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HELD AT SALISBURY, JULY, 1849.



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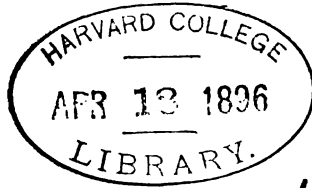
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AFTER the year 1848, the Central Committee of the Institute, in compliance with a wish very generally expressed by the majority of the Society, made a new arrangement regarding their publications, in pursuance of which the Journal is now distributed to the Members, instead of the annual volume which had been previously given, while the Journal was published by Mr. Parker. As, however, it was thought very desirable that the publication of the Memoirs read at the annual meetings should be continued so as to form a regular series, a subscription-list was opened for this purpose, the publication being undertaken by Mr. George Bell. The Publisher trusts that the volume which he has now the pleasure of laying before his Subscribers will not be found inferior to the preceding ones, either in the list of contributors or in the subject-matter of the various Memoirs; and that it will be received by the Members of the Institute at large as an acceptable addition to the continuous series of Annual Transactions, of which the present volume forms the fifth. It is with much regret that, from causes beyond his control, he is not enabled to give Professor Willis's History of the Cathedral, which the Central Committee had made every effort in their power to secure for this volume.

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ON THE RESULTS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION IN WILTSHIRE.

“Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus
Magna virūm ! tibi res antiquæ laudis et artis
Ingredior ; sanctos ausus recludere fontes.”

Virg. Georg. ii. 173.

It must be allowed that the county of Wilts, the southern division of which has been now chosen as the scene of investigation by the Archæological Institute, does *not* stand foremost among those portions of England remarkable for beauty of scenery, or for majestic remains of monastic and baronial architecture ; nevertheless it possesses its own peculiar, I may say exclusive objects of interest, nor is it entirely deficient in those advantages to which I have referred. If the traveller stands on the northern ridge of that part of our Downs known as Salisbury Plain, his eye will meet beneath him a wide and fertile vale interspersed with numerous villages and intervening woods, in whose recesses may still be found the ruined cloister and mouldering battlement ; and more than one mansion whose moated precinct and pointed windows declare their existence and splendour in the days of the Plantagenets. Eastward, the rich vale of Pewsey merges in the glades of Savernake Forest ; and to the west, the country approaching the banks of the Somersetshire Avon is varied by the remains of the ancient forests of Pewsham and Blackmore. To the north, the Marlborough Downs, stretching into Berkshire, close the view of this extensive scene. Nor must the stranger suppose, as he travels over our plains, that all around him is one waste and solitude. On either side of his road the deep and narrow valleys formed by the four streams,* which here converge, and, as one river, water this city, continuous lines of villages afford habitation for the population, each of which presents its manor-place and rustic church, where the antiquary may

* The Nadder, the Wiley, the Avon (proper), and the Bourne.

often view a living picture of ancient simplicity. Of the plain itself, I may observe, that it must be regarded with favour by the archæologist, as it has been the means of preserving those primæval monuments for which this county is pre-eminently distinguished.

Of the original tribes who inhabited Wiltshire, researches have been successively made by Camden, Tanner, Carte, Whittaker, and the writer known as Richard of Cirencester. If, however, we endeavour to reconcile the authorities of Ptolemy and Richard, it would seem that the southern portion of this county was occupied on the west by the Hedui, an undoubted Celtic tribe, and by the Cangi Durotriges; a branch of which, the Carvillii, was seated at Wilton in this neighbourhood; they, however, were early displaced, or at least held in subjection, by the Belgic Confederation, who may be inferred from Ptolemy to have occupied in Wiltshire the south side of a line drawn from Bath to Winchester.

But if I have slightly glanced at these tribes themselves, I confess myself somewhat embarrassed in selecting the manner on which I may best advert to their earthworks and edifices which still surround us.

In addressing myself to a body, many of whom have conducted their researches in a manner both accurate and profound, I may be well supposed to have outstripped my province, if I diverge, except in a cursory manner, from merely stating the results of the investigation of others; nor can I hope altogether to avoid censure in choosing from so large a mass of speculation that which seems to be most worthy of remark.

It is well known that, although the barrows on our Downs early engaged the attention of the curious, it was not until what an old man may call *our own times*, that the effectual method of opening them was discovered. Stukeley rarely found the true deposit; but Mr. Cunnington and Sir Richard Hoare ascertained that the primary deposit was on the *native soil*, and that a section made in the *centre* to the level of the adjoining ground met the real interment.

Conclusions derived from the various *forms* of barrows seem uncertain; but three different modes of depositing the dead are clearly shewn, and, to a certain extent, their relative antiquity. "Of these different kinds of inter-

ment, I am of opinion (continues Sir Richard) that the one of burying the dead entire, with the legs gathered up, was the most ancient; that the custom of cremation succeeded, and prevailed with the former; and that the mode of burying the dead entire and extended at full length was of the latest adoption.”*

These facts may assist, therefore, in shewing the probable period when a barrow was formed. I omit to notice the deposits in these barrows, as sufficiently known; but I cannot pass over the discovery of the “gleyn neyder,” or “holy adder stone,” so celebrated by Pliny, and so intimately connected with Druidic worship, which it is supposed, and I venture to think rightly, was brought to light in opening the tumulus, No. 10, near Winterbourne, Stoke. Here, in an oblong cist, it was found deposited, with its circular lines of opaque sky-blue and white, representing a serpent entwined round a perforated centre.

The exclusive Celtic origin of barrows is argued by Sir Richard Hoare, who states that he has never found a single urn in them well baked or turned with a lathe; and he holds that the Romanised Britons had dropped the custom of interment in them.†

The plain between Amesbury and Everley is described by the same author as an ample and untried field for the enterprise of the future discoverer. But if he wishes to see what has been *already* done, he must obtain access to the invaluable collection made by that writer himself,—the spoil, for the most part, of his own indefatigable exertions. A smaller but valuable collection is preserved at Lake House in this neighbourhood, in which may, I believe, be seen the relic supposed to be a talus or tessera, declared by the historian of South Wilts as the greatest curiosity yet discovered.

If tumuli, which I have first mentioned as first engaging attention, are numerous in this part of our county, no less so are British camps and earth-works, which have been investigated with no ordinary care; and the antiquary, by the aid of the historian of ancient Wilts, may now survey an example of that primitive enclosure to which

* Ancient Wilts, p. 24.

† Ibid. p. 171: yet some exceptions appear, on reference to pp. 93 and 235.

Subsequent interments and deposits in ancient barrows are not uncommon.

Cæsar adverts in the parish of Great Durnford, near this city, where a single rampart, without a foss, encloses an area of sixty-two acres, still called Ogbury Camp, not as a *defence* against invaders, but as a place of *refuge* against the *irruption of a neighbouring tribe*, whither the Britons secured their cattle and families.

In that neighbourhood Vespasian's Camp exemplifies the fact of the Romans taking possession and fortifying a British entrenchment, where the area, intersected by a ditch near the centre, still indicates the original work.

Yarnbury Camp, also a similar example, shews entrances not appertaining to the first construction, where coarse British pottery is found intermixed with fine Roman ware, and unfashioned querns lie near the coins of the emperors.

Nor should I omit the discovery of that extraordinary line of British earthworks westward of this place, called Wicknell, Castle Ditches, and Chiselbury Camp. Grimsditch, intercepted by the Roman road, and Bockerly in this neighbourhood, probably exemplify the territorial boundaries of bordering aboriginal tribes, as they shew a vallum only on one side; and the former, at least, has no villages on its line: on the contrary, on the ridgeways or lines of communication between British villages, the most discerning eye cannot distinguish on which side the vallum is the highest, so equally is the ground thrown up on each side. The ridgeways on our Downs have been identified with the trackways of the Britons, of which that near Yarnbury Camp is a conspicuous example. Whether Wansdike in North Wiltshire is referrible to the original inhabitants, or to the Belgæ, is a subject of debate; but as part of the foss was filled to form the Roman road where they join, above the village of Calston, it seems reasonable to date it before the invasion of Cæsar. But on these trackways still exist the unique remains of British villages, which the dry chalk soil and maiden down have preserved. Whittaker,* with his unwearied research and ardent imagination, could afford his readers but slender notions of these early habitations. The survey of that discovered by the late Mr. Seagram, east of Yarnbury Camp, discloses the general arrangement of one of them, in a series of

* History of Manchester.

small squares, with an occasional circular line,—whilst the vestiges of a large British town, called Grovely Works, agree with the description of Cæsar: “Oppidum Britanni vocant cum sylvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt.”* This track is believed to contain more clear examples of ancient custrametation and early residence than any remaining in the island. The villages placed on the Downs were found to be the *earliest*; those below them were *subsequent* sites. The British villages found near Knook Castle, in the parish of Upton Lovel, are examples of those inhabited after the Roman invasion, as is proved by the mixture of British and foreign pottery, native implements, and Roman coins. Although in digging through these villages the stone-floors and hearth-stones of the inhabitants were discovered, few signs of building with flint were found by Sir Richard Hoare; but on the estate of my friend Mr. Duke, I have seen the flint foundations of these habitations unearthed, and could comprehend that, when the course of the valley below presented one line of morass, from the natural interruptions of the stream of the Avon, the resort and refuge of the beasts of the chase, the Down above was well chosen as the healthy and unembarrassed site of a British village.

I approach the venerable remains of Abury and Stonehenge with the caution due to the contending opinions of those learned and ingenious authors who are now no more, and to the intelligence, critical discernment, and accumulated information, which may distinguish the members present of this Institute.

Of Abury it is known that it escaped the observation of our early antiquaries; and that, although examined by Aubrey (who left *ms.* notices of it), and made the subject of a pamphlet by Twining, who assumed it to have been raised by Vespasian and Agricola, it remained for Stukeley to draw the public attention to this mysterious monument. His observation and learning suggested the *outline* which has been usually considered as correct, and his imagination led him to infer that it was meant as a sensible image of the divine mind protecting the body of the hero buried under Silbury Hill, the largest tumulus, it may be said, which this quarter of the world presents.

* Cæsar, v. 21.

The measurements of Stukeley were corrected by Sir Richard Hoare, who was assisted by a scientific surveyor and draftsman, Mr. Crocker; and I believe they were further examined by Mr. Rickman. Geologists also have given their assistance in investigating the materials of these structures, and in disproving an opinion once entertained, that they were in part factitious; and many years since, in the library of Stourhead, it was my good fortune to hear one of your most distinguished members* relate the various species of stones to be found in the pillars of Stonehenge, and the different and distant localities from whence they were taken.

To refer in this place to the numerous authors who have described or speculated on Stonehenge, from Nennius to this hour, would be a waste of time. I shall only here observe, that Dr. Smith was, so far as I recollect, the first writer who, in 1771, pointed out its astronomical import; and it remained for subsequent writers, and particularly Mr. Bowles, in his *Hermes Britannicus*, and the late ingenious, though often prejudiced, Godfrey Higgins, to extract gradually and partially, from observation and reflection, the scheme which appears to have been intended to be developed by the founders of these temples. But I trust I shall not be considered as influenced by private friendship, if I give due weight and observance to the theory of my friend the Rev. Edward Duke, who, in his *Druidical Temples of Wiltshire*, has developed a scheme, which all must consider grand, and many may think sufficiently supported by facts and observation.

If surprise at the discovery of an ancient stationary orrery in the Wiltshire Downs, on a meridional line extending N. by S. sixteen miles, with the planets, seven in number, supposed to revolve round Silbury Hill, should create an incredulity, that impression may possibly be removed, if the facts are established, that the relative distances of those heavenly bodies are preserved in their assumed representations still remaining; if their names are in part still applied to them; if the proportions of the belt of Saturn, and that planet itself, may be tested by the circle of Stonehenge and its surrounding foss; if, further, it is recollected that the great meetings of the Celtic

* Dr. Buckland, now Dean of Westminster.

nations were held at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, and that these facts are combined with other visible proofs, —let candour at least be exercised towards the theory of my ingenious friend.

We may perhaps remember with advantage the ancient axiom of philosophy, “Omne receptum ad modum recipientis recipitur:” let not, therefore, a theory supported by facts be held absurd for want of knowledge and consideration necessary to its comprehension. We may bear in mind that Carnac now presents a monument nearly as extensive as this supposed line; that it was an eastern custom to parcel out ranges of country into astronomical nomes; that Mount Meru in Upper India was the primæval emblem of the earth, with its seven belts typifying the planets in their elliptic orbits; and that this scheme was imitated at Meroe and at Babylon, with its seven concentric squares and houses; that if, indeed, as Diogenes Laertius asserts, the Druids are to be classed with the gymnosophists of India, and if, as Cæsar relates, they were so skilled in astronomy, it may require no great stretch of imagination to suppose that these ancient Buddhist priests introduced here a representation of the celestial universe; and I think that the observations of Mr. Bowles on Abury shew that calculations in the calendar may be there traced. If Teutates or Mercury was the chief god of the Britons, he also was the inventor of astronomy, if, as is said, he introduced the intercalary days; they appear there in his astronomical temple; and it may be remembered that, in those dedicated to him in Egypt, the circle and the serpent were discovered by Denon; whilst the numerous Toothhills in this neighbourhood attest his general worship. If, again, the groups in these structures agree with the Metonic cycle and that of the Neros, it may be difficult to disprove their scientific use.

The ancient date ascribed to these edifices has been recently denied by the author of *Cyclops Christianus*, who contends that they were raised subsequently to the abandonment of Britain by the Romans, to aid the establishment of a system of Neo-Druidism, fused in another of perverted Christianity. But this period, marked by foreign invasion and internal contention, seems altogether unfavourable to such great national undertakings; and

the doubtful and figurative language of the Welsh writings adduced, and the different interpretations of which names and terms in them seem susceptible, even if they really support such a view, must materially detract from their value as historical evidence. Nor does it seem reasonable to suppose, with this author, that the avenues of Abury were intended to represent Druidical groves. Their serpentine form is described by Stukeley from observation, and, as I think, with the concurrence of Roger Gale, without reference to, and probably without a knowledge of, their astronomical import; and his description receives some confirmation from the Mithraic sculptures of ancient Persia, which display, in the representation of the Deity surrounded by a circle, which is itself supported by a serpent,—an image of the passage of the sun through the northern portion of the ecliptic,—the identical outline of the whole design.*

It has been objected that the Druids, or ancient priests, built their sacred edifices in the recesses of the woods. Why, then, were these mighty works exceptions to their practice? To me the answer seems obvious: because in no other situation could they serve the purposes of astronomy, on which the influence of the priests over the people depended. If I am correct in this observation, which I believe has not been made before, their import and object seem unquestionable.

Passing over the known Roman roads, and the stations on them, contested by Camden, Horsely, and Stukeley, as familiar to you, I may advert to the discovery of a road not mentioned in the *Itineraries* by Sir Richard Hoare, leading from Old Sarum to Uphill on the Severn. At the corner of Groveley Wood he traced the pitched causeway of this work, and successfully pursued it over Mendip to the borders of the river Axe; and his conjectural line

* Mr. Duke observes: "Had Stukeley been aware that the ancients did assimilate the ecliptic to the serpent, he would with this clue have unravelled that mystery which has been left to me, in these latter days, to unfold."—*Druidical Temples of Wiltz*, p. 44. Dr. Stukeley's work on Abury was published in 1743, in the lifetime of Roger Gale, a well-known antiquary, who accompanied him in his survey, and who died in 1744. I may observe that the *plan* of

Twining does not agree with the *description* of Aubrey, who mentions a walk between the circle and West Kennett formed of stones, and which forms a part of the serpentine line of Stukeley. Twining does not place a *stone* between these points, but draws a line of them from the circle called the serpent's head, near East Kennett, to the south of Silbury hill. The plan is as unmeaning as the hypothesis of the author.

from Aquæ Solis, or Bath, to Sarum, through Bishopstrowe, an equi-distant and considerable Roman station, by Over Street (near this place), where a causeway till lately existed, assumes the appearance of truth. Mr. Hatcher has shewn the progress of the Roman army under Vespasian through this county by the Ickneld Street and Old Sarum; and with regard to its subsequent operations under P. Ostorius, I feel bound to mention an opinion formed from local observation, and communicated to me by the late Captain Clarke of the Artillery, whose knowledge as a military surveyor was well known, that a line of Roman forts could be traced from the earth-work known as the Moot, on the Avon, to the Severn; to which he referred the passage in the Annals of Tacitus: "Cinctosque castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat."* To Mr. Hatcher we are also indebted for tracing, with peculiar success, the progress of the Saxon invasion in this neighbourhood (at Charford, Downton, Clearbury, Figbury Camp, and Old Sarum); his local knowledge affording him an advantage which Whittaker did not possess. To linger on the sites of subsequent conflicts, as the identity of Ellandun with Wilton, would scarcely interest the present company; but the restoration of the site of the battle of Edington to the village of that name near Bratton (by Sir Richard Hoare), from the positive objection of the historian of Manchester, may be cited to shew the superiority of personal research over the ingenious theories of the closet. The disposition of estates in Wiltshire recorded in Domesday book is familiar to us by Mr. Wyndham's translation; and the lines of descent have been traced, with more or less success, in the *History of South Wilts*. The elaborate chartulary of the Hungerford family afforded great assistance in this respect. We learn from the lists of knights' fees and "pedes finium," privately printed by Sir Thomas Phillips, as well as from other sources, that property in this county soon became sub-divided; and few baronial estates of large extent, with their subordinate feudatories, can be traced. The investigation of our ancient families has been facilitated by the heraldic visitations and monumental inscriptions gratuitously supplied by the gentlemen above-mentioned; but the critical account of the ancient earls

* Lib. xii. c. 31.

of Salisbury, the correction of their origin, now clearly assigned to the house of Roumar, from the errors of former genealogists, and the romantic events related of several members of it, as vividly shewn by Mr. Nichols in the description of Lacock Abbey, assume rather the dignity and value of historical research. We are indebted to the *History of South Wilts* for extended accounts of the Abbeys of Amesbury and Wilton in this neighbourhood. Several early charters of the first record the dispersion of the sisterhood for irregular conduct, the transfer of its possessions to the Abbey of Fontevrault, and its subsequent re-establishment. Amesbury has also been illustrated by extracts from the chartulary of Fontevrault, procured by Sir Thomas Phillips. In the history of Wilton Abbey, the character of King Edwy, which is usually described by monkish writers as hostile to the Church, shines forth as the donor of 100 hides of lands, "so long (according to his expression) as Christianity shall flourish;" an example of a conveyance to the Church, by offering charters at the altar, will here be found; and the ordinance of Bishop Wyvill, in 1379, for the regulation of the nuns, affords an interesting insight into the routine and occupations of monastic life. A portion of the Saxon chartulary of this abbey is valuable as a vocabulary in the description of lands; and a poem on the miracles of St. Edith, written in 1420, adds another specimen of early attempts at rhyme. It may be observed that the three great monasteries in this neighbourhood, Wilton, Amesbury, and Shaftesbury, which held so large a portion of the surrounding territory, were all consecrated to the purposes of female devotion; and that, of all those majestic edifices, time and the hand of man have "left not a wreck behind." I may here mention the account of the possessions of the Abbey of Glastonbury in South Damerham, with the original deed of gift from King Edmond, assassinated A.D. 946, to his queen, and ultimately to that foundation; with two other Saxon deeds from Kings Edgar and Edred, and the Saxon perambulation of that wide estate. The outlines of the ancient cathedral, and of its precincts on Old Sarum, were clearly ascertained by Mr. Hatcher some years since; and are, I believe, easily traced on the turf at this season of the year. It is needless to refer to the well-known de-

scriptions of our present cathedral by Mr. Britton and others, although I know not whether the spirit of minute technicality, which characterises modern investigation, will be satisfied with them. I have not seen the survey of this church mentioned by Mr. Gough as made by Sir Christopher Wren, a native (by the way) of our county, nor do I know that more than a cursory account has been given of the singular process of super-imposing the tower and spire on the fabric after its completion. The documents of the ancient church-music and services, "secundum usum Sarum," are universally known.* Of many illustrious and respectable prelates who have adorned and governed this episcopate, the notices have scarcely been commensurate with the services they have rendered to religion and learning. Osmond, the patron, if not the founder, of the original church, himself a prince, a prelate, and a statesman, the compiler of a liturgy universally adopted, and, in a barbarous age, an author and an encourager of learning in others, might well deserve a modern biographical monument. Of Jewel, the successful defender of the Reformation and of the Anglican Church, I know not that a memoir exists. Yet we cannot but remark the peculiar good fortune which has attended this see in so distinguished an episcopal succession, and which happily continues to attend it at the present time. The plans of our parish-churches are engraved in the *History of South Wilts*. My own observation has led me to believe that the adoption of the Anglo-Saxon arch, with its earliest mouldings, lingered in this country to a later period than that usually assigned to it. Ecclesiastical patrons have not unfrequently given a more ample and ornamental character to these fabrics, as we see in the examples of Downton, Broadchalk, and Bishopstone. The singular cloister attached to the latter church deserves the inspection and explanation of this Society. Of sepulchral monuments, time will only allow me to observe, that few have given rise to more controversy than that in the church of Britford (within a short walk of this spot), appropriated by some to the Duke of Buckingham, beheaded here by order of Richard III. The site of one of the five places of tournament assigned

* A list of them is inserted in Gough's | are preserved in the Bodleian Library.
Topography, article 'Wiltshire;' and many |

by Richard I. may be seen under Old Sarum, in a space between the roads leading to Bath and to Devizes.

It remains for me to advert to the elaborate topography of the ancient and royal forest of Clarendon in this immediate neighbourhood, which has been completed since the death of Sir Richard Hoare, through the diligent accuracy of Mr. John Nichols; and I venture to believe that a more perfect picture was never presented of an establishment of this kind than in this hunting-seat, not only of our Norman, but our Saxon kings. Even in those early days, every part of their plan is found completed; for the maintenance of the demesne, the preservation of the game, and the conduct of the chase, when sergeancies, or portions of the estate, were set apart for the support of the several foresters. At the Conquest, the hereditary custody of Clarendon is assigned to a Norman baron, Waleran, surnamed the Hunter, the office descending even to the female line and their heirs; and the three minor bailiwicks are held by foresters by the same tenure. The hereditary keepers of the harriers assume their surname from their occupation, and transmit it to their posterity; and, as some suppose, did those of the wolf-hounds also. In the extracts from the Clause-rolls, and those of the Exchequer, the repairs, the improvements, and the paintings of this sylvan palace are shewn; and the foundations lately discovered by Sir Thomas Phillips display the long mass of irregular building on the ground-floor.

Norrington House, an example of a manor-place, not of a defensive character, in the reign of Richard II., has found a congenial topographer in the late Charles Bowles. Of Wilton and its treasures I need not speak. The designs of Thacker have rendered the original plan and detail of Longford Castle (a building unique in its union of Elizabethan and contemporary continental architecture) familiar to antiquaries. It is scarcely necessary to add, that many vestiges of ancient building surround us which are described in Hall's *Memorials of Salisbury*. Of these, perhaps the most remarkable are, the Hall of John Hall, the domicile of a great merchant temp. Edward IV., and the subject of an elaborate volume by the Rev. E. Duke; the edifice once a convent, and then converted into a town residence by the family of Audley, and at present the

city workhouse, and a good example of the ancient hostel, not many steps from where we are now assembled.

Of manners, customs, and local incidents, the history of this city presents no slight memorial. The rise of the guilds and companies, and the communications arising from foreign trade, might perhaps be further illustrated, and deserve a particular investigation in North Wilts, where several families of Flemish origin appear to have settled. But the singular position in which the citizens of Salisbury were placed, as in those days so subservient to the bishops as lords of the manor, gives a peculiar individuality to this subject. The process for procuring the canonisation of St. Osmond, completed in 1456, with the proofs adduced of miracles wrought at his tomb, and the execution here of Ann Bodenham for witchcraft in the seventeenth century, are both lamentable examples of imposition, credulity, and fanaticism, which may yet be read with interest, if not with practical advantage. In the work to which I have alluded,* some spirited sketches are introduced of old provincial society in this city and county, and also some original biographies of natives, both written by the late lamented Recorder of Salisbury, a man who, had he survived, would have more worthily filled my place in this assembly, and whose knowledge and talent would have thrown that interest into this account in which I fear it is now deficient.

But if I have briefly noticed the results of archæological research chiefly with regard to the southern division of Wilts, I must refer to its northern portion as only not entirely destitute of description, though still altogether inadequately investigated. Its more prominent features have, it is true, been presented to the public in the popular publications of Mr. Britton; but his plan necessarily interdicted minute and particular detail. The Abbey of Lacock has, indeed, found a poet and an historian in Mr. Bowles and Mr. Nichols; but Malmesbury demands a thorough investigation of its architecture and its archives; and many other monastic houses are unrecorded. Nor can we say more of the castles of Marlborough—Castle Coombe, Trowbridge, and Devizes—or of the vast extent

* Modern Wilts, Old and New Sarum, | M.A., and Henry Hatcher, Esq.
or Salisbury, by Robert Benson, Esq., |

of subordinate knights' fees dependent on them. The mansions of Chalfield, Wraxal, and Corsham may have engaged the notice of architects; but the ancient manor-houses of Littlecot, Stanton St. Quintin, Charlton, and Spye Park (with the modern splendour of Bowood), remain undescribed. It may be hoped that the Wiltshire Society lately established will in time direct their attention to the practical end of topographical research and description. It is not for me to criticise its proceedings, but I may venture perhaps to remark, that the application of ancient documents, and even local biographies, to this purpose, may possibly be more generally useful than the publication of them in their original, but often, as some may think, ungainly and repulsive forms. From the educated class of resident gentry and clergy in that division very valuable assistance might be obtained; and be it observed, that such communications (when not made the vehicles of professional pretensions or political controversy), if they fail to attract general attention, must, at least as a local benefit, be duly appreciated in their own neighbourhood.

Nor let it be thought that the superintendence of, or contribution to, such works, is beneath the attention of superior ability. It is, indeed, the verdict of Samuel Johnson, that "a mere antiquarian is a rugged being;" and we certainly cannot expect *that* sympathy to be *universal* which some of us may feel towards the uncouth phraseology of Leland, or Speed, or Plot, or Hearne; but all may admire the classical allusions of Camden, and the unbounded learning of Selden. Bentham may shew us how architectural detail may be stript of mathematical formality, and communicated at once with correctness and interest. We may commend the clear, unpretending diction and perseverance of Hutchins; the unwearied labour, candour, and urbanity of the elder Nichols; the well-informed mind and high spirit of the English gentleman, which characterised Dunham Whittaker, and who will deny to the historian of Hallamshire the praise of an accurate style, acute investigation, and happy development of his subject? Had Gray left us a topography, we know, from his antiquarian sketches, that it would have been marked by the grace, precision, and genius, which distinguished his poetry. Had Scott undertaken the history of

his shire, his narrative would have been as attractive as his historic tales; and in Thomas Warton, the scholar, the poet, and the archæologist, we may see how matured taste and vigorous understanding could elevate such subjects, and how a lively imagination could transport the writer into those scenes and times themselves, without clouding his mind and impairing his judgment.

I have so long intruded on the time of this meeting, that the most acceptable sentence I could now utter would be, "verbum non amplius addam;" but I must still entertain another word on the subject of this essay. Excuses for the imperfect execution of a voluntary task are rightly held as nugatory and invalid. *My* task, however, was undertaken at the desire of a Secretary of the Society, expressed only a short time before this meeting; and it was consequently performed without adequate preparation, without the appliances of a library, and amidst the interruptions of other engagements. I am aware that these circumstances have added to my original deficiencies, in discussing a subject so interesting and extensive; but if I had declined it, I might have fallen into a still less satisfactory position, in being charged with disrespect to the Archæological Institute.

THE TOPOGRAPHICAL GATHERINGS AT STOURHEAD, 1825-1833.

WHEN called upon, as a member of this Institute, to visit the county of Wilts, for the purpose of examining some of the remarkable objects of antiquity with which it abounds, I could not but have forcibly recalled to my mind visits which, many years ago, I had been accustomed, from year to year, to pay to this county, for purposes in many respects similar. And it soon occurred to me that, in an assemblage like this, when we are met for the prosecution of archæological researches, for the mutual communication of knowledge of the kind formerly acquired, for the encouraging each other in the prosecution of researches which tend so directly to the honour of the country to which we belong, and even to the elevation of our common nature, and for the propagation and extension of the spirit of a rational antiquarianism, some account might not be unacceptable of meetings, on a much smaller scale indeed, but having ultimately the same objects in view, which so many years ago had been held periodically in the same county.

It will at once be understood that I must allude to the gatherings of antiquarians at Stourhead, collected year by year by Sir Richard Colt Hoare,—a venerable name, the father of the rational school of Wiltshire archæology, when he was prosecuting that great work in which he has thrown so much light upon the history of the several divisions of this county, so that his name must for ever have a place in the topographical literature of the country, and by which he will be, in time to come, honourably distinguished in the history of his family.

Sir Richard Hoare had possessed, from a very early period of life, a large share of historical curiosity, and a large amount also of literary ambition. He published various works before he gave himself up so entirely as he afterwards did to the study of British antiquities. He

was originally what we may call an antiquary of the times called classical,—an antiquary in the Italian sense of the word, which allows not the honourable name to him who searches into the remains of barbarous or semi-cultivated people, or to those whose inquiries are confined to the remains of mediæval times. But he soon found that England is not a favourable country for the prosecution of researches such as those, that our Roman remains are poor though interesting to ourselves, and that they afford very little scope for discovery. He perceived at the same time that ours was an island still to be *discovered*, that it contained a multitude of remains, the works of men in ages extremely remote, and the works also of noble and ingenious spirits, who, in the middle ages, had enriched our land with splendid efforts of art, both in architecture and sculpture. He perceived also, that at the very door of his own mansion there were mounds, the secrets of which no one had discovered,—the secrets as respected the purpose for which they had been erected, or the kind of treasures over which they might have been heaped. And when, from the near neighbourhood of his own seat, he cast his eye upon the wide-spread Downs of this county, he saw them covered with similar works; while amongst them, and apparently as coæval with them, arose those two mighty and mysterious monuments, Stonehenge and Abury. He saw in all this a field of inquiry hitherto unexplored, yet full of curiosity and interest, and where the researches might be rewarded by valuable discoveries concerning the condition and habits of the primitive inhabitants of this island, that certain bounds might possibly be placed to the period of man's existence in this part of the world, and some kind of rational history be given of our remotest ancestors, so as for ever to banish the fables of Jeffery and the Brute chronicle.

He had in those days, that is, in the transition period, when he was passing from a Greek and Roman to a British antiquary, two friends, who, with far less favourable means for gratifying themselves in the pursuits to which their natural inclinations disposed them, had not less enthusiasm than he, nor at the beginning were they inferior to him in knowledge, or, perhaps, even in taste. These were Mr. Fenton, whose portrait visitors to Stour-

head will well remember as one of the ornaments of the entrance-hall, and whom Sir Richard Hoare always honoured especially with the name of his friend. Mr. Cunningham of Heytesbury was the other, whose attention had long been attracted by the barrows, and who joined with a fondness for investigations in these works of the men of the primeval ages, a curiosity respecting those still higher antiquities which speak of a "departed world," and are indeed its "mighty shadow." It was, perhaps, at Mr. Fenton's suggestion that he undertook to translate and illustrate *Giraldus*; and he learned lessons from Mr. Cunningham's experience respecting the best modes of investigating the contents of the barrows.

Not that these gentlemen were, in those days, the only antiquarian acquaintance he could find in this county, to which I know not with certainty that Mr. Fenton can be said to have originally belonged. Mr. Archdeacon Coxe was a man of historical research, and general literary curiosity; Mr. Wansey of Warminster had made some collections for the illustration of part of the county, which he willingly imparted to Sir Richard; Mr. Hatcher, with the assistance of Mr. Leman, had prepared his translation of that very dubious treatise attributed to Richard of Cirencester; Mr. Britton was then beginning his topographical inquiries respecting Wiltshire; and there were one or two other persons known to him who had some taste for these researches, and some acquaintance with the subject. It will not, however, I apprehend, be disputed in this assembly, where there must be some who are better acquainted with the state of Wiltshire half a century ago than I can pretend to be, that Wiltshire partook of the general apathy respecting these exciting and ennobling studies, and that the number of persons was very small who had any knowledge of Wiltshire antiquities or Wiltshire history, or who desired to possess any. That such a desire afterwards arose was principally owing to him.

Nor is it meant to be impressed upon this assembly that Sir Richard Hoare was the first person in England who sought to penetrate into the secrets of the barrows. A little research had been made in Derbyshire, and perhaps other counties in which they are found; but the researches had been pursued without system, and the ob-

ject had often been the mere gratification of an unscientific curiosity; certainly not with a view of determining the truth by experiment, and substituting the authentic results of experiment for the vague and uncertain theories which were received in the world. There had, however, been a work in which this had been done in one part of the kingdom, the *Nenia* of Douglas, which was published in 1793. What Sir Richard Hoare did, was to do at home what had been done in part for Sussex and Kent, and to do it more completely, and, if more completely, better. And for this purpose he set resolutely to work, taking, I believe early, Mr. Offer to his assistance; and engaging a host of sappers and miners, of surveyors and delineators, he compelled what turned out in most instances to be prison-houses, or rather the secret and quiet chambers of the dead, to disclose their secrets, and to give up the treasures that had sometimes been buried with their long-forgotten tenants. In a few years he had nearly exhausted the subject: he had examined so many, and had found so much uniformity in the contents of them, that he came to the conclusion that a further prosecution of such researches would add little if any thing new to the barrow-inventory, the formation of which he soon found was the ultimatum in barrow-researches. This was his delightful employment for some of the more active years of his life. It kept him out of political life; it was the substitute for the ordinary avocations of country gentlemen. According to his own favourite expression, it was more exciting than a fox-chase. It drew around him whatever of science and literature there was in this part of the kingdom; it attracted learned strangers from all countries to his house, to inspect the curious remains which were orderly disposed there; and he had the gratification of seeing that he had lighted a flame in the bosoms of some of the youths of Wiltshire, which might in time to come shed still further light on the things which had been the objects of his own researches.

Sir Richard Hoare is not to be looked upon as the mere experimenter. He proceeded to use the results of his experiments in the way of the best philosophy, by throwing them into classes, both the barrows themselves and the things found in them. He compared also the

different kinds of barrows with the kinds of artificial remains found in them; just as the geologist refers the debris of animal and vegetable life to the different strata in which they are found, and from thence deduces very important truths. The results of all this labour he gave to the world in the two splendid folios which he entitled *Ancient Wiltshire*. The conclusions which are exhibited in that work are entitled to the greatest respect; and if still mysteries hang over your more notable monuments, you share but with the people of other countries where Cyclopean remains are found; and should the wizard ever arise who shall dispel these deepest shades, he will be largely indebted to the generous and persevering labour of Sir Richard Hoare, who will present him with accurate admeasurements and faithful representations of objects, which may then have passed from the face of the earth. One of the greatest consolations of literature it is to know that books outlast all other monuments, be they of brass or marble, or even of earth itself. In this great work Sir Richard Hoare is entitled to stand very much alone as its author; and it is but in that spirit of modesty, which was a striking part of a character singularly gentle and amiable, that he assigns to any other person any material share in the labour.

Having done so much for the county in which he lived, it now occurred to him that there was a modern as well as an ancient history to be given of every part of this island; and he could not have seen such remains as Old Sarum, or such a magnificent structure as the cathedral of this diocese, or the striking remains of monastic grandeur at Lacock and Malmesbury, or the monuments of eminent men of former days in so many of the churches of Wiltshire, or such places as Longlete, Wardour, Wilton, and Longford, without feeling that to know why these things were, and how they became what they were and are, was a legitimate subject of curiosity, and might even awaken an interest not inferior to that which the barrows and the Cyclopean works of the county had called forth. Even his own seat, and the long series of eminent persons who had sprung from some one who first planted himself at the six springs of the Stour, their building with French gold, the vicissitudes in their history, the traditions and the sad

realities belonging to them, had never been made the subject of historical inquiry ; and as to the villages and smaller towns of the county, their history was as much unknown as is the history of the little centres of population in Siberia. Even now, notwithstanding what has been done, how exceedingly imperfect is our knowledge even concerning that greatest event in the history of modern Wiltshire, the supposed transference of the people of Old Sarum to the site on which this city now stands !

Wiltshire, in this respect, was, however, in no worse condition than some of the counties in its neighbourhood. Only Dorsetshire could claim to have had an elaborate investigation of what we must, on Sir Richard's principle, call its modern history, with whom all was modern that was subsequent to the fourth century. This work, therefore, he next undertook ; and he saw in it at once a means of rendering a valuable service to his county, and of providing easy and agreeable occupation for the remaining years of his life. He therefore designed the work, to which he gave the title of *Modern Wiltshire* ; and he determined that it should appear with the same splendour in which the *Ancient Wiltshire* had come forth. An unfortunate determination this, since books of topography must necessarily contain many things of trifling import, and not worthy or fit to be exhibited in splendour of typography, or in the midst of profuse embellishments.

But topography is a subject on which it is not enough to form the resolve that a book shall be written, if the book is to be of any value. The explorer of barrows has the barrow at hand ; and the philosopher and the poet retires into his own study, and there completes his work from the beginning to the end. But the topographer has to gather his materials from places in which they are deposited, widely remote from each other. He cannot invent a series of patrons and incumbents for his livings ; he must go to the place where the records lie. He cannot call up by his imagination the series of knights and esquires who have formed the lines of the ancient feudal lords ; he must resort to the places where the memorials of them are preserved. He cannot, in ordinary circumstances, bring chartularies to his own house, and still less can he move the archives of ancient families, if, indeed, he is so fortu-

nate as to be allowed even to consult them. He must visit the several places of which he has to speak, observe for himself whatever objects of curiosity there may be, and study the memorials of the past on the walls and in the books of the church. All this is the rough-hewing of topography; the finer work comes afterwards—the combining, the collation of the facts, the making deductions from them. Now all this, it was neither consistent with Sir Richard Hoare's habits, nor, indeed, with the state of his health, to undertake; and unfortunately for him, Wiltshire had not had, like some other counties, collectors who had left in manuscript what they had gathered in public repositories as topographical information. Nor were those public repositories opened, as they now are; or the printed copies so extensively made, or so widely distributed, as they were some years after, under the liberal administration of record-affairs, by Mr. Purton Cooper. So that Sir Richard Hoare soon found, that to execute such a work as he had undertaken, it was necessary that he should call in the assistance of others, not of surveyors and draftsmen only, but of transcribers, and ultimately of persons who would undertake the whole labour for portions of the county, subject only to a slight superintendence on his own part, sufficient to secure the uniformity of his work.

It was out of this that the annual gatherings of topographers at Stourhead arose.

Always hospitable, always liberal, always generous and kind, he had long been accustomed to receive at his house persons of literary tastes and habits; but now the hospitalities assumed something of a more systematic character, and those who had the honour and privilege to join in these assemblies were accustomed to expect a summons for the September week, from Monday to Saturday, as the invitations always ran. They were not confined to those who were the actual labourers with him in the work; indeed some of those formed no part of the circle; but they were persons known to be devoted to such kinds of studies, and who were supposed to have it in their power to make suggestions, to remove special difficulties, to impart casual information, or in any other way to lend some small assistance in the design, which was still ever the central point about which the whole turned. Sir Richard had also, it

may be believed, a purpose beyond this,—a purpose accordant with the liberality and kindness of his disposition, the bringing together men of kindred spirits, that they might cultivate friendly relations, commune with each other, learn from each other, and be encouraged and assisted and advised in any undertaking of their own. He had also the further purpose of making that noble topographical library which he had collected useful to his friends, who found in it every book which the researches of the topographer require, and, year after year, the new books in this department as they made their appearance.

The persons who composed these sodalities were usually six or seven; not always the same, as the invitations could not always be accepted by all to whom they were issued. It will not be supposed that I am about to name all the literary friends of the worthy baronet who partook of his hospitalities; I shall confine myself in the enumeration to the persons who may be said to have composed this little antiquarian club, if such it may be called, many of whom are like their kind host, now dead, though some are still surviving; and I shall begin with the youngest members of it, two friends, of this county, and who seem to have caught their antiquarian taste from the father of Wiltshire archæology; I mean Mr. Matcham, to whom more than one entire hundred was committed, and Mr. Benson, the late deputy recorder of this city, who had a share in that which is the most difficult part of the duties of a topographer, the history of the metropolitan city. These two gentlemen were avowedly engaged in the work.

Near to them let me place another friend, who, like Mr. Benson, was removed from the world before he had time to bring forth all the good fruits that might have been expected from his knowledge and learning, one of the blandest manners and kindest heart, Mr. John Gage, who had not then assumed the name by which he was afterwards known, of Rokewood, who was at the time of his death the director of the Society of Antiquaries, and one of the most valued of the contributors to the works of that society. He had already gained for himself a name in the topographical literature of the country by the publication of the history of the seat of his ancient family at Hengrave, to which he afterwards added the history of the hundred

of the county of Suffolk, of which Hengrave is one of the principal ornaments.

And this reminds me of another gentleman who printed an account of the seat of his ancestors in another county, Mr. Thomas Lister Parker, the author of the *History of Browsholme*. His turn was most for architectural curiosities, and more particularly for domestic architecture. He brought, I remember, on one occasion, an extraordinary collection of drawings of the old mansions of Lancashire and Cheshire; so large, that scarcely any thing in those counties that was worth drawing can have escaped his notice.

Then there were the two Bowleses, William Lisle and Charles, men who will be long honoured in the literature of their times. Mr. Charles Bowles was one who undertook a particular hundred, as part of Sir Richard Hoare's design, and completed it in an admirable manner; but Mr. Lisle Bowles's contributions to topography, though they related to the county, related to places—Lacock and Bremhill—which were not comprehended within that southern part of the county, which only, at that time, Sir Richard Hoare considered as being his province.

The northern hundreds of Wiltshire it was, at that time, understood would be undertaken by another of the Stourhead party, Sir Thomas Phillipps; and it is to be hoped that he has not yet abandoned the design. It is known, indeed, that he is still collecting materials, and that among the immense literary treasures at Middlehill, there is much which belongs more especially to Wiltshire. It is to be hoped that something will yet be done, and we have at least the consolation of knowing that topographical knowledge, like wine, is seldom the worse for keeping.

There was also the late Lord Arundel of Wardour occasionally present, a man of frank manners and noble bearing. He also had undertaken one of the hundreds, and he completed his work before he went to reside at Rome, where, like the two other topographers of this circle of whom I have spoken, he was cut off in the midst of his days.

In this circle was also to be found Mr. John Caley, who had at his command a great amount of the national records, from which he supplied Sir Richard from time to time, but sparingly, with materials for his history. I say sparingly; for in truth Mr. Caley belonged to the old school

of English archivists and keepers of manuscripts, now fast passing away, who had no sympathy with antiquarian zeal, doing nothing themselves, nor assisting others, but content with the merest perfunctory performance of their duties.

Those whom I have named formed the party properly topographical; but it seldom happened that there were not other persons present beside members of Sir Richard Hoare's own family and his librarian, Mr. Cassan. There was not unfrequently an artist, Mr. Smith, son to the Mr. Smith who invented the poker-drawings. He was engaged by Sir Richard to prepare a set of portraits, in small, and in a loose sketchy manner, of his guests, which were not very successfully performed, though the whole found a place in the worthy baronet's private apartments.

Nor ought I to omit to mention that there were three or four clergymen who were frequent visitors in those days at Stourhead, all more or less distinguished in the literature of the time. Among these were Mr. Meyrick, a fine scholar and most ingenious man; Mr. Warner, whose name is so honourably distinguished in several departments of literature; Mr. Skinner, the rector of Camerton, who left large collections of topographical and philological matter; and Mr. Leman, a great master of the Roman antiquities of Britain.

Such an assemblage, in such a place, and under the presidency of one so estimable as the master of the house, could not fail of being most agreeable; and probably none of those who were present, and still remain alive, remember those meetings but with recollections of the rational pleasure that they gave. Sir Richard usually breakfasted in his own apartments, where he occasionally admitted one or two of his guests, when he was seen with his tables and the floor strewn with books, manuscripts, and loose papers, engravings, seals, charters, and all the other paraphernalia of the antiquarian student, with abundance of copy, and proof-sheets, and fragments of his own work, on which he wrought daily with great assiduity. At twelve o'clock he usually joined the party in the library, where he remained about half an hour, and did not again make his appearance till the hour of dinner approached, which was commonly served at five o'clock. The evenings were passed in conversation and other amusements.

To the more studious of the party, and especially to those of them who had not easy access to so rich a collection of printed books, the library afforded sufficient employment; to the lover of the fine arts, the collection of pictures, for which the house at Stourhead is so renowned; while the gardens abounded in attractions for the botanist; and the beauty of the walks through the grounds, and the many objects of interest which were presented in them, were a perpetual relief to all. It will be seen from this that the studies of the party were not very intensely pursued, and that the antiquarians were not wholly absorbed by the objects which had brought them together. There was no want of holiday; for there was no restraint upon any one. Whatever any one could contribute of information or amusement was most graciously accepted. The days passed smoothly and pleasantly along, and it was matter of regret to every one when the day of separation arrived.

That they interested in the progress of Sir Richard's work some who had it in their power to render him most efficient assistance, and that more of the work was accomplished than would have been had these annual gatherings not been instituted, no one can doubt; but it may be hoped that they have contributed in some degree to that great change in the public mind respecting the value and importance of these studies, of which the existence of this Institute is one among other proofs. We no longer look with indifference on the works of our ancestors, or think it a matter of indifference to know *why* we find a castle on one site and a cathedral on another; why a church is found in some little-frequented spot, and when it was erected, or whether it is not indigenous to the place, like the yew tree which grows near it. The spirit is certainly abroad; and the question seems now to be, not whether the curiosity shall exist, but whether objects still remain unexamined and undescribed on which that curiosity shall exert itself. We may console ourselves, however, with the thought, that there is still much to be done in binding up in systems the truths which single objects may have suggested or presented.

To recur again to Stourhead: the last of these reunions at which I was present was in 1832, when Sir

Richard Hoare was greatly enfeebled; and perhaps it was the last that was held; for he lived only a few years after that date, in increasing weakness; yet he continued working in his favourite employment; and when he died, it was but little that remained to be done to complete his history of that part of the county—the southern half of it—to which latterly he limited his design. That little was done by his successor in the title and estate, and on the same scale of magnificence on which he had himself begun the work. He maintained his place in the high respect of every one to the last, the Atticus of his neighbourhood, the best of good men, the friend to every one; he who set, not in his own county alone, but in the kingdom at large, examples of correct taste in all that belongs to the decoration of the seats of opulence, and of an energetic employment of time and abilities, which are but too commonly devoted to pursuits and occupations which end in the temporary gratification. But who could create such a place as the family, in successive generations, have created at Stourhead? I conclude with the testimony of one who knew him intimately, and who thus sketches the scene, as well as the pursuits and the character of its master.

“ And thou,
 Witness, Elysian Tempe of STOURHEAD!
 Oh, not because, with bland and gentle smile,
 Adding a radiance to the look of age,
 Like eve's still light, thy liberal master spreads
 His letter'd treasures;—*not* because his search
 Has dived the Druid mound, illustrating
 His county's annals, and the monuments
 Of darkest ages;—*not* because his woods
 Wave o'er the dripping cavern of OLD STOUR,
 Whose classic temples gleam along the edge
 Of the clear waters, winding beautiful;—
 Oh, not because the works of breathing art—
 Of Poussin, Rubens, Rembrandt, Gainsborough,
 Start, like creations, from the silent walls—
 To thee this tribute of respect and love,
 Beloved, benevolent, and gen'rous HOARE,
 Grateful I pay;—but that, when thou art dead,
 (Late may it be!) the poor man's tear will fall,
 And his voice falter, when he speaks of thee.”

Days Departed, by W. L. Bowles, 1828.

ON THE EARLY ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTH BRITAIN.

THERE is appended to this paper a Map of the South-eastern portion of Britain and a Chronological Table. The dates furnished by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* are printed in italics, and those obtained from other sources in Roman characters; and by a like difference of letter, I have distinguished the English and Anglo-Saxon names of places from the Welsh and Latin.

The map is intended to shew the political divisions of Britain in the early part of the sixth century. The ancient roads, whether British or Roman, are marked in continuous or interrupted lines, accordingly as their direction has been more or less perfectly ascertained; and the dikes, which in various places intersect the country, have their vallum indicated by a shaded line, and the foss (when present) indicated by a line more lightly marked.

It is reasonable to infer that, when one of these boundary-lines was drawn between two neighbouring tribes, the earth-work was constructed by the more civilised race, or, in other words, by the race which had the clearest notions of the value and the rights of property. We know from Roman history that the Britons of the coast were a more civilised race than those who dwelt further inland; and it will be observed that the dikes supposed to have been made by the Belgæ, as they gradually expelled the British tribes who had preceded them, always have the foss to the northward. Three of these ditches are marked in the map: Bokerly Ditch, south of Salisbury; the Old Ditch, north of Amesbury; and Wansdyke (Wodens dike*), portions

* The etymology suggested by Stukely, and adopted by Warton, according to which Wansdyke came from the Welsh word *gwahan*, 'separation,' is contradicted by all our Anglo-Saxon charters. These

invariably name the earth-work *Wodenes dic*. The corruption of Wodens dike to Wansdyke is precisely the same we find in our modern pronunciation of *Wednesday*.

of which may yet be traced across the island from Berkshire westward to the Bristol Channel. Offa's Ditch, on the borders of Wales, is also in consistency with the principle we are illustrating; for there can be little doubt that in Offa's day the Englishmen of the lowlands were more civilised beings than their neighbours, the wild Welshmen of the mountain.

But there are certain dikes, often known by the name of *Grimsdikes*, which at first sight it is not easy to account for on this principle. The Grimsditch, south of Salisbury, has its foss to the south, and, according to the description of Sir R. Colt Hoare, pierces the line of Bokerly Ditch, and therefore must have been a later work. As we may infer from Cæsar that the Belgæ came into Britain not long before his time, it follows that the Grimsditch, which intersects one of their boundary-lines, must have been made at a period which is clearly within the reach of history. Yet, from the day when the Belgæ first dug Bokerly Ditch till the Romans left the island, when were the southern coasts occupied by races less civilised than those of the interior? Again, the Berkshire Grimsdike, south of Stratley, must have been made by a people who inhabited a woody and intricate country, to separate their district from the open plains to the north-westward. At what period can the construction of such a work in such a locality be accounted for, on any reasonable hypothesis, before the arrival in the island of our own ancestors?

It was the opinion of Stukely that the term Grimsdike was equivalent to "witches' work; for the vulgar generally think these extraordinary works made by help of the devil;" and I believe his opinion is the one which is generally entertained by English antiquaries at the present day. But the Anglo-Saxon *grim-e*, a witch, forms its genitive in *an*, *grim-an*, while the phrase which answers to Grimsditch is always *Grimes dic*. This form of the genitive requires a masculine or a neuter substantive, *grim*. I once thought this word might be of English origin; but am now inclined to look upon it as connected with the *gruma* or *groma* of the Agrimensors.* If it be so, *grimes*

* There is another Latin term whose meaning would be singularly applicable; *grumi*, *οἱ τῶν ὄρων λίθοι*. *Lex. Martini*. It should be observed, that our Anglo-Saxon charters not unfrequently use Latin

phrases, when describing the boundaries, some of which must have been adopted by our ancestors very soon after their arrival in the island.

dic may be equivalent to boundary-dike. Such a hypothesis agrees well with the circumstances under which the word *grim* occurs in Anglo-Saxon charters and in our modern provincial dialects. Thus, in an Anglo-Saxon charter* of the tenth century, we find mention made of a certain locality called "grimsetenet gemæro," the meers or march of the Grim-setan; and this term *Grim-setan* can only be rendered the inhabitants of the *Grim*, i. e. *the boundary*. Again, our ancestors must have been well acquainted with the purpose intended to be answered by the Roman walls in North Britain; and accordingly we find the wall of Antoninus still popularly known as the Grimes-dike and the Scotch Græmes, † located in its neighbourhood; while at the western extremity of the southern wall are found the English Græmes, and near them and in front of the wall, the village of Grimsdale. Lastly, we often find near these dikes names which seem to indicate the vicinity of different races. For instance, immediately north of the Wiltshire Grimsdike, and not many miles from "Cerdices Ford" (Charford), there is a village still called Britford; and in some of our Anglo-Saxon charters ‡ we find in the same neighbourhood another locality called "Brytta pol," the pool of the Brits. It would not be easy to account for either of these names except on the hypothesis that around the Grimsdike Britons and Englishmen were once neighbours, and continued so for a period long enough to fix on certain localities names derived from their respective occupants.

I would suggest, therefore, that the names *Grim* and *Grimsdike* may have been given to certain works which were known to our ancestors as having served the purposes of boundary-lines. It is not necessary that they should have been constructed, or indeed even used as boundaries, subsequently to the Saxon occupation of the island. We have no clear evidence that the Scottish Grimesdike was ever used for such a purpose after that event; and the two Grimsdikers which run respectively north of Woodstock and east of Bensington, if we believe the accounts given us of the former by Stukely and Warton, and of the latter by

* See No. 561 of that valuable work, Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus.

† *Grim setene* is, of course, a corruption of *Grim-setena*.

‡ *Grimes* is the southern equivalent for *Græme*. The names *John Grimes* and

John Græme both signify John of the Grime or Græme. The use of the uninflected word Græme, instead of the genitive Grimes, is characteristic of the northern dialect.

§ Cod. Dipl. 778.

Plot, must have been ancient British works made long before the arrival of our ancestors, and probably selected by them merely as affording convenient lines of demarcation. The hypothesis above stated seems to be sufficient to account for all the peculiarities connected with this particular class of earthworks.

A very striking feature in the landscape of South Britain, during the sixth century, must have been the vast forest which spread over the wealds of Kent and Sussex, from the mouth of the Rother* as far westward, at the least, as Privett† in Hampshire. The *Saxon Chronicle* describes it as 120 miles long and 30 miles broad; and its real dimensions were probably much greater than we have represented them. The Welsh called it the Andred, or uninhabited district;‡ and the Anglo-Saxons, *Andredes Leah*, or the Lea of Andred. *Natan Leah*, or the Lea of Nat-e, seems to have included that part of the New Forest which lay north of the Roman road from Nutshalling to Ringwood—or, in other words, the natural woodland, which William enlarged into the New Forest, by afforesting the south-western portion of Hampshire—and also that tract of wood and common, on the other side of the Test, through which the Itchin flows into the Southampton Water. It is pretty clear that our modern term Netley, though not the representative, is the equivalent of *Natan Leah*. Anglo-Saxon names of places sometimes take what may be called the genitival form, as *Natan Leah*; and sometimes appear as mere compounds, as *Nate-leah*. I have never met with the compound *Nate-leah*, but there can be no doubt it once existed, and that it is now represented by Netley. It will be observed, that at the points where the Roman roads from the coast entered this woodland, we have on both sides of the Southampton Water localities called Netley,§ and these localities in all probability indicated the boundaries of the Lea of Nat-e. *Cerdices Leah*, or the Lea of Cerdic, appears to have consisted of Bernwood Forest, and other woodlands to the

* Sax. Chron. an. 893.

† Ibid. an. 755.

‡ *Andred* is compounded of the negative prefix *an*, and *tred*, 'a hamlet.'

§ The name of Netley seems to have

been common in this woodland district. On the south-eastern border of Clarendon Forest, near Salisbury, was a place called Netley Coppice. Hoare's *Wiltshire*, 5. p. 138.

north of it ; and in Chearsley, the name of a village which lies on the eastern border of this district, we probably have a corruption of the old Anglo-Saxon name, *Cerðices Leah*.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the chases of Waltham and Cranbourne, and the districts which now bear the names of Holt, Chute, Wychwood, Whittlebury, Grimsbury, Pamber, and Bere Forests, are all of them relics of ancient woodlands ; and they are accordingly marked as such in the map. Bearruc-wood, from which, as Asser tells us, Berkshire took its name, and where, according to the same authority, the box-tree grew in great abundance, must have included in its range our present Windsor Forest ; but, like its representative in the thirteenth century, it probably stretched up the Kennet valley—a district, it may be observed, which Henry III. disafforested, and where are situated Kentbury, Fawleigh, and other places, which in a grant* by King John to the Abbey of Amesbury, are mentioned in immediate connection with certain payments, “*de reditu nemoris de Barroc.*” There are some reasons for believing that the woods on the Chiltern Hills were known to the Welsh by the name of *Celyddon*.

According to Asser, *Ruim* was the Welsh name for Thanet. It probably signified a foreland, and is still preserved in the compound *Ramsgate*.† The strait which divided Thanet from the mainland is called by Bede the *Wantsumu*. The long slip of land lying between the Andred and the Thames appears to have been known to the Britons by the name of the *Caint*, or open country ; and the downs west of the Andred by that of the *Gwent*, or *champaign*. There seem to have been several of these *Gwents* in Britain ; and the Romans obtained their name for the capital towns by turning *Gwent* into a feminine substantive, and then adding the name of the race which inhabited the particular district, as *Venta Belgarum*, *Venta Icenorum*, *Venta Silurum*, &c. The Saxons also converted the Welsh name of the district into a feminine substantive, *Wint-e*, gen. *Wintan* ; and they called the

* Dugd Mon. iv. 102.

† In East Kent, the gaps in the line of cliff, which lead down to the shore, are

called *gates*. *Ramsgate* therefore means the gate or pass leading into *Ruim*.

capital of such district *Wintan ceaster*, the city of the Wint-e.* Sometimes instead of this genitival form, they used the compound *Winte-ceaster*, and of this compound the modern name of Winchester† is most certainly a corruption.

The Venta Belgarum and most of the other British towns were fortified; but they do not seem to have opposed to the invaders the resistance which might have been expected, except in cases where they were also protected by natural defences—by wood, marsh, or river—or lay near one of the two great military lines, that is, either near the Wall in the north of Britain, or on the “Saxon Frontier.” As my views with respect to this latter district vary widely from those which appear to be generally received at the present time, I must beg the indulgence of the reader while I explain in what the difference consists, and what were the reasons which led me to adopt the notions I entertain on this subject.

The prevalent opinion at present seems to be, that the Saxon Frontier, or, as it is generally called, the Saxon Shore (though the term used in the *Notitia* is “*Limes Saxonicus*”),‡ received its name from various Saxon settlements, which date before the arrival of Hengest in 450; and that when larger bodies of these strangers arrived in the fifth and sixth centuries, they received encouragement and assistance from their countrymen already settled within this island. The German writer Lappenberg has carried out these views with much boldness; and several English authors, some of them occupying no mean position as literary men, have not discountenanced them.

I must begin with denying, what in most of these discussions has been silently taken for granted, that *philological* considerations in any way favour the hypothesis

* Monmouthshire, or the Gwent of the Silures, was called *Went* (which is merely a corruption of Wint-e) by our English chroniclers, as late as the 15th and 16th centuries.

† The strange etymology proposed by Leland, and adopted by Camden, has been again brought forward in some modern works; and Sir R. Colt Hoare, though he refers us to the Venta Belgarum, as the origin of the word, adds “*unde derivatur Venta*, I never have been able to ascertain.” *Anc. Hist. N. Wilts.*

‡ When the officer commanding in this district is formally mentioned, and his authority defined, he is styled “*Comes Limitis Saxonici per Britanniam*,” c. 71. In two other places, where he is merely mentioned as one of the subordinates of some imperial officer of higher grade, he is distinguished as a “*Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britannias*.” The use of the plural number seems to shew, that in this phrase the compiler was using vague and general language. The more definite title was no doubt the official one.

above referred to. The Welsh Marches in Shropshire, and the Scotch Marches in Northumberland were so called, not because they were inhabited by Welshmen and Scotchmen, but because they were open to the incursions of these two races, and were provided with a regular military organisation for the purpose of repelling their incursions. For precisely similar reasons, I believe the South-eastern coast of Britain was called the "Saxon Frontier."* If the views we are contending against are to stand, the historical grounds on which they rest their claims to our acceptance must be stronger than the philological.

The latest Roman authority on the present subject is to be found in the *Notitia*. It is difficult to say when this work was written, but Gibbon places it between the years 395 and 407, that is to say, a few years before the usurpation of Constantine, which was shortly followed by the retirement of the Romans from this island. At the time it was written, the Roman army in Britain amounted to about 20,000 men, of whom some 5000 were stationed along the Saxon Frontier. They must have had the most complete military occupation of the district. Three of their garrisons lay north of the Thames, and south of this river, in the most exposed part of the frontier, and where, according to Gildas and Bede, the Saxons formed their first settlement, were the garrisons of Reculver, Richborough, Dover, and Lymne, at an average distance of some 14 miles from each other; and further south, garrisons at Anderida and Portus Adurni. The second legion was at Richborough, and auxiliaries in the other garrisons—Dalmatians, Slaves, Belgic Gauls, Tungrians, &c., but *no Saxons*. At this period, it is almost a historical impossi-

* Lappenberg argues, that as the opposite coast of Gaul was called the "Littus Saxonicum," from the Saxon colonists there settled, so the "Littus Saxonicum per Britannias" may have received its name from a similar immigration. I would ask him, on what proofs does his *major* rest? I believe the Saxon settlements in Gaul to have been formed at a period *subsequent* to the arrival of Hengest in this country.

In another place (i. 15), with the like view of supporting his theory respecting the "Littus Saxonicum," he tells us that, according to the Welsh Triads, the Coritavi (Coraniaid) came from "a Teutonic

marshland." Now, one of the Triads informs us, that the "three invading tribes who finally settled in Britain" were, first, the Coraniaid, who came from the land of Pwyl, and settled near the Humber; secondly, the Irish Picts; and lastly, the Saxons. No one has yet made out who were the Coraniaid, or where was the land of Pwyl. Some think it was Apulia, others say Poland; while Dr. Lappenberg assumes it was "a Teutonic marshland," and consequently that the Coraniaid were Germans. Had it suited his hypothesis, he would just as readily have converted them into Finns, or Slaves, or Basques.

bility that there could have been Saxon settlements on the Saxon shore. Nor do I see any reason for believing that such settlements were formed after the departure of the Romans. The Britons would naturally carry out the military system of their late masters, and would no doubt provide, to the best of their ability, for the defence of this important frontier. We must remember, that the Roman soldiers resembled less the mercenaries of our own army, than the colonists settled along the military frontiers of Austria. They were stationary in the same garrisons for generations; and, in the course of time, would naturally give birth to a military population, speaking the Latin language, (for the various origin of the auxiliaries would necessitate the use of Latin as a common tongue,) and doubtless, in other respects, distinguished from the provincials around them. The Saxon Frontier was probably filled with a high-spirited race, who were alike by descent, by inclination, and by necessity, soldiers. Instead of welcoming the invaders, we shall see reason to believe that they opposed to them the fiercest and most desperate resistance; and as the Britons of Strath-Clyde, though of all the Northern Britons the most exposed, maintained their independence the longest, so the "Saxon Frontier" appears to have been the district which last yielded to the invaders of Kent and Sussex.

The authorities by which conflicting opinions on these subjects must be finally settled, may be divided into two classes—the Welsh and the English.

Our oldest Welsh authorities are the two works of Gildas, his Epistle and his History. The History was written in the author's forty-fourth year, (which seems to have coincided with the year 564,) and the Epistle some twelve or fourteen years earlier. I am not aware that the genuineness of these works has been questioned by any one,* whose scholarship or whose judgment is likely to

* "Would a British ecclesiastic write invective against his own church and countrymen? The work must have been *forged* by some Anglo-Saxon during the dispute between the two churches respecting the celebration of Easter." Such, in substance, is the criticism which has been sometimes ventured upon, and which has been lately reproduced in the compilation made by Mr. Thomas Wright, and published by the

Royal Society of Literature under the title of "Biographia Brit. Literaria." It might be sufficient to answer, that all our early writers, from Bede downwards, received this "forgery" as a genuine work. But, in truth, the criticism shews an ignorance of the habits and feelings of the time. Gildas looked upon himself less as a native Briton than as a Roman provincial; not, indeed, a subject of the Roman Empire,

give weight to his opinion. They may be considered the safest guides now left to us; and he that would write the history of this early period will do well to abandon any speculation which cannot be reconciled with the facts handed down to us by Gildas.

The work which bears the name of *Nennius* was most probably written in the eighth century. It is a compilation made originally without much judgment, and it has been preserved in mss. which are singularly corrupt, and contain an extraordinary discrepancy of statement. Still, however, it contains fragments of earlier works, which are of great interest and value. The materials are said to have been collected "tam de Annalibus Romanorum, quam de Chronicis sanctorum, et de scriptis Scotorum Anglorumque, et ex traditione veterum nostrorum."* The editors of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, lately published by the Record Commission, would confine the "writings of the English" to certain Anglo-Saxon genealogies which Nennius inserted in his History; but there is reason to believe that he had before him a copy of the *Saxon Chronicle*, which in its main features did not differ very widely from those which have survived to our own times. His Welsh legends are genuine; that is, they are the invention of the people, and not mere fictions of the writer, like so many of those which Jeffrey of Monmouth has recorded. His dates, when the interval is short, as when he states that an event took place in such a year of a reign, may be relied upon; for in these cases the date seems generally to be taken at once from a Welsh chronicle; but when he displays his scholarship, and attempts chronology, the gross ignorance of himself, or of his transcribers, becomes flagrant, and no two mss. are consistent with each other.

but a participator in Roman civilisation, an upholder of the "Romania," an opponent of the "Barbaria" of his country. In what terms the ecclesiastics of the 5th and 6th century could write of their brother provincials, whether lay or clerical, may be seen in Salvian's works, *Adversus Avaritiam*, lib. ii.; *De Provid. Dei*, lib. v. vii. &c. Mr. Wright asserts that the princes whose names appear in the "Epistle" are not mentioned in any other work till the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth. He is altogether mistaken. Maelgwn is mentioned in the poems of Llywarch Hen, in the History of Nennius, in the Book of Llandaff, and

in the *Annales Cambriæ*; and Constantine in the *Annales Cambriæ* and in the *Annals of Tigernach*. I may add, that the facts recorded of these princes are in perfect consistency with the narrative of Gildas.

* The preface, which was probably an addition of the 9th or 10th century, states that the compilation was made "partim majorum traditionibus, partim scriptis, partim etiam monumentis veterum Britannicæ incolarum, partim et de Annalibus Romanorum, insuper et de Chronicis sanctorum patrum, Ysidori scilicet, Jeronymi, Prosperi, Eusebii, necnon et de *historiis Scotorum Saxonumque*."

The *Annales Cambriæ* and the *Welsh Chronicle*, contained in the *Red Book* of Hergest, are useful works. The former seems to have been originally written in the middle of the tenth century. The number of years said to have elapsed between certain events appears, however, to be sometimes erroneously computed; and the dates, according to the vulgar era, which have been supplied by the editors in the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* are clearly wrong in some instances, and in many others questionable.

The History of Jeffrey of Monmouth appeared in the middle of the twelfth century, and was denounced by the ablest men of the day as an impudent imposture. But it was patronised by the Earl of Gloucester, whose vanity it ministered to, and the influence of this powerful noble gave it a popularity which soon spread throughout Europe. Few of our later historians dare to question the truth of Jeffrey's statements; but his history is only a larger collection of the legends to which Nennius introduced us, added to and "embellished" without scruple, partly from his own imagination, and partly, no doubt, from foreign sources,* and impudently obtruded upon the reader as a translation of a Breton original.

In some cases we can trace these fictions to their origin. Welsh writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries often mistranslated English and Latin terms. Thus they translated Chichester (which is really a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon Cissa-ceaster, the city of Cissa,) into *Caer Kei*; and Somerset (which literally means the inhabitants of *Somer*, wherever that district may be) they converted, by their translation, into "the country of Summer." Jeffrey not only mistranslated, but sometimes invented a myth on the strength of his mistranslation. *Ambres-burh*, the Anglo-Saxon name of Amesbury, is generally considered, and I incline to think rightly, as signifying the burgh of *Ambres*, and as answering to the Welsh *Caer Emrys*, the city of *Ambrosius*. Jeffrey seems to have taken *Ambres* for a genitive case; and forthwith he invents an Abbot *Ambrius*, founder of the great monastery which once existed in that neighbourhood, and which he calls *Ambrii monasterium*. His *St. Amphibalus*, as *Ussher* himself re-

* We have reason to believe that many of his fables, and more particularly those respecting Arthur, originated in Breton legends.

marked, is evidently the representative of the abbot's *amphibalum*, beneath which the "two royal youths" sought refuge when they fled from their murderer Constantine. In another case, the mistranslation of a *Welsh* title seems to have originated a fable. Nennius, the oldest historical writer who mentions Arthur, says he was called *mab uthyr*, the terrible boy, "because he was cruel from his childhood." Now this expression will also admit of the construction "son of Uther;" and its mistranslation no doubt gave birth to Jeffrey's Uther Pendragon, brother and successor of Ambrosius, and father of the invincible Arthur. This story of Uther is inconsistent with the accounts we find in Gildas respecting the descendants of Ambrosius, and seems to have given rise to more falsification of our early history than any other legend connected with it.

Our oldest English authority is the *Saxon Chronicle*; for though it was probably reduced to its present shape in the ninth century, yet many of its entries must have been written long before the age of Bede; and, indeed, in his Ecclesiastical History he actually refers to some of them as portions of chronicles then extant. Amid all the diversity of opinion which has prevailed as to the origin of the *Saxon Chronicle*, it has been generally admitted that, *after* the introduction of Christianity, our ancestors did possess certain written records illustrative of their national history; the question asked has been, What records had they *before* that date? what memorials did they leave of events which occurred during the hundred and fifty years of heathenism?

Many who have discussed these questions seem to have looked upon our heathen ancestors as hardly raised above the New Zealander in civilisation. Yet we have reason to believe that in military science they were inferior to none of their contemporaries; and in their barrows we find ornaments and utensils which were certainly not the work of Roman or British artists, and which nevertheless display no mean skill in the arts of manufacture. They possessed a vernacular literature; for—to say nothing of *Beowulf* and the *Battle of Fins-Burgh*—where is the Saxon scholar who would venture to place the *Gleeman's Song* at any later period in the history of Anglo-Saxon literature? Their princes seem to have ranked with the leading sovereigns of Europe; and the heathen Ethelbert married the

daughter of Charibert,* the Christian king of Paris. Is it likely that a people filling such a place in the scale of civilisation, and in the estimation of their contemporaries, should not have had *some* means of recording the accessions and the deaths of their kings, and the other leading events of their history?

But it has been asked, What era did they compute by? what characters did they use? what materials did they write on? In answer to the first of these questions, I would answer *none*. "In the 6th year (after his arrival), Hengest fought, &c. Two years afterwards, Hengest again fought, &c. After eight years, Hengest again took up arms, &c." Such was the manner in which Ethelwerd chronicled events in the tenth century; and in like manner, the early Welsh chronicles furnish us with relative instead of absolute dates; the whole string of events depending on the current year, instead of being measured from some fixed era. All that our ancestors could wish to know was, how many years ago a particular event had happened; and such knowledge they could obtain from these rude records, without troubling themselves about the reigns of Roman emperors, or the dates of Roman consulships. As to the *characters* in which these facts were recorded, what could they be but the runes which our ancestors brought with them into the island, and which, even after the Roman letters had been introduced by the Christian missionaries, were regarded with so much favour, that we often find them transcribed in our mss. even as late as the thirteenth century, with the title "*Alphabetum Anglicum*" written over them. As to the *materials* on which these records were written, how could there be lack of these, as long as Britain grew oak, or beech, or alder?†

Another objection has been raised by Dr. Lappenberg. Certain events recorded at the beginning of the Chronicle happen to be separated from each other by an interval of

* Greg. Tur. t. ii. lib. ix. c. 26.

† If we may trust our Welsh antiquaries (Iolo Mss. 206), "bardic frames" were manufactured in the poorer districts of Wales as late as the 15th and 16th centuries. Their construction was simple enough. A straight stick of oak, or of one of the softer woods, was carefully squared and painted. Letters were then cut on each of the four faces, through the coloured surface, so as to give them the

relief afforded by the natural colour of the wood. A certain number of these sticks were then ranged between two side-pieces, in such a manner as to allow of their revolving on their axes, and thus enabling the reader to bring each of the four faces before him in its turn. Two of these frames might have contained all the entries in the Chronicle, relating to the century and a half which elapsed before the introduction of Christianity.

eight years ; and on the strength of this fact, the German author starts the theory, that the early dates of our Chronicle are regulated according to "a cycle of eight years." An Englishman would have considered it incumbent on him to shew very satisfactory reasons why our ancestors selected this particular number. Dr. Lappenberg's attempt is as weak as it well can be ; the number 8 is a divisor of 24, and of the "probably historic" numbers 40 and 64 ; it may have some astronomical allusions, or be founded on "some myth ;" 40, one of its multiples, was used by the Persians as an indefinite number ; and so forth. He endeavours to prove his case in a different manner. He takes the different events recorded in the Chronicle, and counts the number of years that elapsed from the landing of the Saxons, sometimes including and sometimes excluding the year he counts from ; so that, for each event, he gets two chances of finding a number divisible by 8. If these fail him, he has recourse to one of our later historians ; and as the difference of a year, for reasons that will be hereafter given, is exceedingly common in the dates of these early writers, he thus obtains another chance of finding his favourite multiple.* By keeping out of sight his failures, and bringing under the reader's notice instances in which he has succeeded, he endeavours to impress him with the truth of his theory. By a similar mode of manipulation he might have made out an almost equally strong case for several other numbers—the number 6, for example.

It has always appeared to the writer most unreasonable to doubt, that from their first arrival in the island, our ancestors had *some* mode of registering the events of their history. From these rude memorials were probably formed more perfect registers, which gradually swelled into the chronicles we now possess. The oldest extant copy of the Saxon Chronicle was written shortly before the year 900, or

* To increase his chances of success, Dr. Lappenberg avails himself of the discrepancies of our mss., and not unfrequently represents a mere *inference* as though it were a recognised historical fact. Thus, under the date 530, the Chronicle informs us that Cerdic took Wihgtara-burh in the Isle of Wight ; and when recording his death, four years afterwards, tells us that he gave the island to his two

nephews, Stuf and Wihgtar. Now, the arrival in Britain of these two chiefs happens to date just sixteen years before the conquest of Wihgtara-burh ; so, to make the entry square with his theory, he gives *them* the honour of the victory : "After twice eight years, *Stuf and Wihgtar, with their uncle*, gained a great victory in the Isle of Wight," &c.

at the close of Alfred's reign ; but we know that some of its entries were copied, almost verbatim, from chronicles which must have been in existence before the time of Bede ; and there are others which may have been written at a time when Hengest and Ambrosius were yet rivals. As to the credit which is due to the *chronology* of these early records, I think we may rely on the good sense and the good faith both of those who made the original entries, and of those who made the subsequent compilations ; but there is reason to believe that some of these chroniclers began the year at mid-winter and others at Easter ; and consequently we must sometimes expect to find the difference of a year in their computations. We should also remember that the monks, who put the chronicles into their present shape, lived at a time when the science of chronology was imperfectly understood ; and therefore, in reducing the dates to the vulgar era, may sometimes have been betrayed into mistakes. Making all fair allowances, I believe the dates of our chronicles will well bear examination, though they may not exhibit the critical accuracy of later works, which, with strange inconsistency, is required of them by many, who affect to place these venerable records on the same level with "the myths" and the fables of Livy.

Bede was born in 673, or about eighty years after the arrival of Augustin in this country. His Ecclesiastical History reaches to the year 731. In it he tells us that he learned the facts of our history before the introduction of Christianity "ex priorum maxime scriptis, hic inde collectis." Among these "writings of the ancients," the works of Gildas appear to have held a high place in his estimation ; but he doubtless also included in the phrase the "*scripta Scotorum Anglorumque*," to which Nennius acknowledges his obligations, and to which he himself has more than once expressly referred. When he states a fact, on what appears to be the authority of one of these ancient chronicles, he sometimes adds "ut perhibent," "perhibetur,"* &c. ; not that he entertained any "critical doubts" as to the truth of such statements, but, as it would seem, merely to distinguish between these rude native records and the better-digested testimony of the Latin historians.

* The very same phrases are used by Ethelwerd, when quoting some of the *later* entries of the Chronicle.

The histories of Asser,* of Ethelwerd, and of Florence of Worcester, so far as they relate to the period we have to review, are all of them based on the Saxon Chronicle. The additional information, however, which they occasionally give is sometimes of value.

The graphic details with which Henry of Huntingdon enlivens the scanty records of our early history differ widely from the slight additions we owe to these three historians. Whence he obtained them I cannot tell; and it is strange indeed, that in an age so sceptical so little scepticism should have been excited on a subject that is fairly open to it. The "ancient poems" which figure so largely in the speculations of Lappenberg and others, as one of the sources which supplied materials for the Chronicle, may possibly have performed that office for Huntingdon; though we may doubt if there be any connexion between them and the short dry notices which form the great staple of our Saxon Chronicle. That Huntingdon sometimes yielded to his imagination, there is no doubt: his account of the battle of Aylesford may be called "a myth," or any other hard name the reader chooses, for it is most certainly a fiction.†

All our historians who wrote after the publication of Jeffrey's history, shew traces, more or less, of the influence which he exercised. When, like Wendover, they furnish dates, or when their accounts are inconsistent with Jeffrey's narrative, they may nevertheless be of service; for in these cases we may reasonably infer that they drew their information from other and more trustworthy sources.

It will be seen that, in the opinion of the writer, our two oldest authorities are also our best. It is both amusing and instructive to observe, that those who assail the credit due to Gildas and the Chronicle, generally treat their testimony as unimpeachable, *when it does not interfere*

* Asser was a Welshman; but, from the circumstances under which his history was written, it must rank as one of the English authorities.

† According to the Chronicle, the Britons at Aylesford were commanded by Vortigern, and Horsa was slain; according to Nennius, the Britons at Episford were commanded by Vortimer, and Horsa and Catigern lost their lives; according to Huntingdon, Ambrosius commanded at

Aylesford, Vortimer and Catigern were his lieutenants, and Horsa and Catigern fell. Nennius, no doubt, wished to reconcile Welsh history with the Saxon Chronicle, and Huntingdon to reconcile Nennius with Gildas. Both have distorted history, but Huntingdon has added bad faith to bad criticism; for his detailed account of the battle, which was evidently accommodated to his hypothesis, can be nothing else but invention.

with any favourite theory. The author would consider any theory relating to our early history which is inconsistent with that testimony as worthless.

In discussing the present question, we have had, or shall have, to examine various adverse theories. These theories, it should be remembered, are inconsistent, not only with the views of the present writer, but also with each other. He does not stand one against, but one among many; and as his views agree with those of our early historians, he might even claim for them whatever deference is due to opinions which have long met with general acceptance. But it is not on mere weight of authority that he rests their claims to consideration, nor even upon the weakness and insufficiency of the conflicting theories; but on the great balance of probabilities in their favour, in their consistency with the character of the times, and in the wonderful correspondence of dates. Let the reader, as he proceeds, observe how strikingly coherent are the following dates: the date of the application to Ætius, which we learn from Gildas; of the arrival of the Saxons, which we learn from Bede; of the first battle with Vortigern, which we learn from the Chronicle; of the accession of Vortigern, and of the disturbances headed by Guitolinus and Ambrosius, which we learn from fragments preserved by Nennius. Would he find any such congruity in "a mythical history?" If he be a mathematician, let him calculate the chances against it.

According to Gildas, the Britons, suffering from famine and from the ravages of the Picts and Scots, applied to the Romans for aid. Their letter was addressed, "Ætio ter consuli;" and as Ætius was consul for the third time in 446, it cannot have been written before this date. Failing in their application, they "put their trust in God," attacked and repulsed the enemy. This period of trial was followed by seasons of unexampled plenty, when the Britons, relapsing into their old vices, again suffered the miseries of invasion. The General Council (*omnes consularii*), together with Vortigern, king (*dux*) of the Britons, then resolved to call the Saxons to their aid.

"The whelps of the barbarian lioness" arrived in three ships of the largest size (*tribus longis navibus*), and, at the bidding of the "ill-omened tyrant," were stationed in the

eastern part of the island. They were afterwards joined by a larger band, and professing themselves ready to meet any perils for the sake of their "worthy hosts," required that supplies should be furnished them. These were provided, and for a while stopped the "dog's mouth," until the strangers, anxious for a quarrel, demanded larger supplies, and when they were not forthcoming, ravaged the country.

Such is the account of the arrival of our ancestors, which a British writer, born some seventy years after the event, has left us. He was a man of education and position, and must have had within his reach every means of information which his countrymen then possessed. I see nothing in his story to alarm even the most jealous scepticism, and I am not ashamed to confess that it carries with it my entire belief.

In addition to the account left us by Gildas, Bede tells us that the strangers defeated the Picts and Scots, and were commanded by two brothers, named Hengest and Horsa.* He also in three different passages fixes the date of their arrival in the reign of Marcian (450-457), and, according to the construction generally put on one of these passages,† in the *first* year of this reign. It is true, that in two of these passages Bede places the beginning of Marcian's reign in the year 449, and in one of them in the year 452,‡ instead of the true date 450. The compilers of our Saxon Chronicle, and our modern historians generally, adopt the date 449; though Florence of Worcester had left the latter

* "Duces fuisse *perhibentur* eorum primi duo fratres Hengist et Horsa." *H. Eccl.* l. xv. From this it has been inferred that Bede had critical doubts about the truth of the story. I have already mentioned the construction I put upon these phrases. Bede was a stranger to South Britain, and he was in all probability quoting some Kentish chronicle.

According to Palgrave, "the names bestowed upon the sons of Wihthgils seem to be poetical epithets rather than real denominations; both have the same meaning, and signify the 'snow-white steed,' &c., whose form, still constituting the heraldry of Kent, adorned the standard which led them forth to victory." *Eng. Comm.* c. xii. I would answer, that Hengest was an Anglo-Saxon name, just as Wolf and Fox are English ones; that the association of two brothers in command was characteristic of

the times and of the people; as was also the alliteration and the play of meaning which connect together the names of Hengest and Horsa. The assertion that the Jutes bore "a snow-white steed" on their banner, has no authority quoted in support of it, though an important inference is drawn from it in a note. I do not remember anything on the subject in Gildas, or Bede, or Nennius, or the Chronicle, or Ethelwerd, or Asser, or Florence, or even Huntingdon. What authority is there for the statement?

† "Anno ab incarnatione Domini quadringesimo quadringesimo nono Marcianus cum Valentiniano regnum adeptus septem annis tenuit. *Tunc* Anglorum sive Saxonum gens," &c. *Hist. Eccl.* l. xv.

‡ Lappenberg says 459; but he has not put the right construction on the passage in Bede: *vid.* Chronicon, A.M. 4410.

an example which might have been followed with advantage. This sensible writer fixes the arrival of our ancestors in 450, and cites Bede as his authority for so doing. He saw Bede's error, and corrected it; for he knew the *essential* part of his statement to be, that our ancestors arrived in the first year of Marcian's reign. He was, no doubt, aware that computation by the vulgar era was still a novelty in Bede's day, and that even scholarship like his might occasionally stumble in a path so little trodden; and certainly he did not consider a few slight errors in calculation sufficient to destroy Bede's credit as a historian.

The editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* take a different view of this matter; and as their authority is likely to carry weight with it, I make no apology for examining the reasons on which their conclusions are founded.

Nennius tells us that after the slaughter of the Roman governors and the death of the usurper Maximus, *and the termination of the Roman rule in Britain*, the Britons for forty years were kept in alarm by their various enemies, till the arrival of the Saxons, an event which is said in some mss. to have happened in the reign of Marcian, and in others "regnante Gratiano Secundo *Æquantio*." This last passage seems to be hopelessly corrupt. I can only surmise that some copyist, ignorant of Marcian's name, or puzzled by the corrupted form in which it was presented to him, supplied his own date, and in so doing confounded the arrival of the Saxons in the time of Vortigern with the dreadful inroad made by them some eighty years previously, and which occupied the time and energies of the first Theodosius during the first and second years of Gratian's reign. The dangers which afterwards led the Britons to remove the Roman officers, and to provide for their own safety, must have been long remembered; and the termination of the Roman rule in Britain was considered by all our early historians as an event of the gravest importance. Nennius,* like the Greek historian Zosimus, places it in the reign of the usurper Constantine (407-411), and Bede

* Nenn. c. xxv. Twenty years elapsed between the death of Maximus and the usurpation of Constantine; and in his list of the emperors who visited Britain, Nennius places Constantine *next but two* after Maximus. It is clear, therefore, that Nen-

nus, though he mentions in the same sentence the death of Maximus and the termination of the Roman rule in Britain, must have known that these events were separated from each other by a considerable interval of time.

in the year in which Rome was taken by the Goths,* or A.D. 409, while he fixes the arrival of the Saxons in 449. Here, then, we have the forty years to which Nennius is alluding; and thus far we find a sufficient correspondence between our three oldest historians, Gildas, Bede, and Nennius.

