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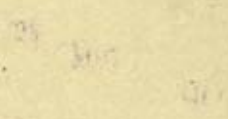
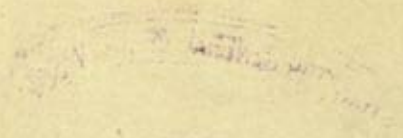
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF LONDON

23RD NOVEMBER 1911 TO 27TH JUNE 1912

SECOND SERIES, VOL. XXIV

32327



913.005
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THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
BURLINGTON HOUSE, LONDON

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¹ The Society is indebted to the proprietors of the *Victoria County History* for permission to reproduce these illustrations.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF LONDON

SESSION 1911—1912.

THURSDAY, 23rd NOVEMBER, 1911.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From the Author :—An address on why Samuel Pepys discontinued his diary. By D'Arcy Power, F.S.A. 8vo. [London] 1911.

From Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, Litt. D. :

1. Bury St. Edmunds, notes and impressions. 8vo. London, 1907.
2. Guide to Holy Island, formerly Lindisfarne, its associations, descriptive and historical. Second edition. 8vo. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1909.
3. A short historical guide to the ancient village of Castleacre, Norfolk. 8vo. Swaffham, 1908.

From the Author :—A history of Eton College (1440-1910). Fourth edition. By Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte, K.C.B., V.P.S.A. 8vo. London, 1911.

From the Author :—Charles II's hammered silver coinage. By T. H. B. Graham. 8vo. London, 1911.

From William Whitaker, Esq., F.R.S. :

1. The people of Pembrokeshire. By Rev. T. L. Evans. 8vo. Tenby. 1910.
2. A short account of Bradford Abbas. By Harry Warr. 8vo. Sherborne, 1911.

From the Editor :—A register of the members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford. New series. Vol. VII. By Rev. W. D. Macray, F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1911.

From the Author, Rev. W. D. Bushell, F.S.A. :

1. An island of the saints (the Isle of Caldey). 8vo. London, 1911.
2. Amongst the Prescelly circles. 8vo. London, 1911.

From Norman Penney, Esq., F.S.A. :—Allhallows, Barking, and the memorial to William Penn. 8vo. New York, 1911.

From the Author :—Worth Church, Sussex. By Rev. Arthur Bridge. 8vo. London, 1911.

From the Author :—Cresset-stones. By Alfred C. Fryer, Ph.D., F.S.A. 8vo. n.p. 1910.

From the Author :—West Derby and Old Swan. By James Houlst. 8vo. Liverpool, 1911.

From C. A. Markham, Esq., F.S.A. :—Genealogical memoranda relating to the Family of Markham. Privately printed. 4to. n.p. 1903.

From William Ravenscroft, Esq., F.S.A. :—Milford Parish Church (Milford-on-Sea Record Society, Vol. I, No. 4). 8vo. Milford-on-Sea, 1911.

From the Author :—The owners of the Great House, Henbury, Gloucestershire. By L. J. U. Way, F.S.A. 8vo. n.p. 1911.

From the Author :—Baildon and the Baildons. By W. Paley Baildon, F.S.A. Part IV. Privately printed. 4to. n.p. n.d.

From the Corbridge Excavation Fund :—Corstopitum : Report on the excavations in 1910. 8vo. Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1911.

From the Author :—An illustrated historical, statistical, and topographical account of the urban district of Enfield. By C. W. Whitaker. 8vo. London, 1911.

From the Author :—A history of the manor and township of Allerton in the county of Lancaster. By R. Stewart-Brown. 8vo. Liverpool, 1911.

From Harold Sands, Esq., M.I. Mech. Eng., F.S.A. :—Itinerary of King Edward I throughout his reign. Edited by Henry Gough. 2 vols. 4to. Paisley, 1900.

From the Author, Commandant Émile Espérandieu :

1. Les fouilles de la Croix Saint-Charles au Mont-Auxois. Premier rapport. 4to. Dijon, 1910.
2. ——— Notice sommaire. 8vo. Le Havre, 1910.
3. Les fouilles d'Alesia (Croix Saint-Charles). Notice sommaire. 8vo. Le Havre, 1911.

From the Editor :—Ye solace of pilgrimes. A description of Rome, circa A. D. 1450. By John Capgrave. Edited by C. A. Mills. 4to. Oxford, 1911.

From the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia :—Proceedings for 1908-9 and 1909-10. Vol. I, Part I. 8vo. London, 1911.

From the Director-General of Archaeology of India :—Classified catalogue of the library of the Director-General of Archaeology of India. Supplement I. 8vo. Calcutta, 1911.

From the Author, Señor G. J. de Osma, Hon. F.S.A. :

1. *Apuntes sobre la cerámica morisca : Azulejos Sevillanos del siglo XIII.* 8vo. Madrid, 1909.
2. *Textos y Documentos Valencianos :*
 - (i) *La Loza Dorada de Manises en el año 1454.* 8vo. Madrid, 1906.
 - (ii) *Los Maestros Alfareros de Manises, Paterna y Valencia : Contratos y Ordenanzas de los siglos XIV, XV, XVI.* 8vo. Madrid, 1908.
 - (iii) *Las Divisas del Rey en los pavimentos de 'obra de Manises' del Castillo de Nápoles (años 1446-58).* 8vo. Madrid, 1909.
3. *Los letreros ornamentales en la cerámica morisca del siglo XV.* 8vo. Madrid. n.d.

From the Author :—*A monastery of the Levant.* By W. Barclay Squire. 8vo. London. n.d.

From the Author :—*Memorials of the church of St. John the Evangelist, Princes Street, Edinburgh.* By Rev. G. F. Terry. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1911.

From C. A. Tennant, Esq., F.S.A. :—*A tour through the whole of Great Britain.* By C. Cruttwell. 6 vols. 8vo. London, 1801-6.

From the Subscribers :—*Miniatures and borders from a Flemish Horae.* British Museum Add. MS. 24098. Early sixteenth century. Reproduced in honour of Sir George Warner. 8vo. n.p. 1911.

From the Editor of the *Field* :

1. *Underground Jerusalem. Discoveries on the hill of Ophel (1909-11).* By H. V. 4to. London, 1911.
2. *Jérusalem sous terre. Les récentes fouilles d'Ophel.* Par H. V. 4to. London, 1911.

The PRESIDENT referred to the death of Mr. Max Rosenheim, F.S.A., and announced that he had left £200 to the Society.

The PRESIDENT also referred to the proposed abolition of the post of Director-General of Archaeology in India and expressed gratification that the scheme had fallen through.

Harry Reginald Holland Hall, Esq., M.A., was admitted a Fellow.

In pursuance of the Statutes, Chapter I, Section 5, the Marquess of Granby was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The PRESIDENT exhibited an important find of Late-Celtic antiquities at Welwyn, Herts., communications on which were made by Sir Arthur Evans and Mr. Reginald Smith.

Sir ARTHUR EVANS pointed out the exceptional value of the discovery in its relation to the period of Ancient British history

that immediately preceded the Roman conquest. The great deposits he regarded as interments; indeed, they were associated with calcined bones, and a small cavity near contained a group of cinerary and other urns resembling those of the 'family-circle' group in the Aylesford cemetery. The character of the pedestal urns and other Late-Celtic relics was also absolutely parallel with those of Aylesford, approximately dating the deposits about 50 B.C. The cordoned and pedestalled type of British urn was traceable through Belgic Gaul, and originated in the bronze-plated 'pails' especially characteristic of the old Venetic region of Northern Italy. The two-handled tankard was derived from a late Greek prototype, of which an example had been found at Dodona. The imported classical vases Sir Arthur regarded as Italo-Greek, probably of Campanian origin. The combination of fire-dogs and amphorae in these deposits had been noticed in what appeared to be large burial vaults at Mount Bures, near Colchester, and at Stanfordbury, Beds.; but in these cases there were signs of incipient Roman influence, indicating a slightly later date. The practice of burying fire-dogs with the dead was adopted very early among the continental Celts, one Bavarian find of this character going back to the late Hallstatt period. Beyond the Alps similar finds pointed to the Etruscan region, where bronze fire-dogs with elegant bulls' heads were known. The placing of amphorae in the grave had become a widespread Gaulish practice by the first century B.C. Possibly the amphorae, with the wine itself, reached Massalia in Greek bottoms, and found their way north and west, by river and land transit, to the English Channel or the mouth of the Loire. A Gaulish inscription from Ornavasso mentioned Naxian wine, and the Welwyn amphorae might have held a similar vintage.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH described the finds in some detail, referring to diagrams of the restored vessels; and suggested that the masks had been attached as escutcheons to a bowl, a practice that survived into the Anglo-Saxon period. The iron framework, 29 in. by 22½ in., with four broad ornamental uprights 42 in. high, he regarded as a sacrificial table rather than a cooking apparatus, and showed a photograph of part of the amphitheatre frieze at Capua (built in the time of Augustus) with a similar framework and sacrificial utensils. The patera or frying-pan form was considered by Willers to date from 150-100 B.C. on the evidence of the Ornavasso cemetery in Northern Italy, where other parallels (jugs, tankard, etc.) were also found. The late Mr. Romilly Allen had collected instances of fire-dogs discovered with amphorae in this country, the most elaborate being those from Denbighshire. Horned terminals had been

found in France, Bohemia, and Switzerland; and a similar sepulchral deposit with a square iron framework had been published from Arras in Northern France. The Bartlow Hills burials were similar in many respects, but later; and the Welwyn finds must be referred to about the time of Caesar's invasion.

Mr. PAGE said the acquisition of the Welwyn find by the British Museum was a matter for congratulation, notwithstanding there was a question of its going to the St. Albans Museum, of which he was an Hon. Secretary. The objects had been well restored and would henceforth be in safe custody. He showed a photograph of a bronze helmet of Greek type said to have been found at Baldock in 1880, which had had its crown broken by a blunt instrument. As the edges were patinated like the rest, the fracture was evidently of ancient date. It would be at once suggested that the helmet had been brought to England by a modern collector, but in view of the foreign products exhibited from Welwyn it was not impossible that Greek bronzes had reached Britain at a still earlier date. According to Sir Arthur Evans the helmet was four centuries earlier than the Welwyn series.

Mr. LYON THOMSON questioned whether such fire-dogs were the ordinary hearth-furniture of the time; if the fire were on the same scale, cooking at it would be out of the question. Perhaps they were made for purposes of cremation with somewhat the form of a bed, and he saw some analogy to a Roman bed with horses' heads. The iron frame might have followed the lines of a wooden stand for holding amphorae upright.

Sir ARTHUR EVANS replied that such a use was impossible, and the objects had to be studied in the light of their pedigree. Fire-dogs had a pedigree from much earlier times down to the present day. The size of the Welwyn examples was remarkable, but fires would be lit at that period in the open air, or in large halls with an opening in the roof. He was not converted to the sacrificial table theory, and thought the iron frame corresponded to the tripod, with hooks and chains for a cauldron, found in one of the Stanfordbury vaults.

The PRESIDENT considered the models a great success, and emphasized the ingenuity of the joiner in imitating twisted iron without a lathe. Many interesting facts had been brought forward to explain the use of some of the specimens, but owing to a misunderstanding Sir Arthur Evans had not been able to give a full statement of his views on the find. Years ago the

President had seen the specimens in lamentable condition at Lockleys, and had endeavoured to obtain a loan of them for restoration, with only partial success. The evidence was all in favour of the deposits being sepulchral, but more was needed before a final account could be published. As Sir Arthur Evans had proposed to collaborate, he felt that the paper was in good hands; and was glad to announce that Mrs. Neall had presented the whole of the Welwyn finds collected by her late father to the British Museum.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications, which will be printed in *Archæologia*.

THURSDAY, 30th NOVEMBER, 1911.

Sir HENRY MAXWELL LYTE, K.C.B., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From C. A. Tennant, Esq., F.S.A.:

1. A walk through Wales in August, 1797. By Rev. Richard Warner. 8vo. Fourth Edition. Bath, 1801.
2. A second walk through Wales in August and September, 1798. By Rev. Richard Warner. 8vo. Second Edition. Bath. 1800.
3. A tour through the Northern counties of England and the borders of Scotland. 2 vols. By Rev. Richard Warner. 8vo. Bath, 1802.

From the Editor of the *Connoisseur*:—The history of the spur. By Charles de Lacy Lacy. 4to. London, 1911.

From the Editor:—The first English life of King Henry the Fifth, written in 1513 by an anonymous author known commonly as the translator of Livius. Edited by C. L. Kingsford, M.A., F.S.A. 8vo. Oxford, 1911.

A special vote of thanks was returned to Henry Pfungst, Esq., F.S.A., for his present of an original drawing by Rowlandson representing 'The Reception of a New Member in the Society of Antiquarians' in 1782.

Notice was given of a ballot for the election of Fellows on January 11th, 1912, and a list of candidates to be put to the ballot was read.

Prince FREDERICK DULEEP SINGH having called the attention of the Society to a proposal to restore the ruined church of Overstrand near Cromer, Norfolk, which has now stood roofless

for some fifty years and is much overgrown with ivy, the following resolution was moved by the Chairman, seconded by Dr. J. C. Bridge, and carried *nemine contradicente* :

‘That in the opinion of the Society of Antiquaries any proposal to restore the ruined church of Overstrand is undesirable and would result in the disappearance of much of the evidence of antiquity which still remains. A preferable course would be to secure the ruins as far as possible from the ravages of ivy and weather, and not to attempt to graft new work on to them.’

W. D. CARÖE, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., exhibited a Jacobean Organ from Canterbury Cathedral, on which he communicated the following notes :

“Just a year ago I was able to lay before the Society some notes upon the post-Commonwealth organ of the cathedral.¹ I then made reference to the little instrument which, by the kind permission of the Dean and Chapter and in response to a suggestion made by the President, I am now privileged to exhibit to the Society. Its interest perhaps lies chiefly in the fact that it is one of the few authentic ‘boxes of whistles’ which escaped the Puritan period. We owe its existence no doubt to its insignificance.

It was hardly worth destroying perhaps in those days, but is well worth preserving in these as a protest against the type of casing now thought fit to clothe the majority of organs. The thoughtful reserve and delicacy of the detail is very charming. The iron trimmings will doubtless attract your notice. On each side were two handles, but all four are unfortunately lost. On one side is a little door, very neatly hinged, and originally furnished with a lock.

The organ proper is only 2 ft. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, 2 ft. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, 2 ft. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, without the cornice, which is lost. The stand is 2 ft. 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. high. There were originally eight stops of iron, not to be called ‘draw stops’, as their action is a sliding one, usual, I believe, in those days. Four of these only remain on the dexter side. Each of the shutters, which close in the front of the case, was decorated with a coat of arms mounted upon a Jacobean cartouche, that on the dexter bearing Bargrave, and that on the sinister, Christ Church, Canterbury.

The typical and refined ornament gives us the date, but further than this there is documentary evidence to identify the instrument.

Isaac Bargrave became Dean in 1625. In the Treasurer’s accounts for 1629 occurs the following :

¹ See *Archaeologia*, vol. lxii, p. 364.

pro organis domini Decani cum consensu Capitali emptis xxiii^{li}
pro expensis organistæ e Londinio ad loquendum eorundem organorum
xlvi^{li}.

The organ therefore was bought in London for £22, and it cost 48s. in those days to travel from Canterbury to London and back.

Mr. Woodruff, who has kindly supplied me with the above extracts, suggests very plausibly that the organ would probably be used in the Dean's Chapel—the old Prior's Chapel which existed at that time in the position now occupied by the Howley Library, but was destroyed under the Commonwealth.

It is a matter of great regret that the pipes and keyboard have wholly disappeared. It needs a skilled mechanician to show us how properly to place the remnants of the sound-boards. It may be noted that ancient parchments have been torn up to supply the needful for pasting up the sound-board. There are remnants of a fifteenth or sixteenth-century service book, and also of a deed of the tenth year of James I.

Rimbault, in his *History of the Organ*, has no mention of this example, or of any other analogous to it, and I regret I am unable to name another example. It does not possess for us anything like the interest of such a survival as the fifteenth-century organ-case at Old Radnor, for instance, but at the same time I hope it may be considered worth your brief attention.

There is one note worth making about Dean Bargrave. As a young clerk he went out to Venice to serve as chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton, the English ambassador. Sir Henry Wotton made his will in 1637, when he bequeathed to Dean Bargrave his *viol da gamba*. It would appear, therefore, that the Dean had some musical reputation which may account for this gift to him by the Chapter.

For the following notes (received after the reading of the paper) I am indebted to the Rev. F. W. Galpin:

The bellows, placed on the top of the case, probably consisted of a rising wind-reservoir having beneath it a diagonal 'feeder' moved by a strap which was drawn down by hand through the square hole in the right-hand side of the case. A shallow wind-trunk (of which there are remains) conveyed the wind to the sound-boards below.

The keyboard had 46 keys with a compass of 4 octaves and a note, from short octave B natural (sounding bass G) to A in alt, the upper G sharp being omitted, a detail which is shown in the chamber organ figured by Mersenne (*Harm. Instr.*, Libri iv; published 1636).

There were four complete ranks of pipes, viz. Stopt Diapason (of wood), Principal, Twelfth, and Fifteenth (of metal). Each



JACOBEOAN ORGAN AT CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

rank was divided into bass and treble, and the stop action, in the form of iron levers, was placed on either side of the keyboard.

The Stopt Diapason sound-board is preserved, and shows that the deeper pipes were put at the back of the case: owing to their length they were mitred. The next longer pipes were placed horizontally on one another, probably to give more space for the working of the bellows feeder.

The Principal sound-board is also preserved, and shows that the lower pipes at least were of wood, the largest measuring about 32 inches and sounding Fiddle G. The other sound-boards are missing.

The organ is an interesting example of an English pre-Commonwealth instrument: it is a specimen of the 'single' organ, as the compass descends only to bass or 'single' G."

Dr. J. C. BRIDGE was of opinion that there were only four sets of pipes, the four stops on the left acting on the bass. The instrument was probably a mechanical one without a keyboard, being operated through the side-opening.

Mr. DALE remarked that the name-board which originally fitted into the slot had disappeared, but might have borne the name of Dalham of London. There were two examples of his work at Cambridge. In early times the positive organ was used for church services and the portative organ carried in processions; the latter was also used for practice and was known as the choir-organ. That the present instrument had had a keyboard was shown by the pallets, which let the wind into the pipes as the keys were touched. It had four octaves, the average compass of the human voice. Such organs were rare, as they were largely destroyed during the Commonwealth; and he quoted an ordinance of 1644 'for the further demolishing of monuments of Idolatry and Superstition'. All organs and the frames and cases wherein they stood in all churches and chapels were to be taken away and utterly defaced, and none other to be thereafter set up in their places.

Mr. HOPE had long been familiar with the organ exhibited, having found it in a loft at Canterbury from which it seemed impossible to remove it; but Mr. Caröe had removed one of the windows for the purpose. It was mentioned in an inventory of 1634, which gave the contents of the Deanery, in the great chamber of which it stood. Besides organs in the choir, there was another recorded (1635) as being in the chapter-house, which was then used for services.

The CHAIRMAN inquired whether there were traces of handles for carrying, and whether the instrument was in one piece or separate from the stand.

Mr. CARÖE replied that there had been handles on both sides, and the organ was not fixed to the stand.

Mr. CARÖE also read a paper on the Paintings in the Infirmary Chapel at Canterbury Cathedral, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

Mr. CRACE held that the principal painting exhibited was by the same hand as that found years ago in a chapel on the other side of the cathedral, representing St. Paul casting off the viper into the fire.¹ At any rate, the two belonged to the same school of painting. He noticed that the bands separating the ornament on the arch were subdivided by strokes of dark colour, and inquired whether this feature was found on the adjoining wall.

Mr. HOPE remarked that the discovery of paintings at Canterbury had in each case been due to accident. It was owing to the great fire of 1170 that the eastern part of St. Gabriel's Chapel was walled off, and one lot of paintings preserved without white-wash or injury. The removal by Pearson of a buttress built in connexion with the same catastrophe revealed the painting of St. Paul and the viper already mentioned. The present discovery had been brought about by settlement and the casing of a wall. In his opinion these sets were by the same hand. All the crypt chapel paintings had been published in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. xiii. The attitude of the angels suggested that the main subject for the spread of the vault was the Majesty. The animal figure below was probably one of a set, the motive being common at that period. The figure in the blue tunic was probably St. Joseph, and the rest represented the Adoration by the three kings or by the shepherds.

Mr. CARÖE replied that the band of ornament referred to on the arch was separated by a curious capital from the rest, which showed a somewhat different treatment. He had thought from the first that the subject was the Adoration of the kings, but was unwilling to dogmatize.

VICTOR HODGSON, Esq., read the following notes on the Bracket on the Rood-screen at Gooderstone Church in Norfolk :

"The screen is of the ordinary and rather thin fifteenth-century

¹ *Archaeologia*, vol. lii, p. 389.

type, common in the eastern counties. It is filled in below with solid panels and with tracery above. The total width is $16\frac{1}{2}$ ft., there being three main divisions on either side of the central wider division, which last contains the doors. There are thus eight uprights or muntins. The whole stands on a brick step or sill and is immediately between the central mouldings of the

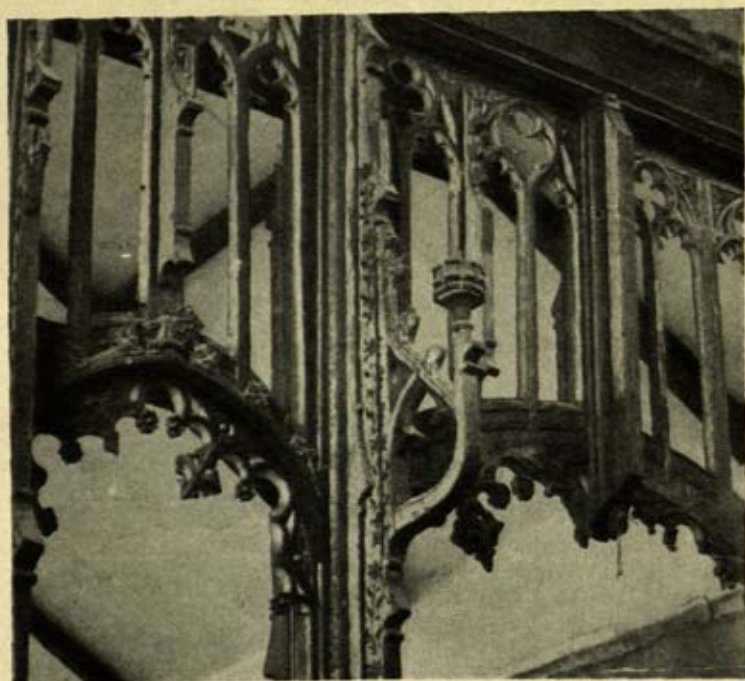


Fig. 1. GOODERSTONE CHURCH, NORFOLK : PART OF SCREEN, SHOWING BRACKET.

chancel arch. The bracket illustrated is the only complete example remaining, though vestiges of others can be seen on each muntin. All are on the western side of the screen, this single survivor being on the muntin north of the centre opening. The top of this bracket is 12 ft. 3 in. from the ground and 2 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the highest point of the head of the screen, which still exists. There is no sign of coving or loft, nor corbels for vaulting to spring from, and if any were there formerly this coving would have projected over the bracket at such a height as to allow a fair-sized candle to stand on the bracket without much danger or risk of fire. No trace of a stone rood-stair can

be found. The total projection of the bracket is 8 in., and height 1 ft. 4 in.; the solid cup or stand in which it terminates is 3 in. in diameter, flat at the top, and, as shown on the drawing, has a wooden pricket or dowel sticking up about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. There appears to be no trace of grease. The bracket and screen generally still retain considerable remains of coloured and gilded decoration, and the solid panels below have figures of the Twelve Apostles and Four Doctors. Water-colour drawings of four of these figures, painted by Miss Bedingsfield, are given in the extra illustrations to Blomfield's *Norfolk* in the British Museum.

My object in drawing attention to this particular feature, viz. the bracket, is to invite discussion and obtain opinion as to its original use. I have not been able to find or hear of any similar examples, and such authorities as I have questioned about it, including Dr. Cox, Mr. Aymer Vallance, Mr. F. C. Eden, and Mr. Bond, are divided in their opinions as to whether these brackets were for lights or figures.

The inventory of Church goods in the Record Office throws no light on the matter, nor do such local histories as I have consulted, including Blomfield's *Norfolk*, help us by reference or illustration. Blomfield refers to the Churchwardens' Accounts being at his time in the possession of Dr. Tanner, Bishop of St. Asaph, but in reply to my letter to the present bishop I am told that no such accounts are in his keeping. They would probably have helped us.

MR. AYMER VALLANCE thought that if the screen were vaulted the brackets would be intended for figures; but if it had been built before there was any idea of placing a loft upon it, the brackets were probably for lights. The wooden pricket did not help matters; a smaller pricket of iron at Ewelme Church was to support figures.

MR. CRACE considered that the dowel on top of the bracket pointed to figures, which probably represented the Annunciation, as was common throughout Europe.

MR. PEERS pointed out two stumps of pinnacles, with a set-off above. The screen had originally no loft, and probably figures were fixed on the stumps and a candle on the pricket. There was another stump below with a blank space above it.

MR. CARÖE observed that as the buttress was about 2 in. wide it was hardly possible to set figures on the stumps; and he preferred the pinnacle theory as more usual.

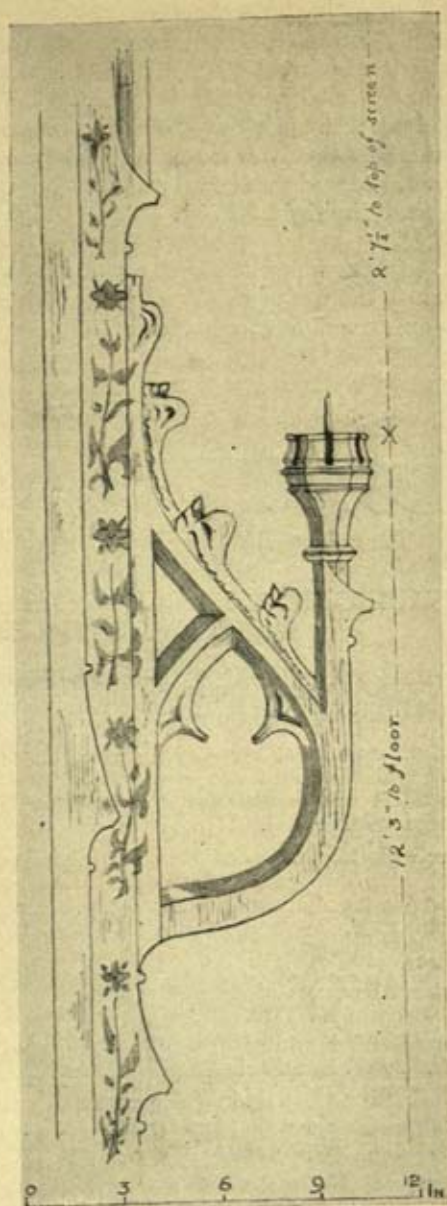


Fig 2. GOODERSTONE CHURCH : BRACKET ON SCREEN.

Mr. HOPE was inclined to the figure theory. The stumps must have been for pinnacles, as no figure would be carried up to the nosing of the buttress. The screen must have had a loft, and a light would have been liable to scorch any projection above it. The bracket must have been for a figure, and he had never heard of lights fixed on the mullions of a screen. There were many images placed on stumps, and the absence of candle-grease was against the light theory.

Mr. LYON THOMSON remarked that a wooden pricket was not conclusive against the use of the bracket for a light, as wooden candlesticks were common enough.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

THURSDAY, 7th DECEMBER, 1911.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From Miss Lake, in memory of her uncle, the late Rev. R. B. Gardiner, F.S.A. :—*Epithalamia Oxoniensia, sive gratulationes in augustissimi Regis Georgii III et illustrissimae Principissae Sophiae Charlottae nuptias auspicatissimas.* fol. Oxonii. 1761.

From the Mayor and Corporation of Lincoln :—*Catalogue of the royal charters and other documents belonging to the Corporation of Lincoln, preserved in the Muniment Room.* By W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A. 8vo. Lincoln, 1906.

From the Author :

1. *The strategical aspects of English castles.* By W. H. St. John Hope. 8vo. n.p. 1910.

2. *Jervaulx Abbey*, reprinted from the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*. By W. H. St. John Hope and Harold Brakspear, F.S.A. 8vo. n.p. n.d.

From the Author :—*Loughton in Essex.* By W. C. Waller, F.S.A. Large paper. 4to. Epping, 1889-1900.

From the Master and Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge :—*Collegium Divi Johannis Evangelistae. 1511-1911.* 4to. Cambridge, 1911.

From the Trustees of the British Museum :—*Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, with descriptions, translations, etc.* By E. A. Wallis Budge, F.S.A. fol. London, 1910.

Notice was again given of the ballot for the election of Fellows on Thursday, January 11th, 1912, and the list of candidates was read.

John Symonds Udal, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

Edward Hudson, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a very fine series of photographs of Westminster Abbey, taken for him during the temporary closing of the Abbey before the coronation of King George V.

The Hon. Sir SCHOMBERG K. McDONNELL, G.C.V.O., K.C.B., F.S.A., read the following paper on the Protection of Ancient Buildings and Monuments:

"I feel that I owe the Society an apology, because the reading of this paper has been deferred since March last, when Mr. Peers suggested that I should say something on the subject. I should have been glad to do so, but the events of last summer caused such an immense amount of labour to be thrown upon me as to make it quite impossible for me adequately to prepare my facts, and therefore it has had to be postponed until now. At the outset I wish to say that I feel considerable diffidence in appearing before this Society even on such a subject as this. Nothing but a sense of the paramount importance of the question would endow me with the temerity to appear here to-night and to offer the observations to which I am about to call attention. I am afraid I have a very plain tale to unfold, indeed it is so plain that I fear lest it should be dull; and I can only hope that the interest of the subject—not the interest of what I shall say upon the subject—will in some way redeem it from that reproach. May I say that I am extremely anxious we should remember that we have not only to look back, but we have also to look forward. It appears to me that we all, especially as we grow older, fall into a very natural habit of comparing the present day with what happened a hundred years ago, and this I think is notably the fact among those who deal with matters antiquarian and archaeological, and very naturally so. It is almost impossible not to feel a spirit of self-congratulation when one regards what was done a hundred years ago and what is being done now. But may I ask those present to remember they should also look forward a hundred years, and think what people a hundred years hence will say of us and the manner in which we have fulfilled our trust.

I want to ask this meeting whether they think that ancient buildings and monuments are now adequately protected, and if not what steps are desirable to secure them that protection?

When I first went to the Office of Works in 1902 this subject very much engrossed me, and the more inquiries I made the more struck I was with the readiness of certain people to place their monuments under our care and the reluctance of others to do so. Patience is particularly essential in a case of this kind.

Two years ago I had the honour to be appointed to serve upon the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in England; and the appointment of that Commission and of the Commissions in Scotland and Wales caused a great many people to write to us from various parts of the country deploring the danger in which certain monuments stood, and asking us to intervene actively to prevent their destruction, or mutilation, or restoration, as the case might be. Of course we have no power to intervene unless the proprietor likes to hand his monument over to us, when we are exceedingly glad to take it. But in the course of our sittings on the Royal Commission it was forcibly brought home to me that it was impossible that our labours could be finished for many years. I thought on the most sanguine estimate it would be twenty years, and I think now it is very probable they will not be finished for fifty, sixty, or seventy years; it all depends upon the rapidity of the progress we make. Meanwhile there is an enormous probability of damage, and this is why I speak of a hundred years hence. I do feel that this Society a hundred years hence may sit and say: 'What were these people about? Here they had plain evidence that monuments were in danger, and yet we cannot find that they took any steps whatever, beyond endeavouring to obtain the custody of the monuments out of their fortunate or unfortunate possessors.' In this connexion perhaps I may be allowed to read what was published in the Report of the Royal Commission upon Hertfordshire. I may say without any breach of confidence that these two paragraphs were decided on after a great deal of discussion, and that we endeavoured to state what we thought as moderately as possible. Paragraphs 20 and 21 of the Report run as follows:

20. We have from time to time been asked for advice and assistance with respect to the preservation of monuments which have been threatened with destruction. In these cases we have tried to give such help as lay within our power. But we are agreed that, having regard to the conditions under which we carry on our work, it would seriously impair the efficiency of our inquiry were it expected that we should at any moment interrupt its settled course in order to report upon the nature and value of threatened monuments in counties outside the immediate purview of the Commission.

21. Cases, however, occur where it is desirable to deal at once with imperilled monuments of historic importance, and we are of opinion that the time has come when such cases (which may often arise outside the immediate scope of our labours, or be beyond the powers of our Commission to control) should be dealt with by a Government Department acting with the assistance of a permanent Advisory Board.

That is strong evidence as to the necessity of some additional power being taken to what already exists. I am afraid that few who read this Report, which I think is perfectly delightful both to the eye and to the mind, realize—although some of us I know do—what an extraordinary danger these Reports may present. One is very apt to think that because one mentions a building in a report or schedule that therefore that building is safe. I believe the exact contrary to be the case, because in these days of millionaires and unscrupulous dealers everything of antiquity which is mentioned or carefully pointed out stands in the very greatest danger. The peril from America is, I think, immense. It was only the other day that we heard a rumour, happily unfounded, that some rich American had bought a beautiful castle in the Midlands, and was about to transport it stone by stone to the United States. Lest people should think that that is an exaggeration and that it is not likely to happen, may I point out that it has happened before now; but in the particular instance to which I am going to direct your attention England was the offender and France the loser. That, however, does not affect the argument that such things can be done and have been done. There was the case of Highcliff Castle, which was brought from France stone by stone to the cliffs beyond Christchurch at the time of the Revolution by Lord Stuart de Rothesay. There is also the case in America of a house, which I have never seen, belonging to an American lady, who I believe is greatly interested in all works of art. She has carefully transported a house either from Florence or from some other town in Italy—I cannot be sure which—but there it is now up in Chicago. It is entirely out of place, but I believe it affords her and her friends a great deal of pleasure. My object in mentioning these two cases is to emphasize the fact that if these things have been done before they can be done again.

It is obvious that I must offer some justification for any further legislative interference if I am to make my case good. I shudder to think of the tax that I should impose upon your patience if I were to recite all the cases I know, because we have a list of them literally as long as my arm, and I suspect that every one here could adduce evidence on his own account and mention many cases, were he asked to do so.

But I would like to mention some very serious and notable cases which are typical of what may be going on all over England.

First of all, let us look at the splendid monument at Stonehenge; it is not very long since one of the trilithons fell, and it has never been replaced. Possibly in the judgement of some people it ought not to be replaced. But is it not likely that it might have been prevented from falling?

Then take the case of the standing stones at Laggangairn. There were in 1840, which is some time ago now, fifteen of them. In 1875 the number was reduced to seven; there are now two, and I hope they are likely to remain two, because we have got possession of those stones, and they are regularly cared for; they are also inspected, I am happy to say, by Mr. Peers. I think, therefore, their future is safe.

Then take Penmaenmawr. Is it not the case that at this moment a firm of quarriers are demolishing that camp in order to get granite for setts at Liverpool or wherever else they please? There have been remonstrances addressed to the local people and to the freeholders—a Government Department—who own Penmaenmawr. The answer of the Government Department aforesaid is that they cannot prevent it, that the people have a lease; and the answer of the leaseholders, with which I think it is very hard to quarrel, because they have to make their living, is that they must make their living.

Let us go a little further and look at Maumbury Rings, which have excited so much attention lately, and rightly so, owing to the recent excavations. It is not very long since it was proposed to sweep away the Maumbury Rings altogether. The object, no doubt, was an excellent one. They occupied a triangle which lay between two lines of railway, and it was thought they would make excellent room for sidings, and, I believe, a new station.

I happened about a year and a half ago to visit the Bignor Pavement; and the charming old yeoman farmer who owned it and who looked after it and was devoted to it, to do him justice, told me in the course of a conversation I was having with him, that he remembered as a boy when the slaves' quarters in the baths were in existence. There is nothing to be seen of them now at all: they have been ploughed out of existence. I wish I could say that from my own personal experience I know the Roman Wall, but I am so little acquainted with it that I could not honestly do so; but I believe it to be undeniable that there has been enormous damage done to it by neglect or quarrying by people in the neighbourhood and so forth, that even now certain portions of the wall stand in imminent danger of disappearing.

I will now leave those subjects and go to bridges. Bridges I feel very strongly about because they are so easy to remove, and they belong to that class of structure which everybody has got an excellent excuse for removing. When we were sitting on the Royal Commission we had passionate appeals from Devonshire to prevent the destruction of Meavy Bridge. Some of us on the Commission who had friends on the Devonshire County Council wrote to them begging them not to remove Meavy Bridge. We wrote officially from the Office of Works to beg them also to

leave Meavy Bridge where it was. It was an old pack bridge; I have never seen it, but I have seen photographs of it, and it was a pack bridge of some beauty. What was the answer? First that Meavy Bridge was in the way of the river; that its buttresses abutted into the river and caused floods on the adjoining ground. I believe that to be perfectly ridiculous. I do not believe it did anything of the kind. Secondly, that the bridge was at a very awkward angle to the road, and therefore it was very dangerous to traffic. We asked upon that whether they were going to replace the bridge in the same place, and were told, 'Yes, but of a different character'! The third argument was that the bridge was unsafe. We pointed out that it might be grouted, that all kinds of measures might be taken to preserve it. Were we listened to? Not at all. The bridge has gone, and another bridge has been, or is going to be, put up in its place.

The controversy over Portinscale Bridge is so recent that I need hardly refer to it; but you may be quite sure that if the Cumberland County Council can pull that bridge down they will, and that unless we and everybody else make the most fervent appeals to them to stay their hands, it also will be numbered with the things of the past.

May we leave the bridges now and come to town crosses? I think probably the greater part of us in the days of our youth recited rhymes about 'Banbury cross'. Banbury cross was destroyed, I think, in the middle of the last century in order that a fine sandstone cross might be erected in its place. Banbury seems to have rather an unenviable reputation as regards the destruction of monuments. At the end of the eighteenth century they had a splendid twelfth-century cruciform church, which was in need of repair, but to save expense they set to work to demolish it. They found it a difficult business to pull it down, and I believe expensive, so they ceased their efforts and blew it up instead!

However, to revert to the crosses, the cross at Chichester has never been pulled down, but it has been very seriously threatened, and I hear rumours that it is not at all impossible that the threats against it may be revived. Probably most of my hearers have seen the cross at Chichester. The complaint against it is that it stands where four ways meet in a narrow thoroughfare; that it blocks the passage of carriages, and consequently forms a danger to pedestrian traffic. It never seems to have occurred to these people that instead of pulling down the cross they should pull down the houses round it. It is a perfectly simple thing to do, in fact it is easier to do than to pull down the cross. Whether they pull down the houses around it or not I care nothing, but I do care if they pull down the cross, and that is precisely one of

the monuments I should like to bring within the scope of the legislation which I am about to foreshadow.

The Butter cross at Winchester equally has been threatened. It is safe, I believe, for the moment, but it has been threatened. Not to go a very long way back, to the days of our great and of our great-great-grandfathers, some of us feel that the crowning outrage in this direction was committed when the beautiful cross at Carfax was removed from Oxford and placed in the park at Nuneham—as Mr. Lewis Harcourt is not here I can refer to the matter with the greater freedom: at least we have the consolation that it is safe in his keeping.

Then as to gates. Most of us can remember Temple Bar. Why should Temple Bar not have been left where it was, and why should room not have been made round it? No attempt was made to do that.

Coming a little further south, to Southampton, here within the last three years, I think, they have proposed to pull down one of the ancient gates in order that two lines of tramcars might pass through with safety. That little project has, I think, for the moment been frustrated. Whether it will remain possible to stop it if it is proposed again I do not know.

Take again the town walls of Southampton; can anybody see that beautiful monument in its present condition without saying that the Government should assume the protection of it—the compulsory protection of it if it is further threatened?

My heart sinks within me when I turn to the abbeys and churches. I suppose the worst instance that we know of a restoration, which was carried out against the wishes of a large number of people who take any interest in these matters at all, is the case of St. Albans Abbey. I will not say more about that because you can see it with your own eyes. There was also another outrage committed, also I am bound to say earlier in the last century, but it shows the necessity for the protection of these buildings. I believe about the year 1809—I am not sure as to the date—Tewkesbury Abbey existed with its colour and wall paintings practically untouched. Somehow or other it escaped to a great extent at the time of the Reformation. But about the year I have mentioned there arrived a vicar burning with Protestant zeal, who proceeded to cover the interior of the church with yellow wash and absolutely ruined it. I remember paying a visit there in 1877, when they had got it all off and the place had been beautifully restored, as far as I can remember. I also remember that the colour, except in the mouldings of the sedilia, where it was more protected, was entirely obliterated, and I recollect that there was an old man living in Tewkesbury then who described the church as he knew it as

a boy, all a blaze of colour. He was then a man of over eighty.

I will not touch upon Tynemouth Priory and Jarrow Monastery, because Mr. Peers is going to show by photographs what has happened there.

I am afraid, however, he has not a photograph of Puddletown Church, so that I should like to say one word about that. Is it not a pity that some power did not exist to prevent the spoiling of Puddletown Church?

And now I go with a very long jump to the extreme north, and ask you to listen for one moment to the tale of St. Magnus Cathedral, Kirkwall. I went there five years ago, before the lamented decease of Sheriff Thoms. He unfortunately left a large sum of money for the complete restoration of this church. It is going to be restored, I believe. The money is there, and they are going to spend it. You, the Society of Antiquaries of London, have protested, I think; the Scottish Society has I know, and we have protested officially; and have carried on a long correspondence with the various bodies concerned. The misfortune is, however, that the money is there and it is going to be spent: nobody can stop it, and we shall see that cathedral, which is, in my humble opinion and in the opinion of most people in this country, certainly the most beautiful cathedral in Scotland, absolutely spoilt.

Further south, in Westmorland, there did exist at one time Shap Abbey. Part of the monastic buildings are now a rockery, I believe, in an adjacent garden! Then go to Stirling Castle: I do not wish to take credit to ourselves for the preservation of that edifice, but I may say that it was rapidly hastening to destruction, and that had it not been for the patriotic and generous behaviour of the War Office (to whom I wish to pay the compliment of saying that they always second every effort we make for the preservation of ancient buildings with which they are associated), much the most interesting part of Stirling Castle would now be very nearly a thing of the past.

Then there is Carnarvon Castle. We had the good fortune to get possession of Carnarvon Castle about seven years ago, I think. We had a hard fight for it, but we got it. A great part of Carnarvon Castle has been very much spoiled in a way which would not have been possible had such powers as I am going to suggest then existed. The constable, who was a most kindly man, Sir John Puleston, was no archaeologist; but he found a perfectly estimable man, an excellent workman and an excellent mason, and for twenty years or thereabouts this man worked upon the castle his own sweet will. There was nobody to say nay or to control him, and it is a fact that at this moment

every one of the new battlements which deface the structure were constructed, not out of the local stone, but out of York stone specially procured for the purpose. There is a proposal now coming forward about Carnarvon Castle to the effect that the castle shall be used for what are called national purposes, by restoring the banqueting hall and making it into a National Museum and Picture Gallery for Wales. Everybody must desire to see a National Museum and a Picture Gallery for Wales, but can you imagine anything more unfortunate than that Carnarvon Castle should be used for the purpose? If it was not for the fact that we have got hold of the castle I have not the least doubt that some prominent local men would come forward, because Wales is a rich country, and would produce money which would enable people to build an incongruous edifice absolutely out of harmony with the remainder of the castle.

I should weary you if I were to go on much longer. I hope I have quoted sufficient evidence, and I am sure you all know enough instances of your own, to establish the fact that some further means of protection are urgently necessary.

I have said so much about the shortcomings of various people that I may be allowed to pay one small tribute to three gentlemen who have done us great service by the way in which they have maintained their monuments. First of all I take the case of Melrose Abbey. It is only a few years ago that the parish church at Melrose was destroyed by fire. The local people put their heads together and, having a canny regard for the burdens upon them, decided that instead of building a new kirk it would be a good deal easier and cheaper to turn the nave of the abbey into the parish church. They accordingly approached the proprietor, the Duke of Buccleuch, with that end in view. I am thankful to say they not only received no encouragement whatever in their nefarious project, but it was refused, though I have no doubt that the proprietor made it good to them in other ways when they came to rebuild the church on another site.

Then there is the case of the Duke of Rutland and his preservation of Haddon Hall. I do not suppose it is easy to find any one who keeps up a monument of that kind with greater sympathy and understanding than he does. And lastly I often think when I go to Fountains Abbey, which I do nearly every year, and see how it is maintained by Lord Ripon, that I should like every one to be taken there who possesses an ancient monument.

Now, if the meeting is with me in agreeing that the disease is bad and that some remedy is demanded, may we for a moment discuss what remedies are suitable? And here I should like to utter a strong note of caution. It seems to me that anything in

the shape of drastic Bills would be rather a misfortune at this moment. Nobody appreciates more than I do the immense interest which some members of the Houses of Parliament and which certain societies take in this question, and that their interest should find expression in the shape of a Bill is, I think, perfectly laudable and excellent, and we all ought to welcome the fact. But may I beg those who draft these Bills to remember that those who walk slowly probably walk furthest in a matter of this kind. If you bring forward very drastic measures you will frighten people, and if you frighten people you will not get your Bill either through the House of Commons or the House of Lords—at least, that is my humble opinion. Then, again, may I say one word about foreign laws upon the subject? I read the laws which obtain in other countries with considerable care about six years ago, and again last month, and I was struck by the fact that they were wholly inapplicable to this country. People in Great Britain will not stand too much control; it is entirely foreign to their nature; they are not going to be inspected and harassed and worried in every kind of way. Gentlemen, do not let us attempt it. Let everybody who is drafting a Bill of that kind remember the hackneyed phrase that Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen all regard their houses as their castles, though I must say that I have some doubt whether they should regard their castles as their houses, especially if they are in ruins! I have been reading the debates that took place on the Preservation of Monuments Bill which was presented by that great pioneer of this movement, Lord Avebury, in 1882, and it is quite curious to note how great the hostility was in those days to anything like interference, or how deeply an inspector of ancient monuments was regarded with suspicion. I think there has been a very notable change in public feeling and in the tone of all that is said now upon that subject, and I feel confident that if we move warily, but surely, and enlist public sympathy on our side, we shall still further diminish that fear which still appears to exist in certain quarters. I think it is undoubted that a great deal of that fear was dissipated by the remarkable tact and ability of General Pitt-Rivers, whose memory we all revere at the Office of Works as the first inspector of ancient monuments, who left a splendid record of work behind him. Then we lived for years without an inspector of ancient monuments—how we lived I do not know. We owe a great deal to another gentleman, who I regret to say has also passed away, the late Mr. James Fitzgerald, who equally by his tact and discretion and by a great charm of manner endeared himself to those who possessed ancient monuments, and got them in many cases to transfer them to our custody. We are specially happy I should like to say now in

the possession of Mr. Peers, who not only is the Inspector of Ancient Monuments, but the Secretary of this Society, and who by his devotion to his work, his experience and ability, his great knowledge, and also by his personal charm, has achieved most notable successes since he came to us.

If it is admitted that an Advisory Committee is a desirable thing, may I, with all deference, lay before you the kind of shape which I think that Committee might take? In the first place, I think it will be universally conceded that it must be so composed as to command the confidence of the proprietor, because the proprietor is the crux of the situation. The Committee should be composed of men eminent in archaeology or in public life, men who are known to be thoroughly reasonable in their decisions, men who are known to be entirely averse to anything that would savour of hostility to any class, or of a desire to arrive at unreasonable and vexatious conclusions. I will say at once what I think would form the nucleus of a committee, but I should like to add, when I am making these suggestions, that all my propositions are elastic. I have put down roughly the names as they have suggested themselves to me, or rather the names of the offices held by various people, which I hope will meet with your approval. But of course these can be changed as much as may be desired. In the first place, I think it is essential that the Chairmen of the three Royal Commissions on Historical Monuments in England, Scotland, and Wales should sit on this Advisory Committee. But here I say at once that it is very possible that they would rather not do so, and if they desire not to sit on it, then it would be quite feasible to nominate from each Commission a member who would represent them. I certainly think that the President of this Society should have a seat upon it, and equally that the President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland should sit upon it. I should also propose that the Principal Librarian of the British Museum, the President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and the Inspector of Ancient Monuments should be on the Committee. Next I come to three names which I think may cause some surprise, but which I will presently explain. I should propose that the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York should each have a nominee upon it—for I hardly suppose they would be able to sit on it themselves; and finally I think that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners should be represented upon it also. That would make a body of eleven, which I think is quite large enough to deal with a subject of that kind. Then you will bear with me while I make my suggestions—I hope you will not think them very crude—as to the procedure which should be followed. My idea is that this body, which should bear the title of the Advisory Board on Historical

Monuments, should, *when satisfied that any monument of national importance is in danger*, represent to the First Commissioner of His Majesty's Works that the custody of it should be assumed by the nation, and that the First Commissioner should thereupon, *if he sees fit*, move His Majesty to declare, by Order in Council, that the monument in question is a national monument, and is consequently transferred to the custody of the First Commissioner. Now this may seem an extraordinarily drastic proceeding, but I really do not think it is so, and for this reason. I ask you to look at the safeguards. In the first place, you have your Advisory Committee; and I think the names I have indicated there would be a sufficient guarantee that none of them would declare a monument to be in danger or to be of national importance unless it fulfilled both those qualifications; but I own at once that it is a matter of total indifference to me whether it is transferred to the custody of the First Commissioner or to anybody else who may be appointed to take care of these monuments, as long as it is transferred to some official of the Government whom one can get at in either House of Parliament, or both, if he does not fulfil his trust. I want you to look at the safeguards by which this proposal is encompassed. In the first place, the Inspector of Ancient Monuments would look at a building and advise the Advisory Committee as to whether it was a monument worthy of preservation, and also whether it was in danger. It might be in no danger at all, and that would be the end of the matter. Then, again, the First Commissioner would have a voice in the matter, and that is another safeguard, for I think you may reasonably assume that, whatever was done forty years ago, it is never likely again you will have a First Commissioner who is not, as to my great happiness the last four have been, interested in archaeological and antiquarian matters.

Part of my proposal is that these powers should apply to two kinds of monuments, which I may divide into two categories. The first would be secular monuments; under this heading I should include all monuments to which the Ancient Monuments Protection Acts of 1882, 1900, and 1910 apply. I wish particularly to emphasize the point that it would not include dwelling-houses in actual occupation, but I should include in the category ruined abbeys, priories, and ecclesiastical buildings generally, not in the occupation of the Church. It should also apply with certain modifications, and in a totally different degree, to ecclesiastical monuments still in use for religious purposes. Here I know that I am on very delicate ground. Everybody must recognize the marvellous care that has been bestowed by the clergy upon their churches: and few will deny that if it had not been for the clergy of the last hundred and fifty years the damage

which would have been done would have been incalculable. But while we recognize that, and recognize too that they take wonderful care of their churches, I do think it can hardly be disputed that some means should be taken to protect cathedrals, churches, and chapels, should they be imperilled. I do not for a moment propose that such monuments as those should be transferred to the State; that is no part of my argument at all; and it is the last thing I should wish to do. I suggest quite a different procedure, namely, that when the restoration of any ecclesiastical building which may be considered of national importance is contemplated, the Advisory Board shall have the plans before them, and that such restoration or alteration shall not be carried out in a church which is declared to be of national importance until these plans have been passed by the Advisory Board. You will observe that that proposal does not confer any compulsory powers of acquisition on behalf of the nation: it merely safeguards the building in question from destruction or mutilation.

Then the question naturally arises as to the source from which the Advisory Board are to derive their information as to any monuments, secular or ecclesiastical, which may be in jeopardy. There it is suggested that the Inspector of Ancient Monuments, or, as I should like to put it in the plural, the Inspectors of Ancient Monuments, will undoubtedly be the person or persons best able to call attention to such cases as they may arise. To sum up, the procedure would be somewhat as follows: The Inspector of Ancient Monuments would inform the Advisory Board that a monument, secular or ecclesiastical, was in danger. If the Advisory Board was satisfied that this was the case they would thereupon inform the First Commissioner of His Majesty's Works, who, if convinced that their fears were well founded, would apply for an Order in Council to the effect that, in the case of a secular monument, it should be transferred to the custody of the Commissioners, and that, in the case of an ecclesiastical building, no restoration should take place without the consent of the Advisory Board, upon which the Archbishops and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners would be represented.

Speaking for one moment of the secular proprietor, may I point out that I think this machinery would secure the very maximum of security for buildings with the minimum of interference, for this reason: A good proprietor has nothing whatever to fear. He remains as he is; he does not want to touch the place except to maintain it. Look at the monuments all over England, castles, abbeys, priories, which are beautifully kept by their owners; they will not be affected, but it will prevent the bad or the neglectful proprietor doing things he ought not to do. I do not wish to interfere for a moment with the sale of an ancient

monument. Supposing that *A* purchases from *B* property, a country house and the land adjoining it, which has on it, say, a ruined castle or a ruined abbey; it is not proposed to interfere with that sale in any way. The purchaser would purchase it from the vendor, and he would purchase those buildings too. The vendor, if the monument should be already under the Ancient Monuments Act, would sell the monument without hindrance, and the purchaser could do anything he pleased with it except destroy it. It would be exactly the same under this proposal. If the purchaser began to spoil the monument you could stop him, but if he left it alone you would merely leave him alone. I make a great deal of that point, because I am sure there will be an outcry at once if it is thought that we are proposing to do hard things, and set up a sort of ecclesiastical and secular Star Chamber which would become intolerable.

I have already said that I should make it a *sine qua non* that all houses in actual occupation should be omitted from the purview of any legislation, for to me—and I hope to many of those present—it would be quite impossible to contemplate any one entering Longleat or Wilton or Hatfield or any other houses and telling the owners what they should do or should not do. You must leave the dwelling-houses in the proprietors' own hands. If they like to spoil them I am afraid you cannot stop them—at least, that is my view.

I shall be asked at once: How can you be sure that the Advisory Committee will be warned in time to prevent the demolition of a building? I believe myself that we shall be perfectly safe in that way, because I am confident that the local archaeological societies, the clergy, and I feel certain also the local schoolmasters throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain would act as watch-dogs. All classes have given us valuable help in the past in the collection of evidence in Hertfordshire, and I am sure they will do so in the future. I believe even the peasant would help us. The country people do take an interest in these things, and I believe if by means of the national schools and education the children could be taught the value of the ancient monuments in their parish, they would act as watch-dogs quite as much as anybody else.

It may seem that this is not a very appropriate moment to suggest anything of this kind; but pray consider if that is quite the case. As far as I know, there is considerable sympathy on the part of certain members of the Government towards any proposal which will help to preserve ancient monuments. What precise measures we should adopt in order to make our views known is, I think, a matter for discussion. There are many ways of proceeding. You may bring in Bills; you may go in a deputation to the

Prime Minister or to the First Commissioner; there are many things you may do. But what I do earnestly hope is that everybody here to-night who finds himself in agreement with me will endeavour to influence to the best of his ability public opinion in the direction I have indicated. Of course I may be quite wrong; all my suggestions may be absurd and really not worthy of mature consideration. If so I am ready to 'scrap' them at once; I only want somebody else to produce something that is better. But do not let us sit still and do nothing. Above all let us thoroughly debate what we are going to do, and then make up our minds what course we will take when we are sure that what we are proposing is not likely to arouse an implacable opposition."

Mr. C. R. PEERS exhibited a series of lantern slides which showed the former condition of the following buildings and also their present decayed appearance: Shrewsbury Abbey; Tonbridge Priory; Reculver Church; Esher Place; Richmond Palace; Jarrow Priory; Whitby Abbey; Tynemouth Priory; Croyland Abbey; Holy Island Priory; Netley Abbey; Shap Abbey; St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury; Chepstow Castle; Nunney Castle, and Tattershall Castle.

Mr. WILLIS BUND was of opinion that the establishment of Road Development Commissioners was a distinct menace to ancient bridges, because the motorist considered them dangerous, and the Commissioners thereupon advanced money to the County Councils to improve them, which meant destruction. He was particularly sorry to note that one bridge in danger of destruction was owned by the First Commissioner of Works, who was, he understood, quite prepared to sell it to the County Council. Again, under the Insurance Act it would be possible for the Insurance Commissioners to destroy many interesting ancient monuments or ancient houses on account of the inadequacy of the sanitary arrangements.

LORD BALCARRES confessed that he did not take quite so pessimistic a view as Sir Schomberg McDonnell. He saw marked evidence of the formation of public opinion in a satisfactory direction, and considered that if public opinion of to-day were compared with that prevailing say thirty years ago, there was every reason for satisfaction. It was happily becoming fashionable to look after ancient monuments; the clergy were realizing that repair and preservation were less expensive than restoration. But there were considerable difficulties. It would not be easy to determine whether a given building was or was not being properly maintained: opinions would be certain to differ on that

subject, and until some standard had been generally acknowledged, the task of the Advisory Committee would be one of some delicacy. With regard to that committee he felt that everything depended upon the personal equation, whether the council would inspire general confidence. Again, the proposed council consisted of men who would find it almost impossible to give anything like adequate attention to the many problems brought before them. It must be remembered too that the scheme would be very costly if carried out with any completeness. He would also point out how essential it was that legislation should not precede public assent. But he was confident that public opinion was progressing in the right direction, so that before long it would be possible for the Government to take steps towards the protection and preservation of buildings which under present conditions were in danger of destruction.

MR. THACKERAY TURNER was particularly interested in the subject of old bridges, in which England was extraordinarily rich. It was only with the advent of the County Councils that these had been threatened, and he believed the reason was that the surveyors had been trained as engineers, who understood the use of iron but were in most cases ignorant of the use of stone. Therefore when a stone bridge had to be repaired or strengthened, the surveyor's idea was to get it renewed, so that he might put up in its place an iron bridge which he knew all about. But he himself had never yet seen a bridge of which complaints had been made that could not be made perfectly fit for modern requirements without any loss of interest. This of course did not apply to pack-horse bridges, but if such were not wide enough for use, the road should be diverted and a new bridge made for heavy traffic, leaving the old bridge for pedestrians.

MR. DALE did not consider the case of the transportation of a house from France by Lord Stuart de Rothesay altogether analogous to that of the transportation of buildings to America, because in the former case the house had already been sold and was in process of demolition when his lordship intervened and took the best of the materials to Highcliffe Castle.

MR. CRACE was of opinion that Borough Councils were quite as dangerous as County Councils. At Exeter the Borough Council had destroyed a perfectly sound and well-preserved bridge and had substituted an iron one in order to carry a tramway across it.

Major FREER referred to the case of the Old Globe Room at

Banbury, which four years ago was said to have been sold to go to America. He believed that the house was still at Banbury, but it was undoubtedly in very great danger.

Mr. WILMER desired to say a word in defence of the engineering profession. He did not consider it correct to say that engineers built iron bridges because they knew more about iron than about stone. The reason for building iron bridges was that it was possible to have a much larger span at a much less cost than was possible with stone.

Mr. CURWEN referred to the request made to County Councils by the Office of Works for a list of all ancient monuments. Was he right in thinking that only those monuments should be included which were thought to be in danger? If so, he could not help thinking that in scheduling such monuments a slur would be cast on the owners. He also desired information as to what the Office of Works would do when a monument was taken over. Was it proposed to erect notice boards all over it? Was it proposed that the Government should send their own workmen to make repairs, or would the owner have any voice in their selection? Many owners, he felt sure, would gladly hand over their monuments, but they would wish to know whether they had the choice of workmen, and also whether repairs could be started without asking permission. He was glad that it was not proposed to take over ecclesiastical monuments.

Mr. JOHNSTON referred to the schedules already mentioned. He had been deputed with Mr. Malden to draw up the list for Surrey; and being uncertain as to the scope of the inquiry, they had decided to include in the list every ancient building in the county. He could not see that there could be any feeling of unpleasantness attached to the scheduling. For his part he thought people should be proud to know that their buildings had been scheduled and were thus considered of national importance. The Congress of Archaeological Societies had also approached the matter, and had urged the bishops to keep in touch with the local societies in order that there might be greater co-operation in the matter of church-restoration.

Mr. BAILDON wished to raise a practical point with regard to the working of the scheme. In technical language, was it proposed to take the owner's property or his possession? If the property in an ancient monument was to be transferred to the State, it would seem essential to compensate the owner for depriving him of it. If, on the other hand, it was only intended

to take the owner's custody or possession, that, he thought, could only be done in one of two ways: either by buying the owner out or by making it worth his while to come into a voluntary scheme. Then would arise the difficulty, that if the property remained, the owner would naturally demand some say in the matter of repairs.

SIR SCHOMBERG McDONNELL, in reply, said that he did not think Mr. Willis Bund was quite fair to the First Commissioner, who was not proposing to destroy the bridge in his official capacity and was possibly ignorant of what was said to be taking place. In reply to Lord Balcarras's estimate of the amount of work the Advisory Board would have to do, he did not think that the places in danger would be so numerous as was suggested; and so far from being at all niggardly, the Government had proved themselves generous. As to the bridges, he did not think the engineers were so much to blame as the County Councils. With regard to Highcliffe, he was not finding fault with Lord Stuart de Rothesay, but pointing out that if it was possible to move a castle from France to England at the end of the eighteenth century, it was just as easy now to move one from England to America. There seemed to be some confusion of ideas in Mr. Curwen's mind with regard to the schedule. The schedules which County Councils had been asked to furnish for the Office of Works had nothing to do with the schedules under the proposed Bill. The Bill would only deal with imperilled monuments: what the County Councils had been asked for was a list of all monuments. In reply to Mr. Baildon, what he proposed was to take over the custody of a building which the proprietor would not keep in order, but there was no intention of buying it. It would remain the owner's property, but if it were imperilled the owner would be deprived of the custody. He did not see that the owner would suffer any hardship: it was the bounden duty of every one to keep his ancient monuments in order, and if he did not he must take the chance of having them scheduled and of losing his custody of them.

The PRESIDENT thought he might assume that all were much indebted to Sir Schomberg McDonnell for bringing the subject before the Society. It was obvious that the Society agreed with his premises, and he was sure that every Fellow would do his utmost to forward any reasonable scheme for the preservation of these ancient monuments. But the difficulties of legislation were very great. On the Continent legislation erred either on the side of ineffectiveness and carelessness or of compulsion; and the British temperament resented anything in the nature of com-

pulsory legislation with regard to property. But that something was necessary was very certain, and as it was true that public opinion had been greatly stirred in the matter during the last ten or fifteen years, he hoped that before long the Society would have the opportunity of conferring with Sir Schomberg McDonnell with a view to formulating some practical scheme. He would like to add a word in confirmation of what Sir Schomberg had said with regard to the facilities the War Office gave to the Office of Works. The War Office had always been most courteous in advising the Society of any work which might endanger ancient monuments, in calling attention to their proposed necessary demolition, and inviting the Society to take steps for excavating or otherwise recording them.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 11th JANUARY, 1912.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—*Hatchments*. By C. A. Markham, F.S.A. 8vo. n.p. 1911.

From the Editor:—*Allegations for marriage licences issued by the Commissary Court of Surrey between 1673-1770*. Transcribed and edited by A. R. Bax, F.S.A. 8vo. Norwich, 1907.

From the Court of Assistants of the Honourable Artillery Company:—*Catalogue of the armour, weapons, uniforms, portraits, prints, and other objects of interest in the Armoury House of the Honourable Artillery Company of London*. 8vo. n.p. 1911.

From the Author:—*Griddle or Greidell Ine or Een, otherwise known as Griadal Fhinn, Kilchoan, Ardnamurchan*. By Symington Grieve. 8vo. n.p. 1910.

From the Author:—*A guide to the antiquities of Newark and the churches of Holme and Hawton*. By T. M. Blagg, F.S.A. 8vo. Newark, 1910.

From the Author:—*White towers. What they were and what they did, and how its doing undid them*. By Arthur Betts. 8vo. n.p. n.d.

From the Author:—*The early history of the hundred of Cadelintona or Colridge*. By Rev. O. J. Reichel, F.S.A. 8vo. n.p. 1911.

From Count Plunkett, F.S.A. :—National Museum of Science and Art, Dublin. Handbook and guide to Irish Antiquities Collection. Early Christian Art in Ireland. By Margaret Stokes. Revised edition. 8vo. Dublin, 1911.

From the Morant Club :—The Benedictine Abbey of Barking : a sketch of its architectural history and an account of recent excavations on its site. By Alfred W. Clapham. 8vo. Colchester, 1911.



MEDIAEVAL BOOK-COVER.

From the Pennsylvania Society :

1. Report on William Penn Memorial in London, 1911. 8vo. New York, 1911.
2. Service to be used at the dedication of the Penn Memorial, 13 July, 1911. 8vo. n.p. 1911.

Special votes of thanks were returned to the Editors of *The Athenaeum*, *Notes and Queries*, *The Builder*, and *Country Life*, for the gift of their periodicals during the past year.

This being an evening appointed for the election of Fellows, no papers were read.

ARTHUR DENMAN, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited the board of a mediaeval book-cover with chain attached (see illustration). Where the leather covering of the outside has been torn away is to be seen some fourteenth-century writing, while on a paper fastened to the inside is part of a commentary or discourse in Latin on the raising of the son of the widow of Nain, in a fifteenth-century hand.

The ballot opened at 8.45 p.m. and closed at 9.30 p.m., when the following were declared duly elected Fellows of the Society :

Hubert Garle, Esq.

George Jeffery, Esq.

Ronald Stewart-Brown, Esq., M.A.

Rev. Lemuel John Hopkin-James, M.A.

Robert Edmund Brandt, Esq., M.A.

Alfred Joseph Vooght Radford, Esq.

Etwell Augustine Bracher Barnard, Esq.

THURSDAY, 18th JANUARY, 1912.

PHILIP NORMAN, Esq., LL.D., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From Ralph Griffin, Esq., F.S.A. :—A collection of sixteen drawings and engravings of monumental brasses in Kent.

From Francis W. Reader, Esq. :

1. On a neolithic floor in the bed of the Crouch River near Rayleigh, Essex. By F. W. Reader.
2. On the correlation of the prehistoric floor on the Crouch River with similar beds elsewhere. By S. H. Warren. Being reports on an investigation undertaken by the Morant Club. 8vo. Colchester, 1911.

From Miss Gwendoline Stahlschmidt :—A collection of casts of bell stamps made by the late J. C. L. Stahlschmidt.

From Maurice Rosenheim, Esq. :—A portrait of the late Max Rosenheim, F.S.A.

The following were admitted Fellows :

Etwell Augustine Bracher Barnard, Esq.

Robert Edmund Brandt, Esq., M.A.

Prof. F. HAVERFIELD, V.P.S.A., communicated the following note on (1) a fragment of Samian ware, and (2) the site of Magiovinium.

"(1) When I was lately at Fenny Stratford in North Bucks., the Hon. Secretary of the Bucks. Archaeological Society, Mr. W. Bradbrook, showed me a small piece of Samian ware from the neighbourhood, which, despite its littleness, seemed to me worth borrowing from him and exhibiting to the Society. It is a bit of the shape known as '29', but unusually thick, coarse,



FRAGMENT OF SAMIAN WARE FROM FENNY STRATFORD (1).

and ill glazed to a dull brick hue. The design on it seemed to me to be clearly different from the ordinary Samian from Lezoux or Graufesenque; in detail and in composition—notably in the disposition of relatively small, isolated, and unrelated items on a large undivided background—it was plainly to be classed with various Samian wares made in Eastern Gaul and Germany. For the actual ornament of the piece, however, I was unable to trace any really close analogies, and I had recourse to our Hon. Fellow Dr. Emil Ritterling, the head of the Romano-German Commission at Frankfurt, and his assistant, Fräulein Fölzer, to whom I sent drawings. They tell me independently that they incline to ascribe the fragment to the pottery of La Madeleine, or possibly to Lavoye,¹ or at any rate to one of the East-Gaulish potteries, and Dr. Ritterling quotes parallels for some of the details, though the V (which is perhaps the most characteristic

¹ Both sites are in France. La Madeleine is a little south of Nancy; Lavoye lies north-west of it, in the department of Meuse. R. Forrer (*Töpferien von Heiligenberg und Ittenweiler*, Stuttgart, 1911, pp. 185, 288 note) gives some details about these and neighbouring sites.

of them) seems to remain unmatched.¹ The date is fixed by Dr. Ritterling to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century—roughly, the early reign of Trajan—and he adds that, in the East-Gaulish potteries, pieces of shape 29 seem to have been made occasionally as late as this and in the same rough style. In any case, as shape 29 occurs rarely among the Samian products of Eastern Gaul and Germany, and as pieces of 29 from this reign are naturally rarer still in Britain, a specimen may deserve notice. Moreover, while we have found a fair quantity of German and similar Samian at Corbridge, not much has been done to observe the dates or the amount of the importation of such wares into Southern or Middle England. This little fragment seems, therefore, in the present state of our knowledge, well worthy of record.

(2) The point where this fragment was discovered is on the south or right bank of the little river Ouzel, in the parish of Little Brickhill, but on the very edge of Fenny Stratford, close to a house called Dropshort and close also to Watling Street. The site is marked as 'Roman' by the Ordnance Surveyors, and not a few other Roman remains have been found here. Mr. Bradbrook has tiles, etc., indicative of buildings, besides other small objects. Quite lately, he and Mr. James Berry have made a small excavation in a grass-field close to the Ouzel, and south of it and of Watling Street, and have found there painted wall-plaster, some very rough 'tesserae', some tiles, and other objects indicating a Romano-British house or houses, a full description of which they will give elsewhere. Here too, as Mr. Bradbrook tells me, lie the 'Auld-fields' described by Lysons,² or rather by his contributor William Bennett, Bishop of Cloyne, as 'a quarter of a mile from the present village, on a small elevation on the south side of the rivulet, where coins and foundations had been dug up in abundance.' Here too were found the coins and eagle noted by Mr. C. Roach Smith in these *Proceedings* (ser. i, vol. i, p. 246) as discovered near the White Hart Inn—for fifty years ago the house now called Dropshort was the White Hart Inn, and not improbably derived its rather curious name from the fact. It can now, I think, be no longer questioned that here, close to

¹ For the twisted 'horn' see *ORL. Niederberg*, plate iv. 9, *Kapersburg*, v. 19, *Zugmantel*, xxiii. 5, *Ems*, ii. 7; for the two trefoils, a piece from the Saalburg which seems to be assignable with some certainty to La Madeleine; for the little human figure, *ORL. Stockstadt*, xvii. 39.

² D. Lysons, *Bucks.* (1806), pp. 483, 485, copied by Lipscomb (iv. 29) and later writers. Some of the Bishop's information came from Browne Willis, and Miss M. V. Taylor supplies me with references to Willis's MSS. in the Bodleian, no. 98, fo. 35, and 100, fo. 133, which, however, add little to our other knowledge.

Dropshort, stood the Romano-British village or 'station' of Magiovinium.¹ Inquirers have always recognized that it was here or hereabouts, but the precise site has been doubtful, or at least has been doubted. It remains for Mr. Berry and Mr. Bradbrook to carry on their good work, to find the actual houses from which their tiles, wall-plaster, etc., came, and to tell us something of the real character of one of the Romano-British villages or townlets or 'stations' in central Britain. Not one of these has as yet been properly explored, even in part: if Mr. Berry and Mr. Bradbrook can excavate scientifically the whole or some considerable part of Magiovinium, they will really fill a gap in our knowledge of Roman Britain."

A. W. CLAPHAM, Esq., read a paper on the Topography of the Dominican Priory in London, which dealt with the second site occupied by that house. Established first in Holborn, it was removed to the south-western angle of the city walls in 1274, and the sites of the various portions of this convent can be exactly located. The great church, some 220 ft. long, had a Lady chapel on the north side of the nave, and a central steeple over the modern alley called Church Entry. The cloister was bounded on the west by a large guest-house once occupied by the Emperor Charles V, and now represented by the Apothecaries Hall. Henry VIII built a long wooden gallery connecting it with Bridewell Palace on the opposite side of the Fleet river. The convent included numerous other extensive buildings with a second or little cloister. To the south-west, and flanking Printing House Square, stood a structure called the upper frater, which was transformed in 1597 into the Blackfriars theatre. There is every reason to suppose that this building was identical with the mediaeval Parliament House, where the trial of Katherine of Aragon was held in 1529.

The CHAIRMAN had long been familiar with the precinct survey at Blackfriars, but had not given the matter any close attention; he did not regret having left it in Mr. Clapham's hands. It was remarkable that the founders of Blackfriars had been allowed to breach the Roman wall; and a piece of the mediaeval wall that took in the precinct as far as the river had recently come to light. He understood that the crypt found in 1900 was below the south dorter, which measured 40 ft. by 27 ft. When the crypt was exposed to view, most of the western part was visible from a carpenter's shop; and he noticed that the

¹ *Itin. Ant.*, 471, 476, 479. In two of the passages the name is spelt Magiovinium, in the third (476), Magiovintum; beyond this fact I know no reason for preferring the former to the latter spelling.

stone was calcined, the reddish colour penetrating about a quarter of an inch.

Mr. BAILDON remarked that the earlier site of the Priory was rather a side issue, but had been misrepresented by various authorities. The former site was in Holborn, where Lincoln's Inn never had a frontage. Its history could be traced from the time of the original grant to the Friars, and the north front of the site was now occupied in part by the City Temple. The western boundary ran down Shoe Lane, and Plum-tree Alley marked the site of the garden. It was purchased by Henry de Lacey, Earl of Lincoln, in 1286. Some notes had been published in the *Archaeological Journal*, v. 295, from the Ministers' Accounts of the Duchy of Lancaster in the Record Office, which mentioned a hall, a great chapel, stewponds, etc. In 1311 it passed to the earl's daughter, who surrendered the whole to Edward II. The bulk of the property was retained by Edward III, but she obtained a grant in 1331 that the Holborn property should go to the heirs of her second husband, Ebulio le Strange. It subsequently descended to the Stanleys, Earls of Derby, and Eagle and Child Alley commemorated their ownership. It was constantly referred to as Holborn Hall or the manor of Holborn, and was later (1548) known as Derby House. Remains of later Jacobean buildings were illustrated in Wilkinson's *Londinia Illustrata* (1834), and were then occupied by Messrs. Pontifex. He had traced the history of the house down to the time of James I, when the Earl of Derby let it out as tenements (*see the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn*, iv. 263-79).

Mr. HOPE had nothing to add to the excellent account given by Mr. Clapham, and was personally grateful for an ingenious and successful study of the site. It was unfortunate that the Dominican houses were so largely destroyed; being generally in towns, they were quickly swept away. The Gloucester example had been described, but another paper on the subject would be welcome.

Dr. MARTIN was not clear as to the exact position of the playhouse at Blackfriars. It seemed to be on the site of the upper frater, and Lord Cobham had lodgings adjacent to the porter's lodge. According to the *Daily Chronicle*, Dec. 22, 1911, the playhouse was located where Lord Cobham had his lodgings, which might mean that a lease had been obtained from Lord Cobham or that he himself lived there. These indications

hardly tallied with the map shown on the screen. Buildings due west of the church were also enigmatic, but probably more extensive than shown on the plan. No doubt the rise in the ground level and the descent experienced in passing across the site from Water Lane to St. Andrew's Hall was due to the accumulated debris of the Priory, on which, at a subsequent date, buildings were erected. With regard to the Roman wall, Mr. Reader showed a portion running from north-west to south-east across the area, coinciding with a line on Agas's map and marking the parish boundary.

Mr. CLAPHAM was familiar with the previous history of Blackfriars theatre, but did not think the evidence clashed with his own conclusions. Lord Cobham must have leased considerably more property than there was direct evidence of; and it was obvious that the theatre could not have been part of Cobham House, as all the latter passed to the Apothecaries Company in 1632 and the theatre stood till about 1655. Possibly the upper frater was leased to Lord Cobham. The paper was practically confined to the Dominican house in Blackfriars, the early home of the Order in Holborn being treated merely in outline.

The paper will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

The EARL OF MALMESBURY exhibited a gold torc and a double-looped palstave, on which O. G. S. CRAWFORD, Esq., communicated the following notes:

"The gold torc now exhibited was found in 1852 by the third Earl of Malmesbury in a barrow at Blackwater, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-west of Christchurch, Hants. It is not clear in which of the many barrows here it was discovered, but it must have been one of those which are scattered over the top and sides of St. Catherine's Hill. This hill is a bluff of high ground, separating the Avon and the Stour just before their junction in Christchurch harbour. The only account of the finding of the torc is contained in the *Memoirs of an ex-Minister*, by the [third] Earl of Malmesbury (ed. 1885, pp. 8, 9): 'On these heaths there are many barrows, of which I have opened three. In the first the layers of turf were perfectly preserved in slices, one upon another, and on reaching the level the body was clearly delineated in black bone-dust. In the second the ashes were in a vase of unbaked pottery, and in the third there was only a beautiful twisted bracelet of solid gold.' That these barrows were at Blackwater is known from a label preserved with the bracelet at Heron Court.

In its present condition the torc has not the recurved hooks characteristic of others similarly formed, but it is highly probable that it originally possessed them. Unfortunately a part of it has been melted down and made into a clasp set with deer's teeth to enable it to be worn as a bracelet. It is not clear whether it is made of two V-shaped bands set back to back, or of three flat bands of unequal width. Both processes occur in other examples from these islands. It is soldered together at the junction by a kind of gold paste.

A good deal has been written about torcs of this type, and several lists have been compiled; but in all the accounts there



Fig. 1. GOLD TORC FOUND IN A BARROW AT BLACKWATER, NEAR CHRISTCHURCH, HANTS ($\frac{1}{2}$).

has been some confusion, owing to the inclusion of other gold ornaments not of this type and often of a very much later date. No single list has been published which includes all the known discoveries of torcs of this type and no others. The first attempt to put together the evidence derived from finds was made by Samuel Birch in 1846. A list, exhaustive at the time, was made by Sir A. W. Franks in 1863, when the gold torc found near the mouth of the Test was exhibited before this Society. No more notice was taken of them for more than forty years, when in 1905 Comte Olivier Costa de Beauregard for the first time assigned them to their true position in time and space. Since then Baron von Hügel has written some valuable notes on the torc found with three palstaves at Grunty Fen in Cambridgeshire, and Mr. H. St. George Gray has described and figured the

Yeovil and Allington torcs, and given (in the account of the former) a nearly complete list of other finds. The list, however, includes some of other types, as stated in the article.

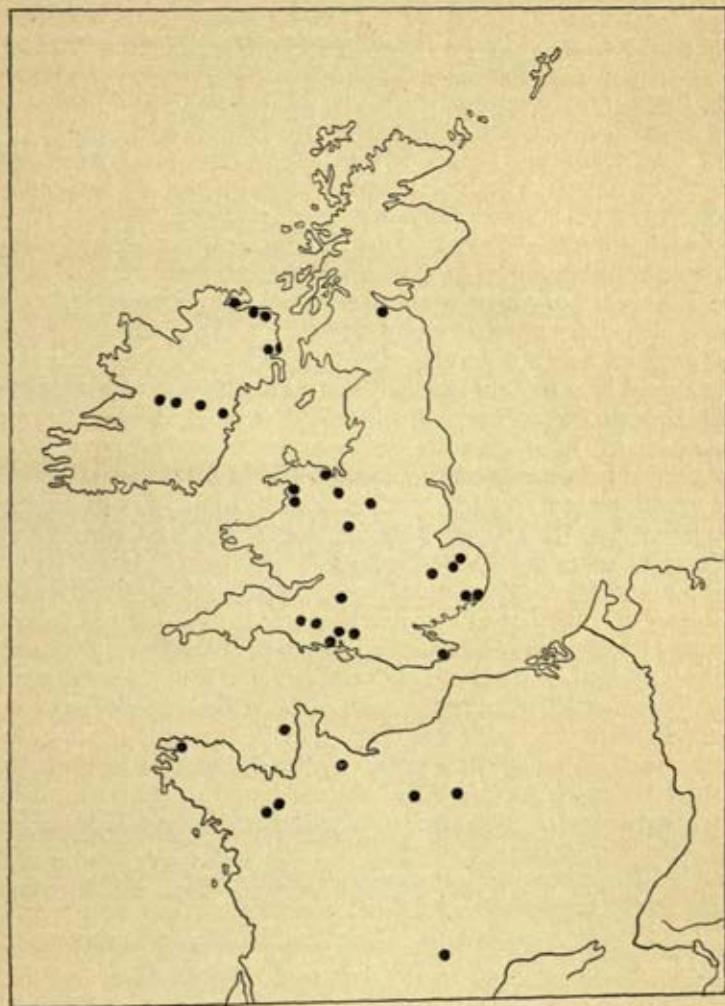


Fig. 2. THE DISTRIBUTION OF GOLD TORCS OF YEOVIL TYPE.

Samuel Birch assigned these torcs to the fourth or fifth century after Christ. This was natural at the time, and indeed gold objects are so seldom found associated with objects of other metal that the dating of them becomes very difficult. So late as 1897 Dr. W. Frazer assigned the Irish gold *lunulae* to about

the same period, though the discovery of two *lumulae* at Harlyn in Cornwall with a flat celt makes it certain that they belong to the early Bronze Age. Only two undoubted instances are known where these torcs¹ have been found associated with bronze objects.² At Grunty Fen in 1844 one was discovered with three palstaves, and at Fresné-la-Mère, near Falaise, Normandy, another was found with a bronze razor and other late Bronze Age objects. We shall therefore probably be not far wrong in following de Beauregard, who gives 1000 B.C. as an approximate date. The torc here exhibited is the only one ever known to have been found in a barrow. Unfortunately there were no associated objects, but it is highly probable that the interment with which it had been placed belonged to the same age as many others which have been found in barrows in the neighbourhood. The large majority of these contain cinerary urns, sometimes quite large, and inhumation is rarely met with. They were probably the work of a race which invaded these islands from France and introduced into Britain the new phase of culture we know as the late Bronze Age. That the invasion entered England along the coasts of Dorset, Hants, and perhaps Sussex is shown by the distribution of remains of this period, and in particular of bronze razors, which are very frequent in Dorset; while it will be seen from the map that three of these Yeovil torcs have been found in South Hampshire near the coast.

The area of distribution of these torcs is a very limited one. The greatest number of them has been found in England (about twenty); five have been found in Wales and fourteen in Ireland, while only one has been found in Scotland. On the Continent eight have been found in France. Comte O. de Beauregard inquired whether other examples were known, with the result that Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Spain, and Portugal proved barren. Amongst the objects found in Hissarlik, however, there was a gold torc with recurved hooks which seems, from the illustration in Dörpfeld's *Troja und Ilion*, to have resembled the examples from north-west Europe. There can be little doubt that most of these torcs were made from the gold of the Wicklow mountains. Can the Irish gold have reached Troy? And if Troy, why not golden Mycenae?

¹ For convenience I shall denote them by the name 'Yeovil torcs' or 'torcs of Yeovil type', following the geological custom of naming after a typical instance.

² What appear to be fragments of one or more Yeovil torcs were found with certain biconical gold beads at Beerhackett in Dorset (see list, p. 45). A similar gold bead formed part of a hoard, recently found at Adabrock in Lewis, consisting of three 'razors', a socketed celt, gouge, hammer, and spear-head. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xlv (1910-11), p. 27.



Fig. 3. THE DISTRIBUTION OF DOUBLE-LOOPED PALSTAVES.

(The examples from Spain and Portugal are more numerous than shown in the map.)

The double-looped palstave was found in June, 1894, at Charminster Allotments (near the Indian Hut) Bournemouth. It is well preserved, and in patina it resembles others which have been found in the neighbourhood.¹ Its interest lies in the possession of two loops, since this is characteristic of most of the palstaves and socketed celts found in the Iberian peninsula. A small number of these have been found in France, all in the west and upon the route which intercourse with Spain might be expected to follow. Of other English specimens, one in the collection of Sir Arthur Evans was found at Weymouth. Two have been found in Cornwall and three in Somerset. This distribution is just what one would expect on geographical grounds, since any influence coming from Spain, whether directly or indirectly, would strike the English coast in Hampshire, Dorset, or further west, and would easily penetrate into Somerset. The last-mentioned county seems to have been a settlement area from the beginning of the Bronze Age.

As regards the date, there is little positive evidence. At West Buckland in Somerset with a double-looped palstave were found a bronze torc and bracelet (Evans, figs. 468, 481). So far as I am aware, torcs of this type have never been found in hoards of the late Bronze Age, and they are certainly unknown during the Arreton period. This places them—and with them double-looped palstaves—in the middle Bronze Age. In the 'Yeovil torc period' a uniform culture seems to have extended over Ireland, Wales, Central and Southern England, and Northern France. This appears to have been preceded by a period when intercourse was maintained along the Atlantic margin. Probably the tin-mines of Galicia were the chief attraction, and it is by no means impossible that the centre of gravity may have shifted to England owing to the discovery of the Cornish tin."

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1. BIRCH, Samuel : On the Torc of the Celts. *Arch. Journ.*, ii (1846), 368-80 ; iii (1846), 27-38.
2. [FRANKS, A. W.] : Gold Torques found near Romsey, Hants. *Archaeologia*, xxxix (1863), pp. 505-7.
3. DE BEAUREGARD, Comte O. Costa : Les Torques d'or de Saint-Leu-d'Esserent (Oise). *Congrès Archéologique français*, Beauvais (1905), pp. 285-303. Sketch map.

¹ Two are in the possession of a Bournemouth dealer ; one belongs to Mr. Herbert Druitt of Christchurch. They were all found on Pokes-down.

4. VON HÜGEL, Baron : Some notes on the Gold Armilla found in Grunty Fen, together with Mr. Isaiah Deck's original account of its discovery in 1844. *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, xii (1908), pp. 96-105.
5. GRAY, H. St. George : The Gold Torc found at Yeovil, 1909. *Proc. Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, lv (1909), pl. ii, pp. 66-84; *Coroners' Society Annual Report*, iv (1909-10).
6. GRAY, H. St. George : Notes on the Allington Gold Torc. *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xxxvi (1910), pp. 435-8.

The above references are not repeated in the following inventory.

GOLD TORCS OF YEOVIL TYPE FOUND IN THE BRITISH ISLES AND FRANCE.¹

ENGLAND.

- Cambs.* Grunty Fen, Haddenham : Cambridge Mus. Found in 1844 with three palstaves. L. 45 in. W. 5½ oz. C. C. Babington, *Ancient Cambs.*, 1st edn. (1853), 11; *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, xii (1908), 96-105.
- Cheshire.* Near Egerton Hall, Malpas. Two (one imperfect) found in 1831, now at Egerton Hall. Gold value, £29 5s. *Archæologia*, xxvii (1838), 401, fig.; *Arch. Jour.*, v (1848), 342; Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Ant.* (1873), 137.
- Dorset.* Whitfield Farm, Beerhackett. Found January, 1849, and exhibited by Lord Digby before the Archaeological Institute, Jan. 4th, 1850. The objects, which all appear to have been found together, were as follows: one penannular gold 'armlet', unornamented; two gold bracelets of thin wire; a gold bracelet formed of two inter-twisted wires; two portions of a torc with 'plain extremities recurved and dilated towards their blunted ends'; and a gold rod and fragments with seven biconical hollow gold beads. *Arch. Jour.*, vii (1850), 64-5 (two plates).
- Hants.* Christchurch, Blackwater : Fragment only, in possession of the Earl of Malmesbury, Heron Court, Christchurch. Third Earl of Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an ex-Minister* (1835), 8, 9.
- Romsey.* Found in 1860, near Moorecourt Farm : Now at Broadlands Park. W. 1 oz. 332 gr.
- Ropley.* Found in 1843 : Evans Collection. W. 5 oz. 17 dwt. 11 gr. *Proc. Arch. Inst.*, 1845 (Winchester), xli; *Proceedings*, 2 S., ii (1860), 370.
- **Kent.* Near Canterbury. Found in 1860 (fragment). Said to be like Wilde, *Gold Ornaments*, fig. 600 (the smaller torc found at Tara). *Proceedings*, vii (1878), 91, 92; *Arch. Cant.*, v (1863), 44; ix (1874), 1.
- Castlemount, Dover* : British Museum. Found in 1878. L. 56 in. W. 13 oz. av. *Proceedings*, vii (1878), 353; *Arch. Cant.*, xii (1878), 317-20 (plate).
- **River Medway at Aylesford* : Kent Arch. Soc. Two. W. 4 oz. 17 dwt. 19 gr.; 5 oz. 1 dwt. 8 gr. L. 16 in. and 15 in. (imperfect). *Arch. Cant.*, ix. 2.

¹ In these inventories those items which are marked with an asterisk have not been inserted in the map. Those described as at Dublin are in the National Museum there.

- **Lincs.* Site unknown : British Museum. Evans, *Bronze*, p. 390 ; *Brit. Mus. Bronze Age Guide* (1904), 151.
- Norfolk.* Ashill, Watton : British Museum. Found in 1856. L. 33 in. W. 4 oz. 12 dwt. (imperfect). *Trans. Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc.*, v (1848), 193.
- Bittering Common, Foulsham : Found in 1840, and in possession of Lord Hastings in 1863. L. 42 in. ; L. of recurved ends, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. W. $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz. *Trans. Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc.*, i (1847), 231, fig. ; *Proc. Arch. Inst.*, 1847 (Norwich), xxix.
- Somerset.* Near Yeovil : Taunton Museum. (See above.)
- Staffs.* Fantley Hill, Pattingham. Melted down. Found in 1700. L. about 48 in. W. 3 lb. 2 oz. Found in ploughing, in removing a large stone. 'Almost in the shape of a pair of pot-hooks, if the upper part was circular : for the two ends were hooked and would come as near together as one pleased.' Gough's *Camden* (1789), ii. 390 ; Shaw, *Staffordshire, Gen. Hist.* (1798), 32 ; Leigh, *Nat. Hist. of Lancs. and Cheshire*, 64 ; *Archaeologia*, xiv (1803), 96 ; xxxiii (1849), 176 ; *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxix (1873), 25, 26.
- Stanton, Ashbourne. Found in 1853 in a field near the Stone Pits. L. $45\frac{1}{2}$ in. W. 5 oz. 18 dwt. $5\frac{1}{2}$ gr. *Arch. Jour.*, xi (1854), 54 ; *Proceedings*, v (1872), 339.
- Suffolk.* Boyton : British Museum. Found in 1835 with two pieces of gold ring-money, one of which is lost. L. $17\frac{1}{2}$ in. W. 2 oz. 79 gr. *Archaeologia*, xxvi (1837), 471 ; *Brit. Mus. Bronze Age Guide* (1904), fig. 144.
- **Sussex.* Mountfield, Battle. Found in 1863 and melted down. *Proceedings*, 2 S., ii (1863), 427 ; *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xv (1863), 238-40.
- Wilts.* Allington Down, near Tan Hill. Found in 1844 and now in possession of the Earl of Ilchester, Melbury, Dorchester, Dorset. L. $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. W. 2 oz. 10 dwt. 11 gr. *Proc. Arch. Inst.*, 1849 (Salisbury), 111, 112, plate, fig. 31 ; *Proceedings*, 1 S., i (1847), 226 ; *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xi (1868), 10 ; xxxvi (1910), 435-8, *Proc. Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, lv (1909), pt. ii, p. 81.

WALES.

- **Brecknockshire.* Site unknown : British Museum. Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1873), 1140, fig.
- Flintshire.* Bryn Shon, Ysceifiog, near Holywell : Eaton Hall, Cheshire. Circ. (without terminals of about 3 in. each in length), 44 in. W. nearly 28 oz. (? 25 oz.). *Archaeologia*, xviii (1817), 443 ; *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, v (1850), 333, fig.
- **Glamorganshire.* Borders of ; exact site unknown : British Museum. Found in 1838. L. $51\frac{1}{2}$ in. W. 7 oz. 214 gr. *Archaeologia*, xxvi (1837), 464.
- Merionethshire.* Harlech Castle : Mostyn Hall, Flintshire. Found in 1692. L. about 54 in. W. about $9\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Pennant, *Tour in Wales* (1784), ii. 133 ; *Archaeologia*, xiv (1803), 95 ; xxvi (1837), 464 ; Llwyd, *Merionethshire* ; Gough's *Camden*, iii. 174, pl. xviii, fig. 20.
- Llyn Gwernan, Cader Idris. Found in 1823. In possession of Sir W. W. Wynne in 1863. L. 42 in. W. 8 oz. 8 dwt. Gold value (1825) £36. A similar tore (but thicker in proportion to its length) figured in *Vetusta Monumenta*, v (1835), pl. xxix, fig. 2. *Archaeologia*, xxi (1825), 557-9.

SCOTLAND.

Midlothian. Slateford. Found in 1846 and melted down. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xviii (1883-4), 239; Wilson, *Preh. Annals of Scotland*, i (1863), 470, fig. 97; Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times*, ii (1886), Bronze Age, 221; *Cat. Nat. Mus. of Antiqs. Scot.* (1892), F. E. 45; R. Munro, *Preh. Scotland* (1899), 210, fig. 131.

IRELAND.

Antrim. Carrickfergus. Found in 1846 and melted down. W. 6 oz. 15 dwt. 6 gr. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ii (1847), 347, 8, fig.

Giants' Causeway: Dublin.

Island Magee. Found in 1817 near a cromlech. *Dublin Penny Journal*, i (1832), 244.

Ballycastle. W. 22 oz. In form of a straight rod, uncoiled. *Archaeologia*, xvi (1812), 353, pl. lii, fig. 1.

**Cork*. Coppeen, Dunmanway: Dublin [1896. 16]. W. 3 dwt. 1 gr.

**Kildare*. Tipper, Naas. In possession of Marquess of Kildare in 1863.

L. 55 in. *Cat. of Works of Art on Loan* (1862), no. 856.

Londonderry. Fahan, Lough Swilly. Sold in 1846 at Sotheby's (January 28) for £34 (its value as gold) and melted down. W. 9 oz. 7 dwt. *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ii (1847), 96.

Meath. Tara: Dublin. No. 192: L. 67 in. W. 27 oz. 7 dwt. 20 gr. No. 173: L. 66 in. W. 12 oz. 7 dwt. 13 gr. *Dublin Penny Journal*, i (1832), 457; *Proc. R. Irish Acad.*, i (1836-7), 274-6 (figs.); *Trans. R. Irish Acad.*, xviii. 181-2; *Wilde's Cat.* (1862), 71, figs. 599, 600; *Archaeologia*, xxviii (1840), 437 (probably the two there mentioned).

Roscommon. Athlone: Dublin [1893. 6]. W. 1 oz. 7 dwt.

Westmeath. Mullingar: Dublin [1884. 6]. L. 56½ in. W. 10 oz. 16 dwt.

*Site unknown: British Museum. Found in 1838. L. 38 in. W. 4 oz. 11 gr.

*Site unknown: Dublin. L. 44½ in. W. 3 oz. 3 dwt. 15 gr. *Wilde's Cat.* (1862), no. 179, p. 79.

*Site unknown: Dublin. W. 12 dwt. 14 gr. *Wilde's Cat.* (1862), no. 189, p. 80.

*Site unknown (2): In possession of the Earl of Charleville in 1835. *Vetusta Monumenta*, v (1835), pl. xix, figs. 1 and 2. Fig. 1: W. 10 oz. 5 dwt. Only partially twisted. Fig. 2: W. 15 oz. 7 dwt.

CHANNEL ISLANDS.

Jersey. St. Heliers. Found December, 1889. L. 55½ in. Diam. 15 mm. W. 24 oz. Troy (746 grammes). Found coiled in unequal spirals and crushed; acquired the day after discovery by the Société Jersiaise for their museum at St. Heliers.

FRANCE.

Allier. Champ Bonnet, Marseigne, Saligny: S. Germain. Found 1868-9 with other objects, amongst them the terminal of another similar torc and a lump of rough metal.

