or senses.”

The following are given as specimens :

“ Also he schulleth there yse sitte wel hye  
 “ God’s blisful Modur maiden Marie,  
 “ That next hym sitteth in heven bright,  
 “ Above all aungelis as hit es right;  
 “ For he ches<sup>d</sup> hur to be his modur dere,  
 “ And of hur toke flesche and blod here,  
 “ And to souke of hure breste hit was his wille,  
 “ Wher fore next hym hue<sup>e</sup> sitteth stille,  
 “ But heo<sup>e</sup> es so faire there as heo<sup>e</sup> sittes,  
 “ That hur fairnes passith alle manns wittes;  
 “ Thanne is that a gret joy as I bifore told  
 “ Hur faireyns ever so to bihold.”

P. 6. l. 6.

<sup>a</sup> unity.

<sup>b</sup> bowing.

<sup>c</sup> acquiescence.

<sup>d</sup> chose.

<sup>e</sup> she.

The righteous are also promised a sight of the Patriarchs and Prophets, of the Apostles and Evangelists, and

“ Other martires and confessours meny on,  
 “ Doctours and heremites that wold barfot gone,  
 “ And holy writ wold kenne and teche,  
 “ And to the lewed puple oft hit preche,  
 “ And alle other that in clenmes hur lif wold lede,  
 “ As religious and seculers that of God toke hede.” P. 6. verso.

The author concludes his Poem, by soliciting the candour of all who may read or hear it; especially of the clergy, to whose correction he professes himself willing to submit, and he takes leave of them, by requesting their prayers in his behalf, and that of his scribe.

After presenting the foregoing analysis of this Poem, it seems proper to advert to the suspicion expressed by Mr. Warton,<sup>a</sup> that it might not have been the production of Hampole. The only argument adduced by him, after stating that Hampole was probably the author of the Latin treatise in prose, entitled “*Stimulus Conscientiæ*,” is, that “it is not likely that he should translate his own work.” But why not? the avowed object of the Poem (as already stated) being to convey to “the lewed men of England that conneth nothyng but Englysh understond,”<sup>b</sup> salutary advice and information which they could not otherwise have received.

From intrinsic evidence, moreover, the work is clearly not a *translation*, but an enlargement in English upon a Latin treatise: comprehending a paraphrase upon a variety of texts or passages, quoted in such treatise, from sacred and profane writings. Continual reference is made to “the boke” and to “the glose of the boke,” by which terms the author appears modestly to designate his own Latin treatise. It does not appear that any complete copy of this treatise is now in existence. Leland makes no mention of either of the works in his “*Commentarii de scriptorib. Brit.*” In the list however which he gives, he does not profess to enumerate *all* Hampole’s writings, of which (says he) there were very many; but only those which he knew to

<sup>a</sup> Hist. E. Poetry, Vol. I. p. 265.

<sup>b</sup> MS. penes me. q. 3. verso.

exist, in the Marian library at York, and that of the Carmelites in London. Pits however mentions both, and consecutively, in the ample catalogue which he has drawn up of the holy Father's compositions.<sup>a</sup>

From the catalogues of the Cottonian and Harleian manuscripts, printed in 1802--1808, by order of Parliament, there appears to be in the former library, one copy of the "Stimulus Conscientiæ,"—Galba, E. IX.

And in the latter, three imperfect copies, Nos. 1731, 2377, 2394; and one complete, No. 6923; besides No. 106, art. 79, "Ex tractatu qui intitulatur Stimulus Conscientiæ:" qu: an Rob: Grosthead an Ric: Hampole."

The libraries of Oxford and Cambridge possess copies of this Poem, and the valuable manuscript library of Mr. Coke of Holkham has one of an age and caligraphy similar to that from which the present transcripts are made.

In the Bodleian library<sup>b</sup> there are three copies of the "Prick of Conscience," in which this poem is given to Robert Grosthead, Bishop of Lincoln, who died, A. D. 1253. But this is palpably incorrect, mention being made in the poem of Moses Micotsi,<sup>c</sup> who flourished only in the 14th century, and of Thomas Aquinas,<sup>d</sup> who did not take his Doctor's degree until the year 1255, being then about 31 years old. Grosteste wrote, in the Romance or French language of his time, a Poem (never printed) which professes to treat of the Creation, the Redemption, the Day of Judgement, the Joys of Heaven, and the Torments of Hell. From the similarity of the subjects, this mistake may have originated.

On the whole, there seems no good reason to doubt that the present work was the production of the person whose name it currently bears.

It is impossible to conclude this paper without briefly remarking how much yet remains to be done towards elucidating the early language and literature of our country, and adverting with surprise and regret, to the comparatively small use made with this view of the invaluable stores deposited in our public libraries.

<sup>a</sup> Pitseus *Relationes historicæ*, 4to: 1619, p. 465.

<sup>b</sup> Warton's *Hist. E. Poetry*, Vol. 1. p. 262.

<sup>c</sup> MS. penes me. O. 1 verso.

<sup>d</sup> MS. i. 2 verso.

XXXVI. *On the Lorica Catena of the Romans.* By SAMUEL RUSH MEYRICK, LL.D. F.S.A. in a letter addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.

Read 1st Feb. 1821.

MY DEAR SIR,

HAVING asserted that the ingenious and elegant manufacture of interlaced chain-mail was not known in Europe before the middle of the reign of Henry III. of England, I think it due to the Society that I should attempt some explanation of the *Lorica catena* of the Romans.

The *Lorica catena* has been universally described by commentators as armour *ex annulis contexta*, "made of rings woven into each other;" and if they are altogether right, this exposition seems to militate against my opinion. Such indeed was their impression, and they have left it to be adopted by posterity without hesitation. I am, however, inclined to believe that the Romans had no flexible armour but what was held together by being fastened on the surface of a tunic.

The tegulated, scaled, masled, flat-ringed, rustred, and edge-ringed, would never have superseded the more commodious and less ponderous interlaced chain-mail, had that been previously known; and as the Romans, as well as the Crusaders, borrowed their flexible armour from Asia, it would not, after its invention in that portion of the world, have been wholly disused for a long interval, and then revived. In proof of this, we find that after it had been once introduced into Europe, it was rather mixed with than displaced by plate armour, continuing in use to the middle of the sixteenth century; and in Asia has been retained without intermission to the present moment.

The origin of the word *Lorica*, it is well known, is the same as that

of Cuirass, and implies that this defence for the body was originally of leather, which succeeded the wild beast skin, the armour of more savage society. But what then was the *Lorica catena*, or *chain Lorica*?

In Mr. Hope's *Costume of the Ancients*, Pl. 17. Fig. 3. is a Phrygian casque with a pendant flap to cover the neck. This is so etched as to resemble the interlaced chain mail. Although unknown to that gentleman, I took the liberty of writing to him on the subject, and received from him an immediate and polite answer, saying, that he could not then recollect from what authority it had been copied, but on his return to town, which would be shortly, he would make all possible search for it. A year has now elapsed, and I have heard no more; I feel therefore compelled to regard it as having been inaccurately represented. This inclination is not a little strengthened by finding that it does not at all accord with the Phrygian tunic of mail, in Pl. 32. of the same work, taken from a bronze in the possession of J. Hawkins, Esq. of Bignor Park, Sussex, and which is of flat rings sewn contiguously on the garment of cloth. As therefore this specimen is so extremely doubtful, and as no other exists of which I am aware, I must infer that we have no direct authority for concluding that the interlaced chain-mail was known to the antients.

Nor do their writers, notwithstanding this explanation of the commentators, assert any such thing. The nearest in point of description, is the following expression of Valerius Flaccus, where speaking of the Sarmatians, he says, Lib. VI,

Sarmaticæ coiêre manus—  
 —— *Riget his molli lorica catena*  
 Id quoque tegmen equis.

“ To restrain the Sarmatian band  
 The *Lorica with its yielding chain* confines these,  
 And of similar manufacture is the housing of their horses.”

But the very use of the word *riget*, which implies that the wearer was stiffened or rendered much less capable of action, renders any deduction from the word *molli*, that these chains were interlaced with

each other, and thus made a military garment of themselves independently, quite inadmissible.

But Ammianus Marcellinus, who lived about three centuries later, describes the Sarmatians and Quadi, as having their body armour made of slices of horn. In Lib. xvii. he says, *Sarmatis et Quadis loricae sunt ex cornibus rasis et laevigatis plumarum specie linteis indumentis innexae.* “The Loricae of the Sarmati and Quadi are made of horn, cut into slices and polished, which being placed on linen in the form of feathers, are fastened together upon it:” so that this armour was formed by being stitched upon a linen tunic. Had the Sarmatians discovered the mode of making a garment of armour itself, they would never have relinquished it for this less commodious species. We consequently find that these loricae of horn, mentioned by Ammianus, were by no means late inventions, for Pausanias, who lived in the time of Adrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, says in the first Book of his Description of Greece, chap. 20, that he saw one preserved in the temple of Esculapius at Athens. This account however, differs a little from that of Ammianus, as he declares it was made without the adoption of linen. As it is rather curious, I copy it at length. “In this place too, among other things, there is a Sarmatian coat of armour, which *if well inspected*, evinces that the barbarians are no less skilful in arts than the Grecians. For the Sarmatians neither have iron, nor is it transmitted to them from other countries, as these barbarians are, more than all others, free from association with foreign countries. In consequence therefore of this want of iron, they have devised wicker instead of iron tops for their spears. Their bows and arrows too are of cornel wood, and the tops of these are wicker. They likewise in battle throw chains about every enemy they meet with, and at the same time their horses turning about, they throw down the enemy entangled in their chains. But they fashion their body armour after the following manner: Each of these barbarians has a great quantity of horses, for their land is not separated into parts so as to be subservient to the use of private persons, nor does it bear any thing except rustic wood, as the inhabitants are nothing more than nomades. These horses they not only use for the purposes of war,

but they sacrifice them to their country gods, and even use them for food; but collecting the hoofs of these animals, and purifying and dividing them, they polish them so as to resemble the scales of a dragon. He indeed who has not seen a dragon, may compare this composition from hoofs to a pine-nut while yet green. This scale-like composition they perforate, and sew it together with the nerves of horses and oxen, and afterwards use it for body armour, and it is not inferior to that of the Greeks, either for elegance or strength, as it will sustain a blow, given either remotely or near at hand." That the Romans adopted this armour we learn from Martial, Lib. VII. who speaking of Domitian's lorica says :

Quam vel ad Ætolæ securum cuspidis ictum  
Texuit innumeri lubricus unguis apri.

" Which to render secure from the blow of the Ætolian spear  
The polished hoofs of innumerable boars have woven together,"

the boars hoofs supplying the place of those of the horse. Indeed this kind of manufacture seems to have continued in Asia till modern times, as there is one made in the manner described by Pausanias in Mr. Gwennap's collection, which is said, probably without sufficient authority, to have come from Turkey.<sup>a</sup> It is extremely incommodious, and would confine the motions of the wearer, as Horace has noticed. This effect is the greater, because it is not fastened on linen, a circumstance noticed by Pausanias after minute inspection; and if this be the identical armour described by Horace, *catena* is only a poetical expression to denote that one piece of horn was connected with the other by nerves which rendered it a Lorica, without being placed on linen. As its flexibility however was increased by being stitched on linen, according to the description of Ammianus, that was probably the kind which came into use among the Romans.

But the Sarmatians did not confine themselves to horn in order to make their armour, for Tacitus, in the 1st Book of his History, tells us that they used Tegmen ferreis laminis, aut præduro corio consertum ut adversus ictus impenetrabile, ita impetu hostium provolutis inhabile

<sup>a</sup> It has, however, been lately termed Japanese.

ad resurgendum, “a covering made with laminæ of iron, or extremely hard leather sewn together, which to the blow of an adversary became impenetrable, but to the wearer an incumbrance so unwieldy, that if overthrown by the charge of the enemy, he is unable to rise again.” This armour, he further observes, was confined to the chiefs. The form of such laminæ may be seen sculptured on the Theodosian column on the saddle cloth of the Emperor Gratian. The leathern kind of armour seems to have resembled that worn by the Anglo-Saxons called *Coria* and *Corieta*, which I noticed in a former paper published by the Society of Antiquaries, and seems to have been also used by the Persians. Hence Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. xxiv. says of them, *Operimentis scorteis equorum multitudine omni defensâ*: “A multitude of their horses were altogether defended by housings manufactured from hides.”

From the following expression of Quintus Curtius one is led to suppose, that the laminæ instead of being laid on cloth were simply attached to each other in the same manner as the pieces of horn spoken of by Pausanias, and this will account for the stiffness which Tacitus seems to notice when he says, that “the wearer having once fallen is unable to rise again.” The words of Quintus Curtius, Lib. iv. are, *Equitibus, equisque, tegumenta erant ex ferreis laminis, seriè inter se connexis*. “Both the riders and their horses are protected by armour manufactured from laminæ of iron connected with each other in rows.” A jacket of this kind is in my son’s armour,<sup>a</sup> but in order to be flexible the laminæ do not overlap each other as was the case with the Sarmatian armour.<sup>b</sup> Still this passage may imply that the laminæ were stitched on cloth or leather, which is more particularly specified by Ovid, in *Met. Lib. III. m. 63*.

*Loricæque modo squamis defensus et atræ  
Durtia pellis vallido cute reppulit ictus.*

“And now defended by the scales of the Lorica  
And the toughness of the black hide, the blow  
Is repulsed by the strong skin.”

<sup>a</sup> It came from Vienna, but I am not yet certain whether it be not Asiatic.

<sup>b</sup> In the same collection, however, are two Circassian suits; the backs are in that manner.

In the first instance the laminæ were square, but here we find them rounded, so as to have the appearance of scales. Body armour thus fashioned was called *Lorica squammata*, and is so sculptured on some of the soldiers on the arch of Constantine, and on the saddle-cloths of the Emperor Theodosius and a Scythian King, on the column of Theodosius.

But they had been adopted much earlier by the Romans, for Plutarch tells us, that Lucullus wore *θώρακα σιδηροῦν φολιδωτόν*, “a Lorica made with pieces of iron shaped like the scales of fish.” And from Dion Cassius we learn, that this was the express armour of the Prætorian troops, observing that the Emperor Macrinus took from them *τοὺς θώρακας τοὺς λεπιδωτοὺς*, “their Loricæ made to resemble the scales of serpents.”

Much resembling the scaled was the plumose, termed *Lorica plumata*, but the laminæ were longer in their projections, so as to have the appearance of feathers, and may be seen both on the column of Trajan and that of Antonine; but in all these specimens the laminæ appear as if fastened on linen tunics.

The plumose kind was probably borrowed by the Romans from the Parthians, for Justin. Lib. XII. asserts of that people, that *Munimenta equitibus, equisque, Loricæ plumatæ sunt; quæ utrumque toto corpore tegunt*. “Plumose Loricæ form the armour of the riders and their horses, which cover completely the bodies of both.” Suidas undertakes more particularly to describe the Parthian armour; he says, “*Parthi equites Lorica est talis; prior pars pectus et femora et manûs extremas et crura tegit, posterior tergum et cervicem et caput totum; fibulæ verò sunt ad latera, quibus utramque partem jungunt; atque ita totum equitem ferreum dant videri. Prohibet verò nihil, aut impedit ferrum membrorum extensiones suæ, et contractiones, adeò curiosè factum tectumque est ad naturam membrorum. Armant, autem, et equum similiter ferro totum quidem et usque ad ungulas.*” “The Lorica of the Parthian knight is formed in this manner, the fore part covers the breast, the legs, outside of the hands and thighs, the hinder part the back, the neck, and the whole head; on the sides are placed buckles by which both parts are united, and in this manner the horse-

man seems to be wholly made of iron. The iron, however, by no means prevents or impedes the extension and contraction of the limbs, so curiously is it made, forming as it were a natural covering to the members. They also arm their horses in like manner in a complete covering of iron which reaches to their hoofs."

Suidas seems in this description to have before him the figures on the Trajan column, for it is this people who appear to have brought the scaled armour to the notice of, and adoption by the Romans.

He was, however, no doubt greatly influenced by the following description by Ammianus Marcellinus, who had often seen this kind of armour. He says Lib. xvi. *Praxitelis manu polita crederes simulacra non viros, quos laminarum circuli tenues apti corporibus flexibus ambiebant, per omnia membra deducti, ut quocunque artus necessitas commovisset vestitus congrueret, junctura cohærentur aptatâ.* "You might imagine that these were figures chiseled by the hand of Praxiteles, rather than men whose bodies are enveloped with yielding circles of laminæ contrived to answer their various motions, and so brought over all their members, that wherever necessity moves a joint the garment is so constructed as to act in unison, the joinings at the same time being fitted to overlap when the limb is contracted."

The following passage in Isidorus shews that these little circles were for the purpose of holding the laminæ together: *Squamma est Lorica ex laminis æreis vel ferreis concatenata in modum squamarum piscis.* "The scaled is the Lorica formed of brazen or iron laminæ *chained together*, in the manner of scales of fish."

Those Loricae which were peculiar to the Romans were formed of semicircular bands placed above each other, reaching from the chest to the hips, with smaller ones for shoulder-guards, and to protect the abdomen. They were put on over a leathern vest, and fastened before and behind by buttons. They may be seen in great numbers on the Trajan column and other monuments of antiquity, and the straps which fastened the leathern vest beneath may be observed on the chest.

Both these and their plate-armour were of bronze, or the metal compounded of tin and copper, as appears by a specimen of each in the

British Museum. Hence also Virgil, in the *Æneid*, Lib. VIII. v. 621, says :

Rigens ex ære Lorica.

“ Stiffened by wearing the brazen Lorica.”

And again, in Lib. XII. v. 88,

—— auro squallentem alboque orichalco

Circumdat humeris Loricam.

“ —— with a Lorica studded with gold, and of the paler bronze,  
He surrounds his shoulders.”

So Polybius, Lib. VI. narrates that “ the greater part of the troops taking the brazen laminæ, which were from two fingers to a palm in breadth throughout, placed them on their breasts.” The breadth of the specimen in the British Museum is between two and three inches. The arms, as well as the armour of the Romans, were both originally of this compound metal, but iron had been adopted for the former, some time before the invasion of Britain. The same change subsequently took place in the latter, whence the expression for putting on armour used by Silius Italicus, Lib. VIII.

—— ferro circumdare pectus

“ —— to surround the breast with iron.”

Claudian, on the sixth Consulship of Honorius, has beautifully described the armour which in his time was of iron :

Ut chalybe indutos equites, et in ære latentes  
Vidit cornipedes ; Quanam de gente rogabat  
Ferrati venêre viri ? Quæ terra metallo  
Nascentes informat equos ? Num Lemnius auctor  
Addidit hinnitum ferro, simulacraque bellis.

“ As knights clad in steel ; and the rest concealed within  
The metal, he saw the hoofed feet. From what race, he asks,  
Have these iron men sprung ? What land gives birth to  
Horses formed of metal ? Has the artist Lemnius  
Added the power of neighing, and the warlike form  
To iron ?”

And in his second book and fifth Carmen in Rufinum, where he speaks more distinctly of these wide semicircular laminæ, he says,

————— conjuncta per artem  
Flexibilis inductis hamatur laminæ membris  
Horribilis visi: credas simulacra moveri  
Ferrea, cognatoque viros spirare metallo.  
Par vestitus equis.

“ ——— Having clothed their limbs with  
The laminæ flexible from being hooked together with skill,  
They look horrible. You might suppose them to be iron  
Figures moving, and champions breathing in a kindred  
Metal. In the same manner are their horses armed.”

In the time when Virgil wrote, the scaled and plumæ were of bronze. Thus, in Lib. XI. of the *Æneid*, he says,

Spumantemque agitabat equum, quem pellis ahenis  
In plumam squammis auro conserta tegebat.

“ And urges on the foaming steed, which a housing  
Of brazen scales stitched together and gilt  
In the form of feathers, covers.”

Again in the same book he has

—— rutilum thoraca indutus aënis  
Horrebat squammis.

“ ——— having put on the glittering thorax with brazen  
Scales, he has become terrific.”

There is however another kind of armour mentioned by the same poet, in the third book of the *Æneid*, v. 467, which he calls

Conserta hamis Lorica.

“ A Lorica with hooks fastened together.”

And Pausanias, in his description of Greece, Book IX. c. 26, asserts, that Cleostratus had a “Lorica which was set quite thick with brazen hooks turned upwards;” but as he mentions this as a departure from the ordinary manufacture of this kind of armour, we must conclude that the hooks were in all other instances turned downwards. But Montfaucon, who seems not to have been aware of this passage, conceives that this is the interlaced chain-mail which I have asserted

was not known in Europe before the middle of the thirteenth century. Speaking of the body armour of the Romans, in his *Antiq. expliq.* he says, On en faisoit encore d'anneaux de fer passez l'un dans l'autre, qui faisoient des chaines entrelassées; c'est ce que les Grecs appellent ἀλυσιδωτὸς, et qu'on nomme en François Cotte de mailles, en Latin Lorica hamis conserta, ou hamata. "It was sometimes made of iron rings passed one through the other, which produced a number of interlaced chains; this was what the Greeks called ἀλυσιδωτὸς, and what we term in French Cotte de mailles, in Latin, Lorica hamis conserta, or hamata." He afterwards says, Il ne faut pas confondre comme plusieurs ont fait, ces cuirasses d'écailles qui s'appelloient en Latin Loricæ squammataæ avec les cuirasses composees de chaines inserées les unes dans les autres, que nous appellons cottes de mailles et qu'on nommoit en Latin Loricæ hamataæ. Les premieres étoient de petites lames de fer mises les unes sur les autres avec quelque symmetrie, et par consequent differentes de ces cottes de mailles, composées de petites chaines. "We must not, as many have done, confound these cuirasses of scales which were called in Latin Loricæ squammataæ, with those composed of chains locked within each other, which we call Cottes de mailles, and which were termed in Latin, Loricæ hamataæ. The first were formed of little plates of iron placed one over another with some symmetry, and were consequently different from the cottes de mailles composed of little chains."

This author, however, cites no authority whatever for this assertion, which he took for granted from other commentators. Although he does not notice the expression Lorica catena, he states that Il y en avoit qui étoient faites de petites chaines, et couvertes ensuite de lames pardessus. "There were some Loricæ which were made with little chains, covered afterwards with plates laid upon them." This, however, seems to me a wrong conception of some passage like that in Quintus Curtius already cited, and probably merely implied that the small plates of metal were linked together underneath.

Ἀλυσιδωτὸς certainly signifies "formed of links," but I conceive that the expression arose from the rings being first hooked through the tunic and then closed, which was exactly the rings set edgewise

of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and a Lorica of this kind is absolutely painted on the walls of the tombs of the kings of Thebes. See Denon's Travels, Pl. LV. Fig. 7.

Silius Italicus describes Flaminius, the Roman Consul, arming himself in the following words:

Loricam induitur totos huic nexilis hamos  
Ferro squamma rudi, permistoque asperat auro.

“He put on his Lorica, to this connected all over  
With hooks are attached the scales, which appear sharp,  
Made of rough iron mixed with gold.”

Sidonius too, in his Paneg. ad Anthem. says,

————— nec subtilis illi  
Circulus impactis Loricam texuit hamis.

“————— nor the little circle stitched to it  
Hath connected the Lorica with inconvenient hooks.”

In the life of Claudius and that of Alexander Severus we find Trebellius naming those soldiers who were clad in the various kinds of heavy armour except the plate, Cataphracti, and Cataphractarii, from the Greek word *Κατάφρακτης*. Livy too, Lib. XXXVII. c. 40, describing the army which Antiochus brought into the field against the Romans, and which was *varia multis gentibus dissimilitudine armorum auxiliorumque*, “much varied by the different nations of which it was composed, and their respective armour,” says, *ad latus dexterum phalangitarum mille et quingentos equites Gallogræcorum opposuit. His tria millia equitum loricatorum, (cataphractus ipsi appellant) adjunxit.* “On the right of the Macedonian phalanx were posted 1,500 Gallo-Grecian horse. To these were added 3000 loricated cavalry, called in their own language Cataphracti.” Similar to these were those Gauls whom Tacitus, in the 3d book of his Annals, calls *Crupellarii*: from all which we learn that they acquired this armour by their connection with Greece.

Varro has a singular observation, in which, however, he is not altogether borne out. He says, in his work *De Ling. Lat.* *Lorica à Loris, quod de corio crudo pectoralia faciebant. Postea succuderunt Galli é ferro, sub id vocabulum ex annulis ferream tunicam.* “Lorica is so called from *Lorum*, because body-armour was made of raw hides.

After that the Gauls fabricated it from iron, and under that word is comprehended the iron tunic connected by rings."

The authorities are numerous and too well known to render it necessary for me to shew that the Romans borrowed their armour from the Etruscans rather than from the Gauls; but that their troops were considered as undique muniti, "completely armed," without wearing the Cataphractes, we learn from Hegesippus, Lib. III. c. 24. This author observes that Titus Cæsar, when he addressed his troops, exclaimed, Progredimur in bellum muniti undique. Tegitur galeâ caput, Loricâ pectus, totumque clypeo corpus. Ubi feriet hostis Romanem militem reperire non potest, quem ferro tectum circumspicit. "We march to war completely armed: our heads are covered with helmets, our breasts with Loricæ, and our whole bodies with large oval shields. Wherever the enemy may strike, he will survey a covering protection."

But lest Varro's expression *ex annulis* may seem to allude to interlaced chain-armour, it will be merely requisite to refer to Statius, who in his Thebaid, Lib. XII. has the following line:

Multiplicem tenuis iterant thoraca catenæ.

"The pliable links connect by repetition the manifold thorax."

The epithet *multiplicem* evidently refers to the overlapping plates, and the verb *iterant* to the frequency with which the catenæ are necessarily introduced to hold them together. This passage therefore seems to justify my conception of that in Valerius Flaccus, and further explains the following one of Lucan, Lib. VII.

———— qua torta graves Lorica catenas

Opponit.

"—— where the twisted Lorica meets

The heavy chains."

Or,

"—— where the Lorica meets the severe links

Which are twisted together in it."

These links being twisted wires, authorize the term *torta*, though that may refer to the curled or frizzled appearance which the Lorica in such case puts on.

But the armour called Cataphractes is explained in the Fragments

of Sallust, preserved by Servius, in these words : *Equites cataphracti ferreâ omni specie: equis paria operimenta quæ linteo ferreis laminis in modum plumæ adnexuerant.* “The *Equites cataphracti* are those troops of cavalry that are clad in a complete covering of iron armour, and their horses having housings of the same material; these dresses were composed of little plates of iron fastened together so as to resemble feathers, and sewn on linen.”

So Elian, in his *Tactics*, says, “The equestrian forces now-a-days differ in respect to armour; one part is altogether covered with it, and these are consequently called *Cataphracti*; the other part are not in armour. By *Cataphracti* therefore I would understand those who have not only their own bodies, but those of their horses every where protected by armour.” The Emperor Leo, in his *Tactics*, C. vi. s. 30, says the same as having been the case long before his days. His words are, “With the antients, the cavalry were fortified by two different kinds of armour; one was called *cataphractum* or *loricatum*, the other *non-cataphractum*.” Lampridius says that “the *cataphracti* were the same as were called by the Persians *Clibanarii*.” He is confirmed by Leo, who in section 31 tells us, that “the *Cataphracti*, both man and horse, were completely armed on all parts with *loricæ*, that is with helmets; with *clibana*, that is with thoraces (according to the later Greek acceptance of the word;) with *parameria*, that is with maces, &c.”

Ammianus Marcellinus is a still better authority. He says, *Lib. xvi.* *Sparsique cataphracti equites quos Clibanarios dictitant Persæ, thoracum muniti tegminibus, et limbis ferreis cincti.* “And here and there were posted the *Equites cataphracti* whom the Persians call *Clibanarii*, armed with the covering of thoraces, and enveloped with small plates of iron as it were embroidered on them.” The expression *limbis* serves strongly to shew that the plates were fastened upon the *loricæ*. In the oration of Alexander Severus to the Senate, after his victory over the Persians, he tells that body, “*Centum et viginti quinque millia equitum fudimus: cataphractarios quos illi Clibanarios vocant; decem millia in bello interemimus, eorum armis nostros armavimus.*” “We have discomfited 125,000 horse, and have killed in the battle

10,000 equites cataphractarii whom the Persians call Clibanarii, and have armed our troops in their armour.”

This probably occasioned the first introduction of this species of cavalry among the Romans, as from the manner in which Claudian speaks, one is led to suppose that they were but of late adoption. Nazarius, however, in his Panegyric, seems actuated by similar feelings of astonishment. Quæ (says he) illa fuisse dicitur species quam atrox visu, quam formidolosa! operimento ferri equi atque homines obsepti. Clibanariis in exercitu nomen est. Superne omnibus tectis equorum pectoribus, demissa lorica et crurum tenuis pendens sine impedimento gressûs á noxa vulneris vindicabat. “What is that kind said to have been, which was so dreadful and formidable to behold? men and horses equally covered with armour manufactured with small pieces of iron. Their name in the army is Clibanarii. From the top, the breasts of the horses are completely covered, and the loose Lorica hanging down as far as the man’s thigh, while they offer no impediment to their motions, entirely protect them from the injury of wounds.”

These quotations seem to shew that the Equites cataphracti, and the Equites clibanarii were precisely the same; but there was probably some distinction, though it may not have been very striking. Perhaps the former may have had their armour shaped more after the Greek fashion of the day, and the latter in the Persian style. This however must be conjecture; but as we find them both mentioned in the Notitia Imperii, which implies a difference, it seems fully warranted.

#### IN ORIENTEM.

Sub dispositione viri illustris Magistri militum Præsentalis,

Comites Clibanarii.

Equites primi Clibanarii Parthi.

Equites Cataphractarii Biturigenses.

Sub dispositione viri illustris Magistri militum Præsentalis,

Equites Persæ Clibanarii

Equites Cataphractarii Ambienses.

Equites Cataphractarii.

Equites secundi Clibanarii Parthi.

Sub dispositione viri illustris Magistri militum per Orientem,  
 Comites Cataphractarii.  
 Equites promoti Clibanarii.  
 Equites quarti Clibanarii Parthi.  
 Cuneus Equitum secundorum Clibanariorum Palmirenorum.  
 Sub dispositione viri illustris Magistri militum per Thracias,  
 Equites Cataphractarii Albigenses.

#### IN ÆGYPTO.

Sub dispositione viri spectabilis Ducis Thebaidos,  
 Ala prima Jovia Cataphracta.

#### IN SCYTHIA.

Sub dispositione viri spectabilis Ducis Scythiæ,  
 Cuneus Equitum Cataphractariorum.

#### IN OCCIDENTE.

Sub dispositione viri illustris et Magistri equitum Præsentalis,  
 Equites sagittarii Clibanarii.

#### INTRA AFRICAM.

Cum viro spectabili Comite Africae,  
 Equites Clibanarii.

#### INTRA BRITANNIAS.

Cum viro spectabili Comite Britanniarum.  
 Equites Cataphractarii juniores.

From this list we find that there were four bodies of Parthian Clibanarian horse, two of Palmerine, and one Persian; and that the Cataphractarian were Biturigensian, Ambiensian, and Albigensian. The rest not being distinguished were formed with less discrimination, but after the model of these, and among them we may observe some raised by the Emperor Jovian.

As we find mounted archers in the Clibanum, we might suppose as Nazarius, and after him Suidas, has asserted, that this armour allowed free motion to the limbs, and might still cherish a doubt whether it did not include the interlaced chain-mail; but we find the Roman writers themselves acknowledging the inconvenience as well as advantage of it to the wearer. Thus Heliodorus, Lib. ix. *Æthiopicorum*, informs us, that “the Persian equus cataphractus is quite immoveable when without the man to guide him;” and Vegetius, Lib. III. c. xxiii. observes, *Cataphracti equites, propter munimenta quæ gerunt à vul-*

neribus quidem tuti, sed propter impedimentum et pondus armorum capi eos facile est. "The Equites Cataphracti, on account of the armour they bear, are indeed safe from wounds, but the impediment it occasions, together with its weight, renders it an easy matter to make them prisoners.

From this it appears to have been rather of a stiff nature, as the impedimentum et pondus will more readily apply to armour made of laminae stitched on leather, or wadded linen, than to the flexible interlaced chain-mail, which consisted of nothing but the metal.

Thus then we find that the Antients possessed the flat-ringed armour, the laminated or tegulated, the scaled, the plumose, and that made of rings set edgewise; all of which resembled those worn in England during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Had it not been for the painting on the walls of the tombs of the kings at Thebes, in Egypt, already noticed, I should have been induced to consider the meaning of *Lorica hamata*, or *conserta hamis*, as "buttoned," or "fastened together with buttons," not moveable but fixed ones, and therefore in the nature of hooks, and as referring to that composed of semicircular bands, which, as has been observed, were buttoned before and behind. In such case I should have supposed the word *hamata*, introduced to distinguish this *Lorica* from that entirely made of hardened leather, or a single breast and back-plate of metal. Had this been so, it would have further authorized the idea, that the expression *Catena*, merely referred to the wires or nerves which linked together the armour formed of small plates.

But in the British Museum, in the Hamilton collection, there are some pieces of Roman chain of bronze of the size generally used in chain-armour, that is composed of rings which would just go on the top of the little finger. Some of these are formed so as to have the alternate links of two or four rings, the others being single or double. But there are no remains to justify the conclusion that another row was connected with each of these chains, (for there are several of them) so that if they were used as armour, which may be doubted, they could only have been formed into a military garment by being laid parallel to each other and stitched on cloth. Indeed not only

were the *Laminæ* fastened on cloth, but the cloth itself is expressly said to have been sometimes twofold, sometimes threefold.

Thus Virgil, in the *Æneid*, Lib. ix. has,

Nec duplici squamâ Loricâ fidelis et auro  
Sustinuit.

“Nor has the faithful Lorica, which is twofold  
And covered with gilt Scales, sustained it.”

And in another line,

Loricam consortam hamis, auroque trilicem.

“The threefold Lorica fastened with gilt hooks.”

Silius Italicus also, who lived in the time of Trajan, has

——— textam nodis auroque trilicem<sup>a</sup>  
Loricam.

“——— The threefold Lorica woven together with  
Gilt twists.”

The result of this investigation seems to be, that the *Lorica hamata* may refer to the tunic of rings set edgewise, but seems also with great probability to be the name of that formed of semicircular bands, cum hamis consortâ, “fastened with immoveable buttons.” And that the *Lorica catena* may be composed of parallel chains, but not interlinked, yet seems rather to refer to that armour made of little plates held together by wires or nerves.

Should you think these observations worthy of the notice of the Society of Antiquaries, you will much oblige me by submitting them to their notice.

Believe me most truly Yours,

SAMUEL R. MEYRICK.

College of Advocates, Doctors' Commons,

23d Jan. 1821.

<sup>a</sup> It may be objected that I have here translated the word *trilicem* “threefold,” applying it to the cloth, whereas in my former paper I rendered it “treliced.” In reply to this I would observe, that the Latin of the Romans and that of the middle ages have very often totally different significations. Indeed the latter are rather Latinized than Latin words, in support of which I need only notice the term *Galea*, which with the Romans signified a helmet; but with the monkish writers was the Latinized term for a galley. So *trilicem* in my former paper was Latinized from the Norman *trellis*.

XXXVII. *Observations on the Use of the Mysterious Figure, called Vesica Piscis, in the Architecture of the Middle Ages, and in Gothic Architecture; by T. KERRICH, M.A. F.S.A. Principal Librarian to the University of Cambridge.*

Read 20th January, 1820.

IN my observations on Gothic Architecture, published in the Sixteenth Volume of the *Archaeologia*, I ventured to express my belief that the rules and principles of it might be recovered by a patient examination of the numerous buildings in that style still remaining. And I also remarked, that the Mysterious Figure, which seems to have been called *Vesica Piscis*, had a great influence upon the forms of all sorts of things, which were intended for sacred uses; after the establishment of Christianity.

I would now propose to point out some instances, where this influence seems to be apparent, in works of Architecture: and first in the plans of Churches and Chapels, and other religious buildings; and the use the old Architects made of it to determine the proportion of the two dimensions of their length and breadth to each other.

The Figures 1—27, (Plates XX. to XXVI.) are a series of such plans of different ages, from the Churches of St. John Lateran and old St. Peter's at Rome, (both believed to be of the time of Constantine,) to the Abbey Church of Bath, one of the latest Gothic buildings of importance that we have in England; with this figure applied to them, to show how closely they agree with it.

In the first eleven figures it is used in its simplest form, where the center of each of the two circles which compose it is taken in the circumference of the other, and by its length and breadth those of the whole design are determined. But it has been sufficiently shewn already, that this figure, as well as the Gothic arch of two centers,

is capable of being varied infinitely, and according to many different laws; and we will only repeat here that the Architects must necessarily have assigned some limits, and must also have reduced its variations to definite and distinct forms; and they were at perfect liberty, for any thing that we know, to set what limits, and fix upon what forms they pleased. And we would wish to ascertain what those limits, and what the forms of it were upon which they fixed.

From what I have observed these forms were by no means numerous. Below that before mentioned, which may properly be considered as a sort of middle or mean form, including the circle, which must be its limit one way, I believe there are only six that were of established or common use; and they may be all easily drawn with great exactness by taking any given line MN (Pl. XXVI. Fig. 28,) for the breadth, cutting it into twelve equal parts in the points A B C D E F G H I K and L, and taking two of those points which correspond, or are at equal distances from the respective ends of the line, for the two centers of each Vesica, till we arrive at the middle point F, where we may conceive the two centers to have met and to unite in one, which must of course produce a circle.

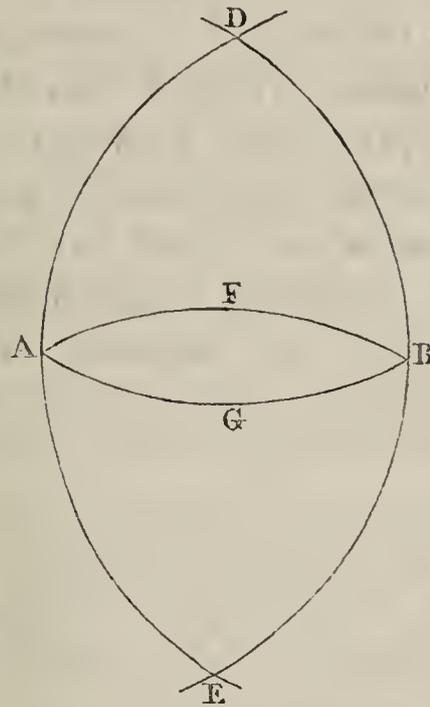
Now all the seven rectangles, Pl. XXVII. Fig. 29, agreeing with these figures, admitting the square to be one of them, if I mistake not very much, I have found actually used for the plans of Choirs, Chancels, Chapels, Porches, &c. in Norman and Gothic buildings, one only excepted; and I have met with no plans of such buildings that did not agree with one or other of them.

