

REPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS.

REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 7, 1883,

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY,
1882—1883.

ALSO

Communications

MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

No. XXV.

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REPORT

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WITH APPENDIX.



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R E P O R T.

THE Council has much pleasure in congratulating the Society upon its continuous growth and energy. Since the last annual meeting the *Report and Communications for 1880-81*, very fully illustrated with chromo-lithographs and woodcuts, has been issued to members, as have also a Supplement to Dr RAVEN'S *Bells of Cambridgeshire* and a second edition of Professor BABINGTON'S *Ancient Cambridgeshire*. A memoir of the Rev. CALEB PARNHAM, B.D. (who was Fellow and Tutor of St John's College in the early part of the last century), by the Rev. J. R. LUNN, B.D., and the *Report and Communications for 1881-82* are in the press; and NICOLAS TYERY'S suggestions for an Irish coinage in the reign of Henry VIII., which are preserved in the University Library, are being prepared for publication.

During the past year fifteen members have retired and four have died; among the latter was Dr BACON, of Fulbourne, who had been an active member of our Council since 1879, and had contributed one Communication to the Society's

fourth volume. In the late Professor DESOR we have lost an honorary member, who was a distinguished geologist, but most notable for his memoirs on the lake-dwellings of Neuchâtel and Bienne. Twenty-five new members have joined the Society, which now numbers 281 upon its roll.

An excursion was made in August to Denny Abbey, and to the churches of Waterbeach and Landbeach, the architectural features of each place being fully described and discussed. Invitations have been received from Huntingdon and from Thetford; and it is hoped that both these places will be visited in the course of the summer.

The Archaeological Institute of America has been added to the list of societies that exchange publications with our own Society.

The Council of the Society has submitted to the Archaeological Collections Syndicate a statement, which the Syndicate has embodied in a Report to the Senate (see *Reporter*, no. 477, p. 620), on the subject of providing a specially qualified curator for the Society's museum.

The Council desires to express the thanks of the Society to the Syndics of the University Press for undertaking the cost of printing the text of the *Report and Communications for 1880-81*.

APPENDIX.

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I. AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 7, 1883.

November 6, 1882. Professor Humphry, M.D., F.R.S., in the chair.

The following new Members were elected :

W. Bell, Esq., Huntingdon Road.

Rev. H. C. G. Moule, M.A., Principal of Ridley Hall.

M. Rule, Esq., M.A., Pembroke College.

A communication from Dr PEARSON was read in which he suggested that the 'Three Pigeons,' at the point where the road from Thame to Abingdon crosses that from London to Oxford, was probably the site where Goldsmith laid the scene of *She stoops to conquer*.

Mr Fox, of Barton Mills, exhibited a one-handed terra-cotta vase, 11 in. high, together with a water-colour sketch of the site of the discovery in West Row Fen, Mildenhall, and a well-preserved 'middle-brass' coin of Trajan (rev. FORTVNA . AVGVSTI) found in the same locality: the vase was turned up by the plough in 1867, and had been but very slightly injured: a very graceful pear-shaped ornamentation in white paint ran round it in its widest part.

Mr LEWIS exhibited two Etruscan bronze mirrors with engraved reverses, and read a paper upon them by Mr C. W. King (*Communications*, Vol. V, No. XIII.)

Professor SKEAT quoted a paragraph on Magic Mirrors by Warton in his History of English Poetry, in connexion with Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*, the sole tale in which Chaucer seems to have drawn, ultimately, from an Arabian source; and added that the word *mirror* is of French origin; but the English had mirrors in early times. The Anglo-Saxon name was

sceawere, which in modern English would be "shew-er," that which shews, a word which might very well have been retained, instead of borrowing the name of *mirror* from the French. He remarked that the Latin form *equus* contrasts favourably with the Greek *ἵππος*, as being nearer to the Aryan form.

Mr A. H. SMITH enquired whether it was certain that the group on the mirror represented Apollo, Artemis and Ge or Themis, rather than a nameless group. Apollo and Artemis were completely unprovided with any distinctive attributes. The remaining figure had neither the matronly air nor the attributes of Ge or Themis. The Omphalos and the Tripod of Apollo were both absent. With respect to the Gorgoneion at the base of the handle, could it not be regarded rather as a subsidiary ornament, than as having any immediate bearing upon the main composition? Such ornamental additions were of frequent occurrence upon mirrors. Finally, with respect to the bee, supposed by Mr King to indicate the poetic power of Apollo, were there precedents for the use of this emblem in art? Was it not rather confined to literature, while the lyre would be naturally employed to denote the poetical gifts of the god?

Mr LEWIS drew attention in reply to the Delphic laurel and raven and pointed out that the Gorgoneion (indicative of death) beneath appropriately balanced the sun at the top of the column, a natural symbol of Apollo as Helios.

November 20, 1882. The President (the Rev. R. Burn, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new members were elected:

- Rev. G. W. Asplen, M.A., Corpus Christi College.
- C. L. Bell, Esq., Chesterton Road.
- G. H. Darwin, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Trinity College.
- A. de Putron, Esq., Peterhouse.
- W. Eardley, Esq., St John's College.
- E. A. Gardner, Esq., Caius College.

Mr A. G. WRIGHT, of Newmarket, exhibited a small terra-cotta head of Silenus in high relief, which had probably been affixed to horse-trappings as an amulet; and a bone dagger, 9 inches in length, made from the metatarsal of an ox. The former had been found on Warren Hill, Icklingham, in 1877, at the depth of two feet; the latter was from Burwell Fen. A similar object had been found in Swaffham Fen.

Mr LEWIS exhibited on the part of the Rev. C. B. Drake, Rector of Teversham, drawings of some wall-painting, at the back and sides of the easternmost of the three *sedilia* in Teversham Church. It appeared to

have been covered up in the so-called restoration of the Church some twenty years ago; and had been brought to light again a few weeks since. The patterns on the walls were repeated thrice, but were not precisely identical. The work was that of the 15th century. Between the *sedilia* were slender shafts, ending in capitals. On the capitals could be felt mortice holes indicating the existence at some time of small statues. Above and behind the canopies a curious piece of ornament of the nature of open screen-work. The width of the *sedilia* was not the same throughout, the westernmost one being 18 inches in width. The other two were $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. The easternmost one appeared to have been surmounted by a lofty finial, of which only a portion of the shaft remained. There were other features of interest in the Church besides the *sedilia*. Mr Drake said that, although the Church was always open, he would be very pleased at any time to shew it himself to members of the Society, and that he would be very grateful for suggestions as to the date of the south-eastern pillar of the nave.

Mr G. F. BROWNE gave a lecture—illustrated by a number of drawings and tracings—upon sculptured stones and crosses of the Saxon period in the north of England (Bewcastle, Gosforth, Hexham, Ilkley, Lastingham, Leeds, Ruthwell, Whalley, &c.). His object was to bring home to the minds of Cambridge antiquaries more than had been done hitherto, the considerable number and very great importance of this group of sculptured stones. The great stones of Scotland, those of the Isle of Man and of Ireland, and those of Wales, had each important books to themselves. But the ancient stones of England had no book of their own, and yet, as far as he could make out from a comparative study of the subject, there was no group of stones that were so decidedly living stones as these, none which spoke in the way in which they could make these English stones speak. He first described the cross-shaft at Bewcastle, 14 ft. 6 in. high, with inscriptions stating that the column was put up in the reign of King Egfrith, in memory of a certain King Alchfrith. This was the patron of Wilfrid, who first established him in an ecclesiastical position by giving him Ripon, and who died in 664. He next noticed the cross, 17 feet 6 inches high, at Ruthwell, in Dumfriesshire, no doubt an Anglian cross, put up when Dumfries was in the possession of the Anglians; remarking that the figure of our Lord in the attitude of blessing exactly resembled, in the glory and all other details, a great figure of Buddha in the Amaravati Tope (A.D. 200 or so), the feet of our Lord trampling on the heads of swine, those of Buddha resting on cushions. On this cross there was no interlacing work at all, and that suggested the question what could have been its origin; for almost all stones in the North had this interlacing work, which was a characteristic feature of the Irish crosses. There could be little doubt that this cross represented the Roman view of Christian

ornament, and that the interlacing work represented the Celtic view. It had been stated that Pope Gregory had no artists for illuminating the books sent over to England, and had to employ a Celtic scribe, a book thus illuminated being sent over to Augustine of Canterbury. But this was a mistake. Of the two MSS. in Corpus Library, the one ornamented with interlacing work was late in the 7th century. The undoubted Augustine Gospels had no interlacing work; it had a great illuminated page at the commencement of St Luke, with panels containing scenes from our Lord's life, and with scrolls at St Luke's feet. This book may have set the fashion for Roman ornament in early England. In connexion with this cross Mr Browne mentioned the account by William of Malmesbury of a magnificent obelisk 26 ft. high, standing in his time at the great church of Glastonbury, on which were five panels with human figures and inscriptions. He then shewed enlarged drawings of the cross at Gosforth—with regard to which it was not too much to say that that year had seen a revelation of the language of these stones which no one had dreamed of before. In the course of a recent examination of some of the Scotch stones, he had come to the conclusion that it was quite possible that scenes from the *sagas* might be represented on some of these stones. The two sides of the Gosforth cross which he shewed represented, as he believed, the one all that the Scandinavian gods could do for man, the other, what Christ could do. The one shewed Loke bound, with the serpent dropping venom on his head, and on the upper part of the cross great serpents with two heads. The other shewed the crucifixion, and the same serpents, but with only one head. A female figure below the cross, with long and abundant hair, was very remarkable, for the ointment box she was represented as holding was in the true shape of an *alabastron* or cucumber-shaped box, which was snapped across the middle when it was intended to use the ointment it contained. Mr Browne shewed a full-size drawing of a large stone dug up that year at Gosforth, with Thor and the giant in the boat, at the moment when the giant cut Thor's fishing-rope and released the Midgard snake. The details were exceedingly clear, and corresponded exactly with the story in the *Sagas*.

Mr Browne next shewed a facsimile of a cross entirely Roman in character. It had always been called "the cross of Paulinus," and had nothing on either side but scroll work, closely resembling that in the Augustine Gospels, a book which Paulinus must often have handled at Canterbury before he went north. This and two others are at Whalley. Referring to the Ikléy stones, Mr Browne remarked that Wharfedale abounded in sculptured stones. Besides those at Ilkley, there were three or more at Burnsall, some very remarkable stones at Otley, of one of which he shewed an enlarged diagram, and at Collingham were portions of three beautiful crosses. He shewed a drawing of a stone dug up at Healough, near Tadcaster, on which were five equal circles within a sixth, two cou-

centric circles, and one single circle, arranged like the head and shaft of a "wheel" cross, and connected by three vertical and three horizontal lines; there were also on it the thoroughly Celtic names Madug and Heiu. The circles represented no doubt the paten with the communicants' wafers, the priest's wafer on a separate paten, and the chalice, the Council of Tours (A.D. 567) having probably crystallised a local custom when it declared that at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the wafers must be arranged in the form of a cross. The vertical and horizontal lines on the cross corresponded to the motions which must be imparted to the censer in swinging it during the incensation. If this were so, the light thrown upon the Celtic "use" was quite invaluable; it was not Greek and it was not Roman. Mr Browne next shewed a facsimile of one of the Saxon tomb-pillars at Thornhill near Dewsbury, with a Runic inscription and two interlacing dragons of whose symbolism he suggested an interpretation. He then shewed diagrams and one full-size panel of a very remarkable cross 14 feet high, now preserved in the chancel of Leeds parish church. Professor Stephens, of Copenhagen, had heartily accepted his interpretation of the design upon the panel, that it represented Völund carrying off a "Swan-maiden;" such a panel did not exist elsewhere in the whole world. Mr Browne also gave large diagrams and descriptions of exquisite ornamentation on crosses at Hexham, probably the crosses *mirabili celatura* erected to Bishop Acca in 714. He shewed also, by the kindness of Mr Easterby, the vicar of Lastingham, facsimiles of very interesting stones from the remarkable crypt at that place. One of these had serpents as ornament, and Mr Browne pointed out that Bede in relating the gift of Lastingham to St Chad spoke of it as a place of dragons; as a yet further local coincidence, he shewed enlarged drawings of early cruciform stones built into the two neighbouring churches of Kirkdale and Sinnington, with snakes under the arms and by the side of Christ on the cross. He concluded by pointing out the great interest which attached to the question of the relation of the great manuscripts to the stones of the district in which they had resided, as the Rushworth Gospels at Harewood in Wharfedale and the Durham Gospels at Lindisfarne. He shewed the historical bearing of some of the stones by pointing out that a cross to the memory of Eadulf had been found at Alnmouth, on a straight line from Bamborough, which he had been besieging, to Edlingham (formerly Eadulfingham), on his flight to which he was slain. From Eadulf's hostile action towards S. Wilfrid and from other circumstances, Mr Browne shewed that Eadulf—who had usurped the kingdom—was certainly of the Celtic party and opposed to the Romans, and he pointed out that not only did the cross bear an ornament purely "Irish," but an inscription on it stated that it was made by Myredach, a purely Irish name. In conclusion, he urged that something should be done to record the description of these stones in a great book. They were being found in considerable numbers, and he mentioned four

important discoveries which had come under his own knowledge that year. He thought the University might very well undertake such a task. For purposes of comparison, everything in the way of Greek or Roman or mediæval art was at present unusually well represented in the University; and they had in this Society a great centre of enthusiasm. Such a work should not be undertaken in a mere archæological spirit, but in that broader spirit which thought no labour lost that bound them to the past with the cords of a man. These crosses and stones shewed that our Saxon ancestors possessed very early a patience and skill in execution and a fertility and beauty of design which might well make us proud to call them our fathers.

Professor SKEAT made some remarks upon the subject. He thought Mr Browne had contrived to tell them as much as one would be able to get into three or four lectures; and with all the varied knowledge of the subject which he possessed, he was clearly the man to do the proposed work.

Dr LUARD heartily agreed with the remarks of Professor Skeat; Mr Browne had thrown fresh light on the subject, especially all the matter connected with the Sagas, which was quite new.