- Calvados.* Fresné-la-Mère, Falaise : Evans Collection. Found in 1854 with bronze razor, spearhead, small anvil, socketed hammer (with large proportion of tin), and a socketed and curved implement. W. 11 oz. 8 dwt. 10 gr.
- Finistère.* Kerdrin, near Plouguin. L. 1 m. 48. W. 456 grammes. *Mém. Soc. Acad. de l'Oise*, iv (1860), 518-33.
- Ille-et-Vilaine.* Cesson : Cluny Museum. W. 389 grammes.
- Morbihan.* Augan. L. 1 m. 08. W. 458 grammes.
- Oise.* Saint-Leu-d'Esserent : Cabinet des médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Found in 1843. L. 1 m. 05. W. 344 grammes. Finess of gold, 0.745. Houbigant, *Mém. Soc. Acad. de l'Oise*, iv (1860), 518-33 ; Chabouillet, *Cat. des objets antiques du Cabinet des médailles*, no. 2567.
- Seine dredgings : S. Germain [26655]. Terminal only.
- *Neighbourhood of Carcassonne, Aude. Evans Collection (bought in Paris in 1879 ; site of discovery doubtful).
- *Site unknown (2) : Louvre [Salle des bijoux]. *Cat. Coll. Campana*, 76, 77, nos. 259, 261.
- *Site unknown : S. Germain.

DOUBLE-LOOPED PALSTAVES.

ENGLAND.

- Cornwall.* Penvores, Mawgan-in-Meneage : British Museum. ['J. J. Rogers, 1873.'] Evans, *Bronze*, fig. 86 ; *Proceedings*, v. 398.
- *Exact site not known. *Proc. Som. Arch. and N. H. Soc.*, li (1905), pt. ii, 143 ; *Proceedings*, v. 430.
- Dorset.* Weymouth : Evans Collection.
- Hants.* Bournemouth : In possession of the Earl of Malmesbury, Heron Court, Christchurch. Found in June, 1894, at Charminster Allotments, near the Indian Hut.
- Oxon.* Garsington : Reading Museum. L. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.
- Somerset.* Cheddar : British Museum. ['W. Edkins, 1876']. L. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Found 1868 in making the Cheddar Valley Railway. Exact site of discovery doubtful. Evans, *Bronze*, 96.
- South Petherton : Taunton Museum. L. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. W. $17\frac{3}{4}$ oz. av. Found in 1842. Evans, *Bronze*, 96 ; *Arch. Journ.* ix. 387 ; x. 247 ; xxxvii. 230 ; *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, Bristol, p. lxiv ; *Proc. Som. Arch. and N. H. Soc.*, li (1905), pt. ii, plate, fig. 2.
- West Buckland : in possession of Col. E. C. A. Sanford, of Nynhead Court. Found with a bronze torc (Evans, *Bronze*, fig. 468) and bracelet (*ibid.*, fig. 481). Evans, *Bronze*, fig. 87 ; *Arch. Journ.*, xxxvii. 107 ; *Proceedings*, xxi. 138 ; *Proc. Som. Arch. and N. H. Soc.*, li (1905), pt. ii, 142 ; lv (1910), pt. ii, 70, 71.

IRELAND.

- Cork.* Ballincollig : Evans Collection. L. $6\frac{3}{8}$ in. Found in 1854. Practically identical with Evans, fig. 86. Evans, *Bronze*, 104 ; *Proceedings*, 2 S., iii. 222 ; *Proc. Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, li (1905), pt. ii, 143.
- *Site unknown : Dublin Museum. L. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Formerly in the collection of Lord Talbot de Malahide. *Wilde's Cat.*, 382, fig. 274 ; *Arch. Journ.*, ix. 194 ; Evans, *Bronze*, 104.

FRANCE.

- Charente.* Herpes, Commune de Courbillac, Canton de Rouillac, near Angoulême: British Museum (purchased 1905). Found with four flat celts (said to be of copper), tanged dagger, socketed chisel.
- Finistère.* Pen-ar-Prat, Le Folgoët. Collection of P. du Chatellier, Château de Kernuz, Pont-l'Abbé. L. 22 cm. W. 1 kilo. 177. Found in a hoard consisting of socketed celts, swords, lumps of rough metal, etc. P. du Chatellier, *Époque préhistorique*, 2nd edn., 137. Déchelette, *Manuel*, ii (1910), Appendix i, no. 233, p. 40.
- Gironde.* Langoiran. Three, in Nérac Museum, part of a hoard. *Matériaux*, xiv (1879) 192. Evans, *Bronze*, 97.
- Haute-Ariège.* Exact site not known: Toulouse Museum. Evans, *Bronze*, 97.
- Hautes-Pyrénées.* Tarbes: Exhibited at the Exposition des Sciences Anthropologiques, Paris, 1878. *Matériaux*, xiv (1879) 192, fig. 74; Evans, *Bronze*, 97.

SPAIN.

- Andalusia.* Sierra de Baza. Gongora y Martinez, *Ant. preh. de Andalusia*, 110; *Arch. Jour.*, xxvii. 237; Evans, *Bronze*, 97.
- *Exact site not known. *Arch. Jour.*, vi. 69, 369; Evans, *Bronze*, fig. 89.
- **Asturias.* Exact site not known. Evans Collection. Like Evans, *Bronze*, fig. 89. Found in a mine. Evans, *Bronze*, 97.
- **Oviedo.* Exact site not known: British Museum. Broken and unfinished. Cup-shaped projection at butt-end which has been filled with lead. Evans, *Bronze*, 97.

PORTUGAL.

- Alemtejo.* Grandola. Cartailhac, *Les âges préhistoriques de l'Espagne et du Portugal* (1886), figs. 324-7; W. C. Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, ii. 673; idem, *Tin-mining in Spain* (1897), 24, plate.
- Beira Alta.* Ferreira d'Aves: Lisbon Museum. Jet still attached. Nineteen said to have been found. *Mus. Préh.* (1881), pl. lxvii, fig. 687; *Congrès int. d'Anth. et d'Arch. préhist.*, Lisbon, 1880, 359.
- Traz os Montes.* Montalegre. [Same as Alemtejo, q. v.]
- **Minho.* Rodriz. L. 18 cm. *Congrès int. d'Anth. et d'Arch. préhist.* Lisbon, 1884, 359, fig. 3.

Mr. DALE claimed to have had a hand in rescuing the double-looped palstave from oblivion. He had noticed in a local paper a statement that one had been taken to the then Earl of Malmesbury, and when the present earl found it advised him to make it public. It was sometimes imagined that the second loop was intended to hold a thong for carrying the implement, but both were no doubt used for hafting. The type was extremely rare in this country, and the preservation of the present specimen was a matter for congratulation.

C. J. PRAETORIUS, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a Roman pottery lamp with the maker's name EVCARIS (fig. 1) in raised letters on the bottom, found at Chanctonbury Ring, Sussex; a Roman brooch with flat bow enamelled in a lozenge pattern, found near Chichester; and, by permission of Dr. Harley, a massive bronze male bust (figs. 2, 3), perhaps of a pugilist, found in a sand-pit at Langley, Bucks. It is of Roman date, and has a saddle-shaped base covering a stout loop. Apart from this feature and the



Fig. 1. MAKER'S NAME ON LAMP FROM CHANCTONBURY ($\frac{1}{2}$).¹

absence of a loop for suspension, it might be taken for a steel-yard weight, but is evidently allied to a group of rings similarly mounted, with an upright partly closing the interior of the ring.² This shows that such mounts were not intended for 'terrets' (rings attached to the horse's pad for directing the reins over the back), but they were probably attached to the same piece of harness and occupied a position between the terrets, where the catch of the bearing-rein is sometimes placed in modern times.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

¹ The letter which appears to be U is a badly struck V.

² Cf. Mainz Museum Report for 1899-1900, pl. 3, figs. 13, 14.



Fig. 2. BRONZE BUST FROM LANGLEY, BUCKS ($\frac{3}{4}$).

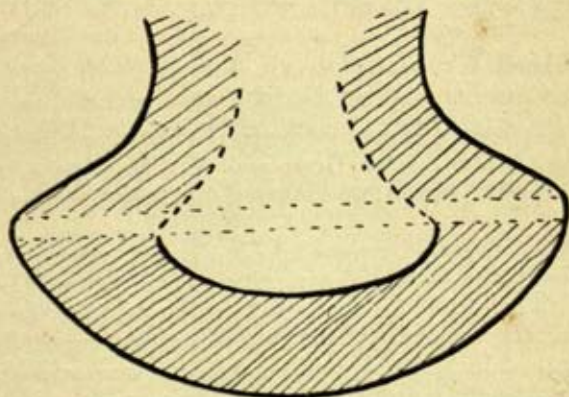


Fig. 3. SECTION THROUGH BASE OF BUST FROM LANGLEY ($\frac{3}{4}$).

THURSDAY, 25th JANUARY, 1912.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D. President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From the Author :—Notes on bronze pumps in the British Museum. By James P. Maginnis. 8vo. London, 1911.

From the Author :—Bristol Merchant Marks. By Alfred E. Hudd, F.S.A. 8vo. n.p. 1912.

From the Author, A. Hamilton Thompson, Esq., F.S.A. :

1. The ground plan of the English parish church. 8vo. Cambridge, 1911.
2. The historical growth of the English parish church. 8vo. Cambridge, 1911.

From the Author :—On the recent excavations on the site of the Roman camp of Margidunum, near Bingham, Notts. By Dr. Felix Oswald. 8vo. Nottingham, 1911.

The following were admitted Fellows :

Sidney Decimus Kitson, Esq., M.A.

Alfred Joseph Vooght Radford, Esq.

On the nomination of the President the following were appointed Auditors of the Society's Accounts for the past year :

Edward Schroeder Prior, Esq., M.A.

William John Hardy, Esq., M.A.

William Munro Tapp, Esq., LL.D.

Henry Benjamin Wheatley, Esq.

Lt.-Colonel WILLIAM HAWLEY, F.S.A., read the following Report on the Excavations at Old Sarum in 1911 :

"I have pleasure in submitting to the Society on behalf of my colleagues, Mr. St. John Hope and Mr. Montgomerie, and of myself, a Report on the excavation of Old Sarum during the past year.

Although the area excavated in the last season exceeds in extent that taken in hand during either of the two previous years, the results have not been so great. Every day of the previous seasons was occupied upon some important feature of the Castle buildings and their massive walls ; but this year, with the exception of some poor remains on the east side, we have had little in the way of masonry with which to deal.

It will not be necessary here to recapitulate the buildings already found : it is sufficient to say that the last season has

failed to disclose the sites of others which we had grounds for expecting to discover, according to indisputable records of their existence. Apart however from these disappointments, the season has been far from devoid of items both of interest and instruction, and has shown that the principal buildings of the Castle were confined to its north and north-west area, and, with the exception of a portion of the postern tower, all these occur north of a line taken between the two gates.

Work was commenced at the beginning of July, with a staff of one foreman and nine men, and attention was directed to the spots where work had ceased at the end of the previous year. These were the well and also a small pit occurring on level ground a few yards from the south end of the postern tower and about the same distance from the curtain wall. The sides of this were ruinous, but when the bottom was reached a course or two of its original ashlar came to view, the remainder having probably been taken away at a former period; but it had been repaired later, though only with rough stone fragments and flints, amongst which were some good square blocks of white Chilmark stone. Upon removing one of these blocks it was found to have twelfth-century carving on the side turned away from the pit: this led to an examination of the others, and several were found to bear similar carving in an excellent state of preservation, owing to their being turned face inwards, their backs forming the face of the pit. It is very likely that the pit in later times had been used as a saw-pit, for the despoilers evidently took away nothing superfluous and may have sawn up the old timber before removing it to the new city. About 2 ft. of the lower part of the pit bore unmistakable signs of having once been used as a garderobe, the accumulation there being a small deposit of domestic rubbish, resembling that found in all the former pits, such as glass fragments, bones, potsherds, oyster shells, etc. From the potsherds it was possible to reconstruct two jugs, one of a green glaze and the other reddish brown, each having vertical dark brown lines of glaze from neck to base. From this pit, now called no. 8, there came also two gargoyles of white stone, much incrustated with iron and other matter.

The work upon the well went slowly, as the filling had to be raised in a single bucket. The steining formed a ring 5 ft. in diameter at the top, gradually widening out, and the end of it was found at 28 ft., where its diameter was 8 ft. Below this, the well shaft in the chalk was unlined, but we proceeded only 2 ft. more, as the chalk had receded from the lowest course of ashlar steining, leaving a gap of as much as a foot in some places.

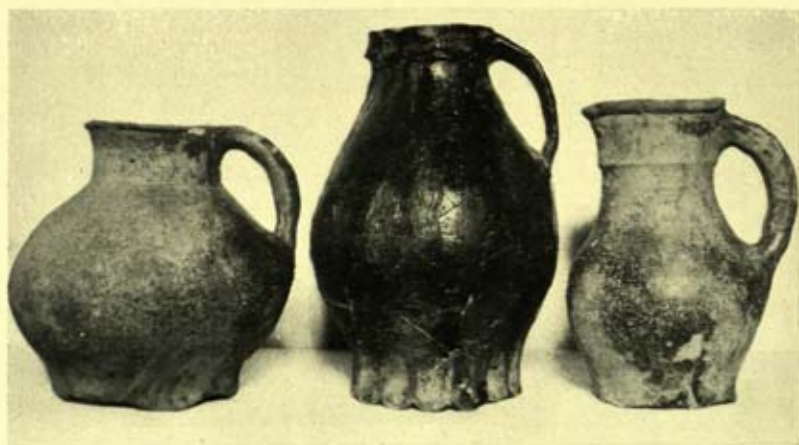
It appeared dangerous to continue work with the ashlar unsupported, for if any of it gave way the whole of the conical structure

would have collapsed ; so work was stopped, and after the matter had been carefully considered it was decided not to empty the well. Its depth would have been at least 200 ft., or possibly 300 ft.; the excavation very expensive, on account of wages and insurance, the cost of which would increase progressively as descent was made. The small quantity of spoil removed contained not a single object of interest, and consisted entirely of broken-down building rubbish, chiefly flints. Accordingly 5 ft. of chalk were returned to the well, rammed down hard and well pressed under the lowest course of ashlar, supporting it all and making it safe, and a good view can be had of the well, which has been left open.

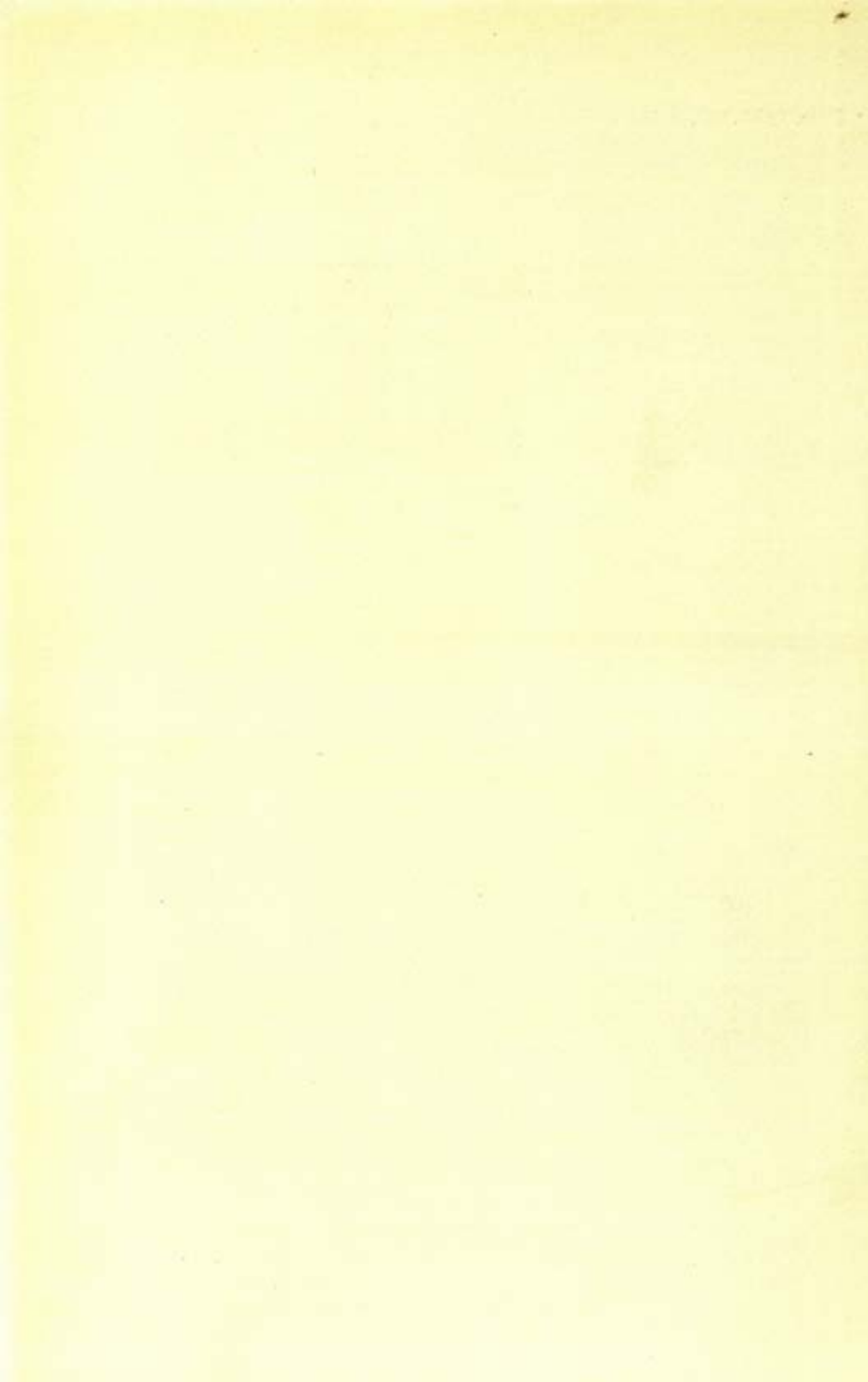
Attention was next directed to the part south of the postern tower, work being carried on eastward and away from pit no. 8 and along the curtain wall. This, though particularly well preserved near the postern tower, gradually died out to a single course laid on loose soil, above what should have been its proper base, and the original wall once existing there had disappeared. Towards the south-east stretched a long level space, occupying the top of a large bank of chalk about 10 ft. above the courtyard level. This Mr. Hope had long before considered the probable site of the new hall, ordered to be repaired in 1247 (Liberate Roll, no. 24, m. 13), and subsequent excavation gave evidence that this was so. All that remained, however, was the foundation and a few ashlar courses of its south wall, including a bench which formerly projected on the inside of the building; also a short piece of wall returning from it on the north-west side. At the end of this the entrance to the hall was found, marked by four stone bases, two of which have superimposed bases of thirteenth-century mouldings, showing the doorway to have been $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide.

No doubt there was a continuation of this short wall on the other side of the doorway, but no vestige of it remained. With the exception of the short piece and the lower foundations of the south wall, which rested against the rampart, no trace of the other walls was found. The site of the other walls of the hall was marked by slightly elevated ridges of hard rammed chalk, which gave a very fair idea of its dimensions, which were about 30 ft. by 60 ft. It was expected that other buildings pertaining to the hall would have been found, as a kitchen was mentioned; but nothing remained to mark the site of any structure, except lines of chalk similar to those just mentioned. Over one of these a wall of later times had been erected; another of earth and small stones occurred a little way south of it. Judging from the absence of solid foundations one might be led to suppose that the buildings in this quarter were chiefly made of wood.

On the rampart against which the south wall of the hall



MEDIAEVAL GLAZED POTTERY ($\frac{1}{2}$)



rested, the curtain wall, for a length corresponding with that face of the hall, had been cut down to its foundations and a gangway of rammed level chalk constructed over them. The cuttings of the curtain wall on each side gave good sections of its rubble core, showing also some of its mortar mixed with green sand detritus from building blocks, indicating that the wall may have been constructed after the big buildings of the Castle. Leaving the new hall on the right hand there is the curtain wall, which shows a good line inside and outside the rampart. Scarcely more than what must once have been the lowest part of its core remains, and the sequence of the small quantity of ashlar remaining is frequently interrupted. This is especially the case with the exterior face of the wall, where only the lowest stones of its ashlar appear at intervals; but occasionally buttresses were found, some of them with a good stone plinth with chamfered edges. These occur at varying intervals, where irregular lengths of wall take up a new direction of line, coinciding with the form of the earth-work. This description of the exterior holds good all the way from the new hall to the main gate, but the well-made core, the buttresses and plinths and ashlar, proclaim the wall to have been originally a well-built one.

The interior of this wall requires a more gradual and detailed description. Along the south-east, and part of the south rampart, there is a levelled portion extending along the inside of the curtain wall like a 'terreplein', varying from 7 ft. to 14 ft. wide, sometimes with a border of stone blocks to confine it. It may have been a terreplein, or have been intended for foundations of buildings for military stores, or to afford protection to the defenders from the weather, perhaps for all three purposes; but it is difficult to say for certain, as so little is left upon which to form an opinion, except that occasionally tile rubbish is discovered. At one spot a small pit occurred, having one of its sides resting against the curtain wall and being lined with ashlar blocks of former buildings, its dimensions being 5 ft. square. It was almost entirely filled with ashlar blocks of greenstone and a few flints. It was perhaps intended for a garderobe, but as such it must have been in use a very short time, if indeed at all, for there was nothing in it on which to base this assumption, and only a few ox bones occurred at the bottom.

At another spot, a few feet from the retaining wall of the 'terreplein', two large blocks of greenstone with chamfered edges were found on the surface of the chalk rampart. The use of these was not apparent, as they were not in line with one another nor with anything else, but they seem to have been intentionally placed there, as they rested on a foundation of chalk mortar.

Along the whole of the south side of the Castle a big rampart

of chalk had been thrown up, apparently at some late period, which entirely covered the ruined curtain wall. It seems to indicate that it had been necessary to put the Castle into a state of defence after the demolition of its walls and buildings, as pieces of early building stone and other debris were amongst it. One stone had belonged to the side of a fireplace, and was similar to some found in the kitchen next the chapel. The occurrence of this upper stratum of chalk had been noticed on several occasions at an early period of our excavations, and will be referred to again at the end of this Report.

This is nearly all that can be said about the curtain walls, except that the inner face had a good deal of ashlar on it: this towards the east was almost continuous as a single course, but frequently occurred with as many as seven or eight.

The next part of the site to be attacked was a broad slope leading towards the depression, once considered to be the site of the Castle well. This slope was quite bare of remains, but, in case there might have been anything hidden below it, deep trenches were cut at intervals and also in the chalk rampart rising from it, but all was loose material containing nothing. This ground having been searched, the depression was taken in hand, and after a few days' work a large circular pit 20 ft. in diameter, excavated in the loose chalk forming the Castle motte, was found. It had been filled with loose soil and rubbish swept into it from all sides, and contained occasional blocks of building stone, tiles, and general debris, perhaps some from the new hall buildings; also a few pieces of wood were noticed, which appeared to be oak, but being decayed to a state of powder it was hard to say.

At first it was thought that this pit might lead to the gallery of a sally-port, but after several more days' sinking a circular course of blocks of Chilmark stone was reached, which proved to be the steining of another well. The blocks were nicely tooled to take the curve and formed a ring of 7 ft. 4 in. diameter inside. The steining was followed down and at length ended at 18 ft. from the top, after which the chalk side of the well began to appear, but after digging 3 ft. more it came to an end in a chalk bottom of irregular cutting, showing that those sinking it had stopped abruptly.

The sinking of this well had been undertaken at a late period and this necessitated a very wide shaft being made in the loose chalk until the solid chalk was reached. The steining would then have been put in and gradually brought to the surface, the space between it and the side of the pit being packed with lumps of chalk rammed tight. The pressure of this packing made it necessary to fix the steining with mortar, which otherwise need not have been done. The steined shaft was a regular cylinder of

7 ft. 4 in. diameter, and contained the same description of debris as the upper part of the pit. A small brass ferrule an inch long and $\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter, showing a trace of silver plating, a knife blade, an oblong piece of window lead, a fragment of green window glass, and, of course, many potsherds, were the only objects of interest found.

Some weeks later, and towards the end of the season, it was decided to search the sides of this well for the old ground level. This was soon found and nearly at the place where the steining began. Doubtless the despoilers found it easy to remove the big stones entire from the loose soil, but more difficult where the



MEDIAEVAL GLAZED POTTERY ($\frac{1}{2}$).

hard chalk began, and had made steps down the side of the shaft. These were a puzzle at first, but we found them as useful as no doubt did the makers.

The old ground level thus found was that of the gravel which caps the top of the Castle hill, and it lay roughly about 17 ft. from the surface above, and appeared to slope quickly towards the south-west. Owing to occupation in bygone times this gravel was black and dirty. A few fragments of Roman pottery were found on it and three neolithic flint flakes came out of it.

A narrow gallery was cut into the east side and after advancing 9 ft. a wall was encountered, which perhaps may be attributed to Roman occupation. It had a foundation of chalk lumps 16 in. thick, set in hard mortar, resting on about 2 in. of clay: above

these came 1 ft. 8 in. of flint rubble, then flint concrete for 14 in., then a string course of three stones, each 1 ft. long by 2 in. thick, after this there seemed to have been more flint concrete; but the wall was ruined above this, and over it came the loose chalk of the Castle motte, amongst which were a few sherds of Norman pottery. Its direction lay approximately north and south, and it was traced to a corner 8 ft. from our entering gallery, where it appeared to return east, but the looseness of the chalk in the side gallery compelled us to give it up, and the same was the case when an endeavour was made to trace it northwards. After this another gallery was cut in the south-west side of the pit, but had to be given up after advancing only a short distance, on account of the loose chalk falling in.

A return was then made to the first gallery, which was carried through the extremely hard Roman wall. The ground level line died out below it, and the substance through which the gallery had to pass seemed to be all foundation matter and unnecessarily extensive, but the reason of this was found to be that the soil was very loose below. Upon examining the loose soil it turned out to be a large round British pit, 9 ft. in diameter. It was impossible to descend into it lower than 3 ft., as the foundations to the right and left rested on the loose filling; but from experience of several of these pits on the Wiltshire Downs, the depth would probably have been 11 ft., and the 6 ft. bar went easily up to its head without touching bottom. To dig this out would have been too risky a proceeding with wall foundations overhanging and resting upon nothing; so after getting its shape and diameter it was filled in. Beyond it the old ground level was again picked up and immediately in front was another wall: so here the gallery was stopped after it had been carried in 20 ft., as further advance would have been attended with danger of collapse of the sides and roof. After this, another gallery was cut in the north side for 15 ft., but no more buildings were found. A long level line was followed nearly all the way in. A piece of this was taken out entire, and proved to be a floor with a very even surface, covered with pebbles and gravel fragments, which had been pressed into it when soft and wet; it was hard enough to assume that a little lime had been used in embedding them.

Below this surface the floor consisted of a foot of hard rammed chalk over the original dirty gravel, with a layer of clay between. Several pieces of Roman pottery were found in this cutting and a Roman coin, quite illegible, but the bust suggested Maximian. These galleries were chiefly instructive in showing how fruitless would be any attempt to search below the Norman level for traces of former occupations. To do so it would be necessary to make pits as big or even bigger than that made by the well-sinkers,



BASES OF ARCADE IN EASTERN BASEMENT OF GREAT TOWER



FIREPLACE IN EASTERN WING OF BASEMENT OF GREAT TOWER

and next to no information could be gathered from the little to be seen on the floor and sides of dark narrow galleries, to say nothing of the constant danger of collapse. Moreover, the same order of things will be found on the open surface outside the Castle.

South and east of the second well the ground formed a continuous slope to the rampart: it consisted entirely of loose chalk containing nothing; but the shallow layer of humus upon it was mixed with a large quantity of red tile fragments, and over this exploration was continued eastward. Beyond this, also, work had been progressing whilst the second well was receiving attention, and a cutting had been made for the tram-line which was brought to the rampart near the well to receive its spoil and that of all the east side. Until then it had been along the side of a bank on courtyard level fronting the long line of Castle buildings, from which the ground takes a gradual slope up to the rampart over the whole of the south area. Whilst working on the level north-east of the second well remains of a poorly built wall were found. This was traced south for 25 ft. to a corner, where it was returned east for 33 ft. to another corner, where again it turned north. The south wall face was banked by the chalk of the sloping rampart, and an examination of it revealed at its eastern outer angle a very fine quoin of white stone, the sharpness and good dressing of which was out of keeping with the wall, this being badly built of stone fragments and flints. There was a similar quoin at the west angle but more roughly dressed. When these walls were cleared they were seen to be from 4 ft. to 5 ft. high, surrounding the level floor of a building, and later two round fireplaces appeared side by side on the west side. These were apparently ovens, but had little more than the lowest ring of stones remaining with a narrow opening in their fronts. Contiguous to them was a small heap of masonry, which might have been a chimney foundation, and all around them, both inside and out, was a deposit of black ash. Opposite these on the east side was another similar oven, in somewhat better preservation, with traces of another beside it, resembling the arrangement on the west side. Two small depressions in the floor turned out to be post holes, equidistant about 4 ft. from the south wall, one on the east and the other on the west of its ends. The building may have been a bakery, or brew-house. It does not seem to have been a kitchen, as in that case there would have been much characteristic rubbish, whereas it was remarkably free from *débris*, except for a few potsherds. The name 'Bakery' was therefore given it, but it must have been used for other purposes and proved to be quite a large building. Both in and around the bakery large quantities of shale and red tiles were found,

indicating that at one time the building had been roofed with them. Later some more of its wall foundations were found in the direction of the gate tower, but intermediate portions were obliterated: these gave the dimensions of the building as 40 ft. by 28 ft. internally. At its north end is an oblong room, 7 ft. by 28 ft., with only portions of its walls remaining; its use does not appear, but a quantity of burnt stone and black ash at its eastern extremity suggested the site of a fireplace. There is an indication of another chamber having existed on the east of the bakery, but the ruined state of everything prevents an opinion being formed as to its extent.

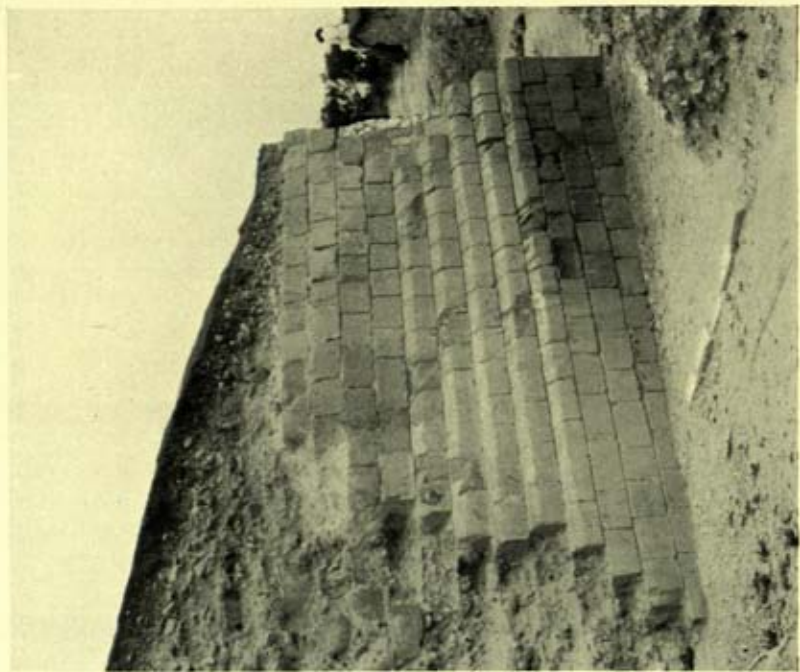
The bakery comes very near the east rampart, and the fragment of wall at its south-east corner is banked by the chalk of the rampart, and where this fragment ends the rampart bank ends also. Against the abrupt ending a wall was built, running for 27 ft. from the fragment eastward and joining the inner face of the curtain wall, which here is continued down to the level where work was in progress and is continued northward for 34 ft., where it joins the gate tower. At the south end of this piece of wall are several courses of ashlar roughly put in, which die away in an uneven course towards the north, after which the wall is of rubble, and as its face bears traces of plaster it is likely that a room of some sort once existed there at a late period, as amongst the ashlar just mentioned three white stone blocks have been inserted, which have twelfth-century rosettes carved upon them.

More objects were found upon this eastern area than in any other part of the south front. They include two large cartwheel nails; several knife blades; a large iron rowell of a spur; two latch keys; a wrought-iron ball $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter (perhaps a cannon shot); four small balls or marbles of clay with a patch of green glaze on each; a nicely turned stone ball rather smaller than a billiard ball; two fish spear-heads, the barbs only of one remaining; four iron arrow-heads; a drawer handle of copper-gilt, much distorted; many round flint nodules of various sizes were found round this quarter, and the quantity collected suggests that they were accumulated for use as sling-stones. A handsome ring was found in the bank of soil against the main gate tower. It is of fine gold and looked none the worse for its long burial. Its weight is about that of a sovereign. The cylinder or body consists of eleven turns of gold wire fused together, having a device of clasped hands on its upper front and a death's head on the lower, and the ruffs round the wrists point to a Tudor or Stuart date; a bronze token or receipt from a shrine in fair condition was found near the same place. The name Marino appears upon it.

When the work on the courtyard approached the main gate



PART OF A TWELFTH-CENTURY CHIMNEY SHAFT



PLINTH AT BACK OF POSTERN TOWER

preparation was made for investigating those portions previously left unexplored, namely, the north and south sides of its tower.

Against the south side was a pit, afterwards found to be a garderobe and called no. 10. This forms part of the tower, just as no. 7 did of the postern tower. A huge block of concrete from the tower wall above had fallen and completely blocked it, and this had to be broken up and removed, not without much labour, for it was extremely hard. When this was cleared away garderobe rubbish of the usual sort was met with almost immediately, and eventually proved to be that of a third occupation or use of the pit. This rubbish soon gave out and was followed by several feet of broken wall debris, after which garderobe rubbish was again found. The upper part of the east wall of the pit had entirely gone, and in its place was a straight bank of rammed chalk, against which it had once probably rested. Its lower part of well-built ashlar was found further down taking a slightly diagonal direction north to south, i.e. from the tower to the south wall of the pit. The south wall rose about 10 ft. above it, and was actually the rubble wall of the garderobe tower. The west wall was similar to it, but its junction with the gate tower had been severed by a broad fissure, wide enough to admit a man, which had no doubt been made when the ashlar was stripped from the walls, to facilitate its removal. Along the side of the west wall, and about 8 ft. from the top, a horizontal smooth line showed that a balk of timber had once rested there, and may mark the line of a floor in the original garderobe. Very much of this wall core had been grubbed out when removing the ashlar and perhaps the timbers forming the floor, making it thin and unstable; so, in later times when a garderobe again became necessary, this side had to be strengthened with a poor wall of earth and flints to a considerable height, and the lower part with a packing of wall debris. This later wall collapsed, fortunately when the men were at breakfast, and upon clearing away the rubbish afterwards, its foundation was seen to be actually resting upon some of the garderobe rubbish of the second occupation of the pit.

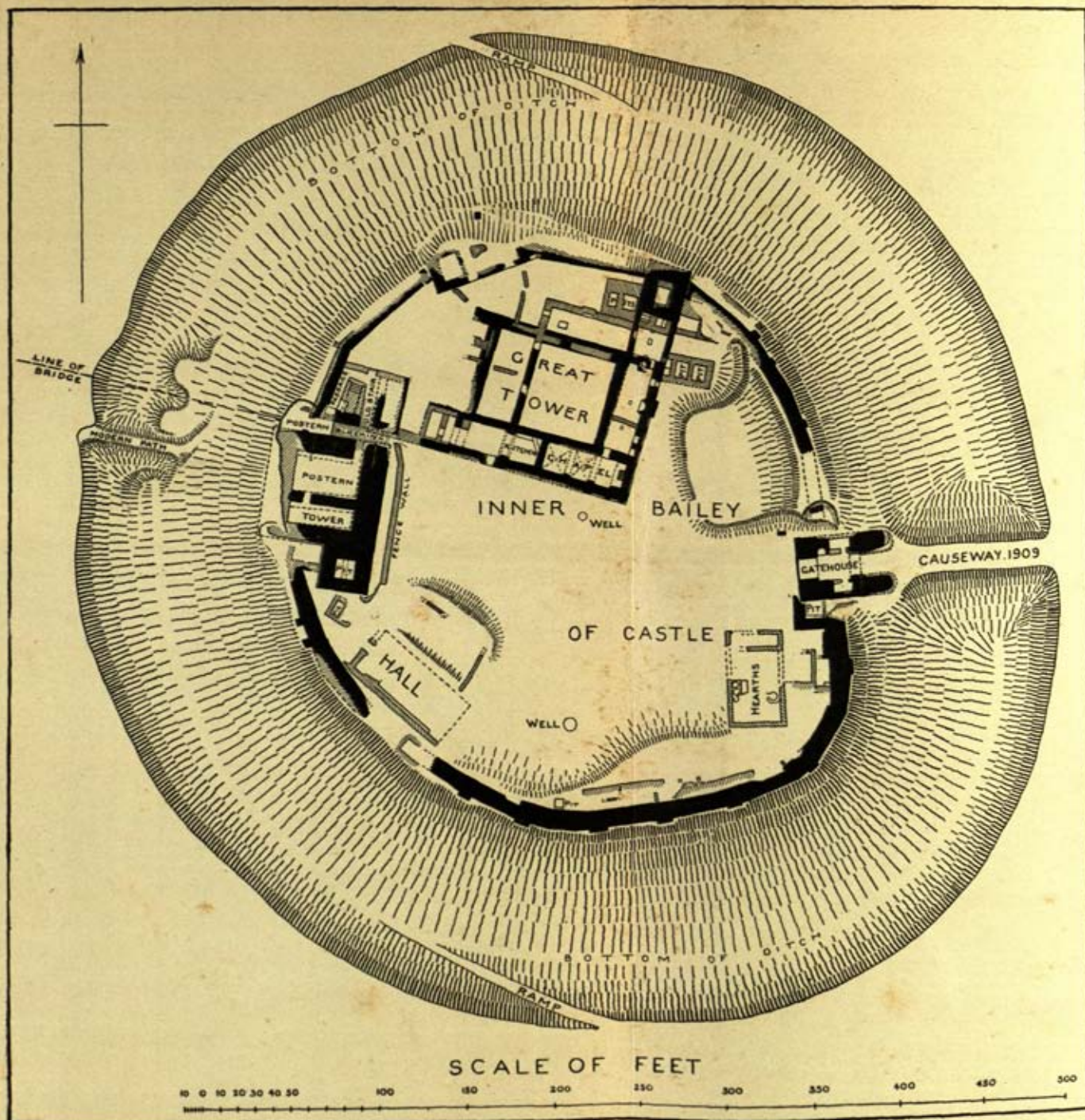
This occupation had taken place after the removal of the ashlar from the walls, for the rubble core of the tower wall had this matter resting against it and was stained by it. It contained the usual debris of oyster shells, bones of animals, birds, and fish, with sherds of rough cooking pots, and better ones of glazed pottery, from the latter of which two jugs were reconstructed. This deposit was scarcely more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick and gave way to more broken wall rubbish below.

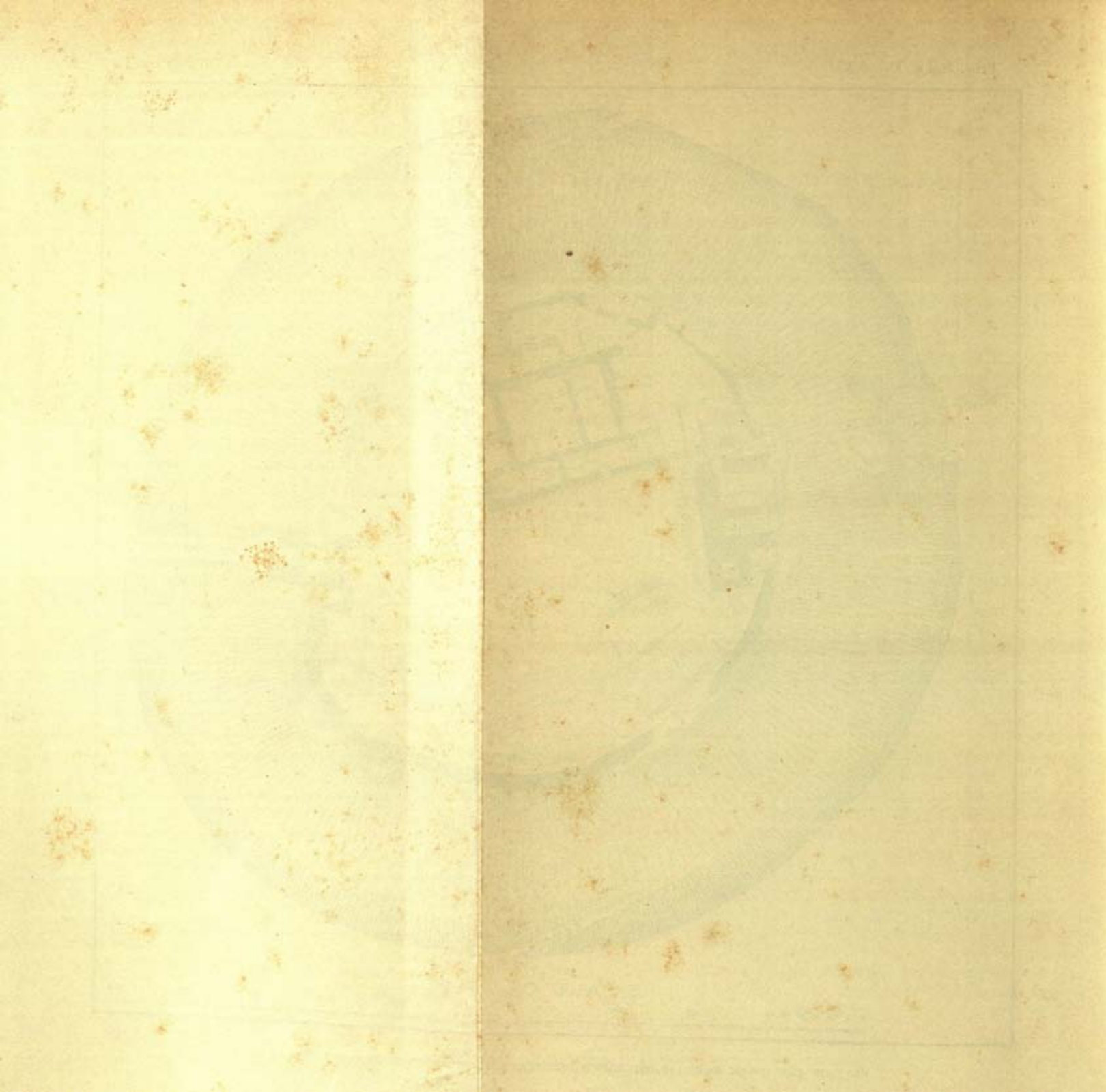
Where this deposit ended, the ashlar of the tower and east wall was untouched and the blocks were of the well-cut description characteristic of the original work of the Castle. One or two

courses remained intact on the tower wall and below them a fine plinth appeared, which continued along its south side to a depth no doubt corresponding with that upon the west, where conditions were the same. After this the walls and angles of the garderobe pit were regular and appeared sharp and good, except on the south, where the wall was undermined to such an extent as to be very unsafe, and was rendered more so by being detached from the tower by the fissure before mentioned. As the steel bar showed made earth as far as it could reach, further digging was given up.

Eastward, beyond the pit, the side of the tower had been banked by well-rammed chalk, which was found to continue to the back of the guard chamber seen on the south side of the gate passage. The north side of the gate came next under examination, and also the small portions of undisturbed ground north of it, facing the eastern side of the great tower. The bank of chalk here, which was left two years ago on the north of the entrance, was removed for a short distance, and there came to view in it a low and poorly built wall 2 ft. high by 2 ft. broad; this was not followed up, because its obvious use was to keep in place the chalk slope of the rampart, whose stratified lines of deposition could be seen either resting against or stretching over this retaining wall.

After removing sufficient of this chalk rampart the north side of the gate tower was opened out, exposing a fine stretch of ashlar wall with a plinth. The upper courses had been removed by the despoilers, who attacked it from both sides of the gate, and the passages they cut joined at about the middle. Those of them who came through from the outside seem to have cut a hole in the north guard chamber in order to get behind the wall. Subsequently the cutting had been filled up and the rampart repaired by throwing up chalk, and to make it more secure at the top a large boulder of concrete from the curtain wall had been placed on it and against the tower. This mass had been detached from the curtain wall, the broken edges of it corresponding with the fracture of the wall. Originally, no doubt, the curtain ran on and joined the tower, but it had been quite grubbed out, and a gap 13 ft. wide was formed. This curtain was examined all the way from the gate tower to its junction with the wall of the great tower on the north. The whole of the ashlar had been stripped from both faces, but the lines of rubble footing remain in very straight lengths, indicating the polygonal faces of the curtain. The rough faces of the core correspond very closely with that of the projecting rubble footing on which the ashlar was built. This core is mostly of flint and chalk rubble, but contains several worked pieces of greenstone with





twelfth-century tooling. As the curtain drew near the great tower wall it was stepped by courses downwards in that direction, with a buttress at each step.

Several long and deep cuttings were made in the large bank below this part of the curtain wall, without any discovery resulting, and it appeared to be similar to the big chalk rampart which was a feature of the south side, affording evidence, in this quarter also, of having been made at a late period, as a portion of it was found to cover the ruined garderobe tower containing nos. 1 and 2 pits of the previous year.

The examination of the shallow soil of the courtyard was next undertaken, but without any discoveries, and was combined with levelling and turfing until the 11th November, when the whole of our task of excavating the Castle came to an end.

Before concluding the account of the Castle excavation it may be well to refer to some of the curious changes which have from time to time been noted, and which have evidently taken place during its existence, namely, those of demolition and reconstruction.

But perhaps as an introduction to this it will be well to mention an important document, printed in the *Foedera*, to which my attention has been drawn by Mr. A. R. Malden. It bears the date 1360, the thirty-fourth year of the reign of King Edward III.

'The King, to the Sheriffs of Wilts., greeting. Whereas our enemies of France in a great number of armed men with their horses have landed at Winchelsea on Sunday last past, and have taken that town and have cruelly killed the men found in it and are riding about the country committing homicides, burnings and very many other evil deeds: we bid you, firmly enjoining you, that you cause our Castles of Old Sarum and Marlborough to be sufficiently provided with men and provisions, and that you cause as many men, at our wages and as much victuals, to be taken up in your bailiwick where it shall seem expedient to you, within liberties and without, and placed in the same castles, as according to your discretions may be reasonably sufficient for provisioning the castles aforesaid, and that you cause an indenture thereof to be made between you and those from whom the victuals shall have been taken, of the quantities of the victuals so to be taken from every of them, and of the price of the same, and that you in no wise omit this under forfeiture of everything which you can forfeit to us. Witness the aforesaid guardian at Westminster 16th day of March. By the same guardian and the council.'¹

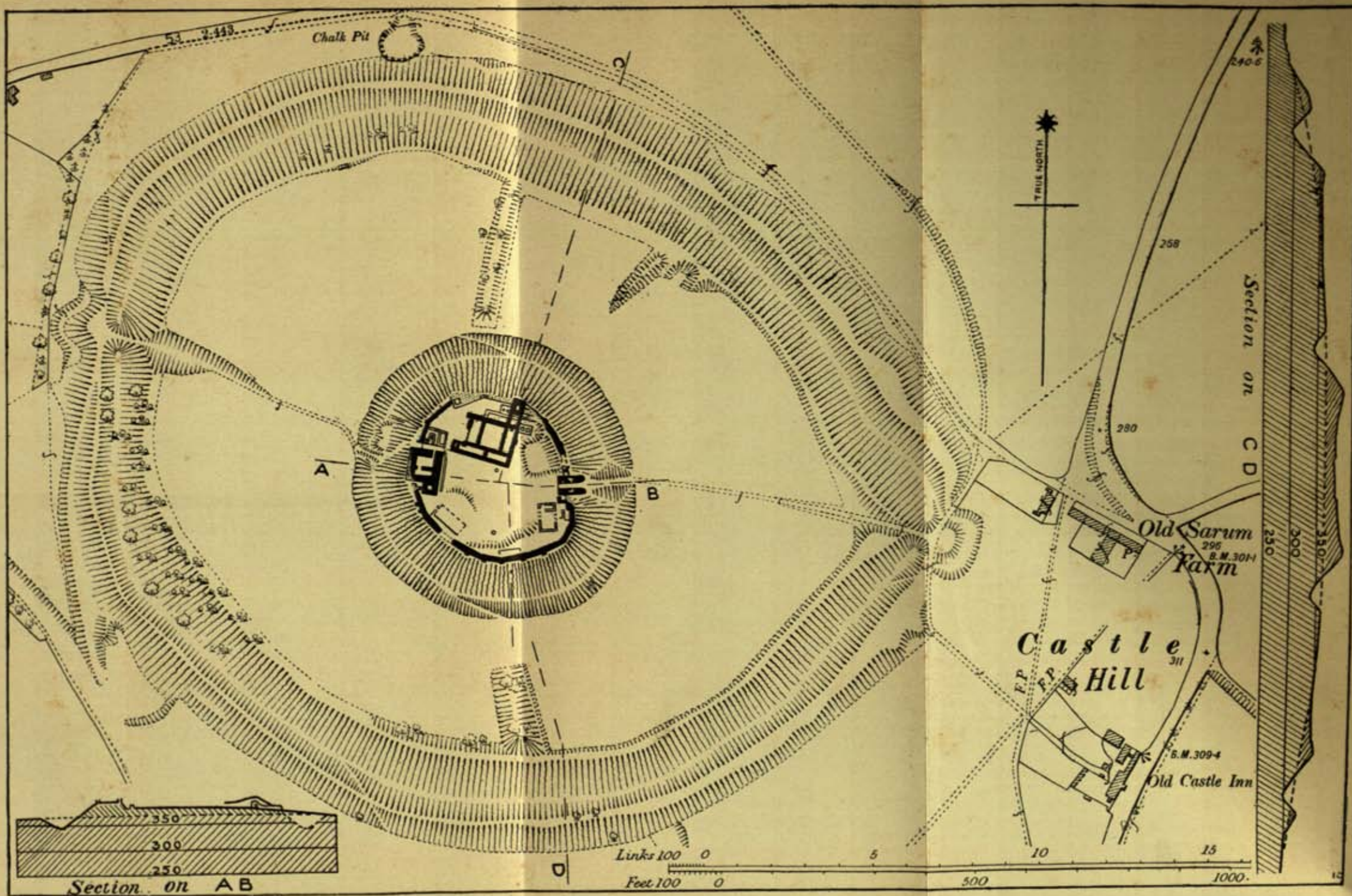
¹ A.D. 1360. An. 34 Ed. III. Rex Vicecomitibus Wiltes salutem. Quia inimici nostri Francie in magna multitudine armatorum cum equis

I hoped that this document might afford a clue to the finding of roughly made buildings and equally rough ramparts covering partly demolished walls, the blocking of the postern gate and the partial digging of the second well, which must have been rendered necessary by the original one being filled up with débris from the destruction of the Castle buildings. Also for the appearance of buildings erected actually upon the remains of the great tower after it had been taken down to the level presented by last year's excavations. Unfortunately, however, the document does not warrant us in supposing the Castle to have been in a state to necessitate such preparation, for nothing whatever is said about repairs, but merely that it was to be munitioned. It is still just possible that the command may have been issued without a thought given and without any knowledge of the state of the edifice, so that making the garrison secure might have been implied in the mandate.

It was in 1328 that Bishop Wyvill, by royal permission, built the close wall, or rather, began it; for it would take a considerable time to complete a wall surrounding so large an area, and an immense quantity of stone would be necessary. There cannot be a doubt that the stone was obtained from Old Sarum and that it was not only ashlar from the walls, but also carved stone from the buildings; the same builder's marks also are observable on some of the stones, and they are there in evidence to this day. There is no record of permission being granted for taking this stone, nor does there appear to have been any until 1331, when royal permission was granted to the Dean and Chapter to take away the stone of the old cathedral church. The question is, from what part of the fortress did the stone come from which the close wall was built? If we had any proof of the Castle being dismantled at that epoch all would be easy enough to understand, but we have absolutely no such proof.

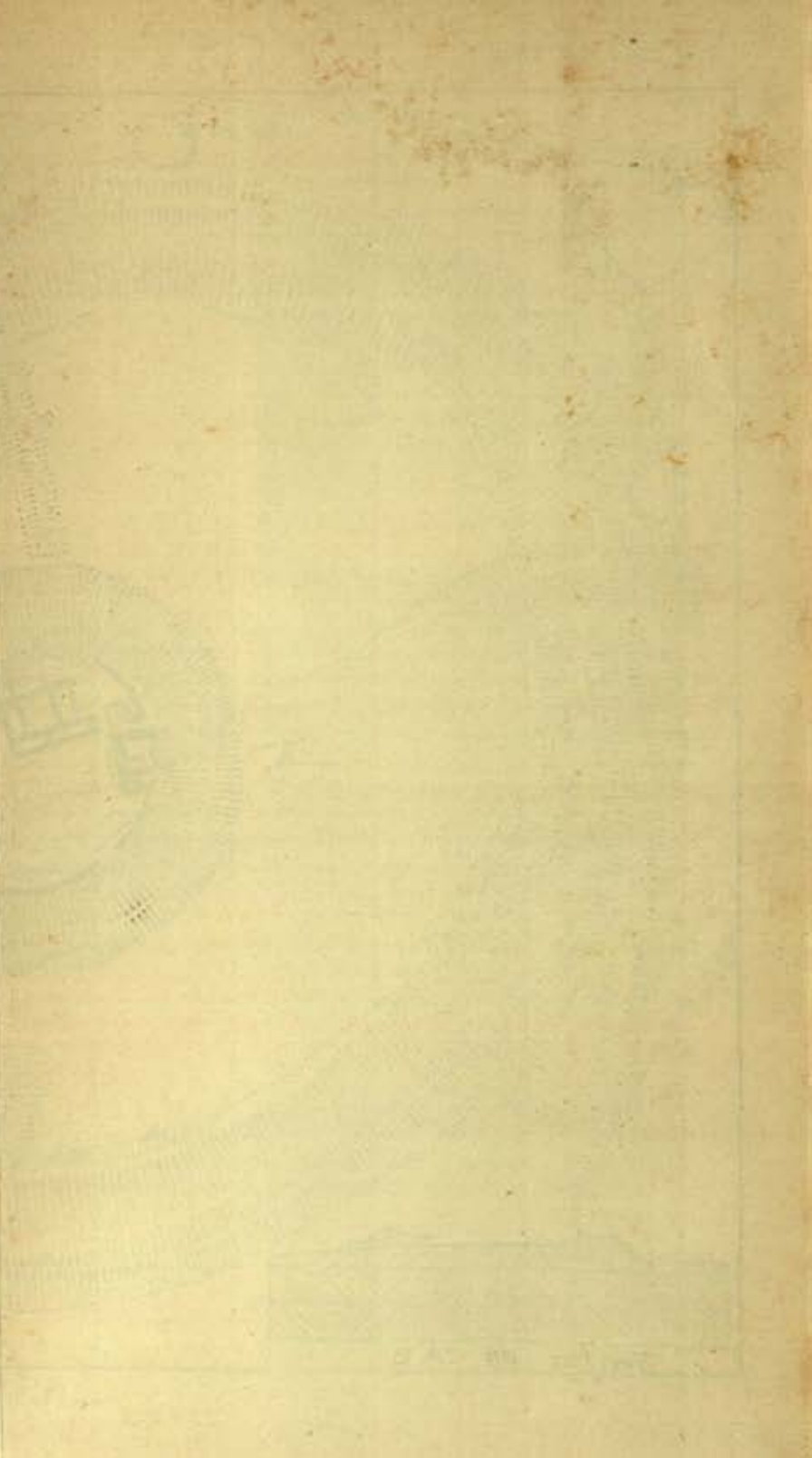
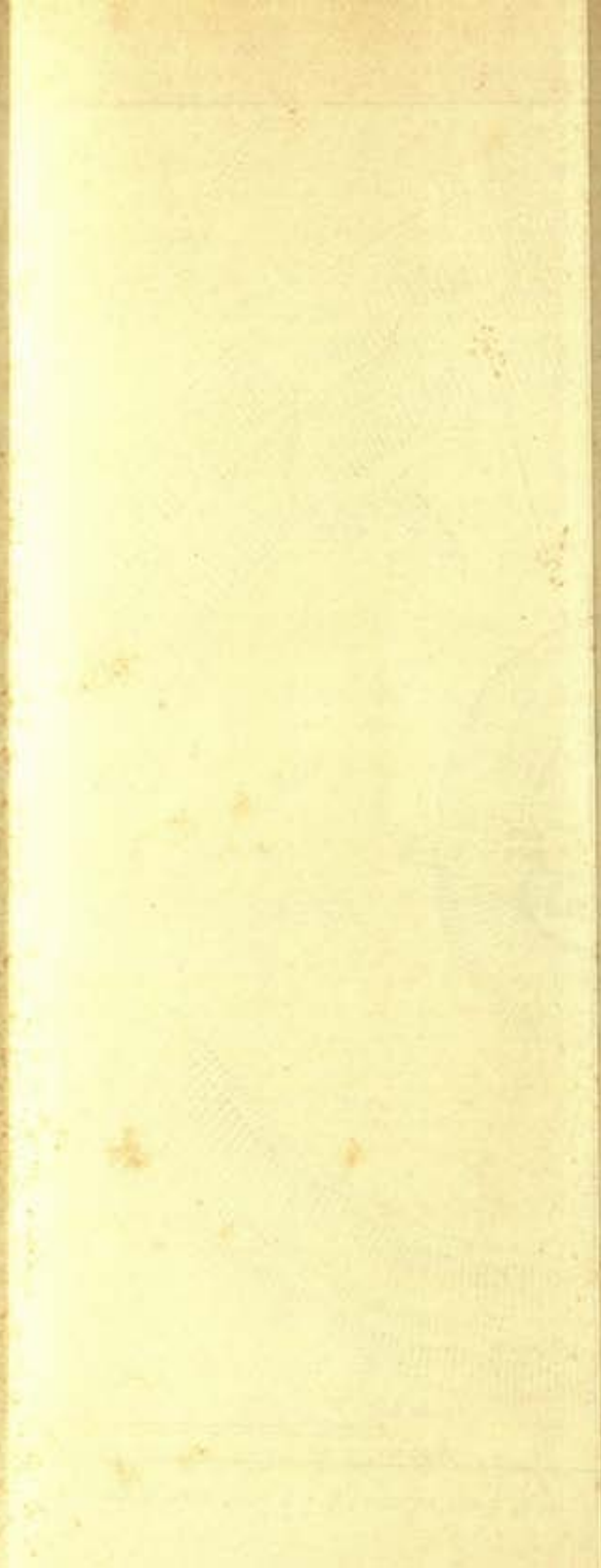
Again, with regard to the well: As the Castle had to be occupied, water would be a vital necessity, and the original well being filled up, a new one had to be dug; but the digging

suis apud Wynchelse die Dominica proximo preterita applicuerunt et villam illam ceperunt et homines in ea inventos inhumaniter interfecerunt et patriam circumquaque equitant homicidia incendia et alia mala quamplurima perpetrando. Tibi precepimus firmiter injungentes quod castra nostra Veteris Sarum et de Marleberg hominibus et victualibus sufficienter muniri et tot homines ad vadia nostra et victualia quot pro munitione castrorum predictorum juxta discrecionem tuam rationabiliter sufficere poterunt in balliva tua ubi expedire videris infra libertates et extra capi et in eisdem castris poni ac indenturam inde inter te et ipsos de quibus victualia illa capta fuerint de quantitate victualium a quolibet ipsorum sic capiendorum et de precio eorundem fieri facias. Et hoc sub forisfactura omnium quae nobis forisfacere poteris nullatenus omittas. Teste custode predicto apud Westm: xvi die Martii. Per ipsum Custodem et Concilium.



PLAN OF OLD SARUM, BASED ON THE 1/500 O.S. MAP, WITH SECTIONS

1875



was abandoned after a very short period, perhaps two or three months or even less. This points to the defensive occupation being a short one, terminating after some war scare had subsided. It is not attempted here to draw any conclusion, nor to say that any of the facts have been confirmed, because indeed they have not: it is merely intended to bring them forward for future attention, so that they may not be lost sight of; for possibly some day in the future documents may be found which, with the help of our recent excavations, may have the result of making all this clear.

In conclusion, I desire to record my gratitude to my colleagues for their ready and great help, so generously accorded to me on this and on all occasions."

Mr. MINET had had full opportunity, as Treasurer of the Fund, of watching the excavations in progress, and was convinced that the work was being done minutely and thoroughly.

The PRESIDENT remarked that there was little room for discussion, and the excavators would realize that in work of this kind there was bound to be a blank season occasionally. The Society's task was to lay bare the plan of the whole site and from time to time the ground would prove barren, but last season was redeemed by a remarkable series of glazed earthenware pitchers dating from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. In the Luttrell Psalter a man was represented trying to break another's head with a jug much like some exhibited. One of the bronze fragments was well designed and gilded, but could hardly have served as a door-handle. The gold finger-ring was rather of Stuart than Tudor times, and closely resembled one in the British Museum. The pottery balls with spots of glaze looked like marbles for some game; and the elegant bolt-head resembled the pheon of heraldry. Cordial thanks were due to Col. Hawley and his colleagues for the paper and their labours during 1911; also to Mr. Minet for his successful finance.

PERCY STONE, Esq., F.S.A., read the following paper on the Down Pits in the Isle of Wight:

"About the centre of the six-inch map of the Isle of Wight, at intervals along the coombes each side of the main down, occur the words 'British Village'. Anxious to investigate a subject on which I own to being somewhat of a sceptic, I visited the pits in the Rowborough Valley, examined and noted—to the number of sixty—by the Rev. Edmund Kell in 1856.¹ Certainly

¹ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xi. 305.

here lay the pits in a long, straggling line down the length of the valley, somewhat similar in arrangement to those on Shillingstone Hill,¹ Dorset, clearly defined by the sun shadows; but what struck me at once was the disparity of distance between them—ten yards to a hundred.

On closer inspection, I found scarcely two pits alike in outline, and, on plumbing them, hardly two of the same depth. Some were roughly circular, 20 ft. to 40 ft. in diameter; some oblong, 15 ft. to 50 ft. by 20 ft.; some regular basins of small dimensions, some mere trenches a few feet wide. Their depths, too, ranged from mere depressions in the ground surface to pits 7 ft. deep, and their sections from flat basins to regular funnels. I own to being puzzled, but of one thing I felt certain—they were not dwelling pits. An alternative presented itself. Could these be shallow mines sunk in a continuous line to strike a seam of suitable flint? A further investigation negated this, as it revealed no flint nodules of workable quality. There still remained the evidence of the bones found by Mr. Kell and deposited in the local museum at Newport, which I accordingly visited. Bones there were, it is true—I dare say, from all sources, a sackful—but in hopeless confusion, unlabelled, unarranged. True, my objects of search might be, and probably were, among them; but to distinguish these was an absolute impossibility. It was clear to me if I wanted evidence I must dig for it myself.

Accordingly, after visiting the pits on the north side of the down, I drew up a scheme for systematic investigation, and in conjunction with our Fellow Mr. Reginald Smith, set about carrying it out.

CALBOURNE VALLEY.

NEWBARN LITTLE DOWN.

In November, 1910, with the consent of the landowner, Sir Edmund Simeon, Bart., a beginning was made in the Newbarn Bottom at Little Down, west of Calbourne, by cutting through the banks of the enclosure at the mouth of the valley.

This, measuring 304 ft. by 192 ft., contains a smaller enclosure somewhat similar to that in the coombe under Hackpen, Wilts. It is surrounded by a low bank, 2 ft. to 2 ft. 6 in. high, through which a trench 4 ft. wide was carried right across, cutting both enclosures. This revealed banks of piled-up flints and soil, except along the north-east side of the main enclosure,

¹ Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, 3rd ed., iii. 447; Warne, *Ancient Dorset*, p. 14.

where the ditch had been cut out of the chalk slope. There was no appearance of an artificial ditch otherwise. The yields were

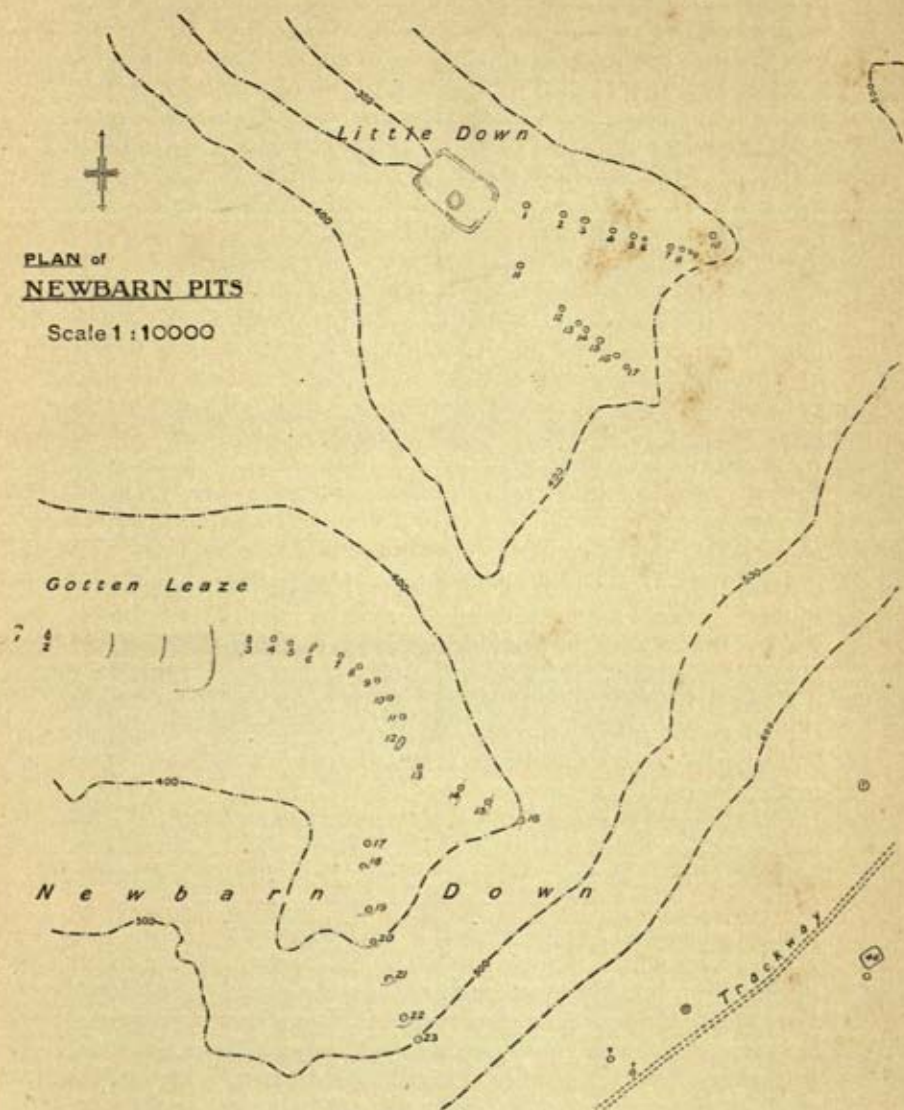


Fig. 1. NEWBARN PITS.

scanty and uninteresting. Bones of rabbit, sheep, and ox, oyster shells of a small size, potsherds of red clay, not earlier than fifteenth century, and probably later, a small iron bar with a

swivel ring, and a broken horseshoe; all of which were found 6 in. to 9 in. below the surface of the small enclosure, within which in the middle of the eighteenth century stood a building probably used as a barn.

A cutting was next made across the south angle, showing a good section of its structure. Further investigation proved the four angles and greater part of the south-west bank of the large enclosure to be composed of flints taken from the surface of the valley, and the conclusion arrived at was that this was a large pen for cattle or sheep of a 'comparatively' recent date; not unusual in chalk districts.

We then turned our attention to the pits, beginning on those in the east coombe. These, ten in number, running up the centre of the coombe, we found on removal of the turf to be flint lined. Across pits 3, 4, and 10 trenches were dug 4 ft. wide and of varying depths. Pit 3 gave a section of 6 in. of turf, 12 in. of black flints, superimposed on 2 ft. of yellow flints, below which came chalk loam. The pit was slightly raised in the centre. Pit 4 gave practically similar results. Pit 10, at the head of the valley, and of promising appearance, was then opened to a depth of 7 ft., giving a section of 6 in. of soil, 3 ft. of flints, and 4 ft. of chalk marl.

Our finds again were of no value. Pit 3 yielded a potsherd of doubtful date; pit 4 a lump of iron ore; pit 10 a corroded sheep's shank and the shoulder of a lemonade bottle! These objects were 12 in. to 18 in. under the surface, so either pit 10 must have been disturbed, which I doubt, or the soil must have slipped considerably quite recently.

The pits in the south-east coombe, seven in number, were next examined. These were also flint lined, but our trenches revealed a harder subsoil, chalk taking the place of marl. Pit 12 gave a section under the turf of 2 ft. of flints with below a 12 in. layer of alluvial deposit lying on the chalk. Pit 13 had, under 6 in. of turf, a 2 ft. layer of flints superimposed on 2 ft. 6 in. of alluvial deposit above the chalk. Pit 14 gave a similar section. A trial with a 6 ft. bar gave a flint layer constant up the centre of the valley, but dying out each side up the slope. A T-shaped trench, 20 ft. across the valley and 23 ft. down the centre, opened between pits 13 and 14, resulted in a 5 ft. layer of flints, the lower 3 ft. composed of loose flints in alluvial deposit, lying on the chalk, thus proving the flint layer without to be practically identical with that within the pits. A trial hole above our trench confirmed this, though the chalk was reached in 6 in. less depth. In this range no finds of any kind were brought to light, and, as the weather had turned rough and wet, further investigation was postponed till the following spring.

NEWBARN. GOTTEN LEAZE.

In April, 1911, by the kind permission of Lady Heytesbury, a start was made on the pits in Gotten Leaze, to the south of Calbourne, beginning at the mouth of the valley running east and west. The first pit, lying at the base of the north slope of the coombe, gave a deep deposit of flints and soil under the turf and proved of much the same character as those at Little Down.

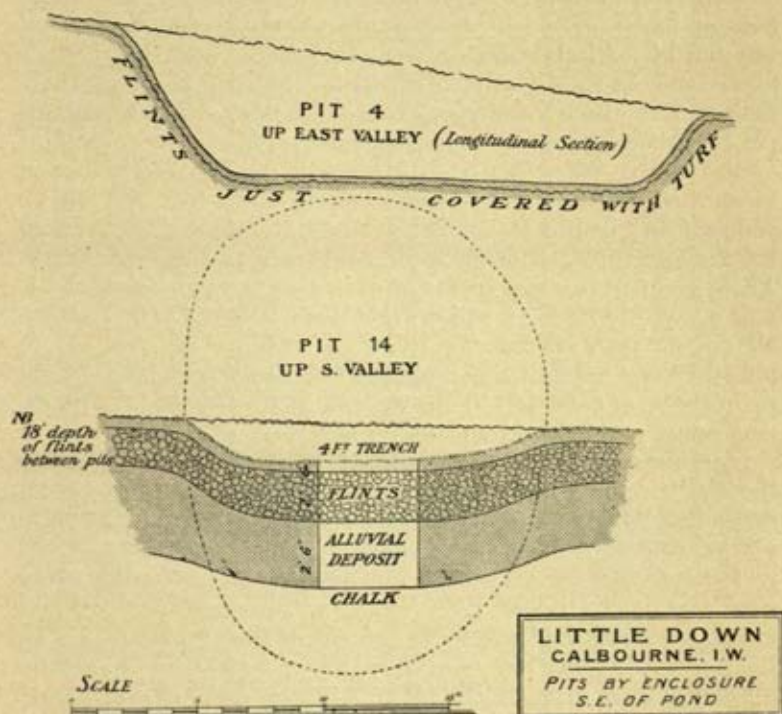


Fig. 2. SECTIONS OF PITS 4 AND 14, LITTLE DOWN, NEWBARN PITS.

Beyond pits 2 and 3, mere pear-shaped depressions, a trench was cut across pit 4, exposing a 2 ft. 9 in. layer of flints lying on chalk. Pit 3 gave a flint layer 12 in. thick. The next two pits were only stripped to the flints, but pit 8 was trenched across, revealing a 2 ft. 3 in. layer of flints before coming to chalk. This is one of the double pits, the upper basin forming a sort of platform 18 in. above the lower. In the centre was a flint mound, similar to that in pit 3, Little Down, about 18 in. diameter. A trial hole sunk between pits 8 and 9 gave under the turf but 3 in. of flint, then 2 ft. 6 in. of soil resting on the

chalk. Pit 9 was only stripped to the flint layer, but pit 10 gave a section of 2 in. of soil, 12 in. of flint, below which came 2 ft. 7 in. of loose flints in clay lying on the chalk. Passing the next pit, we turned our attention to no. 12, the large pit at the junction of the two coombes, which here run east and south. A 4 ft. trench driven right across it and well into the bank above gave, under the turf, 9 in. of flint lying on 12 in. of flints in clay with chalk below.

Two trial holes were next sunk 60 ft. above it; the north hole giving 6 in. of turf, 6 in. of flint, and then the chalk bed; the south hole, in the centre of the valley, 6 in. of turf, 2 ft. 6 in. flints in mould on a subsoil of chalk rubble—a proof that the flint bed thickened down the centre of the coombe. Passing pit 13, an undefinable depression in the surface, no. 14, another of the double pits, was opened by trenching, giving a 14 in. layer of white flints, very open in character, on a 4 ft. bed of yellow flints before reaching the chalk. It is at this pit that the very definite platforms or terraces begin crossing the valley. These occur in the upper part of nearly all the coombes, and the pits invariably lie in or under their lips. Pits 14, 15, and 16, all double pits, are good examples of this characteristic, and pit 16 at the head of the coombe has a drop from its upper to its lower lip of over 8 ft. This, the last visible pit, concludes the long range running east and west along the main valley.

Starting again from the axial pit 12 we examined those in the south coombe, where the platform arrangement is more defined. Satisfying ourselves, by stripping off the turf, that pit 17 was flint lined, we opened no. 18, a well-defined pit giving a section of soil 6 in., white flints 15 in., yellow flints in clay 9 in., on a bed of chalk rubble. The next pit, 19, lay under a well-marked platform extending for 100 yards across the coombe. From the lip of the platform to the lower lip of the pit the ground dropped 6 ft. 3 in. Pit 20 came almost in the centre of a platform 35 yards long, above which a trial hole revealed a flint drift 44 ft. wide. Pit 21, a curious kidney-shaped depression in the general slope, had a fall from its upper to its lower lip of 7 ft., roughly corresponding to the slope of the bank. The section of pit 22 gave 9 in. of soil, 2 ft. of flints on a foot of yellow flints in clay resting on the chalk.

On the platform above an excavation revealed a shallow layer of large flints along the face of the bank within 6 in. of the surface, but no consistent stratum as lower down the valley. Pit 23 at the head of the coombe ended the series.

Our finds, as at Little Down, amounted to little, though rough flakes with bulbs of percussion were found throughout the valley, an excavation between pits 17 and 18 yielding some dozen or

more of these. Pits 9, 14, 18, and 19 showed signs of combustion, probably due to shepherds' fires or lightning, the latter theory being based on the fact that in several instances lumps of iron pyrites lay among the flints. Rough bulbed flakes were found in pits 11, 12, 17, 19, and 22, and a sheep's shank in 12.

All the pits north of the down had now been examined; the results were disappointing, not to say depressing, and a solution of their *raison d'être* as far off as ever. Having practically negatived their human origin, we had now to deal with the question of natural formation, and I communicated with Mr. G. W. Colenutt, F.G.S., who kindly came to our assistance. In consultation with him on the spot, we came to the unanimous conclusion that the so-called British villages were entirely natural productions, the result of the action of the carbonic acid in the rain-water on the weak places in the chalk, aided by the fissures of the inverted strata. The centre of the valley was naturally the place of drainage. A thrust probably had converted the lines of fissure into platforms, like a row of books on the slant. The weakest points would be those at which the central line of the original fault crossed these step-producing fissures. The lips of the platforms gradually falling in as the chalk dissolved have formed the mouths of pipes conducting the soakage to an underground reservoir or stream. The whole of this portion of the down is clothed with a mantle of angular flint forming a lining alike to pits and spaces between them. Unfortunately the downs here have never been sectioned, so the rake of the inverted chalk must remain conjectural. A circumstance worth putting on record as evidence of the existence of these pipes is that during the heavy rains of November, 1910, the water never lay in our excavations.

ROWBOROUGH VALLEY.

Having so far determined on the natural origin of the pits, and having obtained leave from Sir Charles Seely, Bart., and Colonel Leith, I started in October, 1911, this time in conjunction with Mr. Colenutt, to investigate those on the south side of the down, and if possible throw some further light on Mr. Kell's discoveries and theories.

ROWBOROUGH DOWN BOTTOM.

Following his example, a start was made in Rowborough Down Bottom, and all pits carefully examined, nos. 6 and 9 being opened to a considerable depth and the rest stripped to the flint lining. As Mr. Colenutt was anxious to establish the

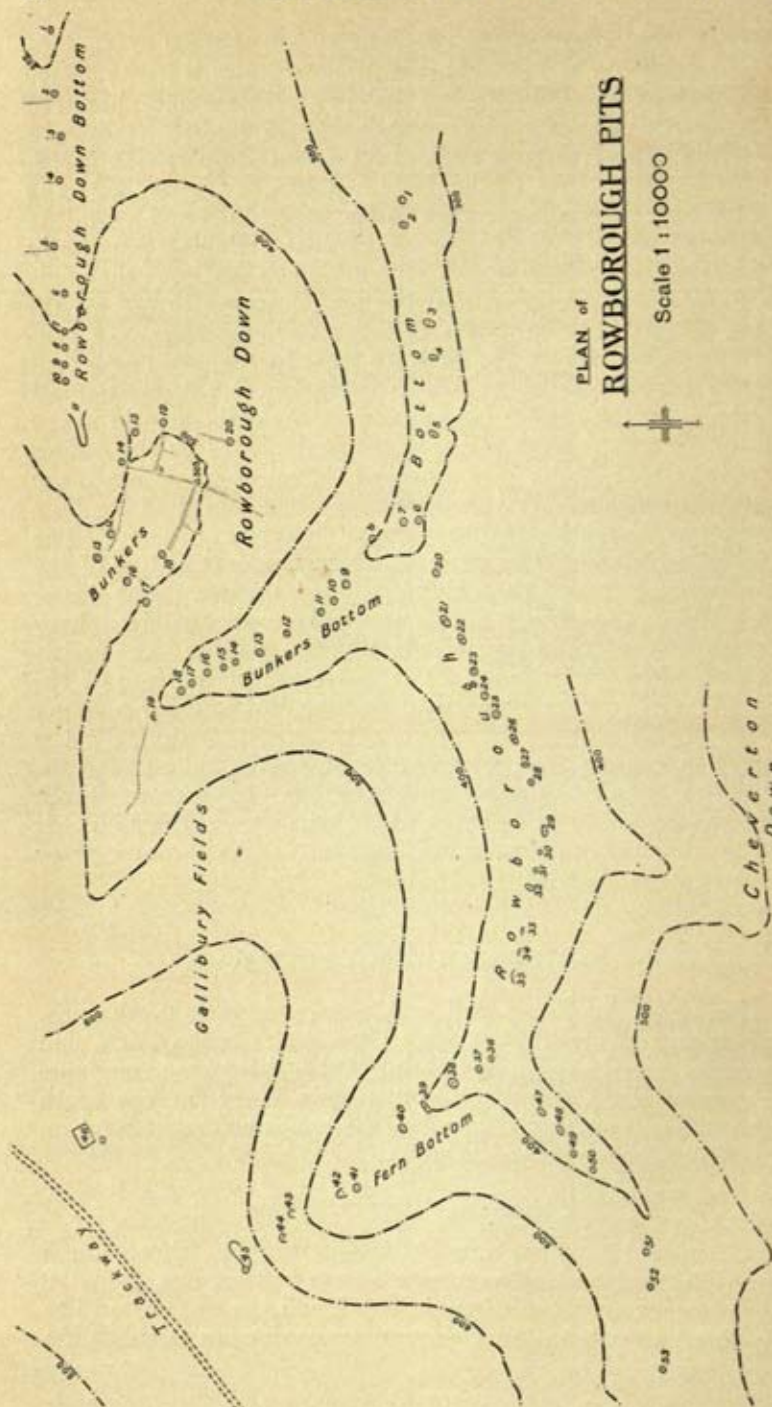


Fig. 3. ROWBOROUGH PITS.

pipe theory, a trench was cut across pit 9 to a depth of 8 ft., i.e. 13 ft. below the level of the surface. This gave a section, under the surface soil, of 2 ft. of angular flints with a rough band below it of large flint nodules lying on 5 ft. of angular flints and soil, the lower end of the trench showing a chalky loam. We could hardly go deeper with safety, and Mr. Colenutt was of opinion it would have been useless labour, as the flint debris might have gone on to the impracticable depth of 30 ft. He considered this fairly established the existence of a pipe. In pit 6, however, chalk rubble was reached at a depth of 18 in. As it was now unnecessary to describe each individual pit, we confined our attention to those bearing on the subject and those opened by Mr. Kell. No. 11 appears to me the most indis-

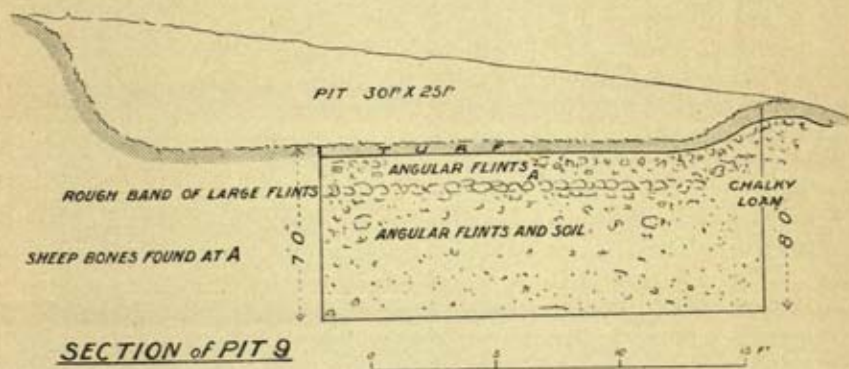


Fig. 4. SECTION OF PIT 9. ROWBOROUGH DOWN BOTTOM.

putably natural pit of the series. In plan it is like a jew's harp, the handle up the valley measuring 100 ft., and the head, or pit proper, 90 ft. across. It probably includes two fissures producing two pipes, the greater at the lower end.

As, hitherto, no pits on the high ground had been dealt with, I opened those on the top of Bunkers, a platform 600 ft. by 300 ft. and 500 ft. above sea-level forming the western end of Rowborough Down, and found the same flint mantle, here lying, as was to be expected, almost immediately on the top of the chalk. Pit 15 gave chalk at 18 in.; pits 16 and 17 chalk at 9 to 12 in.; pit 18 chalk at 2 ft.

ROWBOROUGH BOTTOM.

In the main (or Rowborough) Bottom, the pits extend east and west, and branch northward into Bunkers and Fern Bottoms,

giving a continuous chain nearly two miles in length. The most suitable of them, nos. 7, 8, 11, and 12 in Bunkers Bottom, were opened and gave like results to those on the north side of the down. All were flint lined to an average depth of 2 ft. In the main valley nos. 21, 24, and 29 were opened and found to be also flint lined; and in the last we found no signs of the 'pitched floor' Mr. Kell speaks of, the bottom being merely the natural flint deposit. The pits along Fern Bottom were more difficult to determine, the upper ones being completely grown over, but all had the same characteristics.

At the head of this coombe is what Mr. Kell describes as a defensive work, no. 45; it would be useless except as a rifle pit, and I unhesitatingly put its formation down to natural causes. It is in the form of a trench 4 ft. deep, the bank behind rising some 10 ft. above it; it ends at the west in a pit about 24 ft. diameter. With this pit the whole depression has a length of 150 ft. and a width of 50 to 60 ft., and has probably the same origin as pit 11 in Rowborough Down Bottom. About 800 ft. north-east of this trench and almost against the Gallibury hedge is an enclosure 75 ft. by 54 ft. surrounded by a low turf bank. This, referred to by Mr. Kell as a 'fort', is probably a small sheep-pen, being too insignificant for defence and too exposed for habitation.

West of Fern Bottom the pits become less defined, to lose themselves eventually in Brightstone Down, the last pit (54) on my plan having at some time been enlarged by digging for marl.

Our finds this side of the down were even scantier than those in the Newbarn Valley: a few sheep bones of fairly recent date, in pit 9, Rowborough Down Bottom, and one or two very poor specimens of bulbed flints.

Now to compare Mr. Kell's results with mine. In Rowborough Down Bottom, where he seems to have been busiest, pits 2, 3, 4, 5, and 10 yielded him bones of horse, ox, sheep, hare, and deer, though I challenge the last. No. 2, to his 'great astonishment', contained scanty human remains, which (he cheerfully adds) 'may indicate a period when the Ancient Britons ate the flesh of those slain in battle'. Curiously enough pit 8 was drawn blank—his only failure—but he airily dismisses the emptiness of its larder with the comforting conjecture that 'the poorer members of the community lived upon vegetables and reptiles which leave no vestige'. As only four pits yielded bones, one must conclude, according to Mr. Kell, that most of the inhabitants were perforce vegetarians.

Being unable to trace the bones, I am hardly in a position to speak about them, but would venture to put them down to

drift, as 2 ft., the depth at which the human remains were found, is too shallow for burial, not to speak of their fragmentary condition. Bones are to be found broadcast on these downs, as he might easily have ascertained by observation. Animals dying there get no burial except by nature. The 'pitched floor' of pit 45 I have already dealt with. It was exposed in the presence of three sensible people and found to be entirely natural. Mr. Kell further puts forward the plausible theory that each coombe had at its head a pond, carefully flint lined, to supply the community. One can only wonder why he did not discover that every pit he opened was similarly flint lined. He describes the 'pond' at the head of the Rowborough Down Bottom as 'a spring of never-failing water, even in the driest season', yet Mr. Colenutt and myself certainly saw it last October practically dry.

Again, he speaks of 'fortified works' on Rowborough and Gallibury, where one can see nothing beyond cattle-pens and boundary baulks, these latter being very apparent on the plateau above Bunkers. In some cases these boundary baulks were within living memory crowned with hedges—as in the Little Down Bottom.

One notices also that when Mr. Kell comes to an oval pit he puts it down as a 'double house', and when he describes a long pit he adds the further information that it is 'probably several houses', but he does not seem to have noted the important fact that whether the pit be 7 ft. deep or 7 in., the flint lining is always the same—just under the turf—surely an incontestable proof of the 'natural' solution of the whole matter. But I must leave Mr. Colenutt to deal with this side of the question, and conclude with the fact that Mr. Kell only opened 10 pits as against our 35, that all his finds were a few bones of unestablished date, and that no implement of any kind was brought to light, not even a single bulbed flake.

Finally, without disputing the existence of pit-dwellings, I would venture to put forward the suggestion that pits in the chalk—except of course those resulting from marl digging—are primarily the result of nature. Where these were used for habitation, man has adopted the natural depressions, accepting the flint lining and roofing them in from the weather. Even where used for burial may they not have been further excavated to the required depth? General Pitt-Rivers describes those at Woodcuts as cut clean in the chalk, but Mr. Cunningham speaks of pits he opened on Morgan's Hill near Devizes as having sides 'very smooth and even'. He investigated five of these, found them to contain nothing but clay and flints, and incontestably proved them to be swallow-holes.

May not the flint 'floors' in the Eggardun pits¹ be identified with that so confidently described by Mr. Kell as the 'pitched floor' of pit 45. These apparent 'floors' were found to exist in many of the Isle of Wight pits, notably pit 9 Rowborough Down Bottom and pit 14 Gotten Leaze, where the layer of large flint nodules was even and horizontal. The finds, too, are not reliable evidence, as is instanced by the animal bones turned up in our excavations. Even implements and flakes could drift or be thrown into such depressions, and investigation between the pits, never apparently undertaken, might reveal many such, as was the case with the stone celt found some years back at Gotten Leaze.

The pits on Hod Hill² can hardly have been habitations originally, as they either contained human remains or evidence of use as kitchens. Superstition, one would suppose, would have prevented the occupation of the former, unless all record of such burials had been lost. The deep layer of charcoal in pit A points to its use either as a kiln or a refuse hole.

The cup-like depressions on the hill-sides near Shillingstone are very similar to those in the Newbarn Valley, and the pits opened on the top of the hill yielded only animal bones and broken crocks, neither apparently dated. That the pits were 'in some instances evenly and compactly floored about a foot in thickness with flints' one cannot accept as evidence of habitation, as when sinkage takes place a more or less level flint floor is a natural consequence.

Again, what implements did neolithic man possess capable of excavating these pit habitations? Of what use would a stone celt, a flint pick, or a flaked scraper be in opening ground heavily overlaid with flint deposit? In soft chalk it was possible certainly with such implements to excavate for interment; but against such soil as we encountered in the Island downs they would have been useless. Later neolithic man, too, 'tall and large limbed,' must have experienced some difficulty in inhabiting a dwelling but 5 ft. in diameter.

In a climate of chill summers and drenching rains one can imagine even primitive man hesitating before taking up his residence in a hole dug by his own hands. That he accepted the swallow-holes as a shelter, as the down shepherds after him indubitably did, is possible; but that, with his primitive implements, he laboriously excavated the ground seems an improbability.

The absence of lips to the pits, an absolute necessity to defend

¹ *Proceedings*, xviii. 258.

² *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi. 1.

them against surface water, surely denotes a natural origin, for no time or weather could entirely obliterate such a feature.

I am aware that I lay myself open to criticism, but criticism is a healthy means of promoting knowledge.

Anyhow, the investigation of these Isle of Wight pits, undertaken in no superficial manner, incontestably proves their natural origin and shows into what errors even a conscientious explorer, with preconceived ideas, may fall."

The following extracts from the report kindly furnished by Mr. G. W. Colenutt, F.G.S., of Ryde, present the geological side of the question :

In view of Mr. Stone's results it is the part of the geologist, rather than the antiquary, to furnish an explanation of these pits, which appear in several of our chalk valleys and are marked on the Ordnance Survey map as being the sites of 'Ancient British Villages'.

Although the general characteristics of our chalk strata are apparently persistent it seems likely that valleys were eroded along lines where either the chalk happened to be rather more soluble than was usually the case or else was more extensively fissured and fractured as a result of the great disturbances to which all our strata in the Island have been subjected. It would be difficult to find a better specimen of a 'solution valley' than that of Newbarn. It seems probable that the areas where the most extensive fracturing or fissuring of the chalk occurred would be the first to be actively affected in past ages by the denuding forces of Nature, and it may also be inferred that any fissures have, in the course of time, been increased in size by the dissolving away of the chalk and that minor cracks or jointings have, by similar means, been developed and enlarged.

To the infiltration of rain-water into the fissures of the vertical or highly inclined strata of chalk is to be traced the formation of the shallow depressions in the floor of the Newbarn Valley. The transverse ridges apparently mark just those small areas where the dissolving away of the chalk goes on more slowly—possibly due to a harder band of chalk occurring there, or to the proximity of the fissure which allows the rain-water to avoid the ridge.

At Rowborough we again have typical examples of solution valleys and in both cases a series of shallow pits along the valley floor. The deep cut made in one of the pits at my suggestion showed a section supporting the views held by geologists as to the origin of these depressions.

Unfortunately, in the Rowborough district there is no chalk pit or cutting where one can see a good section showing the angle to which the strata have been tilted, and the deep trench cut in the pit could not be carried to a sufficient depth to reach the underlying chalk. If a section could be seen, however, it is almost certain that the strata would be found to have a very high angle of dip, and the gradual dissolution of the chalk must of course be greatly facilitated when the strata are nearly vertical. The present valleys apparently represent those lines along which the chalk was, and is, more extensively fractured.

The condition of the pit at the western and higher end of the Rowborough Down valley is worth noticing, as, receiving the surplus rainfall from the two sides as well as from the curving end of the valley, this pit is in fact a pond, and it may reasonably be suggested that here is a pit in the early stages of its formation.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH has been glad of the opportunity of

visiting the site on two occasions on behalf of the Society; and entirely concurred in the view that most of the pits in the Isle of Wight and elsewhere on chalk downs were due to pipes in the chalk and were not the sites of primitive dwellings.

Mr. DALE suggested that in view of the excavations described in the paper, the authorities of the Ordnance Survey should be informed that there was no evidence for the 'British Villages' marked on the Isle of Wight maps.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

Attention was drawn to the fact that the Bargate at Southampton was again threatened with demolition, and the matter was left in the hands of the Council to take any action that might seem necessary.

THURSDAY, 1st FEBRUARY, 1912.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From Messrs. Methuen & Co., Ltd.:—Cromwell's army. Second edition. By C. H. Firth. 8vo. London, 1912.

From Cecil A. Tennant, Esq., F.S.A.:—The following works by Rev William Gilpin:

1. Three essays: on picturesque beauty; on picturesque travel; and on sketching landscape. 8vo. London, 1794.
2. A guide to the lakes in Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire. 8vo. London, 1799.
3. Observations on Cumberland and Westmorland. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1792.
4. Observations on the Highlands of Scotland. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1789.
5. Remarks on forest scenery in the New Forest in Hampshire. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1808.
6. Observations on the western parts of England. 8vo. London, 1808.

From the Author:—The Canon Law. By Rev. R. S. Mylne, F.S.A. 4to. London, 1912.

E. THURLOW LEEDS, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on the distribution of the Anglo-Saxon saucer brooch in relation to the battle of Bedford in 571 A.D., which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

Sir ARTHUR EVANS thought Mr. Leeds had proved that the saucer brooch had the same status in his eastern as in his western area, and there were signs of still earlier settlement near the Fens than in the upper Thames valley. At Haslingfield, Cambs., for instance, types had been found resembling the Schleswig finds, and at Dorchester, Oxon., an early group had been discovered of special interest in this connexion. Years ago these specimens had been transferred from the Natural History Museum at Oxford to the Ashmolean, and he had made clear on the labels their exact significance in the Teutonic series. It was remarkable to find, so far up the Thames valley, types that were best represented in the moss-finds of Nydam and Thorsberg. Something might be added on the subject of Gothic influence, as Teutonic ornament and civilization owed much to the Goths on the Black Sea coast, who absorbed much of the Greco-Scythian culture and communicated it to the West at a time when communication was by no means easy. The gryphon, for example, came from that quarter and was all of a piece with the Arimaspi tradition. Roman influence, too, was traceable, especially in the 'applied' brooches, but he deprecated the derivation of such patterns as the guilloche from Roman tessellated pavements; more perishable materials, such as the stuffs so well preserved in Egypt, probably had a larger share in the education of Teutonic craftsmen.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH considered there was some danger of confusing the eastern district of the saucer brooch with East Anglia, where the type was practically unknown and other brooches were abundant. Though its rudiments could be traced abroad, in connexion with cremation urns in North Germany, the saucer brooch was essentially a home product; and it was interesting to find that the respective areas of the solid and applied forms overlapped to a certain extent in the region affected by the events of 571. The stud in the centre of some solid examples seemed to take the place of the domed centres of the finest Kentish circular brooches, which had the white material surmounted by a garnet: this stone had indeed been found in the centre of a solid saucer brooch at Longbridge, Warwickshire. Archaeologically there was little doubt that the earliest home of the West Saxons in England was the upper Thames valley; and apart from the Dorchester find, he thought the cremation urns at Frilford, Berks., might represent the earliest settlement of immigrants from Schleswig and the Elbe, where the saucer brooch had its birth. The Frilford burials showed a sequence of occupants from Roman days to the conversion of the Saxons, and might well have marked the dates and sequence of the various types of saucer brooch.

Mr. LEEDS, in reply, thought there was no danger of confusion with East Anglia; and pointed out that Cambridgeshire, which had yielded most of the applied variety, was certainly eastward of the area where the solid form was predominant.

The PRESIDENT found the study of Anglo-Saxon forms most fascinating, and remarked on the advance of knowledge since the days when the *Collectanea Antiqua* and *Horae Ferales* were the main sources of information on the subject. There was a good deal of material available for study in several museums, and Dr. Salin had done some excellent work in elucidating the development and affinities of Teutonic motives. The Society was indebted to Mr. Leeds for a paper full of detail which could only be thoroughly examined in printed form.

Mr. LEEDS also read the following paper on the excavation of a Round Barrow at Eyebury, near Peterborough:

"A brief preliminary account of the excavation of the Bronze Age tumulus known as Oliver Cromwell's Hill at Eyebury, near Peterborough, was presented to this Society at its meeting on June 30th, 1910,¹ and a fuller account was promised as soon as the excavations were completed. In one sense these excavations may be said not even now to have reached completion, as that would imply the overturning of the entire tumulus, a task which would involve a considerable outlay of time and money. The main object, however, of the excavation of any tumulus is undoubtedly to discover the original interment, and in so far as that may be regarded as the end in view, the work carried out in October, 1911, was successful. It may be possible to make other excavations in this tumulus from time to time on the chance of finding other secondary burials, but judging from the large portion of the mound which has already been investigated I doubt if there is much hope in that direction.