Above the mean, or in plans longer in proportion to their breadth, what rule the Architects had prescribed to themselves for adjusting these proportions we have not yet been able to discover; but it was probably by some method similar to that by which they were guided in the former case. See the Plans, Pl. XXVII. Fig<sup>s</sup>. 29 and 30.

The Numbers 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13, in Pl. XXVII. are a series of such plans taken from buildings that still exist; and they look very like fragments of a system with the whole of which we are not acquainted.

However, from what we now know of it, there is good reason to

conclude that the utmost length was limited in the early times of Christianity, and in the Architecture we call Saxon and Norman, by the Vesica A F B G in the following Figure, which seems to have been another form of it, which was held in particular estimation. By it, the length of the whole body of the building in proportion to its width was then very generally, if not always determined; and although the Gothic Architects of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries indulged themselves in greater liberty, and sometimes passed this limit, and designed buildings of greater length in their proportions, as in the plans (Pl. XXV. Fig. 22. and Pl. XXII. Fig. 10) of Salisbury Cathedral, Great Wilbraham, and no doubt in many others, yet this never was given up, but continued to be a standard proportion, to which they appear to have paid particular respect throughout all those ages, and even to the latest times; as we may gather from the Plans of Barnwell Chapel, Frenze Church in Norfolk, and Little St. Mary's Church, and King's College Chapel at Cambridge, which are all formed upon it, and are all Gothic and of different dates. Perhaps ideas of particular holiness might be attached to it; and we may remark it is in this very case that the Figure is called Vesica Piscis by Albert Durer; so that whatever doubts there may be with regard to the other forms of it, there can be none as to its being so named in this.



We will now proceed to point out the use that appears to have been made of this figure, in other parts of architecture.

The Norman Doors and Arches, Pl. XXVIII. XXIX. XXX. Fig. 32—46. are faithfully copied from the prints referred to; and this figure is applied as it was before, to the plans. The ground about old churches is commonly so much raised, that the lower part of the door is buried, and we can seldom see the whole of the design; however, we may ven-

ture to propose Figs. 47, 48, and 49, in Pl. XXX. XXXI. as what there is reason to believe, from the great number we have measured and compared, were very usual methods of constructing them. Designs formed in this way, I am persuaded, would not differ materially from what a Norman architect would have made. I have chosen rather to make use of prints and drawings by professional men than my own, for two reasons—first, they are probably better and more accurately measured than what I should have been able to make, and secondly, they cannot be suspected of any deviation from truth to favour my own notions. I have not examined enough of the Windows in buildings of this style to speak with any confidence as to the manner in which they were designed: the most ancient are small and very narrow for their height, but it may be questioned whether they are more so than what has been here called the extreme proportion of the Vesica Piscis. (See Pl. XXXI. Fig. 50, No. 1 and 2.)

The use of this figure in designing Gothic Arches, Doors, and Windows, whose upper part is pointed, appears more obvious; and no doubt it is so with respect to the mere Arch itself, but that is not the use of it here meant. There are here two different applications of the figure which are perfectly distinct; and we must take care to consider them so, for we shall be led into great mistakes if we confuse them together. A Gothic Arch of two centers is always part of some Vesica Piscis; one half of it exactly, if it be complete: but that by which the proportion of the height to the width of the Door, or Window, or Arch to which it belongs is adjusted, may be a very different thing, (see Pl. XXXI. Fig. 51) and usually is so; although there are instances where the same Vesica serves for both purposes. See the Window, Pl. XXXI. Fig. 52.

There is another class of things generally admired and highly ornamental, in whose design this mysterious figure does really appear to have had a great influence where perhaps it would not easily have been suspected: I mean Pinnacles and Spires. (Pl. XXXI. Fig. 53, Pl. XXXII. Fig. 54 and 55.) The Fig. 56, in Pl. XXXII. No. 1, 2, 3, are meant to shew the mode in which, it is conceived, the design for the Spire of Salisbury Cathedral was made. It would be easy to determine whether

it really was so or not, by only measuring the outward angle  $BAS$ , or the outward angle  $HGM$ , for it is evident they must differ, the one being the angle which the side of a cone circumscribed to the pyramid makes with the plane of the horizon, the other that which one inscribed within it makes with the same plane. Whether there be any of a higher proportion than this, (such as Pl. XXXII. Fig. 55) may be a subject of future inquiry: it is very probable that there are, though I do not recollect to have seen any that appeared to be so; but without actual measurement one can never speak with certainty. Spires of lower proportion are common, (Pl. XXXI. Fig. 53,) and those differing very much from each other; and it seems reasonable to suppose their various forms were regulated by some settled and known rules, as those of plans were.

Spires I believe are all pyramids, and usually octagonal: it is generally said they are not very ancient, and they are understood to belong to the light architecture we call Gothic, exclusively: And perhaps, properly speaking, it may be true: but that will depend entirely upon a definition: we certainly find things very similar in Norman architecture, and a sort of rudiment of them in buildings which are extremely ancient; for although some of them are very low, and upon square or quadrilateral bases, they still are pyramids, and must be considered as things of the same nature.

Whether the same mode was adopted to settle the altitude of Towers and Steeples, in proportion to either the side or the diagonal of their base, I do not know; but it seems exceedingly probable that it was. And should the instances here produced be thought sufficient to prove that the architects used it in the former cases, one would expect to find, upon examination, that the use of it was very general in making their designs of all kinds: Elevations and Sections, as well as plans, and the Façades of Churches, Chapels, Porches, and other religious buildings. It certainly might be of universal application wherever the proportion of height or length to breadth was to be determined; and perhaps it would not be easy to find a readier way of doing it.

To pursue the matter further would increase this Dissertation to an unreasonable length. At present I will content myself with giving a single example of the mode in which designs for the front of a Norman Church were, as there is reason to believe, very generally constructed. (Pl. XXXIII. Fig. 57.)

Lastly, in designing the arches which separate the aisles from the nave of churches, we discover the same figure used with regard to the leading, or as they were probably called, master-lines, which determined their forms, but in a way something different (see Pl. XXXIII. Fig<sup>s</sup>. 58, 59, and 60); and in these designs there was often, not only a double application of the Vesica, as before in those of Gothic doors and windows, but frequently the intersecting circles which form it, answered a further purpose in adjusting the height of the pillars which support the arches; and sometimes for determining also the place of the string-course above them, upon which the next tier of pillars and arches was to be placed. And here it may not be improper to explain the great importance of our being right as to these master-lines, and the errors which must, and do constantly arise from mistakes concerning them. For example, in any one of the cases before us, if a man should have supposed the line *abc* in the arch *ABC*, Pl. XXXIII. Fig. 58, 59, to be the master-line, he would have found it anomalous, as all but the one line *ABC*, &c. must be; or else belonging to a different rule from that by which the design he is examining is governed; and as to this design it would in fact really be anomalous, however regular it might be in itself; and he must have taken a matter to be extremely intricate, which in reality was not so: it would have been to him unintelligible: he would have made wrong conclusions, and perhaps have entertained a false notion, that the Gothic Architects worked at random, without any fixed rules at all. We may observe that the master-line which regulates the form of these arches usually passes through the middle of the impost, or top of the pillar, on each side, upon which they rest; and is scarcely ever visible, or marked upon the wall by any moulding, projection, or excavation.

In Gothic windows the line running along the middle of the out-

ward frame is that which regulates the arch, and all its mouldings however numerous, whether on the outside or within it: although another (as was observed before), not visibly presented to the eye of the spectator, may be the great ruling line which governed the whole design, and determined its proportions; and is a master-line in a rather different sense.

In Gothic doors it seems to be the arch of the door itself, the opening, the void, which is the master-line; and all those above it, of whatever mouldings they may be composed, will, of course, be anomalous, unless they should be so many or so broad as to reach another of the arches drawn according to the rule first laid down; which might be fairly called regular also, although in this design it would not be the leading line. And possibly in some cases these two lines would be, what is called commutable, and it might be a matter of indifference which of them was considered as the master-line. But still if the instances are few where this second regular arch is attained, it would be reasonable always to take that of the door itself for the principal or master-line of the design.

But however we may be convinced that the old Architects had rules to which they adhered very strictly, we are not to suppose they were so rigid in their observance as never to deviate from them in the smallest degree, whatever reasons there might be to do so, on account of convenience, situation, or particular notions of imagined beauty, elegance, or propriety. No art ever was or could be subjected to such rigour, nor could artists so shackled have gone on at all. Every one of them must have had his own particular bent, or genius, as it is called: and it is from studying a great number of their works that we can alone hope to distinguish what should be referred to that, and what is the result of general, established, and acknowledged laws, which are really what constitute the art. We must not expect to find every building we meet with either designed or executed with exact regularity: from love of novelty, vanity, and affectation of originality, as well as from want of abilities, strange irregular and enormous things have been produced in all the arts, in every age and country.

The multitude of Gothic buildings still remaining is prodigious. In many parts of England a man can scarcely travel twenty miles without finding something of this kind perfectly new to him, and different from what he had any idea of before. To examine them all would be impossible; but if a selection were made of such as are most deserving of attention, their curiosity and antiquity being taken into the account, it would tend very much to further our inquiry. This would be a matter of considerable labour, and would besides require some sagacity and judgment, as well as acquaintance with the subject: many of the buildings from which most information might be derived, are small and of little outward appearance, and for the most part have been hitherto overlooked.

But notwithstanding the great number of examples we have to study, I am still fully aware what an arduous undertaking it is, to deduce from things existing the rules by which they were formed; and how much more so it must ever be to discover the principles on which those rules were made. Numberless difficulties also will stand in our way, which are peculiar to the present case. We must reason back from things perhaps originally ill designed, or very inaccurately set out at first, and grossly executed, by men who hardly understood the rules by which they worked, and the principles of which were either kept from them by design, or were far above their comprehension: add to which, most of the buildings are now in ruins, or much out of repair; and what is worse, have in general been altered and deformed in times long posterior to their original foundation. So that the utmost we can hope for is to find out, by their approaches to them in numerous instances, what the proportions and designs were at which the workmen aimed.

Very few of the prints or drawings we can procure are executed with sufficient accuracy: the measures have not, in general, been taken with so much care as they ought to have been, or so exactly reduced to a scale; and they are often too small for our purpose. No doubt, therefore, I must have made mistakes in particular in-

stances, and been erroneous as to the precise form of the Vesica which was used, and the stations of the centers from which it was actually described; but if I am right in supposing the design in question to have been formed upon that Vesica, or one of some definite figure, not very different from it, I shall have attained all that I expected, or would be understood to mean. We should remember there is also great room for error arising from the position of the walls of buildings. They are sometimes of vast thickness when compared with the extent of the plan to which they belong, and it may be a matter of importance whether they be placed within the rectangle, on the outside, or upon the very lines of it. All these difficulties taken into the account one cannot hope to arrive immediately at certainty, or exactness. How far what has been here offered may lead to knowledge, must be left for future investigation to decide. The agreement of this figure, which we have called Vesica Piscis, with the several parts of architecture here pointed out, appears to be such as cannot well be ascribed to accident; and if further examination should confirm what I have only suggested, we shall have gained an important step towards recovering the rules and science of the ancient architects, whose works are at present so much studied and admired; and it may be regarded as a sort of discovery. If on the other hand it should be all founded in mistake, which may possibly be the case, for I cannot be absolutely sure that other modes might not have been employed and have produced the same things, I shall be ready to apologize to the Society for having troubled them with this paper, and can only say, in my excuse, that what is contained in it appeared to me so plausible, I thought it worthy of being laid before them.

I will only add that some of the figures, produced according to the methods here proposed, have peculiar properties which are very remarkable.

Those of the square are well known, and have in all times given it a decided preference: such as the equality of its sides, as well as its angles, and the square of its diagonal being exactly double of the square itself.

Fig. 63, in Pl. XXXIV. has the following properties peculiar to it. First, that its sides are to each other as the side to the diagonal of a square; and secondly, that if it be bisected by a right line parallel to its shorter sides, the two halves will not only be precisely similar to one another, but each also precisely similar to the whole.

Fig. 64, in the same Plate, produced by the length and breadth of the mysterious figure in its simplest form, has many properties which are singular and extremely striking indeed. First, it may be cut by right lines drawn parallel to its shorter sides into three equal parts, all precisely and mathematically similar to each other and to the whole, and we may repeat the operation for ever. By thus trisecting this rectangle we effect no change: we cause no alteration: we get nothing but the same figure again. And it is evident no other rectangle can have the same property: it is absolutely impossible that it should: 2dly, If one third part be cut off by a right line parallel to the shorter sides, the remaining two thirds will be precisely similar to one half of the figure, cut off by a right line parallel to the same sides: 3dly, If a square be cut off from it, (see the same Plate, Fig. 65), by a right line parallel to its shorter sides, the remaining rectangle will be similar to that Fig. 63, although not in a mathematical sense, but so nearly, that the architects might, for their purposes, consider it as the same: 4thly, If a square be also cut off in the same manner from the other extremity, the rectangle which makes a part of both the squares will be precisely and mathematically similar to that on which the plans of King's College Chapel at Cambridge, &c. are formed, and which we have considered as the extreme or greatest proportion of length to breadth that the oldest architects were accustomed to admit: 5thly, The diagonal of the figure is exactly double one of its shorter sides.

I would by no means indulge in conjectures as to the reference these figures might possibly have to the most sacred mysteries of religion: independently of any such allusion, their properties are of themselves sufficiently extraordinary to have struck all who had observed them.

But I am not arguing, nor would I be understood to suppose, that because the old architects were much attached to the figures thus produced, and made constant use of them in their art, every thing they did was entirely regulated by them; or that there were no others which they might also hold in great estimation. A sort of excellence seems to have been attributed to regular figures of all kinds; and the circle and the square were regarded as of the highest order, as the acme and very emblems of perfection. Ideas of perfection are fixed and permanent; not mutable and fluctuating like those of beauty; which are ever undefined; nor liable like them, to be disturbed by fashion; and perhaps it is to this very cause that the admirable uniformity, harmony, and congruity, of the ancient architecture we are treating of, is in a great measure to be ascribed.

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SOME FURTHER EXPLANATION AND ACCOUNT OF THE  
FIGURES IN THE PLATES, XX—XXXIV.

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- Fig. 1. St. John Lateran's Church, at Rome—according to Ciampini's plan: outside.
2. Old St. Peter's Church, at Rome, from plans in Bonanni, and Ciampini: outside.
3. The Chapel in the Tower, London—from Mr. Carter's plan: inside.
4. Bildwas Abbey Church—from Mr. Britton's plan.
5. Lestwithiel Church, Cornwall—from a plan in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. L. p. 176.
6. St. Mary Magdalen's Chapel, Hereford—from the plan published by the Society of Antiquaries.
7. Croyland Church. Mr. Essex's plan of the church as he thought it was originally built, in No. 2. of the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*: outside.
8. Lincoln Cathedral, as originally built. Mr. Essex's plan, in the 4th Vol. of the *Archaeologia*.

- Fig. 9. Ely Cathedral, as originally built—from Bentham's plan, in his History of Ely.
10. Great Wilbraham Church, in Cambridgeshire, according to a plan measured for me by a friend, who lives there: inside measure. This plan is curious on account of the narrowness of the chancel, or eastern part of the church, in comparison of the nave, and transept; which seems to be in some sort accounted for by the application of the Vesica Piscis to it in one of its forms: and perhaps the exact coincidence may be considered as an argument for that figure's having been used in its formation.
  11. The Abbey Church of Bath, begun soon after 1495, from Carter's large plan, published by the Society of Antiquaries.
  12. Runcton Holm Church, Norfolk. I think its plan was set out thus, but I did not measure it myself.
  13. Church of the Hospital at Dunwich. Wilkins's plan, in the *Archaeologia*.
  14. Stewkley Church, Buckinghamshire, as I make it out from Mr. Lysons's plan.
  15. Stuntney Church, near Ely.
  16. St. Giles's Church, Cambridge—my own plan. The agreement of the Vesica with the plan of this Church is very singular: the wall of the west end does not stand at right angles to those of the sides, one of which is considerably shorter than the other, and the length of the Vesica will not agree with either of them, but it agrees exactly with a line drawn parallel to them from A to B along the middle of the nave. This seems to be an argument for the Vesica's having been actually used, in setting out the plan. This church has been lately altered, and the curiosity of it is now destroyed.
  17. Barfreston Church, in Kent—Mr. Britton's plan.
  18. Breisworth Church, Suffolk—my own plan.
  19. Stourbridge Chapel—from a plan drawn by William Wilkins, Esq. the architect.
- N. B. All these (Fig. 12—19) are old Norman or Saxon buildings.
20. Little Maplested Church, Essex, inside measure—from Mr. Carter's plan.
  21. Temple Church, London—from the plan published by the Society of Antiquaries.
  22. Salisbury Cathedral: outside measure—from Mr. Dodsworth's plan.

- Fig. 23. **Chedgrave Church, Norfolk:** a very small and ancient Norman church, only 14 feet 4 inches wide—my own plan.
24. **Barnwell Church, Cambridge.** The rationale of its plan: let A B be the length given, the breadth C D would be determined as in the figure.<sup>a</sup> It is of early Gothic architecture, of about the time of king John.
25. **Frenze Church, near Diss, in Norfolk.** This is a small Gothic church, of a style a little later; but its plan is nearly the same.
26. **Little St. Mary's Church, Cambridge:** an elegant Gothic building of the time of Edward III<sup>d</sup>. Its plan seems to have been formed in the same manner with those of the two last; A B being the line given for its length.
27. **King's College Chapel, Cambridge—outside measure.** The general proportions of this celebrated building appear to have been determined by the very same form of the Vesica Piscis; as may be seen in the figure. The architect then cut its breadth into four equal parts; two of which, in the middle, he assigned for the width of the building within, and employed the remaining two for the walls, side chapels, and buttresses.
28. The rectangles produced by the mean form of the Vesica Piscis, and the six others drawn according to so many definite forms of it, determined by dividing the given right line M N into twelve equal parts, as is explained in page 354; perhaps effected by writing some mysterious word of eleven letters upon it, which possibly might also furnish names for them all.
29. The same rectangles, given separately, and only numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, & 7, (as we know not what to call them), in order to point out instances where each appears to have been made use of for a plan. No. 1. being a square, is of the most common use of all for plans of towers, and numberless other buildings: in the church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, it is taken for the plan of the whole; and for that of the chancel at Bath in a particular way. See Fig. 11. No. 2. the Chancel of Tickencote, in the county of Rutland. No. 3. Chancels of the conventual church at Ely, and of Stuntney and Hawkston, in Cambridgeshire. No. 4. Chancel of Stourbridge chapel, and the N. Chapel of Willingham church, Cambridgeshire. No. 5. Chancel of St. Giles's, Cambridge. No. 6. of this I have

<sup>a</sup> That is, the length A B : breadth C D :: Sine : Versed Sine of 30°.

never met with any instance where it has been taken for a plan ; but half of its Vesica, I believe, is not uncommon as the arch of a Gothic window. No. 7. is the rectangle produced by the Vesica Piscis in its mean form, and is the most frequently used of any for the plan of the nave, chancel, chapel, &c. of very ancient, Saxon, Norman, and Gothic churches, chapels and other religious buildings : and it may be sufficient to point out the three instances of the naves of St. Giles's, and Stourbridge chapel, at Cambridge, and the chapel in the Tower of London.

Fig. 30. Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13, are six other rectangles, longer in proportion to their breadth,<sup>a</sup> produced by describing their respective Vesicæ, from centers taken on the line M N (Fig. 28.) given for their breadth produced both ways, at the distance of  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ , and the whole of that breadth on the outside of the figure. We find the first, No. 8. in the old chapel at Kingston, and the chancel at Empingham, in the county of Rutland.<sup>b</sup> 2d. No. 9. Nave of St. Joseph's Chapel, Glastonbury, and Prior Crawden's elegant chapel at Ely. 3d. No. 10. Nave of St. Joseph's Chapel at Glastonbury, and Bishop Montacute's Chapel, now Trinity church, at Ely. 4th. No. 11. Of this I have yet found no instance. 5th. No. 12. the beautiful Chapel in the Bishop's Palace at Wells, and the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick. 6th. No. 13. Nave of Burnham Ulph Church, Norfolk.

31. The mean and two extreme proportions of the two dimensions of plane figures in Gothic architecture: intended chiefly to shew that in the case where they differ most, the smaller dimension is less than half what it is in the mean proportion.
32. Birchanger Church, Essex. S. Door.
33. Moreton Valence Church Door—from Mr. Lysons's print.
34. Barfreston Church, Kent. S. Door. Construction of the design—from Mr. Britton's print.
35. N. Door of the same Church, as I conceive from Mr. Britton's print that it was designed.
36. Earl's Barton Church, Northamptonshire. S. Porch Door—from Mr. Britton's print.

<sup>a</sup> See page 354.

<sup>b</sup> This is a double square, and I believe most of these figures will be found to have properties that are singular.

- Fig. 37. Malmsbury Abbey Church. Door of the S. Porch—from Mr. Britton's plan in his *Ancient Architecture*.
38. Littlebury Church, Essex. S. Door—from Mr. Essex's measures, and drawings of my own.
39. Conventual Church, Ely. Choir Door, or rather the arch between the church and the chancel. N. B. This is made out very satisfactorily from Bentham's print in his *History of Ely*.
40. Durham Cathedral. Lower S. Door—from Mr. Carter's elevation. I think it was designed thus, but I cannot be sure.
41. Cathedral of Orvieto. Great Door—from an elevation of the front of the church, engraved 1714, by Hieron. Frezza.
42. The same, as I conceive it to have been before it was altered by Nicola Pisano in the 13th century.
43. Cathedral of Oviato. Great Door, with its pediment, &c. which are supposed to have been added by Nic. Pisano.
44. Cathedral of Siena. Great Door—as I gather its design, from an elevation of the front of the church, by Lelio Casalti, of Siena, engraved at Rome 1719, by Max. Limpach.
45. Milton, near Cambridge. Great Arch, the W. side.
46. Stourbridge Chapel, near Cambridge. Great Arch, the W. side.
- 47, 48, 49, are what I conceive to be very usual methods of designing Norman doors.
50. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, usual methods of designing Saxon and Norman windows.
51. Gothic Door, Window, &c. with its arch of the fourth point, as it is called, but its proportions determined by the mean or principal Vesica Piscis.
52. Gothic Door, Window, or &c. entirely formed on the mean Vesica Piscis; both as to its proportions, and its arch.
- 53, 54, 55. Gothic Spires whose proportions are determined by different forms of the Vesica Piscis.
56. Salisbury Spire. No. 1. Elevation on a line A C equal to the line a c No. 3. No. 2. Elevation on a line G I equal to g c No. 3. No. 3. its plan inscribed in the circle a c g whose diameter is equal to the line A C, No. 1.
57. Common mode of designing a Saxon or Norman front.
58. Arches of York Cathedral, as far as I can make them out from Mr. Carter's prints.

- Fig. 59. Arches of St. Edward's Church, Cambridge. The three beautiful arches at the E. end of the choir at Wells, and those of the eastern part of Westminster Abbey, are formed in the same way.
60. Arches of Salisbury Cathedral—so far as I am able to make them out from Price, and from Mr. Carter's prints.
61. Gothic Door, with its arch of, what is called, the third point, but its proportions those of the mean Vesica Piscis.
62. Gothic Door, formed by a double application of the mean Vesica Piscis, whose arch is half of that figure; but splayed, and increased by mouldings, till it reaches the arch of the fourth point; which is one half of the Vesica Piscis, No. 4. Fig. 29.
63. Rectangle which may be bisected continually into parts similar to itself. See page 362.
64. Rectangle which may be trisected continually into parts similar to itself. See page 362.
65. Same rectangle, with a square cut off from each extremity, including within them both, the rectangle formed on the extreme Vesica Piscis. See page 362.

Fig. 1.

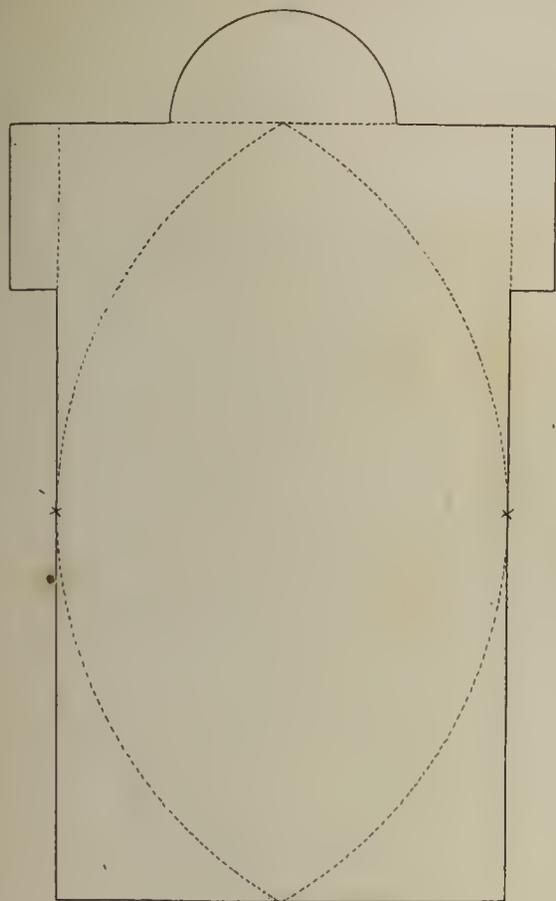


Fig. 2.

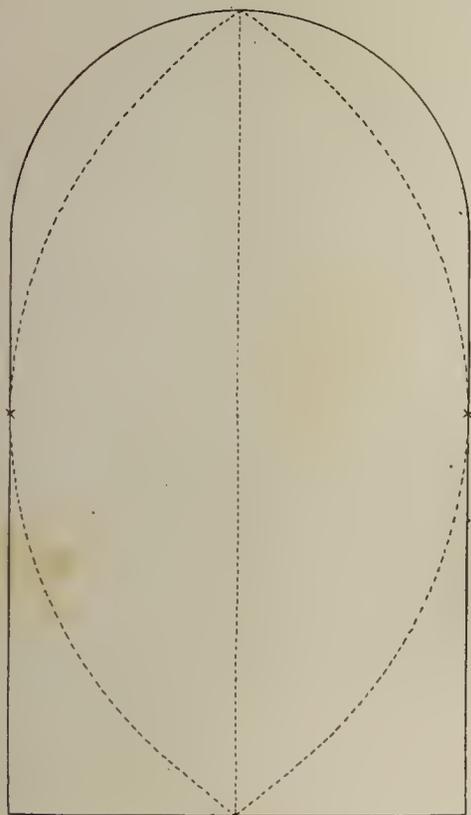
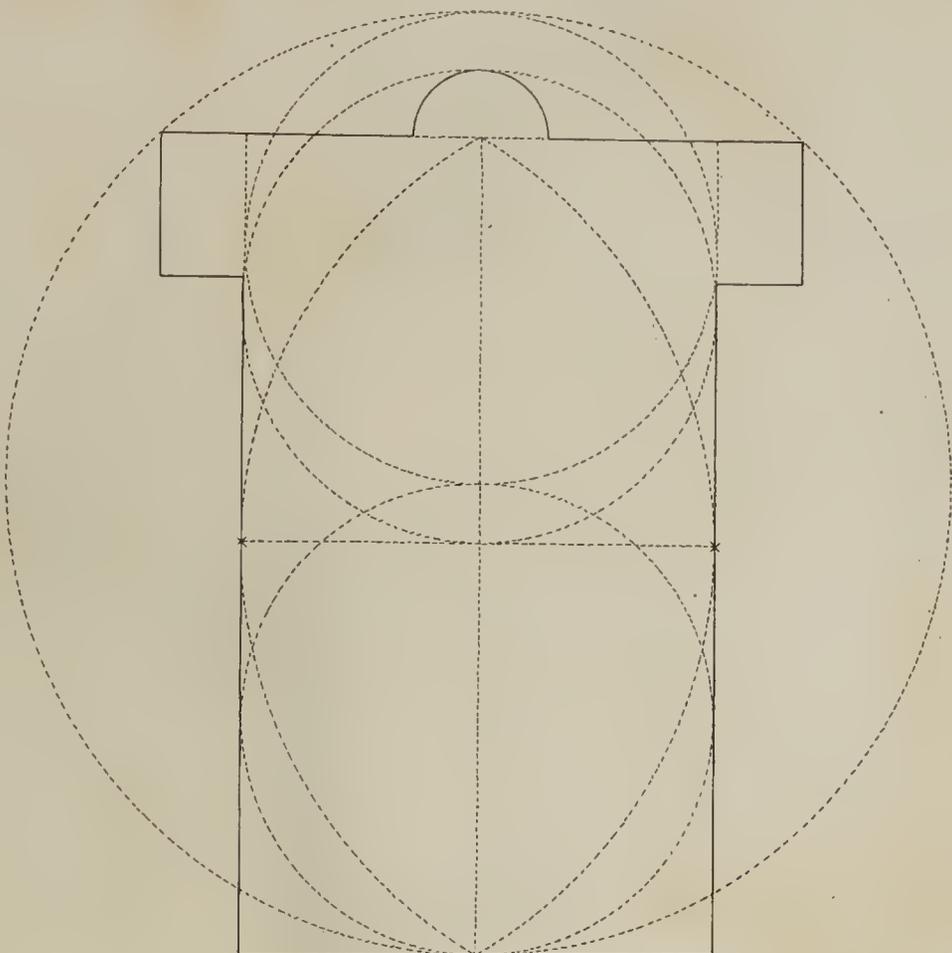


Fig. 3.

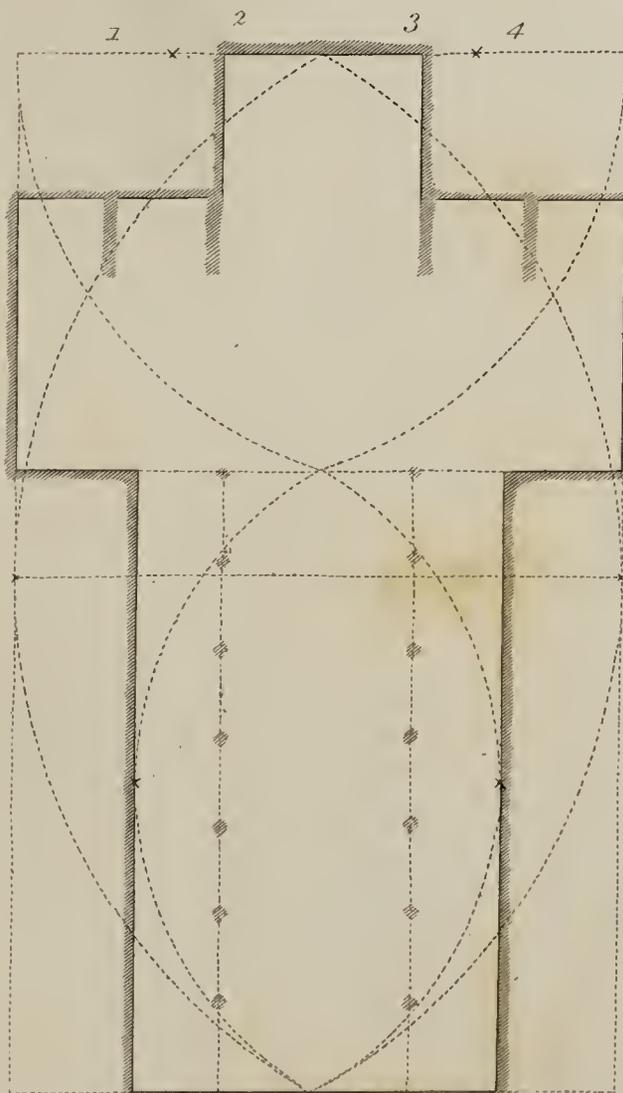


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

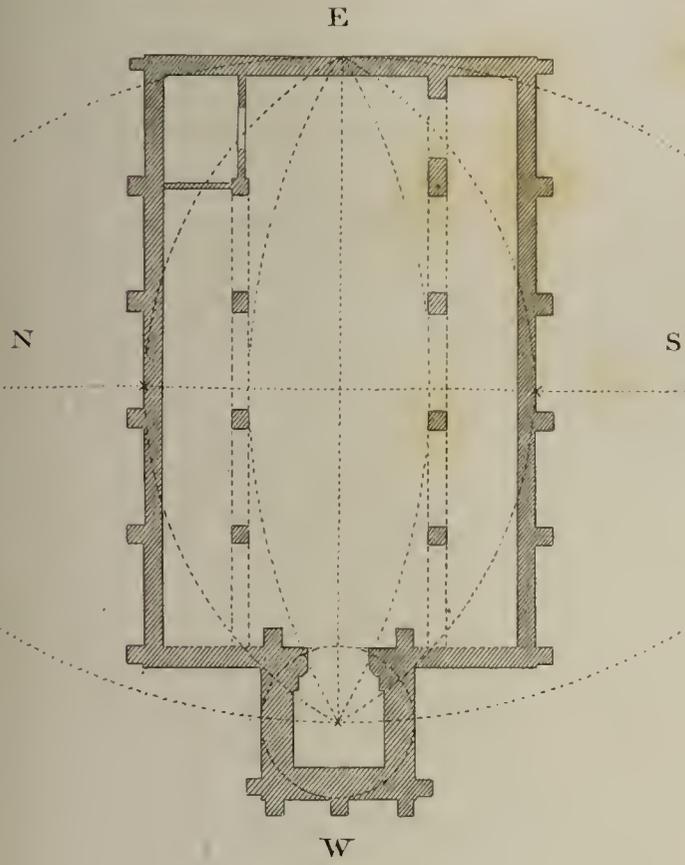


Fig. 6.

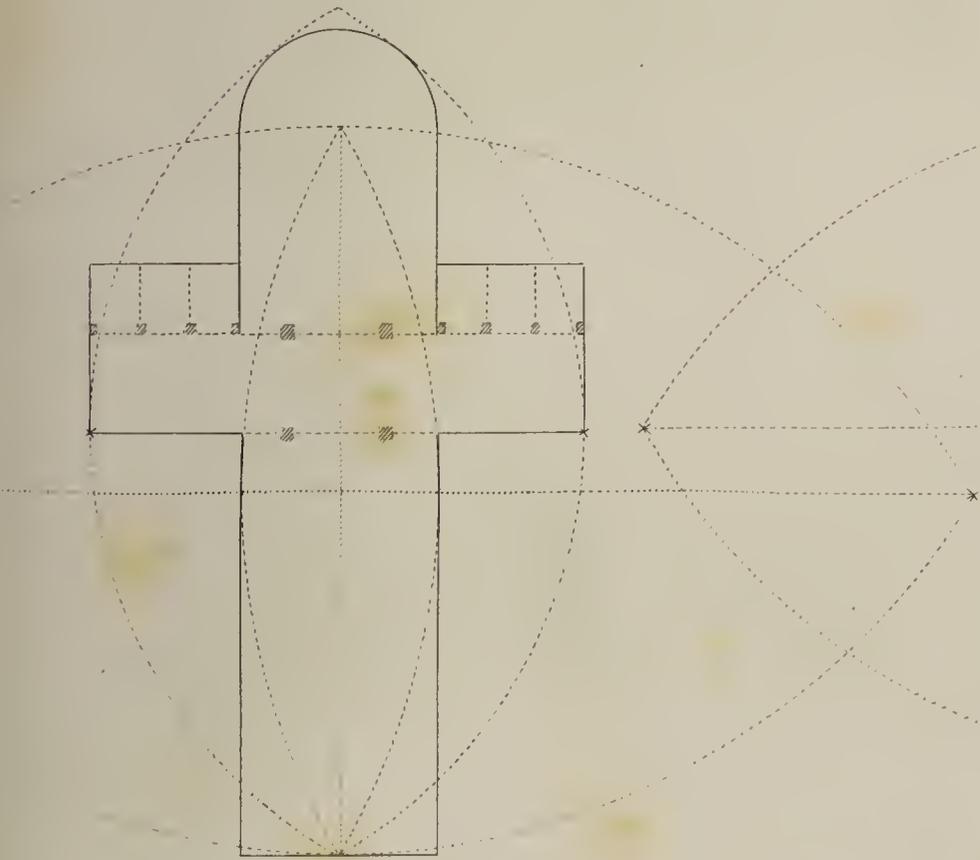
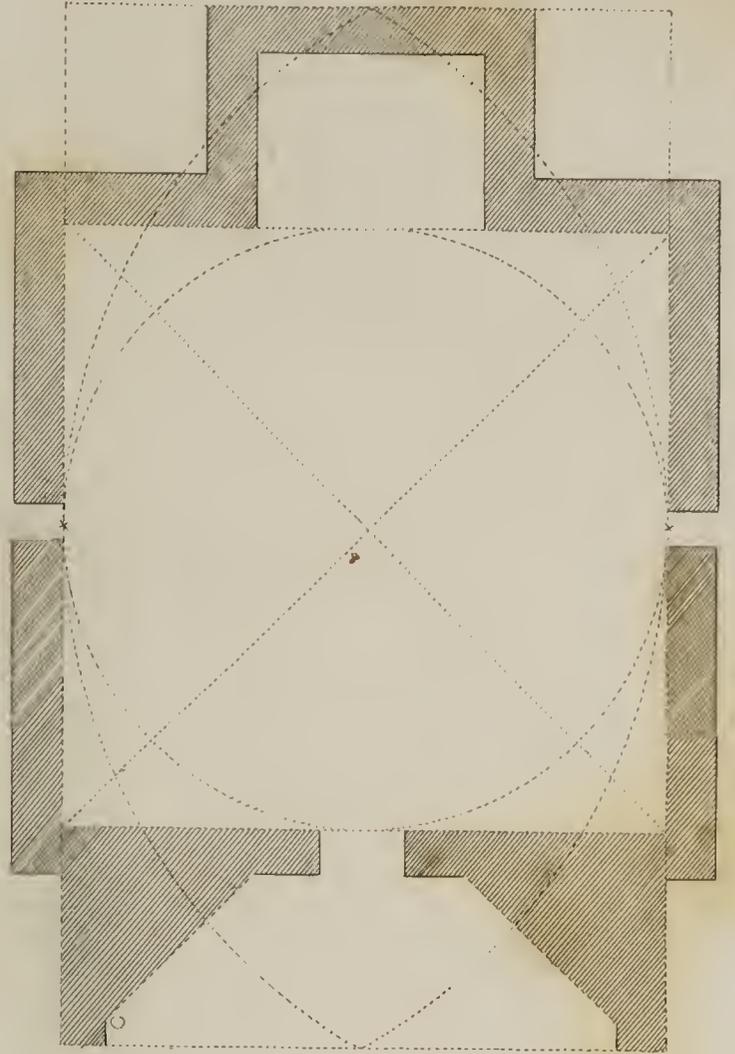


Fig. 7.

