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PROPOSED SCHEME OF AMALGAMATION.

As it is generally known amongst the members of the Royal Archæological Institute that negotiations have taken place with the Council of the British Archæological Association with a view to the union of the two Societies, the Council of the Institute wishes to inform the members that the cause of the failure of the negotiations was the demand of the delegates of the Association to retain in the united Society the offices which they now hold in the Association.

The following is the scheme for the union of the Societies proposed by the delegates of the Institute:—

1. That each Society elect the members of the other to its own membership, so that the continuity of both may be preserved.

2. That a name shall be chosen which shall be accepted by each Society.

3. That both Societies summon a meeting of their members, at the same time and at the same place.

4. That all officers and the Councils of both Societies resign.

5. That the meeting do elect a President for the united Society.

6. That the President do there and then receive nominations for membership of the Council from any who wish to make them (no member to nominate more than six candidates), after which that meeting to adjourn to such time and place as the President may appoint.

7. That alphabetical lists of the candidates for the Council be printed, and that they be used as voting papers at the adjourned meeting.

8. That in voting, each member present shall put marks on the voting paper opposite the names of not more than twenty candidates for whom he wishes to vote, and the twenty candidates who receive the highest number of votes shall form the Council of the Society. Any paper upon which more than twenty votes are marked shall be void, and only one vote shall be given to each candidate.

9. That the Council so elected shall arrange all details for the working of the Society, and shall nominate Vice-Presidents and other officers for the first year.

Publications.

10. That the publication of the present Series of the *Journal* of the Institute cease with the current volume (50th), and that the 50th volume of the *Journal* of the Association be the publication of the Society for the year 1894 ; after which a New Series shall be begun, with such title as the Council shall think fit.

11. That, as the funds of the Society permit, indexes be issued to the 50 volumes of the *Journal* of the Institute, and to the 50 volumes of the *Journal* of the Association.

Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1893.

SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST IN ART, LEGEND, AND RITUAL.[1]

By J. L. ANDRÉ, F.S.A.

Many circumstances have contributed to make S. John the Baptist one of the most prominent saints honoured in the early and mediæval periods of Christianity. The marvellous incidents attending his birth, his life as one of the three perpetual Nazarites mentioned in scripture, the dignity conferred upon him as the baptizer of his Lord, and his courageous martyrdom, would have served to render him exceptionally conspicuous among the early saints, even if Christ had not himself declared that of all born of women there had arisen no greater than his precursor, John.[2] Corresponding with the greatness of the saint was the honour paid to his memory and his remains, and probably in no country was he more venerated than in England, where nearly four hundred parish churches bear his name, and many religious houses and hospitals, guilds and fraternities took him for their patron, especially the civic companies of tailors and barbers,[3] and in English art the numerous little alabaster tablets and seals bearing the head of S. John testify to the honour in which he was held, as do the numerous paintings of his effigy or the events of his life which formerly adorned our churches, and of which over fifty examples are given in the South Kensington List.[1]

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[1] Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Institute, Feb. 1st, 1893.

[2] He is held in much esteem by the Mohammedans, and his miraculous birth is alluded to in the Koran, which states that the angels said to Zacharias: "Verily God promiseth thee a son named John, who shall bear witness to the Word which cometh from God; an honourable person, chaste, and one of the righteous prophets," Koran, Sale's translation, ch. iii, p. 36. Cornelius à Lapide says that "the Fathers constantly call John the Prince of Monks and Anchorites, as S. Jerome, S. Chrysostom, Theophylact, Cassian," Com. on Gospels, vol. i, p. 99. Mossman's translation.

[3] Besides being the patron of the "Confraternity of St. John Baptist of Merchant Taylors," of London, as it is yet called, S. John was honoured by the tailors of Bristol, whose guild was established by Royal Charter, dated 22 Richard II. They had an altar at S, Owen's Church, where mass was daily said by their chaplain. See *Arch. Jour.* vol. xxxviii, p. 113. The fraternity of the same craft at Exeter bore the image of S. John upon their seal. See *Ibid.*, vol. xi, p. 182.

In ecclesiastical art we often find examples of saints especially associated together, as is the case with the two deacons, SS. Laurence and Stephen, the kings, Edmund and Edward, the martyrs, Christopher and George, the virgins, Catherine and Margaret.[2] In like manner John the Baptist and John the Evangelist are often portrayed together in Christian iconography, as in paintings at Canterbury Cathedral, and in several churches; and they are so shown on a bronze panel of the tomb of Henry VII. at Westminster. Their emblems, the eagle and the lamb, form the spandrils of the west doorway at Cottishall S. John's, Norfolk, and occasionally there is a series of representations of the events in the lives of the precursor and evangelist, as at Guildford S. Mary, and in an altar-piece of the fifteenth century at the Louvre, Paris. When a person bore the name of John, sometimes there will be found figures of two or more saints similarly named; thus John of Waltham, who died in 1395, had on his brass at Westminster Abbey, the effigies of SS. John the Evangelist, John of Beverley, and John the Almoner; in like manner the brass of John Byrkhed, 1418, at Harrow, Middlesex, shows the Baptist and the Evangelist upon the orphrey of his cope.[3] S. John, as the preacher of repentance, is sometimes joined with S. Mary Magdalen the great example of it, as at Wiggenhall S. Mary, Norfolk; but the reasons for the presence of certain saints round the head of S. John on the English alabaster tablets has not been satisfactorily explained.[4] So popular was the precursor saint that his effigy may be seen repeated two or three times in the same building, as at Westminster, where the chapels of Henry VII. have three images of S. John Baptist, and he is painted twice at Randworth, Norfolk, and Plymptree, Devon.[1]

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[1] To these may be added traces of a figure of the Baptist on the south-east respond of the south arcade at Heacham, Norfolk.

[2] This association is sometimes seen in ritual as well as art. A conspicuous example is furnished by the two leading Apostles, SS. Peter and Paul. It appears also occasionally in the dedications of churches, as in the last cited instance. Caldwell Priory, Beds, was dedicated to the two Saint Johns.

[3] Occasionally the two Saints are met with where the persons commemorated did not bear their name, as on the brasses of Laurence de St. Maur, 1337, at Higham Ferrars, and on that of Henry Sever, 1471, at Merton College Chapel, Oxford.

[4] At Norwich the Prior's doorway has a central figure of our Lord, and on one side S. John Baptist and a Bishop, on the other, a King and Moses with the tables of the law. See Goulburn on the nave roof bosses of Norwich Cathedral, p. 418.

The earliest representations of the Baptist show him scantily clad in the skin of a camel, with occasionally the head of the animal hanging down; but in later works he frequently appears vested in a linen or stuff tunic and mantle, now and then the tunic is of camel hair under a vesture of linen. The hair and beard of the saint are usually long and unkempt, his countenance stern and thoughtful, and his feet are bare. In a Greco-Italian picture of thirteenth or fourteenth century date the nimbus round the head of S. John is composed of stars. The Greek Church translates literally the words of S. Mark, "Behold I send my angel (messenger) before my face," and its artists constantly attach wings to the shoulders of the Baptist.[2]

The oldest emblem of the saint is the lamb, the symbol of our Lord, and to which he generally points with the first finger of his right hand; sometimes the lamb reposes upon a closed book, as at Easton Church, Hants; the martyr's palm is seen in his left hand on the seal of S. John's Priory, Clerkenwell, whilst occasionally a sword is placed above his head, and this being the instrument of his martyrdom forms his emblem in the Clog Almanacks. The emblem most frequently used in more modern art is a cross-headed staff formed of two sticks tied together, it appears in the pictures of the early Italian painters, Giotto, Raphael, and Carraci; round this symbol is generally twined a scroll with the words. "Ecce Agnus dei, qui tollis peccata mundi," or the first clause only of the sentence, and at Brown's Bede House, Stamford, many scrolls with this verse upon them are placed about the stained glass effigy of S. John. The crescent and star are often seen in connection with the precursor's image, as on a seal of S. John's, Clerkenwell, temp. Richard II. These figures are of Byzantine origin and were assumed by the Turks on the taking of Constantinople, when they placed them upon their flag, as is the case to the present day.

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[1] John Nottingham, of Bury St. Edmunds, grocer, by will, dated 1437, left the sum of five marks for the "acquisition of an image of S. John Baptist for the high altar S. Mary's, Bury." Bury Wills, p. 7.

[2] Lives of the Saints, vol. vi, p. 334.

Occasionally the Baptist is seen enthroned, as upon a coin struck at Florence in 1252; his image formed part of a pastoral staff at Salisbury Cathedral, and is still to be seen crowning the silver mace of the beadle at S. John's, Clerkenwell, a noteworthy example, as it is dated 1685. His effigy was a favourite for the handles of spoons in the middle ages, and the Merchant Tailors' Company of London possessed many such with their patron saint.

The history of our saint was painted in the Chapter House at Westminster, at Catfield and Elsing in Norfolk, and Wiston, Suffolk; it appeared also in stained glass at Battlefield, Shropshire, S. Mary's, Newington, Middlesex, and Wateringbury, Kent.

The birth of S. John is beautifully represented in a Greek MS. of twelfth century date. It exhibits S. Elizabeth reclining cross-legged upon a couch whilst a female hands her a vessel of food; to the left of the bed is Zacharias seated and writing upon a tablet, he is nimbed and before him are other personages, one of whom, a beautiful girlish figure, has her hands upraised in great astonishment. In the foreground are small effigies of women, one of whom is seated before the infant S. John, who is seen in a font-shaped basin, into which another female pours water from an ewer.[1] The naming of the Baptist is the subject of a fine painting in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, and is engraved in a work on the crypt by the Rev. Scott Robertson.

With the rise of the naturalistic and sentimental school of religious art appeared the subject of the Holy Family, as a member of which, the youthful S. John figures in late Continental paintings. A similar conception, the departure of the juvenile Baptist for the desert became frequent, and was beautifully rendered by Philippo Lippi and Murillo, but I can discover no indications of either subject in English mediæval art.[2]

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[1] Engraving in D'Agincourt, Hist. of Art., pl. lix. A youthful female figure sometimes represents the Blessed Virgin, from a tradition that she was present at S. John's birth.

[2] "Nicephorus asserts that when John was a year and a half old he was taken by his mother into the desert, and Cedrinus adds that he was concealed in a certain cave, and that his mother died there, and that an angel took care of the child." Cornelius à Lapide, vol. i, p. 100.

In a chantry dedicated to S. John at S. George's Chapel, Windsor, are three paintings of events in his life, one of which represents him preaching in the wilderness, and on the celebrated herse-cloth at Dunstable, Beds, he is seen as a preacher "standing behind an imaginary pulpit, made of two upright branches, in the forks of which a horizontal branch is placed the height of his waist, he stands on a green plot of grass."[1] Albert Durer carved a wooden panel with this subject, in which S. John appears in strict accordance with the early representations of him, a gaunt figure with unkempt locks and beard, and his person but partially covered by a camel's skin garment, his pulpit, exactly like the Dunstable example, is planted upon a rock, and is surrounded by an audience in sixteenth century German costume.[2]

S. John is occasionally very appropriately placed upon pulpits in both ancient and modern art; he is painted upon fifteenth century ones at Horsham S. Faith's and Snettisham, Norfolk; whilst at Burlingham S. Edmund in the same county, the text *Inter Natos Mulierum Non Surrexit Major Johanne Baptista* runs round the cornice of the original pulpit, prettily inscribed in black lettering with red capitals.

The Baptism of our Lord by S. John has always been a favourite subject in Christian art, and especially so in connection with fonts and baptisteries. In many representations there are one or more angels introduced as attendants on our Lord, and to hold his vesture, as may be seen in the sculptures on the west doorway of Early English date at Higham Ferrars, and on the bosses of the Perpendicular roof of the nave at Norwich Cathedral.[3] In the last-named example, the Baptist kneels as he administers the baptismal rite, and at Stalham, Norfolk, he is seen genuflecting; on the Norman font at Castle Frome, Herefordshire, he wears a maniple, and at West Haddon, Northants, the saint holds a book, whilst an angel presents him with the chrism garment, and on the opposite side is a person in adoration. Where this subject forms one of a series in the life of our Lord, the Saviour sometimes wears the nimbus for the first time, and at Haddon he is standing in a font which is a miniature of that on which the carving appears.[1] A somewhat similar sculpture is on one of the bench ends at Wiggenhall S. Germans, Norfolk. In many early examples, a symbolical figure of the river Jordan is introduced in one corner of the composition, as is found in an illumination in a Greek MS. of the seventh or eighth century, where the stream is personified by a nearly nude man reclining against a water vase from which the river flows, whilst in his hand he holds rushes ;[2] and in the Benedictional of S. Ethelwald, the symbol is an old man with horns pouring water from a vase, and with the end of an oar over his shoulder. The fish seen in many compositions are, perhaps, also emblematical, for as Bingham says, the "Early Christians were wont to please themselves with the artificial name of 'Pisciculi,' fishes, to denote as Tertullian words it, "that they were regenerate, or born again into Christ's religion by water, and could not be saved but by continuing therein."[3] At Compton, Surrey, there was a baptism in the east window ; it was of late date, and bore the inscribed verse, "for thus it becometh us to fulfille all rightfulnesse."[4]

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[1] Proceedings Soc. Ant., vol. viii, 2nd series, p. 434.

[2] A picture by Giotto shows the Baptist pointing to a cross-headed staff with the usual inscribed scroll, and with figures in eastern costume seated around him.

[3] These bosses are three in number, the central one shows the precursor kneeling whilst he baptizes our Lord; the smaller side bosses have each an angel, one of whom holds a tunic, the other a mantle.

The ancient baptisteries were, I believe, always dedicated to S. John, and at Canterbury there was a church bearing his name, and which was built before 758, by Archbishop Cuthbert, both as a baptistery and a place of sepulture for the Archbishops.[5] S. Charles Borromeo, in his *Instructions on Ecclesiastical Buildings*, endeavoured to enforce the primitive practice of having a distinct building for baptisms, placed near every cathedral, "or which may, through some other title, be the head Church of a district," the structure was to be placed under the invocation of S. John the Baptist,[6] and above the altar he orders a representation of the baptism of Christ. In cases where the baptistery was not separated from the church, there should be a chapel devoted to the administration of baptism.[1] These instructions were composed towards the close of the sixteenth century.

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[1] Poole's Churches, p. 45.

[2] D'Agincourt, pl. lix.

[3] Antiquities of the Christian Church, vol. i, p. 3.

[4] Brayley and Walford, Surrey, vol. iv, p. 296.

[5] Archæologia, vol. lii, p. 391.

[6] The baptistery altar at Wimborne Minster is said, however, to have been dedicated to S. Nicholas, which is not unlikely, as that saint was the patron of children.

The very early Norman font at Bridekirk, Cumberland, has the Baptism of Christ upon it; there are Perpendicular examples at the adjacent churches of Shorne and Southfleet, Kent, and at Gresham, Norfolk, it forms the eighth panel of the octagonal font-bowl, which bears the seven sacraments on the other sides, perhaps, in this case it may typify baptism as the Christian equivalent for circumcision, which took place on the eighth day after birth. A post-Reformational example is exhibited at S. James', Piccadilly, which is about 1684 in date. Borromeo states that a figure "of S. John Baptist in the act of baptizing Christ," should be placed at the top of the ciborium which covers the font.[2]

The martyrdom of the Baptist was a very great favourite in mediæval art, and frequently comprised three incidents in its history; the banquet of Herod, with Herodias at his side, and her daughter Salome dancing, or rather tumbling, before them, formed the first portion; the second being the beheading of the Saint; and the last the presentation of his head in a charger to Herodias by Salome. Occasionally Salome is seen at the banquet, not tumbling but dancing, as in a silver-bound book belonging to the Baptistery of S. John's, Florence, and of eleventh century date, but more frequently she is tumbling; and was probably so represented in accordance with some tradition to that effect, as such posturing is still practised in the East, and is constantly pictured in Persian works of art. Sometimes Herodias and her daughter stand and watch the beheading of their enemy, and in the pictures of the presentation of the head, Herodias is seen gloating over it and piercing the tongue with a needle, in accordance with the tradition recorded by S. Jerome. Representations of the martyrdom were on the walls of the churches of All Saints', Hastings; Idsworth Chapel, Charlton, Hants; St. George's, Windsor; and Wiston, Suffolk; and at Worstead, Norfolk, the reredos of the North Chapel has a large oblong panel, on which the death of S. John was pictured.[3]

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[1] Instructions on Ecclesiastical Buildings. Trans. Wigley, pp. 67, 69.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[3] Ælfric writes thus quaintly on the beheading of S. John, saying that "he had dwelt in the waste unhurt among

At the beginning of the present remarks allusion has been made to the alabaster tablets bearing the severed head of the Precursor, these having been fully investigated, described, and illustrated by Mr. St. John Hope, in the *Archæologia*, vol. LII. no further allusion will be made to them here. Some of the other representations of this object were of an elaborate character, as on the brass of John Reeding, at Biggleswade, Beds, dated 1481, and where the head is borne by angels, and a German picture of fifteenth century date—now in the National Gallery—exhibits the face surrounded by angelic spirits in adoration of it. The church of Halifax, Yorkshire, is dedicated to the Baptist, and the town seal bears his head with the words *Halez* above and *fax* below the face; the device, it is said, was assumed from the possession of certain relics of the saint.

Numerous seals exist with the head of the Baptist upon them. One with the legend *Jesus est amor meus* is affixed to a deed in the muniment room of the Hare family of Stowe Bardolph, Norfolk; another found at Godstow Nunnery is inscribed *Caput ioh. in disco*; and a third, already alluded to, belonged to the Priory of S. John's, Clerkenwell.

S. John appears in Van Eyck's famous picture of the Adoration of the Lamb, at the left hand of the Eternal Father, S. Mary being on the right, and in a Coronation of the Virgin, by Maso Finiguerra, the Baptist forms one of a crowd of saints, holding his cross-headed staff and pointing to our Lord and S. Mary. In a picture by B. Angelico and Cosimo Roselli, the Baptist appears to the left of Christ, S. Mary on the right of him; and in a painting, now in the Museum, Cologne, the Baptist kneels at the side of the seated figure of the Saviour, who is surrounded with seraphim.

all the beast kind, and among serpents and asps, and all the worm kind, and they dreaded him. But the accursed Herodias slew him by beheading, and received the death of so great a man as a gift for her daughter's dancing—verily there is no worm kind, nor wild beast kind, like in evilness to an evil woman." Homilies, vol. i. pp. 487-8.

Maundrell in his Travels (1696) says that at Sebaste, in Samaria, there remained "some ruins of a great church, said to be erected by *Helena*, over the place where John the Baptist was imprisoned and beheaded. In the body of the church is a staircase into the dungeon where his blood was shed. The *Turks*, of whom there are here a few poor families, hold this prison in great veneration, and have erected a little mosque over it, which, for a small piece of money, anyone is allowed to enter." *See* World Displayed, vol. xi, p. 42.

Several interesting and quaint legends cluster about the relics of S. John, and there are many passages in English writers concerning them. The Anglo-Saxon Ælfric, in his Homilies, discourses thus upon the Baptist's relics. "The holy head was buried at Jerusalem—some heritics said that the head blew the King's wife Herodias, for whom he had been slain, so that she went with the winds all over the world; but they erred in that saying, for she lived to the end of her life, after the slaying of John. But John's head was afterwards manifested to two eastern monks, who with prayers visited that city, and they bore the precious treasure thence to a city which is called Edessa, and the Almighty God, through that head, manifested innumerable miracles. His bones, after a long time, were brought to the great city of Alexandria, and there, with great honour, deposited."[1] Roger of Wendover speaks of the above discovery of the head, and says that in 458, S. John revealed to the two monks "the place of his head near the house where Herod formerly lived. It was straightway brought to Edessa, a city of Phœnicia, and was there buried with due honour."[2] Sir John Mandeville writes of Sebaste, that in a fair church, "There was wont to be the head of S. John the Baptist inclosed in the wall, but the Emperor Theodosius had it drawn out, and found it wrapped in a little cloth all bloody, and so he carried it to Constantinople, and the hinder part of the head is still at Constantinople, and the fore part of the head to under the chin is at Rome under the church of S. Sylvester." He further says, "and the jaws beneath, which hold to the chin and part of the ashes and the platter in which the head was laid when it was smitten off, are at Genoa, and the Genoese make a great feast in honour of it, and so do the Saracens also. And some men say that the head of S. John is at Amiens in Picardy, and other men say that it is the head of S. John the Bishop. I know not which is correct, but God knows; but however men worship it, the blessed S John is satisfied."[3] Maundrell, in 1696, describing Damascus, says of S. John's Church there, that it had been converted into a mosque, and in it "was pretended to be kept the head of S. John, and some other relics, esteemed so holy, that it is death, even for a Turk, to enter the room where they are deposited."[1]

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[1] Ælfric. Homilies, vol. i, p. 487, Trans. Thorpe.

[2] Roger of Wendover's Chronicle, vol. i, page 11.

[3] Early Travels in Palestine, p. 182.

Respecting the relics at Genoa, Misson, early in the last century, wrote that "the ashes of St. John the Baptist are supposed to be preserved in the Cathedral, in a shrine supported by four beautiful columns of porphyry brought from Smyrna in 1098."[2] Of the portions of the head reputed to be preserved in the church of S. Sylvester in the Campo Marzo, Rome, Alban Butler remarks that Sirmond thinks the head there to be that of S. John the Martyr of Rome. "Pope Clement VIII., to remove all reasonable doubt about the relic of this saint, procured a small part of the head that is kept at Amiens for S. Sylvester's Church."[3] A somewhat remarkable statement to make, as though the small portion of the true relics could render the doubtful part authentic. Butler further adds that the head discovered in 453 at Emissa, was "kept with great honour in the church of that city till about the year 800, this precious relic was then conveyed to Constantinople, that it might not be sacrilegiously insulted by the Saracens. When that city was taken by the French in 1204, Wallo de Sarton, a Canon of Amiens, brought part of this head, that is, all the face except the lower jaw, into France, and bestowed it on his own church, where it is preserved to this day." This is Alban Butler's account, and is probably correct at the present moment, the greater part of the head being at Amiens Cathedral, where the acts and death of the precursor are sculptured in high relief on the southern screen separating the choir from its aisles.

Next in importance to the head of S. John, the great object of veneration in former times, was his right hand, which was naturally much esteemed from having been the instrument employed in the baptism of Christ. Moreover the right hand of a saint was often considered as especially wonder-working, as being one of the noblest parts of the human body, and the vehicle for blessing and alms-giving; thus Mandeville tells us that the inhabitants of a country he calls Mabaron (Meliapor) make their judgments by the hand of S. Thomas the Apostle. "For when there is any discussion between two parties and each of them maintains his cause, both parties write their causes in two bills, and put them in the hand of S. Thomas, and anon he casts away the bill of the wrong cause and holds still the bill with the right cause." Again it is related by Wendover that S. Oswald having done a most noble deed of charity, S. Aidan exclaimed in the King's presence "May this hand never perish," which we are told came to pass. The right hand of S. James was a highly venerated relic at Reading Abbey.[1]

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[1] World Displayed, vol. xi, p. 101.

[2] Ibid, vol. xix, p. 14.

[3] Alban Butler Lives of the Saints, vol. viii, p. 635.

To return to the hand of S. John. Bouhours in his life of Pierre d'Aubusson the Cardinal Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes, gives a long account of the adventures of this relic, which I will here quote as being an interesting extract from the works of an eighteenth-century author. Previous to doing so it must be stated that in 1484, Bajazet Emperor of the Turks and son of Mahomet II. wishing to do a great favour to Pierre d'Aubusson, to whom he was deeply indebted, was somewhat perplexed to know what present he could send to the General of the Christians at Rhodes, "having found," says F. Bouhours, "nothing which in his mind was sufficiently precious among all the riches of his empire, he learnt from some of his most reliable deserters, that he could not make a more acceptable present to the Grand Master than to give him the hand of S. John the Baptist, which was in the treasury of his father Mahomet. They informed him that this was the one with which he had baptized Jesus Christ, and being the hand of the patron of the order of the Knights of Rhodes, would be more esteemed by the Grand Master than the most exquisite productions of nature or of art and more than all the rarities of the world."

"The Emperor Bajazet," continues Bouhours, "charmed at this proposal, had the holy relic brought to him at once, in the reliquary wherein it was enclosed, and having caused it to be placed within a little chest of Cypress wood, lined with a rich crimson velvet, and the outside enriched with an infinity of precious stones, it was despatched to him by one of the Sultan's favourites named Cariatty Bey with a very courteous letter of which the superscription ran thus, 'Bajazet Bey, King of Asia and Emperor of Emperors, to the very wise and very illustrous Grand Master of Rhodes, Pierre d'Aubusson, a very generous Prince, and Father of a truly glorious Empire.'"

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[1] In Six Months in the Apennines, Miss Stokes gives a full account of the hermitage of La Spanna, near Bobio, where, on the summit of a cliff, is a handprint on the rock, said to have been marked by the impression of the palm (Spanna) of S. Columban's hand, which is still believed to possess healing virtue for sufferers who place their palms upon it." Antiquary, vol. xxvi, p. 68.

"The Grand Master felt himself well recompensed for the services which he had rendered to Bajazet, but nevertheless before exposing the relic on the altar, he wished that it should be first examined, and he delegated commissioners who made a judicial examination of it. The Vice-Chancellor of the Order, a man of sound sense and of profound learning, was one of the deputies named, and he above all the rest applied himself to discover the truth. After all the examinations which it is customary to make on these occasions, and especially after having questioned many persons worthy of belief, who had been at Constantinople at the time of the taking of that city, and who still resided therein, there was not the slightest occasion to doubt that this hand was the right hand of S. John the Baptist, from all that was learnt about it, if we believe the Vice-Chancellor Caoursin, who himself wrote this history of the relic, for the process-verbal executed at this date."

"It is an ancient tradition, confirmed by the records of the Greeks, that S. Luke the Evangelist, having embraced the faith, conceived such a love for S. John the Baptist, that it inspired him with the idea of secretly carrying off his body, which was buried in the town of Sebaste, between those of Eli and Abdias. He repaired to this place one night with some of the disciples of the Precursor of Jesus Christ who were still living, but having considered that they would have much difficulty in carrying away the whole body, without being discovered and arrested, he separated from it the hand which had baptized Jesus Christ, as the most noble part of the same corpse, and carried it himself to Antioch, and religiously preserved it during the sojourn which he made there. But when he set out to preach the gospel in Bithynia, he placed the precious trust in the hands of some of his dearest friends, not wishing to expose it to the mishaps which might befall him during his travels. Thus the relic remained always at Antioch, and was there publicly honoured during a period of three hundred years, till the time when Julian the

Apostate undertook to abolish the worship and memory of the martyrs, by causing their remains to be burnt. He especially ordered that the hand of the Precursor of Jesus Christ should be cast into the flames, but the piety of the Christians saved it from the fury of the Pagans, and kept it concealed until the death of that impious Emperor."

"Justinian, one of the most religious princes in the world, having attained the empire in due course of time, and having both caused the erection of the splendid temple S. Sophia, and another magnificent church for the monastery of S. Basil, usuallv called that of S. John of the Stone, wished to render the dedication of these two churches to be celebrated before the most precious relics which were in the East, and for this reason, he caused the head and the hand of S. John the Baptist to be brought to Constantinople, the one from the city of Edessa, and the other from the city of Antioch, and after the consecration of the churches he sent back the relics, as he had promised when asking for them."

"The hand of S. John Baptist was honoured more and more after the translation; but when the Greek Empire began to fall into decay, and the inhabitants of Barbary entered Syria, it worked great miracles, which contributed not a little to strengthen the faithful and to convert heretics. Caoursin relates these wonders at length on the evidence of Simon Metaphrastes, who was, to a certain extent, a witness of them. One of the best authenticated and illustrious of them, was that the relic during a period of many years, was a certain testimony of sterility or abundance as regards the productions of the earth, for the Christians at Antioch had the practice of every year making a solemn procession outside the city on the day of the Exaltation of the Cross when the Patriarch himself bore the shrine which enclosed the hand of the Precursor, and when he had arrived at a small eminence from whence the whole country was exposed to view, he drew the relic from its reliquary, and elevated it in sight of all the people. If the year would be good, the holy hand remained extended and immovable, but if the year would be a bad one and barren, the hand closed of its own accord; and by this omen, the inhabitants of Antioch failed not to provide for their needs."

"When God caused His power to shine forth in the Church by the hand of S. John Baptist, Constantine Porphyrogenita governed the Empire of the Greeks; he was a truly Catholic prince, and very devout to the happy Precursor of Jesus Christ. The miracle which took place at Antioch, and of which the report spread abroad throughout all the East, caused the Emperor to desire to have the relic which was the instrument of so many marvels. The people of Antioch, for their part, kept it with great care, and would never have let it depart from their hands, had it not happened that a deacon of the church of Antioch had stolen it away to make a present to the Emperor. Constantine received the miraculous hand from the deacon with all the sentiments which piety could inspire under the circumstances, and after having honoured it in his palace, caused it to be placed in the church of the monastery of S. John of the Stone. Here it remained until the time when Mahomet II., Emperor of the Turks, took Constantinople, for they put it, by his orders, into the Imperial Treasury with other relics, whose shrines were of value, and this was the treasure that Bajazet brought forth to give the Grand Master."[1]

"When they were assured at Rhodes, by the testimony of the commissioners, that the relic was a true one, the Grand Master took great pains to have it carried with solemnity to the church of S. John. It was resolved in full council that the ceremony should take place on the twenty-third of May, on which day, four years previously, the town had been besieged by the Turks, and it was thus decreed, in order that the Rhodians might begin to honour the hand of their patron, and of the defender of Rhodes on the same day that the Infidels laid siege to it."[2]

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[1] The index finger of the saint's right hand was especially honoured, and many legends are related of it. Allusion to it is made in the sequence for S. John's Day, in the Sarum Missal where S. John's intercession is implored, that God may abide in his faithful people, and

"That He whom thou didst point out
with thy finger
The Lamb that the world's sins doth
take away.
With his pure fleece may mercifully
clothe us."

Sarum Missal. Eng. trans. p. 382. Sir John Mandeville says that at Sebaste "S. John Baptist was buried between the prophets Elisha and Abdias," and after describing the burning of his remains, adds, "But the finger that showed our Lord, saying 'Behold the Lamb of God,' is all whole. St. Tecla, the holy virgin, caused that finger to be carried to the hill of Sebaste, and there men make great feast for it." Early Travels in Palestine, p. 182.

[2] Bouhours relates the following, which is quoted here as probably explaining some of the miraculous events which are so frequently met with in mediæval chronicles. At the siege of Rhodes, in

"The day of the ceremony having arrived, the Prior of the church of S. John went forth with the clergy, carrying his pastoral staff in hand and mitre on head, according to the custom of the Priors of S. John, who wear the vestments, and have the rights of bishops. He proceeded to take the relic from the castle, and having received it from the Grand Master, he went with all the Knights towards the Grand Square, where there was set up a superb throne, above which was raised a brocaded canopy, and of which the steps were covered with cloth of gold. The Prior having mounted this platform, disclosed the hand of the admirable Precursor, which was enveloped in a cloth of silver tissue. He showed it uncovered to the people, and exhorting them in a few words to render themselves worthy of so sacred a deposit, by an equally holy life, he thrice blessed them with this holy hand. They then all betook themselves to the church of S. John, where the Prior, having celebrated the divine mysteries, gave the relic to be kissed by the Grand Master and his knights. Afterwards, he placed it in a tabernacle of fine gold, delicately worked and ornamented all over with precious stones, such as is seen this day at Malta."[1]

Such is the description of the adventures of this renowned relic, as given in the most interesting work by F. Bouhours, the *Life of Pierre d'Aubusson*, the valiant General under whom the Knights of Rhodes repulsed the Turks in 1480. The relic was removed from Rhodes to Malta, after the loss of the former island by the Knights, and is mentioned by Thevenet in his travels in 1655 as

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1480, the Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson was severely wounded, but, says his biographer, "The violence of his hurt nevertheless did not hinder him from thanking God for the advantage gained by the Christians over the Infidels, and these pious sentiments redoubled when he knew that Heaven had visibly fought in the defence of Rhodes; for several deserters who came to surrender themselves to the Knights at the moment when the victorious troops returned, related that, in the heat of the fight, the Turks had perceived in the air a cross all crowned with light, and that they had seen a very beautiful lady, clad in a white robe and with lance in hand and shield on arm, accompanied by a stern-looking man, in a vesture of camel's hair, and followed by a band of young warriors all armed with flaming swords. They added that the vision had much affrighted the Infidels, and that when the standard of the Religious was elevated, on which the images of the B. Virgin and S. John Baptist were depicted, many fell dead without receiving any wound." Bouhours naively adds, that "Although the Grand Master was not ignorant that the Turks *sometimes spread abroad these stories to cover their cowardice and to disparage the bravery of their enemies*, he knew that the sacred Scriptures authorised such apparitions, and doubted not that God could do for the Rhodians as He had formerly at Jerusalem against Antiochus. Vie d'Aubusson, pp. 219, 220.

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 319-327.

being in the church of S. John. It appears to have been kept in a glove of gold studded with gems, whilst lying by its side was a ring with a magnificent diamond. Napoleon I. put the ring on his finger, and the Knight Commander of those days (Hompesch) carried the hand away with him and presented it to Paul I. of Russia. It is now carefully guarded and preserved in the Winter Palace at S. Petersburg.

The principal Feast of S. John Baptist—that of his nativity on June 24th—has been observed from very early times, and Baring-Gould quotes a passage from S. Augustine which says: "This day of the nativity is handed down to us and is this day celebrated. We have received this by tradition from our forefathers and we transmit it to our descendants to be celebrated with like devotion." The vigil on the 23rd is mentioned in Bede's "Martyrology," and the Feast on the 24th is styled by him "the birthday of the Precursor of the Lord." In 1518 the Council held at York decreed that "if the vigil of S. John Baptist occurs on Corpus Christi the vigil to be kept on a previous Wednesday." In the Sarum use it had a proper Mass, and the festival itself was a minor double, it also had its proper Mass, and, like many of the principal commemorations, there was a sequence appropriate to it.[1] Baring-Gould observes that there were three Masses, and cites Alaim to the effect that the first was said on the vigil in honour of the Saint as the forerunner preparing the way of the Lord; the second was said on the morning in honour of his ministry as Baptist; and the third later in the day, in honour of his having been a Nazarite from his birth.[2] The festival had an octave in the Sarum and York uses and in the latter there were two proper Masses to be said alternately during it. The Feasts of S. John Baptist do not occur in the list of those proclaimed by Henry VIII. (An. XXXII.) to be observed. Peter Lombard and Gratian cite a canon out of the Council of Lesida (An. 524) which forbids marriages not only in Lent, but three weeks before the Festival of S. John Baptist, and at the Council of Salegunstade (An. 1322), under Benedict VIII. and the Emperor Henry II., an order was made that no Christian should marry in the fourteen days before the Festival of S. John Baptist.[1] A constitution of William de Cantelupe, Bishop of Worcester, prohibited work on that day.

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[1] The Introit, taken from Isaiah xlix, v. 1, was singularly apt, "The Lord hath called me, from the bowels of my mother hath He made mention of my name." The Gradual was also most appropriately taken from Jeremiah i, v. 5, "Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee, and before thou camest out of the womb I sanctified thee."

[2] Lives of the Saints, vol. vi, p. 333.

It seems probable that green tapers were used on the Feast of S. John's Nativity, as an entry in the accounts of Winchester College Hall mentions candles of this colour for this festival, perhaps for secular use, but they were undoubtedly employed for religious purposes on the 8th of December, the Conception of S. Mary. It is said that from the well-known pulpit in the entrance court at Magdalen College, Oxford, a sermon was preached on S. John's Day among other occasions, and that seats were placed for the Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, Masters, &c., and the walls adorned with green boughs and flowers, and the ground covered with green rushes and grass in allusion to S. John preaching in the wilderness.[2] This representation of a wilderness was a favourite with our ancestors, and we read that in 1392, when Richard II. and his Queen (Anne) went in ceremony through the City of London, the Hospitallers of S. John made a pageant, displaying a desert inhabited by all manner of wild animals, reptiles, &c., and in the background a forest, with S. John pointing to the Agnus Dei.[3]

The Confraternity of the Merchant Tailors of S. John Baptist, London, now the Merchant Tailors' Company, annually attended the Priory Church of S. John, Clerkenwell, on this day, and the members of the similar Guild of the Tailors at Salisbury were directed by their Charter, dated at Westminster, 1461, to place every year a garland of roses on the head of the image of S. John in S. Thomas Church in that city, and also offer two tapers of one pound each, and Roger de la Zouche granted certain lands in the parish of Tonge, Salop, to Henry de Hugefort, by the tenure of "rendering yearly to him and his heirs a chaplet of roses on S. John Baptist's day, in case he or they should be at Tonge, if not, then to be put upon the image of the B. Virgin in the church of Tonge for such services."[1]

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[1] Bingham, vol. vii, pp. 307, 308.

[2] In a description of the visit of the Archæological Institute to Norwich in 1889, the Builder says, "Passing from the Cathedral into the beautiful grounds of the Bishop's Palace, the party was shown the place where a sermon was preached occasionally in the summer, and especially on S. John's day." Builder, 1889, p. 119.

[3] Strickland, Lives of the Queens, vol. i, p. 423.

On the nativity of the Baptist, pilgrims resorted in great numbers to the church of Creteil, near Paris, where his mediation was implored against epilepsy—*morbus sancti Johannis—le mal de Saint Jean.* The festival fires formerly so universal on this day are, it is said, still kept up in Roumania on the mountains, and are supposed to protect the flock from evil spirits; according to Barnaby Googe they were credited with the power of protecting people from agues. In the life of d'Aubusson, from which so much has been already quoted, it is recorded that although dying he failed not to be present at the fire "nor to take part in the rejoicings which were made every year before the castle at Rhodes clad in a sumptuous habit to honour the patron of the Order of Knights of S. John."[2]

Although the Epiphany is not a Feast of S. John, it is intimately connected with him, as on that day the baptism of our Lord is commemorated. By the early Christians this festival was appointed one of the times for baptisms, and S. Chrysostom says that "in this solemnity in memory of our Lord's baptism, they were used at midnight to carry water from the church, and lay it up, where it would remain as fresh and uncorrupt for one, two, or three years, as if it were immediately drawn out of any fountain." Cave relates of the primitive Christians that "many there were in those days whom nothing would serve unless they were baptized in the Jordan out of a reverence to the place where our Saviour himself had been baptized." Pilgrimages still continue to be made to the spot where the baptism of our Lord is supposed to have occurred, and the water of the Jordan is still obtained for the Baptism of Christian princes in England and elsewhere.

Among the miracle plays acted at York on the Festival of Corpus Christi was one of the baptism of Christ, and represented by the Barbers. The *dramatis personæ* consisted of our Lord, S. John, and two angels, who discoursed with the Baptist, and sung *Veni Creator Spiritus* at the baptism. The same subject was played by the Barbers at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1437.

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[1] Gentleman's Mag. Library, Manners and Customs, p. 230.

[2] Vie d'Aubusson, p. 464. Barnaby Googe says that on S. John's Day

"Young men round about with maides
doe daunce in every streete,
With garlands wrought of Motherwort,
or else with Veruain sweete."
Popish Kingdome, p. 54.

The S. John's Wort then in flower was supposed to drive away devils, and kept in the house would suffer no unclean spirit to come there. See note in Aubrey's Remaines ed. Folk-Lore Soc., p. 231.

The Feast of the Decollation of S. John was kept in the Sarum use as one of nine lessons, and with a proper mass, the sequence being the one used on his nativity.[1] It is named in the calendars in the early eighteenth-century almanacks of Coley, Partridge, Pearse, Poor Robin, and the Fly, and Swallow.

The Feast of the Finding of the Head of S. John was kept on Feb. 24th and is mentioned in Bede's Martyrology as follows, "VI. Kal. Inventio capitis Joannis precusoris." Respecting the discovery of the head, Roger of Wendover writes, "In the year of grace 458, two eastern monks having gone up to Jerusalem to worship, John the Baptist revealed to them the place of his head, near the house where Herod formerly lived. It was straightway brought to Edessa, a city of Phœnica and there buried with due honour."

The Conception of S. John is kept, says Baring-Gould, by a commemorative memorial, in the Greek and Russian communities, on Jan. 7th.

According to Barnaby Googe (1570) the image of S. John Baptist was carried before the Host on Corpus Christi Day.

> "Saint John before the bread doth go and poynting towards him,
> Doth shew the same to be the Lambe that takes away our sinne."

Some beautiful hymns in honour of the Baptist will be found among the "Sequentiæ Ineditæ" collected by the late Dr. Mason Neale, and printed in the "Ecclesiologist," the series running through several volumes of that journal.

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[1] Bede notices the feast in his Martyrology as follows :—Romæ. S. Sabinæ Virginis atque Martyris. Eodem die decollatio S. Johannis baptistæ qui primo in Samaria conditus, tunc in Alexandria, porro caput de Hierosolymis ad Phoeniciæ urbem Emissam delatum est. Bede Martyrologium, p. 115, ed. Giles.

ON A MASSIVE TIMBER PLATFORM OF EARLY DATE UNCOVERED AT CARLISLE, AND ON SUNDRY RELICS FOUND IN CONNECTION THEREWITH.[1]

By R. S. FERGUSON, M.A., F.S.A., CHANCELLOR OF CARLISLE.

Before dealing with the Timber Platform, which it is the object of this paper to describe, it will be necessary to consider briefly the site on which the Roman town of Luguvallium, and the subsequent mediæval City of Caerluel, Carleil, or Carlisle, stood; this site is now included in the larger area of the modern City of Carlisle. It will be further necessary to say a little about the history of Luguvallium.

The river Eden runs from east to west, immediately to the north of Carlisle, while its tributaries—the Petteril and the Caldew—flow into it from the south, immediately to the east and west respectively. About a mile south of Carlisle the beds of these two rivers approach one another so nearly as almost to make the site on which Carlisle stands an island. A diagram, No. I., gives the idea; on it the three rivers are laid down, and the mediæval walled city is shaded dark.[2] In this *quasi* island a long hill of new red sandstone rises gently from the south end of Botchergate to a head on which now stands the Cathedral of Carlisle. A deep valley then intervenes (or once did intervene, for it is now filled up), and then the hill rises again to a second and higher head, whose slopes to east and north and west are steep towards the meadows through which the three rivers flow.

Some sixty feet above the meadows the Castle Hill[3] of

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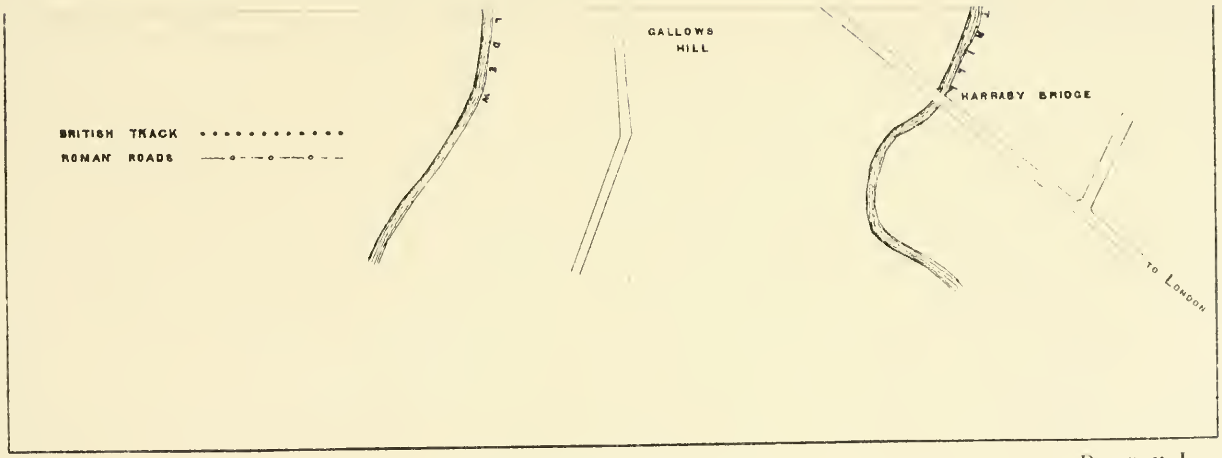
[1] The paper here printed was read before the Society of Antiquaries of London on November 24th, 1892, and a *precis* appears in their Proceedings of that date. The paper is printed *in extenso* in *Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian, and Archæological Society*, vol. xii, pp. 344—364.

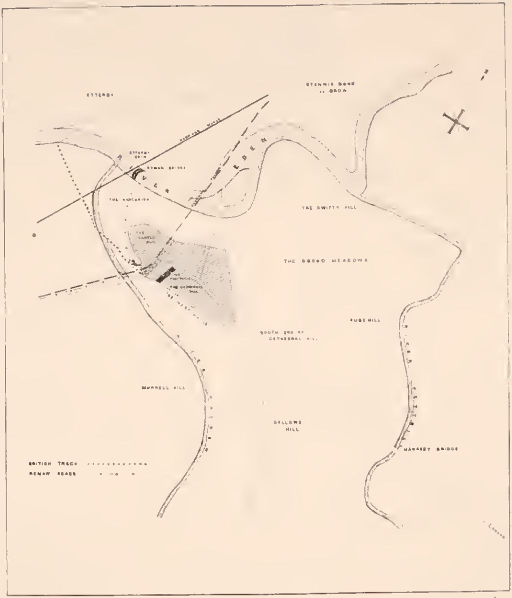
[2] This diagram is adapted from one which was prepared to illustrate a paper on "The Siege of Carlisle, in 1644-5. General Leslie's Works." *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. xi., p. 104. One or two modern roads are given, in order to enable a reader to realise better the position.

[3] For convenience the terms "the Cathedral Hill," and "the Castle Hill," will be used in this paper, even when referring to a period anterior to the erection of either Cathedral or Castle.


BRITISH TRACK
ROMAN ROADS
LDEW
GALLOWS HILL
TRILL
HARRABY BRIDGE
TO LONDON

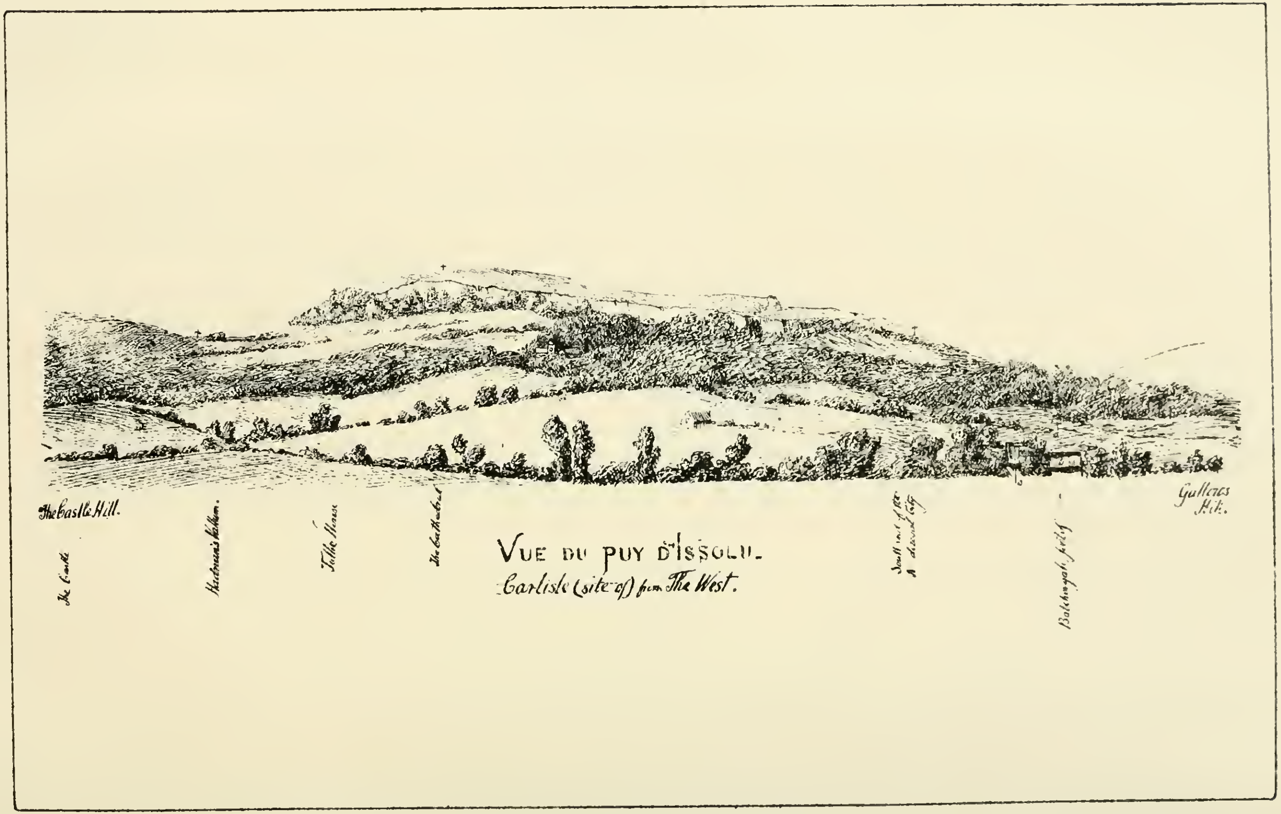
TULLIE HOUSE PLATFORM.

DIAGRAM I


ETTERBY
STANWIX BANK or BROW
ROMAN WALL
ETTERBY SCAR
ROMAN BRIDGE
RIVER EDEN
THE SWIFTS HILL
THE CASTLE HILL
THE BROAD MEADOWS
THE CATHEDRAL HILL
FUSE HILL
SOUTH END OF CATHEDRAL HILL
RIVER CALDEW
RIVER PETTERIL
MURRELL HILL
BELLOWS HILL
HARRABY BRIDGE
BRITISH TRACK
ROMAN ROADS
London

TULLIE HOUSE PLATFORM.

DIAGRAM 1


The Castle Hill.
The Castle
Hadrian's Vallum.
Tullie House
The Cathedral
Vue du Puy d'Issolu.
Carlisle (site of) from The West.
South end of the
ancient city
Botchergate, fortif
Gallows
Hill.

TULLIE HOUSE PLATFORM.

DIAGRAM II.

Carlisle looks out towards Scotland like a lion—a natural fortress to guard the waths or fords over Eden, and commanding what was for centuries one of the two only roads by which wheeled conveyances (*i.e.* an army) could pass from England into Scotland, or *vice versa.* The first head, or Cathedral Hill, dies away to the south, at the end of Botchergate, at a point on the London Road, about half-a-mile south of the mediæval city ; to the east it dies away in The Broad Meadows, immediately beyond the east curtain wall of the mediæval city.[1] To the west it has a steep cliff over the river Caldew, known at this day as "The West Walls," as having been and being still, the site of the mediæval west curtain wall ; its northern line, though much levelled up to, is painfully apparent in Rickergate Brow and Drover's Lane ; less so in Fisher, Peter, and Market Streets. Annetwell Street and Finkle Street mark the deepest part of the valley intermediate between the Cathedral and Castle Hills, though that valley, like the valleys between the seven hills of Rome, is filled up with the *débris* of the ages. The two hills and their limits, as thus given, can be easily traced on the twenty-five-inch Ordnance Map, or on the ten-foot Ordnance Map.

The sketch on diagram II. may help the imagination ; it is a sketch, copied from Napoleon's *Histoire de Jules Cesar*, of a place in Gaul, where was an *oppidum*, which the Romans took by siege. Rub out the little buildings and substitute a river for the hedge in the foreground, and then the picture will give a good idea of the site of Carlisle, as seen from the west, ere man meddled with it. The Cathedral Hill occupies the centre of the sketch, and its western cliffs, the West Walls, are well displayed. To the north is the Castle Hill, and the famous Gallows Hill is to the south.[2]

Going back to the Ordnance Map, or to diagram I., on the north of the river Eden are Stanwix and Etterby Brows (not visible in the sketch on diagram II.), with steep cliffs and descents toward the river Eden on the south, and with gentle slopes towards the north. The summit of Stanwix Brow, or Hill, is the site of one of the camps of the Great Barrier of Hadrian, which crosses the river Eden opposite to the Castle Hill of Carlisle, the stone *murus* running direct across the alluvial plains of the Eden and Caldew, known now as the Sauceries (*i.e.*, the *Saliceta* or Willow beds) and the Willow holme;[1] while the earthen *vallum* makes an abrupt and singular detour towards the south, and, after crossing the Eden, runs between the Castle and Cathedral Hills of Carlisle on the southern slope of the Castle Hill, which it thus includes within Hadrian's Great Barrier.[2] The Roman bridge crossed the Eden at Hyssop Holme Bank, a little east of where the *murus* crossed.[3] From the bridge end a road would run across the Sauceries, pass under the west cliff of the Castle Hill (the present Devonshire Walk), meet a Roman road from the west coast at a point which was afterwards the Irish Gate of the mediæval city, and, turning along the site of the present Annetwell and Castle Streets, would enter Luguvallium by its northern gate. It should be added that the ancient British trackway from North into South Britain passed by the Etterby Wath over Eden, and westwards of the Castle Hill.[4]

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[1] The Broad Meadows are now built over, and the present Lowther Street occupies the site of the east curtain wall.

[2] The *quasi* island between the three rivers includes, besides the Cathedral and Castle Hills, the minor eminences of Swifts' Hill, Ledgett's Hill, and Fusehill ; Gallow Hill, an important height, is between the rivers Caldew and Petteril where they most nearly approach.

So much for the site of Luguvallium, Caer-luel, Carleil, or Carlisle.[5] Tullie House, in whose ground the Platform about to be described was discovered, stands on the northern

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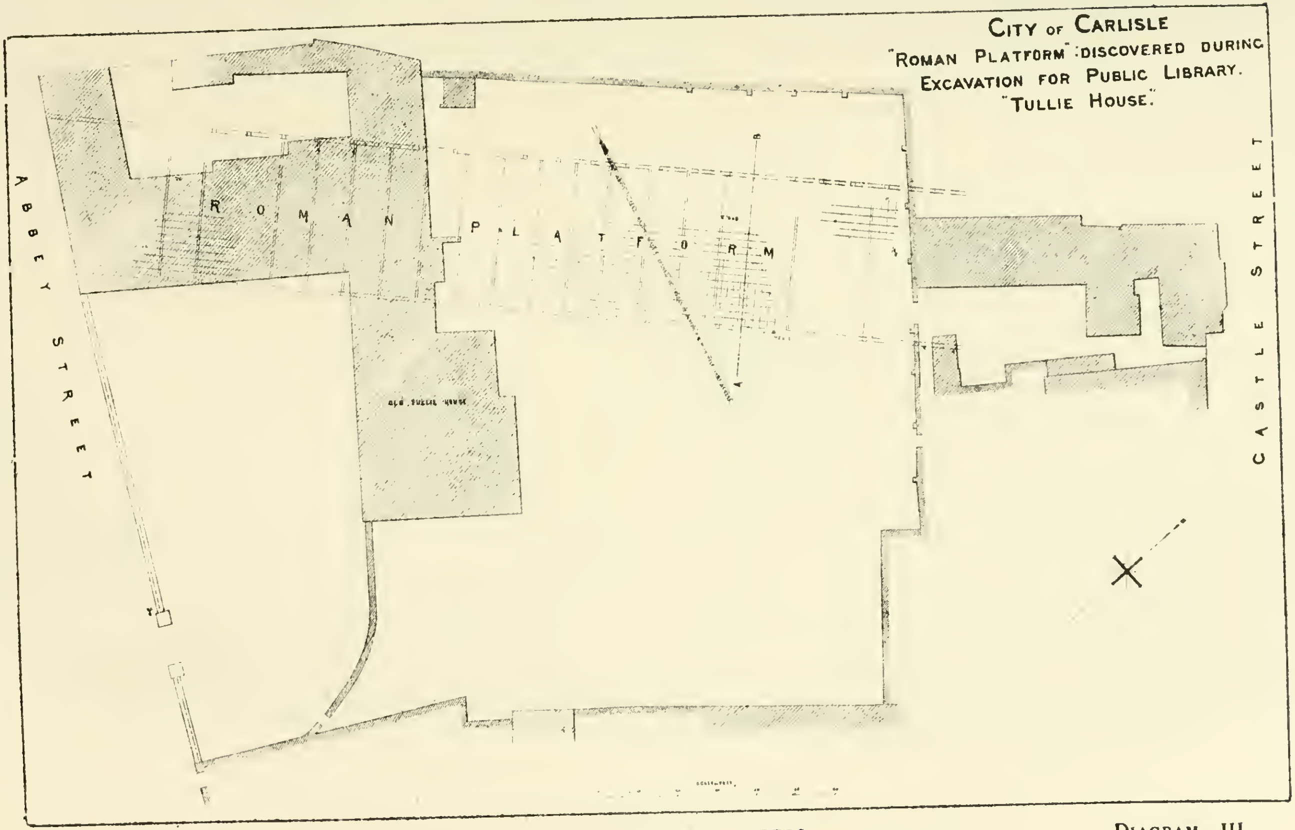
[1] It has been suggested that the *murus* ran direct to the north-west corner of the Castle Hill (now known as Windy Brow or Corner). The statement in the text has been proved by actual excavation, and the foundation of the *murus* found. *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. ix., pp. 167-176. *Archæologia Æliana*, n.s., vol. xii., pp. 163-171.

[2] The reason for this abrupt and singular detour made by the *Vallum* will be an element in any discussion on the theories put forward by Mr. George Neilson in *Per Lincam Valli*, Glasgow, William Hodge and Co.

[3] The position of this bridge is discussed in *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. ix., pp. 167-176. *Archæologia Æliana*, n.s., vol. xii., pp. 163-171.

[4] For this road see *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. viii., pp. 373-374. Also Ferguson's *History of Cumberland*, p. 6.

[5] Within the area of the mediæval city of Carlisle the depth of forced soil is very great, varying from a couple of feet in a very few places to as much as eighteen or twenty feet, or even more in places, but it may be put at an average of ten or twelve feet; actual excavations have proved it to be that depth on the Castle Hill; it is about the same at the entrance into the Cathedral, if my information is correct. For measurements see *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. iv., p. 337, &c. This depth of forced soil, and its wetness, owing to springs, accounts for the number of buildings in Carlisle that display signs of settlement.


CITY OF CARLISLE
"ROMAN PLATFORM" DISCOVERED DURING
EXCAVATION FOR PUBLIC LIBRARY.
"TULLIE HOUSE."
CASTLE STREET
ABBEY STREET
ROMAN PLATFORM
OLD TULLIE HOUSE
A
B

TULLIE HOUSE PLATFORM.

DIAGRAM III.

slope of the Cathedral Hill, between that hill to the S.E. and the Castle Hill to the N.W., and between Castle Street to the N.E. and Abbey Street to the S.W. (See diagram III.)

The General who first conducted the Roman legions to the site of Carlisle was the great Agricola himself, who advanced from Chester, and secured the district about the year A.D. 79 by a chain of forts stretching from the Solway to the Tyne, in order to restrain the Brigantes. These Brigantes and their northern neighbours, the Caledonians, were turbulent races, and the Emperor Hadrian, on visiting Britain in A.D. 120, found it necessary to build a massive wall, nigh seventy miles long, from Bowness-on-Solway to Wallsend-on-Tyne, backed on its southern side by an earthen vallum, strengthened by twenty-three camps, or fortified barracks, and now known as the Great Barrier of Hadrian, or The Roman Wall. Its passage of the Eden near Carlisle has already been dealt with.

The Castle Hill of Carlisle is one of those sites which are certain to have been fortified from a very early date, as it is a very important strategic position. Its fortification would be easily effected—trench and mound across the neck, and a stockade. I am inclined to fancy that the Britons had a small settlement, or *oppidum*, on Castle Hill,[1] but it cannot be proved; the Norman Castle and the gravelled parade obliterate all earlier history. One thing is certain, that if there was a British *oppidum* on the Castle Hill of Carlisle, Agricola was bound to reduce that *oppidum* before he advanced a step further northwards, or else to mask it by leaving a sufficient force behind him. But as the Roman Generals did their work thoroughly, we may be sure, *oppidum* or no *oppidum*, that the Castle Hill of Carlisle was in the hands of the Roman troops when Agricola advanced beyond the Eden. The late Dr. Guest was of opinion that Agricola built a fort upon the Castle Hill of Carlisle,[2] and that a small town was sheltered behind it upon the Cathedral Hill, that both were destroyed by the Brigantes in some successful outbreak, and that Hadrian erected a new fort at Stanwix with a small town nestling behind it on the slopes between Stanwix churchyard and the Eden—a locality which would probably repay excavation. This site being found inconvenient and cramped, settlers returned in more peaceable times to the old town of Luguvallium on the Cathedral Hill, and re-built it, occupying an area somewhat less than the mediæval walled city afterwards did.

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[1] See Ferguson's *History of Cumberland*, p. 100, where, however, it is observed that though the soil of Carlisle teems with Roman and Romano-British relics, British are wanting.

[2] *Origines Celticæ*, vol. ii., p. 93.

This is not the theory generally held; the late Dr. Bruce and most antiquaries take Agricola to have built the fort at Stanwix. If the Romans ever had a fort on the Castle Hill, all evidence of it, as of any British *oppidum*, is obscured by the Norman Castle.

Failing such evidence, I think the history of Luguvallium to be that Agricola built the fort at Stanwix, and that suburbs soon gathered on the cramped slope between the fort and the river. As the settlers increased more room was required, and they built upon the Cathedral Hill of Carlisle, and protected themselves with a stout palisade of oak. Bad times came, and in the troubles that preceded the arrival of Hadrian, Luguvallium was burnt or destroyed, and lay desolate and waste, when that emperor included the Castle Hill, but not the Cathedral Hill, within the lines of his Great Barrier. With the return of peace and security Luguvallium grew up again, and became a city of luxury and opulence.

The site of the excavations at Tullie House[1] was partly occupied by a brick building, probably a century or a century-and-a-half old. Its demolition disclosed scant fragments of a fourteenth century building, viz., a door and window facing the N.W., the sill of the door being about six feet below the present level of the ground. This proves that there was, standing on part of the site of Tullie House, an older building facing the N.W., with a ground line about six feet below the present surface. A compact mass of gravel also suggests that there was a road to the S.W. of Tullie House. A transomed and mullioned window of the same date as the door and window just mentioned

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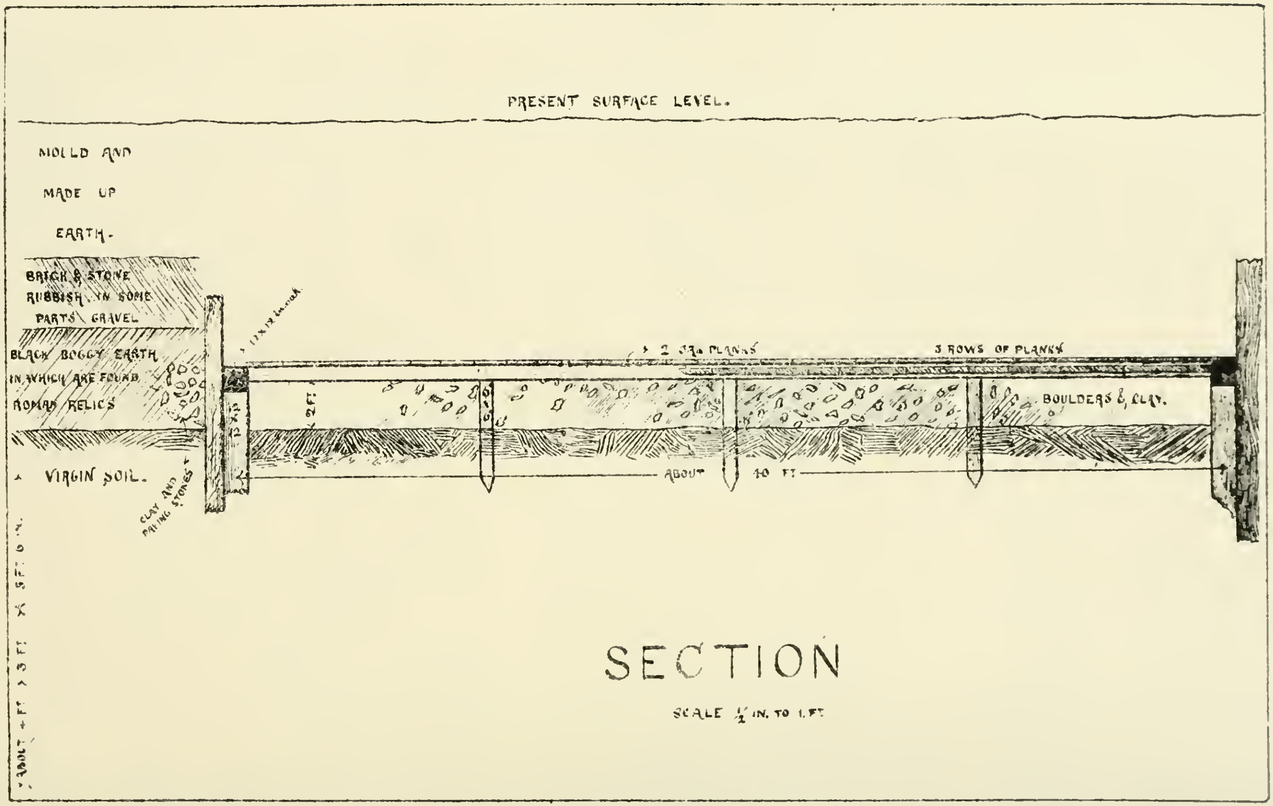
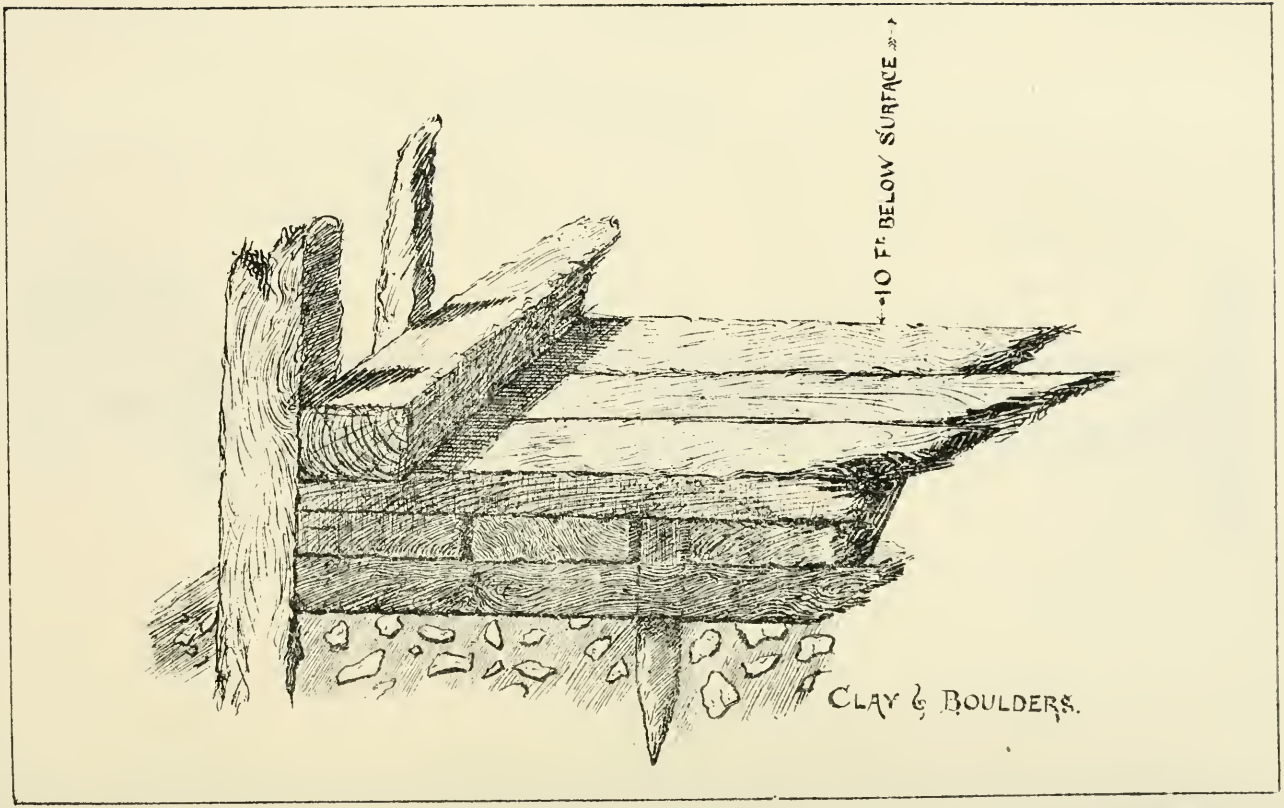
[1] Tullie House itself dates from the end of the seventeenth century, and with its grounds and offices has been purchased by subscription and given to the Corporation of Carlisle for the purposes of a Free Library, Museum, School of Art, &c. The seventeenth century house will not be disturbed, but a more modern brick wing has been demolished for re-building.


PRESENT SURFACE LEVEL.
MOLLD AND MADE UP EARTH.
BRICK & STONE RUBBISH, IN SOME PARTS GRAVEL
BLACK BOGGY EARTH IN WHICH ARE FOUND ROMAN RELICS
VIRGIN SOIL.
CLAY AND PAVING STONES
12 x 12 in. oak
12 x 12
2 FT.
2 3rd PLANKS
3 ROWS OF PLANKS
BOULDERS & CLAY.
ABOUT 40 FT
ABOUT 4 FT > 3 FT X 5 FT 0 IN.
SECTION
SCALE ½ IN. TO 1 FT

TULLIE HOUSE PLATFORM.

DIAGRAM IV.


10 Ft. BELOW SURFACE
CLAY & BOULDERS.

TULLIE HOUSE PLATFORM.

DIAGRAM V.

was found in the upper part of Tullie House. These are the remains of some fourteenth century building, the successor to whatever may have perished in the great fire which destroyed Carlisle in 1292.[1] The rest of the site was occupied by garden ground, and by stables and back yard, surrounded by the usual offices of various modern dates.

The whole of the site has not been excavated, only the east and west ends, towards Castle Street and Abbey Street respectively, and a subway connecting the two excavations (see diagram). The depth of the made or forced soil varies from eleven or twelve feet at the N.E. or Castle Street end to eighteen or twenty at the S.W. or Abbey Street end ; on the line A B on diagram III. it is about twelve feet six inches deep, made up of five feet six inches of mould and made up earth ; then comes brick and stone rubbish, and in some places gravel for three feet; this, I should imagine, marks the destruction of Carlisle by fire in 1292 ; then comes four feet of black boggish earth, in which are Roman relics. The virgin soil consists of clay and boulders. A section, showing these layers, is given in diagram IV.

The relics of antiquity found divide themselves into two classes : firstly, structural, or fixed to the soil; secondly, miscellaneous, or loose antiquities.

The structural antiquities consisted of a massive timber platform about forty feet in breadth, and running from N.E. to S.W. across the site—that is a little obliquely from Castle Street to Abbey Street, as shown on diagram III., a distance of about 220 feet. Its termination at either end has not been ascertained, so that it may be much longer. There appear to have been two parallel rows of posts, twelve inches by twelve in section (see diagrams IV. and V.). The distance between the rows of posts is about forty feet, and in each row the distance from centre to the centre of the posts is from six to eight feet. Some of the posts are ash, and others oak, and many have part of the bark and roots left on. The occurrence of the ash is interesting; the late Professor Rolleston says that, though the ash is indigenous to South Britain, its seeds have never been found in the peat mosses of Scotland[1]: here we have the ash itself in the very north of South Britain. Upon the top of these rows of posts rested horizontal timbers, twelve inches square. The space between the two rows of posts was occupied by a platform of oak planks, two inches thick, laid upon sleepers seven inches square, which rested on piles, six inches square, driven into the virgin soil (see diagrams IV. and V.) These planks were ascertained to be three deep, or six inches of oak plank. Outside the rows of twelve-inch posts, and immediately contiguous were rows of taller and slenderer posts (diagrams IV. and V.), which may have supported a roof, or more probably a parapet of wattle work. On the south of this structure, towards the Roman city of Luguvallium, paving stones embedded in clay, indicated a paved road parallel and contiguous to the platform. The platform was fastened together by gigantic nails of wrought iron, eight and twelve inches in length, square in section, and some having round heads, others square heads of pyramidal form. Long interment had made the wood so rotten that the planks were almost mould, and the twelve-inch posts are shattered and split to bits. The upper surface of this platform on the line A B was about eleven feet from the present surface; to the westwards the distance was greater.

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[1] "Chronicon de Lanercost," printed for the Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1839, pp. 144-145-147.

The question now arises—what was this structure made for? It is unquestionably Roman, and Roman of early date, as shown by its proximity to the virgin soil, by the absence of relics of earlier date than Roman, and by the soil full of Roman relics rising some feet above it; older, I should imagine, than the Great Barrier of Hadrian, and probably of the time of the earlier Luguvallium, which Hadrian found in ruins, and destroyed.

Various suggestions have been made, some of which hardly merit mention. The first is that it is a road, but this is unlikely; if produced a little way to the west, it would end abruptly on the steep cliffs of the West Walls; the breadth also would seem to be too great. I once thought it might have been a lake dwelling or crannog, which it somewhat resembles, but I cannot conceive a lake in such a position. Another suggestion is that it was the quarters of the *extraordinarii equites et pedites*, or possibly of the strangers: these last in the plan of a Roman camp were contiguous and continuous to the former. I do not think that Luguvallium was laid out as a camp, any more than was Silchester. Luguvallium was, I take it, a place of residence for civilians, merchants, tradesmen, and others; the *equites et pedites* would be in the camp at Stanwix. A drill shed has also been suggested. A Roman inscription[1] at Netherby records that the *Cohors prima Ælia Hispanorum equitata* rebuilt *basilicam equestrem exercitatoriam*, or a riding school. The structure now under consideration may have been a drill shed for infantry, or for artillery, who manned the *ballistæ* and *catapultæ*, many of them engines of great power, flinging very heavy missiles, and recoiling very heavily, necessitating a substantial platform for their support. Vitruvius speaks of a *ballista* which threw a stone 360 lbs. in weight; the recoil, or rather the re-action, of a *ballista* would be downwards. This structure occupies the very position in which a battery of these engines would have been placed for the reduction of a British *oppidum* on the Castle Hill. It has been objected that a Roman General would not delay to erect such a structure, but would attempt to carry any *oppidum* there by assault and escalade. That seems doubtful; the Roman legionary by the time he had marched to the site of Luguvallium must have been a very costly soldier, not lightly to be expended, while the *oppidum*, which probably as a rule sheltered only a few, would swarm with Brigantes, driven before the Roman advance, and ready to fight to the death in their last stronghold. For their conquest Agricola would use the engines of war which accompanied every Roman army, and for their use some sort of platform would be required with a parapet to protect the artillerymen, and to prevent the enemy from rushing the engines. But I admit that Agricola would hardly have delayed to construct so massive a structure as that we are now considering. I suggest that the inhabitants of the earlier Luguvallium rebuilt Agricola's battery in this substantial form for their own protection. The earlier Luguvallium was defended by a stockade, of oak posts set in three rows,

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[1] *British Barrows*, Greenwell and Rolleston, p. 722.

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[1] "Lapidarium Septentrionale, No. 774.

quincunx fashion, or, as a navvy explained it to me, so that a man could not come straight through them.[1] This stockade has been found at four places in Carlisle, viz., the Bush Hotel, and Bank Street; these two finds I saw. The other two places I have been informed of by old inhabitants, viz., Citadel Row, a street only a few feet long, and Castle Street. In the two instances which I saw, the stockade was buried deep under soil full of Roman relics, and the tops of the stakes were burnt off; the stockades clearly belonged, like the structure under consideration, to the earlier Luguvallium.

I would venture to suggest that the earlier Luguvallium was defended by a triple row of oak posts well wattle-worked together: that westward of the north gate this fortification changed to a platform for engines of war, commanding the trackway from North Britain, which must have passed along the front of the platform to reach the north gate of Luguvallium.[2] Platform and stockade would all be ruined ere Hadrian's days, and the second Luguvallium, which I fancy was not fortified, rose upon the *debris*.

Positive evidence exists that the Romans brought *ballistæ* into the north of England. Two inscriptions have been found at the station of Bremenium (now High Rochester) in Northumberland which state that the first cohort of the Vardulli had there rebuilt a *ballistarium*, or platform, for *ballistæ*.[3] One of these inscriptions was found near a portion of the ramparts of Bremenium, which was of the unusual thickness of twenty-eight feet, and strengthened by a buttress. In the vicinity of this rampart a number of large stones, roughly rounded, such as we may suppose would be used for *ballistæ*, were found. Similar stones have been found at Borcovicus, and chiefly in the vicinity of those parts where are platforms or staunces suitable for mounting *ballistæ*. A round ball of flint, a little pear-shaped, in diameter four inches, and weighing

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[1] "Transactions of the *Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*," vol. iii., pp. 134-137; vol. iv., p. 91. "Proc: S.A.," n.s., vol. vii., p. 217, and "*Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xxxiii., p. 525.

[2] The road exactly fulfils the rule laid down by Vitruvius, Bk. I., c. 5, viz., that it should wind and turn to the left from the gates. By this arrangement the right sides of the attacking troops, which are not covered by their shields, are open to the weapons of the beseiged.

[3] "Lapidarium Septentrionale," Nos. 571-572.

3¾lbs. was found on the tip to which the earth from Tullie House was taken, but the dirt adhering to it proved clearly that it had occurred in the Roman *debris* about the level of the platform. It seems such a stone as might be flung from a *ballista*, but one ball will hardly prove the existence of a battery.[1] Staunces, supposed for *ballistæ* and such like engines, are found at regular intervals on the Wall of Antoninus, and on the walls of Silchester, especially near the gates.

So far I have not been able to find any similar platform in Britain. At Burghhead, on the Moray Frith, in Scotland, is a fort which presents the peculiar feature of being constructed of logs of oak, alternating with layers of stone. A diagram in the new volume of *Proceedings S.A. of Scotland*[2] shows a section and view of the ramparts. This method of construction is characteristic of the Celtic or Gaulish forts of France, *e.g.*, the ramparts of Murcens, of Uxellodunum, and of Impernal, on the river Lot, in the department of that name in the south of France.[3] At Burghhead, Murcens, and Impernal, large quantities of iron nails, exactly similar to those found at Tullie House, have been discovered. Cæsar, in his *Gallic Wars*, Book vii., section 23, gives a description of the Gallic fortifications, which exactly describes those just mentioned; he gives forty feet as the breadth of the cross beams, the breadth of the Tullie House structure. This fact and the similarity of the nails found in Carlisle, in Scotland, and in Gaul, may give birth to a conjecture that the structure at Tullie House may have been the work of a Celtic people, and not of the Romans. But the similarity does not go very far. The Scotch and foreign examples are intended, as Cæsar explains, to resist the battering-ram, while the Tullie House structure was clearly intended to carry great weight.

Another structural find was made, which merits brief mention. At the depth of eleven feet from the present surface a drain was found running from east to west, and crossing the platform (see diagram III.), but at a higher level, a foot or so above it, and five feet below the mediaeval surface, which is as already conjectured six feet below the present level. When this drain was put in, the platform must have been long buried: the mediaeval man may have laid this drain, or the Roman may have laid it. It is made of trunks of Scotch fir, *Pinus sylvestris*, hollowed out, and jointed one into the other. If the Roman laid the drain, the material was ready to the hand; Cæsar found the Scotch fir flourishing in great abundance in these islands (see *British Barrows*, Greenwell and Rolleston p. 724, n.).

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[1] Since writing these papers I have been shown three large round balls of red sandstone, undoubtedly made for use in a *ballista*, or some similar machine. They were found sixteen years ago, in the ditch of the *vallum* in building the Blazing Barrel public-house, and have ever since been in possession of the builder. The Blazing Barrel is in the ditch of the *vallum*, exactly opposite the platform.

[2] *Proceedings S.A. of Scotland*, 3rd series, vol. i., pp. 435-437.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 440.

Leaving the structural finds, I come to the miscellaneous or loose articles that occurred during the work.

At the very bottom of all things, at a depth of some eighteen feet, on the virgin soil, a bone arrow-head was found. It is two-and-a-half inches long, and is formed from the bone of some small animal, and has holes for a rivet by which it was secured to its shaft. For examples of bone weapons, see *Proc. S.A.*, 2nd series, vol. i., p. 162, where Mr. Franks says of them:—

> Weapons made of bone are of great rarity, especially in this country. So unsatisfactory a material for all purposes, whether of warfare or the chase, would only be employed at a time when metal was unknown, or so rare as to be of great value, so that the use of it was restricted to a few persons. In addition to this, bone is very liable to decay, and it is only found in good preservation when embedded in moorish soil or in thick mud, so that the action of the air is excluded.

Coming to relics of the Roman age, potsherds of that date began to appear at the depth of about eight feet, and continued down to the original soil. They were of the usual character, shards of blue black ware, and of the so-called Samian (pseudo-Arretine), both plain and figured; fragments of *amphoræ* and of *mortaria* were abundant: the potters' marks are numerous, and are given, together with others from Carlisle, in an Appendix to this paper. One or two of the shards of Samian had been ground into circular dumps, no doubt by children for use in some such game as "hop-scotch," and one or two, by the leaden rivets remaining in them, showed that they had belonged to vessels considered worthy of repair when broken. Several small vases, about four inches in height, of coarse paste, were found. Fragments of glass vessels also occurred, including pieces with the characteristic projecting pillars (see Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, 3rd edition, p. 284), and half of a bracelet or bangle of green glass with yellow ornaments. One broken earthenware vessel possesses some interest, as belonging to the class of triple vases, which have recently been the subject of discussion in the *Antiquary*.[1]

Some brass braiding, or wire plaited into a braid or chain of square section, was found at a depth of sixteen feet below the surface, among the Roman *debris*. Braiding, of exactly the same pattern, is in the Anglo-Roman room at the British Museum, and was found at Chorley, in Lancashire. Some instances are in the Guildhall Museum, forming the handles of glass bowls, being attached by rings to lions' masks moulded on the glass. One or two fragments of a copper mirror were found; also some thin pieces of brass, which were probably the mounts of strap ends. A hair-pin of bronze, two *styli*, and two *ligulæ* of the same material were found; an iron adze-head occurred at the depth of ten feet, and a heavy bronze ring at six feet, at which depth also occurred a much-worn wedding ring of a modern date; and at seven feet the leaden bob of a plummet was found.

A bowl of thin bronze, hammered out of the solid, was found among the Roman *debris*. It is one foot in diameter at the top, including a turnover rim of half-an-inch; its depth is three inches, and its diameter at bottom, which is slighly dished, is nine inches. The rim has eight nail holes in it, struck up from the under side, as if the bowl had been inverted, and nailed as a cover over something. It has been most highly valued, if the care that has been taken to repair it is any criterion; it has been patched with bronze, thin plates of bronze, in no less than eleven or twelve places; these plates are fastened on with bronze rivets of a peculiar type, exactly like modern paper fasteners. Two bronze bowls, exactly similar to this, were found in a crannog in Dowalton Loch in Wigtonshire, some thirty years ago, by the present Duke of Northumberland. These Dowalton Loch bowls are engraved in Dr. Munro's magnificent work, *The Lake Dwellings of Europe*, p. 400, and also in Dr. Anderson's *Scotland in Pagan Times; the Iron Age*, p. 268. They are in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in company with a third, also from Dowalton. This third bowl is made of pieces of sheet metal, riveted together, and is repaired in identically the same manner, and with identically the same rivets as the bowl just found at Tullie House. A store of these peculiar rivets has recently been found in an archæological investigation of the Culbin Sands in Elginshire (*Proceedings S.A. of Scotland*, 3rd series, vol. i., p. 508). With the three Dowalton Loch examples, a bronze saucepan of well-known Roman form was found, undoubtedly Roman, for it is marked "P. CIPIPOLIBI"—the mark of Publicus Cipius Polibus, a well-known Roman saucepan maker.[1]

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[1] See *Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. xii., p. 272.

A bronze brooch was also found at Tullie House, the exact place I do not know.[2] It is a flat circle of about an inch internal diameter, and not quite an inch and a half external diameter. On it is an inscription, "✠ ihs nazar enus rex." It much resembles a brooch engraved in *Scotland in Pagan Times; The Iron Age*, p. 225, and now in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, which Dr. Anderson assigns to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. A carved stone from the Shawk Quarries, near Carlisle, which the Romans are known to have worked, was also found at Tullie House.[3] It is six inches by four inches by a foot in length, and one-half of it is worked into a spirited likeness of the head of a wild boar, the well-known cognizance of the twentieth Legion. A disc of red sandstone was found at a depth of nine feet; it is four and a half inches in diameter, and two inches in thickness. A hone stone of sandstone was also found. Three perfect millstones, and a fourth, broken, of volcanic ash from Andernach on the Rhine were discovered; the broken one has part of its ironwork remaining. Other fragments were a couple of querns of local stone.

Three gold coins were found. The earliest in date is a quarter noble of Edward III. ; it is of his fourth issue, between 1369 and 1379 ; it was found among the Roman *debris*, at a depth of nine feet, but coins have a tendency to work downwards. The next is a half-guinea of William III., dated 1695. I do not know at what depth it was found. The third is a half-guinea of George I., dated 1725, in beautiful condition, found at three feet below the surface. The silver coins included four denarii, found at a depth of thirteen feet ; these appear to have been subject to the action of fire ; two more, much worn ; four silver pennies of Edward II. (three of the London mint, and one of Canterbury). The copper coins included first, second, and third brasses, mostly too corroded and detrited to be deciphered, except two second brasses of Vespasian, and one of Trajan ; an Irish halfpenny of Queen Elizabeth ; two or three Scotch bawbees, one of which had wriggled down to a depth of fifteen feet ; a penny of George III., and one or two modern halfpennies.

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[1] Munro's *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, p. 400; Anderson's *Scotland in Pagan Times; the Iron Age*, p. 200.

[2] The finders took it to be gold, and concealed it for some time.

[3] Proc. S.A., 2nd series, vol. xiv., p. 41.

I should like to add that owing to a system of paying the excavators for what they found and gave up, most of the relics discovered, except some coins, came into the possession of the Corporation of Carlisle, and will be added to the Museum in Tullie House. That, I am sorry to say, did not occur in the case of the extensive excavations made in Carlisle for the erection of new markets in 1887 : between 200 and 300 silver coins of Roman date found there were disposed of to a Liverpool dealer by one of the foremen, who had been most active in handing over to the Corporation anything that was too big for him to lift. But the excavators have an exaggerated idea of the value of Roman and other coins, due to ignorant people giving absurd prices for single coins ; these prices the men think ought to be always obtained, and they hide the coins from the authorities, but ultimately part with them for a trifle to some wily foreman who is in touch with the Liverpool dealers through the local pawnbrokers. One object found in the new markets at Carlisle was a figure of a bronze sea-horse ; I heard of its discovery, but it had already got into the hands of a dealer. Recently, after a lapse of five years, I found it in the Anglo-Roman room at the British Museum.

APPENDIX No. I.

The bones from the Romano-British strata under Carlisle, obtained at a depth of from eight to eighteen feet beneath the present surface, and submitted to me by Mr. R. S. Ferguson, belong to the following animals:—Domestic dog, short-horned ox (*Bos longifrons*), red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), domestic pig. The dog is represented by fragments of a young skull; the ox by two cannon-bones, lower jaws, portions of skull and other bones; the red deer by an entire hind cannon-bone (*metatarsus*) the lower end of a tibia, and some other remains; and the pig by the lower jaw. The only specimens which are of especial interest are the cannon-bones (*metacarpus* and *metatarsus*) of the ox, which are smaller than any that have ever come under my notice, and indicate an extremely diminutive domestic race. The front cannon-bone (*metacarpus*) is represented in the accompanying illustration on a scale of one-half the actual size. It extreme length is only 6 inches, and its width at the upper end 2·8 inches.

R. LYDEKKER.

FRONT SURFACE OF THE LEFT FORE CANNON-BONE (METACARPUS) OF THE SHORT-HORNED OX (HALF-NATURAL SIZE).

APPENDIX No. II.—POTTERS' MARKS.

SAMIAN WARE FROM TULLIE HOUSE.

Names marked thus are in Wright's Catalogue.*
Names marked thus in Roach Smith's list.†
On Wright's List of Marks on *Mortaria*.‡

A / /
OF . A / /
*AMABIVS
BAVNCIMI OF
*OF . B / / / ENI
(OF . BRITAENII ?)
‡CRICIR . OF
*OF . COELI
*†OF . CALVI (twice)
*†OF . C / ESI
(twice, OF . CRESI ?)
*OF . CENI
*OF . CVI
DIN /
ERVRV / FEC
OF . ECE
*†GERMANI . OF
IVLLII
LITTERA . F
LOC / /
MINAITAS
*MON /
NIC / / (twice)
NICEPHOR . F
*†NIGRINI
†PATERC
*†PATRICIVS
*†OF . PO / /
*†OF . PONTI
PRIAM . FE
OF . RV
*OF . RVF (twice)
*†OF . RVFINI
OF . ROM /
SECVNDI (three times)
*OF . SILVINI (twice)
SNOBN /
*†TAVRICI . O
VOGENE
*†OF . VITA
OF . VRTV
/ / CII
/ / . F
/ / . FE
/ / II . F
OF . / / LENI
A sexfoil in shaped margin, deeply stamped.[1]

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[1] This mark is on fragments of Samian in the Museum at York.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF MR. R. FERGUSON, F.S.A., OF MORTON.

*†ADVOCISI
*†ALBVCI
*†BRICCI . M
*†BVRDO
*DOIIC or DOLIC
DORCEVS . F .
*OF . FAB /
MASCNIOS
MAMMI
MINAISINNIVS
MOGODII . M
*†MOXIVS
OMOIMO
*†OF . PATRIC
*OF . RICIMI
*†RVFFI
*†SATVRNNI . OF
*SENILA
SCOTNI
VAKEDVKATI
VATICONIS M (scratched)
*†VIIRI
XIIXII

SAMIAN WARE FROM THE CARLISLE MUSEUM.

*†ANVNI . M or AVVNI . M.
AINI . M.
*†§ADVOCISI (in caps, on side of a vessel)
*§AETERNII
*†§BIGA FEC
BAECOSHEF ?
*CALAVA . F (Botchergate)
§CAMVII (twice)
CAMPANI M
*†§CRVCVRO
CAVON . M (now missing)
§CLOSABINIA or GLOSABINIA
*†OF . FAGE (from Stanwix).
§GLANCIV M
IO / / M
§IO / CIVS or IOCI . MS
LITTER
M / / M
MAGI OF
*†MAIOR . F
*†OF . MANNI.
*†§MARCELLIVS
*†MARTIALIS
PVGNI N
SAXIMI . M (twice)
*†§SECVNDVS F
§SILVIIRI OF
ŒCVIÆ . F or ŒCKIÆ . F
/ MOR . M
§/ IIANIM
/ / / E / CTO SF
§/ / / INI M
/ / IVINI
/ / II . M
/ / BIMAI
/ / IIMA
§XIIIXIII
(scratched on bottom).

§ Pieces so marked were found in the New Markets, Carlisle.

SAMIAN WARE IN MR. FISHER'S COLLECTION.

*†CELTAS . FC
*†CRACVNA F
*†MACCALI M
OSINONAVI
*PAVI . L . P
*†TITVRONIS O
/ / RITINIMI
LATOH

SAMIAN WARE IN CATALOGUE OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL MUSEUM (formed at Carlisle during a visit of the Royal Archæological Institute, 1859).

GAVRICUS	p. 7, Catalogue.	SECVNDVS . F .	p. 7, Catalogue
VAREDVCATVS	p. 7, „	OF . VIR .	p. 7, „
SENIIA F	p. 7, „	REGALIS F .	p. 7, „
TAVRICI . F	p. 7, „	. . ATIOF .	p. 7, „
BRICCI . M	p. 7, „	PATERCLOS FE .	p. 7, „
BRICCIVS	p. 7, „	SEVERVS	p. 7, „

ON LAMPS.

ATIPIVS	Catalogue List, p. 8.
*IECIDI	(Museum)
FORTIS	(Morton Collection)
FVS	„

ON AMPHORÆ.

VIPAV	Tullie House
⊥AT$_{R}$OPI	„
DOM F	Morton
A R A .	Mr. Fisher
P . I · R or P. L. R	Museum.
C . TYG or C . TYC	„
VINI or VIAT LEC.VV LEC.VV	„

ON MORTARIA

DOCIE	Morton.
M I Z h E M I Z h E or M R I · E M R I · E	Museum.
A V . S T A A A or A V · S T M A	„
N N I V S	
MARTIALIS (twice)	Catalogue, pp. 10-11.

ON WHITE WARE.

PIRV.

THE SHRINE AND HEAD OF ST. HUGH OF LINCOLN.

By THE REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES.

Of all the possessions of Lincoln Minster none was more highly prized than the remains of its saintly bishop, Hugh of Avalon. Prized not merely as the mortal tenement of one of the noblest and purest spirits which have illustrated the see of Remigius, but, on lower grounds, as the source of a stream of wealth which flowed in uninterruptedly at his shrine until the fierce storm of the Reformation scattered all such "monuments of superstition" to the winds. Although Hugh in his lifetime deprecated all credit for miraculous power, and indeed, as his biographer tells us, was no great admirer of so called miracles, regarding the popular craving after them as an evidence of the want of true faith,[1] miraculous powers began to be attributed to his body immediately after his decease. During the four days' journey from London to Lincoln, though the weather was wet and stormy, the wax torches borne before his bier were never all extinguished at once, and when the corpse rested for the night at Biggleswade, a man who had had his arm broken in the crush believed that the saint appeared to him in a vision and by a touch restored the fractured limb. On reaching Lincoln miraculous cures at once began to testify to his sanctity. While the body lay in the Minster before burial, a knight of Lindsey was healed of a cancer by placing his diseased arm upon it; at the mere touch of the sacred corpse a blind woman received sight, while, *en revanche*, a thief who had eased a woman of her purse as she knelt in prayer was struck with instant blindness.[2] As was to be expected a plentiful crop of miracles followed Hugh's burial. Over these we need not linger much. They are of the ordinary type which we are familiar with in mediæval hagiology. Their chief interest lies in the side-light they throw on the life of the period, and the local names preserved in the narratives. Wigford, *i.e.*, the southern portion of the city beyond the river, appears several times in connection with crippled and lunatic girls and a tongue-tied boy, and Pottergate as the home of a dumb lad, all cured by passing the night by the tomb. We have a curious picture of the condition of the present decorous Minster-yard, or "atrium ecclesiæ," in the thirteenth century, when a palsied lad builds himself a hut outside the precentor's gate, and is supported by his alms and those of the other canons, until he too receives healing at the tomb. There is a curious reference to Eustace, Abbot of Flay, who, it will be remembered, came on a mission from his Abbey in Normandy in 1200 to preach the better observance of the Lord's Day and other reforms in England. In 1201 he came to Lincolnshire where, as in Yorkshire, his words, backed with the coarse imposture of a letter from heaven, had a powerful but transient effect. Divine judgments fell, it was believed, on the heads of those who scorned his admonitions. Among those stiff-necked folks whose cases are recorded by Hoveden[1] and Giraldus,[2] was a woman of Kent—"incredula nimis et indevota"—who was guilty of the heinous crime of winding the thread she had spun into balls after 3 p.m. on Saturday, at which hour, by the rules of the Church, the sanctity of the Lord's Day began and lasted till the Monday morning, and in spite of the remonstrances of her husband and her neighbours continued her wicked work. Suddenly both her hands stiffened. In dismay she came to St. Hugh's tomb for relief. The penitentiary, sub-dean William of Bramfield—the same who was murdered by a Vicar of the Church, four years afterwards, as he knelt in prayer at St. Peter's Altar (his murderer meeting with "lynch law" at the hands of the sub-dean's servants—"statim membratim discerptus est"), gave no credence to her tale and turned her out of the Church. In her despair, beating her head with her closed fists, she journeys to Canterbury, if perchance St. Thomas might do for her what St. Hugh would not. But he too refuses her aid, and tells her to go back to Lincoln with all speed, for there she would be cured. She obeys the supernatural voice which issued from the martyr's tomb; retraces her steps; finds the incredulous sub-dean celebrating mass close to St. Hugh's tomb, on which she lays her hands and is forthwith cured.[1] The hint this story gives of the relations between the elder and the younger saint as a wonder worker, of which the narrative of St. Hugh's miracles supplies several examples, is instructive as indicating the rivalry existing between miraculous shrines; the guardians of each extolling the efficacy of their own shrine at the expense of others.

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[1] *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, pp. 97, 98, 245; Girald. Camb. vii, 181.

[2] *M. V.* 365-6, 375-6, Giraldus Camb. vii, 182, Hoveden iv, 143.

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[1] Vol. iv. p. 170-1.

[2] Vol. vii. p. 121.

The fame of the miraculous cures worked at St. Hugh's tomb, for as yet, properly speaking, he had no *shrine*, brought together such large numbers of sick and impotent folk that the Chapel in which he had been buried would not receive them. This Chapel was that of St. Hugh's patron saint, St. John the Baptist, the northernmost of the two apsidal chapels which project from the east side of the north-east transept, close to the cloister-door. It formed part of Hugh's own building, then only just completed. The last directions given by him to his architect, Geoffrey of Noiers, on his death bed, at the Old Temple in Holborn, were for the finishing and decoration of the altar in it. "He had hoped to have consecrated it himself, but since God had willed otherwise, it must be done by other hands. He named the Bishop of Rochester as his representative[2]." The tomb, according to his own directions, was not placed conspicuously in the middle of the chapel, but close to the side wall to the south, where there would be less danger of persons tripping over it and falling. He had sought not to be a stumbling block to his brethren in his life time; he would be sorry to be a stumbling block to them when dead.[1] It was consequently found necessary greatly to enlarge the chapel. The apse was therefore taken down, and the side walls carried out fifty feet, and the apse replaced with a square end after English fashion, fully quadrupling the area. It must have been at this time that the first translation of the body of St. Hugh took place. A larger chapel having been provided where there would be no such risk of stumbling over the low *dos-d'âne* tomb as in the cramped area of the earlier chapel, the objection to a central position would be done away, and the tomb would be made to occupy a place worthy of it. We may suppose it set up in the middle of the chapel, like that of the Confessor at Westminster Abbey, and those of St. Alban in the church which bears his name, and of other canonized saints. We can hardly be wrong—(the architecture of the chapel as seen in Hollar's prints in Dugdale points that way)—in regarding this enlargement and the consequent translation, as contemporaneous with the canonization of St. Hugh. This we know took place in 1220 by a decree of Pope Honorius III., who, in the second and third of the series of bulls announcing the canonization, gives directions for the transference of his body to a more honourable place. The third special bull, addressed to the Bishop of Lincoln, expressly orders him to summon the prelates and others, and have the translation carried out with due solemnity, and the sacred body placed with all worthy honour.[2]

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[1] We have other instances in the "legenda" of St. Hugh, as well as in Hoveden, of the punishment with which the violation of the strict rule of Sunday observances laid down by this fanatic was visited, *e.g.*, a woman washes her child's clothes after 3 p.m. on Saturday, and hangs them out to dry on Sunday, and is struck with paralysis in the left hand and fore-arm. A dream warns her to go to St. Hugh's tomb, where she is cured. (Giraldus vii., 185.) A woman persisting to go on weaving after the same hour at Nafferton, Yorkshire, is paralysed at her loom. (Hoveden iv., 170.) In Lincolnshire one woman who, in spite of her husband's remonstrances, puts her dough into a hot oven at the forbidden time, finds it still unbaked when she goes to take it out; while another good woman who, though the dough is kneaded and the oven ready to receive it, refuses to violate the sanctity of the Lord's day, is rewarded by having her bread baked by miracle (*ib.* 171).

[2] *Magna Vita*, p. 387.

The late Canon Dimock allows that there is no "actual evidence that this order was carried into effect," either in 1220, or at any other time before the great translation in 1280. But it is not at all likely that the papal mandate remained entirely disregarded for sixty years, and it is only reasonable to suppose that the new enlarged chapel was erected upon or soon after his canonization,—the period to which, as has been already said, the architecture belongs,—in order to meet the necessity of larger space for the shrine of the new saint and his devotees.[1] It may be remarked in passing, that towards the latter part of the last century, when it was the habit of Deans and Chapters to remove decayed parts of the Cathedrals entrusted to their guardianship to save the expense of repair, the enlarged quadrangular chapel was pulled down under the direction of "the ingenious Mr. Essex[2]" and the original apsidal shape restored; the work, it may be added, being done so cleverly, the old stonework being adapted to its new position, as to deceive the most experienced as to its date. The two lancets which light it are evidently the same which appear in Hollar's view at the east end of the elongated chapel, and the other architectural features belong to that fabric.[3]

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[1] *Ib.* 340, 377.—That St. Hugh's directions as to the position of his tomb were faithfully carried out is shewn by the following passage in Giraldus' "*Vita S. Hugonis,*" vol. vii., p. 123:—"Altare sancti Johannis Baptistæ quod tumbam viri sancti collateralem et proximam habet."

From a few words in the narrative of the woman who had her hand paralysed for washing her child's clothes after 3 p.m. on Saturday, and was cured at St. Hugh's tomb, we see that the tomb—like the majority of mediæval shrines—had recesses or apertures in its sides to enable the devotees to bring themselves as near as possible to the sacred remains.—"Videbatur ei in somniis quod quidam dixit ei ut iret ad tumbam . . . . et poneret se *in medio foramine tumbæ.* (Giraldus vii., 189.)

[2] "Cum venerabile corpus beati Hugonis a loco in quo est transferendum sit et dignius collocandum, paternitati tuæ per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus convocatis prælatis et aliis quos videris convocandos, corpus ipsum in locum opportunum cures cum debita solempnitate transferri, faciens illud cum digna honorificentia collocari," Giraldus, vol. vii, p. 246, Appendix I.

As has been said, we may place the enlargement of St. John Baptist's Chapel, and the presumed former translation of the remains of St. Hugh about the year 1220, or a little later. But after all that had been done, the position occupied by the shrine appeared inadequate to the dignity of so great a saint, as well as too narrow for the crowds who gathered at the sacred spot, especially on the day of his death and other solemn anniversaries, to obtain healing of their physical maladies and spiritual benefits. Within thirty years the Dean and Chapter undertook a much more magnificent and costly design, to do honour to one the fame of whose sanctity had spread so widely, and had received papal confirmation by his admission to the roll of canonised saints within twenty years of his death. This was no less than the demolition of the apsidal termination of St. Hugh's Choir, if not still in its first newness hardly yet fifty years old, and the erection of an eastern limb, of far larger dimensions and richer design, for the reception of the shrine. This was the origin of the far-famed

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[1] Giraldus *u. s.* p. 222.

[2] Chapter Orders Sept. 10, 1771, that "St. Mary's Chapel [an error for St. John the Baptist's] be taken down next spring and the breach made up by a building similar to the other small chapel."

[3] By the removal of the earth a few years since, the foundations of this Chapel were brought to light and it awaits reconstruction. It will be observed that the Chapel occupies the same relative position to the Choir of the Minster as the destroyed Lady Chapel at Peterborough and that still standing at Ely.

"Angel choir" pronounced by one of our ablest architectural judges,[1] "one of the loveliest of human works, simply perfect in its proportions and details."

This stately work was commenced in 1256 or the following year, and was so far finished as to admit of the translation of the saint's body to the newly erected shrine, on October 6th, 1280. It was not however fully completed till the fourteenth century was well on its way. The work evidently lagged; episcopal appeals, letters of indulgence, and injunctions to the Rural Deans for its completion were issued by Bishop Oliver Sutton in 1297 and 1298, and by Bishop John of Dalderby, at various dates between 1301 and 1314. In 1306 a contract for the "novum opus" was entered into between the Chapter and Richard of Stow, or, Gainsborough, "cementarius," the plainwork to be done by measure and the carved work and sculpture by the day.

To describe the ceremony of the translation at any length would be beside the purpose of this paper. It was in all probability the most magnificent function ever witnessed in Lincoln Minster, dignified with the presence of Edward I. and Queen Eleanor (who ten years later breathed her last but a few miles from Lincoln, and had her first monument in the Minster, and her first cross erected by the above-mentioned Richard of Stow, just outside the south-gate of the city), his brother Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (the nominal king of Sicily) and his wife, the queen of Navarre, and a host of nobles, archbishops, bishops, and other high dignitaries of church and state. Two conduits ran wine at the west entrance of the Bishop's palace from 3 p.m. to curfew. The whole expense of the translation was borne by Thomas Beck who was on the same day, when the function was over, consecrated Bishop of St. David's. It is interesting to notice that four years later his more famous brother the mighty clerk, Antony, Patriarch of Jerusalem and King of Man, when appointed to the Bishopric of Durham, emulated his younger brother's munificence, undertaking the entire charges of the translation of St. William of York on the day of his own consecration in York Minster, Jan. 9th, 1284.

For the reception of the Saint's body a metal *feretrum* or portable shrine had been provided, ornamented with gold and silver and inlaid with precious stones. This, was placed upon a lofty stone base in the centre of the free space behind the back wall of the reredos.[1] Such was the customary position for the shrine of the chief saint of any great church. The structure was generally raised to a sufficient height to be visible to the priest celebrating mass at the high altar on the other side of the reredos wall, with the intention of elevating his thoughts while ministering and stirring him up to emulate the virtues of the holy man there entombed. The only example still existing in England[2] is that of the Confessor behind the altar at Westminster Abbey; but, to omit the world-famous shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury, we know that such was the position of the shrines of St. Etheldreda at Ely, St. William at York, St. Swithun at Winchester and many others. Beyond the fact that it was elevated on a stone base, doubtless pierced with canopied arches and richly adorned with carving, and that it was cased with plates of gold and of silver gilt, and encrusted with gems, and it was protected by a *grille* of curiously wrought iron trellis work, we have no knowledge of the form or design of the shrine.[3] The place where it stood was in Sanderson's time[4] marked by iron clamps in the pavement, probably the fastenings of the grille just mentioned. These were still to be seen in the middle of the last century when they are referred to by Sympson, the Lincoln antiquary, but they have now entirely disappeared.

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[1] E. A. Freeman *English Towns and Districts*, p. 225.

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[1] "Tandem sacrum corpus in theca auro argento et pretiosis lapidibus ornata reconditum est; ipsa que theca loco congruo satisque sublimi e marmore structo honorifice collocata est." Surius, ed. Venet, 1581, tom. vi.

[2] That at St. Albans is a reconstruction made up of fragments discovered in different parts of the Church.

[3] From the following extracts from the Chapter records we see that the shrine, like the building which contained it, was not all finished at once. The *grille* was made about 1308, by Simon the Smith, and a new lid, inlaid with images in gold and silver, by London goldsmiths in 1310. "Venit Simon Faber et petiit quod cum per custodes feretri beati Hugonis, viz., Magistrum, T. de Ferrariis et Dominum R. de Wynchecombe fuisset conventum cum eodem de quadraginta marcis pro opere feretri in faciendo unum Traylicium ferreum circa feretrum antedictum, et inveniendo sibi carbones et ferrum quod quinque marcæ, xij solidi iiij denarii non solverentur" (Chapter Acts, fo. 15, verso).

"Die veneris proxime post Epiphaniam (A.D. 1310) Dominus Reginaldus de Southwick missus fuit London. ad tractandum cum aurifabris et aliis operariis de novo coopertorio pro feretro beati Hugonis cum diversis imaginibus aureis et argenteis noviter faciendis decorando et ornando" (*ibid*). See Appendix D.

[4] "North of Dalyson's tomb was the shrine of St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, which you may find by the irons fastened on the pavement. It was made of beaten gold, and was in length eight feet and four feet broad, as is now to be seen. It was taken away by virtue of a Commission in K. Henry VIII. time, the thirty-second year of his reign. The irons only now remaining." Sanderson, *Ancien Monumental Inscriptions in Lincoln*, W. & B. Brooke, 1851,

On the destruction of the shrine at the period of the Reformation, what remained of the venerated body was believed to have been interred in a grave in the floor of the retro-choir, a little to the north of the original site. The spot is marked by a table-tomb set up by Bishop William Fuller (Sanderson's successor) after the Restoration, and bearing a copy of Latin elegiacs, commemorating the supposed fact. But when the grave was opened on the repaving of the retro-choir in 1886, the lead coffin, enclosed in one of stone, was found to contain nothing but decaying vestments, without any trace of human remains, as if, for fear of further sacrilegious indignity, the body had been reverently removed by the pious hand of some votaries of the old faith.[1]

Up to the time of the Translation no hint is given of any divorce between the head and the body of St. Hugh. As the narrative of the ceremonial speaks of a considerable quantity of oil flowing from the jaw, while Bishop Oliver Sutton was reverently holding the head in his hand before the actual translation began, it is clear that the two were disunited but that both were still in the Chapel in which St. Hugh had been originally interred.[2]

It is seen from the narrative that the whole of St. Hugh's remains, including the head, were translated, but that when the ceremony was over the head was taken back again to the place from whence it came, St. John the Baptist's Chapel, and replaced there by the altar. The advantage of this arrangement is apparent. The church gained two sacred spots instead of one, and a double opportunity was afforded for the offerings of the faithful, the source from which prior to the Reformation so large a portion of the income of the clergy, parochial as well as cathedral and monastic, was derived.[1] The head was subsequently enclosed in a case of metal, adorned with plates of gold and silver and beautified with precious stones, such as those which are to be seen on the altars, and in the sacristies and treasuries of continental churches.[2] In England there were not wanting examples of this duplicated reverence paid to the relics of a saint. The earliest recorded instance is that of St. Edwin "King and Martyr," the first christian sovereign of Northumbria. When slain by Penda at the battle of Heathfield, A.D. 633, his head, Bede tells us[3] was carried to York, and deposited in the Chapel of St. Gregory, in the Church of St. Peter which he had begun building, while his body was buried subsequently in his granddaughter's abbey of Whitby. Edwin's successor Oswald, also "King and Martyr" supplies a second example in the same period. After the battle at Maserfield, A.D. 642, in which he fell, the same savage conqueror severed the young king's head from his body, and set it up on a pole. It was rescued, carried to Lindisfarne and buried by St. Aidan. It was afterwards exhumed and carried to Bamborough where it remained till St. Cuthbert's time. In 875 when the monks retired before the Danes, the head was placed in St. Cuthbert's coffin and accompanied the wanderings of his body. On the translation of St. Cuthbert's relics in 1104, the head was found in the coffin and left there, where it was discovered when the grave was opened in 1827.[4] Oswald's body was deposited by his niece Queen Ostryth in the church of the Abbey of Bardney, in Lincolnshire,[5] whence on the destruction of that monastery by the Danes, it was removed to Gloucester and placed in a shrine.