The tumulus lies almost on the edge of what was once part of the gravelly shore of the huge bay now filled by the Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire Fens, but which the accumulation of alluvium and the handiwork of man have thrust back to the limits of the Wash. Only 200 yards southward of this point the Fen pierces the gravel plateau through a narrow depression between Oxney and Eyebury Farms (the former once the site of a cell of the Abbey of Peterborough), and widens out into Alder Fen, along whose western boundary runs the once famous waterway, the Car Dyke. This arm of the fen thus encloses Eyebury Farm on its

¹ *Proceedings*, xxiii. 283.

southern and western sides, dying out just south of the village of Eye. Little more than a quarter of a mile east of the tumulus



Fig. 1 MAP OF EYEBURY FARM, ETC., SHOWING POSITION OF TUMULI AND PROBABLE LIMIT OF ABBOT GODFREY'S PARK.

(Based on the Ordnance Survey map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.)

another ancient waterway, the Cat's Water, leaves the fenland to thrust its way northwards across the gravel, thus forming a connexion between the valleys of the Nene and the Welland (fig. 1).

The important work which my friend Mr. G. W. Abbott is still assiduously carrying on in collecting the evidence of early Bronze Age settlements at Fengate, just east of Peterborough, indicates the existence of a fairly large community established on the western edge of the marshy gulf of the Fens. Some of the results of Mr. Abbott's work have already been given to this Society,¹ and I trust that the continuance of his labours will serve to illuminate even more the darkness of the transition period between the Neolithic and Bronze Ages in Britain. Further evidence of this community is furnished by a small series of round barrows. One is the tumulus with which this paper is concerned. Only a few yards south lies a second but much smaller tumulus, and just over the hedge which forms the boundary between Eyebury and Tanholt Farms there appears to be a third, now nearly razed level with the surrounding land. It is noteworthy that these three tumuli form a closely connected group lying in a straight line north and south, the largest being placed at the northern end of the line. A fourth tumulus known as Herdsman's Hill, destroyed in gravel digging some years ago, lay also on the edge of the fen a little west of the hamlet of Newark, about a mile north-east of the settlement at Fengate and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of the Eyebury tumuli. Curiously enough, a rectangular pavement made of pieces of Barnack rag set on edge was found in the east side of the Eyebury tumulus. It evidently formed the foundation of a shepherd's shelter. In the centre a large quantity of ashes was found, from amongst which were extracted some coarse hand-made iron nails. From the Newark tumulus my father, Mr. Alfred N. Leeds, F.G.S., was fortunate enough to recover from one of the workmen two flint daggers, one of exceptional beauty, and a perforated quartzite axe-hammer (figs. 2 and 2a). Mr. Abbott has kindly placed at my disposal some details of the discovery of these implements which he has been able to gather from the workmen. The two flint implements were found in the centre of the mound, which varied in depth from $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. to 5 ft. (possibly accounting for a grave), but there is no recollection of a skeleton or of burnt bones having been met with. The stone axe-hammer was evidently associated with them in the first instance, though found later in sifting over gravel, as the hole was filled with black soil.

To return now to the exploration of Oliver Cromwell's Hill. I may say at the outset it owes its name to a tradition that Oliver Cromwell planted his cannon thereon when he bombarded Peterborough Cathedral. That notable figure in English history has been accused of many things he never did, and certainly the arming of his forces with artillery having an effective range of

¹ *Archaeologia*, lxii, pt. i, pp. 333 ff.

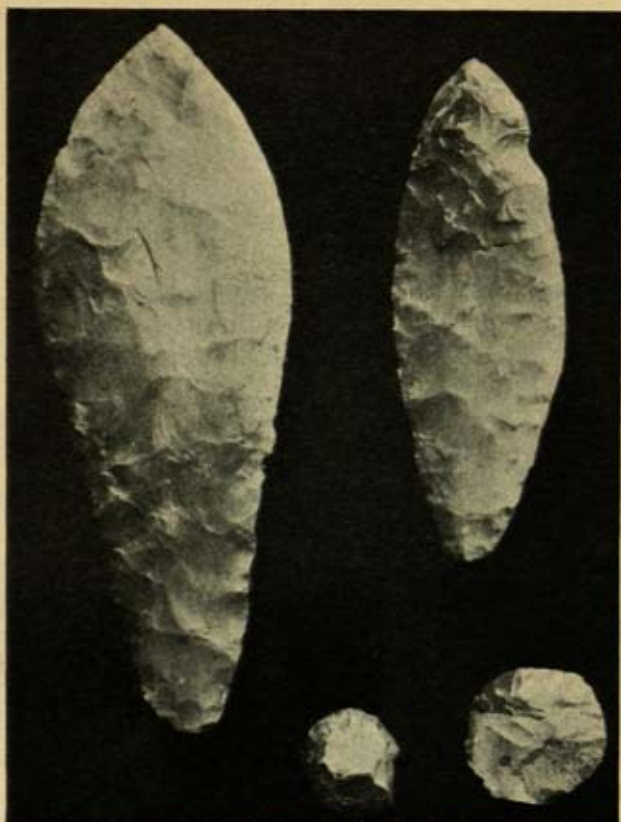


Fig. 2. FLINT DAGGERS FROM HERDSMAN'S HILL, NEWARK, AND FLINT SCRAPERS FROM OLIVER CROMWELL'S HILL, EYEBURY ($\frac{1}{2}$).



Fig. 2a. QUARTZITE AXE-HAMMER, HERDSMAN'S HILL, NEWARK, NEAR PETERBOROUGH ($\frac{1}{2}$).

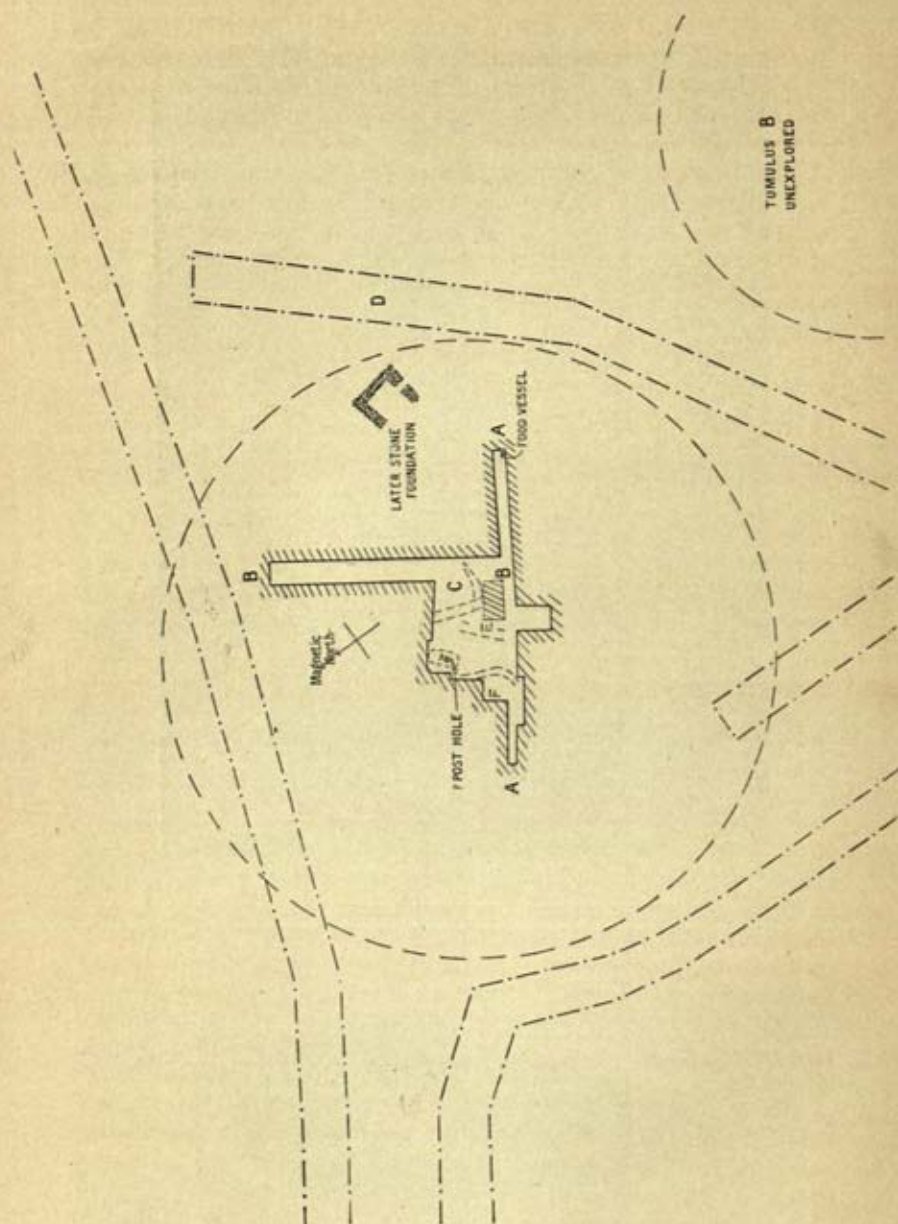


Fig. 3. GROUND PLAN OF OLIVER CROMWELL'S HILL, EYEBURY, SHOWING PORTION EXCAVATED AND POSITION OF OLD BOUNDARY DITCHES · · · · ·. Scale 1 in. = 40 ft.

three miles must be reckoned among them. Interesting as the tradition is, we must nevertheless regret the earlier legends which it may be safely surmised had previously hung round this conspicuous landmark, and which were ousted by the later story of Cromwell's misdeeds.

The tumulus is now about 40 yards in diameter, and rises to 5 ft. above the gravel at the centre. It was probably originally of smaller extent though higher, but the constant tilling of the ground of which it is a part for a great number of years



Fig. 4. FOOD VESSEL, EYEBURY ($\frac{1}{2}$).

may well have reduced its height by spreading the soil laterally on its surface, and in the immediate vicinity numerous flakes of flint can be picked up.

The first excavation was instituted primarily to ascertain whether it was a barrow at all, and to that end a trench (Plan, fig. 3, A-A) was driven right through the apparent heart of the mound. It became apparent immediately that it consisted entirely of made ground, and was not merely a rise in the gravel as had been suspected. It was formed of a rich soil in which, as the centre of the mound was approached, traces of charcoal were frequently noticed. As the trench was gradually deepened more convincing evidence of the sepulchral character of the mound came to light. At the exact point at which the trench had been begun and barely $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. down was found a small hand-made pot of coarse ware of brick-red colour (fig. 4). It

is $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. high and $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter at the mouth. The vase increases in width to the centre of the body, at which point it is $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, and thence decreases again to the base. The upper half is decorated with a simple incised ornamentation of lines of dots arranged in alternating horizontal and perpendicular panels impressed by means of an instrument with six teeth; round the lip is a faint herring-bone pattern. It was broken to pieces and some of it thrown out before its presence was detected. However, by carefully sifting over the soil all but a few fragments were recovered, and the vase was thus capable of restoration. No traces of ashes accompanied it, and indeed it is too small to have served as a cinerary urn. It

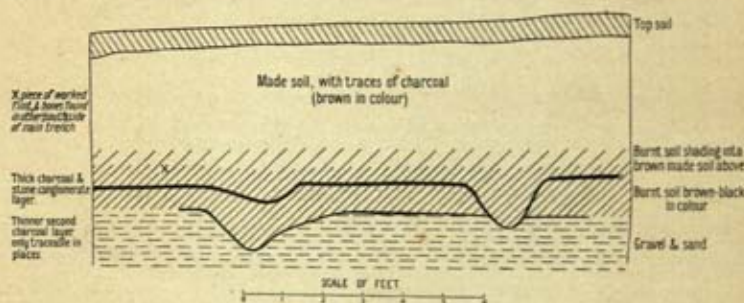


Fig. 5. SECTION ALONG PART OF NORTHERN FACE OF TRENCH A-A.
(See fig. 3.)

belongs rather to the 'food-vessel' class, and its position in the side of the mound may well support the conjecture that it had served to contain some offering of food or the like dedicated to the spirit of the departed chieftain over whom the tumulus had been raised.

A little east of the point B (plan, fig. 3) a perceptible darkening was noticed at about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above the gravel, and 6 in. lower down a hard black band of burnt soil mingled with charcoal became visible, extending some 25 ft. across the mound. A section drawn along the northern face of the trench (fig. 5) shows also a second band of less extent about 1 ft. below the first, and at two points traces of two trenches sunk from the level of the first band, the more easterly trench passing right through the intervening dark soil into the second band. Towards the western side there are two trenches, one in each band, while the deeper trench to the east possibly represents an amalgamation of two such trenches. Immediately below the second band lies the gravel. The black band was only noticed at one point on the southern side, but on following it up it proved only to be a small pocket of charcoal. Towards the western end of the

trench some broken animal bones were found, comprising sheep, lamb, pig, ox or deer, dog, hare, and duck, and a narrow excavation made along the southern side resulted in the discovery of more, as well as of a large flake of black chalk flint, evidently imported, and a handle of bone (fig. 6, e and f). The nature of the ground seemed to hold out more hope of success on the



Fig. 6. SHERDS, BONE HANDLE AND FLINT FLAKE.

northern side in the vicinity of the trenches, so it was decided to make a wide cutting northwards at that point, and a section of the mound 44 sq. ft. in area was excavated. During the process of this work a few sherds of pottery came to light. Two, found 1½ ft. from the surface, had evidently belonged to a Bronze Age cinerary urn (fig. 6, d² and d³; a, third piece found in 1911); the third, recovered at 3½ ft., was part of a dark black vessel with a flat rim sharply angled outwards and faint wavy depression in the rim

(fig. 6, a). The closest parallel I have been able to discover came from chamber no. 1 of the cairn at Glecknabee, Isle of Bute, excavated by Dr. Thomas Bryce.¹ A fourth sherd, which lay immediately below this piece and some 6 in. lower, belongs to a wheel-made pot of red-baked ware with a moulded rim, and is evidently of much later date, probably Romano-British (fig. 6, b; a second fragment found by the workmen, b¹). Sherds of Roman fabrics were found at several points in the top layers of the mound. There was nothing to show how they came there, except perhaps that the discovery of other fragments of the cinerary urn as well as another piece of this same scattered at different points near by during the two excavations may suggest that the tumulus has been tampered with at some time, though when it would be impossible to say.² If this conjecture is correct, we had at any rate the consolation of finding that the charcoal band had never been pierced, so our hopes of ultimate success, temporarily dashed by the appearance of the wheel-made sherd, were revived.

On reaching the upper layer of charcoal we found that it rose very slightly towards the northern side of the cutting, and at two points were thin oval patches of gravel sprinkled above the charcoal (fig. 7 b). The trend of the trenches was carefully noted and their position near the northern face, $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the original trench, will be seen in the section (fig. 7 a), and their trend in the ground plan (fig. 3). A further small cutting northwards was made to follow up the westernmost ditch which was found to turn in towards the eastern trench. Time precluded further excavation at this date, so our search had to be deferred until October of last year, when the early completion of harvest again permitted of a continuation of the work.

On renewing the excavations, we decided to attack the mound from its northern side, and to this end a trench 45 ft. long (B-B, fig. 3) was driven at right angles to that previously dug and a little to the east of the centre of the mound, in order if possible to ascertain the extent of the burnt layer in that direction. Owing to the extreme dryness of the soil after the long-continued heat of the summer, it was impossible to perceive accurately the variations in the colour of the ground, but a slight difference was noticed at some 20 ft. inwards, though possibly only due to the moisture retained at the increased depth. Not until we had penetrated the mound 35 ft. did the burnt band appear, and then only in any degree of thickness on the western face of the trench, whereas

¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xxxviii. 48, and fig. 21.

² Another possible explanation is that the tumulus was at one time planted with trees, whose roots may have been instrumental in depositing the sherds at the places of discovery.

it gradually died away eastwards across the trench. Advancing up the trench we found 3 ft. farther along a ditch similar to those observed in 1910; it was 2 ft. wide at the top and about 1 ft. deep at the middle, lined by the charcoal band as were those found in 1910. It followed a north-easterly trend across the trench and died away before it reached the other side.

Immediately beyond this ditch the burnt layer disappeared, so we proceeded to drive a wide trench into the western face (c on plan,

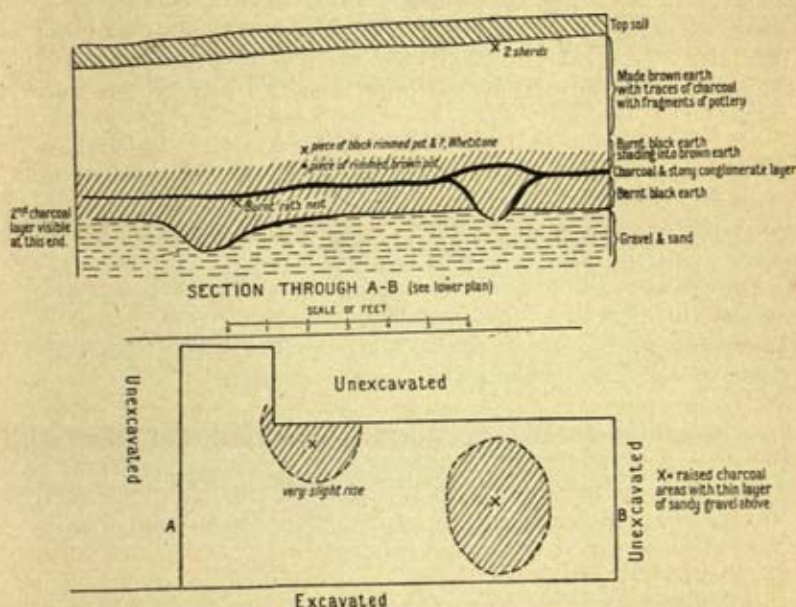


Fig. 7. (a) SECTION ACROSS E-F ON GROUND PLAN, FIG. 3. (b) GROUND PLAN OF PART OF UPPER CHARCOAL LAYER WITH GRAVEL PATCHES.

fig. 3). A solid bank of hard gravel was first encountered, running from the ditch $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in a northerly direction, and about 3 ft. wide. The top of it stood at a slightly higher level than that in the main trench, but it was probably only a small natural inequality in the level of the gravel; at its northern end the soil was composed of mixed earth and gravel. Beyond the bank another ditch 2 ft. wide was found running north and south (plan, fig. 3). On the southern face of the trench the charcoal band was $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. down and 1 ft. above the gravel, the surface of the ground being $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above the gravel at this point. Two feet further on the band rose to the $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. level, after which it began to sink once more. Narrowing our trench beyond this point, as the workmen said they had now reached the northern edge

of our old workings, we observed that the soil from this point onwards became increasingly rich and black, while the charcoal band thickened as it descended. About 10 ft. west from the point c it dipped suddenly downwards, and did not appear again until 6 ft. farther on, and there 6 in. lower, sinking yet another 6 in. in the next 4 ft. We proceeded to excavate the depression and remove the charcoal floor on each side. Signs of something unusual were immediately met with in some fine white sand mixed with the soil. This sand was found 1 ft. below the top of the gravel, so it was evident that an excavation had been made some distance into the gravel itself close by. The bottom of the depression was reached 2 ft. down, and the first attempt to remove this layer told us we had reached our goal, as it brought to light a part of a human pelvis. Nothing remained now but to clear the grave itself, which was found to be 6 ft. long and a little over

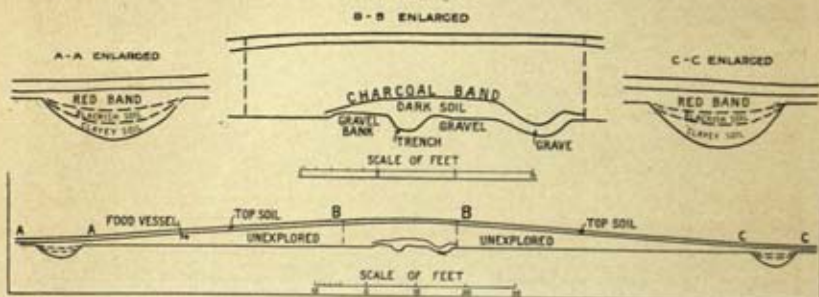


Fig. 8. SECTION OF TUMULUS ALONG LINE D-C WITH POSITION OF GRAVE AND FOOD-VESSEL PROJECTED INTO IT.

2 ft. wide. At each end the charcoal rose again, rising to the height observed on the north face of the previous year's workings. On laying bare the skeleton, which has since proved to be an adult man of about thirty years of age, measuring about 5 ft. 8 in. in height, it was seen to be lying on a bed of the white sand above mentioned, in a contracted position on its right side with the head to the south-west and with the right hand up to the face (fig. 9). The bones were much broken and many of them in a somewhat rotten condition, but it was possible to remove them all, and they have now been mended so far as is possible. The skull has been restored almost entire; it is mesaticephalic, having an index of 78.07. The teeth are in beautiful preservation but much worn down, while one of the wisdom-teeth has been unable to force its way out normally and lies parallel to the jaw with its crown against the side of the adjacent second molar. There were signs of the deceased having been in the wars, as the epiphysis of the left ulna had been broken off, and, though there is considerable

evidence of osseous growth on the main part of the bone, the broken part had never ankylosed. A medical friend, after examining the bones, has told me that every movement of the elbow would thereafter have caused the most exquisite pain, if they took any notice of such trifles in those prehistoric times.

In a short account of the find written to the *Peterborough Standard* the same day, I stated that nothing had been found with the skeleton, but on proceeding to remove the bones on the next day we found underneath the top of the skull two black flint scrapers, one large and one small, of beautiful workmanship, and of imported flint similar to the implements from Newark (fig. 2). In both cases their perfect condition makes it



Fig. 9. SKELETON *in situ*.

certain that they were made expressly for deposition with the dead. The skull lay in a slight depression lined with charcoal, which had stained the right side, while the main charcoal layer pressed hard against the left side. About a foot from the back of the skull was a circular hole in the floor of the grave 1 ft. in diameter at the top and filled with a mixture of earth and gravel. It penetrated the gravel for $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft., gradually tapering to the bottom, and from the appearance of the sides it seems to have been made by driving a post into the ground and gradually working it round like a boring tool with a slight levering motion until the required depth was attained. In the grave itself the charcoal band lay almost immediately over the skeleton, separated from the majority of the bones themselves by a very thin layer of earth, but in actual contact with the skull, which projected a little higher than the rest of the skeleton. The depression of the charcoal band in the grave itself and the presence of the post-hole seem to suggest that the grave had

been covered over with a roof of perishable material, which was subsequently destroyed by the huge funeral fire lighted over the grave and the immediately surrounding soil, causing the collapse of the roof of the grave, so that the charcoal band sank down to the level of the body.

Under the charcoal band found in the work of 1910 and again just below the skeleton were found two small pockets containing bones of water-rat and frogs. For the identification of these bones I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. C. W. Andrews, of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington.

The most mysterious problem which has arisen out of these excavations is the meaning and purpose of the ditches described above. As will be seen on reference to the ground plan, those discovered in the work of 1910 bear no relation to those brought to light last year. I had hoped that collation of the plans of the two excavations would result in showing that an oval trench had enclosed the grave, and to guard against possibilities of inaccurate measurement I had some check-trenches dug, but these were productive of nothing which necessitated any alterations in the plan. The purpose of the ditches is, so far as I am concerned, no nearer solution than before. Possibly that found during the work of 1911 may have curved round to meet the western ditch discovered in 1910, but time prevented me from testing that point.

The relics found in the tumulus are hardly sufficient in themselves to allow of any conclusions as to date being drawn from them. Taken, however, in connexion with those found in Herdsman's Hill, Newark, and Mr. Abbott's discoveries at Fengate, this tumulus may with some high degree of probability be assumed to indicate a burial belonging to the earliest period of the Bronze Age, if not to the actual transition from the neolithic period, thus affording further evidence of the use of part of the Wash route by the invaders who introduced the knowledge of metal into Britain. It is to be hoped that the excavation of the smaller tumulus may help to clear up this question.

A report on the skull and other parts of the skeleton, for which I am indebted to Professor Arthur Thomson and Mr. F. H. S. Knowles, of the Department of Human Anatomy at Oxford, shows that in the matter of height and cephalic index the skeleton has more affinities with known Bronze Age types than with those of the neolithic inhabitants of Britain, though there is an absence of the pronounced brachycephalic characteristics met with in many of the skulls of the immigrant race.

In my preliminary notice of the tumulus, I mentioned the existence of deep ditches on the outside of the mound. During the course of the first excavations I had several trial holes dug with

a view of discovering if possible whether the ditch was continuous around the tumulus, and might therefore be considered as part and parcel of the original work. The failure to discover it at certain points made this extremely doubtful, but I hoped to solve the problem at the next attempt. However, what no amount of digging had done, the excessively dry summer of 1911 settled beyond shadow of doubt, as the lines of the ditches could be followed with the naked eye with great facility in the colour of the stubble. My brother, Mr. Lewis Leeds, at my request, set up a number of marks to indicate the course of the ditches, and by the aid of these we have drawn up the plan (fig. 1) showing their relation to the surrounding hedges. The plan explains itself. It is evident that they have nothing to do with the tumulus itself, except in so far as the latter was an outstanding landmark and formed a convenient point to which to draw boundary lines of enclosed land. Such use of a tumulus is of frequent occurrence in ancient charters, where the phrase 'and thence to the heathen burying-ground' is constantly met with, e.g. W. de Gray Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, ii. 635, 'up to tham haethenam byrgelsan,' or *Cart. Sax.*, ii. 677, 'thonom to Oswaldesberghe,' in which latter case a tumulus is designated.

In the course of some researches into mediaeval accounts of Eyebury, I believe I have been able to discover a possible explanation of these ditches. In Walter of Whittlesey's *Historia Coenobii Burgensis* is given a long account of the expenditure by the abbey of Peterborough under Godfrey of Croyland, who was abbot from 1299-1321. Numerous accounts of the outlay of considerable sums at Eyebury attest the favour in which this possession stood at that time with its owners. At the very commencement of his abbacy we find, 'anno eius primo apud Eyebiri consummavit aulam pulcherrimam quam prius abbas Willielmus praedecessor eius inceperat cuius sumptus VI lib. XVI sol. XI den. ob. Item ibidem inclusit landam quae prius iacuit velut pastura ad sustentationem ferarum. Cuius sumptus XXVI sol. IV den.'¹ Among the undertakings of his fifth year occurs the statement: 'apud Eyebiri fieri fecit unum columbare novum, cuius sumptus XLVII sol. II den.'

Eyebury is subsequently called 'unum capitale messuagium,

¹ On the map (fig. 1) the position of deep ditches, still existent, or belts of trees, now destroyed, has been designated by crosses x x x x. These may have had some connexion with Abbot Godfrey's enclosure. It will be seen that they extend northward almost to an accommodation road known as Rumphrey's Balk. In this name undoubtedly may be seen a survival of that mentioned by William of Whittlesey, in his account of Abbot Godfrey's activities in the second year of his rule, where it is recorded that he made 'apud Rumpelle prope Eyebiri cuniculare novum de sumptibus IX sol. VII den.'

cum quodam parvo parco adiacente', and at the Dissolution the capital messuage of Eyebury with Eyebury Park was granted in fee to John first Earl of Bedford. As the family of Russell held the land from that time onwards and there is no reason to believe the area has been decreased since that time, we may look for Godfrey of Croyland's park within the limits of the farm as it exists at the present day.

Now the three fields on the Ordnance map immediately east of the house are still known as the Park, in which name doubtless has survived the memory of Abbot Godfrey's enclosure. How far, if at all, it extended beyond the fields in question I am at present unable to say, but I doubt whether it included the whole of the westernmost field. Across the middle of this field runs a wide hollow from north to south, undoubtedly a former boundary of some kind. The northern end of the strip to the west of this line formerly constituted a separate enclosure nearly to the south-east corner of the garden, and bore the name of Dovecote Close, as at one time a large dovecote, demolished in the first half of the nineteenth century, stood there. From the character of the stonework, of which several carved examples are now placed in the garden, I have no doubt that it stood on the site of Abbot Godfrey's building.

We can therefore place the Park beyond this enclosure, and in the ditches whose existence was detected as a result of our excavations I am inclined to see part of the southern boundary of this Park. The space between the ditches was probably occupied by a belt of trees and brushwood, of which numerous examples occur in the neighbourhood."

W. de C. PRIDEAUX, Esq., exhibited a curious document (see illustration) which he had found in a chest at Nynehead Church, Somerset. This is an order for the body of a felon to be buried at a cross-road, with a stake thrust through it. It is signed by John Clarke, 1734, and appears to be a sheriff's warrant. If so, the case was probably not one of suicide, which would have been dealt with by a coroner, but of felony in the usual sense of the word.

To this it has been objected that, as we are told by Richard Burn, a legal writer of the eighteenth century: 'A judge may direct the body of an executed felon to be hung in chains or anatomized, but in no case to be buried, unless after the same shall have been dissected or anatomized'; and again, that 'a person who hath laid violent hands on himself, shall be buried ignominiously in the highway with a stake driven through his body'. This barbarous mode of burial was abolished in the fourth year of George IV.

John Wellman, not John Clarke, was sheriff in 1734, but the latter may have been deputy-sheriff. He doubtless belonged to the family of that name which resided at Chipley, in the parish of Nynhead. Jepp Clarke was sheriff in 1720. It is said that the only cross-way in the parish is almost opposite to the old Chipley avenue.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.



ORDER FOR THE BURIAL OF A FELON.

THURSDAY, 8th FEBRUARY, 1912.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—An old Exchequer tally. By Sir Ernest Clarke, F.S.A.
8vo. London, 1912.

From E. C. R. Armstrong, Esq., F.S.A.:—Report on the exploration of
bronze-age cairns on Carrowkeel Mountain, Co. Sligo. By R. A. S.
Macalister, E. C. R. Armstrong, and R. Ll. Praeger. 8vo. Dublin,
1912.

CHARLES FFOULKES, Esq., B.Litt., read a paper on Jousting
Cheques in the Sixteenth Century, which will be printed in
Archaeologia.

Mr. OSWALD BARRON remarked on the illuminated MS. in the
Society's possession which was exhibited in illustration of the

paper. It consisted of two pages bound up with other matter, and had been identified some years ago by himself as the scoring-sheet of jousts on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. At the head were the royal arms of both countries, and the names of the knights corresponded exactly with the official list of the 11th June, 1520, when the jousting began. As a piece of heraldry the MS. was of the smallest interest, the drawings not being good or accurate. The older nobility was represented by Grey and Courtney, the others being new creations with an excessive number of quarterings. Several owed their advancement to success in these sports. He preferred the form just to joust for single combat, the tourney being a *mêlée* of horsemen. The tilt was originally the cloth on the barrier, then the barrier itself, which separated the horsemen in the lists.

Col. MORRIESON observed that the lances were held across the body, a position that made an accurate aim practically impossible. Modern lancers held their weapon on the off-side.

Mr. WARREN asked if there was any evidence that the illuminated cheques were prepared beforehand and kept in blank for the use of the kings and their suites at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. They were too elaborate to have been prepared on the field by an illuminator.

Mr. YFOULKES replied that the only elaborate cheque known was that in the Society's possession : others were in bistre. The lance pointed across the horse's neck, thus enabling the rider to use his weight in delivering the blow. If the combatants had met right arm to right arm, the strain on the arm would have been too severe.

The PRESIDENT had found the account of the way in which these picturesque amusements of the middle ages were conducted both clear and interesting. He saw no difficulty with regard to the process of scoring on the first cheque shown on the screen. Blows on the head were evidently marked on the middle horizontal line, and those below the head by strokes on the line below ; but this system was not adopted in the other examples. It was curious to observe the continuity of English sport, success in which still had its solid advantages.

PENROSE WILLIAMS, Esq., F.R.C.S., read the following notes on the excavation of the Holy Well of St. Constantine, North Cornwall :

"The ruins of Constantine Church are situated on a mound about

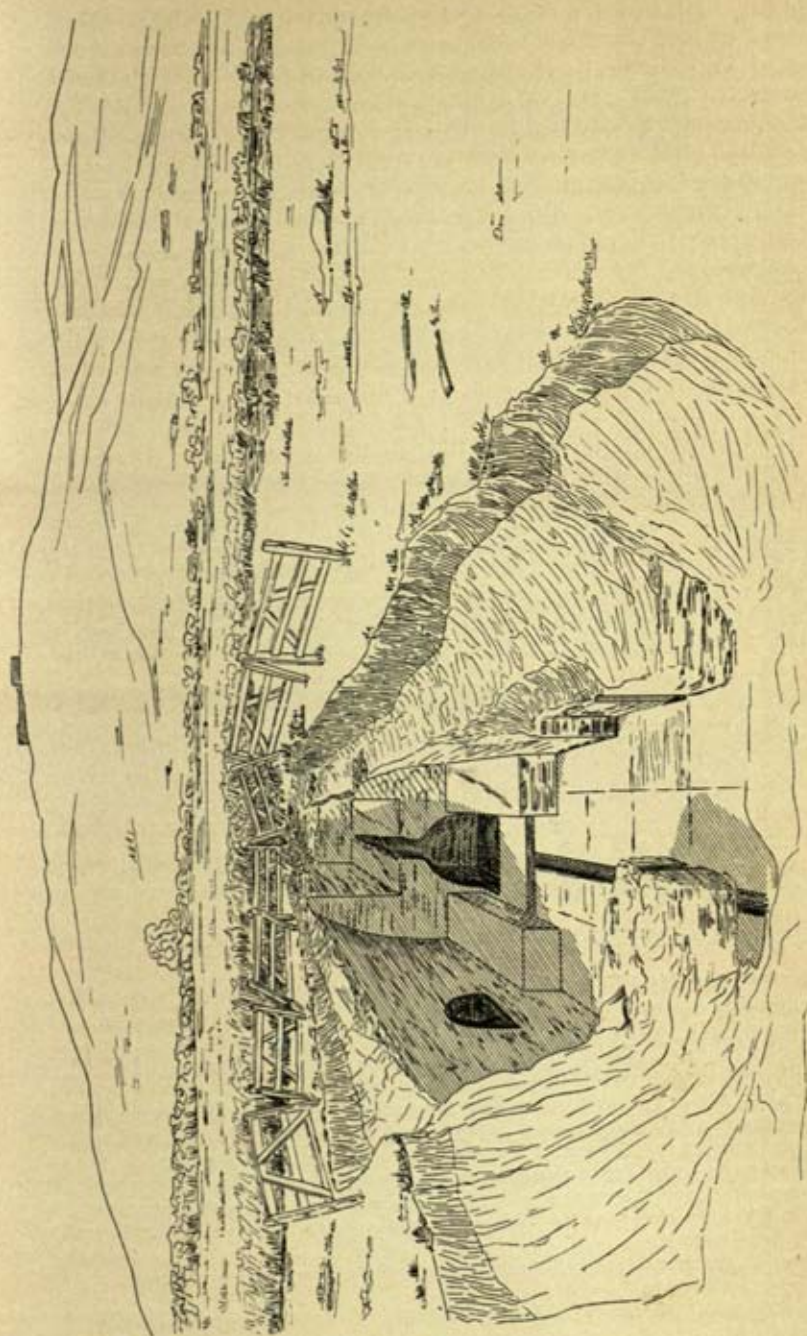


Fig. 1. ST. CONSTANTINE'S WELL: GENERAL VIEW OF EXCAVATION.

30 ft. high in the parish of St. Merryn, 700 yards from the sea. The top of the mound is deeply depressed, the building being thereby partly concealed by a surrounding bank which is incomplete in parts: this upper part is formed of blown sand, which at one time buried the church and was the cause of its abandonment. The church mound occupies the south-western quarter of a field, the greater part of which is marshy ground, more or less impassable according to the season. The portion of the field immediately north of the church is fairly firm and covered with turf.

The bed of a small river, which takes its origin in the higher ground to the east, enters the field near the middle of the south boundary, circles round the church mound, and leaves the field through the western boundary. This water-course is more or less dry in the summer, but carries a considerable body of water in the winter. In the midst of the marshy part and about the centre of the whole field is a spring, the water from which flows westward through the marsh and joins the proper water-course just at its exit from the field. This church field further has an embankment disposed somewhat in a semicircle, which cuts off the north-eastern part of the field from the remainder. Natives say they remember their forbears saying that this was constructed by a former owner to form a pool for wild-fowl.

Local tradition is strong as to the existence of the well, but all clue as to its position seems to have been lost. It is well described by Hals,¹ but the impression seems to have been general that the whole or greater part of the building had been removed, possibly to use the material for other building purposes, as has occurred elsewhere. In 1891 two ladies stood on the actual spot apparently, and mistook the upper part of the walls, which were poking through the ground, for the last remnants of the foundations.²

On August 25th, 1911, Mr. Charles Mott and myself proceeded

¹ 'Near this Church is yet extant S. Constantine's Well, strong built of stone and arched over: on the inner part hereof are places or seats for people to sit and wash themselves in the stream thereof.'—Hals.

² 'No trace of the Well of St. Constantine could we find in July 1891—at least none of which one could feel certain.

'At about a stone's throw from the ruined Chapel, on lower ground and surrounded by marsh, was a little mound, grown over by grass and rushes and weeds: on pushing back some of the growth there appeared to be two low walls—whether of masonry or mud we could not tell, and a very slight covering over it near the back: but if these were really the remains of a building erected over the spring, there seemed to be no place for the water to run from it.

'There was a running stream: but although quite close, it appeared to have nothing to do with the little mound.'—From *Ancient and Holy Wells of Cornwall*, by M. & L. Quiller-Couch.

to investigate a spot that I had located four years ago as the possible site. This conjecture proved to be correct, and it also

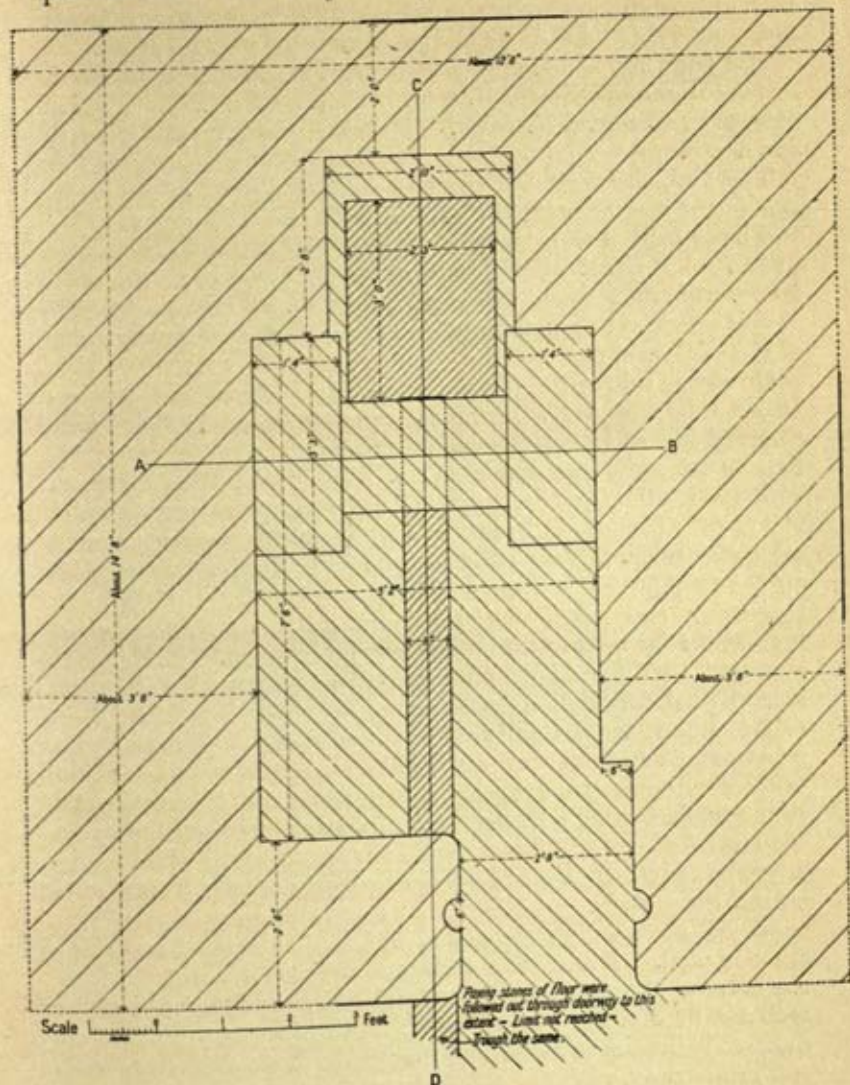


Fig. 2. ST. CONSTANTINE'S WELL: PLAN.

(Outer limits of walls not explored except where shown by thick lines.)

soon became apparent that the present ground surface was about 7 ft. above the original, and that therefore the building had not been destroyed, but was buried. The excavation was much

hampered by surface water, which passed in on all sides as the digging proceeded and necessitated the continuous employment of a pump, and eventually the influx of water was twice as great as the pump could deal with, and so ended the exploration.

The building, which is about 70 yards north of the church, is rectangular, measuring 7 ft. 6 in. by 5 ft. inside, the walls being from 2 ft. to 3 ft. 6 in. thick. The long axis lies exactly north and south.

The well, also rectangular, measures 3 ft. by 2 ft.; one foot of the longer measurement projects into the floor space, the other two being within the thickness of the south wall, and surmounted by an arch about 18 in. high, on which again is a recess 2 ft. 10 in. wide and about the same in depth. The upper limits of this recess are broken away in common with the upper parts of the walls and roofs.

On either side of the interior is a stone seat about a foot high, 16 in. wide, and 3 ft. 3 in. long, running along each side wall, commencing at the south end; between these seats is a stone slab 20 in. wide, and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. higher than the floor level, which forms the front boundary of the well and covers in a gully which runs the whole length of the centre of the floor, and is otherwise open. This gully is 8 in. wide, and is floored with an oak trough, one end of which projects slightly into the well; the other end passes out under the north wall and appears beyond it: its further extent was not determined. This trough appeared to slope slightly downwards away from the well, but this was not definitely ascertained.

The side walls gradually curve inwards, and would meet at a point about 7 ft. from the floor. They are nearly complete at the part corresponding to the seats, the highest point of masonry still standing, measuring 6 ft. 4 in. from the floor: the rest of the walls are much broken. This curving in or arching of the sides is produced by the stone slabs, which are laid horizontally, being overlapped successively, a method known as 'gathering in', which is employed at the present time in building chimney flues where stone is used. The smaller arch over the well is constructed in the same way, and is equally incomplete in that the apex of the arch and floor of the recess above is broken through. There are distinct indications of mortar between the stone in all the walls.

The doorway, which is 2 ft. 8 in. wide, is placed in the north wall close up to the west wall. This latter is set back 6 in. for a distance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft., thus forming a recess which would allow of a door swinging back level with the inner face of the wall. Two semicircular grooves 6 in. wide are placed one on either side of the entrance in a position which would be suitable for door jambs. The corners of the masonry forming the entrance are rounded,

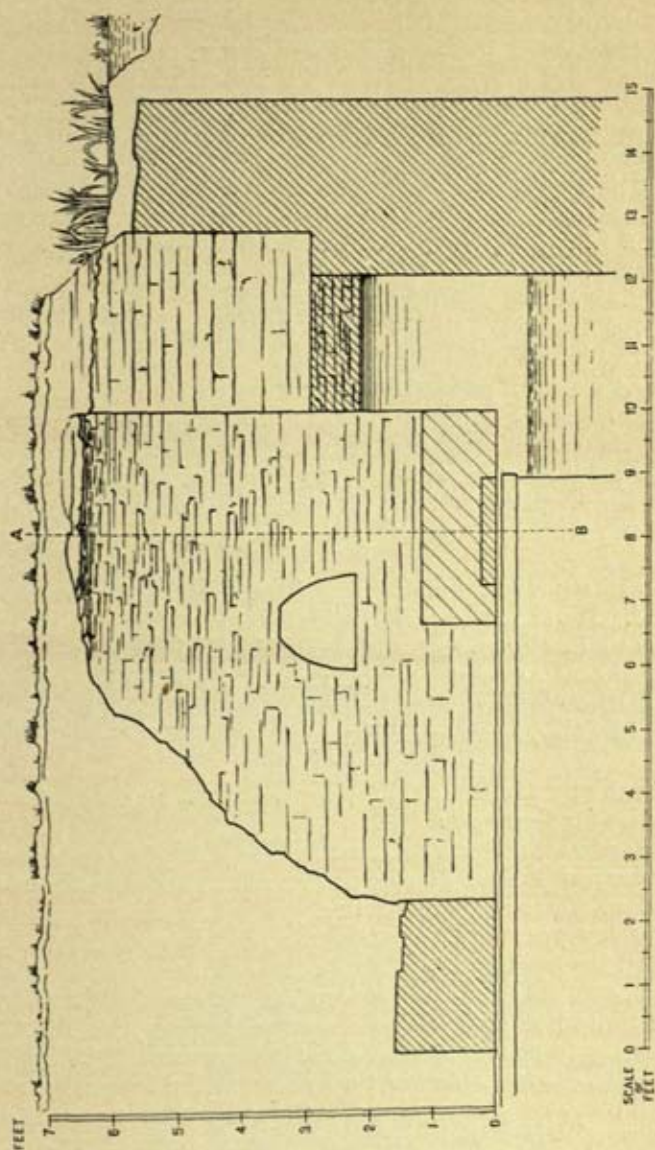


Fig. 3. ST. CONSTANTINE'S WELL: SECTION THROUGH C-D ON PLAN.

and appeared to be built of a yellow 'dressed' stone. Observations were, however, very brief at this point, as the surface water was gaining rapidly and cut short the proceedings. On the east wall is a small recess arched over like the well: this is shown in correct position in the sketches, but was not actually measured. The floor is paved with large rectangular slabs, which extend through the entrance way and beyond it for an unknown distance. A large quantity of loose and broken masonry was removed from the interior, among it being two large slabs of slate measuring about 4 ft. by 2 ft. and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick. These were found lying across the doorway.

A section of the ground from the surface down to the floor level shows five layers, three of dark earth separated by two of sand. The lowest of these, consisting of black mud, covered the floor for a depth of about 15 in., and in this layer were found: a block of shaped catacleuse stone; a slab of slate having a hole in its centre, and one edge cut square; two pieces of pottery, one having a pattern on it. And also, probably washed in from the river, much decayed vegetable matter; the greater part of the skeleton of a sheep; the bowl of a clay pipe of early form.

The well was loosely filled in with sand and fallen masonry and mud. It was particularly noticeable when sufficiently cleared that the well water was quite clear and intensely, painfully cold, in marked contrast to the surface water. Handfuls of a bright yellow earth were brought up amongst the sand; this disintegrated quickly in water, forming a bright yellow liquid."

Appendix by HENRY JENNER, Esq., F.S.A., one of the Local Secretaries for Cornwall:

"The parish of St. Merryn is that which includes the well-known promontory of Trevoose Head. In the same parish is the estate of Harlyn, where very interesting prehistoric interments were found a few years ago. Constantine Bay bounds it on the west, and the shore there, as at Perran-Zabuloe, Gwithian and Phillack, consists chiefly of 'towans' or hillocks of drifting sand, largely formed of crushed shells, washed in from the Atlantic. There seems to be no record of a separate parish of St. Constantine, though there is one of that name in the western part of Cornwall, between Falmouth and Helford River, the records and mentions of which have sometimes been confused with this, which was probably never anything more than a chapelry. I remember that forty or fifty years ago the name was commonly pronounced 'Constantin' or 'Custantin', but now it is almost always called 'Constantine'. The dedication is not quite certain, as is often the case with Cornish dedications. Hals in his

History of Cornwall, written in the early part of the eighteenth century, attributes it to the Emperor Constantine the Great, which sounds improbable, though he does come into some calendars as a saint. But Hals's ecclesiology is usually fantastically wrong-headed. There are at least three Saints Constantine connected with Cornwall, though two of them may possibly be really the same person. The first is Constantine Corneu, who is perhaps meant for the emperor set up in Britain after Gratianus Municeps and Marcus, who was put to death by Honorius in 411. He is supposed to have been the father of Erbin of Cornwall, who was the father of the Geraint of the Arthurian romances and Llywarch Hen's Elegy. His claim to saintship is not very definite. The second is Constantine, son of Cador, Duke of Cornwall, who, according to the romances, succeeded Arthur as king. He is the *immundae leaenae Damnoniae tyrannicus catulus*, whom Gildas scolds. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth he slew the two sons of Modred, and was himself slain by his nephew and successor Conan. His murder of the sons of Modred is probably true enough, for it is mentioned by Gildas, but according to the Aberdeen Breviary, and a good many other rather confused authorities, he was not murdered by Conan, but after a somewhat tempestuous life was eventually converted and retired into St. David's monastery at Menevia. He seems also to have gone to Ireland, and to have visited St. Columba at Iona. His death at a great age is said to have taken place in 598, when he was killed in Kintyre, and was accounted a martyr. The third is described as 'a certain rich man', whose hunters were chasing a stag, which took refuge in the cell of St. Petrock. The saint protected the stag, the rich man drew his sword on the saint, and was of course immediately paralysed, and equally of course healed by the saint, and he and his men were at once converted. This story, which is rather hagiological 'common form', may perhaps relate to the Constantine who was king after Arthur, or, if that is not historical identification enough, was the King of Damnonia scolded by Gildas. This Constantine was not a pagan, but, if Gildas, who seldom has a good word for any one, is to be trusted, he stood in considerable need of conversion all the same. As 'Petrockstow,' which is Padstow, where St. Petrock first settled himself, is close to the well and chapel, I think it is probable that they are called after the third Constantine, whether he was the same as the second or not. The day of Constantine, King and Martyr, was, according to William of Worcester, 9th March in the Bodmin (St. Petrock's) Calendar. Mr. Baring-Gould says it is still kept at St. Merryn.¹ But

¹ *Lives of British Saints*, vol. ii, p. 175.

apparently the parish feast is 7th July, the mediaeval dedication being St. Thomas of Canterbury.

I may perhaps be allowed to add one explanation to Mr. Williams's paper. The catacleuse stone of which he speaks (which is not much known out of Cornwall) is a dark grey igneous rock of fine grain, which comes from a quarry of that name to the north-east of Trevoze Head. It is very hard and durable, but is also suitable for fine work, and has been used a good deal in the neighbouring churches. The name is probably a corruption of 'carruck luz', grey rock, which is not uncommon as a place-name in West Cornwall."

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

THURSDAY, 15th FEBRUARY, 1912.

PHILIP NORMAN, Esq., LL.D., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The following letter was read :

"Chilcomb Rectory, Winchester,
February 12th, 1912.

DEAR SIR,

In *Archaeologia*, vol. xlv, page 314, is an account of the opening of King Richard II's tomb in Westminster Abbey by Dean Stanley.

It was stated that the jaw-bones of the King and Queen were missing, and a letter from my uncle, the Rev. C. G. Andrewes, is there printed, stating that the King's jaw-bone was in his possession.

In June, 1905, this bone came into my possession, as head of my family, from a cousin.

I at once communicated with the Dean, and by permission of King Edward and in the presence of the Dean, Canon Duckworth, Sub-dean, Mr. Mickelthwaite, architect of the Abbey, Mr. Lewis Harcourt, First Commissioner of Works, Mrs. Andrewes, etc., a small opening was made in the tomb, the jaw-bone was wrapped in a piece of altar linen, and (accompanied by a written statement of facts) replaced by me in the tomb on February 26, 1906, just 140 years after it had been taken out by a Westminster scholar.

I am, yours faithfully,

GERRARD THOS. ANDREWES.

To the Secretary, Society of Antiquaries."

LORD BOLTON, F.S.A., exhibited (1) a deed, under the second Great Seal of Edward III (fig. 1), licensing William Lescrope to

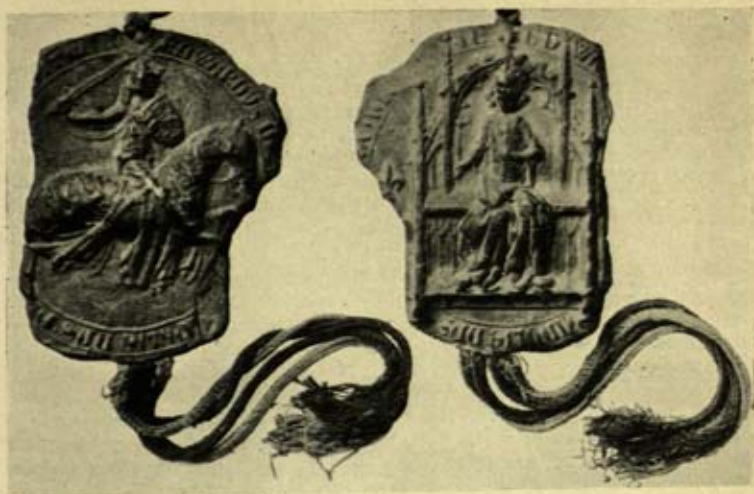


Fig. 1. SECOND GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD III ($\frac{1}{2}$).

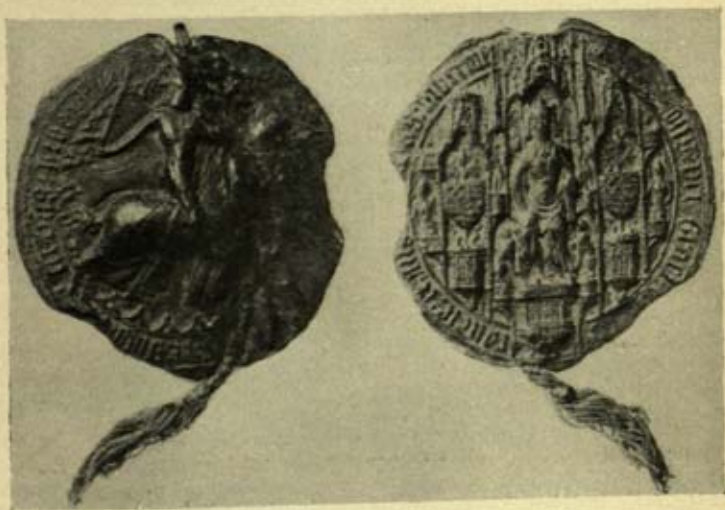


Fig. 2. GREAT SEAL OF RICHARD II ($\frac{1}{2}$).

impark his woods at Estboulton, dated June 8th, 1338; (2) another deed, under the Great Seal of Richard II (fig. 2), licensing Sir

Richard Lescrope to crenellate his manor of Bolton in Wenselowedale, or a place within it, with a wall of stone and lime, dated July 4th, 1379; and (3) the following contract, bearing date September 14th, 1378, for the building of Bolton Castle:

Cest endenture fait parentre Monsieur Richard Lescrop chivalier dune part et John Lewyn mason dautrepart tesmoynne que le dit John ferra les ouvraynes a Bolton en Wenselawedale en maniere qensuit.

Premierement une Tour pur une cusyne qui sera vouté et bataillé et sera de hauteuse de l pees desouth lembataillement et sera de longueur de x alnes et de leoure viij alnes et les mures dehors du dit Tour seront despessure de ij alnes. Item sera fait parentre le dit tour pur le cusyne et la port une meson vouté et bataillé et amont le vout seront iij chambres chescune sur autre et chescune chambre de longueur de xij alnes et de leoure v alnes et demi. Et sera le dit meson de hauteuse de xl pees desouth lembataillement et lespeasure des mures dehors de ij alnes et dedeinz de iiij pees. Item sera une tour bataillé que sera de hauteuse de l pees desouth lembataillement en quele tour sera une port vouté et amont le port seront iij chambres chescune sur autre et seront en longueur de x alnes et demi et de leoure de v alnes et demi. Et en mesme le tour al partie del port devers la south sera une chambre vouté et sur icelle chambre seront iij chambres chescune sur autre qui seront en longueur de xij alnes et en leoure de vij alnes et les mures dehors des ditz chambres seront despessure de vj pees et dedeinz de iiij pees. Item sera une chambre enioynant al dit tour al partie devers la West qui sera vouté et bataillé et de hauteuse de xl pees desouth lembataillement et amont le dite chambre vouté une autre meson vouté et damont cella une chambre qui seront en longueur de x alnes oveske lentre et v alnes et demi en leure et lez mures dehors des ditz chambres seront despessure de ij alnes et les mures dedeinz de iiij pees. Item touz lez mesons et chambres avantditz auront entrees chymynes huyses fenestres et privees et autres necessaires qembesoynont a lavantdit ouvreyne. Item seront iij vices un dedeinz la cusyne et ij pur le tour del port. Item touz lez mures dedeinz lez chambres avantditz qui seront parclos seront despessure de iij pees ou iiij pees issint come ils embesoynont et le dit John ferra a ses custages toutes manieres des ouvreynes qua masonrie appent ou service pur icelles et ferra gayner toutes manieres de pierres et trouvera calice a ses custages en touz poyntz pur le dit ouvrayne forspris que le dit Monsieur Richard luy trouvera meresme pur le brandret pur lez torailles quant ils seront ardz mais le dit Monsieur Richard trouvera cariage pur touz lez pierres sabulon et calice a ses custages. Et le dit Monsieur Richard trouvera meresme pur syntres et scaffaldz mais le dit John les ferra a ses custages.

Pur la quele ouvrayne le dit Monsieur Richard paiera a dit John pur chescune perche mesuré par xx pees par lalne si bien pour voltes come pour mures c^e. et outre en tout l marcz. Et prendra le dit John en partie du paiement la somme qest ore despendu par laccoint entre luy et Sire William de Wynstan forspris x li qui sera rebatu de la dite somme et sera la dite ouvreyne mesuré selonc la hauteuse de la bace de la port. En tesmoynance de quele chose a lez parties de ceste endenture lez parties avantditz entrechangement ont mys leur seals Doñ a Bolton le quatorzieme jour de Septembre lan du regne nostre seignore le Roi Richard second puyt le conquest second.

Brown wax seal: man kneeling before Virgin and Child.
Endorsed 'Bolton' in a sixteenth-century hand.

Mr. BAILDON thought the contract price mentioned was ridiculous, and Leland's statement in his *Itinerary*¹ could not be credited.

Mr. HOPE remarked that the price was 120 shillings a perch, and the cost could be checked by the cubical content.

Mr. PEERS questioned whether this was the first or second contract, and the mention of a sum already expended suggested that there had been work done on a previous occasion by the contractor John Lewin: perhaps the kitchen had been added to the earlier west wing.

ROLAND PAUL, Esq., F.S.A., read a paper on the Plan of the Church and Monastery of St. Augustine, Bristol, which will be printed in *Archæologia*.

Mr. HOPE made some observations on the reconstruction of the priory, and thought there was a minute description of the buildings, or at any rate of the abbot's house, in the charter of incorporation, which converted the foundation into a dean and chapter, and specified that the abbot's house was to be the deanery. The farmery would be easily convertible into a residence at the suppression, and became the bishop's palace. Apart from definite architectural evidence, it was doubtful whether the Norman presbytery was of the length indicated on the plan. There was strong objection to moving the high altar in mediaeval times, and the tendency was to build round it, as at Westminster. In any case there had not been two removals of the high altar, and the choir had been similarly moved eastward at Worcester.

Mr. PAUL, in reply, said that the high altar had the burial of William Cope behind it, and seemed to be in the new position, but proof could only be obtained by excavation, for which there was no longer opportunity.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this exhibition and communication.

¹ Edn. Toulmin Smith, v. 139.

THURSDAY, 22nd FEBRUARY, 1912.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From the Author :—Clare Island Survey : History and Archaeology. By T. J. Westropp. 8vo. Dublin, 1911.

From the Author :—The Mithraic tablets and Zoroaster in Media. By Rev. A. B. Grimaldi. 8vo. n.p., n.d.

From William Whitaker, Esq., F.R.S. :

1. The Charterhouse, London : monastery, mansion, hospital. 8vo. London, 1911.
2. The folk-lore of the horse. By Edward Lovett. 8vo. Croydon, n.d.

Notice was given of a ballot for the election of Fellows on Thursday, March 7th, 1912, and a list of the candidates was read.

WILLIAM DALE, Esq., F.S.A., read the following paper on the Implement-bearing gravel-beds of the lower valley of the Test :

"The following notes do not pretend to be more than an introduction to the study of the Quaternary gravels of one of the river valleys of the South of England. It is acknowledged by most archaeologists that the remains of early man in Britain present difficulties which do not seem to occur so strikingly abroad. The attempt made in France to divide the palaeolithic age into periods and assign implements of certain form to different epochs of time has been very generally accepted, although there are still cautious persons who consider that, even abroad, the conclusions arrived at can by no means be considered final. But when the same principles are applied to our own gravels, English geologists find themselves in a different position. Palaeolithic implements of the same form and type as those found abroad occur with us, are called by the same names by some, and assigned to the same relative horizons as those found in France. Yet in the mode of occurrence of these implements there is nothing at present to justify our dealing with these various types as if they were palaeontological forms and saying that the horizon at which they are found is early or late in date. The geologist can identify his strata by its organic remains, and, unless his deposit is *remanié*, can, by the same guide,

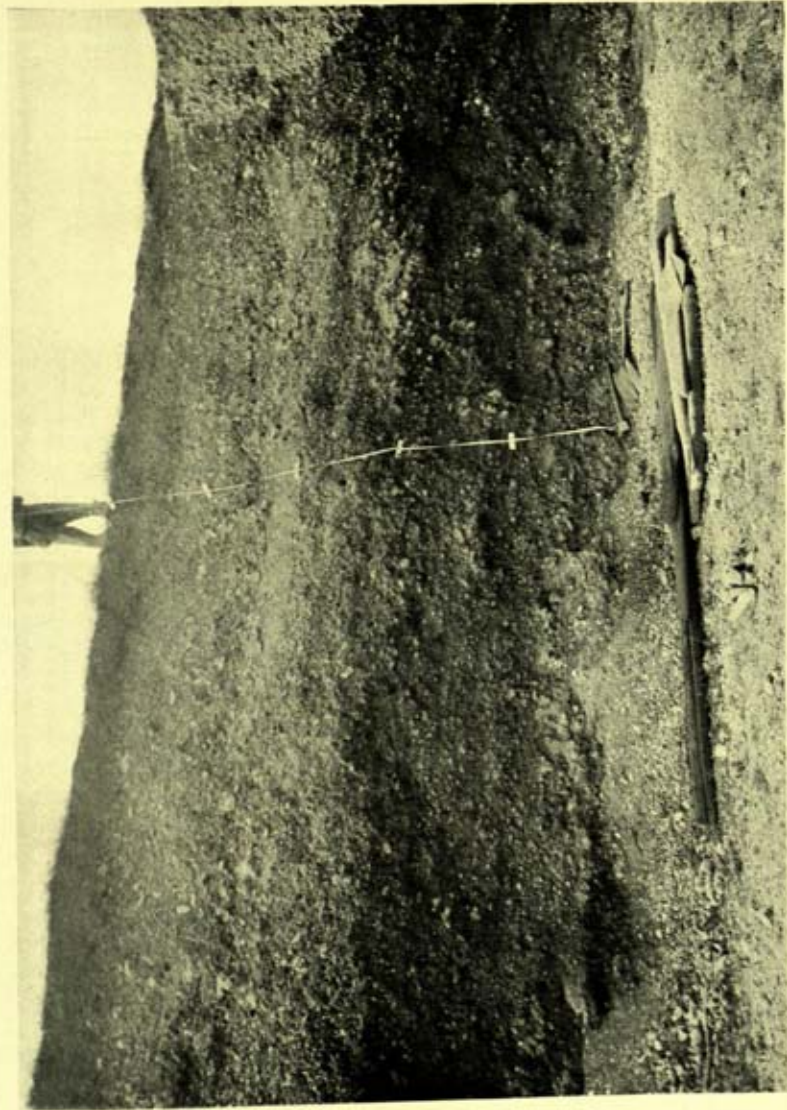


Fig. 1. SECTION IN KIMBRIDGE PIT (SCALE OF YARDS)

speak positively of its age. But if the conclusions of continental archaeologists are sound, and if it be true that certain forms of implements represent different stages of human progress, we are confronted with the problem that these so-called early and later forms are found at all depths, and such as should be of later date occur often at the very bottom. To carry on the geological simile it is very much like going into a pit of glacial age in the east of England and finding in the deposit gryphites and belemnites of the Oxford clay with balls of chalk and fossils of the cretaceous series. Either, therefore, these forms do not represent the chronological sequence assigned to them, or else subsequent conditions have obliterated the stratigraphical evidence.

I am particularly desirous not to obtrude any views of my own on this subject. I only venture to submit that there are those who carry too far the principle of the evolution of the more finely shaped implements from those of rougher form. In the neolithic age men used roughly chipped instruments as well as those finely and delicately fashioned. Something of the same kind may have been done by palaeolithic man. In our examination of the palaeolithic age we also do well to remember that, judged geologically, it was very brief, and will hardly bear the minute subdivision with which some credit it.

The district chosen for illustration presents many interesting features for consideration, and is selected because it is here, if anywhere in the south, that it may be possible to establish distinct horizons in the gravel.

The pits in question are five in number. Two of them are at Romsey—Pauncefoot, about one mile west of the town, and Belbin's, one mile east. Both are situated on the 100 ft. contour line. The valley between—two miles wide—has been eroded since the deposition of the gravel. The three pits with which we are more closely concerned are higher up the valley, and all on the western side. Their heights above Ordnance datum are, respectively: Stanbridge pit just below 100 ft. contour, Kimbridge pit at 100 ft., and Dunbridge pit about 150 ft. This last and highest deposit overlooks a sharp bend of the river, and nearly faces the chalk cliff which the river has eroded on its eastern side. True river gravel does not appear to occur higher up the valley than this point, and this important section occurs just where the Tertiary strata begin, the gravel overlying the sands and clays of the Woolwich and Reading beds, which here come on in the mapping. The whole area under consideration is not more than four miles long, and has yielded a number of implements of great variety of form, diverse in the condition of their patina and to the extent to which they have been water-

worn. South of Romsey the gravel spreads out wide, and very soon becomes merged in the Itchen valley gravel, extending for miles round Southampton.

The sections referred to in the Test valley consist of some 14 ft. to 20 ft. of gravel, unevenly deposited on the Tertiary beds. Some 6 ft. or 7 ft. of this gravel in its upper part is whitish, or grey, in colour. At the Stanbridge pit there is some light-coloured gravel, interspersed with the darker bands as though fresh gravel had been deposited after a top surface had been whitened. This, however, is an exception. The white, or greyish,

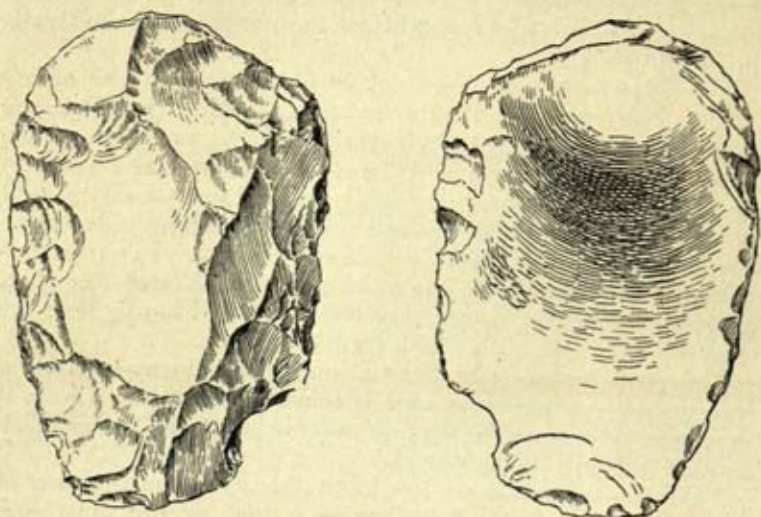


Fig. 2. IMPLEMENT, LE MOUSTIER TYPE, DUNBRIDGE ($\frac{1}{2}$).

gravel is always at the top in the other sections, and the colour is due to the iron being dissolved out of the gravel and deposited lower down by ordinary sub-aerial action. In making this statement, I have the support of two well-known officers of the Geological Survey—Mr. W. Whitaker, F.R.S., and Mr. F. J. Bennett, F.G.S.—both of whom were taken to see the pits. Below the whitened surface the gravel becomes yellow, deepening in colour to red at the base. This is especially the case at the Kimbridge pit. The gravel here is richly charged with iron, which coats the flints with a deep ochreous deposit, and sometimes cements them together.

The varying colour of the gravel has, naturally, left its mark on the implements, and is usually sufficient indication of the depth at which they occur. Those from the upper part are white (fig. 6), those from the middle yellowish (fig. 7), and those at the base

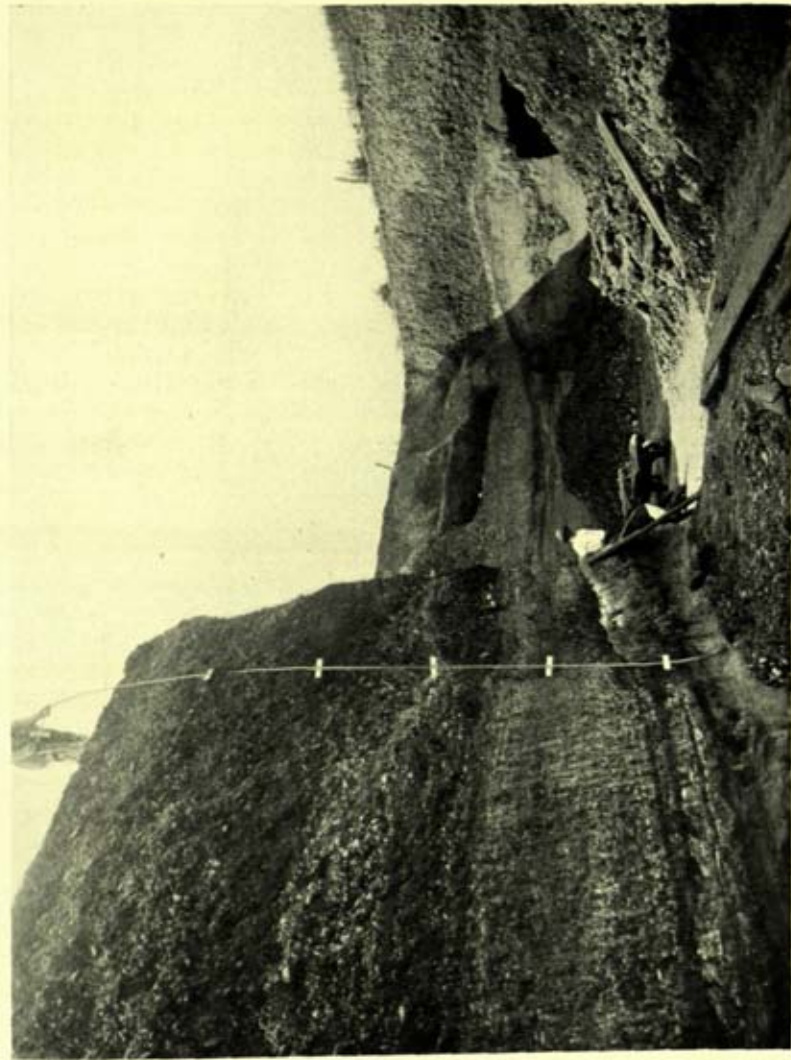


Fig. 3. SECTION IN DUNBRIDGE PIT (SCALE OF YARDS)

have a double patina, of the colour of the sand, on which they lie, on one side, and deeply stained by the iron on the upper side, but to this last question I return later. The questions which are raised by these sections are: Is the whole of the gravel of one age, though of different colours, or does the white and grey part represent a later deposit, and the darker and lower beds one older? The opinion of the geologists is that the whole of the gravel is one and the same deposit, the different colours being due to weathering since deposition. On the other hand, several archaeologists think that two different periods are represented, and that their conclusions are warranted by the character of the implements. It is for me to show views of the sections and the implements themselves, leaving others to draw their own conclusions.

The Stanbridge pit is just below the 100 ft. level. There is nothing unusual about the section, except that the lighter parts of the gravel show some variety, and there is one lighter patch which is not at the top. Only a few implements have been obtained from this pit, and they do not call for especial remark.

The Kimbridge pit is on the 100 ft. contour line. The working is of large extent, and the digging ceases when the gravel touches the sand. The difference in colour between the upper and lower parts is here well seen (fig. 1). A large number of implements has been found in this pit, low down or at the base of the gravel. They are nearly all of rough workmanship, deeply stained on one side, and, so far as can be ascertained, no long pointed ones have been found, but only forms roughly ovate and much water-worn. It is not difficult to believe these are of an early type; but there have been found with them large flakes, carefully trimmed on one side only and little water-worn, a form of implement not usually thought to be early (fig. 2).

Figs. 3 and 4 are photographs of the Dunbridge pit at the highest level. Here the digging is continued much below the gravel, and several views have been taken to show the underlying beds. The surface on which the gravel lies is very irregular. There is a lenticular mass of Woolwich and Reading clay, which overlies the sand. The sand is not a smooth river surface, but comes up in peaks and pinnacles. The whole section suggests to the geologist the action of ice, and it is hinted that the sand was a hard, frozen surface with the projections upon it when the gravel was laid down. The thin mass of clay also suggests ice ploughing, or, at any rate, sub-glacial conditions. From the upper part of this gravel come the delicately shaped, fine-pointed implements absolutely unwater-worn and white in colour, together with one aberrant form, which, coming from near the surface, may be neolithic. The

middle part below the white yields implements yellow and brown in colour, some much water-worn, and at the base are implements with the double patina acquired by lying on the sand. These last, however, are not of the rougher type found at Kimbridge. Some do not differ, except in colour, from those higher up, and several are pebbles trimmed to a point and unwater-worn, such as I remember to have seen many years ago from the Robin Hood Cave.

Professor Flinders Petrie, in looking at a selection of Southampton implements exhibited at the British Association meeting at Portsmouth, was struck with the circumstance of the double patina, and said it was exactly similar to that of implements found in Egypt which had lain for thousands of years upon the sand. He sent me a small one from Abydos, and suggested a similar explanation being applied to British implements. The conditions of a rainless country like Egypt are, however, so different from those which prevail in Britain that I can hardly accept this explanation, but prefer to ascribe the darkened surface to iron deposited from the superincumbent gravel.

At the same time recent and more careful examination of the Dunbridge implements has led me to the conclusion that the double patination to which reference has been made may be of two kinds. In some the dark coating of iron has undoubtedly been deposited while the implements lay at the base of the gravel, but many of the implements which are found higher up have a double patination which looks as if it had been acquired before they were laid in their present position. These are water-worn implements of the older type, and may have gained their twofold patination from lying on the surface before the period represented by the unwater-worn implements. If this were so the darker side would not necessarily be uppermost.

A selection of implements from the two big pits east and west of Romsey is also shown. At Pauncefoot, on the west, the implements occur mostly near the middle of the section, and the gravel is not so much whitened here. Amongst them are some small ovate implements, beautifully worked. Several are of a form which I have seen from no other pit. They are curiously square in shape (fig. 5), and look as if they had been made by one individual, and that not far from the spot, as they are unwater-worn.

By far the larger number of implements I show are from the Dunbridge pits. One pit from which many came is now no longer worked. The gravel here is of great extent, for there is another large pit some 500 yards west which yields implements of the same character. This is worked only down to the sand,

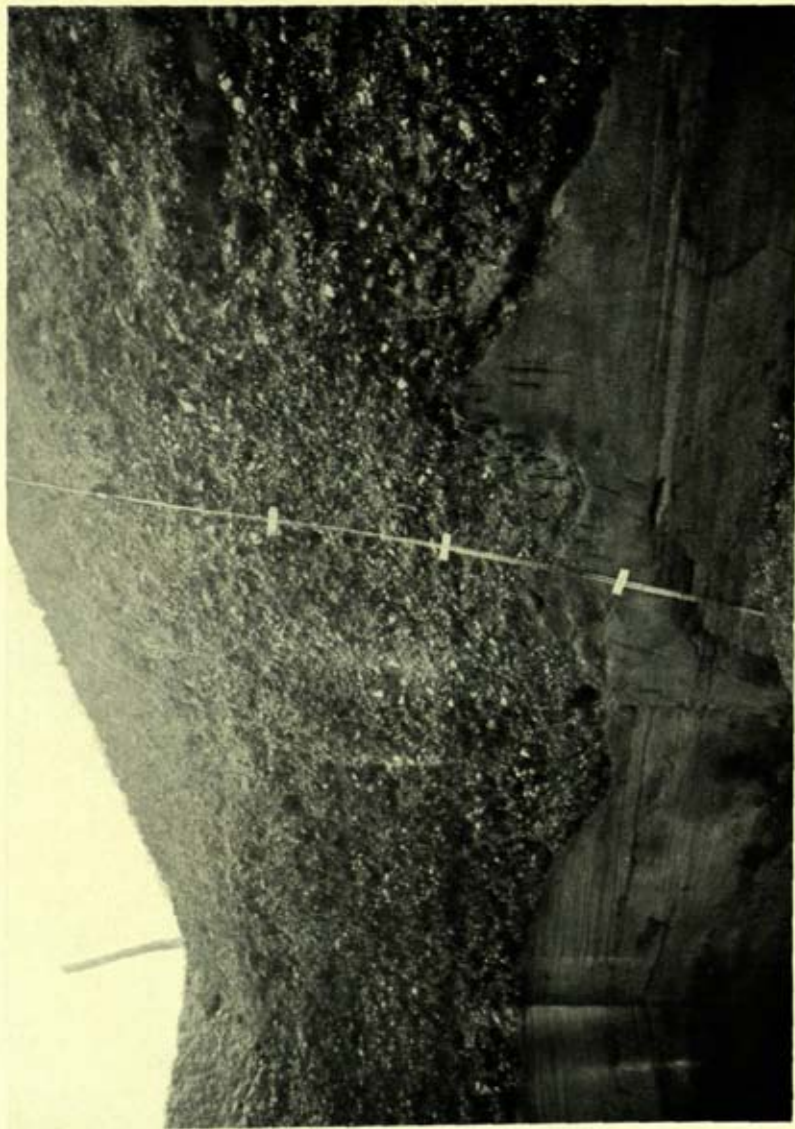


Fig. 4. SECTION IN DUNBRIDGE PIT (SCALE OF YARDS)

so I have not photographed this section, but only the one which occurs at the edge of the valley. I cannot resist the conclusion that the finely worked white implements were made upon the spot—perhaps at a time when glacial conditions prevailed—but of this the evidence is not conclusive. Concerning this we have much to learn. The latest theory advanced is that the gap which separates palaeolithic from neolithic man—a gap both

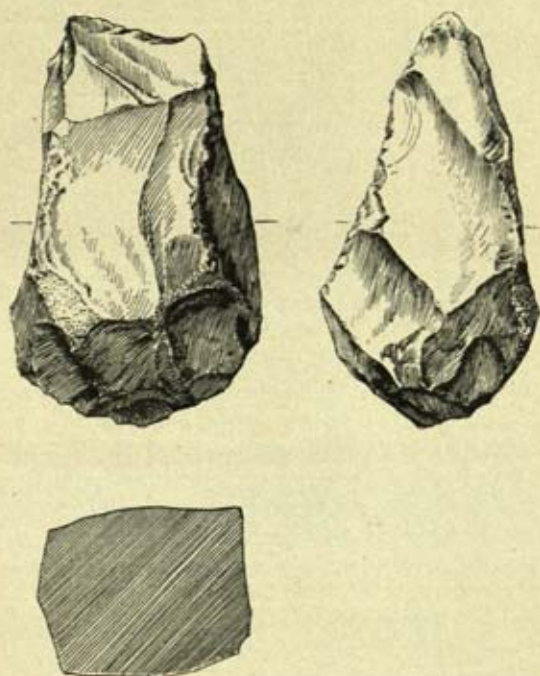


Fig. 5. WEDGE-SHAPED IMPLEMENT (FRONT, SIDE, AND SECTION),
PAUNCEFOOT, ROMSEY ($\frac{1}{2}$).

physical and palaeontological—was caused by the recurrence of a period of cold.”

Mr. REGINALD SMITH remarked, in respect to the mingling of types in the gravels, that one of the most conservative authorities, Prof. Boule of Paris, held that such mingling was mostly traceable to faulty excavation; and certain types were found regularly with a temperate fauna, others with an arctic fauna. Mr. Dale had spoken of the palaeolithic period as comparatively short: at any rate it included one or more glaciations that were clearly seen in the valley of certain small tributaries of the

Upper Danube, the river-names being given to the successive glaciations by Penck and Brückner. The final oscillations of the ice seemed to have been recognized in Scotland by Dr. Lewis, but the relation of the Boulder Clay to palaeolithic man had still to be determined. It would probably be found that Prof. J. Geikie's attribution of that deposit to the Riss glaciation was incorrect. The Test offered certain points of resemblance to the Wiltshire Avon, which had been described in a memoir of the Geological Survey (Ringwood): both rivers had a terrace at 100 ft. o.d., which was about 50 ft. above the river at Romsey and about 30 ft. at Dunbridge. The 250 ft. terrace on the Avon bore the same relation to the old sea-cliff at 145 ft. o.d. (best seen at Goodwood, north of Chichester) as the 100 ft. gravel bore to the present sea-level; and it would be interesting to ascertain what implements were being made in this area when the sea was 145 ft. higher in relation to the land than it was at present. Mr. Dale's series was from the lower level and comprised a large variety of forms and some excellent specimens, which could in most cases be referred to types determined at St. Acheul by Prof. Commont. Several implements, not all of the earliest type, were water-rolled and had no doubt been introduced from higher levels, the beds of gravel being dated only by unrolled specimens. There might well be two or more deposits of gravel on the 100 ft. terrace, as at St. Acheul; and he had himself noticed at Belbin's pit, in company with Mr. Dale, a white band in the gravel 18 in. from the surface and a band of clay between the gravel and Tertiary sand. From both these bands implements were said to have been taken, but any difference of type or patination between the two series had still to be established. Kimbridge pit was bleached in its upper part, and there was evidently stratification (disturbed by ice or subsidence) at Dunbridge pit, which had produced the most and the best implements. The white hand-axes with slender points were quite unrolled, and though resembling the advanced Chelles type, were probably later than the ovate implements named after St. Acheul. Certain of the white implements were akin to Moustier forms, the work being confined to one face; and a long slender specimen with triangular section was a great rarity, recalling one of the forms found at La Micoque in the Dordogne (transition from St. Acheul II to Moustier period). A thin flat triangular specimen, also of white flint, resembled the type found at Bois-du-Rocher (Côtes-du-Nord); and one large grey implement with heavy iron encrustation exactly resembled in character the finished type from Northfleet described in *Archaeologia*, lxii. 524. If the chronology of that find was correct, the iron encrustation must be later than the St. Acheul period; but

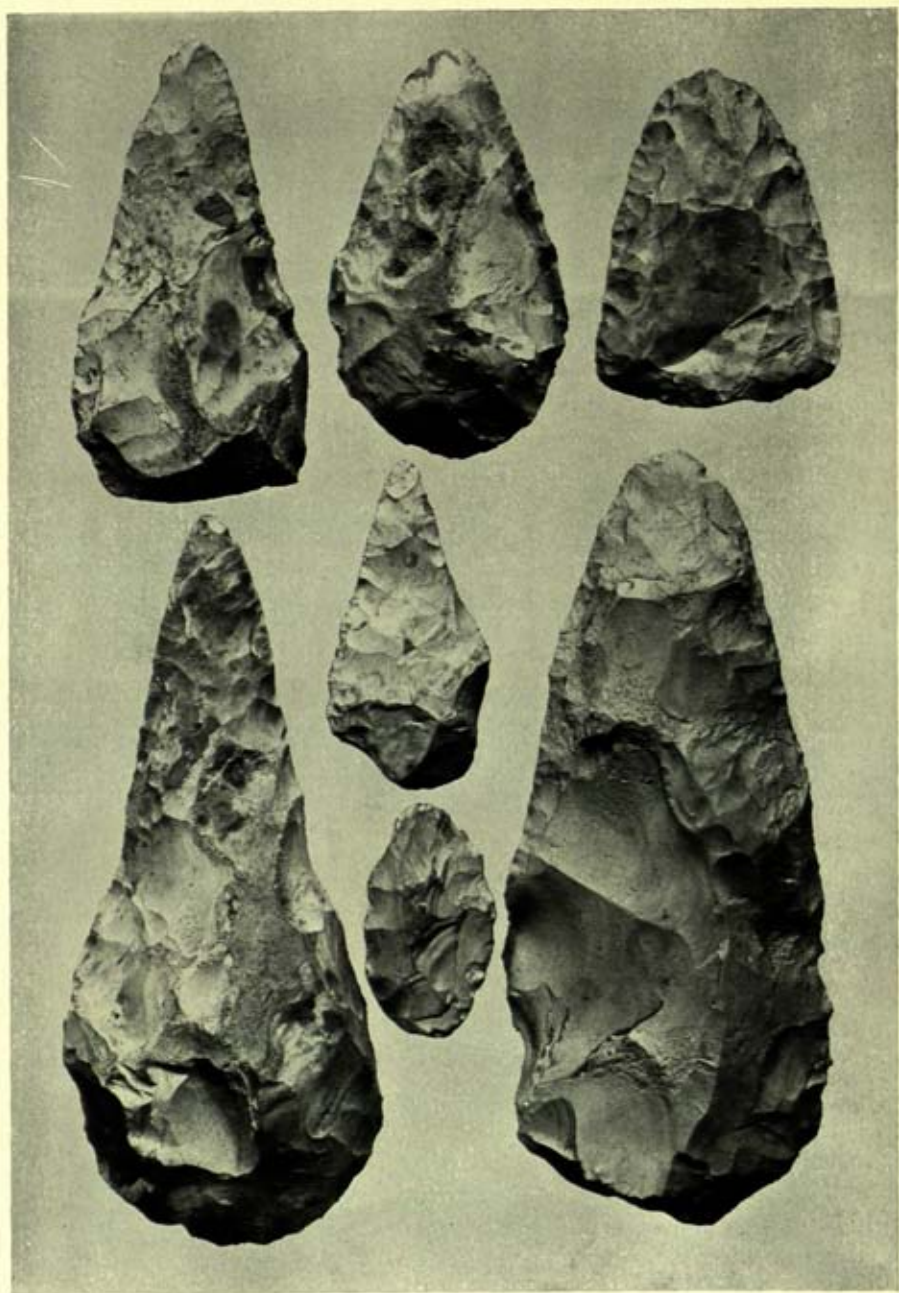


Fig. 6. FLINT IMPLEMENTS, WHITE PATINA, DUNBRIDGE, HANTS ($\frac{1}{2}$)

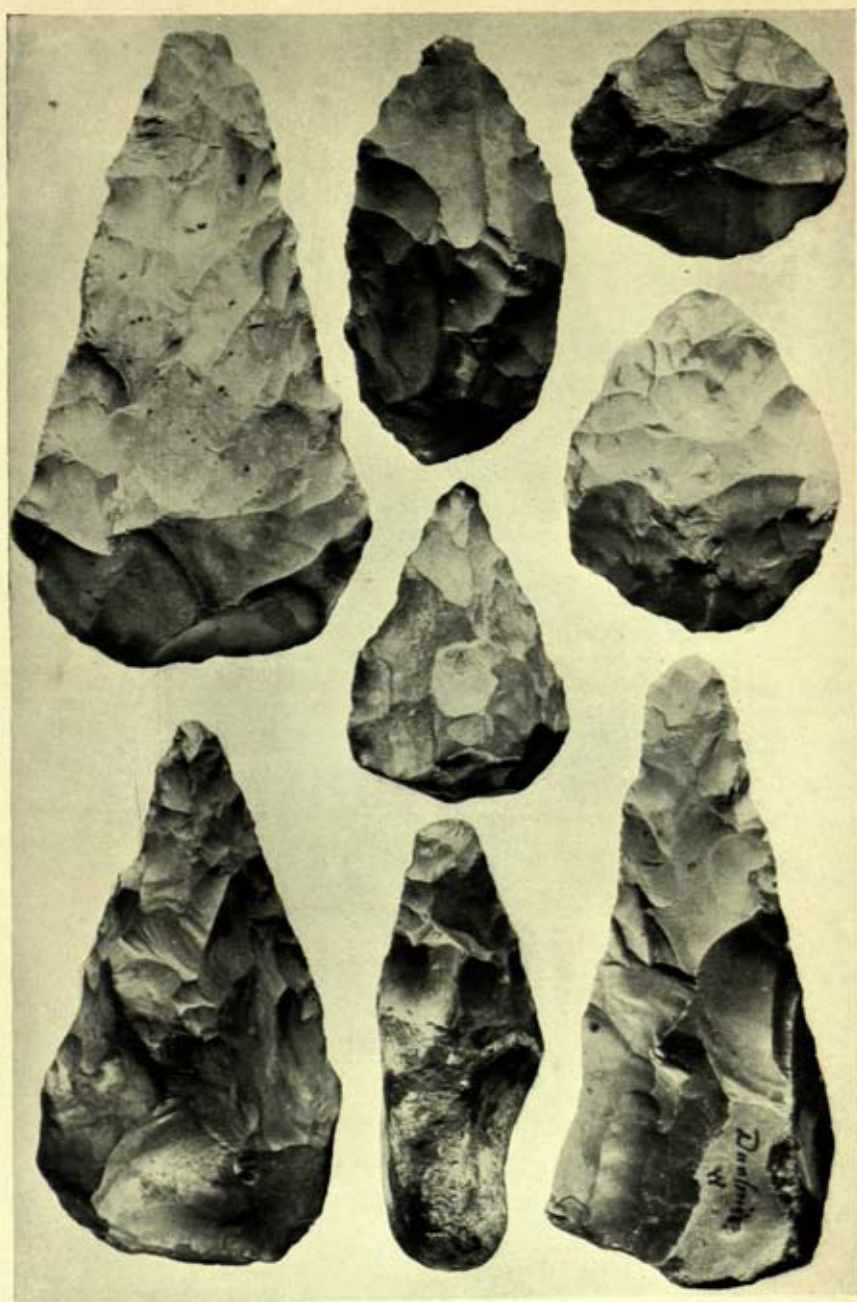


Fig. 7. FLINT IMPLEMENTS, YELLOW PATINA, DUNBRIDGE, HANTS ($\frac{1}{2}$)

he quite agreed with Mr. Dale (and Dr. Sturge) that many of the implements had been patinated, in some cases unequally on the two faces, before being deposited in the gravel. The white implements might have been bleached in the upper part of the gravel, but certainly included most of the latest types; and evidence was accumulating that white patination marked certain periods, though no explanation had as yet been given. Three specimens from the surface at Dunbridge were quite sharp and unchanged in colour: one had the butt sharpened like a neolithic celt, and another was a rough oval of unused appearance that might be more accurately dated before long. Mr. Dale's was the best flint exhibition he had seen in the Society's rooms, and he hoped it was merely an earnest of further exploration in the district, with a view to unravelling the mystery of the plateau and terrace-gravels so well developed there.

Mr. WHITAKER objected to the title of the paper, which implied the existence of an upper Test valley, and suggested caution in the use of colour as a test of antiquity in the case of stone implements. In geology the colour of beds was considered a fallacious test of age and origin, and he had seen red crag white and coralline crag red. Iron existed everywhere, and as it was soluble in water, was easily deposited on such substances as flint. He regarded the white bands in the Test gravel as simply the result of weathering. In the Southampton district the white gravel went by the mysterious name of Skione. The intricate French system seemed to him inapplicable and illusory, applying as it did to what was geologically a very short period, a mere episode in the earth's history. Whether the Test valley gravel was of one age or several, it was certainly later than the glacial drift, as was proved by stratification in the Thames valley. What was post-glacial in the south, however, might be contemporary with glaciations in the north of England, and post-glacial could only be used in a local sense.

Mr. DALE, in reply, said that the classification of his series from the Test was as accurate as possible in present circumstances, but the workmen in many cases could not be certain of the horizon, as the flints came down with the gravel and were only noticed in the screening.

The PRESIDENT said the exhibition was of special interest and had provoked an interesting discussion. Students were only beginning to understand such implements, and each step should be taken with the greatest caution. In place of dogmatism it was essential to trace the types to their true horizons in the

gravel, and to give up the fashion of collecting symmetrical and finished specimens promiscuously from the workmen. Rough work was not necessarily a sign of great age in a flint; in the finest period of Greek art, for instance, many rough tools were in daily use, and among savages a well-made implement would certainly be the exception. Of the relative age of flint implements there were various criteria—form, colour, condition, and amount of rolling, but patination only showed the nature of the matrix, not the age of the flint.

L. F. SALZMANN, Esq., F.S.A., read a paper on the recent excavation of the earthwork at Selsey, Sussex. The earthwork is a roughly circular work about 250 ft. in diameter, and consists of a ditch and vallum, evidently constructed to protect the entrance of the harbour. Excavation showed that the vallum rested on a deposit of black earth, 2 ft. in thickness. As this stratum contained pottery, not only of the Roman period, but also of fourteenth and sixteenth-century date, it is clear that the vallum is of comparatively late construction, and the evidence points to the truth of the local tradition that the mound was thrown up at the time of the threatened Spanish invasion in 1588.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

THURSDAY, 29th FEBRUARY, 1912.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—The abbey of St. Mary, Croxden, Staffordshire. A monograph by Charles Lynam, F.S.A. 4to. London, 1911.

From the Royal Archaeological Institute:—Exhibition of the embalmed head of Oliver Cromwell. Papers by Rev. H. R. Wilkinson and Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.I.E. 8vo. London, 1911.

Alexander Ormiston Curle, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

Notice was again given of the ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on March 7th, 1912, and the list of the candidates was read.

Professor JOSEPH C. BRIDGE, M.A., D.Mus., F.S.A., exhibited the set of recorders belonging to the Chester Archaeological Society, on which he communicated the following notes:

"When the Chester Archaeological Society moved from its old rooms into the present Grosvenor Museum in 1886, an old worm-eaten box of peculiar shape was discovered, which was held together only by the green baize with which it was lined, and contained what were apparently the remains of some musical instrument. These remains proved to be a set of recorders or old lip-flutes in an excellent state of preservation.

They are made of pear-wood and ivory, and are jointed.

The Treble, in the key of F, is 1 ft. 8 in. in length.

The Alto " " D " 2 " 0 "

The Tenor " " C " 2 " $2\frac{3}{4}$ "

The Bass " " F " 3 " $6\frac{1}{2}$ "

They bear the mark of a Tudor rose and the name of Bressan, who was in business in London in 1724 and doubtless had been there for a good number of years. It is probable therefore that they are a late set and were made at the end of the seventeenth century. An old member of the Chester Society, the late Mr. Thomas Hughes, F.S.A., told me that he had some dim remembrance that a Colonel Cholmondeley gave them to the Society, but I can find no confirmation of this and am inclined to believe they belonged to the waits of the city. We know from the city treasurer's accounts that, amongst other instruments, they played recorders as early as 1590. When Sir Francis Drake asked that the waits of Norwich might accompany him in one of his expeditions, the city fathers not only assented but bought 'three new hoboys and a treble recorder' for them.

The verb 'to record' had in old times a meaning which we have now lost. It meant 'to sing or warble like a bird', and hence it gave the name to these 'fipple' or 'whistle-headed flutes'. It is to be observed that they are held like a clarinet or oboe, and not transversely like the modern orchestral flute. In France they were called 'English flutes' or 'flûtes-à-bec', also 'flûtes douces' and 'flutes of nine holes'. One peculiarity of the instrument is the thumb-hole at the back.

They were generally made, like viols, in sets (as in this instance), and in an inventory of the effects of Sir Thomas Kytson of Hengrave Hall, Suffolk, taken in 1600, we find 'seven recorders in a case'.

Only two sets are now known, one at Chester and another at Nuremberg. The latter consists of seven, but originally there were eight, as is shown by the shape of the case. The bass recorders with their ivory fittings have the appearance, when held straight

up, of the old staves carried by pilgrims, such as we see in the beautiful old glass at Ludlow. Hence they obtained the name of 'Pilgrims' staves', and we find in an inventory of Henry VIII's wardrobe 'V whole pipes called Pilgrim staves'.

Further, in the inventory of goods left by that monarch are mentioned 'recorders of box, oak and ivory great and small: two base recorders of walnut and one great base recorder'. In fact Henry VIII died possessed of 154 flutes, of which seventy-six were recorders, and of these no less than twenty-seven were of ivory with silver and gold tips.