Dr Luard also called attention to an act of vandalism which, according to the newspapers, was threatened at Sawston, by the utilization of a cross of Barnack stone standing in the middle of the village for the purposes of a lamp-post. He thought the Society might very properly interfere.

The CHAIRMAN assured Dr Luard that the Society had already done so, and that the monument had been saved.

A vote of thanks was then passed to Mr Browne for his lecture.

Mr J. W. CLARK was to have given a lecture upon the architectural history of Trinity College in the 17th and 18th centuries; but owing to the lateness of the hour it was postponed.

February 19, 1883. The President (the Rev. R. Burn, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected:

- Rev. F. H. Cox, M.A., Ditton Rectory.
- C. A. E. Pollock, Esq., B.A., Corpus Christi College.
- Rev. H. R. Reynolds, M.A., Trinity College.
- W. A. Rhodes, Esq., 30 Trumpington Street.
- A. G. Wright, Esq., Newmarket.

Dr RAVEN presented to the Society three Roman bronze coins lately found at Undley, in Lakenheath parish :

1. Obv. D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG. Laureated head of Maximian to right.
Rev. GENIO POP ROM. Figure with cornucopiæ and patera (?) to left. In exergue PTR. Æ. 2.
2. Obv. VRBS ROMA. Helmeted head to left.
Rev. Wolf and twins. Above, a wreath between two stars. In exergue -RR (?). Æ. 3.
3. Obv. D N VALENS P F AVG. Head of Valens to right.
Rev. MANORVM. Figure holding the labarum (inscribed with the sacred monogram $\chi\rho$) and dragging a captive by the hair. In field N ; in exergue S CON. Æ. 3.

They formed part of the contents of an urn, which was broken by the plough "not long ago." A pen-and-ink map, which Dr Raven sent with the coins, gave some idea of the distribution of Roman remains in the neighbourhood.

Mr C. E. HAMMOND, of Newmarket, presented a mediæval bottle of a bulbous form, found in 1874 at the depth of five feet in Main Street, Newmarket ; no other objects were found near.

The Rev. E. K. BENNET, D.C.L., read some "Notes from a Norfolk Squire's Note-book, with some particulars of school and college expenses in the 16th and 17th centuries." (See *Communications*, Vol. V, No. XIV.)

Dr BENNET then exhibited (by permission of Sir Robert Buxton, M.P.) a collection of College bills of one of the Buxtons in 1736, upon which a further Communication to the Society was promised, when the arrangement of the family records is completed.

Mr JENKINSON exhibited what appeared to be the earliest account of the famous Mantuan Vase. Dr Pearson in a communication presented to the Society on May 10, 1875 (see *Communications*, Vol. III, No. XXX.), referred to the Leipzig *Acta Eruditorum*, 1683. The book now exhibited was published at Bremen in the previous year. It is in the form of a letter from J. H. Eggeling to Duke Ferdinand Albert, which contains (besides much learned but irrelevant matter) a fairly correct account of the scenes cut upon the vase. It is written in Latin and is accompanied by a plate*.

Mr JENKINSON read an account of Roman coins recently found at Willingham. (See *Communications*, Vol. V, No. XV.)

* This book is now in the Library of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

March 5, 1883. The President (the Rev. R. Burn, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected :

- A. J. Birkett, Esq., Trinity College.
- P. S. Knowles, Esq., 2 Pemberton Terrace.
- W. Peed, Esq., 11 Bene't Street.
- A. A. Tilley, Esq., M.A., King's College.
- F. P. Weber, Esq., Trinity College.

Mr LEWIS exhibited (on the part of the Rev. C. W. King) and described an onyx cameo, recently found at Caerleon-on-Usk. (See *Communications*, Vol. V, No. XVI.)

Mr G. F. BROWNE shewed a drawing of ornamental scrolls from the mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, and pointed out their almost exact resemblance to the scrolls on "Paulinus's Cross" at Whalley, of which no other example is known in England. He gave reasons for thinking it probable that Paulinus had visited Ravenna before being sent to England (A.D. 601). He shewed also a drawing of continuous scrolls with birds, leaves, fruit, &c., from the tomb of S. Januarius in the Catacomb of S. Praetextatus at Rome, and pointed out their remarkable resemblance to the scrolls with birds, &c., on the great crosses at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, remarking that the date indicated on the Bewcastle cross, about A.D. 665, coincided with the time at which Wilfrid was making visits to Rome, and was not long prior to the date at which the Catacombs ceased to be places of pilgrimage, on the removal of the relics of Saints to the Churches in Rome. Mr Browne then shewed a drawing of a Saxon stone in the portico of the Fitzwilliam Museum, with rubbings of its four panels of interlacing work. It was one of ten stones found in 1810 at the foundations of the Castle of William I. at Cambridge. The stone is a grave-cover, divided into four panels by a rectangular cross, the head and foot of which terminate in a horse-shoe. Many of the Irish sculptured slabs and some of those found at Hartlepool and elsewhere in the north of England are divided into panels by crosses with arms ending in semicircles, the old symbol of the moon-deity in the north of Europe; but the only instance quoted by Mr Browne of the use of the horse-shoe in this connexion is in the magnificent fly-leaf at the commencement of S. Matthew in the Lindisfarne Gospels. One of the horse-shoes on the Cambridge stone contains a Latin cross with the head in the form of a capital T with vertical returns, and across the shaft below the arms there is a similar figure. The fly-leaf at the commencement of S. Luke in the Lindisfarne Gospels has exactly this figure at the termination of the arms. A grave-cover closely resembling this had recently been found at Lincoln; there was one in a

church wall at York; and there was a portion of one in the Guildhall Museum in London.

As illustrative of the interlacing patterns Mr Browne shewed drawings of some of the most archaic Celtic forms of this work, found at S. Bees, with dots at regular intervals among the interlacing bands; by the side of these he shewed a drawing of the ornament on the front of the altar of Baal in the Fitzwilliam Museum, worked to the same scale, and pointed out the remarkable similarity between them.

Professor HUGHES gave the following archaeological notes on the neighbourhood of Mentone:

“One might have expected to find the Riviera dotted with camps, streaked with roads, and bristling with ruins along its whole length. Italy on one side, Gaul on the other; mountain fastnesses behind, and the Mediterranean navigable close in to the shore in front; fertile valleys and rich patches of seaboard every here and there; a climate that forced no hurry on the traveller, waters full of fish for the primæval hunter.

But there are few antiquities to be seen except here and there where we may suppose there were easy landing-places; and in this remark I think I suggest the real explanation. For though it is generally possible to travel along the coast, there are occasional promontories and bluffs of rugged rock round which it must have been very difficult to pass except where a road had been made, and then the endless winding in and out so lengthened the journey that we must suppose that those who could would sail from point to point not far from shore, and would not carry with them a continuous belt of civilization along the whole sea-coast. It is known that there was a Roman Road—traces of it are seen near La Mortola—and it is believed that that was the only way along the coast through all mediæval times down to the quite recent making of the grand Cornice Road.

So in later times the small coast towns and the little mediæval fortresses, that crown a cliff here or command a pass there, are not the marks of the progress of a conquering nation or the outcome of a native race gathering their strength here and there for defence, but represent the places where the sea-rovers and adventurers of many different nationalities landed and settled, and drew round them the thinly scattered native population that gave what little there was of common character to the whole sea-board.

Such being the nature of the district, we are not surprised to find that the remains of antiquity are few and isolated, and that there is little but internal evidence to guide us in determining their age and object.

First I will call attention to the caves of Baoussé Roussé or the Rochers Rouges of which I exhibit a sketch-map and photograph. These caves occur somewhat irregularly at heights varying from 60 to 400 feet above

the sea in the cliffs which bound the east bay of Mentone. It had been known for some time, thanks to the researches of M. Bonfils, that these caves contained the remains of extinct mammalia and works of man. They were subsequently more fully explored and described by M. Rivière. He found among other things the entire skeleton of a man lying at full length at a considerable depth in the cave *débris*—in which he records the occurrence of the extinct mammalia. This would have been a discovery of immense importance, if it were certain that the man belonged to the period of the mammoth rhinoceros, &c. But unfortunately the evidence appears to me to point entirely the other way. First as to the condition of the skeleton. It was sent to Paris where I examined it some years ago with Sir Charles Lyell, and where I also saw some photographs taken at the time. The skeleton was whole, whereas all the other animals were in a fragmentary condition. It was laid out with ornaments of shell arranged on the head. In the photographs two flint implements were shewn lying beside it. But these were neolithic, and I ascertained at Mentone that they had not been found with it. So I infer that the skeleton was certainly *buried* and therefore may belong to any period and be later than palæolithic times. The neolithic implements being photographed with it shewed a want of knowledge or a want of care that destroyed the value of much of the evidence. In the caves which I examined I found no evidence of remains of the period of the mammoth, but saw in the collection of M. Bonfils molars of that species which were said to have been derived from a deep stony clay deposit through which the railway was cut, and which probably did extend into some of the caves. There were flakes and chips in abundance in the cave by the quarry and remains of sea-shells, small birds, oxen, deer, and others of the more recent groups of animals.

There are other remains about that district which have been referred to prehistoric times.

On the hills chiefly west of Mentone there are a number of rude stone-works. One of these I visited in company with Mr Andrews, who has paid a good deal of attention to this class of objects, and to whom I am indebted for much information. Immediately below the road from Roccabrunna to Turbia where it winds round one of the limestone bluffs that form such a marked feature on this part of the coast, there is a series of terraces built up with large stones such as occur all over the slope of the hill, broken off by the action of the weather from the crags. The uppermost terrace was about 10 feet high, the next below it about 7, the third about 4, and the lowest about 15 as shewn in the diagram. The average breadth of the terraces was about 20 feet. Stones were roughly arranged to form side walls, the most eastern of which was prolonged down the steep crest of the ridge and there were some indications of its having been continued to the end of the promontory. These have been compared to the walls of Tiryns in Argolis.

Now I saw no reason whatever for believing that these terraces were meant for defence. They were accessible and commanded from above and generally from both sides. The stones were not larger than are commonly seen in Ireland where the farmers often clear boulders up to four feet diameter off their land, and build with them boundary walls, one of which I have seen 10 high and 18 feet broad.

Nor did I see any evidence of antiquity in these so-called cyclopean walls and terraces. Fragments of pottery were found in the surface soil, which, though resembling the coarser Roman tiles and vessels, might easily have belonged to a much more recent date and have been carried on to the land in top-dressing. Besides, if there were no doubt about the age of the pottery there is nothing to connect them in any way with the building of the terraces, and we cannot refer cyclopean buildings to the Romans.

There are other stoneworks in the neighbourhood which, from the description which I received, may have been rude primaevial forts, but it is needful to be much on one's guard in a country where shepherds wander far from home, and where the wolf and the bear are still sometimes seen, and the flocks must be carefully protected in a fold at night. I have referred above to the existence of a Roman road along the coast. This was a privileged road down to late times. The Family of Orengo were the only persons allowed to bridge it over in that district. It was probably kept in repair till a comparatively recent date, and therefore we cannot feel sure that any particular bit uncovered from time to time should be referred to the Romans. It might seem curious that it is so seldom seen, but this may, it seems to me, be explained by the very thick wash of earth and stones that is continually being swept down the hill sides, which have generally bare earth exposed by cultivation on the terraces; while often the road has been covered by the process of cultivation itself.

In this way I think we must explain the very deep cut through which the road runs below the Palazzo Orengo. It is not that the Romans made a cutting, but that cultivation has been for ages heaping earth up along the road which in consequence had to be protected by rough stone walls.

On one other point I will offer a few remarks. Near Vintimiglia a small portion of a Roman theatre has been recently found in digging for sand, and the enlightened Government of Italy has taken charge of the exploration. The part opened out consists of an entrance low door and a portion of the lower stone benches. They are built of enormous slabs of a cream coloured limestone referred to the Lower Cretaceous, and all look as fresh as if the building were now being erected instead of being exhumed after many centuries. So also the smaller buildings close by, from which I was informed Roman sepulchral urns and funeral ornaments and offerings were procured, are marvellously fresh, even the plaster being sound.

These buildings are covered by a grey sand and ruin rubbish, the usual surface *débris* and growth of a waste place over which strong winds frequently swept, carrying sand and dust. Was it ever finished and if so what rough scenes did its walls witness before Roman luxury was driven away for ever? Where did the Romans and Romanized natives live who frequented it? To all the questions I have no answer to give, but we will ask where did they get those magnificent blocks of limestone. The rock does not occur close by, and does not always yield such splendid masses where it does occur. There is however near Turbia one ancient quarry which does yield just such blocks, and which seems to shew traces of ancient work. From this it seems on the whole most probable they did come, but what a work it must have been to transport them from the rocky heights of Turbia to the shore at Vintimiglia!"

Mr J. W. CLARK delivered a lecture on the Architectural History of Neville's Court (Trinity College), the substance of which will appear in his forthcoming book.

April 23, 1883. The President (the Rev. R. Burn, M.A.) in the chair.

The following new Members were elected :

G. Kett, Esq., Brooklands Avenue.

H. Middleton, Esq., St John's College.

Rev. S. G. Phear, D.D., Master of Emmanuel College.

Mr W. WHITE exhibited the following objects.

1. A Roman Horse-shoe, which he said was one of ten found about the middle of last January, under four feet of clayey soil, by a man digging a ditch near to "the moats" at Caxton, in this county. They were found at unequal distances throughout the length of the ditch. Upon Mr White's making enquiries about the others, he found that two only were saved; and of those two one had been put into the blacksmith's forge to test the quality of the metal—so that in reality this was the only one preserved. Mr White supposed them to be Roman, because of their being found so near to the Ermine Street, which runs through Caxton; but he had not been able to find a single illustration of a Roman horse-shoe to compare them with. Mr White called the attention of the Society to the place called the "Moats." He believed it had never been examined by any body of Antiquaries, but thought that a work of such extent, covering an area of some 300 ft. by 250 ft., which might have taken 500 men at least sixteen days to work, and that too so close upon the Roman Road, well deserved close examination.

2. A brass finger-ring of the early part of the seventeenth century, with a spread eagle engraved upon it. This had been dug up very lately in a garden in Cambridge.