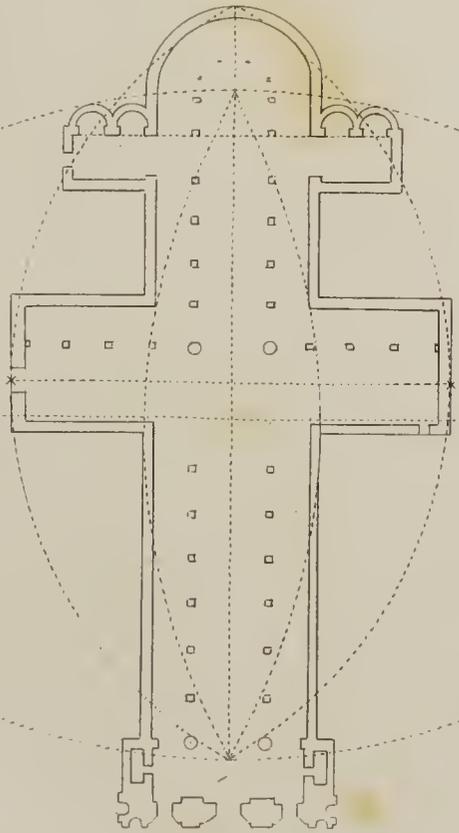


Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

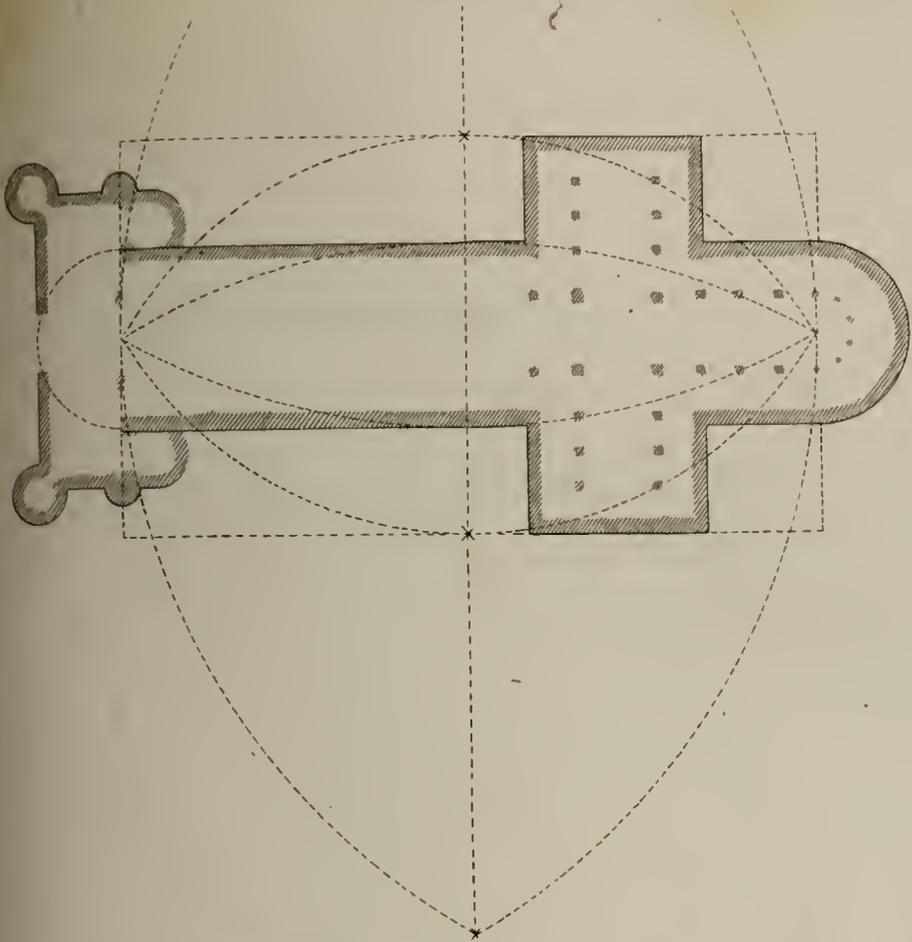


Fig. 10.

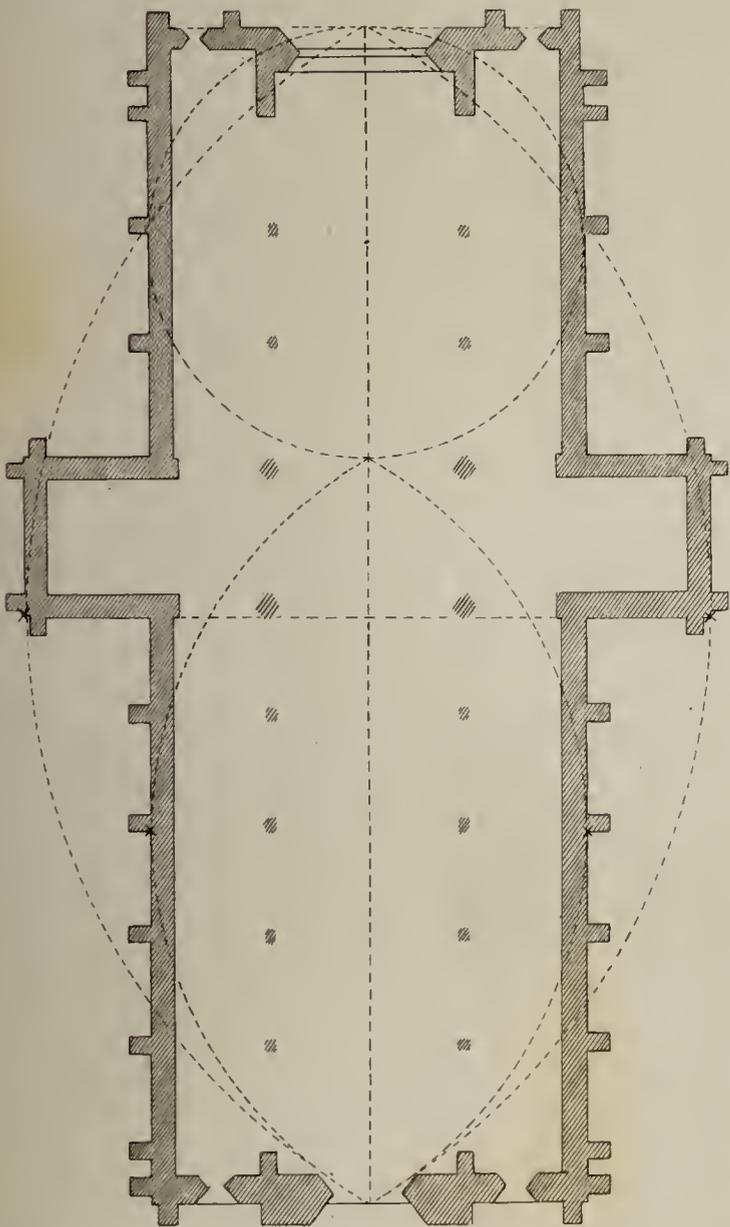
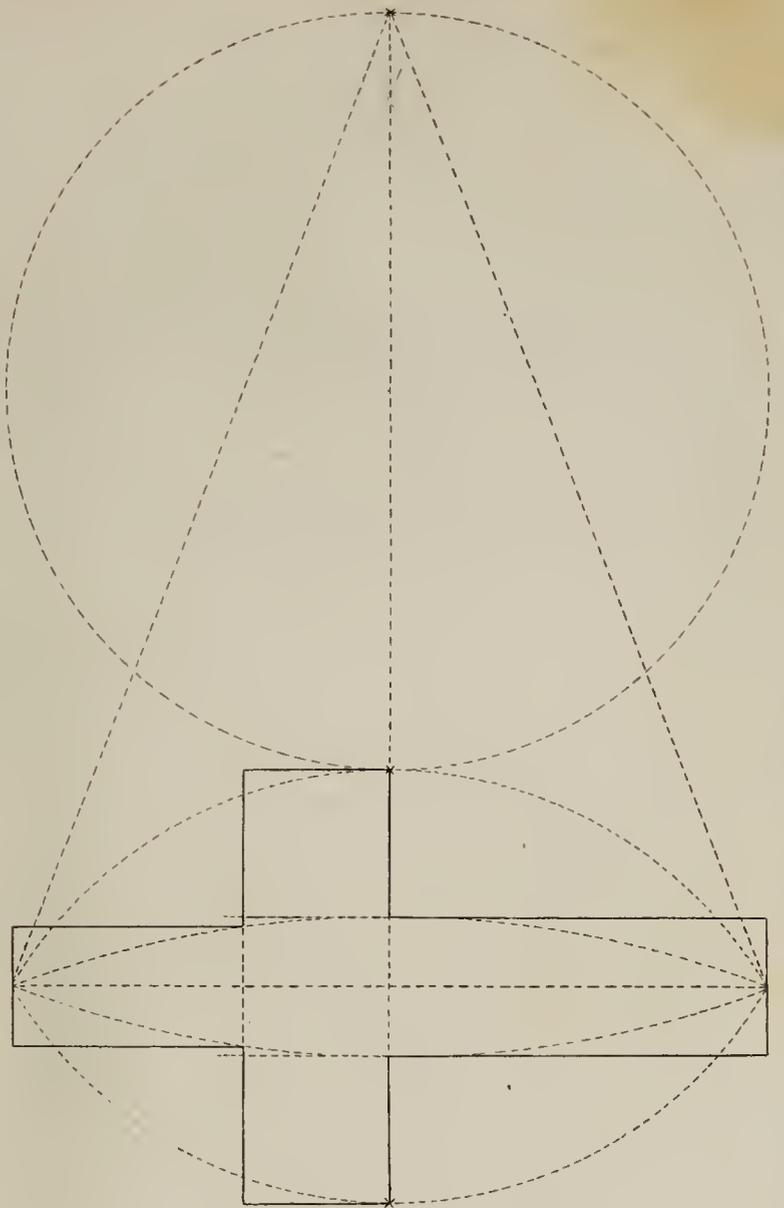


Fig. 11.

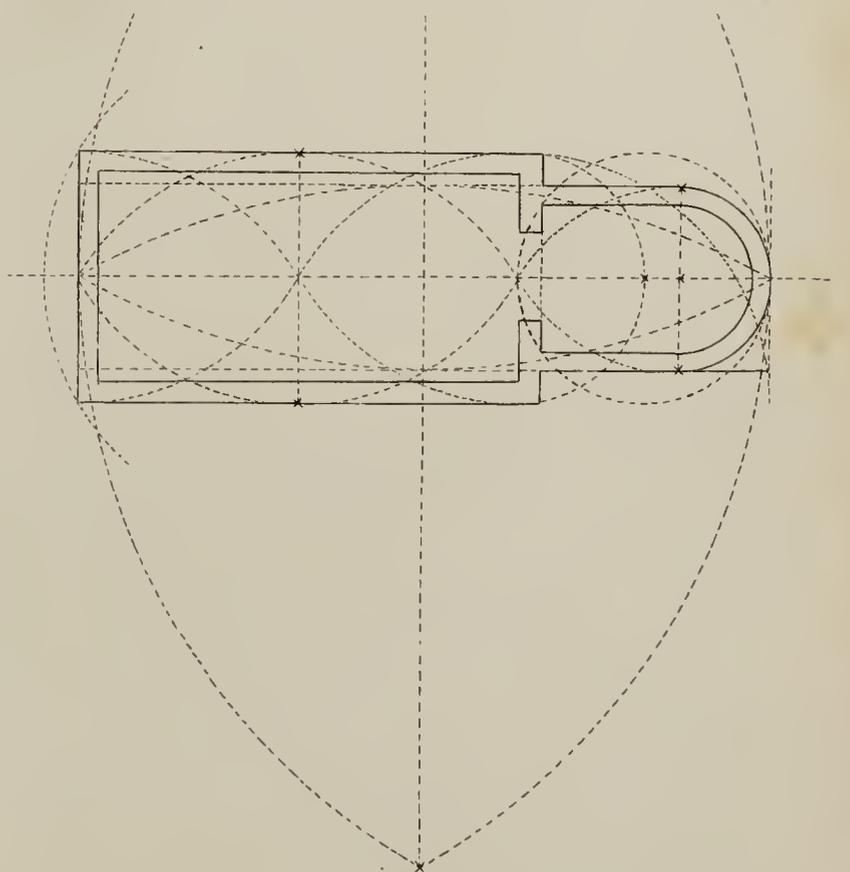


Fig. 12.



Fig. 13

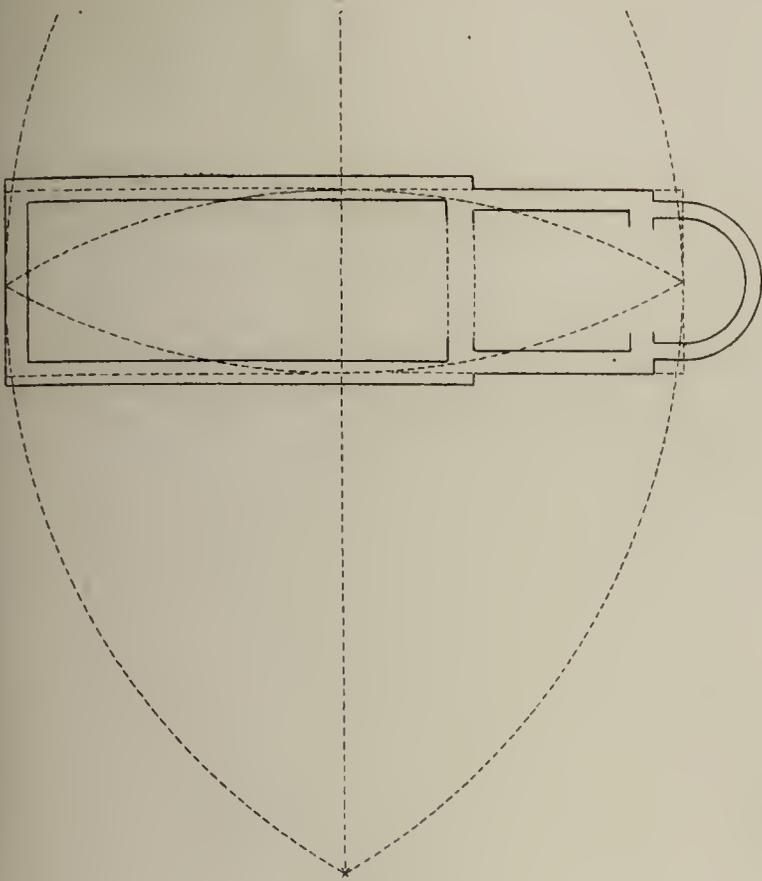


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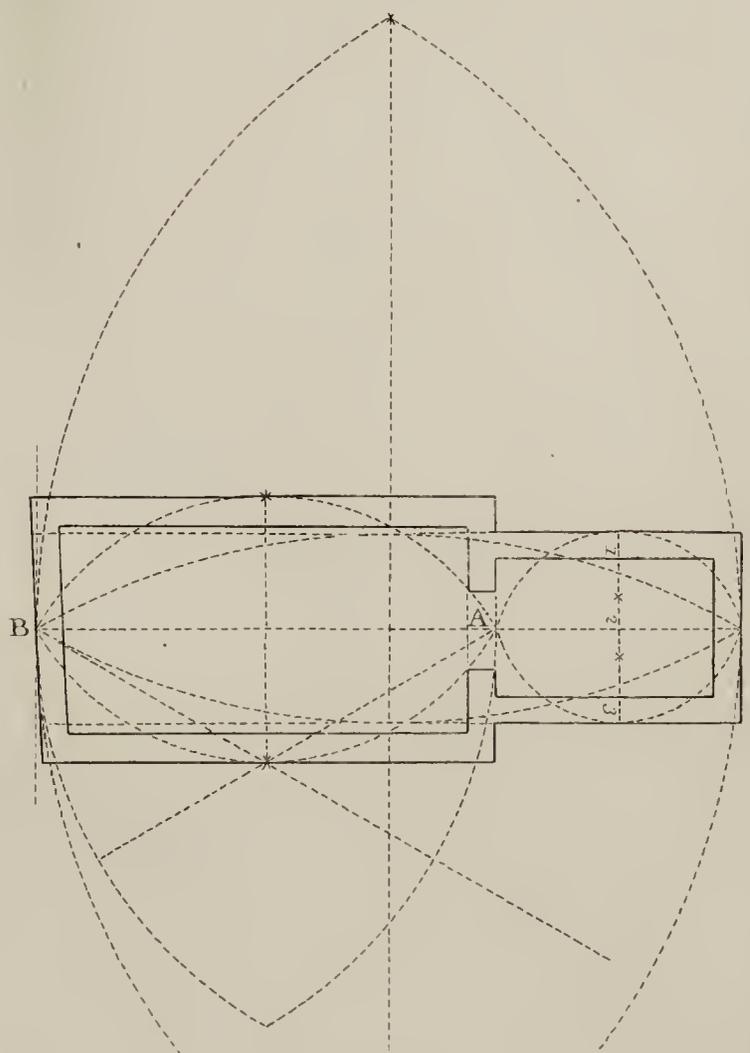
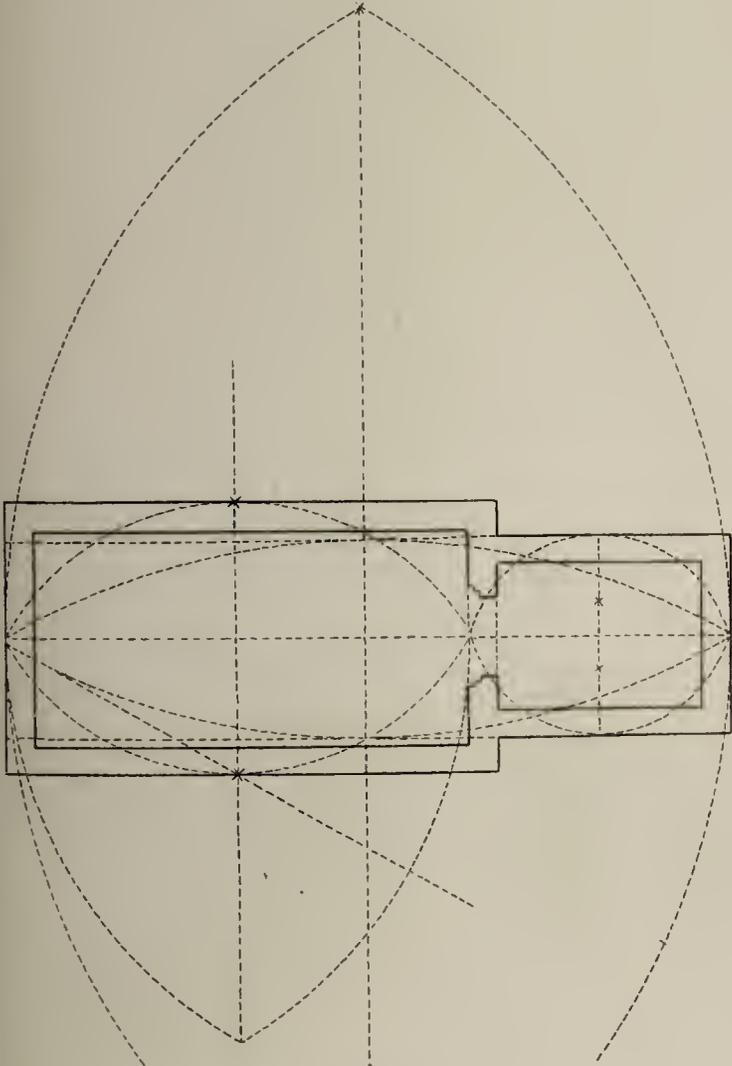
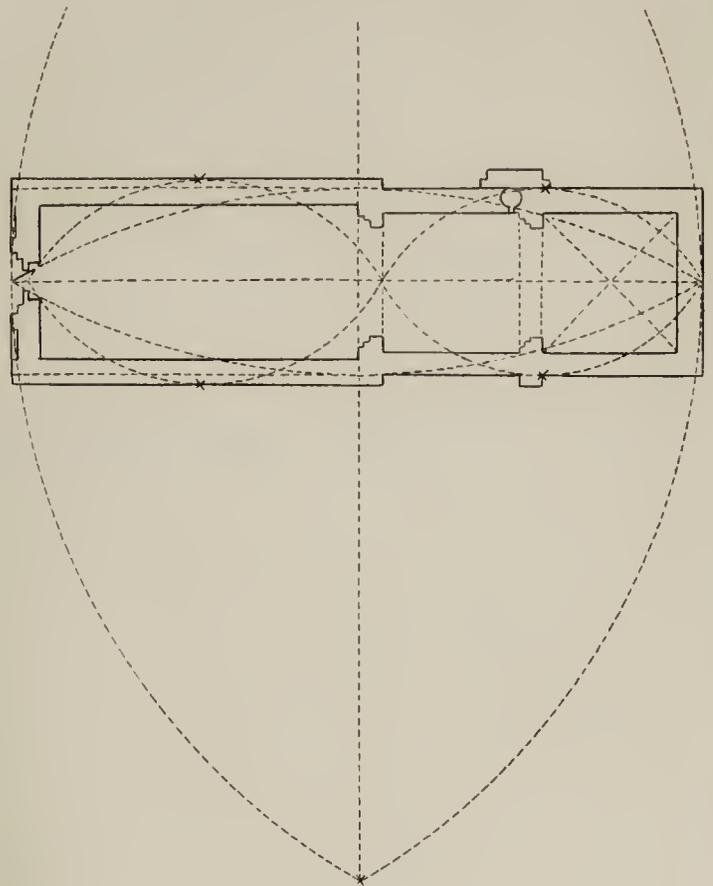


Fig. 15.

Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.

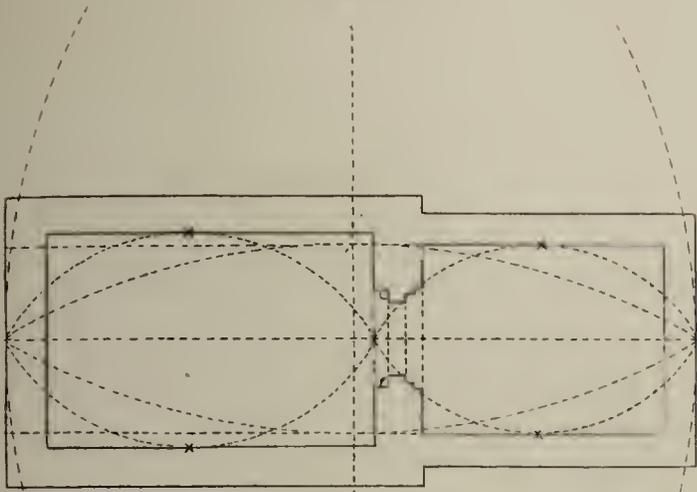


Fig. 18.

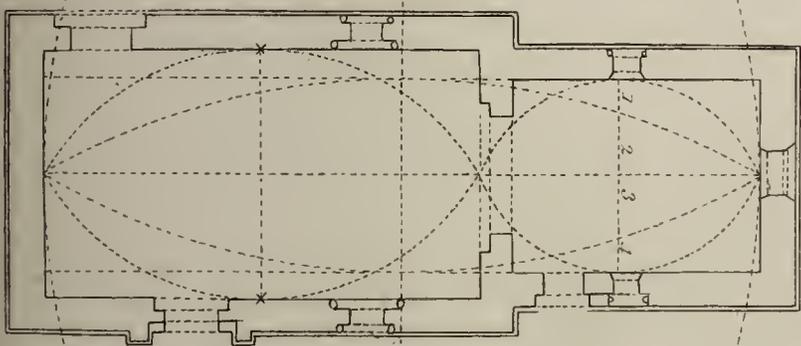
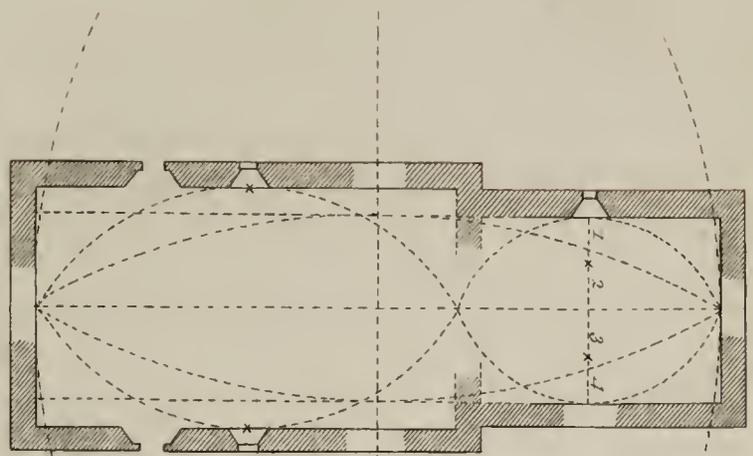


Fig. 19.

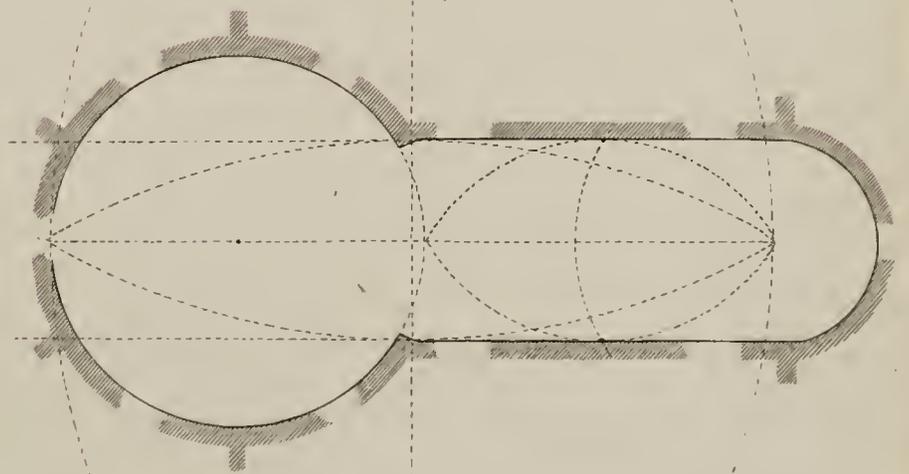


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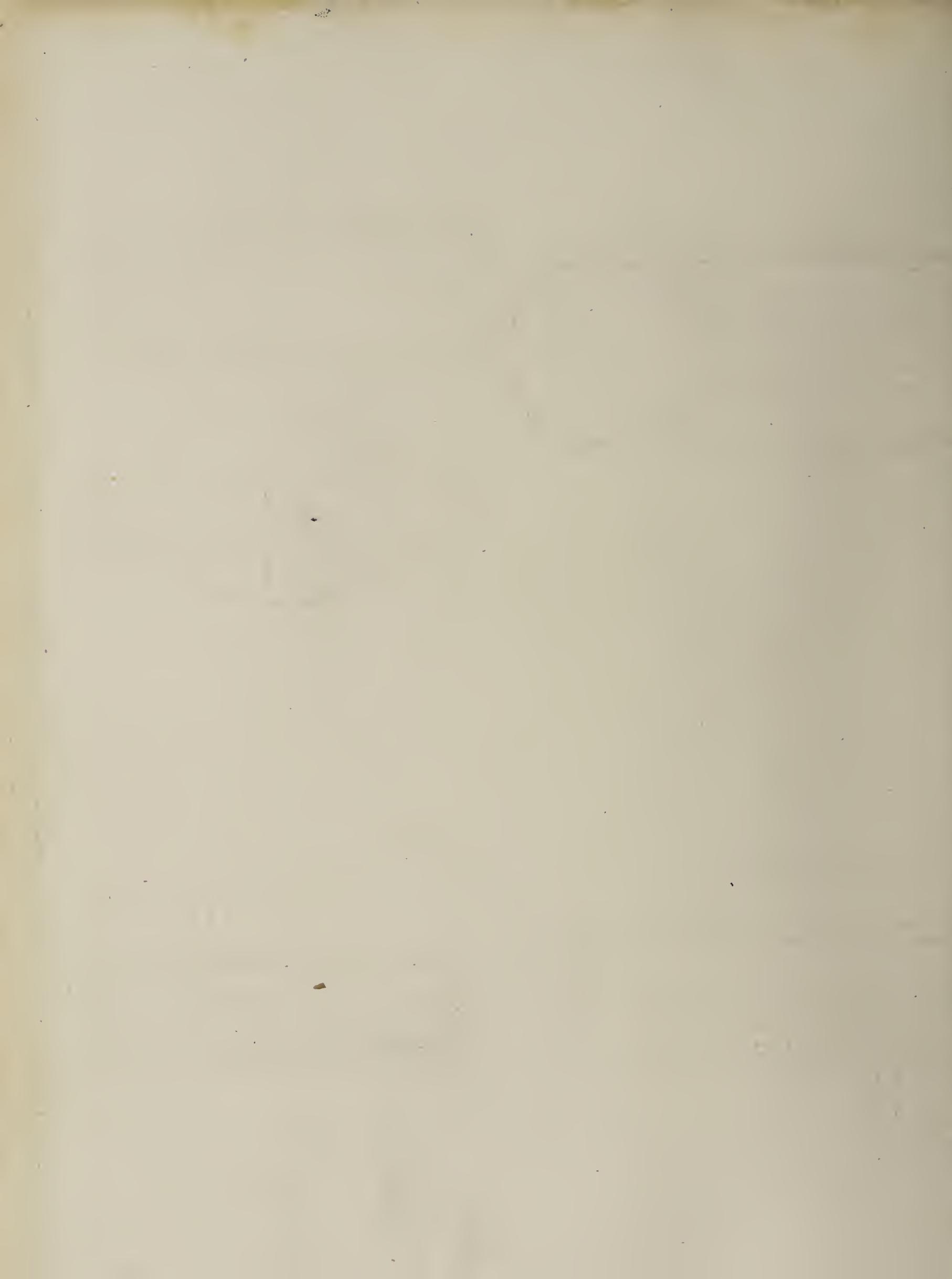


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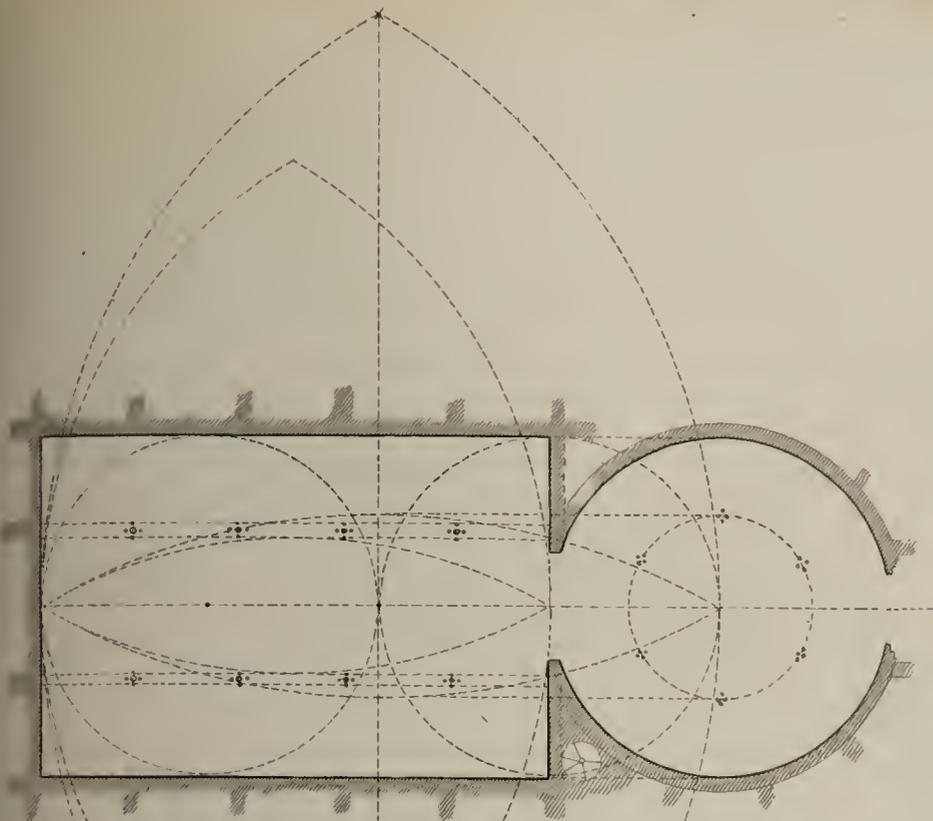


Fig. 22.

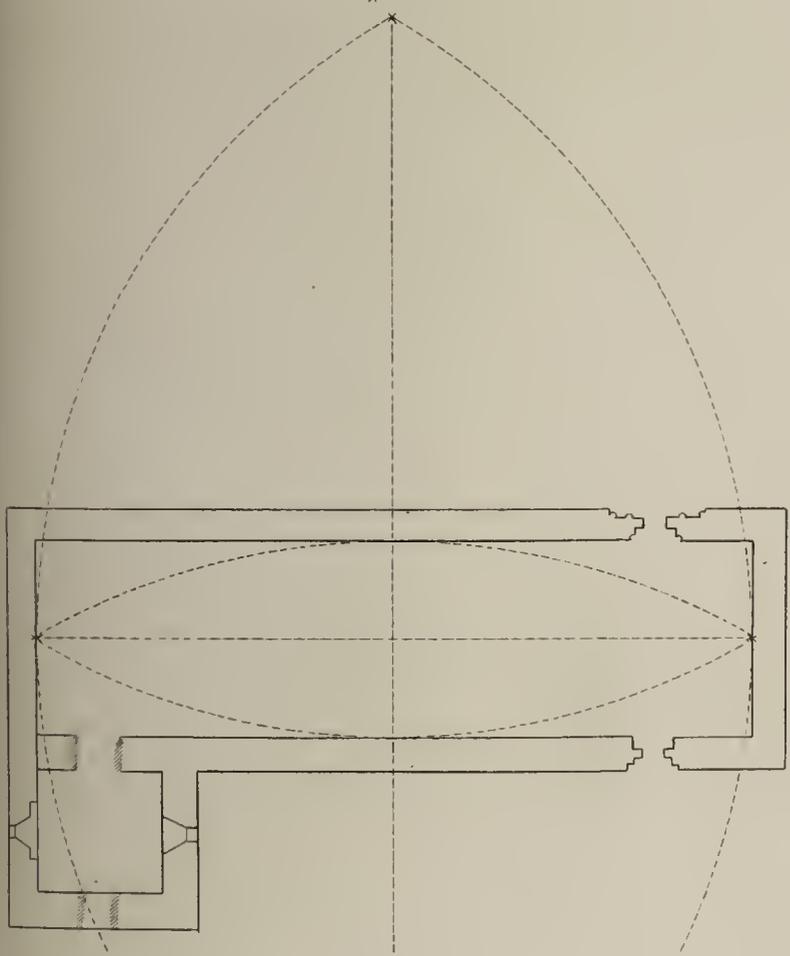
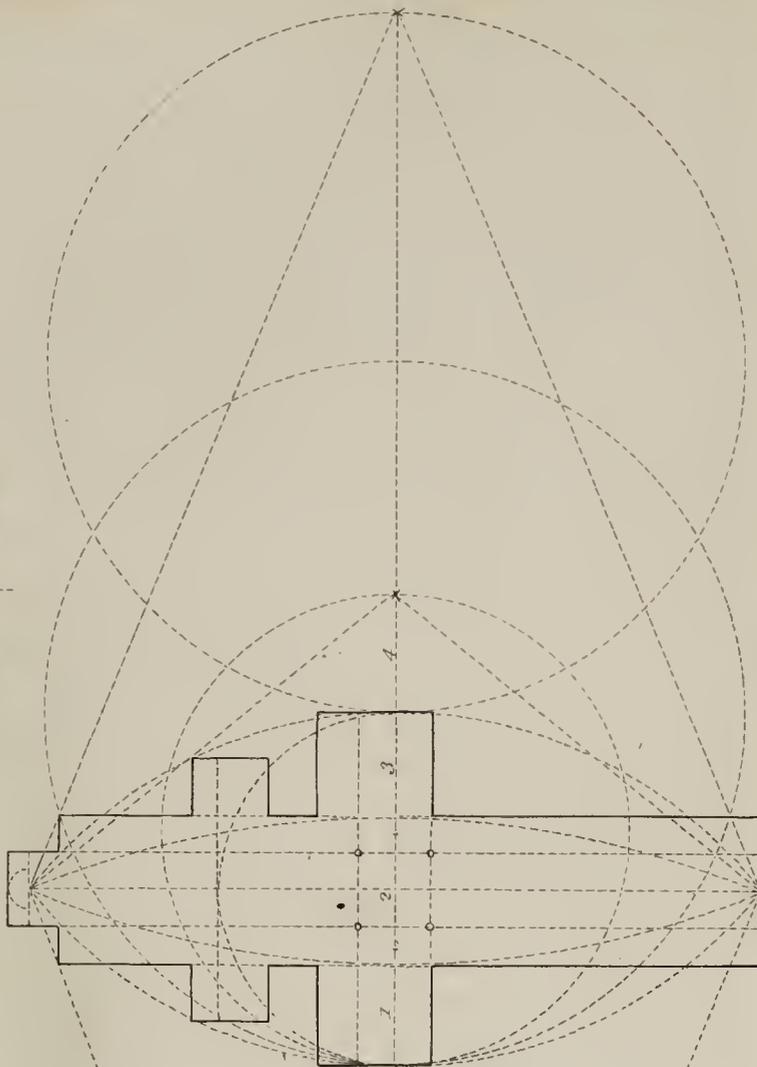


Fig. 23.