Henry VII also was very fond of the instrument. We find in his Privy Purse expenses 'To Gwyllim for flutes and a case, £3 10s. 0d.' This was evidently a very expensive set.

Another Gwyllim appears under Henry VIII. This was Gwyllim or William Treasurer, concerning whom some interesting information has just come to light. He was a German, or perhaps Dutchman, and came to England in 1521 with Sir John Wallop, soldier and diplomatist, and became regal-maker to Edward VI. In 1555 he obtained a Privy Seal enabling him 'to buy in any place in the realm 100,000 last of ashes, and 400,000 dozen of old shoes and to export them', and the licence then given was renewed by Queen Elizabeth 'of our more ample grace . . . and in consideration that the said William Treasurer hath devised and given unto us a new instrument musical giving the sound of flutes and recorders'.

This was perhaps a small portable organ. Later the name was applied to an organ stop—and very appropriately—by the Stuart organ-builders. Nothing could be more absurd than the term 'flauto traverso' as used by present organ-builders, and I hope some day they will revert to the old name.

The French writer, Mersenne, who published an important work with engravings of recorders in 1636, mentions a great set which was sent by an English king to a French king, but gives no particulars. There is little doubt that this was a present from Henry VIII to his brother-in-law Louis XII, and may have been the costly set which Gwyllim supplied to Henry VII.

If the reader in search of information regarding recorders turns to the usual books of reference he will be told that the instrument has 'a hole situated in the upper part between the mouthpiece and the top hole for the fingers, and covered with goldbeater's skin' with a view to affecting the quality of tone.

I must say at once that this is pure and absolute fiction. In no recorder in this country or abroad is such a hole found. It is impossible to say how or when this legend arose, but that it is untrue I most unhesitatingly assert.

I have no intention of quoting the many references to the

recorder among the Elizabethan poets, or the celebrated passage in *Hamlet*. You will find all these fully set forth and discussed in a new volume lately issued, entitled *Six Lectures on the Recorder*, by Mr. Christopher Welch. The following quotation, however, is not to be found there, and it is the most interesting I have come across referring to this old instrument. It is a poem on the house of Stanley, written by one of the Stanleys who was Bishop of Sodor and Man in 1512. You will remember that the King and Queen of Castile, on their way from the Netherlands, were driven to seek shelter at Falmouth, and, having landed, were invited to court by Henry VII, where they were detained for some three months in quasi-captivity. The following is an extract from the poem :

When the King of Castell was driven hether
By force and violence of wyndie wether,
He brought with him that were thought good musitions,
There was none better in their opinions ;
The King of Castell saide their actes were so able ;
They were gentlemen of howses notable.
'I have', quoth Henerie the Seventh, 'a Knyght my servant,
One of the greatest earles sonnes in all my land,
He playeth on all instruments none comes amisse
Called Sir Edward Stanley ; Lo ! there he is. . . .'
This second sonne Edward (Stanley) was married to an heire
Of a thousand markes a yeare, of good land and faire.
His playing on instruments was a good noyse,
His singing as excellent with a sweete voice.
His countenance comelie, with visage demure,
Not moving, ne streininge, but stedfast and sure.
He would shoue in a single recorde pype
As many partes as any in a bagpype.
He showed much conning those two Kings before
That the others had no luste to play any more.
He played on all instruments notable well :
But of all things mused the King of Castell
To heare two partes in a single recorder
That was beyond their estimations far !

It is evident from this extract that Sir Edward Stanley was able to imitate the chanter and drone of a bagpipe, but I cannot explain how he did it. As, however, he is also stated to have been able to play two horns at once, I am inclined to believe that he was an extremely clever and skilful musician.

There is one very remarkable point about these recorders, and all recorders that I have tried, and that is, they are all of high pitch. Now we are always told that pitch has been rising for the last 200 years, and poor Sir Michael Costa is always credited with having made the greatest advance in pitch when conductor of the Italian Opera. Now these recorders are evidently made to one definite high pitch—for they all minutely agree with one another

—and I have been obliged to obtain a pianoforte specially tuned to this high pitch for the performance to-night. I ask—what becomes of all this assertion of a low pitch in bygone days?”

Mr. FINN then gave a number of old English airs on the recorders, and the following programme of vocal music was performed by some of the boys and gentlemen from the choir of Westminster Abbey, by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter, and with the cordial co-operation of Sir Frederick Bridge.

CAROL OF THE NUNS OF ST. MARY'S, CHESTER.

This Benedictine nunnery stood on the site of the present Militia barracks, and Chester still retains the name of Nuns' Gardens and Nuns' Road. Virgin Street was formerly in this vicinity but has now disappeared.

It was the ship tax levied on this nunnery property which drove the owner—Sir William Brereton—into his violent opposition to the king, and made him such a relentless foe to the city at the subsequent siege.

The carol is from a *Processional* found amongst the MSS. at Bridgewater House, and published by the Henry Bradshaw Society. At the end of the MS. is written, 'this book belongeth to Dame Margery Birkenhead of Chestre,' and information can now be supplied which was wanting to the editor. Her maiden name was Margery Grosvenor, and she married Sir Ralph Birkenhead, the first Recorder of Chester (1505-14), and one of the Birkenheads of Huxley. Her sister, Elizabeth Grosvenor, was the last abbess of St. Mary's, and they were daughters of Richard Grosvenor of Eaton (d. 1542). One sister gave the book to the other.

The nuns had doubtless heard much of the Chester miracle plays and of the excitement and interest they caused in the city, and, not being allowed to take part in them, they had a little crèche and play of their own and sung this lullaby. It is one of the earliest examples of the use of *Lully lullay* and *By-bye*.

The greater part of the book was written c. 1425. I have rendered the carol into modern notation.

TWO TRIOS FROM THE COVENTRY MIRACLE PLAYS.

1. The Shepherds' Trio. From 'The Birth of Christ'.
2. The Women's Trio. From 'The Murder of the Innocents'.

Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps edited for the Shakespeare Society a volume of plays attributed to the Grey Friars of Coventry. Doubts have arisen as to whether this series of plays really appertained to, or were played at that 'Cittye', but in any case

it is certain that they formed no part of the plays or pageants exhibited by the trading companies there. These latter did not, as at York and Chester, join the ecclesiastical authorities, but gave performances of their own, and Mr. Thomas Sharp, a diligent antiquary, published a learned dissertation on them (from sources hitherto unexplored) in 1825. During his researches he became possessed of the original playbook belonging to the Gild or Company of the Shearmen and Tailors, who took for the subjects of their pageant the 'Birth of Christ' and 'Offering of the Magi', with the 'Flight into Egypt' and 'Murder of the Innocents'. This book also contained the separate vocal parts of three trios, endorsed:

'These Songs
belonge to

The Taylors and Shearmens Pagant.

The first and the laste the shepheards singe, and the second or
middlemost the women singe.'

The two trios of the shepherds differ in words only, and I have therefore combined them into one. The second trio, apart from the music, has an interest of its own. It has been alleged that women took part in these plays, and unfavourable comments have been made thereon. It cannot be too often stated that women never acted publicly in such plays, and indeed were never seen on the English stage until the middle of the seventeenth century. This so-called 'women's' trio is evidence thereof, for it will be seen that the parts are for treble, tenor and bass; and it must have been sung by a boy and two men dressed, of course, in women's clothes. Similarly I believe that the women's trio in the Chester play of 'Noah's Flood' was sung in 1567 by the organist (Mr. Whyte) and 'two clerks from the minster'.

These trios are the only complete pieces of music that have come down to us from the large number of towns (about one hundred and twenty) where such plays were performed.

CHESTER MIRACLE PLAY CAROL.

The only piece of music from the Chester plays which has come down to us is the 'Gloria in Excelsis' sung in the 'Shepherds' Play'. It is from a MS. in the British Museum.

I have incorporated it in this carol.

CHRISTMAS MUMMING PLAY.

- | | | | | |
|---------|---|---|---|-------------------------|
| 1. Duet | . | . | . | St. George and Slasher. |
| 2. Solo | . | . | . | The Doctor. |
| 3. Solo | . | . | . | Little Devil Doubt. |

There was not a county in England without a performance of this play at Christmas time. The versions differ but little, and



must have a common origin. What is that origin? My own theory is that the wandering troupes of minstrels in the middle ages saw what enormous profit was made out of the crowds who came to see the old miracle plays in cities such as Chester and York, and that they produced a secular play of their own which they could, and did, perform to the country rustics throughout England.

The characters of the play differ but very little. Sometimes a fresh public character like Lord Nelson is tacked on for a time, but as a rule we have a reference to Egypt and the Crusades in the persons of St. George, a King of Egypt, and a Turkish Knight. The Dragon is sometimes added. Then we have the learned Doctor (as in the Chester play of 'The Three Kings'), not a Doctor of Divinity but a Doctor of Medicine who can cure all ills with his bottle of Elicumpane. Then we have one or two roystering spirits under the name of Slasher, Slacker, Alexander, etc., and at the very end the Devil, who is always popular, enters and gives a dramatic finish to the play.

It is a remarkable fact that the characters do not enter together but are introduced by a character, such as old Father Christmas, who thus acts the part of the Expositor in the Chester plays.

The music presented was taken down in the North of England some thirty-five years ago from an old man eighty years of age. It is undoubtedly of great antiquity. The first opening theme is note for note the same as a troubadour song of 1245 given by Burney from a MS. in the Vatican. The last song is founded on a Church mode.

ANGELS' MUSIC.

These strains of harmony are inscribed in musical notation on the fourth bell of St. Mary's Church, Oxford. This is, I believe, the only instance of music on a bell. The Rev. Canon Fowler, of Durham, exhibited rubbings of the music before this Society on June 6th, 1867, and December 17th, 1868.¹ He has since adapted words to the music and published it at his own expense. As the bell was cast in 1612 I think we can give a good guess at the composer. I believe him to be Richard Nicholson, Mus.B. Oxon., organist of Magdalen College, 1595-1639. He was the first Professor of Music under Dr. Heather's foundation, contributed to the *Triumphs of Oriana*, and was well known as a madrigal writer. He was the most likely person to whom application would be made for such music as this.

¹ *Proceedings*, 2nd Series, vol. iii, p. 513, and *Archaeologia*, vol. xlii, pp. 491-3, plates xxxiv, xxxv.

THE CLEAR CAVALIER.

One of the finest songs of the Civil War. Words by Samuel Butler, the author of *Hudibras*. Referred to by Sir Walter Scott in *Peveril of the Peak* and Shadwell in *Epsom Wells*. The composer of the music is unknown.

Mr. WHEATLEY said the association of recorders with Shakespeare and Pepys added interest to the study of old musical instruments and music written for them. He had derived much enjoyment from the paper as well as the excellent performance in illustration of it; and thought that Dr. Bridge had collected all there was to be known about recorders.

Mr. DALE was under a deep obligation to the author for disposing of the goldbeater's-skin fable. Grove's Dictionary, which was responsible for the mistake, gave as an example an instrument included in the loan exhibition of 1885. He himself had helped to arrange the exhibits, but could find no mention of recorders in the catalogue. The plaintive character of sixteenth-century music much appealed to him, and he hoped the Society would some day be privileged to hear a performance on the lute.

Mr. HUGHES had known the set of recorders for fifteen years without realizing their special interest. He understood that his father had received them from a Mr. Hodgkinson and given them to the Chester Archaeological Society, but that did not contradict Dr. Bridge's statement that they originally belonged to the Chester waits.

Dr. BRIDGE, in reply, quoted the proverb that it cost as much to keep a lute as a horse; and recalled the custom of storing the instrument in a bed. The Westminster authorities had willingly consented to his request for choristers to perform before the Society, and he was much indebted to Mr. Smart for his spirited rendering of the cavalier song.

The PRESIDENT dwelt on the rarity of such a varied entertainment at a meeting of the Society, and sympathized with the next reader of an archaeological paper. The meeting had not only been agreeably entertained, but had also learnt a great deal about recorders and other instruments. Dr. Bridge had the rare quality of presenting facts in an entertaining manner, and no one regretted that the paper, illustrated as it was by an excellent musical performance, had extended beyond the usual hour for adjourning. He felt sure the Society would accord their

special thanks to Dr. Bridge for his paper and production ; to the Chester Archaeological Society for allowing the exhibition of the recorders ; to the gentlemen who had acted as vocalists ; to the authorities of Westminster Abbey for permitting them to appear ; and to Mr. Finn for his courageous manipulation of the recorders.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication and exhibition.

THURSDAY, 7th MARCH, 1912.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From Horace W. Sandars, Esq., F.S.A. :—Coins from the neighbourhood of a Roman mine in southern Spain. By G. F. Hill and H. W. Sandars. 8vo. London, 1911.

From R. W. Twigge, Esq., F.S.A. :—Journal of the North Munster Archaeological Society, vol. i and vol. ii. Nos. 1 and 2. 8vo. Limerick, 1909–1912.

From Miss Stahlshmidt :—A collection of rubbings of inscriptions on church-bells formed by the late J. C. L. Stahlshmidt.

P. M. JOHNSTON, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a quarry of glass inscribed with sixteenth-century handwriting from the Mermaid Inn, Rye.

This being an evening appointed for the election of Fellows, no papers were read.

The ballot opened at 8.45 p.m. and closed at 9.30 p.m., when the following were declared elected Fellows of the Society :

William Sharp Ogden, Esq.

Robert Mond, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.E.

George Claridge Druce, Esq.

Herbert Balch, Esq.

Charles Travis Clay, Esq., M.A.

Alfred Edward Bowen, Esq.

John Renton Dunlop, Esq.

Philip Nelson, Esq., M.D., Ch.B.

THURSDAY, 14th MARCH, 1912.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—*Architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane, ses origines, son développement.* Par R. de Lasteyrie. 8vo. Paris, 1912.

From the Author:—A. T. Bolton, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.:

1. Chilham Castle, Kent (E. W.-B. Memorial). sm. 4to. 1912.
2. Jacobean architecture and the work of Inigo Jones in the earlier style. fol. London, 1911.

From the Author:—*The Gloucestershire bell-foundries.* By H. B. Walters, F.S.A. 8vo. n.p., n.d.

From the Author:—*The Spears of Honour and the Gentlemen Pensioners.* By Lt.-Col. J. G. Sandeman, M.V.O., F.S.A. 8vo. Hayling Island, 1912.

John Renton Dunlop, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

The Reverend E. K. B. MORGAN, rector, exhibited a palimpsest brass from Biddenden, Kent, upon which MILL STEPHENSON, Esq., B.A., F.S.A., communicated the following note:

"On the 19th of April, 1907, I exhibited, through the kindness of our Fellow Mr. Harold Sands, a rubbing of the palimpsest inscription to Thomas Fleet, 1572, at Biddenden, Kent, which is fully described in the *Proceedings*.¹ Since then the figure, which unfortunately lacks its head and feet, an achievement and a shield of arms completing the memorial have been detached from the slab and prove to be also palimpsest. By permission of the rector, the Rev. E. K. B. Morgan, obtained through the good offices of our Fellow Mr. Ralph Griffin, the whole brass is now exhibited. The achievement bearing the arms and crest of Fleet is an oblong plate, 7½ in. by 6 in., and an examination of the reverse shows that it is the top left-hand corner of the same late Flemish brass from which the inscription was cut. It bears the symbol of St. John in a quatrefoil in the angle of a marginal inscription of which only the letters *Sepu*, the beginning of the word 'Sepultura' remain. On the outer side of the inscription is a band of foliage, and on the inner a fragment of the diapered background of the main composition. The shield bearing the arms of Fleet, 5½ in. by 4½ in., is cut from the same

¹ *Proceedings*, xxi. 428.

brass, but is too small to give much detail; it shows a portion of the arch of a canopy with a diaper of branches and foliage. The shield is made up of three pieces, but the two bottom bits forming the point are mere scraps. The most interesting portion of the brass is the reverse of the figure of Thomas Fleet, a piece of an early Flemish brass about 12 in. long. It is from the lower right-hand corner of a large figure brass of a lady wearing a gown pounced with small square banner-shaped shields alternately charged with four lions, possibly for Hainault, being a gold field with black and red lions, and a fess with three mullets in chief, possibly for the family of Borssele van der Hooge, who bore a silver fess and mullets on a black field. For



REVERSE OF FIGURE OF THOMAS FLEET, BIDDENDEN (3).

this suggestion I am indebted to our Fellow Mr. Oswald Barron. The border of the lady's gown is ornamented with quatrefoils and roundels, and her under-dress, of which only a small portion can be seen, is diapered with foliage and dragon flies. The top of the back of a hairy animal, probably a dog upon which the feet rested, can also be made out, and on the right-hand side of the plate is the base and a portion of the stem of a slender canopy with a narrow band of foliated ornament beyond. The fragment may be dated about 1360, and belongs to the same general type as the large brass at King's Lynn to Robert Braunché and his two wives, 1364. For the careful rubbing from which the accompanying illustration has been made I am indebted to Mr. Wilfrid J. Hemp."

Mr. OSWALD BARRON said that the coat with fess and mullets might be attributed to Borssele, but as no colours were indicated,

the attribution was little more than a guess. It was a rare bearing in West Flanders, though not uncommon in England, and the richness and importance of the brass pointed to some member of the cadet branch of the family, which had been connected with many royal houses. With this clue, the rest of the monument might some day be identified.

Lady HERRIES exhibited a portion of a mediaeval jewelled mitre, upon which W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A., communicated the following notes :

"The fragment of a mitre exhibited by Lady Herries is an object of unusual interest. It consists of one half only, whether the front or the back it is impossible to say, and measures $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height by 12 in. in width, with a vertical height of $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. at each side, where the two halves were joined.

At first sight the mitre seems to be of cloth of gold, but an examination of the back shows that it consists of a canvas or coarse linen foundation on which continuous rows of gold thread have been laid down. Down the middle is a vertical seam with a blank strip on each side, having a total width of $\frac{7}{8}$ in., over which no gold thread is laid. This is covered in front by a strip of similar canvas to the body, with a line of gold thread along each edge, upon which is sewn a strip of gilt metal. Along the lower edge and up the slopes of the mitre is a narrow strip of gold lace, sewn with yellow silk, and not with the reddish-brown silk with which the gold thread of the body is laid down. The lace has an inner edging of twisted gimp.

The surface of the mitre is decorated in a somewhat irregular manner with a number of ornaments, for the most part original. To the vertical band of gilt metal are attached, one above the other, eleven oblong silver-gilt locketts with beaded edges, enclosing silver plates with flying or walking birds, chiefly doves or swans, with grounds of beautiful blue translucent enamel. The ends of these locketts consist of broken hinges with pearls at the top and bottom, and another pair of pearls is fixed above and below the middle of each locket. The locketts measure $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length by $\frac{7}{16}$ in. in depth, and the distance between the middle lines of the hinges is $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. The depth with the pearls included is $\frac{5}{8}$ in. Several of the locketts are fixed upside down.

On either side of the vertical band are sewn, as the chief ornaments of the ground, two modern-looking silver-gilt (?) wheel-shaped plates, each with four spokes, to which were attached a central and eight encircling jewels. The central jewels consist of nearly circular silver-gilt bosses, bordered with rude fleurs-de-lis, and enclosing in the one case a pale green stone, in the other an engraved onyx. The encircling jewels vary in form and

character. Of the twelve that are left, five contain square or heart-shaped imitation gems in coloured glass, half red and half white with a gold zigzag line of demarcation, set in deep silver-gilt sockets on square or oblong bases. Two others contain square pale yellow gems, and another of irregular form is set with



Fig. 1. MITRE IN POSSESSION OF LADY HERRIES : FRONT VIEW ($\frac{1}{3}$).

a ruby. From three of the jewels the gems are missing. The twelfth jewel has a pointed quatrefoil base with a sexfoil socket filled with translucent green enamel with a ring of yellowish spots.

Above these wheel-shaped bosses are two pairs of silver-gilt stellar ornaments, each with six rays forked at the ends

to enclose pearls of rather modern appearance. The middle of each star is a sexfoil socket filled with translucent enamel of green with yellow centre and bordered with purple.

There are also two other pairs of stellar ornaments, likewise of silver-gilt. In the one case these consist of four narrow and

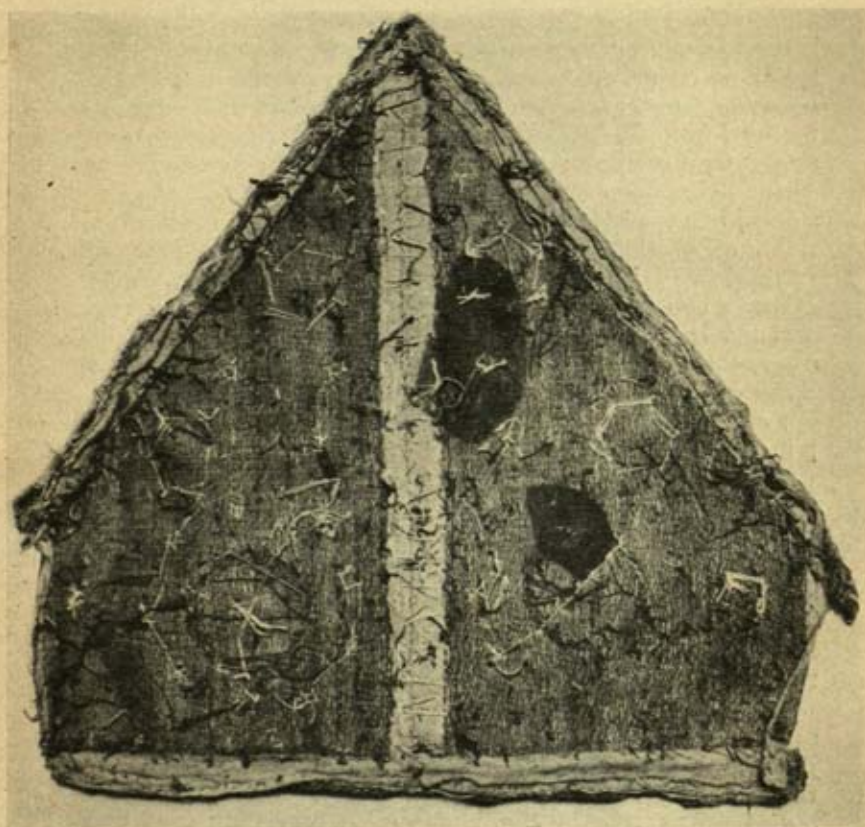


Fig. 2. MITRE IN POSSESSION OF LADY HERRIES: BACK VIEW ($\frac{1}{3}$).

four thickened rays diverging from a square socket, which in a surviving example contains a yellow-pink gem. The other pair are roughly oblong in plan and have twelve rays conjoined, radiating as before from a socket for a stone. One of these stones is lost, the other is a ruby.

Scattered about the field of the mitre are fifteen lesser

ornaments. These consist of a small square socket for a gem (which in every case is lost) forming the centre of a cross of four pearls, and fixed upon a square base.

Besides these attached ornaments there are two loose pieces of considerable importance in helping to determine the original decoration of the mitre.

The one consists of a plate of silver-gilt, $\frac{5}{8}$ in. square, having a lesser piece hinged to it at either end. Upon the square plate is fixed a round beaded socket with a ruddy-pink gem, encircled by six pearls on wire arms. Upon each of the end pieces have been fixed, one over the other, a pair of similar beaded sockets, but oval in form, enclosing alternately a red and a green, and a green and a red gem; one of these, however, is lost. The end pieces, besides being hinged to the square plate, have remains of similar hinges at their outer sides.

The other ornament is similar in character, but only $\frac{5}{16}$ in. wide. It consists of an oblong plate $\frac{7}{8}$ in. long, to which is affixed between two pairs of small round jewels another jewel set in a round beaded socket and surrounded by four pearls. This arrangement, it will be seen, practically repeats that of the larger ornament. The plate has at each end a hinge, by which in one case is attached an oblong plate of the same width, but only $\frac{5}{8}$ in. long, originally enamelled.

A comparison of the ornaments of this mitre with those of the mitre of Bishop William of Wykeham, now at New College, Oxford, which were exhibited to the Society in 1907,¹ leaves no doubt whatever that they are of the same date and workmanship, and their arrangement was also to some extent certainly similar. There can be no question, from their close resemblance, and the form and fashion of their junctions, that the enamelled lockets now upon the vertical metal strip once formed, in conjunction with a jewelled series of which the larger loose ornament is the sole survivor, parts of such flexible bands of alternate lockets and jewels as encircled the base of Wykeham's mitre. Since, too, the mitre is 12 in. wide, there would just be room round it for a double band, each of sixteen lockets and sixteen jewels. The narrower strip of similarly designed ornament in all probability decorated the sloping edges of the mitre, and these would each afford room for six pieces like that which has so fortunately been preserved. How the rest of the mitre was adorned is not easy of suggestion. The small jewels now attached to the wheel-shaped plates were possibly disposed between the encircling bands, but the various stellar ornaments and the little groups of pearls probably adorned the ground as still. As in Wykeham's mitre almost all the coloured stones are of paste or enamel.

¹ *Proceedings*, xxi. 483; xxii. 294-7; *Archæologia*, lx. 465-92.

It is unfortunate that nothing whatever is known or can be traced of the history of the mitre. It is unquestionably of English workmanship of the second half of the fourteenth century, and has evidently seen much wear and hard usage. It has clearly been despoiled of most of its jewels, and the hinged bands were probably broken up under the impression that the jewelled sections were worth stealing. An attempt to make the mitre more decent seems to have been made by using up what was left of the enamelled lockets to form a new vertical band, and adding the gold lace borders to hide the loss of the narrower jewelled edgings. The several loose jewels have also been collected together and fixed to the wheel-like plates. Lastly, the mitre seems to have been regarded as a relic of some saintly or venerated bishop or abbot, and been divided: possibly this is why it happens that one-half only is in the hands of its present owners."

Mr. CRACE observed that it was not always necessary to flatten out the mitre for packing, and instanced the wooden case for William of Wykeham's mitre recently exhibited to the Society.

The PRESIDENT took a special interest in mediaeval jewellery, of which the mitre was an interesting example, and regretted that more was not known of its history. In the fifteenth century the origin of that form of head-dress had been forgotten, and purism had given place to magnificence; the goldsmith's art was then at its best in England, and the mitre gave ample scope for display. Though not in its original state, it had still many panels in good preservation, and it would be interesting to speculate on the identity of the maker. Mr. W. J. Hardy had prepared from records a list of such artificers, and might perhaps allow the Society to publish it.

W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A., and PHILIP NEWMAN, Esq., F.S.A., contributed a paper on the paintings in the Hastings and Oxenbridge Chantry Chapels in St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

The PRESIDENT had expected the paper to deal with the present condition of the paintings and with their restoration: the Society would agree that deterioration should be prevented. He recognized an English and foreign style not remote in date from each other: the paintings represented perhaps forty years in the history of art. The date on the middle panel was not an addition, but belonged to the original design, as in some of Holbein's pictures. He thought Messrs. Reinach and Six had

been a little hard on Dutch painting, which was primarily decorative, the story taking second place.

Mr. HOPE noticed that the artist had made a mistake about St. Stephen's trial, as was evident from the picture itself and the legend; the Council should have been represented instead of Herod.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these exhibitions and communications.

THURSDAY, 21st MARCH, 1912.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author, E. E. Baker, Esq., F.S.A.:

1. The parish church of Weston-super-Mare, 1226 to 1910. 4to. Weston-super-Mare, 1910.
2. Weston-super-Mare village jottings, compiled chiefly from interviews with the oldest inhabitants in the year 1883. 4to. n.p. 1911.

From the Author, H. St. George Gray, Esq.:

1. Notes on Roman remains found at Puckington. 8vo. n.p. 1911.
2. Excavations at the 'Amphitheatre', Charterhouse-on-Mendip, 1909. 8vo. n.p. 1909.

From W. J. Kaye, jun., Esq., F.S.A.:—Notes sur les camps des Alpes-Maritimes. Par Paul Goby. 8vo. Le Mans, 1908.

From Miller Christy, Esq.:—Some interesting Essex brasses. By Miller Christy, W. W. Porteous, and E. Bertram Smith. 8vo. n.p. 1910.

The following were admitted Fellows:

Charles Travis Clay, Esq., M.A.

William Sharp Ogden, Esq.

WILLIAM PAGE, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited several objects lately acquired by the Herts. County Museum, St. Albans. The principal of these was the top of a Late-Celtic sword scabbard found on the site of Verulamium (fig. 1). He pointed out that from the numismatic evidence Verulamium was at the height of its prosperity from the beginning of the first century B.C. to about A.D. 5, when on the death of Tasciovanus the seat of government of the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes was transferred to Camulodunum or Colchester. It again flourished for a short

time immediately after the Claudian invasion of A.D. 43, but by the end of the first century London had apparently superseded it as a place of importance. The exhibit shown was probably of the first century A.D.

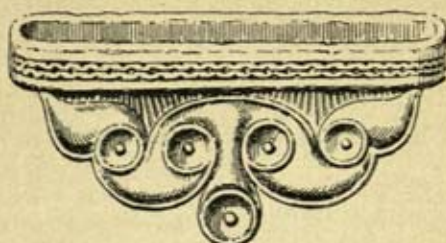
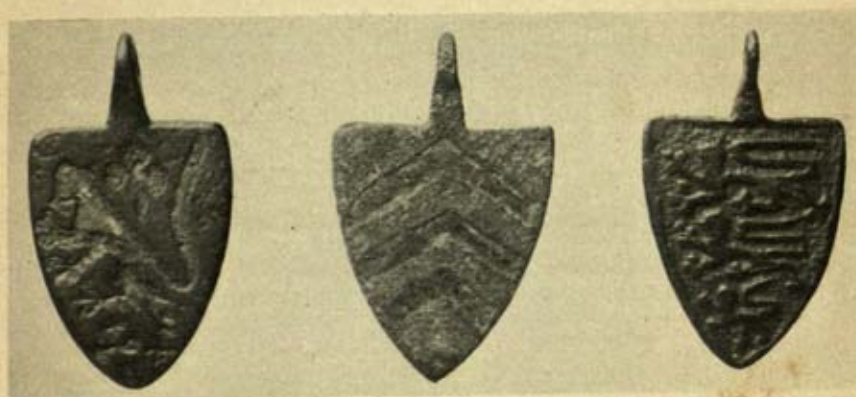


Fig. 1. TOP OF LATE CELTIC SWORD SCABBARD FROM VERULAMIUM (†).



a

b

c

Fig. 2. ARMORIAL PENDANTS (†).

a from Evesham; *b* from St. Albans; *c* in possession of Society of Antiquaries.

The bronze palstaves, spear-heads, and armilla also shown were found at Hitchin, a district which is rich in prehistoric remains principally of the palaeolithic age.

The little fourteenth-century enamelled shield, probably part of a horse trapping, was found in digging behind the High Street, St. Albans, in the premises of Messrs. Fisk & Sons, drapers. It bears the Clare arms, *or three cheverons gules*. The red enamel is still preserved, and there is a little of the gilt remaining on one side (fig. 2, *b*).

Another similar little shield, the arms upon which have not been recognized, was exhibited by Mr. Willis Bund, F.S.A., and

was found while excavations were being made for a new elementary school in Oats Street, Evesham, in 1909 (fig. 2, a). A third shield, with the arms of England, belonging to the Society, was also exhibited (fig. 2, c).

Some similar shields were exhibited in 1909, one by Mr. Owen, from Mitcham, and another by Mr. Peers, from St. Albans, the latter with the Bohun arms.¹

Mr. Page also exhibited photographs of some Roman cinerary urns and other pottery,² by the kindness of their owner, Mr. R. T. Andrews, of Hertford. They had been selected from the large find of Romano-British pottery in what was clearly a cemetery discovered at Welwyn in 1908, not far distant from the important Late-Celtic burials described a few weeks ago by Sir Arthur Evans and Mr. R. A. Smith.³ Mr. Andrews stated that the mode of burial seemed to have been to cut a trench in the ground, and when it became filled with urns, with which it appears to have been closely packed, it was covered up by the simple expedient of excavating another trench immediately above it. Mr. Andrews in his account of the excavations continues:

The find comprises the remains of at least 150 vessels of all kinds, and includes examples of Samian, pseudo-Samian, Durobrivian or Castor, Upchurch, Salopian, and Cologne ware. But not more than half of these can be identified, and none of them are whole; while the majority are merely sherds, bottoms, rims, or parts of bodies, which afford no indication of sizes and forms.

The burials were disposed some three or four feet apart at a depth of from 2 ft. to 3 ft. in a stiff clay soil, which rendered the task of removing the vessels undamaged one of extreme difficulty. Many were so soft in material that they broke on being exposed, some were fractured in excavating, while others were evidently already damaged when first interred. The majority were in an upright position, the mouth being covered with a saucer or dish, which in some cases had become displaced, allowing the soil and roots to penetrate to the interior. In one case an urn stood in a saucer; while in several instances smaller urns or other vessels were found inside, or by the side of larger ones. Groups also existed of a bottle, an urn, and a small pot, the smaller vessels being intended as receptacles for unguents, oil, wine, or incense. In a few instances a small grave had been formed by placing a low wall of stones around the urn.

From the form and character of some of the vessels it was evident that they had been in use for household purposes, and as such were entirely unsuitable, owing to their narrow mouths, for the purpose of cinerary urns; but they had been adapted to this end by the simple expedient of breaking off the necks and so widening the orifice, which was afterwards covered with a patera or a piece of tile. Some also appeared to have been

¹ *Proceedings*, xxii. 466.

² Owing to the disorganization of the railways on account of the coal strike the pottery did not arrive in time for exhibition, but was placed on the table at the following meeting.

³ Above, p. 3; *Archaeologia*, lxiii. 1.

wasters of domestic utensils owing to cracks or other defects. From the fact also that rather a better class of pottery containing smaller and more thoroughly calcined bones was found at the upper end of the excavations, it is thought that this part may have been reserved for a better class of burials, or for those of young women and children. Except for a few wrought-iron nails about 2 in. in length, some of which were in an excellent state of preservation, no metal of any kind was found. The presence of the nails would denote that the body was enclosed in some kind of coffin before cremation; their perfect condition being due to the chemical action of the burnt bones on the metal.

The red, glazed, and polished Samian ware comprises saucers, dishes or paterae averaging 7 in. in diameter. Two only bear an ornament, which consists of a lily leaf and stalk round the rim. Eleven have names upon them; of these, ten have been identified.

The list of names proves them to have been imported from Lezoux in Auvergne, a pottery which flourished from about A. D. 70 for two centuries, but came to an untimely end in the year 260 through the invasion of hordes of German barbarians.

Besides the discoveries just mentioned at Welwyn, the remains of a Romano-British building have been found in the rectory garden and Roman coins and pottery in large quantities elsewhere.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH communicated the following notes on the exhibits from Herts. belonging to the Herts. County Museum:

"The earliest specimen exhibited is the bronze or copper blade from St. Albans, which would come under the term 'knife-dagger,' but is not of the earliest form, such as is frequently found in round barrows with unburnt burials. It is 4.8 in. long, and has two rivets and a tang for securing it in a handle. The section is a flat oval running out into a bevel on either side.

The small hoard is, as usual, of interest as containing specimens that are practically contemporary. The two looped and socketed celts are a pair, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and imperfectly cast, there being holes in the sides: the openings are square, the type being probably earlier than that with polygonal mouth. The spear-head is a fragment of a well-made weapon, originally about $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, somewhat resembling that figured in *Archaeologia*, lxi, pl. lxxix, fig. 37: two peg-holes show that it was fastened to the shaft by means of a peg (probably of wood), and the hollow extended not only to the point but also laterally beyond the line of the socket into the two blades. This last feature indicates a late date, when the casting was executed with great dexterity and the metal used more economically. The armlet is somewhat of a rarity, and had evidently been long worn, as the spiral thread is barely visible in places. The hook-and-eye fastening is damaged, but is frequently seen on torcs of the period, the ends slightly tapering and broadened by hammering at the turn. It measures 3.7 in. outside and 3.4 in. inside.

Later by perhaps five centuries is the pleasing bronze mount here illustrated (fig. 1). It is of whitish metal, consisting of a lobed triangular plate in one piece with a long narrow loop, which evidently fitted over the mouth of a sword scabbard, the lobed face being the front. It is 2.3 in. long, with the opening 2.1 in. by 0.4 in., the back being 0.25 in. deep. The decoration is characteristically Late-Celtic, and probably dates just before the Roman Conquest. Morphologically it is interesting as a descendant of the expanded end of the rib which attached the belt-loop to the middle of the scabbard, a peculiarity of British sword-sheaths, as exemplified by one from Cotterdale, N.R. Yorks., figured in *Archaeologia*, xlv. 251, pl. xvi, fig. 2. Early British swords in scabbards are not too common, but a gradual transformation can be traced in the ornamentation of the guard and scabbard-mouth. The ogee-curve of La Tène II is seen, for example, on the Bugthorpe specimen,¹ but on a sword from Embleton, Cumberland (also in the National Collection), the ogee is incorporated in the decoration of the guard, which ends like the scabbard in a straight line. Corresponding mounts to be attached to the narrow sword-guard have been found at Hod Hill, Dorset, and elsewhere.²

Of the Roman pottery from Welwyn (which has been recently published as Late-Celtic) only a few pieces need be mentioned; and perhaps the most interesting is a complete example of a type dredged from the Pudding-pan Rock, four miles off Herne Bay, Kent. In shape, colour, and quality it agrees exactly with Form 3 in that series,³ except that it is one-tenth of an inch wider (4 in.) and bears the stamp MAIORIS, which appears to have hitherto been confined to Forms 10, 11, and 13. There can be little doubt that it was made at Lezoux, Puy-de-Dôme, about A. D. 160-180.

Another 'Samian' cup, lighter both in weight and colour, closely resembles specimens in a large group found with a burial at Bayford, near Sittingbourne, Kent.⁴

Other vessels are a jug of the so-called Salopian ware, buff with a worn surface, 7½ in. high; a 'thumb-pot' with seven indentations, pale yellow ware covered with black slip, height 4½ in.; a vase of hard buff ware with egg-shaped body, height 7¼ in.; another with white slip on upper part of body, height 5½ in.; a pot of hard reddish ware with broad vertical band on lip, height 4 in.;

¹ *Early Iron Age Guide* (Brit. Mus.), pp. 52, 73, 105.

² Some are figured by Curle, *A Roman frontier post* (Newstead), 186. For position on handle see *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi, pl. 1.

³ *Proceedings*, xxi. 280; xxii. 403, where *Genitor's* forms should be 10, 11, and 12, not 9, 10, and 11.

⁴ *Arch. Cant.*, xvi. 2; Payne, *Collectanea Cantiana*, 47.

and an elegant carinated vase with dark-grey surface, height 5½ in."

Mr. DALE observed that the knife-dagger on exhibition belonged to Professor Montelius's second stage of the Bronze Age, and somewhat resembled an example exhibited by himself last session.¹

Mr. PAGE replied that all the bronzes were found in one field, but the knife-dagger was not associated with the rest.

The PRESIDENT remarked that the exhibition had been marred by the coal-strike, but it was always interesting to see a Bronze Age hoard, as there was more than a probability that the specimens were contemporary. Enamelled armorial pendants would form an interesting subject of study, but required a certain knowledge of heraldry. They often bore the arms of distinguished families, but their origin was not clear. Among the Moors such pendants were often used as horse-trappings, and frequently came to light in Spain, where they were perhaps earlier than in Northern Europe. Besides armorial bearings, they often had Arabic inscriptions, chiefly verses from the Koran.

WILLIAM PAGE, Esq., F.S.A., read the following paper on "Some Notes on Watling Street and its relation to London":

"The course of Watling Street between the Marble Arch and Shooter's Hill has long been a matter of speculation. The paper of Mr. G. J. Turner on the subject read on 8 December, 1909, led our Treasurer, Mr. J. G. Wood, Mr. Reginald A. Smith, and myself to consider whether excavations in Hyde Park would throw further light on the subject. With this object we had an interview with Major W. C. Hussey, R.E., bailiff of the royal parks, and Mr. Gardiner, superintendent of Hyde Park. The latter told us that an ancient road had been found within Hyde Park near to the Marble Arch. By the kind intervention of Sir Schomberg McDonnell and our Secretary permission was obtained to excavate and examine this supposed road. A trench 20 ft. long was opened in April, 1911, at the spot indicated, just inside the park railings at the Marble Arch in a line with the east side of the Edgware Road. After going down 6 ft. 8 in. we came upon a layer of hard gravel discoloured on the surface, as if it had been at one time exposed to the atmosphere. We cut through the gravel, which was only from 6 in. to 9 in. in thickness, and below the surface it was bright and clear. Under the gravel was the undisturbed clay. The probability is that the

¹ *Proceedings*, xxiii. 98.

layer of gravel was natural. It was certainly not a Roman road paved with flints, such as Mr. Wood discovered not far off in the Edgware Road, nor such as I have myself uncovered at Verulamium. As the season was advancing we were then unable to excavate further.

Early in January in this year, with the permission of Sir Schomberg McDonnell and the Office of Works, we cut a trench across the grass some 120 ft. to the south of the pathway leading from the small gate into the park from Park Lane opposite Green Street. At this spot we reckoned that if a road came in a straight line with the known direction of Watling Street in the Edgware Road, or deviated but slightly, we must have struck it. Our trench covered the distance from the footpath beside the main road in the park from the Marble Arch to Hyde Park Corner up to the railings of Park Lane, a length of about 97 ft. We dug down to the undisturbed gravel, the depth of the trench being from 7 ft. at the west end to 9 ft. 6 in. near to the railings of Park Lane, where the ground has been considerably made up. At 2 ft. 6 in. to 4 ft. 6 in. from the surface the section showed made soil; below there was from 2 ft. to 3 ft. of yellow clay, and under that the undisturbed gravel. There was no indication of any road, and nothing was found but some pieces of wood, which had been used apparently as stakes, and the bowl of an eighteenth-century tobacco pipe.

Our efforts with regard to excavation having thus far proved fruitless, I had some searches made by the kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster among their early charters and rolls for the purpose of discovering a reference to a road in continuation of Watling Street south of the Edgware Road, either in boundaries of lands or otherwise. I regret, however, to say that these searches have not yielded the desired result. There are many references to the Bayswater Road as a boundary under the name of the Here Street, the *via regia*, the Acton Way, etc., but nothing suggestive of a road going south from the Marble Arch.

Although the searches among the records at Westminster have not given the information desired they show many matters of interest. Entries on the bailiffs' rolls of the manor of Eye or Eyebury emphasize what our late Fellow Mr. W. L. Rutton told us in his paper on the manor of Eia,¹ that the land at the spot where the Marble Arch now stands in the thirteenth century and later was arable.² One of the common fields of the manor was known as Ossulston.³ There is much also bearing on the history of

¹ *Archaeologia*, lxii. 31.

² Dean and Chapter of Westminster Records, no. 26851.

³ *Ibid.* 4776.

the marsh land towards the Thames, the maintenance of the river walls, etc., which does not touch our present inquiry. One point, however, I cannot omit, as it bears on the importance of the Ossul-stone, to which Mr. Smith has lately more than once called attention. This stone, Mr. Smith suggests, was the Roman geometric stone¹ found at the point where the Watling Street met the Roman road from London to Staines and Silchester. The hundred in which we and most of Eastern Middlesex are situated is called the Hundred of Ossulston, and I suggested to Mr. Rutton when he was revising his paper that the hundred courts were held at this stone. Confirmatory evidence of this in that the county court was held here has now been found in an indictment of 1423 for the obstruction of a way from 'Iseldon' (Islington) called Shireway, by which the lieges of the lord the king come and go to a certain place called 'Osselston', in the vill of Westminster, at every county court of the county of Middlesex to be held at 'Oselston' for suits, plaints,² etc.

Perhaps I may be allowed to review in a few words what little information we have about the southern section of Watling Street. We know that the two principal of the Belgic tribes that invaded this country about 200 B.C. were the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes, who settled on the north of the Thames, the former probably on the west and the latter on the east of the river Lea. Archaeology points to a very intimate intercourse between these tribes and their kinsmen in Northern Gaul, and in a lesser degree with more southern Europe, and we know from the evidence of Caesar that there was constant communication between Britain and the Continent.³ The chief towns of these tribes were respectively Verulamium, near St. Albans, and Camulodunum, or Colchester. From the former at all events, and probably from the latter, there must have been some regular trade route to the south-eastern ports of Kent and thence across the Channel to Gaul. The course of these routes was governed by the position of the crossing of the Thames, and consequently there seems reason to suppose that they followed lines similar in direction to those of Watling Street and the road from Camulodunum south-westward.

The goal of Caesar's march at his second invasion in 54 B.C. was the stronghold of Cassivellaunus, which is now generally

¹ *V. C. H. London*, i. 32; *London and Middx. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, iv. 62.

² Ancient Indictments, King's Bench, Crown Side, Bdle. 218. My attention was called to this by Miss H. Garbett.

³ *De Bello Gallico*, ii. 13; iii. 8, 11; iv. 20, 21. A remarkable instance of this intercourse was brought to our notice a few evenings ago in the description of the Late-Celtic find at Welwyn by Sir Arthur Evans and Mr. Smith; above, p. 3; *Archaeologia*, lxiii. 1.

admitted to be Verulamium. His first march after landing near Sandwich was for a distance of about twelve miles inland, which there is little doubt brought him to or near 'Durovernum', or Canterbury.¹ This may perhaps imply that the first portion of the British track inland from Sandwich was by the Watling Street route. Caesar retired to his naval base and it was some days before his final expedition inland started. We get no clue as to his route: he merely states that he led his army to the Thames.² If we consider, however, the position of Verulamium to the north-west of London, the course from Sandwich which Watling Street takes would be the most direct and would also largely avoid the forest, marsh, and hills of the more westerly route which has frequently been suggested.

Again, at the invasion of Aulus Plautius in A.D. 43 the point to which he attempted to lead his army was not, as with Caesar, to Verulamium, but to Camulodunum, or Colchester. According to Dio Cassius,³ the Britons, as was their custom, made their chief points of resistance at the crossing of the larger rivers, as they had done with Caesar nearly a century earlier. The first attack was made at a river which it is said the Britons supposed the Romans could not pass without a bridge.⁴ This river could scarcely be any other than the Medway at its lower reaches, probably near Rochester. The same tactics were used when the Roman army came to the Thames. These points again suggest that it was the Watling Street route which the Roman army adopted. On reaching the Thames Aulus Plautius made a pause for the arrival of the Emperor Claudius with reinforcements, upon whose coming the Britons under Caractacus were defeated and Camulodunum taken.⁵ There is no evidence of what happened to Verulamium. It is possible that Claudius made it his headquarters, and it became probably about this time the only 'municipium' that was ever erected in Britain. The importance of the position of London, then perhaps merely a British village, was about the same time recognized by the Romans. The first we hear of London is some seventeen years after the Claudian invasion, during the insurrection of Boadicea in A.D. 60. Tacitus then describes it as a place 'not distinguished by the name of a colony, but much frequented by a number of merchants and trading vessels,'⁶ and his subsequent notice of it clearly shows that its population was considerable and its strategic position acknowledged. The development of London must have been extremely rapid, and fostered by Roman influence it soon

¹ T. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain*.

² *De Bello Gallico*, v. 18.

³ *Lib. lx.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Dio Cassius, *Lib. lx.*

⁶ Tacitus, *Annales*, bk. xiv, cap. xxxiii.

became the chief town in Britain and the centre of its road system.

The conclusions I would venture to draw from the foregoing observations are that there was a British track from the Kentish ports to Verulamium, not necessarily coinciding with Watling Street yet following approximately the course of that road. For it must be remembered that South-eastern Britain had been open to the influence of Roman civilization long before the Claudian invasion. The inhabitants of this district had learnt much as regards the minting of money, the use of the Roman characters and language, and possibly in the making of pottery; it is quite likely therefore that they should have also acquired some knowledge of road-making after the Roman fashion. Verulamium and Camulodunum were the only important towns immediately north of the Thames of which there is any evidence till after the time of the Claudian invasion, and the communication with the south-eastern ports would naturally be made with regard to them and irrespective of London, which must then have been insignificant. It is clear that the crossing place of the Thames ruled the course of the road from Verulamium and indeed to a lesser degree that from Camulodunum. Hence the route which leads along the Edgware Road to the Marble Arch and so to what was apparently the lowest safe ford over the Thames at Westminster.

Towards the latter part of the first century, when the importance of London was established, the British tracks as far as was necessary were straightened and metalled. The branch road from Holborn connecting London with the generally assigned route of the road from Camulodunum to Staines and Silchester was made, thus enabling London to attract to it the traffic going north-west and south-east, either for transport across the river by ferry or bridge or for direct shipment abroad. By the time of the Antonine itinerary, probably at the beginning of the third century, London was the centre of the road system, so that the traffic by Watling Street must then have passed through it. If the general lines of the British tracks here were not adopted by the Romans a more direct route from Verulamium to London than by the Edgware Road would have been taken, such as that of the later road from St. Albans through Shenley or that of the present road through Barnet, which are more direct and do not present greater difficulties of gradient than Brockley Hill on Watling Street. In any case it is not conceivable that the Romans would have laid out their main road to the Kentish ports of passage to the Continent by a route which on the north side of the river was nearly three miles distant from London, the centre of their road system and a station on the itinerary

for this road, if this route had not existed as a British track with a different objective before London had become a place of importance.

Under these circumstances it seems probable that the section of Watling Street between the Marble Arch and Southwark, always difficult of transit for a part of its way on account of the wetness of the ground, would become only a subsidiary road when the traffic was diverted to London. Possibly it may never have been paved like the rest of Watling Street, and perhaps this is a reason why it has not been discovered."

Mr. J. G. Wood exhibited a lantern slide of the excavation made in 1902 at the junction of Edgware Road and Seymour Street, in which the formation of the Roman roadway was disclosed. This was afterwards traced, as the excavation proceeded, as far as Star Street. The level varied from 3 ft. to 3 ft. 6 in. below the present surface level. The roadway had been formed by excavating the blue clay of the London formation for a width of 22 ft. and a depth of about 1 ft., filling in the trench so formed with clean red gravel rammed down, and then laying large flint nodules from the chalk in a grouting of lime upon the gravel, thus forming a compact and solid surface.

The recent openings in Hyde Park showed an instructive contrast. The blue clay was not reached. The inference is that Tyburn Hill was formerly higher than at present, formed by a capping of the higher beds of the London formation (yellow gravel and yellow clay) such as exist in the 'Kensington gravel pits' of Notting Hill, and are wholly cut out by the Westbourne Valley. The hill, where the Marble Arch now stands, may have been in later times lowered to improve the gradient of the roads; and the material so removed possibly laid on the surface of the old Roman road (in the Edgware Road), which would account for its depth below the present surface. This lowering, in any case, would remove all trace of the Roman causeway over Tyburn Hill. Therefore the failure to find it in the recent openings is not conclusive against the continuation of the Watling Street as a paved way south of the Marble Arch. It may yet be found in the Green Park.

Mr. Page based his suggestion that the Edgware Road is on the line of an earlier British track, adopted and improved by the Romans, in part on the theory that if there had not been such a track they would, in making from London to Verulamium as their objective, have taken a straight line somewhat in the line of Highgate or Barnet, instead of starting out west to the Marble Arch. To this theory the practice of the Roman engineers is opposed. They as far as possible chose a line of water-

shed, so as to avoid numerous river and valley crossings. The Watling Street north of St. Albans illustrates this throughout, passing successively along the watersheds of the Colne and Lea, Thames and Ouse, Avon and Ouse, Severn and Trent. South of St. Albans, between Elstree and the Marble Arch the only streams crossed by it are the Brent and small 'Kilburn'; and for the last part it lies on the watershed between the Tyburn and the Westbourne streams. On the other hand a straight line from Verulamium to London would cross the valleys of many tributaries of the Brent, the Lea, and the Fleet, and the ridges dividing them; in fact, it would have been carried across a series of ridges and furrows, over which no surveying line could have been laid, such as that from Tyburn Hill (particularly if, as suggested, higher than now) to Shoot-up Hill, if not as far as Brockley Hill, by means of which the road, according to the regular Roman practice, was obviously laid out.

Physical features, not a pre-existing British road, led the Romans to Tyburn Hill.

Mr. Page had also postulated a British road south to the Thames from Verulamium, in order to afford that town and Camulodunum access to the ports on the coasts of Kent. But it has been suggested that the connexion between those towns was by the British way through Braughing. Now the estuary of the Colne at Camulodunum formed a natural and convenient harbour of great antiquity; and traffic from Gaul for the Celtic Verulamium would more probably have been landed in that estuary, than at one of the unprotected harbours of East Kent, which would have involved a longer land carriage by some forty miles, besides the negotiation of the crossings of the Medway, Thames, and other rivers. It must be remembered that in those days (centuries before the submergence of the Goodwin Sands) the Wantsum Creek afforded a direct course, by a wide navigable channel, from Gaul to the Essex coast.

The line of Watling Street was in fact determined by strategic, not commercial, considerations.

If the road south of St. Albans had been originally a British way it would have acquired, and retained, a distinctive British name. Instead of that, like the rest of the road as it continued thence north-west to Uriconium, it was given the generic name of 'gwaith-y-lleng' (work of the legion), adopted later by the Saxon as *Wætlinga-stræt* and *ƿæclinga-stræt*; under which name it is mentioned as a boundary of lands at Hendon and Edgware, in a charter of A.D. 972 (Birch's *Cart. Sax.*, no. 1290).

The south end of Park Lane (before its alteration) is not only a direct continuation of the line of the Edgware Road, but when produced cuts the 'Tothill field' which is shown on old

maps before the making of Vauxhall Bridge Road. A 'tot' or 'tout' (watching station) is a constant accessory of a Roman road, particularly along the Watling Street, including its southward extension through Shropshire and Herefordshire into Gwent. Such are found constantly near river crossings and passes over hills. Further, the manor of Eybury (the 'byrig on the island') extended from the Marble Arch to the Thames, and included the Tothill field. The boundaries of it are defined in the charter of Edgar to Westminster Abbey (Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, no. 1048). The island which gave its name to the manor is to be identified as bordered by the Thames on the south; the 'Merfleot' and its penstock (which has survived in 'Millbank') on the east; the estuary of the Tyburn brook on the west; and an 'old dike' (separating it from the Tothill field) on the north. On this must have been the 'bury'. Here we have reliable indicia of a Roman crossing. The same occur, among other places, on the crossing of Severn by the Antonine road from Silchester to Caerwent. There, on the west side, at the landing-place are earthworks still called the 'Old-buries', and a 'mount', the local name there for a 'tot'. On the opposite shore was an Elbury (eald-byrig) now lost, with an 'Antony stone', by the erosion of the Severn bank and the construction of the Avonmouth Docks.

That the Romans had a principal crossing of the Thames near Westminster in connexion with the Watling Street is the proper inference from these facts.

Mr. G. J. TURNER mentioned a seventeenth-century map recently acquired by the British Museum,¹ on which Ossulstone was marked, apparently as a district and not as a stone, a little to the north-east of Hyde Park Corner, and not, as generally supposed, at the Marble Arch.

The TREASURER observed that London was of little importance in British times, but by the year A.D. 60 had become a flourishing commercial centre. The reason for Watling Street being taken through Westminster was clearly that there was a ford across the river there; and this important British track was adopted and extended by the Romans. As London grew the main roads naturally converged towards it; and after London Bridge was built the road through Westminster became of secondary importance. The Roman remains at Westminster were insignificant when compared with those of London City or Southwark. If a paved road were still in existence south of the Marble Arch, it should come out about Down Street.

¹ Add. MS. 38104.

Mr. C. L. KINGSFORD remarked that the name of Watling Street in London first occurred in a document of 1307.

Mr. PAGE in reply to Mr. Wood stated that as regards the British origin of Watling Street between the Kentish ports and Verulamium (the continuation northward had nothing to do with his argument), archaeology was daily pointing more clearly to an intimate intercourse between Rome and the Belgic tribes in Britain long before the Claudian invasion. The principal requirement for such intercourse was a good road, primarily for trade but if necessary for strategic purposes. The Romans, who we know brought their goods to the Catuvellauni and taught them to use the Latin language, would naturally help them to lay out the main road from Verulamium to Gaul and Rome. He had shown that there was strong evidence of a British route to the Continent by the Kentish ports, but so far as he knew there was none of a route by the Colne estuary, indeed such a route from Verulamium would be less direct to the Marne district in Gallia Belgica, where the kinsmen of the Catuvellauni dwelt, and also to Rome. If the course of Watling Street was not the British route to the Kentish ports, where was that route? As to a straight road from Verulamium to London, the insignificant valleys of the easily fordable tributaries of the Brent, the Lea, and the Fleet would not deter a Roman engineer. The Stane Street between Colchester and Braughing crosses no less than eight streams larger than any of these tributaries. The better gradients of the route adopted for Watling Street were not at all proved, Brockley Hill being one of the worst round London. The present road through Barnet was fairly level, and that through Shenley did not present any great difficulties. He would again suggest that what here ruled the course of the Watling Street was the lowest ford across the Thames. He was much interested in the discovery of a document showing the exact site of Ossulstone, which had long been a problem.

REGINALD SMITH, Esq., B.A., F.S.A., read the following paper on the excavation by Canon Greenwell, F.S.A., in 1868, of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Uncleby, East Riding of Yorkshire:

"Though famous chiefly for their prehistoric remains, the Yorkshire wolds have yielded a large number of early Anglo-Saxon burials, many of which are described and illustrated in the late Mr. J. R. Mortimer's *Forty Years' Researches in E. Yorks.* But Canon Greenwell was still earlier in the field, and excavated in 1868 a Bronze Age barrow that had later been used as an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. His notes have recently come to light, and have been placed at my disposal for communication to the Society.

Such a record is important from more than one point of view, as the cemetery was not only carefully explored, but presented some exceptional features bearing on the history of the seventh century of our era. The material moreover has not been adequately published,¹ as the Canon's lecture on the discovery was only summarized in the *Malton Messenger*, 25 April, 1868; and the account given in the *Victoria County History* was written before the journal was recovered. The finds are among the most valuable and interesting in the county, and were nearly all presented in 1873 to the York Museum, where the curator, Mr. Oxley Grabham, kindly allowed a thorough examination of the series to be made and illustrations of the more important items to be prepared. The Society is also indebted to the proprietors of the *Victoria History* for permission to reproduce six illustrations from the second Yorkshire volume.

Uncleby lies on the western edge of the wolds, half a mile north-east of Kirby Underdale, in the East Riding. The district was evidently well populated in early times, and the prehistoric barrow or grave-mound, of which the primary burial was found at the centre, was about 70 ft. in diameter, but had been extended by the Anglo-Saxons, and at the time of its excavation measured 94 ft. in diameter and 3 ft. in height, but the plough had considerably reduced the latter dimension. The later interments beyond the outline of the barrow (fig. 1) were in graves, but other bodies had been laid on the original surface of the barrow and covered with earth, sometimes in rows running east and west about 3 ft. apart. Those on the east side consequently had the head higher than the feet, and the converse was the case on the west side.

The occurrence of contracted or flexed burials is not uncommon in Yorks.,² but they diminish in number towards the south and are practically unknown south of the Thames. It was the rule at Seaford, Lincs. (*Archaeologia*, l. 385), and a small proportion has been noticed at Marston St. Lawrence, Northants (*Archaeologia*, xlviii. pl. XXII); Stapenhill, Staffs., and Kempston, Beds. (*Collectanea Antiqua*, vi. 169, 219). Isolated examples have been found at Leagrave, Beds. (*Proceedings*, xxi. 59), and those at Envermeu, Normandy, were considered by Abbé Cochet³ to have been exclusively burials of women. In this connexion it should be mentioned that the men in the Uncleby cemetery had died young, while aged persons were invariably women.

The primary burial, over which the smaller barrow was raised,

¹ References to the cemetery are made in *British Barrows*, 135, and *Archaeologia*, xliii. 317, n.

² Mortimer, *op. cit.*, 169.

³ *Normandie souterraine*, 1st ed., 266.

was practically at the centre, immediately N. by W. The grave was cut in the original surface SW. and NE., and measured $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. both in length and depth, 6 ft. in breadth. At the bottom of it lay two large flints placed side by side, and between them a burnt body. Two pelvic bones of the pig (?) were found at 3 ft. from the surface, and near them another piece of flint.

The occurrence of animal bones in graves of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages is frequent, Canon Greenwell having noticed it particularly at Danes Graves in the East Riding;¹ and the rite of cremation in a round barrow generally indicates the latter half of the Bronze Age, though the same authority contends for similar burials in certain long barrows in Yorkshire that may be neolithic.

What may have been another prehistoric burial of the early Bronze Age was found at 28 ft. NE. of the centre, but nothing remained of the body; only one piece of a 'beaker', a stone axe close to it, and some flints, including thumb-scrapers were found. Burnt earth was noticed all round and over grave no. 1, and just south of the head a burnt body and a bone pin with large eye, doubtless of the late Bronze Age. A stray find at $40\frac{1}{2}$ ft. ESE. of the centre was a hone-stone $18\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, and 2 in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. at the middle, tapering to a rounded end and showing signs of use. It stood upright in the chalk at a depth of 6 in., and may be of Anglo-Saxon date, like that found in grave no. 11. On the east side of the centre was a great deal of blue clay, and charcoal was noticed with all the bodies, perhaps a reminiscence of the rite of cremation which had passed out of use among the Anglo-Saxons before their conversion to Christianity in the first half of the seventh century.

The three following graves are given a special numeration by Canon Greenwell, but are probably of the same date and origin as the majority in this barrow:

I. At 31 ft. NW. of the centre, a contracted skeleton of a young person, about 18 years old, on the original surface, lying NW. and SE. on the left side with the head to NW. At the right of the waist two knives with handles upwards, an iron buckle of the waist-belt, and another small one of bronze.

II. At 27 ft. NW. of the centre, a skeleton at full length 1 ft. above the original surface, lying NW. and SE. with the head to NW.; the right arm extended and the left out from the body.

III. At 25 ft. WNW. of the centre, on the same level as the preceding, the skeleton of a very young person, so decayed that its position could not be determined.

Just NW. of the centre was found a horseshoe, and 31 ft. W. was the east end of a trench $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide, and 1 ft.

¹ *Archaeologia*, lx. 263.

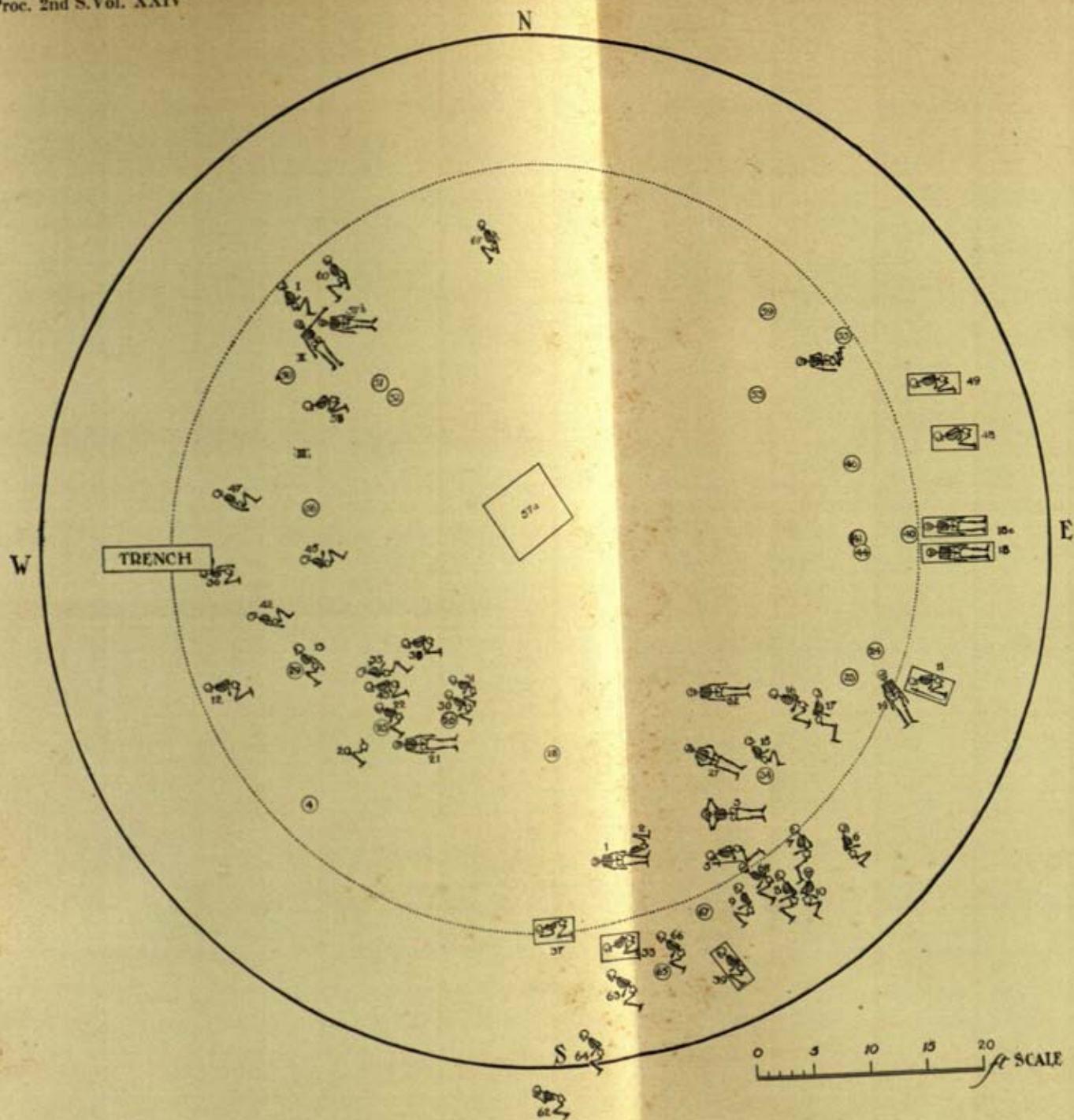
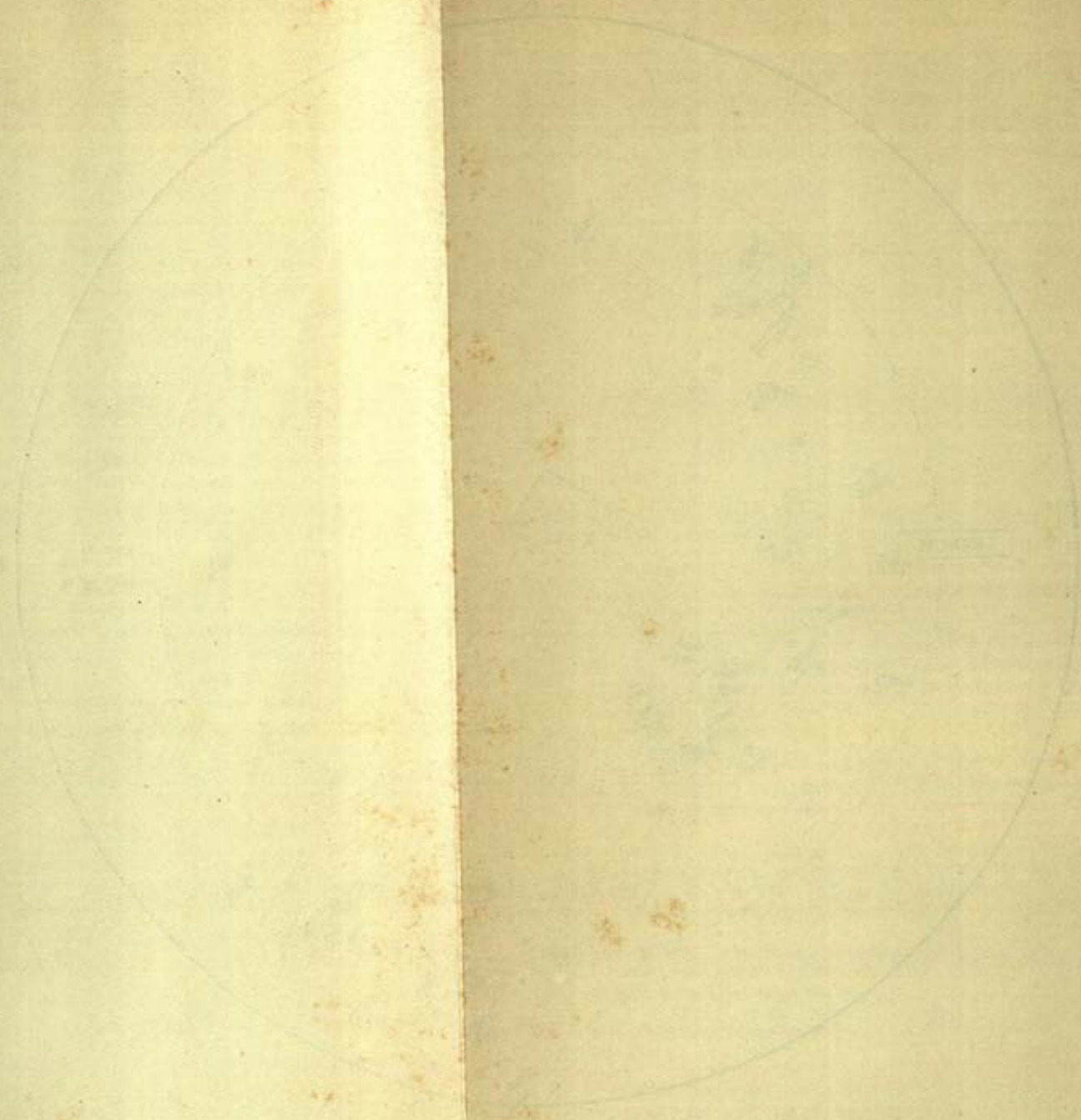


Fig. 1. PLAN OF BARROW WITH ANGLO-SAXON BURIALS, UNCLEBY
 (NUMBERS IN RINGS SHOW BURIALS OF WHICH THE DIRECTION COULD NOT BE DETERMINED, AND THE
 DOTTED CIRCLE THE EXTENT OF THE ORIGINAL BRONZE AGE BARROW)



deep, sunk in the chalk due E. and W., but containing nothing. The following inventory exhausts Canon Greenwell's journal of the excavations, nos. 6-10 being on the surface of the original barrow and nos. 1 and 3 one foot above that level:

1. At 29 ft. S. by E. of the centre, skeleton of young person laid at full length, with head to W. Below chin a single glass bead, and at left shoulder a bronze box with wood round it, and iron nails. The box had an iron chain attached, the bottom broken and lid off: cylindrical, height $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. and diameter 2 in. Open herring-bone pattern formed of dots punched from inside, and on the lid a cruciform design of dots with ring in centre and one in each quadrant. Inside the box was found a tinned bronze open-work disc with bronze peg at side probably for attaching the chain. As the bronze cylinders are generally recognized as thread-boxes, it may be concluded that this was a young woman's burial.

2. Just N. of preceding, a skeleton lying on left side, in more decayed condition, but of a young person: head and shoulders missing, probably disturbed by burial no. 1. The head had been to W., but body in contracted position.

3. At $28\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from centre and 6 ft. E. of no. 1, a female skeleton lying on right side, with hands to head and head to W. At the head three silver rings and some beads; at shoulder a bronze buckle; at hips two beads, and in front of body a short knife. Near the feet two more beads and a bronze thread-box (fig. 2) $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, with top and bottom ornamented with concentric rings of dots round a plain centre, and a bronze chain belonging to it. Burnt soil all about the body and 3 ft. behind two large burnt stones in burnt soil.

4. At 31 ft. SW. of centre, skeleton of young person too decayed for direction to be determined.

5. At 4 ft. S. of no. 3, measured from back to back, a skeleton lying on right side in a grave 1 ft. deep, hands across the middle; contracted position, measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from crown of head to knees. In front, a two-edged sword 32 in. long and $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide; the handle $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, pointing towards the head, and a piece of bronze adjoining.

6. At 9 ft. E. of no. 5, measured from knees of no. 5 to back of no. 6, a skeleton lying on left side and contracted, measuring 3 ft. from crown of head to knees, with head to N. Left arm down the side, and right arm projecting from the waist. Under the hip a 'steel', and at waist a knife, with point towards the body.

7. Midway between nos. 5 and 6, a skeleton lying on right side in contracted position, measuring 3 ft. 10 in. from crown of head to knee, with head to N. and hands down the sides. Iron ring and piece of thin silver at the neck, and an iron knife at waist.

8. At 6 ft. 7 in. W. of the knees of no. 6, a skeleton lying on right side, but facing upwards, head to N.: in contracted position, measuring 3 ft. 6 in. from crown of head to knees; right arm stretched down the side, the left crossed over the hip. Knife at right side of hip.

9. At 4 ft. W. of no. 8, measured from knees to knees, a contracted male skeleton, lying on right side with head to N. An iron buckle at hip on right side, and a knife at hip. On right side a single-edged sword-knife (scramasax) with handle up to the head, $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, the handle being 5 in. At 3 in. from end of tang, a thin piece of bronze.

10. Between nos. 6 and 8, and 2 ft. 9 in. from the latter, measured from knees to knees, a skeleton lying on left side but facing upwards, with head to N. The left arm down the side and the right crossed. Bronze buckle

(pl., fig. 8) to waist belt ; and knife and another iron object on left side at the waist.

11. At 36 ft. ESE. of the centre, contracted skeleton lying on right side with head to WNW., in a grave 3 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 9 in. and 1 ft. deep : the hip discoloured by bronze, and one hand at the waist. A scramasax (sword-knife) 18 in. long and 2 in. wide, the tang measuring $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. and the handle towards the skull. On this handle a whetstone 12 in. long ; two iron loops below the scramasax, and bone handle at waist ; close to it some iron like a hook-and-eye, also an iron knife.

12. At 30 ft. WSW. of the centre, a contracted skeleton of person about 20 years of age, lying on the original surface of the barrow E. and W., the head W. and arms down the sides ; bones much decayed, on the shoulder a bronze annular brooch with groups of transverse lines (pl., fig. 3).

13. At 24 ft. WSW. of the centre, a contracted skeleton lying 1 ft. above the original surface on right side NW. by SE., the head W. and arms much decayed. An iron knife at the waist, also a square piece of iron ; at the neck some beads and a silver pendant set with a carnelian.

14. At 34 ft. ESE. of the centre (measured to crown of head), a skeleton at full length in a shallow grave, the head to NNW. From crown of head to heel measured 5 ft. 6 in.

15. At 25 ft. 6 in. SE. of the centre (measured from the head), a contracted skeleton 1 ft. above original surface of the barrow, lying with the hands out and the head to NW. A knife at the waist.

16. At 25 ft. SE. by E. of the centre, a skeleton lying 1 ft. above original surface, on the right side with head to NW., and measuring 3 ft. 3 in. from the crown of the head to the knees ; the right hand out from the hip and the left down the side. In front of the hip a knife and iron buckle.

17. At 26 ft. SE. by E. of the centre, a skeleton slightly contracted, measuring 3 ft. 9 in. from the crown of the head to the knees ; on the left side, the head to north ; the right arm a little bent to bring hand on the hip, and the left arm straight down the side.

18. At 35 ft. from the centre slightly S. of E., skeleton of a man lying E. and W. in a grave 6 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 3 in., and 9 in. deep : the head rising to W., right hand under body and the left over it. On the knees, laid at full length, the skeleton of a young child.

18 a. Skeleton at full length in a very shallow grave, especially at the head, 5 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 6 in., 2 ft. N. of preceding burial. The head lay to W., but all the upper part of the body removed, possibly by digging at some period.

19. At 28 ft. SE. of the centre, and 3 ft. E. of no. 15, a skeleton 1 ft. above the original surface.

20. At 25 ft. SW. of the centre, the lower part of a skeleton 1 ft. above original surface, lying on right side : the head had been to the N.

21. At 3 ft. E. of no. 20, a skeleton laid at full length with head to W., 1 ft. above original surface.

22. At 21 ft. SW. of the centre and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above original surface, a skeleton lying on right side with head to NW. : right arm down the side, left arm across the waist. Two knives in front of waist.

23. At 3 ft. ENE. of no. 17, a skeleton slightly contracted lying on right side and measuring 4 ft. 2 in. from the crown of the head to the knees. Iron buckle and knife at waist, and indeterminate piece of iron at the feet.

24. At 3 ft. ENE. of no. 23, a contracted skeleton lying on right side and measuring 3 ft. 2 in. from the knee and 4 ft. from the heel to the back of the skull : the right arm straight down, and left hand on the hip. At the waist a knife.

25. At $22\frac{1}{2}$ ft. SW. of the centre, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above original surface, a head without the body, and behind it a bead.

26. At $20\frac{1}{2}$ ft. SSW. of the centre and 6 ft. E. of no. 25, a skeleton with iron (including a knife) at the waist, and a small piece of bronze; but burial was interfered with on Good Friday and its orientation could not be determined.

27. At $22\frac{1}{2}$ ft. SE. by S. of the centre (measured to the head), a skeleton lying ESE. and WNW., with head to WNW., with hands on the hip and the feet resting on the skull, leg and pelvic bones of a very old woman. The latter body was much decayed and no teeth remained: it had been disturbed in digging the later grave, and was laid in a heap.

28. At $18\frac{1}{2}$ ft. S. of the centre, a skeleton slightly contracted, lying on right side, with a stone behind the head: behind the hip, the femur, tibia, pelvis, and skull of another body laid in a heap and disturbed when the later grave was dug.

29. At 25 ft. WSW. of the centre, a skeleton lying on left side. At the feet two spindle-whorls of stone and bone; in front of the waist a cylindrical bronze box $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. high and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter with raised dots in concentric rings on top and bottom, and chevron pattern on the side: it contained two kinds of thread, and had an iron chain and half a girdle-hanger underneath. A good deal of burnt earth was found round the knees and feet, and on the neck lay the skull and some other bones of a young person evidently disturbed in digging the later grave.

30. At 17 ft. SSW. of the centre and 15 ft. WNW. of no. 29, a contracted skeleton lying on right side with head to WNW.

31. Immediately behind no. 30, a skeleton lying in the same attitude and direction, with a bronze box in front of the waist, and in front of the neck an annular brooch of silver measuring 1.7 in. across and set with garnets; also a silver pin, beads and a gold pendant in the centre. Between the box and the brooch lay some iron, and in front of the waist a knife and steel for sharpening. Between the thigh and shin-bone another bronze box, and on the hips a bronze bowl $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter and $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep with drop-handles and a ring-stand on three feet. A bronze buckle (pl., fig. 7) found in this grave has an openwork plate and is, like the bowl, of Kentish type.

32. At 18 ft. 10 in. SE. of the centre, a skeleton at full length with head to W.: a piece of iron and a steel for sharpening at the waist.

33. At 36 ft. S. by E. of the centre, a man's skeleton lying on the right side with head to W. in a grave 3 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 8 in., and 10 in. deep: the hands stretched out from the body, and at the waist a knife.

34. At 28 ft. SE. of the centre, a skeleton much decayed.

35. At $20\frac{1}{2}$ ft. WSW. of the centre, a loosely contracted skeleton lying on the left side with head to W., and measuring 4 ft. 6 in. from back of head to heel. In front of the face two plain annular brooches (pl., fig. 5) and in front of waist an iron girdle-hanger and two girdle-rings with remains of a chain lying on a bronze plate with iron on it. A small bronze pin-shaped object has since been lost: the body was midway between no. 29 and nos. 30, 31.

36. At $27\frac{1}{2}$ ft. W. of the centre, slightly S., a contracted skeleton of a person about 15 years old, lying on the right side with head to W.: the head and shoulders had been disturbed, and the collar-bones and some ribs placed inside the skull.

37. At $33\frac{1}{2}$ ft. S. of the centre, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. W. of no. 33, a skeleton of a young woman lying on the right side E. and W. with head to W., in a grave 3 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 4 in., and 9 in. deep. The hands in front of the face and behind the head an iron buckle; behind the shoulder a bronze buckle (pl., fig. 6) with transverse lines on the hoop, and in front of the neck a red glass bead.

38. At $15\frac{1}{2}$ ft. SW. by W. of the centre, a contracted skeleton lying on the right side with head to W., but much decayed. Near the waist some

iron, and behind the head some bronze with wood inside it; at the neck two amethyst and seven blue glass beads, and near the shoulder some bronze with rivets.

39. At 40 ft. SSE. of the centre, a contracted skeleton of a young person just cutting wisdom-teeth, and measuring 2 ft. 6 in. from back of head to knees: it lay NW. and SE. in a grave just large enough to contain it, 2 ft. wide and 1 ft. deep, with the head to NW. The hands rested on the hip and in front of the hip was a knife: at the neck a piece of Samian ware on a necklace.

40. At 35 ft. E. of the centre, a skeleton with head to W., but too decayed for position of body to be determined.

41. At 29 ft. E. of the centre, a contracted skeleton lying on the left side, very much decayed: a knife at the hip.

42. At 24 ft. W. by S. of the centre, a contracted skeleton of a young person just cutting wisdom-teeth, lying on the left side with head to W.: a knife and small bronze buckle at the waist.

43. At 19 ft. WSW. of the centre, a skeleton of a young person just cutting wisdom-teeth, lying on the right side with head to W.: the left hand on the hip and the right arm down the side. At the neck a bronze annular brooch ornamented with animal-heads, and a roughly made striped bead; at the hip a bronze brooch of safety-pin pattern (fig. 7), nearly 1 in. long, the bow ornamented with punched rings.

44. At 29½ ft. E. of the centre and about 6 in. above the original surface, a skeleton of a young man with wisdom-teeth lying on the right side with head to W.: the left arm down in front, but the right and other limbs much decayed and possibly disturbed. An iron buckle lay above the hips, but perhaps not in its original place.

45. At 17 ft. 8 in. W. of the centre, a loosely contracted skeleton lying on the left side with head to W., the hands clasped in front of the waist. At the breast an annular brooch, 1.1 in. across, with animal-head terminals; under the chin a glass bead, and a knife.

46. At 29½ ft. E. by N. of the centre, remains of a skeleton with head to W. but partly disturbed. Some pieces of iron noticed.

47. At 26 ft. W. by N. of the centre, a skeleton of full age, lying on the left side with head to W.: an iron buckle on the left side at the waist.

48. At 38 ft. E. by N. of the centre, a man's skeleton lying on the right side with head to W. in a shallow grave 4 ft. long and 2½ ft. wide: at the breast a knife and iron buckle.

49. At 38 ft. ENE. of the centre, the skeleton of a middle-aged woman, slightly contracted, lying on the right side with head to W. in a grave 4 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 3 in. and 1 ft. deep: at the waist a small bronze buckle.

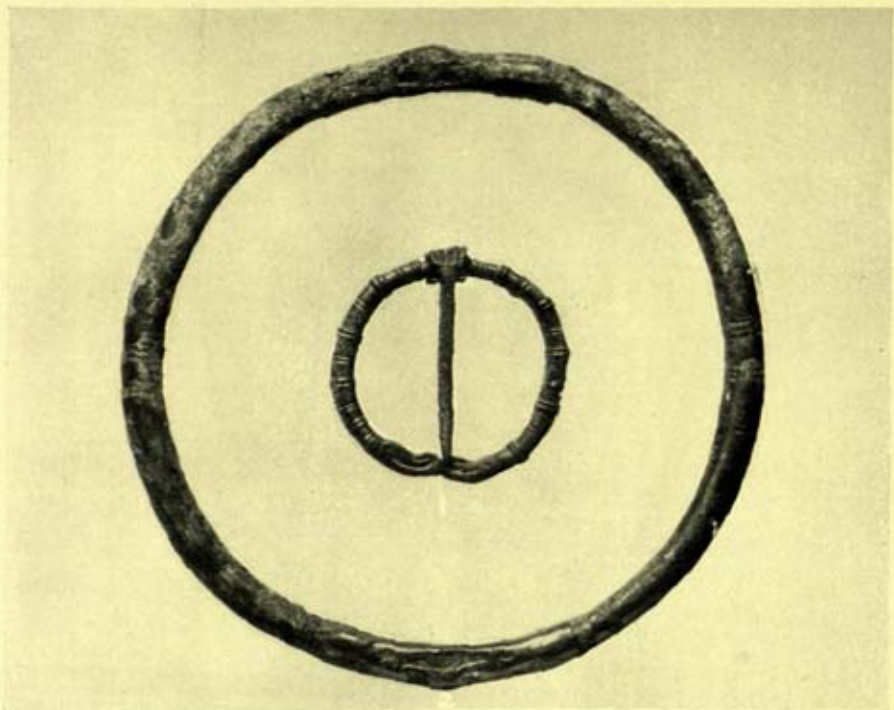
50. At 29 ft. NW. by W. of the centre, a skeleton with head on the right side and a knife at the waist.

51. At 21 ft. 10 in. NW. of the centre, part of a skull pointing W., close to the surface and much decayed: about 1 ft. W., a large quantity of burnt earth.

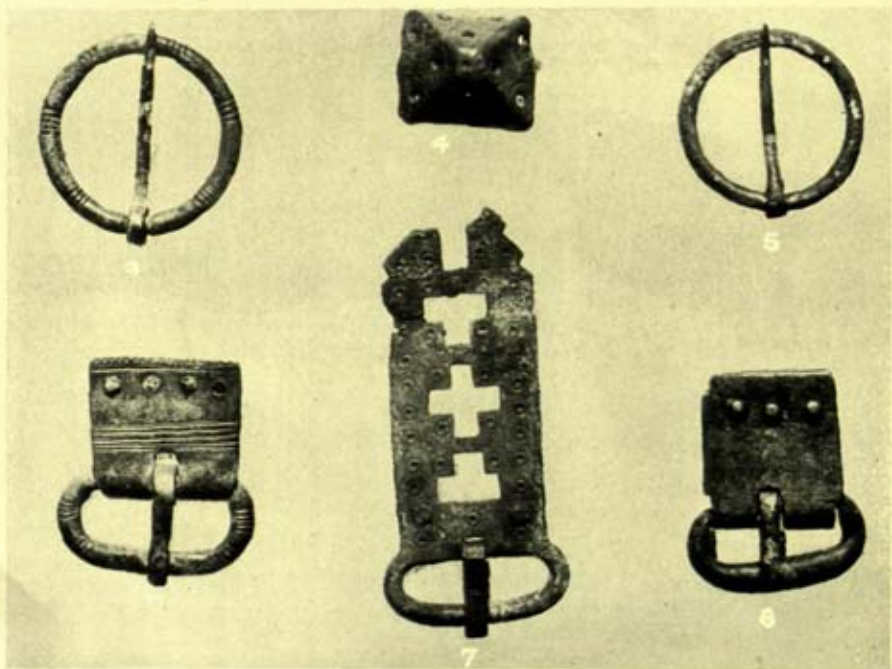
52. At 20 ft. NW. of the centre, a bone or two but no trace of the skull; a knife, steel for sharpening, and a large nail (?). Much burnt earth in this part.

53. At 23½ ft. NE. by E. of the centre, a skeleton lying on the right side: at the waist an iron buckle, a knife, and small piece of iron like a pin.

54. At 29 ft. NE. by E. of the centre, a skeleton lying at full length with head to W.; the left leg bent under the right so that the toes of the left came under the right below the knee, an attitude impossible for the living subject unless the limbs were distorted. The right arm down the side,



SILVER BROOCH AND ARMLET ; FAVERSHAM, KENT (1)



ANGLO-SAXON OBJECTS FROM UNCLEY (1)

the left over the hip. At the heel of left foot the head of another body (no. 55).

55. A skeleton, disturbed probably for the interment of no. 54, looking upwards and adjoining heel of that skeleton; but several bones displaced, the knee-cap and part of pelvis being placed on the head.

56. At 22 ft. W. by N. of the centre, part of a skull, and close to it a knife, steel for sharpening, and piece of iron; very few other bones, but much burnt matter.

57. At 30 ft. NW. of the centre, the skeleton of an old woman laid on the original surface at full length, with the head to W. At the waist two buckles, a knife, and piece of bronze that may have attached the knife-sheath to the girdle; a piece of glass near the left hip.

58. At 24 ft. 6 in. NW. by W. of the centre, a skeleton lying on the right side with head to W.; a knife and bronze buckle at hip.

59. At 29½ ft. NE. of the centre, a skeleton lying on the right side, the left hand out from the side; at the hip a buckle, pin, and nail-head; at the feet a stone.

60. At 31 ft. NW. by N. of the centre, and 9 ft. N. of no. 58 (measured from head to head), a skeleton lying on the right side with head to N., and left arm out from the body. In front of the breast some thin bronze bands with rivets and wood, above the left hand; at the waist an iron buckle and knife, and in front of the knee two small pieces of bronze, each forming three sides of an oblong, among some black matter.

61. At 26 ft. N. by W. of the centre, the skeleton of a man about 28 years old, lying on the right side with head to N. by W. An iron buckle and knife at the waist, and behind the back a scramasax (sword-knife) 10½ in. long, 1½ in. wide, with tang 4½ in. long; the point rounded, and the handle towards the skull. Remains of wood with a single bronze rivet on the handle, and at the end of the scabbard seven bronze rivets and wood.

62. Outside the barrow to the S., in a grave 4 ft. below the surface, a skeleton lying on the right side with head to NW. by N.; the left hand to the face, and right hand towards the chest. In front of the face, some beads; a bossed pendant of silver, an annular brooch 1.1 in. across with pairs of animal-heads, and a white object possibly in a silver ring; two earrings of silver wire at the neck, and a comb with two rows of teeth. At the waist a knife and two girdle-hangers, one with a ring at the top; a small bronze object of pyramidal form (pl., fig. 4) 0.7 in. across at the base, and a bone spindle-whorl under the hip.

63. At 13 ft. NE. by E. of the head of no. 62, the head of another skeleton which lay on the right side, with head to the NW., and measured 3 ft. 4 in. from the crown of the head to the knees; the left hand turned back in front of the knee, and the right doubled back to the head and found under the neck. A piece of iron at the hip, 3 ft. NE. of which, and about 8 in. higher, were found the remains of a wolf or dog.

64. Midway between nos. 62 and 63, the decayed skeleton of a man, loosely contracted, lying 4 ft. below the surface on the right side with head to NW.; the right arm down the side, the left under the hip. Over the tibia two bronzes like those in no. 60, and at the hip a knife and iron buckle.

65. Below the wolf or dog mentioned under no. 63, and 4 ft. below the surface, a skeleton measuring 34 in. from knee to back of head, with head to NW.; the left arm turned back, with the fingers up to the face, and the right arm across the body. On the left of the head an annular brooch with transverse lines, a comb, and small piece of gold cell-work set with garnets.

66. At 3 ft. N. of no. 65, and 1 ft. above its level, a woman's skeleton lying on the right side with head to NW., 3 ft. below the surface; the left

hand out from the body, and the right bent back to the waist. Behind the neck a silver ring with loop and three beads; at the waist a knife and iron buckle, and in front of the knee (probably in a purse) an iron chain, some bronze, a bead, a round polished stone, and a piece of jet.

67. At 3 ft. NE. of no. 66, and 1 ft. lower, a man's skeleton lying on the right side, with hands to the hips; an iron knife, buckle, and steel for sharpening at the hip.

68. At 3 ft. NE. of no. 67, the skeleton of a young man with head to NW., and facing upwards, but the lower part of the body lying on the right side. At the waist a knife, and across the thigh and leg a scramasax (sword-knife) $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. broad, with tang $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. long; the handle towards the skull, and a buckle close to the handle.

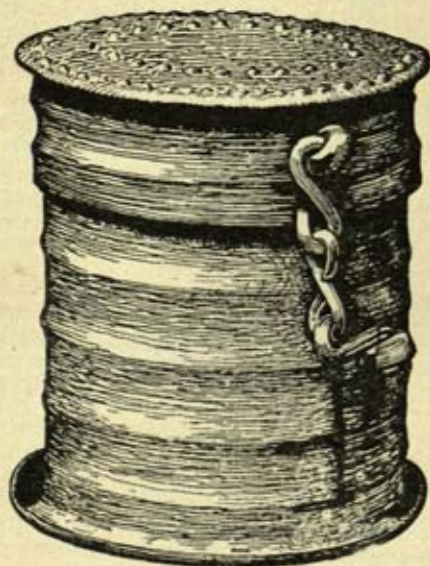


Fig. 2. BRONZE THREAD BOX; UNCLEBY ($\frac{1}{2}$).

In four graves (at least) occurred cylindrical bronze boxes (fig. 2) of a pattern fairly common in Yorks. and occasionally found in other counties.¹ One specimen (grave 29) contained two kinds of thread, another confirmation of the view that they were thread-boxes or work-boxes, needles having also been found inside on more than one occasion. They are naturally confined to burials of the gentler sex, and measure on the average 2 in. each way.

Two gold pendants (figs. 3, 4) seem to have been recovered from separate graves, but it is difficult to decide which came from grave 31, where other objects of Kentish appearance were found. One certainly was the central ornament of a necklace of beads, and

¹ *V. C. H. Beds.*, i. 181; *Derby*, i. 269, 270; *Northants*, i. 240; *Kent*, i. 346, 351.

the other was probably worn in the same way. The smaller has a star pattern executed in plaited gold wire applied to the front, and in the centre a boss of some white material surmounted by a garnet; the larger is ornamented with a broad band of C scrolls in filigree, but now without the central setting. Similar work is seen on a smaller specimen from High Wycombe, and it is perhaps significant that it was found in Kent on a disc with a



Fig. 3. GOLD PENDANT;
UNCLEBY ($\frac{1}{2}$).



Fig. 4. GOLD PENDANT;
UNCLEBY ($\frac{1}{2}$).

cruciform design, and again in Derbyshire on an actual cross.¹ It is therefore probable that these ornaments belong to the Christian period, and are not earlier than the seventh century.

The bronze bowl from this grave belongs to a series for the most part of Kentish origin. One was found at Gilton, Kent, with a trivet or three-legged stand.²



Fig. 5. SILVER BROOCH WITH
GARNETS; UNCLEBY ($\frac{1}{2}$).



Fig. 6. SILVER BROOCH WITH
ANIMAL-HEADS; UNCLEBY ($\frac{1}{2}$).

The bronze buckle (pl., fig. 7) is practically identical with one from Sibertswold, Kent,³ and the annular brooch of silver (fig. 5) set with garnets (evidently representing the eyes of birds' heads)

¹ *V. C. H. Bucks.*, i. 195; Wright, *Arch. Album*, fig. 5 (Wingham), and 207, fig. 4 (Whitelow, near Winstar).

² *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. xvi, figs. 1, 2, 3.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. ix, fig. 12, cf. figs. 7, 8, 13.

is certainly in the Kentish style, a plainer specimen occurring in grave 45.¹ Further confirmation of a Kentish connexion is afforded by several annular brooches with birds' or animals' heads confronted (as fig. 6). Some of the heads have the pointed jaw, regarded by Salin² as typical of the seventh century (his style ii), and besides the two specimens in the national collection here illustrated (pl., figs. 1, 2) there is one in the Maidstone Museum with the same peculiar features.³

The plainer brooches of annular type were sometimes ornamented with groups of transverse lines (as graves 12 and 65); others had the hoop quite plain, with a circular section (as grave 85). These and the small buckles with rectangular plates (as graves 10, 37, 49) are also well represented in Kent.⁴

A brooch of altogether exceptional character (fig. 7) was found, with an annular brooch bearing animal-head terminals, in grave

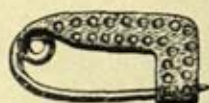


Fig. 7. BROOCH OF SAFETY-PIN TYPE; UNCLEY (}).

no. 43. It is under 1 in. in length and has a broad flat body stamped with rings, and a coiled spring on one side of the head like Italian brooches before 400 B. C.

A small bronze pyramid (pl., fig. 4), cast hollow with a bar across the base, must be classed as an ornament, especially as it was found in a woman's grave (no. 62). This type is fairly frequent in the South of England, and is also represented abroad (especially on the middle Rhine and in Normandy), but the purpose of these pyramids is as yet uncertain, though there are indications that they were connected with the sword, perhaps serving as a sword-knot.⁵ The occurrence of a specimen with feminine relics militates against this view, but might be merely accidental.

Ear-rings of wire threaded with a glass bead are specially common in Kent,⁶ and parallels for the embossed silver pendant

¹ Resembling Mortimer, *op. cit.*, fig. 637, which was found with a gold pendant at Garton Slack, E. R. Yorks.

² *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*, 246.

³ G. Baldwin Brown, *Arts and Crafts of our Teutonic forefathers*, pl. viii, fig. 31.

⁴ G. B. Brown, *op. cit.*, pl. viii, figs. 31, 32.