3. The upper portion of a Roman Millstone, found about 1868, by a Mr Strickland, whilst excavating a field adjoining the churchyard at Great Eversden, in this county.

4. A squeeze taken from a stone covered with a cuneiform inscription, surmounted by two human feet in alto-relievo.

Mr White said that the stone from which he took this squeeze was brought from Nineveh in 1838 by Commodore John Croft Hawkins, who was at that time in command of the East India Company's ship "Clive," on the Euphrates; it had been in the possession of the Commodore's family until last July, when it was presented by his nephew (B. R. J. Hawkins, Esq.) to the Colchester Castle Museum.

The stone was a fragment of an inscription recording the war of Sargon against Merodach-Baladan. Sargon reigned from B.C. 721 to B.C. 704, when he was succeeded by his son Sennacherib. His name occurs but once in the Sacred Writings, being mentioned by Isaiah (xx. 1). Besides being a mighty warrior, he was also the builder of many useful and magnificent works.

Merodach-Baladan, whose defeat Sargon here records, began to reign as King of Babylon in B.C. 721, the same year that Sargon ascended the throne of Assyria. He appears to have been the leader of a people unsuccessfully struggling for liberty, for whilst he held his court in his father's city of Bit-Yaklin, Tiglath-Pileser made him tributary to the Assyrian kings, and he appears quietly to have submitted during the remainder of his reign and that of his successor Shalmaneser IV; but in the first year of the usurpation of Sargon, the Chaldæans threw off the yoke, and placed themselves under the government of Merodach-Baladan. Sargon was too much occupied at that time to put down this revolt, and Merodach-Baladan was allowed to remain in quiet possession of his throne, for twelve years. But at last came the day of reckoning; and Sargon advanced against him with a great army. Although—to quote the words of Sargon in the inscription—"he (Merodach-Baladan) had strengthened his citadel," and made well-nigh impregnable "his great fortress," yet "I cut him off from the midst of Babylon." He did not wait for the arrival of Sargon, but took to flight, or, as Sargon expresses it, "he had gone round and gone." He had fled to his own city Bit-Yakin, near to the mouth of the Euphrates, where he prepared for a vigorous resistance, and awaited the advance of Sargon, who soon gained a complete victory over him, plundering his palace and burning his city, but sparing his life. Upon the death of Sargon, B.C. 704, the Babylonians revolted against his son and successor Sennacherib; and Merodach-Baladan, who had escaped from captivity,

having murdered Hagisa, reascended the throne, from which, in B.C. 702, Sennacherib finally expelled him.

This Merodach-Baladan is the same king of Babylon who sent letters and a present to Hezekiah when he had heard that he had been sick, and to whose ambassadors Hezekiah shewed all the treasures of his house.

By the kindness of Prof. Sayce, of Queen's College, Oxford, Mr White had been enabled to append the following translation of the fragment :

1. the disturbance I coerced and I
2. alone he trusted and to
3. he revolted and made war
4. and lord of the great, Merodach
5. I (?) cut him off (?) from the midst of Babylon ...
6. and he strengthened his citadel, the men ...
7. (from) before his great fortress he
8. his present he completed; the city, a place ...
9. the place of his camp, (his) fighting-men ...
10. his he had gone round and gone

Mr White ended by describing the process of making the squeeze, and remarked upon the simplicity and great usefulness of this method of preserving with accuracy any monuments in relief.

Dr BRYAN WALKER exhibited a reduced copy of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*: and explained the history of its discovery at Worms in 1507, the subsequent possession of it by Conrad Peutinger (whence its name); its loss or misplacement by Peutinger's son and grandson; its re-discovery by Welser in 1682; its purchase by Prince Eugène of Savoy in 1720, and his gift of it to the Emperor Charles IV., by whom it was lodged in the Imperial Library at Vienna, where it still remains. The map is probably the famous *mappa mundi* of the monk of Colmar, which he claims to have copied in 1265 from a Roman map: and this original of his would be a copy of the Imperial map first painted by M. Vipsanius Agrippa, with Augustus's approval, on his portico; and afterwards corrected from time to time (as Pliny informs us) to represent the changes of the roads. Dr Walker illustrated the pictorial symbolism of the relative importance of towns, by diagrams; and shewed that the nomenclature of these towns indicated that the original map must have been earlier than Constantine, and just after the reigns of the Antonines; also that the allocation of the Barbarian Tribes along the Rhine and Danube would suit that date and no other: and that there were remarkable indications of the Antonine period in the delineation of the Eastern boundaries and roads of the Empire.

Taking it therefore to be a map of the date A.D. 200 (with a few obvious interpolations by the 13th century copyist), he argued that it proved in the small portion of Britain which the ravages of time had spared to the outer-

most sheet of the map (originally 24 feet long and one broad, but now only 21½ feet in length) that

1. London was unimportant after its ruin by Boadicea, and the crossing of the Thames showed no mark of its existence ;

2. That the Ermine Street did not then exist, and the Watling Street crossed the Thames higher up than London, at Coway Stakes or at Kingston ;

3. That Richborough, Dover and Hythe were then Roman Stations, but the other forts of the Saxon shore, *Regulbium*, *Anderida*, *Othona*, *Portus Adurnus*, and perhaps *Garionium*, were not yet in existence.

4. That the Romans had a road from the Stour to Dunwich and a station there ; but that Dunwich was not *Sitomagus* ; which ought rather to be placed near Thetford ; *Iciani* at Ixworth, near Bury St Edmund's, and *Villa Faustini* probably about Diss. (See *Communications*, Vol. V, No. XVII.)

May 7, 1883. Annual General Meeting. The Rev. H. R. Luard, D.D. (Vice-President), in the chair.

The following new Members were elected :

H. T. Francis, Esq., M.A., Caius College.

Hon. and Rev. A. T. Lyttelton, M.A., Master of Selwyn College.

Rt Hon. H. C. Raikes, M.A., M.P., Trinity College.

The Annual Report was read.

Thanks were voted to the Syndics of the University Press for printing the text of the Report and Communications for 1880-81.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year :

President :—J. W. Clark, Esq., M.A.

Vice-President :—Rev. R. Burn, M.A.

Treasurer :—W. M. Fawcett, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Secretary :—Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A.

New Members of Council :

Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D.

J. E. Foster, Esq., M.A.

A. P. Humphry, Esq., M.A.

N. C. Hardcastle, Esq., B.A., LL.B.

Auditors :—Swann Hurrell, Esq.

F. C. Wace, Esq., M.A.

Mr J. W. CLARK shewed, by extracts from the Audit-Books of S. John's College, and some papers recently found in the Muniment Room, that the tomb of the Lady Margaret in Westminster Abbey was unquestionably the work of Pietro Torrigiano, who is referred to in one of the documents that he quoted as "Master Peter," and in another as "the Florentine;" and moreover that the tomb was originally protected by a cage of gilt ironwork, the cost of which was defrayed by S. John's College. This, the work of Cornelis Symondson, probably a Fleming, who resided near Temple Bar in London, must have been an elaborate structure, for it cost £25, equal to at least £250 at the present value of money; the stone plinth on which it rested £2. 13s. 4d.; and the gilding £2. (See Communications, Vol. V, No. XVIII.)

Mr W. M. FAWCETT gave an account of some recent discoveries in the Chapel of Jesus College: after alluding to the history of the College and the general way in which Bishop Alcock worked when he transformed the old conventual buildings, he said that until lately the portion of the walls of which he shewed a diagram (viz. the Western wall of the North Transept and the Northern wall of the Nave) had been covered with plaster, and that this having been removed exposed the construction of the wall.

The North wall had every appearance of having been built entirely by Bishop Alcock out of the *débris* of the portions that he pulled down; but this was not the case, as but a short time ago two early arches were to be seen in this wall of the Nave, so that the main wall was of early date, and it had been thickened and made up with rough material by Bishop Alcock when he inserted his windows. The Western wall of the North Transept was treated rather differently, as it was evident that a considerable portion was of the early period. Bishop Alcock had cut ruthlessly through the triforium arcading, and the amount of destruction that he did was very evident. The space above the window was filled up by him in a rather curious and rough manner.

The North-West angle of the transept finished with a Norman buttress of the pilaster character. A portion of this at the top is of freestone, but all the rest is of clunch. The change takes place just where it seems probable that the roof of the aisle would come. The Nave-arches shewed that there undoubtedly was a North aisle; and this seemed from what we now saw to return along the West side of the transept.

The curious worked stones, broken up and inserted roughly into the wall to form a key for plaster, shew how much damage was done when so large a part of the church was pulled down to make it into a College Chapel.

Mr A. G. WRIGHT exhibited a small bronze fibula which shewed traces of enamel; it had been found near Diss. Also, from Exning, a denarius of Sabina, *rev.* IVNONI REGINAE, and a bronze coin of Constantine I, *rev.*

MARTI CONSERVATORI, in the *exergue* PLN, showing that it had been struck at the London mint.

MR RIDGEWAY exhibited two bronze Roman coins found last week near Fen Ditton in the works for the new line of railway to Thetford; the larger one, a *sestertius* of Antoninus Pius, bore on the reverse VOTA SVSCEPTA DEC III COS IIII SC, and could be dated to 160 A.D.; the other seemed to be of the same reign, but was not sufficiently well preserved for complete identification.

MR MIDDLETON read extracts from a paper in which he sought to prove that the legend of Atlantis was not entirely mythical, but had really some foundation of historical truth. He contended that at a remote time in the past there was an island or several islands of considerable area, situated in the Atlantic Ocean to the West of Africa, and inhabited by a highly civilized people, who sent colonies to the West Coast of Africa, to Spain, &c. These islands were almost entirely submerged (the Azores representing all that remains of them) in some great convulsion of nature which began as a volcanic outburst and ended by the islands sinking under the sea. A few of the inhabitants of the submerged islands saved themselves in ships, some of which reached the coasts of Central America. There the fugitives found established the old Empire of the Colhuas (whose origin is quite unknown). To this empire they were for a long period of time subject; but after a time by intermarriage, &c., the Nahuatl race became numerous enough to attempt to throw off the yoke of the old Empire of Xibalba. The revolt was unsuccessful and *some* of the rebels migrated northward into the Mississippi valley, where they constructed the fortresses, temples, towns, &c. &c. whose ruins are now said to be the remains of the civilization of the Mound-builders. That part of the Nahuatl race which remained in Mexico made a second effort to overthrow the dominion of the Colhuas, were successful, and founded the kingdom of the Nahuas. The Nahua rule does not, however, seem to have been of great duration.

At some date, at present only approximately fixed, the Scythians crossed over from Asia, coming over the *ice* (according to their legends); and moving southwards attacked and expelled the Nahuatl settlers from their Mississippi Valley homes. Traditions say that the war lasted thirteen years, at the end of which time two companies migrated to Mexico, one by way of the gulf and the other overland; while it seems probable that some of the Mound-builders remained in the Valley, intermarrying and losing both their national characteristics and ethnological peculiarities by union with their barbarous conquerors. The return of the two fugitive companies of Mound-builders to Mexico and Central America seems to have sowed the seeds of discord in the Nahua empire, and after long civil wars a Toltec kingdom was founded. Subsequently the Toltec kingdom fell to pieces and the Aztec monarchy was established on its ruins.

The Aztec supremacy was hardly established, when Cortez appeared in 1519 and ended these ancient civilizations.

These conclusions were supported by a large mass of evidence, which may be summarised as follows :

1. As proofs of the completeness of the *civilizations*, the remains of the *Mound-builders* in the Mississippi Valley and the temples, palaces, &c., in Mexico and Central America were cited.

2. As proofs of history, &c., the cosmogony and historical accounts which we find in the Popol-Vuh, Codex Chimalpopoca, Codex Vaticanus, Cakchiquel Manuscript, &c. and writings of the Spaniards were referred to.

3. As proofs of the Atlantis Cataclysm, the distinct account of the same in Plato's *Timæus*, with notices of Diodorus Siculus, Ælian and others as to belief in the existence of such islands, changes of African coast, cities there situated, &c., were brought forward.

4. As to the *possibility* of such a convulsion happening. It was observed that modern geological science had never stated that either the subsidence of islands, or the changes of level of large areas of the earth's surface, were impossible. Nay more, it *taught* that they were incessantly going on : and the writer but brought forward *proof* that the race of man was witness of some of these geological changes, which, for reasons too long to be here expounded, are generally held to have preceded his advent on the globe, or at any rate the Historic Epoch.

Mr J. W. CLARK mentioned, in connexion with what Mr Middleton had said of the monuments of Central America, that Mr Maudslay had been engaged in photographing many of them with excellent results, and that he was now gone there with materials for taking casts of some of the more remarkable. The turtle appeared to have been a special object of veneration, if we may judge from the colossal effigies of it that abound.

Professor HUGHES expressed a wish, that the very interesting account of the internal relation between primitive American civilizations had been kept distinct from speculations involving geological hypotheses which present appearances did not seem to warrant.

Mr RIDGEWAY, alluding to what Mr Clark had said as to the abundance of turtle monuments in Yucatan, pointed out that the turtle was a common totem among all the North American Indians ; and that in general the evidence was in favour of the conclusion that the former inhabitants of America, savage and civilized, had a common origin, and that they entered the country from the north-west.

Dr WALDSTEIN wished to insist upon the necessity of distinguishing, in these and similar investigations, between resemblances, structural and decorative, which would justify the presumption of a common origin, and

those elementary resemblances, which could be found in the works of races between whom no connexion was probable, and which appear to be the natural outcome of the human artistic impulse in its infancy.

Dr LUARD, in expressing the thanks of the Society to Mr Middleton for the interesting subject which he had introduced to them, wished to assure him of the deep interest which we in this country take in American archaeology, as well as in America and American progress; and to hope that the sympathy between the two countries might continue

As long as Atalantis shall be read.

The SECRETARY communicated a note from Mr William E. A. Axon, M.R.S.L., concerning the legend of the Chapman of Swaffham, about which Professor Cowell read a paper before the Society in 1875 (*Communications*, Vol. III, No. xxxii). Mr Axon quoted a version of the story from the *New Help to Discourse*, a very popular folk-book, which was often printed between 1619 and 1696. He also quoted from an Article on Dreams, which appeared in the *Saturday Review* (28 December, 1878), "A Dream told by Mr Whately in Oriel Common Room." In this account the scene is laid in Somersetshire, and the Latin inscription on the pot is read by the son, whom the first discovery had enabled his father to send to school: but the story is substantially the same.