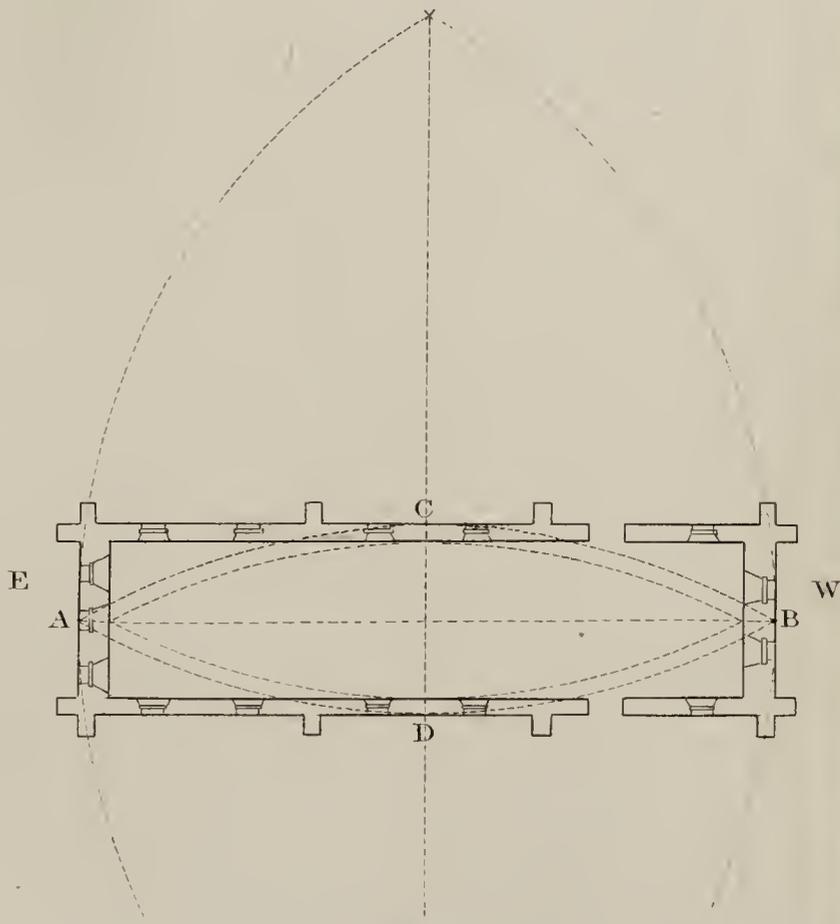


Fig. 24.



Fig. 25.

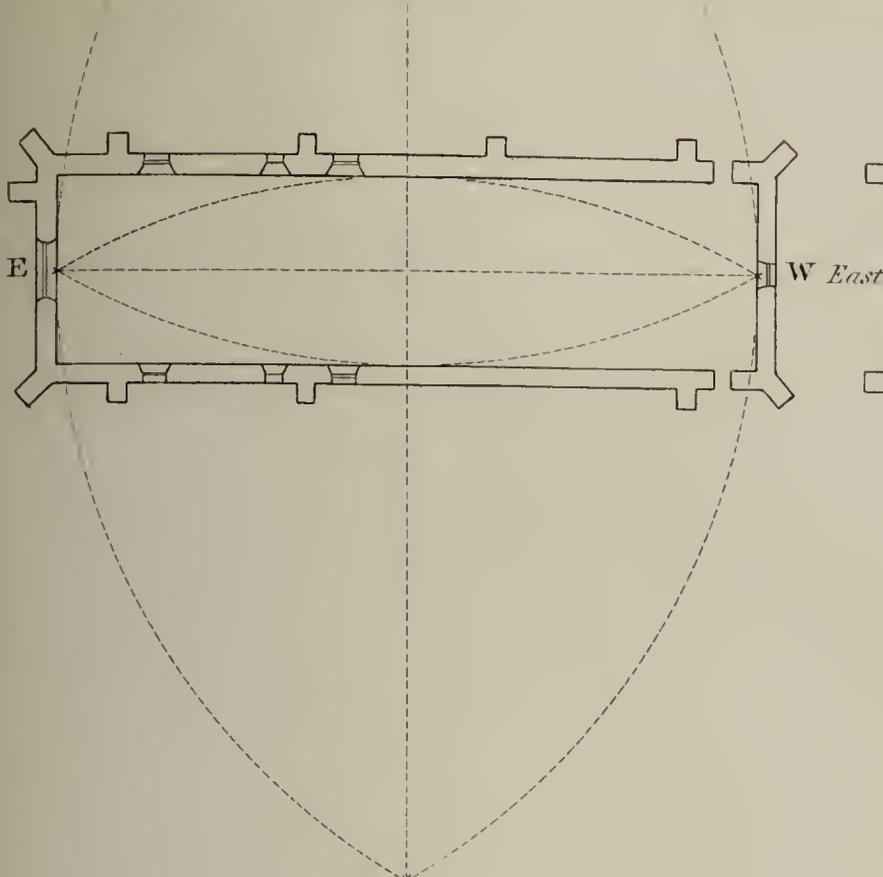


Fig. 26.

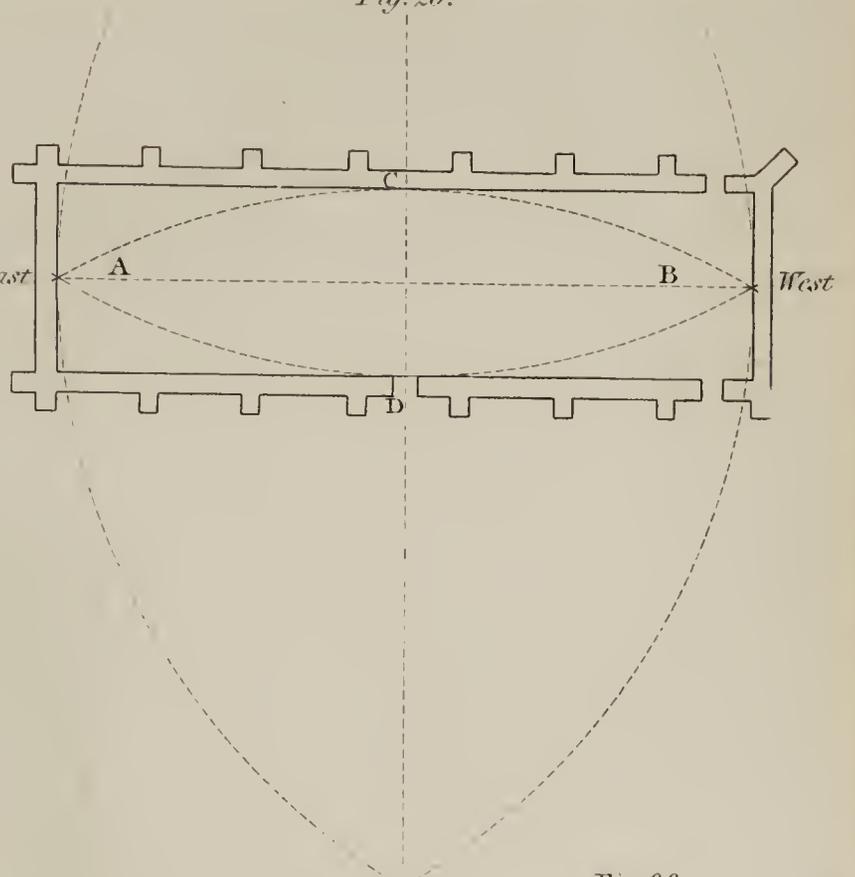


Fig. 27.

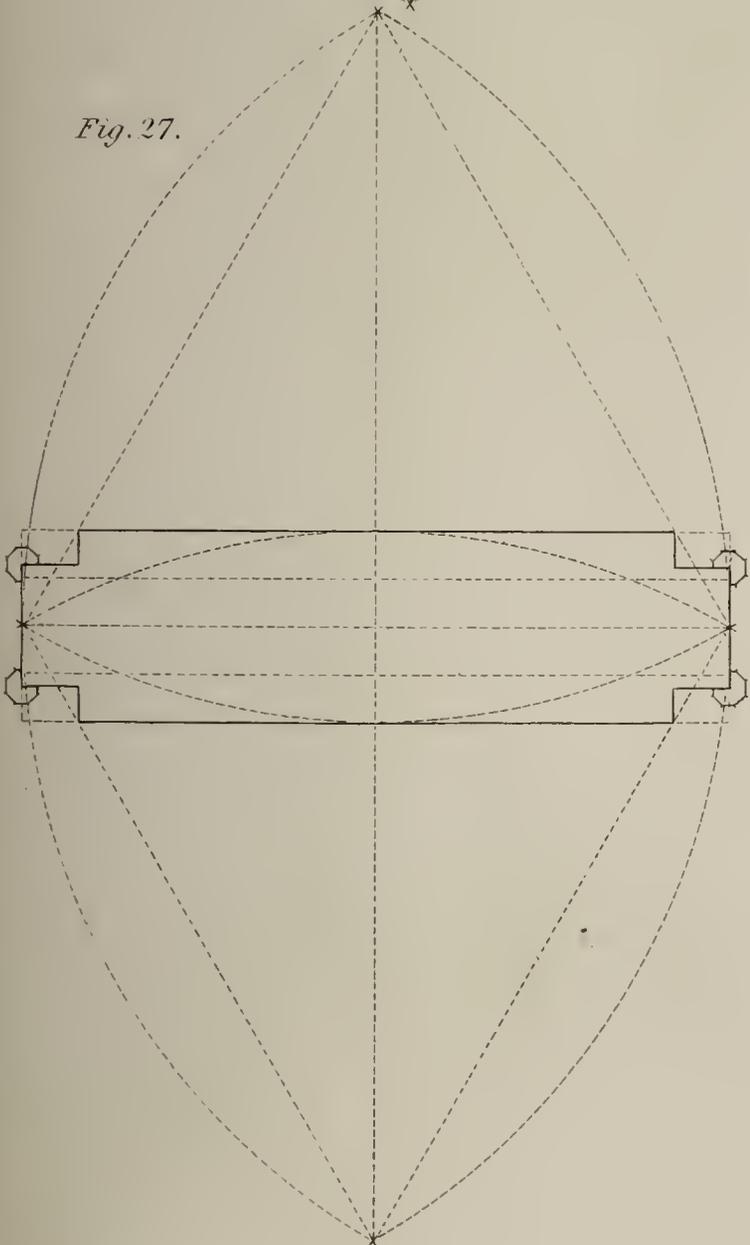
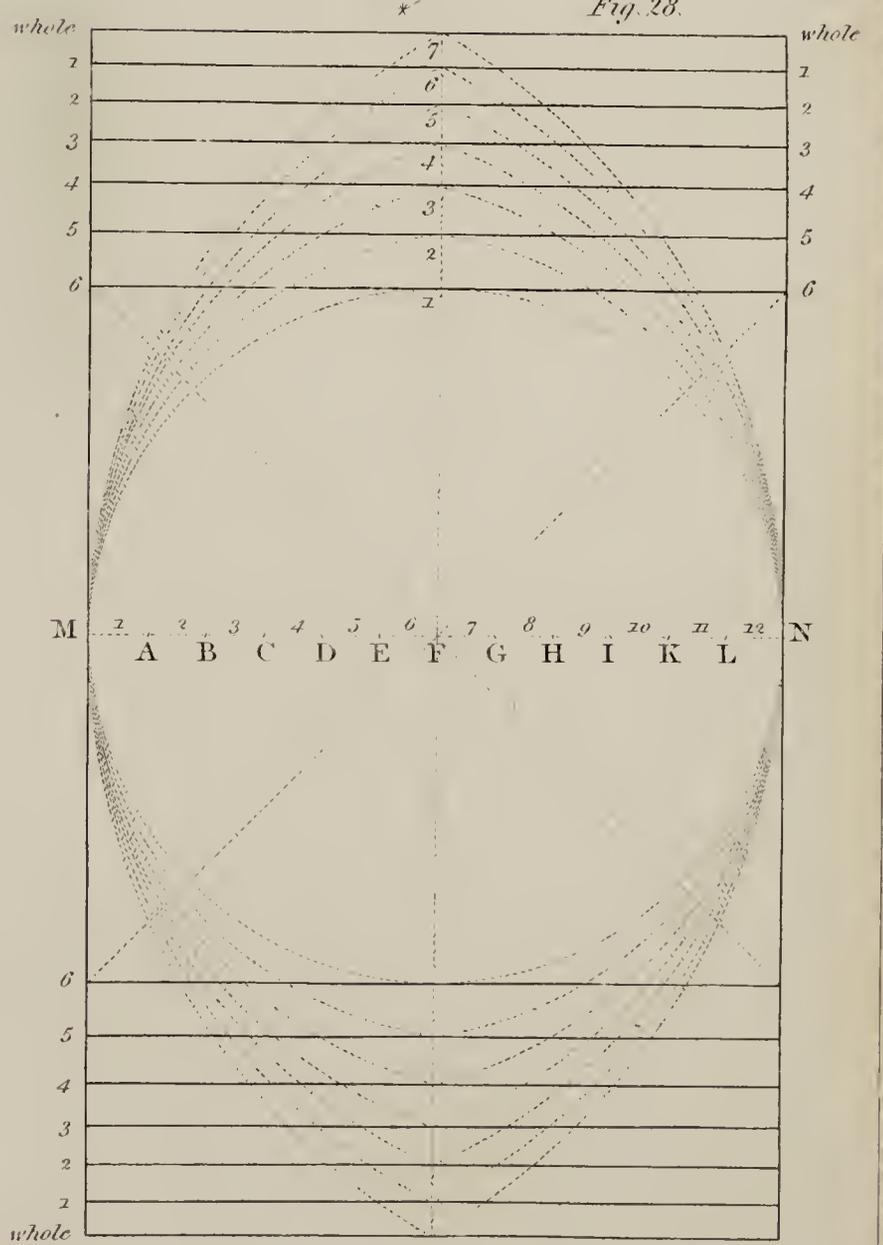


Fig. 28.





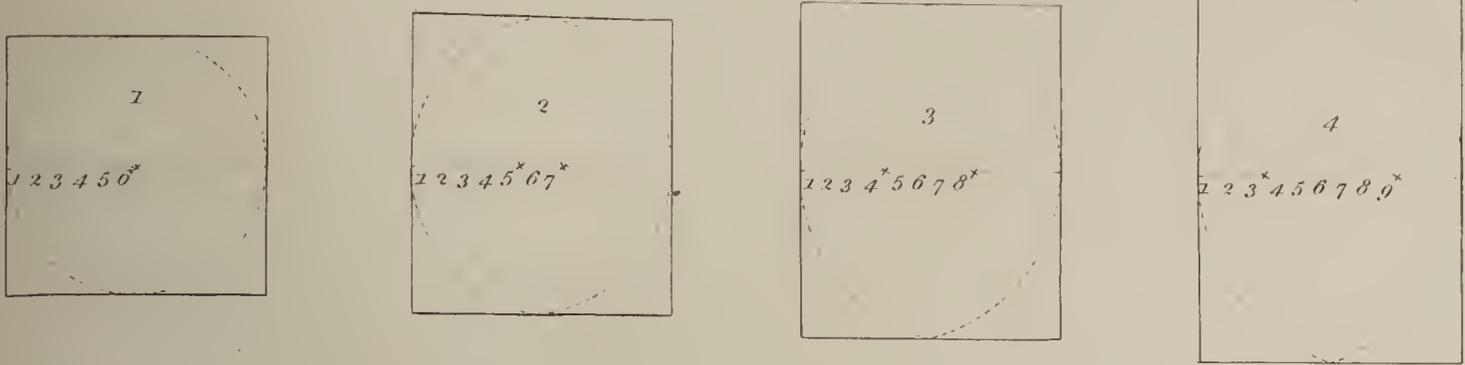


Fig. 29.

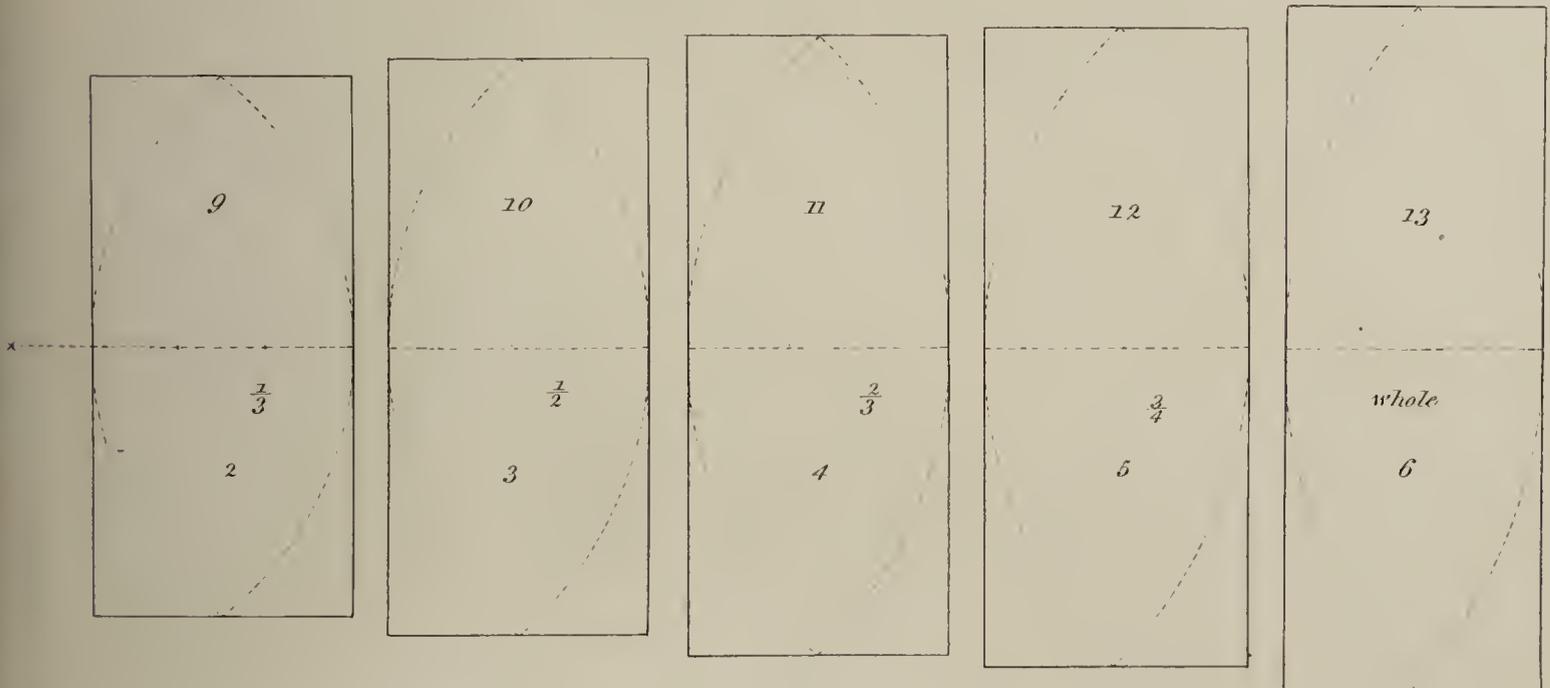
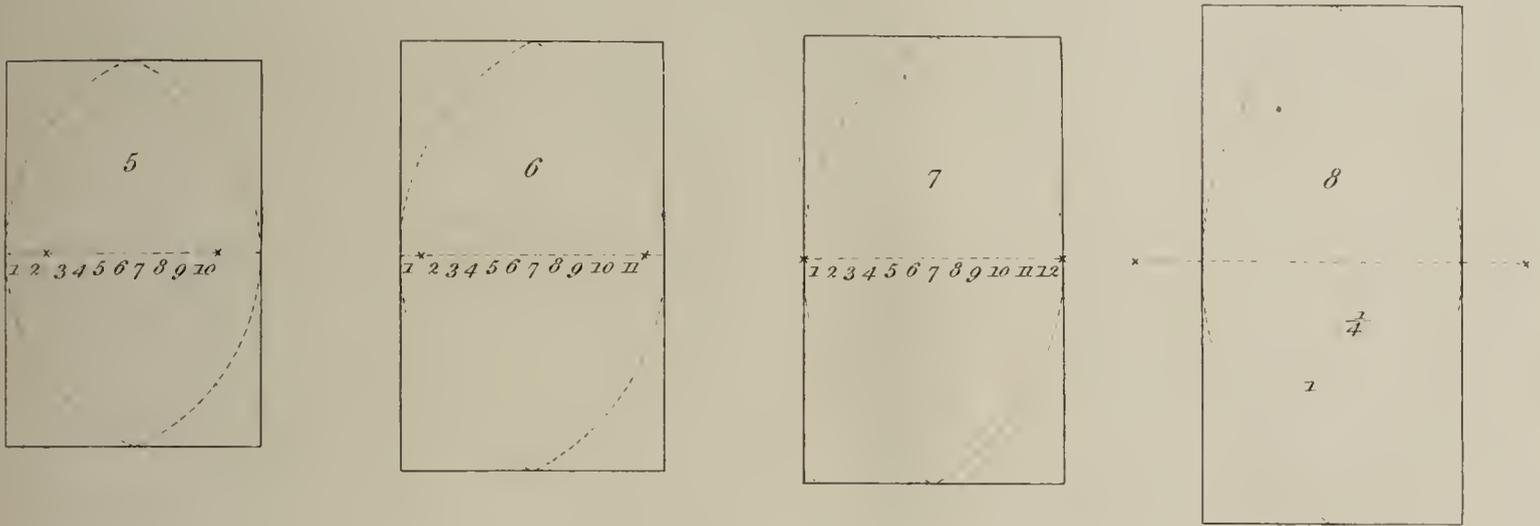


Fig. 30.



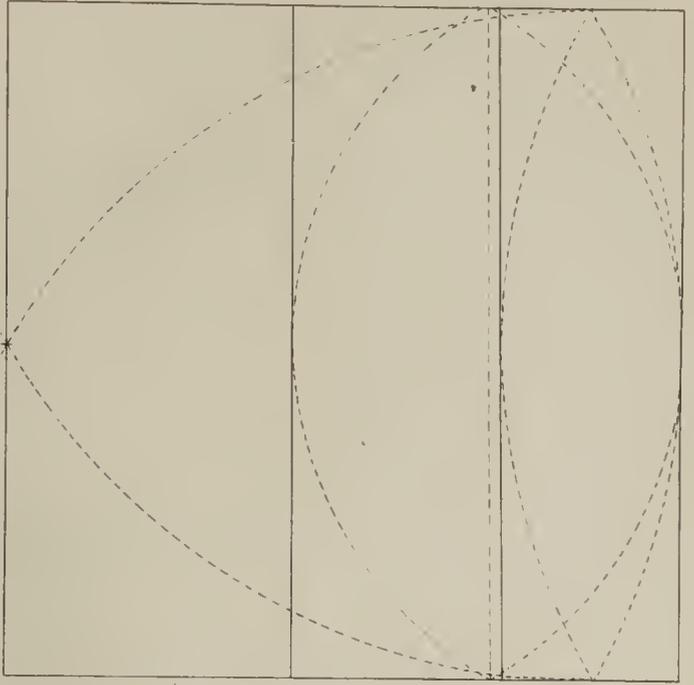


Fig. 31.

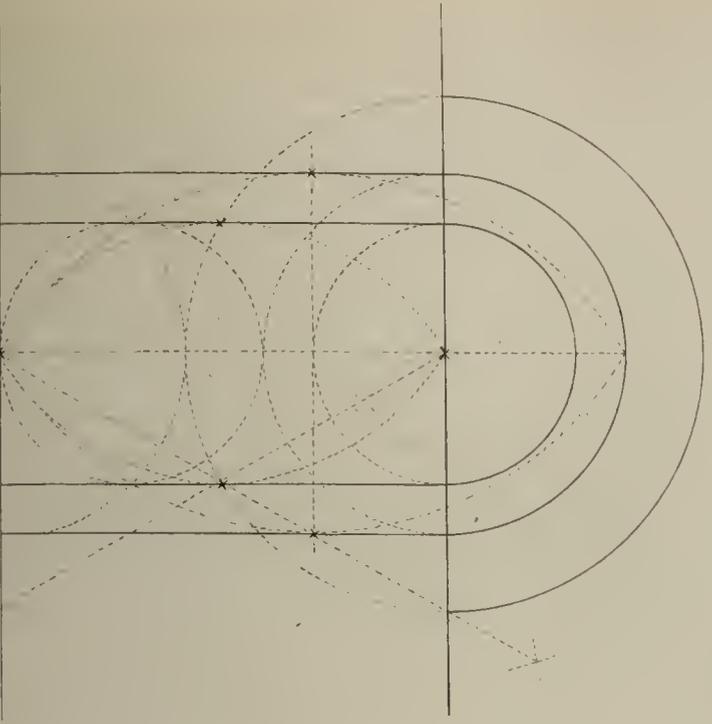


Fig. 34.

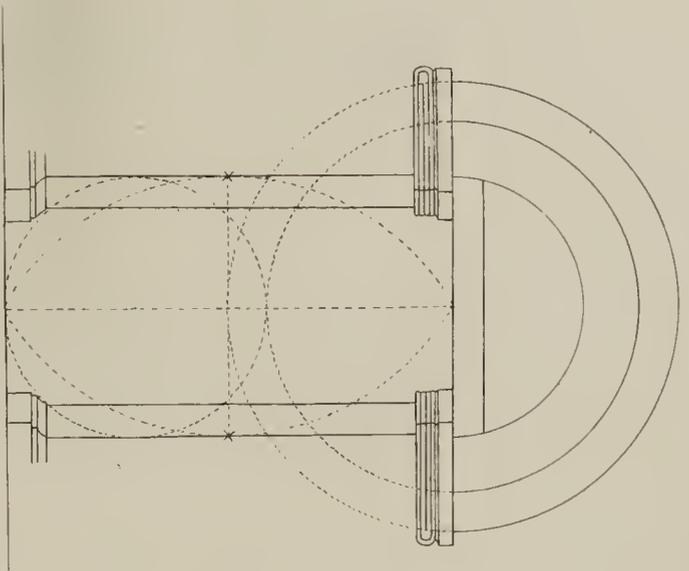


Fig. 32.

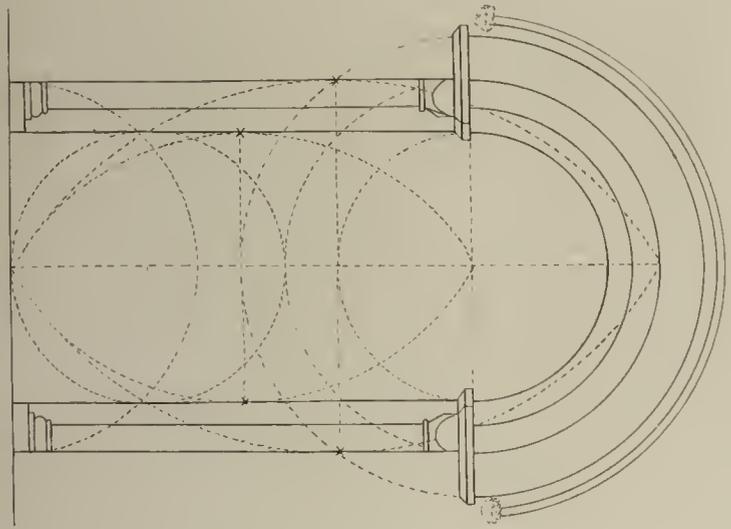


Fig. 35.

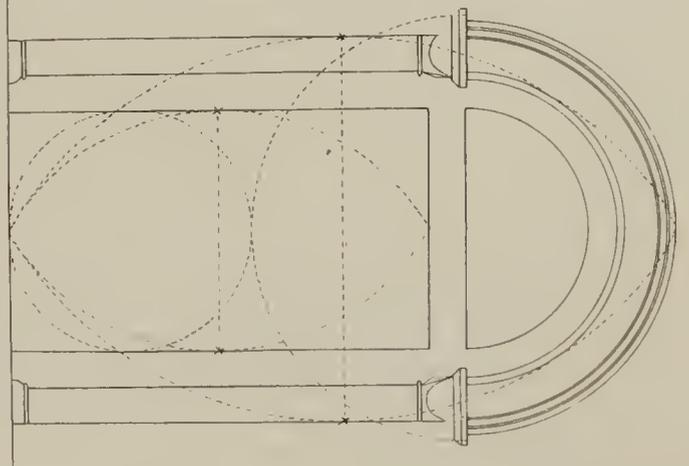


Fig. 33.

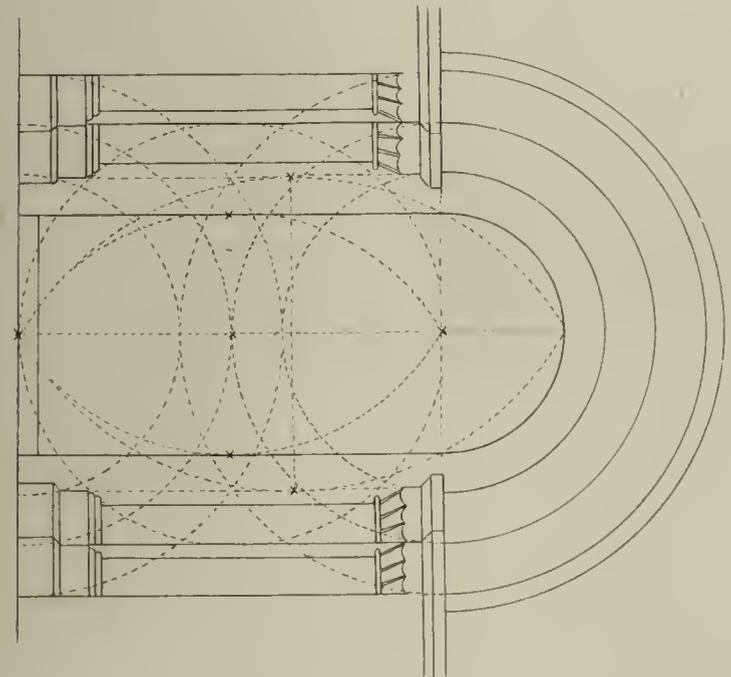


Fig. 36.



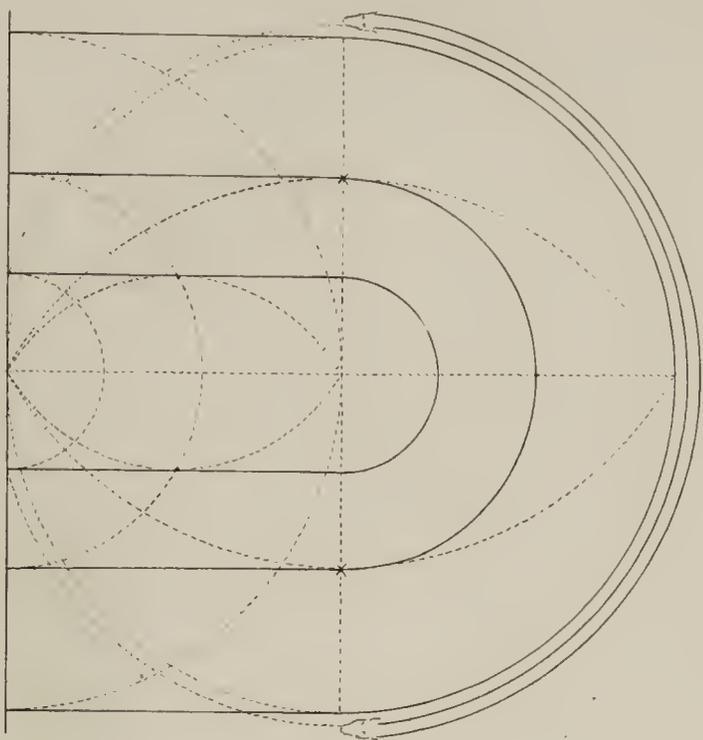


Fig. 37.

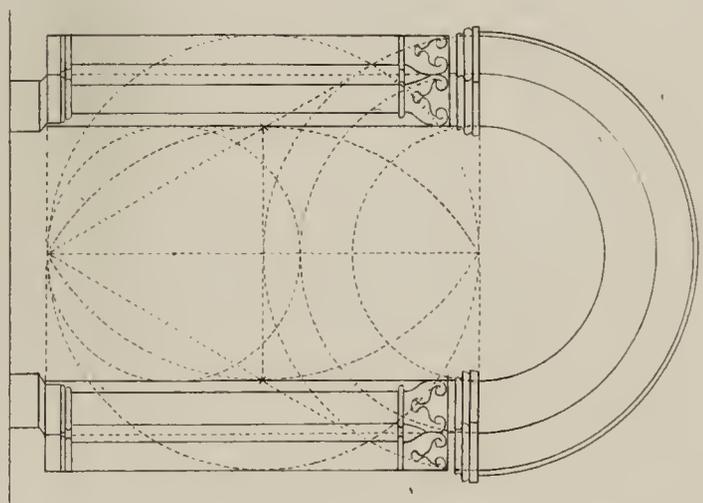


Fig. 38.

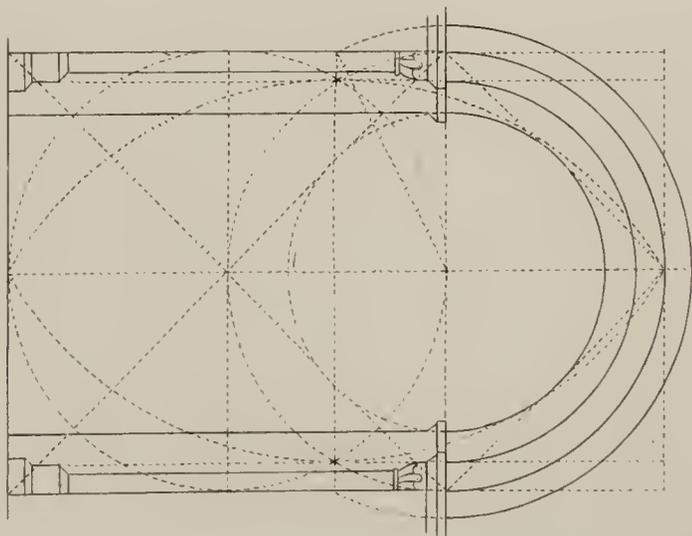


Fig. 39.

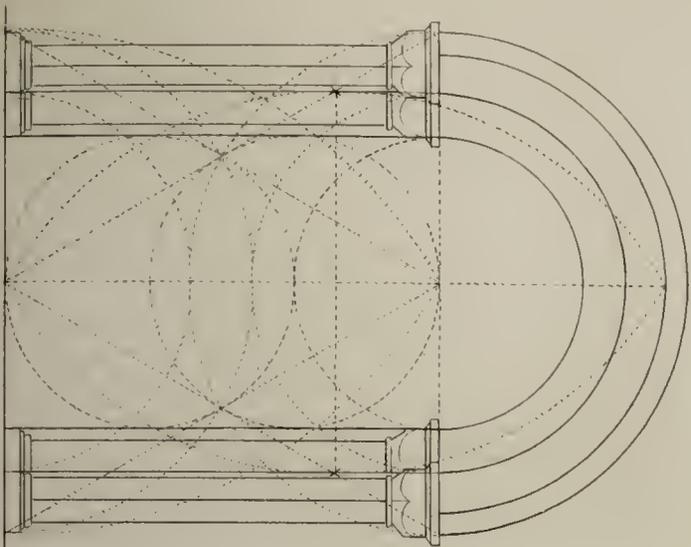


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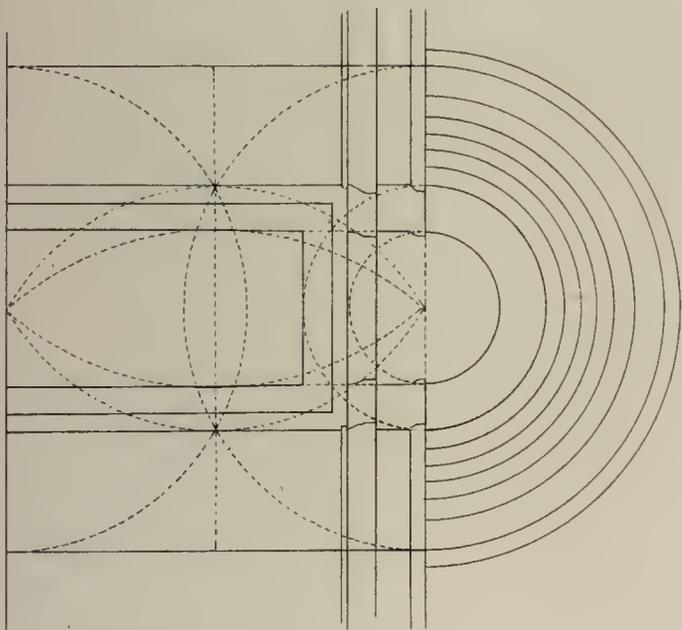


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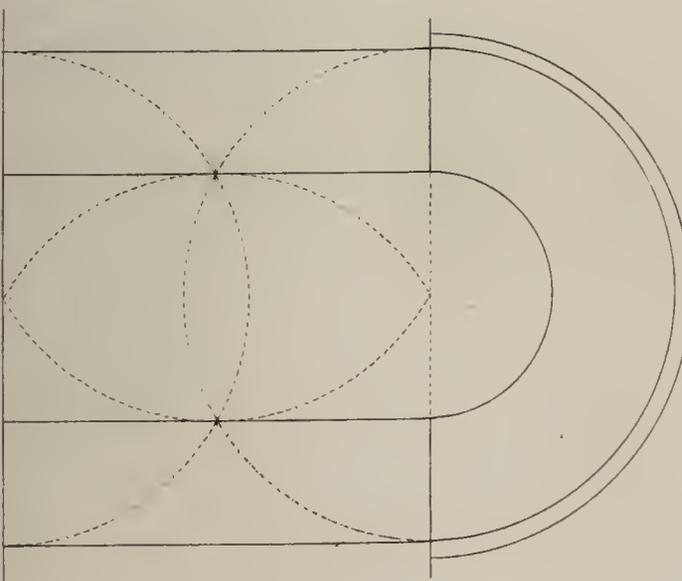


Fig. 42.



