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OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

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The Christian Antiquities of Tripolitania

By J. B. WARD PERKINS, Esq., F.B.A., F.S.A., and R. G. GOODCHILD, Esq., F.S.A.

[Read 8th February 1951]

IN late antiquity, as under the earlier Empire, Tripolitania was a small and somewhat isolated territory. The creation of a separate province of Tripolitania, in the closing years of the third century, was no more than the official recognition of an established geographical fact. There continued to be important military and cultural links with the provinces to the west; but the natural isolation of the territory was inevitably increased by the decline in public security; and although the church came under the primacy of the bishop of Carthage, the records of the church councils bear eloquent witness to the hazards and difficulties of travel from such outlying districts. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the surviving Christian antiquities of Tripolitania exhibit a robust regionalism; or that artistically, with the single exception of the mosaic in the church that Justinian built at Sabratha, none is of outstanding intrinsic merit.

To the student of Christian antiquity, however, there are several compensating advantages. The canvas is less crowded. There were only three urban centres of importance, Lepcis Magna, Sabratha, and Oea; and of these, Italian archaeologists were able to excavate the first two on a scale sufficient to warrant belief that the remains uncovered fairly represent the whole. In the interior, much still awaits discovery, and the future may well hold surprises in store. But the known material is remarkably uniform; and here too, therefore, it may reasonably be regarded as representative. Another important factor is the state of conservation of many of the buildings. Lepcis Magna and Sabratha were both virtually abandoned soon after the Arab conquest, and the remains were spared the systematic pillage that has been the fate of the great majority of classical cities. In the interior, there was no sharp break. Instead, outlying districts were gradually abandoned to the encroaching desert, and their monuments left standing through the centuries, barely touched by the hand of man. As all too rarely in the western provinces, the Christian buildings of Tripolitania can be studied in elevation as well as in plan.

To these material factors may be added an unusually clearly defined chronological setting, at any rate so far as concerns the coastal cities. The Vandal conquest of Tripolitania in 455 may have added little directly to their burdens; but the indirect results were disastrous. The recent excavations at Sabratha vividly supplement the picture of Lepcis Magna given by Procopius: 'a city . . . which was once large and populous, but later became for the most part deserted'.[1] Administrative neglect sealed the ruin of an economy that was dependent upon stable conditions; and the enforced dismantlement of the cities' walls left them helpless against the forays of the tribesmen from the interior. There can have been little or no building after the middle

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[1] *De Aedif.* vi, 4, 1: πόλις . . . μεγάλη μὲν καὶ πολυάνθρωπος τὸ παλαιὸν οὖσα, ἔρημος δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον γεγενημένη ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον.

of the fifth century; and their re-establishment after the Byzantine reconquest in 531 amounted, in effect, to refoundation. In the interior, things were very different. For the frontier communities, self-sufficient and geographically remote, the fifth and sixth centuries seem to have been a period of considerable prosperity; and here, it is only in so far as their material remains are clearly derivative from those of the coastal cities that historical events can be said to provide a useful chronological framework.

The present study is based in part upon a re-examination of the material made available by the Italian excavations at Lepcis Magna and Sabratha, and at a few points elsewhere; in part upon material surveyed by the writers and others in the interior. Its object is the presentation of this material in concise, factual form and with adequate documentation. A brief historical introduction has been added, for convenience of reference; and a concluding section summarizes some of the results. The evaluation of these results, in terms of contemporary Christian remains elsewhere in the Mediterranean world, forms no part of the writers' present purpose; if their work has been well done, this task can safely be left to others.

It will be noted that, for practical reasons, the survey covers that part only of ancient Africa that lay within the confines of the modern Tripolitania. It excludes, therefore, a part of modern Tunisia that belonged in late antiquity to the *provincia tripolitana*, including the cities of Tacapae (Gabès) and Girba (in the island of Djerba), both seats of bishoprics.

It remains to record the writers' warm thanks to the following for permission to include the results of work unpublished, or published only in provisional form: Professor Giacomo Caputo, Churches 3 and 4 and the catacomb at Sabratha, Churches 1 and 3 at Lepcis, the church at Breviglieri, and the inscribed block at Sidi bu Zeriba; Professor Renato Bartoccini, Church 5 at Lepcis; Mr. David Oates, the chapel at Gasr Maamùra, the carved blocks from the Wadi Gsea and the Djebel Msid, and the inscribed lintel at Umm el-Msareb; and Mr. Michael De Lisle, the carved and inscribed archivolt at Gasr Giakia.

THE EARLY CHURCH IN TRIPOLITANIA

The historical evidence for the spread of Christianity in Tripolitania is scanty, and consists for the most part of casual references in the works of Christian writers, and of the records of the presence of Tripolitanian bishops at the various church councils. When and how Christianity first reached the region can only be guessed, but the proximity of Cyrenaica, with its large Jewish population, may well have been an important factor in its dissemination; nor can it be doubted that in Tripolitania, as in other parts of the Roman Empire, it was in the larger cities that it was first established: the suggestion, based on alleged Berber traditions, of a direct Apostolic evangelization of the Djebel Nefusa does not carry conviction.[1]

The first recorded Tripolitanian see was at Lepcis Magna, where a certain Archaeus was bishop at the end of the second century.[2] The name suggests that he was a

[1] P. Romanelli, 'Le sedi episcopali della Tripolitania antica', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, iv, 1925–6, p. 156.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 156; P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, i, 1912, p. 54.

foreigner, rather than of native Punic or Libyan stock, and he may well have been a member of the immigrant community in this flourishing port. By the middle of the third century, episcopal sees existed also at Sabratha and Oea and, in the modern Tunisia, at Girba; and at some later date there was added Tacapae, also in Tunisia. That there were five bishops, and five only, in 397 we know from the objection of

TRIPOLITANIA: CHRISTIAN BUILDINGS

- ◀ BASILICA WITH WESTERN APSE (S)
- ▶ BASILICA WITH EASTERN APSE.
- ■ OTHER CHRISTIAN BUILDINGS
- ✕ SCATTERED ARCHITECTURAL AND EPIGRAPHIC FRAGMENTS FROM CHRISTIAN BUILDINGS
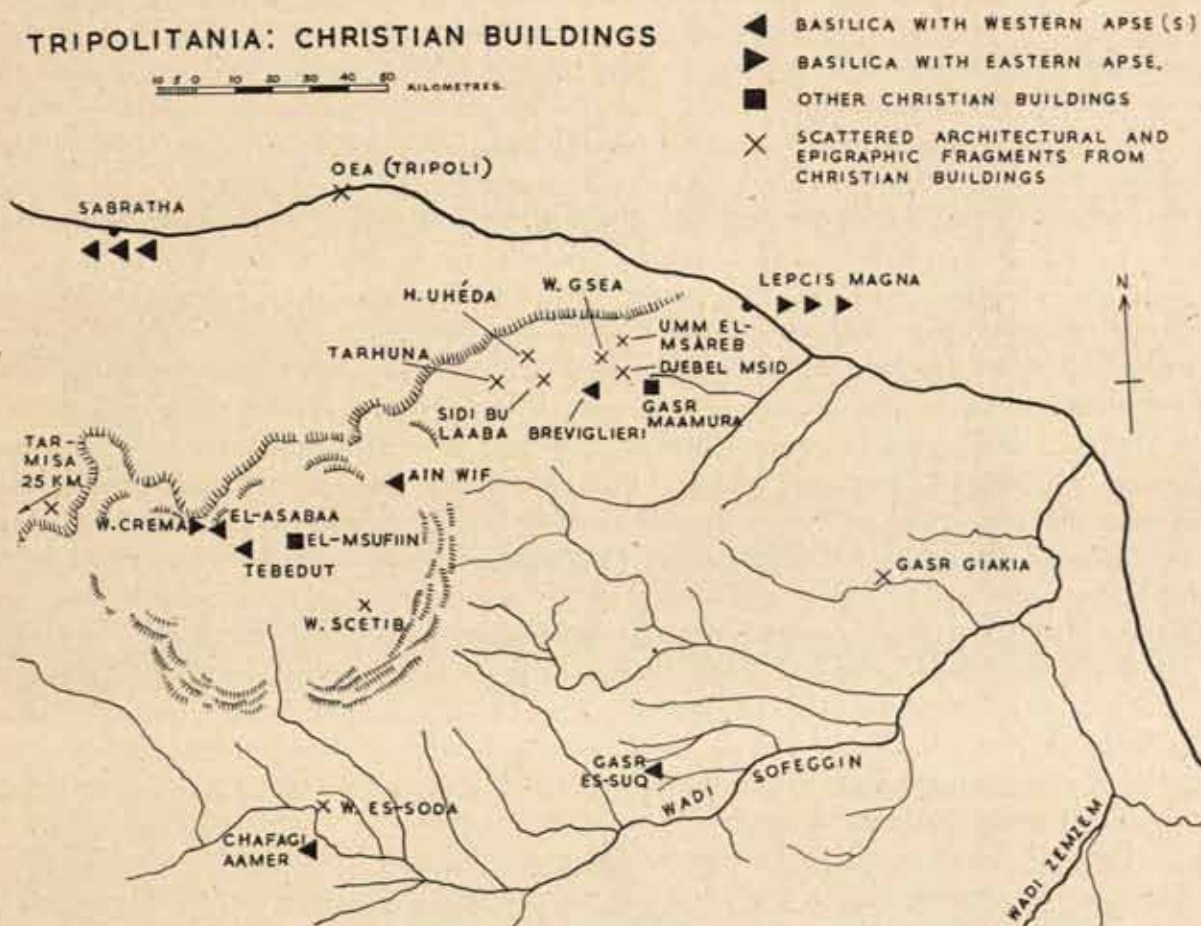
FIG. 1. Distribution of Christian buildings (see also fig. 31).

Bishop Aurelius of Carthage to a proposal that the number of bishops required to be present at the ordination of a new bishop be increased to twelve: 'propterea quia et in Tripoli forte et Arzuge interiacere videntur barbarae gentes [a graphic reminder of the increasing isolation of Tripolitania in late antiquity]: nam in Tripoli (ut asseritur) episcopi sunt quinque tantummodo.'[1] Thereafter, and throughout the fifth century, the number seems to have remained constant at five.

The sees named above were all in the coastal zone; and although there were no urban centres in the interior, and no episcopal sees have yet been identified from that part of the Limes Tripolitanus that lies within the modern Tripolitania, it is hard to believe that there was in fact no episcopal organization. The surviving remains attest

[1] J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. 1901, Paris-Leipzig, col. 886, xxxix.

the vigorous growth of Christianity in the Djebel country, and its spread southwards into the basin of the Wadi Sofeggin. Extensive settlements of Libyan *limitanei* had been established in these areas during the reigns of Alexander Severus and of succeeding emperors; and by the end of the fourth century the population, though scattered, may well have been larger than that of the coastal belt.[1] It has been suggested that this was the ecclesiastical *regio arzugitana*, referred to in the passage cited in the previous paragraph, and elsewhere, and known to have had its own bishops and to have been united with the province of Byzacena.[2] The precise limits of this region are not recorded; but the suggestion accords well with the available evidence; and an administrative distinction between the coastal zone and the interior would have had sound historical precedent.

The history of the African church in the fourth and fifth centuries is, in no small measure, the history of the great Donatist schism. Tripolitania was not exempt. At the Council of Carthage in 411, the bishop of Sabratha was the only Catholic to hold, uncontested, one of the five Tripolitanian sees. His colleagues of Lepcis and Oea were both Donatists, while the sees of Girba and Tacapae were each represented by a pair of rival claimants. About the interior we are less well informed. Without knowing the names of the sees, we cannot tell the sympathies of their holders; and there is little to distinguish the architecture of the Donatists from that of their Catholic rivals. From what we know of Donatism elsewhere, however, it seems likely that the frontier zone of Tripolitania was predominantly Donatist in its allegiance. For all that the original point of dispute between Donatists and Catholics was a religious matter and lay in the church's attitude towards those Christians who, under the stress of persecution, had weakened and denied their faith, there were no major doctrinal issues involved: the roots of the trouble lay far deeper, in the deep-seated antagonism between the Romanized dwellers in the coastal cities and the indigenous peoples of the countryside. This antagonism was not unique to Africa; but the contrast was unusually strong, and it was nourished by difference of race, culture, and economic interest. In the provinces that bordered Tripolitania to the west, it was the coastal cities of Tunisia and Algeria that remained, on the whole, loyal to Catholicism, while Donatism had its stronghold among the Berber peasants of central Numidia. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the same pattern was repeated in Tripolitania.[3]

There were, on the other hand, several factors that may have mitigated the impact of the Donatist controversy in Tripolitania. The settlements of the frontier zone were fairly recently established; and there is little or no trace of the vigorous paganism, rooted in indigenous, tribal tradition, that coloured later Christian thought and practice in the Donatist regions of Numidia. Christianity, too, was less deeply rooted in Tripolitania at the time when the controversy broke out. Large parts of Numidia

[1] For these settlements, see Goodchild and Ward Perkins, *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxix, 1949, pp. 93–95.

[2] Romanelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–3; R. G. Goodchild, *Journal of Roman Studies*, xl, 1950, pp. 30–38.

[3] For the history of Donatism in Africa see P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, Paris, vol. vi, 1922; Cabrol-Leclercq, iv, 2, 1457–1505: for the Donatist settlements and churches of central Numidia, A. Berthier, *Les Vestiges du Christianisme antique dans la Numidie centrale*, Algiers, 1942; and for a summary of some of the social and political implications of Donatism, W. H. C. Frend, 'Religion and Social Change in the Late Roman Empire', *Cambridge Journal*, May 1949, pp. 487–96.

were converted during the third century, before the last great persecutions; whereas in Tripolitania there is little or no evidence for it, outside the cities, before the fourth century: the substantial conversion of the interior is perhaps no earlier than the closing decades of the fourth century (see below, pp. 76–77). In both these respects, then, feeling was probably less acute between Catholic and Donatist than was often the case. Even allowing for the limitations of the available evidence, it is noteworthy that there is no trace, as yet, from Tripolitania of the cult of martyrs, which is so pronounced a feature of Donatism elsewhere.[1] Much of the repressive legislation, too, must have remained a dead letter outside the cities, where it was least needed. The provincial authorities had little effective control over the interior, and they could not afford to alienate the sympathies of Donatist followers among the *limitanei*, upon whose wavering loyalty the safety of the province depended.

The Donatists at first welcomed the Vandal invasion as a liberation from Imperial persecution; and the Catholic bishops of Sabratha and Oea were both ousted by Genseric, soon after the extension of Vandal rule to Tripolitania in 455. Both parties alike, however, soon found themselves the victims of Huneric's persecutions, later in the century; and the council of 484 is the last occasion on which Tripolitania was represented by the bishops of all five sees. Tacapae and Girba alone were represented in 525.

The Byzantine reconquest restored central authority, and brought back a semblance of doctrinal unity to the coastal cities; but it is doubtful whether it substantially changed the situation in the interior. Procopius (*De Aedif.* vi, 3, 10; 4, 12) records that under Justinian the Gadabitani[2] and the inhabitants of Cydamae (Ghadàmes) were converted to Christianity; but he is silent about the Christian schismatics of the Djebel and of the Sofeggin basin. The cruciform baptisteries added to some of the churches in the region show that the Byzantine reconquest was not without its effect outside the coastal zone; but there is no reason to believe that the Byzantine government ever regained effective control over any substantial part of the interior.

Christianity was not immediately swept away by the first Islamic invasions. Although the literary record is silent,[3] five of the tombs in the cemetery at en-Ngila (p. 21), on the outskirts of the Tripoli oasis, are dated between 945 and 1003. The neighbouring cemetery of Ain Zara (p. 21) is perhaps not much earlier, and that of Church 3 at Lepcis (pp. 29 and 81) remained in use well into Arab times. It is evident therefore that, although Christianity disappeared from the territory after the invasion of the Beni Hillal in the eleventh century, it had been in continuous existence up to that date. Whether any of the Christian communities in the interior survived up to that date, it is hard to say. It is quite certain, however, that the victory of Islam was not gained by the forcible extermination of its predecessor. There is ample evidence from the interior of a continuous social and economic development

[1] For the archaeological evidence for this cult in central Numidia, see Berthier, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

[2] Said to be in the neighbourhood of Lepcis Magna. Gadabis is also mentioned by Corippus (*Joh.* ii, 117).

[3] The alleged ninth-century list of episcopal sees, listing Lepcis, Oea, and (perhaps) Sabratha (*Notit. episc.* *Graec.*, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, cvii, Paris, 1863), cannot be cited as evidence in this connexion. It is a purely civil document; see George of Cyprus, *Descr. orbis romani*, ed. Honigman, *Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae: Forma Imperii Byzantini*, fasc. 1, Brussels, 1939, pp. 61, 797–8.

from late antiquity into the early Islamic period. The faithful Muslims who built the *mihrab* in the church at Gasr es-Suq were probably the lineal descendants of those who had practised the Christian faith within the same building a short time earlier.

THE SURVIVING REMAINS

The catalogue that follows lists all the major Christian antiquities of Tripolitania that are known to the writers. It includes churches and any other buildings with specifically Christian associations; architectural elements from destroyed Christian buildings; Christian cemeteries or single graves; and those inscriptions that are Christian in content or in associated ornament. It does not include minor, portable antiquities, such as metal-work, pottery, or lamps; nor does it include buildings or other monuments of the Christian period that are purely secular in content.

The area covered is that comprised within the boundaries of the modern Tripolitania, and excludes that part of the late classical province, including the cities of Gigthis and Tacapae, which is now part of Tunisia; also Ghadàmes, at present under French occupation. Within these limits the arrangement is geographical, and follows the subdivisions established in the *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (*I.R.T.*; see below). As yet no relevant Christian remains have been recorded from the Gefara, from the Wadi Zemzem, or from the outlying oases; or from the coastal zone, outside the Three Cities and Sirte. Map references are given in terms of the British military 'Libyan' grid (British military map series, 1 : 100,000 Tripoli and 1 : 200,000 Tripoli); the corresponding Italian series carries no grid. All dimensions, unless otherwise stated, are in metres. For the locations of individual sites see figs. 1, 31, 32.

The following works are cited throughout in abbreviated form:

Ain Zara	S. Aurigemma, *L' 'Area' cemeteriale cristiana di Ain Zara* (Studi di antichità cristiana pubblicati per cura del Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, V), Rome, 1932.
Afr. Ital.	*Africa Italiana* (*Rivista di storia e d'arte a cura del Ministero delle Colonie*) 8 vols., 1927–41.
Bartoccini, *Antichità*	R. Bartoccini, 'Le antichità della Tripolitania', *Aegyptus*, vii, 1926, pp. 49–96.
Cabrol-Leclercq	F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*.
Fonti e Monumenti	G. Caputo, *Schema di Fonti e Monumenti del primo Cristianesimo in Tripolitania*, Tripoli, 1947.
Goodchild, *Tarhuna Plateau*	R. G. Goodchild, 'Antiquities of the Tarhuna Plateau', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xix, 1951, pp. 43–77.
I.L.C.V.	*Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, ed. E. Diehl, Berlin, 1925–31.
I.R.T.	*Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, ed. J. B. Ward Perkins and J. M. Reynolds, British School at Rome, 1952.
Nouvelles Archives	*Nouvelles Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires*.
III Congr. Arch. Crist.	*Atti del III° Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana* (Studi di antichità cristiana . . ., VIII), Rome, 1934.
IV Congr. Arch. Crist.	*Atti del IV° Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana*, vol. i (Studi di antichità cristiana . . ., XVI), Rome, 1940.

Romanelli, *Bas. Crist.* P. Romanelli, 'La basilica cristiana nell' Africa settentrionale italiana', *IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, pp. 245–89.

Romanelli, *Mon. Crist.* P. Romanelli, 'Monumenti cristiani del Museo di Tripoli', *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, xxiv–xxv, 1918–19, pp. 27–49, pl. II.

The term *gasr* (plural, *gsur*) is used throughout to denote the tower-like fortified buildings that are characteristic of late antiquity in the frontier zone; see p. 59, n. 5.

SABRATHA
(a) CHURCHES

Church 1, on the south side of the Forum (pls. I and II; figs. 2–4)

Church, with adjacent baptistery, established within the civil basilica on the south side of the Forum. Cleared by Bartoccini between 1925 and 1927. Summary accounts of the building appear in Bartoccini, *Guida di Sabratha*, 1927, pp. 34 ff., 59 ff. (the plan is confused and unreliable), and in Romanelli, *Bas. Crist.*, pp. 246–53, figs. 1–5. A fuller account by Bartoccini is in preparation. The structural history of the civil basilica, and the relation to it of the succeeding Christian buildings, were examined in 1948 by the British School expedition, and will be studied in detail in the definitive report; for interim accounts see *Reports and Monographs of the Department of Antiquities in Tripolitania*, ii, 1949, pp. 21–24, and *Fasti Archeologici*, iii, 1948, 77.

(a) *The Pre-Byzantine Church.* The pre-Christian, judiciary basilica, in its final phase, was a large but rather carelessly constructed building, with two longitudinal colonnades running east and west and an apse at either end of the central nave. It is presumably a modest copy of the great Severan basilica at Lepcis Magna, and dates from the fourth century. The main door lay near the centre of the north side, opening off the south portico of the Forum; and a complex of rooms behind the western apse, one of them with an apsidal exedra, was a relic of an earlier phase of the building's structural history. The church occupied the western two-thirds of the previous building, and followed the main lines of its structure; but although certain of the existing structural elements were adapted intact (e.g. the south wall and the subsidiary rooms to the west), it was substantially a new building. In particular, the north wall of the nave was rebuilt on a fresh line, narrowing the body of the building by nearly 2 m. and involving a proportionate displacement of the central axis. If one exclude such individual features as derive from the earlier building, the plan is that characteristic of the majority of pre-Byzantine churches in Tripolitania, a three-aisled basilica with a single, raised apse at the west end and the altar near the centre of the nave (fig. 3; pl. I). One of the rooms behind the western apse was converted into a baptistery, while the eastern part of the earlier basilica, outside the limits of the church, became an open cemetery. Three arched doors led from the nave and from the aisles into the cemetery; and at the north-east angle, on the site of the former main door of the basilica, there projected a semi-detached rectangular room. Doors at the west end of the two lateral aisles gave access to the rooms behind the western apse.

The nave was of ten bays, each of the supporting elements of the colonnades consisting of a pair of columns set base-to-base at right angles to the long axis of the nave, an arrangement repeated in Church 2 at Lepcis Magna, but otherwise unique within the Tripolitanian series. The purpose of this rather clumsy device was normally to carry the extra breadth of an arcaded, masonry superstructure; and, in the absence of any trace of a marble architrave, it no doubt served the same purpose here. The columns, which are of cipollino, and the bases and capitals appear to have been drawn either from the South Forum Temple or from the Antonine Temple, both late second-century buildings adjacent to the Basilica. The altar stood in the centre of the nave, between the fourth and fifth bays from the west, beneath a canopy carried on re-used marble columns, two of red breccia and two of cipollino. The original altar appears to have been of wood. Save at the extreme west end, where there is a patch of coarse tessellated paving, dating

SABRATHA. CHURCH I, IN RELATION TO PRECEDING JUDICIARY BASILICA

0   5   10   15   METRES

N

LATER TRIBUNAL (BAPTISTRY)

CRUCIFORM BUILDING (BAPTISTRY)

CHRISTIAN CEMETERIES

EARLY TRIBUNAL

FORUM

CHRISTIAN CEMETERIES

▨ JUDICIARY BASILICA [EARLIER PHASES]

☐ JUDICIARY BASILICA [LATER PHASES]

▨ CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Fig. 2.

SABRATHA CHURCH I.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 METRES

EARLIER BAPTISTRY

COURTYARD (CEMETERY)

CISTERN

VI CENT. BAPTISTRY

RAISED APSE

DOOR

EARLIER STAIRS
VI. CENT. STAIRS

N

VI. CENT. ALTAR
AND CANOPY
ON SITE OF
EARLIER ALTAR

VI. CENT.
SCREEN

CEMETERY AND
COUNTER APSE

Fig. 3.

from the latest phase of the civil basilica, the nave of the church continued to make use of the fine marble paving of its predecessor. The apse is set 1·74 m. above the level of the nave, at the head of a broad flight of sandstone stairs, at the top of which, symmetrically placed on either side, stood two re-used, rectangular, marble pilasters, dividing the chord of the apse into three unequal bays. It was paved with coarse tessellated paving, very similar to that in the nave below. Doors cut in either flank, of which that to the south is probably original, that to the north is a sixth-century addition, gave access to the space behind the apse. A part of this space, which was probably open to the sky, was used as a cemetery; but the three rooms against the west wall remained in use, and the central room, formerly the tribunal of the Basilica, was adapted to serve as a baptistery, with a small, concrete-lined, rectangular tank sunk against the rear wall of the apsidal exedra (visible in pl. II, b, beyond the figure).

The date of the church can only be approximately established. If the latest phase of the preceding building is correctly dated to the third quarter of the fourth century (the evidence for this will be discussed in the report on the excavations of 1948), the church can hardly be much earlier than the turn of the century. On the other hand, the identity of the tessellated flooring (coarse though it be) of the apse of the church with that of the west end of the pre-church nave suggests that the one is probably not very much later than the other; and, with the ever-increasing decadence of the city during the fifth century, the unlikelihood of the erection of a church of this elaboration increases with each decade that passes. The historical probabilities and the evidence of structure and of epigraphy (see below, p. 12) alike suggest a date not long after 400 for the building of the church. It can hardly be later than 450.

(b) *The Byzantine Church*. At some later date the church was restored and re-embellished. Apart from the conversion of an adjoining building into a new and larger baptistery (see below), there were no major structural changes; but pavements were relaid, and many of the fittings were renewed. The nave was repaved throughout at a higher level, with re-used paving slabs of grey limestone and with slabs cut from cipollino columns. A platform of reversed column-bases was inserted beneath the canopy, and in the centre of it was placed a marble altar, of which the base, with sockets for four colonnettes and a central reliquary-recess, and fragments of the colonnettes themselves are preserved. To this period belong probably, but not quite certainly, the footings of a screen, which enclosed all but three bays of the central nave. At the same time as the floor was raised, the steps up to the apse were relaid in marble, and a door was cut in the north flank of the apse, with marble steps leading down to the new baptistery. The former font was filled and sealed, and in its place was set an altar beneath a canopy of four marble columns.

Re-used in the flooring and as steps are a Constantinian inscription (*I.R.T.* 56) and a number of architectural fragments. The latter include elements from the interior of the building that now became a baptistery, and their use in the church confirms the contemporaneity of the two operations. The baptistery is dated by the form of the font to the Byzantine reconquest; and a restoration of the church after three-quarters of a century of Vandal neglect is on every ground probable. It is interesting to notice that, despite the very considerable differences of layout and liturgical usage exemplified in Church 2, newly founded under Justinian, neither in this building nor in Churches 3 and 4 do the sixth-century restorers seem to have felt it necessary substantially to rearrange the liturgical fittings.

(c) *The Byzantine Baptistery* (fig. 4; pl. II, b). Opening off the west end of the south portico of the Forum, and adjoining the western extension of the civil basilica, was a vaulted building, square externally and cruciform internally, the original function of which is not known. It was certainly a public building, dating from the second half of the second century, and it had elaborate internal marble fittings, which included three daises in three of the arms of the cross, carrying projecting architectural orders. This original building was in due course converted into a place of assembly by the insertion of longitudinal benches, after the pattern of those in the Diocletianic Curia in the Forum Romanum.[1] The date of this alteration, and the relation of the resulting edifice to

[1] Besides the Curia to the north of the Forum at Sabratha, there is a similar curia-building at Lepcis Magna,

PLATE I

Sabratha, Church 1, on the site of the pre-Christian, judiciary basilica (pp. 7–12); seen from the south-west, with (*top left*) the forum and part of the Capitolium and (*right, towards the top*) the disused apse of the earlier basilica

PLATE II

a. Sabratha, Church 1, from the east; in the foreground the disused eastern apse of the pre-Christian, judiciary basilica

b. Sabratha, Church 1: the sixth-century baptistery and (*above and to the right of the figure*) the earlier baptistery

Photos: Department of Antiquities, Tripolitania

SABRATHA : CRUCIFORM BUILDING, CONVERTED INTO BAPTISTRY.

PERIOD 1

PERIOD 2

A —— B   C —— D

SHALLOW
STEPS
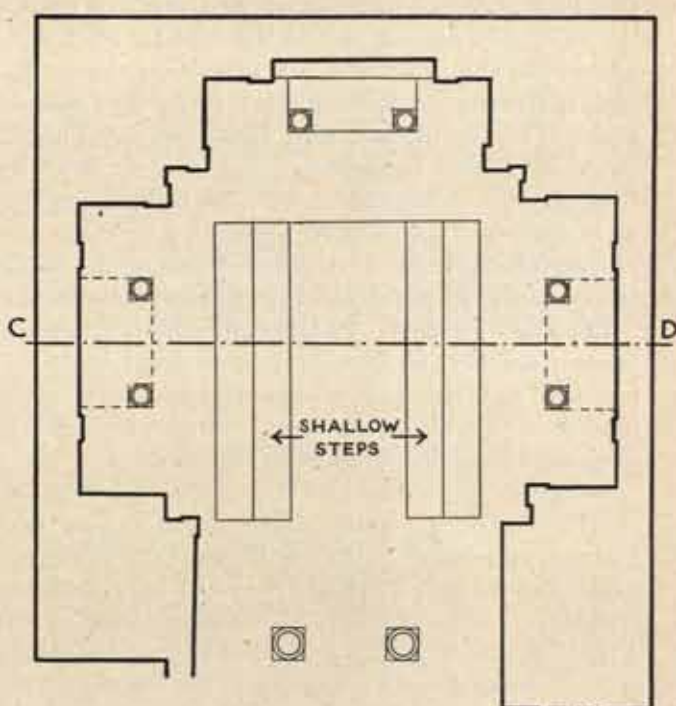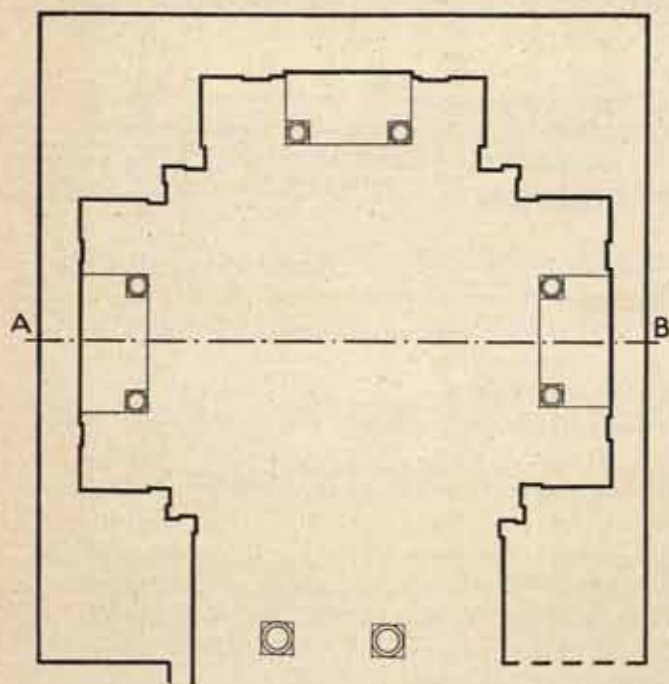
PERIOD 3 (BAPTISTRY)
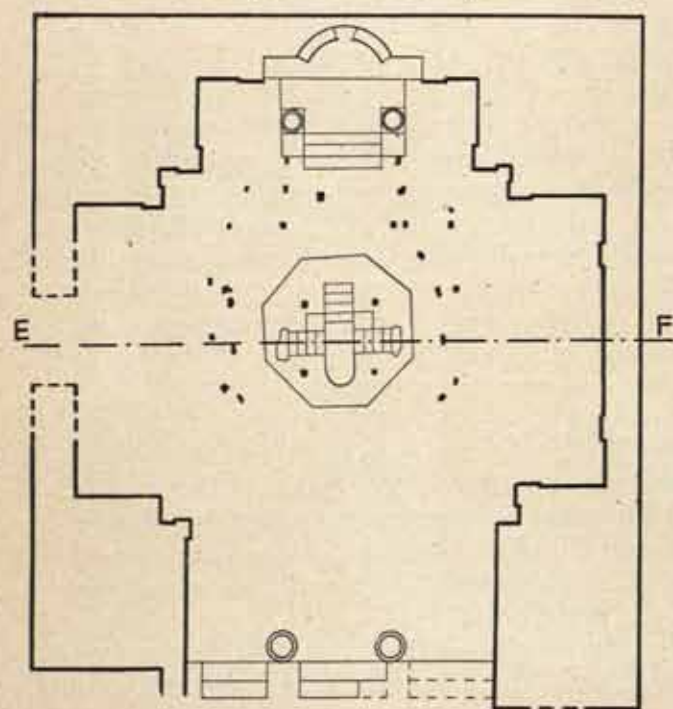
SUCCESSIVE TRANSVERSE
SECTIONS

E —— F

A ———————— B

C ———————— D

E ———————— F
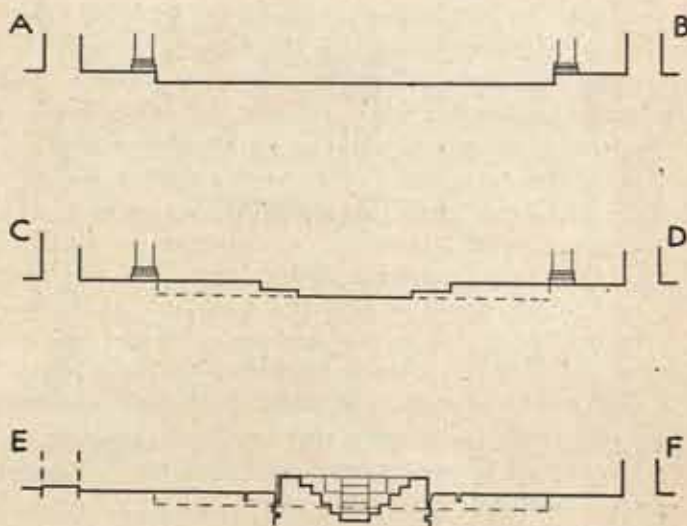
0   5   10
METRES

J·B·W·P
J·W·H

FIG. 4.

the Curia on the north side of the Forum, is not known. Later again it became a baptistery. A door was cut in the south wall, connecting it with the church; the marble superstructure of the two lateral daises was dismantled, and the materials re-used in the church; and the central area of the floor was raised, and in the middle of it was installed a font. This was an unusually elaborate version of the cruciform sixth-century type, familiar from Churches 1, 2, and 3 at Lepcis Magna. The platform is octagonal and, instead of four equal arms to the cruciform tank, that to the east is shorter and rounded, and lacks steps. There are sockets for a wooden canopy and for some wooden feature at the west end, and an inlet-pipe in the east arm. In the floor surrounding the font are the sockets for a wooden railing, several times renewed; and the surviving canopy of the west dais was adapted to serve as a throne.

Scratched on the concrete surface of the font is an early arabic graffito, one of the few tangible traces of the post-classical period in the coastal cities.

(d) *The Cemetery*. In the centre of the apse, in a position of honour, was found a burial; it had been disturbed in antiquity, and apart from a ring it contained no object by which it could be identified. Otherwise no graves have been found within the church excepting those, one of them inscribed (*I.R.T.* 202), in the corridor between the apse and the early baptistery; and this corridor may well have been open to the sky.

Outside the church, to the north and west, there was a very large cemetery, which must have been in use over a long period of time. Scattered burials extended as far as the north edge of the Forum, and towards the south-west corner they were almost continuous. All are found buried in stone-lined cists, marked (if at all) by a flat slab or slabs. There is no record of any of the up-standing, chest-like tombs characteristic of the later phases of most Christian cemeteries in Tripolitania. Traces of wooden coffins have been found in some graves. A number of the earlier graves, immediately adjacent to the church, are inscribed. These fall into two groups: (a) in the south portico of the Forum (*I.R.T.* 193, 197, 208, 211, and 220); and (b) to the east of the church, within that part of the pre-Christian basilica that lay outside the church, immediately to the east (*I.R.T.* 196, 198–200, 203–4, 207, 210, 212–13, 218, 223, and 226–7). The lettering is rough, with occasional uncial forms and a number of barbarisms (such as B used regularly for V), and the terminology consists of variations on a few simple formulae: *Bon(a)e memori(a)e, bixit in pake annos . . . plus minus, requiebit in XPO*, followed usually by the date and day of the month and the indiction. Exceptionally there are more elaborate invocations: *qui legis ora pro me peccatore, dicat tibi dominus remissa sunt tibi peccata, audias in illa die bocem domini dicentis remissa sunt unibersa delicta*. Many figure a Latin cross, others a monogram-cross, both forms with and without an accompanying alpha and omega. The chi-rho monogram, used in the inscriptions from the catacombs at Sabratha and at Sirte (pp. 19, 34), is not found. None of the tombs is closely dated, but the inscribed series as a whole may be ascribed with confidence to the fifth century, with a possible overlap into the sixth. There is perhaps a gap after the re-establishment of the civic decencies under Justinian; but later the cemetery almost certainly returned to use, and many, if not indeed the majority, of the anonymous burials in the open space of the Forum belong probably to the last phase of the city's decline and eventual extinction.

Sabratha, Church 2, between the Forum and the harbour (pls. III–V, XXVI; fig. 5)

Church, built over the levelled remains of earlier structures to the north of the Forum. Excavated between 1925 and 1929 by Bartoccini. Summary accounts have appeared in Bartoccini, *Guida di Sabratha*, 1927, pp. 59 ff., and in Romanelli, *Bas. Crist.*, pp. 253–7, figs. 6–9. A detailed publication by Bartoccini is in preparation. This is certainly the λόγου ἀξίαν πολλοῦ ἐκκλησίαν that Justinian built at Sabratha (Procopius, *De Aedif.* vi, 4, 13).

The church itself, as distinct from its fittings, is very roughly built of materials drawn from a large number of different monuments. The masonry of the walls and of the footings for the

adjoining the Forum Vetus. A description of the former building has been published recently by Bartoccini in *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia*, i, 1950, pp. 29–58.
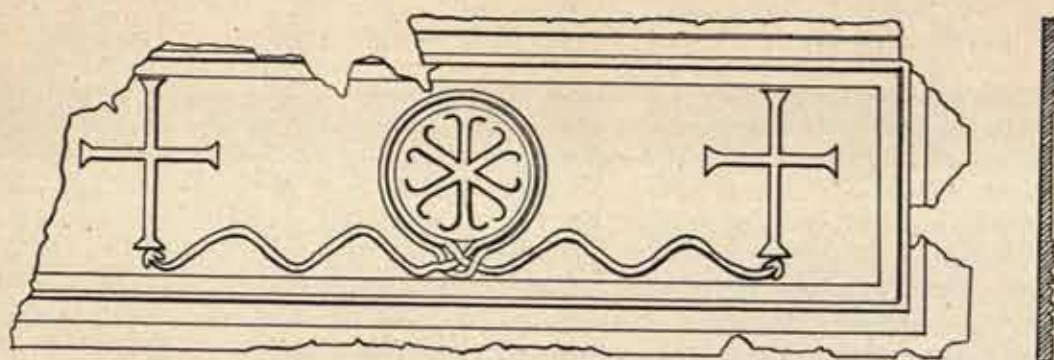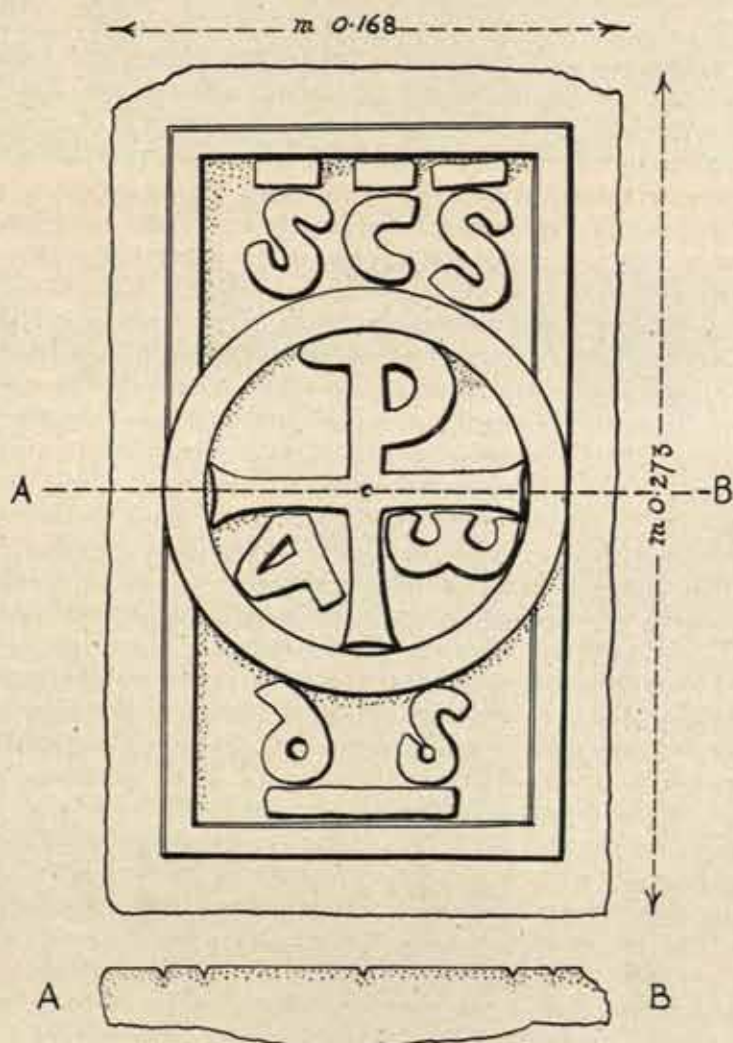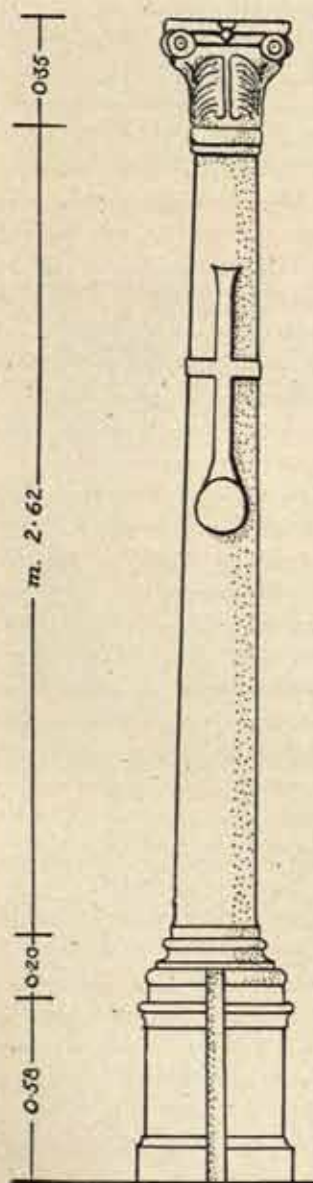
FIG. 5.

columns of the nave arcade is of a distinctive, yellowish-brown limestone, almost certainly quarried in the neighbourhood of Lepcis. The immediate source can be identified as a monumental base erected in honour of Septimius Severus near the Theatre (*I.R.T.* 33; an inscribed block from this monument can be seen in pl. IV, *d*, bottom left). Other known monuments that contributed materials are the Capitolium, the Forum porticoes, the South Forum Temple, the North-west Forum Temple (Serapaeum), and probably the Antonine Temple. In addition there are the marble architrave of an order larger than any yet identified at Sabratha, some Corinthian capitals from an unidentified building, and two sizes of re-used granite columns. It is evident that, when the church was built, Roman Sabratha already lay in ruins.

The chancel lay towards the east. The east end has been entirely quarried away, but the surviving eastern extremity of the south wall must correspond approximately to the south-east angle, and there was probably a single projecting apse. The nave would have consisted of nine (or possibly of ten) bays, four (or five) of which were occupied by the chancel. The columns are of a wide range of sizes and materials and have been brought level by means of rough masonry plinths projecting above the stylobate, the top of which was exposed throughout (pl. IV, *c*). There is a door near the centre of each long side, and three doors at the west end open into an irregular paved courtyard. Across the courtyard are the remains of a large, contemporary, domestic building; and against the façade of the church sawn-off columns supported a pent-roof portico (pl. IV, *a*).

Internally the chancel was separated from the five bays that constitute the nave by a low, transverse screen, with a central opening giving access to the ambon. The footings of the screen are in position, and two of the panels are in the museum. The ambon (pl. IV, *b*) was found in position just in front of the screen, on the north side of the central nave: the basis of it is cut from a cornice block from the Capitolium. Within the chancel are the footings, with a central reliquary recess, for a rectangular altar carried on four colonnettes; and over it stood a marble canopy. The lateral aisles seem, like the nave, to have been divided into two parts at a point one bay to the west of the nave-screen. The masonry is so rough that it is hard to be certain that the projecting pilasters at this point are intentional; that they were intended seems, however, to be confirmed by the division at this point between the two panels of the lateral mosaics.

The fittings of the church were in striking contrast to the crudity of the architecture. The mosaic pavement, which covered the entire floor and is now displayed in the museum, is one of the finest surviving from antiquity. The main features of the great symbolic panel in the body of the nave, in which peacocks, a phoenix, a caged quail, and a rich assortment of other birds are displayed in a spreading acanthus scroll, are already familiar (pls. III, *b*, and V, *a–b* (details); H. Peirce and R. Tyler, *L'Art byzantin*, ii, 1934, pls. 115–18; Romanelli, *Bas. Crist.*, fig. 9). The remaining panels illustrate a wide range of formal panels, in the one case, in the chancel, with inset figured roundels (pl. V, *e*). Plate V, *d*, a simple but extraordinarily effective tapestry design in sober green colours, from the western part of the two lateral aisles, is an outstanding example of a type of design, based on a rhythmical repetition of accent, that is characteristic of some of the finest of the later mosaics at Antioch, e.g. the Phoenix mosaic (D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 1947, pp. 351–5) and the mosaic of the Beribboned Lion (*ibid.*, pp. 313–15). The mosaics will be published in full by Bartoccini. It is here sufficient to note that they are unquestionably the work of craftsmen from the Eastern Mediterranean. The closest parallels are to be found in Syria and Palestine, e.g. at Antioch, in the House of the Bird Rinceau (*ibid.*, pl. XCI); but until more is known of the mosaics of Constantinople (the resemblance to those of the Great Palace is not close; G. Brett in *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, 1947, pp. 64–97) it is perhaps unwise to be more precise. An African mosaic that closely resembles the Sabratha mosaic in design and workmanship is recorded from Cherchel (E. Albertini, *L'Afrique Romaine*, Algiers, 1950, pl. on p. 95).

Other surviving fittings that are demonstrably imported are: two transenna slabs of grey-veined white marble, with a wreathed, rosette-like monogram flanked by two crosses (fig. 5, *a*);

PLATE III

a. Sabratha, Church 2, from the south-west (pp. 12–15)

b. Sabratha, Church 2: the nave, looking east, before restoration
Photos: Department of Antiquities, Tripolitania
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1953

PLATE IV

a. The west façade and portico

b. The ambon

c. Bases of the south nave-arcade

d. Inner face of the south wall, showing irregular masonry, and (*bottom left*) block from a Severan inscription

Sabratha, Church 2 (pp. 12–15)

Photos: J. B. Ward Perkins

PLATE V

c. North aisle, east panel

b. Nave, showing late patching

e. Chancel

a. Nave
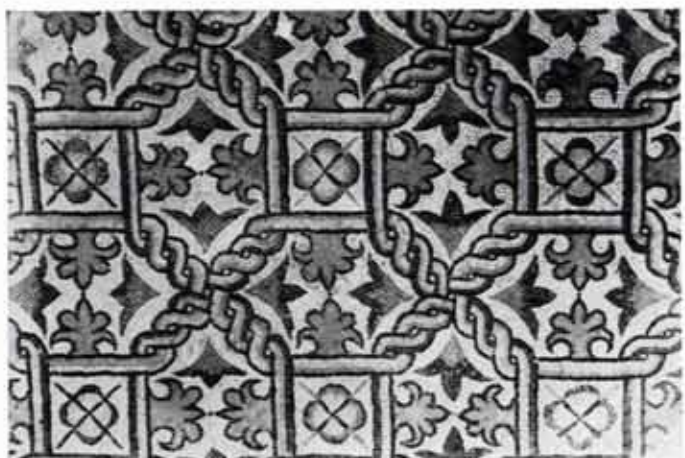
d. North aisle, west panel

Sabratha, Church 2: details of sixth-century mosaics (p. 14)

Photos: Department of Antiquities, Tripolitania

PLATE VI
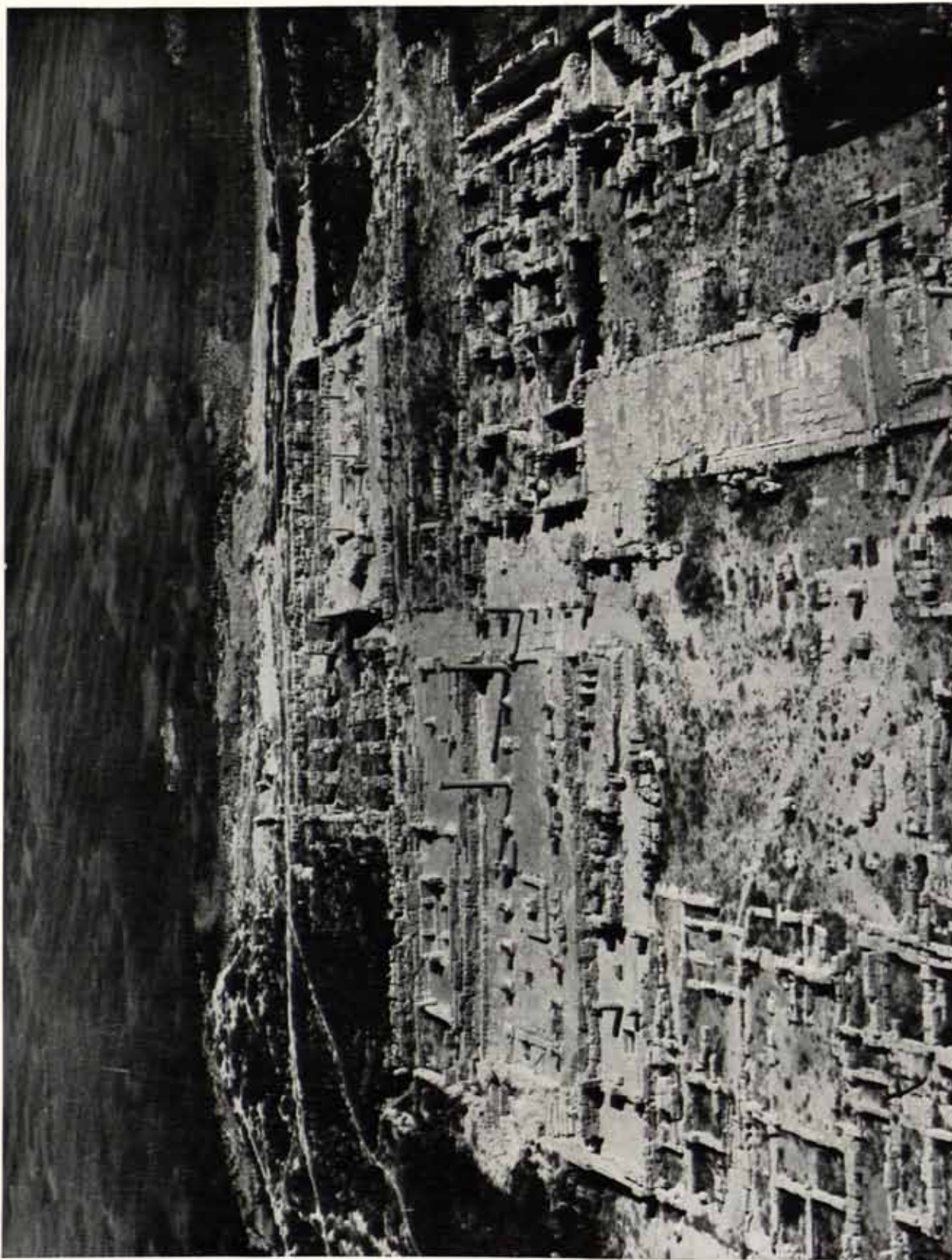
Sabratha, Churches 3 (*left centre*) and 4 (*beyond and to the right of Church 3, within an earlier basilical building*). Right centre, remains of a pre-Christian bath-building; and, in the foreground, domestic insulae, demolished in late antiquity (pp. 15–19)

two of the four marble columns supporting the canopy of the altar, each of which has, carved upon it in low relief, a Latin cross resting on an orb (fig. 5, *b*); and an altar of the form illustrated in Cabrol-Leclercq, i, figs. 1137–9; perhaps also a plain, rectangular, marble altar, and a small marble panel, inscribed *S(an)c(tu)s D(eu)s* (fig. 5, *c*; *I.R.T.* 192). These are discussed below, pp. 61, 65–6.

The mosaic has been crudely patched on several occasions (pl. v, *b*, illustrates one such patch, with a clumsy attempt to reproduce the original pattern; patching material includes two fragments of Christian inscriptions, *I.R.T.* 224 (*a*) and (*b*)); but there are no signs of other alterations or repairs. There is no baptistery, and no associated cemetery.

Sabratha, Church 3, between the Theatre and the sea, Regio III, insula 4 (pls. vi, vii, *b*, viii, ix, and xxvii; fig. 6)

The larger of a pair of churches that lie between the Theatre and the sea, on the seaward side of the main coast road (Regio III, insula 4). For clarity of description the two churches are here described separately; but there can be little doubt that they were in fact closely associated and that, together with the subsidiary buildings adjoining them, they formed a single *area sacra.* The clearance of the complex, begun by Guidi, was completed by Caputo. A summary account of the results appears in Romanelli, *Bas. Crist.*, pp. 257–62, figs. 10–12. Subsequently, in 1949, limited excavation within, and immediately in front of, the apse of Church 3, undertaken in connexion with the consolidation of the mosaics, has cleared up several doubtful points; but the serious stratigraphic examination of the pre-basilical levels has yet to be attempted.

Church 3 is the more elaborate, as well as the larger, of the two. In addition to the church itself, there are three groups of associated buildings: at the east end, an atrium; and on either flank, a baptistery (fig. 6). The plan was in part conditioned by the presence of earlier structures. The atrium occupies the south-west angle of a substantial bath-building; while the church itself and the smaller of the two baptisteries embody the plan, and a considerable part of the actual structure, of a second large building, the function of which is not known. Both of these earlier buildings seem to have been in a fair state of repair when the church was built.

The church itself is a three-aisled basilica, with a single, raised, western apse. The nave occupies the body of what appears to have been previously a single large hall or courtyard, roughly 17 × 27 m. It was of ten bays, and the two lateral colonnades each consisted of ten columns of imported grey granite, with capitals and bases of Greek marble, all of which were probably derived from a single late-second-century or third-century structure. The weekly summaries of excavation do not mention any trace of fallen superstructure; but in the absence of any fragment of an architrave, it is a reasonable assumption that, as in Church 1, the colonnades carried an arcade. The single apse was at first lower than it later became; and unless there were movable wooden steps, the only access from the nave was by stairs in the south flank, at the west end of the south aisle. Two marble column-bases, which must have been placed in their present position on the chord of the apse when the latter was rebuilt, belong to the same series as the bases of the nave colonnades, and they may well therefore have occupied the same position in the original building as they do now. They may be compared with the similar features in Churches nos. 1 and 4 at Sabratha; and it is suggested below (p. 63) that they served to support some form of tympanum across the half-dome of the apse.

The presbytery occupied all but two bays of the nave, and was enclosed by a chancel-rail, the sockets for which can be seen in the bases of the lateral colonnades. The altar stood approximately in the centre of the space so enclosed, between the fourth and fifth bays from the west. Nothing remains of the actual altar; but its position is marked by the sockets for a wooden rail or canopy (pl. viii, *e*). Around the altar and in the south aisle the floor is of concrete; but between the altar and the apse, and in the apse itself, are the considerable remains of an elaborate and gaily coloured mosaic pavement (pl. ix, *a* and *c*). In the apse it consists of a freely developed ornamental scroll springing from a central chalice; in the nave a pattern of circles, squares, and

UNEXCAVATED

RAISED
APSE

STEPS

EARLIER
BAPTISTRY

RE-USED
INSCR.

ALTAR

LATER
BAPTISTRY

RE-USED
INSCR.

INSCR-
IBED
GRAVE

INSCRIBED
GRAVE

RAISED
APSE

REMAINS OF BATH-BUILDING

ALTAR

SABRATHA · CHURCHES 3 AND 4

METRES
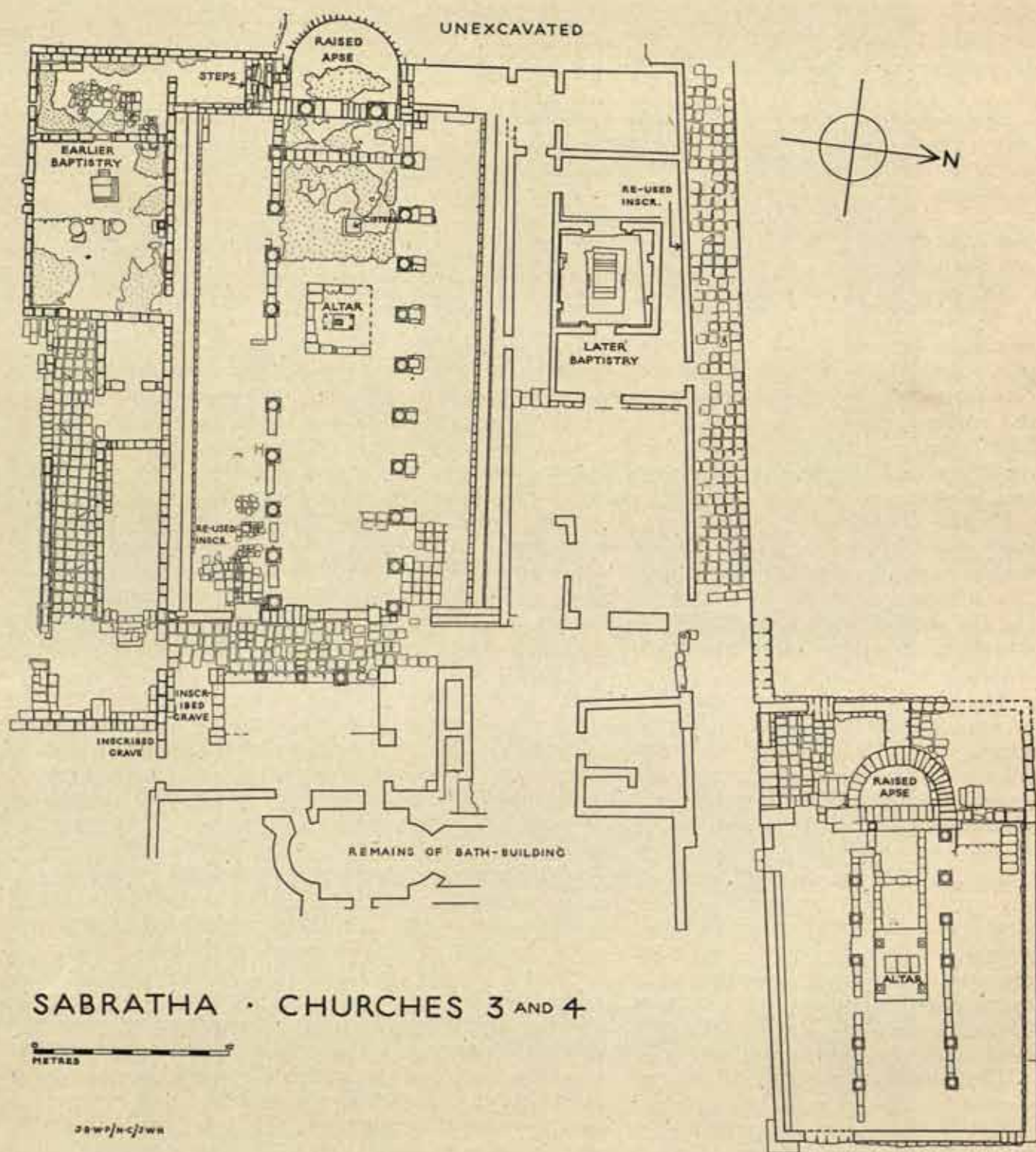
FIG. 6 (see also pl. XXVII).

lozenges, set within a zigzag border. Within the individual frames is portrayed a variety of geometric figures and schematic plant forms—rosettes, double-peltae, crosses with leaf-terminals, etc.; and in the centre of the mosaic a damaged tabella ansata, containing an inscription of four lines (pl. VIII, *d*; *I.R.T.* 13), the surviving text of which reads: FLBONI[.../EXCEPTOR[.../MSVISDE [.../VOTVMSO[...]. The right-hand margin has gone, and the precise length of the lines cannot be determined owing to the possibility of abbreviations; but the reading suggested by Romanelli (*op. cit.*, p. 261) is probably substantially correct: *Fl(avius) Bonifatius exceptor cum suis Deo votum solvit*.[1] Technically and stylistically the mosaic can be assigned, without hesitation, to the fourth century; and although the bulk of the surviving mosaics attributable to the period after the sack of the city in 363 are of considerably coarser texture and workmanship, an inscribed mosaic medallion that belongs to this phase of Regio II, insula V, house 10, shows that local craftsmen were still capable of producing competent work. A date before 363 cannot be excluded on stylistic grounds; but it seems improbable that a catastrophe that left the centre of the town in ruins should have passed this outlying building without leaving a trace. On the other hand, the mosaic can hardly be much later than 400; and the church can probably be attributed therefore to the last quarter of the fourth century.

Framed within the pattern of the mosaic is the mouth of a substantial cistern (visible in the centre of pl. VIII, *a*). The presence of so incongruous an object within the presbytery, a few paces from the altar, might at first sight be taken to show that it had religious associations, and was in some way an object of veneration. The suggestion seems to be discounted, however, both by the casual relation in which it stands to the main architectural features of the church, and by the lack of any reference to it in the text of the mosaic. Its retention is rather a symptom of the times after the sack of 363, when the failure of the aqueduct made it imperative to put to good use every available means of storing the winter rains.

Contemporary with the original church are a pair of rooms against the south flank of the building, towards the west end. One of these opens off the extreme end of the south aisle, opposite the steps up into the apse, and is perhaps a sacristy; the other, which is divided centrally by two columns, is a baptistery, and had originally three doors, one opening off the street, and the other two leading into the sacristy and into the south aisle respectively. Both rooms are pre-basilical structures, adapted with but little alteration to their Christian purpose. A mosaic pavement, in style and materials closely resembling those in the church, covered the floor of each (pl. IX, *b* and *d*); and flush with it, in the centre of the west half of the baptistery, was the font, a simple, concrete-lined recess, with steps downwards from the west side, so that the initiate faced eastwards during the ceremony of baptism (pl. VIII, *b*).

The church was later rebuilt. The new building followed the same general lines as the old; but new flanking walls were inserted, considerably reducing the span of the lateral aisles; and there are signs that some of the columns of the nave-colonnades were shifted slightly at some date between their erection and the insertion of partitioning screens, suggesting that the roof of the central nave, too, may have been renewed at the same time. The floor-level was raised throughout the greater part of the church. In the apse the chord was raised 35 cm., cutting and burying the original mosaic (pl. IX, *a*, illustrates the relative level); and in front of the apse a shallow footing, which cuts through the presbytery mosaic (pl. IX, *c*), marks the base of the flight of steps that now connected the apse directly with the nave. The main body of the presbytery mosaic, worn and much patched, seems to have been retained in use; but the level of the altar was raised, and a marble altar installed, of which the greater part of the base was found in position. It is of the same general type as that at el-Asàbaa (see below, p. 37). No trace now remains of any corresponding paving-level in the central nave; but at the east end of the two lateral aisles are the considerable remains of pavements overlying the earlier concrete floors. These are mainly of brown limestone slabs, and incorporate fragments of marble, including one inscription (*I.R.T.* 178).

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[1] The *exceptor* was a minor clerical official attached to the office of the provincial governor.

To the same phase belongs, presumably, the replacement of the original baptistery by a larger structure in the corresponding position on the north side of the building (pl. VIII, *c*). Whether or not the early font was suppressed at the same time, as was that in Church 1, cannot now be determined. The rooms certainly remained in use, as is shown by repairs to the floors similar in style and in materials to those carried out in the nave. The new baptistery, which can be shown to be of later construction than the main building, was altogether more elaborate. It comprises a suite of rooms, within which the baptistery proper consists of a recessed font, housed within a rectangular, canopy-like structure, decorated internally with pilasters and surfaced with fine, white stucco. Within the font-recess, which is much damaged, are the housings for two horizontal timbers, which must have carried some wooden superstructure.

There is nothing in the character of these alterations and repairs that suggests specific Byzantine influence: they follow closely on established practice. But repairs on this scale could hardly have been required so early as the first half of the fifth century; and it is hard to believe that they could have been undertaken at any time between the Vandal invasion and the Byzantine reconquest. On historical grounds, therefore, they may be ascribed with some confidence to the decade following the latter event.

To the south of the church are the remains of an extensive cemetery. The earlier tombs, several of which are inscribed (*I.R.T.* 206, 214, 219, 221, 222), are flat and covered with slabs. The later tombs are rectangular or convex structures, rising clear from the ground and stuccoed (cf. Churches 2 and 3 at Lepcis; and the late cemeteries at Ain Zara and en-Ngila, p. 21); one of them is elaborately painted and inscribed (*I.R.T.* 205). The monogram-cross figures twice in the earlier group, each time with alpha and omega.

Sabratha, Church 4, between the Theatre and the sea, Regio III, insula 8 (pl. VII, *a*; fig. 6)

The smaller of the pair of churches between the Theatre and the sea. For the original excavation and bibliography, see s.v. Church 3. Trial excavations were undertaken within the northwest angle in 1943, in connexion with the restoration of the outer north wall, which threatened to collapse. The church lies in the south-east corner of an earlier, and far larger building, of which the footings only survive. These indicate a simple, rectangular basilica, probably utilitarian in character, measuring some 26 × 49 m. and divided internally by two longitudinal colonnades, each of sixteen piers or columns. This building in turn overlies the remains of earlier structures.

The church itself is of two periods, both buildings being basilical in plan with a single, raised, western apse (fig. 6). The nave, which is of seven bays, is substantially that of the original building. Of the nave-colonnades, all save one of the marble column-bases are in position, and there are fragments of the cipollino columns and one worn marble capital, all re-used from earlier buildings. A pair of narrow footings, linking the apse and the altar, which stood as usual in the centre of the nave, served to support the altar-canopy and the steps up into the apse, and reflect the unstable character of the fill upon which the church is built. If any trace of the original altar survives, it is still buried beneath the later altar-base, a square platform of sandstone blocks, paved with slabs of yellow limestone at a level of 70 cm. above the original floor. On this platform stood a canopy, of which one stuccoed sandstone column and capital are preserved. Between the column-bases of the nave arcades are sandstone footings, grooved along the upper surface to carry the panels of a screen; and it is clear that when the church was rebuilt the general floor-level was at least 35 cm. above that of the earlier building.

The surviving apse belongs substantially to the later phase, as is shown by the shallow footings of the front of the chord, facing towards the nave. This front, which was masked by stairs, is no more than a single course of masonry, resting on an earthen fill, and behind it are the footings of an earlier and more substantial apse, on approximately the same lines as its successor. The masonry of this earlier apse is also exposed along the north flank. A marble colonnette, one of a pair which stood on the chord of the apse, shows that, in detail as well as in general plan, Church

PLATE VII

a. Sabratha, Church 4, during excavation, from the south-east

Photo: Department of Antiquities, Tripolitania

b. Sabratha, Church 3, from the south-east; in the foreground, column-bases of the atrium

Photo: J. B. Ward Perkins

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1953

PLATE VIII

a. The nave, from the apse

b. The earlier baptistery

c. The later baptistery

d. Dedicatory inscription of the nave mosaic

e. Sockets for timber altar and canopy,
beneath later stone platform

Sabratha, Church 3 (pp. 15–18)

Photos: J. B. Ward Perkins

4 conformed closely to the pattern established by Churches 1 and 3. Two chapels, or sacristies, flank and envelop the apse so as to contain it within a rectangular perimeter. They are separated the one from the other by a low partition, the upper surface of which, 1·10 m. above pavement level, is covered by a green marble slab. It is not certain whether these chapels repeat an original feature or are a second-period innovation.

There is little direct evidence for the date of either church; but although the later building followed closely on the lines of its predecessor, it is evident that the west end at any rate required to be completely rebuilt; and the substantial raising of the floor-level in the nave suggests an intervening period of neglect, if not indeed of abandonment. It may well be that the two periods correspond closely to those of Church 3, with which this building is closely linked.

Several graves have been exposed within the church; and around it there is a large, though rather scattered, cemetery, the farthest graves of which extend nearly to the Oceanus Baths. Any inscriptions that there may once have been have since perished.

(b) CEMETERIES AND ISOLATED CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS

Cemeteries adjoining Churches 1, 3, and 4

See pp. 12, 18, and 19, respectively.

Catacomb to the east of the Theatre

Found in 1942 in the cemetery area to the east of the Theatre; not yet completely explored. It consists of a series of irregular galleries, lined with loculi. Many of the loculi were painted or variously inscribed, and of these four (*I.R.T.* 194, 216, 217, 228) have been recorded; a fifth (*I.R.T.* 195) bears an inscription in mosaic (pl. XIII, *b*). The early date of the catacomb is attested by the use of the chi-rho monogram, to the exclusion of the monogram-cross, and by its use, not only as an acclamation, but also as an abbreviation for 'Christus', a decidedly early feature (Cabrol-Leclercq, iii, 1, 1486 f.).

Cemetery immediately north-east of the Theatre (Regio IV, insula 8)

Part of a small but compact cemetery on the extreme edge of the excavated area; it probably adjoins some building not yet excavated. The tombs are all of late type, and were erected when a considerable depth of accumulated debris already covered the classical levels. One of the tombs is inscribed (*I.R.T.* 209).

Graffiti in the Theatre

Guidi (*Afr. Ital.* iii, 1930, p. 52, fig. 42) illustrates a number of monogram-crosses, scratched on one of the piers of the Theatre, after the building had been abandoned and converted to other uses.

Isolated inscriptions

A funerary text found near the Byzantine wall at the west end of the city (*I.R.T.* 201) may be a stray. The findspot of two others (*I.R.T.* 215, 225) is not recorded.

OEA (TRIPOLI CITY)

(a) CHURCHES

The site of the city has been continuously occupied since classical times; and, although scattered finds attest considerable building activity during the Christian period, as yet no remains have been found *in situ*.

(b) SCATTERED ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

Carved bracket (1), found in Tripoli City (pl. x, *a–b*)

Carved marble bracket, 1·72 m. long ×0·45 broad ×0·36, found in 1913 re-used as part of a well-head near the railway station at Tripoli; now in Tripoli Museum. Romanelli, *Mon. Crist.*, pp. 30–33, pl. ii, 1 and 3; Bartoccini, *Antichità*, fig. 88.

About one-third only of the bracket is left rough; the remainder is carved with a simple guilloche pattern, with two panels of formal vine-scroll and, on the forward, chamfered face, two figures supporting a wreath, containing the chi-rho monogram (pl. x, *b*). Probably of the late fourth or early fifth century.

Carved bracket (2), found in Tripoli City

Bracket of cipollino marble, 1·26 m. long ×0·35 broad ×0·15, from a street in the old city of Tripoli; now in Tripoli Museum. Romanelli, *Mon. Crist.*, p. 33.

About one-quarter only of the bracket is left rough; the remainder is decorated, on the sides with a simple scroll, and on the bevelled end with a chi-rho monogram, with alpha and omega.

Capital, found in Tripoli City (?) (pl. xv, *c*)

Damaged marble capital (ht. 0·37 m.), now in Tripoli Museum; the findspot is not recorded, but it presumably comes from the old city.

A damaged but easily recognizable specimen of a familiar class of Byzantine capital, in which the body is divided into two zones, with birds in high relief at the upper angles and a zone of basketwork, bordered by a wreath-like fillet, below (R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien* (Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, no. 9), Berlin, 1936, pp. 163–5, pl. 32, a subdivision of his category, *Zweizonenkapitelle*; no. 522, in Haghia Sophia, differs only in the absence of a band of carved ornament on the abacus). A well-dated parallel in the west is from the ciborium that was erected in San Clemente, Rome, under Pope Hormisdas, A.D. 514–23 (G. Rivoira, *Origini dell' Architettura Lombarda*, i, 1901, fig. 75; see also those in the crypt at Otranto, A. Colasanti, *L'arte bisantina in Italia*, 1923, pl. 57). In its Tripolitanian context, there can be little doubt that this capital dates from the second quarter of the sixth century.

Inscribed block, found in Tripoli City

Romanelli (*Mon. Crist.*, pp. 37–38) records an irregular marble block, perhaps a keystone, inscribed with a Latin cross, found in 1916 during the demolition of Forte Spagnolo; now in Tripoli Museum (?).

FIG. 7. Inscription on a re-used marble column.

Inscribed architrave, found in Tripoli City (pl. x, *c*)

Column of cipollino marble (diam. 0·57 m.), split and re-used as an architrave (length, 1·50 m.); found in 1912, during the demolition of Forte della Vite, and now in Tripoli Museum. Romanelli, *Mon. Crist.*, pp. 33–35; *I.R.T.* 254.

Inscribed longitudinally on the curved face with the invocation *S(an)c(tus) D(eu)s* and, in the centre, a compass-traced Greek cross inscribed within a double circle.

Inscribed column from Tripoli City (fig. 7)

Part of a column of cipollino marble (diam. 0·50 m. approx.), found in 1912, re-used as a door-sill, near the Bab el-Gedid, Tripoli; now in Tripoli

PLATE IX

b. Baptistery

d. Baptistery

a. Part of the nave and (*foreground*) the apse
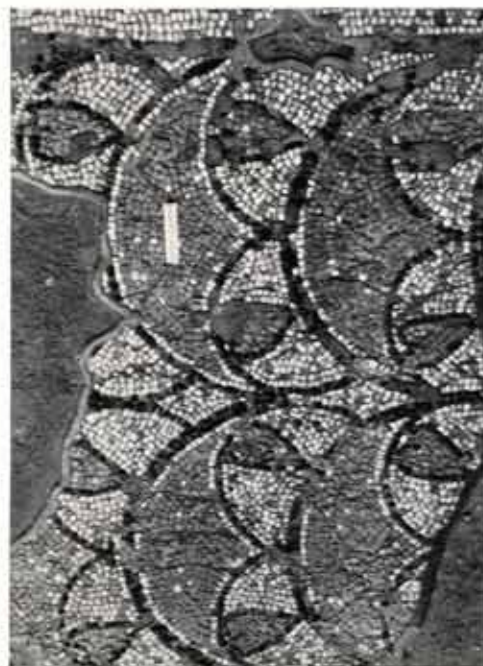
c. Part of the nave, showing dedicatory inscription, footing (*left*) for later steps, and late patching

Sabratha, Church 3, details of mosaics (pp. 15–17)

Photos: J. B. Ward Perkins

PLATE X

a. Oea, carved bracket (p. 20)

b. Detail of *a*

c. Oea, inscription on a reused marble column (p. 20)
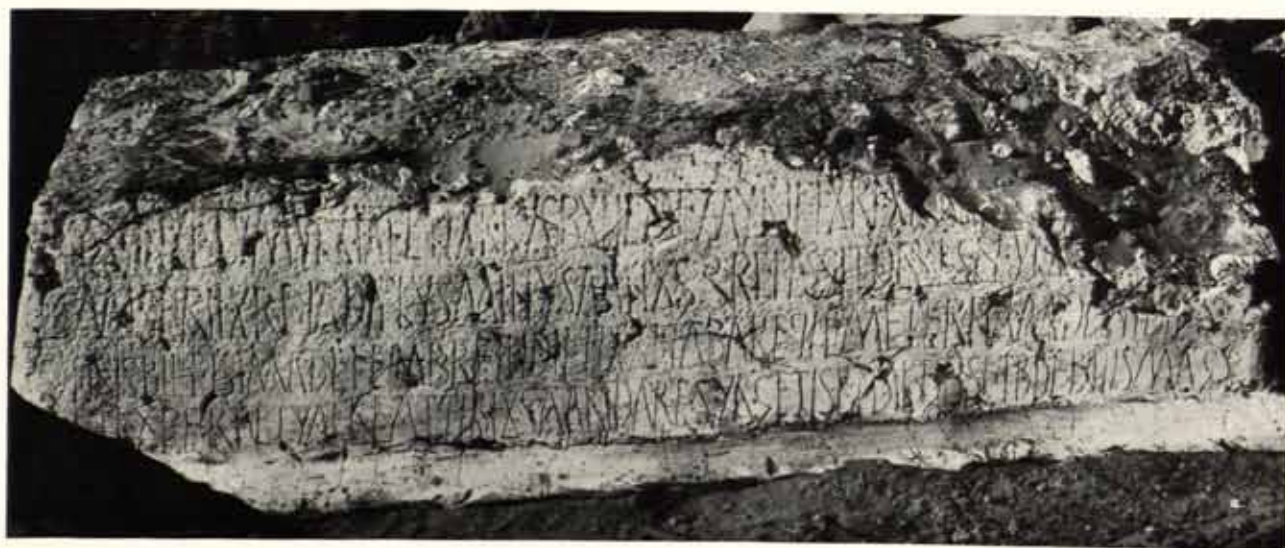
d. En-Ngila, near Tripoli, tomb 4 (p. 21)

Photos: a, b, and d, Department of Antiquities, Tripolitania; c, J. B. Ward Perkins

Museum. Romanelli, *Notiziario Archeologico*, ii, 1916, pp. 334–6, figs. 20–21; *Mon. Crist.*, pp. 35–37, pl. ii, 4; *I.R.T.* 255.

The column was re-used, upside down, in late antiquity, and while in this position was inscribed with the invocation ✠ *Maria* ✠ *Angelus* ✠ *Gabriel* ✠ (fig. 7). For the form of the G, cf. pl. xxi, *a*; also A. Merlin, *Forum et églises de Sufetula* (Gouvernement Tunisien; notes et documents publiés par la Direction des Antiquités et Arts, V), 1912, p. 34, fig. 5.

(c) CEMETERIES

Scattered epigraphic finds

Tripoli Museum contains the remains of five Christian funerary texts, found in various parts of the old city (*I.R.T.* 256a, 257–60). Of these, two figure the chi-rho monogram (*I.R.T.* 258, 259); a third (*I.R.T.* 256a) records an Egyptian who died in Tripoli, probably during the sixth century.

Cemetery at Ain Zara

Open cemetery, discovered and surveyed by Aurigemma between 1911 and 1914 at Ain Zara, 14 km. south-south-east of Tripoli, on the edge of the Tripoli oasis (map ref. L 540580). Published in detail by Aurigemma, *Ain Zara* (see bibliography); and, in summary form, in *I.R.T.* 261. Some of the tombs have since been reburied by drifting sand, and others have disintegrated. Traces of an associated structure, which may have been a chapel, and of a precinct wall, were seen by Ward Perkins in 1948, among the dunes on the west edge of this main cemetery.

The tombs are uniformly oriented east and west, and each consists of a chest-like structure, trapezoidal or saddle-backed, standing on a low plinth, and built of loosely concreted rubble with a stucco surface. The form, which resembles that of the later cemeteries at Sabratha and Lepcis Magna, is still current in present-day Tripolitania. Of the 121 tombs examined, 59 retained traces of the texts and symbols with which all were once inscribed. These embody a number of formulae that contrast strangely with those in use elsewhere in Tripolitania during the fifth and early sixth centuries. *In ok tumulo iaket korpus* and *rekessit de ok sekulo* replace the familiar *Bonae memoriae*; and the commonest acclamation is *Requiem aeternam det tibi Dominus et lux perpetua lukeat tibi*. The inscribed symbols include peacocks affronted across a chalice, fishes, Latin crosses (in a variety of elaborate forms, but once only with alpha and omega), and compass-traced Greek crosses of a form approximating to that illustrated in pl. x, *c*; but the chi-rho monogram and the monogram-cross are not found. It is not impossible that these peculiarities are regional; and that Aurigemma may be right in attributing the cemetery to the period of Vandal domination, before the Byzantine reconquest. But whereas a secure *terminus post quem* is given by the use, in whole or part, on no less than thirteen tombs, of the Trisagion, *Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus immortalis, miserere mei*, which made its first appearance at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the only valid *terminus ante quem* is that afforded by the neighbouring, and closely comparable, cemetery at en-Ngila. In a simple community such as that of Ain Zara, early formulae may well have outlasted their popularity elsewhere; and it is safer to conclude that the cemetery is certainly later than the middle of the fifth century, but that it may well be very considerably later.

Cemetery at en-Ngila (pl. x, d)

Open cemetery found among the sand-dunes at en-Ngila, 18 km. south-south-west of Tripoli, near Suani ben-Adem (map ref. L 410550). Romanelli, *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, xxi, 1915, pp. 76–78; Paribeni, *Afr. Ital.* i, 1927, pp. 75–82; Todesco, *ibid.* vi, 1935, pp. 79–81; *I.R.T.* 262.

The tombs are of the same general form as those at Ain Zara, and are elaborately inscribed on the two long sides (pl. x, *d*, tomb no. 4). Of the fourteen recorded texts, five are precisely dated

between the years 945 and 1003, and the cemetery belongs therefore to the closing years of Arab toleration in Tripolitania.

LEPCIS MAGNA

(a) CHURCHES AND OTHER CHRISTIAN BUILDINGS

Church 1, the former Severan Basilica (pl. xi, *a–c*; fig. 8)

Church, installed by Justinian in the body of the Severan Basilica (Procopius, *De Aedif.* vi, 4, 4–5: καὶ ἱερὸν μὲν ἀξιοθέατον τῇ θεοτόκῳ τῇδε ἀνέθηκεν . . . πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀνῳκοδομήσατο τὰ τῇδε γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις καὶ καταπεπτωκότα βασίλεια, Σεβήρου βασιλέως τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔργον. Procopius speaks as if these were two distinct operations, but there can be little doubt that both passages refer to the same undertaking). The excavation, begun by Bartoccini and continued by Guidi, was completed by Caputo. The church has been briefly described by Romanelli, *Bas. Crist.*, pp. 266–70, figs. 17–18. For the Severan Basilica, see Bartoccini, *Afr. Ital.* i, 1927, pp. 53–74; *ibid.* ii, 1928–9, pp. 30–49; B.M. Apolloni, *Il Foro e la Basilica Severiana di Leptis Magna* (I monumenti italiani: rilievi raccolti a cura della R. Accademia d'Italia, fasc. viii–ix), Rome, 1936.

The form of the church was determined by that of the pre-existing structure, a grandiose, three-aisled basilica, with galleries over the side-aisles and a raised apse at either end of the central nave (fig. 8). At the four corners of the building, flanking the apses, are four small, roughly rectangular chambers, which open off the nave-aisles, and communicate with each other and with the apses by way of the corridors that fill the spaces between the apses and the outer walls, and house the stairs leading to the upper galleries. The body of the building was substantially intact, although in very poor repair, when it was converted into a church; and, with the exception of the insertion of vaulting in the angle chambers, no major structural alterations were involved. The alterations were mainly to the secondary fittings, and are interesting, therefore, for the light they throw on what were felt to be the essential cult-requirements of a large basilical church.

Only one of the two pre-existing apses was required, and the south apse was selected, presumably as being the more easterly of the two,[1] while the north apse was stripped of the greater part of its architectural ornament, which went, in part, to build Church 3. The floor of both apses was some 0·80 m. above that of the rest of the building and, to house the sanctuary, a platform was now projected forward at the same level from the south apse.[2] Built into this platform, which occupies the first two bays of the nave, are two fragments of Severan inscriptions (*I.R.T.* 400, 429) and another of the fourth century (*I.R.T.* 651). The platform is divided into two by a step, on which stands a chancel-rail, consisting of six pedestal-bases, taken from the dismantled decorative order of the north apse, and between them, on either side of a central opening, four sections of carved pilaster (pl. xi, *a*). These come from the Severan four-way arch, which lay well outside the Byzantine city and was probably already partly buried under the encroaching sand-dunes. The central opening, flanked by two cipollino posts, leads down into the body of the nave and to the pulpit. The latter, set on the central axis immediately in front of the sanctuary platform, is a composite structure of sandstone faced with re-used marble (pl. xi, *b*). Two flights of six steps lead up to the platform, which consists of two of the angle-capitals from the Severan arch, set obliquely and supported at the angles by single colonnettes. The altar is not preserved; but its probable position is marked by a rectangular slab of marble carefully inset in the centre of the re-used marble paving of the sanctuary.[3] Around the circumference of the apse, steps were inserted between the

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[1] The building is conveniently described as if the long axis ran from the north to south. In fact it deviates by some 28 degrees west of north.

[2] Romanelli (p. 267) emphasizes this raising of the sanctuary above the main body of the church. The emphasis should, perhaps, rather be on the effort to secure a uniform level within the sanctuary.

[3] There was no reliquary recess beneath this slab.

LEPCIS MAGNA
SEVERAN BASILICA
CONVERTED INTO A CHURCH

METRES

DOOR BLOCKED

RAISED

PLATFORM

← INSCRIPTION

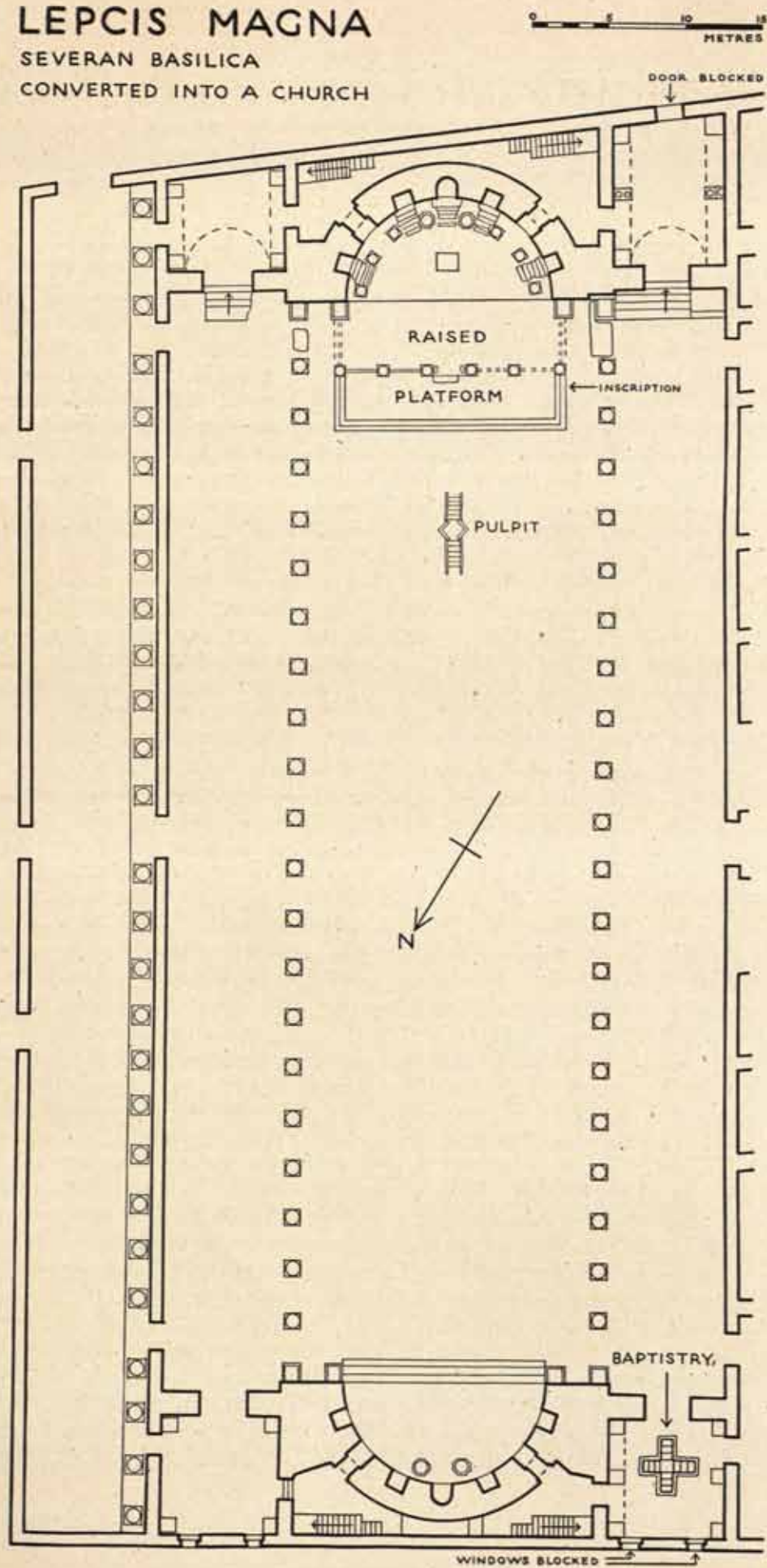PULPIT

N

BAPTISTRY

WINDOWS BLOCKED

FIG. 8. Lepcis Magna, Church 1.

columns of the engaged order to convert the five intercolumnar niches into seating for the officiating clergy. The doors in the two remaining intercolumniations remained open, giving access to the two lateral chapels.