II. LIST OF COUNCIL ELECTED MAY 7, 1883.

President.

JOHN WILLIS CLARK, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Superintendent of the Museums of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.*

Vice-Presidents.

Rev. WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, M.A., Christ's College, *Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.*

Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Trinity College, *University Registrar.*

Rev. ROBERT BURN, M.A., Trinity College, *Trinity Praelector in Roman Literature and Archaeology.*

Treasurer.

WILLIAM MILNER FAWCETT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Jesus College.

Secretary and Librarian.

Rev. SAMUEL SAVAGE LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College.

Ordinary Members of Council.

CHARLES CARDALE BABINGTON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Botany.*

FREDERICK WHITTING, Esq., M.A., King's College.

GEORGE MURRAY HUMPHRY, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Downing College, *Professor of Anatomy.*

THOMAS MCKENNY HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Trinity College, *Woodwardian Professor of Geology.*

FRANCIS JOHN HENRY JENKINSON, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

Rev. BRYAN WALKER, M.A., LL.D., Corpus Christi College.

HENRY BRADSHAW, Esq., M.A., King's College, *University Librarian.*

FREDERICK CHARLES WACE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., St John's College, *Esquire Bedell.*

Rev. GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, B.D., St Catharine's College.

JOHN EBENEZER FOSTER, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

ALFRED PAGET HUMPHRY, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Esquire Bedell.*

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Downing College.

Auditors.

F. C. WACE, Esq., M.A. SWANN HURRELL, Esq.

Curator.

FRANCIS JOHN HENRY JENKINSON, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

Excursion Secretary.

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., B.A., Downing College.

IV. LIST OF PRESENTS

RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR ENDING

MAY 7, 1883.

ANTIQUITIES, &c.

From Professor Wright, LL.D.:

A hemispherical bowl of terra-cotta with Madanitic inscriptions on the interior and exterior.

From several members of the Society:

Nine similar bowls, all inscribed.

From Herr A. G. Nordvi, Christiania:

A prop of the Viking's ship found in Norway, 1880.

From C. E. Hammond, Esq., Newmarket:

An ancient and very globular bottle, found in Newmarket.

From the Rev. J. J. Raven, D.D.:

Three Roman brass coins (see p. lxxvii).

BOOKS.

A. From various donors:

From His Grace the Duke of Northumberland (through the Rev. Dr J. Collingwood Bruce, Honorary Member of the Society):

Descriptive catalogue of Antiquities, chiefly British, preserved at Alnwick Castle. Privately printed, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1880. Folio.

From the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society:

Publication, no. 4.

From H. Phillips, Esq., Ph.D. (of Philadelphia), honorary member of the Society :

Second and Third Annual Reports of the Executive Committee of the Archæological Institute of America.

From Hyde Clarke, Esq., F.R.S. :

The early history of the Mediterranean populations, etc. in their migrations and settlements illustrated from autonomous coins, etc. By the Donor. London, 1882. 8vo.

From G. Buckler, Esq. :

Colchester Castle a Roman building. Fourth section. 8vo.

Colchester Castle a Roman building. Colchester, 1879. 8vo.

From J. E. Foster, Esq. :

EIKON ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. London, 1649.

B. From Societies, etc. in union for the exchange of publications :

1. The Society of Antiquaries of London (C. K. WATSON, Esq., M.A., *Secretary*, Burlington House, London, W.) :

List of the Society, June 8, 1882. 8vo.

Proceedings of the Society, Vol. VIII, Nos. 5, 6. London, 1883. 8vo.

2. The Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (A. HARTSHORNE, Esq., *Secretary*, 16 New Burlington Street, London, W.) :

The Archæological Journal (Vol. XXXIX.), Nos. 154, 155, 156, 157.

3. The St Paul's Ecclesiological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, E. J. WELLS, Esq., Mallinson House, Wandsworth Common, S.W.) :

Transactions of the Society, Vol. I, part iii.

4. The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (*Hon. Secretary*, F. S. PULLING, Esq., M.A., 69 Walton Street, Oxford) :

Nothing received this year.

5. The Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, R. FITCH, Esq., Norwich) :

Original Papers, Vol. IX, part iii.

6. The Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History (*Hon. Secretary*, J. MACHELL SMITH, Esq., Bury St Edmunds) :

Nothing received this year.

7. The Essex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, H. W. KING, Esq., Leigh Hill, Essex):
Transactions of the Society, Vol. II, part II.
8. The Kent Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. Canon W. A. SCOTT ROBERTSON, M.A., Whitehall; Sittingbourne):
Archaeologia Cantiana, Vol. XIV, London, 1882. 8vo.
9. The Sussex Archaeological Society (*Hon. Librarian*, R. CROSSKEY, Esq., Lewes):
Sussex Archaeological Collections, Vol. XXXII, Lewes, 1882. 8vo.
10. The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society (*Curator*, P. B. HAYWARD, Esq., Cathedral Yard, Exeter):
Transactions of the Society, Vol. IV, part II.
11. The Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society (*Hon. Secretary*, W. F. FREER, Esq., Stonygate, Leicester):
Transactions of the Society, Vol. V, part IV. Leicester, 1882. 8vo.
12. The Associated Architectural Societies of Lincoln, York, Bedford, Leicester, etc. (*General Secretary*, Rev. Canon G. T. HARVEY, Vicar's Court, Lincoln):
Nothing received this year.
13. The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (*Hon. Secretary*, C. T. GATTY, Esq., 18 Pelham Grove, Sefton Park, Liverpool):
Nothing received this year.
14. The Liverpool Numismatic Society:
Nothing received this year.
15. The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (*THE SECRETARIES*, The Old Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne):
Nothing received this year.
16. The Cambrian Archaeological Association (*Treasurer*, Rev. E. L. BARNWELL, Melksham, Wilts.):
Archaeologia Cambrensis, nos. 50, 51, 52. London, 1882. 8vo.
17. The Powys-Land Club (*Hon. Secretary*, M. C. JONES, Esq., F.S.A., Gungrog, Welshpool):
Montgomeryshire Collections, Vol. XV, nos. 2, 3 and Vol. XVI, part I.

18. The Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Association
(*Hon. Secretary*, ARTHUR COX, Esq., Mill Hill, Derby):
Journal of the Society, Vol. v.
19. The Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland (*Hon. Secretary*, Rev. F. GRAVES, A.B., Inisnag, Stonyford, co. Kilkenny):
Journal of the Association, Vol. v (Fourth Series), nos. 49, 50, 51,
52, 53. Dublin, 1882. 8vo.
20. La Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France (*Archiviste*, M. E. NICARD, Musée de Louvre, Paris):
Memoires, Tomes xli, xlii.
21. The Norwegian Archaeological Society (Antiqvar N. NICOLAISEN, *Sekretær*, Kristiania):
Nothing received this year.
22. Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale de Norvège à Christiania (*Bibliothécaire*, A. C. DROLSUM):
Nothing received this year.
23. La Commission Impériale Archéologique de la Russie (*Sécrétaire*, M. TIESCHHAUSEN, à l'Hermitage, Pétersbourg):
Nothing received this year.
24. Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρία (Mr ET. A. COUMANOUDIS, *γραμματεὺς*, Athens):
Nothing received this year.
25. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (F. W. PUTNAM, Esq., *Curator*):
Fifteenth Annual Report of the Trustees.
26. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A. (Spencer F. BAIRD, Esq., *Secretary*):
Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1880.
List of the Foreign Correspondents of the Smithsonian Institute to January, 1882.
27. The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia (H. PHILLIPS, Jun., Esq., Ph.D., *Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer*, 304 South Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.):
Report of the Proceedings of the Society for 1882. 8vo.
Proceedings of the Society on its twenty-fifth anniversary, Jan. 4, 1883.

28. The Archaeological Institute of America (*Secretary*, E. H. GREENLEAF, Esq., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.):
First Annual Report of the Executive Committee, 1879-80.
Bulletin, no. 1, January, 1883.
29. The Bureau of Ethnology, Washington (W. J. HOFFMANN, Esq., M.D., *Secretary*):
Annual Report for 1879-80. Royal 8vo.
30. The Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences (W. H. PRATT, Esq., *Corresponding Secretary and Curator*):
Proceedings, Vol. III, part ii.
31. La Société Jersiaise (*Secretary*, M. EUGÈNE DUPREY, Queen Street, St. Helier, Jersey).

V. LAWS.

(Revised Feb. 28, 1881.)

I. THIS Society shall be called THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

II. The object of the Society shall be to encourage the study of History, Architecture and Antiquities, to meet for the discussion of these subjects, and to collect and print information relative thereto.

III. The subscription of each member of the Society shall be *One Guinea* annually, such subscription to be due on the first day of January in each year; on the payment of which sum he shall become entitled to all the publications of the Society during the current year.

IV. A member shall be allowed to compound for his future annual subscriptions by one payment of *Ten Guineas*; or, after the payment of fifteen annual subscriptions, by the payment of five guineas.

V. If the annual subscription of any member be twelve months in arrear, the Treasurer shall make application for it, and if it be not paid within one month, a second application shall be made for it, and if that is not attended to within one month, a notice of the same shall be suspended in the Society's usual place of meeting, and the Secretary shall inform the member thereof: if the said subscription be still unpaid at the expiration of two years from the time when it became due, the name of such person shall be announced at the next Annual General Meeting as having been struck off the list of the Society.

VI. No Member whose subscription is in arrear, and has been applied for (according to Law V), shall be entitled to vote at any meeting of the Society.

VII. Any person who is desirous of becoming a member of the Society shall be proposed by two members at any of the ordinary meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting: but all Noblemen, Bishops, Heads of Colleges, and Professors of this University shall be balloted for at the meeting at which they are proposed.

VIII. Honorary Members may be proposed with the sanction of the Council by at least two members of the Society at any of the usual meetings of the Society, and balloted for at the next meeting. No person shall be so proposed who is either resident within the county of Cambridge or a member of the University. Honorary Members shall receive all the current publications of the Society.

IX. In the voting by ballot for the election of members and honorary members one black ball in four shall exclude.

X. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a President (who shall not be eligible for that office for more than two successive years), three Vice-Presidents (of whom the senior shall retire at each Annual Meeting and be ineligible for re-election during the next two years), a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not more than twelve nor less than seven other Members, to be elected from amongst the Members of the Society who are graduates of the University. Each member of the Council shall have due notice of the meetings of that body, at which not less than five shall constitute a quorum.

XI. The President, one Vice-President, the Treasurer, and the Secretary, and at least three ordinary members of the Council, shall be elected annually by ballot, at a General Meeting to be held in the month of May; the three senior ordinary members of the Council to retire annually.

XII. At the Meetings of the Society or of the Council the Chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, by the senior Vice-President, the Treasurer, or senior ordinary member of the Council then present. The Chairman shall have a casting vote in case of an equality of numbers, retaining also his own right to vote upon all questions submitted to the meeting.

XIII. The accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by two Auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting; an abstract of such accounts shall be printed for the use of the members.

XIV. The Meetings of the Society shall take place once at least during each term: the place of meeting and all other arrangements, not specified in the Laws, shall be left to the discretion of the Council.

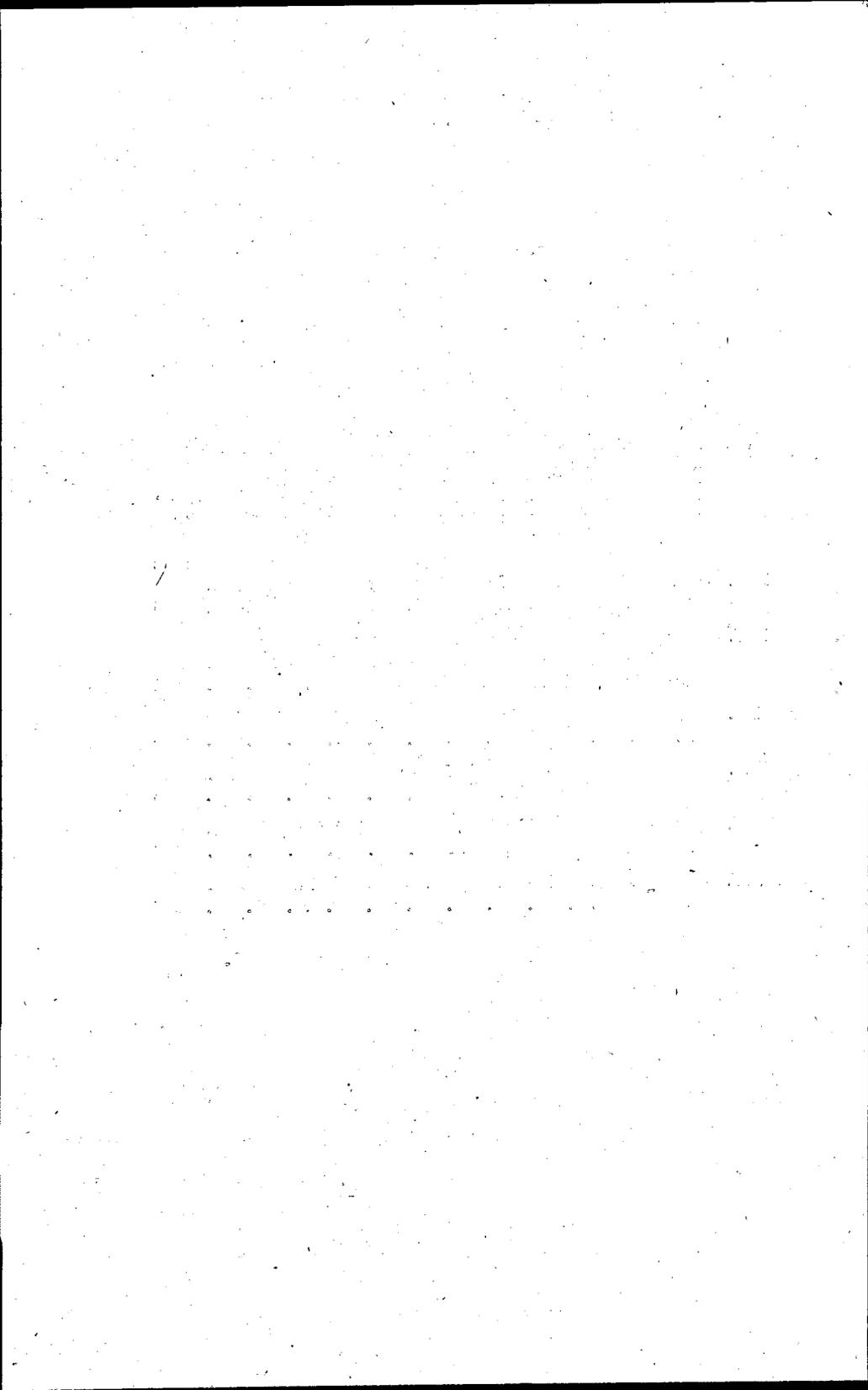
XV. No alteration shall be made in these Laws, except at the Annual General Meeting or at a special General Meeting called for that purpose, of which at least one week's notice shall be sent to all the members at their last known place of abode: and one month's notice of any proposed alteration shall be communicated, in writing, to the Secretary, in order that he may make the same known to all the members of the Society.