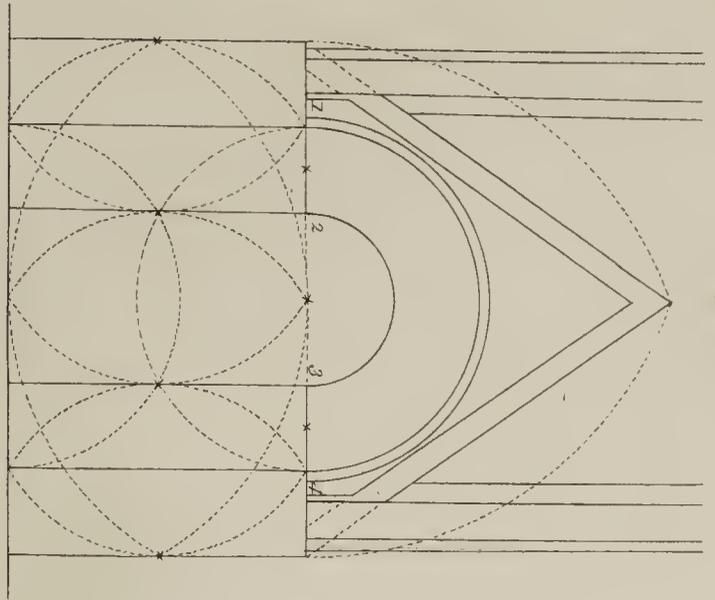


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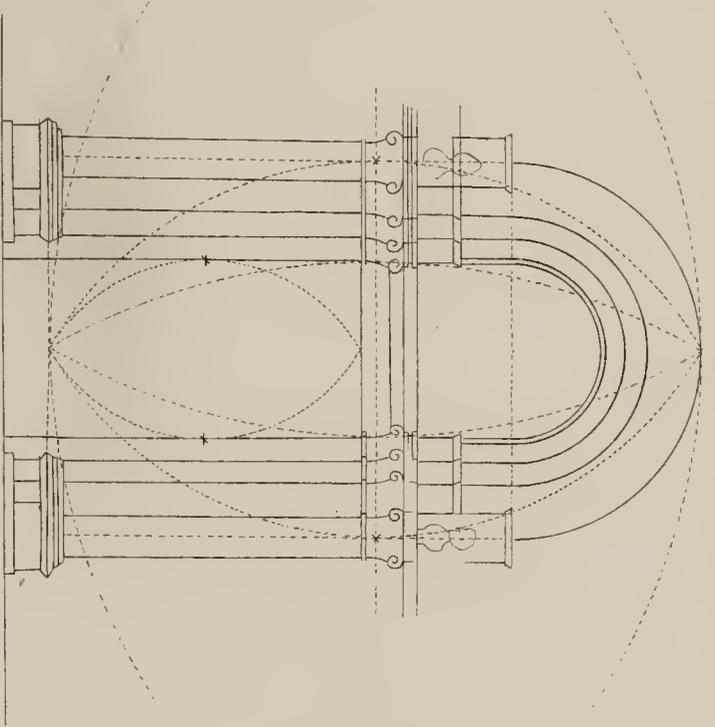


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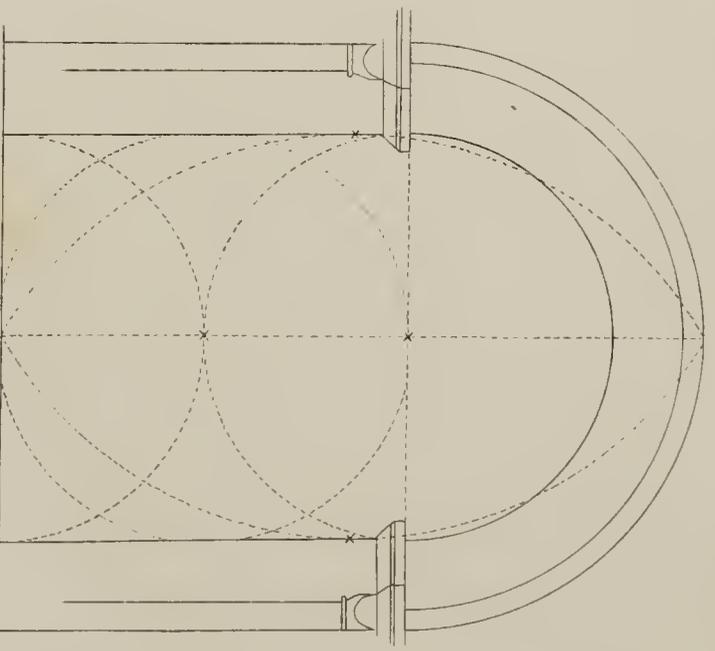


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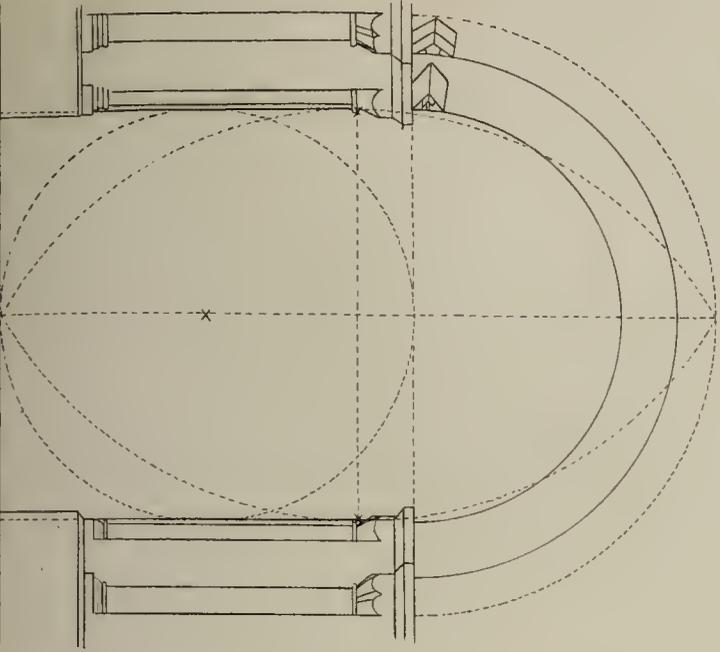


Fig. 46.

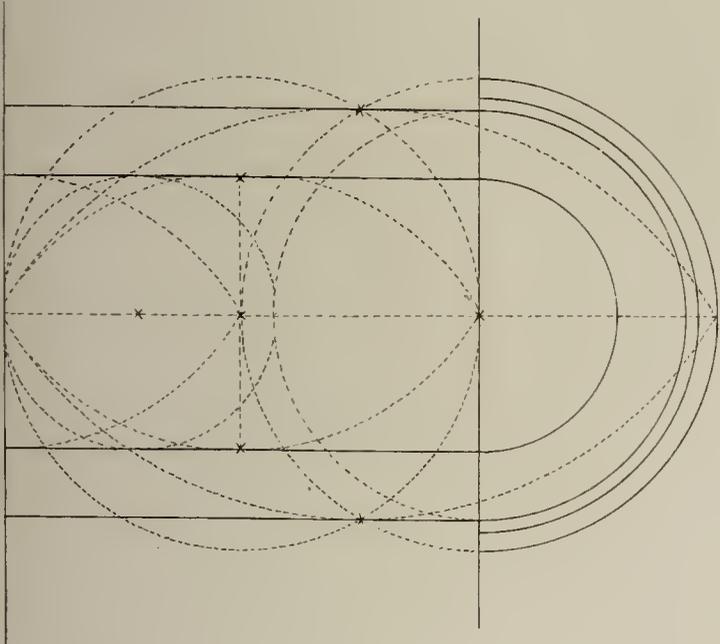


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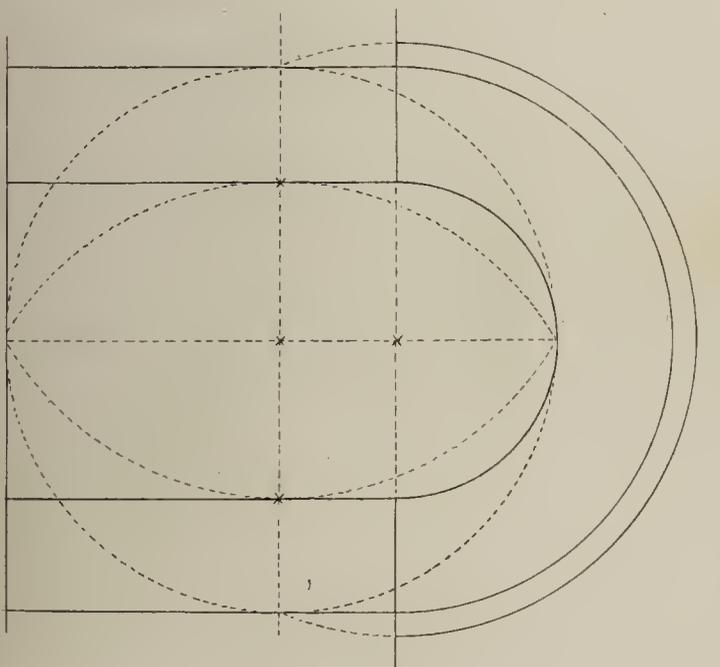


Fig. 48.



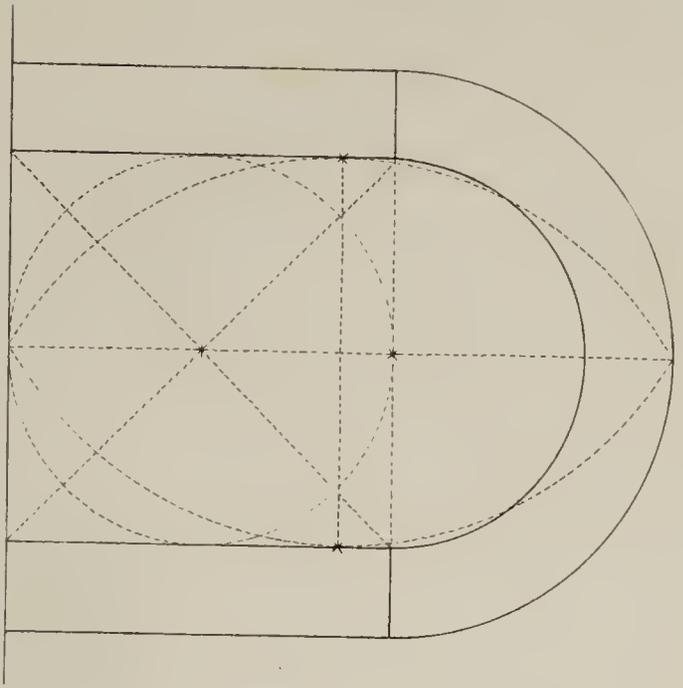


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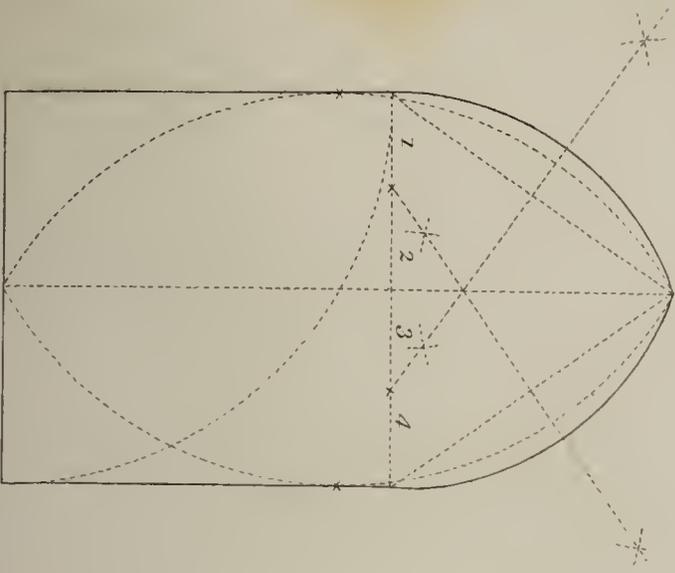


Fig. 51.

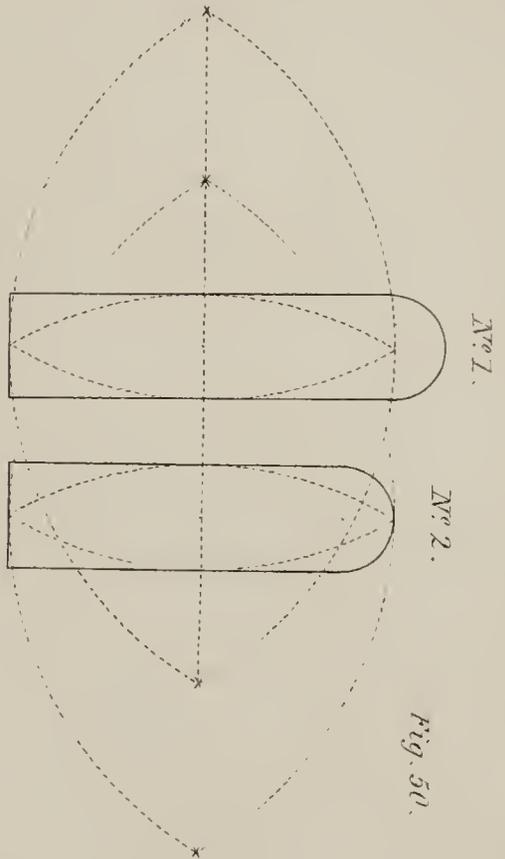


Fig. 50.

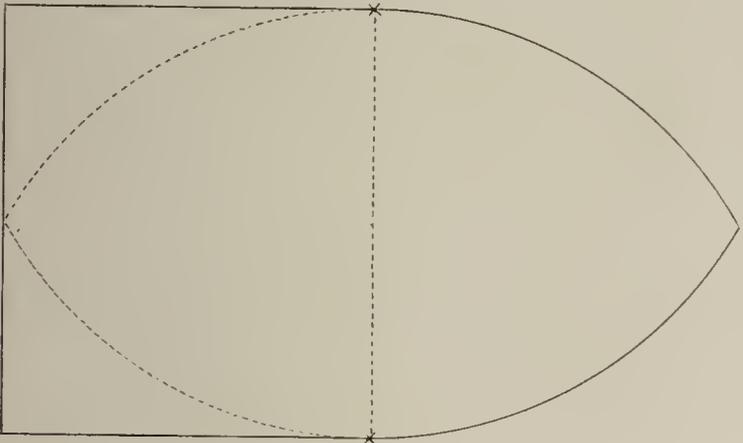
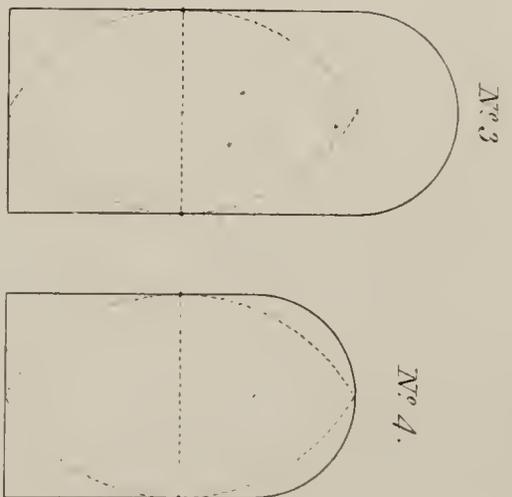


Fig. 52.



N° 4.

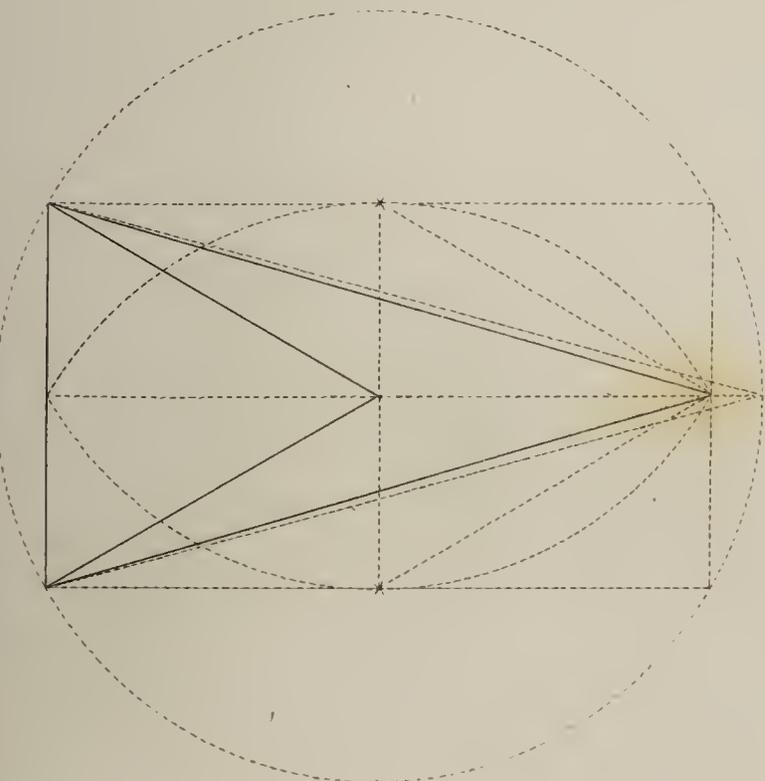


Fig. 53.



Fig. 54.

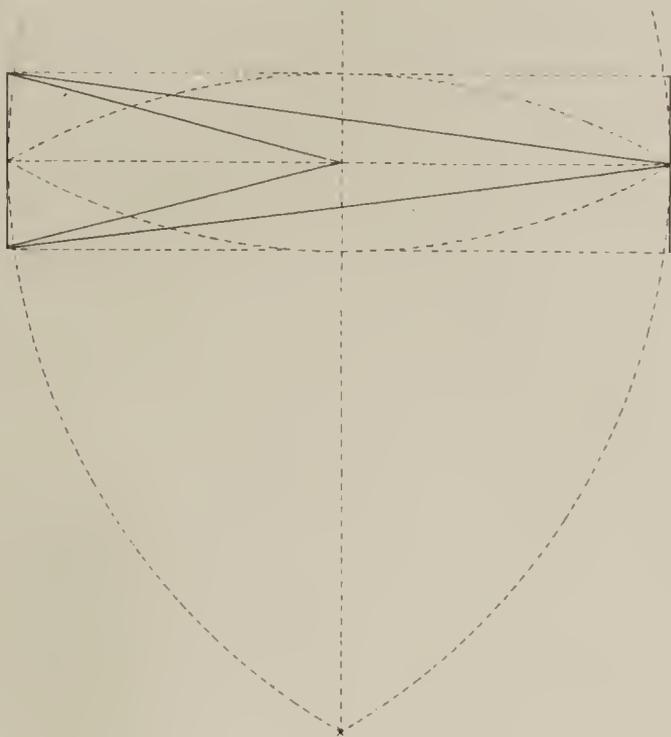
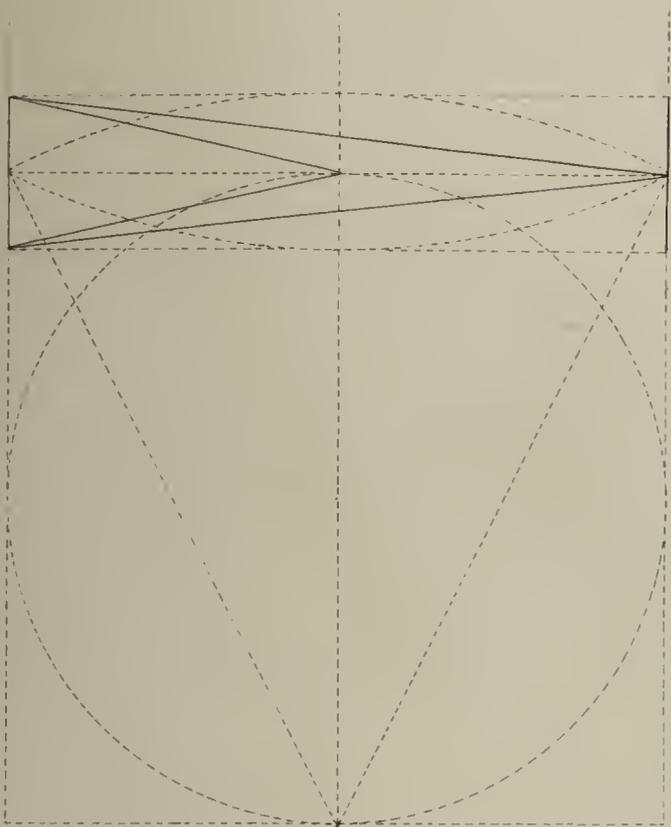


Fig. 55.

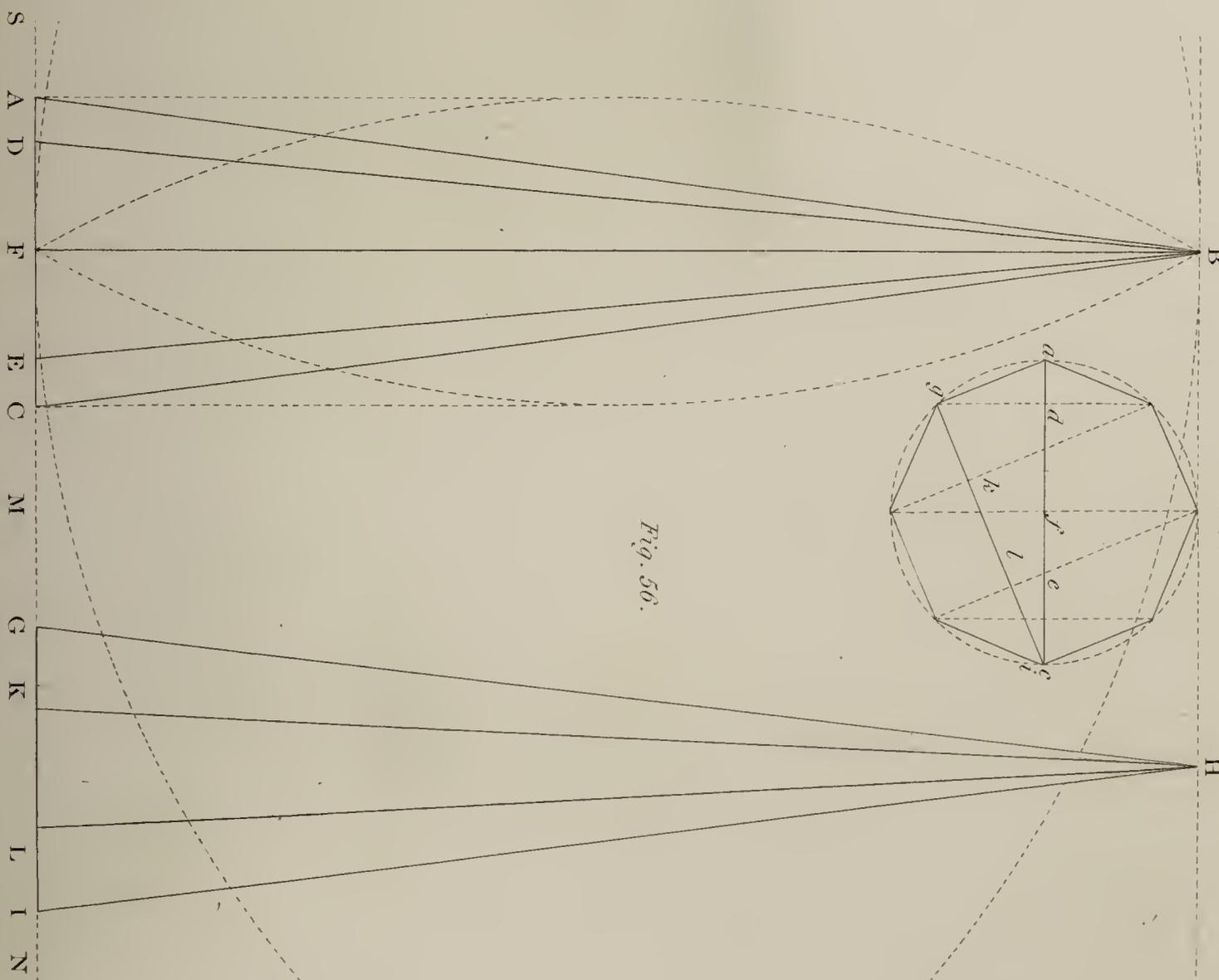


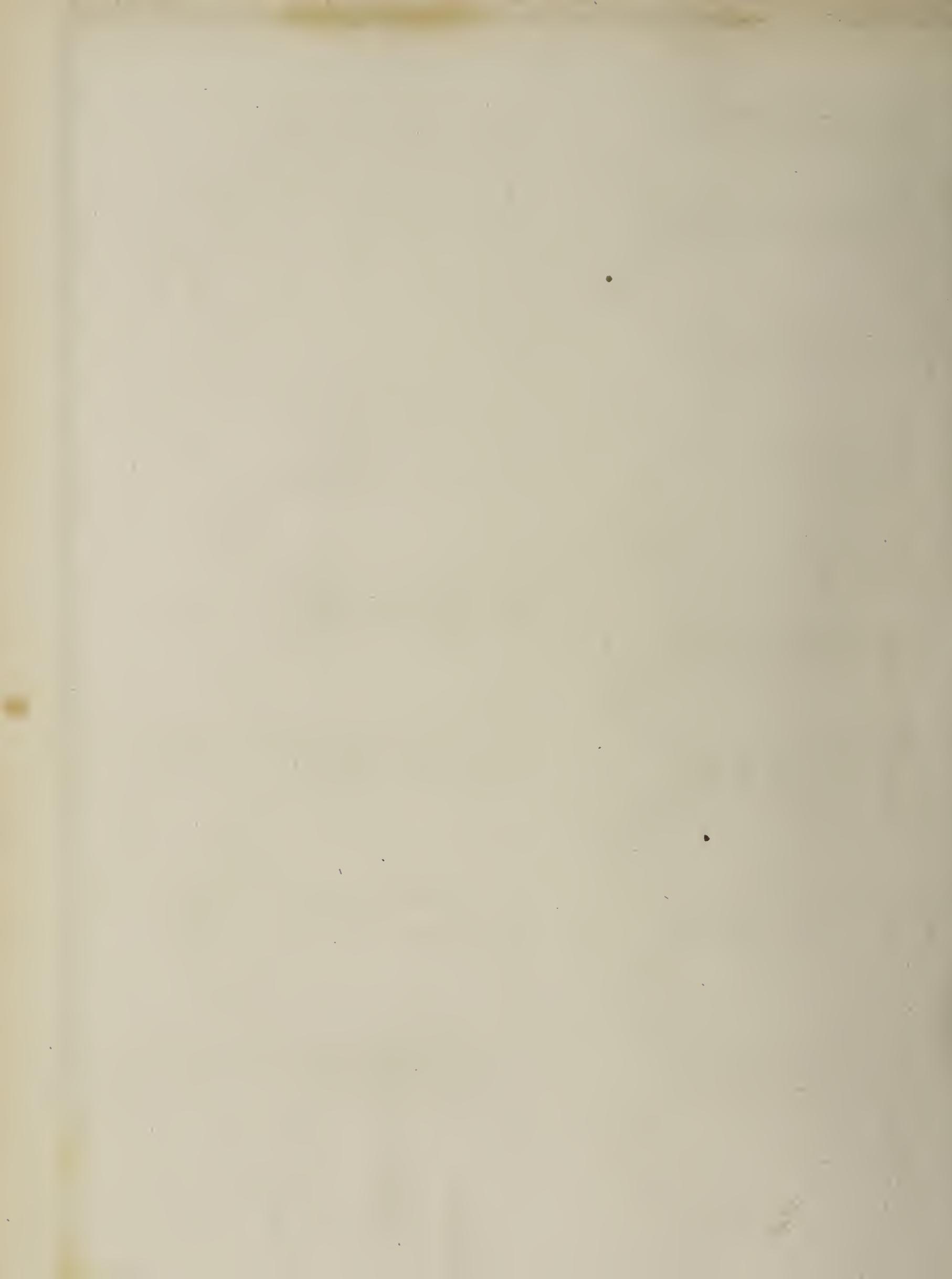
N<sup>o</sup> 1.

N<sup>o</sup> 3.

N<sup>o</sup> 2.

Fig. 56.





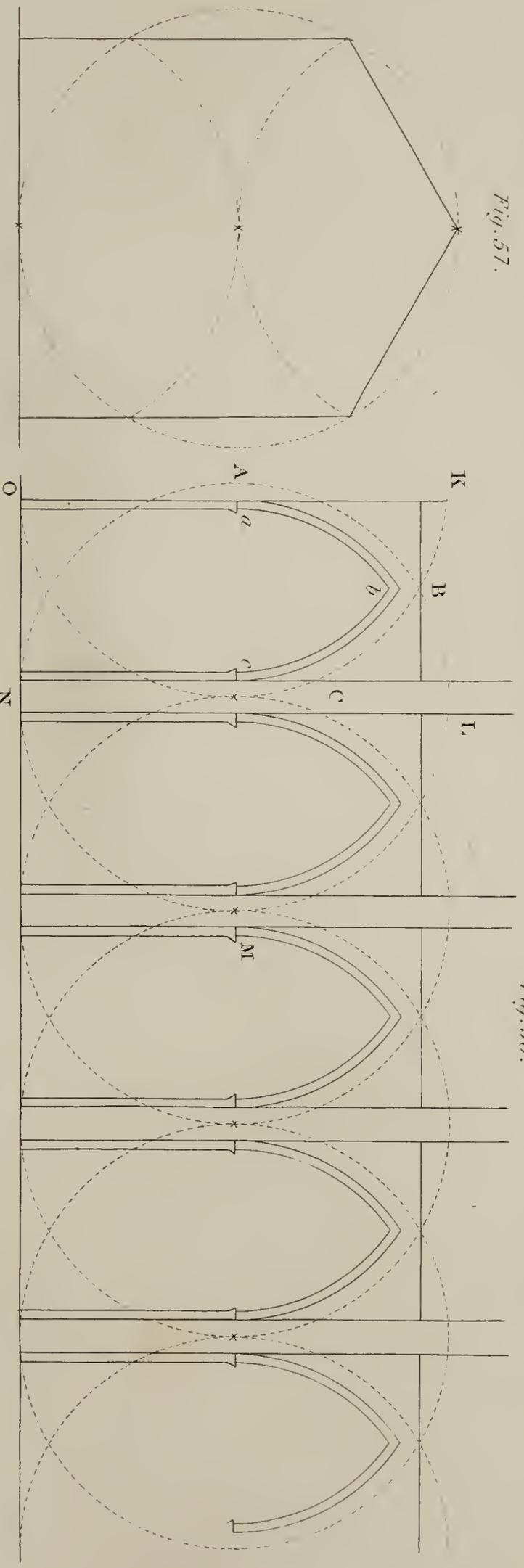


Fig. 57.

Fig. 58.

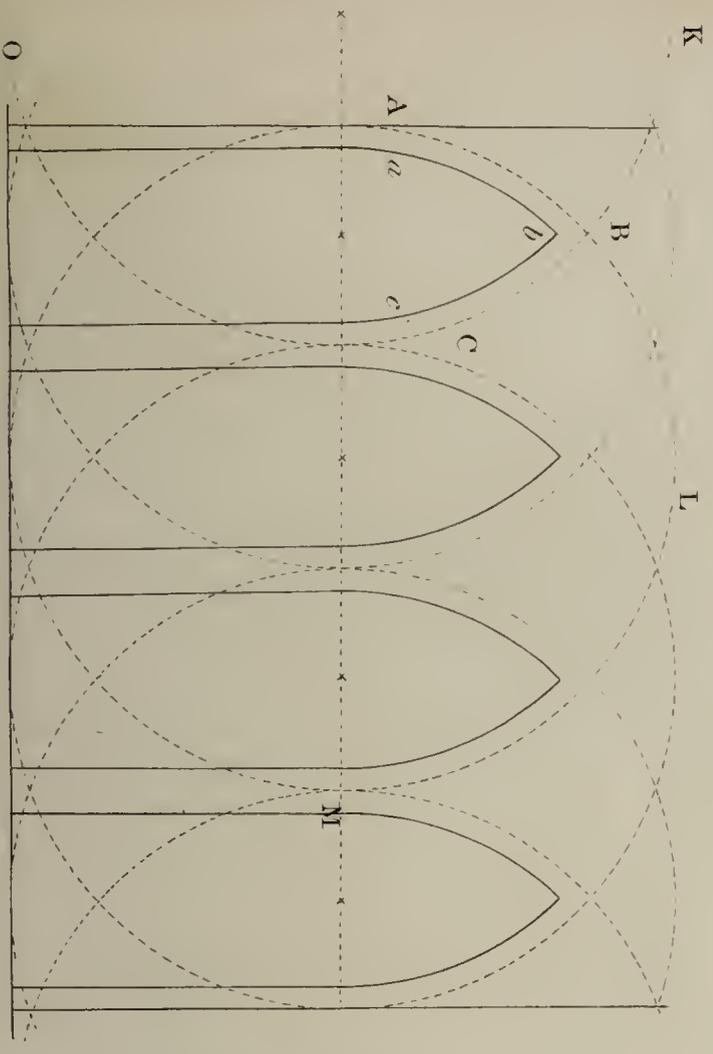


Fig. 59.

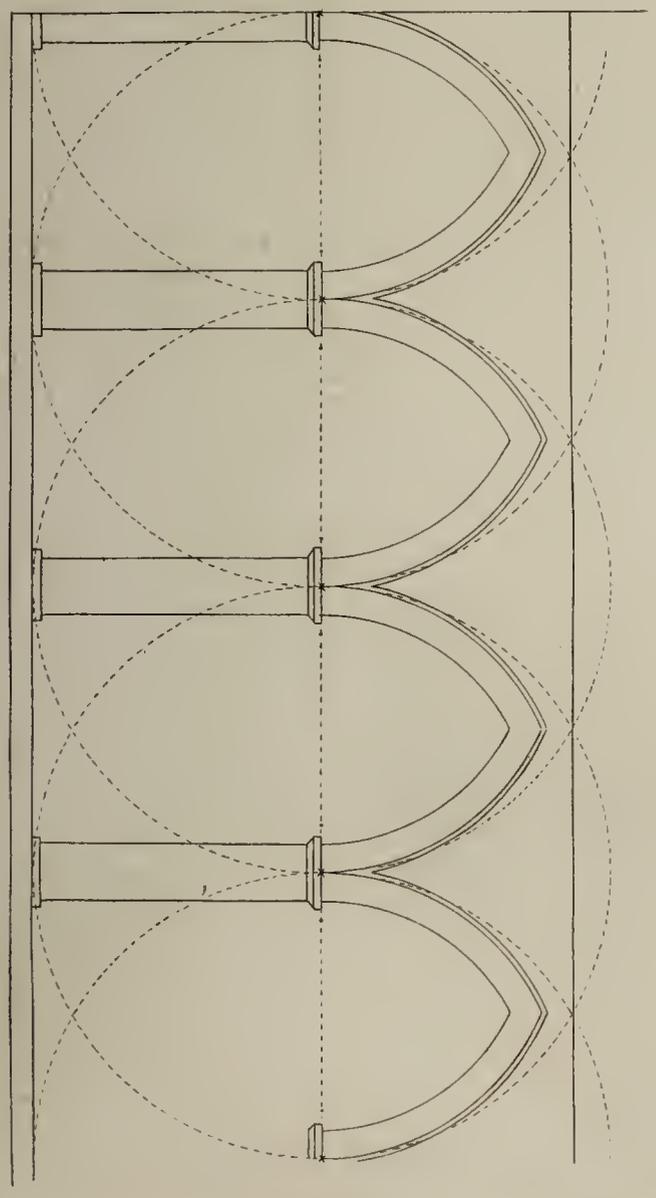


Fig. 60.



Fig. 61.

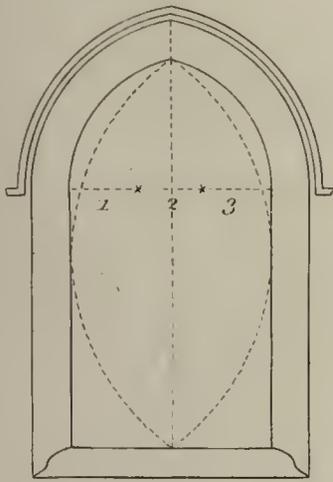


Fig. 62.

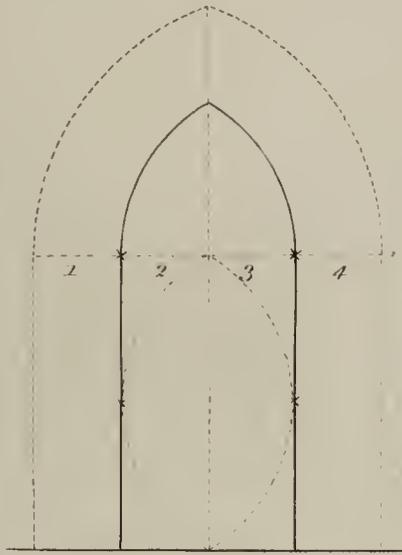


Fig. 63.