Of the four angle-chapels, that to the north-east has been completely cleared, and any later modifications, if such there were, have been removed. In each of the remaining three chapels, however, the Byzantine floor stands from 0·80 to 1·30 m. above the original, Severan pavement, suggesting that there had been a very considerable accumulation of debris during the preceding period. This finds graphic confirmation in the north-west chapel, which was converted into a baptistery. Here, embedded in the make-up of the Christian floor, into which has been sunk a font of characteristic, sixth-century cruciform type, is one of the cipollino columns that formerly stood at the angles of the chamber, supporting the flat, timber roof. In place of the latter was inserted a barrel-vault, carried on three pairs of masonry piers, which are linked longitudinally by arches. The same scheme was adopted in the south-west chapel, except that, in place of the central pier on each side, there is a pair of re-used columns of red granite with re-used Corinthian capitals (pl. XI, c). The south-east chapel, being smaller, was vaulted simply from four piers, set in angles. No trace survives in either of the southern angle-chapels of any subsidiary fittings.

Church 2, in the Forum Vetus (pl. XI, d–e; figs. 9–12 and 15, 5)

Church, with associated baptistery, on the site of a late-first- or early-second-century temple adjoining the Forum Vetus. Excavated in 1925–6 by Bartoccini, and published by him in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, viii, 1931, pp. 23–52. Subsequent excavation has shown that his attribution of the temple to Magna Mater (*ibid.*, pp. 25–27) is erroneous. Its dedication is not known.

Of the temple, part of the podium alone remains in position, a plain rectangular structure, 15 × 22·20 m., with steps in the centre of one of the short sides, leading off the south-west Forum portico. It was built in the handsome, grey-limestone masonry characteristic of first- and early-second-century work at Lepcis, and had a bold base-moulding. None of the superstructure is standing; but many of the architectural elements were re-used in the church, and these correspond very closely to the distinctive work on the four-way arch of Trajan (dedicated in 109–10; P. Romanelli, *Afr. Ital.* vii, 1940, pp. 87–105), with which it must be roughly contemporary. To build the church, the north-west wall was moved about 2·80 m. outward, but otherwise the surviving masonry of the podium served as a basis for the walls of the main body of the church. This was a somewhat unusual structure, basilical, with a single projecting apse to the north-east, semicircular internally and rectangular externally (fig. 9). At the south-west end there was a rectangular narthex, and in the centre of the north-west side a projecting room, with a stair leading to an upper story. Five doors open into the main building, two at the north-east end, on either side of the apse, and one in the middle of each of the three remaining sides. Two further doors give access to the narthex from the south-east and from the south-west. The masonry throughout consists of blocks of grey and brown limestone and of sandstone, re-used indiscriminately, fairly regular on the exterior and left rough on the inner face. The nave consists of five bays, of which the central bay is larger than the rest. The arcades were carried on twin columns, as in Church 1 at Sabratha, set base-to-base at right angles to the line of the colonnade; and corresponding to these are masonry pilasters projecting from the inner faces of the two lateral walls. There are similar pilasters on the inner faces of the two short walls, corresponding to the two colonnades (traces only remain of those at the south-west end), and in the four angles of the building. The account of the excavation does not record any traces of roofing; but the coupling of the columns and the use of stout internal pilasters strongly suggests a ribbed masonry vault. In the absence of any trace of an architrave, it is almost certain that the nave was arcaded longitudinally, with a larger arch over the central span. The square central bay might, theoretically, have been domed; but a cross-vault is equally possible, and finds confirmation in the discovery, loose among the debris, of a cruciform block, decorated in relief with a Greek cross,

which appears to be the keystone of such a vault (pl. xi, *e*). A similar cross figures also on an otherwise plain voussoir block. Assuming such a vault over the central bay, the simple solution for the remaining bays of the nave is a barrel-vault with transverse ribs, with a similar vault over

LEPCIS MAGNA
CHURCH 2
IN THE FORUM VETUS·
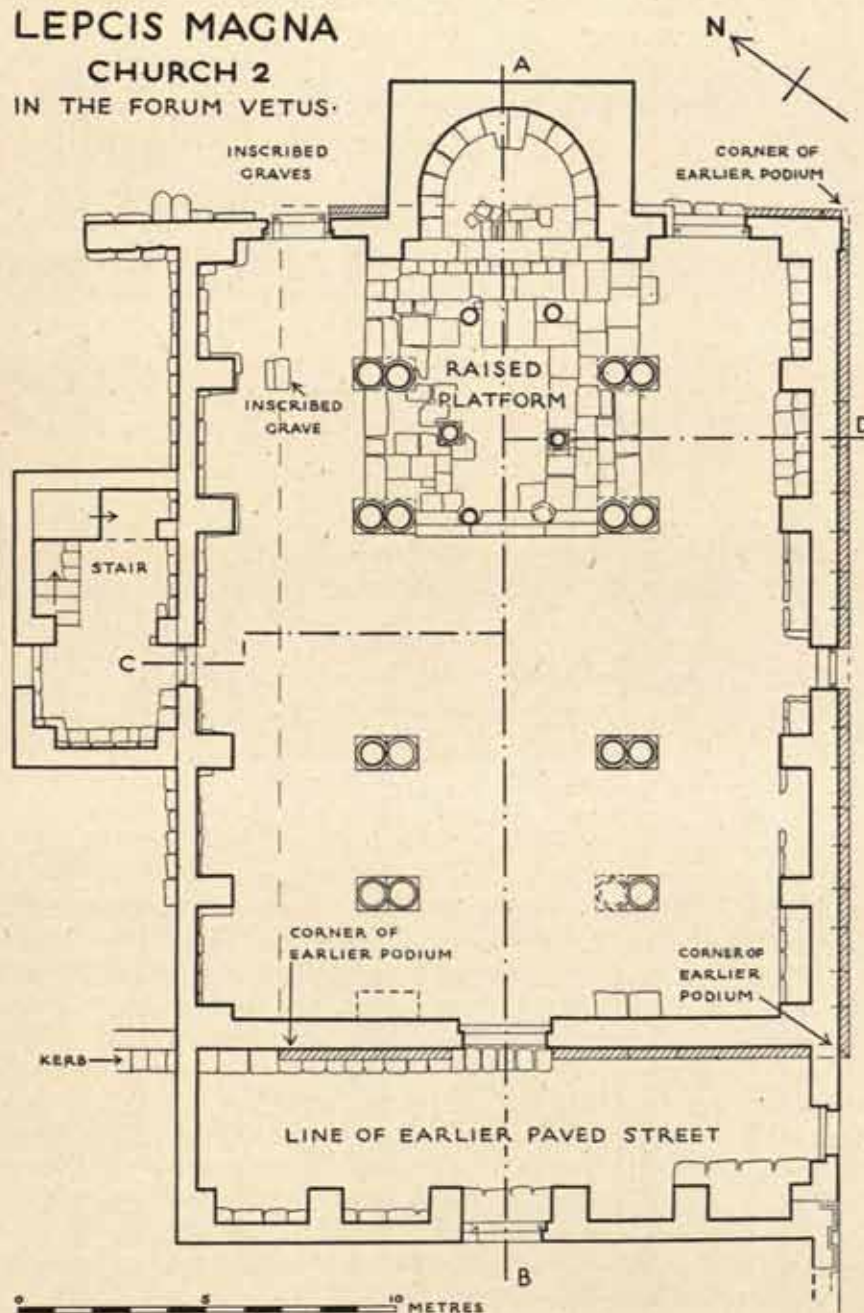
FIG. 9.

the corresponding bays of the side-aisles. How the central bays of the two side-aisles were vaulted is problematical. The height of the central arch of the colonnades precludes a barrel-vault continuous with that over the other bays. A half barrel in the same sense is theoretically possible; but a more rational and likely solution would be a barrel-vault at right angles to the axis

of the church, forming a symmetrical transept, roofed at right angles to the nave (figs. 10–11). The columns of the nave arcade are of grey, Corsican (?) granite, curiously weathered; the

LEPCIS MAGNA · CHURCH 2 : HYPOTHETICAL RESTORED SECTIONS

LONGITUDINAL SECTION A—B
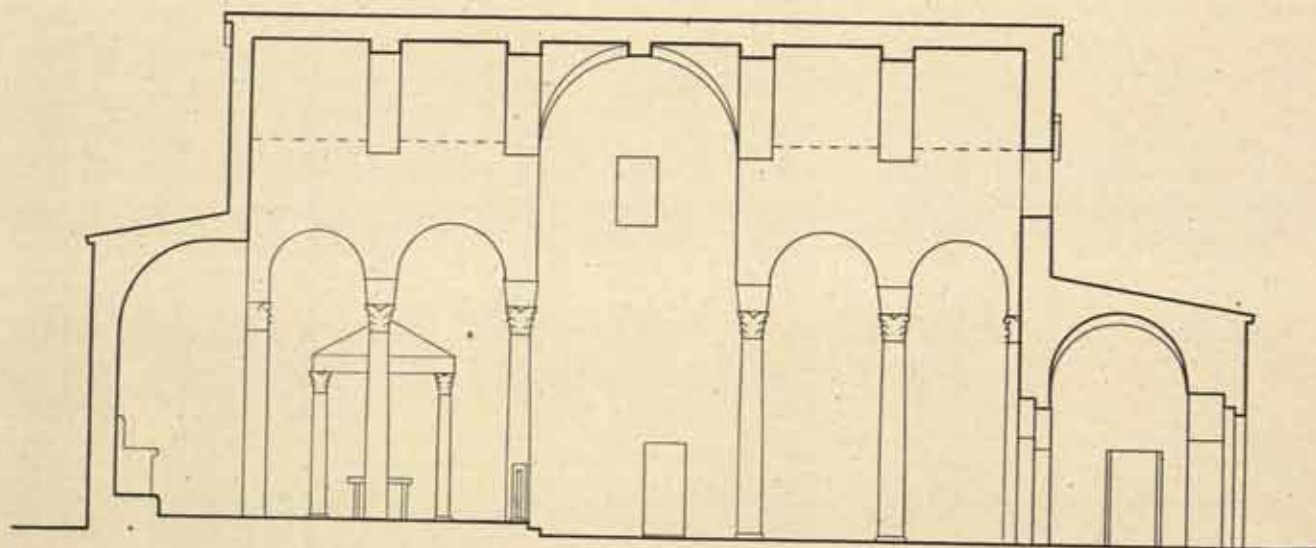
0 ——————————————— 10 METRES

TRANSVERSE SECTION C—D
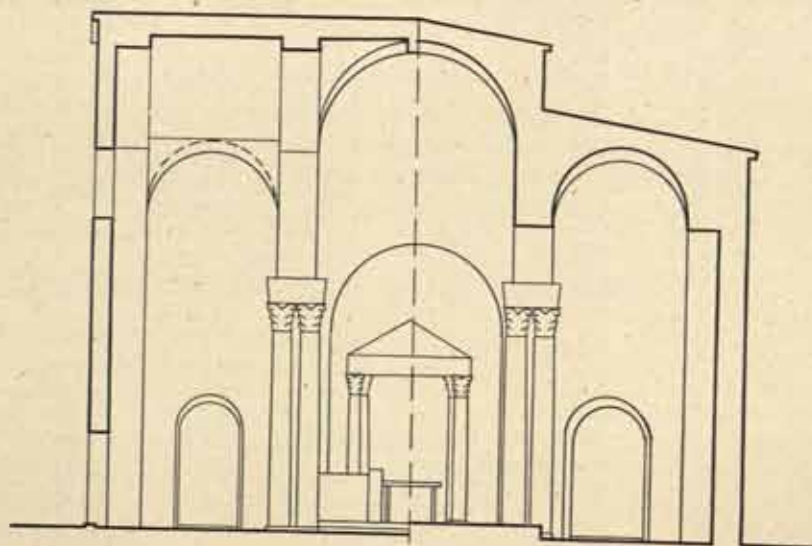
NOTE : DETAILS OF THE ALTAR, CANOPY, THRONE AND ALL FEATURES ABOVE CAPITAL–HEIGHT ARE HYPOTHETICAL

J·B·W·P/I·M/J·W·H

FIG. 10.

Corinthian capitals and the bases are of marble, much of it of an unusual, dark-grey quality that is found also in the capitals and bases that were used in the Constantinian restoration of the

Basilica Vetus. They are perhaps drawn from the same source, if not indeed from the Basilica itself.

The presbytery consists of a raised platform occupying the two easternmost bays of the central nave. The site of the altar is marked by the four bases of a canopy, incorporated into the paving of the platform; and stones project around the inner face of the apse to form a rough bench, with

LEPCIS MAGNA · CHURCH 2

ISOMETRIC RECONSTRUCTION
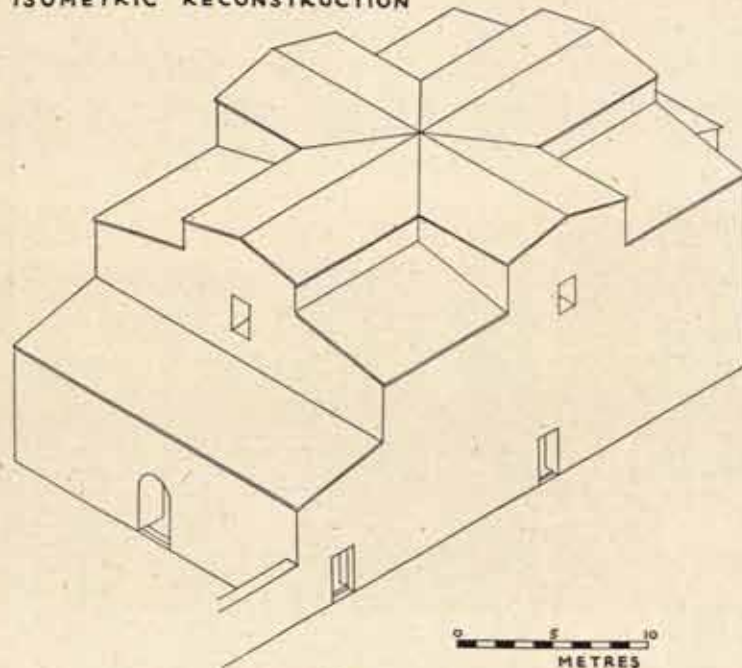
FIG. 11.

a central feature that may have served to carry a throne. Incorporated into the platform is a part of a marble funerary inscription (*I.R.T.* 698), and two blocks from monumental inscriptions in grey limestone are built into the outer face of the apse (*I.R.T.* 365 and 553). Two large marble bases of the fourth century stand loose in the body of the church and in the apse respectively (*I.R.T.* 467 and 563). In the north-west aisle an inscribed marble slab marks a Christian grave (*I.R.T.* 834); and seven more are clustered immediately outside the door at the north-east end of the same aisle (*I.R.T.* 833, 835, 837, 839, 840, 843, and 845). They form a consistent group, approximating both in style and content to the flat, inscribed graves of the cemetery adjoining Church 1 at Sabratha. The adjacent portico to the north-west contains also a certain number of stuccoed tombs of the type of the later burials beside Church 3 (see p. 31), one of which retains legible traces of a painted inscription (*I.R.T.* 841).

Of the subsidiary buildings, the narthex and the sacristy are both structurally secondary to the main building, but there is nothing to show that this represents a significant interval of time. Both are solidly built of the same re-used masonry as the church. The sacristy was evidently vaulted, with a staircase leading up to an upper storey. The narthex was built over the line of an earlier street. It too, to judge from the solid, internal pilasters, was probably vaulted. The baptistery is detached and lies some 30 m. to the north-east of the apse, in the middle of the paved area of the Forum (fig. 12). It consisted of an open enclosure, the walls of which were laid directly on the paving and incorporate a large Severan statue-base (*I.R.T.* 401). In the centre, recessed into the paving, is a simple, cruciform font. From the form of this font and from the

mortar of the enclosing wall, a distinctive shelly mixture, characteristic of early Byzantine work at Lepcis and very different from that used in the church, this baptistery can be dated certainly

LEPCIS MAGNA·BAPTISTRY IN THE FORUM VETUS

FIG. 12.

to the time of Justinian. Near by, in the body of the Forum, is a flat, inscribed tomb-slab (*I.R.T.* 844).

Among the fittings found during the excavation are a free-standing Latin cross of sandstone, 90 cm. high, perhaps a finial from one of the gables (Bartoccini, *op. cit.*, pl. II, 5; Romanelli,

PLATE XI

a. Church 1, the chancel-rail

b. Church 1, the ambon

c. Church 1, sixth-century vaulting
in the south-east chapel

e. Church 2, decorated keystone

d. Church 2, from the north

Lepcis Magna, Churches 1 and 2 (pp. 22–29)

Photos: J. B. Ward Perkins

Bas. Crist., fig. 15); and a slab of sandstone, 51 cm. high, with triangular perforations set in the form of a cross, which may have been the filling of a window (fig. 15, 5).

The church itself is not closely dated, but is evidently pre-Byzantine: the construction of the baptistery under Justinian presupposes the existence of an adjacent church; and the evidence of structure shows that the two buildings are certainly not contemporary. The church must, moreover, be earlier than the tombs within it; and while tombs of the form of *I.R.T.* 841 may well be late, the remainder are far more likely to precede than to follow the first few decades of Byzantine rule, during which it is very unlikely that burials would have been permitted within the enclosed confines of the city-centre. Within the pre-Byzantine Christian period, the later years of Vandal rule would seem to be excluded for the construction of a building that is, in many respects, the most elaborate architecturally of the Tripolitanian churches. The first half of the fifth century appears best to meet the known facts.

Church 3, off the Colonnaded Street (figs. 13 and 15, 7)

Church, situated in the angle between the rear south-west wall of the Severan Forum and the north-west flanking wall of the Severan Colonnaded Street. The excavation, begun by Caputo, was interrupted by the war, and the site has since been partly reburied by silt from the heavy floods of October 1945. The plan (fig. 12) was taken in 1943, prior to this flood.[1]

It consists of three connected groups of structures: a small, three-aisled basilica with a nave of seven bays and a single apse at the south-east end, flanked by lateral chapels; a range of rooms, including a baptistery, along the north-east side; and a courtyard, to the south-west, which served as a cemetery. The apse, which was level with, or only very slightly raised above, the body of the nave, is built in poor rubble masonry with a facing of small blocks, and rests against the wall of the colonnaded street. Of the two rectangular chapels that flanked it, the one has been partly removed, except for the footings, together with the southern flank of the apse: the other is intact and featureless, except for the two doors that open into it, from the north-east aisle and from the baptistery respectively. The body of the church is built of re-used sandstone blocks, perhaps incorporating in part earlier structures, and the nave colonnades, found fallen in position and only partly excavated, are also of re-used material, drawn largely from the adjoining Severan buildings. The Ionic capitals come from the engaged orders of the north apse of the Severan Basilica; and above them, used apparently to carry the timbers of the roof, were marble brackets taken from the Severan Nymphaeum. In the absence of any trace of an architrave, it may be presumed that the colonnades were arched.

Of the fittings of the church, the sandstone steps and platform of the pulpit, a modest version of that in Church 1, have been partially uncovered against the south-west colonnade; and there are traces of what may have been a transverse screen dividing the nave into two, roughly equal, parts. The interior was formerly plastered, and a fragment on the north-east wall retains traces of a Latin cross, painted in red on a white ground, with alpha and omega pendant from the right and left arms respectively. On the fourth column from the north-west of the south-west arcade is inscribed the acclamation κ(ύρι)ε βο(ήθει) and, beneath it, an undeciphered monogram (*I.R.T.* 829, with facsimile).

A door at the east angle of the north-east aisle opens into a square baptistery, in the centre of which is a cruciform font of characteristic sixth-century type, set in a low, square platform, concrete-surfaced, with steps leading down from all four sides into the central basin, which is square at the top and circular at the bottom. A second door, beside the first, leads up three steps into a pair of intercommunicating rooms, only partially excavated, lying along the north-east flank of the nave of the church. Two more doors open, up steps, out of the north-west end of the central nave and of the north-east aisle respectively; and a fifth, in the middle of the south wall, opens through a porch, of which the footings only are preserved, into an enclosed courtyard,

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[1] For the results of further excavations, undertaken in 1951, see p. 81.

LEPCIS MAGNA
CHURCH 3

BAPTISTRY

PULPIT

(NOT EXCAVATED)

N·W·WALL
OF SEVERAN
COLONNADED
STREET

CEMETERY

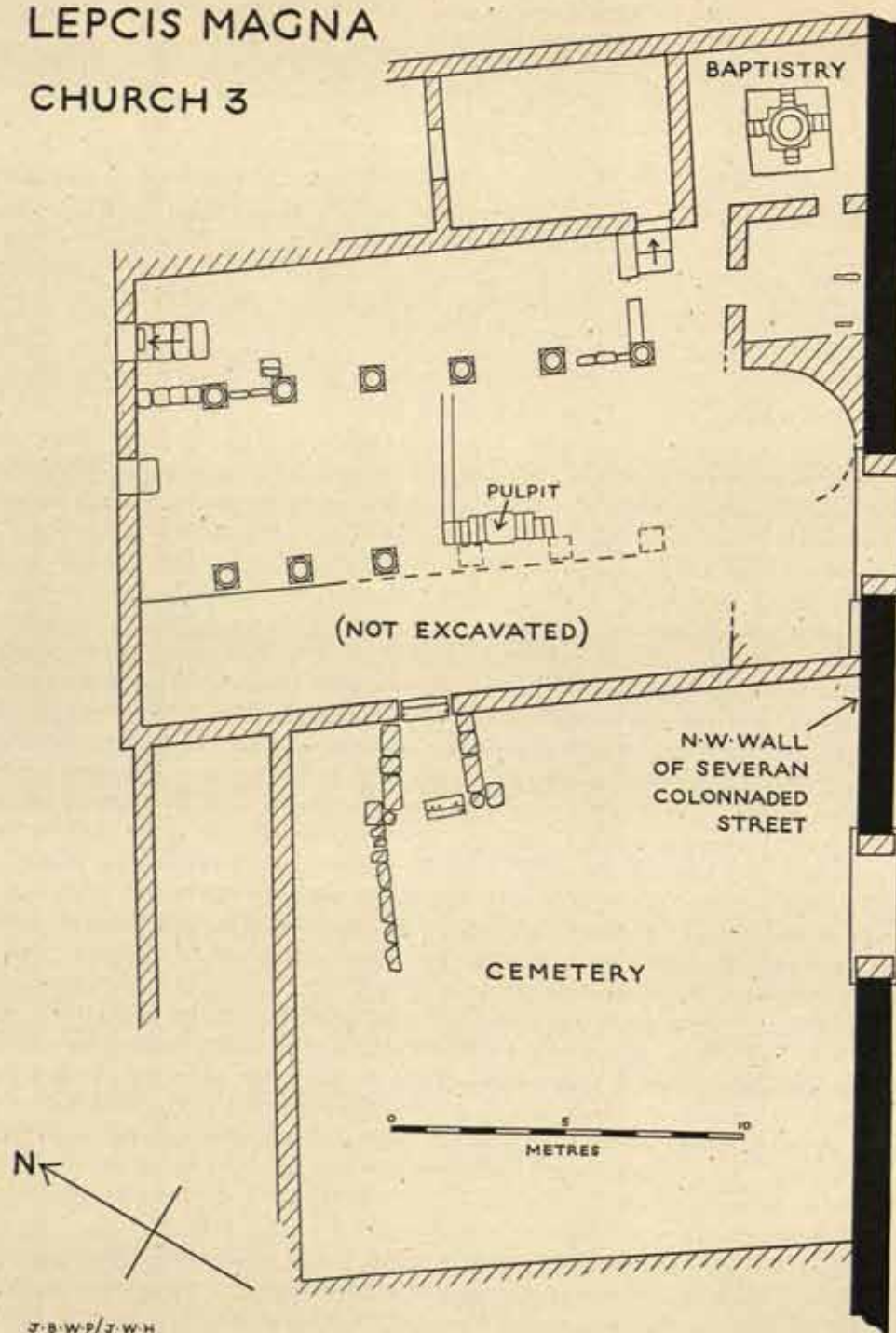0   5   10
METRES

N

J·B·W·P/J·W·H

FIG. 13.
(Summary plan, prior to latest excavations)

which served as a cemetery. In the present state of excavation nothing can be said of the buildings that surrounded this courtyard, except that they were evidently of a very flimsy character. Among the graves, two chronological groups can be distinguished. The earlier are covered by flat slabs, some of them with small, vertical headstones: all save one (*I.R.T.* 842) are uninscribed, but several bear scored crosses and traces of red paint, and one of them a monogram-cross with alpha and omega. The later graves are marked by upstanding, coffin-shaped structures, consisting of two or more sandstone blocks surfaced with stucco, on which are lightly incised and painted inscriptions, crosses, and other symbols. The texts of two of these (*I.R.T.* 838, 846) are still in part legible. In this later level, probably, were found also a stuccoed and painted block, now in the Museum (fig. 15, 7), which illustrates the last, incoherent stage of the apocalyptic motif; and two chest-shaped tombs, roughly plastered and incised, the one with a very simple Greek cross, the other with an elongated monogram-cross, with a pronounced R-terminal and pendant alpha and omega (Superintendency of Antiquities, Tripoli, negs. D.M.L. 1241, 1242 Leica).

The church, with its single apse at the east end, raised little, if at all, above the level of the nave, conforms closely to the type of the two known Byzantine foundations in Tripolitania, and may be dated with confidence to the mid-sixth century. It is presumably one of the four lesser churches built at Lepcis by Justinian (Procopius, *De Aedif.* vi, 4, 4). This attribution is confirmed by the form of the baptistery-font and by the lavish use of architectural details drawn from the surrounding Severan monuments, including capitals from the north apse of the Basilica, dismantled under Justinian.

Christian building (baptistery?) in front of the former temple of Jupiter Dolichenus (fig. 14)

Small rectangular building, excavated by Guidi, at the foot of the steps in front of the temple of Jupiter Dolichenus (?), beside the Severan harbour; almost entirely reburied by the floods of October 1945. The plan here reproduced (fig. 14) was made in 1943, when the building was already partially obscured by silt.

The temple stands on a lofty podium, at the head of the monumental flight of steps that borders the artificial basin of the Severan harbour on the landward side, and was in antiquity one of the most conspicuous monuments of the city. Its situation, however, made it early liable to plunder for its materials; and it was further stripped for building stone during the early days of the Italian occupation. Only the plan of the steps and podium can now be traced. The attribution to Jupiter Dolichenus is based on a Severan dedication found beside the temple.[1]

The Christian building stood, partly on the low, level quay at the foot of the steps leading up to the platform on which the temple stood, and partly on the steps themselves. Only the foundations remain, and these perhaps exaggerate the impression of rough, careless workmanship. It was, however, certainly a very simple structure, irregularly planned and built of an assortment of re-used material. The door, of which the sill is still in place, stood at the head of the steps, directly facing the temple, and opposite it was a projecting, rectangular exedra. Between the two, on the level ground at the foot of the stairs, stood a canopy, of which one re-used marble base and the footings of the remaining three bases survive; and beneath the canopy, a circular object, of which three blocks from the footings are still in place.

The building is probably a baptistery; and its position, axial to the steps of the temple, strongly suggests that the latter served to house the associated church. The surviving remains of the temple give no indication of any major structural changes; but its conversion to Christian use may well have meant a relatively modest adaptation of the existing building. Against the identification as a baptistery are the very small dimensions of the presumed baptismal basin.

An alternative possibility is that the building is itself a chapel, and that the central feature is all that remains of a reliquary recess beneath the altar. This alternative, however, leaves unexplained the eccentric situation of the building; and there is no other instance in Tripolitania of an apse that is rectangular internally.

[1] *I.R.T.* 292. The inscription is not necessarily *in situ*.

Church 5, on the east mole of the Severan harbour (fig. 15, 1–4)

A number of carved limestone architectural elements were found by Bartoccini in 1923, during the clearance of the east mole of the Severan harbour, in and near the small Severan temple

LEPCIS MAGNA · BAPTISTRY IN FRONT OF THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER DOLICHENUS

PLATFORM IN FRONT OF TEMPLE
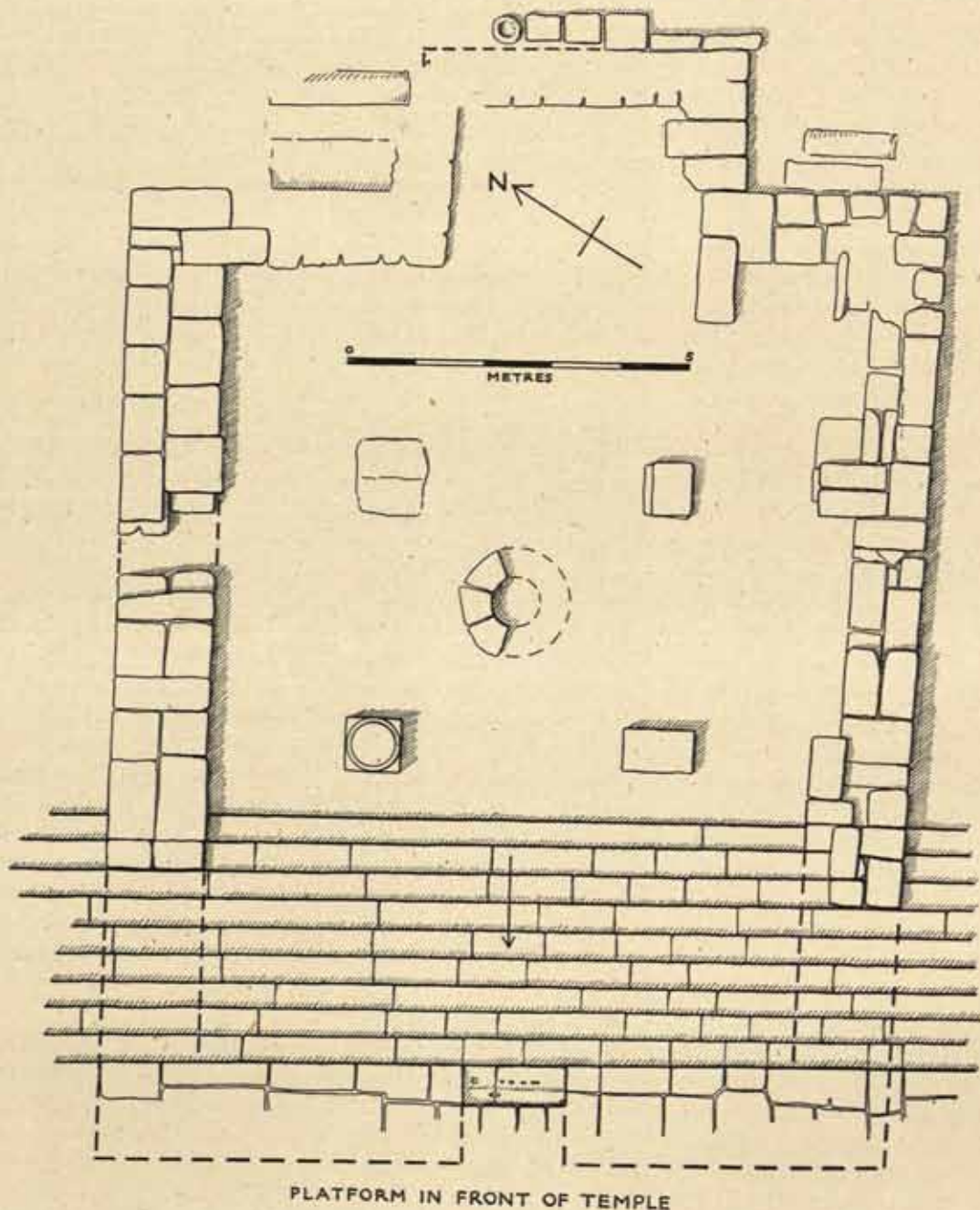
FIG. 14.

(Bartoccini, *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, viii, 1931, p. 52). They had been re-used in very late antiquity; and Bartoccini suggests that the temple itself had earlier been converted into a

church. The accompanying illustrations are those made for the excavator by Cav. Luigi Turba at the time of discovery (fig. 15, 1–4). They comprise:

Fig. 15, 1 (shown upside-down). Colonnette (ht. 0·83 m.) from a window, inscribed with compass-traced Greek crosses and a formal spray.

Fig. 15, 2–3. A pair of carved brackets (ht. 0·13 and 0·14 m. respectively).
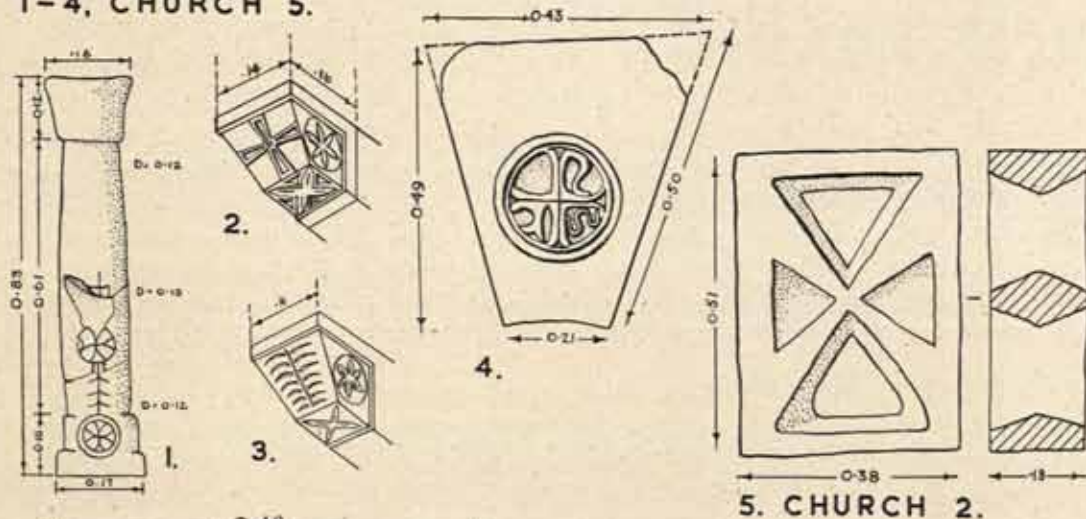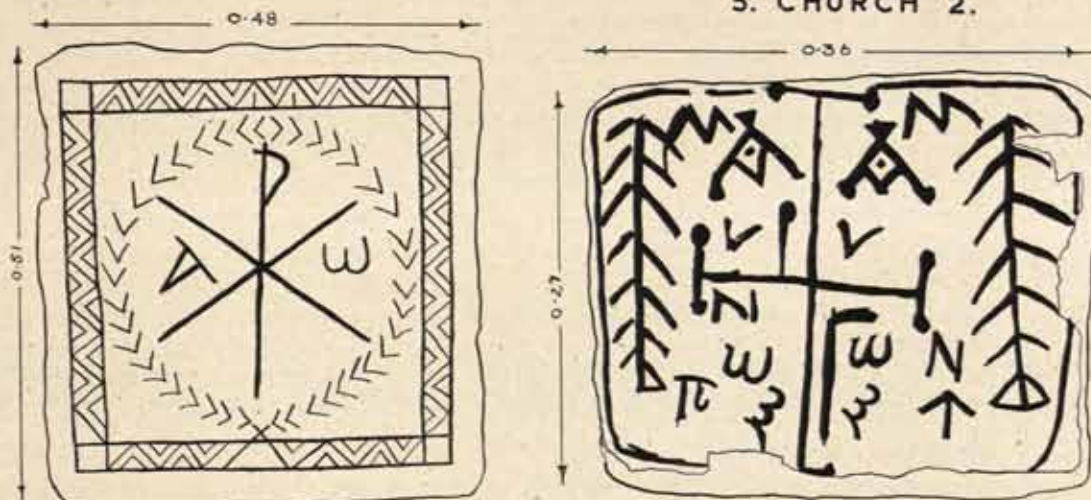
FIG. 15. Lepcis Magna, miscellaneous Christian fragments.

Fig. 15, 4. Keystone (ht. 0·49 m.) with a carved monogram-cross within a circular frame. Local work, perhaps of the later sixth century. The keystone and the brackets are now in Lepcis Museum.

With these architectural elements were found also fragments of a marble altar of the form illustrated in Cabrol-Leclercq, i, figs. 1137–9. See further, p. 66.

Christian building in Regio III, insula 8

Flanking the entrance into one of the houses, as yet unexcavated, that face on to the street dividing this insula from the porticoes in rear of the Chalcidicum, are a pair of cipollino columns, mounted on pedestal bases of the type introduced into Lepcis by the Severan architects. These

columns are inscribed with shallow crosses and birds, which presumably indicate that the building of which they mark the entrance was in some way connected with Christian worship.

Other Churches built by Justinian

In addition to the ἱερὸν ἀξιοθέατον (Church 1) dedicated to the Theotokos, Justinian built four others at Lepcis Magna: ἐκκλησίας δὲ τέτταρας ἐδείματο ἄλλας (Procopius, *De Aedif*. vi, 4, 4). The term ἐδείματο need not, in the context, be taken literally in all cases; and two of the four may confidently be identified as Church 3, a new building, and Church 2, of which the baptistery was certainly added at this time, while the church itself may very well have been repaired and restored. Two of the four have yet to be identified.[1]

(b) MISCELLANEOUS CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES

Incised block in Lepcis Museum (fig. 15, 6)

Block of hard, brown sandstone (0·51 × 0·48 × 0·23 m.) now in Lepcis Museum; findspot unrecorded. Inscribed with a chi-rho monogram, with alpha and omega, set within a formal wreath, the whole within a rectangular frame (fig. 15, 6). From the dimensions, evidently part of a demolished building.

Graffito in the Hadrianic Baths (fig. 16)

Inscribed, at a height of about 3·50 m. above pavement level, on one of the great cipollino columns of the frigidarium of the Hadrianic Baths (*I.R.T.* 832). When it was cut, some 2 m. of
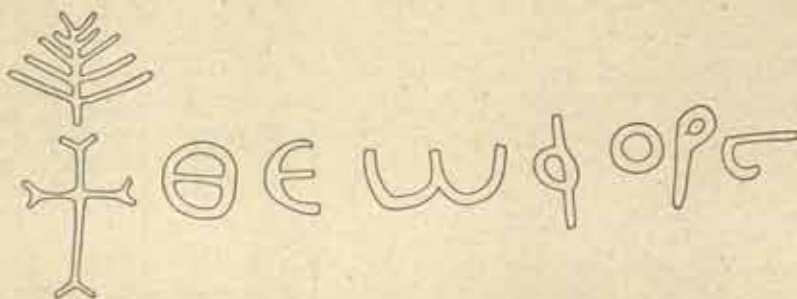
FIG. 16.

silt must already have accumulated within the building. P. Romanelli, *Leptis Magna*, Rome, 1925, p. 120, n. 1; R. Bartoccini, *Le Terme di Lepcis (Leptis Magna)*, Bergamo, 1929, p. 82.

Inscribed blocks from the Theatre area

Two blocks of sandstone, stuccoed and roughly inscribed, are recorded from the debris that accumulated in late antiquity in and around the Theatre (*I.R.T.* 830, 831). Both are in Greek, and date from the sixth century or later.

Inscribed block in Lepcis Museum

Block of sandstone, with an inscription painted in red on a stucco surface, now in Lepcis Museum; findspot unrecorded (*I.R.T.* 847). The text includes a monogram-cross.

SIRTE

Catacomb

Found in 1925, near the centre of the modern town, and published by Bartoccini, *Afr. Ital.* ii, 1928–9, pp. 187–200 (= *I.R.T.* 855). It consists of a single gallery, 31 m. long, the roof of which is supported by three medial piers and the walls and floor completely lined with graves.

[1] One of these is perhaps Church 6, identified and surveyed in 1951; see Addenda, p. 82.

The inscriptions from the loculi are very simple and record the name and age of the deceased within a crudely incised *tabella ansata*. Of forty-two more or less legible texts, twenty are accompanied by the plain chi-rho monogram, one only by the chi-rho monogram with alpha and omega.

THE WESTERN DJEBEL

(a) CHURCHES AND OTHER CHRISTIAN BUILDINGS

Church at el-Asabaa (pl. XII, *a–c*, *e*; XV, *d*; fig. 17)

Situated on a windy ridge overlooking the Djebel escarpment, on the edge of the Asabaa plain, about 3 km. north-west of the Mudiriya of el-Asabaa (map ref. Q 143782). Identified by de Mathuisieulx early in the century, when it was covered in part by the buildings of an Arab *zavia* (H. M. de Mathuisieulx, *Nouvelles Archives*, xii, 1904, p. 16); cleared and excavated by Bartoccini, 1926–7 (R. Bartoccini, *Afr. Ital.* ii, 1928–9, pp. 77–92; see also Romanelli, *Bas. Crist.*, pp. 270–3, figs. 19–22; *Fonti e Monumenti*, p. 19). The site has since been ransacked by the local inhabitants, and some of the sculptured ornament illustrated by Bartoccini has now disappeared. Resurveyed by Ward Perkins in 1948.

The plan is that of a three-aisled basilica, 22 × 18 m. internally, with a single raised apse at the west end. Behind the apse are the remains of a baptistery; and there are a number of subsidiary chambers grouped round the east end and the north-east angle. The nave is of twelve bays. Columns, bases (most of which are still in position), and capital are all of limestone, and carried, presumably, an arcade. The surviving capitals are a mixed lot, taken in part from earlier buildings, and include Ionic of quite good quality, Corinthian, and one of local form and workmanship (pl. XV, *d*). The central nave must have been timber-roofed; but at every second column pairs of orthostats project to reduce the span of the lateral aisles from 5 to about 3½ m., and suggest that these may have been barrel-vaulted, with projecting ribs. Along the inner face of each of the outer walls, between the orthostats, runs a low bench.

The apse is raised, and steps, now vanished, led down into the presbytery. The latter occupied the six western bays of the nave and was enclosed by a screen, the sockets for which can be seen cut in the column bases. Near the centre, beneath a canopy with spirally fluted columns, stood the altar, a marble table resting on four colonnettes (Bartoccini, *op. cit.*, figs. 6 and 7). At the south-east angle of the nave there is a low platform, the purpose of which is uncertain. Three doors opened into the nave at the east end, and a fourth into the south aisle near the east end. A fifth, at the west end of the north aisle, gave access to the baptistery. A photograph taken before the excavations of 1926–7 shows a pavement of limestone slabs in the body of the nave, but this appears to have belonged to the *zavia* rather than to the church (*ibid.*, fig. 1, cf. p. 87). Bartoccini refers instead (*ibid.*, p. 79) to the remains of a levelling of crushed lime, which he suggests may have been the basis of a mosaic floor, similar to that of which he found a fragment, with a polychrome interlace pattern, just outside the south-east door.

The west end has evidently undergone modification, but without further clearance, or reexcavation, the exact nature of the alterations cannot be certain. The plan rather suggests that the church had originally a simple, projecting apse, and that all the other structures are secondary. On the other hand, the lateral walls of the baptistery are straight-jointed against the outer west wall of the church (pl. XII, *e*) in a way that suggests that the latter was already in position when the baptistery was built. In either case the baptistery itself would seem to be secondary to the main building; and the steps down through the flank of the apse (pl. XII, *b*) must belong to the same phase. At the east end a large, vaulted cistern antedates the overlying structures.

In addition to the capitals, the architectural ornament included a series of carved brackets, similar to those found at Breviglieri. These have been fully published by Bartoccini (*ibid.*, figs. 16–21, from line-drawings by Diego Vincifori; see also Romanelli, *Bas. Crist.*, figs. 21, 22). The

CHURCH AT ASABAA

N

CISTERN

PLATFORM

ALTAR

RAISED
APSE

LATER
HUT

BAPTISTRY

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 METRES
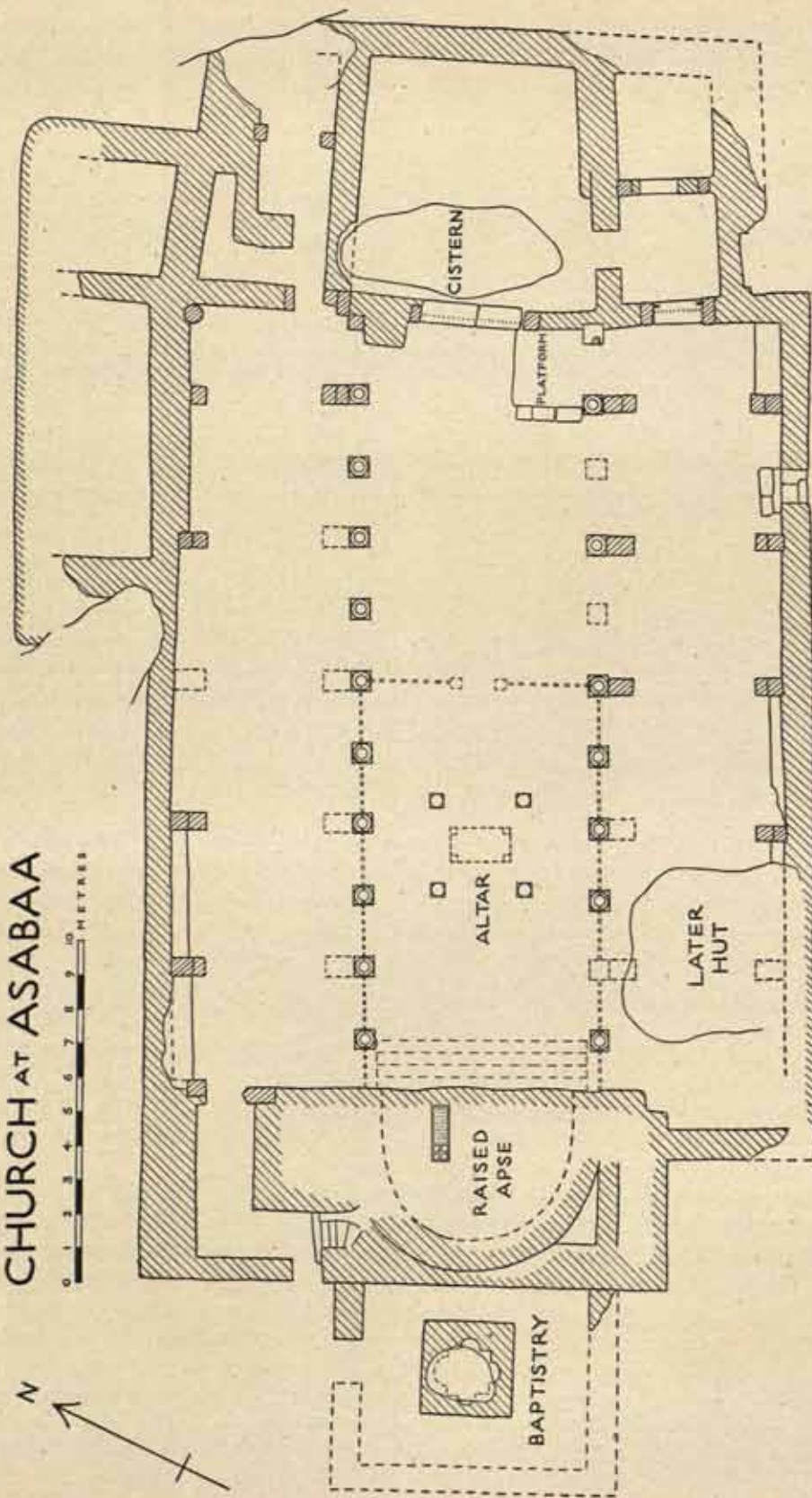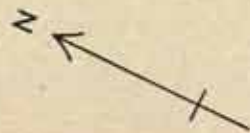
ORTHOSTATS

RUBBLE SURFACED WITH SMALL BLOCKS

FIG. 17.

PLATE XII

a. Church at el-Asabaa (pp. 35–37) from the south-east

b. Church at el-Asabaa, north flank of apse

c. El-Asabaa, tombstone

d. Church near Tebedut (p. 43): lost fragment of carved ornament

e. El-Asabaa, junction of baptistery (*right*) and outer face of apse

Photos: a, b, and e, J. B. Ward Perkins; c and d, Department of Antiquities, Tripolitania

PLATE XIII

a. El-Msufiin, air view of the site (pp. 37–43); arrows mark Henscir Taglissi

b. Sabratha, catacomb: funerary mosaic (p. 19)

c. Wadi Gsea, carved limestone block
(p. 48)

d. Tarmisa, incised limestone block (p. 43)

Photos: *a, R. G. Goodchild; b and d, Department of Antiquities, Tripolitania; c, W. D. Oates*

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1953

motifs resemble those at Breviglieri, but the treatment is less elaborate; they include interlaced knots, chip-carved marigolds, Greek crosses of compass-traced form, ivy-leaf, and over-all geometric patterns. Other ornament included a large block or panel, with a monogram-cross in low relief within a circle (Bartoccini, *art. cit.*, fig. 2); and an elaborately carved, limestone tombstone (pl. XII, *c*). This was found in position, covering one of several burials in the apse, and the ornament, while it recalls the sepulchral mosaics of French North Africa, is unique to Tripolitania. The text of the inscription can be restored as follows: *Deo propitio hic pausat bon(a)e memori(a)e Turrenti presbiteri qui bixit* [sic] *in pace annos qua(d)raginta se[p]t[em] plus [mi]n[us] re[quieui]t i[n pace . . . (I.R.T.* 861)

Within the church, beneath the late paving on the site of the altar canopy, was found a hoard of some 300 bronze coins, ranging (with the exception of a solitary, worn, middle bronze of Hadrian, from the late third to the early sixth centuries, and including numerous Vandal issues and a few of those of the pre-Justinian Byzantine emperors (Bartoccini, *op. cit.*, p. 92). It can hardly be doubted that any representative Tripolitanian hoard deposited more than a very few years after the Byzantine reconquest would have included coins of Justinian himself; and this hoard, therefore, affords valuable presumptive evidence that the church was already in existence at that date.

Surrounding the church on two sides is a ditch, and opening off it are a number of rock-cut chambers. There is a well-established troglodyte tradition in this part of the Djebel, and these no doubt are some of the dwellings of the community that the church served. Half a mile distant to the east is a large and prominent *gasr*.

Church near Bir el-Cur

Known locally as Giuma Rumi Cur, in the neighbourhood of Bir el-Cur, 18 km. due east of Garian (map ref. Q 4889). Recorded briefly in a letter of 2nd March 1934 in the archives of the Superintendency of Antiquities, Tripoli; Caputo, *Fonti e Mon.*, p. 19. Goodchild, in 1949, was unable to locate it in the immediate vicinity of Bir el-Cur.

It is described as a three-aisled basilica, of total length about 30 m., with a span of 4·50 m. to the central nave and 3·50 m. to the side-aisles. The nave arcades consist of nine arches, round-headed, with simple capitals. The orientation of the single apse is not recorded.

Church in the Wadi Crema (pl. xxv, *b*; fig. 18)

Situated near the junction of the Wadi Crema and the Wadi Zaret, about 6 km. west-north-west of the church at el-Asabaa (map ref. Q 0882, approx.). Recorded in a manuscript note, with two photographs and summary sketch-plan, in the Archives of the Superintendency of Antiquities, Tripoli; and in a poor photographic reproduction by H. M. de Mathuisieulx, *A travers la Tripolitaine*, Paris, 1912, p. 189. Revisited and surveyed in 1951 by Mrs. D. W. Brogan and Mr. R. A. Cordingley, who found that the south nave arcade had recently fallen, leaving only one arch of the north arcade still standing.

The plan is that of a three-aisled basilica, with a nave of three bays and a single apse, which does not seem to have been raised, at the east end. The nave is almost square, and the outer walls are continued beyond the apse to enclose a rectangle, the over-all dimensions of the building being about 16·3 × 10 m. The eastern part is very ruined and several important points remain uncertain, notably the position of the door, or doors, and the relation of the nave arcades to the east wall of the nave. Piers and arches were faced with dressed limestone slabs about a roughly concreted core, as in the church at Gasr es-Suq, and the remaining walls with smaller limestone blocks, roughly squared and coursed. The church, with its eastward orientation and apse on the same level as the nave, may belong to the sixth century.

Building at el-Msufiin, Henscir Taglissi (pls. XIII, *a*; XIV; figs. 19, 20)

One of a group of ruins on the right bank of the Wadi Nzasat, immediately west of, and below, the hill-top village of el-Msufiin, some 12 km. south of Garian. Visited in 1773 by Rothmann,

CHURCH IN THE WADI CREMA

SCALE

0 1 2 3 4 5 M.

N

EXISTING ARCH

LINE OF
WALL ?

GREY CEMENT MORTAR

CREAM LIMESTONE

LEVEL OF RUBBLE

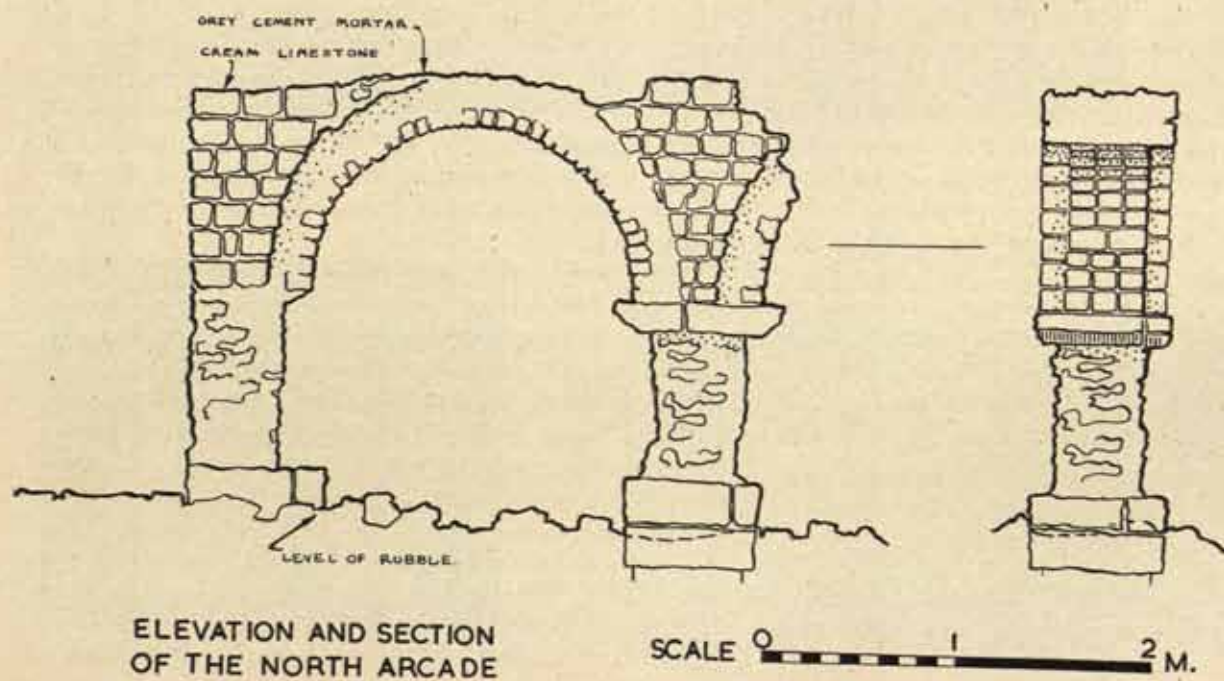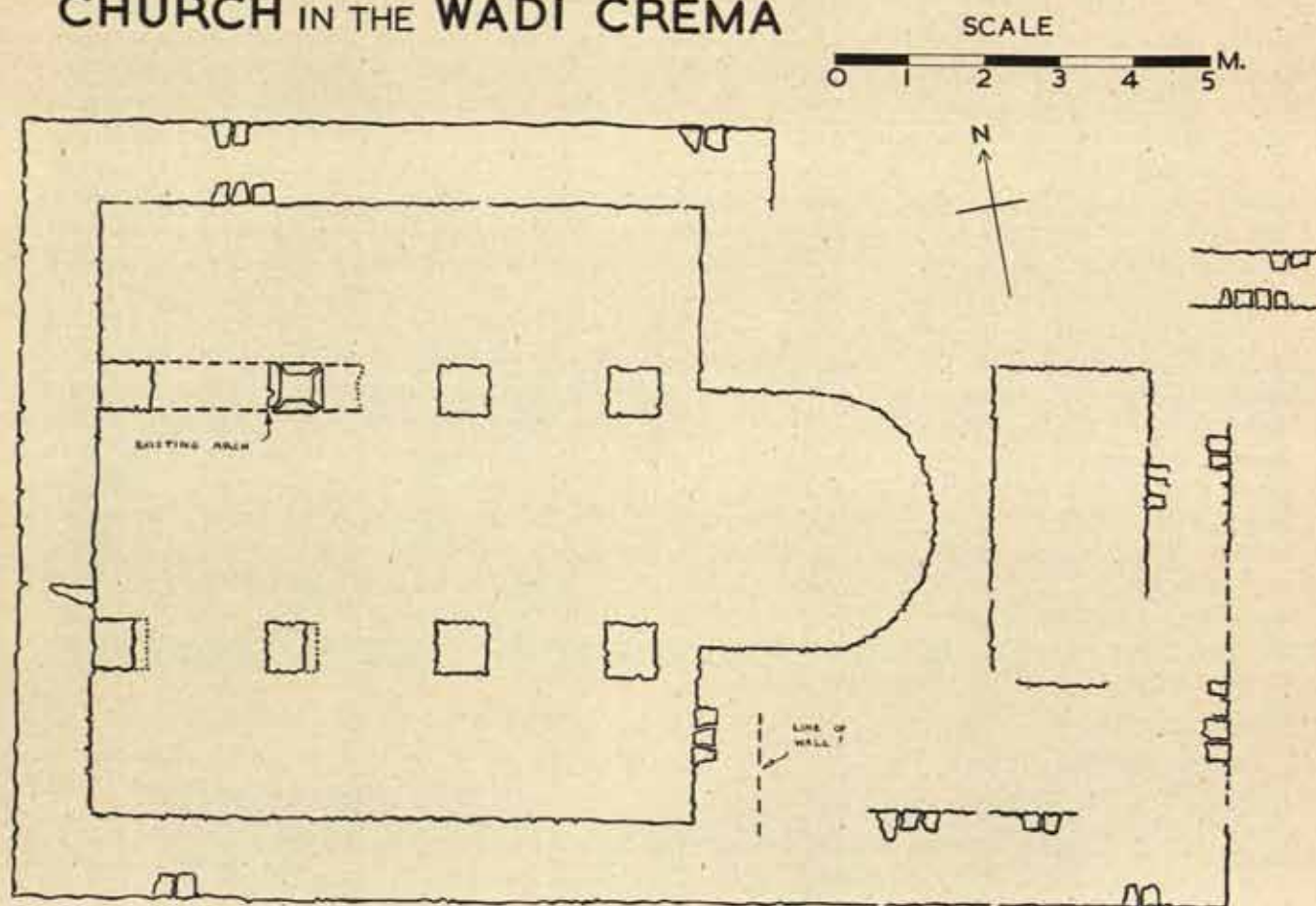## ELEVATION AND SECTION
OF THE NORTH ARCADE

SCALE 0 1 2 M.

FIG. 18.

who copied several of the inscriptions (*C.I.L.* viii, 10969, citing A. L. Schloezer, *Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts*, i (1780), p. 337; *I.R.T.* 863a, i to vii); subsequently forgotten and rediscovered only in 1949 by Goodchild, acting on information from A/Supt. T. P. Hookey of the Tripolitanian Police. Some twenty years earlier Bartoccini had seen and photographed, in the mosque of a near-by village (said locally to be that of Usàden, 2 km. north of el-Msufiin), an inscribed block, which can now be seen to have come from this site (*I.R.T.* 863, part of *b* ii; Superintendency of Antiquities, Tripoli, neg. B 1993). In addition to the main fortified building, described below, there are traces of a number of adjacent structures, including a small watch-tower with surrounding ditch, an olive press, and the base of a small mausoleum, now completely destroyed but formerly adorned with simple reliefs, depicting, amongst other objects, a camel, a lion, and an olive-tree. Owing to terracing and clearance of stones, no distinct ground-plans can be made out on the surface; but there can be no doubt that in origin Henscir Taglissi was a fortified farm of normal Tripolitanian type, with the usual associated agricultural installations and funerary monuments. In outward appearance and general context, the site differs little from hundreds of similar sites scattered throughout the Djebel regions of Tarhuna and Garian.

The main building at Henscir Taglissi stands out above the surrounding remains in the form of a high mound, 35 × 30 m., with sloping sides and a surrounding ditch. Here as elsewhere in the Djebel region, the mound represents the collapsed debris of one or more upper stories, such as can still be seen standing in many of the farms of the drier, pre-desert area of the Sofeggin basin. In addition to the inscriptions recorded by Rothmann, some ten further fragments, all of them inscribed in monumental characters, and a number of decorated architectural elements were found lying on the surface of the mound; and a partial excavation, undertaken by Goodchild and M. de Lisle during the summer of 1949,[1] not only revealed further elements of the same sort, but established that the whole group belonged to a lavish internal reconstruction, carried out in the fourth century, within a pre-existing, fortified farmhouse of conventional type. The excavation was partial only, and was designed to recover the general plan of the building, without intruding into occupation layers; and whereas the walls that were built or refaced during the Christian reconstruction proved to be easily identifiable, it was not in all cases possible to assign a strict chronological sequence to the rest, some of which certainly precede, and others succeed, this reconstruction. Buildings of this sort present so many traces of later repairs and additions, often confined to the upper parts of the walls, that complete excavation alone can determine their exact structural chronology.

Fig. 19 shows the disposition of the walls and of the doorways (numbered I to XI) revealed by the excavation. The building seems to have preserved its original outlines, and it is doubtful whether any indications of the reconstruction were visible from the exterior. The entrance, as yet unlocated, lay in the east wall, and gave access to the interior of the building by way of a passage and a second, inner door (I), a sound, defensive precaution common among the fortified buildings of Tripolitania. Just inside the inner door, to the left, a flight of stairs led up to the upper story, while on the right two further doors (III and IV) opened into a series of rooms (*A–C*) notable for their elaborately ornamented doors and other architectural features. Room *B*, in particular, is distinguished by the decorated jambs and pilasters of three of the doors (III, IX, XI; pl. XIV, *e–g*) that open into it, and it was certainly the central feature of the reconstructed building.

It remains uncertain whether door III and IV opened off a central courtyard or off a narrow corridor that led from the main entrance. The southern part of the mound has been badly mutilated, and a trench cut southwards from door IV did not resolve this problem, although it brought to light the mouth of a cistern. To the west, facing door I, a small door (V) was found,

[1] We are indebted to Mr. F. Law, then District Officer at Garian, for his constant help in the organization of the excavation. The inscriptions and major architectural fragments from the site have since been moved, for protection, to the lapidary collection at Garian.

CHRISTIAN BUILDING AT MSUFIIN
(HENSCIR TAGLISSI)

N

FOOT OF MOUND

DITCH

CREST OF MOUND

X   VIII

VII

NOT
EXCAVATED   C   B   A NOT
                                        EXCAVATED

XI   IX

V

IV   III   II   D   ENTRANCE

I

VI

NOT
EXCAVATED   CISTERN   NOT EXCAVATED

ORIGINAL
CORNER

DITCH

▨ ROUGH MASONRY

▨ CHRISTIAN RECONSTRUCTION

▨ OUTER REVETMENTS

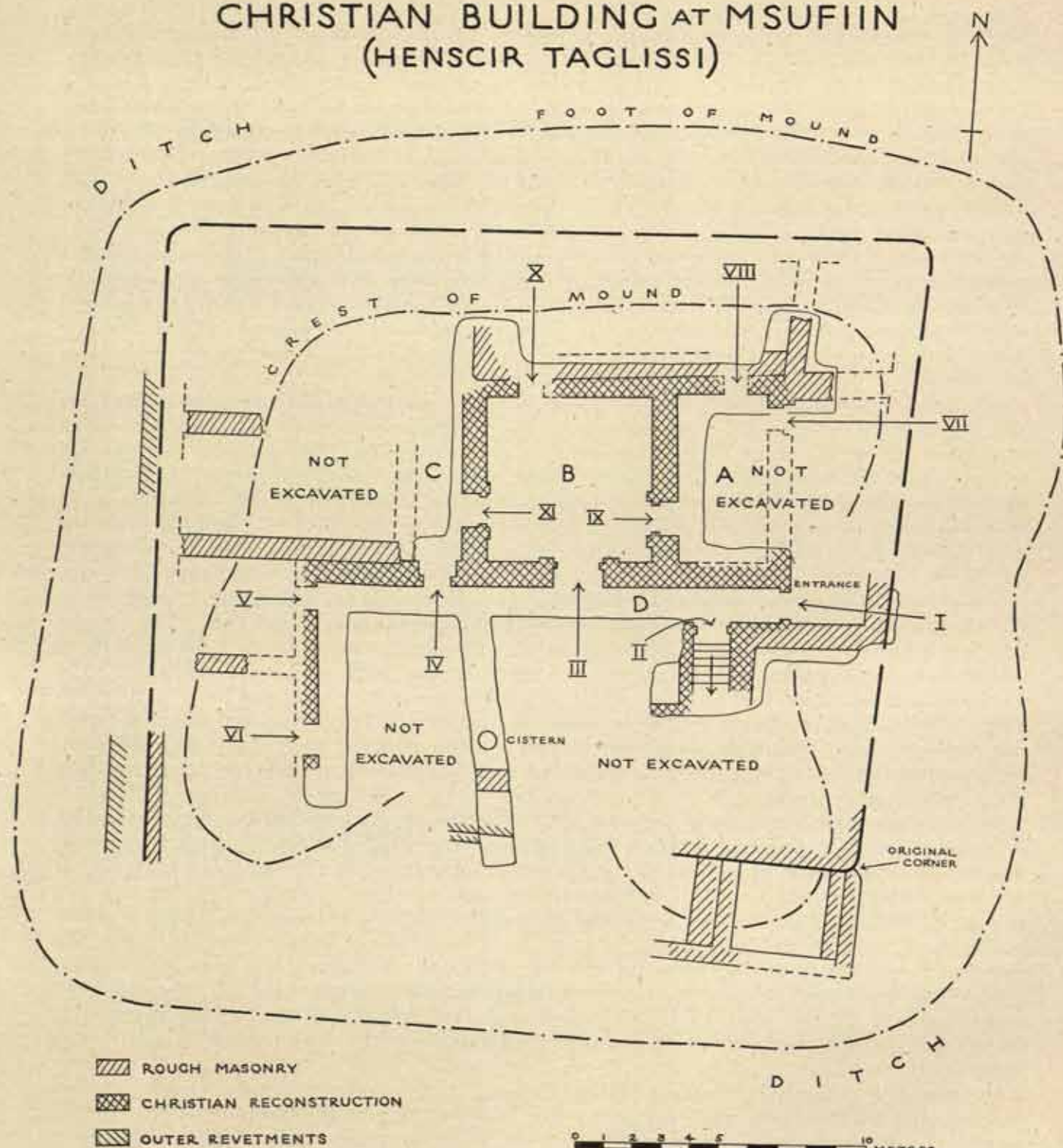0 1 2 3 4 5   10
METRES

FIG. 19.

with its inscribed lintel still intact (pl. XIV, *a*), and to the south of it another door (VI), badly damaged, probably by stone-robbing. The walls of the reconstruction period could not be traced beyond this point; and until the mound has been completely cleared down to its floor-levels, the complete plan of the building will remain obscure.

The walls of the reconstruction period were 80 to 90 cm. wide, and faced with carefully squared blocks (pl. XIV, *a*). At some points (e.g. the north wall of rooms *A* and *B*) the work of this period consisted of a single face built up against a pre-existing wall. Such earlier walls, as also those that were demonstrably later (e.g. the rooms added at the south-east corner of the building) were of typical *gasr* type, consisting of small, roughly trimmed stones, pointed with plaster. In addition

FIG. 20. Henscir Taglissi, inscribed lintel (the central fragment re-used in the mosque at Usàden).

to interior and exterior walls, remains were found of the single-faced revetments that were so frequently built up against the outer walls of buildings of this type, to increase their strength or to remedy some structural weakness.

The central, fortified building of Henscir Taglissi, after its Christian reconstruction, was a building of considerable architectural and decorative pretensions. The decorated door-jambs of room B, the fallen remains of cornices ornamented with leaf and ovolo mouldings (pl. XIV, *c–d*), the remarkably well-cut inscriptions, the remains of engaged half-columns found loose during the excavations; all these attest an elegance rare in fourth-century Tripolitania, and unusual at any date in the Djebel area. The nature of the floors was not determined; but tesserae of blue glass and thin slabs of *verde antico*, found near the surface to the north of door V, suggest that one at least of the rooms in the north-west corner was decorated with wall-mosaics and marble veneers.

The name of the author of this reconstruction, Aemilianus, is recorded on an inscribed lintel, the form of which can be recomposed from three fragments, two found in 1949 and the third photographed by Bartoccini, re-used in the mosque at Usàden (fig. 20; *I.R.T.* 863, *b* ii; length, 3 m. approx.; height of lettering, 9·5 to 10 cm.). It reads: [*L*]*audes* [*Do*]*mino Om*[*nipote*]*nti Deo et Christo Ei*[*us*][1] *cuiu*[*s*] *aspiration*[*e et prae*]*stantia Ae*[*mil*]*ian*[*u*]*s disposuit i*[*nstitui*]*t et perfecit.* This is the only one of the texts in which the name of the Almighty figures in the dative; and the prominent use of the notorious Donatist war-cry, *Laudes Deo*,[2] leaves no doubt of Aemilianus' sectarian sympathies. The remaining texts more closely resemble that found in position over door V (pl. XIV, *a*; *I.R.T.* 863, *b* i; length, 1·41 m.; height of lettering 9·5 to 10 cm.), which reads: *Dei Domini Omnipotentis et Christi Eius pietas et misericordia.* All begin with the phrase *Dei Domini Omnipotentis*, in full or abbreviated, and list a variety of Divine attributes, including *abundantia, auctoritas, honorificentia, humanitas, iustitia, karitas, oppulentia, prosperitas*, and *prudentia.* Two (*I.R.T.* 863, *b* iii and iv) are certainly from door-lintels, with a central monogram and a cutaway immediately below the third line of the text. The rest (*I.R.T.* 863, *b* v to xvi) have neither monogram nor cut-away and were evidently simple wall-panels. All are cut in three lines, each line enclosed within an incised rectangular panel, the only exceptions being three that bear remains of a fourth line, without a panel, and these are due presumably to faulty

[1] For the formula *et Christo Eius*, see Diehl, *I.L.C.V.* 2008, 2187, 3298. A schismatic tendency is perhaps to be inferred from the subordinate position of the Son in relation to the Father.

[2] See Cabrol-Leclercq, iv, 2, 1487–1505.

setting-out of the text. One fragment only, from a lintel (*I.R.T.* 863, *b* iv), seems to deviate from the normal formula. It reads:

[OM]NIPOTEN[TIS ...
[.]ETO INMORT[ALITAS ...
ISAVARIORVM [...
PE

the third line of which may record a family or tribal name (cf. the place-name *Tisavar* on the
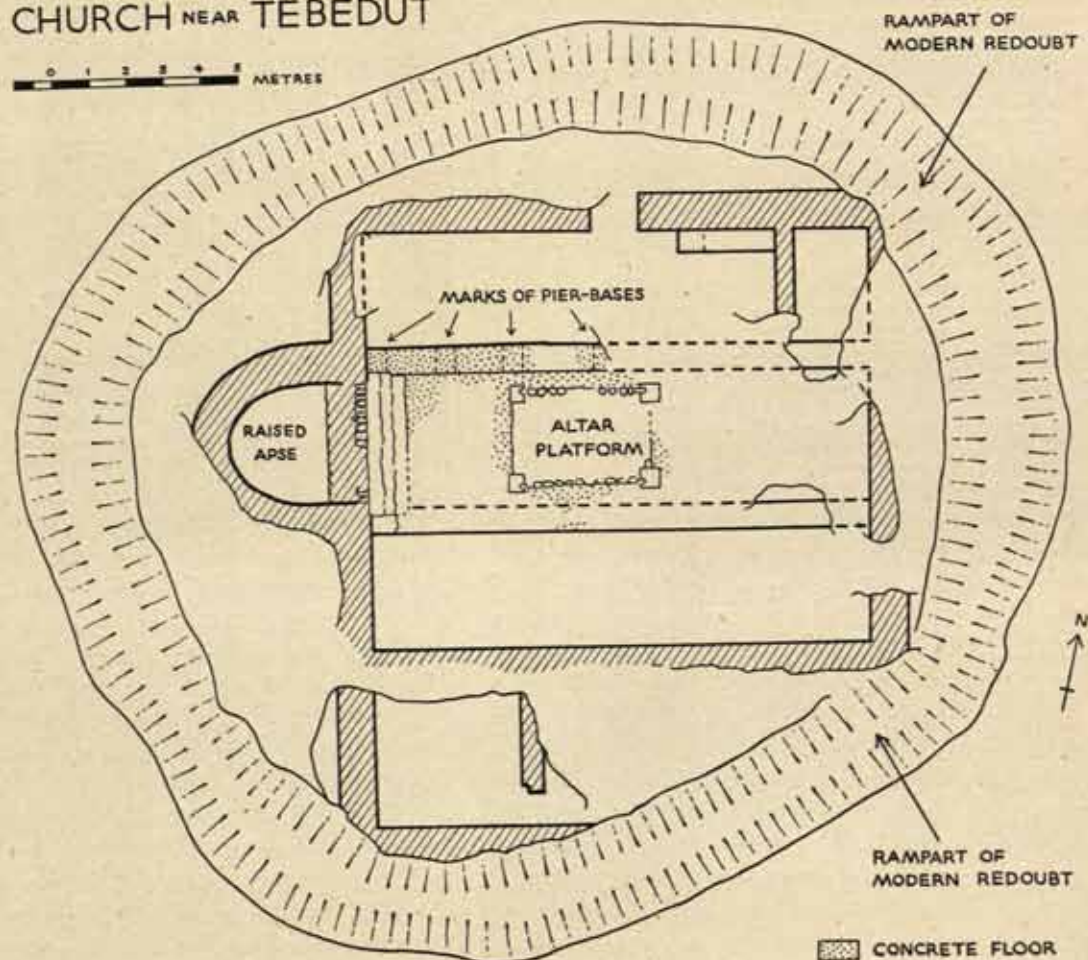

FIG. 21.

Tunisian limes, *C.I.L.* viii, 22759). But until the missing part of this lintel comes to light, its meaning must remain obscure.

These inscriptions were certainly cut in the fourth century. The chi-rho monogram may have lasted later in outlying districts; but its use as an abbreviation rather than as a badge or symbol (fig. 20, *I.R.T.* 863, *b* ii; cf. pl. xiv, *a*, *I.R.T.* 863, *b* i, where it combines the functions of symbol and abbreviation) is a decidedly early feature (Cabrol-Leclercq, iii, 1, 1486 f.); and even in the fourth century it is hard to find any other Tripolitanian example of lettering of this character and quality. The purpose of the reconstructed building is less easily determined. With the exception of the dedicatory lintel and possibly of one other fragment, the texts are all liturgical in character;

PLATE XIV

a. Inscribed lintel of door V

b. Fragment of inscribed lintel

c. Decorated cornice

d. Angle of c, with shell-head

e. Door XI

f. Door XI, left jamb

g. Door XI, right jamb

El-Msufiin, Henscir Taglissi (pp. 37–43)

Plate XV

a. Breviglieri (p. 46)

b. Chafagi Aamer (p. 52)

c. Oea (p. 20)

d. El-Asabaa (p. 35)

e. Ain-Wif (p. 44)

f. Chafagi Aamer (p. 52)

Capitals from Tripolitanian Churches

Photos: a–c, e, f, J. B. Ward Perkins; d, Department of Antiquities, Tripolitania

whereas the excavated parts of the building seem rather to suggest a domestic use. Without further excavation it is hardly possible to say whether the reconstructed building had a specific liturgical purpose, or whether it remained, as before, the fortified residence of a wealthy land-owner, who chose to adorn it with these striking and unusual records of his sectarian zeal.

Church near Tebedut (pl. XII, d; fig. 21)

Situated on a hill-top near Henscir Auensi, at the north-east of the Asabaa plain, about 2 km. south-east of the village of el-Asabaa and 4 km. east of the church at el-Asabaa (map ref. Q 237805); excavated by Italian troops, who occupied the site in 1914 and threw up around it a defensive earthwork. It has since been extensively robbed, and the only record of a number of features is that preserved in three photos in the archives of the Superintendency of Antiquities, Tripoli (negatives, series A). There is a brief reference in *Fonti e Monumenti*, p. 19. The surviving remains were surveyed by Ward Perkins and Goodchild in 1948.

The plan (fig. 21) is that of a small basilica, 13 × 15 m. internally, with a single, raised apse at the west end. The east end is still partly buried. There was a door near the centre of the north side, and there were two or more subsidiary chambers built against the south wall. From the apse three steps, the core of which survives, led down into the body of the nave, which was paved in concrete; and near the centre of the nave four bases, with slots for two longitudinal transennae, mark the angles of a shallow, rectangular, raised platform, and supported a canopy over the altar. Of the nave colonnades, the scars only of the piers can now be traced on the concrete surface of the northern of the two stylobates; but one of the photographs taken at the time of excavation shows that there were formerly rectangular piers, which no doubt carried an arcade. There were seven bays.

The surviving wall-surfaces are of small, coursed blocks, irregular in length and from 10 to 14 cm. high. A number of carved elements, including part of a vine-scroll frieze (pl. XII, d; *Afr. Ital.* ii, 1928–9, p. 88, fig. 15, perhaps illustrates another fragment from this church rather than from that of el-Asabaa), were found when the site was excavated; but of these two minute fragments alone now survive.

About 500 m. to the south lies the prominent 'Ridotta Tolmezzo', a large, ancient *gasr* (Henscir Auensi), which was used as a fortified post at the time of the Italian conquest.

(b) ISOLATED ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

Incised block from Tarmisa (pl. XIII, d)

Block of local limestone (0·61 × 0·40 × 0·22 m.) found in 1914 at Tarmisa, 5 km. north-east of Giado-Fassato (map ref. V 380750); now in Tripoli Museum. Romanelli, *Mon. Crist.*, pp. 48–49; Bartoccini, *Antichità*, p. 57, fig. 86.

Incised on one face is a chi-rho monogram, with alpha and omega, set within a formal wreath and flanked by a pair of palm-trees. From the dimensions, it was evidently part of a building, possibly a fortified farm or a tomb.

(c) CEMETERIES AND ISOLATED TOMBS

el-Asabaa

Bartoccini (*Afr. Ital.* ii, 1928–9, p. 86) records that, during the excavation of the church (p. 35), a number of burials were found in the apse, in addition to that of Turrentius (pl. XII, c, *I.R.T.* 861).

el-Msufiin

An inscribed Christian tombstone (*I.R.T.* 864) is built into the outer wall of a small mosque in the village of el-Msufiin, above the site of Henscir Taglissi (p. 37).

THE EASTERN DJEBEL

(a) CHURCHES

Church at Ain Wif (pl. xv, *e*; fig. 22)

Situated on level ground at the south end of the Roman road-station of Thenadassa, 15 km. west of Tazzoli village centre (see *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxix, 1949, pp. 84–88; map ref. Q 640965). Identified and surveyed by Ward Perkins and Goodchild in August 1948.

The site (fig. 22, rough survey only; the main dimensions are measured) consists of an elongated mound of debris, hollow down the centre, within which wall-surfaces can be traced sufficiently to establish the outline plan and main dimensions. It consists of a rectangle, some

CHURCH ᴀᴛ AIN-WIF · (ᴍᴇᴀsᴜʀᴇᴅ sᴋᴇᴛᴄʜ-ᴘʟᴀɴ)

RAISED APSE

N

+ CISTERN
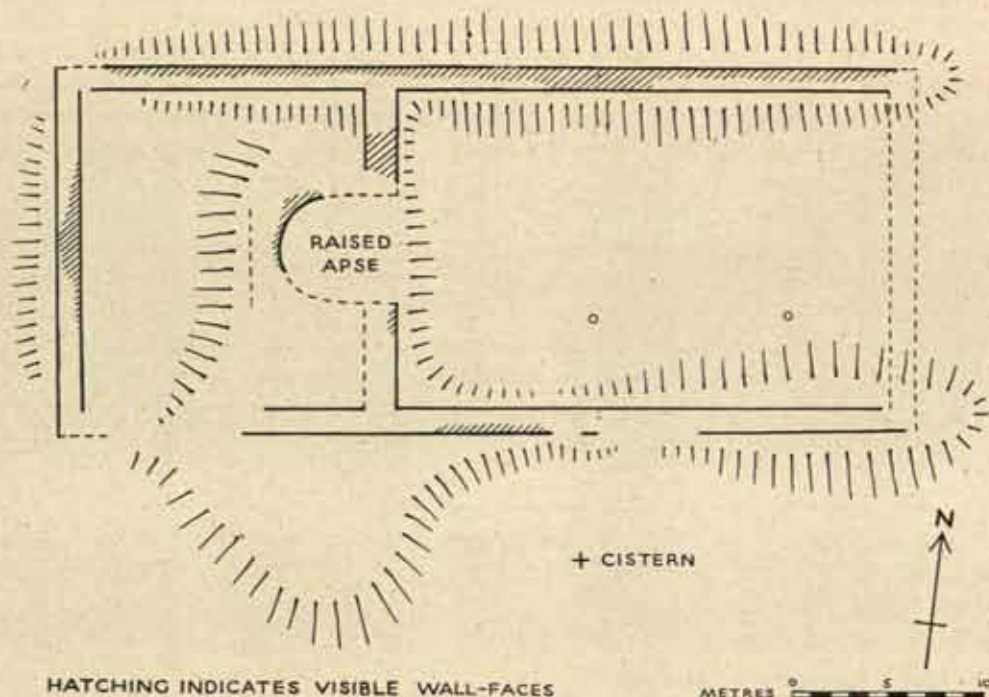
HATCHING INDICATES VISIBLE WALL-FACES   METRES

Fɪɢ. 22.

45 × 19 m., two thirds of which are occupied by a basilica with a single, western apse. Two limestone columns that project above the debris, on the presumed line of the south arcade, may be in position, but appear somewhat slender (diam. 40 cm.). The exact line of the east wall is not established. At the west end the apse is raised well above the level of the nave, and behind it a rectangular extension may have housed a baptistery. A mass of fallen debris against the south wall of the nave, opposite the apse, suggests a tower, or some other subsidiary structure; and close by there is the opening of a cistern.

The walls throughout are of characteristic mud-concreted masonry, faced with small, squared, and roughly coursed blocks of limestone (as pls. xxii–xxiv); and there are fragments of at least four capitals, all alike, of derivative Ionic form, with simple, chip-carved rosette decoration (pl. xv, *e*).

Church at Breviglieri, near Henscir el-Aftah (pls. xvi–xix; fig. 23)

One of a group of buildings prominently sited on a hill-top overlooking the Tarhuna–Cussabat road from the south, on the east bank of the Wadi el-Fergian, 8 km. east of Breviglieri village

CHURCH AT BREVIGLIERI

BAPTISTRY

FOOTINGS OF
S·W·ANGLE OF
ORIGINAL CHURCH

STEPS

STRAIGHT
JOINT

JOINT
RE-BUILT.

?

STRAIGHT
JOINT

RAISED
APSE

←DOOR-SILL

RAMP

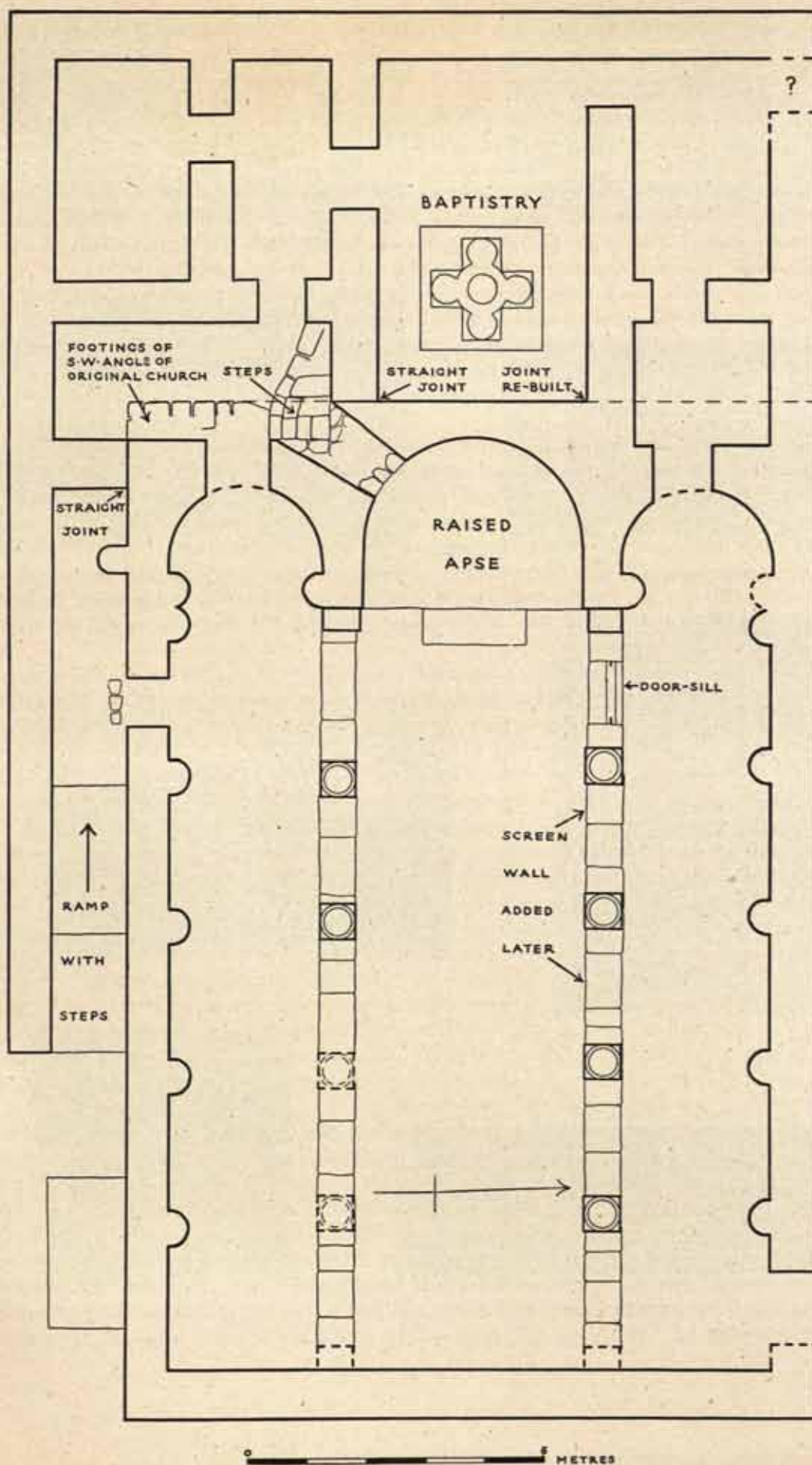WITH

STEPS

SCREEN

WALL

ADDED

LATER

METRES

Fig. 23.

centre (map. ref. M 095176). Identified and excavated, together with the adjoining *gasr*, between 1939 and 1942 by Professor Giacomo Caputo, and surveyed in 1946 by Carmelo Catanuso. A brief account of the excavation appeared in *Bullettino del Museo dell' Impero Romano*, xiii, 1942, pp. 151–2; see also *Fonti e Monumenti*, pp. 20–21. Since excavation, the site has been considerably damaged by the local inhabitants, and in 1946 the greater part of the movable carved ornament was transferred for safety to the Museum at Lepcis Magna.