It is requested that all Communications intended for the Society, and the names of Candidates for admission, be forwarded to the Secretary, or to the Treasurer, 1 Silver Street, Cambridge.

Subscriptions received by the Treasurer, or by his Bankers, Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge; or at the Bank of Messrs Smith, Payne, and Smith, London, "To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's account with Messrs Mortlock and Co., Cambridge."

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XIII. ON SOME ETRUSCAN MIRRORS WITH ENGRAVED
REVERSES. Communicated by C. W. KING, M.A.,
Trinity College.

[Nov. 6, 1882.]

THE metallic hand-mirrors of the Etruscans, that are ornamented with designs in shallow outline (*graffiti*), cut with the graver upon their backs, are the peculiar manufacture of that, in all other branches of art, nation of copyists. The idea was evidently suggested by the large flat bowls decorated on the inside with an endless variety of mystic figures, executed by the same process, which the Phoenicians made and carried by camel-loads to the farthest regions of the East, whole *nests* of them being discovered in the buried palaces of Assyria, giving us to understand the nature of "the two bowls of *fine copper* more precious than gold" enumerated amongst the gifts of Artaxerxes to the Second Temple. The serious and gloomy temper of the Phoenician race strongly manifests itself in the decoration of these instruments of festivity; nothing appears in them except figures of deities, the animals that were their types, or else battle-pieces commemorating some great leader and his protecting god.

But when those noted metallurgists of antiquity, the Etruscans, happily applied the same kind of embellishment to what, in all stages of civilisation, has been a necessary of life to the better half of the human race, they widened the range of subjects by admitting others more congenial with the destination of their ware. The cheerful mythology of the Greeks, learnt by the Tyrrhene artist from the vase-paintings imported from Corinth and Athens, enlivens the reverse of the mirrors of the better sort with the legends of Aphrodite and Dionysos; or, if more serious, with scenes drawn from the Epic Cycle; or, to come more to the point, with the fair owner of the mirror contemplating her charms in what, at the time, must have been a gift of price. These engravings, though without finish, and evidently dashed off with the greatest expedition, frequently display the touch of a master-hand in the freedom of the drawing, and the expressiveness with which they tell their story. But their chief value to *us* lies in the circumstance that the engraver, for the benefit of his semi-civilized but knowledge-craving customers, has, in many cases, added the *names* of the actors in his own language, and thereby handed down to us the most trustworthy of all the few clues that remain for the solution of that, as yet, desperate problem.

It is difficult to imagine why those most unreasoning of all creatures, the Italian antiquaries, gave for so long a time the name of *patera* to these relics, whereas that of '*padelle*' (in their own language) was so much better suited to their outward form. No liquid for libation could have been contained on their plane surface, except by a perpetual miracle vouchsafed by the gods whose images they bore, whereas the slight rim surrounding their reverse, and the long tail projecting from their circumference, give them to the vulgar eye only too much the look of a frying-pan.

This style of mirror-decoration is peculiar to the Etruscans: I have met with no example of the sort that can be attributed



to any other school of art except one discovered at Salamis, which represents similarly in outline, but very stiffly drawn, the elevation of the temple of Paphos, and which is of a semi-Phoenician character¹, rather than Greek. Indeed it would be rash to regard the place where it was found as affording any argument for its having been made in Greece; for Critias², the disciple of Socrates, praises the Etruscans as pre-eminent for their goldsmiths' work and the making of all metallic articles for domestic use, and Pliny notices the 'Tyrrhena sigilla,' as diffused through every region of the world. In fact this method of adding elegance to the dressing-table seems to have been repugnant to Greek taste: at all events it is never found employed on mirrors of genuine Hellenic manufacture.

Their artists, on the contrary, expended all their skill upon the *mirror-cases*, flat circular boxes of silver or bronze, used for containing reflecting disks, unprovided with handles. The *τορευτική*, that is, repoussé-work in high relief (the invention of Phidias himself), may be found carried to its greatest excellence in some of these mirror-cases. Two incomparable examples of the style are the one in silver with a Bacchic group, at Florence, and the bronze in the collection of the British Museum, with the bust of Nereus and two sea-nymphs reclining on his bosom. A third, equally elaborate in design (Pl. I.), was obtained by Mr Lewis from the Charvet Collection. A Bacchus, evidently returning from the feast, hardly able to carry the thyrsus poised upon his shoulder, is supported by a well-grown Cupid (no longer the infant god): whilst a fully draped Muse walks before, playing upon the *cithara*, the peculiar attribute of *Erato*. Nothing can be better than the compact grouping of these figures, which are in half relief; but they retain something of the squatness of the archaic style.

¹ Figured and described in A. P. di Cesnola's *Salamina*, page 59.

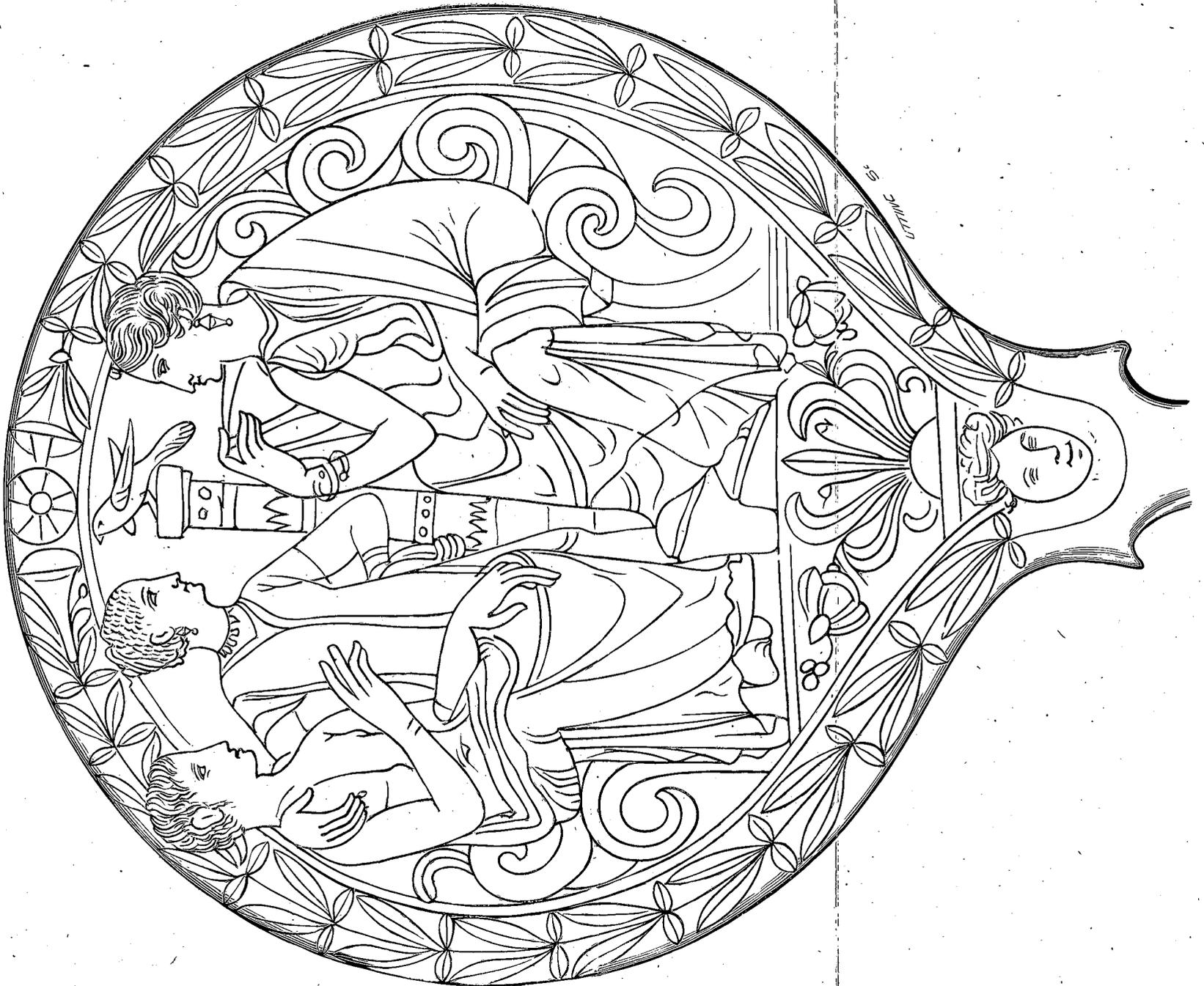
² Quoted by Athenæus, i. 50.

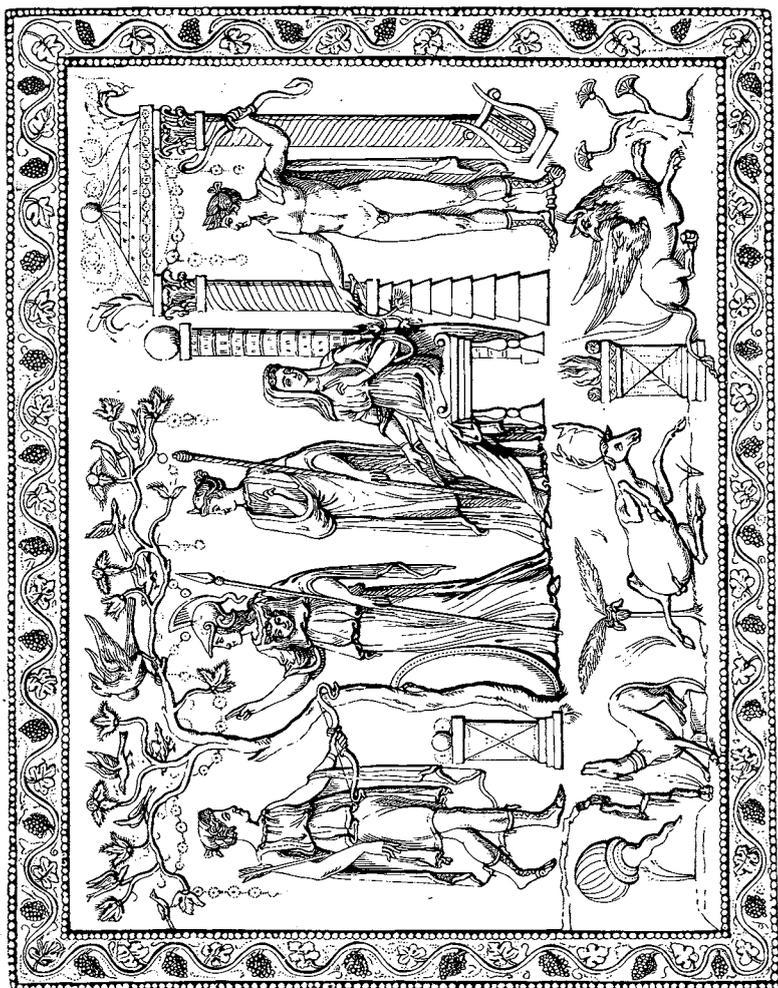
This case, or properly speaking, *cover*, for the article had no underpart, being merely designed to protect a polished surface from injury, still contains its original *speculum*, irrevocably cemented to it by rust. A lively imagination may picture yet stamped upon the mirror the *spectrum* of the face last caught by it as the cover was pressed down over it for the last time, and for ever!

Another Grecian expedient for adding elegance to the simple article of the '*mundus muliebris*' was to support it by the Goddess of Love in person, by forming its handle into a graceful statuette of Aphrodite. There was lately in the possession of M. Feuarent a matchless specimen of such adaptation, in which twin Loves, supported upon the shoulders of their mother ('*Alma Mater Cupidinum*'), bear up between them the reflecting orb, in the same manner as our heraldic supporters do the shield. Sometimes, again, the handle is moulded into the form of a nude *ephebus*, shewing that its use was to throw back to its own gaze the youthful beauty of the male sex, to which the impartial taste of the ancients tendered equal homage with the other.

These preliminary remarks will, perhaps, be not unwelcome to persons hitherto unfamiliar with this branch of archaeology, before we proceed to the examination of the pieces that form the proper subject of this memoir. Like many others which have afforded me such pleasant and suggestive themes for elucidation, they are now added to the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis.

One of these mirrors (Pl. II.) presents us with a scene which at first sight suggests nothing more than the homely idea of an affectionate family party. We see a well-dressed lady 'of a certain age,' seated *vis à vis* to her son and daughter; the one seated, the other standing with her hand fondly laid upon her brother's shoulder: a wreath of bay-leaves makes a frame to the picture. But, on closer examination of the accessories to the *tableau*,





SILVER LANK FOUND AT CORBRIDGE IN NORTHUMBERLAND.

(From the *Archæological Journal*.)

we discover, in the centre, a *Doric column* supporting a *Raven*, Horace's 'Oscinem corvum' the established pictorial type of the Delphic Oracle—which together with the wreath from Apollo's own tree and the Artemisian arrangement of the maiden's hair, places it out of doubt that we have before us the Twin-deities resting at the place specially appropriated to the brother, and engaged in deep converse with Mother Earth, or else Themis, each of them the primaeval keepers of the oracular cavern. The Gorgon's head below, which at first sight appears inconsistent with the general character of these decorations, will be found on a deeper examination to give the strongest support to this theory; for Ion describes the omphalos as

στέμμασι γ' ἐνδύτων, ἀμφὶ δὲ Γοργόνες¹.