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[1] For a fuller account of this discovery see *Arch. Journal*, vol. xliv., p. 201.

[2] "Cumque sanctissimum ejus caput —quod a corpore separatum postea auro argento et gemmis inclusum est—Oliverus Lincolniensis Episcopus in manibus reverenter teneret, ex ejus maxilla non parum olei distillavit." (Giraldus, vol. vii., p. 222.) The same narrative records, also, the discovery of a large quantity of the purest oil — "magnam olei purissimi copiam"—in the coffin, and the fact that the Saint's body was not at all decomposed — "quasi integrum repertum est corpus ejus" — to which Dorlandus (d. 1507) adds—the marvels always increasing the further one gets away from the event—that on the opening of the "loculus" a delicious odour ("odor suave fragrans") burst forth and pervaded the whole church. There is not the slightest allusion to any of these wonders in the contemporary account of the translation, "probably written by some member or retainer of the Beck family who was himself present," which, proving, far too simple and free from the marvellous for later biographers, has been thus dressed up. (Dimock, *apud* Giraldus *u. s.*

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[1] The narrative so often referred to, after speaking of the depositing of the body "loco congruo," goes on to say that it was "non longe a sanctissimo ejus capite quod juxta altare beatissimi Johannis Baptistæ reposuerunt." Mr. Dimock remarks: "The *re* of this verb indicates that in placing his head in the Chapel of St. John Baptist they restored it to the place that his whole body had, until now, occupied."—*Ibid.*

[2] According to the late Precentor Mackenzie Walcott, there is a fine reliquary head of St. Candidus in a church of Geneva. One of St. Eustace, from Basle, of the thirteenth century, is in the British Museum. *Sacred Archæology* p. 145 *sub voce Chef.*

[3] *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii, c. 20; lib. iii, c. 24.

[4] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 12. Reg. Dunelm. c. 42; W. Malmesb. *Gest. Pont.* iii., 134; Raine, *S. Cuthbert*, p. 187. Bishop Lightfoot, *Leaders in the Northern Church*, p. 184.

[5] Bede *H.E.* iii., 11.

Several of our Cathedrals furnish still closer parallels. In Lichfield Cathedral there was a special altar called "the altar of St. Chad" on which the head of the saint, probably enclosed in a metal case adorned with gold and jewels, was placed as an object of devotion. The head, like St. Hugh's at Lincoln, had its own special "keeper," "custos capitis sancti cedde."[1] Towards the close of the fifteenth century, Dean Heywood among other benefactions to his Cathedral gave an altar cloth of twill to St. Chad's altar. Mr. Hewitt quotes from the Cathedral muniments, "mappa data altari ubi restat caput sci cedde. Item prefatus Decanus dedit altari sci cedde in capella ubi caput ejus mirifice honoratur unam mappam bonam de panno bilicino et tradita fuit manibus dnī Will. Hukyns ejusdem capelle custodi." Mr. Hewitt remarks "what became of this relic at the time of the Reformation has not been ascertained. If decorated with gold and silver, as we may well believe it to have been, its fate on falling into the hands of the Tudor emissaries may well be imagined."

A still nearer correspondence is shewn at Chichester. Bishop Richard of Wych, who died in 1253, was canonized in1263, and on June 16, 1276, his body was translated from its original place of sepulture to a newly erected shrine, standing almost certainly in the retro-choir, at the back of the high altar, in the presence of Edward I., by the primate assisted by many bishops, attended by a large concourse of people of all ranks. But, as at Lincoln, the head of the saint had a different resting place from the body, where it was the object of special offerings. In 1286 and 1299 Edward was again at Chichester, and gave gifts at the shrine of St. Richard, which on the latter occasion were divided between, the shrine, the place where he was first buried, *the head*, and the chalice of St. Richard. Again, in November, 1297, when engaged in the Scotch campaign, he sent offerings from Newcastle to do honour to St. Richard. The advantage of having several distinct centres of devotion is shown by the distribution of the king's gifts on this occasion; besides a clasp and cloth of gold, seven shillings were offered at St. Richard's shrine, seven shillings at the tomb, and the like sum "at the head of the saint."[1]

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[1] See Mr. Hewitt's paper on "The Keeper of St. Chad's Head." (*Arch. Journal*, vol. xxxiii., pp. 71-82.)

When we turn to York with its great local saint St. William, we find the correspondence even closer. St. William, who succeeded to the primatial see in 1143, died in 1154. His canonization did not take place till the pontificate of Nicholas III., A.D. 1277—1281. As in St. Hugh's case and that of other mediæval saints,[2] oil was deemed a sure sign of sanctity. His tomb, according to the Bull of Canonization, had been "enriched with the fruitfulness of an oil by which many sick persons, being anointed, had been cured," while after his translation at Whitsuntide 1308, the tomb "sweated forth a glorious oil" which healed the sick and put the incredulous to shame by burning with a steady light when put into the Minster lamps. The translation took place as has been already stated, January 4, 1284. The feretrum as at Lincoln was carried on the shoulders of Edward I., assisted by eleven prelates, his queen being among the company attending. But as with St. Hugh and St. Richard, the head of St. William had a separate reliquary to itself, to which offerings were made. This, we gather from contemporary accounts, was of silver gilt, supported by angels, and surmounted by a rich canopy adorned with jewels, the gifts of the faithful. It was kept in a silver chest, and furnished with a belt enriched with silver for carrying it in processions. When, in 1503, Margaret the daughter of Henry VII. visited York, on her way to Scotland, to join her bridegroom, the head was brought to her to kiss. We are able to trace the fate of this relic more clearly than in most other cases. When the storm of the Reformation burst over the church, the infamous Layton, the monastic commissioner, who had been rewarded for the thoroughness of his work by Henry VIII. with the deanery of York, and his subservient chapter, decreed that "the casket or chest in which were lately contained the bones of the head of St. William, together with the jewels and ornaments of the said chest, should be broken up and converted to the use of the said church." Layton with the unscrupulousness characteristic of the man would seem to have converted the whole to his own use. On his death it was found that he had pawned plate and jewels belonging to the Minster, which the Chapter had to redeem out of their common fund.[1]

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[1] Stephens' *Memorials of the See of Chichester*, p. 97. June 28, 1299, "In oblation of the king at the shrine on one side of St. Richard 7^s, and on the other side 7^s, and at the mitre of the same saint 7^s, and to the head of the same, and to the tomb where he was first buried, and to the mitre of St. Edmund, and to the Chalice of St. Richard 7^s each, total 42^s "Nov. 1297." In offerings sent by Roger de Barmeby, together with a clasp and cloth of gold; at the shrine of St. Richard 7^s, at the tomb 7^s, at the head and other reliques 7^s, total 21^s, to Roger de Barmeby for his expences of his journey, 6 marcs.

[2] "A.D. 1312 a wonderful oyle issued miraculously from the sepulchre of St. John of Beverley by the space of a whole day, which was very medicinal and sovereigns against manie diseases." "From the relics of St. Walburga at Eichstadt issued a sacred oil which by the Grace of God and the intercession of St. Walburga gave sight to the blind." Porter's *Lives of the Saints*, p. 419, 185.

To return to the subject of this memoir, the costly materials in which St. Hugh's head was enshrined at one time endangered the loss of this precious relic. Although one keeper by day and two by night were specially deputed to watch over its safety, the Church was broken into and the head carried off by thieves. This was in the year 1364, the latter part of the reign of Edward III. Acts of sacrilegious depredations of this nature were frequent at this time. It was a period of great national disorder. The Black Death, which not long before had swept away so large a proportion of the population, kept returning again and again. All social and moral ties were relaxed. There was a general outbreak of lawlessness. Piers Plowman's "waster that will not work, but wander about," turned readily into the thief. Nor was there any portion of the community whom it seemed more natural to rob than the clergy and the Church. When the nobles were casting greedy eyes on the wealth of the clergy, from whom the worldliness and selfishness too generally prevalent among their ranks had alienated the minds of the laity, and bitter envy deepening into hatred prevailed among the commonalty, it had come to be looked on almost as a religious duty to ease them of the riches of which they made so little use for the general good of the State. What the Baronage was seeking to effect by Act of Parliament, the lower orders, taking the law into their own hands, effected by sacrilegious pillage.

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[1] Raine *Fasti Ebor.* i. 227-230 Dugdale vi. 1206; Browne, *York Minster,* i. 53, 57, 62, 243, Transactions of Yorkshire Archæological Society for 1875, vol. iii, p. 257.

Thornton Abbey was broken into and robbed. The images of Our Lady—presumably of precious metal—were carried off from the Lady Chapels at Merivale, Monks Kirby, and other places. Leicester Abbey was entered by a window, but the sacristan raised an alarm, and the robbers fled away without securing any booty. Many of the thieves were caught, convicted, and hung. Still the rapine continued and spread. To judge from the space it occupies in the pages of the Chronicler, none of these sacrilegious thefts created a greater impression than that of St. Hugh's head. The story, as told by Knighton,[1] is a curious one. Having broken into the Minster and carried off the head, the thieves stripped the case of its gold and silver and precious stones, and threw it down in a field. Here, to their astonishment, a crow or raven—"corvus quidam"—miraculously appeared as its protector, and kept guard over the sacred relic until it was picked up and carried back to Lincoln. The thieves made their way to London, where they disposed of their booty, it was said, for twenty marks. On their way back to Lincoln they were robbed of the money, and after a while, suspicion falling on them, they were brought before the Coroner, confessed their crime, and were hanged. We learn from Rymer that the head having become judicially forfeited to the Crown, Edward III., in token of his devout reverence as well to the Blessed Virgin and the church of Lincoln placed under her protection, as to the body of the blessed Confessor Hugh—"forisfactura non obstante"—restored the head to the Dean and Chapter "to remain for ever in the aforesaid church to the honour of God and the Confessor aforesaid."[2]

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[1] *Decem Scriptores* p. 2628. "Eodem tempore invaluerunt fures et latrones in regno et spoliaverunt Ecclesias, feretra sanctorum et reliquias asportaverunt *scil.*, abbathiam de Thornton; imaginem de Domina apud Meriwale in capella sua; imaginem de Domina apud Monkys Kyrby, et pluribus aliis locis, et multi eorum capti sunt et suspensi. Caput etiam Sancti Hugonis Lincolniensis furati sunt, et, captis argento et auro lapidibus que pretiosis, caput projecerunt in quodam campo, et quod dictu mirum est quidam corvus, prout fama laboravit, custodivit donec cognitum erat per eosdem latrones et Lincolniam deportatum. Latrones prædicti abierunt Lundonias ad vendendum sua prædicta latrocinia et vendiderunt ut dicebatur pro xx marcis, et redeuntes in patriam suam spoliati sunt de dicta pecunia, postea de dicto scelere prodientes se ipsos, capti sunt et apud Lincolniam suspensi. Ecclesiam quoque abbattiæ nostræ Leycestrensis per quamdam fenestram super altare S. Johannis Evangelistæ intraverunt fures, sed cito per sacristam percepti sunt et absque damno illato fugerunt."

[2] Rymer Fœd iv. 433, A.D. 1364, "Rex omnibus, &c., sciatis quod cum ecclesia B. M. Lincoln. nuper per quosdam latrones fracta, et caput sc̄i Hugonis, gloriosi confessoris auro et argento exornatum per dictos latrones furatum et

The damage was repaired and the ornaments replaced by the munificence of John of Welbourn, at this time treasurer of the Cathedral, to whom also the church was indebted for the groined vaults of the central and western towers, the magnificent series of choir stalls, the clock, and, what could have been well spared, the row of awkwardly carved statues of kings seated in niches above the great western Norman portal, on the outer mouldings of which they intrude. This benefaction is thus recorded at the close of the Welbourn chantry book; "Qui etiam post furacionem et spoliacionem capitis sancti Hugonis de novo fecit cum auro et argento et lapidibus preciosis ornari et reparari" (fol. 79).

We now lose sight of the head, except in the half-yearly accounts of the money gathered in the collecting-boxes attached to it and to the shrine, till just before the time when it was to disappear for ever in the melting-pot of the royal despoiler. In the Chapter Acts of 1520[1] we have an account, somewhat mutilated, of "relikes, jewels and other stuff belonging to Seint Hugh's head." The head itself was enclosed in an enamelled case of silver gilt, and had a mitre of the same material, with a gold ring set with a sapphire on its apex. Four other gold rings, set with precious stones, are mentioned as "belonging to the head," and another jewelled ring with the motto "Ecce lignum." Three "old nobles" and two "ducats of gold" were "nailed upon the breadth of the head." Mention is made of a "shrine" as connected with but distinct from, the head, furnished with plates and branches of gold and a branch of coral. The paraphernalia of the head included other jewels—"a pale sapphire," a "little blue stone," and three "stones in beryl." In the altar furniture were a silver gilt chalice and a broken paten, two sets of "cruets

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abinde asportatum fuisset, et avulsis ab eodem capite auro et argento quibus sic ornabatur, post informationem dictorum latronum qui furtum illud coram coronatoribus nostris Lincolniæ fatebantur, inventum fuit et ea de causa nobis forisfactum existit, nos de gracia speciali et ob devotionem quam, tam ad gloriosam V. M. etecclesiam suam prædictam, quam ad corpus Sancti Confessoris antedicti gerimus et habemus, caput prædictum prædictæ ecclesiæ et dilectis nobis in Christo decano et capitulo ejusdem ecclesiæ dedimus et restituimus, in eadem ecclesia ad honorem Dei et dicti confessoris perpetuo remanendum, forisfactura prædicta nobis in hac parte competente non obstante.

Teste Regi apud Westmin. x° die Februarii."

[1] See Appendix A.

of beryl, closed in silver gilt;" an altar cloth of yellow silk, and two cushions, one of red satin embroidered in gold with birds and beasts; two candlesticks of pewter and others of wood, with "a case to carry wax candle in." Apart from the head, there was a tooth of St. Hugh "closed in beryl with silver and gilt." The books in the catalogue are a "legenda de temporali" and "de sanctis," the latter incomplete; a "Collectorium"; a book called *Cum animadverterem*, with a commentary; a book of St. Hugh's life, chained; and a book of sermons. We may remark that there is no mention made of the alms chest, which was an essential feature of every such saintly memorial, which we know, from the accounts still extant in the Chapter Muniment Room, was opened twice a year, on the morrow of St. Denys, October 9th, and at Pentecost. These accounts of the half-yearly *apertura*, with the receipts and expenditure at each opening, exist for nearly two centuries, with a break of sixty years between 1450 and 1510. They are written on parchment from 1334 to 1450, from 1510 to 1517 on paper, and from 1520 to 1532 (a rough draught only) also on paper.

The "aperturæ" of the shrine and head, as has been stated, took place at Pentecost, and on the morrow of S. Denis, Oct. 9. Each account of receipts and disbursements generally follows the same order. First comes the date of the "opening" with the names of the two dignitaries by whom it was superintended. One of these in the first extant account, that of 1334, was Thomas Beck, who it will be remembered was the munificent person who in 1380 defrayed the whole charge of the "Translation," and was the same day consecrated to the Bishopric of St. David's. The sum of money found in the Chests is then usually given, a distinction being drawn between "pecunia numerata," *i.e.*, silver coin, and smaller monies, "oboli et quadrantes;" special mention being made of any gold coins given, *e.g.*, in 1341, "duo florentes aurei." For a series of years in the earlier portion of these accounts, *i.e.*, from 1339 onwards the gross total of the money found is omitted, and it has to be arrived at by adding to the sum of the various payments the balance remaining, *e.g.*, Oct., 1337. "Summa allocatis allocandis et solutis solvendis, xxxj^{s} vj^{d}. Item in obolis et quadrantibus vj^{s} vij^{d}; de remanencia." Whitsuntide 1340, "Summa, deductis deducendis et solutis solvendis, de duobus aperturis premissis remanent in deposito xij^{l} xvij^{s} x^{d} et de obolis et quadrantibus x^{s} vj^{d}. Inde solutis lx^{l} debitis tumbae beati Johannis remanent iij^{l} xviij^{s} x^{d}." This last item has reference to the shrine of the popularly canonized John of Dalderby, in the South Transept, from the offerings at which a loan had been contracted which had now to be discharged. Again, Whitsuntide 1341, "Inde allocatis lx^{l} pro cera emenda et aliis allocandis, remanent de apertura ista, iij^{l} viij^{s}, et oboli et quadrantes vij^{s} ix^{d}, et sic computatis vj^{l} vij^{s} v^{d}, de priori aperture proxima, remanent penes custodem ix^{l} xv^{s} v^{d}, et duo florentes aurei."

The gross total, when given, is followed by the items of its expenditure. With the exception of the purchase of wax, bought sometimes at Hull, sometimes in London, or some other chief market, the whole proceeds were divided among the canons of the church, and the other officials, those fulfilling any duties connected with the shrine having also an additional allowance of sixpence for wine, and their subordinates threepence. In 1334, twelve canons keeping the Great Residence, and the keeper of the Altar of St. Peter had £4 6s. 8d, divided between them, and two other canons, "percipientes medietatem," ij^{s} viij^{d}. The catalogue of payments supplies us with a list of the officials, great and small, connected with the Minster and its services; not those alone who had any special duties in connection with St. Hugh's shrine. It begins with the chaplain who celebrated mass at the shrine, together with his chaplain, deacon, and sub-deacon, and eight singers "cantantibus organum." Then follow the keepers of the shrine--two principal keepers who have 10^{s} between them, and 1^{d} for wine—their chaplain and their clerks; the day-keeper of the shrine and head, who has 20^{s} and 6^{d} for wine, and a clerk to help him; two night-guardians who have 40^{s} between them and 6^{d} for wine, the same sum being given for wine to the keeper of St. Peter's Altar. The list closes with the vicars' choral, the four clerks, the choir boys, "those who wore the habit but were not vicars," the succentor, the sacrist and his clerk, the clerk of the "communa," the chapter clerk, the clerk of the fabric, the masters of the grammar school and song school, the master-masons and carpenters, two thurificators, the organ-blower, the doorkeeper of the Close, and comes down to the candle lighter, the sweeper, the bell-ringers, the wax-candle maker, and two officers appointed to "rouse the people," "duobus excitantibus populum." This last is a somewhat mysterious office, which calls for explanation. Was it their province to wake up sleepers, or was it rather to make a circuit of the city, and summon the people to the function about to be held? In the Whitsuntide accounts there appears regularly "the clerk who brought the dove," "clerico ducenti columbam" who received 1^s for his pains. This introduction of a pigeon in the Whitsuntide ceremonial, as a symbol of the Holy Ghost, may be illustrated from the ritual history of many Cathedrals, both English and Foreign. It may suffice to give this passage from Lambarde relating to St. Paul's.[1] "I myself being a child, once saw in St. Paul's Church at London at a feast of Whitsuntide, when the coming down of the Holy Ghost was set forth by a white pigeon that was let to fly out of a hole that is yet to be seen in the inside of the roof of the great aisle." Examples of these accounts from the beginning and the end of the series are given in the Appendix B and C.

It may be interesting to compare the amount of these collections for groups of years at different epochs :—

	£	s.	d.
At Pentecost 1539, the sum was ...	27	6	8
,, ,, 1360, ,, ...	25	0	0
,, ,, 1361, (illegible)			
Oct. 8, 1361, ,, ...	28	3	8
,, 1362, ,, ...	13	9	1¼
Pentecost, 1364,[2] ,, ...	36	2	3
,, 1365, ,, ...	37	14	8
,, 1366, ,, ...	34	15	11
,, 1367, ,, ...	37	10	8
,, 1368, ,, ...	32	2	10
,, 1369, ,, ...	22	4	4
,, 1370, ,, ...	25	4	3
,, 1371, ,, ...	30	10	4

Forty-six years later the accounts were also regularly taken half-yearly, the October date being calculated by the Festival of the Translation of St. Hugh, the 7th, instead of that of St. Dionis; and we find a great falling off in the offerings, even when the two amounts are added together :—

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[1] Quoted by Precentor Mackenzie Walcott, in his "Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals," p. 195.

[2] The rise in the amount of the offerings corresponds with the theft and recovery of the Head.

		£	s.	d.
1417,	Oct.	9	2	2
1418,	Pent.	6	9	9
,,	Oct.	11	2	8¼
1419,	Pent.	7	7	0
,,	Oct.	11	16	0
1420,	Pent.	6	14	0¼
,,	Oct.	11	4	11¼
1421,	Pent.	6	6	0¼
,,	Oct.	11	7	8¼
1422,	Pent.	6	5	4
,,	Oct.	11	10	3

At this period it will be noticed that the summer half-year was much more productive than the winter half-year, and that the amounts at each opening range almost equally. When we enter the sixteenth century, the gatherings in the two half-years are more nearly equal, the total shewing a still further shrinking :—

		£	s.	d.
1510,	Pent.	7	6	8
,,	Oct.	7	0	0
1511,	Pent.	4	8	0
,,	Oct.	4	15	5
1512,	Pent.	3	11	3
,,	Oct.	6	1	10¼
1513,	Pent.	3	9	7
,,	Oct.	4	10	0
1514,	Pent.	4	16	10
,,	Oct.	4	10	0
1515,	Pent.	2	17	5¼
,,	Oct.	4	8	8
1516,	Pent.	1	12	2
,,	Oct.	5	8	7
1517.				

The accounts, rough drafts on paper, are very imperfect in this closing period. We have these for—

		£	s.	d.
1550,	Pent.	3	11	0
,,	Oct.	5	0	0
And 1551,	Pent.	2	2	2
,,	Oct.	3	2	4

The series closes with—

		£	s.	d.
1531,	Oct.	6	0	0
And 1532,	Pent.	2	2	5
,,	Oct.	4	2	0

A total for the year of only £6 4s. 5d.; a sorry amount compared with the liberal offerings of earlier years. Relic worship had had its day, and was nearly played out. The time was fast approaching when, and that not without the general approbation of the more thoughtful and enlightened of his subjects, "the Supreme Head of the Church," in his godly zeal for their spiritual welfare, would, with his terrible thoroughness and all-mastering greed, "abolish" this and all such "monuments of superstition," and transfer their costly caskets to his Royal Treasury and Jewel House. Such, though they do not occur in the long lists of plate, jewels and vestments printed by Dugdale, occupying fourteen double column folio pages,[1] was doubtless the end of the shrine and head of the sainted bishop of Lincoln, and the jewels with which they had been adorned by the real, though misdirected piety of earlier ages, and their gratitude for benefits sincerely believed to have been received through the intercession of one of the holiest of God's servants, by the medium of his relics.[2] "It may appear to an enlightened age, like ours, that the whole of the religion of rags and bones was nothing but the invention of rascality playing upon folly. And yet, before dismissing this trumpery with contempt, it might be worth while to enquire whether there might not have been sincerity not only in the worshippers, but in the ministers of such a cult."[3]

EDMUND VENABLES.

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[1] *Mon. Angl.* vi., pp. 1278-1292.

[2] "Memorandum that by force of the above wrytten comyssion there was taken out of y^{e} sayd Cathedrall Church of Lincoln at that tyme in gold ij^{m} $vj^{s}xxj$ oz (2621 oz.), in sylver $iiij^{m}$ ij^{c} $iiij^{xx}$ v oz (4285 oz.), Besyde a greate nombre of Pearles & precious stones wych were of greate valewe as dyamondes, saphires Rubyes, Turkyes, Carbuncles &c. There were at that tyme twoe shrynes in the sayd Cath. Church, the one of pure gold called St. Hughes shryne standinge on the backe syde of the highe aulter neare unto Dalyson's tombe. The other called St John of Dalderby his shryne was of pure sylver standinge in the southe Ende of the Great Crosse Isle not fare from the dore where ye Gallyley Courte ys used to be kept." C. Wordsworth, *Notes of the Shrines*, Communications of Soc. of Antiquaries.

[3] Dixon, Hist. of the Ch. of England, vol. ii, p. 47.

APPENDIX A.

Chapter Acts, Lincoln Cathedral (A. 35): undated, but coming in the middle of the Chapter Acts of A.D. 1520. [*Mutilated*].

"Relikes jewels and other stuff belonging to seint hughs head delivered to Sir William Johnson the xxvijth day of November. . . . And ffurst the hede of seint hugh closed in siluer gilt and enamelled. *Item* the mytre of [seint] hugh of siluer gilt and enamelled. *Item* the pontificall of seint hugh of gold with certeyn stones and relyks. *Item* a ring of gold with a ston and written *Ecce lig[num]*. *Item* iiij ryngs of gold with iiij preciouse stonce belonging to the same hede. *Item* . . . of gold. *Item* thre old nobles and two ducates of gold nailed opon the br[edth of] seint hughes hede. *Item* a ryng of gold with one oriant saphyr standing [opon the] top of the mytre of seint hugh hede. *Item* two-plaites of gold . . . . three stones [In margin, "These two plaites of gold with vj stones in them or putt opon the shrine"]. *Item* two branches of gold with a branche of corall . . . . shryn. *Item* a chales of Seint hughes, siluer and gilt with the paten broken. *Item* a toyth of seint hugh closed in birall with siluer and gilt. *Item* two crewetts of birrall closed in siluer gilt with couers, the one lowse. *Item* two crewetts of birrall closed in siluer gilt with ij caises for them. *Item* iij stones of birrall. *Item* a saphyr paile. *Item* a litill bl[ue] ston. *Item* ij qwushyns of silk, one of them of red satten browdered with byrds and bestes of gold. *Item* legenda de temporali et de sanctis incompleta. *Item* a book called collectarium. *Item* a booke called *cum animadverterem* cum commento., *Item* a chist with one old cloth opon it, with collers rede bleu and gren. *Item* one old cloth called seint hugh bede cloth. *Item* one alter cloth of yelow silk. *Item* ij candelstickes of pewter. *Item* [blank in orig.] candilsticks of wod. *Item* a bake stoill. *Item* a case to carry wax candile in. *Item* a booke of seint hugh life cheyned. *Item* a booke of sermons called . . . .

APPENDIX B.

October, 1334.

Apertura feretri et Capitis beati Hugonis facta in crastino Sancti Dionisii Martiris Anno Domini Millesino CCC^{mo} tricesimo quarto per Magistrun Walterum de Stauren Thesaurarium et Thomam Beck, canonicos.

In primis in pecunia inventa.	xj^{lib}. xi^{s} vij^{d}.
Inde, Capellano celebranti missam ad feretrum	xij^{d}.
It. Capellano ministranti, Diacono et Sabdiacono	ix^{d}.
It. viij Cantantibus organum	ij^{s}.
It. ij principalibus custodibus	x^{s}.
It. eisdem ad vinum	xij^{d}.
It. Capellanis eorundem	ij^{s}.
It. Clericis eorundem	xij^{d}.
It. Custodi feretri et capitis de die	xx^{s}.
It. eidem ad vinum	vj^{d}.

It. clerico adjuvanti ad capud (*sic.*)	xij^{d}.
It. eidem ad vinum	iij^{d}.
It. duobus custodibus de nocte	xl^{s}.
It. eisdem ad vinum	vj^{d}.
It. duobus custodibus magni Altaris ad vinum	vj^{d}.
It. vicariis de choro	xiij^{s}. iiijd.
It. pauperibus clericis	xxij^{d}.
It. pueris choristis	xviij^{d}.
It. portantibus habitum non vicariis	xx^{d}.
It. Sacristæ	v^{s}.
It clerico Sacristæ	iij^{d}.
It. clerico Communæ	xij^{d}.
It. clerico Capituli	vj^{d}.
It. magistro scholarum grammaticalium	v^{s}.
It. magistro scholarum cantus	xij^{d}.
It. succentori	vj^{d}.
It. clerico fabricæ	iij^{d}.
It. magistris cementariis et Carpentariis	vj^{d}.
It. duobus servientibus precedentibus Incensantem	xij^{d}.
It. illuminanti candelas	vj^{d}.
It. duobus excitantibus populum	xij^{d}.
It. Janitor clausuræ	vj^{s}. viij^{d}.
It. trahenti organa	iij^{s}. iiij^{d}.
It. facienti ceram	iiij^{s}. vj^{d}.
It. scopario et ij. pulsantibus	ix^{d}.

Summa vj^{li}. x^{s}. vj^{d}.

Item xij. Canonicis facientibus magnam residentiam et custodi Altaris Sancti Petri iiij^{lib}. vj^{s}. viij^{d}.

Item magistro Simoni de Islep et magistro Johanni . . . . percipientibus medietatem vj. viij.

Summa iiij^{lib}. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

Summa totalis xj^{lib}. iij^{s}. v^{d}.

Memorandum quod aperturæ factæ remanent post distribucionem factam vj^{l}. et in obolis et quadrantibus iiij^{s}.

WHITSUNTIDE, 1335.

Apertura feretri et capitis beati Hugonis facta ad festum pentecostes Anno Domini Millesimo CCC^{mo} XXX^{mo} quinto per Magistros Walterum de Stauren Thesaurarium et Thomam Beek canonicos se extendit ad xv^{lib} xiij^{s} ij^{d}. Item in obolis et quadrantibus v^{s} ix^{d}.

De quibus omnibus necessariis solutis remanserunt de claro xl^{s} uno denario excepto.

De quibus eciam solvebantur postea sacristæ ij^{s} vj^{d}.

Memorandum quod de duobus aperturis prædictis remanent viij^{lib}, iiij^{d} exceptis.

OCTOBER, 1335.

Apertura feretri et capitis beati hugonis facto in crastino Sancti Dionisii Martiris Anno Domini Millesimo CCC^{mo} XXX^{mo} quinto per Magistun Walterum de Stauren Thesaurarium et Radulphum de Erghum Canonicos se extendit ad xij^{lib} x^{s}. In obolis et quadrantibus ij^{s} vj^{d}.

Inde computatur solutum capellanis et ceteris ministris et officialibus ut prius in anno precedenti vj^{lib} x^{s} vij^{d}. Item xiij canonicis facientibus magnam residentiam et custodi altaris beati Petri iiij^{lib} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}. Item domino Archidiacono Lincolniensi facienti medietatem iij^{s} iiij^{d}.

Summa xj^{lib} vij^{s} iij^{d}.

APPENDIX C.

Whitsuntide, 1520.

Incipit primo anno Archidiaconi Stowe.

Apertura capitis et feretri sancti hugonis Lincoln epī in Ebdomada Pentecostes anno dni MDXX^{mo} ad quod repertum est in pecunia numerata iij^{lib} xx^{d}.

Summa recpt. lxv^{s} xx^{d}.

Unde pro feodo magrō Edwardo Darby, Archidiacono Stowe principali magistro scī hugonis	v^{s}
Item eidem pro vinis	vi^{d}
It. capellano custodienti in die	viij^{s} iiij^{d}
It. eidem pro vinis	iij^{d}
It. coadjutori suo	iiij^{d}
It. custodi summi altaris	vi^{d}
It. custodi in nocte	xx^{s}
It. eidem pro vinis	vj^{d}
It. clericis	vj^{s} viij^{d}
It. ducenti columbam	vj^{d}
It. scribenti computum	vj^{d}

Summa xliij^{s} v^{d}

It. solutum Johī Galley pro j quart. ceræ	xxij^{s} viij^{d}
It. sol. dno Johī Sargeant pro xij^{lb} ceræ	xij^{d}

Summa xxxvij^{s} viij^{d}

It. solutum Thome Evynwode pro factura j quart. ceræ, xij^{lib} ceræ et xij^{lib} veteris ceræ . . . ij^{s} ij^{d}.

Summa ij^{s} ij^{d}.

Summa totalis solut. iiij^{lib} iij^{s} iij^{d}

Et sic in excessu ad istud computum xxj^{s}. vij^{d}. Reman^{t} ad istud computum^{m} in cera facta xijth.

Et debitum Scī Hugonis per Thomam Evynwode in duobus . . . . xij^{lb}. in cera non facta.

Memorandum quod Recept xxix^{o} die Julii anno dñi. MDXX in cista scī hugonis per magistrum Arch. Stowe pro purificatione ceræ, et solut. eodem die dño Johī Sergeaunt custodi capitis scī hugonis pro vj^{lb} ceræ purificatæ iij^{s}. Et solut. eodem die Radulpho Smyth pro empt. apud Hull pro iiij. petr. et quart. ceræ *viz.* xxxiiijdcm lb. ad ix. ob. lb. ; ut ix^{d}. hinc in toto cum xx^{d}. pro expensis et in Regard. iij^{lib}. xviij^{s}. iij^{d}.

Summa lxxxiiij^{s}. vij^{d}.

October, 1520.

Apertura capitis et feretri scī hugonis Lincoln. Epī. facta iiij. die Octobr, Anno dñi MDXX. ad quod repertum est in pecunia numerata et moneta remanente in cista scī hugonis ad istud computum v^{l}. . . . . . .

Summa Recept. cxviij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

Unde pro feodo Mro. Edwardo Darby Arch. Stowe principali magistro sc̄i hugonis. [mutilated.]

Iten eidem pro vinis	vj^{s}.
It. celebranti missam	vij^{d}.
It. diacono, subdiacono et cantantibus missam	xvj^{d}.
It. capellano custodi in die	viij^{s}. viij^{d}.
It. eidem pro vinis	iij^{d}.
It. coadjutori suo	iiij^{d}.
It. custodi summi altaris	vj^{d}.
It. custodi in nocte	xx^{s}.
It. eidem pro vinis	vj^{d}.
It. janitori clausi	vj^{s}. viij^{d}.
It. eidem ducenti columbam	vj^{d}.
It. clerico vestiarii	ij^{d}.
It. pulsantibus campanas	vj^{d}.
It. scribenti compotum	vj^{d}.

Summa pro feodis xlvj^{s}. v^{d}.

The last remaining account (in rough draught and mutilated) is that for 1532. It is as follows :—

Apertura capitis et feretri sc̄i hugonis iiij^{to}. die Octobris anno dñi MD xxxij ad quod Repertum est in pecunia numerata iiij^{l}. ij^{s}. et Remanet ad ultimum compotum in moneta iij^{l}. xvj^{s}. v^{d}. Summa . . . .

Inde pro feodo mrō ... principali magistro sc̄i hugonis	v^{s}.
Et eidem mrō pro vinis	vj^{d}.
It. celebranti (altered into *celebraturo*) missam	xij^{d}.
It. diacono et subdiacono et cantantibus missam	xvj^{d}.
It. clerico vestiarii	ij^{d}.
It. capellano custodi in diem	viijs. viij^{d}.
It. eidem pro vinis	iij^{d}.
It. coadjutori suo	iiij^{d}.
It. custodi summi altaris	vj^{d}.
It. custodibus in nocte	xx^{s}.
It. eisdem pro vinis	vj^{d}.
It. janitori clausi	vj^{s}. viij^{d}.
It. ducenti columbam	vj^{d}.
It. scribenti compotum	vj^{d}.
It. pulsantibus campanas	vj^{d}.

APPENDIX D.

Extracts from the Lincoln Chapter Act Book, Illustrative of the Shrine and Chest of St. Hugh.

I.

The Archdeacon of Stow Appointed Keeper of the Chest, 1306.

Die Jovis prox. post Festum Epiphanie fuit dnūs W. Archidiaconus Stowe deputatus custos ciste[1] beati Hugonis una cum dño Thesaurario et incontinenter fuerunt sibi tradite claves in capitulo, presentibus, &c.—*Chapter Acts*, 1306, fol. 4, verso.

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[1] By a clerical error "custos" and "ciste" are run into one, "custe."

II.

One Hundred Marks Borrowed by the Treasurer from the Chests of St. Hugh and St. Robert, 1307.

Die Lune prox. ante Festum Scī Gregorii Pape . . . Magister Robertus de Lacy fuerat personaliter installatus in Thesaurariam, et consensum fuit . . . quod dictus Magr̄. R. de L . . . ad suum specialem rogatum haberet ex mutuo ex cistis beatorum Hugonis et Roberti Grosseteste epōrum per liberacionem custodum pecunie dictarum cistarum pro quibusdam arduis suis negotiis expediendis centum marcas *viz.* de pecunia Epī hugonis quadraginta li. et Epī Roberti xxvj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d} que pecunia fuerat tota eodem die dcō magr̄. R. de L. per dcōs custodes liberata . . . traditis per dcm̄ R. de L. duabas literis patentibus per quas . . . promisit bona fide et fidelitate quod reddet dcm̄ pecuniam totam custodibus dcārum cistarum qui pro tempore fuerint in festo Scī Michaelis proxime venturo absque omni ultiori dilacione, &c.—*Ib.*, 1307, fol. 10, *verso.*

III.

R. de Lacy, the Treasurer, Appointed Keeper of St. Hugh's Chest, 1308.

In festo translacionis Scī Martini recepit Magr̄ R. de Lacy thesaur. ecclīe Linc. ex electione capituli custodiam ciste beati hugonis et habuit claves incontinenter ex traditione dnī subdecani. *Item,* eodem die tradidit dnūs subdecanus claves ciste beati Roberti ad custodiendum in sua absentia. *Item,* eodem die commisit dcūs dnūs subdecanus vices suas Dnīs Cancellario et Thesaurario in sua absentia.—*Ibid,* 1308, fol. 11.

IV.

Ten Marks Lent to the Vicars Choral for the Repair of their Houses from St. Hugh's Chest, 1308.

Die lune prox. post festum Assumptionis beate Marie propositum fuit coram capitulo per dnm̄ Archid. Stowe ex parte communitatis vicariorum de choro quod mutuatum fuit eidem per dnōs R. de Hiltoft et R. de Wendale tunc prepositos dicte communitatis quod quedam domus ad eandem communitatem spectantes minantur ruinam, ad quarum reparacionem ita celeriter sicut oportuit faciendam dcā communitas non sufficit in illo instante nisi alicubi pecuniam ex mutuo poterit recipere, et quod prepositi dicte communitatis nomine omnium de eadem memorato capitulo supplicarent quod vellet concedere eis graciose x marcas ex mutuo de cista beati hugonis per particulas . . . persolvendas, oblata inde bona securitate juxta decretum ejusdem capituli ordinanda—Demum dnī de capitulo perpendentes dictorum vicariorum necessitatem et rei suggeste videntes utilitatem concesserunt graciose communitati dcr̄um vicariorum decem marcas ex mutuo de cista beati hugonis sumendas, solvendas integraliter et fideliter pro equalibus portionibus infra biennium, &c.—*Ib.*, 1308, fol. 12.

V.

Contract for the Payment for the Iron Grille Round St. Hugh's Shrine, 1308.

Die Sabbati prox. post festum Epiphanie videlicet iij Id. Januar A.D.

MCCC^{mo} octavo canonicis in capitulo congregatis venit Simon Faber et petiit quod cum per custodes feretri beati hugonis videlicet per magrum̄ T. de Ferariis et dnm̄ R. de Winchecomb fuisset conventum cum eodem de quadraginta marcis pro opere fabrili in faciendo unum Treylicium ferreum circa feretrum antedictum et inveniendo suos carbones et ferrum, quod quia opus, colligacione ejusdem et erectione seu stacione duntaxat exceptis, se asseruit complevisse, quod quinque marce et duodecim solidi et quatuor denarii sibi pro opere hujus et septem *trays* carbonum debiti juxta convencionem predictam solverentur vel satisfieret sibi de eisdem. Unde constante de premissis per talliam remanentem in custodia dictorum custodum, continentemque solutiones de dicta convencione sibi factas, et quesito ab eodem pro quanto colligatio seu conjunctio, erectio atque statio dicti Treylicii, ad quas idem Simon tenebatur, fieri possent, respondit quod pro j marca vel pro minori; et consensum fuit quod subtractis sibi de premissis duodecim solidis et quatuor denariis pro dicto opere adhuc faciendo, ac dicto Simone se semper fore paratum pro tanto illud pro fide fideliter promittente, quinque marce ad præsens sibi solverentur per custodes dicti feretri, ita tamen quod si contingat dictum Treylicium ad alios usus quam circa dictum feretrum transferatur quod eisdem custodibus responderetur de pecunia antedicta.—*Ibid*, 1308, fol. 15, verso.

VI.

Arrangements for a New Lid to St. Hugh's Shrine, to be made in London, 1310.

Die Veneris prox. post festum Epiphanie dn̄i ordinatum fuit expresse et consensu unanimi quod custodes feretri beati Hugonis fieri facient novum coopertorium ad opus ejusdem et nihilominus idem feretrum diversis imaginibus aureis et argenteis noviter faciendis decorari et ornari, et postmodum pro hujus ymaginibus et coopertorio subtiliter faciendis, et pro pacto muniendo cum aurifabris et aliis operariis utilibus pro hujus opere complendo, et missus fuit per Thesaurarium de custodibus feretri prædicti dnūs Reginaldus de Southwicke London, præstito ab eodem coram Decano et Capitulo de fideliter serviendo Capitulo in hac parte apertis evangeliis juramento corporali.—*Chapter Acts*, 1310, fol. 30.

ARE THE CAMBRIDGESHIRE DITCHES REFERRED TO BY TACITUS?[1]

By PROFESSOR W. RIDGEWAY.

When the Archæological Institute last visited Cambridge,[2] some thirty-eight years ago, that distinguished archæologist, Dr. Edwin Guest, late master of Gonville and Caius College, delivered a discourse on "The Four great boundary Dykes of Cambridgeshire," and the probable dates of their construction. Dr. Guest regarded the dykes as the boundary lines of the British and Saxon Princes, and he sought to trace their succession from the cursory notices of early historians, and from numismatic evidence. As far as I can ascertain there is one passage in an ancient writer of great interest which has not been made use of by any of the scholars who have dealt with this subject. In the *Annals* (XII. 31) Tacitus gives a brief account of the overthrow of the powerful British tribe of the Iceni (or *Eceni* as some prefer to spell their name from the inscription ECE on some of the coins found in the districts which they once occupied). When P. Ostorius Scapula arrived in Britain A.D. 50 as propraetor in succession to Aulus Plautius, he found things in a very disturbed condition. The still unconquered tribes had overrun the territories of those in alliance with Rome. Although the winter had already set in, he determined to strike a vigorous blow without delay. He fell upon the marauders, followed them up in their flight, set about disarming those who could not be trusted, and kept in check all the district between the rivers Antona (or, adopting Mr. Bradley's clever restoration, Trisantona) and Sabrina with a series of forts. The Sabrina is of course the Severn, whilst the Trisantona of Ptolemy flows out at Southampton. The

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[1] Read in the Antiquarian Section at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, at Cambridge, August 11th, 1892.

[2] Archæological Journal Vol. xi, 393. Proceedings of Meeting held at Cambridge, 1854.

Severn alone is sufficient to indicate the region in which Ostorius was operating, and admitting the reading *Cis Trisantonam*[1] as right, we can define more closely the quarter from which he would advance against other tribes.

The first of the Britons who resented his policy were the Iceni, a powerful tribe, who held Norfolk, Suffolk, and at least part of Cambridgeshire. Their military resources were unimpaired, as they had become the allies of the Romans, without offering any resistance, on the invasion of Claudius A.D. 43. At their instigation the neighbouring tribes rose, and they chose a field for battle fenced with a rude dyke, and with a narrow approach to prevent the attack of cavalry. Ostorius, although he had not his legionaries, but only some auxiliary forces, determined to attack their fortifications, and succeeded in routing them with great slaughter. The actual words of Tacitus are as follows :—

> hisque [Icenis] auctoribus circumiectae nationes locum pugnae delegere septum agresti aggere, et aditu angusto, ne peruius equiti foret. ea munimenta dux Romanus, quanquam sine robore legionum sociales copias ducebat, perrumpere aggreditur, et distributis cohortibus turmas quoque peditum ad munia accingit. tunc dato signo perfringunt aggerem suisque claustris impeditos turbant. atque illi conscientia rebellionis, et obseptis effugiis, multa et clara facinora fecere.

The difficulty of fixing ancient topography from the accounts given by Tacitus, and other ancient historians, is well known. As far as I am aware no one has ever attempted to fix the site of this battle. There are apparently no guide-marks. Let us, however, see if we can get any reasonably probable locality for the fight.

A glance at the ancient map of East Anglia will show us that it was bounded on three sides by the sea and its inlets; the fenland of Cambridgeshire defended it on the west; and the great forest region of Essex on the south-west. Thus the only approach was the narrow strip of open chalk country lying between the fens and the woodland. Along this strip passed the ancient British road, the Icknield (or Icenhilde) Way, in which we recognize the name of the people whose highway it formed into the west and south. East of Newmarket its direction is uncertain, although it probably went to Thetford. The Icknield Way, says Professor Babington, " may easily be traced from near

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[1] Mr. Bradley, however, thinks that *Trisantona* was the Trent.

Thetford [a British stronghold, as the huge earthwork there still testifies] to Icklingham,...then crossing the river Lart at Lackford, and falling into the line of the present road at Kentford."[1] It passed by Newmarket, across the Newmarket Heath to Ickleton, passed not far from Great Chesterford, on by Royston and Baldock to Dunstable. There can be little doubt that the Icknield Way is pre-Roman. The Iceni possessed chariots, as we shall see below, and the keeping of chariots implies the use of some regular and well-defined roads, or at least tracks. If the Icknield Way had been made in Roman times it is hardly possible to imagine why it should have carefully avoided the important Roman station at Great Chesterford. Since it may be assumed without hesitation that there was some chariot-way along the chalk downs into East Anglia, and since we have a road of undoubtedly great antiquity running along this strip of chalk and yet shunning a great Roman camp, we may well follow Professor Babington and all the older authorities in regarding the Icknield Way as British. Now this road in its course passes through the four famous Dykes, which ran right across from the fenland to the woodland, the Brand or Heydon Ditch, the Brent Ditch, the Fleam or Balsham Dyke, and the Devil's Ditch—to take them in order from west to east (see Plan). "Each of these ditches extending from fen or marshy land to a wooded country, and quite crossing the narrow open district which lay between the woods and the fen, by which alone East Anglia could be approached without great difficulty, must have presented a formidable obstacle to the usual predatory inroads which formed so large a part of the warfare of those ages."[2] So the Bruty-Tywysogion describes the origin of Offa's Dyke, "In the summer the Cymri wasted Offa's dominions, and Offa had a dyke made as a boundary (terfyn) between him and the Cymri to enable him the more easily to withstand the attacks of his enemies."[3]

Let us now hear what the Father of English Archæology, Sir William Camden, has to say about these earthworks. "Not far off from Castle Camps, there are the remains of

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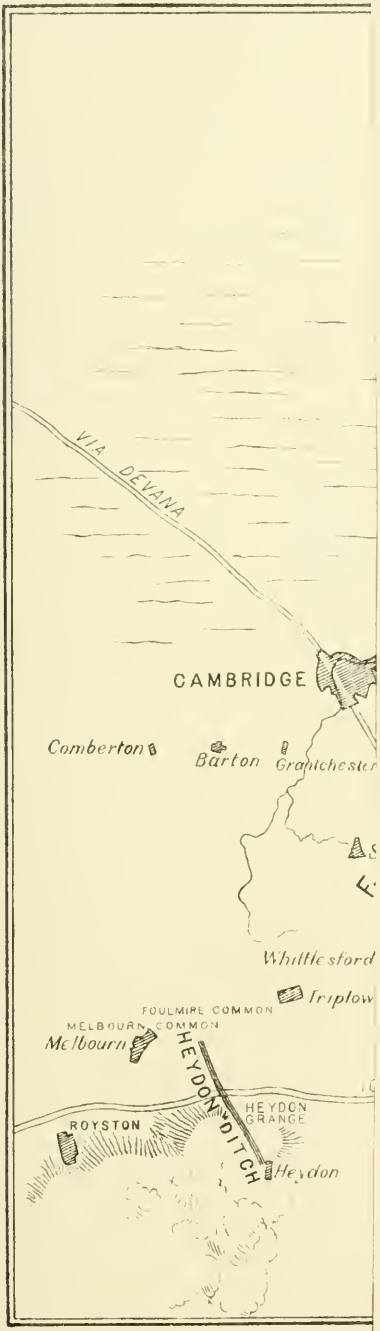
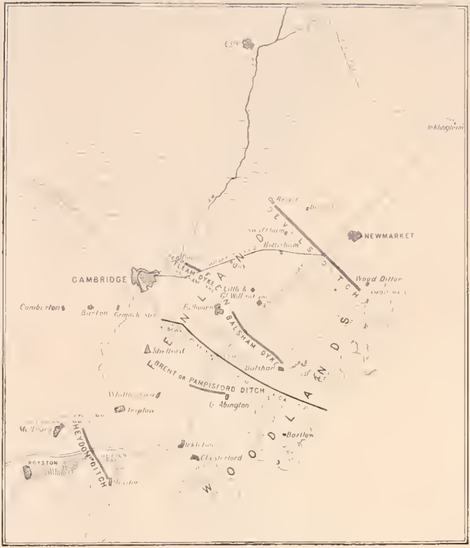
Babington's *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, ed. 1883, p. 55.

[2] Babington's *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, ed. 1883, p. 97.

[3] Guest's Origines Celt. ii, p. 274.


VIA DEVANA
CAMBRIDGE
Comberton
Barton
Grantchester
Whittlesford
Triplow
FOULMIRE COMMON
MELBOURN COMMON
Melbourn
HEYDON DITCH
HEYDON GRANGE
ROYSTON
Heydon


Ely
Icklingham
Reach
NEWMARKET
DEVILS DITCH
Swaffham
Bottisham
FLEAM DYKE
CAMBRIDGE
Little & Gt Wilbraham
Wood Ditton
Comberton
Barton
Grantchester
Fulbourn
FEN LAND
BALSHAM DYKE
Balsham
WOODLANDS
Shelford
BRENT OR PAMPISFORD DITCH
G. Abington
Triplow
Melbourn
HEYDON DITCH
Bartlow
ROYSTON
Ickleton
Chesterford

those great and large ditches which were undoubtedly thrown up by the East Angles to prevent the incursions of the Mercians, who frequently ruined all before them. The first begins at Hingston [now written Hinxton] and runs eastward by Hildersham towards Horseheath for five miles together. The second next to it, called Brent Ditch, runs from Melbourne by Fulmer.

"There is a third ditch thrown up in old times, beginning at the east side of the cam, which runs by Fenn Ditton (or rather Ditchton from the forementioned ditch) between Great Wilbraham and Fulburn as far as Balsham. At present it is commonly called Seven Mile Dyke, because it lies seven miles from Newmarket; formerly called Fleam[1] Dyke, as much as to say Flight Dyke as it seems from some remarkable flight at this place.

"Five miles more inward to the east is the fourth fortification or ditch with a rampart, the largest of all called Devil's Dyke by the common people, because they look upon it as a work of devils rather than men, and Rech Dyke by others from Rech, a little market town at the beginning of it. Questionless this is the same that Abbo Floriacensis speaks of in his description of the Eastern Angles: 'from the same part when the sun declines to the west, this province joins to the rest of the island and consequently there is a clear passage; but to prevent the enemies frequent incursions it is defended by a bank like a lofty wall and a deep ditch.' This, for many miles together, crosses that plain that goes by the name of Newmarket Heath, a place most liable to invasions, beginning at Rech, beyond which the country is fenny and impassable and ending just by Cowlidge, where the woods stop all marching. It was then the bounds of the kingdom as well as of the bishoprick of the East Angles. It is uncertain who was the founder of such a mighty work. Later writers ascribe it to K. Canute the Dane, though, in truth, Abbo who mentions it dyed before Canute began his reign, and the Saxon Chronicle where it treats of Athelwolf's rebellion against Edward the Elder, called it simply the Ditch. It says 'that King Edward destroyed all the country between the Ditch and the Ouse as far as the North Fens, and that Athelwolf the Rebel, and Eobric the Dane were killed in the same battle.'

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[1] The name is written Flamicgedik in Domesday (in hundreto Flamicgedik)

"But the writers since Canute, have called it St. Edmond's Liberty and St. Edmund's Ditch, supposing that Canute made it, because a most devoted adorer of St. Edmund the Martyr, who (to make amends for his father Sweyn's horrid cruelty to them) had granted to the Religious of St. Edmundsbury vast privileges as far as this very ditch; whence William of Malmbury in his book of Prelates says, 'That the custom officers in other places fall out madly without considering right or wrong, but on this side of St. Edmund's Ditch the modest suppliants immediately. put a stop to all quarrels.'

"Sure enough these two last mentioned bulwarks were called St. Edmund's Ditches; for Matthew Florilegus declares that the battle against Athelwolf was fought between St. Edmund's two ditches [inter duo fossata Sancti Edmundi]."

Let us now give what is known about the ditches in the present day, as regards the question of relative positions of these ramparts and fosses, and the question as to whether they are older or younger than the Icknield Way.

The Heydon Ditch runs from a fen called Melbourne Common to the village of Heydon, a distance of three miles. The rampart is on the east side, and was seven feet above the level of the surrounding country, and its extreme breadth from the western side of the foss to the eastern edge of the vallum was about eighty feet. It was crossed by the Icknield Way, near Heydon Grange. The road is more ancient than the dyke.

The Brent or Pampisford Ditch extends for about a mile and three-quarters from the fen at Brent ditch end to Abingdon, where the woodland began. It is shallow, and much effaced. It seems difficult to decide on which side the rampart was, as Mr. Hartshorne says it was on the east, Professor Babington maintains it is on the west, while Mr. Beldam considered the earth to have been thrown up equally on both sides. It is crossed at about the middle by the turnpike road, which represents the old Icknield Way, and it is said that the ditch has been filled up to allow the road to pass. Consequently the ditch is older than the road.

The Balsham or Fleam Dyke ran from the Cam at Fen Ditton for nearly two miles to Quy bridge. There Wilbraham Fen formed a sufficient defence as far as Great Wilbraham, within half a mile of which it commences again, and runs for six miles on to Balsham, where the woodland began. The depth of this ditch from the top of the rampart, which is on the eastern side, is about twenty feet. "It crosses the supposed line of the Icknield Way near to a tumulus called Mutlow Hill [at the Bedford gap], and is said to have been filled up to allow it to pass, but of that, however probable it may be, there is no proof[1]."

The Devil's Ditch extends from the fen at Rech, across Newmarket Heath to Camois Hall near Wood Ditton (Ditch town, like Fen Ditton). The rampart is about thirty feet above the bottom of the ditch, and is on the eastern side. It is crossed by the Icknield Way. Professor Hughes has shewn from the discoveries made when the railway from Cambridge to Mildenhall was in progress, and a cutting was carried through the Ditch, near Burwell, that the evidence, as far as it goes, from the Roman remains being found on the upper part of the earthwork and not down at the original level of the soil, is in favour of the Ditch being pre-Roman.

To these four great dykes Professor Hughes would add a fifth—the so-called Roman Road, which passes along the Gogmagog Hills[2].

I need make only one or two remarks respecting these Ditches.

But, Dr. Guest, following Camden, referred these last two ditches to Saxon and Danish times. "The Fleam Dyke he considered the Anglo-Saxon *limes* of East Anglia in the wars of the seventh century between the Mercians and East Angles, whilst the latter (Devil's Ditch) may be a Danish work of the close of the ninth century." The grounds on which he did so seem nothing more than that there is no mention of these earthworks from any earlier period, and that we have Abbo Floriacensis' actual statement for one of them, at least, being used by the Angles as a defence against the Mercians. Camden himself shows us that the common belief that Canute was the builder of the Devil's Ditch was probably wrong, by quoting an historian who died before Canute was born. It is quite possible that generation after generation used, repaired, and strengthened these earthworks, and that it was only in the course of many centuries that they reached their present dimensions. As regards the relative ages of the ditches, we may assert with tolerable certainty that the shortest are the oldest.[1] The first effort made by the inhabitants of East Anglia to employ such a ditch as a defence against their neighbours would take as its site the point where forest and fen came nearest to one another.

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[1] Ibid p. 99.

[2] *The Cambridge Review*, 6 May, 1885, p. 292

The Pampisford Ditch is the shortest, and next to it comes the Heydon Ditch. The former is only one and a third miles, the latter three miles long. Now, as the forest was narrower, and fens much smaller in extent and much less deep at the points connected by the two last-mentioned ditches than was the case more to the east, an enemy could, with comparative ease, make his way either through the forest on the south or across the fens on the north, especially in summer. If we look at the map we shall see, on the other hand, that the line of defence made by the Fleam Dyke from Fen Ditton to Balsham, although much larger and more costly, gave great security against outflanking. The Fleam Dyke ended at the Chalk Hill, which stands over the Cam at Ditton, its fosse forming the present village street.[2] The river here was wide and deep, and quite impassable, and beyond it lay Chesterton, Milton, and Waterbeche Fens, making up an area, several miles wide, of hopeless quagmires before an enemy could even get to the river's brink. The same holds good in a still stronger degree of the Devil's Ditch. It ended where the present village of Rech stands, on the very verge of the deep fens and meres which lie between it and the river Cam at Upware, the river was broader and deeper than at Fen Ditton, and on its western side there was a still wider belt of impenetrable morass. In similar fashion the defence afforded by the forest of North Essex at the south-eastern termination of each ditch was much more complete than it was more to the west. For the invader who wished to outflank the end of the Fleam Ditch at Balsham would have to march far into the depths of the forest, and if he wished to turn the strong position at the end of the Devil's Ditch at Wood Ditton he would have a proportionately more difficult task. To guard against such outflanking, it is most probable that at the Balsham end of the Fleam Ditch, and at the Wood Ditton end of the Devil's Ditch, the line of the vallum was taken up and continued far into the forest by stockades of felled trees. For whilst the villages of Fen Ditton and Reach are built on the very ends of the Ditches, the villages of Balsham and Wood Ditton stand about a mile from the ends of the Ditches. There has been, probably, continuity of habitation on all four sites, and we may therefore infer that the villages of Balsham and Wood Ditton were originally built almost a mile in the forest at the end of the stockaded *junctura* between ditches and forest.[1]

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[1] Dr. Guest (loc. cit.) "assigned the Brent Dyke to the period of the second great Belgic Conquest, B.C. 90, and the Pampisford Dyke to about A.D. 30."

[2] Although the Fleam Ditch has been long levelled down and made into a parish road from Fen Ditton to the Newmarket road, traces of it still remain, and its memory is preserved by the road being called Highditch road. The ditch seems to have been made into a road when the parish was enclosed in 1807. The fathers of old villagers still alive used to walk along the *vallum*, just as people now walk along the top of the ditch between Fulbourn and Balsham.

The ramparts of three, and these the most important, are on the *eastern* side. Consequently the builders of these fortifications lived in East Anglia. As we saw above there is a conflict of authorities in the case of the Brent Ditch. Secondly, it is most important to note that they all cross and defend the line of the Icknield Way. In one case, at least, the dyke is older than the Way, and probably the Balsham Dyke is also older than the Way. But, whilst it is a good proof that the dykes are British, if they are older than the ancient British road, it by no means follows that the other dykes are later than British times if they are later than the Icknield Way. There is no reason why the Britons should not have made the dykes at a period later than the road. Thus, in the case of the Devil's Ditch, as it is ascertained to be pre-Roman, it matters not if it is more recent than the Way.

From what has now been said it is plain that Ostorius Scapula, when marching against the Iceni, could only approach East Anglia through the narrow strip between the fens and woodland. It surely is not unreasonable to suppose that he actually marched along the Icknield Way.

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[1] The villagers of Fen Ditton and other fen villages still speak of this country from Balsham to Wood Ditton as the Woodlands.

This way was crossed probably by all four ditches at that time, most certainly as we have seen above by the Brent Ditch. Tradition states that the Balsham Dyke was filled up to permit the road to cross it. Of the relative age of the Devil's Ditch and the Icknield Way we have no evidence. But the evidence at hand is sufficient to prove that the Romans met at least one dyke, and it is not going too far, if we suppose that Tacitus by the words *septum agresti aggere* refers to these ditches, or at least to one of them. Anyone who has ever walked along the Devil's Ditch or the Fleam Dyke will recognize the appropriateness of the term *agrestis agger* to these ramparts of plain earth. Again, from the words of Tacitus we may probably infer that the place selected by the Iceni was already fortified by the *agger*. At all events when two chapters later Tacitus relates how Caractacus fortified a stronghold in the land of the Ordovices his turn of expression is quite different :

> Sumpto ad proelium loco, ut aditus, abscessus, cuncta nobis inportuna et suis in melius essent, tunc montibus arduis, et si qua clementor accedi poterant, in modum valli saxa praestruit.[1]

This gives us a clear notion of the distinction in the mind of Tacitus between an *agrestis agger* and a *vallum*, the term applied to the stockaded rampart of a regular camp. The words of Tacitus indicate clearly that it was not a regular British camp or fortress. The very term *saeptum*, which is employed instead of some term like *munitum*, points clearly to something quite different from an ordinary fort. But that which puts the question beyond doubt is the statement that they selected as a field for battle a place fenced by a rude dyke, and with a narrow approach, to render it impassable for cavalry. What historian, ancient or modern, when about to describe a regular fortress, would say that it was fortified in such a way as to render it inaccessible to cavalry? Would it not be ridiculous if Kinglake were to write that the Redan or the Malakoff fort at Sebastopol was so fenced that it was impassable for horse soldiers? From this it is certain that the Ancient British camp called Vandlebury, on the top of the Gogmagogs, cannot be the place meant by Tacitus.

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[1] *Annals*, xii. 33.

On the other hand, if an historian were describing a position in a plain, nothing is more natural and common than to say that a large ditch or stream protected the place from the enemy's horse. The reason is perfectly obvious, every historian assumes that his readers will at least be aware that cavalry are not employed in storming regular forts.

The use of the word *locus* in the second passage quoted shows that it includes a wide area of country, and does not merely mean a fortified camp or fortress of small extent. The use of the word would very well suit any of the areas between any pair of the ditches. The distance measured on the map from the point where the Icknield Way crosses the Brent Ditch to that at which it cuts the Balsham Dyke is less than four and a half miles. The Iceni undoubtedly possessed chariots (like the tribes who fought against Julius Cæsar in the preceding century), as we learn from the story of Boudicea, or Boadicea (to give her a more familiar if less accurate name) in *Annals*, xiv. 35.

When once then their first line of defence was stormed, if they turned to flight, such a barrier as the Balsham Dyke, or Devil's Ditch, lying in their rear, would offer a formidable obstruction. The words *obseptis effugiis* would well express their position shut in on the flanks by forest and fen, and with a large earthwork behind them, with but one narrow gap in it through which the Icknield Way passed, and towards which the victorious Romans would press quickly along the direct road. Moreover, the foss of this ditch in their rear lay on the wrong side for them, as it was on the western side of the rampart, and thus it was still more difficult for them to cross the latter.

It would be vain to speculate which of the great Cambridgeshire Ditches witnessed the overthrow of the gallant Iceni. Even if the topographical description was more explicit than it is, we must remember that Tacitus, writing many years later, would simply write down certain impressions concerning the place perhaps derived from his father-in-law Agricola. But I think that a certain amount of probability can be established that the battle took place at one of these four ditches. There is evidence that the regular road into the land of the Iceni passed through all those dykes, there is also evidence that at least three of them existed before the Roman Conquest. Was Ostorius likely to march by any other route? Certainly not through the forest or fen, when he could find a regular roadway leading across a high strip of chalk-land, where there was no danger of surprise or ambuscade. These considerations alone would point to the site of the battle lying somewhere within the limits described. Finally, we have the words of Tacitus giving a description of the place which suits very accurately any of the four great ditches, each in turn approached and passed through by the Icknield Way.

I venture then to submit that there is a reasonable probability that the passage of Tacitus refers to two of those great earthworks which still exist. The Fleam Dyke and Devil's Ditch fit best the historian's description, and they certainly were the strongest positions, and thus the most likely to be occupied by the Iceni at such a juncture.

ENGLISH ACADEMICAL COSTUME (MEDIÆVAL).[1]

By Professor E. C. CLARK, LL.D., F.S.A.

Periods.—I have found the account of our academical costume to divide itself roughly into three periods. The first extends from the earliest beginnings to about the close of the fifteenth century, when rather a marked change is perceptible, particularly in the head-dress. The second ends about the middle of the sixteenth century, by which time most of our present forms were developed. The third begins with the changes due to alternate waves of religious or political feeling, finally settling down into the costume of to-day. The second and third periods I am obliged, for the present occasion, to postpone, and confine myself to the purely mediæval part of my subject.

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[1] The article which was partly read before the meeting of the Archæological Institute at Cambridge, in August, 1892, originally extended to University dignities other than degrees. The former subject, however, as being mainly illustrated by a picture in the Registry of Cambridge, the date of which fell below the mediæval period, was omitted from a lecture confined to that period. A historical sketch of the origin and development of the University system, with special reference to its outward forms, which I had found essential to any full treatment of my subject, was passed over very briefly. Of this sketch a brief *résumé* is given above.

The references to historical or archæological works in general, which will be added on re-publication, in a connected form, of this article and the others to follow, are, for the sake of brevity, omitted from the *Journal*. The authorities most frequently quoted are Savigny's Geschichte, Denifle's Universitäten, De Viriville's Histoire and The Abbé Péries' recent work on the Law Faculty in Paris; for Oxford—Wood, and the publications of the Oxford Historical Society; for Cambridge—Cooper, Mullinger, and Peacock; for Ecclesiastical costume—Bonanni, de Vert, Marriott, and Lee. References to English documentary evidence are to a considerable extent incorporated in the text. They are quoted: for Oxford—from Anstey's Munimenta, from the Statutes and Recommendations printed by the Commission of 1853, and from the Registers of Convocation, printed by the Historical Society; for Cambridge—from the Documents similarly printed by the Commission of 1852, from the old Proctors' books, now in course of publication by the Antiquarian Society, from Cooper's Annals, and Peacock on the Statutes of the University of Cambridge—the work above referred to. The contemporary representations cited, mostly monumental, are, with a few exceptions, contained in Haines' Manual (1861), and Boutell's Monumental Brasses.

The illustrations employed in the reading were, in some cases, enlarged from engravings, but, except where otherwise stated, the representation has always been verified by a rubbing, or a recent inspection of the original. The greater part of these rubbings were exhibited on the same occasion.

Résumé of Historical Sketch.—The points which I wish briefly to impress are these:—The copying from earlier foreign models, particularly Paris. The origination of a University in previous Schools, dealing with little but what are called the Arts, and principally Grammar. The Clerical or quasi-Clerical character of these Schools, as of revived education in general. The early use, dating from these Schools, of the term Master for "teacher," and Regent for "actually engaged in teaching." The association of Schools into Communities or Corporations *(Universitates)*, at first voluntary, being due partly to privileges conferred by local authorities, partly to the employment of new methods, partly to the introduction or revival of additional subjects. Within these Corporations, the association of teachers, in the main subjects respectively, into Faculties, with a received order of dignity,—at least in Paris—*viz.*, Theology, Law, Medicine, Arts. As a minor point, but not without its importance, the two-fold development of Law, as Canon and Civil, the connexion of the former with Theology, and its consequent priority. The development of different *grades* of teachers (degrees) within the Faculties; the admission to these grades, on satisfaction of tests *(examina)*, by the Faculties themselves; the early introduction of a certain surveillance over this system of admission, by the Papal authority. With this last must probably be connected the importance of the office of Chancellor, which appears to have arisen in Paris, and the religious character of many of our *formulæ* of admission. To the Pope's express sanction must be traced in many Universities, though not in the earliest (where it arose from custom), the recognised right of their Graduates to teach anywhere in Christendom. The existence of such a right in a particular School or Community of Schools, was originally and properly expressed by the style of *Studium Generale*, but it also came to be connected with the name *Universitas*, as in the Bull of John XXII. (1318), which recognised Cambridge under both terms. The word University does not mean a place where everything is taught, but (1) a Corporation, (2) a Corporation specially of teachers and students, (3) such a Corporation, with the additional advantage that its teachers are generally recognised elsewhere. The bearing of this last point upon an account of academical costume is of great importance during the earlier period, when Latin was still the vehicle of education, and an international community of teachers was possible.

There is another and a very interesting side of University development. I mean the association, originally peculiar to the students, into Nations, with their representatives, the Proctors or Rectors, and the single Rector. With ourselves in England this official order has partly disappeared and partly been absorbed by, or transferred to, the educational system proper. In any case, it has rather to do with the subject of dignities, whereas I must confine myself, in the few remaining introductory remarks which I have to make, to that of degrees.

Of the order of Faculties I have spoken already. There had also been developed at Paris by the end, if not the middle of the thirteenth century, a system of degrees, from which we undoubtedly, to a great extent, borrowed. The degrees were already distinguished, not merely by different forms and conditions of admission, but also by different outward marks, of costume, or of what are more specially termed *insignia.* And in these outward marks there was, for some time, owing to what Mr. Mullinger happily terms the *catholicity* of the grades indicated, a comparative uniformity, particularly for the higher grades, throughout Christendom. I propose very briefly to enumerate the different grades, taking note of those stages in "Promotion" which we find expressly connected with regulations as to costume, or which bear technical names requiring some explanation. The word just used is technical on the Continent, I believe, for the higher degrees alone: in our old statutes it is used mainly with reference to the attainment of *benefices*: I use it, for convenience, of the attainment of degrees in general.

Determination.—I pass over, of course, the disciplinary regulations for the ordinary Scholar or Undergraduate. His academical dress will be considered directly. I pass over, too, the Scholar's previous residence, attendance at lectures and performance of Responsions. The ultimate test of attainments for the first grade in his Promotion consisted of logical Disputations carried on in the Schools.

That *Determination*, of which we shall occasionally hear, was the final and most responsible part played by the Candidate, in judicially *determining* or deciding questions on which he had previously only endeavoured to make good or to demolish a proposition as a pleader.

The Baccalaureat as we moderns call it, (following the ridiculous etymology of Baccalaureus), though not, perhaps, at first a degree, was so soon recognised as one that we need not go into the question of its original condition. The Bachelor was a teacher or lecturer like the higher Graduate: but his right to lecture was not of the same absolute and general character; his lectures were, at least in England, mainly "extraordinary" or supernumerary, not allowed to interfere with the "ordinary" lectures of the Regent Master or Doctor; and it is doubtful if he had *ipso jure* any recognition as a teacher elsewhere than in his own University.

The *status* of the Baccalaureat originally depended upon a license of the Rector or Chancellor. The degree, when it became one, was, like all degrees, originally conferred by the Faculty concerned, or some representative of it. I do not find any record of *insignia* being granted to the Bachelor, but it is clear that he had to wear a special dress in the lectures, which it was his duty to give, *viz.*, the *Tabard.* We also find that he was entitled and required to wear a Hood lined with the less expensive kinds of fur. The Hood *per se* was not originally a distinction of the Baccalaureat, as it became when the Undergraduates ceased to wear it.

I must pass over the different classes of Bachelors at Paris, and also that interesting question, the origin and true derivation of the style *Bachilarius* or *Bacularius*, which was most probably developed in the same place. It seems pretty certain that the idea and term passed from chivalry to learning, not *vice versa.* Anything more I must leave for another occasion.

Licentiate.—The *license* from which this *status* takes its name was conferred by the Chancellor (at Bologna originally by the Archdeacon), but on the certificate of members of the Faculty. As to its scope, there is a considerable amount of confusion in our authorities. It would seem that there may have been a very early time in

Paris and Bologna when there was no Licentiate specially so called, but what license to teach was granted, was granted only to the Bachelor. Then an intermediate stage, a step to the higher degree of Master or Doctor, began to be recognised, the license originally required for the Baccalaureat was transferred to this, and the stage itself was known as the Licentiate. A class of Licentiates existed in Paris before the middle of the thirteenth century, and is recognised by the old Statutes of Bologna, confirmed by the Pope in 1253. They were Bachelors who had studied and attended lectures for a certain time, had delivered lectures themselves, and had finally passed an *examen* or private examination by members of their Faculty. Being then *presented* by some representative of the same Faculty, and their competence duly attested, they received the Chancellor's license to proceed to the public performance before a *conventus*, or meeting of their Faculty, which finally conferred the degree. The license also, it would seem, included power to keep School and lecture, between the time of the *examen* and that of the *conventus*, more absolute, or more nearly resembling that of a Regent, than was enjoyed by the simple Bachelor.

This sketch which, I must premise, is rather a *cento* from Bologna and Paris, or in other words, Savigny and Péries, tallies clearly with our own somewhat fragmentary authorities, and helps to explain some of our rather unintelligible terms. We have our provisions, of various dates, or more often no dates, for lectures to be attended by our Bachelors, or to be given by them, for the testimony of the Faculty to their competence, for their Presentation by some member of that Faculty to the Chancellor, in order to receive his license. The forms of Presentation are extremely interesting, and the part played by the Father, or the more intelligible French Godfather *(Parrain)*, in early times included the conferring of *insignia*. The last point I shall treat under the subject of Creation : the other parts of the ceremonial do not bear on costume.

Of the Chancellor's license we have an old form preserved in the Oxford Muniments and Registers. It gives power to Incept (*i.e.* to take the ultimate steps necessary for obtaining the degree of Master), to Read (*i.e.* lecture), to Dispute (*i.e.* take all parts in the School exercises), and to do everything pertaining to the status of Master in the Faculty concerned, when the candidate has completed all things pertaining to such solemnity. On the general use of the word Master I shall speak later on. The grant is, it will be observed, conditional, but possibly only as to the last clause. Whether it gave the Licentiate, in his intermediate condition, a general power of lecturing is not certain. He certainly was *required* to give lectures in the Schools, exactly similar to those of the ordinary Master, in fact acting as his deputy.

The fee for this license was trifling, being one "commons," probably a shilling, which, however, represented a week's maintenance. The public performance, too, whether at the Bolognese "*conventus*," or our own Inception or Commencement, was trivial as a test. But the cost of these latter proceedings, which will be more particularly considered under the head of "Creation," was very great. Hence the sumptuary legislation, to check extravagant entertainments and gifts of dresses by the Inceptors, from which we get a good deal of our information about ancient costume. Hence, on the other hand, the necessity for exacting security from Licentiates that they would actually Incept within a year, and of imposing fines for neglect to do so, the record of which fills our old Registers.

We therefore find people remaining in the Licentiate, during the mediæval period, for years. It must, one would think, have been a *status* of at least occasional permanence, when we find it held by a Cambridge Chancellor, Stephen Le Scrope, under whom one of the most interesting of our Ancient Statutes was passed in 1414.

And even within its statutory period the Licentiate seems sometimes to have afforded a "*Wanderjahr*" of not always too reputable adventure. Another of our old Statutes contains an express regulation to meet this "*materia vagandi*."

We are obliged, therefore, to look out for a special costume of the Licentiate, though I am bound to say that, in England, I can discover little, if any, difference from that of the ordinary Bachelor. The *status* itself did not subsist, as a matter of any duration, to modern times. I should infer that it had ceased before Stokys' time (a

Cambridge Bedell who wrote in 1574), or even before his authorities, who were probably much older. The license in his time seems to have been a mere formal affair, given by the Proctors at the Vespers, or exercises on the day before Commencement.

The licenses granted to *practise* in the Faculties, and to teach Grammar, stand on an entirely different footing from these licenses to Incept, and probably approximated rather to the original license which constituted the Baccalaureat before it was a degree. The license to practise in Medicine survived, at Cambridge, to Gunning's time (1828).

Inception, Commencement and Creation.—The two former terms, and the generally inchoate character of the *status*—not properly *degrees*, save in exceptional cases—to which our Cambridge Vice-Chancellors now admit, become clear if we consider the theory which was once a matter of practice. The Chancellor did not give the degree : he only admitted the candidates to *begin* the final steps for obtaining it. They were actually Created, as they still are at Cambridge, by their Faculty—by the Proctors as representatives of Arts, or by the respective Fathers, now replaced by the three Regius Professors, in the three higher Faculties. At Oxford it appears that Creation generally has passed, since the Laudian Statutes, into the hands of the Vice-Chancellor.

The highest degree is variably styled that of Master, Professor, or Doctor. The differentiation of these titles, which originally were nearly equivalent, is interesting but too long for an introduction. Of the three, Master is the most general. It covers the person who has ceased to teach—the Non-Regent—as well as the Regent. It is, no doubt, in the end rather specially appropriated to Arts ; but we also find it applied to individual teachers of the highest degree in Theology ; and it occurs, quite late, in English formulæ as a collective term for all graduates but Bachelors. Doctor, too, is used either for Regent or Non-Regent, but little, if at all with us English, in the Faculty of Arts. Professor also is, I think, generally confined, in England, to the higher Faculties. Unlike the other two styles, this usually implies actual present teaching.

The *insignia*, properly so-called, are peculiar to the highest degree, at least in our accounts. They are old symbols of the teaching power and the dignity conferred by Creation, and it must be remembered that the highest degree was originally the only one. In an obsolete Faculty of Grammar, at Cambridge, the Master received a *Palmer* and a *Rod*; in Arts, a Cap was placed upon his head; in the three higher Faculties, the Doctor (or Master) was placed in the Chair, and received the Hat, with the addition, perhaps only in Theology, of the Book, Ring and Kiss of Peace.

The ceremonial for the higher Faculties appears to have been pretty uniform in all the older Universities, and a formula for the creation of Doctor in Theology, preserved by our Cambridge Bedell Stokys, has great interest from its bearing on the *Catholicity* of these outward symbols of degree. For it not only enumerates the *insignia* of the Doctorate, but directly cites Papal regulations as a common authority on the subject. This formula may be found in Peacock's Statutes of the University of Cambridge, pp. xxxix., xl. The history connected with it is too long for the present article. I would only remark that the "Gloss" on the Clementine Decretal referred to is from a commentary by Giovanni d'Andrea of Bologna, writing between 1312 and 1333. "The *insignia* of the Doctorate," he says, "are with *us*" (*i.e.*, at Bologna), the *Cathedra* and the *Birretum*; with some the *Liber*, *Annulus* and *Osculum*." I quote him especially, because I shall have to refer to him hereafter as an illustration of Doctor's costume.

This costume, apart from the *insignia* proper, differed from that of the Bachelor or Licentiate—as to the ordinary dress, in richer linings and occasionally colour—as to the dress for lecturing and other public appearances, in a slightly graver and more dignified character. It seems probable that the *Tippet*, on which I shall have to say a good deal, did not descend below the Master's degree. But this point is doubtful, and the whole subject falls rather under the general account of the different items of academical costume, which will be given next, with special reference to their documentary evidence.

Religious Origin.—Although the *insignia*, strictly so called, can scarcely date before the middle of the thirteenth century, a general clerical or monastic dress, both for teachers and students of the Schools, as well as some distinctive costume for the teachers, was probably earlier. Both of these outward marks appear to be assumed and enforced, but not originated, by our oldest academical regulations. The religious character of academical costume is obvious enough even at the present day; and the different articles of dress, the employment of which I shall have to consider in the following pages, can in most cases be clearly traced to a religious origin.

Toga or *Roba Talaris.*—The academical Gown in its simplest and most general form, is held by Anthony Wood to have been originally derived from the earliest monastic habit—the Benedictine. Although the account of costume given by this writer, is generally loose and vague, he is probably right here, and his view is confirmed by ancient Statutes of Paris, to which University we must generally look for our patterns. In an Ordinance for the Faculty of Canon Law (1387), quoted by the Abbé Péries, we read of the decent and obligatory dress which beseems monks of S. Benedict—Frock and Hood, or close Cope (*cappa clausa*) with a similar Hood, or Scapular, but no *Mantellus* or *Rotondellus.* Of the later details I shall speak hereafter. The regulation cited comes, like similar ones of our own, by way of reform from laxity and extravagance; but it may fairly indicate the normal character and source of the costume as originally conceived.

The Ancient Statutes of our earliest Cambridge College—Peterhouse—require generally clerical habit and tonsure from the scholars. These Statutes were passed in the middle of the fourteenth century (1344), mainly on the model of Merton College, Oxford, though in this particular item they are based rather upon a recent constitution (1342) of John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, to which I shall have to refer later on.

The directions are most explicit in the Ordinance of Richard II. for King's Hall, bearing date thirty-five years later (1379 or 1380). The dress of the Scholar was to be a Robe reaching to the ancles (*talaris*), decent and reputable, as suited the clerical *status* of the wearer; if he were a Bachelor, a Robe with a Tabard suited to his degree. The Tabard I postpone; but I may here remark the recognition of the Baccalaureat as a degree.

I think the terms *Roba* and *Toga* generally mean a loose frock or gown, the tighter Cassock being, in correctness, styled *Tunica talaris.* I cannot draw any strict distinction between the two. In an Oxford Statute, dated 1432, *Toga talaris* is the ordinary dress for any secular (lay) Graduate; in another, undated but early, *Roba* is a Master's or Doctor's Gown, as distinguished from a Cope. In the Ancient Statutes of Clare Hall, Cambridge (1359), *Roba* is also used of a Bachelor Fellow's Gown. I am inclined, on the whole, to consider *Roba* the senior and more dignified dress. By the curious Tailors' Statute of Oxford (1358), the *vestes* of Masters (no doubt including Doctors) *and Bedells* are to be wide and long as a distinction from *the Laity.*

The habit originally intended by the Benedictine Rule does not quite explain the terms quoted above, from the Parisian Statutes, nor the ground-work of our academical dress. Of the articles specified in cap. 55 of the Rule, the *tunica* was a close dress, more resembling the ordinary Cassock than anything else, while the Cowl (*cucullus*) was a loose covering with large wide sleeves, approaching to a Gown. It is, in fact, identified with the "*froc*" by De Vert. The *Scapulare*, which was only intended as an alternative, in working hours, for the *cucullus*, has no representative in academical costume. A small Hood was apparently, from the first, attached to the Cowl, but, as being a part, must not be confused with the whole. It is possible that the *Cappa clausa*, although really derived, I believe, from another source, may have been supposed, by the Parisian legislators above quoted, to have come from the *tunica* of the Rule.

The original Benedictine habit, however, appears to have been, both in use and in early pictorial representation, to a great extent ousted by those of the reformed and later Orders. What monumental records I have been able to find in England bear much less resemblance to any early description than to Hollar's plate in Dugdale's Monasticon, which, though it has a fancy appearance, may truly represent the later Benedictine dress, as copied by students and teachers. The habit is a long black Robe, with full or loose sleeves, and a large Hood, of the same material with the Robe, apparently attached to it. The Robe is *not* meant to be joined down the front. This dress is well described by Haines as like a (modern) Surplice in form. In fact, in the fine brass of Thomas Nelond, Clugniac Prior of Lewes (d. 1443), from Cowfold Church in Sussex, it is, I think wrongly, called a Surplice by Boutell. The Oxford Manual of Monumental Brasses speaks of this individual Gown as *black*, I know not on what authority in the original brass. The copy exhibited by me was enlarged from an engraving published by the Cambridge Camden Society.

Since selecting the above illustration I secured a better example in a rubbing from St. Laurence's, Norwich, of the brass of Geoffry Langley, Benedictine Prior of St. Faith's, near Norwich (d. 1437). I may also mention the effigy of Robert Beauner, Benedictine monk of St. Albans (d. about 1470), and the (restored) brass of Prior Crauden (d. 1341) in the Choir of Ely Cathedral.

The ordinary academical Gown, then, of the middle ages I take to have been pretty nearly that above described from Hollar. The wide sleeves, with the arms passing through their whole length, are a standing characteristic. I may refer, for example, to Dr. Caius' description in chap. 27 of his Statutes, of the *vestis longa* to be worn by *all* members of the College ; and to Buck, on the costume of a candidate for license to practise in medicine, who has *not* taken a degree, Buck's description being interpreted and retained by Gunning. The sleeves were diminished, for Undergraduates, in later times, the fuller form being retained for *mourning*. They are also somewhat disguised by the modern distinctions devised for the respective Colleges. The above, however, seems to be the ground form, the Gowns of the B.A., M.A., &c., being due to modifications of this dress or combinations with other garments in express reference to the functions connected with the particular degrees. Such directions as those in the Statutes of Magdalen and Brasenose, Oxford, that the front of the Gown is to be sewn up, at least from the wearer's middle to the ground, are exceptionally austere. An exception, too, in the opposite direction is such special allowance of fur trimming for Fellows as we find in the Ancient Statutes of Clare Hall, Cambridge (1359).

The word *Gona*, which must, I suppose, be the origin of our Gown, occurs very rarely in College or University regulations. In the Statutes of All S~~aint~~ouls', cap. 17, it is a synonym of the puzzling word *epitogium*, which I think here meant the Gown. Nothing definite can be made out of Ducange's "*Gunna.*" *Pace* Professor Skeat I should be inclined to derive all three words rather from Old French than Celtic.

The civic and judicial robes of dignity and gravity bear some resemblance, mainly in their earlier forms, to the academic. A Tunic or Gown is very common, rather resembling the Cassock than the Gown proper, but sometimes having another dress still more like the former, worn, as in academical costume, underneath.

Hood and Tippet.—The Hood, although its Latin name *Caputium* has nothing to do with *Caput*, was no doubt originally intended, both in monastic and academical costume, as the sole or main covering for the head in hot or bad weather. It was at after times dropped on the shoulders, whence the name *Scapulare* is sometimes applied to it, though this word properly describes the Benedictine alternative for the *cucullus.* As an article of monastic dress, the Hood was originally part of or attached to the *cucullus*, but it does not seem to have been similarly attached in its use by lay persons, nor, at any rate for long, by the semi-clerical members of the Universities. Attached or not, the Hood when dropped on the shoulders, ought to shew only one fold, and to take the form of a small *cape.* The large Tippet often appearing *beneath* this cape, in academical costume, should be something else, though we sometimes are puzzled to make out whether it is really a separate item or part of the Hood proper.

Typet of Hood, Cornet, Liripip.—I have just used the word Tippet in the modern sense, in which we shall find it convenient to use the word generally, of a large cape. Its original meaning, however, appears to have been different, and is connected with a good deal of curious matter concerning the shape and appendages of the old Hood.

In the Constitution above referred to, of Archbishop Stratford, *tipetum* is apparently the tail hanging from the back of the Hood. With Chaucer, too, in the Prologue to the Tales (1388), the *typet* is the *poke* of the Hood, in which the Friar carries his knives and pins "to give faire wives." The constitution of Stratford is one of several sumptuary regulations, occurring partly in similar documents partly in early College and University Statutes, which give us incidentally some of our most valuable information on academical costume.

In another, by Archbishop Bourchier (1463), we read of the Hood as having a *cornetum* or *breve liripipium.* The first of these words—derivationally the *horn* or horned end—would naturally mean the tail of the Hood. I do not venture on a derivation of *liripipium*, but there is no doubt that this also originally indicated the pointed end to the cap part of the Hood—which was probably first used, as an illustration of Fairholt's shews, for grasping the Hood by, but was afterwards extravagantly lengthened and turned to all sorts of unexpected purposes. Of its more modest form in academical use we have good evidence, both documentary and pictorial.

The Statutes of All Souls', for instance (1443), in cap. 17 impose upon the Fellows and Scholars the use of Hoods with Liripips of specified dimensions. This is evidently a sort of flap hanging down from the Hood, being three-quarters of a yard long and six inches wide. In the remarkable fifteenth century drawing of New College "on parade," to which I shall have to refer more particularly hereafter, the academic Hood is very clearly represented. It is of moderate size, like a very deep collar, but with a flat tail—evidently the Liripip—hanging down behind. Beneath it is seen, in the majority of individuals there represented, that Tippet, of which it is sometimes difficult to say whether it is really part of the Hood proper, or, as I prefer to believe, something else.

Bourchier's Constitution, above mentioned, also forbids to an Undergraduate the use of Liripips, or "Typetts" of silk or cloth, round the *neck* in public. What is intended is an extravagant elongation of the Liripip into a sort of streamer, which we occasionally find, at least in non-academical English costume, wound round the neck.

This strange fashion may, perhaps, furnish a missing link between the *cornetum*, as to the original meaning of which I do not think there can be much doubt, and its derivative the French *cornette.* This was "*autrefois*," says Littré, a silk band worn by French Doctors of Law, and

(? subsequently) by Francis the First's Professors of the *Collége Royal*, now *Collége de France*. It passed round the neck, falling to the feet, and is one of the possible origins for our own very difficult Scarf.

Liripips in Sleeves.—The pendant streamers from the elbow, which give such a strange appearance to the sleeves of Court dresses in the reign of Edward III., were, according to Fairholt, called "Tippets." They were probably also known as Liripips, for they bear certainly some resemblance to the elongated tail of the Hood. I mention them here merely to anticipate a difficulty in the brass of John Lowthe, noticed below, as described by Haines.

Liripipiati Calcei.—There is another strange use of the word *Liripipium*, in which Paris helps us to explain an otherwise unintelligible entry in the Oxford University Register of 1558, where an M.D., and certain Masters, are excused from wearing *leripipia*. In Paris the points of *shoes*, which grew to an extravagant length, like the pointed tail of the Hood, came to be known by the same name, and were prohibited for the University as early as 1215. This use of the word explains the *liripipiati calcei*, which Wood tells us that Masters of Arts at Oxford were obliged to wear at, and for some time after, their Inception.

The Ancient Statute on the subject requires "*botys*" for Inceptors in Theology and Decrees, for "other Masters," pointed shoes, "*Sotulares conati*," commonly called *Pyusons*. The latter are, no doubt, the *leripipia* excused in the above entry. These pointed shoes (*sotulares liripipiati*) were, it must be remembered, only for a *temporary* distinction. They are expressly forbidden to be worn by Masters at their "ordinary" lectures.

Later meanings of Liripipium, &c.—In passages dating from the close of the mediæval period a change of meaning, or a vague use, is to be traced in all three words—Typet, Cornet and Liripip—bringing them much nearer to Tippet in the modern signification. In an entry of the Oxford Register, dated 1507, a Typet is not only mentioned as synonymous with a *Cornetum*, but is allowed to be worn by a B.C.L. as an alternative for the *toga talaris*. The Typet evidently cannot here be the *tail* of the Hood. It may be a long-tailed Hood, but rather seems to me a Hood of dignity—if, indeed, a Hood at all—which might be worn, possibly over the ordinary gown, in substitution for the Cope or long Tabard (see below).

Mantellum.—The Statutes of Magdalen, Oxford (1479), give us another equivalent to *liripipium* in a word common enough now, but of unknown derivation, except that it comes from an old Spanish *mantus*, and difficult to explain. In the curious and valuable chapter "De habitibus," we find the Fellows and Scholars prohibited from using *mantelli* or *liripipia* outside the College, except *infirmitatis causa*; and these *liripipia* are said to be commonly called Typets. There can be little doubt that what is intended here is some kind of cloak or cape, which is possibly also the meaning of the *liripipium* or Tippet forbidden to the Fellows of Brasenose by their Statutes (1521), unless in the enjoyment of some wealthy benefice. This appears to correspond to a *mantellum* a little later in the same chapter, though not precisely identical with it.

Mantellum, *mantellus* or *mantella*, for all forms are found, seems to have certainly meant a short sleeveless over garment. In its use by our authorities the meaning varies between a dress having nothing to do with the University and a portion of academical costume often coupled and compared with the Hood, but having really, I believe, a different origin.

In the French Ordinance above referred to, the *mantellus* or *rotondellus*, which the members of the particular Faculty are *not* to wear is apparently a "mundane" garment. *Rotonde* is still, according to Littré, the "lower part of a mantle." But in an early account, quoted by Wood, of a penitential procession imposed (1239) upon the riotous Clerks of Oxford, "*sine capis et mantellis*," *mantellus* must mean an academical dress, worn either with the Cope or as an alternative for it. So in the Cambridge Ancient Statute, No. 133 (undated), *mantellum* is clearly an article of costume proper for a Master attending at an Inception. In cap. 23 of the Statutes of King's (1443), *mantella* is a dress worn, at a certain stage of Inception, with the *long* Tabard, corresponding to a *caputium* worn with the Tabard of ordinary length, and to a *chimera* worn with the Cope. I quote the passage before the original from which it is taken—cap. 23 of the

Statutes of New College, Oxford (1400)—because two words ("*cum caputiis*") are clearly omitted in the latter, and must be supplied from the Cambridge copy.

I do not propose to go into the various significations of the difficult word *chimera* as applied to an ecclesiastical vestment, but merely to state the conclusion at which I have arrived as to the use of *mantellum* for a part of academical costume.

The Academical *mantellum*, although in this article suggested by the ordinary Hood and interpolated into the account of it, is, in any strict use of terms, a different thing, worn, either in lieu of or in addition to the Hood, with the Cope or—to anticipate a little—the substitute for the Cope, the long Tabard. It may possibly be identical with the "semi-Cope" of Chaucer's Friar (Prologue 262); but I prefer to call it the Tippet, in the modern sense, which Tippet I believe to be derived from the Almuce, to be discussed presently.

Before I conclude the subject of the Hood proper by describing the differences made in it for different *status* and degrees, I should like briefly to mention two or three items of costume, varying between the Mantle-Tippet and the Hood. They have given me a great deal of trouble, which I may, perhaps, save others.

The *mantelletum* of a Bishop, as defined by Ducange, was a shorter dress worn over his "*vestis talaris*" out of doors, and so far open that the arms could be put out through slits. Whether this was something worn over a Rochet or was a form of Rochet itself, it evidently more resembled a Cape or Tippet than a Hood. It is said vaguely to be worn "abroad in some places" by Doctors of Canon Law, in which case it is clearly to be identified, as it has been, with the "*mozette*" (see below).

On the other hand, *our* non-academical Mantle approximates rather to the Hood, though not in its earliest form. It appears occasionally in ordinary civilian costume, buttoned on the right shoulder, but, early in the fifteenth century, became confined to official persons.

The Judge's "Mantle," in our old legal costume, deserves here a few words. In 1415 it was very like our present Hood, worn somewhat scarf-wise and buttoned on the right shoulder. I refer to the brass of Sir Hugh de Holes, Watford, Herts (see Haines, i. xc.), and, for description, to Fortescue, de Laudibus, cap. 51. This mantle is called by Fortescue "*chlamys*," and Isidore's definition of *chlamys* suits it very well. It is "put on on one side, not sewn together, but fastened with a brooch." In immediate origin, however, it seems to be a rather late form of Hood. The name *mantellum* is given by the Abbé Péries to a Hood or Scarf, whichever we choose to call it, fastened on the *left* shoulder, which was worn, apparently at rather a late period of the University of Paris, by Doctors Regent, to distinguish them from Doctors Non-Regent. There is something very similar in the dress of the later Bologna Professors.

Armelausa is a dress, the definition of which I may cite from the same ancient authority Isidore (d. 636). It is so called, he says, "*quasi armiclausa*," being divided and open in front and behind, but closed over the shoulders. The *armilausae*, or *armulausae*, borrowed by our King's Statutes from those of New College, and appearing also in those of All Souls' (capp. 23, 23, 17), are, as their synonym "*clocae*" shews, short *cloaks*, for occasional use outside College, but, apparently, *not* academical. The curious condition, if I understand it rightly, in the All Souls' Statute, that they are to shew the Hood *beneath* them, seems to confirm Isidore's division *behind*, which otherwise might seem to have been a mere etymological fancy of the learned prelate's.

There are three more words belonging to the same debateable class as *mantellum*, which, I fear, I cannot pass by without some notice, however, unsatisfactory.

Epitogium, meaning literally anything worn over a *toga*, is naturally a very vague term. In France, *epitoge* came ultimately to mean a Scarf worn very like a Hood, but which, I believe, was the latest form of the Tippet or *fourrure*. In the Statutes of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, (1358), cap. 3, it is clearly the long Tabard. So in the Clementine Decretals, (1311-1312), there is a prohibition against Priests, or other religious persons, wearing in public an *epitogium* or furred Tabard. In Stratford's Constitution of 1342, cited above, there is a similar condemnation of *epitogia aut clochæ furratæ*. In the later Statutes of All Souls', Oxford (1443), a passage cited above, seems to make *epitogium* the Gown itself, which must be Wood's view when he calls the *Surplice* an *epitogium album.*

Epomis, another vague term, for which *exomis* is probably but a variant form, could, by derivation, mean anything worn on, or hanging from the shoulder, or shoulders. In late French use (1598-1655), I think it is a Scarf. In Dr. Caius' Statutes (1557), it is a dress worn over the Gown by an Undergraduate, corresponding to the *Caputium* worn by a Graduate. Here, too, it seems to be a Scarf.

Wood uses the word for any form of the detached *caputium*, (see above p. 84). In the Laudian Statutes it is only to be worn by Graduates, which rather gives it the general meaning of Hood. Possibly, after the Undergraduates dropped the Hood, the Epomis may have been that form of it which was worn ordinarily by Graduates, the Caputium that which was worn specially with the Cope.

Differences in the Hood.—That the Undergraduates originally wore Hoods is clear from many passages in the Ancient Statutes. When they discontinued them I cannot exactly say. It was certainly before the Laudian Statutes at Oxford. At Cambridge, it would appear from Dr. Caius' Statutes of 1557, (cap. 27), and from Cardinal Pole's Ordinations of the same year that the *caputium* proper was not then worn except by Graduates.

Of the ordinary Scholars' or Undergraduates' Hood, all we can say is that is was, doubtless, black, was not lined, and had the Liripip stitched to it, not worked in the same piece. Their Liripip was apparently long and conspicuous; the stitching down may have been to prevent its being thrown round the neck (see above p. 84).

From Archbishop Bourchier's Constitution of 1463, (cited above), we learn that the Graduate only might use a Hood *furred* or otherwise *double*, *i.e.*, lined, or, if single, having a short *cornetum* or *liripipium*. To dispose of the last first—it seems, strangely enough, that the point of distinction in the Graduate's Liripip is the *shortness*. In explanation of this I can only refer to the indication noted above, that that of the Undergraduates was apparently to be conspicuously shewn: and to Chandler's drawing of New College, in which a slight diminution of the Hood flap may perhaps be traced as the rank of the wearer rises, while the highest class, next to the Warden, dispense with Hood and Liripip together. The word *(penulatum)*, which I have translated "furred," is so taken by Selden in his translation of Fortescue's *capicium penulatum*, (cap. 51 of the "De Laudibus.") This would appear to be the true meaning of the participle, from the expression *caputia penulata sive furrata*, in cap. 42 of the New College Statutes and other passages, though it is a somewhat arbitrary change from *penula*, which is simply a cape. An interpretation of an old Statute of Oxford, the interpretation bearing date 1489, requires the Bachelor to have his Hood entirely *penulatum* in the inside—not merely with a fringe or a little trimming at the bottom. And it appears clearly from entries in the earliest Oxford Register of Congregation, that the *capicium penulatum* and the use of *pellura* were proper costume of the B.A. of the middle of the fifteenth century : nay, that these were allowed to be used before completion of the degree, except in case of poverty or insignificant appearance.

Pellura is a more intelligible word than *penulatum*, pointing clearly to *fur*, but both are occasionally used in a very general sense. By the interesting Ancient Statute of Cambridge, No. 176 (1414), the Bachelor is to be allowed no *penula*, *pellura* or *duplicatio* of silk, sendal (*sindon*), or the like in his Tabard, Hood or any other scholastic dress; only badger's fur or lamb's wool, and that only in his Hood, with a few exceptions. *Pellura* which, when opposed to *linura*, means a warm or furred lining, must here be taken to mean simply lining. *Duplicatio*, too, I think, clearly bears the same, which is its heraldic, meaning. Cuffs and edgings are expressed by such phrases as the sleeves rolled or turned back (*revolutae*, *reversatae*) with fur or sendal, which I may quote from Archbishop Stratford's sumptuary Constitution of 1342.

I may conclude the subject with the Oxford Statute of 1432, headed " De Admissione ad Pelluram." No student or scholar is to use a lining (*pellura*) of miniver, nor of self-coloured white or gray fur, nor of sendal or *tartaran*, or of silk, in his Hood within the University, unless he be a Master or Licentiate in some Faculty or of certain birth or means. "Tartaran" seems to be from a Spanish word equivalent in meaning to sendal, and, curiously, the origin of our Tartan.

The results may be thus summarised. The Bachelor wore a woollen or badger skin lining to his Hood; the Graduate of higher degree, with individuals of high birth or specified means, wore not only their Hoods but their Gowns, Tabards, Copes, &c., lined or edged with more expensive fur, silk or sendal. A distinction of the non-Regent from the Regent by *silk* lining to his Hood, as against miniver, appears in cap. 27 of Caius' Statutes, 1557.

Ecclesiastical costume.—I have now to pass to articles of dress which are rather ecclesiastical than monastic. Some of them, however, are not, or at least have not always been *exclusively* ecclesiastical, and with regard to *all* it must be remembered that they are not, in the technical sense, *vestments*. They do not include Alb or Stole, Dalmatic or Chasuble. They belong to the *every-day* dress, the *processional* dress, or the *choral* dress of the ecclesiastic, not to the *eucharistic*; and it must also be remarked that most of the important parts of our higher academical costume are apparently borrowed from the special dress of Canons, Prebendaries or Deans.

The Cassock (*cassacca, camisia*) was clearly, at one time, part of general academical costume, worn, as still in the cases in which it is retained, under the Gown. Its resemblance to St. Benedict's *tunic* has been noted above; whether it was borrowed from that, or both descended from the same original may be doubted; I prefer the latter view. The Cassock *proprio nomine* originated in the *casula* (from *casa*—house, covering) which Isidore calls a dress with a Hood or Cowl (*vestis cucullata*), and which was originally secular or semi-secular. The *casula* was prescribed as the outdoor dress of Priests and Deacons in France under Carloman (742), on the authority of St. Boniface. The name of *casula* was ultimately appropriated to the Chasuble, which was an eucharistic development of what was originally no Vestment at all. The Cassock then became known, with other articles, by the name *camisia*. *Cassacca* (in Dr. Caius' Statutes, c. 27) is an Italian formative, from which our word, as an ecclesiastical term, may come directly; the *meaning* of Fr. *casaque* does not suit, and the French Cassock is *soutane*, i.e., *subtanea camisia*.

The Cassock was a garment reaching to the ground (*tunica*, rarely *toga*, *talaris*) with sleeves which were, at least originally, close as compared with those of the Gown. These sleeves are often buttoned; not so the body of the dress, or rarely in England. The Cassock was probably once lined throughout with fur (or wool). Hence it has been identified with *pellicium*, or *pellicia*, from being placed over which the Surplice (*superpellicium*) took its name. It is often shewn with fur cuffs, possibly a survival of this original lining. Haines (i. lxxvii) quoted the brass of an ecclesiastic (c. 1480) at Cirencester, as a good instance of the Cassock pure and simple. A finer example is that of Whytton from Merton College, Oxford, though this also wears a Hood and Tippet.

The colour of the Cassock was, according to Lee, black for Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons; and purple for Bishops, of which last the Apron or short Cassock of purple, and the purple dress coat, still worn by some Bishops on occasion, are a survival. Scarlet Cassocks are worn, he says, by Doctors of Divinity and Law in several of the foreign Universities, and by Cardinals. Rock adds, that the Pope wears a white Cassock. The scarlet Cassock is said by some, I think wrongly, to have belonged exclusively to Doctors of Divinity. There is some reason for believing that it was once worn pretty widely by *Canons* in England. Indeed I should rather question whether this colour was not semi-secular and originally rather proper, as between the Faculties, for Law, and perhaps Medicine, than specially for Divinity. Both the Canonry and the Cardinalate, we must remember, indicated *eminence* rather than high ecclesiastical order.

There is a fine sepulchral monument figured by Hollis from St. Martin's Church, Birmingham, which is traditionally held to represent a Canon of the reign of Henry VII. It is, to judge from the architectural features, of the fifteenth century—whether quite so late as the above date, I doubt. Both Bloxam, in his "Ecclesiastical Vestments," and Mr. Hope, from recent inspection, assert the original colour of the Cassock on this effigy to have been *red*, although that colour is not, according to the Churchwarden, now perceptible. A Surplice is worn over the Cassock, and over the Surplice a dress of which I shall speak presently—an Almuce—the pendants and fringe of which are very clear. There is no Cap on this figure's head, nor, indeed, anything distinctly academical. But the Cassock itself *was* academical, at least for Graduates, and its scarlet variety may be of some use in the explanation of our present scarlet "Robe."

As a matter of academical costume, the Cassock was certainly once worn by all Graduates, and also by Students in Theology, if such ever were in early times Undergraduates, which is doubtful. It may have been as specially *clerici* that the Graduates and Theologians wore it; but we find it directed to be worn by the whole body of Caius College, "*sub togis*," in c. 27 of Dr. Caius' Statutes (1557). These Statutes were, however, it must be remarked, exceptionally rigorous and somewhat retrograde in their requirements.

Subtunica and *Supertunica.*—In comparatively late times, and, perhaps, in one early instance, I find representations of a dress *under* the Cassock. I believe this is what is designated by the somewhat puzzling word *Subtunica* in c. 22 of the Statutes of New College, Oxford (1400)—the *Supertunica* here meaning the Cassock itself. There is a similar use of the latter word for the Chaplains of Queen's College, Oxford (1340), where the *Supertunica non fissa sed clausa* is, I think, explained by another passage (*ad manum non fissa*) to mean a Cassock, or Cassock-shaped dress, tight at the wrists.

The Surplice falls outside my present subject, as a dress of ministration. Its name has been explained above. The dress descended from the original Alb (*tunica alba*), the name *Superpellicium* first occurring towards the close of the twelfth century. The use of the Surplice in Chapels by non-ministrants is a matter rather of College discipline than academical costume, and has nothing to do with degrees. This use is prescribed for Masters and Scholars alike, by the earliest Statutes of Peterhouse, Cambridge (§ 60), dated 1344, and by those of New College, Oxford (1400). As to St. John's, Cambridge also, Strype represents the disuse of Surplice and Hood, on festival days in Chapel, as a violation of ancient usage. But it is unnecessary to multiply instances. I merely mention the Surplice here because it so often occurs in the representations, which I shall have to cite, of academical persons who were also beneficed Clergymen.

The Rochet I am also obliged to mention, partly from its connection with the Surplice, partly on account of what I consider a mistaken identification of it with a genuine part of academical costume—the Tabard. The Rochet has been represented as a shortened or diminished Alb. It is classed with the Surplices in Archbishop Winchelsey's Constitutions (1294-1313), being apparently only regarded as a sleeveless form convenient for ministration. If we look, however, at the derivation of the name from *Rock*, and the use of the dress in secular cases (as in Chaucer's Romaunt of the Rose), it seems clear that the same word once bore the wider signification of a sleeveless coat generally. With the English late and purely ecclesiastical Rochet, confined by Edward the Sixth's second Prayer Book (1552) to Bishops and Archbishops, we need not concern ourselves. If any Rochet is to be identified with that part of the academical costume, which will be treated hereafter as "Tabard," it is, I think, the *secular* tight or sleeveless coat.

The Almuce or Gray Amess and the Tippet.—In speaking of the Hood I have had occasion to mention a Tippet, in the modern sense of the word, which, though sometimes worn with the Hood, appear also to be sometimes used instead of it, particularly in connection with the Cope or its substitute, the long Tabard. In our present Cambridge Cope, notably in the form which belongs to Divinity, there is an amplitude of Hood, which does not appear to be Hood proper, but due to a combined Tippet. Of this Tippet, together with one or two other parts of our costume, I now wish to suggest a probable origin.

The Almuce (*Almutium*, *Amucium*, *Aumusse*, &c.) is rather a part of the *processional* costume of the Church. In its origin it seems to have been a form of the ordinary Hood lined with fur—it is sometimes called *caputium foderatum*—as a protection against the cold of Cathedral services. It was afterwards lined or edged with costly fur or other material, for increase of dignity. In this state it was worn by Canons, Deans, and, possibly, heads of Collegiate bodies generally.

That it was originally a head-dress appears almost sufficiently from the very interesting derivation of the name Almuce. This was originally a northern, or, at least, Teutonic word, signifying *cap*, the same as the Scotch *mutch*. It seems to have travelled in France down to Provence, where it picked up the Arabic article, which has often caused it to be confused with the Amice.

Representations of the Almuce *on the head* are not very common. One is engraved by Lonsdale and Tarver, in their Illustrations of Mediæval Costume (pl. xi, 89ª), from a thirteenth century MS. Another is reproduced from a Pontifical of the same century in a valuable paper by Dr. Wickham Legg, in the Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society (vol. iii, p., 48, plate A). The pictures in de Vert's Cérémonies de l'Eglise (T. ii, pl. 11, p. 264) are, I suspect, rather matter of fancy.

In its function of head-dress the Almuce was early replaced, as we shall see hereafter, by an enlarged skull-cap, and, being dropped on the shoulders, became a sort of Tippet, usually of fur, sometimes of other materials bordered with fur. The Hood portion of it became a roll, or collar. But the whole article was clearly distinguished from the Hood, which remained in its original state, by the fact that the Almuce had now turned itself permanently inside out, shewing, as the present *outside*, the original *lining* of gray fur, whence it has the name of Gray Amess. It also began, at least as early as the fourteenth century, to have two long pendants in front, with sometimes a fringe of little tails all round. These pendants are often mistaken for the ends of a Stole, from which, however, they can be distinguished by their rounded extremities and generally furry material.

The Almuce, as worn over the shoulders, is distinguished from the Cope by being much shorter, by being furred throughout, by the general though not invariable absence of a brooch or *morse*, and by its two curious tails hanging down in front. As an ecclesiastical dress it was worn *over* the Cassock and Surplice, but *under* the Cope, above which, however, its collar or roll appears. Good instances are the brasses of Blodwell (1463) and Sleford (1401), at Balsham, Cambridgeshire, and that of Loudon (1416), at Chartham, Kent.

I find several early authorities, mainly French, stating that the Almuce over the Surplice was used as an alternative, in summer, for the Cope in winter. I also find that this winter Cope had sometimes a "Camail" over it, which Camail corresponds very nearly, in shape, to an Almuce, *minus* the two tails in front.

The Almuce as the original of the Tippet and Scarf.—The conclusion at which I am pointing is this. Although the Almuce was certainly worn *under* the ecclesiastical Cope of dignity, on which I shall next have to say a few words, it is not inconceivable that there might be plainer Copes, *over* which it could be worn, as it was over the Surplice and Cassock. In other words, the Tippet, which I cannot explain as a development of the academic Hood, seems explicable as an adaptation of the ecclesiastical Almuce. And, in this use, the Almuce will sometimes have a brooch or clasp, which was not necessary when it was worn *under* the Cope.