With the exception of certain architectural elements carved in soft local limestone, the church was built throughout of mud-and-rubble masonry, faced with small, irregular blocks. It was originally a simple, basilical structure, rectangular externally (dimensions 16·80 × 11·165 m.) and containing a nave of five bays, with apses at the west end both of the central nave and of the two lateral aisles: the central apse was raised, with a footing (for a bench?) around the circumference and, projecting into the nave, a small rectangular platform (pl. xvi, *c*). No trace survives either of the steps down into the nave or of the altar. The latter stood presumably in its customary position in the centre of the nave. Some fragments of small marble columns may perhaps have belonged to a canopy.

The columns of the nave are of limestone, with Attic bases and carved capitals, and the arcades spring at the west end from a rectangular limestone pier. The corresponding feature at the east end has vanished, but was probably a small, projecting, masonry pilaster. Semicircular pilasters of masonry project from the inner face of the outer walls in conformity with the columns of the arcade, and may have carried either the transverse beams of a timber roof or, perhaps more probably, the projecting ribs of a barrel-vault. Similar pilasters mark the entrance to each of the two lateral apses (pl. xvi, *e*). Of the four doors that now open into the main body of the building, one only, that at the north-east angle, is certainly original: the two that open through the two lateral apses are certainly later.

The bases and the capitals of the nave-arcades were carved in limestone, and one at least of the latter (pl. xv, *a*) was of some elaboration. There are the remains also of an elaborately carved superstructure, which must belong largely, if not entirely, to the original building. In default of the detailed architectural survey that it merits, the function of the individual pieces cannot in all cases be precisely determined. They include rectangular impost-blocks, elaborately carved on all four faces (pls. xvii and xix, *a–c*); small brackets carved on the sides and front and on the under-surface (pl. xviii, *c–h*); rounded window-heads (pl. xix, *d*); moulded blocks with two bands of ornament, one of which projects in front of the other (pl. xix, *e–g*); and simple bands of ornament, some of which turn at right-angles to mark a corner (pl. xviii, *a–b*). A comparison of the mouldings and of the ornament shows that the three latter items are certainly to be grouped together, and that they formed the frames of windows, presumably those of the clerestory. The exact function of the brackets, which are too narrow and project too far to belong to the windows, is not obvious: Caputo states that they were found in the lateral aisles, between the projecting half-columns. The ornament, which comprises a wide range of key-pattern, curvilinear chip-carving and simple foliate ornament, is sufficiently illustrated in pls. xvii–xix to require no detailed description. The only figured representations are the two birds that appear on the surviving capital (pl. xv, *a*), and two separate pairs of rams flanking, in the one case, a column and, in the other, a tall Latin cross (pl. xvii, *b* and *e*).

This original church was modified and considerably enlarged at a later date. The body of the existing structure does not seem to have been touched, except for the insertion of doors and screens; but it was extended some 7 m. to the west to accommodate a baptistery immediately behind the apse and, on either side of it, several smaller chambers. Doors were cut through the ends of the two lateral apses, and obliquely through the central apse, to give access to the added rooms. The south wall of the western extension overlapped the original buildings by some 2 m. and it was prolonged eastwards almost the whole length of the nave to enclose a narrow entrance-passage which led, up a gentle ramp with three shallow steps, out into the church, through a door in the westernmost bay of the south aisle. The intention of this unusual arrangement was

PLATE XVI

a. The church, from the west

b. The baptistery

c. The apse

d. The north nave-arcade

e. Pilasters flanking south apse

f. South flank of apse; arrows mark straight joint

g. Small carved block

h. Inscribed window-head

Church at Breviglieri (pp. 44–47)

Photos: J. B. Ward Perkins

PLATE XVII

a.

b.

c.

d.

e.

f.

g.

h.

Church at Breviglieri (pp. 44–47): *a–d*, impost-block I; *e–h*, impost-block II

Photos: J. B. Ward Perkins

PLATE XVIII

Church at Breviglieri (pp. 44–47): *a–b*, sections of window-frame; *c–h*, brackets

Photos: J. B. Ward Perkins

PLATE XIX

Church at Breviglieri (pp. 44–47): *a–c*, impost-block III; *d*, window-head; *e–g*, sections of window-frame

Photos: J. B. Ward Perkins

presumably defensive, and may be held to correspond to the progressive strengthening of the defences of the adjoining *gasr*. If so, the door at the north-west angle was probably blocked at the same time; but the doorway itself is almost completely destroyed, and no trace of blocking has survived. To this second period belong the screen-walls (pl. XVI, *d*) that survive between the columns of the fourth and fifth bays from the east of the north arcade: these presumably once delimited the area around the main altar.

The baptistery font (pl. XVI, *b*) takes the form of an equal-armed cross inscribed within a low, rectangular platform, just over 2 m. square, of masonry waterproofed with concrete. Within the cross the central depression is circular, and the steps down are segments of circles. There are no traces of rails or of a canopy.

The structural history of the building is most clearly demonstrated at the south-west angle of the early church (pl. XVI, *f*). Here the footings of the original corner are exposed, and the wall that closes the west end of the added entrance-corridor and the south walls of the added baptistery are both straight-jointed against the earlier structure. The corresponding junction on the north side of the baptistery has been refaced.

Minor finds include the small carved block illustrated in pl. XVI, *g*, and an inscription carved on the reverse face of one of the carved window-heads (pl. XVI, *h*; *I.R.T.* 877*a*). The latter is perhaps an invocation (*bibas* for *vivas*), but appears to be mainly in the Libyan dialect.

Chapel of Gasr Maamura (pls. XX, *a*; XXI, *d*; fig. 24)

Prominently situated on an isolated spur overlooking the Wadi Gsea from the west, 17 km. south-east of the village centre of Marconi, and immediately above the farthest farms (now abandoned) of the Italian settlement; map ref. M 313172. Identified by David Oates in 1949 and surveyed by Alan Wells.[1]

The chapel stands in a commanding position at the northern tip of a narrow, precipitous ridge, some 100 m. in length, on which are the considerable remains of other structures, built in similar masonry and probably contemporary. Only the general lines of the plan can be determined: the massive walls and vaults have collapsed both inwards and outwards, presenting on the outside a glacis of rubble on all save the northern face, which still stands sheer, and filling the central area almost to vault height. The plan (fig. 24) is that of a *triconchos*, with a transverse corridor or narthex on the fourth side, opposite the central, northern apse. The three half-domed apses open off, and buttress, a central, rectangular hall, and are inscribed within rectangular projections, which form the three arms of a truncated cross. The northern arm of this cross is substantially intact, inside and out; the eastern arm is fallen; while the western arm is intact internally, save for a large hole near the crown of the half-dome, but has fallen away externally, exposing large areas of the rough core of the wall. Each of the two surviving apses is divided, at vault-height, from the central, rectangular hall by a screen-wall, and access from the one to the other must have been a door, or doors, now buried beneath the fallen debris. Above the western apse there are traces of a second, apsidal story, which would account for the depth of fallen rubble within the building.

The masonry throughout consists of loosely concreted rubble faced with small, roughly coursed blocks of local limestone, carefully pointed on the inner faces. None of the exterior corners survives above ground. The vaults (pl. XXI, *d*) are more carefully coursed, with flat or wedge-shaped blocks used as voussoirs near the crown. The central hall was probably timber-roofed, rather than vaulted, and several fallen blocks of a simple cornice come probably from the spring of this roof. Other sculptural fragments include carved brackets and section of rectangular pilasters, which appear to have stood at the corners of the central hall. Large numbers of small, coloured glass tesserae, high up among the fallen debris, attest the former existence of multi-coloured wall- or vault-mosaics.

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[1] We are indebted to Mr. Oates for permission to anticipate his own detailed account of the site.

(b) ISOLATED ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

Inscribed block at el-Ghlil, near Cussabat

Square stone, inscribed with a 'Byzantine cross', seen by Romanelli re-used, together with other ancient material, in a modern building in the village of el-Ghlil, west of Cussabat (map ref. M 235320). Romanelli, *Mon. Crist.*, p. 29.
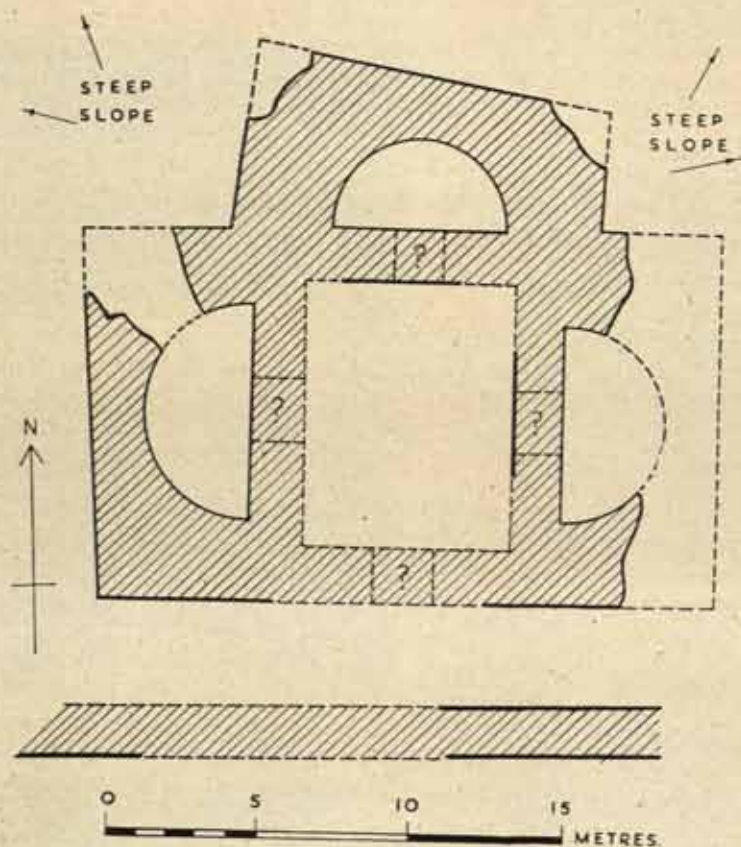
GASR MAAMURA

FIG. 24.

Carved block from Henscir Uhéda, near Gasr Doga

Part of a large block of limestone ($1.00 \times 0.29 \times 0.16$ to 0.21 m.) found re-used as a lintel in a troglodyte dwelling at Henscir Uhéda, a short distance south-west of Gasr Doga (map ref. L 957220); now in Tripoli Museum. G. Nave, *Bollettino d'arte*, 1914, pp. 96–100, figs. 1–2; Romanelli, *Mon. Crist.*, pp. 42–44.

The block, the lower part and right-hand end of which are missing, is carved in relief with a chi-rho monogram, flanked by *A* and *M* (*sic*, for omega) and set within a circular wreath. The centre of the monogram lies well above the centre of the wreath, and it must have stood upon a feature that is now lost.

Carved block from the Wadi Gsea (pl. XIII, c)

Carved limestone block (length 0·75 m., lower part missing) found by Oates in 1950 in the ruins of a ditched *gasr*, on a hill-top overlooking the Wadi Gsea, about 6 km. north-west of Marconi village centre (map ref. M 148281). Carved in vigorous relief with a chi-rho monogram,

PLATE XX

a. Gasr Maamùra (p. 47), air view from the north-west

b. Chafagi Aamer (pp. 50–54), air view from the north-west

Photos: a, E. D. Oates; b, R. G. Goodchild

PLATE XXI

a. Sidi bu Laaba, inscribed panel (p. 49)

b. Sidi bu Laaba, carved panel

c. Sidi bu Laaba, carved panel

d. Gasr Maamùra (p. 47), vault of north apse

e. Tarhuna district, carved limestone block (p. 49)

Photos: *a–d, J. B. Ward Perkins; e, Department of Antiquities, Tripolitania*

flanked by alpha and omega and set within a wreath; rosettes in the upper, surviving corners. Now in Marconi church.

Inscribed block near Marconi village, below Djebel Msid

Block of limestone (0·90 ×0·30 ×0·35 m.) found by Oates in 1950 on the site of a small, late *gasr*, below the south-east end of Djebel Msid, 3 km. east-south-east of Marconi village centre (map ref. M 240205). Crudely inscribed, slightly to the left of centre, with a large chi-rho monogram, with alpha and omega; to the left of this again with the words *In (h)oc signo*; and to the right, *Granii bibas* (for *vivas*) *cum filis et nepotibus*.

Carved and inscribed blocks from Sidi bu Laaba, near Breviglieri (pl. XXI, *a–c*)

Four limestone blocks, found in the ruins of a ditched tower at Sidi bu Laaba, near Bir et-Tuta, 3 km. north-east of Breviglieri village (map ref. M 036195); now in Lepcis Museum. Goodchild, *Tarhuna Plateau*, p. 73; *I.R.T.* 876 (the inscribed block).

The inscribed block (0·80 ×0·49 ×0·13 m.; pl. XXI, *a*) records the erection of *h(a)ec tur(r)is*, and makes the following invocation: *i(n) nomine (C)hristi omne genus Seberi* (i.e. *Severi*) *bibant* (for *vivant*), which is followed in the text by a small monogram cross, flanked by omega and alpha and set within a circle.[1] The remaining blocks portray, in shallow counter-relief, (*a*) within a wreath, a chi-rho monogram, the lower part of which, with the letters omega and alpha (?) is damaged (pl. XXI, *c*); and (*b*) two very similar hunting scenes, each with a large eagle displayed in the right half of the panel (pl. XXI, *b*, the better preserved of the two): there is an almost exact replica of the latter at Muagen Tuansia, in the Wadi Merdum (illustrated by H. M. de Mathui-sieulx, *Nouvelles Archives*, xii, 1904, pl. xxi, 1–2); see Appendix II, p. 81.

Inscribed block at Sidi bu Zeriba, near Breviglieri

Part of an inscribed limestone block, found by Caputo in 1949 at Sidi bu Zeriba, 7·5 km. north of Breviglieri village (map ref. M 012255). After the opening formula, *In nomine pa[tris et fili] et sp(i)r(itus) sancti*, the text is damaged and unintelligible. *I.R.T.* 874a.

Capital from Tarhuna village

Small limestone capital (ht. 0·29 m.) and part of a column (d. 0·29 m.), found in 1913, re-used in a house in Tarhuna village; now in Tripoli Museum. G. Nave, *Bollettino d'arte*, 1914, pp. 102–4; Romanelli, *Mon. Crist.*, pp. 44–48; Bartoccini, *Antichità*, fig. 87.

Column and capital are cut in one piece. The latter is very simple, with formal leaves at the angles and a small projecting disc in the middle of each face, bearing alternately a star and a Greek cross, with expanded terminals, within a circular frame.

Carved block from the Tarhuna district (pl. XXI, *e*)

Limestone block (0·50 ×0·51 ×0·23 m.) found in the region of Tarhuna; the date and circumstances of the discovery are not recorded. Now in Tripoli Museum.

Carved in flat relief with a chi-rho monogram, flanked by alpha and omega and set within a formal wreath.

Carved and inscribed lintel at Umm el-Msareb, near Cussabat

Inscribed lintel-block of limestone, seen by Romanelli among a group of olive-presses at Umm el-Msareb, a short distance south-west of the village of el-Ghlil (*v. supra*, map ref. M 235320), and rediscovered by Oates in 1949. Romanelli, *Mon. Crist.*, p. 29; *I.R.T.* 878a.

The two lines of text, which are badly damaged and unintelligible, are set within a *tabella ansata*. In the left-hand *ansa* there is a monogram cross, with alpha and omega, carved in relief; the right-hand *ansa* is missing.

Carved keystone in the Wadi Scetib el-Gorba

Limestone keystone (ht. 0·47 m.), seen in 1949 by Goodchild beside the ruins of a fortified

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[1] For the unusual form of the G, cf. fig. 7.

farm in the Wadi Scetib el-Gorba, on the track from Bir el-Uaar to Bir Tarsin (map ref. Q 473663). A wreath, carved in relief, encloses an inscribed monogram-cross; there is no trace of alpha or omega, but it is just possible that they have been eroded by weathering.

(c) CEMETERIES AND ISOLATED TOMBS

Catacomb at Tarhuna

Caputo (*Fonti e Monumenti*, p. 36) records the discovery, in 1936, of a Christian catacomb, with uninscribed loculi, on the line of the main road immediately to the west of Tarhuna village.

Funerary inscription from Bir el-Uaar

Inscribed limestone block (0·70 ×0·37 ×0·19 m.), found beside the large, richly ornamented mausoleum at Bir el-Uaar (map ref. Q 595755); now in Tripoli Museum. *I.R.T.* 867. Accepted as Christian by Romanelli (*Mon. Crist.*, pp. 39–42) on the strength of the formula *Bibe* (for *vive*) *Issicuar quia mereris.*

THE UPPER SOFEGGIN VALLEY

Church at Chafagi Aamer, near Mizda (pls. xv, *b*, *f*; xx, *b*; xxii, and xxiii; figs. 25, 26)

Prominently sited on the crest of a precipitous spur between two arms of a small southern confluent of the Wadi Sofeggin, 25 km. east of Mizda and some distance south-east of the junction of the Wadis Sofeggin and es-Soda (map. ref. V 4097). On the point of the spur is a small *gasr*, the masonry of which is identical with that of the initial phase of the church; and there are the remains of other buildings along the crest towards the junction of the spur with the main plateau (pl. xx, *b*). A second, larger *gasr* lies at the mouth of the wadi, distant about 1 km.; and there are traces of cultivation and of water-catchment in the wadi bed. Visited and described by Barth in 1849, when the nave-arcades were still standing (pl. xxiii, *e*; H. Barth, *Reisen und Ent-deckungen in Nord- und Central-Africa in den Jahren 1849 bis 1855*, Gotha, 1859, vol. i, pp. 49–51); and at the beginning of this century by de Mathuisieulx, when it was already in its present condition, save for the recent collapse of the vault at the south-east angle (H. M. de Mathui-sieulx, 'Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Tripolitaine', *Nouvelles Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires*, xiii, 1906, pp. 90–92; the sketch-plan transposes the two major dimensions). The account published by Gentilucci twenty years after his visit to the site in 1913 (*Afr. Ital.* v, 1933, pp. 174–9, figs. 3–6) is hopelessly confused, and has since misled Caputo (*Fonti e Monumenti*, p. 22 and footnote 39); the features that Gentilucci describes and illustrates belong to a single church, not to two. Surveyed by Ward Perkins and Haynes in 1946.

The church itself is a compact, tower-like building, 15·85 m. long ×12·80 m. broad, built of concreted rubble and mud, faced inside and outside alike with carefully coursed, small limestone blocks. The outer corners, like those of the adjacent *gasr*, are rounded, in one case (at the north-west angle) resting on a squared footing. The plan (fig. 25) is that of a three-aisled basilica with a single, western apse, flanked by rectangular chambers and backed by a tall, barrel-vaulted corridor, which runs the full width of the building at the western end. The proportions are unusually squat, in consequence no doubt of the limitations of the site, the internal measurement from the base of the apse to the façade wall being almost exactly the same as that across the body of the nave and aisles. The nave was of five bays, with tall arcades resting on six limestone columns, of which two alone at the extreme west end are now standing (pl. xxii, *a* and *b*); the stump of a third can be seen projecting from the rubble. The barrel-vaults of the side-aisles are intact in places (that at the east end of the north aisle has fallen since 1913); of the nave roof, which also may have been vaulted, no trace remains.

The restricted space available at the west end has resulted in an unusually complex plan. The floor of the apse is raised over a metre and a half above the presumed level of the nave to allow

SECTION A-B:

BAPTISTRY

SCREEN-WALL

BAPTISTRY

CHURCH AT
CHAFAGI AAMER

ORIGINAL WORK
FIRST ADDITIONS
LATER ADDITIONS

J.S.WP/F.N

METRES
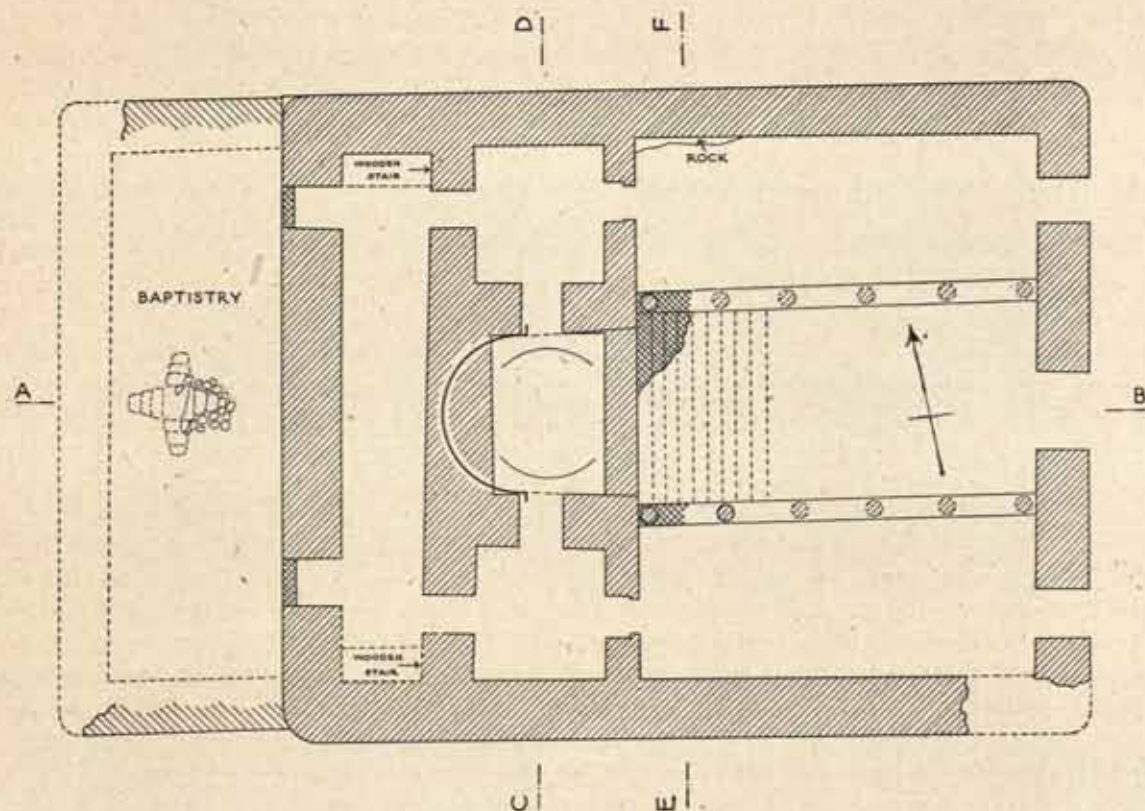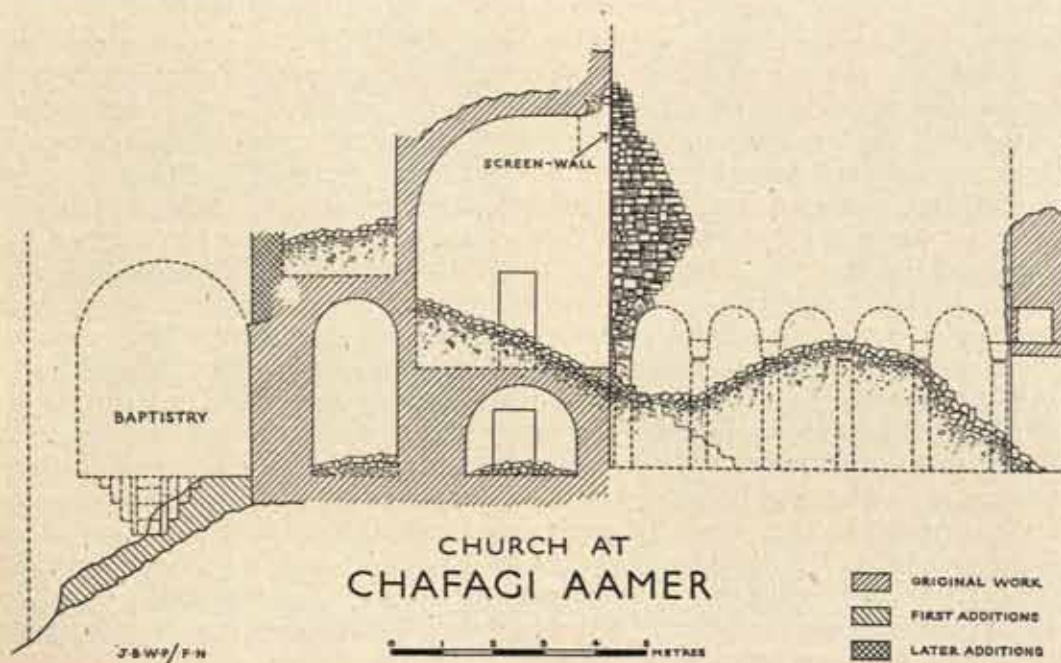
FIG. 25.

the passage beneath it of a low barrel-vaulted corridor, connecting two rectangular rooms which open off the ends of the lateral aisles (figs. 25 and 26, sections A–B and C–D). These rooms, which are very low and have no direct access to the apse, open in turn on to the western corridor; and above each was an upper story, a part certainly of the original structure, which could be reached either from the apse, through doors opening in either flank, or by wooden staircases set at the extreme ends of the western corridor. The corridor beneath the apse was found in 1946 to be knee-deep in the bat droppings of centuries, beneath which could be partially traced the outline of a circular, concreted feature. The part of the steps up from the nave into the apse that is now exposed appears to be secondary to the original structure: if so, it certainly replaces, or enlarges, an earlier flight.

Despite present appearances, it may be doubted whether the half-dome of the apse was in antiquity open to the nave. It could hardly have stood without a self-supporting, ashlar archivolt at the point of junction (as at Gasr es-Suq, pl. XXIV, *d*); and of this there is no trace. Moreover, a close examination of the vaulting of the apse shows that it stops short of the inner west face of the nave by about 50 cm. The upper members of the final course are longer and more carefully dressed than the rest, and they are butted against a core of rubble, which can never have been free-standing (pl. XXII, *c*; also XXIII, *a*). It seems certain, therefore, that the facing of the west wall, which survives above and to the left of the present opening, was formerly carried across it to form a tympanum (as at Gasr Maamùra). How this tympanum was supported is a question that can only be answered by excavation (but see p. 63).

At the east end there were until recently three doors, the southernmost of which has fallen since 1913 (Gentilucci, *op. cit.*, fig. 5) leaving only the threshold and the lower part of the jambs: it had been blocked in antiquity. The surviving lintels are flat, and the weight upon them, and upon the corresponding lintels at the west end of the nave-aisles, is relieved by cavities in the masonry-core. Over the main door of the façade this is supplemented by a relieving arch. The decorative panels that Barth saw, let into the façade beside the central door, have been removed; and all that now remains of the carved ornament of the church is three capitals at the foot of the hill, the one spirally fluted (pl. XV, *b*), the second with a simple, all-over, chip-carved, honeycomb pattern (pl. XV, *f*), and the third divided into narrow vertical panels by projecting strips of incised herring-bone ornament, capped by a horizontal band of debased guilloche. Beside the robust competence of Breviglieri, the style is thin and inept. The interior of the church was plastered, walls and vault alike, with a hard, grey, cement-like stucco, and on the surviving fragments are the remains of an elaborate scheme of painted decoration. There is a well-preserved fragment of a red, blue, and green border outlining the western lunette of the south aisle; and pl. XXIII, *c*, illustrates a draped male figure near the east end of the south wall. A second figure, with nimbus, can be traced on a fragment of plaster at the north-west angle of the north aisle (visible in the background of pl. XXII, *b*); and there are traces of what appears to be a frieze of frontal figures round the apse.

At the extreme west end, terraced out over the precipitous rocky slope and for the most part long since tumbled into the valley below, are the remains of a baptistery. The outer wall has gone completely, and of the north and south walls the footings alone survive, butted against the rounded angles of the original structure in a way which clearly shows that the baptistery was a later addition (the few surviving courses of the south wall of the baptistery can be seen in the bottom left-hand corner of pl. XXIII, *b*). The baptistery was roofed with a barrel-vault, the spring of which is preserved in what had been, and later became once more, the outer west wall of the building. It seems probable that, when the vault was inserted, the whole of the central part of the west wall was rebuilt, to allow the insertion of two doors leading from the west corridor into the baptistery; but in this roughly coursed masonry the structural evidence on a point like this cannot always be read with any certainty. Of the font itself just enough remains to show that it was a concrete-lined, cruciform, stepped depression of the usual type.

Later again the building was further modified. The baptistery either fell or was demolished,

PLATE XXII

a. Apse (*right*) and west end of south aisle

b. West end of north nave-arcade

c. Scar of fallen feature masking the half-dome

Church at Chafagi Aamer (pp. 50–54)

Photos: J. B. Ward Perkins

PLATE XXIII

a. Apse and west end of the south nave-arcade

b. The church, from the south

d. Half-dome of the apse

c. Fragment of painting in the south aisle
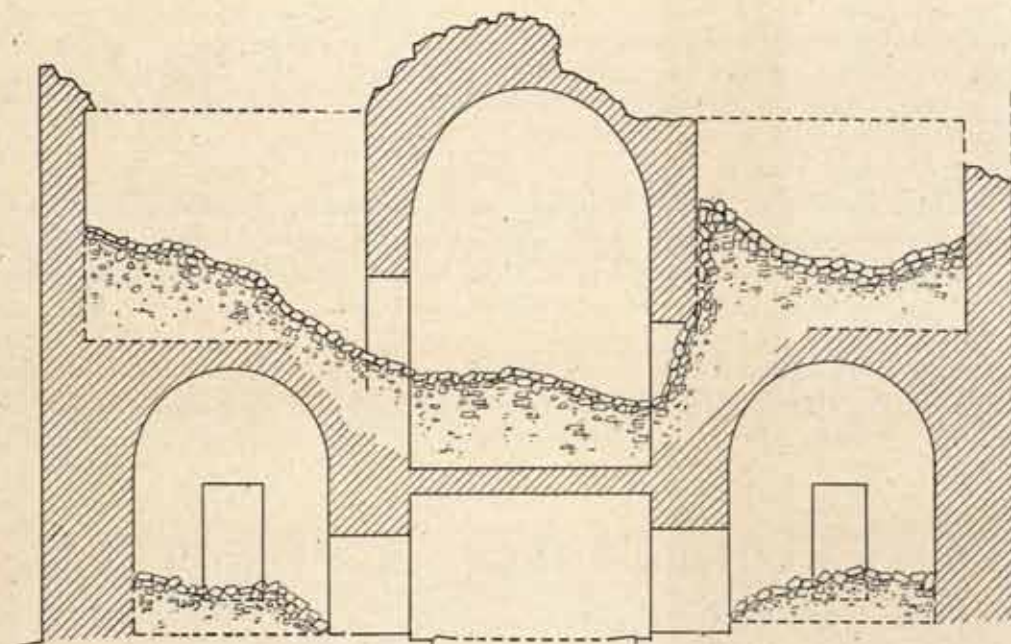

e. The church, in 1849

Church at Chafagi Aamer (pp. 50–54)

CHURCH AT
CHAFAGI AAMER: SECTION C-D

SECTION E-F

SCAR OF
SCREEN-WALL

ROCK

J·B·W·P/F·N

0   1   2   3   4   5 METRES
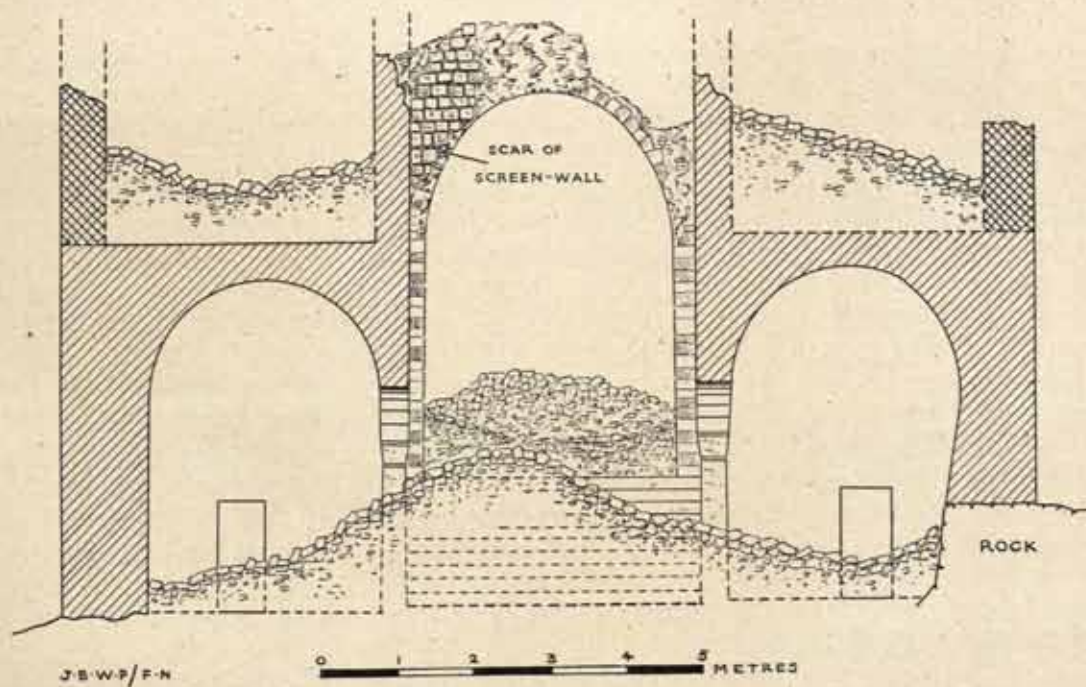
FIG. 26.

and the doors into it were blocked. At the same time the main building was enlarged upwards. The outer west wall was carried up afresh from the spring of the destroyed baptistery vault; and rooms were added over the side-aisles of the nave. The masonry of these additions, which matches that of some of the later work in the adjoining *gasr*, is still roughly coursed, but the general effect is altogether more careless than that of the original building, from which it is further distinguished by the use of a distinctive, grey, cement-like mortar (see pl. XXIII, *b*; the later masonry can be seen to the right of the centre of the building, over the south nave aisle). To this phase belong, in their present form, the steps leading from the nave to the apse.

Christian building near the Wadi es-Soda

Christian building, seen in 1913 by Gentilucci on a small hill near the junction of the Wadi es-Soda and the Wadi Sofeggin, some 16 km. east of Mizda (approx. map ref. Q 3911). It is described as 'the ruins of a building, of which there remain standing the lateral walls and the spring of the vault, most of which has fallen, blocking the entrance doors. On the architrave of one of these doors, carved on the marble [*sic*], untouched by time or by the hand of Arab fanaticism, is a cross' (I. Gentilucci, 'Resti di antichi edifici lungo l'uadi Sofeggin', *Afr. Ital.* v, 1934, p. 173 and fig. 3). His illustration shows a wall rising to the spring of a barrel-vault, and the upper parts of two doors with monolithic lintels, on the larger of which is a monogram-cross in low relief.

THE LOWER SOFEGGIN VALLEY

Church at Gasr es-Suq el-Oti (pl. XXIV; fig. 27)

Church, one of a well-preserved group of late Roman buildings, situated in a remote tract of the Wadi Bosra, about 20 km. south-east of Beni Ulid (map ref. R 3222). The settlement, which stands at the junction of the Wadi Bosra and one of its tributaries, comprises the remains of three fortified farms (*gsur*) which, to judge from the masonry and from the defaced inscriptions still in position over the door of one of them (*I.R.T.* 890), belong to a relatively early phase of Tripolitanian, pre-desert settlement, probably in the fourth century A.D.; and of two structures built in a less regular style of masonry, the church itself and an adjacent courtyard building. Around the main buildings are grouped the remains of many subsidiary huts and out-houses, built in drystone masonry; and along the wadi-bed can be seen the clear traces of an associated field-system (see J. B. Ward Perkins, 'Gasr es-Suq el-Oti: a desert settlement in central Tripolitania', *Archaeology*, iii, 1950, pp. 25–30, figs. 9–11). Discovered in 1946 by E. J. Hillyard, and summarily surveyed by Ward Perkins and Goodchild in 1948.

The church consists of a three-aisled basilica, with a single apse at the west end, and beyond the apse a complex of smaller rooms. The east wall has fallen, but its position is precisely marked by the responding semi-pier at the east end of the north nave-arcade and by the abutment of the nave wall above it, which has, as so often in this pre-desert architecture, broken away along the line of junction. The nave is of five bays, with an arcade of carefully dressed ashlar, springing from square piers. The piers are faced in ashlar with a rubble core and have simple, impost-like capitals. Nave and aisles alike were barrel-vaulted. That which now covers the north aisle is mainly a later reconstruction, but the central nave and south aisle (pl. XXIV, *c*) illustrate the original form: a distinctive feature is the rib-like arch of ashlar that spans nave and side-aisle between the second and third bays from the east end. A similar arch spans the entrance to the apse (pl. XXIV, *d*), the floor of which is now obscured by fallen debris, but was probably raised in the normal manner above the level of the nave.

The plan of the western complex is markedly irregular and off-axis to the basilica, and it can most readily be explained as a later addition, respecting or incorporating already-existing structures, which stood on a slightly different axis. Its rooms are all in varying degrees long and

AISLE LARGELY RE-VAULTED

MIHRAB

RIB OF VAULT

RIB OF VAULT

PRESUMED BAPTISTRY

FALLEN

CHURCH AT
GASR ES-SUQ EL-OTI
(WADI-BOSRA)

N

10 0 1 2 3 4 5 METRES

Fig. 27.
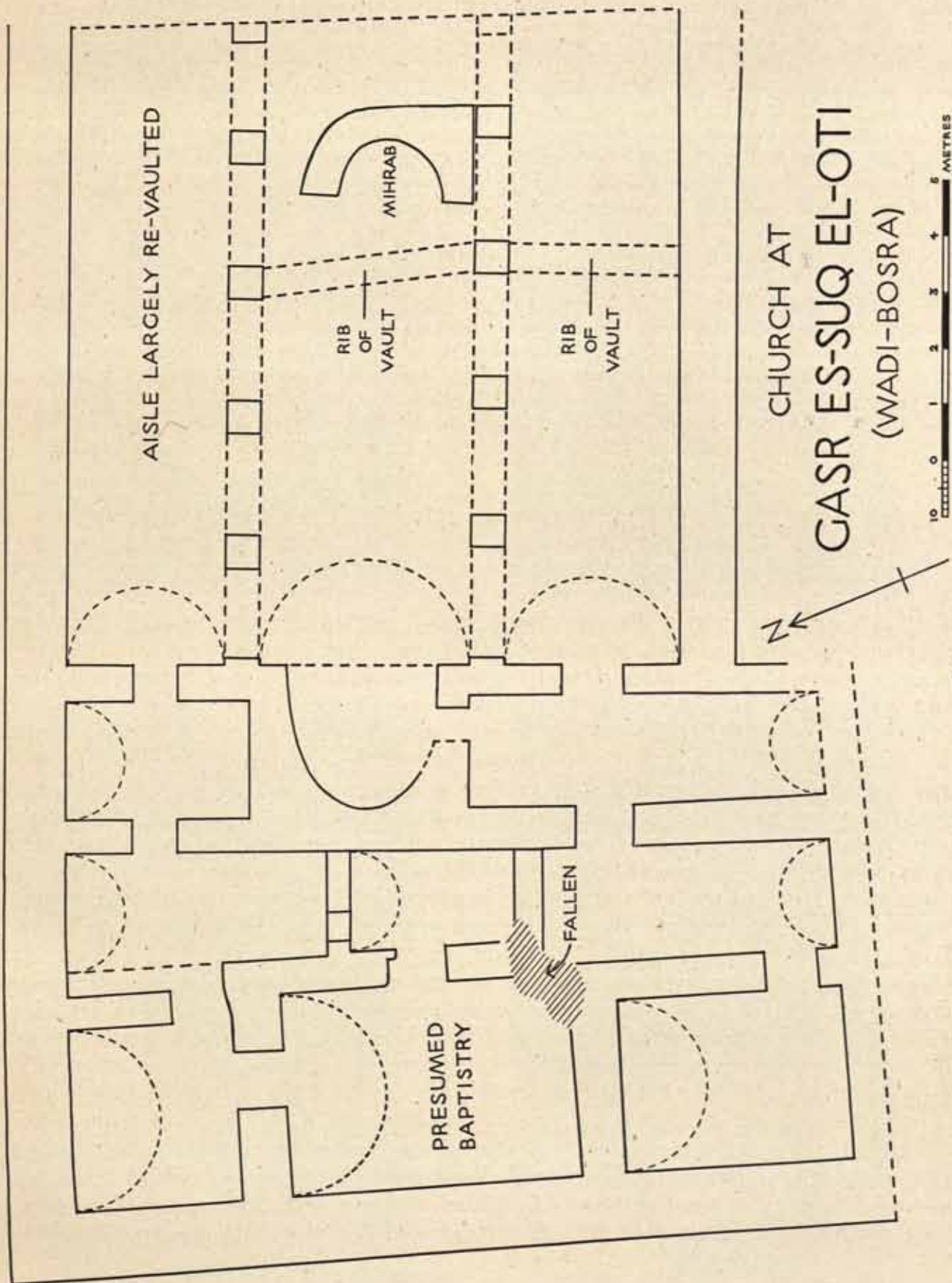
narrow, and roofed with barrel-vaults. The largest of these rooms, in the centre of the west end, may have been a baptistery.

The character of the masonry, with a surface of small squared stones against a core of concreted mud and rubble, is well illustrated in pl. XXIV. The exterior wall-surfaces are made up of smaller stones, less carefully coursed. The only surviving ornament is on the capitals of the first pier from the east of the nave arcade and of the adjacent, responding semi-pier. It consists of bands of rosettes and of simple scroll-work carved in low relief.

After the Arab conquest of North Africa in the seventh century, the church was converted into a mosque, and an apsidal *mihrab* was inserted in the central nave against the first pier of the south arcade (pl. XXIV, *a* and *b*). This *mihrab* is plastered internally and there are considerable traces of painting on the plaster.

Carved and inscribed archivolt at Gasr Giakia (East), near Bir Dufan

Monolithic archivolt, 1·37 ×0·82 m., seen by M. De Lisle in 1949, lying beside a well at Gasr Giakia (East) in the Wadi Mimum Darragh, 10 km. east of Bir Dufan (map ref. R 8962).

The arch is outlined with a cable moulding, and there is a rosette in each of the spandrels. The inscribed text (*I.R.T.* 894*a*) records the erection of a building, *fabente Deo*.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE OF TRIPOLITANIA

It is no part of the writers' purpose to discuss at length the broader significance of the Christian remains of Tripolitania. Nevertheless, in presenting the material upon which any such discussion must be based, it will perhaps be useful to call attention to certain features that may be regarded as characteristic; and it would be perverse to ignore the analogies that, in so many cases, these features so clearly present to the contemporary remains of French North Africa.

The value of such analogies is not always easy to assess: the published accounts are scattered; and they have not always maintained the standards of accurate record and of detailed publication set by the pioneer work of Gsell. Even so, it will be clear from the pages that follow that the intimate geographical, military, and administrative connexion that existed in late antiquity between Tripolitania and the remaining territories under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Carthage extended also to the material aspects of Christian life and art. What exactly was the nature of the relationship between the two territories; whether the prototype of the pre-Byzantine churches of Tripolitania was a single building, perhaps one of the lost churches of Carthage, or whether the relationship was at first more general and it was later only that a diversity of common elements came to assume, in the somewhat isolated territory of Tripolitania, a single-mindedness of architectural purpose that was never achieved under the more complex conditions prevailing in the larger, wealthier provinces; these are questions that can hardly be answered in the present state of knowledge. If it would be perverse to ignore the fact of a close relationship between the Christian monuments of Tripolitania and those of French North Africa, it would equally be premature to try to define that relationship too closely. What is needed first is an authoritative and up-to-date survey of the Christian antiquities of Tunisia and Algeria and, in particular, a critical re-examination of their chronology. Not the least useful result of the

PLATE XXIV

b. Looking south, across the nave

d. Detail of the apse, looking north

a. Nave, from the west, with (centre) the later *mihrab*

c. Nave and south aisle, from the east

Church at Gasr es-Suq el-Oti (pp. 54–56)

Photos: J. B. Ward Perkins

PLATE XXV

a. Lepcis Magna, Church 6 (p. 82)

b. Church in the Wadi el-Crema

c. Lepcis Magna, Church 6 (p. 82): bracket

Photos: a, Department of Antiquities, Tripolitania; b, Olwen Brogan; c, J. B. Ward Perkins

present inquiry may prove to be in suggesting certain points upon which such a survey might do well to concentrate attention.

For a list of the Tunisian and Algerian churches most frequently cited in this section, and for a summary bibliography, see below, Appendix I.

(a) Pre-Byzantine Churches

Of the four pre-Byzantine churches that have been excavated in the coastal cities, three belong to a type that may be regarded as characteristic of the late fourth and fifth centuries in Tripolitania. It does not happen to be represented within the excavated zone at Lepcis; but that it is indeed a significant type, and not a mere local variant, peculiar to Sabratha, is shown by its adoption, almost to the exclusion of other types, by the church-builders of the interior. Its characteristics are: three-aisled basilical form; chancel and altar occupying the greater part of the central nave; single apse at the west end, raised well above the level of the chancel and often separated from it by a pair of columns; open timber roofs or barrel-vaults, according to the availability of materials; and baptistery (if any) of modest dimensions. None of these features is, in itself, exceptional; but taken together they form a consistent and easily recognizable type.

The individual characteristics of this type of church are discussed below, pp. 61–72. It may, however, be noted here that, both severally and in combination, all are common in French North Africa also. It is a church of just this type that is represented in the celebrated *Ecclesia Mater* mosaic from Tabarka (fig. 28);[1] and, as Gauckler has rightly remarked, this is not a picture of any particular building, but an analytical representation of the artist's ideal fifth-century basilica. The only important differences from the Tripolitanian type are that the mosaic illustrates a flat architrave in place of the customary nave arcade; and that, as yet, there is no evidence from Tripolitania for an oculus in the half-dome of the apse. The mosaic, like the church in which it was found, was oriented with the apse pointing to the west.

It is not easy to say quite how early churches of this form appeared in Tripolitania. Although it is by no means impossible that one or more of those at Sabratha may belong to the closing decades of the fourth century, all that can be said with certainty is that churches of this type were in use in the coastal cities very soon after 400. An approximate lower limit is afforded by the Vandal conquest of Tripolitania in 455. Literature and archaeology alike attest that, in the coastal cities, the half-century preceding the Byzantine reconquest was a time of extreme poverty and civic decadence: it is most improbable that there was any substantial building activity during this period.

The same conditions did not apply in the interior. The evidence of the Christian symbols (see below, pp. 72–8) suggests that this region was converted not long, if at all, before 400; and such a date would accord well with the adoption of a church-type that we know to have been current in the coastal cities at this time. There is, on the other hand, little to suggest that the Vandal conquest had any direct effect outside the coastal cities and the territories immediately dependent on them, and

[1] P. Gauckler, *Monuments et Mémoires Piot*, xiii, 1906, pp. 188–97, pl. XVIII.

churches of fifth-century type may have continued to be built in the interior well into
the sixth century. It is not until after the Byzantine reconquest that the addition of
baptisteries of Byzantine type to pre-existing churches (el-Asabaa, Breviglieri, Chafagi
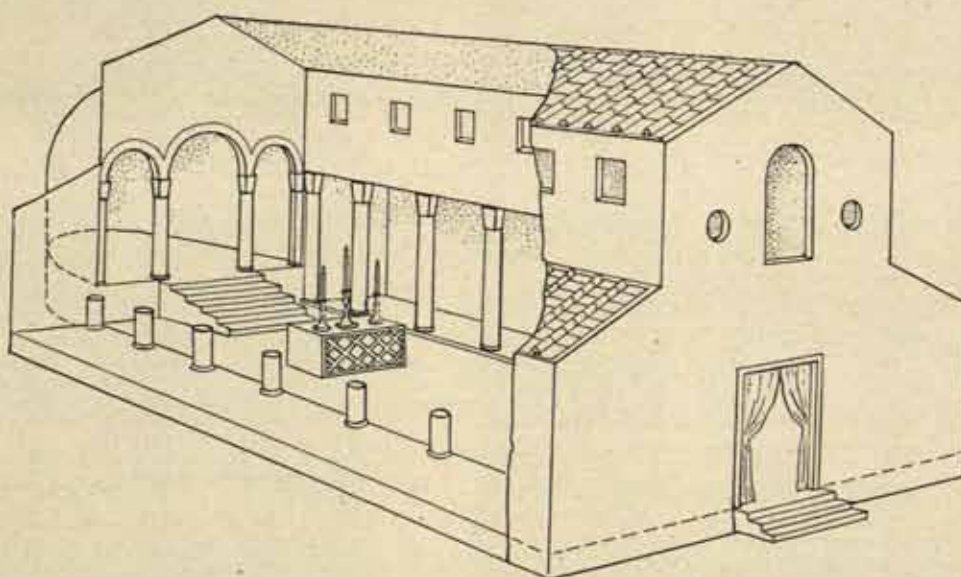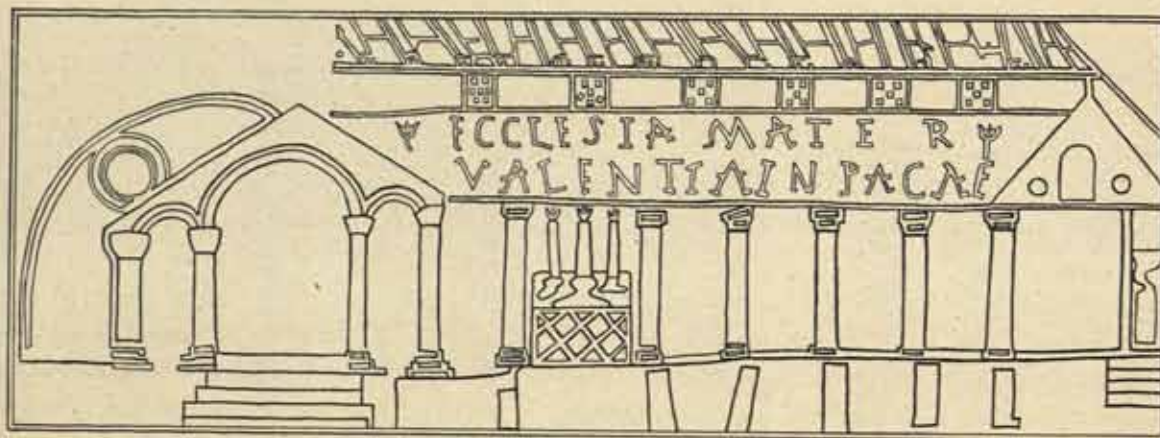

FIG. 28 (*above*). Fifth-century mosaic from Tabarka (Tunisia) representing a contemporary basilical church.
(*below*). Theoretical perspective view of the same church.

Aamer) affords evidence of fresh influence from the coastal region. With the possible
exception, however, of the church in the Wadi Crema, none of the existing churches
of the interior is likely to have been built later than the mid-sixth century.

The only pre-Byzantine exceptions to the fifth-century type discussed in the pre-
ceding paragraphs are Church 2 at Lepcis, which is certainly of the early fifth century,

and Gasr Maamùra (p. 47), the date of which is less easily established but, from the character of the masonry, is unlikely to be later than the Byzantine reconquest. The former of these buildings employed the coupled columns of North African practice, but is, in other respects, a highly individual structure, the significance of which must certainly be sought outside Tripolitania. The same is true of Gasr Maamùra also. The trilobed plan is a familiar feature of late classical architecture in many parts of the Mediterranean world,[1] including North Africa; but it has not hitherto been recorded from Tripolitania. In this case there is a further distinguishing feature. In the majority of such trilobed chapels (*cellae trichorae*) the junction of each apse with the central hall is marked by nothing more substantial than a pilaster, and hall and apses formed a single spatial unit. Here, on the other hand, there are substantial partition walls masking the apses, and access from one to the other must have been by a low arcade or, more probably, by a simple doorway in the middle of the partition wall. Something very like this must have existed in several of the North African examples, e.g. the *cellae trichorae* of Damous el-Karita,[2] at Sidi Mohammed el-Guebiou (near Kairouan)[3] and perhaps at Tebessa.[4] In all of these the entrance from the central hall to the apse probably took the form of an arched doorway, with a span of rather more than half the radius of the apse. At Gasr Maamùra the opening appears to have been even more restricted; and the plan is further complicated by traces of what appears to have been a second apsidal feature directly over one, at any rate, of the existing apses. Without excavation of the building, to determine the exact relation between the apses and the central hall, and the nature of the supposed narthex, further discussion of the precise source from which it was derived is probably unprofitable.

The majority of the pre-Byzantine churches of Tripolitania were undoubtedly normal centres of communal worship, serving a city or a rural district. Three of them, however, all in the interior, seem to be intimately connected with an adjacent *gasr* (plural, *gsur*; Latin, *castrum*), one of the tower-like fortified buildings typical of late-Roman and post-Roman times in the frontier region on the Djebel.[5] These three sites have much in common. Between Chafagi Aamer and Gasr Maamùra, in particular, the resemblance is striking (pl. xx, *a* and *b*). The church shares an isolated hill-top with a *gasr*, and around the pair are clustered the remains of a considerable community: the masonry of the *gasr* is identical with that of the adjoining church; and the whole has all the appearance of a single social unit. At Breviglieri, situated in more rolling country, the site is less obviously defensible; but there is the same intimate relationship between church and *gasr*, and there was a large subsidiary community grouped about the *gasr*.[6]

[1] E. Weygand, *Byz. Zeitschrift*, xxiii, 1914, pp. 167 ff.; L. H. Vincent, *Rev. Arch.*, 1920, pp. 82–111; U. Monneret de Villard, *Les Couvents près de Sohâg*, Milan, 1923, pp. 45 ff.; A. Grabar, *Martyrium*, Paris, 1946, i, pp. 102–19.

[2] Cabrol-Leclercq, ii, 2, 2256–7, fig. 2129; *ibid.* iv, 1, fig. 3566; Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, fig. 78. Grabar (*op. cit.*, pp. 108–9) argues, with some probability, that the *cella trichora* is here a martyrium and antedates the great basilica.

[3] Saladin, *Archives des Missions*, xiii, 1887, p. 34, fig.

41; Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, fig. 77; *IV Congr. Arch. Crist.* i, 193–4, fig. 11.

[4] S. Gsell, *Monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, ii, 265; Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.*, fig. 76.

[5] For these *gsur* see *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxix, 1949, pp. 92–5; xl, 1950, pp. 34–37.

[6] The *gsur* of Chafagi Aamer and of Breviglieri measure 16·50×6·90 m. and 24×23 m. respectively, and are distant 10 m. and 25 m. from their respective churches. Gasr Maamùra is too ruined for exact measurement, but the figures are commensurate.

The pattern presented by these three sites can hardly be accidental; and although, taken individually, both Chafagi Aamer and Gasr Maamùra might be thought to have housed religious communities, the military character of the *gasr* at Breviglieri is specifically recorded in the inscription that formerly stood over the main entrance, and is now in the Museum at Lepcis (*I.R.T.* 877). The full meaning of this inscription, which is written in Latin characters, but in the Libyan tongue, has yet to be deciphered; but the significance of the first word, *centenare* (or *centenarem*), is not in doubt. The *gasr* at Breviglieri was a military or quasi-military *centenarium*, a unit in the late antique defensive organization of the province.[1] How far the word retained, in the late fifth century, a formal military significance it is hard to say. But the close association of church and *gasr* would certainly seem to suggest that, in some sense, they did jointly serve as the centre of a specific district; and by analogy, Chafagi Aamer and Gasr Maamùra may be held to have served the same purpose.

(b) Byzantine Churches

Three of the churches in the coastal cities are Byzantine foundations (Sabratha 2; Lepcis 1 and 3). These are distinguished from their predecessors in several important respects: by their observance of the normal orientation, with the apse towards the east; by the abolition of any distinction in level between nave and apse; by the transfer of the altar from a position near the middle of the nave to one in, or just in front of, the apse; and by the provision, in two cases, of chapels flanking the apse and, in the third, by the demarcation of an equivalent space at the east end of the two lateral aisles. In all this, these sixth-century Tripolitanian foundations conform to normal sixth-century practice in the East, and embody architectural forms that were developing there under the stimulus of an increasingly elaborate liturgical ritual.

All three churches were built in the early years of the Byzantine reconquest, as part of a deliberate policy of urban rehabilitation; and it is noteworthy that, although many, perhaps all, of the existing coastal churches were restored at the same time, in no case were their internal arrangements seriously modified. Elsewhere, e.g. at Baalbek,[2] a western apse might be suppressed and an eastern apse added: here the earlier disposition remained in use, side by side with the new. In this respect, at any rate, the results of the Byzantine reconquest can be seen to have been limited and superficial.

In one important detail, however, the Byzantine seed fell on more fruitful ground. Two of the three new foundations (Lepcis 1 and 3) include a distinct baptistery-chamber, with a recessed, cruciform font; two of the pre-existing coastal churches (Sabratha 1, Lepcis 2) followed suit, and added similar baptisteries, in the one case replacing an earlier, more modest structure; and a third (Sabratha 3) built a new, and larger, baptistery, on the same scale as the other sixth-century baptisteries, though rather different in plan. In the interior we meet the same phenomenon. No less than three churches (el-Asabaa, Breviglieri, Chafagi Aamer) have baptisteries of the same

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[1] R. G. Goodchild, 'The Centenaria of the Tripolitanian Limes', *Reports and Monographs of the Department of Antiquities in Tripolitania*, ii, 1949, pp. 32–34.

[2] D. Krencker, Th. v. Lüpke, H. Winnefeld, *Baalbek*, ii, 1923, pp. 130–43.

type, in each case added to a pre-existing structure. It is evident that these baptisteries answered a local need. As we know, both from the literary and epigraphic evidence, and from the surviving remains elsewhere, the baptistery played an important part in North African ritual observance;[1] and it is one of the more unexpected aspects of Tripolitanian Christian archaeology that the known pre-Byzantine baptisteries should be so few in number (Sabratha 1 and 3; and, doubtfully, Lepcis 4), and so modest in scale. Whatever the reasons may have been, it is clear that in the sixth century these reasons no longer operated. Local usage welcomed, and adopted as its own, the spacious baptisteries of the new Byzantine churches.

An aspect of Byzantine building activity that is vividly exemplified in Church 2 at Sabratha is the discrepancy between the wealth of the imported fittings and the poverty of the architectural frame within which they were displayed. Skilled craftsmen were summoned from the East to lay the great mosaic; and carved marble fittings were shipped, ready made, from the Imperial quarries. This was no isolated phenomenon. At Oea a capital of Byzantine form and workmanship (p. 20) attests the former existence of another church that was built in part of imported elements; early sixth-century Byzantine capitals at Kairouân come, presumably, from one of the churches at Carthage;[2] and in Cyrenaica there were at least two such churches, the one at Barce, the chancel-slabs from which are identical with those at Sabratha,[3] the other at Apollonia, the imported fittings of which included the same chancel-slabs, chancel-posts, cipollino columns, decorated in low relief with the cross-on-orb motif (as at Sabratha, fig. 5), capitals, bases, and impost blocks.[4]

These finds cast valuable light on the motives that lay behind one part of Justinian's vast building programme. The church-building that his agents were required to undertake in the provinces, side by side with the immediate physical requirements of public works and defence, was not merely an expression of the theocratic tendency of the age: it was part of a deliberate and carefully planned policy, designed to knit more closely the cultural ties between the provinces and the central authority. The medium chosen, art in the service of religious thought and observance, was characteristic of the age:[5] the part that the cult of Rome and Augustus had played under the earlier Empire now fell to the Church.

(c) Individual Architectural Features

Orientation: Apse and Counter-apse. The three sixth-century Byzantine churches of Tripolitania have the apse in the customary position, at the east end, or as near to the east as conditions permitted. With a single exception (Church 2 at Lepcis, which in several respects approximates to the later type rather than the earlier) the pre-

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[1] For a recent summary of the archaeological evidence from Tunisia see *IV Congr. Arch. Crist.* i, pp. 203–15.

[2] The type is that of Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien,* pl. 38, nos. 630, 632. Other imported sixth-century marble fittings in Tunisia are the chancel-slabs of the south-east apse in Damous el-Karita; a column from Carthage, with the cross-on-orb in relief, now in the Musée Borely, Marseilles (inv. 9416); and a fragment of a chancel-slab in

the baptistery at Iunca (G. L. Feuille, *Cahiers Archéologiques,* iii, 1948, p. 79, fig. 2).

[3] J. B. Ward Perkins, 'Christian Antiquities of the Cyrenaican Pentapolis', *Bull. Soc. Arch. Copte,* ix, 1943, p. 136, pl. IV.

[4] Cf. *ibid.,* p. 136.

[5] O. von Simson, *Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna,* Chicago, 1948, *passim.*

Byzantine basilical churches are oriented in the reverse direction, with the façade to the east and the apse to the west.

In Tunisia the eastern apse is the normal rule at all periods;[1] but there are a number of exceptions, including three of the five known basilicas of Carthage. Basilicas with the presbytery apse to the west are:

Ammaedara: all four churches.
Carthage: *Basilica maiorum*, Bir el-Knissia, St. Cyprian.
Dougga.
Henchir Boudriès.
Henchir Chigarnia.
Kasserine.
Ksar el-Hamar.
Sbeitla, church of presbyter Servus and small church near the amphitheatre.
Tabarka (including the *Ecclesia Mater* mosaic; see p. 57).
Thelepte, basilica 3 (south-east of the citadel).

In Algeria western apses are rare. The only example known to the writers is the south church at Announa, and in that case the unusual orientation may be due to the lie of the ground.

Two of the Tripolitanian churches, Lepcis 1 and Sabratha 1, have a secondary apse, facing the main, presbytery apse at the other end of the nave. Similar counter-apses are found in a number of North African churches. Three are known in Algeria, at Matifou, at Orléansville, and at Tipasa (church of Bishop Alexander), and in each case the counter-apse is structurally secondary and funerary in purpose. In Tunisia six have been recorded. Of these, three (Sbeitla, church of Bishop Bellator; Henchir Chigarnia; Iunca, Basilica A) are certainly funerary, and a fourth (Thelepte, Church 3) is probably; the other two (Mididi, Henchir Goraat ez-Zid) are known from summary excavations only. In two of them (Sbeitla, Hr. Chigarnia) the counter-apse appears to be contemporary with the building of the church; and in one only (Thelepte, Church 3) is it certainly a later addition. Architecturally distinct from the funerary counter-apse that opens directly off the nave, but similar to it in function, is the free-standing apsidal exedra that stands in the courtyard immediately opposite the main door of the *basilica maiorum* at Carthage.

The secondary, eastern apse of Church 1 at Sabratha (fig. 2), which stands in the middle of a crowded cemetery, might well be thought to have served a similar purpose.[2] In fact, however, no less than the corresponding, western apse of the church in the Severan basilica at Lepcis, it is the result of adapting a pre-existing, judiciary basilica to Christian use; and the ground in and around it does not seem subsequently to have acquired any special sanctity. The graves are no more, and no less, densely packed than in any of the other open ground adjoining the church; and the few inscribed tombs within it contain no hint of any special association. There is nothing to suggest that this apse was anything more than an accident of the architectural setting within which the church was built.

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[1] *IV Congr. Arch. Crist.* i, p. 172.   [2] So Romanelli, *Bas. Crist.*, pp. 247–8.

The Presbytery. Both the texts[1] and the surviving remains of such buildings as the south church at Announa and the small church at Dougga make it clear that in North Africa the clergy regularly occupied benches in the apse, with a throne in the centre. In Tripolitania traces of such an arrangement can be seen in Churches 1 and 2 at Lepcis, and perhaps at Breviglieri; but in the remaining churches, as normally elsewhere in North Africa, the seating was probably of wood.

In the three sixth-century Byzantine churches of Tripolitania (and in Church 2 at Lepcis) the presbytery opens directly on to the chancel. In the earlier churches, on the other hand, it is regularly raised above the level of the chancel, and is approached from it by a flight of steps. These, the *gradus exedrae* of St. Augustine,[2] are a characteristic feature of North African ecclesiastical architecture, both in Tunisia (e.g. the three larger churches at Sbeitla, Tabarka, Church 3 at Thelepte) and in Algeria (e.g. Lambaesis, Matifou, Morsott, Tigzirt, Tébessa). They were commonly of masonry: elsewhere, e.g. in the first phase of Church 3 at Sabratha, they must have been of wood.

In several of the earlier churches the distinction between presbytery and chancel was further marked by a screen placed in the entrance to the apse, at the head of the steps. In the three early churches at Sabratha this consists of a pair of columns, so placed that the distance between each column and the shoulder of the apse is considerably less than that between the two columns. This screen was something more substantial than an iconostasis: in Churches 1 and 3, at any rate, the columns are too large in proportion to the building to belong to a screen of this sort; nor are there the sockets for chancel-slabs. It seems that the columns must have been structural, and carried a tympanum-like feature across the head of the apse; and the suggestion finds confirmation in the traces of just such a tympanum at Chafagi Aamer (p. 52, pl. xxii); cf. also Gasr Maamùra (p. 47). This tympanum was probably carried across the central span of the screen by an arch, rather than by a flat architrave. Such an architrave would have been of considerable dimensions and might reasonably be expected to have left some trace in one of the three churches; and, in any case, an arch would have been more in accordance with Christian building practice in Tripolitania. The lateral openings, on the other hand, seem unduly narrow for an arch; and the logical interpretation of the surviving remains would seem, therefore, to be that represented in fig. 29.

The arch flanked by a pair of flat architraves appears in a variety of closely related forms in the art of late antiquity.[3] It seems to have had a clear and precise significance and to have indicated the divinity or quasi-divinity of the personage with whom it was most immediately connected, either as an architectural feature of the façade of a temple,[4] church,[5] or palace,[6] or as the setting for the representation of some religious

[1] e.g. Augustine, *Epist.* cxxvi, 1; cf. *Epist.* xxix, 8.

[2] Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, xxii, 8 *ad fin.*

[3] E. Weigand, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, v, 1928, pp. 112 ff.; Donald R. Brown, 'The Arcuated Lintel and its Symbolic Interpretation in Late Antique Art', *A.J.A.* xlvi, 1942, pp. 389–99. Cf. also H. Stern, *Cahiers Archéologiques*, iii, 1948, pp. 82 ff.

[4] e.g. the second-century temples of 'Atil and Mushennef in the Haurân, H. C. Butler, *Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria, 1899–1900*, part ii, *Architecture and other Arts*, 1903, pp. 343–51, figs. 121, 123. Cf. the temple of Dushara at Si', reproduced by Brown, *op. cit.*, fig. 5.

[5] e.g. the pre-Justinian portico of Haghia Sophia; *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, p. 310, abb. 2; A. M. Schneider, *Die Hagia Sophia zu Konstantinopel*, 1939, abb. 3.

[6] e.g. Diocletian's Palace at Spalato.

scene[1] or scene of court ceremonial.[2] Architecturally, it figures most commonly on the façades of buildings; but it is misleading to state[3] that it was never used otherwise. The ninth-century (?) iconostasis of the cemetery-chapel at Capena (Leprignano), near Rome,[4] is itself rustic work; but it patently copies earlier, more distinguished models, and provides welcome confirmation that the representations in metal-work and ivory are copied from the actual settings of court ceremonial, and that such screens were to be found among the liturgical fittings of the early church. Nowhere would they be more appropriate than framing the passage through which the priest passed in solemn procession from the presbytery to the altar and where, on certain occasions, he stood to address the congregation assembled below.[5] Architecturally, the Tripolitanian form of screen, with a tympanum above and forming an integral part of the structure of the apse, is quite distinct; but that the two forms were interrelated, and that they developed in response to similar liturgical needs, can hardly be doubted.[6]

Similar screens existed in a number of North African churches. As in the case in the examples cited above, the central span is sometimes wider than the other two (as at Sabratha), sometimes the columns are equally spaced; and it may well be that in some of them the lateral openings were arched, in place of the flat lintel. There can be little doubt that the *Ecclesia Mater* mosaic from Tabarka (p. 57, fig. 28) illustrates such a screen, with a large central arch flanked by two smaller arches. The following churches certainly had substantial screens across the entrance to the apse: Bénian; Carthage, St. Cyprian;[7] Madauros; Orléansville, across the counter-apse (A.D. 475); Thelepte, Church 1; Tigzirt, the great church; Tigzirt, chapel in the east cemetery; perhaps also Djemila (*C.R. Acad.*, 1922, pp. 380–407).

At Henchir el-Begueur (Hr. Pharaoun) there is an 'arcuated lintel' of the form illustrated in fig. 29 still standing between the nave and the transept; and the south church at Announa will serve to illustrate an architecturally simpler version, in which two columns and deep responding pilasters take the place of the triple-arched columnar screen. This simpler form is very common, and it served precisely the same purpose, emphasizing the division between presbytery and chancel.

The Chancel. In the pre-Byzantine churches of Tripolitania the chancel, i.e. the reserved space around the altar, does not include the apse: instead it regularly occupies a considerable part, usually more than half, of the body of the nave. It was divided from the presbytery by a flight of steps, and from the aisles and from the rest of the nave by screens, most of which were probably of wood and have left no trace other than the slots cut in the column bases into which they were fitted. There was an opening on the axis of the nave, towards the façade; and at Breviglieri, where the

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[1] e.g. the Nicosia silver dishes; *Archaeologia*, lx, 1906, pp. 1–24; O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, 1911, figs. 60, 61, 358.

[2] e.g. the silver missorium of Theodosius; Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 356.

[3] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

[4] G. Tomasetti, *La Campagna Romana*, iii, 1913, p. 308 (no illustration).

[5] Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, xxii, 8 *ad fin.*

[6] For the early development of the iconostasis see most recently Henri Stern, *Cahiers Archéologiques*, iii, 1948, pp. 93–100; and, of the examples there cited (*ibid.*, pl. vi, 1 and 2), notably an engraved marble slab in the Lateran Museum (O. Marrucchi, *Riv. Arch. Crist.*, 1929, pp. 359–67) and the Menas ivory at Milan (R. Delbrueck, *Die Konsulardiptychen*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1929, pp. 25 ff.).

[7] The sixth-century screen across the south-east apse at Damous el-Karita was a lighter structure, resembling an iconostasis.

screen consisted of a low wall, there is the sill of a lateral door. In all of this, the Tripolitanian churches followed standard North African practice.

In the three sixth-century churches the chancel is not distinguished from the apse, and occupies a far smaller proportion of the nave. It should be noted, however, that
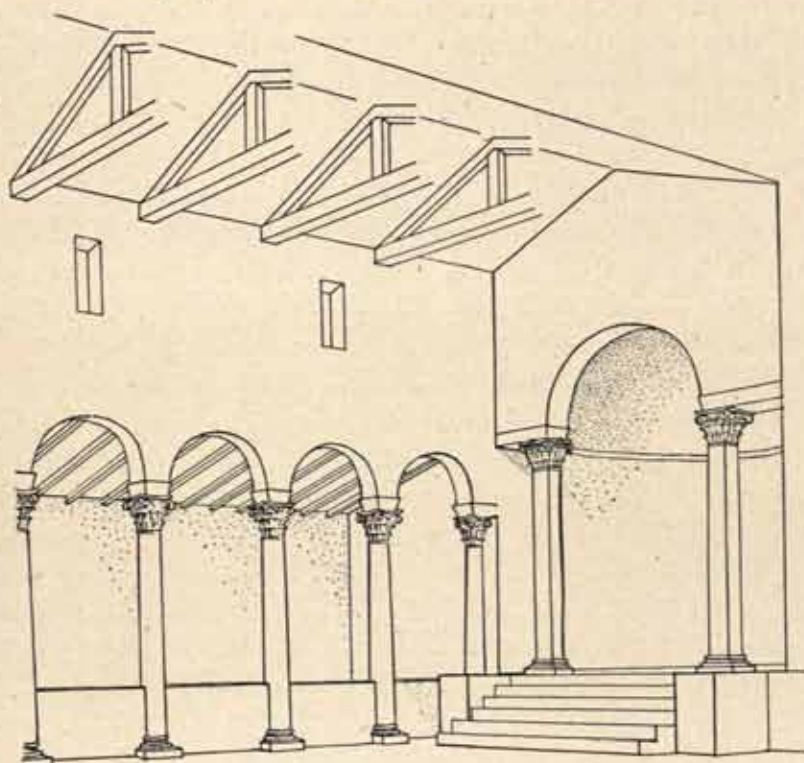
FIG. 29. Reconstructed view of the west end of a typical fifth-century Tripolitanian church.

although, in this respect, these churches approximate rather to contemporary Byzantine usage, there is no trace in them of such liturgical refinements as the *solea*, represented in the restored Haghia Sophia.[1] These are found occasionally in the west, e.g. in the basilica of Dermesch at Carthage; but it would seem that, at the time when the Tripolitanian churches were built, they were not yet in general use.

Apart from Church 2 at Lepcis, which is in so many ways exceptional, the only church in which it is certain that the chancel was raised above the level of the nave (as commonly elsewhere in North Africa, at all periods)[2] is Church 1 at Lepcis; and this is probably to be explained by the wish to secure a uniform level within a chancel, one part of which, the apse, was already raised. It is possible, however, that the sixth-century raising of the floor-level around the altar, attested in Churches 1 and 3 (and 4?) at Sabratha, was limited to the chancel, and was intended to distinguish it more sharply from the rest of the building.

Altars. Fragments of marble altars have been found in Church 2 at Sabratha, and at el-Asabaa. These consisted of a rectangular table, with a raised border, resting at

[1] See Stephen G. Xydis, 'The Chancel Barrier, Solea, and Ambo of Hagia Sophia', *Art Bulletin*, xxix, 1947, pp. 1–24.

[2] Where it is probably rightly identified with the *crepido altaris* of Victor Vitensis, i, 42; Gsell, *Édifices chrétiens de Thélepte*, p. 28, n. 100 (p. 208, n. 7).

the angles on four colonnettes; and the marble bases for similar altars, with a central reliquary recess,[1] have been found in Churches 1, 2, and 3 at Sabratha. Three of these examples are of sixth-century date; and the fourth comes from a church, el-Asabaa, that underwent modification in the Byzantine period. Byzantine also are two altars of the form illustrated in Cabrol-Leclercq, i, 2, figs. 1137–9, the one from Church 2 at Sabratha, the other from Church 5 at Lepcis. Altars of this form, part rectangular and part semicircular, are best known from examples found in Egypt;[2] but they were evidently in widespread use in the sixth-century and seventh-century church.[3]

Normally the altar was probably of wood. This was common practice elsewhere in North Africa;[4] and the sockets for the wooden uprights can be seen in Churches 1 and 3 at Sabratha. Analogy suggests that these wooden altars were simple, rectangular tables, resting on four wooden uprights; but further excavation is needed to confirm this point.

In a number of churches the altar stood beneath a canopy. This, too, was perhaps normally of wood (Churches 1 and 3 at Sabratha, first phase; cf. the canopy over the sixth-century baptistery of Church 1); but half a dozen examples are known in marble (Churches 1 and 3 at Sabratha, second phase, using earlier material; Church 2 at Lepcis; Church 2 at Sabratha) or in local stone (Church 4 at Sabratha; el-Asabaa; and perhaps Breviglieri).

Pulpits (*Ambones*). These are found in three churches only (Sabratha 2, Lepcis 1 and 3), in each case in the body of the nave outside the chancel, but placed against the north (left) colonnade, in the centre of the nave, and against the south (right) colonnade, respectively. All three churches were Byzantine foundations; and the two forms of pulpit used, with a single flight of steps (Sabratha 2) and with two flights (Lepcis 1 and 3), approximate to the types in current use in the Byzantine church. That at Sabratha is a crude version of the type, with a single stair, represented by two sixth-century examples at Saloniki, one in the church of St. Menas, the other from Haghia Sophia, now in Constantinople.[5] Those at Lepcis copy, in simplified form, the type with two opposed stairs, of which the most splendid example known to antiquity was that in Haghia Sophia at Constantinople.[6]

There is no trace of an ambon in any of the pre-Byzantine churches, either in Tripolitania or elsewhere in North Africa.

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[1] Cf. the altar-base of the church of Bishop Bellator at Sbeitla.

[2] Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, figs. 157–8; Crum, *Coptic Monuments*, no. 8706, pl. LV.

[3] Most commonly in a rather more elaborate form, with semicircular recesses cut in the border: e.g. E. Dyggve and R. Egger, *Forschungen in Salona*, iii, 1939, abb. 55; Sotiriou, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1929, pp. 102 (Thebes) and 235 (Ephesus). Examples are recorded from both churches in the Byzantine fortress of Iunca, *Bull. Arch.*, 1935, p. 763 (Basilica A) and information from M. Garrigue (Basilica B). See further, J. Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie*, Paris, 1947, pp. 200–1; J. Vives, *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxvii, 1949, pp. 401–6 (an example recently found at Rubi, near Egara, in Tarraconensis).

[4] Gsell, *Monuments*, ii, p. 145, *et passim*. St. Augustine refers to such wooden altars, *Contra Cresconium*, iii, 47: 'Maximianus Episcopus catholicus Bagaiensis . . . in ea ipsa (sc. basilica) sub altari quo confugerat, eodem supra se fracto eiusque lignis aliisque fustibus . . . caesus . . .', cf. *Epist.* clxxxv, 27; Optatus, *De schism. Donatistarum*, vi, 1.

[5] G. Mendel, *Musées Impériaux Ottomans: catal. des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, ii, 1914, no. 644.

[6] Lethaby and Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople*, 1894, pp. 53–65; and most recently, Stephen G. Xydis, *Art Bulletin*, xxix, 1947, pp. 1–24.

Sacristies. The layout of the pre-Byzantine churches of Tripolitania could hardly be more diverse in respect of the chapels that, in so many early churches, flank the apse and are often called, in terms of the developed nomenclature of the Eastern Church, *prothesis* and *diakonikon*.[1] A glance at fig. 30 is enough to show that, in Tripolitania, one church only (Gasr es-Suq, in what was probably its original form) conforms strictly to the canonical pattern, with the 'diakonikon' opening off the presbytery and the 'prothesis' opening directly off the body of the church. It is evident that, on this point at any rate, liturgical practice in Tripolitania was still very fluid.

In this respect Tripolitania differs in degree only from Tunisia and from Algeria. Since Gsell,[2] it has been customary to emphasize the fact that the majority of the large basilicas of North Africa have two sacristies, and to cite this fact as evidence of the close relations between the churches of North Africa and of Syria. It is worth noting, however, that a number of important North African churches, including two of those at Carthage itself (the *Basilica maiorum* and Bir el-Knissia), have the apse only without flanking sacristies. Thelepte, where Church 3 (early fifth century?) has no flanking chapels, whereas Church 1 (undated, but assigned by Gsell to the fourth century) has 'prothesis' and 'diakonikon' clearly defined, to right and left of the apse respectively, may be taken as typical of what was probably, in North Africa as elsewhere, a period of development and experiment rather than of the acceptance of architectural formulas imported ready-made from abroad.

The church at Breviglieri (p. 44) is unique in that the side aisles, as well as the nave, end in small apsidal chapels. Tri-apsidal basilicas are rare in early Christian architecture:[3] the only other pre-Justinian examples known to the writers are at Kal'ât Simân (*c.* 460–90) and at Baalbek.[4] It is worth emphasizing, therefore, that the lateral apses at Breviglieri belong to the original church, which is of pre-Byzantine type, and that they were mutilated to give access to a baptistery that was added later, in imitation of the baptisteries introduced to the coastal cities by Justinian. Whatever may be the absolute date of the church at Breviglieri, its relative position within the Tripolitanian series can hardly be in doubt.

Baptisteries. Of the eleven known baptisteries, two are modest stepped basins (Sabratha 1 (*a*) and 3 (*a*)), and are certainly pre-Byzantine; seven are of the form with a cruciform basin, and certainly (Sabratha 1 (*b*), Lepcis 1, 2, and 3) or probably (el-Asabaa, Breviglieri, Chafagi Aamer) of Byzantine date; and another (Sabratha 3 (*b*)), of different but equally elaborate form, is probably Byzantine also. The date of Lepcis 4 is not known. In two cases (Sabratha 1 and 3) a simple, early basin was later replaced by one that was larger and more elaborate. Two (Lepcis 2 and 4) are housed in separate buildings: the remainder occupy rooms annexed to the parent church.

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[1] In fact, Lassus has recently shown that the so-called *prothesis* of the early Syrian church is more commonly, if not exclusively, a martyr-chapel (*Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie*, Paris, 1947, pp. 162 ff., where the differentiation between the two chapels is first noted in the fifth century; cf. the same author's 'Liturgies nestoriennes médiévales et églises syriennes antiques' in *Rev. Hist. Rel.* cxxxvii,

1950, and article 'Syria' in Cabrol-Leclercq, xv, 2).

[2] *Monuments*, ii, p. 150.

[3] See J. B. Ward Perkins, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xvii, 1949, pp. 55–56.

[4] D. Krencker, Th. v. Lüpke, H. Winnefeld, *Baalbek*, ii, 1923, pp. 130–43; cf. plan, vol. i, taf. 17.

SABRATHA 1.

SABRATHA 3.

SABRATHA 4.

EL-ASABAA

TEBEDUT

CHAFAGI AAMER

GASR ES-SUQ EL-OTI

BREVIGLIERI

LEPCIS MAGNA 2.

SCALE 0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 METRES

LEPCIS MAGNA 1.
(Scale proportionately reduced)

LEPCIS MAGNA 3.

SCALE 0 3 6 9 12 15 METRES
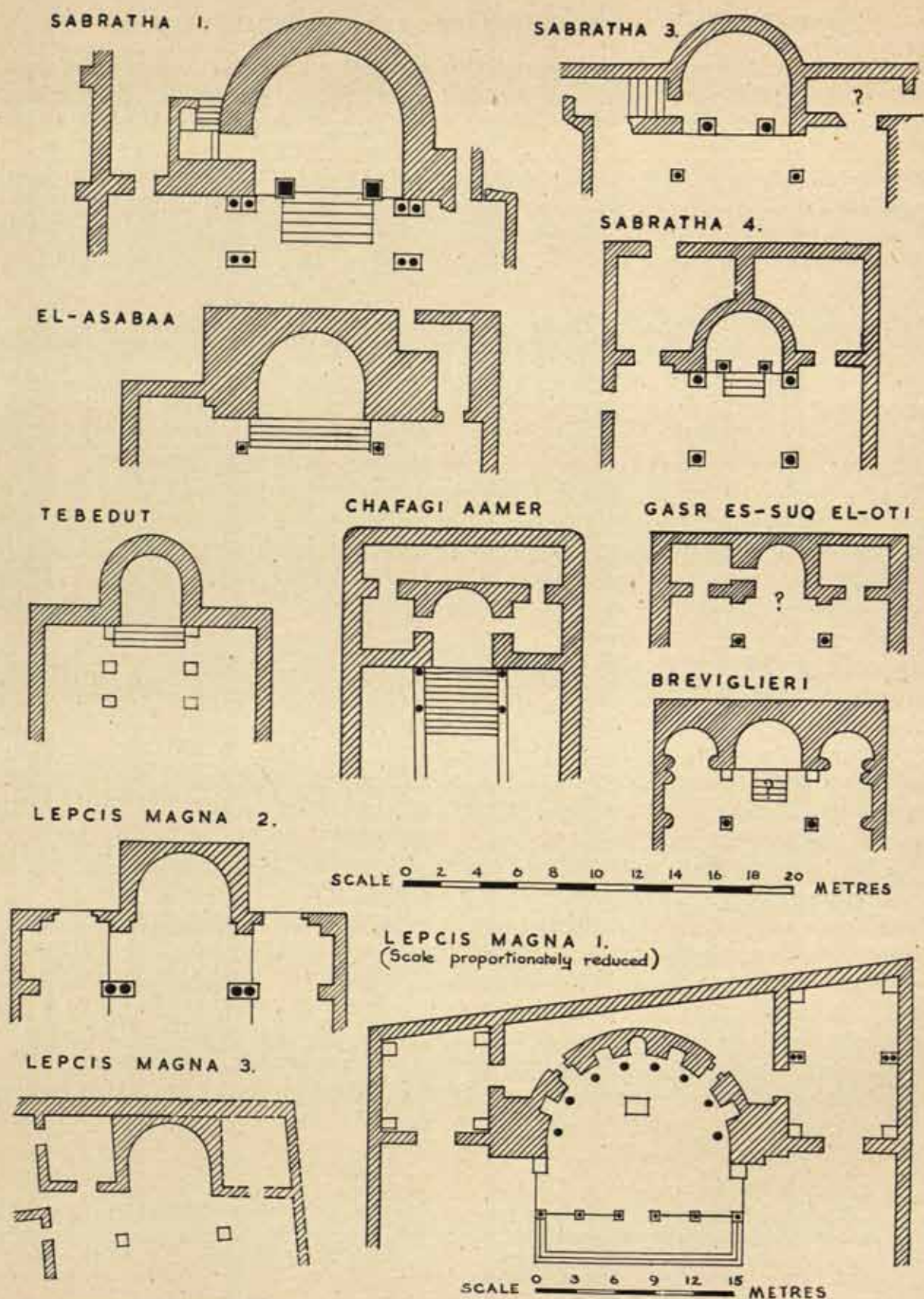
FIG. 30. Comparative diagram of the apses and adjoining chapels of Tripolitanian churches: nos. 1–8, Pre-Byzantine foundations with western apse (Byzantine modifications omitted; no. 7, Gasr es-Suq, illustrates probable original form); no. 9, Pre-Byzantine foundation with eastern apse; nos. 10, 11, Byzantine foundations.

The two pre-Byzantine basins are too modest to be informative. The cruciform basins, on the other hand, belong to a small but clearly defined group, examples of which are recorded also from Tunisia and from Greece. Of the Tunisian cruciform basins, one, now in the Bardo Museum, comes from Henchir Bourmedès, which lay

FIG. 31. Distribution of baptisteries and Christian cemeteries in Tripolitania.

within the province and ecclesiastical district of Tripolitania; the other three, from Oued Ramel (the mosaics are of the sixth century), Ousseltia (brief notice in *IV Congr. Arch. Crist.* i, 206) and Thuburbo Maius are from the adjoining territory of Byzacena; cf. also the lobed basin at Castiglione, in Algeria. Similar basins are recorded both from mainland Greece[1] and from the islands.[2] Some of these may be as early as the fifth century, and there seems no reason to doubt that the type was introduced into North Africa from Greece in the sixth century.