But in some of the copies of Nennius we also find certain chronological notices, according to which Vortigern obtained the kingdom in the consulship of Theodosius and Valentinian (A.D. 425), and the Saxons arrived in the fourth year of his reign, in the consulship of Felix and Taurus (A.D. 428). It will be seen these dates contradict not only Gildas and Bede, but also the account which Nennius himself has given us in the regular course of his history. I can only suppose that the writer, whoever he may have been, counted the forty years by mistake *from the death of Maximus*,† which would just bring him to the consulship of Felix and Taurus. He probably knew from the Welsh chronicles that the Saxons arrived in the fourth year of Vortigern's reign, and accordingly fixed upon the consulship of Theodosius and Valentinian as the date of Vortigern's accession.

Strange as it may seem, the editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* actually adopt this date for the arrival of the Saxons. They make a feeble attempt to reconcile it with the former passage in Nennius; and they get over the adverse testimony of Gildas and Bede, by pointing to the chronological errors of the latter, and asserting that Gildas has not related events in the order in which they occurred. The latter piece of criticism is opposed to the construction which has been put on the narrative of Gildas from Bede's day to the present, and appears to be directly opposed to every fair construction of that author. According to the chronology adopted, Hengest must have lived more than sixty years after his arrival in this country; and there are other consequences equally startling. If I were called

* The Goths entered Rome by capitulation in 409, and carried it by storm the following year. The expressions of Bede may perhaps refer to the latter event; and as Florence of Worcester places the departure of the Romans in 410, and the arrival of the Saxons in 450, *this in-*

terval of forty years may possibly have been the one which Nennius had in view.

† In support of this conjecture, it may be observed, that in some of the Triads the death of Maximus and the termination of the Roman rule in Britain are treated as if they were synchronous events.

upon to make my choice, I do not know but I would rather side at once with Palgrave and the Germans, and melt Hengest into a "myth."

The Chroniele, under the date 449, informs us that the Saxons landed at *Ypwines fleet*, which is generally supposed to be Ebbsfleet in Thanet. The rest of the entry was probably taken from Bede. I speak with some little hesitation, because the sentence in Bede which gives us the information not found in Gildas, contains the Anglo-Saxon idiom, *victoriam sumpsere*; whence perhaps it might be inferred that there was some early Anglo-Saxon authority, of which both Bede and the Chronicler were copyists.

All that we can know of the war which took place between Vortigern and his dangerous allies, must be gathered from the two following entries in the Chronicle:

"A. 455. Now Hengest and Horsa fought with Wyrtegeorn the king, at the place which is called Ægeles-ford; and his brother Horsa there was slain, and after that Hengest took to the kingdom and Æsc his son."

"A. 457. Now Hengest and Æsc his son fought with the Bryts at the place which is called Creccan ford, and there slew they 4000 men; and the Bryts then forsook Kent-lond, and with much fear fled to Lunden-bury."

The place where the first of these battles was fought is called by Ethelwerd Ægeles-thrip, and by Huntingdon Aeiles-treu. Ægeles or Egeles seems to be the Welsh word *eglwys*, a church, Lat. *ecclesia*. Aylesford church, which probably occupies the same site as the Welsh Eglwys, is situated on the top of the bank over-hanging the village, and its remarkable position explains the propriety of the names, Ægeles-ford, Ægeles-thrip, or Aeiles-treu, that is, Church-ford, or Church-village, or Church-cross.* This ford of the Eglwys is the lowest on the Medway; and here, we have reason to believe, an ancient British trackway crossed the river. Vortigern was evidently watching this ford to protect West-Kent from invasion when Hengest attacked him.

* In like manner, *Ægeles-burh*, the Anglo-Saxon name for Aylesbury, means the Church-burgh. It would be difficult to find a more appropriate name for this ancient town. On the sides of its conical

hill may still be traced some portions of the old earth-works; while on the summit, and rising over the other buildings, stands the venerable successor of the Welsh *eglwys*.

Bede mentions that Horsa's monument existed in his day in the eastern part of Kent, and still bore the name of the Saxon chief. From the Chronicle we learn that Horsa fell at Aylesford; and two miles north of this village is a place called Horsted, where the peasantry point out a collection of flint-stones as the tomb of Horsa.* Does not this "undesigned coincidence" strongly corroborate the truth of the entry in the Chronicle?

The name of the place where the second battle was fought is written in some copies of the Chronicle, *Crecganford*, and by Huntingdon *Cregan-ford*. This is important; for no one who has studied the letter-changes of our language would venture the hypothesis, that our modern Crayford was the equivalent of *Creccan-ford*. The following appears to be the true explanation of the philological difficulty. The Britons seem to have been almost unable to distinguish between some of the hard and soft letters; at any rate, there was much inconsistency in their use of them. The river Cray was probably called by them both Crec and Creg, which our ancestors would convert into feminine substantives, Crecc-e and Cregg-e, gen. Crecc-an and Cregg-an. The form Crecc-e seems to have become obsolete, and Cregg-e has been gradually corrupted into Cray.

Before we investigate the state of parties among the Britons at this juncture, it may be well to take a glance at their legendary history. According to Jeffrey of Monmouth, after Ætius had refused his aid, the King of Armorica was induced to send a small force under the command of his brother Constantine, who was crowned king of Britain at Silchester. Constantine at his death left three sons, Constans a monk of Winchester, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uther Pendragon. His son Constans succeeded him, and was shortly afterwards murdered by one of the princes of South Wales, named Vortigern, who usurped the throne. The Archbishop of London, Guitolinus, fearing for the safety of his young wards, Ambrosius and Uther, carried them into Brittany; and Vortigern, in order to strengthen his tottering throne, allied himself with the Saxons.

* Arch. ii. 107. Of course it will not be taken for granted that these flint-stones | must necessarily be the tomb of Horsa.

This is in part a travestie of real history. The usurper Constantine passed over to Gaul A.D. 408, and, after various turns of fortune, was there slain with his son Constans, whom he had taken from the cloister, and associated with him in the empire. According to Gildas, the Britons gained their first successes against the Saxons under the guidance of Ambrosius Aurelianus, whom he describes as a man of modesty, "courteous, faithful, brave, and true," as of Roman descent, and as having in the general calamity lost his relatives (*parentes*), who had been *clothed with the purple*.

There is no doubt we have here some incorrectness of statement. As no Roman usurper appeared in Britain after the death of Constantine, it is pretty clear that he and his son Constans were the relatives of Ambrosius, whom Gildas describes as having been clothed with the purple. But these, we know, perished in Gaul some half century before the ravages of the Saxons. Gildas may have wished merely to say that Ambrosius survived the national calamity in which his relatives perished, when the associations connected with the word "*parentes*" led him to add the clause which has produced this confusion. Nothing is more common in these early histories than to place in juxtaposition events that were really separated from each other by considerable intervals of time; but the present is perhaps the only instance in which this melting together of distant events has betrayed Gildas into an absolute misstatement of facts.

Both our legendary and our real history lead to the inference that, after the retirement of the Romans, there were two great parties in Britain: the Roman, which seems to have been headed by descendants of the usurper Constantine, or, in other words, by members of the family of Ambrosius, and the native, or British party. The application to Ætius was doubtless made at the instance of the Romanised Britons; and his refusal to grant them the succours they asked for would naturally give the ascendancy to their political rivals. We learn from the passage in Nennius already quoted, and which was probably taken from a British chronicle, that the Saxons arrived in the fourth year of Vortigern's reign; it follows that, if they arrived in the first year of Marcian's reign, as Bede tells us, that Vortigern must have been made king not long

after the application to Ætius; and it is fair to conclude that he owed his elevation to the triumph of his party on that occasion. When, after the battle of Crayford, the Britons forsook Kent, and "with much fear fled to Lunden-bury," the power of Vortigern must have been rudely shaken. Nennius tells us, that while he reigned, he lived in fear of the Picts and Scots, and of Roman attack—that is, of an attack from the Romanised Britons—and also in terror of Ambrosius. That his fear of Ambrosius and the Roman party was not groundless, we learn from the following passage, for the preservation of which we are also indebted to Nennius:

"A regno Guorthigerni usque ad discordiam Guitolini et Ambrosii, anni sunt duodecim, quod est Gualoppum, id est Catguoloph."

This important entry, which its very form shews us must have been taken from an ancient Welsh chronicle,* has been misunderstood by Ussher, and has led to grave mistakes in the hands of later writers. Lappenberg and others convert the Archbishop Guitolinus into "a British prince;" not the foster-father and patron, but the rival and enemy of Ambrosius. The passage, as I take it, should be construed thus:

"From the beginning of Vortigern's reign to the dissensions headed by Guitolinus and Ambrosius, are twelve years. This is the Gualoppum, i. e. the battle of Gualoph." Counting twelve years from the date of Vortigern's accession, the "discordia Guitolini et Ambrosii" must have taken place two years after the battle of Crayford. We may conjecture that the defeated monarch fled from Kent, only to meet his political enemies in London; and that the quarrel between them gradually ripened into open war. As we have reason to believe that the family interest of Ambrosius lay in Wiltshire and its neighbourhood; and as, near the Roman road from Old Sarum to Silchester, and immediately below the remarkable fortress on Quarly Hill, lies a wide tract of country called the Wallop Fields, it is not improbable that here was fought the battle comme-

* Compare the following extracts from the *Annales Cambriæ*:

"ccc.xvi. annus. Bellum inter Brittones et Saxones; id est, gueith Hirford (the affair of Hereford).

"cccc.xxiii. annus. Urbs Ebranc vastata est; id est, Cat Dub gint (the battle of the Black Gentiles, or Danes)."

morated in this fragment. How long the war lasted we do not know; but, according to Jeffrey, Vortigern maintained himself for some time in South Wales, and there perished.

Before we dismiss this ill-fated chief, we may remark that the only testimony against him, which has any historical value, are the expressions used by Gildas, "tyrannus superbus," "tyrannus infaustus;" and when we remember the strong Roman prejudices of the writer, we may not feel inclined to press these very strongly against him. The story we find in Nennius, of his treacherous dealings with the Saxons, is inconsistent with the accounts in the Saxon Chronicle, and was probably invented by the Welsh some two or three centuries after his death, to lessen the mortification of defeat. The rebukes which, according to the same authority, he received from Germanus and the clergy are probably the legendary accounts of disputes which must have often taken place between him and Guitolinus.

According to Wendover, Ambrosius was made king A.D. 464; but there are reasons, which will appear hereafter, for preferring the year 463. We may conjecture, that as Vortigern's successes against the Picts seem to have placed him at the head of his party, and consequently on the throne of Britain, so the successes against the Saxons which Gildas attributes to Ambrosius, may have paved the way to his attaining the same dignity. We have learnt from the Chronicle, that after the battle of Crayford "the Brits forsook Kent-lond." By "Kent-lond," as here used, we must understand the Welsh district called the Caint, or, in other words, the open country lying along the river; for Gildas tell us, that after the ravages of the Saxons, some of the fugitives still maintained themselves in the forests, *and amid the rocks of the sea-coast*, where the fortresses of the Saxon shore might still afford them protection from their enemies. After a certain period had elapsed* (*tempore interveniente*), and after "the cruel robbers had in part gone homewards" (*aliquanto cum domum recessissent*), these fugitives rallied under the guidance of Ambrosius, and gained the advantages which Gildas has commemorated.

Unfortunately there is but one entry in the Chronicle

* This may have been the period during which the civil war lasted between Vortigern and Ambrosius.

relating to this second war in Kent; and that records the terrible battle, which must have extinguished all hope on the part of the Britons of expelling the invaders:

“A. 465. Now Hengest and Æsc fought with the Weals nigh Wippeds fleet, and there twelve Wealish aldermen they slew, and of them was there there slain a thane whose name was Wipped.”

The locality of Wipped's fleet is unknown. Huntingdon tells us, that the loss in this battle was so great on both sides, that it was long before either party dared again to advance beyond their own borders. The loss of twelve Welsh princes shews us how large was the national force which the ascendancy of Ambrosius enabled him to bring against the invaders, and at the same time how dreadful was the defeat which he sustained.

The account of Vortimer's victories, handed down to us by Nennius, was probably derived from genuine Welsh traditions, if it may not claim a more respectable origin. The British chief, we are told, drove the Saxons to Thanet, “et eos ibi tribus vicibus conclusit, obsedit, percussit, terruit.” Nenn. c. xlvi. It is afterwards stated, that he fought against them in four battles, while in the succeeding chapter, which describes these battles, we have only three* accounted for. It seems probable, that the extract we have quoted contains the loose legendary account of these battles; that the Saxon Chronicle suggested the number *four*; and that some Welsh chronicle furnished the details contained in c. xlvi. According to this last authority, Vortimer fought, first, on the river Derguint; secondly, at Sathenegabhail, or the house of the ferryboat (*syddin y ceubail*), which place the Saxons called Episford; and, thirdly, at the Stone of the Title, on the shore of the Gallic Sea. At Episford were slain the Saxon Horsa, and Vortimer's brother, Catigern; whence it appears that Nennius considered the battle of Episford to be the same as that of Aylesford. In this he must have been mistaken; for we know that at Aylesford the Britons were led by Vortigern. Nennius may have been anxious to reconcile Welsh history with the Saxon Chronicle, and

* The edition of Nennius attributed to Mark the Hermit endeavours to make out the number four, by referring to the passage already quoted as giving an ac-

count of the first battle. Unfortunately that passage describes not one, but *three* battles.

have selected the battle of Aylesford as the one which, in its circumstances, the least contradicted his story of a Welsh victory.

It is probable that all Vortimer's battles were fought during the second war in Kent; for Gildas clearly intimates that the Britons gained their *first* advantages over the invaders under the guidance of Ambrosius. The circumstance of Vortigern's sons serving under their father's rival need not excite distrust. Huntingdon directly asserts the fact; and the character of Ambrosius, and his recorded liberality to another of Vortigern's sons,* render it probable. The river Derguint was no doubt the Derwent in West Kent; the Stone of the Title is generally supposed to be Stonor near Richborough; and Episford may possibly be the ford leading into Thanet near Ebbsfleet.† If so, two of the three battles must have been fought within sight of Richborough; and, as Vortimer is said by Nennius to have died soon after his last battle, and to have ordered his body to be buried on the seashore, it is reasonable to conclude that Richborough and its dependent fortresses were not taken till after his death. The oldest copies of Nennius never speak of Vortimer as king, but always as a general. He seems to have acted as one of the lieutenants of Ambrosius, and simply to have discharged the duties of "Comes Limitis Saxonici."‡

* Nennius gives us the genealogy of Farinmail, king of "Buelt et Guortigernianum," in Radnorshire; and traces him through ten descents from Pascent son of Vortigern, to whom Ambrosius gave the district, "largiente Ambrosio, qui fuerat rex in omnes regiones Britannia."

† According to Bede, the Wantsum was fordable in two places; no doubt, in the places where the waters of the Stour formed *bars*, as they worked their way, northward or southward, into the Thames or the German Ocean. The northern ford must have been at Wade, and the southern one, in all probability, a little to the north of Ebbsfleet. Ebbsfleet seems to be a corruption of Yppesfleet, which bears to Ypwinesfleet (the name that occurs in the Chronicle) the same relation that Wilson bears to Williamson, or Brighton to Brightelmstone, or Boston (Bots-ton) to Botolphston. The same chief probably gave his name both to the harbour and the ford.

As we know that ships of burden sometimes sailed through the Wantsum, this

ford could only have been passable at ebb of tide. During flood, a ferry-boat must have been used for the conveyance of passengers; and hence the Welsh name *Sathenegabhail*. Such a name would be inapplicable to Aylesford; for the establishment of a ferry over the Medway at this point was unnecessary, and is altogether improbable.

‡ In the "Oral Tradition and Chronology," compiled soon after the year 1400, it is stated that from Vortimer to Arthur were fifty-three years. Iolo Mss. 416. Counting from Arthur's accession in 516, this interval would bring us to 463, or the year in which Ambrosius was made king; and we might perhaps infer that the Britons forbore to raise him to that dignity during the lifetime of Vortimer. It is just possible that the compiler of the "Oral Traditions," &c. had some trustworthy authority for fixing on a period of fifty-three years; but his other chronological notices exhibit the grossest ignorance; and we may, after all, be building in cloud-land.

The last battle fought by Hengest, which is recorded in the Chronicle, is the following :

“ A. 475. Now Hengest and Æsc his son fought with the Weals, and took countless booty, and the Weals fled the Engle, as it were fire.”

The circumstances connected with this battle will not allow us long to hesitate about its locality. The “countless booty” could not have been furnished by the Andred, nor by the barren heaths and morasses of Surrey ; but at the south-eastern corner of our modern Kent lie some of the richest pastures in the island, and the sheep and cattle of the Romney marshes were no doubt the goodly prize, the capture of which is so exultingly commemorated in this entry of the Chronicle. One half of the Saxon shore must now have been in possession of the invaders ; and the frontiers of Hengest’s kingdom must, from this date, have coincided with those of the modern county.

The entry which records the first English settlement in Sussex is dated four years later.

“ A. 477. Now came to Bryten-land Ælle and his three sons, Cymen, and Wlencing, and Cissa, with three ships in the place which is called Cymen’s Ora, and there slew they many Weals, and some in flight drave they into the wood, which is called the Lea of Andred.”

Our historians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries render Cymenes Ora by “Cymeni portus.” But as we find many localities on the banks of rivers called *Oras*, the term must rather have signified a strand or shore ; probably one on which ships or boats might be hauled up with safety. A charter,* which, though a forged one, is for our present purpose good evidence, connects Cymens Ora with Wittering, near Chichester ; and there can be little doubt that it lay along the eastern side of Chichester harbour.† It has, indeed, been fixed at almost every part of the Sussex coast ; and the latest work which touches upon the subject, and which was published under the sanction of a learned society, actually lands Ælle at Anderida !

* Cod. Dipl. pl. 992.

† In Sidlesham parish, east of Wittering, is “a manor-farm,” called Keynor, which reaches to the sea. Horsfield’s *Sussex*, i. 41. I once thought Keynor a corruption of Cymen-ora ; but I now think it

represents *Iccan ora*, a locality which is also mentioned in the charter. According to the description of the boundaries, Cymens Ora must have lain along the western side of the Selsey peninsula.

As the charter we have quoted is referred to by Camden, there is no excuse for these blunders.

According to Huntingdon, the peasantry of the neighbourhood rushed on the enemy in scattered and disorderly bodies, and appear to have been slaughtered by the invaders with little loss on their part. The surprise was followed by a panic, in the midst of which Regnum must have been taken. As this city derives its modern name, not from Ælle, but from his son and successor, Cissa (Cissa-ceaster, the chester or city of Cissa), perhaps we may infer that Regnum was given to the flames, and that during the lifetime of Ælle the South-Sexe intrenched themselves in the neighbouring earth-work. When a footing was secured on the coast, hundreds of adventurers would soon flock from Kent and elsewhere; and it must have been with their aid that, in 485, Ælle fought the battle of Mercreds-burn. On this occasion he may have met Ambrosius and a national army; for Huntingdon tells us that the "*reges et tyranni Brittonum*" were his opponents. Both the locality and the issue of this battle are unknown; but five years afterwards, Ælle took Anderida, the locality of which is fixed very satisfactorily by researches made on the spot, as well as by historical probability, at Pevensey.

"A. 490. Now Ælle and Cissa beset Andreds-ceaster, and slew all that dwelt therein, nor was there thenceforth one Brit left."

This is the entry, whose simple brevity appeared to Gibbon more "dreadful" than all the lamentations of Gildas. It records the fall of the last Roman fortress of the Saxon shore. From this date the South-Sexe must have occupied the whole line of coast from Chichester eastward to the marshes of Kent.

Five years after the fall of Anderida, the West-Sexe effected their first settlement.

"A. 495. Now came two aldermen into Britain, Cerdic, and Cynric his son, with five ships, at the place which is called Cerdics-Ora, and the same day they fought with the Weals."

Cerdics Ora is placed by Camden in Norfolk, by Carte in Dorset, and by the editors of *Modern Wiltshire* in West Hants. I think critical reasons may be given to shew that

it lay along the eastern side of the Southampton Water; and that the point where Cerdic landed must have been north of the Hamble, and probably at the mouth of the Itchin river. These reasons will be discussed when we treat of the settlement made by the Jutish leaders, Stuf and Wihtgar.

According to Huntingdon, Cerdic formed his men into a compact body near his ships, and till nightfall had to withstand the repeated assaults of the Britons. He repelled the assailants, but did not venture to pursue them. The obstinacy of the conflict is implied in the words of Ethelwerd, "*ipsi post in fine fuere victores*:" its frequent renewal may have been owing to the arrival of fresh succours from the Venta Belgarum.

This city, the future capital of Wessex, if we may trust the calculations of the monks of Winchester, was taken the same year in which Cerdic landed; for Rudborne tells us in his *Hist. Minor*.* that when, in 635, Birinus introduced the Christian rites into one of its ancient churches, that church had for 142 years been "the Temple of Dagon." Counting, indeed, from 495 to 635, we only get 141 years, even including the year we start from; but in calculations of this kind, the difference of a year need not disturb us.

In the year 501 Port landed at Portsmouth, and slew a young Briton, who is described as of high nobility — *swith the ethelne*. Whoever he may have been,† his loss was of small importance, compared with the fate of one who seems to have upheld the cause of civilisation in the west of Europe with more success, and for a longer period, than any other individual that appeared after the death of Ætius.

"A. 508. Now Cerdic and Cynric slew a British king, whose name was Natanleod, and 5000 men with him. Then after that was the land named Natan leaga as far as Cerdic's ford."‡

No entry in the Chronicle has given rise to more dis-

* Galba A.; cited Brit. Eccl. Ant.

† It has been suggested that he was Geraint ap Erbin, whose fall at the battle of Llongborth (*i. e.* ship-port) is lamented by Llywarch Hen. Geraint is also commemorated in the Triads as a commander of one of the Welsh fleets. But Llywarch Hen represents Geraint as one of Arthur's

officers, and Arthur was not elected "Amherawdyr" till 516. The poet, moreover, did not flourish so early as the year 501.

‡ Does not the expression, "as far as Cerdic's ford," prove that the entry in which it occurs was originally written in some Winchester chronicle?

cussion than the present one; but I am not aware that the discussion has led to any explanation of its difficulties. It always appeared to me that Natanleod was a title, and not, as it is usually considered, a proper name. *Leod*, though not found in our Anglo-Saxon dictionaries, occurs in Anglo-Saxon poems, with the sense of 'prince;' and if we suppose there was some place called Nat-e (gen. Nat-an), then *Natan-leod* would signify the prince of *Nat-e*, and *Natan leaga* the Leas of *Nat-e*. I believe such a locality did exist near our modern Amesbury, and that the Leas of *Nat-e* were the woodlands which stretched from the Avon to the Test and Itchin.

Amesbury, as we have already observed, signified the burgh of Ambres, or Ambrosius. According to the Welsh triads, it was once the site of a great monastery.

"The three chief perpetual choirs of the Isle of Britain: the choir of Llan Iltud Vawr, in Glamorganshire; the choir of Ambrosius, in Ambresbury; and the choir of Glastonbury. In each of these three choirs there were 2400 saints; that is, there were 100 for every hour of the day and night in rotation, perpetuating the praise of God without rest or intermission." *Probert. Triad, 84.*

I have vainly endeavoured to trace the ms. used by Probert; but I can see no reason to doubt the general correctness of his translation. This particular triad is found in only one of the collections, which were published in the *Myv. Archæology*; and there it varies considerably in form from the copy which furnished our quotation. The three choirs are stated to have been located in the Isle of Avallon, Caer Caradoc, and Bangor. The Isle of Avallon is the well-known site of Glastonbury; and Caer Caradoc, though confounded with Salisbury (Old Sarum) by Jeffrey of Monmouth, is placed near Amesbury by Owen Pugh, and also by Caradoc of Llancarvan, Jeffrey's contemporary (Iolo Mss. 45); but the selection of Bangor, in place of Llan Iltud Vawr, shews us that the present was the North-Welsh, as Probert's copy was doubtless the South-Welsh, edition of the Triad.

In the older Welsh poems we sometimes find allusions to a conflict which appears to have taken place in or about some *nawt*,* or sanctuary. It has been keenly contended

* In modern Welsh, *nawdd*.

that these allusions refer to the massacre of the British nobles by Hengest, and that the *nawt* was the heathen sanctuary of Stonehenge. One of the poems which are supposed to allude to this subject is attributed to Cuhelyn the Bald, who, according to Owen Pugh, flourished in the sixth, and according to the compilers of the *Archæology* in the eighth century. It represents Eiteol "excelling in wisdom," as the chief of this mysterious locality; and the structure itself is described as

. . . . mur Ior
Maus Pedir pedror
Mawr cor cyvoeth.

. . . . the Wall of the Eternal,
The quadrangular delight of Peter,
The great Choir of the dominion.

These expressions agree but ill with the hypothesis above referred to; and though there may be danger in committing oneself upon a subject of so much obscurity, I would venture to suggest that this celebrated *nawt* may have been the Christian monastery instead of the heathen temple, and that the legend which makes Stonehenge the work of Ambrosius (Gwaith Emrys) may have arisen from his having built or re-edified one of the "Choirs of Britain" in its immediate neighbourhood. An attempt on the part of the invaders to surprise this monastery—probably during one of its great festivals—may have given rise to the charge of a treacherous massacre; and Hengest would naturally figure in the tale, as being the Saxon chief best known to Welsh fable. The story seems to have been a favourite fiction in the sixth and seventh centuries, for it is also told of the Saxons who invaded Thuringia.

Assuming that the monastery at Amesbury was called by the Welsh the *nawt*, it would, according to all analogy, be known to the Saxons as the *Nat-e*,* and Natan Leod would signify the Prince of the *Nat-e* or Sanctuary. This title might well be a subject of pride, even to a man as exalted as Ambrosius. We must not infer, because *three* choirs are mentioned, that they were all in existence at the same time. There is reason to believe that the choir of

* Between Amesbury and Old Sarum there is a hamlet called *Netton*. This word seems to be a corruption of the Anglo-

Saxon *Nate-tun*, 'the town or homestead of the *Nat-e*.' It may have been the Grange of the monastery.

Glastonbury arose after that of Amesbury was destroyed. The choir of Ambrosius was probably *the* monastery of Britain—the centre from which flowed the blessings of Christianity and civilisation. Around Amesbury the Briton was fighting for all that was dearest to him; and thus may we account for the desperate resistance which enabled him to maintain a weak frontier for nearly sixty years within little more than twenty miles of Winchester.

An argument may be raised against the identity of Ambrosius and Natan-Leod, on the ground that none of our historians represent the former as dying in battle. Jeffrey, with the view, it would seem, of interpolating the fabulous Uther, poisons Ambrosius by the hands of a Saxon physician; and his authority is, of course, followed by later English writers. Foreigners, however, have left us accounts which approach more nearly to the truth. The Italian Blondus, in the fifteenth century, represents Ambrosius as having led the Britons many times against the Saxons, and as having been at last defeated and slain (Dec. 1, lib. ii.). Polydore Vergil also assigns him a soldier's death, and Stonehenge for a monument (*Hist. Ang.* l. iii.); whence we may infer that, in the opinion of this writer, he fell somewhere in its neighbourhood. The Flemish chronicler Siebert tells us, the Britons made Ambrosius Aurelianus king, and under his guidance fought with various success against their enemies for the space of forty-five years.* If we suppose him to have died in 508, this would fix his accession in the year 463, and the coincidence of dates seems almost to demonstrate the identity of Natanleod and Ambrosius.

It should be observed, that after Jeffrey's work appeared, our historians were greatly puzzled what to make of Natanleod, and generally converted him into one of Uther's lieutenants! Before Jeffrey's time there was no difficulty about the matter. The Chronicle styles him "a British king;" Ethelwerd, "king of the Britons;" and Huntingdon, "chief king of Britain." The last author tells us that Cerdic was obliged to seek aid from Sussex, Kent, and Portsmouth before he could meet his formidable antagonist. Who could that antagonist be but Ambrosius?

* This passage does not appear in the early printed editions of Siebert's Chronicle; but it was found in the ms. used by

Usher, and forms part of the text published by Pertz in his *Monumenta Hist. Germ.*

The next entry in the Chronicle recalls our attention to the locality of Cerdic's Ora :

"A. 514. Now came the West Seaxe,* into Britain with three ships, at the place which is called Cerdic's Ora ; and Stuf and Wihtgar fought with the Brits and put them to flight."

The Jutish leaders Stuf and Wihtgar are elsewhere represented as nephews of Cerdic. From the Jutes, according to the testimony of Bede, came the men of Kent, the men of Wight, and "the kin" in Wessex (as the Saxon chronicler renders it), "which they still call the Juten-kin." Bede elsewhere tells us that the Hamble-water flowed through the country of the Jutes (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 16) ; and at no great distance from this river we find the villages of Meon-stoke and East Meon. Here, no doubt, lived the Meon-ware, whom Bede couples with the men of Wight (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 13), and who were certainly† the Jutish kin above referred to. The Hamble-creek is the natural inlet of the country ; and here, in all probability, Stuf and Wihtgar landed. It is, however, a very singular circumstance that, nineteen years after the arrival of Cerdic, the new comers should have found the Britons still occupying the country, and ready to resist invasion. It shews us how slow was the progress of the Sex-e in driving out the Britons when the latter had fastnesses to shelter themselves in, whether natural or artificial.

The success of Stuf and Wihtgar must have greatly strengthened Cerdic's position at Winchester ; but it was not till after the battle at Charford that he ventured to take upon himself the title of king.

"A. 519. Now Cerdic and Cynric undertook the government of the West-Sexe ; and the same year they fought with the Bryts at the place which is now called Cerdic's-ford,‡ and sithen from that day have reigned the kingly family of the West-Sexe."

* The original may signify, either that a body of West Seaxe, or the West-Sexe generally, arrived in 514. The entry may possibly have been the commencement of some Jutish chronicle, and been carelessly altered when adopted into our present compilations. It certainly misled Ethelwerd in the 10th century ; for he tells us Birinus preached the Gospel to the men of Wessex in the year 635, some 120 years after their

arrival in Britain. He must have counted from the arrival of Stuf and Wihtgar.

† Misled, as it would seem, by a mistake in Florence of Worcester, and by a loose statement in Bede, some of our antiquaries have fixed these Jutes *west* of the Southampton Water.

‡ Ethelwerd tells us that Cerdic's ford was on the Avon ; so that its identity with Chardford or Charford admits of no doubt.

This battle was followed the next year by another, which was still more important in its consequences. Its results may be best detailed in the language of Gildas. "From this time [*i. e.* from the first successes of Ambrosius], one while our citizens, at another time their enemies, were victorious, &c., down to the year of the siege of Mount Badon (which lies near the mouth of the Severn), and of that slaughter which is almost the last, and certainly not the least of those which have been made of the villains (*de furciferis*); from which year, as I reckon, the four and fortieth is now commencing, the first month being now past, and which year was also that of my nativity. But not even at the present time are our towns inhabited as heretofore they were; but waste and ruinous they lie even to this day, inasmuch as though foreign wars ceased, civil wars did not. For the recollection of so dreadful a ruin of our island, and of such unhoped-for succour, dwelt long on the minds of those who were witnesses of these marvellous changes, wherefore kings, and public and private men, priests and ecclesiastics, observed the duties of their station; but when these were gone, and another generation succeeded, who had not experienced that tempest of ruin, and were only acquainted with times of tranquillity and justice, then all the restraints of truth and justice were loosened, &c."

It is clear from this passage, that Gildas looked upon the battle of Mount Badon as separating a long period of war and rapine from one of comparative peace and tranquillity. He does not mention the name of the Welsh general; but both Nennius and the *Annales Cambriæ* give the honour of this victory to Arthur. Several of our English writers, and amongst others, Rudborne in his *Hist. Major*,* allude to the treaty entered into between Arthur and Cerdic. Higden's notice of it is perhaps the most explicit, and is thus rendered by his translator:

"Men rede in somme cronykes that Cerdicus fought oft with Arthur, and yf he were ouercome, he aroose up eft strengre to fyghte, and atte laste after six and twenty yere of Cerdicus comynge Arthur was wery, and noyeful to hym, and gave hym hampshyre and somersete, and called that

* *Anglia Sacra*, i. 187.

countrye Wessex. And he made fayth and swore to hym," &c. *Polychr.* c. 6.

Counting six and twenty years from the date of Cerdic's landing, and including the first year, we arrive at the year 520; and at this date Roger of Wendover fixes the battle of Mount Badon. Jeffrey of Monmouth gives the date of Arthur's death—it is almost the only date he does give—as 542; and the *Welsh Chronicle* in the Red Book of Hergest, makes an interval of twenty-two years between his death and the battle of Mount Badon, which again brings us to the year 520. I think, therefore, we have grounds for believing that this celebrated battle did really take place the year* following that in which Cerdic became king.

The passage in Gildas which describes Mount Badon as lying near the mouth of the Severn seems to fix it with certainty at Bath, or in its neighbourhood. But there are reasons which tend to shew that the passage is an interpolation. First, it has all the appearance of an interpolation; secondly, it is absent from one of the only two mss. we now possess, and was not admitted into his text by Josselin, who had ms. authorities no longer extant; thirdly, we can account for the interpolation, inasmuch as we know that, in the thirteenth century, the Welsh confounded† the battle of Mount Badon with the capture of Bath sixty years later; fourthly, the name of Mount Badon is inapplicable to a place situated as Bath is; and fifthly, the version of the story which Camden took from Jeffrey, and according to which Arthur drove the Saxons from the walls of Bath, and then defeated them on Bannesdown Hill, will not explain the difficulty that meets us; for, according to Gildas, there was an actual *siege*‡ of Mount

* The editors of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* append the date 516 to the entry in the *Annales Cambriæ* which records this battle. I have already expressed my opinion as to the value which should be put on these chronological inferences: vid. p. 37.

† Sharon Turner and some of our other historians have been strangely puzzled by the opening paragraph in the *Welsh Chronicle* contained in the Red Book of Hergest, according to which 128 years elapsed between the age of Vortigern and the battle of Mount Badon; a piece of chronology that deranges all the dates of our early history. The explanation is a simple one. The Welsh compiler looked

into the Saxon *Chronicle*; and from the year 449, when Vortigern is first mentioned, to the year 577, when the capture of Bath is recorded, he counted 128 years. The capture of Bath he confounded with the battle of Mount Badon, and hence the blunder.

‡ Camden's allusion to the earthwork on Bannesdown is hardly consistent with his usual good sense and honesty. The existence of this earthwork could have no relevancy to the battle which, on his hypothesis, was fought there; but might easily lead the careless reader to draw very false inferences with respect to the "*obsessio Montis Badonici*."

Badon, and not merely a battle fought in its neighbourhood. It is highly improbable that the West-Sexe, though they might possibly "harry" the country as far as the neighbourhood of Bath, should lay siege to a fortress so far from their own frontier, and in the rear of such fortresses as Old Sarum, Barbury Hill, and Cirencester. They were foot-soldiers, and not, like the Danes, horsemen, who could rapidly transport themselves from one side of the kingdom to the other. At the date of this battle they had been settled in Hants and Berkshire for about twenty-five years; and for more than seventy years after their arrival in Britain, all the battles which they have recorded were fought either within the limits of these two counties, or only a few miles beyond their borders.

It was no doubt by these and similar reasons that Carte was induced to propose Baydon Hill, on the great Roman Road from Silchester to Chichester, as the place of this battle. But first, there are no earthworks on Baydon Hill; and, secondly, Baydon seems to be a genuine English word. The Mons Badonicus was doubtless so called from the baths (*badon*, Welsh) in its neighbourhood. Now, although remains of Roman baths are occasionally met with on the Gloucestershire and Wiltshire downs, I am not aware that any have been discovered at Baydon; and when we find, in the neighbourhood of this village, localities called Bay-field and Bay-cliff, we cannot have much doubt that Bay-don was also an English compound, and not a corruption of the Welsh word *badon*. Why may not the Mons Badonicus be the Badbury of Dorsetshire? Its elevated site, its great strength and evident importance, and its name,* all alike favour the hypothesis. It exhibits ample proof of Roman occupancy; though, I believe, no Roman baths have yet been discovered in the neighbourhood. It lay also on the borders of the West-Saxon territory, and in the very district where the Welsh and English

* The Anglo-Saxon *bath*, a bath, was a neuter substantive; but the name for Bath appears to have been a feminine substantive, *Bath-e*, gen. *Bath-as*; whence Bathan ceaster, the city of Bath-e. In Hampshire and its neighbourhood, the final and medial *th* was often pronounced *d*; hence, if there were Roman baths near

Badbury, the locality would probably be called *Badd-e*. In the Chronicle, Badbury is termed Baddan byrig, the bury or fortress of Badd-e; and the modern name Badbury must be a corruption of the compound *Badde-byrig*. Huntingdon calls this fortress *Bath-e—ad Bathan*. Lib. v. The Welsh name was probably Dinas Badon.

were at that time contending, and where, only the year before, Cerdic had fought the battle of Charford.

The notion which seems to have been entertained by Rudbourne, Higden, and others, their contemporaries, that, by the terms of this treaty, the whole of Wessex was ceded to our ancestors, is certainly unfounded: we know that the greater portion of it did not fall into their hands till many years afterwards. In the accompanying map I have endeavoured to trace out what may have been the boundary-line which separated the two races. The principles I have taken for my guidance are sufficiently obvious. I have assumed that the size and figure of our counties, at least in the south of England, were, to a considerable degree, influenced by the events of our early history; and that the grims and grimsdikes, so plentifully scattered over them, were real boundary-lines. It will be seen that there are certain places near the boundary which are distinguished as English; and it may be observed that, as contra-distinguished from the Welsh, the West-Sexe called themselves by this name even as early as the times of the Heptarchy. Vid. the *Laws of Ina*.

Starting from the sea, the boundary followed pretty closely that of Western Hampshire, till it reached the neighbourhood of Old Sarum. It then seems to have passed along the ditch which gives its name to the Hundred of Underditch; and to the north of Ditchampton is distinguished in an Anglo-Saxon charter of the eleventh century,* by the name of *Grimes dic*. Traces of this *Grimes dic* are again found in the neighbourhood of Steeple Langford;† and a little to the west of Langford is a village called Fisherton de la *Mere*. Here the boundary seems to have turned again to the northward; but its course towards Amesbury is purely conjectural. From Amesbury it seems to have run along the Beacon Hill towards Chute forest, and thence to the river Thames, in a direction which, with one slight exception, is nearly coincident with the western limits of Hants and Berkshire.

That Amesbury was left in possession of the Britons, there can be little doubt. The name by which it is generally mentioned in the Triads is *Caer-Caradoc*. Now *Caradoc* was the name of the Welsh prince who is com-

* Cod. Dipl. 778.

† Cod. Dipl. 446.

memorated as Arthur's "battle-knight," and as "the pillar of the Cymry," and who appears to have been, as we shall hereafter see, the most powerful chief in South Britain at this juncture. It is not likely that a fortress of the first class, the residence of Caradoc Vreichvras, would be taken as long as that hero lived; and as we have reason to believe he survived Arthur, he must have lived some twenty or thirty years after the date of this treaty.

North of the Thames, we know that Eynsham and Bensington were Welsh fortresses full fifty years after the battle of Mount Badon; but that the Sexe had penetrated into the valleys of the Cherwell-basin is probable, because this basin lies open and contiguous to the vale of White-Horse, and was the favourite line on which the Saxon kings operated against the Britons;* and also because we find one of the Grimsdikes stretching across it from the Glym to the Evenlode. From this Grimsdike the boundary may have passed along the Akemans-street, and the Aves-ditch,† to Whittlebury forest, and thence along Cerdic's-lea to Dorchester. It may then have crossed the river, so as to cover *Wallinga ford*‡ (that is, the ford of the Wallings, or, as we may perhaps render it, of the Weals, or Welshmen), and then run along the Grimsdike and the Chiltern, till it again reached the Thames east of Streatley. South of the river, it must have followed the Grimsdike to Purborough Castle; have swept round to Spinæ by Grimsbury; and then by the Welshmen's bridge (*Weala brucg*§), and the Mare ridges (*i.e.* the ridges of the Meer or March), to Englefield. Passing the Kennet at Theale,|| it then seems to have run along the Grimsdike¶ to Silchester, and thence along the

* Vid. Sax. Chron. A.D. 527, 571. Arthur's battles against the Saxons at the mouth of the river Glem and in the wood of Caledon (Nennius, c. 64) were also very probably fought in this neighbourhood.

† Whether the boundary-line continued its course along the Akeman St., or passed to the north of it, depends on the question, whether Alchester had fallen into the hands of the Saxons. It could never have been a place of strength; and the existence of Bicester in its neighbourhood goes far to prove that it was destroyed in these early wars. Its capture would hardly have been followed by its ruin at any later period.

‡ Immediately to the south of the boundary-line at this point was a locality called *Grimley*, and near it an earthwork called "the old dike," which ran to the Thames at Wallingford. Cod. Dipl. 1069.

§ Cod. Dipl. 1152.

|| In the old Hampshire dialect *th* was often substituted for the initial *d*, as *thar*, *there*, *than*, *thoth*, &c., for *dare*, *dear*, *den*, *doth*, &c. *Theale* seems to be the provincial pronunciation of *dole*, a boundary.

¶ Dr. Beke informs us (*Arch.* vol. xv. p. 179) that the peasantry call this dike "Grimmers dike." I do not examine his etymology, as I am satisfied that *Grimmers*

skirts of the forest to within a mile or two of Chertsey, in the neighbourhood of which town we find all the marks of a frontier station. On the English side of the supposed boundary-line is a place still called Englefield, and on the Welsh side we find recorded in our charters* the Welshmen's road (Weala geat), the Welshman's hythe or port (Weales huth), and a place called the Shire-pool. I do not pretend to follow the boundary with any accuracy further. It probably passed south to Guildford,† and then returned by way of Holwood Hill to London.

I have not been able to check these speculations by any personal examination of the country; and no doubt in many points they require correction. Still, however, I feel a strong persuasion that in their main features they do not deviate widely from the truth. But even were this the case, I would maintain, that, on a subject of such bewildering confusion as that of our ancient dikes and earthworks, any reasonable hypothesis that enables us to group together a certain number of these boundary-lines can hardly fail to be of service.

The following events recorded in the Chronicle appear to have occurred during the forty-four years which elapsed after the battle of Mount Badon, and which Gildas represents as a period of comparative peace and tranquillity.

“ A. 527. Now Cerdic and Cynric fought with the Bryts at the place that is called Cerdics Lea.

“ A. 530. Now Cerdic and Cynric took the Island Wight; and a few men they slew in Wihtgara-burh.

“ A. 534. Now Cerdic, the first king of the West-Seaxe, died; and Cynric, his son, took to the kingdom, and reigned thenceforth twenty-six winters. And they gave to their two nephews, Stuf and Wihtgar, the whole of the Isle of Wight.

“ A. 552. Now Cynric fought with the Bryts at the place that is called Searo-byrig; and the Bryt-waels he put to flight.

dike is nothing more than the old pronunciation of *Grim-es dic*. Stukeley gives this earthwork the name of *Grimadike*. He mistook it for a Roman road; and his account of it has misled both Gough and Warton.

* Cod. Dipl. 987.

† If Vindomis was situated in the neighbourhood of Farnham, the frontier very probably reached to it, and all Surrey south of “the Hog's back” may have been Welsh territory.

“ A. 556. Now Cynric and Ceawlin fought with the Bryts at Beran-byrig.

“ A. 560. Now Ceawlin took to the kingdom among the West-Sexe.”

The battle at Cerdics Lea may have arisen from some misunderstanding about the boundaries ; and there is little doubt that the Isle of Wight was one of those wasted districts which were yielded up to Cerdic after the battle of Mount Badon. Some copies of the Chronicle make Cerdic slay *many* men in Wihtgara-burh (*feala* instead of *fea*) ; but the present reading is supported by Asser, Ethelwerd, and Florence ; and the first of these writers tells us, by way of explanation, that “ the other inhabitants of the island had been slain, or driven into exile.” It is probable that Wihtgara-burh was not the only fortress within the boundaries of Cerdic’s kingdom, which for a while sheltered its inhabitants from the sword of their enemies.

The battles at Old Sarum in 552, and at Barbury Hill in 556, clearly indicate an aggressive warfare on the part of our ancestors. These battles were probably not followed by any of those dreadful inroads, which at an earlier period carried fire and sword through the island ; and Gildas may have looked upon them as hardly a greater evil than the civil wars which were then desolating his country.

I have spoken of Arthur as a historical personage ; for I see nothing to justify the doubts that have sometimes been expressed on this subject. His pretensions to the character rest on a very different footing from those of Uther. Uther’s name was never mentioned before the publication of Jeffrey’s history ; while Arthur’s battles are recorded by Nennius, and his name occurs in Welsh poems of the sixth century whose genuineness no scholar has ever doubted, in the *Annales Cambriæ*, and in the lives of several of the Welsh saints. His relationship, however, to Ambrosius is evidently a fiction, and one which we probably owe to the mendacious history we have just referred to. He seems to have been the nephew of a petty king in the west of Britain, and to have been elected to the supreme command solely on account of his soldierly qualities. The account of his battles in Nennius contains one obvious error. According to all the Welsh chronicles, more than twenty years elapsed between the battle of

Mount Badon and his death; yet although during that period different tribes of invaders were effecting settlements in the east and north of Britain, this battle, we are told, was the last he fought against the Saxons. It was probably the last he fought against the Saxons of Wessex; and as the war with Wessex was that which most interested the South Briton who wrote the paragraph, we need not seek for any other explanation of the blunder.

The accession of Arthur is placed by Wendover in 516, eight years after the death of Ambrosius. There is some reason to believe that the immediate successor of Ambrosius was his son Owen; at least the thirty-fourth triad in Probert's collection makes this Owen one of "the three conventional monarchs of Britain;" that is, one of the monarchs who were chosen by a general convention of the country. It is true that in this, as in other cases where mention is made of "Owen son of Ambrosius," we find in the greater number of mss., "Owen son of Maximus;" but as the relationship indicated by the phrase "Owen son of Ambrosius" is in direct antagonism to Jeffrey's history, we can readily account for the change to "Owen son of Maximus." The assertion that a son of the usurper Maximus was elected king of Britain is in direct contradiction to Roman history; while the election of a son of Ambrosius is a possible, and perhaps we might add a probable, event. Arthur may have been elected the "*dux belli*" on the death of Owen without children, or with children too young to meet the exigencies of the times.

One of the triads commemorates "the three tribes of the throne," as they existed in the time of Arthur. These "tribes of the throne" clearly represent the three favourite divisions, Lloegyr, Alban, and Cymru; that is, South, North, and West Britain. All the mss. represent Cellewig in Cornwall as Arthur's chief seat in Lloegyr, and Caradoc Vreichvras (that is, Caradoc with the brawny arm) as his "chief elder," or as the prince pre-eminent in that district. This Caradoc was no doubt the prince who gave the name of *Caer Caradoc* to the stronghold which adjoins to Amesbury. He appears to have lost his life at the terrible battle of *Cattraeth*, which (according to the generally received opinion) was fought against the invading Engle in North Britain; and his son *Cawrdav* is commemorated in the following triad.

“The three supreme servants of the isle of Britain; Caradog the son of Bran, the son of Llyr Llediaith; Cawrdav, the son of Caradog of the brawny arm; and Owain, son of Ambrosius. They were so called because all the men of the island of Britain, from the prince to the peasant, became their followers, at the need of the country, on account of the invasion and tyranny of the foe,” &c. Probert, Triad 42.

Perhaps we may infer from this tradition, that as the terror produced by the battle of Netley, and the death of Ambrosius, led the Britons to rally round the son of their fallen monarch, so the slaughter at Catteraeth induced them to elect as their chief the son of the hero who on that occasion so much distinguished himself. From Caradoc's connexion with Amesbury, and the position he seems to have held in the estimation of his countrymen, we may perhaps be justified in drawing the further inference, that he was a descendant of Ambrosius.*

Of the five British princes whom Gildas inveighs against in his Epistle, the two first whom he selects for censure are Constantine, king of Devonshire (Damnonia), and Aurelius Conan. He accuses the first of having “that same year” slain “two royal youths” in their mother's arms, and beneath the very “amphibalum” of the abbot; and bids Aurelius, whom he describes as even worse than Constantine, to remember the untimely end of his fathers and his brothers (*patrum fratrumque*), and that he is now left a solitary and a withered stock. When we consider the names borne by these princes, and the district one of them was reigning over, we can hardly avoid the suspicion, that they were the descendants of Ambrosius, whom Gildas describes in his history as “having greatly degenerated from the worth of their ancestors.” In some Welsh mss. four sons are assigned to the usurper Maximus; Owain Vinddu, Ednyved, Peblic, and Cystenyn (Constantine).† As we

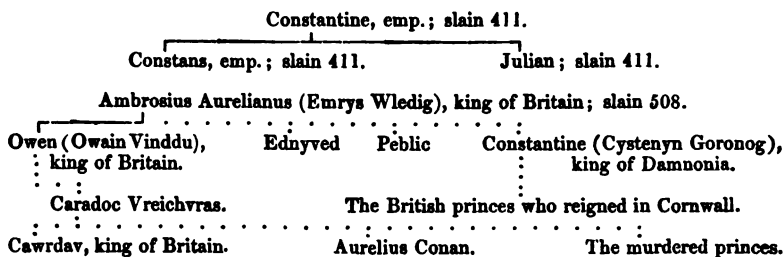
* The “Genealogies of the Saints” generally make him a member of one or other of the “three holy families;” but as they convert a sturdy warrior into a saint, it is but fitting they should provide him with a suitable pedigree.

† Iolo Mss. p. 113. The prominence which is given to Maximus (Marsen Wledig) in the Welsh Triads, and which appears to have thrown the name of Ambro-

sus into the shade, may have been due originally to the great prevalence of *Breton* legends during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These legends seem to have been introduced into Wales on the return of Rhys ab Iewdwr, A.D. 1077; and were no doubt one of the sources from which Jeffrey of Monmouth drew the materials of his History. They may very probably have suggested his story of a Breton original.

have reasons for believing that the later Welsh copyists often changed "Owen son of Ambrosius" into "Owen son of Maximus," with the view of accommodating Welsh history to Jeffrey's narrative; so we may conjecture, that with the same view they would transfer to Maximus the whole family of the British king, and consequently that Ednyved, Pablic, and Cystenyn, were sons of Ambrosius. On this supposition, the Constantine whom Gildas inveighs against may have been the youngest son of this monarch. Jeffrey makes him the uncle of Aurelius Conan; but it would be more consistent with the facts of our early history, if we were to consider him as the great uncle. Possibly he may have borne the same relationship to Cawrdav, and to the "two royal youths," his victims. Rowland represents him as the ancestor of the British princes who reigned in Cornwall; but the only authority for such a statement which has fallen under the author's notice, are certain suspicious genealogies in the *Achau Saint Ynys Prydain*.

The following scheme exhibits the ties of relationship which seem to have connected the different members of the family of Ambrosius; and hypothetical though it be, yet any clue which may assist us in unravelling the intricacies of early British history has claims upon our attention:—



The mode in which Jeffrey manufactured his history of this period is sufficiently obvious. He took four of the five princes whose names occur in the Epistle, and made them kings of Britain in the order in which Gildas mentions them—Constantine, Aurelius Conan, Vortiper, and Maelgwn. Unfortunately for Jeffrey, the *Annales Cambriae* record Maelgwn's death of the yellow plague ten years after the death of Arthur, while they represent Constan-

tine as living nearly to the close of the century. Such is the history, whose authority modern criticism has attempted to revive, at the same time that it attacks the credit due to Gildas and Bede!

The British leader at Barbury Hill was most probably Aurelius Conan. Fifteen years after his defeat, the West-Sexe turned their arms eastward.

“A. 571. Now Cuthwulf fought with the Bryt-weals at Bedican-ford; and four towns he took, Lygean-burh, and Ægeles-burh, and Bensington, and Ægones-ham. And the same year he died.”

The march upon Bedford cut through the line of communication which united Verulam and London with the rest of Britain, and must have made the battle which followed it inevitable. On their return, the West-Sexe swept the valleys of the Ouse and Thame, or the districts dependent on the burghs of Lenborough* and Aylesbury,† by the union of which with the woodlands of the Chiltern the modern county of Bucks has been formed; and then stormed the fortresses, which had hitherto maintained their independence in the valley of the Thames. The districts appertaining to Bensington and Eynsham, when added to the country already occupied by the Saxons north of the river, nearly completed our modern Oxfordshire.

Only six years later, the West-Sexe pushed their conquests to the Severn.

“A. 477. Now Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought with the Bryts, and three kings they slew, Commail, Condidan, and Farinmail, at the place which is called Deorham, and took from them three chesters, Glewan ceaster, and Cyren ceaster, and Bathan ceaster.”

The battle of Deorham seems to have been the decisive battle which sealed the fate of South Britain. The loss of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath, separated for ever the Britons of Wales from those of Cornwall. Neither the “West Weals” of Damnonia, nor the Weals beyond the Severn, could hope successfully to resist an enemy against whom their united power had been exerted in

* Lenborough is now a hamlet adjoining to Buckingham.

† The old ditch which runs along the edge of the Chiltern from Berkhamstead

to Princes Risborough seems to have been adopted by the West-Sexe as the western boundary of their new conquests. It still bears the name of “Grimesdike.”

vain. The progress of the West-Sexe might be checked by their intestine feuds, but no sooner were they at peace among themselves, than their frontier was advanced at the expense of their neighbours. We cannot, however, follow their later conquests. The present paper is already much too long, and has been extended far beyond the limits originally contemplated by the writer.

EDWIN GUEST.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. D.

- 446. Ætius consul for the third time.
- 447. Vortigern king.
- 450. Marcian emperor. Arrival of the Saxons.
- 455. *Battle of Aylesford.*
- 457. *Battle of Crayford.*
- 459. "Discordia Guitolini et Ambrosii."
- 463. Ambrosius king.
- 465. *Battle of Wippeds-fleet.*
- 473. *Battle, and much booty taken.*
- 477. *Ælle lands at Cymens Ora.*
- 485. *Battle at Mercreds-burn.*
- 490. *Anderida taken.*
- 495. *Cerdic lands at Cerdics Ora.*
- 501. *Port lands at Portsmouth.*
- 508. *Natan-leod (i. e. Ambrosius) slain.*
- 514. *Stuf and Wihtgar land at Cerdics Ora.*
- 519. *Battle of Charford.*
- 520. *Battle of the Mons Badonicus. Treaty between Cerdic and Arthur.*
- 527. *Battle of Cerdics Lea.*
- 530. *Wihtgara-burh in the Isle of Wight taken.*
- 534. *Cerdic dies.*
- 542. *Arthur dies.*
- 552. *Battle at Old Sarum.*
- 556. *Battle at Barbury-Hill.*
- 571. *Battle at Bedford.*
- 577. *Battle at Deorham.*

THE EXAMINATION OF SILBURY HILL,

IN JULY AND AUGUST 1849.

AVEBURY, Silbury Hill, Wansdyke, and their adjacent downs, studded with tumuli and cairns and earthworks of endless variety and surpassing interest, were known to me from my earliest youth; and so intimately associated in my memory have they been with those happy days, and the pleasure of then contemplating and investigating them, that it required no greater inducement than the intimation that I might be useful in examining the progress of the excavations at Silbury, on my way to Salisbury, to attend the meeting of the Archæological Institute, to determine me at once to set off for that purpose. Accordingly, on the evening of July the 18th, I found myself safely deposited at the Waggon and Horses Inn at Beckhampton; whence, having deposited my luggage and secured a resting-place within sight of Silbury, I proceeded without delay to inspect the progress already made in its examination, which had commenced on the 10th of July. Although, during my sojourn here, my attention was devoted at intervals to the antiquities of the neighbourhood, and not without success, during such times as the workmen were engaged in the tunnel, in which there was barely room for two persons to pass, I purpose to confine my remarks in this communication to Silbury alone, and to reserve my other discoveries for a subsequent paper. Before I enter into the hill itself, I will venture to detail some few particulars which, although perhaps already known to many, may yet serve to make this record of what I observed (and in some respects I alone) more intelligible.

The tumulus was originally formed upon the gradual slope of a hill, rising from north to south at an angle of about four degrees from its point of section with the horizontal base-line of the natural hill. The circumference

of the tumulus, after the removal for its formation of the before-mentioned natural hill on the east, north, and west sides to a very considerable extent, is 1550 feet; and it is remarkable, although I have not seen it noticed by former writers, that the verge of the base is set round with *sarsen** stones, 3 or 4 feet in diameter, and at intervals of about 18 feet; of these, however, only eight are now visible, although others may be covered with the detritus of the sloping sides of the tumulus, and overgrown with turf. The tumulus rises at an angle of 32 degrees, is in its vertical measurement 125 feet high, and has on its summit a level area of about 100 feet in diameter, in which are still observable the remains of the shaft worked in 1777 by the Duke of Northumberland and Colonel Drax, and the mounds of earth which the excavators had not taken the trouble to throw in. It is much to be regretted that no detailed account of these operations is upon record, and it is hardly credible that they could have been completed without some account of their progress and the discoveries effected, and perhaps even yet such documents may come to light.† On the south the original constructors of this stupendous mound left two narrow isthmuses of earth, con-

* 'Sarsen' is the name given by the inhabitants of this district to the fine compact white sandstones of which Avebury Temple, Stonehenge, the Cromlech at Clatford, and the Grey Wethers, are composed; and of which there are tens of thousands still scattered over these hills and their valleys; some having evidently formed cistvaens, with the gallery of approach to the chamber, some cromlechs, some avenues of approach to consecrated spots, some circles round the sepulchral deposits, some lines of demarcation, few of which are known as they deserve to be, and all, alas, are annually reduced in their number by the appropriation of them to the purposes of building. The stone for the new railway-bridge at Windsor is taken from Clatford Bottom. The cromlech there I recollect when it stood in the midst of the Valley of Stones; now it is surrounded by a field of turnips.

† The following are statements made by two old men as to the former examination of Silbury Hill:

Richard Maskelyn, of Beckhampton, aged eighty, has often heard his father tell of the miners out of Cornwall that cut into Silbury Hill; they went, as he heard,

down to the bottom, and they found "a man."

John Blake, of Avebury, aged ninety-five years, states that he recollects when the miners from Cornwall dug into Silbury Hill; it was when he was keeping company with his first wife, and was about twenty years of age. He went with her to see the place, and they cut her gown. They went down to the bottom, and found a man — *i. e.* a skeleton, in the phraseology of the Wiltshire Downs, where the flint-diggers are constantly in the habit of finding skeletons, both in the barrows and frequently on the verge or slope of them, as well as in the plain down, unmarked by any irregularity of surface. These two old men, therefore, may have been led to infer what was expected, and to declare that "a man" was found; though such assertion indicates rather what they would deem likely than the positive fact.

I subjoin the only record of this operation known, extracted from Douglas's *Nenia Britannica*, 1793, p. 161:

"The great hill of Silbury, generally considered as a barrow, was opened by the direction of the late Duke of Northumberland and Colonel Drax, under the

necting it with the original hill, about 20 feet below its summit, on the north side of the London and Bath road, and about 19 feet above the (geometrical) base of the tumulus. From the western isthmus the tunnel was commenced. The first 75 feet were cut through the natural and compact bed of chalk—the structure of the original hill; but at that distance the upper line of the tunnel cut into the surface of the original hill, which was clearly marked by the vegetable mould, and upon that by a layer of bluish clay about 2 inches thick, very soft and tenacious, which represented evidently the decayed and compressed turf and grass on the former surface of the hill; above this was the brownish earthy, chalky rubble, the artificial components of the mound differing from that nearer to the centre, as that was piled up from a moist, this from a higher and drier situation. The workmen were continually progressing day and night, as each of the three gangs worked eight hours, three men only at a time having room to excavate, fill and wheel the barrows. From the points of junction of the tunnel in the natural chalk with the line of the surface of the original hill, they followed that line as their guide, keeping it about 2 feet below the ceiling of the tunnel; inasmuch as there could be little doubt that whatever deposit might be found would be either on the surface of the original ground near the centre, or in a cist formed immediately below that line.

On my first visit they had advanced about 40 yards; when at 30 yards, they found in the artificial rubble, immediately above the ground-line, a portion of the tine of a stag's antler of the red deer species. Very little difference in the appearance of the walls of the tunnel had as yet been discernible, when the time came (on Monday

supposition of its being a place of sepulture. Miners from Cornwall were employed, and great labour bestowed upon it. The only relic found at the bottom, and which Colonel Drax shewed me, was a thin slip of oak-wood: by burning the end of it in a wax-taper we proved it not to be whalebone, which had been so reported. The smell of vegetable substance soon convinced the Colonel of his mistake. He had a fancy that this hill was raised over a Druid oak, and he thought the remains of it were discovered in the excavation; there was, however, no reason for

considering it to have been a place of sepulture by the digging into it. The bit of a bridle discovered by Stukeley, and his assertion of a monarch being buried there, has only the pleasure of conception to recommend it. It is not likely the monarch would have been buried near its surface, when such an immense mound of earth had been raised for the purpose; and the time in raising it would not agree with the nature of a funeral obsequy, which must require a greater degree of expedition."

evening the 23d) for me to proceed to Salisbury. Having taken a last inspection on my way, I suggested that it would be desirable that the workmen should stop when they reached within two yards of the centre, under the apprehension that in case they should break into a cist, or discover any deposit, there might be no person present to describe and record the particulars. Whilst at Salisbury the specimens of new features in the component parts of the tumulus were sent for inspection. The thin compressed line of clay, formerly grass, could be traced continuously throughout the tunnel, and the vegetable mould below it varying in its depth occasionally, and sometimes considerably; but at about 30 or 40 feet from the centre a very marked difference appeared. Instead of the rubbly chalk forming the artificial substance of the hill, the thin grass line was covered with a black peaty substance, composed of sods of turf piled together, containing great quantities of moss still in a state of comparative freshness, and which had evidently been taken from the excavated area on the east, west, and north sides of the tumulus, on the borders of which a small rivulet runs—a tributary to the Kennet,—which I have myself seen overflowing almost the whole of the excavated area at the back of the hill, and which probably was wont to do so before that work was effected; not, of course, to so great extent, but sufficiently to produce the moss now perceptible in the sods derived from that locality, still retaining its colour and texture, and to deposit amongst them the freshwater shells which were interspersed on its surface, and are still preserved in most remarkable freshness and transparency. Above and about this layer was a dense accumulation of black earth, emitting a peculiar smell, in which were embedded fragments of small branches of bushes, which in many instances, retaining their shape, had been transformed into a substance of beautiful cobalt-coloured blue, which was also in great quantity dispersed in small knobs throughout the layer of this black substance. At about this spot caudal vertebræ of the ox, or perhaps red deer, and a very large tooth of the same animal, were carried out in the wheelbarrows, so that the exact spots in which they had rested were not known. The following general analysis of these substances was obtained by

the kindness of a young gentleman at Mr. Squarey's of Salisbury, and may serve to shew their chemical character:—1st. The substance nearest the line of original surface of the hill: iron, sulphuric acid, lime, carbonates, earthy and organic matters, alumina. 2d. That somewhat higher up in position and of compact black texture: iron, carbonic acid, lime, sulphates, alumina, phosphates. Over these the artificial rubble of the hill had assumed a darker colour, and contained on analysis much the same components as No. 2.; as well as those portions below, from the percolation of water saturated with the qualities of the substance above. I must not omit to state that in many places within this range from the centre, on the surface of the original hill, were found fragments of a sort of string, of two strands, each twisted, composed of (as it seemed) grass, and about the size of whip-cord. Insects, especially beetles, and fragments of charcoal, were constantly observable.

On Tuesday morning, the 31st, having reached Marlborough from Salisbury on the Monday night, I returned to Silbury, visiting on our way the Cromlech at Clatford Bottom, the Roman road on Overton Hill, and the termination (that which had been) of the South-eastern Avenue of Avebury, on Hacpen Hill, with its neighbouring tumuli, and then the eight remaining detached stones of the avenue on the road from Kennet to Avebury, where I remember six to have stood in their relative positions opposite to each other.

One line I must devote to the memory of one of the most agreeable weeks I ever recollect to have spent. The little party of good and approved archæologists who did me the honour to allow me to rank as their comrade will, I am sure, bear testimony to the description I have given of that happy week; and I shall never forget the manifest indications of regret when the time came for us to part—I confess by none felt more acutely than myself, the one left behind.

On our arrival at Silbury, which my companions had not before seen,—after due admiration of its imposing and mysterious grandeur,—we inspected the interior, when it appeared that the workmen had penetrated to the extent of 88 yards, in effect 16 yards beyond the centre of the

tumulus. Nothing had been discovered, excepting the peculiar condition of the material of which the hill was composed about its centre, or the nucleus from which its fabricators first commenced the piling of it up. This day was greatly occupied by the numerous visitors who flocked from Salisbury and other quarters ; and as we could do little at Silbury, we betook ourselves to inspect Avebury, and subsequently to open some neighbouring barrows. There was, however, one very remarkable circumstance which the workmen related, namely, that when they were digging and picking, at about 7² yards in, the earth above their heads sounded very hollow, almost like a drum ; and on experimenting the effect of vigorous blows of the pick-axe at that spot, it was impossible not to be impressed with the idea that there must be a cavity above. It was therefore resolved that the men should cut down the roof from some 8 or 10 yards back, so as to raise the roof of the tunnel at the centre 6 or 8 feet or more, the earth cut from the roof forming the floor on an inclined plane. Great was our disappointment, when we reached the point where our grand discovery was expected, to find that our operations had completely silenced the delusive sound, and that all was dense and compact as below. There was, however, a very important feature brought to view in this excavation, namely, a succession of layers of the earth one above the other at the end of the tunnel, and slightly curved downwards at each side. This operation had brought us to Saturday night ; and on that day our most agreeable party had taken their leave, whilst I was left alone, with the responsibility of observing the works, still with some hope that even yet discoveries might be made which would help to clear up the mystery in which this noble monument of our early ancestors is shrouded.

I have omitted to state, what really deserves to be recorded, that on the Wednesday in this memorable week a very large assemblage of the neighbouring gentry were seen congregated on the embankment to the east of Silbury Hill, where they listened with much interest and attention to such comments as I was able to make on the early history and usages of the Britons, especially as to their sepulchral remains in that neighbourhood ; and subsequently were instructed and highly gratified by an ad-

dress, in his usual style of elegance and perspicuity, on the subsequent history and usages of the Anglo-Saxons, whose adopted work of Wansdyke was within their sight, by Mr. Kemble. The information conveyed this day to those who possess in their hills and on their estates the precious and most interesting relics of bygone times in this singularly curious neighbourhood will, I believe, be not a little influential in promoting and directing a juster appreciation and stricter guardianship of the treasures which so frequently are brought to light by the *employés* of the gentlemen who farm this county of antiquities, and who are not less remarkable for their high respectability and intelligence, than they are, as I can testify, for their exceeding kindness.

But to return to Silbury. Our statement has carried us down to the night of Saturday the 4th of August. On the following Monday morning I found that Mr. Blandford, the engineer who had directed the work, considering that he had accomplished all that he undertook in his contract with the Institute, had desired the men not to proceed further under his responsibility. I was therefore under the necessity of taking on myself to direct their progress, and they accordingly recommenced their labours the same day, whilst I communicated with the Institute on the present state of things. At all events, it was impossible to allow the investigation to stop short, when perhaps we were within a few feet of the objects of our search. Nothing could be more evident than the existence of the primary heaping up of the mound, through the centre of which, or very nearly so, the elevated tunnel was cut. At the floor of this was traceable the line of the original turf of the natural hill, and it was clear to demonstration that this had not been cut through. No cist, therefore, had been found below that line in any part yet examined. What might exist within the range of the conical heaping up of the earth, which was on all sides so distinctly marked, was yet to be proved. I therefore directed that a chamber should be cut at right angles with the tunnel on the right hand, following the dip of the primary heap. In this *many sarsen stones* were discovered, some of them placed with their concave surface downwards, favouring the line of the heap, as is frequently seen in small barrows, and

casing, as it were, the mound. On the top of some of these were observed fragments of bone, and small sticks, as of bushes, and I am strongly disposed to think of *mistletoe*, and two or three pieces of the ribs either of the ox or red deer, in a sound and unusually compact state, and also the tine of a stag's antler in the same condition. This being the second instance in which this portion of the stag's horn has been found in these operations, it is not improbable that it may have been specially regarded. This first chamber having been excavated as far back as the line marking the conical heaping of the earth extended, a similar one was formed on the right-hand side of the tunnel nearer the entrance, leaving so much of the earth between as was necessary to support the roof, with similar results; and on the opposite side a passage was cut at right angles with the tunnel extending three yards, and this at the extremity was turned to the left, in consequence of the peculiar compactness and blackness of the earth, which also appeared to dip more than elsewhere towards the west. This having been worked as far as seemed necessary, another cutting was commenced on the opposite side northward, and following the curve of the heaping up of the central cone. In all of these the sarsen stones were similarly disposed; but after cutting in this direction about 3 yards, the workmen came to an upright seam in the hill, and found before them no longer the dense black concrete, but loose unconnected chalk, evidently the filling-in of the shaft, 5 feet wide by 4 feet 6, sunk from the summit of the hill in 1777.

These operations had occupied until Wednesday the 15th of August, the last day of my most enjoyable sojourn in these mysterious regions, which I left with much regret. The subsequent investigations were carried on under the auspices of the Rev. J. Bathurst Deane; and it may, perhaps, be satisfactory to him to have found that Silbury Hill, so far as is yet known, and as he had declared, was not a sepulchral tumulus. One thing is manifest, that the examiners of 1777 did not hit the actual centre of the tumulus, whilst we have excavated its very core. It is not likely, therefore, that the version given of their discoveries by the ancients Blake and Maskelyn, viz. that "they found a man," is correct. Whether

the piling up of the sods, and the peculiar and marked effects with which that part of the hill is distinguished from the rest, and the layer of sarsen stones, should lead to any future inquiry,—for it is possible that this central and conical heap might have been the platform, as it were, on the apex of which the deposit was placed before the remainder of the hill was raised,—will much depend on the observations made subsequently to my departure. If nothing else has been achieved, a more general knowledge of these secluded but most magnificent national antiquities has been effected. Many have wondered at Avebury and Silbury—have seen for themselves the Roman road deflecting to the right to avoid Silbury—have observed the same road cutting down the high bank of the Wansdyke, and adopting its line, who before had no notion that England possessed such relics. But more than this, an anxious desire for further information, a sedulous care for the preservation of these and other antiquities of the neighbourhood, continually brought to light, has been implanted *in the neighbourhood*, in proprietors and occupiers, and even in the labourers and flint-diggers, the frequent discoverers of exquisite remains. And whilst my friend Mr. George Brown of Avebury has engaged that he will take care, and his sons after him, that not a stone at Avebury shall again be injured or removed, I feel confident that a general spirit of antiquarian conservatism has been widely and effectually instilled, from which the cause of archæology and our Institute will reap much advantage.

J. M.

DIARY OF THE EXAMINATION OF BARROWS
AND OTHER EARTHWORKS

IN THE

NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SILBURY HILL AND AVEBURY, WILTS,

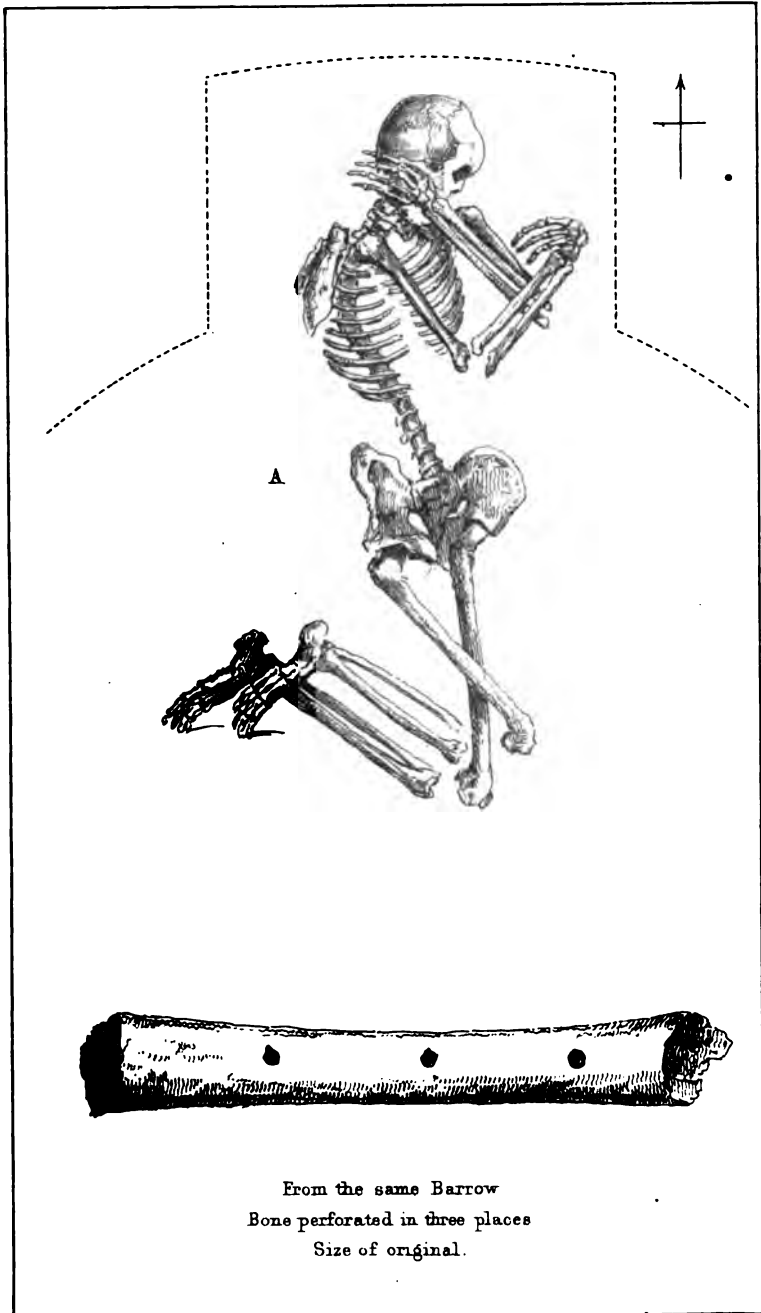
IN JULY AND AUGUST 1849.

“*Ducere sollicitæ jucunda oblivis vitæ.*”

July 18th.—Reached the way-side inn, the “Waggon and Horses,” at Beckhampton, in Wiltshire, subsequently selected by our party the Archæological Hotel; proceeded to inspect tunnel at Silbury Hill, which had then penetrated 30 yards; went to Avebury, after an interval of 30 years; since my last examination missed several stones from thence and from the Kennet Avenue.

19th.—This day employed in visits to the tunnel and in obtaining leave to open barrows, successfully and without loss of time, through the aid of Mr. George Brown, and by the kindness of others in the neighbourhood from time to time; made a circuit over the downs east of Avebury, Bye Hill Down, and Hacpen, to select barrows for examination. The breaking up of the land for tillage made it very difficult to recognise the exact spots where I had formerly opened some, and observed others.

20th.—Opened a flat barrow (No. 1) of about 25 yards from skirt to skirt, and 5 feet from the apex to the level of the surrounding down, situated in the centre of the flat down about a mile and a quarter from Avebury, and at half a mile's distance from any other barrow. At the centre, 18 inches below the surface, were the fragments of a coarse unornamented vase, containing the bones of a child which had cut its first teeth, but had not changed them. In the chalk rubble were numerous pieces of deer's ribs. 2 ft. 6 in. from the surface was a skeleton of an adult (A); the thigh-bones measured 14½ inches, the whole



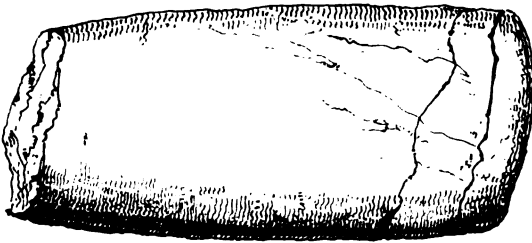
From the same Barrow
Bone perforated in three places
Size of original.



B



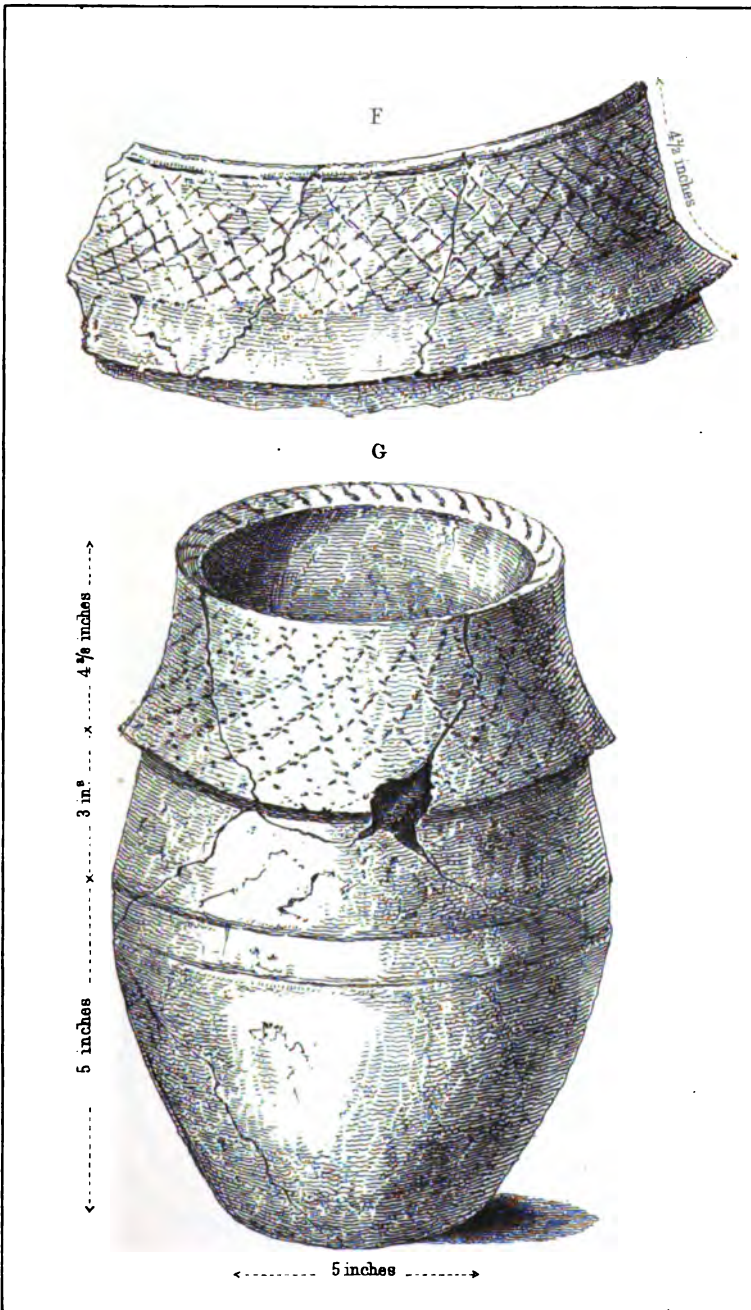
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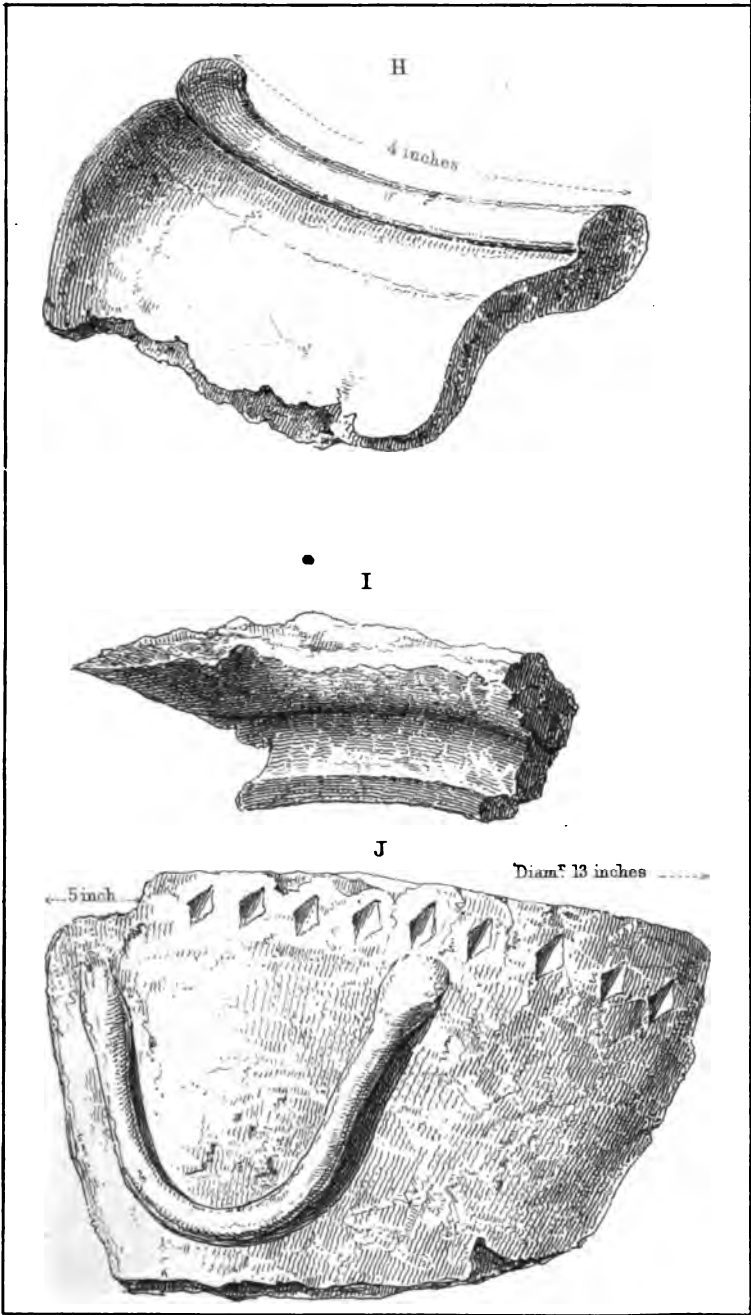


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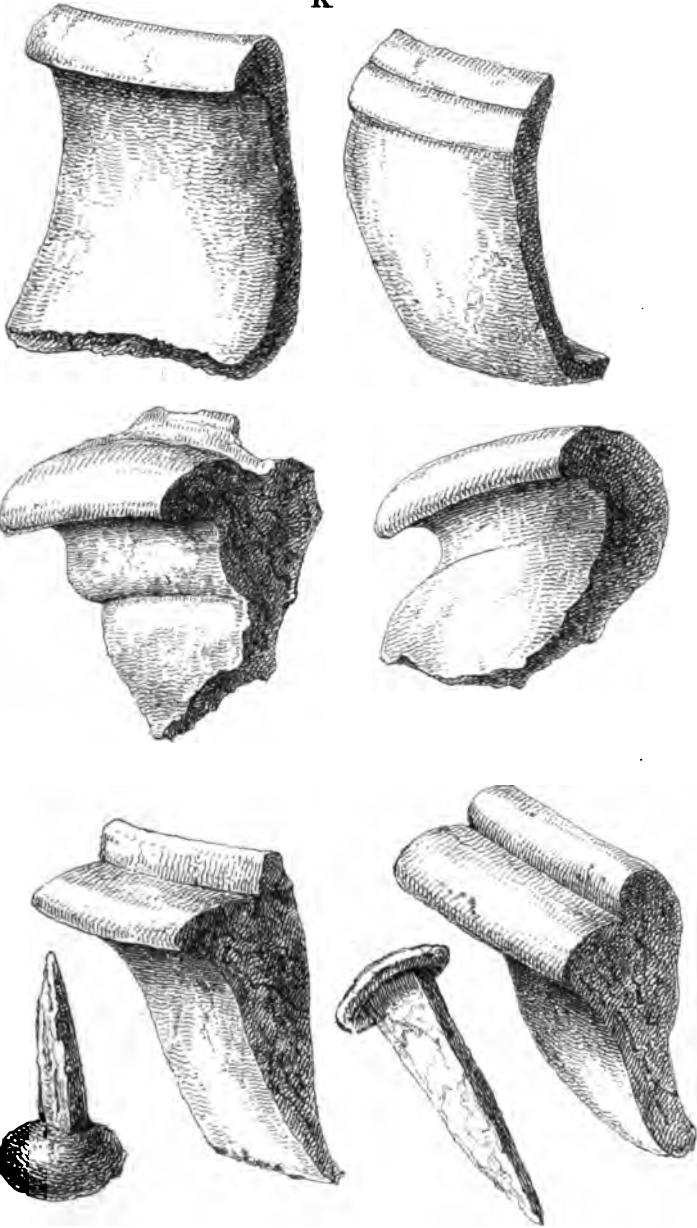




J.R. Johnson .

G. Bell, 186 Fleet St July 1851

K



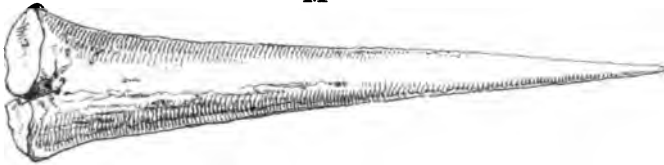
J. R. Jobbins.