There is some interesting evidence from Paris in the same direction. De Viriville quotes from Du Boulay a description of a Rector's costume in a vignette from the old Proctors' Book for the French Nation. The vignette itself, dating, we are told, from before 1400, has unfortunately disappeared. In this description the "*Robe*" is evidently a violet Cassock. The "*Chaperon*," a word which I believe generally means rather more than a simple Hood, is a small round mantle coming down to the girdle, clasped in front, generally called the *fourrure*, because there is a white fur on a ground of violet scarlet (*sic*). It had originally a sort of tail hanging on it, a little broader than the hand. The Rector also carries, at his girdle, a large violet purse, which does not so much concern us. It came, no doubt, from the Proctors, who originally bore the same badge of office, and to whose order the Rector belonged.

This description is confirmed and explained by an early French miniature, from a MS. of the *Civitas Dei*—probably of the fourteenth century—which de Viriville figures as representing a Rector and Doctor of the University of Paris. Each has a soft, conical Cap without a brim, a Hood above, and an obvious Tippet below, with a fur border—worn by the Rector over a Cassock, by the Doctor over an ordinary Gown. On the Doctor's back—we do not see the Rector's—appears the "sort of tail"—a flat Liripip hanging from the Hood over the Tippet.

The so-called *fourrure* was considered, according to Littré, special to Doctors. It is the *mozette*, "doubled," *i.e.* lined, with ermine, which de Viriville rather laxly describes as a *capuce*, or Hood. And *mozette*, or *mosette* (Littré Suppl.), is simply a formative of Almuce without the article.

This Tippet then, or Almuce, which seems to have been distinctive of the higher degree of Doctor (or, at least with us, of Master) was a habit of dignity, distinct from the Hood, and as a rule lined with fur. There is, however, a puzzling use of the word in the difficult Statutes of Queen's College, Oxford (1340), where I think that certain *amucia*, coupled with *pallia* and *supellicia*, are the same as *caputia simplicia*, mentioned elsewhere in the same Statutes, and may be merely Hoods. On the other hand the *caputia duplicata* or the *amucia duplicata de griso* are probably real Almuces lined with gray fur. These vestments were for the "Scholars," who were Fellows in the original scheme of this College: but the "poor boys," corresponding more to the ordinary "Scholars," were also to wear *amucia* in Chapel.

The Scarf, still worn by Masters of Colleges, Doctors and Chaplains, is not very easy to explain. It looks like a Stole, and has, I believe, with some persons come to be considered as the representative of one; but that does not seem to have been its origin. Some time ago I was led by Bonanni's figures of Canons to consider the Scarf as a development of the Almuce, with its two long processes, or tails, in front, through the intermediate form of a kind of Boa. These figures repeatedly shewed the Almuce carried over the arm, or over one shoulder, or falling from both, exactly like our modern Scarf. They cannot, I fear, be trusted as taken from life; but they may faithfully represent the accounts given to the author, a laborious Jesuit. Lately the derivation of the Scarf from the Almuce has been argued out, on much better evidence, in the excellent paper of Dr. Wickham Legg, to which I have already referred.

Haines calls the English Scarf "a later substitute for the Hood *and* Tippet or Cape, worn over the Cassock in the ordinary clergyman's dress." The explanation is somewhat confused, but is reconcilable with a derivation of both

Tippet and Scarf from the Almuce. The *free* ends of the Scarf are in favour of this view. The Hood, as soon as it was worn detached, was obviously of one piece in front and slipped over the head ; *our* joining of two ends in front by a ribbon being quite modern. The Tippet, too, whether derived from the Almuce or not, was apparently from our representations, joined or laced together, as a rule, in front. But the loose ends of the Scarf exactly correspond to the long tails of the original Almuce.

The French *Epitoge* and *Epomis* appear, as we have seen, to bear traces of descent from an Almuce or Tippet, but may have been merely a Hood worn like a Scarf. One of our very few old representations of any academical Act is an engraving figured by de Viriville from a sixteenth century edition of the De Officiis. It shews, according to the above author, a Licentiate receiving the *bonnet* of Master of Arts. The candidate wears a Tippet, possibly a Hood, and an indubitable Scarf over his right shoulder. I shall have a little more to say on the Scarf when I come to my individual instances of costume.

The Cope (*capa*, *cappa*, *chape*), though not exclusively an ecclesiastical dress, is, on the whole, connected rather with religious than with other persons. It has been suggested, probably from an erroneous etymology, that the Cope was, in its origin, merely an enlarged and lengthened Hood. As a matter of derivation, *caputium*, *capuce*, &c., would appear to come simply from an Italian diminutive of *capa*. The original dress known by that name, whether derived from a classical cloak or not, was a protection for the *whole* body against rain or cold, whence it was specially used for choral services in Cathedrals, and for processions, and whence it got its name of *pluviale*. The translation *cape* is misleading, if not distinctly incorrect.

The original and normal Cope was a long cloak, fastened at the neck, but otherwise open in the front, and without any sleeves or openings for the arms. It had once a small Hood attached to it, which was, we are told, superseded by the Almuce in the fourteenth century (Haines i. lxxvi), remaining, however, in appearance, as a mere ornamental half circle traced on the back of the Cope. This old Hood does not concern us ; those which are shewn in modern instances (*e.g.*, the effigy of Archbishop Grindal) *over*

Copes can, I think, be accounted for as separate articles of costume.

The development of the splendid Cope worn by ecclesiastical dignitaries, of which the brasses at Balsham are good instances, does not enter into my subject. It had decorated edgings, or *orphreys*, and a rich brooch or *morse*. The collar often appearing above, does not, as I have already remarked, belong to the Cope, but to an Almuce underneath.

The Cope, used as an article of academical costume, which differed in some respects from that just described, seems to have been originally a general dress of sobriety and decorum; then to have been specially required in certain Academical Acts; and only late to have been appropriated to a certain degree. The *Cappa clausa*, for instance, which will be described more particularly hereafter, was the "decent" garb prescribed for Archdeacons, Deans, and Prebendaries, by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1222.

The two passages which I have quoted above from the Statutes of New College and King's College, shew the Cope or long Tabard with the proper upper dress—Chimera, Mantellum, or Caputium, according to stages of graduation—to have been worn, as a matter of decorum, by all members of those Colleges, outside their walls or those of the Colleges immediately surrounding. The Statutes of All Souls' are to much the same effect under this head (cap. 17) as those of New College. Of the Copes and Tabards of Clare College, as prescribed in its Ancient Statutes, I shall speak when I come to treat more fully of the Tabard.

The Cambridge Statutes of Dr. Caius, representing, it must be remembered, a comparatively late period (1557), require from all the Graduates, not merely on any occasion in the Schools, but also in the College Chapel on feast days, a special *habitus* and *caputium* (cap. 27). This *habitus* may be Cope or Tabard, but it is certainly distinct from the Gown of the same Statutes *(Vestis longa, toga).*

Valuable as the Old College Statutes are, the fancies of individual founders, both as to discipline and phraseology, often render them very difficult and their interpretation very uncertain. We are on rather firmer ground when we come to the University Regulations for the proper dress to be worn at the lectures and disputations in the Schools, or at public Acts in general. A distinction is clearly drawn between the Faculties ; a more clerical, sober, or decorous dress being required in the case of Theology, Decrees where the individual is in Orders, and to some extent in Arts, as specially connected with Theology. A more ceremonial dress is also required from the Regent than from the Non-Regent, the latter being sometimes allowed, even on the above-mentioned occasions, to use an alternative, which is, I think, identical with what is called *habitus ordinarius.*

The following are fairly clear instances of the above points :—

1.—An Oxford prohibition of the use of Minever by Masters in Theology, of whatever condition or *status*, for the lining of their *capæ clausæ*, or *pallia*, in public places and scholastic Acts. They are only to use lambs' fleeces, as heretofore. It is almost certain that Master here is equivalent to Doctor.

2.—Another provision of the same University that no Regent in Arts, Decrees, or Theology, is to deliver his ordinary lectures in a *capa manicata*, but either in a *pallium* or a *capa clausa*. No Artist is to lecture at all, except in a *capa* of *black* colour.

3.—A group of three Oxford Statutes which, though primarily referring to Inceptors in Arts and Medicine, appear to contain regulations as to the costume of Regents and Non-Regents in general at Inceptions. From these I gather that the normal dress of a Regent at public Acts and Disputations was a black Cope, but that a person who had completed his term of Regency, either at Oxford or elsewhere, might wear a *roba* if accompanied with a *pallium.* This *pallium* is sometimes spoken of *alone* as an alternative, but I think it presumes the accompaniment of a *roba*. The latter, probably the ordinary Gown of the higher degrees, was the dress of which presents were made by an Inceptor to his friends or acquaintance, of such higher degrees, attending the Inception ; and wealthy Non-Regents were apparently prohibited, by the Oxford Statutes under quotation, from wearing it on these occasions, in order to save the Inceptor's pocket. One of the Ancient Statutes of Cambridge (No. 133) confirms this view, with the substitution of *mantellum* for *pallium*, and the indication that this is, or accompanies, a *habitus ordinarius*.

4. An extremely interesting undated Ancient Statute of Cambridge (No. 147) "De habitibus et insigniis Magistorum." Under this the *capa clausa* or *pallium* is to be worn by Regents in Theology, Decrees, and Arts at their ordinary lectures and Disputations, or attendance at Inceptions and at funerals. The Regent in Civil Law and in Medicine, on the same occasions, is to use a *capa manicata* trimmed, though not necessarily lined throughout, with fur. A Regent Master of Arts entering the Schools for lecturing, &c., *other* than his "ordinary" functions, has the option of a *habitus ordinarius* (*i.e*, as I think, *roba cum pallio*) or the *capa manicata*.

On the other hand we do not find, in the articles of costume at present under consideration, that marked distinction which we should expect between *degrees*. I have spoken above of the *botys* and *pynsons* which Oxford required to be worn at and for forty days after Inception. There was also a rule that Inceptors in Medicine and Arts should, on the first of their forty days, dispute in a *pallium*. On the day of Inception itself the first Inceptor was to wear the ordinary lecturing habit of the ancient Masters in his Faculty, except in the case of Theologians and "other religious," who were, as well as all the other Inceptors, to wear their "ordinary habit." What, then, was this "ordinary habit?" There was a special provision at Cambridge, perhaps also at Oxford, that a *lay* Inceptor in Decrees was to wear a red Cope in his ordinary lectures. This may apply to the Licentiate, though more probably to the newly-made Master in his early lectures. Of the Licentiate's lecturing dress I have, beyond this, no account, but should imagine that it did not differ from that of the Bachelor.

As to the Bachelor, we are distinctly told by the Cambridge Statutes, just quoted, that the same rules are to be observed by him as by the other lecturers there specified, with the following exceptions. If a Theologian he must wear a *capa rotunda*; if a Canonist, he wears a *capa clausa* or *manicata*, accordingly as he is or is not in Holy Orders. By a Statute evidently later than this a Bachelor lecturing in Medicine was allowed to dispense with a Cope, provided he wears a decent long Tabard. This Statute is undated, but may, from connection with a dated one, belong to 1421.

Two points must be observed here:—1, The absence of any provision for an alternative *pallium* to the Bachelor. 2, The use of the term *capa rotunda*, which, I believe, to cover both the *clausa* and *manicata* as distinguished from the normal ecclesiastical Cope.

As to the candidate for the degree of Bachelor, I can only find one indication of a special dress for his necessary exercises, and that in the case of one of the higher Faculties. A candidate for B. Can. L. at Oxford, in 1453, is, according to the entry in the Register, not to use the *short* Liripip *nisi in habitu.* Whether this *habitus* is an anticipated Bachelor's dress I cannot say, but I am inclined to think so.

I pass now to a more detailed description of the two academical Copes above-mentioned, and the *pallium.*

The *capa clausa* was, like the normal ecclesiastical Cope, without sleeves, but, unlike it, closed in front, with one slit through which both hands were put. There are plenty of old instances of it, to which I shall refer in the second part of this paper. It is also shewn in the frequently engraved effigy (now destroyed) of Archbishop Grindall, D.D., (d. 1583), which stood in old Croydon Church; in the corner of Speed's Map of Cambridgeshire (1608-1610); in Loggan's Habitus Academici (1680); and may thence be traced through Harraden and Akerman to our present Cambridge type.

The extremely inconvenient character of the dress has led to its being slit down to the bottom in modern times. That, however, this very inconvenience was part of the original idea of decorum is apparent in such strange rules as that of Magdalen College, Oxford (1459), for every-day costume. The President, Fellows, Chaplains, Clerks, and the whole body of Scholars, are to wear their ordinary Gowns (*togae*) sewn up in front, from the middle downwards; a slit front and rear being allowed in a shorter variety of Gown (*togae curtae*), up to the middle of the thigh, for equitation or other travel to parts of the world outside the University.

The *capa manicata*, or sleeved Cope—which, by the way, was expressly forbidden in Gregory's Decretals to *officiating* clergy—was also closed in front, and both Copes were, of course, slipped over the head.

The Almuce, therefore, which could be seen through the open front of the normal ecclesiastical Cope, would, if worn underneath, become perfectly invisible, except as to its collar, and might, therefore, naturally be replaced by a Tippet outside. Its loss of front pendants I take to be a matter of inferior dignity, as between the high Church Dignitary and the University Reader.

(To be continued.)

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

November 2nd, 1892.

The VISCOUNT DILLON, V.P.S.A., President, in the Chair.

On taking his place for the first time as President of the Institute, Lord Dillon expressed his thanks to the Members for having placed him in that position, in succession to Lord Percy, and his desire to follow as closely as he could in the steps of the noble Presidents, his predecessors in the office which he now held, for the maintenance of the usefulness of the Institute.

LORD DILLON then opened the Fiftieth Session of the Institute by reading a paper on "The Development of Gun-locks from Examples in the Tower of London." The paper was illustrated by a large collection of gun-locks, exhibited by Mr. E. Thurkle, and by drawings by the author, in which the various parts of the locks were represented by different colours, so that the development of any portion could be easily traced through successive centuries. The noble President said, it was worthy of notice that the gun-lock was called *cock* in English, *Hahn* (cock) in German, *gatillo* (kitten) in Spanish, *cane* (dog) in Italian, and *chien* (dog) in French. He considered that the gun-lock was derived from the cross-bow of the eleventh or twelfth century. He fully described the working of the matchlock of the days of Henry VIII., which, with certain alterations, remained in use till the days of William of Orange; the lock in which iron pyrites was the agent used for ignition of the gunpowder; the flint lock; and the Vauban, which was fitted with a match as well as a flint—the former only being used when the latter failed to do its work.

Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE read a paper on "The Indoor Games of School Boys in the Middle Ages." He said that some years ago he became convinced that the cup markings, arranged in squares of nine in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, were the work of schoolboys of the monks' days. Similar "boards" of nine holes were to be found on the benches of the cloisters of Canterbury, Norwich, and Chichester. He then proceeded to show how the game was played. Another board, consisting of three squares, one inside the other, was found at Salisbury, Gloucester, and Scarborough. It belonged to the game of nine men's morris. A board for "fox and geese" was to be found at Gloucester. Mr. Micklethwaite drew special attention to a chequer-board found at Salisbury of sixteen squares. He said the form suggested something like draughts, but that game could not well be played on a board of fewer than twenty-five squares. Another game of the schoolboy of the

Middle Ages was "tables," which he considered now survived in the modern backgammon. The last game-board described was a very curious one from Norwich Castle. It consisted of a long spiral line with a hole at the start in the centre and a series of smaller holes at equal distances along the line.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. G. E. Fox exhibited some rubbings of stone game-boards from the Basilica Julia, in Rome, and compared them with the rectangular English examples, which they greatly resembled.

Mr. E. Green said that the game of Nine Men's Morris was still played on Salisbury Plain and the Downs.

Mr. M. J. Walhouse recalled game-boards in India, similar to that of the Fox and Geese, and the spiral example.

A vote of thanks was passed to the President, whose paper will appear in a future *Journal*, and to Mr. Micklethwaite, whose paper is printed at page 319, vol. xlix.

Mr. Justice Pinhey gave notice that at the next meeting of the Institute he would propose that, in consequence of the election of Alderman Stuart Knill to the Mayoralty of London, the *venue* of the annual meeting for 1893 be changed from Dublin to London.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the President.—A collection of drawings of Gun-locks.

By Mr. E. Thurkle.—A collection of Gun-locks.

By Mr. Micklethwaite.—Drawings and rubbings of Game-boards.

December 7th, 1892.

The Viscount Dillon, V.P.S.A., President, in the Chair.

On the motion of Mr. J. Hilton, seconded by Mr. E. C. Hulme, a vote of sympathy on the death of Dr. M. W. Taylor was passed, and ordered to be transmitted to Mrs. Taylor.

Mr. Justice Pinhey proposed a resolution to the following effect:—"That in consequence of the election of Mr. Stuart Knill to the Mayoralty of London, the *venue* of the annual meeting for 1893 be changed from Dublin to London."

This resolution was seconded by Mr. J. Hilton, and, after a long debate, was carried by a majority of three to one.

Mr. W. Lovell read a note on "The Cross and Chain of Edward the Confessor." There appear to be doubts as to the truth of Charles Taylor's story of his finding the Cross and Chain of the Confessor in 1688. Mr. W. H. St. J. Hope said that the history of the Cross had been traced down to 1833, and since that time it had been lost sight of.

Mr. J. Park Harrison gave a discourse on English Romanesque Architecture, illustrating the subject by photographs and sections of mouldings, and rubbings of tooling from Stowe Church, St. Bene't's, Cambridge, and other buildings, more or less in imitation of the cross tooling of Roman ashlar.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE OLD MANORIAL HALLS OF WESTMORELAND AND CUMBERLAND.

By Michael Waistell Taylor, M.D., F.S.A., (London and Scotland). Kendal, T. Wilson; Carlisle, C. Thurnham & Sons, 1892.

Although professedly confined to the Manorial Halls of the two counties mentioned in the title, this volume does in fact relate as much to military as to domestic architecture. Their position upon a border fiercely contested for centuries, made it necessary that every man's house should be literally his Castle, and the combination of a measure of domestic comfort with a still larger measure of passive strength, has proved favourable, not only to the employment of a peculiar style of architecture, but to the durability of the buildings, both by reason of their strength, and of their continued habitation, even to the present day. Of the Norman Castles, Carlisle indeed remains, but Brough and Brougham have fallen into ruin, and Appleby has been so altered as to have lost much of its original character. Of the Castles proper next following, Cockermouth, Pendragon, Kendal and Penrith are in ruin; Rose Castle is much altered; Scaleby and Naworth are alone inhabited. But if the list of Castles proper be meagre, that of the "domûs defensabiles" is very ample, but, though of respectable antiquity, they are modern compared with the pre-historic remains in which the counties are so rich.

Cumberland and Westmoreland, although in common with other Northern Shires they exhibit the footsteps of the Legionaries who constructed the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, have yet a history peculiar to themselves. In times locally pre-historic, they formed an important part of the British kingdom of Strathclwyde, and took an ample share in the warfare so fiercely waged with the Pagan Saxons of Northumbria. It is claimed that within their limits was the birthplace of the great legendary hero of the Britons, and therein was probably fought the celebrated battle of the Cattraeth. It is indeed believed that the Britons, when finally dispossessed of their territory, migrated into North Wales, and that the present population is of mixed Saxon and Scandinavian descent; but Cumberland still in its name affords evidence of its ancient inhabitants, as do the mountains and the streams, and the larger features of its surface, significant only in the Cwmric dialect.

The villages along the coast are thought to have been founded by sea rovers from Scandinavia, but the parishes and hundreds, and other divisions indicative of law and order and a Christian Church, are of the Saxon period, as are such of the earthworks as are connected with seats of judgment and private dwellings, and perhaps a few of the monumental stones. Here, too, in the open valleys and the fertile plains, are the remains of the frequent settlements of the Norman invaders: Castles, Manor Houses, and parish Churches, so strongly constructed that many of them have even survived modern restoration. From these counties also are drawn many ancient families who, though probably of Norman origin, have hence derived their surnames. Such are Ponsonby, whose armorial bearings proclaim him to have been "tonsor" to the Conqueror; Braithwaite, Crackanthorpe, Irton, Lamplugh, Lowther, Musgrave, Pennington, Preston, Salkeld and Sandford, Warcop and Wharton, and others, all as the Scotch have it, "of that Ilk," while many more, though deriving their names from other possessions, as Curwen, Duckett, Le Fleming and Strickland, are associated with these districts by centuries of inheritance and residence, and the disentangling and correction of whose pedigrees are at once the delight and the despair of our Genealogists and Heralds, who recognize in the "annules" of Lowther and Musgrave their early dependance on Vipont, and in the Maunch of Wharton his time-honoured alliance with the root of the House of Huntingdon.

So rich a field well deserved to be cultivated with no common skill and industry. Hutchinson, Nicolson and Burn, working amid many drawbacks, deserve to be so reckoned, and in our happier time, when ancient records, both public and private, are freely exposed to view, the formation of a strongly supported county society, by fostering the labours of such men as Ferguson, Taylor and Simpson, has done, and is doing, ample justice to the Antiquities of the district.

That this is no exaggerated praise is evident from the volume before us, the work, and alas! the last work, of Dr. Taylor, who died while preparing it for the press, through which it has been conducted by Mr. Ferguson, the well-known Chancellor of Carlisle, and both the founder and the mainstay of the Society. There are notices of forty Halls and eighteen Castles, and of some other buildings, and of twenty-six of them, excellent ground plans and a few elevations. Most, if not all, the articles are drawn from the transactions of the Society, nor is it the least of its merits that by the facilities it afforded, it led Dr. Taylor and many others to reduce their observations to writing and to make them public. The descriptions of the buildings are concise but clear, the histories of the families owning them exceedingly well put together, and much attention is paid to the heraldic illustrations, which are numerous and extremely useful.

Dr. Taylor's application of the term Pele to the towers that frequently form an effectual part of these Halls needs a comment. In Northumberland or on the Scottish border, a Pele is a small detached tower, usually with a grated door at the ground level, and with a ground floor vaulted, intended for cattle, and an upper floor divided horizontally into two by a floor of timber, above which are the battlements with a rampart-walk. The accommodation is of the rudest character, one large fireplace in the first floor, and a small chamber or rather closet in the thickness of the wall. In Cumberland and Westmoreland the Pele is a part of the building, not unfrequently of the same date, and usually entered from it. It is commonly of large size, broken by regular ceilings into two or three floors, and each floor plastered or panelled, and often fitted up with much attention to comfort. Though a part of the house in daily use, it was intended as a refuge in case of an attack, and the rest of the building was provided with much larger windows, and scarcely capable of being defended. Yanwath is an excellent example of a house of this character.

We trust this volume may meet with the reception it well deserves, and that it may be followed by others on a similar plan, descriptive of the earthworks and other pre-historic remains in the district, and of the churches and other ecclesiastical buildings.

ARNISTON MEMOIRS, 1887. DUNDAS OF FINGASK, 1891. 8vo., David Douglas.

The Dundases are a well-derived, well-honoured, and, as the Scots say, a weel-kenned family, but their achievements have been mostly of a comparatively modern date, and although they have produced brave soldiers, their fame, though highly patriotic, is rather of a civil and legal than of a military character. Moreover, though they rank high among the "Barones Minores" of Scotland, they have not, since the exclusion of those Barons by James I., been Lords of the Scottish Parliament, and the triple honours of the peerage to which they have attained have been won south of the Tweed and in the Parliaments and Councils of Great Britain. The volumes before us relate to but two, though very considerable branches of the family, of which no general account has, as far as we are aware, been compiled, although the Arniston volume to some moderate extent supplies its place.

The Dundases, like many other Scottish Families, spring from a foreign, that is from an Anglo-Saxon stock. I. Uchtred, whose name, indeed, sufficiently proclaims his origin, was the first known of the family. II. Helias his son, the real founder, had, by a Charter from Waldeve, son of Cospatric, the lands of Dundas, from which, falling in with the rising fashion, he assumed a surname.

Cospatric, the well-known Saxon Earl of Northumberland, during his banishment in Scotland acquired extensive possessions in the Lothians and from these Waldeve, Earl of Dunbar, and Cospatric's great grandson made the grant in question. The Barony of Dundas in West Lothian, upon the southern shore of the Firth of Forth, is said to mean "the hill of the fallow deer," we presume in Anglo-Saxon, which, if this be so, must be a very comprehensive language. It has been supposed, and it is not improbable, that Waldeve and Uchtred were brothers, and on this assumption Cospatric has been claimed as a Dundas ancestor, as he undoubtedly is of the Earl of Home. The lion, common to the arms of Dundas with those of Home and other admitted descendants of Cospatric, is, however, quite as likely to indicate dependency as relationship. The family of Dundas may, indeed, very well be content with Helias as a founder, for his Charter, still preserved, and dating from the reign of David the first, is usually regarded as one of the oldest titles to land in Scotland. The *fac-simile* of it given in both the above books, shews the hand writing to be as clear and the ink as black as on the day when it was delivered. Few families, even in Scotland, can produce so clear a title.

Fourth in descent from Helias was VI. Saer of Dundas, who with other lowland Barons signed the Ragman Roll, "*pace* Jonathan Oldbuck," a respectable bit of evidence, and atoned for by his son VII. Sir Hugh, who appears among the supporters of Wallace, and by his grandson VIII. Sir George, who fell at Dupplin in 1342, fighting for David Bruce. Three generations lower occurs a XI. James of Dundas, who received additions to his landed estate from his kinsman Archibald, Earl of Douglas, whose shield he bore at Shrewsbury, and to visit whom in his subsequent captivity he had a safe conduct from Henry IV. He in 1416, had a licence to construct the "Tower and Castle of Dundas," superseded as a dwelling almost in our own day. He married Christian Stewart, of the house of Innermeath and Lorn, and connected with the Duke of Albany, and upon the question whether she was the first or second wife, and by consequence the mother of his heir, turned a suit at law, three centuries afterwards, as to the headship of the family. As to the ownership of Dundas there was no question, and the headship was finally adjudged to its possessor.

From Sir James, either by Christian Stewart or a former unknown wife, sprung James and Sir Archibald, from one or the other of whom descends the main line of that ilk: Duncan ancestor of the line of Newliston and their cadets of Morton: and thirdly Alexander, from whom come the Dundases of Fingask, an old Barony granted to the family probably towards the end of the thirteenth century, and now alienated in favour of a younger son, whose descendants claimed unsuccessfully the headship in 1751. From a cadet of Fingask came the Earls of Zetland, and Lord Amesbury, and Major-General Thomas Dundas, who served with distinction in America and the West Indies, as did his son in the Peninsula.

Three generations lower from Sir Archibald, and the fifteenth from Uchtred, a younger son, William Dundas, founded the line of Duddingston, whence came by a sub-cadet the Dundases of Manor. A step lower in the tree came XVI. George Dundas, the sixteenth Lord of that Ilk, ancestor by his two wives of XVII. Sir Walter, who carried on the main line, and Sir James, who formed the very distinguished branch of Arniston. The continued main line gave off the branch of Kincavel otherwise Blair, and that of St. Magdalens in Ireland, and then, as though exhausted, produced no other branches. XX. James who succeeded to Dundas at his birth in 1793, was a man of great skill in mechanics and machines, which, as in the case of two well-known members of the Scottish peerage, led to financial losses, and rendered necessary the sale of Dundas and its recently rebuilt castle in 1875, a lamentable close to 700 years of possession. The family, however, retained "the island and rock of Inchgarvie" granted to John Dundas by James, III in 1491, that upon it he might build a castle "with iron bars, ramparts, portcullises, crenelles, and machicolations" which accordingly was done and the ruins of which still remain. They retain also a burial place in the old Carmelite Church on the adjacent mainland, which was built and endowed by a Dundas about A.D. 1330. The island of Inchgarvie has gained a modern celebrity of a very different character, for upon it is founded one of the main piers of the monster bridge across the Forth, wherein science and beauty wage an internicine war. It is to be hoped that the Dundases of the main line, resting upon so firm though contracted a foundation, may yet continue, and recover their former wealth and position, but in the meantime the honour and reputation of the family is and has been well maintained by the line of Arniston, which deserves a somewhat detailed notice.

The mains of Arniston in Midlothian were purchased in 1571 by George Dundas the sixteenth Lord of that Ilk and settled upon XVII. James, the eldest son by his second marriage with the daughter of the third Lord Oliphant. The lands held by the order of the Temple and afterwards of St. John, had been granted at the Dissolution to James Sandilands, Lord Torpichen, and by him were sold to George Dundas. Katherine Oliphant, who married the widower, was herself a widow. The children of the first marriage seems to have regarded her as having diminished their inheritance in behalf of her own family, whereas these latter have recorded her as a prudent dame whose savings were derived from her own pin money. Her portraits, preserved at Arniston and here engraved, shew a plain but decidedly Scottish face set in a frilled ruff and covered with a widow's wimple, while above is recorded as her testimony "Gaudium meum testimonium bona conscientia." A piece of hand-worked tapestry with her arms represents St. Paul recommending Timothy to take a little wine, and her Venice wine glass is still preserved in the family with a malison on whosoever should break it. Some of the family papers of the period throw a curious light upon the services and rights of the tenants. Then also for the more general name of Ballintrodo was substituted the more specific designation of Arniston.

The thrift of their mother was hereditary. XVII. Sir James, the second laird, added considerably to the estate, and much improved the land so purchased, and provided a family burial place in the ruined Kirk of Borthwick. He also had the governorship of Berwick, which, owing to the accession of the House of Stewart to the English throne, probably made no great demand upon the time he devoted to agriculture.

XVIII. James, the third laird of Arniston, was well educated by a careful mother and at St. Andrew's. The family were of the Presbyterian party, and the signature of the young laird was affixed to the "National Covenant" in 1639, and he soon afterwards became an elder of the Church and took part in the business of the presbytery, but it was not till 1650, being then member for Midlothian, that he signed, somewhat unwillingly, the "Solemn League and Covenant." He seems to have lived unmolested through the troubles of both Church and State until the Restroration. Soon afterwards, at the reconstruction of the Court of Session, Dundas, who had long been knighted, but who does not seem to have practiced as an advocate, was made a Lord of Session as Lord Arniston, but he declined to renounce the Covenant, which had been declared by parliament a necessary condition. To this refusal he stood firm, contrary to the advice and example of many of his political friends, and both resigned and was formally dismissed. He was thrice married and one of his daughters married James Dalrymple, whose mother was the "Lady Ashton" of the Bride of Lammermoor, and a witness to the contract was David Dunbar of Baldoon, the Bucklaw of that tragedy. Arniston continued to hold to his principles in private life and so died 1679, and was buried with great ceremony and expense.

XIX. Robert Dundas, the eldest son, who succeeded, had long lived abroad, and only returned to Scotland in 1688, as a supporter of the Prince of Orange, when he became member for Midlothian, and so remained till the Act of Union. Shortly afterwards in 1689, solely on political grounds, he was appointed a Judge of the Court of Session, and took the title which had been borne by his father. He is better remembered for his improvements upon his estate than for any legal or political distinctions. He rebuilt the house and largely planted and improved the policy and the general estate of Arniston; promoted turnpike roads, and ably and actively discharged the duties of a Scottish Laird. His portrait and that of his father are in armour and shew no indication of any legal honours. Of his love for his trees a curious anecdote is preserved. One of the Edinburgh Councillors visiting Arniston, and admiring a particular tree, a favourite, offered to purchase it as timber. "I would rather," said the Judge, "see you hung on its topmost branch." The great trouble of his life was the public acceptance by his Jacobite son of a medal of the young Pretender, accompanied by a seditious speech, for which he barely escaped a prosecution. Fortunately for the family this son died childless during his father's lifetime, and the line and Hanoverian politics of the family were continued by his brother Robert.

XX. Robert Dundas became a lawyer in real earnest. He rose rapidly, and in the lifetime of his father became Solicitor-General, Lord Advocate, and Dean of Faculty, standing steadfastly by the House of Hanover. In 1722 he took his seat for Midlothian, and regarding his duty to Scotland above his love of place, voted against the Malt tax, and was dismissed from the office of Lord Advocate in consequence, and returned to his practice at the Bar. In 1726 he succeeded to the Arniston estate, in which he also effected great improvements, adding much to the comforts and decorations of the house. At the Bar he established the right of a jury to give a verdict of "not guilty," which had hitherto been restricted to "not proven." In Parliament he was a steady whig, and active especially in opposing such measures as he thought injurious to Scotland. In 1737 he accepted a judgeship and became the third Lord Arniston, and finally his principal competitor and cousin, Charles Erskine of Tinwald, being made Lord Justice Clerk, he became Lord President, which office he held till his death in 1753, at the age of 67. He ranked, and does still rank, among the great Scottish lawyers of his day. Nor was he wanting in another well-known legal accomplishment of those times. Claret, white wine, and strong ale, made a great figure in his household accounts, and "had the assistance" of no small quantity of rum punch.

XXI. Robert, the son of the President, and who himself attained to the same high office, was educated at Edinburgh and in Holland, as was then the custom in his own country and family. His progress was more rapid even than that of his father. Scottish industry, considerable ability, and some not inconsiderable aid from his father's name and interest made him in five years Solicitor-General, and while holding that office he was present with Sir John Cope at Preston Pans, but Arniston, luckily for him, lay out of the march of the rebel army. A difference with Fletcher of Milton, then Lord Justice Clerk, caused him to resign his office, much against the advice of his father and his political friends, and return, after the example of his father, to the Bar. In 1754 he was elected member for the Shire of Lanark in the Whig interest, and became Lord Advocate, and was induced, probably out of opposition to

Fletcher, to join the persecution, for it was little less, against the author of "Douglas." In 1760 he became Lord President, the second of his family, and held the office with very distinguished ability twenty-seven years till his death in 1787. His most unpopular judgment was given against Stewart, the claimant in the great Douglas cause. The decision, as is well-known, was reversed by the House of Lords, on which occasion the Edinburgh mob attacked the President's house and insulted him in the street. His character was not to be thus injured, and at his death the magistrates of Edinburgh, his brethren of the Bench and the Bar, and the authorities of the University, gave him the rare honours of a public funeral. He and his father had administered the Laws of Scotland for forty years save six, and during a period when the Bar and Bench were occupied by men not less remarkable for great ability and for literary attainments than for profound knowledge in their profession. The engraved portrait, taken in or shortly before the year of his death, fully justifies his great reputation, and than it Raeburn, for by Raeburn he lived to be painted, never produced a finer or more effective portrait.

The legal honours of the family were not exhausted with the second President. His son, a fourth XXII. ROBERT, was to continue, he could scarce add to, the family reputation. This son and heir of the last President was called to the Scottish bar and entered public life under the protection of his father and of his very celebrated great uncle Henry or Hall Dundas, the friend of Pitt, who became Lord Melville, and whose daughter Robert Dundas soon afterwards married. His business, while he practiced, was lucrative. He became Solicitor-General for Scotland, and in his third year Lord Advocate, and took his seat in parliament for Edinburgh county. Pitt's advice to him was not to make set speeches, but to study any subject likely to come on, and to speak if he felt inclined, or thought himself able to answer anything that arose. It is curious that the advice is nearly contrary to that given by Fox on a similar occasion.

The politics of the family, Hanoverian as against the Jacobites, and for a time strongly Whig, now took their colour from Pitt, and on his death and under the auspices of Lord Melville became strongly Tory, and for many years the Dundases were identified with that party in Scotland, and strongly opposed by the Chancellor Erskine and his able and popular brother Henry Erskine. Arniston had his full share in the mob attacks connected with Borough and Parliamentary Reform, and in 1792 his windows were broken by the mob. It fell to his lot, acting for the Crown, to proceed against the well-known Muir, and although he was not wanting in firmness and political bias, his calmness and moderation were in strong contrast to the violence and brutality of Braxfield, the presiding judge. The account of his election dinners do not give one a high opinion of the Edinburgh constituency. On one occasion a voter from under the table was heard to hiccup out, "I dinna like these Dundases, they dinna pay weel." "Brute," replied the member, "drunk with my claret and yet abusing my family." In 1801 on the retirement of Montgomery, he became Lord Chief Baron, but his health began to fail and he visited the Mediterranean. In London he lived much in public life and felt deeply the impeachment of his uncle Melville and the death of Mr. Pitt. In 1811 strong pressure was put upon him to accept the office of Lord President, held by his father and grandfather, but he felt unequal to the strain it involved, and after a second visit to the continent, in which he visited the field of Waterloo and wintered in Italy, he returned but to resign his office and to die at Arniston in 1819.

In France, where the judges do not, or did not, rise on account of their eminence at the Bar, the son occasionally succeeded to the father, but in Scotland no less than in England, a direct succession of five judges from father to son, of whom three, at least, were very eminent in the profession, is unheard of. In monarchical France the nobles of the robe, however great their reputation, were looked down upon by the nobles of the sword ; with us, happily, this has never been the case, and of that House which in pride of race and superiority of talent is inferior to the nobility of no other country, not a few of its most illustrious families have been transplanted into it from the Bench of Justice.

The cadets of Arniston have also achieved distinction in other walks of life. Viscount Melville, though acquitted of personal dishonour was, no doubt, careless to a fault, if not to a crime, in his custody of the public funds ; but notwithstanding his opposition to reform and to modern popular ideas, his memory remains dear to Scotland, and with reason. During his long official career his patronage was copiously and lovingly distributed to his countrymen. From Scotland, at this period, came some of our greatest sailors, and from the Lothians and the Scottish border came a succession of civil and military servants, men of the type of Elphinston, Malcolm, and Monro, and others almost equally drawn from the nobles and peasantry to either of whom Lord Melville was ever ready to lend a helping hand. Well might he be called the "King of Scotland," and in days when the Duke of Cumberland was the only member of the House of Hanover who had visited the North, the shrewd and well-judged patriotism of Lord Melville did much to keep Scotland loyal, and to prove to England that in arts and arms, in the several walks of literature, and in administrative power, her Northern constituent was a powerful and friendly element of her national strength.

There were yet other cadets of the House of Arniston, politicians, generals and admirals, not unworthy of their name, and among them should be remembered old Sir David Dundas, who applied the drill and discipline of the Great Frederick to the British Army, and held the office of the Commander-in-Chief during the eclipse of the Duke of York. Lord Amesbury and the Earl of Zetland, as has already been said, spring from the line of Fingask.

BIB. INT. TEMPLI.

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ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF GUNLOCKS, FROM EXAMPLES IN THE TOWER.

By the Right Hon. VISCOUNT DILLON, V.P.S.A.

Any enquiry into the origin and development of gunlocks, as applied to firearms, must of necessity commence with an examination of the means employed for the discharge of the earliest weapon requiring such an arrangement. This weapon was the crossbow. A representation of one is, it is said, to be seen on a Roman bas-relief at Clermont Ferrand, but with that exception we do not find any view of the crossbow before about the twelfth century, when it constantly occurs in drawings and illuminated manuscripts. In these, unfortunately, the scale is so small that we are unable to determine clearly the mode of release for the cord when strained. All that is seen generally, is the stock with a stirrup at the fore end, in which the foot was placed during the process of bending the bow, and below the stock a long bar or rod issuing from the stock. This was the trigger, or as it was until the seventeenth century called the sear. It was pivoted on a pin passing through the stock and the forward end pressed against the nut behind which the cord of the bow was drawn. When the hinder or external end of this sear was pressed upwards to the stock the forward end disengaged the nut which was then enabled to revolve and cast off the cord, thus discharging the bolt or arrow (Fig. I.) This simple arrangement continued for some years, and at the latter part of the fifteenth we are able to judge of the arrangement from numerous examples of crossbows now existing in public and private collections.

The portion of the sear behind the point on which it pivoted was naturally made longer than that in front of it, in order to obtain the advantages of the leverage in moving the forward end or nose which was exposed to the powerful strain of the cord. But in this prolongation of the trigger end of the sear, it was necessary to move that end through a proportionately greater angle, and such an arrangement made the trigger, when the bow was bent, stand out so far from the stock as to be most inconvenient and apt to discharge the bolt by any accidental touch, or catching in the garments of the person holding it.

It was, then, about the end of the fifteenth century that the long lever was broken up into a series of small ones all of which, acting in a parallel direction conveyed the necessary amount of deflection to the fore-end of the sear, with only a like amount of deflection at the trigger end.[1] This arrangement is seen in Fig. II., which shews diagramatically the locks of a crossbow No. $\frac{11}{5}$, in the Tower collection.

In this class of lock we have not as in the gunlock a lockplate or foundation on which to build up the arrangement of springs and levers by means of pins or screws, but all the pivots consist of pins running through the stock from side to side and only held in their places by fitting tightly in the wood.

The next step was to obtain a fine and delicate system of release and this was arrived at, but by a very important advance on the earlier method.

This was the addition of a small and finely adjusted lock built up on a lockplate. The whole was let into the middle of the stock, and the slight trigger appears below, between the stock and the sear large trigger, which now ceases to bear upon the levers inside the stock. *See* Figs. III. and IV.

The small trigger being pressed the levers are set in action, and the nut is allowed to revolve as in the earlier arrangement. The large trigger having now become useless, its only *raison d'être* was to act as a guard to the small or hair trigger, and to effect this, we find a bar holding the sear at a fixed distance from the stock. This, with the sear, forms the trigger guard of later arms, whether

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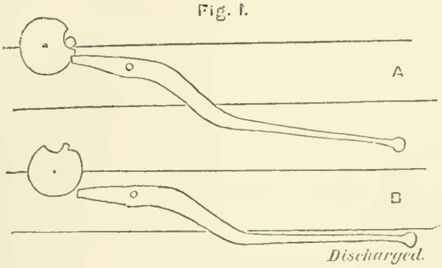
[1] The foremost lever did not act directly on the nut, but on a piece of iron, suspended in the stock by a transverse pin.

Fig. I.


A
B
Discharged.

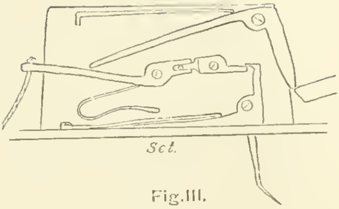
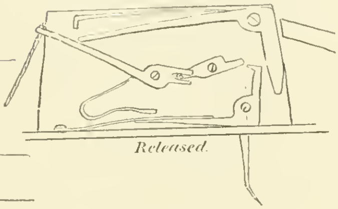


Fig. III.



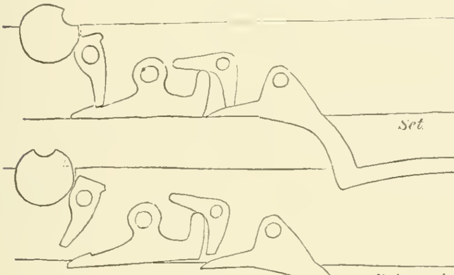

Set.
Released

Fig. II.

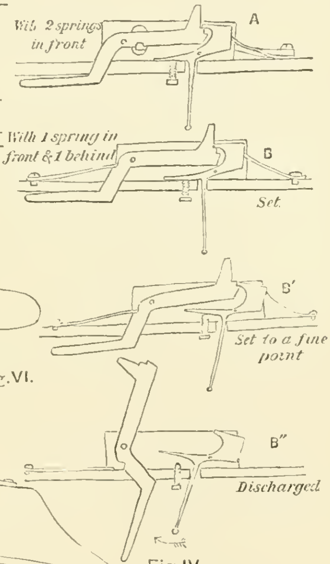

With 2 springs in front
A
With 1 spring in front & 1 behind
B
Set.
B′
Set to a fine point
B″
Discharged

Fig. IV.

Tower ⅘

Fig. V.

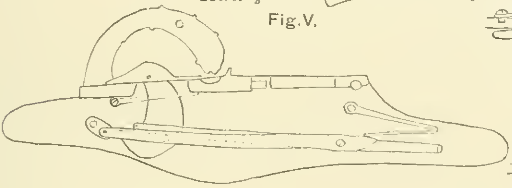
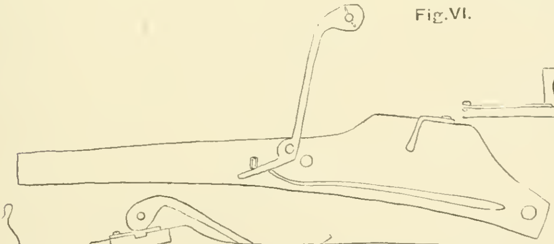


Fig. VI.



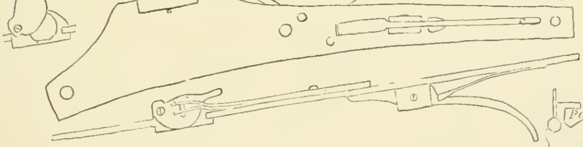


Fig. VIII.

Match lock ¹²⁄₂₂ temp. Charles I

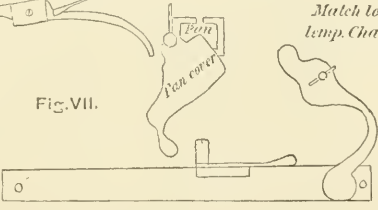
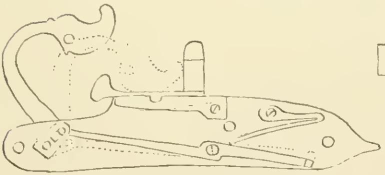
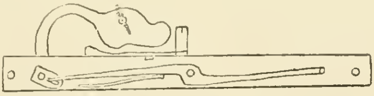

Pan
Pan cover

Fig. VII.



Matchlock of musket temp. William III.



crossbows or firearms, and the shape of those of the sixteenth and seventeenth century shows their original purpose. In a crossbow of the seventeenth century, No. $\frac{11}{7}$, at the Tower, there is a further change. The old sear or large trigger is fixed as a trigger guard, and there is the small interior lock as in the last example, but in order to set the lock, there is another trigger. This being pressed and the hair-trigger being then moved, frees the pressure on the nut and the cord is released. In this example the long lever is reverted to instead of the series of short ones.

When the crossbow ceased to be a weapon of war and was employed only for the chase, it in many instances became a much slighter weapon, and required less powerful means for bending. Of the instruments employed for the bending, we need not speak as they were detached from the crossbow before it was prepared for the discharge of the bolt or guard placed on its upper surface. In one class of bows, however,[1] the bender and the lock were combined. The lock was placed on a lever attached to the stock and when this lever was raised, the lock with its catch for the cord, was pushed forward until the catch[2] could be placed under the cord or in a loop at the back of the bullet-holder. On bringing back the end of the lever to the stock, the cord and the lock were drawn backward to the necessary distance, when the lever was secured to the stock. A trigger in this latter, on being pressed, acted on the under side of the lock, and allowed the catch to turn on its pivot so as to release the cord. This class of crossbow lasted into the last century and many specimens are to be found in country houses and farms.

We shall see that the crossbow contributed many of the important features that were found in gunlocks, such as the large sear or trigger which gradually changed into the modern trigger guard. Also the trickerlock, which, at first an adjunct to the lock, in time became the lock itself. This trickerlock is said to have been invented about 1543, at Munich, and was, from its extreme delicacy, a very great advance on the earlier forms of lock, whether in the crossbow or firearm.

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[1] Arquebuse à jalets.

[2] The *catch* was, in fact, the old nut but now made of metal and firmly pivoted.

Of the method employed for discharging the earliest hand guns other than by application of the lighted match by hand to the priming, we have no definite knowledge, but it probably was an aplication of the earlier and simpler form of the crossbow lock.

We will therefore proceed to the examination of the earliest existing examples in the collection at the Tower of London.[1]

Of the earliest form of matchlock, we have no example now existing, but it was doubtless as simple as the earliest crossbow lever, and the match-holder would work forward and downward to the priming in the pan.

The firearms in use from the beginning of the sixteenth century until the introduction of the percussion system may be best classified according to the modes employed for their discharge. We have then matchlocks, wheel-locks, and flintlocks. Besides these chief classes are combinations of these, as the match and wheel, and the match and flint. The wheel and flint do not appear to have beeen used on any one arm.

In the sixteenth century, however, we have a very good example $\frac{12}{1}$ in the Tower collection (figured in Plate 25, Vol. II., Scott's British Army), of a matchlock on a system which existed up to the times of William III., when the last matchlock muskets were in use in the English army. There is very good proof of its having belonged to Henry VIII., its external ornamentation showing that to have been the case. But in addition to that, there is the date 1537 on the rear end of the barrel. The weapon which is a breech-loader on a system very similar to the modern Snider rifle, has been well described by the late Mr. Latham at p. 90 of vol. IX. of the *Journal* of the Royal United Service Institution. The lock (Fig. V.) it will be seen is of very simple construction. It consists of a sear pivoted on the lockplate and with its nose working in a small tumbler to the axle of which the match holder is fastened. By pressing upward the rear end of the sear the tumbler is made to turn a quarter of a circle, and so to bring the match to the pan. The sear is kept in its normal position by a small spring on the inside of the lockplate, and fastened to the sear is an arm which moves backward and forward a pan-cover, in such a way that the pan is opened as the match descends. This arrangement is superior to the later forms of matchlock in which the pan was uncovered by the second finger of the right hand. The whole arrangement thus consists of one plate, one pan-cover, one sear with its attached arm, and two springs. In the later example $\frac{12}{5}$ (Fig. VI.) with the date 1562 on the barrel, of the Tower collection, we find a sharp snap action given to the match-holder. It is difficult to see what, if any, was the advantage of this over the steady motion of the earlier system, and it does not seem to have been generally adopted, for there is only one other European matchlock in the collection, No. $\frac{12}{18}$, with this snap action. This is an Italian lock and of very beautiful construction and workmanship. The date 1621 occurs on the stock.

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[1] The hand firearms mentioned in Henry VIII. Inventory 1547, are:—

"Demyhakes or handgonnes. Shorte gonnes for horsemen w^{t} cases of lether furnyshed w^{t} homes and purses. Italion peces fotemen. Italion peces guilte without Chambers furnished with flasks and Touche boxes. Italion peces guilte with Chambers furnished. Lardge Chamber peces set in stocks of Walnut-tree with fierlocks. Olde harquebusiers withe Chambers. Harquebusier for haile shote. Doblehakes. Litle hackebutts. Handgonnes w^{t} fierlocks thone w^{t} a chamber. Chamber peces. Shorte Chamber pece. Dagge with two peces in one stocke. Tacke with a fierlocke. Dagges w^{t} gonnes in cases of lether. Litle shote gonnes."

Of the foregoing weapons the largest would be the Doblehakes which threw a ball of two ounces. The Demyhakes or hand gonnes threw ounce balls, and were generally matchlocks and muzzle-loading, though some of them were breech-loaders, *i.e.*, with chambers and fierlocks, that is wheel-locks. The Italion peces were those purchased in Italy, and some are noted as with chambers but none of them have fierlocks. There are also shorte gonnes for horsemen evidently matchlocks, though other shorte chamber pieces are also noted. There are also little hackebutts, but not mentioned as with chambers. Several tackes with fierlocks, *i.e.*, wheel-locks were the wheel-lock pistols of the sixteenth century. The dagges are not in any case noted as with wheel-locks or chambers. Olde harquebusiers with Chambers, show that breech-loading arms were of some standing as regards age.

In both these snap actions the match holder has to be cocked by hand, and in the second instance a small pin on the outside of the lockplate has also to be drawn out to prepare the lock for action. In Figs. VII. and VIII. are seen matchlocks of the time of Charles I. and William III.

The matchlock had many advantages in its day over the later wheel-lock which it survived, so far as military weapons were concerned, and there is in the Tower one example, No. $\frac{12}{4}$, of a wheel-lock which has been gutted and the ordinary matchlock fitted to the lockplate instead. The barrel is dated 1546.

Indeed, the matchlock died hard, for we shall find it introduced later on as an adjunct to both the wheel-lock and the flintlock. As in the crossbow, so in the firearm, the larger trigger was found inconvenient, and it had to resign its place to the small trigger, which suspended within the stock, acted on the portion of the large triger or sear within the woodwork. The external portion was then fixed and became the triger-guard.

It may be noted that in the representation of the funeral of St. Philip Sydney in 1586, all the firearms carried by the soldiers and city bands attending, are shown with the old-fashioned large trigger or sear. A musket and a caliver[1] from Penshurst Castle, in the Tower collection also have this form of trigger, but examples of such a system at this date are rare. The change was, no doubt, effected slowly, as in those days the arms belonging to the county musters were not often brought back to the Royal Stores.

In the William III. matchlock (Fig. VIII.), as in the examples of the time of Elizabeth, the pan-cover had to be moved off the pan just previous to firing, and any movement during the interval might cause the priming to be shaken out, or wind or rain might render the operation of repriming necessary.

The matchlock does not appear ever to have been applied to pistols (except in the case of the pistol shields of Henry VIII. in the Tower) which only appear among the weapons of war after the introduction of the wheel-lock.

The musketeer had to go through some twenty-three motions for firing. First, he took one of the bandolier boxes in his right hand, and pulling the lid off with his teeth, he poured the powder in, giving a "shogge or two" and then a "jogge" to the musket; then, taking the bullet from his mouth, he dropped it into the barrel and rammed it down, giving a good "jobbe or two." After returning his rod, he held the rest to the musket and took the match into the right hand and "blew his cole." The match was then fixed in the cock which had been opened to receive it, and putting the two forefingers of the right hand over the pan to guard it, he "blew his cole" to remove the ashes. With the middle finger of the right hand he opened the pan-cover, presented, and then fired, holding the musket on the rest and against the right breast. After this, the musket was taken out of the rest and the match drawn from the cock and restored to the left hand. The pan was then cleaned with the right thumb, blown on to, in order to clear out any powder and the pan then closed.

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[1] Some of those at Penshurst, bear the date 1595.

The wheel-lock invented in 1517[1], and for many years used on weapons of war and the chase, after some time ceased to be applied to any but sporting arms, but with these it is found as late as 1707 (not 1797 as stated in error in the catalogue), in the Tower collection, and 1759 at Paris.

During the whole course of its employment the system remained in most respects the same, but various improvements or modifications were from time to time added. Of these the following may be noted. In consequence of the brittle native of the iron pyrites, it was found necessary to add a second cock or holder with another piece, and working from the rear forward on to the original wheel. Another improvement was the piece of metal rising in a curve from the edge of the pan and so shielding the eye from the flash of the priming. The chain by which the mainspring was compressed was generally within the lock, but in some cases we find it outside and the mainspring itself was consequently also exposed, as in Fig. XI., No. $\frac{12}{39}$, of the Tower collection, c. 1610; but such a system seems badly suited for war or sport, the exposure of the chain rendering both it and the mainspring liable to damage from weather, and the chances of a premature discharge owing to their catching in the clothes, etc., being much increased.

The wheel also was improved by transverse notches being cut on its working edge and a greater number of sparks being thus generated. The position of the wheel also varied, sometimes it was outside the lockplate and protected by one or more plain or pierced plates of metal which acted as a sort of extra bridle (as in Fig. XII., No. $\frac{12}{331}$, Tower collection). In other instances the wheel was on the inside of the lockplate (as in Fig. X., No. $\frac{12}{56}$, of the Tower collection, and dated 1969), and again sometimes we find it sunk into the substance of the plate. The lockplate itself became thicker and we find the screws only entering and not traversing the plate, thereby allowing of etching and other ornament on the exterior. This increase of thickness is considered by some as an index to the relative age of such locks, while General l'Haridon considers that the imbedded wheel, points to a later date than that merely placed beside the lockplate. The bridle also varied in shape.[1]

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[1] Mr. Thurkle has kindly exhibited a fine series of locks of various dates, among which are two especially worthy of notice. The first (formerly in the possession of Mr. Pritchett, and by him engraved in pl. 39, vol. ii. of Sir Sibbald Scott's History of the British Army), bears an armourer's stamp and the date 1509. As this lock has a double feed, which was clearly an improvement on the single form, and one not likely to have suggested itself at first, it seems very doubtful if it be not a mistake for a later date or a premeditated ante-dating by some former possessor. The second lock is a very beautiful and ingenious one in which the spanning of the fire-wheel is effected by a series of cog-wheels in connection with it, and acted on by another worked by the pyrites holder. When the holder is depressed and then drawn back, the fire-wheel is spanned and fixed. The holder can then be again moved into its proper position over the pan. The bridle in this case is in the form of a ⊤ with a long upper limb in which all the wheels pivot. The springs on the outside of the lock are beautifully carved, and the whole is most elegant and substantial.

The sears also vary in form, some being straight, while others have the neck bent so as to bring the nose higher up on the wheel. The tricker lock was applied to the wheel-lock weapon as it had been to the crossbow, but in some cases we find a small cord which was pulled to set the tricker instead of the large sear or trigger effecting this (see Fig. III.). There is also an ingenious plan for making the action more delicate by means or a small screw, which can be made to reach higher or lower and so make the hold of the tricker on the lever slighter or firmer, and adapting the weapon for a more rapid discharge at a given moment (see Fig. IV.). In many cases the string has been lost and it is at first difficult to see how the tricker was set, but the hole in the under part of the lockplate will always show when such a means was employed.

Ornament is so often lavished on the interior as well as the exterior of the lock, as for example in one belonging to the Lord A. Conyngham, that one is inclined to think it was the fashion to detach the locks from the stock on frequent occasions. It may be mentioned that the spanner which had the form of a key for winding up a clock and was often combined with a flask, screwdriver, and other useful implements, was generally carried in a trap-box in the stock. On the spanner much art was often bestowed, as in some specimens recently sold from Baron de Cosson's collection. Instead of the second cock, we sometimes find a matchlock combined with the wheel-lock, and worked by a further pressure of the wheel-lock trigger (see Fig. XII., No. $\frac{12}{331}$, of the Tower collection, dated 1603). On the outside of the lockplate is often found a small safety catch, generally within reach of the thumb when the pistol was held with extended arm. In some cases there are two or even three wheel-locks to one pistol, but each lock is, of course, complete in itself, though all set on one plate. The wheel-lock was a great improvement in some ways on the matchlock and before the snaphaunce and later methods, was the only system that could be applied to the pistol, which weapon does not appear in history previous to the invention of this lock. Its chief drawbacks were, the uncertainty of discharge, owing to the nature of the pyrites, the cost of production and its want of simplicity in its parts. The vibration caused by the very powerful main-springs, must also have detracted from its accuracy.

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[1] The writer at one time thought these differences might be due to different nationalities, but a great many locks of known provenance must be examined to fix any rule.

Ward, in 1639, says, "they are not likely to get out of kilter, and will endure spanned twenty-four hours' together without hurt." But Ludlow, in 1642, mentions his not being able to discharge his pistols, being wheel-locks and having been wound up all night.

The earliest dated examples of this kind of lock are —excluding Mr. Thurkle's specimen dated 1509—at the Tower of London, a pistol by Boest der Iunge, 1569, and at Paris, a rifled arquebuze dated 1542. This last example is rather doubtful, as the double or hair trigger with which it is furnished is generally supposed to have been invented at Munich in 1543.

The latest wheel-lock at the Tower is a rifled sporting piece by Rewer, of Dresden, and bearing on an ivory plaque on the stock, the date 1707, not 1797 as stated in the catalogue.

At Paris are two Polish rifled arquebuses by Utter, of Warsaw, and dated 1759.

The tricker lock or hair-trigger is very often found added to the ordinary lock and to bring it into action the main trigger is first pressed. This sets the hair-trigger, which then, with very slight pressure and at a very small angle to its normal position, releases the sear, and so causes the wheel to revolve.

As to the combinations of match and wheel, No. $\frac{12}{331}$ of the Tower collection, is a fine specimen. The cock has to be lifted off from the pan after failing to ignite the priming and the pressure on the trigger being repeated (after a small spring stop on the outside of the lockplate has been moved), the match-holder is brought down by a spring smartly on to the open pan.

The general principle of the wheel-lock may be thus explained, taking as an example $\frac{12}{34}$ of the Tower collection. It is on a Reiter pistol of about 1599. (See Fig. IX.)

To prepare for firing, the spanner is put on, and about half to threequarters of a turn is made, which brings the depression in the wheel to the nose of the sear S, which at once enters it and retains it, the nose of S being pressed in the depression by a < spring at its other end, forcing the end away from the lockplate, the shoulder of D holding it in this position. When the trigger pin is pressed, the shoulder is drawn from under S, which can then move toward the plate, and in so doing the nose comes out of the wheel, which flies round. If not required to be used at once, the small lever (R) is moved upward, and its nose, getting behind the lower end of (L), prevents any movement forward or back. When, however, the lever (R) is pressed downward, the end of (L) is subject to the action of the trigger. At the same time as the wheel turns, the axle of the tumbler forces forward (F), thus uncovering the pan.

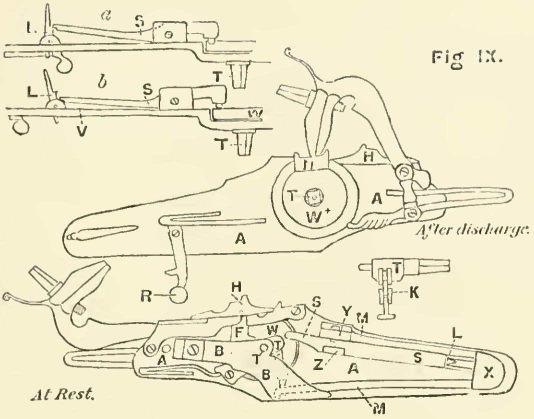
The wheel-lock consists of the following pieces :

A, the lockplate, on the outside of which is the wheel case W* ; on the inside are two blocks Y and Z, the plate X standing on a shank, which, placed in the angle of the mainspring, keeps it close to the lockplate. The under surface of Y is cut away so as to hold the end of the short arm of the mainspring.

B, the bridle ; this is fastened to the lockplate at the two ends of its arms. In the upper part of the bridle is a hole in which the inside end of the tumbler axle pivots.

T is the tumbler, which, on its outer side, has the grooved wheel W set on its axle. The centre part of the axle, is of irregular shape and to it is attached the chain. This part of the axle is so constructed as to force back the

Fig IX.

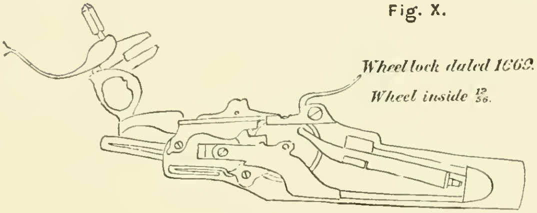


L
a
S
T
L
b
S
V
w
T
H
T
W
A
A
R
H
T
K
S
Y
M
F
W
T
L
B
A
T
Z
A
S
X
B
M

After discharge.

At Rest.

Fig. X.

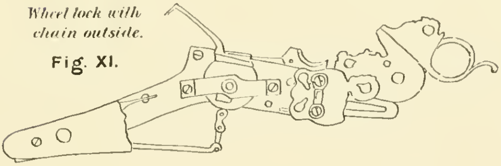


Wheel lock dated 1669.

Wheel inside $\frac{12}{56}$.

Wheel lock with chain outside.

Fig. XI.



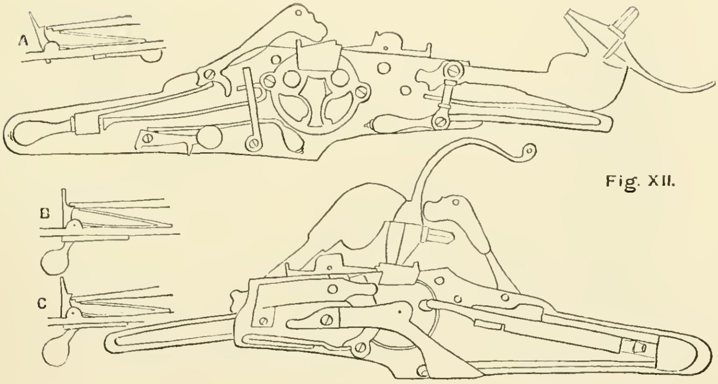


Fig. XII.

BB TEMP.

pan-cover lever (F), when it revolves. On the inside surface of the wheel (W) is a cavity into which the nose of the sear (S) is forced when the wheel is "spanned" round about threequarters of a circle.

S is the sear; it is pivoted between Y and Z by a screw pin in such a manner as to allow of sufficient play for its nose to enter or leave the shallow cavity of the wheel when necessary. At its forward extremity it has a projection or nose on its outer side. The hinder end is kept pressed from the lockplate a weak spring (<), and also supported by the shoulder of (L) which is brought under it by the same spring acting on a toe-piece.

M, the mainspring, is kept in place by its short arm resting against a slot on the under side of Y its long arm grasping the crossbar of the chain. The angle of the spring is kept in position by the plate X, the shank of which is brazed to the lockplate.

N is the pan, which has a portion beneath, cut away to allow of the grooved edge of the wheel working in it.

H is the pan-cover, and consists of two pieces, the upper one sliding over the pan, and the other one F a stem, which is attached by a pin, so as to allow of the forward and backward action. The lower end of the stem is acted on by a spring V[1]

It is curious that although most writers have attributed the invention of the wheel-lock to Nuremburg in about 1517, one German writer Von Leber, speaks of it as the French lock.

According to Crusoe in his "Military instructions for the Cavallrie 1632." The Cuirassier had to go through some sixteen motions to load and fire his pistol (a wheel-lock). First he mounted his horse, then turned down the caps of his pistol cases and drew out the left one. Placing the butt on his thigh, he wound up the wheel and then replaced the spanner. Next he primed, closing the pan-cover with his right thumb. The pistol was now shifted to the left hand, and loaded with powder and ball, either by the flask and loose bullet or with a cartouche, which latter method became general by 1642. After returning the rammer or scouring stick the pistol was again brought to the right side and the cock pulled down so that the pyrites rested on the pan-cover. Taking the pistol in his right hand, the soldier then fired it with the lockplate upwards. If not wishing to fire at once, after bringing the pyrites down, he set the backlock (the safety catch), which could be moved with the right thumb when occassion required, and "so give the cock libertie." The movements for the other wheel-lock weapons, were similar.

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[1] The action of the wheel-lock is as follows:—The wheel is wound up, that is, turned about threequarters round by a spanner. The chain, is thus wound round the axle of the wheel, and drags up the end of the mainspring to which it is linked. When the threequarters of a circle have been travelled, the curved end of the sear is caught in a small cavity on the inside of the wheel which is thus kept fixed. When the trigger is pressed, the back end of sear is released, and closing to the lock-plate, its nose comes out of the cavity of the wheel. The mainspring then acting on the wheel, turns it rapidly round and the pyrites holder having already been brought over to the pan, sparks are generated and the priming is exploded.

The next class for consideration is that in which ignition of the priming is obtained by means of a piece of flint being struck against a piece of steel. For this purpose a sharp striking action was requisite, and it will be remembered that as early as 1562 such an action is found in the matchlock at the Tower. Whether suited for matchlocks or no it is a necessity with the flint.

In 1570 some change took place which was probably the introduction of the flint, for in that year Thos. Rigges, caliver maker, received £50 for making 100 calivers of old curriers at 10s. each with their furniture. Lewis Hilliarde also received 5s. a piece for making sixty-two calivers and 5s. a piece for the flask and touch-box to each caliver. Now Sir John Smith says, that the currier was longer than the caliver, but of the same height (or calibre), and it is clear that the 5s. was not paid for cutting down the barrel, but probably for the alteration of the lock from the long sear to some new pattern. Hewitt gives the date 1588 for the first notice of this change, quoting the payment to Henry Radoe by the chamberlain of Norwich, for making one of the old pistols with a snaphaunce and a new stock for it. We have, however, found an earlier mention of the snaphaunce in the changes in 1580 for the furnishing of light horse for Ireland by the authorities of St Paul's Cathedral, where "cases of snaphaunces at 40s." occurs.

The word snaphaunce no more implies the use of a flint than it does the use of such weapons by poultry stealers, who have been said to have first adopted the system.

The cock of a lock, whether used to hold a match, or pyrites, or flint, was in German called *hahn*, in French *chien*, in Spanish *gato*. The German *schnappen*, is to strike sharply. Therefore, whether hen, cock, dog, or cat was used as the name for this carrier matters not. The French soon turned *schnapphahn* into *chenapan* and by that name early flint locks are often referred to by their writers. The English only modified the spelling, and snaphaunce was used here. The word occurs in Lilly's play of "Mother Bombie" in 1594.

The earliest representation of this new arm that we have met with is in a portrait of Captain Thomas Lee, dated 1594, and now as it has always been at Ditchley, in Oxfordshire. Fig. XIII. He bears a flintlock pistol hanging at his waist.

The earliest actual example of such a weapon hitherto met with is in the Tower collection. (See Fig. XIV.) This is a light gun, bearing the date 1614 and the armourer's initials, R.A. It is said with all probability to have belonged to Charles I. when Prince. The lock is of a type which seems to have been popular in Scotland, the same principle to a great degree being found in the so-called Highland pistols. A carbine, dated 1685, at the Royal United Service Institution, has an almost precisely similar lock.

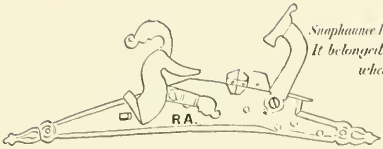
It will be seen from Fig. XIV. that when the flint-holder is drawn back, its lower end passes a small slot in the lock-plate through which the nose of the sear presses and so keeps the cock in position. When by pressing the trigger, the nose of the sear is withdrawn the cock descends rapidly, owing to the pressure of the mainspring on the tumbler which is fixed to the cock, and works inside the lockplate. The upper part of the cock and the external spring to keep the cock in position are wanting in the Tower weapon.

There is in the Tower collection a snaphaunce pistol $\frac{12}{83}$ with the Nuremberg stamp on the barrel. (See Fig. XV.) This is probably an early specimen of the German snaphaunce, for in the lock we find some parts much resembling the details of the wheel-locks. The arrangement of the sear and the arm which communicates the action of the trigger to the sear, recall the arrangement of the wheel-lock. The tumbler itself is a small wheel, and instead of the cavity into which the nose of the sear would fit, a portion of the surface is cut away so as to form a ledge against which the sear nose catches when the cock has been drawn back. The pan-cover also is of the type usually found in these locks. The shank and cap to hold the mainspring is another feature. The action of this lock is simple. The cock being drawn back and with it the tumbler, the nose of the mainspring which sets in the notch of this (instead of being connected with it by a chain as in the wheel-lock), is raised and the spring itself compressed, being held in this state by the nose of the sear catching the ledge mentioned above. The hammer or batterie is then brought back so as to rest just over the pan-cover. On the trigger being pressed the sear nose releases the tumbler, which revolving brings the cock and its flint violently down to the grooved face of the hammer. On the axle of the cock is a small projecting tooth set obliquely. This, when the cock decends, strikes a glancing blow on another small tooth at the rear end of the lever, pressing it toward the lockplate and consequently the front end moves outward. This releases the pan-cover stem. The small straight spring which presses in this latter, then forces the pan-cover forward and so exposes the priming in the pan at the moment when the sparks from the face of the hammer descends.

The pistol is very interesting as being in so many ways a connecting link between the wheel-lock and the flintlock.

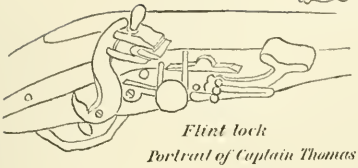
We now may mention the Spanish and Dutch chenapans, which were improvements on the early English and German snaphaunces, in that the pan-cover formed one piece with the *batterie*, and the usual arrangement for uncovering the pan at the moment of the generation of the sparks was greatly simplified. In the earlier instances a rod connected with the tumbler and acting in a horizontal direction like a piston-rod, caused the pan-cover to be moved forward and off from the pan.

The Spanish lock (Fig. XVI.) is on somewhat the same principle as the Scottish lock. That is, the cock is drawn back and held in position by one of two feet at its base resting on the nose of the sear, which passes outward and is pressed through the lockplate by a spring. When the trigger is pressed, the nose of the sear is withdrawn to a



Snaphaunce lock dated 1614
It belonged to Charles I
when prince.

Fig. XIII.



Flint lock
Portrait of Captain Thomas Lee.
1594.

Fig. XIV.

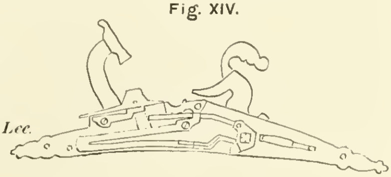
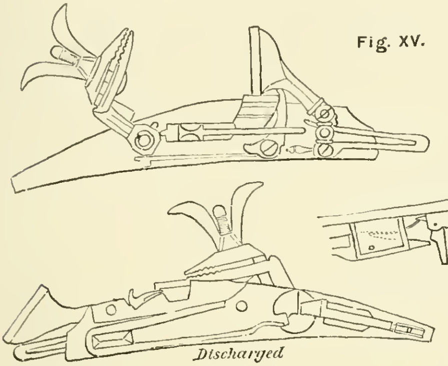


Fig. XV.



Discharged

Fig. XVII.

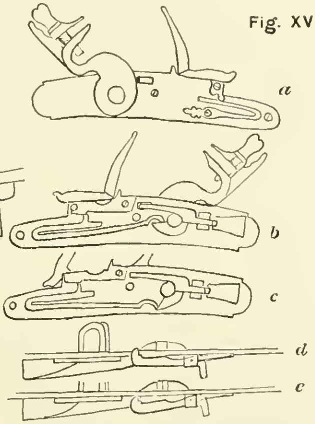


Fig. XVI.

Spanish Chenapan.

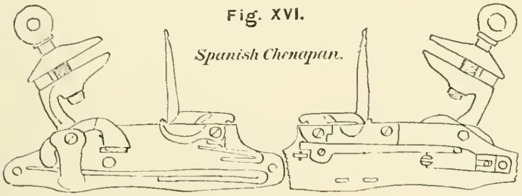
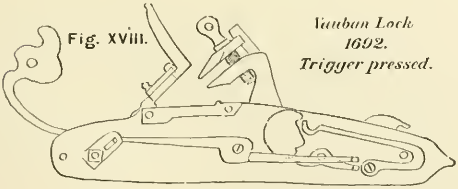
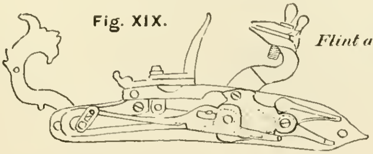


Fig. XVIII.



Vauban Lock
1692.
Trigger pressed.

Fig. XIX.



James II
Flint and Match combined.

position flush with the lockplate, and the cock then descends, under the action of the mainspring, which is external. In this lock the face of the hammer (or *batterie*[1]) is generally grooved. Major Schmidt gives 1625 as the earliest date for this pattern but that seem rather too far back.[2]

The Spanish locks generally have an eye in place of a notch at the top of the screw, which holds the flint between the jaws of the cock. The system appears to have lasted well into the eighteenth century, and the word UNZADA is often stamped on the inside of the lockplate.

The Scotch pistols with iron or gun metal stocks, are most of them of very rude workmanship. The barrels are fastened to the stocks, generally by a screw fixing the tang of the barrel to the head of the stock. The fore part of the barrel is attached by a button on its lower side fitting into a key hole in the stock. The barrel is then pressed backward and the screw through the tang and the head of the stock keeps the whole in position.

The action of the lock is simple. See Fig. XVII. The tumbler is bevelled toward its edge, and the action of cocking withdraws (downward), the bevelled edge from between the lockplate and the sear, which last acted on by its spring, is enabled to pass its nose through the lockplate. The top of the fan of the tumbler then rests against and presses upwards on the lower side of the sear. By pressing the trigger, the fore part of the sear is moved inwards and away from the lockplate, allowing the fan of the tumbler to come up, and this it does by the pressure of the main spring. This brings the cock forward to strike the hammer. These so-called Highland pistols exist in such great numbers, and are so uniform in construction, that it is clear they were made in England for the use of the Scotch regiments. There was no large manufactory in Scotland, to turn out the quantity, and the name Bissel to be found on most of those in the Tower collection points to their southern origin.

The actual date when the flintlock with tumbler, mainspring, sear, etc., the whole contained and working within the lockplate, was introduced, is uncertain, but 1648 is the date given for its origin in France and probably in England also. In France its adoption for military arms was not general until about 1670, but at the earlier date 1648 in France the bridle was also used. This part of the lock does not occur in English weapons, until the reign of William III. Its use, namely to support the inner end of the tumbler axle, and so to ensure a true and easy action at right angles to the lockplate, was most important. It had been with the chain or swivel a constant feature in the wheel lock, and the disappearance of these two important features, from the early flintlocks can only be attributed to the introduction of the much weaker mainsprings of those locks.

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[1] In Spanish *rastrillo*.

[2] General l'Haridon gives 1630.

In the reign of William III., however, we find the bridle again in English locks, though many arms in this and the following reigns are not so fitted. In this reign also the lockplate was lengthened forward of the pan, on account of a longer mainspring being used.

Though it would seem that the French were ahead of us in the system of gunlocks, it is interesting to note that the Vauban lock (Fig. XVIII.) invented in France in 1692, had been in use some time before in England. See Fig. XIX. This lock, which combined the matchlock and flintlock, was meant to meet the circumstances under which the flintlock failed to ignite the priming, and the effect desired was produced by a hole being cut in the pan-cover with a small sliding plate over it, which being turned round exposed the powder to the match. The match-holder was moved downwards by a lever put in motion by a prolonged pressure on the trigger. In this lock we find a bridle, but when the double arrangement of match and flint was abandoned the bridle also disappeared. This bridle did not, in fact, support the tumbler of the flintlock but was a sort of plate for the matchlock sear to be pivoted against.

In the James II. lock is found an improvement in the shape of a catch to hold back the hammer until it was about to be used. This dog-lock, as it was called, continued to be a part of the lock for some years. The action of the James II., William III., and Anne locks is alike in most respects. The lockplate of James II. is 6¼in. long, while in the next two reigns it was 7¼in., the extra length being all forward of the cock. The James II. mainspring is 3¼in., and those of the next two reigns 4in. In all these locks there is no bridle, the tumbler only being supported by the axle.

In 1746, the bridle appears and its upper part acts as a stop, to prevent the tumbler revolving too far, and allowing the mainspring to slip off. Up to this time, this had been effected by a block on the shoulder of the cock catching against the edge of the lockplate. From 1746 till 1832, there appears to have been no great change in the ordinary army lock. In the commencement of the century the Baker rifle had been supplied to the Rifle regiments, and in 1836, the Brunswick rifle with back action lock was introduced. In 1832, the percussion system had been adopted and the barrel had a square block with nipple attached to it. This block rested in a wedge-shaped trench cut in the lockplate and the pan. In 1846, there was a semi-circular piece cut in the lockplate for this purpose, and the nipple lump formed part of the barrel.

In 1838, Lovell's pattern lock with a large back action was introduced into the service generally, but in 1842, a smaller front or bar action was adopted and continued until 1853, when the inter-changeable rifle musket with its swivel and bridle became the weapon of the British soldier. This was an excellent lock, working strongly and well, and was in use until the Martini Henry rifle being adopted, a totally different system of lock was required.

FIGURES ILLUSTRATING DEVELOPMENT OF GUN LOCKS.

I.—Diagram of simplest form of cross-bow lock.
II.—Cross-bow lock. Tower $\frac{11}{5}$.
III.—Tricker lock of crossbow, Tower $\frac{11}{6}$.
IV.—Tricker locks. A, Tower $\frac{12}{58}$; B C D, Tower $\frac{12}{56}$.
V.—Matchlock, Henry VIII. musket, dated 1537. Tower $\frac{12}{1}$.
VI.—Matchlock, snap action, dated 1562. Tower $\frac{12}{5}$.
VII.—Matchlock, temp Charles I. Tower $\frac{12}{22}$.
VIII.—Matchlock, temp. William III. Tower $\frac{12}{432}$.
IX.—Wheel-lock on Reiter pistol C. 1599 Tower $\frac{12}{34}$. Inside and outside view.
a, view from above when spanned.
b, „ „ „ „ released.

X.—Wheel-lock, wheel inside, dated 1669. Tower $\frac{12}{56}$.

XI.—Wheel-lock, wheel and chain outside, C. 1610. Tower $\frac{12}{39}$.

XII.—Wheel and Matchlock. Tower $\frac{12}{331}$.
A, view from above at moment of discharge.
B, ,, ,, ,, when spanned.
C, ,, ,, ,, after discharge.

XIII.—Flintlock, Earliest representation of, from portrait of Captain Lee, 1594.

XIV.—Flintlock, Earliest dated example of. This belonged to Charles I., when Prince, dated 1614. Tower $\frac{12}{79}$.

XV.—Snaphaunce. Tower $\frac{12}{83}$.

XVI.—Spanish Chenapan. Tower add. $\frac{12}{110}$.

XVII.—Scottish pistol lock. Tower $\frac{12}{118}$.
a, external view, cocked; b, inside view, cocked; c, inside view, at rest; d, view from above, cocked; e, view from above, at rest.

XVIII.—Vauban lock, flint and match combined. Tower $\frac{12}{332}$.

XIX.—James II., English flint and matchlock combined. Tower add $\frac{12}{105}$.

All these, except No. I., are $\frac{1}{4}$ size of original.

It must be remembered that the action of the trigger is in all cases upward or backward.

MARKS ON EASTBOURNE OLD CHURCH

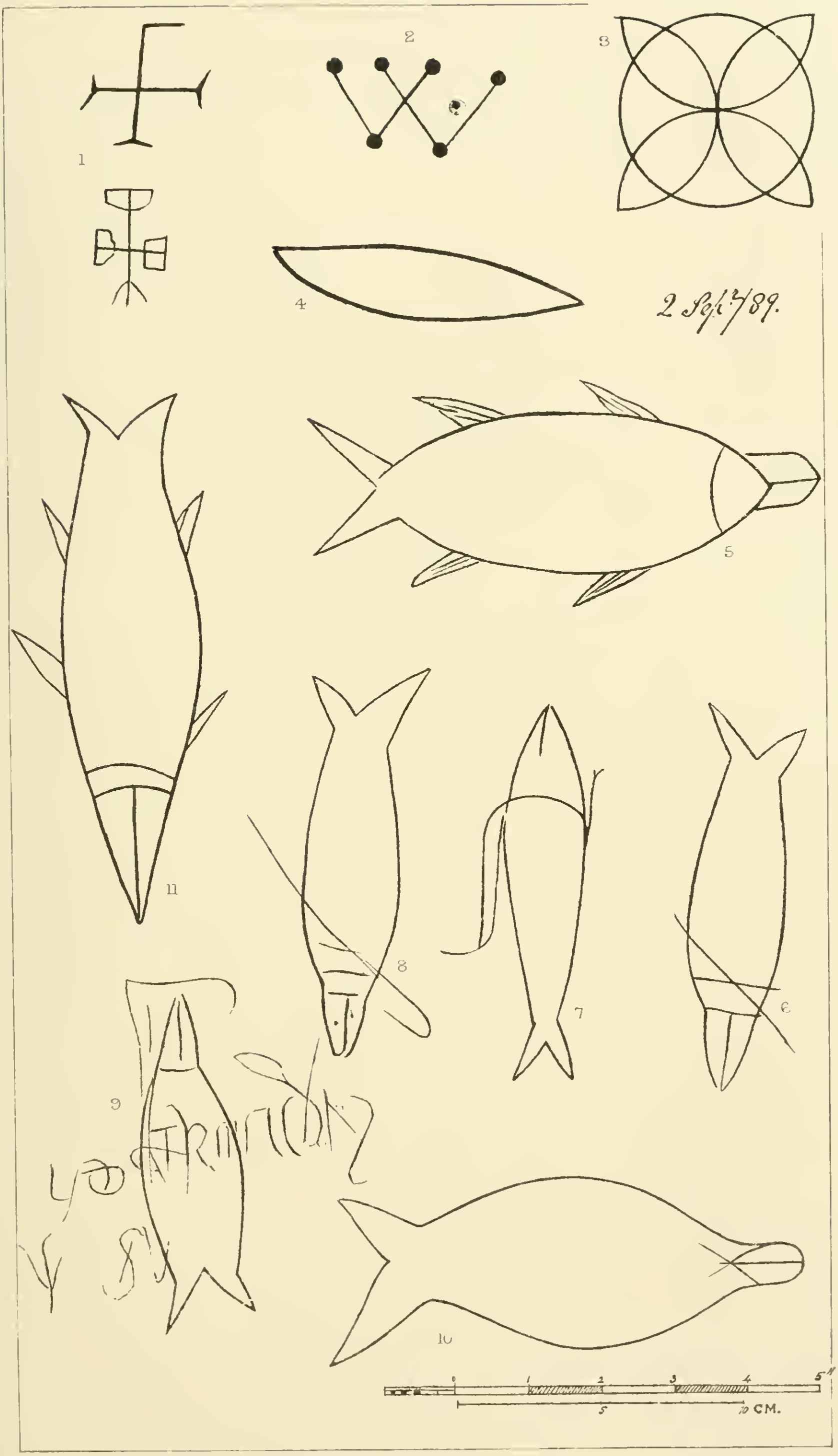
By GEO. M. ATKINSON

For some years past, when opportunity offered, I have collected the marks to be found on old churches and other buildings. These marks are supposed to be those of the Freemasons who assisted at the erection of the edifice. They may be divided into two classes. The mystical, such as have a hidden meaning; and the operative marks, indicating workmanship. The greater portion of these are constructed upon some geometrical figure, as a square, a circle, a triangle, or some portions of such figures, and in form resemble Phœnician letters. But on the Old Church at Eastbourne appear marks of rather an exceptional character. This church is dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin. It belongs to the transitional period, 1145-90. (Suss. Arch. Colls. vol. xiv., p. 128), and is in plan, a central chancel with two side-chancels, a nave with two side-aisles, and a solid-looking tower at the west-end. The pillars in the nave are alternately circular and octagonal; the chancel-arch is circular (or eliptical), and ornamented with zigzags. The pointed arches in the chancel are also ornamented with zigzags. There is a vestry or sacristry built at the east-end, and a door communicating with it from the choir. The chancel is not in the same direction as the nave, it diverges a little, but the outside walls of the chancel and nave are straight. The fine old carved oak chancel-screen belongs to the decorated period, and there is evidence that it must, at one time, have formed an enclosure; it is now used to cut off a space for the choir. The stair that formerly communicated with the rood-loft is at the north side. There are south and north porches and doors, and a west-end entrance door in the tower. A large hospice, a half-timbered barn, fish ponds, columbary, and conventical adjuncts afford an interesting study, though seldom observed by visitors to this charming seaside place.

Thanks to the fact that the late Vicar, Canon Pitman, did not countenance the abominable craze for destruction, called restoration, several of the marks remained (Sept. 2nd, 1889), clear and distinct. The accompanying plates are reduced by photo-lithography from drawings taken from rubbings of the marks. I carefully indicate on the spot, with a red pencil, all white lines of the forms on the rubbings. From these it is easy to make tracings by marking a scale, thus preserving the relative size of each mark. Pl. I., Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, show fish form; in almost all cases representing a cetacean, something like a bottle-nosed whale, porpoise, or dolphin, in different positions, horizontal and vertical, and has a distinctly naturalistic treatment, with tail and fins, and in no way represents the vesica piscis or ichthus. This anagram was composed of Greek letters, but the emblem itself is only known on Latin monuments, a rather suggestive fact.

There is a portion of an inscription, in a kind of black letter character, crossing No. 9, Pl. I. This mark is on the southern side of the first pillar from the east on the south side of the chancel, near where the vestry-screen door now stands, and a portion of a rope is represented crossing several of the fish.

St. Peter is distinguished by a fish. A fish was an ancient symbol of baptism. We have the fish-god of the Assyrians, and the myth related of Jonah. The Church is dedicated to St. Mary, and the Star of the Sea is one of the attributes of the Virgin, who thence may have been credited with the dolphin of Venus. But these marks I think must be votive. If we consider the geological changes in the Weald of Sussex, the position of the Roman station Anderida founded on the coast at Pevensey, and the changes that have taken place in the Saxon harbour, which extended up as far as Polegate to Hydney, Lamport, and Mudhaven, now the centre of the town of Eastbourne, it is likely that a whale or shoal of porpoises may have been caught by the falling tide, and that these marks represent a tithe of fish.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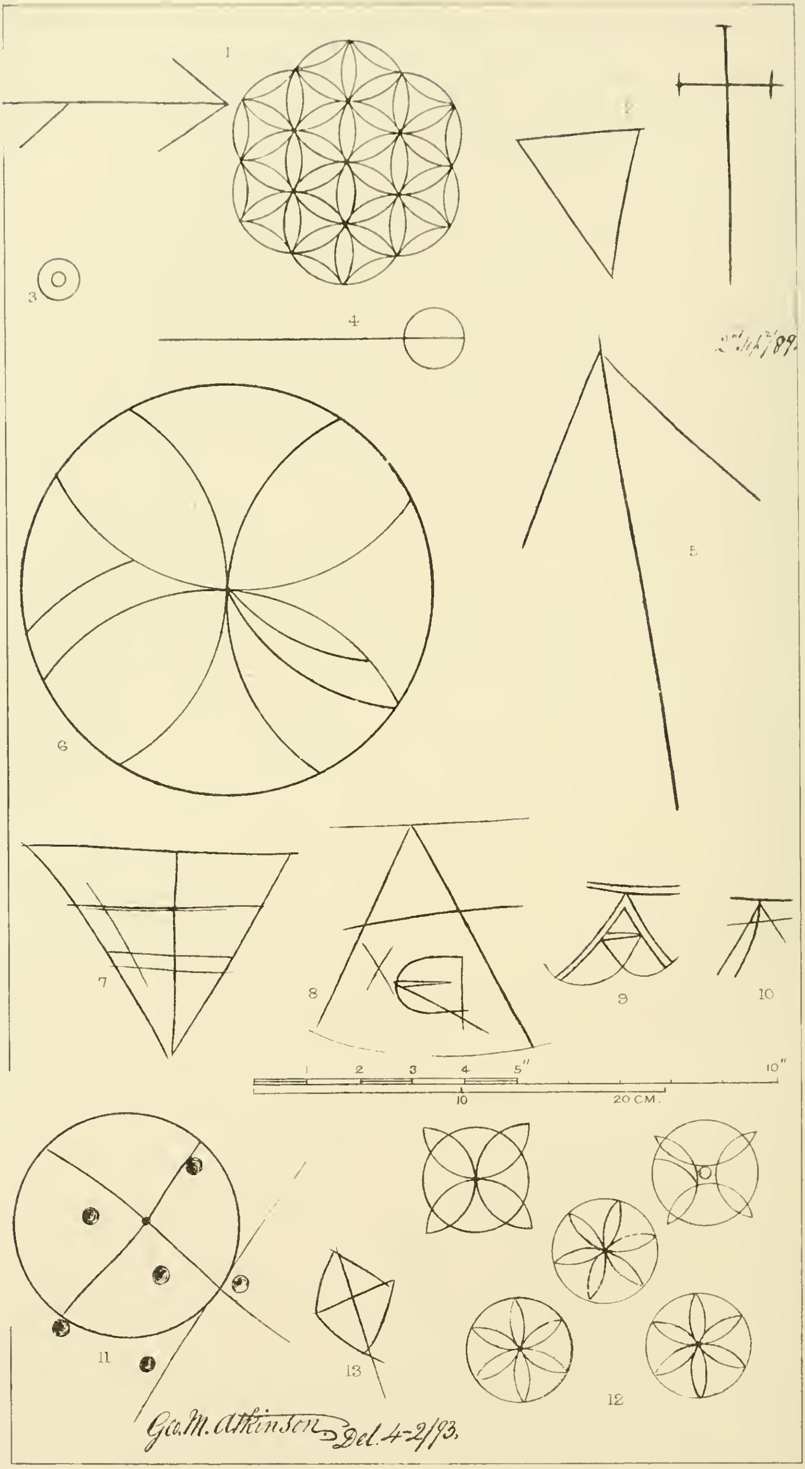
2 Sep. 7/89.

West, Newman photo. lith.

MARKS ON THE OLD CHURCH AT EASTBOURNE

PLATE II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Geo. M. Atkinson Del. 4-2/93.

West, Newman photo lith.

MARKS ON THE OLD CHURCH AT EASTBOURNE

Pl. I., No. 1, represents a double cross mark, it was on the south side of the third pillar in the chancel; the ends of the lower mark (very fine scratches) are peculiar.

No. 2. An arrangement of pits and lines near the base of the chancel-arch pilaster, on the south side towards the nave. A schoolboy gave me an explanation of this mark it is a kind of contract mark, the tips of two fingers and the thumb of one boy being inserted in the pits, and the fingers and thumb of the other boy inserted into the other three pits. The contracting parties must have been kneeling on the original floor; a small niche or shrine, before which a lamp was suspended, is above this mark, and the slit behind it opened into a circular stair that perhaps communicated with the rood loft.

No. 3. On the second pillar, on the south side of the chancel, a circle with four interlacing arcs, or an aureole; above this mark evidence remains of a figure formed by seven circles similar to that on Pl. II., Fig. 1.

No. 4 is on the same pillar under the moulding of the capital; this mark is in a horizontal position, not a trace of ῑχθγς letters is to be found within it.

No. 5. On the eastern pillar on the south side of the chancel; 6 and 7, same place and several times repeated; 8, on the first pillar on the south side of the chancel.

No. 9. On the south side of the same pillar by the present vestry-screen door. This fish had an inscription written over it.

No. 10. On north-east pilaster. No. 11 Low down on the first pillar from the east on the north side of the chancel. The fish mark is only found in and about the chancel.[1]

Pl. II., Fig. 1. On the third pillar from the east on the north side of the nave, a remarkable arrangement of seven interlaced circles, and an arrow, whatever the meaning may be. There are somewhat similar geometrical figures in Celtic Art, and children in the South of Ireland, on the 17th of March, decorate their caps with a piece of paper on which a figure formed like the central portion of this mark is drawn and rudely painted. It is called a St. Patrick's Cross.

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[1] Dr. W. H. Curtis has kindly sent me a rubbing of a similar fish mark from Canterbury Cathedral; and Mr. H. Michell-Whitley informs me that similar marks are found on other of the Sussex churches.

The late Rev. Greville Chester, in our *Journal*, vol. xlvii., p. 140, 1890, draws attention to some sculptures of an Oriental design at Bredwardine and Moccas Churches, Herefordshire, resembling those found on stone sarcophagi discovered at Jerusalem by the Palestine Exploration Fund. The likeness between these is so close that I think there must be some significance in the form.

Nos. 3 and 4, are on the same pillar; also on the west face large arrows, nine inches long. (Fig. 5), pointing upwards (this is a frequently occurring mark, and found on Indian Temples). No. 13 is also found on buildings in nearly every country.

No. 2. A cross and triangle on the first octagonal pillar on the south side of the nave.

No. 6. This form is on the third pillar on the north side of the nave (the circle is nearly eight inches in diameter), it is possibly a consecration or dedicatory cross; near it are some scratches of shields, etc.

No. 7. This is on the second pillar from the east on the outh side of the nave; near it is another inscription, similar in character to that over the fish, Pl. I., No. 9.

Nos. 8, 9, 10, are on the third pillar, on the south side of the nave.

No. 11 is on the west side of the fourth pillar on the south side of the nave. The tangent line is doubtful, as also is the pit near it.

12. Near the base of the fourth pillar from the east on the north side of the nave, is a group of five circles with intersecting arcs, some of which are nearly effaced. The small mark No. 13 is near this group.

There are several other marks about the church; their study would well repay anyone with time to devote to the subject.

ENGLISH ACADEMICAL COSTUME (MEDIÆVAL).

By PROFESSOR E. C. CLARK, LL.D., F.S.A.

Continued from page 104.

The Pallium, which has now been several times mentioned, must not be confused with the Archbishop's Pall, although it may possibly be derived from the same ultimate source. The word is most perplexing, from the variety of its significations. The Oxford *pallium* was given, together with a Robe, by an Inceptor to his friends among the Masters present. (A Questionist, at his Determination, apparently gave the Robe alone). The *pallium* was, therefore, a dress of dignity for the higher degrees, and, as we find it a special alternative for the *capa clausa*, we might possibly conclude that it was something like that, or, perhaps, more like the normal Cope; *i.e.*, a sleeveless cloak open at the front. In the Decretals of Gregory IX. (1218) it seems to be a *short* Cope, little more than a Cape, which is to be *laced*—not fastened with a brooch—for the officiating Cleric. This mode of fastening is undoubtedly observable in some of the Tippets of the New College drawing. And, in its continued coupling with Roba, probably here the ordinary Gown of the higher degrees, *pallium* might be a Tippet. In the Statutes of Queen's College, Oxford, it seems to be a sort of cloak, taking the place of the ordinary Gown in Hall, worn plain by the Fellows and Scholars, but scalloped at the neck and edged with black badger's fur for Doctors in Theology and Canon Law. When used, in the same Statutes, of the garments distributed by the Scholars to the poor, *pallium* seems to mean merely a common cloak. I incline, on the whole, to regard the academical *pallium* as one name for the Tippet.

The Archiepiscopal or Papal one has been well described as a double Y with the two arms meeting round the neck. In suggesting that it might possibly be derived from the same source as our *pallium*, I referred to the view held by some that it represents the collar and mid lines of a sort of *poncho*, which, as well as our academical dress, may have descended from the classical *pallium*; but the connection is remote and questionable.

The *colour* of the ecclesiastical Cope, as a processional dress, no doubt varied, when expense was no object, with the ecclesiastical season. Among Monastic and Canonical persons, this or some further variety appears to have been early considered an abuse, from a prohibition in Archbishop Walter's Canons (1200) against "black" Monks, Canons or Nuns wearing coloured Copes, or any facings but black and white.

The academical Cope was almost certainly, in its origin, of sober hue. Not impossibly the beginning of brighter colours may date for Paris, and derivatively for ourselves, from the *Chaperon rouge* granted by Benedict XII., an old Parisian student, to the Law Doctors of Paris in 1334. This, I am inclined to consider, in accordance with what has been said above (p. 97), a Tippet rather than a Hood. It is at least singular that the only *red* Cope specified in our Ancient Statute 147 (above, p. 102) should belong to the same faculty on which that distinction was conferred.

Other Faculties retained in some instances their darker colour for some time. Professors of Medicine, according to Franklin, in his Anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris, lectured at Paris in a round Cope of brown violet, under a Statute of 1390. Possibly, from the pointed mention of the Secular Canonist's red Cope in our Statute, we may infer that the others were black. That this was the case with Regent Masters of Arts at Oxford in the beginning of the sixteenth century, appears from the Register for 1505-16. In Paris, however, by the time of the second marriage of Francis I. (1530) the Doctors had *all* assumed the scarlet Cope; and with ourselves, before the end of the sixteenth century, we gather from Grindal's effigy that the divinity Cope, and from Stokys' picture in the Cambridge Registry, that *all* our Copes had become *red*.

The Tabard.—I have now to mention an article of academical costume, which is not, in my opinion, ecclesiastical in its origin, and which has, in its original form, disappeared, but to which I am inclined to think that some features of our present Masters' and Doctors' Gowns may possibly be traced.

The Rochet, mentioned above (p. 95), is spoken of by Haines as a distinction of "the higher Degrees generally." What he actually refers to is, I think, either a Cope or the dress of which I am about to treat.

The Tabard was heraldically a short vest, with arm holes but no sleeves. On its academical use we have the following piece of evidence: –

By the Ancient Statutes of Trinity Hall (1352), cap. 3, the Warden and all the Fellows—apparently including persons who were not yet Bachelors—were to wear Robes *cum longis tabardis seu epitogiis talaribus.* By those of Clare Hall (1359), the Master of the Hall, the ordinary Masters, and the Bachelor Fellows were required to have, with their Robes, *cape vel taberda talaria* (? for talaris) *cum furruris pro caputiis.* The *furrura* which they were to have for Hood is, I think, used in the technical sense of the French *fourrure*, and meant a Tippet (see above, 97, 98). *Cape* is no doubt for *capae*, the plural. Whether the *fourrure* belongs properly to the Cope or the Tabard, or both, failing punctuation, we cannot say. In the Ordinance of Richard II. for King's Hall, Cambridge (1380) cited above (p. 81), it is enacted that every Scholar is to have a *roba talaris* and, if a Bachelor, a Robe with a Tabard suitable to his degree. I may compare the *habitus honestos et talares vestes non apertas* which the Bachelors of Law at Paris were re-admonished to wear by the reformed Statutes of Cardinal d'Estouteville in 1452. I have already (p. 103) referred to our own Ancient Statute, of a little earlier date, as to the decent long Tabard of the Bachelor lecturing in Medicine.

It would certainly appear, from some of the above passages, that the Tabard was worn *with*, probably *over*, the Gown; as, in fact, the synonyme *epitogium* may independently suggest, in the Statutes of Trinity Hall (above, p. 89). It also seems to have resembled the heraldic Tabard in being closed in front. The sleeves, then, of the Gown worn beneath would come through the armholes of the Tabard. Ultimately, it would seem as if they became attached to it, the Gown disused, and the Tabard slit up the middle, so as to revert almost exactly to the form of the original Gown. The assumption of the intermediate stage seems, of course, entirely gratuitous; but, without it, I cannot possibly account either for our pieces of documentary evidence or for several of our contemporary representations.

The question of the relation of the Tabard to the Doublet belongs to a later part of my subject.

The academical Tabard was evidently a dress of dignity and decorum, which, while it might be worn by the Undergraduate, was *required* of the Bachelor, at least in his lectures. Whether it was required of the candidate for the Baccalaureat is not clear. I find, in the Oxford Register for 1513, a supplicant for B. Can. Law *allowed* to use a *longa toga cum capicio.* This may have been the use of an ordinary Gown instead of a Tabard.

The Tabard is probably, as suggested above (p. 100), the *habitus* required, with a *caputium*, by cap. 27 of Dr. Caius' Statutes (1557) for use in the Schools, and on feast days in Chapel, by all Graduates. It is, I believe, the "sleveles cote" of Doctors, and of Bachelors in Divinity, mentioned in a Statute of 24 Henry VIII. (1532), c. 13. It may possibly be the *chlamys* of Pole's "Ordinationes pro regimine Universitatis," issued in 1557. This, however, was shorter than the ordinary *toga.*

But the main use in which we find the Tabard is, at any rate, in its *long* form, as an alternative for the academical *capa*, if, indeed, the latter was ever, for laymen, anything but a long Tabard.

I find less mention of the Tabard at Oxford than at Cambridge, though it occurs, *furratum* and *sine furrura* in the Tailor's oath as to charges for making robes, &c. I do not think *furrura* here means a Tippet, but only fur lining, or edging to the arm holes.

Colobium (Κολόβιον).—This somewhat debateable term occurs four or five times in old College Statutes. The original name had nothing to do with the *legs*, as Isidore seems to think when he says it was so called "*quia* *longum est*," though he adds the true reason, its being *docked* of sleeves ("*sine manicis*.") The last edition of Ducange makes it a Tunic without sleeves, or with sleeves only reaching to the elbow. Marriott considers the *colobium* to be the primitive form of the Rochet (above, p. 95); Rock of the original Dalmatic. All these descriptions fairly suit the Tabard, which is, I think, clearly intended by *colobium* as the name of an academical dress. See the Statutes of Queen's College, Oxford, where the *longa collobia* to be worn by the Chaplains, and by the Scholars in their walks abroad, and the *collobia* coming half way down the shank (*ad medium tibiae*) for the poor boys, are almost certainly, when compared with similar regulations in other Colleges, Tabards. A *collobium blodii coloris* is bequeathed by the will of Archdeacon Broune, LL.D. and Canon of York, Wells and St. Asaphs, proved in the Chancellor's Court, Oxford, 1452. This might, of course, be merely a secular dress. We shall, however, find rather a more developed form of *scarlet* Tabard in the case of John Rous, towards the close of the same century.

In an interesting and difficult passage (c. 51) of Fortescue's De Laudibus (1465), where he compares the Sergeant's dress with that of the Doctor, *colobium* is rightly taken by both Selden and Ducange to mean a Hood; but that use of the word appears to be unique.

Pileolus, zucchetto, calotte.—I have now to speak of the most peculiar distinction of the higher degrees, which has been already referred to among the *insignia doctoratus.*

In the case of the early students and teachers of the schools, who possibly made the Hood serve, a regulation Cap or Hat is rather matter of fancy and conjecture. If anything was regarded as such, it was probably a scull cap, generally of black silk or cloth; though there are traces, in early times, of *fur* and other materials being worn, with some variety of colour. The scull cap was a somewhat shallow form (*pileolus*) of the classical *pileus* or felt hat—the cap of liberty worn by the Roman freedman to cover his new-shaven head. Its representation is well known on the coin struck to commemorate the murder of Julius Cæsar—and often since. This covering of the shaven head

—no copying the effigies of Ulysses, Mercury, or Vulcan—is, I believe, the true beginning of our Academical scull cap, being originally allowed to ecclesiastics for protection of the tonsured head in cold weather. It began in later times to assume rather more of a *gourd* shape, whence the Italian name *zucchetto*. *Calotte* is from Old French *cale*, the origin of our *caul*.

The Coif. *Tena.*—The gourd-like development just mentioned has been traced, I believe, by some authors to a rule of Charlemagne for his lawyers, who were, no doubt, mostly clergy; but I cannot find this in the Capitularies. Whether the shape in question was specially connected with Law from the beginning, as it certainly became afterwards, or whether it arose *pari passu* in ecclesiastical use, from the scull cap, I am unable to say. But in, at least, the thirteenth century we find a cap, both among lawyers and other ecclesiastics, which had crept down over the head and was tied by two strings under the chin—in fact, the Coif. These strings are, beyond doubt, what was meant originally by the words *tenae* or *infulae*. But it is equally clear that both words are used in our old Statutes and in other contemporary documents for the Cap as a whole, so that Wood's interpretation, in his "History and Antiquities," of *tena* as the cord tied round the Hat in later times, will simply mislead us for earlier.

This Coif, however, in some form, came to be considered, when worn by ecclesiastics, as a concealment of the tonsure and a disguise of the ecclesiastical character. Stories are told of its being actually used for such disguise, and we accordingly find the wearing of *infulae* (vulgarly called "*coyphae*") forbidden to *clerici*, by one of Othobon's Constitutions of 1268, except as a travelling cap (or night cap). There is a delightful provision for the exhibition of their *ears* by these poor clerics, which might have deterred the Puritans from such practices had they known of it. The Constitution of Othobon is followed up by another of John Peecham, Archbishop of Canterbury, "De habitu clericali," in 1281. I gather from the Clementine Decretal "De vita et honestate clericorum" (1311), which forbids an *infula seu pileus lineus*, that the prohibited head-dress was a *white* Coif, like that of our Sergeants-at-Law.

On this last I cannot dwell, though I may state my agreement with Mr. Pulling, in his "Order of the Coif," that it can scarcely have been systematically assumed as a disguise of Orders. It is one of the many points of comparison between the dress of Doctor and Sergeant remarked upon by Fortescue (above, p. 139). We may note that he speaks of the garb of the Sergeant, in other respects, as being *Priestlike.* And it may be that a confused remembrance of the *clerical* origin of the Coif (which was to be worn by Justices as well as Sergeants) may lie in the assumption of the so-called "black cap" by our Judges on passing sentence of death. For this, it has been suggested, was originally done to *conceal* the Coif, capital sentence not being proper work for an ecclesiastic, however disguised. The withdrawal of our Bishops from trials for capital offences in our Parliamentary Courts is a matter of constitutional tradition.

In academical use, the name of *tena* is coupled, in a very perplexing manner, with that of *birretum* and *pileus.* Most of the names connected with the subject come together in Wood's statement that *capperhurrer* or *birretarius* was the name anciently applied to the maker of *pilei. Tena*, however, is more properly the Coif, and the strange word *hure*, by which, according to the All Souls' Statutes of 1443 (cap. 17), it was also known, throws some light on the distinction. *Hure* most probably meant, in its original signification, a shock head of hair, human or animal. It must be wrongly identified by Fairholt with a *Gown*, in a quotation from Wright's Political Songs (temp. Edw. I). The "black *hure*" there spoken of as worn by the Principal of the Court is more probably a Coif. The head dress of Rous and Sponne, to be noticed in my contemporary representations, exactly resembles a shock head of hair, and the *tena* of academical use was evidently *black.* The *tenae*, or "*buzzeta*," vulgarly called "*hures*," are apparently treated in the Statute of All Souls as a matter of *comfort*, confined in general to the higher members of the college for ordinary seasons, but allowed to the others in cold. The Fellows and Scholars were only permitted the use of black ones in the choir from Michaelmas to Easter, unless they were Priests, Doctors, Masters of Arts, or Bachelors of Canon or Civil Law, who were wont of old to use such *tenae* or *buzzeta*. In the entire untrustworthiness of punctuation, I must leave readers to sort this last clause according to taste. I believe the whole passage indicates a somewhat special connection of the *tena* proper with Law, and a use of some form of the *tena* as a dress of ecclesiastical dignity appropriated to the higher degrees of Master and Doctor. The inexplicable "*buzzetis*" (which I have assumed to come from *buzzeta*) is not to be found in Ducange, and I cannot help thinking it a misreading for *burretis*, i.e., *birretis*.[1]

The undated Oxford University Statute ("De pilleis portandis"), on which Wood (above, p. 140) bases his interpretation of *tena*, as the cord of the later Hat, is very difficult to explain. It is, probably, later than 1384, when the precedency of Medicine over Civil Law was settled, but earlier than the time of the corded Hat. I cannot go further into the matter than to say that this Statute appears, in my view, to indicate an inferiority of the *tena*, which was *not* to be worn on great occasions when the *pileus* was required, and a special connection of it with the Faculty of *Civil* Law. I pass now, however, to a head-dress of which we have rather more definite accounts.

The Pileus of dignity.—Besides the semi-secular development of the old scull cap into the Coif, I have now to mention an ecclesiastical modification of the same head-dress, occurring specially amongst Canons, Deans and Prebendaries. The *pileolus* became not only a little brought down but a little heightened (though retaining its original shape) partly, I think, as a protection against the cold in Cathedral services, partly as a general matter of comfort or luxury. I have a note from Bonanni that, in or after the eleventh century, Canons began to replace the Almuce by a bonnet *en calotte*, at first small but gradually becoming larger at the top. In the thirteenth century it was a round black cap. This gradually grew into a *point* for convenience, doubtless, of holding; and the point, in course of time, became a tuft.

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[1] The present Warden kindly confirms me in this suggestion, by reference to the MS. copy of the Statutes left by Warden Gardiner to Dr. Clarke, and by him "in usum custodis." There the reading is *birretis*.