The wheel-like object, opposite to this in the leafy border, is the regular symbol of the sun-god, and completes the evidence required for the identification of the subject of the picture.

The scene is, in fact, an abridgement of the one fully carried out upon the celebrated Corbridge Lanx (Pl. III.); and it is highly interesting to compare this example of the manner of treating such subjects, as practised by the race from whom Rome derived the first principles of every art, with that exemplified by the magnificent *anaglyptum*² belonging to the period of her culminating glory. The Etruscan sketch has a pleasing simplicity about it, and the well-balanced composition

¹ Euripides *Ion* v. 224.

² An oblong silver dish, 20 × 15 in. and weighing 159 ounces. It bears in low relief Apollo standing under a tabernacle, addressing Themis seated, by whose side stands the Sibyl; then comes Minerva addressing Diana, who appears approaching. The central column supports a globe, but the raven is perched upon the wide-spreading *aesculus*, which preceded the bay-tree, as Ævid tells,

"aesculiae capiebant frondis honorem;
nondum laurus erat." (*Metamorph.* lib. I. v. 449.)

of the group, with the judicious touch of the graver producing so much effect with such small expenditure of labour, evinces the taste of a true artist and the dexterity of a practised hand.

The picture just discussed needed no Oedipus to divine its meaning¹; far different, however, is the question with the second mirror (Pl. IV.), now about to be described. The engraving represents, in an inferior style to the preceding, a youth, nude except for a scanty *chlamys* floating from his shoulders, mounted on a tall horse slowly cantering towards the spectator's left, but without any distinctive attribute to indicate whether of divine or mortal nature. The border is the wave-pattern, which so frequently (as on the coins of Tarentum and elsewhere) accompanies marine subjects, and the addition of the dolphin in the rider's rear proves that in this place it is no mere ornamental appendage. Subject and drawing coincide so closely with some lately found on Cyrenaic pottery², that all might well be supposed to come from the same period of art, if not from the same school. His work done, the artist was sensible that so indefinite a picture required further explanation, and as it could not tell its own tale, he has, with kindly intention, added an inscription; but has, unfortunately, so worded it as to make confusion worse confounded. He has written in the field, in front of the rider, EPKLE IIANSTE (retrograde) for which the greatest authorities upon that unknown language have proposed solutions, utterly at variance with each other, and equally refuting themselves by their divergence from all of the kind yet observed and by their inapplica-

¹ Since writing the above, I find that Gerhard has published what appears to be the same subject (*Etruskische Spiegel*, pl. cccclxxx. i.), but explains it as 'Paris and Helen'—an interpretation that, to the ordinary mind at least, seems the widest possible from the mark, being supported by no one detail in the picture, except the presence of a male and a female actor.

² Figured in the *Archaeologische Zeitung* for 1881, pl. 13.



bility to both subject and object—it would therefore be equally useless and invidious to quote them. The rational method of proceeding in such a matter, is first to examine the nature of other explanatory legends found in similar positions on Etruscan works of every kind, and from the result of such examination to lay down principles to guide us in the present difficulty. Now, it will be found to be the invariable rule, that the inscriptions simply give the *name* of the person or object to which they are attached; such a thing as the “artist’s signature” (an explanation that has been hazarded in the case before us) is altogether without precedent. The deities are designated by the names of corresponding powers in the national mythology; Zeus, Hera, Hephaestos, Hermes, Aphrodite, Dionysos, Leto, &c., being translated as Tinia, Thalna, Sethlans, Mercur, Turan, Pupuns, &c., whilst the names of men are transliterated in so barbarous a fashion, docked and cropped, as ‘Odysseus’ into ‘Ulxe,’ ‘Polydeukes’ into ‘Polluke’¹, ‘Tydeus’ into ‘Tute,’ &c., as to prove that the nature of the Tyrrhene speech sprang from totally different principles from the Hellenic; making the words suffer the same metamorphoses as afterwards in their transition from Latin into Celtic. Hence we are led to surmise that the two words on our mirror are the names of the man and of the horse; and one of them is just the form which might be expected in Etruscan to represent the Greek Herakles.

Although the demi-god does not appear as an equestrian in any piece of antique sculpture that has come down to our times, nevertheless it is certain that he must have figured in that character in some primeval legend. Sufficient proof is the wild story, related by Herodotus², of the stealing of his horse, as he was traversing the Scythian desert, by the woman-serpent, Echidna (the true ‘Seraph-Nachash’ of the Rabbins).

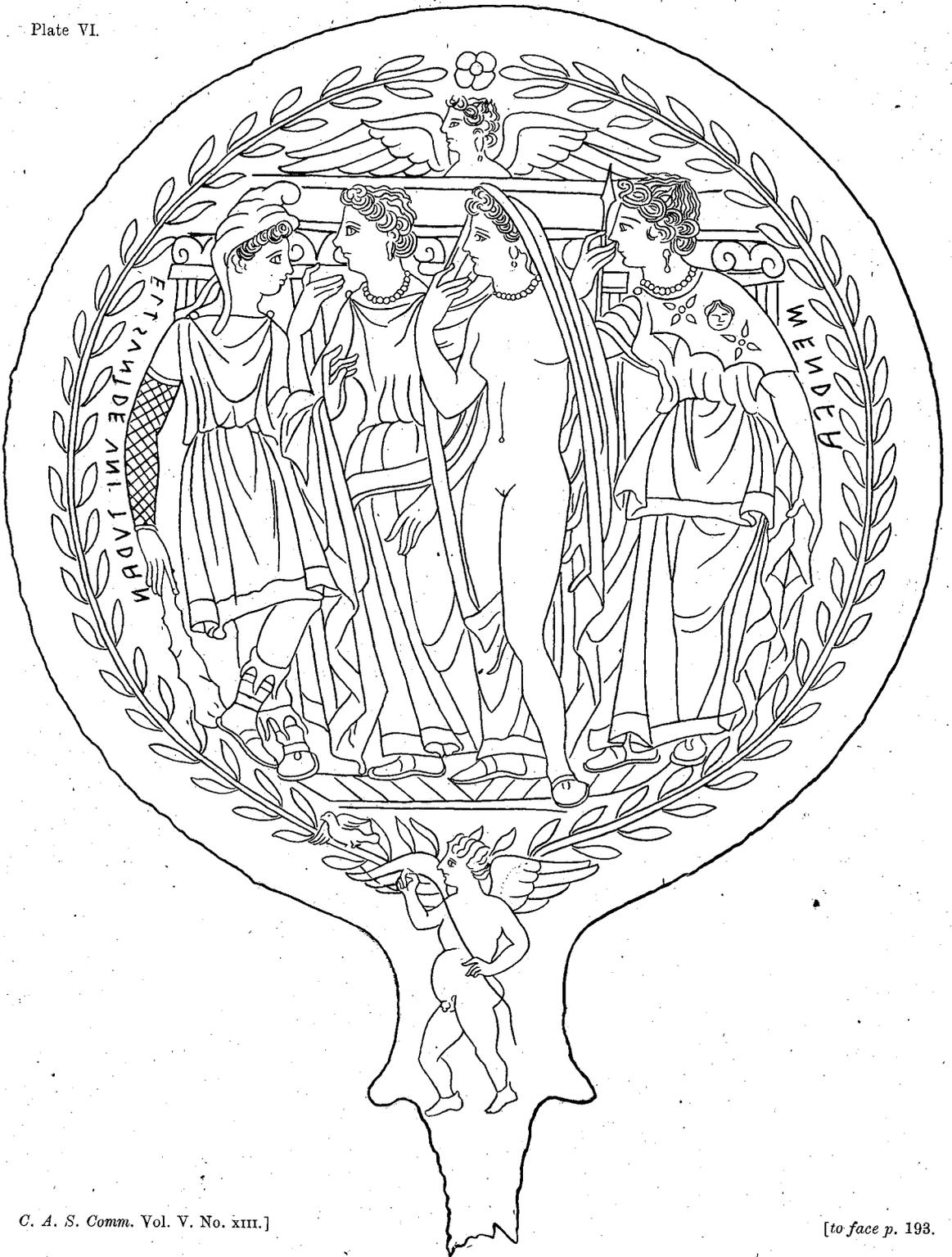
¹ The originals of their Latin forms, so strangely differing from the Greek.

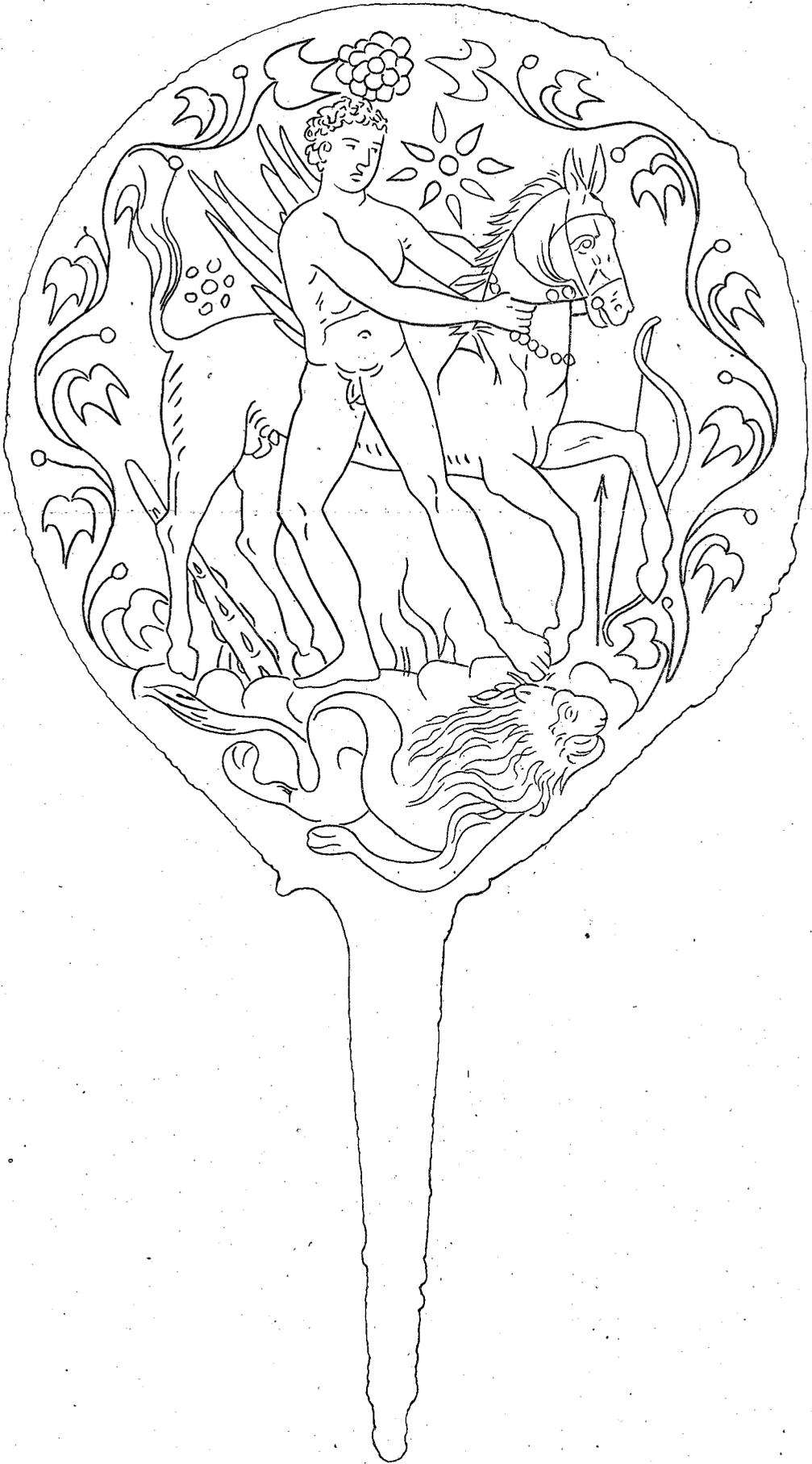
² lib. iii. cap. 108.

In the first draught of this essay¹ I had proposed an explanation of the mysterious ΠΑΝΣΤΕ, which though by no means satisfactory, seemed the most plausible solution of the problem; but which a fortunate discovery in the meantime has now enabled me to correct. At the recent sale of the Castellani Collection, Mr Lewis obtained a mirror (Pl. V.), which, though un-inscribed, evidently represents a previous scene in the same legend; and may even have come from the same hand, so great is the similarity of workmanship. In this *graffito*, Hercules under the same extremely juvenile form, but recognisable by his club bow and lion's-hide which he has cast on the ground in the violence of his motions, is pulling down an unmistakeable *winged Pegasus*, ornamented, like the steed in the former tableau, with an open-linked chain passed round the neck. In the two pictures, therefore, the *actor* is the same—in the first, he is identified by the inscription; in the second, by the attributes: whence we have good reason to conclude that it is the same horse that appears in both the representations, and that *Panste* is but the strangely rendered Etruscan form of *Pegasus*. Many Etruscan sculptures were evidently inspired by legends (perhaps learned from the Dorians) now entirely lost: of course the feats of Hercules were multiplied and diversified without end by the story-tellers; and it is very conceivable that the exploits of Bellerophon were often transferred to the more celebrated demigod. One such *variant* may have been how that Hercules caught the Gorgonian horse, and as the most effectual method of breaking him in at once divested him of his wings, and used such a conveyance across the interminable plains of Scythia.