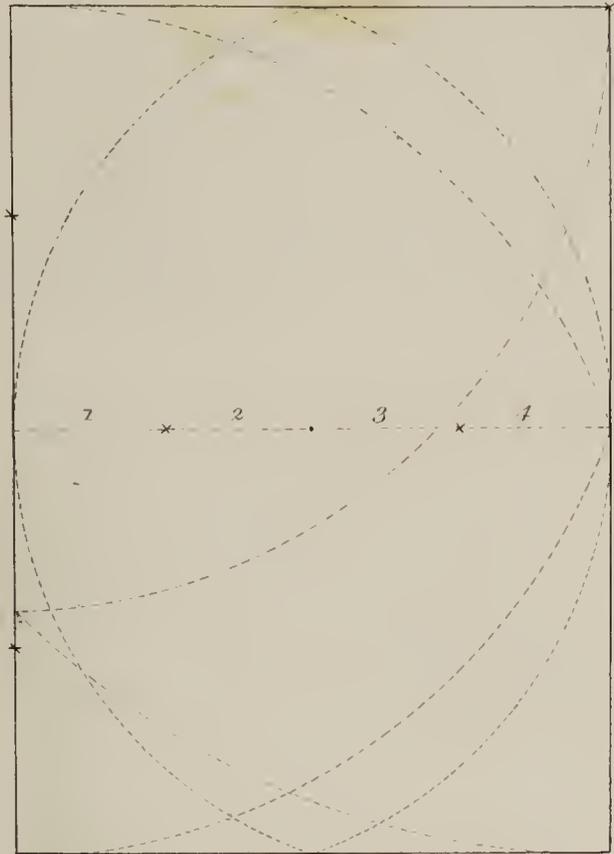


Fig. 64.

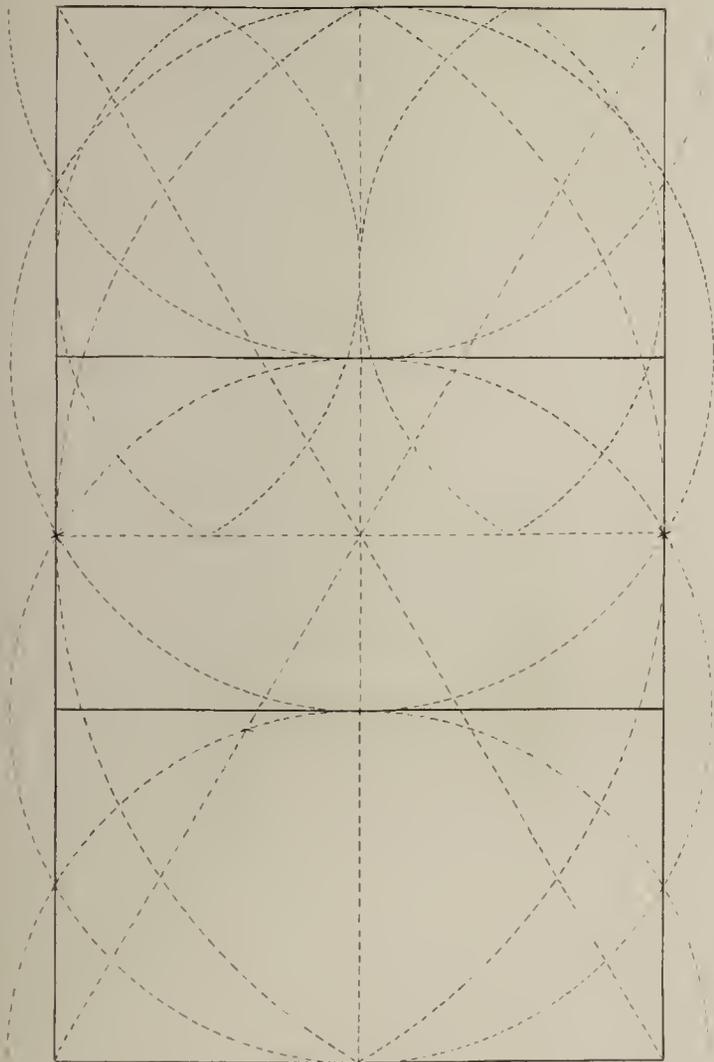
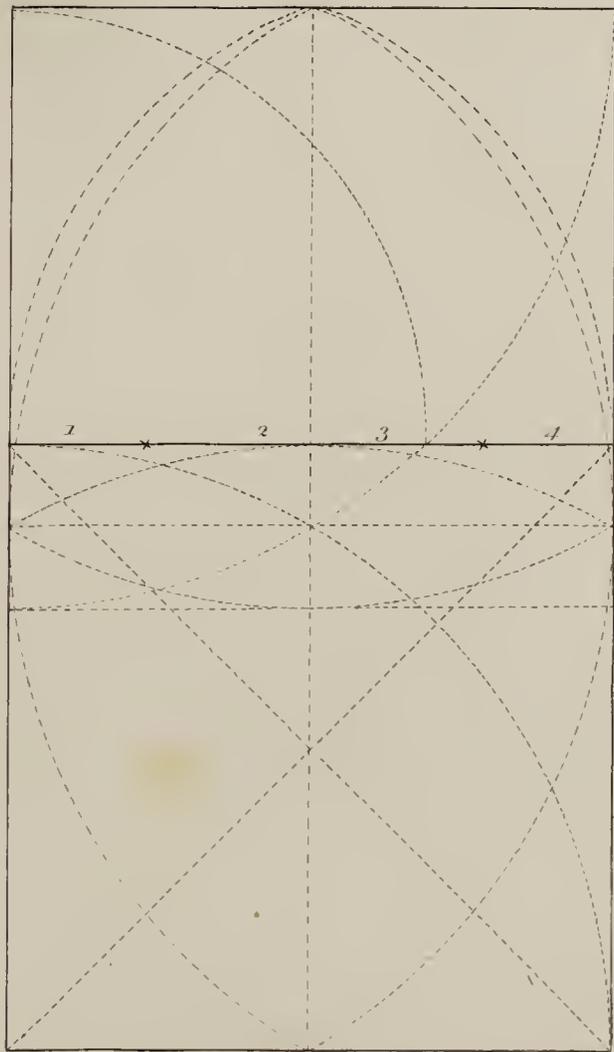


Fig. 65.





XXXVIII. *On the large Silver Coins of Syracuse: by*  
 RICHARD PAYNE KNIGHT, *Esq. V. P.*

Read 15th Feb. 1821.

AMONG the wrecks and fragments of ancient art and magnificence, which have resisted the waste of time, or escaped the more destructive ravages of barbarism and bigotry, none are so universally allowed to approach so near to abstract perfection, both in design and execution; or so far to surpass all subsequent efforts of imitation, as those large silver coins of Syracuse with a head of Ceres or Proserpine on the one side, and a chariot with four horses abreast, driven by a Victory, on the other, commonly called Syracusan Medaglions.

All the coinage of ancient States, whether republican or monarchical, was solely of money; none having ever stricken what are now called medals in honour of particular persons, or in commemoration of particular events; and when we compare the smallness and insignificance of many of these states, scarcely known to the historian or geographer, with the exquisite beauty, elegance, and costly refinement displayed in their money, the common drudge of retail traffick in the lowest stages of society, we must admit that there is scarcely any thing more wonderful in the history of man.

But admirable as the taste and finishing are in multitudes of different sizes and metals, which have come down to us from different Cities on almost every shore of the Mediterranean, and from the different dynasties of the Macedonian kings, none are at all comparable to these large coins of Syracuse; whether it be for grandeur, richness, and elegance of design; boldness, truth, and softness of relief; precision, extent, and delicacy of finish; or the power of machinery necessarily employed in striking them. Coins of the same weight and pecuniary value were issued from the mint in the earliest times of the same republic, when the art was yet rude; and others in later ages,

partly after its decline, from those of Agrigentum, Carthage, and King Hiero; but all in a very inferior style; and latterly of reduced weight; of which the original and legitimate standard seems to have been, according to the monetary divisions of the Heraclèan inscription, that of the Mina of the Sicilian and Italian Greeks,<sup>a</sup> adopted by the Carthagenians during their intercourse with them. Specimens of these are to be found in most Collections, though less common than those in question, and none of high antiquity: but of the earliest Syracusian, we know only two, one in the Glasgow, and the other in the Duke of Devonshire's collection; of Agrigentum only one, in the French museum; and of Hiero only three, one in that of Lord Northwick, and two in that of Mr. Payne Knight, one with the portrait of him when young, and the other, when extremely old; a difference which proves, contrary to the opinion of M. Visconti,<sup>b</sup> that the portrait, as well as the coin, is of the second Hiero; the first not having reigned long, nor lived to a great age; nor would he have been represented without a beard; the fashion of shaving the face having been introduced among the Greeks with the Macedonian conquest.

Under the chariot, on the coins in question, are represented detached pieces of armour; and, when not obliterated by time or accident, the word ΑΘΛΑ; whence it has been conjectured that they were stricken in honour of prizes gained in the Olympic games: but suits of armour never constituted the prizes or *αθλα* to be contended for, either in those, or any other games; and the pieces, here exhibited, are precisely those which compose a trophy, the honorary prize of a victory in the field of battle, not in the Stadium or Circus. If therefore commemorative, they must be of victories more momentous and important than the Olympic. But besides that no such means of commemorating victories, or public events of any kind, were ever employed by the Greeks, their abundance, and their similarity in weight and value to other coins of other periods, other states, and with different devices, clearly prove them to have been money. Yet, though so abundant as to exhibit, in the different cabinets of Europe,

<sup>a</sup> See Proleg. in Homer. §. LVI.

<sup>b</sup> Iconographie Greque.

impressions of at least an hundred different dies ; all are nearly in the same style, or display different modes rather than different degrees of excellence ; such as a very few artists of the same age ; or even one artist, at different periods of his life ; or merely for the sake of variety, at the same period, might exhibit in different works. None of them are so archaic as the most recent of the silver tetradrachms of the Sicilian Greek cities subverted immediately before, or early in the reign of Dionysius ; such as Himera, Selinus, Leontium, Gela, Camerina, and *Naxus* ; and all have the omega in the genitive plural of the name, which none of those have.

This letter, together with the eta, was first received into public use by the Athenians, in the three hundredth and thirty-ninth year before the Christian æra, the eleventh of the reign of Dionysius ; and though it appears to have been before in very general private use, and also to have been publicly employed by several of the Macedonian and Asiatic colonial states, the coins above cited afford strong presumptive evidence that it was not common among the Sicilian Greeks at any earlier period, if known at all. The use of the eta seems every where to have preceded that of the omega : and the latter to have been employed in syllables, of which the quantity was less generally known, before it was admitted into the final of the genitive plural ; as in ΚΩΙΟΝ, and ΓΕΑΩΙΟΝ, found in the coins of Cos, and Gela after its restoration.

After the first expulsion of the younger Dionysius, forty-eight years after the usurpation of the government by the elder, a continued succession of tumults, massacres, and conflicting tyrannies ensued during fourteen years, which reduced the greatest, most wealthy, and flourishing of the Greek cities to almost a deserted village ; so that when Timoleon obtained possession of it with a small force from Corinth, he was obliged to invite colonists from all parts, principally from the latter city, to occupy its forsaken streets and desolate squares, which had become clothed with thickets, the haunts of wild beasts. Of these colonists, the silver coins are distinguished by the Corinthian device of a helmed head of Minerva on one side, and winged horse on

the other; and the gold by a similar winged horse, accompanied, on the other side, by a bearded head crowned with olive, and inscribed around ΖΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ, *Jupiter the Deliverer*; evidently alluding to the deliverance of the city from its petty tyrants, and the restoration of its free constitution by the Peloponnesian chieftain and his associates. In these we trace a very different, though still a very neat and elegant style of art; which seems to have continued with little variation, the same artists probably having been employed, for the next twenty years, to the usurpation by Agathocles; after whom followed, with short intervals of anarchy, a succession of monarchs down to the capture of the city by the Romans, in which all its elegance and splendour were finally extinguished.

The coins of all these later princes, as well as those of Agathocles, are distinguished by their names inscribed, and many of them by their portraits: but it does not appear that any of those, who preceded the last-mentioned sanguinary destroyer of mankind, ever assumed the title, or any of the exterior ensigns, or ostensible prerogatives of a king. Coins have, indeed, been produced with their names; but they have either been modern counterfeits, or belonged to later princes of the same names; as to the second Hiero, Gelo his son, and Dionysius of Heraclea in Bithynia.

The more antient Gelo and Hiero, as well as the two Dionysii of Syracuse, were merely *dictators* or *supreme commanders without controul or responsibility*, (*ἡγεμονες αυτοκρατορες*;) whose power, being undefined, was of course unlimited; and whose domination in the latter instances, as in those of all the numerous lesser usurpers of the same age, was supported by armed bodies of foreign mercenaries, composed generally of fugitive adventurers and ferocious barbarians, extravagantly paid by severe exactions from the unarmed population; and having no community of feeling or interest, but with each other, and with their employer; a participation in whose murders and confiscations, to an extent that precluded all hopes of impunity from any other, was at once the most secure pledge of their fidelity, and the most prompt and obvious means of his safety.

Such governments were, in their constitution, antimoral; and of course, in their operation, jealous, hard, and violent; so that they could only be restricted to that degree of injustice and rapacity, which was compatible with their prosperity and continuance; by a superiority of vigour and talent in the head proportionate to the superiority of his station. The instruments of rule required an arm sufficiently strong to bend them all to one centre; or else they recoiled in every direction, and spread destruction above, as well as below, and all around them. Hence Dionysius himself, in one of his tragedies, stated such rule to be the mother of injustice—*ἡ γὰρ τυραννὶς ἀδικίας μητὴρ ἐφύ*—; and, though we know but little of his own civil or internal administration, the only detailed history extant, that of Diodorus, being principally of his wars; yet all ancient writers, who have incidentally mentioned it, speak of it as almost proverbially jealous, severe, and sanguinary; and Plutarch cites, as an historical truth generally known and admitted, that he had put to death, during the course of it, at least ten thousand of the citizens.<sup>a</sup>

Upon what grounds, therefore, he has lately been set up as a model of mildness, justice, and generosity, it is difficult to discover; nor can we perceive that his acknowledged greatness was built upon any solid or beneficial foundation: for though he undoubtedly enlarged, strengthened, and embellished to the utmost the city of Syracuse; and surrounded himself with a power, naval and military, superior to any that had existed in Europe, prior to the rise of the Macedonian empire; yet he appears to have done it by condensing and compressing, rather than augmenting and extending the resources and prosperity of the country, over which he presided; and, by such compressure, and the overstrained exertions, which it enabled him to make, to have nourished the morbid growth of internal weakness, under the fostering veil of external bulk and splendor. To aggrandise Syracuse, five neighbouring cities, Gela, Camerina, Naxos, Leontium, and Catana; of which the abundance and beauty of the coins still

<sup>a</sup> *Ἐὼν μὲν πολιτῶν μυρίους, ἠ καὶ πλείους, ἀνέλων.* De fort. Alex. Or. II. The numeral *μυριοι* is often used indefinitely to signify any very great number: but the addition of *ἠ καὶ πλείους* proves that its sense is here definite.

attest the wealth and civilization, were destroyed, and the inhabitants transferred thither, for no other apparent purpose, than that they might be more easily kept in subjection, and become more ready and obedient instruments of his ambition.

This Concentration, at a time when the Arts of Greece had just reached the summit of excellence, naturally afforded an abundant choice of the most consummate artists to one, who had alike power to compel, skill and taste to select, and wealth and liberality to reward; and whose ambition was as eager to display itself in the promotion of elegant art, as in the acquisition of territorial dominion. To this combination of power, skill, taste, wealth, liberality, and ambition, it is that we appear to owe the Coins in question: for there is no other period in the history of Syracuse, except this half century of the reign of the two Dionysii, to which they can, with any reasonable probability, be attributed; and with the circumstances of this, they in every respect accord. The zeal and eagerness of the father for every species of improvement, polish, and refinement, would naturally cause him to be one of the first to adopt the double vowels; and his ostentatious magnificence, in every thing that could display wealth and taste, would naturally direct his efforts to the most widely circulating vehicle of it, the national coin; whose monetary scale, affording the largest pieces then in use, gave the most extensive scope for exertion in the artist, and liberality in the patron.

The government of Syracuse, during the intervals of military usurpation, was what was then called a democracy, that is conducted by the equal suffrages of all the free citizens, amounting rarely to more than a tenth of the male population. Yet, even thus restricted, it must have been too widely diffused to bestow so much expense and attention upon objects so minute; though in a temple, or a colossal statue to adorn it, it might have exceeded the most gigantic magnificence of the mightiest monarchs. Accordingly we find that the corresponding pieces of money, of an earlier age, and of the other cities which issued

them, are not only less elegantly and exquisitely, but far less elaborately wrought, and of lower relief, so as to render coinage much less expensive; the expense of the pieces in question having, indeed, been necessarily such, that no practical extension of the numeric beyond the metallic value could at any time have repaid it; nor could such extension ever be made the means of important profit, except in great empires, its effects being necessarily confined to internal circulation.

After the diffusion of the hoarded treasures of the Persian kings by Alexander and his successors, the quantity of money in circulation seems to have been very generally increased; and consequently, as greater rapidity was required in the fabrication, a more hasty and sketchy mode was adopted in sinking the dies. Even those of the different dynasties of the Macedonian kings, though in the highest style both of conception and execution, of which the art is capable, are far less deeply engraved, and less elaborately composed and finished, than these of Syracuse; to the sublime perfection of which, nothing in the works of man, of a similar description, has hitherto even approached.

In some instances the letters KIM, or simply K, are inscribed on the front of the diadem of Proserpine; which are the initials of the name of the artist KIMON, inscribed in others at length on the dolphin under the head; and it is remarkable that these letters are found, in precisely the same forms, on those which differ most in style and manner of finishing from each other; a confirmation of what has been before observed, that this difference is not greater, than what may reasonably be admitted to exist in different works of the same period, and even of the same hand, adapting itself, with the skill of a great master, to every variation in the taste of its employer.

Of these Coins with the name of the artist at length, two have lately appeared, one in the cabinet of Mr. Thomas, and the other in that of Mr. Payne Knight, out of the same die; a rare occurrence even in pieces the most common, especially in those of the early republics: for as the arts of hardening metals and constructing machinery were

but imperfectly understood, the number of dies, in proportion to the quantity of the coinage, was much greater than is now required; particularly where the extreme depth of the parts and fineness of the interstices rendered them liable to injury from sudden and accidental fracture, as well as from continued regular use. Of such fractures, we frequently find traces in these coins; though none has appeared from a worn or blunted die; of which instances are not uncommon in every other class of antient money: but the same fastidious taste and unsparing magnificence, which would allow no variation but that of supreme excellence in the work, allowed no imperfect or impaired example even of that to go forth. This is consistent with the general high-toned character of the elder Dionysius; for whose comprehensive vigilance and industry, nothing was either too vast, or too minute; and whose hours of relaxation were employed in what requires, from inferior men, the most serious exertion. When his son in exile was entertained by king Philip, and asked, *What time his father, amidst such continued and momentous occupations, could have found for writing tragedies*; he answered, “*The time which you and I spend, as we are spending the present.*” A memorable lesson for those, who trifle away time and talent in what, they are afterwards surprised to find, afforded no real gratification at the moment, nor left any valuable materials for reflection in reserve.

The poetical talents of Dionysius do not, indeed, appear to have been upon a scale proportioned to that of the other faculties of his mind: but, nevertheless, they enabled him to gain a prize in a democratic State, over which he had no political influence; with which he was often at open enmity; and where the personal feelings of the suffragans were, of course, any thing but friendly to him. When, therefore, we consider that, in spite of these personal feelings, contemporary enemies united to do him justice in this instance, we can scarcely admit, with even a shade of probability, that subsequent writers, of various ages and nations, all equally removed from the contagion of such feelings, should have united to do him injustice in every other. Neither their moral, nor their political prejudices could,

could, from any reasonable or probable motives, have been more inimical to him than to his predecessor, the first Gelo, or his successor, the second Hiero; to both of whom they have given abundant credit for mildness and moderation in the use of equally usurped and unlimited power: nor can we perceive any cause, why they should so unanimously have denied those virtues to him, had he in any degree exercised them. But it seems that there are some characters so strongly marked, with features so splendid and dazzling, that no distance of space or time can render fixed attention to them perfectly cool and impartial; of which we have had instances, within the last century, in historians who have shewn themselves as much the respective partizans of Cæsar and Cicero, as the most busy electioneering agent of the day could have been; notwithstanding that we have, in the authentic memoirs of the first, and the confidential correspondence of the second of these two great statesmen, more certain evidence of the principles, motives, and circumstances, which respectively guided them, than we have of those of any others in antient history.

Of the Transactions of Dionysius, whether public or private, we have no contemporary history or original document extant: but, as the age was fertile in writers, many such must have presented their stores of authentic information to those, whose reports have reached us, particularly Philistus, his steady partizan and adherent through all the fortunes of his family; to which he sacrificed his life; and to which his monarchical principles and opinions, more than his personal feelings, seem to have attached him. Yet in the twelve books, employed in detailing the transactions of this government, in which he had borne no inconsiderable part, he does not appear to have left such a picture of it as to make a single convert to his principles and opinions; but, on the contrary, to have supplied abundant motives and materials for abhorrence and detestation.

Like the great king of Prussia, Dionysius raised a vast power from inadequate resources, by keeping his means, as well as his mind, on the full stretch; and diffusing through all a supernatural tone of energy and activity. But, in political, as in physical bodies,

though overstrained exertions may exhibit marvellous results for a moment, they always leave a settled morbid debility to succeed; and such appears to have been the case in the government of Dionysius; which exhibited a spectacle of splendor and strength in arts and arms, which the world had not thitherto seen; but which was soon afterwards crumbled into nothing by the mere approach of a force, apparently quite inadequate to contend with it; leaving no trace of its having existed, but in the weakness and exhaustion, which prepared the country for the successive foreign dominations, which followed, of Carthagenians, Epirotes, and Romans; and in those prodigies of taste, skill, and manual dexterity, which form the subject of the present Inquiry.

XXXIX. *The Runic Inscription on the Font at Bridekirk considered, and a new Interpretation proposed; by WILLIAM HAMPER, Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter addressed to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 9th November, 1820.

Deritend House, Birmingham,

17th July, 1820.

DEAR SIR,

**T**HE Runic Inscription on the Font at Bridekirk, in Cumberland, has long attracted the attention of our Antiquaries, though not very successfully; owing in some degree, no doubt, to the unfamiliar aspect of its characters. "What they mean, and to what nation they belong, let the learned determine, for it is all mystery to me," exclaims Camden, A. D. 1607.

Olaus Wormius, in a letter to Spelman, A. D. 1634, thus translates the inscription:

*"Haraldus cumulum fecit, et lapides erexit in memoriam matris et Mabroki."*

Gough's Camden, Vol. III. p. 183.

A version which, even allowing that eminent scholar to have been somewhat misled by Camden's faulty copy, may be termed most extraordinary.

Gibson, in his excellent edition of the *Britannia*, col. 1007, introduces an epistle from Bishop Nicolson to Sir William Dugdale, dated Carlisle, Nov. 23d, 1685, in which the subject is elaborately investigated, and its reading conceived to be as follows:

*"Er Ekard han men egrocten, and to dis men red wer Taner men brogten."*

i. e. *"Here Ekard was converted, and to this man's example were the Danes brought."*

This interpretation, having been adopted by Hickes, in 1705, (*The-saurus*, *Tabella* II. p. 4, *Gram. Isl.*) and Bishop Lyttelton, in 1767, (*Archaeologia*, Vol. II. p. 131,) has maintained its ground to the present day; though confessedly replete with verbal and historical difficulties.<sup>a</sup> It was, however, reserved for the zeal and industry of Henry Howard, Esq. of Corby Castle, in a paper read before your learned Society, May 14th, 1801, to present to the lovers of antiquity a full and satisfactory account of this venerable Font, though without any attempt to controvert the bishop's opinion, in general.<sup>b</sup> To that communication, published with four engravings in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. XIV. p. 113, I beg to refer all who wish for a clear idea of the whole, my present Observations being confined to a review of the inscription only. It must, nevertheless, be premised, that the west side of the font bears the sacred symbol of our faith; its north side what may, or may not be the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, for there is some dispute about it; its east side, the baptism of our Saviour by St. John; all without accompanying verbal explanation: whilst THE SCULPTOR HIMSELF, in propriâ personâ, working with his mallet and chisel, (like Archidamos in the cave of Pan,<sup>c</sup>) is seen on the south side, *with the subject of enquiry on a scroll immediately above him.*

This is "as perfect and distinct as it could have been the day when it came from the workman's hand;" the only difference of opinion that can arise, being (to continue the words of Mr. Howard) "*whether some of the marks in the stone were originally intended for stops, or whether they were only inequalities on the surface of the stone itself.*"

<sup>a</sup> Bishop Nicolson himself, on a re-examination of the subject in 1703, acknowledges that he found it, *in some little particulars*, different from what he had at first observed it to be. (*Nicolson and Burn*, vol. II. p. 102.)

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Howard very judiciously suggested that the word *Taner* was more likely to be *Nor*: the letters in fact being NR.

<sup>c</sup> *Dodwell's Tour through Greece*, vol. I. p. 553.



†.R.I.V.A.R.P.:\*†††:|P.R.N.Y.†:7:↑R:P|'Y†:R.Ð:3†R:†R.†:Y:BRAY†

*Inscription on Bridekirk Font in Cumberland;*

These marks certainly contributed to mislead Bishop Nicolson, who also set out with a wrong impression as to the first character in the inscription, which is evidently a cross, the accustomed prefix, and not the letter E, or any other letter.<sup>a</sup> A reduced fac-simile, from one of Mr. Howard's plates, (see Pl. XXXV.) will best exhibit the legend, and is now annexed for that purpose. After the most careful consideration, I venture to read it thus; as forming a sort of jingling couplet:

✠ RICARD . HE . ME . IGRUCTE .  
AND . TO . DIS . MERTH . GERNR . ME . BROCTE .

Ricardus ille me cœlavit,  
Et ad hanc formam sedulè me adduxit.

Richard he me wrought,  
And to this form me diligently brought.

Three words, and three only, seem to require elucidation. The first of these is **IGRUCTE** i. e. IGRUCTE; and in that truly-named Treasury of Northern learning, Hicke's Thesaurus, I find a gold ring, inscribed, **ÆÐRED MECA HEANRED MEC AGROFT**, i. e. *Æthredus conjux Heanræde me cœlavit*: a reading confirmed, as the author observes, by a clause in the will of Wynflæda, whereby she bequeaths to her daughter Æthelflæda—*hýpe aȝraþenan beah—annulum, sive armillam, suum cœlatum*.

<sup>a</sup> The same is also apparent from the engraving in Lysons's Cumberland, p. cxiii. where those accomplished antiquaries give it as their opinion that the style of the sculptures "would clearly indicate the font to be the work of an earlier age than that of the Norman conquest, if it had not the Dano-Saxon inscription. The scroll on which this inscription is cut, rests on two pillars, one of which is evidently clustered, and of a lighter style than that which prevailed a short time before the conquest." The marks in the stone above alluded to, are of themselves so insignificant, that those intermixed with the first word are not given by Messrs. Lysons, in their fac-simile; whilst they notice some after the second word which are not in Mr. Howard's.

The second is  $\Psi\uparrow R\text{Ð}$  i. e. MERTH; which I presume to be  $mæp\text{ð}$ ,  $\mu\alpha\rho\phi\eta$ , or *forma*: the third is  $\text{Z}\uparrow R\uparrow R$  i. e. GERNR, obviously the same with  $z\epsilon o\pi n e$ , *diligenter*, *sedulè*.

It may be further observed that the character  $\Psi$  i. e. ME, is a monogram of  $\Psi$  M, and  $\uparrow$  E; that  $\uparrow$  i. e. TE, is a monogram of  $\uparrow$  T, and  $\uparrow$  E; and that there is no authority whatever for the N final, which Bishop Nicolson attaches to six of the words.

In conclusion, unless I am greatly deceived, I think it will be acknowledged that this far-famed Inscription, instead of commemorating the conversion of Ekard and the Danes, has been strangely misunderstood, and that it merely records the name of the ingenious Sculptor; who, from the masterly style of his performance, must have held no inconsiderable professional rank at the period of his labours. To his memory, therefore, thus retrieved from oblivion, I dedicate these Remarks; and, in humble imitation of a superior writer, who thus honours a superior artist,<sup>a</sup> shall close them with the name of—RICHARD.

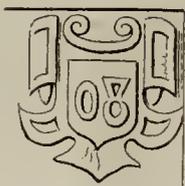
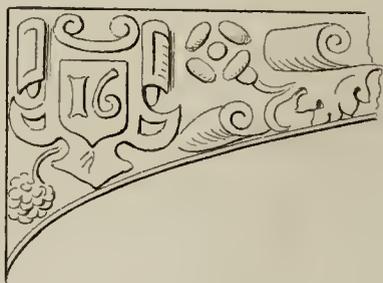
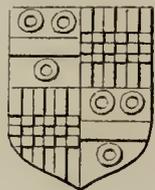
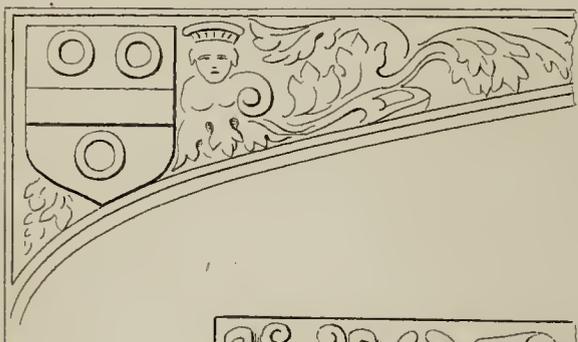
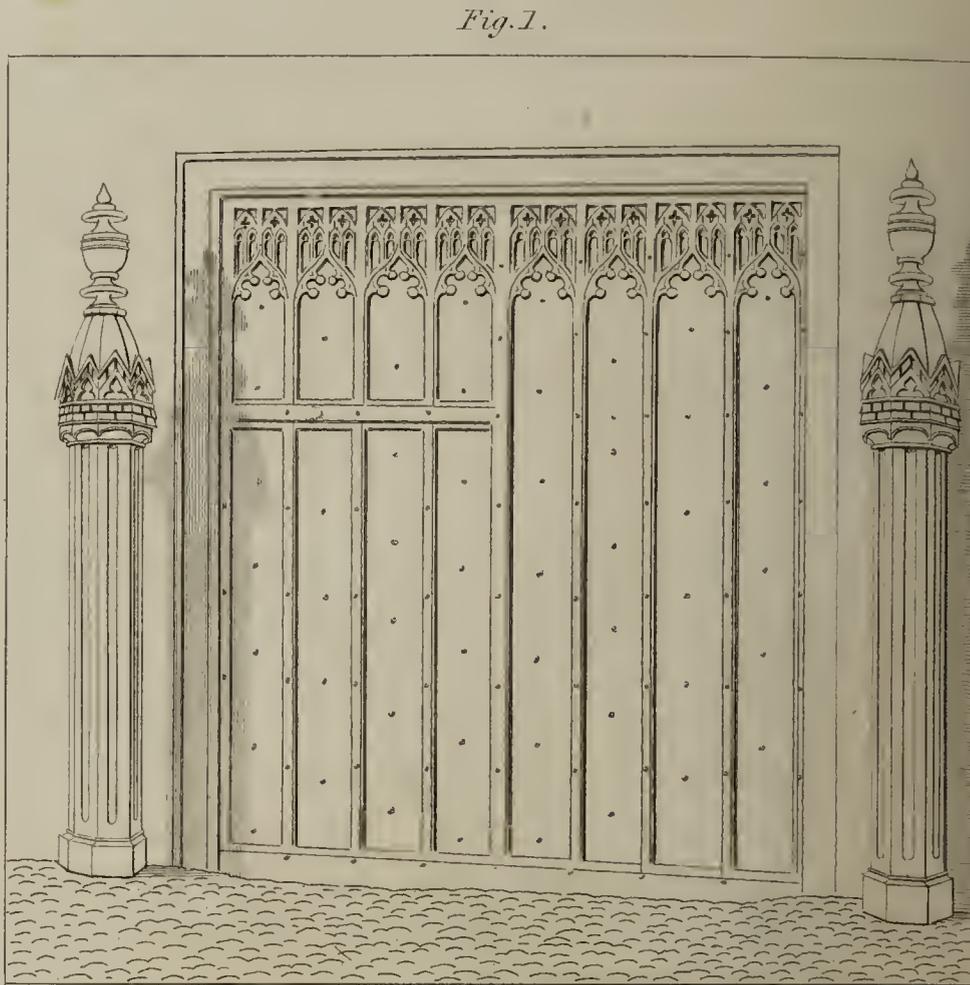
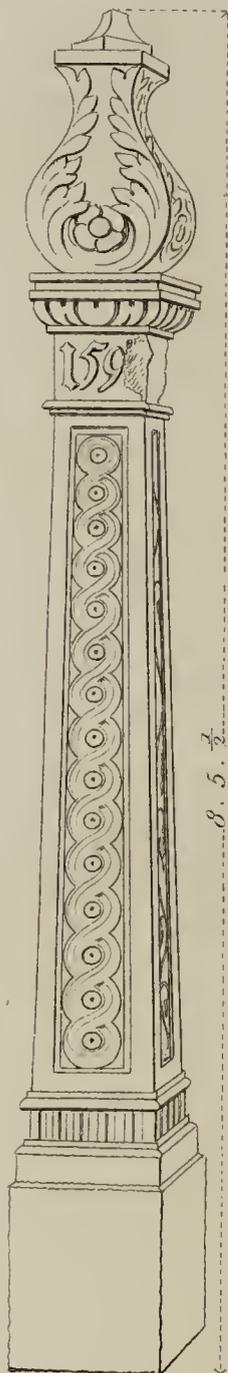
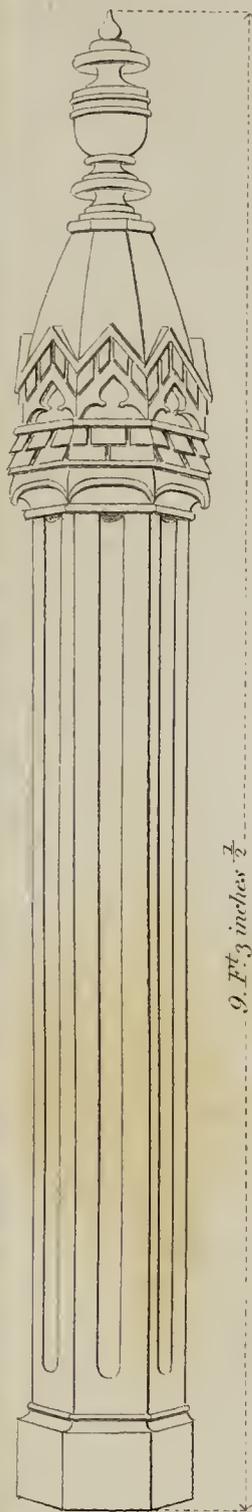
I remain, with great esteem, dear Sir,

Your's sincerely,

WILLIAM HAMPER.

<sup>a</sup> Sir Joshua Reynolds and Michael Angelo.





XL. *On the Posts anciently placed on each side of the Gates of Chief Magistrates of Cities in England.* By JOHN ADEY REPTON, Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter addressed to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.

Read 25th January, 1821.

Hare Street, Romford,  
January 24, 1821.

SIR,

PERMIT me through your hands to lay the enclosed papers before the Society of Antiquaries, concerning an ancient custom of setting up Posts, which were occasionally to be new painted, on each side of the gates of Chief Magistrates of cities. The accompanying drawings (see Pl. XXXVI.) are taken from different houses in Elm-hill near the Tomb-land, Norwich. The posts of fig. 1 are the most ancient, and are in the style which prevailed about the reign of Henry VIII<sup>th</sup>; they are covered with red paint.

Fig. 2 is taken from the south side of the street, and from the letters T. P. on one of the posts, and the date 159- on the other, the house probably belonged to Thomas Pettys, who (according to Blomefield) was mayor of Norwich in 1592. Upon the arch of the postern of the gate is the date 1608, in which year we find there was another mayor of the same name, Sir J. Pettys. On one side of the gateway a shield contains the arms of Pettys, and on the other side are the arms of Pettys and an unknown coat, quarterly.

Who or what these good magistrates were Blomefield does not say, but from the splendor of their door-posts we may suppose they were great personages, and therefore deserving of this attempt to rescue their names and their arms from oblivion.

This ancient custom of decorating the entrances to the houses of Chief Magistrates is mentioned in old Plays. I beg leave to add two or three quotations.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN ADEY REPTON.

NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. &c. &c. &c.

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“Lingua, or a Combat of the Tongue and the five Senses for superiority. A Pleasant Comœdie,” 1607. 4to.

“Actus II. Scena III.

“*Communis Sensus*. Crave my counsell, tell me what maner of man he is? can he entertain a man into his house? can he hold his velvet cap in one hand, and vale his bonnet with the other? knowes he how to become a scarlet gowne? hath he *a paire of fresh posts* at his doore?

“*Phantastes*. Hee’s about some hasty state matters, he talks of postes methinks.

“*Com. S.* Can he part a couple of dogges brawling in the streete? why then chose him Mayor upon my credit, heele prove a wise officer.”

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“The Widow.” Act II. Beaumont and Fletcher’s, as edited by Henry Weber, Esq.

“I’ll love your door the better while I know’t.

“*Widow*. A pair of such brothers were fitter for *posts without door, indeed to make a shew at a new chosen magistrate’s gate*, than to be used in a woman’s chamber,” &c.

“(Note.) The practice of newly elected magistrates painting their door posts is by no means obsolete. It is often alluded to in old plays. For instance, in Dekkar’s *Honest Whore*, ‘I hope my ac-

“quaintance goes in chains of gold, three and fifty times double;  
“you know who I mean, coz. *the posts of his gate are a painting*  
“*too.*”

---

The following passage from Dekkar's *Villanies discovered, or the Belman's Night Walks*, may throw some light on the subject before us. “He saw the doores of notorious carted Bawdes (like hell gates) stand night and day wide open, with a paire of harlots in taffata gownes (*like two painted posts*) *garnishing out those doores*, being better to the house than a *double signe.*” Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare, Vol. II.

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At the door of that officer (the Sheriff) large posts, on which it was customary to stick proclamations, were always set up. So in a *Woman never vexed*, by Rowley, 1632.

“If e'er I live to see thee Sheriff of London  
“I'll gild thy *posts.*”

Again, in Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, Act III. Scene IX.

“How long should I be, ere I should put off  
“To the lord chancellor's tomb, or to the *sheriff's post?*”

Mr. Whalley observes that it was usual, out of respect, to read the proclamations fastened on the sheriff's post bareheaded. Dodsley's Plays, Vol. III.