This Cap is quite distinct from the Hood of the Almuce, which fell back into a collar or roll (above, 96). It is easily recognisable in its early days by being obviously an enlarged form of the scull cap, and (often) by its *point*. It was originally an ecclesiastical head-dress of dignity, and, as such, is sometimes found in the case of ecclesiastics who were not Graduates. I find it, for instance, worn by Eliakim and Shebna the scribe, in the story of Hezekiah, as depicted in our Painted Chamber at Westminster, about the end of the thirteenth century. It may also occur once or twice in early representations of *Kings*, as, in fact, does the ecclesiastical Cope, and the Almuce or Tippet.

There is an interesting and early example, probably of the Almuce, certainly of the pointed Cap, in a monumental effigy, figured by Hollis from Hereford Cathedral, as that of John Borew (or Berew), the Dean, who died in 1462. An enlargement of this in my possession has been verified by comparison with a drawing of Mr. Hope's, which was checked by reference to the original.[1] The hair and beard of the figure, and the general style of the monument, had already struck me as indicating a much earlier date, when I was glad to find my view confirmed by Mr. Hope's suggestion that this is a monument to John Swinfield, who was Precentor in 1311. The identification with either name is supported by a *swine* represented at the figure's feet. The dress is a Cassock; over that, what must be an Almuce, with the two long tails; and, over the Almuce, a Surplice. The collar or roll of the Almuce appears through the neck of the surplice. The Cap is of exactly the shape which we find in early academical use. I cannot tell the degree, if any, of either Swinfield or Borew. There are several other instances from the same Cathedral, quoted by Bloxam in his Ecclesiastical vestments.

The academical Pileus.—The head-dress, which formed part of the *insignia doctoratus*, was evidently that *pileus* of dignity, the clerical development of which I have just traced from the scull cap. It occurs continually on continental effigies, in more or less exaggerated forms. Bock figures an enormously high one from the tomb of

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[1] I may refer to a better authority than my drawing in the illustration to Mr. Bloxam's description of this effigy (*Archæological Journal*, xxxiv., p. 418) photographed from a measured drawing made by Mr. Hartshorne.

John Krytwych, at St. Gereon's, in Cologne. He was apparently an important ecclesiastic, but, in degree, only an M.A. The Hat of the foreign Doctor of Medicine is generally of this tall kind. There are good instances, though rather late, in a picture or drawing of St. Luke painting the Virgin, by Lucas van Leyden, at Munich, and in the Physician of Holbein's Dance of Death, both of the early sixteenth century. The latter figure, I may remark, wears a Tippet unmistakably resembling an Almuce.

This Hat is sometimes a cylinder with a flat top. But it is always without a brim, which distinguishes it from our modern lay Doctor's Hat, while it is, of course, entirely different from the square Cap.

Although, as I believe, developed in its origin from the scull cap, the *pileus* did not universally supersede the former, which, or perhaps we ought rather to say the *tena*, was often worn under it. Something like a chin strap is occasionally perceptible in representations of the Hat and its later forms. This is not a fastening of the Hat, though sometimes taken for it, even by the artist, but a part of the scull cap or Coif retained underneath.

Among academical persons the *pileus* is the special distinction of the higher degrees. The conferring of it was a principal feature of the *doctorizatio* in Italy, Paris, and with ourselves. It has been sometimes considered that the Doctors alone, in the so-called three Faculties, are intended, in our old Statutes, by the word *pileati.* And, in general, in our monumental representatives, I only find the *pileus* worn by the Doctor as amongst Graduates. But we have a sixteenth century representation from Paris cited above (p. 99), where it is conferred upon a Licentiate taking the degree of Master of Arts; we find a "Cappe" employed in our own ancient Creation to the same degree; and a general formula of Creation to Mastership is quoted by Wood from the old Oxford Registers, in which the *pileus* is given *eo nomine.* I may add that this formula also includes a "*cucullus*," which is rather in favour of my contention above (pp. 80, 98), that the Tippet was once proper to the Master. For *cucullus* cannot here mean either the ordinary Hood or the Benedictine Cowl. The "capping," too, at St. Andrew's at the present day, is certainly not confined to Doctors, though the article employed—made, we are told, out of the *velvet breeches* of that *sans-culotte* John Knox—is clearly an old Doctor's Cap *ungathered*, and so reduced into its original flat circle of material. The *tena* or *birretum* is also allowed to *all* Regents in Arts by the ancient Statute of Oxford (see below), which denies it to the Bachelor.

Biretta or *Beretta*, *Fr. Barette.*—The *pileus* is pretty clearly always the Hat of honour, whether worn by the simple Master of Arts, as I think it once was, or not. The *tena* again and again is a difficulty, sometimes appearing to be an easy-going piece of comfort which is to be dropped on solemn occasions, sometimes an inferior head-dress of dignity. Nor is it helped much by its frequent synonyme *birretum*, which is the name given to the undoubted Doctor's Hat by Giovanni d'Andrea (above, p. 80); but which we find in our English documents continually coupled with *tena*. The derivation of the word is doubtful. In Archbishop Peccham's Constitution, previously quoted (p. 140), a certain *vestis anterius et posterius birrata* would seem to be a matter of *cut* rather than either of material or colour. As to the shorter and older word *birrus*, Isidore says it is a Greek word from *bibrus*; what he means I do not know. Good authorities hold *birrus* to be merely *coarse stuff*; but there is an opinion, ranging from Ducange to Diez (*Berretta* and *Birro*) and Littré (*Barrette*), which connects these words with the Greek πύῤῥος, or its Latin equivalent *burrus*, and the colour *red*. If this view is correct, the *biretta* may have been originally the Scarlet Hat, of which I shall have to speak directly, once worn by the Law Doctors of Bologna; but it has certainly assumed a darker colour in subsequent times, when it has associated itself more with Theology, and I am rather inclined to think that its original meaning was a scull cap of coarse stuff.

No Hat of office or dignity appears to have been allowed, in early times, to the Bachelor. At Cambridge he was debarred by an ancient Statute of 1414 (No. 176) from wearing, in his lecturing or any other scholastic act, *birretum*, *pileus* or *tena*, or any similar decoration for the head, to whatever Faculty he might belong. At Oxford, by the undated Statute above referred to, he is forbidden to use the *tena* or *birretum* when taking part in public exercises; and also when attending Inceptions, etc., in St. Mary's, unless he has first Incepted in some Faculty; which exception points to the common case of a Master of Arts proceeding afterwards in one of the higher Faculties. This is expressed to be without prejudice to the rights of Regents in Arts, and *others* specified in an "ancient Statute," which I cannot positively identify, their "liberties" being also expressly reserved to the sons of Lords in Parliament. This passage gives a little support to the suggestion above made, that the *tena* may once have been a somewhat inferior Cap of dignity for Masters of Arts. I may add some obscure intimations, also from Oxford, but of later date, from which it might seem as if some retention or representation of the Coif may have indicated an inchoate degree. A candidate whose *supplicat* for M.A. is recorded in the Register of 1529, is allowed to wear the *pileus*, but with a *ligula sub collo*, or chin-strap. This may possibly be the "*pileus fibulatus*" *forbidden* by Grace of 24th February, 1507, to a candidate who had not yet been admitted to the Baccalaureat of Canon Law.

Colour.—From about the end of the thirteenth century dates an introduction of *colour*, either in the *pileus* itself or in the tuft which we begin to notice on the top, to distinguish different Faculties. This differentiation does not appear to have been by any means universal. The Doctor's Hat, at least for the Faculty of Decrees, seems to have been *scarlet* at Bologna in the first half of the fourteenth century (see below, Giovanni d'Andrea). Pancirolli attributes this Hat, with robes of the same colour, to *all* the early Italian Doctors, and it was apparently abandoned by them all equally in the sixteenth century. On the other hand Theology seems to have preferred to retain the black head-dress, which indicated, says Raynaud, that its wearers were dead to the world. A passage in one of Petrarch's dialogues, in which he speaks of the *rotundus et niger pannus* being imposed on the head, would seem to imply that the Hat was black *generally* in his time (c. 1350) in the country with which he was best acquainted, *i.e.*, the South of France. At Paris, too, the red *toque* of the Doctor-Regent belonged to a much later time than that which I am now considering. In England I find no trace of a red Hat at all.

The difficult subject of colour has been already mentioned in connection with the Cassock and the Cope. With reference to the Gown and Tabard, it arises best out of some special instances of costume which I have to notice in my contemporary representations. I may, however, here add a few pieces of documentary evidence as to red Gowns, etc., worn by the higher Graduates, from the wills proved in the Chancellor's Court at Oxford and printed in the Munimenta.

James Hedyan, Bachelor in both Canon and Civil Law, leaves a *toga lividi* (? purple) *coloris*, and a *toga furrata*, a *caputium*, and a *tabarda cum caputio*, all "*blodii coloris*," in the year 1445.

Reginald Merthyrderwa (!), LL.D., in 1447 leaves his better *toga de scarleto cum caputio penulato cum* "*menyvere*."

Richard Broune, *alias* Cordone (?), Archdeacon of Rochester, LL.D. and Canon of York, Wells, and St. Asaph's, leaves, in 1452, a *toga nigra*, a *toga viridis de lira (?) foderata cum* "*oterys*," with a *caputium*, a *collobium* (? Tabard) *blodii coloris*, and a *capa de blodio serico.* The *green* Gown is odd, and may throw some light on one or two curious costumes on our East Anglian screens. As to the colour elegantly styled *blodius*, there seems no doubt.

Having given this brief general account of the different articles of dress employed in academical costume, as described in documentary evidence, I pass to the subject of contemporary representations.

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH BELLFOUNDERS, 1150—1893.

By R. C. HOPE, F.S.A.

This list of English Bellfounders has been compiled from the Freemen's Rolls of various towns, wills, county histories, and the many works published of late describing the church bells in particular counties.

The earliest and latest dates, as far as they have been ascertained, together with, where possible, the death of the bellfounders are given. Where the date of the taking up his freedom by a bellfounder in any city or town has been discovered it is also given.

The capital letters accompanied by small figures indicate the publication, and the numbers refer to engraved representations where *fac-similes* of the stamps and letters of such bellfounder are to be seen. A key to these letters is appended to the list of names.

ENGLISH BELLFOUNDERS.

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Abbot & Co., J.	Bideford	1876		
Adam, John, the Potter	London	1282		1287
Adam, Friar	Doncaster	1335		1349
Aghton, Henry de	York		1384	
Aghton, Henry de	York		1491	
Alegate, John de	London			1291
Alegate, Robert de	London	1311		1322
Alegate, William de	London	1299		1341
Aleyne, John	S. pl. iv.; L. 34, 117; C. 3; B. 10, 73; Sx. 1; R. 4; D. 113. Succeeded Walter Wimbis, whose stamps he used	1300		1325
Alwoldus	London	1150		
Andrew, Thomas	Thetford	1598		1599

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Annington, Richard	York - - -		1515	
Aphowell, Christopher	York - - -		1539	
Aphowell, John	York - - -			1557
Appleton, William	Hornby, Yorks. - -	1600		
Arnold, Edward	St. Neots, 1772; Leicester, 1784; dissolved partnership with T. Osborne; the former foundry passed to Robert Taylor, his apprentice. D. 19, 103, 156	1772		1797
Asby, Thomas	York - -			1485
Atkins, Richard	Gloucester - -	1500		d. 1529
Atton, Bartholomew	Leicester, then Buckingham; apprenticed to Thomas Newcombe. B. 52; N. 1, 48	...	1582	1642
Atton, Robert	Buckingham. N. 109 -	1610		1634
Atton, William	Buckingham; afterwards W. A. & Son			d. 1655
Atton, William & Son	Buckingham - -	1654		
Bagley, Henry, born 1608	Chacombe, Northants. B. 61, 62	1632		d. 1676
Bagley, Henry	Ecton - -			d. 1703
Bagley, Henry	Chacombe; Witney, Oxfords. Gl. 90, 94. 114	1676		d. 1684
Bagley, Henry	Reading - -	1720		d. 1743
Bagley, James	- - -			d. 1701
Bagley, James	- - -	1710		1717
Bagley, Matthew	Chacombe; London, 1687 -	1679		d. 1715
Bagley, Matthew	- - -	b. 1700		d. 1785
Bagley, Matthew	Wolverhampton - -	1740		1779
Bagley, William, born 1663	- - -	1693		1706
Barbur, John	Gl. 96 - - -			1400
Barbydor, John	London - -			1349
Barker, William	Norwich - -		1507	
Barrett, Alfred				
Barrett & Osborne	London - -			1857
Bartlett, Thomas	London; succeeded William Yare, 1619. S. 203; K. 43; W. pl. x.; square plain letters	1619		d. 1647
Bartlett, Thomas	Durham; S. 203. No relation to T. B., London	1630		d. 1632
Bartlett, Anthony	London; succeeded his father, Thomas, 1647. C. 89; K. 44	1647		d. 1676

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Bartlett, James	London; passed to Richard Phelps. C. 97.	1676	1677	d. 1701
Bartlett, John	Durham	1695		
Barwell, James	Birmingham	1872		1881
Baud, Peter	S. p. 212			1530
Baxter, Richard	Norwich; succeeded Thomas Potter	1416		
Bayley, Thomas	Bridgewater	1758		1769
Bayley, Street & Co.	Bridgewater	1750		1769
Bellfounder, Daniel	London; C. 28	1443		1460
Belgetter, Robert	York		1280	
Belgetter, Thomas	Lynn	1333		
Belgetter, Edmund	Lynn	1346 ?		
Belgetter, William le	Canterbury; L. 95; K. 2, 3			1325
Bellingham	York ?			1579
Benedict	London			
Bend, or Bond, Anthony	Norfolk & Suffolk	1615		1629
Bend, Giles	-			
Bend, J. & Sons	Burford. Oxon.			
Benetlye, Richard	N. 94; R. 25			
Berry, John	York		1461	
Bett, Thomas	Leicester; succeeded Newcombe, passed again to Newcombe. L. 84, 89; D. 81	1520		d. 1538
Bilbie, Edward	Chewstoke, Somerset			1715
Bilbie, Thomas	Colompton	1726		1766
Bilbie, Abraham	Chewstoke			1769
Bilbie, Thomas	Colompton	1771		1814
Bilbie, William	-	1777		1789
Bilbie, Thomas & James	Dv. p. 280			1796
Bilbie, John	-			1814
Bland, Gilbert & Co.	Croydon	1876		1882
Blews & Sons, W.	Birmingham	1868		1876
Blondell, Nicholas	Guernsey			1759
Blyth, Peter de	London	1335		1353
Blyth, Robert de	London			1356
Bolter, Nicholas	Salisbury			1600
Bolter, Nathaniel	Salisbury	1654		1663
Bolter, Jonathan	Salisbury	1654		1656
Bond, *see* Bend	-			
Bonyne, Gyliseus	York		1365	1374
Borthwick, Robert	Edinburgh			1528
Bous, John	York		1354	
Bowen	London	1857		

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Bowler, Richard	Colchester; passed to Miles Graye	1583		1620
Bowler, Augustus	Wath-upon-Deane. L. 107, 127, 131-2, 170, 171	1626		1648
Bracken, Austin	London (?). B. 17, 20, 21; C. 71, 72; S. 20, 71, 72			1556
Brasyer, William	Norwich & Nottingham. L. 99, 103; C. 3, 6, 39; Sf. 47, 62-4		1376	
Brasyer, Richard ? Robert	Norwich; stamps passed to Mott, then Carter, then Yare; mayor 1410	1410		d. 1482
Brasyer, Richard	Norwich; mayor 1456; foundry closed short time; son of Richard above; C. 39-41; D. 5, 6, 9, 10, 17, 49, 51, 52; 59, 60, 63, 66	1450		d. 1513
Brasyer, Richard	Norwich - -	1617		1623
Brasyer, Richard	Norwich - -			1513
Brend, John	Norwich; Arabic numerals uncouth Rom caps, I B linked	1567	1573	d. 1582
Brend, John & Alice	Norwich - -	1634		1636
Brend, William, son of John	Norwich; used a Brasyer stamp. Sx. 27; 1583; small black letters without caps	1613		d. 1634
Brend, Robert				
Brend, John, son of Wm.	Norwich; ? succeeded Brasyers	1634		d. 1658
Brend, Elias	Norwich - -			1669
Briant, John	Hertford; died aged 80 -			d. 1829
Briant, J., & Coit. B.	Hereford - -			1805
Brid, or Bird, John	London - -			1418
Bridlow, Robert				
Brockton, Walter de	London - -	1315		1318
Brown, John	York - -			d. 1472
Bullisdon, Thomas	London; succeeded Henry Jordon, whose stamps he used. K. 2, 6; Sx. 16, 19, 25; L. 11, 12, 14, 17, 31; N. 17, 39, 40; C. 25, 26, 27, 34, 63; B. 17	1506		1510
Burford, John	London - -			d. 1329
Burford, William	London. L. 76; K. 5A; Sx. 25; C. 34-63; ? N. 96; ? S. 166-7	1392		d. 1398 d. 1418
Burford, Robert, son of William	London; stamps & letters passed to founder who used K. 19, ? Richard Hill. L. 59; K. 1-4, 5, 19, 20	1392		

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Burgess, T.	Carlisle - -			1826
Burrough, James	Devizes - -			1574
Burrough, James	Devizes - -	1738		1754
Bushell, James	Aldbourne - -			1574
Bushell, Michael	Aldbourne - -			1707
Bykenmore, Thomas de				1303
Byrdan, John	Exeter - -	1601		1624
Byrdan, Thomas	Exeter. Dv. 2, 4, 6, 80, 82 -	1605		1624
Byxle, Walter	London - -			1369
Cabourn or Cardourn, Simon	- - -	1356		1373
Carr, William	- - -	17..		1713
Carter, Joseph	Reading. 1579, K. 42 -	1578		d.1610
Carter, William, son of Joseph	Passed to William Yare then Thomas Bartlett 1619, succeeded Robert Mot, 1606, who sent his son William to London to manage; London 1606; the last who used Brasier's stamps, previously used by Mot; L. 63, 101; S. pl. xiv.; compare C. p. 31.	1610		d.1619
Carter, Nicholas				
Cary, T.	Bristol - -			1854(?)
Carverd, Caverd, or Calvert, Christopher?	York - - -		1545	
Carved, William	York - - -		1548	
Carved, or Calverd, Thomas	York - - -		1551	
Catlin, Robert	London; succeeded Samuel Knight, passsed to Thomas Swain	1738		d. 1751
Caverd, Christopher	York - - -		1548	
Caverd, William	York - - -		1551	
Cawood & Sons, W.	Leeds - - -			1816
Chamberlayne, Phillip	London - -	1356		1382
Chamberlayne, Isabel	- - -			1460
Chamberlayne, William	London - -			1497
Chandler, Richard, born 1602	B. 50-1 - -	1636		d. 1638

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Chandler, Anthony	Drayton Parslow, Bucks; passed to Edward Hall. B. 51	1638		d. 1681 or 1685
Chandler, Richard, born 1650	B. 50-1 - -	1677		d. 1704
Chandler, Richard	- -	1700		d. 1723
Chandler, George, born 1654	- - -			1725
Chapman, William	London - -	1781		d. 1784
Chapman & Mears, W.	London - -	1781		1784
Cheese, Thomas	- - -			1603
Chepe, Adam de	London - -	1307		1330
Cherk, John	Exeter - -			1552
Chyrche, Reginald	Bury S. Edmunds; succeeded N. 49. C. 49-55			d. 1498
Chyrche, Thomas	Bury S. Ed: foundry at Bury carried on by Roger Reve after his death. C. 35-36	1489		d. 1527
Clarke, John	(?) London & itinerant -	1601		1613
Clarke, George	C. 84; used pentacle -			1564
Clarke, William				
Clay, Thomas	Leicester; re-opened Leicester foundry	1700		1715
Clerk, William G.	London -	1311		1330
Clifton, John	London -	1633		1639
Cockey, Mordecai	Totnes -	1666		1701
Cockney, William	- -	1715		1747
Cole, John	Itinerant. K. p. 67 -	1573		1592
Colsale, John de	Sf. 6-10 - -	1409		
Conyers, Lord D'Arcy	- - -			1656
Cooper, Joseph	Reading - -	1610		
Copgrave, John de	York - -			1140
Copgrave, William de	York - ·		1297	
Corr, Oliver	Aldbourne - -			1698
Corr, John	Preceded Wells 1750. Gl. 29	1698		1750
Corr, William	- - -	1696		1713
Corr, William & Robert	- - -	1696		1713
Corr, Robert	- - -	1696		1713
Corr, Robert	- - -			1724
Corrington, Richard	Cambridge - -			1606
Cornehill, Sir William	Wenlock - -			d. 1546

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Cosyn, William	London; (?) Bellfounder or potter	1349		d. 1369
Covey, Tobias	Athlone or Itinerant; *see* "Story of the Bell," Athlone	1662		1687
Cresswell, Richard	London. L. 32; B. 14; H.21; C. 34; K. 17; R. 35			1656
Crouchman, Thomas	London (potter)	1349		d. 1369
Cuerdon, William	Doncaster. L. 163	1656		d 1678
Culverdon, William	London; preceded Thomas Laurance. C. 64; H. 35; B. 2, 5, 64; K. 32, 33; S. 197-200, 202; L. 163; Staffs. 20, 21	1510		d. 1522
Curtis, George	Leicester; Leicester foundry closed with him. Apprenticed to Hugh Watts		1627	d. 1650
Dakin, Thomas				
Dalton, George	York	1752		1789
Dalton, C. & R.	York	1783		1791
Dalton, Robert, son of George	York		1789	
Dalton, Drury			1799	
Dand or Danne, Henry	Nottingham. L. 149-150			1591
Daniel, D.				
Daniel, John	London; stamps passed to Jordans. R. 35-36; H 19, 21, 28; S. 184-5, 187; L. 12, 17, 28, 30-33; C. 25, 34, 35; K. 10, 17, 18, 26; B. 9, 15; Sx. 23; N. 16, 20	1458		1468
Danton, John	Salisbury	1624		1640
Darbie, Michael	Southwark & itinerant. S. 110	1651		1674
Darbie, John	Itinerant; Ipswich	1654		d. 1686
Darbie, Thomas				
Darbie or Derby, Henry	Succeeded to Rofford's stamps. S. pl. x. 110; C. 7-11; stamps passed to Henry Oldfield	1362		1390
Davis, G. E.	Bridgewater	1784		1787
Dawe, William = William Founder (*see* N. & Q. 7, S. vi. 52, 175)	London. S. 111; L. 11-18; K. 6, 7, 8, 9, 24, p. 24; H. 18; Sx. 13, 14, 15, 16	1385		d. 1418
Dawson, William	York		1514	
Dewrance, John	London			
Dier, Dyer, Dyey, John	Itinerant. C. p. 84; used pentacle	1561		1597

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Dimberry, Henry	- - -			1635
Dobson, William	Downham Market; succeeded his grandfather Thomas Osborn, married Robert Burford's widow; foundry passed to Thomas Mears 1833	1806		d. 1842
Dodenhale, Henry	Coventry (?) - -			14...
Doe, Gilbert	York - - -		1515	
Dommer, John	- - -	1420		1438
Draper, Thomas	Bury, then Thetford; succeeded Stephen Tonni; mayor 1592. C. 76-79	1581		d. 1644
Draper, Thomas	- - -	1593		1598
Draper, John (William Land occurs occasionally with him)	Thetford & Bury St. Ed: -	1601		d. 1644
Draper, John, & Gurney, Robert	- - -			1625
Driver, John	Bury St. Edmunds. C. 27 -	1602		1617
Drury, John & Frederick	London -			
Duddelai, William	L. 25, 26; C. 37			
Dune, William	K. p. 36 -			
Dyey, John, *see* Dier	- - -			1561
Eayre, Thomas (2) & John	Kettering - -	1717		1761
Eayre, Thomas (2)	- - -	1725		d. 1757
Eayre, Thomas (1)	- - -			d. 1716
Eayre, Joseph, son of Thomas (3)	Opened at Kettering 1735; his St. Neot's business passed to Thomas Osborne & Edward Arnold, his cousin	1735		1772
Eayre, John	- - -			1718
Eayre, John	- - -	1743		1748
Eayre, Thomas (3)	Kettering foundry closed 1761	1730		1761
Ehbere or Edbury, James	Thetford - -	1663		1672
Edelmeton, Geoffrey de	London. S. pl. v. -	1303		1330
Edmunds, Islip	London - -	1764		1765
Eldridge, Richard	Wokingham, Berks, & Horsham, Sussex (1610). "Our help is in the Lord," R.E. and date	1592		d. 1623

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Eldridge, Brian (1)	Horsham, Sussex, & Chertsey, Surrey (1619). "Gloria Deo in Excelsis," B.E., date, with fleur-de-lys or heart between the words, plain flat Roman letters	1618		d. 1640
Eldridge, Brian (2)	- - -	1640		d. 1661
Eldridge, Thomas	Wokingham - -			1565
Eldridge, Thomas	T. E. - -			d. 1708
Eldridge, William, born 1634, brother to Brian (2)	Chertsey ; foundry closed -	1660		d. 1716
Eldridge, William	West Drayton - -			d. 1731
Eldridge, William & Brian	- - -	1660		1661
Emerton, William	Wooton; began business 1766, succeeded Thomas Russell	1766		1789
Eschby, John	York - - -		1505	
Evans, Evan	Chepstow - -	1690		1729
Evans, Evan & William	Chepstow ; Dv. 97 -	1690		1729
Evans, William	Chepstow - -	1722		1764
Felps, *see* Phelps	- - -			1680
Fergus the Coppersmith	Boston, Lincoln - -			1191
Flower, T., *see* Flowry T.	- - -			1654
Flowry, Elizabeth				
Flowry, T.	Salisbury - -			1654
Flowry, Richard	Salisbury - -			1675
Foster, Francis	Salisbury - -	1655		1671
Founder, Daniel	- - -			1460
Founder, William, *see* Dawe, W.	Staff. 133-9 ; N. 39, 40 ; B. 26 ; C. 19, 25-33, 35, 36 ; L. 11-18, 55-6 ; K. 2, 6, 10, 14, 22 ; Sx. 13-17, 19, 20 ; S. 111, 160	1385		1408
Fowler, Richard				
Francis, Johannes				
Furner, William	- - -			1709
Furness, Thomas	Halifax - -			1472
Galaway or Garamay, Vincent	Reading - -	1518		1565
Gardiner, Thomas	Sudbury, Norwich, Sudbury; succeeded Henry Pleasant 1709	1709		1759

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Gardiner, Thomas & Newman, Thomas	- - -			1719
Gardiner, Thomas	- - -			1624
Gerveaux, John	York - - -			1400
Gilberd, John				
Giles, Thomas	Lewes - - -	1602		1623
Giles, Edmund	Chichester, Lewes. Hammer and pincers holding piece of metal, on some bells; pincers, horse-shoe, axle-head, and hammer on others	1595		d. 1615
Gillett & Co.	Croydon -	1880		1885
Gilpin, Samuel	Norwich - -			1700
Glasier, William	Bristol			
Gloucester, John of	Gloucester - -	1310		1347
Gloucester, Sandre of	Gloucester - -	1330		1400
Gooding, Ambrose	Plymouth. Dv. 86, 98 -	1716		1750
Gooding, John	Lynn - - -	1299		
Gray, Miles	Colchester; succeeded Richard Bowler	1601		d. 1649
Gray, Miles, & Harbert William	- - -			1627
Gray, Miles, son of above	Colchester - -	1650		d. 1666
Gray, Christopher	Staffordshire, Ampthill in 1659; succeeded by Charles Newman	1655		1683
Gray, James	- - -			1625
Gray, R.	- - -			1624
Green, John	- - -	1571		1574
Green, John	- - -			1627
Gurney, Andrew	Thetford. L. 104 -	1621		1677
Gurney, Robert, son of Andrew	Thetford - -	1660		1672
Hadley, Isaac	- - -	1685		1716
Hale & Son	- - -	1865		1873
Hall, Edward	Drayton Parslow; succeeded Richard Candler -	1730		d. 1755
Halton, Emmanuel	Chesterfield (?). D. 144 -			1725
Halton, J. M.	- - -			1725
Hambling, William	Blackawton - -	1823		1852
Hancock, Thomas	Walsall - -			1636
Harbert, William	Assisted Miles Gray -	1626		1628
Harding, John	London; *see* Surrey Ch. Bells 130. K. p. 61			1550

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Harrison, William	Barton - -			1732
Harrison, James	Barton; Barrow-on-Humber. L. 8-10			d. 1766
Harrison, James	Barton; Barrow-on-Humber. D. 105; F. 86; L. 9-10; foundry closed 1835	1766		d. 1835
Harrison, Henry	Barrow-on-Humber; opened foundry at Barton 1770	1776		1785
Harrison, John	- - -	1482		1483
Harrison, John	- - -			1784
Harrys, Thomas	S. 189; C. 31; T.H. & coin	1478		1479
Hasylwood, William	Reading - -	1494		d. 1509
Hasylwood, John	Reading. N. 41 - -			1510
Hatch, Thomas	Ulcombe. K. 41	1585		d. 1600
Hatch, Joseph	K. 41 - -	1602		d. 1639
Hatch, William	B. 46 - -	1639		d. 1664
Hawsley, William	Cambridge. C. p. 85; B. 46	1608		1624
Hazfelde, Simon de	London. L. 20-21; N. 64 -	1353		1373
Hawke, Richard	London - -			d. 1495
Headham, John de	London - -	1309		1339
Headham, William de	London - -			1309
Heathcote, Ralph	Chesterfield. H. 30; N. 19; K. 27; Sx. 21; L. 27; S. 186; D. 24-26, 30, 37	1524		d. 1577
Heathcote, George	Chesterfield. L. 80-84; D. 15	1603		1620
Heathcote, George	- - -	1490		1541
Heathcote, George	York - - -		1544	
Hedderley, Thomas (1)	Derby; Nottingham 1747. C. 10; B. 29, 30; D. 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 41, 42, 51, 52, 155	1742		d. 1778
Hedderley, Thomas (2), son of above	D. 11, 17, 83 - -	1778		d. 1785
Hedderley, Daniel	Derby 1732; Bawtry 1733. D. 13, 14, 17, 19, 36, 78, 109; foundry finally passed to Mears, C. 1850	1714		1759
Hedderly, Daniel & Thomas	L. 149, 150			1744
Hedderley, Daniel & John	Derby -			1732
Hedderley, John	Derby - -	1726		1733
Hedderley, John & Thomas	Derby - -			1744

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Hedderley, George, son of Thomas (1)	Nottingham. D. 10, 11, 13, 15, 17, 21, 37, 64, 70, 148-150; L. 110, 112; Sf. 132-5; C. 4, 6, 8, 10; Nottingham foundry closed	1778		1800
Hemins, Edward	Bicester - -	1729		1747
Hendel, Robert	Gloucester. Gl. 33, 40, 79			1400
Henry in the Lane	London - -	1318		1330
Henshaw, William	Gloucester. St. 17; C. 61 -	1480		d. 1509
Hickman, Thomas	T.H. and a crown; S. 189 -			1358
Higden, John	- - -			
Hill, Richard	London (used Robert Burford's stamps and letters). L. 76; "Sum Rosa Pulsata Mundi Maria Vocata"	1420		d. 1440
Hill, Joan, d. of Richard, married Henry Jordan	London; K. p. 37, and pl. 2, 19, 20, 21; S. 169			1441
Hilton, Thomas	Wath-upon-Dearne -	1774		1808
Hodges, Thomas	Dublin - -			1854
Hodgson, Christopher	London, succeeded John his father; used coins on his bells; William Hull's initials also occur as late as 1676	1677		1696
Hodgson, John	N. 78; B. 64 - -	1658		1693
Hodgson, John & Christopher	- - -	1675		1687
Hodson, John	London. C. 87 - -	1654		1671
Holdfield, *see* Oldfield				
Holmes, George				
Homfrey & Co.				
Hoton, Stephen				
Hoton, William de	York - - -		1297	
Hoton, William de	York - - -		1300	
Hoton, William de	York; his stamps were afterwards used by the Nottingham founders	1409	? 1440	d. 1445
Hoton, John de	York - - -		1455	1473
Houlden, W. & T.	Yorks (?) - -			1751
Hull, William	South Malling; used coins on his bells; served with John Hodson, 1662-1674; Michael Derby, 1674-1676; James Bartlett, 1683. B. 64; C. 87	1676		d. 1687

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Hull, John, son of William	- - -	1683		1687
Hull, William, & Hudson	London - -			1676
Hunnerman, William	- -	1695		1701
Hunt, John				
Innocent, Thomas	York - -			1466
Ion, William & Richard	- - -			1720
Jannaway, Thomas	Chelsea ; foundry began and ended with him	1750		1787
Jefferis, Goodman	Bristol - -			1571
Jeffries	Bristol - -			1820
Jeffries & Price	Bristol - -	1835		1854
Johnson, T.	Hull - - -			1832
Jordan, Giles	S. 186-8 ; L. 28 ; N. 18 ; C. 36			14...
Jordan, Henry, son of Giles	London. S. 87, 186-8 ; H. 19, 21, 28, 30 ; Sx. 21-3, 136-8 ; L. 12, 27-33, 55-56 ; B. 9, 11-20, 26 ; N. 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 ; R. 4, 35, 36 ; C. 19, 25, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37 ; K. 10, 19, 22, 25-27 ; used Powdrell's lettering, marks also used by J. Walgrave & J. Daniel ; passed to Thomas Bullisdon	1442		d. 1468 or 1470
Joy, Innes				
Kebyll	B. 26 ; L. 59 ; Herts 24, 25, 26, 27 ; C. 10, 22-24 ; K. 22			1500
Keene, Samuel	- - -			1651
Keene, Richard	Royston - -	1662		1699
Keene, James	Woodstock. N. 38, 69, 79, 81, 94	1618		1681
Keene, James & Richard	Woodstock. B. 53-8 -	1618		1681
Keene, Richard	Woodstock - -	1618		1681
Keene, Humphrey	Durham - -			1635
Keene, Humphrey & James	Durham - -			1640
Kemp, Thomas	London - -	1547		d. 1574
Kermer, Richard	Canterbury. K. 3, 29, p. 48 ; used same stamps as Wm. Belgetter	1500		1505

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Kettle, Thomas, & Jarvis, William	Wiltshire (?)			
Kingston, John	Bridgewater	1790		1826
Kingston, T.	Bridgewater	1815		1828
Kipling, Joshua	Sx. 29			1745
Kirk, George Phillis	York		1758	
Kirkby, Roger de	London	1347		1356
Kirkling	Cambridge			1521
Knight, Henry (1)	-	1586		1623
Knight, William	Used badly formed black-letter	1518(?)		1586
Knight, Ellis	-	1623		d. 1685 or 1694
Knight, Henry (2)	Reading, (?) 1603	1651		1672
Knight, Henry (3)	-	1673		1680
Knight, Henry (4)	-			1716
Knight, Samuel				
Knight, Samuel	Reading; London 1710; foundry passed by will to Robert Catlin in 1739	1689		d. 1739
Knight, Thomas	-			d. 1666
Knight, Ellis & Henry	Reading	1624		1673
Knight, William	-			1735
Lambert, William	London		1611	1679
Land, William	Bury St. Edmunds?; Houndsditch?; late foreman to Tonni	1548		
Land, William	-	1615		d. 1638
Land, William, & Draper, Thomas	-	1575		
Lawrance, Thomas	London; Norwich; succeeded William Culvedon. C. 65, 66; K. 34; used Lombardic letters	1522	1542	d. 1545
Lee, George	Wath-upon-Dearne?. L. 115, 172, 173	1613		1615
Lenne, Godynge de John	King's Lynn			1299
Lenne, Thomas de	King's Lynn			1333
Lenne, Thomas de	King's Lynn. Dv. 1-6	1418		1440
Lester, Thomas	London; succeeded Richard Phelps	1738		d. 1769
Lester & Pack	London. D. 138	1749		1769
Lester, Pack, & Chapman	London	1761		1781

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Lett, John	Salisbury	1627		1685
Lewis & Co.	Brixton			18...
Llewellyn & James	Bristol	1868		1883
Lonesdale, Thomas	York		1432	
Lorchon, Robert	-			1311
Low, Oliver				
Lowatt, Joseph	-			1722
Lowys, John	York		1474	
Ludham, John	Chiddingley	1633		1651
Ludlum, Joseph	Rotherham	1733		1760
Ludlum & Walker	-			1750
Lyons, Thomas	York		1577	
Major	Walsall			1649
Mallaby, Thomas	Masham	1860		1882
Mallows, Joseph	East Dereham	1750		1760
Marshall, John	York		1385	1409
Martin, John	Worcester	1661		1700
Maxvell, Robert	Bp. of Orkney			1528
Maye, John	Bodmin	1615		
Mears, William	London	1784		1806
Mears, Thomas	London	1791		1804
Mears, Thomas & Son	London	1805		1809
Mears, Thomas	London	1810		1844
Mears, Charles (d. 1859) & George	London	1844		1860
Mears, George	London	1859		
Mears, George & Co.	London	1861		1865
Mears, G. R. & Stainbank	London	1866		1873
Mears, William & Thomas	London	1787		1791
Mellour, Richard	Nottingham; mayor 1499 & 1506; will proved 1515. D. 48, 50; F. 5.	1488		d. 1508
Mellour, Robert, son of Richard	Nottingham; sheriff 1511, mayor 1521; foundry passed to R. Quernbie & Henry Oldfield, the former married only daughter of Robert Mellor	1510		d. 1525
Merston, Robert	Itinerant. L. 19.		1672	
Metcalfe, Francis	York			
Millers or Mellor, William	Leicester; passed to Thomas Newcombe, his widow married 1 Thomas Newcombe, 2 Thomas Bett	1499		d. 1506

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Mitchell, Henry	Lichfield			1313
Mitchell, John	Wokingham. N. 41	1487		1493
Moore, Holmes & Mackenzie	Harleston	1882		1893
Mot, Robert	London; foundry sold to Joseph Carter 1606, also his stamps which included those of Brasyers. S. 201-2; N. 68, 70-76, 118; K. 40-44; C. 88; Sx. pl. xiv., 28	1565		d. 1608
Murphy, T.	Dublin			1867
Naylor, Vickers & & Co.	Sheffield	1857		1865
Neale, Henry	-	1637		1640
Neale, Joseph	-			1653
Neale, Edward	Burford. Gl. 89	1641		1683
Neale, Edward	-			1762
Neville, Ralph	-			1598
Newcombe, Thomas	Leicester. R. 31			d. 1520
Newcombe, Thomas	Leicester. B. 32, 33; L. 90-2; R. 2, 27, 31	1562	1567	d. 1580
Newcombe, Thomas	Leicester. L. 90-97, 127, 160; R. 2, 27, 31	1604		1611
Newcombe, Robert	Leicester. R. 11, 24, 31			1550
Newcombe, Robert	Leicester. L. 90-91; N. 5, 23, 30, 42, 86; R. 23, 31	1586	1600	1612
Newcombe, Robert	Leicester; L. 90, 91, 97; R. 31; used Brasyer's stamps			1638
Newcombe, Edward	Leicester. B. 61, 63; R. 31	1602		1617
Newcombe, William	Leicester. R. 31	1608		1610
Newman, Charles	Lynn; Norwich; succeeded Christopher Gray	1684		1707
Newman, Thomas	Lynn; Norwich, 1701	1691		1744
Newton, Samuel	London		1690	d. 1716
Newton, Samuel & Peel, I.	-			1705
Nicholson, Richard	Cambridge	1599		1600
Nobbis, Thomas	-	1632		1641
Noone, William	Nottingham. N. 15, 36, 65, 98, 100, 101; L. 160 (?); foreman of Oldfields	1678		d. 1732
Norris, Tobias	Stamford. L. 1-6; B. 59-60; C. 80-2	1606	1607	d. 1626
Norris, Tobias	Stamford. R. 10, 26	1675	1628	d. 1699
Norris, Thomas	Stamford. C. 82		1625	1699

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Norton, Stephen	Maidstone (?); no successor; S. pl. viij. 191 ; L. 59, 60 ; *see* Ch. Bells of Sussex, p. 13 ; K. 1, 22, pl. ij. 1 ; H. 22; N. 110	1363		1392
Norton, Robert	Exeter. St. 1, 3, 4 -	1430		1431
Norwich, William of	- - -		1376	1390
Oatey, James	St. Ives - -			1830
Odson, William	- - -			1250
Odson, Edward	- - -			1250
Ogleby, Robert	York; born 1654 -	1700		1768
Oldfield, Henry (1)	Nottingham. D. 7-13, 16, 17, 20-22, 27, 28, 33, 34, 38, 41, 42, 52, 67, 79, 113, 137, 139, 151 ; R. 7, 8, 34 ; C. 7 ; L. 109-115	1545		d. 1590
Oldfield, Henry (2)	Nottingham. C. 85, 86; D. 8, 12, 15, 17, 27, 35-9, 41-7, 79 ; L. 111, 113, 118 ; Became partner with Quarnbie	1590		d. 1620
Oldfield, George (1), son of Henry (2)	L. 116, 157-160; D. 137; C. 84 ; D. 9-14, 16, 17, 28, 33, 34, 67, 137, 151	1614		d. 1680
Oldfield, George (2), son of above	- - -	1620		d. 1660
Oldfield, George (3)	Passed to Hedderley on his death	16...		d. 1741
Oldfield, George (4)	- - -			d. 1747
Oldfield, Hugh	-			d. 1672
Oldfield, Henry	L. 108-114, 116-119, 135, 138-145			
Oldfield, Phillip	? a bellfounder. L. 156 ; D 62, 70-1, 74			1620
Oldfield, Rowland				
Oldfield, Thomas	Nottingham (?) -			1553
Oldfield, William	- - -	1538		1550
Oldfield, or Holdfield, William	Nottingham (Lukis), York, Thirsk, Doncaster ?; had Wm. O. foundries at York, Doncaster & Thirsk; or did he send men from a foundry at Nottingham ?	1602		1641 1641
Oldfield, William	Canterbury. K. 35-8 & pl. iv.	1536		1552

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Oldfield, Robert	Hertfordshire ?. L. 2; H. 38-41; C. 81; *see* Picton's Liverpool Mint 211	1605		1638
Oldfield, Richard	Cambridge. C. 83, 91 -	1599		1612
Oldfield, Henry, & Danne, Harry	- - -			1591
Oliver, C.	London - -	1844		1845
Osborne, Thomas	Downham Market; passed to William Dobson- -	1780		d. 1806
Osborne, Thomas, & Dobson, William	- - -	1801		1806
Osborne, Thomas, & Arnold, Edward	St. Neot's; succeeded Joseph Eayre c. 1772	1772		17...
Osborne, C. & S.	London			1853
Osborne, William	- - -	1808		1826
Owen, John	Aldbourne - -	1549		1552
Owen, Samuel	- - -	1596		
Pack, Thomas	- - -			d. 1781
Pack, Thomas, d. 1781, & Chapman, William (nephew to Lester)	- - -	1770		1782
Palmer, John	Aldbourne; opened a foundry outside Canterbury 1636; ? died 1656	1636		1656
Palmer, John	- - -	1621		1638
Palmer, Thomas	Aldbourne - -	1663		1676
Palmer, John Thomas	- - -			1641
Pannell, Charles & Co.	- - -	1820		1825
Pannell, William	- -	1820		1826
Pannell, William & Charles				
Pannell, William & Son	- -	1820		1844
Paris, Henry	- - -			
Patrick, Robert	London - -			1784
Paul le Potter	London - -	1282		1312
Peele, John	- - -			1752
Peevor, Aaron	Kirkoswald. Cumberland & West. Arch. J. vi; 226	1724		1729
Penn, Henry	Peterborough - -	1704		d. 1729
Penn, Thomas	- - -	1627	1704	1631
Pennington, Thomas	Exeter - - -	1618		1741

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Pennington, Thomas	- - -	1741		1761
Pennington, Edward	Bodmin - -			1682
Pennington, John	Bodmin - -	1635		1697
Pennington, John & Co.	- - -	1702		1818
Pennington, John & Christopher	- - -	1723		1788
Pennington, Thomas & John				
Pennington, Fitz Anthony	Lezant, Cornwall -	1758		d. 1768
Pette, Richard	L. 64-7 - -			
Phelps, Richard	London; succeeded James Bartlett 1701; passed to Thomas Lester 1738	1701		d. 1738
Phelps, Thomas	- - -			1680
Piryton, Thomas	London - -	1392		1418
Pleasant, Henry	Sudbury; succeeded by Thomas Gardiner 1709	1696		1709
Poole, Thomas	- - -			1689
Potter, John	York. L. 22, 23			
Potter, Thomas	Norwich - -		1404	
Potter, Job	Leeds			
Powdrell, William	London; stamps passed to John Sturdy 1439; his lettering afterwards used by Henry Jordan. K. 14, 21, 25-7; Sx. 21-3; S. 186-8; H. 28-30; N. 19-20; L. 17, 27-29			d. 1438
Pulbergh, Thomas	London - -			1382
Purdue, George	Salisbury - -			1614
Purdue, Roger	N. 104, 108 - -			1613
Purdue, William	Chichester, 1665-6. Dv. 86	1647		d. 1673
Purdue, Thomas	- - -			1663
Purdue, Roger	Passed to Rudhalls. Gl. 1, 28, 92, 95; N. 104, 108	1670		1676
Purdue, Richard & William	- - -	1650		1652
Pyke, J.	Bridgewater - -	1726		1781
Pynchbeck, Leonard	Boston - -			1506
Quarnbie, Humphrey	Derby; Nottingham, sheriff 1534	1534		1562
Quarnbie, Robert	Derby - -			1567

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Quarnbie, Robert & Oldfield, Henry	L. 105-109, 127; N. 14, 25; D. 136; R. 9, 21			1593
Raughton, William de	S. 109	1316		d. 1357
Read, Edward	Aldbourne			1751
Red, John	Boston; Bury S. Edmunds (?)	1503		1533
Reve, Roger	Bury S. Edmunds, & ? Essex; succeeded Thomas Church, 1527, to William Schep's lettering	1527		1533
Revel, William	London; used Richard Wimbis & Schep's lettering; used an Eliz. crowned Rose; S. pl. vj., vij. 191; K. 1; H. 22; L. 59	1340		1357
Rew, Giles	Kent	1584		1592
Richardson, Richard	York		1504	
Richardson, James	York		1515	
Riddell, Abraham	Gloucester	1670		1685
Rider, Robert	London; used same letters as R. Wimbis; S. pl. ix.	1351		d. 1386
Rider, Thomas				
Rigby, Alexander	Stamford; foundry closed with him; L. 3	1679		d. 1708
Robarts, Thomas	Shrewsbury			1660
Rofforde, William	London; L. 110; S. pl. x.			1320
Romenaye, John	London; S. 109	1340		d. 1349
Ropeforde, Roger de	Exeter (?)			1284
Roth, William	- - -			1748
Rudder	Birmingham			1811
Rudhall, Abraham	Gloucester; succeeded the Purdues; L. 85; D. 10, 57, 58, 61, 103, 138; Gl. 4-7.	1684		d. 1736
Rudhall, Abraham	Gloucester; D. 61, 103			1794
Rudhall, Abel	Gloucester; L. 85	1737		d. 1754
Rudhall, John	Gloucester			1686
Rudhall, Charles	- - -			1648(?)
Rudhall, Charles & John	Gloucester	1728		1828
Rudhall, John	Gloucester; foundry passed to W. Mears	1784		1835
Rudhall, Thomas	- - -	1764		1780
Russell, Thomas	Biddenham; Wooton, foundry closed. B. 38	1715		d. 1745
Russell, Thomas & William	Wooton			1739

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Russell, William	Wooton - -			1739
Ryder, Robert	London - -	1351		d. 1386
Safford, Thomas	Cambridge - -			1630
Sandars, John	Reading; London, 1556. N. 28; B. 22-4; S. 181-3; Gl. 54-6; ? C. 19	1539	1554	d. 1559
Sandars, William	Stamford; apprenticed to Thomas Norris		1664	
Sandars, Richard	Bromsgrove. N. 83 -	1710		1722
Sandre, Alexander	Gloucester. C. 1 - -			
Saville, William	London - -	1757	1765	1799
Schep, William	London; succeeded to Wimbis's stamps, which passed to William Revel. S. pl. vij. 191; L. 59; H. 22; K. 1	1314		1348
Scott, Geoffrey	Wigan - - -			d. 1665
Sellers, Edward, ? son of William	York; succeeded William Sellers; sheriff 1703	1669		d. 1724
Sellers, Edward, son of above	York - - -	1724		d. 1764
Sellers, William	York. L. 162, 164, 165, 167, 169	1662		1687
Sellers, S.	York - - -			1717
Sellers, John	- - -			1741
Sellers, Richard	- - -			1741
Selyoke, John	Nottingham - -			1548
Selyoke, Richard	Nottingham - -	1497		1548
Semson Roger	Aish Priors; dedicated his bells to the B. V. M. "+ Ave + Maria + Gracia + Plena" and R.S. Dv. 12; pl. xiv.; Sx. 10, 70; pl. ix.	1548		1667
Shaw, James & Sons	Bradford - -	1848		1882
Sheriden, James	Dublin - -			1854
Sleyght, John	L. 24; N. 89 - -			
Smith, Samuel, son of James	York. L. 161, 166, 168; D. 85, 106	1662		d. 1709
Smith, Samuel, son of above	York. sheriff of York, 1723. L. 161, 166, 168; D. 75, 106	1709		d. 1731
Smith, Abraham	York - - -	1656		1659
Smith, James, succeeded Abraham	York. L. 161, 163, 166; F. 15, 16	1656		1663
Smith, Abraham & Cuerdon, William	York - - -	1553		1662

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Smith, Joseph	Birmingham (Edgbaston) -	1701		1730
Smith, William	London - -			1510
Smith & Co.				
Sowerby, Thomas de	York - - -		1380	
Stadler, John	Chulmleigh - -	1692		1771
Stafford, John de	York ?, Leicester ?. L. 86-88 ; D. 43	1366		1371
Stainbank, Robert	London ; succeeded to the Whitechapel foundry in 1865	1865		1867
Stephens, J.	- - -	1721		1727
Stokesley, William	York ? - -			1340
Stone, John	Bridgwater - -			1790
Sturdy, John	Succeeded to Wm. Powdrell's stamp ; L. 59 ; K. 21			1439
Sturdy, Joan (? widow of Richard Hille)	London. S. 170, 171, 171*a*?			14...
Sutton, John	Norwich - -		1404	
Swan, Stephen	Kent ; used flat, broad letters	1609		1614
Swayne, Thomas	London ; succeeded Robert Catlin, 1751 ; foundry closed	1751		1781
Tapsell, Roger	West Tarring - -	1622		1633
Tapsell, Henry	West Tarring - -	1599		d. 1604
Tapsell, Henry & Roger	- - -			1600
Tapsell, Roger and Wakefield, Thomas	- - -	1614		1621
Taylor, Robert	St. Neot's ; succeeded Edward Arnold	1807		1816
Taylor, Robert, & Sons	St. Neot's ; removed to Oxford, 1821. D. 104	1820		1826
Taylor, John	Devon & Cornwall ; Oxford, 1835 ; Loughboro', 1840 ; in partnership later with his son John T.	1825		1843
Taylor, John & Co.	Loughborough. D. 163, 165-170	1832		1850
Taylor, William, son of John	Loughborough ; trades under name of J. Taylor & Co.			1893
Taylor, William & Son	Loughborough, 1839 -	1839		1846
Taylor, William	Oxford - -			1595
Taylor, William, brother to John	Oxford - -	1821		d. 1854

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Taylor, Samuel				
Taylor, William & John	Oxford & Loughboro' -	1825		1839
Taylor&Symondson (Briant's late foreman	Oxford, London, Loughboro'			1839
Tenand, John	York - - -		1508	d. 1516
Thornton, John	Sudbury - -	1712		1720
Thwaites, William	York - -			d. 1512
Tompion, Thomas	- - -			1671
Tonne, John	Sussex. C. 67-70 ; K. pl. ii. 1, 3; Sx. pl. i. 1, 2, 3, ii 2	1522		1540
Tonne, Stephen	Bury St. Edmunds, moved from Sussex; succeeded by Thomas Draper. C. 67-70 74-5	1544		d. 1588
Tooke, Edward	- -			1670
Topsell, Henry	-	1585		
Topsell, Roger	- -	1585		
Touthorpe, William de	York - - -		1308	
Tozier, Clement	Salisbury - -	1680		1717
Tozier, William	Salisbury - -	1721		1731
Tozier, John	Salisbury -			1724
Trevor, Valentine	- - -			1592
Tunnoc, Richard	York ; M.P. 1327 -		1320	1327
Tynny, John, ? John Tonne	- - -	1511		
Underhill, William	London. Gl. 41-43, 47-9 ; L. 11, 18-19 ; C. 25, 29, 36	1385		1408
Underhill, John	London - -			1615
Wakefield, Thomas	Chichester - -	1614		1621
Wakefield, Thomas and Eldridge, Brian	- - -			1628
Wakefield, William	Used a number of initials -			1632
Wakefield, Anthony	Itinerant - -	1594		1605
Walgrave, John	London; foreman to William Dawe. H. 19; B. 15; S. 87; L. 11-12, 14, 31 ; N. 16, 39-40; C. 25-7; K. 2, 6, 10, 13-16 ; Sx. 16, 19	1418		1440
Walker & Hilton	Wath - -	1784		1794
Walker & Ludlum	- - -			17...

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Wallis, John	Salisbury - -	1580		1636
Warner, John	London - -	1763		1789
Warner, John & Thomas	London - -	1763		1782
Warner, John & Sons	London - -	1799		1877
Warner, Robert	London - -			1893
Warner, Tomson	London - -			
Warren, John	Cambridge - -	1607		d. 1627
Watson, John	York - - -			
Watts, William	Beds. L. 98-103 - -	1589		?d.1590
Watts, Francis, son of Hugh	Beds ; succeeded or absorbed Newcombe's business ; used Brasyer's stamps. L 90-103 ; B. 39-41 ; D. 69, 158-9 ; R. 13, 16, 17, 37, 38	1564		d. 1600
Watts, Hugh	? Originally at Norwich foundry	1563		1618
Watts, Hugh, son of Francis	Portion of stamps passed to the Nottingham foundry. B. 3, 16, 17, 37-9 ; fig. 39 never appears after his death	1600	1611	d. 1643
Watts, Francis	- - -		1636	
Watts, Eyer & Arnold	- - -			
Waylett, John	London and itinerant -	1706		1730
Waylett, John & Thornton, John	Sudbury - -			1712
Wells, William	Reading - -			1565
Wells, Robert	Aldbourne ; succeeded the Corrs	1750		1793
Wells, Robert & James	Aldbourne - -			1793
Wells, James	Aldbourne - -	1800		1826
Westcote	Bristol - -			1.23
Westminster, Edward	- - -			1251
Weston, Peter de	London ; lettering passed to William Revel. L. 59 ; S. pl. vi. ; K. 2	1328		d. 1347
Weston, Thomas de, cousin of Peter	London - -			d. 1349
White, John	Reading. N. 41 - -	1515		1527
White, John & Sanders, John	Reading - -			1539
Whitehead, James	York ? - -			1730
Whitmore, William	Managed for Hodson 1653 -	1653		1654

		Earliest Date.	Free.	Latest Date or Death.
Wightman, William	London	1682	1686	1699
Wightman, Phillip	London. D. 1, 2	1694		1702
Wilkinson, Humphrey	Lincoln. L. 7 ; F. 71	1689		1718
Wilnor, John	Bordern ; foundry opened 1618	1618		d. 1640
Wilnor, Henry	Bordern ; foundry closed at his death	1614		d. 1614
Wimbis, Walter de	London ; did not use same stamps as the other Wimbis. S. pl. iv. ; R. 4 ; C. 3 ; Sx. 1 ; L. 34, 117 ; D. 113	1325		
Wimbis, Ralph, or Richard de	London ; lettering passed to Robert Rider, stamps passed to William Schep and William Revel. S. pl. ii., iii., vij. 19 ; L. 59, 105	1290		1315
Wimbis, Michael	London. S. pl. i.	1297		1310
Wiseman, Robert	Dv. 91			1611
Wood, John	London and Sussex	1695		1699
Wood, Thomas	London			
Wood, C. N.	Leeds			
Woodward, William L.	London. L. 11 ; N. 40 ; C. 27 ; K. 2, 6, 10, 11, 12 ; Sx. 16	1395		1420
Wright, Laurence	London. K. 34, 39	1586		1587
Wright, Edmund	Carlisle			1600
Wroth, Thomas	Dv. 96	1691		1774
Wye, John	Tewkesbury			1455
Yare, William	Reading ; succeeded his father-in-law Joseph Cooper 1610 ; passed to Thomas Bartlett ; Sx. 27-8	1610		1619
York, John de	York ; L. 110, 112, 136 ; C. 4, 6, 12-18	1327		1360

NOTES.

Key to Stamps marked in the preceding List.

B. = The Church Bells of Bedfordshire, by Thos. North, F.S.A., 4to., London, 1883.

C. = The Church Bells of Cambridgeshire, by J. J. Raven, D.D., 8vo., Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1882.

Cl. = The Church Bells of Cornwall, by E. H. W. Dunkin.

D. = The Church Bells of Derbyshire, in first series of *Reliquary*.

Dv. = The Church Bells of Devonshire, by H. T. Ellacombe; also Bells of the Church, a supplement of the above, 4to., Exeter, 1872.

E. = The Church Bells of Essex, by Rev. C. Deeds.

F. = The Church Bells, by Rev. J. T. Fowler (plates belonging to).

Gl. = The Church Bells of Gloucestershire, by H. T. Ellacombe, 4to., London, 1881.

H. = The Church Bells of Hertfordshire, by Thos. North and J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, 4to., London, 1886.

K. = The Church Bells of Kent, by J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, 4to., London.

L. = The Church Bells of Lincolnshire, by Thos. North, F.S.A., 4to., Leicester, 1882.

Lc. = The Church Bells of Leicestershire, by Thos. North, F.S.A., 4to., Leicester.

Ls. = An Account of Church Bells, by Rev. W. Lukis, 8vo., Oxford, 1857.

N. = The Church Bells of Northamptonshire, by Thos. North, F.S.A., 4to., Leicester, 1878.

R. = The Church Bells of Rutland, by Thos. North, F.S.A., 4to., Leicester, 1880.

S. = Surrey Bells and London Bellfounders, by J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, 4to., London, 1884.

Sf. = The Church Bells of Staffordshire, by C. Lynam, 4to., 1889.

Sk. = The Church Bells of Suffolk, by J. J. Raven, D.D.

St. = The Church Bells of Somersetshire, by H. T. Ellacombe, 4to., London, 1881.

Sx. = The Church Bells of Sussex, by A. D. Tyssen, 8vo., Lewes, 1864.

W. = The Church Bells of Wiltshire, by Rev. W. C. Lukis, F.S.A.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 1st, 1893.

James Hilton, F.S.A., in the Chair.

The Rev. J. J. Raven, D.D., F.S.A., read a paper on "The Relation of Camboricum to other Roman Stations," Dr. Raven first pointed out that the orthography of this name had suffered much through the errors of a transcriber, and that the later form *Camboritum* appears only in an early sixteenth century copy of two MSS. of Antonine's Itinerary, of which the originals have not been discovered. He advocated strongly the received opinion of the identity of *Camboricum* with Cambridge, suggesting that "boric" was equivalent with the familiar and interchangeable "brig" and "briv," and quoting the late Dr. Guest's view that the name had thus remained substantially unchanged. He then referred to discoveries made in 1823, at the time of the erection of the present iron bridge over the Cam, and compared with the bent timber laid under the stone, a somewhat similar construction found by the late Mr. Harrod at Burgh Castle.

Then he remarked on the methods used by the censors, Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus in road-making in and near Rome, B.C. 174, on the difficulty of carrying out such works in early colonization, the probable use of tolerable trackways and zig-zags; and emphasised the importance of early fords in determining the course of a Roman road.

Proceeding with the detail of Iter. V., in which *Camboricum* occurs, he dealt at large with the station *Villa Faustini*, commenting on the fact that there are only nine other instances of stations bearing the name of *Villa* in all the itineraries, seven of those being in North Africa. He described Martial's *Villa Faustini*, near Baiæ, giving a metrical version of that poet's epigram on Faustinus's villa, and suggesting that some visitor to Britain in a favourable season, struck by the jolly cheer of this East Anglian station, had named the place after that immortalised by Martial, and that the name adhered to it.

By measurement he identified Stoke Ash with *Villa Faustini*, with the reminder that Lapie had placed the station at Little Thornham, hard by, and exhibited pieces of Arretine ware and a coin of Crispus, Constantine's eldest son, a pupil of Lactantius, found on the spot.

Janus, the next station, he believed to be Ixworth, and regarded the coach road by Bury and Newmarket to be identical with Iter. V.

From Newmarket he traced it to Worstead Lodge, and through Cambridge and Godmanchester (*Durolipons*) to a most important junction called *Venones*, known now as High Cross and Cleycester, whence the roads branch off to Lincoln and Chester.

In conclusion, he said that his object would be attained by vindicating the orthography of *Camboricum* marking the *Via Devana* as a late invention, and drawing especial attention to Stoke Ash and High Cross.

Mr. J. L. André read a paper on "St. John the Baptist in Art, Legend, and Ritual." Mr. André's paper is printed at p. 1, vol. L.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. Dr. Raven.—Maps, plans and drawings of various Roman remains in Suffolk.

March 1st, 1893.

T. H. Baylis, Q.C., in the Chair.

Mr. Emanuel Green, F.S.A., read a paper on "Some Local Chap Books," giving an exhaustive history of this curious kind of literature and the mode in which it was circulated throughout the country. Mr. Green exhibited a large number of pamphlets and broadsides in illustration of his paper.

Mr. Mill Stephenson exhibited and read a short account of a large and richly worked wrought-iron lock from Beddington Park, Surrey. This lock, now the property of the Committee of the Female Orphan Asylum of Beddington, once formed part of the interior fittings of the great hall of the Carew family. It dates about the last quarter of the fifteenth century, having the arms of Henry VII. with the greyhound and dragon as supporters. It is somewhat uncertain as to whether it is of English or foreign manufacture, but Mr. St. John Hope was inclined to think it of foreign workmanship.

April 12th, 1893.

Emanuel Green, F.S.A., in the Chair.

Rear-Admiral Tremlett exhibited and presented plans of a dolmen at Locmariaquer, cleared out and restored last Autumn by M. Mahé and himself. The plan of the dolmen is exceptional, there being only one of the same class at Auray. It is nearly 100 feet in length, and some of the menhirs are sculptured.

Mr. J. L. André read a paper on "Symbolic Numbers and Geometrical Figures," in which he commented on the extensive use of emblematic numerals and signs in past ages, in literature, religion, superstition, and in the plans and details of buildings. Various instances of the employment of the mystic numbers three, seven, and twelve were noticed, and quotations from poets and other writers cited. Mr. André also exhibited various drawings and plans in illustration of his paper.

Messrs. Brown, Micklethwaite, and Green, took part in the discussion which followed.

May 3rd, 1893.

Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. Edward Peacock, F.S.A., exhibited a curious Venetian print, "An Allegory of Life," of late sixteenth or early seventeenth century work, engraved by Colandon, from a design attributed to Tintoret.

Mr. Peacock also contributed a paper "On the Dove." This paper will be printed in a future number.

June 7th, 1893.

Emanuel Green, F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. F. C. J. Spurell read a paper entitled "Further Remarks on the Nature and Use of Colour by the Ancient Egyptians." The colours exhibited had been collected by Dr. Flinders Petrie in his late excavations at Tel el Amarna, and were all of the eighteenth dynasty. They consisted of crude minerals – red, yellow, blue, green, and white; prepared pigments obtained from the yellow minerals—ochres and orpiment—with lampblack and gypsum. All the prepared reds of many varieties were the result of burning yellow ochres; the colour obtained by grinding these greatly exceeded in beauty the hæmatites similarly ground. The blue and green frits, though in greater variety and made with more precision, did not exceed in beauty those used in the sixteenth dynasty. Details of the processes employed in preparing the colours and the identification of the particular ochres yielding the best reds were deduced from critical examination of numerous specimens.

Messrs. Petrie, Baylis, and Somers Clarke took part in the discussion.

Mr. Somers Clarke, F.S.A., read a paper "On a visit to Deir el Abiad, Sohag, and Deir Mari Gergis, above Akhmin, Upper Egypt." Mr. Clarke exhibited plans, and drew attention to the discrepancies in all the published plans. A further communication was also promised by Mr. Clarke.

The Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1892.

Dr. *Cr.*

INCOME.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balances at Bankers		10 1 0	
,, In hand		4 1 3	14 12 3
,, Subscriptions—			
231 Annual Subscriptions of £1 1s. each		242 11 0	
5 Associate do. at 10s. 6d.		2 12 6	
Together received during the year		245 3 6	
8 Subscriptions paid in advance in 1891			
53 Do. in arrear at 31st December, 1892			
297 Total annual subscribers at 31st December			
Arrears as under paid in 1892			
for the year 1886, 1 subscription	1 1 0		
do. 1887, 1 do.	1 1 0		
do. 1888, 2 do.	2 2 0		
do. 1889, 1 do.	1 1 0		
do. 1890, 4 do.	4 4 0		
do. 1891, 19 do.	19 19 0	29 8 0	
Subscriptions paid in advance for 1893,			
2 Subscriptions	2 2 0		
1 ,, for 1894	1 1 0		
1 ,, ,, 1895	1 1 0	4 4 0	278 15 6
,, Entrance Fees			9 9 0
,, Sale of Publications, &c.			28 14 6
,, Balance of Cambridge Meeting			56 8 9
,, Special Donations for Illustration of Journal—			
Lewis, Professor Bunnell,		1 5 0	
Spurrell, F. C. J.		2 2 0	
Keyser, C. E.		2 10 0	5 17 0
,, Rent—			
Egypt Exploration Fund		14 0 0	
Society for Preserving Memorials of the Dead		1 1 0	15 1 4
,, Balance		73 2 3	
Less Petty Cash balance in hand		5 18 8	67 3 7
			£475 11 7

EXPENDITURE.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Publishing Account—		
Engraving, &c., for Journal	48 0 6	
Pollard, W. & Co., Printing Journal, including No. 193 Vol 49.	100 0 0	
Hartshorne, A., for Editing Journal to 31st Dec., 1892	50 0 0	198 0 6
,, House Expenses—		
Rent of Offices	113 8 0	
Secretary (1 year)	40 0 0	
Stationery, Books, Cases, &c.	4 6 1	
Accountant's Fees	3 3 0	
Printing Notices and Sundries	4 10 1	
Insurance	2 5 0	
Binding Journals	4 19 5	172 11 7
,, Petty Cash—		
Office Expenses, Attendant, Incidentals, &c.	40 17 10	
Postage Stamps and Delivery of Journal	57 10 7	
Stationery	2 19 7	
Printing	1 9 0	
Library Additions	1 10 0	
Carriage of Parcels	12 6	104 19 6
		£475 11 7

I hereby certify that I have prepared the above Cash Account for the year ended 31st December, 1892, and that the same agrees with the Cash and Bankers' Pass Books of the Institute. Further I have also examined the payments made during the period with the vouchers produced and find the same in order.

H. MILLS BRANFORD,
KIRBY & BRANFORD,
Chartered Accountants.

4, Broad Street Buildings, E.C. 14th June, 1893.

Examined and found correct,

J. MOTTRAM,
HENRY RICHARDS,
Honorary Auditors.

July 3rd, 1893.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE MARCH OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE THROUGH SOMERSET, WITH A NOTICE OF OTHER LOCAL EVENTS IN THE TIME OF KING JAMES II., A.D., 1688. By EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A. Printed for the Author, London, 1892.

Mr. Green was lucky enough to find in the Bodleian library certain manuscripts and letters enabling him to form a connected tale of events in the West, at the time of the landing of William of Orange. The documents are printed in full and are a great acquisition to our knowledge of that time as well as forming valuable material for the future local historian. There is an address from Chard marking a curious episode in local history for "The portreeve, burgesses, etc. being weary with waiting to see the address from the Corporation of Mayor and Justice etc.," presume to present one on their own account. Mr. Green fully traces out the origin of this local quarrel. The skirmish at Wincanton seems to have been the only actual fighting during this celebrated march. There is a good index to the book.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHURCHES OF DENMARK. By Major ALFRED HEALES, F.S.A. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Co., London, 1892.

Major Heales, in a copiously illustrated work, has brought to the notice of English antiquaries the merits of some of the larger churches of Denmark, as well as types of the smaller ones. Some of the ground plans are most extraordinary, especially that of Kallundborg, said to have been built about the year 1176 In the island of Bornholm are no fewer than four round churches, and a separate chapter is devoted to their description. The author also treats of the fittings and furniture, the fonts of stone and of bronze, and of the monumental slabs, brasses, and tombs.

INDEX ARMORIAL TO AN EMBLAZONED MANUSCRIPT OF THE SURNAME OF FRENCH, &c., both British and Foreign. By A. B. WELD FRENCH. Privately printed, Boston, U.S.A., 1892.

A list of the armorial bearings of the family of French in all its various ways of spelling, and gathered from all sorts of sources, but unfortunately without any references to the authorities.

SELECT HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES. Translated and Edited by E. F. HENDERSON. George Bell and Sons, London, 1892. (Bohn's Antiquarian Library.)

This volume contains full and unabridged translations of various historical documents, ranging over nearly 900 years. The first part relates to England, and includes the "Dialogue concerning the Exchequer." The second part treats of the Holy Roman Empire, the third of the Church, and the fourth of the Church and State.

LONDON SIGNS AND INSCRIPTIONS. By PHILIP NORMAN, F.S.A., with an introduction by HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A. Elliot Stock, London, 1893.

The second volume of the "Camden Library" is a charming book. Mr. Norman is thoroughly at home in all the out-of-the-way nooks and corners of old London, both on the Middlesex and Surrey sides of the river. In this volume he has gathered together a mass of information on the old signs and inscriptions of London, now fast disappearing. Although a few get rebuilt into the modern houses, far more have been lost or broken up. Some few are now to be found in the Guildhall Museum. The concluding chapter deals with the history of two old city mansions now destroyed. The book is capitally illustrated, and provided with an efficient index.

THE ACHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES OF THE ISLE OF WIGHT FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. By PERCY G. STONE, fol., London.

The Isle of Wight is not rich in ecclesiastical architecture, but Mr. Stone has made the most of the material at hand. His measured drawings are excellent, containing not only the architectural details, but also monuments, brasses, slabs, hour-glasses, church plate, &c. The Cistercian Abbey of Quarr, excavated by Mr. Stone, is fully described, and a capital ground plan given. A very small portion of the buildings remain above ground, and the site is now occupied by a farmhouse. Turning to domestic architecture, the great number of small manor houses is remarkable. The details of all are fully set out in Mr. Stone's engravings. The most important military building in the Island is Carisbrooke Castle. The history of this fortification is traced from the Roman period down to its restoration in 1856. No less than fourteen plates are devoted to its illustration, besides a number of cuts in the text. Altogether the work is well planned and carried out, and it is a matter for congratulation that the illustration of the architectural remains in the island has fallen into such able hands as those of Mr. Stone.

A BOWER OF DELIGHTS; being interwoven Verse and Prose from the works of NICHOLAS BRETON: the weaver ALEXANDER B. GROSART. Elliot Stock, London, 1893.

The third volume of the Elizabethan series, published by Mr. Stock, and in this case "woven" together by Mr. Grosart, consists of a selection of verse and prose from the writings of Nicholas Breton. In the introduction is given a short account of Breton's life, abridged from Mr. Grosart's larger work, published a few years ago. It is a dainty little volume, printed on good paper with rough uncut edges.

NOTES AND QUERIES ON ANTHROPOLOGY. Edited for the Council of the Anthropological Institute by J. G. GARSON, M.D., and C. H. READ, F.S A. Second edition, London, 1892.

A second edition of this excellent little work containing notes and queries on every subject connected with anthropology and ethnography. The first section has, owing to the great advance made in the study of Anthropology, been entirely recast and rewritten. The second part has been revised, and the arrangement of the sections altered with a view of bringing into greater prominence the queries which present the least difficulty to those whose special knowledge may be slight.

BIB. INT. TEMPLI

Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1893.

ENGLISH ACADEMICAL COSTUME (MEDIÆVAL).

By PROFESSOR E. C. CLARK, LL.D., F.S.A.

Continued from page, 149.

Contemporary representations.—Under this head, even more than under that of documentary evidence, our information has to be drawn, for the mediæval period, from very incidental and scattered sources. I should be glad if my words may lead to the accumulation elsewhere or the communication to myself of any satisfactorily dated contemporary representations of early academical costume.

Most acceptable would be pictures of the delivery of lectures, the keeping of academical exercises, or the conferring of degrees. Miniatures in the early MS. records of old University towns are the likeliest source of this kind of information. Thus, I have found interesting detached costumes depicted in documents belonging to the splendid Archives of Bologna, though not the connected scenes of which I was in search. Elsewhere, such passages as that in which Dante (Paradiso 24) compares himself to a *Baciliere* in disputation with a *Maestro* may be tried. I hoped, on this, to find some picture in early illustrated MS. or printed editions; but I have not been successful, nor have I in pictures of the worthies to whom Dante is introduced in the tenth canto.

Other sources would be, such standing subjects as our Lord disputing with the Doctors; the two Latin Doctors who sometimes appear as Academics—SS. Jerome and Augustine: S. Luke often, and SS. Cosmas and Damianus generally, represented in the dress of Doctor of Medicine, etc.

In these cases the *early* pictures are of most value, not only from date but from fidelity. In the work of the renaissance painters, such as the Christ among the Doctors —I think of Luini—recently published by the Arundel

Society, the costumes are mainly fanciful. The later German painters, however, are in this respect rather to be trusted than the Italians.

The more value is to be placed on our few trustworthy paintings or illuminations, because the subject of colour is more difficult than that of form, from the indistinctive character, in the former respect, of most of our own monuments. Church *screens* are therefore especially worthy of notice (where they have escaped the "godly trooper" of the later Cromwell, or the omnivorous grantee of the earlier) so far as they bear on our subject. Unluckily the Doctors of the Church are usually represented on them simply as Ecclesiastics, and they shew very few representations of Academics proper. A brass seldom does more than indicate *fur*, and the painting on early stone effigies has too often disappeared or been covered by fancy modern colours. My contemporary illustrations consist mainly of the last two classes of monuments, as represented in England. What foreign examples have come under my notice will be mentioned incidentally.

English Monuments.--In treating of these I shall follow the order given in an ordinance of Archbishop Chicheley (1417). Doctores Sacrae Theologiae, Decretorum, Legum et in Medicinis, Licentiati in eisdem Facultatibus, Baccalaurei que in Sacra Theologia, . . . Magistri in Artibus . . Baccalaurei in Decretis . . Baccalaurei in Jure Civili . . . Scolares Juris Canonici.

The object of the ordinance is the regulation of promotion to Benefices; provision being made for a certain amount of regular public teaching having been performed, or formally dispensed with, in the case of the Bachelors and Masters, and attended in the case of the Scholars. The study of Civil Law is mentioned as ancillary to that of Canon, and a final provision is made for Baccalaurei in Artibus by an ordinance of four years later. The precedency of Master of Arts over Bachelor in Decrees, about which there may have been some question, was recognised at Oxford by a memorandum of 1370 in the Chancellor's and Proctor's Books.

Doctor Sacrae Theologiae. Sacrae Theologiae Professor. Magister in Theologia.—The earliest monument that I can find is the brass of John Hotham (d. 1361) at

Chinnor, Oxfordshire. He is styled in this inscription, Magister in Theologia, but S.T.P. by Wood, in his account of Queen's College, of which Hotham was Provost from 1343 to 1361. Apparently Master, Professor, and Doctor were then, at least in Theology, convertible terms. The dress is—Cassock, I think Surplice, Tippet with Almuce collar, but not the Almuce tails, and pointed *pileus*.

The same degree is probably indicated in the dress of "Magister" John Strete of Upper Hardres, Kent (1405). He is represented as wearing Cassock, Tippet, Hood and pointed *pileus*.

A small brass in St. Bene't's Church, Cambridge, has been satisfactorily proved to represent Robert Billingford (d. 1432), Doctor of Divinity, Master of Corpus, who was the last Vice-Chancellor to take the oath of obedience to the Bishop of Ely. He wears a Cassock, over that a *capa clausa*, and over that a Hood, but no Tippet. He has on his head the round *pileus*, with no point perceptible. The apparent *shading* in the Hood is merely a "key" or "tooth" for holding the white metal which once represented the fur lining of the Hood.

The fine brass of Thomas Hylle, S.T.P., in New College, Oxon (d. 1468), is a good instance. He wears Cassock, *capa clausa*, and pointed *pileus;* not a Hood, but a Tippet, apparently of white fur. Almost exactly similar is the brass in a North Chapel of King's, Cambridge, of Robert Toun, Doctor in Theologia (d. 1496). He wears *capa clausa*, Tippet shewing lines for white metal to represent fur, and pointed *pileus*.

On the other hand the stone effigy of John Botewryth, S.T.P., Master of Corpus Christi, Cambridge (d. 1474), at Swaffham, Norfolk, shews Cassock, surmounted by a long sleeved dress, Tippet (but no Hood), and *pileus*. The last has no perceptible point, but it may well have disappeared in the rough handling which the figure has undergone to fit it into a smaller niche than its original one. The sleeved dress is divided down to the waist, and is in all probability an example of the Gown allowed, with a *pallium* (? Tippet), as an alternative for the Cope in the case of a Non-Regent (above p. 101).

The stone figure over the gateway of Queen's College, Cambridge, shews a dress which, from the position of the hands, resembles a *capa clausa*, but is crimped like a Surplice, surmounted by a Tippet. There is a tradition that this represents Andrew Dokett, the first President, styled S.T.P. in the Cambridge "Graduati" (ed. 1823), but who was possibly only M.A., at least at the time when the gate seems to have been built (1484). It is, however, more probable, as I am informed by Dr. Campion, the present President, that this was a figure of S. Bernard, one of the patron saints of the College. The head of the figure is nineteenth century work, of severely Evangelical type. At the time of its addition (1876), it is possible that the *dress* may have undergone some slight alteration. A sleeveless Surplice is, to say the least, unusual.

Such monuments as the fine brass of Henry Sever, S.T.P., Warden of Merton (d. 1471) do not help us. This is merely the dress of a dignified ecclesiastic—Almuce, open Cope with Orphreys, and, as often with the open Cope, no *pileus*.

I have added here, though it probably falls beyond the period now under consideration, the interesting (undated) brass of John Yslyngtone, S.T.P., from Clay-next-the-Sea, Norfolk, partly because that Church was recently visited by the Institute, partly because it affords a good and comparatively early example of a rather difficult article of clerical apparel. The guide-books and directories make the date of this brass 1429, apparently identifying its subject with a person who was Vicar of Islington (Norfolk) from 1393 to that year. The later date of 1520 given, I know not on what authority, by Haines, is much more likely. The dress I take to be a Cassock with fur edging down the front. The Doctor's Hat is a round *birretum* not shewing a point. The Priest's Chalice, with wafer, which the figure holds, is a beautiful piece of execution. But the remarkable feature is the Scarf, thrown over the shoulders and fastened by a rosette to the front of the left one.

A very strange brass of "an ecclesiastic" from North Creak, Norfolk, dated by Haines about 1500, is somewhat in favour of his view that the Scarf, or its predecessor, represented both Tippet *and* Hood. Were it not for a poke or tail appearing at the left of this figure, I should take the garb of the shoulders to be a very early instance of the *squared* Hood, on which I shall have to speak hereafter. As it is, the upper dress appears to be a Tippet *buttoned* across the chest, with a Hood attached behind.

This button corresponds to the *rosette* by which the Scarf, or whatever it is, in Yslyngtone's brass, is fastened on one shoulder and then thrown round the neck. Indeed, of this form we have earlier traces in Chandler's drawing of New College, where two figures, whom I rather take to be Chaplains, wear exactly Yslyngtone's Scarf, over what seems to be a Cassock (see below, p. 208).

The brass of Sir Richard Bethell in Shorwell, Isle of Wight (d. 1520) resembles that of Yslyngtone in respect of Scarf. That of Sir Leonard Hurst, Denham, Bucks (d. 1560) shews exactly our present Scarf over the Surplice. If Fuller's strange statement is true, that such Priests as have "Sir" before their name were *not* Graduates, these cases seem to show that the Scarf no longer stood for the academical Hood or Tippet. In fact, there certainly are instances in Elizabeth's reign where the Scarf appears to have been regarded simply as a substitute for the Stole. These, however, fall outside both of my subject and period.

Doctor Decretorum, i.e., *Juris Canonici.*—William Hautryve, styled of the above Degree (d. 1441), wears, in his brass at New College, Oxon., a dress the same as that of Thomas Hylle (above, p. 185), except that his Tippet is not all fur, but fur upon some darker coloured material.

There is a fine brass at St. Cross, Winchester, representing Richard Hayward, Master of the Hospital and Decretorum Doctor, who died 1493. He wears a Cassock, possibly with furred edge, a Surplice, over both an Almuce, and on his head the pointed *pileus.* The Almuce is probably due to the Mastership of the Hospital.

Doctor Legum, or *Juris Civilis Professor.*—Of the highest Degree in Civil or Roman Law we have a highly probable represention in a brass at St. John's College, Cambridge. In the Choir of the old Chapel was a slab, still remaining on the site, and showing the matrix of the brass, which is itself now fixed to the wall of a room under the organ chamber in the new Chapel. The arms of Zouch on this brass have led to the tradition that it commemorates Eudo de la Zouch, who was Chancellor of the University at intervals from 1379 to 1412, who held the degree of Legum Doctor, and who was supposed to have been buried in the Chapel of the earlier Hospital of St. John. The head of the brass is lost, but the matrix shows it to have worn the pointed *pileus*. The dress is a Cassock, a short Gown or Tabard over it, with loose sleeves which have originally shown white metal (for fur) underneath, a Tippet and a Hood. It is exactly the same, with the exception of the *pileus*, as I shall have to notice presently for Master of Arts.

The earliest certain representation, however, that I can find of a Doctor of Civil Law is the brass of John Lowthe, New College, Oxon. (d. 1427), styled Juris Civilis Professor, which, no doubt, on the analogy of S.T.P., means Doctor, and probably, I think, Doctor Regent (above, p. 79). This remarkable figure has the pointed *pileus*, apparently of fur, and a fur Hood over a Tippet bordered with fur. The lower dress I should have unhesitatingly called a *capa manicata*, with two openings for the hands, showing the sleeves of a Cassock beneath, but for two extraordinary appendages of which I have not yet found a perfectly satisfactory explanation. Haines calls them Liripipes, or streamers, hanging from behind the Tippet. Mr. Hope, with more probability so far as the things themselves are concerned, consider them to be the ends of absurdly elongated sleeves, like those on our present M.A.'s and Doctor's black Gown, not as yet sewn up at the ends, but, of course, leaving a hole higher up for the arm to come through. It may also be remembered that these pendants were probably called *Liripipia*, as well as the long tail of the Hood (above pp. 85, 86). As the main dress, I am inclined to think that in these more secular Degrees we find a new sort of Gown beginning to supersede the Cope or Tabard as a lecturing habit, but still for some time closed in front and having two slits for the arms to pass through. The difference lies in the sham sleeves, which should be, I think, connected with these slits, and are wrongly represented in Lowthe's brass as coming from the back of the figure. Unless, what is improbable, these appendages have been added to the brass in later times, this is an early instance of the sham sleeve of modern academical costume. Among ordinary civilians we are told that the same thing begins to appear in the fourteenth century, though the first instances to which I can refer are the illustrations to Froissart, dating from between 1460 and 1480. The earliest cases quoted by Haines are a sleeve of Chr. Elcock, draper, in St. Mary Magdalene's, Canterbury (1492), and the effigy of Thos. Potter, Westerham, Kent (1531). See too, the brass of W. Goche, Rector of Barningham, Suffolk, also LL.D. (1499), and that of Thos. Noke, Shottesbrooke, Berks (1567).

On a brass in the antechapel of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, there are, I think, similar sham sleeves, on a dress which I take to be the Graduate's Gown. The person represented is not a Doctor, but who he is or of what Degree I cannot tell. Haines calls him "a Priest c. 1530." I should put him *late*, on account of the mode in which the hair is represented. For a similar development in the case of the Doctor, we may compare the brass of Bryan Roos, LL.D. (1529), at Childrey, Berks, who wears, says Haines, "the ordinary civilian's Gown, with Hood, Cape (*i.e.*, Tippet), and professorial Cap." Here we seem to have the distant ancestor of our present Doctor's black Gown with its extravagant sleeves and attached Tippet.

The sham sleeves did not, it would seem, belong, even from the first, especially to the *lay* branch of Law. I found them on the monument of a Doctor in Decretalibus in the cloister of S. Paolo Fuori Mura at Rome. In other respects the dress was:—Scull cap with point, Cassock, Almuce, and *capa manicata*. But it will be seen, from the last named item, that the Faculty of Decrees was treated rather more as *secular* abroad than it was with us. The individual was also a Canon, which probably accounts for his Almuce. I could not make out either name or date, but should guess the latter, from the style of work to be not much earlier than the sixteenth century.

I ought, perhaps, here to mention the effigy of John Blythe, Warden of King's Hall, Cambridge, 1488-1498, and Bishop of Salisbury, 1493-1499. The monument has been moved in Salisbury Cathedral from the back of the High Altar, where the Bishop used to lie north and south (hence called "Bishop Overthwart"), to the North Transept. Mr. Hope gives me the following account of his costume:— Red Cassock, short crimped Rochet, short crimped Surplice with long sleeves, gray Amess (Almuce), black Cope with ample red Hood, Mitre and Crozier. I find the Degree of this Prelate stated, though I think on no very definite authority, as LL.D., but the monumental representation savours more of the Bishop than the Doctor.

Cambridge first Law School.—There is a slight but interesting record as to the Hat and Chair of a Professor or Doctor of Law in our own University for the middle of the fifteenth century. The late Law School, now absorbed in the University Library, was, apparently, in its origin a School for Civil Law, but not the first. An older building (*Scolae legum* or *legis civilis*) seems to have existed as early as 1353: in fact it is stated, in a petition of 1438, that University buildings had existed from time immemorial in Theology, Civil, and Common Law. That appropriated to Civil Law, which appears from the Proctor's accounts to have been repaired in 1457, in all probability occupied the east end—that containing the doorway—of the late Law School. The principal evidence for this identity of site is found in a very quaint plan connected with a conveyance by Corpus Christi College to the University, dated 1459—a conveyance of part of the site of the late Law School. This plan, by way of better identifying the position of the older School of Civil Law, bears a rough drawing of a Doctor, or, at any rate, a Lecturer, of the period, in his Hat and Chair. It is a curious fact that during the recent alterations made, on the appropriation of the Law School to the Library, a semi-circular recess was discovered in the wall opposite the entrance, just where the Chair, as depicted in this plan, would have stood. I do not claim for the work then disclosed that it was of the fifteenth century, but I think it may have followed the lines of a recess for the Doctor's Chair in the same wall, when that wall belonged to the original Civil Law School. The Corpus plan is engraved in Willis and Clark's Architectural History, from a copy made by Professor Willis, the original being now in the possession of Corpus. The Doctor's Hat is a rather higher and more cylindrical Cap than those hitherto cited, with a tuft in the middle. The Chair is interesting as one of the traditional *insignia*.

Doctor utriusque juris. The only instance at present to hand, and that a questionable one, is the brass in Queen's College, Oxon, attributed to Robert Langton, about 1515 or 1518. The identification and date are due to an inscription, now lost, quoted by Wood. In one of the Chapel windows is, or was, a figure of Langton in his Doctor's habit, with an inscription styling him Doctor utriusque juris. The brass tells us little, being, beyond the pointed *pileus*, merely that of a distinguished ecclesiastic—Cassock, Surplice, rich Almuce, and open Cope.

Medicinae Doctor. There is a fine brass in the chancel of Banwell, Somerset, to John Martok (d. 1503). From an inscription on the brass lectern of Merton, Oxon, it has been suggested that this person belonged to that College. One of the words in the (English) inscription on the monument seems to be "physician," but is not very clear. The dress is that of an ecclesiastic of distinction—Cassock, Surplice, Almuce, and rich open Cope. There is no *pileus*, and I do not think this can be relied on as the representation of a Doctor of Medicine.

I regret that I cannot exhibit to you Dr. John Shorn, gentleman born, who conjured the devil into a boot, from the rood screen of Cawston Church, Norfolk. Whatever was the age of this interesting person, or the meaning of his exploit, the figure, of course, refers to the costume of the date of the screen, about the end of the fifteenth century. As far as I can rely on my notes, the Cap was black, of the late form worn by Cranmer and Latimer, of which I shall speak hereafter; the dress most nearly resembled a red Cope, closed in front, with a red Tippet over it. Over this last, again, there was something like a *green* Hood, and *green* (? Cassock) sleeves were shewn through armholes in the Cope. Whether this indicates any connection of green with the Faculty of Medicine I do not know. In a somewhat similar costume of St. Ambrose —who was certainly not an M.D.—depicted on the screen of Potter Heigham, of the same date and in the same county, green *cuffs* have been reported to me by the Vicar, with pendants or sham sleeves of red. I have, however, found a green Cassock and a green *capa manicata* in representations of S.S. Cosmas and Damianus, by Umbrian painters of the late fifteenth century, in the

Pinacoteca Vannucci at Perugia. In these figures, however, what I have called the *capa manicata* is *open* in front, and has, at least in one of the two cases, sleeves attached, thus becoming almost identical with the ordinary gown. Both wear the pork-pie hat, of which I shall speak directly, black in colour.

There is a certain amount of fanciful variety in these medical costumes, which looks as if the canon was not quite rigidly fixed in that Faculty, and the painters consequently allowed themselves rather a free hand. The two medical Saints above-mentioned appear in the Accademia at Florence with blue Cassock, purple *capa manicata* lined with white, and red Tam-o'-Shanter Hat. The last-named shape occurs not infrequently for lay Doctors in later times. The picture referred to is, I think, by Pesellino, of about the middle of the fifteenth century.

A figure of St. Ambrose at Potter Heigham, has been mentioned above. I have not seen it, but to judge from the Vicar's description, it shews Surplice, red *capa manicata* with sham sleeves (also red) pendant from the armholes, and green cuffs or Cassock sleeves appearing through them ; the head-dress indistinct, but probably not unlike Shorn's. Over the Cope is worn a red Tippet with white fur border, the same material being also used for trimming to the cuffs of the sleeves and to the bottom of the Cope. Here as, I am told, at Fritton, St. Ambrose is represented in the character of Doctor instead of Bishop. To the latter category belongs his figure in a late fourteenth century sculpture, preserved at Ripon Minster, to which I merely refer in order to save others trouble. It has simply Alb, with girdle, ecclesiastical Cope, and Mitre. The *whip* identifies the saint.

I may here mention one or two other foreign instances of Doctor's costume, mainly Italian. There is a fresco in the upper church of the Franciscan Monastery at Assisi, representing St. Francis curing a sick man who has been given over by his professional attendants. It is generally attributed to Giotto, and probably dated from about the beginning of the fourteenth century—1308 according to Mrs. Jameson. In this picture the principal medical man wears a brimless Hat—I think *red*—in the shape of a truncated cone. This may be fairly supposed the head dress, for that period, of an M.D., whose hat I have remarked to be, in spite of the Tam-o'-Shanters just mentioned, generally a *tall* one. A subordinate *medico* in the same scene has a lower head dress, often repeated on the monuments which I have examined—a close round cap, with a sort of scollop in front, no plume or tassel, but a slightly pointed top. It varies in resemblance between a man's travelling cap and the " pork-pie hat," which Mr. Leech's young ladies used to wear thirty years ago. It is, originally, I think, merely a secular head-dress of the scholar as literary man, not exactly the *pileolus* of the cleric, but a sort of turban, with the last fold either hanging down behind, as in this figure of Giotto's, or brought over in front, sometimes simply tucked in, sometimes forming the scollop above-mentioned. Something more distinguished, either in the way of height or width, tuft or plume, is necessary to mark the Doctor's Hat.

The tomb of Bishop Guido Tarlati (d. 1327) in the Cathedral of Arezzo is attributed by Vasari, in design, to Giotto, and was executed by Sienese artists in 1330. The Bishop, who, by the way, was himself a distinguished jurist, is represented in the act of crowning the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria at St. Ambrose's, in Milan, " in the presence," says Agincourt, " of the clergy and principal persons of the Court." These persons, six in number, are clearly *not* the Electors, but seem to be ecclesiastical or quasi ecclesiastical. I mention them mainly on account of their cylindrical Hat, which, if correctly represented in Agincourt's engraving, bears on the one hand a clear resemblance to the head dress, described below, of Giovanni d'Andrea, and on the other hand shews rudiments of the cusps which developed into the square form of later times.

In a Vatican MS. of Canon Law, dating from the fourteenth century, is a picture figured by Agincourt in which we find, besides Pope, Bishops, Monks, etc., two figures in Ermine Tippet, over what seems to be the *capa manicata.* One of them wears exactly the pork-pie Hat of modern times with a conical crown ; the other a scull-cap with a sort of ribbing and a tuft. These are probably Doctors ; whether they can be assorted to the two Faculties of Law I do not know.

At Bologna there are many early representations of academical costume which can be dated with considerable certainty. Professor Malagola, in his Monagrafie sullo studio Bolognese (1888), refers to a pictorial record of the foundation of the Chiesa della Pace in 1322, where all the persons represented wear a '*longior vestis inferior*" and over it a "*Cappa, Tabardum vel Gabanum*," both, apparently, close at the sides and laced up in front. In a miniature in the Archivio (from a book of Bulls 1427) all the jurists wear a *capa manicata*, or, perhaps, rather Cassock, mostly of red; but, while the Students or lower Graduates have the ordinary literary man's turban cap with the last fold falling rather on one side, the Doctors wear a red scull Cap with a sort of black "wide awake" over it, in shape rather like a Cardinal's Hat without strings. This is probably the first original of *our* Civil Doctor's Hat, which belongs to a later period than that treated in the present paper. Our Scarf, also, may, perhaps, be traced in some degree to a non-descript Almuce or Hood, much elongated and narrowed, which appears in the same MS. There are here, however, *later* documents coupled with that of the above date (1427). To one of these belongs the representation of what I gathered to be a Doctor utriusque juris, wearing a *silk* Hood with a falling streamer in front, like the genuine *Scapulare*, and a tall *black* biretta. In the *Annali* and *Statuti di Nazione Tadesca* (1476) the "Scholars" generally wear a "*beretto*"—apparently a plain round cap—a red under dress trimmed at the sleeves and bottom with miniver, and a *cappa* or *tabardum* which Malagola describes as a "sort of *planeta*" with a fur hood. I give his words, but I have not a note from personal inspection of the last two miniatures, which I saw but only remember imperfectly. The "sort of *planeta*" indicates a *poncho*-shaped dress with one hole for the neck and no others. "Scholar" is used somewhat generally in these accounts, so as in fact to include not simply students, indeed not so much students, as the higher and lower classes of teachers. On the whole I think I can recognize, at least for the latter, the Cassock, the *capa clausa* and *manicata*, the Tippet or Almuce growing into a Scarf, and a special Hat for the higher class. The Monuments, ranging from 1318 to 1469, which are now preserved in the *Museo civico*, give us rather more definite particulars as to *form* but no colour. Almost all are to Doctors of Canon Law, Civil Law, both, or Medicine. Giovanni da Legnano (d. 1383) who was certainly dignified with *some* title in both Laws, though not on his monument styled Doctor, wears a Cap with a tail or Liripip, as does also a Doctor of Medicine, of whom there are very few. The *capa manicata*, the Tippet, and the tufted Doctor's Cap or Hat are the usual wear for both Canonists and Civilians, though one of the former has the *capa clausa*. Not only the Cassock but the Surplice or Rochet, the true Almuce, and even the Maniple, occasionally appear—no doubt in cases where the ecclesiastical character predominated—and this in all the Faculties, Medicine as well as Civil and Canon Law.

On the Italian fifteenth century pictures of Saints which shew something like Doctor's costume I can base but few conclusions. The red colour of the cloth and the white ermine may be sometimes accounted for by the splendid pictorial opportunities which they afford. There is, besides, or perhaps connected with this motive, the tendency to represent S. Jerome in particular as a Cardinal. The *capa clausa* is, no doubt, in general more ecclesiastical than the *capa manicata*, but I find the abovenamed Saint wearing the former in a picture of Spagna, the latter in one of Pinturicchio, both at Perugia. In the same Pinacoteca, Eusebio di San Giorgio represents St. Anthony with a *black capa clausa*. In the fine portraits of Sixtus IV., the Cardinal Giulio della Rovere, etc., by Malozzo da Forli (Vatican Pinacoteca at Rome), the latter clearly appears as Cardinal, in red *capa clausa*, red Tippet lined with ermine, and white *zucchetto*. We may observe that the last was probably worn *under* the Cardinal's as under the Doctor's Hat, the Hat itself being here, of course, omitted in deference to the Pope.

I must leave the subject of the colour *red* in the somewhat vague state in which I was obliged to leave it before. In spite of Canons and Cardinals this colour appears to me to have been rather *lay* than ecclesiastical in its origin, and to have had a somewhat special connection with the Faculty of Law, though it was certainly not in the end confined to that Faculty. To the Italian instances given above I may add a statement of Panciroli that the

Italian Doctors of Law had in early times—apparently early in the fourteenth century—round scarlet *pilei* and long vests of the same colour which were replaced by a darker material in the sixteenth.

I have to regret my present deficiencies in personal investigation as to Paris, and shall conclude what information I have collected on the subject of mediaeval Doctors with a rather interesting representation of an Italian Canonist.

I possess a copy of Giovanni d'Andrea's book on the Decretals mentioned above (p. 80), printed in 1482, the latter date of course—not that of the composition of the book—being the one to which we must refer any illustrations. It contains a picture of the author presenting his work to the Pope—John XXII., with the triple crown which, according to some authorities, he was the first to wear. The other figure no doubt represents the costume of a Doctor of Canon Law of the above date at Bologna. I am inclined to think the dress a scarlet Cope, having sleeves bordered with ermine and an ermine Tippet, worn over a violet Gown or Cassock—were it not for the small indication of a darker dress beneath we might have called the upper garment a red Cassock. The Hat is a tall scarlet cylinder with a small tuft and without a brim. This is undoubtedly the *birretum* of which Giovanni himself speaks; and its shape, a little greater dignity being allowed in a more pretentious illustration, is not far from that of the Corpus drawing of 1459.

Licentiate.—In default of illustrations under this head I must revert for a moment to documentary evidence, and that mainly from Paris. Dubarle and de Viriville both make the *round* Cope the special characteristic of the Licentiate; the former, however, elsewhere attributing it to the Baccalaureat also. The apparent contradiction arises from the fact of there being in the end *two* forms of Licence, which were once only one, before the intermediate stage of Licentiate existed (above p. 77). The Licentiate is probably best regarded as a lecturing Bachelor in the final stage before proceeding to the higher degree.

I have not enough accurate information, particularly as to dates, to speak positively on the Parisian use of costume to distinguish different orders of teachers. But it would seem that by Statutes of 1370, beside the *long* and *closed* vest which the Bachelor ordinarily wore (? Cassock), he was bound to *lecture* in a *capa clausa* if in holy orders; if not, in a *capa rugata*, which last name perhaps indicates *ruffled sleeves.* By the end of the fifteenth century (1476) we find Licentiates and Bachelors alike lecturing in black Copes, furred, and furnished with some sort of Hood. Towards the *close* of the sixteenth century the Licentiates were, by Statute of 1598, to wear a long Gown (*extemplis toga*) with a silk band or pair of strings hanging from the neck *ad togae lumbos*, as suitable to men of sacred or senatorial rank, with the alternative of an *epomis.* In this specification the strings are evidently compared with the Stole. The *epomis* was most probably a Scarf worn over the shoulder. I may refer to what has been said above (on this subject p. 99) and on the scarf of John Yslyngton (p. 186). Had he not been styled S.T.P. we might have thought him, on French analogy, a Licentiate in Theology, the Cassock being his *extemplis toga.*

The Licentiate undoubtedly existed with us. Besides Chicheley's Ordinance above quoted (p. 184), it is definitely recognised, by Letters patent of Henry IV. (1403), for Theology and the two Laws, by one of the old Cambridge Statutes, apparently dating from 1421, for Medicine. The Chancellor in 1414 was, as has been above (p. 78) remarked, a Licentiate *in legibus.* Not being able, however, at present to assign to this *status* any specific costume, I pass to an undoubted degree.

Sacrae Theologiae Baccalaureus.—Bachelors of Divinity enjoyed, according to Haines, a special dignity and costume in mediaeval times. This agrees with their classification by Chicheley with Licentiates and Masters of Arts—apparently between the two. In my representations they do not appear with the *capa clausa*, and I therefore conclude either that the Cambridge regulation above quoted (p. 102), did not apply to my instances, which are, some certainly and others probably, of Oxford men, or, what seems more likely, that in the degrees below Doctor, the Tabard or Graduate's Gown soon began to supersede the Cope as a Lecturer's habit.

An early representation is to be found in the fine brass, figured both in Haines and in Boutell's Series, of John Bloxam and John Whytton, at Merton College, Oxon. Bloxam died 1387, but the whole work must be referred to the later death of Whytton in 1420. The dress appears to be exactly that of Lowthe (above p. 188), less the Cap and the sham sleeves. It is, I think, the sleeveless Tabard, and the entire costume, in order of putting on, is Cassock, Tabard, Tippet, Hood. The other figure, of Whytton, simply a benefactor of Merton, is a good instance of the Cassock with Tippet and Hood.

This Tippet over the Tabard I take to be an inferior representative of the Cope, in the case of secular Doctors and lower degrees, but still to indicate the function of public teaching.

The brass of John Darley, from Herne, Kent (d. 1480), is also an example of B.D. costume, as is shown by the inscription. The dress is described by Waller, who figures this brass, as Cassock, Tippet, Hood, and Gown with armholes lined with fur. The "Gown" is that dress of the Graduate which I have called a Tabard. The brass attributed to W. Tibarde, S.T.B., President of Magdalene, Oxon. (d. 1480), is considered by Haines to be incorrectly identified, and of much later date. That in Queen's College, Oxon., which was described by Gough as representing Robert Eglesfield, the founder (S.T.B.), is more probably, though perhaps not certainly, attributable to Robert Langton, Doctor Utriusque Juris, d. 1515 or 1518. This effigy has the pointed *pileus*, but otherwise merely, like that of Sever, the dress of a dignified ecclesiastic. A possible brass of S.T.B. (1535), cited by Haines from the old Chapel of Queen's College, Cambridge, is now indistinguishable.

Arthur Cole, S.T.B. and a Canon of Windsor (d. 1558), on a brass in Magdalene College Chapel, Oxon., wears a Cassock, Surplice with short sleeves, rich Almuce, and over all a Mantle of St. George. This, though an interesting monument, adds but little to our knowledge of academical costume. Cole was President of Magdalene from 1555 to his death in 1558, so that he falls quite outside my limit of time. I merely call attention to his brass, well engraved by Waller, because it shows a garment *beneath* the Cassock, which I shall have shortly to assume, in commenting on another effigy.

Artium magister (M.A.).—I mentioned above (p. 146) the fact that the conferring of the *pileus*, which is sometimes regarded as exclusively distinctive of the Doctor's degree, appears once to have played a part in the creation of Masters of Arts. I do not, however, find the *pileus* occurring in any English representations of that degree, except one or two individual cases, where it may possibly be accounted for on other grounds, and wholesale in the puzzling drawing of New College (below, p. 207).

The earliest instance which I can give of M.A. costume is the brass of John Kyllngworth, from Merton College (d. 1445). He wears, as described by Haines, a Cassock, over it a shorter Gown, with loose sleeves lined with fur reaching to the wrists and falling in a point behind; a Cape or Tippet edged with fur, and a Hood; no *pileus*. The "shorter Gown" I believe to be the Tabard, or something derived from it. Neither in this, nor in the two following cases, is it at all clear whether the garment in question is divided down the front or not.

With this brass I would ask you to compare two interesting effigies. One is the portrait of John Rous, the antiquary, of Guy's Cliff, Warwick, drawn by himself on a roll now in the College at Arms, of which drawing I have had an office copy made and enlarged. This roll was most likely, from internal evidence, written between 1485, the death of Richard III., and Rous' own death in 1491. Appended to the portrait are verses, one of which represents the author as Artibus Oxonie donatus honore magistri. The writer of an interesting article in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1845 (N. S. 23) states, on Chalmers' authority, that Rous was a Canon of Oseney, near Oxford. The dress I take to be a compound of that of Master and Canon. A blue, or rather violet, Cassock; over it a shorter Gown or Tabard, scarlet, with loose sleeves edged with fur; a scarlet Tippet, edged with fur; and a fur Hood. The fur is throughout white, and apparently meant for ermine. On the head is a pumpkin-shaped garment, coming too low to be called a scull-cap, black or brown without a tuft. There is no doubt a good deal of fancy here, but I take the scarlet colour and the Cap to be due to the Canon, the Tabard or upper Gown to the Master. It is not quite clear whether the last-named garment is divided down the front. I think it is not, at any rate in its lower part.

The other effigy is that from the tomb of Archdeacon Sponne, at Towcester, Northamptonshire (d. 1448). I owe this beautiful drawing to Mr. Hartshorne, as well as a very careful description of the original. It is difficult to say what the old colours were, as the figure was painted black in 1869; but Mr. Hartshorne considered the undermost garment to have been red. It is also probable that *all* the garments above this were originally represented with an ermine edging. There are *four* apparent sleeves to be accounted for. The innermost, close buttoned, is thought by Mr. Hartshorne to be that of the Cassock, and the next that of a Surplice, which he considers to be erroneously edged with ermine. In spite, however, of the supposed red colour of the former, I venture slightly to differ from this opinion I have sometimes found inside the Cassock, particularly in later times, another close-fitting garment, which is quite perceptible in the brass of Cole (above, p. 198), and possibly so in the effigy of Swinfield (above, p. 145). I take Sponne's undermost sleeve to belong to this garment, the second and larger one to be a cuff of the Cassock, edged, as frequently, with fur. The third is, I think, the wide flap of a Tabard which here has incipient sleeves attached, at the back of them, to the sides of the Tabard. These flaps pass over the arms, the corners of them falling behind the wrists Over all these is an unquestionable Tippet, which also falls over the wrists and is shown below the hands; over this, a Hood. The head of this figure was, until very recently, of wood, and had a Cap exactly like that of Rous. The hands were also of wood

This interesting effigy is open to great difference of opinion, particularly with regard to the short Surplice or Tabard. I can only say that I do not think the sleeves are very like those of a Surplice, and that the whole garment *is* very like that of Rous, which is certainly not a Surplice. I do not think anything here can be called an Almuce, because of the absence of the tails or processes in front. That the Tippet is a descendant of the Almuce I fully believe.

I have not yet discovered the degree of Archdeacon

Sponne, but confidently expect him to turn out an M.A. I regret to add that in a recent restoration the paint, new and old, appears to have been cleared off, and the wooden head and hands replaced by modern stone work. The original head, however, is fortunately preserved, and I have been favoured with a photograph of it by the present Vicar.

The modern Scarlet Robe.—*Àpropos* of the picture of Rous I wish to say a few words about the above dress which is, except for its want of fur lining, its complete division down the front, and the addition of a loop to its sleeves, almost exactly like that in the picture. This Robe I used once to consider a degraded ecclesiastical Cope. I now rather take it to be a dignified form of the Tabard or Gown, which was used as a substitute for the academical Cope. Its scarlet colour, like that of the Canon's Cassock (above p. 93), was apparently for distinction alone, and we find it worn for distinction, now by Doctors only, but originally also by Masters of Colleges and University officials. As to the last mentioned use, the Parisian Proctors appear to have worn something of the kind from 1440 to 1665, and a doubtful passage of our Bedell Buck may point to a similar practice having once obtained in Cambridge. On the whole, however, it appears to have gradually become the dress of ceremony for the Doctors alone, whenever the Cope was not used—for instance, while the Queen was at Cambridge in 1564—except on occasions of mourning, like the 30th of January. The so-called scarlet days were first fixed by a Grace of 1577, in which only Doctors are mentioned as wearing the *toga murice tincta.*

Having already passed my time limit on this subject, I may add the few more remarks required on the modern scarlet Robe. The cord for catching up the sleeve is probably only to show the lining. Its back colour in the Robe of the Doctors of Divinity is, I suppose, part of the rather more general use of that colour in connection with that Faculty. The cord at the back of the neck is meant to secure the Scarf, and, being common to all Doctors, shews that the latter was not originally peculiar to Divinity. The strings I believe modern. They may have been a dwindled Scarf, but they are more probably a mere convenience for keeping the Gown close, replacing an internal pad of plush which was devised for the same purpose.

Sacrae Theologiae Scolaris.—Returning to the ordinary M.A. costume, I must notice that of the Scholar of Theology, which is precisely the same—Cassock, over it a "shorter Gown" (my "Tabard") with loose sleeves edged with fur, Tippet edged with fur, and Hood. We have an excellent instance from New College, Oxon., in the brass of Geoffrey Hargreve (d. 1417). This is the dress of other Scholars of Theology in the same Chapel—William Wake (1451), John Frye (1507)—and of John London (1508), who is styled both M.A. and S.T.S. in his inscription. I believe that a Scholar of Theology was already, almost invariably, an M.A., and that this is merely the costume of the latter degree. I have the satisfaction of being confirmed in this view by the opinion of the Warden of New College, that the degree of Master of Arts was prior to the *status* of S.T.S., as well as to the degree of S.T.B.

Later M.A. Costume.—According to Haines, Masters of Art, after 1450, wore a Cassock, over that a shorter Gown (? Tabard), sleeveless, with slits at the sides edged with fur for the passage of the arms, a Tippet and Hood.

W. Blakwey, M.A. (d. 1521), in his brass at Little Wilbraham, Cambs., apparently wears this costume, which varies from that previously described in the sleevelessness of the upper Gown, or Tabard. It would seem that, when this had *not* wide sleeves attached to itself, those of the Cassock were made unusually wide. There may be a difference here between Cambridge and Oxford, but I cannot consider it proved—neither can I the *date* given by Haines for the change in the M.A. costume.

Juris Canonici Baccalaureus, (B. Can. L.) Philip Polton, Archdeacon of Gloucester (d. 1461), has a brass in All Souls' Chapel, Oxon. The head is gone; the figure is in profile, with a Cope and Almuce, shewing a Hood to the former. He is called in the inscription Baccalri', Canon.