G. Bell. 186 Fleet St July. 1851.

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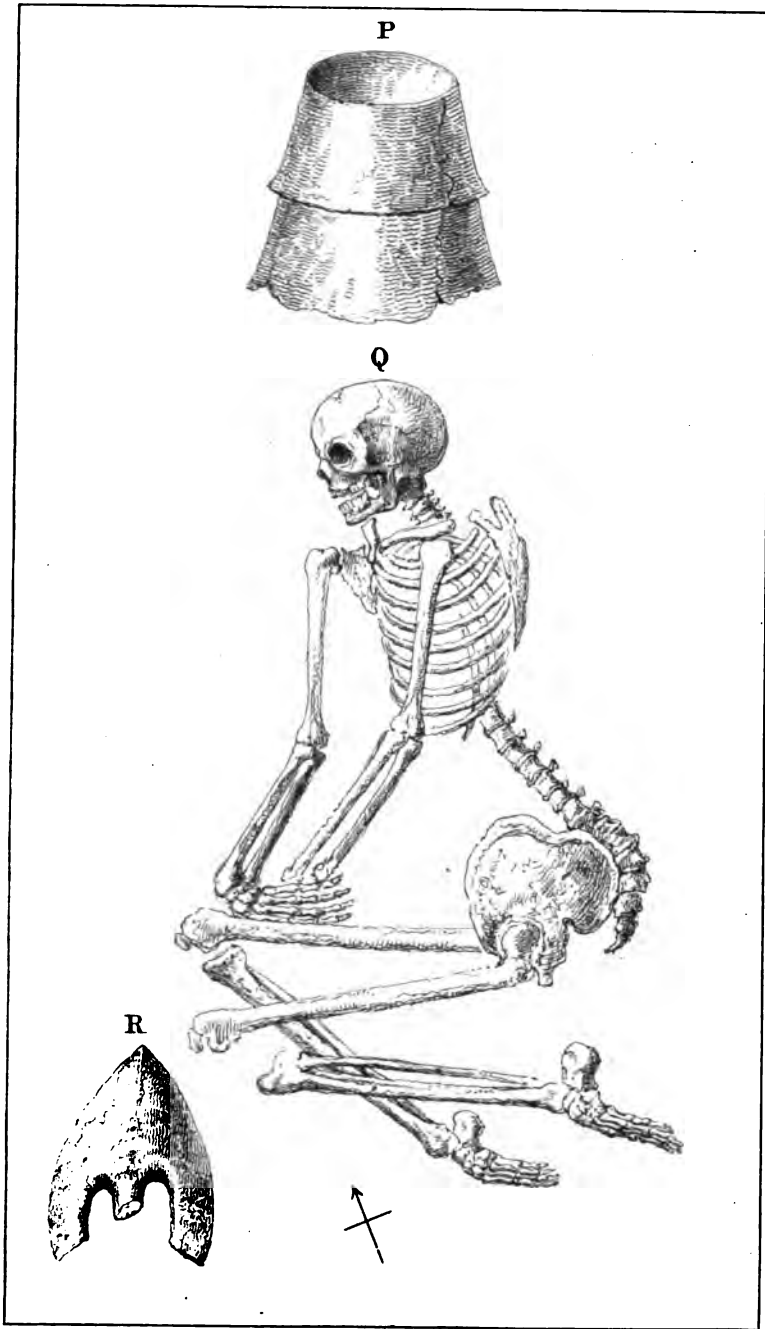


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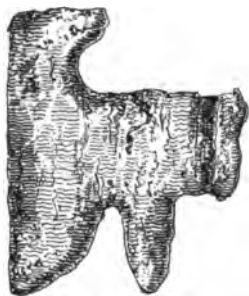




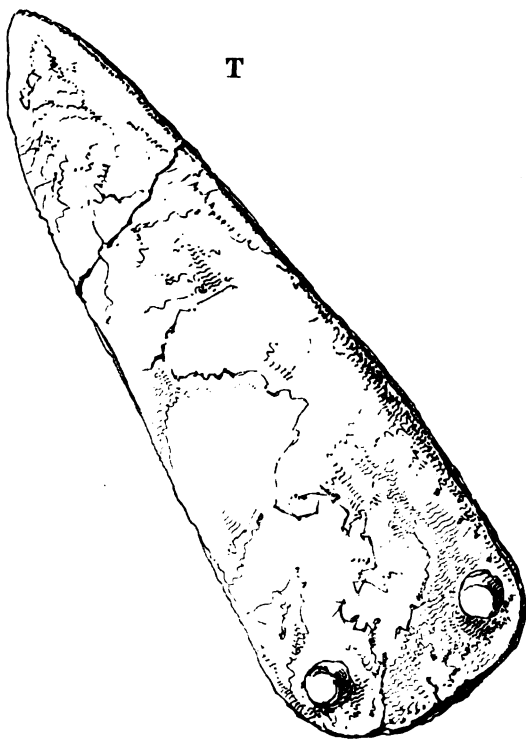
J.R. Jobbins

G. Bell 186 Fleet St July. 1851.

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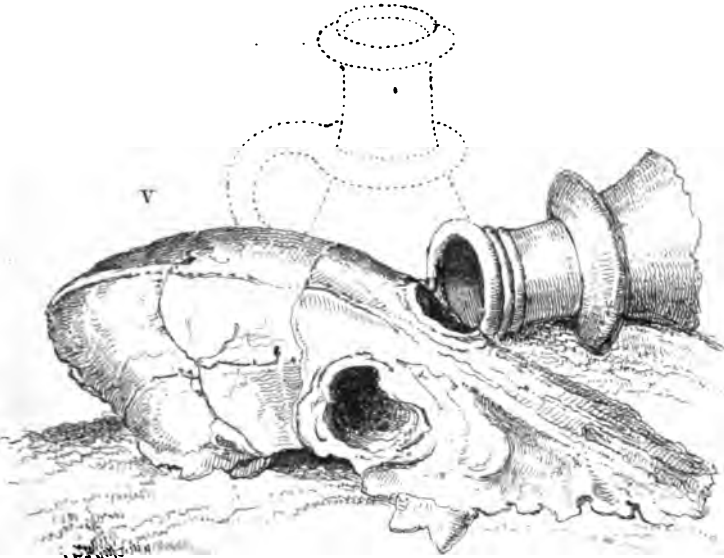


U



2 inches

V

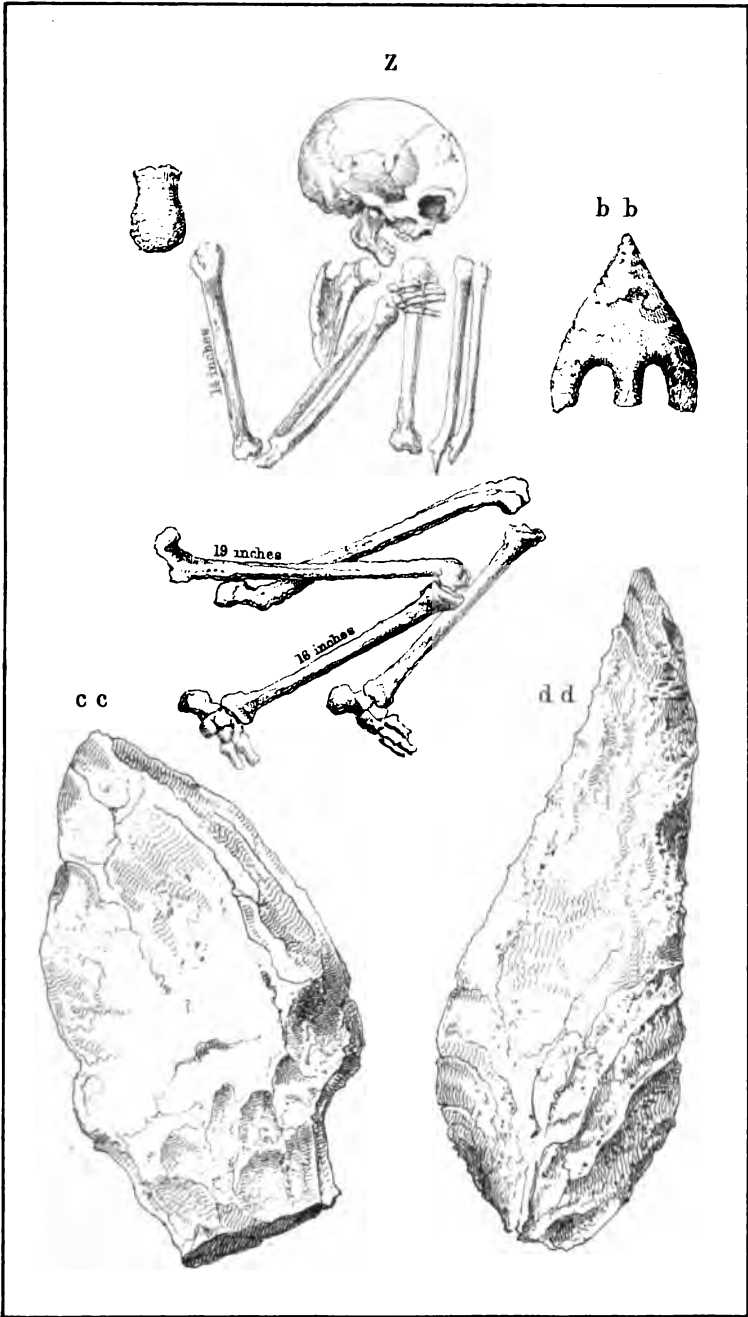


W



3 inches

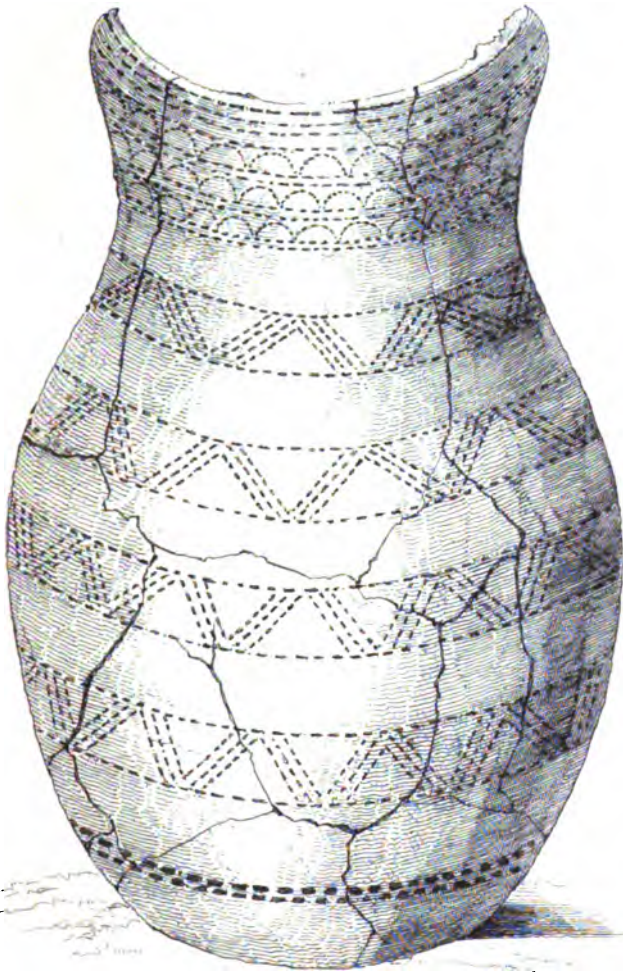




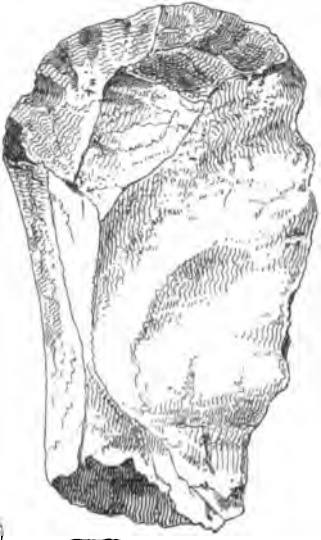
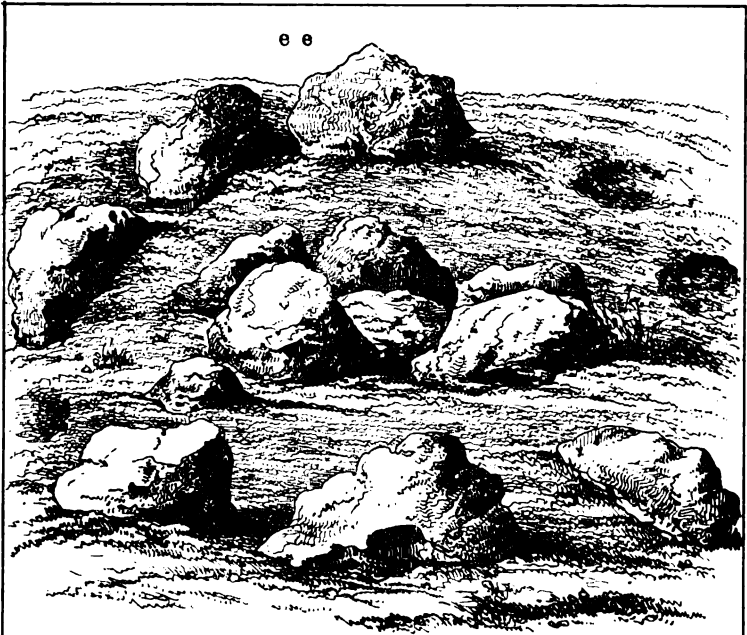
J.R. Jobbins.

G. Bell, 136 Fleet St. July 1851.

a . a



Height 7 inches. — Diam^r 5 inches.



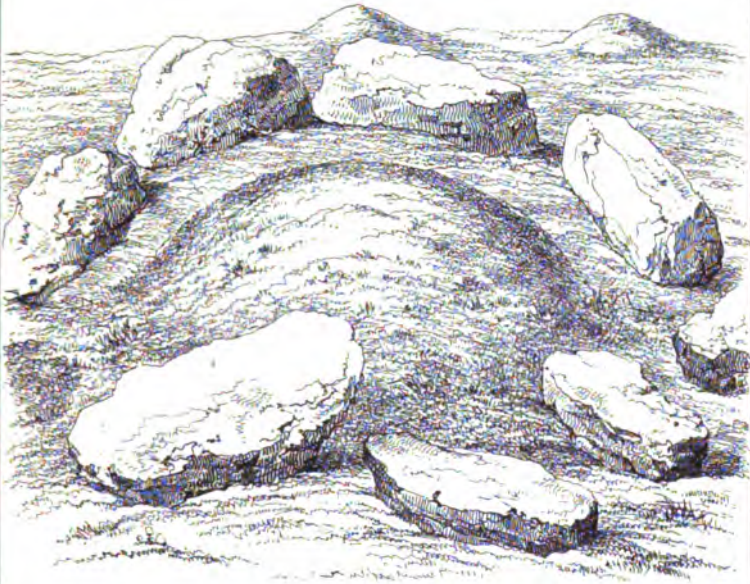
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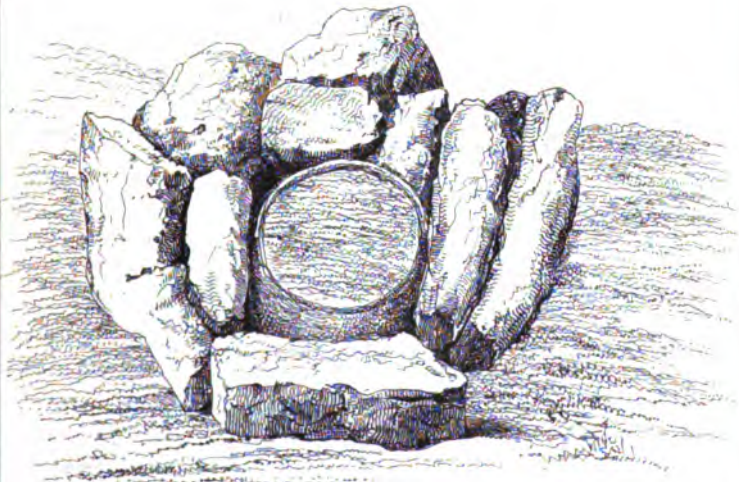
J.R. Johnson.

G. Ball, 186 Fleet St July 1851.

g g



h h



frame compressed, the right hand turned back under the wrist, the left laid across the face, and the bones of the wrist and forearm between the upper and lower jaws; the skull fractured into minute portions. The crouched posture of the skeleton, the rudeness of the vase with the bones of the child, the flat form and insulated position of the barrow, assign it to the earliest period of sepulture. The molar teeth were much worn, but were evidently those of a young person.

No. 2, the first of a range of five large barrows in the rising ground to the north of the last, nearly in a line, a mile and a half north-east of Avebury. These differ in form, 2 and 3 being of the bowl-shape, the others of the more elegant bell-shape, as described by Sir R. C. Hoare in his *Ancient Wilts*. Although the second and third of this range were not opened until the 10th and 11th of August, I shall describe their produce with the others as belonging to a separate class. After a laborious excavation of the first (No. 2), from the apex to a depth of 10 feet, until we came to the natural chalk through a thin layer, at about 9 feet,—*i. e.* about the level of the surrounding ground,—of black mould composed of burnt wood, we were obliged to give up the hope of any marked discoveries here. The earth throughout was peculiarly moist, and probably indicated that this barrow had been examined before; there were, however, many fragments of the usual sort of bones and teeth and charred wood.

No. 3 (August 10th). Somewhat smaller in dimensions than the others. Large fragments of bone, teeth, burnt wood; at about 8 feet deep a cist, 18 inches diameter, formed in the natural chalk bed, containing burnt human bones and two small pieces (B) of bronze; (C) a smooth stone tapering towards one end, which had been broken off—it may have been a spear-head, and a rather large flint arrow-head (D), were discovered in the progress of the excavation, as well as a small one of iron (E).

No. 4 (August 11th). At a depth of about 2 ft. 6 in. a considerable fragment of a large coarse urn was found, ornamented with plain hatched lines round the top (F). At the depth of 5 feet, a cist, formed as usual in the chalk, was discovered; this was 2 ft. 6 in. in diameter, the same in depth; it contained in fragments, but as it had been

originally deposited, in the centre, a large plain urn filled with burnt human bones ; the urn was 13 inches high (G). The next, a very large barrow, had previously been opened.

No. 5. This barrow, the last of the five eastward, did not produce in course of its excavation the ordinary quantity of fragments of bone, teeth, or pottery, but was unusually compact and close in its materials ; at about 7 feet deep,—the level of the adjacent down,—we came to a cist formed in the natural chalk, filled with burnt human bones, the produce apparently of more than one body. This cist was the largest of those I have met with of this kind ; but there was no urn, nor any fragment of pottery, to indicate that the bones had been deposited otherwise than they were found,—they were covered with the black substance like pounded charcoal.

21st.—Whilst the men were commencing their work at the large barrows on the preceding day, a shepherd stated that one of the boys had told him that he had “hooked” up out of a little barrow on Bye Down Hill a crock, but he knocked it to bits with the stick. On visiting the spot, about a mile north-east, it appeared to be a very small barrow, without any trench round it, and very little elevated ; the turf on this part of the down is much broken. At the top of the barrow were evidently the remains of an urn, of a pottery apparently more compact than those recently discovered ; and from the holes in the turf, in different directions, various fragments might be collected (H). Almost at the verge of the barrow was a trackway, having a trench on either side ; but it was not easy to trace it for more than two miles, in consequence of the cultivation of the hills ; it runs nearly east and west ; traversing in the easterly direction from this spot the down called “Temple” Down, on which, near its course, is a hut designated by the grandiloquent title of “Glorian.”*

No. 6. This barrow, on being opened, was found to contain at the depth of 2 feet, rather below the level of the surrounding ground, an oval cist formed in the chalk, about 2 feet by $1\frac{1}{2}$, and 2 feet deep, containing, with burnt human bones, a great quantity of black sooty dust, with which the cist was quite filled up ; numerous fragments

* “Gloria Tanaris,” as suggested by Mr. Bowles, from the possible sanctity of the site, as connected with the worship of that deity.

of bones, teeth of deer, and pottery, were interspersed in the earth forming the mound. It should not be overlooked, that at about 200 yards to the south of this spot considerable quantities of flints had been dug; these are obtained by taking off sods of turf, and the flints are generally found immediately below the brown or vegetable soil in those places where the vein of flints extends: in this process frequent discoveries are made of skeletons, &c. After the flints are extracted, they are piled up in heaps, and the turf is replaced; in looking over these heaps, a fragment of good Samian ware (I) made its appearance. I think it is remarked by Sir R. C. Hoare, in his *Ancient Wilts*, that he met with no Roman remains in connexion with barrows on the north of the London and Bath road, or to the north of Wansdyke; if so, this day's discoveries, which I am about to relate, may be considered to be singularly fortunate. On the brow of this hill, some 100 yards lower than the barrow just described, and towards the west, are four barrows of considerable size, but of the flat form, except the second, which is a pond barrow. The first of these had evidently been previously opened.

No. 7. I commenced on the pond barrow, by sinking a circular hole of 5 or 6 feet diameter in the centre. The usual indications of fragments of bones of animals, with bits of charcoal and broken pottery, were observable here, but it was clear that no interment had taken place; and it is very difficult to imagine what could have been the intention of this sort of earthwork; on which considerable attention to the exactitude of the circle, the regularity of the surrounding mound, and the dip of the interior space, had manifestly been devoted.

No. 8. The next barrow was one of considerable interest, as on the skirts of it the gentleman who farms this district, Mr. Kemm, had himself found bones and pottery covered over with convex sarsen stones of about 18 inches or 2 feet each in diameter. Fragments of a rude thick pottery were discernible over the surface of the ground, and on opening the centre there appeared four distinct layers of sarsen stones, ranging with the form of the barrow; below which, at the depth of about 3 ft. 6 in., was a circular cist, filled much as that in No. 6, with burnt human bones and the black charcoal dust, but without any urn.

The next barrow (No. 9), the most southern of this group, I had reserved, like the others below, for the examination of some of our friends, whom I hoped to prevail on to return with me from Salisbury; but in order to declare its contents with those to which it belongs, I will describe it here, although it was not opened till the 14th of August. - It was of about the same size as the barrow adjoining, but not similarly constructed. Several pieces of thick coarse pottery were exhumed, but not large enough to shew the form or size of the urn to which it belonged; one piece had an unusual embossed pattern upon it (J). At a little more than 2 feet deep, a cist of somewhat irregular form was opened, containing, as in the last, the black charcoal-like substance and burnt bones. A little to the south, below this, the pickaxe struck against a large stone, which, on being uncovered, proved to be a large flat sarsen stone, placed over a cist filled with the same sort of contents; it was about 3 ft. 6 in. from the top of the barrow, and was itself 3 ft. deep, containing, therefore, an unusual quantity of burnt bones.

No. 10. Late in the day, we commenced operations on an insulated flat barrow, not far distant from No. 1; perhaps equidistant from that and No. 5, half a mile eastward. It was of such slight elevation as to be hardly perceptible to any but a practised observer, in the monotonous range of the flat down; but however insignificant in appearance, it disclosed contents of singular interest and rarity. On removing the turf, the quantity of pottery thrown up with the earth was most unusual—all in fragments, with the exception of one portion, which had belonged to an urn of the rude and coarse kind, and of large dimensions, but even this of better texture. All bore evident indications of improvement in manufacture; they were mostly turned on the lathe, and had undergone the process of kiln-baking (K). At a depth not exceeding 18 inches, the fragments of the large vase above mentioned were found, but not in the centre; below them, and covered with flat and somewhat convex sarsen stones, were two very small and shallow cists, containing a few burnt bones. In various parts of the barrow iron nails were collected of very good form; and a little more to the side, in the south-east direction, a small brass Roman coin was discovered. This led to greater vigilance; and its novelty greatly excited the interest of

the bystanders of the labouring class, who had on many occasions shewn a disposition to watch our proceedings, under the impression, which in all quarters possesses them—to my cost I know it, in some cases to the destruction of antiquarian treasure—that such excavations are made for the purpose of finding money. I must do my friends of the Avebury district justice in saying, that their quickness of sight in finding these coins, which were mostly detected immediately below the turf, could not be surpassed; whilst they seemed to manifest a pleasure, after a moment's contemplation and examination of the prize, in handing it over to me, with great satisfaction at the increasing number—one of the youths exclaiming, “Well, I'm bless'd if they bain't all as one as though they wur sowed;” for on the whole, after the search of the succeeding Monday, they amounted to no less than 84. On the evening of this day I proceeded to join the congress of the Archæological Institute at Salisbury. This last barrow was evidently the work of Romano-Britons, who had profited by the instruction in the arts which had been introduced by their fierce but more civilised invaders; and it indicates, what I think others also of earlier age demonstrate, namely, that the same barrow was again and again used for the purposes of sepulture, both by those of the same generation—by whom they may have been regarded as a sort of family burial-places—and by others of subsequent date. My researches in the last three days had been specially successful. I had found instances of the earliest mode of British sepulture, with the crouched and unburnt skeleton, and its rude unbaked urn; then the first indication of a change of custom in this essential particular, mostly the last to be altered,—interment by cremation, derived from the Roman conquerors, whilst the tumulus was retained; and then a still further innovation,—the deposit of all kinds of broken pottery, iron nails (not belonging to any box or cist, for they were dispersed in every part of the barrow), as well as a considerable number of coins, some of which, bearing the image and superscription of Constantine and Constans, carry us down to the middle of the fourth century. Let me add, lest I forget to make the remark, that the conversations I have held with the husbandmen, flint-diggers, and others, whose lives have been mostly spent in agricultural

operations on these downs, where they have found numberless skeletons and other remains on the plain downs, and far from any barrows, have led me to this conviction, that the barrows should be considered as the resting-places of the mighty dead,—the chiefs of name, men of renown in their generations; whilst the *οἱ πολλοί*, the *ignobile vulgus*, were consigned to mother earth just as they fell, to share at once the oblivion which was but postponed for a brief period to their barrowed chieftains, and in which both chieftain and vassal now so equally participate.

After the Salisbury meeting, a large party started to inspect Silbury Hill and its interesting neighbourhood, on Tuesday, July the 31st; whilst a few, reaching Marlborough the night before, were ready at an early hour to proceed to the spot. These choice spirits I had the honour to conduct to the noble Cromlech at Clatford (L), and the other objects so worthy of notice *en route*, as already mentioned in a former page. We had ample time not only to examine Silbury, but to lay in, with due regard to the effects of the pure air of these delightful hungrifying hills, an ample preservative from the well-prepared table of the Misses Sloper, at the Waggon and Horses Inn, from this day denominated by us the Archæological Hotel; not forgetting an important article here to be obtained in perfection, and not by possibility to be surpassed either by the metheglin of old, or by the most approved and long-renowned “*cwrw dha*” itself. Our Salisbury friends not having arrived—for they were the sufferers in one of those disasters which seem to be inevitable concomitants in all such expeditions, first or last, their coach having broken down five miles from the end of their journey, thus regaling them with somewhat more of the refreshing breezes and undulatory prospects of the hills and dales of Wilts than they desired—we, more favoured, were constrained to proceed without them to inspect the stupendous remains at Avebury—the area of which within the circular trench and mound, which is on the outside of the trench, contains 28 acres—and to mourn over the fallen and prostrate giants, with the few of their comrades remaining erect, still marking the range of the circles, which once enforced the adoration of a nation, as it is impossible even now that they should not impart to the beholder sentiments of veneration. A melancholy admiration of the zeal even

of erring and uncivilised barbarians—a zeal, which could combine the physical force of a whole people to raise such a temple, is surely permissible in this place; whilst our own feelings of gratitude for the mercies of a sure revelation, and the privileges of a pure faith, can hardly be divested of a blush at the contemplation of such advantages as *we* enjoy, yet of which our zeal for the appropriate temples of the known God, the Most High, does not bespeak us always equally, much less adequately, sensible!

It may be deemed no unprofitable appropriation of our space and time, to give a brief statement of the number of stones originally composing this magnificent temple, what Dr. Stukeley observed, and what we have found there.

The original outer circle was formed of 100 stones; within this were two smaller circles, not concentric, of (each) 30 stones; within each of these a smaller concentric circle, each of 12 stones; in the centre of the northern inner circle were 3 stones; in the centre of the southern inner circle 1 stone.

Besides these, each avenue was composed of 200 stones, terminating towards the east on Hacpen Hill, in a double oval, the outer containing 40 stones, the inner 18 stones; in the western range were 2 extra stones about half way, forming as it were a recess; and 1 at the termination.

Dr. Stukeley intimates that, in 1723, of the great outer circle there were only 18 stones erect; prostrate 21; including 3 broken off at the ground. Of the northern circle 3 erect, 9 prostrate; of the inner circle 2 erect, 5 prostrate; in the cove, or centre, 2 erect; of the southern circle 4 erect, 9 prostrate; of the inner circle 1 erect; in the centre none.

Dr. Stukeley adds, that the hollows in the ground where many of the stones had stood were visible; as is still the case in some instances of more recent removal.

The number of stones in the outer circle at present erect is 7, prostrate 5; of one or two of these the stumps only remain, the rest having been broken off. Of the stones of the southern circle 2 only remain erect, 3 prostrate; none of its inner circle. Of the stones of the northern circle 3 remain erect, 1 prostrate; of its inner circle 2 prostrate; of the central cove 2 erect, and these are the tallest of all.

The stones in the avenues are sadly diminished in

number, even since I first saw them; especially towards Kennett, the most perfect part; and I think there may be in all about 9 or 10 still standing, so scattered as to give the original curve of its course. In the western avenue there are only the two extra stones standing, which I have already mentioned. It is some comfort to know that the present owner of the circle and the western avenue, Mr. George Brown, will not allow a single stone to be defaced or removed; and he has been the means, in time past also, of preserving them. The visit of the Archæologists in 1849 has contributed not a little to increase the feeling of regard for these venerable relics; a spirit of conservatism has been instilled into the breasts of all, and, what is not a little important, of the young, those in particular who will eventually have the power of guarding these antiquarian treasures. The Christian temple, standing close upon the mound of the ancient Heathen fane, was not deprived of the investigation and approval it deserves. Its exterior appearance gives it a much more modern rank than it claims in reality; its tower, aisles, and chancel, are *late* decorated; the doorway in the porch is Norman, of extremely good character; and the porch is very remarkable for its early character in the same style. The piers and arches, till within a few years, were also Norman, and portions of the shafts and capitals still project from the eastern and western walls; these arches were taken out, and loftier piers, with pointed arches, introduced, in order to obtain more light. There is the front of a very beautiful rood-loft elevated above the chancel arch, retaining its colouring and gilding. By this time the Salisbury party had happily joined us, and an adjournment to the Downs was speedily effected, where preparations were made to diversify the interest of the party by the examination of a barrow. That chosen, No. 11, was situated in the same plain as that already described as No. 1; but about half or three quarters of a mile more to the south, and at the foot of the range of the Hacpen Hill. This barrow was, although small in size, of the more elevated character, and of the second period; it afforded, in the course of excavation, pieces of charcoal, teeth, and fragments of bones and pottery; and at about 3 feet the workmen came to the top of a cist, formed as

others in the chalk, and filled with burnt human bones. In the middle of these was the leg-bone of some small animal formed into a sort of pin, very pointed at the one end, and at the other retaining the form of the joint; it bore a high polish (M). Immediately above, on the brow of the hill, was No. 12, a double barrow, which some of the men pronounced to be very promising, as it always sounded hollow as they passed over it; it did not, however, fall to our lot, unfortunately, to hit upon the right place. The usual sort of fragments were not wanting; but I strongly suspect that Dr. Stukeley or Sir Richard Colt Hoare, (in whose presence the first barrow I ever saw opened produced a beautiful early British vase,) could have given some account of this; and hence the hollow sound. I must not omit to record that on this day we dined—*i. e.* the small party—at Avebury House, in the refectory of a Benedictine Priory, to meet the owner of Silbury Hill, Mr. Jones, and his young sons: to his tenant, Mr. Kemm, and his mother, our hostess this day, we are indebted for their kindness.

Aug. 1st.—The next day was to witness the assemblage of the neighbourhood to inspect Silbury; and this very picturesque event I have already described in the former paper. Our party occupied the morning, till the time of repairing to Silbury, in visiting the barrows lying near Beckhampton, between the Calne and Devizes roads. In some of these, very curious urns and remains had been discovered, some of which I shall describe hereafter; but most appeared to have been disturbed. One high up on the hill in the northern direction was examined, but without success. It would be an indication of ungrateful disrespect—for *it could not be forgetfulness*—were I to omit, though briefly, to record the employment of the evening of this day, and the route we took; albeit it were well to start somewhat earlier than we did, specially if so splendid a moon as conducted us home might not be reckoned upon. But then, as we had been very fully occupied during the day, some regard was needful to be had toward such discoveries as we might be able to make at the Archæological Hotel, calculated to recruit our exhausted strength, which being satisfactorily accomplished, we proceeded with a very docile pair of horses and driver, both desiderata in such

an expedition, first to Oldbury Castle, a splendid position, overlooking the rich vale of Calne, Chippenham, Christian Malford, and Malmsbury, and bearing in its entrenchments the characteristics of Roman occupation, enlarged possibly at some time on the south-west side, but very possibly having been previously a British position, and even subsequently occupied by later warriors. I possess an iron spear-head, and one of those curious circular stones with a hole in the centre, found here. Thence we cut across the down towards the Roman road, the Via Badonica leading from Cunetio to Aquæ-solis, and which, on arriving at Silbury Hill, which it would otherwise have cut at one-third of its base, deflects its course. We cannot boast that any of the *dii deæque minores*, much less Diana herself, Bivia, Trivia, or whatever she might here have been called of old, were very propitious to us; though, in truth, she made ample *amende* by her bright guidance, when it was subsequently so much needed. The devotees of Ceres had strangely cut up this ancient road; so that, to traverse it with its full complement was not so easy a matter, either to the wheels of our vehicle, to the poor animals who had to draw it, or, indeed, to its occupants; to say nothing of the conductor. So that we traced the ancient way on foot, and were ready, not unneeded, to replace in its vertical position our tottering and almost subverted equipage, at a spot where the descent to Calston below would have been facile enough *per saltum*, or *per volutationem*, for the road in this part runs on the very edge of the abrupt and steep precipice of the hill. After some time spent in these corrective and directive pursuits, having fairly landed the really patient driver on the turf, to seek in advance the summit of the hill, we again became viatores in the strict sense of the word, and in its cognate road, until we reached its junction with the famous Wansdyke, the high vallum of which, in most places from 30 to 40 ft. high, is here and for a considerable distance cut down to fill up the foss and form the road. From this point our explorations were by moonlight, bright as day; we had every reason to be grateful for the propitious aid; by it we traced the somewhat sinuous range of the Wansdyke; I marked, after thirty years' absence, a barrow almost on its bank, which I had *meis manibus* excavated some 7 or 8 ft. in depth,

finding one solitary glass bead (N), which I still possess. The Wansdyke, ere it makes its turn to the right by Shepherd's shore, forms, without any apparent reason, two right angles; and its trench at this point is very deep, and its vallum marvellously high and steep. From hence we were reluctantly obliged, having succeeded in finding our equipage, to return towards Silbury. Some of our party (and one was a lady precious as an Archæologist and deserving of all our consideration, as well as her excellent brother) had to return the same night to Marlborough. The plain over which we travelled possesses some earthworks worthy of inspection, especially one enclosing, with an approaching avenue to it, some curious barrows. Towards the right Wansdyke boldly ascends the downs to Tan Hill; some say St. Ann's, others the Hill of Tanaris. The whole of this range is replete with exceeding interest, and gladly should I be the conductor once more of the whole Archæological Institute amidst its varied treasures.

Aug. 2d.—By the permission of Mr. George Brown, the scene of our operations this day was Windmill Hill, a large conical eminence rising from the lower ground, on which, on the south-east, stands Avebury, on the north-east Monkton, and on the west Yatesbury. Of Monkton I may take leave to mention, that it possessed, not many years ago, a fine cromlech, now totally gone; and also a long barrow, much resembling the three I shall presently describe. This has been levelled. I saw the man who was employed in the profanation. It contained, he said, “a sort of room built up wi' big sarsens put together like, as well as a mason could set them; in the room was a sight of black stuff, and it did smill nation bad.” The name by which this was known was King's Mill Barrow. Of Yatesbury we shall have to say somewhat anon.

The apex of Windmill Hill is surrounded by a slight and single foss, in diameter — for it is almost an exact circle—about 150 yards. Within this, at the south-east, are two large barrows; one has evidently been reduced for agricultural purposes; and I have since learned that in it were found seven skeletons, and a very beautiful little grape urn, according to Sir Richard Colt Hoare's nomenclature, which I have seen, and of which I hope to supply a sketch. The skeletons were deposited in the side of

another barrow, but which I could not learn. Now it is on record, that both Dr. Stukeley and Sir Richard opened barrows on this hill; one or two confess to this; but there are several toward Avebury, on the slope of the hill, which the plough has worn down, and of these it is of course impossible to judge with any certainty; but several such there are, which look very inviting. We were singularly favoured. Three on the east side of the hill were each productive of very interesting remains, one in particular. Commencing with the lowest on the hill's side, we will declare the result.

No. 13, of very trifling elevation compared with the depth at which the cist was found—3 feet. Many fragments of early pottery, teeth of red deer and ox, a bead (O) of jet or Kimmeridge coal, and nine very smooth gravel pebbles, probably for slinging. The cist, filled with burnt human bones, but without an urn, was 3 ft. 6 in. long by 2 ft. wide, and 2 ft. deep.

No. 14. This barrow was about eleven paces from the rise at the bottom of the trench, which is much deeper than usual, and the mound surrounding the whole is also considerably raised; from out to out of the rise, 30 paces. At 14 inches deep were the fragments of a small plain urn (P), containing the *unburnt* bones of a child. At something under 3 feet was a skeleton of an adult in the crouched position (Q), without any urn. It was very remarkable, that although the bones were by no means in such a decayed or unsound state as to lead to the inference that parts were destroyed from local causes, there were no vestiges of the bones of the left wrist and hand.

No. 15. This was a much larger and more elevated barrow, of the bowl shape, of about 3 feet in its elevation. It is not improbable that this had been before examined. We met with no regular cist or deposit, but fragments of rude pottery were plentiful; part of the bones of a human skull of remarkable thickness and development of the internal processes, two incisores teeth of a dog or fox, one tusk of a boar, and other teeth and bones in great variety; but in particular, a very beautiful and admirably chipped flint arrow-head (R). Having completed our investigation of these three barrows, we were invited by my good friend and a zealous Archæologist, Mr. Money Kyrle, the rector

of Yatesbury, to proceed to his parish, where there were several barrows, said to be intact as yet. Whilst we were inspecting the Church, which, like Avebury, has of later times been converted in style to late decorated or perpendicular, but in which the south wall contains the piers and main arches of a Norman church, and the north aisle, at its west end, a very remarkable early English triplet window of very small size, and a very elegant and unique early English font,—the men were sent to commence operations on two mounds of large dimensions, but, judging from the irregularities of ground about them, of somewhat dubious character. In the mean time our attention was directed to the general and marked unevenness of surface in the fields of this parish—some of a peculiar character, as in one instance the appearance of a well in the centre of a considerable area formed by a mound of earth, in Cow Leaze—some at a part of the village called Town's-End—some near the house of Mr. Tenner—trenches more or less deep and important, with mounds in correspondence. It is not impossible that a detachment of forces, in their march previous to the battle of Roundaway Hill, near Devizes, may have halted here, and thrown up a hasty earthwork for their defence during the night, although the general unevenness in question cannot thus be accounted for. Let me here mention a little incident, which may possibly be useful in a similar way to future Archæologists. On seeing a blacksmith's shop near, I remarked that such an establishment should never be passed without a regard to the old iron and brass stores. On asking the principal Cyclops, (though I should beg his pardon, for he was father of the parish-clerk, one of our most strenuous coadjutors,) whether he ever had old spear-heads or such things brought to him with the old iron, he immediately admitted that he had many times, and thought he had somewhere one at that time, which, after a little search, was produced. It is of good workmanship, of the long four-sided shape. His son, hearing what was sought for, said there was another about the house, but it could not be found.

No. 16. This mound, situated near the house of Mr. Tuckey, to whom, as well as to his family, especially his eldest son, I am much indebted for repeated attention and assistance, did not produce any indications of former

sepulture, except fragments of charcoal, and something like the oxidation of iron. It was composed of a close clayey soil, very different from the material of the barrows on the hills, as were all the four which we examined here; and this circumstance greatly added to the labour and time necessary for the investigation. We therefore proceeded to the second mound,—I so call them, because I much doubt if they were barrows. Here, from its size, and the top being crowned by a clump of fir-trees, the attack was made from the side by way of trench. Many bones, of the ox probably, and smaller animals, the hare in particular, one or two pieces of corroded iron, and a part of the wards of a key (S) were found; but no sepulchral deposit, although the trench was carried into the centre.

4th.—No. 17. Having obtained permission of the proprietor, Mr. Tenner, — who, notwithstanding a growing crop of beans, liberally sacrificed those which were likely to be in our way,—we proceeded at as early an hour as our party could reach the spot, to examine two barrows situated towards the eastern extremity of the parish, viz. in “Barrow Field,” and with anticipations the most encouraging, as they were distinguished by traditions which ranked them highly in the estimation of the inhabitants.* They had been at least 20 ft. high; their bases were still of an extent to admit of such a proportionate height. Henry Shergold, the man who had been employed to lower them, being fortunately within reach, was sent for, and gave us the following account as to the first of the two which we examined, being that towards Avebury. He said, “He had cut it down a matter of 9 ft., throwing the earth on the sides, sixteen years ago. There was a little box of metal 3 inches long; it had a lid at one end, and a chain fixed in the middle, and it had been fastened to the end where it opened; it was round. About a yard deep, there were three beads (terra cotta, one was produced), as big as his finger round; a knife fit to stick a pig, and two skeletons lying at full length.” At a depth of 8 ft. in this barrow, we came to a large quantity of very black substance, like charcoal, or rather burnt straw; numerous

* A few hundred yards to the south-east of these barrows, in a field called Foxbury, the termination of which word would denote the existence of some earth-

work which has disappeared, before the plough, various Roman coins, from Trajan to Valens, have recently been found.

bits of bone of the various kinds, fragments of pottery, &c., and a large cist containing a considerable quantity of burnt human bones. The closeness of the soil of which these barrows were formed, and the depth to which we had to descend, occupied more than usually our time, and the evening was far spent before we had reached such a depth in the other barrow (No. 18) as to satisfy our curiosity; but the next day, on which we did not proceed to visit Yatesbury, in consequence of the lamented departure of my kind and valued companions, the men, under the superintendence of Mr. Money Kyrle, came to a layer of the black substance, burnt straw apparently, and below that to a most curious deposit, a cist, at the depth of 8 ft., formed at the level of the adjoining land, containing an unusual quantity of burnt human bones. These had been deposited in the hollow of a tree, and a piece of the cleft wood, the side of the tree, had been placed over it. From the peculiar clayey and damp quality of the earth, it was so greatly decayed, that it might be difficult to determine its former substance, although it appeared by the remains of fibres, and lines of the grain of the wood, to have been oak; the wood was 4 ft. long by $2\frac{1}{4}$ broad and 18 inches thick, being reduced in places by compression. About the middle of this, on the apex of the mass of bones, and beneath the wooden cover, lay a bronze blade of a hunting-spear (T); the two rivets which had fixed it to its staff remained in their respective holes, but the metal, from the extreme moisture of the situation, had become oxidised throughout, and when dried extremely brittle and friable; it was $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in breadth at the broadest part.

Saturday, the 4th of August, was in the morning chiefly devoted to Silbury; and it was arranged that I should be left in charge, as the examination of the centre was every hour becoming more and more critical and interesting. After due consultation respecting Silbury, our steps were directed to a singularly interesting object, described as an Archdruid's barrow, lying three quarters of a mile south-east of Silbury Hill. This appellation I suppose has been adopted from Stukeley; it ranges about east and west, and is at least 150 ft. long, higher and broader at the east end, where it is 30 ft., than at the west. It had evidently been

cut through on the ridge in several places, but not improbably, in most instances, merely for agricultural purposes. At the east end were lying, in a dislodged condition, at least 30 sarsen stones, in which might clearly be traced the chamber formed by the side uprights and large transom stones, and the similar but lower and smaller passage leading to it; and below, round the base of the east end, were to be seen the portion of the circle or semicircle of stones bounding it. There are two other barrows of this kind in the neighbourhood, which I may mention in this place; the one about three-quarters of a mile south-east of that just described, which is of much the same character as to shape and dimensions, but differs in construction. I was induced to visit this in consequence of having been informed by the occupier of the surrounding land, that he had caused a hole to be dug at the east end for the purpose of obtaining flints; but that he soon found that it was made up of round and generally flat sarsen stones, which came tumbling so about the men that they gave up the work. It has unfortunately been planted over, as have many of the larger barrows on Hacpen Hill; I think in bad taste. The other is situated on Alton Down, south of Wansdyke: all these range in the same bearing, south-east by north-west. It is 130 ft. long by 30 high. This is still covered with turf, and has been opened about half-way along the ridge, but not effectually. It is remarkable for having, about half-way down the slope of the east end, a sarsen stone; another at the base in the centre. On the south side, in the trench formed by raising the mound, is a very curious earthwork, in form an oval, with a mound about 2 ft. high round it, and a sarsen stone in the centre; the whole about 40 feet long by 15 broad. In advance of the barrow eastward, and at its very base, is another earthwork, of similar height as to its mound, in a line at right angles with the central line, about 30 ft. long, with a return of 10 ft. on either side. These two curious objects I visited at so late a period of my Wiltshire sojourn, that I could not indulge in the gratification of examining them. It is a satisfaction to mention these three, in the hope that it may lead to the disclosure of their interesting contents at some future day.

The time had now arrived for the breaking up of our

happy party; and I think I may say with certainty, that there was not one to whom the well-known words of the Grecian bard might not be applied—

το δ' αχος οξυ κατα φρενα τυψε βαθειαν.

What could I, the lone and deserted, do, but seek those wilds and desolate hills where not a human footstep would cross my path, and betake myself to regions so emblematic, and congenial to my solitary state? It had been repeatedly asserted that most of the curious relics which had accidentally been discovered, were found on the hills south of Beckhampton and Kennett, and some of these I shall hope to be able to figure and describe. On this doleful evening, then, I strolled in that direction, purposing after such a reconnoitre to devote a day to the examination of such barrows as might appear promising. For the present, I shall confine myself to the mere allusion to some very remarkable earthworks which met my view, and shall reserve the description of them and the barrows in this district for the subsequent day, on which they were opened.

7th.—The next investigation which occupied my attention was on Minnow Down, at the summit of a rising ground near “the Pennings,” very possibly an ancient meadow for cattle, belonging to Mr. Brown, at the edge of which is a very large barrow, which has from time to time been reduced for agricultural purposes, and produced several curious British remains.

No. 19. This very small and slightly elevated barrow, without a trench, had attracted my observation on my way to examine more accurately the remains of the tree in the Yatesbury barrow; its appearance and isolated situation seemed to bespeak success. It was not, however, of the class to which, on an outward view, it would have been assigned. Near the centre, and at about the level of the surrounding down, was a shallow cist, containing black earth and a very few burnt bones. Near the top were two small pieces of good Samian ware. The Roman road runs at no great distance to the south. There were but few pieces of pottery of the British or Romano-British character, a few broken bones of animals, and parts of the jaw of a red deer. The weather on this day was very unfavourable; and at night,—much to the satisfaction, I have no doubt,

of the rustics, whose notions respecting the examination of Silbury and the opening of the barrows were not divested of superstitious dread,—one of the most grand and tremendous thunder-storms I ever recollect to have witnessed, made the hills re-echo to the crashing peals, and Silbury itself, as the men asserted who were working in its centre, to tremble to its base,—although they could not see the flashes of violet-coloured lightning which lit up the broad expanse of hills, and defined their outline in their most distant range.

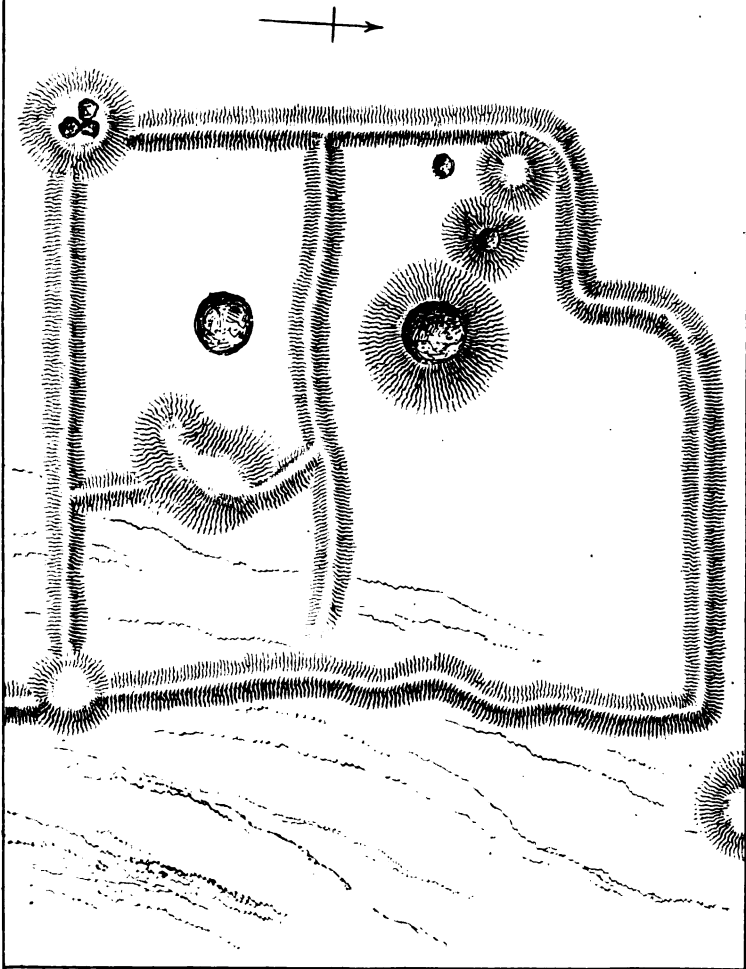
The next morning broke in calmness and brightness, and was devoted to my explorations on the southern side of the river Kennett, and under the line of Wansdyke, which runs at this point nearly parallel to it. In the four barrows (Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23) which were opened in this direction, nothing worthy of particular notice was found. Apparently their situations, single and of low dimensions, led to the supposition that they were of early date, and would produce interesting evidence of their class. Two of them contained cists, with burnt bones, fragments of rude unbaked pottery, and bones of animals. Whether their contiguity to the boundary of another and more powerful race may account for the poverty of these burial-places and their tenants when living, I pretend not to say; but there are other features in this immediate district which do not accord altogether with such a supposition—I mean, their earthworks, which are here well worthy of note, and to which I have already alluded.

It is difficult to describe such remains without the aid of diagrams, and I must therefore refer to such as I can supply as we proceed.

I. Is an irregular parallelogram, containing three or four compartments, lying on the side of the hill gently sloping downwards towards the north. The south side is bounded by a well-defined mound, with a slight trench, about 100 feet in length. About half-way, running at right angles, is a mound which expands into an irregular heap of earth of some height, and joined at its southern extremity, at about 40 feet, by another mound at right angles with the first. On the west side are some irregular entrenchments, with a circular mound at the corner, affording apparently the entrance to this enclosure. On the

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Nº 1.

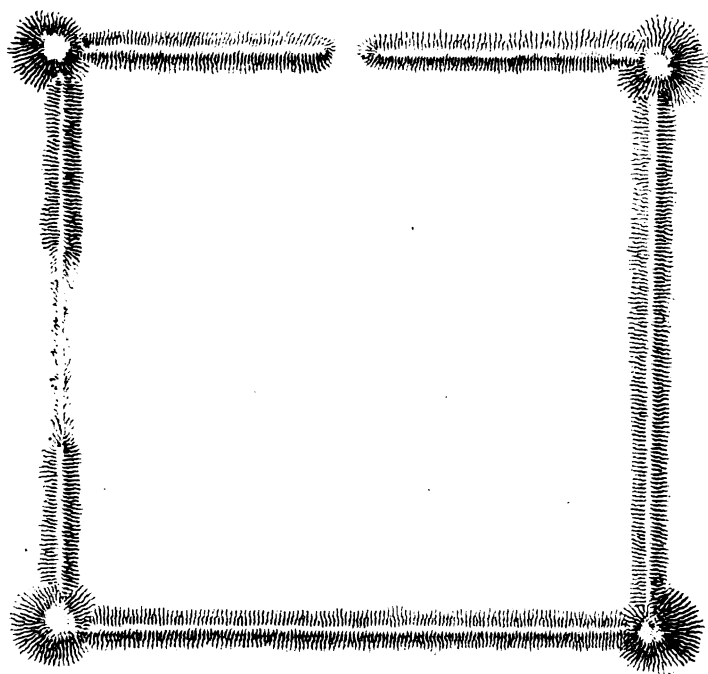


G Bell 186 Fleet 6^t July 1851.

J R Jobbins.

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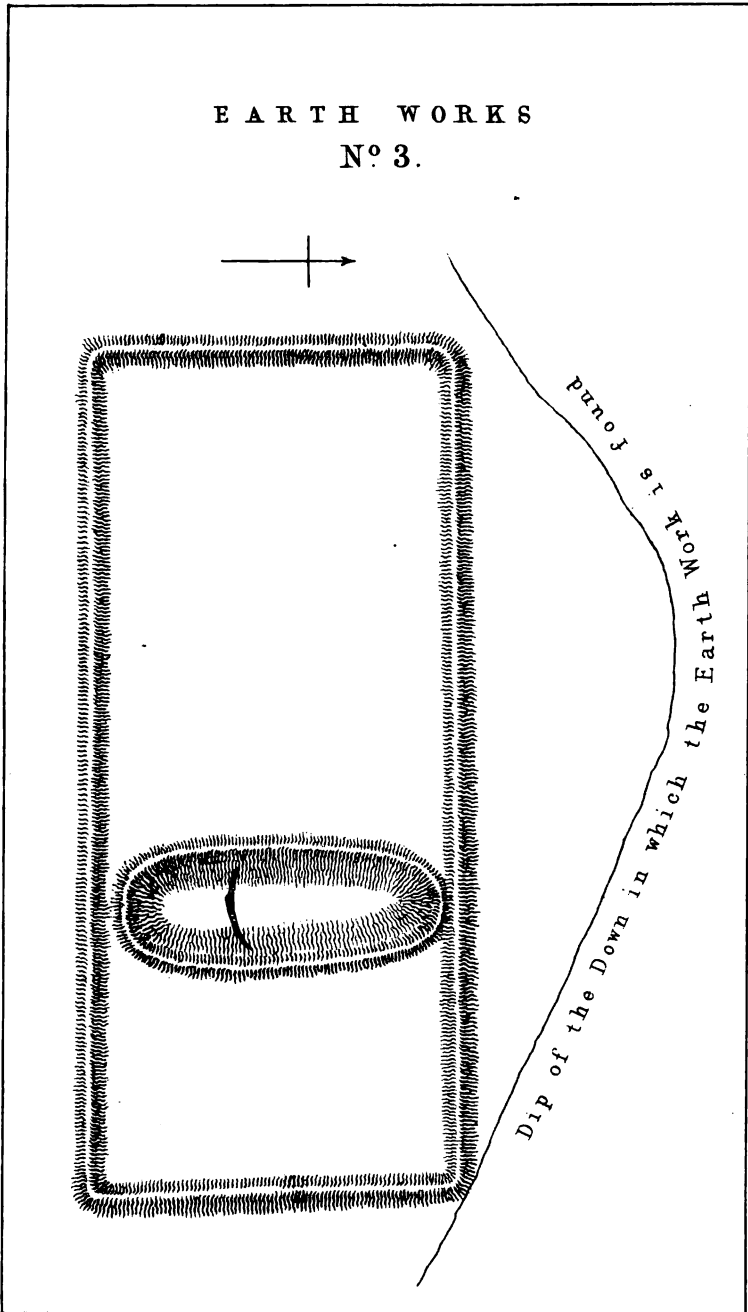
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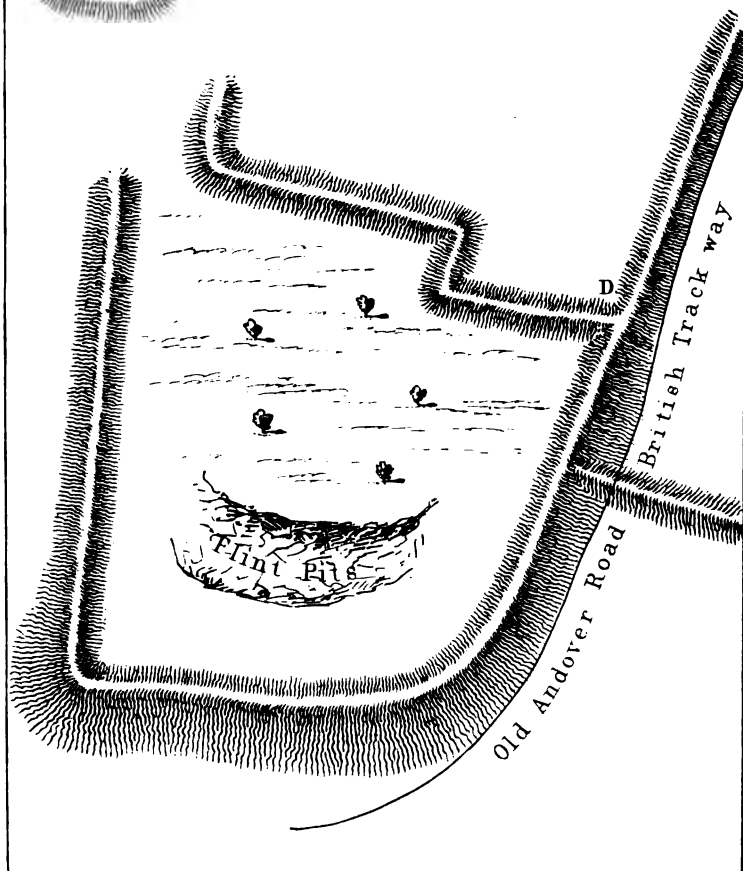
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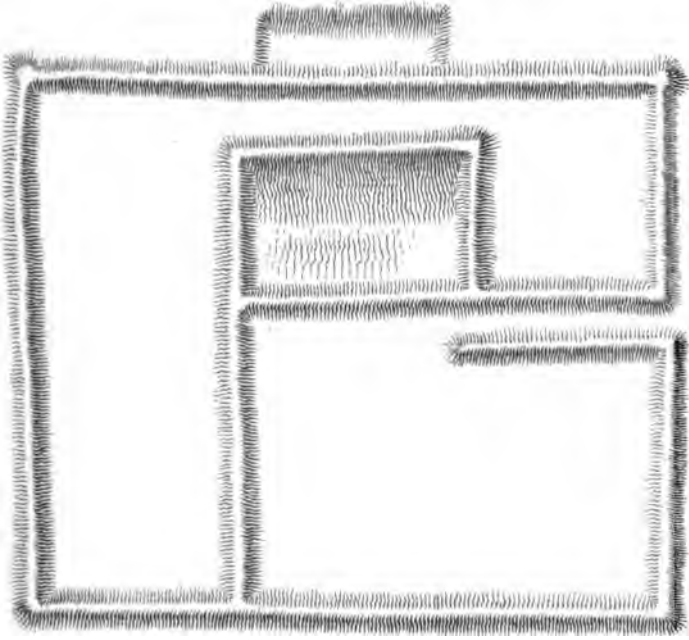
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J.R. Johnson.

EARTH WORKS
N^o 4.



Nº 5.



300 Feet

east side the mound runs, for about 100 feet, in a line at right angles with the south, and is there curved, till it becomes parallel to the south boundary, for about 40 feet, when it forms again a right angle northward with another curve, and continuation of the parallel line to the south boundary, till it reaches the angle of the eastern mound. At the corner formed by the intersection of the south and west mounds was a conical mound, in which were three large sarsen stones; these were removed, and the earth below excavated, which was of dark colour and extending deeper than usual, but nothing was contained in it except a few fragments of bones of the ox or deer. In the compartment adjacent to these was a circular conical hole 10 feet in diameter, 5 or 6 deep. Diagonally, in the next compartment, were ranged three barrows; that towards the north-west contained nothing excepting a few small bits of pottery, charcoal, and bones. The next much the same. The third, which was of large dimensions, had been excavated at the apex to some depth; and concluding that this had been done by an antiquary, I did not deem it prudent to interfere with his work. I had, however, the mortification to learn in the evening, from a shepherd-boy, "that his father had dug that 'un out for shelter." To all appearance he must have gone deep enough to have disturbed any deposit that might have been there.

II. Is higher up on the next hill (the slope of Tan Hill), and a short distance below Wansdyke. It is a square enclosure, 200 feet each side, formed by a mound of earth, 4 feet high, and having a circular mound (as a barrow) at each corner. On the south side there was an entrance equidistant from each corner; and on the east side part of the mound has been cut away.

III. At about a mile and a half south of Kennett is another singular earthwork. It is formed by a mound of earth about 3 feet high, and about 200 feet long by 40 broad. This runs across the valley where it is situated, and rises on one side half as high again as on the other. At about one-third of the distance from the upper end is an oval enclosure, having a mound of slight elevation round it, the area being slightly convex.

IV. At a short distance from the former, on a neighbouring hill, is another earthwork of very remarkable cha-

racter. It stands south from Silbury Hill, distant about a mile on the west side of the old Andover road, evidently a British trackway. From its north-east extremity, D, a vallum extends about half a mile along the ridge of the down, which has been rendered more precipitous to form the same. It points towards Silbury, and seems to connect that mound with the earthwork. On the south and east sides the fosse bounding the earthwork follows the natural curve of the hill; on the west side, where it is straight and runs up the hill, the vallum gradually diminishes in height. The peculiar formation of the north side, the entrance at the north-west angle, and the curious detached and square enclosure, will be best understood from the ground-plan.

V. The next is not in this district, nor on the same side of the Kennett, but may as well be mentioned with others of a similar character. It is situated at the foot of a portion of the Hacpen Hill, in a cwm which it forms to the south of the Avebury Down. It is formed by straight lines of mounds, at right angles, 2 feet high, 100 paces long on the south side, and about 80 broad. Parallel with the eastern side, at about a third of the area, is another mound and trench running from the north side to within 10 feet of the south mound, where it returns at right angles for about 40 paces, where it again turns at right angles towards the north for 20 paces, where it meets at right angles a similar mound ranging from the west side to that described as running parallel with the eastern boundary; parallel with this, for about 30 paces and at 3 distant, is another mound extended so as to form the entrance. Immediately above, *i. e.* to the south of this, the interior compartment is excavated to some depth; and above it and beyond the exterior mound is a recess cut in the slope of the hill, returned at each end, with a mound towards the south about 30 paces long. These embankments were opened in several spots, but nothing found to indicate that palisades had been raised on them.

Before I leave the southern district, I must record, for the guidance of brother Archæologists, the existence on this side of the Kennett, as well as on the north, of millions of sarsen stones scattered in the valleys, and in some instances indicating arrangement in their disposition; thus in a valley running from Tan Hill south-west and north-

east there are rows of large stones standing up unusually 3 or 4 feet out of the ground, and of large dimensions. A little more to the south in the same valley is the evident remnant of a kistvaen; the larger chamber traceable, as well as the passage once leading into it. And again, on the top of the hill to the south-east is another evidently of the same kind. These, from hollows formed by their peculiar construction, present a well-known asylum for coursed hares; and if inquired for as the Hares' Holes, any of the neighbouring rustics would doubtless afford unerring direction to them.

10th.—Return we now to our former ground, where our examinations were concluded in the following days with singular success. It had been thought that some of the barrows on Windmill Hill which the plough had worn down might be worth examination, and two not having crops upon them were tried, but without producing any thing more than bones of animals, fragments of pottery and burnt wood; the second, burnt wood in considerable quantity. I therefore resolved to pass on to the Avebury Down, where we had left two of the range of five unexplored, and these were the next operated upon, as we have already reported of Nos. 2 and 3. Whilst the excavation of these was in its early progress, I had directed my eye to the more distant range of the hill on the north-east; and near the foot of it, on Monkton Down, attention was soon arrested by very remarkable and unquestionable indications of British occupation. Commencing from the cultivated land at the foot of the hill, we observed, in a central position, a somewhat long mound of considerable elevation. On the right and left of this, at some ten paces each way, were two lower circular but not regular mounds. Above the long mound, with 6 or 8 feet intervening, was a large mound of an oval form, the upper portion being the smallest part, and on the top of this were three large sarsen stones. Above this, at some 50 yards and at considerable elevation, the hill had been formed into a flat cone (a road passing on two sides), with a single trench and slight mound surrounding it, in diameter 25 feet. Towards the centre of this were disposed four sarsen stones of considerable size. At the verge of the lowest long mound, towards the north-west, were eight sarsen stones of about 2 feet square

above the ground, forming the segment of a circle, the two horns of which were lost in the mound, and these had been brought to light by the cultivation of the land below. At the same level, about 8 feet within the mound, was a large flat sarsen placed on its edge, and forming with two others part of an interior circle, or segment. At the verge of the oval mound above, and cutting its range, were, on the south side, five large sarsen stones, and on the opposite or northern side one, evidently the remains of a larger circle of stones, containing, but not concentrically, those already noticed. This curious arrangement must be explained with the aid of a ground-plan.

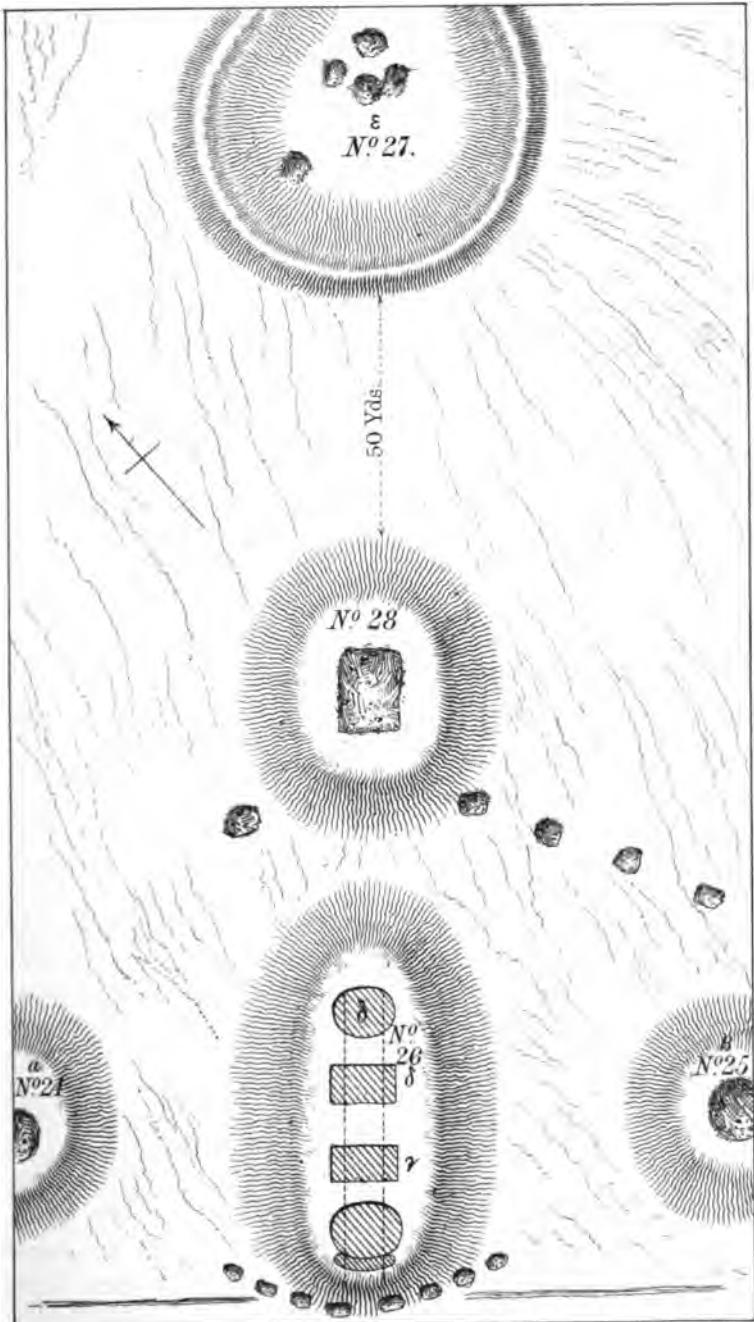
No. 24 *α*. In the small mound on the north side were teeth of deer, oxen, and bones, small fragments of charred wood, and a small sarsen stone partially rubbed.

No. 25 *β*. In the opposite mound were similar remains, and in very considerable quantities; and in this was a sarsen (U) 3 inches in diameter rubbed down to a cylindrical form, and the front teeth of an ox.

No. 26 *γ*. Five different openings had been made in this long mound, which were afterwards conjoined, and formed one continuous cutting throughout. At *γ* was a large half of the *os frontis* of an ox, and some fragments of horns of deer, one small tip of an ox's horn.

δ. Here, at about a foot from the surface, was found the head of apparently a greyhound (V), and close by the side a fragment of a small ampulla of Roman form, but somewhat coarse pottery; below was a flat sarsen (W) rounded at the edge and slightly convex.

No. 27 *ε*. In the repeated examinations made in the upper mound within the circle and under the sarsens, ox and deer's bones and teeth, sarsens of considerable size, and boar's tusks were found. The excavations both in this part and in the long mound had been very extensive, and it must be confessed had resulted in something like disappointment, from the promise their appearance had held out. To Mr. Hillier, the occupier of this district, and his lady, who regaled us and a large party with a substantial tea repast, we were indebted for a most agreeable and acceptable mode of consolation, and the grand success of our efforts is yet to be related in the contents of the oval mound.



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No. 28. On removing the three sarsen stones from the apex, about a foot deep, appeared the fragments of a small ornamental urn (X) of unbaked and very fragile clay, containing the skull-bones principally of a very young person, the sutures not being joined or knit; near the top was a sarsen, rounded, and about 2 inches in diameter. The material of which this barrow was composed was chalk rubble, very coarse, and not mixed with other substances, as was generally the case, nor were there fragments of bones, or urns, or pottery, as observed in others. At the depth of 5 feet were (Y) the heads of two oxen laid side by side, and in very perfect condition, but very brittle on removal; from the pole to the nose-bone one measured 20 inches, the other 19; from one orbit of the eye to the other 9 inches; in each the centre of the forehead had been fractured in a circular hole. Below these the same hollow character of the chalk continued, and the sides of the chamber, 6 feet in length by 4 feet in breadth, had been carefully cut in the natural chalk. The heads of the oxen were laid across the chamber north-east. At a depth of 5 feet below these, and 10 feet from the top, was the skeleton of an adult (Z), in many parts much decayed, but in the crouched position, lying on the left side; behind the head was a small ornamented urn of unbaked clay (*aa*), or at least only fire-baked, and not in a kiln; the thigh-bone was 19 inches in length; at the right foot was a small well-chipped flint arrow-head (*bb*), and a flint spear-head (*cc*). A second also was subsequently found near the same spot (*dd*), though not so well formed.

The whole of this group of mounds presented a singularly interesting character. I cannot say that I should be fully satisfied that we had exhausted the stores of the long and two lateral mounds, unless the range of sarsens could have been fully developed, and the natural chalk as above pertinaciously pierced; although, at the time, it seemed to Mr. Money Kyrle, as well as to myself, that we had exhausted every hope.

No. 29. On the brow of the hill towards the east from this spot, and overlooking one of those surprising valleys of stones, in which might be traced long lines of sarsens arranged for some special purpose, whilst others are huddled together as if they had fallen in such a confused heap,

is a circle, 16 feet in diameter (*ee*), of sarsen stones, of which seven only now remain, although the dips in the earth shew where the others have been. In the centre of these are five of the same character and size, surrounding one lying flat and impacted between them. The first thing which shewed itself on raising this central stone was a fragment of red Samian pottery; it is true it might have slipped down between the stones at a date long subsequent to the formation of these circles; it is certain that it was of a very different character from the other rude but curious relics below. These consisted of numerous fragments of the rudest and thickest kind of pottery, with bones of the deer or ox, bits of charcoal, and some portions of a yellowish-tinged ochre-looking substance; but lower down, and near the natural layer of the chalk, were numerous pieces of flint (*ff*), of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch across, evidently chipped into form, as if to be held in the hand or fastened to some handle. There were also many small pieces of flint, apparently chipped on purpose into thin laminae, intended perhaps for arrow-heads, and either never finished or possibly spoilt in the difficult and tedious manipulation.

14th.—One day only remained to me for these interesting pursuits. The barrow described as No. 9 was one of this day's investigation; another was contained within the range of a circle of stones (*gg*) of about 9 feet in diameter, of which eight stones (No. 30) only remained, but hollows in the turf indicated the positions which four others had occupied, and they were known to have been removed for building purposes. A large quantity of fragments of rude pottery, of bones of animals, bits of charcoal, teeth of deer, oxen, and swine, were all that this produced; and it is not improbable that it had been before explored, being a short distance on the north of the five barrows on the Avebury Down. On the summit of the hill, overlooking towards the south-east the Cromlech at Clatford, towards the east Temple Down, and the south-west and west the Hacpen range, studded with an immense number of very large sarsen stones, many of which indicated arrangement of lines and segments of circles, there are two spots which, in particular, challenge attention. The one from the congeries of *very* large stones lying on and about each other, as if they had so fallen from some different and probably more

elevated position ; the other from its conical formation of earth and most commanding position, and being surrounded with sarsen stones in circular arrangement. This was opened to some depth, but time did not then suffice to descend so far as to reach the maiden soil or chalk, or to satisfy us that nothing more was to be obtained but the circular and flat sarsen stones of about a foot diameter, not broken, but worn like pebbles, which abounded, together with the fragments of charcoal, bones, pottery, and teeth.

No. 31. Returning towards the north-west, a small flat barrow (*hh*) without a trench was the object of our curiosity, which, although it was situated on the very side of a road, did not disappoint us. At a depth of 18 inches we came to five thin sarsen stones of a foot or 16 inches broad or long, set upon their edges, and within them four other stones of the same kind, but larger and naturally rounded, by which an urn containing burnt human bones was packed. In the centre of this cist, 2 feet 2 by 10 inches, the urn, as well as the stones, had been placed on a flat stone below—the former with its mouth downwards ; it was of rude formation, of the character of that found in No. 4, and about the same shape ; the upper part, 10 inches in diameter, above the rim being cross-etched. Nearly all below the rim, from its proximity to the surface, had long since been crushed and reduced to earth.

“ Hic labor extremus, longarum hæc meta viarum.”

It is no affectation to say that I left on the following day this peculiar but most interesting neighbourhood with great regret, and not least of all those very many and kind friends to whom I was so much indebted for the facilities of exploring the barrows, and who favoured me with so many marks of their consideration and most thoughtful kindness. They are too many to specify by name ; but I trust I may be allowed to assure them all that the recollection of them and the pleasure they studied to afford me will never cease to command my most grateful and pleasurable appreciation.

J. M.

ANTIQUITIES FOUND NEAR AVEBURY.

The following Sketches represent interesting Objects of Antiquity found in the neighbourhood of Avebury, which for the most part are still retained and highly prized by those on whose property they were discovered.

No. 1. A well-burnt urn of thin red pottery, found in a barrow on the south of Beckhampton, towards Tan Hill, at the head of a skeleton lying at full length; round it were nail-heads, as if of a coffin; a few feet from this was a smaller skeleton doubled up. Height of the urn $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, diameter (largest) $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

2. Small urn, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and 2 inches high, found in a barrow to the south-east of Kennet, round which were twelve skeletons ranged with their feet towards the centre, in which the urn was placed.

3 and 4. Found in a barrow on Windmill Hill, with seven skeletons. Diameter of urn 4 inches, length of stone hammer 5 inches.

5. This urn, remarkable for its unique pattern of ornament, and proportions, being much broader and flatter than usual, and in diameter at the base no less than 5 inches, whilst it is only $6\frac{1}{2}$ high, was found by workmen employed to obtain materials for husbandry purposes, from a barrow about a mile from Beckhampton, on the right-hand side of the Devizes road, containing burnt bones. When brought home it was nearly perfect; but having been placed at the front door, a beggar, whose importunities were not listened to, broke it with his stick.

6. A small unornamented urn of unburnt bluish clay, was found in a barrow about a quarter of a mile to the north of the former. Its diameter is 4 inches, its height $2\frac{1}{2}$.

7. A small plain urn, found in the same barrow, and of similar material. Near it was the skull of a very young person. It is very remarkable, that where the bones of

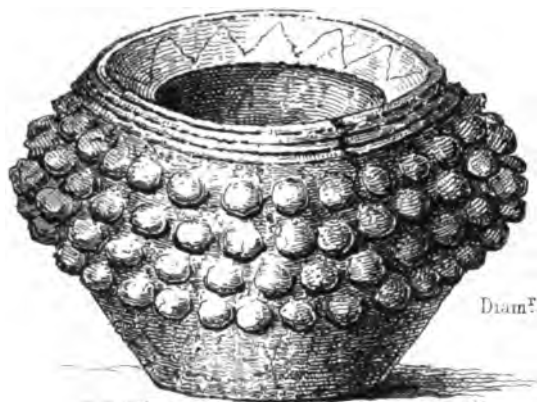
1



2



3

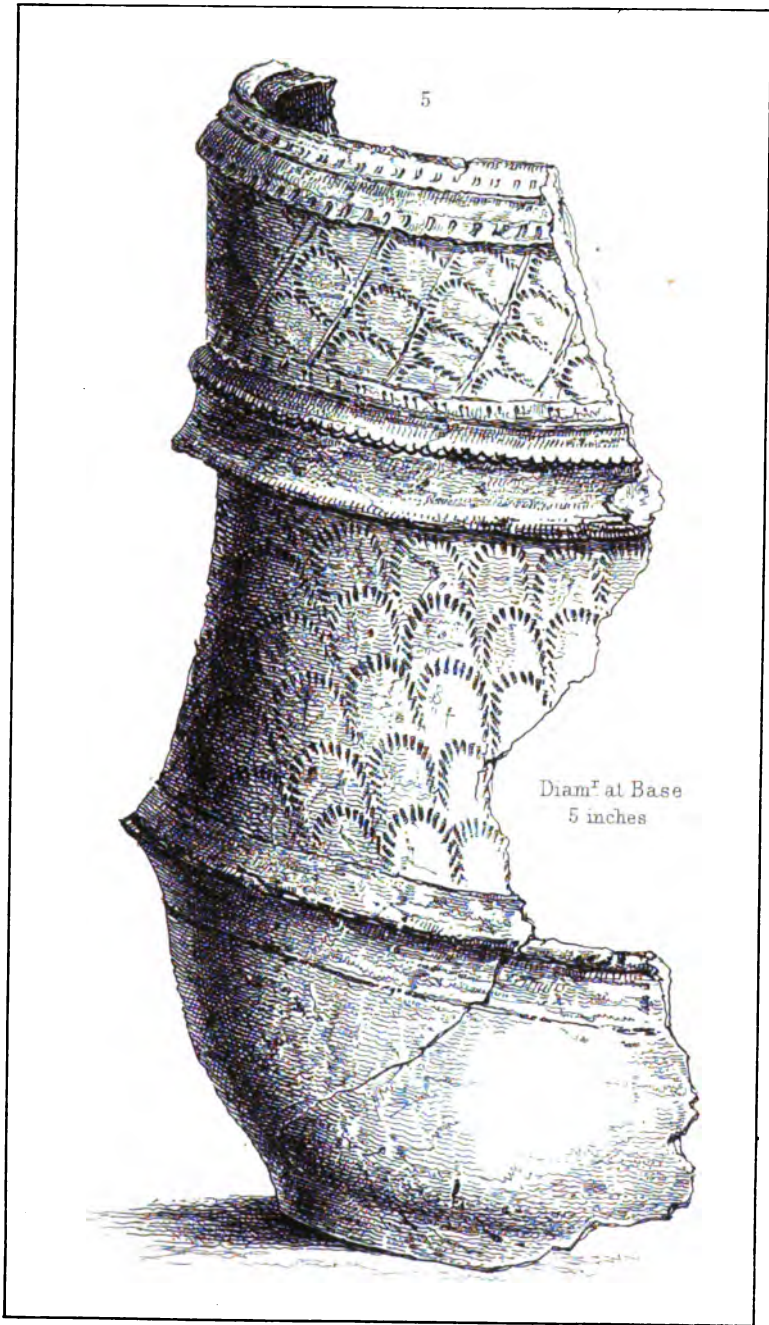


Diam^r. 5 inches

4



Length 5 inches



J.R. Jobbins.

G. Bell, 186 Fleet St July 1851.

6



Diam.^r
4 inches.
Height
1½ inches.

7



Diam.^r
4½ inches.
Height
7 inches.

8



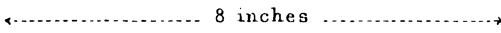
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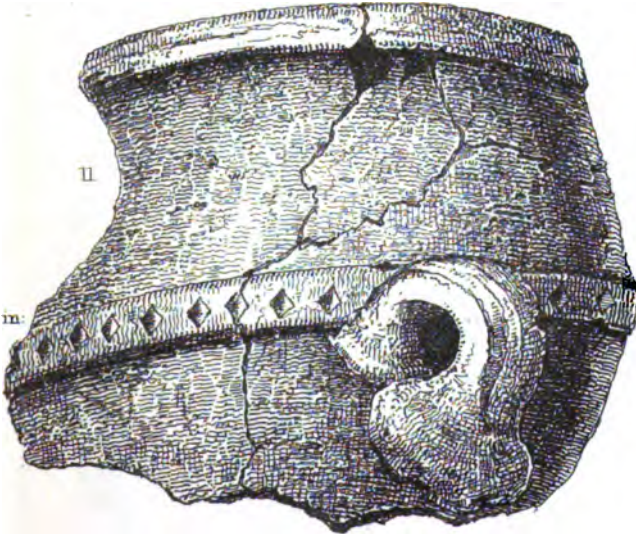
10



8 inches

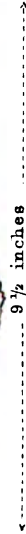


11



10 in.