Four of the Tripolitanian baptisteries are placed behind the presbytery apse. In Church 1 at Sabratha this location may have been dictated by convenience; at

[1] Sotiriou, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1929, p. 184, fig. 47 (Eleusis).
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 219 (Mytilene); H. Balducci, *Basiliche protocristiane e bizantine a Coo*, Pavia, s.d., fig. 28; G. Morri-
cone, *Boll. d'arte*, xxxv, 1950, p. 59, fig. 8, and p. 328, figs. 108, 110 (Kos).

el-Asabaa, Breviglieri, and Chafagi Aamer it involved considerable alteration to the existing structure, and was clearly intended. Similarly placed baptisteries are not unknown elsewhere in North Africa (Henchir Deheb, Morsott, and a recently excavated church at Mactar), but they are exceptional. If the room beneath the apse at Chafagi Aamer is indeed an earlier baptistery (p. 52), it offers a very close parallel to the baptistery crypt at Castiglione, in Algeria.

Nave Colonnades. There is no trace in any of the Tripolitanian churches of the use of the architrave in place of the arch. In two churches only, Chafagi Aamer and Gasr es-Suq, are the actual arches preserved; but, although the records of excavation elsewhere make no mention either of voussoirs or of architrave, their silence is the more readily explained if the remains of the collapsed superstructure consisted of units of modest dimensions and everyday materials. It is not impossible that, on occasion, the Christian architects, like their predecessors in Tripolitania,[1] used wooden architraves. But, as in so many other parts of the late antique world, timber was an increasingly precious commodity; and in the absence of explicit evidence to the contrary it is probably wiser to assume that the arch was far more common, if not indeed universal (but see p. 81).

In two churches (Sabratha 1 and Lepcis 2), the columns of the arcade are doubled. This is a common North African practice, either in the form, as here, of a pair of columns, or in the form of a column coupled with a pier. The reason was not in all cases the same. Gsell[2] distinguishes two types of building, similar in plan, but very different in elevation and structural intent. In the one type, which includes many of the largest and richest of the North African basilicas,[3] the outer member of each pair is functional and carries the direct load of the clerestory wall and of the timber roof, whereas the primary purpose of the inner member is to carry a decorative superstructure, bracketed into the main bearing wall. In the other,[4] the purpose of the outer member is to carry the added weight of a vault over the lateral aisle. The distinction is valid and may be accepted, with one important qualification: by no means all the churches that belong to the second group had vaulted aisles; in many of them the purpose of the second column was more general. All of these buildings were built, in part at any rate, of re-used materials; and, in applying arches to classical columns, the architect was often faced with the problem that the bearing surface of the capital, designed for an architrave of marble or of limestone, was insufficient for the superstructure that it now had to carry. This was a problem that the Byzantine architect solved by the use of the impost block or of the truncated pyramidal capital. The North African solution[5] was to use two columns in the place of one, whenever the weight of the superstructure (e.g. Lepcis 2) or the size of the building in relation to the available columns (e.g. Sabratha 1; but not Sabratha 3 and 4) required it.

North African examples of this type are the basilica of Dermesch at Carthage; Dar el-Kous at Le Kef; Sbiba; and Henchir Bourmedès (Meninx, in the ancient

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[1] The evidence for this practice in Imperial times will be discussed in the report on the British School at Rome's expedition to Tripolitania, 1948–9.

[2] *Thelepte*, p. 199 and fig. 4 (cross-section of Thelepte 1; cf. Gauckler, *Basiliques*, pl. xxviii, Mididi; Cabrol-Leclercq, i, 1, fig. 141, Tébessa).

[3] e.g. Mididi, Morsott, Tébessa, Thelepte 1, Tigzirt, Timgad.

[4] e.g. Henchir Bourmedès, Dar el-Kous at Le Kef.

[5] Cf. also Santa Costanza, Rome.

province and diocese of Tripolitania); cf. also the sixth-century vaulting of one of the angle-chapels in Church 1 at Lepcis (pl. XII, *d*).

Timber Roofs and Vaults. The choice of material for roofing seems to have been mainly one of practical convenience. In the coastal cities, where there was earlier material available for re-use, the normal practice was probably an open timber roof: only in Church 2 at Lepcis is there any clear evidence of vaulting; and this was, in any case, an exceptional building. On the other hand, there are signs that, as time passed, the provision of suitable timber became increasingly difficult: Church 1 at Sabratha, built probably in the early fifth century, was narrower than the fourth-century basilica that preceded it; and the span of Church 3 was deliberately reduced when it was rebuilt in the sixth century.

In the interior, and particularly in the southern wadis, where there were no supplies of suitable timber, vaulting was common. At Chafagi Aamer the nave roof has gone, but there were certainly barrel-vaults over the aisles; and at Gasr es-Suq there were barrel-vaults over nave and aisles alike. At el-Asabaa the aisles may have been vaulted; or the piers that mark alternate bays may be no more than transverse, buttressing arches, beneath a timber roof: to judge from the proportions, the nave at any rate can hardly have been vaulted. It may be noted that, in the contemporary domestic architecture of the frontier zone, there are signs of the progressive abandonment of timber in favour of vaulting.

Except over the crossing in Church 2 at Lepcis, the only form of vault for which there is any evidence is the barrel-vault.

Windows. The carved window-frames at Breviglieri must come from clerestory windows, opening through the nave walls above the junction with the roof of the lateral aisles; and presumably the majority of the churches were so lit. At Gasr es-Suq, on the other hand, there is certainly no room for a clerestory; and it may be doubted whether the materials of the vault were sufficiently solid to permit the opening through the flanks of the vault of windows similar to those used to light the third-century Hunting Baths at Lepcis.[1] In such a case, and in Church 2 at Lepcis, the architects must have been content with windows set in the gable. Only one colonnette from a double window has been recorded, from the late Church 5 at Lepcis.

Carved Ornament, Mosaic, and Painting. The builders of the coastal churches were, as a rule, content to re-use the carved marbles of antiquity. In the interior, on the other hand, where there were few fine buildings to plunder, there was a vigorous school of late antique decorative sculpture. The range of purely ornamental motifs is well illustrated at Breviglieri (pls. XVII–XIX); and although it includes motifs, such as the vine-scroll, that are classical in origin, it represents mainly a more primitive tradition of abstract design, in which it is the medium of expression only that is derived from classical sources. Work of this sort is characteristic of many marginal provinces of the Empire in late antiquity; and it is the result of a common reaction to common conditions, rather than of any direct contact between the peoples of these widely scattered territories. Examples of this work are to be seen in the churches of

[1] J. B. Ward Perkins and J. M. C. Toynbee, 'The Hunting Baths at Lepcis Magna', *Archaeologia*, xciii, 1949, pp. 165–95.

Ain Wif, el-Asabaa, Breviglieri, Chafagi Aamer, Gasr es-Suq, Gasr Maamùra, and Tebedut. For a representative group of capitals, see pl. xv.

The crude, but lively, figured reliefs that are the counterpart of this abstract ornament are only occasionally found in association with Christian work, and then (as at Sidi bu Laaba, p. 49) in a context that is predominantly secular, if not indeed frankly pagan.[1] There is no doubt, however, that many of them are contemporary with the Christian reliefs, to which they are the natural complement, and a summary list of those known to the writers is given in Appendix II.

The general poverty of the mosaics of Christian Tripolitania is in striking contrast to the wealth of Tunisia and of Algeria. With the single, brilliant exception of the mosaic in Justinian's church at Sabratha, tessellated pavements are recorded from three churches only, from Sabratha 1 and 3, and from el-Asabaa; and of these, only the second is known to have been of any elaboration. Funerary mosaics are represented by a single loculus of the Sabratha catacomb, and perhaps, copied in another material, by a gravestone at el-Asabaa. There were wall-mosaics at Gasr Maamùra and possibly at Henscir Taglissi.

The only churches that retain any trace of painted decoration are Lepcis 3 and Chafagi Aamer.

(d) Monograms and Crosses

To conclude this survey, it will be useful to summarize the evidence afforded by the use of the various forms of Christian monogram and cross. There is no doubt that, properly interpreted, these could be used to afford invaluable evidence of the absolute date of the associated monuments. There are, however, at present two factors that limit their usefulness in this respect: the one is the lack of a thorough recent survey of the dated material from Tunisia and from Algeria; the other is a doubt as to how far the absolute chronology of one province is applicable in another. It has seemed wiser therefore to limit this survey strictly to the Tripolitanian material, and within this to concentrate on establishing the relative incidence of the different types.

Chi-rho monogram

SABRATHA, catacomb:

    I.R.T. 194 — plain, used both as an acclamation and as an abbreviation for 'Christus'.

    I.R.T. 195 — with ω, A.

    Uninscribed loculi — plain.

OEA

    Bracket (1) — with A, ω; within wreath.

    Isolated inscriptions:

        I.R.T. 258 — with A, M [*sic*].

        I.R.T. 259 — plain.

LEPCIS MAGNA

    Inscribed block — with A, ω; within wreath.

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[1] The repetition of the scene illustrated on pl. xxi, *b*, at Muagen Tuansia (Appendix II), in almost identical form, strongly suggests that it has a well-defined symbolical content.
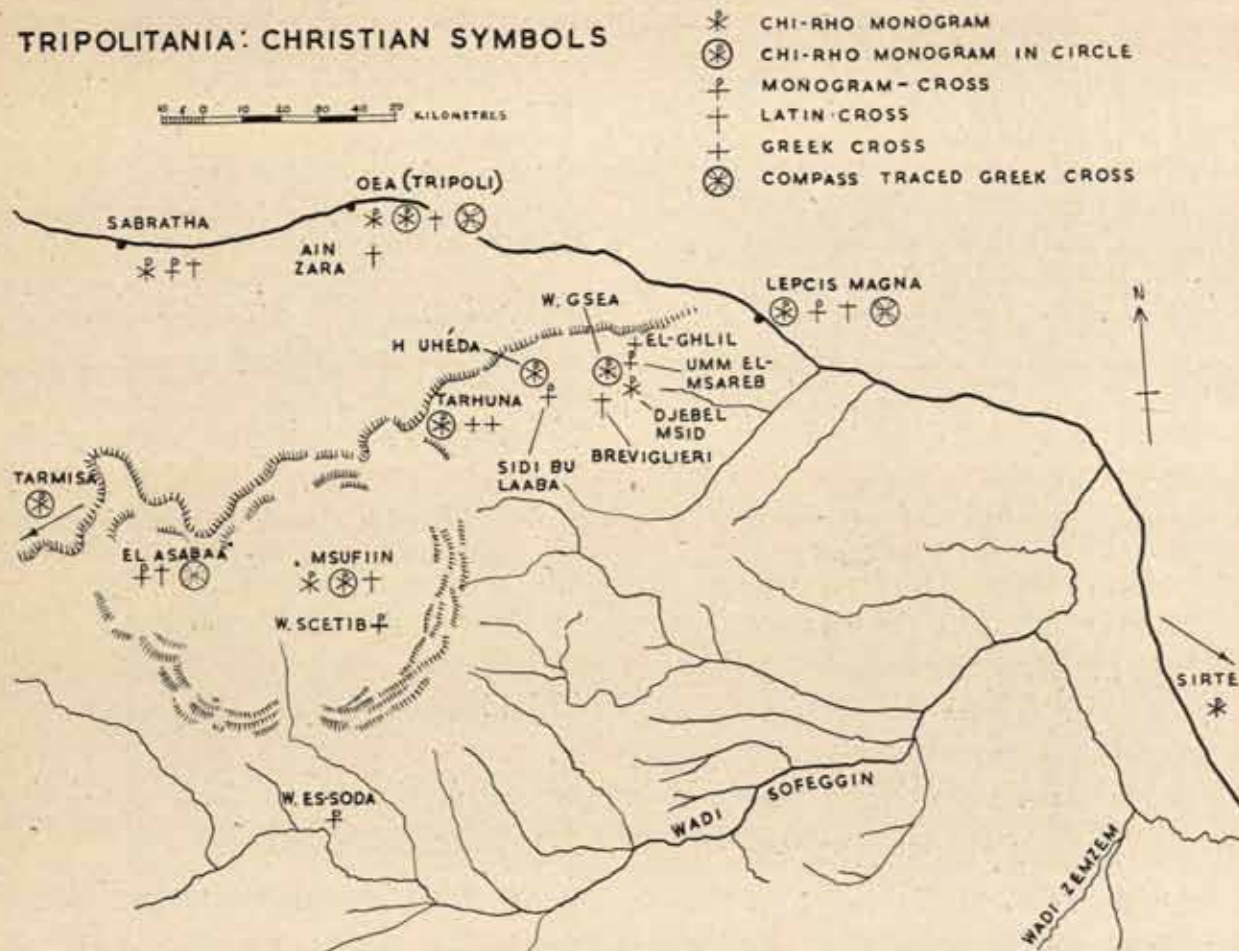
FIG. 32. Distribution of Christian symbols in Tripolitania. The following sites are not shown: Plain Greek cross: Breviglieri, Oea, Lepcis Magna; Compass-traced Greek cross: Ain Zara.

COASTAL ZONE AND SYRTICA
Catacomb at Sirte   *passim*; once only with A, ω.

WESTERN DJEBEL
Tarmisa, inscribed block (pl. XIII, *d*)   with A, ω; within wreath.
El-Msufiin, inscribed lintels (fig. 20)   with A, ω; within wreath. Also in text, plain, used as abbreviation for 'Christi'.

EASTERN DJEBEL
Henscir Uhéda, carved block   with A, ω; within wreath.
Tarhuna district, carved block (pl. XXI, *e*)   with A, ω; within wreath.
Wadi Gsea, carved block (pl. XIII, *c*)   with A, ω; within wreath.
Near Djebel Msid, inscribed block   with A, ω.

Of the above, all are of the form with a closed bowl to the rho, with the following exceptions:

Rho (P) approximating to Roman R, with   bracket at Oea, inscribed block from Tarmisa.
  open bowl

Rho (P) with open bowl   inscribed block at Lepcis.

Monogram-cross

SABRATHA
    Church 1, inscriptions from cemetery:
        I.R.T. 197, 199, 203, 204, 207, 220   plain
        I.R.T. 193, 200, 202   with A, ω
    Church 2, sixth-century panel (*I.R.T.* 192;   with A, ω
        fig. 5, *c*)
    Church 3, inscriptions from cemetery: with A, ω
        I.R.T. 219, 221
    Graffiti in the Theatre

Closed P-terminal: 192, 200.
Open P-terminal: 193, 199.
Closed R-terminal: 219.
Open R-terminal: 197, 202, 204, 207, 220.
Uncertain: 221.

plain; side by side with Latin crosses. Both open P- and R-terminals.

OEA
    Bracket (2)   plain; closed R-terminal.

LEPCIS MAGNA
    Church 2, inscriptions from cemetery: plain. All with closed P-terminal or forms
        I.R.T. 833, 835, 837, 840, 843, 845   approximating thereto.
    Church 3, headstone (?) from cemetery   with ω, A; open P-terminal.
    Church 5, keystone (fig. 15, 4)   with A, ω; open P-terminal.

WESTERN DJEBEL
    Church at el-Asabaa   plain: P-terminal (?).

EASTERN DJEBEL
    Sidi bu Laaba, carved and inscribed blocks   with ω, A: closed P-terminal.
        (pl. XXI, *a*)
    Umm el-Msareb, inscribed block   with A, ω.
    Wadi Scetib, keystone   plain, within wreath; open P-terminal.

WADI SOFEGGIN
    Building in the Wadi es-Soda   plain; closed P-terminal.

Latin cross

SABRATHA
    Church 1, inscriptions from cemetery:
        I.R.T. 196, 198, 208, 210, 212
        I.R.T. 213   also in same text, Latin cross with A, ω.
        I.R.T. 219   also, in same text, monogram-cross with A, ω.
    Church 2, on imported sixth-century chancel-
        slabs and columns
    Church 3, inscriptions from cemetery:
        I.R.T. 205, 206, 214
        I.R.T. 221   also, in same text, monogram-cross with A, ω.
    Cemetery near the Theatre
    Graffiti in the Theatre   side by side with monogram-crosses.
    Scattered finds: *I.R.T.* 201, 215

OEA
    Keystone from the old city
    Cemetery at Ain Zara   a variety of elaborated forms, mostly with forked terminals, once with A, ω.

Lepcis Magna
  Church 2, free-standing cross
  Church 2, inscriptions from cemetery:
    I.R.T. 834, 839, 840, 843   used alternately with monogram-cross.
    I.R.T. 844   with forked terminals.
  Church 3, inscriptions from cemetery:
    I.R.T. 842   earlier, sixth-century series; inscribed.
    I.R.T. 838, 846; also painted block, fig.   later series; 846, with forked terminals (on the
      15, 7   same tomb a compass-inscribed Greek
                                                      cross; and cf. the closely related I.R.T. 838,
                                                      with a similar, but Greek, cross).

  Graffiti in Regio III, insula 8   with inscribed birds.
  Late graffito in Hadrianic Baths   with hooked terminals.
  Findspot not recorded: I.R.T. 864

Western Djebel
  El-Asabaa, tombstone of Turrentius (pl. xii, c) with A, ω.
  El-Msufiin, isolated tomb: I.R.T. 864

Eastern Djebel
  Church at Breviglieri:
    impost block (pl. xvii, b)   flanked by rams; Greek crosses above.
    bracket (pl. xviii, d)
    window-head (pl. xix, d)   ⎫
    small carved block (pl. xvi, g)   ⎬ approximating to equal-armed cross.

Compass-traced Greek (equal-armed) cross

Oea
  Lintel from the old city (pl. x, c)
  Cemetery at Ain Zara   passim.

Lepcis Magna
  Church 1, south-west chapel   on a voussoir-block, in relief.
  Church 3, inscription from cemetery: one of the later series of tombs; on the same
    I.R.T. 846   tomb, a Latin cross with forked terminals.
  Church 5, inscribed colonnette (fig. 15, 1)
  Church 6, brackets (p. 82)

Western Djebel
  Church at Asabaa, carved brackets   Bartoccini, op. cit., figs. 16a, 20a.

Greek (equal-armed) cross: other forms

Oea
  Late inscription on a column (fig. 7)

Lepcis Magna
  Church 2, on keystones of vault (pl. xi, e)   in a circular frame, approximating to the
                                                    compass-traced form.

  Church 3, inscription from cemetery: one of the later series of tombs; with forked
    I.R.T. 838   terminals (cf. the closely related I.R.T. 846,
                                                      with a similar, but Latin, cross).

  Church 5, carved bracket (fig. 15, 2)
  Church 6, bracket (p. 82)   in a circular frame.

Eastern Djebel

Breviglieri, impost block (pl. XVII, *h*)	with Latin cross: see also pls. XVI, *g* and XIX, *d*, approximating forms.
El-Ghlil, inscribed block	'Byzantine cross.'
Tarhuna, inscribed block	'Greek cross in a circle.'
Tarhuna, capital	displayed on a disc.

In analysing the above facts it is important to distinguish the monuments of the coastal zone from those of the interior. While it is far from certain that at any one time practice was uniform between the two zones, it is a reasonable assumption that the forms current in the interior were derived in the first instance from the coastal cities. In the absence of securely dated monuments from the interior, it is, therefore, doubly important to establish, as firmly as the material may permit, a chronology for the coastal monuments.

It is at once apparent that, in one important respect, Tripolitania conforms to established usage, and that the chi-rho monogram was, absolutely as well as typologically, an earlier form than the monogram-cross. It is the only form found in the catacombs at Sabratha and Sirte: conversely, it is the monogram-cross alone that figures in the open cemeteries at Sabratha and Lepcis. The only possible exceptions are two isolated tombs from Oea, both of which may well be early.

It seems likely, too, that in the use or omission of the apocalyptic letters, alpha and omega, the Tripolitanian series conforms closely to the general rule that the plain form is the earlier. Whatever the absolute date of the Sirte and Sabratha catacombs, the former is typologically the more primitive; and it is noteworthy that all the chi-rho monograms from the interior of the country are of the more elaborate form.[1] The evidence for the monogram-cross is, in this respect, less clear. The cemetery in Church 2 at Lepcis perhaps represents a relatively early phase, in which the apocalyptic letters were not in general use; but it may well be that a small, closed group, such as this, represents no more than the preference of some individual or community. It is, in any case, certain that both forms, both with and without the apocalyptic letters, were soon in contemporary, and seemingly indifferent, use.

The form of the terminal follows much the same pattern. Here, too, Tripolitania conforms to established usage in that the typologically earlier form, compounded of the two Greek letters chi and rho, is in fact the form first current in the province. Two only of the recorded chi-rho monograms embody the latinized version, with the Roman R taking the place of the rho; in a third, the bowl of the rho is open, as in the lapidary Roman P. All three belong to the later, more elaborate type, with the apocalyptic letters; and it is evident that the regular early form in Tripolitania was that with the rho in the form of the modern capital P. In the monogram-cross series, on the other hand, it is hard to detect any consistent distinction in this respect unless it be that the cemetery in Church 2 represents an early phase, in which the form with the closed rho-terminal was the only one employed. If so, it was only a very short time afterwards that both forms were appearing side by side.

[1] The solitary exception is that used as an abbreviation at el-Msufiin, where it is a survival of a demonstrably early usage to which the apocalyptic letters were inappropriate.

The Latin cross is not found in either of the early catacombs, but figures widely thereafter. As a motif in Tripolitanian Christian art and epigraphy, it comes into fashion with the monogram-cross; but it remained in use to a later date. The earlier examples are generally simple, whereas many of the later examples are variously elaborated, with ornament on the arms of the cross and a variety of forked terminals.

The equal-armed Greek cross makes its first appearance, at about the same time as the Latin cross, in the vaults of Church 2 at Lepcis Magna; but it seems to have been decidedly commoner in the later period, when the two forms, Latin and Greek, become freely interchangeable and tend to adopt each other's distinguishing characteristics. A distinctive form, which is found in large numbers at Ain Zara, and not uncommonly elsewhere, is that of the compass-traced cross inscribed within a single or a double circle.

It will be seen that, on the evidence available, it is possible to establish a *terminus post quem* in a number of cases, but only exceptionally a *terminus post quem non*. Earlier forms, once introduced, remained in use, side by side with later; and with the passage of time distinctions which had been significant came to lose their meaning. An important exception to this rule is the chi-rho monogram. The cemeteries of Lepcis Magna and Sabratha afford decisive proof that by the middle of the fifth century, at latest, the chi-rho monogram had passed out of use in the coastal cities, and had been replaced by the monogram-cross and by the Latin cross. The monogram-cross, in its turn, gave place to less specialized forms; but in this case the *terminus* is not so clearly marked. Graves of the later series in Church 3 at Lepcis, for example, indicate a survival, in somewhat garbled form, well into the late sixth or seventh century.

The significance of these facts for the internal history of Christianity in Tripolitania is that, assuming the representative character of the surviving remains, they establish beyond reasonable doubt the moment at which Christianity gained its hold on the interior. The observer cannot fail to be struck by the unity of the series of chi-rho monograms from the interior, each accompanied by the apocalyptic letters and framed within a formal wreath (pls. XIII, XIV, XXI; fig. 20): this series evidently stems from the later phase of this symbol's currency in the coastal cities (pl. X, *b*; fig. 15, 6). On the other hand, the concurrent use at el-Msufiin of the chi-rho monogram in its earlier sense, as an epigraphic abbreviation, shows that, at the time when Christianity was spreading to the interior, earlier usages were still alive. In terms of the absolute chronology here proposed, these monograms can be dated within the half-century from 375 to 425.

The incidence of the monogram-cross is less easily interpreted. If the historical and archaeological evidence be rightly interpreted as indicating a period of extreme poverty and decay in the coastal cities under Vandal rule, it follows that these cities can have exercised little positive influence on the interior after about 460 and at any rate before their re-establishment by Justinian. Some of the monogram-crosses from the interior, e.g. the inscription and the carved block from Sidi bu-Laaba, certainly antedate the hiatus; and it is possible that all are ultimately derived from such pre-Vandal models. On the other hand, while it seems certain that Byzantine rule was

never effectively re-established over any considerable tract of the interior, Byzantine influence is traceable in the addition of cruciform baptisteries to existing churches as far afield as the upper Sofeggin valley;[1] and it is by no means impossible, therefore, that objects such as the keystone in the Wadi Scetib are the result of renewed sixth-century contact with the coastal cities. On balance the former is perhaps the more likely hypothesis; but it is far from certain.

APPENDIX I

THE fundamental work on the churches of Algeria remains the section on Christian and Byzantine churches in Gsell's *Les Monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1901, vol. ii (cited hereafter as Gsell, *Monuments*). Useful summaries of later work will be found in *III Congr. Arch. Crist.*, pp. 411–27, by Albertini, and in *IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, pp. 145–66, by Leschi.

Tunisia is less well served. Gauckler, *Les Basiliques chrétiennes de la Tunisie*, Paris, 1913 (here cited as Gauckler, *Basiliques*), is a valuable collection of plans; but the author did not live to complete the text; and the premature death of M. G. L. Feuille has cut short a more recent attempt to fill the gap. There is a useful summary by Lapeyre in *IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, pp. 169–244; cf. also Poinssot and Lantier, *III Congr. Arch. Crist.*, pp. 387–410; and Gsell's characteristically lucid account of the Christian remains of Thelepte and of Ammaedara, first published in *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Roma, 1900*, Rome, 1902, and subsequently republished in the *Revue tunisienne*, 1932, pp. 5–56 and 225–39, and as a separate volume under the title *Édifices chrétiens de Thélepte et d'Ammaedara* (Tunis, 1933), contains much that is of permanent value. The churches of Carthage have been badly excavated and unworthily published: the only collected account, useful for its bibliography, is J. Vaultrin, *Les Basiliques chrétiennes de Carthage*, Algiers, 1933.

The list that follows comprises those churches in Algeria and in Tunisia that are cited above (pp. 56–72) in connexion with the churches of Tripolitania. The bibliography is summary only, but an attempt has been made in each case to cite a readily accessible plan.

(a) Algeria

Announa (*Thibilis*), south church. Gsell, *Monuments*, ii, no. 11, pp. 165–9, fig. 114; Gsell et Joly, *Announa (Khamissa, Mdaourouch, Announa, part iii)*, 1918, pp. 91–95, pl. xx; Cabrol-Leclercq, i, 1, fig. 127.

Announa, north church. Gsell, *Announa*, etc., pp. 95–99, pl. xx.

Bénian (*Ala Miliaria*). Gsell, *Monuments*, ii, no. 22, pp. 175–9, fig. 117.

Castiglione. *Ibid.*, no. 39, pp. 187–9, fig. 120; Cabrol-Leclercq, i, 1, fig. 145.

Henchir el-Begueur (Hr. Pharaoun). *Bull. arch.*, 1907, pp. 232–5, 336–53, pls. XXXVIII–XLI; Cabrol-Leclercq, vi, 2, 2220–3, fig. 5653.

Henchir Deheb. *IV Congr. Arch. Crist.*, p. 167, fig. 16.

Ksar el-Kelb. P. Cayrel, *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.* li, 1934, pp. 114–42.

Lambaesis. Gsell, *Monuments*, ii, no. 74, pp. 219–21, fig. 128.

Madauros (Mdaourouch), church in the former judiciary basilica. *Bull. arch.*, 1925, pp. 283–92; *III Congr. Arch. Crist.*, pp. 424–6, fig. 10; Cabrol-Leclercq, x, 1, 895–8, fig. 7438.

Matifou (*Rusguniae*). Gsell, *Monuments*, ii, no. 79, pp. 222–7, fig. 129; Cabrol-Leclercq, i, 1, fig. 140.

Morsott. Gsell, *Monuments*, ii, no. 91, pp. 231–4, fig. 130; Cabrol-Leclercq, xii, 1, 11–14, fig. 8457.

Orléansville (*Castellum Tingitanum*). Gsell, *Monuments*, ii, no. 95, pp. 236–41, fig. 132; Cabrol-Leclercq, xii, 2, 2721–7, fig. 9225.

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[1] Perhaps also in the church in the Wadi Crema.

Tébessa (*Theveste*), great church. Ballu, *Tébessa, Lambèse, Timgad*, 1894, pp. 15–20, pls. IV–XIII; Ballu, *Le Monastère byzantin de Tébessa*, 1897; Gsell, *Monuments*, ii, no. 138, pp. 265–91, fig. 134.

Tigzirt, great church. Gavault, *Étude sur les ruines romaines de Tigzirt*, 1897, pp. 5–90; Gsell, *Monuments*, ii, no. 146, pp. 294–304, fig. 137; Cabrol-Leclercq, i, 1, fig. 134.

Tigzirt, chapel in the east cemetery. Gavault, *op. cit.*, pp. 103–5; Gsell, *Monuments*, ii, no. 149, p. 306, fig. 140.

Timgad (*Thamugadi*), the west monastery. *Bull. arch.*, 1908, pp. 245–52; 1909, pp. 98–105; 1910, pp. 113–14, pl. XXIII.

Timgad, the north-west church. Gsell, *Monuments*, ii, no. 152, pp. 309–11, fig. 143.

Tipasa, chapel of Bishop Alexander. *Ibid.* ii, no. 160, pp. 333–7, fig. 151; Cabrol-Leclercq, i, 1, fig. 118.

(b) Tunisia

Ammaedara (Haidra). Gsell, *Édifices chrétiens de Thélepte et d'Ammaedara* (*v. supra*); Gauckler, *Basiliques*, pls. XIII, XIV; Cabrol-Leclercq, vi, 2, 2010–25, figs. 5556–61.

Carthage, *Basilica maiorum* (Basilica of Mcidfa, St. Perpetua). Vaultrin, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–100; Cabrol-Leclercq, xi, 1, 33–43, fig. 7860 (before latest excavations).

Carthage, Basilica of Dermesch. Vaultrin, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–23; Gauckler, *Basiliques*, pp. 11–17, pl. I.

Carthage, Bir el-Knissia. Vaultrin, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–4.

Carthage, Damous el-Karita. Vaultrin, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–75; Cabrol-Leclercq, ii, 2, 2252 ff., fig. 2129; iv, 1, 202 ff., fig. 3566.

Carthage, St. Cyprian. Vaultrin, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–12.

Dougga (*Thugga*). *Bull. arch.*, 1908, ccxxvii; E. H. Freshfield, *Cellae Trichorae*, ii, 1918, pp. 137–9, pls. 37–38. Cabrol-Leclercq, iv, 2, 1520–3.

Henchir Boudriès. Gauckler, *Basiliques*, pl. XXVI.

Henchir Bourmedès (el-Kantara, *Meninx*, in the island of Djerba). Gauckler, *Basiliques*, pl. XXXII; Cabrol-Leclercq, xii, 1, fig. 8479; and for the baptistery, R. de la Blanchère, *Collections du Musée Alaoui*, 1890, pp. 51 ff.; Cabrol-Leclercq, i, 1, 702–3, fig. 142; *ibid.* xi, 1, 417–19, fig. 7987.

Henchir Chigarnia (*Uppenna*). *Bull. arch.*, 1905, pp. 368–77; Gauckler, *Basiliques*, pp. 23–24, plan p. 21; Freshfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–8, pl. 39.

Henchir Goraat es-Zid. *Bull. arch.*, 1932–3, pp. 477–80; *IV Congr. Arch. Crist.* i, 180, fig. 2.

Iunca (*Macomades Minores*). G. L. Feuille, *Revue tunisienne*, 1940, pp. 21–45 (not available to the writers); *Cahiers archéologiques*, iii, 1948, pp. 75–81; see also *IV Congr. Arch. Crist.* i, 181; A. Grabar, *Martyrium*, Paris, 1946, i, p. 631, fig. 131.

Kasserine (*Cilium*). Gauckler, *Basiliques*, pl. XXVII.

Ksar el-Hamar. *Ibid.*, pl. II.

Le Kef, Basilica of Dar el-Kous. *Ibid.*, pl. V.

Mididi. *Ibid.*, pl. XXVIII; Cabrol-Leclercq, xi, 1, 938–40, fig. 8045.

Oued Ramel. Gauckler, *Basiliques*, pp. 20–23, pl. XVIII; Cabrol-Leclercq, xiii, 1, 137–40, fig. 9319.

Sbeitla (*Sufetula*), church of Bishop Bellator. A. Merlin, *Forum et églises de Sufetula* (Gouvernement Tunisien: notes et documents publiés par la Direction des Antiquités et Arts, v), 1912, pp. 35–41, pl. IV; Cabrol-Leclercq, xv, 1, 955–61, fig. 10814.

Sbeitla, church of the presbyter Servus. Merlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–35, pl. III; Cabrol-Leclercq, xv, 1, 950–5, fig. 10810.

Sbeitla, church of the presbyter Vitalis. A. Merlin, *L'Église du prêtre Vitalis à Sufetula*, Tunis, 1917; Cabrol-Leclercq, xv, 1, 962–4.

Sbeitla, small church near the amphitheatre. Gauckler, *Basiliques*, pl. XII, 1; Cabrol-Leclercq, xv, 1, 971–4.

Sbiba. Gauckler, *Basiliques*, pl. VIII.
Tabarka (*Thabraca*). *Bull. arch.*, 1905, pp. 378–94, pls. XXVI, XXVII; 1911, pp. clxxi–clxxxiii;
　　Gauckler, *Basiliques*, pl. XVII; Gauckler, *Monuments et Mémoires Piot*, xiii, 175 ff.
Thelepte (Feriana). Gsell, *Édifices chrétiens de Thélepte et d'Ammaedara* (*v. supra*); Gauckler,
　　Basiliques, pls. XX–XXV.
Thuburbo Maius (Henchir Kasbat). Merlin, *C.-R. Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1912, pp. 348–60,
　　fig. 1; *III Congr. Arch. Crist.*, pp. 403–6, figs. 15–17.

APPENDIX II

PAGAN SCULPTURE OF THE CHRISTIAN PERIOD IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN TRIPOLITANIA

PAGAN cults have left few traces in the interior of Tripolitania. A small sanctuary of Ammon on the Tarhuna plateau and shrines at Senam Tinanai in the Sofeggin basin, and at Gasr el-Gezira in the western Djebel (*Papers of the British School at Rome*, xix, 1951, 55–56 and xxi, 1953, forthcoming) are the only known cult-buildings; and only two Latin inscriptions refer to pagan deities (*I.R.T.* 905, a phallic relief, inscribed MERCVRI; and a dedication to Hercules at Gasr el-Gezira.) There seems little reason to doubt that the place of such cults was largely taken by a veneration of the dead, a trait that is already recorded by Herodotus (iv, 172) as characteristic of the Libyan Nasamones, and is later manifest in the early Christian martyr-cults of Numidia (A. Berthier, *Les Vestiges du Christianisme antique dans la Numidie centrale*, Algiers, 1942, pp. 222–4) and at the present day in the ubiquitous cult of the marabout tomb.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find that the scarcity of pagan temples in inner Tripolitania is offset by an abundance of funerary monuments of the Roman period; and it is on these that almost all the figured reliefs are found. Some of them are certainly of the third and fourth centuries. Others are contemporary with the churches of the frontier zone, and they present an aspect of late antique Libyan art that is barely represented on the Christian monuments. The list that follows is by no means exhaustive; but it will serve to illustrate the nature and variety of the material: with the exception of the reliefs at Sidi bu Laaba and at Muagen Tuansia, all those of which the structural context is known have come from tombs.

(a) Western Djebel

Mezgura, near Nalut. Ploughing with camels, and a hunt (?). P. Romanelli, 'La Vita agricola
　　tripolitana attraverso le rappresentazioni figurate', *Afr. Ital.* iii, 1930, pp. 63–65, figs. 13, 14.
Henscir el-Ausaf, 8 km. north-west of Tigi. Human figures, animals, ploughing with oxen (?)
　　and camels. F. Corò, *Vestigia di colonie agricole romane: Gebel Nefusa* (Collez. di opere e
　　monografie a cura del Ministero delle Colonie, 9), Rome, 1929, p. 117.
Wadi Berresaf, 10 km. south of Giosc. Farming scenes. *Ibid.*, pp. 54–55.
Gsur el-Berber, 12 km. south-west of Cabao. Vine-scrolls and acanthus-scrolls, after the classical
　　manner, with beasts and hunting putti. *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13.
Tuil en-Nahla, south-east of Cabao. Animals. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
Henscir Taglissi, near el-Msufiin, now in Tripoli Museum. Human figures, lion, camel.

(b) Eastern Djebel

Sidi bu Laaba, near Breviglieri. See above, p. 49, pl. XXI, *a–c*.

(c) Middle Sofeggin Basin

Wadi Lella, north of Mizda. Fish, vegetables. I. Gentilucci, *Afr. Ital.* v, 1933, p. 172, fig. 1.
Mizda. Miscellaneous fragments from sites in the Sofeggin area.

Bir Nesma. Human figures, animals. *Ibid.*, pp. 180–3, figs. 12, 13.
Bir ed-Dreder, now in Tripoli Museum. Military cemetery, with figures of soldiers and eagles.
Bir Scedeua. Human figures.
Wadi Mesueggi. Human figures, animals. G. Bauer, *Afr. Ital.* vi, 1935, pp. 73–75, figs. 17–19.
Wadi Migdal. Human figures, animals. *Ibid.*, p. 75, figs. 20–22.

(d) Lower Sofeggin Basin

Beni Ulid, built into the Italian fort. Miscellaneous fragments from sites in the Orfella region.
Bir Belezar, Wadi Merdum. Horsemen, ploughing scene (?). *Ibid.*, p. 77, fig. 31.
Wadi Mimun, 14 km. south of Beni Ulid. Human busts. *Ibid.*, p. 77, fig. 33.
Muagen Tuansia. Hunting scene and eagle, almost identical with pl. XXI, *b*. De Mathuisieulx,
    Nouvelles Archives, xii, 1904, p. 30, pl. XXI, 1–2.

(e) Wadi Zemzem Basin

Wadi Taghiggia. Human and animal figures, hunting scenes. H. Barth, *Travels in Central
    Africa*, London, 1857, i, p. 117.
Et-Tabunia. Human and animal figures. *Ibid.*, p. 124; Vischer, *Across the Sahara*, London,
    1910, p. 77.
Ghirza. Human and animal figures; scenes of ploughing, harvesting, hunting, and fighting.
    De Mathuisieulx, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff., pls. VI, VIII ff.; Romanelli, *op. cit.*, p. 61, figs. 4–12;
    Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–67, figs. 1–14. G. Mendel, *Musées Impériaux Ottomans: catal. des
    sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, ii, 1914, pp. 58–73.
Gasr Chanafes. Human figures.

ADDENDA

Since this article was written, the British School at Rome has undertaken a further season's
work at Lepcis Magna, the programme of which has included the completion of the excavation
of Church 3, and the identification and survey of a new church, Church 6. The results are briefly
summarized below

Church 3 (pp. 29–31; fig. 13)

Further excavation, undertaken in 1951, substantially confirms the account given on pp. 29–31.
The following additional points may, however, be noted:

(*a*) Careful excavation of the remaining debris of the fallen superstructure of the nave failed
to reveal any trace of the voussoirs of an arcade, whereas the voussoirs of the south-west door
were found intact. The colonnades must have carried wooden architraves (see p. 70).

(*b*) Above the architrave, the wall was of rubble masonry, including bricks re-used from earlier
buildings. Only over the columns were there indications of more substantial masonry, presum-
ably to support the re-used marble brackets that carried the roof timbers.

(*c*) The 'screen' across the nave, between the fourth and fifth bays from the north-west,
proved to consist of two low steps only.

(*d*) Further excavation at the south-east end proves the plan given in fig. 13 to be substantially
correct. The apse was little, if at all, raised above the nave, and was not in direct communication
with either flanking chapel.

(*e*) The partition-wall across the north-east aisle is a late feature.

(*f*) The cemetery proved to be even more extensive than supposed, covering the whole area
behind the Severan Forum; and a cross-section of the sand and rubbish accumulated over the

line of the roadway between the church and the Forum shows that the cemetery remained in use for Christian burial until the town was finally abandoned, probably in the eleventh century.

Church 6, off the Colonnaded Street, between the Severan Basilica and the harbour (pl. xxv, *a*, *c*; fig. 33).

Small church, installed within the monumental exedra that opens off the north-west portico of the Severan colonnaded street, between the Severan Basilica and the harbour. Although previously excavated, it does not seem to have been recognized as a church until 1951, when it was surveyed for the British School at Rome's expedition by G. U. S. Corbett.

The exedra, which measures 14·40 m. across the front and 11 m. in depth, was symmetrical about the north-west to south-east axis, with a semicircular niche in the centre of the curved wall, and three rectangular niches on either side of it; and, across the front of it, the line of the outer wall of the portico was carried by a colonnade of two marble columns and two square limestone pilasters. The church that was installed within this simple monument owed its irregular plan to a radical shift of axis, designed to bring the chancel to the east. The body of the building was divided into two unequal parts by a transverse colonnade, linking the east flank of the central niche to the south-westernmost of the two central columns of the façade, on a line that runs approximately north and south; and the larger, eastern half of the building was further subdivided by a chancel-screen, roughly parallel to the transverse colonnaded and 4 m. to the east of it. Of the chancel-screen, all that is now in place is the northernmost upright (a re-used marble pedestal-base, identical in size and shape to those of the upper orders of the apses in the Severan Basilica) and the two steps on which stood a transenna-slab. Three similar pedestal-bases, however, are lying near by, each slotted on one face to take the end of a transenna; and the evidence of these, coupled with that of a photograph, taken during excavation and showing a second base still in position, is enough to show that the screen consisted of three bays, of which the central bay was open. The chancel was raised two steps above the nave, which, in turn, was some 25 cm. above the former Severan pavement. It is theoretically possible that the circular plan was completed to the south-east, where later floods have scoured away all except the massive concrete foundations of the Severan portico; but the disposition of the transverse colonnade and chancel-screen in relation to the columns of the façade (the bases of which were found *in situ*, showing that it remained in use) suggests rather that the latter were incorporated within a continuous straight wall, and that the church was entered by a door in this wall, probably in the south-west bay. The western half of the building would thus have served as a sort of antechamber, or narthex, to the church proper.

At some later date the church was abandoned and its place taken by a number of hovels, built haphazard of re-used material, within the enclosing wall of the exedra. Of these late hovels, very little trace now remains, but the photograph reproduced in pl. xxv, *a* records their appearance. Among the architectural members that were found re-used were some that evidently belonged to the church, including a number of voussoir-blocks, of a size that would fit the transverse colonnade, and three elaborate sandstone brackets, which probably served as impost blocks. Two of the latter are decorated with compass-traced Greek crosses (pl. xxv, *c*), and one with a simple Greek cross within a circle.

The church, with its eastward orientation, its chancel occupying a relatively small area and only slightly raised above the nave, and its liberal re-use of architectural members taken from the Severan monuments, cannot be earlier than the Byzantine reconquest; but whether it is another of Justinian's five recorded foundations (p. 34), or whether it was built at some later date in the sixth century, there is little to show.

LEPCIS MAGNA. CHURCH 6.

CHANCEL
SCREEN

TRANSVERSE
COLONNADE

EXCAVATED
BELOW
FLOOR LEVEL

RECESS

SCALE 0 ____ 5 METRES

Fig. 33.

PLATE XXVI
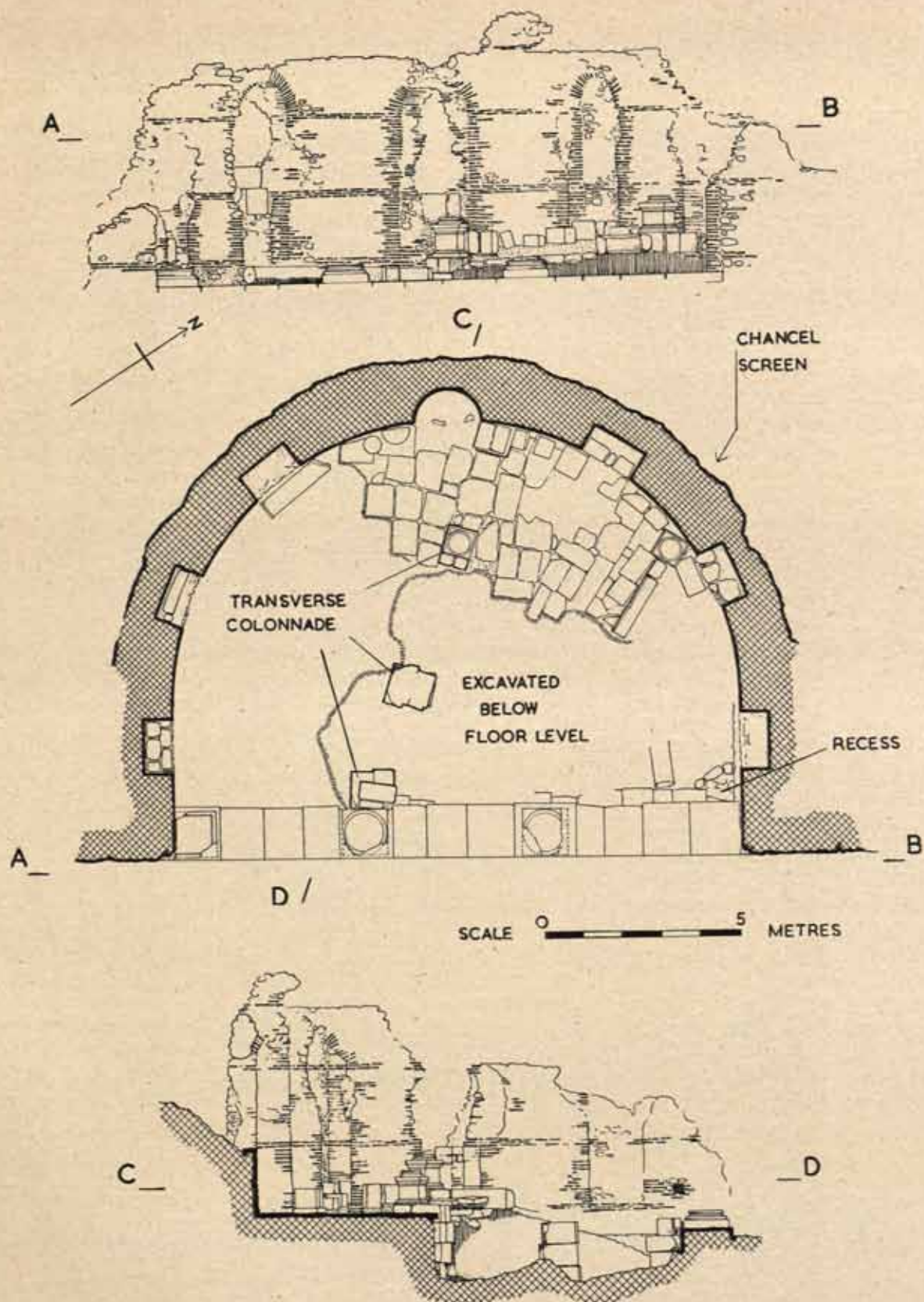
SABRATHA · CHURCH 2
(THE JUSTINIAN CHURCH)

10 METRES

PLATE XXVII

SABRATHA · CHURCH 3

0 _____ 5

→N

STEPS→

EARLIER MOSAIC

BAPTISTRY

SECONDARY BLOCKING→

SECONDARY BLOCKING→

CISTERN

PLASTER FACE

SITE OF ALTAR
[SECONDARY FEATURES NOT SHOWN]
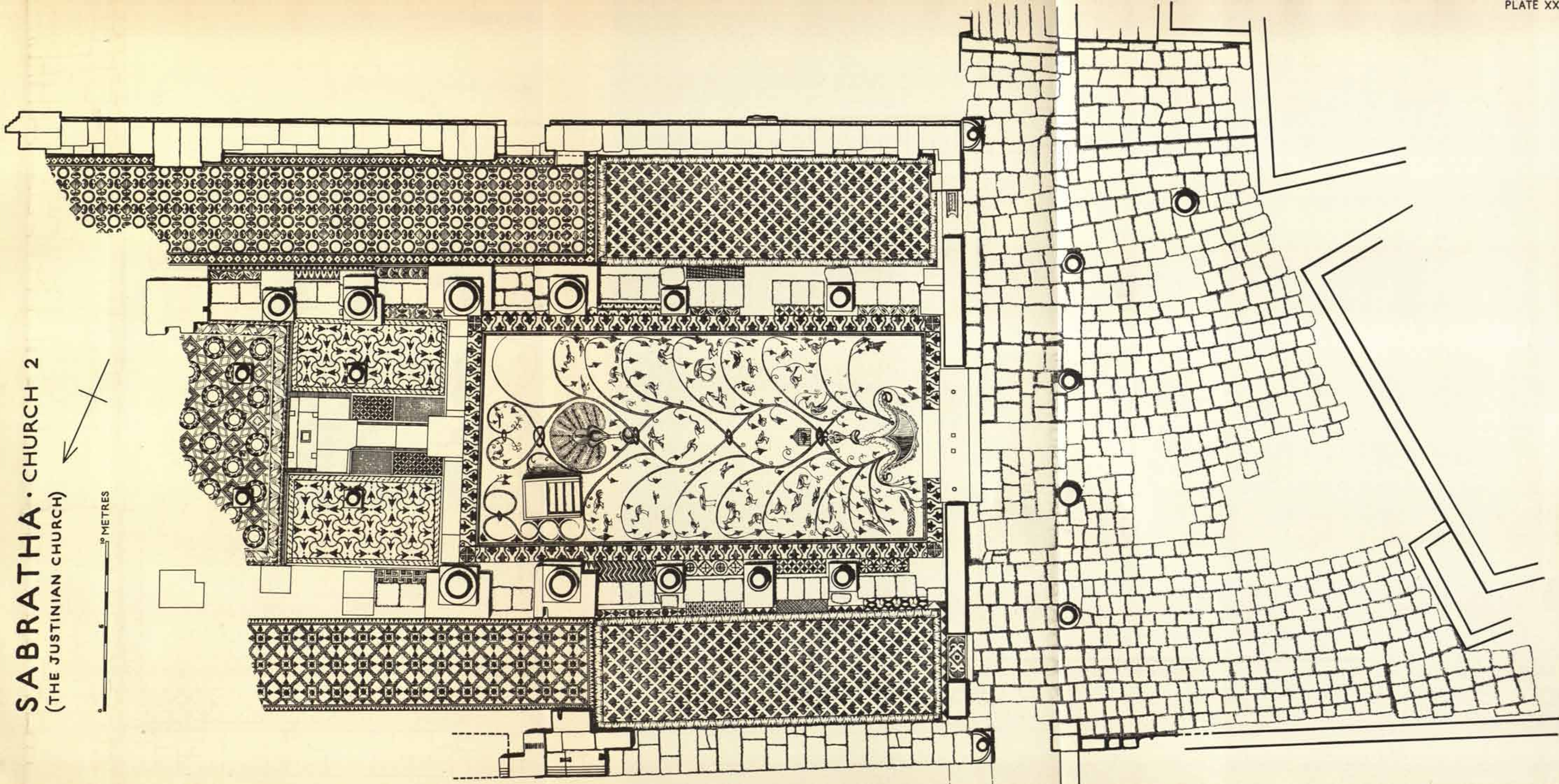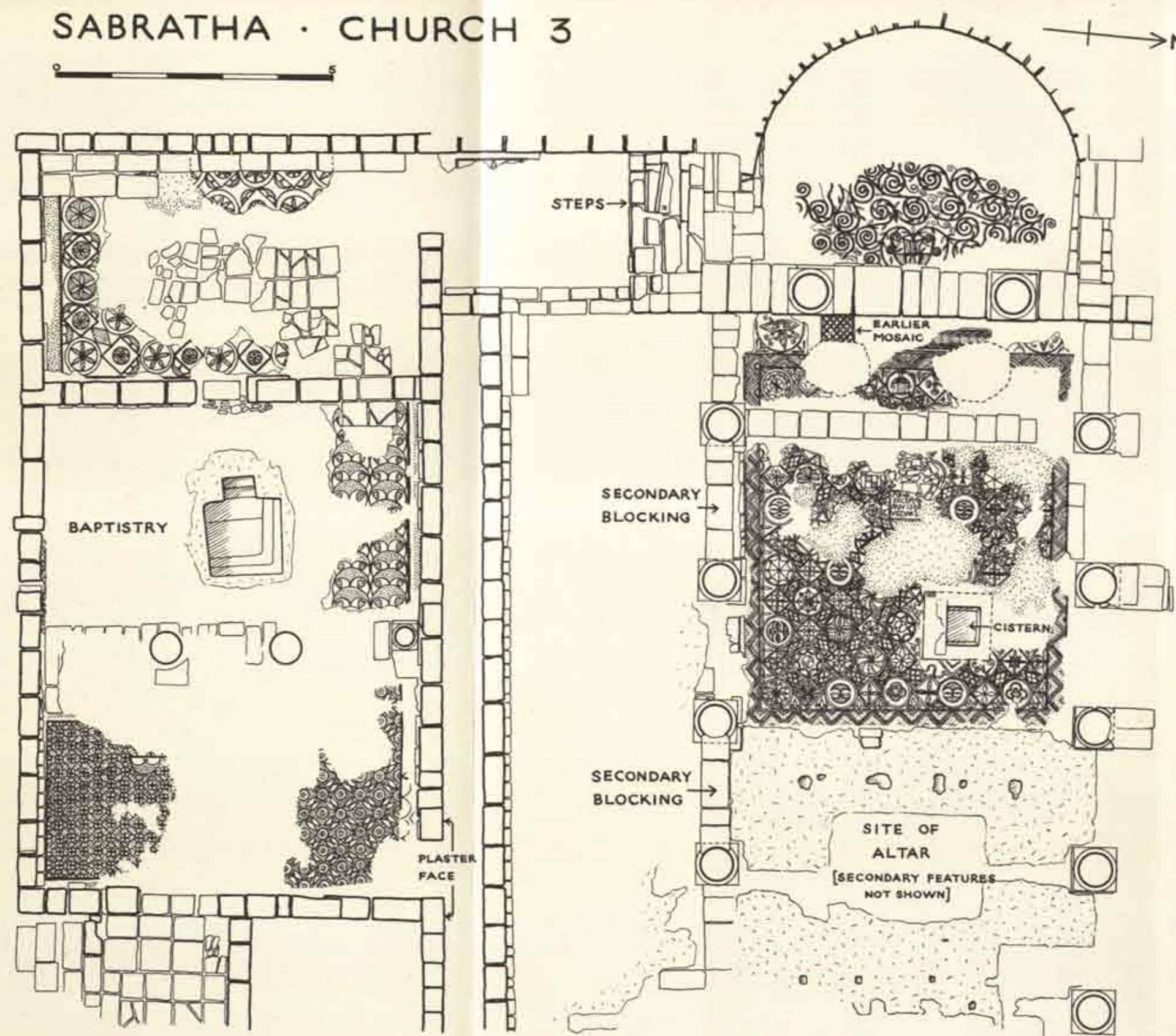
The Temple of the Imperial Cult at Luxor

By U. MONNERET DE VILLARD[1]

EVERY visitor to the temple of Luxor is familiar with the central hall that is described by all the leading authorities as a Christian church, adapted from a Pharaonic building of the time of Amenophis III. The date of the original building is given by the magnificent series of bas-reliefs on the walls, most of which have been revealed from beneath a thick coating of plaster, on the remaining parts of which can still be seen traces of late antique paintings. It is, in the main, these paintings that have attracted the attention of scholars, both of those who saw them immediately after excavation[2] and of those who, since then, have deplored their almost total destruction at the hands of the Egyptologists, who stripped off the greater part of the stucco to reveal the underlying Egyptian sculpture. Somers Clarke had good reason to protest: 'We may admit that for the purposes of a complete study of the excellent wall sculptures it was necessary to remove these paintings: but it was a piece of unscientific barbarism to break them up without even procuring careful copies.'[3]

I do not propose to repeat in full the lengthy bibliography of works referring to the supposed church and to its paintings: for the most part these works are of little scientific value. All serious scholars, from Prokesch-Osten[4] to Ebers,[5] Jullien,[6] and von Bissing, the author of the most valuable study,[7] are unanimous in describing them as Christian. This was at one time the writer's own belief. Since then, however, repeated visits to the building during seventeen years of an archaeological career in Egypt, and a closer examination of the detail, coupled with other studies in related fields, have finally induced the conviction that, despite their attribution to *méchants coptes* (to quote a well-known Director of the Egyptian Antiquities Service), there is in fact nothing whatever that is Christian, either about the building or about its paintings. It should be added that similar doubts have also been expressed by Lacau,[8] who did not, however, succeed in establishing the real significance of the building.

To clear the ground, it will be well to begin by giving a brief description of the building and of its present condition.[9]

The supposed church in the middle of the temple of Ammon was installed in a hall to the south of the great pronaos of the inner temple. This hall, which had been covered by a flat roof carried on eight columns, measures about 17·45 m. by 10·50

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[1] This paper has been translated and prepared for the press by J. B. Ward Perkins, F.B.A., F.S.A.

[2] The building was cleared in 1886 and the greater part of the surviving paintings were destroyed on that occasion. Others fell subsequently through neglect.

[3] *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, p. 190.

[4] *Nilfahrt* (1874), p. 356.

[5] *Aegypten in Bild und Wort*, ii, Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1880, p. 295.

[6] 'Le Culte chrétien dans les temples de l'antique Égypte', in *Les Études*, 39e année, xcii, 1902: the article was reproduced in *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*, vi, 1940, cf. p. 163.

[7] 'Altchristliche Wandmalereien aus Aegypten', *Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen*, 1926, pp. 181–8.

[8] P. Lacau, 'Inscriptions latines du temple de Louxor', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, xxxiv, 1934, pp. 45–46.

[9] For the relation of this and of the adjacent rooms to the general plan of the temple, see pl. xxxiv.

internally; it is not perfectly regular, and the four sides vary slightly from these dimensions (fig. 1). A line drawn through the centre of the large niche in the middle of one of the longer sides (for the niche, see below) to the door in the middle of the opposite side runs 40° east of magnetic north; but for convenience of description the building may be considered as running north and south. Flanking the central hall are five other rooms, all very small and only two of them in direct communication with the central hall. In none of these secondary rooms is there any trace of alterations or of decoration dating from post-Pharaonic times; but there can be no absolute certainty that there was no trace of such before the Egyptologists set to work to clear the building of all that did not interest them. At the west end of the whole group, there is the shaft of a staircase, which must have led up to the flat roof covering the building. For convenience of reference, it may be noted that the five smaller rooms figure as H, K, L, M, and I in the plan given in Baedeker's *Handbook*;[1] the staircase is N on the same plan, and the central hall, with which we are primarily concerned, is E.

The modifications to this hall in late antiquity were sufficient to alter its character completely. The roof had originally rested on eight columns, which had perhaps already fallen, but were more probably deliberately dismantled on this occasion to provide more space. The drums from these columns were now laid out on the earlier pavement, and the gaps between them filled up to create a new floor-level, 50 cm. above its predecessor. To reach this new level, steps were added in front of the main door, opening off the great vestibule, or hypostyle hall, that is immediately to the north (fig. 2). This vestibule was divided into a central nave and eight smaller, lateral aisles, by thirty-two papyriform columns, grouped into eight rows of four. The columns that flank the central nave were linked, in Roman times, by low walls with central doors or, rather, central openings; and it is in that nearest to the hall (E) with which we are concerned, on the east side of the nave, that there stands the statue-base, with an inscription of Constantine,[2] to which we shall be referring later (p. 99). From the difference in level, it may be presumed that there were steps also in the two doorways that lead from rooms H and I into hall E.

The chief modifications, however, were reserved for the south wall. Here, in the middle of the wall, there was in Pharaonic times a great doorway, leading from hall E to a room (F), carried on four columns, that opened into the *sancta sanctorum*. This door had a span of 2·75 m.; and it was now blocked by the construction, in the thickness of the wall, of the great niche that all previous accounts of the building have described as the apse of a Christian church (pls. XXVIII and XXIX, *a*). The niche was formed by blocking the doorway to a height of 1·25 m. above the new pavement. Above this point, and to a height of 5·50 m. above the new pavement, the two jambs of the door were each cut back 0·15 m., to give a total span of 3·05 m.; and the drum of the niche was built up to the same height in fine, carefully dressed courses of masonry. The half-dome above consists of a semicircular nucleus and of eleven voussoirs shaped to the same inner curvature; and, above this again, the wall-face was continued upwards to an unknown height. Two courses only remain above the

[1] K. Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan: Handbook for Travellers*, 8th revised edition, Leipzig, 1929, fig. on   p. 273: the same plan appears also in the previous edition.
[2] *C.I.L.* iii, 12073.
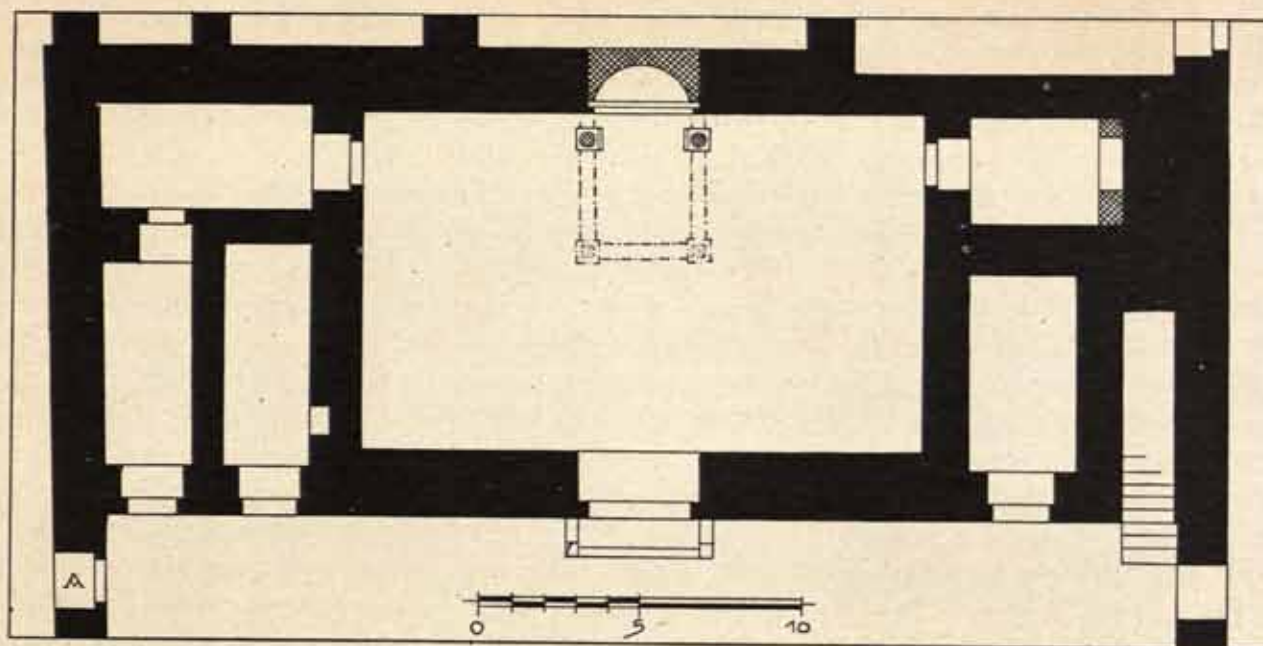
FIG. 1. Plan of the so-called church in the Temple of Ammon at Luxor.
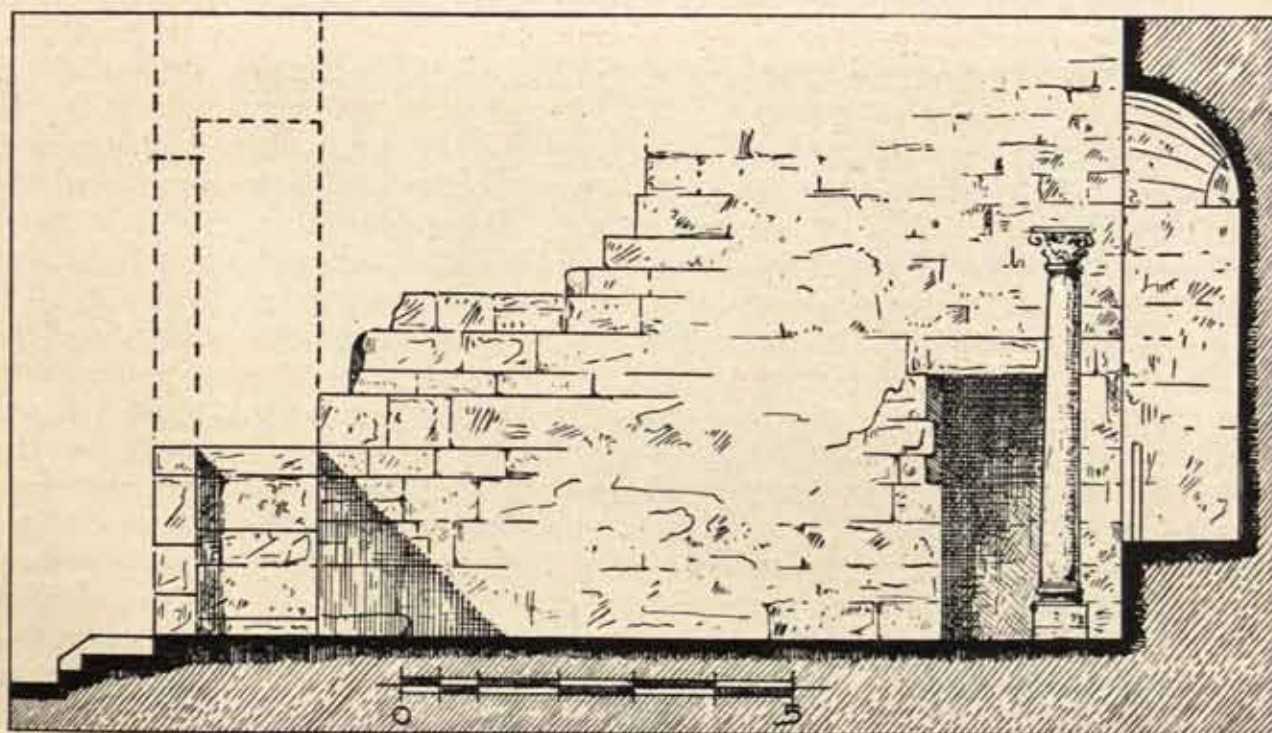
FIG. 2. The so-called church in the Temple of Ammon at Luxor: longitudinal section.

arch, totalling about 1 m.; and a photograph taken at the time of the excavation, in 1886 (pl. XXVIII, *b*), shows that the building was already in this condition: the rough wall of sun-dried brick that crowns the wall in this photograph must be of a relatively recent date. All of the work in dressed stone is done with some care.

The floor of the niche corresponds to the point, 1·25 m. above the new pavement-level, at which the jambs of the earlier door are cut back, and it is formed by the flat upper surface of a platform consisting of three courses of masonry. On this platform, parallel with the forward edge and set back 0·16 m. from it, was cut a groove, 0·17 m. wide and 0·08 deep. There are two additional recesses within the groove, 0·06–0·07 m. deep and 0·10 m. wide, set 0·51 m. from the right flank of the niche (as seen from the front) and 0·57 m. from the left flank, respectively; and the line of the groove itself is prolonged into the two flanking walls in the shape of two sockets, of which that on the right is 0·18 m. high and 0·16 m. deep, that on the left 0·13 m. high and 0·10 m. deep. Corresponding to this pair of sockets is a second pair, rather more regular in shape and cut directly above them in the flanking walls of the niche, about 0·80 m. higher; that on the right is 0·08 m. deep and square in section, measuring 0·16 × 0·16 m.; that on the left, 0·10 m. deep, is 0·12 m. wide and 0·25 m. high and of arched section. The two sockets in the right-hand wall form the angles of a shallow recess, 0·98 m. high, 0·62 m. wide, and 0·05 m. deep, within which is a third, irregularly shaped socket (pl. XXXIII, *b*). It seems probable, although there is nothing in the character of the work to prove it, that these grooves and sockets are contemporary with the construction of the niche; and if so, their purpose would seem to have been the housing of some wooden structure, the exact intention of which is not at first sight clear.

In any case, attention must be drawn to two facts: the modest dimensions of the niche, and the fact that it is raised above the level of the pavement without there being any trace of steps leading up to it. No steps were found in the excavations of 1886, nor did they exist fifty years before, when Wilkinson made the drawings that are discussed below (p. 90 ff.); furthermore, the character of the masonry filling the earlier door below the level of the floor of the niche is such as to prove that there never were any steps. These two facts are, in themselves, enough to disprove the identification of the niche as the apse of a Christian church.

Flanking the niche are two columns of syenite standing on rectangular plinths. The plinths are 0·45 m. high, and on each of the two inner faces, which are 2·80 m. apart, there is a small step, measuring 0·15 × 0·10 m. Each column measures about 4·45 m. from the base to the moulding at the neck, and carries a composite capital 0·50 m. high; the diameter of the column is about 0·50 m. The plinths stand 0·45 m. out from the rear wall of the room. The problem immediately arises, what it was that these columns carried. An essential element for the solution of this problem is furnished by two columns (each now in two pieces) and a capital (pl. XXXII, *d*), all of the same material and workmanship as those flanking the niche, which are now lying on the ground immediately to the west of the temple. It is evident that all these objects come from the hall under discussion, and that they were dumped without by the archaeologist in charge of the excavation. In the absence of any scientific record of the excavation, this conclusion can only be based on the identical style and technique

PLATE XXVIII
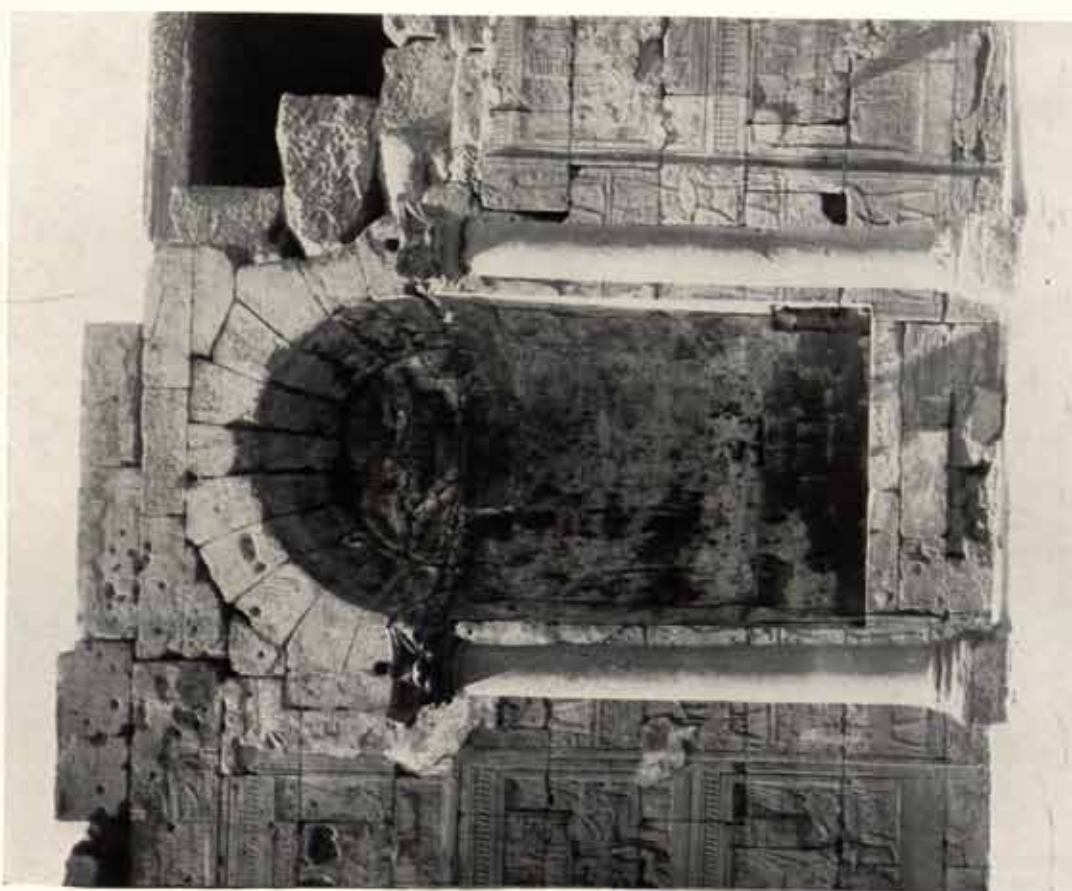
a.
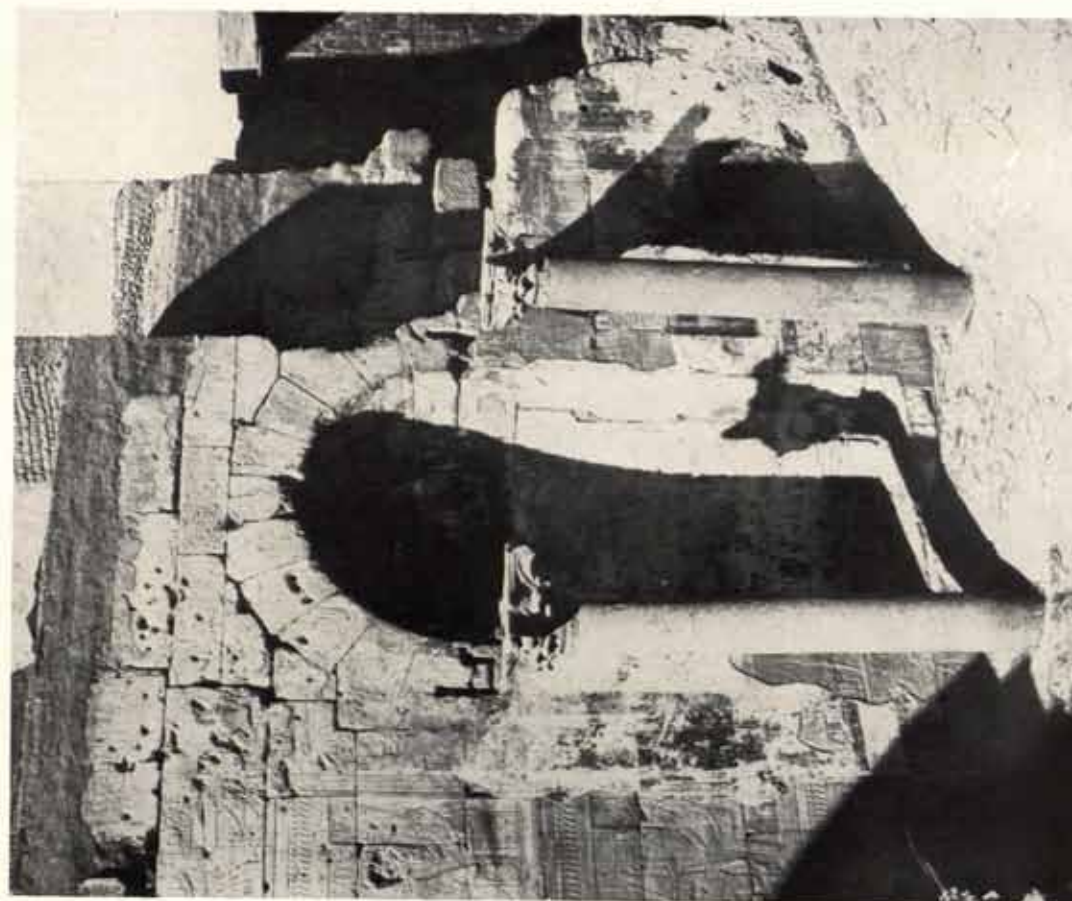
b.

The central niche of the legionary sacellum at Luxor: *a*, present state; *b*, in 1886, at the time of excavation

PLATE XXIX

a. The legionary sacellum at Luxor, seen through the main doorway

b. Inscribed statue-base, dedicated to Constantine, found in the hypostyle hall at Luxor (p. 99)

c. Fragment of a similar base found elsewhere in the excavations at Luxor (p. 99)

of the two groups of material; but the identity of measurements, workmanship, and material is such as to remove all reasonable doubt.

Where, then, was the original position of these two extra columns? A minute inspection of the pavement of the hall has failed to reveal any trace that might aid in the solution of the problem, but an examination of the rear wall of the room, in which the niche is placed, does reveal an element of some importance. In this wall, at a height that corresponds to that of the upper surfaces of the two capitals, are two sockets cut in the masonry, each in the form of a U, of which one arm is decidedly shorter than the other. The socket on the left (facing the niche) is less damaged than the corresponding socket on the right, and both are clearly visible in the old photograph reproduced on pl. XXVIII, b; they are still in the same condition. It is evident that these sockets were cut to house the ends of the decorative panels covering an architrave that ran at right angles to the rear wall and rested centrally on the two capitals. One must imagine that this architrave, resting on the upper surface of the capitals of the two standing columns, was prolonged forwards to rest on the capitals of a second pair of columns, placed in front of the first pair and probably at the same distance from them as they are from each other, so as to form supports of a square canopy, or ciborium, in front of the niche. This canopy might have sheltered an altar or a statue, or some other object of special importance; but in any case, as we shall see, the object in question must have been pagan, not Christian.

The solution proposed in the preceding paragraph would seem to be the only one practicable. If the two broken columns that are now outside the building stood formerly in some other part of the room, they would certainly have had to be linked to the walls by some similar system of architraves. There would in that case have been sockets, similar to those described above, at some other point in the perimeter wall; and of such sockets there is absolutely no trace. Furthermore the shorter arm of the sockets above the two existing capitals corresponds, in each case, to the inner face of the corresponding columns, showing that they belong to a system that was symmetrical about an axis passing through the middle of the niche. A canopy, square in plan, is clearly indicated.

The nature of the roof that covered the hall is more easily determined. That there must have been such a roof seems clear from the existence of paintings on all four walls; and this would normally have been a pitched roof, carried on transverse timbers. The span of the hall, 10·50 m., would have presented no difficulty, despite the traditional lack in Egypt of squared timbers of such dimensions: the central nave of the basilica with two opposed apses that formerly stood at Erment was 11 m. wide, and, at a considerably later date, that of the White Monastery at Sohâg was 10·50 m.; both were notably surpassed by the nave of the Imperial basilica at Abû Mina, which was no less than 15 m. wide.[1] All of these, despite their late date, were covered with open timber roofs, the wood for which was imported from Syria. The provision of squared timbers of the necessary size would have been a relatively easy matter at an earlier date, when Egypt was that much the more prosperous.

It is the existence of paintings on the walls that proves that the hall must have been

[1] U. Monneret de Villard, Les Couvents près de Sohâg ii, Milan, 1926, p. 95.

roofed; and it is these same paintings that constitute the most interesting feature of the building and furnish the key to its purpose and to the date of its construction. It is to be regretted, therefore, that they are the feature also that is least securely documented.

When the Antiquities Service, in 1886, had the hall cleared of the debris that was blocking the lower part of it, the painted stucco had already largely been stripped by Egyptologists, impatient to uncover the bas-reliefs of Amenophis III. According to Daressy, Bouriant, who was in charge of the work of clearance, took a copy of what then remained of the paintings; and when I began to take a serious interest in the building, I at once looked for this copy, which I hoped to find in the archives of the Service. My search was in vain: the documents relative to the work at Luxor are few, and mainly concerned with administrative matters. Inquiries from the heirs of the deceased archaeologists were equally fruitless. I was in despair of obtaining any light on the state of the paintings in the first half of the nineteenth century, when chance threw in my path some information of the first importance. I was at the time engaged on work of an entirely different character, in connexion with my researches in Nubia, which were then beginning, and I knew that the notebook and papers of Wilkinson contained much material on that region that this precise and painstaking scholar had not used in his published work. Through my good friend, F. Ll. Griffith, I obtained from the owner of the Wilkinson manuscripts, Mrs. Mosley of Calke Abbey, Derby, permission to study this material and later to photograph and reproduce any items of interest;[1] and among it I found nine water-colours which reproduce, according to a note on f. 52, the paintings of the hall at Luxor as they appeared in 1859.[2] They are extremely careful; and the first of them (f. 51 of the album) bears the note: 'Luxor. Temple of Roman times, the chamber old, apse added by Romans. Of the 400 or the 600. If the name of Diocletian was in the sculptures they are older.' In Wilkinson's time the hall evidently contained an inscription, in which could perhaps be read the name of Diocletian. It should be noted that Ebers[3] speaks of 'einige Bruchstücke von griechischen Inschriften', to be found at some unspecified point among the paintings. Unfortunately I have not been able to find any trace of it surviving.

The first of Wilkinson's water-colours covers two pages of the album (ff. 51–52) and evidently portrays the whole of that part of the room in which were preserved traces of painted decoration at the time when he had occasion to record them (pl. XXX). It shows the walls of the hall (f. 52 = pl. XXX, *a*) starting at a point on the south side, immediately to the right[4] of the westernmost of the two columns flanking the niche, and running to a point just north of the small door in the east wall. From there (f. 51 = pl. XXX, *b*) it covers the whole of the east wall and the greater part of the north wall, to a point about 3·50 m. to the west of the main door. It corresponds very closely to the part shown in the drawings made about twenty years later by Ebers.[5]

[1] The manuscripts of Wilkinson have since, through the courtesy of the owner, been deposited in the Griffith Institute at Oxford.

[2] MS. XXXI, an ordinary sketch-book, measuring 13¼ in.×8 in.

[3] *Aegypten in Bild und Wort*, ii, Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1880.

[4] The terms right and left are used, here and later, from the point of view of the spectator standing within the hall.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 296; see also the Italian translation,

PLATE XXX
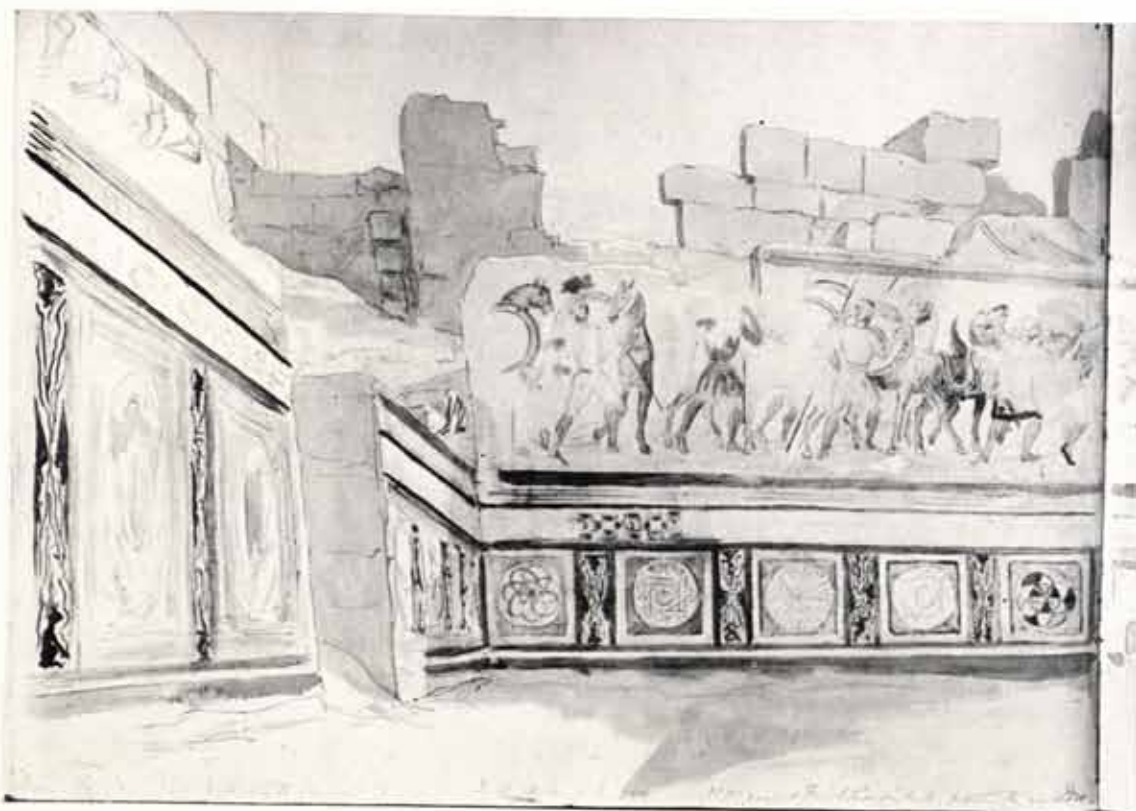
a.

b.

Paintings in the legionary sacellum at Luxor, after water-colours made by Wilkinson in 1859 (p. 90)

a. General view of the north and east walls

b. General view of the east and south walls

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1953

PLATE XXXI

Paintings in the legionary sacellum at Luxor, after water-colours made by Wilkinson in 1859

a. Group of figures from the western half of the hall, perhaps on the south wall (p. 92)
b. left (above). Fragment on the north wall, to the right of the door (p. 92)
b. left (below). Details from the painted plinth, imitating *opus sectile* (p. 91)
b. right. The two left-hand figures in the niche (p. 94)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1953

The latter, however, gave free rein to fancy; and a comparison with the traces copied by von Bissing[1] and by the writer, and with the descriptions of other scholars, shows that no reliance can be placed on this work. Wilkinson's remaining water-colours give details of the paintings shown in the first two pages; it is with the aid of these and of the few surviving remains that a description of the decoration of the hall can be given.

The lower part of the wall is decorated with a painted plinth, the height of which varies slightly from wall to wall, and portrays an *opus sectile*, painted to imitate marbles of various colours and types. It consists essentially of a series of panels, alternately square and rectangular, the sides of the first of which measure 0·86 m. in all cases, whereas the others are of the same height but vary in length. Each of the square panels contains a wheel-pattern, each one varying from the next. Various examples of these wheel-patterns are given by Wilkinson himself (f. 57 = pl. XXXI, *b*), drawn chiefly from the east wall; von Bissing copied a part of the composition that survived on the north wall, to the left of the door as one faces it, and starting at the extreme west end; and the writer made an accurate coloured copy of one of the panels that was still in good condition twenty years ago. Above these large panels runs a miniature frieze of squares and triangles, almost cosmatesque in its effect. The colours used are white, obtained by leaving uncoloured the surface of the plaster; black, to imitate basalt; purple, for porphyry; green, for verde antico; a blue, to suggest lapis lazuli; and a golden yellow, in imitation of real gilding.

This characteristically Hellenistic type of decoration in *opus sectile* is familiar enough in Egypt in painted copies, not only in Alexandrian contexts but also in the interior of the country. A number of instances are recorded, for example, in the neighbourhood of Hermopolis (el-Ashmūnein), e.g. a tomb of the Roman period at Kōm el-Aḥmar, near Derwah,[2] and several others at Tūna el-Gebel.[3] There were local survivals of the tradition into the Christian period, e.g. painted representations of *opus sectile* in parts of the buildings at Bawīt that cannot be later than the seventh century.[4]

The large, painted scenes with figures that once decorated the walls above the plinth are the part that has suffered most from the ravages of time and of human vandalism. Except for the painted figures in the niche, the surviving traces tell us very little. For all the rest, Wilkinson's water-colours are the only authoritative source.

In Wilkinson's day the east wall was the best preserved. On it (pl. XXX, *a*) was represented a single scene, a group of dismounted horsemen, at least seven in number, armed with lances and large, circular shields and leading by the bridle their richly caparisoned horses. A detail from the eastern part of the same scene is given in another of Wilkinson's water-colours (f. 62 = pl. XXXII, *c*). Murray-Hall's guide to Egypt and the Sudan is the only work to give an accurate account of this scene: 'On the side-

L'Egitto antico e moderno, ii, Milan, 1881, p. 308. Ebers's drawing is at variance with his own text, which refers to horses and horsemen, which do not figure in his drawing but are excellently portrayed by Wilkinson.

[1] *Op. cit.*, coloured plate.

[2] L. Borchardt, *Mitteilungen d. deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 52, 1913, p. 52, fig. 26.

[3] Gabra Sami, 'Fouilles de l'Université 'Fouad el-Awal' à Touna el-Gebel', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, xxxix, 1939, pls. LXXVIII and LXXXI, pp. 484-7.

[4] J. Maspero, 'Rapport sur les fouilles entreprises à Baouit', *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1913, pp. 289, 291-2. Bawīt is 12 km. from Tūna.

wall to the E(ast) are several soldiers with their horses, drawn with great spirit.'[1] Ebers speaks only of a picture *mit Rossen und Reitern*, without noting that the latter are soldiers;[2] and the other writers that mention the scene all assume that the hall was a church, and talk of warrior-saints, a subject that was common enough in Coptic painting, but in which the saint is always shown in the saddle, never on foot. Von Bissing even describes the scene as the Israelites crossing the Red Sea. All such descriptions are fanciful: the scene in fact represents a group of soldiers taking part in a procession.