XLI. *On the LITUUS of the antient Romans; shewing that this name had a two-fold signification; being used to denote a sign of the highest Priesthood, and also an Augural Staff; but that the whole series of numismatic writers have considered it as applicable solely to the latter: together with some other observations, in illustration of a Jasper Intaglia Signet, bearing the sacrificial symbols of the Roman Pontifex Maximus; and recently discovered under remarkable circumstances in Cambridge. By EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE, LL. D. Member of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin; Professor of Mineralogy in the University of Cambridge; Librarian of the University, &c. &c. Communicated by the Rev. T. KERRICH, M. A. F. S. A. Principal Librarian of the University of Cambridge.*

Read 16th November, 1820.

THERE is a Symbol, which may be observed upon the medals of the Roman empire from the time of *Julius Cæsar* down to *Gallienus*, and perhaps later, resembling, as to its form, the tendril of a Vine.<sup>a</sup> Its curvature is more or less convoluted in different instances; and the lower part of the stem is represented as if it had been stripped from the stock of some plant.<sup>b</sup> As a further confirmation of this, it may be observed, in a few rare examples, as a double tendril with a

<sup>a</sup> See Pl. XXXVII. fig. 1. where this symbol is represented as it appears upon a coin of *Julius Cæsar* in *Morell's Thesaurus*, tom. 3. tab. 2. Amst. 1752, with the legend CÆSAR CONSUL QUINTUM DICTATOR PERPETUUS. Vide *Plutarch in Vita ejus*.—It also appears upon the coins of *Julius* when he was *Dictator Tertium*. See *Morell*. t. 3. tab. 1. fig. 33.

<sup>b</sup> See Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 7. where this symbol is elaborately represented as taken from one of the Marlborough gems, with the head of *Julius Cæsar*. (*Gemm. Antiq. Delectus*, Vol. 1. Pl. 3.) Also the form of the same symbol upon an antient bas-relief engraved for *De La Chausse*, *Montfaucon*, *Antiq. Expliq.* tom. 2. part 1. pl. 64. fig. 6. A plant is figured in *Montfaucon's* work from a marble described by *Spon*, which has similar tendrils. See Pl. XXXIX. fig. 18. also *Antiq. Expliq.* tom. 2. pl. 75. fig. 3. Paris, 1719.

flower;<sup>a</sup> or as connected with a more entire representation of some plant;<sup>b</sup> of which the medals of *Augustus* afford satisfactory evidences. The same symbol occurs upon the monochromatic terra-cotta vessels of libation, found in the sepulchres near Athens,<sup>c</sup> corresponding in their shape with the Roman *Præfericula*, and evidently with allusion to a part of the Mythology of the Greeks, because in these instances the symbol alluded to, is either borne in the hands of winged Genii, or they appear hovering over it, as over an object of their tutelary care.<sup>d</sup> The same symbol was used as an ornament of the sacred architecture of the Greeks;<sup>e</sup> and a remarkable instance is preserved in *Grævius* from an antient marble described by *De La Chausse*,<sup>f</sup> where the *Acerra* or *Arcula Thuraria*, has this ornament, together with the three-fold blossom, by which it is accompanied upon the Grecian terra-cottas and in the Egyptian paintings and Hieroglyphic sculpture. We find the same symbol constituting a part of the symbolical head-dress of the Hierarchs of Egypt,<sup>g</sup> and of Minerva among the Greeks.<sup>h</sup> Among the Romans it almost always constituted one of the sacrificial symbols used conjointly to denote the *Pontifex Maximus*,<sup>i</sup> and in all probability itself signified the highest branch of

<sup>a</sup> See Pl. XXXVII. fig. 4. from the *Nummi Contorniatii* of AUGUSTUS, *Morell. Thesaur. tom. 3. tab. 23. fig. 11.* with the legend *Divus Augustus*.

<sup>b</sup> See Pl. XXXVII. fig. 2. from a coin of AUGUSTUS, *Morell. Thesaur. tom. 3. tab. 39. fig. 10.*

<sup>c</sup> By the Greeks this kind of vessel, for the wine libation, was called *Σπουδαίον*.

<sup>d</sup> See Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 8. taken from a terra-cotta vase found near Athens, as represented in *Clarke's Travels, Vignette at the end of Preface to Sect. 3. of Part. 2. Lond. 1816.* For further illustration of this curious symbol from Greek monuments, see its remarkable appearance in *Millin's Galerie Mythologique, tom. 1. pl. 49. fig. 276. pl. 56. fig. 328. tom. 2. pl. 137. fig. 501. pl. 138. fig. 505. pl. 144. fig. 522. &c. Paris, 1711.*

<sup>e</sup> See the instances adduced in the Preface as above cited, and many other which may be observed in *Montfaucon, Millin, &c. &c.*

<sup>f</sup> See Pl. XXXVII. fig. 5.

<sup>g</sup> See Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 14. taken from the magnificent work on Egypt published by the French, under Napoleon. A. tom. I. pl. 29. as designed from the Antiquities of the Isle of *Philæ*.

<sup>h</sup> See Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 12. taken from an antient bas-relief of the Villa Albani. *Winkelmann Monum. ined. No. 6.*

<sup>i</sup> Vid. *Vaillant in August. tom. 1. p. 69. Paris, 1688.*

the pontificate, because in a representation of AUGUSTUS, as *Pontifex Maximus*, which has been preserved upon a marble bas-relief, (see *Galerie de Florence, Tom. 4. Par. 1819.*) this Emperor is figured bearing the symbol, in question, in his right hand. But its most conspicuous and remarkable situation is that which has been assigned to it in two of the finest specimens of antient art which have descended to modern times; namely, in the *Augustan*<sup>a</sup> and *Tiberian* gems;<sup>b</sup> in both of which it is placed in the hand of a deified Emperor; thereby corresponding, in the opinion of Rubenius,<sup>c</sup> to the *Σκηπτρον* in the left hand of Jupiter, as described by Porphyry,<sup>d</sup> and by Codinus.<sup>e</sup>

In all these representations, this *tendrill-shaped symbol* is seen tapering to a point from the bottom of its stem upwards; being not only bent, but convoluted, in the part where the stem is thinnest. Hence, it is reasonable to infer that it could never be confounded with the *augural staff* of the Romans; because this, according to *Cicero*, instead of being very much curved at the upper extremity<sup>f</sup> was “*leviter a summo inflexum bacillum*;<sup>g</sup> and instead of being bent in the thinnest part of the stem,<sup>h</sup> was, as we are positively informed by *Aulus Gellius*,<sup>i</sup> of a contrary description: “LITUUS, SIT VIRGA BREVIS, IN PARTE, QUA ROBUSTIOR EST, INCURVA, QUA AUGURES UTUNTUR.”—

<sup>a</sup> See Pl. XXXVII. fig. 10. taken from a Cast, made from the original Gem, as represented at the end of Morell's Thesaurus, tom. 3. *Gemma Augustea*, Amst. 1752.

<sup>b</sup> See Pl. XXXVII. fig. 3. taken from the engraved representation of the *Achates Tiberianus*, at the end of the volume above cited.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Rubenium, in Diss. de Gemma Augustea, ap. Morell, Thesaur. tom. 2. p. 53. in fin. Amst. 1752.

<sup>d</sup> Ἐχει δὲ τῆι μὲν λαιᾷ τὸ σκῆπτρον.

Porphyrius apud Eusebium, lib. 3. cap. 9. *Pæparationis Evangelicæ*.

<sup>e</sup> Κρατεῖ δὲ τῆι μὲν εὐωνύμωι χειρὶ σκῆπτρον.

Codinus in Constantinopoli.

<sup>f</sup> See Pl. XXXVII. fig. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Lituus (i. e. incurvum, et leviter a summo inflexum bacillum, quod ab ejus litui quo canitur, similitudine nomen invenit.—Cic. de *Divinatione*, l. 17. p. 526. edit. Ernesti, et p. 46. edit. Hottingeri, Lips. 1793.

<sup>h</sup> See Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 7. &c. &c.

<sup>i</sup> Aulus Gellius, lib. 5. cap. 8. p. 316. L. Bat. 1706.

Consequently the *tendril-shaped symbol* could never have been designed to represent the *augural staff*. Nor is this the only evidence which may be adduced to prove this fact, as we shall presently shew.

It is therefore really extraordinary, that, with these descriptions given of the *augural Lituus*, both by *Cicero* and by *Aulus Gellius*, and especially by the latter, the whole series of learned men, who have written upon the subject of the Roman antiquities, should, without a single exception, have concurred in bestowing the name of the *augural Lituus* upon a symbol whose figure is the direct reverse of the descriptions left of the *baculum augurale* by the Roman historians. A probable inference is, that some one of the earlier numismatic authors having maintained the notion, in his writings, all the rest have followed his example, and adopted the same opinion; although it may be difficult now to determine with whom the mistake originated. The Study of medals, gems, marbles, and terra-cottas, important as it is to the purpose of illustrating history, is of very recent date: nothing of this kind being known, after the revival of letters,<sup>a</sup> until towards the middle of the sixteenth century. The oldest numismatic writer was *Zacharias Zachius* of *Volterra*; but his observations have been entirely consigned to oblivion, with the few exceptions afforded in the description of Italy, by *Albertus Leander*, who confesses the advantages he derived from his work. Next to *Zachius* came *Huttichius*, a German of *Mayence*, whose work, containing the effigies of the Cæsars from their coins, was printed in the year 1534. In this work the *tendril-shaped symbol* is not represented; but in a

<sup>a</sup> Before the Augustan age the study of antient Gems occupied the attention of the greatest men of Rome. *Julius Cæsar* consecrated six *dactylitheca* in the Temple of Venus Genitrix. *Marcellus* consecrated one. Cæsar Dictator sex dactylithecas in æde Veneris Genetricis consecravit. *Marcellus* Octavia genitus in Palatina Apollinis unam." (*vid. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 36. c. 5. tom. 2. p. 766. Paris, 1723.*)

It would be easy to prove that the Roman historians and poets, especially *Livy*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, and *Ovid*, derived much of their knowledge from the study of Antiquities; but the undertaking would at present cause too much digression from the main purport of the present inquiry.

smaller volume of cuts, containing the Consular Coins published by the same author in 1537, it is represented;<sup>a</sup> although no explanation of the symbol is given by the author. About the same time appeared the writings of *Antonius Zantanus*, *Jacobus de Strada*, and *William Duchoul*. Of these, *de Strada's* work has not a syllable upon the subject.<sup>b</sup> Perhaps the first notice occurs in the writer who followed; namely, *Enea Vico* of *Parma*. In his work printed at *Venice* in 1558, and at *Paris* in 1619, of which the latter will be cited,<sup>c</sup> we have the *tendril-shaped symbol* adduced from a medal of *Augustus*, to prove that *Lucius*, (whose effigy occurs with that of *Caius* upon the reverse of the medal) had belonged to the College of Augurs.<sup>d</sup> Hence may perhaps be deduced what all subsequent writers from *Goltzius* down

<sup>a</sup> *Consulum Romanorum Elenchus. Argent. 1537.* The most remarkable document perhaps existing as representing the *tendril-shaped Lituus*, is a Gem in the possession of *Richard Payne Knight, Esq.* which once belonged to the *Ricardi*, at *Florence*. This celebrated gem exhibits the full face of the Dictator, *Julius Cæsar*, and it is the only antient monument where he is thus represented. It has, moreover, the name of the artist *Dioscorides*, by whom the *Intaglia* was cut, inscribed in genuine letters upon the stone. ΔΙΟΣΚΟΤΡΙΔΟΥ. The *tendril-shaped Lituus*, and the *Star*, by which the Dictator's apotheosis was supposed to have been miraculously attested, are placed upon the right side of the head of the Dictator; the artist's name is on the left. The same name of *Dioscorides* occurs upon an *Intaglia* described by *Millin*, representing a figure of *Mercury*. See *Galerie Mythologique*, tom. 1. pl. 51. fig. 206. Paris, 1811.

<sup>b</sup> *Epitome Thesauri Antiquitatum, &c. Lugd. 1553.* There is an earlier edition of the same work printed in 1551. Beneath the effigy of *JULIUS CÆSAR* *Le Strada* has figured the *tendril-shaped symbol*, together with the *Simpulum*, *Patera*, and *Apex*; but they are not otherwise noticed in the volume. (See p. 1.) So in his effigy of *AUGUSTUS*, p. 12. it is figured with the *Patera* and *Aspergillum*.

<sup>c</sup> *Discorsi di Enea Vico Parmegiano, sopra le Medaglie de gli Antichi.* In Parigi, 1619.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid. p. 105. Cap. 9. della Dignitadi, che si raccolgono delle medaglia.*

As a decisive proof that the introduction of this symbol did not necessarily relate to the Augurate, see the remarkable marble altar engraved for *Montfaucon's* account of the Vows. (*Tome 2. part 1. pl. 102. p. 250. Paris, 1719.*) where the *tendril-shaped symbol* is represented in bas-relief, with a flower above and below, and an inscription entire, as follows: FORTUNÆ REDUCI ET JOVI SERENO, DIIS DEABUSQUE SUB QUORUM TUTELA AUGG. MILITANT, C. STATIUS PLAUTIANUS D. D. Or, as *Montfaucon* renders it, "Ara a C. Statio Plautiana erecta fuit in honorem Fortunæ reducis et Jovis sereni, atque Deorum et Dearum quorum præsidio Imperatores bellum gerebant."

to *Morell*, *Vaillant*, and *Harduin*, have advanced of a similar nature. But if the proof were to be relied upon, of the allusion made to the *Augurate*, in this symbol, how comes it to pass, that persons who did not belong to the College of Augurs, nay whose existence was anterior to the establishment of the College of Augurs by *Romulus*, should have been represented with the same symbol? <sup>a</sup> and again, in certain examples, where an inscription, or the legend of a medal, denotes that a person did belong to the *augurate*, wherefore has this symbol been omitted; even when other sacrificial symbols which usually accompany it, have been introduced? <sup>b</sup> By the passage of *Virgil*, which *Aulus Gellius* has himself cited, previous to his remarks upon the *augural Lituus*, it is manifest that there was an older *Lituus* called the *Quirinal Lituus*,<sup>c</sup> which the antient Kings of Italy held as a sceptre in their hands, long before the time of *Romulus*, or the institution of the *Augurate*. Both *Donatus* and *Servius*, in their commentaries upon this passage of *Virgil*, have explained the nature of the *Quirinal Lituus*, and have affirmed that it was a *regal sceptre* and not an *augural staff*.<sup>d</sup> This is the sort of *Lituus* which we see represented

<sup>a</sup> *Virgil* makes it the regal symbol of *Picus*, an antient King of Latium; *Æneid. Lib. 7. v. 187.*

“ Ipse Quirinali lituo, parvaque sedebat  
Succinctus trabea, lævaque ancile gerebat.”

<sup>b</sup> See the medal of *JULIUS*, with the legend *Cæsar Augur. Pont. Max.* in *Morell's Thesaurus*, tom. 3. tab. 1. fig. 32.

See also the medal of *Julius Cæsar*, in the *Nomismata Julii Cæsaris* of *Goltzius*, tab. 14. fig. 6. Antwerp. 1644. It has the legend *Cæsar Imp. Augur.* with a representation of the *Aspergillum*, *Simpulum*, *Culter*, *Securis*, and the *Apex*, but the symbol called *Lituus*, has not been introduced.

<sup>c</sup> See the passage of *Virgil* before cited.

<sup>d</sup> Ipse *Picus* domitor Equorum, perendeque studio equitandi præstans sedebat ferens in dextra *lituum*, id est *regium baculum* in quo potestas esset dirimendarum litium.—*Donatus.*

“ *Lituum* dicit *regium baculum*

In quo potestas esset disimendarum litium.”—*Servius.*

The etymology is however absurd, owing to its violation of *quantity*; the Greek *λαται*, *preces*, is a much more probable root; but *CICERO* (*de Divin. l. 1. c. 17. p. 46. Lips. 1793.*) says it was called *Lituus* from the resemblance of its form to that of the Roman trumpet so named.

in the hand of *Augustus*, at his deification, and of *Tiberius*, in the instances before cited;<sup>a</sup> and this is the identical *tendrill-shaped symbol* which appears upon the medals of *Julius Cæsar*, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*, and upon those of *Augustus* and his successors, whether they were of the *Augurate*, or not;<sup>b</sup> and which has been so generally confounded with the *augural staff*. Like many other of the pagan symbols, upon the downfall of the heathen religion it found an asylum among the badges and ornaments of the Christian Church, and its form is so accurately preserved in the old *episcopal Crosiers*, that, in more than one instance, even the slight ramifications which we have pointed out as characterizing it in some of the examples already alluded to, may also be recognized.<sup>c</sup>

In order to distinguish it, so that it may not again be confounded with the *augural Lituus*, it will now be proper to state very specifically what the *augural staff* really was as to its form, and from what it was originally derived; for which purpose it will be necessary in the first place to have recourse again to passages already cited, containing a description of it, from *Cicero*, and from *Aulus Gellius*.

The *augural staff*, says *Cicero*, was “slightly curved at the upper end:” and *Aulus Gellius* adds, that this curvature took place “in the thickest part” of the stem. *Plutarch* calls it *καμπύλη ῥάβδος*, a hooked rod.<sup>d</sup> *Livy* describes it as being “*sine nodo aduncus*”—i. e. bent into a hook without a joint;<sup>e</sup> it therefore evidently corresponded, in its shape, with the *Pedum* or shepherd’s crook, which, though often

<sup>a</sup> See the figures of *Augustus* and *Tiberius* in Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 10. and Pl. XXXVII. fig. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Being possibly introduced upon their medals as the symbol of a *Flamen*; the King of the Sacrifices; a representative of *Numa*; or simply to denote a *Pontifex Maximus*.

<sup>c</sup> See particularly the Crosier of *Peter de Aqua-bella*, Bishop of Hereford, as designed by the Rev. T. Kerrich, M.A. F.S.A. for his Account of the Bishop’s Monument in Savoy. *Archaeologia*, Vol. 18. pl. XI. facing p. 188. Lond. 1817.—Also the crosiers of two Bishops of Rochester, engraved by Mr. Stothard; of three abbots, and of Prior Hotot, (who died in 1249, at Peterborough), and of several abbots in the cathedral of Wells.

<sup>d</sup> *Plutarch*. in *Romulo*, tom. 1. p. 31. in *Camillo*, p. 145. L. Par. 1624.

<sup>e</sup> *Baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens quem lituum adpellaverunt*.—*Liv.* lib. 1. c. 18. Vol. 1. p. 92. edit. Drakenborg.

knotted, is figured as being bent without a joint.<sup>a</sup> The use of this *augural staff* is attributed to *Romulus*; who, according to *Cicero*, in his first book *de Divinatione*, used it to mark out the regions of the city, when he laid the foundation of Rome. But it is as old as the primeval shepherds of the world. A gem is mentioned by *Montfaucon*, on which *Faustulus* the shepherd is represented with it, sitting upon the *lupercal*, and making presages, whilst the wolf is suckling *Romulus* and *Remus*.<sup>b</sup> The *augural staff* is therefore, as to its origin, the *Baculum Pastorale*. But this brings us home, at once; for this carries us to the source of all the sacred symbols both of the *Greeks* and *Romans*: and without causing the slightest ambiguity or confusion between the two symbols; that with the *tendril-shape*, and the *pedum*; we shall find that, among the *Egyptians*, the former was the symbol of *pontifical* and *divine power*, and the latter a *staff of divination*. All the implements of husbandry, as consecrated symbols, distinguish, in *Egyptian* sculpture, the hierarchs and divinities of that country. OSIRIS is represented with the *plough*, the *harrow*, the *winnow* or *fan*,<sup>c</sup> and lastly with the *shepherd's crook*. The numerous instances in which the last symbol occurs in the hands of the hierarchs of Egypt may be judged of by reference to the plates in *Napoleon's* magnificent work as published at Paris. Of these some are remarkable in the figures represented of ISIS and OSIRIS not only bearing the shepherd's crook as an *augural staff*, which is the explanation *Lancret*, and other French writers have given of it,<sup>d</sup> but the tendril-shape symbol also occurs as a symbolical mark of distinction in the *apex* or cap worn upon the head.<sup>e</sup> Thus the two symbols are opposed

<sup>a</sup> See the representations of the *Pedum* in *Mariette, Pierres gravees du Cabinet du Roy*, pl. 49, and pl. 72. tome 2. Paris, 1750.

<sup>b</sup> *Antiq. Expliq.* tom. 2. part 1. p. 146. Paris, 1719.

<sup>c</sup> Which is so often mistaken for a whip. WHOSE FAN IS IN HIS HAND, AND HE WILL THOROUGHLY PURGE HIS FLOOR, AND WILL GATHER THE WHEAT INTO HIS GARNER." Luke iii. 17.

<sup>d</sup> *Voy. Antiquités. Descriptions.* tom. 1. p. 33. Par. 1809. Explication de la Planche 10.

<sup>e</sup> See Pl. XXXIX. fig. 16. taken from A. vol. 1. pl. 82. of that work as designed from the superb bas-reliefs at *Esné* in upper Egypt.

to each other in the same figure; the *augural staff* being borne in the hand; and the head being dignified, as by a diadem, with the other. Nor was the shepherd's crook held as a sacred symbol only among the *Egyptians*. It constituted also a part of the *Grecian* Mythology, and was always introduced into the pomps of *Bacchus* and of *Pan*.<sup>a</sup> Upon the gems of *Greece* we see it displayed upon altars, and upon sepulchral *stelæ*, of which a remarkable instance occurred in the royal cabinet of France, where a most beautiful representation appeared upon a Grecian gem, of *Mercury*, conductor of the souls of the dead, meditating the fate of an *Augur*, and pointing with his caduceus to the cumbent augural staff, lying upon a sepulchral pillar.<sup>b</sup> It also accompanies *Pan* the great god of shepherds, whose worship was derived originally from *Egypt*, and both among the *Romans* and the *Greeks* it is often seen with the symbols sacred to *Bacchus*.<sup>c</sup> That the *augural staff* should have originated in pastoral life is very natural. Judging of the past by the present, we may

<sup>a</sup> The knotted *pedum* is evidently sacred to *Bacchus*. It is usually represented with a *mask*, and appears in the right hand of *Thalia* in the *Herculanean* paintings, a mask being in her left hand, and the inscription ΘΑΛΕΙΑ ΚΟΜΟΔΙΑΝ at her feet. For its appearance when without knots, see the marble Altar described by *Montfaucon* which formed part of the Cabinet of *Christina* Queen of Sweden. (*Antiq. Expliq. tome 2. part. 1. pl. 86. Paris, 1719.*) The most remarkable representation of the *knotted pedum* occurs in a beautiful *Intaglia*, of which impressions are common, that was formerly in the *Borghese* collection; where a *Centaur* uses it as the weapon with which he combats *Hercules*.

<sup>b</sup> See Pl. XXXIX. fig. 17. copied from the representation of a gem in *Mariette's Traité des Pierres gravees du Cabinet du Roy, tom. 2. pl. 28. Paris, 1750.* Nothing can surpass in ignorance and absurdity the inane descriptions given of the different gems in this French work.

<sup>c</sup> See the Statue of the laughing Faun in the British Museum, of which there is a fine representation in *Combe's Description of the antient Marbles, part. 2. pl. 24. Lond. 1815.* The *pedum* is in the left hand of the figure. See also the Fauns and other figures in the *Pompe Bacchique* described by *Montfaucon*, (*Antiq. Expliq. tom. 2. part. 1. p. 194. pl. 86. Paris, 1719.*) from an antient marble bas-relief, upon an altar which formed part of the cabinet of *Christina* Queen of Sweden. In that bas-relief there are several representations of the *pedum* exactly corresponding with the description given of the *augural staff* by *Aulus Gellius*. Accordingly the author (*Montfaucon*) has the following observation: "*intersunt et Satyri, quorum unus duplici ludit tibia, alter pelle præcinctus, baculum tenet recurvum more litui aut virgæ auguralis.*" *Ibid. p. 194.*

partly explain the cause. Things remain, at this day, with shepherds, pretty much as they were three thousand years ago. Although not absolutely soothsayers, yet shepherds are always augurs. They watch the flight of birds, and thence deduce the changes of weather; they observe the motions of the planetary bodies; and, as of old time, quarter the heavens with their staff, and gather omens on the right hand and on the left.

Having thus determined an obvious distinction between the two symbols, the *Regal*, or as Virgil calls it the *Quirinal Lituus*, and the *pedum*, or the *Augural Lituus*, perhaps the most interesting part of the subject remains; namely, the great antiquity of the former symbol, and the veneration in which it was held from the first ages of the world.

That the *Quirinal Lituus*, (which for perspicuity sake I have called the tendril-shaped symbol) ought to have been considered as a distinctive mark of supreme *pontifical* and therefore of *regal* dignity, has been already shewn; and especially in the observations of the old scholiasts, before cited. This did not escape the notice of a writer in the beginning of the last century, whose copious erudition placed him at the head of authors who have illustrated subjects of classical antiquity; but being unable to point out a difference of form between the two *Litui*, he considered both as being indicated by the same figure. In his chapter upon *regal insignia* he has the following remarkable passage:<sup>a</sup> “*Romanis vero regibus, lituus cuspidē incurva, quī etiam virga auguralis, sceptri loco est habitus.*” No doubt can possibly remain any longer upon this part of the subject; neither would it be disputed that the original archetype of this curious symbol was an aquatic plant, if the limits of this dissertation would allow the insertion of all the arguments necessary to establish this truth.<sup>b</sup> Possibly therefore it had reference in its origin to the fertility caused by the annual inundation of the waters of the Nile. *Kircher*, from

<sup>a</sup> Alexandri ab Alexandro, *Geniales Dies*, lib. 1. cap. 28. tom. 1. p. 225. L. Bat. 1673.

<sup>b</sup> See, however, a few observations in the Preface before cited, Clarke's *Trav.* sect. 3. part. 2. Lond. 1816.

*Theophrastus*, considers it as a kind of *reed*,<sup>a</sup> which agrees with this opinion; and *Kircher* also explains its hieroglyphical import, as symbolical of power and dominion.<sup>b</sup> Yet this learned writer does not seem to have been aware how many passages in the sacred Scriptures, confirming his opinion, become beautifully illustrated by a knowledge of this use and application of *the reed*, as an ensign of regal power. “THOU TRUSTEST IN THE STAFF OF THIS BRUISED REED, EVEN UPON EGYPT,” said the messenger of the King of Assyria, to the household of *Hezekiah*; <sup>c</sup> and upon this passage *Stackhouse* has observed—“*it has been supposed that the Assyrian orator alludes to the canes or reeds which grow on the banks of the Nile, which, if it be a just idea,*” he adds, “*gives great beauty to the similitude.*” But how much greater beauty, and what a deeper interest, is given to the passage, when we know that under the similitude of *a reed* is here expressed, most faithfully, that emblem, which, to all who heard the message, was the well known mark of the Egyptian *sovereignty*! When the soldiers of *Pontius Pilate*, having stripped our Saviour, proceeded to invest him with the mock insignia of royalty, it is recorded by *St. Matthew*, that they put “A REED IN HIS RIGHT HAND,” and, having so done, they “BOWED THE KNEE BEFORE HIM, SAYING, HAIL, KING OF THE JEWS!” Not that it is intended to maintain that the *κάλαμος* or *reed*, here mentioned by *St. Matthew*, was necessarily curved; on the contrary, there are good reasons for believing that it was straight; since the same word *κάλαμος* is used to express *the reed* on which the sponge was conveyed to our Lord upon the cross. *Philo*, describing the Alexandrians as mocking *Agrippa*,

<sup>a</sup> “Baculus incurvus, vel *lituus*. Ubi notandum esse in Egypto, uti Theophrastus docet, certum quoddam arundinis genus, quod et ob levitatem modò loco baculi superiùs artificiosè incurvati, modo ob concavitatem emedullatam loco litui in sacris usurpabant.” *Kircher, Ædip. Ægyptiac.* tom. 3. p. 173. Rom. 1655.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>c</sup> II. *Kings*, ch. xviii. 21. So also in *Isaiah*, ch. xxxvi. 6. and *Ezekiel*, ch. xxix. 6. Abp. Newcome and Bishop Lowth explain the passages simply by reference to the canes and reeds that grow upon the banks of the Nile.

by investing a madman, named *Carabas*, with the ensigns of royalty, says that they put into his hand for a sceptre<sup>a</sup> “a short cutting of *Papyrus* which happened to be lying in the road;” and this *Bynæus* aptly compares with *the reed* put into our Saviour’s hand. This straight kind of sceptre was a military staff, or *bâton* of command; as distinguished from the curved ensign of pontifical dignity: hence we see the reason why upon the *Augustan* and *Tiberian* gems, those emperors are represented bearing both sceptres, one in either hand;<sup>b</sup> neither of which, however, were *augural* ensigns. The βασιλικὴ ῥάβδος of the Greeks, and the *sceptrum regale* of the Romans,<sup>c</sup> when they had the lance-form, were symbols of military dominion; as the tendril-formed Σκῆπτρον was, of the highest pontifical dignity.

The original signification of the word Σκῆπτρον, according to *Parkhurst*, is derived from a Hebrew root,<sup>d</sup> which denotes “a longish rod, or staff.” From this root *Parkhurst* derives the Greek σκῆπτω, “to lean upon;” whence σκῆπτρον. And *Rosenmüller*, on ISAIAH, says that the Hebrew root, referred to by *Parkhurst*, corresponds with the σκῆπτρον of *Homer*. There is a custom, universally prevalent among

<sup>a</sup> Βραχὺ τι παπύρου τμημα τῆς ἐγχωρίου καθ’ ὁδὸν ἐρρίμενον. *Homer* describes the antient sceptres as branches of trees with the bark and knots taken off. *Jupiter’s* sceptre is described by *Aristophanes* as surmounted by an eagle; and he says that the sceptre of all the antient Greek kings was of the same kind. (*Ar.* 508.) *Priam* was introduced on the stage bearing such a sceptre. (*Conf. Pindar. Pyth.* 1. 10.) *Pausanias* (*Boæot.* c. 40.) speaks of an antient sceptre of *Chæronea*, which the inhabitants believed to be the one which *Vulcan* made for *Jupiter*: this they held in great reverence, and called it δορυ, a lance. *Herodotus* I. 195. de *Babyloniis*. Σφηγιδα δ’ ἑκάστος ἔχει. και σκῆπτρον (a staff) χειροποίητον. ἐπ’ ἐκάστωι δεσκήπτρωι ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον, ἢ ῥόδον, ἢ κρίνον, ἢ αἰετος, ἢ ἄλλο τι. ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμων οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκῆπτρον. Where *Larcher* remarks that this kind of sceptre was used both by the *Asiatic* and *Greek* kings. The Σκηπτοῦχοι of the *Persians* answered to our *Field Marshals*, and carried a *Bâton*. *Æschylus* calls a magistrate Παβδοῦχος, a staff or truncheon-bearer.

<sup>b</sup> See Pl. XXXVII. fig. 3. Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 10.

<sup>c</sup> The *Sceptrum Augusti* says *Facciolati*, “non est *sceptrum regale*: sed *hasta imperatoria*, vel *scipio eburneus*, cum aquila, qualem triumphantes gestabant, &c.

<sup>d</sup> This Hebrew word שָׁבַט, occurs in *Gen.* xlix. 10. *Numb.* xxiv. 17. *Exod.* xxi. 20. *Isaiah* x. 15. xxviii. 27. *Mic.* iv. 14. Also in *Ps.* xiv. 7. *Isa.* xiv. 5. *Ezek.* xi. 11. where it denotes the sceptre of authority.

Eastern nations, which, while it serves to confirm *Parkhurst* in his etymology of the word *sceptre*, at the same time illustrates what he has affirmed, in a manner of which he was not aware. The Eastern princes, when seated upon their couches, support their bodies by leaning upon a short staff, shaped like a crutch; and this short staff, being put into the hands of any of their agents, or ministers, invests the person, by whom it is borne, with sovereign power. In this manner *Djezzar Pasha*, of *Acre*, conferred upon *Sir Sidney Smith* the means of acting as the Pasha's representative;<sup>a</sup> and when we read in Scripture<sup>b</sup> that "JACOB, WHEN HE WAS DYING, BLESSED BOTH THE SONS OF JOSEPH, AND WORSHIPPED, LEANING UPON THE TOP OF HIS STAFF," this peculiar kind of crutch, the βασιλική ραβδος, or *sceptre*, is alluded to. With regard to the origin of the *tendril-shaped symbol*, as opposed to the *straight sceptre*, it may have represented a part of the plant from which sceptres were made. It has been already compared to the tendril of a *vine*; and it is worthy of remark that in *Ezekiel*<sup>c</sup> we read: "THY MOTHER IS LIKE A VINE—SHE WAS FRUITFUL AND FULL OF BRANCHES—AND SHE HAD RODS OF STRENGTH FOR THE SCEPTRES OF THEM THAT BEAR RULE."

<sup>a</sup> *Djezzar's crutch*, or Σκῆπτρον, is accordingly introduced into the portrait of *Sir Sidney Smith*, as it was worn by him, during the siege of *Acre*, suspended by a cord about his neck. *Sir Sidney* used this ensign of the power vested in him by *Djezzar* to encourage the Pacha's troops to descend with him into the breach. (See the engraving by *Anthony Cardon*). It is a very curious modern relique of the *staff* mentioned in *Hebrews* xi. 21. a passage that can only be understood by reference to the eastern custom among men of rank of leaning upon a short crutch, or staff, when seated on a couch. Those crutches are sometimes highly ornamented and inlaid with gems and mother of pearl.

<sup>b</sup> *Hebrews* xi. 21.

<sup>c</sup> *Ezekiel* xix. 10, 11. See also v. 14. Other passages in *Ezekiel* seem to imply that under this *image of the vine* is intended the plant whence the *tendril-shaped symbol* was borrowed. Upon the Greek *terra-cotta* vases it is represented as connected with *water* and with *aquatic birds*; and in the 17th Ch. of *Ezekiel*, v. 8. it is said to be planted "by great waters," and that its "branches turned toward the great eagle, which came to *Lebanon*." In *Ezekiel* xix. 10. it is described as "fruitful and full of branches, for sceptres, by reason of many waters"—but when planted "in a dry and thirsty ground, as having no rod of strength (see v. 14.) to be a sceptre to rule."

This distinction being made, between the two kinds of sceptre represented as being in the hands of one and the same sovereign, in the two instances of the deified emperors *Augustus*<sup>a</sup> and *Tiberius*,<sup>b</sup> and also the manner of their appearance as generally figured in antient sculpture and painting, we may rest satisfied with the presence of that which has been so commonly called the *augural Lituus*, (and which perhaps was truly the *Quirinal Lituus*, alluded to by *Virgil*)<sup>c</sup> without falling into the old erroneous notion of its absolute reference to the Roman *Augurate*. It appears upon the oldest silver medals of *Greece*, struck in ages long before the existence of any Roman *augur*; and anterior even to the foundation of Rome. A medal of this description was lately brought to this country from Athens.<sup>d</sup> It exhibits on one side within an indented square, a head of *Pallas*, similar to what is seen on the oldest medals of *Corinth*, and bearing, in the disposition of the hair below the helmet of the goddess, the character of a very remote antiquity. Behind the helmet, and also within the indented square, is the *tendril-shaped Lituus*;<sup>e</sup> as behind the head of *Rome* in a coin of the *Servilian* family engraved for the work of *Vaillant*.<sup>f</sup> And this is evidently the reverse of the medal. In front it exhibits the bifronted head of a young person, and it is without any legend or monogram.<sup>g</sup> Nothing therefore that it represents can have any allusion to the Roman *Augurate*. In this instance the figure of the *Lituus* exhibits the same sort of ramification which was before alluded to as decisive of its being intended for the scion of some plant,<sup>h</sup> and as it appears upon some of the gems and medals with the effigy of *Julius*

<sup>a</sup> See Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 10.

<sup>b</sup> See Pl. XXXVII. fig. 3.

<sup>c</sup> *Æneid*. Lib. 7. V. 187.

<sup>d</sup> By the Rev. W<sup>m</sup> Jones, M. A. of St. John's College, Cambridge.

<sup>e</sup> See Pl. XXXIX. fig. 15.

<sup>f</sup> See Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 11. Also *Vaillant*. *Nummi Antiqui Famil. Romanar. &c.* Vol. 2. Amst. 1703. Tab. 130. fig. 15.

<sup>g</sup> It is probably a coin of one of the Corinthian colonies.

<sup>h</sup> See Pl. XXXIX. fig. 15.

*Cæsar*.<sup>a</sup> When, after the death of *Julius*, a bronze statute of the dictator was erected in the Temple of Venus by *Augustus*, having the star over his head (whereby, as it was supposed, his deification had been miraculously attested) and the inscription *DIVO JULIO*; it being the intention of *Augustus* to render divine honours to his adoptive father, and to exhibit his image as a god; can it be admitted, for an instant, that he would represent him as an *augur*? Yet in this instance, (one of the best authenticated as to its history perhaps of any event represented upon the whole series of the Roman coinage) the effigy of the divine *Julius* appears bearing in his right hand the *Quirinal Lituus* as the symbol of his consecration and apotheosis.<sup>b</sup> In like manner the *Flamen*, being the representative of *NUMA*, is also figured as the great high priest and *king* presiding over the sacrifice, with this *regal* and pontifical *ensign* in his hand.<sup>c</sup> But such was the universality of the notion of its being the *Lituus auguralis*, and such the pertinacity with which it has been adhered to, that sooner than abandon this opinion, the most learned authors who have written upon the Roman hierarchy, seeing that a medal of *Augustus*, with an equestrian image of the emperor, exhibits the *Quirinal Lituus* in his right hand, gravely describe the representation, as being that of an *Augur on horseback*.<sup>d</sup>—From all which it is manifest, how, by the mere weight of authority, unsupported by evidence, the most untenable notions may prevail.

We may now proceed to the consideration of a very curious

<sup>a</sup> See Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 7. Also Mariette, *Traité des Pierres Gravées*, tome 2. pl. 41. Paris, 1750. And Millin, *Galerie Mythologique*, tome 2. pl. 137. fig. 501. from the engravings of *Tichbein*.