Another mirror (Pl. VI.), also from the Castellani Collection, is remarkable for the pictorial treatment of the group engraved upon it, and equally so for the curiosity of the details. It is the often-repeated subject of the Judgment of Paris. The

¹ The reference in *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 40, p. 36, *note* is to a proof copy of this preliminary draught.





three competing goddesses are seen advancing towards the Idaean shepherd, making each of them the same gesture of salutation: he lifts his left hand, as if surprised at the unexpected visit, leaning with his right upon the pastoral ragged staff. Two are fully and elegantly draped; but the artist has thrown all his power into the nude figure of Venus, and has produced an outline of perfect beauty of form, as also in the half-figure of Love, which soars above his mother's head, as though lending force to her persuasions. He has also faithfully rendered the ornaments of an Etruscan *belle* of his own day—the large vase-shaped pendants in the ears; the necklace of big spherical gold beads; but, by an unusual omission no bangles on the arms; and the *sandals*, instead of the long-toed Etruscan shoe. A remarkable peculiarity in this point is the tight-fitting gauntlet of network which entirely covers the arms of the shepherd; and which doubtless represents a kind of rustic armour worn by the shepherds and hunters of Etruria. A ludicrous little pot-bellied Cupid is placed in the exergue, and a dove completes the artistic part of the design.

Much additional value is given to this relic by the clearly-cut inscriptions, which according to custom declare the names of the actors in the scene. Two of the goddesses retain their regular designation of MEURFA, and TURAN; but the third, instead of THALNA as usual, is here named UNI, which is altogether new to me in an Etruscan monument, although it is preserved in its Roman derivative *Iuno*. But it is in the transliteration of the Greek ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ that the ineffectual struggles of an Oriental pronunciation are most curiously manifested. The Tyrrhene has rendered the Ξ by that "broad-arrow" character of his own alphabet which represents the Greek x, followed by an S (just as the Roman x takes an s after it in some legends of consular date): the termination of the word he represents by TRE; which shows us how the Romans, who obtained their first knowledge of Grecian poetical

names from the works of Etruscan artists, came to change the termination *dros* into *der*.

The design is framed within a wreath, not of the so frequent ivy, but of *myrtle*, in evident connection with the deity whose triumph it commemorates.

The more than ordinary task and labour expended upon the work sufficiently declares that this mirror was an *objet de luxe*; perhaps a wedding present from some wealthy *Lucumo* to his bride, in the days when Veii was as yet the formidable rival of Rome:

“vincere cum Veios posse laboris erat.”

Not the slightest hint as to the manufacture of these very interesting works of art is to be found in ancient writers, except it be in the casual notice of Pliny¹ that “mirrors were *formerly* made at Brundisium until those of silver, first made in Pompey’s time, came into common use even with the servant-wenches.” The singular term ‘*temperabantur*’ probably hints at some trade-secret in the management of the alloy; for otherwise why should that remote town have had the monopoly of an article in such general demand, which could equally well have been made on the other side of Italy, in the furnaces of the copper mines on the Tuscan coast. Or one may suspect from Pliny’s transition from the *bronze* to the *silver* that he is referring only to the superior class of the article in question, for it is hardly probable that the whole of Italy was dependent for its supply of this toilette-necessary upon a single place².

The analysis of these mirrors gives copper, tin, and a large

¹ Optima apud maiores fuerant Brundisina, stanno et aere mixtis: praelata sunt argentea. primus fecit Pasiteles Magni Pompei aetate. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 9, § 45.

Specula etiam ex eo (*stanno*) laudatissima, ut diximus, Brundisi temperabantur, donec argenteis uti coepere et ancillae. *Ibid.* xxxiv. 17, § 48.

² Tarentum, however, was famous for the number and merit of the bronze statues that filled its *agora* and temples; hence the joke of Fabius, to evade their spoliation, ‘Let us leave the Tarentines their angry gods.’

proportion of antimony—the last ingredient rendering the alloy very hard and brittle, and therefore susceptible of a higher polish. The modern “speculum-metal” employed for the mirrors in reflecting telescopes is made of copper, tin, and one per cent. of arsenic. Baron Pichon, with his usual kindly readiness to impart information upon questions of archaeology that interest us both, has sent me a recipe *Pour faire miroirs de fonte* extracted from a MS. of the 15th century written for Margu rite de Cl ves, third wife of Charles d’Orl ans. You are told to take 8 pounds of bell-metal (*arain*, for *leton*, i.e. *laiton*, latine or brass will not answer); add to this when in fusion 2 pounds of fine Cornish tin; remove the dross by burning on the surface a handful of linen-rag and skimming it carefully; then rub down the plate with emery-powder upon a table of lead, and give the final polish with fine *poudre d’estain* upon chamois leather in order to remove all scratches.

Pliny mentions the making of *glass* mirrors at Sidon, as an invention of his own times. Although he is apparently speaking of silver mirrors, when he states that gilding them on the back improves their power of reflection, yet the remark can only be intended for those of glass. These must have gradually superseded the ancient metal *specula*, for Dante, writing A.D. 1300, uses *vetro impiombato*, ‘leaded,’ or as we improperly say, ‘silvered’ glass¹, as a synonym for ‘mirror’. Still the 15th century

¹ E quei: S’io fossi d’ *impiombato vetro*
L’image di fuor tua non trarrei
Piu tosto me che quella dentro impetro.

Inferno, c. 23, v. 25.

Dante refers to the glass mirrors in two other places:

Così, come color torna per vetro
Lo qual dietro a s  piombo nasconde.

Paradiso, c. 2, v. 89.

E s  rivolge, per veder se ’l vetro
Gli dice ’l vero, e vede ch’ el s’ accorda
Con esso, come nota con suo metro.

Paradiso, c. 28, v. 8.

recipe quoted above makes it appear that mirrors of the antique composition continued to be made down to a much later period than is commonly supposed. Steel highly polished seems also to have been employed for the purpose far down in modern times. No specimen can be quoted so conspicuous for historic interest and artistic also as the one made for the celebrated Isotta da Rimini (1440-50), preserved in the Soulages¹ collection. The metallic plate, 10 × 8 in. in measurement, is inclosed in a massy frame of walnut wood, exquisitely carved with heraldic bearings and other devices, amongst which the Malatesta elephant stands conspicuously forth. But more suggestive of the strangest and most opposite reminiscences of love, hatred, pleasure and death is the circular mirror in the same collection, ascribed to Lucrezia Borgia, on the authority of the flaming grenade, her well-known device, to be seen on the frame. In the wonderful arabesque covering the wood, all kinds of animals creep in and out amongst the foliage, in which also lurks the grisly skeleton, almost indispensable to Gothic art. On the back of the mirror appear the Virgin and Child, converting the whole, at pleasure, into an instrument of devotion.

The Byzantine poet, Symposius, has a riddle which runs as follows:

‘Nulla mihi certa est, nulla est peregrina figura;
Fulgor adest intus, radiata luce coruscans;
Qui nihil ostendit nisi quod se viderit ante?’

Here the expression ‘fulgor’ seems more applicable to a reflector in metal than in glass.

Truly there is nothing new under the sun: for Statius sings of an anticipated Daguerreotype, when he describes in high-flown strains how Earinus, Domitian’s favourite eunuch, despatches his votive curls inclosed in a jewelled casket, to his

¹ Now in the South Kensington Museum.

² *Poetae Latini*, ed. Maittaire, vol. II. page [1611], *Aenigm.* LXIX.

national deity at Pergamüs, who had at first qualified him for so enviable a position by means of a painless operation. At the command of Venus, Cupids act as the tonsors, using their arrows in lieu of scissors, and as they are shutting up the box, one of them lays hold upon the second Ganymede's mirror, with his last look imprinted therein :

“Tum puer e turba, manibus qui forte supinis
 Nobile gemmato speculum portaverat auro,
 ‘Hoc quoque demus, ait, patriis non gratius ullum
 Munus erit templis ipsoque potentius auro;
 Tu modo fige aciem, et vultus hos usque relinque.’
 Sic ait, et speculum recludit *imagine rapta*¹.”

This pleasing picture has, however, an ugly reverse, and his rival Martial tells how the same article might become a fatal weapon in the hands of an irascible beauty :

‘Unus de toto peccaverat orbe comarum
 Annulus, incerta non bene fixus acu.
 Hoc facinus Lalage speculo quo viderat ulta est,
 Et cecidit sectis icta Plecusa comis.
 Desine iam Lalage tristes ornare capillos,
 Tangat et insanum nulla puella caput :
 Hoc salamandra notet, vel saeva novacula nudet,
 Ut digna speculo fiat imago tuo².’

Although mirrors of metal turn up abundantly in Italian soil, and in fact appear for many centuries to have accompanied their mistress to the tomb as a distinction of sex, just as the housewife's badge, the thimble, did throughout the Middle Ages³, yet we very rarely hear of such a discovery being made in a Roman-British interment. Even if we suppose that the high value of the implement (necessarily of foreign importation) caused it to be retained for use in the *present* world, yet speci-

¹ Statius, *Silv.* III. 4. 95.

² Martial, *Epigr.* II. 66.

³ They are plentifully found in disturbing the earth of old churchyards, and are short and open at the top, like those still used by tailors. Similarly a miniature chalice and paten of pewter distinguish the last resting-place of the mass-priest.

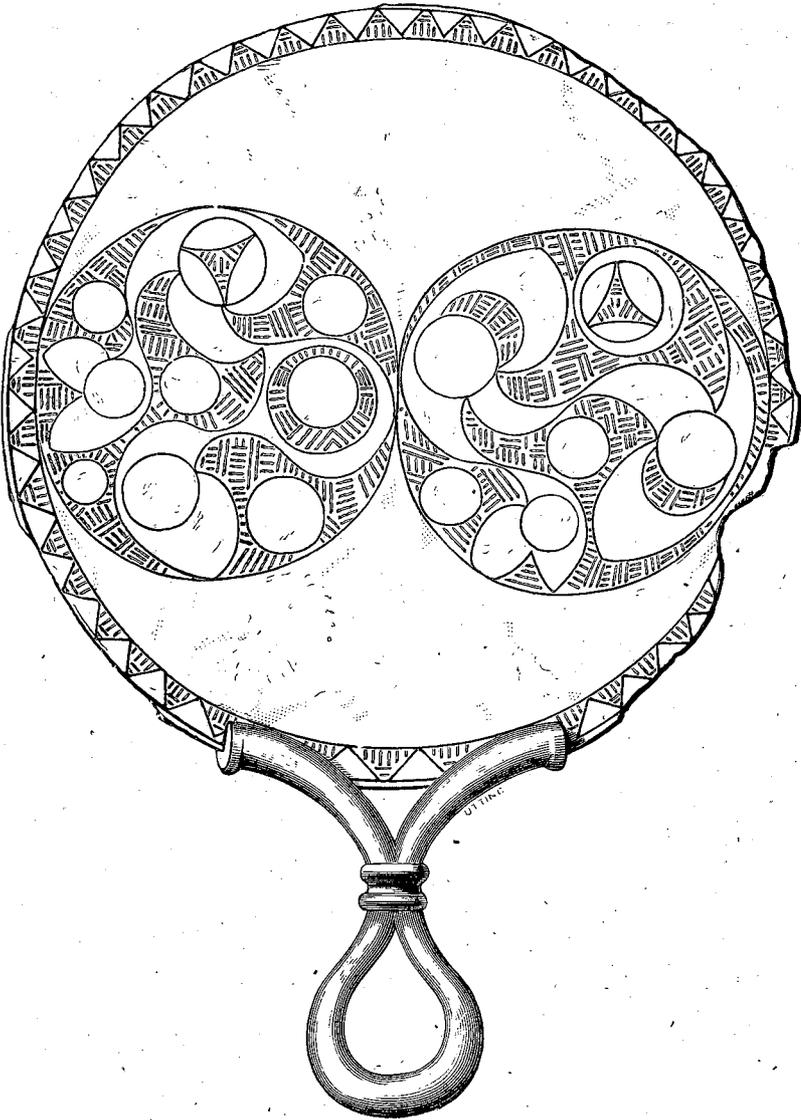
mens, accidentally lost, would certainly have come to light amongst the other relics of Roman habitation, had these articles been in general use amongst the provincials¹. We must therefore suppose that our insular fair ones were forced, like the shepherd in Virgil, to content themselves with the present Irishman's shaving glass—a tub of clear water—whenever they wished to arrange their 'cerulean tresses,' as Propertius² strangely calls them.

I have been able to find one record of the exhumation of a regular mirror, which is of the highest interest both in itself and in the concomitant circumstances of its discovery. It is of genuine Celtic manufacture, for the back is adorned with two combinations of those weird involved circles, that are the distinguishing characteristic of Irish ancient metal-work (Pl. VII.). It was found in 1833 at Trelan Bahow, Cornwall, in a prehistoric cemetery on the slope of a hill in the district of St Keverne's, in company with bronze rings plated with gold, bronze pins and bracelets, but also (a most remarkable fact) with *stone implements*. These circumstances render it possible that the mirror was the importation of some Gallic or Phœnician trader, and the peculiar decoration merely the addition of the purchaser to adapt the object to the national taste.