The procession started on either side of the main door leading into the hall, and the members of it were shown around the walls of the room, from the door to the niche in the centre of the opposite wall, in two symmetrical files. This reconstruction is clear from the traces recorded by Wilkinson. In his time a piece of plaster to the left of the door still showed five human feet, belonging to three persons moving towards the west; and another, to the right of the door, preserved the lower part of another figure moving to the east. Details of these are shown on f. 57 of his album (pl. XXXI, *b*) and on f. 54 (pl. XXXII, *a*), respectively. The former gives an interesting illustration of the type of shoe that was known towards the end of the third century and later as *campagi*.[3]

The westernmost of the two processions must already have been almost entirely destroyed in Wilkinson's time, since the perimeter wall to the north and west of the hall seems already to have largely fallen, and to have presented then the same aspect as it does nowadays. On the other hand, it is possible that the south wall, which is still standing to some height, bore traces of painting, which have since disappeared but can perhaps be discerned in the old photograph reproduced in pl. XXVIII, *b*. In this connexion it may be noted that two of Wilkinson's water-colours (ff. 55 and 56 = pl. XXXI, *a*) reproduce paintings of which the exact location within the hall cannot be determined: that they were certainly in the western half is evident from the fact that they are not shown in the general views of the eastern half given on ff. 51 and 52 (pls. XXX, XXXII, *c*); but their exact position is uncertain. They illustrate the lower part, from the waist downwards, of a group of persons richly dressed in tunics embroidered with discs, bands, and borders, and wearing various types of *campagi*; one of them carries a stick with a T-shaped handle. The form of tunic and its decoration is characteristically Egyptian, although it was by no means restricted to Egypt. Interesting evidence of its westward expansion is furnished by the paintings of a tomb at Ġargāresh in Tripolitania,[4] one of the figures from which is reproduced in pl. XXXIII, *a*, through the kindness of Professor Romanelli. It is found in Rome also, in several catacomb paintings of the late third and early fourth century,[5] and again in the frescoes of a Roman house found in the eighteenth century in the vineyard of the hospital

[1] *Egypt and the Sudan*, London, 1910, pp. 391–2, repeating the substance of the previous edition, although by this date the picture could no longer be made out with any certainty.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

[3] Cf. Daremberg-Saglio, i, p. 862; Pauly-Wissowa, v, 1433–4. The first appearance of the term is in the *Historia Augusta*. A later passage in Lydus, *De magistratibus*, i, 17 (ed. Wünsch, pp. 21–22) describes it as part of the costume of high functionaries.

[4] P. Romanelli, 'Tomba romana con affreschi del IV secolo dopo Cristo nella regione di Gargàresh (Tripoli)', *Notiziario Archeologico del Ministero delle Colonie*, iii, 1922, p. 28, fig. 8.

[5] e.g. in Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, Freiburg, 1904, pls. 43, 4; 111; 159, 3; 183; 249, 2.

PLATE XXXII

b. (*left*) On the south wall, near the south-east angle (p. 93)
(*right*) The extreme right-hand figure in the niche (p. 94)

d. Capital from the legionary sacellum at Luxor, now lying outside the temple (p. 88)

a. (*left*) On the south wall, to the left of the apse (p. 93)
(*right*) On the north wall, to the right of the door (p. 92)

c. Central group on the east wall (p. 91)

a, b, c. Paintings in the legionary sacellum at Luxor, after water-colours made by Wilkinson in 1859

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PLATE XXXIII

b. The legionary sacellum at Luxor: recess and sockets in the right-hand wall of the niche (p. 88)

a. Painted figure in the fourth-century tomb at Ġargāresh, Tripolitania (p. 92)

c. Small door in the east wall of the hypostyle hall at Luxor (p. 101)

of S. Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum (by the Lateran), which were at first in the
Borghese collection and passed, with it, to the Naples Museum.[1] Tunics of this type
remained in use for a long time and had a considerable influence on the decoration of
Byzantine costume.[2] The T-shaped staff recalls a very similar *baculus*, with a mush-
room-shaped handle, that figures on the monument dating from the first Tetrarchy in
the Forum Romanum, in the hands of a high functionary, who stands on the extreme
right of the sacrificial scene.[3] Its survival as an attribute of the heads of the monastic
communities in Egypt shows clearly that it was a badge of authority.

Of the procession that moved round the east half of the room, starting from the
entrance, all that survives of the first group of figures, along the north wall, is the pair of
legs already referred to (Wilkinson's water-colour f. 54 = pl. XXXII, *a*); there followed,
along the east wall, the group of dismounted horsemen described above (pp. 91–92);
and finally, on the south wall, between the angle of the room and the shoulder of
the niche, a complex scene which was already so damaged in Wilkinson's time as to
make its detailed interpretation impossible. The various surviving fragments of this
scene are recorded by Wilkinson in detailed water-colours, and the setting of these
within the larger scene is given by their portrayal, in summary form, in the general
view of this wall on f. 52 (pl. XXX, *b*), as well as by the author's pencil notes and by
the indications of the border that enclosed the whole panel. This panel, it may be
noted, was considerably taller than that along the east wall, and already in Wilkinson's
time the middle of the scene had gone, leaving only the groups at the extreme left-
hand and right-hand edges.

The group on the left is shown on f. 60 of the album (pl. XXXII, *b*), with the pencil-
note: 'Luxor. Left of apse.' It illustrates two rows of figures, the one in front of the
other, but shown as if at different levels, with the heads of those in the front row
reaching to the waist of those behind. The mode of representation is eastern in
character, one that was fundamentally at variance with the principles of Hellenistic
art, but was later to find triumphant expression in Byzantine art. The figures in the
upper row were already headless in Wilkinson's time. They wear flowing robes,
which cannot be more precisely identified, with coloured ornament applied to the
shoulders, and their arms are outstretched before them, bearing a variety of objects.
Arms and hands alike are veiled in a fold of the garment.[4] The figure on the extreme
left bears a richly ornamented belt, of a type that can be seen on several statues of the
Diocletianic period: on the group of the tetrarchs at Venice; on the armoured bust in
the archaeological museum at Turin; on the bust wearing a chlamys in the museum at
Vienna; and on the statue in the Archbishop's Palace at Ravenna.[5] The second figure

[1] Cassini, *Pitture antiche ritrovate nello scavo aperto di
ordine di N.S. Pio VI p.m. in una vigna al v. ospedale di S.
Giovanni in Laterano l'anno 1780*, Roma, 1783; A. M.
Colini, *Storia e topografia del Celio nell' antichità*, Città del
Vaticano, 1944, pp. 262–4, fig. 222, ascribed to the fourth
century.

[2] N. M. Běljaev, Украшенія поздне-античной и
ранне-византійской одежды, *Recueil N. P. Kondakov*,
Prague, 1926, pp. 201–8.

[3] H. P. L'Orange, 'Ein tetrarchisches Ehrendenkmal
auf dem Forum Romanum', *Röm. Mitt.* lii, 1938, p. 9, n. 3.

The monument was erected in 303 for the twentieth anni-
versary of Diocletian's accession.

[4] For the veiling of the hands, an act of religious signifi-
cance and of oriental origin, see A. Alföldi, 'Die Ausgestal-
tung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen
Kaiserhof', *Röm. Mitt.* xlix, 1934, pp. 33–35 and biblio-
graphy *ad loc.*

[5] R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, Berlin–Leipzig,
1932, pls. 31–32; fig. 38 and pl. 48; fig. 40 and pl. 49;
fig. 42 and pl. 51.

carries a fold of cloth (a folded cloak?), and the third a cylindrical object that can hardly be defined more closely. Of the fourth figure, only the shoulder remains. Below, and in front of, this upper row of figures is a second row of four figures, clad in flowing garments. The heads of the two middle figures were excellently preserved in Wilkinson's time.[1]

On the extreme right come the figures of two men, one behind the other (Wilkinson, f. 54 = pl. XXXII, *a*), both wearing fringed mantles like a chlamys, and the one in the foreground carrying a staff with a T-shaped handle. The position of this fragment is confirmed both by the band that frames the composition and by its relation to the shoulder of the niche, which is shown shaded, with the added pencil-note, 'apse'.

From the point of view of the history of costume, the most interesting of the pictures are those showing richly ornamented tunics of a type that was originally Egyptian, but later spread throughout the Roman world in the third and fourth centuries. The best examples of such tunics come from the cemeteries of the Nile valley.[2] It is a pity that it is these fragments that cannot be exactly localized within the composition as a whole.

It remains to describe the paintings in the niche. They are sketched in on the general view given by Wilkinson on f. 52 of his album (pl. XXX, *b*), and they figure in detail on ff. 58 and 60 (pls. XXXI, *b* and XXXII, *b*). They comprise four standing figures, of which the two on the left are given on f. 58, and the fourth, on the extreme right, on f. 60; the third from the left is not shown. Fifty years later von Bissing also reproduced the four figures,[3] as they appeared at the beginning of the present century; and his drawing too shows traces only of this third figure. After a minute examination of the surface of the painting, the writer is convinced that the third figure was deliberately erased, a conclusion that will be shown to be of the first importance in assessing the date and the meaning of the whole complex.

The account that follows is that given by von Bissing,[3] with the interpolation of the conclusions that can be drawn from a study of Wilkinson's water-colour:

Hingegen (*sc.* by comparison with the rest of the paintings) sind die vier Figuren der Nische . . . soweit erhalten, dass über ihre allgemeine Haltung kein Zweifel bestehen kann. Rechts und links an den Enden stehen zwei Männer in kräftig rotbraunen Mänteln mit blauen Nimben, die Füsse auseinandergesetzt, die Arme scheinbar ohne Attribute.

The last sentence is inexact: Wilkinson (pl. XXXI, *b*) shows the figure on the extreme left with his left hand against his side, holding a short, cylindrical object, like a baton; and the figure on the extreme right (pl. XXXII, *b*) holds in his right hand one end of a cylindrical object, which appears to be about 30 cm. long. Murray-Hall's guide remarks of these two figures: 'The other two figures have each a roll in one hand.' Von Bissing continues: 'Der rechte Heilige (why a saint?) trägt einen Bart.' Wilkinson, however, gives no indication of a beard, whereas he does show a detail that von Bissing has missed, namely, that the same right-hand figure is distinguished from the others by wearing tall boots.

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[1] The second from the right is also illustrated by von Bissing, *op. cit.*, fig. 3.
[2] See, for example, A. F. Kendrick, *Catal. of Textiles* *from Burial-grounds in Egypt* (Victoria and Albert Museum), i, 1920, pp. 27–30, 35–40, with full bibliography.
[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 184–5.

Diese besteht aus einer Figur in weissen Untergewand mit schwarzem Besatz (this is not evident from Wilkinson's water-colour) und darüber geworfenem sattgelbem Mantel, die den rechten Arm erhebt und einen Stab hält; in dem gleichfalls erhobenen linken Arm sahen ältere Beschauer die Weltkugel (?) (Wilkinson's water-colour shows this quite clearly). Danach wollte man in ihr Christus erkennen. Ihr gegenüber stand nach unseren Beobachtungen eine Figur in langem hellem Gewand, die man am liebsten für weiblich halten möchte. Da an Maria aus ikonographischen Gründen wohl nicht gedacht werden kann, mag vielleicht die Ekklesia, allenfalls eine Orans dargestellt gewesen sein (all of which follows from the faulty premise that the cycle is Christian). Der Rest an ihrer linken Schulter ist leider so undeutlich, dass sich daraus Schlüsse nicht ziehen lassen.

He then gives a hypothetical interpretation of the paintings, based on the remains that were still visible in his day and on earlier descriptions, and he suggests a Baptism of Christ, referring at the same time to the suggestion of Prince George of Saxony[1] that it represents rather an Ascension. He continues:

In der Figur, die als Christus gedeutet wurde, die aber meines Wissens so einem römischen Kaiser gleicht, sonst nicht belegt werden kann, möchte man Petrus, Johannes den Täufer oder einen anderen Heiligen sehen, der dann das lange Stabkreuz führen würde: die Weltkugel in der anderen Hand müsste auf Täuschung beruhen, etwa ein Buch oder eine Rolle gemeint sein (Wilkinson's drawing clearly disproves this). Gegen die Deutung auf den Täufer spricht die deutliche Wendung der Figur nach Links, also dem Mann am linken Ende zu. Sie lässt erwarten, dass die weibliche (?) Figur neben ihm gleichwertig mit ihm die Mitte der Darstellung bildet, während der Täufer auf dem sonst wohl vergleichbaren Bild der Cosmahandschrift[2] allein die Mitte einnimmt, links ihm Christus und Maria, rechts Zacharias und Elisabeth. Das Inkarnat des 'Christus' ist verhältnismässig gut erhalten (fleischfarbig), Haare und Bärte der Figuren waren, so sich das feststellen lässt, rotbraun.

Von Bissing's fine critical sense was fully alive to the difficulties of interpreting this picture as Christian; but, although he was on the brink of the right solution, he just failed to see it.

Lacau was a great deal nearer the truth:

Un sanctuaire chrétien installé par Constantin dans un temple païen d'Egypte aurait une signification très importante. Mais il ne doit nullement s'agir d'un sanctuaire chrétien. Un enduit de plâtre a recouvert les bas-reliefs égyptiens. Cet enduit a été couvert de peintures dont il ne reste malheureusement que des débris. Or dans ce qui subsiste il n'y a pas un seul symbole ni une seule figure que l'on puisse dire vraiment chrétien. Les quatres grands personnages très effacés qui sont peints sur le mur de l'abside encastrée dans le mur barrant la porte sud de la salle ont été considérés parfois comme les quatres évangelistes. Ils ne présentent dans les parties conservées aucune des caractéristiques qui pourraient justifier cette appellation. Ils sont vêtus d'une longue robe de coleur brun foncé actuellement mais qui a pu être rouge ou pourpre; ce serait le 'paludamentum'. Les têtes sont cerclées du nimbe. L'un des personnages s'appuie sur une longue lance. Ne peut-il s'agir des quatres empereurs? Je laisse à d'autres le soin de préciser ce point. C'est une étude à reprendre.[3]

The present study is an attempt to answer the question so clearly posed by Lacau.

At the end of the third century, or in the early years of the fourth (a date that is

[1] Johann Georg Herzog zu Sachsen, *Streifzüge durch die Kirchen Aegyptens*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1914, p. 53.
[2] Cf. Ch. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, i, Paris, 1925, fig. 116.
[3] P. Lacau, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, xxxiv, 1934, pp. 45-46.

established in the pages that follow) the temple of Ammon at Luxor[1] was enclosed within a defensive wall and became the centre, or rather the central building, of a Roman camp,[2] of which the temple occupied the whole of the middle part, and the rest of the camp extended east and west from it, on a frontage equal, presumably, to that of the temple itself. The element of doubt is due to the fact that only a small part of the boundary wall of the camp and of the buildings enclosed within it has been excavated, and that there has been no excavation at all in the southern half. The suggestion that the length of the camp from north to south corresponded with the length of the temple is based mainly on the assumption that this dimension was probably roughly commensurate with the length from east to west; and about this we are fortunately well informed.[3]

Despite the inadequate excavation and the rather inadequate publication of the defensive circuit, there does seem to be evidence enough to date it, although systematic excavation and proper publication are still greatly to be desired. For the present, the best account is that given by Lacau;[4] and the references in the paragraphs that follow are to the plan that he publishes (reproduced here, pl. xxxiv).

The wall delimiting the *castrum* to the north[5] was in line with the pylon of the temple. The gate opening into the first great courtyard, built by Ramses II, in front of which stood the two obelisks of which one is now in the Place de la Concorde, in Paris, probably served as the main gate of the camp. On the west side of the temple, between it and the Nile, there is another gate (E); and the wall then continues until it reaches the embankment of a modern road, built, without any thought of excavating the underlying antiquities, in such a way as to bury the angle-tower and the whole of the west wall of the *castrum*.[6] Within the circuit so defined, Legrain's excavations uncovered a large colonnaded street, running southwards from gate E, and flanked on either side by walls of mud brick. After a certain distance, this street is crossed at right angles by a second colonnaded street, which runs from east to west, from a lateral door in the courtyard of Ramses II, referred to above, to a gate (G) in the west wall of the *castrum*, which was probably similar in build to that at E. Outside gate G, on the river bank, stood the nilometer of which Borchardt has published an account.[7] At the intersection of the two streets were found four column-bases (A, B, C, D), standing on a flat platform. This platform is on a level with the pavement of the courtyard of Ramses II; and, as Lacau rightly remarked, at the time when the platform was built the level of the ground outside the temple cannot yet have begun to rise.

[1] Luxor (*Luqsor*) is a Europeanized version of the Arab name الأقصرين, 'the two castles'. The hybrid form is used here since it is the one in common use.

[2] For the late buildings grouped around the temple of Luxor, see G. Legrain, 'Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Louxor à l'ouest du temple d'Ammon', *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, xvii, 1917, pp. 49–75, and 'Fouilles et recherches au forum de Louxor' in *Bull. de l'Institut égyptien*, 1917; G. Daressy, 'Notes sur Louxor de la période romaine et copte', *Annales du Service*, xix, 1919, pp. 159–75; P. Lacau, *op. cit.*

[3] The writer's knowledge of excavation within the buildings adjoining the temple dates from 1937. There does not seem to be any record of any subsequent work.

[4] *Op. cit.*

[5] As in the first part of this article, the axis of the temple, which in fact runs from north-east to south-west, is here, for convenience of reference, regarded as running north and south.

[6] The only record of this sector of the wall is that to be found in H. Carter, *Plan and Section of Continuation of Enclosure Wall from Entrance to Ancient Breakwater*, dated March 1900 and preserved in the archives of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

[7] L. Borchardt, 'Nilmesser und Nilstandmarken', *Abh. d. K. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Berlin, 1906, p. 31.

The four bases, A, B, C, and D, are dated by the Latin inscriptions inscribed on them, just as the bases of the corresponding tetrastyle structure at Antinoe all bear inscriptions of Severus Alexander. Except for minor orthographical variations, each of the four Luxor bases bears an identical text. Unfortunately, none is complete in the upper part, where the Emperor's name must have figured; but, from the conjunction of the tenth tribunician power with the third consulate, Lacau has been able to show that the dedications must have been made in 300 by a certain *Aurelius Reginus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) provinc(iae) Thebaid(os)*, to Diocletian, Maximian Herculeus, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius.

Passing to the part of the camp that lies to the east of the temple, the north wall, on this side too, has a gate (F), symmetrical to gate E, and similar to it in build. Southward from this gate runs a colonnaded street similar to that on the west side, and this street too is crossed at right angles by a second colonnaded street, which runs westwards from a gate H, set in the eastern perimeter-wall of the *castrum* and similar in build to gates E and F. As on the west side the intersection is marked by four inscribed column bases (I, J, K, and L); but the texts are fortunately better preserved, and from them Lacau has been able to show that they were dedicated, in 308–9, by a certain *Aur(elius) Maximinus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) dux Aeg(ypti) et Theb(aidos) utrarumq(ue) Lib(yarum)*, to the two Augusti, Licinius and Galerius, and to the two Caesars, Constantine and Maximin Daia. The last of the four texts has been so thoroughly hammered out that the name of the Caesar can only be read thanks to the surviving traces of the yellow paint with which the letters were filled. This *damnatio*, as Lacau points out, must have been the work of Licinius who, after the defeat of Maximin Daia in Thrace and his suicide at Tarsus, persecuted and destroyed the whole of his family.[1] The obliteration of this text calls to mind the corresponding obliteration of one of the four figures painted in the niche of the hall that is the subject of this article.

There is a further erasure on base J: here the name of Licinius has been hammered out, but in a rather rough and ready fashion, so that most of the letters can still be read, and the yellow colour that filled them is still clearly visible.

The southern part of the *castrum*, both to the east and to the west of the temple, is still unexcavated; but the eight inscriptions show that it was built between the years 300 and 308–9. The defensive circuit, which would naturally have been the first part to be built, must be Diocletianic, and the same is probably true of the intersecting grid of colonnaded streets. As a fundamental conception of town-planning, the latter is typical of the Hellenistic age in Syria;[2] and it was this resemblance to the Syrian cities that misled Lacau into believing that the group of structures, to the east and to the west of the temple, were two cities, and deriving therefrom the place's Arab name. The confusion of thought is evident in the phrase in which he describes them: 'Les deux villes qui ceinturent le temple sont, en réalité, des villes fortifiées, des camps, des *castra*.' On the contrary, however, these are neither two fortified cities nor two *castra*, but the two parts of a single *castrum* of unusual plan, disposed symmetrically on either

[1] Cf. *C.I.L.* iii, suppl. 6979 = *I.L.S.* 660.
[2] As already noted half a century ago by Th. Schreiber, 'Vorbemerkungen zu einer Typologie der hellenistischen Stadtgründungen', *Festschrift für Heinrich Kiepert*, Berlin, 1898, pp. 336 ff. See also the many examples published since then.

side of the central temple, and each incorporating as a basic feature of the plan two colonnaded streets intersecting at right angles. It is surprising that Lacau should have failed to note the examples of the adoption of this type of plan in the legionary camps of the late third century, and of the beginning of the fourth. A well-known instance is the *castrum* of Palmyra,[1] ascribed to Diocletian by an inscription that can be dated between 293 and 303,[2] although Schlumberger, after a minute analysis, suggests that it existed earlier, and was 'une fondation des empereurs palmyréniens', transformed by the *praeses provinciae*, Sossianus Hierocles, and reattributed by him to Diocletian.[3] At Palmyra, the camp is divided into four by two colonnaded streets, which intersect at a *tetrapylon*; at Luxor the pattern is repeated twice, once on either side of the temple;[4] but there is only one *castrum*, and there must be some other explanation for the Arab name. Another example, which is too familiar to need further comment, is the palace of Diocletian at Spalato, the plan of which is based on that of a *castrum*. It does not, of course, follow that this was, in any sense, a standard pattern in military architecture under Diocletian; there are fortresses of the same date, but quite different in plan, both in Syria[5] and in the West.[6]

In its detail there are several features of the architecture of the *castrum* at Luxor that are worthy of remark. The towers flanking the gates and those in the curtain walls are alike in having small doors that open in the flanks, and give direct access to the ditch from the interior of the camp. The writer is not aware of any instance of the use of this feature in military architecture prior to the age of Diocletian; there is, however, another Egyptian example in the *castrum* of Babylon, south of the modern Cairo,[7] where the plan of the gates is identical with that found at Luxor. Another architectural detail that is common to the *castrum* at Luxor and to another securely dated Diocletianic monument, the triple gate at Philae, dated to the year 296, is the cornice consisting of plain, inclined surfaces.[8]

At the time when the Roman camp at Luxor was built, at the end of the third century, it is evident that the temple of Ammon, which constitutes the central part of the camp, can no longer have been in use as a temple. There is no trace of Roman work (unless there were features that have been destroyed, without record, by the Egyptologists) either in the first great courtyard of Ramses II, or in the succeeding colon-

[1] D. Krencker and others, *Palmyra, Ergebnisse der Expeditionen von 1902 und 1917*, Berlin, 1932, pp. 85–105.

[2] *C.I.L.* iii, 133–6661; Krencker, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[3] D. Schlumberger, 'Études sur Palmyre', *Berytus*, ii, 1935, pp. 164–7.

[4] It seems unlikely that the double plan is to be explained by the need to provide separate quarters for the two legions that, after 297, were stationed in Egypt under the *Dux Thebaidos*, i.e. the *Legio I Maximiana* and the *II Flavia Constantia* (W. Enszlin, 'Zur Ostpolitik des Kaisers Diokletians', *Sitzungsber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch., phil.-hist. Abt.*, 1942, i, pp. 23–34). The two legions must have been stationed in different cities.

[5] e.g. Dēr el-Kahf, dated to 306: C. Butler, *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria*, ii, A 2, 1910, fig. 127.

[6] e.g. the fortresses of the upper Rhine: O. Kohl, 'Aus-

grabungen am römischen Kastell bei Kreuznach', *Bonner Jahrb.* 120, 1911, pp. 286–315; E. Anthes and W. Unverzagt, 'Das Kastell Alzei', *ibid.* 122, 1912, pp. 149 ff.; Th. Burckhardt-Biedermann, *Westd. Zeitschr.* xxv, pp. 129 ff. Cf. also the fortresses of the Numidian limes, J. Guey, 'Note sur le limes romain de Numidie et le Sahara au IVe siècle', *Mélanges de Rome*, lvi, 1939, pp. 192–203.

[7] U. Monneret de Villard, 'Sul castrum romano di Babilonia d' Egitto', *Aegyptus*, v, 1924, pp. 174–82, and especially p. 182. The writer hopes to have occasion shortly to publish the drawings of this important monument. Small doors in the flanks of the towers are later a feature of the fortifications built by Theodosius II at Byzantium.

[8] U. Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia Romana*, Rome, 1941, pp. 8–9.

naded hall, the work of Amenophis III and of later Pharaohs, or in the second court-yard, that of Amenophis III. In the hypostyle hall, on the other hand, which is also the work of Amenophis III, things are different. The hypostyle hall (or vestibule, as it is sometimes called) is divided into nine aisles by thirty-two columns, ranged in eight rows of four, and on either side of the central aisle, which is wider than the rest, there are low walls placed between the columns, with an opening in the centre of each. These walls are later than the original structure, and are almost certainly Roman; and in the last of them on the left (marked 'X' on Lacau's plan) there is a pedestal-base for a statue, the sockets for the feet of which are plainly visible on the upper surface of the upper cornice block. This statue-base was found by Grébaut in 1888,[1] and is inscribed on the face with a text (pl. XXIX, b) that has been published several times, most recently by Lacau, who notes that the base carried a statue of Constantine, and was erected by *Val(erius) Rometalca v(ir) p(erfectissimus) dux Aeg(ypti) et Theb(aidos) utrarumq(u)e Lib(yarum)*, probably in 324. The base is not a monolith, but is made up of three pieces, two solid, rectangular blocks at the back, and a single, massive, inscribed slab, up-ended to form the front. Two other slabs of the same form have been found elsewhere in the excavations of the temple at Luxor, and these must certainly have belonged to the bases of two other statues. One of them bears a dedication to Galerius, still Caesar, and therefore prior to 305, by *Val(erius) Euenthius v(ir) p(erfectissimus) rat(ionalis)*; and the other a fragmentary dedication to Constantine by the same Valerius Rometalca (pl. XXIX, c). These two inscribed slabs were found casually among the debris within the temple, and it is not possible, therefore, to say for certain where the statue-bases of which they were part originally stood. But it is probable that the statue of Galerius, at any rate, occupied a position corresponding to that of Constantine, of which the base is still in place in the central aisle of the hypostyle hall.[2]

The hypostyle hall opens directly into the painted hall that is the subject of this article; and it will be recalled (p. 90) that there was formerly in the latter an inscription in which Wilkinson thought he could read the name of Diocletian. All the evidence points in the same direction, and shows that the so-called Christian church was, in reality, the *sacellum* of the legionary insignia,[3] the sanctuary for the worship of the *genius castrorum*[4] and for sacrifice to the Emperor,[5] placed in accordance with regular practice in the south centre of the *castrum*. An apse is a common feature of such *sacella*. The earliest example is perhaps that in the Trajanic camp at Oḏruḥ in the Arabian limes;[6] and it is found in the two Egyptian *castra* of Myos Hormos[7] and

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[1] 'Fouilles in Egypte', *Bull. de l'Institut égyptien*, 1889, p. 334. For the inscription see *C.I.L.* iii, suppl., 12073.

[2] There is a circular statue-base in the museum at Alexandria, inscribed with a dedication to Constantine by the same Valerius Rometalca; but the fact that it is cut in Nubian stone is not enough to show that it comes from Luxor, as Lacau maintains: it could equally well come from any other site in upper Egypt.

[3] For the cult of the military insignia see Ch. Renel, *Cultes militaires de Rome: les Enseignes* (Annales del'Université de Lyon, N.S. ii, *Droit, Lettres*, no. 12), Paris, 1903, pp. 285-311.

[4] Cf. the inscription of the altar of the camp at Lambaesis, *C.I.L.* viii, 2529; and, in general, A. von Domaszewski, 'Religion des röm. Heeres', *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, xxi, 1895, pp. 34-35, and 'Principia des röm. Lagers', *Neue Heidelberger Jahrb.* ix, 1899, p. 149.

[5] Cf. the Berlin papyrus, Wilcken, *Philologus*, liii, 1894, p. 83, and v. Domaszewski, *Neue Heidelberger Jahrb.* ix, 1899, p. 149.

[6] R. E. Brünnow and A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, i, Strassburg, 1904, p. 439, fig. 531.

[7] See Burton's drawing in British Museum, Add. MS. 25624, p. 102ᵛ.

of Wādi Faṭīrah near the *Mons Claudianus*;[1] in the *castrum* at Palmyra;[2] and in that of Lambaesis, where the apse was a later addition to an originally plain rectangular plan.[3] The same apsidal plan is a feature of many of the corresponding shrines of the German limes.[4] At Luxor the construction of a proper apse would have involved the considerable labour of demolishing a large part of the Pharaonic wall, and it was felt to be sufficient, instead, to build an apsidal niche within the opening of the existing door.

In front of the niche, beneath the canopy on four columns of which the general form is indicated above (p. 89), there stood perhaps the altar of the *Genius castrorum*. Renel's attempt to identify a canopy of this sort on the reverse of an Augustan coin is mistaken:[5] what is shown on the coin is the temple of Mars Ultor, built on the Capitol in 20 B.C. A more plausible parallel is the chapel of the standards that figures on the so-called Sword of Tiberius, from Mainz, in the British Museum.[6] But the two structures are not alike in detail; and that shown on the sword from Mainz may well represent the shrine itself rather than a canopy within the shrine. At Luxor it may well be that the standards were placed in a wooden framework that was held by the sockets in the niche described above (p. 89). One of the lateral chambers opening off the main hall, which were once chapels of Khons, Mut, and other divinities, must have served as the *aerarium*. The others were probably *scholae*.

This explanation of the function of the painted hall explains also the presence in the central nave of the adjacent hypostyle hall of a statue of Constantine and one, probably, of Galerius, as well as others, perhaps, of other Emperors. A comparison with the corresponding *sacellum* at Lambaesis (see above and n. 3) is instructive. There, across the front of the shrine itself and of the flanking *scholae* there runs a portico, or perhaps rather, as Krencker maintains,[7] the aisle of a basilica; and in front of the base of each column of this there is an inscribed statue-base. Two of the statues were of Hadrian, two of Antoninus Pius, and one of Commodus; and such of the inscriptions as are complete show that each statue was erected by a *primipilus*, the officer in charge of the guard over the legionary standards.[8] The statues at Luxor offer an obvious parallel to those at Lambaesis; and the hypostyle hall of the temple of Ammon corresponds more or less closely to the portico or basilica of the African

[1] See Burton's drawings in British Museum Add. MSS. 25628, f. 145, and 25625, pp. 61–62. Probably to be identified with the *hydreuma Traiani* at *fons felicissimus Traianus Dacicus*; cf. Schweinfurth, *Auf unbetretenen Wegen in Aegypten*, Berlin, 1922, pp. 235–65; G. W. Murray, 'Roman Roads and Stations in the Eastern Desert', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xi, 1925, p. 148; J. Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine en Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien*, Cairo, 1918, pp. 441–3.

[2] Krencker, *op. cit.*, pl. 48.

[3] M. Besnier, 'Les Scholae des sous-officiers dans le camp romain de Lambèse', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, xix, 1899, pp. 231–2.

[4] e.g. Nieder-Bieber (E. Ritterling, *Bonner Jahrb.* 120, 1911, pp. 266–7, pl. XVI; *Der Obergermanisch-Raetische Limes des Roemerreiches*, B. I); Arzbach, Hunzell, Holzhausen (*Der Obergermanisch-Raetische Limes*, B. I); Feldberg (*ibid.*, B. II, 1); Kapersburg, Ruckingen (*ibid.*, B. II, 2); Heddernheim (*ibid.*, B. II, 3); Woerth (*ibid.*,

B. III); Welzheim (*ibid.*, B. IV); Cannstadt, Köngen (*ibid.*, B. V, 1); Schierenhof, Unterböbingen, Aalen, Heidenheim, Faimingen (*ibid.*, B. VI; the last named is one of the rare cases where the apse does not project beyond the line of the lateral walls); Pföring (*ibid.*, B. VII; here, too, the apse does not project, but is hidden behind a rectilinear wall).

[5] Renel, *op. cit.*, p. 284, fig. 58; a Spanish coin (Caesaraugusta?) of 18–17 B.C.; cf. H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, i, 1923, pl. VII, nos. 10–14.

[6] Lersch, *Das sogenannte Schwert des Tiberius*, Bonn, 1849; *Proc. Soc. Ant.* iii, 1867, p. 358.

[7] D. Krencker and others, Palmyra, *Ergebnisse der Expeditionen von 1902 und 1917*, Berlin, 1932, pp. 85–105.

[8] R. Cagnat, 'Les Deux Camps de la Légion III Augusta à Lambèse d'après les fouilles récentes', *Mém. Acad. Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, xxxviii. 1, 1908, pp. 28–31, 34–35.

castrum. Moreover, the comparison offers an explanation of the possible duplication of the statues of Constantine at Luxor. We may note further that the hypostyle hall is the only part of the temple, except the painted hall, where the original Pharaonic masonry has undergone structural modification. In the east wall of the hypostyle hall the Romans opened a small door (or transformed an existing door: 'A' on the plan, fig. 1), arched in the same manner as the niche of the painted hall (pl. XXXIII, *c*). There was another door, symmetrically placed in the west wall; but little of it is preserved, and nothing can be said of it in detail.

The painted hall at Luxor did not serve only as the *sacellum* for the legionary standards and insignia: it was also, and predominantly, the temple of the Imperial cult. The proof of this can be found in the pictures of which Wilkinson's water-colours have preserved the record.

The key to the problem lies in the paintings of the niche. The four figures shown there must be the two Augusti and the two Caesars of the first tetrarchy; and the second figure from the left, with an orb in his right hand and a spear in his left, is certainly Diocletian. Orb and spear identify him with Jupiter. The *hasta* is a long sceptre, the height of a man; it was already carried by Tinia, the Etruscan Jupiter,[1] and later by the Italic Jupiter of Anxur,[2] and by Jupiter Capitolinus; and it was carried sometimes by other divinities, too, and by deified Emperors, from Augustus onwards.[3] The orb is another attribute of Jupiter.[4] Diocletian holds it on the antininiani struck at Siscia in 293–5, with the legend IOVI ET HERCULI CONS AVGG.[5] It will be noted that the head of the figure at Luxor is encircled by a blue nimbus: Diocletian is truly *Iovius*, with all the attributes of Jupiter.[6]

The third figure, erased in antiquity, must have represented Maximian Herculeus and have been erased when the memory of the Emperor was formally condemned.[7] It would have been interesting to know whether he was shown as on the Diocletian coins cited above, with a victory upon an orb in one hand and bearing the two attributes of Hercules, the lion-skin and the club; but the state of the picture after its erasure prevents verification.

The remaining two figures must have represented the two Caesars, Constantius

[1] Roscher, *Lexikon*, v, 967–970.

[2] Cf. the coins of C. Vibius Pansa (49 B.C.) in H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, London, 1910, nos. 3978–82.

[3] See the coin of restitution of Augustus struck by Tiberius in A.D. 22–23, H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, i, 1923, pp. 129–30, nos. 70–75, and the coin of Titus, derivative from the first, *ibid.* ii, 1930, pp. 281–2, nos. 263–4, both of the type of the Augustus of Bovillae, now in the Torlonia Museum. For the literary and epigraphic sources for the identification of Augustus with Jupiter, see M. M. Ward, 'The Association of Augustus with Jupiter', *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, ix, 1933, pp. 203–24.

[4] Sittl, 'Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus', *Jahrb. für class. Philol.*, suppl. vol. xiv, 1884. On the globe in the Emperor's hand see A. Schlachter, 'Der Globus', *Stoicheia*, viii, 1927, pp. 64 ff.; A. Alföldi, 'In-

signien und Tracht der röm. Kaiser', *Röm. Mitt.* l, 1935, pp. 117 ff., specially 119. On the globe as symbol of the κοσμοκράτωρ cf. Fr. Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues*, Bruxelles, 1937, pp. 27–28; P. Hombert, 'Sarapis Kosmokrator', *L'Antiquité classique*, xiv, 1945, pp. 319–29.

[5] H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, v, 2, 1933, p. 248, no. 275.

[6] For the significance of the term *Jovius*, as applied to Diocletian, see W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la Tétrarchie* (Bibl. des. Écoles franç. d'Athènes et de Rome, 162), Paris, 1946, pp. 211–30.

[7] Lactantius, *De mort. persec.* 42, 1: 'Eodemque senis Maximiani statuae Constantini iussu revellebantur et imagines ubicumque pictus esset detrahebantur'; cf. also Euseb. *Hist. eccles.* viii, 13, 15; *Vita Constant.* i, 47. For the erasure of his name in inscriptions see Pauly–Wissowa, s.v. *Maximianus (Herculius)*, xiv, 2, 2515.

Chlorus and Galerius. There is no means of identifying which is which or of seeing if they were placed in order of precedence in accordance with their *dies imperii*.[1] The cylindrical object that each holds is probably a short sceptre.

The dress of these four figures, their attributes, and the blue nimbus about their heads show unmistakably that they were represented in divine guise.[2] It is the only instance known to us: in all other cases the tetrarchs are always shown in human form. This is true of the four porphyry statues built into the wall of San Marco at Venice, the reliefs of the two porphyry columns in the Vatican Library,[3] the sculptures of the double herm at Salona,[4] the bas-reliefs of the arch of Galerius at Saloniki.[5] In the niche of the painted hall at Luxor, on the other hand, the paintings take the place of cult statues and are themselves the object of worship, in accordance with the time-honoured Egyptian practice of representing the deified ruler with the attributes of God.[6]

The paintings in the niche are, therefore, predominantly religious in character; and this fact calls for a re-examination of the significance and purpose both of the niche itself and of the canopy in front of it. These have so far been considered only in the light of analogies with the shrines of other Roman *castra*, known to us through surviving monuments or through excavation. In none of these, however, even where there is an altar to the *Genius castrorum*, is there any trace of a similar canopy; to the best of the writer's knowledge that at Luxor is unique. The presence of such a canopy at Luxor, therefore, and the representation of the tetrarchs in the niche combine to show that the function of this particular building as a shrine of the legionary standards and insignia was secondary to that as a temple of the Imperial cult.

What, then, stood beneath the canopy? The altar of the *Genius castrorum* alone would hardly seem to have justified so distinctive and unusual a setting. There must rather have been something of particular significance for the Imperial cult; and in this connexion we may cite the evidence of two coins, the one of Domitian and the other of Antoninus Pius, on both of which there figures a statue of the Emperor beneath a canopy. The authenticity of the first of these coins has been called in question,[7] but there is no doubt whatever about the second, many copies of which

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[1] J. Straub, *Von Herrscherideal in der Spätantike*, 1939, p. 38.

[2] For the attributes of Jupiter in this connexion see A. B. Cook, *Zeus: a Study in Ancient Religion*, i, Cambridge, 1914, pp. 34–41. For the nimbus see the panegyric of 289 (Eumenius, *Paneg.* ii, 3), which indicates that it is a normal attribute of the Imperial dignity. The first living rulers to use it in the representations on their coinage were the Kuṣāṇa of the dynasty of Kaniṣka (after 128–9, according to S. Konow); see the writer's article, 'Le Monete dei Kushāna e l'Impero romano', *Orientalia*, N.S. xvii, 1948, pp. 215–19.

[3] R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1932, pp. 84–92.

[4] H. P. L'Orange, 'Die Bildnisse der Tetrarchen', *Acta Archaeol.* ii, 1931, pp. 29 ff.

[5] K.-F. Kinck, 'L'Arc de triomphe de Salonique', Paris, 1890, pp. 24–27, pl. vi; E. Hébrard, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xliv, 1920, pl. ii; H. von Schoenebeck, 'Die Zyklische Ordnung der Triumphalreliefs am Galeriusbogen in Saloniki', *Byz. Zeitschr.* xxxvii, 1937, pp. 361–71. For the date of the arch (A.D. 303) see Seston, *op. cit.*, p. 392 and note on p. 187. The glass disc published by L. Bruzza ('Frammenti di un disco in vetro che rappresenta i vicennalia di Diocleziano', *Bull. Comm. Roma*, x, 1882, pp. 180–90, pl. xx) has since been shown to represent Constantine; H. Fuhrmann, 'Eine Glasschale von der Vicennalienfeier Constantins des Grossen zu Rom im Jahre 326 nach C.', *Röm. Mitt.* liv, 1939, pp. 161–75.

[6] Of the Imperial statues that were worshipped in Roman Egypt in the temples of the Imperial cult, and are often mentioned (as ἀνδριάντες) in the papyri (cf. F. Blumenthal, 'Der Aegyptische Kaiserkult', *Archiv f. Papyrusforschung*, v, 1913, pp. 317–45, spec. 318, 328, 331, 335) all too little is known. Perhaps the well-known headless porphyry statue of Diocletian in the museum of Alexandria (sometimes wrongly thought to be a Pantokrator) is one of these.

[7] H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, ii, 1930, p. 388 and note.

exist.[1] It was struck in 157–8 or 158–9, and shows the Imperial image beneath an arch carried on two columns, a schematic representation, perhaps, of a domed canopy carried on four columns. To explain the scene, Alföldi has rightly compared the canopy with that which, at a later date, covered the Imperial throne in the great Audience Hall of the Sacred Palace at Byzantium; it is described by Corippus,[2] and it figures many times in the Book of Ceremonies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus,[3] under the name of καμελαύκιον[4] or, more rarely, κιβώριον. An illustration of such a canopy can be seen framing the figures of Constantius II and Gallus in the Chronographer of 354,[5] and the form, with a pyramidal roof, is one that would accord well with the surviving indications at Luxor. The canopy in the Sacred Palace, on the other hand, was dome-shaped, and may well have been identical with that shown on the early-fifth-century mosaics of Saloniki, or those that frame the standing figure of an Empress on two diptych leaves, in the Bargello Museum at Florence and in the museum at Vienna;[6] unless, indeed, one has to think of a cupola on four arches, carried by four columns, a precursor of the ciboria of the early Middle Ages.

It may be, therefore, that beneath the κιβώριον at Luxor there stood a statue of the Emperor, in this case of Diocletian, similar to the porphyry statue in Alexandria Museum.[7] Such a statue would, however, have duplicated the painted figure of the Emperor in the niche; and an alternative that suggests itself is the familiar symbol of Imperial majesty, the empty throne. The cult of the throne had a long history in the ancient East,[8] whence it passed to Greece[9] and to Egypt, where the throne of Ammon, bearing the symbol of the god, played an interesting part.[10] Roman Imperial ceremony inherited the eastern tradition of the cult of the throne set with a figure of the Sovereign and a symbol of his authority, and accorded it the same veneration as the sovereign whose seat it was;[11] and, like so many other details of the Imperial cult, this too was eventually taken over into Christian usage.[12]

The most likely solution of all is, perhaps, that under the κιβώριον there stood a statue of the Genius of the Emperor. This would have taken the form of a half-naked youth, carrying a cornucopia and patera and crowned with a *modius*, as shown on the coins of Maximian Herculeus, of Constantine, and of Galerius.[13] The type goes back to Nero (except for the *modius*, which only appears in Late Antiquity), and closely

[1] Cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.* l, 1935, pp. 37 ff.; L. Strach, *Untersuchungen zur röm. Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, III, *Die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Antoninus Pius*, Stuttgart, 1937, p. 160, no. 335, pl. III; no. 1191, pl. xv.

[2] *In laud. Just. min.* 3, 191 ff.: 'atria praelargis extant altissima tectis . . . nobilitat medios sedes augusta penates, quattuor eximiis circumvallata columnis. Quas super ex liquido praefulgens cymbus aureo in medio, similans convexi climata coeli, immortale caput soliumque sedentis obumbrat ornatum gemmis auroque ostroque superbum. Quattuor in sese nexos curvaverat arcus.'

[3] J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople*, Paris, 1910, p. 42.

[4] Ed. Vogt, i, *Commentaire*, p. 46.

[5] J. Strzygowski, *Die Kalenderbilder des Cronographs vom Jahre 354*, Berlin, 1888, pls. 34–35.

[6] R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*, Berlin-Leipzig,

1929, nos. 51–52, pp. 201–8.

[7] R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1932, pp. 96–98, pls. 40–41.

[8] H. Danthine, 'L'Imagerie des trônes vides et des trônes porteurs de symboles dans le proche Orient ancien', *Mélanges Dussaud*, ii, Paris, 1939, pp. 857–66.

[9] W. Reichel, *Über vorhellenische Götterculte*, Vienna, 1897.

[10] G. Daressy, 'Une nouvelle forme d'Amon', *Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte*, ix, 1908, pp. 64–69; G. A. Wainwright, 'The aniconic form of Amon in the New Kingdom', *ibid.* xxviii, 1928, pp. 175–89.

[11] A. Alföldi, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–9.

[12] A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Strasbourg, 1936, pp. 199–200.

[13] H. Cohen, *Monnaies de l'empire romain*, 2 ed., vi, p. 507, nos. 132–7; vii, no. 58; pp. 106–7, nos. 39–44, 47–49.

resembles that of the *Genius populi Romani*.[1] There is a great deal of evidence to show that the cult of the Genius of the Emperor was very widely diffused[2] and that, under the tetrarchy, it was the object of dedications of buildings and of parts of buildings, and may have been represented in Rome by a statue on an inscribed base.[3] It was to the Genius of the Emperor, identified with his τύχη, that the Christians were called on to sacrifice,[4] and we may note, in passing, that an identical sacrifice was demanded of the Christians in the Sassanian kingdom in times of persecution. There are many references in the various acts of the martyrs to the sacrifice to the king's τύχη (*Gad*);[5] and this was probably a Roman usage that had been taken over by the Persian world.

Such considerations show that the hypothesis advanced in the last paragraph has a sound basis of comparative usage; but, in the absence at Luxor of any specific element to show which of several possible hypotheses is the right one, there can be no proof. In any case, what is important is the demonstration that the hall in the temple at Luxor was predominantly the sanctuary of the Imperial cult. As Lacau rightly observed, not only was it not a Christian church: it was the very building where Diocletian and Maximin Daia ordered the Christians to sacrifice to the divinity of the Emperor.

We know very little about the detailed events of the religious persecution at Luxor. There is a single, late text, a reference in the Arab synaxary for 20 ⲁⲟⲩⲣ (16th November) to the martyrdom of Sophronios of al-Ḥīfā, of Shānāẓūm, and of Dalasīna.[6] The first of these is described as a soldier living near the city, in a place called Agrārā;[7] and the second is perhaps identical with Shenetōm, whose feast is mentioned in a letter that comes from Luxor itself,[8] and whose church, or τόπος, is recorded in another letter, the source of which is not known;[9] but there is no mention in the text of the place where they should have sacrificed to the Emperor.

The wretched condition in which Wilkinson found the remaining pictures on the walls of the sanctuary of the Imperial cult would make their interpretation very difficult, even if the writer's familiarity with the field of classical archaeology were greater than it is. On this point, therefore, it must be sufficient to have presented and illustrated a body of material, the significance and interest of which has hitherto

[1] Cf. M. Bernhardt, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Halle, 1926, pls. 19, 11–12, and 63, 9–14.

[2] J. Toutain, *Les Cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, i, 1, Paris, 1907, pp. 18, 27–28, 43, 51–52, 56, 71–73, 106, 116, 121, 124–5.

[3] *C.I.L.* vi, 255, 256.

[4] Tertull. *apol.* 32, *ad Scapul.* 2; Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* iv, 15. 18–21.

[5] Thus Acepsimas, martyred in 379, is called on to swear by the great god, the Sun, and the Fortune of the king of kings, Shāpūr: ὄμνυμι τὸν μέγαν θεὸν Ἥλιον καὶ τὴν τύχην τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν βασιλέων Σαβωρίου (*Patrologia Orientalis*, ii, pp. 496 and 539). Cf. further G. Hoffmann, *Aufzüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 63; C. Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer ... aus dem syrischen übersetzt*, Kampten and Munich, 1915, pp. 61, 68, 124; H. Delehaye, 'Les versions grecques des actes des martyrs persans sous Sapor II', *Patr. Or.* iv, 96; E. Assermani, *Acta sanctorum martyrum orientalium et occidentalium*, i, Rome, 1748, p. 192. On the coins of the Kuṣāṇa, the Fortune (τύχη) is called Ardoksho and, like the Roman Genius, carries the cornucopia and, on the head, the modius; the two personifications are evidently related, although of different sexes.

[6] Synaxary, ed. Basset, *Patr. Or.*, iii, pp. 311–16; ed. Forget, *C.S.C.O.*, script. arab, series 3, vol. xviii, text pp. 301 ff., translation pp. 137 ff.

[7] For this name (restored as *agrariae*) and for al-Ḥīfā, see G. Daressy, 'Le Camp de Thèbes', *Annales du Service des Ant. de l'Égypte*, xix, 1919.

[8] G. Steindorff, *Zeitschr. f. Aegypt. Sprache*, xxx, 1892, pp. 41–42.

[9] W. E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca*, London, 1902, p. 18, no. 105.

escaped the notice of specialists in this field. That the pictures on the walls portrayed a procession in honour of the Emperor seems certain; but, from what we know of the *processus consularis*[1] and of the *processus triumphalis*,[2] it does not appear that it can have been either of these. Included in the procession are magistrates, high functionaries, and soldiers. The border-decoration of the dismounted horsemen resembles that on the shield of the bodyguard of Constantius II on the Kertsch dish (lacking, of course, the great central chrism); but these horsemen have not got the characteristic haircut of the *protectores domestici*,[3] nor do they wear about their neck the *torques* with the *bulla* that figures on representations of these on the post-Diocletianic monuments, although these are perhaps later innovations. The figures on the south wall, bearing robes, a rich belt, and other unidentified objects, suggest the ceremony of the *mutatio vestis*;[4] but, if so, the relation of this to the other scenes is far from clear. These are some of the problems that these pictures raise, and to which no attempt will here be made to provide an answer. The primary purpose of this article has been to bring Wilkinson's water-colours to the notice of students; to banish once and for all the legend of the church within the temple at Luxor, by showing the transformed hall's true date and purpose; and to define more closely the nature of the Diocletianic *castrum* within which the temple was incorporated. For the history of monumental painting under the tetrarchy, the only other documents that we possess are a few frescoes in the catacombs of Rome and Syracuse, which have about the same evidential value as the funerary monuments of any great modern cemetery for the history of contemporary art. Wilkinson's record gives us at least some pale notion of what it must have been.

[1] C. Jullian, 'Processus consularis', *Revue de philologie*, vii, 1883, pp. 144 ff.

[2] A. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.* xlix, 1934, pp. 88–118.

[3] See R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1929, p. 41, with bibliography. The fundamental work on this corps remains C. Jullian, *De protect. et domest. Augustorum*, Paris, 1883; to which add Michon, *Rev. Bibl.*, 1900, pp. 96–105, pl. 1 (reproducing a stele from Ba'albek) and the work of Matzulewitch on the Kertsch dish, which has not been available to the writer.

[4] A. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.* l, 1935, pp. 5–9.

PLATE XXXIV

THE ROMAN CAMP AT LUXOR

E

F

G →

A
B

C
D

MODERN EMBANKED
ROAD ALONG
THE NILE BANK

W. TETRASTYLE
(A.D. 300)

COURTYARD OF
RAMSES II

COURTYARD OF
AMENOPHIS III

E. TETRASTYLE
(A.D. 308-9)

L

K J

H

HYPOSTYLE HALL

INSCRIPTION OF CONSTANTINE

LEGIONARY SACELLUM
(SO-CALLED CHURCH)

O 20 40 60 80 100 cubits
O 10 20 30 40 50 metres
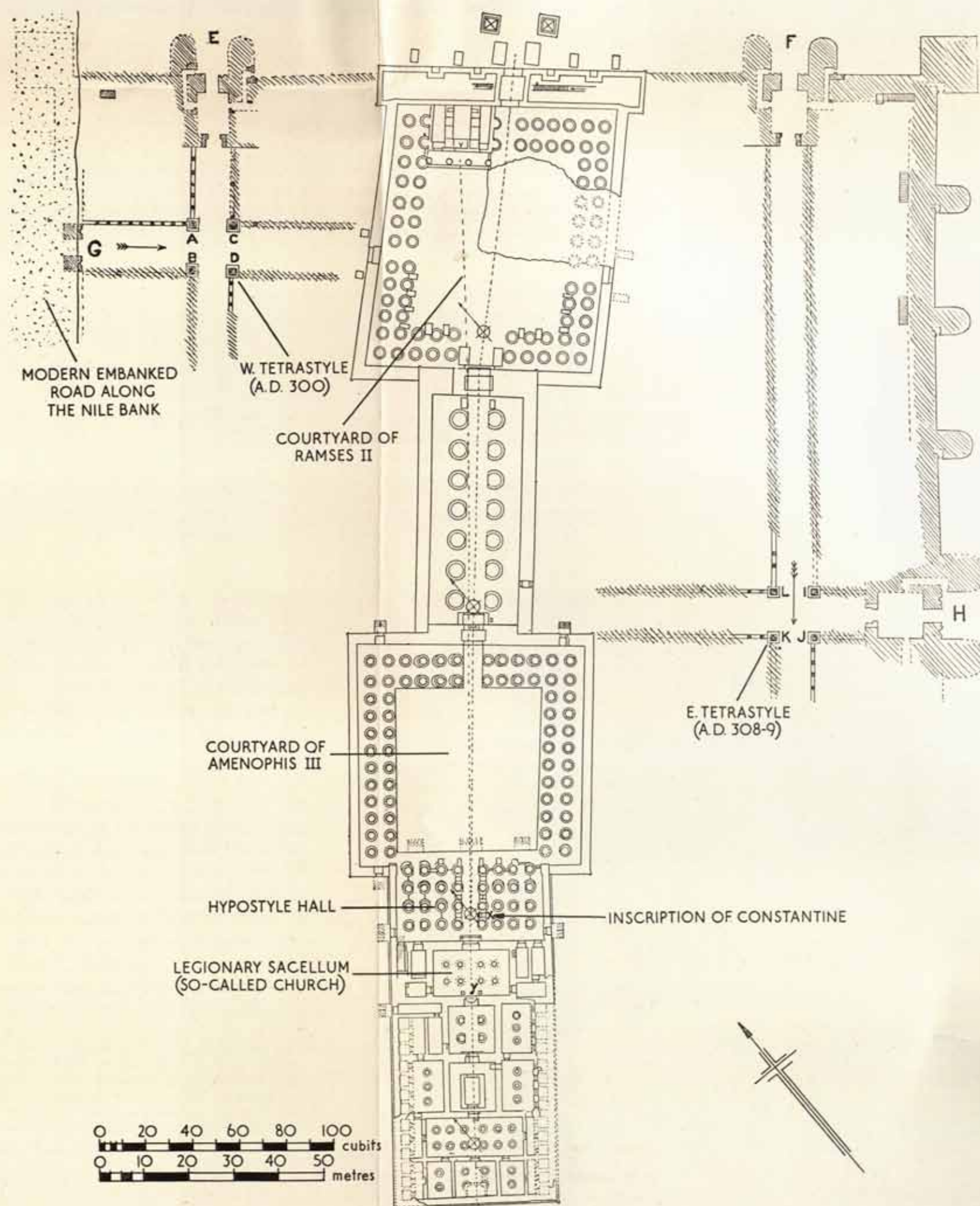
PLAN OF THE LATE THIRD-CENTURY ROMAN CAMP ENCLOSING THE TEMPLE OF AMMON AT LUXOR (AFTER
LACAU, WITH ANNOTATIONS)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1953

The Roof-bosses in St. George's Chapel, Windsor

By the late C. J. P. CAVE, Esq., F.S.A., and H. STANFORD LONDON, Esq., F.S.A.

[Read 23rd November 1950]

ST. George's Chapel as it now stands was begun in the reign of Edward IV and finished in that of Henry VIII. It took the place of an earlier chapel.

St. John Hope considered[1] that the first part of the chapel to be vaulted was the north aisle of the choir 'because one of the keys or bosses bears the arms of Thomas Fitzalan as Lord Maltravers, which dignity he held from 1461 until he succeeded to the earldom of Arundel in 1487, while another has the arms of William Lord Hastings who was beheaded in 1483'. But these arguments are of no weight. The Hastings boss may be posthumous like the Bray heraldry in the nave, whilst the arms on the Fitzalan boss are those of the head of the house, perhaps William, the 9th earl of Arundel (K.G. 1471, died 1487), but more probably his son Thomas, the 10th earl (K.G. 1474, died 1524). They cannot be Thomas's arms 'as Lord Maltravers' for so long as his father was alive he must have differenced those arms in some way, and in fact at least two contemporary manuscripts show that he added to his paternal arms a silver label, then as now a common difference for the eldest son.[2] Hope also says that 'the greater part of the vault of the south aisle of the quire was put up in the time of Henry VII and probably before 1502, since one of the keys has the arms of Arthur Prince of Wales who died in April of that year'. Here, too, Hope is mistaken. The arms may just as well be those of Henry VIII as prince of Wales; he was so created on 18th February 1503, and would have taken the plain white label of the eldest son on the death of his brother.

There is no doubt about the date of the high vault of the choir. This was the subject of a contract between the sovereign and the other Knights of the Garter of the one part and John Hylmer and William Vertue, freemasons, of the other part. This contract is dated the 5th of June, 21 Henry VII (1506), and stipulates that the work was to be finished by Christmas Day 1508 in consideration of the payment to them of £700 sterling.[3] All the nineteen English Knights of the Garter who were living in 1507 are represented on the bosses of the choir. To these nineteen knights must be added the sovereign himself, the prince of Wales, and three foreign knights, the Emperor Maximilian, John, king of Denmark, and Guido, duke of Urbino, making twenty-four in all. The other two stalls to make up the tale had been occupied by King Philip of Castile and Sir Richard Guldeford, but they both died in September

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[1] *Windsor Castle*, p. 384.

[2] See John Wrythe's Garter Armorial (MS. penes the Duke of Buccleuch) nos. 57 and 97; the compiler, John Wrythe, was Garter king of arms 1478–1504. See also Peter Le Neve's Book no. 154 (Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 6163, fo. 9). Like Wrythe's armorial this was compiled about 1480 when both William and Thomas were alive. It was published in rather unsatisfactory fashion together with Randle Holme's Book (MS. Harl. 2169) under the title *Two Tudor Books of Arms* (De Walden Library, 1904). Wrythe's Garter Armorial should eventually be printed in the Aspilogia series. The first volume of that series, Mr. Wagner's *Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms*, contains descriptions of all the above armorials.

[3] Hope, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

1506 and their successors, the Emperor Charles V and Sir Thomas Darcy, were not elected until December 1508 and May 1509 respectively.

The next part of the chapel to be vaulted was presumably the nave and transepts. Here we get the arms of Sir Reginald Bray within the Garter of which he was made a knight in 1501; he died in 1503. We also get the arms of Christopher Urswick who was dean from 1496 till his death in 1522. Hope thought that the nave vault should be dated before Bray's death. He seems to have based that opinion solely on the fact that Bray's arms are depicted within the Garter. That, however, is not enough. The late Canon A. C. Deane pointed out[1] that Bray left a very substantial bequest and stated in his will (spelling and punctuation modernized):

I will that my executors immediately after my decease endeavour themselves with all diligence, with my goods and the issues and profits of my lands and tenements by them to be received and had, to make and perform and cause to be made and performed, the work of the new works of the body of the Church of the College of our Lady and St. George within the Castle of Windsor; and the same work by them wholly to be performed and finished according and after the form and extent of the foundation thereof, as well in stone work, timber, lead, iron, glass and all other things necessary and requisite for the utter performance of the same.

Canon Deane also pointed out that the tracery in the panelling beneath the nave windows is much more decayed than the stonework elsewhere, and that it must have been exposed for a considerable time to the weather. We may take it therefore that the completion of the nave from the window-sills upward was the work not of Bray himself but of his executors. That being so we may place the *terminus a quo* at the end of 1503. As for the *terminus ad quem* this is given by a boss which displays the three ostrich feathers of the prince of Wales, a device which could only have been included before the accession of Henry VIII on 22nd April 1509. It would nevertheless seem that some of the bosses must have been carved after that, for one of them bears a crowned K, and that can hardly be dated before Henry's marriage to Katherine of Aragon on 3rd June 1509.

The last part of the vaulting to be finished was the crossing. This was done in 1528. It was originally intended to have a lantern tower but this was given up for lack of funds.[2]

Considering the bosses in greater detail we may begin with the north aisle of the choir. Commencing at the east end no. 1 is a large rose surrounded by rays. No. 2 has the royal arms crowned and supported by two lions of March, for Edward IV; the background is of rays (pl. XXXV, 1). No. 3 shows the royal arms held by a demi-angel wearing a coronet, background conventional clouds. No. 4 displays: *Quarterly*, 1 and 4. *Gules, a lion rampant gold*, for Fitzalan; 2 and 3. *Quarterly*, i and iv. *Silver, a chief azure*, for Clun; ii and iii. *Sable, a fret gold*, for Mautravers. This is the correct blazon but actually the whole shield has been reversed so as to face the altar; it is carried by an archangel and has a background of rays (pl. XXXV, 2). This boss, as already suggested, is probably for Thomas who succeeded as earl of Arundel in 1487. The marshalling seems to suggest that Clun and Mautravers were in some way con-

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[1] The Society of the Friends of St. George's, Report to 31st December 1943, p. 15.   [2] Hope, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

nected, but in fact the Clun quartering was inherited long before and independently of Mautravers. On no. 5 an archangel amid rays supports the shield, *Argent, a maunch sable*, of William Lord Hastings of Ashby de la Zouch, chamberlain to Edward IV. Hope thought that the presence of this shield proves that the aisle was vaulted before 1483, but with that we cannot agree. Willement records that Lord Hastings's widow provided for the performance of various obits in a chantry which had been built by her late husband;[1] this boss is opposite that chantry and Lord and Lady Hastings's benefactions would seem to afford reason enough for the inclusion of William's arms even after his execution. No. 6: an archangel crowned holds a shield with St. George's cross on a background of rays. Willement says that this shield was blank in his day; perhaps it was painted by him. It must be remembered that Willement did much work in St. George's Chapel and that the tinctures on the bosses as we now see them are not necessarily those which were there originally. No. 7 bears an archangel wearing a coronet and holding a heart from which spring two stems each ending in a large rose (pl. xxxv, 3). The roses, whatever their colour may once have been, are now of a nondescript hue which may perhaps be described as a dirty yellow. The heart is probably to be read as that of St. George himself. Given by the Emperor Sigismund in May 1416, when he was elected to the Order, this was one of the College's most prized possessions. The reliquary in which it was preserved is mentioned in the inventories of 1501 and 1534, being described in the latter as 'a monstrans of sylver gylt and seynt George is heart stondyng in golde closyd in byrall yn the myddst yn the upper parte the image off the crucyfyx, under that the image off our Lady and the image off our Savyoure' [*sic*, for St. John].[2] The heart occurs also in the nave both with and without the roses as to which we can only surmise that they allude to some forgotten legend.[3] No. 8, the last boss in the north choir aisle, has an angel holding a shield of the arms of St. Edward the Confessor.

In the south choir aisle the first boss displays the most highly treasured of all the chapel's relics, the Croes Naid or Cross Gneth, before which Edward IV and Richard Beauchamp, bishop of Salisbury, are seen kneeling (pl. xxxv, 4). Some particulars of this cross are given below in dealing with the nave (p. 119). Beauchamp was chancellor of the Order in 1475 and in the same year he was appointed overseer of the new chapel; he became dean of Windsor in 1478.[4] On the second boss are the royal arms, crowned, with Henry VII's red dragon and white greyhound as supporters (pl. xxxv, 5). On no. 3 we again see a crowned shield of the royal arms, but this time the supporters are two antelopes with crowns about their necks and pendant chains as given by Henry VI (pl. xxxv, 6). On no. 4 a crowned archangel holds a Tudor rose, the inner petals red, the outer white. No. 5 displays the royal arms with a label of three pendants; the

[1] *The Collegiate Chapel of St. George, Windsor*, p. 15, note.
[2] *The Inventories of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, 1384–1667*, ed. Maurice F. Bond, F.S.A. (Historical Monographs relating to St. George's Chapel), Windsor, 1947, pp. 49, no. 3, and 167, no. 6.
[3] Since this was set up my attention has been drawn to two seals (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, nos. 7144, 9517) on which the device is a heart with one or more flowers sprouting

from it. In neither of these cases is there any apparent reason to associate the device with St. George and I am now more inclined to regard it as a religious emblem although its exact significance eludes me. Sigismund also gave to the College a golden statue of St. George and a bit of his skull. Other relics preserved in the chapel were two of the saint's fingers and fragments of an arm and of another bone. H. S. L.
[4] Hope, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

shield is surmounted with an unarched coronet of crosses and fleurs-de-lis and on each side is a large ostrich feather, the quills held together below the shield by a scroll inscribed IC DEN (pl. XXXVI, 7). As already mentioned this shield has been attributed to Prince Arthur, but it is equally appropriate to Henry VIII as prince of Wales. No. 6 has the demi-figure of an archangel, crowned, rising from conventional
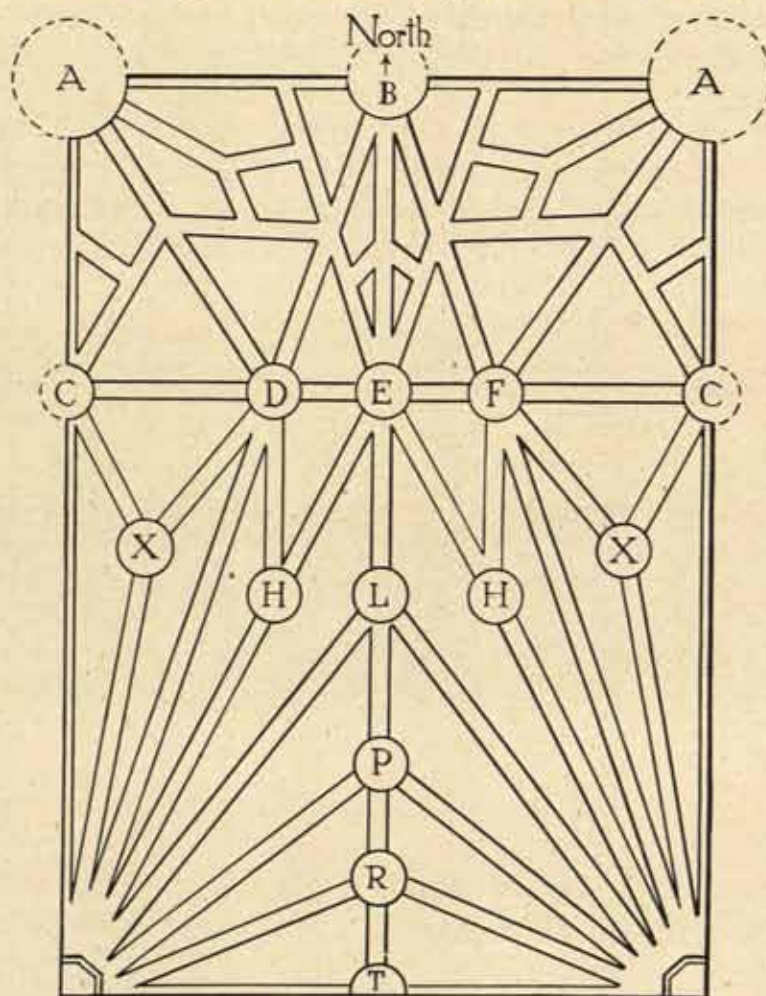
FIG. 1. Diagram showing the disposition of the roof-bosses
in the choir, southern half of one severy.

clouds and holding up his hands as though in prayer. On no. 7 is a shield with St. George's cross held by a demi-archangel. Lastly no. 8 has a demi-angel holding a shield: *Argent, a fess engrailed vert between two crowns sable*, for Oliver King, registrar of the Order of the Garter, bishop of Exeter 1493, and of Bath and Wells 1495; he died in 1503. All the bosses in this aisle have a background of rays.

The most interesting bosses in the whole chapel are undoubtedly those in the choir. The scheme of each severy is given in the accompanying diagram (fig. 1); see also pl. XXXVI, 8. On the central line are alternately a pendant boss, A, and a large boss, B, bearing royal coats or badges. The bosses C, D, E, F, all contain royal badges, badges, or in one case arms of Knights of the Garter, or else a St. George's cross. All are sur-

rounded by the Garter except the first and last on each line. The bosses marked H each bear the initials H R (Henricus Rex) laced together and crowned, for Henry VII (pl. XXXVI, 9). The boss L bears a portcullis, P a fleur-de-lis, R a white greyhound, and T a red dragon. The bosses marked X bear roses, or sometimes rose-sprigs with several flowers (pl. XXXVI, 10). A and C are really on the vaulting-ribs between the severies.

Immediately over the east window is a most unusual representation of the Trinity (pl. XXXVII, 11 and 12). This, as Professor Wormald suggested, probably depicts the Last Judgement. The Father, an aged man, crowned, is seated on one side; on the other side is Our Lord with the Crown of Thorns and wearing a cloak which is open in front, no doubt to show the wound in his side though this is not now visible. Both Father and Son have their left hands on a large book which is fastened with three clasps. Their right hands were probably raised; this is apparent in the mutilated hand of the Father, but in the case of the Son most of the arm has been broken off. In the background the Holy Ghost is represented by a dove with outspread wings and with a cross-bearing nimbus. Below the book is a globe surmounted by a cross; there is a horizontal line round the equator and the lower hemisphere is covered with wavy lines to represent water while the upper hemisphere is divided by a vertical band. Perhaps this is meant to represent the ocean with Europe and Asia, or it may be that the three divisions represent the three elements, fire and air in chief and water in base.

Immediately to the west of this representation is the first pendant boss. It has a bishop's mitre on its western face (pl. XXXVII, 12) and on the under surface is a shield charged with a pelican in its nest with four young (pl. XXXVII, 11). There can be no doubt that this is meant for the arms of Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester and prelate of the Order of the Garter, although the nest and chicks are unusual. On Fox's seal and in the many examples of his arms in the choir at Winchester the pelican is pecking its breast, but there is no nest and no nestlings, and that is how it is depicted in the crossing here at Windsor (pl. XLIII, 58).[1]

Taking the bosses on the central line of the choir we get in severy 1 two feathered archangels with filets round their heads and with ornamental collars but otherwise unclothed; they hold a shield of the arms of St. George; below are conventional clouds (pl. XXXVII, 13). In severy 2 are similar archangels wearing copes and bearing a shield with the arms of the Confessor (pl. XXXVII, 14). In severy 3 are the royal arms, crowned and supported by the red dragon and white greyhound (pl. XXXVIII, 15). In severy 4 is an archangel wearing a coronet and ornamental collar and carrying a large double rose, not on a shield; below are conventional clouds (pl. XXXVIII, 16). In severy 5 is a portcullis, not on a shield, but crowned and supported by the dragon and greyhound (pl. XXXVIII, 17). In severy 6 is an angel vested in alb and cope and

[1] Birch's catalogue of the British Museum seals and Kingsford's card index of the casts in the Society's collection both blazon the pelican on the seal as 'in its piety', but that is a mistake. If the term 'in its piety' must be used it should be reserved for the bird feeding its young in its nest. When there are neither nest nor nestlings the jargon is 'vulning itself', though pecking its breast is both simpler and clearer. 'In its piety' is a modern invention unknown even to Guillim and it is probable that Fox and his contemporaries saw no material difference between the two versions. The earliest use of 'in its piety' which we have noticed is in Edmondson's *Complete Body of Heraldry*, 1780.

holding a portcullis (pl. XXXVIII, 18). In the last severy, no. 7, is a double rose crowned and supported by the dragon and greyhound (pl. XXXVIII, 19).

Of the bosses marked C, D, E, and F on the plan we may take first those on the north side and then those on the south. There are twenty-nine bosses on each line, all except the first and last being surrounded by the Garter.

North line:

1. A shield charged with St. George's cross and held by a red dragon.

2. A portcullis (pl. XXXVIII, 20).

3. St. George's cross (pl. XXXIX, 21).

4. A gillyflower (pl. XXXIX, 22), miscalled by Hope a rose. The gillyflower is named as a badge of Henry VII in Wriothesley's Funeral Banners.[1] Among the royal bosses at Winchester *c.* 1505 is a flower-pot with gillyflowers. This is listed in Bodleian MS. Ashmole 1121, p. 227, and elsewhere among the badges belonging to Somerset and Herbert from antiquity; it may therefore have been a Beaufort badge.

5. The white lion of March (pl. XXXIX, 23), no doubt for Henry VII's consort Elizabeth of York. In a fifteenth-century list of Yorkist badges this is said to be given for the earldom of March. It was a favourite device of Edward IV and was used both as supporter of his arms (e.g. pl. XXXV, 1) and pendant from the Yorkist collar of suns and roses; in the College of Arms MS. I. 2[2] it is the device on his standard. Edmund Mortimer, earl of March (*ob.* 1424), used two small lions as supporters on his seal.[3]

6. Three feathers with the tips drooping forward and the quills piercing a plain riband on which there may once have been lettering though none is now discernible (pl. XXXIX, 24). This, of course, is the badge of the prince of Wales.

7. St. George's cross.

8. A white greyhound in a crouching attitude but with its forepaws raised; it is guardant and wears a collar which should be red with gold studs (pl. XXXIX, 25). Various theories have been put forward to explain this badge. Some have thought that it belonged to the earldom of Richmond.[4] Others saw in it a Neville badge taken by Henry VII in right of his wife Elizabeth of York, granddaughter of Anne Neville.[5] Others again took it for a Beaufort badge.[6] The first of these theories is the earliest to appear and is probably correct although there may be an element of truth in the others. What, however, no one has hitherto remarked in this connexion is that a greyhound was a badge of Henry IV before he came to the throne. Among the altar furniture in St. George's Chapel listed in the inventory of 1384 is a set of altar frontals, curtains, copes, chasuble, and other vestments of blue woven with white dogs, 'intextum cum albis canibus', which is expressly stated to be 'de dono Regis Henrici quarti'.[7] That the greyhound was Henry's badge is moreover proved by a passage in the contemporary chronicle by Adam of Usk who observes, in a very free paraphrase of John of Bridlington, that Henry was rightly called the dog, (*a*) because of his collar

[1] Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 45132, *c.* 1530.
[2] Published in the De Walden Library, 1904, as *Banners, Standards and Badges,* see p. 63.
[3] Sandford, *Genealogical History of the Kings of England,* 1707, p. 227.
[4] e.g. College of Arms MSS. I. 2, fo. 2 and M. 4, fo. 145,

both *temp.* Henry VIII.
[5] Sandford, *op. cit.,* p. 464; Montagu, *Guide to Heraldry,* p. 64.
[6] Willement, *Regal Heraldry,* p. 59.
[7] *The Inventories of St. George's Chapel . . .,* p. 44, no. 84.

of linked greyhounds, (b) because he came in the dog-days, and (c) because he utterly drove out from the kingdom the faithless harts, that is the supporters of King Richard, whose badge was a white hart.[1] The third of those reasons is very pertinent. Its analogy to the case of Henry VII and Richard III is so striking that we cannot doubt that Henry was well aware of Adam's remarks.

9. The white lion of March.

10. A fleur-de-lis from the arms of France (pl. XXXIX, 26). This was often given as a badge by Henry VII, sometimes crowned sometimes not.

11. St. George's cross.

12. A white talbot (pl. XXXIX, 27), the canting badge of George, 4th earl of Shrewsbury, K.G. 1487, died 1538. In the Thérouanne expedition of 1513 he bore 'in hys standart goulls and sabull a talbot sylver passant and shaffrons gold'.[2]

13. The white lion of March.

14. A bird close sable (pl. XXXIX, 28). This looks like a duck but must be meant for the corbie of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G. c. 1505, died 1525. At Thérouanne 'Syr Ryse ap Thomas with iii Mˡ Welsh men in his retinue baryth sylver [that is his standard] a ravun sabull'.[3] The badge occurs in many other manuscripts. It is often charged on a sort of cross or quatrefoil, and sometimes stands on a rock. His arms were *Argent, a chevron between three ravens sable*.

15. A silver key with gold crown (pl. XXXIX, 29), the badge of Sir Edward Poynings, K.G. 1493, died 1521. The crowned key 'for Poynings' is one of the many Percy badges; it was inherited from Eleanor, granddaughter and heiress of Robert, 5th Lord Poynings; her husband, Henry Percy, 2nd earl of Northumberland, was summoned to Parliament as Lord Poynings *vita patris*.

16. A fleur-de-lis.

17. A portcullis or, differenced with a bendlet sinister argent (pl. XL, 30). This is the Beaufort portcullis bastardized. It is the badge of Sir Charles Somerset, 1st earl of Worcester, bastard son of Henry duke of Somerset. He was made K.G. in 1499 and died in 1526. His stall-plate is peculiar as it displays his wife's arms as well as his own. There they are impaled, but she was heiress of William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon (formerly of Pembroke), and *suo jure* Baroness Herbert, and her arms are usually borne in pretence. Sir Charles was chamberlain to the king and the College of Arms MS. I. 2 gives several standards for him with divers Beaufort and Herbert badges thereon.

18. A silver shield charged with a red saltire (pl. XL, 31), for Sir Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, K.G. 1505, died 1513. This is the only example among these bosses of a shield of arms instead of a badge. Willement deduced from the display of his arms here that the earl had no badge, but the College of Arms MS. M. 4 (p. 136) says that 'Le conte de Keldare porte son estandard party gueules argent seme de marmosetez dor liez au mylieu du ventre dung lyen de gueules et une chayne dargent et son escript est Carnaboo'. It is worth noting that on the monument of the earl of Lincoln

[1] *Chronicon Adae de Usk*, ed. Sir E. Maunde Thompson, 1904, pp. 25, 172.
[2] Cotton MS. Cleopatra C.v, fo. 59, printed in the

Retrospective Review, 2nd series, vol. ii, pp. 511–23.
[3] *Ibid.*, fo. 59ᵛ.

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(died 1584) in the south aisle the effigy of his countess rests her feet on a little monkey, she being a daughter of the earl of Kildare.

19. A lion's head erased or, charged with three gouts azure and crowned (pl. XL, 32); the crown should be party argent and gules. This is the badge of Sir Thomas Brandon, K.G. 1507, died 1510.

20. On a white targe a ragged staff erect sable, the badge of Sir Richard Grey, earl of Kent, K.G. 1505, died 1523 (pl. XL, 33). On the stall-plate of Sir John Grey of Ruthin, died 1439, the mantling is gold and the silver lining is powdered with black ragged staves. In the verses on the battle of Towton (1461) 'the black ragged staf that is both trewe and goode' refers to Edmund Lord Grey de Ruthyn, created earl of Kent 1465. He gave the staff as his badge in the French expedition of 1475.[1] This is the only instance in the chapel of a K.G.'s badge displayed on a shield.

21. A red quatrefoil with gold seeds tied by a gold lace to a black wing, the badge of Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G. 1498, died 1524 (pl. XL, 34). This particular combination of the badges is otherwise unknown, but Barker (Garter 1536–50) gives as a badge of Lovell a bird's wing argent with the bone showing gules,[2] and Pennant (*Journey from Chester to London*, 1782, p. 286) says that a rose and a wing, with the date 1498, were carved on the west door of Hadley church, Middlesex, and that the same were at Enfield; he took them to be the badge of Sir Thomas Lovell. They were also on a building at Shoreditch, belonging to Halliwell nunnery to which Sir Thomas was a benefactor; he lived at Enfield. The flower whether quatrefoil or rose probably comes from the arms of Muswell, *Vert, 2 chevrons argent each charged with 3 cinquefoils azure*; this was quartered by Sir Thomas.[3]

22. A molet argent, for Sir John Vere, earl of Oxford, K.G. 1488, died 1513 (pl. XL, 35). This badge comes from his arms, *Quarterly gules and or with a molet argent in dexter chief*. The Veres used sundry other badges of which the blue boar is the best known.

23. A lion rampant argent, for Sir Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey and afterwards duke of Norfolk, K.G. 1483, died 1524 (pl. XL, 36). It is the lion from the arms of Mowbray, *Gules, a lion silver*, and was also given as badge by the Berkeleys, coheirs of Mowbray. This badge gave title to a pursuivant, Blanch Lyon, who occurs at frequent intervals from 1537 to 1831.

24. A shield bearing St. George's cross.

25. The same.

26. A pomegranate with stalk and leaves (pl. XL, 37). This must be for Katherine of Aragon. A pomegranate proper in a silver field was the arms of Granada and that coat, according to Sandford (p. 475), was added to the arms of Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella to commemorate the expulsion of the Moors from Granada. In the Heralds' MS. I. 2[4] there is a banner bearing a Tudor rose and a pomegranate side by side with their stalks intertwined, and beside this banner, which is party russet and green, is written 'thys was the maryach of prynce artur'. In the latter part of the

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[1] *Edward IV's French Expedition of 1475*, ed. by F. P. Barnard, p. 31, from College of Arms MS. 2 M. 16, fo. 2ᵛ.

[2] *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, iii, 68.

[3] See his stall-plate and Wrythe's Garter Armorial, College of Arms version, no. 108.

[4] De Walden Library edition, p. 15. The leaves on this boss are more like poppy leaves, but we can find no reason for including a poppy-boll in this series and we conclude that the sculptor did not know what a pomegranate leaf is like.

reign of Henry VII and the early part of Henry VIII's a pomegranate occurs not infrequently among the royal badges. Prince Arthur died on 2nd April 1502, and on 23rd June 1503 a treaty of marriage was drawn up to the effect that Henry prince of Wales and Katherine were to be married on Henry's fourteenth birthday, 28th June 1505. But on the 27th Henry protested before Bishop Fox that the match was against his will. This was probably part of a diplomatic move on the part of Henry VII to seek a more lucrative match for his son, but Henry VIII succeeded in 1509 and he married Katherine seven weeks later. It would seem that during the interval the betrothal must have been considered more or less in force for we find pomegranates and the letters H and K joined by a cord in buildings of this date.

27. St. George's cross.

28. A double rose amid rays, a Tudor badge.

29. A white greyhound.

South side:

1. A shield of St. George's cross held by a white greyhound (not an angel as stated by Hope).

2. A double, Tudor, rose (pl. XL, 38).

3. St. George's cross.

4. A portcullis.

5. The white lion of March.

6. Three feathers with their quills passed through a coronet, badge of the prince of Wales.

7. St. George's cross.

8. The letter H, partly formed by a red dragon (pl. XLI, 39).

9. The white lion of March.

10. A dragon (pl. XLI, 40). This is probably the red dragon of Cadwallader from whom Henry VII was fond of declaring his descent. A tradition had existed that Cadwallader consoled himself at a time when little of his territories was left to him with the assurance that one of his posterity would at a future period wear the crown of England.[1] Henry probably took the dragon to point to himself as the person to fulfil that prophecy.[2]

11. St. George's cross.

12. A faggot, or bundle of sticks (pl. XLI, 41) for Sir Edward Courtenay, earl of Devon, K.G. 1494, died 1509. The faggot is sometimes silver, sometimes gold. Wrythe's Garter Armorial (no. 61) colours the sticks argent and the cord gold, and attributes the badge together with a silver dolphin to Sir Hugh Courtenay, the First Founder. The faggot was given by other Courtenays also. Sometimes it is laid on its side and has a hawk or eagle rising from it as at Broad Clyst, in St. Peter's, Tiverton, and in the College of Arms office copy of the 1530 Visitation of Surrey.[3]

13. The white lion of March.

14. A pair of bat's wings sable tied together with a gold cord, for Giles, 1st Lord Daubeney, K.G. 1487, died 1508 (pl. XLI, 42).

[1] Churchill, *Divi Britannici*, p. 257.
[2] See Willement, *Regal Heraldry*, p. 57, and Sandford, p. 464.   [3] College of Arms MS. 1 H. 7, fo. 8ᵛ.

15. A white talbot differenced with a crescent, for Sir Gilbert Talbot, K.G. *c.* 1495, died 1517 (pl. XLI, 43). He was the uncle of George, 4th earl of Shrewsbury, whose badge was mentioned above (north side, no. 12). At Thérouanne in 1513 'Syr Gylbert Talbot the younger bayryth goulls and sabull a talbot passant sylver with a crescent upon his shoulder for a difference and watteryng pottes sylver. The said Sir Gylbert made knyght at Lyll'.[1]

16. The letter H partly formed of a red dragon.

17. A silver crescent enclosing a gold shacklebolt, for Henry Algernon Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland, K.G. before April 1499, died 1527 (pl. XLI, 44). Both badges are for Percy; they are often found alone, often united as here.

18. A gold Stafford knot, the background party gules and sable, for Edward Stafford, 3rd duke of Buckingham, K.G. 1495, degraded and beheaded 1521 (pl. XLI, 45).

19. A shield of St. George's cross.

20. A golden Bourchier knot (pl. XLI, 46), for Sir Henry Bourchier, earl of Essex, K.G. 1499, died 1540. On his stall-plate the mantling is gules lined argent, the gules powdered with the gold billets of Louvaine, the argent powdered with the sable bougets of Bourchier. The mantlings of earlier Bourchier K.G.'s are similarly powdered, that of John Lord Berners, who died in 1474, having the lining powdered with bougets and Bourchier knots, both sable.[2]

21. An oak-sprig (pl. XLI, 47). This is still to explain. Nothing resembling it is known as a royal badge, nor was there any K.G. living in 1507 who is not represented on one of the other bosses. A sprig or slip of oak was given as badge both by Fitzalan and Bourchier. It was also given at one time or another by Boys, Burgh of Gains-borough, Lumley, and Ogle, but there is no apparent reason why any of these should have been commemorated in this way. As for Fitzalan the only member of the family connected with the Order in 1507 is the earl of Arundel whose badge is on the next boss. It is conceivable that for some reason or other he was given two bosses, but no one else outside the royal family has more than one boss in the choir and we do not commend the idea. Lastly there is Bourchier. We have not found that the earl of Essex, whose gold knot is on the adjacent boss, ever gave a badge resembling this, but the earl of Bath certainly did so at a somewhat later date, and some of the quarries in the east window of the Lady Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral display a short length of oak-branch with a leaf and two acorns. As drawn by Willement[3] this is not a sprig as on this boss, but 2 or 3 inches of branch with a heel, as the gardeners say, at each end. In its context this must refer to Archbishop Bourchier (1455–86) and we see no reason to question Willement's idea that it was derived from the root or stock which was the canting badge of Thomas of Woodstock, the archbishop's maternal grand-father. The stock, which is almost better known as the badge of John, duke of Bed-ford,[4] is usually depicted as a tree-stump sawn off near the ground and uprooted. It is a far cry from that to this bit of twig, but we must remember that Edward III is said to have given the stock with one or more branches sprouting from it to typify his

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[1] Cotton MS. Cleop. C.v, fo. 61ᵛ.
[2] St. John Hope, *Stall Plates . . .*, pls. LXI and LXIII.
[3] *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 37.
[4] It gave title to his pursuivant, Rasyn, that is *racine*.

numerous issue,[1] so perhaps we may regard the Canterbury twig as a bit of one of those branches and the Windsor sprig as no more than a misrendering of the twig. If that be so then the sprig may be at Windsor as a royal badge. Nevertheless, bearing in mind that one of the nave bosses displays a Bourchier knot in which the cords end in four leaves, it seems equally possible that this sprig is a Bourchier badge commemorating some dignitary or benefactor whose identity has escaped us.