⁵ V. C. H. Kent, i. 367, 350, 371, pl. i, fig. 7; *Essex*, i. 320, fig. 13 (with refs.); also *Suffolk*, i. 344.

⁶ *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. vii.

(grave 62) can be found in England.¹ The fragment of gold cell-work for five garnet slabs (one missing) is only $\frac{3}{8}$ in. long, and probably belonged to a richly jewelled brooch.

A weapon somewhat rare in England, though common abroad, is the scramasax, a stout sword-knife generally with a sharp point, which is represented by no less than four specimens, with blades ranging from $10\frac{1}{2}$ –18 in. in length; whereas only one two-edged sword of the usual pattern occurred. Another feature of the cemetery is the large number of 'steels' for sharpening knives or weapons; and a whetstone was found on the handle of a scramasax in grave 11. The 'steels' are square-ended, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, a little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, and (with the tang for insertion in a wooden handle) 4 to 6 in. long. Other specimens have been found in the county at Sancton and Garton Slack.²

The Uncleby series is no less remarkable for its omissions, perhaps the most striking absentee being the iron spear-head which normally accompanied the warrior to his grave. Not a single specimen is noted, nor are there any 'long' brooches, the type which is specially connected with the Anglian tribes, and is indeed well represented elsewhere in the county. In Norway this pattern went out of fashion about the middle of the sixth century,³ and in England it does not seem to have survived into the seventh, though its descendant, the cruciform brooch, was retained somewhat longer in certain parts. Another Anglian cemetery that yielded Kentish items but no 'long' brooches was discovered at Ipswich in 1906.⁴

The scarcity of beads in general, and the absence of amber in particular, should also be noticed as remarkable; though whether local conditions or the late date of the cemetery should be held responsible is at present uncertain.

At least twenty-four of the total were buried with the head at the west end of the grave, the orientation enjoined by the Christian priests, but these graves are not as a rule devoid of ornaments and grave-furniture, as they should be on the hypothesis that such were Christian burials. The contrast is better seen at Garton Slack on the wolds nine miles due east of Uncleby, as was pointed out by the late Mr. J. R. Mortimer.⁵ Here two cemeteries, 50 ft. apart and each connected with a Bronze Age barrow, showed a marked difference in orientation, that with the

¹ Gold examples on the end of necklace found at Galley Low (*V. C. H. Derbyshire*, i. pl. opp. p. 270), the other pendants being carbuncles in gold mounts. Others on a necklace with central cross from Desborough, (*V. C. H. Northants*, i, 237).

² *V. C. H. Yorks.*, ii. 76 (with scramasax), 82.

³ Schetelig, *The Cruciform Brooches of Norway*, 153.

⁴ *Archaeologia*, lx. 325; *Proceedings*, xxi. 242, pl. i, ii.

⁵ *Forty Years' Researches*, 257, fig. 621.

east and west burials containing a minimum of grave-goods. The many references to Kent in the foregoing description lend some colour to the theory that at Uncleby were buried converts who had come under the influence of Paulinus or his deacon James in the second quarter of the seventh century. Other interments, especially those with weapons, were frankly pagan; and it is interesting to note in this connexion that in 785 Charles the Great legislated against the practice of interring the dead in the pagan barrows of the open country."

MR. LEEDS had himself collected evidence of Kentish influence in the North of England towards the end of the sixth century, in connexion with finds in Rutland. The fact could be explained by the extension of Ethelbert's dominions northward. New ornamental motives were imported not direct from the Continent but through Kent, where they received an Anglo-Saxon impress.

THE PRESIDENT dwelt on the peculiar charm and variety of Anglo-Saxon craftsmanship, and referred to the Kentish jewellery which always surprised those unfamiliar with our national antiquities. The discovery of analogous specimens away on the Yorkshire wolds was certainly remarkable, and led to interesting conclusions, which amplified the scanty historical records of that early period.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 28th MARCH, 1912.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From the Author :—An illustrated history of English plate. By C. J. Jackson, F.S.A. 2 vols. 4to. London, 1911.

From A. W. Clapham, Esq. :—Excavations on the site of Shaftesbury Abbey : reports for 1902, 1903, and 1904. 8vo. Shaftesbury, 1902-4.

From the Author, R. Stewart-Brown, Esq., F.S.A. :

1. The Herdman drawings of old Liverpool. 8vo. Liverpool, 1911.
2. Moore of Bankhall. 8vo. Liverpool, 1911.

From the Director of the Royal Saxon China Manufactory :—Festival Publication to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the oldest European china factory, Meissen. fol. Meissen, 1910.

From A. H. Lyell, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. :—Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, 1866-70. 5 vols. 8vo. Hereford, 1867-71.

From C. E. Keyser, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. :—Transactions of the Newbury District Field Club, vol. v, 1895-1911. 8vo. Newbury, 1911.

From the British Academy :

1. Proceedings of the British Academy, vols. for 1907-8 and 1909-10.
2. The Schweich Lectures for 1908 and 1909.

3. Supplemental Papers :

1. The imperial administrative system in the ninth century. By J. B. Bury. 1911.

A special vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Jackson for his gift to the Library.

Robert Mond, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

Notice was given of the Anniversary Meeting to be held on Tuesday, April 23rd, St. George's Day, at 2 p.m., and lists were read of the Fellows proposed as President, Council, and Officers for the ensuing year.

PHILIP M. JOHNSTON, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., read the following notes upon a Psalter of St. Jerome, Processional for Rogation-tide and Private Prayers, contained in an illuminated MS., written for Ernulph, Archbishop of Milan, A. D. 998-1018, which was exhibited.

"When the writer, a dozen years ago, first saw this little book, or, rather, the latter part of it, it was in the possession of Mr. R. C. Fisher, of Midhurst. The latter has lately sold it to Mr. C. W. Dyson Perrins, by whom it has been carefully re-bound, together with the missing first portion of the MS., which, for some unknown reason, had become detached from the latter part in or before 1773. The first part, till lately in the possession of Mr. Eric R. D. Maclagan, seems to have been bound in white vellum at Oxford in the first half of the nineteenth century ;¹ while the latter part, before the two were reunited, had a binding of red morocco, with the arms of Charles Emmanuel III, Duke of Savoy, King of Sardinia, 1773. In reuniting the two parts Mr. Dyson Perrins has had them bound in red Niger morocco, the arms of the King of Sardinia being preserved in the inner covers. The

¹ It bore on a flyleaf the inscription : 'Erkine (*sic*) Knollys, from his friend William Adams, Nov^r 16th, 1837. Merton.'

MS., in all probability, was imperfect before it was divided, some pages of prayers and parts of prayers, the beginning of a litany, and at least one illumination (which Mr. Maclagan suggests may have been a picture of the emperor) being absent. The borders of the pages have been, at some long past date, carelessly trimmed, so that the inscriptions accompanying some of the pictures have been cut into. There are 140 folios, with seventeen lines to a folio, and the present size of a page is $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. Apart from the division into two and the cutting of the borders, the book appears to have been carefully handled, although the colour and outlines of some of its pictures have been almost obliterated in places by much thumbing.

The book begins with what is known as the Psalter of St. Jerome—a selection of 198 verses from different parts of the Psalter of David—the repetition of which daily was esteemed as equivalent to the actual recitation of the whole Psalter. Although commonly met with in Books of Hours of the fifteenth century and later, this feature is of rare occurrence in earlier MSS. Litanies, prayers, responds, and anthems for the three Rogation Days follow next in order, with rubrics giving 'stations' at the churches and gates of Milan, named as the 'new' gate, and the gates leading to Como, Vercelli, Rome, and Ticino. This completes the first section of the book at f. 50. The second part consists of private prayers and devotions, including a long and curious confession (f. 56) and a very full litany. The whole tenor of the confession leads to the assumption that the book was compiled for a priest in a position of exceptional authority. In the litany the name Arnulfus, among the saints, is emphasized by the use of capital letters. There is also (f. 136 v.) a prayer, in a fourteenth-century hand, commending to God a certain Peter. The subsequent pages are taken up with sundry forms of benediction.

As to the date: the character of the writing, which is in modified Roman majuscules and minuscules, carefully executed, bold and clean, with comparatively few contractions, is quite consistent with the date claimed, viz. the last years of the tenth or the early part of the eleventh century; and confirmation of this is to be found in the titles of the churches of Milan, several of which were re-dedicated at about this period. Mr. Maclagan states that there is no MS. of precisely similar contents in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, but two MSS. there contain the processional portion, as does a third in the possession of Dr. Magistretti. These are:

A. (MS. A. 28. Inf.) A Gospel-book, late ninth or early tenth century.

B. (MS. A. 1. Inf.) A manual, early eleventh century.

C. A lectionary, late eleventh century.

A comparison of some of the titles gives the following result:

	A.	Present MS.	B.	C.
Die I, stat. 8.	S. Augustin:	S. Vincent:	S. Vincent:	S. Vincent:
" " " ult.	ad Refug:	ad Refug:	ad Theatr:	ad Theatr:
" II, " 4.	ad Concil:	S. Roman:	S. Roman:	S. Roman:
" " " 8.	Bas: Apost:	Bas: Apost:	Bas. Apost:	S. N—
" III, " 7.	S. Salvator:	S. Salvator:	S. Salv: & Vit:	S. Vit:

Mr. Maclagan considers that this comparison places the present MS. between A (tenth century) and B (early eleventh century). But as in a Milanese book the name of St. Ernulphus can hardly have been emphasized as patron of Metz, it is probable



Fig. 1. INITIAL V ($\frac{1}{2}$).

that this was the name of the first owner, who, as a priest in a position of great authority at Milan, was probably the archbishop. And as an Archbishop Ernulphus, the second of that name, reigned at Milan from 998 to 1018 A.D., we may be practically certain that the book was written for his use, within a few years of 1000 A.D.

From his possession it may be supposed to have passed immediately to one Master James of S. . . . , as there is an inscription, partly illegible, on the last page, in a cursive hand but little later than the text: 'Iste liber est mei Magistri Iacobi de S. . . .' That the book was still in Italy in the fourteenth century is clear from the prayer on f. 136 v.

The contents of the book, as abstracted by Mr. Maclagan,¹ are:

¹ The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Maclagan's transcript and to Mr. Dyson Perrins for his courteous permission to make use of it. The rubrics are here printed in italics.

(1) Psalter of St. Jerome, the first page occupied with the words, *Verba mea auribus percipe domine intellige clamorem meum.* f. 1 r.-16 r.

The initial V (fig. 1) is a very fine piece of interlacing in gold, silver, and colours.

(2) Litanies, prayers, responds, and anthems for the three Rogation Days. Rubric:—*Incipiunt. In Christi nomine incipiunt letaniae maiores. Die .I. processio de ecclesia estiva. Ant. 1. f. 16 r.*

Convertite ad me in toto corde vestro . . . 16 v. *Oratio ad portam cumanam.* 16 v. *In sancto Simpliciano. Miserere* (written in a cross in the margin). 17 v. *In sancto Carposforo* 18 r. *In sancto Protasio in Campo.* 19 r. *In sancto Victore ad Ulmum.* 20 r. *In sancto Victore ad Corpus.* 21 r. *In sancto Martino.* 22 r. *In sancto Vincentio.* 22 v. *In sancto Ambrosio ad Corpus.* 23 v. *In sancto Vitale.* 24 v. *In sancta Valeria.* 25 r. *In sancto Nabore.* 25 v. *Usque ad portam Vercellinam.* 26 v. *In sancto Victore ad Refugium.* 26 v. *Ad missam, etc.* 28 r.

Item Die ii in letaniis. Ant. 1. 28 r. *In sancto Fidele.* 29 v. *Item ad Portam Novam.* 29 v. *In sancto Dionysio.* 29 v. *In sancto Romano.* 30 v. *In sancto Stephano.* 31 v. *In sancto Kalimero.* 32 v. *In sancta Agatha.* 33 r. *In basilica Apostolorum.* 34 r. *Usque ad portam Romanam.* 35 r. *In sancto Alexandro.* 35 r. *In sancto Iohanne ad concam.* 36 r. *In ecclesia estiva ad missam, etc.* 37 r.

Die iii in Letaniis. Processio de ecclesia estiva usque ad sanctam Eufimiam, etc. 37 v. *In sancta Eufimia.* 38 r. *In sancto Nazario in campo.* 39 r. *In sancto Celso.* 39 v. *In sancto Eustorgio.* 41 r. *In sancto Laurentio.* 42 r. *In sancto Xisto.* 43 r. *In sancto Salvatore.* 43 v. *Usque ad portam Ticinensem.* 44 v. *In sancta Maria ad Circum.* 44 v. *In sancto Quirico.* 45 v. *In sancto Georgio.* 46 v. *In sancto Sebastiano.* 47 v. *In sancta Maria Beltr. . . ?* 48 r. *Item alii B de letaniis.* 50 r.

(3) Private prayers to God and the saints, etc. *Incipiunt orationes peculiares. Misericors et miserator patiens et multum misericors magne ac terribilis deus. . .* 51 r. *Confiteor tibi domine deus omnia peccata et crimina mea. . .* 52 v. *Deus omnipotens qui plasmasti me et miserere mihi. . .* 53 v. *Domine da mihi peccatori confessionem. . .* 54 v. *Incipit confessio. Fesus sum domine te dixisse. . .* 56 r. *Hic confitere peccata tua ad dominum et dic his verbis. Confiteor tibi domine pater celi et terre coram hoc sancto altari tuo. . .* 56 v. *Domine Ihesu Christe qui mundum proprio sanguine redemisti.* 54 r. *Pater peccavi in celum et coram te et jam non sum dignus. . .* 65 r. *Deus omnipotens qui ex nihilo creasti celum et terram. . .* 66 r. *O rex regum et dominus dominantium creator omnium creaturarum*



Fig. 2. THE BLESSED VIRGIN ($\frac{2}{3}$)



Fig. 3. ST. MICHAEL ($\frac{2}{3}$)



Fig. 4. ST. JOHN BAPTIST ($\frac{2}{3}$)



Fig. 5. ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL ($\frac{2}{3}$)

... (Another beginning has been erased.) 67 r. *Oratio Mannase*. Domine omnipotens ... 69 r. Mane cum surrexero intende ad me domine ... 71 r. Ego te dominum Ihesum Christum verum credo ... 72 v. Suscipiat pietas tua domine deus humilitatis mee preces ... 73 v. Credo te deum meum trinum et unum ... 74 r. *Oratio sancti Augustini*. Deus iustitie deus invisibilis ... 78 r. Domine deus meus qui non habes dominum ... 80 v. *Oratio sancti Gregorii pape*. Domine exaudi orationem meam ... 82 v. Miserere domine miserere Christe tu misericordia mea ... 87 r. Domine Ihesu Christe rex virginum integritatis amator ... 88 v. *Alia oratio sancti Gregorii*. Domine deus sabaoth deus adonai ... 94 v. Domine Ihesu Christe filius dei vivi gloriosissime conditor mundi ... 97 r. Adoro te domine Ihesu Christe in crucem ascendentem ... 97 v. Domine Ihesu Christe vexillum sancte crucis tue adoro ... 99 r. Crucem tuam adoramus et sanctam resurrectionem tuam laudamus ... 99 v.

Miniature. The Blessed Virgin (fig. 2). 102 v. *Oratio ad sanctam Mariam*. Te supplico virgo sancta mater Christi immaculata ... 103 r. (End of what was formerly vol. i. Vol. ii began on f. 104 with the conclusion of this prayer: *sed per tuam misericordiam* ...).

Miniature. Saint Michael (fig. 3). 104 v. *Oratio ad sanctum Michahel*. Sancte Michahel archangele dei et domini nostri ... 105 r.

Miniature. Saint John the Baptist (fig. 4). 106 v. *Oratio ad Sanctum Iohannem Baptistam*. Beatissime Iohannes Baptista precursor et martyr Christi ... 107 r.

Miniature. Saint Peter and Saint Paul (fig. 5). 107 v. *Oratio ad sanctum Petrum*. Sancte Petre apostole electe dei tu confessus es ... 108 r. *Oratio ad sanctum Paulum*. Beatissime Paule vas electionis quem dominus ... 108 v.

Miniature. Saint John the Evangelist (fig. 6). 109 v. *Oratio ad sanctum Iohannem Evangelistam*. Beatissime Evangelista Iohannes qui meruisti supra domini ... 110 r.

Miniature. Saint Stephen (fig. 7). 111 v. *Oratio ad sanctum Stephanum*. Sancte Stephane martyr gloriose primitiae ... 112 r.

Miniature. Saint Ambrose (fig. 8). 112 v. *Oratio ad Sanctum Ambrosium*. Antistitum decus alme Ambrosi et orthodoxe ... 113 r.

Miniature. Saint Gervasius and Saint Protasius (fig. 9). 113 v. *Oratio ad sanctos Protasium et Gervasium*. Gloriosissimi martyres Christi ... 114 r.

Miniature. Saint Syrus (fig. 10). 114 v. *Oratio ad sanctum Syrum*. Sanctissime confessor Christi Syre ... 115 r.

Miniature. Saint Martin (fig. 11). 115 v. *Oratio ad sanc-*

tum Martinum. Beatissime Martine confessor et sacerdos . . . 116 r.

Miniature. Saint Victor (fig. 12). 116 v. *Oratio ad sanctum Victorem.* Obsecro te sanctissime et deo dilecte . . . 117 r.

Miniature. Two apostles (fig. 13). 117 v. *Oratio ad sanctos apostolos.* Sanctissimi apostoli domini mei Ihesu . . . 118 r.

Miniature. Two martyrs (fig. 14). *Oratio ad sanctos martyres.* Deum supplico omnipotentem subnixis precibus . . . 119 r.

Miniature. Two archbishops (fig. 15). 119 v. *Oratio ad sanctos confessores.* Deus qui es omnium sanctorum confessorum . . . 120 r.

Miniature. Two saints (fig. 16). 120 v. *Oratio pro imperatore.* Respice domine ad preces humilitatis nostre et famulum tuum imperatorem illum . . . 121 r.

Miniature at bottom of page. An archbishop (Saint Ambrose?) giving a banner to a knight (fig. 17). 121 v. *Oratio ad signum bellicum benedicendum.* Omnipotens sempiternus deus qui es cunctorum . . . 122 r. Pie et exaudibilis domine deus noster Ihesu Christe. 123 v.

In Christi nomine incipiunt letaniae. 124 v.

[The first page of the litany is missing: the remaining pages contain the names of 481 saints. The names end on f. 132 r., the petitions on f. 135 v.]

Per horum et omnium sanctorum . . . [page ending] . . . preceptis tuis obediens. 136 r.

[On f. 136 v., with no trace of erasure, is the following prayer in a fourteenth-century Italian hand, not very well written; the first five lines are slightly set back, and are preceded by the letters O Fāt (frater?) in blacker ink and perhaps in a different hand, sixteen lines to the page.]

Petre karissime domine commendo te deo et sancto Iohanni evangeliste cui dominus commendavit sanctissimam matrem suam. O petre ita scis sanctus et salvus sicut fuit Ihesus Christus in ventre gloriosae virginis matris sue. Christo filio dei vivi scis datus et commendatus ut possis redire domum sanus et salvus. ✠ Amen. ✠ Amen. ✠ Amen. ✠ fiat. ✠ fiat. ✠ fiat. ✠ agios. Angelus invidie procul fiat at ille thobie per varios tractus proprios bene dirigat actus. te deus ipse regat te protegat et benedicat sanum [te] ducat hinc huc sanumque reducat.

[The last lines, written as prose, are obviously four mutilated hexameters. The remaining pages are of the same date as the body of the book, but in a different hand; the last page has only fourteen lines on each side and is carelessly written.]

Benedictio panis. 137 r. *Benedictio vini.* 137 r. *Benedictio ad fruges novas.* 137 v. *Benedictio uvae.* 138 r. *Benedictio super agnum in pascha.* 138 v. *Benedictio ad omnia que volueris.*



Fig. 6. ST. JOHN EVANGELIST ($\frac{2}{3}$)



Fig. 7. ST. STEPHEN ($\frac{2}{3}$)



Fig. 8. ST. AMBROSE ($\frac{2}{3}$)



Fig. 9. ST. PROTASIIUS AND
ST. GERVASIUS ($\frac{2}{3}$)

139 r. *Die prima letanie ad vespas.* 139 v. *Die secundo letanie ad vespas.* 140 r. *Die tertio.* 140 v.

[This is the end of the book ; there is no colophon.]

After the contents, the writing, illuminated initials, and minutely drawn pictures must be considered. A specimen of the initials has been given above (fig. 1) together with some words in roman and uncial lettering, the alternate lines (V)ERBA, etc. and the M of MEA being in gold ; the others in silver, oxidized to black. The elaborated knot-work of the initial V is in gold and silver, outlines in pale brown ink, against a crimson or purple background. Others of the initials have Byzantine foliage, hearts, etc., with the same gold and silver on a purple-crimson ground, the filling of the letters being blue and vermilion in some instances. Of the ordinary script a good example occurs in connexion with the last illumination (fig. 17). The heading-words preceded by illuminated initials are in a mixture of roman and uncial letters, some with curious flourishes. The silver in the initials has oxidized to a glossy grey-black, in some cases staining the surrounding vellum, and 'grinning' through, as painters say, on the reverse side.

The miniatures of saints, etc., are sixteen in number. There was one more originally, as above noted, before f. 121. All but the concluding subject occupy the whole page. They are very delicately drawn in pale brown ink, with firm, crisp touches, and will bear considerable magnification. The grounds are filled in with flat washes of azure blue, emerald green, pale yellow, crimson, and reddish purple, most of the faces and hands being in flesh-tint. Excepting no. 2, the first seven have interesting borders, drawn in brown ink, of interlaced and other patterns. Those on f. 102 v. and f. 111 v. (figs. 2 and 7) have specially good inter-lacements. Taking them in order, they are :

1. f. 102 v. THE BLESSED VIRGIN (fig. 2), with outspread hands, in the Eastern attitude of prayer (the same convention as in the 'Orante' figures of the Catacombs), stands upon a square footstool. Her halo is yellow and she wears, over a white tunic, a blue mantle shaped like a chasuble, but short in front and long behind, and over this a crimson hood edged with gold, covering head and shoulders and falling over the left breast. The division of the interlaced border into panels suggests an adaptation of a stonework treatment. The square formed in the angles has inter-laced vesicas, recalling a similar design in a square stone panel of the pre-Conquest arch on the north side of the nave at Britford Church, Wilts.

2. f. 104 v. ST. MICHAEL (fig. 3), with crimson halo, rescuing a soul from the jaws of the dragon. The archangel, who has blue and white wings, is vigorously drawn, with his feet planted

upon the dragon, thrusting a long spear into his open jaws and drawing therefrom the nude figure that represents the soul. The treatment of the blue tunic and green toga-like outer garment is interesting. The dragon is coloured blue, with brown scales, and red eyes and teeth.

3. f. 106 v. ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (fig. 4). A dignified bearded figure, with blue halo, wearing a blue tunic and a purple cope-shaped mantle, lined with camel's hair. In his left hand he bears a long staff terminating in a cross. The border of the picture is a key-pattern.

4. f. 107 v. ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL (fig. 5), within a double key-pattern border, having circles in the angles. The types of the figures follow tradition, St. Peter being tonsured with a fringe of hair and a stubbly beard. St. Paul is bald and bearded. St. Peter carries a cross staff and his right forefinger is raised to call attention to the two keys, the wards of which form the letters of the word *Petrus*. He wears a white tunic and blue mantle. St. Paul, wearing a blue tunic and white mantle, carries an open book. The haloes of both are green, and both have bare feet and wear sandals.

5. f. 109 v. ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST (fig. 6). The border is of a series of squares enclosing white lozenges on a brown field. The saint, with green halo, and wearing a short beard, carries an open book. He has a white tunic and blue mantle, and, like the other apostles, has bare sandalled feet.

6. f. 111 v. ST. STEPHEN (fig. 7). Beardless and tonsured, with blue halo, he wears a blue alb and a long white-fringed dalmatic, with narrow *clavi*, or stripes, from the neck to the hem, and broad crimson borders to the long surplice-like sleeves. He carries a closed book with jewelled cover of green and blue, having gilded edges. The right hand, thrown back, has the second finger and thumb extended, while the other fingers remain upright—probably indicating an early form of diaconal benediction.

7. f. 112 v. ST. AMBROSE, archbishop and patron of Milan (fig. 8). A very valuable representation of early archiepiscopal vestments, within a guilloche, or intertwined, border. The absence of any form of mitre or other head-dress, and of pastoral staff, in this and the succeeding episcopal figures is noteworthy and in itself a mark of early date. The saint has a blue halo, and wears a green alb, a long blue dalmatic, lined with white, having very long sleeves with red borders bearing crosses and jewels, and an ample white chasuble falling to the ground behind. The chasuble is curiously devoid of ornament, having no border or neck-band, and only a narrow *clavus* down the centre. Over it is a white pallium of extraordinary width, with fringed end, ornamented with a



Fig. 10. ST. SYRUS ($\frac{3}{8}$)



Fig. 11. ST. MARTIN OF TOURS ($\frac{3}{8}$)



Fig. 12. ST. VICTOR ($\frac{2}{3}$)



Fig. 13. TWO APOSTLES ($\frac{3}{8}$)

horizontal orphrey at the junction of the arms of the Y, one large red cross in the centre and groups of gold studs or jewelled ornaments. The right hand is raised in benediction, the two first fingers and thumb being uplifted in the usual manner. In the left hand is an open book with gilt-edged silver pages. On the dalmatic are narrow borders and two *clavi*, having pendent tassel-like ornaments. The hair appears to be cropped, but no tonsure is visible.

8. f. 113 v. ST. PROTASIIUS and ST. GERVASIUS, martyrs at Milan (fig. 9). The figure on the left has a green halo, a long blue tunic with a curious scalloped edge over a white embroidered under-tunic, beneath which may be seen white close-fitting linen trousers¹ and shoes. He wears a white cloak, parted at the right shoulder, where it is fastened by a seven-foiled brooch, and carries a blue crown of plain band shape, lined with green. The curled hair, short pointed beard, and the features are minutely drawn. His companion, presumably St. Gervasius, has a crimson halo, wears a white embroidered under-tunic, a red scalloped upper tunic with more embroidery at the neck, and a blue cloak. He holds a small flower-like object between the second finger and thumb of the right hand, and in the fold of his mantle bears a white jewelled crown, lined with red. The face, which is beardless and youthful, and other parts are a good deal rubbed and stained. As examples of civil costume these figures are very noteworthy.

9. f. 114 v. ST. SYRUS, patron of Pavia (fig. 10). The figure has a green halo, wears a green alb, a white dalmatic, having *clavi* with pendent leaves or tassels attached to them (as in no. 7), a blue chasuble and a white pallium with embroidered and fringed end, jewels and three crosses. The book in his left hand has a crimson and scarlet cover. This and the other ecclesiastics (except the deacon Stephen) have a stiff upstanding amice, or collar, within the chasuble, carried up to the back of the head. The head is tonsured and the face clean-shaven.

10. f. 115 v. ST. MARTIN OF TOURS (fig. 11), has a green alb, a blue dalmatic treated as before, and a white chasuble. His pallium is worn folded after the Eastern fashion. Four crosses can be traced upon it; and it has a fringed end and jewels. He bears an open book in both hands. The face is clean-shaven and the head bald, with flowing locks behind. The expression is remarkably good.

11. f. 116 v. ST. VICTOR (fig. 12), with crimson halo, depicted as a warrior, with short beard; the expression of the face is again admirable. He wears a conical steel cap terminating in a cross, over a hood of blue chain or ringed mail joined to a shirt

¹ Recalling the Gaulish leg-wear.

of the same, which is edged with crimson at the elbow-sleeves, and girt round with a studded belt. Beneath are ample skirts to the knee, and clasped on the right shoulder is a white cloak. There are blue leggings, secured by garters below the knee. The feet are uncoloured. In his right hand is a lance, with a blue pennon, terminating in three tasselled strings, and on the ground, held by his left hand, rests a large circular white shield, with red and blue borders and a spiked *umbo*, also in the two colours. It appears to be studded with nails.

12. f. 117 v. Two APOSTLES (fig. 13), with green haloes, in tunics and cloaks of blue and white, carrying closed books with green covers. They are bearded, and the hair and features are delicately drawn, one having curly and the other straight hair. The feet are bare and sandalled.

13. f. 118 v. Two MARTYRS (fig. 14). Each carries a cross in one hand, and a crown—a plain jewelled band—in the other. They have large green and blue haloes, and the heads—unlike those in the other illuminations, which are on the small side—are disproportionately large. The facial expressions are most remarkable, even the teeth being indicated. The figure on the left has a curious chin-beard of curled ringlets. He wears a crimson tunic, blue super-tunic, and white mantle, while the other has a blue under-tunic with a white one over it having a curiously scalloped edge, and a crimson mantle.

14. f. 119 v. Two CONFESSORS, both archbishops (fig. 15), holding between them a red and blue-covered book, and having blue and green haloes. One (left) wears a green alb, a blue dalmatic with crimson-bordered sleeves, a white chasuble, with ornamented border at the back, and a white fringed pallium having three crosses. This one is bearded. The other, clean-shaven, has a red alb, a white dalmatic, a blue chasuble and a white pallium differently arranged to the others, having an embroidered and fringed end. Both have the *clavi* with pendent leaves or tassels on the dalmatic.

15. f. 120 v. Two SAINTS (fig. 16). That on the left is bearded and probably represents a monk or hermit.¹ He has a blue halo, and wears a blue tunic and a curious garment like a scapular with embroidered bands, held at the waist by an embroidered belt narrow and short in front, ample and long behind. Round his neck is draped a white hood or amice. His shoes are embroidered, and in his left hand he bears a white book.

The figure on the right is that of a youthful priest, clean-shaven, with a green halo. He wears a plain white alb and an ample blue chasuble with a stiff collar round the neck. In his left hand

¹ Mr. Maclagan suggests St. Benedict.



Fig. 14. TWO MARTYRS ($\frac{2}{3}$)



Fig. 15. TWO CONFESSORS ($\frac{2}{3}$)



Fig. 16. TWO SAINTS ($\frac{2}{3}$)



Fig. 17. BLESSING A WAR
STANDARD ($\frac{2}{3}$)

is a clasped book, with ornamented green cover, bearing a cross. It is unfortunate that the figures cannot be identified, as the prayer on the opposite page has been lost.

16. f. 121 v. On a smaller scale than the others, *THE BLESSING OF A WAR-STANDARD* (fig. 17). A warrior in similar armour to St. Victor (no. 11), bearing a shield over his left side, holds forth a lance with fringed pennon for the archbishop to bless. He is standing behind his horse (coloured purple), not riding on it, and his legs with spurred shoes are left uncoloured. The archbishop, who is clean-shaven and tonsured, has a green halo, a white alb, a green dalmatic and a blue chasuble, over which is a white pallium like that worn by St. Ambrose. The chasuble has a stiff upstanding collar behind the head.

In studying this little MS. and its illuminations a small detail at once attracted the writer's attention, namely, the tassel or leaf-shaped pendants attached to the *clavi* on the dalmatics worn by the archbishops. These appear only on the dalmatics, not on the albs or chasubles, and they are not found on the dalmatic of St. Stephen. Precisely the same detail on dalmatics worn by ecclesiastics is to be seen in two illuminations of late tenth and early eleventh-century dates in the British Museum. An illumination in the missal of St. Augustine, formerly belonging to the monastery at Canterbury, and now no. 2908 in the Harleian Collection, represents Abbot Ælfnoth (who died in the year 980) presenting his book of prayers to the founder of the monastery, St. Augustine; and there is little doubt that the picture was executed during the abbot's lifetime. It is therefore very nearly contemporary with the Perrins MS. In this the abbot, the deacon who bears his crook, and the seated archbishop, St. Augustine, all display on their dalmatics these *clavi*, with pendent tassels in some cases, and leaves in others. The hooded chasubles are noteworthy as another interesting point of resemblance: as also is the absence of any form of mitre.

The other instance, from MS. Claud. A. III, is also of this early period, and may have been executed late in the tenth or early in the eleventh century. It represents St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury (960-988), at the feet of St. Gregory, Pope; and the purple dalmatic worn by the latter displays scarlet *clavi*, with pendent leaves. This particular drawing, it may be remarked, is one of the most beautiful and artistic illuminations extant.¹

Now that these two examples of the occurrence of this peculiar detail should be found in MSS. executed in England at the same

¹ Reproduced by the writer, from a photograph, in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol. xxiv, p. 78.

approximate date as the Perrins MS., hitherto classed as Franco-German, or North Italian, workmanship, raises the interesting question whether the subject of this paper may not also have been by an Anglo-Saxon artist. It is well known that a high value was placed upon English works of this nature from a very early date, because of their excellence; and the style of drawing, the interlaced borders, and the character of the initials are quite consistent with an English scribe's work. It may well have been executed in a scriptorium at Metz or elsewhere in the Frankish-Rhenish country, and have been taken afterwards to Milan. The writer has not observed this peculiar detail of the tasselled *clavus* in any foreign MS. to which he has had access, and the point is at any rate worth the consideration of students. If the Perrins MS. can thus be proved to be of English handiwork, though executed abroad, its interest and value are greatly enhanced."

Mr. DALTON recognized, in the MS. exhibited, Italian work influenced slightly by Byzantine models, as in the figure of the Virgin. Most of the pictures were Western in conception, and chain armour was a Western feature. The pallia showed an interesting transitional stage, and were still pinned into position in the tenth century. There was some mixture of influences in the German schools of illumination at that period, but never a slavish imitation of Byzantine models.

Mr. NEWMAN inquired whether the MS. was connected in any way with the church of St. Ambrosio at Milan, and admired the vigour and excellence of the drawings.

Mr. JOHNSTON replied that there had not been much time to obtain particulars, but the owner had a strong impression that the MS. was illuminated for Ernulph, priest or archbishop of Milan.

The PRESIDENT said the exhibit was an agreeable surprise, and of interest to himself as having once been in the possession of Richard Fisher. That the miniatures bore enlargement so well on the screen was sufficient proof of their high quality. It was no doubt tantalizing to see only one opening of the book exhibited, but the miniatures had been admirably reproduced by photography. The monogram on the two keys held by St. Peter was evidently *PETRVS*. Mr. Perrins was to be congratulated on the possession of such a magnificent and unusual MS., and the Society was obliged to him and to Mr. Johnston for the opportunity of inspecting it.

R. W. CARDEN, Esq., read the following paper on 'The Italian Artists in England during the Sixteenth Century':

"The various causes which led up to the first introduction of the Italian Renaissance into England, momentary and to some extent isolated as the new movement was, offer so fair a field for the investigator that it is somewhat strange to note how little attention the subject has received. That the change from Gothic ideas as represented in our national architecture was inevitable at some time, and that it was the irresistible conclusion to which the circumstances of the day were tending, is undeniable; and although the real flood of the Renaissance was destined to reach us at a later period, tinged with French and Flemish influences and condemned to struggle for mastery with insular conservatism, yet the group of Italians who found their way to England in the reign of Henry VIII, though leaving behind them no such tradition and forming no such school as did Il Rosso, Primaticcio, Vignola, Ponzio and others in France, brought the Italian Renaissance to our shores and built up before our eyes such examples of the new style as might rank with the best of the same kind that Italy was producing at the moment. These examples, unhappily now reduced in number by the destruction of Torrigiano's altar in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster, must have served as guides when, in those later years, the Renaissance returned in its diluted form; and it would perhaps be rash to claim for them any greater or more lasting influence than this. The influence of Torrigiano and his successors may be likened to a stone cast into a pool, on whose surface each succeeding ripple grows less distinct as it hurries away from the starting-point, to be at last met and broken up and dominated by the larger ripples set in motion by other stones cast into the same pool.

We are inclined to credit Cardinal Wolsey with having afforded to English eyes the first glimpse of the Italian style, yet it is beyond contradiction that the Renaissance would have come had Thomas Wolsey never been born to bear the strangely contrasting titles of Archbishop of York in England and of Cardinale di Santa Cecilia in Trastevere in Rome. The mere juxtaposition of the two names seems eloquent of his share in the matter; and while it is hoped in this paper to show that he was not the prime mover in the introduction of the new style, it must be admitted that he paved the way for it by his extension of our European policy.

Before the rise of Wolsey England's place in European history had been but secondary: Italian writers, indeed, of even a later date than the beginning of the sixteenth century speak of England with a vagueness which leaves on the mind of the reader a dim impression that it is some barbarian province far

away in the north, as little known as the distant land so recently discovered by Columbus. Wolsey, by his splendid diplomatic triumphs, speedily brought England to the fore; and by his treaty with Louis XII of France did much to counteract the effects of the League of Cambrai: while he was the first English statesman who set himself to maintain the balance of power. That he was not very successful in this respect is due rather to the intense rivalry between Francis, the successor of Louis on the French throne, and the Emperor Charles V, than to incapacity on the part of Wolsey; yet he contrived to widen the scope of English foreign policy, for whereas formerly that policy had been bounded almost entirely by intermittent wars and equally intermittent truces with France, under Wolsey's guiding hand the Empire, Italy, and Spain became actors on the English political stage. The fact that in the person of Henry VIII the rival houses of York and Lancaster were finally united had its inevitable influence upon the internal condition of the realm, for there was now but little fear of civil warfare and dissensions; and we find, in effect, that Wolsey's policy was a new one for England, inasmuch as he sought to promote the welfare of his country by peace instead of by conquest. Former kings had sought to subdue France by the might of armies; Henry VIII was persuaded to win her over by marrying his sister to Louis XII.

The direct result of this freedom from strife was an increase of intellectual activity, an echo of the mighty movement already afoot in Italy, where it had been stimulated by the invention of the printing press and by the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, an event which drove Greek masters westwards into Italy. England had never before had breathing space in which to lend an ear to the language of the new learning, and even had she found time to listen her insular position would certainly have retarded her absorption into the movement. Chaucer had visited Italy during the reign of Richard II, and more than one of his *Canterbury Tales* is borrowed directly from Boccaccio; but the times were not then ripe for the change, and England was obliged to wait another fifty years after Constantinople had fallen and its churches had been transformed into mosques before she was fit to learn the lesson which Italy already knew by heart.

When once universal peace was established—albeit an even less enduring peace than the majority of such undertakings at the period—Englishmen were ready enough to take advantage of it, and intercourse with Italy, hitherto exceedingly limited, became more and more frequent, fostered, doubtless, by Wolsey himself, who was not without hope of some day sitting on the

throne of St. Peter. When Leo X died, in December, 1521, Wolsey had every expectation of being chosen as his successor, and the Emperor Charles V had promised to do all in his power to secure his election, writing to the English cardinal with his own hand to that effect. The assurances which reached him from Rome itself were of the most encouraging nature. 'One thyng we can assure your Grace,' wrote his friends in the papal capital on September 14th, 1523, a few hours after Leo had breathed his last, 'that your Grace hath all redy many great fryndes towards it, and *per caas* it shold so chaunce that Medices can not make hymself, ne the Cardynall of Farnays . . . it is great likelihod that this diademe shall light upon your hed.' That Wolsey's chances were in reality slight, and that Charles's real candidate was Giulio de' Medici, scarcely affects the argument; for although Giulio was on this occasion doomed to a like disappointment with Wolsey—since the choice of the Conclave fell upon Adrian of Utrecht, who assumed the title of Adrian VI—the new Pope was already getting on in years and could not, in the nature of things, live very long. Adrian, the Pope with 'chronic good intentions', was a complete contrast to his predecessors, Alexander VI, Julius II, and Leo X; and the times were not yet ripe for a reformer in Rome. For two years the Pope held the keys of St. Peter, then laid them down for ever; and at his death Wolsey's hopes once more rose high. Once more Charles V promised his support while secretly urging the election of his former candidate, Giulio de' Medici, who was eventually chosen and assumed the tiara under the name of Clement VII. Wolsey's mind at the period must have been largely occupied with thoughts of Italy, even though his ambitious dreams were doomed to failure; and we may well speculate what might have been the political and religious aspect of England to-day had Henry's appeal for divorce from Katherine of Aragon been made, not to Clement VII, but to Wolsey as the successor of St. Peter. The failure of Henry's plea before Clement and his appeal to the foreign universities, among which those of Padua and Bologna were perhaps the most famous schools of jurisprudence, are matters of common knowledge which need not further be insisted upon.

The first link in the chain which brought the Renaissance to England was forged before Wolsey rose to power; and it was forged neither by an Englishman nor by an Italian, but by the French king Charles VIII when, in 1494, he led his army into Italy to the conquest of Naples, and thereby paved the way for the terrible tangle of warfare and intrigue by which the unhappy peninsula was torn for many generations. Before Charles marched over the Alps, the home of the Renaissance had been something

of a forbidden land, closed in on the north by the Alps, and protected on all other sides by the fleets of the Italian maritime states. The invasion of Italy by Charles VIII, 'the Scourge of God' so vehemently prophesied in Florence by the zealous reformer Girolamo Savonarola, broke the spell of her isolation: henceforth Italy became the battle-field of Europe as well as the stock-room of the arts. Charles seemed predestined to bring low the proud heads of Italian rulers, and to accomplish the conquest of Naples as the finishing stroke of an expedition which was more of a triumphal progress than the march of an invading army. Italy rose in arms too late: when the French king was compelled to turn back towards the Alps, the Pope, Alexander VI, thought it wiser to flee before him than to await his coming in Rome, and Charles contrived to break through the massed strength of the League at the Battle of the Taro, eventually returning to France in safety.

For our present purpose the most interesting episode in this expedition concerns the sojourn of Charles in Naples: for it was here that he first became acquainted with the works of Guido Mazzoni, who was called Modanino from the circumstance that he was born in Modena. As this name is cast in one of those diminutive forms so dear to the Italian heart, we may surmise that Guido was small of stature, a supposition which receives support from the fact that the other name by which he is sometimes called, Paganino, is also a diminutive. This Modanino, or Paganino, we shall find later supplying a design for the tomb of Henry VII of England.

Guido Mazzoni was born in 1450, and his earliest works are to be found in his native city, where he modelled the terra-cotta group over the altar on the right-hand side of the crypt beneath the cathedral. The work is ultra-realistic, and represents the Madonna with Christ, St. Joseph, and two other figures. In the church of San Giovanni Decollato in the same city there is another group by him, a Pietà, the figures being of the same character as those in the cathedral, the effect being heightened by colour. Even in matters of art there is room for wide divergence of individual taste; and Mazzoni's methods, emphasized as they were by their somewhat gaudy colouring, were exactly suited to Neapolitan ideas, with the result that the artist, on visiting Naples some time after 1484 (the date assigned to his work in Modena) was soon engaged upon a still more dramatic production for the church of Sant' Anna dei Lombardi, or of Monte Oliveto. This work, which is in the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, consists of a group of coarse and restless figures modelled in terra-cotta and kneeling about the entombed Christ. It occupied the artist until shortly before the arrival of Charles in the

beginning of 1495; and the dramatic attitudes of the figures, the battered and bleeding body of the dead Saviour of the world, the holy Mother fainting at the sight of her Son in so evil a plight, and the passionate weeping of St. John and the Magdalen, seem to have made a great impression on the French king, who perhaps had little enthusiasm for the vastly different and unemotional figures carved by northern hands. The first act of Charles on entering Naples was to attend a solemn thanksgiving in the cathedral, and afterwards he conferred the dignity of knighthood upon a number of persons, Messer 'Guido di Paganino' being among them. The artist accompanied the king back to France and spent the ensuing twenty years at the French court, his most important work being the tomb of the king himself, which is signed *Opus Paganini Mutinensis*. This long sojourn in the country of his adoption is mentioned in Beliard's *Cronaca*,¹ where we find it stated that 'on this day, the 19th of the said month of June, 1516, Messer Guido Paganini came to live in Modena; and he came from France, where for more than twenty years he had been in the service of the French king'. Mazzoni died on September 12th, 1518.

The exact date at which Mazzoni, in his English guise of 'Master Pageny', supplied the design for the tomb of Henry VII is not clear, though it may be fixed within limits: for the internal evidence supplied by the king's will fixes it as between 1500 and 1509. The curious thing about it is that although Master Pageny is mentioned as having supplied the design, the description of it is for the most part the description of a Gothic tomb, with 'tabernacles . . . filled with Ymages'. The king bequeaths to the chapel certain relics, obtained by Louis of France 'the tyme he wan and recovered the Citie of Millein', namely, the year 1500; while we know that Henry had, so late as the following year, apparently no thought of obtaining a design from Pageny, as in 1501 he began a tomb for himself at Windsor, in connexion with which the name of a certain Esterfield is mentioned, either as its designer or as the superintendent of the work. The probable date of Pageny's design is 1506-7, as among the estimates for the several portions of the work is one from Thomas Drawswerd, Sheriff of York, who held that office in those years.

Master Pageny's design was, as we know, rejected, and after the abandonment of this project a new scheme was drawn up by Pietro Torrigiano, who was the first, as he was perhaps the most prominent, Italian artist to take up his abode in England and to bring the possibilities of Renaissance art permanently before English eyes.

¹ See Tiraboschi, *Notizie dei Pittori, Scultori, Incisori, Architetti, etc., nati . . . (in) Modena*. Modena, 1786.

As such he deserves more attention than he has hitherto received; for even the *Dictionary of National Biography* is content very largely to accept Vasari's narrative in the *Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti*. Vasari, however, not only gives an incomplete account of this artist but is lamentably inaccurate. He was ignorant even as to Torrigiano's baptismal name, and the only facts he was able to glean from his numerous, if somewhat unreliable, sources of information were probably that he was obliged to leave Florence after the historic affray with Michelangelo, that he became a soldier, reverted once more to art, went to England, and thence to Spain, where he died. That Vasari knew little about him is shown by the form in which his account is cast: his object in the second edition being to point out the wicked end in store for men capable of sacrilege and the breaking of Michelangelo's nose—in Vasari's eyes scarcely a less iniquity; and in his own inimitable style he hands Torrigiano over to the Inquisition, drags him from one prison to another and from one inquisitor to another, condemns him at length to death, and shows him to us at last—perhaps full of remorse for his misdeeds—dying voluntarily of starvation to escape the shame of a public execution, in 1522. For the rest, where information true or otherwise is lacking, he fills out the life by telling us about something else, as, for instance, the Medici school of art in the garden near San Marco in Florence.

After reading the contemporary Italian view of Torrigiano it is curiously refreshing to turn to the Spanish account written in 1800 by the historian of art, Juan Bermudez, and followed later in its main lines by Quilliet, whose *Les Arts Italiens en Espagne* was published in 1825. Bermudez, *Diccionario Histórico de los más ilustres Profesores de las bellas Artes en España*, reverses the shield, and would have us believe that Michelangelo was envious of the talents of Torrigiano, and could not bear to be a witness of his rapid rise as an artist. The truth is, perhaps, discernible between these two extremes, for Michelangelo had a sharp tongue, while Torrigiano was quick tempered and overbearing. It is unlikely that Lorenzo the Magnificent showed undue favour to either, for each claimed to be of noble birth, Michelangelo believing himself to be descended from the Counts of Canossa, and Torrigiano being a member of a family which won riches first, and then honours and rank under the Medici. Neither, therefore, could claim precedence in the garden of the Medici at San Marco, which was founded for all students of art 'and particularly for students of noble birth'.

On this score there was no ground for favouritism between the two young men, and we are led to conclude that the quarrel was merely the inevitable consequence of incompatibility of temper

between men of strong character who were forced to spend too much time in each other's society.

Pietro Torrigiano, whom Vasari calls Torrigiano Torrigiani, was born in 1472, and became one of the students placed by Lorenzo de' Medici under the care of the Florentine sculptor Bertoldo, himself a pupil of Donatello, in the garden at San Marco. The historic quarrel must have taken place in 1492 or earlier, as it was in that year Lorenzo died: moreover, when Torrigiano fled for his life to Rome he found employment under Alexander VI. who was building the Torre Borgia, and worked upon the stuccoes there, which were executed in 1493-4. Vasari tells us that at the time Duke Valentino—the infamous Cesare Borgia, son of the Pope—was waging war in the Romagna and that Torrigiano threw down his chisel and girt a sword to his side, becoming a soldier; and, as events proved, a brave one. This campaign began in 1493 and lasted until 1500, so that here, at least, Vasari is supported by probabilities. He tells us next that Torrigiano served with equal distinction under Paolo Vitelli at the siege of Pisa, and this implies that he had in the meantime left the service of the Borgia and enlisted under the banner of Florence. Vitelli was under the walls of Pisa in 1498. The last event in Torrigiano's military career was his presence in the French army at the battle of Garigliano, where Piero de' Medici lost his life in 1503. He served with distinction and was made standard-bearer, hoping to reach the rank of captain; but he had yet to learn that in these Italian wars there were many required to fight and but few who shared the benefits, if, indeed, the wars in which such free-lances engaged were ever of benefit to anybody.

Having spent ten of the best years of his life as a soldier, Torrigiano found his time had been wasted, and that he would have been wiser had he remained at his craft. We do not know when it was that he decided to give up the career of arms, nor when he arrived in England, but it seems to have escaped the notice of previous writers on the subject that Torrigiano had at some time been engaged upon a statue of St. Francis, which in September, 1504, was still unfinished: for in the contract signed by Michelangelo on the 15th of that month and year for fifteen statues which were to be placed in the dossal of the Piccolomini altar in the cathedral at Siena it is agreed that Michelangelo will finish 'a St. Francis of marble made by the hand of Pietro Turrisiani, which is still unfinished as regards the drapery and the head (*non essendo quello finito di pannamenti et testa*)'. Michelangelo is to finish it in such a way that it shall appear to be entirely his own work—*et non si mostri maestro et mano diversa*—and all who see it will suppose it really to be his own production. One cannot but admire Michelangelo's magnanimity in accepting

this office, which can scarcely have afforded him much pleasure; but it says much for the merit of Torrigiano's work that the proposal should ever have been made and agreed to. We are entitled to assume that the St. Francis was done by Pietro after his return from the war in 1503, but we do not find him among the experts, great and small, who, in January 1504, were invited to give their opinions as to where the colossal David of Michelangelo should be placed now that it was finished, and we know no more of him until on October 26th, 1512, he signed the contract for the tomb of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey. This work has already been fully discussed and illustrated,¹ and calls for no further mention. On March 11th, 1516, a contract was made for the 'awltier' of Henry VIII, and by the beginning of the year 1518 the project for the tomb of Henry VIII was already under consideration. But in June of the following year not even the altar had been begun, and when afterwards the project for the tomb was dropped Torrigiano fled the country without troubling to account for the money already advanced for the altar. There is, however, another work which must beyond all doubt be referred to this same period, the tomb of Dr. Yong, who died in 1516 and was buried in the Chapel of the Rolls. It is due to the demolition of the chapel in 1895 that we now possess certain knowledge that Torrigiano was responsible for at least a portion of this monument, for although it had long been attributed to him no proof was forthcoming until the temporary removal of the tomb disclosed the fact that portions of the back of the sarcophagus and one of the stones in the lunette above were carved with mutilated figures of winged angels and Tudor roses so exactly corresponding with the work on Henry's tomb at Westminster as to set all doubts at rest. It may be that only the recumbent figure is the work of Torrigiano himself, but it is clear that the men who worked in Henry VII's Chapel also worked in the Chapel of the Rolls, while it is also certain that the two works must have been in progress practically at the same time, the Rolls monument being, if anything, the later of the two.

Upon complaint being made to the Signoria of Florence the artist was sent back to fulfil his obligations, and it is apparent that he was at last minded to carry out his engagements, for he brought with him three other Italians, Antonio di Piergiovanni di Lorenzo, a sculptor of Settignano, Toto del Nunziato, a painter, and Giovanluigi di Bernardo di Maestro Iacopo of Verona.

The terms of his contracts with these assistants imply that Torrigiano had no set intention of remaining in England; and

¹ See an article in the *Archaeological Journal* (vol. li, 1894) by Mr. Alfred Higgins, F.S.A., and *Early Renaissance Architecture in England*, by Mr. J. A. Gotch, F.S.A.

he was, in fact, soon attracted to Spain by the hopes of building a tomb for King Ferdinand. In this, however, he was disappointed, and after a short stay in Granada he removed to Seville, where, according to Vasari, he modelled in terra-cotta a Crucifixion which was 'the finest thing of its kind in all Spain'. Vasari also mentions another Crucifixion, a figure of St. Jerome, and two statues of the Virgin and Child. Quilliet carefully investigated these matters nearly a century ago, and his verdict is a solemn affirmation that neither the two Crucifixions nor the statues of the Virgin exist in Spain; nor is there any tradition that such works have ever existed at any time. Much of Vasari's story, therefore, falls to the ground, and even the fragments are trampled into dust by the further criticism of Juan Bermudez.

Vasari's lively account of how Torrigiano revenged himself on the Duke of Arcos, who had endeavoured to cheat him over the matter of a group representing the Virgin and Child, and was promptly delivered by the offended duke over to the Inquisition is well known; and though the story is quite apocryphal, its influence upon all subsequent writers has been so great that each writer had made him out to be a little worse than the last, and Walpole finally announces that 'Torrighiano, it seems, with Henry's turbulence of temper, had adopted his religion'.

Of the three assistants brought to England by this artist there is only one of whom we have any record, Toto del Nunziato, and even of him the notices are all too scanty. No work of his is known to exist either in England or in Italy, though sundry of his pictures are mentioned by name in the records of Hampton Court. He appears as a *fleeting figure* in Vasari's *Lives*, but directly he sets foot in England the biographer loses sight of him. His full name was Antonio di Nunziato d'Antonio, and he was born in Florence in 1498, his father being highly skilled in the manufacture of fireworks, and richly endowed as a painter of puppets.¹ Antonio, or Toto, as he was called, is said to have been a pupil of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio and to have assisted his master in the execution of a picture in the now destroyed church of San Pier Scheraggio at Florence. We find him mentioned, also, as a fellow competitor with Pierino del Vaga; and Vasari finally dismisses him to England in this wise: 'This man also in process of time took his place among the best artists of the day; and leaving Florence, was taken to England by sundry Florentine merchants. All his works have been executed there, and the King of that country, whom he has also served as architect, and for whom in especial he has erected his most important palace, has rewarded him very richly.'

¹ I am compelled to reject the explanation given in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix, that these puppets were 'crucifixes and madonnas'.

So many of Vasari's heroes who visited strange lands were employed by their respective monarchs to erect their most important residences that we are inclined to mistrust the statement at sight. The palace in question is, apparently, Nonsuch; and though Toto worked there, he can in nowise be considered as its architect, and none of the descriptions or prints which have come down to us in any way suggest the handiwork of an Italian who was the contemporary of Michelangelo, Vignola, Palladio, and Iacopo Sansovino, and who spent his early days in the *bottega* of the Ghirlandai.

Though we cannot point to any of his works, we can at least trace Toto's residence in England over a number of years, and we can note his gradual transformation into a naturalized Englishman possessing property. His outlandish name presented some difficulty to his new patrons, and even as Paganino became 'Pageny' and Torrigiano degenerated into 'Torrisony', so also did Toto's name undergo a change before it was presentable to English lips and English ears. His baptismal name of Antonio became Antony easily enough; and, for want of a better, the name of Toto by which his familiars had known him in Florentine days became his surname. Toto del Nunziato becomes, as a general rule, Master Antony Toto, but with numerous variants.

Before proceeding further it will be convenient here to mention his fellow painter, Penni, as to whose baptismal name there exists some confusion. Vasari speaks of Luca Penni, the brother of Gianfrancesco, 'Il Fattore'; and tells us that Luca worked in Genoa with Pierino del Vaga, who had married Penni's sister; and when we remember that Pierino and Toto had been students in the same *bottega*, it may be that in this circumstance we have the reason for the close association in which we find the names of Toto and Penni during their sojourn in England. The great difficulty in the matter, however, is the fact that while Luca Penni is well known, and some of his designs for engravings on copper, as described by Vasari, are still extant and bear his monogram, yet the Penni who came to England, and whom Vasari declares to have been Luca, immediately upon his arrival here becomes Bartholomew, a change that can scarcely be due to a desire on the part of his new masters to simplify his name. The only possible suggestion is that Vasari has confused two brothers, Luca and Bartolomeo, taking them to be one person. In support of this view it may be mentioned that Luca Penni, according to Vasari, assisted Il Rosso at Fontainebleau when preparations were in progress for the visit of the Emperor Charles to Paris; and as Charles entered the French capital on New Year's Day, 1540, these works must have been done in 1539, in which year we find that 'Barth. Penn' received his usual salary of £6 5s. quarterly.

It will be convenient to deal with Toto and Penni together, as they are generally mentioned in company. They first appear in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chambers, in 1530, when there is an entry to the effect that 'Anthony Toto and Barthilmewe Penne', painters of Florence, are to be paid 'for their wages at £25 a year, £18 15s.'; and in the following September they again appear in the list of quarterly wages as the joint recipients of £12 10s. This year Toto was employed at Hampton Court, as there are entries in the accounts for that building from which we learn that he was paid for certain works which are duly specified but have utterly disappeared.

In the next year, 1531, we find that by March 31st their names have become mixed, and they are described as 'Anthony Pene and Bartholomew Tote', who jointly receive forty-five shillings for their livery coats, the payment being repeated in November of the same year, and the names now appearing as 'Antony Toto and Barthilmewe Penne'. These disbursements occur in the Privy Purse expenses. By the following year, 1532, Penni has disappeared from the State Papers, and Toto appears alone as the recipient of twenty shillings. He also figures in the Hampton Court payments for this year as having furnished four pictures, intended for the King's Closet, and we learn that they are large paintings, for which he received the sum of £20 the set. In the list of New Year Gifts for 1533 Toto again appears—though his name has changed to 'Toote'—while the same year brought other changes for the artist besides those touching his name, for he is mentioned no longer as a painter but as a 'graver', that is to say, a sculptor or carver.

Toote again appears in the corresponding list for 1534, as well as in the quarterly lists of wages, but after this he, too, fades from view for a time, his disappearance leading to several surmises. In the *Letters and Papers* for 1535, 1536, and 1537 there are no such lists of payments as are to be found in the preceding years, and this might satisfactorily explain his retirement from our sight; but at the same time it may be noted that his disappearance coincides with the date of Henry's final separation from Rome, as it was in this year, 1534, that ecclesiastical authority in England was transferred from the Pope to the Archbishop of Canterbury, while at the same time Peter's Pence was abolished and the second Act of Annates passed by Parliament. Very possibly the severance from Rome was accompanied by a set-back in the popularity of Italian artists in this country.

Four years later, however, both Toto and Penni are again found in Henry's service, the former having presented his royal patron on New Year's Day with a 'depicted table of Calomia' (1538), for which his servant received a gift of six shillings and

eightpence. No trace of this allegorical picture of Calumny remains. The same year he was allowed to take out letters of denization, while in the following November he received a grant for himself and for his wife Helen of two cottages and some land near 'Mycheham' in Surrey, at the nominal rental of a red rose, to be presented every year on the Feast of St. John Baptist. In this year, 1538, we find the first mention of Nicholas de Modecio as one of the king's craftsmen.

Penni also appears in the list of quarterly payments for this year as the recipient of £6 5s. each quarter, though it was some years later that he, too, took out letters of denization. On Lady Day, 1539, the sum of £12 10s. was paid to the two artists conjointly, in addition to which 'Antony Tote' receives, on May 26th, the sum of 51s. 1d. for some work done by him at Havering. This is the year, it may be repeated, in which Penni—if he be indeed the same as Luca Penni—should have been busy with *Il Rosso* at Fontainebleau.

In 1540 Antony Toto presented the king with a 'goodlie table' (i. e. a picture) on New Year's Day, his servant receiving as reward the same sum as on the previous occasion, while both Toto and 'Barthill Pen' receive their quarterly salaries regularly. On the following New Year's Day 'Anthony Tote' presented the king with 'a table of the story of King Alexander'. Toto at this period apparently devoted some attention to commerce, for in April there is a somewhat singular grant in his favour, in which he receives permission to export 600 tuns of beer. In October of this year Penni took out letters of denization, his name, after many vicissitudes, being officially considered to be 'Bartholomew Penney'.

In 1542 the quarterly payments to 'Antony Torte and Barthe Penne' are continued; while in December of the same year we find that 'Anthony Toto, the King's servant', is granted the lease of the manor of Ravesbury, Surrey, which had belonged to Sir Nicholas Carewe, attainted. There are certain reservations: the lease is for a term of forty years, and the annual rental is fixed at £42 6s. 8d. There are signs that the artist was gathering this world's gear about him, and in 1544 he was appointed to be the king's sergeant painter at a salary of £10 per annum, this being additional to his original salary of £20, as is shown by the fact that in 1545 he was still in receipt, in company with Penni, of his usual quarterly payment.

We are further reminded of his existence by the proceedings of the Privy Council for June of the same year, for a certain Mr. Biston, or Beston, was haled before the Council for having assaulted two of Toto's henchmen.

Henry died in January, 1547, but Toto was continued in his

office as sergeant painter throughout the reign of Edward VI. At this later period of his career we have fuller details relating to the class of work in which he was engaged, and it may at once be said that it was not of a high order. His name now appears frequently in the Loseley Manuscripts, some of which were printed in *Archæologia*, vol. xviii, under the heading of 'Observations on the Christmas Lord of Misrule, and on the King's Office of Revells and Tents'. Among them there is an account for sundry disbursements signed by Sir Thomas Cawarden, or Carden, and covering the period from February 1st to 28th, 1547, in which mention is made of 'Anthony Tutto', who 'drew and painted twelve pieces of cloth of gold, and twelve of cloth of silver, very fair, for the bards of the four challengers horses at five shillings each', and performed many other offices of a similar nature. In the following year, at the Shrove-tide festivities, Tutto was again employed, though he seems only to have designed the work which others carried out:—'Anthony Toto, s'geante paynto^r, in rewarde for his paynes takyng by the space that this work lasted, in drawyng of patrons for the masks, 20 shillings.'¹

Under the entries between December 23rd, 1550, and July, 1551, he is again mentioned:—'Anthony Toto, for diverse his attending in the Revells, for drawinge and devisinge for painters and others 20 shillings'; and later in the same year we find Tutto again working under the guidance of Sir Thomas Cawarden, on the occasion of the Marshal St. Andrew's visit to England. The Marshal was to be entertained in a temporary banqueting hall set up in Hyde Park, and there was plenty of bustle in getting the place ready. Sir Thomas and his staff were busy 'from the 6th of July to the 28th of that month, every man working all hours, except a space to eat and drink, some all night'. Over-time was paid for at the extravagant rate of a penny an hour, the workmen receiving for an ordinary day's work, some 9d. and others 10d. 'Anthony Tutto, serjeant painter,' had charge over all the other painters and received £2 13s. 4d. for his trouble. Two years later, in the accounts of the Lord of Misrule's expenses, now at Loseley, between January 3rd and February 16th, 1553, there is a further description of similar works done by Anthony Toto.

The boy-king's reign was already drawing to its close, and within six months Toto again figures in a royal pageant, the funeral of King Edward VI. From the account of the expenses we learn that the Florentine artist received seven yards of black cloth for himself and a further allowance of three yards for a servant; after this his name fades entirely from our view, just at a time when, with Mary on the throne and submission to

¹ *The Loseley Manuscripts*, p. 81. A. J. Kempe. Murray, London, 1836.

Rome renewed, we might have expected to find him engaged in work of a higher nature than employing tinsel paper and paste to make a crown for the Lord of Misrule.

The name of Toto has been persistently associated with Nonsuch, not only inferentially by Vasari, but by a succession of more modern writers ; but it would be idle to pretend that he designed the building, though we have every reason to suppose that he helped in its decoration. Nowhere is he mentioned as an architect or by any equivalent title, such as 'Deviser of His Majesty's Buildings', the official designation of the mythical John of Padua. In all the references here collected he appears either as a painter or, more rarely, as a 'graver'. The most frequently recurring name in the accounts is that of Robert Lorde, who was obviously an Englishman, and is described as Master of the Works at Nonsuch, Hampton Court, Hanworth, 'Otteland' (Oatlands), and 'Aisher' (Esher). Nor, to judge from the engravings of Nonsuch, have we any reason to seek any other origin for the design than an English one; for the extraordinary collection of over-elaborated stuccoes, paintings, pinnacles and the like, the ugly though necessary experiment of casing the woodwork with scales of gilded lead like the scales of a fish, cannot for an instant be considered as the production of an Italian brain. That Toto worked at Nonsuch is rather more than an assumption, even though it may only be supported by indirect testimony; but it is certainly an interesting coincidence that the names of Toto and of Sir Thomas Cawarden should appear side by side in documents preserved at Loseley, since such fragments of Nonsuch as survive were taken to Loseley, while Sir Thomas Cawarden, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, received from the king a patent on March 2nd, 1532, appointing him 'steward and bailiff of the Manors of Nonesuche, Ewell, Estchaym, West Chaym, Sutton, Banstead, and Walton on the Hill' in Surrey; as well as keeper of the 'chief messuage, park and gardens of Nonesuche', in the place of Sir Ralph Sadler, who had surrendered his patent a month earlier, on January 3rd.

Toto appears first in the royal accounts for the year 1530, as we have said, and it is not without significance that this event synchronizes with the fall of Wolsey and with the transference of the cardinal's unfinished tomb, to which more extended reference will presently be made, to the king, accompanied by the services of Benedetto da Rovezzano; and the inference is at least justifiable that, between the departure of Torrigiano and the fall of the cardinal, Toto had been in the service of the latter at Hampton Court, Ipswich, and elsewhere, only becoming the king's property, as it were, when the monarch so eagerly grasped the spoils left by his disgraced favourite. At the time of Toto's

appearance in the list of mourners for Edward VI he was but fifty-five years of age: whether he returned to Italy, whether he migrated to France to work with Primaticcio at Fontainebleau, or whether he remained to leave his bones on English soil, we cannot tell. The records are silent, and the list of payments, so helpful in Henry's reign, ceases at his death, leaving us face to face with unfruitful conjectures.

But if the trail left by *Toto* is all too nebulous it is not impossible that the trail of one of his contemporaries, Nicholas de Modécio, is that of a comet. This Nicholas is on occasion called Nicholas de Modena, and his ascertained connexion with Fontainebleau and Francis I leads to the bold assumption that he may be identified with Niccolò dell' Abbate, who at a later date became Primaticcio's most famous assistant at Fontainebleau. There are some uncertain links in the chain of evidence, which would inevitably be strengthened or destroyed if the account books for the reign of Edward VI were accessible; but in the present state of our knowledge it may be noted that when Niccolò dell' Abbate appears in France, Modena, or Bologna, there are no records of Nicholas de Modena being in England, and that when we find Modena mentioned in our own records the historians of Niccolò dell' Abbate are correspondingly silent. As far as it is possible to do so, the two accounts are here fitted together.

Nicholas de Modena in England appears with the surname of Bellin, this same 'Nicholas Belin dit Moderne' having previously worked under the Abbot Primaticcio at Fontainebleau, whence he fled to England as the consequence of having incurred the anger of Francis. The other Niccolò—dell' Abbate—subsequently appears in Modena; and, when Francis is dead, this artist is taken by Primaticcio to Fontainebleau. Of this Niccolò dell' Abbate Vasari has given us a fragmentary life, and Milanese, in his notes to the last Italian edition of Vasari,¹ explains that the name of the artist was Niccolò Abati, 'also known simply as Niccolino, and more frequently as Niccolò dell' Abbate, because the Abbate Francesco Primaticcio raised him to a position of prominence among the French.' This would appear to be the true solution; but in his notes to the Life of Primaticcio² he supplements this by saying that this derivation of the name is a mere supposition. 'Others, indeed, maintain that his family name was dell' Abbate, or dell' Abbà, supposing it to be derived from a village in the territory of Reggio, where he was born, his father being a Maestro Giovanni, a painter, called Giovanni dell' Abbà; while at the same time it is thought that his actual surname may perhaps have been Bellini, as it is thus written in

¹ Edition of 1878-85, vol. vi, p. 481.

² Vol. vii, p. 410.

the account books of the French Kings' buildings, under date of 1533.' The date, it may be noted, is really 1536.

Milanesi thus accepts the identity of Nicholas Bellin with Niccolò dell' Abbate; but Laborde in *La Renaissance des Arts à la Cour de France* (1850), arguing from the same grounds, says that as Niccolò dell' Abbate was the son of Giovanni dell' Abbà he could not have been one person with Bellin. Vasari's account, it may be mentioned, deserves little credence, as he speaks of Niccolò dell' Abbate as being resident at the time of writing in Modena. There is no mention of this artist in Vasari's first edition of 1550, and the preparation of the later edition was begun in, or about, 1562, when Niccolò had already been some ten years at the French court, showing that the biographer had taken but little pains to acquaint himself with the facts of the case.

Both Milanesi and Laborde have derived their information from Tiraboschi, who was the first to discover that a certain 'M. Zovanno di Abbà Depintor' died in Modena in 1559, and was buried in the church of San Domenico. Tiraboschi immediately assumed that this painter was the father of Niccolò dell' Abbate, thereby accounting for the surname and for ever dissociating him from the other Niccolò, 'Belin dit Moderne': forgetting that not only was he unable to produce any proof whatsoever in support of his conclusions, but that he is obliged to confess his ignorance whether Niccolò dell' Abbate was born in 1509 or 1512, and whether he was a native of Modena or Bologna. These confessions prove only that there was a painter named Giovanni dell' Abbà; they do not in any way inform us as to the parentage of Niccolò dell' Abbate.

While several writers have given some account of this artist, not one of whom suggests that he ever visited these shores, such as have recorded his life in any detail fail to account for a period which coincides in a remarkable degree with the appearance of Nicholas de Modena's name in the *Letters and Papers*. Milanesi, after mentioning that Niccolò was employed in France during 1533, says that he 'afterwards returned to Italy, where he appears to have remained until 1552 or 1553'; but that he was in England may readily be proved from the entries in the *Letters and Papers*. The point at issue, therefore, is whether the Nicholas of Modena who was at Fontainebleau in 1533 is the same as the Niccolò dell' Abbate who was there some twenty years later.

Tiraboschi informs us that Niccolò dell' Abbate was a brave soldier, that his earliest works were executed in Modena, and that he assisted Alberto Fontana in the frescoes on the façade of the Beccheria, or slaughter-house. These were early efforts, and

the artist forthwith disappears from sight. Nicholas de Modena meanwhile appears in France for the first time, so far as we know, in 1533, as there is an entry in the Fontainebleau accounts¹ under date of 1536, in which he is specifically mentioned as 'Nicholas Belin dit Moderne' at work with 'Francisque de Primadicis (Primaticcio) dit de Boulogne'. Modena's employment was that of a modeller in plaster. In the same accounts there is an entry under date of July 18th, 1534, in which 'Nicholas de Modene' is described as a 'valet de garderobbe' and as a sculptor and maker of masks, receiving the sum of 223 livres tournois for two years' wages due to him. He was engaged at Fontainebleau for at least three years during the reign of Francis I, and it is not without significance that the assumption of dell' Abbate's identity with Nicholas de Modena would solve a difficulty which Tiraboschi was unable to explain; for he quotes Gaillard's *Histoire de François I^{er}* (1766-9) as saying that in the *Cabinet des Étampes* there is an original portrait of Francis by Niccolò dell' Abbate. Tiraboschi argues that it cannot be so; that it must certainly be a copy of another portrait, since 'he [Niccolò] did not go to France until the year after the death of Francis, which happened in 1547'. If the point of identity be admitted the difficulty of the portrait is manifestly overcome.

The reasons for Niccolò's departure from France to England are partly discernible in the *Letters and Papers*. He first appears in Henry's Treasury Accounts for April, 1538, when he was granted by warrant a salary of £10 per annum, with twenty shillings annually for his livery, while it is further stated that on April 21st of the same year he received as arrears for nine months the sum of £8 5s. He entered Henry's service, therefore, in 1537. In 1539 he received fifty shillings quarterly and five shillings for his livery, while under date of January 14th, 1540, there is a warrant granting him an increased salary of £20 per annum. Towards the end of the year 1540 Francis began to demand that the painter should return to France, and Henry, though at first unwilling to release him, finally let him go. A careful digest of the correspondence will be found in the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*.

Modena is, in one document, mentioned as being a sculptor and painter; and Wallop, the English ambassador, in describing a visit to Fontainebleau, says that Modena was engaged upon some of the decorations of 'the Gallery'. This Gallery cannot be other than the Galerie de François I^{er}, or Grande Galerie; for the Galerie d'Ulysse, on which he—that is to say, Niccolò dell' Abbate—was employed subsequently, was not begun until 1541.

¹ *Les Comptes des Bâtiments*. Edited by L. E. S. J. de Laborde, 1877-80.

On New Year's Day, 1541, Niccolò received a present from Henry VIII of forty shillings, and on Lady Day his quarterly salary was duly paid, while later in the year he took out letters of denization, establishing for himself a home in England. The date of this document is October 3rd, 1541, and in it the artist is described as 'Nic. Bellin, a native of the city of Modena, in Italy, in the dominion of the Duke of Ferrara'. In 1542 Nicholas de Modeno (*sic*) is again mentioned in the household accounts, but not as receiving any salary; and thereafter he disappears from sight for nearly three years. There is every reason to suppose that he once again reverted to a soldier's life—Tiraboschi says he had been a good soldier in his youth and *ebbe qualche comando*—and on August 11th, 1545, we find him again in trouble, though on this occasion his offence was committed against the Signoria of Venice, at the instigation or in support of one Lodovico dell' Arme, a valiant captain in Henry's service, who on more than one occasion came into conflict with Venice. Lodovico, Niccolò and others were brought before the Signoria: Lodovico was banished from Venetian territory for the term of his natural life, while Modena was banished for four years, and if captured on Venetian territory within that period he was to be imprisoned for six months and his banishment was to begin again for a fresh period of four years.

Niccolò took refuge once more in England, and appears in the wages list for December, 1545, as having received his quarterly allowance of £5 5s.

At this point the difficulties are increased by the fact that the accounts for the succeeding years have not been published, and I have had no leisure to consult the originals at the Public Record Office. When the French admiral visited England in 1546 'Nich'as Modena, paynt', was engaged in the preparations for the revels with which the admiral and his staff were to be entertained, his share consisting in painting 'garments of here upon lether, for wildme' (wildmen), to s'Ve for torche-berers, wth theyr hed peces, staves, and clubbes'.

Directly after the accession of Edward VI the Italian was again employed (February 1st to 28th, 1547) for the Shrovetide revels of the court, which do not appear to have been curtailed by the royal mourning, since 'Nicholas Modena, a stranger, was paid £14 for his wages, with 22 other carvers'. Similar festivities in the following year (1548) again demanded his services; and he now appears as a 'moulder', engaged in making '6 heads of heres for masks'.

At this point there occurs an interval in the career of Niccolò da Modena which extends to a period of three years and a half, and he does not again appear before us until July, 1551, when

the *Acts of the Privy Council of England* (New Series, vol. 2) inform us that Sir Ralph Sadler was given a warrant to supply 'iij yerdes of damaske to make a gowne for Nicholas Modona; iiij yardes of velvet to make a coate, and iij yardes of satten to make him a doblet'. It seems as if the Council were especially anxious that Niccolò should make a brave appearance on some particular occasion, and this occasion can have been none other than the impending visit of the 'Marishall St. Andrewe' of France, who was to be received, as we learn from the next paragraph in the minutes of the Council, with much solemnity by Lord Cobham and his suite. Later events render it probable that the artist had come from France to England for the occasion, thus accounting for the evident desire of the Privy Council to let it appear that the artist was well cared for.

Whether Modena came to England for this visit or was already here, it is clear that he remained for at least some months in Edward's service; being employed in the same year upon the tomb of Henry VIII—to be mentioned at greater length later on—which in 1536 had been left unfinished by Benedetto da Rovezzano and Giovanni da Maiano, though it is impossible to define the extent of his labours. The only references I have been able to discover are the two following, which show that Modena lived, as did Torrigiano before him, within the precinct of Westminster Abbey, and that some damage had already been done to the tomb of Henry VII.

'The xxviiijth of August, 1551. Lettre of thanks to the Deane and Chapter of Westminster, for their conformytie in yelding parte of their Dorter to be layed with his Majesties Thesaurey Howses for thinlargement of the same, and lycensing them to repayre their howse where his Hieghnes father's tombe is a working and wherein Modena dwelleth, and for taking downe somme parte therof that may well be spared, without hyndering of the making of the same tombe and Modena's habitacion.'

'At Hampton Courte, the vth of October, 1551. A letter to the Chauncellour of thaughtmentacions to see Modena restored to his house, which the preestes of Westminster had expelled hym owt of; and further to examin what leade is taken downe, what howses decayed and what spoyle hath byn made of thinges belonging to King Henry VII's tombe, which by Modena was enformed to be to the value of XM^l crownes.'

On New Year's Day, 1552, Modena presented Edward VI with 'a feire picture paynted of the Frenche King his hoole personage, sett in a frame of wodde', for which he appears to have received 'oone guilte salt with a cover'. As he received no payment in money, and the picture was a portrait of the King of France, it may well be supposed, as we have already suggested, that Modena was actually employed at the French court, and that he either sent the picture over or brought it in person, the latter being the more probable surmise in view of the

kindly relations existing between the artist and the English court. Modena, too, was present at the funeral of Edward in 1553, and evidently was charged with the task of making the effigy of the monarch which lay on the funeral car, as may be gathered from a mention in the funeral expenses of 'Modena maker of the King's picture', who received four yards of black cloth; while the 'chariott of tymbre that carriede the King's corpes with the King's picture from white hawle to Westm' church' is also mentioned. Again there appears no reason why Niccolò should not have come to England for the occasion, by courtesy of his French employers.

The weakest links in the chain by which we have sought to bind up Niccolò da Modena with Niccolò dell' Abbate are the statements in Tiraboschi to the effect that dell' Abbate worked with Alberto Fontana in the great hall of the Palazzo Comunale at Modena in 1546, and that on June 28th, 1547, he finished the Martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul for the church of San Pietro in the same city, which now hangs in the Picture Gallery at Dresden. It is true that Tiraboschi is quoting at second hand from the manuscript *Cronaca* of Lancilotto, and the story of Niccolò da Modena's escapade at Venice with Lodovico dell' Arme is sufficient proof that travelling had no terrors for him; the three years and a half of his absence from England—1548 to 1551—may well be found to account for the time spent by Niccolò dell' Abbate upon the frescoes in the Palazzo Comunale at Modena, the Martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, and the notable series of frescoes executed at Scandiano for Conte Giuliano Boiardo, the more so as Tiraboschi tells us that in 1552 Niccolò dell' Abbate 'was at the French court and that he was well provided for . . . and that he wished his wife and children to be sent to him there'. Here we have the last of what is at least a remarkable series of coincidences, for it has just been shown that in that same year, 1552, Niccolò da Modena presented Edward VI with a portrait of the French king Henri II: in 1552, that is to say, both Niccolò da Modena and Niccolò dell' Abbate were in one way or another in direct touch with the French court. Here, too, as might be expected, we finally lose sight of Niccolò da Modena, absorbed apparently into the other Niccolò who hailed from the same city of Modena, and who so resolutely dogs his footsteps through Europe.¹

For nearly twenty years after the death of Edward VI del-

¹ On the subject of Niccolò da Modena I have received, since this paper was in the hands of the printers, a most interesting letter from M. Louis Dimier. The letter is too long to be quoted in full, but I must confess that his arguments in favour of a separate identity for Niccolò da Modena and Niccolò dell' Abbate appear wellnigh unanswerable.

l'Abbate continued to work at Fontainebleau under Primaticcio, even as a generation previously his shadow 'Nicholas dit Moderne' had worked in the same place under the same leader. It may be mentioned that while it appears certain that he went—or returned—to France in 1552 or 1551, there are no disbursement sheets earlier than the year 1556 which mention him as working at Fontainebleau, and that where any description of the nature of his employment is vouchsafed it somewhat resembles the tasks of the Niccolò who came to Henry of England's court: 'ouvrages de peinture en forme de grotesque.' He died at Fontainebleau in 1571. There is a painting by him of the Rape of Proserpine at Stafford House in London.

The notices of Toto del Nunziato and of Niccolò da Modena have of necessity been allowed to interfere with the story of the royal tombs which for so long a period occupied the attention of Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey. Torrigiano does not appear to have remained in England longer than was necessary, and the last information we have concerning this artist dovetails into the earliest notices recording the presence in England of two other Tuscan sculptors, Benedetto da Rovezzano and Giovanni da Maiano—the latter under the cruel disguise of 'John Demayauns', an 'Italian graver'—who appear in the service of both king and cardinal.

Benedetto da Rovezzano, whose life was included by Vasari in the *Vite*, was born in 1474, his father being a certain Maestro Bartolomeo di Riccio di Grazzino de' Grazzini residing at Pistoia. The name 'da Rovezzano' was acquired by Benedetto in consequence of his having bought a parcel of land in the neighbourhood of that village. He does not appear to have spent his earlier years in Tuscany, but to have wandered to other parts of Italy; and Milanesi, on the strength of two documents quoted by Alizeri,¹ endeavours to identify him with the 'Benedictus Florentinus' who, in company with Donato Benti, carved the singing gallery in Santo Stefano at Genoa in 1499, asserting also that he is the 'Benedictus Bartholomei florentinus' who, with the same Donato Benti and two other sculptors, made a contract in 1502 for a royal tomb which was to be erected at Paris. The contract, quoted *in extenso* by Alizeri, is headed 'Pacta pro sepultura Francorum Regis', and Milanesi evidently supposes that the tomb in question is that of Charles VIII, as he tells us that in view of these documents there is reason to doubt the assertion of French writers to the effect that the tomb of Charles was designed by Guido Mazzoni, or Paganino. If this were so, it would be a serious blow levelled at the very foundations of the structure it has been my endeavour to build

¹ *Notizie dei Professori del Disegno nella Liguria*, vol. iv, p. 286.

up, but fortunately Milanesi's theory is shaken by his own arguments and totally disproved by the contract already mentioned. The singing gallery at Genoa bears no other description of Benedetto save that he is a Florentine: Milanesi argues that this Florentine cannot be Benedetto da Maiano, as he was already dead, nor can he be Benedetto Buglione, 'because we do not know that he worked in Genoa.' He assumes, therefore, that the artist in question must have been Benedetto da Rovezzano, forgetting that the critical proof of his having worked in Genoa is equally wanting. If we turn to his arguments concerning the tomb of Charles, we find from the contract that it could not be the tomb erected at St. Denis, for not only does the engraving in Felibien's *Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de St. Denys* show only one figure on the sarcophagus—whereas the contract stipulates that, beside minor figures, there shall be the effigies of a man and his wife, *altere vero [figurae] duo superiores una viri et altera mulieris*—but at the time the work was undertaken Louis XII, then on the French throne, had already wedded Charles's widow, Anne of Brittany, the marriage having taken place in 1499 immediately after his divorce from Jeanne de France. It can scarcely be supposed that Louis would propose to place the effigy of his own wife upon the tomb of her former husband; nor can it be supposed that the tomb in question was destined for Louis himself, as his monument, also at St. Denis, is known to have been made by the Juste family of Tours. The contract of 1502 can never have been carried out.

The earliest work which may with any degree of probability be ascribed to Benedetto da Rovezzano is the marble chimney-piece originally carved for Pier Francesco Borgherini but now preserved in the Bargello at Florence, whither so many of the treasures of the city have found their way; while the earliest work to which Vasari gives a date is the tomb of Pier Soderini in the Carmine at Florence, executed in 1512. To the same year belongs the statue of St. John Baptist, now in Santa Maria del Fiore. As an architect he designed the façade of the palace of Oddo Altoviti—who died in 1507—near Sant' Apostolo, and also carved his sepulchral monument within the church.

His greatest work in Italy, destined like that in England to be left unfinished, was the tomb of San Giovanni Gualberto, intended for the church of Santa Trinità in Florence. Vasari ascribes its commencement to the year 1515, but it has been shown that the actual date was probably 1505, the year given by Vasari being that in which Benedetto's labours on it came to an end, as he says that the sculptor devoted ten years to the work. The progress of the tomb and of the chapel in which it was to have been placed was retarded by changes and dissensions among

those in charge, and the unfinished work remained in a neglected state until 1530, when it suffered at the ruffianly hands of the soldiers during the siege of Florence by the Medicean and Imperial troops. The fragments are now preserved in the Bargello.

Benedetto, however, had made his way to England some years before these troublous times befell in Florence; and if we may assume that the 'ten whole years' he has been absent from home, to which he refers in a letter of 1529, were all spent in England, his arrival would agree very closely with Torrigiano's departure for Spain. As nearly all his work here was done in partnership with Giovanni da Maiano it will be as well to pause for a moment and to trace the relationship between this Giovanni and the better-known Benedetto and Giuliano da Maiano. Benedetto and Giuliano were brothers, and not uncle and nephew as Vasari tells us; and from their *Denunzia dei Beni* made before the *Catasto* in Florence—a declaration somewhat akin to a combined census paper and income-tax return—we learn that they were the sons of Lionardo d'Antonio of Maiano, a carpenter, then residing in the parish of San Lorenzo in Florence. There was also a third brother, Giovanni, the only record of his art being a figure of the Madonna now preserved in the cathedral at Prato which bears the inscription, 'Iulianus et Iovanni et Benedictus Maianii Leonardi F. hanc aram posuerunt sculpseruntque MCCCCLXXX.' Giovanni, however, died in the same year, as the *Denunzia* above mentioned is drawn up in the names of Giuliano and Benedetto and of 'Giovanni, the son of Giovanni, nephew of the foregoing', who at the time was a baby in arms of eighteen months.¹ This is unquestionably the Giovanni da Maiano who worked in England with Benedetto da Rovezzano.

It is Giovanni who first appears in the English records, in a letter addressed to Cardinal Wolsey on June 18th, 1521, in connexion with the heads of the Caesars at Hampton Court which had been ordered by the cardinal and duly made by the artist. It is open to doubt whether the work was done in England, as Giovanni was to be paid piece-work for them, and not as a part of his salaried duties, though the letter shows that he had undertaken to place the medallions in position, *Cum ex mandato vestrae gratiae fecerim et in vestro palatio apud Anton Cort collocaverim octo rotundas imagines ex terra depictas et deauratas*. He may have brought them already finished to England together with the reliefs of the Labours of Hercules, and the actual design of the cardinal's palace affords no indication of the influence of Italian artists except in such details as these same terra-cotta medallions, which might well have been brought in a complete

¹ He is described in the *Denunzia* as 'Giovanni, figlio di detto Giovanni detà dani 1½'. Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i, no. cxiii.

state from Italy. The other four medallions which bring the number up to twelve may have been found necessary when Giovanni was already in England.

The earliest notices of Benedetto da Rovezzano's presence in England are contained in a letter from that artist similarly addressed to Cardinal Wolsey and in an undated document assigned in the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* to the year 1528. At this period Wolsey's circumstances were widely altered. When Giovanni da Maiano had written to ask for the arrears due for the Hampton Court roundels Wolsey was at the height of his brilliant career; but when Rovezzano wrote, on June 30th, 1529, the cardinal's downfall hung imminent as the sword of Damocles, and the letter contains a retrospect of the work done in connexion with the tomb Wolsey had at one time hoped to erect over his last resting-place. It is not entirely to the difficulties of Wolsey, however, that we must attribute this letter, but also in part to the recent death of the Florentine merchant Antonio Cavallari, which necessitated the transference of all matters with which he had been entrusted to other hands, as well as a careful recital of such particulars as might be gathered from various sources. Before Benedetto drew up his statement it had already become doubtful 'whether the Cardinal meant to have the rest of the tomb perfected', and Cavallari was considering the advisability of allowing Benedetto to return to Italy. In this letter there is no mention of Giovanni da Maiano, and it would seem that his connexion with the work dates only from the time when Henry appropriated the incomplete tomb for his own use in, or about, 1530.

Benedetto's letter is a recapitulation of the main events in the history of the tomb, which in some respects takes the place of the projected and rejected scheme for Henry's own monument; and it was written at the command of the Thomas Cromwell who, on January 9th, 1532, was to be appointed receiver general and supervisor of the lands forfeited by Wolsey's attainer. From it we learn that there had been no formal contract, the complete confidence existing between Benedetto and Cavallari rendering any such document superfluous. The artist had been engaged on the work since June 1st, 1524, and had spent about 4,250 ducats on it. 'I was in daily expectation', he writes, 'of being able to discuss the matter with the said Anthonio Cavallari, and of receiving the money due to me, and I fully believe that he would presently have settled this business if cruel death had not prevented him.'¹ The magnificence of the tomb may be gauged from the expenditure of £800 for gilding done to date, which

¹ For a full account of this work and a conjectural reconstruction of the same see the *Archaeological Journal*, loc. cit.

alone was four times the total cost incurred for gilding the tomb of Henry VII, *unde plane iudicari potest quantum sit discrimen inter hoc et illud*. In conclusion the letter relates that Benedetto had been definitely promised the commission for the tomb of Henry VIII and for the altar to be erected in the Cardinal's College—now Christ Church—at Oxford; he can wish for nothing better than to execute these works, but he wishes to visit his wife and family in Italy, from whom, he confesses with shame, he has now been separated for ten whole years, *jam x integros annos ab eis discriminor*.

In this letter is contained all the available information concerning Benedetto da Rovezzano's presence in England from 1524 to 1529, and it will be noted that not only was he anxious to return to Italy on a visit, but that Cavallari was seriously considering whether he should be allowed to go, especially as it was doubtful if the cardinal would now complete his tomb. Wolsey, however, did not fall from his high position until the autumn of 1529, and the tomb was still his property in June of that year, as Benedetto's letter shows, so that the document already referred to as placed in the *Letters and Papers* among the papers of the year 1528 should surely belong to 1529 at the earliest, as it deals with the question of transforming the erstwhile tomb of the prelate into the tomb of the king.

There are two versions of this document, printed in full for the first time in the *Archaeological Journal*, where it is asserted that the shorter of them 'appears to be the first draft of the artist himself, not only from the fact that it contains much fewer particulars than the other list, but because the language sufficiently shows that it was written by an Italian imperfectly acquainted with English'. It is a small matter, but the document in question does not bear out the statement just quoted, apart from the fact that when Benedetto presents his account at a later date he uses the Italian tongue throughout to describe even such essentially non-Italian materials as coal for his furnaces; and such spellings as 'fottys' (feet), 'epitaphis,' and 'towching stone' are not the ones that would come natural to a descendant of the Latin race. Nor is the Italian word 'costume' a happy equivalent for 'cowstyons'—whatever that word may imply—in the English sense of *costume*, or *dress*; since it is only by an extension of its true meaning of *habit*, *manner*, or *custom*, that it can be taken to apply to the vesture of the cardinal,¹ while Benedetto, who elsewhere calls himself a 'Fiorentino', could scarcely be expected to speak of the Tuscan capital as 'Flowrance'.

¹ Petrarch, Sonnet No. VII, uses the word in its proper sense:—

'Onde è dal corso quasi smarrita
Nostra natura, vinta dal costume' . . .

Giovanni da Maiano is not mentioned in connexion with the tomb until it had passed into the hands of the king. His work was of a different and more trivial nature, as may be seen from the Book of Payments for moneys disbursed by Sir Henry Gwildeforde, knight, and Sir Thomas Wyat, knight, in building 'a Banketing house at the King his manor of Greenwich' in 1527, wherein appears one 'John Demyans', whose identity might well be doubted were it not that he figures again in the accounts as 'John Demayauns, Italian graver'. At this time Giovanni's post was one of importance and responsibility as he evidently had charge over all the works in stucco, plaster and carving, and had a gang of men in his employ. Something of the nature of the work is revealed by his expenses: 'old linen cloth for moulds of paper for the vaulting of the arches' speaks eloquently of fibrous plaster; while other items include brown paper, sponges, pork-grease (for greasing the moulds), fine flour for paste, candles, wax and rosin. We catch a faint glimpse of the ceiling and the candelabra from an account of his expenses printed in the *Letters and Papers* for the year 1527 in connexion with the May-day revels.

In November of the same year John Demayauns 'and his company' were again at work in the 'Revelling Chamber within the tilt yard at Greenwich', but their labour was merely one of repairs, the total bill amounting only to £2 16s. 8d. To judge from the only other entry of this period, before his association with Benedetto da Rovezzano, Giovanni was in receipt of a yearly salary of £20 from the king, as in the list of quarterly wages due at Christmas, 1528, appears the name of 'John Demayns', who is to receive £5.

The fall of Wolsey, in part foreshadowed by Benedetto's letter of June 30th, 1529, was the means of bringing the two Italian artists together upon their one great work in England. The ecclesiastical court presided over by Cardinal Campeggio and by Wolsey, which was to hear the arguments of Henry and Katherine for and against the divorce, had already been sitting for a month, and continued to sit until July 23rd, when Campeggio prorogued the court until October 1st. Katherine, meanwhile, had refused to submit her cause to the jurisdiction of the cardinals, and had repeatedly implored the Pope to try the case himself in Rome, and before the time arrived for the court to reassemble the Pope had acceded to her request, thus putting an end to all Henry's hopes of success.

Both the king and Anne Boleyn blamed Wolsey for the failure of the proceedings, while even Katherine and her adherents expressed their animosity against him for his share in the business, so that on all sides the once mighty prelate was looked upon with

the utmost disfavour. On October 18th he was called upon to surrender the Great Seal, and was soon commanded to retire to Esher. His property and his unfinished tomb fell into the eager hands of the king, and Benedetto da Rovezzano then drew up the schedule already noticed, showing the condition of the several portions of the monument and how they might be converted into a resting-place for their royal, though scarcely more magnificent, owner. On November 4th, 1530, Wolsey was placed under arrest: in the accounts for the following month the tomb is already the king's tomb, and the sum of £13 6s. 8d. is paid to Thomas Cromwell, who in turn pays the money over to Benedetto da Bartolommeo da Rovezzano, Florentine sculptor, on January 7th, 1531, 'on the King's account.' The whole tragedy of a great life lies hidden under two entries brought together in a single paragraph in the *Letters and Papers*. The first reads, 'To Mr. Cromwell, for the King's tomb, £13 6s. 8d.'; the other, 'To Sir William Kingston'—the Keeper of the Tower, who went to convey Wolsey a prisoner to London—'for such charges as he sustained when he went to conduct the Cardinal up, £41 10s. 10d.'

When once the two artists had joined hands in work they seem to have pushed on without a pause for a period of between four and five years. Their progress is punctuated by a series of receipts signed by or on behalf of Benedetto and Giovanni, the first referring to the months from June to November, 1531, and containing a very interesting detailed account of the expenses incurred. The document is written in the Tuscan dialect with a generous share of the orthographic peculiarities of the day mingled with some half-digested English words that the artists have acquired by dint of rubbing shoulders with their native assistants. The metal founders have become 'fondori' instead of the more usual Tuscan 'fonditori', the carpenters are called 'injungieri' instead of 'falegnami' or 'legnaiuoli'¹—this appears to be a deliberate attempt to overcome the English word 'joiner', while an entirely new verb, 'forgiare,' to forge, is invented to meet the necessities of the case. The word 'mattoni' (bricks) is rejected by these Florentines, who prefer to call a load of bricks 'una charata di bricke'.

These accounts deal chiefly with the purchase of bronze and of other materials used in casting, while several of the names are those of Italians, perhaps the men who in former years formed Giovanni da Maiano's 'company'; as Rinieri, Ambrogio, Fermino,

¹ It does not appear that the word 'injungiere' can be considered equivalent to 'ingegnere', as Mr. Higgins (*Archaeological Journal*, loc. cit.) assumes: not only would there be more scope for joiners in a work of this nature than for engineers, but the word is clearly a derivative from the verb 'giungere', to join.

Pietro Baldi, Niccolao Fiorentino, and, it may be, Giovanni Utrin. Benedetto, it may be mentioned, is usually described as 'the King's tombmaker', and as such he receives several payments in 1532 and the following year, his name being generally, but not always, coupled with that of Maiano. Wolsey's debt, for work done upon the tomb when it was his, remained still unpaid in 1533, for in the rough draft of matters to be laid before Parliament there is a note to the effect that 'Benedic, the carver', is to have 'some recompense for the debt due to him by the Cardinal'.¹ In the catalogue of documents in the possession of Thomas Cromwell in the same year there is mentioned a bill referring to 'John De Manion' and another referring to 'Benedict Rovesham', but we learn nothing as to the nature of these papers; while the artists are again recorded under similar circumstances as 'John De Manino' and 'Benedic Rovesame' later in the same year.