9 1/2 inches



12



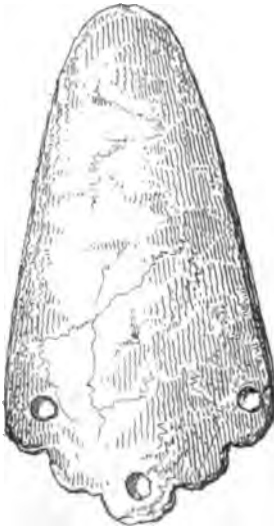
7 inches

14



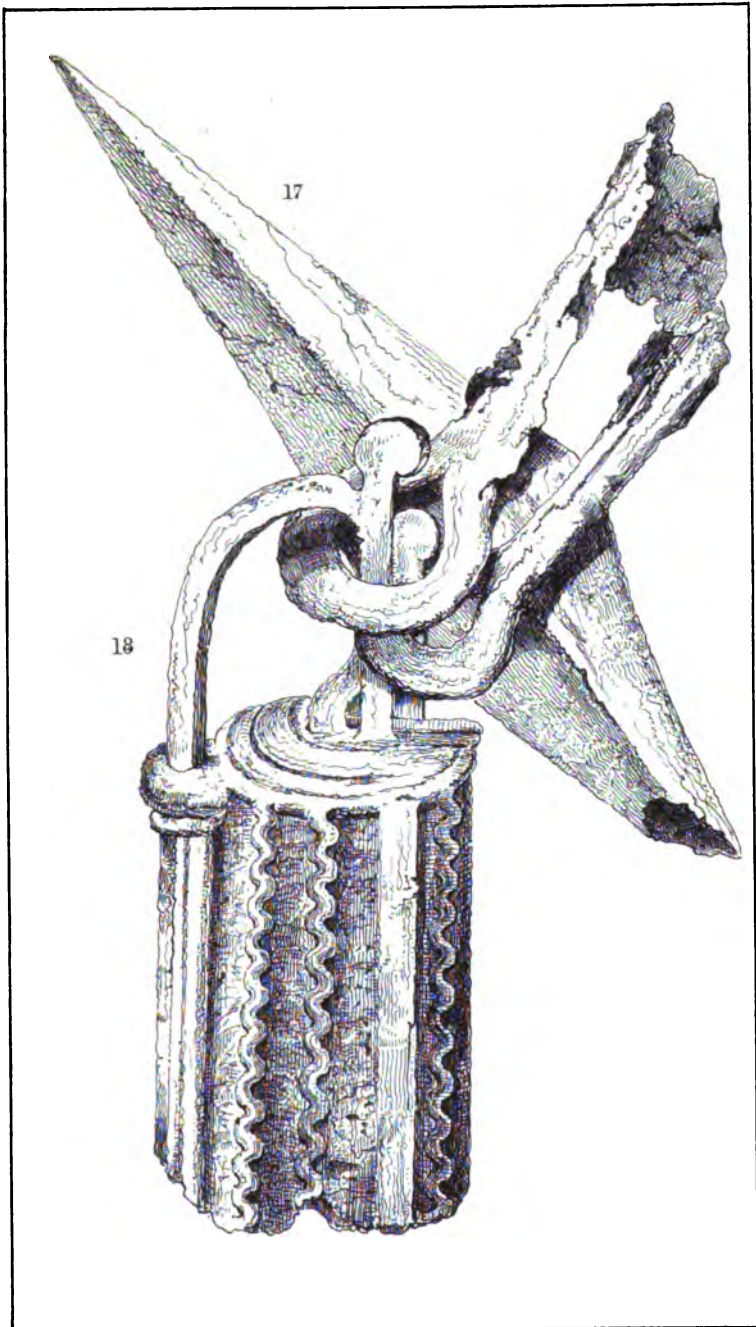
5 inches

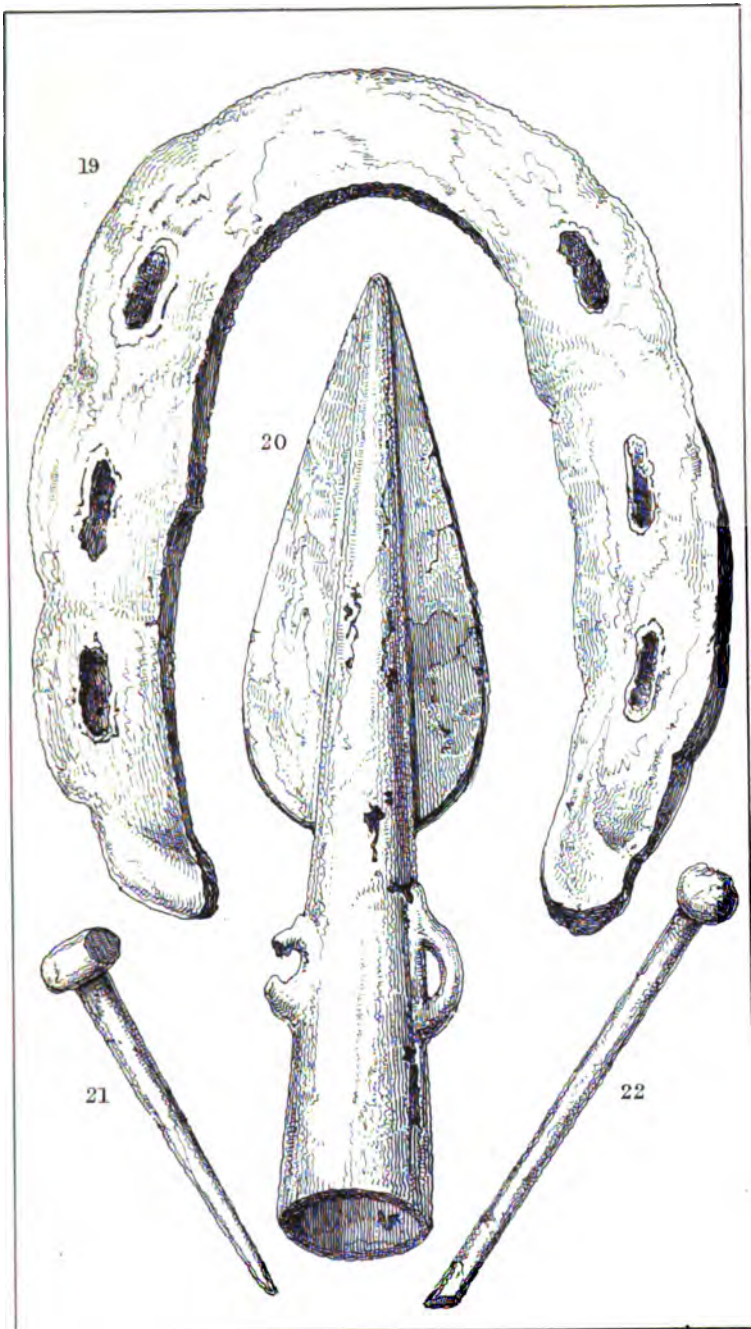
13



4 inches

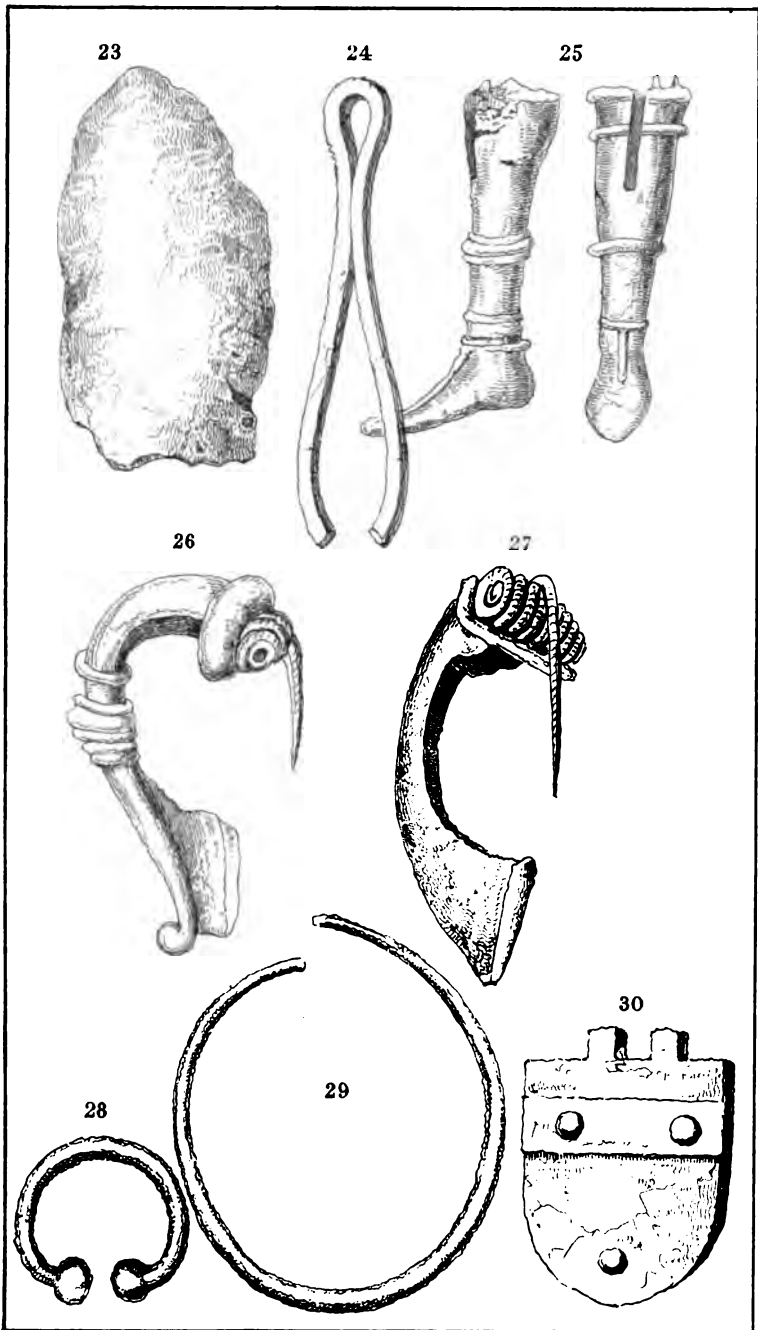






J.R. Jobbins.

6. Bell, 186 Fleet St. July 1851.



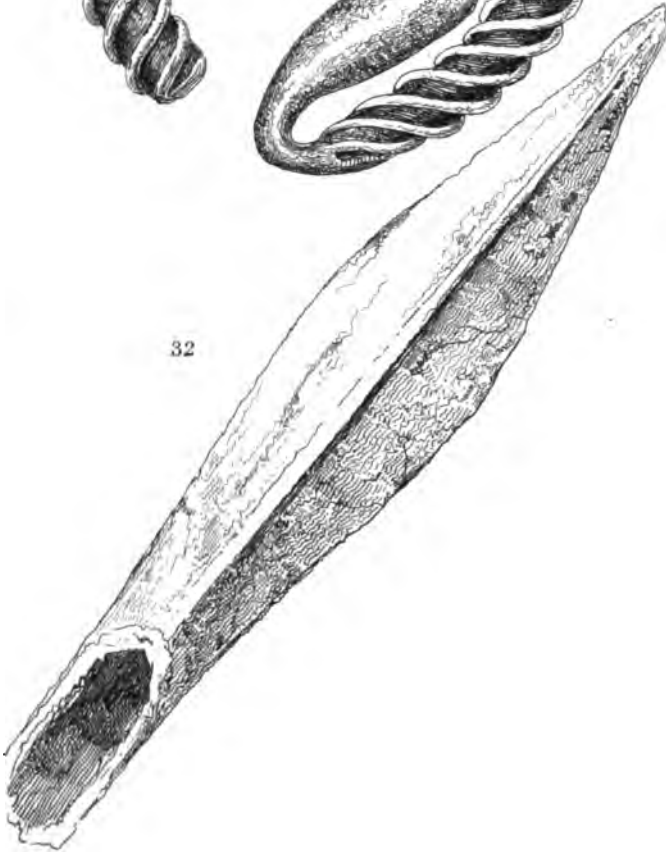
J.R. Jobbins

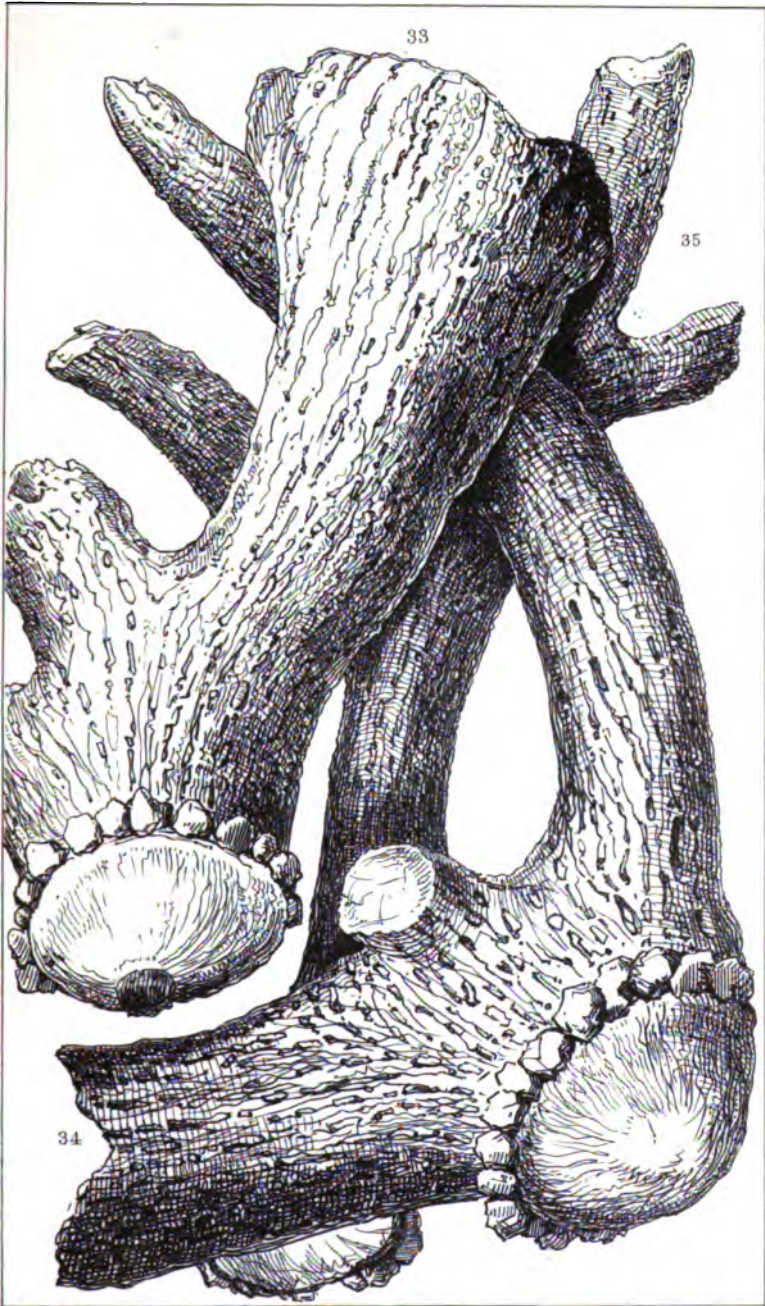
G. Ball, 186 Fleet St July 1851

31



32

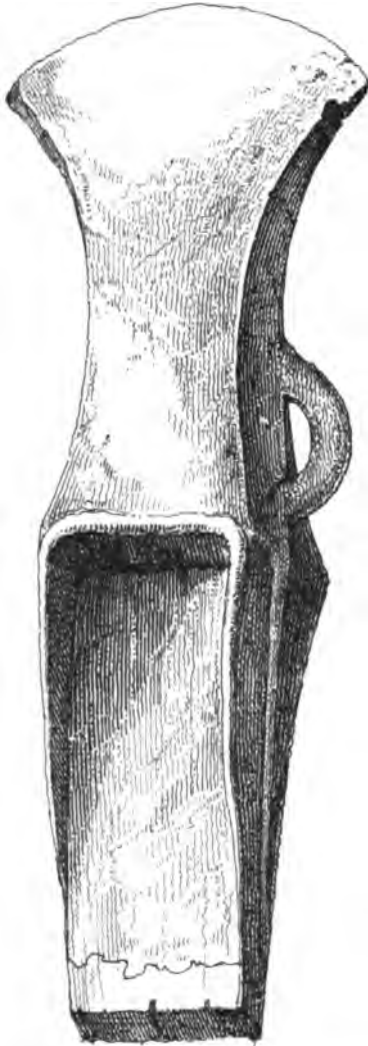


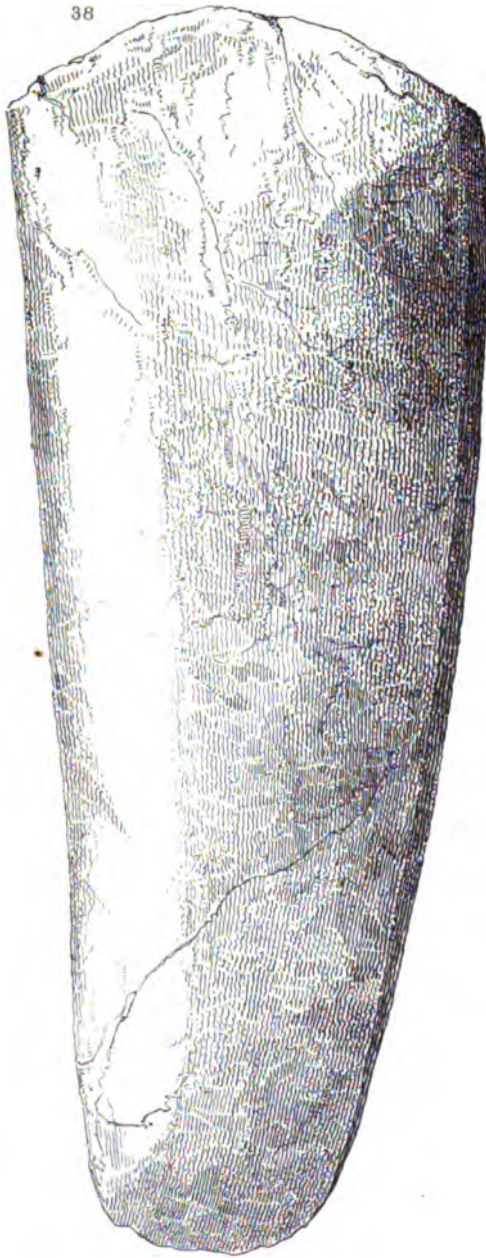


J.R. Jobbins

G. Bell. 186 Fleet St. July. 1851.







J.R. Jobbins

G. Bell, 186 Fleet St July 1851.

young persons are found, this form of urn is usually observed. Its diameter is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, its height 7 inches. In cases where such remains have been accidentally found by labourers, it is difficult to ascertain the exact position and accompaniments. It has been my object to give, as accurately as possible, the account which I received.

8. An urn of brown unbaked clay, of similar form and dimensions with the last, but with somewhat more ornament, found about a mile and a half west of the former, in a barrow, about 2 feet from the knees of the skeleton figure at No. 16, and not more than 18 inches below the surface of the turf.

9. An urn, 7 inches high by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter, found in digging clay for a pond, near Roundaway Down, without any irregularity of the ground, but near a skeleton, whose position could not be ascertained, having been carelessly disturbed by the workmen.

10. A beautiful and perfect urn, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $3\frac{3}{8}$ in diameter, of unburnt clay, found at the head of a skeleton in a crouched posture, and in an oval cist formed in the chalk, and covered with the same finely powdered. This is introduced as being the first of the kind I ever saw, and as having been discovered in the presence of Sir Richard Colt Hoare. Its locality was near the Beckhampton and Devizes road, a few yards only from Wansdyke and Shepherd's Shore, south-westward.

11. Fragments of a very large unburnt urn, having the peculiarity of a handle; its diameter must have been at least 18 inches. It was found at the large oval barrow to the south of "*the Pennings*" belonging to Mr. George Brown, above Beckhampton; contained burnt bones and a piece of bronze (No. 23), probably a spear-head. This barrow has been on several occasions reduced for purposes of husbandry, and has generally produced such relics. It appears to have been used at different periods as a place of sepulture, and might yet repay further investigation. "*The Pennings*" is a term at present applied, as the cursory observer would suppose, to a farm-yard and fold near at hand; but the phrase belongs to a disused enclosure adjoining, of a double square in form, and of some extent, surrounded by a slight ditch and mound, on which still grow many stunted whitethorn bushes. The term "*Pen-*

nings" is applied by the husbandmen to other similar enclosures and earthworks.

12. An urn of usual dimensions, 7 inches high, found in a barrow of low elevation, a short distance south of a remarkable long barrow, already described as made up of circular and convex sarsen stones, to the south of Kennett, at the feet of a skeleton lying towards the west, and in a regularly-formed cist.

13. A bronze spear-head, found with the above, 4 inches long.

14. A stone hatchet of compact bluish stone, resembling lias, also in the same, five inches long.

15. Posture of a skeleton found in Morgan's Hill above Wansdyke, without any barrow or irregularity of the surface of the ground, 18 inches below the turf.

16. Posture of a skeleton found with No. 8.

17. Iron spear-head, found in breaking up the down for cultivation, about a mile and a half to the right of the Beckhampton and Devizes road, taken at right angles to that road, about a mile from Beckhampton turnpike; 9 inches below the surface.

18. A lock of iron, with two keys, found very near the last mentioned, in ploughing up the same land.

19. Horseshoe found a short distance north-west of Silbury Hill, with other horseshoes, and a skeleton.

20. Bronze spear-head found in digging flints in the down south-west of Beckhampton, with black earth round it, but without any irregularity of ground. Full size of original, as are the following, to No. 33.

21 and 22. Bone pins found in digging flints on the same down.

23. Bronze spear-head found with No. 11.

24. Bronze tweezers.

25. Side and front view of a singular bronze leg, having a groove to make a joint at the knee, and riveted to either limb. These bronze articles were found very near the line of the Roman road (Via Badonica). Could this be part of such a figure as we read of in Petronius? "*Larvam argenteam attulit servus, sic aptatam ut articuli ejus vertebræque laxatæ in omnem partem verterentur,*" &c., pp. 115, 116.

26, 27, 28, 29, 30. Bronze fibulæ, &c., all found in

the same immediate neighbourhood, in digging flints on the down-lands.

31. Portion of a gold torque found in digging flints on Allington down, near the highest point of the hills bounding the north side of Pewsey vale; size of the original, weight $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz. troy. The original is in the possession of the Earl of Ilchester, who claimed it as treasure trove, being lord of the manor.

32. Iron spear-head found in digging rubble to make roads on the down, where there was no irregularity of surface, at Lower Upham, parish of Auburn.

33. Stags' horns: above the burr, circumference $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, at the top $7\frac{1}{2}$.

34. Above the burr 6 inches circumference; length of tine $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

35. Horn of a smaller animal, and more decayed, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. These were found on the neighbouring downs in digging flints.

36. Portions of gold ornaments found in a barrow on Roundaway down, near Devizes. The barrow in question was opened by the orders of the late proprietor, E. F. Colston, Esq., of Roundaway Park. It is a small one, situated in the apex of the down, which, although particularly mentioned by Sir R. C. Hoare, escaped the examination of that able and indefatigable antiquary. The workmen, having at a depth of 7 feet, cut through an upper stratum of peculiarly fine dark mould, and reached the natural chalk level, came to a skeleton, much decayed, which had formerly been enclosed in a wooden chest, bound round and clamped together with strong iron plates or hoops. Several portions of this iron-work had fibres of the wood still adhering to them, and remained precisely as originally placed. The skeleton lay east and west, the head towards the latter point. At its feet, formed of about twenty triangular pieces of brass fastened together with rivets and two thin hoops of the same metal, lay a cap or helmet, which remained perfect a few minutes only, falling to pieces on the admission of air. Near the neck were several large oval garnets, among which was one, much larger than the rest, of a triangular shape. All were strongly set in gold. The ovals appeared to form, with intermediate beads made of twisted gold wire, a

necklace, from which the triangular stone hung as the central pendant. There were also (with several smaller articles) two pins of gold, fastened to one another by a gold chain, with a small medallion between them; on one side of which is distinctly engraved the figure of the Cross. Unfortunately none of the parties most interested in the discovery were present at the exact time, and it is feared that they did not obtain all the remains, as it was heard that similar stones had subsequently been sold at Bath, which had been found on Roundaway down. The bones of four animals were also found in the corners, said to be of a dog and cat, a horse and a boar. A coin, small brass, of Crispus, was also found, proving the date of the interment. There is no other instance on record of a similar discovery belonging to the same period in this district.

37. A celt of brass, extremely perfect, and of metal remarkable for its dark colour, found at Ramsbury, Wilts, in digging peat. This, the first article of antiquity possessed by the writer, was purchased for half-a-crown, when a schoolboy at Ramsbury.

38. A celt of flint, elaborately worked, and the greater part bearing a high polish, found in grubbing up a hedge-row on a bank in the parish of Stanton Fitz-Warren, Wilts. Both the size of the originals.

. The foregoing memorials, compiled by one of the earliest and warmest friends of the Institute, the late Dean of Hereford, comprise a very curious series of observations which were in part communicated by him during the meeting at Salisbury. His untimely and lamented death has deprived the Society of the advantage which would have accrued, had this interesting recital been here produced under his own immediate care. The accompanying illustrations are from his own drawings, prepared especially for this volume of the Transactions of a meeting in which he took so warm an interest.

LETTER RELATIVE TO STONEHENGE,

BY THE REV. EDWARD DUKE.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

MY DEAR SIR,

FROM the time that I heard of the archæological meeting in this neighbourhood, it had been my wish and hope to have offered to its members a paper on Stonehenge, to which I have given my attention for some years. As the time draws near, however, I find myself compelled, although reluctantly, to decline the more elaborate essay I had purposed. My health, broken by repeated and very severe attacks of illness, will not allow the application of mind to a subject for any length of time without injury.

If, however, you will permit me to do so, I shall venture to offer to your consideration, and submit to your judgment, some points which would have found a place in the contemplated essay, had I been able to complete it.

I think you may be aware that, about three years since, I put through the press a small volume bearing the title of the *Druidical Temples of Wilts.* In that work Stonehenge was considered as forming part of a planetarium, in connexion with Abury, in the more northern part of the county, and with a series of remains to be traced on the face of the intervening country, the gigantic proportions of which were such that its meridional line was extended no less than two-and-thirty miles. It was while my mind was engaged on this subject, subsequently however to the publication of the book, that the theory of the construction of Stonehenge was gradually presented to it, both with a more distinct outline and in fuller detail. I have not, indeed, found occasion to reject or displace any of the opinions I have formerly expressed: my later occupation has been to add to, and complete my view on this portion of my former subject.

I now, therefore, separate Stonehenge from Abury and the other sacred stations with which, for certain purposes, it was conjoined, and proceed to regard it (as, of course, it may be regarded) in the light of a temple standing alone, entire and perfect in itself, *totus in se, teres, atque rotundus*.

In approaching Stonehenge, it may be advisable for a stranger, who is making his inspection for the first time, to forbear entering the sacred precincts from that side by which he would naturally arrive on his road from Salisbury; and to diverge from the path, till he come to the Gnomon, or index-stone, on the north-east side. He will walk from thence beneath the centre arch of the three imposts in front, and so proceed up the temple. In this way, with ordinary attention and intelligence, its plan will become evident at once, which otherwise must appear to the observer involved in a chaotic confusion.

We will suppose our Archæologist arrived, for the first time in his life, at the outer circle of this venerable monument.

This consisted originally of *thirty* upright stones, joined together at the top by a continued corona of the same number of imposts: their substance being a silicious grit, permeated here and there with a thin vein of quartz; and therefore bearing intrinsic evidence that they are Nature's handiwork, and not, as some have supposed—the great Camden among them—from the manufactories of man.

Their height is sixteen feet; their sides shaped into regular parallelograms by the chisel, and their inner surfaces bevelled, from the bottom upwards, for the greater firmness and security of the mass; a hint which our Norman forefathers did not neglect to observe and follow in the churches which their piety reared in the neighbouring bournes.

These stones, when first set up, were evidently located with great art; externally they must have presented a gentle curve, and internally have shewn a polygon of thirty sides. We have here, then, thirty stones with their thirty intervals, each distinct by itself, and yet all linked together, and united into one, by the one superincumbent and encircling corona. In this, therefore, we behold, in their

several and joint characters, the thirty days and thirty nights into which, anciently, each of the twelve months of the year was equally divided,—the perpetual, standing calendar of the Druids for that space of time; or, when multiplied by twelve, their almanac for the year.

A simple arrangement truly, and befitting a simple and unsophisticated people, but not to be denied a higher praise also; for it has been held truly that works of genius are to be known by the most perfect adaptation to their end, combined with the greatest possible simplicity. Of the arrangement of their ecclesiastical year we have, it is true, but little knowledge. Fasts, we may presume, were to them unknown. Of festival days, days of high rejoicing and holy observation, we may not doubt that they had their proper allowance. They were those probably pointed out by nature, or received from earliest primeval tradition—the equinoxes, the solstices, the new moons, and the sabbath-days. Thus, in each monthly revolution, the progress of the month upon any given day would be marked by the stone at which they might then have arrived; and by this calendar,—for the integrity of which its publicity and the consciences of the priesthood were the vouchers,—the possibility of a national doubt, or of conflicting calculations in any two different parts of the nation, as to *precise time*, whether in regard to the celebration of sacred feasts or to the fulfilment of civil contracts was averted; for a reference was always feasible to the great national calendar at Stonehenge, whose *fiat* would be at once decisive of the doubt or controversy. It was, in fact, the authority of that day, from whose voice there was no appeal.

Proceeding inwards, from the circumference to the centre of the temple, we shall come next to the remains of a circle of smaller stones, of granite, porphyry, &c., concentric with the outer circle. On the number of the stones composing this interior circle much diversity of opinion exists among antiquaries. Upon this question I shall not now enter, but assume that the opinion in which Stukeley and Sir R. C. Hoare concur is the correct one, namely, that it consisted of neither more nor less than forty. I shall take leave, however, to disagree with Sir Richard, and also Mr. Cunningham, as to their decision upon another point. They have advanced an opinion that the larger stones at Stone-

henge were erected, in point of time, previously to the smaller ones, which last they think to have been subsequently inserted among them.

I agree with them in thinking there is great probability that the work, as it now stands, is not to be referred to one and the same era; I dissent from them as to the part to which the highest antiquity belongs. I here coincide with Mr. Britton, in supposing that this inner circle of granite pertained to the inner ellipse of the same material; and that together they formed one temple many ages before its enlargement by the fosse and the more massive sandstones.

In defence of this position it may be observed, that the circle of forty stones is not *astronomical*, but *numerical*; consisting, as it does, of four decades, into each of which, in turn, enter the four mystic numbers from whose aggregate it is formed (i. e. $1+2+3+4=10$). Now, a numerical circle, as I have held elsewhere, wherever it is found, must be esteemed prophylactic in its character. And among all the numerous temples of the Sun, of which remains are extant in various parts of the earth, I doubt whether a single instance can be produced of a similar anomaly,—of a numerical circle surrounding an astronomical portion of the temple, and itself embraced by a second numerical circle. We may justly infer, therefore, that this construction cannot belong to the original plan; and if we allow an addition or alteration at all, it is more reasonable to suppose it to have been in the way of expansion and increase of grandeur than the contrary.

Still proceeding onwards, we shall arrive next at that which is perhaps the most interesting part of the temple, and in many respects without its parallel on the face of the globe. This is the outer ellipse of large trilithons,—a happy term, for the invention, or at least the application, of which we are indebted, as I believe, to Stukeley. These trilithons are composed of silicious sandstone, and from the same quarry probably that furnished the stones for the external circle. Each compages consists of two enormous upright slabs, having tenons on their upper edges, and an impost lying upon them, and secured in its place by corresponding mortices. Every trilithon stands unconnected and by itself; the length and breadth of the super-

incumbent stone being such, that its outer edges form a line with the outer edges of its supports.

Questions have been raised in relation to the original number of these trilithons, and they have not always received the wisest answers. Thus Inigo Jones, in subservience to his preposterous theory that Stonehenge was a Roman fane, dedicated to the god *Cœlus* or *Cœlum*, would have the number of trilithons to be *six*; and by a dexterous twist of these ponderous masses, effected by the machinery of a strong imagination, he has contrived to form with them a hexagon, constructed on the base-lines of six equilateral triangles. This absurdity is demonstrated to be such by a single glance at the temple itself. Stukeley, Wood, and Sir R. C. Hoare, have pronounced the number, in their opinion, to be *five*. These are great names, but even great men may err; and from repeated personal observation I am disposed, with Smith, King, and some others, to be very decided and positive that, while they yet stood in undiminished glory, they would have borne witness of themselves that they were *seven*. With five alone, only the portion of an ellipse would be given, whilst the number seven yields a full and complete one, and draws after it besides very weighty arguments in proof of its correctness,—thus equalising the number of the planets, to each of which we may rationally conclude one of the trilithons was dedicated. Smith, indeed, boldly takes on himself to appropriate to each planet its peculiar trilithon. I will not imitate his confidence, although I think it possible that in one or two of his conjectures he may be right. Stukeley has given an elaborate geometrical plan of the temple, deserving praise for its ingenuity, but failing, through its great and unnecessary complication, to establish a claim to be considered probable.

But to return for a while from speculation upon their uses to the stones themselves. The fact with regard to them which strikes us most immediately is, the variation in their respective altitudes. Of the five trilithons of which we have perpendicular remains, the elevation rises, from its lowest measurement in the pair toward the entrance on the north-east side, which are severally nineteen feet to the top, and attains its loftiest or culminating

point in the single trilithon which stands behind the stone of astronomic observation, usually, but erringly, called the altar-stone.

This trilithon raises itself to a commanding height of no less than twenty-five feet from the ground. The pair which intervene between this and those first mentioned, standing opposite in the plan of the temple, correspond with each other in the height of twenty feet and three inches. Time has not been wholly foiled in his attack on these stalwart giants; but has left the marks of his ravages on them as on other parts of the temple. Of the shortest pair of trilithons enumerated above, the one on the left is yet standing in a perfect state; and one of the uprights remains of that on the right; but the other upright, together with the impost, is prostrate, and either stone is broken into three pieces. Of the next pair, again, the one to the left survives, and in beautiful preservation, exacting admiration for the evenness of its surface and the sharpness of its angles. The opposite trilithon, its partner, after having sustained the shock of ages, bowed its head and fell prostrate backward against the outer circle, on January 3d, 1797. Neither of its uprights, nor the impost, have suffered injury; except, indeed, that to which they have since been subjected at the angles by the hands of barbarous man. The fifth and last of these trilithons has one of its uprights in a horizontal position. It would appear that this stone, in its fall, must have slid backward, and then, on reaching the underlying stone of astronomic observation, have been severed in two by its own weight and the severe concussion. The other upright is in a leaning condition, and apparently, rather than really, supported by a slender stone, one of the inner ellipse, which stands underneath it,

" Jam jamque lapsura, cadentique
Imminet assimilis."

You will naturally ask after the remaining trilithons, necessary to complete the given number, *seven*, since as yet only *five* have received any notice. I can but repeat my conviction that, if we had lived some ages earlier in the world's history, our eyes would have beheld seven; since at present we have but a marred and imperfect ellipse, and then should have had a perfect and complete one.

Nor is this *a priori* reason the only one to be found;

we have also direct evidence to the same point. Within the inner circle, not far from the entrance on the north-east, there lies on the turf an impost, having on its more evenly-worked side two mortices.

This impost is of the same quality as all the other smaller stones—that is, of granite; and it is too short to have made an impost of the outer circle, since it would not have spanned the interval between any two of the stones. Sir R. C. Hoare, in noticing it, speaks of it as if it were connected with the inner *circle*. In describing the inner circle, he says—“No. 2 appears to have belonged to this circle, and to have been the impost of a small trilithon; might there not have been another in the vacant space on the opposite side to correspond with it?” No doubt there was another opposite to it; both of them belonging to this ellipse of trilithons, which would be incomplete without them, and gently touching, without intersecting, the inside curve of the inner or second circle; and of use, not only to express the cycle of the planets, but also the cycle of the days of the week, as the large outer circle expressed that of the days and nights of the month.

The height of these small trilithons could not nearly have equalled that of their next neighbours, nor could the imposts on their summits have surmounted and been seen over the corona of the outer circle. I confess I am much gratified by this circumstance, since by it a relation between the inclined line of these trilithons and the level corona of the outer circle is capable of actual and irrefragable proof. In order to obtain this proof, I requested on one occasion, the Reverend L. Tomlinson, the author of a popular work entitled *Astronomic Recreations*, to test this angle with his instruments, which, assisted by Mr. Browne of Amesbury, he immediately and obligingly did in my presence.

The result of the application of the quadrant was this, that it was shewn that an inclined line drawn from the top of the lofty trilithon behind the stone of astronomic observation to the summits of these small trilithons would present with the horizontal corona an angle of twenty-three and a half degrees. Thus, to Mr. Tomlinson's surprise, perhaps more than my own, it became evident that these Druidical philosophers had represented by

this contrivance the inclination of the ecliptic as compared with the plane of the equator.

I have now only one further portion of the temple with which to detain your attention.

This is the inner portion of all. It consists of nineteen granite pillars, advancing in height in like manner as the trilithons. This, known usually as the Metonic cycle, seems to have been a constituent part in every temple of the Sun; a mode of calculation which, originating in an earlier philosophy, was incorporated by the Romans into their system, and has been subsequently accepted by ourselves, and used in the construction of our own calendar.

These were some of the chief points which I had purposed to introduce to the meeting in a more formal paper.

As it is, for reasons connected with my state of health, as I have already said, and because I would not submit to such a body any thing which I had not been able to arrange and revise with the greatest care, I prefer offering them in the form of a letter to *yourself*, leaving it to you, according to your judgment, and the etiquette of our Institution, to notice them to the assembled Members, or otherwise, in such way as you may think right.

I confess they have obtained a perfect conviction in my own mind. Whether they will be equally successful in the minds of others I cannot foresee.

I beg you will believe me,

My dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

EDWARD DUKE.

REMARKS ON TWO COMMUNICATIONS
RESPECTING STONEHENGE,

ADDRESSED BY

THE REVEREND EDWARD DUKE

TO THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, AND TO THE EDITOR OF THE
GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

In a Letter to Charles Tucker, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

THE opinion of Mr. Duke on a subject so familiar to him as Stonehenge deserves consideration and respect. He has long directed his attention to antiquities; has, during an extended life, resided at the seat of his ancestors near that "wonder of the west;" has, by his personal researches and discoveries on the downs and in barrows, contributed, with Cunnington and Hoare, to enlarge our knowledge of the ancient Britons; and in his work entitled the *Druidical Temples of Wiltshire* has disclosed a design so bold, so ingenious, and so well supported by facts, that he may be said, with Stukeley, to have withdrawn a portion of that veil which has so long enveloped the Celtic Isis. It is not, therefore, without hesitation, that I offer these remarks on his communications; but I am induced to do so, because, although I differ from my friend in the application of one or two particulars, I think my observations, on the whole, will strengthen the view which he has taken of Stonehenge. The astronomical import of this edifice is so generally admitted, that it seems to me superfluous to produce arguments in support of this general proposition: the inquiry, therefore, is more appropriately directed to those signs and calculations which its different groups would seem to imply. I agree with Mr. Duke, that Stonehenge was a "calendar;" but conceding to him that the external circle of upright stones had reference to the days of the month, and by repetition to those

of the year, I do not see that these *alone* would have rendered it a "*perpetual one*;" for as he rightly considers that the summer and winter solstices were occasions of great festivals with the ancient Britons, in a year of twelve months, each of thirty days, in the whole 360 days, a great discrepancy would soon occur in the recurrence of the day; when, for instance, the feast of the summer solstice *ought* to be celebrated in *that order of time*, and in the *longest day*, when, as he says, "the priest fixing his eye on the gnomon in the distance, would see the sun rise behind its apex." Such an imperfect enumeration of time would have been evidently inconsistent with those practical purposes to which the Druids are known to have applied their astronomical knowledge. It may indeed be answered that there are recognised instances of such a computation of time both among the Jews and the Greeks, each of whom divided the year into twelve months of twenty-nine or thirty days; but the former rectified their calculations by an intercalary month once in three years, as the latter did by their second *Ποσειδεων*. No indication, however, of such a practice is pointed out in this "stone almanac;" and I think we shall find that the priests of the fane had no occasion for this imperfect correction. The eastern origin of Druidical knowledge is generally admitted, and Herodotus, who lived nearly six centuries before our era, expressly says, that "the Egyptians divide their year into twelve months, giving to each month thirty days,"—so far there is a coincidence; but, he continues, by adding five days to every year they have a uniform revolution of time. (*επαγουσι ανα παν ετος πεντε ημερας εκ του αριθμου, και σφι ο κυκλος των ωρων ες τουτο περιων παραγινηται*. Euterpe, 4.) Now, if the Druids were familiar with the Oriental and Egyptian systems, they must have received this additional knowledge also. Let us see if there is not a proof of it in the structure of Stonehenge, in addition to the thirty stones, indicative not only of the days of the month, but of twelve; the corresponding number of *nights* being represented by the thirty imposts which crown the outer circle.*

* We may possibly understand the meaning of the trillithon as representing days and nights in this outer circle, if we bear in mind the information of Cæsar: "Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos

prædicant: ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt: dies natales et mensuum et annorum initia sic observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur."

On looking at the plate of this edifice, which is either sanctioned by Mr. Duke, or contributed by him to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and which he calls the "wheel of time and perpetual calendar of the Druids," we see in that part of it which he denominates an ellipse, *five trilithons*, which, except as being disunited from each other, are exactly similar to those of which the outer circle is composed. Now, if the latter indicated days and nights, what could these *five trilithons intimate, but the five intercalary days and nights required to complete the uniform revolution of time?* The separation of these trilithons from the outer circle and from each other, as also their peculiar magnitude, may be mentioned to confirm this opinion; for "the intercalary days," as Baillie has observed in his *History of Astronomy*, "were never admitted into the circle of the year, but were kept distinct, and held in peculiar honour." Each of them in Egypt was dedicated to a deity; the three first to the "powerful ones," Nephthys, Isis, and Osiris, the fourth to Thoth, and the last to Typhon. And Plutarch relates a fable of the Greeks, which typified the same astronomical calculation. "In each intercalated day," says he, "a deity was born; for when the Sun threatened that Rhea should not produce her offspring in any month or year, Mercury, being enamoured of her, won from the Moon at dice the twentieth part of each of her annual lunations, and composed of them *five days*, which were added to the year, and thus increased it from 360 to 365 days; on these days Rhea gave birth to Osiris, Arueris, Typhon, Isis, and Neptha."* And these five personages, under Celtic denominations, were, I conceive, *represented by the five majestic trilithons* which form so distinguished a feature in the temple of Stonehenge. I am aware that Mr. Duke, and some other writers, contend that there were two other trilithons, in addition to those above mentioned; but their separated position on each side of the entrance, and their comparatively diminutive size, prove that they have no connexion with the gigantic group which I have endeavoured to explain, and consequently cannot be justly considered as comprehended in the same signification. Nevertheless, if our theory is correct, they should still possess their distinctive import, and may perhaps be hereafter shewn to indi-

* Plut. de Iside et Osiride, vol. ii. p. 355. ed. Frankfort. 1599.

cate a still nicer computation of time for measuring the solar year in this mighty maze, which we hold to comprehend the "plan" of a "stone almanac." I agree with Mr. Duke, that the inner range of small stones placed about that which is commonly called the altar, being nineteen in number, may represent the Metonic cycle of nineteen years. Meton was living at the beginning of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, B.C. 432; and he ascertained that 235 revolutions of the moon are nearly nineteen revolutions of the sun, and one complete revolution of the moon's node; but this computation had an oriental source,* and was known to the astronomers of Asia long before the time when it received its present name; and we have a direct relation in the second book of Diodorus Siculus, c. 47, that the natives of the Hyperborean Island, (which, by a concurrence of circumstances, several antiquaries of note have identified with Britain,†) held the moon to be an object of worship.

* "The Greeks in vain attribute to Meton the cycle which goes by his name. It was known ages before his time." *Origines*, by Sir W. Drummond, ii. 237.

† The author of *Cyclops Christianus* protests vehemently against this identity, and enters with his usual learning into the locality of the Hyperboreans. But assuming (from the contradictory accounts of them, and the difficulty of fixing them in any precise spot) that the term is applicable to northern nations, as compared with the Greeks extending over the continent of Europe and Asia, the question may perhaps be more conveniently reduced to the locality of the Κελτικη of Diodorus Siculus. Frontinus, in his Latin version of that author, translates the passage thus: "Tradunt *contra Galliam* in Oceano insulam esse, non minorem Sicilia, Arctici subjectam, quam Hyperborei incolant;" and Wesseling in his note, although he admits the reasonableness of this interpretation of the Κελτικη as far as Diodorus is concerned, and that he is borne out in it by the observations of the same author in his 5th book, c. 32, objects to it as representing the true meaning of Hecætæus, as is proved, he says, by the rest of the passage (ταυτην υπαρχειν μεν κατα τας αρκτους, κατοχεισθαι δε υπο των ονομαζομενων 'Υπερβορων απο του πορρωτερω κεισθαι της Βορειου πνοης); for he maintains that the Celtæ, according to the ancients, extended from Gaul to Scythia, and that Hecætæus referred to the northern

coasts of Germany. But from the relation of Herodotus and others, he contends we ought not to search for the Hyperboreans in the extreme north of Europe.

It is scarcely possible to ascertain a specific locality for this people from the father of history (Melp. 13-33). According to Pomp. Mela, the Montes Hyperborei were beyond the Montes Riphæi. Virgil places them in the neighbourhood of Scythia (Geo. i. 240), and Scythia extended from east to west along the continent of Europe and Asia (Ma. t. vi. 58; Lucan. ii. 580; Her. Melp. 8; Silius Italic. xiii. 20; Hor. ii. 10). Herodotus says, as there are Hyperborei, so there may be Hypernotii (Melp. 36); thus intimating that the name is placed generally for the people inhabiting the northern boundary of the earth; and as Pliny calls them, "gens fabulosis celebrata miraculis," we cannot expect their position to be very clearly established. The *ουοφαγια* has certainly never been included among the supposed sacrifices at Stonehenge, nor does it seem absolutely necessary to identify it with that temple. If it did not intimate some theological mythos, it may have prevailed in some other region; for it is not absolutely necessary to suppose that there was one temple only for so wide-spread a people. I cannot follow Mr. Herbert through all his authorities on this point, but can recognise an acquaintance in the κλειτας οων εκατομβας of Pindar's tenth Pythian; at the same time I bear in mind that the poet pro-

Moreover, in this author's account of the descent of Apollo once in *nineteen* years, in this island, we find a direct allusion to the cycle itself. Its adoption, then, by the Druids may be admitted; but we may surely inquire

fessedly treads the region of romance, and defies its discovery by the mariner :

ναυσι δ' οὐτε πέρος ἰων
εἴποις ἀν' ἐς Ἴκπερσῶν ἀγῶ-
να θαυμαστον ὄδον.

Dismissing, then, the locality of the Hyperboreans, except as a northern nation, the question at issue remains—whether any *other circular* temple existed in very ancient times in an island opposite the *Celtic* shore. Few certainly will deny that, from the time of Herodotus downwards, the Celtæ were held to be the inhabitants of the *western parts* of Europe; and although, no doubt, the Cimmericians (Herod. Melp. 11) and Gauls, who were of the same race (Plut. in Camil.), extended their colonies to the north, and may thus have also extended the name of Celtica to those regions; yet, in order to ascertain the spot to which the author in question applies the name, we must bear in mind the circumstances also which he connects with it. I do not collect from the notices of Aristotle (Meteor. l. i. c. 12), Livy (l. v. c. 34), or Diodorus Siculus (v. 32), that they considered the Celtæ, properly so called, to have extended beyond a higher latitude than modern France; and as the latter expressly states that the climate of Britain is so far cold as lying *under the Northern Bear* (l. v. c. 21), we should not resort to Nova Zembla, or with Rudbeck to the Baltic, for the Hyperborean island. In fact, we have the direct statement of Strabo (l. ii.) of the ignorance of the ancients of any *inhabited* island in such latitudes. "The farthest place of navigation," says he, "in our time from Gaul towards the north is said to be Ireland, which, being situated beyond Britannia, is, on account of the cold, with difficulty inhabited, so that all beyond is considered uninhabitable." In the time of Cæsar the Celtic division of Gaul extended northward only to the Seine; and as this division is founded on a difference of language, laws, and customs (l. i. c. 1), it must have originated some centuries before. This locality undoubtedly points towards Britain. Besides, the island itself is described as fertile and the climate temperate (*εὐκρασία διαφερόσων*); and if an objection is made to our island as little "likely to bear two harvests in a year," it would, *a fortiori*, place an estoppel on the regions of ice and snow. Allowing for a florid description, the locality must have been such

as to ensure abundance to the inhabitants. But admitting the assumption that 'Celtica' may be rendered 'Gaul,' it is objected that still we should not be guided to Britain, for the latter word would then apply to the Cisalpine and Helvetian Gauls, and then we should look to Scandinavia, which was once considered an island. But I submit in answer, that *this* island is described as lying opposite or over against Celtica, *εν τοις ἀπτιπεραν της Κελτικης τοποις κατα τον ωκεανον*, and, as I think, *contiguous* to it, and therefore it scarcely could represent a spot divided from Cisalpine or Helvetian Gaul by the continent intervening between the Adriatic and Baltic Seas. That the Celtæ in very ancient times occupied the more eastern parts of Europe, and those also of Asia, there can be no doubt, for from thence they migrated to the west; but no probable locality for the *island* in question has, it seems, been suggested in an eastern quarter.

From these considerations it appears to me, that whatever amount of credit may be given to the relation of Hecatæus, the *locality* of Britain is not a serious impediment to the opinion that it is described by him. In that case, if no other 'round temple' of equal celebrity and antiquity is found in a similar situation, it is really so absurd to suppose that Stonehenge itself, in the island which was the chief seat and seminary of the Celtic priesthood, may be admitted as one proof among others of the identity assumed? Some antiquaries have rather ascribed the description of Hecatæus to Abury, and they may possibly claim the winged temple mentioned by Mr. Herbert as a confirmation of their opinion. But our author derides the notion that the Britons, like the Hyperboreans, had any direct communication with the Greeks. Undoubtedly the proposition that such an intercourse existed, taken by itself, may startle a calm inquirer; but I may observe in its favour: 1. That if there was some sort of religious communion between them and any northern and barbarian people, no islanders but the Britons possessed a regular priesthood. 2. If Pythagoras or his followers, as Mr. Herbert suggests, imparted their knowledge to our Druids, and if Abaris the Hyperborean, as is asserted, was a contemporary with that philosopher, such an intercourse would not only be natural but even probable. 3. The question of the country of Abaris is not so settled as to render it impossible that

how nineteen computed years,—which Mr. Duke asserts, and perhaps rightly, were represented by this group of nineteen stones,—could see the relative phenomena of the sun and moon, particularly those of eclipses, recommence in the same order, unless these annual revolutions of the sun were somewhat accurately ascertained, which they certainly would not have been in a year of three hundred and sixty days, or twelve lunar months only. Neither would the important addition of the five intercalary days completely effect this purpose. These observations have led me to the consideration that the Druids must have employed (perhaps secretly) a still more accurate computation

he might have been, as some believe, a philosopher from the Druidic British schools, where, according to some copies of Cæsar (l. vi. 13), Greek letters were used, and hence the gifts of the Greek visitors to the Hyperboreans, which were inscribed with Grecian letters (Diod. Sic. ii. 47), may with some probability be supposed to have been made to them. 4. The presents sent by the Hyperboreans, the countrymen of Abaris, were clearly from the *west*, for they were conveyed through various nations to the Adriatic, and thence to Dodona and Delos (Herod. Melp. 33). 5. There are indications of the solar worship, whose Celtic priests were educated in Britain, having been known by the ancients to have flourished in the west, if we may be allowed to include that part of Europe in the Hyperborean region (Cic. de Nat. Deo. l. iii.); and Claudian assumes that it was cultivated among those nations when it ceased at Delphos. However that may have been, the Pythagorean doctrine (*δ Πυθαγορευ λoγoς*) of the metempsychosis, which prevailed among the Gauls (and Britons) (Diod. Sic. v. 28) is a strong proof among those who deny its eastern source of a “direct intercourse” with the Greeks. 6. Whatever may have been the amount of religious communication between the Greeks and the Britons, it is plain that from the earliest ages the supply of *tin* from our island must have opened an acquaintance with it. If Pytheas of Marseilles be allowed to have visited Britain, the Athenians, who were an early maritime people, may surely have been so indirectly connected with it as to have produced an occasional interchange of visits from travelling or maritime adventurers, and of presents to public places of devotion. Further, the intercourse of the Carthaginians (who inherited the geographical knowledge of the Phœnicians) with the Greeks was sufficiently intimate to

spread a knowledge of Britain among them. I will not press the Orphic *αργοναυτικα* into the service of this proposition, as the antiquity of this authority may be a question; but I may observe, that in the account of the return of the Argonauts inserted in the 4th book of Diodorus Siculus, cc. 56, 57, the transfer of the worship of the Dioscuri to the Celts inhabiting the western ocean is a fact not unworthy of remark; nor must we forget that the incidental notices of Pliny, iv. 30, Polybius, l. iii., and Tacitus de vit. Agric., prove the fact that Britain was described by several ancient writers whose works are now lost. At a later period the knowledge of and intercourse with this distant spot may probably have diminished. But Mr. Herbert observes with truth, it could not have declined so greatly that the island of Britain should be identified by the Greeks with that of Elixæa at the mouth of the river Cerambicus, and therefore the former could not be identified with the island described by Hecatæus; but because *some writers* suppose that the *Hyperboreans* were located in Elixæa, we need not reject his more *minute* statement, that the island *he* mentions was situated off the *Celtic* shore. If Herodotus, in adverting to the Cassiterides (Thal. 115) does not mention the name of Britain as connected with them, a similar omission of name in such a writer as Hecatæus cannot have much weight as an objection.

But instead of extending this note by further observations, it rather becomes me to offer an apology for the length to which it has been already carried; and I therefore take leave of the combatants for these opposite theories in the well-known words of the hesitating shepherd:

“Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites:

Et vitula tu dignus et hic.
. Sat prata biberunt.”

of the solar year. In fact, there can be no doubt that they did so, if they desired to verify their own predictions. And we must bear in mind that upon this accuracy their pretensions and power as inspired soothsayers depended. The excess of the tropical year over three hundred and sixty-five days was known to the astronomers of Asia at a very early period; and although we have seen that the Egyptians generally made the year to consist of three hundred and sixty-five days, yet there were classes among them familiar with a still more accurate measurement. For Diodorus Siculus relates that the Thebæi of Egypt, the first among whom philosophy and the more exact astrology were invented, measuring the days not by the motion of the moon but of the sun, apportion thirty days to each of the months; and after each twelfth month they intercalate five days and a *quarter*, and in this manner they complete the annual circle.* This regulation, indeed, gave rise to the famous Sothic period, or “magnus annus” of fourteen hundred and sixty years; the space of time in which a quarter of a day in each year would amount to a year itself. Whether Stonehenge,—which Mr. Duke has shewn to indicate the days of the month, and which, I believe, I have proved represents also the intercalary days,—may, further, point out that fraction of a day necessary to complete the solar year, is a subject worthy of inquiry. It appeared to me, that such a result might be reasonably inferred by these previous statements, and the objects which support them, if other details of the structure were examined. In considering the possibility of this discovery, I was struck with the fact, that if there were here found to be specific representations of the *six hours*, the nineteen stones before mentioned in connexion with the Metonic cycle would indicate the nineteen minutes, which (allowing a fractional difference of three seconds only†) would com-

* Τριακοσθημερους μὲν τιθεμενοι τοὺς μῆνας, πεντε ὄ ἡμέρας καὶ τέταρτον τοὺς δωδεκά μηνιν επαγουσι, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐφ᾽ τροπῆ του ενιαυτου κυκλον αναπληρουσι L. i. c. 50. ed. Wesseling, v. i. p. 59.

† The *larger* proportion of time would, of course, be assumed for the last figure in the number to be represented, unless the fractional part were represented also. Thus,

in the representation of the moon's age in the outer circle, we do not see twenty-nine stones, but thirty, because the time of a mean lunation is not twenty-nine days and eleven hours, or even twelve hours, but twelve hours *forty-four minutes* two seconds and a fraction; and therefore the excess over twenty-nine days being *more* than half a day, the period of time would be less accurately expressed by that number than

plete the ancient computation of the solar year, and that actually adopted by Meton himself.

I proceed to mention my further inquiry into this subject in considering another part of this temple, and the result which I have deduced therefrom, leaving its value to be estimated by the judgment of the antiquary, and entirely disclaiming the absurd presumption of presenting it as an inevitable conclusion. The existence of two smaller trilithons (before noticed), one on each side of the entrance, though not delineated in the plan of every writer on Stonehenge, is admitted in those of Waltire and Dr. Smith; and from a recent communication of Mr. Duke, I have no longer any doubt of the fact. Both my friend himself and Mr. Browne of Amesbury point out the transverse stone, with its mortice, of one of them now lying in that part of the edifice. This stone could never (as they truly observe) have formed a portion of the outer range of trilithons, on account of its comparatively diminutive size, being about half the length of the beam of the great trilithon; and, for the same reason, it cannot be assimilated and associated with that grand group of five within the circle. Now, as the *enumeration* of the stones composing the different groups of this pile has led me, in following Mr. Duke, to inquire into their signification, and as we have, by following this plan, advanced with certainty, as I humbly conceive, in our course, with reference to our interpretation of them, the *number* and *comparative* size of the stones in these two smaller trilithons may reasonably be a subject of speculation. I observe that they are six, of a proportion between those of the larger trilithons and those stones immediately around the altar; but the former we have referred to days, the latter to minutes. Assuming, then, the same reference and representation of *time* to these, they should express periods less than the one and greater than the other; these, then, would be *hours*, the intermediate divisions of time; and if this inference be correct, we thus *complete the scheme of the stone almanac*, and point out in characteristic groups of corresponding numbers the three hundred and sixty-five days, six hours, and nineteen minutes, which compose the Metonic year. The priest, then, standing on

by thirty. In the case mentioned in the text, there being a difference of three seconds only, the same principle would, *a fortiori*, be adopted.

“the stone of astronomical observation”* (now called the altar), so placed as to enable him to catch the first beams of the morning sun, on the longest day, on the gnomon without the temple, would hence point out the *true* calendar to the *initiated* by means of the surrounding objects, which represented the *exact period* of the earth’s revolution round the sun. But this stone had, besides, its own peculiar signification. It is true that the solstices were occasions of feasts among the Druids ; but, like other ancient nations, they had sacred days regulated by the moon. The time between two new moons would not be much above twenty-nine days and a half, and twelve lunations would then fall far short of the solar year ; neither would the intercalations to which I have referred effect an exact adaptation of the lunar revolutions to this precise period. Confusion, therefore, would occur between the *times* appropriated to *these different feasts*, and the lunar year would require regulation ; hence the establishment of the Metonic cycle,—and the flat stone within the circle of nineteen stones would point out the “magnus annus” wherein the accumulated excess of seven lunations, during that cycle, would be included, when one complete revolution of the moon’s nodi would be accomplished, and a new period would commence :

“Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo.”

The different centres observed by Mr. Duke in the circle of thirty or forty stones, and in that of the trilithons, prove the truth of his assertion that they had a *distinct origin* and design. But I venture to differ from him in his proposition that the former was the Temple of the Sun, as I believe it to have been the original Temple of Saturn, and coeval with those of the Sun and Moon at Abury, erected in the same primeval style, in the same meridional line, and forming a part of that immense Druidical orrery which Mr. Duke has elsewhere elucidated, of which, in fact, it was the termination. When Mr. Duke describes the outer circle as dedicated *also to this planet*, he calls it “the more modern and enlarged temple ;” and consequently he admits that it could form no part of the original series. He has shewn us, as Dr. Smith had pre-

* Duke’s Druidical Temples of Wilts, p. 162.

viously done, the specific purpose of that magnificent portion of the pile, and I cannot, therefore, admit an *inferior* destination. It is stated,* that its thirty stones bear reference to the thirty years, in which time this planet revolves round the sun; but if this argument has weight, Dr. Smith ascribes the same number to *the inner circle also*. The numerical question, however, as to this latter circle is scarcely determinable, as the distance between these stones is acknowledged to be very unequal. The erection of the trilithons was, in my apprehension, a subsequent design, as seems proved by the use of tools on the materials, which whilst it *included* the primal structure of the Temple of Saturn, was itself dedicated to the worship of the Sun and Moon,† possibly appropriated to its own locality, and particularly to the celebration of those rites and festivals which are known to have taken place at the summer solstice. Having thus commenced with the main theory of Mr. Duke, I have endeavoured, in pursuing it, to shew that Stonehenge, like Abury, is susceptible of an entire astronomical explanation; and that it displays in its different groups not only the rudiments of a lunar calendar, but, according to the Oriental and Metonic system, an accurate measurement of the solar year.

It would be presumption in me to prolong this paper, by entering minutely on the subject of the *antiquity* of Stonehenge (involving that of Abury and other similar monuments in this county); but I venture to submit, that if its astronomical import be established, we may more readily refer its erection to those periods when astronomy was cultivated by a learned priesthood among a rude people, as the key to its influence and power. Such, however, is not the opinion of a distinguished author, who contends, with no inconsiderable learning and acuteness, that Stonehenge and Abury were erected between the times when the Romans abandoned this island and that of the Saxon invasion, and that they were the monuments of a system of Neo-Druidism, recalled from Ireland, which (like the Apollinarian heresy in Gaul), involving Christianity in a Mithraic and mythological system, was tolerated by the

* Druidical Temples of Wilts.

† This *double* dedication was common also among the Romans; and the metropolitan cathedral of St. Paul's was held by

Camden to be raised on the site of a temple sacred to Apollo and Diana, who also personified the same celestial objects as those to which Stonehenge was consecrated.

clergy, and accepted by the people.* But the intestine commotions, the opposing authorities, and the invasion of foreign enemies, which then agitated Britain, were surely unfavourable to complete such a change as would transfer the orisons of the multitude from the church to the cromlech. We learn from Gibbon, whose history, founded on the most extensive research, perhaps affords, in a general picture, the truest information of these times, that "this independent country, during a period of forty years, till the descent of the Saxons, was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns." Under the protection of the Romans, ninety-two considerable towns had arisen, and among these thirty-three cities, each of whom was governed according to the original model of the Roman constitution — "the hereditary lords of ample possessions, when not opposed by the neighbourhood of a powerful city, aspired to the rank of independent princes," — "their situation and their hopes would dispose them to affect the dress, the language, and the customs of their ancestors;" but "if the *princes* of Britain relapsed into barbarism, whilst the *cities* studiously preserved the laws and manners of Rome, the whole island must have been *gradually divided* by the distinction of *two national parties*, again broken into a thousand divisions of war and faction by the various provocations of interest and resentment." In addition to these sources of national discord, the inroads of the barbarians, though at times repressed, were constantly recurring, the youth and manhood of the country was frequently engaged in foreign service; divisions of the Roman army, themselves Christians, from time to time were located in the country; the population was of mixed origin, a considerable proportion being of Roman descent; and the general consent required to devise and execute such structures as Stonehenge and Abury, can scarcely be assumed. Gildas indeed relates that, "during the *forbearance* of former ravages, the kingdom enjoyed excess of plenty beyond any preceding time," when vice prevailed and religion was greatly debased; but, allowing for his exaggerated style, we may infer that his remarks apply

* The able work in which this doctrine is laid down is entitled *Cyclops Christianus*, by A. Herbert, late of Merton College, and of the Inner Temple. It is also

the groundwork of his two previous publications, *Britannia after the Romans*, and *An Essay on the Neo-Druidic Heresy*.

rather to the heresies which then occurred than to a *national* apostacy; and assuming the latter case, would he have overlooked the head and front of such offence, the pagan sacrifices at Stonehenge,* still more the erection of that heathen temple itself?

At this time the British Church had been established for about a century: it comprehended thirty or forty bishops, and an adequate proportion of inferior clergy; the former were united with the magistrates in their synods and councils, in which their attention was directed to the eradication of false doctrine;† but, in that case, they would not be enlisted in the cause of a modified Druidism. In 425, the heresiarch Pelagius was in Britain, and St. Germanus twice visited it to counteract his doctrine. It is possible, as Mr. Herbert asserts, that these persons, with others, “were playing a game;” but he states that “nothing is more certain than that *formal* Druidism did not revive in the Christian Britannia of the declining empire, and that it continued to die away throughout these islands;”‡ though he asserts that, by the time of the Saxon invasion, “the peculiar heathenism of Britannia, founded upon abolished Druidism, had made such progress as to leave merely a cloak of Christianity over its revolting excesses.”§ If, then, the *formality* of *Druidism* is denied on the one hand, and the *cloak* of *Christianity* is admitted on the other, I confess I should infer that no such erections as Stonehenge could then have been planned or effected. And if new edifices were raised for a united system of two religions, they would, as in other cases, bear the marks of that union upon them; but I know no writer who has attempted to point out a Christian symbol on these stones, or in the arrangement of them, although so slight a “cloak” might on this supposition be expected to appear. We may admit with this ingenious and erudite author, that a secret doctrine of Druidical import was inculcated; that a reverence for the ancient circles, the cherished monuments of national independence, was encouraged: but would victims be sacri-

* The heads of oxen and the heads and horns of deer, with the bones of other animals, charred wood, and an incense-cup, were found within the area of Stonehenge by Stukeley and Sir Richard Hoare,—*An-*

cient Wills. At Abury large quantities of bucks' horns, bones, and wood-ashes have been also discovered.

† Gibbon, c. 31. ‡ Cycl. Chr. p. 99.

§ Britannia after the Romans, p. 43.

ficed at these shrines? Would Amesbury, as he contends, have been chosen as the seat of government, in a locality so unfit for the purpose, if not distinguished from all antiquity by Stonehenge? And why should that spot be selected at this period for its erection, at so short a distance from a *principal Roman city*,* where many of the population may have been *heretical*, but all surely not *pagan*? As another proof of the more recent erection of Stonehenge, its design is declared to have been borrowed from temples erected by the Teutonic nations of the continent, in other words, by the Saxons or their kindred; but we may be allowed to doubt whether the choleric and harassed Britons would seek their prototypes from an enemy's country. Objections of this kind might be extended, but I submit, in a word, that the unanimity of authority, power, and will, required for raising such cyclopean structures was wanting to the period in question.† If I may be allowed to express an opinion on the subject of the works to which I have referred, I would say, that the real apostacy of the Britons (independently of their vices and heresies,) might seem to have been consummated in, and confined to, the regions of Wales, matured no doubt by the imagination of the bards, the immigration of the Celtic Irish, and hatred towards their Saxon neighbours. There, defended by their mountains, "the independent Britons (in the words of Gibbon) relapsed into the state of original barbarism from whence they had been imperfectly reclaimed." Their bards, alike inflamed by religious zeal, their enmity to the clergy, and poetic enthusiasm, would dwell with rapture and regret on those antique and consecrated fanes now possessed by a hostile race, and to those hallowed precincts they would refer their mystic doctrines and allusions; and would make them the scene of national or supposititious events. Had these edifices been of such

* *Sorbiodunum* was one of the ten cities admitted to the privileges of the *jus Latii*, at least, on the authority of Richard of Cirencester; at any rate, its importance as a station on the Roman roads and as a fortress is sufficiently obvious.

† Although Britain, according to the expression of Jerome, was the "fertilis provincia tyrannorum," yet Gibbon remarks (and Mr. Herbert may have established the fact) that "there is reason to

believe that in *moments of extreme danger* a Pendragon or Dictator was elected by the general consent of the Britons." But if there was then a union of power, it was required and exercised for other purposes than the erection of national temples. Whoever inspects Stonehenge, and reads the account of the destruction of *Abury*, must be struck with the amount of force required from a half-civilised people to bring such a mass of materials together.

recent date and doubtful sanctity, erected by Christian hands, and desecrated by their rites, they would surely have given place to purer spots and recollections. The bitter revilers of *Christianity* could feel little reverence for the "cyclopean *Christian*" temple of Stonehenge. In the west of England, more immediately adjacent to this temple, the offices and practices of the Catholic church do not appear to have been shaken, although its restraints may occasionally have been cast aside. Our neighbours, the Damnonii, at all events, continued to be Christians; for Gildas relates of Constantine, their prince, that though he bound himself by *an oath to God and the saints*, that he would do the duty of a good prince, yet slew two children of the blood-royal, and their tutors, in *two churches* under the *amphibalus* which the *abbot* wore; and of Cuneglasus, that whilst he was a despiser of God, he was an oppressor of the clergy; and also that Maglocunus, another reprobate, finished his career by professing himself a monk.

The Druidical religion, whencesoever derived, whether from Oriental sages, Phœnician mariners, or Pythagorean philosophers, seems to have obtained supreme power over an ignorant people by the influence of knowledge, and particularly by the exercise of astronomical science. It had no counteracting creed to arrest its progress, no external enemies to dread; and thus, resistless and unopposed, it prompted a barbarous nation, by the influence of superstition, to raise these mighty piles of rude magnificence, which, whilst they were the pride of assembled nations, were still the ensigns of its supremacy, and so contrived as to display and hand down to its ministers the secrets of its power.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE MATCHAM.

*Newhouse, near Downton,
May 6, 1850.*

PAINTED GLASS AT SALISBURY.

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL, like many of our ecclesiastical edifices, affords a far better opportunity of studying ancient painted glass in detail, and learning the conventionalities of design, which are too often supposed to be the sole test of style, than of contemplating it in mass, and accustoming the eye to those other indications of date which are to be found in its colour and general appearance. The inquirer who proceeds to Salisbury must therefore be content for the most part with an examination of little else than fragments, and to consume much time in the laborious process of unravelling patch-work made up of glass of different designs and different dates.

The most woful destruction of the painted glass appears to have taken place during Mr. Wyatt's "restoration" of the cathedral; when, in the words of my informant, "whole cartloads of glass, lead, and other rubbish, were removed from the nave and transepts, and shot into the town-ditch, then in course of being filled up; whilst a good deal of similar rubbish was used to level the ground near the chapter-house."* The surviving fragments,† it

* The latter part of this statement was confirmed by Mr. William Ranger, glazier to the cathedral, in the employ of Mr. Fisher, the clerk of the works,—who informed me that he possessed the head of a figure which some years ago he saw dug up near the chapter-house, along with other fragments of painted glass, by some workmen employed in making holes for some scaffold-poles. Mr. Ranger, who, since 1819, has been employed in repairing the cathedral windows, assisted in placing the greater part of the painted glass in its present situation. The information I have obtained from him has therefore been particularly valuable, since it has enabled me to state positively that such and such glass was brought from the chapter-house, or from elsewhere. I may add, that in every instance I found his information was cor-

roborated by the character of the glass. I take this opportunity of acknowledging also the kind assistance I have derived from Mr. Fisher, and Mr. Osmond, a gentleman in Mr. Fisher's office, in the course of my investigations.

† At the time of the great destruction of the Salisbury glass, some fragments were preserved by being transferred to the windows of Grateley Church, Hants. I am under a deep obligation to the Rev. C. Dodson and W. Gale, Esq., the incumbent and churchwarden of Grateley, for having, during the recent repairs of their church, forwarded these remains for my inspection. They consist principally of a few varieties of ornamental borders; some ornamental scroll-work, similar in character to that of the "Jesse" in the west window of Salisbury Cathedral; a small

seems, were suffered to retain their original position in the building until about thirty years ago, when the majority were collected together as they now appear,—an act which, however praiseworthy in itself, as tending perhaps to preserve the glass from utter destruction, has greatly increased the difficulty of analysing the fragments, and describing them intelligibly.

With a view to render this paper as illustrative as possible of the different styles of painted glass, I propose to notice first the oldest remains in Salisbury, viz. the original glass of the cathedral and chapter-house; and then, successively, the Decorated remains in St. Thomas's Church, Salisbury, and the Perpendicular glass in the hall of John Halle; concluding with some remarks on the later and modern glass in the cathedral.

The original glass of the cathedral and chapter-house—by which I mean that which is coeval with these buildings—is valuable as belonging to different periods of the early English style; the oldest specimen being perhaps as early as 1240, and the most recent not earlier than perhaps 1270 or 1280. Part of this glass belonged to the cathedral and part to the chapter-house. It is now all mixed together in the cathedral windows; but I have succeeded in distinguishing the different portions, and hope that I

fragment of a medallion, representing the Annunciation (of this, only a portion of the angel remains, with a scroll on his head, inscribed GABRIEL, in Lombardic characters); and a very fine circular medallion, set in a square of ornamental work, representing the martyrdom of St. Stephen. The saint, habited as a deacon, is in the act of falling, with his hands in an attitude of prayer, dead to the ground. A man immediately behind appears to communicate, with an air of savage exultation, the fatal event to another miscreant, who is approaching (as I think is indicated by the fragments that remain of this figure) with his mantle filled with stones, and seems disappointed at being too late. Both men have decidedly Jewish physiognomies. The group is delineated with great spirit. Below is the following inscription, in Lombardic characters,

STEPHANVS ORANS EXPIBAT.

The saint's head is painted on a piece of light ruby glass. This mode of indicating the effect of wounds is not unusual. There

is an instance of it in a medallion of the thirteenth century, at West Horsley Church, Surrey, representing the angel rescuing St. Catherine from the punishment of the wheel. The heads of two of the executioners, who seem to have been struck down by the angel, are painted on red glass. The head of St. Stephen in a window of Se-fonds Church, dated 1524, appears from the description, and an uncoloured engraving of it given in M. Arnaud's *Voyage archéologique et pittoresque dans le Département de l'Aube et dans l'ancien Diocèse de Troyes*, to be painted on a piece of white glass streaked with ruby. The description is as follows: "Celui de ces vitraux que nous avons fait dessiner représente le martyr de Saint Etienne. On voit ce saint vêtu en diacre, la tête inondée du sang, qui jaillit de ses blessures" (p. 228).

All these fragments at Grateley are of the same date as the Jesse in the west window of Salisbury Cathedral; from which it may be inferred that they belonged to the cathedral, not to the chapter-house.

may be equally successful in enabling others to distinguish them.

Of these ancient remains only two specimens retain their original situation, viz. a part of the glazing of the second and fourth transept, counting from the north of the great north transept. The rest are collected in the west triplet of the nave; in the west window of each aisle of the nave; in the east window of each aisle of the choir; in the lower south triplet of the small south transept; and in the two centre lights of the upper tier of the south windows of the great south transept. A few other fragments are preserved in the glazier's room attached to the cathedral. The subjects consist chiefly of ornamental patterns; but these are the remains of a "Stem of Jesse," as well as some medallion pictures, borders, and shields of arms.

The remains of the Stem of Jesse are contained in the lower part and sides of the central light of the northern triplet of the nave.* They were removed from a window of the great north transept, in which they had been inserted in the course of repairs. Another portion, no longer existing, is represented in the 79th plate of Carter's *Ancient Architecture*, fig. Q, and is there called "ancient glazing in the nave;" from which I infer that it was in one of the aisle windows of the nave, which, not improbably, was the original situation of the Jesse. The Jesse appears, from the existing fragments and from the plate in Carter, to have been designed according to the usual type of the period; and to have consisted of a vine, whose ramifications formed a central series of ovals containing representations of our Lord and His principal ancestors, and supported on offshoots from the ovals, the figures of prophets, patriarchs, and other attendants.

Two only of the ovals remain. They are on each side of the large cinque-cento picture of a bishop enthroned, which is so conspicuous an object in the lower half of the central light, and nearly in a line with the head of this

* The window, previously to the present glass being placed in it, was filled with a bad ornamental pattern, the gift of the Rev. Benson Earle. Of this, the general outline is preserved in the 5th plate of Britton's *Hist. of Salisbury Cathedral*,

and in a view of the west end of the cathedral, in Dodsworth's *History of Salisbury*. Some small pieces of the glass are worked into the west triplet and other windows of the cathedral.

figure. In the southern oval is represented our Saviour* enthroned, holding a book in one hand, the other being raised in benediction. The head is that of a middle-aged person; it possesses much of the Byzantine character, and is surrounded with a cruciferous aureole. The *stigmata* are not shewn in the hands and feet.

In the northern oval is represented a female seated, and in an attitude of adoration. I presume the figure is intended for the Blessed Virgin.

The most perfect remains of that part of the composition which constitutes the space outside the ovals is, on the south side of the central light, near the bottom. It consists of foliated scrolls, which support an unrimbed full-length figure holding a blank label—the usual personification of a prophet—and an angel. Between these figures is a small bust, which issues from the termination of one of the foliated scrolls, and may be supposed to represent a prophet or patriarch. Similar fragments of foliated scroll-work and figures may be seen higher up, on the south side of the light; and higher still, in a line with the large circle almost at the top of the light, are two demi-attendant figures which, from their size and attitude, I conclude originally flanked the highest oval of the Jesse. A good deal of the border originally belonging to the light that contained the Jesse is used as a border to the central light of the triplet. A portion of this border is given in the first plate that accompanies this paper: see fig. 2.†

The whole Jesse is on a ruby ground, the colour of

* I presume that this is correct. In the "Jesse" in the east window of Westwell Church, Kent, the topmost object is the Holy Dove; the second, a similar representation to that in the text, of one of the Persons of the Holy Trinity, and which likewise is without the stigmata. The third subject is the Virgin Mary, unaccompanied by the Divine Infant. A distinction is perhaps taken between the representation of our Saviour as Judge of the world,—when He is, I believe, invariably represented with the stigmata, in allusion perhaps to Zech. xii. 10, Rev. i. 7,—and when He is represented either as sitting in His kingdom, or else in His human capacity. An instance of our Saviour sitting on a throne, without the stigmata, is given in No. 24 of the *Archæological Journal*, p. 412. Other examples may be seen in the

plates to the paper on St. Ethelwold's Benedictional, in the 24th vol. of the *Archæologia*, &c. The centre figure of our Saviour in the north rose of Lincoln Cathedral is unfortunately so mutilated that it is impossible to say whether or not it had the stigmata. Had the figure been perfect, it would have thrown light on the subject. See an account of this window in the Lincoln volume of the proceedings of the Archæological Institute.

† I could have wished that the illustrations which accompany this paper had been less rough in their execution; but as they are a first attempt with the "anastatic process"—an invention of great utility where cheapness of illustration is an object—I trust they will be regarded with indulgence. The drawings of the glass in this plate are made to a scale of $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch to a foot.

which is extremely rich and intense; the main stem is white, and formed of short lengths of foliage, each terminating in a trefoil or cinquefoil, according to the ordinary convention of the 13th century. The offshoots are of the same character as the parent stem; but some of the leaves at the termination of the scrolls are of different colours. Small bunches of grapes are occasionally introduced. The attendant figures are tall and slim; the heads have a certain classical character, and bear considerable resemblance to the specimen given in the *Hints on Glass Painting*, plate 34, fig. 2; which is copied from a contemporary Jesse in Westwell Church, Kent.

All the draperies are full of small folds, expressed by outlines so strong and black as almost to render the use of broader and softer shadows unnecessary. The colouring of every part of the design is rich, deep, and vivid. The blue, which is of the peculiar grey though rich hue common at this period,* and the flesh-colour, are of strong tint. The white glass is of a greenish blue hue; it is but little affected by the atmosphere, and, on the whole, is not quite so deep as the rather later white glass taken from the chapter-house, and which is now in the west triplet. The date of the Jesse is certainly in the first half of the 13th century; it may be placed as early as 1240.

Of the medallion pictures to which I have alluded, two appear, from many particulars, to be coeval with the Jesse. They are inserted beneath the two ovals, in a line nearly with the feet of the cinque-cento bishop. The south medallion represents the angel appearing to Zacharias in the Temple; the north, the Adoration of the Magi. These medallions were brought from the same window as the remains of the Jesse. Two other medallions of the thirteenth century are inserted in the west

* I am persuaded that the peculiar tint of the early English blue pot-metal glass, noticed in the text, principally arises from the green hue of the white glass that forms its base. It will be found that some kinds of modern blue glass may be given the precise tint of the old, by placing a piece of early English white glass behind them. The nearest approach to the colour—certainly not to the depth of effect—of early English blue glass that I have hitherto met with, is in the window which the late M. G erente first put up in Ely Cathedral.

In his second window he is not more successful than his English contemporaries; the same remark equally applies to all his brother's works that I have seen. I fear that our glass-works are on too extended a scale to render it worth their proprietors' while to make glass fit for glass-painting purposes, and that no advance in this respect is to be expected till the smaller men take the matter up. An inquiry into the nature of the colouring material of ancient blue glass has long engaged my attention; but my researches are still incomplete.

triplet; but they seem to be French, and possibly were brought from Normandy with some of the later pictures now used to fill up the lights. One is the small circular panel, containing two figures, that is placed in the centre-light, a little above the oval in which is represented the Blessed Virgin. It appears to be of the last half of the thirteenth century. The other is a circle of larger size inserted near the top of the northern light of the triplet. There is nothing in any of these medallions that calls for particular notice. The figures are according to the style of the period, and the groups are, as usual, plain and distinct, owing to their simple composition and the manner in which the individual figures are cut out and insulated by the surrounding coloured ground of the panel. Modern glass painters in their imitations of early English medallions are too apt to neglect the simplicity of the ancient arrangement, and to make their own groups confused and indistinct. It must, however, be admitted that there are "authorities" in their favour, as in the case of medallions representing the Ascension or the Day of Pentecost, in which the complication of the group and want of relief through the absence of broad shadows cause indistinctness, and create a doubt whether the ancient medallions in which distinctness is observable were designed with a view to that quality, or merely in accordance with the prevailing taste for simple compositions, which is equally exemplified in illuminations and drawings intended for the closest inspection.

The rest of the medallion pictures are of somewhat later date than the Jesse. They were all removed from the windows of the chapter-house, and are placed in the west triplet of the nave and in the west windows of the nave aisles. From their style of execution I conclude that they are not earlier than 1270. The principal subject is a large circle almost at the top of the centre-light of the west triplet, which contains two figures, a bishop and a king (Ed. Confessor?), under an archway. The panel was removed from the middle of the large octofoil of one of the windows of the chapter-house. On comparing this circle with the Jesse and the two contemporary medallions, some remarkable differences in the drawing of the figures and texture of the glass will appear. In particular, I may

mention the character of the eyes and eyebrows of the figures. Their heads somewhat resemble the example given in the *Hints on Glass Painting*, plate 37. fig. 1. The flesh-colour is much lighter than that used in the Jesse, as is also the blue ground of the panel, though this has a rich appearance.

The next remains in point of importance are two large elongated quatrefoil panels, each containing an ecclesiastical figure under an archway, which are inserted in each side of the centre light of the triplet, immediately below a cinque-cento representation of the Crucifixion, which forms (reckoning from the top) the third principal object in the centre of the window. These quatrefoils were removed from the largest spandrils of some of the windows of the chapter-house. In drawing, execution, and general character, they entirely resemble the 'large circle which has just been described. Another quatrefoil, like the last, but containing the figure of a regal person, lies in the glazier's room attached to the cathedral. It was likewise removed from the spandril of one of the chapter-house windows.

The remaining medallions are ten small circles, four of which are inserted in the upper part of the lower lights of the west windows of the aisles of the nave; the rest are placed in the centre-light of the west triplet. These circles were all removed from the centres of the quatrefoil of some of the chapter-house windows. Each circle contains a demi-figure of an angel issuing from a cloud; and it would seem that these angels originally formed part of some subject from the Revelations, or perhaps the Last Judgment. Some of the angels point upwards with the hand, and use encouraging gestures; others carry a book in one hand. One bears a long napkin (an emblem of our Lord's Passion); another holds a palm-branch and crown; a third a book in one hand and a crescent in the other. In character and execution they exactly resemble the other subjects taken from the chapter-house.

Six shields of arms in a perfect condition, and a seventh, of which but little, if any, of the original glass exists, are placed at the bottom of the lights of the west triplet. The panels in which they are inserted are made up of fragments, and the crowns above the shields are mostly of Per-

pendicular date. These shields were removed from the chapter-house; and it may be inferred from the plate in Carter's *Ancient Architecture* before alluded to, that they were placed—with another coat now lost, but which is represented in that plate—in pairs, side by side, in the four lower lights of the east window of the chapter-house. It is most probable that the shields were arranged in a line just beneath the spring of the heads of the lights. They have every appearance of being of the same date as the rest of the glass from the chapter-house.

The important aid to be derived from heraldry in seeking a date is well known to every antiquary; I shall therefore perhaps be excused if I enter somewhat fully into the question of the probable ownership of these arms, though I admit there is too much uncertainty as to what other shields (if any) there may have been in the chapter-house windows to warrant any confident conclusion, from this species of evidence alone, as to the precise time of the execution of the arms, and of the glass with which they were originally associated.

The existing arms are: 1. *England*; gules, three lions passant guardant, or. 2. *France*; azure, semé of fleurs-de-lis, or. 3. Paly of eight, or and gules, which I do not hesitate to assign to *Provence*; for though the arms of *Provence* may be admitted to be properly or, four pallets, gules, as they appear on the wall of the south aisle of *Westminster Abbey*, yet this very coat, Paly of eight, or and gules, occurs in a window in *York Minster*, associated with others that leave no doubt of its having been intended for *Provence*, and also in the east window of the clerestory, *Westminster Abbey*. 4. *Plantagenet Earl of Cornwall*; argent, a lion rampant, gules, crowned or, within a bordure sable besanté. 5. *Clare Earl of Gloucester*; or, three chevrons gules. And 6. *Bigod Earl of Norfolk*; or, a cross gules. There are also some pieces of glass very like *Bezants*, inserted in a modern blue bordure of the "made-up" shield before mentioned, and which consists of a sixteenth century imp, on a ground of white glass, of the same date as that belonging to the chapter-house. These *Bezants* may have formed part of a seventh original shield; and if so, in all probability it was a second coat of *Plantagenet Earl of Cornwall*, but differenced with a

label. Besides these heraldic remains, there appears in Carter's plate another coat, as before mentioned, viz. *Warren*; checky or and azure.

The arms of England may safely be assumed to be those of Henry III. or Edward I., and Provence was the paternal coat of Eleanor, the queen of Henry III., who survived him, and died in 1291. The arms of France are probably to be referred to St. Louis, who married the eldest sister of Queen Eleanor, and died in 1270, and whose shield was carved on the wall of the north aisle of Westminster Abbey, with his name, "S. Ludovicus Rex Francie," inscribed above. The coat of Plantagenet Earl of Cornwall was borne by Richard Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans, the brother of Henry III., who died in 1271. And if this coat was repeated, the second must have been that of his son Edmund, who succeeded him, and died in 1300. Clare was the coat of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who had married a niece of Henry III., viz. a daughter of his half brother, Guy Count of Angoulême, son of Queen Isabella by her second marriage, and who died in 1295. Warren was that of John Earl of Warren and Surrey, who had married a half sister of Henry III., and died in 1304. The remaining coat, or, a cross gules, was that of Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk, whose mother was one of the co-heiresses of the Marshals Earls of Pembroke, and who, after her death, became Earl Marshal of England in or about 1245, and died in 1269 or 1270; or else that of his nephew Roger, who succeeded him in the earldom and the office of marshal. Neither of these two noblemen seems to have been more nearly allied to the royal family than by a mother and sister of the mother of Roger, the uncle having respectively married a sister and mother of Henry III.