<sup>b</sup> See Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 6. from the medals of *AUGUSTUS*. *Morellii Thesaurus*, &c. Tab. 14. fig. 14. tom. 3. *Goltzius*, &c.

<sup>c</sup> See Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 9. from *Gutherius. de Veter. Jus. Pontif. Lib. 1. apud Græv. Thesaur. Antiq. Rom. tom. 5. p. 59. L. Bat. 1695.* See also the medal of *Augustus* figured in p. 129. of the same work, with the legend *SALUS GENERIS HUMANI*.

<sup>d</sup> Pl. XXXVIII. fig. 13. “*Augurem equo insidentem visum est.*” Vide *Gutherium de veteri jure Pontificis urbis Romæ*, apud *Grævium in Thesaur. Antiquit. Romanar. Tom. 5. p. 62. L. Bat. 1696.*

ancient signet, which, as it gave rise to the preceding observations, must perhaps depend, for all that can be offered in its illustration upon the facts which have been here stated. It was recently discovered in *Cambridge* under circumstances rather of a remarkable nature. An impression made with this signet had been brought to the author for examination; which led to his obtaining possession of the original. He found it to be an *Intaglia*, executed in a very singular variety of *jasper*, of the hardest kind he had ever seen; striped reddish and yellowish brown; not unlike the *hydrate of Silica* found in India, which goes by the name of petrified tamarind tree. Such is its extraordinary durability, that during twenty years, in all which time it had been worn as a seal, its polished surface had not been rased or altered; neither can it be cut by any substance softer than sapphire. This *Intaglia* exhibits five symbols,<sup>a</sup> and two letters, V. A. which letters, being reversed, appear, when an impression is made with the signet,<sup>b</sup> as A. V. Owing perhaps to the inexplicable nature of the symbols and the superscription, this signet had twice been possessed by free-masons; although there be nothing masonic in the signs; neither could they afford any explanation of their meaning. To any classical antiquary their meaning must be obvious; as they are evidently the symbols used upon the medals, gems, and marbles, of the Romans, to denote the different branches of the pontificate. But there is something interesting in the representation, because, as it does not exactly correspond with any combined series of those symbols, simultaneously figured upon any known work, and yet withstands the test of a search into the works of the ancients for authorities, as to the signs represented, so it will hence be evident that the signet itself has internal evidence of its being a genuine work of antiquity, independently of the other proofs, which a mere view of the stone may afford; the chances being indefinitely great against the possibility of such coincidences, where the workmanship is by a modern

<sup>a</sup> See Pl. XL. fig. 19.

<sup>b</sup> See Pl. XL. fig. 20.

hand. Perhaps this will appear plainer in the sequel. The symbols, as it was said, are five in number,<sup>a</sup> namely,<sup>b</sup>

1. The *Præfericulum*,<sup>c</sup> in the centre of the signet.
2. The *Patera*, on the left, over which is the letter A.
3. The *Quirinal*, or *tendrill-shaped Lituus*, on the right, to the right of which is the letter V.
4. The *Secespita* above the *Præfericulum*, as distinguished from the common *Culter*, for the larger victims. See *Festus*,<sup>d</sup> *Montfaucon*,<sup>e</sup> &c. also the reverse of a medal of the *Sulpicia* family,<sup>f</sup> where this form of knife appears together with the usual sacrificial symbols, the *Simpulum*, and the *Securis*.
5. The *Pedum* below the *Præfericulum*, exactly as it is represented in two instances in the work of *Mariette*, *Pierres Gravées du Cabinet du Roy*,<sup>g</sup> being a knotted *Shepherd's crook*, and therefore the symbol of a sacrifice to *Bacchus*; with whose attributes it is figured in the gems engraved for *Mariette's* work, from the French King's cabinet.

<sup>a</sup> See Pl. XL. fig. 19-21, shewing the size of the stone, and the manner in which the symbols are there placed.

<sup>b</sup> See Pl. XL. fig. 20, for their appearance after an impression is made, and the order in which they are here described. Fig. 21. shews the setting.

<sup>c</sup> *Festus* describes the *Præfericulum* as an open vessel, without a handle; but *Montfaucon* refutes this passage of *Festus*.

<sup>d</sup> *Festus* says the *Secespita* was a knife with an oblong blade and round haft, which the *Flamines*, *Flaminic virgins*, and *Pontiffs*, made use of in their sacrifices.

<sup>e</sup> *Antiq. Expliq.* tome 2, part 1, p. 148. See also *Guther. apud Græv. Thesaur. tom. 5, p. 222.*

<sup>f</sup> *Vaillant Numm. Antiq, Famil. Romanar. &c. pl. 135, fig. 10, vol. 2. Amst. 1703.* *Vaillant*, however, gives to this knife the common name of *Culter*, and bestows that of *Secespita* upon the axe. His words are, "*Culter, Simpulum, et Secespita.*" *Ibid.* p. 448.—*Winkelmann, Histoire de l'Art, &c. tom. 1, pl. 19,* shews this form of knife as used for sacrifice. So also *Montfaucon* from *Maffei*, t. 2, part 1, pl. 76, p. 179. Paris, 1719.

<sup>g</sup> See Pl. 49, and Pl. 72; the first executed upon an *Amethyst*, the second upon the stone which the French call *Prime d'Emeraude.* Tome 2. Paris, 1750.

Having these premises, there is light enough afforded to proceed in the developement of this curious signet. And first, as to the letters A. V. These, according to *Sertorius Ursatus*, are used to signify the name of AUGUSTUS, which is thus expressed upon the coins of *Nero*.<sup>a</sup> And, without these letters, there is testimony afforded in the symbols themselves, which would refer this signet to *Augustus*; because they are the symbols which appear upon his medals. It is also from the conjoined symbols, according to *Vaillant*, the signet of one who was *Pontifex Maximus*,<sup>b</sup> which, after the subversion of the Roman republic, was always held by the emperors. This again is testified by the *Quirinal Lituus*; the presence of which symbol, added to the observations of *Vaillant*, prove that the letters A. V. cannot signify *Augur*;<sup>c</sup> a name, moreover, commonly, if not always, when abbreviated, expressed by the three letters A V G. And here the inquiry may terminate: the simple fact, that a series of sacrificial symbols, thus conjoined, is decisive as to its having belonged to a *Pontifex Maximus*, (as testified by *Vaillant*) also establishes the truth of its being an *Imperial Signet*; and if the authority of *Sertorius Ursatus* may be relied upon, that the letters A. V. signify the name of AUGUSTUS, we can be at no loss in determining to what *Pontifex Maximus* it ought to be ascribed. In the mean time the introduction of the *Secespita*, instead of the more usual form of *Culter*, and of the knotted *Pedum*, both of these being, at the same time, warranted in their application by

<sup>a</sup> “ In nummis æreis Neronis.” *Sertorius Ursatus, de notis Romanorum, &c. p. 37. Patav. 1672.*

<sup>b</sup> Hæc quidem singulatim accepta, Singulorum Sacerdotium exhibent; simul verò sumpta, dignitates in Pontifice Maximo conjunctas esse demonstrant. *Vaillant, in August. vol. 1, p. 69. Paris, 1688.*

<sup>c</sup> Although *Augustus* had this title. Upon the reverse of one of his medals we read AUGURI PONTIFICI MAXIMO IMPERATORI XI PATRI PATRIÆ.

the most undoubted authorities,<sup>a</sup> carries with it a plea for the authenticity of this Gem, which, in the examination of works of this nature, it is not always easy to obtain.

EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE.

Cambridge, Sept. 15, 1820.

<sup>a</sup> For the *knotted Pedum*, reference has been already made to the engravings taken from gems in the royal cabinet of France. The most striking representation of the sort of knife, or dagger, seen upon this signet, as actually used for cutting the throats of sacrificial victims, is that of Millin, *Pierres gravées, inéd.* Also *Galerie Mythologique, tom. 2, pl. 138, fig. 505.* Paris, 1811. But there are others, which have been before cited.

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

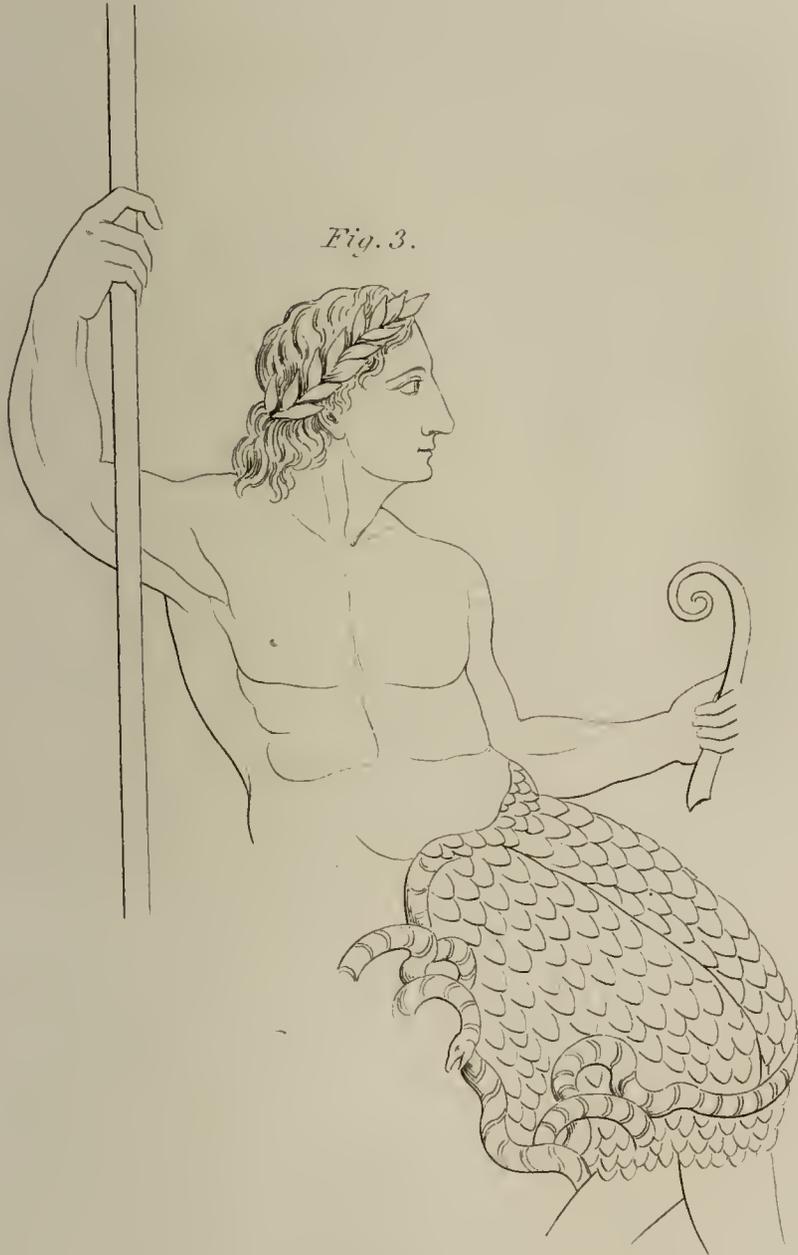


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

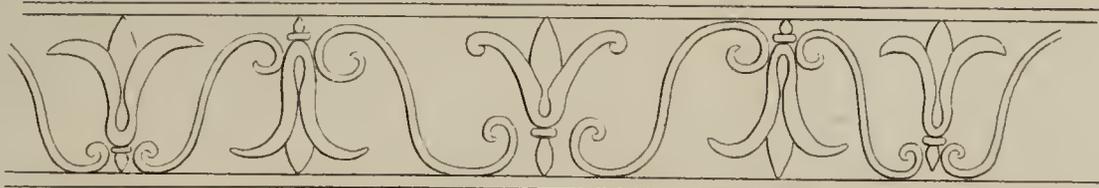




Fig. 6.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.



Fig. 14.





Fig. 15.



Fig. 18.

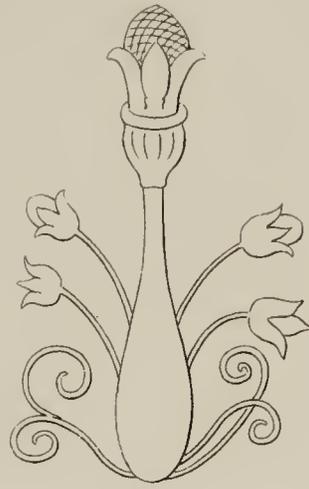


Fig. 16.

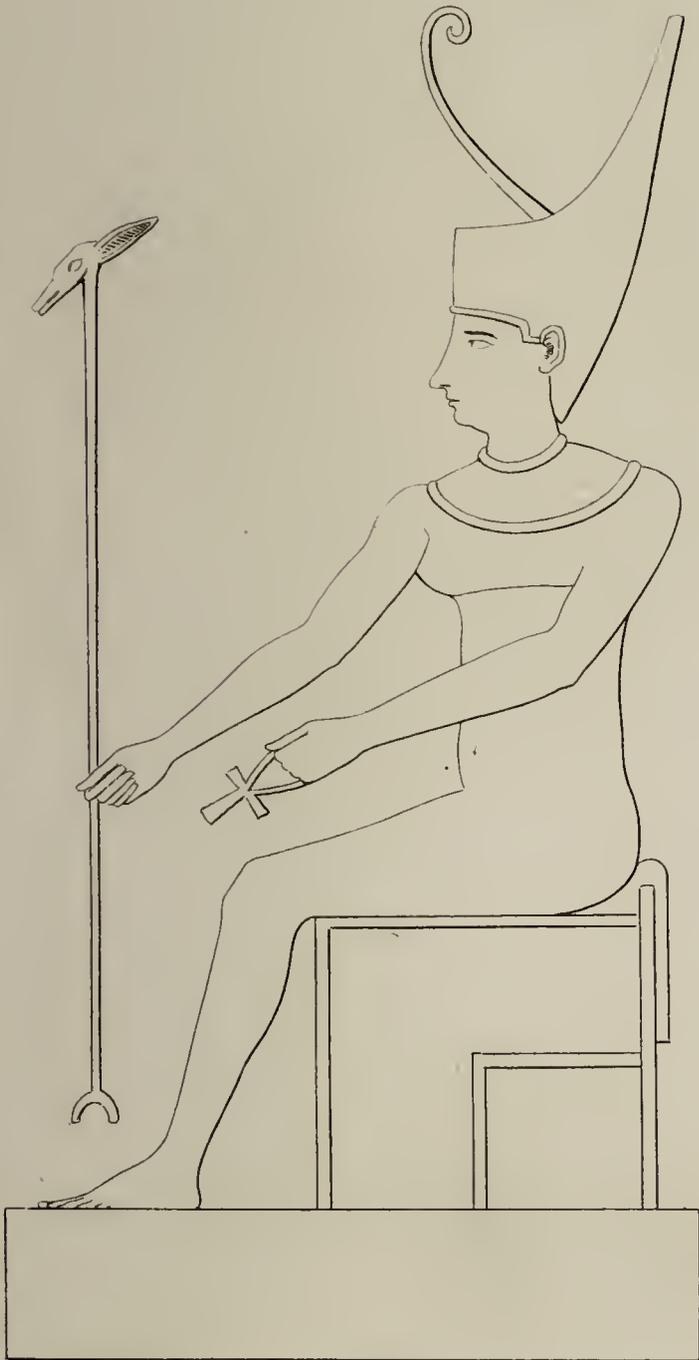


Fig. 17.





Fig. 19.



Fig. 21.

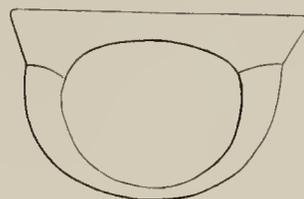
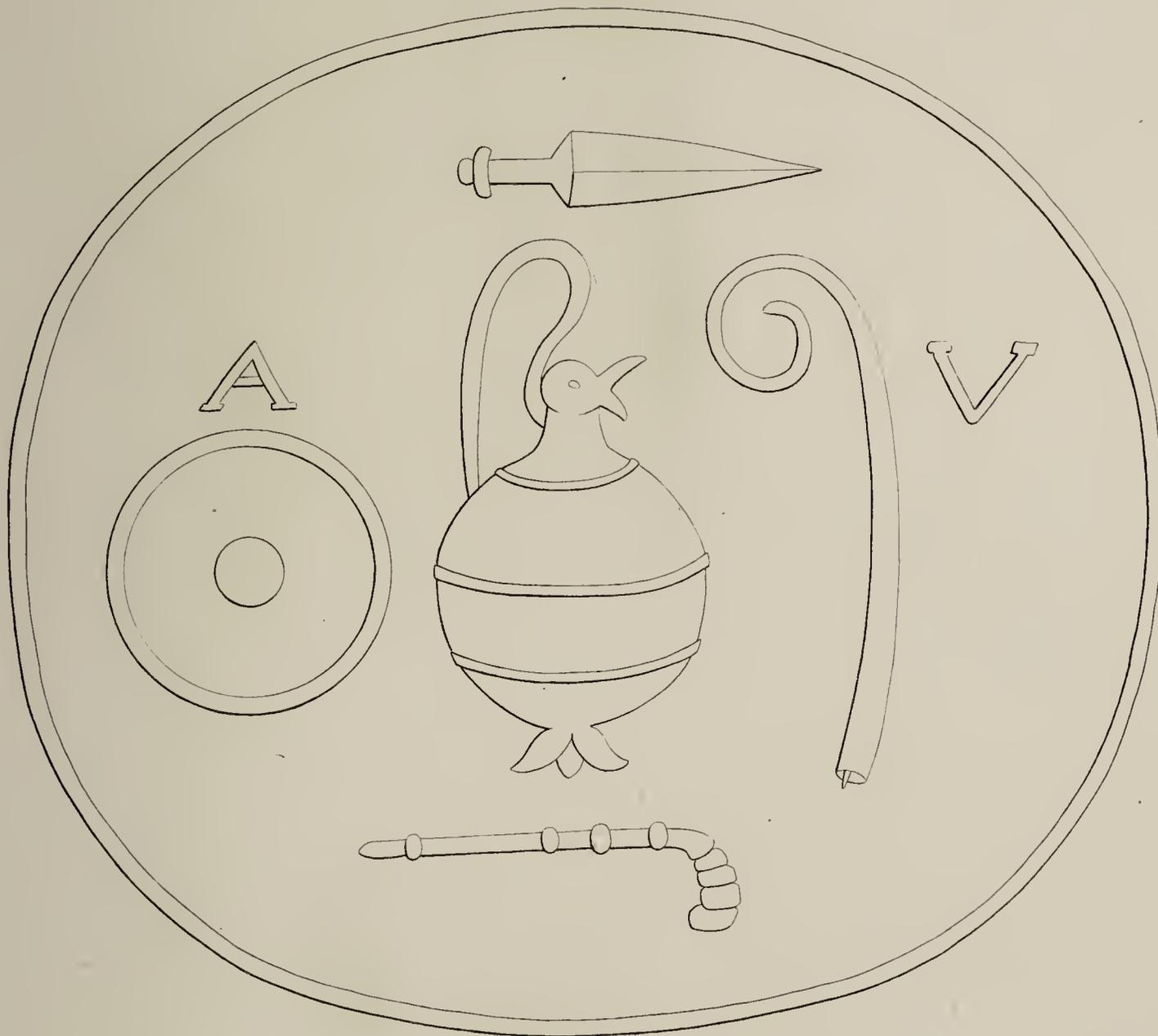


Fig. 20.





**A P P E N D I X.**

A B L E N D I N

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A COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY  
OF  
ANTIQUARIES,

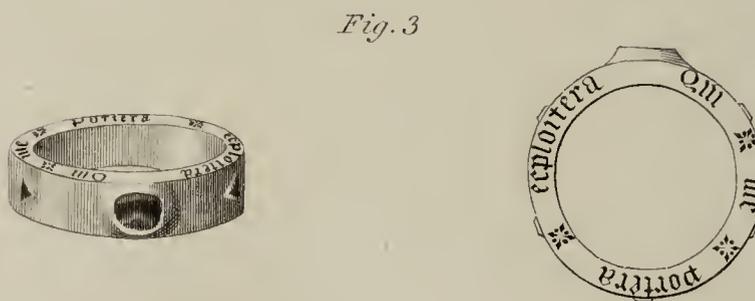
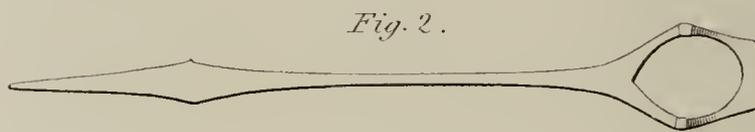
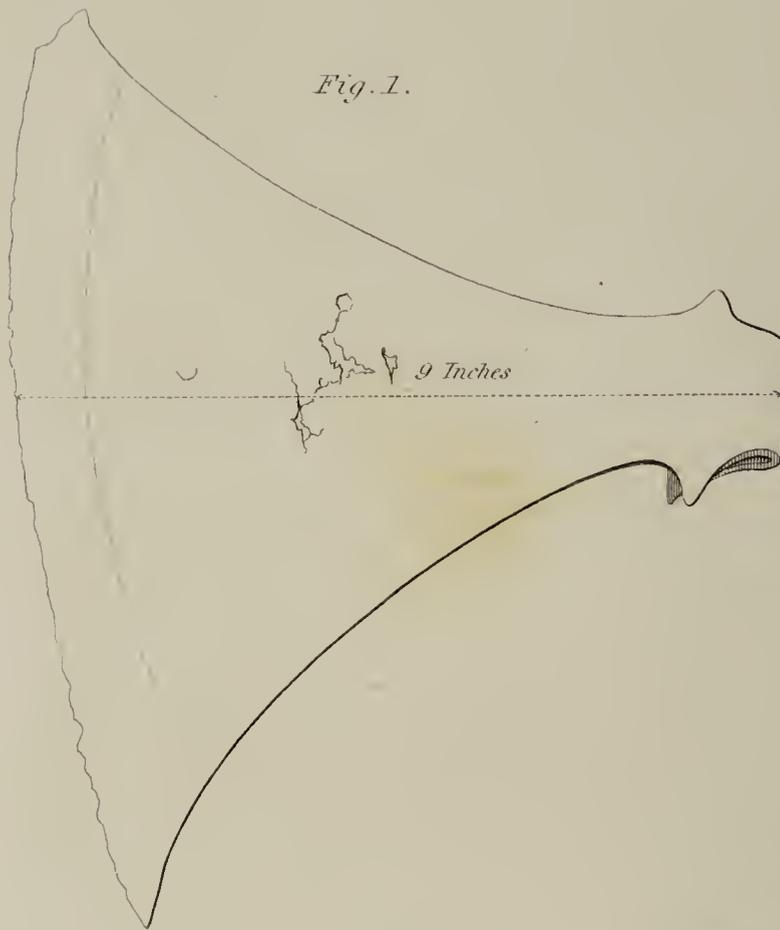
DECEMBER 15, 1776,

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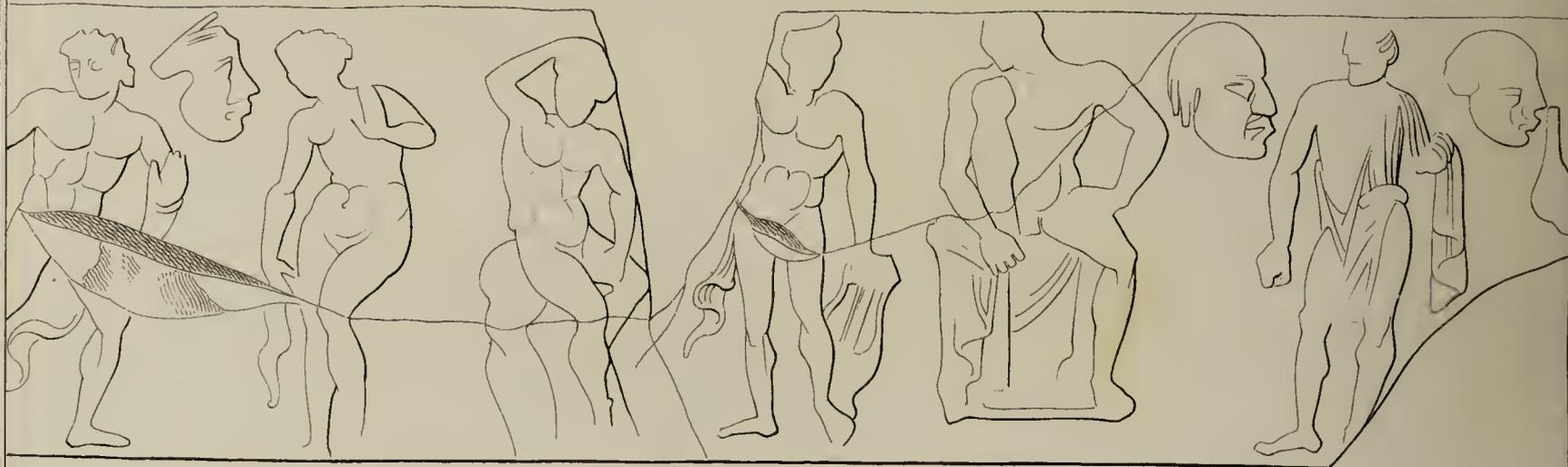
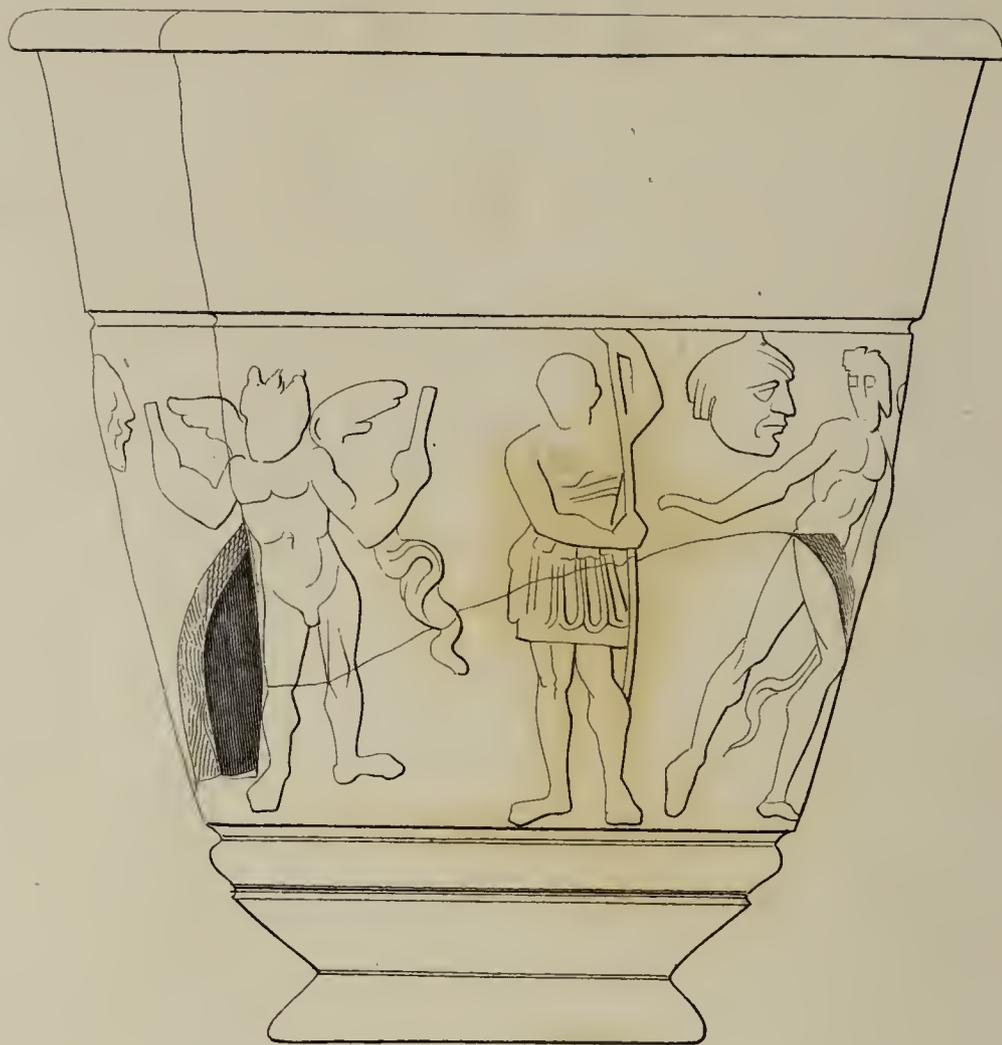






Et ✻ a ✻ grant ✻ iove ✻ renendra





*Roman Urn found at Cambridge.*

## A P P E N D I X.

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February 12, 1818. The Right Honourable Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. exhibited to the Society an iron Axe, accompanied with the following description by Taylor Combe, Esq. Director :

“ It was found in the year 1815, in the bed of  
“ the river Witham, near Horsley Deep, in Lincoln-  
“ shire, where a great number of Roman antiquities  
“ have at different times been discovered. This Axe,  
“ if the material of which it is made be considered, is  
“ exceedingly well preserved,—but it is more parti-  
“ cularly remarkable for the great length of the cut-  
“ ting edge, and the extraordinary thinness of the  
“ metal.” [See Pl. XLI. Fig. 1, 2.]

May 7, 1818. The Rev. R. Nixon, F. S. A., exhibited to the Society a Roman fictile Vase, discovered in the year 1803, when the workmen were digging the foundation for a new County Gaol at Cambridge. [Pl. XLII.] The form of the vase is elegant, and the figures with which it is surrounded are executed with much spirit, and are certainly not the performance of an unskilful artist.

March 1, 1819. John Barnard, jun. Esq. in a Letter, dated Harlow, Essex, March 1, 1819, addressed to Nicholas Carlisle, Esq. Secretary, communicated to the Society the following observations relative to a supposed Roman Station at that place:

“ From the very limited knowledge we possess of the situation of many Roman stations enumerated in Antoninus’s Itinerary, perhaps no discovery of Roman antiquities should be deemed uninteresting.

## APPENDIX.

About twenty three miles from London, near the little market town of Harlow in Essex, Roman antiquities are often found. Among these I have seen a small bronze head, (supposed of Silenus) a brass pin and broach, many fragments of pateræ, a piece of brass about two inches long, (one end of which represents an animal's head) and a great number of Roman coins, chiefly of emperors from the first Claudius to Valentinian, with a few British coins of Cunobeline. The exterior of one of the pateræ, which was discovered at the depth of about eight or ten feet, was ornamented with figures representing a Cock and a Triton alternately.

There is a field called Standing Groves, situated a mile South of this town, near the river Stort, of an oval form, rising gradually all round to the centre, about twenty feet high. In digging into this hill, a few years since, the workmen discovered some very strong walls, which they were not able to penetrate.

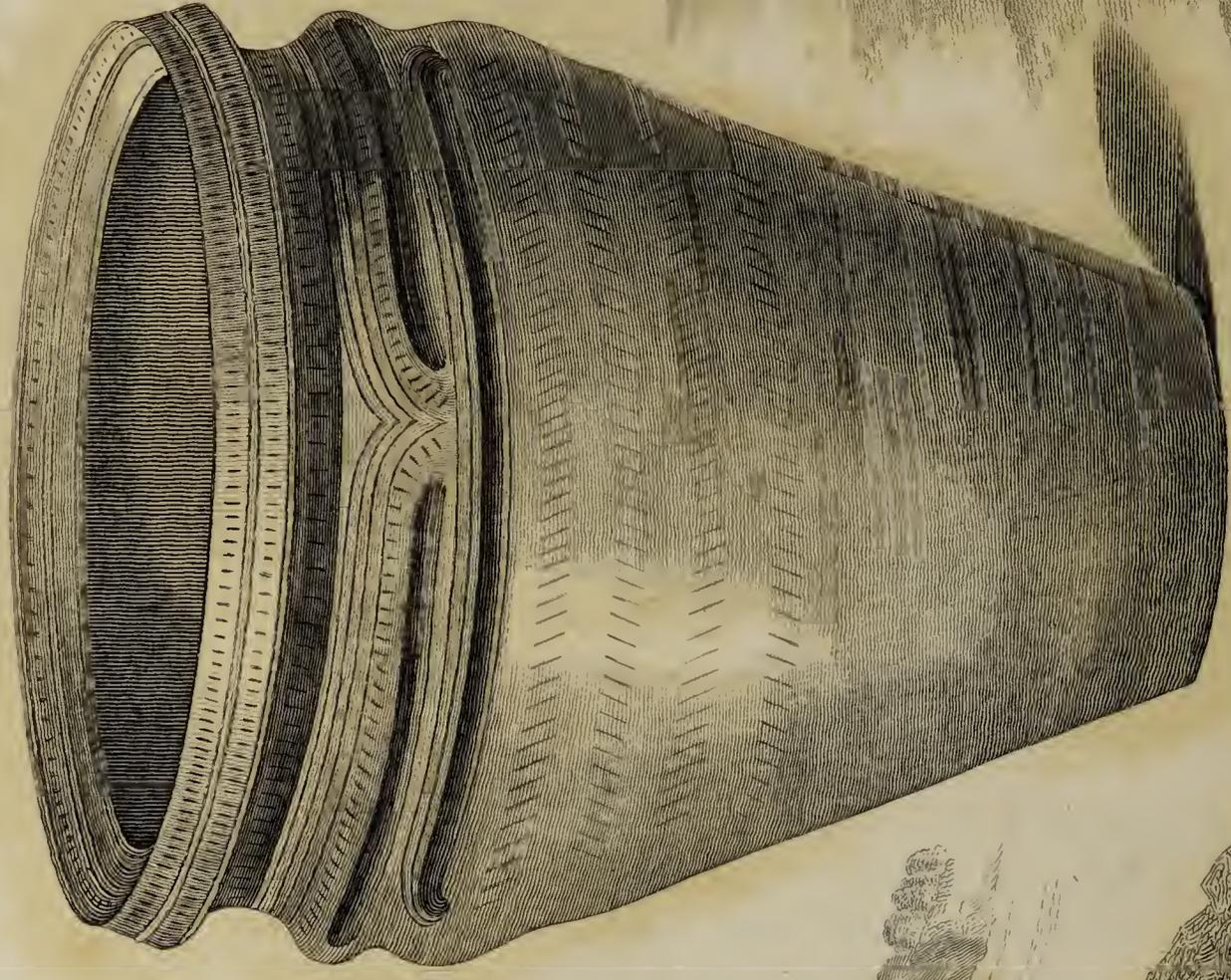
Foundations of walls, evidently Roman, have also been found in some fields about a mile to the North East, and a stone coffin and fragments of pateræ about three quarters of a mile farther in the same direction.

This station, for such I think I may call it, has not been noticed by any topographical writer. It was probably one of those which the Romans formed soon after their arrival in the time of Claudius, to defend the Trinobantes of Essex against the Cateuchlani who inhabited Hertfordshire, the Stort, near which it is situated, separating the two counties.

What renders my conjecture more plausible than it might otherwise seem, is, that we can trace stations



Urn found in a Cairn at Craikraig



of the same kind up the Essex side of this river for nine or ten miles. There is this at Harlow; another at Hallingbury, about four miles distant; another at Bishop's Stortford, three miles from thence; and a fourth at Stansted Mountfichet, two miles and a half farther."

April 1, 1819. William Daniell, Esq. presented to the Society a drawing of an Urn, found in a Pictish Cairn, at Crakraig, in the county of Sutherland, North Britain, on the farm of Major Clunes, in the spring of 1818. Its dimensions are

Height  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

Superior diameter  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

The material is clay, and the colour yellowish grey: when found it lay in an obliquely inclined position, and on the lower side, near the bottom, there were indications of a liquid, which had apparently lodged so long as to produce an indelible stain on the substance of the vessel.

The drawing of the Urn was accompanied by a sketch of the country, including the two cairns, from one of which the Urn was taken. [See Pl. XLIII.] The cairns are distant not more than two miles from the sea, and near the great parliamentary road leading through the Eastern side of Sutherlandshire.

December 23, 1819. Taylor Combe, Esq. Director, exhibited to the Society a gold Ring [Pl. XLI. Fig. 3.] found a short time ago in the ruins of the palace at Eltham, in Kent. The ring is the property of Shaw Brooke, Esq. of that place; it weighs  $267\frac{1}{10}$  grains, and is set with an oriental ruby and five diamonds, placed at equal distances round the exterior. The interior of the ring is plain, but on the side edges is the following inscription of two lines:

## APPENDIX.

Qui me portera eexploitera  
Et a grant Joye revendra.

*Who wears me shall perform exploits,  
And with great Joy shall return.*

From these lines it is evident that the ring has been worn as an Amulet, and it is perhaps not a very improbable conjecture that it may have been presented to some distinguished personage when he was on the point of setting out for the Holy Land, in the time of the Crusade. The antiquity of the palace at Eltham will very well warrant this supposition.

The inscription is in small Gothic letters, but remarkably well formed and legible. The shape of the ruby, which is the principal stone, is an irregular oval, while the diamonds are all of a triangular form, and in their native crystallized state.

April 1, 1820. Thomas Pitt, Esq. presented to the Society a number of clay moulds for Roman coins, with the following particulars of their discovery :

“ Enclosed herewith you will receive a number of clay moulds for Roman coins, found in March 1820, at Lingwell Gate, adjoining the Wakefield Outwood, near the town of Wakefield, in Yorkshire, in a field in the occupation of Mr. Matthew Spurr. This field is situated in the township of Lofthouse cum Carlton, and about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile from that place, on the Outwood, where a large quantity of Roman copper coins were found in 1812. See an Extract of my Letter to the Society, published in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. XVII. page 333, to which I may now add, that there were upwards of forty pounds weight of the coins found at that time.

I presume these to be the same kind of moulds as

are described in Gough's edition of Camden's Britannia, Vol. III. page 40. It is there said, that "between Wakefield Outwood and Thorp on the Hill, at Lingwell Gate, were found, 1697, certain clay moulds for Roman coins, all of such emperors in whose reigns the money is known to have been counterfeited. This place may take its name from the Lingones quartered at *Olicana*, Ilkley, and *Wall*, a corruption of vallum, and they might have encamped on Thorp on the Hill."

Mr. Spurr informs me that large quantities of these moulds have, at various times, been turned up by the plough, but that till lately they have not been considered of any value.

The coin sent herewith was found between two of the moulds."

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