In 1534 the artists no longer appear as paymasters but as themselves receiving their wages from one Richard Andrews, while warrants for their wages, which still await the royal signature, appear in the accounts for 1535 and 1536. The last entry is accompanied by a bill for 2,040 lb. of copper, showing that when the last recorded payment was made the work was being actively carried forward. What happened after 1536 can only be surmised, but the work seems to have been relinquished, perhaps owing to the king's energies being diverted into another channel. In 1536 Henry determined to suppress the monasteries, beginning with those with revenues of less than £200 a year; he caused Anne Boleyn to be tried and executed, then married Jane Seymour; and, as if these events were not enough to occupy his attention, the 'Pilgrimage of Grace' in the north and a less formidable rising in Lincolnshire temporarily threatened the security of his throne. Other insurrections followed, and were scarcely quelled before Queen Jane bore the king a son, expiring two days later. These circumstances help to explain the neglect of the tomb, but Henry's exchequer was already wellnigh empty, and in October of this year Wriothesley found it necessary, when writing to Cromwell with reference to the risings in the north, to say that the king 'wold sell all the plate he hath, but he will subdue thise traitours, in suche sorte, that all others shalbe ware by their example'. The work once stopped was never proceeded with again until the year 1551, when, as previously mentioned, Niccolò da Modena was engaged upon portions of it at Westminster.

Giovanni da Maiano in all probability returned to Italy with Benedetto da Rovezzano, though in the labyrinth of documents

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. vi, no. 1381.

wherein he may still lie concealed his presence is as yet undetected. For news of Benedetto we are obliged to accept the hazy statements of Vasari. In the first edition of the *Vite* he tells us that the artist, old and blind, had been compelled to give up work 'since the year 1540', adding that he had earned much and spent little while in England, thereby enabling himself to withstand the calamity which darkened his latest years. As the second edition informs us that on returning to Florence Benedetto completed a few small works, it is clear that it was not his blindness which barred the progress of the tomb; and had it been so with him there still remained Giovanni da Maiano to proceed with the work. Benedetto, moreover, was comfortably off on his return to Florence, and there was no pressing occasion for him to strain his eyes with work had they already begun to give him trouble in England. The later edition asserts that he continued to work until 1550, and that he died shortly after that date.

The result of England's new European policy had led Henry to employ Italians not only as painters and sculptors but also as military engineers in charge of his fortifications and siege engines, especially in 1544, during the French war. While Girolamo da Treviso was employed in France, a certain Archan Archany, 'an Italian,' was sent into the Marches to assist Lord Eure in holding the border against the Scots and French, while he took an active part in the attack on Kelso. Although there are numerous references to him in the despatches of the period there is little to be learnt from them, except that he designed the fortifications for Holy Island, repaired those of Berwick—'Touching the fortifications at Berwike . . . the King means to despatch Archan thither; whom Shrewsbury shall furnish with money for the said fortifications' (March 18th, 1545)—and also was employed at Coldingham, which place he rendered so secure that the garrison declared its ability to hold it for '40 hours if the Scots should bring 2 cannons'. It is in connexion with Coldingham that Archan is first mentioned, as we learn that the king in November 1544, 'thinking Coldingham a meet place to be kept if it may be fortified, has presently sent down his servant Archan, an Italian, to view the places, with whom you shall join Mr. Carpenter and Mr. Mason of Berwick'. As Giovanni da Treviso was killed at Boulogne in September 1544, it seems as though Archan succeeded him as military engineer. He left our shores in 1546, however, the last notice of him being the granting of his passport beyond the realm.

A more important visitor to our island in every way was the Girolamo da Treviso already mentioned, who appears under the aliases of 'Hierome Trevix Bollonia' and 'Jeronimo Italion'.

He comes before us in more tangible form than do most of his fellows, for one of his paintings is now in the National Gallery. Himself a painter, he was the son of Pier Maria Pennacchi, a Trevisan artist, and he was born in 1497. He studied first in his native city, visiting Venice and Rome, and becoming an ardent admirer of Raphael, though not his pupil. On the death of Raphael in 1520 he returned to Treviso, and on his arrival was entrusted with the task of completing the picture in the church of San Niccolò which had been left unfinished by Fra Marco Pensaben, two figures being still lacking when the Frate fled from Treviso. This was in 1521, and Girolamo remained in his native city until 1528, often, however, visiting Venice, where he painted a picture of SS. James, Lawrence, and Mary Magdalene in the church of San Salvatore. His principal work at Treviso was the decoration of the Casa Robegani, in 1527, the year of the sack of Rome, an event which he recorded in his paintings with the words 'Tempore penuriae, belli crudelissimi, pestilentiae acerbissimae'. On the death of his father in the same year Girolamo went to Trento, where he decorated the loggia in the palace of the Prince-Bishop.

From Trento he removed to Bologna, and from the *Graticola di Bologna*, written in 1560 by Pietro Lami, we learn that he painted a Madonna and Saints for the church of San Domenico in that city, a Visit of the Magi for Conte Andato Bentivoglio, and four large scenes in chiaroscuro from the life of St. Antonio of Padua in San Petronio. In the Palazzo Colonna at Rome there is a portrait of Giambattista Bracciolini by this artist. In company with others he was engaged upon the decoration of the refectory in the monastery of San Sebastiano at Bologna, but the Bolognese artists failed to find a means of living together in harmony—we remember that the same discords drove Giorgio Vasari away from the city at a later date—and Girolamo departed in disgust and anger to Faenza in 1530 or 1531, and there he was employed by Sabba da Castiglione, a Knight of Rhodes, a notable soldier and a personal friend of the painter. By 1533 his work in Faenza was finished, and Girolamo returned to Bologna, either before or after a visit to Genoa, where he decorated the garden front of the Palazzo Doria-Panfilì in fresco. But in Bologna he was once more the subject of petty spite and intrigue; and failing to receive a commission for a picture in the Ospedale della Morte for which he had competed, he travelled to England, by Pietro Aretino's advice, and entered the service of Henry VIII. Vasari, who gives a short account of his life, tells us that Henry received him gladly and employed him as an engineer rather than as a painter, expressing great admiration for the buildings erected from his designs. His further statement that this artist received

400 crowns per annum from the king finds support among the papers in the Record Office. Vasari tells us also that Henry gave Girolamo permission to build a house for himself and paid all the expenses out of his own pocket.

The source from whence the biographer gleaned his information is clearly a letter addressed to Girolamo by Pietro Aretino, the two men having become acquainted either in Venice or Trento. The letter is dated May 22nd, 1542, and the internal evidence points to its having been written not long after Girolamo arrived in England. After referring to the misfortune which had ended so fortunately—that is to say, the bickerings at Bologna that had driven him to our shores—Aretino mentions the Count Lodovico Rangone. ‘He has told me’, he writes, ‘of the money given to you when you were presented to him [the king], and of the 400 [crowns] which are to be your annual stipend; of the palace that you are building at his expense; and of his having placed you among the number of the Gentlemen who serve him.’¹ This is the earliest evidence we have of an Italian designing a building in England—the mysterious John of Padua did not receive his appointment until 1544—and it is to be regretted that it is now impossible to identify it. Girolamo, as ‘Hierome Trevis Bollonia’, appears in the quarterly wages list for 1542 as receiving £25 each quarter, which bears out the statements as to his annual salary of 400 crowns.

Vasari, however, is justified in saying that Girolamo was employed rather as an engineer than as an artist in England. Henry at the time was engaged in an attempt to capture the northern ports of France while Charles V marched on Paris; and Girolamo, who, as events showed, though undoubtedly brave, knew nothing whatever about sieges, fortifications and similar matters, was given an important command in Henry’s forces. He first appears in Wallop’s despatch of June 11th, 1542, but there are few details as to his occupation, though he seems to have enjoyed the English king’s full confidence and to have been employed in constructing engines for the assault; while his supposed knowledge of the neighbourhood was expected to be of service to the besiegers. In the same month of June the Lord Privy Seal reports that he has ‘licensed Jheronomas to depart to Calyce [Calais], but considering his knowledge of Monstreil [Montreuil], we desire him sent hither’. His knowledge was more apparent than real, for on the following day there is a further despatch to the effect that neither the ‘plott nor yet the report of Jeronimus to the [king’s] Majesty did in any part agree with the ground [of the] place of Monstreil: for the same (sayeth he) st[andeth upon] rock, and hath a place fortified as a bulwark [and

¹ *Lettere di Pietro Aretino*, vol. ii, p. 175. Paris, 1609.

a] mount that beateth all the plain round abo[ut, and] the thing itself all of an other strength than it was [taken for]'. Girolamo was despatched to explain the discrepancies: his explanation was that 'he never marked the town without but only within', and that 'at his being there, the great bulwark without Abbeville gate was not made, which now scours so many places'.

These early performances of the stranger from Italy began to shake the king's confidence, for a despatch of July 28th from Henry to Russel asks for his opinion of 'Jeronimo' whom he considers willing, 'and likes his opinion in many things, but he is inexperienced in sieges'. The despatch relates that when it was said that 'the rampier within was so strongly made with long faggots that it would be a second wall, Jeronimo said he would, with certain pioneers, beat it down with mattocks; so that Norfolk and others thought he spake not as a man very skilful in such things'. Whatever were his shortcomings as a military engineer, there can be no doubt of his bravery and devotion as a soldier; and perhaps to make up for his failure he assured Henry in person that he was ready to 'serve and be one of the foremost in any feat there'. He only asks to be given 100 'hasquebutiers' whom he is ready to lead to the assault of Boulogne when the proper moment arrives, but, as there were no men not already appointed to their various captains, Girolamo was sent into Flanders to enlist the required number, having previously brought to the king's notice the Lodovico dell'Arme who has already been mentioned in connexion with Niccolò da Modena.

Girolamo obtained his troop of arquebusiers, and his fatal participation in the preliminary assault on Boulogne, which fully made up for his deficiencies in other directions, finds a curt mention in the *Letters and Papers* in the form of a letter from John Mason to a Mr. Honnings, dated September 11, 1544. 'I have deferred to write, looking every day to send you the great good news which I trust you shall hear within four days, for to-morrow or Sunday we go earnestly to the matter. We assailed the castle yesterday in play, but the defence was so earnest that a great number of our men are hurt and some are slain, amongst is (*sic*) Jheronimo, the deviser, which I think is 5,000 pound in the King's Highness' way.' In Stowe's *Annales of England* (1592) there is a detailed account of these operations which may serve to throw more light upon the death of Jeronimo.

This paper would be incomplete without some reference to John of Padua, though there is little enough to be added to the stock of common knowledge. It is evident that by 1545 Henry and his advisers were becoming alarmed at the number

of foreigners who continued to make England their abiding Mecca, and on June 6th Paget felt compelled to remonstrate with Lord Cobham for having sent yet another Italian, Giovanni Battista di Beni da Gubbio, to England in the hope of finding employment. He marvels that, 'having been the occasion of the coming of so many with which all here are wearied, you continue sending them over whom we will as fast send back again. This man I wot not how to bestow. If you can find any place for him there, in the name of God do as you think good'. And the postscript adds: 'My lord, I beseech you send over no more strangers, and move the rest there to send none, for the King is not content.'

John of Padua had arrived before these instructions were sent out, and he remained at least until the early years of Edward's reign. It is scarcely true, however, that among the Italians who appear in Henry's service the name of 'John of Padua occurs most frequently', as Mr. Gotch tells us; for it is just the very infrequency of his appearance which is the cause of all the trouble. The grant of 1544, which is given in full in Rymer's *Foedera*, vol. xv, p. 34, has, however, been generally misinterpreted with regard to the nature of the Italian's services; for while we are told that John of Padua was employed by the king in matters architectural and musical, the wording of the grant—*nobis in Architectura, ac aliis in re Musica*—cannot be made to support such an assumption. His services to the king were wholly architectural—*nobis in Architectura*—while his musical talent was employed 'by others'—*ac aliis in re Musica*: moreover, the reference to past services is *in dicta Arte*—not in *dictis Artibus*—'in the said Art'. The date of the grant and its mention of services rendered 'at the Feast of Easter in the Thirty-Fourth year of our Reign' preclude the assumption that John of Padua succeeded to Girolamo's office, as he was appointed three months before the latter died; and his grant of two shillings a day differs in amount and form from the payments of all the other Italians, who for the most part received £20 per annum in quarterly instalments. Padua is paid on a far higher scale—a scale that can only be compared with the payments of two shillings a day for 'diets and riding costs' accorded to David Martyn, or Marten, 'comptroller of the King's works,' and to 'Sir Richard Benese, priest, surveyor of the same works' in 1546; each having been appointed to his several office in September 1538. The services of Benese came to an end in December 1541, and as his work had required his presence 'not only in England but beyond the sea, and in Scotland and elsewhere', it may be that some of his duties fell to Girolamo da Treviso. The office of 'Surveyor' can never have fallen to John of Padua,

for while we have proof that he was still in Henry's service when that monarch died and continued his services in *Architectura* under a grant *ad vitam* from Edward VI, we find that the Surveyor of the Works was a certain Lawrence Bradshaw, who held office certainly as early as 1546 and perhaps before that date. The extent of his labours, which included repairs to the Houses of Parliament, Richmond Palace, Windsor Castle, Thorneby, the Palace at Westminster, the Tower, Whitehall, Durham Place, Suffolk Place, and Eltham, with alterations to the gardens of Hampton Court—involving in one year an outlay of £919 18s. 6d.—seems to leave little room for John of Padua, except as designer of the aforesaid works; and yet there is not one entry during these years which can be dignified by a higher title than a repairing job.

John of Padua, for all our careful research, remains as before a mystery; possibly—but also improbably—to be identified with the astrologer and mathematician who wrote a number of books towards the end of the century under the name of Johannes Paduanii Veronensis. That he was in Henry's service in 1544 is proved by the grant of that year; that he was resident in England is rendered probable by his salary being calculated on an allowance *per diem*, and by a little known entry in the *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, where under date of December 13, 1547, we read that 'Thexchequer had warraunt to Paye to John de Salerno, John of Padua' and others 'their severall fees according to the letters patentes of the Kinges Majeste deceased graunted to them'. We know no more, save that when Edward VI ascended the throne his council felt justified in advising the renewal of the Italian's grant for life; and so once again 'of our own free will and by the advice and consent of our Uncle and Counsellor, Edward, Duke of Somerset, the Guardian of our Person . . . in consideration of the good and faithful service rendered by our well beloved servant John of Padua to our most exalted Father and to Ourself in Architecture, and to others in Music . . . we have given and granted, and by these Presents do give and grant to the said John of Padua the Wage or Fee of two Shillings a day . . .'.

Who shall say what were the services he rendered in return?"

Mr. HARDY inquired whether a thorough search had been made in the Audit Office declared accounts, the Exchequer accounts, and the records of the Lord Chamberlain's department, as they referred to payments made to artists and musicians especially in the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, but not mentioned elsewhere.

Mr. CRACE said that a great incursion of workers in plaster

was indicated by a list published by Digby Wyatt in a paper read to the Institute of Architects. In that respect there had been great rivalry between Francis I and Henry VIII, and the latter monarch had instructed his ambassador to secure artists for completing Nonsuch Palace. It was uncertain whether the terra-cottas outside that palace were the work of Torrigiano, but they were in existence in John Evelyn's time, the diarist having suggested that they should be housed in a museum instead of being exposed to the weather. From the time of Henry VIII there was a colony of Italian artists in England, some of whom may have lived at Westminster in the house in Dean's Yard now occupied by Canon Wilberforce; which contained a room ornamented on the walls between the timbers with sketches of Italian character. Longleat was perhaps the most thoroughly Italian in design of any house of that period, and was attributed to John of Padua. The late Marquis of Bath held that the house had been erected from designs intended for the Protector and appropriated after his death by Thomas Thynne.

Mr. WEAVER referred to the different impression made by Nonsuch on Evelyn and Pepys.

Mr. PEERS discussed the influence exercised on English architecture by Italian artists who settled in this country. It was interesting to find they were credited with designing royal palaces, but their business was simply ornamentation. The coast fortresses, such as Sandgate, Camber Castle, and later Carlisle, were known to be of German design, and the Italians cannot have contributed more than ornament to Walmer and Deal, for instance, which were of ordinary English character. Sutton Place, too, was a purely Gothic building, with moulded ornament in the windows of Italian type, and the same might be said of the Chapel Court at Hampton Court.

Mr. JOHNSTON referred to an Easter sepulchre at Tarrant Keynstone in Dorset as a parallel to the terra-cotta tomb of Young in the Rolls Chapel. The former had roundels in the spandrels, and bas-reliefs of the women bringing spices to the tomb, the date being about 1530-40.

Mr. CARDEN replied that the notes read to the meeting represented only a part of a much fuller treatment of the subject. He thought that the will of Henry VIII might contain some information as to certain pictures and other works of art produced by the Italians in England.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

THURSDAY, 18th APRIL, 1912.

SIR ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, D.Litt., F.R.S., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From the Author :—The Grove family of Halesowen. By Rev. James Davenport, F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1912.

From the Author :—Charles, Comte de Montalembert. Par le Chevalier Edmond Marchal. 8vo. Brussels, 1912.

From Arthur Bulleid, Esq., F.S.A. :—Plan of excavations at Glastonbury lake village.

The following were admitted Fellows :

George Claridge Druce, Esq.

Philip Nelson, Esq., M.D.

Notice was again given of the Anniversary Meeting on Tuesday, 23rd April, St. George's Day, at 2 p.m., and lists were read of the Fellows proposed as President, Council, and Officers for the ensuing year.

The Report of the Auditors was read (see pp. 208-213) and thanks were ordered to be returned to the Auditors for their trouble and to the Treasurer for his good and faithful services.

MILL STEPHENSON, Esq., B.A., F.S.A., exhibited a number of palimpsest brasses and rubbings, upon which he read the following notes :

"At various periods during the last few years I have had the honour of exhibiting to the Society either rubbings of, or in some cases original, palimpsest brasses. To-night I am able to add to the list four more examples. Although there is nothing amongst them so fine as the Flemish fragment from Biddenden, Kent, exhibited a few weeks ago,¹ the pieces are of interest as showing the enormous stock of second-hand material in the hands of the brass-makers just after the destruction of the monastic houses. In one case it will be seen that no fewer than eight old brasses have been cut up to make a single new one, in another six. The examples shown to-night are from Harefield, Middlesex; Magdalen College, Oxford; and one now in the Archaeological Museum, Cambridge.

1. HAREFIELD, MIDDLESEX.—When visiting this church some little time ago Mr. Wilfrid J. Hemp noticed that the inscription

¹ *Supra*, p. 125.

belonging to one of the Ashby brasses was loose, and on turning it over found that it was palimpsest. He then carefully examined the rest of the brass and another to the same family on an adjoining stone and came to the conclusion that the whole of both would prove to be palimpsest. His suspicions were communicated to Mr. A. H. Tarleton, the owner of the Breakspear chapel in which the brasses lie, who most kindly permitted a thorough examination of both before proceeding with the refixing of the loose inscription. By Mr. Tarleton's permission the original brasses are exhibited on the table before being refixed in their original stones. Casts of the reverses have been taken and will be placed in the chapel as records.

Both brasses commemorate members of the Ashby family, which is one of some interest in that George Ashby, who died in 1474, acquired the estate by marriage with the heiress of Breakspear, a family which produced the only Englishman who has as yet filled the papal throne, viz. Nicholas Breakspear, known as Pope Adrian the Fourth. Although the brass to George Ashby (figs. 1 and 2), who was a clerk of the signet to Henry VII, and chief clerk of the signet and councillor to Henry VIII, bears date 1514, the evidence of the costume shows it to have been engraved at the same time as that laid down to his brother William and his wife about the year 1540. The brass consists of the armed figure of George Ashby, his wife Rose Eden, a foot inscription, a group of four sons, the heads of two missing, a group of three daughters, and three shields of arms respectively bearing Ashby, Ashby impaling Peyton, and Ashby impaling Eden. All the pieces, except the sons, are palimpsest. The figure of George Ashby, with the exception of the small piece on which his toes are engraved, is cut out of the lower part of a large figure of a priest, c. 1380, in mass vestments, of which a portion of the chasuble, the end of the maniple, one side of the stole, a portion of the lower apparel of the alb, and the left foot of the figure clearly appear. The small piece used for the toes also belongs to the same figure and shows a small portion of the border of the chasuble and part of the apparel of the alb. The figure of his wife Rose is made up of two pieces which are the centre portions of two shrouded figures, male and female, and may be dated c. 1480. One of the shields, that bearing Ashby alone, is cut from the shrouded female figure, and the two pieces almost join together. The upper half of Rose Ashby's figure gives the centre portion of the shrouded lady, while on the shield are her hands and arms and the long wisps of hair escaping from under the upper fold of the shroud. The two fragments almost exactly correspond in design and size with a similar shrouded figure to Thomasin Tendryng, dated 1485, in Yoxford

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1911.

INCOME.			EXPENDITURE.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Subscriptions received unpaid, 31st December, 1911	1894	14 6	By Publications of the Society :		
"	36	15 0	Printers' and Artists' Charges and Binding	77	12 4
Less subscriptions unpaid 1910	1831	9 6	Library : Binding	133	19 0
Admissions	6	6 0	Subject Index	190	4 8
Dividends :			Books purchased	54	15 6
£10583 19s. 7d. Metropolitan 3 per cent. Stock	299	0 0	Subscriptions to Books and Societies.		
£1010 1s. Od. Metropolitan Water Board 3 per cent. "B" Stock	28	10 8	Research Fund :		
Works sold	327	10 8	Proportion of Admission Fees	58	16 9
Stevenson Bequest	168	7 1	Legacy, Max Rosenheim, deceased	200	0 0
Legacy, Max Rosenheim, deceased	642	5 6	House Expenditure : Insurance	40	13 9
Sundry Receipts	200	0 0	Lighting	46	11 8
	110	10 8	Fuel	49	9 6
			Repairs	207	4 0
			Tea at Meetings	20	5 8
			Cleaning and Sundries	62	10 9
			Income Tax and Inland Revenue Licence		
			Legacy Duty and Costs : Stevenson Bequest	426	15 4
			Retiring Allowance : W. H. St. John Hope	13	0 3
			Salaries, &c. :	16	10 0
			Secretary, Allowance	250	0 0
			Assistant Secretary	250	0 0
			Clerk and Librarian	550	0 0
			Wages and Allowances :		
			Porter, Housemaid, Hall Boy, &c.	267	0 0
			Official Expenditure :		
			Stationery and Printing	136	10 10
			Postage	8	11 7
			" and Carriage on Publications	54	16 3
			Sundry Expenses	136	11 8
			Balance carried to Balance Sheet		
				336	10 4
				374	12 3
				£3667	17 5

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	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Sundry Creditors				434	16	1
Unexpended balances:						
Owen Fund	32	10	3			
Research Fund	394	9	3	426	19	6
Balance, 31st December, 1910	30580	3	9			
Add Balance of Income and Expenditure						
Account year ending 31st December,						
1911	374	12	3	30954	16	0
By Investments.						
£10583 19s. 7d. Metropolitan 3 per cent. Stock	11060	5	2			
£2128 9s. 6d. Bank Stock	7162	6	4			
£2725 Great Northern Railway 4 per cent. Perpetual Preference Stock	3692	7	6			
£2757 London and North Western Railway 4 per cent. Guaranteed Stock	3763	6	1			
£2761 North Eastern Railway 4 per cent. Guaranteed Stock	3741	3	1			
£592 5s. 10d. Midland Railway 2½ per cent. Consolidated Perpetual Preference Stock	494	11	3			
£1010 1s. Metropolitan Water Board 3 per cent. "B" Stock	1000	0	0			
	30913	19	5			
Sundry Debtors						
Subscriptions unpaid	36	15	0			
Cash:						
At Bankers, Messrs. Coutts & Co.	860	10	5			
In hand	5	6	9			
	865	17	2			
				£31816	11	7

We have prepared the above Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account from the Books and Statements provided by the Treasurer of the Society, and certify to the accuracy of the same. The Investments, which have been, as before, taken at Stock Exchange List prices, on the 31st December, 1899, with the exception of the Metropolitan Water Board 3 per cent. "B" Stock, which was purchased in 1905, and is at cost price, do not include those belonging to the Research and Owen Funds. No account has been taken of the Books, Furniture, Antiquities, or other Assets of the Society.

36 Walbrook, London, E.C.
27th March, 1912.

C. F. KEMP, SONS, & CO.

We, the AUDITORS appointed to audit the ACCOUNTS of the SOCIETY to the 31st day of December, 1911, having examined the find the same to be accurate.

CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR

		RECEIPTS.			
1911.				£	s. d.
Balance in hand, 31st December, 1910				124	11 10
Annual Subscriptions:					
9 at £3 3s., arrears due 1910				28	7 0
1 at £2 2s., ditto				2	2 0
553 at £3 3s., due 1st January, 1911				1741	19 0
72 at £2 2s., ditto				151	4 0
1 at £1 11s. 6d.				1	11 6
				1925	3 6
Admissions:					
28 Fellows at £10 10s.				294	0 0
Dividends:					
on £10583 19s. 7d. Metropolitan 3 per cent. Stock				299	0 0
on £1010 1s. Metropolitan Water Board 3 per cent. "B" Stock				28	10 8
				327	10 8
Works sold.				168	7 1
Stevenson Bequest:					
Dividend on Bank Stock and other Investments				703	8 7
Owen Fund:					
Dividend on £300 2½ per cent. Annuities.				7	1 4
Legacy:					
Max Rosenheim, deceased				200	0 0
Sundry Receipts.				116	2 8

£3866 5 8

OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, from the 1st day of January, 1911,
underwritten ACCOUNTS with the Vouchers relating thereto, do

ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1911.

PAYMENTS.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1911.							
Publications of the Society :							
Printers' and Artists' Charges and Binding .					808	13	6
Library :							
Binding		77	12	4			
Subject Index		133	19	0			
Books purchased		195	16	6			
Subscriptions to Books and Societies		54	15	6	462	3	4
Research Fund :							
Proportion of Admission Fees		58	16	0			
Legacy, Max Rosenheim, deceased		200	0	0	258	16	0
House Expenditure :							
Insurance		40	13	9			
Lighting		52	10	11			
Fuel		57	16	0			
Repairs		193	14	0			
Tea at Meetings		20	5	8			
Cleaning and Sundries		62	4	9	427	5	1
Income Tax and Inland Revenue Licence					13	0	3
Legacy Duty and Costs: Stevenson Bequest					16	10	0
Retiring Allowance. W. H. St. John Hope					250	0	0
Salaries, &c. :							
Secretary, Allowance		50	0	0			
Assistant Secretary		250	0	0			
Clerk and Librarian		250	0	0	550	0	0
Wages and Allowances :							
Porter, Housemaid, Hall Boy, &c.					267	0	0
Official Expenditure :							
Stationery and Printing		140	15	1			
Postage		8	11	7			
Ditto and Carriage on Publications		54	16	3			
Sundry Expenses		137	6	8	341	9	7
Cash :							
At Messrs. Coutts & Co.		668	3	2			
Petty Cash		5	6	9			
		673	9	11			
Less amount due to Research Fund		202	2	0	471	7	11
					£3866	5	8

April 18.]

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

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ACCOUNT.

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.
Morant Club	5	0	0
Byzantine Research Fund	5	0	0
Lesnes Abbey Excavation Fund	5	0	0
Avebury Excavation Fund	5	0	0
Red Hills Excavation Fund	5	0	0
Old Sarum Excavation Fund	100	0	0
Corbridge Excavation Fund	20	0	0
Gellygaer Exploration Fund	5	0	0
Hengistbury Head Explorations	20	0	0
Wroxeter. Travelling Expenses	2	7	6
Balance, 31st December, 1911	394	9	3

 £566 16 9

31st DECEMBER, 1910.

 Amount
of Stock.
£ s. d.

 In the High Court of Justice, Chancery Division,
In the suit Thornton v. Stevenson.

 The Stocks remaining in Court to the credit of this cause are as
follows:

Great Western Railway 5 per cent. Guaranteed Stock	8894	0	0
Midland Railway 2½ per cent. Perpetual Preference Stock	14992	8	5
	£23886	8	5

After payment of the Annuities, now amounting to £300 per annum, the Society is entitled to one-fourth share of the residue of the Income of the above Funds. This is payable after the 10th April and 10th October in every year.

 Witness our hands this 27th day of March, 1912.

 EDWARD S. PRIOR.
HENRY B. WHEATLEY.
W. J. HARDY.
W. M. TAPP.



Here lieth George Ashby Esquier one of the Clerke of the Signet to Kinge
Henry the viij. and Chiefe Clerk of the Signet and Counsellor to Kinge Henry
the viij. and also his wife whiche George decessed the xiiij day of March
in the yere of o^r lorde God m^c cccc xxij. and the lady decessed the
day of in the yere of o^r lorde god m^c c^c vth whole soules god yden



Fig. 1. BRASS TO GEORGE ASHBY AND WIFE: ENGRAVED C. 1540;
HAREFIELD, MIDDLESEX (ABOUT $\frac{1}{2}$).



Fig. 2. REVERSES OF BRASS TO GEORGE ASHBY AND WIFE; HAREFIELD, MIDDLESEX (ABOUT 1450).

church, Suffolk, and may well have come from the same workshop. The shroud is folded over the body in precisely the same manner, save that in the Yoxford example it is fastened with a pin, which is lacking in the Harefield one; in both the long wisps of hair are arranged in the same manner, the outside wisp passing



Fig. 3. BRASS TO WILLIAM ASHBY AND WIFE, 1537; HAREFIELD, MIDDLESEX ($\frac{1}{6}$).

under and appearing below the arm. Both, again, wear a ring on one finger of the right hand.

The inscription plate is also made up of two separate pieces, the larger showing on its reverse the figure of a lady from the shoulders to the feet, of date c. 1470, the smaller the lower part of another lady, c. 1500. The group of daughters is cut out of the centre of a fifteenth-century figure of a civilian with anelace,

part of the sheath of which can be seen on his left side. Of the other two shields, the one bearing Ashby impaling Eden shows on its reverse the lower portion of a Trinity; the other, bearing Ashby impaling Peyton, is made up of two pieces, the smaller being a fragment of a late fifteenth-century inscription reading:

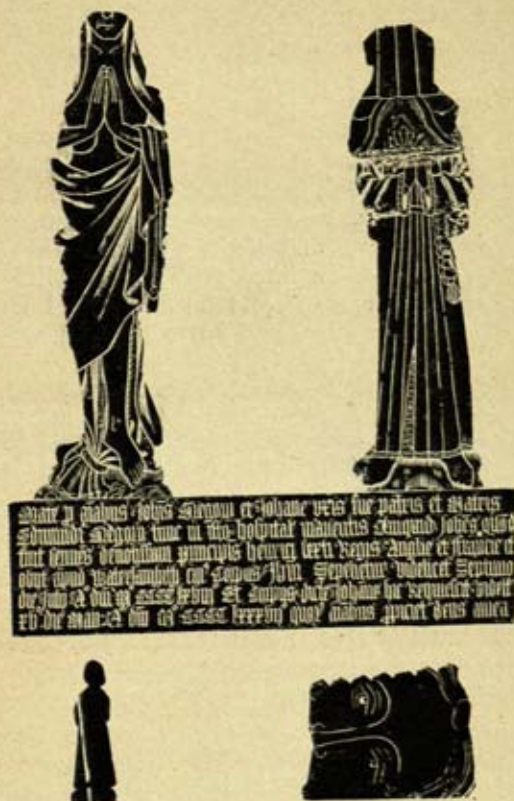


Fig. 4. REVERSES OF BRASS TO WILLIAM ASHBY AND WIFE; HAREFIELD, MIDDLESEX ($\frac{1}{2}$).

hic iacet Philippus . . .
dñi M^o cccc lxxxxv . . .

whilst the larger contains a portion of the upper part of the Trinity. The two portions of the Trinity, which join together, form an almost complete representation of the subject and may be dated c. 1520.

The second brass at Harefield consists of the armed figure of William Ashby, his wife Jane who died in 1537, one son, a group of seven daughters, and a foot inscription (figs. 3 and 4). Two

shields above the figures are lost. This brass, which was laid down after the death of Jane Ashby, is entirely palimpsest. The figure of William Ashby has on its reverse an almost complete figure of a man in a shroud, c. 1500. His wife Jane is made up of two pieces, the upper and smaller piece showing the feet of a fifteenth-century civilian standing on a mound, the lower and larger piece the figure of another civilian from the shoulders to the feet, wearing the usual fur-lined gown of the period, c. 1500, with a rosary attached to the girdle. On the reverse of the only son is a single line which shows that he has been cut out of some larger figure, and on the reverse of the group of daughters is a portion of a face of a very large figure but apparently unfinished and possibly a waster. On the back of the inscription is another complete inscription requesting prayers for the souls of John and Joan Gregory, the parents of Edmund Gregory, then an inmate of this hospital, the which John Gregory was a servant of King Henry VI and died at Lambeth, where he was buried 7 July, 1468, and the body of his wife Joan rests here 15 May, 1487:

Orate p̄ aīabus Joh̄is Gregory et Johāne ux'is sue
 patris et Matris
 Edmundi Gregory tunc in isto hospital° manentis
 Quicquid Joh̄es quōd
 fuit serviēs deuotissimī principis henrici sexti Regis
 Anglie et francie et
 obiit apud Waterlamhith cui' Corpus Ib̄m Sepelietur
 videlicet Septimo
 die Julii A° dñi M° cccc lxxviii° Et Corpus dicte Johāne
 hic Requiescit videlicet
 xv° die Maii A° dñi M° cccc lxxviii° quor' aīabus ppiciet'
 deus amen

So far I have been unable to locate the hospital mentioned or to trace the Gregory family, except that on the Patent Rolls between the years 1447 and 1453 are sundry commissions to various people including one John Gregory to take poultry for the use of the king's table. The entries may possibly refer to the John Gregory of the inscription and be sufficient warrant for the title of servant of the king.

In reference to the recent finds at Harefield it may be as well to take this opportunity to add a note to a previous communication by myself when on April 30, 1896,¹ the Rev. J. A. Dibbin exhibited a mutilated palimpsest inscription now in the church of Astley, Warwickshire. This inscription was originally

¹ *Proceedings*, xvi. 163.

in Harefield church, as is proved by an old rubbing in the Society's collection endorsed 'This inscription is on a brass plate on the east side of the nave of Harefield church, and the figure is supposed to be under the new boarded floor'. Daniel Lysons¹ also mentions the tomb of John Crugge as at Harefield, 'on the floor of this chapel (Brakenbury) is the tomb of John Crugge of Exeter, gent., who died in 1533. He married Barbara, daughter of John and Amphelicia Newdegate.' Why the plate was transferred to Astley is not known, but it may be conjectured that it became loose and was taken charge of by the Newdegate family and at some time removed to their Warwickshire house, which is in the parish of Astley, and subsequently placed in the church, its original home having been forgotten. The inscription, which was perfect when the Society's rubbing was taken about 1825, reads thus:

Of yo^r charite pray for y^e sowll' of Johñ Crugge soñ of
Willm Crugge
late of Crest' gentilmā; Barbara his wif whiche Johñ
Crugge died at Here
feld in y^e Countie of Midd y^e xviii day of december An^o
dñi M^o v^o xxxiii;
y^e yere of y^e reigñ of Kyng Henry y^e eight xxvth; y^e
said Barbara died y^e
day of An^o dñi M^o v^o o whose soull' Jhū
haue m^{er}cy A

On the reverse is a portion of a shrouded skeleton of date c. 1500, thus adding another example of this class of memorial to the three already noticed as having been cut up to make the Ashby brasses.

2. OXFORD, MAGDALEN COLLEGE.—During some recent alterations in the college chapel the authorities took the opportunity of repairing and relaying some of the brasses. Amongst others the brass of Arthur Cole, canon of Windsor and president of the college, who died in 1558, was found to be working loose and was taken up and relaid. It had been previously repaired about the year 1860 and was known to be palimpsest, but no rubbings of the reverses were available, so the chance was taken of securing a record (fig. 5). The figure of Arthur Cole, who is represented as a canon of Windsor in mantle with the garter badge on the left shoulder, proves to be almost entirely made up of earlier pieces. The upper part of his head is cut out of a shield bearing the royal arms, France modern and England quarterly. Then comes a blank piece, a portion of the 1860 repairs. His

¹ *Parishes in the County of Middlesex*, p. 117.

body consists of the figure of a priest, lacking head and feet, in mass vestments, of date c. 1450, whilst his feet are cut out of the centre of a female figure, c. 1500, wearing the usual gown of this period with the chain from the girdle terminating in a floral ornament.

The inscription is also palimpsest, being made up of two almost complete inscriptions but defaced by the addition of two straps of copper soldered over, probably part of the 1860 repairs. The larger inscription, about 20 by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., is to the memory of Thomas Cobbe, citizen and tailor of London, who died October 28, 1516, his wife Margery, who died June 24 in the same year, and Sir Thomas Cobbe, doubtless their son and a priest, the date for whose death is left blank.

Of yor charyte pray for the sowlles of Robert Cobbe
Citizen and Tail[or]
of London whiche discesyd the xxviii day of October the
yere of o^r Lord M^o [v^o]
xvi and Margery his wyf whiche decessyd y^e xxiiii day
of June the ye[re]
of o^r Lord M^o v^o xvi and for the soule of S^r Thoms Cobbe
whiche decessyd [y^e]
day of A^o dñi M^o cccc^o on whose sowll' Ihu haue
m'[cy]

The smaller inscription, about 12 by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., commemorates Margery, wife of William Chamberlain, who died on the feast of the nativity of St. Mary the Virgin in the eleventh year of Henry VI:

[H]ic iacet Margeria [que fui]t ux^r Willm . .
[Ch]amberleyn que o[biit in te]sto nativitat . .
[scē] Marie virginis [anno regni] Regis Henr . .
[se]xti undecimo cui^r [aīe ppi]cietur de' Am . .

I have been unable to find any information about Cobbe, but a Margery Chamberlain, wife of William Chamberlain, was buried in the chapel of St. Mary in the church of the Friars Minors or Greyfriars in London in the year 1431.¹ It is therefore possible that the inscription may have formed part of her monument. If so, this is an undoubted instance of monastic spoil from a recorded source.

3. CAMBRIDGE MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY.—In this museum is preserved a small figure of a lady, c. 1530, together with a group of four sons and eight daughters on a single plate (fig. 6). The

¹ *Archaeological Journal*, lix. 271: 'The Church of the Friars Minors in London,' by E. B. S. Shepherd.



Fig. 5. REVERSES OF BRASS TO ARTHUR COLE, CANON OF WINDSOR, 1558;
MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD ($\frac{1}{2}$).

brass is a typical example of the work of the East Anglian school of engravers, but nothing is known of its history beyond the fact that it is believed to have been purchased in Cambridge. To make the lady and ten of her children, an early brass of another lady, c. 1380, has been cut up. This lady, whose head rests on a cushion, wears the *nebulé* head-dress and wimple.



Fig. 6. PALIMPSEST BRASS IN THE CAMBRIDGE MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY ($\frac{1}{2}$).

A portion of the cushion, which is diapered with large quatrefoils and has sprigs of foliage in the corners, together with two plaits of the hair make up the figure of the later lady. Ten of the children give the lower part of the face, which is surrounded by the wimple and more of the plaits of hair. As this plate was not large enough to accommodate the whole family a piece was soldered on to take the last two daughters; on this piece there is a single line."

Mr. STEPHENSON also exhibited slides of a small brass and of an incised slab found on the site of Barking Abbey, Essex, in February last during some levelling operations. The brass,

which is still in part of its original slab, is a small half-effigy of a priest in mass vestments with an inscription to Richard Malet, 'in decretis bacallarius,' chaplain of the chantry of Thomas Sampkins, who died October 20, 1485. A curious feature is that the engraver omitted the surname on the inscription plate and repaired his error by carving it on the lower part of the figure. The incised slab shows a large half-effigy of a priest in mass vestments with a single line inscription above in Lombardic letters + MARTINVS VICARIVS. Martin was the first vicar of Barking, from 1315 to 1328.

Mr. HOPE observed that the chasuble worn by the priest on the back of the canon of Windsor's brass had rounded ends, perhaps an attempt to draw in perspective: it had also a narrow border, which was an English feature. The canons of the Order of the Garter had recently resumed the mantle as represented on the Windsor canon's brass, and he himself with Canon Dalton had supervised the making of the new mantle, which was lined with Cambridge blue silk.

Mr. STEPHENSON explained in reply that an enormous amount of spoil was due to the suppression of the monasteries and later the destruction of the chantries: foreign brasses had been scattered abroad owing to the Spanish wars in the Netherlands. He had exhibited a Flemish example on March 14th.¹

F. W. BULL, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited, on behalf of the Earl of Dalkeith, some Romano-British objects from Kettering and read the following notes:

"The ironstone workings in the parish of Weekley, immediately to the north-east of the Kettering parish boundary, have been continued. The ore failed at the eastern end of the workings, however, so that the excavations have been northwards of the cutting made in 1911.

Finds of a similar nature to those described last year² have continued to be made, but they have been distinctly fewer in number and the rubbish pits rarer and chiefly in the eastern portion of the land excavated. No traces of buildings have been found beyond a flue tile with a rather elaborate design, similar in all respects to one at the Guildhall Museum. The pebbled roadway, of which a long run was found last year, has again been cut through and several wells have been uncovered. A number of coins have again been turned up, but with the exception of a British coin of Tasciovanus, *circa* B. C. 30, they do not call for

¹ *Supra*, p. 125.

² *Proceedings*, xxiii. 493.

special mention. Another and a better specimen of a little later British coin was exhibited here by Mr. Brook last year, and Sir Arthur Evans, having kindly examined it, has come to the conclusion that it is that of *Dumnovellaunus*. Of other small items three enamelled brooches of a rather unusual design, one of practically rectangular shape (fig. 1), deserve recording, as also does a good bronze key handle.

The only other find which has to be noticed is that of a lead coffin on January 29 last. It was discovered 2 ft. below the surface and in good condition, save that the lid was bent downwards in the centre. Externally it measured 6 ft. 1 in. in length and tapered in width from 2 ft. near the head to 1 ft. 4 in. at the foot. Its depth was one foot. The workmanship was rude but effective. The lid was turned over 4 in. at the foot and rested on the sides and ends of the coffin. The coffin itself was



Fig. 1. ENAMELLED ROMAN BROOCH FOUND AT KETTERING, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS ($\frac{1}{2}$).

simply a sheet of lead with the sides and ends turned up. The sides are somewhat turned over at the top inwards and so form some support for the lid.

When opened the coffin end was found to contain some scanty remains of a skeleton. The skull had nearly disappeared and some of the vertebrae and a few other bones were all that remained. There were no ornaments or other articles whatever. There was, however, a quantity of lime. At the top the corners were filled with it, leaving a rounded space where the head had been, while for about 2 ft. from the foot of the coffin there was a solid mass of it. The coffin was lying with the head to the north-east and foot to the south-west. It bears no trace of ornamentation at all, nor is there any evidence of its having been enclosed in a wooden shell. Near it, and just previous to January 29, two or three other skeletons were found.

It is disappointing not to be able to record any further finds of importance, but the workings are still proceeding and there is still a chance of something more being unearthed."

The CHAIRMAN saw traces of Celtic influence in one of the ornaments exhibited, and attributed the coin to Dumnovellaunus, who reigned over the northern district, and was distinct from the southern chieftain of the same name, who was mentioned on the Ancyra monument. The local coinage was of copper which was made in imitation of gold, and was about the latest and most barbarous of the Early British issues.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH remarked that the direction of the leaden coffin did not accord with the Christian orientation, and suggested a date for the burial between A.D. 250 and 350.

Mr. BULL also read the following paper on the Bone Crypt at Rothwell, Northants :

"The Bone Crypt under the south aisle of Rothwell Church, Northants, has attracted more than local notice. The theories which have been advanced as to the why and wherefore of the collection have been as diverse and fanciful as the speculations as to the number of skeletons represented. Some have it, notably the late Major Whyte Melville, that after a great battle our victorious Saxon forefathers buried here their slain Danish adversaries. Others have it that the victims of a deadly plague are here represented. Others, again, contend that the killed at Naseby battle were brought here, and so on. The numbers, too, of the skeletons as given by various writers vary between 3,825 and 30,000.

But to turn from theories and speculations to facts. The crypt is 30 ft. 3 in. long, 15 ft. wide, and 8 ft. 6 in. high. The groining is of a plain description, and the date of its construction not earlier than the end of the twelfth century. In the nineteenth century (when the south porch of the church was built) the present staircase was made down to the crypt.¹ On descending the seventeen steps of the winding staircase, the way lighted by flickering candles, the west end of the crypt is entered, and until recently the bones were to be seen methodically stacked on either side and at the end. Traces of a wall-painting were discernible at the east end, while the upper parts of two blocked-up windows or shoots were to be seen on the south side.

Years ago the stacks of bones varied in breadth from about two feet on the left or north to six feet on the right or south and at the end, while the average height was about four feet. The damp and numerous 'appropriations' of specimens, however, much reduced the height, and there has been a perceptible diminution in the last twenty-five years even. Indeed, so great was the

¹ H. Cayley, A.R.I.B.A., *Account of Rothwell Church*, 1904.

mouldering that when, some two years since, Dr. F. G. Parsons, F.R.C.S., carefully examined the crypt and its contents he was so strongly of opinion that the damp was rapidly reducing the collection to a mass valueless for scientific purposes that, to preserve what were left, he recommended that the bones be restacked as at Hythe with air spaces between them.¹ The recommendation has had important results, for after much consideration the vicar, the Rev. J. A. M. Morley, M.A., and the church officials decided in January last to adopt the suggestions so made.

On commencing the work it was soon found that behind the thigh and other large bones stacked in front there were great quantities of small bones, vertebrae, pelvis bones, bone dust, and last, but not least, earth and stones. It was thereupon decided to bury the smallest bones in the churchyard, remove the earth and débris, and merely restack the skulls and larger bones in the crypt. The bones so removed have accordingly been carefully buried in the churchyard, and by their removal and the carting away of the rubbish there has, of course, been a material reduction in the bulk of the heaps.

On the bones on the south side of the crypt being moved it was at once seen that not only was it very damp there, but that the masonry needed serious attention. The remains of the windows or openings on this side were clearly revealed, and the slanting rough masonry from the surface of the ground to the sills of the windows or openings looked like shoots for the bones. No paved floor was found, only ironstone. The wall-painting at the east end, said to represent the Resurrection, was once more accessible, but not much could be made of the details. Indeed, beyond a few traces of colour, the only portion which can really be seen is the representation of a small foot and the calf of a leg. This is quite clear, and that is all that is. Contrary to expectations, no indications of an altar or of anything else were discovered.

Perhaps the most interesting result from a general standpoint, however, was the finding of fragments of pottery, glass, and tiles among the bones. None of the pottery or other finds was anything like whole, save a rather nice tile with curved edges about 5 in. square and $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick (fig. 1). The yellowish glazing is still largely existent, and at the back are holes which look as if they had been made with a pointed piece of wood to make the plaster or cement adhere. It is doubtless from a pavement of shaped tiles such as were in use early in the fourteenth century. This must be its approximate date.

¹ *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xl, p. 483.

Another fragment of a tile has on it a representation of the head and shoulders of a knight. The head is encased in a coif of mail with the face visible. What looks like the top of a shield is depicted at the bottom left-hand corner. A border of curved design between two straight lines runs round the tile, which is covered with a dark brown glaze. Its size is 4 in. by 3 in. Mr. R. L. Hobson of the British Museum puts its date at 1260 or so.

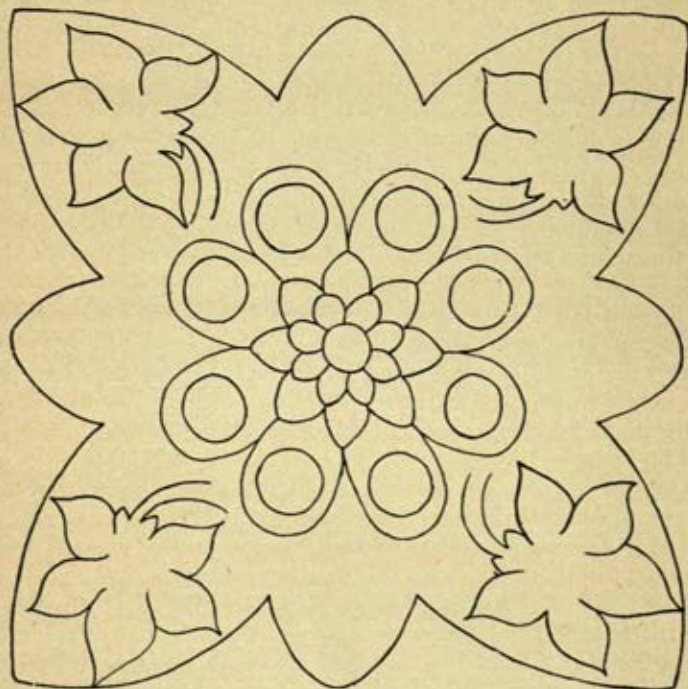


Fig. 1. TILE FOUND IN ROTHWELL BONE CRYPT (ABOUT 1260).

A further fragment of tile of a thick, coarse red ware has on it a rough representation of the head and shoulders of a donkey, while other fragments of glazed tiles have various ornamental designs, and these are apparently of early date—thirteenth century.

The pieces of glass are very fragmentary, but seem old, and some bear traces of colouring or painting. Of the pottery there are perhaps only two pieces calling for attention, viz. a fragment with a crocketed ornamentation and the neck of a Bellarmine bottle of the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

Many of the skulls are now in rows on shelving on the north

and south sides of the crypt, while the thigh and other large bones, with some of the skulls, are in two neat stacks down the centre, the westerly stack being some 5 ft. 4 in. high, 8 ft. 6 in. long, and 4 ft. 8 in. wide, and the easterly one 6 ft. high, 9 ft. 10 in. long, and 4 ft. 8 in. wide. The total number of skeletons represented is much larger than was anticipated, the figure being put at 11,000. This number was arrived at by counting the tops of the thigh bones found and dividing the total by two. The number of skulls is between 500 and 600. These figures make it probable that the crypt was used as a bone receptacle for a longer period than has hitherto been imagined.

The crypt is said to have been lost sight of for a time, and to have been rediscovered rather over two hundred years ago when a grave was being dug in the south aisle of the church. It was well known, however, when John Morton in 1712 published his *Natural History of Northamptonshire*, for in his eighth chapter, which treats of human bodies, it is stated in the fiftieth section that 'The os frontis or forehead bone in the adult is generally entire, so generally that in all the great multitude of men and women's skulls that lye heap'd up in the famous Charnel House at Rowell, I could find but one (which I now keep by me as being so unusual) that's composed of two bones join'd together by a suture, as in infants.' From this reference it is evident that even then the spoliation of curious skulls and bones had commenced.

The Rothwell church registers unfortunately do not go back as far as one might wish, but it is curious that the earliest one now in existence, and that only recently recovered, which commences in 1614, has no reference to the discovery of the crypt. It is curious, too, that Bridges, the Northamptonshire historian, who carries the list of Rothwell vicars down to 1720, and who did not die till March 16, 1724, makes no mention of the bones. From these facts, and from the fact that some of the tiles and pottery recently discovered are of so late a date, it is possible that the crypt was never really blocked up and forgotten for a time as has hitherto been generally supposed, and that this is the reason why the registers, at all events, are silent as to it.

With regard to the origin of the collection, Dr. Parsons and indeed nearly all those who have seriously considered the matter have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that the crypt was merely one of the charnel-houses so common in pre-Reformation times, of which the collections at Hythe, Ripon, and elsewhere are examples."

The CHAIRMAN said that charnel-houses were familiar in Russia, Greece, and certain other countries, where the custom was to collect the bones three years after burial and place them

in a bone-house, the families of the deceased deriving comfort from the belief that by so doing they avoided the worst kind of ghostly visitations. Bodies were dug up systematically in the East.

The TREASURER inquired the usual position of bone-houses, the Rothwell example being under the south aisle. He thought they were generally at the end of the chancel (as at Hythe), but that at Winchelsea was under the chancel; another was below one of the chapels of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield. He had seen bones collected from graves in Spain and placed not in a bone-house but in a pit, the object being to economize space.

Mr. HOPE said that in many English churches there might be noticed at the east end blocked-up windows opening into the burial vault of a local family; these windows no doubt belonged originally to bone-holes. When a church was enlarged, a crypt was provided under the new portion for the reception of bones gathered from other parts of the building and from the churchyard. The bone-hole was generally underneath the chancel or a chantry, so as to have an altar above it. He thought the Rothwell crypt was of the fourteenth century, when there was a reconstruction and a number of bones would have been disturbed; it was famous because still full of bones, but other examples had been sealed up. The Hythe bone-hole showed how long the custom survived, but it was really a procession way under the high altar, which had been utilized when processions became obsolete. About 1200 a new presbytery twice the length of the old one was added to Rievaulx Abbey, encroaching on the monks' burial-ground; and the vault below it became the charnel chapel of the abbey church.

Mr. LELAND DUNCAN remarked that the bone-hole at St. Peter's, Sandwich, was now empty and was situated at the east end of the north aisle. It was a small church for a populous town. Bridgwater had another bone-hole in a corresponding position, and the old charnel-house of St. Paul's Cathedral was well known.

Mr. BULL replied that a chantry chapel was immediately over the east end of the crypt at Rothwell; as at Hythe, the sexton told strange tales of the wounds noticed in some of the skulls, which were probably due to the grave-digger's spade.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

ANNIVERSARY.

TUESDAY, 23rd APRIL, 1912.

St. George's Day.

PHILIP NORMAN, Esq., LL.D., Treasurer, and afterwards CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President, in the Chair.

Harold Sands, Esq., and Robert Garraway Rice, Esq., were appointed Scrutators of the Ballot.

John Henry Montague Manners, Marquess of Granby, was admitted a Fellow.

The PRESIDENT proceeded to deliver the following Address :

“GENTLEMEN,

In meeting you again on St. George's Day, after a lapse of twelve months, I am happy in being able to record that our losses are again relatively few. By death we have lost twenty-two ordinary Fellows and two honorary, one of whom, Father de la Croix, was only elected two years ago. Three Fellows have resigned.

The names of the deceased Fellows are as follows :

Ordinary Fellows :

Edwin Austin Abbey, R.A., 1st August, 1911.

George Edward Cokayne, M.A., 6th August, 1911.

Thomas Francis Dillon Croker, 6th February, 1912.

Sir William James Farrer, Kt., M.A., 17th September, 1911.

Sir Theodore Fry, Bart., 5th February, 1912.

Rev. Robert Barlow Gardiner, M.A., 1st October, 1911.

John Pattison Gibson, 22nd April, 1912.

Alexander Graham, 9th February, 1912.

Colonel William Bruce Raikes Hall, R.A., 11th January, 1912.

Thomas Layton, 4th September, 1911.

Colonel Charles Philip Le Cornu, C.B., 27th June, 1911.

Rev. William John Loftie, B.A., 16th June, 1911.

Rev. Newton Mant, M.A., 23rd May, 1911.

William Nanson, B.A., 22nd May, 1911.

John Samuel Phené, M.A., LL.D., 11th March, 1912.

George Edward Pritchett, 24th February, 1912.
Thomas Miller Rickman, 10th February, 1912.
Max Rosenheim, 5th September, 1911.
Frederic Seebohm, LL.D., 6th February, 1912.
John Ward, J.P., 17th February, 1912.
Rev. Joseph Bowstead Wilson, M.A., 30th December, 1911.
William Hinman Wing, M.A., 6th January, 1912.

Honorary Fellows :

R. P. Camille de la Croix, 12th April, 1911.
Henri Hymans, 12th January, 1912.

The following have resigned :

Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower.
Egerton Castle.
Rev. Augustus Jessopp, D.D.

The following have been elected :

Ordinary Fellows :

Herbert Balch.
Ettwell Augustine Bracher Barnard.
Alfred Edward Bowen.
Robert Edmund Brandt.
Stewart Henbest Capper.
Charles Travis Clay, M.A.
Alexander Ormiston Curle.
Rev. James Davenport, M.A.
George Claridge Druce.
John Renton Dunlop.
Frederic Cornish Frost.
Hubert Garle.
John Henry Montague Manners, Marquess of Granby.
Harry Reginald Holland Hall, M.A.
George Eley Halliday.
Rev. Lemuel John Hopkin-James, M.A.
George Jefferey.
John Herbert Marshall, C.I.E., M.A.
Robert Mond, M.A.
Philip Nelson, M.D.
William Sharp Ogden.
Alfred Joseph Vooght Radford.
Ronald Stewart-Brown, M.A.
Rev. Henry Paine Stokes, M.A., LL.D.

Honorary Fellow :

John Pierpont Morgan.

In accordance with precedent, I will, with your permission, say a few words about some of the Fellows whom we have lost by death.

MR. THOMAS LAYTON, who died on 4th September last, at the advanced age of 92 years, was a collector of quite an old-world type. Living at Brentford, he devoted himself to the acquisition of all kinds of objects that the continual dredging of the river brought into the hands of the workmen. In addition to these more antiquarian remains, he was an insatiable buyer of books, and his house with its additions, numbering about thirty in all, was the most original and the most confusing private museum that it has ever been my fortune to see. The house stands on the main road at the Brentford end of Kew Bridge, and a garden runs down to the river front. In order to provide space for the mere storage of the heterogeneous accumulations of something like seventy years of assiduous collecting, shed after shed was added, and every empty corner filled with books, pottery, fossils, stone implements, bronze swords, and every conceivable thing that can be found in an antique store. The mass of material is incredibly large, and the task of the executor, with a life interest in the whole, to reduce it to anything like order and utility, is not enviable. I have no doubt that the disposal of all these accumulations gave Mr. Layton considerable anxiety during the last few years. I had known him for nearly forty years, and he had sufficient confidence in me to invite my advice in this very difficult matter about four years ago. I drew up several schemes, pointing out the advantages of each, and the conditions necessary to safeguard the future of the collections. It is one of these, that of providing a local museum at Brentford, that he has chosen, with, however, certain curious conditions which not only defer the completion of his plan, but, in my view, considerably hamper those responsible for carrying it out. The provision is that his house, the collections, and a sum of £20,000 are left, subject to certain life interests, to trustees for the formation of a museum there, to be called the Layton Museum. Thus whatever is of value among this endless mass of material will, I trust, be preserved as a permanent public institution. Though of late years Mr. Layton lived a hermit-like existence, he has at various times brought matters before the Society, notably in 1872 at the Bronze Age Exhibition at Somerset House, where many of his swords were shown. A selection of these were, moreover, lent to the British Museum rather more than twenty years ago, and he gave to that institution a fine Roman *parazonium*, or short sword of iron, in its embossed bronze sheath, found in the Thames at Kew. He had been a Fellow since 1868.

By the death of Mr. MAX ROSENHEIM, which took place, after a painful illness, in September last, the Society loses a good and trusty servant and I a true friend. Those who had the advantage

of being on terms of intimacy with him will feel no surprise at the sincere and undisguised sorrow of his friends at his untimely end. He was elected a Fellow in 1894, under the presidency of his friend, Sir Wollaston Franks, and I shall not readily forget the pride he took, both then and afterwards, in his connexion with our Society, where it was his lot to be of great service. An enthusiastic antiquary and collector, enjoying of late years the enforced leisure arising from retirement from his business as a wine shipper, he devoted his time and his means to a miscellaneous kind of collecting, which after ranging through the diverse fields of incunabula, of foreign heraldry, ornamental engravings and the like, finally took shape in a settled pursuit of the finest cinque-cento medals, Italian and German, and of bronzes of the same period. In this line of collecting he was singularly successful, while the pursuit was illuminated by an extraordinary power of research and a critical acumen of unusual quality. The latter has been demonstrated by the articles on medals in the *Burlington Magazine* by his friend, Mr. G. F. Hill, who bears constant testimony to the brilliant suggestions of Rosenheim. It is, in fact, not a little remarkable that a man of his training, devoted all his life to business widely removed from artistic interests, should in maturity develop such a perfection of artistic insight as to constitute him a referee in these matters of connoisseurship both at the Burlington Fine Arts Club and elsewhere. As a member of the General Committee of that club, as well as of the Exhibition Committees, he rendered valuable services, while he was an assiduous and most useful member of our own Executive Committee, a distinction he much appreciated. Of his loyalty as a friend no better example could be found than in the work he did for the Department of Prints in the British Museum. To that department had gone the fine collection of foreign bookplates and similar engravings bequeathed to the Museum by Sir Wollaston Franks, and these Rosenheim undertook to arrange and catalogue, purely as a labour of love. I can hardly imagine a more ungrateful task, or one producing a poorer reward. It is something to say that Rosenheim, by daily assiduity lasting for several years, succeeded in completing both the arrangement of the collection and the elimination of duplicates, though his lamented death prevented the completion of his undertaking, viz. the production of a printed catalogue. But even as it is, he has left behind him no unworthy monument, and a memory that will be ever green in the hearts of his friends. Dying a bachelor, he left his fine series of medals, bronzes, and other works of art to his brother Maurice, with whom he had lived, and who, in fact, was already joint owner, the two brothers having bought and enjoyed everything in common. In his will he did not forget our Society, but bequeathed to us a sum of

£200 free of conditions, and this the Council has decided to add to the Research Fund as capital.

In Mr. FREDERIC SEEBOHM, who died on 6th February at the age of 78, the Society has lost a member of a type it could ill spare. A man of quiet retiring manner, he possessed a remarkable combination of business acuteness and persistency in all matters, whether connected with his business as a banker or with the intellectual relaxation provided by his interest in economics. This latter study alone would have made him an antiquary; for it is certain that the economic conditions of the past and the evolution of our modern life can only be properly understood by a man who has gone deeply into archaeology. Though in active business as a banker, Mr. Seeböhm had been trained for the bar, and it is therefore not surprising that so acute an intellect should devote itself to a subject like economics, with the purpose of laying before the public the principles that underlie the growth of complex modern life. In this he was singularly successful, and his book on the *English Village Community* amply demonstrated the profound study he had given to the subject, one involving an immense amount of research, and great skill in unravelling the tangle of evidence and prejudice with which it had become overgrown. His two other books on *The Tribal System in Wales* and *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law* were equally illuminating. Another interesting and complex subject on which he had been engaged for some years was the study of the weights and measures of Europe and Asia. His researches in this field may yet be published; they were pursued with the assiduity and thoroughness that he bestowed on everything he undertook. Elected in 1880 to the Society, he occasionally brought before us matters connected with his studies, and always in a lucid and interesting manner.

In Mr. JOHN WARD, of Belfast, who died on the 17th February in his 80th year, there passed from among us one of the most genial of men. Like many members of our Society, Mr. Ward had been engaged in business during the greater part of his life and only in his maturer years did he take an active interest in archaeological pursuits. Until the last few years he had lived in his native city, Belfast, where he had a large printing and publishing house. He gave a good deal of attention to Greek coins, and not only made a fine collection of these, which is now in the possession of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, but published an attractive popular book on the subject. But it was in Egypt and its antiquities that he probably took his greatest pleasure, and on these subjects he produced several works, again of a popular type, and he was also one of the ardent supporters of the Egypt Exploration Fund, where his death will be much felt, as indeed will be the case in many other circles.

Although Mr. WARWICK WILLIAM WROTH had resigned his Fellowship of the Society some years ago, yet, both as one of my most esteemed colleagues at the British Museum, and as an antiquary and numismatist of singular distinction, I cannot pass over his death in silence. A student both by temperament and habit, he was rarely seen outside of his room at the Museum, and it was fully as unusual to encounter him at any social function. Trained in the admirable school of Barclay Head, he was regarded as the safest of guides in the field of Greek numismatics, while the catalogues from his hand are models of lucidity and accuracy. His last works, on the coins of the Visigoths and of the Byzantine Empire, are monuments of patient research, for which it would be vain to expect any reward. He took great pleasure in a subject of a very different kind, viz. the history of the old pleasure gardens of London, upon which he published an entertaining volume. At the time of his death, in September, he had been for some years Assistant Keeper of the Department of Coins in the British Museum, and in the natural course of events would have become Keeper during the present year.

An eccentric type of antiquary has passed away in the person of JOHN SAMUEL PHENÉ, who died on the 11th March at a good age. He had the peculiar type of mind that takes pleasure in the study of serpent worship and such by-ways of religious belief. His views and practice on the subjects of art and architecture were equally remote from the normal, and took practical shape in the external decoration of a house in the vicinity of his own at Chelsea. The house, which possessed the ordinary features of its neighbours in Oakley Street, was veneered with the most miscellaneous reproductions of detail of almost every style, making it stand out in striking contrast to the sober character of the rest of the street. A large garden surrounded by a high wall was said to contain many pieces of ancient sculpture, with what truth I do not know. Dr. Phené made an occasional appearance in our rooms, but I do not think he ever laid anything before us.

THE REV. WILLIAM JOHN LOFTIE, who died on 16th June last at the age of 72, was formerly a familiar figure in antiquarian circles. He was a good example of the literary antiquary; his chief activities were on the literary side, which, however, was sensibly enriched and strengthened by his archaeological knowledge. He worked chiefly for the *Saturday Review*, but produced also both a History of London and other works on London of more limited scope, a treatise on Bibles as well as smaller works on Egyptian archaeology. He was assistant chaplain at the Savoy Chapel from 1871 to 1895. He had been a Fellow since 1872.

The College of Arms has lost one of its most distinguished and

learned members in Mr. GEORGE EDWARD COKAYNE, who died on 6th August last at the ripe age of 87. A herald for more than half a century, he was successively Rouge Dragon, Lancaster Herald, Norroy, and finally Clarenceux King of Arms, an office he held at the time of his death. He was the son of Dr. William Adams, of Bloomsbury, and the Hon. Mary Anne Cokayne, niece and co-heiress of Borlase, sixth Viscount Cullen, and assumed his mother's name by royal licence. His *Complete Peerage* is one of the most remarkable works of the kind, and to this he devoted all his critical acumen and a vast amount of research.

IN SIR WILLIAM JAMES FARRER, who died on 17th September last, there passed away an admirable type of the cultured and successful English man of business. Though lameness prevented him from enjoying to the full many of his amusements during the last few years, he still took the keenest delight in assembling his friends at his hospitable house near Wokingham and leading a discussion on current topics. He was remarkable for his love of the classics, and his marvellous memory enabled him to cap quotations from almost any author. He was elected a Fellow in 1876, and at his death had attained the mature age of 90 years.

SIR THEODORE FRY, baronet, died on 5th February last in his 77th year. He was the son of another Fellow of the Society, Mr. Francis Fry, a well-known antiquary and a collector of Bibles. The son, though interested in antiquarian matters, particularly as a collector, took but little active part in our proceedings. His life was devoted to the promotion of industrial enterprise, particularly in the North of England, where he represented Darlington in Parliament for some years. He was elected a Fellow in 1882.

MR. THOMAS FRANCIS DILLON CROKER, who died on 6th February last, seems to belong to another generation than our own, so vividly does his name recall, to me at any rate, that of his father, Mr. Crofton Croker, and the picturesque antiquaries of the first half of the last century. As a matter of fact, Mr. Dillon Croker was one of the oldest Fellows, having been elected in May, 1855, fifty-seven years ago.

The death of Mr. EDWIN AUSTIN ABBEY, R.A., removes from among us a peculiarly bright and delightful example of the American transplanted to English soil, where he took new root and enjoyed a successful life. His activities were entirely outside our Society, but the skill with which he endowed with life the many scenes from Shakespeare's plays, from Herrick's poems, as well as other episodes drawn from English and continental history, gives him a claim to our admiration as well as to our sympathy. In

his particular form of artistic presentment he stood practically alone in the ranks of the Royal Academy, and from this point of view, as well as from his crisp, cheerful temperament, his death has made a lamentable gap among our neighbours at the Academy. Mr. Abbey died on 1st August last in his 59th year.

COLONEL CHARLES PHILIP LE CORNU, C.B., who was elected to the Society in 1874, died on 27th June last at the ripe age of 82. He made occasional appearances at our meetings and took considerable interest in the archaeology of Jersey, where his life was passed. But his chief activities were rather more connected with the pastoral life of his fellow islanders, as president of the local agricultural society, and in connexion with the Jersey Herd Book, which he initiated.

MR. GEORGE EDWARD PRITCHETT, who became a Fellow in 1860, died at Bishop's Stortford on the 24th February in his 88th year. He was a successful ecclesiastical architect, and designed a great many churches in Herts. and Essex. Educated at Charterhouse, he was the oldest Carthusian present at the Tercentenary Banquet held early in the present year. He took but little part in our deliberations.

MR. THOMAS MILLER RICKMAN, who died on 10th February, at the age of 84, belonged to the mid-Victorian school of architects, having been President of the Architectural Association in 1854-55. Although he was by no means an infrequent attendant at our meetings in quite recent times, he does not appear to have made any communication to the Society. He was elected a Fellow in the year 1865.

MONSIEUR HENRI HYMANS was elected as an honorary Fellow in 1901. He was a man of varied attainments, chiefly on the side of art, and was a voluminous writer on the great artists of his country. He was Keeper of Prints and Drawings in the Royal Library at Brussels, and, in addition, held posts as Professor of Aesthetics, first at Antwerp and subsequently at Brussels, and was actively engaged in the work of all the splendid exhibitions that have of late years been held in Belgium. He died in January last at the age of 76.

I am happy in having but little to say of the domestic affairs of the Society. Our Treasurer assures me that our finances have never been in better plight, and that he will be able to provide the necessary funds for anything that may be called for in the way of maintenance and upkeep of our apartments, and I have a shrewd belief that, with his customary caution, he has reserved quite enough to deal even with the never-ending claims of research.

Our meetings have been very well attended, and I think the

quality of both papers and exhibits has been creditably maintained. The record of these in *Archaeologia* and *Proceedings* has been placed in the hands of Fellows with great promptitude, for which we are indebted in the first place to the Editorial Committee, which has fully justified its creation, and in the second to Mr. Horace Hart, our printer, who is capable of doing, and ready to do, whatever can be expected of a printer.

In the Library all the books have been catalogued and the cards are in progress of arrangement and should be available for use before the end of the session. The immediate object of the Index is, however, to enable a general survey to be made of the books in the Library with the view of filling up gaps and, possibly, of disposing of useless and obsolete works. For this purpose it will be necessary for the cards to be examined, under their several headings, by the Library Committee, or Fellows delegated by it, and the actual date, therefore, at which the Index will be available for use will depend upon the time taken over this work.

The subject cataloguing of the periodicals is also well in hand, and the cards as completed will be sorted into the subject catalogue and made available for use.

The Society's collections are in progress of being arranged by Mr. Reginald Smith. The first necessity was to have the objects thoroughly cleaned, which has been done, some of the larger and more interesting objects having been rearranged in the hall cases. These are being properly labelled, and plinths are being prepared for the pottery and smaller altars. The alabasters have also been mounted on stands, labelled, and exhibited in the hall cases.

The table-cases in the gallery of the Library and the cabinets of seals have been removed to two upper rooms in the apartments formerly occupied by the Assistant-Secretary. These rooms have been painted and fitted up as a museum, and two wall-cases have been placed in them in addition to the table-cases. The antiquities in these cases will all be rearranged and properly labelled. Special cases are being made for the astrological clock and the Limoges chasse, and both will be on exhibition in one of the museum rooms.

While we can afford the space to indulge in the luxury of a museum, it is fitting that the collections should be treated with respect, and Mr. Reginald Smith's labours entitle him to the gratitude of the Society.

In my Address at the last Anniversary I ventured to express some doubt as to whether as a Society we had kept ourselves sufficiently in the public eye, whether in fact we had not overdone the modesty of aspect and the retiring demeanour that is so

becoming in individuals. We cannot afford to forget, and certainly we should remember, that we have duties to perform; that we exist for the public good, and that we cannot carry out these duties adequately, or benefit the public as thoroughly as we might, if we allow ourselves to be forgotten by those who are entitled to look to us for help and guidance. Some years ago I alluded to the strange aberration of judgement which led our Council of nearly a hundred years ago to decline the offer of royal medals to be bestowed on antiquaries of distinction. Whatever the precise value of such medals may be to a society, and in my view it is not negligible, one cannot but mentally comment on the prominence given by the newspapers to the names of the recipients of the medals of the several societies who have such medals in their gift. The fact that the Society of Antiquaries has no medals to bestow, nor any equivalent honour, undoubtedly helps to keep us out of the public eye and mind, and to produce a condition of forgetfulness that is assuredly not of benefit to the Society. It would be a fairly hopeless matter now to try and revive the royal medals, and there is nothing to be done but to relegate them to the category of things that might have been. Apart from them, however, there are other things that help to lend distinction to the Society or its representatives where a little pains bestowed would tend to its advantage. The Society is in honour bound to delegate its President, or some other officer, to attend public functions, royal or of some lesser kind, in his official capacity, and he there meets and mingles with the presidents and representatives of other similar societies, the majority of which, as is natural, are of lesser standing than that of the Society of Antiquaries, which ranks next to the Royal Society on occasions of this sort. He finds that practically every society but his own is provided with certain ceremonial insignia, and marks of official dignity, either to be worn on the person, as a collar and badge, or to be carried before him, as a mace. During my term of office I have constantly had this condition of affairs brought to my notice, and I have come to the conclusion that this want of ostentation is a tactical error. It may be urged that it is, in fact, a distinction for the President of a Society of such antiquity as ours to stand undecorated among a number of decorated presidents of much more modern bodies. But, on reflection, I feel sure that this is substantially not the case. I do not think that any distinction does as a matter of fact accrue to the Society from this excess of modesty, and I have no hesitation in commending to the Society the consideration of some new departure in this respect. I do not venture to dictate what form the distinction should take, nor, in another direction, have I any fear that I may be charged with a desire to

benefit personally by my own suggestion. At the beginning of my final year of office, I can safely make a suggestion of the kind without fear of misinterpretation.

But, gentlemen, these observations, though in my judgement of some substantive value in themselves, are in reality only incidental to the one event of the year that bears upon them. For the first time during my knowledge of the Society of Antiquaries of London, the President has on the table before him a mace of fitting character and appropriate design. I must confess that, as some of you know, I have for some years urged on the Council the absolute propriety of providing such a symbol to take the place of the very warlike weapon that has been used for so long as a menace to all newly elected Fellows. The Council was apparently in full agreement with me in this matter, but in the end has been forestalled by my friend Colonel Croft Lyons, who, having obtained the requisite authority, devoted his leisure and taste to the production of the mace that I have the pleasure of seeing before me to-day for the first time. It is only fair to add that in addition to the oversight of the design and execution of this handsome symbol of dignity, the Society is indebted to Colonel Lyons for defraying the cost of its production. This, I may mention, was by no means the intention of the Council, who had already voted the necessary sum for the making of a proper mace. The Council's proposal was, however, overcome by the amiable insistence of Colonel Croft Lyons, who urgently pressed his desire to be allowed to bestow this gift on the Society, and I may assure the Fellows, or rather those who do not know him well, that he is one of those men with whom there is no danger in putting oneself under an obligation.

The Society being now possessed of a mace, it can take steps to exercise the privilege of appointing a serjeant-at-mace, in accordance with our charter, 'to attend upon the President or his Deputy upon all proper occasions,' as its words run. The existence of such an officer will serve to add somewhat to the dignity of the Society in the way to which I have alluded, and will help to bring us more into line with other societies on public occasions.

Among the many subjects that come within the purview of the Society, one, after lying dormant (so far as we are concerned as a body) for many years, has recently been discussed on several occasions, and figures largely in our publications. I refer to prehistory, which is not, or at least ought not to be, a mere matter of collecting. Far be it from me to discourage our amateurs or to depreciate their treasures, but there must always be a tendency to regard collecting as an end in itself, not as a means of scientific

enlightenment: and my grievance (if that word is not too strong) is not that they go too far, but that they do not go far enough, in collecting facts as well as flints. There are honourable exceptions, and I hope there will soon be more to prosecute in this country a study that is progressing by leaps and bounds on the Continent. The Society has published some important papers on the subject; and as the leading archaeological body in England, we ought to be in the van of progress, and set a good example throughout the country. I dare say it is hardly realized in England how much serious and valuable work has been done in the last few years, particularly in France and Belgium, in determining the proper sequence of the various periods of the earlier stone ages. This has been done by men thoroughly equipped for the task, and the result has been to render possible a classification in what has hitherto been a trackless ocean of discovery. I have long felt dissatisfaction at the method of collecting that I was practically compelled to adopt for the prehistoric collections at the British Museum, albeit a method which was followed by all the principal collectors, but nevertheless failed to provide the facts necessary for explaining the relations of the many diverse types of stone implements. During the last few weeks I have been able to make a new departure in the right direction. Circumstances being favourable, I was fortunate enough to make an arrangement with the Geological Survey for some exploration on a prolific palaeolithic site in Kent, in which the British Museum should take an active part. I deputed Mr. Reginald Smith to oversee the matter in the interests of the Museum, and I am glad to say that the results have amply justified the expenditure of time and money, and I hope that it may be the beginning of a policy of obtaining our antiquities at first hand, rather than from the doubtful sources of either dealers or workmen. I have the good fortune to be provided with ample funds, and I trust that I may find opportunity of expending them for the benefit of science.

Colonel Hawley gave us an excellent account of the last season's digging at Old Sarum, and it is not necessary for me to recapitulate his story. But it occurred to me that he was somewhat unduly depressed because no discovery of a phenomenal kind had been made during the season. Old Sarum is a big place, and the Society has a big task before it to reveal what the earth now covers. We cannot expect that every season will bring a harvest of portable or attractive objects. We must be content to lay bare whatever remains of one of the finest sites in the country, and leave it as a worthy monument of what can be done by scientific exploration in the twentieth century.

The preliminary arrangements for beginning work at Wroxeter

still lag somewhat unduly, and we are even now not in a position to start operations, although we have surmounted all the difficulties of the agreement with Lord Barnard. But I have every confidence in our Secretary treating the situation with an artistic combination of firmness and persuasion, and I trust that before long work will begin.

Mr. Bushe-Fox, who is to direct the operations at Wroxeter in due course, has had what may be called a holiday task of a pleasant kind at Hengistbury Head. It was reported to the Council some months ago that the site, which contained some important British earthworks, was to be sold and turned into golf links. As the conversion would naturally tend to destroy its original character, the Council gladly accepted the task of expending a handsome sum of money offered by Mrs. Eustace Smith to trench the ground in the hope of finding ancient remains. Mr. Bushe-Fox has been busily at work for a good number of weeks, and has had the good fortune to find an inconceivable number of ancient British coins and sundry other objects of La Tène period, the former mostly of base metal, but containing a good number of new types. This is a good piece of work, and the Society is in Mrs. Eustace Smith's debt, as much for the suggestion that the work should be done as for the liberal contribution of funds. It is pleasant to record, moreover, that the owner of the land, Sir George Meyrick, a gentleman not hitherto connected with our pursuits, has contributed liberally towards the cost of the undertaking.

Of late there have been discoveries of interesting mediaeval remains in London, which have not as yet been reported to the Society.

In the autumn of 1910, the houses between Merchant Taylors' Hall and Threadneedle Street having been pulled down, the north side of the hall was exposed to view, and it at once became apparent that much of it was at least as old as the fifteenth century. This occasioned no surprise, as although the hall had been repaired and modernized after the Great Fire, and to the casual observer looks much like other halls of the great City Companies, a blocked-up oriel window had already been found there some years ago, and the kitchen hard by is a late Gothic building. Besides, there is part of an interesting and much older crypt in the precinct. It is rather remarkable, as the Great Fire raged round this site, that so much should have escaped destruction. This was partly, no doubt, because the Merchant Taylors had some garden ground, so that their buildings were to a certain extent isolated.

The opportunity was taken of repairing the foundations of the

hall on the north side. Four buttresses were exposed to view ; their foundations are of chalk, and between them under the wall are rough foundation arches of the same material. These arches still remain, but have been filled in with concrete. A mediaeval chalk wall 2 ft. wide ran parallel with the hall and about 20 ft. north of it. Between this and the hall, in digging foundations of the new houses, part of a Roman floor of *opus signinum* was found, beneath it a layer of rough stones running north and south. At present I have not the depth of this below street level, but it has been noted. There were also fragments of so-called Samian and other Roman pottery.

Two or three months after the excavation at Merchant Taylors' Hall the whole of the houses in Austin Friars immediately to the south of the church were pulled down preparatory to rebuilding. It is perhaps unnecessary to remind you that the church here is the nave of that of the Augustine Friars founded in 1253. It was handed over to the Dutch congregation in 1550, and they have retained it ever since. It was very much damaged by fire in 1862, something like £12,000 having been spent in restoring it. This being the case, one would expect it to be almost entirely modern. However, though the woodwork was destroyed and the fine fourteenth-century tracery of the windows, much of the old masonry remains. Latterly the south wall has been settling outwards ; it had come over from 14 in. to 17 in. This had to be underpinned, and between the buttresses foundation arches of chalk were found almost precisely similar to those under Merchant Taylors' Hall. Most likely, however, they were a century earlier. No signs of a transept were found on this side. There were traces of a small structure of the fifteenth century connected with the church, the plan of which could not clearly be made out.

It will be remembered that some twelve years ago the Treasurer read a paper on an ancient conduit-head in the garden of a house on the west side of Queen Square, Bloomsbury, and he proved it to have been one of the sources of water supply of the Grey Friars' Convent in Newgate. Two years ago, another conduit-head belonging to the same system having been discovered, he and Mr. E. A. Mann read a paper on this and on the Grey Friars' water system generally. Unfortunately, in the course of last autumn, the garden of the house in Queen Square having been acquired by the managers of the Imperial Hotel in Russell Square for a garage, the conduit-head there was totally destroyed, the soil being excavated to a depth of something like 30 ft. The large stone reservoir contained water to the last. It was supplied by lead pipes from various springs in the immediate neighbourhood, and there was an outlet pipe on the east side. Almost if not quite to the level of the base of the tank (which was latterly

below the garden level) the soil was a late accumulation. The wall of the tank on one side rose above the vaulting, and in it was the sill of a mediaeval window, showing that the structure had once been two storied and above ground. This answers to the description in the Grey Friars' register, where the chronicler speaks of it as a stone building that could be seen from a distance. Mr. Norman has photographs and plans of the remains, which will be reported on in the near future. It is a sad pity that this unique relic has been sacrificed to the demands of modern commercialism. Other fragments of old buildings have been discovered and destroyed. The most important Roman discovery has been that of a small piece of that part of the City wall which ran parallel with the Thames to the south. Very little of this south wall has been found, and there is no satisfactory description. This south piece, which was close to Lower Thames Street, was constructed differently from the wall with which recent excavations have made us familiar. One point of difference was the use of pink mortar, another that it was built on piles. In other parts pink mortar seems never to be used except on the rare occasions when a small culvert is taken through the wall near the base. An instance of this was found close to All Hallows Church, London Wall.

This brings me to an event of the past twelve-month that is of considerable interest to us and to Londoners in general, viz. the opening of a London museum in Kensington Palace. Although we cannot complain of lack of such institutions in our metropolis, yet I think there is room for a museum with the limited aim of gathering together whatever may be of interest in connexion with the city. The interest that belongs to many unconsidered trifles becomes greater and much more vivid in a setting that is appropriate, and it is by no means unlikely that novel forms of collecting will follow the creation of a museum for London alone. It has been started under the most favourable auspices, with a large fund for purchases, etc., and one may say under the very wing of royalty. There is every prospect of its becoming a much larger and more important affair, worthy of the history and the dignity of this great city. Would it not be well for us to be practical and to look the situation in the face, and, with the view of hastening the representative character of the museum, to suggest that the Corporation of London should transfer the collection now somewhat ignobly housed in the Guildhall, when room is found for a final site for the London Museum? If space for the natural development of a City museum could be found in the City, I should be very unwilling to advise the removal of the collection from the care of the Corporation. Not only is this not the case, but the Library Com-

mittee finds considerable difficulty in providing the funds necessary for its maintenance. The collections at Kensington Palace are very good, embracing all periods from pleistocene times to the present reign, but they would be enormously enriched, and vastly more instructive, if the Guildhall collection were joined with them, and would furnish a much better representation of London's past. This argument should appeal to the Corporation fully as much as to any one else; the removal of the museum would give more space for the library, and the Corporation would perform an enlightened act greatly to the advantage of the community.

The collections in the London Museum are of very considerable interest, and are arranged as well as is possible in a royal palace, where neither the shape of the rooms nor the lighting is adapted for the purposes of exhibition. The arrangement is chronological, beginning, as I said, with stone implements from the drift, and running somewhat unequally through the subsequent periods up to our own time. It is a great satisfaction to me personally that I was able to arrange that the London collection of our old friend and Director, Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, should find a resting-place in this museum, and the fine series of old English costumes formed by our Fellow, Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A., adds greatly to the attractive character of the exhibition. One small criticism occurs to me, viz. whether it serves any useful purpose to collect prehistoric objects, such as palaeolithic implements, in a museum which deals with the history of a city. The historical material will in time be more than enough for the staff to handle, and civic sentiment would need to be very robust to be greatly moved by the finding and preserving of a stone implement. These small matters may, however, be relied upon to right themselves, and we may leave the London Museum for the time under the guidance of our Fellow, Mr. Guy Laking. I think that he and his helpers have accomplished a great feat in bringing the museum to such a state of perfection in the remarkably short time of twelve months from its first inception. Only those whose duties bring them into contact with work of the kind can realize what such promptitude means. To me it means one thing conspicuously, viz. an entire absence of anything like red tape.

For many years past the Society has from time to time given attention to the operation of the law of treasure trove, but up to the present it has not thought fit to approach the Government with any recommendations to deal with the law itself. The pages of our *Proceedings* contain a fairly lengthy list of the discussions that have taken place on the subject. As a rule these discussions had their origin in a particular case where some Fellow considered the Treasury officials had overstepped their legal

powers and had seized an object under the law when the law had no concern with it. Further, it was no uncommon case for the plaintiff Fellow to be himself a collector of the particular class of objects in dispute, a circumstance that tended both to lend acerbity to his arguments and to give them an *ex parte* character. Such conditions were hardly promising for any improvement in the public relations with the Treasury, and in fact they did not produce any amelioration. It is a fairly safe assumption, I think, that when the layman approaches the trained lawyer to teach him his business and his duty, their relations are hardly likely to improve. I myself have had a good deal to do with the application of the law of treasure trove during my connexion with the British Museum, and whether the Museum benefited or no, it was easy to see that the administration of the law was open to much criticism. If the practice of the Treasury had been widely advertised and thus generally known, the criticism would have lost much of its point. But, in actual fact, it had not been advertised and was only known to very few persons. The result, no doubt, has been that many finders of treasure trove, who might have benefited greatly by claiming the protection and all the advantages of the law, have been content with lesser rewards than they would have gained had they acted as the law enjoins. This feature however concerns us but little here; what does concern us is that in such a case the principal archaeological value of the objects found is but very rarely preserved when the law is evaded. As a rule the precise circumstances and conditions of discovery are most carefully withheld. From this standpoint, therefore, the continuance of the law of treasure trove is an archaeological asset. Its very essence consists in the most minute record of every circumstance connected with the discovery, and the more careful this record the greater the chances of the actual finder as against the Crown. For there can be little doubt but that in a large number of cases, where objects in the precious metals have come into the possession of the Treasury, they have been retained as treasure trove only on negative evidence, viz. that no person could prove the contrary. Our concern, however, is only incidental in relation to the Treasury and the public; our business is to devise some method by which ancient relics in the precious metals may best be preserved and recorded for the common good. This involves two distinct and very different sets of conditions, which may well deserve equally special treatment. First, there is the casual finding, such as by a ploughman or other labourer in the course of his operations: in the demolition of an ancient building, the planting of a hedge, the digging of a well or the like. Here the conditions of the discovery are of first-rate importance, but are very seldom observed. Second, though not in importance, there are

the finds made as a consequence of carefully organized explorations, such as we have now in hand at Old Sarum. In these we may take it that in most cases, if not all, due note is made of the finding of every article, and that all possible evidence is available for the determination of the rights of the Crown, if any.

But assuredly these two classes of finding demand differential treatment. Whatever may be the fate of the casual finder, the Government might well be asked to relax its grasp when a properly authorized body takes in hand the scientific exploration of an ancient site, in order that the full archaeological value might be obtained. The Government on its side would be entitled to demand guarantees for the proper conduct of the exploration, and for the disposal of the articles discovered. Here again we encounter a problem. It has hitherto been the practice of the Treasury, in dealing with English treasure trove, to refer the articles found to the British Museum for description, and to give the Museum the right of pre-emption at market value. It is obviously hardly possible for me to give an unbiased judgment as to whether this is the best resting-place for such objects, in all cases. But strong and quite independent arguments have been brought forward in support of the present system. The British Museum is the national treasure-house of archaeology, and as such it is natural that antiquarian remains in the gift of the Government should go there. In Scandinavia, where archaeology is more scientifically treated than in any other European country, this would certainly be done without question.

A second reason that has been brought forward is that articles falling under the law of treasure trove being almost always objects of luxury, they are more likely to be of use from a comparative point of view in a rich central collection than in a small local museum.

Again, the question of the proper safe-keeping of articles of considerable intrinsic value is one that has to be well considered, more particularly at the present moment, when hardly a day passes without a theft from some local museum in Europe or America. While no institution is absolutely safe, either from robbery or from fire, yet in a great national museum there is assuredly far less danger than in a local museum, and the argument for security is one that should have due consideration.

Many other arguments for and against centralization might be given, but I think the foregoing are the most important.

Questions of a different kind naturally arise, and must be kept in view in any recommendations that this Society may make. An obvious one is to decide what is to be done with regard to graves and hoards, in which some of the articles only are in the precious metals, and thus come within the definition of treasure trove,

while the bulk of the objects found are of other materials, and thus the property of the finder or of the owner of the land. In my judgement and in that of others far more competent to judge, the contents of a grave cannot by any possibility be construed as treasure trove, nor in Scotland can they be swept into the Government chest as 'waifs and strays', though I do not propose to argue either question here. In practice, however, the English Treasury has often impounded relics from graves as treasure trove, and the Scottish authorities have successfully claimed similar articles of any material as 'waifs and strays', and we have to deal with the actual practice.

To deal first with the excavation of an ancient cemetery, such as for instance the cemetery of Silchester, when it is found. It would be a monstrous thing, one might almost say inconceivable, that a government should seize all articles of one material, and divorce them from their fellows in all other materials, in deference to an ancient statute, made, I will not say in the dark ages, but in ages that were very dim in comparison with the light now shed on the distant past by archaeological research. Yet such is the law, and in dealing with statutes, however obsolete they may appear, it appears to me that our policy should not be a frontal attack, at present at any rate, but rather an appeal for concessions in regard to particular conditions. I think we should be more likely to succeed in this special instance of an ancient cemetery if we formulate a request for the suspension of the powers of the Crown in the case of explorations in ancient graves; that the whole contents of the graves, irrespective of material, should have the same destination, whether gold or silver be found in them or no. I think there would be a fair chance of such a request being granted, at any rate in cases where the explorations were conducted by a society such as ours. The case of private individuals excavating manifestly belongs to a different category, and the destination of the objects found is not so well assured. Hence I should deprecate any application for a general franchise, and limit it to properly constituted public bodies.

The Council has appointed a Committee to deal with the question as a whole, and the Committee has held several meetings, but at present the difficulties of preparing suitable recommendations have not been overcome. I trust that during the present session the Committee may be able to conclude its labours and present a good working scheme that may meet with favour in the eyes of the Treasury and be of benefit to archaeology.

Since the death of General Pitt-Rivers, the first Inspector of Ancient Monuments, this Society has on many occasions had reason to approach the Government, firstly with regard to the appoint-

ment of a successor, and later with respect to the main business of the conservation of the monuments themselves. So far as the first is concerned, we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the Government action in appointing Mr. Peers to the so long vacant post. The actual provisions for the proper care of our ancient monuments are, however, very far from meeting the needs of the case. The Ancient Monuments Acts, though useful as recommendations, would not have been described by any one as effective for the purpose of dealing with the ancient monuments of this country. It is somewhat of a truism to say that the monuments of a country like England are inseparably bound up with its history, that their existence is a help to the proper understanding of history, and for these reasons, without citing others of a more direct kind, it is a national duty to ensure their proper preservation. If these premises are accepted, then it necessarily follows that, in certain cases, pressure must be brought to bear upon owners who fail to do their duty in respect of national monuments of which they are the guardians for the time being. Such pressure, however, can only be justified by the national importance of the monuments, and when the good of the community calls for interference with the unquestioned rights of ownership. A good deal of consideration has been given to this question of late, notably by the National Trust, who went so far as to draft a Bill to be brought forward in Parliament. The Council of the National Trust invited our collaboration and support in promoting this Bill, and we had several conferences on its provisions. Meanwhile the reports of the Ancient Monuments Commission stimulated public interest in the matter, while our own was focused on the need for prompt action by the admirable address given in these rooms by Sir Schomberg McDonnell. In this we had the great advantage of being brought face to face with actualities, and by the one person best qualified to present them to us. One fact seemed to me to come out very clearly, and that was the immense difficulty of any adequate treatment of the subject without a drastic change of method. It is not only private rights that stand in the way, and they may often be insuperable, but the procedure when a given monument is to be dealt with seems to me to bristle with equal difficulties. Who is entitled first to take action in the matter is not an easy question to answer, and it is equally hard to say with whom shall lie the ultimate appeal. With our parliamentary system, the latter can only be a minister of the Crown, and here the system again makes it clear that he must be advised by subordinates who are specialists, seeing that he himself has but rarely any claims to special knowledge. Thus any effective treatment would seem to demand something like the staff of a government office,

a costly experiment which, *prima facie*, one would hesitate to forecast. For this, as for other purposes, the creation of a Ministry of Fine Arts, on the French model, has been advocated, as indeed I mentioned last year. But the preservation of our ancient monuments would, I fancy, hardly benefit by any such departure, and I personally can see no reason why they should not remain, as now, under the guardianship of the Office of Works. While this office exists, and I see no signs of its being abolished, all works of maintenance, whether directed by a Minister of Fine Arts or by some other novel authority, must be executed by its officers, and to import a second office into the matter is something like adding the fifth wheel to the coach.

The recommendation of the Ancient Monuments Commission that questions should be referred to an advisory body seems to me the most practical suggestion that has been made. It is, of course, of prime importance that these advisers should be selected so as to command the confidence of the public, and be at the same time representative of the chief sources of knowledge in the country. If a government Bill should eventually come into being, it is to be hoped that adequate attention will be given to these various considerations. But I trust, and I am sure that the Society is with me, that no long time will pass before some more effective provisions are made for remedying the present state of the law with regard to our historical monuments.

I consider the *Victoria County History* is a national undertaking, and one in which this Society should and does feel a warm interest. The great amount of capital required for its continuance on the original scheme of thoroughness has presented great difficulties, which at one time appeared overwhelming.

I am glad to be able to announce that by the liberality of the Hon. W. F. D. Smith good progress is being made with the work. The counties of Bedford, Hampshire, Lancaster, and Surrey have been completed, and the last volumes of each of these counties will be published shortly. Under the same arrangement Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Durham, Hertfordshire, Worcestershire, and the North Riding of Yorkshire will be completed either this year or shortly after. In addition, our Fellow Professor Haverfield is engaged upon a volume dealing with the Roman remains of the six northern counties.

This seems to me a good record, and we may congratulate Mr. Page on it and upon being relieved from the anxiety that inevitably belongs to a narrow purse.

During the past year the prospects of the British School at Rome have been greatly enlarged. By a curious coincidence

advances to this end were made independently from two quarters. In the early part of 1911, the Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851 decided to establish Travelling Scholarships in Architecture, Sculpture, and Decorative Painting, similar to those of the French Prix de Rome, and they had already approached the British School at Rome with regard to the provision of facilities for their scholars, when it was announced that the site of the British Pavilion in the exhibition grounds at Rome had been offered by the municipality as a gift to the British Government on condition that the design of the pavilion should be preserved, and that it should be used for the purposes of a national institution. The offer of the site was accepted by the Commissioners, and the pavilion itself was then presented by the English firm which had constructed it. With this provision for a large establishment, the Commissioners invited certain other bodies to co-operate in supporting an enlarged School at Rome, and the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, and the Royal Society of British Sculptors consented to join in the scheme. The work of the School will hardly be altered in kind, for architects, painters, and sculptors have always been received in the present archaeological establishment, but the accommodation will be far more extensive, and a hostel with studios will be included in the building. A petition on the part of the President of the new School, H.R.H. Prince Arthur of Connaught, and the various societies, praying for a Charter of Incorporation, has lately been presented to His Majesty the King in Council. The staff will be increased in the new institution, but Dr. Ashby, who is at present in charge of the British School at Rome, will continue to act as Director.