22. A running horse between an oak-sprig and a fret (pl. XLII, 48), for Thomas Fitzalan, 10th earl of Arundel, K.G. 1474, died 1524. This is a combination of three distinct badges, the white horse and the oak-sprig of Arundel and the golden fret of Mautravers. The fret came to the Fitzalans by the marriage of John, 2nd son of Richard earl of Arundel (died 1376), to Eleanor one of the Mautravers coheiresses, and it is the only badge which Wrythe's Garter Armorial assigns to their grandson John, the 7th earl, K.G. 1432, died 1435. It seems, however, to have been used but rarely and on the 6th earl's tomb at Arundel (John, died 1421) the badge is a horse in front of an oak-tree or oak-sprig, the same which Wrythe's Garter Armorial assigns to the 4th earl, Richard, K.G. c. 1386, beheaded 1397, and to the 9th earl, Thomas's father William, as well as to Sir William Arundel, 2nd son of the above-named John and Eleanor, K.G. c. 1395, died 1400. The arrangement of the three badges on this boss seems to be unique and may perhaps be intended to recall that Sir Thomas was only Lord Mautravers when he was elected to the Order. In College of Arms MS. I. 2 Sir Thomas's standard is party of blue and red powdered with oak-sprigs; some with two leaves and one acorn are charged with a golden fret; others have three leaves and two acorns but no fret; the device is an oak seedling uprooted (three leaves and two acorns) and running across it is a white horse with an oak-sprig in its mouth.

23. A shield of St. George's cross.

24. The arms of Edward the Confessor.

25. A unicorn ermine (pl. XLII, 49). This is a Ferrers badge but it is displayed here for Thomas Grey, 2nd Marquess of Dorset, K.G. 1501, died 1530. The marquess was also Lord Ferrers of Groby, his great grandfather, Edward Grey, having married the heiress of William, last Lord Ferrers of that line. In MS. I. 2 at the College of Arms an ermine unicorn amid sun-rays is the device on the marquess's standard; on that of Sir Edward Ferrers there are no rays and the unicorn is differenced with a sable crescent.

26. A double rose *en soleil* (pl. XLII, 50).

27. A Stafford knot differenced with a crescent sable (pl. XLII, 51), for Sir Henry Stafford, earl of Wiltshire, K.G. 1505, died 1523.

28. The letters K and H joined by a cord, for Katherine and Henry. Above these are small text letters n c s, while another letter has been broken off before the n; these with the larger H below would make Henricus (pl. XLII, 52).

29. A red dragon.

The large pendant bosses in the choir have some design on their lower faces, as for instance the letters H and R laced together, a Tudor rose, a shield bearing St.

[1] Bodleian MS. Ashm. 1121; College of Arms MS. L. 14, etc.

George's cross and encircled by a Garter (pl. XLII, 53). The letters H and R also appear on the sides of some of the pendants.

In both north and south transepts are the royal arms (pl. XLII, 54) and the arms of Sir Reginald Bray (pl. XLII, 55), both within the Garter. The Bray arms are, *Quarterly*, 1 and 4. *Argent, a chevron between three eagle's legs erased sable*; 2 and 3. *Vair, three bends gules*. Among the bosses in the transepts we find a dragon and two panthers. The latter are spotted, with their mouths open and tongues protruding, but they are not breathing fire (pl. XLII, 56). The panther is attributed in various manuscripts to Normandy, Henry IV, Henry VI, Beaufort, and Somerset. It was one of the six 'king's beasts' set on the bridge at Hampton Court by Henry VIII who doubtless took it as a Beaufort badge together with the yale. A panther was also one of the beasts decorating the drawbridge of the medieval bridge at Rochester.[1] The attribution to Normandy is clearly a mistake for the leopard which as a lion-panther hybrid would be appropriate to bastard William. We also find in each transept bosses bearing shields inscribed with the letters H for Henry, R for Rex, K for Katherine, all in capital letters, and *b* for Bray in small letters.

The vaulting of the crossing has already been mentioned as having been completed in 1528. In the centre is a boss (pl. XLIII, 57) bearing the royal arms supported by a crowned lion and a dragon; a scroll below gives the date ANO·XPI·1528. This is one of the very few roof-bosses that is dated. In four of the compartments surrounding the royal arms are painted a St. George's cross, and the arms respectively of King Francis I of France, the Emperor Charles V, and Ferdinand, king of the Romans. In the outer compartments are the arms of the twenty-four companions of the Order who were alive in 1528. A list of them and an excellent plan has been given by Canon H. E. Fellowes in his monograph *The Knights of the Garter, 1348–1939*. Only two of these coats will be noticed here. The arms of Bishop Fox, a pelican pecking its breast, are here impaled by the arms of the see of Winchester (pl. XLIII, 58). Fox died in 1528, the year this vaulting was completed. The arms of Sir Henry Guldeford (pl. XLIII, 59), who was elected in 1526, are distinguished from those of his father and elder brother by a silver canton charged with a pomegranate proper. His arms are to be seen also on his stall-plate and in the vault over the organ gallery, in each case with the canton. This is often said to be an augmentation given to Sir Henry by King Ferdinand of Castile to commemorate his services in the expulsion of the Moors from Granada. But that is absurd—in 1494 when the Moors were finally driven from Granada Henry was a child of five! The pomegranate-charged canton was indeed an augmentation given to Sir Henry by King Ferdinand, but it was not until 1511 and a letter from Ferdinand to Guldeford says that it was for his services in the 'African' war.[2]

The shields and the surrounding garters in this part of the vaulting are carved in relief, but in most, though not quite all cases the charges are merely painted on the shields.

The principal bosses in the nave are as follows:

[1] 'The Heraldic Decoration of the Drawbridge of the Medieval Bridge at Rochester', by Canon W. Wheatley, F.S.A., *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. xiii, pp. 141, 143.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, 1509–1525*, No. 54.

Severy 1. At the east end is a representation of the Croes Naid, or Cross Gneth (pl. XLIII, 60). The cross is shown studded with jewels and standing on an ornamental base; on scrolls round it is the legend *Sancta Crux Salus* twice repeated. The cross was a treasured possession of the Welsh by whom it was regarded as a national palladium, and before whose princes it was carried. It derived its special sanctity from the fact that in it was encased a morcel of the true cross brought by a priest, Neotus, from the Holy Land.[1] The cross came into the hands of Edward I in 1283 and was publicly venerated at Westminster in 1285. Edward I appears to have carried it about with him on his journeys to different parts of the country. In the reign of Edward II it was kept in the king's chapel in the Tower of London. Soon after the foundation of the Order of the Garter Edward III gave it to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where it remained as its most precious relic till the Reformation, being broken up about 1548. In the inventories the fullest description is that of 1534:

Item the holy crosse closyd in golde garnyshed with rubyes, saffers, hemerods lacking off the same stones yn number xv as yt aperythe in the place where they wer sett. The fote off this crosse is all golde costyd [coated?] standing apon lyons garnyshed full with parlle and stone lacking in the same fote xxix stones and perllas as it aperythe yn the place where they stode the whiche holy crosse was at the pryorye off Northe [*sic*, for Neath] yn Walys and Kyng Edwarde the thyrde owre fyrst fowndar gave the lyvelodde to have this holy crosse to Wyndesore the fote of this crosse wayse ccc.lxix unces and a halfe.

In the inventory of 1384 twenty-one jewels are said to be missing, but it is also said that three projecting pinnacles were broken.[2]

The hemp bray, badge of Sir Reginald Bray, occurs twice in the first severy, once on rather a large scale at the east end (pl. XLIII, 61) and once on a small boss. His arms are here encircled by the Garter and on two separate bosses are the letters R and *b*. There is one dragon, and there are two panthers, these being somewhat similar to the panthers in the transepts. There is also a white greyhound, a portcullis, a single feather, and a Bourchier knot in which each end of the cords ends in a conventional leaf.

In the second severy are the arms of Bray without the Garter, and the arms of Christopher Urswick, dean of Windsor from 1495 to his death in 1522; these are: *Argent, on a bend sable three lozenges argent each charged with a saltire gules*; round the shield are the letters MĪA for *Misericordia*, four times repeated (pl. XLIII, 62). Other bosses have a dragon, a couchant greyhound, three feathers with their quills through a scroll inscribed *ich dien*, the letter H partly formed of a red dragon, a crowned K (pl. XLIII, 63), the letter V for Urswick, the letter B for Bray, a fleur-de-lis, and lastly a shield elaborately diapered and charged with a heart whence issue three sprigs each bearing a single rose (pl. XLIII, 64).

In the third severy most of the bosses are foliage, but there is a hemp bray and a single feather. The principal boss has a representation of Passion emblems (pl. XLIII 65); in the centre is the pillar with a cord twisted round it; superimposed on the upper part is a heart bearing the letters *ihs* and transfixed by the spear and reed,

[1] *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement*, by G. Hartwell Jones, p. 100.

[2] *The Inventories of St. George's Chapel*, pp. 166, no. 3, 51, no. 116, 108, no. 107 (inventory of 1410). A very full account of the cross is given in the Report to December 1943 of the Society of the Friends of St. George's Chapel.

the latter bearing the sponge; in the background are the smiting hand, the hammer, the three nails, and a hand holding a money-bag; around the whole composition is a band with an inscription which Willement read as *Jhu esto m̄ Jesu*.

On the dividing rib between the third and fourth severies is an elaborate foliage and floral design (pl. XLIV, 66). In the centre rising from a vase with a handle and apparently with one side dented inwards is what appears to be a hawthorn tree bearing several groups of small flowers but no leaves, and having rose-sprays with both leaves and flowers entwined about it. This is presumably a version of the hawthorn bush which, generally with a crown in its midst, was adopted as a Tudor badge in memory of the finding of Richard III's crown in a hawthorn bush on Bosworth field.

In the fourth severy are the arms of Bray within a Garter; a shield, *Argent, a lion rampant gules*, probably for some benefactor; the monogram HR enclosed in a riband with the words *Dne salv' fac regm* (pl. XLIV, 67). There is also a small dragon and a much stylized pomegranate.

In the fifth severy the most important boss is carved with a hand holding a very decorative lantern; around this is a scroll on which are the words *Et lumen* twice repeated (pl. XLIV, 68). The arms of Bray are here without the Garter. There is a greyhound holding a shield on which is the letter H and another with a shield bearing the letter E presumably for Elizabeth of York; a dragon and a lion each hold a banner charged with a rose (pl. XLIV, 69, 70); and a bunch of three fruits may be meant for pomegranates.

In the sixth severy we have the royal arms crowned and supported by the dragon and greyhound (pl. XLIV, 71); a double rose crowned; the letter H on some foliage, perhaps vine, also crowned; a shield bearing the letter H held by a greyhound, and another with St. George's cross also held by a greyhound; a lion and a dragon each with a rose-charged banner; two dragons; two greyhounds; a shield charged with a cross and set between a fleur-de-lis and a feather; three feathers with their quills through a riband inscribed *Ich dien*; a heart with two leaves below; and another heart (pl. XLIV, 72) with what appear to be four stems growing out of it and curving over, each bearing perhaps a flower, but it is very difficult to know what is really intended here.

In the seventh and last severy there is a shield charged with the cross and martlets of St. Edward the Confessor and flanked by a rose and a portcullis (pl. XLIV, 73); there are two bosses with greyhounds, one of them having two hounds; there is a small dragon, a rose surmounted by a crown, a human heart, a hemp bray, the letters H and E joined with a cord, a white hart (pl. XLV, 74), and an antelope (pl. XLV, 75).

In the nave aisles there is one large boss in each bay surrounded by four very small bosses. The small ones bear the letters *k, r, h,* and *e,* fleurs-de-lis, single prince of Wales's feathers, portcullises, roses, hemp brays, and white greyhounds.

In the north aisle in bay 1 are the arms of Bray in the Garter; in bay 2 the arms of Urswick enclosed by a band with the letters MIA four times repeated; in bay 3 the letters R H laced together and surrounded by the Garter; in bay 4 the hemp bray in the Garter. In bay 5 are Passion emblems (pl. XLV, 76); in the centre are the letters *ihs* with the spear and the reed saltirewise both piercing the *h*; round the letters are

the cock, a hand holding the three nails and another holding the hammer; the whole is surrounded by what is no doubt meant for the Crown of Thorns. In bay 6 are the arms of the Confessor within a Garter. In bay 7 is what looks like a quarterly coat but is really two quarterly coats dimidiated (pl. XLV, 77). On the dexter side are the two Bray quarterings, the chevron and claws in chief and the three bends in base, these for Sir Reginald Bray. On the sinister side are two Hussey coats for his wife, Catherine, daughter of Nicholas Hussey; in chief three sable hose in silver, and in base barry of six pieces gules and ermine. The shield is held by two angels and is ensigned with a Tudor rose, while below it are conventional clouds. It will be noticed that the Bray bends and the Hussey hose are reversed. This is probably meant as a case of heraldic courtesy, the charges being turned about to face the altar. But if that was the intention the whole shield ought to have been reversed, putting the Bray coats on the east or sinister side, and the Hussey coats on the west or dexter.

In the south aisle the bosses in the first four bays are repetitions, though not exact copies, of those in the north aisle except that in the third bay the initials are R B instead of R H. In bay 5 are the Passion emblems of the heart, hands, and feet (pl. XLV, 78); the hands and feet are nailed, but the heart has blood gushing from the wound, an uncommon addition; the whole is surrounded by a poor representation of the Crown of Thorns. In bay 6 is a shield of St. George's cross within the Garter. In bay 7 are the royal arms crowned and supported by the red dragon and white greyhound.

There are two bosses in the western transepts. On the north side is the monogram G iv R enclosed in a Garter and surmounted by the royal crown (pl. XLV, 79). Roof-bosses of the time of George IV must be extremely rare.

In the south-west transept is a boss with Passion emblems almost exactly like those in the fifth bay of the north aisle but with a perfectly plain border (pl. XLV, 80). It would seem that this must be a copy of the boss in the aisle, made at a very late period and perhaps contemporary with the George IV boss on the opposite side.

Finally a word as to the style. As Dr. Joan Evans pointed out, this shows an interesting progression from the medieval half-way to the Renaissance. Of the purely medieval bosses in the north and south aisles with rayed grounds, the angels holding shields (pl. XXXV, 2) are perhaps the most beautiful; all these appear to be by the same hand as the representation of the Trinity (pl. XXXVII, 11). The next stage is represented by the stylistically rather colourless bosses illustrated in figs. 10 to 19 (pls. XXXVI–XXXVIII); they may be said to be Gothic without conviction; the bosses with badges within Garters (pl. XXXVIII, 20, etc.), of which the interest is essentially heraldic, appear to be by the same hand. Finally, bosses in the crossing and transepts such as figs. 54 and 57 (pls. XLII–XLIII) show the transition already half made to the Renaissance.

A few days after reading this paper Mr. Cave was taken ill and he died on 8th December 1950. It consequently fell to me to put the finishing touches to the text and the responsibility for any shortcomings in its final form must rest on me.   H. S. L.

PLATE XXXV

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PLATE XXXVI

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PLATE XXXVII

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PLATE XXXVIII

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PLATE XXXIX

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PLATE XL
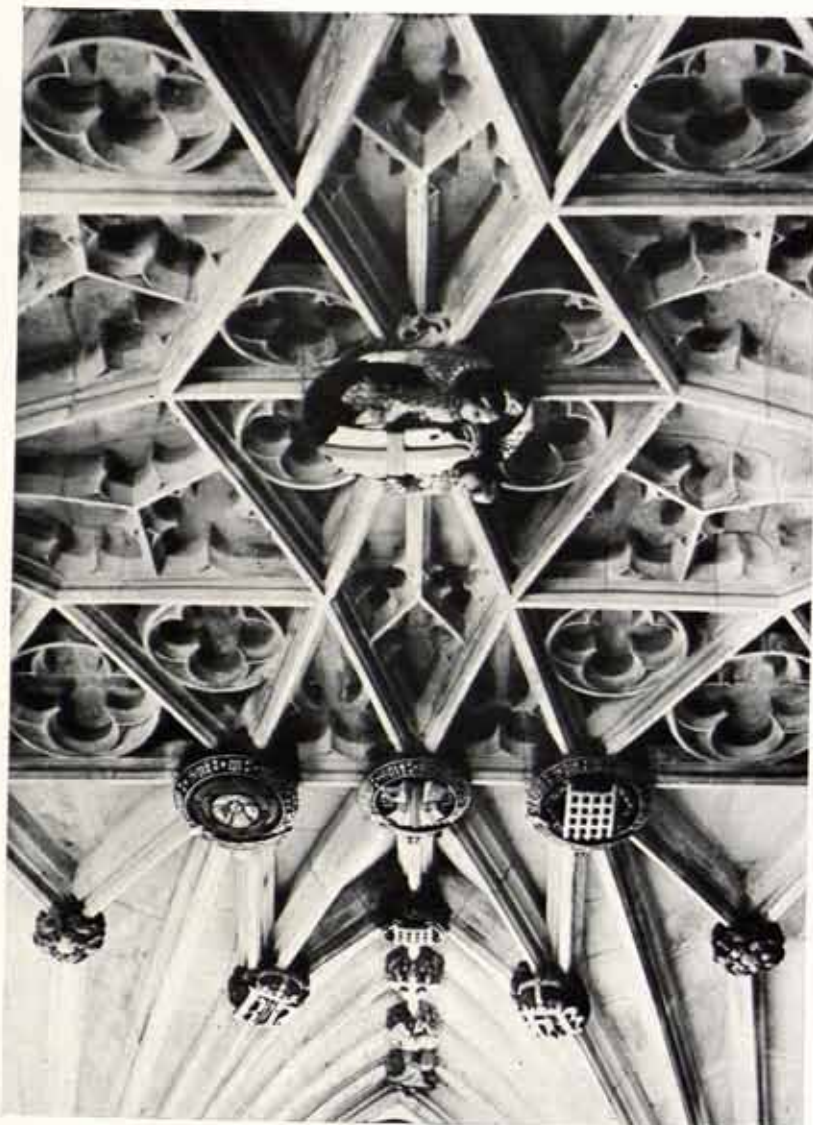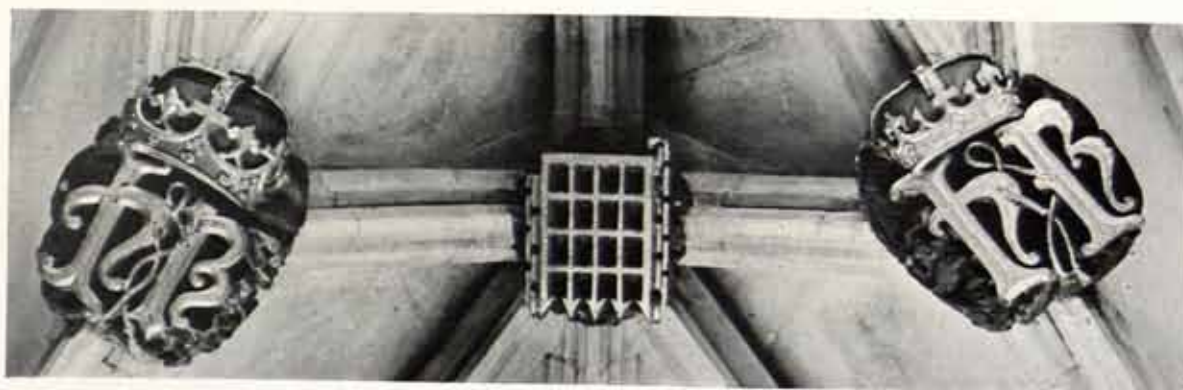
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PLATE XLI

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PLATE XLII

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PLATE XLIII
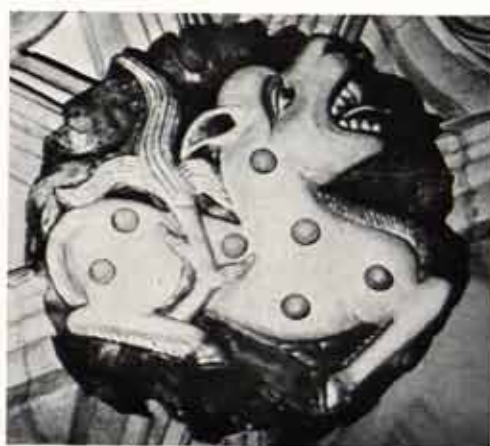
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PLATE XLIV
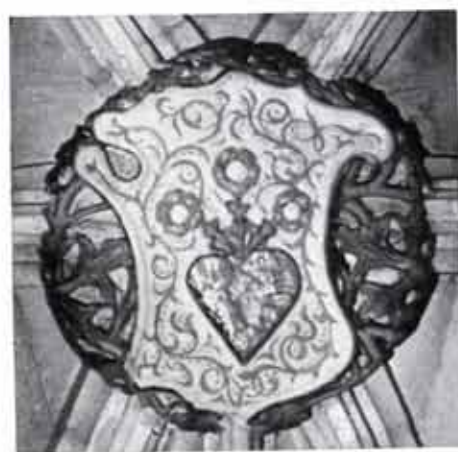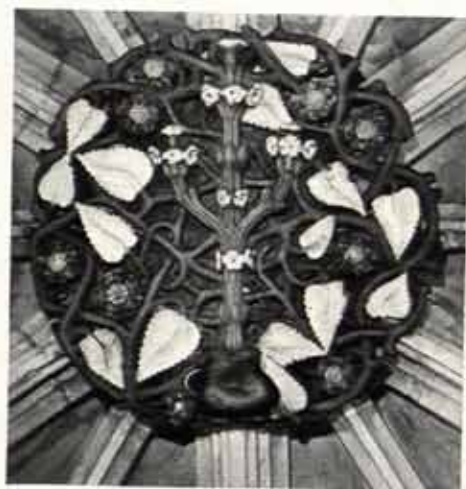
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PLATE XLV
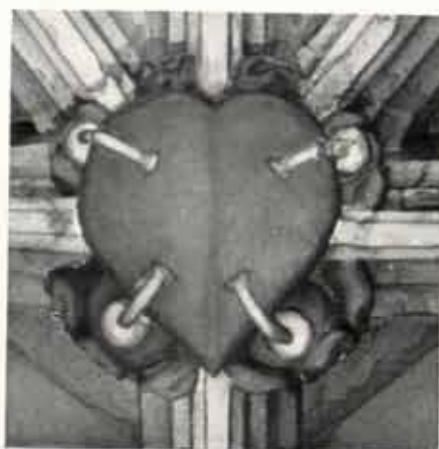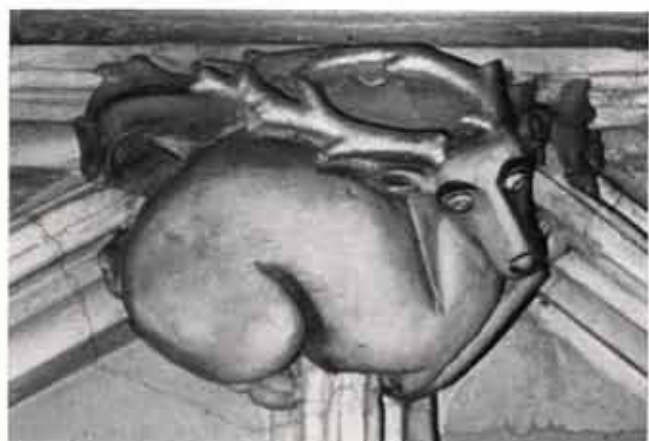
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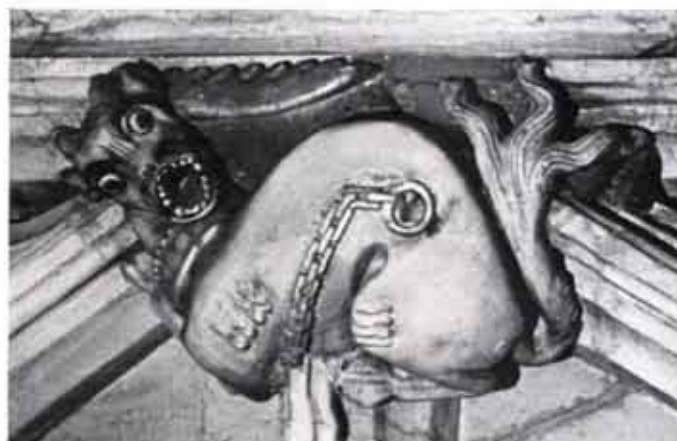
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Recent Discoveries at the Temple, London, and Notes on the Topography of the Site

By W. H. GODFREY, Esq., C.B.E., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

[Read 10th May 1951]

THE Temple Church, London, has a rather unenviable notoriety among archaeologists due to its drastic restoration more than a century ago. Nothing could have been more thorough than the way in which every ancient surface was repaired away or renewed so that in the end the result was a complete modern simulacrum of this superb monument. Very little of this painful accomplishment has survived the serious fire occasioned by the air-raid of 1941, and it has devolved on me to reconstruct the church a second time. I can honestly say it is proving a more rewarding task than I at first thought possible, for behind the restorer's veneer there is sufficient of the old fabric remaining to make one feel there is still a life to be prolonged and much that is significant to be preserved.

My immediate purpose here is to place on record certain discoveries that have been made during the repairs, and to relate them with what we knew existed. Their full meaning is not easy to determine, but I can at least present the facts and invite a guess at what they mean. Our Society has taken a special interest in the church in the past and possesses the original plottings made by Frederick Nash in 1818 which were drawn out by him and published in a fine series of plates in *Vetusta Monumenta* in 1835. This is a most important record, especially in view of the scarcity of early graphic records of the Temple which is so severe a handicap in reconstructing its past. This field of speculation is, however, so inviting that, with the valuable help of our Fellow Miss Marjorie B. Honeybourne, I have supplemented this paper with some remarks on the general topography of the Templars' precinct with the idea of correlating as many of the scattered fragments of information as will assist us in forming a picture of how the monastic buildings were arranged.[1]

The Templars, it will be remembered, moved from their original London home north-east of Chancery Lane (which they had occupied for about sixteen years) to a new site, lying between Fleet Street and the Thames, in 1161.[2] This property, which sloped from north to south towards the river and was traversed by a right of way to a pier or wharf at the water-side,[3] was almost wholly within the extramural part of the City,[4]

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[1] The chief works relating to the Temple are R. W. Billings, *Illustrations and Account of the Temple Church,* (1838); C. G. Addison, *The History of the Knights Templars, the Temple Church and the Temple* (1842); W. Burge, *The Temple Church* (1843); T. H. Baylis, *The Temple Church and Chapel of St. Ann* (1893); F. A. Inderwick (ed.), *Calendar of Inner Temple Records* (1896–1937); M. Reddan, 'The Temple' in *V.C.H., London* (1909), pp. 485–91; A. R. Inkpen (ed.), *Master Worsley's Book* (1910: a 1733 Middle Temple record); J. B. Williamson, *The History of the Temple, London* (1924); and B. Lees, *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century* (1935: British Academy Publications, IX).

[2] Lees, p. lxxxviii.

[3] *Cal. Close Rolls, 1327–30,* p. 580; *1330–3,* p. 102; *1337–9,* p. 218; *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1354–8,* p. 319; *Cal. City Letter Book G,* pp. 324–5; and *Cal. City Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1364–81,* pp. 238–40.

[4] See below, p. 124 and fig. 5.

the boundary of which was marked in Fleet Street by the gate later known as Temple Bar. The land was part of the honour of Leicester which was held of the king by the service or office of steward of England. At this time the Beaumont family held the Earldom of Leicester and in 1185 they were receiving the rent of one pound of cummin from the Templars.[1] On the new site the Knights built their second and permanent London home, known as the New Temple, and they remained in possession until 1308, when Pope Clement V compassed the downfall of their Order.[2]

In January of that year, Edward II, much against his will, placed the English members of the order under arrest, and the mayor of London, as escheator for the City, was put in charge of the property of the New Temple.[3] The same year the mayor rendered a detailed account and noted incidentally that the king had allowed his cousin, John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, to occupy the Knights' quarters.[4] In 1312 the pope finally suppressed the Order of the Templars and decreed that their property should pass to the Hospitallers, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. King Edward, however, granted the New Temple to Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke,[5] but two years later Thomas, earl of Lancaster, who had inherited the honour of Leicester, successfully claimed the property.[6] On his attainder in 1322 the king returned the site to Aymer de Valence,[7] and then on the latter's death two years later granted it to Hugh Despenser the Younger,[8] who was himself attainted and executed in 1326. The New Temple, reverting again to the Crown, was a second time placed in the custody of the mayor of London as escheator.[9]

In the parliament of 1324[10] it was agreed that all the Templars' lands in England should go to the Hospitallers, but the king still would not part with the New Temple and in 1332 he let it for ten years to William de Langford 'fermor' of the New Temple at £24 a year.[11] There may have been some face-saving device in the transaction for de Langford was an official of the Order of St. John,[12] and it may have been on his advice that the prior reduced his claim to that part of the New Temple which had been consecrated. Several inquiries were thereupon held in 1336 and 1337 as to the extent of the consecrated land[13] and in the latter year this part was made over to the Hospitallers, de Langford's rent being reduced from £24 to £11. 15s. 11d.[14] Later still (1338) de Langford seems to have negotiated the conveyance of the whole of the New Temple to the prior of St. John,[15] who allowed him to occupy the domestic buildings until his

[1] Lees, pp. lxxxix, 13–15; C.P.R., 1313–17, pp. 184–5.

[2] There are full accounts of the English Trials, with lists of prisoners, in D. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae (1737), ii, 329–401. See also W. Dugdale, Mon. Angl. vi (i), 844–8; and Addison, pp. 213 et seq.

[3] C.C.R., 1327–30, p. 580; 1330–3, p. 102; Cal. Letter Book G, p. 324; Cal. P. and M. Rolls, 1364–81, pp. 238–40. This procedure proves that the New Temple was originally within the City.

[4] P.R.O., Exch. L.T.R., Enrolled Accounts, Misc., No. 24 (= Templars' Rolls, No. 3), m. 3. Translations of parts are printed in Baylis, App. F, pp. 131–46 (and see p. vi), and E. Williams, Early Holborn and the Legal Quarter of London (1927), nos. 1324, 1357–9. For John of Brittany see Baylis, 132 n.

[5] Cal. Ch. Rolls, iii, 203.

[6] C.P.R., 1313–17, pp. 184–5.

[7] Cal. Ch. Rolls, iii, p. 441.

[8] Cal. Inquis. p.m., vii (1909), no. 82.

[9] Williamson, p. 76.

[10] Statutes of the Realm (1810), i, 194–6.

[11] See C.P.R., 1330–3, p. 434; 1338–40, p. 99; C.C.R., 1337–9, pp. 416–17.

[12] Williamson, p. 78.

[13] P.R.O., C. Inquis. Misc. File 129, 11 (trans. Williams, op. cit., No. 1381); C.P.R., 1334–8, p. 314; C.C.R., 1337–9, pp. 72–73; and an 11 Ed. III Exch. writ (summary in Addison, 354–5).

[14] C.C.R., 1337–9, pp. 416–17; see also Cal. Letter Book G, p. 324.

[15] C.P.R., 1338–40, p. 99.

death in 1346.[1] The prior paid Edward III £100 down for the consecrated portion and £10 yearly for the rest.

I have summarized these transactions because we have to rely for our topographical information on these various royal grants, the escheator's accounts, and the judicial inquiries, which will be quoted in detail as need arises. All the archives remaining in the New Temple were destroyed by Wat Tyler's men in 1381.[2]

As soon as the Templars obtained possession of their new site they began the erection of their round church, which like the one they had left in Holborn was modelled on the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (pls. XLVI–XLVII). The diameter of the central drum, which carries the triforium and former vault above and is itself supported by six clustered piers of Purbeck marble, measures 30 ft., which is somewhat less than the Temple Church at Paris, the drum of which was 35 ft.[3] (fig. 1). The latter was the earlier building and both had the same plan. Around the drum was a circular aisle or ambulatory, the total internal diameters being 59 ft. for London and 62 ft. for Paris. The similar round church of the Hospitallers at Clerkenwell has been shown by excavation to have been 65 ft.[4] (fig. 2), slightly exceeding the Templars' churches. The dedication of both the Temple Church and the Hospitallers' church was performed by Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1185. The original inscription at the Temple recording this was destroyed in 1695.[5]

What is more important in regard to the subject of this paper is the form of the original eastern arm of the church. It seems to have been the usual practice with these round churches to build a short unaisled chancel terminating in an apse. This appears to have been the case with the Hospitallers' church, for the three original bays of the undercroft still exist (fig. 2), although by 1185 the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem had already lengthened the building eastwards, and added north and south aisles, making a choir of three compartments with a square east end. In the Paris church, where the chancel was enlarged and rebuilt in the thirteenth century, it remained without aisles, being five and a half bays long with an apse at the east end (fig. 3). In London the Templars followed the example of the Hospitallers and built the magnificent three-aisled choir of five bays, with stone vaults of equal height carried on slender Purbeck piers. This building, the vaulting of which remains unrestored, was consecrated in 1240.

When the damaged pavement of the choir was removed my first desire was to discover if there remained any foundations of the original apsidal termination of the old chancel. The ground had been very much disturbed by burials, and the large brick channels for heating pipes which were built in line with the piers, on their inner sides, had removed all trace of lateral foundations. I did, however, find part of a cross-wall of unusual thickness, the eastern face of which was some 47 ft. distant from the Round. The foundations were not far below the surface and the eastern face was tolerably intact, but on the west the stonework was broken away. I judged it to have been about

[1] *Cal. Husting Wills*, i, 489–90.

[2] See Williamson, pp. 89–90. The books and records were kept in hutches in the church.

[3] Viollet-le-Duc, *Dict. raisonné de l'architecture* (1875), ix, 15.

[4] Sir William St. John Hope, 'Round Naved Churches of England', in *Report of the Chapter General of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England* (1916), pp. 6–10.

[5] A plate of the inscription forms the frontispiece to Addison: see also *ibid.*, pp. 292–3.
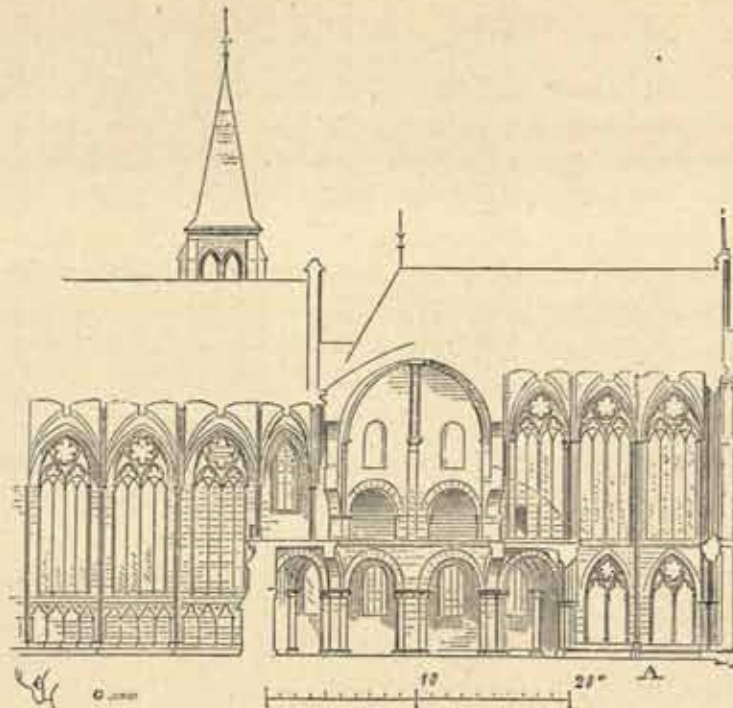
FIG. 1. The Temple, Paris. Section through Round church, etc. (Viollet-le-Duc).
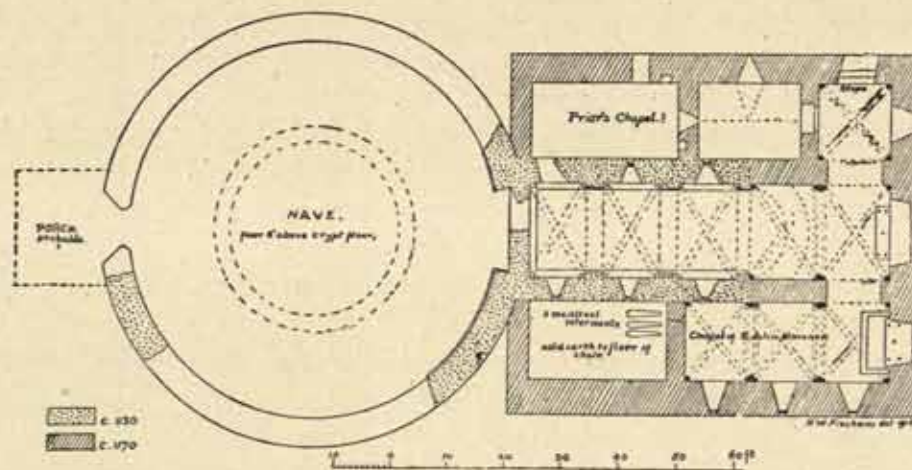
FIG. 2. St. John, Clerkenwell. Plan of the church (St. John Hope).
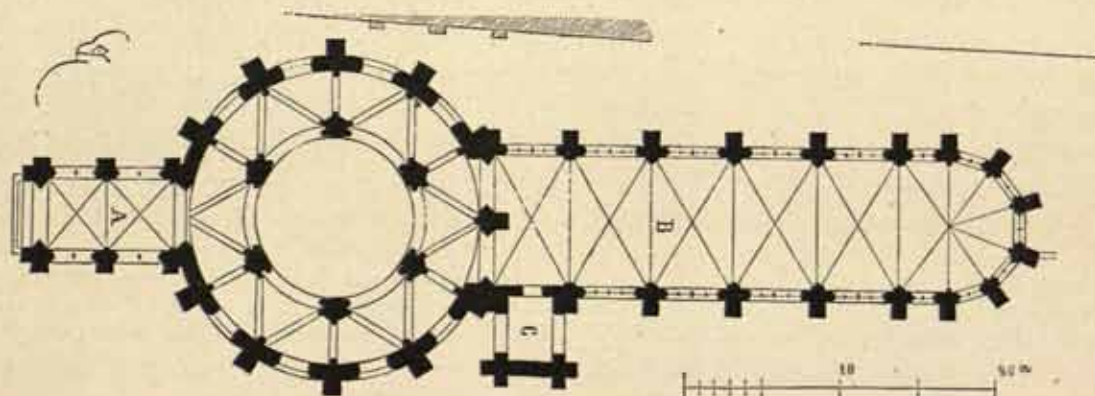
FIG. 3. The Temple, Paris. Plan of the church (Viollet-le-Duc).

5 ft. thick, and it would appear to have represented either a square east end, or more probably the chord of the apse.

I had resigned myself to my disappointment in failing to discover more definite evidence when it was noticed that part of the walls of the south aisle continued down below the floor, indicating as we thought at first that this section at least of the choir had been built with an undercroft. The walls had been rendered with a fine plaster and were in an excellent state of preservation, and it was resolved, with the ready consent of the Benchers, to have the area fully excavated. Our Fellow Mr. Chettle, of the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate of the Ministry of Works, visited the site and assisted in obtaining the necessary licence.

When the chamber had been opened up, we found that it measured 42 ft. long and just over 13 ft. broad, the western wall corresponding roughly with the west wall of the choir, so that it occupied nearly three-fifths of the south aisle (see plan, pl. XLVI). A stone bench ran along the north and south walls and on this we found slender wall-shafts, one in each angle and two intermediate ones on the sides, dividing the building into three bays. These shafts retained their bases, some with traces of carving on the lower moulding, and one shaft, in the south-west angle, still possessed its capital or at least the section, beneath the abacus, carved with stiff foliage with bead enrichment (pl. XLVIII, b and c). From this we could date the building to the latter part of the twelfth century, and it was clear that it could not be part of the choir structure which was consecrated in 1240. I shall return to the other details that were discovered later.

We dug down to the base of the ashlar face of the benches but found no trace of a floor. The vanished paving, whether of stone or tiles, seems to have been placed on hard rammed earth, and the total depth of the chamber did not exceed 6 ft. 7½ in. measured from this earth surface up to the floor of the choir. It is recorded that during the drastic restoration of the building in 1840 the floor of the church was lowered to what was considered at the time to have been its original level.[1] But even with the former problematic additional height it is clear that the newly discovered building was not in use as an undercroft to the thirteenth-century choir. It is not necessary to labour this point since the capital and bases of the shafts are sufficient evidence of an earlier date. But it should be mentioned that the setting out of the choir is quite independent of the work below. Not only do the main piers bear no relationship with the bay divisions of the older building, but the sleeper wall on which they are built overhangs the plastered wall beneath by over 6 in., while the south wall of the choir is about 2 ft. 6 in. farther south and its stone bench a good foot. The most eloquent testimony perhaps is the fact that the masons of the new work used the old plaster walls to set out the curves of their arches and vaults, and left these tell-tale graffiti behind when they finally filled the now useless space with the scraps and rubbish from their stone yard.

If then it is clear that the building ante-dates the new choir, can we identify it further? There are, I think, two alternatives: (1) Could it have been the undercroft of a late-twelfth-century aisled church, such as the one remaining at Clerkenwell? or (2) was it a building erected against the south wall of an original unaisled chancel?

[1] Addison, p. 45; W. R. H. Essex and Sydney Smirke, *Illustrations, etc., of the Temple Church*, London (1845), p. 6.

PLATE XLVI

PORCH

THE ROUND

conjectural
CHANCEL

foundation

SELDEN

Bench

Bench

Piscina

CHAPEL OF St ANN

10   0   10   20   30   40   *feet*
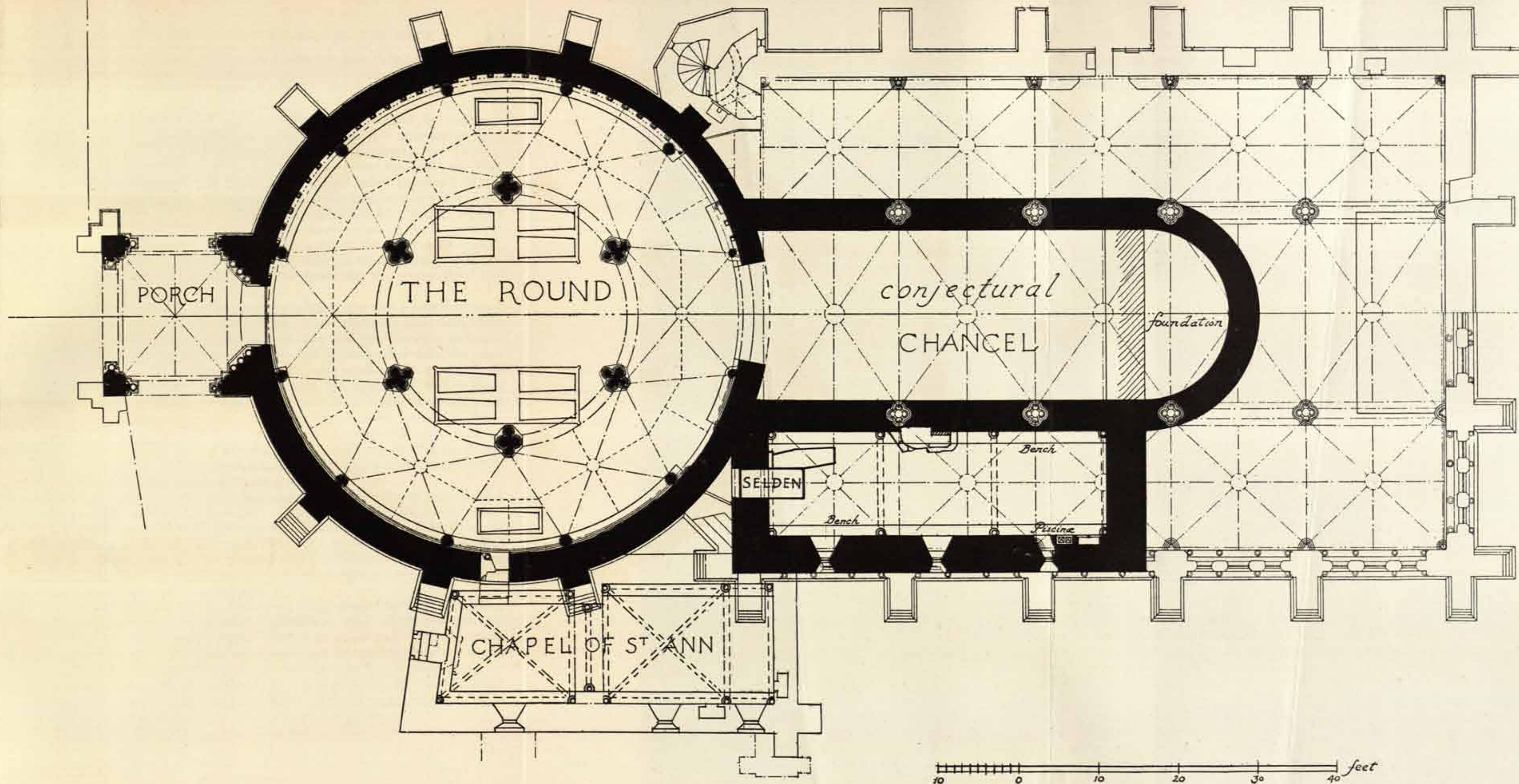
TEMPLE CHURCH, LONDON. PLAN SHOWING BUILDING UNDER SOUTH AISLE, ST. ANN'S CHAPEL
AND CONJECTURAL CHANCEL

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1953

If it were the former, we should have first to meet the difficulty of height. Whereas we can tell to within a little the original level of the floor of the present building, we cannot be so sure regarding the twelfth-century chancel. It will be remembered that the chancel at Northampton is several feet above the round church there and it was found at Clerkenwell that the Hospitallers' chancel was 4 to 5 ft. higher than the round nave and therefore approached as at Northampton by a flight of steps. We might therefore presume just sufficient height, if not a very wide margin. Given this height, there would seem to be a further important argument for considering this as part of the original church. I mentioned earlier that all we found in the central compartment of the choir was the foundation of a thick wall crossing it from north to south of which only the eastern face remained recognizable. It would scarcely seem to be a mere coincidence that the east wall of the early building at the lower level was found to be a direct continuance of this foundation. Here it is the west face that is complete, the east face being lost, but if the two sections were actually part of the same wall the total thickness would be 5 ft. In the absence of evidence to the contrary this would seem to point to a square east end to an aisled chancel.

Against this view, however, there is a complete absence of any indication of an undercroft either to the central part of the building or to the north aisle. Moreover the slender wall shafts which we have found were obviously never intended to support vaults such as are to be seen in the Hospitallers' church at Clerkenwell. It would therefore appear to be still an open question whether this building were part of the church or outside it. The slope of the ground towards the river would no doubt require that the south wall of the church should be taken down to a much lower level than the north wall, but this circumstance is equally favourable to both theories. It would obviously facilitate a vault beneath a south aisle if there had been one, and would also explain the lower level of an adjoining building on the south, since there is reason to believe that the cloister level was below that of the church, quite possibly as much as the 5 or 6 ft. difference between the two floor-levels.

Let us see now if we can throw any light on the problem from a different angle. Under the pavement south of the round church there remain the lower parts of the walls of what was known in 1664 as the chapel of St. Ann (see plan, pl. XLVI).[1] This chapel was a very beautiful building of the early part of the thirteenth century, built in two stories, both vaulted in stone. It is said to have been badly damaged by gunpowder in 1678 in an effort to check a serious fire that destroyed much of the Temple buildings. Its remains were incorporated into a brick building shown in a view by Malton (1792),[2] which also shows a similar house built over the church porch (pl. XLVII, a). The covering building is also shown in an earlier print of 1755,[3] where the bell turret on the southernmost of the three western gables of the choir should be noted. The plan of the lower chapel or undercroft was included in the graphical survey of the church to which I have already referred, published in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. v, the drawings being by Nash and dated 1818.[4] In 1838 R. W. Billings

[1] See below, p. 129. In 1282 the description was simply 'capella juxta Ecclesiam apud Novum Templum London' ex parte australi ipsius Ecclesiae sita' (Rymer, *Foedera* (1745 ed.), i. (ii), p. 201a).

[2] *Picturesque Tour through London and Westminster* (1792), facing p. 57. [3] Baylis, opp. p. 64.
[4] There is an earlier plan in J. Britton, *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, i (1807), opp. p. 16.

also included a plan of the chapel in his quarto volume on the Temple Church and in 1871–2 an architect named Thomas Goodman published a plan of the church with the remains of St. Ann's chapel, giving an elevation of the lower part of the south wall.[1] The latter was also illustrated by John Wykeham Archer in his drawings of 1862, one of which is reproduced on pl. XLIX, b. We should, however, be unable to visualize the real character of the building were it not for the fine drawing by John Buckler (pl. L) which was presented to the Benchers by the late Master of the Temple, the Rev. W. H. Draper. This drawing was made when the house that had been built into the chapel ruins was removed in 1826, and exposed what remained of the medieval work. The view shows us not only the three main bays in which the upper chapel was vaulted, but also the cross-arch to what appears to be a narrow eastern compartment forming a sanctuary for the altar. The drawing also gives a good idea of the position of the chapel in relation to the south gable of the choir, with its bell turret standing against the sky. It will be noticed too that the western doorway to the lower chamber is indicated in the foreground and suggests that the ground-level was lower at this point than it is today.

The date ascribed to the remains of this chapel is about 1220 and I have no reason to quarrel with this. If 1220 is correct the building would probably have been completed before the new choir was begun and both its date and its somewhat awkward position adjoining the Round on the south suggest that it was built to take the place of a building which had to be removed before the new work could start. If we compare the plans of the building discovered beneath the south aisle of the choir and this chapel we shall, I think, see sufficient similarity to make this suggestion of a connexion between them a plausible one. If there were some reason of safety or privacy requiring a building close to the church and approached only from the cloister, and if such a building had to be sacrificed because the new choir necessitated its removal, the only site that would appear to offer itself for its successor would seem to be the one on which the chapel of St. Ann was erected.

Approaches from the church to the upper and lower floors respectively were devised by a flight of stone steps leading upwards from a door built in the west wall of the south aisle of the choir (now blocked up), and by a descent of stone steps from an opening made in the south wall of the Round. The steps leading upwards were later known as the steps to the sanctus bell[2] since they led in the direction of the south gable of the choir. They may from the beginning have continued upwards into a belfry here which may have preceded the turret on the gable.

There is very slender evidence for the dedication of the chapel to St. Ann, indeed this is confined to one entry in the Registers of a burial in 1664[3] which took place in the Round near the door of St. Ann's chapel. This door could only be that leading to the lower part or undercroft. In Rymer's *Foedera*[4] there is a record of the ceremony at the liberation of Alberic de Monteforte, which took place in 1282 in the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops in the chapel next the church of the New Temple, which is definitely described as situated on the south side of the church.

[1] A copy of this engraving is in the Inner Temple.
[2] Temple Church Registers (Woods), interments of John Selden (1654), Martha Marshall (1665–6), and
Robert Backhouse (1666–7), etc.
[3] *Idem*, quoted by Baylis, p. 53.
[4] Vol. ii, pp. 192–3 (ed. 1705).

The chapel is unnamed but it can hardly be in doubt that our upper chapel was intended. There is also a record of a meeting of convocation in 1269 in the chapel of the New Temple, but this reference is probably to the church itself.[1] In the inventory of 1307–8,[2] made for the mayor of London as escheator at the expulsion of the Order of the Templars, the clerk proceeded to detail the ornaments first in the Great Church (obviously the Round), then in the choir, with particular reference to the altars of St. John and St. Nicholas (presumably the altars at the east ends of the aisles). Next follows 'the Church of the Blessed Mary without the door of the Hall', and after that the vestry, in which there is a long and impressive list of church treasure. Now in the inquisitions made in 1336 and 1337[3] and in other contemporary documents it appears that the chapel 'without or at the door of the Hall' was in fact dedicated to St. Thomas[4] and there evidently seems to have been a slip as to the dedication in the 1307–8 inventory. It seems to me possible that the dedication to St. Mary may have got inserted because it belonged not only to the main church but also to part of the building on the south side of the Round. My suggestion is that the altar in the upper chapel may have been dedicated to the Blessed Virgin (like the high altar of the choir) and that the lower chapel may have had an altar to St. Ann the Mother of the Virgin. Both chambers may have formed the vestry which housed the church treasure. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the building which incorporated the remains of these two chapels was long the repository of important legal records and when the order was given to demolish it in 1826, the chirographer of the Court of Common Pleas, in whose custody the documents were, had to be overcome by force before they could be moved.[5]

These considerations lead naturally, I think, to the possibility that the building we have discovered beneath the south aisle of the choir and which I have little doubt was the predecessor of the chapels just described, was itself a treasury. I owe this suggestion in the first place to Dr. Rose Graham and certainly the secure position of the building in the cloister against the church, and the immensely thick wall at the east end, seem to favour this identification. It is not necessary for me to do more than refer to the vast amount of evidence regarding the part played by the Templars in providing a safe deposit for private and public treasure. The moneys collected in the national subsidies were often ordered to be delivered at the New Temple, London, and the king as well as some of his richer subjects made use of the House of the Templars as we use a bank today. Miss Agnes Sandys has dealt with this subject in detail in one of the *Essays presented to Professor Tout*.[6] The Temple in Paris was also used as a royal treasury, but whereas the French house was notable for its strong fortifications, the New Temple in London lacked any greater defence than its precinct walls. The position of its safe deposits would therefore be of more importance, and one at least might well be attached to the church.[7]

[1] D. Wilkins, *Concilia Mag. Brit.* (1737), ii, 19, 20.
[2] See p. 124, n. 4.
[3] See p. 124, n. 13.
[4] Thomas Becket, the patron saint of English Crusaders.
[5] Minutes of the Inner Temple quoted by Katherine A. Esdaile, *Temple Church Monuments* (1933), p. 10.

[6] Edited by A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (1925), pp. 147–62.
[7] The Commissioners of 1307 probably called the building a vestry because all the secular treasure would have gone by then. The list of contents includes six chests and eight coffers. It is noteworthy that the records of the

PLATE XLVII

a. Temple Church, London. Thomas Malton (1792)

b. Temple Church, London. John Wykeham Archer (1862)

PLATE XLVIII

a. Lockers and double piscina

b. Angle shaft (SW.)

c. Capital of angle shaft

Temple Church, London. Details of building under South Aisle

Photos: Herbert Felton

Although we cannot re-create a full picture of the building now uncovered it has one or two other points of interest. The stone bench along its north and south walls has a chamfered edge, which is carried along the east and west walls as a plinth. There was evidently an altar, for in the south wall was discovered a double piscina, square in plan, with the eastern of the two basins rebated for a cover (fig. 4). East of this piscina were two stone lockers, still retaining the hinges of their doors. Along the south wall can still be seen the vertical joints for the splays of three windows, one in each bay. Only the lower parts remain, and the windows had been walled up and plastered over while the place was still in use, perhaps to add to its security. I have already referred to the fact that the plaster surfaces were used by the thirteenth-century builders of the choir to set out their curves, and these lines incised by masons' compasses can be examined. The building evidently possessed an interesting scheme of mural decoration, a section of which has survived on the north wall, at its eastern end. It shows a pattern of rectangular lines with portions of large and small circles in black on the natural plaster ground (fig. 4). A hint of colour has been found on the south wall but it is too indefinite for identification. No other features were discovered, but during the clearance of the area we came upon the core of some masonry that had been built against the internal side of the north wall and in part bonded into it. Since the bench and much of the plastered wall were intact behind it, it was evidently a structure added after the chamber was built. One or two stones with ashlar faces (one chamfered) remained within the core, and there was a suggestion in their disposition that they may have been part of a spiral staircase. I do not think that this would have been inserted as a means of communication between the old chancel and the treasury, but it might have been the substructure of a south belfry tower in this position which would repeat the feature seen outside the aisle-less chancel of the Temple Church in Paris, the base of which dated from the twelfth century (see figs. 1 and 3).[1] It may be remembered that a bell-tower stood south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem,[2] and it may be significant that the sanctus bell at the New Temple continued to be hung on the south gable of the new choir, after the present belfry tower had been built to the north. It is recorded by Hoveden that in 1192 the ringing of the bells in the belfry was suspended on instructions from the bishop of London because the obnoxious Geoffrey, archbishop of York, was lodged in the New Temple.[3]

Before I leave the description of the building I must refer to the discovery of the grave of John Selden at the west end of the first treasury (see plan, pl. XLVI). There has been much controversy as to the exact site of the interment. Aubrey in his *Lives*[4] says that 'on Thursday the 14 of Dec^r (he) was magnificently buryed in the Temple Church. . . . His grave was about ten feet deepe or better, walled up a good way with bricks of which also the bottome was paved, but the sides at the bottome for about two feet high were of black polished marble, wherein his coffin (covered with black bayes) lyeth and upon that wall of marble was presently let down a huge marble stone of

lawyers, who succeeded the Templars, were kept near by, in the Round.   [1] Viollet-le-Duc, *op. cit.* ix, 15.
[2] See plan by (Sir) Alfred Clapham, *The Antiquaries Journal* (1921), i, opp. p. 3.
[3] *Roger of Hoveden's Chronicle* (Rolls Series), 1868–71, iii, 187.
[4] A. Clark (ed.), *John Aubrey's Brief Lives* (1898), ii, 221–2.

Section
of
Shaft
Base

Locker

Locker

Piscina
Recess

Shaft

Elevation

Plan

Lockers

Bench

Piscinae

Inches 12 6 0   1   2   3   4 ft.
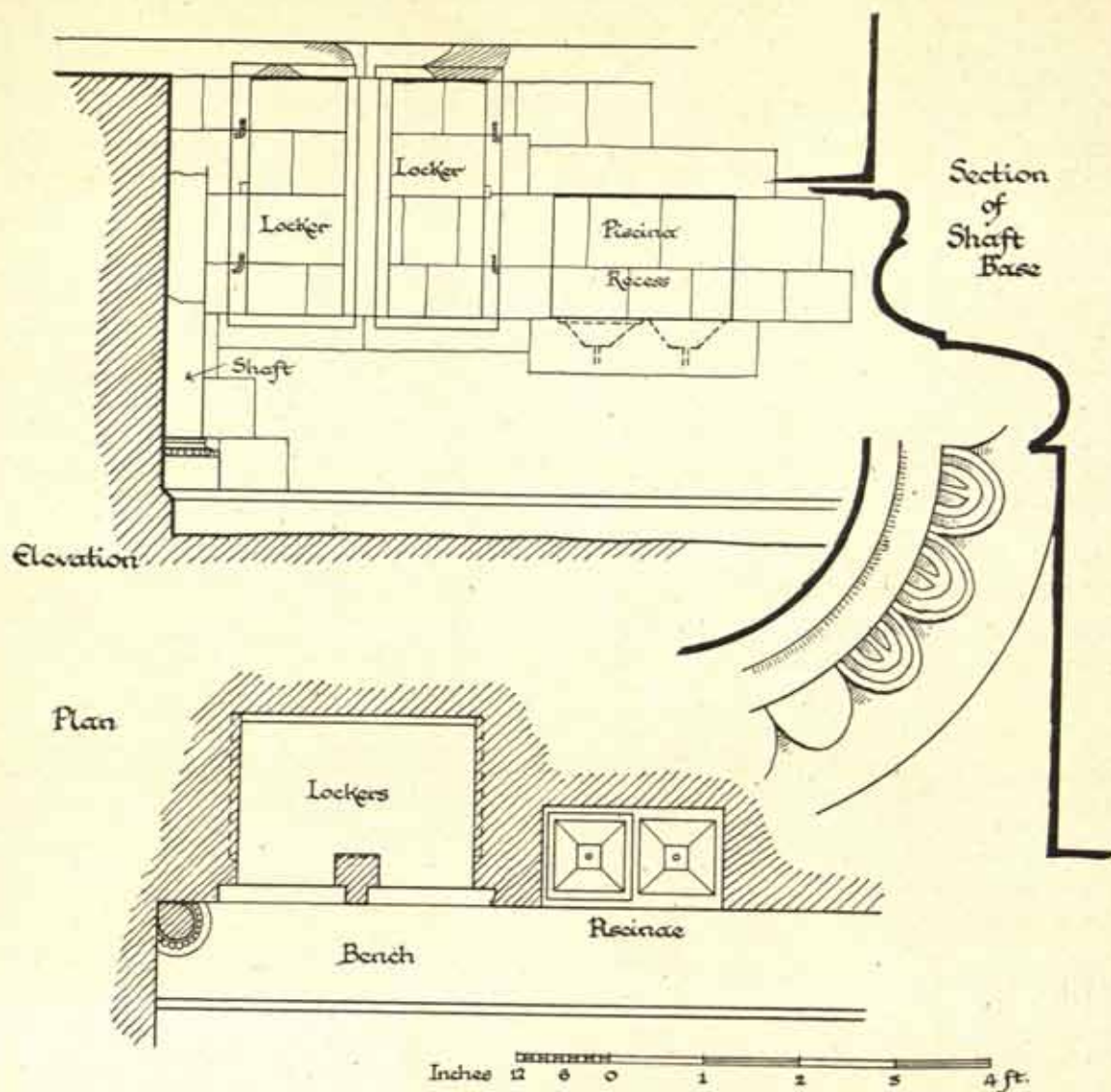
Decoration on North Wall.

Shaft

Stone Bench

Inches 12 6 0   1   2   3   4 ft.
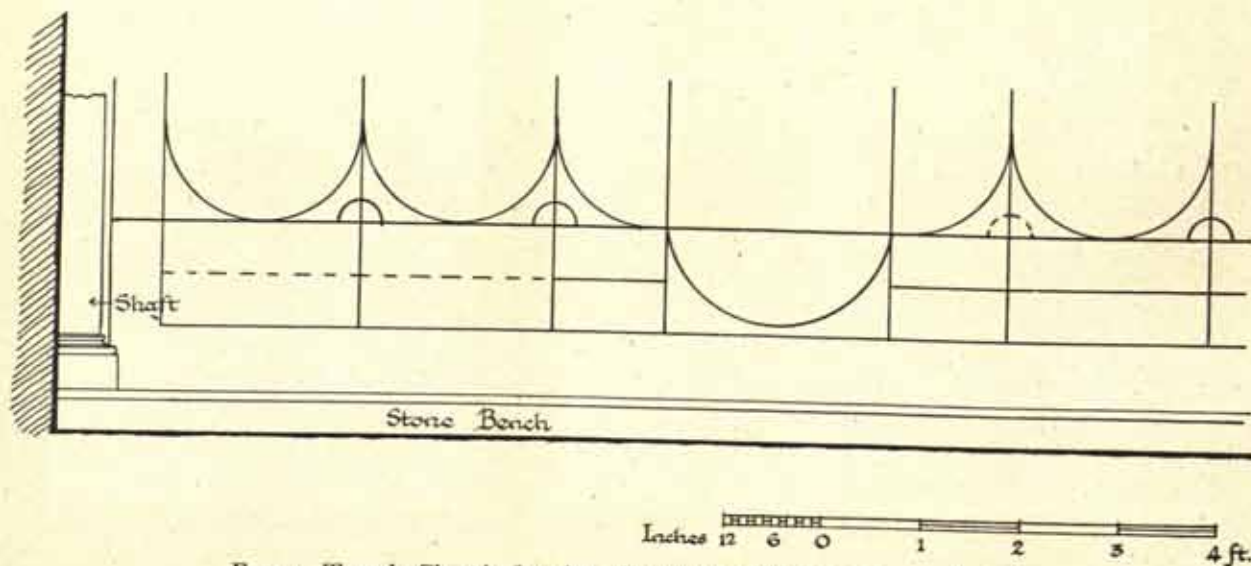
FIG. 4. Temple Church, London. Details of building under south aisle.

PLATE XLIX
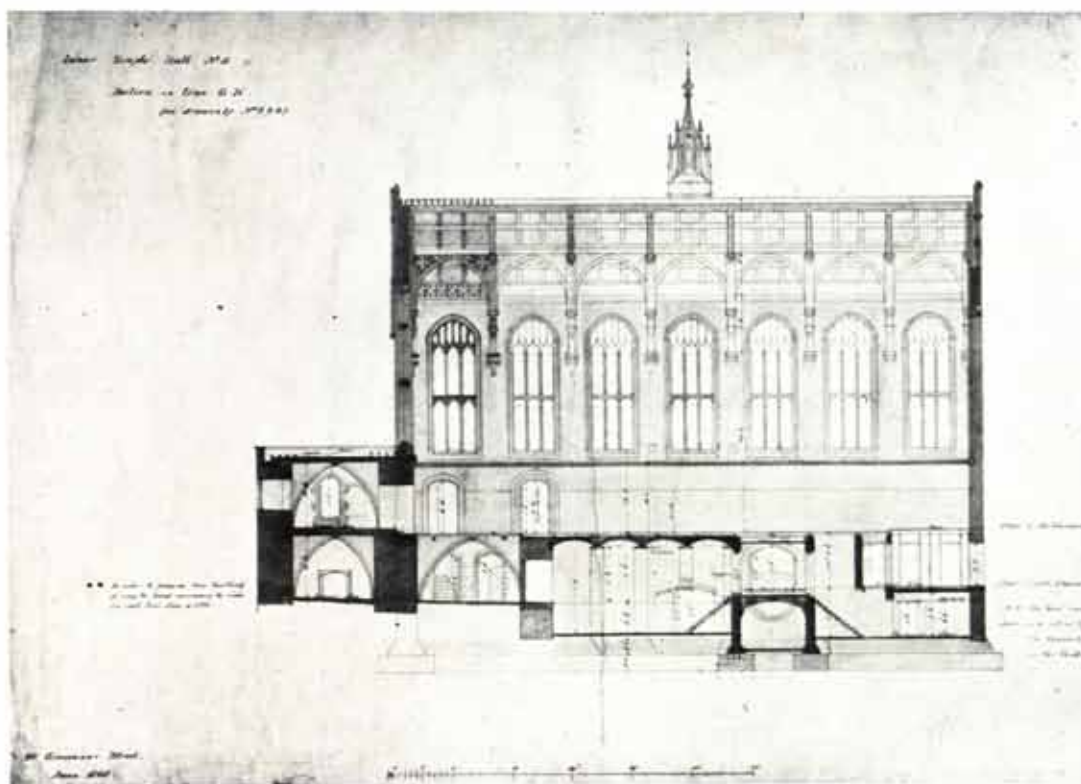
a. Inner Temple Hall. Section showing vaulted Butteries (1868)

b. St. Ann's Chapel, Temple Church.
John Wykeham Archer (1862)

c. Marble coffin-lid of John Seldon
Photo: Herbert Felton

Plate L

St. Ann's Chapel, Temple, London

From a water-colour drawing by John Buckler (1826)

great thicknesse with the inscription: "Hic jacet corpus Johanni Seldeni qui obiit 30 die Novembris 1654".' Aubrey then says a brick arch was turned over the stone and in the pavement above was another inscribed marble slab with the coat of arms of John Selden's mother. Anthony À Wood gives an even fuller account in *Athenae Oxonienses*[1] and says the grave was on the 'south side of the round walk', that is the nave or round church. His version of the inscription differs from that of Aubrey. In the Temple Church Registers the record reads: 'John Selden Esquire, a learned and judicious antiquary and of the honourable Society of the Inner Temple, a bencher, was buried in the Temple Church neare the steps where the saints bell hangeth, in a sepulcher of marble 5 foot in the ground with the inscription "Haec Inhumatur corpus Johannis Selden j Decem Anno Domini 1654".' In the above position the grave was found, of marble cased in brick and with the inscribed marble slab still in position, though fractured across (pl. XLIX, *c*). No trace of the brick arch remained, and the stone in the pavement had long given place to modern encaustic tiles. The inscription differs only slightly from the Temple records. Next the tomb are two brick graves, one believed to be of Selden's friend, Rowland Jewkes (1665).[2] The tombs have not been disturbed but have been carefully sealed and will remain in their present position on the floor of the newly discovered chamber, which it is hoped will be accessible to visitors.

I will now turn to the general topography of the New Temple and summarize such facts as are known and the deductions we may reasonably make from them. In the precinct were accommodated four classes of people.[3] First, there was the central community of fully professed Knights for whom the Order existed. Second, and closely associated with them, were the Squires and Sergeant brothers-at-arms, who were of the rank of gentlemen and had a right to two chargers as against the three possessed by each Knight. Third, and in a lower capacity altogether, were the armourers, domestic servants, and outdoor staff who were usually appointed for life and were an essential part of the organization, though not professed. They corresponded to the lay brothers of some other monastic orders. Fourth, a quite separate group was that of the ordained priests and chaplains, presided over by the Custos or Guardian of the Temple Church, who was appointed by the master and the chapter and was exempt from ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as his successor the master of the Temple, still is. The priests took the same vows as the Knights and men-at-arms but were in complete subjection to the Knights, not normally taking part in chapters but hearing the confession of all the members of the Order. Difficulty is sometimes found in placing individuals in these four groups since all are referred to as 'Brothers'. It is important, however, to realize that the Knights with their men-at-arms, the chaplains, and the servants, all three, had separate quarters.

There seems no reason to doubt that the Knights and their squires lived in the buildings surrounding the cloister (or part of a cloister) south of the church, and that their hall was on the site of the Inner Temple Hall, occupying the usual position of the

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[1] Ed. Bliss (1817), vol. iii, col. 376.

[2] 'buried in a valt, prepared at his charge, neare Mr. Selden's moniment, 5 July, 1665'—(Temple Church Registers). See his monument, Esdaile, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[3] For fuller details of these groups, see Lees, pp. lx–lxiii.

monastic frater (see plan, pl. LI). In the inventory of 1308 (the escheator's survey after the expulsion of the Knights), the Knights' quarters are specifically omitted because they were occupied by John of Brittany, earl of Richmond. We have already seen that the great church, the choir, the altars of St. John and St. Nicholas, the vestry, and the doubtfully named church of St. Mary were included. There were also the wardrobe of the grand master, the dormitory, the four separate chambers of the prior, the treasurer, the keeper of the charters (he had a sealed coffer containing charters and muniments), and one of the chaplains, the kitchen, cellar, brewery, granary, and a chamber over the storeroom, and the stable. There is an indirect reference to a large pigsty (with thirty pigs) and the garden, even so we can hardly have here a complete list of all the buildings. When in 1336 and 1337 inquiries were made into the extent of the consecrated parts of the New Temple we get some further information, which was later enrolled on the patent and close rolls.[1] We learn that the consecrated parts included the church, the cemetery, the enclosure (or cloister) with the buildings on it, and also the chapel of St. Thomas at the door of the hall, with a plot of land adjoining, on which we find (from the inquisition of 1337) there stood a hall and a chamber. This last plot was bounded by an earthen wall extending to the old gate of the Temple.[2] The cloister (with which I think we should include the church) was bounded by a stone wall[3] which extended from the bishop of Ely's chamber, first east and then north to Fleet Street. Here stood a row of thirteen houses built by Roger Blum, sometime 'nuntius' of the Temple, on the northern part of the churchyard, for the maintenance of the lamps and other ornaments of the church. We further learn (in 1337) that one of these houses was situated beyond (i.e. west of) the gate of entrance to the church and was valued at 4 marks per annum whereas the others were only worth 11s. 0d. each yearly. On the unconsecrated part of the precinct there was another hall with four chambers, a kitchen, a garden, a chamber beyond the great gate,[4] and eight shops, seven in Fleet Street and one in the Strand, that is, outside Temple Bar.

Ogilby and Morgan's plan of 1677 (fig. 5), the earliest we have of the area, shows the west and south walls of the cloister quite clearly. They were enclosed then by a line of buildings between the walks and the garth or southern churchyard, and it is probable that there were some rooms over the cloister. Just opposite the lower end of the Inner Temple hall there is shown a small orientated building projecting into the garth. This was known as Twisden's building (no doubt named after the judge Sir Thomas Twisden, a member of the Fire Court following the Great Fire of London) and would seem almost certainly to represent the site of the chapel of St. Thomas situated in front of the door to the hall of the Knights. Ogilby's plan shows the cloister walk turning south here into the passage under the hall. Beyond this hall, eastwards, we have no firm information about the medieval layout and cannot tell whether the cloister court terminated with the eastern side of the later Lamb Building or extended further eastwards, as it apparently did in the Paris Temple.

[1] See p. 124, n. 13.
[2] This was the entry which still leads to the Round church.
[3] For remains of this wall see Addison, pp. 345–6.
[4] This was the modern Middle Temple entrance, always a public right of way to the river.
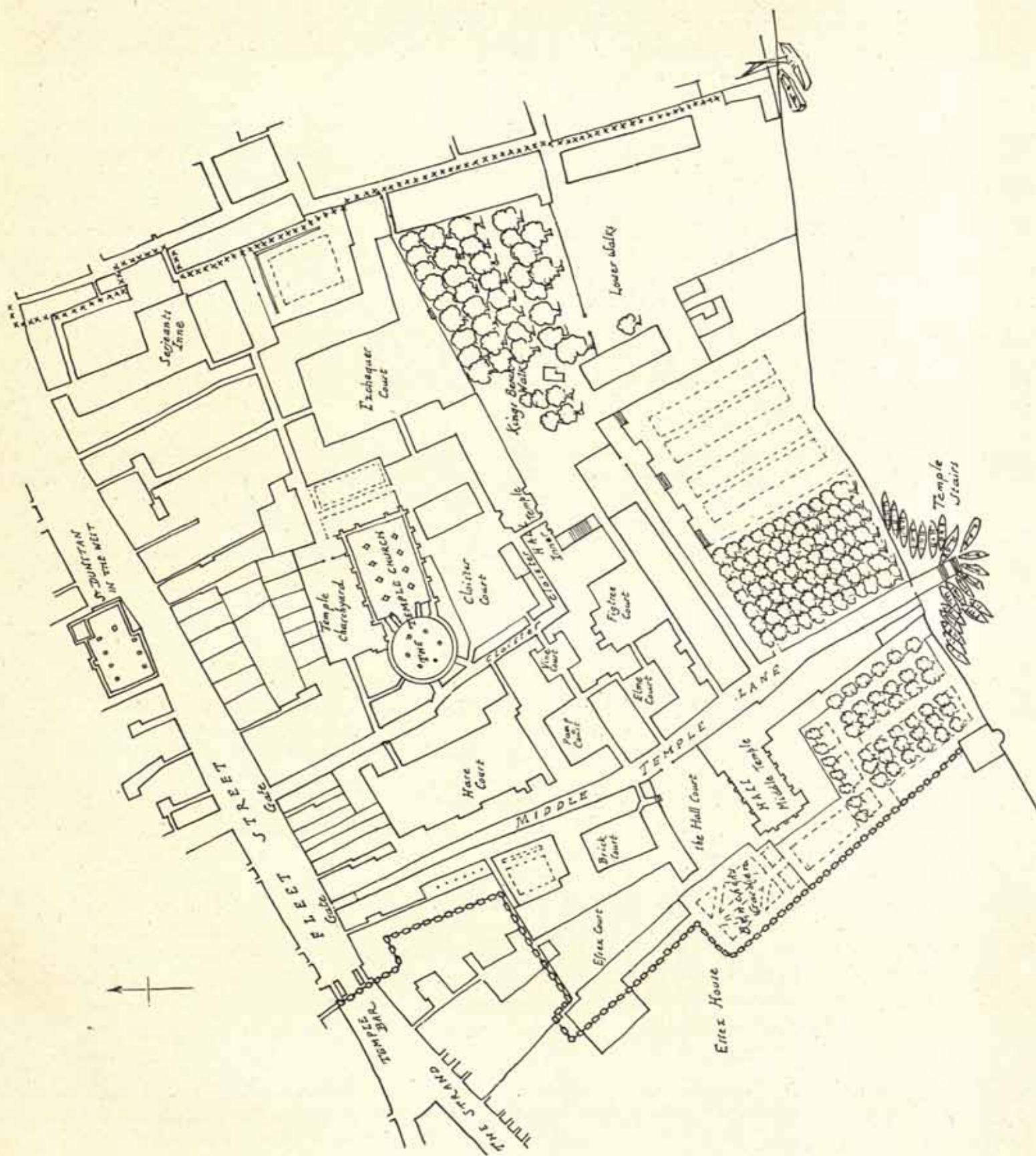
FIG. 5. Precinct of the Temple, London, based on the plan of Ogilby and Morgan, 1677.

Through the kindness of Sir Hubert Worthington I have been able to secure a plan of the Inner Temple hall as it was before Sir Robert Smirke erected the modern hall[1] which was destroyed in the late war, and I have used this in the plan of the cloister on pl. LI. From the plan I should have judged the earlier hall to have been a late-sixteenth- or early-seventeenth-century building (not unlike Middle Temple hall), with two oriel windows at the upper or eastern end, but it evidently incorporated work of the fourteenth century and even earlier. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1783[2] there is a drawing of a series of arched openings in the north wall of the under-croft of the hall and butteries, which were discovered in 1756 when the plaster was removed from the masonry. One of these is a semicircular headed doorway, 5 ft. wide, or two orders, which has all the appearance of being an important entrance of twelfth-century date. Its position as far as can be judged would agree with the original stone stair from which the hall would be approached from the cloister walk and directly opposite the presumed site of the chapel of St. Thomas. An early window is also shown. There are reasons for believing that the hall was refashioned in the fourteenth century. Dugdale judged the windows to be of the time of Edward III,[3] and the roof-trusses shown in an old view certainly suggest the fourteenth century.[4] But the hall seems constantly to have been repaired and altered and there are records of two elaborately carved oak doors from it, one of which is dated 1575.[5] In 1630 the kitchen and rooms adjoining were rebuilt and no doubt the enclosed south staircase shown on the pre-Smirke plan was constructed at the same time. The hall was much repaired in 1816 and eventually taken down and rebuilt in 1867. The plan is valuable in giving us the two double-storied vaulted chambers at the west end of the hall,[6] one of which was destroyed for the enlargement of the hall, the other, the western one, remaining today, the sole remnant of the medieval domestic buildings of the Knights. They are shown in section on a drawing of Smirke's reproduced on pl. XLIX, *a*. The two were always known as the butteries and date from the fourteenth century. The masonry suggests that they formed the basement story of a tower, and this is confirmed by references to chambers in the tower over the buttery and Parliament House.[7] Between the butteries is a very thick wall which enclosed both a flight of stairs ascending from the cloister and a newel stair from the first floor upwards. The west wall of the remaining western chamber coincided with the turning-point of the west and south cloister walks. The kitchen adjoined the south side of this chamber, and though a later rebuilding[8] is most probably on the site of the original kitchen that served the hall. The 1337 description of the hall connects it with a chamber, which was probably once the solar and would have been adjacent to the hall on the east. It was perhaps the room described in 1595 as the 'ancient benchers' chamber . . . very old

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[1] Undated, but before 1867. The plan belongs to the Society of the Inner Temple.

[2] Between pp. 284 and 285.

[3] *Origines Juridiciales* (1680), p. 146a.

[4] An engraving of this view occurs in W. Thornbury, *Old and New London* (1872–8), i, 162.

[5] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *London*, vol. iv, *The City* (1929), p. 145 and Plate, 194.

[6] *Old and New London, op. cit.*, p. 163, and Inderwick, opp. p. 22.

[7] At a parliament held on 27 November, 13 Henry VIII, A.D. 1521, Walter Blounte was admitted 'to the chamber where Shyllyng lately lay, namely, in the tower over the Parliament House' (Inderwick, i, 66; see also pp. xxviii, 234; and Addison, p. 343).

[8] There is mention of a new kitchen in 1555 (Inderwick, i, p. xlviii) and again in 1630–1 (Williamson, p. 379).

ruinous and decayed'. Sir Julius Caesar[1] pulled it down, with other decayed chambers, and erected Caesar's Buildings, which seem to have extended northwards as well as eastwards of the hall. We have no indication of the position of the dormitory which in 1308 was occupied by one knight, the preceptor, and two men-at-arms, nor of the other chambers mentioned.

We should expect to find the clergy close to the east end of the church and here in our own day was the master's house with its garden. In 1308 we hear of a prior,[2] six chaplains, and five clerks. After the dissolution of the Order of the Templars, when the lawyers were in possession under the Knights of St. John, the title of prior was changed to that of master of the Temple (the old title of the head of the House) and the chaplains numbered eight.[3] In the early Inner Temple records there are frequent references to 'the Hall of the Master of the Temple' and 'the Hall of the priests'.[4] This communal establishment we can presume existed in the days of the Templars and persisted until the Reformation, when the chaplains would disappear. It is probable that the sixteenth-century master's house was on the original site of the priests' quarters. This is now the master's garden for in 1664 the then master was given permission to build a new house for himself on the garden of his old house,[5] an admirable arrangement which left him his old house while the new one was building. The site of the old house became the present garden.

I have already mentioned another hall and four chambers described in the 1337 inquisition as being with other buildings, outside the consecrated part of the precinct. We can, I think, identify this hall as the old hall of the Middle Temple, in use before the present beautiful Elizabethan hall (see Miss Honeybourne's plan, fig. 6). It stood on ground now partly covered by Pump Court and partly by Elm Court, just east of Middle Temple Lane, and it must have been the hall of the lay-brothers.[6] Sir Henry Chauncey[7] described it as similar in architecture to the Round church and from other sources we learn it was a stone building of exceptional strength.[8] It was converted into chambers after the new hall was built and was finally pulled down in 1638.[9] In 1735 its foundations were partly uncovered but not scientifically recorded.[10] West and south of it, with access to Middle Temple Lane, which led from the Great Gate in Fleet Street to the bridge or river stairs, were no doubt the stables, granary, and other outbuildings. Farther west was the great garden of the Templars[11] that in 1308 produced 60s. worth of fruit.

[1] This chamber is recorded as rebuilt by Sir Julius Caesar at a parliament held on 8th February 1595–6 (op. cit. i, 411).

[2] Also called the 'Custos' or 'Guardian of the Temple Church'.

[3] J. M. Kemble (ed.), The Knights Hospitallers in England . . . 1338 (1857; Camden Series, vol. 65), p. 202.

[4] Inderwick, i, p. xxii; see also Williamson, pp. 386–7, 395.

[5] Williamson, p. 504; see also C.P.R., Ed. VI (iii), p. 140.

[6] This identification would account for the great quantity of ancient armour belonging to the Middle Temple (see H. Chamberlain, A New and Compleat History and Survey of London . . . (1771), p. 530).

[7] Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire (1700), ii, 434.

[8] Master Worsley's Book, p. 93 n.

[9] Williamson, pp. 71–72, 229, 234–5, 376–7; W. Dugdale, op. cit., pp. 189–90.

[10] See the 'Report on Precedency, 1736' in Master Worsley's Book, p. 312.

[11] This garden was still there in the sixteenth century and lay behind the houses in the Strand (see Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, XIX, i, 80 (26), 812 (45); ii, 340 (14, 21, 51); C.P.R., Ed. VI (i), p. 295).
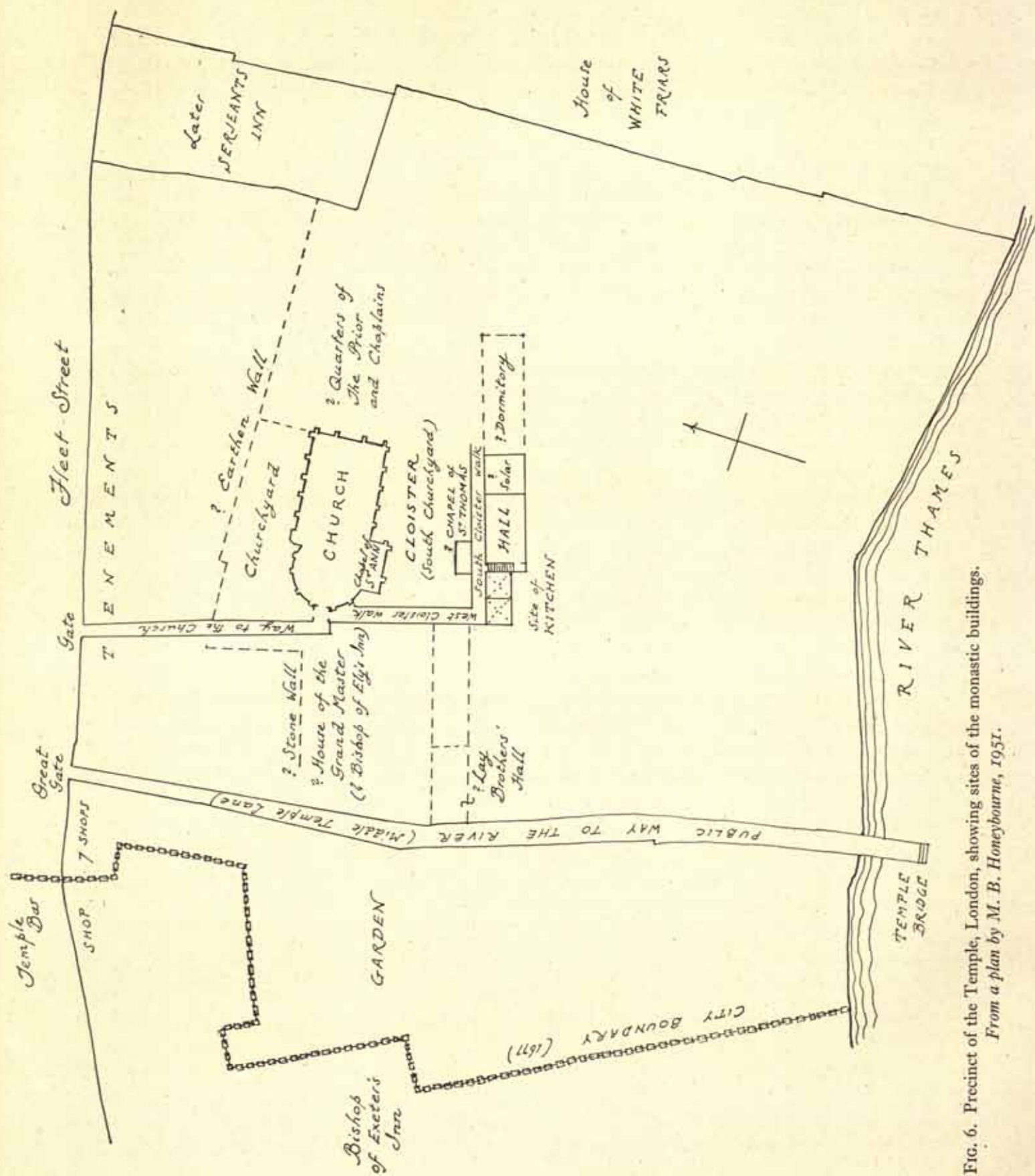
Fig. 6. Precinct of the Temple, London, showing sites of the monastic buildings.
From a plan by M. B. Honeybourne, 1951.

Finally, a word or two on the house of the master (the head of the London Templars), which Miss Honeybourne ingeniously suggests had been the lodging of the bishops of Ely. This lodging raises the very interesting question as to what buildings were on the site when the Knights Templars acquired it. In 1257–8 Hugh de Balsham, bishop of Ely, asserted that his predecessors in the bishopric had had rights of hostilage here since the Conquest.[1] In the legal proceedings that followed he successfully claimed in full seisin the right of lodging at any time in regard to a certain chamber, the Templars' great hall, the chapel at the door of the hall, the kitchen, buttery, larder, and stable, and a certain cellar with wine for a year, the usual easements and free entrance and exit by land and water. It seems clear that before the time of the Templars, the bishops of Ely (the see dates from 1108–9) had acquired a London house or 'inn' here in the same way that the twelfth-century bishops of Salisbury and St. Davids had bought town houses farther east along Fleet Street. Heads of many provincial monastic houses also had their London houses and by the end of the thirteenth century there was an almost continuous row of bishops' inns along the Strand between the highway and the river. As early as the twelfth century and again in the fifteenth century more than one instance has been found of an abbot parting with his inn on condition that when he came to London he should be accommodated in part of it, either with full board (as the bishops of Ely claimed) or at least with salt and firing. The bishop of Ely in 1161 must have made some such arrangement with the Templars[2] and the chances are that his inn became the commodious quarters of the master of the Temple, where he entertained for considerable periods King John, Henry III, papal legates, and important members of ecclesiastical councils. In 1336 the bishop of Ely's chamber was near the north-west corner of the cloister and such a position for the master's lodging would accord with the normal position of an abbot's lodging in a monastic house such as Westminster Abbey. The master's guests would not have to penetrate far into the precinct and would be outside the more or less enclosed quarters of the Knights. Towards the end of the thirteenth century the bishop of Ely found a new town house in Holborn, but he seems to have kept his barge permanently moored at Temple Stairs ready to take him to Westminster,[3] and his chamber at the Temple continued to bear his name.[4]

The entry of the lawyers into the New Temple, the foundation of their two Societies, and the steps by which they obtained security of tenure are outside the limits of this paper. The buildings of the Inner and Middle Temple and those possessed in common lie dispersed within both the consecrated and unconsecrated parts of the precinct.[5] Until the late war they formed one of the most attractive assemblages of

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[1] B.M. Cotton MS. Claudius cxi, f. 328b (trans. E. Williams, op. cit., No. 1353).