Now, judging from these several coats,—and it is by no means clear that there were ever any others in the windows of the chapter-house,—they indicate a period of a few years before and after the accession of Edward I. in 1272, as that within which it is likely this glass was executed, and particularly if there really were two coats of the Plantagenets Earls of Cornwall.

It may possibly be thought that the arms of France may have referred to Margaret, the second queen of Ed-

ward I., whom he married in 1299; but that could hardly be the case, if there were two shields with the arms of Plantagenet Earls of Cornwall, as Earl Richard died in 1271; and even if there was only one shield with those arms, the occurrence of the arms of Provence is unfavourable to that supposition.

The arms or, a cross gules, which I have attributed, and I believe correctly, to Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk, may seem to create a difficulty, in consequence of the arms of the Marshals Earls of Pembroke—per pale or and vert, a lion rampant gules—having been assumed and used on seals for some purposes by him after he became earl marshal; and in consequence of Vincent, in his *Errors of Brooke*, p. 340, having stated, in contradiction of what Brooke had said of their having been used by him for the purposes of the marshalship only, that they were used in donations, covenants, &c., and not in matters of the marshalship at all. But I would submit that this statement of Vincent is evidently too strong; for though he might have known of a seal with those arms being affixed to donations and covenants, and he might not have met with any instance of its being employed in matters relating to the marshalship, yet he could not know that it was not so used at all; nor does it follow that the earl, after he was marshal, used these arms only. In fact, these arms, or a cross gules, were carved in stone, and painted amongst the series of shields on the wall of the north aisle of Westminster Abbey, and inscribed, "Rogerus Bigod Comes Norfolcie:" and it is evident that those shields must have been executed several years after Earl Roger became earl marshal; and indeed, in all probability, but a few years before the date which I have assigned to this glass. Unfortunately the seal of Earl Roger, the nephew, affixed to the baron's letter to the Pope, in 1301, has no arms at all, but only his name and title; but it is apparent, from what is stated by Milles and Brooke, that Hugh Bigod, father of the elder Earl Roger, sealed sometimes with a lion passant, and sometimes with this cross; and therefore there is no improbability of these arms being those of Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk, though he may have sometimes sealed with the arms of marshal. I am aware that this coat was borne at a later period by the De Burghs

Earls of Ulster ; but no one of them appears to have been connected with the royal family, or to have had any important place in this country till about 1310, when John de Burgh married Elizabeth de Clare, daughter of Joan of Acre. On the whole, therefore, it must be evident that the heraldry in this glass agrees very satisfactorily with the date which I have assigned to it on other grounds.

The ornamental patterns belonging to the Cathedral and to the Chapter-house next demand our attention. The majority of these patterns are of painted glass ; but there are a few which may be called Geometrical Patterns, in which the design is expressed solely by the lead-work used in the construction of the window. The principal remains of the painted patterns, of which there are between twenty and thirty varieties, are in the west windows of the aisles of the nave, in the east windows of the aisles of the choir, in the lowest triplet of the small south transept, and in the two upper south lights of the great south transept. Some fragments are inserted in the west triplet of the nave.

These patterns form a series varying in date from that of the Jesse to that of the shields of arms in the west triplet. The earlier patterns are distinguishable principally by the drawing of the foliage ; the scrolls of which are in general less twisted, and the lobe of the leaf, as compared with the stalk, is somewhat smaller than in the later examples. The cross hatching (making, of course, due allowance for patterns designed for more distant situations) is in general coarser in the earlier specimens ; whilst the glass of the later patterns, in which cross hatching is used, is for the most part of a yellower hue than the glass of the earlier patterns. The latest patterns, including all those belonging to the Chapter-house, want the cross-hatched ground. It is, however, impossible to describe exactly the minute differences on which the supposition as to the date of the different patterns rests ; it is only by the eye that they can be appreciated.

The patterns, though various in design, exhibit in a greater or less degree a principle of composition almost peculiar to early English glass, which seems to have been suggested by the idea of forming a rich and complicated

pattern by arranging, in strata or layers, a number of plane figures or panels, in such a manner that the panels composing each layer might overlap and partially conceal those beneath. By way of illustrating this principle, I have given, in Plate I., fig. 1, a rough sketch of a pattern now in the east window of the north aisle of the choir, and which, though belonging to the chapter-house, exemplifies the system in a more striking manner than perhaps any of the earlier patterns. It will be seen, on examination, that the pattern is composed of a number of panels. Each panel has a well-defined border; and the area of the panel is covered with an ornament exclusively appropriated to it. The smallest panels merely have a narrow edging, and a quatrefoil, or some such ornament, within; the larger panels are ornamented with foliated scroll-works, the ramifications of which do not overstep the limits of the border of the panel, nor extend from one panel into another; by which the idea that each panel is a distinct superficies is sustained. A reference to Plate II., fig. 1, which gives the analysis of this pattern, will render the foregoing description more intelligible. In this plate, A denotes the ground or foundation of the window; B, a quatrefoil, which, with seventeen similar panels, some of which are only partially shewn in the diagram, forms the first layer or plane of ornament; C is a circular panel, which, with seventeen others, constitutes the 2d plane of ornament; D is a nearly square, though really octagonal panel,* which, with three others, forms the 3d plane of ornament; E is a circular panel, which, with three others, forms the 4th plane of ornament; F is a panel similar to D, which, with two others, forms the 5th plane of ornament; G is a circular panel like E, which, with two others, forms the 6th plane of ornament; H is a circular panel, which, with two others, forms the 7th plane of ornament; I is a circular panel, which, with two others, forms the 8th plane of ornament; K K are quadrangular and circular panels, constituting the 9th plane of ornament; L indicates the border of the window, which, as in the head of the light it cuts the rest of the design, must be taken to constitute the 10th plane of ornament.

* The pattern being slightly elongated, | rendered this form of panel necessary.
in order to fill up a particular opening, has

It is interesting to trace the progressive changes in the style of ornamental patterns. Without venturing to assert that the system just described was *exclusively* used at the earliest period, I may safely state that, in general, a deviation from it betokens, at least in the glass of this country, a lateness of date.* Thus in the Five Sisters at York, which are carefully figured in Browne's *History of York Cathedral*, and whose date is probably not much earlier than 1260, although the before-mentioned principle is in great measure preserved, it is occasionally violated by the ornamental scroll-work breaking from the area of a panel through the border, and extending its ramifications beyond it, over other parts of the design. The result is to impair, if not destroy, the idea of the panel's being an individual superficies, and to reduce what primarily was a border to a plane figure, to a mere line of decoration laid, as it were, upon the ground-work of the design. The transition thus becomes easy from the early English to the decorated ornamental pattern, in which the foliated scroll-work freely spreads itself over the entire area of the window, forming a ground-work, upon which is laid an open interlaced pattern of narrow bands and fillets of various geometrical forms.

It is easy to recognise in the shape of the principal fillets the outlines of the panels used in the preceding style, though these, having ceased to constitute any thing else than mere lines of ornament, may happen to be linked together or interlaced. By way of illustrating the text, I

* The principle of ornament by means of layers of panels, described in the text, is not fanciful, as might at first be supposed. I have long ago remarked it in a great variety of examples; and I believe it is only once violated, and then in a trifling degree, in the Salisbury patterns. The instance to which I allude is in one of the lights of the south triplet of the small south transept.

The following plates may be referred to in illustration of it: *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Bourges*, plate, étude 11, in which two of the Salisbury patterns are represented; Grisailles D, in which four more are given; and Grisailles E, in which six other examples are engraved. Many of the patterns in this plate are misrepresented in having cross hatched grounds. The border sketched in Plate I. fig. 2, of the present paper, is in the Grisailles E,

fig. 3, misappropriated to the same chapter-house pattern (furnished in the plate with a cross-hatched ground,) which I have sketched in the first plate that accompanies this paper, fig. 1. In the French work, many of the foliated scrolls are also erroneously represented in *relief*, by thickening, contrary to the fact, one of the outlines of the scroll. There are other minor inaccuracies in these and other engravings of the *Monographie*, shewing that the plates of this work, however magnificent, and useful to those who have seen the glass, are not to be implicitly trusted. See other specimens of early English patterns, in Lyson's *Bucks*, plate facing p. 488; in the *Inquiry into the Difference of Style observable in ancient Painted Glass*, plates 5, 6, 8, and 10; and in Browne's *History of York Cathedral*, plates 61, 63, 65, 67, and 69.

have given in Plate III.* a rough sketch of an early German Decorated pattern (see fig. 1), in which the ornamental scroll-work is confined within the limits of the demi-quatrefoil panels at the sides of the design, but breaks through the borders of the demi-quatrefoil panels at the top and bottom of the design. And also a rough sketch of an early Decorated pattern from Chartham Church, Kent (see fig. 2), in which the scroll-work freely extends over the area of the design. I have also given, in Plate II., the analysis (see fig. 2) of a Decorated pattern from Stanford Church, Northamptonshire. In this diagram, the part opposite A represents the scroll-work forming the ground of the pattern; that opposite B, the interlaced fillets; and that opposite C, the complete pattern formed by laying the interlaced fillets upon the scroll-work.† The outline of the early English quatrefoil panel will be easily recognised in the form of the beaded quatrefoil fillet.

The principle of employing several planes of ornament for purposes of enrichment pervades mediæval decoration. Its application to iron-work has been pointed out by Mr. Pugin, and its application to window-tracery by Professor Willis. In both these cases, in general, each plane is in design rather complementary than opposed to that of the plane which precedes it in order of ornament; but instances do occur in architecture, as well as in painted glass, where the general effect of the composition is produced by the *intersection* of the designs of different planes of ornament, as in the triforium arcade of Beverley Minster, figured in the eleventh page of the *Remarks on Beverley Minster* in the York volume of the *Archæological Institute*, of which, for facility of reference, I have given a tracing in Plate I. fig. 6. We may also recognise the principle of intersecting planes of ornament as well in those cases where an entire picture in painted glass extends beyond the limits of a single light, and is actually severed by the mullions of a window; as in those where the *subject* rather than the picture is cut by the mullions, it being composed of separate individual parts, which occupy the spaces between the

* The drawings are made to a scale of $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch to a foot. The German pattern is now in the west window of Camberwell Church.

† In this particular instance the centre stem of the foliaged scroll-work is interwoven with the interlaced fillets, which is rather unusual.

mullions without being touched by them. Of the former arrangement there are many instances in early Decorated glass at Cologne, where some of the figures even are cut by the mullions, and elsewhere ; and very numerous instances in later glass. Of the latter, the martyrdom of St. Sebastian in the early Decorated glass of Bristol Cathedral, and the very common subject of the Crucifixion, with the attendant Mary and John, in glass of all dates, afford sufficient examples.

The painted ornamental patterns of the Cathedral and Chapter-house are principally composed of white glass, colour being sparingly introduced in the borders and centres of the panels. The white glass in some of the later patterns belonging to the Cathedral is of a dusky yellow hue ; in the majority, however, of the patterns, it is of a cold though rich sea-green hue. To the texture and hue of the glass these patterns owe their substantial and solemn appearance, which makes them harmonise with the character of the architecture, and with the Picture glass paintings that are coeval with them. The local colour of the white glass is, except in the dusk of the evening, less strikingly apparent on a close than on a distant view. Thus the ancient windows, unlike the modern copies in the great south transept, are in great measure independent for richness of the pattern painted on the glass ; for when the pattern itself is lost in distance, the local colour of the material shews itself the more distinctly.

Much of the foliated scroll-work used in these patterns is of great beauty ; one of the best specimens is perhaps afforded by the pattern in the west window of the north aisle of the nave.

It is impossible to say whether or not all these pattern windows originally had ornamented borders. If the glass slightly indicated in the 26th plate of Britton's *History of Salisbury Cathedral* was then in its original position, it would afford ground for supposing that some of the patterns were separated from the stone-work only by a plain narrow strip of white glass ; the small proportion of borders in existence, as compared with the number of the patterns, seems somewhat to countenance this supposition. There is but one border, besides that of the Jesse, coeval with

the older patterns. A sketch of it is given in Plate I. fig. 2. It is now in the south light of the west triplet, mingled with a later border from the Chapter-house. I think it may be identified with fig. B in Carter's plate, which is there designated as a "border from the nave." The borders of the patterns in the east windows of the choir aisles, and the west windows of the nave aisles, were added at the same time that the patterns were removed to these situations. The fleurs-de-lis on a blue ground, which are inserted in the border of the west window of the south aisle of the nave, were taken from another window of the Cathedral, and from their form do not appear to be earlier than the reign of Edward III. That they are not as old as the pattern is placed beyond a doubt by the fact of their execution on yellow *stained glass*.*

It is clear that ornamented borders were used in the Chapter-house windows. Three varieties of these borders remain in the west triplet, and are sketched in Plate I. figs. 1, 4, and 5, which may be identified respectively with figures U, V, and W in Carter's plate, and which shews that they belonged to the Chapter-house.† I have appropriated one of these borders to the pattern fig. 1 (though it appears from Carter's plate that the border belonged to a different pattern), as I found that its addition made the pattern 4 feet 1 inch wide—the exact width of the Chapter-house lower lights. Another pattern from the Chapter-house, one half of which is inserted in each of the two upper south lights of the great south transept, if doubled and enlarged with a border of equal width to the last, would also exactly fit the lower lights of the Chapter-house. This pattern resembles one represented in Carter's plate, fig. 5. There is one pattern now in the west light of the lowest triplet of the small south transept of the same character as the other patterns from the Chapter-house, which, if placed in one of the lights of that building, would admit only of a narrow strip of glass between it and the stone arch; but this pattern, if it ever belonged to the Chapter-house, was removed thence long before the others,

* In the engraving of this pattern in Shaw's *Encyclopædia of Ornament*, the form of the fleurs-de-lis is humoured so as to accord with the date of the pattern.

† A border to one of the windows is

represented in the slight indication of the Chapter-house glass given in the 14th plate of Britton's *History of Salisbury Cathedral*.

and the difference in the hue of its material favours the supposition that it originally belonged to some other place, most probably to a window of the cathedral.

Of the geometrical patterns before alluded to, two specimens retain their original position in two of the east clerestory windows of the great north transept. Four other specimens, which were removed from the clerestory, are inserted in the lowest part of the lights of the south triplet of the small south transept, and a few others lie at present in the glazier's room attached to the Cathedral.

These patterns, as before observed, are entirely composed of plain pieces of glass leaded together. The border consists of a plain strip of white glass. In design, some resemble a window of quarries, having banded edges; but the majority suggest the idea of a number of plain flat members interwoven together. Sketches of two examples are given in Plate IV.* Most of these patterns are enriched by the occasional insertion of small plain pieces of coloured glass. The white glass employed in these patterns is, in general, of a deeper hue than that used in the painted patterns, and gives the windows, in consequence, the appearance of having been made up of refuse fragments. Some of the pieces of glass have almost a purple tint; the greater part incline from a light to a deep dusky yellow hue. These differences of tint impart great richness and variety to the patterns. I think it may be assumed that the geometrical patterns are coeval, at all events, with the later painted patterns that belong to the Cathedral.

The next glass in order of date consists of a number of rather early Decorated quarries (in which the yellow stain is used) that are now employed as a border to the centre light of the east windows of the north and south aisles of the choir. These quarries were removed from a window of the small south transept, near the entrance to the vestry, where they were placed squarewise. The fleurs-de-lis in the border of the west window of the south aisle of the nave have already been noticed.

It now becomes necessary, for the purpose of continuing to investigate the remains of painted glass in order of date, to leave the Cathedral for St. Thomas's Church. The

* The drawings are made to a scale of $1\frac{1}{7}$ inch to a foot.

first window of the north aisle, counting from the east, retains in the head of both its outer lower lights and in all its principal tracery lights, fragments of the scroll-work and coloured ground of a late Decorated Jesse;* the figures have all been destroyed. The stem, unlike that of the Jesse in the Cathedral, is a flowing tendril of white glass, from which proceed yellow-stained and other-coloured leaves and grapes. The stem is smear-shaded, and the ground of the lights is richly diapered. The smaller tracery lights are filled with small ornaments in white and yellow stained glass. The glass appears to be of the latter part of the reign of Edward III. A few small ornaments of the same character and date remain in the smaller tracery lights of several of the windows of the north aisle. The east window of the north aisle has been a figure and canopy window of the same date as the last glass. The head of an original canopy, composed of white and yellow stained glass, remains in the upper part of each of the two outer lower lights. In the tracery lights are some mutilated demi-figures, each under a canopy. Smear-shading is used in the figures, the drawing of which betokens the approach of the perpendicular style.

The east window of the south aisle has the remains of canopies in its five lower lights, executed in white and yellow stained glass. In the two topmost tracery lights is represented the coronation of the Virgin, and in each of the other tracery lights is a shield bearing a merchant's mark. This glass seems to be of the time of Henry VI. The white glass has a cold greenish tint, but not nearly so strong as that of the glass in the windows of the north aisle, which, again, is quite of a different hue from the white glass of the pattern windows of the cathedral and chapter-house.

In the vestry adjoining the north aisle of this church is a window of three lights, in which are represented, on brackets, not under canopies, one of the persons of the Holy Trinity, St. Christopher, and a saint bishop. The lights are glazed with ornamental quarries, which form the

* The window itself is of early perpendicular character. It is clear that, in general, the changes of style in architecture preceded the corresponding changes of style in painted glass. In the glass belonging to

the chapter-house windows, the form of ornament is purely early English; but in some of the sculpture of that edifice, particularly of the doorway, the decorated foliage occurs.

background to the figures, and have borders composed of stained yellow ornaments on a red or blue ground. The glass appears to be also of the reign of Henry VI. The head of St. Christopher, and the whole of the Divine Infant, are painted on a piece of very light potmetal pink glass, an unusual occurrence in English glass of this period. The elaborate finish of these figures, and general lightness of the colours used in the window, contrast strongly with the more simple and vigorous execution of the figures, and the vivid colouring of the Jesse in the Cathedral. Stipple-shading is employed; but owing to a timid application of it, the figures appear quite flat.

The Hall of John Halle contains some excellent specimens of ornamental glazing and heraldry of the latter part of the reign of Henry VI., or commencement of the reign of Edward IV. The windows have all been "restored;" but it is easy to distinguish the modern additions, which are not extensive, from the original glazing. The lights have borders composed of small rectangular ornaments (three varieties placed alternately are generally used) of white and yellow stained glass, separated by small bits of plain blue and red, or blue, green, and pink glass. The upper cuspidation of the light is occupied with a lion's head, and the next cuspidation on each side with either a rose, a crown, a star with wavy rays, or a sun, painted on white and yellow stained glass. Ciphers, instead of roses, &c. are used in the six cuspidations of one of the lights on the east side of the hall. The ground of the lights is composed of ornamented quarries, between each row of which is inserted diagonally a scroll inscribed "drede."* A panel containing either a coat-of-arms or a badge is introduced in the upper part of each of the lights on the east side of the hall by being let into the quarry-ground, the pattern of which is cut by the panel. This mode of introducing the panels affords another and a very common exemplification of the principle of employing different planes of ornament for purposes of enrichment. It may be said, indeed, that in these windows there are five planes of ornament, viz. 1st, the quarry-ground; 2d, the scrolls, which are supposed to lie on the quarry-ground; 3d, the panels; 4th,

* An attempt is made in Duke's account of the hall to assign a meaning to this word.

the shields or badges laid on the panels; and 5th, the border of the window which cuts the design. A representation of John Halle himself—of which, however, only the legs and ground beneath are original—occupies the centre of one of the lights on the west side of the hall. I must refer the reader to Duke's account of the hall of John Halle for a description of the badges, and for the blazon of the shields.

The next remains in order of date are the pieces of late perpendicular and cinque-cento glass used to fill up the west triplet of the nave and the centre-light of the east windows of the north and south aisles of the choir of the cathedral. Some of this glass was brought from France, some from the neighbourhood of Exeter. One subject, the arms of Henry VII., now in the top of the centre-light of the west triplet, was brought from one of the south windows of the south aisle of the nave. Not having examined these remains so minutely as the other glass, I am unable to give an equally detailed account of them. The subjects in the west triplet of the nave are, in the south light, a figure of St. Peter; a figure praying; a figure kneeling before a crucifix (St. Francis?); a group of figures; and a female saint; all which are in the style of the early part of the 16th century. The subjects in the centre-light are, a Crucifixion, with Mary and John; the Virgin crowned; a St. Peter; a bishop enthroned; all which are of the 16th century, and, as it is said, were brought from Normandy. Also the Invention of the Cross (the three crosses are each represented as a cross-tau); a Crucifixion, with Mary and John; all which are of the 16th century, and are said to have been brought from the neighbourhood of Exeter; and some angels bearing the Instruments of the Passion, also of the 16th century, and said to have been brought from Normandy.

In the north light the subjects are, a bishop, St. Anthony, the Betrayal of Christ, and a St. Catherine; all which are of the 16th century, and are said to be French glass. Unfortunately I took no memorandum of the subjects in the east windows of the choir aisles; they are of the same character as the rest.

Although these glass-paintings are not very favourable specimens of the state of the art in the 16th century, a

careful examination of them will not be without advantage. They are executed on a material more flimsy than that used in the glass-paintings in the vestry-room of St. Thomas's Church, or in the Hall of John Halle; yet they are far more effective; and the groups of figures, though more complicated, are as distinct, when seen at a proper distance, as the simpler groups of the 13th century, and convey to the spectator as lively an idea of the subject represented. They thus afford a striking proof of the skill of the glass-painters of the 16th century, who, principally by means of admirable arrangements of colour, and the use of powerful though transparent shadows and brilliant lights, displayed the hitherto undeveloped resources of their art.

The latest old specimen of glass-painting in the cathedral is the arms of Bishop Jewell, which is dated 1562, and occupies the quatrefoil of the west window of the south aisle of the nave. The shield is placed within a wreath; and the whole composition is a remarkably favourable specimen of the period.

It now only remains for me to notice the modern glass in the Cathedral; which is comprised in the windows of the Lady Chapel; the eastern triplet of the choir; and the south windows of the great south transept, with the exception of the two upper lights.

The eastern triplet of the Lady Chapel is filled with a representation of the Resurrection, designed by Sir Joshua Reynolds,* and executed by Francis Egington of Birmingham. I do not question the intrinsic merit of this composition, but it is unfortunately not of a nature suited to a glass-painting. The principal object, and indeed the only figure represented, is our Lord ascending from the tomb. In the distance are dimly seen the three crosses on Mount Calvary. Light emanating from our Saviour's person illuminates the objects in His immediate presence; all around is gloom. This effect is produced by means which cannot be satisfactorily resorted to in a glass painting,—the keeping of a very large portion of the picture in comparative obscurity. For a gloomy or obscure effect in painted glass,

* It is stated in Gilpin's *Western Counties*, that in his first design for the window Sir Joshua represented the mouth of the tomb closed; and when remonstrated with, defended himself on the ground that he had

thereby enhanced the character of the miracle. It is more probable that Sir Joshua defended himself on the authority of ancient precedents.

however it may be aided by the employment of pot-metals, &c. of deep tint, can only be produced by an exclusion of the light, with nearly opaque enamels. And this, when carried beyond a certain limit, occasions a flat, heavy, and, paradoxical as it may appear, flimsy appearance, destructive of all impressiveness, and widely different from the depth and transparency of a picture in oils painted in equally deep tones. The task was thus imposed on the glass-painter—even had he possessed sufficient genius, instead of literally copying his model, to have embodied its spirit—of representing what is particularly difficult, if not incapable of adequate representation in painted glass. A skilful glass colourist might, to a certain extent, have succeeded in imparting to the window an effect more in accordance with Sir Joshua Reynolds' intention; but the course adopted by Egington, of executing the window entirely on *white* glass, with enamel colours and stains, was of all others that most calculated to ensure an unsatisfactory result. In comparison with what might have been effected, the colouring of the window is weak, and its brightest lights are dull; and the red-brown enamel in the landscape and sky, unaided by pot-metal glass, wholly fails of producing that supernatural lurid appearance which appears to have been intended by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

The remaining windows of the Lady Chapel are also painted by Egington. They are filled with a quarry pattern, having a dull red rose stained in the midst of each quarry, and thickly covered with a reddish brown ground. The effect of these windows is, like that of the east window, dull and heavy, without being deep or impressive.

The subject in the east window of the choir is the Lifting up of the Brazen Serpent in the Wilderness. It was executed by Pearson, after a design by Mortimer, and as a glass-painting is certainly superior to the east window of the Lady Chapel. The design is, in principle, not unsuitable to a glass painting; there are no overpowering masses of heavy shadow, and the more positive colours are carried to the extreme verge of the picture. The colouring is lively, and the picture has a certain degree of brilliancy. Pot-metal glass, as well as enamel colours and stains, is employed. Still I cannot admit the fitness of the painting for its situation. The character of the architecture is

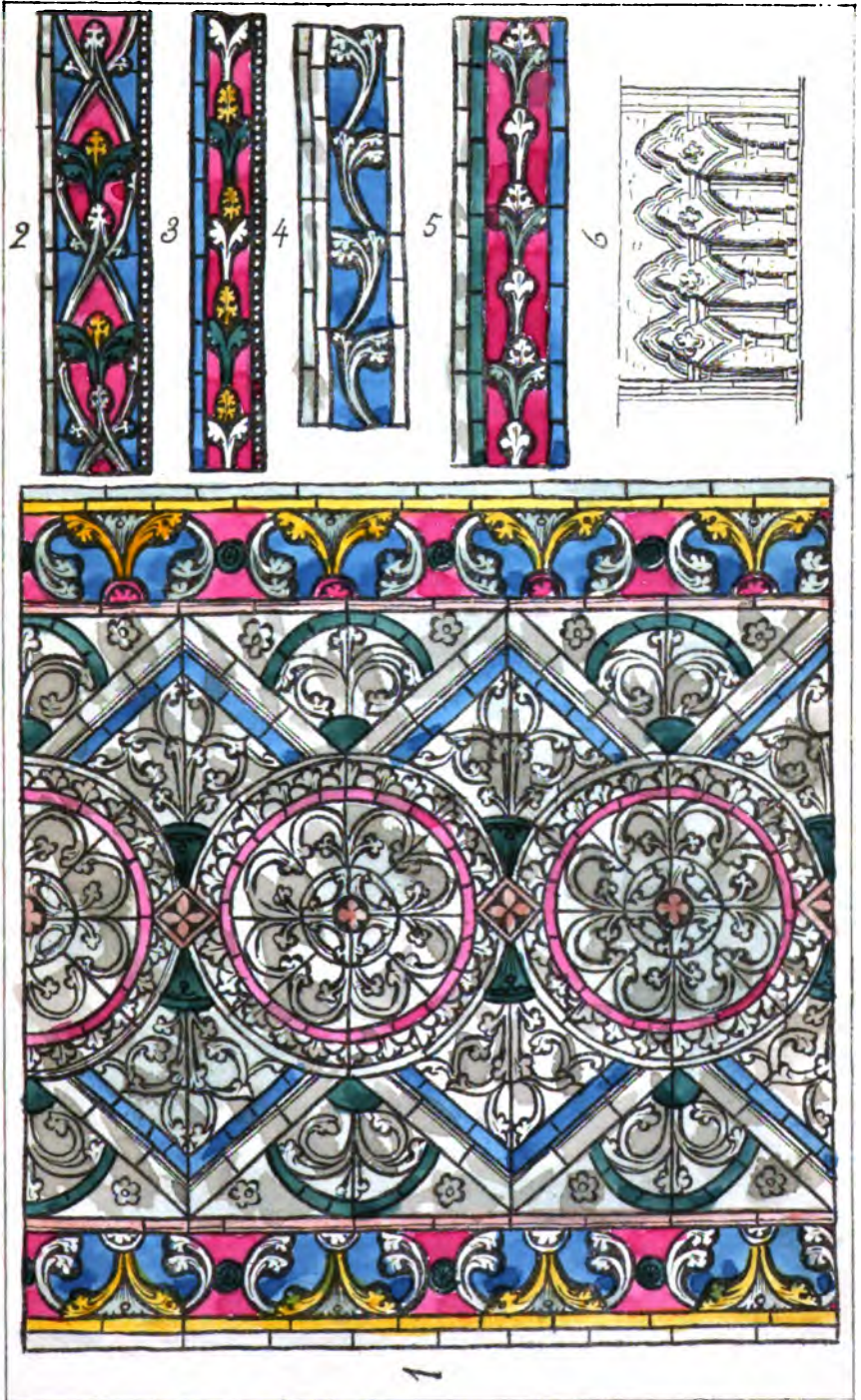
severe, solemn, and gloomy; and would therefore appear to demand in the glass-painting simplicity of composition and colouring, as well as depth of tone: in short, a character the very opposite to that of the present window. A genuine Early English Pattern window, though possessing but little positive colour, would, owing to its depth of effect, and the gravity and solemnity of its appearance, have suited the place better. The "Five Sisters" harmonise admirably with the architecture of the north transept of York. Another ground of objection appears to be, that the design is carried across the triplet independent of the divisions of the lights. It has been shewn in a former part of this paper, that the practice of extending the design of a glass-painting beyond the limits of a single light, is not only fully supported by the best authorities, but is strictly in accordance with the principles of medieval composition. And indeed, when the lights are divided merely by mullions, the practice might safely be allowed to rest on its own merits: for, without having recourse to it, it would often be impossible to break, by the occasional introduction of a group, the painful monotony which would otherwise be occasioned by the continual repetition of single figures throughout a series of windows, or even in one large window, and, at the same time, ensure to the group sufficient size to produce a satisfactory effect. But in the present instance the lights are separated not by mullions, but by portions of wall, of such breadth as materially to weaken, if not destroy, the idea of the continuity of the subject; and thus an displeasing effect is produced.

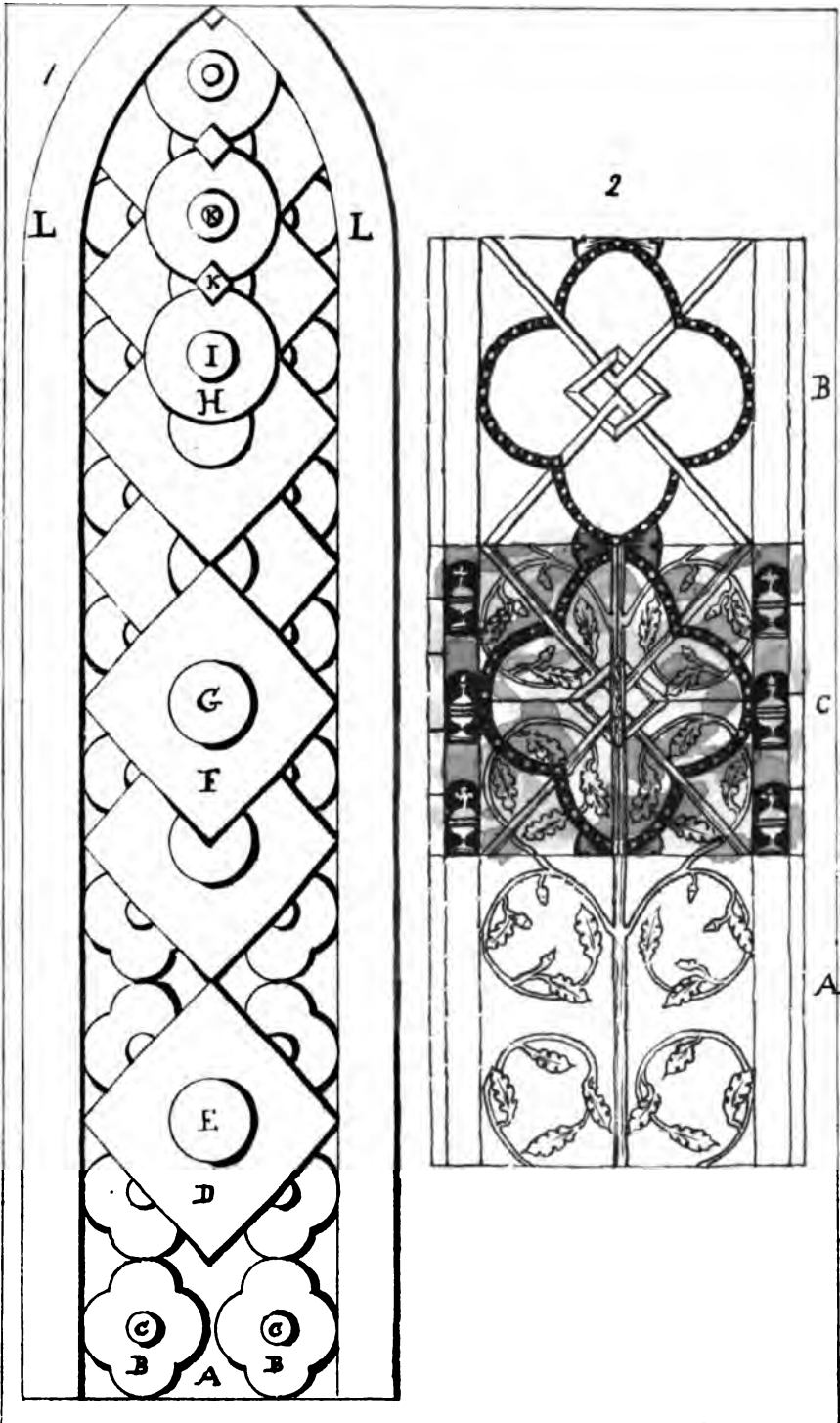
It may be conceded, that in this particular window the use of a landscape background is unfortunate, because it is opposed to that simplicity of colouring which is most in harmony with the character of the architecture. But apart from this consideration, the objection so continually urged in certain quarters against the employment in a painted window of such a landscape background as is compatible with the conditions of glass painting, is untenable. It is true that the lead lines, and want of atmosphere inseparable from painted glass, would be fatal to the effect of a glass-painting in which a landscape formed the most prominent object; but the landscape suitable to a glass-

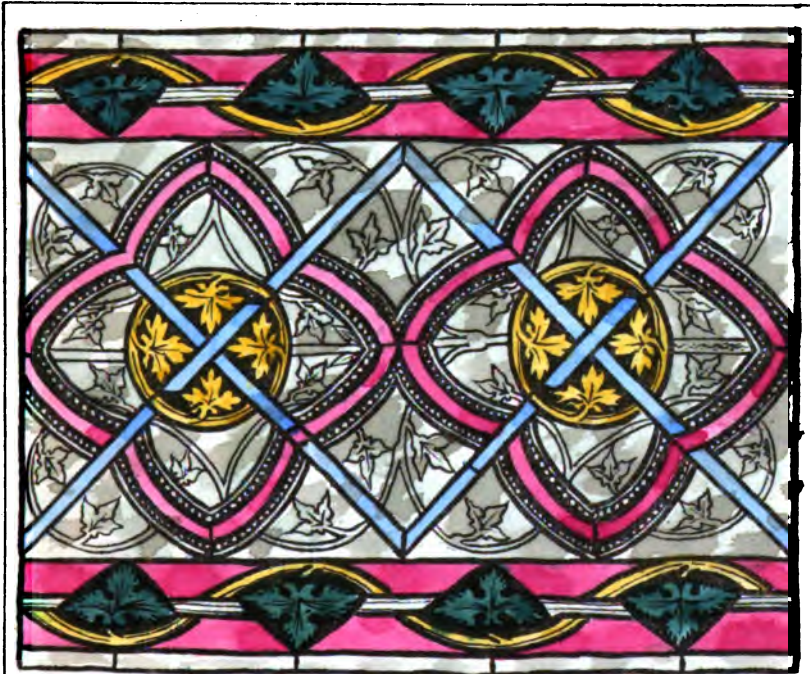
painting is a mere accessory, one of whose functions is, as it were, to *tie together* the composition, and which is very subordinate in interest to that of other parts of the composition. And such a landscape may be represented very adequately in painted glass,* quite as naturally indeed as any other object can be represented in a window. No objection founded on the want of means of representation can be urged against the use of a landscape in painted glass, which would not apply with equal force against its employment in a fresco, or other large picture. It is possible, no doubt, to represent almost any subject without such an adjunct; but none can deny the power of a landscape, when properly introduced, in assisting the picture by an additional appeal to nature, to the performance of its true office,—that of awakening in the mind a lively idea of the subject represented. It therefore seems foolish, without some good reason, to debar the artist from availing himself of it. The landscape in Raphael's *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* has often been deservedly commended; if omitted, would the picture have proved so striking and effective?

It has sometimes been contended that the use of a landscape in any mural painting, and by consequence in a glass-painting, is improper; because, when we see a landscape painted on a wall, we know that we do not look upon an opening; that when we see a landscape high up in a church window, we know that it is impossible that a landscape could be visible through a window in such a situation. The objection, however, is rather ingenious than solid. It rests on a misapprehension of the true and proper end of painting. This is not delusion; it is not to make the spectator suppose that the object represented is really present in the place where it is represented; it is only to awaken in the mind a lively idea of this object. "Imitations," says Dr. Johnson, "produce pain or pleasure, not because they are mistaken for realities, but because they bring realities to mind. When the imagination is recreated by a painted landscape, the trees are not supposed capable to give us shade, or the fountains coolness; but we consider how we should be pleased with such fountains playing beside us, and such woods waving over us."

* This is denied in a recent article in the *Ecclésiologist*, No. 74, p. 81; but the confusion of the writer's ideas is such as to render further comment superfluous.



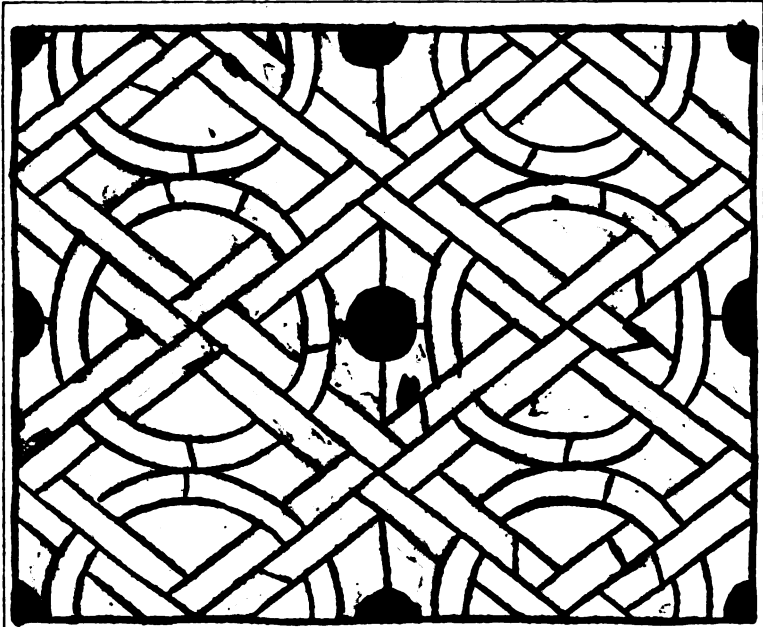




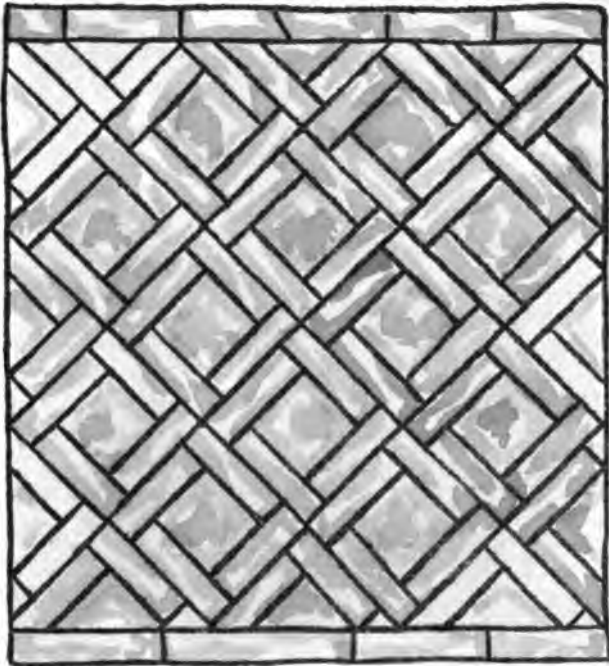
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It is admitted that no one mistakes any such representation for a reality; it is therefore hard to perceive what possible impropriety there can be in our being suffered to see the representation in a spot where the reality cannot be, or why a rule should be applied to landscapes, which does not hold good as to other subjects of painting. A third objection, and, as it seems to me, the only ground admitting of argument, is the difficulty of seeing such pictures from the true perspective point of sight; but the fact that numbers of pictures are viewed from what is not the true point of sight, and are yet seen with undiminished pleasure, seems to afford a complete answer to it.

The only other painted windows of the Cathedral are those in the great south transept. The two topmost lights of the south end are, as before-mentioned, filled with early glass. The rest contain modern copies of the early English patterns, except the centre-light of the lowest triplet, which appears to be modern in design. These windows afford one of the many proofs that, however closely the design of ancient glass is copied, the imitation cannot be complete, unless the texture of the ancient material is copied also.

C. WINSTON.

OBSERVATIONS ON ECCLESIASTICAL AND MONUMENTAL SCULPTURE,

DELIVERED AT THE MEETING OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
AT SALISBURY,

By RICHARD WESTMACOTT, JUN., R.A. F.R.S.

1849.

It is an interesting fact, and one of great value in the objects to which this Society devotes itself, that no country can produce so complete a series of sepulchral and monumental sculpture as is to be found in England. Italy, Germany, and France especially, possess most interesting specimens of different ages and styles, and occasionally, in insulated examples, some of superior detail; but nowhere can we trace so fully as in our own land a continued series of such works, exhibiting the different phases of the art as applied to these memorials.

The condition of sculpture, whenever it has been practised with *original* feeling or design, will be found to illustrate the degree of intelligence, and not unfrequently even the social state of the people among whom it has existed; and it is only *after* the original impulse or feeling has been interfered with or destroyed, that this indicative property and value of art may be said to disappear.

The departure from primitive types, and the introduction of new elements—the natural consequence of the constantly changing condition of society and of the human mind—constitute two of the greatest difficulties with which the historian of art has to contend in his endeavours to shew precisely where the art has this illustrative quality: where it is original, and where it has been disturbed by mere caprice or by foreign influence. The difficulty becomes still greater when, instead of the changes progressing with the state of society and simply exhibiting its altered condition, all hold or association with the present or time being is relinquished; and the fashion has been to re-

trograde altogether, and to recur for art to a bygone age. There appears always to have been this tendency to leave, at one time or other, the real and original, and to adopt an artificial and, so far, false school of art; whereby much that was valuable and of promise has certainly been lost, and frequently without any corresponding or compensating good having been gained. That it was so, even in ancient times, might easily be shewn in the histories of the Greek, Roman, and even Archaic schools of art; but the limits to which these observations must be confined render it inexpedient to enter at any length upon such an inquiry. It will be sufficient to say, there is ample illustration of it in the history of classical art, as will be admitted by all who have devoted any attention to these subjects. In more modern times the indulgence of this strange caprice has been attended with most injurious, and, it may almost be said, fatal results to art. In what manner this has produced such evil consequences, as especially bearing on our present subject, it will be my endeavour to shew in the course of the following observations.

It will, I presume, at once be admitted that the Christian religion opened an entirely new source of inspiration to Christian artists. Pagan art was not only incapable of illustrating Christian subjects, but, ingeniously as it was sometimes applied, the character of representation appropriate to the heathen mythology was obviously unfit to be employed by Christians in aid of their purer religion. So entirely, indeed, does ancient art appear to have been disregarded and ignored by the earlier Christian artists of all kinds, whether painters or sculptors, that, to judge from what was produced in the sixth and seventh centuries after Christ, it might be imagined that the fine monuments of Greece had never existed, or, at least, that every example of it was lost. In the Eastern Churches especially this marked independence of the ancient schools and types, and originality with respect to representative art, was exemplified in the most extraordinary way; namely, by the strict proscription of all forms of beauty, and by the studied adoption of meagreness, and even ugliness, in the representations of Our Saviour and the Virgin. It is a curious fact that such a feeling should have arisen among the descendants of those very Greeks who had carried ideal beauty of form

to its highest perfection. The Western Church acted on the opposite principle.

Under these circumstances, the origin and growth of Christian art are highly interesting; for it was then that the more deeply-thinking and earnest disciples of the Faith, awakened to the want of that which the older system did not and could not supply, discovered, in the same exhaustless mine which had already in so many various ways aided man to illustrate thought and feeling, a new vein from which the richest produce could still be drawn. It was felt that the multitude could be interested in and instructed by graphic illustration where they were unable to inform themselves by reading; and thus art became enlisted in the great cause of teaching religious truth. Then arose the illuminators, the mosaicists, the rude fresco painters, and image-makers, who began to work out most curiously their *idea*, as it were, *a principio*, and as though there never had been art before. Christian artists began, in short, as the Greeks, as the Egyptians, as all others had begun: namely, to create a school of art for themselves, to be especially employed in the honour and advancement of religion.*

Among one peculiarly susceptible people in ancient times, the art, which had originated in precisely the same way, had attained a most surprising development. After a course of years, each step they advanced leading to greater excellence, the Greek sculptors achieved works which still claim our admiration for the unapproached, perhaps unapproachable, excellence they exhibit. They offer to us precisely what imitative art is intended to effect,—expression set forth in the most perfect forms; leaving, so far as their intention is fulfilled, nothing to be desired. Now it is interesting, and not unimportant, to bear in mind, that this was produced in by far the greater part of their works, and certainly in those of the best period of the art, in representations of the persons or actions of their mythology. However limited and coarse their notions of a *divine* nature, the object was to add to the interest and dignity of religion, by engaging in its illustration the highest powers of the

* That in some respects an acquaintance with a few examples of Greek sculpture preserved in the Campo Santo at Pisa tended to improve the forms in the works of Niccolo Pisano and his imme-

diately followers, may be admitted; but this will not affect the general bearing of these remarks, nor the view we are justified in taking of the perfect originality of early Christian sculpture.

poetical and illustrative genius of the age. To take one out of many proofs of this. Of the Elean Jupiter of Phidias it was said, "cujus pulchritudo adjecisse aliquid etiam receptæ religioni videtur, adeo majestas operis Deum æquavit." Thus was art applied to the highest purpose, and evidently the result was commensurate with the object.*

Turning now to the commencement of Christian art, we find this was also the aim of the more modern artist, and the first object the Christian had in its practice. And can it for a moment be believed, that what man was able to do five hundred years *before* Christ, with a religion for an inciting cause which, though full of poetry, abounded in absurdities, in anomalies, and in grossness, he could not again do when such a religion as that taught in the gospel was the object of his thoughts and study? A religion, be it remembered, not falling short of the ancient heathenism in subjects both of sublimity and pathos, but standing out distinct from other systems in its freedom from all that degraded and sullied the older myths and creeds; while it was immeasurably superior to them by the influence it was capable of exercising on the finer feelings of our nature by the graces and charities it inculcates. There is nothing in reason or analogy to support such a degrading supposition. On the contrary, judging as we are able to do of art of the class produced under what may be considered similar conditions, it surely cannot be denied that there is sufficient evidence that like causes to those which influenced Greek art were competent to produce a like effect in Christian art; or in other words, considering earnestness of feeling the cause, it may be fearlessly asserted there is not less effective character in the works of the early Christian than there is in the works of the equally early heathen artists.

Of course, in one respect (the representation of naked forms), the sculptor of antiquity was able to exhibit more of the *physical* beauty of the figure than the Christian artist; but, allowing it all its great advantages, this belongs to the material and merely technical, rather than the strictly æsthetic properties of art. Who that has had an opportu-

* The decline and extinction of sculpture, according to the fine Grecian practice, even among the ancients, is a curious phenomenon. It goes far to prove that

perfect execution and the representation of mere physical beauty are insufficient of themselves to insure durability and continuance to a school of art.

nity of seeing the best productions of Giotto, of the Pisani, and others of that time, will assert that the early Christian artists were inferior in grace, in feeling, in character, to the early Greeks? or, to quote examples nearer home, and which may be immediately consulted, where shall we find in the best Greek sculpture any monuments exhibiting these qualities in a higher degree than the exquisite specimens in the cathedral of this city: in the reliefs and heads in spandrels and bosses in the chapter-house, in the north-west transept, and in Bishop Bridport's monument; as well as others to be met with in our older churches throughout England? The remains of these fathers of Christian painting and sculpture still existing in this country, but more especially in Italy, fully confirm this appreciation of the merits of the artists, and justify the hope that might fairly have been entertained of the ultimate perfection of the Christian school of art, especially in the Western Church, had foreign influence not stepped in to arrest its progress.

To the question, Why, then, did not Christian art reach this perfection? an answer may easily be found irrespectively of the assumed superiority of the subjects in the heathen religion, or of the equally assumed inferiority of the artists of modern times. But this is a subject which claims a more extended notice than can be afforded for it on this occasion, and it can only be glanced at cursorily. As we proceed, the causes, in part, of this imperfection will appear; and it will then perhaps be admitted, that had Christian art but had fair play, it was quite as capable of reaching excellence as any that had preceded it.

The monuments preserved in the cathedral of this city—and I am induced by circumstances to limit my remarks on this occasion to *sepulchral* sculpture—furnish most interesting examples of the class of works alluded to. They extend from the earliest period of the introduction of monumental sculpture in this country down to the corrupted taste, when such works lost all true ecclesiastical character,—that is, from the eleventh to the seventeenth century; and a careful examination of them will shew the steps of change in the style of art as each, apparently at first trifling, innovation was introduced.

While I am glad to avail myself of such illustration so near at hand, it is painful to have to remark upon

the shameful displacement of so many of the finest monuments in this cathedral. But few of them occupy the situations in which they were originally placed; and many of these have their architectural portions (as the tombs on which effigies are lying) ignorantly made up of fragments evidently belonging to totally different erections, and to distinct periods from those to which the sculptured figures they support are attributable.*

The first object of monuments appears to have been simply to record a fact; namely, that here a body was buried. A stone, sometimes flat and plain, sometimes slightly roof-shaped (what the French antiquaries call *dos d'âne*), marked this. There was at first neither name, nor date, nor emblem. Next there was the desire to mark the quality or condition of the person buried. A cross, or perhaps a pastoral staff, was engraved on the slab; the representation of the figure of the individual; the inscription of the name; his title or rank; usually also the date of his death; and sometimes a prayer for the repose of his soul was added.

The earliest examples known in England of slabs with figures in low relief are in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. They are of abbots of the dates 1086 and 1172 respectively. Those in Salisbury Cathedral, of this character of design, are of nearly the same date. They were not originally in their present situation, but were removed thither, or at least to this edifice, from the church of Old Sarum. Like all early sculpture, the relief is extremely low or flat. They are supposed to represent Bishops Roger (1139), and Joceline (1184). In one of these, where the head, though of very early work, is evidently a later addition to the original figure, the action of the right hand displays great feeling and considerable power of art. In the other, the treatment of the drapery and other parts is very characteristic of the rudest era of sculpture; closely resembling, in many respects that will occur to the antiquary, what is called the Etruscan style. It will be remarked that all the earliest monuments, wherever they occur, are of ecclesiastics. From the fifth to the twelfth

* *Postscript.*—Professor Willis entered fully into this subject in his admirable discourse on the history of the cathedral, which followed these observations;

and he exhibited in a ground-plan the extent of the mischief which ignorance and recklessness had effected with regard to these interesting memorials.

century the *status* and power of the Church (the Church in this sense meaning the clergy) had been so far organised, that it exercised a dominant influence over all the art that was attempted. All art of the time was, in fact, applied to, or connected with, religious purposes; and, probably, the artists themselves were more or less attached to, or connected with, the ecclesiastical establishments. At any rate, it is evident when sculptured monumental records of individuals were admitted or introduced into churches, the more distinguished clergy seem to have claimed the application of the art in their own honour.

From the first flat reliefs above noticed, works of a superior character of art came by degrees to be executed; and after a time, kings, knights, and ladies, are found to have their monuments, which were always or almost always surmounted by their effigies. Among the earliest and best of such representations in the cathedral, is the monument of William Longespee (or more correctly Long'espée) first Earl of Salisbury, the bastard son of Henry II. by the fair Rosamond. He died in 1226. The manly, warrior character of the figure is particularly striking, even in its recumbent attitude; while the turn of the head, and the graceful flow of lines in the right arm and hand, with the natural, heavy fall of the chain-armour on that side, exhibit a feeling of art which would not do discredit to a very advanced school. The earliest *regal* monument in England is that of King John in Worcester Cathedral. Although personages not ecclesiastics were now introduced on monuments, a strict conformity to what may properly be termed the true ecclesiastical style was still observed. The Church influence occasioned, as was natural, this similarity of style and design; and no other could be so appropriate and impressive. It will be seen that up to this time there is a general similarity in all these monumental effigies; but about the middle of the thirteenth or towards the fourteenth century, a more extended character of design appeared, and we then commence an exceedingly interesting period of monumental sculpture. Erections of various character, from that of extreme simplicity to works of most elaborate design and decoration, in memory of kings, queens, nobles, warriors,—indeed of every person of dignity, or whose relations had the

means of so honouring them,—now enriched the churches of the land.

It must again be remarked, that, notwithstanding this extension or amplification of the composition, all, or almost all, the monumental designs are still pervaded by what may be called a religious or devotional character. The knight, it is true, is sometimes seen in the act of drawing—or may it not be of sheathing?—his sword; but the most common attitude even of the fiercest-looking warrior is that in which a Christian would fain be found at the most awful moment of life—its termination—in the act of prayer. His hands are placed together on his breast, turned upwards, or even bent back on the bosom. Sometimes at the sides of the pillow on which his head rests are small attending angels, like guardian spirits of the departed; sometimes they are watching; sometimes ministering, as in the small angels at the head of the effigy of Bishop Bridport, where they are represented as throwing incense. The elaborate treatment of such works from the time of Edward III. to Henry VII. shews how such monuments may be highly decorated, and yet have the spirit of the original thought perfectly preserved. The very fact of such sumptuous tombs, chapels, chantries, or whatever form they took, being erected to individuals, was a proof of the respect and honour in which they personally had been held in life; while the sculptural enrichment, wherever it was introduced, generally illustrates some edifying passage of Scripture, some story of religious meaning, or, it may be, the legend of a saint. Curious exceptions are found to this, (as in the Ingham monument in Norfolk,) but they are exceptions, and occur rarely. While alluding to the introduction of such illustration in early Christian sculpture, I cannot help directing your attention to the extreme beauty of some of the compositions in the spandrels in the old screen-work in a chapel in the north-east transept, as well as at the entrance and within the chapter-house of this cathedral, and particularly of the subjects represented in various parts of the episcopal monument above referred to. They are indeed remarkable productions for the time of their execution, namely, the latter part of the thirteenth century; and, in many respects, they are well worthy the study and imitation of artists of our own day.

The character above noticed as so appropriate and so affecting in church monuments prevailed in England some time after a very different style had been introduced in other parts of Europe; shewing, I think, very satisfactorily, that we had in this country a class of artists constantly practising this interesting style of sculpture from age to age, who were totally uninfluenced by the caprices of *taste*. In the mixed design that is found in monumental sculpture in Italy, Germany, and France, much of the religious character preserved in English works even so late as the sixteenth century entirely disappears. The idea of placing in religious edifices objects not in harmony with the feelings appropriate to the place seems not to have entered the minds of the older artists; and this fitness constitutes, it appears to me, one of the great charms we all find in the early monuments. Very frequently they are not objects of admiration as works of fine art, technically considered; their forms are rude, the details ill understood and ill executed; but there is withal a fitness, a propriety in their quiet, sober treatment, which incites our sympathy, and appeals to our common humanity,—a test quite as powerful and certain in the nineteenth as in the eleventh century. And surely, merely as a matter of what artists call *keeping*, or harmony, and setting aside higher considerations, works having reference to death should be of a sober, tranquil character of design; and where a further feeling is attempted to be expressed, as, for instance, reference to the future, there also the action of the figure should be in accordance with the subject; exhibiting the submission, the resignation, or the hope of a Christian, in an action of prayer or meditation; while lastly, the very fact of the work being to be placed in a church should insure the preservation of this serious character. It will be found that, so far as representing the principal figure in an attitude of meditation or prayer, this character is retained in monuments of a very debased taste in other respects, as may be seen in those of the time of Elizabeth and James I., and even later. In Salisbury Cathedral the Somerset monument on the south-east wall of the lady chapel, the Mompessor monument, and that of the Gorges family, all in the very worst taste of design, afford satisfactory illustration of the respect still paid, by habit perhaps, to a prin-

ciple—a principle which had become confirmed into a rule. The continuance of this style, in this country, may be attributed chiefly to two causes: first, perhaps, to the prestige of the former clergy influence, which helped to maintain the character which such works had *prescriptively*; and next, from there not having been as yet any designs of the foreign schools introduced here to seduce and tempt the artists to abandon the old and expressive types for a newer fashion; and thus, happily, we were long saved from the inundation of affectation in art that had overrun other countries. These I apprehend may be considered the chief causes of the continuance of this truly appropriate style of monument; rather than, as has been supposed by some, the existence of an universal religious feeling both in the designers and in the community.

The assumption that such works were always the exponents of deeply religious sentiments demands our notice, and, with reference to the art of the middle ages, is a subject for reflection and careful inquiry, because it is sometimes asserted that the changed and deteriorated style of ecclesiastical and monumental art is owing to, and indicative of, the total absence of religious feeling, while the *old* style proves the prevalence and universality of a deep devotional sentiment; and it is then argued that, till the same feeling, which it is thus assumed pervaded the Christian community from the eleventh or twelfth to the fifteenth century, (for this includes the great periods of all ecclesiastical art,) is realised among us, there can be no hope of such beautiful works being again produced. This, if so intended, is rather a startling assertion, when we consider the comparison with reference to the period alluded to. History tells us there was any thing but a prevalence of this deep religious impression, this habitual piety, or superior virtue in the times under consideration.

Setting aside the general ignorance and intellectual abasement of almost all classes, except some small portion of the clergy, there probably scarcely was an age in which there was greater looseness of moral feeling and irreligion than just at that very period when monumental effigies were first sculptured. It would be impossible, and out of place, here to enter at any length into such a subject as this; but the truth of the remark may easily be tested by a reference

to all the histories of the time. The reforms introduced by Pope Gregory VII. (A.D. 1073) tended to correct some of the more patent abuses and the more scandalous vices that had brought even the highest dignitaries of the Church into disrepute and dishonour; but these were submitted to with the greatest reluctance even by the clergy themselves, and it by no means appears that they occasioned any return to primitive piety or devotion, or to strictly religious objects or cares. On the contrary, the development of the plans for temporal ascendancy and aggrandisement which then and afterwards occupied the chief attention of the Popes, sufficiently prove how little room or disposition there was for the quiet exercise of those Christian virtues out of which a deep contemplative feeling of art would arise. The natural inference from this must be, that, if the clergy were so deficient in that spirit and those qualities which should characterise the teachers of religion, it is not very probable that the community—the people—were in a condition of exemplary piety.

It is by no means intended to assert there was no religious feeling in the age alluded to,—very far be it from me to say or to think this,—but it is important to shew that although early, *primitive* art must have had its origin in strong and earnest feeling, as was the case with the first Christian artists, we must not always consider the prevalence of a similar style of art an indisputable proof of the age being one of so much greater piety and virtue than others that have preceded or followed it; nor that it is exclusively and necessarily the fruit of the peculiar religious feeling of the age. Many of the authors of these works may have been, nay, probably were, persons of great piety. But neither may we admit the converse of the proposition. It is not only charitable, but in accordance with our knowledge, to believe there may have been quite as much real feeling, quite as pure, unaffected religious sentiment in the individuals who erected, or caused to be erected, the most cumbrous and tasteless monuments in the seventeenth century, as in those who, in the twelfth or thirteenth, placed in Salisbury, or any other cathedral, those of Vitalis or Joceline, of William Longespee, or of Bishops Bridport or Poore.

Thus then, though the *original* impulse doubtless was

occasioned by a religious sentiment,—and I am disposed to believe it was very strong in the artists of the first ages, who, deeply thinking over the subjects of the works upon which they were employed, became filled with sincere devotional feelings,—yet the continuation of the style was the effect of habit, confirmed by certain external influences, rather than attributable to the peculiarly religious or moral perfection of the age, or to the *general* prevalence of sentiments of deep piety and devotion.

In modern times monumental design has been perfectly anomalous, and as offensive to good feeling as to good taste, from its utter want of appropriate character. Something of this is to be attributed to a cause from which such results could scarcely have been expected; namely, the revival of ancient classical literature in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by which a total revolution was effected in the leading intellect of the age. This, as may easily be shewn, also eventually occasioned the change that came over Christian art; and it is scarcely an exaggeration to say, gave it almost its death-blow. Valuable and important as the discovery of these long-hidden treasures has since been, still, at their first appearance, it must be admitted the benefit that was derived from an acquaintance with the literature of the ancients was well nigh counterpoised by the evils that sprung out of it. Scholars were so carried away by the charm of these writings, that they totally neglected the study and improvement of their native tongue; and men of letters, affecting to consider the dead languages the only fitting medium of communication among the learned, composed all their works, and even carried on their familiar correspondence, in Greek and Latin.

But another and a far worse consequence of these affectations—and this bears especially on our subject—was the fatal effect on the faith, and the respect paid to religion. The courts of the Medici in Florence, and especially that of Pope Leo X. in Rome, were the centres of the grossest immorality as well as of undisguised infidelity. Proceeding consistently in the absurdity of endeavouring to naturalise,* as it were, the language, manners, and tone

* There was a repetition of this absurdity acted in the first French Revolution, with much the same accompaniment, only attended with still grosser abuses.

of feeling and thought of the ancients, pagan, or, as it was called, classical art next became regularly introduced into religious, or rather church sculpture; and the examples of ancient Greece were multiplied in every extravagant way, till at length the long-forgotten heathen mythology was employed to illustrate the lives and hopes of Christians, in Christian churches.

It was called 'taste;' but it was precisely the absence of what it may be presumed is intended to be implied by that term, which applied things beautiful in themselves to a purpose for which they were totally unfit. The multitude, as usual, was easily led by the self-elected arbiters of this false *taste*. There was no longer a real earnest meaning in art; and the "antique" was imitated at first from this caprice, and then from mere habit; not for its real merits, or because it was felt or known to be better than any other—for those who dictated its adoption were seldom good judges of the technical excellence of art—but simply because it was ancient and "classic."

This fashion, at least in its application to ecclesiastical sculpture, happily seems now to be passing away, as its want of reality and power to address the feelings, and to express any definite meaning, are seen and admitted. But there appears to be some need to warn one section of a school of would-be reformers against opening itself at least to a suspicion of affectation in another direction. Some who have urged a return to the peculiar manner of the early artists, seem, like the *pseudo* classics, to argue only on the value of antiquity, and on the fact that a certain class of art was so practised in a particular century; and they would have the rude execution of primitive times in painting and sculpture imitated, as if the repetition of mere technical defects were points of valuable design, or shewed real feeling. Some also have declared, in the same spirit, that no architecture is proper or admissible for church building but the Gothic, and that of a particular age and style. Others again, adopting a theory of symbols, assert that the presence or absence of *spirituality* is shown as the shape of a window or the curve of an arch approximates to, or departs from, the favourite standard: whether "early English," or "the pointed," or "the decorated," or any other style, as the case may be. This seems to be mistaking

what it must be admitted is a matter of *fancy* for one of *principle*; while the fact appears to be entirely overlooked, that Christianity—and it may be hoped its *spirituality*—had existed some twelve centuries before what is called Gothic architecture was known.* In this desire to recur to ancient forms, the Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, in the vulgar tongue of our own day, are often exhibited in our churches not only illuminated out of all recognition, but are written in the obsolete, and, to the greater number of people, illegible character of four or five centuries ago. There is a vital mistake in this, *in principle*, to say nothing of its ill effect on art, which cannot require for its perfection that any means or accessories it employs should be unintelligible. It is not always remembered that, in an age when the religious services were sung or said in a dead language, and the people kept, perhaps intentionally, in a state of extreme ignorance, it would matter but little in what way such inscriptions were set forth, serving as they did chiefly for ornament. But even then they were in the character of the time. In these days, however, when even the humblest classes are being taught to read, it must at least be supposed that texts and inscriptions are intended for edification. On the extreme absurdity of inscribing in a *dead language*—the Latin for instance—passages and texts from the Sacred Writings, which by the way were not written in that language (so that there is not even the excuse of quoting the original), and then—*anomaly on anomaly*—exhibiting these in *obsolete early English characters*, it is scarcely necessary to enlarge. There can be no objection to gilding, enriching, and embellishing letters of an understood and usual form, so long as it does not interfere with their being legible; but surely it is mere *dilettanteism* in taste, and a mockery in fact, to put such things before the poor in a form that places them out of the reach of their understanding. If such lettering, in the old English or the Gothic character, were insisted on on principle, or for the sake of harmony of de-

* Something of this may possibly have arisen from the undue importance given to the ingenious fancies indulged in by Durandus (*Rationale Divin. Offic.*) and other writers of the class, respecting whom Mr. Bloxam, in his valuable little Manual, quotes the following just remark: "That

the ecclesiastical writers of the thirteenth century, who wrote on the rules and ceremonies of the Church, only busied themselves in seeking and *inventing mystical reasons*, which they made the subject of their works."

sign, our buildings in the Grecian style should, of course, in like manner, have their pediments and friezes, when inscribed, filled with modern English—or whatever language it might be—in *Greek* characters. These practices, which often look too much like playing with ecclesiastical art, and trifling with serious things, are calculated to throw doubt and discredit on the best intentions, when they appear so wanting in meaning and common sense. I venture here to quote the opinion upon this subject of a writer of admitted power, and whose criticisms on art will always be considered with the respect due to earnestness of purpose combined with a highly cultivated taste. His known zeal also in the cause of art applied to such objects as belong to our inquiry gives an additional value to the following excellent remarks and advice. Speaking of inscriptions, the author of the *Seven Lamps of Architecture* says: "Let them be plainly written, and not turned upside down, nor wrong end first. It is an ill sacrifice to beauty, to make that illegible whose only merit is in its sense. Write as you would speak it, simply. . . . Write the Commandments on the church-wall, where they may be plainly seen; but do not put a dash and a tail to every letter . . . and remember you are an architect, not a writing-master."

With respect to the introduction of rude primitive forms, whether in windows or in painting and sculpture of sacred subjects, we should always bear in mind that such representations were without doubt the *best* that the age which produced them could then provide. The most able artists, such as they were, were called in to decorate the sacred edifices; and they strove earnestly to do their best. So should it be now. Modern art is not so perfect that we need do less than our best; and still less meaning and value must there be in our productions if we are guilty of the folly of *counterfeiting* the rude efforts of less instructed workmen, merely because they lived, not, be it remembered, in the days of primitive Christianity, but during the prevalence of a certain style of art; which, it must also be remembered, had but a very short existence. Entertaining the deepest respect for the motives of many of those who have, under what I conceive to be a mistaken feeling, advocated this retrograde movement, I would earnestly protest against

so unreasonable a prejudice; which would tend to crush all hope of the present age ever contributing an offering *of its own* to ecclesiastical decoration; and which would form a school of painting and sculpture—and it may even extend to more serious things—upon rules of cold prescription, rather than upon real feeling. If such a state of things could, by any possibility, be established, it could only lead to a species of hypocrisy and falsehood. Artists would no doubt be found (for they would be paid for it,) to affect ignorance and quaintness, by way of imitating or counterfeiting the simplicity of the primitive painters and sculptors; and Art, whose privilege and whose glory it should be to reflect the Truth, would become a mockery and a sham.

Of the style of architecture best fitted for ecclesiastical buildings, whether as regards their adaptation to the forms of the Anglican Church, or the preference of the designer for that of one age or another, it would be out of place here to speak.

“ Non nostrum est tantas componere lites.”*

Our immediate remarks have reference to the illustrative arts of painting and sculpture. The standard of imitation for these is Nature, the perfect forms of which can alone be the safe and sure guide of the true artist. To reject this standard, when we cannot but admit its excellence, in favour of the rude quaintnesses of a less instructed age, is a poor sacrifice of sense to good intention; and, if it does not arise from not knowing what really constitutes fine art, savours more of fancy or affectation than true feeling. A further evil consequence to which this movement, if successful, would inevitably lead, would be, as has been observed, the establishment of a school of artists, not *necessarily*, nor surely, of superior piety, but *most certainly* of inferior practical acquirements; for where beautiful forms are proscribed, the difficult study of Nature's most perfect works would, as a matter of course, very soon be neglected.

* It must not be imagined that there is the slightest intention in these remarks to underrate the exquisite monuments of Gothic architecture, of which we boast so many fine examples in this country. It is scarcely possible to speak in too high

terms of the invention, ideality, and skill exhibited by the authors of such works in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. They only apply to the mere copying of *forms*, when the great want of the age is earnestness and truth in its art.

Much that is most valuable may be learned from the serious, concentrated character of early Christian art, because it *is* real, unaffected, full of meaning, and appropriate; and, prompted by my own sincere admiration of it, I have not hesitated, in the course of these remarks, to point out generally its paramount excellence in these respects; but I have desired to shew that it is our duty to add to this any advanced knowledge we may happen to possess of the technical part of design; and so, in fact, to give *our* art the character and stamp of our own true offering.

NOTICES ON THE
DOMESDAY BOOK FOR WILTSHIRE.

THE famed Domesday Book of William the Conqueror is a register of the lands of England, framed by the order of that monarch, giving the names of the proprietors, value, tenure, and services of the several lands or manors therein described. That portion of the work which relates to Wiltshire, published about sixty years since by H. Penruddocke Wyndham, Esq., is less explicit than the portions which relate to several other counties. In the first place, very few churches are mentioned; and one would be led to conclude that the number which existed in this extensive county in the reign of the Conqueror did not amount to fifty, but that the enumeration of churches does not appear to have been a portion of the duty of the commissioners to whom the survey was intrusted, and that in the returns for Lancashire, Middlesex, and Cornwall, not one is mentioned, whilst the returns give 222 for Lincolnshire, 243 for Norfolk, 364 for Suffolk, and 126 for Hampshire exclusive of the city of Winchester and the Isle of Wight. Another omission in the Wiltshire Domesday is that the manors and estates are not arranged under their respective hundreds as they are in many other counties, so that there is great difficulty in connecting the ancient manors with the present parishes of the same name, where, as is common in this county, there are several manors and parishes of the same name, as the Winterbournes, Langfords, Clives, &c. I question whether at the period of the compilation of the Domesday Book, 1086, the kingdom was divided into parishes; as, in a very careful examination of the Domesday Book for Hampshire and Wiltshire, I have not met with a single mention of the word 'parish,' or any expression which would lead me to suppose that such a division existed. The churches which are mentioned, most of

which I doubt not are the present parish churches, are in Domesday spoken of as belonging to the several manors in which they were situated.

The greater portion of the present parishes of the county derive their names from the ancient manors mentioned in Domesday; but in several instances the manors have become divided for parochial purposes, when only one division has retained the manorial appellation, whilst in other instances several parishes comprise two or more of the ancient manors. Thus the parish of Idmiston includes not only the manor so called, but likewise that of Porton; Tisbury, which also includes the manor of Wardour; and Mere, which comprises the ancient manors of Mere, Chad-denwick, Woodlands, and Zeal.

Some of the parishes of the county of which there are more than one of the same name, owe their distinctive appellation to the proprietor of the manor recorded in the Domesday Book; thus there are two parishes of Fonthill, the one known as Fonthill Bishop's, and the other Fonthill Giffards. Now in Domesday we have two manors of the same name, one of which was held by the Bishop of Winchester, who is still the patron of the living, and the other by Berenger Gifard. Again, there are the two parishes of Cannings Bishops and All-Cannings; and in the Domesday Book there are two manors called Caninge, one of which was held by the Bishop of Salisbury, and the other by the nuns of Winchester. But, not needlessly to multiply instances, I will but mention one other; of the several Wiltshire Winterbourns, there is one within four miles of this city known as Winterbourn Earls, which I take to be the Winterbourn mentioned as forming a portion of the possessions of the Earl of Salisbury.

I have not been enabled to form an opinion whether the boundaries of the county are the same now as they were eight centuries ago, otherwise than where Wiltshire abuts against Hampshire; but here I am prepared to say that the boundaries are the same. All the border parishes of both counties are mentioned as manors in the counties in which the parishes are now situated. Thus there is a manor of Tidworth mentioned both in the Hampshire and Wiltshire Domesday. We have two parishes of the same name, South Tidworth in Hampshire and North Tidworth

in Wiltshire; and what is more, the Domesday manors and present parishes correspond with each other in comparative extent. Then we have two Choldertons, one in Hampshire, and the other in Wiltshire, and two Deans, all of which are mentioned in Domesday—one Cholderton and one Dean in Hampshire, and one of each in Wiltshire. Again, the present parish of Bramshaw is situated partly in Hampshire and partly in Wiltshire, and even the church is in both counties, the chancel in the former, and the nave in the latter. The manor of Bramshaw is mentioned in the Wiltshire Domesday only; but the tythings of Brook and Fritham, which form part of the parish, and are in Hampshire, are mentioned in the Domesday for that county.

In going through the Domesday Book for Hampshire, a few years since, I was struck with what I then regarded as the amazing number of mills which appear to have existed in the reign of the Conqueror in that county, amounting on the mainland to 226; but on an examination of the same authority for this county, I find that it possessed at the time no less than 390, and that their annual value was 211*l.* 17*s.*, or, within a fraction, 11*s.* each. There was, however, a material difference in their value; some being returned as paying from 2*s.* to 3*s.*, and others as many pounds.

Having ascertained the value of the ancient mills of the county, I next turned my attention to what was its gross rental at the period, and found it to be, exclusive of three large manors held by the king, which were not assessed, 4373*l.*, which, with the value of the three manors, and perhaps some few omissions, would fall considerably short of 5000*l.* I leave to some Wiltshire gentleman here present to say what is the present gross rental of the county.

Of the above-mentioned sum, namely 4373*l.*, nearly one-third, namely 1380*l.*, was absorbed by ecclesiastical establishments, &c. The value of the twelve manors held by the Bishop of Winchester amounted to 186*l.*; the four held by the Bishop of Salisbury to 170*l.*; the fourteen manors held by Glastonbury Abbey to 194*l.*; the thirteen held by Malmesbury Abbey to 127*l.*; the five held by the New Monastery at Winchester, afterwards Hyde, to 90*l.*; and the twenty held by the Lady Abbess and Dames of Wilton to 208*l.*

The king held twenty-two manors, and besides the profits arising therefrom received 50*l.* from the borough of Wilton, 10*l.* for a hawk, 20*l.* for a baggage-horse, and 100 shillings and 5 ounces of silver for quit-rent; from the third pennies of Salisbury, 6*l.*; of Cricklade, 5*l.*; and Malmesbury, 6*l.*; and also 60 pounds by weight from the improved rents of the county.

The Earl of Salisbury held no less than thirty-eight manors, besides the income of which he received as the sheriff of the county, 130 hogs, 32 fitches of bacon, 2 loads and 1 bushel of wheat, the same quantity of malt and of oats; 16 measures of honey, or 16*s.* instead of the honey, 480 hens, 1600 eggs, 100 cheeses, 52 lambs, 240 fleeces of wool, 162 acres of corn, and 80*l.* paid him by the collectors of the annual rents.

There is no doubt that at this period Wilton was by far the most important town in the county; but there is no further mention of it than that it paid to the king 50*l.* per annum, and 10*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* to the Abbess of Wilton.

There is no other mention of the town of Sarisberie, or Old Sarum, than that the king received from the third penny 6*l.* The manor was held by the bishop, and was of considerable extent and value. The site of the present city and close of Salisbury I take to be in the pasture of a meadow stated to be two miles and a half long, and one mile and a quarter broad, belonging to this manor. Writers in the last and preceding century state, that Bishop Poore founded his new—that is the present cathedral—in a pleasant place called Merryfield. The title here given is no other than a corruption of St. Mary's field; as we are told that the bishop erected his cathedral on land which formed a portion of the demesne of the see; and what more likely, than that the meadow should be known as that of St. Mary, patron not only of the see, but also of the cathedrals both at Old and New Sarum?

There are some detached portions of the county locally situated in Berkshire, near Reading, at the distance of twenty miles from the eastern border of Wiltshire, which are not mentioned in Domesday. Were they then considered a portion of Berkshire? and if so, at what period were they separated from it?

Berkshire was, till a very recent date, a portion of the

diocese of Salisbury. The bishop had formerly a seat at Sunning near Reading, and in all probability was the proprietor of some of the adjoining manors; and that after the erection of the cathedral, and Salisbury had become the permanent seat of the bishop, he still exercised his ancient jurisdiction over his distant manors; and as the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions were often blended, these detached portions became at last to be considered as a portion of Wiltshire. That is my impression on the point; which I now throw out in hopes of obtaining either confirmation or correction.

H. MOODY, *Winchester.*

NOTICE OF THE
CUSTUMAL OF BLEADON, SOMERSET;
AND OF
THE AGRICULTURAL TENURES OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

THERE is in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester an interesting record of the agricultural and other rents and services due to the Priory of St. Swithin in respect of the manors belonging to it in the thirteenth century.* The manuscript itself is probably of the date of the first part of the fourteenth century; but it is a transcript of inquisitions taken by juries of tenants at different periods during the preceding century, from the year 1221 to the close of it. Some few of them are of later date. The manors are principally situate in Hants, Wilts, and Somerset. The minute detail of agricultural customs and services in the several manors will present no feature of striking novelty to those who are familiar with records of this description; yet they are by no means devoid of interest or value. Indeed records of this class appear to me deserving of more attention than they have hitherto received from those who desire to obtain sound and correct views on the history of their countrymen. In a few instances they have supplied materials which topographers and statistical writers have known how to appreciate; but they have for the most part either been disregarded as of little interest, or fallen under the observation of writers who were incompetent to avail themselves of their contents. Yet it is only by resorting to such sources that we shall ever be able to explain the classification of tenures adopted by those who framed the great survey of the Conqueror, and

* It is due to the Dean and Chapter, and to Mr. Lampard, the Chapter-clerk, to express the writer's obligation to them for

the facilities of inspection kindly afforded to him.

identify the population, there described, with those who, under other names, are found to be the tenants and tillers of the land at a later period. It is by the aid of such records alone that we can hope to find a solution of questions on which great authorities have entertained opinions very widely different:—Whether the establishment of the Normans in this country permanently affected, for better or worse, the condition of the general body of the people? Whether the *status* of personal and prædial servitude, during the centuries immediately succeeding that event, underwent progressive alleviation, or was rendered more rigorous by the encroaching demands of the dominant classes?

Sir M. Wright inclines to the opinion that villans were found by the Normans in a state of “downright servitude,” and were enfranchised by them (*Tenures*, pp. 216, 217). Reeves, in his *History of English Law*, adopts the same view (vol. i. p. 39). Sharon Turner also represents the settlement of the Normans as favourable to personal freedom (*Anglo-Saxons*, b. viii. ch. 9, ad finem). According to Sir H. Ellis, the serfs and ceorles of the Saxons were reduced by the conquest to a common slavery (*Introd. to Domesday*, vol. i. p. 81). Mr. Hallam (*Supplement. notes*, p. 277) seems to think that the state of villenage underwent deterioration from the villani of Domesday to those of Bracton and Littleton. That questions of such historical importance should remain undetermined, shews that the published materials of general history are still defective and inadequate.

An enumeration of names, rents, services, and local customs might seem, at first sight, to convey information of little value: yet we can trace in them the early practice, and the gradual improvement of husbandry; we can perceive and comprehend the system of agricultural tenures; the provision made by such tenures, as well for the maintenance of the labourer as for the cultivation of the landowner’s demesne; and the mode of admeasurement and distribution of the land itself. We can discern the rude justice dealt by the lord to his peasant-subjects in the manorial court, and the means taken for securing retainers in the various business of the lord at a time when the grant of a subordinate interest in land was the most convenient

method of remunerating personal services.* Nor is it a task unfit for the exercise of a rational curiosity to trace up to a period antecedent to the Norman dynasty the existence of local usages, which bear in their very names the impress of a Saxon origin, and have left behind them no doubtful vestiges at the present day.

Among the manors described in the custumal of St. Swithin, I would point out BLEADON as one in which the services and customs, the mutual rights and obligations of the lord and the cultivator of his land, are defined with remarkable fulness of detail. I speak of *mutual* rights; for some acquaintance with records of this nature disposes me to think that the legal rights of the manorial tenant, and the permanence of his tenure in the early history of this country, have been rather underrated by modern writers. Among the most exceptionable features of personal villenage in the middle ages were, the legal inability of the villan to secure his acquisitions of property; the restraints imposed on marriage in his family; and the inadequate remedies and partial tribunals to which alone he could resort for the vindication of even his admitted rights. These, and the exposure to acts of unlawful aggression, were indeed serious grievances; but they were such as pressed with almost equal weight on the free and the serf. Personal property was everywhere inconsiderable in amount and precarious in title. It should be recollected too, that the most important part of the peasant's working stock was originally supplied by the landlord, and was repaired and renovated by materials also furnished by him.† The matrimonial restrictions on the peasant were light compared with the oppressive disabilities of the tenant in capite of the

* Godric, the sheriff, repaid a female teacher in his family by an estate in Buckinghamshire. (*Domesday*, vol. i. p. 149.) A manor in Surrey constituted the fee of the Conqueror's man-cook. (Id. p. 36 b.) Eight centuries afterwards, the governor of Chili settled a surveyor's bill with 8½ square miles of forest (*Darwin's Naturalist's Voyage*, chap. xiii.) The governor probably laboured under the same want of ready money at his banker's as Godric and William. Such modes of remuneration are apt to be hastily called *feudal*; a name applied indiscriminately by writers of every class to almost every obsolete practice of mediæval economy.

It is remarkable that the characteristic features of the ancient relation between the lord and his customary tenantry have been most completely developed and most obstinately retained in those eastern states of Europe in which the feudal polity, properly so called, never prevailed.

† This is well illustrated in the description of the obligations of the free *Geburi* in the Saxon Consuetudinal, Thorpe's *Ancient Laws, &c. of England*, vol. i. p. 435; and the learned editor of the *Kelso Register* points out in his preface the prevalence of the same early usage among the husbandry tenants of Scotland.

crowns. The most valuable rights of persons in a subordinate condition, whatever their personal *status*, were protected, for the most part and in the first instance, by the jurisdiction of seignorial courts, worked for the profit of the lord rather than the benefit of the suitor; or by the process of superior courts, whose costly and dilatory aid must have been practically as inaccessible to the simple freeman as to the serf.*

Bleadon is remarkable on other grounds. It is the subject of a charter of Eadgar, A.D. 975, which competent critics have pronounced to be spurious. The history of the annexation of the manor to the church of Winton is obscure. We have an early, and, I believe, an unsuspected charter of Eadwig,† professing to grant fifteen cassates or hides at Bleodone to Aethelwold, which is recorded in the Codex Winton among the title-deeds of the priory or church. According to another authority,‡ Githa, the widow of Earl Godwin, gave the manor to the *church* of Winchester, “*ecclesiæ Wintoniensi*,” in 1053. The Domesday Survey§ represents it to be held by the bishop in trust for the maintenance of the monks, “*de victu monachorum* ;” and describes it as consisting of fifteen hides, with servi, villani, and bordarii, including one hide held of the bishop by Saulf, probably a freehold tenant. The simple form of early grants to the “church” generally, or “*Deo et ecclesiæ*,” afforded obvious materials of litigation. According to our present notions of conveyancing such a grant would be void, for want of a proper description of the immediate recipient of the grantor’s gift. Our ancestors were satisfied with this undefined form of endowment; and as long as the bishop lived, like St. Augustin, in common with his monks or canons, there was little room for dispute. But when the bishop afterwards assumed a corporate character distinct from the convent or chapter of his church, dissen-

* The rolls of manorial and other local courts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries bear witness to an enormous amount of litigation, producing to the lord an abundant crop of fines and amercements. Every false step in a suit, every formal misprision in pleading, and every attempt to settle the action out of court, was a source of revenue which the lord’s officers knew how to cultivate and improve. The annual receipts form no despicable item in a bailiff’s or minister’s ac-

count, and may be seen among the “*perquisita curiæ*” in many a voluminous roll, still alumbering under the dust of centuries in the muniment rooms of our great landowners.

† The charter, date 956, is printed among Kemble’s *Diplomata Anglo-saxonica*, vol. v. p. 344.

‡ *Historia Minor*, anno 1053; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 277.

§ Vol. i. folio 87.

sions arose in this and other sees respecting the appropriation of the revenues. We are told that Bishop Vauclin, or Walchelinus, divided all with the monks ;* but as early as A.D. 1122, an "enormis discordia" broke out between them, and the bishop was charged with mismanagement and misappropriation of the church property.† There is abundant proof of the recurrence of similar dissensions ; and I cannot help suspecting that the reputed charter of Eadgar was the fruit of them, and was framed by the legal adviser of the monks to settle the question of appropriation, so far as regarded Bleadon, in favour of the prior and convent. It purports to give the fifteen hides called Bledone to the monks of Winchester, and proceeds to describe the property and its tenants in language so unlike a charter of the tenth century, and differing so little from that of Domesday, as to excite a fair suspicion that the document was concocted from the materials supplied by that survey, by omitting the name of the bishop, and superadding a description of metes and bounds borrowed from the earlier charter of Eadwig.‡

At the time of the Reformation, the manor was the uncontested property of the Priory of St. Swithin, and still belongs to their representatives, the Dean and Chapter of Winchester. At the date of the survey recorded in the custumal the tenants consisted of the following classes :

Liberè tenentes, or freeholders, of whom three are mentioned, and those only incidentally.

* Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, vol i. p. 278.

† "Enormis discordia inter episcopum et monachos pro dilapidatione et ecclesiis quas episcopus abstulit." *Ang. Sac.* vol. i. p. 298.

‡ The charter of Eadgar is printed in the *Diplom. Anglo-sax.* vol. iii. p. 219, from the Cottonian charters. It purports to grant "Deo et S. Petro monachisque veteris cenobii Wintanæ civitatis 5 mansas cum 15 hydīs et 15 carucis (sic) terræ cum 18 servis et 16 villanis et 10 bordis (sic) cum 60 acris prati et pastura 1 leuci et dimidii longitudine, et dimidii leuci latitudine, ubi a ruricolis Bledone nuncupatur, in perpetuam possessionem donando donavi, ut habeant et possideant bene, honorifice, in æternam hereditatem, et inde prout voluerint liberè disponant et habeant ibidem omni die lunæ liberum mercatum, &c. . . . Hæc dedi dictis monachis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Si quis igitur," &c. [Then follow the metes, nearly agreeing with those

in Eadwig's charter.] The entry in Domesday is as follows: "Episcopus tenet Bledone. De victu monachor' fuit et est. T. R. E. geldb' pro 15 hidis. Terra est xvii. car'. De eâ sunt in dominio x. hidæ, et ibi iii. car' et viii. servi et xvii. villani et x. bord' cum xi. car'. Ibi l. acr' prati et pastura i. leu' longitudine et dim' leu' latitudine. Valuit et valebat xv. lib'." [Then follows the subtenure of Saulf.]

It will be seen that the charter differs from Domesday in describing the carucates as 15 instead of 17, the servi as 18 instead of 8, and the acres of meadow as 60 instead of 50. It is marked as suspected by Mr. Kemble, and pronounced to be spurious by Dr. Hickee in his Dissertation. It is remarkable that the description in the Exeter Domesday also differs in the number of servi from that in the Exchequer Domesday. As all the old numbers are expressed in Roman numerals, such variations are common, and may be reasonably ascribed to error.

Virgarii and *dimidii virgarii*; the holders of virgates and half-virgates of land. The number of acres in each virgate is not specified in this manor. In the other manors of the Priory, the virgate contains a variable number of acres from 16 to 48; generally, it seems, a multiple of 8; the numbers 16 and 32 are of most frequent occurrence; and in all of them a hide contains four virgates.

The *virgarii* are followed by the holders of *ferdella* and *dimidia ferdella terræ*; the *ferdell* being evidently the quarter of a virgate. In some other manors they are called *ferdellarii* and *dimidii ferdellarii*.

Next after these are tenants of messuages with gardens, or with two or three acres of land. They are equivalent to the *messuagarii*, or *cotarii*, mentioned in some other manors of the Priory.

The custumal also notices the obligations of men and women of servile condition within the manor, who occupy no land to their own use, but are bound to render agricultural services. The names of the tenants, who rent mountain pasture and pay *herbagium* or herbage-rent for it, are also mentioned; and the duties and perquisites of the reeve of the manor are specified.

The above classification of tenants is not materially different from that of all the other Priory manors, nor indeed (so far as my experience extends) from that of most other manors in the south and south-west of England. In these manors the names of the classes occasionally vary; but whether called *hidarii*, *hidatarii*, *virgarii*, *bordarii*, *bordmanni*, *bovarii*, *cotarii*, *cotmanni*, *coterelli*, *cotsetli*, *cotagiarii*, *astrarii*, *messuagarii*, *bertonarii*, *gabularii*, *censarii*, &c., they derive their distinctive names, not from any fundamental qualities of tenure, such as now distinguish freehold, leasehold, and copyhold, but from the quantity of the land held, or the nature of the tenement, or of the rent or service rendered in respect of it.

A classification of this kind admits of great variety in name, with little substantial difference in nature. If the lord divided the land of his barton into tenemental portions, each tenant became a *bertonarius*. If a cot or cotland, consisting either of house and land, or (as was often the case) of land only, was the subject of the tenure, the tenant was a *cotarius*, *cotmannus*, &c. If in lieu

of services in kind a money payment was received, the tenant was enrolled among the *gabularii*, *gavelmanni*, or *censarii*. The occupancy of a bord constituted a *bordarius*; of an aistre or auster tenement (as in Somersetshire), an *astrarius*. In other parts of England, other names, peculiar to certain districts, present themselves. In the north, the *husbondi* figure in the rentals; in the eastern counties we have the *lancetti* and their *lancettagia*. In the extreme west the tenants called *conventionarii* predominate, probably so called from the special conventions under which they held their lands. Each class, however composed, was only a variety or species of the comprehensive genus which, under the general name of *custumarii*, *villani*, *bondi*, or *rustici*, are found opposed to *liberi* or *liberè tenentes* in numerous early records and text-writers, and are unquestionably at the root of our existing copyhold tenure.

I am not aware that any of these tenures necessarily implied the personal servitude of the tenant, although it is probable that in the manor of Bleaden many were in that condition, as the custumal provides separately for the case of those personal serfs in the manor who were not tenants of land under the lord. But the silence of the custumal with regard to talliage at will, and the absence of the well-known restrictions as to the marriage and ordination of children, would seem to indicate that in this manor, though certainly not in some other of the Priory manors, the tenants were exempt from those almost unequivocal badges of the servile state.*

* The Bordarii in the above enumeration derive their name from the *borda* or *bordagium*, which they occupied. The continued use of the word in this sense in France, from the date of the earliest Norman custumal to the present day, seems to exclude all reasonable doubt on this point. In Gascony it signifies a *métairie*. In the Eye custumal (Harl. no. 639, f. 68), a "custumarius" of Stoke manor renders 2d. and a hen "pro quâdam bordâ." In the Otterton custumal a tenant who holds a "bordage" at will pays 4s. per annum (Oliver's *Mon. Exon.* p. 256). This word affords a striking proof how much remains to be done to illustrate the history of manorial tenure. The bordarii constitute the largest class of inhabitants enumerated in Domesday; yet

so little is known of them, that one very learned author (Kennet, *Gloss.* ad voc.) says that they were distinguished from villani and other tenants by being of "less servile condition;" while another still higher authority (Spelman, *Gloss.* ad voc.) states that they hold "per servitia plus servilia quam villani." The most eminent living historical writer speaks of the word as "unknown to any document except Domesday" (Hallam's *Supplem.* to his *Middle Ages*, p. 217). Yet the bordarii are named as a subsisting class of tenants in the reputed laws of the Conqueror; in several Saxon charters (perhaps of questionable genuineness); in the *Templars' Book*, among the Exchequer records; in the *Evesham Register*; in the *Boldon Book*; in the *Shaftesbury Register*; the *Otterton Custumal*; the *Liber*

The economy of the manor is very clearly displayed in the custumal. The lord (in this case the prior in right of his convent) received, as at this day, fixed, otherwise called *assised*, rents in money from both freehold and customary tenants, and reaped the profits of his own demesne land. The demesne was cultivated, either wholly or chiefly, by the reserved services of the customary tenants already described, those services being generally fixed, not by contract or specific agreement, but by *custom*, binding alike on lord and tenant, and ascertained by the presentment or testimony of the tenants themselves. The virgateholders ploughed the demesne, with their own ploughs, on one day in each week from Michaelmas to Ascension. Two extra ploughings at the feast of All Saints were called (for reasons specified in the record,) *graserthes*; another ploughing or harrowing in Lent was called *tywe*. A day's labour, called a *dayua* or *dayva manualis*, was due on every Friday from Michaelmas to Ascension-day, two weekly from Ascension to Lammas, and one weekly from Lammas to Michaelmas. The punctual attendance of the

Niger of Peterborough; and in many other unpublished records and registers.

The doubts expressed by Lord Loughborough as to the received opinion of the derivation of copyhold tenure from ancient villenage are well known (*Astle v. Grant*, *Douglas Reports*, p. 725). Another writer has recently suggested the more probable descent of copyholders from the class of tenants called *buri* in Domesday. See an article on the Prussian peasant-fiefs in *Edinburgh Review* July, 1847, p. 160.

The doubts of Lord Loughborough are founded on the fact, that personal villenage and a tenure analogous to copyhold are alleged by Selchow to exist contemporaneously in northern Germany. His lordship seems to refer to the *bauren* or *rustici*, and the *leibeigener* or *homines proprii*, of the old German lawyers (Selchow, *Elem. Juris Germ.* lib. i. cap. vi. *Engaw*, lib. i. tit. iv.). The reasoning is not very sound; for unless the change was effected at once, there would always be in existence at the same time some of both classes until the transition was complete. With respect to the other conjecture, it is observable that the *buri* are mentioned very rarely in Domesday, whereas the copyhold tenure has been clearly the general peasant-tenure throughout the realm. If, therefore, the *buri* and *villani* are dis-

tinct classes, the exclusive descent of the copyholders from the *buri* is not probable. On the other hand, the *gedur* or *burus* occurs in documents both earlier and later than the Domesday Survey, and in manors and places where no such tenants are named in it. The buri of Chilbolton, mentioned in the custumal of St. Swithin, are distinguishable from the *virgarii* and *coterii* of the same manor in little else than name. In the manor of Hurstbourne the same custumal apparently uses the word as a general description of a class of tenants including those who are designated therein by other specific names. In fact, the *buri* or *boors* were only one of the various kinds of tenants in villenage, who are now represented by our customary or copyhold tenants.

It cannot be shewn, nor is it probable, that *all* copyholds were once cultivated by villans in blood, or personal serfs. "Omnes rusticos," says Selchow, "olim homines proprios fuisse et artibus cleri, jurisconsultorum, expeditionibus cruciatis, &c., ad libertatem enisus esse, nunquam probatum est." In other words, the predecessor of the copyholder was a peasant-proprietor or tenant, but not necessarily a personal slave, as Coke and Blackstone seem to suppose.

tenant and a full measure of day's labour were enforced by stringent regulations.

The tenant and his whole family reaped three *bedripes* at harvest-time, and owed six more reapings, called *accommodations*, with a certain number of labourers, in the autumn. Before St. Thomas's day he contributed, with the other tenants, to wattle the lord's sheepcote, called the *wuxi*, with reeds found by himself. Under the name of *averagium*, each virgate-tenant carried the produce of the demesne to Bristol, Wells, Priddy, Bridgewater, and Uxbridge, and also shipped it for sea. Other agricultural works are particularised, some of which are reckoned as customary day-works; others seem to be extra-works. Thus he was to fetch wood and timber for various purposes; to assist in carrying corn to the mill, and making ready the wheat, oats, and malt against the Christmas festivities of the Priory. When the lord sowed wheat in the hams, the tenant was entitled to his *averland*, or acre of stubble, in consideration of services bestowed on the crops there. By his aid at sheep-shearing he earned a share in one of the best cheeses in the lord's cheese-press. He paid paunage for the feed of his pigs and colts, and toll on the sale of horses; but could not sell his male colt, after weaning, without license,—a prohibition very common among tenants in villenage at this time.*

Among the cases which excused him from his customary day of labour, the death or burial of his wife was one. If rain prevented him from working, he must make up the lost time on another day.

At Christmas, he and the other tenants who helped at harvest, with their household, were entitled to the hospitality of the lord, and were feasted with bread, beer, pottage, a full mess of beef, another of pork, a brewet of poultry and pork, and cheese; and they might sit drinking after

* As long ago as 15 John, it was ruled in the Curia Regis, that neither agricultural services nor septennial aid disproved the freedom of the tenure; but to make fine to the lord for the liberty of marrying the tenant's daughter or selling his cattle seems to have been regarded by the court as proof of villenage. *Placitorum Abbreviatio*, p. 90, under Trin. 15 Joh. rol. 20. Middlesex. Yet even these humiliating disabilities were not conclusive; for they might be the consequence of special agree-

ment. See Coke on Littleton, 117 b. The marriage-fine continued to be paid in some manors in which personal servitude had long ceased. The *amobyrr*, or maiden-fee—the *merces filie*, or *merchet* of English manors—was paid by the tenants of certain Welsh manors until a very recent period, and may perhaps be still demanded. The marriage-fee of five shillings was certainly paid to the lord of Bashall in Warwickshire as late as A.D. 1657. See Watkins, *Copyholds*, v. ii. p. 575.

dinner as long as they could see without candles: "sede bit post prandium et bibet quamdiu de die potest videre sine candelis accensis."

The exact composition of this "brewet" is a mystery on which some light is thrown by the receipts of "ancient cookery" published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790, among which divers savoury "browets" will be found. Whatever it may be, it is plain that, if the above enumeration represents the order as well as materials of the dinner, there is little, except port-wine and candles, to distinguish a farmer's club-dinner of this day from the fare of the boors of Bleadon. If sickness kept the tenant at home, he might send for his dinner; but in that case the bill of fare was, as might be expected, of a less copious and solid character. The services and perquisites of the demi-virgarii are similar in kind to those of the virgarii.

The services of the ferdell-holders are described with equal minuteness. They have a general resemblance to those of the virgarii, but seem to presuppose the possession of less working-stock. They do no *average* with horse and cart for the lord; they lend neither plough nor cart to him, but, on the contrary, appear to be entitled to the use of his plough and team every other Saturday, and his cart in autumn. From Lammas to Michaelmas they do, weekly, three days of such handwork as the bailiff shall prescribe, and are liable to bedripes and accommodations with one labourer, and they prepare the *vereme*-corn against Christmas, like the virgate-holders. They pay *chersett* at Martinmas in the form of hens, and not, as in some manors, in the form of seed or corn. They pay paunage for their pigs, cattle, and farm-horses; assist in stacking the hay, corn, and beans; carry water for brewing; drive cattle to Winchester, and help to plough; but some of these services seem to be in lieu of the customary day-works. On Christmas eve and at Carniprivium (the beginning of Lent), each receives a white loaf and mess of flesh meat; and every tenant is bound to eat before the lord at his first coming: "Manducare debet coram domino in primâ die adventus sui." As the tenants, bound so to eat, were amerced or fined if they failed, it is evident that this appearance at the Prior's coming was in some way for the benefit of the latter. It was probably like the compulsory

presence of tenants at the lord's *alescot*, where the guests were obliged to buy their landlord's beer. In some manors this scot was released on consideration of an annual payment, as in Nutshulling, another manor of St. Swithin's.*

From this last class of *ferdellarii* seem to have been chosen the lord's herdsman and shepherd, whose duties and perquisites are fully described. When cattle in his care were slaughtered for the larder, to the herdsman belonged, by way of perquisite, the neck, the blood, the *revelsticche* and *hastingsticche*, and five *small-tharms*, and the *vemcoppe* and *endless-tharms*, and one *pot-therm* and *minte*, and a *pane bachtherm* as long as the arm from elbow to hand.

To identify the particular *sticches* (*i. e.* steaks), and the *tharms* or viscera, indicated by these various names, would require greater familiarity with the Saxon shambles than I can lay claim to; and the only inference I can draw from the enumeration is, that blackpuddings and haggis were well known to the bucolic tenantry of the Priory, but were in less esteem among the aristocracy of St. Swithin. The herdsman's own cattle were allowed some advantages in the lord's pasture and stall; he was entitled to the first, inferior, milk of the cows and heifers under his charge, as well as to a share of the whey and buttermilk; and on every Wednesday and Saturday between Hockday (Easter) and Lammas, he received one large bowl of whey, the bowl being deep enough nearly to cover both his ears: "qui in profunditate ferè cooperiet ambas auriculas pastoris." The reeve of the manor also received his allowance of whey meted out to him by the like measure of capacity, adapted to his own ears instead of those of the shepherd. Among other perquisites of the shepherd, he had the lord's sheep folded on his own land between Christmas and Epiphany; the milk of all the ewes for a week before and after Michaelmas; a weaned lamb, called a *stilom* (or more correctly, a *scilamb*); a share of whey and buttermilk, like the cowherd; and the fleece of the bell-wether.

In the above customs relating to the cowherd and shepherd we perceive a resemblance, almost amounting to iden-

* On a writ *De consuetudinibus et servitiis*, tried before justices in Eyre in 25 Henry III., the plaintiff alleged the obligation of his tenant to come with his wife at Christmas to his lord with four

loaves, six hens, and six gallons of beer, "et ibidem cum ipso manducare." Such hospitality needed stringent process to compel the guests to come in. See *Placitorum Abbrev.* p. 117.

tity, between their perquisites and the rights of the vaccarius and pastor in the Saxon Custumal* already cited. In both we have the "beastings," or first milk of the cows; the twelve nights' dung at midwinter; the weaned lamb; the bell-fleece; the milk of the ewes at the equinox; and the bowl of whey or buttermilk. In the Custumal of Bury St. Edmund's somewhat similar perquisites are also assigned to the bercarius and vaccarius of Mildenhall.†

Another of the ferdell-holders found all the blacksmith's work for the lord's horses and ploughs; and was, it seems, the common smith of the vill or manor; an office held by the widow Alicia when the custumal was compiled.

The holders of half-ferdells performed services resembling those of the last tenants, but of reduced amount.

One tenant, Nicholas Duele, holding five acres of land, and paying 11s. of rent, was bound to serve on a different element. It was his office to find a ship or boat to go on his lord's service into Wales, at his own cost, to fetch timber, sheep, brushwood, &c., or to sell corn. On the occasion of a second voyage, the lord was bound to keep the sailors in victuals. On a third, the lord paid freight for the vessel; but Nicholas was even then bound to take less freight from the lord than from any one else, and to give him a preference. In time of war (with Wales, I presume) he was bound to keep a look-out by sea or land, and to warn the lord and his men against any danger, in case he should hear any rumour of mischief:—"secundum posse suum munire dominum et homines domini, ne in malum incident, si aliquid mali audiat loqui versus dominum vel suos."

The tenants of messuages and gardens paid rent or gable, and performed day-labour at stated times, and other light agricultural services. One of these and one of the holders of half-ferdells were bound to come to the *shern-trede*, that is, to help to manure the lord's land.

All the lord's men and women of servile condition, who held no land to their own use in the manor, were compelled to perform three bedripes in autumn, and they took a sheaf each day for themselves, unless they happened to be then in the service of some other free man.

* Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, &c. vol. i. p. 439.

† See Harl. Mss. no. 3977.

They and all other autumnal reapers were among the lord's guests at Christmas. All the men of the manor, who brewed for sale, gave four gallons of ale for toll. From this payment only two were exempted.

All the virgate or half-virgate tenants were bound to serve as reeve, and, as such, to travel on the lord's business within the county for a fixed reward, and out of the county at the lord's expense. A ferdell of land, called *reeveland*, belonged to him *ex officio*; and by way of further fee he had various easements and rights of common for his cattle; the second-best *scilom*; a bowl of whey, measured, as I have already noticed, by the depth of his ears; half an acre of wheat, of fair quality, called *deuland*; and a general exemption from all customary *dayvæ manuales*, rent, paunage, toll, and herbage dues.

Some curious instances occur of contrivances to keep the perquisites of the tenants within reasonable bounds, by making the custom a check on itself. When the tenant mows and tedds the grass at hay-time, he receives for his due a load of grass, as large as he can lift with the handle of his scythe; but lest the lord should suffer by any unusual effort of strength, the custom provides that, if the handle should break in lifting the load, the tenant shall not only lose his grass, but be further mulcted for his attempt. When he cuts and carries reeds for the lord's use, he is entitled to as large a sheaf of them as he can bind with one of the longest reeds; but the size and weight of the sheaf are limited not only by the length, but also by the strength of the band, which must consist of a *single* and not a *double* reed. Such, at least, appears to be the meaning of the custumal. Vague measures of quantity and capacity were favourites with our ancestors. When the tenant ploughed or harrowed for beans, the driver of his team might demand three *yepsones* of beans, being as much as the reeve could take up three times with both hands joined. The German counterpart of this measurement is quoted by Grimm: "*Tantum farinæ quantum ter potest simul capere utrâque manu*" (*Deut. Recht Alt.* p. 100); and in lands of the Priory of Christchurch, Canterbury, every customary tenant who mowed for the lord had "*tantum de herbagio viridi quantum poterit levare super punctum falce suâ*;" and for harvest-due, as much

oats "quantum ter in manu suâ palmare et levare poterit," and also a *tosschef* (toss-sheaf) as large as he could bind with a band of straw cut, *but not uprooted*—"quantum potest ligare in ligamine metato et non abradicato neque cum radicibus abstracto;"* so that he was not even to have the benefit of the fibrous prolongation of the stalk!

Such is an abstract of the agricultural customs of Bleadon. A transcript of the manuscript, so far as respects this manor, is subjoined; a few unimportant details only having been omitted. Words of very Saxon aspect occur in it; and the Saxon character itself is occasionally employed. Of some I have attempted an explanation in the annexed Glossary with more or less confidence; and to all of them I invite the attention of the curious.

The manor consists at this day, as I am informed, of a bare seignory and quit-rents, with no valuable demesne attached to it. The services described in the Custumal have, for the most part, ceased to be exacted; and the tenements once occupied by the several classes of tenants above enumerated, as far as can be ascertained, are all now copyholds for lives, not distinguishable in any material respect from ordinary copyholds. The *virgates* are now called yard-lands, and the *ferdella* are farthing-lands.

EDWARD SMIRKE.

GLOSSARY

OF SOME OF THE MORE REMARKABLE WORDS USED IN THE BLEADON CUSTUMAL.

ACCOMMODATIO (f. 94 b). An autumnal reaping due from the *virgate* tenants. Why it was so called, and how it was distinguished from a *bedripe*, does not appear. According to the Otterton custumal, the Yarcombe tenants were bound "secare acram prati in quâlibet ebdomadâ Augusti, et, si necesse fuerit, accomodare secationem sequentis ebdomadæ." f. 41. This perhaps explains the word in the Winchester custumal. It was an extra *bedreap*.

* Extent of Borle, A.D. 1308. *Regist. Priorat. Eccl. Christ.* fo. 20, 21. *Brit. Mus.* Perquisites of the kind noticed

above were by no means uncommon in other manors, and in all parts of the country.

AFER, AFFRUS, AVERIUM (f. 94 b, &c.). A horse or any beast of labour. See post **AVERAGIUM**.

AMER (93 b). Sometimes written **AMBRA**. A measure said to contain four bushels. See Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, &c. Gloss. ad fin. The *amer cum culmine* seems to be the same as *amer cum cumulo*, heaped measure.

AUGEUM (f. 95). A cheese-press, or perhaps a trough or tray for cheeses. *Un auge*, Fr.

AVERAGIUM (f. 94 b). The work done under the obligation referred to above under the next word. Although the authorities differ on the subject, the better and more reasonable opinion is, that it is the Latin form of the French word *ouvrage*; and that *afér* or *aver* have the same origin. See Spelman, voc. *Avera* and *Averagium*, Jameson's *Scottish Dict.* ad voc.

AVERIARE. To fetch and carry with the tenant's own horse (*averium*) or cart for the lord's use. It nearly corresponds with the *carropera* of the Frankish Capitularies.

AVERLOND (f. 95). An acre of stubble, allowed by way of perquisite to the tenant towards the feed of his afer or averium.

BEDRIPE. Labour bestowed on the lord's harvest; sometimes called *benripe*, *beneday*, *lovebots*, *precaria*, &c. It is explained in most of the glossaries, and is usually assumed to have been, in its origin, a voluntary act of favour on the part of the tenant, converted into a compulsory due by the lord. I am aware of no *proof* that it was ever voluntary; and the name itself may perhaps only imply that it was due if, and when, demanded, instead of being due on fixed days and times.

CHERISETTUM (f. 96 b). *Primitiæ seminum*, paid at Martinmas. This word, spelt in other records *ciric-sceat*, *chursettum*, *chirseth*, *chursectum* (often abridged *churs'*), *ciriset*, *scireset*, *chirset'*, *chircsed*, and *chesset*, has been abundantly explained and illustrated; see Glossary in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws, &c. of England*, vol. ii., and Kemble's *Saxons in England*, vol. ii. p. 490. In manors in the south and west church-shot was more frequently paid in cocks and hens than in corn or seed. It was sometimes paid in wax. When it consisted of hens, it was also called *hens-yewe*; as in Carnedon Prior (Launceston Priory Rental. Anno 18 Edw. IV.) At Christchurch, Hants, it is, or was, called *Martyn-rent*. Whether paid in money or kind, although in its origin an ecclesiastical due, it often became so far annexed to the lordship of the manor as to pass with it into lay hands.

COTSETLESCORN (f. 96 b). Those who held ferdells of land were entitled to one acre of each kind of corn, namely, wheat, barley, and oats. Rye does not appear to have been grown at Bleadon, for the custumal never refers to it. This allowance was called *cotsetles-corn*; it would therefore seem that these tenants ranked as *cotsetli*; a class mentioned in other places; as in manors belonging to Shaftesbury, Hyde, &c., as well as in the "Rectitudines singu-

larum personarum" printed in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws, &c. of England*.

DAYA. The office of the *deye* or *daya*, in the department of the dayeria or dairy, is explained by Kennet in his *Glossary*; and the authorities are collected in a note upon the word in Mr. Way's edition of the *Promptorium Parvulorum*.

DAYUA or **DAYVA.** This word, which is often repeated in the custumal, is not in terms explained there, nor is it noticed in the glossaries. The context shews that it means a day-work. When done by the hand, it is there called a *dayua manualis*, and corresponds with *manopera* of the Frankish Capitularies. The terms most employed elsewhere are *dieta*, *dies*, *diurnale opus*, *journée*, and *operatio*. In this custumal it has also two secondary meanings, namely, the actual produce of the day's work, as where the tenant is enjoined "portare dayuam suam in granarium" (f. 93 b); and also a certain quantity of land measured, as it seems, by the quantity of labour that it demands. Thus one tenant holds "unam pecetam terræ continentem unam dayuam terræ" (f. 99 b). In a will made at Exeter, and entered in the register of St. John's hospital there (f. 53), I find "unam dyavam terræ" mentioned, where the letters *y* and *a* are transposed. The word "*datuerka*," or "*deywerck*," is employed in the same sense, especially in Kentish documents. It should seem that, although it perhaps originally imported, in all cases, an actual day's work, it was sometimes set out by measurement, and so became piece-work. Nor was the whole day necessarily required: thus, in folio 94 of the custumal, "operabitur usque ad summam meridiem pro dayuâ, nisi posita sibi fuerit per perticam dayua." The perquisite of the reaper after his day-work was a bundle of corn called the "*dayue-handful*" (f. 96). I suspect that the *dayne* tenants, in Taunton Dean, derive their names from some early blunder of a steward, who has read *n* for *u* in the old court-rolls. The word also corresponds with the *daywyns*, noticed under Pakenham manor in the Consuetudinary of Bury. *Harl. Mss.* no. 3977.

DEULAND. The half acre of corn of average quality due to the reeve was called by this name (f. 101). Perhaps it was *due*-land.

FORLONGUS (f. 97 b)—**FORINGA** (f. 98). On the first of these words I have only to observe that it cannot be taken as a fixed measure of area here, or in any contemporaneous survey of land in the south or west that I have seen. It is still often used for an allotment of land held in severalty in a common field, whatever be the dimensions. Nor must it be confounded with a *ferling* of land, which, in modern court-rolls, has generally become a *farthing-land*. As to "*foringa*," it is probable that the word has been mis-written without an *l*; at least it is new to me as written.

FRESSANG[A] (f. 95). We have seen above that this article, with poultry, composed the solid part of the brewet eaten at Christ-

mas by the tenantry. It occurs in many other documents, as will be seen under the head *Friscinga* in Ducange, and in the Prolegomena and Glossary to the Polyptic of Irmino, ed. Paris. Whether it means a porker of a certain age, or the pluck, fry, or haslet of a pig at any age, has been a question. The more recent French word *fressure* would dispose one to construe it by *fry*; but the weight of authority is clearly in favour of the whole hog. The reeve of Multon gave, as a present to the lord at Christmas, “unum freceingum, et viginti gallos et gallinas.” Spalding Register, Cole Mss. vol. 43. See also the *Liber Niger Petroburgensis*, ed. Camd. Soc. The modern *frischling*, which in German means a young boar, is evidently derived from it. Anton, who has noticed it in his *Geschichte der Landwirtschaft*, informs us that the name was given to the young both of pigs and sheep. Vol. i. p. 134, 435, 440; vol. ii. p. 197, 310, &c.; vol. iii. p. 391, 406.

GRASERTHE, also written GRASHURTHE (f. 93 b). Grass-ploughing. Probably the gärsyrðe of the *Rectitudines*, cited supra. It is explained in the custumal to mean the plough-service due in consideration of the lord's abstaining from making *winter-hays* on the common land, *i. e.* of leaving more grass to the commoners, by making no enclosures in the winter-time. The word occurs in other records, but not always in exactly the same sense.

GESTUM (f. 98, 100 b, &c.). The “*gestum natalis domini*” designates the Christmas hospitalities of the Prior. In the glossaries it is explained by reference to the well-known *droit de gîte*; but there is this peculiarity in the use of it in the custumal, that it seems to reverse the usual obligation, and describe the hospitality which the tenant was entitled to from his lord. See post verb. VEREME.

HORDARIUS (101 b). This was a well-known officer in the convent, and is commonly taken to have been the treasurer.

INNUNGE (f. 93). The context explains this to mean an annual rent paid for a right of turning cattle into certain hams or meadows, when the commons elsewhere are under water. *Inledge-money* is in like manner paid by the tenants of Albourn, Wilts, for the use of certain demesne lands of the lord.

MIDOVERNON (f. 95). 3 o'clock P.M. Halliwell's *Archæol. Dictionary*.

MEG' (f. 97). Whey. Maigne, Cotg.; mesga, Ducange. It is the “*cuppa plena mesgii*” of the *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*. Thorpe, *Anc. Laws*, vol. i. p. 439.

ORTE (f. 97). The refuse of food dropped by the lord's stall-fed cattle. Such refuse, left by two of the cattle, belonged to the herdsman. See Jameson's *Dict.* ad voc. Orte.

PAUNAGIUM (f. 95). Sometimes spelt *pasnagium* and *pannagium*. The only remarkable thing is, that it is here used as a payment for depasturing not only swine, (which is the common meaning of it,) but also horses and oxen.

REVELOND (f. 101). The allotment of land occupied *ex officio* by the reeve. Such an official tenement is by no means uncommon in manors.

RENCUS (f. 97). A row, as applied to the sheaves standing in the field.

RICHELES (f. 94). They seem to be the *rickles* mentioned in Jameson's *Dictionary*, ad voc. In this case, bean-stacks.

ROSEUM (f. 94 b). Reed. *Roseau*, Fr. Perhaps it includes rushes and sedge. See Cowel *Interp.* Ros and Rosetum.

SHERM-TREDE—TREDESHERN (f. 99, 100 b). The word sufficiently explains itself to mean the service of either collecting or helping to spread the manure on the lord's land. From the Saxon *scarn*.

STILOM (f. 97 b, 101). Although the second letter is a pretty clear *t* in the ms., there can be little doubt that it should be read *c*. It plainly means a lamb separated from the ewe, *i. e.* a *scilamb*, or lamb *skiled* (separated); from *scylan*, A.S. to separate. *Skile*, in this sense, is still locally in use; and *skeyl-beast* is a partition in a cattle-stall. See Halliwell's *Archæological Dict.*

TINCTOR—Tingere (f. 93 b, 96 b). The plough-driver, who *tings*, *i. e.* goads the oxen, or other beasts, of the plough. The word is not in the Latin glossaries. In a roll cited by Cullum (*Hist. of Hawsted*) he is called *tentor*. The word *ting* is locally known in the provinces.

TOYLARDUS (f. 101 b). Said to be a sheep or ram; see Cowel, *Gloss.* (who cites the Glaston Cartulary) ad voc. *Toyliardus*.

THERMES or **THARMES** (f. 96, 97, 97 b). The viscera of the cattle and sheep killed by the herdsman and shepherd, and kept for his own use, viz.: the five small-thermes, the endless-thermes, the pot-therm, the bach-therm or pane bachtherm. Other parts noticed are: the revel-steak or sticche, the hasting-steak, and the vemcoppé or venicoppé. "Minte," though mentioned together with the thermes, is possibly no part of them. It seems to be the herb? A similar distribution of the fry among the officers of the Bishop of Cologne is noticed by Anton, *Landwirthschaft*, vol. ii. p. 306.

TREDESHERN. See ante **SHERMTREDE**.

TYPE (f. 93 b, 99). The penult letter is written like a Saxon *w*; but it may be *tythe* and not *tywe*. The Lent-ploughing done by the tenant is called by this name. The season indicates that it must have been bestowed on the fallows, and was probably a *twi-fallowing*, called by Fleta and the old writers *rebinnatio*. Perhaps the etymon of the name is to be found in the first syllable of this word.

TOLLENAGIUM (f. 95). Toll paid by the tenant on the sale of a horse within the manor (f. 95); or on the brewing of beer for sale (f. 100 b). In the first case, it was a money-payment; in the last, a payment in kind. Both occur very generally among manor customs. The last is sometimes called *tolsester*, *gavelsester*, and *chepsester*; i. e. a sextarius, sester, or setier of the beer brewed for sale. See *Regist. Hon. Richm. Gloss. ad fin.*; *Shaftesbury Regist. Harl.* 61, f. 80, &c.

VENTERIA (f. 96, 100). The winnowing.

VEREME—VERONE—VERME (f. 94 b, 95, 95 b, 96). These seem to be only different spellings of the same word, perhaps not very familiar to the scribe himself. It purports to describe the corn provided by the tenants for the Christmas feast of the lord, and also the feast itself, or the "gestum natalis domini." If we suppose that *v* has been substituted for *f* (as would certainly now be done in Somerseshire), we have a near approach to the *feorme* or *ferme* of the Saxons, which bears exactly the same double sense of a corn-rent and a feast or entertainment. The Saxon custumal in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws, &c.* of England, furnishes, in this and other particulars, a parallel case, where it signifies both the provision supplied by the tenant to the lord and the "firma natalis domini," or *midvintres-feorm*, which he claimed from the lord at Christmas. In Domesday the term is employed in the first sense, as in "firma unius noctis," "firma quatuor septimanarum," and other instances. The duty "triturare verreme contra natale domini," mentioned p. 96, is closely paralleled by the duty of the Cokefield customary tenants "flagellare firmam," i. e. to thresh the corn-rents due to the Abbey of Bury. See the Consuetudinary of Bury, cited supra.

WALDUS or **WALDUM** (f. 94). The context requires that this should be a *wall*; but it is rude latinity, even for a compiler of a rental. In the flat district, in this part of the country, there have been immemorial fences against the sea; and many lands are still held by the prescriptive tenure of *wall-work*.

WOODKEYCH (f. 94 b). It is not clear whether this is the name of some wood, or the name of the service of getting timber there for the yokes and bows of the team, and for making ploughs.

WUXI (f. 94 b). The only passage containing the word is the following: "Debet tegere duas crates et dimidiam de ovili domini quod dicitur *wuxi* de roseo suo proprio." It would appear to be the name, not of the service, but of the sheepcote itself. To wattle the hurdles of the cote was called *wiscare* or *wizare faldam* (Custumal of St. Swithin, under the heads of Estone and Eneford). The customary tenants of Portwood were bound "wiscare duas clatas de faldâ prioris et colligere wiscas et culmina," &c. (Cartulary of St. Denys, Southampton. Add. Mss. Brit. Mus.) The "claiiæ wiscatæ" in the lands of Melrose Abbey are mentioned in the *Liber Melros.* (ed. Bannatyne). The word *wisk*, in the sense of a

twig or rod, is not now in general use, though still known in the dairy and the kitchen. *Wuxi* is therefore either the wattled cote, *falda wixata*; or the act of wattling it, *wixatio*. The interchange of *i* and *u* is common; thus *risc* or *rix* (Sax.) is now *rush*. Fields are occasionally called the *woxies*; there are two so called in Sparsholt, Hants, which perhaps owe their singular names to this tenure, or to the sheepcotes on them. The service, commuted into money, probably gave rise to the payment called *watelsilver* paid in Compton manor, Kent (*Regist. Prior. Christchurch, Canterbury*. Add. Mss. no. 6159, fo. 177 b). It is remarkable that the word *wiscare* is in none of the printed glossaries.

WINTERHAYE (f. 93 b). An enclosure made by the lord on the common lands in winter. See ante GRASERTHE. It is of the same nature as a *binghay*, noticed in *Archæol. Journal*, vol. v. p. 122.

YEPSONE (f. 93 b). A handful taken with both hands joined. Ray, in his catalogue of local words, has, "Yaspen or yeepsen, in Essex, signifies as much as can be taken up in both hands joined together." So Grose, *Provincial Gloss.* verb. Yaspen; probably on the authority of Ray. It seems to be derived from *gespon*, A.S.

REDDITUS, SERVITIA, ET CONSUETUDINES MANERII DE BLEDONE.

(Fol. 93 *et seq.* of the Custumal of the Priory of St. Swithin, Winchester. Most of the words in italic are noticed in the preceding Glossary.)

GILBERTUS HUPPEHULL de Sapkotte tenet unam virgatam terre in manerio de Bledone et dat domino de redditu ad festum S. Mich. annuatim x den. et 1^d ob. de redditu ad hokeday qui dicitur *innynge*, ut possit habere ingressum in pasturam in parte australi prati domini, qui dicitur Bysouthemed, et in unam croftam de tribus magnis hammis ad pasturam infra *les hammes* quam dominus inveniet ad averia sua intranda et in eadem crofta habenda quando alia pastura que est extra hammes cooperta est salso mari; et dabit pro quolibet averio in eadem pastura 1^d ob. ad herbagium [f. 93 v^o.] ad festum S. Johannis Baptiste. Et idem debet arare domino cum caruca sua et bobus suis qualibet die Lune a festo S. Mich. usque ascensionem Domini, exceptis duabus diebus Lune infra xii dies natalis domini, quando due dies Lune accidunt infra eosdem dies, et excepto die Lune in septimana Pasch; et licet aliquod festum duplex accidat die Lune quando debet arare domino, non debeat eidem allocari, quin arare debeat in septimana alia die quando jussus fuerit. Et similiter de pluvia et tempestate, si accidant eadem die, non debet allocari quin alia die arare debeat. Et idem debet arare duas aruras in hieme que dicuntur *graserthe*, sc. unam aruram ante fest. omnium sanctorum et unam post idem festum. Et inventa fuit ista arura ita quod dominus nullum defensum facere

deberet in hieme, quod dicitur *wynterhaye*, contra averia sua in nullo loco super terram suam propter eandem aruram. Et idem debet in quadragesima arare unam aruram que dicitur *type*, vel herciare pro eadem arura. Et si idem Gilbertus boves suos in hieme, dum sunt ad herbam, adeo mane sicut voluerit invenire non poterit quando debet arare domino, ita quod tardius quam deberet veniat ad aruram, tunc ballivus precipiet eidem sine omni occasione reverti, et in crastino citius venire ad aruram jubebit.* Et quando arat ad seminandum fabas domini vel herciat et seminat fabas domini, tunc *tinctor* ejus habebit tot fabas sicut prepositus vel messor potest accipere duabus manibus junctis de fabis domini ter; scilicet, tres *yepsones* fabarum. Et idem debet facere qualibet die Veneris a festo S. Mich. usque ascensionem Domini unam *dayuam* manualementem. Quando triturat frumentum, triturbabit unam mensuram plenam que dicitur *amer' cum culmine*; et debet ventare et portare in granarium; et quando triturat ordeum pro *dayua* triturbabit et ventabit duo *amer'* plena cum culmine pro *dayua*; et quando triturat avenam, triturbabit et ventabit tria *amer'* plena de *aven'* pro *dayua* sua cum culmine; et quando triturat fabas vel pisas, triturbabit et ventabit duo *amer'* plena in culmine pro *dayua*; et semper portabit *dayuam* suam in granarium cujuscunque bladi fuerit; et si fossare debeat pro *dayua* sua, [f. 94] tunc messor vel prepositus debet ponere per perticam *dayuam* suam. Quando fossat contra mare ex parte forinseca *waldi* contra mare quod dicitur *solye*,† tunc habebit unam perticatam pro *dayua*; et quando debet extollere *waldum* contra mare, habebit unam perticatam et dimidiam pro *dayua*; et quando fossat in parte interiori cursum aque in hammis, purgabit duas perticatas in longitudine et latitudine de tribus *spcatis*:‡ et idem debet facere qualibet septimana ab ascensione Domini usque ad vincula beati Petri duas *dayuas* manuales, et quando sarclat bladum domini pro *dayua*, veniet ad sarclationem quando averia villate veniet ad campum, et sarclabit usque ad meridiem summam. Et in hieme quando claudit circa *berthonam* vel ortum vel facit murum vel tegit domos, veniet cum solis ortu et operabitur usque ad vesperam pro *dayua* sua; et in estate quando claudit circa *berthonam* vel ortum vel murum facit vel tegit domos vel aliquid facit consimile opus, veniet ad operationem suam quando averia pergunt de villa ad campum, et operabitur usque ad summam meridiem pro *dayua*, nisi posita sibi fuerit per perticam *dayua*. Et idem debet facere unam *dayuam* manualementem qualibet septimana ab ad vincula beati Petri usque ad festum S. Mich. Debet falcare unam dimidiam acram prati pro *dayua* et spargere herbam suam quod dicitur *tedde*, et habebit unum onus herbe sicut levare potest cum ligno falcis, ita quod non frangat; et, si frangatur, est in misericordia domini. Et debet relevare herbam dimidie acre prati

* i. e. The bailiff is not to accept an imperfect day's work.

† This word requires explanation. Does it describe the sea or the service?

‡ Sic. The first letter seems superfluous, and the word should be read *perticatis*.

et facere ad mullonem pro una dayua si jussus fuerit. Item debet relevare unam acram et dimidiam feni de feno domini, nulla ei allocata dayua. Et idem debet cum carro suo de feno domini quinque cariationes feni in berthonom, et inveniet hominem suum ad mullonem cum furca sua ferrea, qui ponet suum fenum, quod cariauerit, super mullonem feni, non allocata ei dayua. Et idem debet metere unam dimidiam acram frumenti vel ordeï vel avene, et ligare et portare ad tassum pro dayua, et debet falcare dimidiam acram fabarum et ponere ad *richeles* pro una dayua. Et debet metere tres *bedripes* cum tota familia sua; et idem portabit ad tassum bladum ligatum post quatuor homines;* et uxor ejus dabit unum denarium pro bedripis suis relaxandis. Et idem cariaabit cum carro suo totum bladum quod messum est ad tres *bedripes* super [f. 94 v^o.] custum suum una cum carris domini. Et debet metere sex *accommodationes* domino in autumpno per totum diem, scil. iii. *accommodationes* cum duobus hominibus, et iii. *accommodationes* cum i. homine per totum diem; et idem debet falcare duas cariationes et dimidiam de *roseo* domini, et cariare cum carro suo in berthonom domini; et habebit unam garbam rosei tam grossam sicut potest ligare cum vinculo non duplicato, set sicut crescit de longiore roseo, nulla allocata ei dayua.† Et idem cariaabit omnes fabas domini cum carro suo una cum carris domini sine dayua; et idem debet tegere duas crates et dimid' de ovili domini, quod dicitur *wuxi*, de roseo suo proprio; et quod tegatur ante diem sancti Thome apostoli ante natale per visum bercatorum, et, nisi tegatur, tunc erit in misericordia domini. Et idem faciet *averagium* apud Bristoll' et apud Wellias per totum annum, et apud Pridie, et post hokeday apud Bruggewauter, cum affro suo ducente bladum domini, caseum, et lanam, et cetera omnia que sibi serviens precipere voluerit; et habebit unum quadrantem et dayuam suam quietam. Et debet facere *averagium* apud Axebrugge et ad navem quotiens dominus voluerit, et nichil habebit propter idem *averagium*. Et si fecerit aliquod *averagium* die Veneris, que est dies assueta ad faciendam dayuam, tunc habebit dayuam ejusdem die quietam. Et debet ire ad nemus cum affro suo pro dayua una, et colliget unam summam virgarum, et adducet ad curiam domini; et habebit arcem que est ultra cellam unde summa ligatur, pariter et alterum baculum qui est ex altera parte equi portantis summam in oculo diete arcis.‡ Et idem debet ire cum affro suo in wodelonde quod dicitur *wodekeych* propter juga boum et arcus, et propter meremium ad carucas domini faciend' super custum suum sine dayua. Et idem adducere debet bladum carucatorum et *daye* et porcarii ad molendinum, et iterum ad hospitium sine dayua. Et unus eorum ibit secum ad molendinum; et idem triturbabit *verone*, vid. unum dimidium amer' plenum de frumento, vel unum amer' et dimid' de

* Called "homines metentes" in the services of R. Gele, post.

† i. e. This is not to be in lieu of a dayva.

‡ The sense is not clear; but the passage seems to allude to the place in which the rods are stowed away, and to the tenant's perquisite out of the horse-load.

avena, contra Natale *ad gestum* qui dicitur *vereme*, sine dayua. Et idem adducet frumentum ad panem ad gestum Natalis domini, et braseum contra Natale ad molendinum, et habebit unum servientem de curia secum sine dayua, et adducet semen avene et fabarum in hammis cum affro suo quando dominus habet carucas suas, et herciant* pro arura quando seminant avenam et fabas in la hamme pro dayua [f. 95] hoc adducet. Et idem habebit unam acram stipularum et de meliori stipula frumentea, quam dominus habet in hammis, ad pascendum affrum suum; et vocatur *averlonde*. Et si dominus non seminaverit frumentum in hammis, non habebit acram stipularum. Et idem inveniet unum hominem ad lavandum et tendendum bidentes domini; et idem inveniet unum hominem ad tendendum agnos domini; et ille et omnes alii, qui tondent agnos domini, habebunt meliorem caseum qui jacet in *augeo* ad saliendum in comuni; et si laverit bidentes domini et totonderit, vel agnos totonderit in die Veneris, habebit unam dayuam quietam. Et idem dabit *paunagium* pro porcis suis; si sit porcus superannatus dabit unum denarium; si sit infra annum dabit obolum; et sus, que est mater porcellorum, debet esse quieta. Et dabit *paunagium* pro pullano superannato 1 denarium; et, si sit infra, dabit obolum; et habebit affrum suum vel affros suos quietos de *paunagio*, si simul inde fecerit *averagium* domino in eodem anno. Et dabit 2^a de *tollenagio* si vendiderit equum suum vel equam suam infra libertates manerii; et non potest vendere pullanum suum masculum sibi pullenatum, nisi dum lacteat matrem, sine licentia servientis. Et dabit 1 denarium de *paunagio* pro quolibet veteri bove vel vacca, si quos occiderit ad lardarium suum et† idem sit infirmus vel moriatur habebit unam dayuam quietam. Et si uxor ejus moriatur vel sepeliatur in die Veneris, que est assueta ad dayuam faciendam, habebit 1 dayuam quietam. Et si pluvia impediatur aruram vel bedripes circa meridiem vel nonam vel post nonam circa *midovernon*, debet ire ad hospitium‡ sine allocatione aliqua et redire in altera die ad aruram vel ad bedripes.

Et idem Gilbertus et uxor ejus et tota familia sua, et omnis qui fuerit ad tres bedripes domini, habebit gestum suum in die natalis domini, qui dicitur § et quilibet habebit unum bonum panem et bonam cervisiam et potagium et plenarium ferculum de carnibus bonum, et aliud de carnibus porcinis, et *gallinas cum fres-sang' in bructo* et caseum; et sedebit post prandium et bibet quamdiu de die potest videre sine candelis accensis. Et si infirmetur [f. 95 v^o.] et sit ad hospitium, et uxor et alique de familia sua mittant qualem volunt ad curiam propter prandium eorum, quilibet habebit unum bonum panem et unam lagenam cervisie bone et unum plenarium ferculum de grossis carnibus.

[Here follows a list of ten more tenants, each also holding one

* Sic, in the plural.

† Si seems to be wanting here. If *idem* means the *tenant*, the freedom from a dayua upon his death was a superfluous boon.

‡ "Ire ad hospitium" here, and in other places, means 'to go home.'

§ A blank in original; probably *vereme* is the omitted word.

virgate ; nine of them hold by the same tenure as the above, and owe services like those of Gilbert Uppehull. The tenth holds freely, "tenet liberè de domino," a virgate formerly of the like tenure, and pays eight shillings for all services. Then follow Ricardus Gele, and eleven other tenants, who all hold half virgates.

The services, &c. of Gele are detailed, and are nearly the same as those of the previous tenants of virgates, called "*virgari*," but less. Each of the others "dat, facit, et recipit sicut R. Gele." Among other services, he ploughs *graserthes*, "et triturbabit *verme*."

[f. 96.] Nicholaus Monachus unum ferdellum terre tenet, et quatuor gallinas dat de *cherissetto* die S. Martini, et idem faciet tres dayuas manuales qualibet septimana ab ad vincula beati Petri usque ad festum S. Michi's, et faciet pro dayua quicquid precipietur eidem ballivo. Quando falcat, habebit herbam suam sicut ceteri pro dayua ; et quotiens messuerit pro dayua, debet* colligere tot spicas de garbis adunatis ad tassum quot potest tenere in manu sua et ponere ad hanchiam suam et ligare, que dicitur *dayue-handful* ; et quotiens triturbaverit pro dayua, habebit paleam que exit a *venteria dayue sue*. Et idem debet metere cum uxore et tota familia sua iii bedripes in autumpno, et faciet accommodationes cum uno homine in autumpno, et triturbabit *verreme* contra Nat' domini, et dabit paunagium pro porcis suis et pro bobus veteribus et vaccis, si quos occiderit ; et pro affris suis, quia non facit averagium, dabit paunagium et tallagium si vendiderit, et pro pullanis suis superannatis et infra, nisi fuerit pullenatus post festum S. Joh. Bapt. tunc non dabit paunagium nec *virgarius* nec *dimidius virgarius*.† Et iste et omnes alii hujus tenure habebunt unam acram frumenti et unam acram ordeï et unam acram avene nec in meliori nec in pejori, set de medio bladi domini, quod dicitur *cotsetlescorn* ; et debet esse [f. 96 vº.] super mullonem feni quando cariant fenum ; et debet esse cum furca sua ad tassationem frumenti domini et ordeï et avene, quando cariant bladum quod messum fuerit ad bedripes ; et debet esse cum furca sua ad tassationem fabarum domini et ponere fabas super tassum quando cariant fabas domini. Et idem portabit aquam contra Natale ad pandoxandum, et erit quietus de dayua dum fert aquam, et habebit in vigilia Natalis domini lagenam cervisie de media cervisia ; et debet fugare animalia domini apud Winton super custum suum, et erit quietus usque dum venerit ad hospitium de dayua ; et debet tenere carucam vel *tingere* boves domini si jussus fuerit et esse quietus de omni dayua. Et habebit semper alterum diem sabbati cum caruca domini et bobus, et similiter in autumpno cum carro domini ; et habebit in vigilia Natalis domini unum album panem et unum ferculum carn[is], et ad carnprivium ante quadragesimam unum ferculum carnis ; et si festum aliquod accadat in sua die sabbati propter quod omittitur, vel pluvia vel tempestas

* "Debet" is here used in the sense of a right and not a duty ; a sense not very uncommon.

† Quære, why a foal dropped after midsummer paid no paunage ? Probably because it could not consume much herbage during the current year.

impediat, non debet eidem in alia die allocari sua dies sabbati.* Et manducare debet coram domino in prima die adventus sui.

Et debet custodire animalia domini, videl' boves et vaccas in una pastura et cetera animalia otiosa in alia pastura, cum pastore eorundem; et habebit unum bovem in pastura cum bobus domini et unam vaccam cum vaccis domini in pastura; et bovetos suos habebit cum bovetis domini in pastura quieta de herbagio omnes quos ad domum suam poterit yemare. Et ubique debet esse quietus de herbagio; et debet in autumpno venire ad vesperam ad carum domini propter boves domini sub jugo. Et habebit unam garbam cujuscunque bladi fuerit de ultima cariatione, et custodiet boves domini per totam noctem, et in mane rediet ad jugum cum bobus domini, et custodiet post autumpnum, et semper dum sunt ad herbam. In summo mane fugabit boves domini ad jugum. Et si dominus fecerit lardarium suum de animalibus que idem pastor habet in custodia sua, habebit idem pastor de quolibet animali occiso collum, et sanguinem, et *revelsticche*, et *hastingsticche*, et quinque *smaleparges*, et *vemcoppe*, et [f. 97] *endeleseparges* et unum *potperm*, et *mint* et *pane bachperm* continentem longitudinem a cubito usque ad manum. Et quando ligant† boves domini in boveriam in hieme, debet custodire eosdem et trahere fenum et stramen quod debent comedere, et portabit in boveriam, et habebit quod remittitur ante duos boves, quod dicitur *orte*, per totum terminum dum boves domini stant in boveria; et habebit bovem suum ligatum inter duos forinsecos boves domini a vigilia Natalis Domini usque ad nonam in die Ascensionis Domini; et custodiet boves et vaccas et cetera animalia domini in boveria de die et nocte, et dabit eis comedere et adequabit eosdem quando necesse fuerit, et habebit lac veterum vaccarum in prima septimana post vitulationem quando vituli plus nolunt suggere;‡ et habebit lac juvenicarum per quindenam post vitulationem postquam vituli plus nolunt suggere; et habebit *meg'* ad partem suam ad curiam; et habebit partem lactis quod est sub butiro quando perficitur butirum; et habebit qualibet die mercurii et sabbati ab hokeday usque ad vincula beati Petri unum magnum ciphum plenum de *meg'* exeunte caseo quando premitur caseus, qui in profunditate ferè cooperiet ambas aurículas pastoris; et idem habebit lac secunde melioris vacce, quando *daya* omittet facere caseum per collectam propter paucitatem lactis post festum S. Mich'is dum sunt ad herbam, donec vacce ligentur in boveria; et tunc non habebit.

Et erit idem pastor quietus de omni *dayua*, et faciet cum tota familia sua tres *bedripes* in autumpno, excepto pastore qui custodit animalia domini in pastura; et tassabit alteram partem *tassi* cujuscunque de blado domini quod messum est ad *bedripes* in campis; et habebit qualibet die ad *bedripes* unam garbam meliorem que stat *in renco* garbarum; et tassabit in *grangia* et in *berthona* alteram

* *i. e.* If a feast day or the weather prevents him from having the lord's plough on the proper day, he loses his turn.

† *Sic*, plural.

‡ This is the milk still called "beastings" or "beastlings" in northern parts.

partem cujuslibet tassi et faciet semper alteram partem cujuslibet mullonis feni; et manducabit coram domino prima die adventus domini, et non dabit nisi duas gallinas de chersetto, quia est pastor animalium domini.

Et idem Nicolaus debet custodire bidentes domini si jussus fuerit, [f. 97 v^o.] et esse quietus de omni dayua. Et idem portabit sive removebit qualibet die ovile domini, et habebit super terram suam ovile domini a vigilia Natalis Domini usque ad nonam in vigilia epiphanie Domini si tunc bidentes domini sedent in ovili; et debet habere tecturam totius ovilis domini de hockedaye post nonam; et habebit in *forlongo*, ubi ovile domini tardius steterat, de garbis ordei simul ligatis unum onus tam grossum sicut potest levare et portare de eodem forlongo per visum servientis. Et si custodierit matricem oves per totum annum, habebit* omnium matricium ovium per unam septimanam ante festum S. Mich. et per unam septimanam post idem festum S. Mich. Et si dominus traxerit bidentes ad vendendum vel ad lardarium suum faciendum, bercator habebit unam ovem matricem veterem; et si custodierit matricem, habebit unum agnum qui dicitur *stilom*,† ad separationem; et habebit lac matricium in die pasche ad horam matutinam de quibus agni sunt separati; et custodiet oves matricem usque quo habeant xxx^{ta} agnos; tunc dominus inveniet alium bercatorem ad custodiendum oves matricem et agnos que agnilaverunt; et bercator de villa alias oves matricem custodiet usque ad agnilationem; et post agnilationem tradet bercatori domini, et adjuvabit quod agni in mane et sero bene lactentur cum bercatore domini. Et custodiet oves et agnos dum bercator domini vadit comestum, et quousque iterum veniat; et habebit lac matricium quarum agni sunt mortui usque ad xxix., donec agni separentur; et si excedit xxix^{tem} dominus habebit lac. Et habebit partem suam de meg' curie et lac quod est sub butiro quando butirum perficitur, sicut pastor vaccarum; et habebit de qualibet bidente occisa ad curiam de grege suo collum, et sanguinem, et minte, et potpames; et habebit bidentes suas omnes cum bidentibus domini quas custodit; et habebit unum vellus de veller[ibus] domini, quod dicitur *belwetheresflus*, et custodiet bidentes domini quod plene possit respondere de velleribus integris domini. Et si aliquid de velleribus amittatur, bercator restituet ad tonsionem, et habebit in vigilia Natalis Domini unum album panem et ferculum grossum carn[is], et in die Natalis Domini habebit unum panem ad canem suum; et faciet ille et uxor ejus et tota familia sua tres bedripes domino. Et veniet ad bedripes quando portaverit ovile domini, et rediet ad vesperam quando hora venerit lactendi matricem, et habebit unam garbam qualibet die sicut pastor animalium [f. 98], et debet esse super omnia tassa et mullones feni in grangia et in berthona, et non dabit nisi duas gallinas de chersetto, quia est bercator bidentium domini. Et habebit gestum Natalis Domini, et ille et uxor et tota familia sua, que fuerit ad bedripes domini; et manducabit ad curiam coram domino prima die adventus domini.

* The word *lac* seems to be wanting.

† Or *scilom*?

[Here follow the names of seven tenants holding a ferdell of land each, of the same tenure and services as Nicholas, except one ferdell "quod nunquam consuevit operari."

One tenant holds eight acres, and pays 3s. 2d. de gabulo, and 6d. de quadam *foringa* terre, &c.]

[f. 98 v^o.] Alicia relicta Petri Fabri tenet ferdellum terre et inveniet unum fabrum domino et toti ville, et debet idem faber reparare ferramenta duarum carucarum domini de ferro domini et facere eadem ferramenta de novo quando necesse fuerit super custum suum, et faciet ferros et clavos de ferro domini ad unum affrum domini, et ferrabit eundum affrum de clavis et ferris predictis. [Some common agricultural services omitted here.] Et ferrabit palefridum domini in quatuor pedibus in quolibet adventu domini, et inveniet ferros et clavos. Et manducabit cum domino prima die adventus domini; et nisi manducaverit cum domino est in misericordia domini; et habebit quatuor averia et unum affrum in pastura domini by Southemedes cum averiis domini otiosis quieta de herbagio. Et lavabit bidentes domini, et reparabit vellera domini sicut alii* tondent bidentes.

[Here follow five tenants of half ferdells, "dimidia ferdella terre," with the services of Nicholas Monachus halved and otherwise reduced; one of them "debet subpeditare stercora boum, quod dicitur *trede-shern*."

Jordanus de Purdone holds a messuage and two acres at 18d. de gabulo, owes two *grashurthes* in winter, and in Lent a ploughing called *type*, and three bedripes.]

[f. 99 v^o.] Nicholaus Duele tenet v. acras terre in hammis. Dat domino 11s. de gabulo annuatim. Et inveniet navem suam vel batellum suum ad serviendum domino eundo in servitio domini ad Walliam super custum dicti Nicholai propter merem[ium?] vel oves vel buscum vel quid dominus [?], vel ducendo bladum domini ad vendendum; et alias inveniet navem suam ad serviendum domino sine fretto, et dominus pascet marinarios deservientes dicte navi. Et tertio inveniet navem suam ad serviendum domino, et dominus dabit frettum pro dicta navi; set idem Nicholaus melius forum dabit domino quam alteri homini, et promptior et prouior erit ad servitium domini quam alterius hominis ad tertium passagium. Et debet in tempore hostili per mare sive per terram eundo secundum posse suum munire† dominum et homines domini ne in malum incidant, si aliquid mali audiat loqui versus dominum vel suos. Et habebit in communi pastura de Bledone extra hammes xxxii matrices bidentes et unum castricum,‡ et vii averia otiosa et unum affrum quietum de herbagio.

Adam filius Alvuve tenet messuagium et ortum et unam peccatam terre continentem unam *dayuam terre*. Et debet operari quolibet septimana per annum unam *dayuam* manualementem et faciet pro *dayua* quicquid precipietur a serviente preter falcare. Et ille et uxor ejus faciet iii bedripes in autumpno, et habebit qualibet die

* "Qui" seems wanting here.

† i. e. monere.

‡ A wether sheep; Cowel.

unam garbam, et debet esse ad tassationem bladi domini in berthona, et habebit qualibet die garbam unam, et debet esse ad muliones feni faciendos, et habebit garbam unam qualibet die de feno. Et si messerit pro dayua, habebit garbam suam ad vesperam. Et si triturerit pro dayua, habebit paleam [f. 100] suam ad *venteriam dayue* sue. Et dabit paunagium et tollenagium et habebit gestum Natalis Domini, et lavabit et tondebit bidentes domini.

[Here follow ten tenants of a messuage and garden, or small quantities of land, who pay gable and light agricultural services: "triturerit verme," and one "veniet ad *shermtrede* domini."]

[f. 100 v^o.] Omnes homines et femine domini servilis conditionis, terram non tenentes ad propriam mensam in manerio de Bledone, facient tres bedripes domino in autumpno, et habebunt unam garbam qualibet die; et si serviant alicui libero homini, veluti Personae vel Ade de Suddon in manerio, facient tres bedripes domino et non habebunt garbam suam, quia sunt ad alterius mensam. Et omnes homines qui sunt ad bedripes domini in autumpno venient et habebunt gestum Natalis Domini adeo bene sicut alii terram tenentes.

Omnes homines in manerio de Bledone dabunt paunagium et tollenagium, et dabunt quatuor lagenas cervisie ad tollenagium quando pandoxant ad vendendum, preter Adam de Suddon et Aliciam relictam Petri Fabri, qui non dabunt.

Omnes homines de Stipelot* tenent unam pasturam que vocatur Newelond, et dant herbag' xx denarios ad festum S. Joh. Baptistae pro eadem pastura.

[Then follows a list of tenants who hold pasture "juxta montem" and pay herbage.]

[f. 101.] Tenens virgatam terre vel dimidiam virgatam terre debet esse prepositus, et idem debet arare domino et cariare cum carro suo domino tantum sicut vicinus ejus ejusdem tenure qualis ipse est. Et faciet tres bedripes cum tota familia sua, exceptis uxore et magistro serviente suo; et debet ire in servitio domini infra comitatum ad negotium domini perficiendum, et habebit unum denarium de crumena domini. Et si eat extra comitatum in servitio domini ad negotium ejusdem faciendum, dominus inveniet sibi sumptus suos necessarios usque dum venerit ad hospitium, et habebit unum ferdellum terre sine messuagio quod vocatur *revelond*; et habebit equum suum vel jumentum suum in hieme ad fenum domini, et in estate ad herbam domini in pastura in Saltelond; et habebit v vaccas cum vaccis domini in pastura, et habebit oves suas in pastura domini semper post oves domini; videlicet, omnes oves quas potest in hieme ad domum suam legaliter yemare; et habebit secundum meliorem agnum femellum post dominum, qui dicitur *stilom*, quando separant agnos domini; et habebit unum magnum ciphum plenum de meliore meg', qui in profunditate cooperiet ambas auriculas prepositi; et habebit unam dimidiam acram frumenti nec de meliori frumento nec de pejori, set de medio frumento

* Probably *Scipelot*, now Shiplate, a village or hamlet in the parish of Bleadon.

domini quod dicitur *deulond*. Et debet esse quietus de omnibus dayuis manualibus, et est quietus de gabulo suo; et debet esse quietus de paunagio et tollenagio et herbagio.

Willielmus de Falcumbe tenet v acras terre, quas Nicholaus Duele quondam tenuit, que fuerunt in manu domini; et dedit [pro] predicta terra tenend' domino G. le Noreys, tunc *hordario*, xl^s pro introitu [f. 101 v^o]. Et reddit inde annuatim iii^s pro omnibus servitiis; et habebit in communi pastura de Bledone extra hammas xxxii oves matrices et unum *toylardum*, et vii averia otiosa, et unum affrum quietum de herbagio.

THE EARLDOM OF SALISBURY.

By JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq., F.S.A.

THE descent of the Earldom of Salisbury presents three distinct series of succession. The first of these, commencing in the middle of the twelfth century, furnishes only three Earls, who occupied the dignity for about sixty years; but whose representatives retained some lingering claims to it for about a century longer. The second series, beginning soon after the expiration of those claims, extends over the period of two centuries, though, as before, it was only in the earlier part of that time that there were distinct Earls of Salisbury, the dignity being subsequently merged under other titles; of this, the second race, there were four Earls in the family of Montacute, two in the family of Neville, two in the royal house of Plantagenet, and one Countess by creation, also of that house. From her death there was no Earl of Salisbury for a period of sixty-four years; after which King James I. conferred the dignity on the family of Cecill, which holds it to the present day. In this last creation, the Earldom of Salisbury is a mere title by which its owners in male succession inherit the dignity of a peerage, and which title, from the year 1789, has been accompanied by the higher rank of a marquess. What more than this in relation to the county of Wilts, and how far differing in its nature and tenure the ancient Earldom was, it will be the object of the following remarks in some measure to elucidate.

The family upon which the Earldom was first conferred had, from the Conquest, occupied a similar though subordinate position; and they possessed no other surname but that which they derived from the castle of Sarum. Edward of Salisbury was the *vice-comes* of Wiltshire at the time of the Domesday Survey. If the designation *vice-*

comes were to be regarded as we now regard titles of dignity, we might fairly translate it as viscount, though viscount was not really introduced into England as a title of peerage until the reign of Henry VI. But in early feudal times titles independent of office did not exist: the *comites*, or earls, were actual officers; and the *vice-comes*, who acted in the absence of an earl, is usually considered as identical with the functionary known by the English term shire-reeve, or sheriff. The Latin records of many centuries, down to modern times, confirm this interpretation.

For many of the reigns of our Norman monarchs, this office of *vice-comes* or sheriff was commonly hereditary. Afterwards it was granted to the same person for several successive years, at the king's pleasure; and lastly, the modern practice obtained of appointing a new sheriff every year. In one instance only, that of Westmerland, an hereditary sheriff has been continued to our own times; and the office has very recently become vacant by the death of the last Earl of Thanet.

In a chronicle belonging to the nunnery of Lacock in North Wiltshire, which was one of the foundations of the Earls of Salisbury, a genealogical history of their ancestry was given, which, though inaccurate in some particulars, may, in its general scope, be supposed to have been founded upon well-remembered tradition. It traces their ancestry to a certain Walter le Ewrus, comte of Rôsmar, who, it states, before he came into England, was the father of Gerold comte of Rôsmar; and after he came hither had a son named Edward, an Englishman by birth, who was afterwards *vice-comes* of Wiltshire.

In the memoir on the Earldom of Lincoln, which I had the pleasure to offer to the attention of the Institute last year, I shewed how William de Romara, who was Earl of Lincoln in the reign of Stephen, was the son of Robert Fitz-Girold; and that Girold, the father of Robert, was identical with Girold of Roumare, who was Dapifer of Normandy before the conquest of England. This Girold, then, is the person of whom the Book of Lacock speaks as Gerold comte of Rôsmar, and who, as it asserts, was the brother of Edward *vice-comes* of Wiltshire. But, as in the descent of the Earls of Lincoln this genealogist dropped one generation, so it appears very probable that in the

descent of the sheriffs of Wiltshire one generation also is omitted, and that the Domesday Edward was not grandfather, but great-grandfather of Patrick the first Earl of Salisbury. Supposing there were two successive Edwards, this conclusion will be reconcilable with the other memorials we find of the name of "Edward of Salisbury."

But there is no trace in authentic records of any such person as "Walter le Ewrus, comte of Rôsmar." In fact, as I shewed last year, the family of Roumare had no pretension to be styled comtes or earls, until William de Romara was made Earl of Lincoln in the reign of Stephen. The name of Walter seems to have been borrowed, as we often find to be the case in old pedigrees, from a lower generation in the genealogical tree; and, supposing Giroid Dapifer to have been actually the brother of Edward of Salisbury, there is reason to believe that their father's name was also Giroid, and that he was the same with Giroid the father of Ralph de Tancarville, the ancestor of the hereditary chamberlains of Normandy.

On Walter comte of Rôsmar, according to the Book of Lacock, king William the Conqueror bestowed, in reward of his approved service, the whole lordship of Saresbury and Ambresbury, *i. e.* Salisbury and Amesbury. At the period of the compilation of the Domesday Survey in the year 1080-86, the manor of Amesbury was held by Edward of Sarisberie, together with other manors in Wiltshire, amounting in all to thirty-eight,—not thirty-three, as Dugdale reckons them in his *Baronage*. Edward of Salisbury was also the lord of several manors in eight other counties, namely, Somerset, Dorset, Hants, Oxford, Middlesex, Hertford, Buckingham, and Surrey.

The Survey contains, further, a remarkable enumeration of the rents in kind which Edward received as sheriff of Wiltshire. They consisted of 130 porkers and 32 bacon-hogs; $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of bread-corn, and the same of beer-corn; 5 bushels and 1 peck of oats; 16 pottles of honey, or 16 shillings instead; 480 hens, 1600 eggs, 100 cheeses, 52 lambs, 140 fleeces; corn-rents of 162 acres; and he also derived 80% from portions of the reeve-land. But should the farm-rents fail with the reeves, Edward was bound to supply the deficiency in the stores (for that time) from his own lands.

Moreover, we have three other records, besides the Domesday Survey, which bear testimony to the importance of Edward of Salisbury in the days of the Conqueror. One is a charter granted by the king to the abbey of Selby, dated at London in the presence of Odo bishop of Bayeux, Edward of Salisbury (his name occurring second), and others, "all the king's court there present." The period of this charter must be placed between 1070, when Remigius the bishop (another of the witnesses) was consecrated to the see of Dorchester, and 1082, when bishop Odo was disgraced. To two other charters the name of Edward is less prominently attached under the designation of *vicecomes*. One of these was granted by the Conqueror's queen to the abbey of Malmesbury, and bears the date of a year, namely, 1081; and the second is a charter of the king to the priory of Lewes, which cannot be earlier than 1080, when William de Kairliph (another of the witnesses) became bishop of Durham.

These charters, it is evident, invalidate the statement of the Book of Lacock, that Edward the sheriff was born in England after the Conquest, if there was only one person of the name; for in the year 1081, only fifteen years after that era, he must have been already a man, or would not have been entrusted with the government of Wiltshire.

In the adoption of the proposition which I have before advanced, that there was a second Edward, *he* would be a native of England, and to him the lingering tradition of the nunnery of Lacock would properly belong. It is almost forty years after the period of Domesday Book and of the charters I have cited, when we again meet with the name of Edward of Salisbury; and as he then occurs as an active warrior, that circumstance strengthens the presumption that we have in his person the representative of another generation. It was at the battle of Brenmule, by which, in the year 1119, king Henry I. put an end to a rebellion in Normandy, that Edward of Salisbury carried the royal standard; and on that occasion he is characterised by Ordericus Vitalis* as a valiant champion, whose prowess was most highly conspicuous, and his courage unailing, even to

* "Edwardus de Salisburia ibi portavit vexillum, fortis agonista, cujus robur erat probatione notissimum, et constantia

perseverans usque ad exitium." *Ordericus Vitalis*.

the death. The same author names Edward of Salisbury as one of those who, with earl Stephen (afterwards king of England), William de Rolmar (afterwards earl of Lincoln), Rabel the chamberlain, and many others, refused to proceed in the ill-fated White Ship, in which, on returning from this expedition, the king's two sons, with Richard earl of Chester, and many other distinguished courtiers, were lost by shipwreck.

No notice has been preserved of the wife of Edward of Salisbury, either the first or the second;* but the genealogical history of the Bohuns, which was written in the chronicle of the abbey of Lanthony, near Gloucester, presents a long statement of the alliance which the daughter of Edward of Salisbury made with Humphrey de Bohun, styled the Great. It is as follows: "The lord Humphrey de Bohun, who was surnamed 'with the beard,' who first came with William the Conqueror into England from Normandy, a kinsman of the said Conqueror, begat lord Humphrey de Bohun the second. He was called Humphrey the Great; who, by the will and command of William Rufus, son of the said Conqueror, espoused Matilda daughter of Edward of Salisbury, with which Matilda her father gave to the said Humphrey in free marriage all his lands and tenements which were of his own acquisition; namely, Weston near Salisbury, Walton, Newton, Piryton, Staunton (or Staverton?), Trowbridge, and a messuage in Salisbury next the east gate, and the advowson of the church of the Holy Cross which is founded above that gate, together with a meadow without Salisbury. And Weston aforesaid was given in exchange for Wyvelesford and Manningford. And all the other lands and tenements which were of the

* It should not pass unnoticed that there was an Edward of Salisbury, apparently of a *third* generation, living in the reign of Henry I., and whose connexion with the same family is shewn by the fact, that he was a benefactor of the abbey of St. George of Bocherville, the foundation of Ralph de Tancarville, the presumed brother of the Domesday Edward of Salisbury. He was also witness to the foundation charters of the abbey of Savigny in the year 1112. In the year 1131 his widow was given to Payne de Hocton, son of William de Hocton. "William de Hoctona renders account in the exchequer of 200*l.* for the wife of Edward of Sarum,

with the land, to the use of Payne his son. Paganus de Hoctona renders account of 200 marks of silver and two marks of gold for the wife of Edward of Sarum." *Pipe Roll*, 31 Henry I. (heretofore called 5 Stephen), 8vo, 1831, p. 81. Her name was Leonia, and she is described as of the race of Roger de Reines, the Domesday lord of Rayne in Essex, in the following passage of a record dated 1185: "Uxor Roberti de Stuteville est de donatione domini regis, et de parentela Edwardi de Salisburia ex parte patris, et ex parte matris est de progenia Rogeri de Reines." *Rotuli de Dominabus*, &c. 31 Hen. II.

inheritance of the said Edward remained to his son and heir, Walter of Salisbury.”*

It was this Humphrey de Bohun and his wife Matilda who founded the priory of Farley, in this county. This took place, according to the register of Lewes priory, in the year 1125. Among its endowments are mentioned several of the places already named as constituting the lady's dower. The monks of Farley had the church of Wivelisford, ten shillings yearly from the church of Trowbridge, that half of the church of Walton which belonged to the Bohun fee, and the tithes of the lordship of Staverton. They also possessed the church of Bishopstrow, and a hide of land in that village, which is particularly specified as of the gift of Matilda de Bohun, together with pasture for a hundred sheep and a yoke of oxen; but the manor of Bishopstrow itself, which was one of those belonging to Edward of Salisbury at the Domesday Survey, descended in the male line to the countess Ela, who employed it in the foundation of the nunnery of Lacock.

Of WALTER OF SALISBURY (the next representative of the family) few facts are on record. As a baron, he witnessed a charter of king Stephen, in the year 1136;† and in 1142 he founded the priory of Bradenstoke, in the vale of Malmesbury, placing therein regular canons of the order of St. Augustine. After the death of his wife (as related in the Book of Lacock), he assumed the tonsure and habit of the canons; and there the bodies of both his wife and himself were placed in one tomb by the presbytery. The name of his wife was Sibilla de Cadurcis, or (in English) Chaworth, by whom he left issue his son and heir Patrick, afterwards the first Earl of Salisbury. Two younger sons, Walter and William, are said to have been canons of Bradenstoke. Hawise, a daughter, was very honourably married in France. She became, in 1126, the second wife of Rotrou first comte de Perche; and was remarried before 1145 to Robert of France, comte de Dreux: she died before 1152.‡

PATRICK OF SALISBURY was a witness to king Stephen's treaty with Henry duke of Normandy, in the year 1153. Having taken part with the empress Maud in her struggle

* Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*,
ii. 67.

† Hearne's *Liber Niger*, p. 808.
‡ Anselme, *Hist. General*.

with Stephen, he was by her advanced to the dignity of Earl of Salisbury, and he occurs under that designation in the year 1165.*

Being lieutenant of Aquitaine for king Henry II., he went in pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Iago in Galicia; and on his way back was slain by Guy de Lusignan on the 27th March, 1168. His body was interred in the church of St. Hilary in Poitiers; and Queen Alianor (whose champion and defender he had been,) procured, in consequence, from the king her husband, a grant by which he joined with her in bestowing upon that church all their customs arising in Benai. King Henry afterwards drove Guy de Lusignan out of Poitou, whereupon he took refuge in the army of the Crusaders, and subsequently became king, first of Jerusalem, and afterwards of Cyprus.

Patrick earl of Salisbury is supposed to have had two wives. Of one no more is known, except that "the soul of Matilda the countess, my wife," is recommended to the prayers of the canons of Bradenstoke in his charter to that priory. It is not improbable that his son Patrick, who occurs in another Bradenstoke charter,† was the son of the countess Matilda.

Earl Patrick's second wife was Ela, the widow of William earl Warren, who died in 1148, leaving by her an only daughter and heiress, Isabel, who afterwards became the wife of Hameline, base brother to king Henry II., from which marriage descended the second house of the Earls of Warren and Surrey. This Ela was the daughter of William Talvais comte of Ponthieu, by Helen, daughter of Odo duke of Burgundy. She died on the 10th Dec. 1174, having had issue, by her second marriage, William earl of Salisbury,‡ and two or three younger sons, whose names alone are known from the monastic charters of Bradenstoke, Stanley, and Southwark.

WILLIAM EARL OF SALISBURY took part in the ceremonial of the first coronation of the lion-hearted king, which was solemnised with great state at Westminster on the 3d of Sept. 1189; he carried the verge or rod, ensigned with a dove on its summit. At Richard's second corona-

* *Liber Niger.*

† "Pro anima patris mei comitis Patricii, et pro anima fratris mei Patricii." Carta Willielmi comitis Sarum, — Dugd.

Monast. ii. 207.

‡ The charter quoted in the last note shews that earl William was the son of Ela.

tion, which took place after his return from captivity in Germany, and which was solemnised in the cathedral of Winchester on the 18th April, 1194, this earl was one of four who supported the canopy, namely, the earls of Norfolk, the Isle of Wight (another style for the earl of Devonshire), Salisbury, and Ferrers. In the latter year the earl of Salisbury was also constituted keeper of the king's charter or grant for licensing tournaments throughout the country. One of the five steads or fields then appointed in various parts of England, for the exercise of tournaments, was situated between Salisbury and Wilton; and has been described by our late intelligent historian, Mr. Hatcher, as occupying the tongue of land between the Bath and Devizes roads,—a fine area amidst the downs, which afforded ample space for the lists, and accommodation for thousands of spectators.

Earl William, though he survived his father for twenty-eight years, appears to have died in the prime of life. According to the Book of Lacock, his body was buried at the priory of Bradenstoke. His wife, who survived him for thirty-five years, was Alianor, daughter of Robert de Vitré, of Brittany, descended in the male line from a younger brother of the sovereign house of that country, and otherwise allied to them, and to the royal house of England. She was married first to William Paynell, lord of Hambie in Normandy, and of Drax in Yorkshire, whose widow she became in 1184: and she was married thirdly to Gilbert de Malesmains, who in her right held the manor of Gatesden in Hertfordshire, in the year 1205. Alianor countess of Salisbury died in Normandy, and was buried by the side of her daughter Juliana, in the abbey of St. Martin de Monte Dei, commonly called Mondaye.

By the earl of Salisbury she had issue three daughters, Ela, Juliana, and Joanna.

As the earldom was considered to be an indivisible fief, the younger sisters received but moderate portions, and were married to persons of inferior rank. Juliana was the wife of Gilbert de Tellieres, who was living in 1219, when he is styled lord of the castle of Creully, near Bayeux. In the year 1227, Alianor, once Countess of Salisbury, gave to the abbey of Mondaye ten pounds of the money of Tours for the observation of the anniversary

of her daughter Juliana then defunct. She left a daughter and heiress Hylaria, lady of Tellieres, who was the wife of James de Bovelingham, when she claimed to be a coheir of Alianor countess of Salisbury, in the year 1233.

Joanna, the third daughter of the countess, was married to sir Thomas Malesmains, and was mother of Nicholas de Malesmains, who also claimed to be a co-heir of the countess Alianor in the year just named. The wardship of the heir of Thomas and Joanna had been granted to the earl and countess of Salisbury in the year 1221.*

We now turn again to the book of the nuns of Lacock, which at this period of our history introduces a romantic legend of the early life of their foundress, Ela, the eldest sister. This legend is certainly very liable to sceptical objection, not only from its poetical character, but because it opens with three assertions which we have already seen to be false: the first, that Ela was the only child of her parents; the next, that her father died of old age; and the third, that her mother was deceased a year before, and buried at Bradenstoke. However, such as it is, it will be interesting to follow it in the expressions of the writer.

Ela, then, he says, the wife of William Longespee I., was born at Ambresbury, her father and mother being Normans. So her father, failing from old age, departed to Christ in the year 1196; her mother had died a year before, and their bodies are entombed at Bradenstoke, under a marble stone near the porch. Meanwhile the dearest lady Ela, an orphan both of father and mother, was conveyed by her kinsfolk and friends into Normandy, and there brought up under safe and strict keeping. At that time there was in England a certain knight, named William Talbot, who assumed the habit of a pilgrim, crossed over into Normandy, and there stayed during two years, wandering up and down to discover the lady Ela of Salisbury. And when he had found her, he put off the garb of a pilgrim, and clothed himself as a harper; and having entered the court where she was staying, approving himself to be a minstrel well skilled in the lays of olden times, was kindly received as a welcome guest. And when he found a convenient opportunity, he returned to England,

* *Close Rolls*, i. 468.

taking with him this honourable lady Ela, the heir of the earldom of Salisbury, and presented her to king Richard. The king most joyfully received her, and gave her in marriage to his brother William Longespee.

This WILLIAM LONGESPEE was a natural son of king Henry II., and his mother was the fair Rosamond Clifford, whose well-known story survives in connexion with the bower of Woodstock and the cemetery of Godstow. No mention of his name occurs at an earlier period than the time of his marriage. It may be presumed that he was then a youth just rising into manhood, and that his munificent brother king Richard took the earliest opportunity to confer upon him a provision which would be suitable to his royal birth. Such was then the customary way of establishing the junior members of the royal house. Without proceeding to later instances of the kind, two of very similar character may be noticed in the same century. The heiress of the earldom of Gloucester was given by king Henry I. to his natural son Robert; and the heiress of the Warrens, earls of Surrey, was bestowed first on an illegitimate son of king Stephen, and afterwards on a base brother of king Henry II. Such, therefore, was Ela's natural destiny: whether her mother and her relations were opposed to it, we cannot expect to find any other evidence beyond the Lacock legend; but the reality of such a person as William Talbot, and his subsequent connexion with the earl of Salisbury's household, appears from his name occurring as a witness to several of the earl's charters to the priory of Bradenstoke.

The name of William Longespee was chosen by his father, king Henry II., with historical allusions. It had belonged to his remote ancestor, William Longespee duke of Normandy, who was slain in 923. It was also borne by William comte of Flanders, the son of Robert duke of Normandy, and nephew to king Henry I. The earl of Salisbury's coat-armour was also adopted with ancestral allusion. The six rampant lions of gold on an azure field, as displayed on his shield in the cathedral, are the same which are seen in an enamelled tablet representing his grandfather, Geoffrey comte of Anjou, which is engraved in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*.

On the feast of the Ascension (May 27) 1199, king

John was crowned at Westminster, and William earl of Salisbury is named among the nobles present. On the same day the investiture of two earls was solemnised: the king then girding William Marshall with the sword of the earldom of Striguil (or Pembroke), and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter with the sword of the earldom of Essex; "for though (adds the chronicler Hoveden) they were called Earls, and exercised the administration of their earldoms, yet they were not till that day girded with the swords of those earldoms; and so that day they served at the table with their swords girded to them." It is therefore certain that William Longespee must previously have gone through the same ceremony, and he had doubtless been girt with the sword of the earldom of Salisbury during the life of king Richard. Throughout the reign of king John, the earl of Salisbury took an active part in public affairs, and was evidently a personage of as high consideration as a modern duke of the blood royal. The rolls of king John's close or private letters abound in records of the king's constant and profuse bounty to his brother, not only in gifts of lands and fees, wardships and marriages, but in frequent presents of money, timber, wine, venison, and a variety of other things afforded by the royal demesnes, or which at that period contributed directly to the revenues of the crown. His movements in continual attendance on the king have been traced in the *History of Lacock Abbey*,* either from the same authority, or from royal charters and other records. From September 1204 to May 1206 he was constable of Dover Castle; and during that period, in June 1205, he commanded an ineffectual expedition to Rochelle. In 1209 he was constituted warden of the Marches of Wales. In May 1213 he witnessed at Dover the king's treaty of peace with the insurgent barons, and also the charter by which John resigned his kingdom and crown to the pope; and on the 3d of October following he was present when the king performed homage to the legate of the sovereign pontiff in the church of St. Paul at London. In the same year he commanded the English forces sent to aid the comte of Flanders, when invaded by Philip of France. On this occasion he surprised and

* *Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey*, by the Rev. William Lisle Bowles and John Gough Nichols. 1835. 8vo.

burnt the French fleet. In 1214 he was appointed marshal of a more numerous army sent to Flanders, which was defeated by the French at Bovines on the 27th of July, one week before which time the earl of Salisbury had been taken prisoner. He had formed a plan to surprise the French king whilst attending mass, but was himself captured in the enterprise with the rest of his party. He was exchanged the year after for the eldest son of the comte de Dreux, a cousin-german of king Philip.