The brass of John Desford or Sefford, a Canon of Hereford (d. 1419), in the Chapel of New College, Oxon, under the stalls, shews an Almuce and rich Cope. He is by his inscription, Juris Canonici Baccalari'.

But neither of these effigies appears to present any specially academical costume.

Juris Civilis or *Legum Baccalaureus (B.C.L., LL.B)*—The earliest instance which I can find is the brass of John Motesfont (d. 1420), from Lydd, Kent. He wears what according to Haines is the earlier M.A. costume—Cassock, shorter Gown with loose sleeves (? Tabard), Tippet and Hood. The Hood, however, is doubtful. The head of the figure is gone. Here again, as in the subsequent case of Thomas Rolf, it is difficult to say whether the over Gown is divided in front or not. I rather incline to think it closed, *en* Tabard.

John Noble, called by Wood Legum Baccalaureus, Principal of Broadgates Hall (which was afterwards Pembroke), Oxon., who died 1520, falls beyond my present period and merely gives us an instance of ecclesiastical dress. His effigy is mentioned here on account of the rare trace of *colour*, which it perhaps affords. I exhibit an enlargement of a plate of his monument in St. Aldate's Church, Oxford, from Hollis. The dress is Cassock, Surplice, Tippet (? red) bordered with white fur, and fur Hood. Although the red is, according to the Rector, now imperceptible, I agree with Mr. Hope that we may perhaps rely on Hollis' observation of minute traces of colour which might escape a less experienced observer.

Serviens ad legem. Sergeant at Law.—In connection with the costume of B.C.L., I may notice the very remarkable brass of Thomas Rolf (d. 1440) in Gosfield Church, Essex. He is called Professor of Law by Haines, but the actual words of the inscription (*legi professus*) are not the proper style for that degree or office, and rather mean *professed*, or devoted, to law as others were to religion. Boutell, who figures Rolf's brass, calls him Sergeant at Law, and I have little doubt that such was his rank. He wears the dress which has been already described for the Master of Arts and Scholar of Theology—Cassock, sleeved Tabard, Tippet, and Hood; but, besides these, an unmistakable Coif, encircling his face and furnished with two loops or lappets appearing below the Hood. On these marks of the Sergeant I may here quote an interesting piece of collateral testimony.

Fortescue, writing about 1465, speaks of the Sergeant at Law as "clothed in a long Robe, priestlike, with a furred Cape about his shoulders and therefrom a Hood with two labels, such as Doctors of the Laws use to wear ? in certain Universities, with the above described quoyfe." This is Selden's translation (in 1616) of the Latin "roba longa ad instar sacerdotis cum capicio penulato circa humeros ejus et desuper collobio cum duobus labellulis qualiter uti solent doctores legum in universitatibus quibusdam cum supra descripto birreto vestiebatur." The *birretum* spoken of is here the white Coif of silk, which has no immediate connection with University dress. But the *longa roba* is apparently our Cassock, the *capicium penulatum* is our Tippet, and the *colobium*, although distorted from its original meaning, which would answer best to the Tabard, is clearly (from the *desuper*) taken, as Selden takes it, for the Hood. The two labels or bands, which I take to have been originally the strings of the Coif, are, I think erroneously, considered by Fortescue to belong to the Hood, and questionably attributed to the doctores legum. On *penulatum* see above p. 91.

Physicae Baccalaureus.—The only early Bachelor of Physic whom I can find represented in a brass—John Perch, Magd. Coll., Oxon. (c. 1480)—is not only M A. but also an ecclesiastic, Chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester, and clad in an ecclesiastical Cope. He, therefore, proves nothing. Generally I imagine that the lower degrees in the three Faculties so called *par excellence*, pre-suppose M.A., and that the Graduates wear the M.A. dress.

Artium Baccalaureus (*B.A.*)—I can give but little pictorial illustration of the early dress of the Bachelor of Arts. In the instance cited by Haines from New College, Oxon.—John Palmer, d. 1479—the costume appears to be identical in form with that of M.A. The same authority identifies his *later* M.A dress (see W. Blakwey above p. 202), with that of John Barratte, B.A., Fellow of Winchester College (d. 1524). Of this last brass I have not yet procured a rubbing. The difference between the mediaeval M.A. and B.A. costume is difficult to make out; the Tippet not being invariably distinctive of the Masters, and the *pileus* having been apparently given up by them. In later times the B.A. sleeve is much fuller and shorter than the M.A. though the arm is here, also, passed through a hole in the upper side. The non-Graduate, at least at Cambridge, wore, on occasions of public ceremony, a still fuller sleeved gown, and it is conceivable that the modern Bachelor's gown is a mere development of the old normal academical form, retained by the Undergraduates, while that of the Masters and Doctors owes more to the mediaeval *lecturing* costumes. This subject, however, belongs to a later period.

I have found another B.A. brass—that of Wm. Goberd, Magdalen College, Oxon. (d. 1515.) He was also an Archdeacon (of Salop) and is dressed as an ecclesiastic of dignity in Cassock, Surplice, and Almuce. This monument, therefore, gives us no help as to academical costume.

Résumé.—A writer some years ago in the "Contemporary Review" (iv., 250) held that the square Cap, the Cope, and the Hat were respectively the insignia of the teaching Bachelor, the Licentiate, and the Doctor. This is, as it seems to me, to ignore the order of time, the Licentiate having early disappeared, at least from *our* list of degrees, while the square Cap is a rather late development. The whole of that subject, as well as of the present round Doctor's Hat, I must leave for the second division of my subject.

In the mediaeval period, to which I at present confine myself, I have ventured with some hesitation upon the following generalisations. The *pileus* of dignity is found, as an academical costume, mostly among Doctors. In the rare cases where it occurs, in detached effigies, on a Master's head, I think it may be accounted for on other grounds. But I admit the difficulty, in this respect, of that representation of the body of New College, Oxon., to which I have already referred and shall again refer directly.

If there was any academical head dress (except the Hood) inferior to this *pileus*, it was probably a small scull Cap.

The open Cope, especially when decorated, was, I think, simply a mark of ecclesiastical dignity. The *capa clausa* is apparently, in effigies, confined to Doctors in Theology and Canon Law. As to the *capa manicata*, I find no certain instance of a Cope proper with two holes for the arms, except in the picture of New College. It evidently once existed, but seems to me to have been mainly superseded by the dress which I have called the Tabard, with or without sleeves. This dress, when sleeved, I take to be the origin of our Doctor's scarlet Robe, and of the black Gowns of our Masters, if not of our Graduates in general.

A Cope actually furnished with sleeves appears in the costume described above (p. 196) of Giovanni d'Andrea, and, I believe, in the dress of our lay Doctors in the seventeenth century, the latter being, of course, beyond my present subject.

The Tippet and Hood are both found in all mediaeval degrees. If anything, I think the Tippet rather belongs to the higher, the Hood to the lower degree; the Tippet being possibly worn over the Hood in the former, and the Hood over the Tippet in the latter case. Of this Tippet, which has otherwise disappeared, I am at present inclined to trace a survival in the full-fronted Hood, as we consider it, of our modern Theological Cope at Cambridge, and in the shoulder flap to our Doctor's black Gown.

Of the scarlet Robe I have spoken already, and its suggested development from the sleeved Tabard. The black Gown of the Graduate, which I myself am inclined to derive from the same original, was, perhaps, once nearly identical, in cut, for all Graduates who did not wear the Cope. In fact, as between the old Undergraduate's Hood and that of the Graduate, so between the Hoods, Tippets, Copes, and Tabards of the Graduates, the differences seem to have been rather in lining and material than in shape. I must, however, except the sleeves, in which an extravagant length seems to have been a mark of dignity as early as the time of Lowthe (above p. 188) for the higher Degree of Doctor and Master, an arm-hole being cut higher up and the pendant ends originally left open, which are now closed. Even this difference, as well as those of material, may have been primarily matter of luxury, indicative of, and allowed to, greater means, and only secondarily a badge of degree. This seems to be the case, *e.g.*, with the linings and furs mentioned in a return made by a Warden of King's Hall, Cambridge, apparently a Master, in 1350 or 1352.

With the various facings, etc., which were gradually introduced and regulated in later times, I have not now to do.

New College on Parade, c. 1463.—I shall conclude with a few remarks on the remarkable drawing referred to above (p. 90). It is published in "Archæologia," vol. liii., pt. 1, and gives a most interesting contemporary picture of the whole body of a mediaeval English College. It is, at the same time, by no means easy to reconcile some parts of it with the conclusions above arrived at. The Warden, in the middle facing the spectator, clearly wears a Cassock; over it either a *capa manicata* or more probably a Tabard with arm holes; over that a Tippet which is either a development of, or worn over, an Almuce, but no Hood apparent; on his head is the *pileus* with tuft or point This would at first sight appear to be the dress of a Secular Doctor; but T. Chandler, the writer to whom the MS. is attributed, and Warden from 1452 to 1475, became S.T.P. in 1450. To the Warden's immediate right and left are four figures, two on each side, wearing the *capa clausa*, Tippet, and *pileus*; no Hood. These, I take, to be Doctors of Theology or Decrees. Further back, but otherwise in the same rank, are other *pileati* wearing Tippet *and* Hood. They have two openings for their arms, which shew the tight Cassock sleeve. Whether the dress over the Cassock is a *capa manicata* or a Tabard I cannot say. I should be inclined to call these persons Doctors of the Secular Faculties, but for the very small proportionate number of such persons whom I find mentioned, for the whole University, in the earliest extant Register of Oxford Congregations, 1449—1463. This class may possibly include Bachelors of Divinity or even Masters of Arts (above 146, 205), but I cannot speak with any confidence. The non-appearance of the *pileus* on the five last heads to the right hand will be seen to be merely an omission, if we compare it with the definite indication of *hair* on the foreheads of the following class.

These latter wear no *pilei*, but Hoods and Tippets over a dress—Tabard or whatever else it may be—having loose sleeves or flaps attached to it, under which the tight sleeves of the Cassock appear. They form the largest class of the whole body, and I believe them to be Masters of Arts and Bachelors in the Faculties, perhaps excepting that of Theology.

The younger looking persons facing the Warden—whose dress is, in cut, indistinguishable from that of the class last described—I take for Bachelors of Arts.

Right and left of these are older persons, some of them deeply tonsured, whom I venture to regard as clerical members of the choir. Most of them wear undoubted Surplices; two (? Chaplains) have a Scarf over what may be a Surplice, but is more like a loose-sleeved Cassock (see above p. 202).

The lowest rank are Choristers in Surplices, of course not *pileati*, and not even tonsured.

What I have styled Hoods in this drawing are, I think, unmistakable, from the flap or Liripip depending behind, which is shewn in several instances.

The other drawings in Chandler's MS., though very interesting, do not throw much light on academical costume. In that of Winchester College (No. 1), the Warden wears the rich Almuce of a high ecclesiastical dignitary over Surplice and Cassock. Neither he nor any of the other figures have the *pileus*. The older members of the College under him wear the Tippet-Almuce of the Warden of New College, over a Surplice. One alone has the Tippet and *capa manicata*, or Tabard with openings for the arms, over a Cassock. The remainder of the body all wear simple Surplices.

In the view of Wells (No. 3), the kneeling figure, with back partly shewn, may indicate that the apparent Tippet without Hood possibly had the latter underneath it (sup. 206).

The Mitre of the Bishop to whom this figure is presenting the book is raised here, so as to shew the *pileus*, as well as in the succeeding drawing, which is rather against Mr. Hope's interpretation of this fact in the latter, *i.e.*, that the Bishops so represented are *dead*.

No. 4 is a representation of William of Wykeham and the principal ecclesiastics of his Colleges. All wear the Hood, with apparently a very short Liripip *over* the Tippet; that again over the Tabard with armholes, or *capa manicata*; and underneath all a Cassock. All shew the *pileus* but Wykeham himself and Waynflete, in whose case, if there, it is concealed by the Mitre. These are the only two who are not certainly Doctors. Waynflete was S.T.B.; Wykeham's degree, strange to say, I cannot discover.

The rest are as follows:—Chichele, LL.D; Cranlegh, S.T.P.; Beckington, LL.D.; Chandler, S.T.P.; Holes, LL.D.; Norton, Decc. D.; Say, S.T.P.; Selot, Decc. D.; Andrews, LL.D. Hugo Sugar, the Treasurer of Wells (who is not mentioned in the interesting paper in "Archæologia"), was LL.D. He died in 1489, and a shield in his chantry in Wells Cathedral bears the Doctor's Cap over three *sugar* loaves. Beckington was the Bishop to whom Chandler presented his book.

The displacement then, of the Mitre, was apparently done to shew the Doctor's Cap. The dress worn, by all in this drawing, and by Chandler in that of New College, is rather puzzling. It may indicate that the inconvenient *capa clausa* was being superseded by the Tabard with armholes, in all cases except where the person bound to wear the former was on direct lecturing duty; but for the present I must leave the puzzle unsolved.

CORRIGENDA.

On p. 103, l. 6, for "I believe, to" read "apparently indicates the *capa clausa*, though it might, as far as literal meaning goes."

On p. 104, l. 6, after "underneath" read "these academical Copes."

On p. 139, l. 20, note that *cape* is *nominative*, though the English idiom requires it to be translated as accusative: *talaria* is my suggestion for *talaris* in the printed "Documents."

On p. 141, l. 6, after "Rock" insert comma.

ANTIQUITIES AT BUDA-PEST.

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

When we hear or read of Buda-Pest, the first ideas that occur to our minds are modern. We think of a city which in our own time has made extraordinary progress, greater and more rapid than any other in Continental Europe. We picture to ourselves magnificent streets, public buildings, and quays on the Danube, all new—the outward signs of political life and commercial development.[1] But for the present we must turn away from these scenes and subjects, however interesting they may be, and consider the metropolis of Hungary as possessing archæological treasures, and rivalling the old capitals of other countries, no less in this respect, than in those to which I can only allude in passing.

The collections of coins and other antiquities at Buda-Pest are both extensive and various;[2] they are specially important as illustrations of the history of the country, objects found in Hungary and Transylvania having been brought together here on the same plan as British monuments in the Anglo-Roman room of our own museum ; and Gallic in the Musée d'Antiquités Nationales at Saint-Germain.[1] But the curious inquirer is reminded of the feast spread out before Tantalus, as he finds himself confronted by an obstacle that is almost insurmountable. The labels are inscribed with Hungarian words, as far removed as Turkish from all the languages of Western Europe ;[2] and when he seeks information in books, he has only exchanged Scylla for Charybdis, the best and most recent authorities being all Magyar. We sympathise with this people in their brave struggle for independence ; however, we cannot but regret that they have gratified their resentment against the Germans (for which there was good reason), by using their own speech to the exclusion of every other. And this isolation is the more censurable, as till a very recent period, Latin was generally spoken by the educated classes in Hungary, and adopted in their Parliamentary debates.[1] They now boast of having cast it aside, as if this was a laudable effort of patriotism, and glory in what is their shame.[2] The antiquary, at least, will not be more favourable to Home Rule, when he sees it followed by such a result, blocking the way to intercommunication and progress.

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[1] See The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine, vol. xliv, pp. 163-179, No. 2, June, 1892, article by Albert Shaw, Budapest, The Rise of a New Metropolis, with pictures by Joseph Pennell. The isolation of the Magyar language and literature is assigned as one of the reasons for the comparative obscurity of this city. Its wonderful expansion is likened to that of San Francisco and Chicago. Only slight allusions are made to the occupation of this district by the Romans, pp. 167 and 177; the Turks and the remains of their architecture are also mentioned.

[2] A detailed, but not complete, account will be found in the Illustrirter Führer durch Budapest und Umgebungen herausgegeben von Alexander F. Heksch, zweite verbesserte Auflage, mit 40 Illustrationen und 7 Karten, published by Hartleben, Wien, Pest, Leipzig, 1885: Das National-museum (Am Museumring, viii Bezirk) pp. 118-140, Engraving p. 119; esp. pp. 135-140, Münz, Antiquitäten-Sammlung und Schatzkammer. Prähistorische Alterthümer, Alterthümer aus der Zeit der Völkerwanderung. Funde aus dem Altofener Amphitheatrum. Waffensammlung. Numismatisches This Guide is accompanied by a Plan of Budapest, coloured, and on a large scale, with "*nomenclatur*."

The Ill. Führer auf der Donau von Regensburg bis Sulina, 2 Auflage, 1881, p. 109 sq., Münz-und Antiquitäten-Cabinet, contains a brief notice of this Museum, which, however, would be sufficient for the ordinary tourist.

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[1] Transylvania is a part of the Roman province of Dacia, which also included Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia and the North East of Hungary : Dictionnaire de Géographie anc. et mod., forming the Supplement to Brunet's Manuel du Libraire. It is so called on account of its situation beyond the forests on the Carpathian mountains. The German name Siebenbürgen seems to be derived from the Siebengebirge, the Seven Mountains on the right bank of the Rhine near Bonn, whence the colonists came to Hungary in the year 1143. The Magyar name is Erdely—*eine waldige und bergige Gegend* : Conversations Lexicon, s.v. Siebenbürgen.

For the antiquities of this province I must refer the reader to an interesting article by Mr. F. Haverfield in the Archæological Journal, vol. xlviii, pp. 1-13, entitled "Notes on Some Museums in Galicia and Transylvania," with Plates i. and ii., Idols of baked clay, Ornaments on pottery, etc. A hoard of 200 *denarii*, minted B.C. 217-243, found near Tartlau, North of Kronstadt, is mentioned as "a relic of Roman trade not of conquest." Considering it in this light, we may compare it with Roman bronzes and glass discovered further north than Trondhjem in Central Norway : my Paper on Scandinavia, Archaelogical Journal, vol. xxxiv., pp. 246-257, with two Plates. There was also a find of barbarous coins imitated from the Greek. These are analogous to what we meet with in the south of Gaul, where the beautiful types of Massilia were copied by the surrounding tribes : Catalogue of the Hunterian Collection by Combe, pp. 190-194, esp. p. 192, Nummus fabricae barbarae, tab. xxxvi, figs. 1-16.

Those who desire information about the manners and customs now prevailing among the Germans in Transylvania may consult "Life and Society in Eastern Europe," by W. J. Tucker, chaps. xxxix.-xli., Among the Saxons. The Village Schoolmaster. The Saxon at Home.

[2] Some philologists connect Hungarian with Turkish, others with Finnish : Encyclopaedia Britannica, ninth edition, vol. xii, p. 374 sq., Art. Hungary, sect. 3, Language. The Magyar, or native Hungarian language, is of Asiatic origin, belonging to the Northern or Ural-Altaic (Finnic-Tataric) division of the Turanian family, etc. Striking peculiarities are noticed, and a long list of authorities is appended. See also Art. Finland, vol. ix. p. 219, Ethnology and Language. Five groups (of Finns) form one linguistic family . . . The richest and most highly cultivated languages of the family are the Suomi and Magyar.

This memoir not being intended to take the place of a guide-book or catalogue, instead of attempting a comprehensive survey, I shall only select a few topics for investigation.

One of the most remarkable monuments in the museum at Buda-Pest, is a representation of Jupiter Dolichenus, a deity who has some interest for us English archæologists, as his name occurs so often in Romano-British Inscriptions.[3] The object I propose to describe was originally a pyramid with three triangular faces, but only two have been preserved ; it is made of bronze, plated with silver.

Face A is divided into three storeys ; the first, at the apex, contains a foliated pattern, formed by dotted lines.

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[1] When the Hungarian deputies drew their swords and said, "Moriamur pro Rege nostro Maria Theresia," they were responding to her Allocution in Latin, of which the text is given by Coxe, History of the House of Austria, edit. Bohn, Standard Library, vol. iii, p. 270, note.* This writer says, "The Latin is so common in Hungary, that during my travels I frequently heard the servants and postilions converse and dispute with great fluency in that language." Three years ago I met a middle-aged gentleman of this nation, who told me that his own father used to speak Latin, even to the servants. This reminds me of the celebrated letter by Secker, afterwards Primate, written to Dr. Watts, in which he gives an account of his education, and states that he was required to speak Latin all day, except to domestics. I am informed that quite recently Hungarian peasants used to greet strangers with the salutation *Servus, dominus.* In Murray's Handbook for Southern Germany, edit. 1863, p. 490, sect. 118, it is stated that Latin is not so much spoken now as it was formerly, though a stranger is often addressed in that language, especially by clergymen.

[2] St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, iii, 19, Καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν. S. T. Bloomfield, *in loco*, after Raphelius, quotes Polybius, xv., 23, 5, ἐφ' οἷς ἐχρῆν αἰσχύνεσθαι, ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡς καλοῖς σεμνύνεσθαι καὶ μεγαλαυχεῖν ; and Cicero, in Verrem Actio Secunda, lib ii, c. 47, sect. 115, Faciunt hoc homines quos . . . ipsius nequitiae fama delectat.

[3] Corp. Inscrr. Lat., Inscrr. Britanniæ Latinæ, edit. Hübner, Index V, Res Sacrae, I Dii Deae Heroes, p. 330, I.o.m. Dolichenus, Dolychenus, Dolochenus, etc. Nine examples are given, some of which are fragmentary ; but I quote the following, because the name occurs in full. Ibid., No. 991, p. 171.

. . . .
DOLOCEENO
C·IVL·PVBL
PIVS·TRIB
V S L M

[I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo)] Dolocheno C. Jul(ius) Publ(ilius) Pius trib(unus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Videtur periisse. The stone was found about a mile south from Risingham (*Habitancium*) in a wall on the inside of a house. For the position of this place see the excellent map of Britain at the end of the volume ; below it is appended a map of the Roman Wall on a larger scale—Vallum Hadriani quintuplici majoris tabulae modulo descriptum (1:500,000). Besides other references Hübner cites J. G. Seidl, Über den Dolichenus-Cult., Wien, 1854, p. 46, 15—the best authority for this subject, as far as I know.

In the second, we see a bust of the Sun, female, radiated as on ancient coins, *e.g.*, of Rhodes,[1] and of the Moon *(Lunus)*, masculine, with a crescent on the top of the head; for the unusual gender compare the German *die Sonne* and *der Mond*.[2] The third is the principal compartment, and much larger than the other two put together. Here Jupiter appears prominently as the central figure, standing on the back of a bull that is disproportionately short and stout, with a *bipennis* in his right hand, and a thunderbolt in his left.[3] It should be remarked that the posture is different from that of Mithras, who kneels upon the victim that he sacrifices. On the left of the deity is a figure holding a crown; Desjardins calls it a genius, but on account of the drapery and girdle, it seems to me to be a female, and the wings suggest the personification of victory. At the base of the triangle, one corner is filled by a bust of Hercules; his hair is arranged in short locks, and he carries a club, his usual attribute. whence the poets call him *claviger*:[1] in the other, as a counterpart, we have Minerva helmeted, and holding a spear.

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[1] The beautiful tetradrachms of this city (Hunter's Catalogue, pp. 247-252, tab. xlv, figs. 1-20) correspond with the accounts we have received concerning its commercial prosperity, architectural splendour, and cultivation of the fine arts. Strabo, p. 652, lib. xiv, cap. ii, sect. 5, *Ἡ δὲ τῶν Ῥοδίων πόλις ...τοσοῦτον διαφέρει τῶν ἄλλων, ὥστ' οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν ἑτέραν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πάρισον, μή τί γε κρείττω ταύτης τῆς πόλεως.*

Following the suggestion of Isaac Vossius, Ezekiel Spanheim, De Praestantia et Usu Numismatum Antiquorum, Dissertatio Sexta, tom. i, pp. 315-324 (with plates), sect. iv. De Rosa seu Balaustio in nummis Rhodiorum, says that the device on the reverse of the coins is balaustium (*βαλαύστιον*), *Flos mali Punicae*, the flower of the wild pomegranate, used in medicine and as a dye: et medicinis idoneus, et tingendis vestibus, quarum color inde nomen accepit, Pliny, Nat. Hist., xiii, 19, 34. General Leake agrees with these early writers: Numismata Hellenica, 1854, Insular Greece, Ægaean sea, p. 34, Rhodus, Note, where he gives his reasons. See also the supplement, 1859, p. 168. But this opinion has been generally rejected by recent authors, who think that we have here a rose (*ῥόδον*) conventionally treated, with allusion to the name *Ῥόδος*.

Professor Churchill Babington. Introductory Lecture on Archaeology, 1865, p. 68, "The divided calyx at once shews every botanist that the representation is intended for the rose." B. V. Head, Historia Numorum, 1887, p. 539 sq., figs. 312, 313, "As the inhabitants of all three towns (Camirus, Ialysus, Lindus) traced their descent from Helios . . . the head of the Sun-God and his emblem, the Rose, were naturally selected as the coinage of the new capital."

[2] The Oriental character of the latter deity appears from passages in the Life of Caracalla by Spartianus, chap, vi, where the historian is relating the circumstances of his assassination. "Deinde cum iterum vellet Parthis bellum inferre, atque hibernaret Hedessae, atque inde Carras Luni dei gratia venisset." Chap. vii, "A Carrenis praecipue haberi, ut qui Lunam femineo nomine ac sexu putaverit nuncupandam, is addictus mulieribus semper inserviat; qui vero marem deum esse crediderit, is dominetur uxori neque ullas muliebres patiatur insidias."

Carrae in Mesopotamia is Haran of the Old Testament, Genesis, xi, 31, 32; xii, 4, 5, Call of Abraham. Near it Crassus was defeated and slain, Lucan, i, 104,

Crassus
Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras.

Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii, 3, 1 and 2 (ed. Eyssenhardt, p. 268), in his account of the Emperor Julian's campaign against the Persian king Sapor, A.D. 363 (which is interesting as a parallel to the former war with the Parthians) mentions Carrae and the worship of the moon there. Maestus inde digressus venit cursu propero Carras . . . Ibi moratus aliquot dies dum necessaria parat, et Lunae, quae religiose per eos colitur tractus, ritu locorum fert sacra. Gibbon, chap. xxiv, vol. iii, p. 187, edit. Smith.

Strabo, a contemporary of Pythodoris, Queen of Pontus, p. 557, lib. xii, cap. iii, sect. 31, describes her dominions; he says that they included a temple of the god Men (Lunus), and that there was a Royal oath "By the fortune of the King and Men worshipped by Pharnaces." *τὸν βασιλικὸν καλούμενον ὅρκον τοῦτον ἀπέφηναν Τύχην βασιλέως καὶ Μῆνα Φαρνάκου.* He speaks also of other temples, from which we infer that this cult was widely spread; cf. p. 577, ibid., cap. viii, Phrygia sect. 14.

[3] I exhibited a valuable specimen of a *bipennis* from Crete, kindly lent by Mr. Whelan; also a drachm of Tenedos, on which the same weapon appears. In the latter case the good workmanship proves the opulence of the island, and illustrates

On the pedestal, supporting the bull, the following words are inscribed in punctured characters:—

IOVI DVLCHENO P·AEL
LVCILIVS ɥ·COH·I·AL. PED

EXPANSION.

Jovi Dulcheno, P. Aelius
Lucilius, centurio cohortis Primae Alpinorum Peditatae.

P. Ael. Lucilius, centurion of the first Alpine cohort of infantry (has dedicated this offering) to Jupiter Dolichenus.[2]

Virgil's phrase *dives opum*, Æneid ii, 21 sq.; the same remark applies to Tenos, Hunter's Catalogue, tab. lvii, figs. 9-13: Leake, Numismata Hellenica, Insular Greece, p. 42 sq. My coin has on the obverse two Janiform heads—the right female, the left bearded; on the reverse a double axe occupying a great part of the area, in the lower part grapes and a lyre with the legend TE NE-ΔI-ON, all in a concave field. That the head on the left is that of a woman is proved by the earring. For the representation of this ornament on coins see the article by Mr. Arthur J. Evans, Syracusan Medallions and their engravers, in the light of recent finds, Numismatic Chronicle, 1891, 3rd series, Nos. 43, 44; pp. 281-285, esp. 283; fig. 6 D, Kimôn's Medallions, lotos flower with three drops. Mr. B. V. Head, Hist., Numor., p. 476, says we have here Dionysos, Dimorphus (?), or, perhaps, rather Dionysos and Ariadne. The latter opinion seems probable, and the juxtaposition of these two personages reminds me of a line in Catullus, Carm. lxiv, 254 (253 ed. Delph).

Te quaerens, Ariadna, tuoque incensus amore, *i.e.*, Bacchus. The grapes, of course, suitably accompany the effigy of this deity: Tenedos at the present time produces wine, as I remember it supplied the Hotel de Byzance, when I was staying at Constantinople. See Murray's Handbook, Turkey in Asia, &c, Part ii, Sect. II, § 26, Tenedos (Tenedo, Bocha Adasi), p. 246, edit. 1878. The double hatchet, πέλεκυς, according to Leake, was connected with that worship of Jupiter which, originating in Thrace, made its way to Caria. Some remarks on its occurrence in the latter country will be found below.

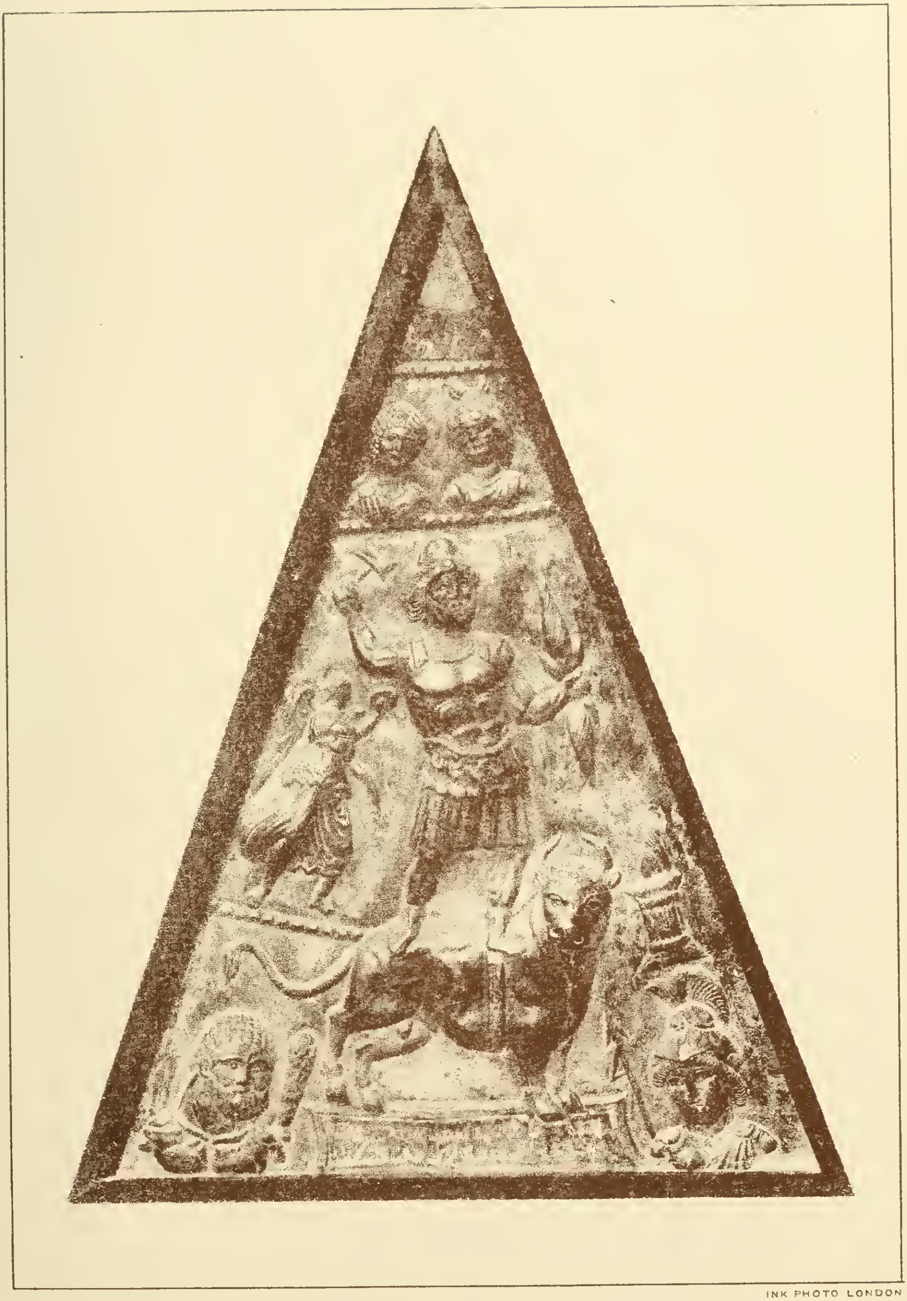
[1] The hair of Hercules is said to be imitated from that on the head of a bull; in his neck also, which is short and thick, the hero resembles this animal. See the numerous illustrations in Clarac, Musée de Sculpture ancienne et moderne, Texte, Tome v, p. 3, ses cheveux courts et bouclés . . . les cheveux épais et crépus; Planches, Tome v, 781-804 B.

Ovid, Metamorphoses, xv, 284,

Vulnera, clavigeri quae fecerat Herculis arcus. Id. Fasti, i, 544.

Emensus longi claviger orbis iter.

[2] Monsʳ V.-J. Vaillant in his interesting work 'Epigraphie de la Morinie ou Inscriptions Gallo-Romaines sur pierre, métal, verre et terre-cuite, 1890, p. 40, says, "Jupiter Dolichéen, ce synonyme de Baal, de Mithra, et des autres personnifications mythiques du Soleil." There is evidently great similarity between this Jupiter and Mithras, but I should not be



INK PHOTO LONDON

JUPITER DOLICHENUS.

From Desjardins' Epigraphie du Musée National Hongrois.

BIB. MT. TEMPL

Face B. The following designs are arranged in five storeys; 1, a foliated pattern, the same as in A. 2, Eagle of Jupiter, or perhaps legionary. 3, Busts of the Sun and Moon, as before; but in this case the latter carries a torch.[1] 4, In the centre an altar on which fire is kindled, above it a cluster of grapes, or a fir-cone, of colossal size, suspended by a ribbon.[2] On the left is Jupiter standing on a bull, and holding a thunderbolt; on the right, Juno draped and erect on a ram (or goat?). 5, Jupiter standing in the centre under a canopy which is supported by two fluted columns; the military character of the god is shown not only by his armour, which is that of a Roman General or Emperor,[3] but also by a standard on either side, which an eagle surmounts. At the base of the triangle, we see in

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inclined to assert that they are the same. See L. Preller, French Translation, Les dieux de l'ancienne Rome, Douzième Partie, Derniers efforts du Paganisme. IV. Cultes syriens et carthaginois. D. Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus, p. 491. E. Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus, p. 492. V. Sol invictus et les mystères persans de Mithras, pp. 493-498.

[1] The Romans identified Diana, the goddess of the moon, with the Greek Artemis, who had the epithets *φωσφόρος*, *σελασφόρος*—giving light. C. O. Müller, Handbuch der Archäologie, sect. 364, remarks 3 and 4; English Translation, p. 454; Denkmäler, part ii, taf. xv, fig. 164. Artemis mit langer Fackel . . . Bronze-Münze von Bizye in Thrace (on the East coast) BI-ZV-ΗΝΩΝ ; ibid. 166, Artemis in langer Bekleidung mit Köcher auf dem Rücken und zwei hohen Fackeln in den Händen. Rev. eines gegen . . . 38 von Chr. G. geprägten Denars des Münzmeisters des M. Antonius und Octavianus P. CLODIVS. M.F. Thesaur, Morell. familiae Romanae, Claudia tab. ii, No. 1. Cohen, Médailles consulaires, p. 88, pl. xii. Claudia, No. 6; cf. ibid. pl. xliv, No. 23, Restitution de Trajan. Denkm., pt. ii, taf. xvi, fig. 171, Artemis-Selene oder Diana Lucifera verschleiert und mit einer Fackel, von ihrer Hirschkuh getragen. Umschrift AETERNITAS AVGVSTA, cf. ibid., Nos. 174a, 177. Ernest Babelon, Monnaies de la République Romaine, vol. i, p. 355, Diane tenant 2 torches sur la pièce, No. 14, est la Diane Lucifera qu'on voit sur les deniers de C. Vibius Pansa, et sur les monnaies d'Ephèse, de Tralles, de Cius. Hirt. Bilderbuch für Mythologie, Archäologie und Kunst. Diana, pp. 37-41, esp. 38 sq., and tab. v. fig. 6.

Besides the heliograph of the side A, copied above, I exhibited one of the side B, in which the torch behind the left shoulder of the Moon is clearly seen.

[2] Marcus Welser, Rerum Augustanarum Vindelicarum, lib iv, p. 71 (v. plate, ibidem) describes a sculptured stone in the form of a fir-cone. Saxum . . . altitudine quinquepedali circiter, quod ante aliquot multos annos terrâ effossum, ad D. Udalrici nunc spectatur. He thinks it was intended to mark a boundary, for which purpose trees were often planted: cf. Horace, Epistles ii, 2, 170 sq.,

> qua populus adsita certis
> Limitibus vicina refugit jurgia;

(where Bentley reads refigit).
Then he explains why this object was selected as the emblem of Augsburg—*urbis symbolum*. As Africa was represented by an elephant or scorpion, Arabia by a camel, and Egypt by a crocodile, so Rhaetia, which produced coniferous trees in abundance, adopted the fruit of the pine as an appropriate device.

[3] Comp. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries (June 2, 1870) Second Series, vol. iv, p. 498, where an account will be found of a figure that bears a general resemblance to the one mentioned above. It is a bronze statuette of Roman work discovered at Earith, Huntingdonshire, and exhibited by the Rev. S. S. Lewis. He considered it to be Jupiter Martialis *Ζεὺς Ἄρειος*, and illustrated this attribution by references to coins and gems as well as to passages in ancient authors.

each corner a personage, three-quarters length, rising out of a bull and ram coupled together; the one on the right holds a bundle of stalks of corn. These combined animals deserve attention as showing the Oriental origin of the cult, for they resemble the capitals of columns at Persepolis and Susa, which have been so carefully drawn and described by Sir R. Ker Porter, Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c., during the years 1817—1820, vol. I., folding Pl. XLV., fig. A, facing p. 630: p. 514, Harem of Jemsheed. "The top of the shaft is finished by a capital in the form of the head, breast and bent fore-legs of a bull, richly ornamented with collars and other trappings; which bust-like portion of the animal is united at the back to a corresponding bust of another bull, both joining just behind the shoulders," &c. Compare ibid., Pl. XVII. At Nakshi-Roustam, facing p. 516; The Mountain of Sepulchres, p. 515 sqq. See also pp. 633, 634; in the latter LXV. is a misprint for XLV. Nearly the same illustrations, but on a smaller scale, recur in Lübke's Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte, vol. I., pp. 46-48, fig. 37, Palastruinen von Persepolis; 38, Details persischer Architektur; 39, Felsfaçade der persischen Königsgräber; 40, Säule von Susa.[1]

Mr. Roach Smith, Collectanea Antiqua, vol. I., pp. 13-16, has an article on a Gallo-Roman votive altar, now used as a baptismal font in the Church of Halinghen (Pas-de-Calais).[2] It bears the following inscription:—

EIDEO IOVI
VICVS
DOLVCENS
CVVITAL . .
PRISC . .[3]

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[1] Sir Wm. Ouseley's Travels in Persia, &c., 1810-1812, vol. ii, chap. xi, From Shiráz to the "Throne of Jemshid" . . . or Persepolis, pp. 224-420, pls. xl-xlviii, esp. pp. 236 and 257 sq. "Some (capitals of columns) resemble the front-parts of a bull, camel, lion, horse or double quadruped; *i.e.*, the heads and necks of two beasts, joined at the back, each kneeling or having the fore-legs contracted:" and note (34) p. 258.

[2] Ernest Desjardins, Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule Romaine, vol. i, p. 370, note 1. Halinghen dépendait du doyenné de Samer, dédoublement fait en 1270, du doyenné de Boulogne (Desnoyers, Topographie ecclésiastique de la France, p. 690), et est situé à 8 kilomètres au sud-est d' Isques.

He thinks that the upper part of the stone has been broken off, and reads the beginning of the inscription thus,

| | | | | | | | | | | | | [*Diis Patriis*] *vel* [*Diis*
ET DEO · IOVI *omnibus*] *et Deo Jovi.*

[3] *Eideo Jovi Vicus Dolucens*[is] *cu*(*rante*) *Vital*[i] *Prisc*[o]. I have followed Mons. Vaillant, op. citat., p. 37, in the text of the inscription and in the expansion; he thinks that Eideus is the archaic form of Idaeus, an epithet which has reference to the worship of Jupiter on Mount Ida, where he was born and brought up. Cf. Virgil, Æneid, iii, 104 sq.

He says that the surname Dolichenus is derived from Doliche, a town in Macedonia, and adds that this country abounded in iron, for which statement he gives Strabo as his authority; he also cites from Reinesius, an inscription found at Rome, containing the words DOLYCHENO VBI FERRVM NASCITVR.[1] Dr. Collingwood Bruce adopts this explanation in his account of the station at *Condercum* (Benwell, two miles from Newcastle): Roman Wall, edit. 4to., p. 110; compare Lapidarium Septentrionale, p. 19, No 16.[2] But I think that these eminent antiquaries are mistaken. As Jupiter Dolichenus was a military deity, "un dieu guerrier," it was quite natural that he should be worshipped, especially by the legions, where iron was produced, where also arms would be manufactured; hence in the inscription from Reinesius there need be no reference to Doliche in Macedonia.[3]

Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula ponto;
Mons Idaeus ubi, et gentis cunabula nostrae.

With *Eideus* he compares *Eidus*, the old form of *Idus*—the day that divided the Roman month, 13th or 15th; v. Orelli, Inscrr. Lat., vol. i, p. 75, No. 42, PRID. EID. DEC. In later Latinity long vowels were often substituted for the archaic diphthongs. Wordsworth, Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin, p. 418 (3), "In the Bacchanalian Inscription the latter are generally preserved, as *ai* in *Duelonai, haice, aiquom, tabelai, datai*; *ei* in *exdeicendum, utei, virei, sei*; *oi* in *foideratei, comoinem, oinvorsei*; *ou* in *plous, iousiset, ioubeatis, coniourare.*" It would be easy to multiply examples; for instance the pronoun *hic haec hoc* has the nominative plural *heis* and *hei* for *hi*, and the abl. pl. *heisce* for *his*; similarly the adverb *heic* for *hic* occurs frequently in inscriptions: De Vit, s.v. So *civis* and *civitas* were anciently written *ceivis* and *ceivitas*: Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum antiquioris aevi . . et Glossarium Italicum . . . cura et studio Ariodantis Fabretti, Augustae Taurinorum, 1867. Comp. the following words in the seventh line of the historical document already cited, NE QVIS · ADIESE VELET CEIVIS ROMANVS. Cf. omnino Livy, edit. Drakenborch, 4to, 1746, vol. vii, fac-simile facing p. 197, folding plate; ibid. pp. 197-218, Senatus Consulti De Bacchanalibus Explicatio, which begins with a copy of the text and expansion.

[1] M. Vaillant, op. cit. p. 45, refers to an article in the Revue Archéologique, mars-avril 1889, p. 274, in which M. Salomon Reinach, Attaché des Musées Nationaux, mentions a similar inscription I.O.M. DVLICENO VBI FERVM (*exorit*) VR.

[2] Hübner, Inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae in C.I.L., vol. vii, No. 506 begins thus,

I · O m· d o l i c HE
NO

V. 1 supplevit Horsley. Lectio omnino certa est.

Expansion.

I(ovi) o(ptimo) [m(aximo) Dolic] heno.

[3] Mons. Vaillant, op. citat. p. 44, mentions places in different provinces of the Roman Empire, the names of which are derived from the East, and ends the list with *Dolocindum*, "sur l'emplacement duquel se trouve Dorking (Angleterre) chez les *Regni*." I have endeavoured to verify this statement, but the only reference I have found is the following: De Vit, Onomasticon, DOLOCINDO, civitas Britanniae Romanae unice, quod sciam, nisi error sit in scriptura, memorata *Anonym. Ravenn.* 5, 31, p. 425, edit. Pinder. This work is the composition of a monk of Ravenna, apparently in the seventh century, and is almost wholly occupied with long lists of names . . . taken from a map or tabular itinerary . . analogous to the existing Tabula Peutingeriana: Sir E. H. Bunbury, History of Ancient Geography, vol. ii, p. 700; chap. xxxi, sect. 17.

Pape, Wörterbuch, under the heading

A better interpretation of this epithet was given long ago by Spon, Miscellanea eruditae Antiquitatis, Sectio III., Articulus XV., p. 79 sq., with a large engraving; where he describes a marble discovered at Marseilles, which was conveyed to the cabinet *(cimeliarchium)* of the Duke of Wurtemburg, in Stuttgart *(Stukardiae)*. Spon quotes Stephanus Byzantinus, who informs us that Doliehene is a city of Commagene in the North of Syria, that Zeus Dolichaeus (δολιχαῖος) is the ethnic name, and that the inhabitants are called Dolicheni; hence he does not hesitate to assign the deity to this city. Montfaucon is of the same opinion: see his great work, Antiquité Expliquée, tome I., part I., p. 50, Pl. XVIII., fig. 2, copied from Spon, and other engravings ibid. At pp. 49, 50, we find mention of offerings made IVSSV DEI and EX IVSSV EIVS, which imply that this god was an oracular one; he therefore resembles Jupiter Heliopolitanus, worshipped at Baalbec, which is not far distant from Dolichene.[1] Desjardins, in his Monuments Epigraphiques du Musée National Hongrois, and Seidl, Über den Dolichenus-Cult, concur in the view expressed by the earlier archæologists, so that the preponderance of authority is decidedly in favour of an oriental origin.[2]

But arguments are not wanting derived from the object itself now under consideration We clearly perceive here affinity of Jupiter Dolichenus with the Persian Mithras; the busts of the Sun and Moon correspond with figures emblem-

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Δολίχη f. Längefeld, Lang, gives the names of five places—1, One of the Sporades Islands (Cyclades), later Ikaros; 2, Island on the coast of Lycia; 3, Ancient name of Crete; 4, Town in Commagene; Ptolemy, V, 15, 10; Stephanus Byzantius; Coins and Inscriptions; 5, Town in Thessaly (Perrhaebia) on the western slope of Mount Olympus. The town in Commagene is west of the River Euphrates and Edessa, and north-east of Cyrrhus, from which Andronicus Cyrrhestes derived his surname: Vitruvius i. 6, 4.

In Modern Geography compare Long Island at the entrance of New York Bay, v. Keith Johnston's Royal Atlas, Map 48. The Atlantic States between Boston and Philadelphia on twice the scale of the general map; also in the Bahamas an island of the same name seventy miles long by three or four miles in width, ibid. Map 51, West India Islands and Central America.

Doliche occurs as a female name in an Inscription at Rome: Orelli, No. 2,440; Gruter, p. cccvii, No. 1, Romae, in aedibus quondam Joh. Coritii, in foro Trajani, in arula marmorea.

[1] L. Preller, Les Dieux de l'ancienne Rome, p. 491, L'image du dieu . . . était celle d'un jeune homme, la main droite appuyée sur un timon de voiture, la gauche tenant la foudre et des épis : c'est donc à la fois lui qui dirige le char du soleil, qui lance le tonnerre, et qui donne les moissons. The Temple of Jupiter, whose ruins still exist, was built by Antoninus Pius. References will be found in Gibbon, chap. li (notes), vol. vi, p. 315 sq., edit. Smith; amongst them he mentions Pocock's Description of the East, "a work of superior learning and dignity."

[2] Desjardins, pp. 10, 11, Text and notes; Seidl, p. 35 et suiv. et pl. iii, fig. 1 et 2.

atic of Day and Night, *e.g.*, in the bas-relief brought from Heddernheim, now at Wiesbaden: the bull also appear equally prominent, as an accessory, in the representations of both these divinities. Desjardins speaks of a hammer *(marteau)* in the right hand of Jupiter; but it seems to me to be a *bipennis*, or double axe,[1] such as we see on the coins of Mausolus, Satrap of Halicarnassus and Caria, with the legend ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΛΟ, where the omission of the final Υ should be observed:[2] Leake, Numismata Hellenica, Asiatic Greece, p. 63 sq.; and Supplement, Asia p. 57; Idrieus, another satrap of the same province, Rev. ΙΔΡΙΕΩΣ, Jupiter of Caria in long drapery to right, on the right shoulder *bipennis*, in the left hand *hasta*.

Sir Charles Fellows and Sir C. T. Newton, by their researches, have thrown much light on this subject. The former, "Lycia," p. 75, gives a woodcut of the *bipennis* sculptured on the keystone of a Roman gateway at Mylasa, and says that he saw this emblem on four different keystones, built into various walls in the town. In Pl. XXXV, rare or inedited coins, facing p. 285, fig. 4, we have the *labrys*, which is the Lydian name for the same weapon, on a large scale; and ibid, fig. 5, of smaller size, in the right hand of Zeus Stratios.[3] Compare Sir C. T. Newton's discoveries in Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae, vol. II. Text, Part 2, pp. 611-618, Temple of this deity at Labranda, esp. p. 615; see also ibid., Part 1, p. 14, note t. The author here refers to Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, XLV., who states that the *labrys* had been taken in battle from the Amazon Hippolyte by Hercules, and given by him to Omphale, from whom it had been handed down through the Lydian dynasty; and that it was afterwards won from them by the Carians.[1]

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[1] An illustration is supplied by Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, tome i, p. 712, s.v., fig. 860, Vulcain portant la bipenne, from an ancient picture, which represents this deity brought back by Bacchus to Olympus. Mons^r^ Saglio connects the *bipennis* with the worship of Dionysus. Elle (la hache double) est un symbole non douteux du culte de Bacchus, et une allusion aux sacrifices sanglants par lesquels on honorait ce dieu: Simonide l'appelait *Διωνύσοιο ἄνακτος βουφόνον...θεράποντα*, apud Athenæum lib. x, cap lxxxiv, p. 456 c; edit. Schweighaeuser, vol. iv, p. 173; cf. ibid, p. 175, *βουφόνον...τὸν πέλεκυν*.

The coins of Tarsus bear a four-fold resemblance to the triangular objects at Budapest, viz., in the *bipennis*, the pyramidal form, the figure standing upon an animal, and the front parts of beasts projecting on either side of a pedestal. Hunter's Catalogue, Text p. 315, Caput muliebre turritum ad d. in coronâ — ΤΑΡΣΕΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩϹ. Figura cum modio in capite, leoni cornuto insistens; d. elevata; s. coronam et bipennem; in humero pharetra. Vid. tab. lvi. fig. 21. cf. fig. 22, and reverse of fig. 23, ⁞⁞ ⁞⁞ ΡΣΕΩΝ. ⁞⁞ ΗΣ. ΙΕΡΑΣ. ΚΑΙ. ΑΣΥΛΟΥ. Terminus, ut videtur, ad cujus basin, hinc et inde, pars anterior leonis cornuti.

I exhibited a bronze coin of Tarsus, obv., female head turreted; rev. a human figure standing, not upon, but *behind* a horned quadruped, legend ΤΑΡΣΕΩΝ.

The standing figure on the Tarsian coins is probably Mithras, Leake, Numism. Hellen., Asiatic Greece, p. 128 sq. For this series, which extended through a long period, see some remarks in Conybeare and Howson, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, edit. 8vo, vol. i, p. 27, text with engraving intercalated, and note 1.

[2] Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. ii, p. 597, Terminatio in Ο Dorica est pro ΜΑΥΣΣΩΛΛΟΥ, ut observavimus ad ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ. ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟ. primorum Macedoniae regum.

[3] Herodotus, Terpsichore, v, 119, *κατειλήθησαν ἐς Λάβρανδα ἐς Διὸς Στρατίου ἱρὸν μέγα τε καὶ ἅγιον ἄλσος πλατανίστων.* Cf. Rawlinson's translation, vol. iii, p. 323, note 1. Fig. 5 is a coin of Mylasa, and bears the ethnic name ΜΥΛΑϹƐωΝ, *i.e.*, of the Mylasians.

The mythical part of this narrative should be noticed, because the *bipennis* in works of art appears amongst the accoutrements of the Amazons, concerning which I have made some remarks in connexion with a torso in the museum at Trèves, *Archæological Journal*, vol. XLVI., pp. 233-236, esp. p. 234. We may also compare a beautiful gem in the Collection formed by my brother, the late Rev. S. S. Lewis, and described in the Catalogue raisonné by Professor J. H. Middleton, Class A, Miscellaneous Subjects, No. 28, p. 50. "AN AMAZON ON HORSEBACK, wearing the Phrygian cap, and holding a double axe (*securis*), minutely cut on *sard*." According to all accounts the fables about these women had an Eastern origin; they were said to have inhabited the neighbourhood of the Caucasus, and thence to have invaded Greece, Asia Minor and other countries. In Herodotus, Melpomene, Book IV., we find them mentioned together with the Scythians and Sarmatians.[2]

Tripods are articles of furniture standing on three feet, which were used by the Greeks and Romans as tables, vessels for cooking and altars.[1] Their employment at a very early period is proved by some lines in the Iliad, where Homer describes Achilles offering prizes at the funeral games in honour of Patroclus, Ψ, XXIII, 700-705.

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[1] Moralia, tom. ii, p. 235 sq. edit. Wyttenbach. The subject of chap. xlv. is *Διὰ τί τοῦ Λαβραδέως Διὸς ἐν Καρίᾳ τὸ ἄγαλμα πέλεκυν ἠρμένον, οὐχὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον ἢ κεραυνὸν, πεποίηται*; Cur Jovis Labradensis in Caria simulacrum non sceptrum aut fulmen, sed securim elatam tenet?

[2] Melpomene, lib. iv, cc. 111-116. Scythae juvenes cum Amazonibus consuescunt. Inde Sauromatae orti. Rawlinson's Translation, vol. iii, pp. 96-100, Text and Notes, Story of the Amazons, Country and Customs of the Sauromatae. Herodotus uses the form Σαυρομάται, cc. 110, 117; cf. ibid. c. 21, where see Baehr's note, who quotes Heeren "recte monens *Sauromatas* hic eosdem esse atque *Sarmatas*." Both occur in Juvenal; Sat. ii, *init*.,

Ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet, et
glacialem Oceanum.

Sat. iii, v. 79.,

In summa, non Maurus erat neque Sarmata nec Thrax,
Qui sumpsit pinnas, mediis sed natus Athenis.

The more we inquire about Jupiter Dolichenus, the more clearly we see his Eastern origin, his affinity with Mithras, the Persian Sun-god, and the extent to which these Asiatic religions had spread in Western Europe. Tacitus furnishes us with a good illustration, where he relates that the third legion, which had served in Syria under Corbulo, before the commencement of a battle in Northern Italy paid their adoration to the rising sun—a practice from which the orientation of churches may have been derived: Histories, iii, 24 fin., orientem solem (ita in Syria mos est) tertiani salutavere, v. Ruperti *in loco*.

> Πηλείδης δ' αἶψ' ἄλλα κατὰ τρίτα θῆκεν ἄεθλα,
> Δεικνύμενος Δαναοῖσι, παλαισμοσύνης ἀλεγεινῆς·
> Τῷ μὲν νικήσαντι μέγαν τρίποδ' ἐμπυριβήτην,
> Τὸν δὲ δυωδεκάβοιον ἐνὶ σφίσι τῖον Ἀχαιοί·
> Ἀνδρὶ δὲ νικηθέντι γυναῖκ' ἐς μέσσον ἔθηκεν,
> Πολλὰ δ' ἐπίστατο ἔργα, τίον δέ ἑ τεσσαράβοιον.[2]

> The third bold game Achilles next demands,
> And calls the Wrestlers to the level sands :
> A massy Tripod for the victor lies,
> Of twice six oxen its reputed price :
> And next, the loser's spirits to restore,
> A female captive, valu'd but at four.
> Pope's Translation, vv. 814-819.

Here the epithet ἐμπυριβήτης, standing over the fire, shows that a pot or caldron for boiling is intended. The passage is a curious one, because even an intelligent woman—who knew many kinds of work—is estimated at only one-third of a tripod. These words gave great offence to Madame Dacier ; she regards them as an insult to her sex.[3]

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[1] Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 3rd edition, s.v. Tripos, vol. ii, p. 892 sq., four woodcuts. The tripod occurs as an attribute of Apollo in a medallion on the Arch of Constantine, (Ibid. vol. i, p. 158, woodcut), originally belonging to an earlier monument of Trajan's time : Em. Braun, Ruins and Museums of Rome, p. 6. For its use as a table see vol. ii, p. 157, s.v. Mensa, an illustration taken from Gell's Pompeiana, 1832, vol. ii, p. 11. Comp. Horace, Satires i, 3, 13,

> Sit mihi mensa tripes et
> Concha salis puri.

Böttiger, Sabina, edit., 1806, part ii, taf. xii, fig. 1, facing p. 173, from Tournefort, "der grosse Kräuter-und Alterthumskenner," Voyage du Levant, T. ii, p. 167, ed. in 4 ; Erklärung der Kupfertafeln, zur achten Szene, pp. 255-257.

[2] The former clause in this verse reminds me of Margites, the hero of a comic poem ascribed to Homer,

> Πόλλ' ἠπίστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἠπίστατο πάντα
> Ἐσθλός μὲν γὰρ ἁπλῶς, παντοδαπῶς δὲ κακός.

Homeri opera, edit Ernesti, vol. v, p. 144 (Fragmenta). Cf. Aristotle, Poetics, iv, 10, 12 ; edit. Bekker, Oxon. tom. xi, p. 242. Ὁ γὰρ Μαργίτης ἀνάλογον ἔχει, ὥσπερ Ἰλιὰς καὶ Οδύσσεια πρὸς τὰς τραγῳδίας, οὕτω καὶ οὗτος πρὸς τὰς κωμῳδίας. This person seems to have had a kind of superficial omniscience, for "he knew many trades, but knew them all badly." Cf. Stephens, Thesaurus Graecae Linguae, edit. Didot, s.v., vol. v, p. 581 ; and the article in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, which contains many references ancient and modern.

[3] On the other hand Euryclea, who not only knew her duties, but was also in youthful prime, fetched the price of 20 oxen. Odyssey, i, 428 seqq.

> Τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἅμ' αἰθομένας δαΐδας φέρε κέδν' εἰδυῖα
> Εὐρύκλει', Ὦπος θυγάτηρ Πεισηνορίδαο·
> Τήν ποτε Λαέρτης πρίατο κτεάτεσσιν ἑοῖσιν,
> Πρωθήβην ἔτ' ἐοῦσαν, ἐεικοσάβοια δ' ἔδωκεν.

quoted by Professor Ridgeway, On the Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards, p. 8.

See Pope's Iliad, edit. 1760, vol. vi, p. 116, note on v. 819, "she (Madame Dacier) is afraid the value of women is not raised even in our days ; for she says

Turning from poetry to history we find tripods frequently occurring in Herodotus, *e.g.*, one of gold which was presented by Croesus to a temple at Thebes, and others of bronze which were prizes for victors in the games of the Triopian Apollo.[1] But the most famous of all was that at Delphi, from which the Pythia gave her oracular responses;[2] "next in fame" was another dedicated to Apollo in the same place; Herodotus, Calliope, IX., 81, relates that with a tenth of the spoils taken from the Persians at the battle of Plataeae B.C. 479, the Greeks made an offering of a golden tripod, standing on a three-headed bronze serpent. At Constantinople, in the hippidrome, we may see a column formed of three serpents whose bodies are spirally twisted (*scitissime contortuplicati*), but the heads are missing now; they seem to have been perfect in 1675, as they are engraved by Spon and Wheler. Some have thought that this pillar is only a Byzantine copy; however, the most recent critics are agreed in deciding that both the support and the inscription upon it are genuine, especially because the traces of erasure correspond with the account of Thucydides, who says that the elegiac couplet mentioning only Pausanias, as leader of the Greek armies, was effaced, and that in its stead the names of the States confederated against the barbarians were recorded.[3]

there are curious persons now living who had rather have a true antique kettle than the finest woman alive: I confess I entirely agree with the lady, &c."

[1] Clio, i, 92, *ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ·* v. Baehr, *in loco.* Ibid., 144, *ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι*: the Triopian Promontory is near Cnidus, Map in Rawlinson's Transl. of Herodotus, vol. i, p. 284, note 3. Sir C. T. Newton, Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae, Text, vol. ii, pt. ii, p. 372 sq., with notes f.g.—Atlas of pls., xlix, Gulf of Kos, Triopium Promontory, L, Plan of Cnidus.

[2] For this tripod v. C. O. Müller's Denkmäler, part i, taf. xi, No. 41, text p. 7. Vorderseite der Dresdner Basis (eines geweihten Dreifusses); der Kampf des Apollon und des Herakles um den Dreifuss des Pythischen Orakels. Handbuch der Archäologie, sect. 89, Remark 3, p. 54 English Transl., The Phocians consecrated the Theft of the Tripod by Hercules for the victory over the Thessalians at Parnassus, etc.; ibid. sect. 96. Rem. 20, p. 63, the base at Dresden . . . is explained as a stand of a tripod which was won as a prize in an *ἀγὼν λαμπαδοῦχος* (Remains of the Plastic Art—hieratic or archaistic style). Better engravings and fuller description than in C. O. Müller's work are given by Baumeister, Denkmäler des Klassischen-Altertums, vol. i. p. 463, No. 511, Dreifussraub; p. 464, No. 512, Herakles raubt Apollons Dreifuss. The second illustration is taken from a painted vase (*hydria*): Athena accompanies Hercules, as Artemis does Apollo.

[3] *Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων,*
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐλεγεῖον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐξεκόλαψαν εὐθὺς τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τοῦτο. καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ὀνομαστὶ τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ξυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα. Thucydides, lib. i, cap. 132, edit. Arnold, 1847, vol. i, p. 155 sq., versus quos Graeci tripodi inscripserunt. Diodorus, lxi, 33, p. 430, Gottleber's note. Gibbon, chap. xvii, vol. ii, p. 297

Like this celebrated relic, the tripod at Budapest has claims to be regarded as possessing historical interest. It is supposed to have been brought into Pannonia by Galeria Valeria, daughter of the Emperor Diocletian, who was married to Galerius Maximianus;[1] after his death she was banished by his successor, Maximinus, and at last, with her mother Prisca, beheaded by order of Licinius at Thessalonica. Her melancholy adventures, ignominious wanderings and tragic fate have been vividly depicted by Gibbon with that graphic art in which he is unrivalled.[2] The notion of connecting the name of this unhappy lady with the un-

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sq., edit. Smith, note 48, which begins with a characteristic sentence. "The guardians of the most holy relics would rejoice if they were able to produce such a chain of evidence as may be alleged on this occasion." I may remark that the evidence is now much stronger than when the historian wrote.

A brief notice of the monument, with references, will be found in the Appendix to my Paper on the Antiquities of Constantinople, Archæol. Journ., 1882, vol. xxxix, p. 151. I exhibited, as illustrations, two fine photographs taken by G. Ber'g'gren, a Swedish artist who worked for the Antiquarian Society of Constantinople (*Σύλλογος*)—No. 10, of the Obelisk of Theodosius, brought from Egypt in 390 A.D., which shows the position of the serpentine column relatively to other buildings; No. 87, the column itself on a larger scale.

The inscription is a very important one, and serves as a landmark for Palaeography as well as for political history: Hicks, Manual of Greek historical Inscriptions, No. 12, pp. 11-13.

[1] I possess a bronze coin of this princess—Obv. GALVAL ERIA AVG, bust diademed and draped to right—Rev. VENERI VI CTRICI CMH. Venus standing to left, holding an apple in the right hand, and raising her *stola* with the left. SMNB in the exergue, Signata moneta Nicomediae, *secundo anno* (?) Some examples have in this place SIS, *i.e.* Siscia (*Sissek*) in the south of Upper Pannonia, at the confluence of the Savus (*Save*) and Colapis (*Kulpa*): Baedeker, Süd-Deutschland und Österreich, 1876, p. 448. *ἡ Σισκία φρούριον*, Strabo, lib. vii, cap. v, sect. 2, p. 314. The coin engraved in Smith's Dictionary of Classical Biography, s.v. Valeria, has ALE for Alexandria; others were struck at Antioch: Cohen, Médailles Impériales, vol. v, pp. 617-620, pl. xvi. Two *aurei* are shown in the catalogue of the Collection d'Amécourt, published by MM. Rollin et Feuardent, 1887, pl. xxiv, Nos. 640, 641, p. 97 sq.; these pieces are in fine condition, and are reproduced from plaster casts by a photographic process.

A similar coin of the Empress Sabina, Hadrian's consort, with the same motive but a different legend, is given by Cohen, Méd. Imp. vol. ii, p. 264, No. 79, Rev. VENERI GENETRICI Vénus debout à droite, relevant de la main gauche sa robe sur son épaule et tenant une pomme. The apple denotes the judgment of Paris, who awarded the prize "to the fairest." Scharf, Catalogue of the Roman Court in the Crystal Palace, p. 33, woodcut: Clarac, Musée de Sculpture, Pl. 339, No. 1449; Pl. 342, No. 1307: Baumeister, op. citat., vol. i, p. 91. No. 98. Venus im Koischen Gewande (zu Seite 92).

[2] Decline and Fall, chap. xiv, vol. ii. pp. 137-139 edit Smith, and chap. xvi, p. 264. Prisca and Valeria are said to have been converted to Christianity, but Tillemont doubts the steadfastness of their faith: Histoire des Empereurs, vol. iv, p 4, Leur amour pour la chasteté, qui fut la cause de leurs souffrances, les leur auroit rendu heureuses, s'il avoit esté joint avec la foy et l'amour de JESVS CHRIST: v. the marginal notes and *Table des Matières* at the end of the volume.

Our chief authority for the biography of these ladies is the treatise De Mortibus Persecutorum, which many critics have ascribed to Lactantius; see esp. chaps. xxxix-xli, l, and li, Valeria quoque per varias provincias quindecim mensibus plebeio cultu pervagata, postremo apud Thessalonicam cognita, comprehensa cum matre poenas dedit.

inscribed monument at Budapest, might be placed by those who have not considered the subject in the same category as Stukeley's "fanciful conjectures." But a little investigation will show it to be, at least, plausible. In the partition of provinces made by Diocletian, Valeria's husband was entrusted with Illyricum and the whole line of the Danube, so that Pannonia fell to his share. However, this is not all; he constituted the part of Lower Pannonia between the Raab, Danube and Drave as a separate province in honour of his wife, and named it after her (ad honorem Valeriae Diocletiani filiae et institutam et ita cognominatam, Ammianus Marcellinus, edit. Eyssenhardt, lib. XIX., cap. 11, § 4).[1]

Another argument in favour of the attribution proposed above, has been derived from the resemblance in style of execution between this tripod and the carriage of Diocletian, said to have been found at Nicomedia, the favourite residence of this Emperor, and conveyed to Paris in order to be exposed to public view at one of the great Exhibitions held there.[2] Lastly, the tripod was discovered in 1878 at Polgárdá (county of Stuhlweissenburg), which was a centre of worship in Pannonia. If it was dedicated to some deity by Valeria, this must have occurred before her conversion to Christianity; but possibly it was only an ornamental article of furniture, such as might be used at present.

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[1] Comp. the note of Stephen Baluze on De Mort. Persec., cap. xv, init., Furebat ergo Imperator jam non in domesticos tantum, sed in omnes, et primam omnium filiam Valeriam conjugemque Priscam sacrificio pollui coegit. It is repeated in the edition of this author by Le Brun and Lenglet Dufresnoy, Paris, 4^to^, 1748, vol. ii, p. 295 sq. The Valerian family was one of the most ancient and distinguished at Rome; a member of it, afterwards surnamed Publicola, having taken an active part in the expulsion of the kings; they considered *Volesus* to be their heroic founder—an example of the interchange of R and S., as *Furius* and *Papirius* were at first *Fusius* and *Papisius*. Key On the Alphabet, p. 92; and Article *Valerius* in the Latin-English Dictionary by the same author, published posthumously from his unfinished MS., p. 591. Niebuhr, History of Rome, English Translation, Index, vol. iii, p. 712 sq.; Smith, Dict of Gr. and Rom. Biography, s.v. *Valeria gens*. The allusion to the *Valerii* in Horace shows the prominent position they occupied amongst the Roman nobility,

Contra, Laevinum, Valerî genus, unde
Superbus
Tarquinius regno pulsus fuit, unius assis
Non unquam pretio pluris licuisse.
Satires i, 6, 12 sq.

See the note *in loco*, edit. Delphin; this passage also shows that *e* is short in the second syllable of Valeria.

Valeria also occurs as a common noun, and means a very small blackish eagle, Key, Dict., p. 592. It is described by Pliny, Nat. Hist., lib. x., cap. iii, sects. 3 § 6, edit. Sillig. Sex earum (aquilarum) genera: melanaetos a Graecis dicta, eadem valeria, minuma magnitudine, viribus praecipua, colore nigricans; sola aquilarum fetus suos alit, ceterae, ut dicemus, fugant; sola sine clangore, sine murmuratione; conversatur autem in montibus. De Vit, s.v., derives the word from *valeo*, to be strong. For the termination comp. *maceria*, "a wall including ground, of stone, bricks, &c. (distinct from *murus*)" *materia* and *miseria*.

[2] I made this statement on the authority of Dr. Hampel, curator of the Budapest Museum; but there seems to have been some mistake, as M.

The material of the tripod is silver, the height 40 centimètres ($15\frac{3}{4}$ in.), and the workmanship rude, indicating a late period. At each foot there is an Amoretto riding on a dolphin, and above this group a bust with a rosette on either side. More than half-way up the legs we see the fore part of a griffin, on a much larger scale, and at the top a pair of figures, male and female, supposed to be marine divinities, a Triton and Nereid.[1] This tripod was of the kind called *plicatilis*, *i.e.*, made, like a camp-stool, so as to fold together.[2] Spon, whom I have already quoted for the explanation of Jupiter Dolichenus, again supplies us with a good illustration in his *Miscellanea*, p. 118, fig. II. For the whole subject, his *Dissertatio de Tripodibus* may be consulted with advantage, especially because it is

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Babelon, Conservateur of the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, subsequently informed me that no such antique carriage had been exhibited, but only an attempted restoration of one. This mistake is analogous to the error of some archæologists who have treated as authorities parts added to busts or statues by modern artists, on the supposition that they were original work instead of being supplementary.

[1] Decorations derived from nautical subjects were very generally adopted by the Romans, though they were a military people, and not addicted to maritime commerce as the Greeks and Phœnicians were. Their mosaics supply abundant examples of this practice, even in places remote from the sea, *e.g.*, Thermes de Jurançon, near Pau; v. Le Béarn by Ch.-C. Le Cœur, chap. ii, sect. 1, pp. 145-163; pls. xxi-xxiii; esp. pl. xxii, Bassin E; pl. xxiii, Salle L, figure of Neptune with trident; and Salle M, 10 large fishes: Pavement discovered at Vilbel, near Frankfort, now preserved in the Museum at Darmstadt, where we see dolphins, swans and ducks, as well as hippocamps, sea-lions and sea-dragons; Bossler, die Römerstätte bei Vilbel: my Paper on the Middle Rhine, Archæol. Journ., vol. xlvii, pp. 386-391. One example from our own country may be noticed, found at Withington-upon Wall-Well, nine miles from Cirencester; "The second compartment . . . . contained figures of dolphins and sea-monsters, and a large head of Neptune, represented with horns, apparently formed of crabs' or lobsters' claws, and two dolphins proceeding from his mouth," T. Morgan, Romano-British Mosaic Pavements, p. 79; Archæologia, vol. xviii, pp. 118-121, esp. p. 120 and pl. vii, fig. 2.

Many passages might be cited from Cicero, where he uses maritime metaphors, quite in accordance with this feature in ancient art; *e.g.*, he compares himself to a pilot, Letters to Atticus, lib. ii, Ep. 7, sect. 4, "Jam pridem gubernare me taedebat, etiam quum licebat. Nunc vero quum cogar exire de navi, non abjectis sed ereptis gubernaculis, cupio istorum naufragia ex terra intueri." Id., De Senectute, c. xix fin., "quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar, aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus."

[2] Of the three legs of the tripod only two now remain; no attempt has been made to restore the third. I exhibited a photograph of this object as it now exists; and at the same time one of a tripod from the Bronze Room in the British Museum, which is complete but less ornate, the decorations being panthers' heads at the middle of the legs, and busts round the vessel at the top.

accompanied by a full-page engraving, which the learned author describes minutely.[1]

The museum at Buda-Pest is rich in military diplomas, a class of very instructive records, which arrested my attention when I first visited the place many years ago. About eighty of these documents exist, and this collection possesses seven—four complete and three fragmentary.[2] They consist of two bronze plates (whence the name is derived), engraved on both sides, and joined by means of copper wire passing through four holes: they contain a statement of the privileges granted by Imperial decree to soldiers who had completed their term of service—*honesta missio*, honourable discharge; *civitas*, citizenship to those who had it not previously; and *connubium*, right to marry a foreign woman, and to hand down the *civitas* to their offspring.[1] The importance of these tablets, as historical evidence, can hardly be exaggerated, because we find in them exact dates, as in the large brass coins of the Emperors which bear in the legend TRIB. POT. *(tribunicia potestas)*, with a *numeral*, for we must remember that this office was conferred annually. But they supply us with many additional particulars that could not be included within the "narrow orb" of a coin, even when the words were abbreviated as much as possible.[2] From such monuments we obtain the names of magistrates, of legates who commanded armies, of cohorts and the places in which they were stationed. We also see how skilfully the government employed troops of different nationalities, in a manner that would best promote the public interest,[3] how liberally it rewarded soldiers, and how the statesmen of that time, absorbing extraneous elements into the body politic, at once cemented and extended the vast fabric of the Roman Empire.

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[1] Spon, loc. citat., Tabula in qua varii Tripodes. I have mentioned No. ii as the most apposite for comparison with the monument at Budapest. He describes it thus, "ita flexilis et plicatilis, ut ad minorem molem reduci possit, partibus tamen remanentibus simul junctis, non clavorum sed quarundam catenularum ope," p. 119, s.f. The page includes seven engravings of tripods, besides eight of coins on which they are represented. In two cases a man is offering sacrifice. One of these pieces bears the legend VOTA SOLVTA DECENALIA (*sic*) S·C, with COS III in the exergue. Another has the following words inscribed upon it, SACERD . COOPT . IN OMN CONL . SVPRA NVM . EX SC. Expansion, Sacerdos Cooptatus In Omne Conlegium Supra Numerum Ex Senatus Consulto. The allusion is to the Augurs. Comp. Cicero, Brutus seu De Claris Oratoribus, c. i, sect. 1, "cooptatum me ab eo (Q. Hortensio) in collegium recordabar." They filled up vacancies by self-election, and retained this right of co-optation until the Domitian law De Sacerdotiis was passed B.C. 104. Smith's Dict. of Antiqq. 3d edition, Art. Augur, Auspicia vol. i, p. 256a. Cf. Collegium, ibid., p. 470b, and Pontifex, vol. ii, p. 461, a, b.

Spon's article is well worth reading, partly on account of rare words in it which suggest inquiry—*e.g.* ANCVLAE seu EMPVSAE, Ancones seu Prothyrides, HYPOCRATERIDION—partly for useful references, one of which I cite as a specimen. Lucan, Pharsalia, lib. v, vv. 64-224, relates the visit of Appius to Delphi in order to consult the oracle which for a long time had been silent. ("The oracles were dumb," Milton's Hymn for the Nativity.) Lucanus improbatam Appii curiositatem dicit v. 120,

Hic (v.l. *sic*) tempore longo
IMMOTOS TRIPODAS vastaeque silentia rupis
Appius Hesperii scrutator ad ultima fati
Sollicitat.

Et paulo post, v. 157, sentit TRIPODAS cessare, furensque Appius.

The word *tripus* recurs in this passage with greater frequency than the Index of Weise's edition would lead one to suppose.

Lucan's description, vv. 186-192, of the Pythia, Phemonoe, and the effects of divine inspiration upon her, seems to be imitated from Virgil's Cumaean Sibyl, Æneid, vi, 47 sqq.

subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non comptae mansere comae, sed pectus anhelum
Et rabie fera corda tument, majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando
Jam propiore dei.

See Forbiger's notes *in loco.*

[2] Orelli, Collectio Inscriptionum Latinarum, 1828, vol. ii, p. 125, chap. xiv, Res Militaris, sect. 6. Honesta Missio. No. 3577, Quotquot supersunt, numero xvi collegit Spangenberg ex Marinio praesertim; and see Nos. 3578-3592; comp. vol. i, p. 180, Monumenta Historica, sect. 10, Galba. Léon Rénier, Recueil de Diplômes Militaires, one vol. 4to, plates, 1876. Desjardins, Epigraphie du Musée National Hongrois, says that about sixty of these tablets are extant. According to Daremberg and Saglio, Dictionnaire d'Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, s.v. Diploma, Article by the Abbé Henri Thédenat, xiii Fascicule, Juillet 1888, p. 269, note on Bibliographie, the number amounts to eighty-one. Hence it will be perceived that great progress has been made in this branch of classical archaeology. The British Museum possesses important examples, which are to be seen in the Anglo-Roman room. Some of them are described in the Lapidarium Septentrionale, folio, 1875, pp. 3-8. Coloured fac-similes are given, and the text copied with the lacunae filled up, viz., Malpas Diploma, inner and outer side of both plates; Sydenham Diploma, both sides; Riveling Diploma, both sides of remaining plate.

Among the diplomas in Desjardins' work on the Epigraphy of the National Hungarian Museum, I have selected the one that seemed to present more points of interest than any other; it belongs to the month of February, A.D 98 (Reign of Trajan): see p. 90, No. 185-185 bis. Pl. xlii. et xliii.

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[1] Orelli, ibid. p. 464, No. 2652, De Connubio militibus in tabulis honestae missionis ab Imperatoribus concesso . . . Sollemnis formula. Daremberg et Saglio, loc. citat. Le conubium est un privilége . . . entrainant tous les effets attachés aux justae nuptiae, (même avec une peregrine ou une Latine); la loi limitait sagement l'usage de ce privilège à un seul mariage.

[2] "A narrow ORB each crowded conquest keeps," line 25 of Pope's Epistle to Addison occasioned by his Dialogues on Medals.

[3] In the provinces, the Romans not only stationed foreigners, but also separated those of the same nation so as not to occupy contiguous positions; hence mutiny was almost impossible: Bruce, Roman Wall, edit. 4to, p. 63. Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis, chap. xxxviii, Item per lineam Valli—Lingones, Batavi, Frisii, Tungri, Gauls, Dalmatians, Moors, Thracians, Morini, Nervii, etc. As a specimen, several slabs bearing the name Astures (in Spain) were found at Chesters, on the North Tyne; ibid. p. 64. Vide Index, s.v. Astures, First Ala, Benwell, p. 109; Second Ala, Chesters, p. 158; Second Cohort, Great Chesters, pp. 68, 235.

IMP · CAESAR · DIVI · NERVAE · F · NERVA · TRAIA O
NVS · AVG · GERMANIC · PONTIFEX · MAXIMVS
TRIBVNIC · POTESTAT COS IĪ
EQVITIBVS · ET · PEDITIBVS QVIMILITANT IN ALIS
DVABVS · ETCOHORTIBVS V̄ QVAE APPELLANTVR · SI
LIANA · C · R · ET . Ī · AVGVSTA · ITVRAEOR · ET · I MON
TANORVM · C · R · ET · Ī · BATAVORVM · ⊳⊲ · P · F · ET · Ī
LVSITANORVM · ET · I · AVGVSTA · ITVRAEOR · ET · II
BATAVOR · ⊳⊲ · ET · SVNT · IN PANNONIA · SVB · CN
PINARIO · AEMILIO · CICATRICVLA · POMPEIO
LONGINO · ITEM · DIMISSIS · HONESTA · MIS
SIONE QVIQVINA · ET · VICENA · PLVRAVE · STI
PENDIA · MERVERVNT · QVORVM · NOMINA
SVBSCRIPTA · SVNT · IPSIS · LIBERIS · POSTERIS
QVE · EORVM · CIVITATEM · DEDIT · ET CONVBIVM

O O

CVM · VXORIBVS QVAS TVNC · HABVISSENT CVM
EST CIVITAS · IS · DATA AVT · SIQVI · CAELIBES · ESSENT
CVM · IS QVAS · POSTEA · DVXISSENT · DVMTAXAT · SIN
GVLI · SINGVLAS · A · D · X · K MART
IMP · CAESARE · TRAIANO · AVG · GERMAN Ī I
SEX IVLIO FRONTINO II · COS
COHORT . Ī · AVGVST · ITVRAEORVM · CVIPRAEST
L · CALLIDIVS · L · F · STE · CAMIDIENVS
DIMISSO · HONESTA · MISSIONE
EX · PEDITE
P · INSTEIO AGRIPPAE F CYRRH
DESCRIPTVM · ET · RECOGNITVM · EX TABVLA · AE
NEAQVAE · FIXA · EST · ROMAE IN MVROPOST
TEMPLVM · DIVI · AVG AD MIN : RVAM O

C · IVNI PRIMI
T FLAVI SECVNDI
O
SEX · CAESONI CALLISTI
T · FLAVII ABASCANTI
Q · POMPEI HOMERI
L · VALERI BASTERNAE
O
L · PVLLI EPAPHRODITI
O O[1]

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[1] For the mode in which the bronze plates were fastened together, comp. Baumeister, Denkmäler d. Klassischen Altertums, vol. i, p. 354 sq., fig. 376, Brieftäfelchen aus Rom; p. 355, Man verschloss diese Täfelchen dadurch, dass man durch Löcher, welche in ihnen, meist in der Mitte, angebracht waren eine Schnur (*λίνον linum*) zog, dieselbe mehrmals herumwickelte, zusammenknüpfte und an den Enden versiegelte (Plautus, Bacchides, v. 748). Bullettino municipale (1874) ii, tav. 7 and 8. Aus zwei Holzplättchen bestehendes

Besides the mention of the deified Emperors, Augustus and Nerva, and of Trajan, perhaps the greatest of Roman sovereigns, we learn from this document that Frontinus, in his second consulship, filled the place of Nerva, who died on Jan. 27th, A.D. 98. Frontinus interests us because he was governor of Britain A.D. 75, and, according to Tacitus, Life of Agricola, chap. 17, proved no unworthy successor of Cerialis: in spite of an obstinate resistance and the difficulties caused by the locality, he subjugated the Silures.[1] However, he is best known by his book on the Roman Aqueducts, which is our chief authority for this subject; he was qualified for the task by having held the office of Curator Aquarum. Another work by the same writer is less important:—*Strategematicon, libri IV.*—as it consists chiefly of anecdotes relating to famous generals. We may observe that although Trajan in this document has several titles, he is not called *Pater Patriae*; the omission corresponds with a passage in the panegyric of the younger Pliny, chap. 21, where it is stated that he refused this title. The same chapter ends with an expression that may remind us of a legend on the coins of this Emperor, OPTIMVS PRINCEPS, best of princes; for Pliny says that Trajan placed himself on a level with his fellow citizens, but that he was greater only so far as he was better.[2]

There are also other *nomina propria* in the Tablet, which, though of less consequence than the preceding, should not be altogether passed over. *Pinarius* occurs

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Täfelchen. The holes, through which a thong or wire passed, assist us to understand a passage in one of Cicero's most famous orations, In L. Catilinam iii ad Quirites, cap. 5 sect. 10, Tabellas proferri jussimus quae a quoque dicebantur datæ. Primum ostendimus Cethego signum; cognovit. Nos linum incidimus (we cut the string): legimus. Cicero is here giving an account to the people of the manner in which the intrigue of the conspirators with the Allobrogian envoys was discovered. Written orders signed by Lentulus Cethegus and others had fallen into his hands: Liddell, History of Rome, vol. ii, p. 396 sq., book vii, chap. lxiv.

[1] Tacitus, loc. citat. Et cum Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset, sustinuit quoque molem Julius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit. Cerealis had specially distinguished himself by suppressing the formidable revolt of the Batavian Civilis. Frontinus in his turn was superseded by Agricola. The Romans sent some of their best generals to Britian, doubtless on account of the stubborn resistance which our ancestors offered to the invaders.

[2] Loc. citat. edit. Keil and Mommsen, At tu (Trajanus) etiam patris patriae (titulum) recusabas . . . Nomen illud quod alii primo statim principatus die, ut imperatoris et Caesaris, receperunt, tu usque eo distulisti, donec tu quoque beneficiorum tuorum parcissimus aestimator jam te mereri fatereris. Ibid. fin. par omnibus, et hoc tantum caeteris major, quo melior.

among the names of the *legati* who commanded the Pannonian army at this period.[1] The *Pinarii* belong to the mythical history of Rome, and are mentioned together with the *Potitii* as distinguished families who entertained Hercules hospitably, and were afterwards his hereditary priests.[2] *Cicatricula*, in Celsus, means a little scar,[3] but I know of no instance where it designates a person except that given by Raphael Fabretti, Inscriptiones, 1699, p. 700, No. 211, P·CORNELIO·P·F||SAB·CICATRICVLAE. Compare the the recent work by Ariodante Fabretti, *Glossarium Italicum*, p. 840, s.v. ; he refers to Oliv. Marm. pisaur., No. 35, pg. 15.

In line 25 EX·PEDITE signifies one who had been formerly a foot soldier.[4] The use of the preposition EX to denote an office which a person had ceased to hold is frequent in inscriptions. I have already noticed it, *Archæological Journal*, vol. XLVII., p. 395, sq , where examples are so fully explained that I need not repeat them now. Line 26, we find the *gens Insteia*, which occurs in authors as well as on monuments. Tacitus, Annals, XIII., 9, mentions a centurion of this name employed by Ummidius, governor of Syria, who quarrelled with the celebrated Corbulo, Nero's Commander-in-Chief against the Parthians. There are various forms of the word—Isteius, Instia; also Instueia, Instuleia, and Instelanus vicus at Rome: see De Vit's Onomasticon appended to his edition of Forcellini's Lexicon. In the same line cYRRH is perhaps an abbreviation of Cyrrhestes from Cyrrhus in Syria, North-East of Antioch, and the capital of Cyrrhestica—a region near Commagene, which I have mentioned in speaking of Jupiter Dolichenus. This adjective is well known as an epithet of Andronicus, who built the Horologium at Athens, commonly called the Tower of the Winds, from the emblematic figures sculptured upon it. The choragic monument of Lysicrates is a parallel case, for its traditional name was The Lantern of Demosthenes [1]

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[1] In the vestibule leading to the Reading Room of the British Museum, Pinarius occurs three times and Pinaria once on a sepulchral slab, affixed to the wall to the right as the visitor enters.

[2] Livy I, vii, 12-14, Ibi tum primum bove eximia capta de grege sacrum Herculi, adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum familiae maxime inclitae ea loca incolebant, factum: see the notes edit. Weissenborn. Other references, ancient and modern, are given in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, s.v. Pinaria gens and Potitia gens.

[3] Celsus De Medicina, edit. Targa, 4to, with variorum notes, Lugduni Batavorum, 1785, lib. ii, cap. 10 extr., Ideoque protinus brachium deligandum habendumque ita est, donec valens cicatricula sit ; quae celerrime in vena confirmatur. The author is here giving directions for blood-letting. Ibid. vii, 7 § 1, Dein superinungi collyrio debet ex iis aliquo, quo lippientes oculi superinunguntur : paucissimisque diebus cicatricula inducitur. This passage is well illustrated by the oculists' stamps, many of which are preserved in the National Collections of the European Capitals. See De Villefosse and Thédenat (Cachets d'Oculistes). At the British Museum there are seven on view in the Etruscan Saloon.

[4] Similarly we find *Ex gregale*, qui jam gregaria militia functus est. *Diploma Hadriani Imp.* apud *Vernazza, Torino*, 1817. Ex gregale D. Numitorio Agilini f. Tarammoni. De Vit, Lexicon, s.v. sect. 8.

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[1] Cyrrhestica is south of Commagene mentioned above, in the plain between Mount Amanus on the west and the River Euphrates on the east : *vide* Smith and Grove's Classical and Biblical Atlas, Map 29, Asia Minor.

See Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens, fol. 1762, vol. i, chap. iii, pp. 13-25. Of the octogon Tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, plates i-xix. Ibid. chap iv, pp. 27-36. Of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, etc., plates i-xxvi. "The modern Athenians call this edifice to Phanâri tou Demostheneos or the Lanthorn of Demosthenes." Besides general views, which include the surroundings, plans, sections and details, this magnificent work supplies much information not given in cheap and recent compilations.

The second leaf of the tablets contains the names of seven witnesses, in the genitive case. For the whole subject of *tabulae honestae missionis*, comp. Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiqq., 3rd edition, vol. i, pp. 641-644, Articles *Diploma* and *Diptycha* with diagrams and engraving ; and ibid. p. 809. Art. *Exercitus*, Length of service and discharge.

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE ARCHITECTURAL SECTION AT THE LONDON MEETING.[1]

By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, LL.D., F.S.A.

I believe it is one of the unwritten rules, or at all events traditions, of the Royal Archæological Institute, to ask some gentleman of antiquarian predilictions to occupy the presidential chair of one or other sections of these Meetings upon the same principle as the Hero in the "Grand Duchess of Gerolstein" asked to be appointed a schoolmaster in order that he might learn the first duties of his position, viz.: to read and write. It must be, I think, upon this principle that, some few years ago, the Council asked me to preside over the Antiquarian Section, antiquities being a subject with which I am unacquainted. The Council have now been good enough to ask me, who am equally unacquainted with Architecture, to preside over the Architectural Section, while my friend Mr. Micklethwaite, who is pre-eminent as an architect, has been asked to preside over the Antiquarian. I am sure the gentleman will forgive me for commencing with this, because upon the principle of Mr. Richard Moniplies, in Sir Walter Scott's novel of the "Fortunes of Nigel," I find it better, if anybody is likely to have anything to say against me, to say it myself.

In the address that I propose to give you to-day, I have thought it well to put myself in the position of one of us cockneys wishing to point out to a visitor to London, as all of you, gentlemen, are here, the manner in which I think he could, without going outside of a 1s. 6d. fare in a Hansom cab, if he was so minded, study the Architecture of the different periods of English History. I should like, however, to premise that a city is, for many reasons, a bad place in which to study architecture. I remember Sir Charles Newton, upon whom I urged, now many years ago, the advisability of continuing excavations in Ephesus after the discovery of the Temple, telling me how hopeless it was to attempt to excavate in a city that had been continuously inhabited for a long period. From the nature and necessity of things, successive generations would have destroyed, by repairs, alterations and otherwise, the distinctive features that a person by excavation would wish to find. I know well by experience that so it is in London with architecture. Not only have the buildings been from time to time repaired and altered as occasion required, but they have been altered according to the different uses to which they have been put, and the different tastes of different ages, and also within a comparatively recent period almost all of them have more or less been subjected to the severe process that is called restoration, *i.e.*, restoration to their supposed original condition, by persons unacquainted with it, and out of joint with the circumstances which produced those conditions. Nevertheless, making allowance for all this, there are still some notable examples left, and of these I shall give a short list. It must not be taken that I pledge myself in a general address like this to a particular year when I give a date. I believe all the dates I give are approximately accurate. I have verified them as far as I can.

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[1] Read at Burlington House, July 14th, 1893.

Probably the first occupation of London of which the enquiring antiquary would wish to find some architectural remains is the Roman. The only remaining Roman architectural feature of London is the wall. The course of the Roman wall of London is pretty well known, and from time to time by excavation at various points of it a good deal of information has been gathered about it. In the 52nd Volume of *Archæologia*, p 690, there is an exhaustive description of a portion of it discovered near the new buildings of the post office at Aldersgate—the fact that the description was made by Mr. Fox ensures that it was both careful and complete. The wall is built in courses with stone and Roman brick, underpinned and preserved, and can be seen from the buildings of the New Post Office. It gives a very fair idea of the general construction. I think it would not be impossible for this

Society either in the neighbourhood of All Hallows on the Wall or of the Churchyard of St. Alphege, possibly also of St. Giles, Cripplegate, to uncover a portion of the Roman Wall which might be permanently exposed for examination and study. The suggestion that St. Peter's-upon-Cornhill was built by Lucius, King of Briton, in the 2nd century is very interesting, but no part of the present church was built at that time, and we have nothing in London of an earlier date than very late Saxon.

Of the pure Saxon period there is no example remaining. Edward the Confessor rebuilt in part Westminster Abbey during the last few years of his life, commencing with the year 1060, but I think it may be assumed that, however many Saxon workmen may have been employed in the building, the church itself was a pure Norman building. You have visited Westminster Abbey under the auspices of our mutual friend, Mr. Micklethwaite. You could not have a better or more appreciative guide. He has no doubt pointed out to you the base of the pier near the Reredos, which I believe is undoubtedly Saxon. There are other portions of the buildings which when I was young I was taught also to consider Saxon, but I believe doubt has been thrown upon these. But this doubt is of no great importance if the buildings were not built by Edward the Confessor they were the continuation of his work. For the indigenous Norman examples of this date we must look to the ruined Abbey of Jumièges, or the Church of St. George at Boscherville, near Rouen. Among the Westminster Buildings to which your attention has no doubt been directed is the building called the Chapel of the Pyx, which Sir George Gilbert Scott has described in his *Gleanings of Westminster Abbey.*

Another specimen in the City of very early Norman work is the crypt of Bow Church. This crypt, which is sadly kept, is very interesting. There are several pure early Norman cushion capitals, and one with a sort of leaf ornament on the edge, which I do not remember to have seen elsewhere. The capital upon which this ornament is seen is that of a pillar partly built up. There is one part of the north side of the crypt which may be late Saxon. This crypt and the Norman work at Westminster Abbey may not inappropriately be compared with the Chapel in the White Tower. This Chapel was built in the year 1078, and is consequently one of the earliest specimens of Norman architecture in England. The Chapel terminates in an apse. I cannot tell if the crypt of Bow Church did the same—if it did the apse must have been destroyed at a very early period, as the building is bounded at the east end by a street.

I do not know how far Mr. Pearson kept the promise, which was made to us by the Chief Commissioner of Works at the time, to preserve in the altered building the exterior wall of Westminster Hall. I hope he did. Westminster Hall must have been commenced within a very few years of the building of the Chapel of the White Tower. When the Law Courts were removed some 10 or 12 'years ago the whole of the west wall of Westminster Hall was uncovered, and was shown to be of early Norman work, altered in the reign of King Richard the Second. The early Norman work was of Caen stone—the later work of Richard the Second of Reigate fire stone. The Norman work was supported by flat Norman buttresses, and the wall was covered with Norman masons' marks, whilst the building itself was not unlike, but on a very much larger scale, the hall of the Exchequer of Normandy, at Caen. The later work of Richard the Second was supported by heavy flying buttresses and of a different construction. Of the same date as Westminster Hall is the western part of the well-preserved crypt of the Church of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell—this crypt was no doubt built in the reign of King William Rufus.

The next building to be noticed is the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great. This is a beautiful specimen of the more advanced period of the Norman architecture before the transition had begun. This building may be fixed as between the years 1123 and 1133—it is very well known, and although it has suffered from restoration the suffering has not been very severe. Of the date of King Henry the Second's reign we have several buildings, and first the round part of the second Temple Church, built in the year 1185. In the same year, and at the same time, was built the second Church of the Knights of St.

John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell—the Churches of the Hospital and of the Temple were consecrated at the same time by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Heraclius, just before the extinction of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Hospitallers' Church has, in one sense, met with more severe treatment than the Temple Church. There is little left of this Church except the crypt and a few bases of Purbeck marble of one or two pillars in the nave. The round part of the Temple Church is standing, but it has been restored. The eastern part of the crypt of St. John's Church is that built in 1185, and the junction between the two styles, the early Norman of the first Church and the transition of the second Church, is very well marked.

Of about the same period is the Bell Tower of the Tower of London. This tower now forms part of the house of the Lieutenant of the Tower, General Milman, who, I make no doubt, with his usual courtesy, will permit you to see the construction of it. The date is, I believe, 1190. These buildings mark the distinctly transition period—so that we have a fair representation of the architecture of the Norman and transition period.

Within the next few years the Church of St. Mary Overey, the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, and the Chancel of the Temple Church were built, and here, if I may be permitted to do so, I should like to indulge in a digression. In many respects the most interesting of these churches is the Church of St. Mary Overey. If you will take a map, and draw a straight line from Southwark to Shoreham, you will find that it will pass through the parishes of Carshalton and Reigate. Any person who casually visits these four churches, viz., St. Mary Overey, Carshalton, Reigate and Shoreham, will come to the conclusion that they were built at the same time by the same architect, or at all events, by the same gang of workmen. Why there should be a connection between Shoreham and the other three churches, unless the workmen were following the main road up to London, it is not quite so easy to tell. But as between St. Mary Overey, Carshalton and Reigate there is a very interesting and easy connection, I do not know at what time the architects began to use Reigate stone, but they did so in the thirteenth century. In the early accounts of the building of Westminster Abbey, it seems that the chalk with which the roof was made was bought from Henry de Carshalton, who no doubt lived at Carshalton and owned the extensive chalk pits which existed between Carshalton and the well-known house, The Oaks. These chalk pits are now overgrown with yews and other trees, and form a very picturesque object in the ride from Carshalton to Woodmanstern. This I believe is the nearest point to London from which chalk could be got. At the same time the stone for the building was being brought from the neighbourhood of Reigate. This I think affords a sufficient connection between Reigate and Carshalton, and the buildings then erected in London, and makes it clear why the churches of St. Mary Overey, Carshalton and Reigate, which were all built at the same time, should have been built under the same influence. A very short time afterwards the architects found that chalk could be got as conveniently from the neighbourhood of Reigate as it could from Carshalton. The Reigate stone, as it is probably well-known to most of you, did not come from Reigate, but from the hills lying between Merstham Station and Godstone, where extensive old quarries still exist The Reigate stone, as it is called, crops out just below the chalk, which forms the range of hills called the North Downs. The part of the range of hills from which the stone came lies in the parish of Chaldon, and it is interesting to see that, in the accounts for building Westminster Abbey, the stone is bought from Roger de Reigate, and the chalk from Richard (and afterwards from Agnes) de Chaldon, and Carshalton was deserted. I should think it is probable that it was from this connection that Chaldon Church came to be ornamented with the curious wall-painted picture of the Last Judgment, which is known to many of you, and that to it Chipstead Church, which is the Church of the adjoining parish, is indebted for the beautiful central crossing and the groined roof with which it is ornamented.

If you have not already done so you will probably visit the Chapel at Lambeth Palace. This Chapel has, I believe, been attributed among other builders to a person we know very well—Archbishop Hubert Walter, a distinguished Archbishop in the reigns of King Richard and King John.

To the same date may be attributed the chancel of the Temple Church. This was a period during which the greatest proportion of the Temple Buildings in England were either built or repaired.

A very few years later, namely, in 1242, in the reign of King Henry the Third, began the reconstruction of Westminster Abbey. If we had no building in London except Westminster Abbey this alone would furnish us with a complete history of Gothic architecture. If I do not refer to it at length again in this short address it is only because you have already seen it, and had explained to you the manner in which the building of the Abbey proceeded continuously from the reign of King Henry the Third until just before the suppression of the Abbey, and that the buildings were erected in one harmonious design, so that while it is possible by examination of the details to trace which part of the Church was building at a particular period, the building itself produces in the main the impression of having all been built at the same time. King Henry the Third also greatly enlarged the fortifications of the Tower of London—it is said that he built the Traitors' Gate and St. Thomas' Tower. You will see the Tower yourselves. I particularly notice the Traitors' Gate because of its peculiar construction—the arch has no key-stone, and the stones are held together by notches—a not uncommon practice in the East, where it is a preservation in case of earthquake, but I do not know any other in England. I should have thought it was later. Towards the latter end of the thirteenth century Bishop de Luda built the Chapel in Ely Place. It is a beautiful specimen of the Geometric style of architecture, the most beautiful in London. During this period the work in Westminster Abbey was in progress. In the year 1347, St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster was built. Of this the crypt alone remains. During the next 50 years Westminster Hall was rebuilt, and the Church of the Augustinian Friars in the City, but it was in the commencement of the fifteenth century that rebuilding in London had its greatest impetus. The century opens with the rebuilding of the Guildhall, in the year 1411. The Guildhall is a building of great interest, and it has a very perfect crypt, which you will study with interest.

The mention of crypts brings me to mention another matter. It is astonishing the number of crypts, or so-called crypts, which must have existed in London. These are continually being discovered and destroyed. The real question is what they were. In the first place, with regard to some of them, I doubt if they were crypts at all. The level of London has been raised so unevenly, that in some instances I think they must be the ground floor of some building destroyed at the Fire. The word crypt carries with it a sort of mysterious feeling; but, after all, a crypt was merely a cellar in many cases. In proof of this I would appeal to any gentlemen here who know the ancient and loyal City of Winchelsea, of which I am an honorary freeman. The crypts or cellars of the old town extend far into the neighbouring fields, and my grandfather's sheep in the hot weather used to shade themselves in one of the many rows of cellars with which the fields are honeycombed. I do not believe Winchelsea was ever completed. The architect laid out his streets at right angles, and along the line of the streets made cellars with beautiful early Fourteenth century groining, upon which the houses, which were never built, were to be built. In London they were built. A photograph which I exhibit of a crypt lately discovered, and destroyed, in Ironmonger Lane will illustrate what I mean. You, gentlemen, can see one in full use in Laurence Pountney Lane, and there must still be plenty more. With respect to this I urge the gentlemen to go and see that at Laurence Pountney Lane at once. It is private property—it is threatened with destruction—and, good and perfect as it is, no power except that of money can preserve it. In that respect I fear antiquaries are like conies—a feeble folk.

The Churches of St. Ethelburga, St. Helen's, and the beautiful south-west porch of St. Sepulchre's were all built at this period. In the year 1465 Crosby Hall was built, and although an eating-house is not a convenient place in which to study antiquities, it is well worth a visit. The Hall of Lincoln's Inn was built about the same time. This hall is interesting, and although repeated alterations to suit the requirements of a law court, for which it was never intended, have, to some extent, spoilt it, still it is interesting. Merchant Taylor's Hall is of about the same date, and there is attached to this Hall a very interesting series of buildings, part of which (including a crypt) is at least as old as the Hall. The Gate of Lincoln's Inn was built in 1481—this is now a very poor affair—the groining is gone, and the gate itself overtopped by new chambers. The Gate of Lambeth Palace was built in 1490—this is a much more satisfactory piece of building and better preserved.

In the year 1502 King Henry the Seventh's Chapel was added on to Westminster Abbey, and two years later (1504) St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, was built. This latter is a very perfect specimen of Domestic architecture of this date, and although it has been repaired, it still retains its principal features. Another specimen of domestic architecture is a part of the Charterhouse. In 1526 the small cloisters, now enclosed in the Houses of Parliament, were added to the Chapel of St. Stephen's, and about ten years later the Gateway of St. James' Palace. This is the latest specimen of Pre-Reformation work that I know of in London. The rest of King Henry the Eight's reign, and the reign of that brilliant young prig, his son, were mainly occupied by pulling down. There was very little building done then. It is very curious, but of the style which is called Elizabethan I do not find satisfactory examples. Some of the city halls must have been built or adapted then, but they were mostly burned at the Fire. The only buildings of importance that I can mention are the Hall of the Temple, built in 1570, and a part of the Charterhouse, which is of about the same date. In the year 1623 the Chapel at Lincoln's Inn was built, and I would commend it to your notice as an extraordinary good specimen, as far as the outside of the building and the undercroft upon which it stands is concerned, of Gothic Architecture at this time. It is so good, that I believe some doubt existed as to whether it was not of an earlier date; but the account of the building was found, leaving no doubt that it was built at that time.

There were two churches in the city built about the same time, the Church of St. Alban, Wood Street, and St. Katharine Cree Church. St. Alban, Wood Street, was burnt at the Fire of London, and rebuilt in the same style after it by Sir Christopher Wren; the apse at the east end was an addition of Sir George Gilbert Scott, and a happy one, as at the time it was the means of preserving the church, but it is not part of the original structure. The Church of St. Katharine Cree Church was consecrated in the year 1630, and quite independently of its architectural merits as a church it is of great historical interest. The service used by Archbishop Laud at the consecration of it, in 1630, was one of the subjects of the indictment preferred against him by the Puritans. But there is another interesting feature in St. Katharine Cree Church. The tower is part of the original building; against the east wall of the north side of the tower is preserved the westernmost pillar of the old arcade, dividing the nave from the south aisle. The condition of the tower piers, and particularly of this pillar, shows the extent to which the original church was below the surface of the church of 1630 and of the present pavement. The contemporary accounts show that the pavement of London had risen round the church, and that the inside of the church was partly filled up when the new church was rebuilt. This part of London was not burnt at the Fire. I consider St. Katharine Cree Church a very satisfactory specimen of church architecture, and it looks to me as if, but for the Fire of London, we should have at this time probably developed in London a new style of architecture of modified Gothic. But the Fire of London came immediately afterwards, and the whole re-building of the city falling into the hands of Sir Christopher Wren, except in the instances I shall presently mention, stopped this at once and for ever. In the reign of King Charles the First, and not long before the great Rebellion, another important building was built at Westminster, the Banqueting House at Whitehall.

The Fire in 1666 swept away, together with St. Paul's Cathedral, which must have been at least as interesting a study of architecture as Westminster Abbey, by far the greater part of the churches within the walls and some within the liberties also, together with Castle Baynard, the old buildings of the Steelyard and the Merchants' Houses and Palaces. When Sir Christopher Wren commenced to rebuild he was within certain fixed lines practically left a free hand. There are, however, the following churches which from a variety of circumstances he was compelled to rebuild in the Gothic style. First, St. Mary Aldermary. Some portion of the original tower had remained, and upon a careful examination of the church you will find in the church itself some other remains of the old perpendicular work which Sir Christopher Wren used in his building. Secondly, St. Alban's, Wood Street. This church had just been built by Inigo Jones, and was also rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren in the Gothic style. Thirdly, the tower and spire of St. Dunstan's in the East. Fourthly, the tower of St. Michael's, Cornhill. In repairing the Church of St. Sepulchre's a great deal of the old work was preserved. St. Sepulchre's has undergone several restorations, but the tower is an extremely beautiful one. The tower of St. Michael's, Cornhill, is entirely Wren's, and is a very fine piece of work, with very bold and effective proportions, but poor detail. The tower and spire of St. Dunstan's in the East are as good as St. Michael's and very delicate. St. Mary Aldermary I think retains more of the old tower built before the fire than either of the two others, and is almost a restoration rather than a rebuilding. When Sir Christopher Wren was allowed a free hand as to his style he abandoned all attempts to imitate Gothic architecture. The parochial feeling in the City was at that time very strong. If Sir Christopher Wren had had his own way he would have united many of the small parishes and built a few large churches, but the strong parochial feeling prevented this, and the value of the land generally limited him to building upon the space upon which the old churches had stood, and as a general rule he built upon the old foundations. The extent to which he was allowed to encroach upon the churchyards was very slight indeed, but the manner in which he treated the buildings was very remarkable Probably the best instance is St. Stephen's, Walbrook, but with St. Stephen's, Walbrook, may be compared St. Mary Abchurch, St. Swithin, London Stone, St. Mary-at-Hill, St. Mildred, Bread Street, and All Hallows, Lombard Street. It is always said that in building St. Paul's Cathedral Sir Christopher Wren wished to have taken as his model the church of St. Stephen, Walbrook. St. Stephen's, Walbrook, is said, itself to be a copy of a church in Rome, but I have never found the particular building. Although in St. Paul's Cathedral there are many features which may be considered unsatisfactory, still I think it is a matter not to be regretted that Sir Christopher Wren's original intention was controlled. I cannot imagine anything more satisfactory than the central dome; this was no doubt copied from Ely Cathedral, of which his uncle, Matthew Wren, was Bishop, and in which Cathedral there is, or was at all events when I was a boy, some of Sir Christopher's handiwork, but it would be curious to know whether Sir Christopher or Alan de Walsingham, the builder of the octagon at Ely, were indebted to the Byzantine architects for the arrangement by which the dome is supported upon eight arches instead of four. This arrangement was well known in the tenth and eleventh centuries in Greece. I do not know any instances of it in any other part of the Levant except, perhaps, in the Patriarchal Church at Alexandria, which building has been very much injured. However, the plan of supporting the dome upon eight arches is well shown in the Church of St. Nicodemus at Athens, in the Church of the Monastery at Daphne on the road from Athens to Eleusis, and in the large monastic Church of St. Luke at Stiri. The church at Daphne was the burying-place of one or more of the Angivine Dukes of Athens. The particular form of building must have been well known to the western monks, some of whom indeed tried their hands on the building at Daphne, so that it is most probable that Alan de Walsingham got his idea from them, and Sir Christopher Wren took his design from Ely Cathedral.

There are several other interesting churches by Sir Christopher Wren that should be seen—St. Peter-upon-Cornhill, St. Magnus, Bow Church, and St. Bride, these are all good specimens of his large churches; St. Lawrence, Jewry, St. Edmund the King and Martyr, St. Andrew by the Wardrobe, are specimens of his smaller churches. St. James', Garlick Hythe, is the only church in the City built by Sir Christopher Wren, except St. Paul's, which has an apse.