[2] Nigel, bishop of Ely, witnessed the sale of the Old Temple (Lees, p. lxxxviii; see also p. lxix). He was the king's treasurer and became a baron of the Exchequer (Dugdale, Mon. Angl., i, 462; C. Johnson (ed.), Dialogus de Scaccario (1950), pp. xiv–xvi, xxvii; G. H. White, 'Financial Administration under Henry I' in R.H.S. Trans., 4th series, viii (1925), pp. 65–71). Nigel's successor, Geoffrey Ridel, was chancellor before he became

bishop (Lees, p. 165 n.). Several later bishops of Ely were chancellors or treasurers (see T. F. Tout, Chapters in the Admin. History of Medieval England, vi, 3, 8, 11, 15, 17, 20; R. L. Poole, The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century (1912), pp. 185–6).

[3] Williams, op. cit., no. 354.

[4] See the 1336–7 inquisitions; and Williamson, p. 72.

[5] See the coloured plan attached to the 1732 Deed of Partition, reproduced in Master Worsley's Book.

architecture in London. Now after the most appalling destruction they are beginning to rise again. I hope that the opportunity afforded, by the extensive excavations now taking place, of adding to our knowledge of what was here in the days of the Knights, will not be neglected.

PLATE LI

Master's House - 17th cent.

Master's Garden

Site of
Master's Hall

ST ANN'S
CHAPEL

Eastern Extension

of Pump Court

CLOISTER
COURT

LAMB BUILDING

Qy. Former position

Qy. Site of Chapel
of St THOMAS

TWISDEN
BUILDING

South Walk of Cloister

Fig - Tree Court

Site of 12th cent?
Door to Hall

INNER TEMPLE HALL

(before Smirke's re-building)

Fig - Tree
Court

Kitchen

Stair to Hall
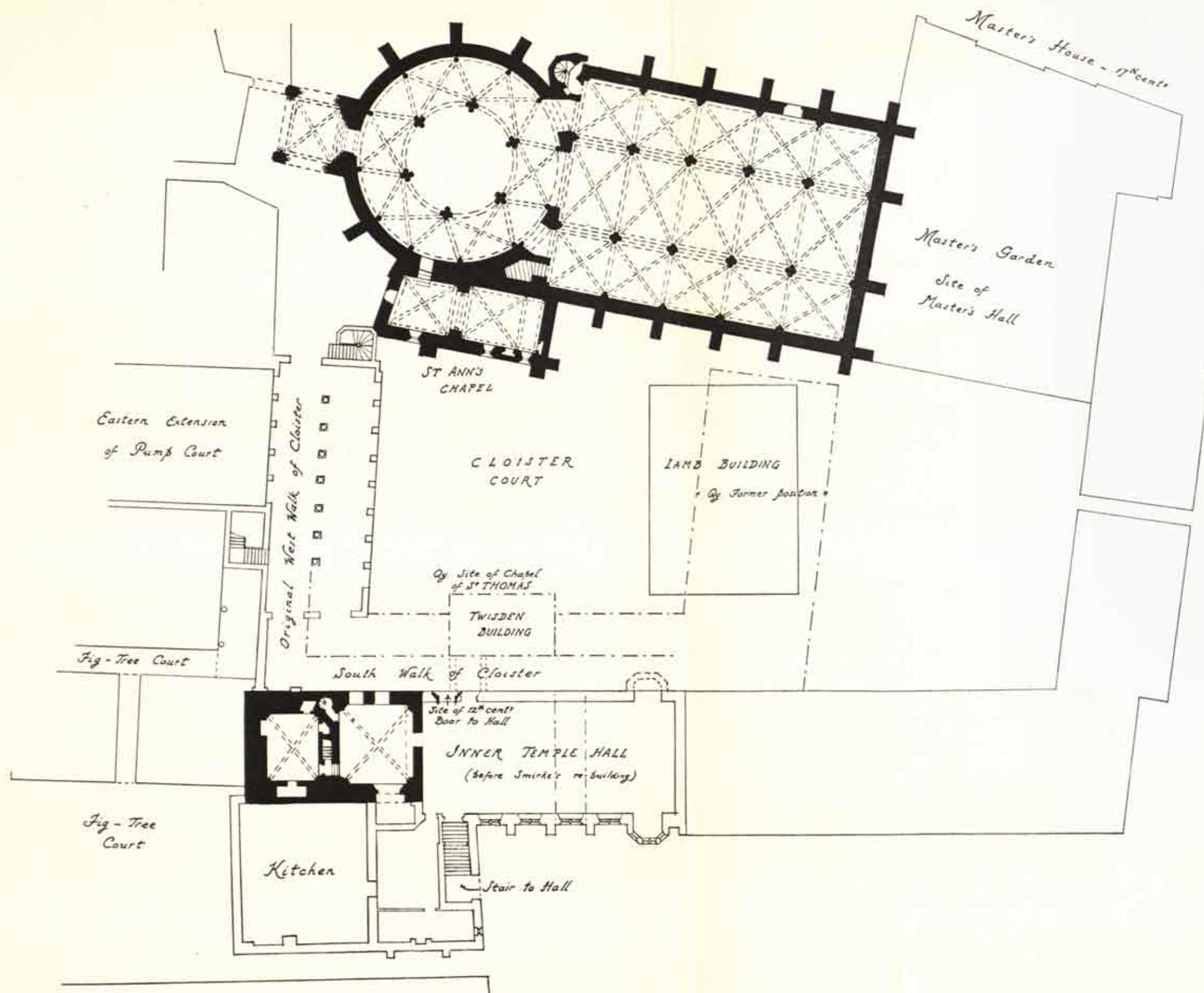
THE TEMPLE, LONDON. PLAN OF CLOISTER AND SURROUNDING BUILDINGS

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Some Seventeenth-century Houses in Great Yarmouth

By B. H. St. J. O'NEIL, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

[*Read 16th November 1950*]

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

GREAT Yarmouth has been fortunate in its historians and archaeologists. There can, for instance, be few towns in England boasting so useful a record of its past as Henry Manship's *History of Great Yarmouth*, edited by Charles John Palmer, F.S.A., in 1854. Manship's father, another Henry, was elected into the Corporation in 1550, and appears to have taken an active part in affairs connected with the Haven in 1560. The younger Henry was educated at the Free Grammar School, and, whilst still a schoolboy, laboured with his own hands at the fortifications. He was Town Clerk from 1579 to 1585, and continued to be a member of the Corporation until 1604. Thereafter, although sometimes at loggerheads with some of his contemporaries, he busied himself upon his history of the town, compiled from records, most of which have since been lost. The history was finished in 1619, and the Corporation voted Manship a gratuity of £50. He died in poverty in 1625.

Manship's *History*, as is only natural, contains much that is legendary or traditional in connexion with the earlier history of the town. Moreover, it contains quotations from ancient writers and other verses which are liable to make tedious reading for some modern historians. For all that, together with Palmer's excellent notes, it remains a very fine source of information to set beside existing architectural remains in the town. For no period is it more valuable than for that of Manship's own lifetime, since, as already indicated, he was thoroughly immersed in the town's hopes and fears throughout his life. For the purpose of the present architectural study, therefore, Manship's account of the condition of the town in general and the nature of its buildings is of the very highest importance.

Manship refers[1] to the visitation of the Black Death in 1348, which affected Yarmouth most severely, and proceeds: 'Neither was this town so replenished as then it was, in 220 years after: for within these forty years last past [i.e. up to *c.* 1610–19], many void grounds be now builded (and the town is more than a fourth part both in the buildings augmented, and in the number of inhabitants increased), which during that time lay waste and in a manner desolate.' Historians nowadays do well to lay less emphasis than did Manship upon the complete and permanent effect of the Black Death; but that at least some plots of land, formerly built up, lay waste during Manship's youth is confirmed by the history of No. 4 South Quay. The present house, save for its façade, was built in 1596 by Benjamin Cooper. It is on record that in 1590 Cooper already occupied the land on which it stands, and that the old house thereon was ruinous.[2] Further confirmation of Manship's statement may be sought from the scarcity of the remains of medieval houses in Yarmouth.

[1] p. 35.
[2] C. J. Palmer, *Illustrations of Domestic Architecture in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, exemplified in* the interior of the residence of John Danby Palmer, Esq. London, 1838.

Manship devotes much space to the matter of the Haven, that most vital concern of a town which depended for its prosperity entirely upon the sea. For years considerable trouble had been experienced in making a haven which would remain open without constant need of attention. After six failures, the seventh and present Haven was begun in 1566, with the aid of a Dutch engineer, Joas Johnson.[1] The complete work seems to have taken a number of years, but from that year may be dated the dawning consciousness on the part of the townspeople that their long battle with the sea was ending in their favour. Manship records that the new Haven had been known in one storm to have sheltered 600 sail, and, as one of the other benefits which it conferred, he says that the townsmen in their particular estates were greatly enriched.[2]

There are other relevant factors which should be mentioned. Herrings, according to Manship,[3] 'in our grandfathers' days, kept their station in the summer season, (at which time they be very fat and best liking), about Norway, but now, by the mercy of God, are lately come to Yarmouth'. He adds that in most recent years the herrings had disappeared, but this seems only to have been a temporary setback. Following the herrings came Dutch immigrants. Many also fled from persecution in the Low Countries. In 1604 the Dutch were granted the use of a special place for their prayers.[4]

It therefore seems legitimate to draw the following historical inference concerning the condition of the town in Manship's day. Although no doubt the results of the Black Death can be exaggerated, it does seem that there was less activity than formerly, and so, presumably, less prosperity, in Great Yarmouth during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This may have been largely due to the blocking of the Haven. The completion of the seventh Haven, begun in 1566, the advent of herrings in vast numbers, and the coming of Dutch settlers all combined to bring great wealth to the town and its inhabitants during the late sixteenth century and succeeding generation or two.

Manship can help the present purpose still further. He has somewhat to say concerning private houses. In 1571 houses made of board or covered with reed were forbidden. In 1578 Manship heard 'the stately uniform buildings' of the town commended by William Lord Burghley, and states that since that time they had been more than redoubled. They were built 'of flint and well burnt brick, covered with tile, not easily subject to combustion: and for form, I may say, as of the former,—come hither, therefore, gentle reader, in which thou shalt save my pen a labour, and give thyself better satisfaction; for the eye will make a deeper impression into thy mind, than the best orator with his pen is able to persuade thee to believe: which, having once seen, then conceive and report of it as thou pleasest'.[5]

This was brilliant publicity for his native town, but unfortunately whets without satisfying the appetite of the archaeologist. Later writers, even C. J. Palmer in his monumental *Perlustration of Great Yarmouth* (1872), have been unable to describe the layout and detailed appearance of seventeenth-century Yarmouth because of the congestion caused by later additions. Yet, as will appear from this study, many of its buildings still remain, and, through the tragic incidence of war, it has become possible

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[1] Manship, *History of Great Yarmouth*, p. 93.
[2] Ibid., p. 97.   [3] Ibid., p. 121.   [4] Ibid., p. 249.   [5] Ibid., pp. 64–65.

for the present generation to obey Manship's exhortation, and to see for itself what Yarmouth in its hey-day was like.

The present writer, with his colleagues, Mr. R. W. Wardill, A.R.I.B.A., and occasionally Mr. G. H. Chettle, F.S.A.,[1] had many opportunities of perambulating the Row area of Great Yarmouth, particularly those parts which were devastated by sporadic bombing. Only occasionally was the destruction by blast complete; more often it served merely to blow away those gates, doors, and other barriers, including roofs, which have prevented previous investigators from seeing all that there was to see. One must hasten to add that, although there were tragedies in some places, for the most part the inhabitants had forsaken the Rows for safer quarters.

A. THE SURVEY AND ITS RESULTS

The study began in 1943 with an examination of the Rows between South Quay and Middlegate Street, since this was the area of greatest damage by enemy action, destruction elsewhere being comparatively slight. Before the war there was much controversy about the future of the Rows, but it seemed to the writer that after the damage of the war there would be little chance of preserving intact any but fragments of the area at present under discussion. This, indeed, has been the case. Except for some of the buildings on South Quay and a very few other houses, including those acquired for preservation as ancient monuments by the Ministry of Works, little now stands above ground level in the area bounded by South Quay, Middlegate Street, Queen Street, and Friars Lane.

Examination at first took the form of listing all fittings of interest and good crafts-manship, such as doorways and windows, panelling, fire-places, hinges, etc., which should be removed during demolition and stored for re-use. In due course this removal and storage has taken place, and as many as possible of these fittings are being incorporated into work of repair at the buildings now under the care of the Ministry of Works, i.e. Row 111, Nos. 6, 7, and 8, Row 117, Nos. 8 and 9, and Greyfriars Cloister. But the making of this list revealed the presence of a very great number of early-seventeenth-century houses, marked by the use of ovolo-moulded ceiling beams. By this means such a house could be identified even when the front wall had been entirely rebuilt or covered with cement. It seemed, therefore, that the existence of these houses should be recorded before destruction and that as many as possible should be planned as examples of the remainder. Twenty-one houses were planned and are here published, whilst the number of houses of the period, extant and noted in 1943, may be judged by counting those cross-hatched in the restored plan of *c.* 1650 (pl. LXVI). To north and south of the area shown on that plan devastation was almost complete by 1943. In other parts of the Row area of Yarmouth houses of the early seventeenth century exist or existed in great numbers, but nowhere save in the area planned were they preserved (in 1943) in so close an array.

All the illustrations are reproduced by permission of the Minister of Works and of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, all the photographs having been taken by

[1] To whom he is indebted for much help, as also to Mr. J. Seymour Lindsay, F.S.A., who has contributed section D of this article.

Mr. R. W. Wardill, except pls. LVI, *c* and LVIII, *c*, which were taken by Mr. J. C. Harrington of the National Park Service of the U.S.A. and are reproduced by his permission, and pl. LV, *d*, which is by permission of the National Buildings Record. For facilities to reproduce the plan of 1738 thanks are due to the Corporation of Great Yarmouth and to Mr. H. F. Dyson, Borough Engineer of Great Yarmouth, to whom and his staff gratitude is felt for help in many directions during the course of the survey and in the storage of fittings. Much other help was received from Mr. Plumtree, formerly Regional Salvage Officer of the Ministry of Home Security, and Mr. Alston, formerly Town Planning Officer to Great Yarmouth Corporation.

The survey began with the idea that these early seventeenth-century houses had been large, or at any rate roomy, dwellings of merchants, which had later been sub-divided into smaller units. But very soon it became apparent that the opposite of this is the truth. These buildings began as very small houses with one room on the ground floor, one room on the first floor, and a room in the attic, with a basement accessible only from outside the house. Very often rooms were added at the back in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, but in the seventeenth century this two- or three-roomed house was normal in the Row area. It is true that the actual block built at one time was very often larger than the area stated, but the presence of more than one seventeenth-century doorway of identical style in a single block shows conclusively that it was built as a block of several small houses and not as one large house. Examples like Row 117, Nos. 22–24 (fig. 7), all built at one time, as their walling shows, cannot have been other than four houses in origin, although in this case two houses were later thrown into one, an unusual event in Yarmouth. Row 111, Nos. 7 and 8 (pl. LII, *c*), were built in one block, as their brick plinth shows, but they were always two houses and still are. In this case the walling of the two differs, No. 8, a double-fronted house, being of superior style, but normally the walling is alike in one block.

The dating of most of these houses to the first half of the seventeenth century depends to a certain extent upon the use therein of particular types of walling, which are described below, with evidence for dating culled partly from larger houses in Great Yarmouth. Nevertheless there were a few of the very small houses, which themselves assisted in the dating sequence, incidentally showing that the block of two or more houses to which the date referred were all built at one time. Row 118, Nos. 15, 16, and 17, which were unfortunately demolished before they could be planned, had the date 1636 or 1637 in iron wall-anchors right across the front wall. Similarly Nos. 86 and 87 George Street (pl. LVI, *a* and *b*), which lay outside the area of this particular survey, had iron wall-anchors giving the date 1638 as well as the initials ET and MT.[1] Both these pairs of houses had a façade of red brick (Type IV below). Row 99, Nos. 3 and 4, similarly dated 1651 (fig. 1), had a façade of a sophisticated Type III. This last pair is of particular importance, as will shortly appear, and is the reason for stating that houses of the particular type under study are unlikely to have been built

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[1] It is interesting to recall that this pair of houses is closely similar in size and plan to the foundations of houses excavated at Jamestown, Virginia, U.S.A., where the earliest recorded brick house was of the same year of erection. For this information the writer is indebted to Mr. J. C. Harrington of the National Park Service of the U.S.A.

after the middle of the century. Some, on the other hand, may date from before 1600, but of this there is no actual evidence.

The plan of Row 118, Nos. 2 and 3 (fig. 9), may be taken as typical of these small houses, although these examples were a little larger than the average and the façade was superior to many. The front doorway had moulded and stopped jambs and moulded lintel. It opened on to a passage, which led through to a back doorway, and was bordered on one side by the party wall with the next house and on the other side by a wooden partition. A sufficient number of original plank partitions remained to show that this was the normal original arrangement. A door in this partition admitted to the ground-floor room, on the far side of which was the fire-place. Originally this was wide with wooden lintel, often chamfered and sometimes moulded, and with chamfered brick jambs. In all houses examined the wide fire-place had later been partly blocked, usually more than once. Beside the fire-place was, right or left, a big cupboard, and on the opposite side a winding wood stair fixed to a wooden newel-post, which led to the first floor and the attic. Row 118, No. 3, showed this arrangement complete, and the same house had also the best examples of the real 'hall-mark' of these houses in Yarmouth, namely, the small windows which lit the stairs and the cupboards (pl. LII, b and d). These windows were not often so large or so well preserved as in this house and frequently they were blocked, their presence being betrayed by straight joints in the masonry, as at Row 118, No. 2, or visible only inside, but there is little doubt that they were once a universal concomitant of this style of house in Great Yarmouth. The wooden frames were normally ovolo-moulded (pl. LVIII, c) and there was often a vertical wooden bar placed diamond-fashion in the centre of the window to hold the window-pane in position (pl. LIX, b). A portion of a leaded light of diamond panes and the matrix of another against mortar blocking of a window were the only actual remains of such windows noted in the whole area (pl. LVI, c).

The first-floor room had the same arrangements as the ground-floor room, but was larger than the latter by the width of the passage below. The stair continued to the attic, which was quite roomy but had no fire-place and originally no light, since no dormer was seen other than later additions. It will be noticed that in order to ascend from the ground to the attic it was necessary to enter the first-floor room by one door and leave by another, adjacent, door. The doors were often original, with hinges of good quality, of 'Cock's head' and other styles, and above the doors to cupboards there were sometimes small screens or ventilators made of turned balusters. The ceiling beams were massive, ovolo-moulded, or at very least chamfered, and stopped, and fixed to the outer wall-face by means of wall-anchors, which are described below (p. 152).

Row 111, No. 8, has in its façade four original mullioned and transomed window-frames for casement windows with leaded lights, but these are great rarities (pl. LIX, c). Only one other instance (96/7 Middlegate Street) was noticed (amongst several hundred) where such a feature still existed in 1943 in the front wall of a house. Nevertheless it is quite clear that this was the universal style in these houses when they were built, and that the original windows were later discarded in favour of the new fashion of sash-windows. Not all of those noticed were sliding sashes. Row 99, Nos. 3 and 4, had on

the ground floor fixed sashes, of which the upper half was hinged to open like a fan-light. At least one other example of this type of window was noticed. The insertion of sash-windows had the result of narrowing the area of glass, since the older windows were often wider than the new, and the alleged lack of light in the Row houses, which was one of the reasons for condemning them as dwellings, was due in no small measure to this change of fashion in the eighteenth century. The jambs of the older openings were often to be seen as straight joints in the wall-face (pl. LIII, e). Only a few existing sashes had wide saddle-bars.

This is the plan of the typical Row house in Great Yarmouth. It was noticed in many dozens of cases in 1943 and must still have existed in many hundreds of others. The chief points of interest, apart from the small size, are the through passage from front door to back door and the winding stair beside the fire-place. Whilst the latter is a matter of convenience or common sense in confined quarters, the former seems to have more significance. For it can be none other than a miniature version of the normal screens passage of a medieval hall. The layout is typical, with a passage from front to back, and a screen in which is a doorway into the principal room. At the far end of the room is a stair to an upper room, in this case a bedroom rather than a solar and directly overhead. The correspondence is clear, although restricted for lack of space, and needs no further emphasis. Parallels in other towns are difficult to find in publications, but the present writer believes that diligent search would find them and would establish this as the normal plan of the smallest town house of the period.

A further point of interest is that the Great Yarmouth houses illustrate also the disuse of this style. Row 99, Nos. 3 and 4 (fig. 1), had the staircase beside the fire-place and had little staircase windows, but there was no through passage, as is clear from the position of the doorways, which are original. The date of this pair of houses, known now to be the year 1651, is significant. The plan of Row 101, Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8, is similar (fig. 4), and the style of their walling, a sophisticated variety of Type III (see below) (pl. LVII, a), strongly suggested a date in the second half of the seventeenth century. A parallel case is that of the houses of North Street, Folkestone,[1] which by their style were certainly after 1650. In plan none of them had a through passage of the Great Yarmouth type.

It seems, therefore, quite clear that by the time of the Commonwealth, in Great Yarmouth and perhaps also elsewhere, the last piece of medieval house planning had been abandoned. The Middle Ages had ended.[2]

B. STYLES OF BUILDING

Remains of medieval houses are excessively rare in the Row area. Apart from a few half-timbered buildings, mentioned below, and a few scraps of walling, the two vaulted undercrofts, one under Nos. 36 and 37 Howard Street South and the other formerly under Row 138, No. 12, and the last vestiges of a similar vault under the former Turk's Head Inn in Middlegate Street are the only certain traces of such houses which have so far been located.

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[1] *Antiq. Journ.* xxix, 8–12.
[2] The appearance of the coinage supports this assertion. The coins of Cromwell look modern; those of Charles I have a distinctly medieval appearance.

There is, however, some evidence that the medieval buildings, apart from some on the main frontages, were predominantly half-timbered. Occasionally in that part of the Row area which was closely examined, there were found chimney-stacks or other parts of buildings entirely of small yellow or pinkish-yellow bricks (pl. LIII, *a*). The north gable end of Row 123, No. 3, was of this type from the eaves upwards. A back addition to the south-western corner of Row 117, No. 22, which was of Type III seventeenth-century walling, had been added to a chimney-stack built entirely of yellow brick. A more instructive example occurred in the back (i.e. north) wall of No. 152A Middlegate Street, where there was some walling of small yellow bricks, into which a typically early-seventeenth-century, five-light, mullioned and transomed window had been inserted. The red-brick filling between the yellow bricks and the wooden jamb of the window was most noticeable. Again, at a house in Row 108, a complete gable end of Type III seventeenth-century work had been built against and on three sides clasping a complete chimney-stack of yellow brick.

Notwithstanding instances of yellow-brick walling built against definitely seventeenth-century work, perhaps with re-used yellow bricks, it seems clear from the last two cases of the preceding paragraph that in certain cases normal early-seventeenth-century houses were built on to and incorporating earlier features of yellow brick. It is perhaps significant that these early features were usually chimney-stacks, which were often the only parts of medieval buildings not built of timber. As there is no record of a conflagration, such as might have consumed much of a timber-built town, there is a possibility that the order of 1571, prohibiting houses made of board or covered with reed, did indeed cause the demolition of timber-framed buildings except for their chimney-stacks and the erection of new walling on the old foundations, using the old stacks again.

If this theory is correct, it may be added to the evidence of walling, which seems to be older than the seventeenth century in the Row area, in order to indicate that in all probability the layout of the Rows is medieval in origin. The total of the evidence is very scanty, but it seems to be just sufficient for the purpose.

As Manship says, the materials of the new houses of his time are flint and brick. As already mentioned, timber-framed buildings are very rare. In Kitty Wiche's Row and occasionally elsewhere there are, or were, houses with the first floor over-hanging, but in the whole of the area bounded by South Quay and Middlegate Street no single example of timber-framed front wall has been seen by the present writer (pl. LVII, *c*).

The use of flint and brick does, however, lend itself to variety of treatment, ranging from the exclusive use of flint, through various combinations of flint and brick, to the exclusive use of brick. To a certain extent this range does of itself correspond with the chronological development of style from medieval to modern times. But since the period under review was one of transition, when the old mingled freely with the new, it is not possible to be categorical in attributing undated houses to particular decades solely from their style of construction. The styles are, nevertheless, very useful as an approximate guide, and from dated examples a fair idea can be obtained of the prevailing fashion during the period 1590–1650.

I. Undoubtedly the finest style in the town is that of façades of square flints, set closely together in courses. Window and door dressings are normally of ashlar, set

flush with the flint facing. Other towns have this style; Lowestoft has a notable example, Flint House, in High Street, which is dated 1586. Flint facing of this kind is, of course, common in medieval buildings in East Anglia, and there need be no surprise that it persisted to grace some of the early-seventeenth-century buildings of Yarmouth. The best example in the town, the Duke's Head Hotel, dated 1609, has very fine work of flints, mostly 2½–3 in. square (pl. LII, a and pl. LIII, c). There do not seem to be any other dated examples of this style in Yarmouth, but some other houses with squared flint façades have other features which place their houses in the early seventeenth century. No. 47 South Quay, for instance, has at first floor a moulded plaster ceiling of that period. Another example, now Nos. 55, 56, and 57 George Street, has ashlar kneelers surmounted by much abraded stone balls or similar features. Other examples of this type of façade occur at the Star Hotel, at No. 75 South Quay, at No. 55 North Quay, and at Nos. 28 and 29 Middlegate Street. None of these houses has flints so small as those of the Duke's Head Hotel—they normally measure about 4 in. or more square—nor are they so well coursed as in that case, but there can be no doubt that all these buildings should be classed together as products of the earlier part of the seventeenth century or earlier.

II. Another distinctive style is that of façades which have square flints, with occasional red bricks laid as headers, and with galletting in the joints. The flints are seldom so well squared as in the preceding class of houses, nor is the coursing perfect. Save in the possession of galletting of a pronounced type, this style is little different from the normal late medieval masonry of Yarmouth, which contains scattered red bricks as well as pieces of ashlar amongst the flints (pl. LIII, b). Galletting does, indeed, occur in medieval buildings elsewhere according as it is required by the building material available, but pronounced use of it for effect, as in the style under review, does seem to be a feature of the sixteenth century. It occurs, for instance, at Walmer Castle, Kent, c. 1540. This suggestion of a medieval style, modified by the practice of the sixteenth century, is fully borne out by the only dated example of a house in this class so far found in Yarmouth. It was Nos. 117 and 118 Middlegate Street, which was dated by iron ties 1591, and was the earliest dated house known in the town (pl. LIV, a). It is unfortunate that the whole of the surviving façade, i.e. at first-floor level, had been renewed round all the windows, which were altered in the eighteenth century. The quoins of the building, of red brick, were, however, original. The same style occurs at Row 111, No. 8, which has four two-light mullioned and transomed windows with ovolo-moulding, as well as beams and other features of c. 1600 (pl. LII, c and pl. LIII, d). The south wall of No. 43 South Quay was in the same style, as was the north wall of No. 46 North Quay, at least in part.

IIA. A variant of this style, square flints and occasional red headers but without galletting, occurred in the façade of Nos. 2 and 3, Row 118 (pl. LII, b). All the dressings were in red brick. In the south wall of No. 130A Middlegate Street the quoins were of ashlar.

III. By far the commonest style of the period in Yarmouth is that which uses dressed but not squared flints, beach pebbles, usually whole and small or medium in size, and red bricks as headers—anything, in fact, which lay ready to hand. Sometimes the masonry is roughly coursed and quoins of red bricks are normal (pl. LIII, e; pl. LIV, c

and pl. LV, *b*). There is nothing medieval in this style. It reflects the conditions of a time when the demands of an expanding building trade far exceeded the supply of normal materials. Bricks were clearly not yet plentiful and cheap, and poorer clients or builders had of necessity to use inferior materials. But for a lavish use of lime mortar there would not have been many samples of houses of this style remaining at the present time. In actual fact walls of this type form a very large proportion of the walls of the whole Row area, and must rank as typical of Manship's time. The earliest dated example so far noted is a very much mutilated building behind No. 54 South Quay, which has metal ties with foliate ends, giving 156–,[1] the last figure being hidden by an adjacent building or perhaps lost (pl. LIV, *b*). The type was ascertainable where cement had fallen away.

Variants of this style also occur. Sometimes they are so distinctive as almost to constitute a style of their own. The masonry may be well coursed, with alternate bricks and pebbles in every course, giving a chequered effect as in Row 99, No. 5, and Row 101, Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8, which by their plan are attributed to the later seventeenth century (pl. LVII, *a*). Elsewhere the red headers are laid as a diaper with infilling of pebbles (pl. LVII, *b*). These methods give the impression that they were used in imitation of the entirely red-brick houses of Type IV, yet to be described, which sometimes include diapers or other patterns in black or grey headers (pl. LIII, *f*. See also pl. LV, *a* and *c*).

IV. Finally, there are the façades which are built entirely of brick, normally red, but sometimes with patterns in grey or black headers. They are built in Old English bond. The pattern may be a diaper, but other designs occur, such as the diamonds of one header, one stretcher, three headers, one stretcher, one header, in descending courses, formerly on the east wall of No. 43 South Quay. The best dated house of the style is No. 25 South Quay, a double house, both parts of which are of red brick (pl. LVIII, *a*). The back part, which has diaper pattern in black headers as well as moulded brick pediments over the four windows in its eastern wall, bears the date 1644 (pl. LX, *b*). The same date appears over its outer doorway on Row 108. Clearly at that date this was a fine new house of large size, and it may be taken as typical of the new fashion just before and during the Civil War; but how much earlier than this houses of the style had been built in the town it is impossible to say. Nos. 86 and 87 George Street, in the same style, were dated by iron ties to 1638 (pl. LVI, *a* and *b*), and Nos. 15 and 17, Row 118, to 1636.

It seems clear from this relation of styles and dated examples thereof that the common style of Type III was used throughout the first half of the seventeenth century and even later in sophisticated examples. On the other hand, the finer styles which hark back to the middle ages, such as squared flint and galletting, occur only in the first decade or two of the century, whilst the new style of building, entirely of red brick, is noted first from dated examples of 1636 or 1637 and 1638. It has already been remarked that 1638 happens to be the date of the first recorded brick house in Jamestown, Virginia, U.S.A.[2] Similar red brick was used for quoins in the gun embrasures of Fort Amsterdam, Kormantin, Gold Coast, built by the English in 1631.[3]

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[1] During demolition it was found that the '9' was really a reversed '6'.
[2] Information from Mr. J. C. Harrington, National Park Service of the U.S.A.
[3] Claridge, *History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, II*, 600.

C. THE PLAN OF THE TOWN IN 1650

The area shown on the restored plan of 1650 (pl. LXVI) is that part of the Row area which seemed susceptible of such treatment. To north and to south of this part there had been considerable devastation by enemy action, and very little stood above ground by 1943. In other parts of the Row area more recent rebuilding for commercial purposes had destroyed many of the Row houses. Although many still remained and remain, there are insufficient to provide the evidence required for the present purpose.

The early-seventeenth-century houses still standing in 1943, when the survey was carried out, are shown on the plan by cross-hatching. Occasionally a single wall of early-seventeenth-century type stood in 1943 as evidence for the former existence of a building of that date. Such buildings are indicated on the plan by hatching. Other buildings which no longer existed in 1943 but almost certainly existed in 1650 are shown dotted. They are restored from a manuscript plan of the town, entitled 'ΕΧΧΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ sive nova & accurata Gariannoni Tabula ab Henrico Swinden 1738', which now hangs in the Borough Engineer's office in the Town Hall, and the relevant part of which is reproduced (pl. LXIV), by permission of the Corporation. It is argued that by 1650 no part of the main frontages on to South Quay and Middlegate Street is likely to have remained vacant. Consequently houses on these frontages which are shown on the 1738 drawing, but no longer exist, have been restored on this plan in the form shown in the 1738 drawing. Blocks of houses along the Rows have been restored on the plan from the 1738 drawing in the light of experience gained during the survey, but they should be regarded as indicating a maximum density. There may well have been fewer houses in 1650 than are here shown; there cannot have been more unless one makes the unlikely assumption that houses built by 1650 had been demolished by 1738.

Of necessity, in these restored blocks along the Rows no division between individual houses has been possible. Amongst the buildings extant in 1943 lines through the hatching indicate boundaries of houses and give an idea of the prevalence of the small houses already described. The south side of Row 123 shows the contrast in this respect. Boundary or garden walls were sometimes discernible; where known to be of the early seventeenth century they are shown on the plan as plain black lines.

A perusal of this restored plan will show that, when first built in this manner, the Row houses had plenty of light and air. The buildings situated at the western end of the space between Rows 108 and 111 may be taken as typical. Two large houses fronted South Quay, Nos. 23 and 24, the former being a curious double house, of which the eastern part is dated 1644 (pl. LVIII, a and pl. LX, b). Down Row 108 stood a pair of Row houses, a little larger than some and no longer standing. From the party wall between No. 23 and No. 24 South Quay eastward runs a garden or boundary wall, which twists and then joins the north-western corner of the next block of houses, now called Row 111, Nos. 7 and 8, which face westwards on to the back of the houses fronting on to South Quay. Since, however, the rear portion of No. 23 has its façade facing eastwards and is decorative, the whole ensemble is a pleasant composition. It is typical of what must have been the appearance of much of the Row area in 1650. The con-

tinued occupation of these two houses on South Quay, and the acquisition by the Ministry of Works for preservation as an ancient monument of Row 111, Nos. 6, 7, and 8, has ensured the continued existence, almost in its original condition, of this small piece of the Row area.

Later plans show the progressive building-up of the spaces which, deliberately or otherwise, were left vacant in the town of *c.* 1650. Swinden's plan of 1738 shows a few more houses, but this has little bearing on the subject, since much of the plan of *c.* 1650 is based on that of 1738. But a later version of Swinden's plan, issued *c.* 1820, shows much less blank space, whilst on the O.S. maps current in 1939 (pl. LXV) nearly the whole of the area is covered with buildings. Hardly a single house examined in the Rows lacked a back addition for more space, for cooking and sleeping, built in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. Sanitary arrangements had been added, often in awkward places, and many plots vacant in *c.* 1650 or 1738 later received new houses.

Small wonder is it that by 1939 Medical Officers of Health and others had condemned the Row area as unsuitable for human habitation. The fault lay not with the inhabitants or with the builders of the seventeenth-century houses, which were often light and roomy, but with those who later built on their gardens and blocked that light. Theoretically it should have been possible to reverse the process, to remove the later houses, which were seldom of much architectural merit, and the back additions of the seventeenth-century houses. Two of the latter could have been thrown into one, incorporating suitable sanitation and a more convenient staircase. All this could have been done, if the will had been present. But it was not. A portion at least of the Row area could have been preserved in this way, becoming at once a newly attractive area for living in and an object of interest for visitors and others, since it would have been still the only example in the country of a consistently seventeenth-century town. In fact almost all the old buildings have been demolished, and buildings of a new type are being erected.

The origin of the Yarmouth Rows has been a subject of much debate. They have been described as places for drying nets, in spite of their narrowness. They have been described as useful in defence, because their curves prevented the enemy from shooting straight down them, in spite of the fact that many of them are dead straight. Finally, the plan of the town has been compared with that of the bones of a herring, which fish has been responsible for much of Yarmouth's prosperity. The present writer would like to add a breath of fresh air to this controversy by stating that the narrowness of the Rows might be due to a desire on the part of the inhabitants to escape from the prevailing wind, which is a cold one. He has often been glad enough to run for shelter from an icy blast into the comfortably warm and friendly Rows, and woe betide the dwellers in the new buildings which will replace them!

Apart from these futile pleasantries, however, there is a perfectly rational explanation of this apparent problem. Almost any medieval English or Scottish town will furnish examples of narrow passages leading off the main street at frequent intervals between houses. Tewkesbury is a good example of this layout, and Southampton still has a few of these passages, which in medieval documents are there called *venella*. The passages lead to separate properties, humbler than the great houses on the main

street frontage. The same system obtained in Broad Street, Oxford, although there the humbler cottages at the back were later absorbed by extensions of the large house in front. There must be many other examples of this kind of layout, which was normal. St. Andrews is a Scottish example.

The point about the Yarmouth Rows is just that they are the product of this normal system, carried to its logical but unusual conclusion. The passage to houses behind the frontage, which usually peters out into gardens, at Yarmouth runs on to join another passage, made for the same purpose from the next street. The town in its halcyon days, early in the middle ages and again in the seventeenth century, clearly had a teeming population. But it was confined within very narrow limits between the river and the Town Wall, since the spit of gravel on which it stands is very narrow. It had three principal streets, South Quay, Middlegate Street, and King Street, and from all of them narrow passages led off at frequent intervals to provide access to the dwellings of the humbler citizens. Because these dwellings were more numerous than in some other towns, since the population was dense, the passages in Yarmouth were longer than elsewhere. Hence came their joining and the formation of through-passages, which are now known as Rows. As already mentioned (p. 147) there is just sufficient architectural evidence to show that the Rows took their form in medieval times. The absence of any cross-streets earlier than the sixteenth century between South Quay, Middlegate Street, and King Street confirms this conclusion. The present seventeenth-century layout merely follows the medieval pattern, although it is possible that in the middle ages not all the passages were continuous. They may then have been of the more usual type, with extensions made during the period of prosperity from 1570 onwards. A comparison with the plan of the old town of Edinburgh is instructive as a clear indication of the process which is shown in the Rows in its logical conclusion.

D. WALL-ANCHORS AND OTHER IRON-WORK

By J. SEYMOUR LINDSAY, F.S.A.

The Flemish manner is not only apparent in the general form of the buildings but these buildings embody the fundamental principles of Flemish construction, the reason being that the same unstable subsoil conditions obtained in this Yarmouth peninsula as in the Low Countries, where it was expedient to construct a light fabric, knit together by iron cramps into a four-square entity. These cramps or wall-anchors were stapled or spiked to the side of beams, joists, and purlins.

The tie-rod or tang was attached to the side of the beam or joist and passed through the wall, finishing on the outer face in a bar or other motif sufficiently widely spread to give a retaining value (pl. LXI, *a*).

From the simplest to the most elaborate there is a high standard of design and craftsmanship. The most common type is a single billet decorated with incised lines and shaped ends. Much less common among single-bar types is the cotter-pin (pl. LXI, *a*). Another pattern in general use is the billet terminating in an open fleur-de-lis, a detail very popular with Flemish seventeenth- and eighteenth-century smiths (pl. LXI, *a*). With the more important houses wall-anchors became more elaborate, taking

their place as part of the decoration scheme. The less elaborate of the scroll types is shown in pl. LX, c.

The most decorative example is in the form of a merchant's mark (pl. LX, a and pl. LXI, b). This, together with others now lost, was on a house on South Quay, originally a merchant's house but which later became the 'Gallon Can' Public-House. It will be noticed that in addition to the mark and initial it has a prong springing forward and upwards, to which bunting or other colourful decorations were suspended on festive occasions.

The other type that shows a variation of the same theme has a tadpole outline, having a large body and long tail (pl. LXIII, a). Some of this type have the projecting arm finishing in a tulip (pl. LXI, b).

Anchors in the form of numerals giving the date of the building and initials of the owner are well represented in Yarmouth. Their dissimilarity in treatment and design one with the other indicates that they were the work of general smiths and not specialists.

The earliest example is of the later sixteenth century, 156– from a building behind No. 54 South Quay (pl. LIV, b). Seventeenth-century examples are shown in pl. LXI, c and d, and pl. LXII.

Whereas the wall-anchors briefly described are essentially Flemish in design and conception, the internal metal fittings are without exception common English types in general use throughout the country and for the most part factory or specialist made, and, though the work of skilled craftsmen, must be classed as ironmongery.

Some of the hinges seem to show a local characteristic, as, for example, the strap hinges, prototype of our modern cross-garnet, which have a shaped fixing plate of unusual design (pl. LXIII, b).

Many of the latches and handles show great skill both in design and execution, using to full advantage the technique of chamfering and incised lines and punch marks. Latches with hatchet-shaped back-plate are not uncommon. The latch was lifted by a handle and tumbler and returned by a long spring, the largest or fixed end forming a guide for the latch bar.

E. OTHER FITTINGS OF MERIT

Apart from structural features such as different types of walling, including the occasional use or re-use of chimney-stacks in yellow brick, moulded ceiling beams, doorways, and staircase windows, there are a few other details which should be placed on record.

Most of the present chimneys are of modern type, but it seems likely that in the seventeenth century chimney-stacks were crowned with circular chimneys. There were a few examples still extant in 1943, viz. three together at the north-east corner of No. 50 Middlegate Street and another three at the apex of the west gable (patterned Type III walling) of Row 35, No. 10 (pl. LV, d). A pair of round chimneys exists on the back wall of No. 2 South Quay, and at the apex of the north gable of No. 50 South Quay (Upper Ferry Inn) there was the base of one, which has now (1952) been built on to the north gable end of Row 111, No. 7, a house in the care of the Ministry of Works.

In the Row area chiefly studied, i.e. between South Quay and Middlegate Street, only one 'Dutch' gable was noticed, and that a very dilapidated example (pl. LVIII, *d*). The prevalence of tumbled gables (pl. LIV, *d*) suggests that 'Dutch' gables were not in fashion.

A garden or yard wall at Row 125, No. 2, was coped with semicircular bricks above a moulded brick string-course (pl. LVII, *d*). This may have been an original feature of the seventeenth-century dwellings, but no other example of the kind was noticed.

During the progressive destruction of No. 47 South Quay by citizens of Great Yarmouth in search of firewood, a centre mullion of a six-light window, moulded in the form of a caryatid, was found in the back wall. This was subsequently sawn out and removed, and cannot now be found.

During the course of careful repair of the Old White Lion Public House in King Street for Messrs. Lacon Ltd. by their architect, Mr. A. W. Ecclestone, painted jambs were found beside the fire-place of the first-floor back bedroom. They are of early-seventeenth-century type, and were found when an overmantel of the same date was removed. The latter may have been moved to this fire-place from elsewhere in the past.

F. DESCRIPTION OF INDIVIDUAL HOUSES

35 *South Quay* (fig. 12)

This was originally an L-shaped house with main block on South Quay and short 'tail' on Row 123. The main block was entirely rebuilt in the nineteenth century, and much of the ground floor of the 'tail' was remodelled in the eighteenth century, viz. front doorway with projecting keystone, etc., and surrounding brickwork, and plaster ceiling (egg and tongue, etc.) over the main stair, which is itself of this period.

The south wall of the 'tail' was a fine example of seventeenth-century work (see elevation, fig. 12, and pl. LIX, *d*). Its red bricks in Old English bond were often under 2 in. in thickness and very well laid. The cornice was moulded and the brick surround of the first-floor window (four-light, mullioned and transomed) had a cavetto moulding along the head and jambs. The jambs were stopped; the sloping sill was finished with a bull-nose moulding. In this wall there were two decorative iron wall-anchors. The north wall was of Type III, partly reset. Internally, at first floor, apart from the window already mentioned, the only original features left were three ceiling beams, one concealed by later work. During demolition the original walling which remained on the ground floor was seen to be of Type III internally.

49 and 50 *Middlegate Street* (fig. 11)

The front wall was entirely rendered in cement (No. 49) or rebuilt in later brick (No. 50) above modern shop fronts. The north wall (on the Row) had been refaced with eighteenth-century brick. The south wall was obscured by No. 51 and the east wall seemed to be a variant of Type III, but containing more bricks than pebbles. At its southern end there was a little walling of patterned Type III. Much of this wall seemed to have been rebuilt, probably when the front of No. 50 was rebuilt.

Internally, on the ground floor conversion into shops had eliminated all original features except ceiling beams (ovolo-moulded and stopped) of which three remained

in the two houses, with a fourth probably embedded in the modern party wall between Nos. 49 and 50. The northern and southern of these beams ran from front to back of the houses, but the other visible beam showed by its stopped end that it ran only to the breast of the fire-place, which had been blocked. Beside this breast was the winding staircase.

On the first floor the ceiling beams were all visible, except one in No. 50 (destroyed); there had been six beams on this floor, because No. 49 extends here over the Row. One of the beams was stopped short of the back wall because of the staircase and was held by a cross-beam with plain chamfer from the two adjacent beams. One end of the stop-chamfered fire-place lintel was visible in No. 49 on this floor. There was another fire-place, probably original but modernized, in the north gable of No. 49, and beside the staircase there was a cupboard with ventilator above of turned balusters. The stair to the attic had beside it a two-light window with ovolo-moulded mullion.

Row 99, Nos. 3 and 4 (fig. 1)

This pair of houses may well be coeval with No. 5, but they are not of one build in the front wall, since the quoins of Nos. 4 and 5 butt against one another. The front walling of No. 4 is of the same style as No. 5, a variant of Type III; No. 3 has been cement rendered. Wide brick pediments once existed over the windows of No. 4, but only the 'ghosts' of these now remain. The existing windows, narrower than the original, have sashes, those of the ground floor being fixed, with the upper sash hinged at the top. A blocked staircase window is visible on the first floor of No. 4, which has also a front doorcase of Regency style. At ground level there is a blocked opening to the cellar, which has seventeenth-century moulded jambs as well as a larger, later opening. No. 3 has windows with sliding sashes, a front doorcase with eared architrave, and two openings to the cellar, but the smaller one has not got moulded jambs.

Above the first-floor windows of the pair of houses are wall-anchors, giving the date 1651. Some of the 5 has rusted away, but its matrix in the cement rending is quite clear. The last digit was found under the plaster during demolition.

The back wall is of Type III, and is not bonded into the back wall of No. 5.

Internally the houses are alike in their planning. The front door, which from the evidence of the walling cannot ever have been in a different position, admits straight on to the stair and by a turn into the ground-floor rooms. Immediately adjacent in the room is a stair to the cellar. It is a very unusual feature to find the cellar accessible from within the house in these small houses, and perhaps is not to be found in any of earlier date than this pair. Next on the same side of the room is the fire-place and beyond it the back door. In No. 4 this has been blocked, although its chamfered head is still visible, and another doorway made in the middle of the north wall, but in No. 3 it is still in its original position with chamfered and stopped jambs. The ceiling beams are ovolo-moulded and stopped, but the one beside the fire-place is in each house stopped a short way south thereof, as if a lobby once existed inside the room, covering the doorway to the stairs as well as the front door.

The rooms on the first floor are normal except that, as on the floor below, the

ATTIC

FIRST FLOOR

10   5   0   10
FEET

1 0 1   2   3   4   5
METRES

GROUND FLOOR

Nº 4   Nº 3
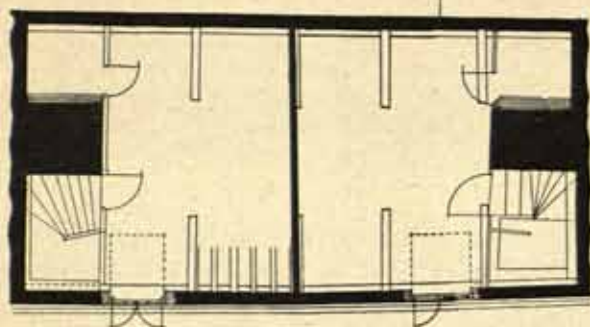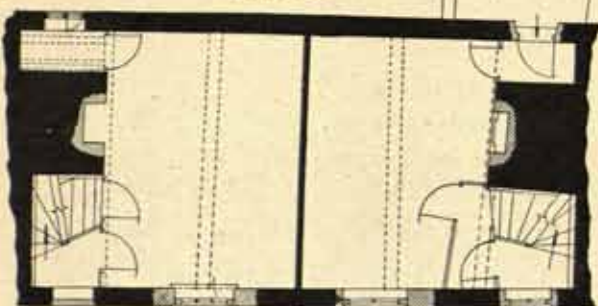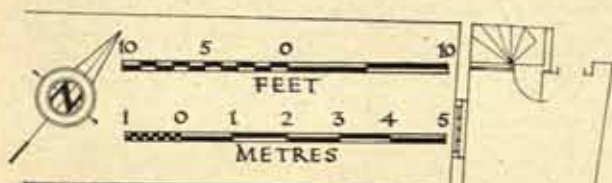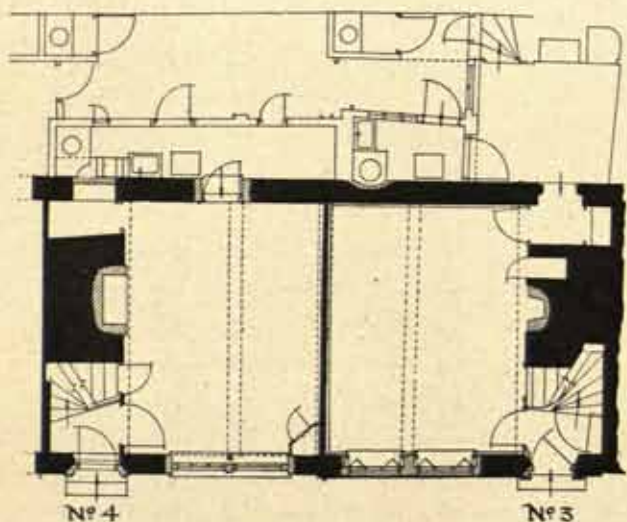
ROW 99

Nº 4   ELEVATION TO ROW 99   Nº 3

FIG. 1. Row 99, Nos. 3 and 4. Original work in black.
(The fourth digit of the date (1) was found during demolition.)
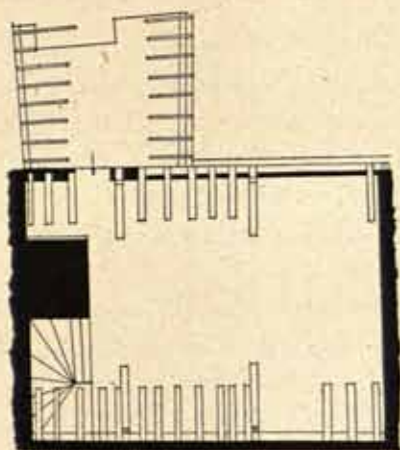
ATTIC PLAN
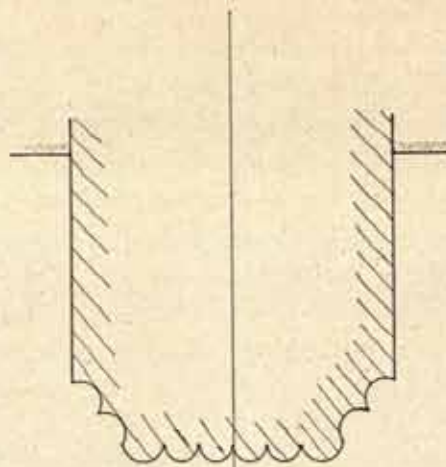
1/6TH FULL SIZE
SECTION THRO' BEAM "A"
IN GROUND FLOOR ROOM

10   5   0   10
FEET

1   0   1   2   3   4   5
METRES

FIRST FLOOR

PASSAGE

Nº 5   ROW 99
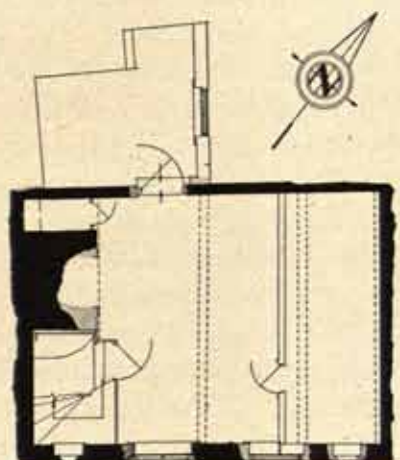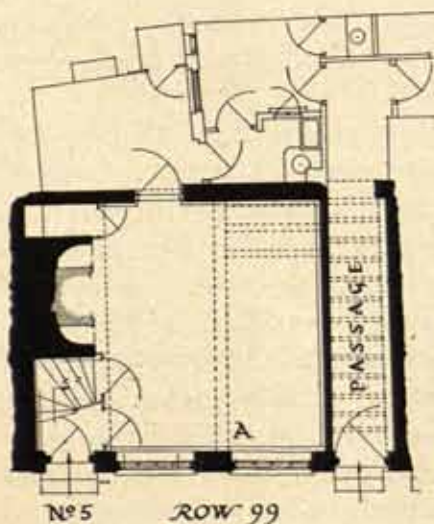
GROUND FLOOR
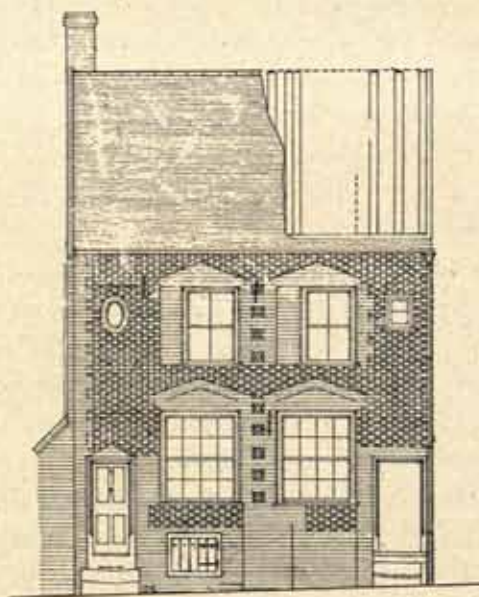
FRONT ELEVATION

Fig. 2. Row 99, No. 5. Original work in black.

moulding of the beam beside the fire-place stops short of the south wall, as if for a lobby. In No. 4 the ovolo-moulded bressummer over the wide original front window is visible, with a moulded and stopped ceiling beam running into it. No. 3 has an eighteenth-century back addition, which has caused the enlargement of the original staircase and cupboard window, but these are visible in No. 4 on the first floor. They did not occur on the ground floor, because these houses were planned differently from those of slightly earlier date.

The attics and roofs are normal, although the collars have no camber. The cellar has a fire-place with wide chamfered and stopped lintel and similarly worked ceiling beams.

Row 99, No. 5 (fig. 2)

The original masonry of the façade is composed of a variation of Type III, pairs of cobbles, alternating with red headers, producing a chequered effect. The quoins are of red bricks in three courses, in-and-out bond, in the usual manner. All four windows had flat pediments over them in moulded brick, but these have all weathered away or been shaved off. The windows now have sliding sashes, the openings of the upper windows being much smaller now than when originally built. The staircase window at first floor is oval, as in Row 101, Nos. 5–8. The other small window on this floor is probably modern. There are two plain iron wall-anchors at first-floor level and one on the ground floor, and there is a normal front doorway with seventeenth-century ovolo-moulded and stopped architrave. The west gable has tumbled brickwork, but this may not be part of the same original work; it is built with a straight joint against the south-western quoin of the house, and both internally and externally some earlier flint walling is seen to be embedded in it. The passage at ground level through the eastern end of the house seems to be an original feature. Its jamb seems to be well finished and it has a doorway like that of the house itself. It probably led originally, as now, to a backyard, common to several of these houses. The walling of the north side of this house is of Type III except for the back addition, which is all of eighteenth-century brickwork.

The door admits directly on to the winding stair, which is divided off from the ground-floor room by plank partitioning of the seventeenth century, in which is a door. The room is of the usual type with fire-place in the west wall, having moulded wooden lintel, now concealed, and a cupboard beside it, with ventilator above which has moulded balusters. The ceiling beam in the centre of the room is richly moulded; the other beside the west wall has the usual ovolo moulding. The back door—in the north wall—admits now to an addition, which is later, both structurally and from its material. The doorway may have been reset; it is of usual seventeenth-century ovolo-moulded type, but it cannot ever have been opposite the front door.

The first floor has a similar doorway in a similar position. The only other features of interest are the oval window on the stairs, which shows no indication of being a later insertion, a plank partition between stair and room, and a ventilator of moulded balusters over the cupboard beside the fire-place.

The roof and attic are normal and have been repaired at some recent time.

Row 101, Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 (figs. 3 and 4 and pl. LVII, *a*)

Both front (south) and back (north) walls of this series of houses are of a patterned Type III, two pebbles alternating with red headers. The quoins are of red brick, in-and-out bond alternating in single courses. There is no plinth or cornice and the dormers are clearly additions. Plain iron wall-anchors are usual between ground and first floor and sometimes also above first floor. The windows lighting the stairs and cupboard are well-proportioned ovals, some being now blocked. All the other windows in the front (south side) are eighteenth-century sashes, but they are all nearly or quite in the position of the original windows, as is shown by the presence of quoins like those at the ends of this block of houses. The front door-cases are all of the eighteenth century except in No. 8, where the architrave is of the seventeenth century and only the hood is later. It is, however, clear that the other three doorways are in the original positions. In the back (north) elevation, where the houses are numbered 27, 26, 25, and 24, Row 100, respectively, all the windows are wide, three-light, mullioned and transomed, with only narrow ovolo-moulding. All are slightly recessed from the wall-face and under a segmental arch. The quoins of the jambs, which resemble those at the ends of the block of houses, show that they are original features of the houses.

Internally, No. 8 has the usual ovolo-moulded ceiling beam and a more elaborately moulded beam close to the fire-place as well as a moulded cornice round the room. The back door has ovolo-moulded and stopped jambs of normal seventeenth-century type; owing to the presence of openings to the cellar it cannot ever have been elsewhere. Thus both front door and back opened into the room on the same side as the fire-place, the former admitting straight on to the staircase. The first floor has normal ovolo-moulded and stopped ceiling beams and both attic and roof have been normal.

The internal arrangements of No. 7 are exactly like those of No. 8 *mutatis mutandis*, save that the ground-floor room has some panelling of *c.* 1700. Nos. 5 and 6 are still inhabited and have not been examined in detail internally.

Row 111, Nos. 7 and 8 (figs. 5 and 6 and pls. LII, *c*; LIII, *d*; LIX, *c* and LX, *e*)

These houses were built at one and the same time, as is shown by the chamfered brick plinth, 24 in. high, which runs the length of their west wall, although being somewhat abraded along No. 7. Yet the walling of one house (No. 8) is superior to that of the other. It is of the style (Type II) which has already been described (p. 148), namely, knapped flints with galletting and occasional ashlars and red-brick headers, and red-brick dressings. This applies only to its west wall. The remaining walling is of Type III, as are the walls of No. 7 except the south wall, which is of red brick in Flemish bond with a good tumbled gable; it has also pilasters with moulded caps at the angles. A joint or fracture close to the south-west quoin of No. 7 suggests, as does its style, that this gable is an addition to an earlier house. The style of knapped flints with galletting is likely to date from *c.* 1600, whereas walls entirely of red brick are more likely to be a generation later. The east wall of No. 8 contains a number of yellow bricks, including some used in the north-eastern quoin. These may be due to a later repair, as is the red-brick top of the west wall of No. 8.

No 8 No 7 No 6 No 5

FRONT ELEVATIONS FROM ROW 101

10 5 0 10
FEET

1 0 1 2 3 4 5
METRES

No 5 No 6 No 7 No 8

BACK ELEVATIONS FROM ROW 99
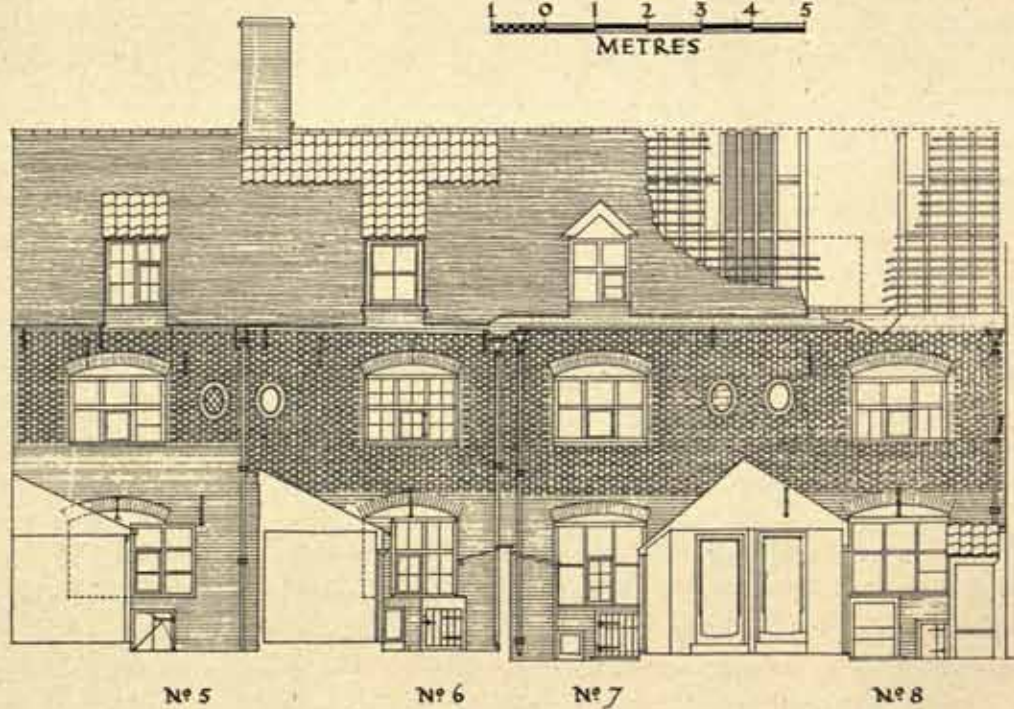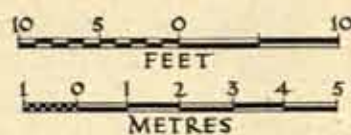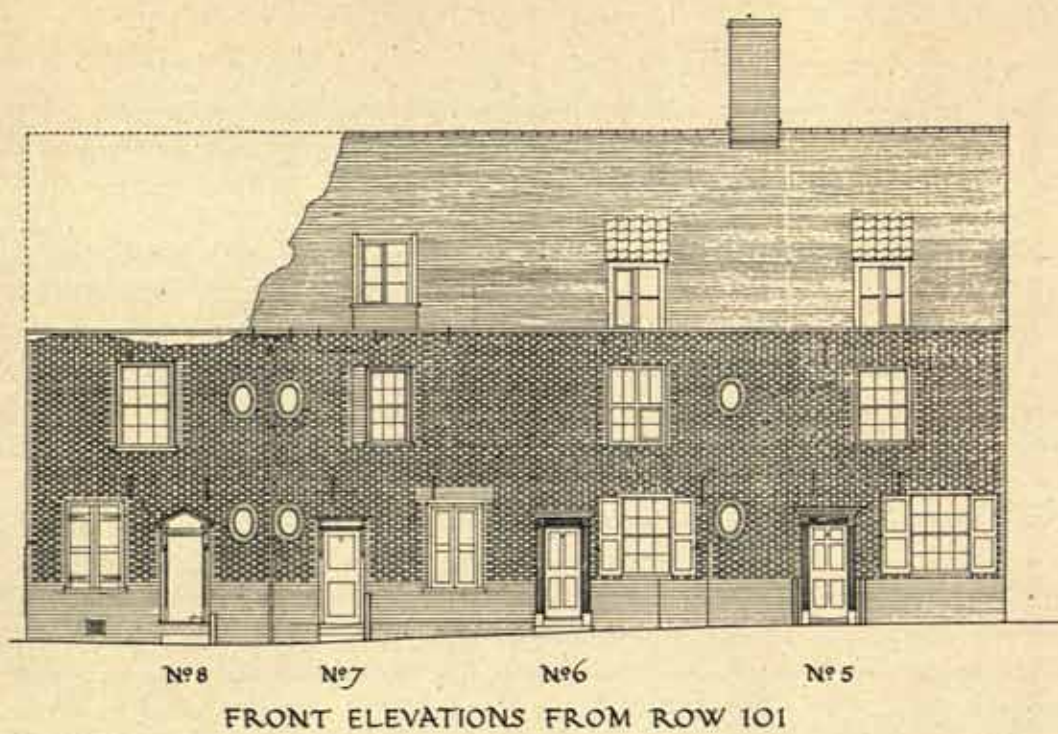
FIG. 3. Row 101, Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8.
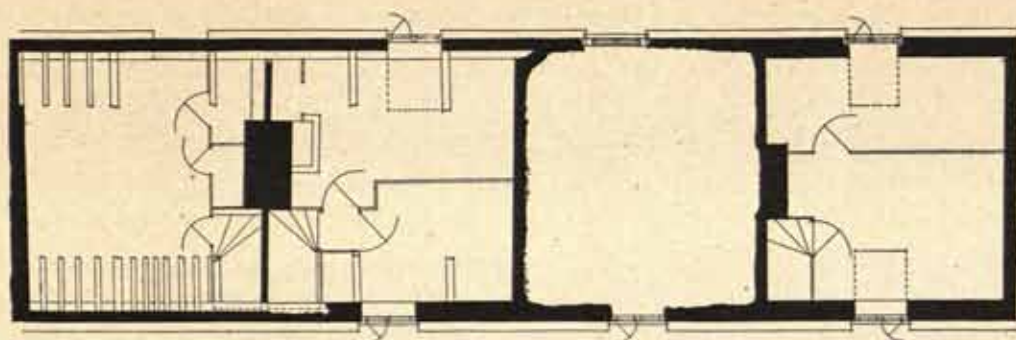
ATTIC FLOOR
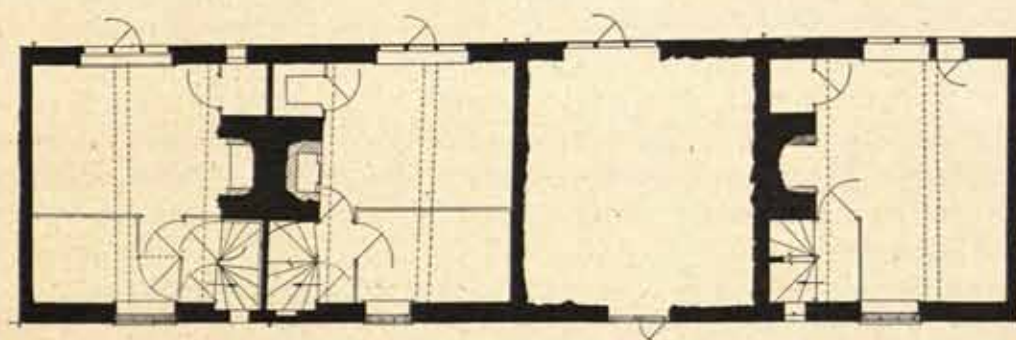
FIRST FLOOR

10 5 0   10   1 0 1 2 3 4 5
        FEET   METRES

ROW 99
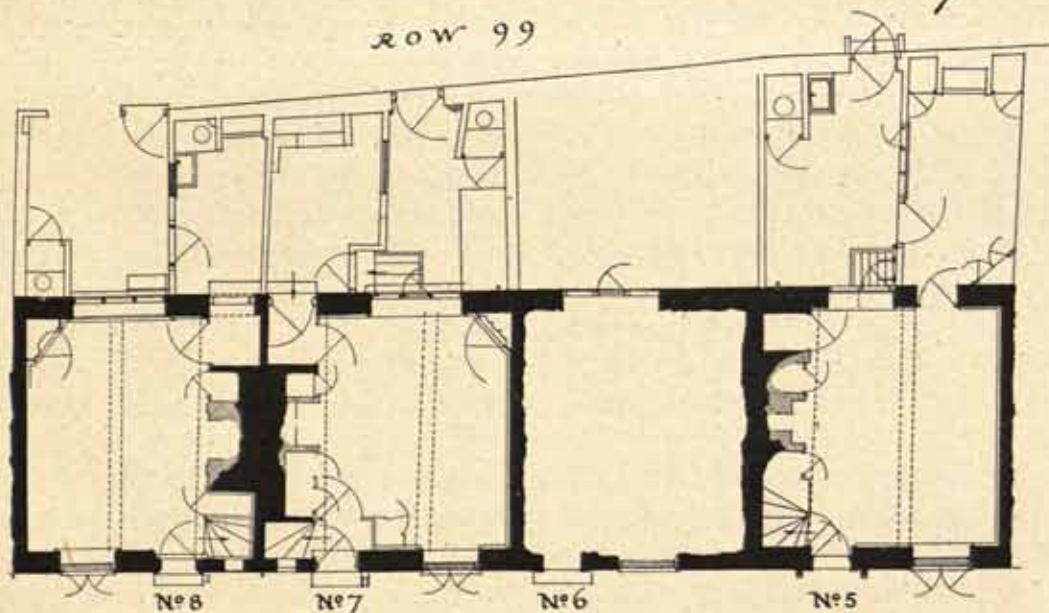
N° 8   N° 7   N° 6   N° 5

ROW 101

GROUND FLOOR

Fig. 4. Row 101, Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8. Original work in black.

The façade of No. 8, i.e. the west wall, is notable not only for its style but also for its complete set of four stair or cupboard windows, actual or blocked, and for its retention in its southern half of original mullioned and transomed windows. On the first floor two of these are intact; on the ground floor one of the pair has been partly mutilated, but will be restored. The other windows in this wall have later sashes. There are no windows in the north or east walls.

The plan of No. 8 is unusual as far as the writer's experience of Great Yarmouth is concerned. It is a double-fronted house. The door, where an eighteenth-century architrave (much ruined and now replaced by another of similar size) conceals seventeenth-century chamfered brick jambs, admits now to a small lobby from which rises a straight stair. This proceeds in two flights to the first floor and by means of two more flights to the attic. This is of comparatively recent date.

Originally there was a back door opposite to the front door. Its doorway, now blocked, forms a recess under the straight stair already described. Between these two doors there must have been a through passage, flanked on each side by plank partitions which no longer remain. Doorways in these partitions led respectively right and left into large rooms. The room on the right still has two seventeenth-century chamfered ceiling beams exposed and, of course, the mullioned and transomed windows already mentioned. From its south-western corner a winding stair beside the chimney rises to the first floor and the attic.

The room to the left of the passage was entirely redecorated in the early eighteenth century with panelling, overmantel, and cornice of appropriate style. The recess in the north-western corner, originally lit by a small window, was now filled with a fine contemporary cupboard with shell hood and shaped shelves, which was concealed by a hinged panel. Much of this panelling has had to be restored because of the depredations of the citizens of Great Yarmouth in search of firewood between the date of bombing and the acquisition of the property by the Ministry of Works. In the north-eastern corner of this room there is now a plain cupboard behind a door in the panelling, but the curved wall-face shows that originally a winding stair connected this room with the room above. It should be noted that this stair did not continue to the attic, as is shown in the cupboard of the first-floor room where the curved wall-face changes to a straight face.

The first-floor southern room contains no features of interest except two chamfered and stopped ceiling beams and the mullioned and transomed windows which have been described. The northern room on this floor has similar ceiling beams, and panelling of two periods on the north wall. The cupboard west of the fire-place has seventeenth-century panelling, with a later door leading to an original cupboard with window of normal type. Over the fire-place itself the overmantel with cornice is of the early eighteenth century, no doubt being coeval with the panelled room below.

The roof is of usual type, but much renewal of timbers has been necessary because of the long exposure of this house to the elements after bombing. This was due to the refusal of the then owner to allow the Ministry of Works to do temporary repairs. He was the only owner in England to refuse such permission.

The interior of No. 7 has nothing of interest now visible except chamfered ceiling

beams, a two-light mullioned and transomed window on the first floor of the east wall, and what may have been the centre mullion of a large window in the east wall on the ground floor. The arrangement of the house seems to have been altered; it is certainly not of the usual type.

Since purchase by the Ministry of Works the north gable of No. 8 has had to be rebuilt because of its insecure condition.

Row 117, Nos. 22, 23, and 24 West, and 24 East (fig. 7)

In these houses there was plentiful evidence of their seventeenth-century origin—beams, doorways, etc.

No. 22 has front (north) walling of brick in mixed bond with black diaper (Type IV var.) and ovolo-moulded brick cornice. There was a kneeler in moulded brick at the north-eastern corner and remains of a Dutch gable at the west (pl. LVIII, d). Altogether this was a spruce and elegant front. The south wall was of Type III. The doorway was of usual double ovolo-moulded type with a newer door, but the two front windows had early sashes (inserted). The two back windows had two two-light mullioned and transomed windows. Ceiling beams were ovolo-moulded and stopped, but the original fire-place was invisible, perhaps destroyed. This house had a brick-paved pathway from front to back door. This was most unusual, as also was the partition between it and the ground-floor room of the house, which was of timber with infilling of thin pink (perhaps re-used medieval) bricks. This elaboration of the normal plank partition may have been an original feature, as also a step up to the room from the brick pathway, but on the other hand they may date from the remodelling of the room in the later seventeenth or early eighteenth century, when the windows were altered. The back doorway was shown to be original by the chamfered inner edge of its lintel.

The stair projected into the room for the two bottom treads with two balusters of late-seventeenth-century type. This must have been part of the same alteration as the new windows. The staircase window was blocked.

The first floor had the usual single room with ovolo-moulded and stopped ceiling beams and had originally in the front (north) wall a two-light mullioned and transomed window, now removed except for the splays and lintel with ovolo-moulded and stopped inner edge. The fire-place had a bolection-moulded surround. The roof was of usual type with three very slightly cambered trusses.

No. 23 had walling of Type III, where visible. All windows were sashed and most of them quite modern, but both the front and back doorways were in situ, ovolo-moulded and stopped, and there was a good plank partition dividing the passage between the doorways from the room. It was not placed centrally under a ceiling beam, which was, as usual, ovolo-moulded. The original fire-place could not be seen.

The stair was usual, with window (blocked). The first-floor room had all fittings (except windows) of the early seventeenth century, viz. ceiling beams, fire-place lintel (still in use but brought forward and reset), with panelling above it complete and also beside it, including plank panelled doors to cupboard and to staircase with cock's head and butterfly hinges. The window-sashes and splays were modern, but over the
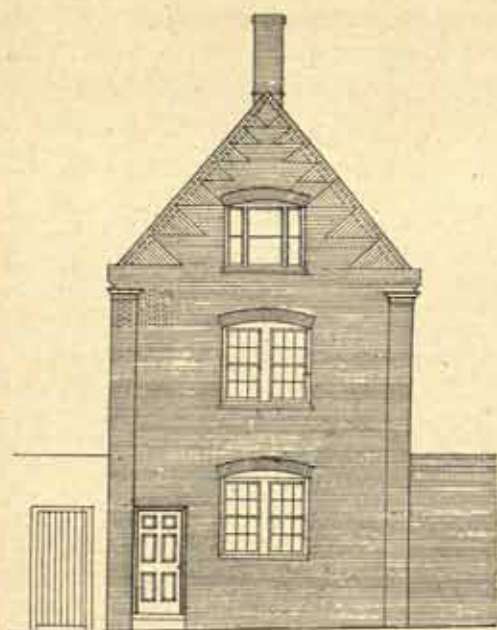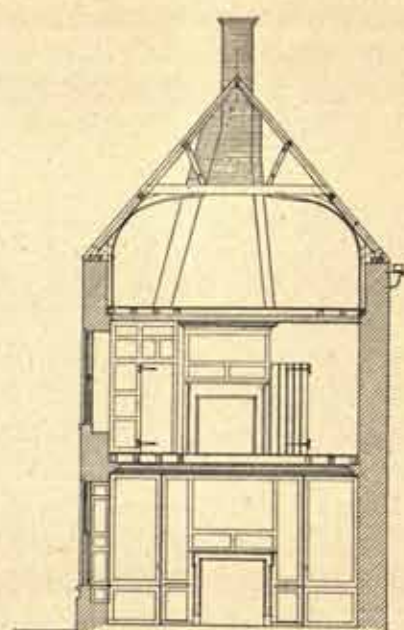
SOUTH ELEVATION   SECTION A-A
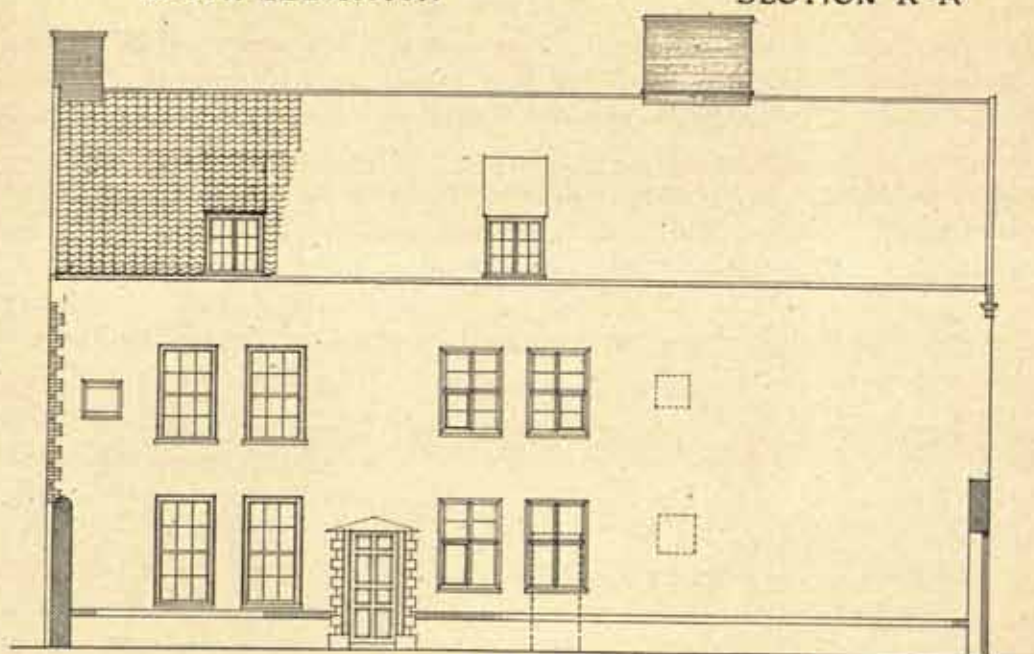
WEST ELEVATION

10   5   0   10   20   30   40   50
SCALE   OF   FEET

1   0   5   10   15
SCALE OF METRES

FIG. 5. Row 111, Nos. 7 and 8.

ATTIC

FIRST FLOOR

10   5   0   10
FEET

1   0   1   2   3   4   5
METRES

Nº 8

Nº 7

ROW 111
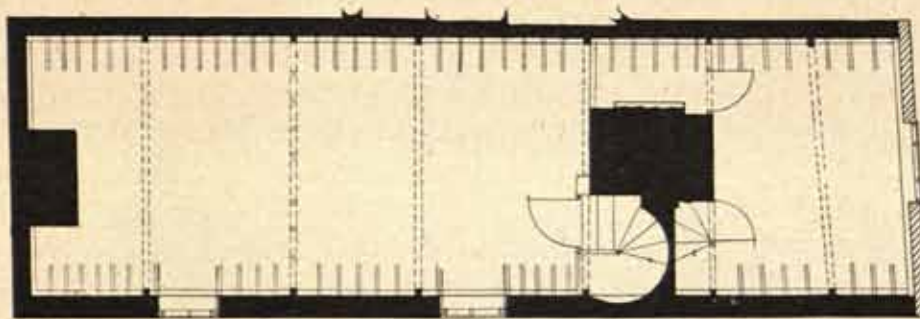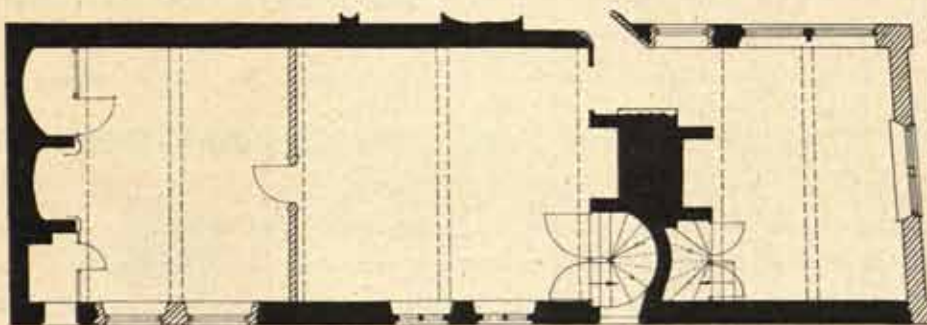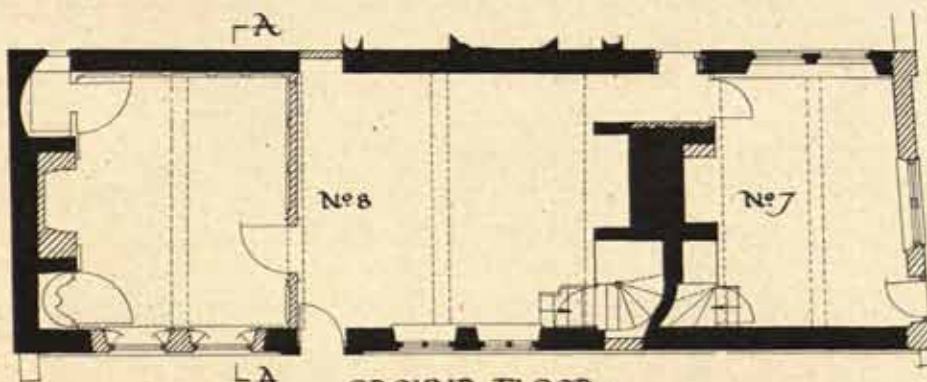
GROUND FLOOR

FIG. 6. Row 111, Nos. 7 and 8. Original work in black.

back window recesses there remained the ovolo-moulded and stopped lintel, 9 ft. or more long, embedded in later walling. On this floor there was an early-seventeenth-century doorway, leading to a back addition, but this from general appearance and by analogy must have been a later insertion.

The roof was of three bays. The staircase window (blocked) existed, also the seventeenth-century door to the attic.

No. 24 West. The ground floor had little to show of antiquity except one stop-chamfered beam. The old fire-place was concealed and even the original doorways, back and front, were obscure; the front doorway appeared to be in its right position, but had been renewed; the back doorway may have been blocked by the addition to No. 23. On the other hand it is possible that this very small house had no through passage and that the back doorway shown on the plan was original. There was a fine corner cupboard with rusticated jambs and head in the south-western corner of this room.

The first-floor room had one stop-chamfered beam and the fire-place had a stop-chamfered lintel, but its position and surrounding brickwork suggest that it had been rebuilt. Externally a blocked square window in the north wall (not on the plan) must have lighted an original cupboard.

The attic was of usual type and the roof was continuous with the other houses of this row.

No. 24 East had a back doorway of the early seventeenth century, but the front doorway had been renewed and no plank partition remained. There were two ovolo-moulded and stopped ceiling beams, but the windows had been altered except that at the sides of the inserted sash-window at the back there were jambs with ovolo-moulding which may have been in use. There appeared to be a fire-place lintel of usual type (7 ft. wide between stops) in the west wall, but put in at the southern end of the wall, not, as usually, in the centre. The semicircular stair had disappeared long ago, but must have once existed on the northern side of the fire-place.

The first floor was recently entered only from the next house to the west (24 West), but that it once had a normal staircase was shown by the head of the cupboard north of the fire-place in the first-floor room, which was that of a staircase. A blocked staircase window was visible externally (not on the plan). This room had two ovolo-moulded and stopped beams and a similarly moulded lintel-head over the back window, which had had sashes inserted. The fire-place had a stop-chamfered lintel, coloured scarlet, 4 ft. 6 in. long between stops. Some of the beams also showed scarlet colour.

The stair to the attic had a window (blocked) and the roof had the usual cambered trusses.

Row 118, Nos. 2, 3, and 4 (figs. 8 and 9 and pl. LII, *b* and LIX, *a*)

Although Nos. 2 and 3 were an obvious pair, the exact contemporaneity of No. 4 with the others was by no means certain before the examination of the wall junctions. This examination showed conclusively, however, that the front wall of all three houses was of one build, with the party wall between Nos. 3 and 4 only roughly bonded into

ATTIC

FIRST FLOOR

N° 24   N° 24 N° 23   N° 22

ROW 117

GROUND FLOOR
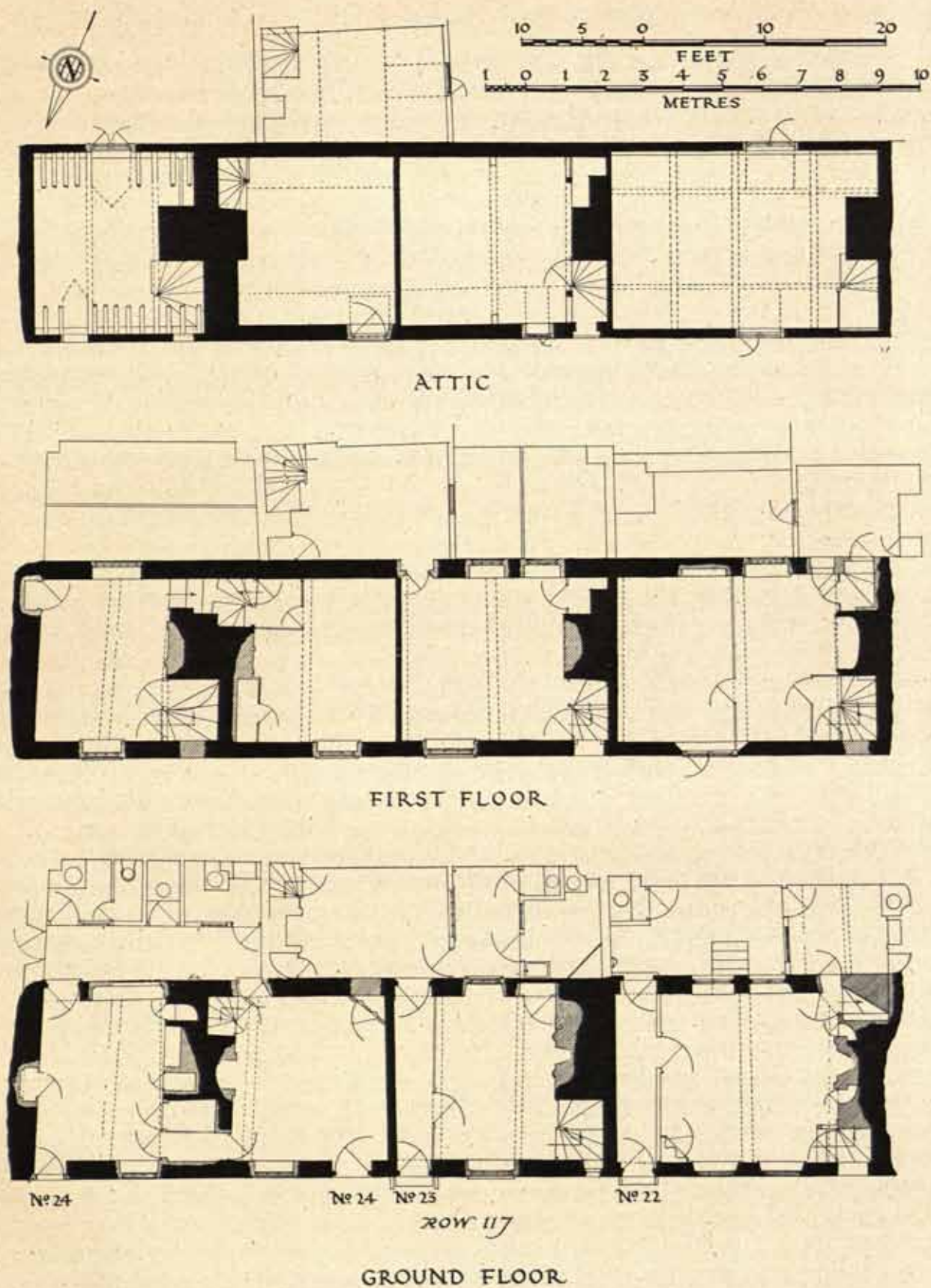
FIG. 7. Row 117, Nos. 22, 23, and 24 (twice). Original work in black.

it and into the back wall. This conclusion is interesting, because No. 4 had walling inferior in type to that of Nos. 2 and 3, as will be explained below.