On the field of Runnymede, in June 1215, when many of the nobility had recently transferred their support to the party acting in opposition to the royal authority, and when their superior force intimidated king John to concede the Magna Charta, the higher portion of the aristocracy still adhered to the royal side, and not only Salisbury, but the earls of Pembroke, Warren, and Arundel, appeared in the camp of their sovereign. During the troubles which followed, Salisbury took an active part, in conjunction with the renowned Faukes de Breauté, in ravaging the estates of the barons in the southern counties. This provoked the invitation of Louis of France; and at this crisis John was almost entirely deserted, for the earls of Warren and Arundel, the earl of Salisbury, and the younger William Marshall, all joined the invader, as if they made sure that he would now obtain the kingdom. But it was not long before the turbulent and miserable reign of John was terminated by death; and in the ensuing year, the same four earls all again changed their party, and acknowledged the young king, Henry III.

It would be difficult to determine whether the adherence of Longespee to the French prince, at this crisis, was an involuntary submission to circumstances, or a deliberate abandonment of his own kinsman and sovereign; whether his conduct was actuated by a temporising policy, or whether he despaired of the maintenance of that dynasty to which he owed his own parentage and advancement. For nearly five months after king John's death, the earl of Salisbury seemed to continue in the service of prince Louis; but at length, early in March 1217,* he unexpectedly rose against him when in the isle of Rhé, from whence the pretender narrowly effected his escape by

* Chronicle of Melrose.

the fortuitous arrival of some ships of his own country. The first intimation of the earl of Salisbury's having tendered his allegiance to his nephew, king Henry III., occurs on the 7th of that month.* On the 14th the castle of Sherborne with the county of Somerset were committed to his custody; and its speedy delivery was the next day urged by a second letter (in the king's name) from the earl of Pembroke, then regent of the kingdom, addressed to Peter de Maulay, who was warned lest through his fault the royal cause should lose the adherence of the earl of Salisbury, in which case, as Peter was admonished, he would occasion the king more damage than it would be ever in his power to repair.† This shews that the earl of Pembroke still regarded Salisbury's conduct with suspicion. After the triumph of the royal party at Lincoln, that city and the county thereof were committed by the king to the custody of "his dearest uncle the earl of Salisbury;"‡ he relinquishing at the same time the castle of Mount Sorell in Leicestershire to the earl of Chester.§ For many years the close rolls are full of grants in money and lands to him.

It was within less than four years after the accession of king Henry III. that the new church of Salisbury was commenced. The ceremony of foundation was so far different to the modern practice, that not one, but several stones were laid by persons of rank. The first stone was laid by the bishop in the name of pope Honorius, the second in the name of the archbishop of Canterbury, the third he laid for himself; then stepped forward the earl of Salisbury, and laid the fourth stone; the fifth was laid by the countess Ela,|| "a woman truly praiseworthy, because she was filled with the fear of the Lord." After her, the other noblemen present each added a stone, and then in succession the dean and other members of the church.

In the year 1224 the earl of Salisbury was again called

* *Close Rolls*, folio, vol. i. p. 299.

† " . . . ne occasione vestri servicium ipsius comitis amittamus, quia nunquam tantum boni nobis facietis quantum mali inferetis, si per vos idem comes quod absit a servicio nostro necesserit." *Rot. Pat.* 1 Hen. III. m. 11.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Close Roll*. On that day the earl of Chester's right to the earldom of Lincoln had been admitted by the king (see

my Memoir on that Earldom last year). The city of Lincoln below the hill was committed to other hands than the upper town. The castle continued with its hereditary guardian who had so well defended it, the widow Nicolaa de Camville.

|| Ela de Viteri in the original of William de Wanda: it is possible, therefore, that the earl's mother, the countess Alianor (de Viteri), and not the countess Ela, was the lady present.

into active service, being required to accompany his nephew, the king's brother, Richard earl of Cornwall and Poictou (who had recently received the degree of knighthood), on his first campaign. The expedition was destined for the reduction of Gascony, then in a state of rebellion. They landed at Bourdeaux on Palm Sunday, the 7th of April, and passed the next six months in the fulfilment of their object. In the following October the earl of Salisbury attempted to return home, but was cast on shore at the Isle of Rhé. Here he would have remained in concealment, but being in danger of capture by the French force then stationed there, he again committed himself to the waves, and was buffeted about for nearly three months, until at length he effected a landing in Cornwall at the time of Christmas.

With this adventure is connected an incident in which the history of the earldom is materially concerned. At a time when nearly all dignities and offices, as well as lands, were hereditary, and were also subject to inheritance through females, and when not merely the heiresses themselves were debarred from their free choice in marriage, but even their parents and friends were bound to submit to the will of a feudal lord or sovereign, there was, of course, great room for the fortune-hunting of court favourites. Nor was a widowed heiress, whose children were in their minority, more safe than one who had not yet been bestowed in marriage.

Thus the mother of Baldwin earl of Devon was given by king John to his foreign mercenary and cruel dispenser of the fire and the sword, Falkes de Breauté, whom Matthew Paris terms "that impious, ignoble, and base-conditioned man." The heiress of Albemarle conferred the dignity of earl successively on her three husbands, William Mandeville, William de Fortibus, and Baldwin de Betun; it afterwards descended to her son and heir, who was born of the second husband. Isabel of Gloucester was the wife first of John (afterwards king), and secondly of Geoffrey de Mandeville, who were both earls of Gloucester in her right. In the reign of Edward I., Ralph de Monthermer married Joan countess-dowager of Gloucester and Hertford; and though she was not an heiress (but the king's daughter), he was styled earl of Gloucester so long as she lived; but

on her death, the dignity went to her son; and Ralph for many years after survived in the rank of a baron only.

When such were the advantages which accompanied the acquisition of widows, it may be supposed that the aspirants to rank and fortune would not long be restrained by motives of delicacy toward the party most concerned, or of respect to the memory of her departed lord. Thus it fared with Ela countess of Salisbury, though she was then the mother of four sons and four daughters. No sooner was the earl supposed to be lost, than one of the gallant bachelors of the court commenced his premature suit. This was a nephew of Hubert de Burgh, the man who then, as justiciary, bore the greatest sway in the kingdom. It is related that he proceeded in the manner best calculated to attain his ends, by first requesting, through his uncle, the king's sanction to his intentions. The king (proceeds the story) having yielded to this petition, provided the countess could be induced to comply, the justice forthwith sent Reimund to her in a noble knightly array, to endeavour to incline the lady's heart to his favour. But when Reimund, with flattering speeches and large promises, attempted to persuade her to consent, Ela, with majestic scorn, replied, that she had lately received letters and messages, which assured her that the earl her husband was in health and safety; but adding further, that "if her lord the earl had indeed been dead, she would in no case have received *him* for a husband; because their unequal rank, with respect to family, forbad such a union. Wherefore," said she, "you must seek a marriage elsewhere, because you find you have come hither in vain." So Reimund de Burgh, hearing this, departed from her in confusion.

It will not be impertinent, as connected with the subject of earldoms, to follow the history of this young man to its close. After waiting three years, the death of William Mandeville earl of Essex left another countess, either less unwilling or less able to resist his addresses. She was Christiana, sister to the Walter Fitz-Robert who afterwards married the countess of Salisbury's daughter Ida. But Reimund did not long enjoy his good fortune, for in 1230 he was drowned at Nantes, from his horse slipping down a steep bank into the river Loire.

It appears to have been during the absence of the earl

of Salisbury that the justiciary, Hubert de Burgh, twice visited the new cathedral church, in attendance on the king; and it was at this period that he offered to the church a splendid text of the Gospels, richly bound in gold and jewels, which continued to be esteemed as one of its chief treasures, down to the period of the Reformation. This bounty was very probably bestowed with some view of enlisting the sympathies of the clergy towards the pretensions of his nephew.

When the earl arrived at his castle of Sarum on Saturday the 4th of January, he repaired the same afternoon to the new cathedral church, where he was received in procession by the clergy with great demonstrations of joy, and offered his thanksgivings for his preservation and safe return. On the morrow, having heard from the countess the dishonour which had been done him in his absence, his indignation would brook no further delay, but he proceeded at once to the king, who was then at Marlborough ill in health. His royal nephew received him with great joy; but he at once brought forward his complaint against the justiciary, who, he alleged, had taken the opportunity of his employment in remote parts, to send a certain low-bred minion, who, whilst he was yet living, would have dishonoured his wife, and have violently contracted an adulterous marriage with her. He added that, unless the king caused full reparation to be shewn him from the justiciary, he would himself seek redress for so great an outrage, whatever disturbance it might occasion in the kingdom. Upon this the justiciary, who was present, confessed the fault rested with him, and renewed his favour with the earl by some valuable horses, and other large presents; and so peace being restored, the justiciary invited the earl to his table.

It was at this banquet, according to the same chronicler, that the earl was secretly infected with poison, which soon after deprived him of life; but the royal feastings of Marlborough castle may well have acted as poison, after the privations he had endured for the preceding three months, without any such dark suspicions adhering to Hubert de Burgh. However that may have been, the earl returned grievously sick to his own castle of Sarum, where in less than two months he died, on the 7th of March, 1226. His body, says the chronicler de Wanda, was



WILLIAM LONGESPEE, EARL OF SALISBURY.



COUNTER SEAL.



ELA, COUNTESS OF SALISBURY.



COUNTER SEAL.

brought to New Sarum, with many tears and deep sighs, on the day of his death; and at the very same hour at which, exactly eight weeks before, he had been first welcomed in triumph to this beauteous new church. On the morrow, being Sunday, he was honourably interred in the new chapel of the Blessed Virgin, in the presence of the bishops of Salisbury, Winchester, and one from Ireland, the earls of Pembroke and Essex, the barons Robert de Vipont, Hugh de Gurnay, and Ralph de Toani, and a great multitude of knights. His effigy, wholly attired in chain mail, partly covered with a light surcoat, which is confined at the waist by the girdle of knighthood, and bearing on his left arm a long shield ensigned with six golden lioncels on an azure field, still remains in the cathedral of Salisbury, having been removed from the Lady-chapel to the nave in the year 1790. On his Seal he is represented on horseback in like attire, but wearing in addition a ponderous helmet, with a great front or cheek-piece. The earl's will was recorded in the king's close rolls, whence it is printed in the *Excerpta Historica*, and in a translated form in the *History of Lacock Abbey*.

The long agony of suspended hope which the countess Ela had endured during the protracted absence of her lord, its apparently happy termination, and the almost immediate loss of the object of her gratified affection, produced a permanent effect upon her virtuous and devoted spirit. Of any further offers of marriage that she may have encountered after the death of her husband had really occurred, no particulars are handed down to us. We are only informed, whoever were the suitors, that she resolutely refused them; *virum omnem respuens*, is the phrase of the chronicle of Rochester. The mother of eight children, she claimed the privilege of a free widowhood, and to act in her own person in the administration of her estates and jurisdictions; and this she was permitted to do, having previously, no doubt, paid those large fines to the crown which were customary for such privileges. For three parts of the year 11 Henry III., and likewise in the following year (according to Dugdale), that is to say, for some time immediately consequent to her husband's death, she administered the revenues of the county. After that, some interruption occurred; but in the 15th year of the

king's reign, she paid a fine of 200 marks to hold for life the custody of the county and of the castle of Sarum. This arrangement continued for ten years, when, having been veiled a nun in the abbey she had founded at Lacock, she retired from all worldly affairs, and dedicated herself entirely to the duties and observances of religion.

She used in her widowhood a large oval Seal, which represents her figure at full length holding a hawk, the emblem of her nobility, on her left hand. On either side is introduced a lion from her husband's armorial shield, its head turning round as if to gaze upon her. The secretum impressed on the reverse of the seal is a simple shield of the seven lioncels, with a marginal legend following the same shape, inscribed, *Secretum Ele comitisse Saresberie*.

At the time of the death of the Earl of Salisbury, his son, WILLIAM LONGESPEE THE SECOND, was some years under full age. From a record of the year 1231, it appears that he had not then attained his majority; but he probably had so in 1233, when he was received into the degree of knighthood. This took place at Gloucester, where the king kept the feast of Whitsuntide: Thomas de Newburgh was then invested with the earldom of Warwick; two other young earls were also knighted, Roger Bigot earl of Norfolk, and Hugh de Vere earl of Oxford: but it is especially noted that William Longespee was girded with the sword of knighthood, not with that of the earldom of Salisbury.*

At a much earlier age, in the year 1226, he was one of the nobility who were signed with the cross, in token of their engagement to join in the crusade; and in 1240 he actually proceeded to Palestine, returning home in March 1242. Later in the same year, he was present at the battle of Xantouigne, in Guienne. During these transactions he bore the rank and title of an earl, as William de Roumare the Third, the heir of the earldom of Lincoln, had done under similar circumstances; but still he was not admitted into possession of his father's earldom. Some legal objections were made to his satisfaction in this important particular; and in 1243, the king, as if in admission of the hardship of his position, granted him

* "Willielmus Longespe accingitur gladio militari, sed non fit comes Sarum." | Ms. Bodl., quoted by Dugdale, *Bar.* i. 72.

an annuity of sixty marks out of the exchequer, until he should obtain judgment upon the claim he made to the earldom of Wiltshire and castle of Salisbury, which judgment the king promised should be given on his return to England.* Of that judgment we have no record; and are therefore left to conjecture why it was unfavourable to the young earl. The most probable conclusion seems to be, that the lawyers held he could not inherit the earldom, except upon his mother's demise. She was now abbess of Lacock, and had for some years renounced the world; but this, it was probably decided by the judges, was not sufficient to vest the earldom in her son.

In the year 1247 William de Longespee again assumed the cross, and made his peculiar position a reason for requesting a special privilege from the pope. His cousin Richard earl of Cornwall had collected a very large sum from being permitted to receive the fines of those of the English *cruce signati* who were desirous to redeem their vows by money-payments. Longespee petitioned that he might partake in this privilege and its emoluments. "My Lord (he said), you see that I am signed with the cross, and am prepared to proceed on the expedition with my lord the king of the French, to fight for God in this pilgrimage. I bear a great and well-known name, that is, William de Longespee; but my fortune is small, for my lord the king of England, my kinsman and natural lord, hath taken away from me the rank of earl, with its estate; yet, as he did this judicially, and not in his anger, or from an arbitrary impulse, I do not blame him. Thus am I obliged to fly to the paternal bosom of your compassion, to seek assistance from you in this necessity." The pope yielded to his request, and William Longespee was supposed to have gathered in consequence more than a thousand marks.†

In July 1249 he took his second departure for the Holy Land; and his adventures in this his last and fatal campaign form a very interesting chapter in the history of those wars. They are too little connected with the subject immediately in view to be introduced here; but they will be found narrated in the *History of Lacock Abbey*. William de Longespee was slain in the assault of

* Cart. et Pat. 27 Hen. III. m. 3.

† Matthew Paris.

the town of Mansoura, in Egypt, on the 8th Feb. 1250. He had married, in 1226, Idonea, daughter of Richard de Camville, whose wardship had been ten years earlier granted to his father for that purpose; and he had issue three sons and one daughter.

His son and heir, WILLIAM LONGESPEE THE THIRD, was now styled "the young Earl;" but neither was he destined to arrive at possession of the earldom; for whilst his grandmother was still living, he received such severe injuries in a tournament which was held at Blyth, in the year 1256, that he came to an untimely grave. Having married, two years before, Matilda, only daughter and heiress of Walter lord Clifford, and great-niece of his own fair progenitor Rosamund Clifford, he left issue an only daughter, Margaret, whose marriage was arranged, during her father's fatal illness, with Henry son of Edmund de Lacy. This Henry de Lacy, who was afterwards earl of Lincoln, became of full age in 1268, and then did homage with Margaret his wife, and had livery of all the lands whereof her father Longespee had died possessed.

Ela, abbess of Lacock, the original heiress of the earldom of Salisbury, and the countess of the first William Longespee, died an aged woman in the year 1261, her great-granddaughter and her affianced husband being then minors. It was not until the year 1272, that Henry de Lacy was admitted to his paternal earldom of Lincoln,* The earldom of Salisbury appears to have lain dormant, the inheritance being vested in the countess Margaret; and to have descended to her only surviving child Alice, the wife of Thomas earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, who, in her right, claimed also, if he did not actually enjoy, the two additional earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury.† He was beheaded in 1322; the countess died without issue in 1348. Her Seal,‡ it may be remarked, exhibits a singular example of the early use of impalement: it has the two coats of Lacy and Longespee impaled instead of quartered, as they would have been at a subsequent period, to typify the union of the representation of those two families in her person.

* See my memoir on the Earldom of Lincoln.

Earldoms," *ibid.*

‡ Engraved in Whitaker's *Craven* and in the *History of Lacock Abbey*.

† See the anecdote respecting his "five



WILLIAM MONTACUTE, EARL OF SALISBURY.



COUNTER SEAL.

On the death of the countess Alice, the representation of the Earls of Salisbury rested with the family of Audley, as descended from Ela, daughter of William Longespee the Second. That lady was the second wife of James lord Audley of Heleigh; she was the mother of Hugh, who was summoned to parliament in 1321, and grandmother of Hugh, created Earl of Gloucester in 1337, whose daughter and sole heir, Alice, was married to Ralph lord Stafford. I have introduced this statement, because, in the year 1832, there was published a pamphlet bearing this title, "A Genealogical and Historical Account of the ancient Earldom of Salisbury, shewing the descent of the Baron Audley of Heleigh from the renowned William Longespé, Earl of Salisbury, son of King Henry II. by the celebrated Fair Rosamond, and shewing also the right of the Baron Audley to the inheritance of the same Earldom. By Sir Thomas C. Banks, Bart. N.S." But it has subsequently been proved by the late Mr. Beltz, Lancaster Herald, in his Lives of the early Knights of the Garter, that the Lords Audley have descended from a former marriage of James lord Audley, whilst his only known issue by Ela Longespee was Hugh, father of Hugh earl of Gloucester, and whose present representative is Lord Stafford.

It was stated in my introductory remarks that the inheritance of the ancient Earldom seems to have been considered entirely at an end, when a new creation of the dignity was made in the year 1337,* in favour of WILLIAM LORD MONTACUTE. This family had ranked as territorial barons from early times, their principal seat being Montacute in Somersetshire; and the first earl was one of the most gallant commanders of the chivalric age of Edward III. He was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Salisbury in full parliament held in London on the 16th March, 1337, with a grant of a yearly rent of 20*l.* out of the profits of the county.† In his foundation charter of the priory of Bisham in Berkshire, he styled himself Earl of Salisbury, Lord of Man and Denbigh. After having survived many campaigns, not only in Scotland, but in various parts of

* It is remarkable that this was at the same date when Hugh de Audley, the heir of the former earldom, was raised to the dignity of Earl of Gloucester, as above

mentioned.

† Walsingham, p. 117, and Cart. 11 Edw. III. no. 55.

Europe, he died at last of bruises received in the mimic warfare of the court, on the 30th Jan. 1343-4, leaving WILLIAM, his son and heir, then fifteen years of age.

The young earl, who had probably participated in those solemn jousts at Windsor which cost his father his life, was in the following April selected to become one of the first founders of the Order of the Garter. Shortly after, he had nearly become the husband of the lady Joan, "the fair maid of Kent," who was afterwards the mother of king Richard II.; but sir Thomas Holland presented his petition to pope Clement VI., alleging that she was previously his wife, and the earl of Salisbury was required to restore her. He afterwards married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of John lord Mohun, and had an only child, sir William Montacute, who, by a singular fatality, was slain by his father in a tilting-match at Windsor in the year 1382; so that a similar accident interfered both with the accession of this earl to his dignity, and with the succession to him. The earl himself lived to the age of sixty-nine, and died on the 3d of June, 1397, being then the last survivor of the founders of the Garter.*

The earldom next devolved on his nephew, sir JOHN MONTACUTE, son of the celebrated knight of the same name, who was a comrade of the Black Prince in his victories of Cressy and Poitiers, by Margaret, daughter and heir of Thomas lord Monthermer. He was already forty-seven years of age, and he was immediately elected to fill his uncle's stall as a knight of the Garter. Being the intimate friend and attendant of his sovereign, king Richard, he shared in that prince's misfortunes. He was sent to command the army raised in Wales to oppose the invasion of Henry duke of Lancaster, but was unable to keep it together in consequence of the non-arrival of the king from Ireland. At the close of Henry IVth's first parliament, he conspired to seize the king at Windsor, and, failing in that attempt, fled with the earl of Kent, when they were seized and beheaded by the townspeople of Cirencester on the 7th Jan. 1399-1400. In the parliament of the ensuing year he was declared a traitor and attainted.

* Biographical memoirs of the second Earl of Salisbury, and of his nephew, the third Earl, will be found in Beltz's *Memoirs of the Order of the Garter*. The

achievements of the first Earl are detailed at considerable length in Dugdale's *Baronage*.



**WILLIAM MONTACUTE II., EARL OF SALISBURY,
AND LORD OF MAN AND DENBIGH.**



THOMAS MONTACUTE, EARL OF SALISBURY.

His son and heir, THOMAS, at the time of his father's death was only twelve years of age; and he, notwithstanding the attainder, appears to have been admitted to the dignity of Earl of Salisbury immediately upon his coming of age, as he was summoned by that title to the parliament of 11 Henry IV. (1409). He was afterwards a knight of the Garter, and highly distinguished in the wars of France, where he was killed, at the siege of Orleans, on the 3d Nov. 1428. He left issue by Alianor, daughter and co-heir of Edmund earl of Kent, an only daughter, Alice, already married to Richard Neville, younger son of Ralph first earl of Westmerland; and although his uncle Richard de Montacute was found to be his heir male, yet the Earldom of Salisbury was assigned to the daughter's husband.

This event furnishes an important example of the ancient law of inheritance in earldoms, and therefore claims our especial attention. It appears that a lineal male heir was already in existence, the issue of the daughter's marriage; and as she was also living, the husband's right to the dignity, for the term of his life, was considered complete.

The title of Earl of Salisbury was attributed to RICHARD NEVILLE* in the inquisition taken on the death of his father-in-law;† and shortly after, doing his homage, he had livery of his wife's lands, she being then twenty-two years of age.‡ Joining subsequently the army of the duke of York, when advancing his claim to the throne, the earl of Salisbury was taken prisoner at the battle of Wakefield, and beheaded at York on the 31st Dec. 1460.

His son, the next earl of Salisbury, was RICHARD NEVILLE, the king-maker, who was already Earl of Warwick in right of his wife, the heiress of the Beauchamps. To that dignity he had been admitted in 1449, and he continued to bear it until his death in precedence to that of Salisbury. He was slain at the battle of Barnet on Easter-day, 1471.

* This was confirmed and exemplified by letters patent dated 4th May, 1442. (20 Hen. VI. p. 4, m. 3.) Sir Harris Nicolas (*Synopsis of the Peerage*) has given that date for the accession of Richard Neville to the earldom; but it is clear that it should be altered to 1428, the date of his father-in-law's death. By a pre-

vious patent, in 9 Hen. VI. (1431) respecting the earl's equipment for France, it appears that he had then two sons and two daughters born. See Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. i. p. 302.

† Esc. 7 Hen. VI. no. 57.

‡ Rot. Fin. 7 Hen. VI. m. 9.

His two coheirs, Isabel and Anne, were married to the royal brothers, George duke of Clarence and Richard duke of Gloucester. The DUKE OF CLARENCE, as husband of the elder sister, was created Earl of Warwick and Salisbury by charter dated the 14th August 1472; after his attainder and death in 1477, the duke of Gloucester's son, EDWARD, was created Earl of Salisbury; the title of Warwick remaining with his unfortunate cousin, Edward of Clarence, who, after a life of imprisonment, was beheaded by king Henry VII. on the 28th November, 1499, and attainted in parliament. Edward the Earl of Salisbury died in 1484, being then Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester; and throughout the reign of Henry VII. there was no Earl of Salisbury.

In the year 1513, King Henry VIII. being then favourably inclined towards his maternal relations, conferred on the Lady MARGARET POLE, the only surviving child of George duke of Clarence, the dignity of Countess of Salisbury;* and her son Henry, who would have been her successor, was, in 1533, summoned to parliament as Lord Montagu, in allusion to the family name of the earls his ancestors; but both were attainted in the year 1539, and in 1541, on the 27th May, the aged countess was barbarously dragged to the scaffold, and beheaded on Tower Hill.

From that time there was no Earl of Salisbury during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. In 1605 King James I. conferred the dignity on his lord high treasurer and prime minister, Sir ROBERT CECILL, whom he had previously raised to the titles of Baron Cecill and Viscount Cranbourne. In that family the succession has been lineal down to the present holder of the dignity, James Brownlow William, eighth Earl and second Marquess of Salisbury, whose father was raised to the marquessate in the year 1789.

Eleven of the Earls of Salisbury have been Knights of the Garter, namely, three of the Montacutes, both the Nevilles, George Duke of Clarence, the three first and the two last of the Cecills.

* Rot. Parl. 5 Hen. VIII. n. 4.

NOTICES OF THE MINTS OF WILTSHIRE.

By EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

It is very well known that, in the early periods of our history, the money which circulated throughout the kingdom was struck at various towns, to which the privilege was granted by the sovereign or prince, who also appointed certain officers, or moneyers, to superintend the processes, to ascertain that the coins were of the specified weight and fineness, and to take care that the king received his dues. A great variety of documents still remain by which the existence of mints in very numerous places is ascertained. There are accounts of the dues paid by certain places for this profitable privilege, of the expenses incurred in working the mint, of carrying the dies to the places where the coins were to be struck, or to Westminster to be examined by the constituted authorities. There are the names of certain courtiers, to whom the privilege and the profit were assigned, as a grant to a favourite, or a reward for services performed; and we have the names of numbers of the moneyers assigned to particular places. Now, in all these records, the county of Wiltshire, from some cause or other, is remarkably deficient; and almost every thing which is known respecting the mints of this county is derived from the coins themselves. The only towns known, or conjectured, to have been the sites of mints, are Bradford, Criclade, Malmesbury, Marlborough, Sarum, and Wilton.

The claim of Bradford rests upon an extremely slight foundation. Ruding mentions a coin of Ethelred II. on which appears the word BARD; and, for want of a better locality, he supposes that there may have been a transposition of letters, that the word ought to have been BRAD, and the town intended possibly Bradford. This town was a place of some consequence in the times of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, and might probably have had a mint; but, in the absence of any corroborating evidence, it is somewhat rash to assert it upon the ground of a conjectural emendation of the reading of a single coin.

Criclade has somewhat better claims. There are not, indeed, any written records at present known to us, but there are coins which cannot be safely assigned to any other place; and the former importance of this town authorises us to expect coins bearing its name. Ruding mentions a penny of Edward the Confessor bearing the name of CRECLAD; in the British Museum is one of the same king, having CREC as the commencement of the name of the town, and ÆLFPINE as that of the moneyer. At Beaworth there were found fifteen coins of William the Conqueror bearing the name of the same moneyer, and the town spelt CRIC. Upon another coin of the same king occurs the name of PVLSTAN ON CRIC. There cannot be any doubt, therefore, that a mint did exist in Criclade in the time of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror, and that the establishment was sufficiently extensive to require or to admit of at least two moneyers.

Malmesbury certainly possessed a mint in the time of the Conqueror; for in Domesday Book it is mentioned as paying one hundred shillings for that establishment, and coins of that sovereign are known with the name of SEPORD as the moneyer, and MALME indicating this place. It is probable that the mint here was only co-existent with the Conqueror, as no coins are now known bearing its name in any other reign, not even in that of the Confessor, which are extremely numerous. Even those of the Conqueror are very rare; in the large find at Beaworth, in Hampshire, comprising upwards of 6000 coins, not more than nine or ten can be attributed to this town, and these not without some little degree of hesitation; for MLM, or only ML, are the letters by which the name is indicated. The moneyer's name upon all is GODSBRAND, which, being a long name, may account for the few letters used in indicating the town.

Marlborough. Of any mint at this place there are not any known records; but there are coins of William the Conqueror which can scarcely be assigned to any other place. Ruding records one which presents some unpronounceable letters, but which must mean Marlborough—MRLBRGEI. In the British Museum are others reading FILD ON MÆRLEB; of such the Beaworth find contained five specimens. The Museum also contains a coin on

which may be read PVLFPINE ON MLI; if these latter letters are intended as an abbreviation of Marlborough, this place must, in the Conqueror's time, have possessed two moneyers, which is an indication of some importance being attached to the establishment.

Sarum or Salisbury. Even of this city, the capital of your county, there are not any written records of a mint, neither of the ancient Sarum nor the less ancient Salisbury. It is to existing coins alone that resort must be had for evidence of the existence of a mint; and the earliest pieces of this kind are of the reign of Ethelred II., 978 to 1016. On these the name of the city is written SEARBE; on the coins of Cnut the name is written SAEBER, SEBER, SER, SERE; and the names of GODPINE and PINSTAN appear as moneyers, and probably other names are also in existence; but as Ruding and other authors have not, in their descriptions, given the names of the moneyers and towns together, I am not able at present to specify more than I have mentioned.

I have been the more particular in drawing your attention to the exact mode in which the name of the city is spelt upon coins of this period, because, in addressing the inhabitants of this city, it is necessary to allude to a coin, or supposed coin, which it would scarcely be worth while to mention any where else. You have, in a thin quarto volume devoted to a description of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, an engraving of a coin of Edward the Confessor, which professes to be struck by GODRIC ON SEARRVM. Now, it will be observed, that this differs from the reading of any known existing coin; it also differs from the orthography of this town in the old Saxon records; but it corresponds in sound with the modern name of the ancient city. Of this coin, I believe, no other specimen has ever been seen than the one from which the engraving was taken, and that was in the possession of Mr. John White, who was notorious for his skill and practice of falsifying coins. The pieces upon which he exercised his fraudulent ingenuity were the rude productions of our early Saxon and English mint, requiring no great amount of artistic skill. His motive could only have been a disreputable enjoyment of deceiving the antiquary and reaping some pecuniary profit. With this person this piece probably owes its ori-

gin; at all events, his ordinary practices entitle him to the reputation of adding this to his other forgeries and falsifications. I am sorry that this piece has not found its way into the Museum, where its accessibility would have enabled every one to estimate the value of its evidence in favour of a peculiar mode of writing the name of the ancient city. I believe I am correct in saying, that in the long series of coins of Edward the Confessor, there is not any other which professes to have been struck at Sarum or Salisbury.

Of Harold II. no Salisbury coins are known. Of a Salisbury mint no mention is made in Domesday Book, nor does Ruding mention the name in his list of the mints of either William I. or II. Since his time, however, some coins of this city have made their appearance, and testify that the operations of this mint were carried on during those reigns, though it may perhaps, for causes which we cannot explain, have been suspended during the time of the Confessor and Harold. Upon the coins of the Williams are found the names of GODPINE, which name occurs upon the Salisbury coins of Cnut, EDPARD, ESBRN and OSBERN, which are possibly the same person, as sound was more attended to than uniform orthography. The name of the city is spelt SERE, SÆR, SÆRI, SERB, SERBR, SERBIR, SERBRI, SÆRB, SÆREB, SÆRBI. These coins were extremely rare, indeed scarcely known to exist, before the discovery at Beaworth, when about 250 made their appearance.

Ruding mentions a single coin of this mint in the reign of Henry I.; but the coin itself has not been seen by me.

Ruding does not include Sarum or Salisbury in his list of the mints of Stephen; but in the British Museum is a coin which merits some attention, as upon it we read ANDRE ON SALIS, which is the first appearance of the modern name upon any coin. In a collection of the coins of Henry I. and Stephen, discovered several years since, but only very lately examined and described, are two moneyers of the name of GILL and PVLFPOLD, on whose coins no further clue to the discovery of the town is afforded than the letters SA. I am rather disposed to assign these to Salisbury; but it must be recollected that Sandwich begins with the same letters, and may be considered to have equal claims to them.

In the reign of Henry II., two moneyers of this city

appear, Daniel and Levric, and the name of the place is indicated by the letters SAL, SALE, and SALER, all according with the modern orthography. These coins became first known to modern numismatists by the discovery of about 6000 coins of this reign at Tealby in Lincolnshire, in the year 1807.

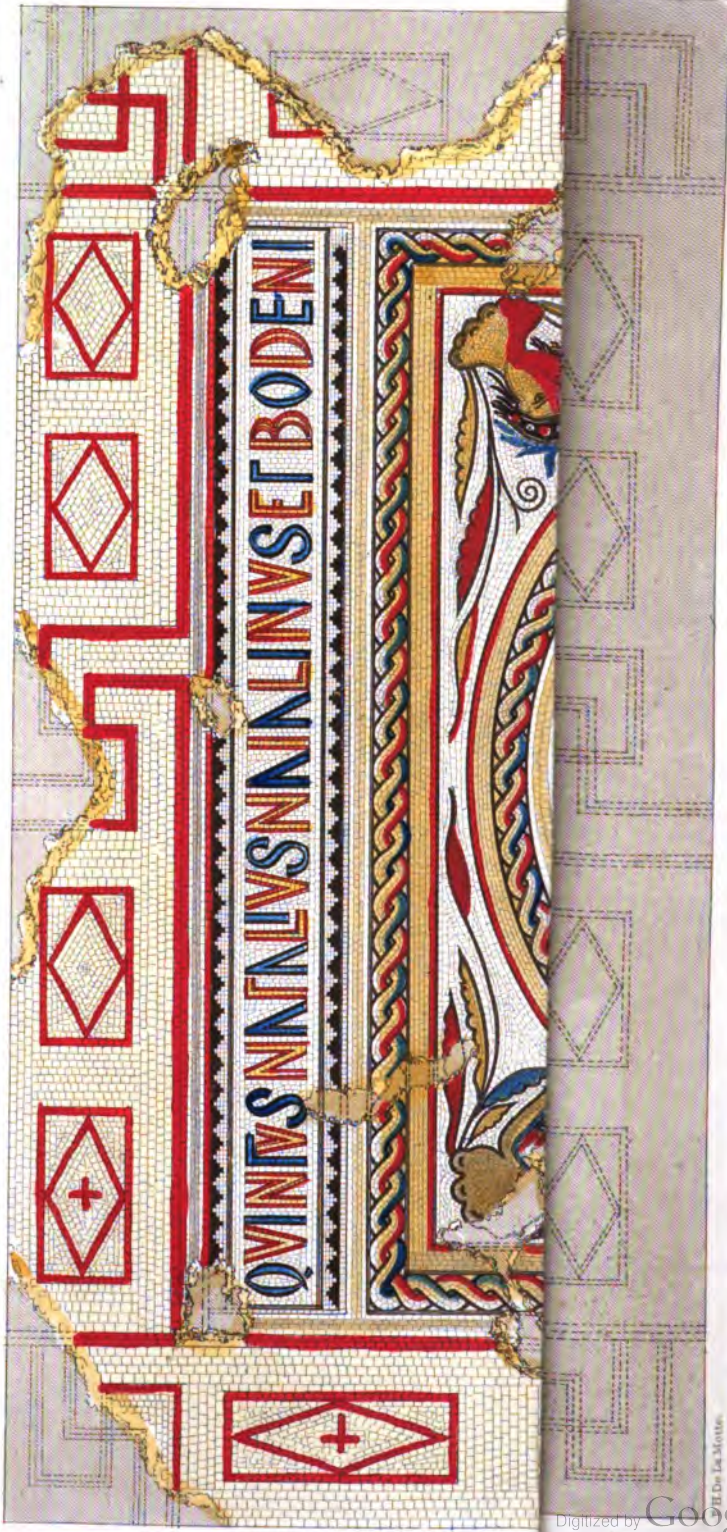
The next coin of this city to be noticed is one which bears the name of WILLEM ON SALO, and is of the type which is called by numismatists the short cross coins of Henry; but it is disputed whether they were struck by Henry I. or II. As this coin does not settle the question, there is not any occasion to enter into the discussion upon the present occasion. It may only be observed in favour of one side, that the name of the moneyer does not occur upon the acknowledged coins of this mint in the time of Henry II.; and on the other side, that the name of the mint even does not occur upon the known coins of Henry III.

This is the last appearance of the name of Salisbury upon any coins of about this period, nor have we any reason to suppose that a mint was ever worked at Salisbury at any later period, except, perhaps, during the troublous period of Charles I. There are some half-crowns of that king, upon which may be seen the letters SA, by which I have little doubt that Salisbury is intended; in style and workmanship these pieces strongly resemble others which have been traditionally stated to have been struck in the west of England. These letters were afterwards obliterated by the substitution of a round ball, under which, however, some portion of the letters remain, and other marks shew that both varieties were produced from the same die. That these coins owe their origin to Salisbury is merely conjecture, unsupported by any authority; but as attention has now been directed to the subject amongst those who are deeply interested in the local history of this ancient city, it is to be hoped that amongst the numerous papers and documents which long lurk concealed and lie neglected in almost all old towns and cities, some traces may be found of the attempts which were made to carry on the pecuniary transactions of the district during the distractions of the great rebellion.

The last place in this county whose coinage remains to be noticed is Wilton; and here, again, the coins them-

selves are the only record. The earliest pieces which bear the name of Wilton occur in the reign of Eadgar, and the names of two moneyers appear, ÆLFZIGE and EADPINE; and upon these the first letter of the town is in two different forms; in some the present form of the double v is used, w; in others, the Saxon form þ, resembling a modern p. Coins also exist of Ethelred II.; but of Cnut, though his coins in general are extremely numerous, not one has occurred to my notice with the name of Wilton. Edward the Confessor and Harold II. had a mint at Wilton, and in the time of the Conqueror and his son the mint was probably in a very flourishing condition, for not less than six names of moneyers appear connected with this town. Under Stephen, Henry II., and Henry III., the mint also continued to flourish; but after this period no trace of it can be found.

It can scarcely have failed to strike many here present as a remarkable circumstance, that in an endeavour to trace the operations of the mints in the various places of this important county through a succession of reigns, occupying a period of about 200 years, we have been able to appeal in so very small a degree to written documents. I am myself not able to explain the reason why documents upon this subject should be so rare or so little known respecting this county, while in many others they are rather abundant. Much probably may be owing to the want of accurate research. The subject has perhaps not much interested those who have taken great pains and bestowed much time and labour upon the investigation of other points connected with the ancient state and history of the county. It can scarcely be that the records of this county are really more defective than those of other counties; and I cannot but entertain and express a hope that this our archæological inroad into the county may give a fresh stimulus to inquiring minds, and that the sites of mints may be at least as accurately investigated, and their history explored and explained with as much spirit and perseverance, as those of the barrows which abound throughout the district.



J.H. Le Keux

THE TESSELLATED PAVEMENT, THRUPTON.

W.D. & H.O. Wills

NOTICES OF THE MOSAIC PAVEMENT

DISCOVERED AT THRUXTON, HANTS, IN 1823.

BY THE LATE PRESIDENT OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

The accompanying representation of this fine pavement has been liberally contributed to this volume by the late Dr. Ingram.*

SINCE I made some observations at the meeting of the Institute at Salisbury, respecting the Roman pavement discovered at Thrupton in the year 1823, arising naturally, though incidentally, from an address delivered on the subject of the Roman roads leading from Old Sarum, particularly that in the direction of Silchester, I have met with my copy of a small tract published at the time the pavement was discovered, but which I had mislaid when I alluded to it at Salisbury. It is entitled, *Conjectures, &c., by a Gentleman in the Neighbourhood*. Leaving the *Conjectures* with a qualified consideration of *valeant quantum*, the facts contained in the description of the pavement and its adjuncts may be comprehended in very few words. It appears, then, that the whole building, of which the tessellated pavement formed a part, was in length eighty-five feet, and in width fifty feet. Its walls were composed of large and rough flints embedded in mortar. These had fallen inwards, and buried a chalk floor, in which were placed two rows of upright stones, five in each row, of a large size, and perfectly smooth on their upper surfaces, being of polished freestone. These rows of stones were one-and-twenty feet apart. The lower row passed from the corner of the pavement. The upper row was exactly one-and-twenty feet from the pavement, and ran

* This illustration, supplying the most accurate representation of this striking design hitherto given to the public, has been reduced from a private plate in the possession of Joseph Clarke, Esq., of Saffron Walden, by his obliging permission.

parallel to the lower. The stones were thirteen feet apart. Midway between the rows of stones, a human skeleton was discovered, lying on the floor of the building, and cross-legged. Near to it, and about twelve feet from the end wall, a small axe, the head of an arrow, and several coins, &c. were found. At the end another human skeleton was uncovered, but unfortunately destroyed; and at some distance behind the outer wall was a third skeleton. The building appears to have been roofed or covered with slates, as numbers of them were found among the ruins. The walls too, and probably the ceilings, were plastered and painted, as many fragments of plaster, variously coloured, were found. No appearance of any masonry (*sculpture* ?) was observed on the large free-stones; nor was there any trace of timber noticed in the whole ruin. The tessellated pavement, as far as it was perfect, measured exactly sixteen feet square; about three feet of the lower end, with the greater part of the inscription at that end, having been unfortunately destroyed; V and O being the only letters of which any trace remains in the accurate plate engraved by Mr. Lickman. It was from a coloured impression of this excellent and invaluable work, exhibited at Salisbury, I made the few observations addressed to the members of the Institute and the respectable audience assembled there in July last. The opinion I then entertained of the value and importance of this remnant of Roman greatness, I am still disposed to maintain, notwithstanding the recent discoveries at Cirencester, which serve but to make the pavement at Thrupton doubly interesting. The figures on the Cirencester pavement are of the highest class of design, and perhaps stand unrivalled among similar remains of Roman or of Grecian art; but the architectural arrangement of the different compartments of the floor at Thrupton, and the disposition of the embellishments and enrichments are, perhaps, inferior to none hitherto discovered. The inscription also claims our particular attention.

THE INSCRIPTION.—The upper line of this inscription is quite perfect, and the letters are so large and so clearly defined, that it is impossible to mistake them. They must be evidently read thus :

QVINTVS NATALIVS NATALINVS ET BODENI.

This part of the inscription is certainly the most important; so that there is the less reason to regret the destruction of the lower line opposite. From the letters V . . . O, which are partially developed towards the end in the *fac-simile* of Mr. Lickman, we may reasonably conclude that this was an *ex voto* edifice, or that the ornamental floor of this room, at least, was an *ex voto* dedication of a splendid trophy or memorial of some signal event. Even if we consider it only as a common triclinium, or banqueting-room of a Roman Prætor or Proprætor, the commemoration of the BODENI in conjunction with the name of Quintus Natalius Natalinus gives a degree of interest and importance to this remnant of Roman art and magnificence far superior to that of any hitherto discovered. It was this consideration, combined with the taste and science displayed in the general plan and decorations of the floor, that led the late Sir R. C. Hoare to pronounce this specimen of Roman pavement superior to any which he had seen. It is true that we know nothing respecting Quintus Natalius Natalinus; but the name is of classical formation. We find a Natalis in the Annals of Tacitus, in the time of Nero. He was of equestrian rank, and in the confidence of Piso, who headed the conspiracy against Nero. It is not improbable that Q. Natalius Natalinus might be descended from this Roman knight, who acted so conspicuous a part on that occasion. But who were the BODENI? There is some reason to suspect that they were the Bodingas mentioned by Mr. Kemble in his Catalogue of early settlers in this country, and who have left their name in Bodenham, Boddington, &c. The Bodeni or Boduni have been sometimes confounded with the Dobuni, as if they were the same tribe, the first two consonants being transposed; but it is much more probable that they were distinct from each other, however difficult it may be to assign to them respectively their proper localities. If we consider the Greek Β, as usual, substituted for the Gothic v or w, it would not be unreasonable to trace these settlers to Woden, whose conquests were so extensive, that his descendants must have been dispersed very widely; and if they formed an alliance with the Romans, as this inscription would lead us to conclude, they must have been at that period a people of

some importance and influence. The introduction of the Christian symbol of the cross into two or three only of the lozenge ornaments of the outer border, combined with the circumstance of one cross-legged skeleton discovered in the ruins, seems to point to that transition period when the great struggle took place between Christianity and Paganism. The coins found here are chiefly of that period, being of small brass, of Gallienus, Claudius the Second, Maximianus, Carausius, Constantine the Great, Crispus, Constantine the Second, Constans, and Magnentius, whence it has been concluded, that the villa, of which this pavement forms so interesting a part, was constructed between A.D. 260 and A.D. 340. It is not likely that it was anterior to the first date, but it may have been later than the last mentioned, inasmuch as Magnentius did not assume the empire till A.D. 350.

This was an eventful period, when the minds of men were distracted and divided between different systems of religion, arising from the discordant elements of which the Roman empire was then composed; consisting, as it did, of almost all the nations upon the face of the earth, and colonies almost the antipodes of each other. Even the Christian Church was rent asunder in the warm controversy between the Arians on one side, and those who called themselves Catholics on the other. Julian the Apostate, as he was called, took advantage of this state of things, and endeavoured to restore the Egyptian superstition, with the worship of Isis, Osiris, and Anubis, the favourite Trinity of ancient Paganism.* There appears at first sight, certainly, to be something antagonistic and almost irreconcilable between the crosses in the outer border of this pavement and the figure of Bacchus in the centre. But this is not more extraordinary, perhaps, than the intermixture of opposite devices, such as the crescent and the cross, for instance, in a modern Turkey carpet. The decorations, in their general character, seem well adapted for a Roman triclinium. Bacchus is the presiding deity, or *arbiter elegantiarum*, with his thyrsis, the *mystica vannus*,

* Among the Pomfret marbles at Oxford is an altar-chair with this inscription :

Ο ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΑΧΙΛΛΕΟΣ
ΦΙΛΑΙΝΕΤΟΤ ΙΣΙΔΑΙ
ΟΣΤΡΙΑΙ ΑΝΟΤΒΙΑΙ
ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ.

in one hand, and a drinking-cup in the other. A panther or a leopard is seen crouching beneath him, to denote his all-subduing power; as in the Winterton pavement Orpheus is represented charming the wild beasts of the field by the harmony of his lyre. Eight crowned heads surround the figure of Bacchus; one of which is distinguished from the rest by a kind of Phrygian bonnet, resembling that of the leader of a pantomime. Beyond these the four seasons of the year are represented in their natural order, with their respective emblems in succession, as distinctly, though not quite so elegantly, as on the Cirencester pavement. These occupy the four angles between the outer circle and the square border which terminates the design. The scroll-work which separates the different compartments, consisting chiefly of the twisted or braided guilloche, so constantly used, is very beautifully arranged and coloured. The prevalence of this worm-like ornament in ancient mosaics probably occasioned the adoption of the term *opus vermiculatum*, as applied to such designs. The antiquity, as well as the long continuance of such designs, is evident from the following fragment of Lucilius, preserved by Cicero :

“ Quam lepide lexis compōstæ, ut tessellæ omnes
Arte pavimento atque emblemate vermiculato !”

That similar designs were executed in the time of Quintilian, Pliny, Tacitus, and Vitruvius, in the construction of pavements, may be inferred from various passages in their works. Not only are the cubic forms of the materials used accurately described, but the arrangement of them in squares, triangles, hexagons (like *honeycombs*), octagons, rhomboidal and other figures, such as we call lozenges, fusils, &c.* Indeed, there seems to have been a kind of conventionality of design in all these pavements, approaching almost to a sterility of invention, which makes it the more extraordinary that they have not been generally copied for modern purposes of decoration, instead of the unmeaning patterns which we generally see.

* Vide Faaciolati, Forcellini, &c. in *culatus*, &c. edit. Bailey. 4to. London, vocibus *scutula*, *tessera*, *tesserula*, *vermi-* 1828.

NOTE

ON A LINE OF ROMAN WAY LEADING FROM OLD SARUM.

On the occasion of the meeting of the Society at Winchester, in 1845, I took occasion to offer some remarks on the Roman road from that city, leading westward by Old Sarum, in the direction of the Mendip Hills, and terminating at Uphill, on the Severn Sea. These observations were communicated by my friend the Warden of New College, and have been printed in the volume of the Transactions of the Institute, at their Winchester meeting. My present object is to request attention to another line of road diverging from Old Sarum to Silchester, in a north-eastern direction. Its course through this county is marked satisfactorily in general, though not by name, on the old map of Wiltshire, by Andrews and Dury, published in 1773; but, with the exception of a small portion called the "Portway," it is not distinctly laid down on Faden's map of Hampshire; at least, it does not appear in the reduced copy which I have, published in 1796. Near the point where it is crossed by the road leading to Hurest, are (or were) two barrows, called "hand-barrows," whence it proceeds in a straight line almost to Gumbleton, leaving on the right the church of Winterbourn Gunner, so called from the ancient family of Gunner. Here it must have crossed the Winterbourn river towards Porton, or the Portway town; for a trackway passes along under Gumbleton Hill, which leaves Porton and Idmiston on the west, and proceeds to the extreme limits of the county at a point called the "Hampshire Gap." The hills and dales here are diversified by barrows, wells, and sheep-ponds, with occasional plantations of fir.

On entering Hampshire, the first place we meet of any importance is Greatley, the GREATLEA of King Athelstan. Here and at Enham, a little farther on the same line of road (not at Ensham in Oxfordshire, as it has been sometimes understood), some remarkable synods were held in Anglo-Saxon times for the promulgation of the laws of the whole realm. Greatley was a place of so much celebrity, that it is traditionally said to have had five churches in the reign of King Athelstan. A little beyond Andover, the

Roman road, or foss-way, from Winchester to Cirencester, and so by Gloucester to the Severn, crosses our present road almost at right angles; beyond which point to St. Mary Boum, which some consider as Vindomis, or Vindonum, it is marked as the "Portway." In this interesting locality are several camps and entrenchments, which appear from their commanding situation to be admirably adapted for military defence and observation; and there is, therefore, every reason to suppose that they were successively used and occupied, not only by the Romans, but by other parties who at any time, either before or after, gained possession of these eminences. Of the Roman villa at Thruxton, not far from the line of this road, westward, I have already spoken. With the exception of Cold-Henley, probably a corruption, as usual, of *Col-Henley*, indicative of the colonial occupation of the Romans, there are few points requiring any notice here till we arrive at the termination of the road at Silchester. Therefore I conclude — "Hic finis longæ chartæque viæque."

J. I.

NOTES ON
THE SCULPTURES AT WILTON HOUSE.

By CHARLES T. NEWTON, M.A.,
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NOTICE.

THE following account of the collection of sculptures at Wilton is to be found in Dallaway's *Anecdotes of the Arts in England*, 1800, pp. 264-5. "Thomas earl of Pembroke began his collection of statues at Wilton about the close of the last century. He purchased such of Lord Arundel's as had been placed in the house, and, by consequence, had escaped the injuries of this climate, so conspicuous in those at Oxford. They were principally busts. Lord Pembroke was particularly partial to that description of sculpture, as no less than 173 may be seen at Wilton on marble termini. The scrutinising eye of the connoisseur will not allow many of this great number to be either antique or genuine portraits. But the Wilton Collection originated in others besides the Arundelian. When the Giustiniani marbles, in which were 106 busts, were dispersed, they were purchased chiefly by Cardinal Albani and Lord Pembroke. Cardinal Richelieu was assisted by Lord Arundel, when forming his collection of busts, with intelligence respecting many in Italy, which he afterwards procured. These were incorporated with Cardinal Mazarin's marbles, many of which had been bought when Charles the First's statues and pictures were exposed to public auction by a vote of Parliament. When the Mazarin Collection was likewise sold, Lord Pembroke was a principal purchaser, to which were added some fine busts from Valetta of Naples; a complete assemblage of all these forms the present magnificent collection at Wilton."

This collection has as yet been very imperfectly described. Engravings of a few of the statues were published by Carey Creed, London, 1730. In 1751, Richard Cowdrie published *A Description of the Pictures, Statues, &c. at Wilton House*; and in 1758 this work was reprinted, with the name of James Kennedy substituted for that of Cowdrie in the title-page. Subsequent and enlarged editions of Kennedy's book appeared in 1758, 1769, 1778, 1779, 1786, with a few engravings; but the uncritical character of his descriptions renders it worse than useless. Since his time little has been done for the illustration of the Wilton Collection. According to K. O. Müller, some of the statues are engraved in Richardson's *Edes Pembrochiana*, but this work I have never seen. There is a slight notice of the collection in Waagen's *Art and Artists in England*, and a much fuller one in Goede's *Reise nach England*; but this latter is so full of inaccuracies that it would be hardly worth mentioning, were it not cited by M. Welcker in his *Zeitschrift für Gesch. der alten Kunst*, i. p. 592, for the description of a frieze of Niobids. The principal statues at Wilton have been engraved by Clarac in his *Musée de Sculpture*.

In the following notes I have endeavoured, to the best of my judgment, to indicate what is modern or restored in the Wilton Collection, which, from the scraped and scoured condition of many of the sculptures, is not always an easy task. Those which from the state of the surface could not absolutely be condemned, and which seemed entitled to the benefit of a doubt, are marked with an asterisk.

In the few remarks which have been added on the style of some of the sculptures, and the meaning of their design, I have not, of course, attempted to exhaust, but rather to suggest inquiry,—to draw attention to some very interesting works of art in this collection, which have not, it is thought, been hitherto sufficiently appreciated; and to indicate sources of information about them which are probably little known, except to those who have the advantage of constant access to the works of continental Archaeologists. The references to Clarac's *Musée de Sculpture* have been given in every case where he has engraved a Wilton statue; the references to Kennedy are cited from the edition of 1769. The running numbers in this list are those at present attached to the sculptures. For the convenience of identification I have added the names assigned to the statues in Kennedy's book, most of which are, however, incorrect.

CLOISTERS.

1. A circular altar with three figures in low relief, in a style imitated from the *archaic*. The design represents Dionysos (Bacchus) bearded, with long hair, and ivy-crowned. He is clad in a *chiton*, or tunic, falling to the feet, over which is thrown an ample *peplos*, or veil, confined by a shoulder-belt, and reaching nearly to the feet; in his right hand he holds the *kantharos*, or two-handled cup, in his left the *thyrsus*; behind him his panther; in front a Mænad or Bacchante, in a *chiton*, falling to the feet, her head and arms enveloped in an ample *peplos*; behind, another Mænad, her hair bound with the ornament called *sphendone*; her *peplos* confined by a shoulder-belt, and reaching nearly to the feet, the corner of it held out in the right hand. Above, the following inscription:

ΜΕΛΠΟΜΕΝ : ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΝ : ΑΓΛΑΟΜΟΡΦΟΝ :
ΒΑΚΧΕΥΤΟΡΑ : ΞΑΝΘΟΚΑΡΕΝΟΝ

in archaic Greek characters.

“Let us sing Dionysus, the beautiful, the reveller, the yellow-haired.”

The surface of this altar is much injured by scraping and cleaning. Some doubt has been thrown on the genuineness of the inscription by Boeckh, *Corpus Inscript.* i. p. 54, No. 38. He remarks that the epithets in this inscription are all to be found in a hymn to Bacchus, of a late period, *Anthol. ed. Jacobs*, iii. pp. 185, 217; a curious, if not suspicious coincidence. The peculiar form of the letters may perhaps be the result of an attempt to copy an earlier inscription; just as the sculpture itself is an attempt to reproduce the characteristics of archaic art. Height, 3 feet 2 inches. On this altar is an urn; on one side, a roughly-sculptured bas-relief, representing Apollo Musegetes attired like a Muse; he is receiving a roll from a Victory who stands before him near an altar; behind him a female figure, in a talaric *chiton*, holding a torch; in the corner, on the right, Jupiter seated with his eagle; behind,

DM
HOR : FLACC : PIIS : MAR :
PAMPH : MIN : FAFECIT

This inscription is partly, if not entirely, false, and the bas-relief doubtful.

2. Bust called Alexander the Great. Modern.

3. Bust of Antoninus Pius; the armour and drapery on the shoulders in several marbles of different colour; the nose, lower jaw, and neck restored.

4. Terminal head of the bearded Bacchus, called Plato, much restored and injured.

5. Contest of Hercules and the Achelous; very much restored. The head, right arm, left hand, right leg from above the knee to the ankle, left leg from below the knee to the foot, of Hercules; of Achelous, the lower jaw and beard, and the greater part of the snakes in which his body terminates, modern. The upper part of the body of the snake on the left of Hercules, and the head of the other snake seem antique. The head of the Achelous has pointed ears, and can hardly be distinguished from that of a Centaur; in the expression of agony about the face, and in the treatment of the mouth and eyes especially, there is much that reminds us of the head of the Laocoon; the same kind of resemblance may be traced in many other works of the later Roman period, as, for example, the two Centaurs in black marble in the Mus. Capit. at Rome. The absence of the bull's horns, which, in all other monuments of ancient art, form part of the type of the Achelous, have led to the supposition, that the group under consideration originally represented, not the contest of Hercules with the river-god, but that with the Centaur Nessus; but as there appears no reason to doubt that the lower part of the body of the supposed Achelous has been correctly restored, perhaps this figure is one of the Giants, who are usually represented with snaky terminations. Hercules, as is well known, took a part in the Gigantomachia.—Clarac, Pl. 790, A, No. 1994, A. Height, 3 feet 5 inches. In the pedestal a modern bas-relief, Diana and Endymion; in the wall above another modern bas-relief, Theseus and Ariadne.

6. A laurelled bust, with drapery in coloured marble, called Perseus; perhaps Hadrian; but much injured and restored.

7. A terminal head bound with a diadem; imitated from an archaic original; the head seems antique; bust and inscription modern.

8. A nymph sleeping. Nearly identical in attitude and

arrangement of drapery with the celebrated statue of Ariadne in the Vatican.—Mus. Pio Clem. ii. Pl. 44; see also *ibid.* iii. p. 56, note *b*, Pl. 43 and Pl. C. On the base a lizard, a snail, a stork eating a lizard, a bird eating a snake, and waves. Right hand restored.—Clarac, Pl. 570, No. 1829, C. Length, 2 feet 10½ inches. In the modern pedestal of this figure a disk, on which, in low relief, a satyr, Comus, or Marsyas, running along on rocky ground, and playing on the double flute; in front of him the trunk of a tree, much broken, and mended with plaster. In the wall above, a modern bas-relief, Saturn distributing rewards to the Arts and Sciences.

9. Bust of Nero. Modern.—Kennedy, p. 10, Pl. 6.

10. Female figure, in a talaric tunic, restored as a Muse. Drapery of a good character. Head and both arms modern. Height, 3 feet 9 inches.

11. Bust called Didius Julianus. Drapery of several coloured marbles. Nose, mouth, and beard restored. Above, a modern bust, called Libera.

12. Bust called Messalina. Head modern. On the shoulders a *pallium* of striped marble, under which is a tunic of alabaster. Above, a female bust, shoulders draped; perhaps Diana.

13. Statue called Antinous, but rather Mercury. Much restored. The trunk, and perhaps the head and right hand, are antique.—Clarac, Pl. 806, No. 2023. Height, 6 feet 9 inches.

14. Statue restored as Mercury. The trunk antique.—Clarac, Pl. 660, No. 1517, A. Height, 6 feet 9 inches.

*15. Bust called Anacreon.

*16. Bust called Asinius Pollio.

17. Sepulchral bas-relief. Two male figures are reclining at a banquet of fruits. At the head of the couch stands a youthful male figure, who has just filled a wine-jug, *oinochoe*, from a large bowl, *krater*. At the foot of the couch a procession; a female figure draped to the feet, and two youthful male figures, also draped, probably the daughter and sons of the two sitting personages, are advancing to them. At their side is a much smaller figure bringing a ram, and placing an offering on an altar; the procession is closed by a female *canephora*, with a basket on her head, and a *patera* in her right hand; each of the

reclining figures rests against two cushions. Height, 1 foot 9 inches.

18, 19. Two heads in relief in rosso antico. Modern.

20. Bust, called Aristophanes.

21. Boy running as if in pursuit of something flying. Right arm and feet restored. The body joined in several places. The countenance full of expression.—Clarac, Pl. 878, No. 2237, A. Height, 2 feet 1 inch.

22. Boy playing with cymbals. Much restored.—Pl. 878, No. 2237, C.

23. A Cinque-Cento bas-relief.

*24. Bust called Coriolanus. Modern.

25. Bust of Antonia. Much injured by cleaning.

26. Modern copy of the Dying Gladiator.

27. A mosaic, with figures raised in relief; perhaps antique. Such a mode of employing mosaic is very rare. (See Caylus, *Recueil des Ant.* tom. iii. p. 228.) Hercules seated by the tree of the Hesperides; he wears a diadem, and holds the strap of his quiver in his left hand; before him one of the daughters of Atlas. The dragon is coiled round the tree. Length, 1 foot 4 inches; height, 13 inches. Kennedy, Pl. 7, p. 20. In the collections of the Society of Antiquaries is a drawing of another mosaic, apparently a duplicate; in the Memoir by Agustin Durand, presented to the society with this drawing, it is stated that the original is in the possession of D. Benito Maestre of Madrid (see *Archæol.* xxx. p. 544).

28. Modern bas-relief of Diana and a stag.

29. Bust called Pompey. Drapery modern.

30. Bust called Cæsonia, but rather Julia Domna. Nose restored.

31. A figure on horseback, in alto-relievo; he wears a *paludamentum*, or military cloak, and oriental *bracæe*, or trowsers, like those of figures on the arch of Constantine at Rome. The head, left hand, right shoulder, left leg, and foot of the man, the head, hind quarter, and left fore leg of the horse, restored. The details of the costume and horse-trappings curious: probably of Trajan's time. Length, 1 foot 9 inches; height, 2 feet 4½ inches.

*32. Small bas-relief, Jupiter and Venus seated; before them a figure sacrificing.

33. Bas-relief of a bull led to sacrifice by the *popa*, and

another figure, both wreathed. From the triangle on the horns of the bull hangs the *infula*, or sacrificial fillet.

34. Female double head; one bound with a diadem, the other has rows of curls over the forehead, and the hair braided. Noses broken, but the rest of the surface in good condition.

35. Male double head. One face bearded, and bound with a twisted diadem.

*36. Male double head.

37. Modern bas-relief, allegorical figures of Painting and Sculpture.

38. Alto-relievo of a sleeping child in black marble. A very fine specimen of modern sculpture, probably of Fiamingo's time.

*39. Bust called Philemon.

40. Bust called Matidia, retouched.

41. Terminal double head of Bacchus.

42. Bust of Titus. Head modern.

43. Female head, bound with ivy and a diadem on the forehead; perhaps Ariadne. Drapery restored.

44, 45. Two modern bas-reliefs.

46. Bust of Homer. Nose restored. Rather a coarse copy of the celebrated portrait, of which several repetitions are extant. Of these, the bust in the Towneley Gallery is perhaps the finest, and gives a good example of what may be termed the picturesque style adopted by the later Greek artists, shewn in the management of the chiaroscuro generally, and particularly in the treatment of the hair and eyes. Of this style the Laocoon was probably the great model.

47. Bust called Annia Faustina. Antique.

48. Group in very low relief, Jupiter seated in a chair bearing an eagle on his wrist. Before him a candelabrum, and a young athlete, with his hands in a *lebes*, or caldron, placed on a tripod. Above is inscribed, in archaic letters, *boustrophedon*, i. e. the second and fourth lines from right to left :

ΜΑΝΘΕΟΣ : ΑΙΘΟΥ : ΕΥ
ΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΙ : ΔΙΙ : ΕΠΙ :
ΝΙΚΕΙ : ΠΕΝΤΑΘΛΟΥ
ΠΑΙΔΟΣ

“ Mantheus, son of Æthus, offers thanks to Jupiter for his victory in the Pentathlon (or contest of five games) of youths.”

Kennedy states in his preface (ed. 1769, p. 26), that this bas-relief came from the Peloponnese. The inscription has been published by Bimard de la Bastie, in Muratori's *Thesaur. Inscript.* i. pp. 35, 48; *Nouveau Traité Dipl.* i. p. 626, cf. p. 631; Corsini, *Dissert. Agonist.* p. 53; *Spiegaz. di due Ant. Iscrizione.* p. 4, by K. O. Müller, in Böttiger's *Amalthea*, iii. p. 44; and lastly by Boeckh, *Corpus Inscript.* i. p. 50, No. 34. The genuineness of the inscription has been strongly disputed by Maffei, *Mus. Veron.* p. ccccx.; see also Donat. *Supplement ad Murat.* p. xix.; Villoison, *Anecdot.* ii. p. 169; both on philological and palæographical grounds.

The occurrence of the ancient form of the dative **EI**, instead of **H**, as it would have been written after the archonship of Euclides, B.C. 404; the difficulty in reconciling such an archaism with the more modern form of the genitive **OY** in **ΑΙΘΟΥ** and **ΠΕΝΤΑΘΛΟΥ**, which certainly would not have been used in the Peloponnese before the period of Euclides; the unusual form of the **Λ**, and the punctuation between each word, contrary to the rule of early inscriptions, are the chief arguments against the genuineness of this monument. They have been duly weighed by Boeckh, *loc. cit.*, who, however, does not positively condemn the inscription. It is published as genuine by K. O. Müller; and in Krause's *Hellenica* (Th. ii. Bd. 2, p. 156) the name Mantheus is inserted among the list of victors in the Nemean games, solely on the authority of this monument: compare *ibid.* pp. 117, 118. It has certainly been retouched, and both the inscription and composition have a very doubtful appearance. The eagle is more like a dove; the action of the youthful figure, who places his hands in the *lebes*, and the type of his face, have little of the characteristics of ancient art.

So many and such reasonable grounds of suspicion can only be accounted for by supposing this bas-relief to have been, in the first instance, an *ancient* copy of an archaic monument, and to have been retouched by some *modern* hand. Perhaps, originally, the youth was represented dedicating to Jupiter the tripod which he had obtained as a prize; such dedications were usual among the Greeks. The modern artist who restored this monument may have mistaken the meaning of this part of the design, and con-

verted this votive action into a mere sacrificial one of sprinkling water. Height, 1 foot 9 inches.

49. Small alto-relievo of the three Graces. Behind them two Cupids suspend a wreath. Much restored.

50. Pine-cone, with foliage in relief. Part of some larger composition.

*51. Bust called Dolabella.

52. Statue of a boy playing with a ball. The trunk only antique.

53. Young Satyr, holding up in his right hand grapes; his left rests on the trunk of a tree, round which a vine is twined.—Clarac, Pl. 724, No. 1671, F.

54. Bas-relief of boys with grapes, by Fiamingo.

55. Bust of Vitellius. Modern.

56. Statue, with a dolphin at the foot, the drapery drawn together by the left hand so as to leave the chest and right arm free, after the habit of orators. Called Marcus Antonius, but the head and right arm are restored.—Clarac, Pl. 921, No. 2345; Kennedy, p. 34, Pl. 9. The lower part of this statue is very good art. Height, 3 feet 7 inches.

57. Bust called Portia. Modern.

58. Bust of Marcus Aurelius. Modern.

59. Bas-relief, Cupid; his head and shoulders enveloped in a mask representing the head of Silenus; his hand issues out of the mouth of the mask towards a Bacchic *cista*, round which is a wreath. Compare Mus. Capit. iii. Pl. 40.

60. A sarcophagus, in the centre of the side of which is represented in relief a temple with folding doors; at the ends gryphons.

61. The death of Meleager. Bas-relief from the side of a sarcophagus. Three groups: 1. The quarrel with the Thestiadæ; Meleager is rushing forward, sword in hand; one of the Thestiadæ has fallen at his feet, the other is drawing his sword; behind, another figure with a spear; at the side, a serpent twined round a tree. 2. Althæa, the mother of Meleager, putting the fatal torch into the flames; behind the altar stands a Fury with a torch in her hand, and a female figure unrolling a roll. 3. Meleager on a couch, dying; in front, an aged figure standing; a bearded middle-aged figure supports Meleager's head; behind the couch a youth, looking back, and pointing at

the scene of the burning torch, and a maiden weeping; at the head of the couch, but turned away from the sight of the dying warrior, is Atalanta. The sword, helmet, and shield of Meleager are placed by his bedside. At the feet of Atalanta is a hound looking up. Coarse Roman work, but in excellent condition. Length, 7 feet $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

62. A Silenus crouching, and drinking from a *kantharos* which he holds in both hands. He is enveloped in a panther's skin, *pardalis*, the face of which covers his head, the row of teeth appearing on his forehead above the ivy-wreath with which he is crowned. He sits with his legs crossed in the Oriental fashion. No part of his body is visible except the knees, which are covered with hair. The face full of expression; the attitude very singular. In fair condition. This figure has probably been applied as an architectural ornament, as there is a square hole cut at the back of the head, and a deep groove down the back.—Clarac, Pl. 330, A, No. 1755, D. Height, 1 foot 4 inches.

*63. Bust called Vibius Volutianus.

64. Bust called Gryphina. Perhaps a Muse.

65. Bust called Pindar. Modern.

66. Bust called Julia Mæsa, the drapery of coloured marble. Head has been repolished.

67. Bust called Vespasian, but seems of a later period. Has the drapery called *læna* on the shoulders, concerning which, see British Museum Marbles, x. Pl. 13, p. 26.

68. Statue of Bacchus. The trunk and right arm antique. From the shoulder hangs the kid-skin.—Clarac, Pl. 676, No. 1563.

69. Bust of Caracalla. Fair art. Nose restored.

70. Silenus with the infant Bacchus. Very much restored. No portion of the Bacchus except the arm on the shoulder of Silenus antique.

71. Cleopatra in alto-relievo. Modern.

72. Nymph in alto-relievo. Modern.

*73. Female bust; the drapery of coloured marble; the head does not belong to the bust.

74. Egyptian statue, in black basalt, of Hekefnecht (?), an officer of high rank, kneeling down upon both knees, and holding before him a small naos or portable shrine (*kat*), in which is a standing figure of Osiris in the character of *Fenti em ement*, or Pethempamentes, "*He who dwells*

in the West." The inscriptions with which the back and plinth are covered comprise the names and titles of the deceased, who held the offices of chief of the governors (of the Nomes), first counsellor, chancellor, chief of the temple of Neith, priest of the goddess Neith, and chamberlain of the palace. It is stated that the deceased was particularly blessed by the god Phtha, the Egyptian Vulcan.

I am indebted to Mr. Birch for the following translation of the whole. The inscription round the plinth reads thus :

"The devoted to Osiris, the chief counsellor, the guardian of the gate, and chief of the great temple, Hekefnecht. An act of homage to Phtha Socharis Osiris, who gave to him (the deceased person) meals of food and drink in the festivals of the early part of the year, on the commencement of the year, in the festival of lamps, in the festival of Thoth, on the festival of Socharis, on that of the harvest and of the [greater and lesser] heat (solstices), on the monthly and half-monthly festival, two periods of the year. Hekefnecht, the chief of the temple of Neith, the person set over the of the heaven having charge of the shrine and of the great temple." Down the back of the statue: "Consecrated to Phtha Socharis Osiris, for the chief governor, the seal-bearer, the chief counsellor, chief of the temple of Neith, and of Anubis, lord of the heaven, priest of the temple of Bubastis, superintendent of the district of the fisheries of Tepep (?), chief of the gate, and governor of the great temple, Hekefnecht, justified [*i. e.* deceased]."

This statue is apparently of the age of the 26th dynasty, or about the seventh century B.C. The head and bust, which are modern, have been restored as those of the goddess Isis, bearing the lotus-flower, surmounted by a ball or fruit of the Persea, instead of being made in the head-attire of a functionary of the 26th dynasty. It has been engraved by Alexander Gordon, in "An Essay towards explaining the Hieroglyphical Figures on the Coffin of the ancient Mummy belonging to Captain William Lethieullier; London, 1737," folio, tab. ix. "Hoc Isidis simulacrum, cum Osiride suo in arcâ, ex lapide bisaltino inter Cimelia Pembrochiana Wiltoniæ asservatum, Thomæ Fre-

derick Armⁿ D.D.D., A. Gordon." It probably came from Sais. Height, 2 feet 11 inches.

75. Modern bas-relief of Victory surrounded by trophies.

76. Part of a candelabrum. On one of the three faces, in low relief, a Satyr dancing; in his right hand a thyrsus, in his left a *kantharos*, or two-handled cup; on his left arm the panther's skin; on another, a Mænad dancing; the third face, from the position of the sculpture, is not visible.

*78. Bust, inscribed

**M. ΜΟΔΙΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΤΙΚΟΣ
ΙΑΤΡΟΣ ΜΕΘΟΔΙΚΟΣ**

and above,

**ΙΗΤΗΡ ΜΕΘΟΔΟΥ ΑΣΙΑΤΙΚΕ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΑ ΧΑΙΡΕ
ΠΟΛΛΑ ΜΕΝ ΕΣΘΛΑ ΠΑΘΩΝ ΦΡΕΣΙ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΔΕ ΛΥΓΡΑ**

This bust was obtained by Thomas earl of Pembroke from the Duke of Argyll. It appears to be a modern copy of a bust sent from Smyrna to Paris to M. de Pont Chartrain, Minister of Marine, and after his death presented by the Duc de Valentinois to the Bibliothèque Nationale, where it now is. See Caylus, Rec. des Ant. vi. Pl. 42, p. 142. He says that a cast of it was made in bronze by M. de Pont Chartrain. "Sans oublier," he adds, "la copie exacte de l'inscription, cet avis peut être utile aux curieux à venir. Je connois cette copie, et j'en ai peu vu qui soit plus capable de tromper." Visconti publishes the original in his *Iconographie Grecque*, i. p. 284, and there notices the copy at Wilton, and another engraved in Montfaucon, Ant. Expl. Suppl. iii. Pl. 8, and described by that archæologist as an original work then in the possession of the Maréchal d'Estrées. Visconti explains the inscription thus:

"Marcus Modius Asiaticus, a methodical or scientific physician."

In the second inscription he supposes that M. Modius Asiaticus is addressed by one of his clients or freedmen, who placed this bust on his tomb:

"Farewell, my patron Asiaticus, thou who hast experienced in thy heart many good things and many griefs."

79. Bust of a boy; called Alexander Severus. A fine portrait; shoulders modern. Height, 1 foot 9 inches.

80. Bust of the period of Hadrian. Shoulders naked. Inscription modern.

- *81. Bust called Marcellus.
82. Modern copy of the Apollo Belvedere.
83. A group of boys, by Flamingo.
84. Bust, perhaps of Sophocles. The shoulders, of coloured alabaster, do not belong to the head. Nose restored.
85. Funeral banquet. A male figure reclining on a couch; in front, on a tripod table, a cake and fruits; behind him, a veiled female of much smaller stature, bringing fruits; in front, a draped female figure wrongly restored as Pallas; the couch is supported by the figure of a gryphon, the drapery with which it is covered has a fringe of tassels. Length 1 foot 10 inches, height 1 foot 3 inches.
86. Cupid on a sea-horse. Modern bas-relief.
87. Curtius leaping into the gulf. Modern bas-relief.
- Kennedy, Pl. 1.
88. Colossal head of a youth; called Geta, but rather of the time of Hadrian; in a good style; broken off at the neck. Height, 2 feet.
89. Tragic mask. The eyebrows converge into a pyramidal form, like those of the Laocoon. From the open mouth, and the character of the hair and beard, which are those of a marine deity, it is probable that this mask formed the mouth of a fountain or pipe for the supply of a bath. Height, 1 foot 7 inches.
90. Head of Bacchus, bearded, and wreathed with grapes and ivy.
91. Modern copy of the Venus de Medici.
92. Modern bas-relief. Venus and Cupids.
93. Bust called Lucilla, modern.
94. Bust called Apollonius of Tyana. The drapery and hand doubtful.—Kennedy, p. 53, Pl. 14.
95. The Ephesian Diana. The body of white marble, the extremities restored in black marble. On the neck two Victories, holding between them a wreath, and each with a palm-branch in the other hand; between them a crab; on one side, forepart of a lion; on the other, a shell-fish; below, on the breast, a wreath; on the shoulders, on either side, two lions; below, four rows of beasts, and below these, four rows of animals' heads, the first composed of winged bulls; at the sides, alternate bees and flowers; on each hip the upper part of a Victory; below, animals' heads. The right arm nearly to the shoulder, the left

from below the elbow, and both legs from below the knees, restored. Height, 3 feet.

96. Statue, called Meleager, perhaps Hercules. The trunk only seems antique.—Clarac, Pl. 806, No. 2023: Kennedy, p. 10, Pl. 5.

97. Draped figure. Head, right arm, and legs restored, right shoulder bare, left arm drawn back, and covered with drapery; called Æsculapius, but more probably an orator.—Clarac, Pl. 550, No. 1160: Kennedy, Pl. 4, p. 9.

99. Head of Egyptian sculpture in granite. Seems of a good period; the nose, lips, and chin restored.

100. Two Cupids. Sculpture of the sixteenth century.

101. Bas-relief in rosso antico. Female Satyr, making a child dance on her foot. Modern.—Kennedy, p. 18, Pl. 3.

102. Modern bas-relief. Silenus with Nymphs and Satyrs.

103. Called Octavia, the wife of Nero. The nose, chin, and laurel-wreath restored; the drapery of alabaster and coloured marble, but does not seem to belong to the head.

104. Front of a sarcophagus. Two Cupids in relief, holding a shield; below, two panthers, each playing with a basket of fruit; at the side two Cupids with reversed torches; at each end of the sarcophagus a gryphon.

105. Part of a sarcophagus. Frieze of alternate Ne-reids and Tritons; at each corner a head.

106. Silenus reclining. Little of this but the head and trunk seems antique; under his arm seems to have been a panther, restored as a dog. The figure is placed on a plinth mended with a piece of marble, on which is a Greek inscription nearly effaced, apparently

ΕΒΙ Μ ΛΙ ΙΑΚΟΒ

Clarac, Pl. 738, No. 1754, A.

107. Modern bas-relief.

108. Head of Apollo in his androgynous character as Musegetes. Shoulders modern.—Kennedy, p. 65, Pl. 21. A head very similar to this is in the British Museum Room, Synopsis, 1849, p. 3. Height, 2 feet 7 inches.

109. Sepulchral stelé. Within a wreath

Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ

below

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΝ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥ

meaning that the *demus*, or people of the town, had crowned Dionysius, the son of Dionysius, the son of Metrodorus, with a wreath. Such honorary inscriptions were very common in Asia Minor during the Imperial period; see Boeckh, *Corpus Inscript. passim*. Dionysius is represented as a draped figure with a roll in his left hand, taking leave of a younger figure; his cloak is thrown over his arm, two children stand near; in the distance a column, surmounted by a Siren or Harpy playing on the lyre; this was a sepulchral emblem; at the corner of the scene a horse's head. Height, 3 feet 8½ inches.

110. Scipio Asiaticus. Modern.

111. Sarcophagus of the late Roman period. In the centre, in a medallion, busts, in relief, of a man wearing the dress called *læna*, and of his wife; the male figure holds a roll; the features of both are very hard; below the medallion two tragic masks; at each corner of the sarcophagus a lion; one devours a goat, the other a boar.

112. Cupid asleep. In one hand a *kantharos*, or two-handled cup; his head rests on an *amphora* lying on its side.—Clarac, Pl. 678, B. No. 1567, A. Length, 1 foot 10¼ inches.

113. A square altar, with a divinity sculptured in very low relief on each of the four sides. 1. Pallas, in front a snake, Athene Hygieia. 2. Jupiter, holding out an eagle on his wrist. 3. Neptune (?), walking on rocky ground, and holding up his drapery from the shoulder with his right hand. 4. A female figure, perhaps Juno, wearing a talaric *chiton* and *peplos*; in her left hand a sceptre. These figures have an angular treatment, which characterises the imitation of the archaic style; preservation indifferent. Height, 1 foot 5 inches. Noticed incidentally by K. O. Müller, Böttiger's *Amalthea*, iii. p. 45, where the third figure is called Ares, Mars.

114. Head of an old Satyr, bound with an ivy wreath. Height, 1 foot 7½ inches.

115. Bas-relief, side of a sarcophagus. Venus seated on the tail of a Triton, who holds by the arm a Nereid; in the air flies a Cupid, holding a wreath. On the other side of Venus a Sea-god, whose form, human to the waist, terminates in a fish's tail combined with horse's legs. A Nereid is caressing this figure. The shoulders and breasts

of both the male figures are vandyked with indented lines, to shew the blending of the human and fishy natures.

116. Statue called Livia, but rather a seated Muse. Her hair is bound with an *opisthosphendone*; the arrangement of the *chiton* on her breast is peculiar; the head seems to belong to some other figure; the right arm appears antique; the left, and the disk held in it, doubtful. The seat is of a remarkable form. Engraved as Ceres, Clarac, Pl. 438, B. No. 786, E. Height, 5 feet 3 inches.

117. Seated female figure, draped to the feet, called Didia Clara. Head and arms modern.—Clarac, Pl. 498, A, No. 1131, E. Height, 5 feet 1 inch.

*118. Small statue of Muse.

*119. Small statue of Apollo. Much mended and restored, if antique.—Clarac, Pl. 494, B, No. 954, D.: Kennedy, p. 45, Pl. 10.

120. Cippus, inscribed

D M
PROBVS IM :
CLAVDIA S :

but this inscription is modern; below, in relief, tripod with the *cortina* of Apollo surmounted by a winged head; on either side, a gryphon; above, an eagle, the wings terminating in two snakes. This front is flanked by two columns, the capitals of which are formed by foliage curiously combined with fish. At the two opposite corners are two pilasters; between, on each side, is the laurel-tree. The cippus is supported by a pedimental cover, on which are two birds holding in their beaks the two ends of a wreath. The two heads let into the cover are modern.

*121. Head of Pallas in porphyry, in alto-relievo, with a helmet in verd antique; perhaps genuine.

*122. Head called Cleopatra. Seems genuine, but the surface much tampered with. The back of the head-dress is singular, the hair being drawn back so as to form a cluster of parallel rows of curls.

*123. Head called Germanicus.

124. Cupid bending his bow. Probably a copy of the celebrated Cupid of Praxiteles, which he preferred to all his other works. Many repetitions of this figure exist. Two are in the British Museum. The others are enumerated, British Museum Marbles, Part x. Pl. 21, p. 45.

The wings, arms, and legs from the hips downward of the Wilton statue are restored. The body is very beautiful, and worthy to be considered the work of a Greek artist of the best period. The head has been broken and rejoined on the neck, a small piece of marble having been inserted at the join. The expression of the face and the head-dress very feminine. The nose and chin have been restored. Engraved, Clarac, Pl. 650, No. 1495 : Kennedy, p. 50, Pl. 12. Height, 4 feet 4 inches.

125. Small sepulchral bas-relief. A male figure taking leave of a seated female figure ; inscribed :

ΟC ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟC

. . . . ΕΥΚΛΕΑΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ.

Retouched.

127. Bust called Arsinoe. Modern.

128. Bust called Cassandra. Modern. — Kennedy, Pl. 23.

129. Sarcophagus. Style very late and coarse. In the centre of the side a group, in relief, of Meleager making a libation at an altar ; at his feet, the head of the Caledonian boar ; in his left hand, a spear ; behind him, Atalanta placing her arms on his shoulders. She is attired like Diana, and has a quiver at her back ; on the other side, another figure ; at each corner, a youthful figure, with a sword and spear, and wearing a *chlamys* or cloak ; perhaps the Dioscuri, as they appear to wear conical caps. At each end, Sarmatian shields and axes incised in outline.

130. A female figure ; her left arm rests on her hip, and supports the drapery which partially covers her lower limbs, her right arm rests on a square pillar. The right hand is wanting, but probably held a *hydria*, or ewer. The head, which is joined at the neck, appears modern, as is also most probably the ewer, which remains attached to the pillar without the hand which held it ; but from the flowing hair and the character of the drapery, the restoration of this figure as a water-nymph is probably correct. The attitude is very graceful.—Clarac, Pl. 594, No. 1425, A. Height, 4 feet.

131. Seated female figure, with a cornucopia, called Pomona, much patched and restored. The head, which has much of the character of Ceres, is veiled. The upper part of the cornucopia is antique. The right hand holds

something, perhaps meant for ears of corn. — Clarac, Pl. 438, No. 786, C.

132. The infant Hercules strangling the serpents. His head and arms restored.—Clarac, Pl. 783, No. 1957, A.

*134. Bust called Cato Major.

135. Bust of Trajan. Not in good condition, but a good portrait. Nose and ears restored in plaster. The neck has been broken in two places. On the pedestal are two Victories, with palm-branches in their left hands, and holding a wreath in their right hands, below which is a star.