This is in the main satisfactory, and helps to remove the stigma of a languishing inadequacy that once characterized the British School. The Charter and the list of members of the first Council are set out in *The Times* of the 17th instant. From both it is abundantly clear that the scope and functions of the School are to be greatly extended, seeing that the first paragraph of the Charter sets out as its primary objects 'the promotion of the study of archaeology, history and letters, architecture, painting, sculpture and the allied arts, by British subjects'. It will be noted that archaeology heads the list, naturally perhaps, in view of the past history of the School, and in relation to the other branches of its activities it is interesting to consider what are the bodies and societies upon which is conferred the right to appoint members of Council. Apart from the two members appointed by the King, four are appointed by the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, one by the Trustees of the British Museum, four by the Royal Academy, two by the Institute of British

Architects, as many by the Society of British Sculptors, the Royal Scottish Academy, and the Royal Hibernian Academy, one by the Prime Minister, and one by the President of the Board of Education.

The Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851 have always seemed to me rather a mysterious body. At intervals they coruscate in the social firmament, as in the present case, but I have never grasped any idea of them as a living organism, nor in this special instance is it easy to see how they were advised in the selection of the bodies I have just named. Speaking from this chair, which I do as President of this Society, oblivious for the moment of everything but what pertains to that office, I would ask an obvious question: How does it come about that in the nomination of societies for the government of the British School at Rome, an institution primarily for the study of archaeology, there is not a single society connected with archaeology, except the British Museum, which of course embraces many other of the interests of the School? It is not only a very singular thing and showing an unusual want of knowledge of the resources of a country like England, but it demonstrates as clearly a want of the business-like qualities for which we are thought to be distinguished, that the board of an institution whose functions are principally archaeological should be chosen from bodies dealing almost exclusively with matters of artistic interest, and making no pretensions to archaeological knowledge. It is quite true that one of our Vice-Presidents, Professor Haverfield, has been appointed on the Council by the King, and that another, Sir Arthur Evans, with Mr. Arthur H. Smith has been co-opted, but we can only look upon this as a piece of chance good fortune, with no assurance for continuity, while continuity is a most necessary condition for such an institution as the British School. We had received notice of this curious arrangement some time since, and the Council directed inquiry to be made. The answer received was that all the appointing bodies were engaged in teaching, and that only such societies or bodies as had schools attached could be included; but that some change might be made later. This answer is obviously inaccurate, or the British Museum, a non-teaching institution, could not be in the list. But why is the chief province of the British School, that of archaeology, unrepresented on its board? It is in proceedings like this that the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851 seem to me to be as mysterious in action as they are in themselves. But whatever may be the source of their inspiration, I am convinced the British School at Rome will never shine as a school of archaeology unless archaeology is properly represented on its board of management.

We, in England, when faced with unpractical schemes such as I have just been mentioning, are apt to think that we have a regrettable monopoly of mismanagement. While this is not the case, there can be little doubt that we do suffer from insularity, both in the physical sense and in the absence of that interchange of ideas so common on the Continent. If this were not so it is hardly conceivable that the Indian Government (for such a purpose identical with Whitehall) would ever have contemplated even the limitation of its archaeological survey, far less what was actually contemplated, the dismissal of the Director of the Survey and the absorption of his office in some administrative branch of the Education Office. Mr. Marshall, the Director, who is one of our Fellows, has done the most admirable work since he has held the office, and has now been just long enough in the saddle to get his department into good working order. The archaeology of the East, moreover, is beginning to attract a vast amount of attention all over Europe, and indeed in America also. The marvellous results of the expedition of Dr. Stein to Eastern Turkestan, an expedition which produced those of the Germans and French in the same region, have opened our eyes to the relations between India, China, and Europe in the early centuries of our era, besides bringing to our doors masterpieces of art of a kind and quality entirely unsuspected, and from which we gather precious hints of the origins of the pictorial arts of the East in the middle ages. In Germany societies are instituted for the study of Oriental art, elaborate and costly publications are produced, museums for the same purpose are projected for the collection of examples, and the whole cultured public takes a keen and intelligent interest in it all. In France it is much the same; the appreciation of the art productions of the East, appreciation in both senses of the word, is hardly to be believed. Yet in spite of all this, and in spite of the fact that it was to the India Office that we owe Dr. Stein's expeditions, it is just at this moment that the Indian Government, for reasons of economy, proposes to destroy the Archaeological Survey. Such a proposal seems to me to show that, officially, we take no cognizance of the movement of culture among continental nations, and proceed on our insular way, regardless of our neighbours' proceedings.

I have often said, both in this room and elsewhere, that I regard the elucidation of the past for the good of the present as part of the duty of all civilized states. How much more urgent this duty is in a country like India, where so large a proportion of the ancient remains is related to the religions of the natives of that or of some other portion of our dominions.

Fortunately, however, the outburst of public indignation was so strong when the project to disturb the Survey became known

that the Government of India saw fit to abandon it, and it is to be hoped that counsels of a wider view will obtain in future. For the result I think we owe a great deal to the vigorous and polished invective of Lord Curzon. His knowledge of the situation and conditions is profound, and he brought both to bear in a masterly way.

Let us turn now to archaeological exploration of the past year in classical lands.

Not much is yet known as to the success or non-success of the various missions carrying on archaeological work in Egypt during the past season. No sensational find has been made, and the only work which seems to present any very outstanding features of interest is that of the Liverpool University, under Professor Garstang, at Meroë.

Professor Garstang has continued the work of excavating the temple of Amon, which is mentioned by Herodotus. He has unearthed more walls covered with relief sculpture of great interest, in the developed Meroitic style, which was first discovered last year. He has also found a temple of Roman type, a discovery which has given rise to somewhat wild speculation as to the possibility of a Roman military station at Meroë. This ill-considered idea was embodied in a telegram to the press from Reuter's correspondent at Khartûm, which actually asserted that Professor Garstang's discovery had conclusively proved this. But little consideration, however, is necessary to show the impossibility of the idea. Meroë is within 120 miles of Khartûm: the Romans never got anywhere near it, as if they had this would have been a commonplace of Roman history and we should have known of it in our schoolboy days! We know that the Ptolemaic frontier of Egypt was at Hierasykamiros, the modern Mahárraka, and that when, in the reign of Augustus, the Roman general Petronius had chastised the Ethiopians and pursued them to Napata (Jebel Barkal), this frontier was for a moment shifted a little way farther south to Primis (the modern Ibrîm). Here it remained but for a year or two, however, and was returned to Hierasykamiros, where it remained till the time of Diocletian, when Syene, still farther north, finally took its place. The Romans never had any station south of Primis: if they had, Strabo and the rest would have told us so. And Primis even was but temporarily held: the legions merely raided Napata once, and Napata is 180 miles from Meroë across the desert: three times as far by river. Had the Romans ever reached Meroë, still more had they ever founded a station there, we should have known of it: no 'Roman' temple at Meroë can prove a Roman station there in view of the silence of the historians. But that it goes to prove

still further the great power of Roman influence at Meroë there is no doubt.

Various small objects of interest have been found by Professor Garstang this season, as last. The explorations of the University of Oxford, under Mr. Griffith, and of the Archaeological Survey of the Egypt Exploration Fund in Nubia, on the borders of the Sudan, under Mr. Blackman, have also attained a considerable measure of success. It is much to be regretted that the excavations carried on in the same region during the last few years for Philadelphia, at the expense of Mr. Eckley B. Coxe, junr., by Messrs. Randall-MacIver and Woolley, have now definitely been concluded, and Mr. Woolley has passed on to succeed Mr. Campbell Thompson as Mr. Hogarth's assistant in the British Museum excavations at Carchemish, on the Euphrates. The excavations during the last few years of Messrs. MacIver and Woolley at Areika, at Karanóg, and at Buhen (Wadi Halfa) were productive of very important results, and I may fitly chronicle here the appearance of their publication of Karanóg and Buhen (one of the best archaeological publications that has been seen for some time), including the volume in which Mr. Griffith describes his decipherment and interpretation of the Meroitic inscriptions discovered at Karanóg and Shablul. Some of us perhaps may not quite realize what Mr. Griffith has done. He has in this book brilliantly deciphered a peculiar form of Nilotic script, and is the Champollion of a new branch of Egyptology. Its publication is the most important Egyptological event of the year.

So much for Nubia. In Egypt proper the expedition of which one has heard most is that of the Egypt Exploration Fund at Abydos, under the direction of Professor Naville, assisted by Messrs. Peet and Droop. Mr. Peet has opened a number of tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, as well as of the Roman period, and has probably thrown much new light upon the development of the *mastaba* form of Egyptian tomb. Professor Naville has resumed the clearance of the *Osireion*, the huge hypogaeum near the Temple of Seti, the excavation of which was begun by Miss Murray for the Egyptian Research Account some years ago. This is a big work of clearance after Professor Naville's own heart, and there is no doubt that it will result in discoveries very interesting to the architects as well as to students of Egyptian religion. But as yet the work has hardly progressed far enough for much to be said about it.

At Thebes the expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of New York has been working in the tombs of the Asasif, but with what success does not yet appear: very little is yet known with regard to this work. Mr. de Garis Davies has been continuing the important series of drawings of representations of foreigners

in the tombs, which Mr. Alan Gardiner commissioned him to make. Mr. Theodore Davis has continued his exploration of the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, but fruitlessly, as the tomb of King Tutankhamon, the only one of the royal series not yet found, still eludes his search. The Germans have been working at El-Amarna, and the Egyptian Research Account (under Professor Petrie) has worked up and down the valley between Atfieh and Memphis. At Atfieh Mr. Johnson, for the Graeco-Roman branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund, has also been working, his special duty being to search for papyri, chiefly in the cartonnage cases of mummies. The mummy-cases of the late period, worthless for themselves, have not seldom, when taken to pieces, yielded priceless papyri.

The principal work of the Egyptian Research Account at Memphis has progressed, and rumour has it that an attack upon Heliopolis is contemplated. But in view of the complete failure of other attempts at Heliopolis (notably that of Dr. Capart, working for the Brussels Museum, a few years ago), it would seem very doubtful whether it is worth while going there.

In the classical world, though there has been general activity among archaeological bodies, there are no very remarkable discoveries to report. The British School at Athens has completed its operations at Sparta, the final work being the exploration of the Mycenaean city on that site. It lay on the high ground to the east of the Eurotas, and was unvalled; after the end of the Minoan age (i.e. from about 1200 B.C.) it appears to have been wholly deserted. The plan of a house with rooms opening on to a passage was the principal result of the excavations; such pottery as was found was mostly of a degenerate kind.

In 1911 the School turned its attention to the early site of Phylakopi in the island of Melos, with the object of exploring a part of the prehistoric settlement, not touched in their previous excavations of 1896. Some interesting intra-mural burials were the chief discovery, with the remains of children placed in large jars with early geometrical decoration. Other finds of pottery were important as showing points of contact with the Late-Minoan pottery of Crete (middle period), and with that of the mainland. During the present season of 1911-12 the School has taken in hand the site of Datcha in Asia Minor, the ancient Acanthus, near Cnidos; but so far the results of their work are not to hand.

The German Archaeological Society has been making further investigations of the ancient site of Tiryns and has brought to light remains of an earlier date than the palace excavated by Schliemann; they were found in the debris thrown out in preparing the ground for the later building. They include wall-

paintings of considerable merit, with designs of chariots, women carrying carved vessels, apparently of ivory, and part of a vigorous boar-hunt. The style of these paintings closely follows that of Cretan work of the first Late-Minoan period; but two phases of style can be discerned, the later being decidedly inferior.

At Phigaleia, or Bassae, in Arcadia, attempts have been made to explore the older temple of Apollo, which preceded that whose sculptures are now in the British Museum. The plan has not yet been laid bare, but an important series of votive weapons has been discovered, including various items of defensive armour as worn by the Greek hoplite, both in bronze and iron. There was also found a remarkable archaic bronze statuette of Apollo. The finds of weapons seem to indicate that that deity was originally worshipped here as a war-god.

In the island of Corfu the Greek Archaeological Society has excavated an archaic temple at Goritsa, to which I alluded in my last Address; it is remarkable for its sculptured pediment, preserved almost in a state of completeness. Eight out of eleven slabs remain. In the centre is a large figure of a Gorgon, flanked on the one side by the youth Chrysaor, on the other by the winged Pegasus; beyond these are two panthers, both on the same large scale as the Gorgon. In one angle is represented Zeus in combat with a giant; in the other, a group of warriors, an altar, and the goddess Ge enthroned. This pediment is unique in Greek architectural sculpture, there being no apparent unity or balance in the composition. It is even more archaic in style than the well-known poros pediment found on the Acropolis at Athens, and would seem to be the earliest attempt made in Greece at this form of decoration.

Archaeological activity has also been exhibited in connexion with many other sites, especially in Boeotia, Thessaly, and Euboea; at Tegea in Arcadia, where further knowledge has been gained of the architectural and sculptural remains of the temple of Athena Alea; at Corinth, Delphi, Delos, and elsewhere. In Athens itself the chief work of note has been the reconstruction of the Propylaea of the Acropolis, in accordance with recent investigations.

In Asia Minor the Germans are approaching the end of their labours at Miletus and the neighbouring Didyma. The finds on the site of the former city have been all of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and much of its plan has been recovered. The great temple at Didyma has been largely laid bare, and is shown to be remarkably well preserved; the plan exhibits some interesting details. Excavations have also been begun in the island of Samos, on the site of the temple of Hera, and many further details of its plan recovered.

At Sardis the American School has secured a rich harvest of inscriptions, mostly from the walls of the Acropolis, as well as some portions of the great temple, which is proved to have been dedicated to Artemis, not to Cybele, as was previously supposed. The Germans are still continuing their great work of excavating the site of Pergamon and have laid bare further portions of the precinct of Demeter and other buildings.

The exploration of Crete continues steadily. Mr. Seager has issued a magnificent publication of his excavations on the island of Mochlos in 1908. At Tylissos, near Candia, a small Minoan palace, with the surrounding houses, has been explored. The site is important, as it was destroyed by fire in the first Late-Minoan period, and remained desolate. At Hagia Triada a great hall or courtyard has been discovered, surrounded by shops and private houses, which appears to have been the Agora, or market-place, of the town during the Late-Minoan period.

In Upper Egypt Professor Garstang's excavations at Meroë in 1910-11 yielded, besides the Egyptian sculptures and other antiquities, a remarkable bronze head, which was exhibited in this Society's rooms last June. This head, found in a pit of sand outside the doorway of a royal palace, has now been identified with certainty as a portrait of the Emperor Augustus. It is a remarkably fine piece of Roman sculpture, and had originally belonged to a colossal statue about 8 ft. high. The hair and features show close affinities to the head of the Prima Porta statue in the Vatican, which represents the Emperor as a man of about fifty years of age; but the Meroë head is clearly the same man at a more youthful period, in the prime of early manhood. A remarkable feature is the treatment of the eyes, which have glass pupils, set in bronze rings; the iris is of some hard material, partly black and partly yellow; and the cornea is of white alabaster. We know that Augustus travelled through Egypt in 30 B. C., when he was thirty-three years of age, and it is probable that the statue was set up to commemorate his visit. The head is now in the Bronze Room of the British Museum, for which it was acquired by the aid of the National Art Collections Fund.

At Cyrene the excavations of the American Archaeological Institute have brought to light a group of buildings of the Ptolemaic period, below which were walls of the Greek period, and below again pottery of the seventh and sixth centuries. An open-air shrine was also discovered, which contained some 3,000 votive terra-cotta figures, some of women wearing wreaths of the local plant *Silphium* (*asafoetida*); also a series of grave-statues of a new type: half-figures of women, the faces being sometimes painted, not carved.

In Italy the great event of the last year for the archaeological

world has been the exhibition arranged in the Baths of Diocletian in connexion with the International Exhibition at Rome. The operations necessary for the purpose of arranging the collections had the additional advantage of rendering the arrangement and details of the Baths themselves more visible than hitherto, by the necessary removal of much wooden accretion. The guiding spirit of the whole work was Professor R. Lanciani, whose name is sufficient guarantee for the admirable way in which everything was carried out. It is much to be regretted that the exhibits illustrating the Roman occupation of Britain should have been so painfully meagre, considering the real wealth of the country in this respect, and further in view of the fact that our Romano-British remains are little known to continental nations. In this connexion I may express a hope that before many years are past the Roman remains from Britain in the British Museum may be withdrawn from the oblivion that has shrouded them since 1898.

Excavations in Rome have been chiefly devoted to further exploration of that fascinating area the Palatine Hill. In the house of Livia a small crypto-porticus, or subterranean gallery, has been found leading towards the Forum, which was probably the scene of the murder of Caligula. Signor Boni has also begun to explore the Palace of Domitian, and has found a portion of the *impluvium* or tank in the centre of the atrium, decorated with two seated Egyptian figures of exquisite workmanship. In the Baths of Caracalla a magnificent portico has come to light, where bathers could take shelter from summer sun, or winter rain and cold.

At Ostia the chief work has been the laying bare of some 550 to 600 yards of the main road, which is flanked with porticoes throughout its length. The gate was decorated with a splendid figure of Athena as Victory, winged. From Pompeii comes news of a somewhat sensational discovery of a wine-shop containing an apparatus for the supply of hot drinks. Outside are pictorial representations of bottles and jugs by way of advertisement, and also pictures of the twelve gods. The most remarkable feature of this find is that the walls are covered with inscriptions which appear to be of an electioneering type; one requesting electors to vote for a certain candidate is signed by two ladies, who evidently took a strong interest in municipal politics.

With this topical piece of archaeology I will bring my Address to a close, and, in doing so, I again beg to offer my sincere thanks to the other officers of the Society, without whose loyal and generous help my office would be a much more difficult one to hold."

The following resolution was thereupon proposed by William Gowland, Esq., F.R.S., seconded by William Minet, Esq., M.A., and carried unanimously :

‘That the best thanks of the meeting be given to the President for his Address, and that he be requested to allow it to be printed.’

The President signified his assent.

The Scrutators having handed in their report, the following list of those who had been elected as officers and Council for the ensuing year was read from the chair :

Eleven Members from the Old Council.

Charles Hercules Read, Esq., LL.D., *President.*

Philip Norman, Esq., LL.D., *Treasurer.*

Sir Edward William Brabrook, Knt., C.B., *Director.*

Charles Reed Peers, Esq., M.A., *Secretary.*

David Lindsay, Lord Balcarras, M.P.

Francis John Haverfield, Esq., M.A., LL.D.

Lt.-Col. William Hawley.

Sir Henry Churchill Maxwell Lyte, K.C.B., M.A.

William Minet, Esq., M.A.

Edward Schroeder Prior, Esq., M.A.

Lawrence Weaver, Esq.

Ten Members of the New Council.

Samuel Pepys Cockerell, Esq.

Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

John Alfred Gotch, Esq.

William John Hardy, Esq., M.A.

David George Hogarth, Esq., M.A.

Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, Esq., M.A.

John Seymour Lucas, Esq., R.A.

William Munro Tapp, Esq., LL.D.

Hugh Thackeray Turner, Esq.

Henry Benjamin Wheatley, Esq.

The new silver mace presented to the Society by Colonel Croft Lyons, F.S.A., was used for the first time at this meeting.

The following resolution was moved from the chair and carried unanimously :

‘That the Society of Antiquaries desires to record the sense of its gratitude to Colonel Croft Lyons, F.S.A., for his present of a mace for the use of the Society.’

THURSDAY, 2nd MAY, 1912.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From the Author :—Une nouvelle interprétation des gravures de New Grange et de Gavrinis. Par J. Déchelette. 8vo. Paris, 1912.

From Miss Adelaide R. Hasse :—Photograph of a proclamation, dated 29th April, 1693, issued by Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of New York.

From William Pearce, Esq., F.S.A. :—Three photographs of carved stones found during restoration in Wyre Piddle Church.

From George J. Beesley, Esq. :—Two photographs of Mén-an-Tol in Cornwall.

Professor HAVERFIELD, Vice-President, read the following paper on the Excavations at Corbridge in 1911 :

“ With the close of 1911 the Corbridge excavators completed their fifth year of full work. At such a moment it is natural to attempt a sketch of the total results gained in these years, and it is all the more desirable since annual reports, such as I have given year by year to the Society of Antiquaries, have one great defect. They are instalments of a story told at intervals of a year and they are apt to read as the chapters of a novel, issued in a periodical, would read if taken once every twelve months instead of once a day or week. At the end of each year those who listened to the last account of the work have necessarily forgotten the facts mentioned a year ago. If they are told in 1912 that a building mentioned in 1911 has now been proved to extend so much further to the north or the south, or that two roads detected in 1911 have now been traced to their junction, they have probably forgotten all about the building and the roads in question and cannot fit the new facts on to the old ones. Accordingly, I begin with a retrospect.

In five years we have uncovered a large part, but by no means the whole, of a remarkable site (see plan). We do not yet know its exact size. But we can guess that it covers at least thirty-five acres, that it is the largest Roman site on or near the Wall of Hadrian, and that it is smaller only than the legionary fortresses, such as York and Chester, which cover from fifty to sixty acres within their ramparts. On this site we have found buildings of which the more important are military in character, and are very remarkable for their stateliness and the excellence of their construction, while the humbler seem to be the cottages and yards of

common men. We have found also numerous valuable inscriptions and still more numerous sculptured stones of great interest and (in their way) of real artistic merit, such as the Corbridge Lion, an extraordinary quantity of Samian and other pottery, coins in greater profusion than have been recorded from any other Roman site in North Britain—and among these coins two of the most notable hoards of gold coins as yet unearthed in this country—and besides all this a great variety of other small objects which are, in their respective degrees, of high archaeological value.

The site was occupied during nearly the whole of the Roman period, and I can best explain its importance by attempting to sketch its history and connecting therewith the remains datable to various epochs. Corstopitum was first chosen for a Roman site by Agricola about A.D. 80. He was then pushing northwards from York and, as we may suppose, constructing a road—the Dere Street, which is still visible—towards Scotland. Where this road crossed the Tyne he built a bridge, and on the north bank placed a post, presumably a small fort. At present we have no vestiges of it save posts and post-holes and pottery of the Flavian age found deep underneath the remains of later periods. But results gained in 1910 give some hope of more definite discoveries when—perhaps in 1913—we are able to excavate the eastern part of the site. Agricola left Britain in A.D. 84 or 85. What followed at Corstopitum we do not as yet know: we cannot even tell what was its condition when Hadrian built his Wall, three miles to the north of it, about A.D. 120. We have, indeed, found much Samian which may belong to the period A.D. 85–120, and if this Samian has been correctly dated, we may conclude that the site was not abandoned in 85. That, indeed, is the most probable view, but the uncertainties of our ceramic chronology are at present too great to permit quite positive assertions.

We can say, however, that the second century generally, and in particular the middle and second half of it, formed probably the great age of Corstopitum. It was then the scene of great military activity, and was enriched by notable buildings. It does not appear to have been laid out after the rigid fashion familiar to us in legionary fortresses. More probably it was intended to be a store-base for the Roman troops campaigning or lying in garrison in the north. Its arrangement was simple. A main street runs east and west, and on either side of it stood the main buildings. Hitherto, we know only those on the north side of the street. The largest of these (Site XI), nearly an acre in extent, still preserves the most massive and substantial remains of Roman architecture in this part of the Empire. It does not appear to have been completed: only the southern half was roofed

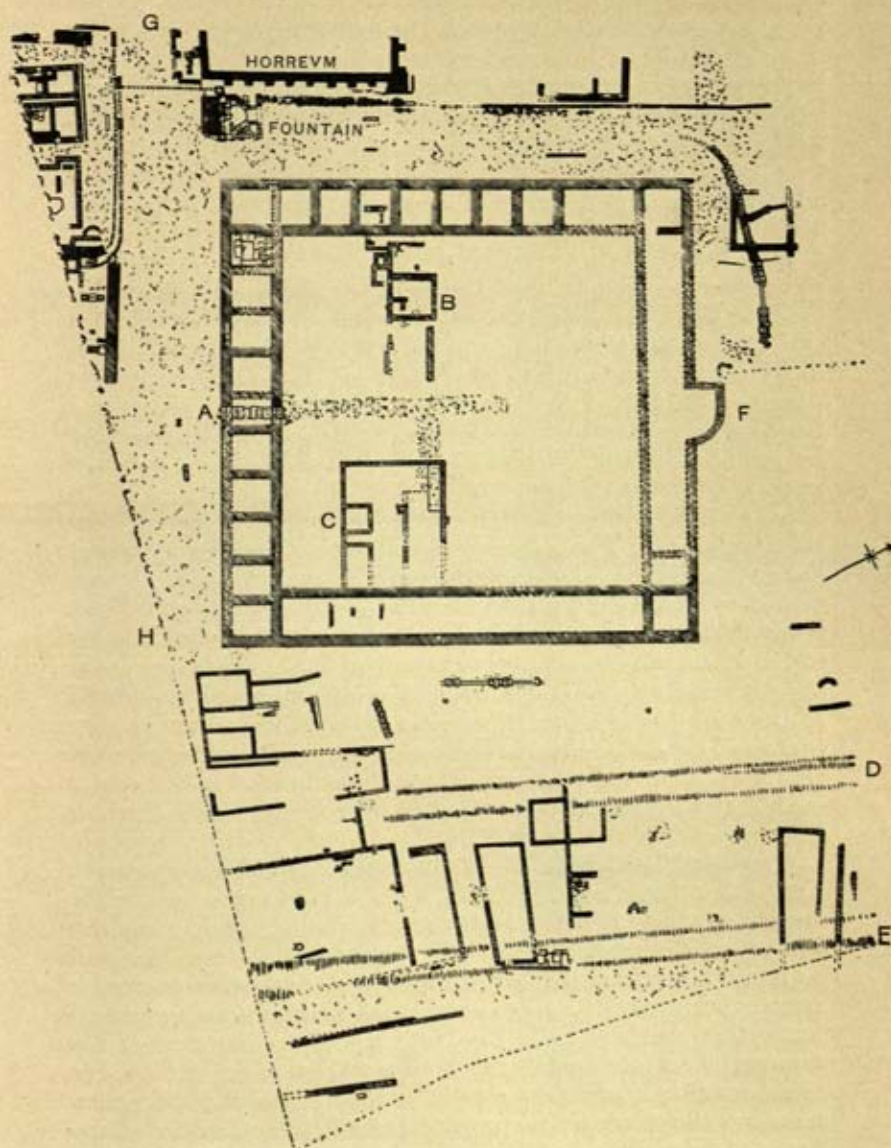


Fig. 1. SITE XI AND AREA EAST OF IT. (SCALE 1:1100.)

ADAPTED FROM PLANS BY MR. W. H. KNOWLES

A, Entrance to Site XI; B, C, Buildings of different date from the main building of Site XI; D, E, Ditches of earlier occupation; F, Foundations of niche or portico (?); G, H, Line of main street east and west.

and occupied for any length of time, while the northern half was probably never carried beyond its foundation-courses. Naturally it is difficult to fix the use of a thus unfinished structure; similar buildings elsewhere suggest that it was meant for a huge store-house. When it was begun, when and why it was left unfinished, we have not yet discovered, but we have reason to think that it was begun about the middle of the second century and its construction abandoned not very long after, at least so far as its northern half is concerned.

Immediately west of it stood a decorated drinking-fountain, of which the water-trough and fragments of the ornament are still preserved. The sides of the water-trough have been worn in a curious fashion which has caused some puzzlement; it more likely shows where soldiers or others sharpened their knives than where cattle fretted their necks against the stonework. This fountain is proved by inscribed fragments to have been erected by soldiers of the Twentieth Legion. Next to it, and further west, were two spacious and admirably built granaries, each provided at the south end with a substantial portico reared on four stout columns. These front the main street, and as the street has risen in the lapse of time the bases of the columns have been buried. The western granary is in origin the earlier of the two, if certain features in its foundations may be trusted; but it seems to have been subsequently rebuilt from its lower courses upwards at an uncertain date. It yielded an altar which probably belonged to the wars of Septimius Severus, A. D. 208. The eastern granary contained a large inscribed slab, found lying as it had fallen when the place was finally ruined, which dates from A. D. 140 and is connected with the Roman conquest of southern Scotland under Pius.

Opposite these buildings, on the south side of the main street, were other large buildings, which we hope to examine in the coming summer (1912). As yet, only one small building has here been wholly cleared. This was full of broken pottery, lying just as it had fallen from the shelves on which it stood when the building was burnt, and it seems to represent a store-room for 'china' and other earthenware. To judge by the character of the Samian pieces found in it, the store may have been destroyed in the second half of the second century, possibly at the same moment and through the same cause as the unfinished store-house of Site XI. A striking discovery of sculpture made last September indicates the neighbourhood of other and more important buildings: this will be described below.

How far these important buildings extended along the main street we do not yet know. We know, however, that, on the north side of the main street, the ground immediately east of Site

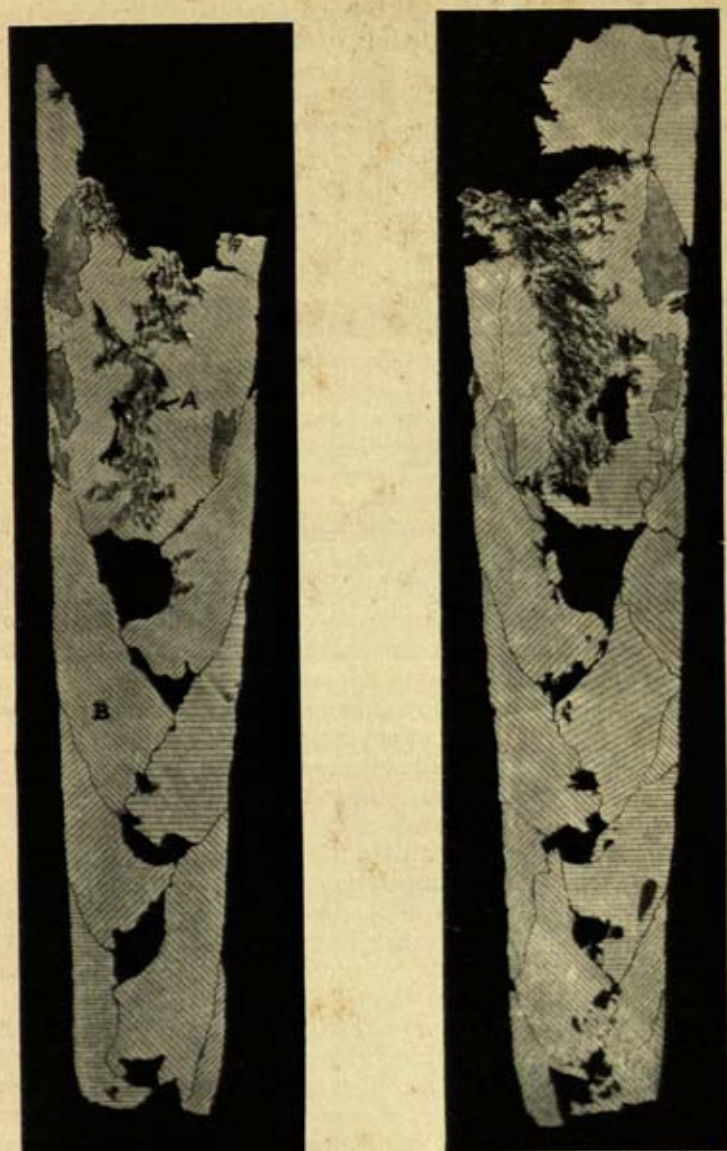


Fig. 2. SECTION OF 'BLOOM' FOUND IN 1909, SHOWING THE WAY IN WHICH IT WAS BUILT UP FROM SMALLER 'BLOOMS' (p. 266).

Reproduced by permission of the Iron and Steel Institute

(A, Cinder or slag. B, General type of small bloom. The black represents cavities, where the metal has not been hammered together.)

XI and the ground west of the granaries contained no structure of any size. On the south side of the street the group of important buildings ended on the west with the pottery store. How far it reached to the east has yet to be determined. There were, however, on the north of Site XI and the granaries, a few buildings which deserve note, amidst many of humbler character and many that are too ruined to be interpreted. One of these is a smaller granary, built, occupied, and destroyed, as it seems, in the middle and second half of the second century. Another is a small bath-house, possibly of later date, and apparently in use almost till the end of the Roman occupation.

A third find which may be mentioned in this connexion is a kiln found close to the bath-house just mentioned. This kiln contained, standing upright in it, a huge ingot or 'bloom' of iron, over three cwt. in weight and about 40 in. high. It appears to have been built up by welding together small 'blooms' of iron previously smelted somewhere in the neighbourhood (fig. 2). Each successive 'bloom' was added to the mass previously built up by the ordinary process of alternate heating and hammering. But the work had not been finally completed when this, like so much else in Corstopitum, was interrupted by some disaster. The object of the mass thus produced is not very clear. It cannot have been used as a mass from which pieces of iron could be taken off when wanted; its conformation is unsuited to that, and metallurgists agree that iron would not be worked up into masses of this sort, though 'pigs' of copper, tin, and lead are common enough. Possibly it was intended for an anvil, but the amount of iron used is excessive in regard to the work which would thus be achieved.¹

One other structure in this northern quarter deserves note. This is an earthen embankment, now no longer visible above the soil, which in the later days of Corstopitum carried an open stone conduit to supply water to the fountain. I do not know any exact parallel to this kind of aqueduct, but it is intelligible enough.

Other buildings stood some way to the south on the slope overlooking the river Tyne. Here, in the earlier years of our work, we uncovered a structure intended apparently for residence and provided with a look-out tower over the valley of the Tyne and a small water-tank behind it which was ornamented by a rim of coping-stones and by the figure of the Corbridge Lion. We have not yet completed the examination of the structures in this part

¹ The 'bloom' has lately been thoroughly examined by Sir Hugh Bell and Mr. J. E. Stead, F.R.S., who communicated a note on it to the Iron and Steel Institute, which will appear in the forthcoming number of the Institute's Journal.

of the site, but the one as yet uncovered bears a closer resemblance to a comfortable dwelling-house than anything found elsewhere at Corbridge.

Most, if not all, of the buildings detailed in the preceding paragraphs must have been erected some time in the second century. Some of them may have been destroyed and never reoccupied after its close. We know, however, that the southern part of Site XI, the two granaries, the small bath-house, and some of the poorer buildings elsewhere were certainly inhabited, or used, in the third and fourth centuries. The history of the site is probably somewhat as follows. After the death of Severus in 211, the Romans gave up all idea of holding territory north of the Cheviots and maintained on their Caledonian frontier a purely defensive policy. Corstopitum naturally waned in importance. It may even have ceased for a while to have been seriously occupied. But it was inhabited in the time of Constantine, and various signs of burning, particularly coins spoilt by the heat of fire, suggest that it was destroyed once more not long after 350. Then, as it seems, it was rebuilt and the level of the roadways was raised. Finally it was abandoned for good, a little before A.D. 400. To some part of this latest occupation belongs, in the judgement of most scholars, the curious and well-preserved head of the Sun-god which was found in the eastern granary. To its concluding scene belongs the smaller of the two large gold hoards which the site has yielded to our spade. This was buried about 385, and though Corstopitum may have been held a few years longer, its end soon came.

I pass to the results obtained in 1911, which may be divided under three heads :

(1) The main field of work was the ground west of that hitherto explored, on the north and south sides of the main street which we christened Stanegate. At the east end of this area lay the scene of our work in previous years ; along the west end ran the Roman road which crossed the bridge over the Tyne, climbed the hill and ran on north : what lay to the west of this road we do not yet know. The ground trenched in 1911 consisted of twelve or more 'sites', which seemed to be oblong areas with the narrower ends abutting on the main road. It is not quite clear what these sites were. Evidence of roofing, such as roof-tiles or floors or gutters to catch the rain from the roofs, were traceable in very few cases. Some of the sites contained kilns or furnaces : some of them were wholly or partly yards, and it seems that the area in general was occupied by the cottages, workshops, and yards of common people. The date of the occupation is naturally hard to fix. The pottery seems to belong mostly to the second century, though a little of it may date from the

Flavian age and a little even from the fourth century. The coins, as examined by Mr. Craster, agree with this, and it would appear that this part of Corstopitum was most thickly dwelt in when the place itself was most populous, in the Antonine period.



Fig. 3. TOMBSTONE OF BARATHES ($\frac{1}{2}$).

The finds made in this area were not numerous; pottery and other small objects were rarer than usual. But one or two individual discoveries were of great importance. The tombstone of Barathes (fig. 3), Palmyrene by birth, standard-bearer in the Roman army by occupation, no doubt records the same man as the Palmyrene Barates who set up an elaborate



Fig. 4. CARVED RELIEF FROM CORBEL ($\frac{3}{4}$)

tombstone—almost oriental in its ornament—to his wife Regina at South Shields. We may suppose that, after retiring from active service, he settled at Corstopitum, as Roman soldiers often settled near the scenes of their military life, died here at the age of 68, and received from his heirs—or his burial club—a far less generous monument than he had set up to his wife.

Another find made in this quarter is a small stone (fig. 4) carved in relief with the figure of a woman dressed in a Roman style, stretching her hand over what appears to be a hooped barrel, and, as it seems, holding a stick with which she is stirring it. It reminds one somewhat of the 'Dolly' and the 'Poss-tub', used in Northumberland and elsewhere to wash clothes. The ornament on it is peculiar; it can be explained as a degradation of known Roman ornament,¹ but it is certainly very unusual: particularly strange is the placing of a pattern on the side, which almost recalls the decoration of Anglian crosses. I incline to think that this figure was copied from one of those reliefs of Fortune or of a Genius pouring a libation over an altar, which are common in the Roman world, but that the artist has wilfully or ignorantly turned the altar with its upper and lower bands of ornament into a hooped barrel, and has converted the libation, which is sometimes shown flowing down from the hand, into a stick. If this be the case, the stone may be sepulchral and represent the activity of the deceased person, as Roman tombstones often did. A third find made in this quarter, the gold coins, will be mentioned below.

(2) Other work was done in 1911 on and round the (often previously explored) Site XI. With the aid of Mr. C. R. Peers, we were able to satisfy ourselves that the northern half of this great building was laid out in full but never finished. We could not determine when or why it was left incomplete, but there seemed reason to assign both its construction and its interruption to a date not very long after the middle of the second century. A portion of its eastern front presented even greater difficulties. Marks of overthrow were here quite plain; human design, and not a mere shrinkage of subsoil, was to blame. But it was also plain that, when it was destroyed, the masonry had not yet been built more than 4 ft. high. The theory that angry Britons cast down the walls was thus put out of court; no one would trouble to destroy a wall over which he could jump.

(3) On the south side of this same Site XI we dug into the 'ballast' of the main street which ran along it, with striking results. In the débris which seemed to lie between the latest road-level (of about the middle of the fourth century) and the second road level (second or early third century) we found a large

¹ Compare the ornament on altars from Lanchester and Aesica.

number of worked and carved stones. The most noticeable of these is a large and nearly perfect inscription set up *Soli invicto* by Sextus Calpurnius Agricola, governor of Britain about A.D. 163 (fig. 5). This is remarkable, since the first line, which states the dedication, has been lightly erased, though the remainder is perfect. Possibly this was done after the fall of the Emperor Elagabalus, whose favourite deity was the Sun, in March A.D. 222. His enormous vices had made him detested on all sides; his name and even the suggestion of him was defaced on numberless inscriptions. Another inscribed piece, unfortunately only a fragment, seems to mention Iulius Verus, who was governor of Britain about A.D. 158. It is noteworthy that both these stones were set up by soldiers of the sixth legion, and like most other Corbridge inscriptions, are of military character.

With these inscriptions were a number of carved pieces, some of which might possibly be architectural adjuncts of the dedication of Calpurnius Agricola. One, which is as well preserved as his dedication, shows carved in low relief a classical familiar pattern of a vine growing out of a small two-handled cup and spreading over the surface of the slab. Two other pieces, which once stood beside it but have been separated from it at some period in their history and defaced by fire, showed (1) the figure of a satyr or faun with the double pipes, standing amid festoons of the same vine, and (2) the well-known Roman device of the Wolf and Twins. These three pieces belong together; they are parts of the same façade. One was thrown down on its face and escaped unhurt, the others were burnt in some destruction. Whether this came in the second, third, or fourth century is not easy to say. The good preservation of the first-mentioned piece implies that it was not long exposed to the weather. It is to be hoped that future discoveries will clear up in 1912 the history of these sculptures.

From the same stratum came a large number of busts and fragments of statuary. Most of these were so defaced that nothing can be made of them. We can just distinguish male and female, bearded and unbearded; the faces have been flaked off, mostly by fire. The most perfect was a draped female statue, about half life-size, of which the whole, except the feet, was preserved (fig. 6). It seems to show a priestess standing upright in priestly dress. A Greek inscription found long ago at Corbridge records a priestess Diodora who served the Tyrian Hercules, and it has been suggested—perhaps rather rashly—that this statue may represent that lady. All, however, that seems certain is that the face does not seem to be that of any known Roman lady; further guessing is unwise. Nor have I been able to obtain from books or friends any useful conjectures as to the identity of any of the other persons represented in the rest of this ruined sculpture



Fig. 5. INSCRIBED SLAB OF ABOUT A. D. 163 FROM CORRIDGE (3)



Fig. 6. STATUE OF A PRIESTESS FROM CORBRIDGE ($\frac{1}{5}$)

gallery. We propose in 1912 to examine further the ballast of this road and possibly more light may emerge.

Small objects were, as I have said, rarely found in 1911. The only fibula of interest, for example, was one which I have figured here (fig. 7), and which I cannot date or properly ascribe to its place among other Roman brooches. The crosspieces at the ends of the bow are plainly borrowed from the Aucissa type, which was used in the earlier first century. But the bow itself shows a different and probably later style, and the whole may be a freak

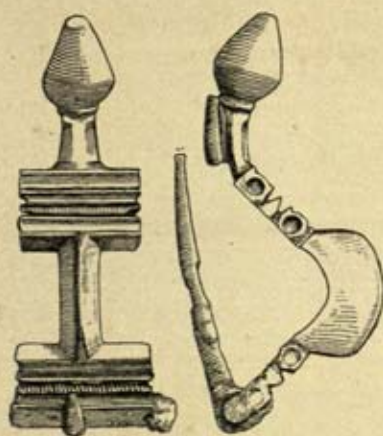


Fig. 7. FIBULA (½).

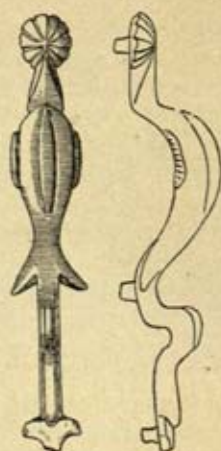


Fig. 8. BRONZE MOUNTING (½).

or an experiment. A second interesting bit of bronze (fig. 8) is a handle or mounting, probably for a scabbard attachment, possibly for a small bucket or jar. A good many similar pieces have been found, one in the legionary fortress at Neuss, some on the German Limes, as at Saalburg, Zugmantel, and Jagsthausen, others outside its limits. On many the boss or projection on the middle is clearly meant to imitate a dolphin's head, and eyes are visible. Our specimen, on which the resemblance is less distinct, probably belongs to a later development. In origin, the device is possibly Late Celtic, but perhaps rather Romano-Teutonic or Romano-Scandinavian in the form now before us.¹

To recompense us for the scantiness of these smaller finds,

¹ Jacobi, *Kastell Zugmantel*, pl. xi. 22; Mettler, *Kastell Jagsthausen*, pl. iii. 10; Engelhardt, *Vimose Fundet*; Salin, *Altgerm. Tierornamentik*, p. 105; Pič, *Urnengräber Böhmens*, pl. lxiv, lxxix; *Niessen-Sammlung* (ed. 1911), no. 3737, where it is explained as the mounting of an 'Eimerchen', for which compare H. Willers, *Neue Untersuchungen*, pl. iv. 2. Pič's specimens have a rather different form; he explains them as 'Schildhalter' but hardly proves his case.

there emerged one great hoard of gold coins, one of the largest hoards of Roman gold coins yet found in our island, and the largest which has been preserved intact and properly and scientifically examined. It consisted of 159, or rather 160, gold coins — for one coin was found lying loose, which doubtless belonged to the hoard — contained in a little bronze vessel rather like a small, round, flat-bottomed claret jug; the mouth was stopped by two large copper coins. The gold coins ranged from Nero till A.D. 159, and were interesting for their excellent preservation and the variety of reverses. This, however, is not the place to discuss numismatic details, which will be published at length in the Report of the Excavations and in the Journal of the Numismatic Society. Historically, the find shows that, about A.D. 160, Corbridge was an important place (for 160 gold coins were not in those days got easily together), and that it was destroyed, attacked, or otherwise visited by trouble, just about that date, perhaps in the British rising which Calpurnius Agricola was sent out to combat. Practically, the hoard has another significance. It is in my opinion very doubtful whether it was really treasure trove (that is, buried on purpose and never recovered), as Dr. Macdonald thinks;¹ but it has now, by the consent of all concerned, been deposited in the British Museum with the hoard of 40 gold coins found at Corbridge in 1908. There both hoards will be kept together and complete. This is almost the first time that the British Museum has kept a hoard of Roman coins intact and undistributed, and its action is a good omen for its general treatment of coins in the future.

It remains only to add that the excavations of 1911 were, like those of former years, conducted under the continuous personal supervision of our Fellow, Mr. R. H. Forster, and that various Oxford archaeologists, Mr. Cheesman, Fellow of New College, Mr. Whatley, Fellow of Hertford, Mr. Craster, Fellow of All Souls, Mr. D. Atkinson of Brasenose, and several younger men, along with the present writer, came to aid or to learn. Some of those who have learnt will, I doubt not, take part in the Society's diggings at Wroxeter in the coming season, and there rejoin Mr. Bushe Fox, who himself has studied and given valuable help for some years at Corbridge."

Mr. FORSTER was uncertain whether the enclosed spaces on the south side of the east and west street represented buildings: some at any rate had been used as open-air workshops; but there had been much destruction in that area. Clay and cobbles had been frequently used below the masonry as a foundation

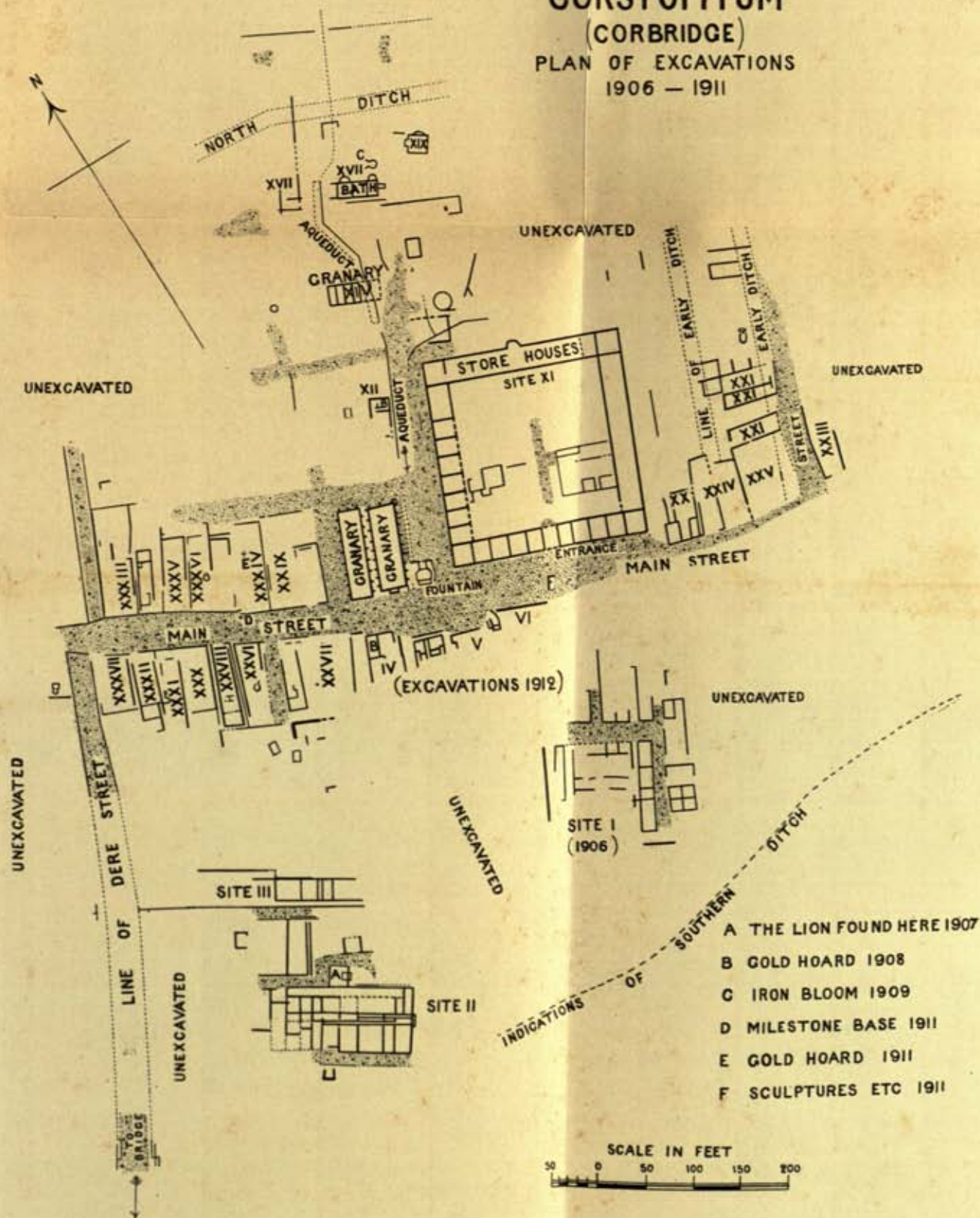
¹ See his report, to be printed in the second volume of the *Journal of Roman Studies*.

CORSTOPITUM

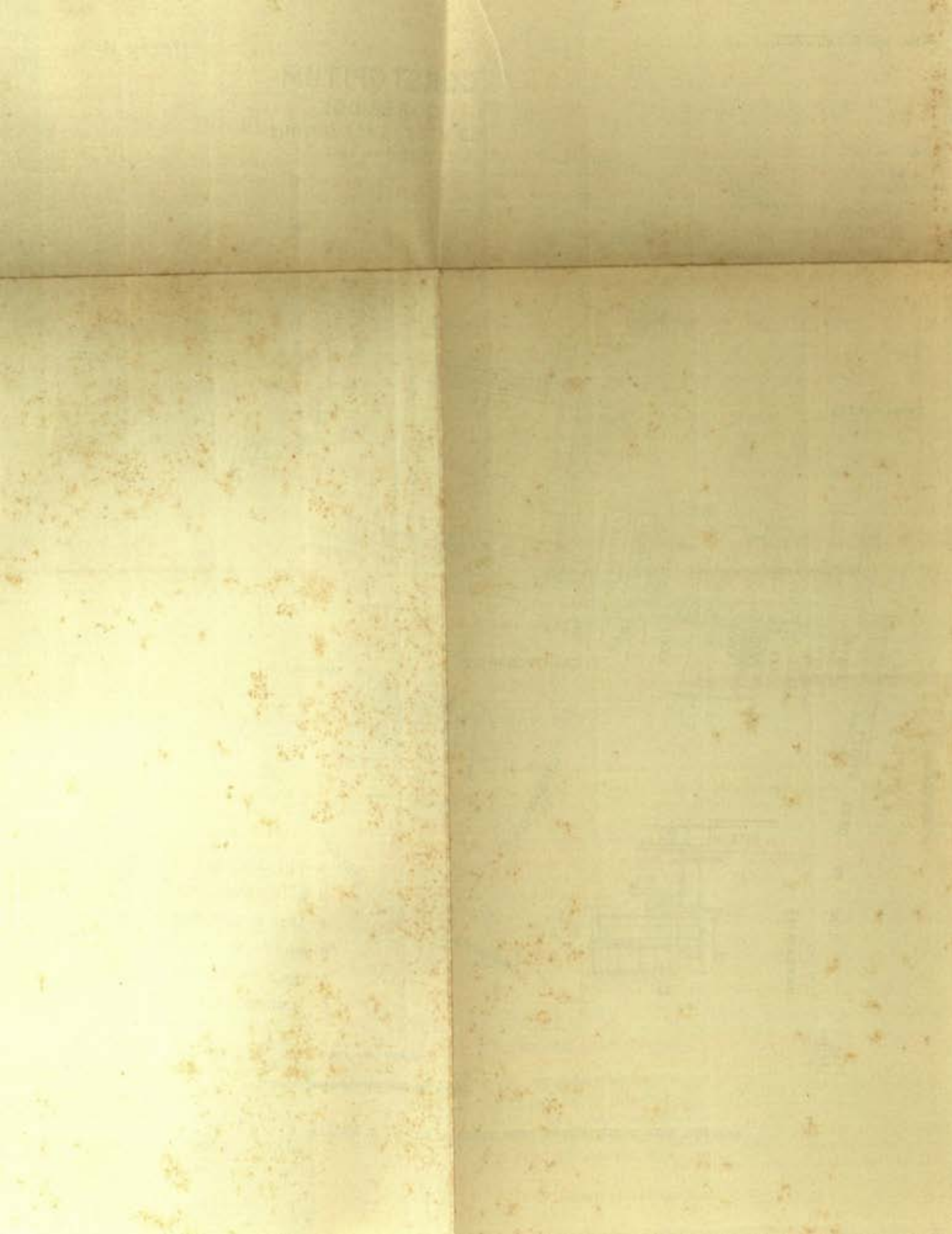
(CORBRIDGE)

PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS

1906 — 1911



ADAPTED, WITH MODIFICATIONS, FROM PLANS BY MR. W. H. KNOWLES



course. With regard to the case of treasure trove, he thought too much had been made of the fact that the jug was found standing upright; the tendency would be for a jug full of coins to assume that position. The tub carved on the panel could be matched at the present day in the Cognac district, and might be explained as a Gaulish feature. He thought the sculpture might be a tombstone, raised to the lady represented at her daily work.

Mr. BUSHE FOX had had charge of the small finds at Corbridge. Pottery of the early period was scarce, that of Trajan's and Hadrian's time abundant. Then the site was abandoned for twenty years, the interval coinciding with the departure of the Romans from Newstead, and perhaps with the destruction of the ninth legion. In Hadrian's time the Romans returned, but no troops are known to have occupied Corbridge in his reign. Occupation was then continuous till the beginning of the third century, when another break in the evidence occurred; and the after history of the site was very confused.

Prof. GOWLAND had just received a paper by Sir Hugh Bell with regard to the large ingot of iron found at Corbridge. The mass had been submitted to Mr. Stead of Middlesborough and Professor Louis, and had evidently been built up by welding together small masses of metal, not by smelting. The essential parts of the furnace had disappeared, but the whole had been restored by Mr. Louis, who supposed it was originally circular; the iron had been found standing up in the furnace. He had himself seen similar pieces made in Japan and Corea, and the composition was the same, giving a very steely metal. But in the East the furnace was a shallow trench filled with charcoal, with bellows placed alongside, and in his opinion the Corbridge furnace was of this kind and not circular. The Delhi pillar must have been made in the same way. It was incorrect to suppose that the Romans ever made cast iron, which was not known till the middle ages.

W. A. LITLEDALE, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., exhibited the Seal of the Priory of Ellerton-on-Swale, upon which he communicated the following note:

"I have brought for exhibition an impression of the seal of the priory of Ellerton-on-Swale, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Ellerton is about eight or ten miles west of Richmond, and was a Cistercian house, founded, according to Dodsworth and Dugdale, by Wymerus or his father Warnerus, dapifer or server to the Earl of Richmond in the time of Henry II. In the

last edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* it is stated that the common seal of this nunnery has not yet been discovered, but recently my brother, Colonel Littledale, and I were turning over some old family deeds in my possession when we came across a deed (in English), which I have brought to-night. It is dated 12 July, 13 Henry VIII (1521), and is in itself of no particular interest, being merely a lease by Dame Margery, prioress of the monastery of our Lady of Ellerton, to Thomas Pudsey of Berforth, County York, for 99 years at a rent of 53s. 4d. of all their lands in Berforth. It has, however, appended to it the seal of the monastery. The seal is made of the



SEAL OF THE PRIORY OF ELLERTON-ON-SWALE. (½.)

usual brown or red material. The legend is 'S. COMUNE DOMUS D'ELLERTON'. The representation in the centre is the Lamb and Flag.

As regards the date of the matrix, it is obviously much earlier than the date of the deed, and it is possible it belongs to the latter part of the twelfth century—that is the supposed date of the foundation of the monastery—but the (Lombardic) letters might just as well point to a rather later period, and I would prefer not to date it before the thirteenth or even the fourteenth century.

Among the same deeds there is another impression of the same seal. It is appended to a release, dated 27 July, 13 Henry VIII (1521), by the same Margery, prioress of the monastery of St. Mary of Ellerton, to Ambrose Pudsey of all actions relating to arrears of rents of her land in Berforth. It has appended to it the same seal, legend and figure, but unfortunately the right-hand top corner of this seal has been broken.

I may add that the result of inquiries which I have had made is that the seal is unknown at York or Durham, or in the British

Museum. I have, however, arranged for a cast to be supplied for the Museum, and also for our collection of seals, if this Society thinks it worthy of a place there."

Mr. BAILDON considered the fourteenth century an impossible date for the seal, which he thought might belong to the middle of the thirteenth. It was probably made shortly after the foundation of the priory, and the shape seemed earlier than the lettering.

The PRESIDENT pointed out that the circular form was earlier than the *vesica piscis*, and preferred to assign the seal to the thirteenth century.

H. CLIFFORD SMITH, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., exhibited a Standing Livery Cupboard of oak, of the late fifteenth century, from Burwarton, Shropshire, on which he communicated the following notes :

"The front of the cupboard is composed of six openwork panels, the two centre of which form doors. The openings, cut out of the solid, were for the purpose of ventilation, since the cupboard was intended for articles of food and drink, which as the term 'livery' implies, would be handed out (*livrée*) for domestic consumption. The openings in the two upper panels on each side and in the lower door are in the form of perpendicular Gothic tracery; the upper door is pierced with a design resembling a crocketed pinnacle, and the remaining two lower panels are carved each with an ostrich feather in openwork. The openings in the three lower panels and the centre one above are surrounded with carved rosettes and geometrical ornaments within circles. All the rails and stiles are moulded. The spaces between the legs and lower rails in front and on each side are filled in with sort of barge-boardings in the form of ogee arches. The four panels on both sides are plain. The hinges of the lower door are missing, as is the lock plate. Otherwise, though it has suffered from the ravages of time, the piece is singularly complete, and retains its original shelves. The condition on the whole is good; for furniture of this date is rarely discovered in its original or untouched state, and is either extensively dilapidated or else half modern. The cupboard has fortunately never suffered from any attempt at restoration, and though partially obscured by dirt, it still retains much of its old polish; and what is of even greater interest to the antiquary, the traces, which can be seen on the side mouldings and the interstices of the carving in front, of its former vermilion colouring, the whole surface having been originally, like the cover of the shrine

of St. Cuthbert at Durham, 'vernished with a fyne sanguine colour.'¹

The actual place where the cupboard was found quite recently by a country dealer was a farm-house at Burwarton, situated on the side of the Brown Clee Hill between Ludlow and Bridgnorth. Nothing is known of its history previous to its discovery, and it is presumed that it came from some important house in the neighbourhood. The village of Burwarton lies somewhat to the north of the road between Tickenhall Manor, Bewdley, and Ludlow Castle. Tickenhall (or Ticknell), which originally belonged to the Mortimers, Earls of March, was rebuilt by Henry VII for his eldest son Arthur, Prince of Wales, and the Prince resided there, as well as at Ludlow Castle on the borders or marches of Wales, where he also held his court, and in which in 1502 he died in the sixteenth year of his age. Professor Lethaby has pointed out the similarity of the crocketed pinnacle on the front of the cupboard to the letter A. This taken in conjunction with the two single ostrich feathers of similar design to those which figure on Prince Arthur's chantry in Worcester Cathedral renders the connexion of the piece with Arthur Prince of Wales more than a mere conjecture.

This important specimen of English domestic furniture has fortunately been secured for one of the national collections, Mr. Robert Mond, F.S.A., having generously bought and presented it to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

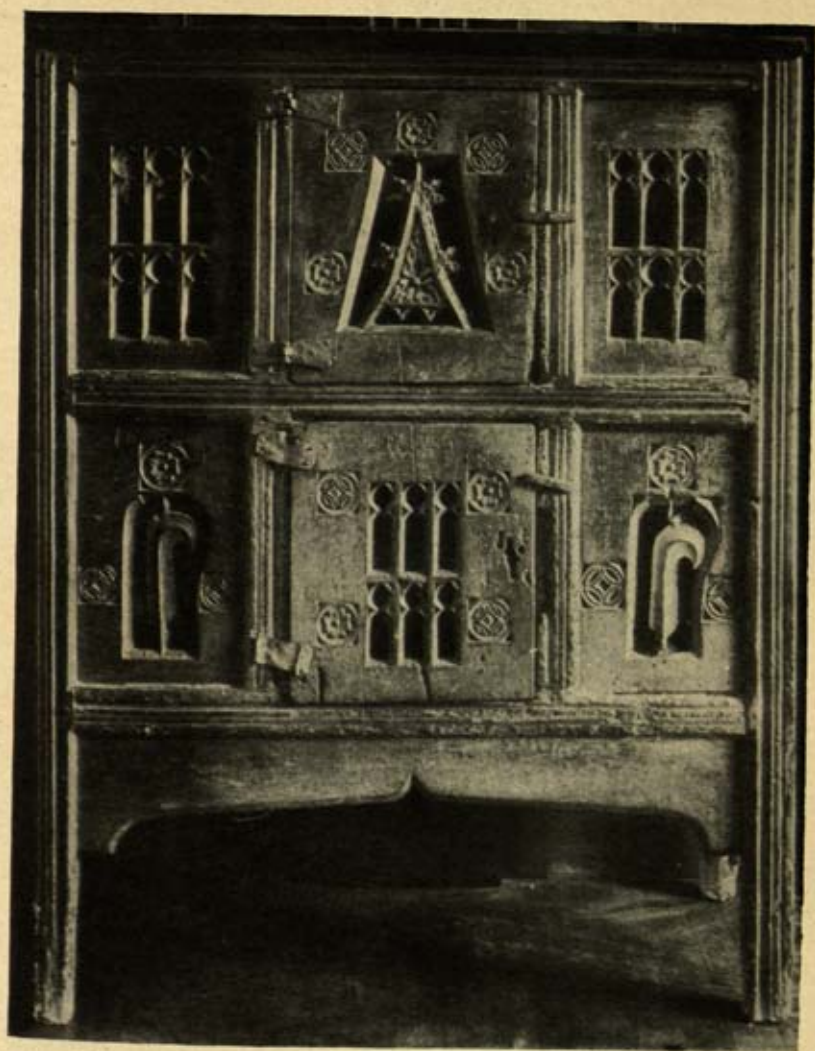
The dimensions of the cupboard are: height, 5 ft. 4½ in.; width, 4 ft. 1½ in.; depth, 2 ft."

Mr. VALLANCE doubted if the cupboard was connected with Prince Arthur, who died in 1502; the gabled ornament in the middle was the latest feature and gave the date. Up the gable ran the thumb-nail ornament, which was not in use till 1520-30. It was certainly indigenous work and really consisted of a square box on legs, without a projecting cornice.

The PRESIDENT was inclined to place it before 1500, and congratulated Mr. Clifford Smith on securing it for the Victoria and Albert Museum on the terms mentioned.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

¹ *Description of the . . . rites . . . of Durham before the Suppression, written in 1593.* Surtees Society Publications, xv, p. 4. 1842.



OAK LIVERY CUPBOARD FROM BURWARTON.

THURSDAY, 9th MAY, 1912.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From W. H. Fox, Esq., F.S.A.:—The College of SS. Mary and Nicolas, Lancing. A note by Adam Fox. Drawings by W. H. Fox, F.S.A. fol. Enfield, 1912.

From the Editor:—Notes and queries concerning Evesham and the four shires. Edited by E. A. B. Barnard. 2 vols. 8vo. Evesham, 1911.

From the Author:—The sanctuaries and sanctuary seekers of Yorkshire. By Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1912.

From the Director, Victoria and Albert Museum:—English porcelain of the eighteenth century. By Sir A. H. Church, K.C.V.O. 8vo. London, 1911.

The President announced that he had nominated David George Hogarth, Esq., M.A., to be a Vice-President of the Society.

Notice was given of a ballot for the election of Fellows on June 6th, 1912, and a list of the candidates to be put to the ballot was read.

REGINALD SMITH, Esq., F.S.A., read a paper on 'The Date of Grime's Graves and Cissbury Flint-mines'. Worked flints from these two well-known sites have long been considered typical of an early neolithic stage, before polishing had become common. Ancient mines at Cissbury Camp were explored between 1867 and 1875, and proved to be earlier than the earthwork; they yielded no arrow-heads, and one polished fragment quite near the surface. Of the 254 similar pits near Weeting, Norfolk, Canon Greenwell opened one in 1870, and found besides chipped flint tools a polished basalt celt and many picks of red-deer antler, of which very few were found at Cissbury. Certain finds in stratified deposits both here and abroad serve to link the typical Cissbury celt with the late river-gravel forms; and analogies between other types and those found in French caves suggest placing the Cissbury group in the Aurignac division of the palaeolithic Cave period, which, at any rate abroad, was followed by a deposit of loess. Recent finds in France show that 'domesticated' animals existed at the period; and the absence of cold-loving animals such as the mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, and

reindeer may perhaps be accounted for by the Gulf Stream; but these animals are also unrepresented on several important French sites. The polished basalt celt has lately been proved to be at least as ancient as the oldest kitchen-middens of Scandinavia, and polished bone tools are common in the Cave period. Pottery has been found in certain French palaeolithic cave-deposits, and is abundant in caves of the Aurignac period in Belgium. If the above view can be maintained, there can be no hiatus question, the Cissbury types amply demonstrating a gradual evolution from the hand-axe of the river-gravels to the completely polished celt; and finds such as the Cushendall factory, co. Antrim, would prove that Ireland was also inhabited in the later palaeolithic period.

Specimens illustrating the paper were exhibited by the Brighton Museum, and Messrs. Cocks, Dale, Boyd Dawkins, Dewey, Fox, Newton, Powell, Relph, Garraway Rice, and Wilsher.

The PRESIDENT remarked on the revolutionary character of the paper, which was only intensified by a closer examination of the evidence. Recent discoveries on the Continent might well put old facts in a new light, and enable our own investigators to produce new facts, by research and excavation. In spite of conservative tendencies, he felt bound to admit that a *prima facie* case had been made out, and the position of Cissbury as a typical neolithic site had been extensively undermined. After discussing the evidence and handling the specimens anew, he had come to the conclusion that the onus of proof was now transferred to any opponents of the proposed change in classification. There were a few points as to which there was still room for doubt; for instance, the Arudy 'headstall' as evidence for the domestication of the horse in La Madeleine times. It was an axiom that form alone was not a true criterion of antiquity, and arguments from form had been supported by other evidence in the paper. He had always held that the polishing of stone implements was not necessarily a late feature. The Cave people habitually polished their bone tools, and there was nothing to prevent them treating flint in the same way. Another argument in favour of the author's conclusions was the extraordinary similarity in patina and surface condition of specimens alleged to be contemporary, whether in England or abroad. He took the opportunity of stating how far he was prepared to admit the arguments brought forward, and was content to put some minor points to the suspense account. Mr. Smith had managed to present a clear outline of a complex subject, which would necessitate an elaborate paper; and had left time for the discussion of many debatable points.

Professor BOYD DAWKINS felt considerable difficulty in discussing so complex and far-reaching a paper, which touched on controversial points both in archaeology and geology. He thought it unfortunate that the term loess had been imported into the discussion, as the material on the surface and at several horizons at Cissbury was nothing but rainwash. Nor could he believe that the pit opened at Grime's Graves had been originally made before the sand accumulated there. Geologists absolutely declined to accept an argument from the Rhine as applying to England. The contention that domestic animals existed in the Cave period was founded entirely on a misapprehension, as the sheep, pig, and *Bos longifrons* were introduced from some region other than Britain or France. He had examined thousands of bones from Cissbury, and all told the same story. Palaeolithic man was in the hunting stage, whereas Cissbury man had flocks and herds, with the dog to help him. Pottery had never been found in undisturbed palaeolithic beds, and in this view he was supported by the Abbé Breuil and his colleagues. The pits had evidently been sunk by experienced miners, and such skill in the Cave period was incredible. Further, all palaeolithic implements were made from surface stones, not from flints mined in the chalk. Patina was not a test of age, but only of condition. The rough implements exhibited only represented a stage in the manufacture of the neolithic celt; and only two fragments of the finished polished celt had been, to his knowledge, found at Cissbury. The French evidence could not be accepted in view of the fact that at Mas d'Azil seeds of the bullace plum and barley grains had been detected, proving a neolithic culture.

Dr. STURGE was familiar with the district of Grime's Graves, and noted that nearly all the finds there were in the filling-in, which was collected from the neighbourhood and might include anything. The entire district was covered with flints, both worked and unworked, like no other district in the world. Examination showed that the tools belonged to various dates, as many were made of material with an earlier patination. He had collected a large number of specimens from the neighbourhood, and had been able, by arranging them in groups, to formulate a sequence. This had led him to the conclusion that some of these surface finds dated from the palaeolithic period; and he had found patination a most useful and trustworthy indication of relative age. He had long held that traces of the Cave period must, in his neighbourhood, be looked for on the surface, and had come upon two palaeolithic floors; one certainly of La Madeleine date, and the other perhaps contemporary but with different features. Only the Aurignac period was unrepresented, and he regarded

the paper as a new departure. In his own collection were fifty specimens showing the beginnings of polish, but yet of enormous antiquity.

MR. GARRAWAY RICE thought that more emphasis might have been laid on the occurrence of palaeolithic implements on the surface: the old distinction between finds in the Drift and on the surface could no longer be maintained. He recognized palaeolithic forms among the Cissbury group; and thought that if such types were found on the surface, the district might have been in uninterrupted occupation by man ever since. Eight specimens in his own collection had been found heaped together just under the turf, and he felt sure they had never been disturbed. Students of the Stone Age could not be converted to the new theory at one sitting, but the author seemed to have bridged the hiatus, and so removed a standing difficulty.

MR. SMITH replied that Sir Joseph Prestwich himself had called attention to the difference between the red band in one of the pits at Cissbury and the red silting in the ditch of the earthwork, the latter being due to rainwash. Domestic animals must have been derived from the wild species somewhere, and what area was more suitable for sheep-breeding than the South Downs? Many cave-deposits were no doubt mixed, but the occurrence in cave-earth of the cones, with bone 'points' that must also have been of Aurignac type, was vouched for at Wookey Hole by Professor Boyd Dawkins. The dog had been found in a deposit of Le Moustier date at Châteaudouble (Var), and more than once in later cave-deposits abroad; while the Belgian finds of palaeolithic pottery were well authenticated by expert excavators. The oldest surface-finds in a chalk area were generally patinated deeply, whereas brick earth (as at High Lodge) preserved the surface intact. More than one case of incipient polish on Cave-period flints had been noticed, which could not be explained by continual rubbing in use.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication, which will be printed in *Archæologia*.

THURSDAY, 23rd MAY, 1912.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From the Author :— Old Buckhurst. By W. D. Scull. 8vo. n.p. n.d.

From the Compiler :—Inventory of books and papers preserved in the diocesan registry, Durham. Compiled by H. H. E. Craster, M.A., F.S.A. 8vo. Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1912.

Notice was again given of the ballot for the election of Fellows on Thursday, June 6th, and a list of the candidates to be put to the ballot was read.

R. T. GÜNTHER, Esq., M.A., read a paper on a mural glass mosaic from the Imperial Villa at Posilipo, near Naples, which will be printed in *Archæologia*.

Professor GOWLAND commented on the use of uranium as colouring material at that early period. If the proportion of uranium was $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the glass should have a deeper colour, as it was many times as much as was used at the present day. The enamelled appearance of the glass had been correctly explained : if the temperature was not right in the saggers, white opaque glass would be formed. Another explanation was that the glass had undergone devitrification, i.e. after the lapse of time the glass would lose its colloid transparent form and assume the opaque crystalline form.

Mr. LETHABY mentioned a niche of the same character from Baiae in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.

The PRESIDENT observed that the statues found in the niches were useful for dating purposes. He had seen many twisted glass rods of the kind exhibited which resembled a modern sugar-crusher. They had been found in various parts of the world, sometimes with typical glass of the first century.

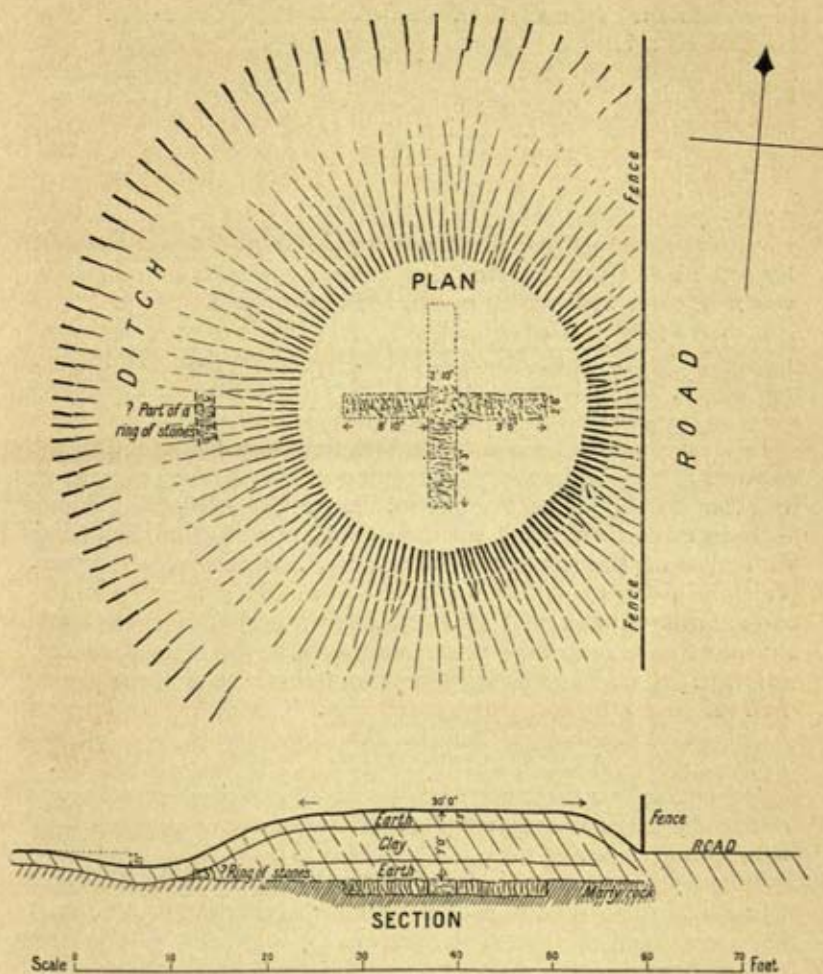
W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A., read the following paper on the opening of a tumulus at Leadenham Park, Lincolnshire :

"In the spring of 1908, while the guest of Captain Reeve of Leadenham, during our excavation of the preceptory at Temple Bruer, I had an opportunity of examining a remarkable mount in Leadenham Park into which the owner had lately made some cuttings.

The mount lies close to the present road from Grantham to

Lincoln, about a quarter of a mile from Leadenham church, and is duly noted as a 'Tumulus' on the 1-in. Ordnance Survey map.

It is circular in form, about 50 ft. in diameter across the base,



PLAN AND SECTION OF A TUMULUS AT LEADENHAM, Lincs.

and 30 ft. across the top, which is flat and 4 ft. above the surrounding ground. About the base are slight traces of a ditch, out of which some of the material of the mount was excavated. Towards the east, however, the ditch is obliterated by the road, which has evidently therefore been widened from its original condition as a mere lane or packway that connected all the old

villages along the west side of the high ridge of land between Ancaster and Lincoln.

A cutting running roughly east to west across the top of the mount, which had already been made by Captain Reeve, had disclosed at a depth of 7 ft. a row of stone slabs laid in the bottom of a trench. As there were indications of another row at right angles to this in the middle of its length a second trench was cut to open it up, but owing to a clump of trees towards the north this could only be carried southwards. The former trench was also extended east and west so as to fully disclose the stones along its line.

The result of the excavations showed that before the construction of the mount two cross trenches, each about 21 ft. long, had been cut into the underlying marly rock; the east to west trench was 2 ft. 6 in. wide to the north, to the south 2 ft. 10 in. The arms were not quite of equal length, the three we examined being respectively (E.) 9 ft. 6 in., (S.) 9 ft. 3 in., and (W.) 8 ft. 10 in. in length. The trenches were 1 ft. 6 in. deep, and had been carefully packed with a series of thin slabs of white limestone, roughly dressed. Those in the eastern limb were taken out to just beyond the crossing and then replaced, but nothing whatever was found under or between them. In constructing the mount a layer of earth was first thrown over the cross, and then a ring of stones of the same kind about 2 ft. wide laid all round. Within this was heaped up a thick layer of clay, above which is a second layer of earth 15 in. thick. This earthen layer extends all over the surface of the mount, across the encircling ditch where it is 2 ft. deep, and on to the natural surface where it forms a layer 1 ft. thick over the underlying marly rock. Throughout the mount nothing whatever was found in the shape of pottery or bones, except in the superficial layer, which yielded the fragments exhibited.

The question arises, what can be the object of raising a mount about 50 ft. in diameter and 7 ft. deep over a large cross of white stone slabs?

The field was known in the eighteenth century as the Mill Hill Close, but there is no sign of a windmill having ever stood upon the mount, and there were no traces in the middle or on the lines of our trenches of any disturbance of the ground for posts or other supports. A similar mount in the adjoining parish of Fulbeck is also named Mill Hill, but this has not yet been investigated.

In the hope of eliciting some information from so experienced an explorer, I sent particulars of the discovery at Leadenham to our venerable Fellow, Dr. Greenwell, who replied as follows:

Jan. 1, 1909.

The name Mill Hill must not be put aside entirely. The mound in question may very possibly have been thrown up to carry a wooden mill.

I have opened two in the East Riding, one of which had a deep cutting into the underlying original soil, at the bottom of which were two very large tree-trunks, placed cross-fashion to support the legs of the mill.

I also opened one *botontinus*, which had a cross-shaped trench containing a large quantity of Roman potsherds and charcoal.

I should incline to think the Leadenham mound was the base of a mill. Certainly it has not been a sepulchral one.

The Fulbeck mound is most likely another mill site, but it would be well to have it opened in order to test it.

So far as I have seen and read of, all the *botontini* contain sherds and charcoal, in which the mound at Leadenham was wanting, so far as Roman pottery was concerned.

As regards the mill theory I ventured to point out to Dr. Greenwell that the site of the Leadenham mound, under the lee of a high bank, seemed an unlikely one for a mill hill, but he replied :

Jan. 3, 1909.

In spite of the situation it may be the site of a mill. That I told you of where the cross-beams were left, was under the lee of higher ground. The stone circle is in favour of its having been sepulchral, but there was no sign of an interment, and the presence of mediaeval pottery, in an undisturbed mound, is quite inconsistent with a prehistoric burial. Nor do appearances point to a *botontinus*. It will be best to have the other mound opened.

At present there seem to be difficulties about examining the Fulbeck hill, and so it is not possible to compare it with that at Leadenham. But meanwhile it would be interesting to know if any light can be thrown upon the object or meaning of the mound and its underlying stone cross."

Mr. REGINALD SMITH referred to the late Mr. J. R. Mortimer's treatment¹ of the 'cruciform platforms' or 'embankment crosses' in Yorkshire and other parts of England, which were regarded as boundary marks or moot-hills, the latter being assigned to Anglo-Saxon times, but on very slender evidence.

Mr. ENGLEHEART mentioned the discovery of such a mound at Weyhill, near Andover. The excavation was on the fair-ground, which had been in use since Saxon times and was provided with permanent fair-buildings. On removing part of a round barrow, the rector found the same trenched cross facing the cardinal points, and full of surface soil and charcoal. A fire seemed to have been deliberately kindled in the trench and covered in like a flue: in the debris was early English pottery, but no definite remains of the original interment. In an abraded barrow half a mile to the west was found exactly the same arrangement, a trench having been cut through the barrow in the solid chalk. One theory was that the barrows were christianized in that way, but the point required further elucidation.

¹ *Forty Years' Researches*, p. 388 (with plans); cf. *Yorks. Arch. and Topog. Soc.*, ii. 69-81.

Mr. DALE had been present at the Weyhill excavation, but the evidence was so confusing that he had not prepared a report. The four arms of the cross were carefully cleared, and a large admixture of mediaeval pottery noticed. The solid chalk had been excavated, and the cross seemed to be below the level of the original interment (presumably a cremation of the Bronze Age). It had the appearance of a disturbed barrow, and he had since learnt that the windmill theory found adherents.

The PRESIDENT's first impression was that the mound with its cross was a *botontinus* or Roman boundary mark: not being easily moved or obliterated, it would admirably serve that purpose. On High Down, near Cissbury, there was a mound erected at the corner of the camp for a windmill; but this necessitated a central post, the wheel running round on a causeway, and there was no such arrangement in the cross-mounds. In his opinion the latter were not sepulchral tumuli, which would have the primary burial at the centre; and the only relics found were mediaeval. According to the Treasurer, the thirteenth or fourteenth century would be very early for a windmill.

W. R. LETHABY, Esq., F.S.A., read the following paper on some early Christian objects in our museums:

"At the Victoria and Albert Museum there is a large collection of early Christian textiles found in Egyptian graves. Four or five of these are of linen partly dyed in blue so as to leave designs which appear to have been 'stopped out' in wax.¹ Strzygowski in his *Orient oder Rom* has called particular attention to other pieces of this type as furnishing examples of the early Christian figure art of the East.

It is difficult to date them with any certainty, but probably we may assign them to the fourth or fifth century. Some classical tradition yet governs the drawing, and in the Louvre there is a fine piece of the same kind dealing with the story of Dionysos, who has a nimbus and whose name is inscribed in similar lettering to that on our pieces.

These pieces of linen at South Kensington are very fragile and very fragmentary, and I looked at them many times before I was able to interpret the designs. This I have now done in restored drawings.² Two pieces have hitherto been described as representing the Annunciation, but they are very dissimilar. One subject certainly is the Annunciation. An angel stands before a seated woman, and between them is inscribed in Greek

¹ Dalton's *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 602.

² Made for me by Miss E. Lynch, Miss V. Andrews, and Miss G. Sharp, students of the Royal College of Art.

letters MAPIA (fig. 1). A curious object in front of the Virgin is a basket like a modern paper-basket, and from this she lifts a skein towards a distaff. Ainaloff, in a description of a similar rendering of the subject in the mosaics of Sta Maria Maggiore, has suggested that this must have been an Eastern, rather than a Roman, way of figuring the subject. He gave a list of six examples, none of which was known with certainty to be of



Fig. 1. DYED LINEN WITH REPRESENTATION OF THE ANNUNCIATION.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

Eastern origin. To these I am able to add some others, two of which are known to have come from Egypt. Thesecondexample, an embroidery, will be described below. The third is the beautiful silk fragment found in the Sancta Sanctorum in Rome. The fourth example of this type of Annunciation is a Byzantine mosaic at Parenzo. This and the silk fragment are illustrated in Mr. Dalton's invaluable volume.

A fifth, and one of the most interesting, is on a small ivory box at Berlin, probably of Egyptian origin.¹ The story of the Virgin's spinning comes from an apocryphal gospel. A special liking for these stories seems to be characteristic of Coptic art.

¹ Cabrol's *Dict.* s.v. 'Berlin', p. 783.

The second piece of linen at South Kensington has the Virgin reclining on a couch, turning back her head towards an angel. This is such an unwonted treatment that I looked for other indications, and found some indistinct lines above the foot of the Virgin's couch which resolved themselves into the head and shoulders of an ox. Above was a cruciform star, and to the right a long form which could hardly be other than the ear of the ass. Some masonry beneath must be part of a manger. The whole was the Nativity. As to the unusual angel here, it is characteristic



Fig. 2. DYED LINEN WITH REPRESENTATION OF THE NATIVITY.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

of apocryphal stories of the Virgin that she was served by angels. Having restored my subject I looked for parallels, and many are to be found on Eastern Christian ivories. On the ivory throne at Ravenna the composition is in several respects identical; here and in some other examples we even get the arch in the front of the manger, the beginning of which appears on our linen. A still closer parallel is on a little ivory box at Werden in Germany, figured in Cabrol's Dictionary. This type of the Nativity with the ox and the ass probably originated in Egypt. It is taken from an apocryphal gospel (fig. 2).

The third piece of dyed linen is very fragmentary, but it is specially interesting as it contains four subjects. One, it was seen long ago, was the healing of the woman, for it is lettered

ΕΜΑΡΩΑ. A scene above was thought to be the Transfiguration, but I ventured to suggest that it was the Delivery of the Law, and Mr. Maclagan then found the word ΜΟΥΧΗ. I afterwards saw that the lower subject on the right, of which the upper part only remains, was the raising of Lazarus, who is figured like a bound mummy, according to a type very frequently found. As corpses bound in this way would naturally be figured in Egypt, we reach the probability that this type is again Coptic. The woman touches the robe of Christ while He commands Lazarus to come forth. This is not according to the Gospel narrative, but the inscriptions make it certain, for between Christ and the mummy we can just trace the letters ΛΑΖΑΡΟΥ, and on several early sarcophagi the same conjunction of subjects is found. There yet remained the top subject on the left, and this I found repeated in one of the pieces illustrated by Strzygowski, and in that the inscription is entire, showing that the subject was the cure of the man with the dropsy. Just the débris of the inscription remains on our piece (fig. 3).¹

A fourth piece of linen at South Kensington is large and important, but so fragmentary that I have not yet discovered its meaning, although I think it may yet be solved, for there is an inscription which seems to read ΙΕΙΟΙΔΑC (Jehoida?). It had two figures standing in front of a round aperture in a piece of architecture. The fine classically drawn figure now on the left, to which the inscription seems to refer, is a woman's; that on the right was probably a male figure holding a book. Two further points may be mentioned. It is now framed wrong side out, as is shown by the inscription and also by the fact that the figures have their right hands covered by their mantles and their left hands free, whereas, of course, it should be the other way about, as is shown by comparison with the other pieces. The second point is that a piece of stuff now on the right side seems to be a leg and foot turned upside down. The female figure is very well drawn in a semi-classical style. In the architectural background are apertures having curtains, and figures showing head and bust only. Both these characteristics may have had an Alexandrian origin.

At South Kensington there are several fragmentary roundels of silk embroidery which were applied to linen tunics. They were found in Egyptian graves and are ascribed to the sixth or seventh century. The most perfect piece shows the Annunciation and Visitation. In the former the Virgin is seated in front of a small building, and at her feet is a basket filled with purple from which project two distaffs. By her side is another distaff charged with purple. The basket is in the form of a wine-glass,

¹ Cf. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*.

and baskets of this shape have been found in Egypt.¹ This is another point for comparison with the Annunciation on the patterned silk found in the Sancta Sanctorum, where the basket is also in the form of a vase, and this leads to the suggestion that this silk is Coptic (fig. 4).



Fig. 3. DYED LINEN WITH REPRESENTATION OF THE GIVING OF THE LAW AND THE RAISING OF LAZARUS. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

Another companion piece of embroidery represents the Last Supper. In this the Apostles recline around a semicircular table with servers in front. A serpent whispers into the ear of Judas. A third piece shows the risen Christ, Mary Magdalen and an angel, and perhaps St. Thomas.

¹ See Cabrol's *Dict.* s. v. Antinoë; and the ivory box in the British Museum with the story of St. Menas.

Another piece of embroidery is circular, about eight inches in diameter, coarsely worked in worsted, with a jewelled cross within a wreath. The cross has chains passing from the top to the ends of the arms with attached jewels. Beneath the arms are suspended doves (fig. 5). Five or six other pieces of textiles here, and one or more at the British Museum, have jewelled crosses wrought upon



Fig. 4. EMBROIDERED SILK ROUNDEL WITH REPRESENTATION OF THE ANNUNCIATION AND VISITATION. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

them. One shows two flying angels supporting a wreath which contains a jewelled cross, having birds on the arms and the letters A and ω .¹ The jewels are large squares of red and blue alternating with two or four white dots representing pearls. Such jewel decoration was very common in early Coptic textiles. Herr

¹ Notice the ear-rings of these angels, which seem to be a characteristic of Coptic art.

Forrer has a piece with a head surrounded by a jewelled frame. The frequency of the jewelling motive in Coptic decoration suggests to my mind that Egypt was the centre of its invention and distribution. Forms of it, I think, are to be found on late mummy cases. It reached Rome by the end of the fourth century. The cross of the great apse mosaic of Sta Pudentiana is richly jewelled.



Fig. 5. SILK EMBROIDERY. VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

Here I may speak of another decorative motive which I think may have had its source in Egypt. This is the continuous reticulation in lozenges, which probably derives from painted imitations of the beaded nets laid over mummies. Such painted imitations exist, and the pattern passed into textiles and carving. See two mummy cloths at South Kensington.

The oblique key pattern or skew-fret, which is so often found on Coptic textiles (which I think must have been the source for

this pattern as found on Saxon crosses in England¹), was probably developed from the net of lozenges. This skew-fret is the favourite pattern for filling spaces on the Coptic textiles, of which there is such a large collection at South Kensington.

At the British Museum, in the Egyptian Department, is a piece of tapestry which has wrought on it, in tufts of worsted, two Cupids in a small boat.² It came, like so many of these textiles, from the cemetery at Achmim. It is very interesting as being an example of the 'Nilotic' compositions which were so popular in the late Hellenistic and early Christian eras,³ and is remarkably like the sculpture on a Christian sarcophagus published in Cabrol's Dictionary.⁴ The provenance of this sarcophagus is not known, but from the buildings shown in the background—a Pharos and a monument with Tritons blowing shells on its roof (a *motif* derived from the Pharos at Alexandria)—it probably was wrought by an Alexandrian artist.⁵ From the rough drawings which survive of the fourth-century mosaics which decorated the dome of Sta Costanza at Rome, it is known that a similar River of Life flowed along the bottom with almost identical Cupids in small boats floating upon it (the ship of the Church is said to have occupied the eastward point). Similar Nilotic scenes are found again in the mosaics of the Lateran and Sta Maria Maggiore. The design must be of Egyptian Hellenistic origin. In these scenes, where the boatmen are as big as the boat, we get a source for Raphael's 'Miraculous Draught of Fishes', but a still more direct prototype is a mosaic at Ravenna.⁶

One of the most precious Christian objects in the British Museum is Constantine's cup, which, it is believed, was made in Egypt before A.D. 327. The gesture of the Christ represented upon it, as Strzygowski has already pointed out, resembles that of a small relief found at Assouan. It seems to have been the typical attitude for Christ in Coptic works. Comparable with it is a figure of Christ once on the ceiling of a tomb or small temple near Abu Simbel, which is preserved in a drawing by Parke made about ninety years ago and now in the library of the Royal Institute of British Architects. From the ornamentation associated with it, this painting could hardly have been later than the fifth or sixth century. The same type appears again in a wall

¹ See Mr. Dalton's note in *Proceedings*, vol. xxii, p. 215.

² The right-hand border is not in its proper place, the piece was continued further to the right; notice the half-fish against the right border.

³ See Dalton, *Byzantine Art*.

⁴ s. v. *Ame*.

⁵ Cf. the silver 'shield' in Venturi, vol. i, fig. 436, which should also be Alexandrian.

⁶ See Pératé's *Arch. Chrét.*, fig. 158.

painting at Bawit,¹ and I have no doubt that this great subject of Christ in Majesty originated in Egypt. It is found in Rome in the apse mosaic of Sta Pudentiana; but that is about eighty years later than the cup, and the mosaic itself may be the work of artists from the East. When this cup was first shown, an objection was raised to the omission of the first N in the name Constantine, but brick stamps found in Constantinople show the same peculiarity. It is thus a confirmation of authenticity.

At the British Museum also is the famous silver casket inscribed with the name of Projecta, which must have been made by Alexandrian workmen. I want to call special attention to a simple wreath pattern which appears on it and on other early Christian silver work, as, for instance, the little box found in North Africa, which is now in Rome.

At South Kensington is exhibited a fine set of silver dishes discovered in Cyprus, belonging to Mr. Pierpont Morgan, which has been fully described and illustrated by Mr. Dalton. On the architectural background of some of them is represented a pattern of leafage which is typically Coptic, and which was, so far as I know, not used outside Egypt. Some little grave slabs in the British Museum have it, and a wooden cross in the Ashmolean.² An earlier form of the same pattern seems to be the wreath ornament on the coffer of Projecta. The coffer also has similar pricked ornamentation to that on the Cyprus treasure. It may be noticed, further, that the groups of figures on Mr. Pierpont Morgan's dishes closely resemble in style others on the Joshua Roll, which experts consider to be Alexandrian. Diehl has shown that most of the silver plate of this type must come from one oriental source, and he has suggested Syria; I claim it for Alexandria. The Cyprus dishes must carry with them the large number of pieces which are stamped with similar 'marks' (see Rosenberg's volume).

The Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum has lately acquired a small ivory which represents the goddess Athene. It closely resembles, especially in regard to the crested helmet, figures impersonating cities on the consular diptychs issued about A.D. 500; there are one or two of the kind at South Kensington, and another at Liverpool. The new ivory must, I think, come from the same source as these diptychs, and that, we might suppose, was Constantinople. On the other hand, it resembles in many respects another ivory relief with the 'Fortune' of a city now at Aachen,³ which, as Strzygowski

¹ See Diehl's *Manuel*, p. 67, and notice the jewelled throne.

² See also Strzygowski's catalogue of Coptic objects in the Cairo Museum.

³ See Strzygowski's *Der Dom zu Aachen*, fig. 8; also figs. 9 and 10.

points out, must be from a Coptic source. The figure on our ivory recalls the impersonation of Rome in the Esquiline silver treasure at the British Museum. It represents, I should say, the 'Fortune' of Athens or Rome, and dates from about the fifth century. It is probably Alexandrian work, and this leads to the suggestion that the consular diptychs were commercial works produced in Egypt.

In a former note on the beautiful leaf of a diptych at South Kensington, which is inscribed SYMMACHORVM, and its companion leaf at Paris lettered NICOMACHORVM, which has been thought to be the record of a marriage alliance between the two families named, I suggested that the figures seemed to signify Night and Morning. I now think that the opposition is more likely Grief and Joy. Symmachus was the leader of the old Pagan party in Rome in the second half of the fourth century. At this time 'its leading members enrolled themselves in the ancient priesthoods and provided for the sacrifices'. Symmachus and Nicomachus, who were closely related by marriage, were both members of this league, and Symmachus drew up a plea for the reinstatement of the Altar of Victory in the Senate House, in which he renounced any hope that Paganism would triumph, but appealed for a truce. The Altar of Victory had been removed from the Senate House in 357, and the party led by Symmachus passionately endeavoured to obtain its reinstatement. It was put back by Julian, but its removal was again ordered in 382. On this occasion Symmachus proposed to lead an embassy to the Emperor in favour of its retention. I would now see in our diptych a memorial of these events. On the first tablet a priestess with disordered raiment and dishevelled hair, holding inverted torches in her hand, stands dejectedly before an altar under a fir-tree. All these are piled-up symbols of mourning; but on the second leaf all is different. The priestess here throws incense on a flame newly kindled on a garlanded altar. She is fully draped, and her hair is elaborately dressed and decked with flowers. By her side a handmaid brings offerings of fruit. Over the altar spreads an oak full of acorns, an emblem of stability, as the fir is of mourning. I would see, then, in this remarkable diptych a memorial of an agreement between Symmachus and his friend Nicomachus to devote themselves to securing the return of the Altar of Victory, about the year 386, when their antagonist was St. Ambrose.¹

The sources of origin of early ivories have not yet been satisfactorily made out. To do so a multitude of minute observations are necessary. The ivory throne at Ravenna has been

¹ In view of a question raised in the discussion I may say that the tablet is recessed at the back like the consular diptychs.

assigned to Asia Minor or Alexandria. As the Annunciation and the Nativity on it so closely resemble those subjects on our Coptic linens at South Kensington, we may now, I think, decide that the chair was brought from Alexandria. If this were so, it would carry with it many other pieces, as, for instance, figures 114, 124, 125, 126, in Mr. Dalton's volume.¹

At the Victoria and Albert Museum there is an ivory with St. Peter and St. Paul seated in curious folding chairs with high backs. An exactly similar chair is found on an ivory at the Bargello (both are illustrated by Mr. Dalton).² They must come from the same centre, probably Alexandria, and be of the same age. Somewhat similar chairs are found on the Brescia coffer and in some of the early MSS.