Nos. 2 and 3 had the front wall done in squared, coursed flints, averaging about 3 in. square, with door and window dressings done in chamfered red brick, and quoins and kneelers in the usual seventeenth-century red brick style. The doorways were close together and were originally set within a single panel, bordered by a chamfered brick surround. This had been partly obscured by the addition in the eighteenth century of a doorhead on brackets. Similarly, in the eighteenth century sash-windows were inserted within the chamfered brick recesses, which must originally have held mullioned and transomed seventeenth-century windows. The chamfers were still visible on each side of the ground-floor windows, but on the first floor they were only visible in No. 3 and then not in the middle of the house, where later red-brick walling showed that rebuilding or at least refacing was necessary when the sash-windows were inserted. Three of the four staircase windows were well preserved, the fourth (ground floor of No. 2) having been blocked. Its lintel was visible inside, and even outside its position was indicated by cracks in the filling. No. 2 still had a moulded brick cornice, but the uppermost part of the façade of No. 3 was rebuilt when its roof was renewed in modern times.

No. 4 had been thickly rendered with cement, which also covered the end nine inches of No. 3 and had eighteenth-century ground-floor windows with modern sashes and an eighteenth-century doorway head added to the front door, as had Nos. 2 and 3. The first-floor windows were modern.

The walling of the gable ends of this row of houses was not visible, but the back (north) wall of No. 4 was of Type III, as was the internal face at least of the front wall. So also was the ground-floor back walling of Nos. 2 and 3, but above this the wall was of half-timbered construction with sixteen uprights and red-brick infilling. Under the eaves of No. 2 there was preserved a piece of a once continuous wooden fillet, triangular in section.

Internally, No. 2 had as original features the normal single room on each floor with an attic in the roof space and a cellar, which here had chamfered beams to support the ground floor. The back doorway, like the front doorway, had the normal early-seventeenth-century moulding, and the passage between them was bordered by the usual plank partition. The lintel over each doorway was finished flush with the inner wall-face by means of an ovolo-moulded beam which was common to Nos. 2 and 3, i.e. it ran through the party wall between the houses and was stopped at both ends, so that one stop appeared in each house.

The back room on this floor, as on the floor above, was not an original feature of the house. Its walling was of a different character from that of the main part of the house and appeared to be of eighteenth-century or later brick. It formed a clear straight joint with the main house wall both on this floor and on the first floor. It follows that the doorway from the front room on each floor was a later insertion.

On the ground floor there were two ovolo-moulded and stopped ceiling beams in the usual positions. The fire-place had been modernized, but above the grate there was an ovolo-moulded and stopped lintel of the original fire-place. There was no large cup-

board beside it away from the Row, but on the Row side there was a normal winding staircase which was originally lighted by a two-light mullioned window, similar to the three then still in use in this pair of houses. It was blocked externally, but the chamfered and stopped lintel was visible within.

The first floor also originally had only one room. The wall between it and the similar room of No. 3 was but a stud partition with six timbers and brick infilling. It was 5 in. thick, like the north wall of the houses. In the latter the last two uprights at the eastern end of the wall were farther apart than the others. This feature occurred also in No. 3 and may have indicated the original position of a window. Later, this wider space was used for a doorway to the eighteenth-century addition. The fire-place on this floor was modern, but behind it there was an ovolo-moulded and stopped lintel, 43 in. long, above an opening 36 in. wide between plain brick jambs.

The roof which was visible in the attic was of normal seventeenth-century type with three collar-beam trusses. The dormer windows were later insertions of inferior workmanship. Between this and the attic of No. 3 there was a stud partition with five uprights and brick filling.

No. 3 resembled No. 2 very closely *mutatis mutandis*. The staircase windows both still served their purpose. There was an original cupboard beside the ground-floor fire-place, which itself was modern but concealed an ovolo-moulded lintel, and the back doorway was still *in situ* with plank partition between it and the front door. The roof had been entirely renewed in quite recent times, and was slightly lower than the original roof.

In this house the back rooms were more plainly later additions even than in No. 2. On the ground floor the straight joints between their wall and the main wall of the house were very clear, and the door to the back room on the ground floor was a plain insertion. On the first floor also straight joints were clear. On this floor the original fire-place was preserved behind a modern grate.

No. 4 was a similar single-roomed house, but smaller than Nos. 2 and 3. No back door was visible and one may never have existed. There was also no plank partition in the ground-floor room. The fire-place was modern, but an ovolo-moulded lintel existed behind it. The staircase was on the side away from the Row and its two windows were extant but blocked. On the first floor the cupboard beside the fire-place was originally lighted by a small window of usual type, which was blocked. A doorway of seventeenth-century type admitted to a room north of this room, but it must have been a later insertion, because the evidence of straight joints and later type of walling showed that the back rooms were added long after the original house was built. This evidence was visible on both floors, and in each case the doorways to the back rooms were plain insertions into earlier walling. The first-floor fire-place, which was modern, concealed an ovolo-moulded original lintel. Above the front window recesses on this floor there was a wooden lintel with ovolo moulding and stops. It was almost certainly a continuous lintel, since only one stop occurred by each window, but it is uncertain whether it was the head of a recess for one large or two smaller original windows in the seventeenth century.

The roof had two collar-beam trusses.
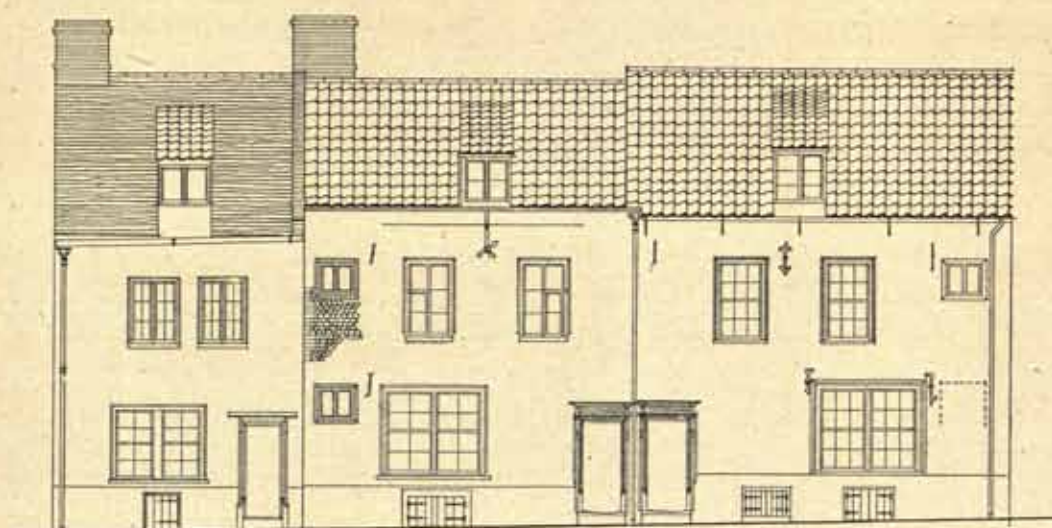
N° 4   N° 3   N° 2

SOUTH ELEVATIONS
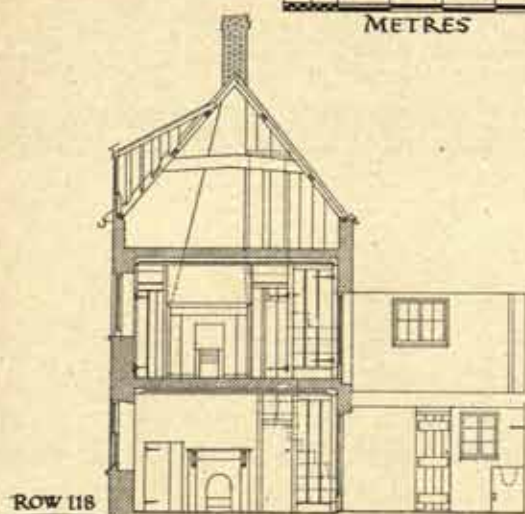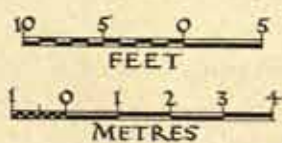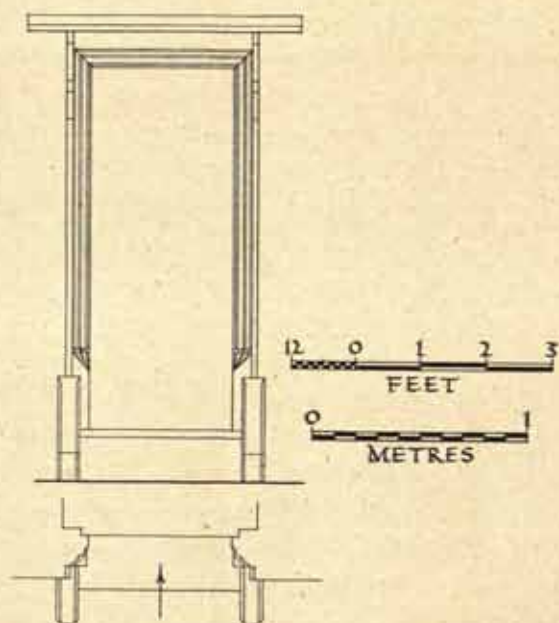
SECTION AT A·A   ENTRANCE DOOR TO N° 4

FIG. 8. Row 118, Nos. 2, 3, and 4.

ATTIC FLOOR

FIRST FLOOR

10   5   0   10. 1   0   1   2   3   4   5
        FEET   METRES

ROW 118

No 4   No 3   No 2

GROUND FLOOR
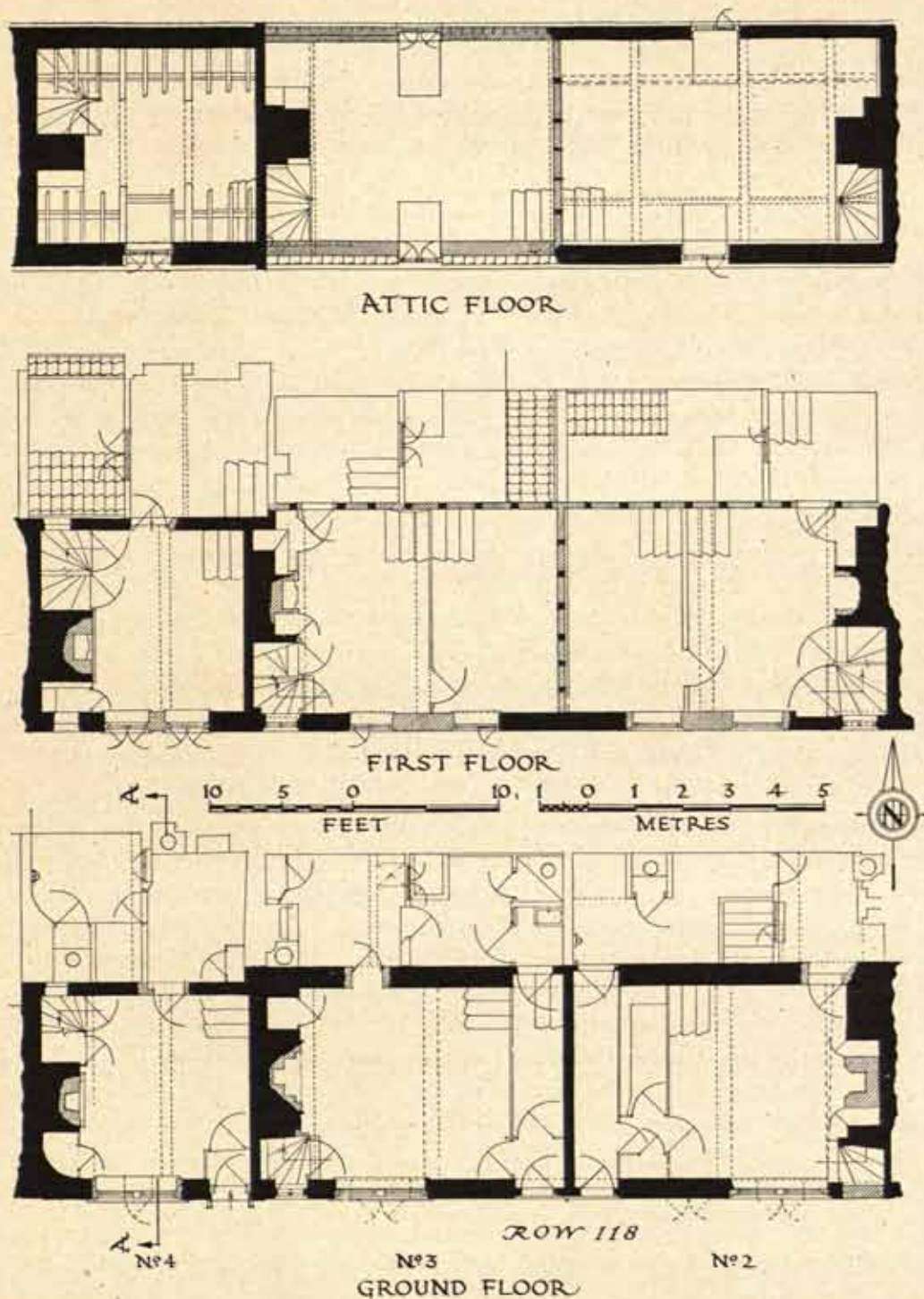
FIG. 9. Row 118, Nos. 2, 3, and 4. Original work in black.

Row 118, Nos. 15, 16, and 17

(NOTE. These houses were destroyed before plans could be made.)

These houses were a pair of early-seventeenth-century houses with date in iron ties 1636, the first 6 having been lost (pl. LXI, *d*). The front (north) wall seemed to be of Type II, perhaps altered in the eighteenth century, but the back wall was of Type III, altered in many places.

No. 15 was a good example of these Row houses, although its number was latterly upon an inserted front door; its original door led then to No. 16. The doorway and door were complete, with an eighteenth-century hood added to the former. This admitted to a complete passage leading to the back doorway, which had a later seventeenth-century fanlight. The passage was flanked by a plank partition on each side. The one to the east divided this house from the next (No. 17) throughout the life of the houses. The other had an opening through it into the ground-floor room of No. 15, and was fitted into a slot in the ovolo-moulded and stopped ceiling beam. The original fire-place in this room had been concealed and the staircase to the first floor blocked in favour of one in a later back addition, but by analogy with No. 17 it must once have been on the north side of the stack. No original windows remained in this house.

No. 16 in this Row was the back addition to No. 17, entered off the Row by the original doorway of No. 17, which has already been described. In spite of the small size of No. 17 it did not seem that this back addition was contemporary with it.

No. 17 had an original doorway, but it had been reset too near the fire-place to be correct. Evidence of the front walling showed that it probably once stood close to the partition between this house and No. 15. In the back wall cracks in the brickwork suggest that a back doorway once stood opposite to the front doorway. The ground-floor room contained two ovolo-moulded ceiling beams, an original fire-place—later reduced in width, as usual—with an ovolo-moulded and stopped lintel, evidence of a cupboard window in a stop-chamfered lintel south of the fire-place, where latterly there was a doorway to a back addition, and the usual stair with a single-light window.

On the first floor there was a plank partition between it and No. 15, two ovolo-moulded ceiling beams, one over the fire-place, but, as on the ground floor, no original windows. Above the fire-place there was some panelling, placed face to the wall under canvas and wallpaper, and to the south of the fire-place a cupboard with original small two-light window. Original panelling formed the side of this cupboard to the room, and over the door, which was modern, there was a ventilator formed by the use of ten balusters, 15 in. high. This was all framed up between moulded boards similar to the panelling below and must have been original.

The roof of this pair of houses was of the usual type with slightly cambered trusses.

Row 123, Nos. 5 and 6 (fig. 10)

The reference of these houses to the early seventeenth century is made in the first instance solely on the internal fittings together with the roof slope, since the visible walls (south and east) of No. 5 were cement rendered and the front wall at least of No. 6 was rebuilt (and incidentally made thinner) in modern times to match No. 7, which

ATTIC

FIRST FLOOR

GROUND FLOOR

N

10   5   0   10
FEET

1 0 1 2 3 4 5
METRES

Nº6 Nº5   ROW 123
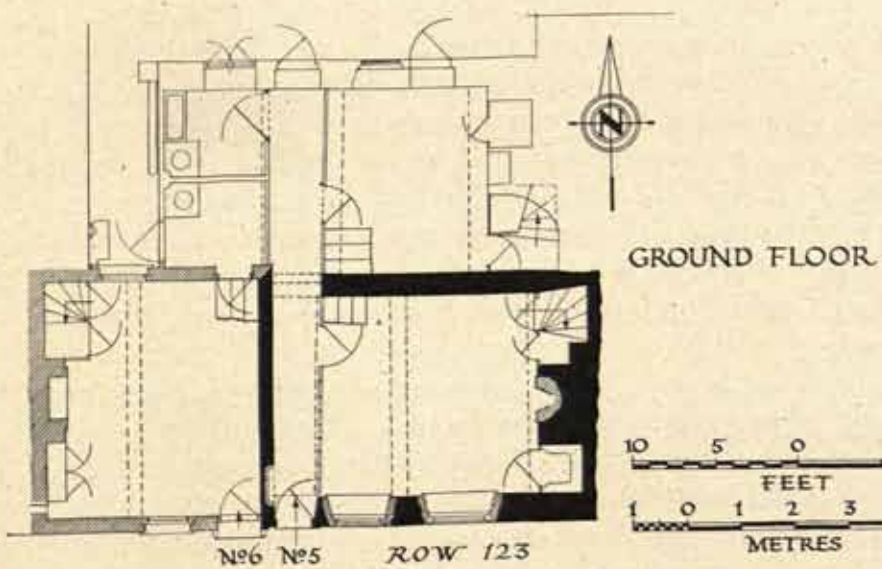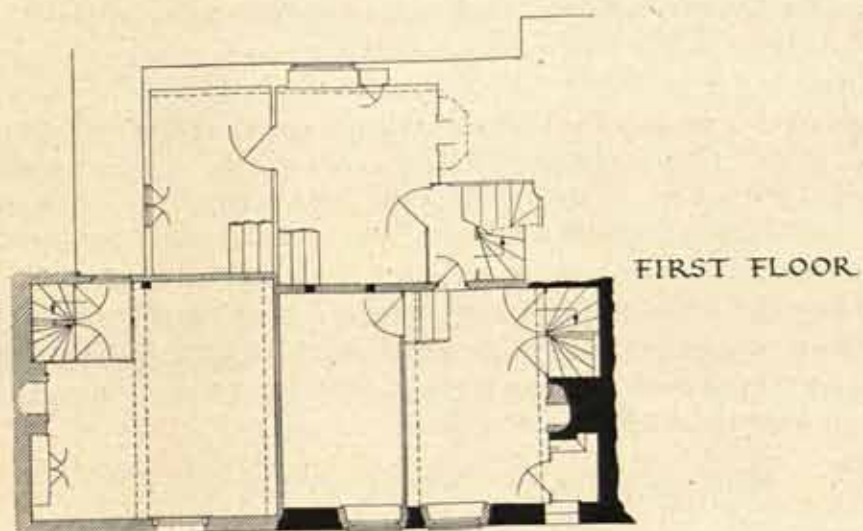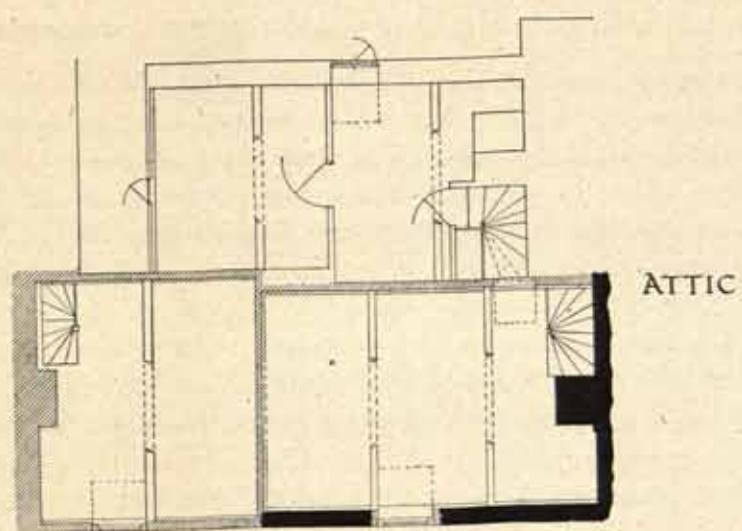
FIG. 10. Row 123, Nos. 5 and 6. Original work in black.

was entirely modern. During demolition all walls of No. 5 were seen to be of Type III. The front windows of No. 5 were eighteenth century in style, although in one place a seventeenth-century chamfer was still visible under cement rendering.

No. 5 on the ground floor had ovolo-moulded and stopped beams in the usual places and a plank partition ran from the front door to the site of the back door. During demolition the eastern jamb of this doorway was exposed. It was well done in long bricks and was certainly original. The fire-place had a stop-chamfered and ovolo-moulded head, above which was a simple ovolo-moulded overmantel. A cupboard on the south of the fire-place had a two-light ovolo-moulded window. The usual stair led to the first floor and the attic. In the former of these the fire-place had a chamfered lintel.

No. 6, even during demolition, showed no ancient features besides the chamfered beams.

As the plan shows, attached to the back, i.e. northern side, of No. 5 and part of No. 6 there were other rooms bounded by a northern wall of considerable thickness. The room behind No. 5 had chamfered ceiling beams, and the passage of No. 5 was continued through to this back wall; there was also a circular stair beside the fire-place in this room. All these features suggest a date contemporary, or almost so, with the main or front part of the house. The fact that the back wall of the front room of No. 5 on the first floor was timber-framed might be held to confirm contemporaneity, were it not for the fact that there are, or were, examples of external back walls of houses of this character in Great Yarmouth.[1] On the whole it is wiser to consider No. 5 as a normal single-roomed house with an early addition at its back rather than to suppose it to be a double-roomed house, of which the writer knows no other examples in the town of early to mid-seventeenth-century date.

Row 123, Nos. 16, 16A, and 17 (fig. 12)

These three houses once formed a single large L-shaped house with a main block running north to south, with north gable on Row 123 and south gable some 18 ft. north of Row 124. The 'tail' ran west to east along Row 123. This splitting up of one large early house into three smaller residences in later times is unusual in the Row area, but so also was a house of this size away from a main frontage. The proof that these three did once form part of one house is supplied by the walling. The walling on Row 123 has the appearance of Type III, but contained many bricks set askew and irregularly, i.e. not in a diaper. It seemed to have been much repaired or even reset, and the appearance at first sight of a line of brick quoins roughly between Nos. 16 and 16A was illusory. The north gable had tumbling, perhaps also reset, but that this was an original feature was shown by its presence also in the south gable. No original doorway remained in the north wall. The evidence of this wall, therefore, although not conclusive, was not against the homogeneity of the three modern residences.

The south wall of Nos. 16 and 17, on the other hand, was entirely of red brick, and in Old English bond, where not obviously the product of eighteenth-century or later repairs. Within it there were portions or traces of the ogee-moulded brick-heads (four-

[1] e.g. Row 118, Nos. 2 and 3 (fig. 9).

ATTIC

FIRST FLOOR

ROW

N° 49   N° 50
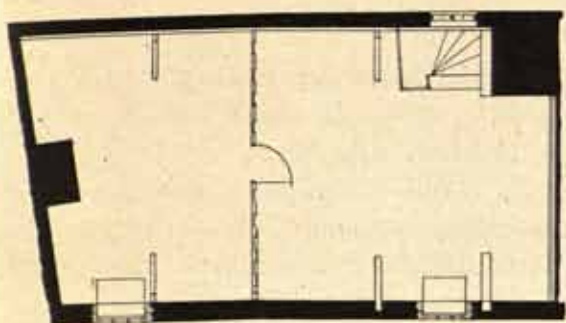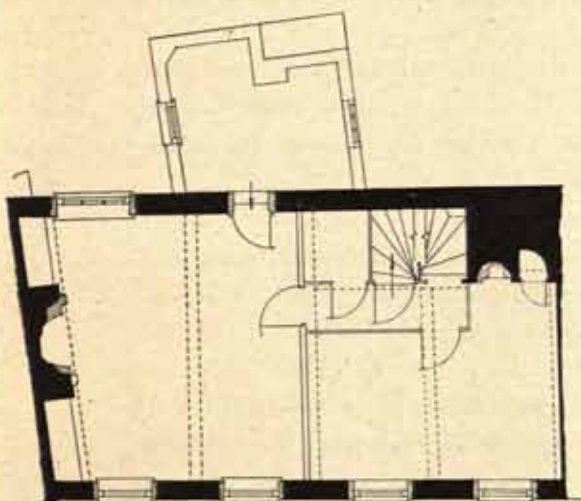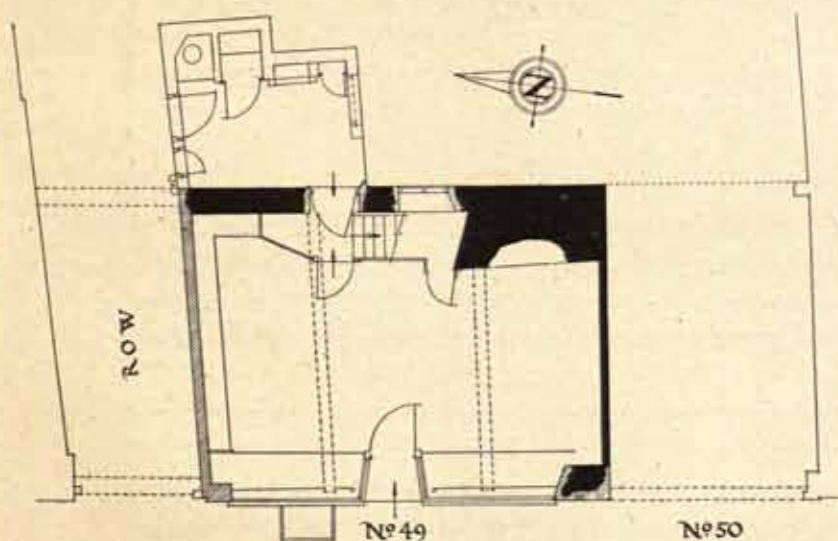
MIDDLEGATE STREET

GROUND FLOOR

WEST ELEVATION TO MIDDLEGATE STREET

ROW   N° 50

EAST ELEVATION

```
10    5    0         10         20         30
                    FEET
1  0  1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10
                  METRES
```
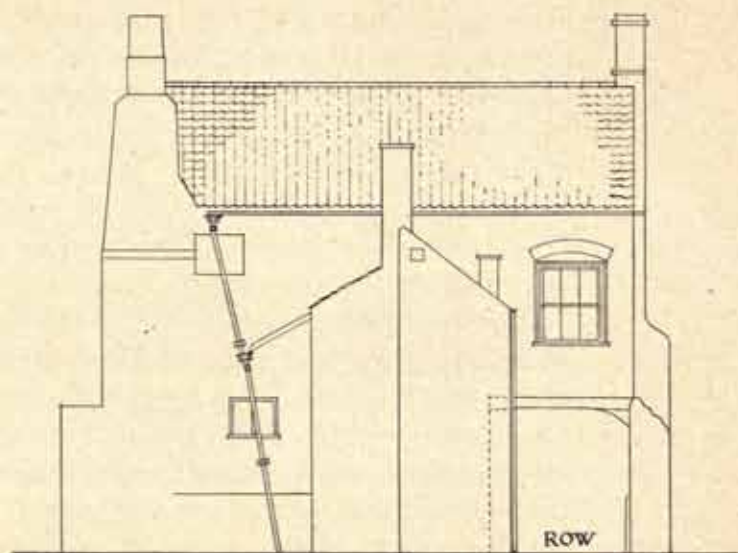
Fig. 11. Nos. 49 and 50 Middlegate Street. Original work in black.

centred) of no less than seven window or door openings, four on the ground floor and three on the first floor (see south elevation). There is little doubt that there were originally four also on the first floor; indeed, the jamb of another may have still existed.

The west wall of the main block (No. 16A) had been entirely rebuilt or the face reset in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. So also had much of the east wall, but a little of the original work in Old English bond remained with half the outer edge of a four-centred window-head, like those in the south wall of Nos. 16 and 17. It should be added that an ogee-moulded brick cornice ran the whole length of the south wall of Nos. 16 and 17, except where later dormer windows had been inserted, and that the remains of a chamfered brick plinth occurred sporadically at the base of this wall and at the base of the east wall of the main block.

In view of the homogeneity of all this walling, viz. the original parts of the east wall of the main block (No. 16A) and the south wall of Nos. 16 and 17, containing highly decorative features in the newest style of the period, it seems logical to consider all as part of one large original house.

The position of the main doorway was uncertain. There was no sign of it beside the Row and such a position is unusual in Yarmouth. In the south wall of Nos. 16 and 17 the spacing of the four moulded-brick arches at first suggested that they were all over windows, but only in one case (the westernmost) was the jamb preserved. Nevertheless it may well be that the door was at this point.

The evidence of the interior supports the conclusion already set out from the appearance of the walling. The party walls at both floors between No. 16 and No. 17 and between No. 17 and No. 16A were later insertions, as was shown by the size of the bricks used. Likewise, whilst the fire-places in No. 16, which are in the east wall, seemed to be original from the bricks used in the stack, evidence of lintels, etc., being unobtainable, those in No. 17 by the same criterion were later.

These two houses, Nos. 16 and 17, had a complete series of normal early-seventeenth-century ceiling beams, three at ground floor and three at first floor, one of the latter being an elaborate one (see below), but no other early features apart from the roof and some re-used panelling.

The main block (alias 16A or Quayside House) had both on ground and first floors three large early-seventeenth-century ceiling beams. Two on each floor had also elaborate brackets with ogee ends and two iron bolts each with decorative iron frills. On each floor the southern of the three beams lacked this extra refinement. On the ground floor the west wall had been thickened in modern times, with the result that the ends of the beams were hidden.

The ground-floor room was once completely panelled and much panelling remained. It consisted of the usual style, with panels about 20 in. wide and fluted pilasters and capitals. These last had been much mutilated when the room was papered. The narrow top panels in this room had had incised interlocking-lozenge patterns. The first-floor room had also been panelled in the same style, but without pilasters; it had been much cut about in recent times.

In the return from the main block to No. 16, but actually in No. 16A, on each floor there was a seventeenth-century beam, but no other contemporary fittings. The

ground-floor beam had a plain chamfer, but the first-floor room had also elaborate brackets, as in the rest of No. 16A, and as in the first-floor room of No. 16. It follows by placing these two last into one room that each floor of this 'tail' has two rooms with two beams in each.

The fire-places at the south gable end of No. 16A appear to have been original, although the top of the stack had later bricks. This being so, it is unlikely that the main entrance to the house was at this point.

Similarly, the fire-places in the east gable of No. 16 were original, but in the middle of the original large house, where at least two fire-places on each floor would be expected, there were no traces of anything of contemporary style. The roof timbers support the hypothesis that the original large stack once stood at the junction of the main block and the 'tail', but had been completely eradicated. There was evidence that at this point there had once been a gap in the roof, later filled in with an inferior style of work, and at this point also the rafters of the main block roof had been plastered over to keep out dust and draught.

Such a position for the main chimney-breast would suit the presence of the main doorway at the westernmost of the brick arches in the south wall of No. 17, and the main stair may then have been on the Row side of the breast, i.e. approximately where the stair still was before demolition. It was a pole stair, but was perhaps wider than it had originally been.

The restored plan of this house is quite normal, with entry from a yard, approached from the Row, into a lobby, against the main stack and giving thence on to two rooms. Beyond the room to the west lay the kitchen, at the south end of the main block, with cellar below. The principal room on the first floor was approached from the similar room on the ground floor below by means of a typical semicircular stair. Another important room on the first floor lay to the east.

Row 127, Nos. 14 and 15

(NOTE. These houses were destroyed before plans could be made.)

The front wall of this block was entirely of brick in Old English or irregular bond. Usually the bricks were red, but there were occasional burnt ends, and at the top just under the eaves there seemed to be diaper pattern in dark-grey bricks. Recent colour-wash obscured traces of any such pattern lower down. The staircase window surrounds in red brick with ogee-moulding were all intact, as were the two eastern wooden frames, the lower ovolo-moulded, the upper with plain chamfer. Each window was of two lights, the western of the two being subdivided by means of a vertical wooden bar set diagonally; the eastern light originally had no such bar. The western window-frames were probably similar, but were blocked at the time of the survey. Both front doorways had brick surrounds with ogee-moulding like the staircase windows. These were complete, but had been obscured by eighteenth-century door-cases which had replaced the original door-cases; there was no doubt whatever that both of these doorways were original features of the house.

ATTIC

10   5   0   10   20
        FEET
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
        METRES

FIRST FLOOR

N
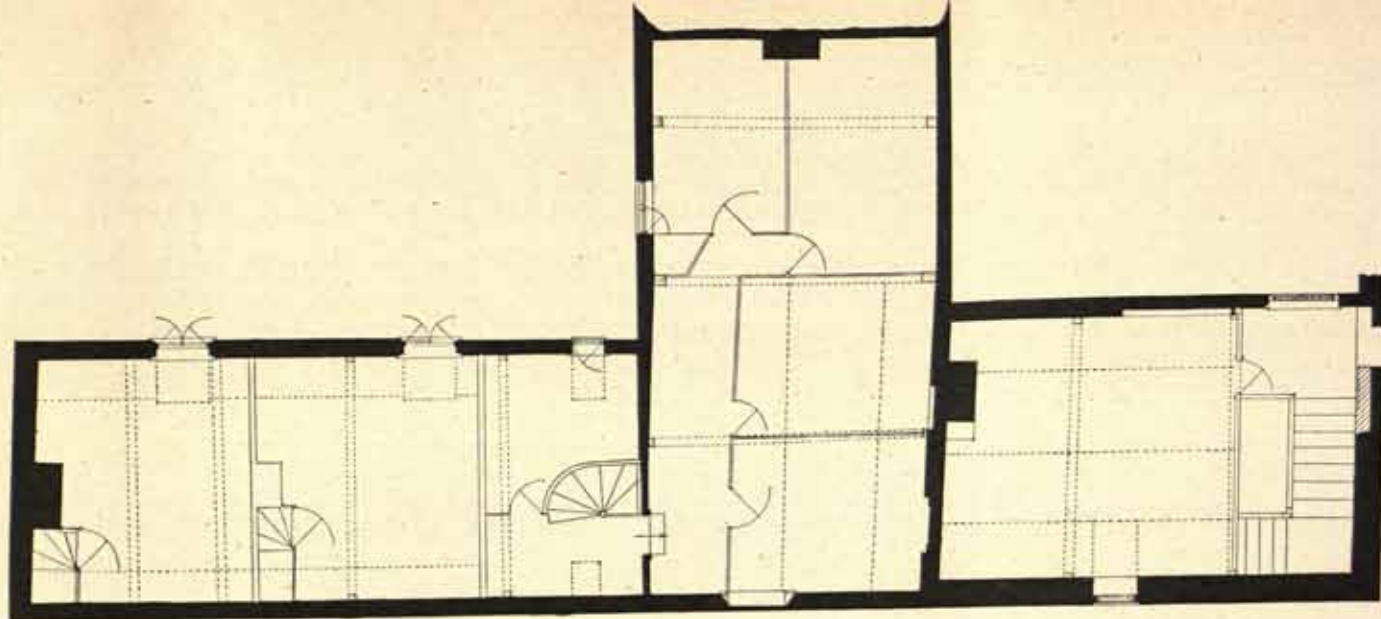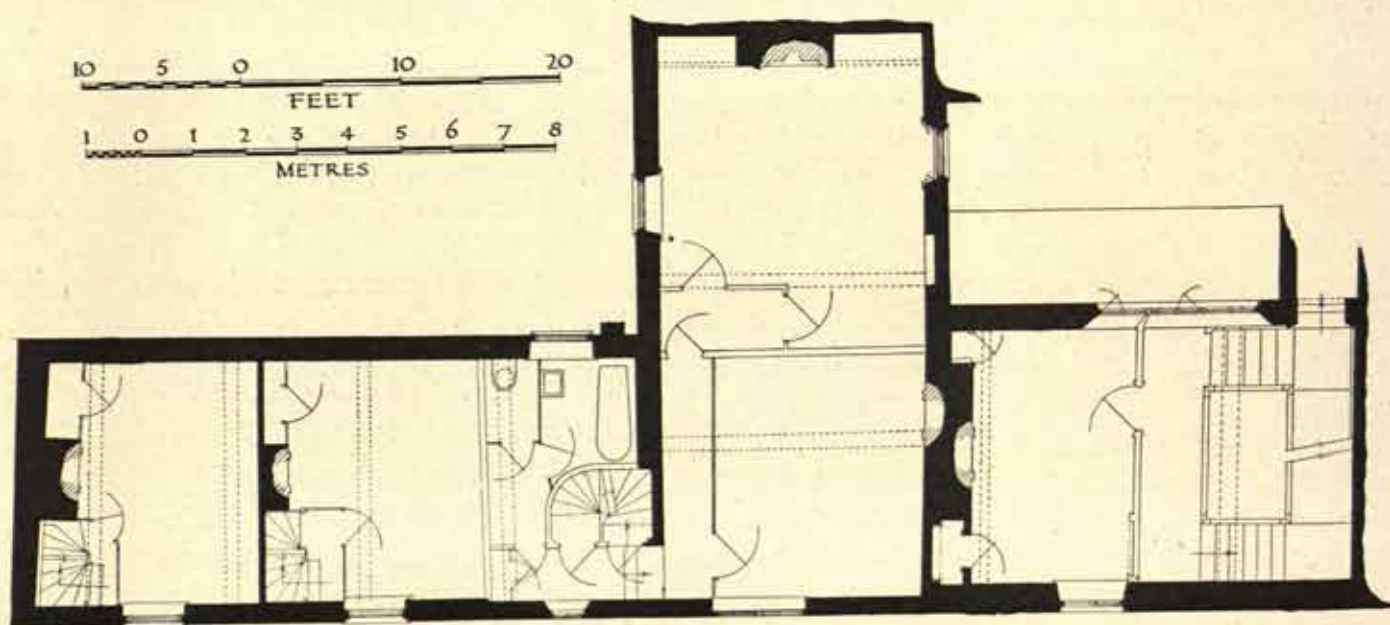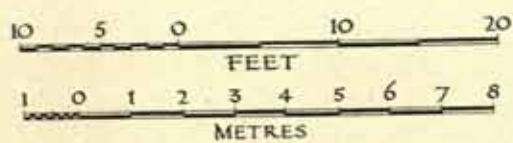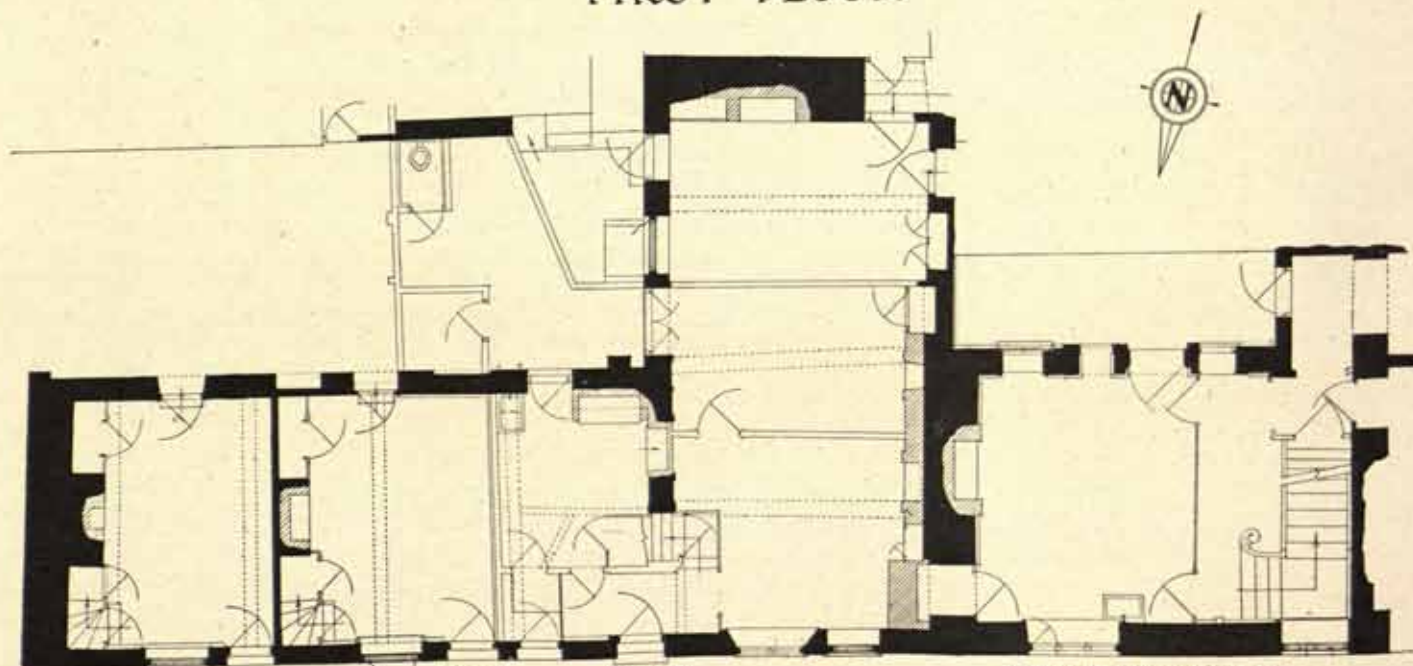
No 17   No 16   No 16A   ROW 123   No 35 SOUTH QUAY

GROUND FLOOR

FIG. 12. Row 123, Nos. 16,
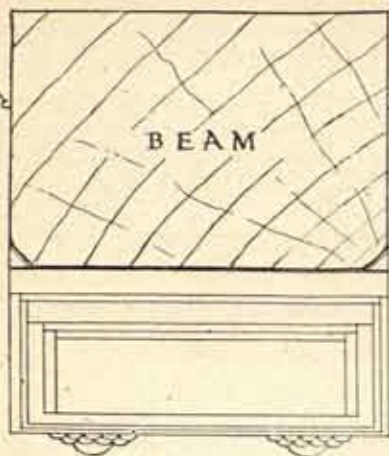
BEAM

SECTION
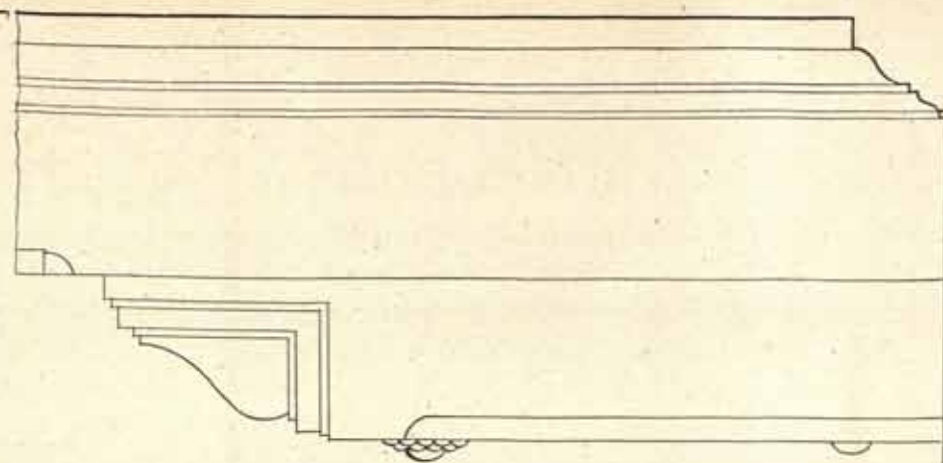
SIDE ELEVATION
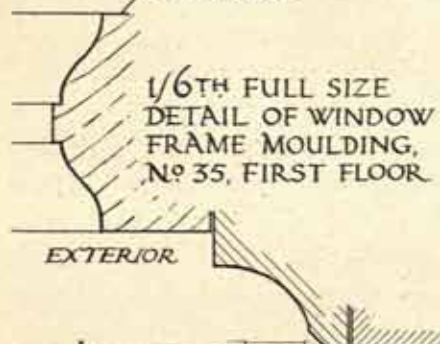
1/6TH FULL SIZE
DETAIL OF WINDOW
FRAME MOULDING,
Nº 35, FIRST FLOOR.

EXTERIOR
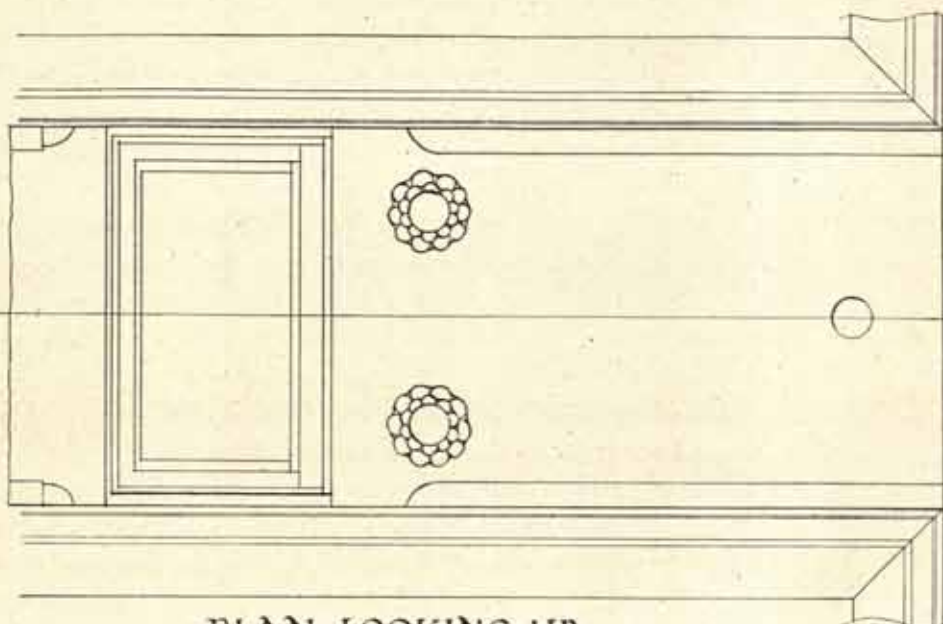
PLAN LOOKING UP

1/6TH FULL SIZE DETAIL OF DECORATED
BEAM ENDS SHOWING MOULDED BRACKETS
& METAL PATERAE TO BOLT HEADS

EAST ELEVATION
OF Nº 16A

10   5   0   10
FEET
10   0   1   2   3   4   5
METRES

SOUTH ELEVATION & SECTION THRO' Nº 16A

16A, 17 and No. 35 South Quay.
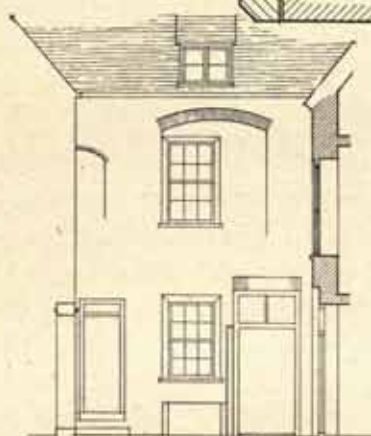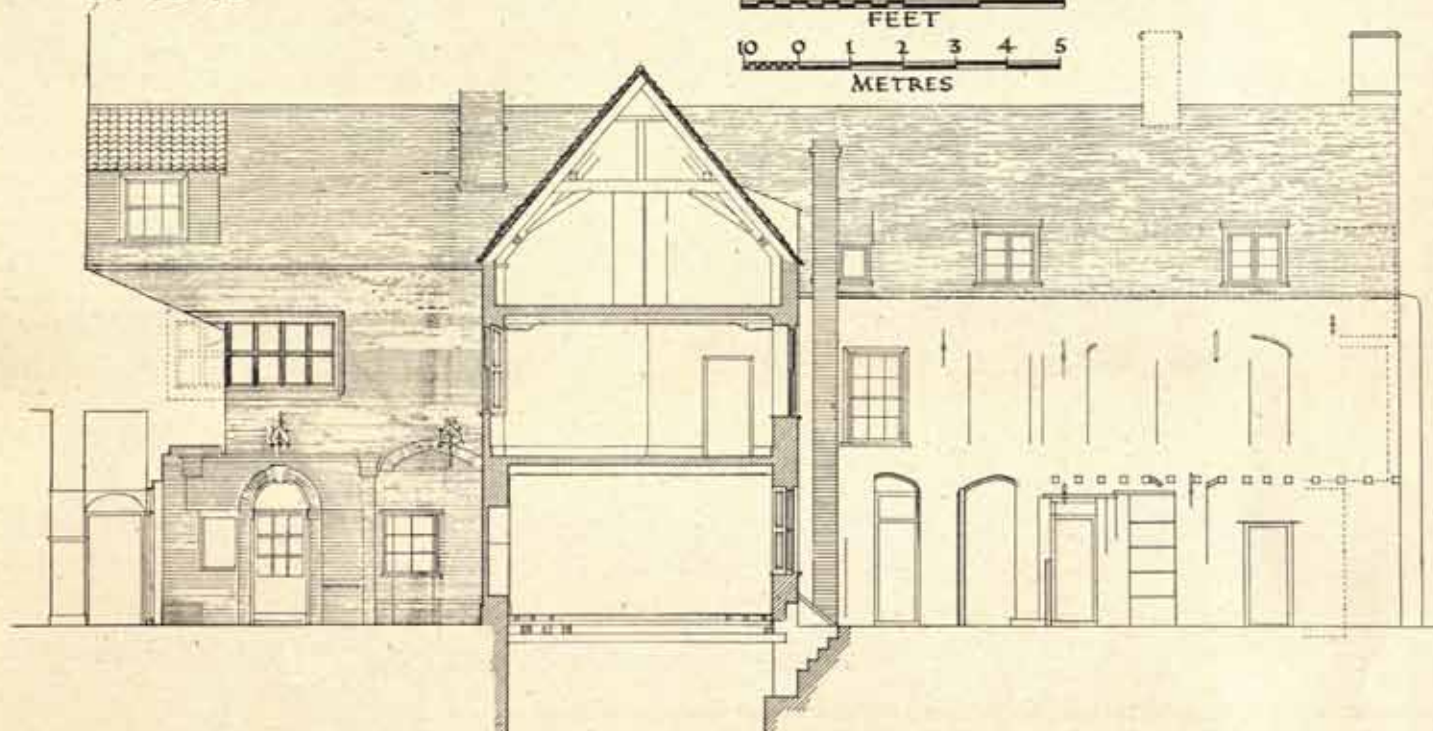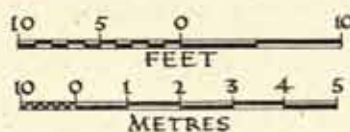
The windows were eighteenth-century sash-windows, but, as there was no evidence of alteration in any of the jambs, they must have been precisely on the site of the original windows. The house had a moulded brick plinth at the usual height above ground, and four simple iron wall-anchors just below the eaves. There seemed to be no moulded cornice and the dormers were not original. The brick quoins were alternate in-and-out bond in single courses, and it was clear that No. 15 had been built without an east wall against an already existing house to the east.

The back or south wall was of Type III, but contained some bigger pebbles than usual and some abraded pieces of sandstone. There were two normal window jambs of three-course in-and-out bond bricks, disused when later sash-windows were inserted on the first floor. The west wall of No. 14 was obscured by No. 13.

Internally, No. 15 was a normal single-roomed house of early-seventeenth-century type with a passage from front door to back door, although the latter had lost its original doorway, if it ever had one. A modern door in the partition wall (modern, but replacing an original one) led off this passage into the ground-floor room. This had two normal ovolo-moulded and stopped ceiling beams, the stopped ends of the original fire-place lintel, and a nice eighteenth-century corner cupboard. The winding stair north of the chimney-breast led to a normal first-floor room with two ovolo-moulded and stopped ceiling beams and a cupboard with blocked window south of the fire-place, over one below, which had been altered.

No. 14 internally was abnormal. The door led straight into the room on the ground floor beside the staircase. The back door also can only have been where the modern one was, namely, beside the cupboard south of the fire-place. There can never have been a through passage. Otherwise the house was normal with ovolo-moulded ceiling beams, there being also an ovolo-moulded cornice over the fire-place on the ground floor. The attic and roof were of usual seventeenth-century type.

PLATE LII
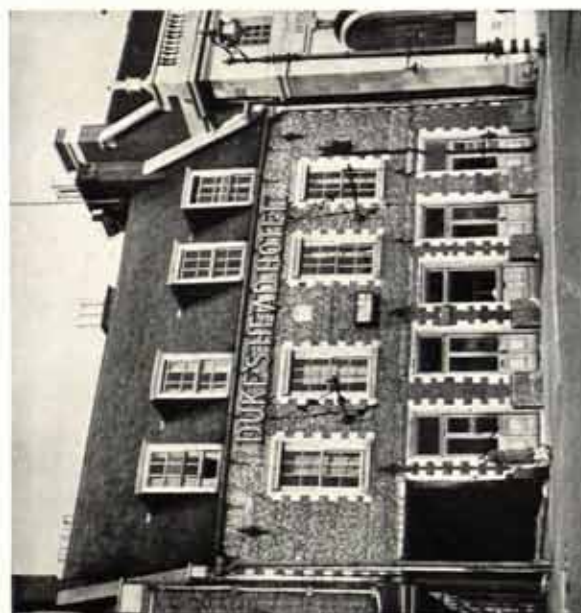
b. Row 118, nos. 2, 3, and 4 (right to left)

d. Row 127, nos. 14 and 15 (right to left)

a. Duke's Head Hotel

c. Row 111, nos. 7 and 8 (right to left)

Plate LIII

c. Duke's Head Hotel

f. North wall of No. 25 South Quay

b. Late medieval walling of no. 130 Middlegate Street

e. Row 127, no. 15

a. Yellow brick chimney stack of Row 136, no. 3

d. Row 111, no. 8

PLATE LIV
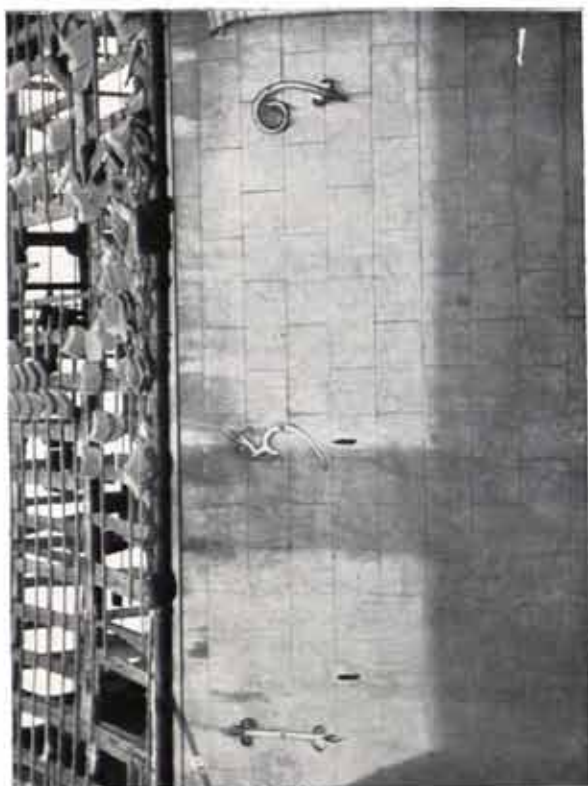
b. Building behind no. 54 South Quay
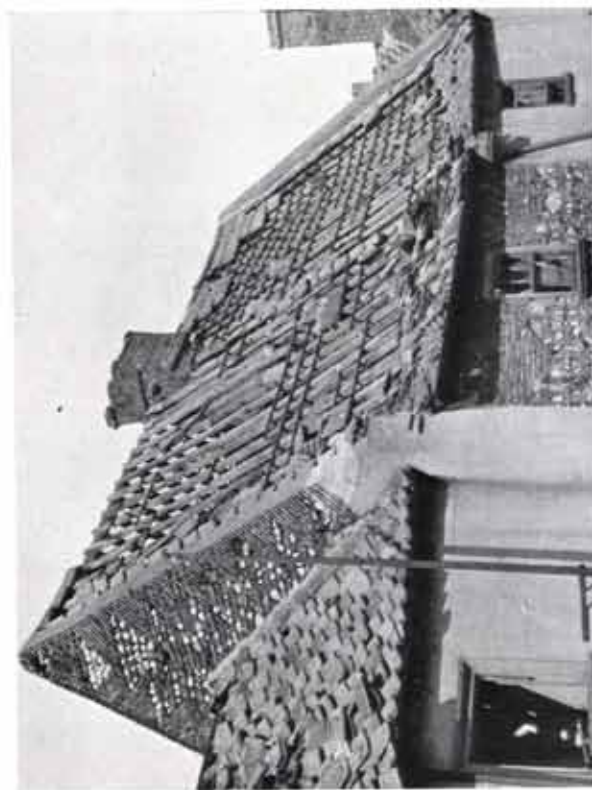
d. Row 133, nos. 7 and 8

a. No. 117 Middlegate Street

c. Row 133, nos. 7 and 8 (back)

Plate LV

a. Row 125, no. 2

b. Row 118, no. 24

c. Row 83, no. 10

d. Chimneys of Row 35, no. 10

PLATE LVI

a. No. 86 George Street

b. No. 87 George Street

c. Blocked window behind No. 54 South Quay

d. Moulded brick doorway of Row 127, no. 14

PLATE LVII

b. Fishhouse behind no. 61 North Quay

d. Yard wall of Row 125, no. 2

a. Row 101, nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 (back)

c. Timber-framed back wall of Row 117, no. 4

PLATE LVIII
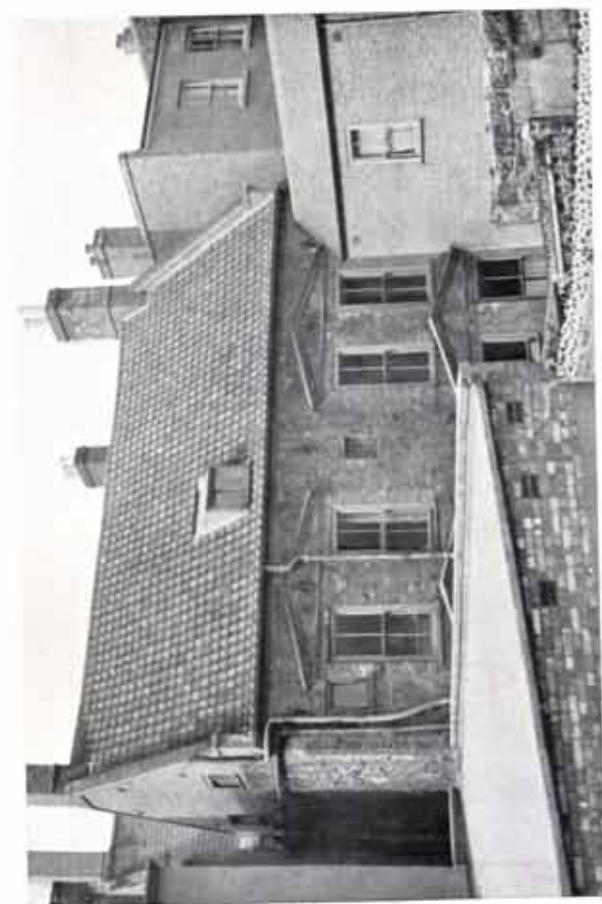
b. Back wing of no. 39 Middlegate Street

d. Remains of 'Dutch' gable of Row 117, no. 22

a. East wall of no. 25 South Quay

c. Blocked staircase window of Row 118, no. 2

PLATE LIX

a. Row 118, no. 3

b. Row 127, no. 15

c. West wall of Row 111, no. 8

d. South wall of no. 35 South Quay

PLATE LX

a. Wall anchor from the Gallon
Can public house

b. Plaque on east wall of
no. 25 South Quay

c. Wall anchor of no. 25
South Quay

d. Typical external doorway
(Row 118, no. 4)

e. Row 111, no. 8
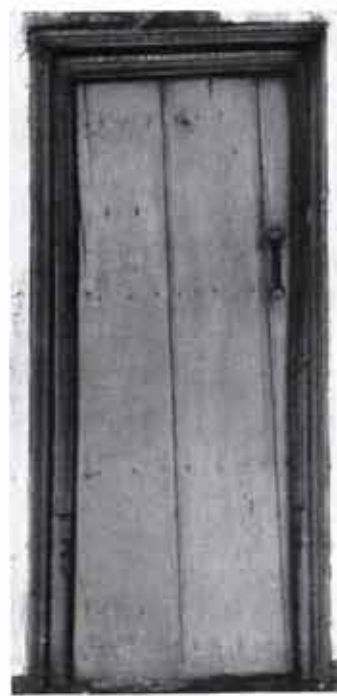
f. Typical internal doorway
(Row 118, no. 4)

Plate LXI
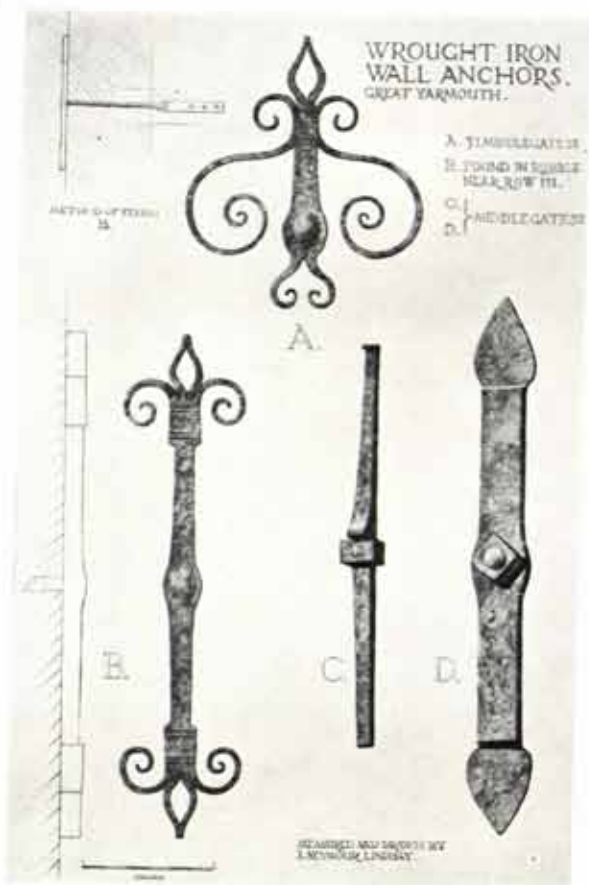
a. Simple wall anchors
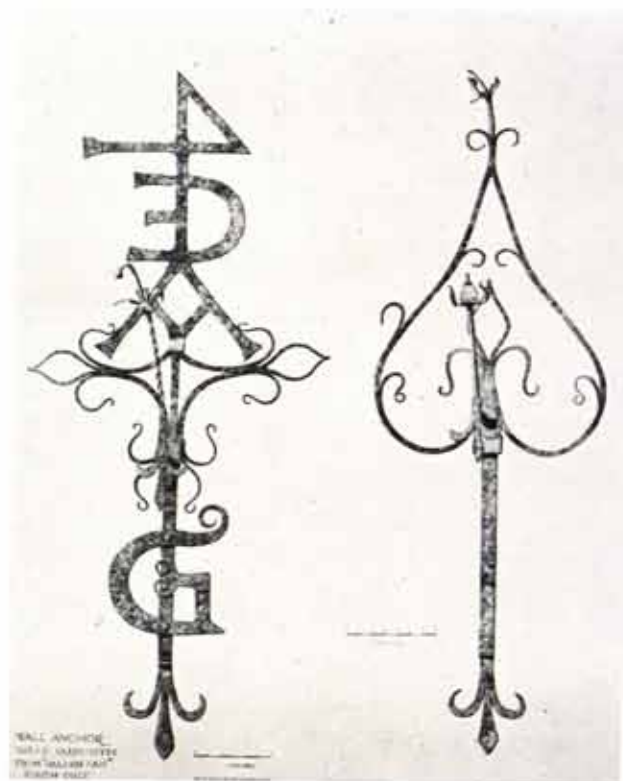
b. Wall anchors (left from Gallon Can public house)
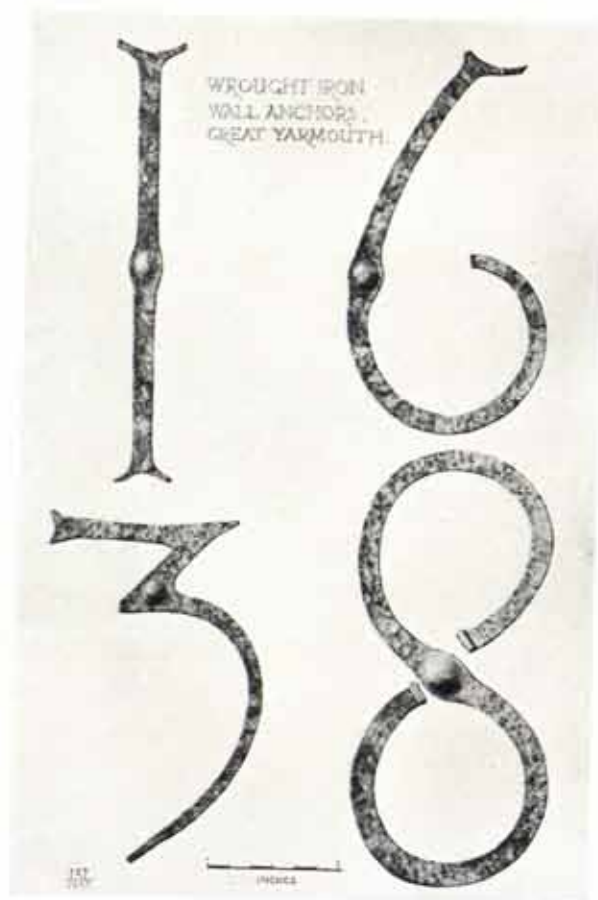
c. Wall anchors from nos. 86 and 87 George St.
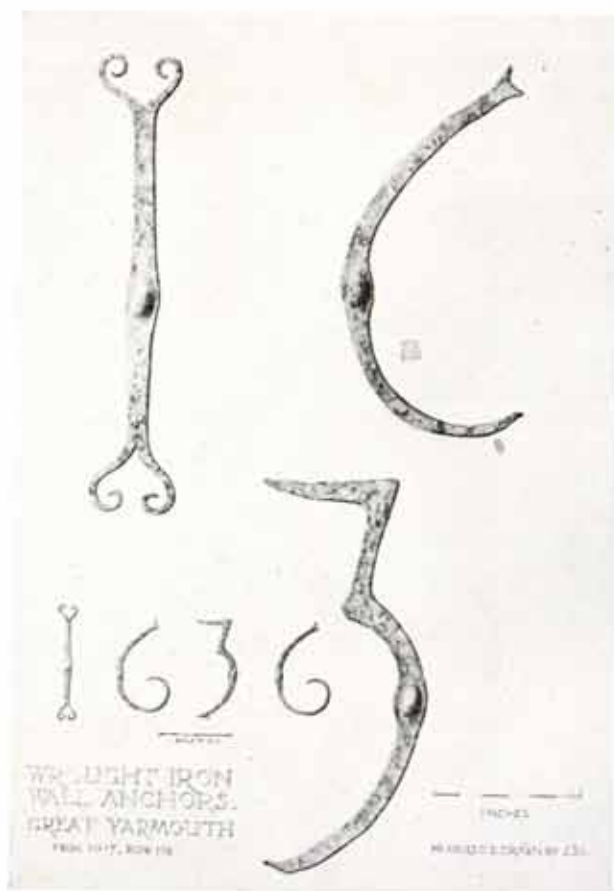
d. Wall anchors from Row 118, no. 17

PLATE LXII
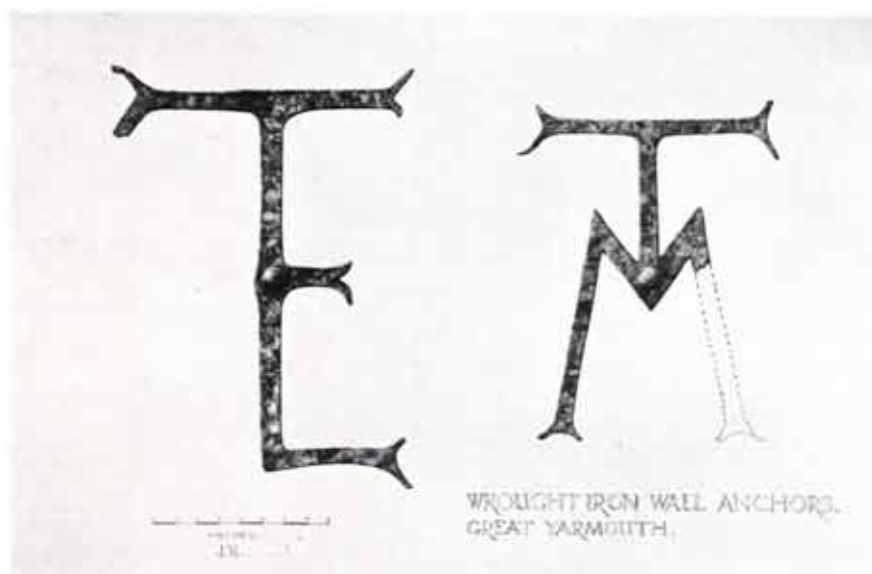
a. Wall anchors from nos. 86 and 87 George St.
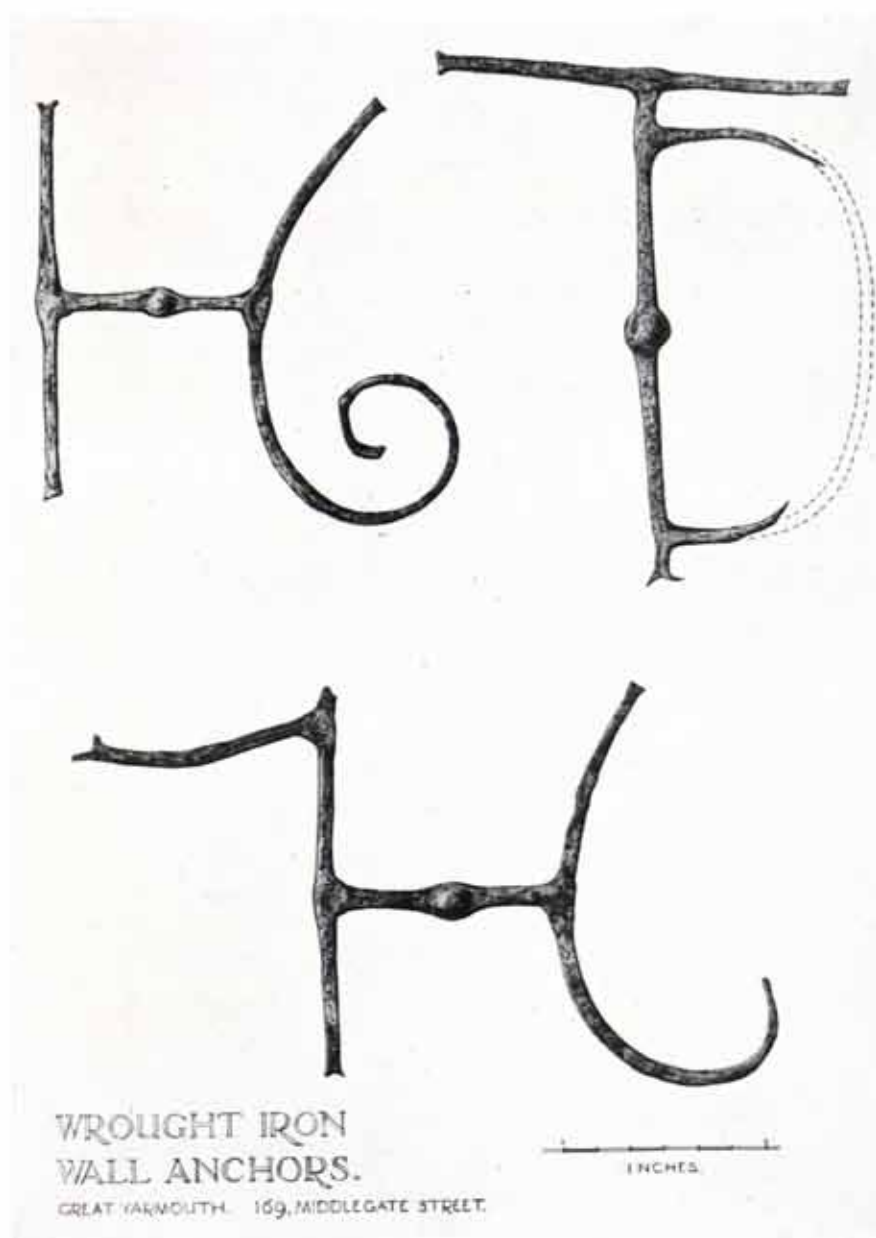
b. Wall anchors from no. 169, Middlegate St. (TD 1676)

PLATE LXIII
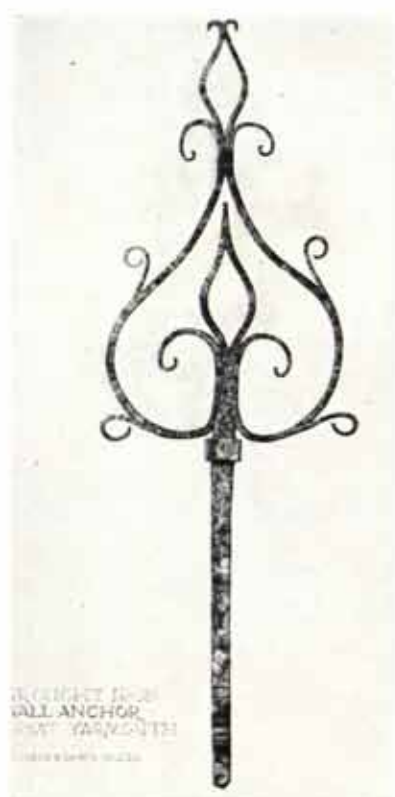
a. Wall anchor
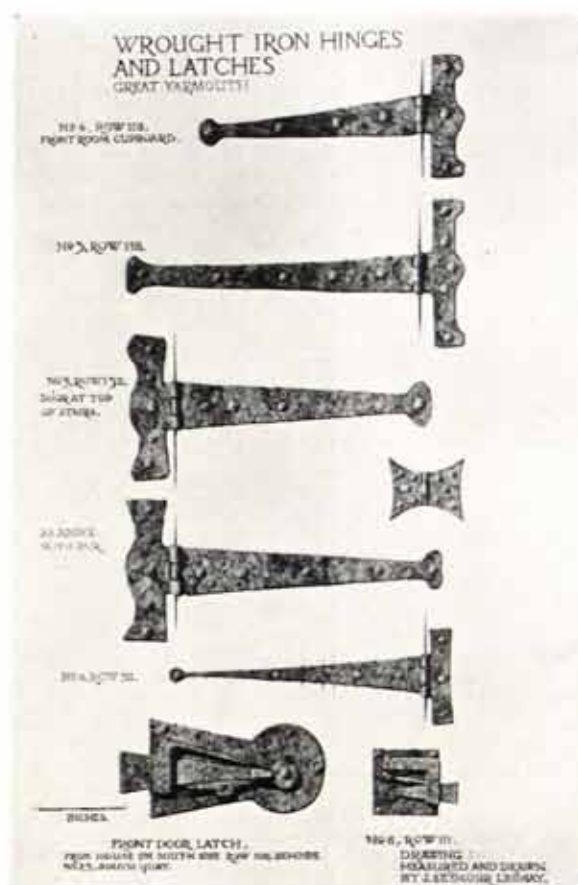
b. Hinges and latches
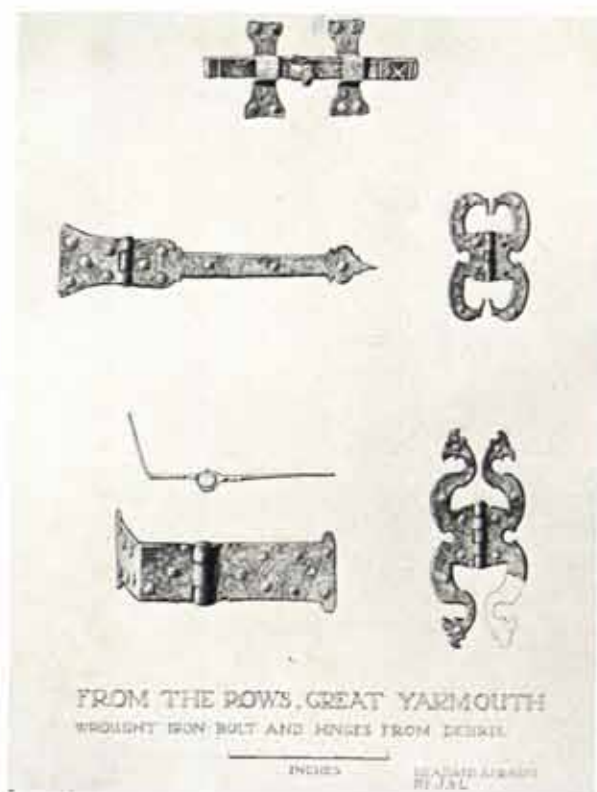
c. Bolts and hinges

d. Latches

PLATE LXIV
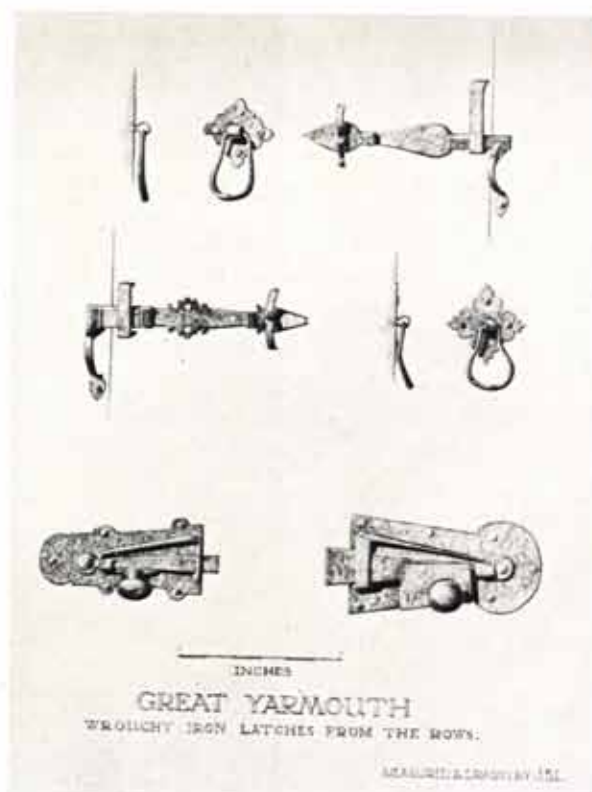
Part of Swinden's plan of Great Yarmouth (1738)

PLATE LXV
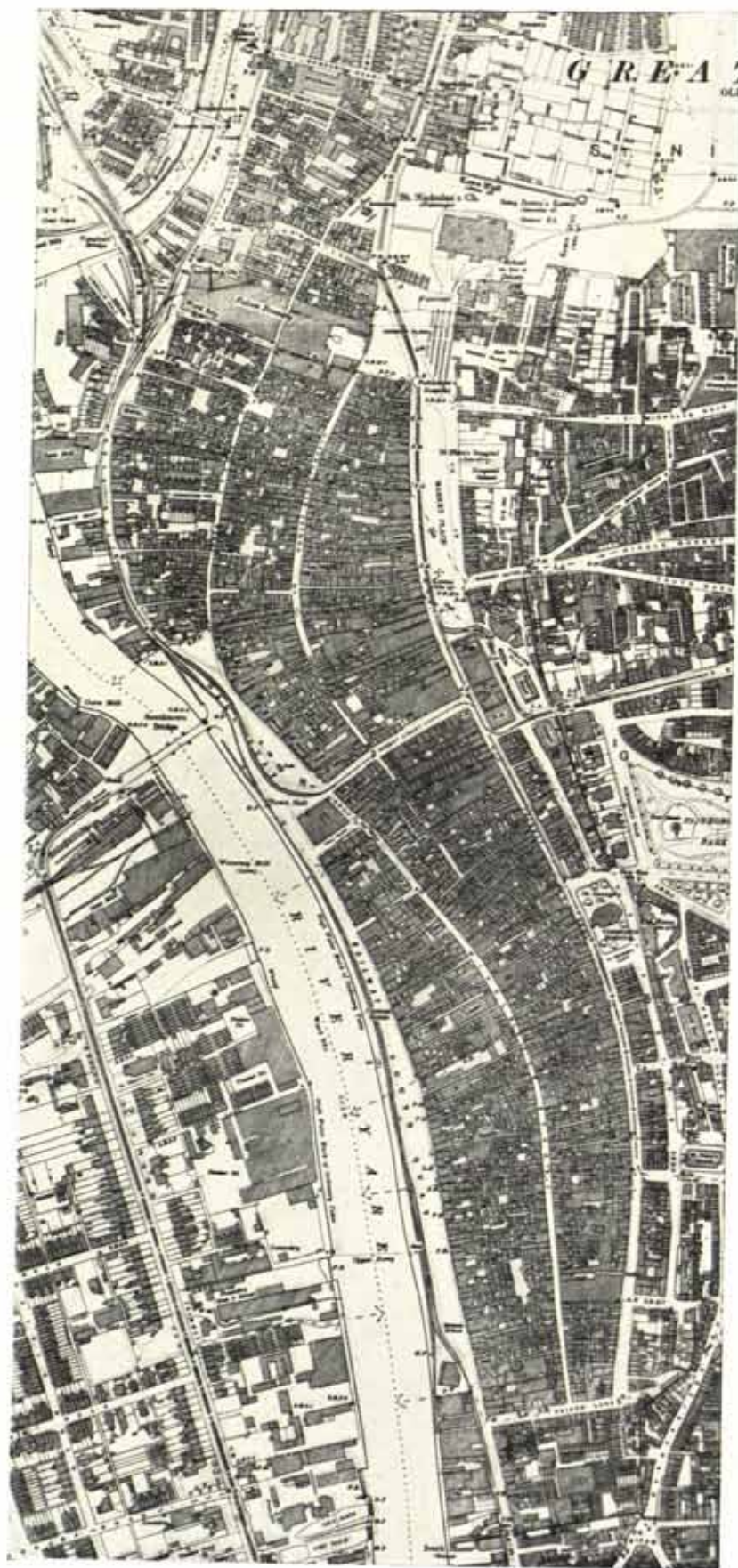
Modern plan of the Row area of Great Yarmouth

(Reproduced from the O.S. map with the sanction of the Controller of
H.M. Stationery Office)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1953

PLATE LXVI

GREAT YARMOUTH
CIRCA 1650

MIDDLEGATE STREET

MIDDLEGATE STREET

MIDDLEGATE STREET

QUEEN STREET

108 111 112 117 118 123 124 128 129 132 133 136 137

SOUTH QUAY

RIVER YARE
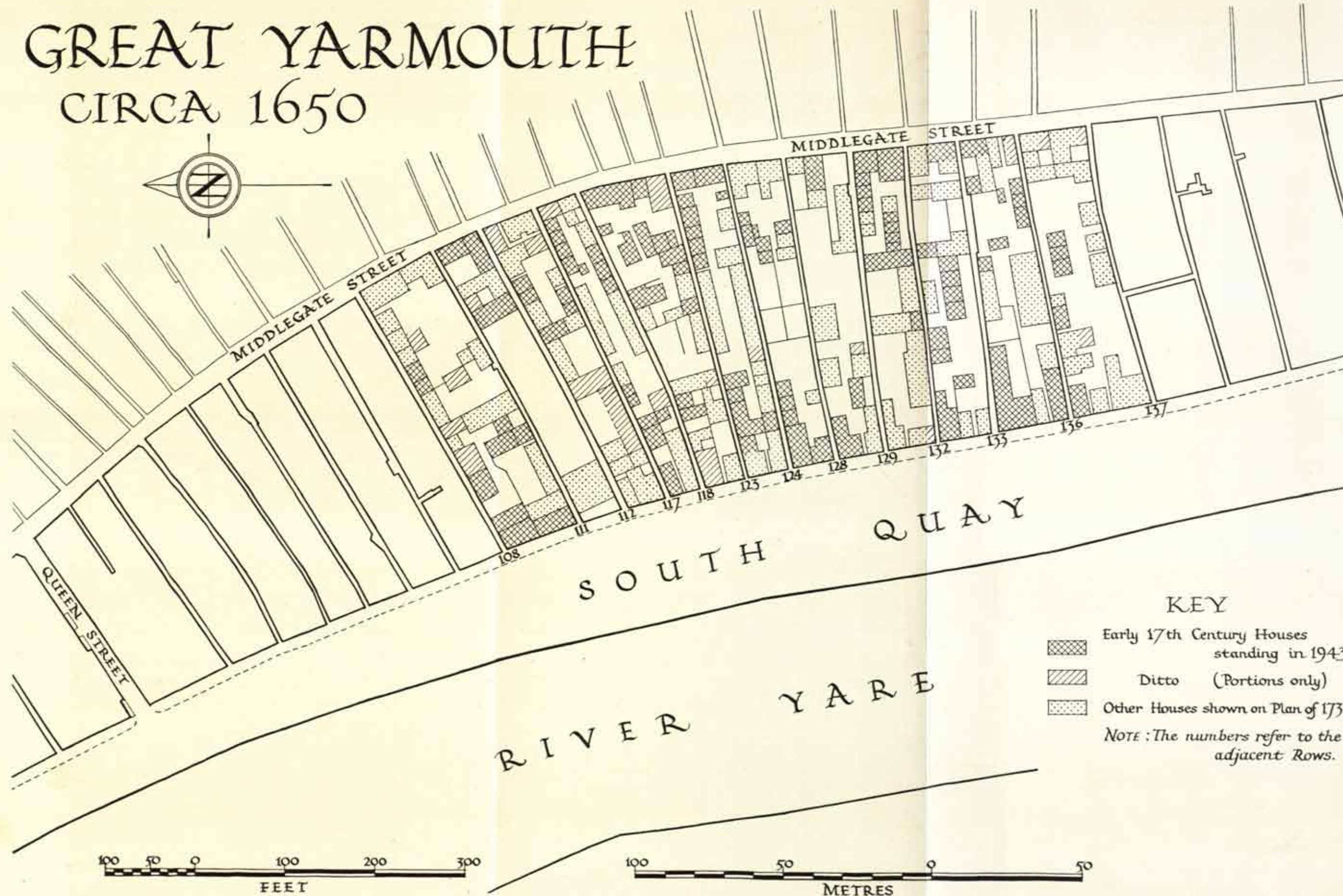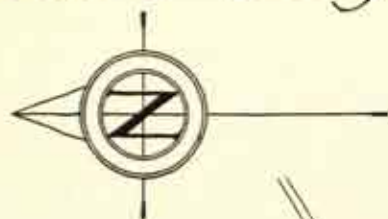
KEY

Early 17th Century Houses standing in 1943.

Ditto (Portions only)

Other Houses shown on Plan of 1738.

NOTE : The numbers refer to the adjacent Rows.

100 50 0 100 200 300
FEET

100 50 0 50
METRES

RESTORED PLAN OF PART OF THE ROW AREA OF GREAT YARMOUTH

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