I have said that Sir Christopher Wren built of necessity upon the old foundations, even to the extent of being obliged to follow the irregularities in the shapes of the older churches; this may be seen by any person who chooses to visit St. Margaret's, Lothbury. The church here is shorter at the north than at the south side, and the east wall runs at an angle to the north and south walls, the altar, which was part of Sir Christopher's design, has been made to fit the angle of the east wall so as to present a straight line to the body of the church. Accidently I discovered an old ground plan of the church before the Fire, showing that Sir Christopher Wren had followed exactly the foundations of the older church, which was similarly irregular. But I should like to say one other word about Sir Christopher Wren. Sir Christopher did the best he could. To each of the parishes a certain sum was allotted, and he gave them the best he could for the money, but that the best was not always satisfactory it is useless to deny. Sir Christopher seldom troubled himself to do more than build upon the existing foundations; the churches he built were built upon different principles to those which they replaced, and in many instances the foundations were not strong enough to carry the substituted building. If any of the gentlemen present care to spend half-an-hour in visiting the Church of St. Michael Bassishaw, he will see exactly what I mean. The Church of St. Michael Bassishaw is one of those in which I think, though I am not sure, Sir Christopher Wren exceeded the limits of the old church. The northern wall is built upon the wall of the old church and has bulged, the south wall seems to me to stand beyond the limits of the old church. The church is divided into a nave and two aisles, with a row of what appear to be rather handsome pillars. In the course of a recent reparation it was discovered, in the first place, that these pillars were wood covered with plaster, and, in the next place, that they were built upon such insecure foundations that they all required under-pinning. This church, however, illustrates another danger, which Sir Christopher Wren's churches are going to be subjected to, and which, unless I am very much mistaken, is likely to be more formidable than the successive attempts of the Bishops of London to destroy them under the Union of Benefices Act. The gentlemen present, if they do not know it, must learn that up to the year 1845, or thereabouts it was the universal practice to bury in these churches and to bury over and over again. For nearly the last fifty years the churches have been closed for burials, and no interments have taken place; but the favourite plan now is for the officer of health, if he sees a church under repair, to come in and to suggest that he smells an unwholesome smell, and to request the removal of a piece of the pavement. Then follows an immediate request that the church should be emptied of all the bodies. There are no funds out of which this can be done except a rate upon the parishioners, and if, as is almost sure to happen, something further is necessary to be done, the ratepayers, consisting principally of persons non-resident in the parish, vote and will vote for the union of the parish to some adjoining parish, where the same history in all probability, will be repeated. This danger to Sir Christopher Wren's churches is a much more subtle one than the direct attack by successive Bishops; I could combat the one, I do not think I can the other. It may be a subject of consideration how this new danger is to be met, but my address is not, I think, the proper time to discuss this.

Of the City Halls built at this period, the most characteristic seems to me to be Vintners' Hall, in Thames Street. It is a very interesting specimen of Domestic architecture of this date, and is practically unchanged.

The successors of Sir Christopher Wren built many buildings and churches in London. One of the most notable is St. Mary Woolnoth, built by Hawksmoor in the very first days of the eighteenth century. In the same way as in the case of the Church of St. Katharine Cree Church, it seems to me we were at this time on the verge of developing a style of architecture. It seems to me likely that, if the architect of St. George's, Bloomsbury, and St. George's-in-the-East had had a following, his school might have developed a style not unlike that of the churches in Central Syria and produced buildings convenient for service and of great constructive merit. I commend to your notice not the classical façade and tower of St. George's, Bloomsbury, but the body of the church as a study of this style, and particularly the outside of it.

The next epoch is marked by the style of which the Bank of England is the best example, and this was succeeded by the classical style represented by St. Philip's, Regent Street, and St. Pancras. This style was succeeded by what the Bishop of Oxford calls the Gothic revival which commenced with Sir Walter and culminated with Sir Gilbert Scott. Of this revival the gentlemen may find many examples in London, including among them Mr. Brandon's beautiful building for the Irvingite community in Gordon Square, and Mr. Pearson's Church of St. John, Red Lion Square. If I do not mention others it is from no desire to disparage them, but the most hopeful thing I can say about them is that my friend Mr. Micklethwaite tells me that we are gradually working out in a practical way a method of church building suited to our present requirements.

I believe Lord Chief Baron Pollock used to receive the successive Lord Mayors with the remark that the City of London was in ruins. He meant, I suppose, in course of rebuilding. The London which I remember as a boy is passing away; old churches, halls, houses, and streets have gone, and have been replaced by buildings in which every style of architecture has been introduced. You will see these as you walk along, I need not tell you of them. This then is the end of my address. We are archæologists here, we are not architects. I do not pretend to have exhausted the subject, a cockney like myself could find many charming little bits to show you in an afternoon walk—the cloisters of the Bluecoat School and the south front of that building, the Court of Barnard's Inn and some of the adjoining houses, or the row of houses at Holborn Bars, called Staple Inn. In the east end of the City there are all sorts of interesting peeps. You might do worse than spend your Sunday afternoon in prowling about the City. But I have said enough; I am not an architect; but I have, I think, shown you where you may study architecture while you are here, and that without, as I said, incurring a heavy bill for cab hire.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MAYORALTY OF LONDON.

By J. H. ROUND, M.A.

In undertaking to read, at a London Congress, a paper on "the origin of the Mayoralty of London," I find myself rather in the position of Balaam when he accepted Balak's invitation. The seven hundredth anniversary of the famous Mayoralty of London was, four years ago, commemorated by its venerable Corporation, who thereby proclaimed *urbi et orbi* that 1189 was the year that saw its birth. Now it will be this evening my chief object to destroy this ancient illusion, and to show that the earliest year in which a Mayor is mentioned, so far as is yet known to us, is that of which *this* is the seventh centenary, namely 1193.

How many Londoners, we wonder, have any conception of the circumstances under which their Mayoralty actually came into being? If there be any distinctively English potentate it is surely, in the eyes of foreigners, the redoubtable Lord Mayor; if there be any office of solemn respectability, it is surely the Mayoralty of London. And yet the "Mayor," in origin as in name, is wholly and purely a foreign importation, while his office preserves the memory of the triumph of the "Commune" in London, to which revolutionary episode it owes its birth. But the true story of its origin, exciting and instructive though it be, is wholly obscured and misrepresented by the view which has been unfortunately adopted that it dates from 1189.

Occupying as it did, among English towns, a position apart, in wealth as in importance, London had a municipal development of her own, a development of which our best modern historians can only tell us that it is "obscure." That obscurity, however, has been sadly increased by the imperfect study and the misapprehension of her great Charters of Liberties. Broadly speaking, and disregarding for the moment the statements of our accepted authorities, the great want of London, in her early days, was an efficient, homegeneous government of her own. The City—for the City was then London—found itself, in fact, during the Norman period, in the same plight as greater London found itself in our own days. "The ordinary system of the parish and the township," as an accomplished writer puts it, "the special franchises and jurisdictions of the great individual landowners, of the churches, of the gilds,—all these were loosely bundled together." For the cause of this state of things we should have to go back to the origins of our history, to shew that the genius of the Anglo-Saxon system was ill-adapted—or rather, wholly unsuitable to urban life, that while of unconquerable persistence and strength in small, manageable rural communities, it was bound to, and did, break down when applied to large and growing towns whose life lay, not in agriculture, but in trade. In a Parish, in a "Hundred," the Englishman was at home; but in a town, and still more in such a town as London, he found himself, for administrative purposes, at his wits' end.

The practical nature, however, of our forefathers endeavoured to make the best of the means it had at hand, and to work London, as nearly as possible, on the lines of a County. Thus the Sheriff became its chief officer, and the vestry government, as we may term it, of the time found in him the sole exponent of London's unity. Had the municipal development proceeded on these lines it would have given us results very different from those which were eventually obtained; for the idea of a "Corporation" was wholly alien to administration on County principles.

But in the meanwhile, the great movement in favour of municipal liberties, which was so prominent a feature of the twelfth century, was spreading like wildfire through France and Flanders, and London which, since the coming of the Normans, had become far more cosmopolitan, was steadily imbibing from foreign traders the spirit and enthusiasm of the age. But this by no means suited the views of the crown, which here, as in Germany, looked askance on this alarming and, too often, revolutionary movement. When the history of London at this period comes to be properly studied it will be found that the growing powers of the Londoners, who had practically seated Stephen on the throne and had chevied the Empress Matilda from their midst, were sharply checked by her son, Henry the Second, whose policy, in this respect at least, was faithfully followed by his successor, Richard the First. The assumption, therefore, that the Mayoralty of London dates from Richard's Accession (1189) is an absolute perversion of history. There is record evidence that completely confirms the memorable words of Richard of Devises, who declares that on no terms whatever would King Richard or his father have ever assented to the establishment of the "Commune" in London. But what was this dreaded "Commune," this "new and horrible thing," as Guibert de Nogent had described it at the time of its first appearance? Our friend, Richard of Devizes, gives us his view of the subject. The Commune, he says, was "the uprising of the people, the terror of the Kingdom, and the ruin of the clergy." As a matter of fact the "sworn Commune," to give it its right name,—for the oath sworn by its members was its essential feature—was the association or "conspiracy," as we choose to regard it, formed by the inhabitants of a town that desired to obtain its independence. And the head of this association or "Commune" (which originated in French and Flemish Flanders) was given in France, the title of "Maire." For the history of that name, one must go back to these whom Mr. Freeman loved to term the Merwings; but the fact remains that the "Mayor," as known to us, has his beginning in that long conflict of the twelfth century, from which the "Communes" of France so victoriously emerged. It was at about the same time that the "Commune" and its "Maire" were triumphantly reaching Dijon in one direction, and Bordeaux in another that they took a northern flight and descended upon London. Not for the first time in her history, the Crown's difficulty was London's opportunity, and when in October. 1191, the adminstration found itself paralysed by the conflict between the king's brother John, and the king's representative, the famous Longchamp. London finding that she held the scales, promptly named the concession of a "Commune" as the price of her support. The chroniclers of the day enabled us to picture to ourselves the scene, as the excited citizens who had poured forth overnight, with lanterns and torches, to welcome John to the capital, streamed together on the morning, of the eventful 8th October, at the well-known summons of the great bell, swinging out from its campanile in St. Paul's churchyard. There they heard John take the oath to the "Commune," like a French king or lord, and then London for the first time had a municipality of her own. What the English and territorial organization could never have brought about the foreign Commune, with its commercial basis could and did accomplish.

And as London alone had her "Commune" so London alone had her Mayor. The "Maire" was unquestionably imported with the "Commune" although it is not till the spring of 1193 that the Mayor of London is first mentioned. But already in 1194 we find a citizen accused of boasting that "come what may the Londoners shall never have any king but their Mayor." It was precisely in the same spirit that the "Comuneros" of Salamanca exclaimed of their leader in 1521:—"Juras à Dios no haber mas Rey ni Papa que Valloria."

In importing and adopting the foreign "Maire" superimposing him, as it were, on our native immemorial Aldermen, our forefathers proved that capacity for institutional assimilation and development which the Norman element probably introduced, but which has long been one of the most valuable features in the national character of our people.

The first historian, so far as I know, to treat the subject in the modern spirit, was the present Bishop of Oxford, and it is a striking testimony to his almost infallible judgment that what he wrote on the subject a quarter of a century ago is the explanation that to this day holds the field. In his *Select Charters* (1870) he expressed the view that—

> The establishment of the "Communa" of the citizens of London which is recorded by the historians to have been specially confirmed by the Barons and Justiciar on the occasion of Longchamp's deposition from the Justiciarship is a matter of some difficulty as the word "Communa" is not found in English town-charters, and no formal record of the act of confirmation is now preserved. Interpreted, however, by foreign usage and by the later meaning of the word "Communitas" it must be

> understood to signify a corporate identity of the municipality which it may have claimed before and which may even have been occasionally recognised but was now firmly established; a sort of consolidation into a single organized body of the variety of franchises, guilds, and other departments of local jurisdiction. It was probably connected with and perhaps implied by the nomination of a *Mayor* who now appears for the first time. It cannot, however, be defined with certainty. (p. 257.)

And in his *Constitutional History* he holds that it practically "gave completeness to a municipal constitution which had long been struggling for recognition." Mr. Coote, the next to approach the subject, contended that Dr. Stubbs' view "falls very far short of the reality." In his able paper, "A Lost Charter," [1]he insisted that a charter was actually granted in 1191 to the Londoners empowering them to elect a Mayor and that this is what the chroniclers meant when they spoke of the grant of "Commune," for the citizens, he urged, had possessed all the rights of a "Commune" from the days of the Conqueror. With Mr. Loftie's work came the inevitable reaction. Wholly ignoring the definite and contemporary statement as to the grant of a "Commune," he held it "far safer to adopt the received and old-fashioned opinion," and to date the Mayoralty from 1189, and as for the "Commune," he deemed it to have been of gradual growth and to have been practically recognised by the charter of Henry I.

Now, whatever the grant of "Commune" implied, it certainly implied something, and something of importance. "Upon this point there is," as Mr. Coote justly observed, "a cloud of contemporary evidence, clear, exact, and positive." He put together the versions of the chroniclers, contemporary and well-informed (pp. 286-7), and their harmony is complete. The fact, moreover, that the "Commune" was extorted at a great crisis, proved that only when the Government was weak could so great a concession be wrung from it. Lastly, the phrase of Richard of Devizes: "Concessa est ipsa die et instituta Communia Londinensium," and that of Giraldus: "Communa seu Comminia eis concessa," correspond exactly with the formal expressions in the French Charters of "Commune." In the case of Senlis (1173) it was "Communiam fieri concessimus ;" in that of Campiègne (1153) "Burgensibus villæ concessimus Communiam." But if any doubt were yet possible, it would be finally removed by the words of Richard of Devizes :—

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[1] *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Arch. Soc.*, v, 286.

> "Nunc primum indulta sibi conjuratone regno regem deesse cognovit Londonia, quam nec rex ipse Ricardus nec prædæcessor et pater ejus Henricus pro mille millibus marcis argenti fieri permisisset."

There is no escaping from these words : and Mr. Loftie's theory is, consequently out of court.[1]

But what of Mr. Coote's ? With great confidence he wrote that the "Commune," in the case of London, which had accquired all other things, expressed for its citizens the mayoralty only ; nothing else was asked or desired by them, for it was the sole privilege, which was wanting to their burghal independence" (p. 287). We find, however, that, on the continent, the word "Commune" did not of necessity, imply a Mayor, for Beauvais and Compiègne, although constituted "Communes," had no Mayor during most of the twelfth century, the chroniclers therefore, had they only meant to speak of the privilege of electing a Mayor, would not have all employed a word which did not connote it, but would have said what they meant. Moreover, his theory rest on the assumption, common till now to all historians, that the citizens had continuously possessed, from the beginning of the twelfth century, the privileges granted in the charter of Henry I. But I have shown in my *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, that these privileges were not renewed by Henry II. or Richard I., and that this fact strikingly confirms the explicit words of Richard of Devizes, when he states that neither the one nor the other would have allowed the Londoners to form a "Commune" even for a million of marks. It was not till John's accesstion that the citizens at length regained the privileges granted by Henry I. By this discovery the problem is altogether changed, and the municipal development of London, it has been said, revolutionised.

I have also shewn in the same work that the citizens seem to have profited by the crisis of 1141, as by that of half-a-century later, to set up a "sworn commune" hoping, no doubt, by this means to regain the privileges they had lost. Here then we have a complete explanation of their aims in 1191, and of the importance that the chroniclers unanimously attach to their success.

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[1] Mr. Loftie's argument (*London*, p. 53), that Glanville's words prove that London, if not other towns as well, had already a "Commune" under Henry II. is disposed of by Dr. Gross (*The Gild Merchant*, i, p. 102).

The test which I applied to the chroniclers' statements and by which I traced the fortunes of the struggle between the Londoners and the Crown was that *firma* of £300 on which they insisted throughout, while the Crown endeavoured to exact over £500. Now in the Pipe-Roll of 1 Ric. I. we find the *firma*, as under Henry II., to be between £520 and £530,[1] but in the Pipe Roll of two years later we suddenly meet with this bold entry:—"Cives Londoniæ—Willelmus de Haverhull et Johannes Bucuinte pro eis—reddunt compotum de CCC libris blancis pro hoc anno." This triumphant return to the sum conceded in the charter of Henry I. at the crisis of 1191 confirms my view as to what the citizens desired to gain by the "Commune." It comes as a welcome fact, where all is so obscure. In the following year, 4 Ric. I., we find the *firma* again amounting to about £300[2]; but until the Pipe Rolls of the reign are in print, we cannot speak positively as to the endurance of this arrangement. The entries on them at the time of Richard's return from captivity record heavy payments by leading citizens, besides £1,000 from the Londoners as a whole, but whether for forgiveness, for aid to ransom, or for confirmation of liberties it is hard to say, as all these reasons are grouped together.

That their "Commune" is not heard of again shews, in my opinion, that, as half-a-century before, the movement was not permanent. Neither in the regal charters, nor in the Pipe Rolls of the reign, can I find any traces of a change in the City's government All that remained of it was the appearance, the first appearance, of a Mayor of London.

It is not, as is well known, till 1215 that the right to elect a Mayor was formally conceded by John; and it is significant that this concession, like that of the "Commune" itself twenty-three years before, was made by him only at a crisis of his fortunes, when seeking to attach the

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[1] £528 2s. as I make it.

[2] £306 17s. 2d. as I make it.

Londoners to his side. Here then, again, we must not say that such a concession was a mere form, of no value to the citizens. There had been a Mayor of London, no doubt, for twenty years, but he had never been formally recognised as the head of the City by the Crown. How truly English the position was! Just as now, the Prime Minister—indeed, one may say the Cabinet—possesses the actual executive power, although the Constitution does not recognise its existence, so must the Mayor, for all those years, have held his position in London without its ever receiving a formal recognition by the Crown. From the days of the Anglo-Saxon gilds to those of the Chamber of arbitration, a creation of yesterday, Englishmen have always been able, by the principle of voluntary association, to supply what was wanting in their existing institutions, and to carry out their great tradition of self-government. It was thus, I take it, that the Mayor maintained his power, "broad-based up on the people's will."

A most singular case of the early occurrence of a Mayor is found at Lincoln in 1222. King John. by his charter (1200) had made the concession :—

> Præterea volumus et concedimus quod idem cives nostri Lincolniæ per commune consilium civitatis eligant duos de legalioribus et discretioribus civibus Lincolniæ, et præsentent eos capitali justitiæ . . . . qui bene et fideliter custodiant præposituram civitatis Lincolniæ, etc.

Accordingly, as representatives of the city, in 1222 :—

> Ballivi civitatis Lincolniæ summoniti fuerunt ad respondendum Burgensibus de Beverlaco.[1]

But the two bailiffs are thus described :—

> Et *major Lincolnie* et Robertus filius Eudonis ballivi Lincolnie veniunt et defendunt etc.

The editor, indeed, suggests that "some other name must be missing," but the meaning is, evidently, that the senior "bailiff" was styled "Mayor of Lincoln."

This should be compared with a similar anomaly noted by Mr. W. H. Stevenson in his report on the "Gloucester Corporation Records"[2] :—

> "A noteworthy circumstance is that although the office of Mayor of Gloucester was not created until 1483, one Richard the Burgess is

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[1] *Bracton's Note Book* (Ed. Maitland), ii, 121.

[2] 9th Appendix to 12th Report on Hist. MSS., p. 409.

frequently described in the witness clauses as 'tunc Majore de Glouc. The dates of these deeds range between *circa* 1220 and *circa* 1240. Sometimes this appears to be a title of the senior Bailiff as Richard Burgess and Thomas Ouenat are described as Bailiffs in a deed of *circa* 1230, but in another deed of the same date, Burgess is called "Major" and Ouenat "Bailiff" . . . The title of "Major" does not appear to have been applied to anyone else; and Richard Burgess seems to have held the title for a number of years. In a deed below, *circa* 1230, he is mentioned as a member of the Gild Merchant, but he is not described as "Major," so that the title does not, apparently, relate to the headship of the Gild Merchant."

Perhaps, however, the most instructive parallel to the case of London is afforded by Bristol, where a stray "Mayor" occurs, it is said, in 1200, and Mayors in regular succession from 1217, while its two reeves, stewards, or bailiffs correspond with the "Sheriffs" of London. At Bristol, as at London, the Mayoralty appears to have been an independent growth.

Mr. Loftie's suggestion that, "when Richard, in the beginning of his reign, showered charters on the English boroughs, in order to obtain money for his great expedition, it is more than probable that London was not left out,"—and that the mayoralty may have been created then, is on every ground inadmissible. The succession of London charters is thoroughly well established, and that of 1194, the earliest granted by Richard, does but jealously confirm that of his father. We see that, as Richard of Devizes asserts, he was bitterly averse to enlarging the liberties of the citizens. It is not to him, therefore, that the grant of a mayoralty must be traced. We can only trust the authentic evidence of contemporary chroniclers and records; and this is what they tell us. Howden says that the Mayor of London was appointed as one of the treasurers of the fund raised for the ransom of King Richard in April 1193, and it is obvious that at such an emergency the Government would gladly accept his help. As to records, it is our Chairman [Mr. Lyte] who is entitled to the credit of making accessible most of those in which the Mayor appears. In his well-known report on the MSS. at St Paul's, which has thrown so much light on the early history of London, and in the admirable Calendar of Ancient Deeds, published, under his superintendence, by the Public Record Office, Mr. Maxwell Lyte has given us the means of going thoroughly into the subject, and by his courtesy I have been able to inspect the proof-sheets of the forthcoming volume. I have, therefore, an exceptional acquaintance with all the deeds in which the Mayor figures, and I can state that no mention of the office has yet been found in them of earlier ascertained date than 1194.

It cannot be insisted on too strongly that the chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London (in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*) is the sole authority for the creation of the Mayoralty in 1189 and that this chronicle is neither contemporary nor accurate.[1] As a matter of fact, when the citizens were summoned to assemble in the old Guildhall—7 October, 1191—to decide on their attitude towards John they were not summoned thither by a Mayor, but by a leading citizen, Henry de Cornhill, nor does any chronicler mention a Mayor at the time.[2]

We see, then, that everything confirms the Bishop of Oxford's theory that the office is, at least, not of earlier date than the grant of "Commune"—whatever it meant—in 1191. And, therefore, it is to the Continent that historians ought to look for the true origin and meaning of this institutional development.

The *beffroi* of France, to which the *jurat* looked as the symbol and pledge of independence, is found here also in the bell-tower of St. Paul's, which is styled in documents either by that name (*berefridum*), or by that of *campanile*, which brings before us at once the storm-tost commonwealths of Italy. It was indeed from Italy that the fire of freedom spread. With the rise of mediæval commerce it was carried from the Alps to the Rhine and quickly burst into flame among the traders and craftsmen of Flanders. Passing into Picardy, it crossed the channel, according to a theory I have myself advanced, to reappear in the liberties of the Cinque Ports, with their French name, their French

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[1] It assigns, for instance, to the year 1192 (*i.e.*, 1192-3), the return of Richard from his captivity (1194).

[2] It is important to correct the error that Henry de Cornhill and Richard Fitz Reiner were Sheriffs at the crisis of 1191 for they had gone out of office so far back as Mich., 1189. Miss Norgate writes :—"At Michaelmas, 1189, the accounts were rendered by Richard Fitz Reiner and Henry of Cornhill, both of whom continued in office till 1191"; and she gives for her authority the *Constitutional History* of Dr. Stubbs. But she has misunderstood his words. Mr. Loftie also (*Historic Towns, London*, pp. 42, 56), clearly thought these two magnates to have been Sheriffs in 1191, whereas the evidence of the Pipe Rolls is conclusive to the contrary.

"serements," and their French *jurats*.[1] Foreign merchants had brought it with them to the port of Exeter also, almost as early as the Conquest, and we cannot doubt that London as well was already infected with the movement, and eager to find in the foreign "Commune" the means of attaining that administrative autonomy and political independence which that term virtually expressed.

French historians are now agreed to reject finally the Roman theory and to see in the "Commune" a mediæval movement with the merchant gild for its "élément génerteur."[2] They have defined it with much justice as "l'association militaire et civile fondée sur le serment."[3] The oath taken by its members was, indeed, its distinctive feature, and it is this oath that comes to the front in the crisis of 1191 as in the abortive attempt of half a century before. Hence we find the "Commune" termed by its opponents a "conspiracy." And thus John and the magnates were compelled to take the oath to it themselves, just as the king was compelled to take it in France.[4] It is also now recognised abroad that the "Commune" was the stamp of complete independence,[5] as distinct from the grant of commercial privileges or the confirmation of material security. And it is agreed that although there might be a "Commune" without a *maire*, the possession of a *maire* crowned the edifice and implied a more perfect type.[6] Mantes, which gained its "Commune" so early as 1159, had a council of *pares communitatis*, but only a *prévôt* for its head. So, too, our own Cinque Ports had *jurats* before they had mayors. With us the Sheriff in London, and the Bailiff, in provincial towns, corresponded with the *prévôt royal* and we find the latter, in

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[1] Archaeological Review, iv., 366, et sq.

[2] Dr. Gross's position is that "if this fraternity [the Gild] was not the germ of the English municipality, but only a potent factor in its evolution, it may be fairly presumed that the Gild's influence on the Continent was not greater" (I. 282). But the "renaissance of commerce," he admits, led to the formation of gilds-merchant, as it undoubtedly did to the spread of "communes."

[3] Luchaire's *Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques de la France* (1883), II., 152.

[4] Le roi s'engage, d'ailleurs, à l'égard des bourgeois, en jurant solenellement la commune, comme les bourgeois la jurent entre eux." Luchaire (p. 179).

[5] *Ibid* p. 149.

[6] Les communes qui possédaient dès l'origine non seulement un conseil élu, mais un maire, par exemple Laon, Reims, Noyon, Corbie, St. Riquier, paraissent jouir d'un certain degré d'indépendance. Mais nous ignorons absolument quelle part la royauté prenait à la nomination du chef de la commune. Il est hors de doute cependant que dans les villes le prévôt royal subsistait à côté du maire" Luchaire p. 183.

France, existing side by side with the Mayor, exactly like our own Sheriffs in the city of London. The importance of this fact lies in the distinction it enforces between the office and functions of the Mayor, and those of the more ancient officers, the Sheriffs. The special need, for London, of a Mayor arose, I take it, from the want of some symbol of the City's unity, some central figure around which the corporation of the future could be grouped. The Crown might sullenly postpone the hour of official recognition, but it knew that through the mouth of her Mayor, its City of London spoke.

Hostile though our kings might be to the communal movement here, they favoured it, for purposes of their own, in their Norman dominions. M. Giry, the chief authority on the subject, traces, indeed, the "Communes" of Normandy, in large part, to the royal tie. This is a factor in the problem that we cannot afford to overlook, considering the peculiar relation in which Normandy stood to England.

As M. Langlois has recently observed :—

> "Jamais en effet la France et l'Angleterre n'ont été, même de nos jours, aussi intiment en contact de . . . Jusqu'a la fin du xiind siè, les deux pays eurent à peu près les mêmes institutions politiques, ils pratiquaient la même religion, on y parlait la même langue. Des Francais allaient fréquemment dans l'île comme touristes, comme colons, comme marchands" (*Revue Historique*).

Was it then from Normandy that the communal idea most directly reached London? We are apt to forget the close connections between the two capitals of our Anglo-Norman Kings, London on the Thames and Rouen on the Seine. A gifted writer has referred to those "citizens of Norman origin, to whom London, in no small measure, owed the marked importance which is obtained under Henry I . . . Merchants, Traders, craftsmen of all sorts come flocking to seek their fortunes in their sovereign's newly-acquired dominions, not by forcible spoliation of the native people, but by fair traffic and honest labour in their midst. . . . Norman refinement, Norman taste, Norman fashions, especially in dress, made their way rapidly among the English burghers. . . . The great commercial centre to which the Norman merchants had long been attracted as visitors, attracted them as settlers now that it had become the capital of their own sovereign.[1]

It is known from the *Instituta Londoniæ* that so far back as the days of Æthelred the men of Rouen had traded to London, bringing in their ships the wines of France, as well as that mysterious "craspice," which it is the fashion to render "sturgeon," although there is reason to believe that the term denoted the porpoise and even the whale. But what I shall now bring before you is a far more curious fact, a fact which has eluded, it seems, the research of our historians, both general and local. A most interesting charter of Henry the Second, granted by him, as Duke of the Normans, in 1150 or 1151, to the citizens of Rouen, confirms them in possession of their port at Dowgate, as they had held it from the days of Edward the Confessor, with the right, if they found any ship there moored, wherever it came from, of ordering it to be removed; and after a tide had ebbed and flowed without this being done they were at liberty to set her adrift without responsibility for the damage she might receive.[2] Here then we have evidence that, even before the Conquest, the citizens of Rouen had a haven of their own at the mouth of the Walbrook, a site now covered by Cannon Street station, for which they were very possibly indebted to the Norman proclivities of the Confessor.

Nor does the interest of this Rouen charter stop there. Among the sureties for the young Duke's fidelity to his word we find Richer de l'Aigle, the youthful friend of Thomas Becket, "sprung," as Miss Norgate writes, "from one of the noblest families of Normandy, and a constant visitor and intimate friend of the little household in Cheapside." And does not the name of Becket remind us how "Thomas of London, the burgher's son," afterwards "Archbishop, saint and martyr," had for his father a Sheriff of this city, but one who was by birth a citizen of Rouen, while his mother was a daughter of Caen? Therefore the same writer is probably justified in maintaining "that the influence of these Norman burghers was dominant in the city." They seem," she adds, "to have won their predominance by fair means, and to have used it fairly. They brought a great deal more than mere wealth; they brought enterprise, vigour, refinement, culture, social as well as political progress."

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[1] Norgate's *England under the Angevin Kings*, i, 48-9.

[2] Chèruel's *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale* i, 245.

Now, it is my contention that political progress was represented with them by the communal idea. Their interests, moreover, would be wholly commercial, and, therefore, opposed to those of the native territorial element. If we turn to Rouen we find its Mayor occurring fifteen years, at least, before the Mayor of London,[1] and he was Mayor, remember, of the "Commune" of Rouen—"Major de Communia." For Rouen was a stronghold of the "Commune." There is a curious illustration of the close parallel between the Government of the two capitals. In the London Pipe Roll of 1130 we find the Sheriffs paying a sum of money to be relieved of their office. This proceeding is so contrary to the practice of recent, I may say of very recent times, that it has been difficult to explain. But when we glance at the Rouen charter of twenty years later we find that one of the privileges guaranteed to the citizens is that they shall not be called upon to serve as Sheriffs against their will.[2]

So, too, the Rouen charter aptly confirms my own reading of the London charter of Henry I. It was my suggestion that "Wardemota"—the supposed Wardmoots mentioned in the latter was only a misreading for "vadimonia" which is the word in the charter of Henry II. Now the Rouen charter of 1150, in the parallel clauses, seems to have the word "vadimonia."[3]

Without pressing the point too far I would urge that in this, then as now, most cosmopolitan of cities its Mayoralty was wholly of foreign origin, and resulted in men of foreign name who bore the purely English titles of Aldermen and of Sheriff accepting for their head an Englishman of the English under the foreign style of Mayor.

The origin of Henry Fitz Ailwin raises a curious question. I have demonstrated, in great detail, that the parentage assigned him by Mr. Loftie is, on every ground, impossible,[4] and have suggested, in the *Dictionary of*

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[1] Bartholomew Fergant was Mayor in 1177.

[2] Quod nullus eorum in . . . vicecomitatu . . . ponatur, nisi sponte suâ.

[3] LONDON CHARTER.

Et terras suas et [vadimonia] et debita civibus meis habere faciam.

ROUEN CHARTER.

Quod terras et empticia sua et teneuras et vadimonia sua in pace teneant, et ego faciam eis reddi debita sua.

[4] *The Antiquary*, March, 1887.

National Biography, that he was identical with Henry Fitz Ailwin Fitz Leofstan who appears in the Pipe Roll of 1165 (11 Hen. II.) with his brother, Alan, as fining for land in Herts or Essex. Now we know that Henry, the Mayor, did hold land in Herts, namely, Watton, which he and his *antecessores* are recorded to have held by serjeanty. But when we turn to Domesday Book we find Watton held—clearly by serjeanty—by Derman a King's thegn. This, which seems to have escaped notice, brings us at once to that famous charter still preserved in the Guildhall, granted by the Conqueror in favour of his man, Derman. "It has for centuries," Mr. Loftie writes, "been an object of interest to historians and antiquaries." Now, Mr. Coote plausibly argued that the description of Derman as the King's "man" identified him with the Derman, King's thegn, of Hertfordshire, while the preservation of this charter at the Guildhall identified him further with that 'Derman of London,' who occurs in Domesday Book as holding land at Islington. Putting all this together we have, I would suggest, quite a possibility that this mysterious Englishman who enjoyed the Conqueror's favour, was the ancestor, not only in title, but in blood of the first Mayor of London, Henry Fitz Ailwin Fitz Leofstan.[1]

I have been able, you see, this evening to do little more than to show you how the problem now stands, and to lay stress on the *foreign* origin of that municipal movement which gave London her Mayor. We can only hope that some document may yet be discovered among the archives that are now so diligently explored, which will solve for us one at least of our present difficulties, by either determining the actual date at which a Mayor was first elected, or by explaining his precise *status*, or by enlightening us further as to the character of the "Commune," of which the constitution may have been restricted to what are now known as "the propertied classes." There are not wanting, even now, indications to that effect. And indeed it has been the special glory of the City, throughout her history, that she has shown us how to reconcile the claims of property and of true freedom. Ever faithful, in the person of her Mayors, to the cause of order, but not of tyranny, of liberty, but not of license, she opposed the Commonwealth, as she opposed the King, and she saw her principles triumph. In the seven hundred years during which her Mayors have ruled her she has seen our dynasties rise and fall, our parties form and vanish: but her principles have never changed. Wise with the wisdom of seven centuries, strong in the knowledge of her mighty past, she upholds, as ever, with unflinching hands the cause for which she has fought so long—the cause of order and of freedom.

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[1] *Ancient Deeds* (P.R.O.), A, 2507.

Appendix.

The following is a list of deeds, etc., in which the name of Henry Fitz Ailwin occurs, compiled by me. It is divided into lists of those in which he is, and those in which he is not, styled Mayor.

“Ancient Deeds.

Mayor.	Not Mayor.
A. 1449	A. 1475
1474	1477
1502	1679
1639	1684
1754	1686
1775	1882
1936	2103
1951	2383
2124	2518
2125	
2180	
2182	
2332	
2335	
2462	
2493	
2502	
2507	
2550	
B. 1172	

St. Paul's MSS.

(Ninth Report on Historical MSS., App. I.)

p. 8	p. 25
10	26
20	
22 (*bis*)	
27	

British Museum.

Harl. 47, I. 7
Add. 1046
Harl. 459, 67 (?)
Harl. 83, a. 18
Harl. 50, a. 33
Harl. 52, a. 3

Cott. MS. xxvii, 141

Public Record Office.

Rotuli Curiæ Regis (q.v.)

Duchy of Lancaster.—Box. A, 163.
Two records facsimiled by Palgrave.—Pref. to Rot. Cur. Reg.

Thus, excluding such transcripts as the *testa de Nevill*, we have some fifty references now available on which to base an enquiry as to the date at which Henry Fitz Ailwin actually became Mayor. It was my hope, that we might place previous to that date every document in which he is not styled Mayor. But although this hypothesis seemed highly probable, a deed such as A. 1882, of 7 Ric, I, in which he is not styled Mayor, seems to be fatal to it. We are deprived, therefore, of this simple test, and must wait until some direct evidence enlightens us further on the subject.

But, in the meanwhile, the final concord of 30 Nov., 1191, facsimiled by Palgrave, placing as it does, Henry Fitz Ailwin not only after Henry de Cornhill, but after Henry's brothers,—and not giving him the style of Mayor —is at least strongly opposed, as I originally urged,[1] to the view that he was Mayor at the time, although the "Commune" had been granted three weeks before. We must still, therefore, seek his appointment between that date and the spring of 1193.

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[1] *Academy*, 12 Nov., 1887.

PORTRAITS OF JUDGES IN THE GUILDHALL.

By GEORGE SCHARF, C.B., F.S.A., Director of the National Portrait Gallery

There is a chapter in the history of British Art in which the Corporation of the City of London played a conspicuous part that has not been sufficiently dwelt upon. From the earliest times the citizens of London were distinguished patrons of Art, and employed it freely on all occasions of pageantry and rejoicing: but at the period to which this paper chiefly refers it was connected with a still higher feeling—that of *Gratitude.* Gratitude for deliverance from a scourge, and gratitude for assistance rendered to themselves by Gentlemen of the Long Robe.

On the 2nd of September, 1666, broke out the terrible conflagration known in history as the Great Fire of London. This calamity, notwithstanding the immense loss and devastation of property involved in it, was the cause of one very great blessing. It put for ever an end to that periodically dreaded scourge the Plague, which had just culminated in the great Plague of 1665. This led to the employment by the grateful citizens of two distinct forms of the Fine Arts; one, that of *Architecture* to commemorate deliverance, and the other of *Painting,* in recognition of the disinterested generosity which they had experienced.

First, the Monument on Fish Street Hill was erected by Sir Christopher Wren (pursuant to Act of Parliament, 1667), between the years 1671 and 1677 at a cost of £13,700, and is 202 feet in height.

An inscription on the south side of the base of the pedestal of the Monument states how Charles II. remitted taxes, and refers to the petition of the magistrates and inhabitants to Parliament, who immediately passed an

Act that public works should be restored with public money, to be raised by an impost on coals, and "caused this Column to be erected."

In the general conflagration most of the ancient boundaries of property were effaced, and lawlessness threatened everywhere to prevail. Disputes on all sides seemed inevitable, when, by the timely intervention of the Government and the gratuitously rendered assistance of the Judges, all these troubles were, as might be said, miraculously averted.

After the fire a special Court was constituted by Act of Parliament (8th February, 1666-67), consisting of the "Justices of the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, and Barons of the Exchequer (or any three of them) to adjudicate on all questions arising between the owners and tenants of property in the City destroyed by fire.

The Commission sat at Clifford's Inn, an Inn of Chancery belonging to the Inner Temple, adjoining St. Dunstan's Church. In the hall of this Inn, Sir Matthew Hale and the principal Judges met, and dispatched a vast amount of business.

Sir Matthew Hale was the first that offered his services to the City, and this measure certainly obviated numerous difficulties that would otherwise have occurred, insomuch that the sudden and quiet building of the City, which is justly to be reckoned among the wonders of the age, is in no small measure due to the great care which he and Sir Orlando Bridgeman, then Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, exercised, and to the judgment they shewed in that affair.

The last sitting held by the Commission was on the 20th September, 1672.

Besides his part in the strictly judical business of this tribunal, Hale is said to have advised the Corporation on various matters relating to the rebuilding of the City.

There were no less than twenty-two of the Judges constantly occupied in adjusting and determining the various disputes and claims which were put forth from day to day.

After this deliverance the Corporation of the City of London desired to put on lasting record its sense of the labour and trouble incurred by the Judges at these sittings without the expense of law suits, and in the year 1670, on the 19th of April, the Court passed a resolution as follows:

> 1670. Resolved, This Court in contemplation of the favour and kindness of the Rt. Honble. Sir Orlando Bridgman Knt. and Bart. Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, the Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas and Barons of the Exchequer, to the State of the Citty, in and about the Act of Parliament and the execution of it for erecting a Judicature for determining of differences between Landlord and tenant, doth think fit and order that their pictures be taken by a skillful hand and kept in some publique place of this Citty for a grateful memoriall of their good office.
>
> Rep. 75 fol. 160 b.

It was at first proposed to entrust Sir Peter Lely with the execution of these portraits, but as he declined to wait upon the Judges at their respective chambers, the scheme was abandoned.

A Committee was therefore appointed on the 27th September, 1670, for the purpose of considering the various tenders that had been invited to be sent in.

(Repertory 3, fol. 20.)

The result was that from among the various "skilful masters" who competed for the work, a certain Michael Wright was selected, and he was paid from the funds of the Corporation at the price of £36 (?) for each portrait (Walpole says £60). The arms and inscriptions on the frames were painted by his brother, Jeremiah Wright. These pictures were placed in the Great Hall. In the year 1672 many of them had to be repaired in consequence of injuries caused by the shrinking of unseasoned wood fastened behind them.

The order for these reparations was dated 29th August of the same year.

Portraits of the King and the Duke of York were also added to the series by the same Committee in the September following, and for these two pictures Sir Peter Lely received the sum of £100.

An early reference to these pictures when placed in the Hall, occurs in the Diary of John Evelyn, under date July 31st, 1673, he writes :—

> I went to see the pictures of all the judges and eminent men of the Long Robe, newly painted by Mr. Wright, and set up in Guildhall costing the City £1000.
>
> Most of them are very like the persons they represent, though I never took Wright to be any considerable artist.

Compare this with an earlier entry in the Diary 1659, April 5th.

> "Came the Earl of Northampton and the *famous painter Mr. Wright* to visit me."
>
> (Evelyn's Works, Bohn's edition, vol. i., page 343.)

An account of London belonging to the date 1731, contains a reference to these pictures, and describes their position on the walls of the Great Hall. The description runs thus:—

> The Hall is embellished with the portraitures painted in full proportion, of *eighteen* Judges, which were there put up by the City in gratitude for their signal service done in determining the differences between landlord and tenant (without the expense of lawsuits) in rebuilding this City, pursuant to an Act of Parliament, after the Fire in 1666.

In the Lord Mayor's Court were four more, all in scarlet robes as Judges.

In the magnificent folio volume of Mr. John Edwd. Price is introduced an old engraving of 1708, showing this Hall with a flat roof, Gog and Magog, and the pictures of the Judges.

Dodsley's "London and its Environs," published in 1761, gives a description of the Hall borrowed from the foregoing account of 1731. The pictures continued to remain there as represented in various successive paintings.

On the erection of the Courts of Law, the Court of Common Pleas and the Court of Queen's Bench, on the site of the old Guild Hall Chapel and Blackwell Hall in the year 1823, the portraits were transferred to those walls as a more appropriate locality, and I first saw them there in November, 1867.

When, in turn, these Law Courts were demolished and the magnificent permanent Gallery of Art was established on this site, the greater part of these portraits were removed to the old Council Chamber, the apartment in which we are now assembled. Until the construction of the permanent Art Gallery, this Council Chamber had been the chief centre for the display of all those grand historical pictures, and portraits of eminent public characters, in which the Corporation of London is so rich As this apartment is now frequently used as a Court. of Justice, the Judges' portraits are still most appropriately located, and I am glad to perceive that they have once more undergone careful cleaning and renovation.

It is now perhaps time that we should turn to the history of the pictures themselves, with their peculiar significance for portraiture. They afford a signal example of Art being employed as an expression of gratitude by a great public body, and may be regarded as the commencement of that development of patronage of the Fine Arts, especially native Art, for which the Corporation of London is so distinguished.

It is not a little remarkable that the first painter applied to for the purpose of carrying out this scheme was a foreigner. Sir Peter Lely, the Dutchman, stood foremost among portrait painters in England, and enjoyed largely the patronage of the Crown and of persons of the highest cultivation.

At the time of the Restoration, most of the favourite artists, like Lely, were of foreign birth and education, but there still existed a few practitioners of English origin, and their productions in a quieter way were highly esteemed.

As, after Sir Peter Lely declined to accede to the wishes of the Council, the work was put up to competition and tenders were invited, it would be interesting, if by reference to existing records, the names of those who desired to enter the lists could be ascertained. We know at least that the following artists were English born, and that they were frequently employed by persons of distinction—

Isaac Fuller, died in Bloomsbury Square, 1672.

Robert Streater, born in Covent Garden, 1624. Died, 1680.

John Greenhill, born at Salisbury, 1649. Died, 1676.

Davenport, an imitator of Lely, died in Salisbury Court in the reign of King William, aged 50.

Parry Walton, died 1700.

Thos. Flatman, born in Aldersgate Street. Died, December, 1688.

John Hayls, the friend of Pepys. Died in Southampton Street, Bloomsbury, 1679, and was buried in St. Martin's.

Edmund Ashfield was a pupil of Wright; he has no dates.

Joseph Michael Wright, the successful candidate, was born in Scotland, but came to London at the age of sixteen or seventeen. He generally signed his pictures; sometimes as *Anglus* and sometimes *Scotus*. The earliest date which I have met with on his pictures is on a small three-quarter of Mrs. Cleypole, daughter of Oliver Cromwell, giving the year of her death 1658. This picture is in the possession of the Earl of Chichester, at Stanmer. Another portrait by him at Ham House of Colonel Russell is dated 1659. Two other portraits in the Madingley Collection, Cambridge, bear date 1660. All these pictures are signed *Ios Mich Ritus*, in full dark letters. His later and more important works were signed by him with his name in full, spelt in the ordinary way, *on the back of the canvas.* The only picture signed by him in full on the front of the canvas is that of John Lacy, the Actor, at Hampton Court, dated 1675, painted for Charles II. It runs "*Mich Wright Pincit 1675*," in yellow letters upon dark ground in the right-hand corner.

The practice adopted by some painters of writing their names on the back of their canvases is most dangerous, so far as the intention of perpetuating their names is concerned. When in course of time a painting grows old, and the canvas becomes rotten or worn away, it is necessary to have it strengthened with a new piece of canvas fastened to the back, so that anything already drawn or written behind gets covered up. Careful cleaners or restorers under these circumstances make faithful copies first of what they find remaining and reproduce them. But it is not so in all instances, and sometimes through ignorance and carelessness, the name of the painter gets distorted if not entirely lost.

A practical instance of this mischief occurred at the National Portrait Gallery many years ago. The Gallery acquired a very fine portrait of Thomas Hobbes, the Philosopher, painted, as it appeared, by an unknown artist named *Wrilps*. On the back we found coarsely written—

> Jos Wick Wrilps Londiensis (*sic*)
> Pictor Caroli 2nd Regis pinxit
> Aetat 81, 1669.

I perceived that the canvas was much newer than the painting, and from the clumsiness of the spelling felt sure that the transcriber had been very careless over his work. Fortunately we succeeded by the help of a very dexterous manipulator in detaching the added canvas from the original back, when we read in smaller and beautifully formed letters, as follows—

Jo^s^ Mich : Writus Londinens
Pictor Caroli 2^di^ Regis pinxit.

Samuel Pepys in his diary makes only one reference to Wright, and that occurs under date June 18th, 1662. He expatiates on the beauty of the portraits of the King and Duchess of York, by Lely, and describes them as "most rare things," which he had just seen. He then adds—

> "Thence to Wright's, the painter's; but Lord! to see the difference that is between their two works"!

Of Wright's personal history very little is known. There is no record of the name of his instructor, or of the date of his appointment as Painter to the King, but he went in early days to Italy and studied there and returned with the character of an accomplished connoisseur. His works always show a tendency to classical severity. John Evelyn says that he had been long in Italy. Wright attended Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine on his embassy to Rome, from James II. to the Pope (Innocent XI.) and published an account of it afterwards. The date of the dedication was 1687.

Wright appears in a full-length picture of the earl, seated at a table, as his secretary.[1] Wright appears to have been a linguist. His son remained in Rome and was master of languages.

Wright had a choice collection of works of art. He died in James street, Covent Garden about 1700, and was buried in that church.

When I first saw these portraits of the Judges in the Guildhall Law Courts, November, 1867, I was informed that they were signed in full on the back of the canvas. As at that time they hung very high on the walls and were very difficult of access there was no means of verifying the statement. Recently, 7th July, 1893, I have enjoyed the privilege of seeing three of the portraits taken down from the walls and of examining the state of the canvas at the back.

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[1] See Catalogue of the 1866 Exhibition of Portraits at South Kensington, No. 1015, "The Earl of Castlemain dictating to his Secretary." Lent by the Earl of Powis.

The following were the inscriptions as I came upon them—

Sir Timothy Littleton (sic) Knight
one of the Barons of the Exchequer
Jo^s Mich Wright
Pinxit Anno Domi 1671.

written in black paint in the left-hand lower part of the back of the canvas which has been relined, and the writing consequently copied from something underneath.

On the back of the second I found on what seemed to be the original writing in smaller and sharper letters on the old canvas.

Sir Thomas Tyrrell Knight one of the
Judges of the Common Pleas
Jo : (sic) Wright Pinxit 1671.
J. R. Restauravit 1779.

The third was also on old canvas and in old writing, ran thus

Sir Francis North Knight Lord Cheif Justice
of the Common Pleas
Jo. Mich Wright Lon. Pinxit 1675
S. R. Restauravit 1779.

We do not read on either of these examples "Pictor Regis" or painter to the King, a post which, according to his portrait of Thomas Hobbes now in the National Portrait Gallery, he held in 1669.

The additional lines to the Tyrrell and North portraits, recording their subsequent restoration, derives explanation from the pages of Malcolm's Londinium Redivivum, published in 1803. He states, in accordance with Walpole, that Wright received £60 for each portrait, and proceeds to quote the following passage from Mr. Nichols' publication, printed in 1783, intituled "London's Gratitude," at page 19—

> When Guildhall was repaired in 1779, all the portraits (except the modern ones) were in so bad a condition that it became a matter of doubt whether they were to be restored to their places or committed to the flames. The Committee of City Lands, who were to decide their fate, divided equally on the question, and it was to the honour of the Chairman, Mr. Alderman Townsend, whose vote determined their being cleaned and replaced.

The name of the Restorer, "J. R.," is not revealed, Mr. Malcolm himself in 1803, adds—

> The constant exposure to which every article in the Hall is liable, of damp in winter and dust in summer, with a constant and fresh supply of smoke, condensed in this very centre of the city, accounts for the deplorable state of the paintings in 1779. Indeed, they are almost reduced to the same pitiable condition again (24 years later). This circumstance, their extreme height, and the similarity of red robes and monstrous wigs, prevent a possibility of description without fatiguing the reader.

Thus we see that these pictures, notwithstanding the honourable purpose for which they were painted, have had their vicissitudes. But it is highly satisfactory to see the excellent care with which they are now treated, and the brilliancy of their present condition as they hang on these venerable walls.

A series of twenty-two portraits, all life-size, full-length, and all standing wearing the same official scarlet gowns, could scarcely be other than monotonous. The massive frames, of a uniform deep rich brown colour, of the well-known Sunderland pattern (so called from the prevalence of that fashion at Althorp) impart a heaviness and dulness of tone. The backgrounds are all, with the exception of Sir Matthew Hale and Chief Baron Atkyns, perfectly plain dark brown, with a shallow arch above each figure. The floor, in all cases, is a dark plain brown and so deep in colour that the black shoes, where the feet are shown, can scarcely be distinguished, no carpet or inlaid pavement is introduced. Not one figure is seated, and no face appears in profile. There may truly be said to be no great variety of attitude among them, so far as arms are concerned. But the hands, are well placed, and the action of the fingers, for the most part, significant.

The manner of painting is broad and large as if intended to be seen at a great distance. But, as the result of frequent cleaning and repairing in former times, very little of the original manipulation of Wright remains to be seen. The names and coats of arms conspicuously attached to the frames convey ready information, and it is much to be desired that all portraits in public galleries were equally well provided.

Sir Matthew Hale's is an important picture. A full-length life-sized figure in scarlet robe and fur mantle, standing on a step with a balustrade behind him. His face is turned in three-quarters to the left, with eyes fixed on the spectator. He wears a close-fitting black skull-cap, and carries his square-topped hat with a roll of paper in his right hand. The thumb of his left hand is placed within the narrow black girdle which encircles his waist. He wears a gold chain of SS. over his shoulders, bearing in the centre below a portcullis.

This chain like others in the series, is very coarsely painted.

The collar fitting close to his cheek is plain, flat, and square-cut. This fashion is uniformly adopted. At this date, 1671, the ruff has been entirely abandoned. There is not one example in the series.

His large black and gold embroidered glove is tucked within his girdle on his right side.

A repetition of this picture, but only half-length, attributed also to Joseph Michael Wright, was lent by Lincoln's Inn to the Great Portrait Exhibition of 1866, No. 918 of the Catalogue. It is engraved in Lodge's Portraits, vol. vii., plate 152.

Most of the Judges, in this series, wear or carry large gloves. Some are plain white leather, and others are of black with gold borders or fringes to them.

Lord Chief Baron Robert Atkyns, K.B., exhibits long dark hair with a more youthful countenance than any of the other Judges. He wears a gold chain and holds a square flat-topped cap in his left hand and carries a glove in his right. Light is admitted from the right-hand side. Beside him, to the left, is a group of papers and an official robe. These are the only accessories, excepting the balustrade of Sir Matt. Hale, introduced in the series.

PRESENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE PORTRAITS OF THE JUDGES AT GUILDHALL.

In the Old Council Chamber.

North side.

Sir John Kelynge, Knt. Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Died 1671.

Sir Edward Turnour, Knt.
Speaker of the House of Commons till 1671, when he became Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Died 1676.

Heneage Finch, Earl of Nottingham.
Solicitor-General, Lord Chancellor 1675. Died 1682.

Sir Thomas Twisden, Bart.
Judge of the King's Bench. Died 1683.

East side.

Sir Christopher Turnor, Knt.
Third Baron of the Exchequer Died 1675.

Sir Robert Atkyns, Knt.
Lord Chief Baron. Died 1710.

South side.

Sir John Vaughan, Knt.
Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Died 1674.

Sir Matthew Hale, Knt.
Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Died 1676.

Sir Richard Rainsford.
Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Died 1679.

Sir William Morton, Knt.
Judge of the King's Bench. Died, 1672.

West side.

Sir William Wadham Wyndham, Knt.
Judge of the King's Bench. Died 1668.

Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Knt. and Bart.
Chief Justice in the Court of Common Pleas, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Died 1674.

Sir Hugh Wyndham, Baron of the Exchequer and Judge of the Common Pleas. Died 1684.

In Lord Mayor's Court, Registrar's Office.

Sir Willm. Wylde, Knt.
Judge of Court of Common Pleas. Died 1679.

Sir Edward Thurland, Knt.
A Baron of the Exchequer. Died 1682.

Francis North.
Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1675, afterwards Lord Keeper and Baron Guilford. Died 1685.

Sir Thomas Tyrrell, Knt.
Justice of the Common Pleas. Died 1672.

Sir Edward Atkyns, Knt.
Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Died 1698.

Sir Timothy Lyttelton, painted in 1671. A Welsh Judge.
Baron of the Exchequer 1670. Died 1679.

Sir Samuel Brown, Knt.
A Judge of the Common Pleas. Died 1668.

Sir John Archer.
Judge of the Common Pleas. Died 1682.

Sir William Ellis, Knt.
Judge of the Common Pleas. Died 1680.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

HOW TO DECIPHER AND STUDY OLD DOCUMENTS, by E. E. THOYTS. (Stock).

Miss Thoyts has printed here a useful little book serving to draw the attention of the tyro to the qualifications of the record searcher, and especially to the necessity of perseverance and patience. As other works on the same subject have of late been published, repetitions must be expected. The chapter on judging character by handwriting seems irrelevant; and we can hardly agree with the assertion that if parish registers were placed in one of our public libraries they would lose all individuality and become merged in a mass of manuscripts more or less buried. The intended fac-simile of a Final Concord is given in a mutilated form; and in the list of Norman-French Dictionaries, Kelham should not have been omitted.

THE TEMPLE CHURCH AND CHAPEL OF ST. ANN, &c., AN HISTORICAL RECORD AND GUIDE, by T. HENRY BAYLIS, Q C., M.A. (Philip and Son, 32, Fleet Street.)

An excellent, most useful little book, the information being gathered directly from original or authentic sources, these being fully and fairly acknowledged in the introduction. Divided into two parts, the first serves as a general guide, having a description of the church and the well-known effigies; part two includes the history of the Knights Templars, and the formation of the two Societies of the Inner and Middle Temple. The opening chapter tells us how to gain admission to the church, information certainly wanted, as visitors can be too often seen helpless outside, much irritated at their blank disappointment and the total absence of assistance. It is to be hoped the notice mentioned by Mr. Baylis may soon be seen either on the door or the railings. Careful and unbiassed consideration is given to the cross-legged effigies, a list of the writers thereon and their opinions being noted. But writing on the de Ros effigy there is a slight confusion, as on p. 20 this is said to be of the second half of the thirteenth century, the dates given on p. 21 corresponding, yet a paragraph with these says this is fifty years too early; if so, the date would be the first half of the fourteenth century. It is curious to read that one half of the church, the soil, the chancel, nave, bells, and communion table, belongs to one Society, the remaining half or moiety to the other. St. Ann's Chapel, now gone, which adjoined the south side of the round church, was resorted to, in these haunts of men, by women who seeking the efficacy of prayer wished to become joyful mothers The extracts from the registers show that all foundlings were christened Temple or Templar, a better plan than giving them personal names. A sufficient index, a point much to be commended, gives the chief matters of interest, but we must notice one little fault, especially in Part I., where the pages are disfigured by the excessive, unnecessary, use of capitals.

WHERSTEAD, SOME MATERIALS FOR ITS HISTORY, TERRITORIAL, MANORIAL, AND DURING EVENTS BETWEEN. By F. BARHAM ZINCKE, Vicar. 2nd Edition enlarged. (Simpkin, Marshall & Co.).

To those who may be willing to do something towards noting the history of the parish in which they live, this book should be most welcome as showing how much can be done by simple observation and "taking notes," without reference to extraneous sources. So rapid are the changes around us that much here recorded must have been lost except for the industry and attention of the author. Similar work could be done by others, and in cases where the opportunity or possibility of publishing may be absent, the collection, however small, could be deposited in some safe place, or with care handed down for future use. Such work should be a source of pleasure to natives and neighbours, and help to give them a wider interest in their dwelling place. In twenty-nine chapters the author treats of the local and social history and life of his Suffolk village. After the church and vicars come the registers and the briefs or public collections of two centuries ago, then follow in turn notes on the parks, poaching, drinking, village worthies, superstitions and dialect, and on Romano-British finds, ending with an account of the Domesday Survey. These chapters were originally published in a local newspaper, thus disseminating the idea and by drawing attention to the subject gaining assistance even to the return of some lost Roman coins. The registers begin in 1590, and in 1673 a baptism gives the mother's name as Estofidelis a superior form, no doubt, of what would have been Bethoufaithful. The number of briefs for collections is remarkable, as also their varied character and the amounts collected, the latter in one case being so low as sixpence. There are some slips in the dates, as on p. 30, where Edward VI presents to the living in 1522, presumably 1552; on p. 129 the 5th John is given as 1240 instead of 1204, and a few lines lower the 5th Edward I is given as 1272, which was the date of his first year.

THOUGHTS THAT BREATHE AND WORDS THAT BURN, from the Writings of FRANCIS BACON, Baron of Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, and Lord High Chancellor: selected by ALEXANDER B. GROSART. (Elliot Stock), 1893.

This is another issue of the elegant series of the "Elizabethan Library"; and for those who wish such a collection of sifted wisdom, either for reading or for reference, the volume will be most welcome. To make such a selection from Bacon, the master thinker, must have been a troublesome task, except it were a labour of love, for certainly many more pages could have been well filled. There are here many good thoughts on matters of every day life, with others on history and religion not, however, to be read lightly or carelessly without reflection. Bacon's judgement and estimate of the character of Queen Elizabeth are fully given, and cannot be too widely known, for the opinion of such a man settles the untruths which her opponents, whom she mastered, have tried to fix upon her. The last thought in a series of notable sentences, selected from the "Remains," shows us the opinion of the time when it tells us that, "hollow church papists are like the roots of the nettle, which themselves sting not, but yet they bear all the stinging leaves."

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE LIBRARY: ENGLISH TOPOGRAPHY. Part IV. (Durham-Gloucestershire), edited by G. L. GOMME, F.S.A. (Elliot Stock, London, 1893.)

Another volume of this excellent series dealing with the counties of Durham, Essex, and Gloucester. The church notes for Essex are very full, and contain many instances of the destruction and mutilation of monuments. Mr. Gomme, in his preface, draws special attention to these church notes, and suggests that the local Archæological Societies should compile and publish catalogues of the various antiquarian objects within their respective counties. The principal difficulty in the way of County Societies doing such work seems to be the difficulty of finding workers. From Gloucestershire are many contributions concerning the mediæval houses in the county, whilst the whole volume contains quaint and interesting notes on all manner of subjects. The parishes are printed in alphabetical order, and the indexes are very full and complete.

THE LEGENDARY LORE OF THE HOLY WELLS OF ENGLAND, by R. C. HOPE, F.S.A. (Elliot Stock, London, 1893.)

Mr. Hope's book on "Holy Wells, Their Legends and Traditions," supplies a long-felt want, no previous attempt to gather the scattered fragments of this most interesting subject having been attempted. It is curious to note how tenaciously well-worship has existed from the earliest down to the present time, faint traces still existing in remote districts. Mr. Hope has divided his work into counties, but one would wish that he had kept the parishes in alphabetical order, instead of the somewhat haphazard way in which they are arranged. The work originally appeared in *The Antiquary*, but has been much enlarged, and is now illustrated with many charming views of the various wells. Mr. Hope proposes to continue the subject, treating of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. The book is excellently got up, and has a capital introduction and index.

The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1893.

ROMANO-BRITISH INSCRIPTIONS, 1892—1893.

By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

The following article contains the Roman inscriptions discovered in Britain since my last report, with the addition of a few older finds, which had been overlooked, and some corrections of published texts. Three of the new discoveries, the Cirencester monument of fourth century restoration, the late and possibly Christian tombstone at Carlisle, and the Lanchester dedication to Garmangabis, possess unusual importance, and I have thrown my rather lengthy notes on them into a separate article. The Silchester tile and the gold ring from Thanet, both old finds now brought to notice, and the inscriptions from South Shields and Wallsend are also noteworthy.

I have done my best to examine for myself the texts which I edit or discuss. Completeness in this matter is perhaps unattainable, but I have been able to get a first-hand acquaintance with all but six of the inscriptions which follow, and my readings can claim the merits, whatever they be, of independent collations. At the same time I have found chances of beginning a revision of the readings in the seventh volume of the *Corpus*, and the following pages contain a part of the corrections which I have lately noted. Some of these may seem details, fitted only to amuse or to irritate, but all details matter in epigraphy, and I have omitted a good deal that might have been admitted by others. Later, I hope to draw up a list of the revised inscriptions with the necessary corrigenda added. But the task of revision is not altogether easy: we have few museums in England, and our inscriptions have been scattered broadcast up and down our country houses. Till recently, I had not the leisure even to think of going through them.

I have to thank many friends for aid in procuring access to, in copying, and in understanding the inscriptions here edited. In particular, I should express my gratitude to Dr. Hodgkin, Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., and Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., for help in my visits to the north; and to Prof. Pelham, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Mr. A. H. Smith, F.S.A., and Prof. W. M. Ramsay, who helped in examining inscriptions along the walls of Hadrian and Antonine. I shall be at any time grateful for accounts of new finds, which should be addressed to Christ Church, Oxford.

As before, I have followed the *Corpus* in the arrangement of matter, and in the order of inscriptions. I begin in the South and work upwards, prefixing to each district-heading the number of the section or chapter in the Berlin collection. Where an inscription has been already edited in the *Corpus* or *Ephemeris*, I give the reference in square brackets at the head of the notice. For convenience, I number consecutively with my last article.

Chief Abbreviations :—

C = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* : where no Roman numerals follow, the British volume, VII, edited by Prof. E Hübner (Berlin 1873), is meant.

Eph. = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, supplements to the above. The supplements to C. vol. vii, are in *Eph.* iii and iv (by Prof. Hübner), and in vii (by myself).

Arch. Ael. = *Archæologia Aeliana* the Journal of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.

Arch. Journ. = Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute.

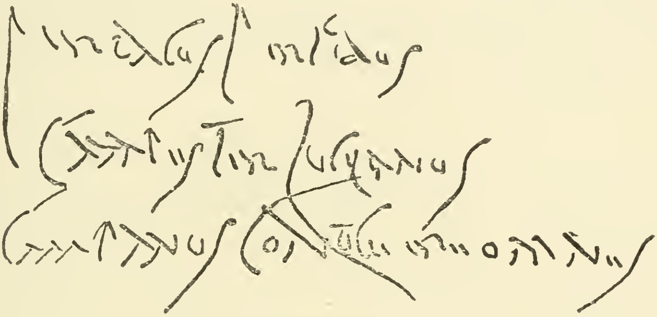
Proc. Soc. Ant. = Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London (or, if Newcastle is added, of Newcastle).

In expansions of the inscriptions, round brackets denote the expansion of an abbreviation, square brackets the supplying of letters, which, owing to breakage or other cause, are not now on the stone, but which may be presumed to have been there.

V. SILCHESTER (?)

118. Tile inscribed with three lines of cursive handwriting, dating probably from the first or second century, thought to have been found long ago at Silchester; now in the possession of Dr. William Davis, of 20, Dorset square, London, N.W., and of Silchester.

I am not wholly satisfied that this tile was found at Silchester or in England at all. Dr. Davis tells me that it was long in his father's possession in a cabinet at Silchester, with odds and ends found there, and was thought to have been found on the spot. I have, however, included it as I included the Caspet *patera* (No. 83) in my last issue.



Pertacus Perfidus Campester Lucilianus Campanus conticuere omnes.

Copied by Dr. E. Maunde Thompson and published by him in his *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 211, from which the reduced cut is reproduced by leave of the publishers, Messrs. Kegan Paul and Co.

Dr. Thompson observes that the lines seem to be material for a writing lesson, the teacher writing certain words to illustrate certain letters and then dashing off into Virgil's *conticuere omnes*. The alphabet is identical with that used on wax tablets found at Pompei and in Dacia (A.D. 139, A.D. 167). The only ligature is ER.

VII. KENT.

119. Rude figurine in white earth, found at Canterbury in 1867, now in possession of Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A. A goddess on a basketwork chair gives suck to a child, a common type; on the underside in rude letters—

SILI
Sili
"made by Silius."

Copied by myself: the figurine, but not the inscription, is given in Mr. John Brent's *Canterbury in the Olden Time* (p. 41). It is one of the ugly Gaulish statuettes of which a few have been found in Kent[1] and Essex, this being the only inscribed one known to me. In this, as in other details, we can trace the continental influences which were naturally stronger there than elsewhere in Britain.

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[1] See Roach Smith *Coll. Ant.* vi., pp. 48-75, 228-239.

120. (Eph. iv., p. 210, n. 709.) This fragment of inscribed and figured glass, found in Canterbury, has been re-examined by myself and by M. Schuermans,[1] who reads and completes—

AMVS *Pyr*]*amus.*

The A is faint; I failed myself to detect it. The name of Pyramus appears on similar inscribed glass vessels, though not in the nominative.

M. Schuermans has lately discussed the whole question of these glass vessels with figures of charioteers and gladiators and names attached.[2] Twenty-two specimens are known, six found in Britain, three in Germany, seven in France and Belgium, and six at unknown places, probably on the Continent. Hence M. Schuermans infers that they were manufactured in north-west France or in Britain—the former is, I think, the more probable—while, from the names of the charioteers, the circumstances of the finds and other details, he shews that they were in fashion at the end of the first and commencement of the second centuries of our era. Apparently people then bought glass adorned with the figures and names of the heroes of the circus, just as they might now buy portraits of distinguished athletes.

121. Gold ring ploughed up at Birchington near Westgate, Thanet: on eleven facets the inscription

FIDES CONSTANI
Fides constan[*t*]*i*

Literary Gazette, 1860, p. 166=1 Sept., from a Dover paper; hence Mowat *Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiquaires de la France* x. (1889), p. 336, who observes that it has been overlooked by both Dr. Hübner and myself. He also gives an interesting list of ten similar rings, comparing, for instance, one found near Norwich (C. n. 1301) with CONSTANI FIDES. The usual inscription is FIDEM CONSTANTINO, which M. Mowat rather conjecturally connects with the swearing of allegiance to the emperor, supposing that the common coins with the legends FIDES MILITUM and the like represent donatives given on such occasions, while rings like these may be presents to various officers. We may compare also the gold ornaments with COSTANTI VIVAS and the like (C. iii., 6016, &c.)[1]

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[1] The object, which belonged to Mr. Cecil Brent, has unfortunately been lost since M. Schuermans saw it, through no fault of Mr. Brent's.

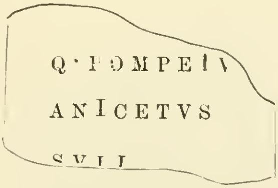
[2] *Annales de la Société Archéol. de Namur*, vol. xx.; reprinted as *Verres à courses de chars*, Namur, 1893. A bit of figured glass found lately at Chesters, *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, v., 116, is of a different kind to that noticed here.

Mr. G. Payne, F.S.A., in his "Archæological Index" to Kent (*Arch.* li., 553), omits this ring, and gives to Birchington no other remains than "pre Roman coins." A Romano-British urn from Birchington is in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool. From enquiries I have made, I gather that the ring once belonged to the late Mr. J. P. Powell, of Quex, in Thanet, and is now in possession of his family. I have not been able to get a sight of it.

IX. Bath.

122 (Eph. vii. 828). This stone, found in York street, Bath, in 1879, is now in the Museum of the Royal Institution, where I have examined it. It is a bit of limestone, 12½ by 9½ inches, with letters 1⅝ in. tall in the first line and 1½ in. tall in the second line. The reading was not quite correctly given by Mr. Watkin (*Arch. Journ.* xxxvii. 136) :—

Q. Pompeiu[s] Anicetus
Suli.



The stone, then, seems to be a dedication to Sul-Minerva, the goddess of Bath, and not a sepulchral monument. As York Street is near the baths, such a dedication is quite suitable.

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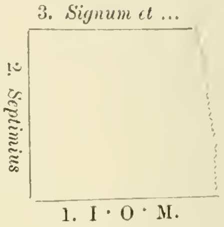
[1] See further *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxiii., pp. 84, 174; Kraus *Inscr.* 251; *Westdeutsches Korrespondenzblatt*, iii., n. 39; Pais *Suppl.* 1086; c. iii., 6019, 12033.

X. Cirencester.

123. Square sandstone "basis," 18 in. high by 16 in. square, found at Cirencester in 1891. Three panels, forming apparently the front, left-hand side, and back, are inscribed with regular lettering $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. high (line 1 is $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. high); a fourth panel, the right-hand side, is quite lost, but was possibly also inscribed.

The panels are arranged as in the diagram; the corners are formed by small balusters, and the top was no doubt surmounted by a column, for fastening which a small hole is still to be seen.



(1.) I. O
L. SEPT
V. P. PR.
RESTI
CIV/S

1. *Iovi O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] L. Sept[imius...] v(ir) p(erfectissimus) pr(aeses) [prov(inciae)...] resti[tuit,] c(urante)?? Ius[tino]??*

(2.) SEPTIMIVS
RENOVAT
PRIMAE
PROVINCIAE
RECTOR

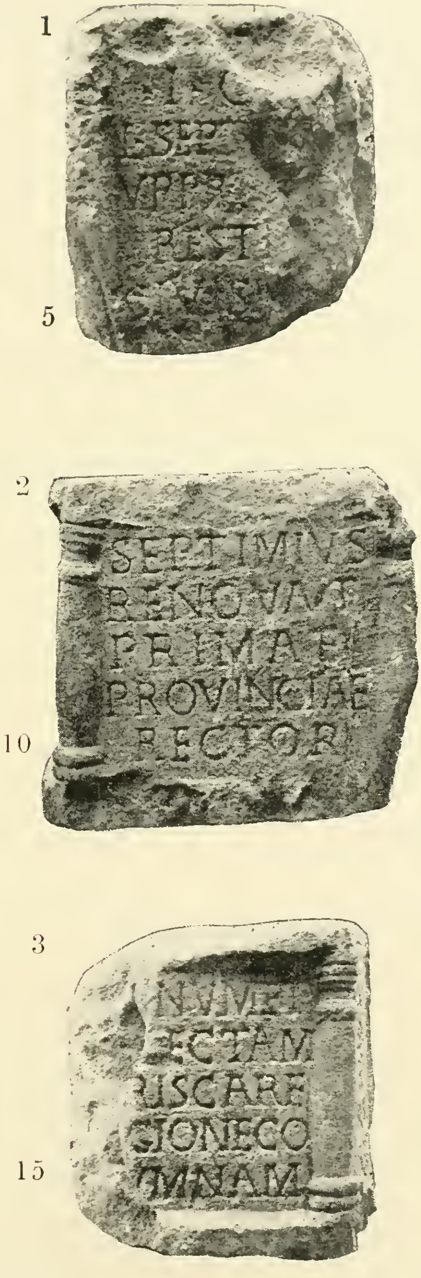
2. *Septimius renovat, primae provinciae rector.*

(3.) NVMET
⌞ECTAM
RISCARE
GIONECO
VMNAM

3. *[Sig]num et [er]ectam[p]risca religione columnam.*

(4.) Lost, or never inscribed.

Copied by myself; Mr. Bowly kindly sent me photographs and helped me to get at the stone. Published, from squeezes, by Dr. Hübner *Westdeutsches Korrespondenz blatt*, 1891, n. 89, p. 225. The reading, expansions and


1
SEPT
VPP
REST
5
2
SEPTIMIVS
RENOVAT
PRIMAE
PROVINCIAE
RECTOR
10
3
NVM ET
ECTAM
ISCARE
GIONECO
VMNAM
15

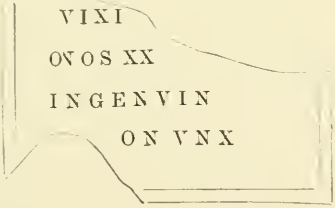
Cirencester.

supplements are all fairly certain. In the third line there is hardly room for more than ten letters; Dr. Hübner suggests PROV . BRIT . PR. In the fifth line there are traces between V and S of what may be a worn E or I, but I have in my expansion provisionally accepted Dr. Hübner's *c(urante) Ius[tino.* After S no letter is visible. In line 12 at the beginning are traces of (perhaps) the tail of an R. In line 15, the V is plain. I reserve comments for a separate article.

124. (C. 66). Re-examined by myself and Mr. G McN. Rushforth. In line 4 the last two letters seem to be IT, possibly for *item.* In line 5, for ER (*eredes*) read EX. This latter correction ought to have been mentioned in Eph. vii., 834.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

125. [Eph. iv. n. 666 p. 196] Two fragmentary inscriptions brought from Stancombe Park are preserved in the Gloucester Museum (Watkin *Arch. Journ.* xxxv, 69). The text of one seems capable of being better read: the letters are late and badly formed and VIX in line 2, VNX in line 3 are less deeply cut than the rest; according to Mr. Watkin, the stone was partially recut by a mason employed in cleaning it, when it was removed from Stancombe Park. Copied by myself.



vixi[t] an(n)os xx, or . .*vixi[t annos . ., mil(itavit)] an(n)os xx, Ingenuin[a c]on[i]unx.*

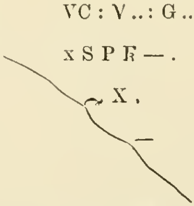
Probably a tombstone, erected to a husband by a wife; *anos* for *annos* is not uncommon. Stancombe Park is in the parish of Stinchcombe, very nearly half-way between Gloucester and Bristol. Traces of a Roman Villa have been found there. (G. B. Witts, *Handbook*, p. 65.) The inscription might also have come from Cirencester, as several Cirencester finds were once at Stancombe Park. (Buckman's *Corinium*, pp. 23, 105, 110, 115, 117, 122.)

XVIII. Lincoln.

126. [C. 184]. A recent examination of this stone, made at the instance of Precentor Venables and Dr. Kubitschek,[1] shewed me that Prof. Hübner's reading is not quite satisfactory. (1) In line 3, where the latter scholar gives CLACLVDI, explaining the strange form as a blunder for *Claudii*, the stone really has *Babudi*. What Prof. Hübner took for CL is a cursive B, made in the shape in which it appears on Pompeian scrawls and elsewhere. This introduction of cursive letters into an inscription in capitals is by no means unique: a good parallel, shewing the cursive R, was found in the last excavations at Chester (*Athenæum*, July 9, 1892). The *nomen* Babudius has been found, I believe, on Umbrian inscriptions, and the cognate Babidius and Baburius are not uncommon. (2) In lines 5 and 6 the lettering is ISPANI GALERIA CKVNIA, that is, the soldier was a Spaniard from the town of Clunia enrolled in the Galerian tribe. (3) The inscription has never been re-cut The shape of E, in lines 1-3 (see cut), is not due to any *lapicida novicius* as Prof. Hübner says, but is original, and may, no doubt, be put beside the cursive B. The whole inscription, then, is *L. Semproni Flav*(*i*)*ni*, *milit*(*i*)*s leg. viiii.*, *c*(*enturia*) *Babudi Severi*, *aer*(*um*) *vii.*, *annor*(*um*) *xxx.*, (*H*)*ispani Galeria* (*tribu*) *Clunia*.

XXI. Ribchester.

127. [C. n. 226]. After line 6 there appear to have been four more lines to this inscription: a very imperfect reading survives.



From a MS. letter dated 1846 preserved in the Romano-British department in the British Museum shewn me by Mr. C. H. Read, F.S.A. The seventh line of the inscription (the first above) may have begun *Aug*. The same MS. mentions as found at Ribchester "a bulla apparently inscribed with some characters not to be decyphered."

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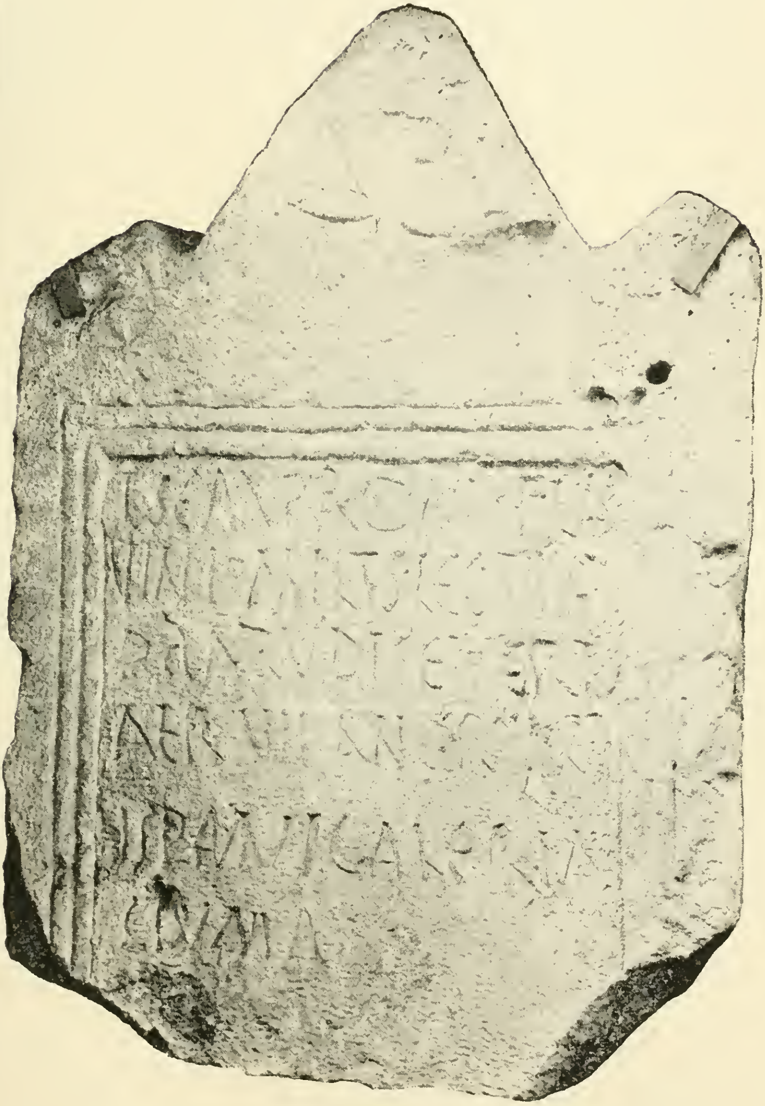
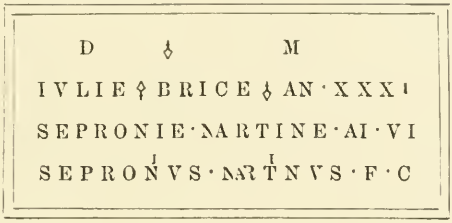
[1] To Dr. Kubitschek is due the first suggestion that the last five letters of the inscription might be CLVNIA.



Lincoln.

XXII. York.

128. Tombstone of gritty sandstone found in April 1892, in the cellar of the Mount Hotel, close to the Roman road running south to Tadcaster ; now in the York Museum. Above a relief of a woman holding a bowl (?) and child ; below an inscription 26 in wide, letters $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. in lines 1-3, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in line 4.

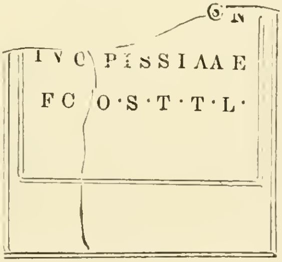


D(*is*) *m*(*anibus*), *Iuli*(*a*)*e Bric*(*a*)*e*, *an*(*nnorum*) *xxxi*, *Se*(*m*)*proni*(*a*)*e Martin*(*a*)*e*, *an*(*nnorum*) *vi*., *Se*(*m*)*pronius Martinus f*(*aciendum*) *c*(*uravit*). Tombstone erected by a husband to his wife and daughter.

Copied by Canon Raine, D.C.L., and myself; published by Canon Raine, *Academy*, April 16, 1892. Subsequent examination of the stone has slightly altered the reading first printed ; the above is Canon Raine's final reading, with which I agree.

Brica is, I think, a new name. Sepronius for Sempronius can be paralleled from inscriptions of very various dates.[1]

129. Tombstone of gritty sandstone, found with the preceding ; now in York museum. 20 in. across, letters $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, not very legible except at the end.



Perhaps . . *coniug*(*i*) *piissimae f*(*ecit*) *co*(*niux*) . *S*(*it*) *t*(*ibi*) *t*(*erra*) *l*(*evis*).

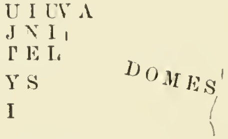
---

[1] C. i. 930, 956, 958 (republic) ; C. vi. 2120 (A.D, 155) ; C. x. 7168 (A.D. 431). see Seelmann's *Aussprache des Latein*, p. 281 ; Schuchardt i. 105.

Copied by myself and Canon Raine. Published by Canon Raine with No. 129. The invocation *sit tibi terra levis*, "light lie the earth above thy bones"—is well known in Roman epigraphy, but, like other of the "civilized" epigraphic usages, it is not very common in Britain. Three instances are given in the *Corpus* (index), at Benwell, Greatchesters and Risingham, and of these the second is doubtful.

130. While taking me round the Museum at York recently, Canon Raine was good enough to point out various minor inscriptions on pottery, found in York.

130*a*. On the side of an amphora five horizontal lines and one oblique in ink. The oblique line is clear but broken after the S; the rest seems perfect but is very faint.



The first line may be *oliva* (compare c iv p 226, n. 2610), the broken word *domesticum*, but I will not venture further. Here, as in the winejar mentioned by Juvenal

> *patriam titulumque senectus*
> *delevit multa veteris fuligine testae.*

130*b*. Numbers cut into the rims of the mouths (1-7), handle (8), and fragments of sides (9-10), of broken *amphorae*; 7, 9, 10 are possibly imperfect.

(1) VII (2) VII VIII
(3) VIIS\ (4) VIIS.
(5) VI/I (6) X
(7) III (8) VIIS
(9) VIIIv (10) ·VIIIIS—

Copied by myself. In Nos. 3, 4, 8, 10 S stands for *semis* 'a half.' An amphora of proper size held 8 *congii* or 48 *sextarii*: these figures probably state the contents, in *congii*, of the vessels on which they are cut, which may naturally enough have varied somewhat in capacity. It is also possible that the price of the vessels is indicated, but the coincidence of the figures with the average size of the *amphora* makes the former the best supposition. A rim found at Chesters has XII with a fracture before X.

130*c*. Inscriptions in white slip round Castor ware—

(1) (2)	DA MI	*da mi*
(3)	MIsCE MI	*mi[s]ce mi*
(4)	VIVATIS	*vivatis*
(5)	...ES . M...	*? bib]es m[erum ?*
(6)	LAXSAS	uncertain sense *(laxas ?)*

Copied by myself. I have included all but pure fragments for completeness, though some have been printed before (see Canon Raine's excellent *Catalogue*, ed. 8, p. 99 ; *Arch. Journ.* 1879, p. 297). A good list of similar inscriptions is given in the *Mémoires* of the Society of Antiquaries of France (ix., p. 351.)

130*d*. Graffiti on pottery (1) rim of black earthenware urn, (2-4) fragments from the sides of large vessels, (5) small white ware, (6-10) Pseudo-Arretine (Samian).

(1) XXIIIIII — Perhaps n° of *sextarii* contained
(2) IGΛINI — Canon Raine suggests the name *N]igrini*
(3) ·N I — Also *Ni[grini]* possibly.
(4) A · V · I
(5) CIVILIS—
(6) Q F
(7) GRAN
(8) BIKK
(8) IANVAR (perfect)
(9) ◁ ◇ MITI *Domiti*
(10) KλT

Copied by myself: I omit several Pseudo-Arretine graffiti of less importance. In 2 the R is made in the cursive shape which somewhat resembles an A with vertical bar.

XXIII. EAST RIDING.

131. [C. 263*a*]. This Malton altar, now in the Whitby museum, is, I think, given incorrectly in the *Corpus*. It is a stone 16 by 8 in. in size, with late lettering and lines drawn for the letters in late style. I read it

DEOMAR	*Deo Mar[ti]*
RIGAE	*Rigae*
SCIRVSDIC	*Scirus dic ?*
SAC VSLM	*sac(erdos v. s. l. m.*

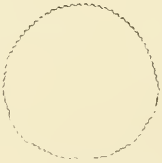
The inscription is fractured on the right and below the last line, but is otherwise perfect. *Marti Rigae* is, I think, far more probable than Dr. Hübner's *Marrigae* ;

compare the *Mars Rigisamus* on a Somersetshire inscription (C. 61).[1] The third line seems to end DIC, but I am not sure what the letters mean, and the reading is not absolutely clear; the suggestion *scirusor* is, however, out of the question.

XXV. GRETA BRIDGE, BOWES.

132. [C. 279, 280, 281]. The Rev. J. T. Fowler, F.S.A., has been good enough to make enquiry on my behalf for these stones which Prof. Hübner reports, on the late Dr. Bruce's authority, as being at Windlestone, near Bishop Auckland (Durham), in the possession of Sir William Eden. No. 279 is still at Windlestone, and the excellent squeezes, which Mr. Fowler sent me, shew that the published reading is correct (2 ANTONI, 3 GETAE seemingly). But the other two (Nos. 280-281) could not be found. This is the more to be regretted because they mention the division of Britain into two provinces made by Septimius Severus, and, though fragmentary, are of very good value.[2] It is much to be feared that, being fragments, they may have been destroyed.

133. [Eph. vii., 941]. I have lately examined this inscription, now preserved in the parish church of Bowes, the Roman *Lavatrae*. It appears to be distinctly Roman, and I thought to read, after some wholly illegible lines—



VS·AEM VS.. ..
IITIIIR .....
CLOIRAEF
FECIT

---

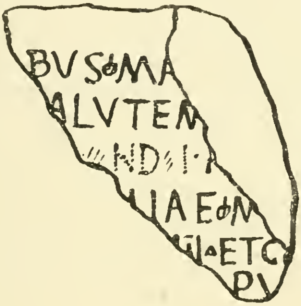
[1] Rigisamus according to D'Arbois de Jubainville *Noms gaulois chez César* (p. 12) means "having the pleasures of a king." Riga would mean "king" simply. It has been suggested to me that the R on the Bossens patera (No. 1) stands for such an epithet of Mars, but this is not likely. I would rather compare it with the R on a ring from Germany, lately published by Prof. Zangemeister (*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, xi., 274).

[2] They are quoted for proof of the division by Prof. Domaszewski in a recent article on Romano-British inscriptions (*Rhein. Mus.* xlviii. (1893), 342). He makes the frontier between Upper and Lower Britain run from the Humber to the Solway, through Greta-bridge. This line would nearly coincide with the great road from York by Catterick and Stainmoor to Carlisle. I am afraid that, though much recommends this theory, the evidence does not seem to me conclusive.

The stone has been turned into a circular millstone, like an African inscription at Lambaesis (C. viii., 3010). Probably five letters were lost in the first surviving line, owing to the central hole of the millstone, so that the name may have been *Aem[ilian]us*. In line 3, *praef(ectus)* seems probable; in line 4, *fecit*. The reading given by Mr. Watkin (*Arch. Journ.*, xxxix., 367) is wrong.

XXXI. Old Carlisle.

134. [C. 348]. This stone, along with eight others formerly preserved at Wigton Hall (C. 346-9, 351-2, 355, 357-8), is now in the Carlisle Museum. It is a piece of red sandstone about 12 inches high, with well-cut and well-preserved letters, which have not been properly read.



dea]bus Ma[tribus
pro s]alute M [.Aur
Sev. Alexa]nd[r]i A[ug.
et Iu]liae M[amaeae
. . . .

Copied by myself: the third line has been intentionally erased.

The altar, then, was erected to the mother goddesses in intercession for the Emperor Severus Alexander (A.D. 222-235) and his mother, Iulia Mamaea. The name Alexander was erased after his death, as usual,[1] but some letters of it (X, D, I) are legible still. What stood in the fifth and sixth lines I do not know; possibly the text ran on *Matri Aug. nostri] et c[astrorum* as usual.

XXXIII. Maryport, Papcastle.

135. In examining Mr. Senhouse's fine collection of Roman inscriptions, at Nether Hall,[2] near Maryport, I noted various small inaccuracies in the published readings.

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[1] See No. 139, *Arch. Aeliana*, xvi., 157.

[2] This collection is, I believe, the oldest in England. The first actual museum was Tradescant's, which has developed into the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

(C. 383.) The number of the *cohors voluntariorum* is xviii, not xix.

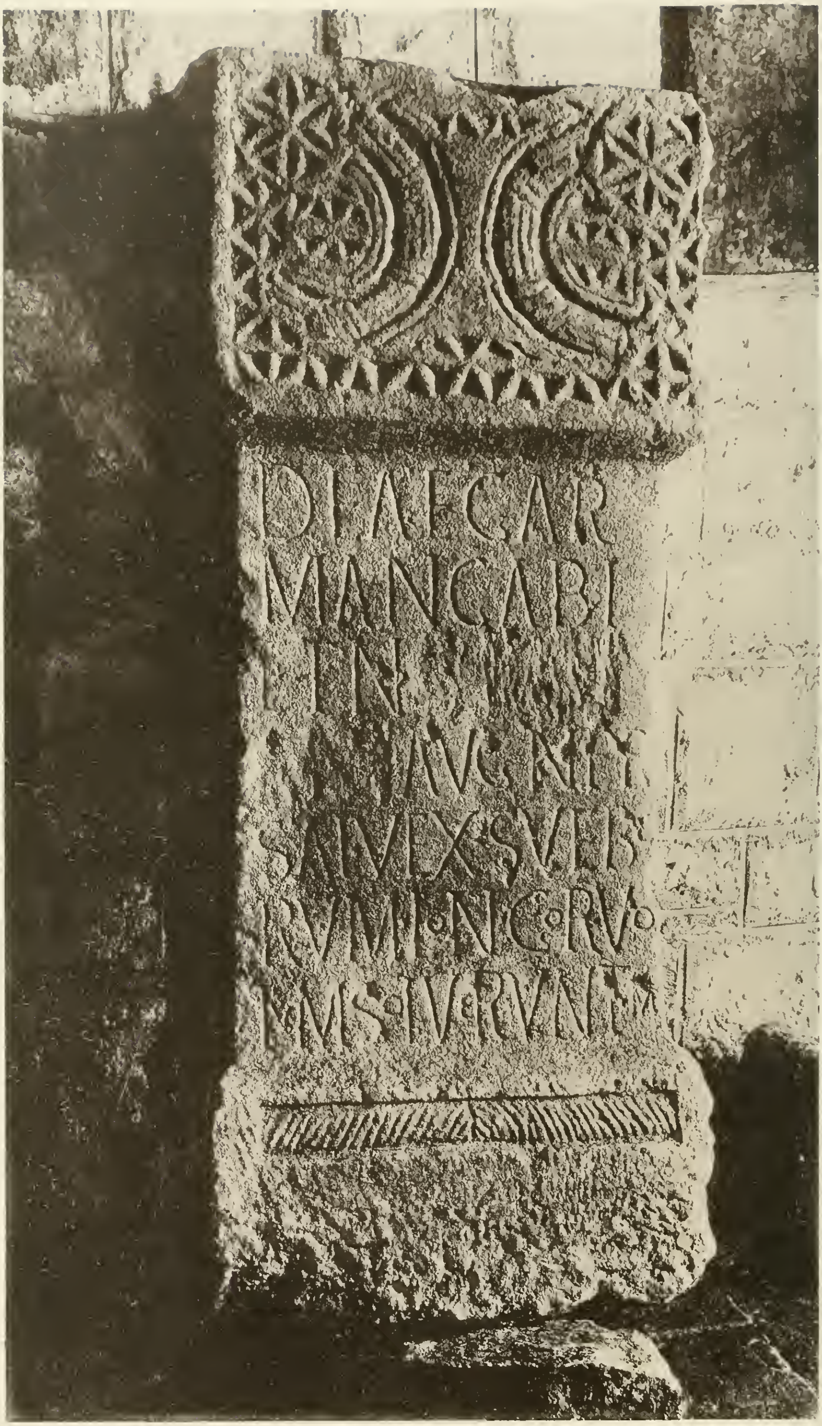
(C. 406.) The one surviving line of this battered inscription is, I think, DIS·MANIBV, *dis manibu[s.*

(C. 408.) The lady to whom this tombstone is erected was called *Iul(ia) Martina*, the last letter of the second line being certainly N, not M, as has been usually read. In the gable above there is no star.

136. [C. 415. Eph. iii., p. 130]. Mr. J. M. Brydone has very kindly sent me squeezes of this important inscription, now preserved by Lord Leconfield at Petworth. The published readings seem to be fairly correct. In the first line nothing is legible; the second has EG AVG IN C, but no trace of a letter after C; the third begins NEVM; in the fifth the name of Philip is erased, as Dr. Bruce suggested—probably PHILIP, IL being "tied." We can, then, accept *cuneum* as correct, and add the *cuneus Frisionum Aballavensium Philippianorum* to the brief list of third century regiments thus styled (Mommsen *Hermes*, xix., 232). The words *in cuneum* probably formed part of some such phrase as *translatus ab . . . l]eg(ato) Aug(usti) in cuneum Frisionum*, that is, the soldier who dedicated the stone had been transferred by some "legatus Augusti" into the regiment in question (Dessau *Inscrip. selectae* 2635). The date of the inscription lies between March, 244, and September, 249, the limits of Philip's reign, though the consular dates on it shew that it refers to events which happened in October, A.D. 241-2, when Gordian III. was on the throne.

XXXV. BINCHESTER.

ADDENDUM.—The altar to the *Matres Ollototae* has been much discussed, especially by Dr. Max Ihm (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, xcii. (1892), p. 237) and M. le Président Schuermans (*Bulletin des Comm. roy. d'Art et d'Archaeologie*, 1892, p. 400). Dr. Ihm. (whose notice contains slight slips of detail) favours Grienberger's derivation of *Ollototae*, not in its literal sense "of all nations," but as the name of some Keltic tribe on the Rhine, from which the dedicators came. Ollototae Matres would, then, be parallel to *e.g. Matres Suebae Euthungae.* But



ROMAN ALTAR

Found at Lanchester, Co. Durham, about a furlong north of the Roman Station,
near to the line of the Watling Street, on Saturday, July 15, 1893.
From a photograph by Mr. A. Edwards, of the Excise,
Blackhill, R.S.O., Co. Durham.

Ollototae is an odd tribe-name. The altar itself has been given by Mr. Newby to the Newcastle (Blackgate) Museum.

137. [Eph. vii, 1146]. In 1882 Mr. W. T. Watkin published in this *Journal* (xxxix, 361) an account of an inscribed tile found by Dr. Hooppell at Binchester, and since included by the latter in his *Vinovia* (pp. 40-41). I have lately been able to examine the tile, now in the University Museum at Durham, and the Rev. J. T. Fowler has sent me squeezes. From these squeezes Prof. Zangemeister, the chief living authority on *graffiti*, reads

ARAAEA ME DOCVIT

armea? me docuit

It is not quite clear whether the first word is *aranea* "a spider" (it might be fanciful to compare Robert Bruce) or *armea*, a hitherto unknown proper name. In the latter case we have the beginning of a hexameter, such as one sometimes finds at Pompeii, for instance (C iv, 1250 *add*) *Candida me docuit nigras odisse puellas.* In any case, I am sure, from my own inspection, that the third word is *docuit* and not DCCVII, and I think, as Mr. Fowler and Dr. Zangemeiater both say, that the first word is *armea.*

XXXVI. LANCHESTER.

138. Altar, 62 in. high, 24 in. wide, found July, 1893, in some digging connected with the water supply of the workhouse, about 200 yards north of the Roman fort and near the Roman road (Watling Street); now in the south porch of Lanchester Parish Church. The lettering (3 in. tall in line 1, $2\frac{7}{8}$-$2\frac{3}{4}$ in. in the other lines) is clear.

DEAEGAR
MANGABI
ETN!O!!!
ANI AVGNPR
SAL·VEX·SVEBo
RVM·L·oN·GoR·Vo
TvM·SoLVERVNT·M

Deae Garmangabi et n(umini) [G]o[rdi]ani Aug. n(ostri), pr[o] sal(ute) vex(illationis) or vex(illariorum) Sueborum Lon. Gor(dianorum) votum solverunt m(erito).

Copied by myself: published by W. Crake, *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, July 24; myself, *Academy*, August 19; *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, vi., 55-56; Dr. Hübner *Westdeutsches Korrespondenzblatt* xii. sec. 97. The reading is certain. In lines 3 and 4 O and ANI can be still discerned, the name *Gordiani* having been intentionally erased. The altar is elaborately ornamented with mouldings of the type which sometimes reminds one of Norman work: on the sides are *patera*, *culter*, &c. My comments on this remarkable find follow separately.

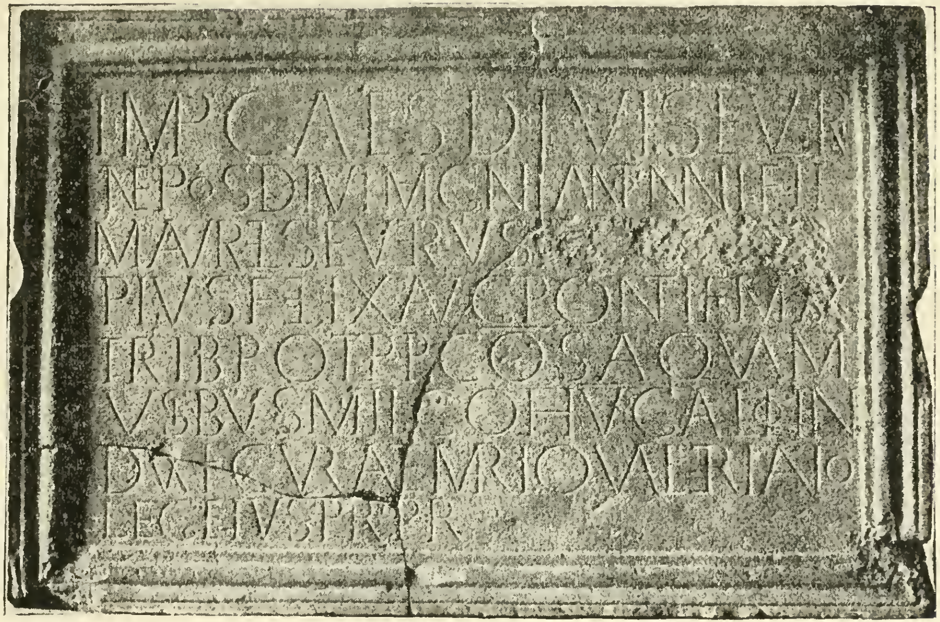
XLI. SOUTH SHIELDS.

139. Large slab, 58 in. long by 39 in. high, found in March, 1893, close to the Baring Street Board schools, within the area of the Roman camp; now in the Town museum. The inscription is singularly well preserved. The letters in line 1 are 4½ in. high, in the other lines 3 in. high. The exact form and arrangement of the letters will be seen on the annexed illustration; the text expanded reads—

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Divi Severi
nepos, divi Magni Antonini fil(ius)
M. Aurel(ius) Severus [Alexander]
Pius Felix Aug(ustus) Pontif(ex) max(imus)
trib(unicia) pot(estate), p(ater) p(atriæ)
co(n)s(ul), aquam
usibus mil(itum) coh(ortis) v. Gallo(rum)
induxit, curante Mario Valeriano
leg(ato) eius pr(o) pr(aetore).

Copied by myself and described, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, xvi., 157. I have also to thank Mr. Blair for a reading. He published the inscription, *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, vi., 14. The text is certain. In 3, *Alexander* has been erased, as usual, and no trace of it can now be read. In 6, *curante*, in ligature, is on the stone.

The date of the inscription is A.D. 222, the first year of Alexander's reign, as we can tell, both from the


IMP CAES DIVI SEVERI
NEPOS DIVI M ANTONINI FIL
M AVREL SEVERVS
PIVS FELIX AVG PONT MAX
TRIB POT P P COS AQVAM
VSIBVS MIL COH V GALL IN
DVXIT CVRANTE MARIO VALERIANO
LEG EIVS PR PR

South Shields.

titulature and from the mention of Valerianus. This officer we know to have been governor in the north of Britain at that time, from two inscriptions found at Netherby and Chesters and dated A.D. 221-2.[1] Nothing further seems to be known about him.

The word *curante* "supervising" is usually applied to lower officials than provincial governors, but there are cases, especially in Britain, which resemble this one and belong to the third century.[2]

The fifth cohort of Gauls is an old friend. It was in existence as a *cohors equitata* in Vespasian's reign; it was in Pannonia in A.D. 84-5, and it probably joined in Trajan's Dacian campaigns. It may possibly have come to Britain with Hadrian, who apparently brought with him some auxiliaries from the Danube, but this is only conjecture. In Britain it is known by an undated inscription at Nether Cramond, near Edinburgh, and by remains (tiles, a fragmentary inscription, some lead seals) found at South Shields.[3]

The inscription belongs to the very large class of building inscriptions, which, in Britain, are especially numerous in the first half of the third century, more particularly perhaps in the reigns of Alexander and Gordian III. (A.D. 222-244). At this time the frontiers of the empire were everywhere objects of much attention, and the troops defending them were becoming more and more territorial, and therefore more and more in need of permanent buildings. This activity in construction and re-construction has, therefore, nothing to do with Septimius Severus, though its results in Britain, and especially in the neighbourhood of the Wall, are sometimes spoken of as though they were his work.

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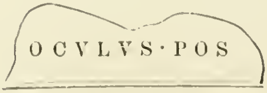
[1] Chesters C. 585; Netherby C. 965.

[2] So at Netherby, C. 964, 965, 967. Abroad, in Germany, Brambach 1608, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, xi., 316.

[3] An Aquileian inscription (C. v. 875) mentions a man who began his career as *praefectus* of this cohort and was afterwards decorated by Vespasian. The Pannonian and Dacian inscriptions are C. iii., p. 855, Eph. v.p. 93, and *Arch. Epigr. Mitt.* xiv., p. 111. For the Cramond inscription see C. 1083, for the earlier finds at South Shields Eph. iii., p. 143, iv., p. 207-9, vii., n. 1003, *Arch. Ael.* x. 223 foll. The statement that tiles of this cohort have been found at Tynemouth (*Hermes* xvi., 52 *n.*) is a mistake. I have assumed in this list that all the references to a *cohors v Gallorum* are to the same cohort, an assumption which seems here probable, though in many cases it is dangerous. See further, *Arch. Ael.* xvi., 158.

140. [Eph. iii., n. 97, p. 131.] This fragment, now in the South Shields museum, seems to read



... *oculus pos(uit).*

Copied by myself. OS is faint.

141. [Eph. vii., 1162.] Recent researches have made it probable that the inscription around the bronze dish found on the Herd Sands in 1887 ought to be read.

APOLLINI·ANEXTLOMARO MA·SAB
Apollini *Anextlomaro* *M. A. Sab.*

That is "dedicated to Apollo Anextlomārus by (a person whose name, abbreviated, was) M. A. Sab."

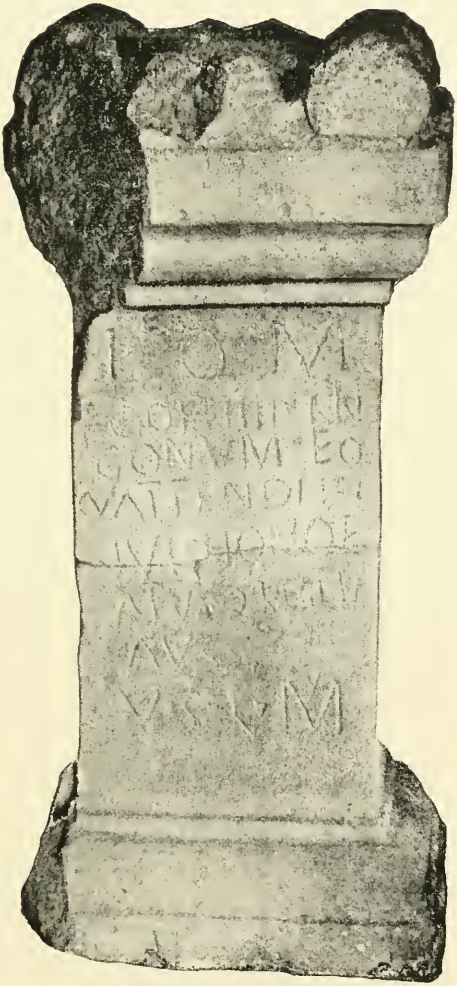
We had before read the god's epithet as *Anextiomaro*, and this appears to be a philologically possible form. It is moreover justified by the actual lettering; it seemed to myself and Mr. A. H. Smith, when we re-examined the bowl, that the disputed letter might be I or L, but resembled I. However, inscriptions have been found in France which leave no doubt as to the existence of names Anextlus, Anextlatus, while no parallel for a form Anextio is forthcoming. Fortunately the variation does not affect the sense. As Dr. Whitley Stokes tells me, *Anextlos* (or *Anextios*) would mean something like "protector," *Anextlomaros* (or *Anextiomaros*) "great protector." The *x*, be it added, represents throughout not an *x* but a Gaulish *ch* or Greek χ.[1]

XLI. WALLSEND.

142. Altar of local freestone, 35 in. high by 16 in. wide, found in the spring of 1892, in the Wallsend allotments (plot 20, belonging to Mr. Alexander Arnott), a little west of the Wallsend camp, and technically a few yards inside the boundary of Walker. The letters are 2 in. high in

---

[1] See Holder *Sprachschatz*, p. 153; Espérandieu *Epigr. romaine du Poitou* No. 82; R. Mowat, *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, v., 187. I have assumed, as I think one may safely assume that Dr. Hübner's rendering *Anextio Maro M(arci) A(ntonii) Sab(ini servus)* is wrong.


I O M
COH IIII LIN
GONVM EQ
V S L M

Wallsend.

BB T. TEMP

the first line, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in the last, 1 or $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in the other lines. Now in the Blackgate Museum, Newcastle.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
coh(ors) iv Lingonum eq(uitata),
cui attendit Iul(ius) Honoratus
c(enturio) leg. ii Aug(ustae),
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Copied by myself. I have also to thank Mr. Blair for a squeeze. Described in the *Newcastle Daily Journal*, May 17 and 26, 1892; *Archæologia Aeliana*, xvi., 76-80., by myself; *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, xiv., 171; *Westdeutsches Korrespondenzblatt*, xi., 57, and elsewhere. The lettering is quite certain.

There are several points of interest in this inscription.

(1) The dedicating cohort, the Fourth of Lingones, is otherwise known to us. From "military discharges" *(diplomata* or *privilegia militum)* it can be shewn to have been in Britain in A.D. 103 and 146. In the *Notitia*, the British sections of which belong to about A.D. 300, it is stationed at the place where this inscription was found. Segedunum or Wallsend, an altar dedicated to Jupiter by its *praefectus*, was found at Tynemouth in 1783 in digging out the foundations of a building connected with the priory.[1] It has been supposed, in consequence, that the cohort had a post at Tynemouth, but it is much more probable that the stone was brought down the river from Wallsend by the monks as convenient building material. There is no trace of any Roman fort at Tynemouth, nor is the situation of the priory a likely one for Romans to select. It is one of those exposed and prominent positions of which our north-east coast offers many instances, none of them characterized by Roman remains.

(2) The cohort was commanded by a legionary centurion "seconded" for this special service. The formula which describes his command, *cui attendit*, seems to be unique, but the position is fairly common. Half a dozen instances occur in Britain alone. The centurion, always an important officer in the legion, seems to have acquired additional importance during the second century, and still more at the beginning of the third century when Septimius Severus carried through his military reforms. At the same time,

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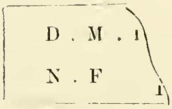
[1] For the *Diplomata*, see C. 1193, Eph. vii., 1117; for the Tynemouth altar C. 493. I have dealt with the history of the cohort and the alleged fort at Tynemouth more fully in the *Archæologia Aeliana*.

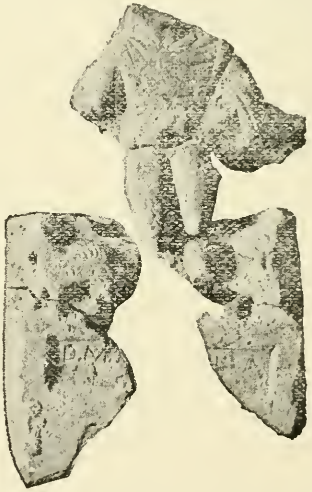
the appointment of a legionary centurion to command an auxiliary cohort seems to have always been somewhat exceptional. The phrase, *cui praeest*, applied regularly to the ordinary *praefectus*, is seldom applied to the legionary centurion. Instead we have such terms as *praepositus*, *curator*, *cuius curam agit*, or (as here) the strange *cui attendit*.[1]

(3) We may perhaps infer from this feature that our altar dates from after the middle of the second century, but I see no reason for assigning it, as Prof. Hübner does (*Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, v., 164), to the reign of Septimius Severus in particular.

143. Fragments of rude sculpture in local freestone, found in Wallsend allotments in the summer of 1892. The sculpture seems to have represented Mercury, holding in his left hand his caduceus, and vested in a chlamys fastened by a *fibula* to his right shoulder and hanging over his left arm. The right arm is extended, as though to hold a purse. At his side is his emblem, the goat, and below the beginning of a two-line inscription, in half-inch letters—



D(eo) M(ercurio)...



Copied by myself and Mr. A. H. Smith, and printed

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[1] Such centurions are mentioned on inscriptions found at Maryport (C. 371), Chesters (C. 587), Birdoswald (Eph. vii., 1071, see No. 154 in this paper), Nether Cramond (C. 1084), Rough Castle (C. 1092), and presumably at Ribchester (C. 218). For foreign examples see Dessau *Inscript. Selectae* 2615, Mommsen *Archäologische Zeitung* 1869, A. Müller *Philologus* xli., 482, and Karbe *Dissert. Halenses* iv., 305. The nearest parallels in Latin to *cui attendit* seem to be the post-Augustan uses, like *eloquentiae attendere*, "study eloquence" (Suetonius), or *votis attendere*, "listen to prayers" (Silius viii., 591), but these are not very close.