In the same museum there is also a curious small wooden sculpture, 8½ in. high, of a woman carrying a child, discovered by the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1896-7 at Béhnesa (Oxyrhynchus). If it is indeed the Virgin and Child, as has been suggested, it is a very remarkable work. It seems to be of cypress wood, and can hardly be later than the fourth century.

In the Ashmolean Museum is a marble relief described thus: 'Relief from a sarcophagus. A pastoral scene. Shepherd, sheep and dog, with rock and trees. Flat, late style.' It is, I have no doubt, an early Christian work. On the right-hand margin there is a remnant of a carved fluting, a type of surface decoration which was common on early Christian sarcophagi, and this one, when complete, would have been very much like one or two in the Lateran collection illustrated in Marucci's work on the Lateran Museum (pl. xxiv).

The front rim of a cover in the British Museum covered with reclining shepherds, oxen and goats, is probably also Christian; so may be the sarcophagus in the same gallery found in London, which has a portrait medallion on a ground of curved flutings, and at the ends baskets of fruit.

I have on a former occasion suggested that a mosaic from Carthage now on the wall of the north-western staircase at the British Museum, which has two stags drinking set in the pattern, must be a Christian work.³ The similar mosaic, also from North Africa, in the Louvre came from a baptistery. I may here mention that Dr. Wiegand has lately found the ruins of a baptistery at Miletus with a mosaic floor on which were represented drinking deer, as well as sheep and wild animals, these last probably a comparison between the Church and the world. At St. Dié, in France, a mosaic has been found—'without doubt the floor of a baptistery', on which the four rivers of Paradise are represented, but

¹ *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*.

² *Ibid.*, figs. 117, 120.

³ *Proceedings*, xxiii. 328.

the stags have been destroyed:¹ In the baptisteries at Naples and Ravenna drinking stags appear in the subsidiary decorations. We may, I think, consider it proved that the British Museum mosaic belonged to a baptistery. The general design of vases with jets of water issuing from them would be appropriate to such a situation. The hunting mosaic on the same staircase is probably also Christian.

A small capital brought back last year from Egypt by Prof. Petrie has been acquired by the Mediaeval Department of the British Museum. It is most interesting, as it has the same type of foliage as the great capitals of Sta Sophia. Most remarkable capitals have also recently been found by Mr. Quibell, which, unfortunately for us, have gone to Boston. Many of these were very beautiful Byzantine types, and it seems probable that they had their origin in Egypt. Several capitals of less interest, many being variants of the Corinthian form, have lately been added to the Egyptian Department of the British Museum.

One of the purposes of these notes has been to suggest what a great part Egypt played in the transformation of Hellenistic into early Christian art, and to urge that every opportunity should be taken of acquiring objects found in such abundance at this time in Egypt. There can be no second harvest, and when once the time has gone by the chance of building up strong Early Christian departments in our museums will have passed with it. I cannot forbear expressing the opinion that the Christian objects scattered over many departments at the British Museum should be gathered together in a single section after the model of the splendid collection in the Berlin Museum, which is constantly being enriched with fresh treasures."

Mr. DALE observed that the Virgin Mary was represented as spinning, and in one of the pictures she could be seen twirling the thread. The type probably came from Egypt, but was perpetuated on enamels and early pictures.

Mr. CRACE remarked on the two birds associated with the jewelled cross, which was Byzantine work and could be matched in mosaics of that period. The notched ornament seen on the cover of the silver sarcophagus occurred on almost every marble or stone cist found in Palestine, which contained the ashes of those whose tombs had been used for later burials. The cists dated from the first or second century of our era. He could not follow the author's Egyptian theory, and considered the pattern came from Byzantium or the East. The statuette shown as a Virgin and Child looked more like a figure holding a wine jar.

¹ See Cabrol's *Dict. s. v.* 'Cerf'.

LORD BALCARRES had listened with great interest to the paper, and only wished the author had had more time to develop his thesis. The recent Egyptian find was curiously unlike other Egyptian specimens, which, however archaic, always retained their meaning. It rather resembled German mediaeval work. He had never seen the back of the Symmachorum diptych, and questioned whether it was consular. If it were only to convey a message written on the wax, such great pains would hardly have been bestowed on the two leaves. If, on the other hand, the diptych were memorial, the author's explanation could be more readily accepted. The ivory was certainly the most precious in Britain. A paper devoted to the origin of certain Christian forms would be most welcome; the subject was highly controversial, and the supposed centre of distribution had been shifted more than once.

MR. LETHABY replied that the difficulty in regard to the jewelled cross was to determine what was Byzantine. The point of the paper was that many Byzantine characteristics could be traced to Egypt. He agreed that the notched ornament occurred on stone cists in Palestine, but pointed out that Palestine came within the Egyptian sphere of influence.

THE PRESIDENT felt that the author had convinced himself but had not gone into sufficient detail to convince others. The wooden figure suggested the thirteenth century, especially in its facial expression. That the Constantine bowl was made in Egypt was practically proved by its odour on arrival at the British Museum. Objects that had been buried in Egypt could be easily recognized in that way.

W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq. M.A., by permission of the rector, the Rev. D. Lee-Elliott, M.A., exhibited a censer-lid lately found in Blakeney church, Norfolk, on which he communicated the following note:

"Those who are acquainted with the fine parish church of Blakeney, on the north coast of Norfolk, may remember that the chancel is covered in with a thirteenth-century ribbed vault, above which is a chamber, reached by a tall slim turret on the north-east, long used as a pigeon-house. The censer-lid exhibited, together with a fragment of a German modelled stone-ware jug with the date 1583, was lately found in clearing out the rubbish filling in the pockets above the vault.

The censer-lid is of cast copper, and so badly crushed that its original dimensions are not easy of recovery, but it seems to have been about 4 in. in diameter and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height. It

was roughly conical in form and divided into three zones or bands. The lowest band has a plain edge from which project four rounded loops for the chains of the censer and is ornamented with a running scroll pattern alternately ending in leaves and enclosing roundels with sexfoil devices. The latter are filled in with white enamel radiating from a blue centre, and the former with white and blue enamel with greenish blue stems. The middle band has an ogee curvature and is pierced with two rows of round smoke holes, one above the other. The uppermost band is subdivided by four pointed members radiating from



ENAMELLED CENSER-LID OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY FOUND IN BLAKENEY CHURCH, NORFOLK. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

the knob, with floral devices between, all originally enamelled. The knob is plain, and has a loop on top in which is a metal ring of the lost chain. Upon the top are traces of the gilding that once covered all the outer surface of the lid. It is needless to remark that the decoration of a censer-lid with enamel is a very rare feature, and there is the additional interest in this case that the work is probably English. The object itself apparently dates from the last quarter of the twelfth century."

The PRESIDENT suggested keeping the censer-top as it was, as repairs were dangerous. It differed from any he knew in the

shape of the knob, in its openings and the design of its enamels, and might be of English origin, but was certainly not from Limoges.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 6th JUNE, 1912.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From the Editor :—The bishops of Scotland prior to the Reformation. By the Rt. Rev. Bishop Dowden. Edited by J. Maitland Thomson. 8vo. Glasgow, 1912.

From the Editor :—Liverpool vestry books, 1681–1834. Edited by Henry Peet, F.S.A. Vol. i, 1681–1799. 8vo. Liverpool, 1912.

From R. B. Pilcher, Esq. :—The antiquities of Italy, being the travels of the Rev. Bernard de Montfaucon from Paris through Italy in 1698 and 1699. Second edition. Edited by John Henley. fol. London, 1725.

From M. F. Engel-Gros :—Le Château de Ripaille, par Max Bruchet. 4to. Paris, 1907.

This being an evening appointed for the election of Fellows no papers were read.

Lt.-Colonel CROFT LYONS, F.S.A., exhibited a smoke-jack dated 1670, the front of which is of brass engraved with a figure of Atlas (fig. 1); an engraved brass lock of about 1680 (fig. 2); and an Elizabethan weight bearing the Royal Arms: France modern quartering England (fig. 3).

The ballot opened at 8.45 p.m. and closed at 9.30 p.m., when the following were declared elected Fellows of the Society :

Edward Tristram, Esq.
Victor Tylston Hodgson, Esq.
Captain Charles Lindsay.
Arthur Stratton, Esq.
William Henry Quarrell, Esq., M.A.
George Heywood Maunoir Sumner, Esq.
John Murray Kendall, Esq.
George Herbert Duckworth, Esq.

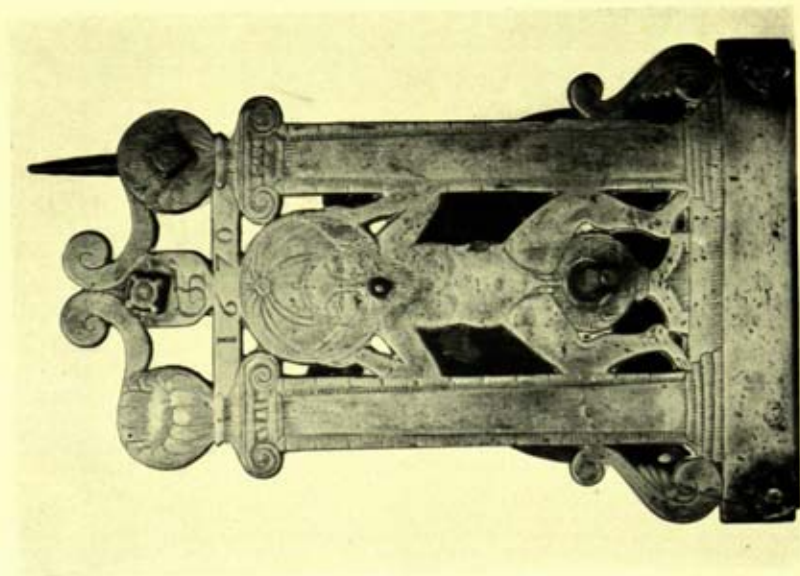


Fig. 1. SMOKE JACK WITH BRASS FRONT. ($\frac{1}{3}$)



Fig. 3. ELIZABETHAN WEIGHT. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

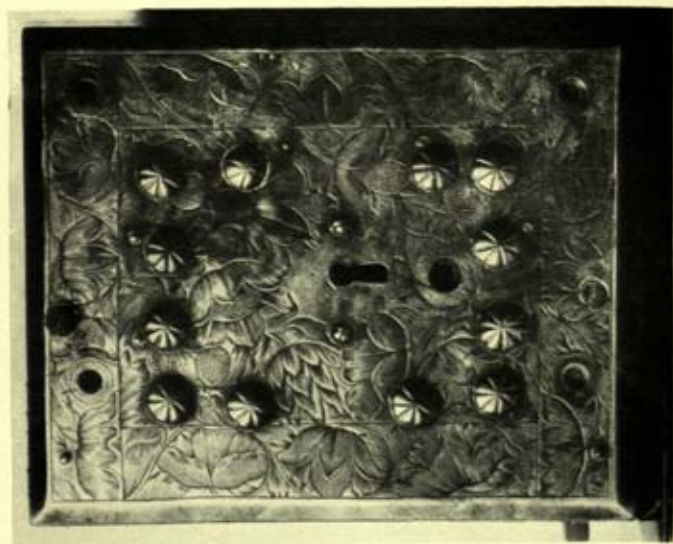


FIG. 2. ENGRAVED BRASS LOCK, FRONT AND BACK VIEWS. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

THURSDAY, 13th JUNE, 1912.

CHARLES HERCULES READ, Esq., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—Oxford gardens, based on Daubeny's popular guide to the physick garden of Oxford. By R. T. Günther. 8vo. Oxford, 1912.

From Robert Rickards, Esq., F.S.A.:—Llandaff Records, vol. iv. Acts of the bishops of Llandaff, book iv. 8vo. London, 1912.

From the Author:—Saint Tathan, the patron saint of Caerwent, Monmouthshire. Written on the occasion of the translation of his supposed remains by James G. Wood, F.S.A. 8vo. Newport, Mon., 1912.

The following were admitted Fellows:

Arthur Stratton, Esq.

William Henry Quarrell, Esq., M.A.

George Herbert Duckworth, Esq.

GEORGE JEFFERY, Esq., F.S.A., Local Secretary for Cyprus, communicated the following paper on the Franciscan Church at Famagusta, Cyprus:

"During the past year I have been able to rescue from further spoliation the ruins of two very interesting churches of the early fourteenth century in Famagusta; buildings of a considerable architectural importance, and singularly alike in general design and detail. They appear to have been ruined, or very much injured, by the bombardment of 1570, but they may have been devoted to other than an ecclesiastical use before that date. In each case I removed mounds of earth and débris, about five feet thick, from the interior areas, and enclosed them with walling six feet high in such a way as to prevent the natives from carrying off any more of the ruined masonry.

In *De l'Art Gothique et de la Renaissance en Chypre* (1899), M. C. Enlart gives plans and photographs of these two ruins. He made some investigation of their floors where tombstones showed through a thinner layer of débris, and seems to have been satisfied that little was to be found beneath the heavier masses of fallen masonry. In removing these mounds of débris I found the judgement of M. Enlart to be correct. Not a single monument of any value has come to light, and although there were abundant traces of such things they had been reduced to such minute splinters and fragments by the fall of the vaulting that it would be hope-

less to patch any of them together. Slabs of gypsum and indifferent hard stone were almost the only materials used in sepulchral monuments of the middle ages in Cyprus, and such materials were literally ground to powder under the weight of the superincumbent mass.

In a later contribution to the archaeology of Cyprus (*Fouilles dans les églises de Famagouste*, *Arch. Journ.* vol. lxii, p. 195) M. Enlart has given an interesting and very exhaustive account of the remarkable series of tombstones which he was the first to discover in these churches in 1901.

THE FRANCISCAN CHURCH.

The church of St. Francis has a special interest as a chapel royal built by Henri II de Lusignan, 1285-1324, according to Enlart and De Mas Latrie; and it would appear to have been joined to the contiguous royal palace by a private way or gallery. The date of its foundation would seem to be precisely the year 1300, for in that year various important bequests to the Franciscan convent of Famagusta are recorded in the *Actes génois de Famagouste*, published by Desimoni in the *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 1896. The church was perhaps specially affected by the Genoese because their 'Loggia' or Chamber of Commerce was built alongside the convent towards the north.

The prosperity of the Franciscans, and the importance of their church, diminished during the reign of Hugh IV. The chief royal residence was transferred from Famagusta to Nicosia, and the passage of communication between St. Francis and the palace was turned into a shooting-gallery for cross-bow practice. Later on, when the Genoese Republic took possession of the city of Famagusta in a way which ruined its trade and reduced what had at one time been the 'Emporium of the Levant' into a mere stronghold whence the destinies of the Lusignan kingdom might be controlled, and the exactions of an insupportable tyranny be enforced, the mendicant friars found themselves reduced to a very low ebb. The presence in Famagusta of the Genoese, who had at first been their principal patrons, was the cause of their subsequent decay in a city exposed to continual warfare and from which all trade and riches had departed. At the same time it is curious to find that, as evidenced by the presence of the interesting tombstone of the principal administrator or commissioner of the Genoese Government in Famagusta, the building continued under the special patronage of the Genoese. Almost the only portion remaining of the Franciscan convent is the church, of which the accompanying drawings are a restoration upon paper.

The plan is somewhat peculiar (fig. 1): the apse is formed by

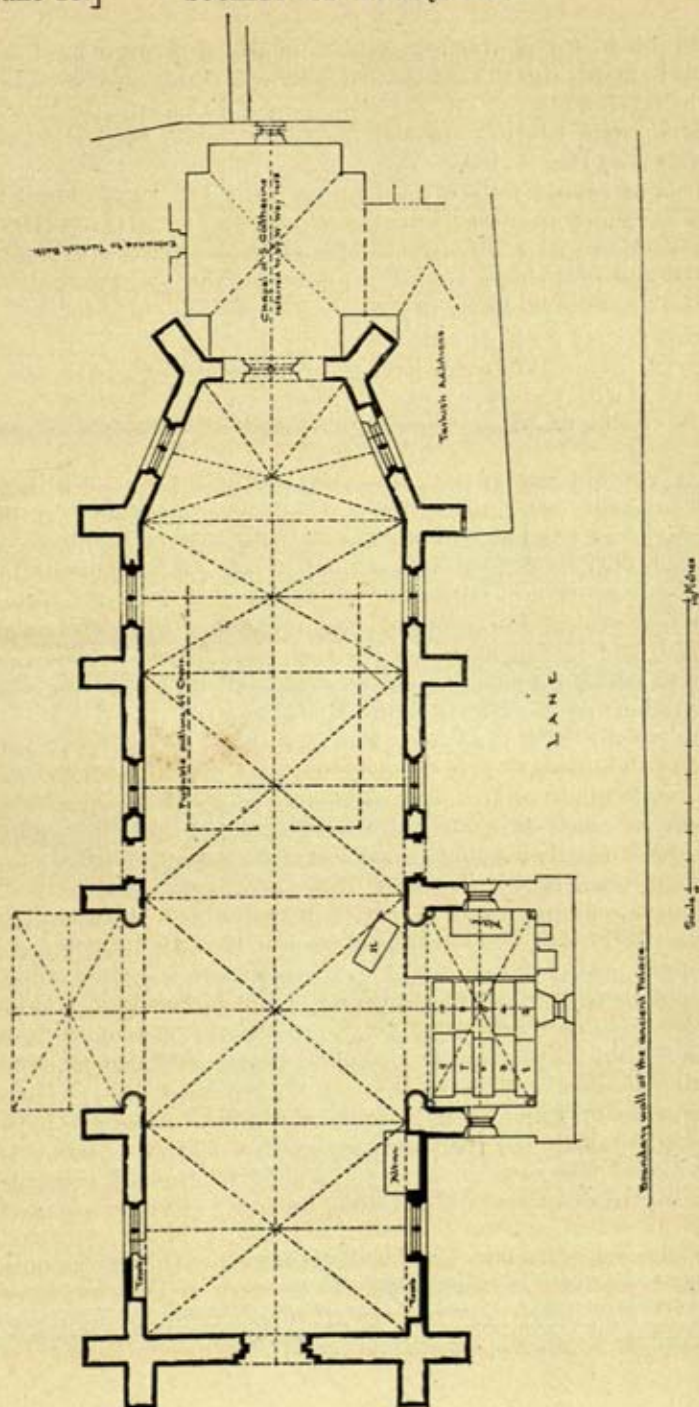


Fig. 1. PLAN OF THE FRANCISCAN CHURCH AT FAMAGUSTA.

three sides of a pentagon, a rare form which perhaps has some merit in increasing the apparent length of an interior. The nave, about 30 ft. wide, was covered with three immense square bays of quadripartite vaulting in the manner of most of the Cyprus churches of the period. The vaulting ribs descended on large corbels of carved foliage surmounted by a dripstone moulding. The nave and apse were of equal height, and in each bay of the construction was a tall, narrow window of two lights with cusped heads, and probably a trefoil or quatrefoil above. The general design was thus exceedingly plain, but at the same time imposing.

Fortunately for the purpose of reconstructing this church upon paper, a fragment of every part of the design seems to have been preserved with the exception of the doorways. Even a single stone of the cornice crowning the walls still stands *in situ* over the east end.

The vaulted roof of the church was designed to stand without any external covering, and the rain-water collecting in the 'pockets' of the terrazzo surface was disposed of through the gargoyles which still remain on the buttresses.

The general appearance of these early fourteenth-century churches of the Levant must have reminded the beholder of Spanish and Italian medieval work as much as of the Provençal style to which they more especially belong. The somewhat low proportions of their wide vaulted interiors are perhaps not so characteristic of the aspiring French Gothic as of the heavier style of Catalonia. The comparatively narrow, though exceedingly tall, windows are more suggestive of Italian work than of the early French style. But in Italy the Gothic churches of this period are usually roofed in wood and the transeptal arrangement with side chapels creates a great difference in the plan.

The marvellous cathedral of Albi in Languedoc, planned about the year 1300, is doubtless the model type of these Cyprus churches. In other words, the school of art which we see achieving the stupendous Gothic vaults of Gerona, Albi,¹ and similar churches of wide span in that district of the southern European littoral, seems to have influenced the Levant to a remarkable extent. This striking similarity of design between the buildings of Cyprus and those of Spain, Languedoc, Provence, and Piedmont, suggests the probability that their ritual arrangements would also be similar. And indeed this is the only way in which their peculiar proportions can be explained. The Carmelite and Franciscan convents

¹ The church of St. Francis at Assisi, one of the few completely vaulted examples of Tuscan Gothic buildings without aisles, has the same circular turret-like buttresses as at Albi. This idea of construction is represented in Cyprus by the church of St. Catherine, Nicosia, only the buttress supports are octagonal in plan instead of semicircular.

of the early fourteenth century would consist of a considerable number of friars, and the churches would in all probability be provided with the usual stalls and screens. As there are no aisles to these buildings in Famagusta it would seem almost certain that a distinct choir, detached from the side walls, was erected in front of the high altar, in the manner of the cathedral of Albi, an example of this arrangement which still fortunately survives in all its beauty and picturesqueness. The great Franciscan church of Santa Croce, Florence, had a similar detached choir, the outline of which is preserved in the modern floor.

As a ruin the Franciscan church at Famagusta has reached very nearly the vanishing point. Its walls are, with the exception of the east end and the chapel on the south side, reduced to within a few feet of the ground level, and my efforts to preserve so much as remains have been confined to enclosing these two portions.

Outside the east wall of the apse stand some trifling remains of the conventual buildings, but they are so much transmogrified by subsequent conversion into the building of a large Turkish bath-house that it is exceedingly difficult to identify the fragments. An archway seems to have been pierced through the east wall of the pentagonal apse, but whether as a means of communication with some chapel or vestry behind the high altar, or merely as a part of the building of the Turkish bath, is uncertain, as the arch is evidently not of the original construction of the church.

When I have the opportunity I propose to investigate the ruins of this Turkish bath as one of a series of such structures of some importance. Famagusta, being the principal stronghold of the island, was evidently inhabited by the richer kind of Turks during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it is the only place in Cyprus which shows any evidences of Turkish luxury at that period.

Perhaps the most interesting feature surviving about the Franciscan church is the presence of a transept in the form of two side chapels, which seem to have been added to the building in a very hazardous manner, during the Genoese occupation of Famagusta. Such an alteration has doubtless materially aided in the general ruin of the structure, and at a period previous to 1571. That the Turks have evidently never made use of the place, the surviving altars of the Latin church sufficiently testify.

The northern of these two chapels has completely disappeared with the exception of some remains of the semicircular wall shafts which carried the arch communicating with the church. The southern chapel is preserved to a very great extent with more than half of its groined roof. Its preservation seems due

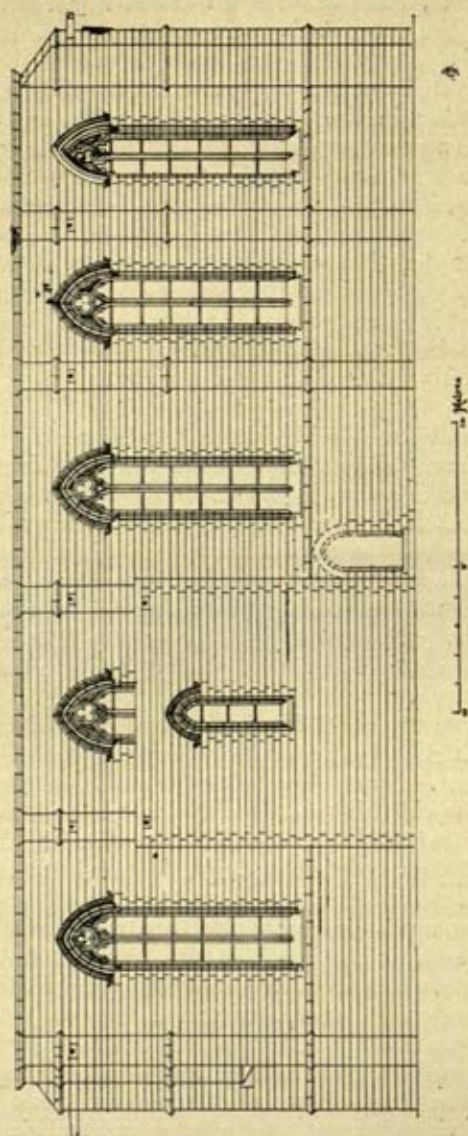


Fig. 2. CONJECTURAL SOUTH ELEVATION : FRANCISCAN CHURCH, FAMAGUSTA.

to the great thickness of its south wall, which, as M. Enlart suggests, may have been so built for the purpose of being carried upwards in the form of an arcaded belfry, in the favourite manner of the Cypriote builders.

Within this chapel still stands the masonry altar almost intact, and its floor is still covered—apparently untouched—with the remarkable series of gravestones to which reference has already been made.

On the east wall over the altar are the remains of a fresco in

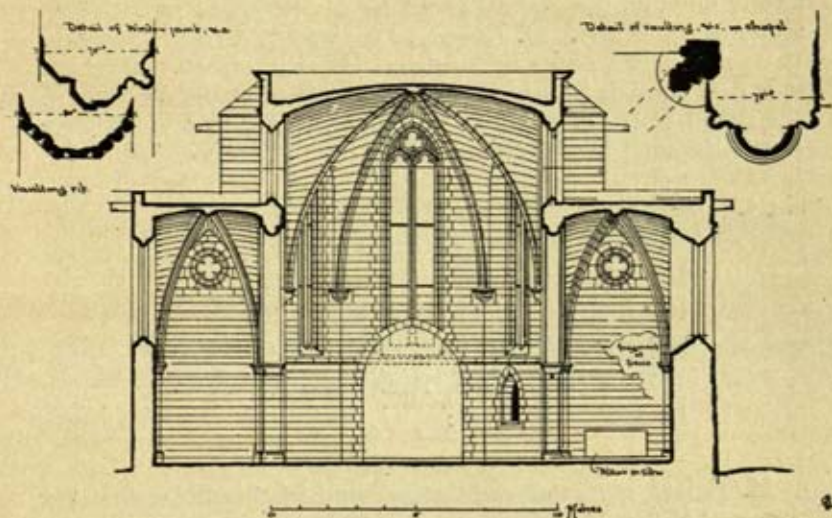


Fig. 3. SECTION THROUGH TRANSEPTS, LOOKING EAST: FRANCISCAN CHURCH, FAMAGUSTA.

the genuine Italian *cinquecento* style. The interesting fragment of an esquire holding the charger, the shield, and the pennon of a knight is now somewhat more decayed than when M. Enlart drew it fifteen years ago, but the curious coat of arms can still be made out. The blazoning of the coat of arms is singularly unintelligible, perhaps more of a pictorial fancy than truly heraldic; M. Enlart describes it as 'd'argent à la croix potencée de sable', but the form of the cross varies in the three forms of its representation.

The series of gravestones which survives *in situ* on the floor of this chapel, and gives it a particular interest under the circumstances, is in the same condition as when discovered by M. Enlart in 1901: I have only been able to add one more to the number, found in the removal of the débris covering the nave

floor. This, which I have placed in the chapel, is unfortunately too much defaced to allow of anything being made out of the inscription, which appears to have been written across a shield of the sixteenth-century type.

The most important of these gravestones—although one of the least ornamented—is the memorial to Ugolino del Prisco, Massaro of the Mahone or Magona of Genoa at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The inscription to the memory of the distinguished official is complete, but the lower half of the gravestone, on which was engraved a large shield of arms, is unfortunately missing, the stone having been cracked in half like so many of the others. M. Enlart, in his very interesting paper on these memorials, omits to mention this coat of arms, although it is easy enough to detect within the outline of the top edge of the shield traces of a bearing which is evidently *bendy* of some indefinite number of divisions. The inscription is as follows:

No. 4. *HIC · IACEŢ · NOBIL · VIR · DÑS
 VGO LLINO · DE · PRISCO · DITVS
 DE · CAREŢO · Q · FVIT · MASAR
 IO · MAHON · IN · FAMAG · Q · OBVŶ
 ANNO · DNI · M · CCCC · III · DIE · X · IE
 NR · QVIVS · AIA · REQVISCAT
 IN · PACE · AMEN :

M. Enlart gives an excellent *résumé* of the history of the famous 'Mahone' of Genoa. It was a sort of chartered company, which on the occasion of the ill-judged massacre of Genoese merchants by the Cypriotes and Venetians in 1372, seized the opportunity for establishing an occupation of the city of Famagusta, and a suzerainty over the kingdom of Cyprus, under the pretext of avenging the murder of fellow citizens. The company was started by shareholders who subscribed a capital equivalent to the present value of 2,560,000 francs, and, the expedition proving successful, the interest on this amount was secured by an annual tribute from the Lusignan kings in addition to the trade monopoly of the port of Famagusta. In 1403, which happens to be the date of the death of Ugolino del Prisco, one of the 'massari' or high-commissioners of the company, there was a division of the Society into the 'old' and the 'new' Mahone; and a little later, in 1408, these two branches became absorbed into the famous Bank of St. George, one of the most remarkable commercial corporations of the middle ages, the members of the Mahone subscribing no less a sum than the

value of about six millions of francs. M. Enlart suggests that the death of Ugolino may have been the cause of the great modification in the constitution of the Mahone which occurred at that date.

The less important gravestones in the chapel may be taken in their chronological order, which is of a particular interest, as the three periods of Lusignan or French, Genoese, and Venetian administration of Famagusta are here represented.

No. 3. ICI GIT SIRE IOHAN DEL PIEVME
(MER)QVADERE DE MONPEL(LIER)
QVI TRESPASA LAN M·CCC·XIII.

This slab, round the border of which runs the above inscription, has been decorated with the figure of the defunct and two shields of arms, one on either side of his head, but all are now too much defaced to allow of description.

M. Enlart has discovered references to a family of merchants of Montpellier trading under the name of *De Penna* at this period, from whom an important manor in the neighbourhood was named. Possibly the merchant buried at Famagusta may have belonged to this family, known also under a Provençal form of the name.

No. 2. AI · SIGAS · S · IACME
SOLEVIER MERCA
DIER DE MOPESLIER
Q TRESPAS... D...
ES XV IORS
N · M · CCC.....III QED
AIT LARME LVI AM(EN)

Jacmes Olevier's tombstone is without an effigy, the inscription taking its place in superimposed lines. In a space at the foot of the stone is a shield outlined with a plain cross within it, on either side of which is a merchant's mark, a circle or globe surmounted by a cross. The workmanship of this slab is of the poorest quality.

M. Enlart supposes with some probability that this Jacques Olevier may have been the ancestor of a famous merchant of Narbonne of exactly the same name and *prénom* who flourished some sixty years later and whose records are preserved in the archives of that city and have been published by the *Commission Archéologique de Narbonne*.

- No. 7. ICI · GIT · DAME · ANNES · IADIS · ESPOVSE · D ·
 S · RODALET · GILI ...
 DAOVST · LAN · M · CCC · LXX ·
 D · BIST ·
 AO · DIEV · AIT · LARME · AMEN.

The above inscription runs round a slab with the effigy of a lady, much effaced. There are traces of coats of arms in shields on either side of the head, but too much destroyed to be intelligible.

- No. 5. HIC · IACET · NOBILLIS · VIR
 DOMINVS · CRESTIANVS · DE · M
 ARINIS · QVI · OBVIT · ... M · CCC · L
 XXXVIII · DIE · XII · DECEMBRIS ·
 CVIVS · ANIMA · REQVIESCAT ·
 IN · PACE.

This personage evidently belonged to a Genoese family well known in the chronicles of Cyprus. A probable relative of the Francesco de Marino, Genoese, squire of the queen-mother Eleanor of Aragon, and murderer of the prince John of Antioch in 1375.

- No. 6. HIC · IACET · NOBILIS · VIR · DNS · ANTVNIVS ·
 DE · SCE · ANE ·
 QVI · OBVIT · ANO · DNI · M · CCCC · XXV ·
 KAL · IV(NII) ·
 CVIVS · AIA · REQVIESCAT · IN · PACE · AMEN.

This, from the date, is clearly the tombstone of a noble Genoese. He is represented in an Italian civic costume of the period with the civic cap on his head. The chief peculiarity about his costume is the size of the sleeves, represented as enormous bags. The head of the figure is enclosed within a rudely foiled arch with two shields bearing the coat of arms, in chief a bar, in point a crowned eagle displayed.

- No. 1. OB · FRANCISC · · DE · · GRILI · · · Q · OBVIT ·
 ANO · M ·
 APRILI · CVI · AIA · REQVIESCAT · IN · PACE ·
 AMEN.

This is a curious example of the tombstone art. On the slab is represented a full-length figure clad in a robe of stiff

straight pleats reaching from the neck to the feet, with a mantle over it. The sleeves are represented in the form of lambrequins covered with button-like decorations. On the head of the figure is a high civic cap surrounded by a much foliated arched canopy with two shields in the usual position, but without heraldry. The general style of this monument is exceedingly poor, and evidently belongs to the same period as the preceding example—probably the close of the Genoese occupation of Famagusta.

Three or four grave slabs, decorated with the characteristic 'Italian' shield of the sixteenth century, survive to complete the collection of these interesting memorials. The only one of these with an inscription is also decorated with the Priuli arms in high relief. The inscription is engraved on the representation of a scroll of parchment in the renaissance manner.

No. 8. MARIN . S DE PRI
OLIS VEN . TVS FI
LIVS CONDA . MDNI
MARCI P PIETISM
FRATRI BERNARDI
NO IMMTVRA MO
RTE AD SVPO MIG
RANTI PIENTISSE FECIT.

MCCCCLXXIIII.
OTVBRIS DIE XIII.

This Bernardino would doubtless be a scion of the illustrious Venetian family which contributed an archbishop and several high officials to Cyprus during the Venetian occupation.

The numbers of the above inscriptions refer to their position as shown upon the plan (fig. 1). No. 9 is a blank, no. 10 space is filled with two fragments of Venetian slabs without inscriptions, and no. 11 is another Venetian slab with inscription defaced.

The side walls of the nave at the west end were, as usual, appropriated for family tombs within wall niches or recesses with moulded arches. They may have been coeval with the building of the church, and in any case they added very much to the insecurity of the fabric. Nothing remains about these niches to serve as an identification of ownership or date, but one of the largest has been arranged subsequently as a side altar towards the south. The *mensa* is missing, otherwise the masonry is complete.

In endeavouring to make this ruin with its interesting series

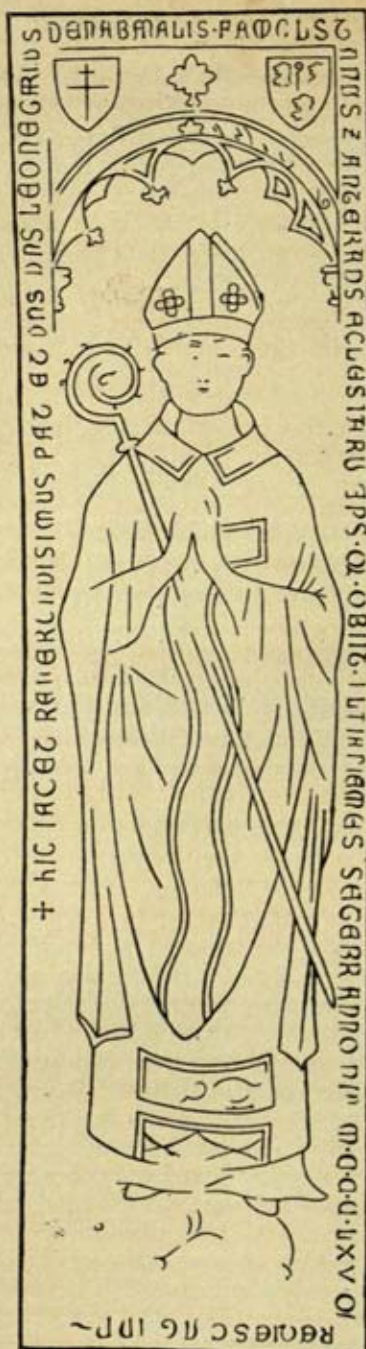


Fig. 1. INCISED SLAB TO BISHOP LEODEGARIUS DE
NABANALIS, FAMAGUSTA, CYPRUS. (17.)

of gravestones more presentable to the public and to reclaim it from a condition of neglect and abandonment, I have closed up the entrance from the nave into the southern chapel with a 6 ft. wall and a strong iron gate kept padlocked.

The church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Famagusta, which at one time contained the body of St. Peter Thomas, titular Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, 1366, I reserve for a future occasion."

Mr. JEFFERY also communicated the following paper on the discovery of a Latin bishop's tomb in Famagusta, Cyprus :

"The compilers of Cyprus history in modern times—De Mas Latrie, Rev. J. Hackett, and others—may possibly never have entered the great mosque of Famagusta, the ex-cathedral of St. Nicholas. Christians were not permitted within such a building until after the year 1878, and although De Mas Latrie gives a list of gravestones remaining on the floor, in his little book *L'île de Chypre*, published in that year, the list is incomplete and does not contain any mention of the important subject of the present article.

The fairly well preserved incised slab of Leodegarius de Nabanalis, Bishop of Famagusta and Tortosa, is to be found in the floor of the north choir-aisle of his cathedral, within the line of the semicircular apse which forms its east end. The stone floor of the apse is raised one step above the aisle, and appears, with the bishop's tomb slab inserted in it, to be undisturbed. When the cathedral was converted to the use of a mosque, the 'kibleh' was set up in the south aisle with its 'mimbar', etc.; the east end of the building has presumably always been abandoned to the disused emptiness as at present, and this may perhaps account for the altar step in all three apses of the east end remaining apparently untouched.

The tombstone is a slab measuring 6 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. of the harder variety of 'marmara' limestone of the island which was commonly used for such purposes, but, as may be judged by the now dim outlines incised upon its surface, a material almost too poor and fragile for such a use. It is but a little harder than the common flagging of the native house, which wears away within a few years in ordinary domestic use.

The tombstone artists of Cyprus were but mere imitators of models introduced into the island during the brief but brilliant efflorescence of French Gothic in the days of the first Lusignans. It was during the latter half of the thirteenth century that French masons were employed on the two cathedrals of the island, which still survive as mosques, and on the church of St. George the Latin, Famagusta. The later buildings are clearly of a

distinctly native school approximating more to Italian Gothic of the period. But of the earlier period very few traces remain of the especially characteristic form of French art in tombstones, and nothing at all resembling the famous actual portraits at Paris, Reims, and Rouen. By a strange chance the gravestone of Eudes de Montreuil, a mason who is known to have accompanied St. Louis on his disastrous campaign in Egypt, and presumably had a good deal to do with Nicosia cathedral during his stay in Cyprus, was still preserved in the church of the Cordeliers, Paris, in the time of Thevet, the author of a collection of lives of illustrious Frenchmen (1584), who gives a drawing of the outline portrait. The work of the Cyprus tombstones is very inferior to the French types, and even by the middle of the fourteenth century, to judge for instance by the present example, both design and execution were becoming merely native in character.

The figure of the bishop represented on this tombstone is of the stereotyped design, clothed in a chasuble, with a T-shaped orphrey, under which appears the dalmatic and albe, both with apparels on their edges. He wears a jewelled mitre and carries a crozier, whilst his hands are joined in the attitude of prayer. The figure is surmounted by a cinquefoiled semicircular arch, with two shields of arms in the spandrels; the following inscription is engraved around the edge of the stone:

HIC · IACET · REVERENDISIMVS · PAT · ET · DNS ·
 DNS · LEODEGARIVS · DE ·
 NABANALIS · FAMGVSTANVS ꝛ ANTERADS · ECLE-
 SIARV · EPS
 Q · OBIIT · VLTIA · DIE · MES · SETEBR · ANNO ·
 DNI · MCCCLXV · Q ·
 REQUIESCAT · IN · P ~

Mr. Hackett, in his *History of the Church of Cyprus*, p. 582, states that:

‘Itier de Narbinaux, a Franciscan, and cousin of Archbishop Elie de Narbinaux, was translated from Limassol in 1346 by Clement VI. His death is doubtfully reported to have taken place in 1354’;

and again on p. 573 he says:

‘Itier de Narbinaux, a Franciscan, and cousin of Archbishop Elie, was elected to the vacancy (Limassol) on November 3rd, 1344, and subsequently transferred to Famagusta by Clement VI. in 1346.’

Mr. Hackett quotes Du Cange, Le Quien, and Gams in support of these statements. The trifling differences between the date of the bishop’s death as given by these authorities and the

actual inscription on his tombstone is chiefly curious as showing that the grave in the cathedral must have been lost to the knowledge of the older historians, and presumably unknown to De Mas Latrie. There is also the difference in the spelling of the Christian name.

In making the tracing of this gravestone the present writer could see no reason why the monument should have passed unobserved by previous visitors. The stone is much worn, but intact, and certainly as conspicuous as the other stones with inscriptions upon them which have been transcribed by De Mas Latrie and others. It is usually covered over by a pile of dirty mats and other lumber, this corner of the mosque being quite disused, but the muezzin has no objection to showing such things to an inquisitive visitor, and the present tracing was made without any opposition. The traditional fanaticism of the Moslems is not perhaps so strong in Cyprus under modern conditions as it was fifty years ago when De Mas Latrie published his *Histoire de Chypre*.

The two coats of arms on the arched canopy represented on the slab are: on the dexter side an episcopal cross, as emblem of the see; on the sinister side, a shield charged with a crozier between three lions' heads erased, evidently the armorial bearings assumed by the bishop. Dim traces of an heraldic lion may be perceived beneath the feet of the effigy. It is of interest to observe that a shield bearing three lions' heads erased is carved over the entrance archway which still remains at the side of the ruined episcopal palace facing the main street leading down to the port. Bishop de Narbinaux may consequently be considered to have been the builder of the *Évêché*.

The gravestone of Leodegarius de Nabanalís is the only example of a memorial to a prelate of the Latin Church surviving within the territory where once the crusading kingdoms of Cyprus and Jerusalem flourished. Some years ago a mutilated fragment of a similar incised slab to the memory of a high ecclesiastic—bishop or abbot—was found at Jaffa, but no inscription remained to afford any identification; merely traces of a mitred head and crozier were visible. The marvellous escape of the present example from the fate which has overtaken its countless fellows, once forming the pavement of many an ancient Latin church of the Levant, must have been due to its comparative insignificance. Content with so humble a monument as this indifferently wrought slab, the worthy bishop has secured a more lasting memorial than any of his contemporaries. It is to be hoped that this unique monument may be religiously preserved in the hands of the Mohammedan Enquaf, its present possessors.

A short *résumé* of the history of the see of Famagusta—

chiefly taken from Mr. Hackett's monumental and most admirable *History of the Church of Cyprus*, London, 1901—may be of interest.

The first known occupant of the see was Caesareus de Alagno, in 1211. He retired to Italy in 1225, and his successors for almost the whole of the thirteenth century are mere names more or less imperfectly known. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, 'one of the most disreputable prelates who ever disgraced a See' was a certain Antonio Saurano, who occupied the ecclesiastical throne for less than a year, but during that time managed to squander 20,000 besants out of a hoard which his predecessor had gathered for the building of the new cathedral. Baldwin Lambert, the twelfth bishop, was consecrated to Famagusta in 1310. He seems to have been the first occupant of the united see of Famagusta and Tortosa, or Antarados. He filled various positions of importance in Church and State, acted as inquisitor in the trial of the Templars, and amongst other things is chiefly remembered by the famous inscription on the south side of Famagusta cathedral recording the completion of the greater part of the fabric during his episcopate. His successor named Mark was also bishop of Tortosa and Famagusta. He was employed in various affairs of State, by King Hugh IV, and died in 1346.

Leodegarius de Nabanalís, the fourteenth bishop of the see of Famagusta, is not mentioned in either Strambaldi or Amadi, and Mr. Hackett's authorities for the name 'Itier', and for the meagre details of his existence as far as they have come down to us, are the *Familles d'Outre-mer* of Du Cange (1680), the *Oriens Christianus* of Le Quien (1740), and the *Series Episcoporum Eccl. Cath.* of Gams (1873). For a great part of his episcopate he must have been overshadowed by the imposing personality of the redoubtable soldier-priest, the blessed Pierre de Thomas, Archbishop of Crete, Patriarch of Constantinople, and Papal Legate in the Levant, who habitually resided in the Carmelite convent of Famagusta, and who survived Leodegarius but a year. The famous attempt on the part of the Legate to coerce the orthodox islanders into becoming Latins filled men's minds in those days, and a more important personage than the bishop of the diocese would be the meddlesome ecclesiastic who caused so much trouble and dissension.

Of the twenty-two succeeding bishops of Famagusta hardly one has left any record behind him. About the time of the Genoese occupation of the city, the revenues of the see began to fail, for it was at this period (1400) the pilgrim Nicholas Martoni of Campania quaintly recounts his interview with the Genoese Bishop (Gregario?) on the delicate subject of a loan for his own

travelling expenses, which the poor bishop was obliged to refuse on the plea of extreme poverty. The last occupant of the see was Girolamo Ragazzoni, a Venetian, who after attending the Council of Trent as Bishop of Nazianzus *in partibus*, repaired to Famagusta in 1564, to take charge of the diocese. At the commencement of the Turkish siege he escaped with two galleys to Venice, where in the name of the beleaguered garrison he besought the immediate despatch of reinforcements. He died in Rome, 7th March, 1592, as Bishop of Bergamo, and as a Venetian was buried in St. Mark's, but without any particular monument.

In this connexion it may be noted that, according to Philippe de Mézières,¹ the blessed Pierre Thomas probably owed his own death to an anxiety to discharge the duties of the deceased Bishop Leodegarius. On the Christmas Eve of 1365 he insisted upon conducting the laborious ceremonies in the cathedral in spite of a debility due to his advanced age and ascetic mode of life. The cold and damp of the night air, the rain and mud through which he had to pass between the cathedral and the distant Carmelite convent, aggravated a fever from which he was suffering, and he died at the very beginning of the year 1366. For some time after, the see of Famagusta remained in the hands of an administrator or Vicar-General.

To find a hitherto unnoted tombstone of a fourteenth-century bishop in good preservation is somewhat remarkable at the present day. It is of additional interest to consider that in all probability it represents the last prelate who crowned a king with the crown of Jerusalem in the cathedral which had been built for that particular purpose—St. Nicholas, Famagusta. It is also the only example remaining in the island of any memorial to a once numerous Latin hierarchy."

Mr. DICKSON had been resident in Famagusta eighteen years ago and was acquainted with the churches described, having put boundary stones round them as Government property. The roofs of all were stone-vaulted, so as to obviate the use of wood: a coating of cement 4 in. thick over the stone was covered with clay. In none of the thirty churches of Famagusta were there any traces of an ikon-screen or rood-screen. As a rule the Greek churches were in ruins, but the Latin in fair preservation. When the Turks took the town they turned out the Christian population, but did not confiscate the Eastern churches, which consequently became ruined by neglect, and were used as quarries; whereas the Latin churches were turned into mosques, and so preserved. Nicosia cathedral had twin unfinished towers with

¹ *Vita S. Petri Thomae*; *Acta SS.* 29 Januar.

Norman zigzag ornament, which was wrought with the axe; there was an apse and ambulatory with an eastern doorway, which was an unusual feature.

The PRESIDENT remarked that the paper showed the Society how zealous its Local Secretary was in Cyprus, and how necessary was his office of Inspector of Ancient Monuments. In Cyprus no modern ruined building had any chance of surviving, as the stone was bound to be appropriated sooner or later.

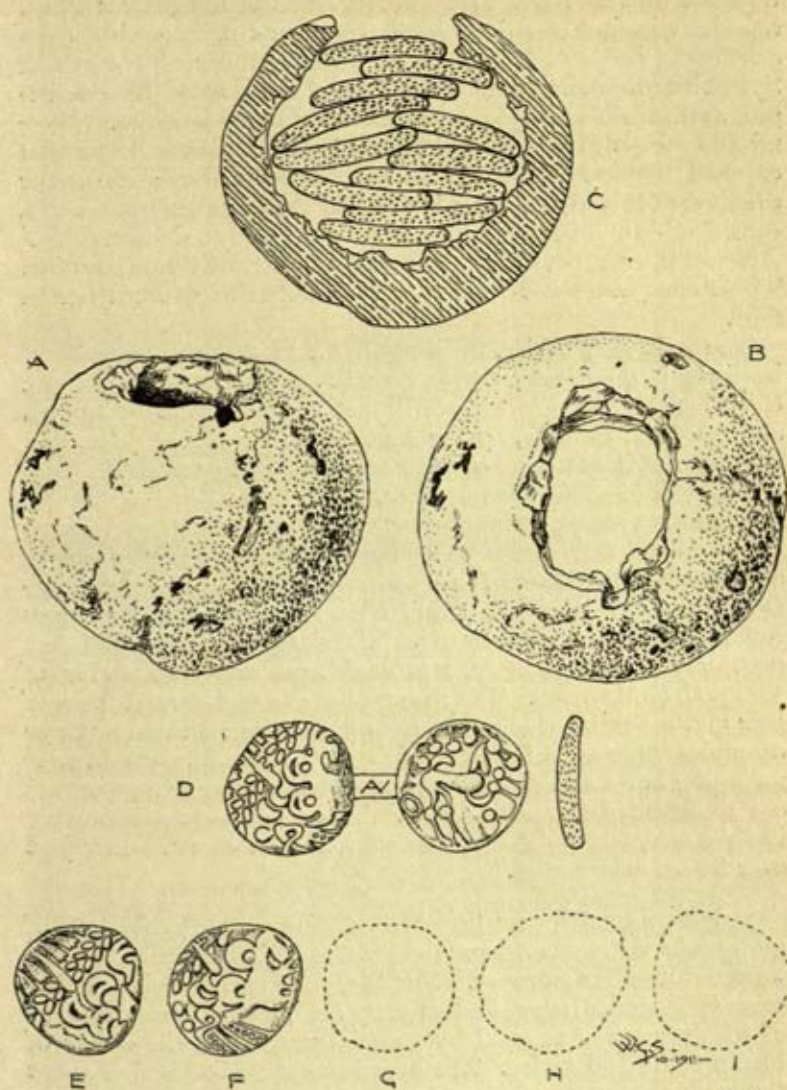
WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, Esq., Local Secretary for Bedfordshire, communicated the following note on a find of British gold coins in a hollow flint near Rochester:

"In September, 1911, as a workman was loading flints for mending a road in north-east Kent, he accidentally noticed that one of the hoofs of his horse touched and moved a small, white, almost perfectly globular flint. As the flint turned, the man observed a little bruised orifice in it, through which he could see a small patch of what he took to be brass. The man removed some of the compacted earth which imperfectly closed the opening and shook out from the cavity what he supposed to be eleven brass buttons. The man handed the flint and buttons to his employer, Mr. John Hills, farmer, of Higham, Rochester.

The place of finding was $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. NW. of Rochester, near Higham Upshire and Gad's Hill, about 1 m. SW. from Higham railway station, 1 m. E. of Shorne, and 4 m. E. of Gravesend.

Mr. John Hills, the employer, did not know the meaning of either the flint ball or 'buttons'; he, however, considered the small, white, hollow flint to be something uncommon, and the buttons he believed to be gold. He took an early opportunity of visiting the London, County and Westminster Bank at Chatham, where the 'buttons' were decided to be of gold. This was the extent of the information that he was able to acquire, and no explanation could be given of the stone. By good fortune one of the officials of the bank, Mr. Harry Scroggs, happened to see the objects; he also fortunately happened to know me, and he was in the habit of visiting Dunstable, where he has relatives. As he was about to start on another visit, he asked for and obtained permission from Mr. Hills to bring them on to Dunstable for my inspection. Mr. Scroggs in turn obligingly allowed me to examine, draw, and take notes of the stone and coins.

The small hollow ball of flint is one of the well-known and not uncommon objects of the Upper Chalk of northern Kent. A sponge originally occupied the interior space, traces of which are very obvious. The flint is dull, pale ivory in colour, minutely dotted all over externally, and shining white and glossy under a lens.



BRITISH GOLD COINS FOUND IN A HOLLOW FLINT NEAR ROCHESTER. (R.)

A, B, C, side, top, and section of flint. D, one of the coins with section. E, F, two obverses. G, H, I, outlines of others showing irregular shapes.

It is rough and sponge-like inside. At the time of my examination the flint had not been washed, and the irregular surface, especially inside, contained small fragments of brownish-white calcareous earth such as occurs in the capping of the chalk. Sprinkled over the outer surface were numerous little ferruginous concretions derived from contact with surface iron. These minute masses of iron oxide indicate that the flint ball had been exposed unregarded on the surface for some time; if further evidence of this were needed, it was furnished by the presence of a considerable number of minute white eggs, mostly hatched, of small Arachnids, or mites, in the little outside irregularities of the flint. These eggs could not have been laid and hatched on a buried flint.

The pale grey orifice, which, under a lens, shows no modern bruising, is only just large enough to admit the eleven coins; the orifice had been somewhat broken away, at first by nature, and secondly, possibly, by the Briton who found the stone and made use of it as a kind of natural money-box or purse.

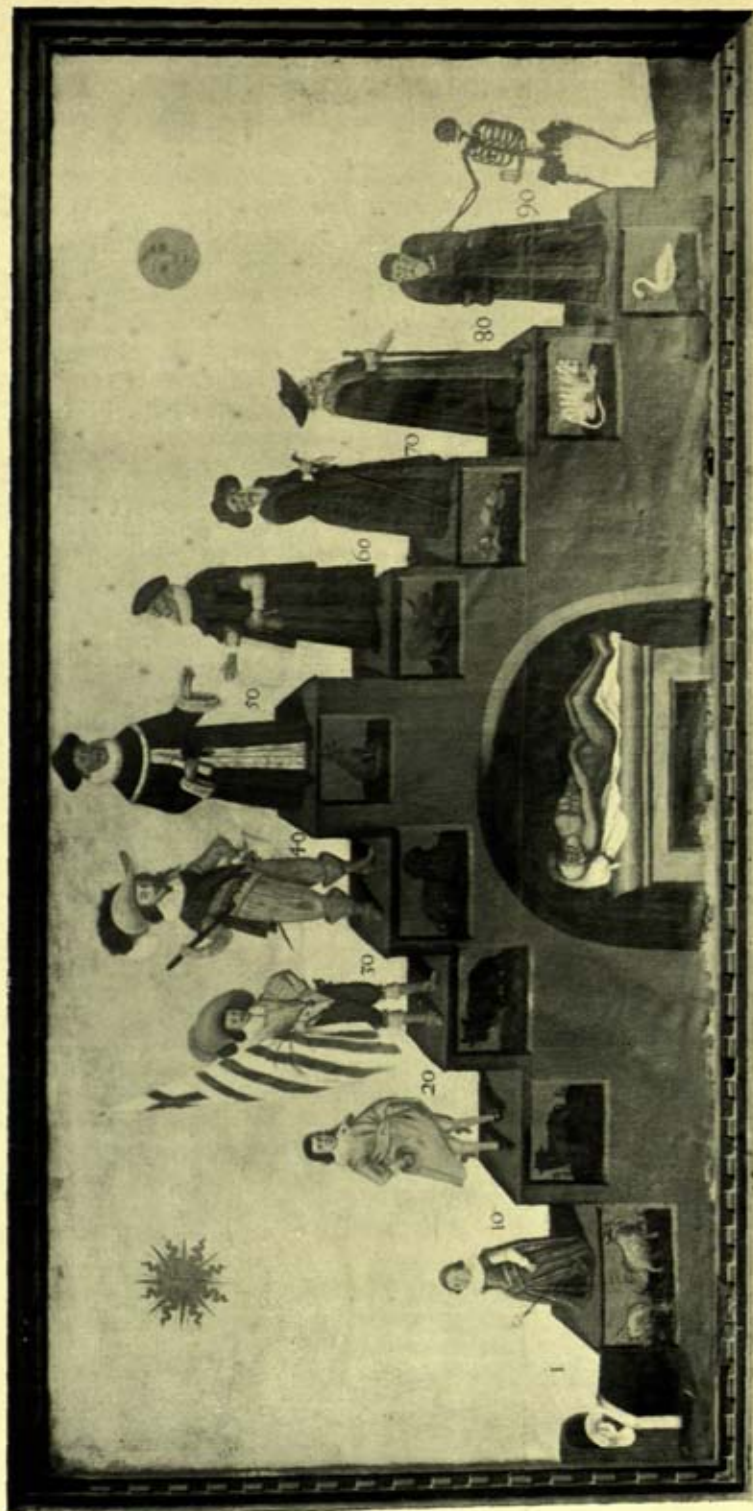
The weight of the flint is $2\frac{1}{4}$ oz. avoirdupois.

The coins, eleven in number, are all of one colour, a somewhat pale-coloured gold, some parts being a little darker in colour and in some places very faintly rufous. They are slightly concave, irregular in shape, somewhat worn, and with the edges rounded off as if from long use. The designs are from different dies, but of the same type evolved from the gold stater of Philip II of Macedon. The obverse has crescent-shaped locks of hair and a wreath of laurel bound with a band; in two or three examples there are a few folds of drapery. The reverse is a rude galloping horse and chariot wheel. The charioteer and helmet are represented by pellets only. The coins vary considerably in thickness, the weight of the collection of eleven being just over $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz. avoirdupois."

Mr. REGINALD SMITH held that a discovery of coins all of gold was additional evidence that at the period silver and bronze were not used for currency. Further, the average weight of the coins ($99\frac{1}{2}$ grains) suggested an early date, as the normal weight of 84 grains was reached by gradual reduction, the stater of Philip being 133 grains. The hoard was therefore buried about the beginning of the first century B.C., and was perhaps a little earlier than the Welwyn find described earlier in the session.¹

H. SWAINSON COWPER, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a photograph of a painting formerly at Holverston Hall, Norfolk, on which he communicated the following note:

¹ Above, p. 3; *Archaeologia*, lxiii, p. 1.



PAINTING FORMERLY AT HOLVERSTON HALL, NORFOLK

"I send for exhibition a photograph of a curious painting which was formerly at Holverston or Holveston Hall, Norfolk, but is now in the possession of Mr. John Marcon of Tunbridge Wells, whose family for some time possessed the estate.

The picture represents a sort of stepped platform or staircase of nine steps, on which are grouped nine living figures, undoubtedly representing nine stages in a man's life. The fifth step is the summit, to and from which four steps ascend and descend on left and right.

Besides these figures, there are certain accessories. To begin with, on the left at the foot of the first step is a baby in a very nice wicker cradle. Baby has a scarlet gown, lace collar, and cap, and is labelled 1 to show he is one year old. The next figure (on the first step) is the boy of ten, dressed in yellow lined with red, and carrying in his hand what I think is a hobby-horse. Then we have the gallant of twenty in white with pink stockings tied at the knee, and hat in his hand. Next is the man of thirty, with scarlet knee breeches, buff jack-boots, and a wide-brimmed hat with scarlet and yellow plume. He carries over his shoulder a white and red banner, apparently 'barry argent and gules, on a canton of the first, a cross of the second', which is bad heraldry. After him comes the full-fledged cavalier of forty, with a scarlet and white plume on his huge hat, and dressed in white throughout except his scarlet sash. Like the last he has a rapier, but he also carries in his right hand a baton; his knee-breeches are longer and wider, and his jack-boots shorter and wider.

The figures aged twenty and forty wear the falling ruff, and the banner-bearer a falling collar to his doublet.

The figure labelled 50 at the top of the staircase is dressed quite differently. He wears a full beard, a cap, and a long crimson robe trimmed with white fur. He also wears a standing ruff, and in his right hand carries a scroll.

The remaining four figures represent elderly and old men in long fur-lined robes, until at 90 the old man tottering on crutches is led away by an exceedingly vigorous skeleton with an hour-glass.

Before proceeding with the description, I may say that I sent this photograph to our Fellow Prince Frederick Duleep Singh, who suggests that the figures marked 50 to 90 are imaginary, and that the actual contemporary portrait is the cavalier marked 40. If this is so there are of course no grounds for thinking that the person portrayed necessarily lived to 90 at all. He points out that the figure age 50 wears the standing ruff, and the later figures appear to be copied, as regards costume, from older existing pictures.

I am certainly inclined to agree with the Prince that most of the later figures are imaginary, but I feel that the central figure, age 50, is the actual contemporary portrait, from the prominent position in which it is placed; and I do not see why the picture should not date about 1635-40, since the standing ruff was certainly still worn by divines and scholars at that date.¹ The costume in the present instance looks like that of a judge; but I should like the opinion of experts on this.

Under the steps is an arched vault, in which the dead body of the subject is seen lying. The sky over the younger figures, i.e. to the left of the centre, is illuminated by the sun in its splendour. Over the figures in the decline of life is shown the moon and stars.

Under each age from 1 to 90 is a square panel containing an animal or animals. The meaning of these beasts is at first sight puzzling, and at first I wondered if they were astrological; but Prince Frederick Duleep Singh thinks that they must be symbolical of the various ages, and probably he is right. They are as follows:

1	under age 10	lamb and kid	signifying play and playfellows
2	"	20 calf	" youth and calf love
3	"	30 bull	" boldness
4	"	40 lion	" fierceness
5	"	50 fox	" wiliness, experience
6	"	60 pig	" ?gluttony
7	"	70 dog?	" ?selfishness, ?ill temper
8	"	80 cat	" love of fireside
9	"	90 swan	" swan song on death. ²

The Prince, whose interpretation of most of the animals is given here, also calls my attention to the passage of Tusser:

The ape, the lion, the fox, and the ass
 Thus sets forth man as in a glass:
 Like apes we be toying till twenty and one,
 Then hasty as lions till 40 is gone;
 Then wily as foxes till three score and three,
 Then after for asses accounted we be.

In this the fox follows the lion as in the painting.

The picture is on canvas, and measures 8 ft. 4 in. by 4 ft. 2 in. with the frame, which is an old one, but I hardly think original.

Supposing then that the judge-like figure is of the date 1635-40, I think the costume given for the younger figures up to that date appears correct. Also if the older figures are anachronisms

¹ *Illustrated Catalogue of Loan Collection of Portraits*, Oxford, 1905, dated portraits nos. 26 and 32.

² I am not quite sure if no. 2 is a calf or a sheep. No. 7 also, if a dog, is a very queer one.

as to costume, they are imaginary, and the painting must all date from 1635-40, and presumably represents some Norfolk personage.

I am not, however, prepared to identify him. Holveston Hall in the seventeenth century belonged to a family of Jay, who I believe were originally Norwich merchants. There was a Christopher Jay an ardent Royalist, Mayor of Norwich 1657, d. 1677, and his eldest brother Suckling Jay of Holveston, b. 1601, and d. 1675.

I am not, however, acquainted with Jay history, nor can I say if it is possible to identify the subject of the painting with one of these. I believe very little is recorded of the family in Norfolk books, and nothing in the visitations."¹

Mr. BAILDON was not convinced that any of the figures represented a particular individual: the costume of that in the centre was not that of a judge, and the whole series seemed imaginary.

Mr. OSWALD BARRON thought the costume of the central figure was that of a lawyer rather than a judge, but there was no reason to identify it as a portrait. Emblematic pictures of *memento mori* character were of common occurrence, and the date given was evidently correct.

Mr. BANKES mentioned a portrait of Sir Henry Unton in the National Portrait Gallery representing the various ages.

EDWARD CONDER, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a cast and photographs of a sculptured stone tablet found at Newent, Gloucestershire, on which was read the following note:

"It may be remembered that in June 1907 I communicated to the Society some particulars of a pre-Norman cross-shaft found in the churchyard at Newent, Gloucestershire."²

I now have to report the discovery of a very early sculptured stone tablet by the workmen engaged in excavating for the foundations of a new vestry on the north side of St. Mary's Church, Newent.

¹ 1657. Christ. Jay, Mayor Norwich.—Blomfield's *Norfolk*, iii. 402.

1677. 19 Jan. Motion that no more freemen should be admitted till the election of a Parliament man for a place void by death of Christopher Jay, Esq., be past.—W. Rye, *Extracts from Court books City of Norwich, 1666-1688*.

Burgesses in Parliament, 1661. Parl. at Westm. Christopher Jay, Alderman, Francis Covey, Esq., recorder, both died.—Blomfield, p. 421.

Arms gu. on a bend engrailed ar. 3 roses of field seeded or.

² *Proceedings*, xxi. 478.

By the courtesy of the Rev. Canon Connor, Rector of Newent, I have the honour of laying before you a plaster cast of this sculptured stone. The extreme dimensions of the tablet are 8 in. by $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in thickness. As will be seen, the stone, which is a light sandstone, is worked on both sides and also on the four



Fig. 1. SCULPTURED STONE TABLET FROM NEWENT, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.
OBVERSE. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

edges. It was found five feet below the surface of the graveyard and in conjunction with the remains of two bodies, the skull of one resting on the tablet, which may have been placed as a cushion (?). The body lay east and west, the head to the west.

The subject sculptured on the one face is that of the Crucifixion. It will be observed that the scene is depicted in a very crude manner. Extended on a broad-ended cross is the figure

of the Saviour draped in a vestment reaching to the knees, the head inclined to the right shoulder. Above the head is a hand issuing out of clouds with two birds (doves?) on either side. At the feet are two small figures, and on each side of the outline are two larger ones apparently females. Other small figures



Fig. 2. SCULPTURED STONE TABLET FROM NEWENT, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.
REVERSE. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

occupy vacant spaces both within and without the outline of the cross.

On the reverse the central figure may be that of an ecclesiastic, wearing a loose garment or alb, holding aloft in the left hand a peculiar shaped cross, possibly for adoration, and in the right a pastoral staff. At the feet, and surrounding this central figure, are smaller ones in various grotesque attitudes; one holding on

high in the left hand a double-edged sword with the Saxon type of pommel. At the top left-hand corner of the tablet is seen the name of Edred.

Round the edge of this stone are the names of the four evangelists, Matheu + Marcvs + Lucas + Iohannes; and also in smaller letters at the corner the name Edred.

From the fact that the tablet is sculptured on both sides and on the four edges it could hardly have served as a panel, but was probably intended to be for some independent purpose."

The PRESIDENT found such relics most difficult to interpret, but recognized in the exhibit an Anglo-Saxon headstone, similar to, but later than, the series found at Hartlepool.¹ It must have been detached, as all the edges were inscribed. The Secretary had suggested that the subject was the Harrowing of Hell, and he himself thought it would turn out to be something analogous. Exhibiting the casts was a practical way of bringing the subject before the Society.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 20th JUNE, 1912.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From S. R. Christie-Miller, Esq.:—Ballads and broadsides chiefly of the Elizabethan period . . . in the Library at Britwell Court, Buckinghamshire (Roxburghe Club). fol. Oxford, 1912.

From N. Darnell Davis, Esq., C.M.G.:—How a race of pygmies was found in North Africa and Spain. By R. G. Haliburton. 8vo. Toronto, 1897.

From P. M. C. Kermode, Esq.:—The Manx Archaeological Survey, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Reports. 4to. Douglas, 1909-11.

From Horace Sandars, Esq., F.S.A.:—Notes on a find of Roman republican silver coins and of ornaments from the Centenillo mine, Sierra Morena. By G. F. Hill and Horace W. Sandars. 8vo. London, 1912.

A special vote of thanks was returned to Mr. Christie-Miller for his gift to the Library.

John Murray Kendall, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

¹ *Archaeologia*, xxvi. 479.

The DIRECTOR said he desired, as Chairman of the Executive Committee, to congratulate the President, in the name of the Fellows at large, on the announcement that His Majesty the King had conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. While that honour had been more than earned by the President's public services, it was felt to be also a compliment offered to the Society through its President. There were several Fellows present who had sat under eight successive Presidents, and they would agree that, in all the qualities of a good President—in assiduous attendance at meetings, in lucid and learned observations on the communications made, in illuminating and inspiring anniversary addresses, and in other ways in which a President can enhance the dignity and promote the prosperity of the Society over which he presides—Sir Hercules Read had never been surpassed—not even by Franks, which was a great deal to say—and had not often been rivalled.

The Fellows would desire to offer their congratulations to him and Lady Read and to wish them long life to enjoy this and any further honours that Royal favour or public appreciation might have in store for him, and the Director proposed a vote of congratulation accordingly.

The proposal was seconded by the TREASURER.

The PRESIDENT in reply said he was greatly touched by the evidently heartfelt reception the meeting had given to the resolution proposed and seconded by such old and all too kind friends as the Director and Treasurer. While deprecating comparison with any of his distinguished predecessors in the Chair, he would only dare to say for himself one thing—that in all matters connected with his office he had considered only the interests of the Society.

He was glad to be able to confirm the Director in one point, viz. that the honour that the King proposed to confer upon him was doubtless in relation to his work for the Society, and not as an officer of the British Museum. It could scarcely fail to give him the greatest satisfaction; but had it been of a far less important kind, it would have been rendered precious to him by the way in which the Society had received it.

The PRESIDENT exhibited a jewel, sword, shield-boss, and pottery from an Anglo-Saxon burial-place at Twickenham, Middlesex, and read the following notes:

“Anglo-Saxon finds, whether of the pagan or Christian periods, are generally worth recording and are not as frequent as one could wish; nor in the present instance were sufficient notes

taken at the time to add much to our knowledge of the period, but what was recovered more or less tells its own tale, and is destined for the British Museum. The most attractive object is certainly the circular jewel (fig. 1), which seems to have had a loop attached at the back, near the edge, and was probably worn as a pendant. It consists of an open-work gold disc 1.2 in. across, plain at the back, and ornamented in front with plaited gold wire applied to that part of the surface not occupied by the five garnet settings or the milled border. The design is an equal-armed cross with the arms joined by an inner circle, somewhat analogous to the jewelled brooches of Kent¹ that may be dated between A.D. 550 and 650. The work is not of the finest quality and may be later than the bulk of the Kentish jewels;



Fig. 1. GOLD JEWEL FROM TWICKENHAM. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

but, if found with the other exhibits, should belong to the pagan period.

The sword and shield-boss came, with a small spearhead, from a single grave, and are often found together, with or without the spear. The weapon is well preserved but broken into three pieces: its entire length is $34\frac{1}{2}$ in., the blade being 31 in. long and except near the point 2 in. broad. There are traces of the wooden scabbard on the blade, also of the guard and grip, but the pommel is missing. The type is common, but the shield-boss is of unusual shape (fig. 2), 7 in. high and $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. across the base, where there is a slight flange for attaching to the face of the shield. The point is now blunt, but may have originally borne a knob, like two specimens from Kent,² which are taller than usual but are not contracted at the base like the Twickenham boss.

The two urns exhibited are incomplete and devoid of ornament, the smaller being of the type usually found with unburnt burials of the pagan period, and the larger not being of the Anglo-Saxon cinerary form, but thinner and better made, of a brownish

¹ See especially *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. iv, figs. 13 and 22 (pendants); pl. i and pl. ii, fig. 4 (brooches).

² *Inv. Sep.*, pl. xv, figs. 13, 15.

clay. If these objects are to be assigned to the seventh century, when the pagan practice of burying grave-goods with the dead was being undermined by the spread of Christianity, they must belong to the West Saxons who pressed up the Thames to the rich plains of the midlands and have left traces of their progress from the Kentish coast to the head-waters of the Thames.

Since the paper was read, it has been ascertained that the larger urn was found alone, about 1 ft. below the surface in blackened sand; hence it may well have been a cinerary urn of the early Roman period."

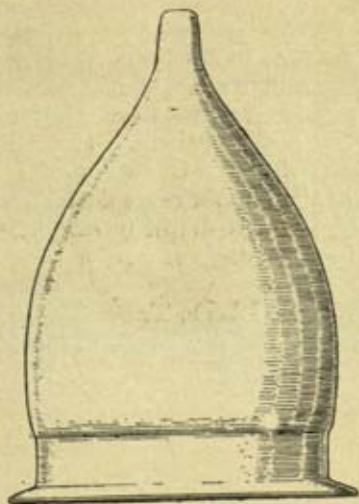


Fig. 2. SHIELD-BOSS FROM TWICKENHAM. ($\frac{1}{3}$.)

Mr. REGINALD SMITH observed a difference in style between the two pottery vessels exhibited, one being of Romano-British character, the other an accessory vessel of the usual type from Anglo-Saxon unburnt burials. It was unfortunate that precise details of the find were not procurable. If all the objects were from one grave, the date would be probably fifth century, the period of transition; but the jewel seemed akin to Kentish work of the seventh, and the tall shield-boss could not be exactly dated at present. As bearing on the West Saxon occupation of the Thames valley might be mentioned a cemetery at Shepperton,¹ a few miles farther up the river on the same bank.

The PRESIDENT exhibited a silver Sassanian bowl, of about the year A.D. 400, found in the North-west Provinces of India; this will be published in *Archaeologia*.

¹ *Proceedings*, 2nd ser., iv. 118, 191.

Mr. NEWMAN thought that the figures had been designed with a view to repetition in a frieze.

Professor GOWLAND suggested that the foliage of the bird-pattern originated the flames seen in later representations of the bird, but the Hoho bird was later by some centuries than the Sassanian bowl.

The TREASURER remarked on the spread and endurance of Greek influence after the conquests of Alexander and his generals.

The PRESIDENT replied that the same form of bowl was still in use in Central Asia, as in Bokhara, where every one of consequence had a bowl carried in a jockey-cap case. The bird-motive opened up many problems, such as the relative antiquity of the type in China, India, and elsewhere. It certainly occurred on antiquities in China before the Christian era; and as the bowl and one at least of the Ajanta caves dated from about 400, the prototype of the bird-motive might be sought in China, but this solution presented serious difficulties.

PHILIP NORMAN, Esq., LL.D., Treasurer, and F. W. READER, Esq., read a paper on recent discoveries in Roman London, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these exhibitions and communications.

THURSDAY, 27th JUNE, 1912.

Sir HENRY MAXWELL LYTE, K.C.B., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—The Battle of Bloreheath. By Francis R. Twemlow, F.S.A. 8vo. Wolverhampton, 1912.

From W. H. Quarrell, Esq., F.S.A.:—Cremona. An account of the Italian violin-makers and their instruments. By Friedrich Niederheitmann, translated by W. H. Quarrell. 8vo. London, 1894.

The following were admitted Fellows:

Edward Tristram, Esq.

George Heywood Maunoir Sumner, Esq.

On the motion of the Treasurer, seconded by the Director, it was resolved :

"That the Treasurer be authorized to spend a sum not exceeding £150 on having the electric light installation in the Society's apartments brought up to the standard of modern requirements."

R. R. MARETT, Esq., read a paper on Further Observations on Prehistoric Man in Jersey, which will be printed in *Archæologia*.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH welcomed a second paper on discoveries in Jersey that seemed destined to throw a good deal of light on the palæolithic period. More especially was this the case with the loess which covered the island and might soon be dated archæologically, if the Société Jersiaise and Mr. Marett continued their self-imposed task with the same enthusiasm. It was interesting to notice the occurrence of goat or sheep in palæolithic surroundings, as the so-called domestic animals were generally assigned to neolithic times. He was surprised at the extent of the alleged cairn, that took the place of a supposed raised beach; and remarked on the occurrence of much sand above it. The cists were probably formed on or near the surface of the period, and a great depth of sand had never been excavated for the purpose; so that the sand seemed later than the cists. The pottery comprised two fragments that recalled some of the Hallstatt period from Saxony and resembled some recently discovered at Hengistbury, Hants.

Mr. DALE was of opinion that both of the flint tools exhibited were of the neolithic period.

Col. WHARTON entirely agreed with the views put forward in the paper and was familiar with the locality. The Société Jersiaise might be relied on to make further investigations when means and other circumstances permitted; but would meanwhile welcome any assistance from those interested in the island's past.

Mr. MARETT replied that it was supposed people were living on the top of the clay when the graves were made by placing rows of stones along the surface. These were covered over, possibly by a mound of earth, and since that date 10-12 ft. of soil had accumulated. One grave was $12\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the surface and apparently dated from the time when the island was joined to the mainland and covered with forest. Pottery had been found on the base of the forest-bed, and forests would not have been possible unless the land stood at a level 60 ft. higher than at present, in which case it would be joined to France.

Blown sand accumulated in dunes and a submergence followed, the sea cutting away the deposits till the present condition of things was reached.

C. J. JACKSON, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a silver-gilt monstrance of Spanish workmanship (fig. 1), upon which he read the following notes :

"The silver-gilt monstrance now exhibited is of Spanish workmanship dating from the first half of the sixteenth century, when the goldsmith's art was in a state of transition from Gothic to classic Renaissance. This example is not merely a monstrance but also a custodia or pyx in which the reserved sacrament was kept when the object was in use in the Catalonian monastery to which it formerly pertained.

The outline of the design and many of its details are essentially Gothic, while most of its decoration displays the florid Renaissance taste which characterized the work of Spanish goldsmiths of the sixteenth century. The stem with its spreading foot, like that of many ecclesiastical vessels of this period, is hexagonal in plan and is not very unlike the stem and foot of a monstrance, bearing the London hall-marks of 1507, on which a bowl was mounted in 1559 for use as a communion cup at St. Martin's, Ludgate Hill.

The foot, which has a serrated and waved outline, with an applied moulded edging (fig. 2), formerly had a flat base-plate or flange which has been broken off and is now missing: three of its spreading faces are embossed with (1) a vase bordered with foliated scrolls terminating with masks in profile, (2) a pair of winged monsters and a pair of rams' heads with intervening scroll-work, and (3) a large grotesque mask bordered with leafage: three other panels, alternating with these, are each embossed with a shield of arms bordered with monsters and conventional foliage.

The embossed arms are :

(1) In base: flowering plants growing out of water; in chief a fesse bearing the word *TERMENS*, of which the first two as well as the fourth and fifth letters are conjoined: probably intended to exemplify a village called Termens situate in the judicial district (*corregimiento*) of Lerida near the river Segre.

(2) The second has a bird, and a chief charged with a cross, its extremities coupé.

(3) The third has on a bend three horse-shoes, and in chief a cross, its extremities coupé (as before).

In the second and third the chief appears to pertain to the order of Montesa, a military-religious order seated at Montesa in Valencia but having houses and lands throughout the peninsula.

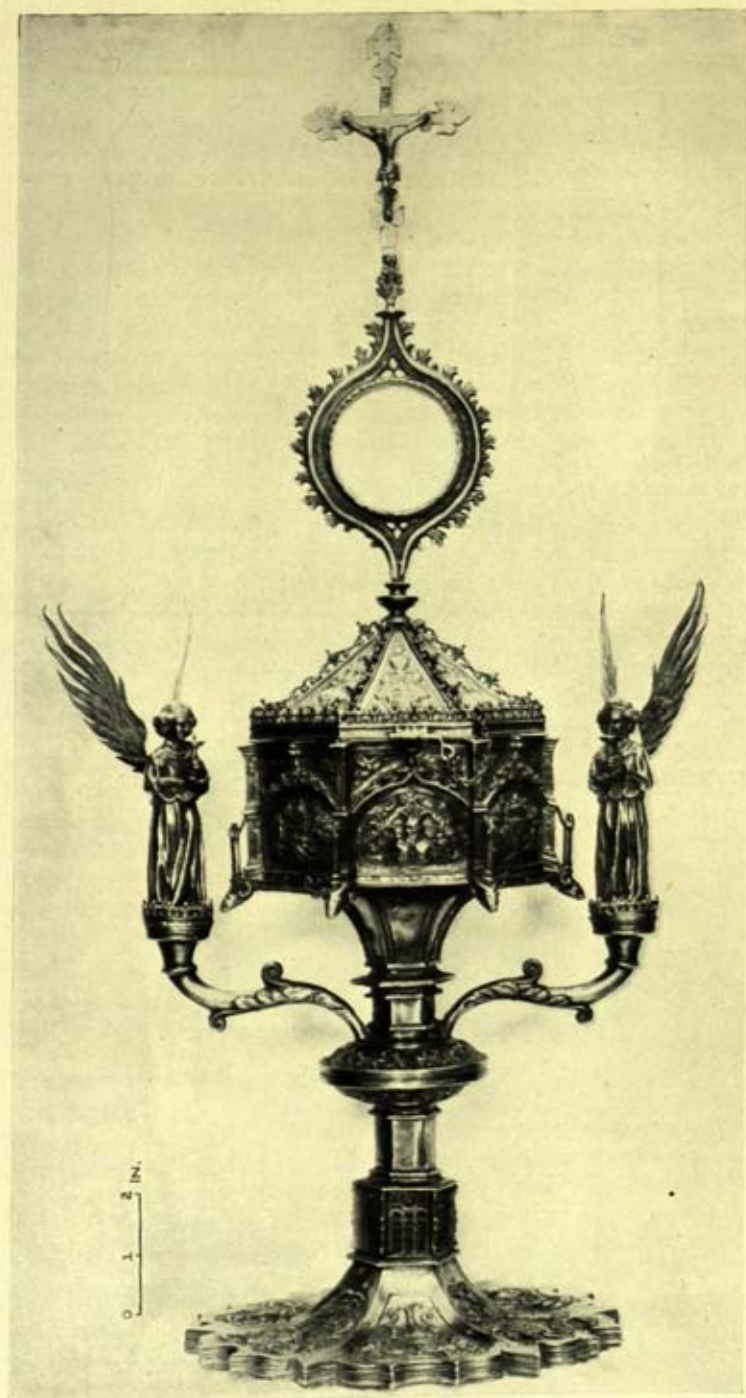


Fig. 1. SPANISH SILVER-GILT MONSTRANCE BEARING THE
LERIDA MARK OF c. 1530

The order and its mastership were subsequently incorporated with the crown under Philip II in 1587.

It has been suggested that the shape of the shields is indicative of a later date than the sixteenth century, but however well-founded such a suggestion may be, if made with reference to English heraldry, it is not applicable in the case of Spanish

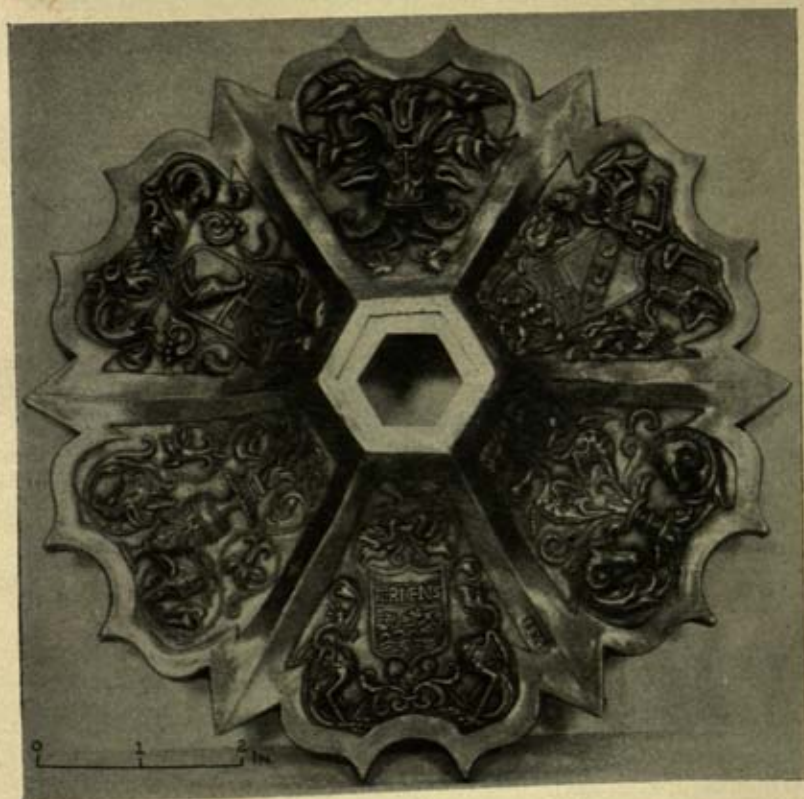


Fig. 2. FOOT OF SPANISH MONSTRANCE.

shield-shapes, as the following illustration (fig. 3) and quotations will explain:

Shield shapes: In the last third of the fifteenth century there appear simultaneously the three shapes (*a-c*), and it would be interesting to prove whether the first persisted longer in Aragon and the second in Andalusia, this one lasting throughout the first third of the sixteenth century. From it is derived, influenced principally by foreign usage, shape *d* of the years 1520-45, contemporary with the Emperor; and in its turn this one leads,

by complication of outline, to the whole variety of shields [designed] upon cartouches' (*escudos sobre cartela*).¹

Exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum is a late fifteenth-century Spanish silver-gilt chalice of Gothic architectural design: it has two shields of arms, originally enamelled, one on each side of the foot. The outlines of these shields resemble those of the shields embossed on the foot of the monstrance now exhibited.

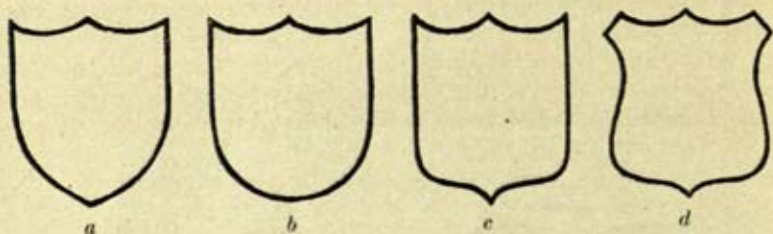


Fig. 3. SPANISH SHIELD SHAPES OF THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

Connecting the foot of the monstrance with its stem is a tier of window-like flamboyant tracery panels; higher up on the stem is a circular knot or boss ornamented with radiating acanthus leaves from which spring a pair of Renaissance brackets each supporting an angel holding a small candlestick, and above the boss is a bold Gothic moulding from which the lower part of the pyx curves upward and outward, having on each angle a Gothic moulded rib terminating in a ram's head which supports a small flying buttress connected with the larger buttress attached to each angle of the pyx. Each face of the pyx is ornamented with an applied crocketed arch of late Gothic form enclosing panels of grotesque Renaissance busts and masks, and cornucopiae. The hinged pyramidal cover with its six panels of embossed Renaissance decoration, bordered with Gothic crestings, supports the glazed wafer-holder which is surmounted by a crucifix.

Each detachable part of the object, excepting the wafer-holder, is marked with the letters LEY and a fleur-de-lis (see fig. 4), for



Fig. 4. PLATE MARK OF LERIDA.

Leyda, the Catalan for Lerida,² a town of importance in the middle ages situate about ninety miles to the north-west of Barcelona. A three-stalked lily-plant is the emblem of Lerida,

¹ G. J. de Osma, *Azulejos Sevillanos del Siglo XIII*, 1902, p. 46.

² The ancient Ilerda, to subdue which, Caesar left the siege of Marseilles and hurried off to Spain. '*Cesare per soggiogare Ilerda punse Marsilia e poi corse in Ispagna.*'—Dante, *Purgatorio*, canto xviii, 101-2.

the name of the town having perhaps suggested *Lliri*, the Catalan for lily. The seal of the municipality in 1288 shows a three-stalked lily-plant rising out of a tuft of leaves. The counter-seal of Guillem de Moncada, Bishop of Lerida (1257-82), bears the three lilies with the arms of Aragon and Moncada. The seal of the royal vicar in Lerida of the fourteenth century has the same device charged upon the pales of Barcelona-Aragon. The device may also be mentioned as occurring with a vernacular inscription upon the local coinage.

A small copper coin, kindly lent to me by Mr. A. Van de Put (to whom I am also indebted for the above particulars concerning the Lerida mark), exhibits the lily-plant on obverse and reverse (fig. 4). On the obverse is the wording:

PVIE : SA dELEIDA = Puges de Leida.¹

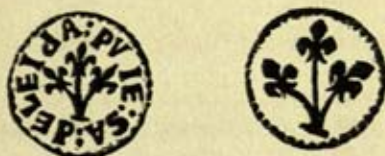


Fig. 5. COPPER COIN OF LERIDA.

Mr. H. P. Mitchell, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, who has devoted a considerable amount of time to the study of Spanish goldsmith's work of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, has written the following short note concerning the object now exhibited:

"This is a good example of a silver-gilt ciborium, called in Spain a *custodia*, of the first half of the sixteenth century.

The foot is repoussé and chased with panels of ornament in the first early Renaissance style, known in Spain as *Plateresque*. It is to be noticed that in spite of its Renaissance decoration the form of the foot is still late Gothic. It has unfortunately lost its flange.

The same mixture of styles is observable in the body of the object, where the six panels of Renaissance grotesques are separated by Gothic buttresses and framed by Gothic canopies. A similar mixture occurs in the panels and ridge-crests of the pyramidal cover. Further, the angels at the sides are of mediæval character but supported on brackets of Renaissance form. But the most striking contrast is between the lowest member of the stem, pierced with late Gothic tracery, and the knop, chased with Renaissance acanthus.

¹ For further particulars concerning these coins see Botet y Sisto, *Las Monedas Catalanes*, 1908, etc.

It is not to be concluded from these contrasts that the object is made up of parts of different date. On the contrary, they are highly characteristic of Spanish design of the early part of the sixteenth century, when the same artist worked indifferently in Gothic and Renaissance style. Davillier quotes from Cean Bermudez the example of Diego de Riaño, who in 1531 supplied three designs for sacristies for Seville Cathedral, one in Gothic, one in Plateresque (i.e. early Renaissance), and one in Greco-Roman (i.e. full Renaissance) style, all three of which were executed! The celebrated goldsmith Juan de Arphe expressly laments that the classic style was never completely adopted in goldsmith's work until his father Antonio de Arphe made the custodia of Santiago (finished in 1554). Even the architects were guilty of mingling Gothic and Renaissance in the same design.¹

The difference in quality of workmanship between the foot and the other parts probably indicates the employment of more than one hand on the work, not a matter for surprise at a time when the output of church plate in Spain was enormous, and the goldsmith's workshops must have employed large numbers of workmen. But there seems little doubt that the different parts belong to each other, for not only is the same mark repeated on various parts, including the body and foot, but the balance and proportion of the whole are satisfactory, with the sole exception of the glazed wafer-holder. This latter is not an essential part of a custodia and appears to me to be a later addition; I think the crucifix originally stood in the socket on the top of the cover, and, in my opinion, the appearance of the object is not improved by the addition (see fig. 6, which illustrates the custodia without the wafer-holder).

The decoration of the foot is an unusually fine example of Plateresque work—the Spanish equivalent of François Premier, and especially associated with the name of the architect Berruguete. Taken in conjunction with the other features of the work it is enough to date the monstrance approximately about 1530."

Colonel CROFT LYONS endorsed Mr. Jackson's opinion as to the identity of Ley and Lerida, which was arrived at before the coin evidence was obtained.

The CHAIRMAN regarded the exhibit as a good example of the transitional style. The panels had early Renaissance features, and there was certainly a Gothic feeling about the foliage.

¹ Davillier, *Recherches sur l'Orfèvrerie en Espagne*, pp. 49, 51.



Fig. 6. THE SPANISH MONSTRANCE (fig. 1) AS A CUSTODIA OR PYX,
WITHOUT THE WAFER-HOLDER.

Mr. AYMER VALLANCE subsequently communicated the following note :

"The vessel is convertible, serving both as a pyx or receptacle for the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, and, with the lunette fixed between the pyx and the crucifix, as a monstrance for



FOOT OF AN EAGLE LECTERN FROM CANTERBURY. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

carrying the Host in procession, or for exposition of the same upon the altar—practices dating as far back as the institution of the festival of Corpus Christi in 1264 and 1316. The lunette is contemporary, or nearly so, with the other parts ; had it been substantially later it would not have been so Gothic-looking as it is, and the glass disc would have been surrounded with metal rays. The vessel as a whole marked an interesting transition between good Gothic and early Renaissance, the general form

being quite Gothic while the details, in part, are of the newer fashion. The date of the lunette is about 1560."

PHILIP NELSON, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., exhibited a portion of an Eagle Lectern found at Canterbury, on which he contributed the following note:

"The object which I bring before your notice to-night is the left leg of a bronze eagle of the fifteenth century, being of course a portion of a church lectern. It is made of latten thickly gilt, and measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. high by 7 in. from the tip of the middle front claw to that of the back. The fragment was recently discovered whilst excavations were being made in order to provide for the foundations of some cottages upon the site of the moat surrounding the city of Canterbury in the vicinity of the cathedral.

Apparently this would form part of the eagle lectern originally in use in the cathedral, referred to in an inventory dated 12th October, 1649, wherein, among other items belonging to the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, is mentioned:

'One Brase egile formerly used in the quiere as a desk to ley a bible on.'

The iron rivet still remains which originally attached the eagle to the globe beneath, whilst the marks of the sledge hammer, employed in its destruction, are plainly visible."

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

The ordinary meetings of the Society were then adjourned until Thursday, 21st November.

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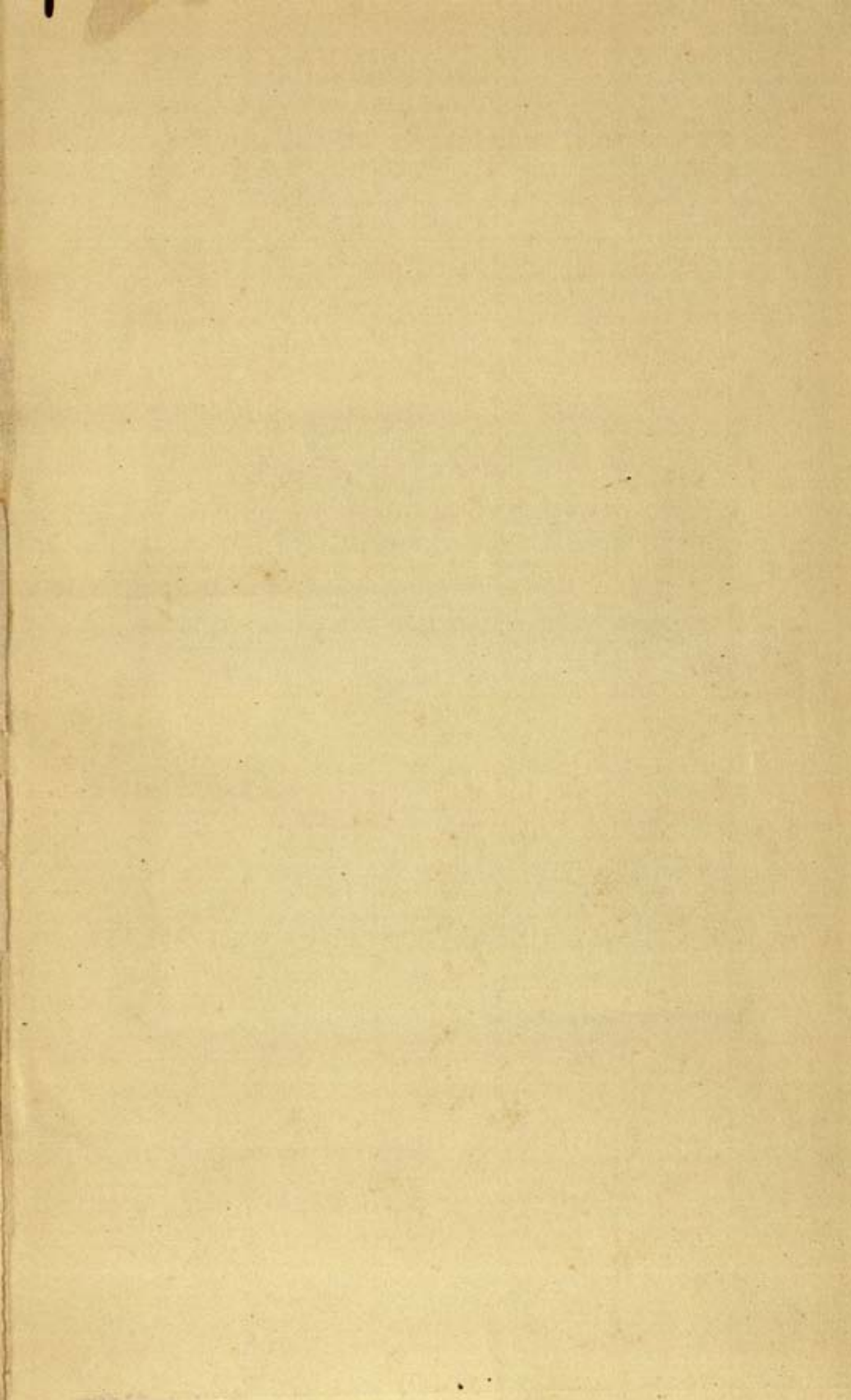
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