136. Cupid sleeping on a lion's skin. A small recumbent figure, in alto-relievo. Modern.

137. A sarcophagus found near Athens, and brought over to France in the time of Cardinal Richelieu; afterwards in the possession of M. Foucault. In very fine preservation, and very interesting on account of the subjects of the bas-relief. It is inscribed

Θ : Κ . ΑΥΡΗΛΙΩ . ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΩ
 CYMBIΩ . ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑ . ΒΑΛΕΡΙΑ ΕΘΗΚΕ

“ To the Infernal Gods, to Aurelius Epaphroditus, her mate, Antonia Valeria erected this.”

From the form of the letters in this inscription, the probable date of the inscription is the early period of the Roman Empire.

The principal subject represents Ceres or Demeter sending forth Triptolemus to sow corn. In the centre of the scene is a female figure seated, with a snake at the side of her seat; she wears a *chiton*, or tunic, reaching to the feet, with looped-up sleeves, a *peplos*, or veil, and on her head the head-dress called *sphendone*; on her left shoulder she carries an object which has always been considered a *pedum*, but its curved appearance may be only caused by the bend of the sarcophagus in this place. She is pressing by the hand a female figure who stands before her, taking leave, and who wears a *chiton* without sleeves, across which is thrown the *peplos*; her hair flows down her neck; in her left hand she holds ears of corn. Next to her, and resting his right hand on her left wrist as he looks back at the seated figure, is Triptolemus, standing in his car drawn by

two snakes. He wears a *chlamys*, or cloak, in the folds of which he carries corn. At his side is an olive-tree. The two other figures which complete the central group are a female figure standing on the left of the seated figure, clad in a *chiton*, over which is a short garment falling to the waist, her hair long and flowing; in her left hand, ears of corn. Behind Triptolemus appears a male figure, bearded, carrying on his shoulders a deep basket, such as was used for gathering grapes. In front of the snakes is a group of three figures: in the middle a male figure wearing a *chlamys*; on either side a female figure in a *chiton* and *peplos*, holding, one a sceptre, the other a long cylindrical object, which seems not unlike the handle of a plough, the lower part of which may have been broken off. See Lenormant and De Witte, *Mon. Céram.* iii. Pl. 64, where, in a similar scene, a figure behind Triptolemus holds a plough. The figure with the sceptre wears over her forehead an ornament like a lotus-flower in the centre of a diadem. All these figures are looking towards Triptolemus: the male figure rests his hands on the shoulders of his two companions; the figure with the sceptre caresses, with her right hand, one of the pair of snakes. At the corner of the sarcophagus is a female figure in a *chiton* and *peplos*, and with flowing hair; her right hand rests on the head of a child, who grasps with both hands the blades of two tall ears of corn growing out of the ground at his feet; her left, now broken off, has held a sickle. Behind the seated figure, and with his left hand on her shoulder, stands the youthful Bacchus, his hair bound with grapes and vine-leaves. A vine grows on his right hand. At the corner of the scene appears a female figure in a *biga*, her veil or *peplos* arched over her head. At her horses' heads stands her charioteer, a female figure attired like the Diana Venatrix, in a short tunic or *chiton* and buskins. Over her head her veil or *peplos* arched over her head; in her left hand she holds a whip. Under the horses, is a reclining draped female figure, the Earth; her head bound with ivy, grapes, and vine-leaves.

This scene has been variously interpreted: see Welcker, *Zeitschrift für Gesch. d. alt. Kunst*, i. pp. 101-4. My friend Dr. Emil Braun has suggested to me the following explanation:

“The whole composition of this bas-relief may be di-

vided into four groups, each representing a separate action. In the whole scene the worship of Ceres is contrasted with that of Dionysos. Thus, as the vine-tree at the side of Dionysos is opposed to the olive-tree at the side of Triptolemos, under the shadow of which Ceres is said to have had rest after her long wanderings, so Dionysos himself, who lays his hand on the shoulder of the enthroned, veiled, and crowned figure, and Triptolemos, who hastens to carry away the female figure who is taking leave of her, are antagonists; and lastly, at either extremity of the bas-relief we meet with the same contrast between the Cereal and Dionysiac emblems; the reclining figure of the Earth is crowned with grapes and vine-leaves; and the little boy at the opposite end, who holds in his hands two tall ears of corn, has an evident relation to Ceres.

“The figure in the biga is certainly Ceres; and the figure at her horses’ heads Hecate, whom we know to have conducted Ceres to her lost daughter.

“The seated figure on whose shoulder Dionysos rests his hand, we may suppose to be Rhea, whose peculiar connexion with the myth of Ceres is well known, and who is therefore not out of place in a scene of this kind. The *pedum* which she holds is a fit attribute for the Idean goddess; she is accompanied by a snake, an emblem the Dionysiac character of which is in no way inconsistent with Demeter.

“It is doubtful whether the female figure who stands clasping her by the hand should be considered Ceres or Proserpine. For either attribution many good reasons might be assigned. It must be observed here, that this goddess is obliged to follow Triptolemos, while the seated goddess is destined to remain with Dionysos.

“Of the two subordinate figures near the departing goddess it is difficult to guess the names. We may perhaps venture to give to the bearded figure the name Verumnus; to the other female figure, that of Iambe.

“The subject of the third group, that in front of Triptolemos, is the most intricate, perhaps the most interesting of all. The figure who carries a sceptre is Ceres herself; the male figure is Triptolemos, whose intimate relation to Ceres is marked by the familiar manner in which he leans on her shoulder. The other female figure

is probably Proserpine, who holds in her hands a long roll, on which the sacred laws of the Thesmophoriazusæ are inscribed. These same figures occur on a Roman bas-relief in the Palazzo Colonna, published in Dr. Braun's *Decades of Ancient Monuments*. There a small female figure is writing on wax tablets the laws dictated by Demeter Thesmophoros.

“The fourth group, the female figure with the sickle and the little boy holding the ears of corn, is entirely detached from the rest of the composition. To this child we may give the name of Plutos, the son of Ceres, who presses the wealth granted by the Earth, that is to say, the ripened corn, to his breast. This figure typifies the harvest itself, the ripeness of which is indicated by the sickle held in the hand of the female figure.”

M. Gerhard, who has published this bas-relief in his *Antiken Bildwerken*, taf. cccx. p. 399, differs considerably from Dr. Braun in his interpretation of it, adhering more to the explanation proposed by De Boze, *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscip.* iv. p. 648, where this monument was originally published. M. Gerhard divides the whole composition into three groups: the seated figure in the centre of the scene he considers to be Ceres; the figure pressing her by the hand, Proserpine; the female figure holding ears of corn and standing behind her he takes to be one of the Seasons or Horæ; the bearded man behind Triptolemus he conjectures to be a priest, carrying on his shoulders tablets inscribed with the Eleusinian ritual. But here M. Gerhard has been deceived by the inaccuracy of the drawing from which his engraving is taken; for the object on the shoulder of this figure is certainly a deep basket, as has been already stated. The group on the right of Triptolemus he considers most probably the family of Keleos. The figure caressing the snake would, according to this conjecture, be Metanira, distinguished by the sceptre in her hand; the youth leaning on her shoulder, her son Demophon; the two other female figures in this group would be the daughters of Keleos, and the boy would also belong to this race. Keleos himself would be represented by the bearded figure behind Triptolemus, already noticed as carrying a basket.

M. Gerhard considers that the group on the left most

probably represents the return of Proserpine to the light of day; the figure holding her horses would thus be Iris. The arrival of the goddess at Eleusis appeased the anger of Ceres; this change would be typified by the union of Bacchus and Ceres, and the setting out of Triptolemus in the second scene.

Upon the whole, it seems most probable that the entire composition consists of three—rather than four groups, and that the figures on the right of the scene represent some of the family of Keleos. On a vase, Lenormant et De Witte, *Mon. Céram.* iii. Pl. 62, we have both Keleos and Hippothoon in a similar scene, their names being inscribed on the vase. May not the youthful figure whom M. Gerhard calls Demophon be Hippothoon? The bearded figure with the basket on his shoulders presents some analogies with an aged figure carrying a cornucopia and a sceptre, which occurs on another vase, Lenormant et De Witte, Pl. 58 (compare Pl. 57, A.), and whose sceptre would indicate that he is a king. I therefore agree with M. Gerhard in calling this figure Keleos, and I am disposed to adopt the remainder of his interpretation. It may be remarked, that the alliance between Dionysos and Ceres in this bas-relief is illustrated by two vases, Lenormant et De Witte, Pl. 49, A., and Pl. 48, 49. Length, 6 feet 4 inches.

138. Above, a frieze representing the Four Seasons as four reclining female figures, each attended by a boy. Winter and Autumn are placed facing each other, at the two ends of the scene. Spring and Autumn recline, back to back, in the centre. Winter is represented draped in a *chiton* reaching to the feet, and a *peplos* drawn over her head, her right arm only exposed; before her is a cornucopia, on which she rests her right hand. A little boy, clad from head to foot in a *chiton*, *chlamys*, and *bracæ* or trousers, is bringing her a hare, thus indicating the season of the chase. Next is Spring, her feet turned towards Winter; her head, crowned with flowers, towards Summer. She wears a veil arched over her head. The shoulder and breast nearest to Summer are left uncovered. Her left hand rests on a cornucopia, which a winged boy supports, standing with his back to Winter. Next to Spring, but with her face turned towards Winter, is Autumn, crowned

with grapes and vine-leaves; the right breast exposed because nearest to Summer. A winged boy is placing grapes in her cornucopia. Summer is crowned with ears of corn. She wears a veil arched over her head, but all the upper part of her body is naked. A winged boy rests one hand on her cornucopia, and holds a reaping-hook in the other. The character of the several seasons is further indicated by the attitude of the four boys; those of Summer and Autumn are represented flying, that of Spring walking; the Genius of Winter alone is without wings, to indicate the weary length of that season. At each end of the sarcophagus a torch laid horizontally, and a tripod between two gryphons. The composition of the drapery in the principal subject is remarkably good. This sarcophagus has been engraved, Montfaucon, i. Pl. 45.

*139. Group called Cupid and Ganymede, but rather Cupid and a young Satyr, who is trying to play on the *syrix*, or Pan's pipe.

140. Bacchanalian bas-relief of the Cinque-Cento period.

141. Bust called Poppæa. The head-dress curious. The hair is gathered into a knot behind, and covered with a very small net, perhaps a kind of *kekryphalos*. The end of the nose and part of the front of the head, including the eye and three-fourths of the forehead, restored. The right hand issues from a mantle thrown over the tunic.

142. Bust called Augustus, but more probably of the period of Adrian; joined at the neck; shoulders naked.

143. A sarcophagus of the late Roman period. In the centre of the front, portrait of a male personage in a medallion, supported by two cornucopiæ. At the two ends of the sarcophagus are incised in deep lines battle-axes and Sarmatian shields crossed.

144. Statue, with a ram on his shoulders, called Jupiter, but rather Hermes Kriophoros; an ancient imitation of an archaic statue; most probably a copy of the statue by Calamis, described by Pausanias, ix. 22, as existing in his time at Tanagra. On a copper coin of Tanagra, formerly in the collection of Mr. Thomas, now in the British Museum, is a representation of Hermes Kriophoros, which corresponds not only with the description of Pausanias,

but also with the statue at Wilton. See Mr. Burgon's Catalogue of the Thomas Collection, p. 197, No. 1477. Calamis was a contemporary of Phidias, and flourished B.C. 440. His works, and those of Pythagoras of Rhegium, are described (Cic. Brut. 18,) as executed in a far freer style than those of his predecessors, but as still retaining somewhat of the harshness and rigidity of the ancient style, when compared with the more perfectly developed art of Myron. Such a description perfectly applies to the statue before us. It is sculptured in alto-relievo, on the face of a terminal block, and is naked in front, with drapery hanging down the sides. The hair, bound with a diadem, is arranged in a double row of clustered curls over the forehead, and hangs in a long tress on each side the neck. At the ankles are wings, which the later artist in copying the archaic original has not understood. The general type corresponds with that of Hermes or Mercury on the Capitoline altar and on archaic vases. The surface is in the finest condition, the head of the ram only being restored. This statue is engraved as Hermes Kriophoros, Clarac, Mus. de Sculpt. Pl. 658, No. 1545, B. Kennedy, who calls it Jupiter, says that it came from Thrace. Height, 3 feet $\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

145. A figure of Ceres, clad in a talaric *chiton* and *peplos*. Both arms restored; the right hand has probably originally held an inverted torch. See the figure in the British Museum, presented by Mr. Gaskoin.

146. Figure of a naked boy in a pointed cap tied under the chin, the arms tied behind the back. Legs restored; patched about the neck and shoulders. Engraved, Clarac, Pl. 650, A, No. 1481, A: Gerhard, *Archäologische Zeitung*, ii. Pl. 16, where it is cited by M. Panofka in illustration of a group in the Berlin Collection of Sculptures, where a youth, also with his hands behind him, but with his head bound with a diadem, stands by Apollo. Panofka conjectures this group to be Apollo and Linus; others suppose that the youth is Mercury, brought before the tribunal of Jupiter for stealing the oxen of Apollo. The head of the Pembroke figure is probably that of Telesphorus, and certainly does not belong to the body.

147. Europa and the bull. A modern bas-relief.

148. Bust called Cælius Calvus. Front of neck, nose, and part of chin, restored. A good Roman portrait.

149. Bust called Aventinus. Modern.—Kennedy, Pl. 13.

150. Bust of Otacilia. In fair preservation.

151. Satyr looking back; at his feet, a panther looking up. Legs and arms of the Satyr, and the whole of the panther restored; head of the Satyr antique, but doubtful whether it belongs to the body; he is crowned with a pine wreath. Engraved, Kennedy, p. 49, Pl. 11.

152. A small sepulchral bas-relief. A male figure standing, clasping by the hand a seated male figure; both draped: inscribed

. . . ΑΤΙ ΡΑΡΓΥΡΕ ΙΑΑΙ . . .

153. Modern bas-relief.

155. Sarcophagus. In the centre, an upright *thyrsus*, from which hang two festoons of fruit and flowers, supported on either side by a Cupid. Above the festoons are two pair of male and female Bacchic masks,—below, four animals: a tiger and a bull, both reclining and looking back at one another; a goat reclining; a cock pecking fruit.

157. Bust called Metellus. Modern.—Kennedy, Pl. 16.

*158. Bust called Lucan.—Kennedy, p. 65, Pl. 22.

159. Female figure, clad in a tunic and *pallium*, or veil. She is seated on a seat of rather a peculiar form, with four legs; her feet on a footstool; her hands, one of which holds a roll, the other a pipe, the attributes of a Muse, are modern; but this restoration is probably correct. The head has been mended at the neck; nose and upper lip restored.—Clarac, Pl. 498, A, 990, B.

161. Bust of a female child; the hair combed back in ridges, and gathered into a broad plait behind; probably a portrait of the period of the Antonines. Fair condition and execution; the countenance full of expression. Bust restored as high as the neck.

*162. Female head, perhaps of Venus.

163. Bas-relief, representing the destruction of the Niobids. On the right of the scene is Niobe, her veil arched over her head, supporting two of her daughters, who are clinging to her. The mother looks up to heaven

in despair. At the opposite end of the composition is the aged father of the Niobids, armed with a cuirass and buckler, and having buskins on his feet; he is endeavouring to protect, with uplifted shield, a youth who has fallen across his knee. These two figures much resemble the group found at Soissons, engraved, Raoul Rochette, Mon. Inédits, Pl. 79. The rest of the composition is made up of the sons and daughters of Niobe, with two pedagogues and a nurse. The scene takes place on the side of a woody mountain. At the top of the bas-relief, above Niobe, appears the mountain, Sipylus, reclining and holding a tree in his left hand; some of the figures have fallen on the rocks, others appear on an upper ledge of the mountain; three are flying to its woody summit. There are seven sons, of whom three are mounted; a fourth has fallen from his horse, and is drawing from his side the *lethalis arundo* which has pierced him. There are in like manner seven daughters. The composition is very crowded, and, like the other bas-reliefs in the Roman collections representing this subject, is of a very late period. The nurse is represented as an old wrinkled woman with a coif on her head. The pedagogues have the usual barbaric costume which belongs to this class. Noticed by Winckelmann, Mon. Inéd. Rom. 1767, i., pp. 119-20, Tav. 89, where he engraves another bas-relief which seems almost identical in composition.

164. Statue called Sabina. The head does not seem to belong to it. The drapery, an ample pallium, thrown over a talaric tunic; in the left hand ears of corn, but this adjunct appears a restoration.—Clarac, Pl. 538, B, No. 1122, C.

165. A colossal female figure called the Muse Urania. She wears a diadem, a talaric *chiton*, and a *peplos*. This figure is much restored; only the right side of the head, and part of the face on that side, are antique. The right arm is wanting, the left restored, the lower limbs doubtful.

*166. Bust called Brutus Senior; the head has the character of Sept. Severus.

167. Head of a ram in black basalt.

*168. Bust called Didia Clara.

169. Statue called the Father of Julius Cæsar; no part seems antique but the torso from below the breast to the knee; the right side and shoulder is left naked, the

left hand rests on the hip, in the attitude of an orator.—Clarac, Pl. 926, No. 2356, A.

170. An Amazon, kneeling on her right knee and defending herself against a horseman, of whom no trace remains but one of the hoofs of his horse behind the *pelta*, or lunated shield of the Amazon; she wears a short *chiton*, girt round the waist, and leaving the right breast exposed. Her head, left shoulder and breast, right arm, and part of the *pelta*, are restored.—Clarac, Pl. 810, A, No. 2031, C.

171, 172. Modern bas-reliefs.

173. Head called Alcibiades. The countenance fine, but much injured. Engraved, Kennedy, Pl. 25, p. 67.

174. Head called Anacharsis. Modern.

175. Hercules, his head bound with ivy, leaning back in a very strained and distorted attitude, and grasping his club in his right hand. Under his left arm is a naked male figure, probably Iolaos, of much smaller proportions, crouching apparently in terror. The lion's skin of Hercules hangs from his back and shoulder; his right arm and the top of his club are restored. The group is a curious example of the exaggerated theatrical style, of which the late Roman sarcophagi afford many other examples. It may be compared with a bronze figure of Hercules in the Museum of Parma, engraved Monum. dell' Instit. Arch. di Roma, i. Pl. 44. In the sculpture there is great ostentation of anatomical knowledge, but the details are not true to nature.—Clarac, 790, B, No. 1987. Height, 3 feet 4 inches.

176, 177. Silenus, Clælia. Modern bas-reliefs.

178. Terminal bust of Socrates.

179. Bust of Marcus Aurelius, with drapery, in marble, of three different colours, much scraped and injured.

Over the library-door a bas-relief, inscribed,

VESTAE SACRVM
C PVPIVS . FIRMINVS ET
MVDASENA . TROPHIME

A female figure, Vesta (?), wearing a talaric *chiton* and a *peplos*, drawn over the back of her head, which is bound with the ornament called *sphendone*. She is seated on a chair, under which a *modius*, out of which issue ears of corn, and with a serpent twined round it; above it a

circular object in the form of an ancient cake; in her right hand a *patera*, from which a serpent is feeding; in her left a sceptre. Engraved, Montfaucon, i. Pl. 27, p. 62, from Fabretti, ad tabellam Iliados, p. 339.*

Over another door: Head, called Libera. Modern.

Heads in relief: Marcus Aurelius and Faustina, face to face.

Female head, bound with diadem, called Phædra. The face restored.

ENTRANCE HALL.

A colossal Hercules, holding in his right hand a club, in his left the apples of the Hesperides; much restored and scraped. The right arm from the shoulder, the left from the elbow, modern. Large pieces of marble are inserted in the face, breast, left shoulder, abdomen, and thighs. The legs appear to be antique, though the surface is much injured by scraping. The character of the original sculpture may be seen in the back, the antique portion of the left arm above the elbow, and in the toes of the right foot, which are very finely treated. The head and general type are those of the Farnese Hercules, but in a different attitude, and with the addition of the lion's skin. The style of the sculpture is very similar. This statue appears to be of Greek marble.—Clarac, Pl. 801, No. 2018; Kennedy, Pl. 8, p. 23.

Figure called a Pantheon. A colossal male figure, with drapery thrown over the lower part of the body, and passing round to the left shoulder. In his left hand a cornucopia; his left foot rests on a fish of a long eel-like form, of which the head, now broken off, looked up towards the hand of the figure; the tail, twisted round, appears behind at the back of his drapery.

This figure is a specimen of Roman art in the time of Antinous. At first sight it would seem to be that personage in the character of a divinity, but the features are more those of Apollo; the hair grows upright from the forehead, like that of Alexander the Great.

* Montfaucon states that this statue was discovered, a few years before his time, in the Villa Mattei, and explains the circular object at the side as an ancient hand-mill. He states that the name C. Pupius Firminus occurs in an inscription erected

in honour of Ant. Pius by the Collegium of bakers. He therefore concludes that this bas-relief was dedicated by the bakers of Rome: but the whole monument has a very doubtful appearance.

It is difficult, however, to speak positively on this point, for the expression is much altered by the restoration of the nose, mouth, and chin. In other respects this statue is intact. The right arm is wanting from the shoulder.—Engraved, Clarac, Pl. 438, F, No. 803, A, as the god Bonus Eventus; and again, Pl. 970, B, No. 2501, E, where it is called an Imperial statue.

A colossal Apollo, his right arm raised above his head; his left hangs down; at his side a quiver. Good Roman work of the Imperial period; surface in fine condition; the nose, left hand from above the wrist, right arm between the elbow and the wrist, fingers of right hand, legs, and quiver restored; has been broken at the neck. The original attitude, more probably that of the Apollo in the Tribune at Florence, where he is leaning against a pillar, than the other here chosen by the restorer. Engraved as a Bacchus.—Clarac, Pl. 693, No. 1635, B; the artist has mistaken the clusters of hair for clusters of grapes.

Statue of Faustina the elder, clad in a tunic reaching to the feet, over which is an ample pallium or veil. The attitude and composition of the drapery full of dignity.—Clarac, Pl. 949, No. 2443, A.

LIBRARY.

Head of a young Pan, with little horns on the forehead and very feminine features. An example of this style may be seen in the two small statues of Pan, engraved, *Museum Marbles*, Part ii. Pl. 33, 43, inscribed with the name of the sculptor, Marcus Cossutius Cerdo.

Head of a Roman child, called Annius Verus; a characteristic portrait in fair condition; the shoulders covered with drapery in alabaster; but it is doubtful whether this belongs to the head.

SINGLE CUBE ROOM.

Busts. Masinissa and Pyrrhus. Modern.—Kennedy, Pl. 18, for Pyrrhus.

Sept. Severus, patched about the face, has a tunic of alabaster, and a chlamys of coloured marble; but this drapery is doubtful.

Bust called Octavia Major; but from the character of the head-dress, which is in a plait wound round the head,

more probably of the time of the Antonines. Drapery of two coloured marbles, but doubtful.

Drusus. A good bust; nose and forehead restored; head set on a modern neck and shoulders.

Bust called Lucius Verus. Drapery in four marbles, so as to represent the tunic, armour, and *paludamentum*, or military cloak. Seems antique; the nose restored.

DOUBLE CUBE ROOM.

Bust called Marcia. Hair in a plait wound round the head; nose and ear restored; the countenance thin and worn. Tunic of alabaster, over which is a pallium of a rich yellow marble.

Drusilla. A well-executed bust; the face in good condition; the tip of the nose, the neck, and probably the drapery on the shoulders restored.

*Bust called Horatius Consular. Forepart of the head restored as far as the nose, and placed on a modern bust; drapery of three coloured marbles. The face that of a Greek youth.

Bust of a youth, called Caius Cæsar. The surface of the head has been cleaned with acid, but appears antique. It is placed on a modern bust, covered with drapery in alabaster.

*Bust called Horatius, of porphyry, with drapery in two coloured marbles.

*Bust called Cicero. Black marble, with coloured drapery.

Bust of a boy, called Lucius. A good portrait; nose restored; on a modern bust with drapery in alabaster.

*Bust, called L. Cæsar: drapery in three marbles.

Bust, called Marcus Brutus. A good portrait; the tip of the nose restored; the drapery in alabaster and marble.

—Kennedy, p. 64, Pl. 19.

Bust of Julia Mamæa. If antique, much injured by cleaning. The tip of the nose and plait of hair behind restored. Tunic of alabaster; pallium of a rich yellow marble.

A marble urn inscribed

D. M.
ANNIAE TROPHIMENI
Q. VOLVSIUS VERUS CO
IVGI CARISSIME . FECIT.

A female figure, reclining on a couch, and holding a patera in her right hand; below, offerings on a little table. On the wall hang, on one side, a cymbal; on the other, a basket; on either side grows a laurel-tree, with a bird pecking; under each handle is a winged boy, with a torch. The rest of the urn and the cover are decorated with fruit and foliage.

*Urn, with bas-reliefs, representing nuptial ceremonies, roughly sculptured in a kind of pumice-stone; the surface left unfinished. One scene represents a female figure enveloped in ample drapery, and with a head-dress of linen, placing fruit on a blazing altar from a *canistrum* held in her left hand. Behind her are two female figures, standing by another altar; one playing on the *tympanum*, the other on the flute. The scene on the other side of the vase takes place in a house, as is indicated by the curtain hanging up behind the figures. A bride enveloped in drapery is seated, weeping, concealing her face with her veil; a female attendant is seated before her, washing her feet. The head-dress of the bride resembles that of the elder Faustina.

Bust, called Antinous, of Greek marble and fine work; seems a Mercury, and executed by a Greek sculptor; the nose, neck, and shoulders restored.

Bust of Lucius Verus, patched about the face, the drapery of alabaster and marble.

Bust, called Constantinus Magnus, much restored. The hair grows low down behind, like that of the Drusi; the drapery, which does not belong to the head, of several coloured marbles.

Bust, called Marcellus Consul; a good portrait, joined at the neck; drapery of different coloured marbles; nose and chin restored.

GREAT ANTE-ROOM.

Small copy of the sleeping Hermaphrodite of the Louvre; seems antique, but the surface much corroded, whether from time, or the application of artificial means, it is difficult to say.

*An ancient painting, said to have been brought from the Temple of Juno at Præneste. This appears to be so painted over and retouched, that it is doubtful whether any of it is antique.

Two small busts on the chimney, Otho and Vespasian, both modern.

COLONNADE ROOM.

Two modern bronze busts, one of which is inscribed Polemon.

CORNER ROOM.

Two modern busts, called Pertinax and Solon.

THE PAVILION.

Hercules and Antæus ; the body of Antæus, the body and arms of Hercules antique and in a good style ; the left leg of the latter figure restored from the hip downward, and the right from the knee.

Head of a laughing Satyr.

Two statues on opposite sides of the walk leading to Holbein's Porch.

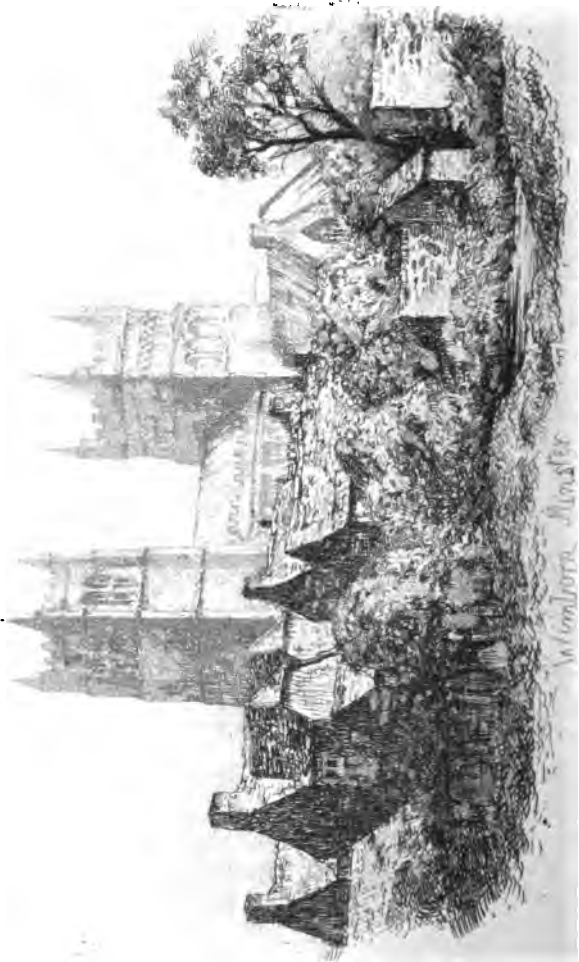
1. A youthful figure, perhaps Atys, in a short goatskin tunic, with short sleeves, round which is a small mantle twisted across his body. In his left hand a shell, in his right a pipe ; on his head a Phrygian cap. He wears boots, *socci*, tied with leather thongs at the ankles. The trunk is certainly antique, and curious.

2. A naked male figure, with two long fillets of flowers hanging down perpendicularly, one on each side, on each flank, as far as the knee. Restored as Bacchus. Head, both arms, and panther's skin modern.

HOLBEIN'S PORCH.

Bust, Themistocles. Drapery modern.

In the garden, a column on which are five characters ; engraved, Kennedy, p. 2, where the form of the last differs from the original. They have been called Phœnician, but this seems doubtful.



Windsor Castle

REMARKS ON WIMBORN MINSTER.

WIMBORN MINSTER, though much inferior in size to Sherborn, Romsey, or Christchurch, scarcely yields to any of them in architectural interest. Its remarkable outline, presenting a large western tower and a square massive central lantern, cannot but attract attention; while upon examination it will be found to contain specimens ranging, at not very distant intervals of date, from early Norman down to the barbarians of the last century. These we will notice in their places, as we proceed in the description of the fabric.

The historical notices of this church (I refer principally to Hutchins' *History of Dorsetshire*,) go as far back as those relative to Sherborn; for the nunnery was founded by Cuthberga, sister to Ina, king of the West Saxons, in the early part of the eighth century. It was destroyed by the Danes after 900. Edward the Confessor, or some of his predecessors of the same name, converted it into a house for secular canons, when it became a collegiate church and a royal free chapel. Leland and Tanner say that it consisted of a dean, four prebendaries, three vicars, four deacons or secondaries, and five singing men. A list of the deans of Wimborn Minster is given by Brown Willis, from 1224 to 1537, the deanery being dissolved in 1547. Among them was Reginald Pole, appointed Dean of Wimborn in 1517. He became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1555. I do not find any thing that can assist us in the architectural history, except that in an old account of the churchwardens of Wimborn Minster it is said that, in 1459, Dean Keymer gave 20*l.* towards the rebuilding of the bell-tower. This date agrees very well with the style of the western tower, which is perpendicular, of not a very early character; and we may infer that this tower did not, like the western tower of Wymondham church in Norfolk, owe its existence to disputes between ecclesiastics and parishioners, but stood upon the site of a former tower,

probably comprehended in the original design. This combination of two towers was in all likelihood more frequent than we should be led to suppose from the small number of examples now remaining. The great western tower of Hereford fell almost within the memory of man. The description of the Saxon church at Romsey, in Huntingdonshire, is well known, in which two towers are mentioned in the same position. At Purton, in Wiltshire, is a church with a central steeple and a large western tower. This church is decorated and perpendicular.

The outline of Ely Cathedral, before the fall of the central tower and the addition in height to the western, could not have been very unlike that of the building we are now considering.

Another fact is, that the spire of the central tower fell in 1600, or, according to some, in 1610. In the consequent repair of the tower, the present pinnacles were added, which, while they make no pretence of congruity in architecture with any part of the building, yet are in tolerable keeping with the whole as regards general effect. The spire was a stone one; its squinches are yet to be seen in the interior of the upper stage, above the open part of the lantern.

The plan of the church consists of a nave with aisles; a chancel with aisles, the northern of which is its full length, the southern shorter; north and south transepts, of which the latter has on its eastern side a building now used as the vestry; a central and a western tower, the latter not engaged in the aisles; and a north and south porch. The north porch of the chancel is a modern addition, for the purpose of strengthening the wall. Beneath the eastern part of the choir or chancel is a crypt.

Externally, the Norman features which present themselves are the central tower; part of a course of corbels on the south side of the choir; a small doorway in the north aisle of the choir close to the transept; and a round staircase-turret, on a rectangular base, in the west wall of the transept. This may possibly be of a very early date; the tower itself is late, indeed transition; in some respects almost approaching to the earliest pointed portions of the nave at Romsey. The upper stage has an arcade of intersecting semicircular arches, the intervals containing sunk



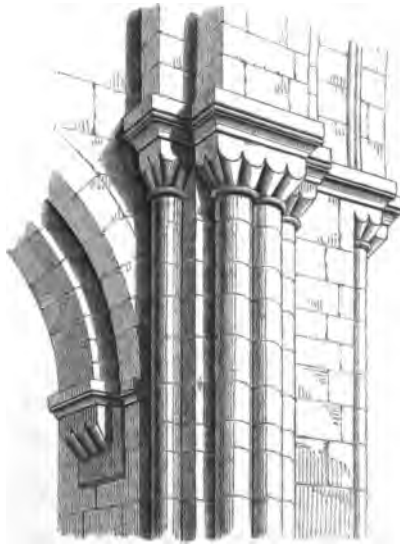
NORMAN TURRET IN WEST WALL OF TRANSEPT.

pointed arches corresponding to them, some of which are pierced for windows. The lower stage, which is open to the interior as a lantern, has a pointed arch between two round ones; the latter containing round-headed windows.

The eastern part of the chancel is early English; the east window being an unequal triplet, of which the centre lancet is surmounted by a quatrefoil, the others by an opening with six foliations. Near the base are decorated triangular windows which light the crypt. The aisles and transepts exhibit decorated windows; some of which have a geometrical character, as the end-window of the north transept, which, however, has evidently been mutilated; some of a form used at an early period of the style, consisting of lights running up to the arch itself; those in the

south transept having some remarkable tracery at the top, and others more approaching the next style. The western tower is perpendicular, as also the clerestory of the nave, which has square-headed windows. In the west face of the tower are some modern insertions.

We will commence our examination of the interior at the area of the central lantern. The small height of the church, which brings this lantern nearer to the eye, perhaps gives it a grandeur which we do not equally recognise in loftier buildings. Indeed, I can hardly call to my mind at present any English examples of Norman lanterns open to the church, except Norwich, and Romsey since its restoration; and in both these cases the other features of the building take the eye from the lantern itself. In the present case, the eye can more readily grasp all its features; and notwithstanding the position of the organ, which perhaps, after all, adds to its picturesqueness more than it takes from its sublimity, I do not know an interior more striking in its effect than this portion of Wimborn Minster. The



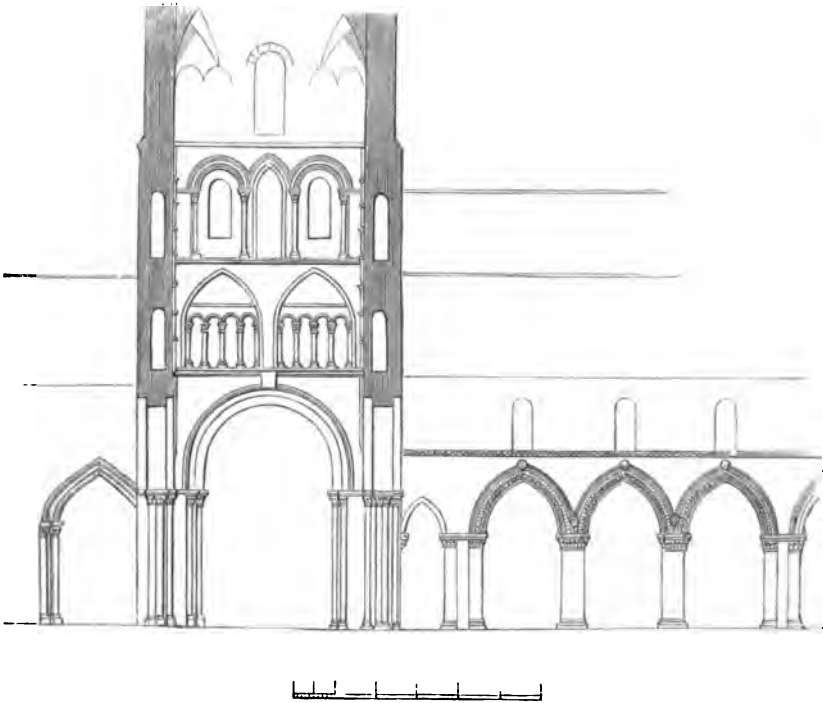
CAPITALS OF TOWER ARCH.

tower arches are round, of two plain orders, with a label, above which is a kind of keystone and a string. Over this, on each face, are two pointed arches, each containing an arcade of round arches on shafts, with the usual Norman features, and forming a triforium or gallery in the thickness of the wall. Above is the stage corresponding with that which appears externally over the roof, and, like it, consisting of two round arches containing windows, and a blank pointed arch between; this also contains a gallery.

The angles of the tower have banded shafts.

We cannot look at this composition without coming to the conclusion that the lower part, or stage containing

the tower arches, is considerably earlier than the upper part, containing the gallery and the windows. I have before had occasion to express my belief, that when a double shaft occurs in the impost, supporting a single

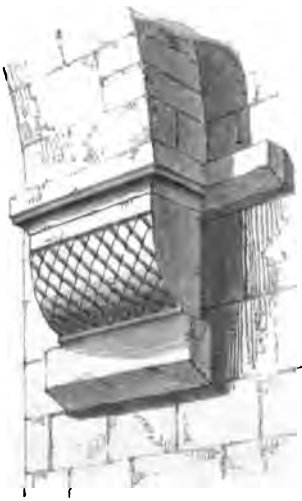


SECTION AND ELEVATION OF CENTRAL TOWER AND PART OF NAVE.

plain square-sectioned order of the arch, it is a mark of early Norman, as being at variance with that principle of ramification which shews itself in the later examples of this style, and is more fully developed in the several stages of Gothic, in which we uniformly observe that when there is any difference in the number of mouldings, or of faces, between the arch and the impost, it is in favour of the former. Thus the simple octagonal pier supports generally two orders, which are chamfered, of a pier-arch; and a single shaft corresponds with a member of the architrave varied in its section from the plain torus. This is a rule which pervades Gothic architecture, and upon the

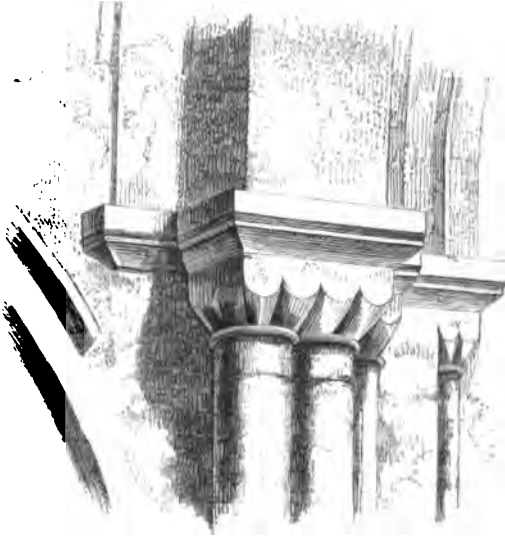
general observance of which depends its graceful beauty, lightness, and mechanical propriety of effect ; and it began to prevail long before the termination of the Norman style ; on which grounds I look upon a combination in direct opposition to it, as when a clustered pier supports a heavy unbroken member of an arch, to be a mark of early date. The combination I refer to, and which appears at Wimborn, is not uncommon ; but the only buildings that I know, where it occurs, of which the date may be considered as historically certain, for instance, Norwich, Wymondham, Tewkesbury, and Gloucester, are at least as early as the first quarter of the twelfth century. I may be wrong in my opinion, and it is one which ought to be tested, as involving an important principle. But if I am right, this church contains very early examples of the pointed arch. For each of the piers under the eastern side of the tower has to the eastward a pointed arch of two plain square orders, having for its eastern impost a combination of shafts similar to those of the tower piers, but with richer capitals ; the inner order being supported as before by the double shaft, but it has no shafts to its western impost, springing at once from the mass of the tower pier. The wide jointing of the masonry favours the supposition of antiquity.

Westward of the tower is, on each side of the nave, a small pointed arch, of two plain square orders, springing from a bracket in the pier ; and to the west of this are three pointed arches on cylindrical piers ; the capitals having the square abacus with re-entering angles, and the orders of the arch being much enriched with chevrons. The character of these is pure Norman, without a mark of transition, and but for the shape of the arches would, without hesitation, be pronounced early in the style. It is much to be regretted that the old clerestory, which I am told consisted of small round-headed arches corresponding



BRACKET IN PIER.

with the pier arches, has been wholly concealed by the plaster, nor is there any way of obtaining access to them within the aisle roofs. I trust, if any restoration should take place in the church, these features may again be brought to light.



The lantern itself, as we have observed, is clearly transition, and apparently late.

The early English part of the church presents some very remarkable features. The eastern triplet is, I suppose, unique. The architrave of each light forms, instead of a simple pointed arch, a kind of large trefoil following the line of the lancet-shaped window, and encircling the foliated opening above. These architraves are enriched with good mouldings, and the centre one has the toothed ornament. They are supported on clusters of shafts in the jambs and divisions of the windows.

The north and south windows nearest the east end have shafts in their jambs, and a very bold ornament in the architrave. Wherever I have noticed any thing of the kind, as in the north aisle of the choir at Lichfield, and in Ozleworth church, in Gloucestershire, it has been in connexion with early work. Though this part of the chancel

is early English, the crypt under it is clearly decorated; and we see that the bases of early English shafts are cut away to make room for the doors by which it is entered. The vaulting, which is ribbed, is supported by two plain octagonal and two clustered piers, and two of the arches are foliated.

The vestry on the south side of the choir is decorated, probably early in the style, as the vaulting of the roof is sexpartite.

On the south side of the choir is a fine altar-tomb, with the effigy of John de Beaufort, grandson of John of Gaunt, and Margaret his wife, daughter of Sir John Beauchamp, and grandmother to Henry VII. The chancel is fitted up like the choir of a cathedral, with rich and beautiful stalls of wood-work in the cinque-cento style. Their date is 1610. I hope I may here be allowed to say a few words in behalf of this style, which the lover of Gothic architecture is very apt to condemn without mercy.

It may be pronounced a style essentially suitable for wood-work.

The Greek and Roman styles derive their principles, in great measure, from wooden constructions; but owing to the scale and proportions necessary to ensure grandeur, could not without much difficulty be carried out in that material. Now, in even a large cinque-cento building, the ornamental members, for the most part (borrowed as they are from the Greek and Roman styles), are reduced to a scale that might perfectly well admit of their being executed in wood; indeed, a wooden cinque-cento building would be more congruous with its material than one carried out, as is usual, in stone. In this respect the style differs from Gothic, which, in all its stages, is mainly grounded upon the requirements and capabilities of stone-work; and therefore, if the cinque-cento be denounced as an inconsistent or barbarous style for building, it does not follow that it is objectionable in structures or ornaments of wood. To carry out the Gothic system in perfection, a great depth or thickness of material is demanded, which is more easily attained in stone than wood. What would be a thick and heavy slab of wood, in stone would be almost too thin for security; and thicknesses which, easily procurable in stone, are not more than sufficient for Gothic orna-

ment, cannot without difficulty be obtained in wood, and in any case would be much too cumbrous and massive for the arrangements of a church. I need not say that I fully appreciate the beauty of much of the wooden tabernacle-work remaining in our cathedrals, and of the fine rood-screens which abound in many counties, especially in the west of England; but even in these we see how the material has influenced the style. Mullions and tracery-bars which, in stone, would have had great depth in proportion to their width, have, from necessity, their greatest dimensions in the direction of the face of the screen or panel; reliefs are frequently low and without much shadow, and the principal effect of the composition often depends on the elaborate string or cornice of foliage which forms a horizontal finish. Now, cinque-cento work admits of panelling in very low relief; it does not require that an impression of depth and thickness of material be given. If, for the sake of richness, variety, or play of light and shade, an arch or entablature be thrown out upon shafts, detached or engaged, they merely stand forward as forming another plane of ornament. The faces, not the hollows or soffits, are the objects of interest. Of the projections, the brackets and cornices of the one style are more consistent, both with the material and actual construction, than the buttresses of the other, which are reduced to mere ornamental members. I will not follow up the comparison further at present. My object in making it, is not to cry down the adoption of Gothic in the fitting up of new churches, or in the re-arrangement of old ones, but to deprecate the destruction or removal of very beautiful and really not incongruous work, for the sake of introducing what is supposed to be more accordant with the style of the building.

You will, I think, readily admit that most attempts to execute wood-work of an early English or Norman character, more especially the latter, have proved failures. Now I cannot conceive a more appropriate way of fitting up a Norman choir than by cinque-cento wood-work; thus introducing a composition which, while it repeats many of the principal lines of the fabric, forms a striking contrast with its simplicity, by delicacy and profusion of ornament, and also with its colour and texture, by that of its own material. As the work in Wimborn Minster is excel-

lent in its kind, it will enable you to pronounce whether I am justified in the above remarks; which I must again add, are not intended to disparage works of a different character.

The western part of the nave is late, and does not contain much that is interesting; two pointed arches, of two chamfered orders, or octagonal piers, intervene between the Norman part and the western tower. This tower is rather heavy, and has no elaborate workmanship; but its double belfry window, and its octagonal corner turrets and pinnacles, give it character; and it combines well with the richer central tower, which it somewhat exceeds in height. I have now only to give some of the dimensions of the church.

	ft.	in.
Total length, exclusive of walls - - - -	184	4
Its total length internally, exclusive of west tower, is -	160	7
Of which the chancel, independently of the central tower, is	63	4
Length of transept - - - - -	107	1
Width between opposite piers of nave - - - -	22	9
Width of nave and aisles - - - - -	53	0
Height of western tower to battlements - - - -	87	1
Height of central tower - - - - -	80	5

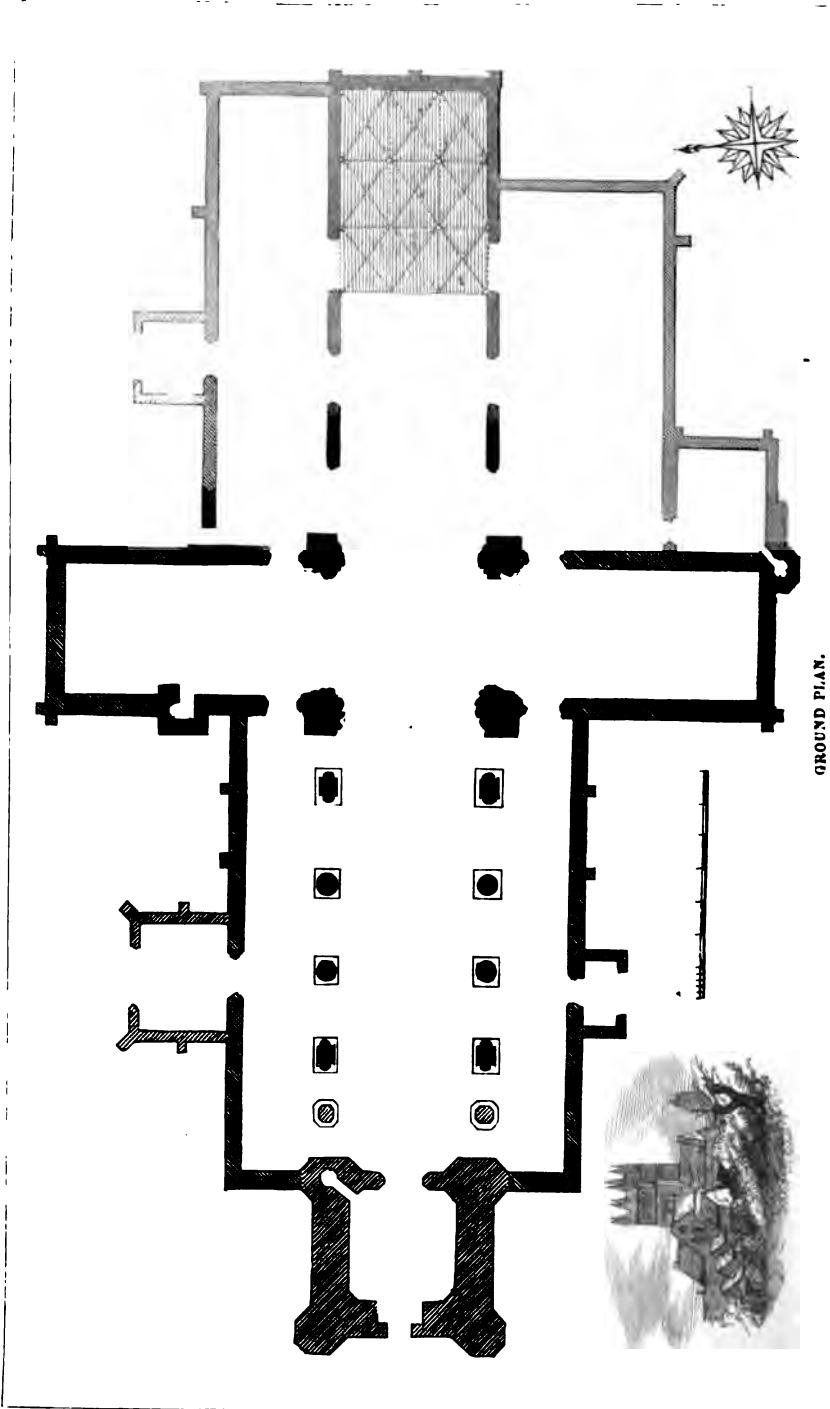
During my short visit to Wimborn, my time was too fully occupied in making drawings, notes, and measurements, to admit of any researches with the view of ascertaining the original ground-plan, and its successive alterations, or the marks indicating additions, changes of design, and interruptions of work. In fact, my object has been to give you as fair a representation as I am able of the building as it exists, without magnifying its importance; that you may not, under a false impression, be withdrawn from the full examination of other specimens equally accessible, and exceeding it both in magnitude and workmanship. But that Wimborn Minster offers a wide field for our researches, I am well convinced. Though the known early date of its foundation establishes no claim to antiquity in behalf of the present architectural features of a church, still it assures the antiquary that he is not working upon barren ground; that there is at least a possibility of his meeting, in his researches, with some valuable relic of past ages. The opportunity of such researches is rapidly passing away; they must be conducted previously to the

restoration of a fabric, or still more profitably during its progress. After the work is complete, we have little chance of learning any thing beyond what is allowed to meet the eye of the most cursory observer.

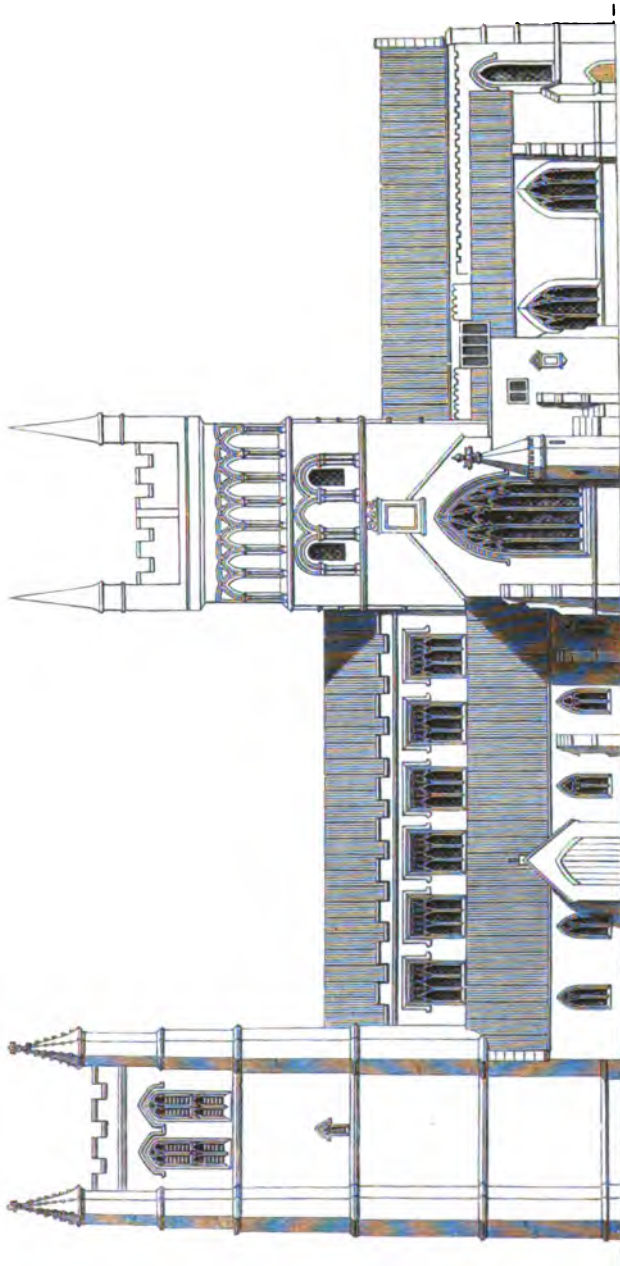
J. L. PETIT.



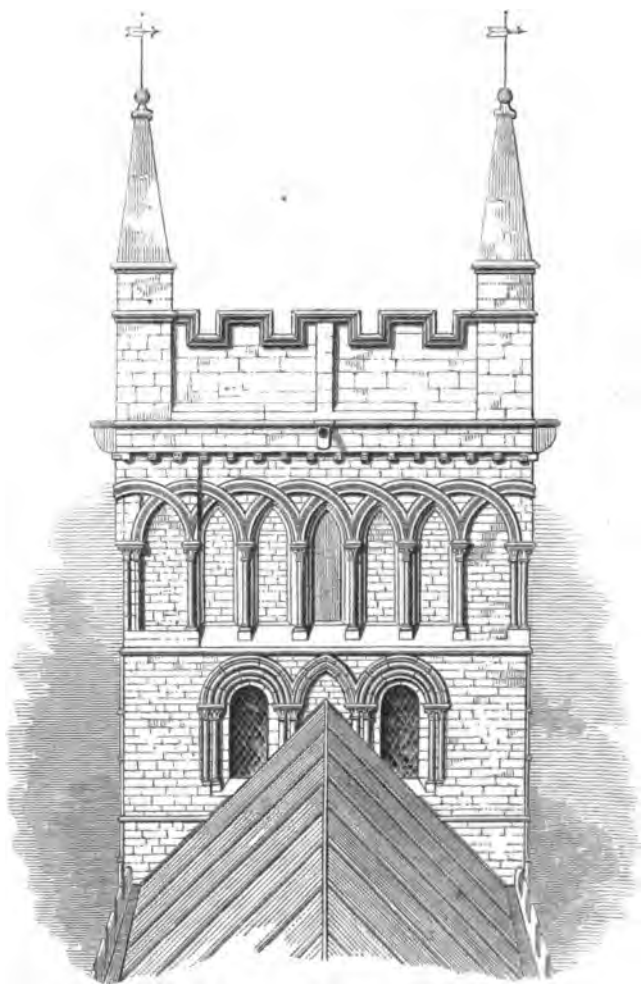
CAPITAL OF ARCH IN NAVE.



GROUND PLAN.



SOUTH ELEVATION.

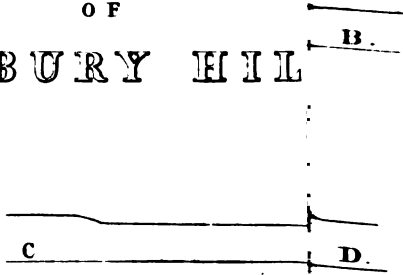


WEST FACE OF CENTRAL TOWER.

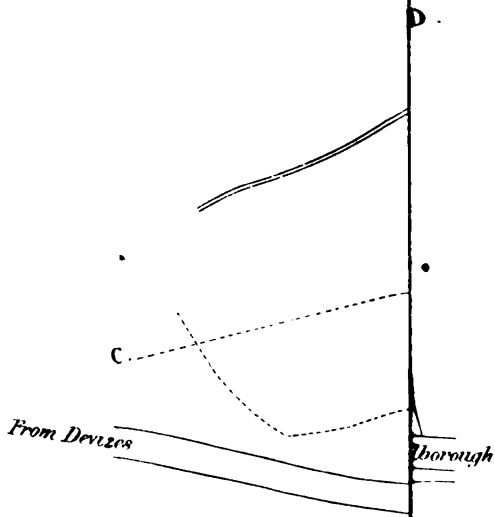


WOODWORK IN CHANCEL.

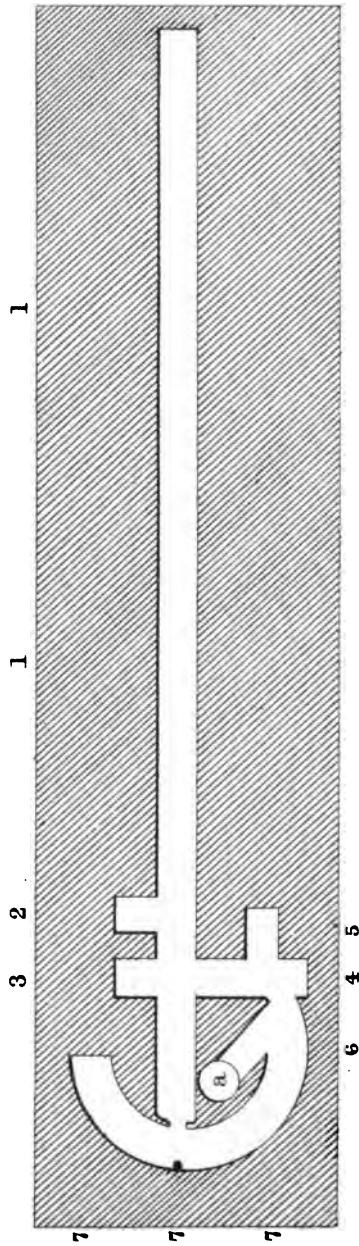
PLAN AND SECTIONS
OF
SILBURY HILL



SCALE .



Ground Plan of the excavations in Silbury Hill, Wilts. 1849.



N^o 1.....Part of the Tunnel, or Long Gallery.

2 }
 3 } Lateral Chambers near the centre of the Hill.
 4 }
 5 }

6.....A Cutting made towards the end of the Tunnel, by which the Shaft sunk from the summit about 75 years since, was discovered.

7.....The Shaft is represented in this plan by the circle (B)

•.....A Circular Gallery, from which there is an opening into the Tunnel.
 •.....The exact spot where an Urn is deposited, containing a record of the Operations at this period.

REPORT OF THE EXAMINATION OF SILBURY HILL.

As soon as it became generally known in Wiltshire that the capital of that county had been selected for the seat of the annual meeting of the Archæological Institute for the year 1849, the central Committee received from many quarters most urgent requests that they would turn their attention to the remarkable tumulus known as Silbury Hill, and that a systematic examination of the hill should take place, by means of careful and scientific excavations into the centre of the vast mound, in order to discover, if possible, any objects or remains which could lead to the formation of just conclusions as to its origin, and a probably correct knowledge of the use or purpose for which it had been constructed.

The only recorded notice of any previous examination is that mentioned by Douglas in his *Nenia Britannica*, page 161, as follows :

“ The great hill of Silbury, generally considered as a barrow, was opened under the direction of the late Duke of Northumberland and Colonel Drax, under the supposition of its being a place of sepulture. Miners from Cornwall were employed, and great labour bestowed upon it. The only relic found at the bottom, and which Colonel Drax shewed me, was a thin slip of oak wood ; by burning the end of it in a wax taper, we proved it not to be whale-bone, which had been so reported ; the smell of vegetable substance soon convinced the Colonel of his mistake. He had a fancy that this hill was raised over a Druid oak, and he thought the remains of it were discovered in the excavation : there was, however, no reason for considering it to have been a place of sepulture by the digging into it. The bit of a bridle discovered by Stukeley, and his assertion of a monarch being buried there, has only the pleasure of conception to recommend it ; it is not likely the monarch would have been buried near its surface, when such an immense mound of earth had been raised for the purpose ; and the time in raising of it would not agree with the nature of a funeral obsequy, which must require a greater degree of expedition.”

Douglas adds :

“ These very large hills I have oftentimes considered as temples to the Sun, by a people the descendants of the Scythæ, whose religious rites are very similar to those of the Gentiles contemporary with the Patriarchs in Holy Writ. They are found near, and sometimes within, the circle of our ancient castles. That at Canterbury, called the Donjon Hill, evidently preceded the Roman station, the Roman wall passing over a part of its base.”

As Douglas refers to Stukeley, it may be useful to give here an extract from Stukeley's account of Abury, published in 1743, in which he refers to Silbury Hill, at pages 41 and 42.

“ In the month of March 1723, Mr. Halford ordered some trees to be planted on the top of Silbury Hill, in the area of the plain 60 cubits in diameter.

“ The workmen dug up the body of the great king there buried in the centre, very little below the surface ; the bones were extremely rotten, so that they crumbled to pieces with the fingers ; the soil was altogether chalk.

“ Some weeks after, I (Stukeley) came to rescue a great curiosity, which they took up ; I bought it of John Fowler, one of the workmen ; it was the bridle, buried also with the monarch, and was one mass of rust, which I cleaned off with limner's oil. A sketch is given in Pl. xxxvi. There were also deer's horns, an iron knife with bone handle, all excessively rotten.”

If the drawing of the bridle given in the plate is correct, it appears certain that Stukeley's opinion as to its antiquity was quite erroneous, and that there is no ground whatever for supposing it to be either British or Roman, as it clearly belongs to a period some centuries later ; indeed there is no evidence at all that it was found in the hill ; and the more probable version is, that the credulous antiquary was imposed upon by the cunning John Fowler. The romantic theory of the great king and his war-chariot has no better foundation.

The Committee were aware, that to investigate thoroughly so large an earth-work would involve the necessity of a more considerable expenditure than they felt authorised to charge on the funds of the Institute. A number of the individual members of the Committee commenced a subscription among themselves, and this being shortly afterwards liberally contributed to by others, the Committee, without loss of time, adopted active measures, and, with the assistance of Mr. Richard Falkner of Devizes, and Mr.

Henry Blandford of Rowde, near that town, civil engineer, the first preliminary examination of the hill took place on the 1st June, with the full concurrence of Mr. Jones, the owner of the hill, and the hearty aid and cordial assent of Mr. Kemm of Kennett, the occupier of the farm on which the hill stands. Subsequently some spots on different sides were opened, to ascertain the respective levels of the natural and artificial soil, and other examinations were made; and on the 25th of June, Mr. Blandford forwarded to the Committee a plan of the meadow, a plan and section of the hill, and a report as to the practicability of driving a tunnel into the centre of the hill at its base, and excavating a chamber within, pointing out at the same time what appeared to him to be the most advisable spot for commencing the tunnel, in order to carry the level as nearly as possible along the original surface of the natural soil of the meadow at the junction with the artificial mound. The plan and section and report were accompanied by an offer, on Mr. Blandford's part, to undertake the necessary work for driving the tunnel to the centre of Silbury Hill, 6 feet 6 inches high by 3 feet wide, on the level of the natural base (and to replace the earth if required), by the 24th day of July then next, at a cost not exceeding 30%, provided the Committee of the Institute would undertake the responsibility as to damages for injury to the land or otherwise, and put him in possession by the 27th June. Mr. Blandford also most liberally placed his own time and superintendence gratuitously at the service of the Institute during the time the works would occupy.

It appeared to the Committee that this was a most desirable way of accomplishing the object in view; and Mr. Blandford being a man of great experience in earth-works connected with railways, and having much of the requisite materiel at his command, they decided on accepting Mr. Blandford's offer, and requested Mr. Falkner to continue his assistance, and from time to time report on the progress of the work.

On the 4th July the Secretary of the Institute visited Silbury, and in conjunction with Mr. Blandford and Mr. Falkner decided on the spot at which the opening should be made. On the 9th July the turf was stripped from that part of the meadow where the spoil from the tunnel was

to be laid; and on Tuesday the 10th July the excavation of the gallery was commenced. From this time gangs of workmen succeeded each other at stated intervals, so that the work proceeded day and night without interruption. By Friday evening the 13th, the tunnel had extended to 94 feet from the entrance, about one-third of the whole intended length, by which it was calculated the centre of the hill would be attained. The work thus far was carried through the natural soil, a vein of hard undisturbed chalk, and proceeded in an upward direction, at an inclination of 1 in 28: the artificial soil was cut into at 33 yards from the entrance; the work was then carried on through 18 inches of the artificial earth and 5 feet of the original soil, presuming that by this means any sepulchral remains must be discovered if they existed. The excavation was carried in this way 54 yards, at which distance, according to the survey made, the original centre of construction, or true centre of the hill would be attained. The tunnel, however, did not strike the shaft sunk by the Duke of Northumberland, although, as it afterwards appeared, it was within 4 inches of it. The next step taken was to make several lateral excavations to the east and west near the end of the tunnel. On the 24th July the works were suspended; the Dean of Hereford and other members of the Institute, who had been aiding the examination, then departing to attend the meeting at Salisbury.

On the 31st July a very numerous party visited the hill and examined the excavations, and so much interest was excited, that a very general desire was expressed that further diggings should be made within the hill, so as to satisfy the most sceptical that it had been thoroughly examined. Means were then taken to raise an additional subscription, and Mr. Bathurst Dean circulated a printed address, with a plan shewing the situation of the hill with reference to the Great Temple at Abury, and stating that the works already executed had exhausted the sums previously subscribed.

On the 4th August some sarsen stones were found in one of the lateral excavations on the east side; they were much worn, and similar to those found in the surrounding fields.

On the 6th August the workmen cut into the nucleus

of the mound, where the sods of turf and moss in layers appeared to be of the greatest thickness; and, on further examination, it was satisfactorily shewn, by the curving layers of turf lying one over the other, that the mound was commenced by that process. The turf was quite black, as was also the undecayed moss and grass which formed the surface of each layer, and amongst it were the dead shells, &c., such as may still be found in the adjoining country. The Dean of Hereford, who for some days after the visit of the members of the Institute had been directing further excavations to the east and west of the tunnel, on the 4th of August strongly urged the necessity of making a still further search, and proposed a cut from the chamber on the west side in a diagonal direction towards the centre; it was in making this cut that the workmen came upon the shaft formerly sunk by the Duke of Northumberland, and the soil being very loose, the prosecution of the work in that direction became dangerous.

It was next suggested, that, as all the previous points tried had produced no remains of any kind, a gallery in a circular direction, on a more extended radius, should be made, by which means every part of the centre of the hill, where it was at all probable that any cist or other construction would have existed, supposing the earth-work to have been raised over an interment. These excavations continued under the Dean's superintendence until the 14th August, and subsequently under the guidance of Mr. Bathurst Dean until the 20th, and afterwards by Mr. Blandford until the 30th August. During all these lateral and additional works, as well as in the main tunnel, from the spot where the artificial soil was first entered, it became necessary, for the safety of the workmen, to prop up, to prevent the superincumbent soil from falling in. Nothing extraneous was found, except a few fragments of antlers and animal bones, and which may have been thrown up with the earth from the meadow below when the hill was formed. The dark streak in the soil, marking the vegetation of the original surface, was found in every direction taken by the excavators, thus indicating that the ground had never been disturbed.

In the month of September it became necessary to close the tunnel; the props that could be got out with safety

were then withdrawn, a brick wall was built up across the tunnel, at some distance within the mouth ; the earth was then replaced, so as to make good the form of the hill at the aperture, and it was turfed over and completed by the end of September.

Mr. Falkner had previously taken the precaution, in order to record the examination, in case any future archæologists should think fit to explore, to deposit a stoneware vessel, impervious to moisture and hermetically sealed, at the extreme end of the excavation, close under the side of the circular gallery, and in the vessel he placed a leaden plate, on which is engraved the following inscription :

“ The Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland caused this tunnel to be excavated, A.D. 1849.

A shaft from the summit to the base had been sunk about 75 years previously by other parties.

On neither occasion was any thing discovered indicative of the purpose for which the hill was raised.”

On the back of this plate is a plan of the excavations.

Mr. Falkner also placed within the vessel a slip of plate glass, on which was written with a diamond point : “ Silbury Hill was opened in July 1849 by the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland ;” and this was covered with another piece of plate-glass cemented to it at the edges. A printed programme issued by the Institute, dated 28th July, 1849, preparatory to the Salisbury meeting, and the more detailed programme of the proceedings of the week. The circular address dated from Abury, and having the plan of the temple, &c. on it. An almanac of the year 1849; a Devizes newspaper of the 20th September, containing notes of the proceedings at the hill; extracts from Stukeley's *Abury*, from Douglas's *Nenia Brit.*, and Hoare's *Wiltshire*, relating to Silbury; a sheet of the National Encyclopædia, containing an article on Abury, with plans, sections, &c. of the temple; a copy of Mr. Blandford's survey, sections, &c.

A second similar vessel was also placed just within the entrance, where the roof appeared to be very secure; and in it Mr. Falkner deposited another leaden plate, with inscription, a rubbing of the plate first mentioned, and a memorandum, stating that a more detailed report of the operations is to be found in the urn deposited in the centre.

Mr. Blandford reported to the Committee, that the making the tunnel and other excavations proved satisfactorily to him that the purpose of the hill was not sepulchral; and it further proved, that the hill had been raised before the construction by the Romans of the "Via Badonica," or Roman road from Bath to Speen. This road, as may be seen in the map of the Ordnance Survey, takes a direction leading through the centre of Silbury Hill; and although from the fact of the land in the immediate neighbourhood being converted into arable, its traces are less distinct, had Silbury been a subsequent construction, the cross section of the road and ditches must have been discovered. This was not the case, and therefore Mr. Blandford inferred that the road was carried round the base of the tumulus to avoid it, and was thereby diverted from its otherwise direct course.

A plan and section of the hill, and a plan of the excavations are subjoined.

The sepulchral theory being thus exploded, that which supposes Silbury Hill to have had some connexion with the great Temple of Abury, either for the assembling of the people, or for religious purposes, seems to have a better foundation.

C. TUCKER.

ON MARKET CROSSES.

By JOHN BRITTON, F.S.A.

MARKETS, and MARKET CROSSES, with the laws, customs, and history of the periodical assembly of persons on particular days for the purpose of buying and selling food, raiment, and other articles appertaining to the wants and luxuries of man, are essentially connected with each other, and constitute an interesting theme for inquiry and illustration by the historical antiquary.

The laws and history of *fairs* and *markets* are fully detailed in published statutes, and law-books; but we are not so well informed about the origin, specific appropriation, and peculiarities of those buildings popularly known by the name of Market Crosses. That these abounded in England, and indeed throughout Europe, for many centuries after the Christian advent, may be reasonably inferred from the specific accounts which are preserved in manuscripts and published works.

At a very early time markets were chiefly held on Sundays and holidays, for the convenience of the dealers and customers who then assembled for the performance of religious duties; and the churchyard was generally selected as the scene of business. But in the reign of Edward the First (1285), an act of parliament was passed forbidding markets and fairs in churchyards; and in 1677 (temp. Charles II.) they were finally prohibited on Sundays. In many instances markets were granted to *monastic bodies*, who consequently received the tolls. Thus a degree of sanctity became attached to those places, which were palpably distinguished by the erection of stone crosses.

We are informed by several old writers that the monks frequently harangued the populace from and at crosses; and it is reasonable to suppose that they urged the necessity of strict adherence to religious ceremonies and dis-

cipline, as well as honesty and industry.* This advice was certainly calculated to promote mutual advantage; for the husbandman could not be better employed than in pursuing his own useful occupation, the prosperity of which would tend to augment the tolls of the market. The Rev. Dr. Milner, in his *History of Winchester* (vol. ii. p. 183), states, that "the general intent of Market Crosses was to excite public homage to the Christian religion, and to inspire men with a sense of morality and piety amidst the ordinary transactions of life."

The earliest Market Crosses, we may reasonably suppose, were similar to those in churchyards, and consisted of a single shaft only, elevated on steps. They were afterwards made more lofty, and decorated with pinnacles, niches, bassi-relievi, figures, &c., as at Winchester, Coventry, Bristol, and other places. In later times they were adapted to shelter the frequenters of such places from inclement weather, by being made more spacious, and arched over; as at Salisbury, Wells, Cheddar, Malmesbury, Chichester, Glastonbury, &c.

BRISTOL CROSS: A MARKET, COMMEMORATIVE, AND CIVIC MONUMENT.

The stone cross now in the grounds at Stourhead, Wiltshire, formerly stood at the junction of four streets in Bristol, and was known and characterised by the name of *The High Cross*. It appears to have been built in 1373, on the site of an older monument of the same kind, and was intended principally to commemorate King Edward III., who at that time conferred important privileges on the town. Statues of that monarch and of three other sovereigns were placed in niches around the cross. It was enlarged and raised to a greater height in 1633; but in 1733 was taken down, on the petition of a silversmith who lived near it. Some years afterwards it was re-erected in College Green, but again taken down in 1763. At length the Reverend Dr. Barton, Dean of Bristol, gave it to Henry Hoare, Esq., of Stourhead, who expended about 300*l.* in its removal to that place, where it was reconstructed in the

* The crosses at Winchester, Leighton Buzzard, Blackfriars, at Hereford, and St. Paul's, London, were of this class.

beautiful gardens of that celebrated domain. It is now a mere fragment, being a ruin. Such are the vicissitudes and adventures of a frail monument of piety and art. A new edifice, in imitation of the old one, is in progress of erection in College Green, Bristol, from drawings made by John Norton, Esq., an architect of Bristol.

WHITEFRIARS CROSS, NEAR HEREFORD.



About one mile west of the city of Hereford, at a place to which the markets were removed in 1347, when a pestilence, or sort of cholera, raged in that city, stands the *Whitefriars Cross*, as it is commonly called. It consists of seven steps, and an hexagonal shaft, measuring together about 15 feet in height. It was formerly much higher. Each face of the shaft has a shield bearing a lion rampant, the armorial coat of Bishop Charlston, by whom it was probably erected, few years after the time above mentioned.*

THE MARKET AND PREACHING CROSS, AT WINCHESTER.

The cross at Winchester is stated, on an engraving published by the Society of Antiquaries, to have been built

* See *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, vol. i.

in the time of Edward III. The Rev. Dr. Milner, however, assigns it to the reign of Henry VI.

It is divided into three stories, and consists of a central square pier, with four smaller ones at the angles, terminating in pinnacles, between which, and forming the second story, are canopied niches, containing originally four statues, of which only one remains. "The top of this cross was originally surmounted with a crown, and four small niches, with statues in them. It now measures 43 feet 6 inches from the ground to the summit; the lower tier of arches is 7 feet 10 inches high, and the statue is 5 feet 10 inches."*

At CHEDDAR, in Somersetshire, is a covered hexagonal Market Cross of plain design. The arches are almost semi-circular, without any ornaments, and the parapet is simply embattled. In the centre is a pillar, rising on a base, formed by three steps receding from the basement.

THE MARKET AND PREACHING CROSS AT LEIGHTON BUZZARD,
BEDFORDSHIRE.

In this town is a cross which differs, however, from all others in being *pentagonal* in its plan; consisting of a central pier having five small columns attached to it, and five buttress-piers at the angles. Three small columns are united to these piers, from which, and the columns of the central pier, spring diverging ribs, which constitute a rich traceried roof to the small space enclosed.

Above the arches, externally, are fifteen grotesque heads in high relief surrounding the cross. The second tier consists of five canopied niches, each of which contained a statue. The whole is terminated by a crocketed spire or pinnacle. The basement consists of several steps. The height of the whole structure is 38 feet.†

MALMESBURY CROSS

is one of the most beautiful Market Crosses remaining. Its plan is octagonal, the exterior supporting piers terminat-

* See *Architectural Antiquities*, vol. i., and Milner's *History of Winchester*.

† *Ibid.*, and Lysons's *Bedfordshire*.



ing in pinnacles, and the central shaft being continued above the roof, forming an ornamental turret, supported by flying buttresses. It is supposed to have been built towards the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century. Leland, who was at Malmesbury in the time of Henry VIII., says, "There is a right faire and costely peace of worke, for poor market folkes to stand dry when rayne cummeth: the men of the towne made this peace of worke *in hominum memoria.*"*

MARKET CROSS, SHEPTON MALLET, SOMERSETSHIRE.

In the centre of a spacious area in the town of Shepton Mallet, Somersetshire, is a Market Cross, the origin and founders of which are recorded by the following inscription on the central pillar: "Erected by Walter and Agnes Buckland, 1500." Certain lands were appropriated by those persons to repair the cross.

* *Itinerary*, vol. ii. p. 26. See *Beauties of Wiltshire*, vol. iii.

It is octagonal in form, with a column at each angle ; around the base is a double row of steps or seats ; and in the upper part are niches, which formerly contained images.*

THE POULTRY CROSS, AT SALISBURY, WILTSHIRE.



The late Mr. Hatcher, in his elaborate *History of Salisbury*, has referred to several documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in which the *markets* of that city are incidentally mentioned.

In testamentary deeds dated in 1360 and in 1361, tenements are bequeathed, which are described as being situated "opposite the market where wheat is sold;" "the market where *wools* are sold," and where "linen and woollen thread is sold," are also mentioned about the same time. It was then the custom for persons exercising similar businesses to dwell in the same quarter of a town; and we accordingly find references to the Butcher Row, the Wheelwrights' Row, the Ironmonger Row, the Smiths' Row, the Cordwainers' Row, and the Cooks' Row.

"Of the poultry-market," says Mr. Hatcher, "various descriptions occur. In 1335 a cession was made to the dean and chapter of two tenements *opposite the High Cross, where poultry is sold.*"

Different notices appear to indicate that vegetables

* Phelps's *History of Somersetshire*, vol. ii. p. 204.

were also disposed of in this market, as at present. In 1361 a tenement is bequeathed opposite the High Cross, where "*fruits and other victuals*" are sold. It is again mentioned as the market for "*fruits and vegetables*," also for "*herbage*," and for "*oatmeal and vegetables*."

There is some obscurity, however, in the history of the present Poultry Cross at Salisbury. In the year 1789, Mr. Henry Wansey of that city addressed a letter to the Society of Antiquaries, in which he quoted from a life of Richard II. by a monkish chronicler, an account of its origin, which has been generally received as correct.

The writer referred to states that Ralph Erghum, who, as Bishop of Salisbury from 1375 to 1388, was conspicuous by his persecution of the followers of Wickliff, imposed a penance on a certain Earl of Salisbury, one of the friends of that great reformer, who had incurred his displeasure by some "contempt towards the holy sacrament." The punishment said to have been inflicted was the erection of "a *cross* of stone in Salisbury, on which all the story of the matter should be written (or sculptured); and he, the offender, every Friday during his life, to come to the cross, barefoot and bareheaded, in his shirt, and there, upon his knees, do penance."

Mr. Wansey considers that the present cross was erected in pursuance of this episcopal command; but suggests that John de Montacute, nephew and heir of the then Earl of Salisbury, and not that nobleman himself, was probably the party at issue with the bishop, inasmuch as contemporary writers have described him as "one of the chiefs of the Lollards," whereas the earl himself is not supposed to have belonged to their party.

Mr. Hatcher dissents altogether from this statement, by remarking, that the present edifice presents indications of the style of architecture prevalent in the *beginning* of the fourteenth century, before the time of Bishop Erghum; and consequently infers that it is the identical structure referred to in 1335, as already mentioned, by the name of "the High Cross, where poultry is sold."

This building is of hexagonal shape, and is supported by buttress piers at the angles, flattened ogee arches, and is finished by an open parapet. If it ever had an arched roof, that has been taken away, and other mutilations have

been made. Over each arch is part of a niche, which was formerly much higher. Each buttress was probably terminated in a crocketed pinnacle, and there was a central turret of corresponding character. There is a column in the centre, the capital of which is formed by demi-angels, with blank shields.

CRICKLADE.

In the street of Cricklade, Wiltshire, is a cross, or stone shaft, raised on steps. It is ornamented with quatrefoils on the base, and niches with canopies at the top. These appear to have been formerly decorated with statues, as a similar cross is situated close to one of the churches in the same town, and contains the crucifixion in alto-relievo, with other figures.

THE MARKET CROSS, CHICHESTER, SUSSEX.



This interesting edifice of ecclesiastical architecture, and of the usages and customs of former times, was erected by Bishop Story at the close of the fifteenth century, as recorded by an inscription on the building. It consists of a large central column, from which spring numerous bold ribs, beneath a vaulted roof; whilst eight pier buttresses support the superincumbent panelled wall, parapet, pinnacles, and flying buttresses. Shields, charged with the armorial bearings of the bishop already named, impaling those of the reigning monarch, are attached to the buttresses; whilst the wall between the arches and the outer ogee mouldings are ornamented with sculptured mitres. These mouldings terminate with large and elaborate finials, which serve as brackets to pedestals in niches, surmounted by fine and elaborate canopies. Three inscriptions on tablets fill as many niches, whilst large clock dials are inserted above them. The clock was presented by "Dame Elizabeth Farrington, as an hourly memento of her good-will," in 1724. The building is surmounted by an open turret, executed in a very bad style. This cross stands near the centre of the city, at the junction of four streets; and though in tolerable condition, has been sadly injured and defaced by alterations and repairs in the time of Charles II.; and again by Charles Duke of Richmond in 1746; but without the least regard to harmony of style or symmetry. When the Sussex Archæological Society visited Chichester in 1847, I read a short paper on this building; and urged the necessity and desirableness of having it carefully repaired. "As a beautiful, unique, and very interesting architectural design, as a memorial of the arts and customs of a bygone age, and as an ornament to the city, it is hoped the citizens will not only preserve it from further defacement, but will also restore it to its pristine character and completeness." Subsequent to this meeting, I addressed the respectable Mayor of Chichester, offering to superintend and direct the much-wished restoration gratuitously, from a love of the subject, and a desire to mark the era of a remarkable congress of antiquaries in Chichester.*

* See Hay's *History of Chichester, Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities, and Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*. See also *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. i. 1848.

THE MARKET CROSS AND CONDUIT, GLASTONBURY.

The Market Cross at Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, was an edifice of unique design, and presented some very interesting features. There is an engraving of it in the first volume of the *Architectural Antiquities*, from a drawing made by F. Nash in 1802. In the account of the building which accompanies that print, I wrote as follows: "Since this drawing was taken, the cross has been suffered gradually to fall in ruins; and about six months back (1806) a part of the central column only was standing. Since which time the whole has been destroyed, and a modern building raised on the site. The old one consisted of a large column in the centre, running through the roof, and terminated with a naked human figure. Clustered columns at each angle, with odd capitals, bases, &c., and gables with pinnacles of unusual shape, all unite to constitute this one of the eccentricities of ancient building. In 1802 I saw a mutilated inscription on it with the date 1604; but cannot say that this alludes to the time of its erection. There were also some armorial bearings carved on different parts of it, including those of Richard Beere, the last abbot but one of Glastonbury, who died in 1524."

COVENTRY CROSS, WARWICKSHIRE.

The late Mr. Thomas Sharp of Coventry, who was a diligent and discriminating antiquary, furnished some interesting documents to the *Architectural Antiquities*, respecting the history of this civic edifice. By these it is recorded that Sir William Hollis, Knight, of Stoke, gave and bequeathed 200*l.* to the mayor, &c. of Coventry, "to make a *new Cross* in the said city." It was commenced in 1541, and finished in three years, on the site of an old building of the same class. An act of town-leet was recorded in the corporation-books to guard it against defacement and injury. In 1628 it underwent some repair and embellishment; and again in 1669, when, by painting, gilding, &c., "it was made the wonder of the times." The agreement between the mayor, &c. and a certain "stone-cutter," and three "masons," binds the last to execute "all the statues, pinnacles, images, pictures, beasts, pedestories, canopy of the neeses, fanes, finialls, and all

other things round the cross." After completing their work, they were required to leave the scaffolds, "that the painters might polish the said cross with colours, &c. as shall be thought fit." The items of expenses are given; one of which, "for 15,403 books of leaf-gold, was 68*l.* 15*s.*" This once gorgeous building became so ruinous in 1771, that it was taken down, with an adjoining old building called the Spon-Gate. Unlike the covered Market Crosses, this consisted of an hexagonal shaft, or mass of masonry, raised on steps, and measured about 57 feet in height by 42 in circumference. It was divided into four stories, each of which was elaborately ornamented with the objects and details already enumerated.

A CROSS at GLOUCESTER was very similar in form and design to that just described. It was erected in the time of Richard Duke of Gloucester. A statue of that prince, afterwards Richard III., with seven other statues, occupied so many niches. For the widening and improving the four great streets in the central part of the city, this building, with some old houses, was taken down in 1749.

The preceding remarks on, and accounts of, Market Crosses have been mostly abridged from an extended history and elucidation of stone crosses in the first volume of the *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, the *Picturesque Antiquities of English Cities*, and the *Architectural and Archeological Dictionary*; in all of which works there are several engraved representations of the different subjects. Accompanying this paper, at Salisbury, were exhibited some large drawings by Mr. Owen Carter, architect, of Winchester, who made them for the purpose of shewing the beauty and effects of the crosses at Salisbury, Winchester, Chichester, Malmesbury, &c., when restored to their pristine appearance.

[It is proper to remark that the preceding paper was intended to be further explained by oral references to drawings, &c.]

THE END.

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