Proc. Newcastle Ant. v. 178, with woodcut. The inscription is noticeable for having stops on the line, and not half way up, as is usual. The first letter of line 2 may be N or NI tied. The figure of Mercury resembles several in the Newcastle (Blackgate) Museum (Nos. 9 and 50).

XLII—LII. BENWELL—BIRDOSWALD.

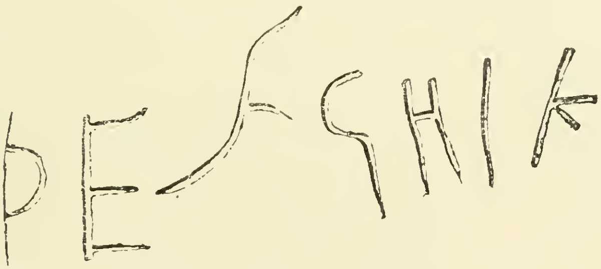
144. [C. 510.] I have examined this Benwell altar in the Newcastle museum with Mr. A. H. Smith, and find that Prof. Hübner's text needs correction. The first line ends ESTR. In the third and fourth lines, the erasure of some sixteen or seventeen letters is complete; there is no trace of any S after ASTVRVM. In the fourth line, the word GORDIANÆ (or rather GORDI/NÆ, there being a fracture over the A) has never been erased. At the end of the same line there is room for an abbreviated *nomen* after T. We may then read—

Matr(ibus) tribus Campestr(ibus) et genio alae pri(mae) II [i]spanorum Asturum [Pupiena Balbinae] Gordianae, T . / . Agrippa praef(ectus) templum a sol[o res]tituit.

The lacuna caused by the erasure has been filled up as was suggested by Prof. Mommsen (C. III. 6953).

CHESTERS.

145. Rough bit of sandstone, 7 by 9 inches, found in 1892; there is a fracture before the D, but none after K.



Copied by myself.

For the bit of alphabet, compare the lead fragment with ABCDEF at Lydney (No. 93). It is extremely common to find alphabets, or portions of them, on all sorts of ancient objects. Sometimes they are meant for ornament, sometimes for reading lessons (with a letter intentionally omitted), sometimes for charms. Some again were due to mere idleness, some, as among the early christians, had a mystical meaning.[1]

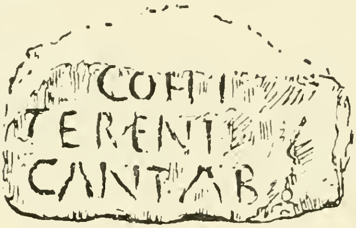
146. Fragment of yellow pottery with brown bands, found May, 1892; on it deeply incised, with fractures before and after the letters—

REPO

Copied by myself. R. Blair, *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, v. 162.

NEAR CARRAWBURGH.

147. Centurial stone, 15 by 6½ inches, found by Mr. A. H. Smith and myself in the wall of Wade's Road near the Sewingshields School-house: now in the Newcastle Museum by the gift of Mr. W. D. Cruddas.

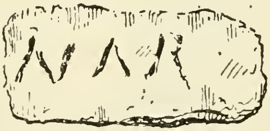


COHI
TERENTI
CANTAB

coh(ors) i
[c(enturia)] Terenti Cantab[ri

Copied and published by myself, *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, v., 188, 227. The cognomen Cantaber does not mean that the man was an actual Spaniard. Like Romanus, Italus, Raeticus, Gallus, Noricus, Rhenicus, and many more, it has probably lost whatever national force it may at first use have possessed.

148. Rudely inscribed fragment found near the preceding, now in the Newcastle Museum, 11 by 6½ inches in size.



Seen by myself; sent me by Mr. Blair (*Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, v., 227). The letters are rough, and might almost be accidental.

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[1] See Kalinka, *Mitth. der K. deutschen Instituts* (Ath. Abth.) xvii (1892) 117 foll.; *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.*, v., p. 124, viii., pp. 46, 80; de Rossi, *bull. Archéol. Crist.*, 1881, p. 139.

CHESTERHOLM.

149 [C. 724.] I have examined this tombstone with the Bishop of Southwell and Dr. Hodgkin. The right reading appears certainly to be.

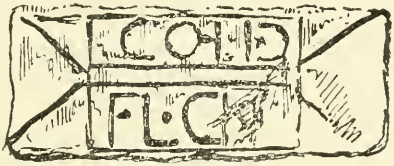
INGENV..
VIXIT.ANNIS
XXIIII·MENSES
IIII.ET·DIES·VII

Ingenu[us..] vixit annis xxiv
menses iv et dies vii.

The stone is ansate in shape, 20 by 25 inches in size.

NEAR CARVORAN.

150. Centurial stone, found in the autumn of 1892, in the turret at Mucklebank, near Walltown, and now there. It is of the usual ansate shape.



coh(ors) i, c(enturia)
Fl(avii) C..

I have to thank Mr. D. G. Hogarth, M.A., F.S.A., and Mr. R. Blair for copies. The end of line two is uncertain.

151. Amphora stamp found at the same turret.

QMCCCAS

I have to thank Mr. Blair and Mr. J. P. Gibson, of Hexham, for rubbings.

152. Fragment, 17 by 7 inches, walled up at Blenkinsopp Castle with Eph. vii., 1061 (*Arch. Journ.*, xxxviii., 278). Above are traces of some anaglyph, representing the legs of a man or beast. Of the lettering, I could distinguish only

M
V.L

Possibly Sepulchral [*dis*]
m(anibus).

I could not find *Eph.* vii., 1062, at Blenkinsopp. As given by Mr. Watkin (*Arch. Journ.*, xxxvii., 278), it read

TPO
SVISL...

and possibly this is a misreading of the fragment above.

LII. Birdoswald.

153 [Eph. vii., 1071]. I have been able with Mr. A. H. Smith to carefully examine this fine altar, which is preserved at Birdoswald. Two points may be noted. M. Mowat *(bulletin épigr*, 1886, 253*)*, was wrong in suggesting in the third line C·CAM *C(aius) Cam(mius)*, the stone plainly has C·C·A·IVL, that is *cuius curam agit Iulius.* In the fifth line, I thought to detect a small centurial mark before LEG II AVG.

154 [C. 825]. The lettering of this most illegible altar seemed to me to be

I.O.M., | CoH | AELI. | DAC.. | VM AVG | ..PAVR | ..

That is *I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) coh(ors)* [*i*] *Aeli*[*a*] *Dac*[*or*]*um aug?* [*c(ui)*] *p(raeest) Aur(elius)*...

155 [C. 833*b*]. This stone is now at Castlesteads, where I have examined it. In line 3 the first letter is I, not 0. Dr. Hübner's conjecture *d*]*omus di*[*vinae* is therefore impossible.

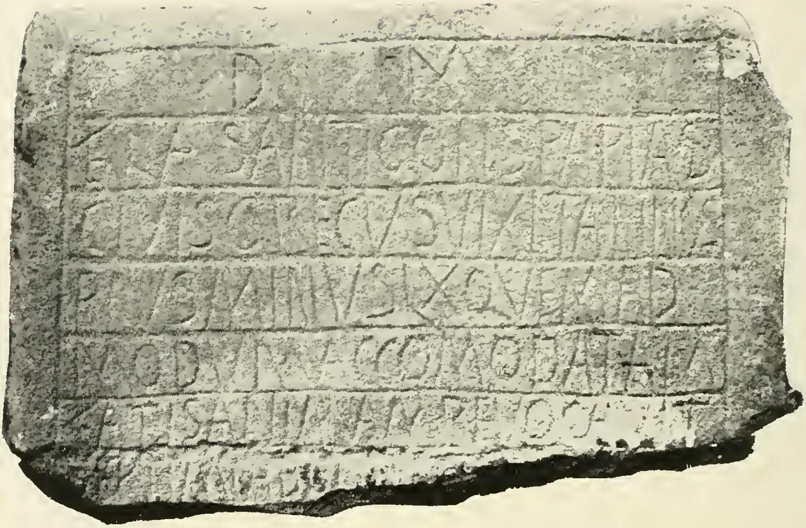
156. (Eph. vii. 1082). This inscription, of Shawk quarry stone, is very illegible ; it may be read better than I first read it :—

GENI.............................
.BASSH...CRESCE..E
....DONO DONAVIT

Copied by myself and Mr. A. H. Smith.

Some one, whose name is in the second line, put this up (*dono donavit*) to a genius.

302



ROMAN TOMBSTONE FROM CARLISLE

LV. CARLISLE.

157. Red sandstone slab, 20 in. high by 31 in. long, found in the autumn of 1892, face downwards, over a rough board coffin in a Roman cemetery on Gallows or Harraby Hill, close to the main road running south from Carlisle. The inscription is broken below, an attempt having been apparently made to "chad" the stone in two across the seventh line. The lines of lettering are separated by lines ruled across the stone; the general character of the lettering is fourth century. Now in Carlisle Museum.

D M
FLAS ANTIGONS PAPIAS
CIVIS GRECVS VIXIT ANNos
PLVS MINVS LX QVEMAD
5 MODVM ACCOMODATAM
FATIS ANIMAM REVOCAVIT
SEP‖MIADONI

Copied by myself and Chancellor Ferguson, by permission of the finder, Mr. Charles Dudson. Published by myself, *Academy*, Dec. 24, 1892; R. S. Ferguson, *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, xiv., 262; R. Blair, *Proc. Newcastle Soc. Ant.*, v., 231. The reading is beyond doubt, except in the last (seventh) line, which seems to be SEPTIMIADONI, but the I after the M is not certain, and the D might be B or similar letter.

The stone is a fourth century tombstone, just possibly Christian; though not found *in situ*, it must have come from the surrounding cemetery.

I add detailed comments in my second article.

TRANS VALLUM.

158. [C. n. 1299]. In 1812 a gold ring was found, with other objects, in the neighbourhood of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and, according to the statement of the man who sold them, at Backworth. This ring is now in the British Museum, and the reading has been disputed:—

Bruce.	*Hübner.*	*Myself.*
MATR	MATR	MATR
VM · CO	VIA · Cɸ	VM · Cɸ
CO AE	Cɸ AE	Cɸ AE

I have examined this ring with the help of Mr. A. W. Franks, and have little doubt that the lettering is as I have given it. Expanded it will be—

Matrum, C. C(ornelius) Ae(lianus).

or similar names. The genitive, in such dedications, is unusual, but not wholly without parallel.

LXIII.—LXVI. Scotland.

Professor W. M. Ramsay, of Aberdeen, and myself, in going through the Hunterian (University) museum at Glasgow and the National museum at Edinburgh, noted various details, some of which may be given here.

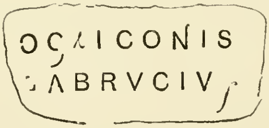
159 [C. 1091]. The man's name is Necto (or Necio)velius, the second letter being E, the fourth broken at the top. In the fourth line Stuart rightly gives BRIGANS.

160 [C. 1096]. The upper part of this altar is worn beyond certain decipherment, but we could detect nothing at all like Dr. Hübner's *Deo Silvano.*

161 [C. 1103]. This altar was found at Barhill in 1736 (*Daily Gazetteer*, 7 Sept., 1736). The decipherable lettering seems to be

DEO.MAR	
CAMVLO	*Deo Mar(ti)*
..CI̅I̅AVG·I	*Camulo*
.MARIO...	*[le]g ii Aug..*
....SC..	

162 [C. 1108]. This centurial stone, 5 by 8½ inches, reads—



Probably *c(enturia) Gliconis* [*L?*] *Abrucius*, a rather unusual formula for such a stone. Centurial stones are naturally rare along the sod built[1] Wall of Antonine. This example belongs to Croyhill camp.

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[1] The recent excavations of the Glasgow Antiquarian Society have shewn that this Wall was literally *caespiticius*, as it is described by Capitolinus. The layers of cut sods can still be distinctly traced

163 [C. 1130, 1136]. The distances are respectively MP $\overline{\text{III}}$ DC | LXVI·S and $\overline{\text{III}}$ CCLXXI.

164. The Edinburgh Museum contains also a large altar from Auchenvole, near Falkirk (*Catalogue*, p. 225, FV 14), 40 inches high by 17 inches wide. On one side is a modern IOM, on the other five illegible lines, somewhat resembling—

.......I
···COI..
E.......
C.......
· S . . .

I give it only to avoid mistake in the future.

165. Handle of bronze saucepan found in East Lothian, now in the Edinburgh Museum (FT 38), with maker's name very faint, resembling—

CIPPO ⁝ ...

Copied by myself. Possibly *Cipi Polibi* (see No. 117).[1]

166. [C. n. 1283]. The Rev. W. Gilchrist Clark, of Gateshead, has been good enough to inform me that the gold ornament inscribed IOVI AVG, VOT XX, which was found at Kirkpatrick about 1787, is now in possession of Miss Rannie, Conheath, Dumfries, to whose father it was given (he thinks) by the original possessor, and in whose hands it is well cared for. He has also very kindly sent me photographs of the object. According to his description and the photographs, it is a fibula with a semi-circular bow. The bow is in section a hollow triangle, of which two sides are cut out into patterns and bear, in pierced work, the letters IOVI AVG and VOT XX respectively[2]; the third side, the underside, is plain and has scratched on it—

PORTO

which none before Mr. Clark appears to have detected. The main inscription should, probably be expanded *Iovi Aug*(*usto*), *vot*(*is*) *xx*. The *vicennalia* are mentioned on several coins of Diocletian, whose title *Iovius* is well-known. Similar *vota* are mentioned occasionally on fourth century inscriptions; though I do not know of any on smaller ornaments, it is not out of keeping with the ways of the time. One may quote a gold coin of Diocletian (Cohen vi. 393, p. 458), inscribed PRIMI XX IOVI AUGUSTI, where, as on our fibula, it is not quite clear whether *Iovi* is from *Iovius* or *Iuppiter.*

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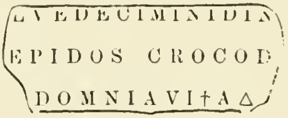
[1] To the twelve instances of *Cipi Polibi* stamps there quoted, should be added some German specimens, *Bonner Jahrbücher* xc. (1891), 37. See also *Revue de numismatique Belge* v. (1873), 197.

[2] The photograph shows IOVI, not IOV as in older copies; there are also no stops.

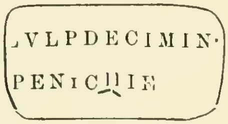
UNCERTAIN.

167. Oculist's stamp, made of Purbeck marble, fully inscribed on two sides, imperfectly on a third; the corners are worn and some letters lost. Recently presented to the British Museum by Mr. A. W. Franks:—

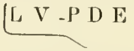
1.



2.



3.



1. *L. Ulp*(*ii*) *Decimini*, *dia*[*l*]*epidos crocod*(*es*) *ad omnia vitia.*
2. *L. Ulp. Decimin*(*i*) *penicil*(*lum*) *le*(*ne*)?
3. *L. Ulp. De . .* never finished.

Copied by myself, with Mr. Franks' aid. The reading seems certain except that in face 2, line 2, the last letter is very faint, and looked almost like a V. The *provenance* of the inscription seems beyond discovery, but it can be traced to a Colchester owner, and Mr. Franks therefore thinks it may have been found there. The material, Purbeck marble, shews that it is, in any case, British.

A valuable list of these medical oculists' stamps is being published by M. Espérandieu in the *Revue Archéologique.* He gives [xxi. (1893), p. 325], this stamp among the rest, with a reading, based on a squeeze, which is substantially correct, though one or two *minutiæ* are not right.

INDEX OF PLACES.

[Where nothing is added in square brackets after the place name, the finds include inscribed stones. Where a square bracket is added, they do not include inscribed stones. Where ("*corr.*") is added, the notes contain only corrections of earlier finds.]

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THREE NOTABLE INSCRIPTIONS.

By F. HAVERFIELD.

My third report on Roman inscriptions in Britain contains three items which deserve separate treatment, a dedication from Cirencester, a tombstone from Carlisle, and an altar from Lanchester near Durham. The first two of these go, in some sense, together: they belong to the fourth century, to an age, that is, to which very few of our Romano-British inscriptions can quite confidently be ascribed. We have only the curious inscription of Justinian from Peak near Whitby[1] and some sixteen or twenty milestones.[2] The addition to this little group of a dedication and a tombstone is, therefore, of some interest. Our knowledge of Roman-Britain in the fourth century is curiously meagre, and, till we can recover certain vanished fragments of Ammian, we must trust to inscriptions to add a little light. Besides this, both of these inscriptions as well as the Lanchester altar, possess points of interest in detail, which it may be well to discuss.

1. The Cirencester Dedication.

This important inscription consist of a dedication and two hexameters, inscribed on three sides of an originally four-sided "basis," of which the fourth side, now lost, may perhaps have contained a third hexameter. The text, with one exception, is certain and the few lost letters can be satisfactorily supplied with ease. It would, of course, be idle to guess at the sense of the lost hexameter, if one has been lost. The text, expanded and completed, is :—

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) L. Sept[imius...], v(ir) p(erfectissimus) pr(aeses) [pr(ovinciae) Brit(anniae) pr(imae)] restituit civs.[3]

Septimius renovat primae provinciae rector
[sig]num et [er]ectam prisca religione columnam

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[1] C. 268, A. J. Evans, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vii., 207 (*Arch. Cambr.* v. 5, 18).

[2] Sixteen milestones are certainly of the fourth century (or late third century); two have been found in Cornwall (*Eph.* iii. p. 318 and vii, 1095), three in Cambridgeshire (C. 1153-5), one at Kempsey, south of Worcester (C. 1157), two near Neath (C. 1158-9, *Eph.* vii, 1098), one each at Ancaster (C. 1170), at Brougham and at Penrith on the York and Carlisle Road (C. 1176-7), and the rest near the wall, at Crindledykes on Stanegate, at Thirlwall and at Old Wall (C. 1188, 1190, *Eph.* vii. 1110-1112). Less certain examples occur at Wroxeter and elsewhere.

[3] For the latter Dr. Hübner suggests *c(urante) Jus[tino* but there may have been a letter between v and s.

The scansion of the hexameters is rough, but it agrees thoroughly with the fourth century. In the first line *provinciae* is scanned accentually, in the second the second *i* of *religione* is dropped or made into a *y*. It were idle to quote parallels for accentual scansion; for *religione* we may compare a line in the "Eucharisticos" of Paulinus of Pella (v. 462), who wrote about the end of the fourth century:—

nec ratio aut pietas aut mors religiosa sinebat

The sense of the whole is plain—L. Septimius, governor of Britannia Prima, restored a column and statue of Jupiter which had fallen into disrepair. The monument, therefore, consisted of the existing "base," on which stood a column bearing a statue or statuette of Jupiter. A socket in the base which helped to fasten the column can still be detected, but no trace has been found of the actual column or statue. The type of monument is, however, well-known abroad, though no specimen has been previously identified in Britain. It includes three parts: first, a square pedestal decorated on three or four sides with figures of gods, usually Hercules, Minerva, Juno, and Mercury; secondly, a column, varying from two to six feet in height; and thirdly, a statue of Jupiter on the top, sometimes sitting or standing, more commonly riding over a fallen giant. Wherever an inscription has been preserved, the monument is found to be dedicated to Jupiter. Three years ago Dr. Haug published a list of 218 pedestals belonging to this type, dating, so far as they can be dated, between A.D. 170 and A.D. 246, and occurring most abundantly in the Roman provinces of Rhaetia, Upper Germany, and Belgica. The most perfect specimens of the whole monuments have been found at Schierstein, Heddernheim, and Merten, and may be seen in the museums of Wiesbaden, Frankfurt, and Metz. The Circencester pedestal is a fourth century restoration, and it is not unnatural, therefore, that the characteristic figures of the three or four gods should be wanting.[1] At Risingham in Northumberland an inscription (C. 1069) mentions a *sigillum* and *columna lignea* erected to Mercury.

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[1] F. Haug *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* x. 9-340; Hettner *Römische Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier*, pp. 15 foll.; Florschütz *Gigantensäule von Schierstein* (Wiesbaden 1890).

The monument was erected by L. Septimius..., governor of Britannia Prima. The man is otherwise unknown and need not detain us, but the reference to the province is most noteworthy. We knew already from various provincial lists, such as the Verona catalogue and the *Notitia*, that Britain in the fourth century was divided up on the system introduced by Diocletian and consisted of four provinces, Britannia Prima, Secunda, Flavia Caesariensis and Maxima Caesariensis.[1] We could further assert that this division dates from the year A.D. 296. The title Flavia connects it very plainly with Constantius Chlorus, who in that year defeated Allectus and re-incorporated Britain in the Empire, while the Verona list drawn up soon after A.D. 297, which mentions the four provinces, gives us evidence that they were organised immediately on the conquest. But beyond this we knew nothing. Various conjectures have been made as to the relative positions of these provinces, but the best of them are pure conjectures,[2] while others betray a conscious or unconscious connection with "Richard of Cirencester," that is Bertram, here adopting a baseless conjecture of Camden's. We now know for certain, that Cirencester was in Britannia Prima. One would gladly go further, but our evidence does not at present permit us to do so. Another discovery may perhaps lay the whole matter clear before us.

Meantime, we learn something definite as to Cirencester. Previous discoveries have made it plain that the site was occupied in early times, though the evidence yet acquired proves only a military occupation in the first century and probably in that part of it which followed immediately on the Claudian invasion. Some such date may well be assigned to the two interesting military reliefs found there.[3]

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[1] Valentia, organised by Theodosius, does not here concern us.

[2] Even the ingenious suggestions of my friend Prof. Rhys (Celtic Britain ed. 2, p. 99), seem to me to be devoid of real foundation. They are based on a view as to the divison of *Britannia superior* and *inferior* which is unproved, and which, even if proven, would not aid Prof. Rhys' views. Kiepert, in his Atlas (1893), arranges the provinces according to a sketch which accompanies the list in the *Notitia* (p. 171 Seeck), but this sketch seems to represent dignity, not geographical position. If it is geographical, it contradicts our inscription, for it puts Britannia prima half-way up what should be the east coast. It has been suggested to me that the sketch is geographical but misplaced and that the apparent east coast was meant for the south. This suggestion makes the sketch harmonize with the inscription, but its other consequences are less satisfactory. Some more solid result might perhaps be deduced from the analogies of other provinces on the continent, but the two best parallels, Germany and Pannonia, unfortunately suggest opposite conclusions.

[3] C. vii, 66, 70 (not 68).

But it is also plain that the place was one of importance in the third and fourth centuries, both when the original monument was erected and when it was restored. The whole character of the objects found there proves this, and the new inscription comes in to confirm their testimony. We dare not suggest that the city was the capital of Britannia Prima, but we may be sure that it was one of its chief towns and one, besides, of the chief towns in Southern Britain.

Some further reflexions may be based on the titles given to the dedicator, *praeses v. p.* and *rector.* The latter is a general term which is common in the fourth century; the former may be briefly noticed. The subdivision of the provinces which dates mainly from Diocletian, resulted in, or at least confirmed, a lowering of the rank given to the provincial governor. In the first two and a half centuries, the governor was usually a man of senatorial rank; in the new order, he was at first by no means necessarily such. In our inscription the governor has not senatorial rank. He is not *vir clarissimus*—he is only *vir perfectissimus.* If we knew more of fourth century history, this would help us to fix the date of the inscription, for at some time or other in that century the provincial *praesides* seem to have gained in dignity and become *clarissimi.* Unfortunately the evidence is inconclusive. Details which may be gathered from the *Corpus*, and the Theodosian Code suggest only that it may have been about at various dates in various provinces: as to Britain we know nothing that affects this question.

But we can get further. The dedication is a restoration, the column and statue, erected *prisca religione*, had fallen into neglect in the fourth century. It is no rash conjecture to suggest that the neglect was due to the spread of Christianity and the restoration to some revival of paganism. We know sadly little about early Christianity in Britain, but we do know that in Roman times there were Christians in our island. The Christian symbol occurs at Frampton, at Chedworth and elsewhere, and a building has lately been discovered at Silchester, which has, with great probability, if not with absolute certainty, been declared to be a Christian church. The Christian worshippers were probably not in the majority, except perhaps in the towns, but they would be enough to justify the otherwise strange phrase, *prisca religio*. We may compare the dedications, common in the North of England, to the *dii veteres or deus vetus*, which most probably denote the "old," that is, pre-Christian god or gods.[1] We cannot, of course, determine what particular revival of paganism may (if my theory be right) have caused the restoration of the Cirencester column and statue. The great effort of Julian, called the Apostate, naturally occurs to the mind in this context, and Prof. Domaszewski has pointed out to me a parallel among the Pannonian inscriptions which he has lately edited. It is a stone erected to Julian *ob deleta vitia temporum preteritorum*, and its meaning is unmistakable.[2] It may be added that Julian governed Gaul and Britain for some years (A.D. 355-360) just before he became Emperor and openly renounced Christianity. There are, however, other possibilities. The persecution of Diocletian was felt, though not severely felt, in Britain, and we have the express testimony of a contemporary writer that Constantius Chlorus, then ruling in Britain and Gaul, allowed the Christian churches to be destroyed.[3] Even in the half century which elapsed between the abdication of Diocletian and the accession of Julian, paganism was active in an intermittent fashion which would not be inconsistent with the restoration of a ruined shrine in a far-off province. It would, therefore, be wrong to dogmatize on this matter; but, if one may choose between hypotheses, I may perhaps say that, after much hesitation, I think the most plausible to be that which connects the inscription with the effort of Julian.

3. The Carlisle Gravestone.

This inscription was found, face downwards, over a wooden coffin filled with fatty earth and a skull, close to the London Road on the South side of Carlisle, where previous discoveries, made principally in 1829 and 1847, had demonstrated the existence of a Roman cemetery.

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[1] See No. 61 (*Arch. Jour.*, xlvii, 261).

[2] Found at Essegg, C. iii, 10648.

[3] In the treatise *De mortibus persecutorum*, which certainly belongs to this period, and almost certainly to Lactantius.

The stone has been intentionally broken across the seventh line and this fact and the position in which it was found shew that it was not *in situ* when discovered, though we may well assume that it belongs to the adjacent cemetery. The text, except in the seventh line, is perfect, but the interpretation of the last three lines, after LX, is open to much doubt. The reading is :—

D(is) m(anibus), Fla(viu)s Antigon(u)s Papias, civis grecus, vixit annos plus minus lx quem-ad-modum accom(m)odatam fatis animam revocavit Septimi(?)adoni . . ?

We may with confidence attribute the inscription to the fourth century or, at earliest, to the very end of the third century. The proofs are the following :—

1. The name Flavius, popularized by the Flavian dynasty of the Constantines, becomes very common in the fourth and fifth centuries. The late military cemetery at Concordia (N. Italy), for instance, contains a large proportion of Flavii, while of the 180 Flavii mentioned in the fifth volume of the *Corpus* (which includes Concordia), certainly 60 and probably nearly 90 lived after the year A.D. 300. The name was taken even by barbarian kings, and always suggests a late date for any inscription which does not belong to the era of the first Flavii, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian.[1]

2. The abbreviations *Flas Antigons* for *Flavius Antigonus* are characteristic of a late period. In the first two or three centuries, the Romans abbreviated by the first letter or syllable of the abbreviated word : in the fourth century, they took the first and last letters or syllables, thus commencing the system which in the middle ages still produced *epus* for *episcopus* and *scti* for *sancti*. I do not know whether the actual forms *Flas* and *Antigons* recur elsewhere, but we have abundant parallels from the fourth and fifth centuries, *Julians* for *Julianus*, *Jans* for *Januarias*, *Debres* for *Decembres*, *cus* for *coniuxs*, *Maxianus* and *Constius* for *Maximianus* and *Constantius*, the two latter on a boundary stone at Cherchell in Africa.[2]

3. The employment of *civis* to denote nationality is also a mark of late date. In the first and second centuries, the word is used of members of an actual community or of a tribe which could be regarded as a civitas : later, it denotes only birth, and *civis Gallus* means exactly the same as *natione Gallus*. The meaning crept even into literature and Sidonius Apollinaris (ep. vii. 6, 2.) speaks of a "Goth by birth" as

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[1] C.I.L. v. p. 178, Cagnat *année épigr.* 1890, n. 143 foll., 1891, n. 101 foll. See also de Rossi, pp. cxii and 390, du Cange, *s.v.* "Flavius," and especially Th. Mommsen's *Ostgothische Studien* in the *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xiv, p. 536.

[2] See C. xii. 5351, xiv. 399 ; le Blant i. 472, 614 : *Bulletin épigr.* iv. 234 ; *Bulletino di Arch. Christ.* i. 65 (DEPS=*depositus*) ii. 108, (FRIS—*fratris*), etc. The thing is almost too common to need explanation.

civis Gothus.[1] It may be added that *Graecus* in this context does not necessarily mean a native of Greece. A Christian inscription, probably of the fourth or fifth century, found in Hungary, mentions a *civis Graecus ex regione Ladicena* (C. iii. 4220) and a Lyons gravestone records a man who was *natione Graecus Nicomedea* (Allmer *Lyon* i. 322, nº. 62). The first was a Phrygian, the second a Bithynian. This, of course, agrees with the literary usage of the word *Graecus.* It would be wrong, I think, to connect with this the proper name *Greca* on a Plumpton Wall inscription. (C. 326).

4. The formula *plus minus*, familiar enough to classical scholars as good Latin, is rarely used on tombstones until Christian times and is indeed almost a mark of Christianity.

5. The lettering and general look of the inscription suggest the fourth century as the most probable date.

We may therefore conclude that the inscription belongs to the fourth century. Later we cannot put it, for the evacuation of Britain came early in the next century, and the proofs I have quoted forbid us to put it much earlier. We may, I think, go further and conjecture that the inscription was Christian. The formula *plus minus* is usually, and I think rightly, reckoned as a mark of Christianity, though simple classical scholars will perhaps smile at the idea. The formula D.M., though in its origin Pagan, is not unknown on Christian tombstones and especially, as it would seem, on the earlier ones.[2] It must be remembered that, as Hirschfeld and Le Blant have pointed out, the early Christians used ordinary burial phrases, indicating their religion only by preference for special words and phrases, like *plus minus*, *pius*, *sanctus*, such as would not attract the attention or arouse the fanaticism of the hostile pagan majority round them.[1]

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[1] Mommsen *Hermes* xix. 35. The following examples may convince doubters :—

civis Britannicus, found at Cologne (Brambach 2033 *addenda*).
c. *Gallus*, Pola (Pais, 1096), Rome (Le Blant 656, 658, both fourth century).
c. *Helvetius*, Rothenburg (Brambach, 1639).
c. *Raetus*, Rome, Christian (*Eph.* iv. 943) ; Birrens and Netherby in Britain (C. vii. 1068, and 972).
c. *Noricus*, Halton and Castlecary in Britain (C. vii. 571. 1095) ; Transylvania (C. iii. 966).
c. *Pannonius*, Africa, Christian C. viii. 8910) ; Rome, Christian (*Eph.* iv. 953), Chesterholm in Britain C. vii. 723).
c. *Mensiacus*, (=*Moesiacus*), Bordeaux (Jullian i. p. 146, n. 44).
c. *Graecus*, Hungary, Christian (C. iii. 4220), Bordeaux (Jullian, i. p. 187, n. 69.)
c. *Surus*, N. Italy (Aquileia), Christian (C. v. 1633) ; Hungary (*Eph.* ii. 895) ; Cilli (*Oest. Arch. epigr. Mitth.* iv. 127, seen by myself).
c *Armeniacus Cappadox*, Rome, Christian, A.D. 385 (de Rossi, i. 355).
c. *Ater*, Cilli (C. iii. 5230), and possibly Spain (*Inscr. Christ. Hisp.* 71)
c. *Tuscus*, Rome, A.D. 408 (de Rossi, i. 558).
c. *Thrax*, Cherchell (*Bull. Épigr.* iv. 64).
c. *Francus*, Aquincum (C. 3576), obviously late. See also C. iii, 1324, 3367.

[2] F. Becker *die heidnische Weihformel D.M. auf altchristlichen Grabsteinen* (Gera 1881). To his 100 examples (not all certain), add instances from S. Gaul (C. xii. 409, 2114, 2311, 4059) ; Africa (C. viii. 11897, 11900, 11905, 12197 ; *Eph.* vii. 492 ; Cagnat *année épigr.* 1891, n. 136) ; N. Italy (Pais *Suppl* n. 349 ; *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* iii. p. 50, C. iii, 1643, 8588, 8575) ; Salonae (C. iii, 9414) ; Larisa (C. iii, 7315) ; Rome (de Rossi, i, 24 and 1192 ; Brittany (Corneilhan, *Revue épigr.* i. p. 107), etc. See also De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.* i. 174, and F. X. Kraus, *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 64, who consider the use as a rare one.

So far we have dealt only with the first half of the inscription. The second and less certain half requires a word or so, especially as it seems to me not improbably to be Christian. It is unfortunate that the stone does not tell us whether we should read *quemadmodum* or *quem admodum* or *quem ad modum*. It is also unfortunate that the last line is so broken that we can hardly tell how it ran. SEPTIMIADONI seems to me most probable, but it is also possible to read SEPTIMA, supposing the stroke after M (which is not quite vertical) to be an accident. The passage, thus involved, has puzzled many persons, and various distinguished scholars whom I have consulted, Prof. Domaszewski, Prof. Ellis, Prof. Wölfflin and others, have differed considerably in their interpretations. Of the views suggested, the most attractive is that which takes *quemadmodum* as three words, "at which date," puts a fullstop after *revocavit* and renders it by the rare sense "gave up." Then *revocavit animam* means "he gave up his soul," either as an equivalent to the common Christian formula *reddidit animam* or with the heathen idea (mentioned in Seneca and elsewhere) of life being a loan from the gods. Of the two alternatives, I confess I prefer the former, but, whichever is accepted, it remains a difficulty that *revocavit* in this sense is very rare.[2] If, however, it be admitted, we shall render "at which time, he gave up his soul resigned to death (or its destiny"). We shall then suppose that *Septimia (*or *Septima) Doni* . . commences a sentence about the person who put up the tombstone. *Doni* may be part of *donicella*, that is *domnicella*, as Prof. Wölfflin suggests; for the form compare *Dominicellus* on an African inscription of Christian date (*Bulletin épigr*. vi. 39).

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[1] *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, viii, 138. *Plus Minus* occurs also on a tombstone found at Brougham (*Eph*. iii, n. 91; Bruce, *Lapidarium*, 814).

[2] Mr. G. Rushforth has pointed out to me that in the African *Gesta Purgationis Felicis* (of the fourth century, Routh, *Rell*, *Sacrae*, iv. 290), *revocare* is used as the equivalent of *tradere*, *restituere* and *revocare*. The later African poet Corippus may possibly have used the word similarly in *Joh*. ii. 344, where the manuscript reading *captivos revocet* "let him restore the captives" would make good sense. But it is a far cry from African Latin to Carlisle.

There are however other possibilities. We may take *revocavit* in its ordinary sense and suppose that the nominative to it was in the lost part of the inscription. *Septima* (if that be right) may belong to a date, such as was often expressed on christian inscriptions. QUEM ADMODUM may be taken as two words, *quem* being in apposition to *animam* and meaning "whom, a wholly resigned soul. . . ." Prof. Ellis suggests to me that we should render "he lived sixty years more or less, for so it was that, when his spirit was prepared to meet its doom, he recalled it to life (and did not die"). That is, he was often on the point of death but recovered as often and lived to be sixty years old. On the whole, I fear that certainty is unattainable, but I cannot help thinking that the curious wording, whatever exactly it means, savours rather of Christian than of heathen epigraphy.

THE LANCHESTER ALTAR.

The text and translation of this interesting inscription are fortunately both quite certain. The text, completed and expanded,[1] is as follows:—

> *Deae Garmangabi et n*(*umini*) [*G*]*o*[*rdi*]*ani n*(*ostri*) *Aug*(*usti*), *pr*[*o*] *sal*(*ute*) *vex*(*illationis*) or *vex*(*illariorum*) *Sueborum Lon. Gor*(*dianorum*) or *Gor*(*dianae*), *votum solverunt m*(*erito*).[1]

In other words, the altar was erected to the goddess named and to the Divinity of Gordian, on behalf of the troop of Suebi stationed at *Lon.* (Lanchester) and bearing the epithet "Gordian." The points of interest are various.

1. The name of the goddess, Garmangabis or whatever the nominative was,[2] seems to be otherwise unknown both to Keltic and to Teutonic theology, but some sort of Teutonic parallels occur. The Mother goddesses *Gabiae*, mentioned on several German inscriptions, the Rhenish dedication *Deae Idban. gabie* of which name the second half has been rendered the "giver," and the Scandinavian Gefion shew names which may be conceivably connected with the second half of this new name.[3]

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[1] The nominative to *solverunt* can easily be supplied out of *vex. Sueborum*.

[2] It is quite possible that the name is more or less abbreviated *e.g.* that in full it would have ended in *iae*.

[3] For Idban. gabie see Ihm *Bonner Jahrb.* lxxxiii. 28, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, xxxv. 317. I have been allowed to consult Prof. Napier and Dr. Whitley Stokes as to the name.

2. The emperor mentioned on the altar is Gordian III. (A.D. 238-244), after whom the troop is called, according to third century fashion, "Gordian." In the earlier part of the inscription his name has been so effectively erased that only four letters of it are now faintly legible, and this is noteworthy. Gordian was not one of the Emperors whose names were regularly erased after their deaths; indeed only one instance, and that a poor one, was hitherto known in which his name had suffered this dishonour. That instance occurs on a milestone found near Klein Schwechat on the Roman road from Vienna (Vindobona) to Petronell (Carnuntum), and there the erasure is half-hearted and hardly deserves the name.[1]

3. The erection of the altar was made by and on behalf of the *vexillatio Sueborum Lon Gor*(*dianorum*)[2] or as we may almost indifferently expand, *vex*(*illarii*) *Suebi Lon. Gor*(*diani*). Two interpretations of the technical term are here possible. In the literature and inscriptions of the first and second centuries of our era the words *vexillatio* and *vexillarii* denote soldiers under a separate *vexillum* or flag, either drafts temporarily detached from the legion or, less commonly, from the auxiliary *ala* or cohort to which they belonged, or else veterans who remained "with the colours" under special conditions. It is conceivable that the word is so used here. We have, for example, at Carrawburgh, on the wall, an inscription erected by *Texandri et Sunici vex. cohor*(*tis*) *ii Nerviorum*,[3] that is to say, by a detachment from the cohort mentioned, consisting of Texandri and Sunici.

But it is also possible that we have here another sense of the word *vexillatio*. In the fourth century, that word denotes a "troop of horse" in the movable army and the transition to that meaning has been conjecturally detected in the second century, coinciding with a change in the army. As organized by Augustus, the army comprised the legions and the auxiliaries on foot (*cohortes*) or mounted (*alae*). The auxiliaries in some cases bore local names, but except at their formation they were not recruited with any reference to these names and they took no great account of the native customs or tactics of the tribes who provided recruits. Early in the second century a change came and a new kind of auxiliary began to appear, organized with some respect to native tactics. The auxiliaries, we may say in short, were renationalized. The name commonly given to these new regiments was *numerus*, but we also meet with *cuneus* and in certain cases Mommsen supposes *vexillatio* to have the same sense. The instances of the latter word are, however, few, and most of them may be explained in accordance with the older usage. Thus the African *vexillatio*, shortly to be mentioned, appears at the precise moment when the legio iii Augusta was not available, and it may be only a temporary substitute drawn from the *auxilia*.

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[1] C. iii. 4644, now at Vienna (Hofmuseum, Lapidarium 134) where I have seen it. Gordian's name has been slashed but hardly erased. Two other instances, sometimes quoted, are due to mistakes, one to a slip in indexing (C. ii. 3406), the other to a slip in reading, as I have satisfied myself by recent examination (C. vii. 510, above No. 144).

[2] Or *Gor(diana)*; both forms of nomenclature occur in full. For *Gor(dianorum)* compare C. vii. 1030 and viii 2716, for *Gor(diana)*, vii. 218, 510; Eph. v. 1047. The difference is purely grammatical.

[3] Eph. iii. 103 (*vidi*); compare C. 1068 *Raeti militantes in coh. ii. Tungrorum*; C. 303, 731 are of doubtful reading.

When expressed in full, the titles of these troops are all based on the same scheme, which is that which appears also in the fourth century. We have (1) the nationality of the troop, (2) the name of the place at which they served and (3) an epithet taken from the name of the reigning emperor. To quote instances, for *vexillatio*, in whichever sense used, we have :—

> *Vexillatio militum Maurorum Caesariensium Gordianorum*, A.D. 255 (Lambaesis in Africa C. viii 2716).
>
> *vex. eq. Maur. in territorio Auziensi praetendentium*, A.D. 260[1] (Auzia, c. viii 9045-7).

And similarly for the other and certain names, for which we have British epigraphic parallels ;—

> *cuneus Frisionum Aballavensium Philip(pianorum)* A.D. 244-9 (Papcastle Eph. iii p. 130=C. vii. 415).[2]

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[1] Compare Cagnat, *L'armée d'Afrique*, pp. 253, 306.

[2] I have to thank Mr. J. M. Brydone, for squeezes of this inscription; the reading given in the *Ephemeris* seems certain.—Papcastle must be Aballava; the epigraphic evidence is in agreement with the geographical lists which connect it with Uxellodunum (Maryport). The familiar difficulty about the names in the Notitia (*Occ.* xl.), can be best solved by supposing that after Amboglanna or Petrianae the names of the forts on the Wall have fallen out; no other theory that I know will stand criticism. Even the attractive suggestion of Mr. Ferguson (*Cumberland*, p. 53), that the western half of the Notitia list has got inverted, only accounts for Aballava and Uxellodunum, not for Bremetennacum and what follows. Seeck's idea that Aballava may be identical with Galava in the *Itin. Anton.* (Wess. p. 481), is, I think, impossible.

numerus exploratorum Bremen(ensium) Gor(dianorum) A.D. 238-244 (High Rochester, C 1030, 1037).
numerus eqq. Sar[mat(arum)] Bremetenn(acensium) Gordianus A.D. 238-244 (Ribchester C. 218).[1]
Germani, cives Tuihanti, cunei VER. SER *Alexandriani* (Housesteads *Eph.* vii. 1041, *Arch. Ael* x. 148, 166.)[2]

I may here add one more doubtful instance, an inscription from the neighbourhood of Lowther in Cumberland, which was copied and sent to Camden by one of his correspondents and has since disappeared. As we have it in Camden's handwriting it reads—

DEABVS MA

R̄|3VSTRAMAI
VEXCERMA.P
V. RD PROSA
LvTE R.FV.S.L.M

It seems possible that the hardly intelligible V.R D may be a relic of the Roman name for Plumpton Wall and that the inscription was erected by *vex(illarii) Germa[ni] Voredenses.*[3]

Similarly with our Lanchester troop, whether it be a "detachment" from some other troop or an independent organization, we have first the tribe name *Suebi.* The name is an interesting one which one expects to meet only at the beginning and end of Roman imperial history. At the beginning we have Cæsar's wars against Ariovistus, the transference of Suebi and Sygambri across the Rhine into Roman territory by Augustus[4] and the *bellum Suebicum* of Domitian. At the end[5] we have the invaders of the

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[1] Ribchester must be Bremetennacum and not Coccium as Dr. Hübner and some of the older antiquaries suggested. This suits the Itinerary fairly well (Watkin, *Lancashire*, pp. 25, foll), and agrees with the inscriptions. The latter mention a *numerus* or *ala Sarmatarum* (c. 218, 229, 230), as stationed at Ribchester, the former puts a *cuneus Sarmatarum* there (*Occ.* xl. 54, Seeck). This squadron was apparently formed when Aurelius transferred some 5000 Iazyges Sarmatae to Britain, in A.D. 175; its title of *ala* is a misuse for which there are parallels (C. viii. 9906, &c).

[2] The meaning of VER. SER. is unknown, but it is probable, as Mommsen suggested (*Hermes* xix. 233.) that *Ver.* belongs to a place-name, possibly *Vercovicium,* another form for *Borcovicium* (compare the Ravenna *Velurtion*) and that SER is for *Severiani.*

[3] C. 303. Professor Hübner's account of the authorities for this inscription is inaccurate.

[4] Exactly where they were settled is uncertain. The notion, mentioned for instance by Dräger on Tac. *Agr.* 28, that they migrated to Flanders and left traces of themselves there, seems to rest only on false etymology.

[5] First mentioned, probably in the Appendix (early third century) to the Verona list of A.D. 297. Compare the citations in Mommsen *Hermes*, xxiv. 25.

Empire who became and gave their name to the inhabitants of Swabia. In between we have few references Tacitus and Ptolemy and other writers who follow them use the name vaguely, so vaguely indeed that some writers have even identified *Suebi* and "Slav." At some date which is after about A.D. 120 and probably before the middle of the third century we find a Suebe serving in the Equites singulares.[1] In the neighbourhood of Cologne we have three dedications to *Matres Suebae*, one dated to the year A.D. 223.[2] In France we meet a tombstone to a certain *Tertinia Florentinia, cives Sueba Nicreti*, which Prof. Zangemeister connects with various milestones and other inscriptions containing the letters SN found near Heidelberg. He infers that near this town there was a community of Suebes settled in Roman territory, called the Suebi Nicretes. The inscriptions prove that this community was existence under Trajan, from whom it got the name *Ulpia*, and lasted on into the third century. It is possible that it dates from much earlier days, conceivably even from Cæsar's arrangements on the eastern (then not Roman) bank of the Rhine. From this community, we must suppose, came the Suebe of Lanchester, the *eques singularis* and the lady who was buried in Gaul.[3] It may be worth adding that the presence of our Suebe is in accordance with a definite rule. As Prof. Domaszewski has pointed out, the German and British armies of the second and third centuries exchanged auxiliaries. As we find Sunici, Suebi, Tuihanti and others in Britain, so we find various Britons in *numeri* of the German armies. Britons also appear to have served in at least one of the German legions, the Thirtieth Ulpia.

Lon, as has been already indicated, gives us the first syllable of the Roman name for Lanchester. What that was in full, we cannot definitely say, but it perhaps was Longovicium, a fort mentioned in the *Notitia* (*Occ.* xl. 30). We must, however, admit that Lancaster has still a claim. The first syllable of this name appears quite as ancient as that of Lanchester, and it may or may not have been *Longovicium*, while Lanchester may or may not have been some other *Lon.*[1] One is, therefore compelled to remain in the unsatisfactory attitude of Buridan' ass.[2]

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[1] Eph. iv. 935, Mommsen *Hermes*, xvi. 459 *n.* ascribes him to the Mattiaci.

[2] Ihm Nos. 273, 289; *Westdeutsches Correspondenzblatt*, ix. (1890), 147.

[3] Zangemeister. *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, iii. pp. 1-16.

It remains only to point out that this inscription gives us one more proof of the importance, at the time it was erected, of various northern forts which were not on the Wall. That the Wall was still defended is certain, but in the first half of the third century and especially between the years A.D. 220-250, we meet many inscriptions belonging to forts in the east and west which were not *per lineam valli*. Some of these were connected with roads. The Lanchester inscription can be combined with other inscriptions from Binchester, Ebchester, Risingham, High Rochester, all certainly, or nearly certainly, of this date and all on the line of Watling Street. It is obvious that this state of things fits in well with the arrangements described in the *Notitia*, the British military sections of which represent the condition of the garrisons before Diocletian's or at least before Constantine's reforms. It also corresponds curiously with some details in the Itinerary of Antonine.

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[1] If these Suebes were only a detachment from a regiment stationed elsewhere, the place-name might belong to the station of the regiment, not of the detachment. But in that case the coincidence between *Lon.* and Lanchester is miraculous.

[2] Dr. Hübner in the *Corpus* (vii. p. 70), made Lancaster to be *Longovicium*. I cannot help thinking that in this, as in some other case, he has identified his British place names a little too confidently, at least in his Indices and references.

ANTIQUITIES AT BUDA-PEST.

Continued from page, 231.

By BUNNELL LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A.

A glass vessel, Vas Diatretum, in the Museum at Buda-Pest has strong claims on our attention. Here again the Hungarian Collection has the advantage over the British Museum, for the latter can show only a fragment of this peculiar fabric.[1] These cups are surrounded by a network made in the same material, and attached to them by a series of props placed at equal intervals ; but in the present instance we see only a succession of large handles round the body of the vase, and smaller curved perforations projecting lower down. Underneath are five ornaments in the form of fishes ; one looks like a sole. The colour is white, with a beautiful opal-like iridescence—the diameter is thirteen, and height ten centimètres. Half the circumference is complete, but it was found in fragments, which were put together and supported by a metal frame.[2]

Very few specimens of the Vas Diatretum still remain to us. One is said to be in the Trivulsi collection at Milan, and is engraved in the "Dictionary of Antiquities," third edition, vol. I., p. 626. It bears the inscription BIBE VIVAS MVLTOS ANNOS. Another was formerly at Strasbourg, but perished, together with many antiques, during the siege in 1870.[3] The *lacunae* in the words upon it have, with great probability, been thus supplied [BIBE MA]XIM[IA]NE AVGV[STE]. If this reading is correct, the date would be at the close of the third or beginning of the fourth century after Christ; it can only be given approximately, because there was more than one Emperor named Maximianus.[1] Similar expressions have been often found on vases of Black Ware—AVE, VIVAS, IMPLE, BIBE, VINVM, VITA . VIVE BIBE MVLTIS,—"showing that they were used for purposes purely convivial," as Dr. Birch has remarked in his book on "Ancient Pottery and Porcelain," vol. II., p. 368.[2] We may also compare the phrases *utere felix* or *feliciter* on spoons, seals, fibulae, etc.[3]

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[1] It is of yellowish colour, and will be found in the White Building, Glass Room, Table-Case G.

[2] *Diatretum*, *διάτρητον*, means *bored through*, *pierced*. Catalogue of Glass, Slade Collection, p. xvii. Notes on the history of glass making by Alex. Nesbitt. "A great number of vessels of various forms...were, after they were blown, finished by the wheel, and afford beautiful examples of skill in manipulation, portions being much undercut. The artisans known as *diatretarii* probably executed this work." Forcellini's Lexicon, s.v., *Imp. Constantin.* lib. 10, Cod. tit. 64. leg. 1. Martial, Epigrams, XII, lxx, 9.

O quantum diatreta valent et quinque comati ! I exhibited a photograph of the Hungarian example.

[3] Bulletin de la Société pour la conservation des monuments historiques d'Alsace. II^{e} Série. Onzième volume (1879-1880). Deuxième Partie.—Mémoires, avec gravures et planches. Le Cimetière Gallo-Romain de Strasbourg, by Canon A. Straub, p. 6 sq. "La coupe en verre blanc, d'environ 0^{m}, 09 de diamètre, était entourée d'une inscription en verre vert, audessous de laquelle s'ouvraient les mailles d'un réseau en verre rouge d'une extrême délicatesse et distantes, ainsi que les caractères de l'inscription, de trois à quatre millimètres du vase, auquel cette ornementation toute à jour ne tenait que par de légères attaches."

Two bronze wheels also deserve notice on account of their great rarity, few museums in Europe possessing such remains. They are to be seen in Room IV. The Counts Michael, Ludwig, and László Esterházy presented them as a memorial of the coronation (Krönungsandenken) of the Emperor Francis Joseph I. as King of Hungary.[1] I exhibit a photograph showing the two wheels, each taken from a different point of view. They are seventy centimètres in diameter, and it would be hard to find elsewhere a specimen as large. There seems to have been an interior of wood enclosed by a metal frame both in the felloes and in the four spokes, and these materials were fastened together by nails.[2]

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[1] Maximianus I. reigned with some intervals A.D. 286-308. His career is remarkable, as he abdicated twice, and was proclaimed emperor thrice. His name in full was Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus. He stands connected with our subject in another way, having been born near Sirmium in Pannonia.

Maximianus II, emperor A.D. 305-311, Galerius Valerius Maximianus, usually called by the first of these names, is chiefly notorious on account of the relentless cruelty with which he persecuted the Christians. Chateaubriand, Les Martyrs, books xvi-xviii, pp. 249-298, edit. Didot, 1852, and notes on p. 290, pp. 511-514, extracts from Eusebius and Lactantius, De Mortibus Persecutorum.

In the case of these sovereigns the similarity of designations causes uncertainty in attributing their coinage. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet, vol. viii, p. 37, propter allatas causas vix existimo exstare criterium, quod utriusque numos discriminet. Cohen, Méd. Imp., vol. v, p. 429, pl. xiii, and p. 592, pls. xv, xvi; and esp. pp. 431-436, Observations sur la distinction entre les médailles de Maximien Hercule et celles de Galère Maximien. *See* also Collection d'Amécourt, Catalogue de monnaies romaines, pp. 93-95 and 97, Nos. 618-629, and 637-639, pls. xxiii and xxiv (*photogravures*). The appellation Herculius is illustrated by some of these coins,—No. 622, we have in the reverse the legend HERCVLI CON AVSS, (*sic.*) CON seems to stand for CONSERVATORI; cf. Nos. 625, 626, IOVI CONSERVAT. I have not met with AVSS elsewhere; AVGG for the plural of Augustus is common enough. In the device the club, apples of Hesperides and Nemean lion's skin are conspicuous. No. 623, HERCVLI. DEBELLAT., Hercules killing the Lernean hydra; 628, VIRTVS AVGG., Hercules kneeling on the back of the Ceryneian stag, and seizing it by the antlers.

[2] Slade Collection, notes on the history of glass-making, p. xvi. Mr. Nesbitt refers to Padre Garrucci, *Vetri Ornati di Figure in Oro* (*Roma*, 1858). "The subjects are sometimes mythological, but most commonly Christian; on the latter the inscriptions BIBE VIVAS and PIE ZESES very generally occur." *See* L'Archéologie Chrétienne par André Pératé, 1892, La Sculpture, Les verres gravés, peints et dorés, pp. 348-358, figs. 238-248, esp. pp. 352-356, figs. 242-248: e.g. No. 246, Verre doré (musée de Parme), 248, Fragment de coupe (collection Disch, à Cologne). I think the author is mistaken when he places the Portland or Barberini Vase in the same category with the *diatreta*. The material of the former is "dark blue glass, relieved by figures and devices in white enamel," and the effect produced is quite different from that of the latter.

Millingen in Ancient Unedited Monuments, Series i, p. 27 sq., plate A, No. 2, at the end of Series ii, explains the subject as relating to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, but says nothing about the workmanship, for which the article "Portland Vase" in the penny Cyclopaedia may be consulted.

[3] See article and engraving in Rich's Dictionary, s.v. *Diatreta*, mentioned in a note on Martial, loc. citat., edit. Paley and Stone.

"The patterns upon them (vases) not only stood out in relief, but were bored completely through, so as to form a piece of open tracery, like network."

This subject is discussed in Monsr. H. A. Mazard's Essai sur les Chars Gaulois de la Marne, reprinted from the "Revue Archéologique," Avril 1877; v. especially chap. I., *Vestiges de Chars dans les Sépultures*, p. 8, sq., and chap. II. *Structure des Chars*. The iron tire, axle-tree, nave and linch-pin are described in pp. 12-16. And the explanations are illustrated by Pl. VII., where we see the relative position of the objects surrounding the skeletons in Tombe de Somme-Bionne and Tombe de la Gorge Meillet (Somme-Tourbe).[3] As the Museum of National

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[1] I presume that László is the Hungarian form of Ladislaus or Wladislaw. This name was borne by three Polish dukes and four Polish kings, who reigned from 1081 to 1648 (Conversations Lexicon, s.v.); also by a king of Naples and a czar of Russia.

[2] Subsequently to reading this paper I received from the Rev. Dr. Jessopp an account of an ancient British chariot (*essedum*), which appears to have been unearthed on the estate of Sir William Lawson, near Godmanham, in the South-Western boundary of the Yorkshire Wolds, between 1815 and 1817. "Inclining from the skeleton on each side had been placed a wheel, the iron tire and ornaments of the nave of the wheel only remaining. The tire of the wheel to the east of the body was found perfect in the ground; but, unfortunately, it broke into several pieces on removal, owing to its corroded state. Small fragments of the original oak still adhered to the iron. In diameter these wheels had been a trifle more than 2 feet 11 inches, the width of the iron tire about $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch." History and antiquities of the County and City of York, by the Rev. E. W. Stillingfleet, 1848, quoted in the Fortnightly Review, vol. iv, Feb. 15, to May 1, 1866, p. 207. Article by W. Walker Wilkins, Were the ancient Britons Savages? *See* also Archæol. Journ., vol. vii, p. 42, Art. on the Discovery of Ornaments and Remains at Caenby, Lincolnshire, and *Transactions* of the Institute at the York Meeting.

[3] British chariots seem to be represented on the coins of L. Hostilius Saserna and of Julius Caesar. If this view is correct they may be regarded as corroborating a passage in Juvenal where he speaks of the huge fish caught in the Adriatic as an omen of victory over some foreign chief.

Ingens
Omen habes, inquit, magni clarique triumphi,
Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Excidet Arviragus.
Satire, iv, vv. 124-127.

There is an expression in these lines which the commentators have failed to explain satisfactorily. They say it is a case of *Synecdoche*, a part put for the whole; according to Ruperti and Hein-

Antiquities at Saint Germain is so easily accessible to English visitors, I may add that it contains the cast of a bronze wheel found in the Department of Aude—the original being at Toulouse—which measures fifty-five centimètres in diameter, so that it is inferior in size to the Hungarian example.[1] The metal included a core of wood, which was proved by a deep groove throughout the circumference. In one case the thickness of the wood was inferred from the length, two centimètres, of a nail remaining *in situ*, which had crossed the felloe, and was bent at the point where it came in contact with the metal.[2]

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rich *de temone* is equivalent to *de curru*, or, in other words, the pole means the chariot. And so Gifford translates
"Arviragus hurl'd from the British car."

The writers of Notes on Classical authors are far too ready to have recourse to this grammatical figure when they find a difficulty; but I think a better interpretation has been proposed in the Dict. of Antiqq., 3rd edition, vol. i, p. 760 b, s.v. *Essedum*. "It was open before instead of behind; hence the driver was able to run along the pole and then to retreat with the greatest speed into the body of the car . . . From the extremity of the pole he threw his missiles, esp. the *cateia*." The interpretation given above of *de temone Britanno* in Juvenal is supported by a passage in Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica, vi, 83, Et puer e primo torquens temone cateias.

[1] M. Mazard, op. citat., speaks of one wheel, but M. Reinach mentions two: Catalogue Sommaire du Musée des Antiquités Nationales au Château de St. Germain-en-Laye, p. 145, Salle v, Vitrine 23, Au-dessus de la cheminée, deux roues en bronze à rayons et timon de char (Fa en Aude; Musée de Toulouse.) This account, including the *pole*, corresponds with Juvenal, *loc. citat.* *See* also the Catalogue des Antiquités et des Objets d'Art, Musée de Toulouse, by Mons. Ernest Roschach, p. 181, Bronzes, No. 516, where there is a detailed description of the two wheels, occupying the whole of a closely-printed octavo page.

Both these compilations are important and useful to the classical antiquary. The former is something more than a dry inventory, as it indicates the historical connection of the contents of the Museum as well as their *provenances*, and furnishes the reader with much bibliographical information in a "Liste des principaux ouvrages écrits ou traduits en Français pouvant servir à l' étude du Musée," pp. 205-220; these books are classified so as to correspond with the apartments (*Salles*) in which the collection is arranged. The latter, a volume of 488 pages, is one of the best Catalogues that have ever been published, and well deserves the epithet *raisonné*. The first half is devoted to Antiquity, the second to Middle Age and Renaissance. Under the former head Sculptures, Inscriptions, Vases, Glass, Bronzes, and Coins, are carefully described. To the student of Gallo-Roman Epigraphy in the South of France this work is indispensable.

[2] With the Plate referred to above compare Mr. Stillingfleet's narrative of similar remains found in Yorkshire. "In a cist, almost circular, excavated to the depth of about a foot and a half in the chalky rock, and on a nearly smooth pavement, the skeleton of a British charioteer presented itself, surrounded by what in life formed the sources of his pride and delight, and no inconsiderable part of his possessions."

In 1850 Dr. Bromet, speaking about ancient chariots, made some remarks, at a meeting of the Archæological Institute, on the extreme rarity of such monuments of the past. *See* the Fortnightly Review, loc. citat. From M. Mazard's Essay, 1877, and other evidence, we perceive clearly that during the latter part of this century great progress has been made in this branch of antiquarian research.

It is often stated in English histories that the war-chariots of the ancient Britons were armed with scythes; but there are very few passages in classical authors where this fact is directly asserted. The following, as far as I know, are the most important: Pomponius Mela, lib. iii, cap. 6, § 52, edit. Parthey, In my visit to Aquineum (Altofen) I had the advantage of being accompanied by Sir Arthur Nicholson, Her Majesty's Consul-General for Hungary, and Dr. Brüll, British Vice-Consul. The excursion affords very agreeable views of Buda-Pest, the river and surrounding scenery, and is made partly by steamer up the Danube, partly by railroad: it would only occupy half a day, if the tourist has not more time to spare.[1]

We do not know with certainty who founded Aquincum, but its origin belongs to the Antonine Age, using that term in its widest sense; most probably it may be ascribed to Hadrian, who paid special attention to fortifying the frontiers of the empire—witness the Roman Wall in Britain and the Pfahlgraben in Germany. Moreover, the evidence of coins supports this opinion—none of Trajan's has appeared in the course of excavations down to 1885, and of sixty-six discovered by that date one was a denarius of Vitellius, the rest were of Hadrian or later. Aquincum had a strong garrison, and for a long time the Second Legion *adjutrix*, with auxiliaries, was stationed here. Under Galerius it became the capital of the Province Valeria (Ripensis) mentioned above, and also served as an arsenal and head-quarters of the army, whose duty it was to resist barbarian incursions, and especially the Sarmatian Iazyges advancing upwards from the mouths of the

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p. 74 s.f., Britanni dimicant non equitatu modo aut pedite; verum et bigis et curribus, Gallice armati; covinos vocant, quorum falcatis axibus utuntur: Silius Italicus, Punicorum lib. xvii (422), 416 sq.,

> Coerulus haud aliter, quum dimicat,
> incola Thules
> Agmina falcifero circumvenit arta
> covino.

Comp. Lucan, Pharsalia, i, 427,

> Et docilis rector rostrati Belga covini;

and Tacitus, Agricola, cap. 35, media campi covinnarius et eques strepitu ac discursu complebat, and c. 36. Orelli, note l.c., observes that Cæsar, Bell. Gall. iv, 33, describing the British mode of fighting from chariots, makes no mention of scythes. His phrase *per temonem percurrere* agrees well with Juvenal, iv, 126 sq., quoted above. *See* Dictionaries of Antiquities, s.v., *covinus*.

Currus falcati were employed by Oriental nations—by the Persians at the battle of Cunaxa: Xenophon, Anabasis, i, viii, § 10, *ἅρματα . . . δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα· εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν ἀξύνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν.* Cf. Id. Cyropædia, vi, 1, 30—by Pharnaces II, king of Pontus, in the war with Julius Cæsar: Dion Cassius, xlii, 47 (edit. Reimar, p. 333, l. 32), *καὶ τινα χρόνον ὑπό τε τῆς ἵππου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἐκταραχθεὶς.* Reff. Hirtius, c. 75; Livy, xxxvii, 40; note in the edition of Sturz, vol. v, p. 350.

[1] For the position of Aquincum *see* Heksch, Illustrirter Führer, Map facing p. xvi, Die Donau von Pressburg bis Budapest und Duna Pataj, and at p. 42, Budapest iii kerület (Újlak és Ó. Buda). iii Bezirk (Neustift und Altofen). *Aquincum*, so benannt nach mehrseitiger Ansicht nach den fünf Hauptquellen des Ofener Gebietes. (*Aquae quinque*).

Danube.[1] Besides the testimony of authors, the importance of Aquincum is shown by the establishment of a mint, which we learn from the legends on money - S.M.A.Q. (Signata Moneta A Quinci); P.M.A.Q. (Percussa Moneta A Quinci).[2]

In 1778 the first discovery of a large building was made; it was a Hypocaust in the Florianplatz—a central site in Altofen—uncovered and described by Schönwisner;[3]

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[1] Aquincum, as a centre of military operations, occupied much the same position relatively to the Sarmatians as *Reginum* (Ratisbon) did to the Marcomanni; in the latter case we have the monumental evidence of the Roman gate, *Porta Prætoria*, which was recently discovered: my paper in the Archæol. Journ., vol. xlviii, pp. 399-401, with illustration from a photograph.

The Sarmatian Iazyges are mentioned by Tacitus as taking part in a civil war, siding with Vespasian against Vitellius, but, on account of their fickle disposition, regarded with little confidence by the party which they supported; Hist. iii, 5, "ne inter discordias externa molirentur; aut, majore ex diverso mercede, jus fasque exuerent." Comp. Annals, xii, 29, with Orelli's note, and 30; Pliny, Hist. Nat., iv, XII, 80, usque ad Pannonica hiberna Carnunti (Petronell, West of Pressburg) Germanorumque ibi confinium.

Ptolemy, Geographia, iii, VII, § 1, (Ἰαζύγων Μεταναστῶν θέσις, Εὐρώπης πίναξ θ′), defines accurately the situation of the Iazyges Metanastæ, edit. Car. Müller, vol. i, p. 440. Some have identified Πέσσιον, *Pessium*, ibid. § 2, with the modern Pest; but Müller remarks that this has been done incorrectly, "*neglecta positionis nota,*" p. 442.

We pronounce the second syllable of Sarmatia long, as in Campbell's line, Pleasures of Hope,

"Sarmatia fell, unwept, without a crime,"

but in Latin it is short; e.g., Juvenal, Sat., iii, 75, sq.

"Ad summam, non Maurus erat, neque Sarmata, nec Thrax,
Qui sumpsit pennas, mediis sed natus Athenis."

[2] It is possible that some coins with the abbreviation AQ., attributed to Aquincum, may belong to Aquileia, and *vice versa;* a knowledge of the *provenances* would assist us in deciding the question.

Aquincum is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus in his narrative of the war with the Quadi and Sarmatians, edit. Eyssenhardt, xxx, v, 13, "Valentinianus Acincum propere castra commovit." Sabaria (Steinamanger) and Bregitio (Szöny, near Komorn) occur in the same paragraph, §§ 14 and 15. Comp. the Index to the Antonine Itinerary, edit. Parthey and Pinder, pp. 245, Acinquo leg. ii adjut; 263 bis, A Sabaria Acinquo; 264 bis, 266. The pagination of Wesseling is retained in the margin by the recent editors.

Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Occidentis, cap. xxxii, edit. Böcking, p. 95* sq. [§ 1], Sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis provinciae Valeriae Ripensis . . . . Praefectus legionis secundae Adjutricis (cohortis) tertiae Partis superioris Acinco; and see Annotatio, p. 698*, remarks on Cuneus Equitum Stablesianorum Ripa Alta, nunc Contra Acinco; loc. citat., p. 95*, supra splendidissimam civitatem Pesth, infra vicum Danakeszi, non longe infra S. Andreae insulae australem angulum. This Roman outpost was in the territory of the Iazyges: Ptolemy, loc. citat., § 2, Πόλεις δὲ εἰσὶν ἐν τοῖς Ἰάζυξι τοῖς Μετανάσταις αἵδε· Ὄυσκενον . . . Πέσσιον. Some have identified Pessium with Contra Acincum. Acincum is marked in the Tabula Peutingeriana, Segmentum V, a, edit. Mannert.

Sidonius Apollinaris is the latest classical author who mentions Aquincum, edit. Baret, p. 520, Carmen vii, v. 107, Panegyricus Julio Valerio Majoriano Augusto dictus,

Fertur Pannoniae qua Martia pollet Acincus
Illyricum rexisse solum cum tractibus Istri
Hujus avus.

[3] Schönwisner, Antiquitatum Libri et de Ruderibus, is frequently cited as an authority by Dr. F. X. Linzbauer in his book entitled Die warmen Heilquellen der Hauptstadt Ofen im Königreiche Ungarn, 1837, where pp. 1-6 of the first section are devoted to the Roman period, B.C. 34—A.D. 249. This work contains four lithographed plates; the frontispiece is Ansicht des Kaiserbades unter den Türken (insbesondere des Bades von Velibeg).

Linzbauer says that the most famous

next, in the years 1854-56, ruins of a bath were found in the northern end of what is now called the Werftinsel, it probably belonged to the Praetorium ;[1] and during the same period, in the Donauarm, vestiges of two walls, perhaps enclosing the camp, were also observed : in 1880 Professor Karl Torma brought to light the northern part of the amphitheatre and the temple of Nemesis on the western side of it ; in 1881 the southern side of the amphitheatre and the two western corners of the Castra Stativa (*Standlager*) were uncovered.[2]

As is usually the case in Roman towns, so here the building devoted to gladiatorial shows made a more imposing appearance than any other. Its dimensions are : Longer axis of the ellipse 86·45 mètres, shorter axis 75·54 mètres, area 5,128·99 square mètres. If we look only to preservation, it cannot compare with similar structures at Verona, Pola, Nîmes and elsewhere ; but the same method must be pursued in archaeology as in other sciences, we must argue from the known to the unknown. Starting from these measurements and the fragments of masonry that still exist, without trusting too much to imagination, we can reconstruct for ourselves the edifice as it stood previously to the ravages of barbarians.

The seats did not rest on arched substructions,[3] but on two parallel walls in the form of an ellipse ; the outer and

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of the settlements founded by the Romans was called Aquincum, Aquinquum, Acinquum, Acincum ; and by Hungarian historians Sicambria, afterwards Etelvár (Ezelburg), then Buduvár (Ofen), and in his own day 'O-Buda (Alt-Ofen). He appends long foot notes, with numerous references to preceding writers.

[1] The docks and building-yard of the Danube Steamship Company are here (Donau - Dampfschifffahrts - Gesellschaft). A full account of this establishment is given, pp. 162-164 of the Illustrirter Führer durch Budapest und Umgebungen.

[2] The Amphitheatre and *Castrum Stativum* are near the Railway Station ; see Plan iv, facing p. 46, Ausgrabungen von Altofen, op. citat., which also shows the Temple of Nemesis and the Roman Aqueduct (Wasserleitung).

[3] Nibby, Roma, Parte i, Antica, Plate facing p. 428, Sezione dell'Anfiteatro Flavio. Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, s.v. Amphitheatrum, vol. i, p. 244. " Dans les substructions qui soutenaient les bancs des spectateurs, l'amphithéâtre Flavien présentait au rez-de-chaussée cinq ambulacres ou galéries parallèles à l'ellipse de l'arène." Prof. J. H. Middleton, Ancient Rome in 1885, p. 322 sqq. and fig. 31 on p. 325. "A complicated system of walls and arches exists below the level of the *Arena* (of the Colosseum).......In these tufa walls are remains of a number of massive arches, some flat, some semi-circular, and others formed of a quarter of a circle." Ernest Breton, Pompeia, p. 183. Description of the Amphitheatre, " Quarante autres arcades, dont plusieurs servaient de vomitoires et conduisaient au grand corridor circulaire sur lequel reposent les gradins, entourent l'édifice." My Paper on the Antiquities of Saintes (Charente Inférieure), Archaeol. Journ., vol. xliv, p. 169, and phototype illustration facing the same page. " The seats (*gradins*) were supported by a single row of vaults sloping down towards the arena...At the East end nine arches remain ; at the West the ancient masonry is now underground, and forms the cellar of a private house."

higher one was strengthened by buttresses; the intermediate space was filled with earth which served as a base for the stone benches. According to a recent authority—Dr. Valentin Kuzsinszky, in the *Hungarian Review*, 1888—this amphitheatre had the remarkable peculiarity of being covered by a roof supported on wooden pillars. It is well-known that such buildings in Italy were open to the sky, or had only an awning stretched over them;[1] but the heat of a semi-tropical climate must be borne in mind, which would account for a different construction, just as in the south of Europe we often see a curtain instead of a door, for the sake of ventilation. Plate III. in Professor Torma's treatise, entitled "Az Aquincumi Amphitheatrum," gives a restoration, showing this feature very distinctly.[2]

The following are some of the Inscriptions found here:—

VAL · IVLIANI · ET · ÆL QVINTI
Val (erii) Iuliani et Ael (ii) Quinti.

CLA FAB
Cla(udius) Fab(ianus).

G VALERIA NONIA
G(aia) Valeria Nonia.

IVL LICI S
Iul (i) Lici (niani) S(edile).

[X]III XIIII XV XV[I]

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[1] This is proved by Juvenal, Sat. iv, v. 122,

> Sic pugnas Cilicis laudabat et ictus
> Et pegma et pueros inde ad velaria raptos.

Pegma here may be translated "lift" (French *Ascenseur*, German *Aufzug*), as it answered the same purpose in ancient amphitheatres as this machine does in our modern hotels. I have not met with any other passage in classical Latinity where *velarium* is so used; the common expression in authors and Inscriptions is *velum*; so Lucretius, iv, 73-75.

> Et volgo faciunt id lutea russaque vela,
> Et ferrugina, quom, magnis intenta theatris,
> Per malos volgata trabesque, trementia fluctant.

On which passage Nibby remarks, che le tende fossero di colore diverso si trae da Lucrezio.

Var. lect. *flutant*; *see* Monro, 1st edition, vol. ii, notes, I. Criticism of the text, p. 59; II. Explanatory, p. 279 sq. *Trabes* are probably cross-beams passing from one mast (*malus*) to another, by means of which the awning could be unfurled.

The masts were represented by long pins in the fine model of the Colosseum exhibited at the Crystal Palace, but some of them, when I saw it, had been removed by ignorant and mischievous visitors.

Breton, loc. citat. p. 183, affiche de spectacle,

A · SVETTI · GERtI
AEDILIS · FAMILIA · GLADIA-
TORIA · PVGNAB · POMPEIS
PR · K · IVNIAS · VENATIO ·
· ET · VELA · ERVNT

I have given the revised Text as it stands in the Corp. Inscrr. Lat., vol. iv, edit. Zangemeister, p. 74. No. 1189. He says in his note male SVETTII. Mus....temere PVGNABIT Mus. The Suettii were numerous at Pompeii: v. Indices, Nomina virorum et mulierum, p. 232; Magistratuum electio, p. 252. Comp. a similar Inscription in Rich's Dictionary, s.v. SPARSIONES—a discharge of perfumed waters. *See* also Archaeol. Journ., vol. xliv, p. 170, note 1.

[2] This treatise was published in 1881, 8vo, pp. 109; some woodcuts are intercalated in the Text; at the end there are fifteen plates, showing the ground-plan of the amphitheatre, restoration of the roof, progress of excavations, and objects discovered, &c. In the Hungarian language the surname always precedes the Christian name, e.g., on the title page we read Torma Károly.

I observed in one case the word LOCVS, which would be equivalent to *sedile*. The names are evidently those of persons who occupied the seats. We may also notice the frequency of the termination *anus*, implying adoption, which is quite in accordance with the usage of writers under the Empire, both sacred and profane.[1]

We do not see in the Aqueduct here a vast monumental structure that impresses us with admiration and even with awe, but only ruins of piers and arches, which begin at

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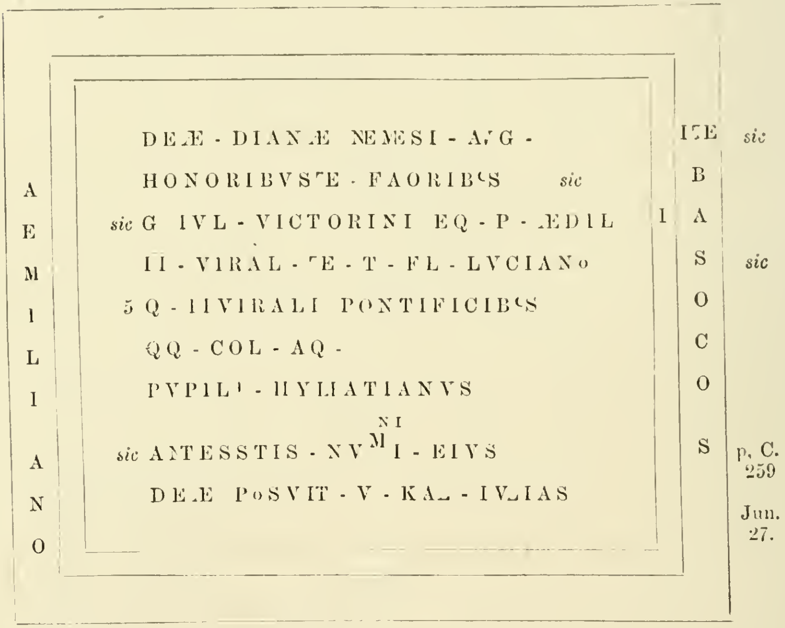
[1] This suffix occurs three times in an Inscription found at Aquincum: Prof. Torma, op. citat., p. 72.

MESIS · VETVSTATE | *con* LAPSVI · RESTVER, of an earlier date, June 24, viii. K. IV, A.D. 214, Mommsen infers from



DEÆ · DIANÆ NEMESI · A⁄G ·
HONORIBVS⌐E · FAORIB⊂S *sic*
sic G IVL · VICTORINI EQ · P · ÆDIL
II · VIRAL · ⌐E · T · FL · LVCIANo
5 Q · IIVIRALI PONTIFICIB⊂S
QQ · COL · AQ ·
PVPIL · HYLIATIANVS
sic ANTESSTIS · NV $\overset{NI}{M}$ I · EIVS
DEÆ PoSVIT · V · KAL · IVLIAS

A E M I L I A N O

1 I⌐E *sic* B A S *sic* O C O S

p. C. 259 Jun. 27.

Deae Dianae Nemesi Aug(ustae) honoribus et fa(v)oribus G(aii) Jul(ii) Victorini (így) eq(uo) p(ublico) aedil. II virali et T(ito) Fl(avio) Luciano q(uaestori II virali, pontificibus, q(uin) q(uennalibus) col(oniae) Aq(uinci). Pupili(us) Hyliatianus Antestis numini ejus(dem) deae posuit V. kal (endas) julias Aemiliano et Bas(s)o co(n) s(ulibus).

The year A.D. 259 is the seventh of the reign of Valerian and Gallienus—the period of the Thirty Tyrants so called.

In his note on another inscription where we read AQ · TEMPVLVM | *ne* the day on which the festival of Nemesis was celebrated that the goddess should be identified with *Fors Fortuna*: Ephemeris Epigraphica, vol. iv, p. 127, No. 431. Preller, Les Dieux de l'ancienne Rome, p. 376 sq. On montrait à Rome deux temples de la Fortune, l'un dit de *Fors Fortuna*, situé hors de la ville, au premier mille de la *Via Portuensis*, l'autre de Fortuna tout court, situé sur le Forum Boarium. La première était tout spécialement la déesse de la bonne chance, et comme telle, elle était surtout adorée du petit peuple. Le 24 Juin, jour de notre Saint-Jean, on célébrait sa fête.

the powder-mill on the Sanct Andraer Strasse, half a league beyond Altofen, and extend to the town.[1] The Romans surrounded with a mound warm springs rising out of the ground in a level plain, and raised the water to the height of two fathoms, so that, finding its own level (a property with which they were well acquainted), it could be conveyed to any part of Aquincum. The Aqueduct passed close to the amphitheatre and the camp, and was continued thence in a straight line southwards. Its course is shown in a coloured map at the end of the publication called "Buda Pest Régiségei" (Antiquities), 1890, containing articles by Messrs. Alexander Havas, Joseph Hampel, and Valentin Kuzsinszky.[2] It consisted of arches, filled up with masonry to ensure permanent solidity. Upon them the water was carried in conduits covered with impenetrable cement, and these also are supposed to have been arched over. The Aqueduct nearly bisected Aquincum, and at various intervals discharged part of its waters to supply the neighbouring baths; here and there some of these pipes are still to be seen, five inches in diameter, encrusted with particles deposited by mineral water.

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[1] In Plate i. of the amphitheatre and neighbourhood in Professor Torma's Pamphlet the aqueduct is marked with dotted lines, and called *Vizvezetés*, which corresponds exactly with the German *Wasserleitung*.

[2] The title of the map is A Fehéregyház és a régészeti ásatások (excavations) területe. The remains of antiquity are marked upon it: Római tábor (camp), Amphitheatrum, Római ásatások területe, Löpormalom, most Római fürdö. The article by Dr. Kuzsinszky is illustrated by 34 woodcuts intercalated in the text. Of these, the first shows besides the amphitheatre, camp and aqueduct, the *canabae*, habitations occupied by sutlers (*lixae*), who sold provisions and were engaged in other retail trades. Their temporary booths sometimes developed into permanent settlements. They may be compared with the publichouses, of which we see too many, near barracks in our garrison towns. The word *canabae* does not occur in authors, but is found in inscriptions, as well as the adjective *canabensis*. Gruter, p. cccclxvi, No. 7, curatori corporis negot*iatorum* vinari*orum* Lugduni in canatis consisten*tium*. Romae, in capite pontis Sancti Bartholomaei, in insula Tiberina, in parte urnae oblongae, parieti cuidam immissae. This bridge, commonly called Pons Cestius, connected the island with the Trastevere. Ibid., p. lxxiii, No. 4, Genio canabensium. Albae Juliae, pro valvis templi. Ptolemy, iii, 8, § 8, vol. i, p. 448, edit. Car. Müller; Ἄπουλον, note. Nunc *Carlsburg*, antea *Weissenburg* Germanis, *Karoly-Fejervar* Hungaris, *Alba Julia* et dein *Alba Carolina* medio aevo latine. De oppido ex castris stativis quae *Canabae* vocabantur ……Mommsen, C.I.L., iii, p. 182. Cf. Haverfeld, Archaeol. Journ., vol. xlviii, p. 9, 1891. In the Harrow Classical Atlas Canabiaca is marked as a town on the right bank of the Danube, west of Vindobona, which might seem to come from Canabae, but in the Notit. Dignit. Occid., edit. Böcking, p. 100,* line 13, the name is spelt Cannabiaca. conf. ibid. Annotatio p. 753,* which suggests the derivation from Cannabis, hemp. Some suppose that the place was near Mölk, where there is a famous monastery. Dict. of Greek and Roman Antt., 3rd edition, s.v. *Lixae*. Constructions of this kind have been discovered on the right and left of the Roman road leading down to the plain from the fort on the Saalburg. They are described p. 36 sq. of Das Römercastell Saalburg von A. v. Cohausen, Oberst zu Dienst und Conservator und L. Jacobi, Baumeister. These authors distinguish the civil settlements (Bürgerliche Ansiedlungen) from the *canabae*, p. 31; the former are placed South West of the camp in their map (Ubersichts plan).

The Baths cover a considerable space, including a *laconicum* (vapour-bath, or rather sweating-room), *caldarium*, *tepidarium*, *frigidarium*, *apodyterium* (undressing-room), and *palaestra* for gymnastic exercises. These compartments, as far as I know, are like what may be seen elsewhere, and therefore need not be described particularly. On the floor I observed a geometrical pattern, of which I exhibit an example, in the shape of a sponge-cake.[1] A mosaic represents wrestlers and an umpire; for the subject we may compare the gladiators and trainer (*lanista*) at Nennig, between Trèves and Thionville, but in the latter case both the execution and preservation are very superior.[2] A low circular wall in the forum was at first supposed to be a toll-house; but the opinion is erroneous, for such a building would be at the entrance of the town. We have probably here the remains of a market (*macellum*); both the position and the round form lead to this conclusion, which is corroborated by sixteen weights found there, engraved in the Buda Pest Régiségei 1890, Part II, p. 98, fig. 7, A Vásárpiaczon talált súlyok csoportja. As an illustration, I have brought a coin of Nero, well known to numismatists, with the legend MAC (ellum) AVG (usti); it shows the cupola (*tholus*) plainly.[3]

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[1] The three specimens exhibited were brought from Aquincum by Dr. Senier, Professor of Chemistry in Queen's College, Galway. The one mentioned in the text is convex at both ends and concave on the sides; the second is a parallelopiped, and the third an octagon.

[2] See Wilmowsky, Die Römische Villa zu Nennig und ihr Mosaik, Part i, pp. 8-10; Part ii, Tafel vi, No. 11. (Hauptbild)—coloured plate, folio size, with explanatory text: also general view of the pavement, Die Uebersichtstafel in Stahlstich...gewährt schon eine Vorstellung von der Grossartigkeit und Schönheit des Mosaiks, von seiner glücklichen Raumvertheilung, seinen edlen Ornamenten und seinen gewählten Thier und Fechtergruppen. My Paper on Trèves and Metz, Archaeol. Journ., vol. xlvi, pp. 239-241 (1889).

Since my Paper was written two important works have been published relating to the antiquities of Trèves, Das monumentale Trier von der Römerzeit bis auf unsere Tage, by K. Arendt, Staatsarchitect in Luxemburg, 1892, a handsome folio, text, pp. 41, and xiv Plates, and Die Römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier mit Ausschluss der Neumagener Monumente, by Prof. Dr. Felix Hettner, with 375 illustrations inserted in the text, pp. 294. Dr. Hettner's name is a sufficient guarantee for good scholarship.

[3] Cohen, Médailles Impériales, tom. i, p. 194, Médailles de Bronze, Nos. 148 149, pl. xi. Rev. MAC. AVG. S.C. 'Edifice à double rang de colonnes sur la hauteur, et à coupole ronde (*Macellum* ou halle aux comestibles). This coin is not rare, the price marked in Cohen being

Instead of returning directly to Vienna by railway or the Danube, I followed the advice of Sir Arthur Nicholson and made a détour by Steinamanger and Graz. The former place is said to derive its name—Stone in the pasture—from the number of ancient buildings found there; it is near the Styrian frontier, and is called by the Hungarians Szombathely, which means Saturday's fair, a compound of *Szombat* Saturday and *Hely* place, as another town in the same country is named from a fair held on Wednesday. Steinamanger was the ancient Sabaria, capital of Pannonia, a central point where several roads met; it prospered under the Lower Empire, and its importance is proved by the testimony of ancient authors as well as by antiquities still remaining. Many objects have been removed from this place, as from other towns, Aquincum, Bregetio, Siscia, etc., and deposited in the national collection at Buda-Pest.[1]

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only six francs. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. vi, p. 273, has a learned note upon it with many references. Harduinus epigraphen explicavit MA *usoleum* C *aesaris* AVG usti !

Besides the authors already cited, consult Corp., Inscrr. Lat., vol. iii, Part i, 1873, Pannonia Inferior, § xix, pp. 439-455, Nos. 3412-3614. Colonia Aelia Septimia Aquincum (Alt-Ofen); p. 439, Preface to Article, Omnino Aquincum fuisse ex oppidis, quae creverunt ex canabis legionum stativa ibi habentium et ipsa res ostendit, et colligitur ex No. 3505 posito a veteranis et civibus Romanis ad legionem II. adjutricem consistentibus.

[1] Bregetio and Carnuntum were the two most important Roman towns between Budapest (near the site of *Aquincum*) and Vienna (*Vindobona*). Bregetione occurs five times in the Antonine Itinerary, pp. 246, 262, 263, 264, 265, edit. Wesseling; p. 246, the words leg. I adjut. are added: *hodie* Szöny, on the South bank of the Danube, nearly opposite Komorn, and East of the junction of the Raab (*Arrabo*) with the Danube. *See* the map opposite p. 80, Die Donau von Pressburg bis Budapest (und Duna Pataj) in Heksch, Illustrirter Führer auf der Donau von Regensburg bis Sulina. There are various forms of the word *Bregaetium*, *Brigitio*, *Bregentio*, Bregentium. Ptolemy, ii, 14, 3, has Βρεγαίτιον.

For Carnuntum *see* the Itin. Anton., edit. Wess. pp. 247, 262 (bis), 266, 267; in the first instance we find, besides the name of the place and the distance, *leg.* XIIII *gemina*. This military station is mentioned by Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii, cap. 109, 5, in his account of the campaigns of Tiberius: Ipse a *Carnanto* (sic edit. Orelli), qui locus Norici regni proximus ab hac parte erat, exercitum, qui in Illyrico merebat, ducere in Marcomannos orsus est. The ruins are to be seen West of Pressburg, near Haimburg, between Deutsch-Altenburg and Petronell. Heksch, op. citat., map at p. 16, Die Donau von Passau bis Pressburg. Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire, c. xxxviii, 8vo, edit., vol. iv, p. 319, describes Carnuntum as the gates of Western Europe—an important post which served to overawe both Noricum and Pannonia.

Siscia (Sissek) is on the road from Æmona (Laybach) to Sirmium (Mitrovitz, near Belgrade). Velleius informs us that Tiberius made it his winter quarters in his war with the Pannonians and Illyrians: ibid, cap. 113, 3, et ipse asperrimae hiemis initio regressus Sisciam legatos, inter quos ipsi fuimus, partitis praefecit hibernis; whence we learn that the historian was an eye-witness of the events which he records.

SIS as an abbreviation is frequent in the mint-marks of the lower Empire, e.g., of Constantine the Great, Cohen, Méd. Imp, vol. vi, p. 89, ASIS, BSIS, ΓSIS ΔSIS, ЄSIS, HSIS, etc. But the name appears also in full: Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. vii, p. 410, Gallienus—SISCIA.

The inscriptions are the most interesting part of the museum. A catalogue was published by the Archäologische Verein für Steinamanger, Jahrbuch 1874; but I was informed that a better account would appear in the Archäologische Gesellschaft in Wien, Abhandlungen 1891. SAVARIA occurs instead of SABARIA, which is in accordance with the frequent interchange of V and B. The former is invariable in epigraphy, says Mommsen, Corpus Inscrr. Lat., vol. III., part I., p 525; the latter, in books, is due to the mistake of transcribers. Aquincum, like Reginum[1] (Ratisbon) began with the *canabae*, habitations of civilians which adjoined the Roman camp (as we see at the Saalburg, near Homburg), and gradually expanded into a city; but this was not the case with Sabaria, for we find no mention, either in authors or inscriptions, of a legion quartered there.[2]

AVG, ad Savi (Save or Sau) et Colapis (Kulpa) confluentem; ibid . . . In lapide prope Sabariam Pannoniae reperto legitur COLONIA. SEPTIMIA. SISCIA. AVGVSTA. Schönwisner, 'Ant. Sabar., p. 52. Eckhel, ibid, p. 505, Probus—SISCIA. PROBI. AVG., Mulier sedens coronam solutam tenet, hinc et illinc fluvius, procumbens cum urna, ex qua aqua profluit. This coin is engraved by Cohen, op. citat., vol. v, pl. viii, No. 497, p. 291, *petit bronze.* For the medals of Probus and the mint at Siscia *see* 'Emile Lépaulle, 'Etude historique sur M. Aur. Probus, d'après la numismatique du règne de cet empereur, Lyon, 1884. Sissek, on account of its favourable position, is a place of considerable traffic; but the town must be insignificant if compared with the Roman colony which occupied nearly the same site.

[1] The names of this city are discussed in my Paper on Augsburg and Ratisbon, Archæol. Journ., vol. xlviii, p. 396 sq., note 2. In Smith's Dict. of Class. Geogr. it is incorrectly stated that the latter is called *Castra Regina* in the Table of Peutinger. Mannert's edition, 1824, has Regino, and Conrad Miller's, 1888, has the same form. Attention to quantity helps us to distinguish *Regĭnum* from *Regīna*, Queen: Archæol. Journ., vol. xlvii, p. 384. Much curious information will be found in Rayser, Der Ober-Donau-Kreis im Königreiche Bayern. Fortsetzung der II$^{\text{ten}}$ Abtheilung. § 7 b. Reginum. Strassenlauf. Die Römer Monumente zu Abbach. Die Römer-Monumente zu Regensburg. Schriftsteller. Resultat, pp. 35-42.

[2] The L in *hely* is pronounced like the L *mouillé* in French; comp. the English name Villiers with the French Villars. Key on the Alphabet, etc., p. 73 sq. Ly ly lautet wie ein in einen Laut verschmolzenes l͡j, etwa wie *gli* in dem italienischen *paglia* (Stroh), z. B. király (kírāl͡j) König, erély (ắrēil͡j) Energie: Praktisches Lehrbuch der Ungarischen Sprache für den Selbstunterricht, published by Hartleben, 2nd edition, p. 3.

The Budapesti Látogatók Lapja, Gazette des 'Etrangers, Fremden-Blatt. Julius-Augustus, 1890, No. 5, contains an illustrated description of Szombathely in Hungarian, German, and French, pp. 1-25; and at p. 11 an account of the Archæological Museum on the ground floor of the Episcopal Palace by the late Prof. Wilhelm Lepp. It includes prehistoric antiquities, as well as those of the Roman period—a large sarcophagus, a torso of Hercules and of Minerva, fragment of a sculptured altar, statuettes in stone, wood, and bronze, Inscriptions (v. Mommsen C. I. L.) and coins, also some memorials of the Hungarian struggle for independence. When I visited the Collection in 1891 there was no printed general Catalogue of the objects exhibited.

Sabaria was on the high road from Sirmium to Treveri (Trèves): Antonine Itinerary, p. 231, edit. Wesseling, Item de Pannoniis in Gallias per mediterranea

At Steinamanger I had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Monsr. Falquet, a French Professor in the Gymnasium, and the sound of an intelligible language amidst Hungarians was indeed pleasurable. Under his guidance we made an excursion to the church of Jaak, a few miles distant, built in the thirteenth century by Omode, Bishop of Raab, and said to be the best example of Romanesque in Hungary. It stands on a height, commanding a view of a vast plain bounded by hills, and, in the horizon, by the mountains of Rechnitz, a town marked in Baedeker's map of Ungarn und Galizien, appended to his guide-book for Austria and South Germany. At the east end there are three semi-circular apses, a large one in the centre and smaller ones at the sides;[1] chevron ornaments surround the windows of the central apse, and underneath we see a series of niches divided by colonnettes, and containing statues. On a door at the south side I remarked some traces of colour, green and red, but much faded. We should observe in the grand western portal signs of transition; the concentric arches are round below, but the pointed style (*ogival*) shows itself in the upper part. The entrance is surmounted by figures of our Lord and the twelve Apostles. A rose window remains in the northern tower, and, doubtless, there was formerly one in the southern to correspond with it. Above them are double windows with a single column in the middle of each, similar to those in our own Anglo-Saxon churches.[2]

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loca, id est a Sirmi per Sopianas Treveros usque; cf. ibid., p. 233. The modern town, Fünfkirchen, is on the site of Sopianae, which was nearly equi distant from Mursa (Essek) and Sabaria.

Five Roman Ways radiated from Sabaria. *See* the Map appended to Parthey and Pinder's edition of the "Collection of routes and distances" so often referred to above—Tab. i, Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum (Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum ubi ab altero differt punctis indicatur). This sheet also includes Viae ex Urbe (Roma) exeuntes.

[1] Such an arrangement prevails in the Pyrenees, and the Cathedral at Lescar, near Pau, is a remarkable instance: Ch. C. Le Coeur, Le Péarn, Histoire et Promenades archéologiques, text, p. 105, Son plan est celui des basiliques romaines du VI^e^ siècle. Il se compose de trois nefs coupées en croix latine par un transsept, et terminées chacune par une abside circulaire. (Planches 2, 3, 4). At Valcabrère, close to St. Bertrand de Comminges) Lugdunum Convenarum), and within a drive from Montrejeau (Mons Regalis), the Church of St. Just is built in the same style. This village is too insignificant to be marked in an ordinary atlas, but it will be found in the excellent Map of the Central Pyrenees from Vallée D'Aspe to Vallée D'Aran, which accompanies Murray's Handbook for France, Part i: Archaeol. Journ., vol. xxxvi, p. 24 sq., Antiqq. in the South-West of France; ibid., vol. xlv, p. 337, note 2, Roman Antiqq. in Touraine and the Central Pyrenees.

[2] Parker's Glossary of Terms used in Architecture, vol. i, text, p. 516, s.v. Window. In church towers and situations where glazing is not necessary, they are

Lastly, double crosses, such as often appear on Byzantine coins, mounted on globes, terminate both the spires.[1] In 1844 a Roman inscription was discovered in the northern tower; see Mommsen, Corp. Inscr. Lat., vol. III., part I., No. 4,161. The Baptistery, as at Pisa and many other places, is a separate building near the western end of the church, and altogether Romanesque. I exhibit some photographs of it—1, 2, general views of the building seen from the west and south side; 3, grand west portal; 4, apses. If any desire further information I must refer them to Eitelberger in the Mittheilungen der K.K. Central Commission, and Fuchshoffer, Monasterologie; the latter was a Benedictine Monk, born at Jaak.

Graz is half-a-day's journey from Steinamanger. Most travellers remember it well on account of its picturesque situation in the valley of the Mur (Murthal), a tributary of the Drave (Drau), which, also an affluent, pours its vast stream into the Danube near Eszek (Mursa). For the beauty of its surroundings it deserves to be mentioned in the same category with Innsbruck and Salzburg, though it cannot be said to equal them.[2] The Joanneum here, named after its founder the Archduke John, contains a fine museum of natural history, which is especially rich in specimens of the minerals of Styria; but it has also a Münz – und Antiken—Cabinet for the archaeologist;[3] and

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frequently of two or more lights divided by small pillars, or piers, usually resembling balusters, etc. Vol. ii, plate 228, supposed Saxon; St. Benedict's (St. Benet's), Cambridge: Sir George Humphry's Guide to Cambridge, p. 44, where this window is fully described in a quotation from Stuart.

[1] E.g. Sabatier, Description générale des Monnaies byzantines, vol. ii, pl. xliii, Théophile, Nos. 4, 5, 11; Théophile Michel et Constantin viii, Nos. 15, 16; Théophile et Constantin viii, 19. For the biography of these emperors and history of their reign, *see* Text, ibid., pp. 88-90: Gibbon, chap. lii, vol. vi, p. 413 sq., edit. Smith: the Amorian war between Theophilus (son of Michael the Stammerer) and Motassem.

[2] No traces of a Roman city have been found at Gratz, but the old geographers have Latin names for it, Cluverius (1580-1623), calls it Graecium Styriae or Graetia, and Cellarius (1638-1707) Graezium: Dictionnaire de Géographie ancienne et moderne, which is a volume supplementary to Brunet's Manuel du Libraire, compiled with special reference to typography; it supplies much information concerning early editions and the places where they were published. So here we read the title of a book that appeared in 1588, Graecii apud Georgium Widmanstadium, D. Sebastiani Cattanei, dominicani, tractatus brevis, etc.

[3] Valuable antiquities from Pettau have recently been added to this collection; as yet no account of them has been printed, but it is expected that a notice will soon be inserted in the Mittheilungen of the Central Commission (Vienna) zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst und historischen Denkmale. When I visited Gratz in September, 1893, the larger objects, such as inscribed stones, had not been arranged, and were temporarily deposited in dark cellars so that it was impossible to see them; those of smaller size found by Professor F. Ferk were exhibited in several glass cases.

in this department by far the most remarkable object is the Opferwagen von Judenburg, accordingly it occupies a very conspicuous position, so that no visitor can miss seeing it.[1] This four-wheeled bronze car is twelve inches long by seven-and-a-quarter inches wide, and was discovered in fragments which have been carefully put together; but the whole is so ricketty that it could not be moved for fear of breaking it, when I had a photograph taken. However, notwithstanding this difficulty, the representation now exhibited will, I hope, be found more satisfactory than the somewhat rude engraving in Mr. Kemble's Horae Ferales.[2] The first account of this singular relic was written by Dr. M. Robitsch for the Historical Society of Styria, soon after it was brought to light, in 1851;[3] a brief, but accurate, notice of it by Dr. Fritz Pichler in the Guide to the Historical Museum at Graz, p. 26, will amply suffice for ordinary tourists.

Amongst them are bronze inkstands, plated with silver, both of the modern shape, and longer than we usually have them; also articles in amber, one of them figured, which is extraordinary. Dr. Gurlitt, Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of Gratz, informed me that Aquileia was the centre of the amber-trade—the raw material brought from the Baltic (Tacitus, Germania, c. 45, Electri natura et collectio, and Orelli's note), being manufactured there. He also called my attention to the pottery, and especially to a vase which was remarkable, because it had the peculiarity of being glazed *inside*.

But the greatest curiosity discovered at Pettau is a gold medal, worn as an amulet and suspended around the neck—one of the preservatives called ἀποτρόπαια (cf. Lat. dii averrunci, averting evil). There are various devices upon it, and, if I may speak from recollection, a slab of terra-cotta, engraved s.v. Amuletum, fig. 306, Réunion d'emblèmes servant d'amulettes, in Daremberg and Saglio's Dict. des antiqq. gr. et rom., resembles it more closely than anything else that I have met with. M. Labatut, the author of this elaborate article, vol. i, pp. 252-258, with 15 illustrations, says that all sorts of attributes belonging to different cults were grouped together. Comp. C. W. King, Handbook of Engraved Gems, p. 191 sq. portrait of Alexander the Great as an amulet; Antique Gems, p. 349 Gnostic amulets—Periapta, p. 358 Triune deity with Coptic legend; Precious Stones, Gems and Precious Metals, pp. 142, 429, 433.

[1] This name is misleading, for it would suggest the idea that this object was an offering dedicated to some deity, whereas it is only an ornamental pedestal supporting a bowl in which, according to Professor Gurlitt, incense might be burnt perpetually.

[2] Published in the Archaeologia, vol. xxxvi, pp. 237-239, plate xxxiii. He says that the central figure resembles early Etruscan work, e.g. Mars and Minerva in the British Museum.

[3] The title of his Paper is Alterthümer von Ausgrabungen bei Judenburg, von dem Ausschuss-Mitgliede Dr. M. Robitsch, K.K. Professor der Kirchengeschichte; pp. 67-78 of the Mittheilungen des historischen Vereines für Steiermark, Drittes Heft, Gratz, 1852; tafeln i-vi. Taf. ii, bronze plate that supports the figures, with explanations; taf. iii-v, figures standing and riding on a large scale; taf. vi, the carriage with the whole group upon it.

The great value of this Series will be evident to any one who takes the trouble to peruse the table of contents (*Inhalt*) of the volume in which this Paper appeared. Amongst them are Epigraphische Excurse; Das Murthal von Strass abwärts bis nach Radkersburg in antiquarischer Beziehung; Fund römischer Münzen am Gratzer Schlossberge.

The car is of a rectangular form, there are horses' heads at the four corners, and the felloes of the wheels are unusually broad; the group of figures, however, deserves attention more than the carriage that contains them. It consists of four riders, each pair turned in opposite directions, and eight persons standing—male and female—with a stag's head and branching antlers at each end. In the centre, twice as high as the rest, a woman appears prominently, of slender proportions, wearing no other garment than a broad girdle, and holding a bowl with uplifted arms.[1] The waggon is supposed to have been placed on an altar or table, and used to burn incense, for which purpose the bowl would be suitable as a kind of censer; but when it is added that the stag and other accessories indicate nuptial festivities, the argument is one which I am at a loss to comprehend. In 1881 a restoration was made by Rennert; white lines distinguish the new part from the original, which is marked red. Dr. Pichler says that the Wagen von Judenburg, or rather Stretweg, a neighbouring village, is pre-eminently unique (vorzüglichste Unicum); in our own collection of Bronzes at the British Museum, the objects most nearly resembling it are three Archaic Etruscan braziers (*escharae*), which also are rectangular, on four wheels, and with horses' heads at the corners.[2]

If we are asked to what nation this singular monument should be attributed, the question is difficult to answer.

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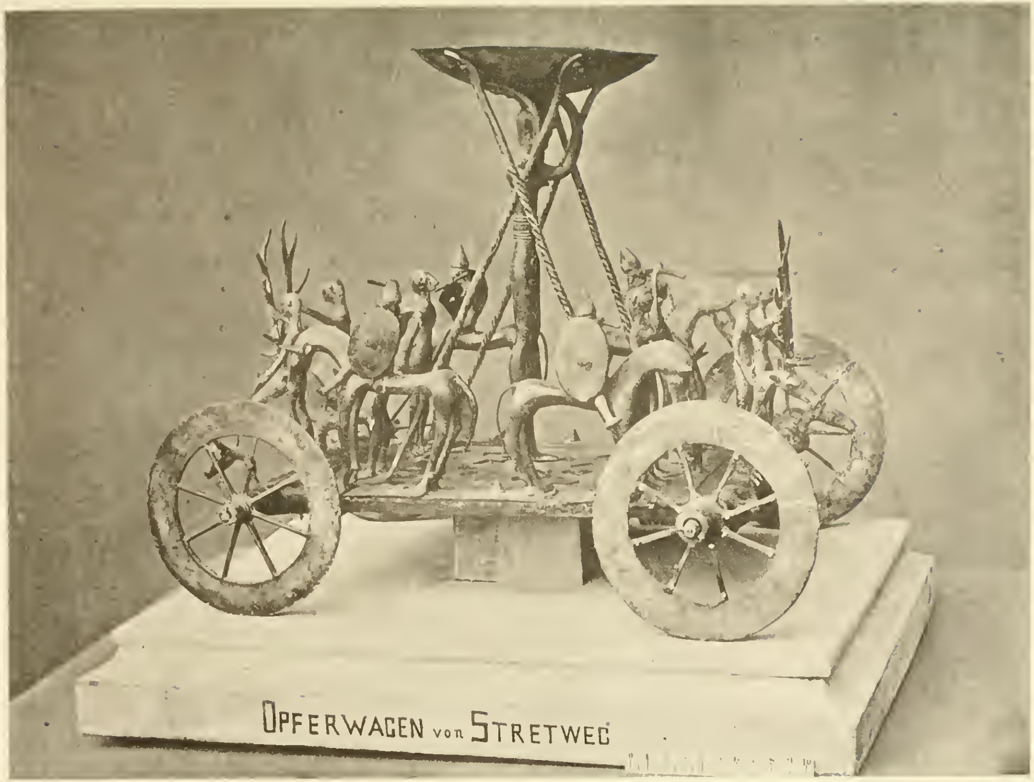
[1] Robitsch, Op. citat., p. 70, Dann kommt, in der Mitte des Wagens auf der Sonnenscheibe stehend, eine, zur hälfte über die Umgebung herausragende, sehr schlanke weibliche Figur (taf. iv.) mit breitem Gürtel und stark bezeichneten Geschlechtsattributen, was übrigens auch bei den andern beiden weiblichen Figuren der Fall ist.

[2] A similar waggon was found in a *tumulus* at Radkersburg, which lies North of Marburg, and much nearer to that place than to Graz. *See* the Text zur Archæologischen Karte von Steiermark von Dr. Friedrich Pichler, published by the Anthropologischer Verein zu Graz, im Selbstverlage des Vereines, p. 43; where other objects found are enumerated, e.g., spear-heads, fragments of armour, reaping-hook, pincers, enamel, coins from Vespasian to Constantine, with many references. The map in two sheets is appended to the text, and includes Das Leibnitzer Feld on a larger scale. We should notice the Zeichen-Erklärung, marks severally indicating the places where the investigations have resulted in the discovery of bronze, iron, and stone implements, glass, pottery, etc. Consult also the Repertorium der steierischen Münzkunde by the same author; vol i, Die keltischen und consularen Münzen der Steiermark mit einer Einleitung über die Pflege der Numismatik im Lande, and at the end of the volume. Plate ii, Keltische Fundkarte von Steiermark; vol. ii, Die Münzen der römischen und byzantinischen Kaiser in der Steiermark, with Numismatische Karte von Steiermark in der Römerkaiserzeit mit Rücksicht auf die Antiken-Fundstellen überhaupt.


OPFERWAGEN von STRETWEG

JUDENBURG OPFERWAGEN. GRAZ MUSEUM.

It is evidently not Roman; no coins were found with it; moreover, when that nation possessed these regions they were highly civilized, and therefore could not have executed any work in a style so barbarous. Again, it cannot be Christian because the symbols peculiar to the early Church are wholly wanting. Some of the objects found together with the car—bronze vessels, discs and rods, and especially the style of ornamentation—might be considered to point to a Celtic origin; but Dr. Robitsch favours the supposition that it was Sclavonian, though "on very meagre grounds," says Mr. Kemble. Many geographical names in the district, such as Feistritz and Lasnitzbach, are modifications of Sclave words, and prove that this people at one time were settled here; and possibly their goddess of light and life, called Lada, may be represented by the principal figure which has arrested our attention.[1]

On my return from long Continental journeys I have often rested for a few days at Boulogne, and there renewed my acquaintance with my old friend Monsieur Vaillant, a local antiquary. This gentleman has carefully studied and published an account of the Classis Britannica, which we have neglected, though it ought to interest us specially.[2]

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[1] The patriotic Archduke John founded the Joanneum in 1811; he died in 1859, but *Stiria grata* still cherishes his memory. A statue erected in his honour decorates the principal square at Graz; it is appropriately surrounded by figures representing the four principal rivers of the province—the Mur, the Drau, the Sann, and the Enns: Illustrated Europe (also published in French and German), Nos. 51, 52, with 23 engravings; woodcut p. 8, the Hauptplatz with the Castle on the hill, and text, p. 10 sq.

In the Natural History Collections at the Joanneum the mineralogical department is not only copious but also well arranged. The iron-ores of Eisenerz, on the railway from Bruck to Linz, have an interest for the classical scholar, as they may remind him of Horace, Odes, I, xvi, 9, 10.

Tristes ut irae: quas neque Noricus
Deterret ensis.

and Epodes, xvii, 71,

Modo ense pectus Norico recludere.

The ancient Noricum corresponds with Styria, Carinthia, Salzburg, and parts of the adjoining provinces.

Comp. Pliny, Nat. Hist., XXXIV, xiv, 41, § 145, In nostro orbe aliubi vena bonitatem hanc praestat, ut in Noricis: aliubi factura, ut Sulmone aqua. Martial, Epigrams, IV, LV, 11 sq.,

Saevo Bilbilin optimam metallo,
Quae vincit Chalybasque Noricosque.

* * * *

Armorum Salo temperator ambit.

Here the poet implies the excellence of the Noric steel, but, as a Spaniard, claims superiority for the swords of Bilbilis, his native place. At present, as is well known, the *fabrica de armas* at Toledo produces the blades of the finest temper and polish. Ford's Handbook for Spain, p. 116 sq., edit. 1878.

[2] Classis Britannica, Classis Samarica, Cohors I Morinorum, Recherches d' 'Epigraphie et de Numismatique (Une Planche et six Bois), Arras, 1888. Of the woodcuts the most important is at p. 15, Triremis Radians, Inscription, $\overline{\mathrm{III}}$·RAD; the coloured plate (*Estampilles*) faces p. 48. *See* E. Desjardins, Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule romaine, vol. i, p. 367, with vignette intercalated in the text. Ermanno Fer-

The subject is not noticed even in the last edition of Smith's Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, and M. Vaillant pointed out the omission in a letter to the Athenaeum, 29th August, 1891. Not to speak of Universities and other seats of learning, I believe there are in the Metropolis alone no less than ten Archaeological Societies; yet here a Frenchman has beaten us on our own ground—as a German has written a volume on Romano-British Inscriptions with which no English book can compare.[1] From facts like these we may learn a lesson. We should not affect a superiority over foreigners which we do not really possess; but rather remember that amongst the learned there is no nationality; and that, if in some fields of research others have surpassed us, we should only be aroused by their success to a generous rivalry in the pursuit and diffusion of knowledge.

The tree of knowledge is planted in the midst of the nations, and is, indeed, a tree of life whose leaves are for their healing[2]; while the voice of heavenly Wisdom invites all alike, without distinction of race or language, to sit beneath its shade, and to gather its wholesome fruit.

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rero, L'Ordinamento delle Armate Romane, 1878, pp. 172-177. He quotes Tacitus, Histories, iv, 79, ne quartadecima legio, adjuncta Britannica classe, adflictaret Batavos; cf. Agricola, cc. 10, 25, 38, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecepit: ibid., p 172, sq. Nei campi situati ad oriente della città, sulla strada di Montreuil e sulle rive della Liane, furono scoperti mattoni col nome della *classis Britannica*; No. 512, $\overline{\mathrm{III}}$·RAD, and foot note. *See* also Iscrizioni e Ricerche Nuove intorno all' Ordinamento delle Armate dell' Impero Romano, 1884.

M. Vaillant's writings are very numerous and deserve to be better known by English readers; besides the *brochure* already mentioned, the following would be most likely to gratify their curiosity, Notes Boulonnaises, I. Mort de Ch. Churchill, iv. Révocation de l' Edit de Nantes; Deux Souvenirs del' Occupation Anglaise dans le Calaisis et l' Ardresis: L' Estampille ronde de la Flotte Britannique.

[1] The reference is to vol. vii of C.I.L., Inscriptiones Britanniae, ed. Aem. Huebner, 1873; but I understand that Mr. Haverfeld is engaged in re-editing the book, and from his learning and diligence we may hope that this national disgrace will soon be wiped out.

[2] Apocalypse, xxii, 2, *καὶ τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν*; et folia sua ad sanationem gentium (Beza's translation.) It is well known that many kinds of leaves have medicinal properties, of which senna is a familiar example: Treasury of Botany, edited by Lindley and Moore, vol. i, p. 232, genus Cassia.

APPENDIX.

The Antonine Itinerary does not contribute to our knowledge of Dacia, though the Roman roads on the south side of the Danube, for nearly all its course, occupy a considerable space in the book; e.g., Maesia, Item, per ripam a Viminacio Nicomediam, edit. Parthey and Pinder, pp. 103-108, edit. Wesseling, pp. 217-231. On the other hand the Table of Peutinger supplies much information. There three great Roman roads, constructed by Trajan, are marked with stations and distances; *see* Segmenta vi., vii., and viii, edit. Mannert; and Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography, vol. i., p. 744. Ptolemy, lib. iii., cap. 8 (*Δακίας θέσις* Daciae situs), § 4, mentions many towns not found in the Table, Πόλεις . . . *ἐπιφανέστεραι*, oppida insigniora; amongst them *Ζαρμιζεγέθουσα Βασίλειον* Zarmizegethusa regia, i e , Sarmategte of the Table. From the time of Trajan to Caracalla the full name of the city was Colonia Ulpia Trajana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa, afterwards it was called Colonia Sarm. Metropolis. Car Müller, in his excellent Commentary on Ptolemy, loc. citat., frequently refers to Corp. Inscrr. Lat., vol. iii., edit. Mommsen. There is a good article in Smith's Dict. of Class Geogr , s.v. Dacia, which also includes the history of the province.

The flower on the coins of Rhodes is usually hexapetalous. Leake, Numismata Hellenica, s.v. Rhodus, cites a passage in Herodotus, where the historian mentions roses that had sixty leaves: Urania viii., 138, Horti Midae, *ἐν τοῖσι φύεται αὐτόματα ῥόδα ἓν ἕκαστον ἔχον ἑξήκοντα φύλλα, ὀδμῇ τε ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων.* Comp. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. ii., p. 602, non pauci (numi) in quibus rosa adversa ex forma rotunda et ejus complicatis foliis facile agnoscitur.

For the worship of Deus Lunus v. C O. Müller, Handbuch der Archäologie, § 400, Remark 2, English Translation, p. 532, Beings of Light. "Deus Lunus or Μήν often on coins in Phrygian costume with the half-moon behind his shoulders . . . on horseback, an altar with two torch-bearers standing round it, like those of the Mithraea, on coins of Trapezus (on the coast of Pontus, *hodie* Trebizond, an important city under the lower Empire, v. Finlay's Mediæval Greece, Index, s.v.)." With the figures holding torches comp. the Mithraic tablet at Wiesbaden, mentioned above, the front of which is engraved as an illustration of my paper on the Roman antiquities of the Middle Rhine, *Archæol. Journal*, vol. xlvii., facing p. 378, *see* also p. 380; and v. Lindenschmit, Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit, Heft x., taf v, Sculpturen, röm. Grabsteine. Die beiden auf den Seitenflächen angebrachten Reliefdarstellungen aus dem Kreise mithraischer Geheimlehre finden sich auch auf dem an gleicher Stelle entdeckten Grabsteine, etc. Hirt, Bilderbuch für Mythologie, Erstes Heft, p. 88 sq. tab. xi., figs. 8, 9, p. 89, "So sieht man dass auch hier, so wei bei den Vorstellungen des *Mithras*, das Phrygische Costum zum Grunde liegt, und zwar nicht bloss in der Bekleidung und der Mütze, sondern auch in den schönen langgelockten Haare, welche sich auf der Scheitel trennen und zu beyden Seiten auf die Achseln fallen." C. W. King, Antique Gems and Rings, vol. i., p. 211, note—Astrological subjects—Asiatic moon-god imaged as the bust of a boy in a Phrygian cap, resting upon a crescent.

In *Vicus Dolucensis* we have an adjective equivalent to Dolichenus, Dolychenus, Dolochenus; but the site of this place has not yet been determined with certainty. Vaillant, Epigraphie de la Morinie, p. 39. Desjardins, Géogr. histor. et adminis. de la Gaule romaine, T.I. p. 370, says, L'inscription (of Halinghen) d'après la forme des lettres, accuse la belle époque et est probablement du premier siècle. Malheureusement sa provenance première est inconnue.

I have mentioned the practice of swearing by the fortune of the King; it may remind us of the Patriarch Joseph's words, "by the life of Pharaoh ye shall not go forth hence," Genesis xlii., 15, and ibid. v. 16, apparently a courtier's oath, which the commentators have severely censured. Matthew Henry, *in loco*, pithily remarks, "Bad words are soon learned by converse with those that use them, but not so soon unlearned."

Aristotle's interpretation of the two heads on the coins of Tenedos has been generally rejected. For his opinion and other explanations see Leake, Numismata Hellenica, Insular Greece. p. 42 sq., and Eckhel Doct. Num. Vet vol. ii., pp. 488-490. Mr. Head distinguishes three periods in the money of the island—(1) *circa* B.C. 500, style of the head archaic; (2) circ. B.C. 400-350, fine; (3) after circ. B.C. 200, base. Judged by this standard the coin above-mentioned belongs to the second age. Moreover, the use of Omikron as equivalent to Omega in the genitive plural TENEΔION assists us to fix the date approximately. "The letter Ω was not introduced into public documents until 403 B.C. when Euclid was archon of Athens." Scharf, Guide to the Greek Court in the Crystal Palace, p. 22. Comp. Key, On the Alphabet, pp. 27 and 42. This book is a republication of articles which originally appeared in the Penny Cyclopaedia, with the addition of some philological papers. Isaac Taylor, the Alphabet, vol. ii., p. 48 sq. notes, "the presence of new letters ΦΧΨΩ in Lygdamis Inscription"; the author summarizes the stages in the evolution of the Ionian alphabet, as disclosed by monuments previously described.

Professor Ridgeway, Origin of metallic currency and weight standards, pp. 317 321, discusses the type of the Tenedos coins bearing the double-headed axe, and regards it as the representative of an older barter unit. In support of this view he refers to the dedication of axes (*ἀνάθημα*) at Delphi (Pausanias x., 14, 1), and to the giving of the same utensils as prizes in funeral games: Homer, Iliad, ψ, xxiii., 850 sq., 882 sq., where *ἡμιπέλεκκα* (i e., single-headed) are also mentioned.

Mr. Roach Smith, as I have stated above, Collectanea Antiqua, vol. i., p. 15, speaks of a town called Doliche in Macedonia; I have not found any ancient authority to support this assertion. Besides the places bearing this name given in Pape's Wörterbuch, Strabo informs us that one of the Echinades Islands near the mouth of the river Achelous, in his own time, also had this appellation. The geographer's description of the site shows his usual accuracy. Lib. x., cap ii., § 19, *Καὶ ταύτης δὲ* [*Ζάκυνθος*] *καὶ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας πρὸς ἕω τὰς Ἐχινάδας ἱδρῦσθαι νήσους συμβέβηκεν· ὧν τό τε Δουλίχιόν ἐστι* (*καλοῦσι δὲ νῦν Δολίχαν*) . .

καὶ ἡ μὲν Δολίχα κεῖται κατὰ Οἰνιάδας καὶ τὴν εκβολὴν τοῦ 'Αχελῴου, διέχουσα 'Αραξον, τῆς τῶν 'Ηλείων ἄκρας, ἑκατόν. Vid. edit. Didot, Paris, 1877, Index nominum rerumque, p. 793, Doliche i.q. Dulichium, q.v.

Eckhel's Doctrina Numorum Veterum and Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography omit Doliche Commagenes; and this is a sufficient reason for quoting authors who define its position. Leake, Numism. Hellen., Asiatic Greece, p. 53, says that it stood on the road from Germanicia (Marash) to Zeugma (Rum-kaleh) about sixteen miles westward of the right bank of the Euphrates; and refers to the Antonine Itinerary, p. 184 sq. 83 is the pagination in edit. Parthey and Pinder; v. Index, Dolicha 184 (bis), 189, 191, 194 *Doluk* Abulfedæ prope *Aintab*, *Deluk* (Sestini). Leake, loc. citat., enumerates the Imperial coins of Doliche: one of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus has on the Reverse ΔΟΛΙΧΑΙωΝ in two lines; below A; all in wreath. Cf. Supplement, Asia, p. 47 sq.

Lipsius, edit. Tacitus, folio, Antverpiae, M.DC.VII., p. 374, has a good note on the passage in the Histories iii., 24 *fin.*, where the author mentions the worship of the rising sun. He quotes several writers, and amongst them Plato, libro x. De Legib. *'Ανατέλλοντός τε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ πρὸς δυσμὰς ἰόντων, προσκυλίσεις ἅμα καὶ προσκυνήσεις ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων πάντων.* Tertullianus, Apologet. cap. xvi., Alii plane humanius et verisimilius, Solem credunt deum nostrum. . . . Suspicio inde, quod innotuerit nos ad Orientis regionem precari. *See* also edit. Oehler, 1853, vol. i, p. 180, note y.

The sun and moon frequently appear on imperial coins, as on the votive offering at Buda-Pest. Eckhel, vol. vii., p. 182, in postremis Caracallae (numis) saepe comparent aut Sol in citatis equorum, aut Luna boum bigis, etc. Catalogue of a selection from Leake's Greek coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge by Churchill Babington, p. 25 Asiatic Greece, No. 93. "First brass of Severus Alexander (A.D. 222-235). Rev. Heads of Sev. Alexander and his mother Julia Mamaea opposed; the former radiated (as the sun), the latter with crescent behind (as the moon)." It should be borne in mind that this Emperor was born at Arca in Phoenicia, and his first cousin Elegabalus, who introduced the worship of the Sun at Rome, was a native of Emesa in Syria.

For the inscription on the spiral column of intertwined serpents that formerly supported a tripod at Constantinople (Herodotus ix., 81), consult Dr. Is. Taylor's work, The Alphabet, an account of the Origin and Development of Letters, vol. ii., ch. vii., § 5, The Dated Monuments, pp. 50-52, Text and Notes; p. 50, Fac-simile; p. 51, "During the occupation of Constantinople by the Western Powers at the time of the Crimean war, excavations were undertaken by Mr. (now Sir) C. T. Newton, then Vice-Consul at Mytilene, who disclosed the inscriptions on the lower coils," v. Table, Chronological Development of the Greek Alphabet, p. 59.

In a note on the tripod at Buda-Pest I have made some remarks concerning the representation of marine subjects by ancient artists. Many illustrations occur in the Sicilian coins, among which those of Syracuse are the most interesting. Leake (Numismata Hellenica, Insular Greece, Sicily and adjacent islands, p. 72), observes that generally in them the heads of all the deities are surrounded by dolphins; as if Neptune was never to be forgotten in this maritime city. If we turn to a more recent authority, Mr. B. V. Head's Monograph on the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse, 1874, we see that during the Transition style, dolphins round a female head all appear moving in the *same* direction, but we find them at a later period in *opposite* directions: *See* the accompanying autotype Plates: 1, Geomori-Gelon i., Sixth Century—B.C. 480; 2, Hieron i, B.C. 479-466; 3, Democracy, B.C. 466-406; 4, Dionysian Dynasty, B.C. 405-345.

It has been plausibly conjectured that this alteration symbolizes a change that took place in the extent of Syracuse. At first it only occupied the island Ortygia, but afterwards it spread over the adjacent mainland, and the two parts of the city were connected by an artificial mole or causeway. Comp. Thucydides, vi., 3, where the historian is speaking of the city as it existed in his own time, Συρακούσας. . . . Ἀρχίας τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ᾤκισε, Σικελοὺς ἐξελάσας πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς Νήσου, ἐν ᾗ νῦν οὐκέτι περικλυζομένη (washed all round) ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐντός ἐστιν with Goeller's copious note. It is obvious that after the formation of this isthmus the fishes could not swim round Ortygia, as they did before it had been constructed.

Consult the excellent map of Syracuse with the remaining vestiges of the five cities, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and repeated in the Harrow Atlas of Classical Geography, No. 23. It contains references to Thucydides, books vi. and vii., and to Livy, books xxiv. and xxv. *See* Baedeker, Italie Méridionale, edit. 1877, maps at p. 328, Siracusa e Contorni, Siracusa moderna.

I add a notice by an English classic, of marine decorations appropriately used in sculpture. "The Dutch, whom we are apt to despise for want of genius, shew an infinitely greater taste of antiquity and politeness in their buildings and works of this nature than what we meet with in those of our own country. The monuments of their admirals, which have been erected at the public expense, represent them like themselves, and are adorned with rostral crowns and naval ornaments, with beautiful festoons of sea-weed, shells and coral," Addison's Observations on Westminster Abbey, Spectator, No. 26.

Among the earlier French antiquaries Caylus holds a very high place, second only to Montfaucon. He has an excellent chapter on Tripods (Trépieds) in his Recueil d'Antiquités Égyptiennes, Étrusques Grecques et Romaines, tome ii., pp. 161-167, Planche liii. It begins with general reflections on the subject, which are followed by special notices of passages in Pausanias, whom he justly appreciates—"Auteur dont on peut retirer le plus de lumières sur les Arts de la Grèce: puisqu' il ne parle que de choses qu'il a vûes, et dont il a jugé sur le bruit public." References to this writer's Itinerary (Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις) are indicated in the margin. E.g., Street of Tripods at Athens, Attica, pag. 61 (lib. i., c. xx, p. 46). Pl. liii. represents a basin supported by a spiral column in the centre, like that at Constantinople mentioned above, and two pilasters enriched with vine-leaves and clusters of grapes, which seem to show that the offering was dedicated to Bacchus. The material of the monument is marble, and the height about five feet; it was found in that most productive mine of art treasures. —Hadrian's Villa—at the foot of the hill of Tivoli: Murray's Handbook for Rome, edit. 1864, Section 2. Excursions in the Environs, map facing p. 349, and pp. 358-360, with plan of Villa Adriana.

Caylus, p. 164, speaking of the bronze serpentine pillar at Constantinople, says, ce Dragon ne peut avoir occupé que la place du noyau, ou du montant, qui dans ce Trépied est figuré par une espèce de colonne torse, et moulée. But I think he is mistaken in supposing that there were other supports of the golden bowl besides that which we now see in the Hippodrome at Constantinople; they were not wanted, because it rested on the three projecting heads of serpents.

The tripod appears occasionally in architectural ornaments, there are at least three examples of it at Rome. One occurs in a medallion on the Arch of Constantine, (taken from a building of Trajan's time), which exhibits that Emperor pouring incense upon an altar in front of a tall pedestal, surmounted by a statue of Apollo, who has for his attributes a tripod as well as a lyre and serpent. Rossini, Archi Trionfali, Bassirilievi dell' Epoca di Trajano nell' Arco di Costantino dalla parte del Colosseo; the engraving is on a large scale. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 3rd edition, s.v. *Ara.*, vol. i., p. 158. Professor J. H. Middleton, Ancient Rome in 1885, chap. viii., Sculpture from Trajan's Forum, p. 279 sq., No. 2. The tripod occurs twice on the so-called arch of Septimius Severus in Velabro, named Arcus Argentarius, because it was erected by the silversmiths and other merchants of the Forum Boarium; viz., on a large panel where two figures, a male and female, are offering sacrifice; and on a smaller relief, where only one figure remains; originally Geta and Caracalla were both represented here, but the former was erased, just as his name was obliterated in public monuments. Rossini, op. citat., Ristauro dell' Arco di Settimio Severo detto degli Argentieri, Spaccato dell' arco Prof. Middleton, ibid., chap. xiii., p. 444 sq., explains that this edifice is not an arch, but a gateway with a flat lintel.

See also note 1, p. 445. "A lead pipe in the Museo Kircheriano, found at Palestrina, has the following inscription

EX · INDVLGENTIA · D · N · SEVERI
ANTONINI · ET · GETE AVGG · L . F

on which the name of Geta has been erased."

Professor Ridgeway, in his learned and ingenious work entitled, "Origin of Currency and Weight Standards," contends that many objects stamped upon coins, which had been interpreted with reference to mythology, really represented units of exchange; e g., pots and kettles (τρίποδες, λέβητες) used for this purpose at an early period before such commodities had been superseded by a metallic currency. This view is supported by the case of Olbia, a Greek town on the northern coast of the Euxine, whose bronze coins are made in the shape of a tunny fish, some of them with the legend Θ Υ, i.e., Θύννος; so that here we have the intermediate stage between the older object of barter and the coin impressed with its likeness which occurs at Cyzicus: op. citat., p. 316 sq.

On the other hand, I think there is danger of carrying the application of this theory too far. Devices on coins are unquestionably sometimes non-religious emblems, as a crab or a fish in the Sicilian series indicates a maritime position. In other cases their relation to gods and goddesses is evident; the didrachms of Crotona supply us with a good illustration: Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler, part i., taf. xvi., No. 75, Silbermünze von Kroton, mit dem Dreifusse auf der einen, und dem Raben des Apollon auf der andern Seite. Dabei die Buchstaben ϘΡΟ d.i. Κροτωνιατᾶν. Nach Mionnet, Description, Recueil des Planches, 60, 2, where the raven as an attribute should be noticed. Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. i., p. 170, Tripus ad Apollinis cultum pertinet, haud dubie Crotone impensius culti, quia Myscello Achaeo opportuna ad condendam urbem consilia suggessit. Strabo, lib. vi., p.m. 402, cap. i., § 12. The tripod occurs also on the money of Rhegium, and evidently belongs to the same deity, Eckhel, ibid. p. 181. Hunter's Catalogue, p. 245, where there are many examples of it and of the lyre; one is thus described, ΡΗΓΙΝΩΝ. Apollo nudus cortinae insidens ad sinistram; dextra sagittam; sinistra arcui innixa. Leake, Numismata Hellenica, European Greece, p. 118. These emblems cannot surprise us if we remember how widely the worship of the god had extended in the Grecian world: C.O. Müller, Handbook of Archaeology, English Translation, p. 447; § 361, Remark 5. Id. History and Antiquities of the Doric Race, Eng. Transl., vol. i., pp. 318-371, chaps. vii. and viii., and summaries prefixed to each chapter.

In the Catalogue of the Collection D'Amécourt, No. 622, AVSS. has been misread for AVGG. (Augustorum), which Professor Ridgeway pointed out to me; the cause of the mistake is the peculiar form of G, which is made thus s, as in the Medicean MS of Virgil, written in the fifth century and preserved at Florence. See Burmann's edition of that author, vol. i., p. 36 of the Preface. Exemplum scripturae . . . et epigrammatis ibi autographi Asterii Consulis, who not only possessed the Codex, but also emended it: Key, on the Alphabet, p. 33, pl. iv., Roman letters tabulated; and ibid. p. 42.

The denarius of the *gens Hostilia*, referred to above, is remarkable for the head of *Pavor* on the obverse, as that of an old man with his hair standing on end; and it has been plausibly conjectured that the features of Vercingetorix, the Gallic chief conquered by Caesar, are here reproduced: Babelon, Monnaies de la République Romaine, vol. i., pp. 549-552, p. 552, No. 2; and vol. ii., p. 17, No. 28. Fortnightly Review, vol. iv., p. 208 sq.; in the former page there is a typographical error, *carynx* for *carnyx*, a military trumpet (κάρνυξ, Diodorus Siculus, lib. v., cap. 30, σάλπιγγας δ' ἔχουσιν ἰδιοφυεῖς καὶ βαρβαρικάς. ἐμφυσῶσι γὰρ ταύταις καὶ πρόβάλλουσιν ἦχον τραχὺν καὶ πολεμικῆς ταραχῆς οἰκεῖον: *see* Stephens, Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, edit. Didot, vol. iv., col. 974, s.v. Κάρνος, tuba Galatica.

For the *essedarii see* Baumeister, Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums, vol. iii, p 2,100, l.o., i.e, links oben, Wagenkämpfer (wahrscheinlich aus Britannien eingeführt, cf. Caesar, Bell. Gall. iv., 33): Smith's Dict. of Antt., 3rd edition, s.v. Essedum, vol. i., p. 760 b: Suetonius, Caligula c. 35, Claudius c. 21, In Orelli's Inscriptions, vol. i., p. 449, No. 2566, ESS. occurs twice as an abbreviation of Essedarius; ibid. p. 452, No. 2585, ESSE; No. 2584, DYMACHERO SIVE ASSIDARIO (*sic*). Dimachaerus would be the correct form of the word from the Greek διμάχαιρος, i e., one who fights with two swords. Diodorus appears to use παραβάτης as equivalent to *essedarius*; v, 29, Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ ταῖς μάχαις χρῶνται συνωρίσιν (bigis), ἔχοντος τοῦ ἅρματος ἡνιόχον καὶ παραβάτην (poet. παραιβάτης).

We find also the feminine gender, *essedaria*: Petronii Satirae, c. 45, p. 51 edit. Buecheler, jam nannos aliquot habet et mulierem essedariam et dispensatorem Glyconis. With this case of a woman fighting from a chariot in the amphitheatre comp. Juvenal, i., 22 sq.,

Maevia Tuscum
Figat aprum, et nudâ teneat venabula mammâ. v. Ruperti's Commentary, *in loco*, and footnote 11.

I remember having seen, in the Autumn of 1892, four bronze wheels amongst the antiquities in the Museum at Lyons, and I believe that there is one example in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool.

The poems of Sidonius Apollinaris belong to the period immediately after Attila, who died A.D. 453. Majorian, one of the best Emperors, distinguished both as a general and a legislator, reigned A.D. 457-461 : Gibbon, chap. xxxvi., edit. Smith, vol. iv., pp. 265-274. For his coins *see* the Catalogue of the Collection D'Amécourt, p. 129 sq., Nos. 816, 817, with photos. at the end of the volume. Observe in No. 816 a shield bearing the monogram of Christ, and the legend of the reverse VICTORIA AVGGG., denoting three Augusti. I conjecture that the abbreviation AVGGG., refers to Leo and Ricimer, (v. Gibbon, loc. citat.). Cohen, vol. vi., p. 515, No. 5 : Rev. VOTIS MVLTIS, Majorien et Léon assis de face . . . entre eux dans le champ RV, Musée Britannique. Cohen, ibid., p. 514, Majorien, lié d'amitié avec Ricimer. Other examples of AVGGG occur in the Collection d'Amécourt, pp. 130-132.

Of New Testament writers St. Paul, alone I think, refers to adoption, because he was a Roman citizen. It was as natural for him to do so, as to derive his imagery from the armour of the soldier to whom he was chained : Epistle to the Ephesians, vi., 13-17. ; ibid. v. 20, ὑπὲρ οὗ πρεσβεύω ἐν ἁλύσει. Comp. Acts, xxviii, 16, σὺν τῷ φυλάσσοντι αὐτὸν στρατιώτῃ; and ibid., xxiv., 27, ὁ Φῆλιξ κατέλιπεν τὸν Παῦλον δεδεμένον. Conybeare and Howson, Life and Epistles of St. Paul, 8^{vo} edition, vol. ii., chap. xxii., p. 355, text and notes 1-5, where *custodia militaris* is fully explained ; ibid., chap, xxiv , p. 460 ; latter part of chap xxv., p. 506 sq. ; beginning of chap. xxvi., pp. 508-511.

Being a Roman citizen, the Apostle was beheaded, and according to tradition, by the sword, not the lictor's axe. Cicero, Orations against Verres, v., 61-67, dwells on the execution of Gavius by crucifixion as a monstrous violation of law, and one of the worst offences which that governor had committed. The mode of St. Paul's martyrdom is commemorated by a sword in the armorial bearings of the Corporation of the City of London. This is a better explanation than the popular notion that the sword represents the weapon with which Sir William Walworth struck down Wat Tyler.

For inscriptions found at Aquincum *see* C. I. L., vol. iii., Illyrici Latinae, Pt. 1, Pannonia Inferior § xix, pp. 439-455, Nos. 3412-3614, p. 439, Colonia Ælia Septimia Aquincum (Alt-Ofen) : also the Ephemeris Epigraphica, which is supplementary to the Corpus, vol. ii., pp. 369-388. Mommsen frequently corrects and severely criticizes the mistakes made by Desjardins in his work entitled, Desiderata du Corp. Inscrr. Lat. de l'Académie de Berlin, Paris, 1874-75 : e.g., No. 643, quod edidit NEME · SALVT, in lapide nec est nec fuit ; for which Mommsen reads NEMESI AVG ; cf. Nos. 649, 653. Many inscriptions have been removed from Aquincum to Buda-Pest—"Nunc Pestini in Museo."

Mommsen thinks that Hadrian, who reigned A.D. 117-138, founded Aquincum, and the numismatic evidence, as I have already remarked, confirms this opinion: Heksch, Illustrirter Führer durch Budapest und Umgebungen, p. 43. Moreover, we know, from the express statements of his biographer Spartianus, that Hadrian was active in defending the Roman frontiers, constructing the Wall in Britain that bears his name, and in many places separating the barbarians from the Empire, by means of large stakes fixed deep in the ground and connected with one another: chaps. 11, 12 (stipitibus magnis, in modum muralis sepis, funditus jactis atque connexis, barbaros separavit). It seems probable that the reference here is to the boundary between the Romans and Germans, because the next sentence begins with Germanis regem constituit: Bruce, On the Roman Wall, 4^{to} edition, pp. 11-14; Mr. T. Hodgkin's Essay on the Pfahlgraben, reprinted from the Archaeologia Æliana, pp. 48 and 85. This name of the barrier corresponds well with the passage of Spartianus just quoted, for the word *Pfahl*, English *pale*, is the same as the Latin *palus*, which is nearly synonymous with *stipes*. The interchange between *pf* and *p* is frequent, the German language often having the two letters where our own has only one: comp. *Pfund pound*, *Pfeffer pepper*, *Pfau pea*-cock: Key, On the Alphabet, p. 88. *See* also the German Dictionaries of Hilpert, 1846, and Heyne, 1892; the former derives *palus* from *pagere*, archaic form of *pangere*, which occurs in the XII. Tables, and has the same root as the Greek *πήγνυμι*, ΠΗΓ, ΠΑΓ: Fr. Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, 1884, s.v. Pfalz (the Palatinate), a name which seems to be closely connected with Pfahl, m. lat. . . . *palitium* "contextus ac series palorum" *Pālŭs*, a stake, must be carefully distinguished from *pălūs*, a marsh: v. Juvenal, Sat. vi., 247 and 267; Horace, Ars Poetica, v. 65, with Bentley's note.

Gregorovius, in his Geschichte des römischen Kaisers Hadrian und seiner Zeit, has not done justice to the great Roman emperor. For where he mentions the visit to Germany, he speaks of Hadrian only as improving the condition of the army, and restoring military discipline, chap. v., p. 26. I have previously had occasion to observe that authors are apt to fail in that part of their work which treats of the history or language of their native country.

This visit is commemorated by two coins: Eckhel, vol. vi., p. 494. Reverses: GERMANIA. Mulier stans dextra hastam, sinistra clypeum Germanicum.

EXERCITVS GERMANICVS S.C. Imperator eques milites alloquitur. But Cohen's description of the former is in some respects more complete; Médailles Impériales, vol. ii., pl. v., text p. 131, No. 264. La Germanie debout à gauche, tenant une lance de la main droite, et appuyée sur un bouclier. There can be little doubt that the female figure represents Germany, because her shield is hexagonal, and therefore not Roman but in harmony with the legend. Eckhel is wrong in using the word *clypeus*, which means a *round* shield (cf. the Homeric *ἀσπὶς πάντοσ' ἐΐση*, with the rim everywhere equidistant from the centre). Even *scutum*, though not accurate, would have been a better word than *clypeus*, because the former is rectangular, as is shown by the Greek equivalent *θυρεός*, from *θύρα*, a door. Moreover, Tacitus, in his account of German armour says, eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est . . . (pedites) scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt; Germania, cap. 6. Similiter Diodorus, v., 30, Gallis tribuit *θυρεοὺς πεποικιλμένους ἰδιοτρόπως*, v. Orelli, in loco.

For this subject comp. La Colonne Trajane décrite par W. Froehner, p. 130, No. 74, Forêt, Les boucliers de forme hexagonale, and Index Alphabétique, where other shields are mentioned—round, oval, oblong: Fabretti, La Colonna Trajana, Roma, 1846, taf. lxxx, Trofei di Mario, with illustrative coins, legend SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI; text prefixed, s.f., che volgarmente si dicono di Mario.

No notice of Aquincum will be found in Col. Von Cohausen's elaborate work, Der Römische Grenzwall in Deutschland, because this place lies far eastwards, beyond the Limes Transdanubianus and Transrhenanus, which begins near Ratisbon on the former river, and ends near Andernach on the latter; *see* map, taf. i., in the accompanying Atlas of Plates, where the Vallum Hadriani and Vallum Pii are inserted for comparison.

Besides the authorities already cited, consult a paper by the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, read before the Archæological Association, November 21, 1883, Recent Discoveries made at Aquincum in Hungary, and some Roman Inscriptions recording the conquest under Trajan. At p. 193 we read [AVS, letters doubtful, AVG F]. The same mistake seems to have been made here as that in the Catalogue of the Collection D'Amécourt, p. 94, No. 622.

The following passages may be useful to the numismatic student, especially with reference to Siscia; Lépaulle, op. citat., chap. i., Observations générales, pp. 17-19; Marques distinctives des divers ateliers monétaires. Caractères chronologiques de leurs émissions, p. 19; Atelier de Siscia, p. 20 sq.; Tableau synoptique des marques des différents ateliers, p. 26 sq.; chap. iv., Guerre des Gaules et de Germanie A.D. 276-278, pp. 51-68, esp. p. 53; and note (44) p. 107.

Poetovio is now Pettau, a town in the South of Styria, close to the borders of Croatia, and occurs for the first time in Tacitus, Histories, iii, 1; where, in his account of the events that occurred A.D., 69, he relates that the generals of the Flavian party made this place their base of operations, met in the winter-quarters of the thirteenth legion, and discussed their plan of campaign for the war with Vitellius. We sometimes find the name written Petovio; but Poetovio is the form in the important Florentine MS. of Tacitus, usually called Codex Mediceus, which is confirmed by an inscription: Orelli's Collection, vol. ii., p. 129, No. 3592, discovered outside Tarragona, LVCILIO POETOVION.

Ptolemy, book 2, chap xiv., in his Geographical description of Upper Pannonia, *Παννονίας τῆς ἄνω θέσις*, § 3, mentions cities south of the Danube, *Οὐινδόβονα* (*Vindobona*), *Κάρνους* (*Carnuntum*), *Βριγέτιον* (Bregetium), &c.; § 4, he proceeds to enumerate places remote from the river, *Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλεις ἄιδε Σόλα, Ποιτόβιον, Σαουαρία.* *See* in the copious notes edit. Car. Müller, vol. i., p. 292, various readings for *Ποιτόβιον*. Poetovio, being near the frontier, is assigned sometimes to Noricum and sometimes to Pannonia. Comp. the Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum, at the end of Parthey and Pinder's edition of the Itineranium Antonini, p. 266 (edit. Wesseling, p. 561),

civitas Petovione . . . . mil. xii.
transis pontem, intras Pannoniam
inferiorem.

If the traveller is making the journey from Vienna to Trieste by the main line, at Marburg he comes to a branch on the right for Klagenfurt (capital of Carinthia, Kärnten) and the Tirol, and a little further at Pragerhof to a branch on the left for Buda-Pest; on this railway the first station is Pettau: *see* the map prefixed to Baedeker's Süd-Deutschland.

There are also various forms of the name Sabaria, which occurs in Pliny; the Inscriptions give us Savaria, Claudia Savaria, Colonia Claudia Savaria. The Table of Peutinger, edit. Mannert, Segmentum iv., C, has Sabarie, south-east of Carnuntum, but here as in many other cases, the relative distances are marked incorrectly. "All the countries included are enormously distorted, being greatly exaggerated in length from west to east, and equally curtailed in breadth": Sir E. H. Bunbury, History of Ancient Geography, vol. ii., p. 697.

The Curatorium of the Joanneum at Graz publishes an annual Report (Jahresbericht), which supplies details concerning the condition and progress of the Institution—some of them useful to the antiquary, e.g., No. lxxxi. for the year 1892; p. 33, Sammelfunde aus prähistorischer und römischer Zeit; p. 35, Römische Sculpturen, Inschriften (*Lapidarium*); p. 36, Münzen und Medaillen: p. 39, Zusammenstellung des Zuwachses.

At the beginning of this memoir I have made some remarks on the disuse of Latin by Hungarians at the present time; it is the more to be regretted, as their ancestors had set them a good example; for Velleius Paterculus expressly informs us that they showed aptitude to learn the language of their conquerors; p. 69 A, edit. Lipsius, appended to his Tacitus (a fine folio that issued from the press of the celebrated printer Plantin, Antverpiæ, M.DC.VII); lib. ii., cap. 110, § 5, edit. Orelli, p. 125, In omnibus autem Pannoniis non disciplinae tantummodo, sed linguae quoque notitia Romanae; plerisque etiam literarum usus et familiaris animorum erat exercitatio. The testimony of Velleius is peculiarly valuable, because he served with distinction under Tiberius during the campaigns against the Pannonians, Dalmatians and Illyrians: lib. ii., c. iii., § 3, Habuit in hoc quoque bello mediocritas nostra speciosi ministri locum; cf. ibid., § 4, and c. 104, § 3. He was a praefectus or legatus of Tiberius for nine years: Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire, vol. iv., p. 310.

Similar circumstances give weight to the statements of the historian Dion Cassius, who flourished at a later period—at the close of the second and in the earlier part of the third century, from the reign of Commodus to that of Alexander Severus. He was governor of Pannonia A.D. 227. After describing the unhappy condition of that people (*κακοβιώτατοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὄντες*), suffering from a severe climate and having no enjoyment in life, he adds that he did not write merely what he had heard or read, but what he knew accurately from personal observation (*ὅθεν ἀκριβῶς πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς εἰδὼς γράφω*): Hist. Rom. xlix, 36, edit. Sturz, tom. ii., p. 744. In the same chapter he proposes an absurd etymology for the name of this nation, deriving Pannonia from *pannus*, because they wore tunics with sleeves, which they made of pieces of cloth (*panni*) cut up and sewn together in a fashion peculiar to themselves, *ἐς πάννους ἐπιχωρίως πως καὶ κατατέμνοντες καὶ προσαγορεύοντες συῤῥάπτουσι.* Annotationes ad Dionis librum xlix., edit. Sturz tom. v., p. 603, No. 166. Lipsius, in his note on Tacitus, Germania, c. 17, p. 442, edit. Plantin, seems to support this opinion by referring to the word *Pantrock*, pars infra zonam pendula, *pant* nobis dicta, a word connected with *Panzer*, med. Lat. *pancerea*, Italian *panciera*, *pancia*, French *panse*, English *paunch* : Teil der Rüstung . . . der den Unterleib deckt; Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache, s.v. Panzer; and Moritz Heine, Deutsches Wörterbuch.

It would be a better explanation to say that the Pannonians were a branch of the Thracian Pæonians, though Dion treats them as peoples quite distinct from each other. Moreover, Tacitus, Germania, c. 43, implies that the Pannonians (like the modern Hungarians) did not speak the same language as the Germans; Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos. *See* Sir E. H. Bunbury's Article in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, vol. ii., p. 541 col. *a*.

For reasons which I have already stated, those who would study the antiquities of Hungary will find some knowledge of the Magyar language necessary. As an introduction, but nothing more, the Praktisches Lehrbuch der Ungarischen Sprache für den Selbstunterricht, by Ferdinand Görg, may be useful. It is a small volume, 12mo, pp. 182 in A. Hartleben's Bibliothek der Sprachenkunde, which includes many languages, and amongst them the recently invented "Volapük," die internationale Verkehrssprache. I have consulted Dankovszky's Magyaricæ linguæ Lexicon critico-etymologicum, e quo patefit quæ vocabula Magyari e sua avita Caucasia dialecto conservarint, quæve a Slavis, uti Bohemis, Carniolis, Croatis, Illyriis, Polonis, Russis, Serbis, Slavis Pannoniis, Vendis, Valachis, porro a Graecis, Germanis, Italis, etc., adoptarint, pp. 1,000, 1833. Here the words are arranged, as in Scapula's Greek Lexicon, according to derivations, so that the beginner especially has great difficulty in using it; if he wishes to make rapid progress, he must avail himself of some more modern dictionary. Prefixed is a Dedication to a bishop of Alba Regia, who is compared to Phœbus amid the stars, Demosthenes and Seneca; it consists of twenty-three hexameters abounding in false quantities to such a degree, that it reminds one of Boileau's remark on Louis XIV.'s attempt at poetry: "Nothing is impossible to your Majesty; your Majesty has chosen to make bad verses, and has perfectly succeeded."

Vol. xii. of the Encyclopaedia Britannica contains a long article on Hungary, pp. 361-380, divided into sections—1., Geography and Statistics; 2, History; 3, Language; 4, Literature. At the close of each section the Bibliography of the respective subjects is given. Most of the books mentioned are Hungarian, but some are German; and it would be well for the antiquarian traveller to bear in mind that some important authorities have written in the latter language. So at Buda-Pest, while all the labels attached to the objects exhibited in the Museum bore, as far as I observed, Magyar inscriptions, a German guide has been published—Romer's Illustrirter Führer in der Münz— und Alterthumsabtheilung des ungarischen National-Museums mit 200 Holzschnitten.

As an addendum to what has been said about the valuation of women in antiquity, I subjoin an extract from Professor Ridgeway's book, "On the Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards," p. 399, which supplies a mediaeval estimate of them, "The evidence from the Penitentials shows that silver was scarce at a comparatively still early date in Ireland. Thus xii. altilia vel xiii.

sicli (shekels) praetium unius cujusque ancillae; note, Wasserschleben, Die Bussordnungen d. Abendlandisch. Kirchen (De disputatione Hibernensis Sinodi et Gregori Nasaseni sermo), p. 137." *Altilis* (sc. avis) is the form used in classical Latinity; e.g., Juvenal, Sat. v., 115, anseribus par Altilis, and ibid. v., 168: *altile* is mediaeval; Ducange, Glossary, s.v., quod alendo saginatum et pinguefactum est.

It only remains for me to acknowledge with gratitude my obligations to Dr. Hampel, Curator of the Buda-Pest Museum, and to Professors Luschin von Ebengreuth and Gurlitt, of the University of Graz, for their very kind assistance in my researches.

OPENING ADDRESS OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION AT THE LONDON MEETING.[1]

By H. C. MAXWELL LYTE, C.B., F.S.A.

It has been, to some extent, customary for successive Presidents of the Historical Section to give an account of the different places selected for the annual meetings of the Royal Archæological Institute, and the members of this body have special cause to deplore the death of Professor Freeman, for he, from time to time, contributed to its Proceedings very valuable essays on particular localities. No one was better qualified than he to point out the distinctive characteristics of a town or of a county, and to emphasize the chief incidents in its history. All who have heard or read his addresses on such subjects will remember the forcible manner in which he brought out points of similitude and points of difference between places in various parts of our own country; while his frequent visits to the continent, and his wide knowledge of the history of foreign lands, enabled him to supply parallels from abroad. A volume about *English Towns and Districts*, which he published ten years ago, contains papers which he had read before the Royal Archæological Institute in connexion with Exeter, Cardiff and Glamorgan, the county of Somerset, Colchester, and Carlisle. The first of these deserves special notice as forming the original nucleus of the monograph on Exeter, which he contributed to the series of volumes on *Historic Towns*, of which he was the joint editor.

If, then, with this eminent example before me, I venture on the present occasion to depart from an established practice, it is not from any doubt as to its desirability under ordinary circumstances. My justification lies in the fact that the Institute, instead of visiting some provincial town, is this year holding its congress in the capital of the British Empire. Most of those whom it has brought together need no introduction to the locality, and the briefest sketch of the history of London would far exceed the limits of an inaugural address.

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[1] Read at Burlington House, July 13, 1893.

Instead, therefore, of attempting to say anything about this great town, I propose to call your attention briefly to the progress of historical science in England during the twenty-seven years which have elapsed since this Institute last held its annual congress in London. Several of our foremost historians have passed away since 1866, but their writings and their precepts remain for the guidance of future generations. Evidences of a wider interest in archæological studies, of a greater desire for historical accuracy are, I think, visible on every side. The painter, the theatrical manager, and the novelist alike turn to the archæologist for assistance.

To begin with recent histories of the kingdom at large, we have, in the first place, the *Constitutional History of England*, by the present Bishop of Oxford, which extends from the earliest times to the reign of Henry VII., and shows an unsurpassed knowledge of institutions, of events, and of men alike. The collection of *Select Charters* may be regarded as an appendix to the *History*, but these two works taken together do not by any means represent the whole of the learned author's recent contributions to historical literature.

Very different in character, although equally based upon original authorities, is the late Mr. J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People*, which obtained a very wide popularity within a few months of its publication. Intended originally as a mere school-book, a revised edition of it has been issued suitable for the library, and, more recently, it has been appropriately illustrated with pictures from old manuscripts and the like.

Turning next to books dealing with more limited periods, we have, for very early times, Mr. Elton's *Origins of English History*, and, for the eleventh century, the monumental *History of the Norman Conquest*, by the late Professor Freeman, and the continuation of it, which embraces *The Reign of William Rufus*.

Mr. Wylie's uncompleted *History of the Reign of*

Henry IV. is largely based upon manuscript authorities which he has consulted in person, and Sir James Ramsay's two volumes, dealing with part of the fifteenth century, also bring to light a number of facts unknown to writers who have depended upon the more accessible sources of information.

The late Mr. Brewer's Introductions to the first four volumes of the official Calendar of *Letters and Papers* of the reign of Henry VIII. are practically a history of the earlier part of that period, and as such they have been reprinted in a separate form. In the Introductions to the subsequent volumes of this important Calendar, Mr. Gairdner has confined himself more closely to a consideration of the documents with which he had to deal, and especially of those which had not been printed before. Among other workers in the same field, I may mention Mr. Pocock and Father Gasquet, whose book on *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries* throws a flood of fresh light upon events connected with the dissolution of the religious houses.

For the reigns of the first two English kings of the house of Stuart, we have in Mr. Gardiner a historian who spares no pains to obtain materials hitherto unused, and who will, we may hope, favour us with further volumes as valuable as those which have already appeared. Although the eighteenth century scarcely comes within the purview of an Archæological Institute, one cannot mention it without remembering that it has a living historian of the highest eminence in Mr. Lecky.

Other important works relating to the history of the whole kingdom might easily be mentioned, but those which I have enumerated are enough to show that great progress has been made during the period under consideration.

Much attention has been devoted during the last twenty-seven years to the study of the social institutions of the middle ages. The Bishop of Oxford's *Constitutional History,* already mentioned, contains a great deal of information about them, and separate books deal with some of them in detail. The laborious *History of Agriculture and Prices,* for instance, by the late Professor Rogers, covers a period of four centuries and a half, and the same author has brought together some of the results of his researches in his *Six Centuries of Work and Wages.* Only ten years ago, Mr. Seebohm, by his book on *The English Village Community*, drew attention to a subject which had until then been almost neglected, and this has been followed by Professor Vinogradoff's volume on *Villeinage in England*, which, although written by a learned Russian, may fairly be mentioned here because the materials for it were collected in this country, and it is written in our own language. Another foreigner, temporarily sojourning among us, M. Jusserand, has collected a great deal of curious information about *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages* Dr. Brentano, the late Mr Toulmin Smith, Mr. Goss, Mr. Lambert and others have written at some length as to the origin and organisation of the mediæval gilds, but the subject is by no means exhausted. The University of Cambridge has found an able historian in Mr. Mullinger, and several other writers have traced the fortunes of different academical institutions in England.

The fiscal antiquities of the kingdom have been examined by Mr. Dowell in his *History of Taxation*, and by Mr. Hubert Hall in his *History of the Custom-Revenue.* Some recent books of a professedly legal character may fairly be said to belong to the domain of history, such as Sir William Anson's *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, Mr. Pike's *History of Crime*, and Mr. Digby's *History of the Law of Real Property.*

It would be hopeless in this brief review to attempt to enumerate the more important of the numerous biographies and books of memoirs that have been published in England during the last twenty-seven years, and I will only remark that a vast amount of fresh materials for such works has been made available of late, especially by the Calendars which have been issued by the Government. It is, however, impossible to quit this subject without some mention of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, a gigantic undertaking which would have been wholly impracticable if the work had not been distributed among the members of a large literary staff.

Another conspicuous recent example of the advantages of co-operation in such matters is the *New English*

Dictionary, which fairly claims a place here because it is founded "on historical principles."

A third periodical publication supported by numerous contributors is the *English Historical Review*, which, under very able management, contains original essays of permanent value, careful reviews of books, and quarterly lists of recent historical works.

The last twenty-seven years have not been fruitful in large county histories, although there have been a few new ones such as Mr. Cussan's *History of Hertfordshire*, and Mr. Hunter's *History of Hallamshire*, and revised editions of some old ones such as Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, Hutchins's *History of Dorset*, and Baines's *History of Lancashire*. The bulky folios and quartos, compiled with so much industry by antiquaries of former generations, command long prices in the book-market, but they do not nowadays provoke imitation. For the change of feeling and practice in this respect, there are, I think, several causes. In the first place, a new county history would be expected to reach a very high standard of excellence, and to embrace a very great variety of subjects, thus requiring on the part of the editor an extraordinary breadth of accurate knowledge. Then again, the comparatively recent opening of archives—national, corporate and private—has so vastly increased the amount of material which would have to be digested, that the topographical and genealogical sections of an important county history would alone entail long years of assiduous labour.

The cessation of great county histories, however, does not imply any diminution of general interest in local antiquities. On the contrary, the number of persons engaged in researches concerning particular places or particular institutions is probably much greater now than at any previous time. I cannot, for obvious reasons, attempt to enumerate the many books which have been printed within the last twenty-seven years dealing with portions of a county, still less those which deal with the history of a single parish. Some have taken the form of handsomely illustrated volumes; some are little more than pamphlets, and they differ as much in quality as they differ in outward appearance, mere size and cost being of course no criterion of real value. In some cases the local historian gives only a circumstantial account of one ancient residence, and of the fortunes of its successive owners, and monographs of this sort, being very limited in range and suitable to a narrative form, often interest readers who make no special profession of antiquarian tastes.

The steady increase in the number of persons pursuing independent researches in the various branches of English history has led to the production, within the last twenty-seven years, of several manuals for their guidance, which I venture to enumerate without comment. as their respective titles are sufficiently explanatory of their contents:—An *Introduction to the Study of English History*, by Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Mullinger; a *Guide to the Principal Classes of Documents in the Public Record Office*, by Mr. Scargill-Bird; the *Record Interpreter*, by Mr. C. T. Martin; *Records and Record Searching*, by Mr. W. Rye; *How to write the History of a Parish*, by Mr. J. C. Cox; *How to write the History of a Family*, by Mr. W. P. Phillimore; and a *Handy Book for Dates*, by the late Mr. J. J. Bond. The possession of these unpretending but useful books is of the greatest advantage to students, especially to beginners.

More ambitious in character than any of the above, but equally indispensable, are the late Mr. Doyle's *Official Baronage of England* and Mr. Cokayne's *Complete Peerage*. Unfortunately the *Baronage* does not include the ordinary barons, and the *Complete Peerage* has not yet been completed.

Mere lists of names and dates do not claim a high place in historical literature, but we have reason to be grateful for the publication of Mr. Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*; Mr. Metcalfe's *Book of Knights* and other lists of that sort. Such works are useful not only for biographical and genealogical purposes, but also for settling the dates of undated documents.

During the last twenty-seven years the venerable Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Archæological Institute, the Camden Society, the Surtees Society and other analogous societies have continued to supply their members with volumes illustrating various phases of English history. Several new societies have also been established, which I may briefly enumerate. The Royal Historical Society, originally founded in 1868, is now in a flourishing condition, and is devoting itself to serious work covering a very wide field. The Selden Society, established primarily for the publication of materials for the history of English law, has by means of its scholarlike volumes, thrown fresh light upon the history of the social institutions of the middle ages. The Pipe Roll Society almost confines its attention to the twelfth century, but not exclusively to the class of records from which it derives its name. The Harleian Society has for its object "the publication of inedited manuscripts relating to genealogy, family history and heraldry," and the more recent British Record Society also appeals mainly to persons engaged in genealogical researches. The Huguenot Society of London publishes documents relating to the French and Dutch Calvinists whose industry has contributed so much to the prosperity of the places in which they have settled.

Within the last fortnight practical steps have been taken towards the establishment of a Navy Records Society, for the publication of manuscripts illustrating the history, administration and social life of the British Navy; and an Anglo-Norman Record Society for the publication of ancient charters and chartularies of religious houses in or connected with England has been proposed.

Local archæological bodies have increased and multiplied, separate societies having been established for Yorkshire, for Cumberland and Westmoreland, for Shropshire and for Derbyshire and Leicestershire. Field Clubs have also been founded in different parts of the country, and several counties now have their own local *Notes and Queries.*

More strictly within the purview of the Historical Section of this Institute are the Record Societies which have been established for the publication of original documents connected with particular districts. Societies of this sort are doing good work in Yorkshire, in the West Riding, in Lancashire and Cheshire, in Staffordshire, in Somersetshire, in Hampshire, in Middlesex, in Worcestershire, and notably at Oxford. The oldest of these Record Societies is of very recent origin.

Several ancient corporations have displayed a praiseworthy interest in their own archives, and as the annual meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute is being held in London. I may be allowed to invite special attention to books issued under the auspices of the Corporation of this great city :—*Memorials of London and London Life in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, by the late Mr. Riley ; a *Calendar of Letters from the Mayor and Corporation* in the reign of Edward III. ; an *Analytical Index to the Remembrancia* from 1579 to 1664 ; an admirable *Calendar of Wills proved in the Court of Hustings* between 1258 and 1688 ; and lastly, a sumptuous volume entitled, *A Descriptive Account of the Guildhall.* More may shortly be expected from the same quarter.

From books published at the expense of public bodies, we pass naturally to books published at the expense of the nation, and I think it may fairly be said that the British Government has done more to encourage historical studies during the last twenty-seven years than during any previous period of double that length. If a line is to be drawn between archæological works on the one hand and historical works on the other, the invaluable catalogues of the contents of the British Museum must, I suppose, be reckoned to belong mainly to the section of antiquities, the Catalogues of Manuscripts and of Seals being, perhaps, the principal exceptions.

The publications of the Public Record Office, with which I have the honour to be connected, belong to the historical class. The series of *Chronicles and Memorials of the Middle Ages*, commonly known as "the Rolls Series," was projected as far back as 1857, but the great majority of the volumes composing it have been published since the last meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute in London. It now comprises ninety-seven works, extending to 234 volumes, and there are others to follow, but the series is drawing to a close.

The Calendars of State Papers, begun about the same time as the *Chronicles and Memorials*, have, like them, greatly increased in number during the last twenty-seven years. For the eventful reign of Henry VIII. there are now eighteen volumes, or parts, which deal exhaustively with documents belonging to the first twenty-nine years of the period, and the work goes on steadily. A somewhat less elaborate *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, extends to no less than sixty-two volumes, and covers the space of a hundred and twenty years, beginning at the accession of Edward VI. Further volumes will shortly follow, for there are now two editors at work upon the Domestic Papers of the reign of Charles II., and a third upon those of the reign of William and Mary. The Treasury Papers have been calendared from 1557 to 1728, and the Home Office Papers from 1760 to 1772. Within the last four years, six volumes have been published of *Acts of the Privy Council of England* in the middle of the sixteenth century, and the series will be continued.

Various foreign archives are being searched for notices of England and Englishmen, and some of the results have been published. One series of abstracts of State Papers, chiefly in Spain, already extends to twelve printed volumes, and there are also nine printed volumes of similar abstracts made at Venice and elsewhere in the north of Italy. Many documents in the Vatican archives have been transcribed, and a volume will very shortly be published giving all entries in the Papal Registers of the thirteenth century which relate to the British Islands.

Since the days of the old Record Commission, comparatively little has been done in the way of printing our national manuscripts of the mediaeval period; but, as the Calendars of State Papers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are now well advanced, attention has recently been re-directed to documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Calendars of the Patent Rolls and the Close Rolls have accordingly been begun upon a uniform system, with the result so far that three volumes have been published, and three or four more are in the press and almost ready for publication. The first volume of a *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* in the Public Record office has also been issued.

The system of attaching bulky appendixes to the Annual Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Records has been recently discontinued, and in their stead a separate series of publications has been begun under the name of *Lists and Indexes*, the object of which is to build up a general catalogue of the national archives, and at the same time to facilitate the production of documents in the Search Rooms.

Closely connected with the Public Record Office is the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, which was originally appointed in 1869, to make enquiry as to papers and manuscripts of general public interest belonging to institutions and private families. Owners have, in almost every case, shown themselves willing to assist in this work, and so the Commissioners have been able to examine and report upon more than three hundred and sixty collections in England alone, and others in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Altogether it has issued seventeen volumes in folio size, and thirty-one in octavo, several of which have been in such request that they are now out of print. Two or three more will be published before the end of the present year. The contents of the volumes are of the most varied character, comprising alike charters of the twelfth century, extracts from registers and rolls of accounts, private letters, and diplomatic correspondence as recent as the end of the eighteenth century.

In the foregoing remarks I have confined myself to mentioning some recent works illustrative of English history written in our own language, and I will not trespass further on your patience by mentioning analogous works published on the continent, or, on the other hand, recent English books dealing with the history of foreign lands. Slight and imperfect as my review has been, I have, I think, said enough to show that the last twenty-seven years have been extraordinarily productive of historical literature in this country. To anticipate the future is no part of my task, but before sitting down, I should like to indicate very briefly some deficiencies.

In the first place, we want a Dictionary of Mediæval Antiquities. Sir William Smith's well-known *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* has been followed by a similar *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities;* but the work stops short before the commencement of the period which attracts the attention of the majority of English historical students. Although there is in print a vast amount of information about ecclesiastical and military antiquities, about the history of architecture, of the fine arts, of costume, of domestic manners and many kindred subjects, it is scattered in a great variety of books and not readily accessible. A good Dictionary would give the results of the most recent researches, and indicate the places in which further information is to be found.

Then again, we ought to have a Dictionary of the Latin that was in use in England in the later middle ages. For want of such a book, many curious blunders have been committed by scholars whose knowledge of Latin, however exact, has been confined to the language of the Augustan age. Invaluable as is the great work of Ducange, it often fails to elucidate obscure words and phrases in English documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the student wishing to ascertain their meaning has to turn from one book to another for help – sometimes without success.

Lastly, I would suggest that we want some institution analogous to the French *Ecole des Chartes*, where a course of systematic instruction would be given in the art of deciphering ancient manuscripts and other kindred subjects. No good work of the sort could of course be done without the co-operation of a number of competent scholars, but I hope that something may be accomplished in the directions which I have indicated before the Royal Archæological Institute again holds its annual congress in London.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

ANNUAL MEETING IN LONDON,

July 11th to July 19th, 1893.

Tuesday, July 11th.

The President, Council, and Members of the Institute, with about thirty members of the Société Française, with the Comte de Marsy, directeur de la Société Française d'Archéologie pour la Conservation des Monuments Historiques, were received in state by the Lord Mayor (Alderman Sir Stuart Knill, Bart.) at the Guildhall, at noon. The Lord Mayor was accompanied by the Sheriffs of London. In welcoming the Institute to the city, His Lordship remarked that in the name of his fellow citizens he gave them a hearty welcome. It was not the first time the Archaeological Institute had visited London, and he, as Chief Magistrate, was glad that their present visit occurred in his year of office. Permission to use that chamber had been given with sincere and heartfelt pleasure, and he hoped their stay in London would be pleasant and successful. One of the great objects of archaeologists was to see how works were done in the past, to avoid shams, and to study truth. London was rich in objects of Roman, Mediaeval, and other periods, and in the Guildhall Museum were many interesting things, including a splendid specimen of a Roman pavement. Another object of archaeologists was to prevent the destruction of works of the past, and they had triumphed in a great measure over the would-be destroyers of those works. His Lordship then addressed a few words of welcome in French to the Société Française, and concluded by saying that he now had the pleasure of handing over the chair to the President of the Institute.

The President (Viscount Dillon), after thanking the Lord Mayor for his kind welcome, reminded the members that they were now in the centre of the good works done by archaeologists. The last meeting of the Institute in London took place in 1866, and looking over the volume of Transactions, he could not but feel regret when he saw how few of the readers of papers on that occasion had been spared till now. Referring to some of the visits about to be paid, Lord Dillon said that since their last visit to London the great school of the Charter-house had been removed, others were about to follow, and it was to be hoped that the buildings, when vacated, would fall into careful hands, so that archaeologists would not be deprived of their seats of learning

Speaking of the presence of the French Archaeologists, the President said that they and the Institute were working on common ground and in most amicable rivalry. Since the 1866 meeting to which he had referred, archaeology had made enormous strides throughout the country, and, as regarded London, it seemed to be a mine that could never be exhausted. It was a matter for regret, however, that so much of Old London was fast disappearing. He again thanked the Lord Mayor, in the name of the Institute, for the welcome they had received.

The Comte de Marsy then delivered a short address, thanking the Lord Mayor and the Institute for their reception of the members of the Société Française.

After luncheon the party inspected the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, under the able guidance of Mr. Aston Webb, the architect in charge of the restoration. Mr. Webb gave a brief summary of the history of the building, and of its desecrations and recovery, and claimed, with apparent justice, that he had not retouched a single old stone, and that in the cases where a reproduction of Norman work seemed inevitable, he had been careful to introduce differing mouldings, which would tell the tale that the work was of the nineteenth century. The Lady Chapel, until quite recently used as a fringe factory, was inspected with much interest, as were also Mr. Webb's plans for its restoration. At the present time this chapel serves as a temporary museum for the various fragments found during the restoration of the church.

Leaving St. Bartholomew's a short walk brought the company to the Charter-house. In the Chapel they were gracefully welcomed by the Master—Canon Elwyn Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., lectured on the salient points of the Carthusian system, and briefly traced the history of the building after the Dissolution, when it passed into the hands of the Duke of Norfolk, and subsequently into those of Thomas Sutton, the founder of the Hospital. The arrangement of a Carthusian house, the inmates whereof lived almost entirely separate lives in small houses of their own, was well explained by plans from Mount Grace, near Northallerton, the most perfect of the extant English houses of the Order.

The Chaplain, the Rev. Vincent Le Bas, conducted the members through the rest of the buildings. The hall, which is almost exactly as it was left by the Duke of Norfolk in 1570, was much admired.

In the evening the Library Committee of the Corporation of the City of London, the Lord Mayor presiding in state, received the members of the Institute at the Guildhall Library. The upper and lower art galleries and the museum were also thrown open. In the library there was an exhibition of books from the London presses from the time of Caxton, and also a large collection of the works of the poet Shelley, together with many autograph letters and personal relics. In the upper art gallery was displayed a collection of about sixty drawings of Old London by Mr. Philip Norman, F.S.A. The series included four views of the White Hart Inn, Southwark; the Tabard Inn, Southwark; the George Inn, Southwark; the King's Head Inn, Southwark; the Queen's Head Inn, Southwark; the Nag's Head Inn, Southwark; the Sieve Inn, Minories; old houses in Aldgate; the Bull Inn and the Saracen's Head Inn, both in Aldgate; the Skinners' Almshouses, Mile End Road; the Old George Inn, Trinity Square; gateways on the east side of College

Hill; mantlepiece in Crosby Hall Chambers; garden of No. 4, Crosby Square; No. 10, Great St. Helen's; the staircase of No. 9 and the entrance to Great St. Helen's from Bishopsgate Street; Sir Paul Pindar's house and the Old Swan Inn in Bishopsgate Street Without; the Arms of the Olmius family from No. 21, Austin Friars; room and kitchen range from No. 23, Great Winchester Street; interior of the Two Brewers' Public House, No. 27, London Wall; Royal Mail Tavern, Fitchett's Court, North Street; the Oxford Arms, Warwick Lane; part of the Chapter Coffee House, Paternoster Row; the Deanery, St. Paul's; view from St. Paul's pier; back of the Green Dragon, St. Andrew's Hill; back of the Swan and Horseshoe, and of the Admiral Carter, from Montagu Court; the Blakeney's Head, 35, Bartholomew Close; old house at entrance to Bartholomew Close; the Old Dick Whitington, Cloth Fair; the Green Man and Still, Cow Cross Street, Clerkenwell; chimneypiece in the Baptist's Head, St. John's Lane, Clerkenwell; the Old Bell Inn, Holborn; part of Barnard's Inn, Holborn; the Cheshire Cheese, Fleet Street; Hare Court, Temple; the Rising Sun, Wych Street; the Cock and Pie, Drury Lane; New Exchange Court, Strand; the Nag's Head Inn, Whitcombe Street; the old men's garden, Emanuel Hospital, Westminster; the chief reception-room, No. 10, Downing Street; Shomberg House, Pall Mall; the back of Devonshire House from the garden; Lansdowne House from Berkeley Square; the library of Chesterfield House, South Audley Street; Bourdon House, Davies Street; Scarsdale House, Kensington; old fish shop, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. Mr. Norman also contributed a valuable catalogue, containing a short history of each building.

At nine o'clock, in the Upper Art Gallery, Mr. J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A., opened the Antiquarian Section with a paper on "The Growth of Monastic Buildings as illustrated by Westminster Abbey." The paper was admirably illustrated by carefully prepared elevations and ground plans, each section of the Abbey receiving its special treatment. A large drawing was given, a quarter-full size, of the present remains of a Saxon pier belonging to the original Church.

Wednesday, July 12th.

At 10.30 a m., the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY received the members in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, and gave an interesting epitome of the history of the building. Thence His Grace conducted the visitors to the Library, formerly the Great Hall of the Palace, and spoke of the different stages of its history and gradual development to its present use. Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., had arranged some of the more remarkable treasures of the Library for exhibition. One of these was Archbishop Parker's original list of the books then in the Palace in his own handwriting. The Rev. Sir TALBOT BAKER moved a vote of thanks to His Grace for his kind reception of the Institute. The members then proceeded to Westminster Abbey, where Mr. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A., rapidly described the leading features and dates of the Nave, pointing out how the work had stopped for some time in the middle of the fourteenth century, as shown by the decorated arcade work that could be seen here and there in the occasional spaces left between the monuments. The circle of chapels around the translated shrine of the Confessor were next described, as was also the shrine itself and the royal monuments, the former Mr. Micklethwaite considered the work of Peter the Roman artificer, and the date of its completion, 1269. A visit to the chapel and tomb of Henry VII brought the inspection to a close.

After luncheon the members assembled in the Jerusalem Chamber, where Dr. WICKHAM LEGG, F.S.A., read a paper on "The Sacring of the English Kings." By permission of Her Majesty the Queen the coronation robes were displayed and making use of a dressmaker's dummy Dr. Legg gradually clad the figure in the various garments pertaining to the solemn rite. The Rev. Dr. Cox moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Legg, and also expressed the acknowledgements of the Institute to the Queen for her gracious permission to inspect the robes. In the ante-chamber were placed on dummies the elaborate set of Westminster coronation copes of varying dates, mostly of the seventeenth and eigthteenth centuries. Dr. Legg's paper will appear in a future number of the *Journal*. The remainder of the afternoon was spent in an inspection of the various Abbey buildings under the guidance of Mr. MICKLETHWAITE. In the evening the Lord Mayor received the members at the Mansion House. His Lordship, with the aid of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, had brought together a most complete collection of municipal insignia, comprising no fewer than 230 various pieces. In 1888 there was a similar exhibition at the Society of Antiquaries, when 150 pieces only were exhibited. An excellent catalogue was also prepared and circulated amongst the guests. During the evening the Plain Song and Mediæval Music Society, under the direction of Mr. Richard Mackway, contributed a variety of Early English Music, consisting of rounds, part songs, madrigals, and ballads, all from manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Selections of music written by English composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were also played upon the lute, viols and harpsichord, under the direction of Mr. Arnold Dolmetsche. During the evening the Lord Mayor was heartily congratulated on the dignity which Her Majesty had that day conferred upon him, the news of which had just been made public.

Thursday, July 13th.

At 11.30 a.m., the members assembled in the south aisle of the choir of St. Paul's, where, by the courtesy of Mr. Penrose, several measured drawings of Old St. Paul's, and a fac-simile of one of Sir Christopher Wren's designs were exhibited. Mr. SOMERS CLARKE, F.S.A., pointed out the strong resemblance there was between the ground plan of the mediæval cathedral and that of the church as built by Sir Christopher Wren. Old St. Paul's, 585 feet in length from east to west, was, until St. Peter's at Rome was built, the longest church in Christendom. In the centre rose a tower, not very much less in size than the Victoria Tower of the Houses of Parliament, surmounted by a spire, which rose more than 500 feet into the air. The Norman nave, which remained—sadly mutilated—until the Great Fire, was of unusual dimensions. The choir, not less than twelve bays in length, must have equalled Westminster Abbey in richness of detail. After referring to the gradual degradation of this stately structure and to the proposed alterations suggested by Wren, by which he would have removed the centre tower and set in its place a large octagon surmounted by a cupola, Mr. Clarke drew attention to the strong resemblance that could be traced between the design for the octagon and cupola, and that which after many intermediate schemes has been carried out and now forms the central feature of the cathedral. Attention was called to the close resemblance that may be traced between the plan of the cathedral at Ely and that of St. Paul's, to the many evidences in the structure of the building that the mediaeval methods, and not the Roman, had influenced Sir Christopher, and to the fact that the building is in truth one of mediaeval design, but overlaid with Italian design. Mr. Clarke then led the party around the building, explaining all the points of interest on the way. The crypt was also visited, and the monuments and fragments of the older church inspected and described.

After luncheon, the party assembled at the entrance gate of the Tower of London, and under the guidance of Mr. EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A., passed round the outer bailey, Mr. Green pointing out the various towers and drawing attention to the alterations and repairs. At the Traitors' Gate, the fine span of the arch was examined and the plan of the Water-gate explained. After a short notice of the Wakefield Tower, the members passed in to view the Crown Jewels, &c., all of which were admirably commented on by Dr. WICKHAM LEGG. Proceeding to the north side of the Keep, Mr. Green explained its internal plan and arrangements. The lower floor was then visited, including the so-called prison. On returning to daylight, the party ascended the steps to the entry now in the north wall, and so proceeded to the Chapel of St. John. Here the same guide gave a general account of the plan and the chief architectural features, again calling attention to the interior plan and the coarse-work in the dividing walls.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE also made some remarks on the architecture.

Proceeding onwards, the party were met in the horse armory by the PRESIDENT (Viscount Dillon), who pointed out the various pieces of interest and the chief differences in the suits of armour.

On issuing again from the Keep, the Chapel of St. Peter-ad-Vincula, was visited, Mr. GREEN resuming his post as lecturer, and giving a general history of the chapel, of the burials beneath the altar, and of the late restoration. The site of the executions was then visited, after which some of the party entered the Beauchamp Tower to inspect the inscriptions on the walls. Passing now round the inner bailey, the towers each in turn having been noted, and a short account of the robbery of the Crown Jewels by Colonel Blood being related, the party proceeded down to the south side of the Keep, where a general explanation was given of the plan once within this lower enclosure, including the palace, now entirely gone, and the garderobe tower and wall also gone. The probable plan of the original entry to the Keep on this side was also explained. The party then passed by the site of Coldharbour Tower to the steps facing the western side of the Keep, where, with a few more words of general explanation, and some remarks on the alterations in the size of the windows, the inspection finished. For the benefit of the visitors of the French Society, the explanations and descriptions were given by Mr. Green first in English then in French.

In the evening the Historical Section was opened by Mr. H. C. MAXWELL LYTE, C.B., F.S.A., in the meeting room of the Royal Society, kindly placed at the disposal of the Institute by the Council. Mr. J. H.

Round followed with a paper on "The Origin of the Mayoralty," and Dr. Cox, F.S.A., with a paper on "Visits to London of Sir Miles Stapleton of Carlton Hall, Yorkshire, between 1656 and 1700." All these papers will appear in the *Journal*.

Friday, July 14th.

The members journeyed by rail to Hampton Court, special permission having been granted by Her Majesty the Queen to visit the Palace on a day on which it is ordinarily closed to the public. Mr. Ernest Law, the historian of the Palace, met the party at the Great Gateway, and throughout the day acted as guide and lecturer. Under his able direction the chapel and state apartments were visited during the morning. After luncheon the picture galleries, garden, vinery, &c., were inspected. A hearty vote of thanks being accorded to Mr. Law for the excellent arrangements he had made enabling the members to see many things not usually available, and also for the capital lectures he had prepared and delivered in various parts of the Palace.

In the evening Dr. Freshfield, F.S.A., opened the Architectural Section in the meeting-room of the Society of Antiquaries, kindly paced at the disposal of the Institute by the Council. Dr. Freshfield's address is printed at p. 232. Mons. Tocilesco, Directeur du Musée National des Antiquitiés de Bukerest, followed with a paper entitled "Sur les Vallums de la Dobroudja." Monsieur Tocilesco exhibited a large number of plans and drawings in illustration of his paper. Mr. A. Higgins, F.S.A., also read a paper on "Works of Florentine Artists executed in England in the Sixteenth Century." This paper was also copiously illustrated by means of large drawings and photographs.

Saturday, July 15th.

The Antiquarian Section met at 10 a m. in the Meeting Room of the Society of Antiquaries, when Mr. G. E. Fox, F.S.A., delivered an address upon "The Romano-British City at Silchester and Recent Excavations on the Site."

At 11 a.m. the General Annual Meeting of Members of the Institute was held in the Meeting Room of the Royal Society, the President (Viscount Dillon, F.S.A.), in the Chair. The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read, confirmed, and signed. The President then called upon the Hon. Secretary to read the report for the past year.

Report of Council for the Year 1892-93.

The Council has the honour of presenting the fiftieth Annual Report. Besides the fact that this occasion is the Jubilee in the life of the Institute, the Report passes in review several matters requiring the consideration of the members; among them the financial position is of primary importance, and is always the first before the Council at their periodical meetings.

The subject was discussed at the last Annual Meeting (at Cambridge), when "the matter was referred to the Council in London." Accordingly the accounts, extending over many past years, have undergone a careful investigation, which has placed the difficulty in a clear form and beyond doubt; showing (1) a progressive diminution in the number of members; (2) a gradual and continuous falling off in the amount of income from sources which were productive in past years; and (3) the permanent cessation of other annual receipts. While the expenditure has been as low as is consistent with the acknowledged status of the Institute.

The gradual and, as it appears, permanent diminution of income can be met, under existing circumstances, by curtailing the expenditure in directions not hitherto contemplated, such as the sale of the library and the stock of volumes of the *Journal;* the sale also of the furniture, and the giving up of the apartments now occupied. This would meet the present cash deficit, but it could only be a partial relief, as other rooms at some reduction of rent must be taken. The remedy is all the more urgent when it is remembered that an onerous deficit is likely to be experienced from year to year in the future, unless the long-hoped-for increase of means should set in.

The Council, having arrived at this conclusion, was preparing to act on it, when other circumstances occurred to cause some hesitation. Mr. A. Hartshorne, the editor of the *Journal*, resigned his office as well as his seat on the Council. The Secretary, Mr. H. Gosselin, shortly afterwards tendered his resignation, and volunteered to forego the half-year's remuneration then due to him. The Council thereupon made other arrangements, which will be mentioned later on, and which will result in an important decrease of expenditure for the current year 1893.

Subsequently a tangible proposal came before the Council, intended to effect a reunion with the British Archaeological Association, coupled with a suggestion that it might extend to other kindred societies. The Council, however, regrets that the negotiations for the first object have not resulted in acceptable conditions, and the matter remains *in statu quo*, without affecting the questions placed for awhile in suspense.

The cash account in the usual form, prepared by the professional auditor and in the hands of the present meeting, sets forth the money received and expended for the past year 1892; the credit side shows that a larger sum has been paid away than is covered by the receipts. The account includes the printing up to part 1, volume 49, of the *Journal* for that year. The result leaves an adverse balance of £67 3s. 7d.; and an outstanding liability of about £100, on the cost of that volume. The number of subscribing members for the year 1892 is 297, as against 314 for the year 1891. The loss by death of some members has not been compensated for as yet by a corresponding accession of new members.

The duties of editor of the *Journal* are now carried on by some well-qualified members, and the office of secretary by one member, all of whom give their services gratuitously. Guided by experience, the Council has inaugurated an additional office, viz., that of a Director, to consult and act with the Secretary in the management of the affairs of the Institute where the deliberations of the whole Council are not needed; his services, too, are gratuitous. Thus all the officers of the Institute are honorary, and future expenditure is lessened *pro tanto*.

As alluded to as a possibility in the last report, some distinguished members of the Société Française d'Archéologie are attending the present annual meeting. They were received by some members of the Institute, deputed by the Council, on their landing at Dover and their arrival in London.

Circumstances have favoured the postponement of the intended Annual Meeting at Dublin this year, and the substitution of the present Meeting under the patronage of the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of London, Alderman Stuart Knill, who is an old member of the Institute.

The vacancy on the Council, occasioned by the retirement of Mr. A. Hartshorne, has been filled by the Council, in appointing Mr. H. Gosselin in his place. The Secretaryship is for the present undertaken by Mr. Mill Stephenson, who has been appointed thereto by the Council, and Mr. Emanuel Green, an old member of the Institute, has been appointed as Director.

The following members of the governing body retire by rotation:—Vice-President the Rev. Precentor E. Venables, and the following members of the Council:—J. Bain, W. H. St. John Hope, E. Green, H. Jones, E. C. Hulme, and H. Hutchings; and the Council recommends that the Right Hon. Viscount Dillon shall continue as President; the appointment of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Alderman Sir Stuart Knill, Bart., as Vice-President; and the election of the Rev. Precentor Edmund Venables, W. H. St. John Hope, Emanuel Green, Herbert Jones, Edward Charles Hulme, and H. Hutchings as members of the Council; and Honorary Auditors, Mr. H. Richards and Mr. A. Day.

On the motion of the PRESIDENT the report was adopted.

The HON. SECRETARY then read the balance sheet (printed at p. 179).

Some discussion took place concerning the financial position of the Institute. Messrs. Baylis, Rowley, Cates, the Rev. Dr. Cox and the Rev. Sir Talbot Baker made various suggestions.

Reference was also made to the failure of the attempt at amalgamation with the British Archaeological Association. Mr. Emanuel Green, the Hon. Director, gave a short summary of the negotiations with the Association, and also touched upon the financial position, stating that the whole question was still engaging the attention of the Council.

The Comte de Marsy, Directeur de la Societé Française d'Archéologie; Monsieur Emile Travers, Trésorier de la Societé Française, etc.; and Le Baron Alfred de Loë, Secrétaire de la Societé d' Archéologie de Bruxelles were elected Honorary Members. Several new members were also elected. The place of meeting for next year was left in the hands of the Council.

In the afternoon the members visited Eton College. In the absence, through ill-health, of Mr. J. Willis Clark, Mr. T. Dinham Atkinson acted as guide.

Sunday, July 16th.

In the afternoon many of the members availed themselves of the kind invitation of His Grace the Duke of Westminster, K.G., to inspect the magnificent collection of paintings at Grosvenor House.

Monday, July 17th.

This day was devoted to an examination of some of the churches built by Sir Christopher Wren in the City. Mr. NIVEN, F.S.A., though unable to be present, sent full notes, which were read by the Hon. Secretary in the respective churches. At 10 a.m. the members assembled in the Church of St. Mary Aldermary, where they were received by the Rector, Dr. White. Mr. Niven's notes were as follows:

"The name has been understood as indicating this as the oldest church in the City, dedicated to the Virgin, or precedence of some kind. Little is known of its early history, but it is said to be the third church which has occupied this site. Sir Richard Keeble, Lord Mayor in 1510, bequeathed £1000 towards the re-building, the church then, presumably, being dilapidated. In 1626, Wm. Rodoway gave, for the repair of the steeple, £3000, and Richard Pierson gave 200 marks on condition that this steeple, thus to be rebuilt, should follow its ancient pattern, according to the foundation of it laid 120 years before by Sir Henry Keeble, which, within three years after, was so finished that, notwithstanding the body of the church was burnt in 1666, the steeple remained firm and good. So several historians have it; and yet, according to the *Parentalia*, the lower part of the tower was repaired by Wren, 'the upper part being new-built in 1711.' All that Elmes, in his *Life of Wren*, tells us as to this church is comprised in five lines, thus: 'In the following year (1711), he built the spacious and handsome Church of St. Mary Aldermary at the expense of an individual (Henry Rogers), upon the same plan as it was before the fire. The interior is an imitation of the pointed style, with the 'blemish of a composite altar-piece.' I should myself be very glad to acquit Wren of all connection with the tower, at any rate, the upper part of it, for which I do not see how a good word can be said. In 1711 Sir Christopher was seventy-nine years of age, and there is reason for believing that a good deal of work with which his name is connected at this late period was done by deputy, under his general direction only. In this case the strongly conservative feeling prevailing in the parish which induced Mr. Richard Pierson, in the reign of James I., to make his donation towards the rebuilding of the tower conditional upon the old lines being strictly followed, again showed itself, and Wren was required to repair and rebuild the church as nearly as possible as it had been built in the early part of the sixteenth century—in what we know as the Late Perpendicular style. Thus this building cannot in way be looked upon as a creation of Wren's.

"About 18 years ago very extensive alterations were made, and a large sum spent upon the church. Nearly all the windows were renewed, and the church almost refitted from end to end. A view hanging in the vestry will give an idea of its appearance before these changes. The organ formerly stood over a screen in the second bay from the west-end of the nave. The fittings, including the wall-lining, were of the usual type, not Gothicised in any way.

"The Tudor building seems to have been built of clunch, and remains of it may still be seen in the lower story of the tower and in the bases of some of the piers of the nave arcade.

"This is, I think, the only instance of the stand for the Lord Mayor's sword made in carved oak. It seems to have been moved, and is now too high for use. This and the font are dated 1682, so that Elmes' date, 1711, applies only to the tower and not to the church.

Malcolm (*Londinium Redivivum*) speaks of the pavement as of coarse and grey marble (presumably a kind of Purbeck) which he took to belong to the old church. He also mentioned a portion of a brass which could be seen under the pewing in the south aisle."

The rector supplemented Mr. Niven's notes in a short address, and produced the register and church plate for the inspection of the members. In the former, under the date February 24, 1662-3, is the entry of Milton's third marriage. Amongst the church plate is a fine chalice and paten of 1609, having in the base an enamelled shield with the arms and supporters of James I. The plate from the now destroyed church of St. Antholin is also preserved here, including a chalice and paten dated 1619 and various other pieces of later date.

The next church visited was St. Stephen, Walbrook, Mr. Niven again furnishing the notes.

"In the charter of foundation of the Abbey of St. John, Colchester, towards the close of the eleventh century, this church is mentioned amongst other endowments. Mention of it occurs again in the Coroner's Roll, A.D. 1278, according to which, as quoted by Mr. Milbourn in a paper he read in 1877 (for a report of which I am indebted to Mr. Harris, the parish clerk) William, the clerk, fell from the Belfry whilst searching for a pigeon's nest, and was killed. The church then stood, according to Dugdale, upon the west or opposite side of the "Brook." In 1428, Robert Chichely, lord-mayor, gave a plot of ground on the east side of the water-course, 208 feet by 66 feet, to the parish, to build a new church thereon. A full account is preserved of the building of this new church on the present site, the consecration not taking place until 1439. The dimensions are recorded in this inventory, which has I believe been printed, with many other particulars. Mention is made of a cloister, also that there were twenty large pillars in the church besides smaller ones, a rood screen, a pair of organs, etc.

"In 1614 eight windows are stated to have been glazed with stained glass. The churchwarden's accounts, dating as far back as 1475, being an unusually complete series. Richard Lee, Esq., lord-mayor presented to the living in 1474, after which he gave it to the grocer's company who still remain patrons.

"The re-building after the fire of 1666 was entrusted to Wren, and in October, 1672 (according to Elmes) the first stone was laid, in the presence of the lord-mayor, several members of the grocers' company, the surveyor-general and other persons of distinction. The cost has been stated at £7652, which did not include the costly fittings which in nearly all these cases were the gift of private persons or corporate bodies. Here the grocers' company gave the wainscoting. On the wall-lining on the north side you will see carved the arms of this company. A different coat surmounts the east door. The present organ was not placed above the west screen till after the middle of the last century. The two combine with good effect, and the directors of the recent alterations may be congratulated upon avoiding the frequent mistake of dropping the organ upon the floor of the church. A mezzotint in the vestry shows the screen without the organ. The large picture by West formerly blocked the east window—a help probably to the architectural effect, for too much light is now admitted from the eastern windows, with the effect of making the altar and its surroundings almost invisible.

"To bring the architectural history down to date, the alterations that have been made recently must be noted. The chief of these, of course, is the removal of the seventeenth century pewing, and the substitution of the square pedestals, which you see, with their rather uncomfortably projecting capping, for the octagonal and wainscoted pedestals which the columns formerly had. The engraving by Samuel Wale, 1746, has, I believe, been pointed to as authority for this change. I do not know what authority Wale, or the draughtsman, had to go upon for this variation from what he saw, but certainly, in omitting the west screen and all other fittings, he was only adopting a licence not uncommon with draughtsmen of the time, in an endeavour to improve on their subject. The old pewing was perhaps open to the charge of being too massive and obstructive, a charge which certainly cannot be brought against what has taken its place. The ogee canopy above the sound-board has been removed, but the pulpit occupies its original position. The stucco has been removed from the exterior of the church and tower, the latter already showing injury by the removal of this protection against the trying London atmosphere. The rough-dressing of the stone and the random masonry which may be noticed on the lower part of the walls of the church seem to indicate that the intention of the builders was that it should be covered.

"This admirable interior is, I believe, the best study of the work of Sir Christopher Wren which we can find. When the building began he was about forty years old, in the prime of life, and before he had become so overwhelmed with business as he became later on. So far as we know he was not hampered by a committee out of sympathy with him; and we may, I think, look upon this, not as a compromise or alternative scheme extorted from him, but as his own free creation, and a work he delighted in.

"In this, as in nearly all the parish churches he rebuilt in the city, there were serious limitations in the site at his disposal. He had to get his light, not from whence he *would*, but whence he *could*. The Mansion House, which now blocks the exterior of the dome, of course did not then exist, but no doubt the site on the north was even more encumbered than now. Except the well-proportioned steeple, which is so well placed for effect, the church may be said to have no exterior at all. Passing through the modest portal and up the rather steep stairs (for every inch had to be economised) one is hardly prepared for the charming effect which breaks upon one on entering, a charm which only increases as one moves from one point of view to another.

"The general dimensions of the interior are about 82 ft. 6 in. by 60 ft. The dome, which is constructed of timber, decorated in stucco, has no outer dome as at St. Paul's, no attempt being made at outside effect. It is 43 ft. in diameter, and being slightly conical, the centres being on the level of the top of the key-stones, according to Clayton's measured drawings. The eastern main arch and the east window are not semi-circular, but three-centred. From the top of the main cornice to the apex of dome and foot of lantern is 19 ft. 2 in.

"The church plate is not remarkable. Of vessels preserved from the Fire of 1666 are a pair of flagons, 1616, and a communion cup of about the same period."

A move was then made to St. Margaret, Lothbury, where Dr. FRESHFIELD, F.S.A., received the members and read the following notes:—

"St. Margaret's, Lothbury, is a small and not very interesting church of Sir Christopher Wren's construction. Circumstances forced him to follow the exact lines of the old church, and the only difference that I can see in the construction is that the old church had a nave and two aisles, whereas Sir Christopher Wren has built a church with a large nave and a south aisle.

"Sir Christopher Wren did not intend that there should be either a west or south gallery. A south gallery was forced upon him during the course of construction by the parishioners, and the marks of the supports of it may still be seen upon the pillars. I had it removed. I do not think it would have been absolutely necessary to rebuild St. Margaret's. The vestry, which stood on the north side of the church, was not destroyed at the fire, and having been repaired was made use of as a parish house. At a subsequent period, when the parish was united to that of St. Christopher Le Stocks, it was pulled down in order to make a burial place for the inhabitants of St. Christopher's. The compensation paid by the Bank of England for doing this was invested in Consols, and has now been confiscated by the Charity Commissioners as general charity property. The vestry before the fire consisted of two rooms, a room on the ground floor which was used as a vestry room to the time of the destruction of the church, and an upper room, which had obviously formed the room of a chaplain. After the suppression of chantries this room was joined by a bridge to the squire's house, which was on the other side of the church pathway to the east.

"One of the difficulties to be encountered in re-building the church was the fact that the Walbrook runs right under it, and there can, I think, still be seen in the walls the traces of an old settlement.

"In re-building the church, Sir Christopher Wren followed strictly on the lines of the foundations as I have said, and arranged the vestry on the south side of the church exactly as the vestry had been originally arranged on the north side, namely, with a vestry on the ground floor and a room above it.

"St. Margaret's, Lothbury, had no organ, but on the destruction of the Church of St. Christopher Le Stocks a west gallery was put up with a small organ, which organ was afterwards repaced by a larger one taken from the Church of St. Bartholomew by the Exchange.

"Knowing, as I did, that the church was not originally intended by Sir Christopher Wren for a west gallery, and the gallery there being a very ugly one, when the church was being repaired some fifteen years ago, I had the west gallery pulled down and the organ moved into the south aisle.

"Subsequently, on the union of St. Olave's, Old Jewry, and St. Margaret's, Lothbury, it was thought right and I think properly, that the gallery of St. Olaves should be rebuilt in St. Margaret's and the organ moved into it, and the south aisle of St. Margaret's fitted up as a chapel with the wood work of St. Olave's.

"There are one or two other circumstances of interest which I would point out to you in the church. In the first place you will observe that the east wall is not at right angles with the north and south walls, and in order to obviate the inconvenience that this would cause to the altar and altar rails, you will find that the altar that we built for the church is also not a parallelogram, but is so made that it shall present a square front to the church.

"The screen dividing the nave from the chancel is well shown in this church, as in many of the churches of Sir Christopher Wren, but in the original church the pews come up to it. The font is a beautiful specimen of carved marble work by Grinling Gibbons. There are, I believe, but few other instances of work in this material.

I have said, and I believe correctly, that the church was not so destroyed by fire but that it could have been restored.

"I also think that although the church stands upon the original foundations, the ground has been filled up and that the church is about ten feet above the level of the old church before the fire. It is hardly worth the members' while to descend into the stokehole, but a portion of what I think was the west door of the church and of the tower may be seen. There are also some steps marked with curious masons' marks, which I believe to have been added at the time of Sir Christopher Wren.

"In the old vestry are two pieces of stone from the old church, one of late decorated and the other of the perpendicular style.

"The parish of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, is one of those which is situated in two wards. The division of the ward is the Walbrook, and the circumstances in which part of the parish came to be in one ward and part in another is a matter well deserving of antiquarian research.

"The parish of St. Margaret's is at least as old as the Norman Conquest. Whether there has been an alteration in the parish or an alteration in the ward is not easy to determine. The ward division follows the natural division, namely by the course of the Walbrook.

"As is known to many of the members, I made some account of the parish, taken from the parish books, tracing the changes that from time to time took place, and particularly marking those parts of the parishes which were chiefly affected by the various plagues.

"At present the Church serves as Parish Church for the following parishes :—

"St. Christopher Le Stocks,
"St. Bartholomew by the Exchange,
"St. Mildred, Poultry,
"St. Mary Colechurch,
"St. Olave's, Jewry, and
"St. Martin's Pomeroy,

so that it is now the church of seven united parishes."

St. Mary Woolnoth was the next church visited, Mr. Niven again supplying the notes.

"St. Mary Woolnoth is united with St. Mary Woolchurch-haw, the church of the latter parish not having been rebuilt since the fire of 1666.

"This is mentioned by all the historians to have been the site of a Christian Church from a very early period, and previously of a pagan temple. Articles of Roman manufacture have from time to time been found here during excavations, which may possibly have helped this tradition. To come down to more accessible dates, we find that the church was rebuilt about 1496, and restored in 1620, about which time much church repairing took place in London. The Great Fire, 1666, did not destroy the church, but greatly injured it, especially the Lombard street side, of which the front was rebuilt 'with a Tuscan order.' In

1716, Nicholas Hawksmoor, formerly clerk to Wren, began the rebuilding of the church, which was completed in 1719. It was thus carried out during Wren's life-time, and for the work of a man who must have received his architectural training mainly from Wren, this church varies remarkably from the work of the older master. No one who has given even the most superficial study to Wren's churches could suppose this to be by him. The building, however, has many points of interest; it shows great originality and boldness. There is certainly nothing conventionally church-like about it, and in this way it is interesting as showing the gradual lapse of church feeling which was to reach still lower levels. But the architect has succeeded, upon a most cramped site, in erecting a building which for its size is singularly monumental. The site was a square one and Hawksmoor evidently decided to overthrow tradition and have a square church, which must be undivided on account of its small size. The lavish use of material, both of wrought stone and carved oak, the grand disregard of economy are things which we can appreciate in these days of pricing churches at so much 'per sitting.' These parishes at the time, though small, were rich, and it is evident the architect was not stinted.

"The exterior is boldly if not beautifully treated. The excessive rustication gives, perhaps, a prison-like character to it when combined with the absence of window openings on the north and west. To secure peace from the rattle of traffic without, before the days of wood pavements, was probably the reason or one reason for trusting mainly to the large semi-circular clerestory windows for light. But on the south, where the little rectory garden held street noises at a little distance, windows were formed.

"I will not detain you by description, but would point out some alterations that have been made in the modern 'restoration.' The side galleries which were kept behind the great columns, so as not to mar their effect, have been removed, and the boldly designed supports from the fronts have been halved and laid against the walls. We may be glad that these have not been destroyed, but they are, of course, devoid of any architectural motive in their present position. The organ, by Father Smith, was removed from the west gallery, which, in a church of this form was, in my opinion, the best position for it. The strongly marked lines in the wall painting quarrels with instead of helping the effect of largeness and breadth which Hawksmoor was evidently aiming at.

"The font of the time of the building, a costly marble one, was removed and replaced by what you see.

"Allen, in his *History* (1828), which, by the way, contains many interesting particulars of old buildings in London, not to be found elsewhere, says: 'In the north gallery is the helmet, crest, sword, gloves, spurs, & surtout of Sir Martin Bowes, lord-mayor 1545. From the walls are suspended three pennons, which were renewed about twenty years ago (*i.e.* 1808) at the expense of Goldsmith's Company.' These are now to be seen over the west gallery.

"The plate here is of unusual importance. Amongst it an alms-dish of the Tudor period, to which, perhaps, some of our experts may be able to assign a closer date: a pair of silver flagons, 1613; an exceedingly handsome later pair, silver-gilt, with beautiful decoration; a communion cup, 1630, &c.

"This is one of the few churches where the 'bidding prayer' is said, and the rector, to whom I am indebted for showing me everything of interest, tells me he keeps up the old practice of giving coloured eggs on Easter-day.

"As this church occupies a most valuable site, wistful eyes have been more than once cast upon it. A move in this direction has been made lately, the pretext being its insanitary state. By the energy of the rector, Mr. Brooke, this state of things has been completely remedied. The former attack upon the church was made in 1863, when the ground was wanted to enlarge the Lombard Street Post Office, and was successfully opposed by the then Lord Mayor (Alderman Rose) and others. I would refer members to Mr. Brooke's 'Transcripts of the Registers, &c.' of these parishes, published in 1886. The Register dates from the year of the order."

St. Peter's, Cornhill, was the last church visited before luncheon, and the following notes by Mr. Niven read:—

"Whether or not this church was founded by Lucius, A.D. 179, according to the old inscription which Stow spoke of as ancient in his time, it is doubtless of great antiquity. In 1309 the patronage was in the noble family of Nevil; and in 1408 Robert Rykedon confirmed the advowson to Sir Richard Whittington and the citizens of London, who conveyed it to the Lord Mayor and commonalty of London in 1411. The older church, which may be distinguished in Visscher's View (1616), with a lofty tower at the west end, surmounted with a small spire, was entirely consumed in the fire of 1666, and the present church erected a few years later by Sir Christopher Wren.

"The front towards Cornhill is partly hidden and entirely disfigured by the shops which have been built against it. The north doorway has columns and pilasters of the Ionic order. The east front to Gracechurch street is divided by pilasters of the same order and surmounted by cornice and pediment; but the most striking feature of the exterior is the dignified brick tower at the south-west angle of the church in St. Peter's Alley, which, after the fashion of St. Mark's tower at Venice, rises to a considerable height almost without break or ornament; then when it has reared itself above the surrounding houses—or above such as used to surround it—it opens into a belfry, with triple arches upon each face. Above the parapet the tower is surmounted by a dome of timber covered with lead, with circular openings. Above the dome is a pierced octagon which carries a spirelet finished with a gilt ball and key, emblematic of St. Peter. The tower is twenty feet square outside, a dimension which may be said to be almost invariable with the towers of Wren's city churches, except of course the large churches, such as St. Magnus, Bow Church, Christ Church, &c., and also the very smallest.

"It is with regret that we record the destruction of some of the old fittings and decoration. For instance, the central east window—which formerly contained the arms of John Waugh, Bishop of Carlisle, 1723, and rector of this church, and of William Beveridge, Bishop of St. Asaph, 1704, who was rector thirty-two years, and by whose direction the chancel screen was set up—has, like those adjacent to it, been fitted with modern glass. The old seating has been entirely removed, and the Purbeck slabs have been replaced by red and buff tiles. The most interesting of the fittings is the handsome oak screen which separates the chancel from the nave. This is of better style, though not of more remarkable execution than that in Allhallows, Thames street. It extends right across the church, having openings to the aisles as well as in the centre. These are flanked by Corinthian pilasters, and the spaces between the openings have smaller arches alternately pendant and supported by a square fluted column. Above the arcade is a frieze of acanthus leaves and a cornice. Over the central opening a shield bears the arms of Charles II. with, at a little distance from it, the royal supporters. The pulpit and sound-board are handsomely carved. The font and cover, shewn in the foreground of the view, have been moved from their 'pew' under the western gallery. The cover is said by the rector to date from before 1666. There is, however, nothing in the work itself to bear out this tradition. The organ was built by Father Smith in 1681, at a cost of £210, and since remodelled by Messrs. Hill. We would refer the reader to the interesting paper on this church by the rector, the Rev. Richard Whittington, in vol. iv. of the *Transactions* of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society. The vestry minutes concerning the rebuilding of the church after the fire are specially interesting. Thus there is an entry:—

"'31st Dec., 1672.—At a vestry held in the chappel in Leadenhall—Ordered, that the churchwardens do present Dr. Wren with 5 guineas as a gratuite for his paines and furtherance of a tabernacle (*i.e.*, temporary church) for this parish.' In 1673 £10 was voted to him.

"'April 8th, 1675.—Ordered, that Mr. Beveridge (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph) and the ch'wardens, &c., do treat & discourse with Sir Christopher Wren, and his surveyor, as to the receiving his proposals in order to the re-building of our parish church.'

"In 1680 they were proceeding with the fittings. The contract for the woodwork included the chancel screen, also the pulpit, its canopy, stairs and rail, which were to be completed for £30. 'The contractors shall make and set up the King's arms above the screen, raised fair and to appear on both sides, according to the best art and skill of the trade or mystery of a carver, which shall be done according to model for £8.'

"The design of this screen has been attributed to a daughter of Sir Christopher Wren, on what authority I do not know. The carving was done by Thomas Poultney and Thomas Athew. Amongst the plate are two Communion cups and patens of silver-gilt, given by T. Symonds, with his arms, and the date 1625; two flagons of silver bearing the same date; and an alms-dish, 1682, when the church was re-opened. The staff surmounted with a silver statuette of St. Peter is an ornament characteristic of a City church.

"The dimensions of the church are:—Length, 80 feet; breadth, 47 feet; height, 40 feet; the steeple being about 140 feet high; the ball, 2 feet in diameter; the key, 8 feet high."

After luncheon the Churches of St. Swithin, London Stone, and St. Clement, Clement Lane, were inspected during the walk to St. Mary, Abchurch. Here again Mr. Niven, furnished the following notes:—

"St. Mary Abchurch, or Upchurch, so called from its standing upon high ground. Very little is known of its early history, but we are told that in the 26th of Henry IV., the advowson, which had for some time belonged to the Prior of St. Mary Overie, came by exchange to the neighbouring college of St. Lawrence Pountney. Stow also mentions the founding of several chantries here. The older church, which was repaired in 1611, being destroyed in the Great Fire, was rebuilt, and finished 1686, by Sir C. Wren. The plain and rather quaint exterior of rubbed red brick does not prepare the visitor for the very striking effect within. The plan is nearly square, slightly lengthened to the west to contain the tower occupying the north-west angle, the organ gallery in the centre, and in the south-west angle a small gallery appropriated to the Merchant Taylors. Eight arches spring from corbels (and, at the west end, from a column and pilaster) of the Corinthian order, and being gathered over, a circular cornice is formed above them, and from this cornice springs a hemispherical dome. The lower part of the dome is pierced with four circular windows, and this portion is painted in chiaroscuro to represent an architectural design with sculptured figures of saints seated, executed in a rather coarse manner. Above the painted cornice which surmounts this design, the dome is painted in colours with angels singing and in adoration. The very centre is occupied with the Hebrew name for the Deity, from which splendour irradiates. All that can be said for it is that it is in the taste of the period, and has blackened a good deal, and probably suffered from repairs. It is attributed to Thornhill, and the coloured portion looks as if it might be his work. From the centre of the dome there used to hang, as Seymour mentioned in 1734, 'a spacious brass branch candlestick, given by Mr. John Watson, 1692, which cost, with its ironwork, £28 7s.' Mr. Watson's arms being engraved upon it. Allen, writing nearly 100 years later, complains that the painted dome is injured by 'unsightly iron scroll-work depending from the centre, though the chandelier which it upheld, is removed.' The iron scroll-work also is gone now. The oak fittings and furniture here are very sumptuous. The walls are lined with wainscot to a height of about eleven feet, and there is a handsome gallery of the same material at the west end. The reredos is an elaborate design and decorated with a profusion of carving by Grinling Gibbons. The Corinthian order is employed, but freely carried out. The whole is surmounted by a shield bearing the initials A.R. within a garter; and beneath wonderfully executed festoons of flowers and fruit in lime wood, which perhaps partake rather too much of the *tour de force* character, is a pelican in her nest vulning herself for her young. The pelican is also introduced in the carving of the sound-board, and over the lobby to the south door. On the opposite lobby are the arms of James II. The altar table and pulpit are also of wainscot, carved and inlaid. The font and cover deserve notice, the latter bears at its angles carved figures of the four Evangelists. Some modern alterations have been made in the church, and the tile flooring, stalls, lectern, &c., are hardly worthy of it. The organ by Bishop was, according to Allen, erected by subscription in 1822, at a cost of about £300.

"The dimentions are 63 feet by 60, and 51 feet to the apex of the dome, the steeple rising to 140 feet. The cost of erecting the church, exclusive probably of fittings, has been given at £4,922."

At 4.30 the members assembled in the Old Council Chamber at the Guildhall, where Mr. George Scharf, C.B., F.S.A., read a paper on "The Portraits of the Judges in the Guildhall." Mr. Scharf's paper is printed at page 216.

In the evening, Dr. Edwin Freshfield, as President of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, received the members of the Institute at a conversazione at the Merchant Taylors' Hall. A large number of antiquities had been collected from various sources, they included seventy-nine pieces of plate from the City Churches, ranging in date from 1548 to 1815; thirty-eight beadles staves also from City Churches, mostly of the eighteenth century; the plate, charters and other records belonging to the Merchant Taylors' Company; the "Common Paper" (containing the notarial marks of the members of the company), and other records of the Scriveners' Company; Vestry minutes and account books of various London parishes, a collection of medals of the London Livery Companies, and a similar one struck in commemoration of notable civic events by order of the Corporation, all exhibited by the Library Committee of the Corporation; a collection of hearse-cloths, exhibited by the various Livery Companies; a fine cope exhibited by the Dean and Chapter of Ely; a large collection of Merovingian and Saxon antiquities by Sir John Evans; some magnificent jewellery by Sir J. C. Robinson; and various manuscripts, medals, &c., by Mr. C. J. Shoppee. The President, Dr. Freshfield, exhibited the parish books of St. Stephen, Coleman Street; St. Olave, Jewry; St. Christopher, St. Bartholomew, and St. Margaret; also some antiquities discovered at St. Olave's. During the evening Dr. Freshfield read a short paper entitled "General remarks on the Vestry Minute and Account Books of various City Parishes," and Mr. Edwin Freshfield described the Beadles' Staff-heads and the Church Plate exhibited. Mr. Welch also contributed a paper on "The Records of the Weavers, Masons and Scriveners' Companies."

Tuesday, July 18th.

The members assembled at 10.30 a.m. in the Temple Church where Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., fully described the building and monuments. From the church the members proceeded to the Middle Temple Hall, also described by Mr. Baylis. The Masters of the Bench kindly displayed their plate. The magnificent roof and screen was much admired. Visits were also paid to the Inner Temple Hall and the Library.

After luncheon the members reassembled in the meeting room of the Society of Antiquaries to hear Mr. St. John Hope on the "Architectural History of Windsor Castle." Mr. Hope had prepared a large plan of the castle showing in separate colours the works executed in the reigns of Henry II., Henry III., Edward III., Edward IV., Henry VII., Mary, Elizabeth, the Stuarts, and in the last and present centuries. He described the Saxon work of the ninth or tenth centuries and did not believe that the earthworks were of Roman date. Quotations from the Pipe and Close Rolls, and other authoritative records were given, as was also a most interesting account of the enlarging of the Keep in 1344 in order that Edward III. might have the opportunity of constructing a great round table for his knights.

The remainder of the afternoon was spent in an inspection of St. James' Palace and Buckingham Palace, both palaces being open by special permission of the Queen. Mr. Emanuel Green acted as guide and briefly described the state apartments.

In the evening the concluding meeting was held at the Mansion

House, the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor in the chair, supported on the right by the President of the Institute and on the left by the Comte de Marsy. On the motion of the PRESIDENT of the Institute (Viscount Dillon) hearty votes of thanks were accorded to Her Majesty the Queen for permission to visit the various palaces, and especially Windsor Castle at a time when Her Majesty was in residence. To the Lord Mayor for his reception of the Institute in his official capacity as Chief Magistrate of the City of London, and for his magnificent reception at the Mansion House, also for his great kindness and assistance in all the preliminary business of the meeting. To the Library Committee of the Corporation of the City of London for the reception at the Guildhall. To the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society for the reception at the Merchant Taylors' Hall. To the Lord Chamberlain and Sir Spencer Ponsonby Fane, K.C.B. To the Deans of St. Paul and Westminster. To the Clergy of the various Churches visited. To the readers of papers and to all who had in any way contributed to the success of the meeting. Refreshments were kindly provided by the Lord Mayor in the tea-room.

Wednesday, July 19th.

The members journeyed to Windsor by train and visited the Castle under the able guidance of Mr. W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE.

By gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen the State Apartments and many other parts of the Castle were thrown open to the members, notwithstanding the fact that Her Majesty was in residence at the time.

Assembling on the North Terrace, the party walked round the exterior of the northern and eastern sides of the upper ward, noticing the remains of Norman work and that of the respective reigns of Henry III., Edward III., and Elizabeth, together with the extensive alterations and recasings of Sir Christopher Wren and Sir Jeffrey Wyatville. Entering the great quadrangle by the Great Gateway and passing through various narrow passages the members were enabled to see the now built-in gateway of Henry II.'s. time, with the portcullis grove still plainly visible. In the great quadrangle Mr. Hope described how Sir Jeffrey Wyatville's recasing of the interior walls, however much to be regretted from an antiquarian point of view, had had the result of turning a comparatively comfortless mediæval fortress into a most comfortable domestic house. The beautiful little tower of Edward III., termed "La Rose," from the roof-bosses carved into that flower and some charming work of Henry VII. having been pointed out, the buildings on the north side were entered. Here the party passed through the fine vaulted basement which used to serve for the retainers in the time of Edward III., and which still retains the name and use of the "Servants' Hall." Another fine wide vaulted and pillarless apartment known as the "Steward's Hall," and generally supposed to be of the time of Edward III., was shown by Mr. Hope to be of the time of Henry III. A peep or two into the great kitchen of Edwardian date, then in full swing of business, afforded a proof of the kindness of the Queen in permitting the visit of so large a party at such an inconvenient time.

On entering the State Apartments, Mr. HOLMES, F.S.A., the Queen's Librarian kindly took charge of the party, and in the library pointed out and gave full explanations of the pictures, books and other rarities. Of the well-known State Apartments nothing need here be said. After luncheon Mr. Hope again took charge of the party and described the buildings of the Lower Ward finishing with St. George's Chapel. Of this chapel Mr. Hope, in a brief space of time, gave a most lucid description, tracing the whole history of the building and drawing special attention to the valuable and interesting series of stall plates of the Knights of the Garter.

Thursday, July 20th.

This was an extra day, in order to give members a chance of visiting the excavations on the site of the Romano-British city at Silchester. About thirty members availed themselves of the opportunity and journeyed down to Reading by train. A visit was first paid to the Reading Museum, where all the finds from Silchester are kept. Dr. Stevens, the Honorary Curator, kindly attended, and most courteously explained the contents of the cases, &c. After luncheon the party drove to Silchester, where Mr. G. E. Fox conducted them over the site, and gave an account of the excavations. A paper by Mr. Fox will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

Proceedings at Ordinary Meetings of the Royal Archæological Institute.

November 1st, 1893.

Emanuel Green, F.S.A. (Hon. Director), in the Chair.

Mr. H. S. Cowper exhibited a candlestick of brass, enamelled in blue, green, and white, of sixteenth century work. An engraving of this candlestick appears in the nineteenth volume of the *Journal*, where it is attributed to English workmanship.

Mr. E. Peacock sent a paper "On immuring Nuns who have broken their Vows," in which he contended that no such cruel punishment existed in the Middle Ages, and that the popular belief was entirely drawn from Sir Walter Scott.

In the subsequent discussion Mr. Brown disagreed with the writer, and upheld the theory as one probably introduced from the East.

Mr E. Green read a paper "On the Beginnings of Lithography," tracing the art from its discovery down to the present time, and illustrating its progress by the exhibition of various prints.

December 6th, 1893.

Emanuel Green, F.S.A. (Hon Director), in the Chair.

Mr. J. G. Chisholm exhibited a black figured amphora, which had previously belonged to the late Prof. T. L. Donaldson, representing the combat between Athena and a heavy-armed warrior, presumably Enkelados, on which a paper was read by Mr. Talfourd Ely. After discussing the origin, style, ornament, and probable date of the vase, Mr. Ely proceeded to give a sketch of the versions of the myth in question as treated by ancient authors and artists. He pointed out that Apollodoros incorporated various traditions in his account of the gigantomachia; and that while the vase painters (with one exception) kept to the epic conception of anthropomorphic giants, the sculptors and gem-engravers soon began to introduce more sensational types—a tendency much developed under the influence of the Pergamene school. Mr. Ely distinguished the scheme of single combat (as in the vase under review) from those representations in which Athena forms one of a triad of deities in the gigantomachia. Some account was then given of the other vases (for the most part black figured) on which Athena and Enkelados may be recognised; and also of the chief sculptural representations of the subject.

Mr. ROUND read a paper "On the Introduction of Armorial Bearings into England," in which he opposed the accepted view that the close of the twelfth century was the date of their first appearance, and showed that an equestrian seal exists, on which the well-known Clare coat is found not later than 1146, its evidence being confirmed by two other Clare seals of about the same date. Mr. Round also showed that the Count of Meulan's seal, with its chequy bearings, could not be later than 1150. Planché was shown to have been misled in the matter, and the reign of Stephen was suggested as the most likely time for the introduction of distinct armorial bearings.

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