But mirrors were put to a higher use by the ancients than that of affording agreeable reflections to the feminine mind;

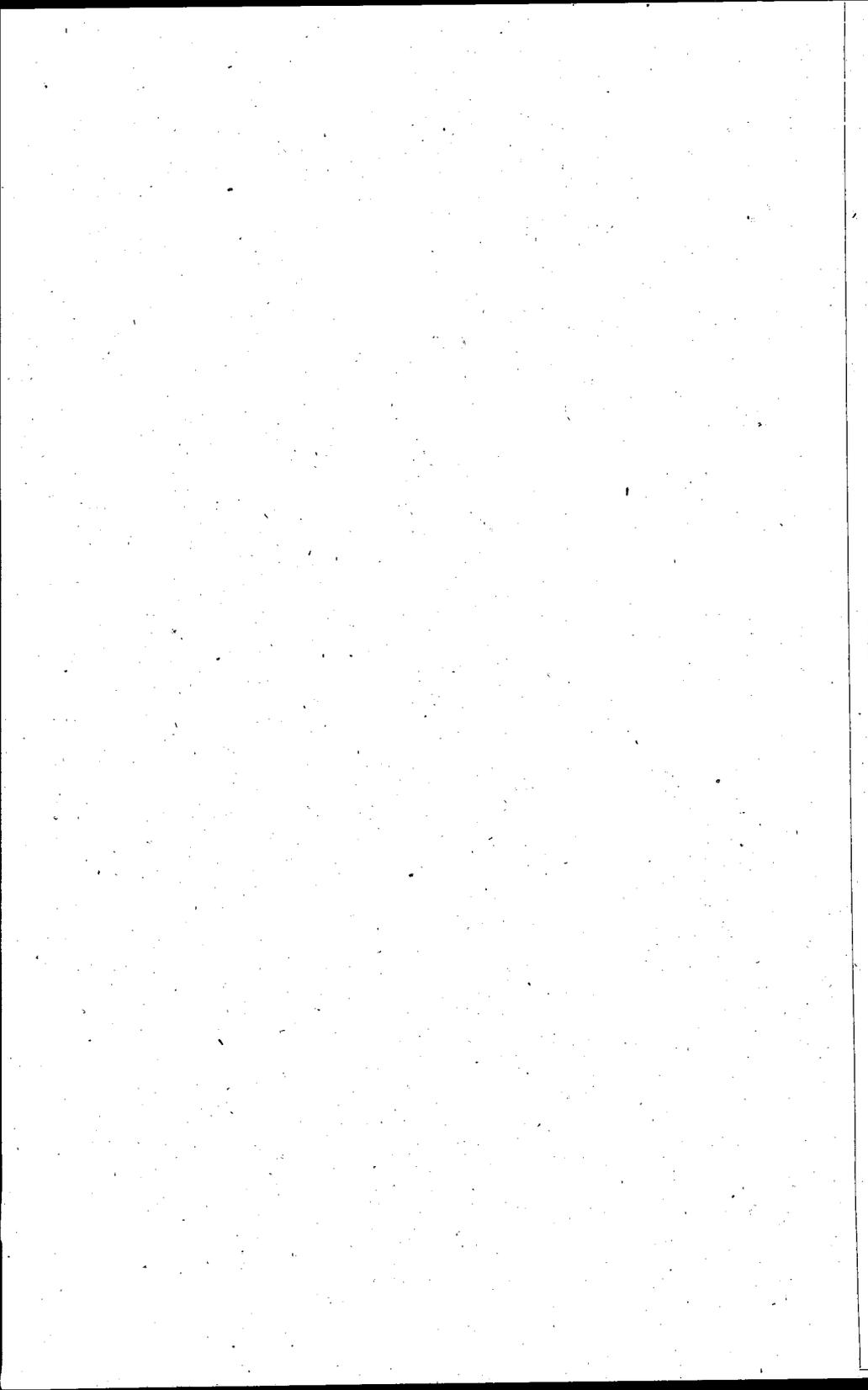
¹ A remarkable specimen was lately brought to light in company with other relics of the Roman period, and is now preserved in the museum, at Cologne. It is a bronze mirror-case, 3 inches in diameter, having in the centre a very fine impression of a first brass coin of Nero struck without reverse from a die, and surrounded by three sunken mouldings forming a frame for the relief, in the way that the medallions are occasionally seen completed. This fact proves that plaques, thus stamped, were produced at the imperial mint for the purpose of ornamentation only. Similarly *solidi* of the family of Constantine are extant, struck on the obverse alone, evidently for jewellery. This mirror-case is accurately figured in the Journal of the Rheinland Antiquarian Society, Vol. LXXI, Pl. 11.

² Cf. *Eleg.* III. ix. 31.



MIRROR FOUND AT TRELAN BAHOU, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Scale $\frac{2}{3}$.

(From the *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. xxx. page 267.)



they were made the means of prying into the future. Spartian¹ relates how the unlucky Didius Julianus, terrified at the rise of three powerful competitors at once for his dearly bought throne, after exhausting all the resources of authorised religion had recourse in his last distress to unhallowed expedients, and amongst others to that in which, "a boy, with eyes blindfolded, is "made to look into a *mirror*, in which, as it is reported, the boy "beheld the approach of Severus, and the downfall of Julian." The same instrument, so convenient for all the inventions of jugglery, continued the favourite resource of magicians until their trade came to an end. To say nothing of Cornelius Agrippa and his wondrous looking-glass, we may still view with awe in the Londesborough collection the actual 'shew-stone' into which the Cromwellian conjuror, Kelly, "did call his spirits"; or as Hudibras expresses it:

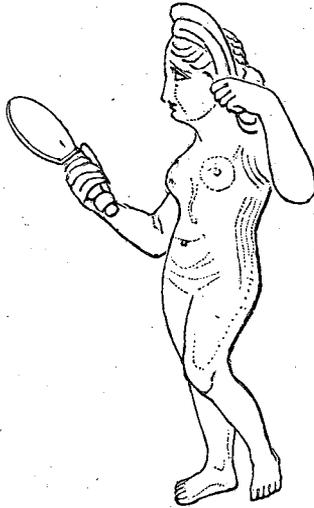
"Kelly did all his tricks upon
The Devil's looking-glass—a stone;
Where, playing with him at bo-peep,
He solved all problems, ne'er so deep"

It is in reality one of those mirrors that the old Mexicans cut so ingeniously out of that obdurate material, obsidian; of an oval shape, with a high raised margin to protect the polished surface. It is difficult to imagine how the copper-coloured beauties of Montezuma's court contrived to 'see themselves as others see them' in so dusky a medium; Pliny remarks of the obsidian, that it was much in request for panelling walls, but that it reflected *shadows* and not *images*.

The mention of enchanted mirrors brings us down to a variety of the species, still commonly to be met with, although here all the *magic* lies in a curious artifice of the metal-worker. These are the Chinese mirrors of some mixed metal, having the reverses decorated with inscriptions, flowers, and

¹ *Didius Julianus*, cap. vii.

birds in low relief, whose exact images appear in the reflection cast by the mirror under a strong light. These remarkable effects greatly puzzle ordinary spectators; but the most probable explanation is a very simple one—that the effect is produced by long hammering of the relievo figures, which either condenses the corresponding portions of the entire plate, thereby causing the surface to reflect the rays of light differently from the densified parts, or else that the surface is slightly elevated in such places, not sufficiently indeed to be perceptible to the touch, but sufficiently so as to produce a slight variation of light and shade.



APHRODITE HOLDING A MIRROR.

Egyptian Bronze from Thebes, figured to the size of the original (in the collection of Mr Lewis).

XIV. NOTES FROM A NORFOLK SQUIRE'S NOTE-BOOK,
WITH SOME PARTICULARS OF SCHOOL AND COLLEGE
EXPENSES IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES.
Communicated by the Rev. E. K. BENNET,
D.C.L., of University College, Oxford.

[February 19, 1883.]

THE MS. from which these notes are taken is one of a large collection of family records in the muniment room of Sir Robert Jacob Buxton, Bart., M.P., of Shadwell Court, in the county of Norfolk. It is a long narrow folio of 138 pages, filled throughout with domestic memoranda in one handwriting, chiefly of money payments and receipts, extending over a period of 46 years from 1584 A.D.; and, interesting as many of these entries are, they are the more valuable in that we are able from other sources of information not only to identify the writer, but to assure ourselves of his exact place in the society of his time.

Richard Wilton, of Topcroft Hall, in the county of Norfolk, was descended from an ancient Yorkshire family, of whom a younger branch settled in Norwich about the middle of the 15th century; and, engaging there in the trade of which Norwich was then one of the great centres, became of eminence among the great merchants of that city. A stately monument

in S. Peter's Mancroft Church, bearing the arms of the Wilton and Windham families, appears by this MS. to have once covered the grave of Henry Wilton, merchant and alderman of Norwich, who died in 1507¹. His grandson Thomas, dying, with his wife and one daughter, in 1566, left two sons, Nicholas and Richard, and one daughter married to Sir John Brews of Topcroft and of Wenham in Suffolk. Thomas Wilton's estates in Topcroft, Stratton, and elsewhere, appear to have been divided between his two sons; but (by the death of the elder son unmarried in 1584), the whole came to the younger son Richard, whose note-book is now before us.

In the following year, 1585, being then twenty-three years old, he married Anne, daughter of Robert Buxton of Channonz in Tybenham—a gentleman of considerable note and wealth, and the ancestor of the present family of Channonz and Shadwell

¹ I have searched in vain for the monument here referred to. It is mentioned by Weever, but it has now disappeared. I can only transcribe from Mr Wilton's note-book the memoranda which I find there of the inscriptions upon it.

"In St Peters chancell of mancroft alias St Peters in ye mkt at Nor-wiche."

"Hic jacet Katerina quondam uxor Henrici Wilton, generosi, que obiit decimo die octobris aō dñi millimo cccc lxxvj° Cuius anime propicietur deus Amen.

"This is upon one grete stone where it seeme shee was alone buried.

"Here lieth Henrye Wiltone sometime an Aldermanne of this cittie & Mgrett my wief wech levide in this warde in felicitye and nowe lye under this marble stone in mortallitye: wherfor wee pray yō of yōr charitye that ye wool prey for hus that wee may come & lyve in ye wo'ldē celestiaall w' a paternoster and an ave. Obit Henricus xvj die Decembris aō dñi millimo ccccc vij°. Obit Margareta ij° die Novembris aō dñi M. Ye consequent Letters defased and soe uncerten.

"Wh Margrett as semes being ye laste wife doth bere Windhams cote, vidzt; azor a chevron or 3 liberds heds or. Upon ye grete stone hee doth q̄ter his cote w̄th one who doth bere Cheque or and guiles as is taken a bende argent charged w̄th powder armins. And upon ye saide grete stone as also ye former w̄h lie both here together is ye Wiltons cote veri fayre sette in skutchens of brasse."

Court¹; and by her he had four sons and six daughters, all whose births, and the deaths of such as predeceased their father, are minutely recorded in the present MS.

Mrs Wilton died in childbirth in 1607, and the circumstances of her last illness and death are set forth with pathetic care by her sorrowing husband on the first flyleaf of his note-book². For three years he seems to have lived alone with his orphan children at his house of Topcroft Hall, of which place it would seem that he had then acquired nearly the full lordship. But the marriage of his eldest surviving daughter to Mr Le Neve (possibly a brother, or at any rate a near relation of the well-known antiquary and King-at-arms) seems to have left him once more without a mistress for his house³. And in 1610

¹ Of this gentleman's death and burial there is a curious memorandum in this book. It is placed just above the entry referred to in the following note. "Robert Buxton, Esquyer, father of ye saide Anne hereunder, dyed "ye xv of November about xij a clocke in the same daye and was buried, "the same night A°. 1607. His funerall was solemnized ye 16 December "next after att Chanonze." The rapid interment within so few hours of death seems to indicate small-pox or some dangerously infectious disease as the cause of death. But the high consideration of the deceased gentleman in his neighbourhood—for so I read the entry—seems to have required that these hurried obsequies must be followed by a solemn funeral feast, which accordingly—following the tradition of the "month's mind" of pre-reformation times—took place with all due preparation at his manor of Chanonz a month after his death.

² The memorandum referred to is too long for transcription here. It begins thus: "Anne Wilton my dere and loving wiff deputed this life the "xij of September 1607 traveling upon her last sonne and delivered "thereof about ij of the clocke in the aftnoone." Her virtues and her loving care of her children, with many other happy memories of his married life, are dwelt on with tender anxiety by her bereaved husband; and he winds up thus: "So as her worthines or rather Gods graces in her are not "to be sufficiencytly recordyd in thys roome were it tenne tymes larger. "Lorde grante me ye remembrance of hir gretious mynde. R. W." Then, as an afterthought, he writes along the margin some "pretye wordes" of hope and pious comfort, which were the "laste open sayings of my sd dere "wiff."

³ The pedigree of the ancient family of Neve or Le Neve of Norfolk and Suffolk is a very extended one, and I have not been able exactly to place

his domestic cares and the loneliness of his home began to weigh too heavily upon him. He had already sent his two eldest boys, of eleven and nine years of age respectively, to school—every date and expense of their board and school progress being thenceforth carefully set down in his note-book; and his married daughter with her husband were invited to Topcroft Hall to take charge of everything in and about the house—Mr Wilton paying them certain sums, all regularly agreed upon beforehand, and recorded, as well for his own board and for the keep of his horse, as for “compensation” for any of his other children when they should be staying with him.

This arrangement, we are not surprised to learn, soon broke down. The new master of Topcroft seems to have failed lamentably at every point. The rent promised to his father-in-law for the lands he occupied, was left unpaid, and a long and doleful note in the MS. records the sums lent to “Son Neve,” the bills paid for him and never repaid, the “nete stocke” sold to him and never paid for, and in fact the general collapse of the new domestic arrangement, leaving Mr Wilton, possibly a wiser, but certainly a poorer man¹.

the son-in-law of Mr Wilton in his proper position therein. His name is sufficiently identified by this, among many other like entries of Mr Wilton in this MS. (p. 151): “Chargs & paymts for Nathā Neve that unhappye “fellowe.” (Then follow some payments for board and clothing of the wife and children). The only Nathaniel mentioned in Mr Carthew’s “Pedigree “of the Le Neves” (*Norfolk Archæology* II. 368) is a second son of Richard Le Neve of Tuddenham (ob. 1585), whose eldest son Robert, was Rector of Swanton Morley in 1592. And although Mr Carthew gives no further account of this Nathaniel or of his marriage, I incline to think, from various coincidences of dates, places, and names of the children mentioned in this MS., that he was the “unhappye fellowe” who caused poor Mr Wilton so much trouble and cost.

¹ It is not possible to give any idea of the domestic “thorn” which this marriage proved to be to Mr Wilton. A more longsuffering father-in-law never lived. From 1612 to 1629 the book before us bears—running like a black thread through all its entries—the constant lamentations which mark the stumbles and shortcomings of “Son Neve” in money matters, which

But while things seemed to go thus ill with him at home, his place in the world without was increasing in dignity. Being already (possibly by his father-in-law Buxton's influence), a Justice of the Peace for his county, he had, as already mentioned, acquired from the family of his brother-in-law, Sir John Brewse, almost the full lordship of Topcroft. And about this time he also acquired by purchase the neighbouring Manors of Beck Hall in Wilby and of Hargham Hall. No mention of these purchases is made in the book before us, but by putting scattered entries together, it seems that the annual rental of his lands (besides his lands in hand) was about £530, representing an income of our day of between £2000 and £3000 a year. We are not therefore surprised to find the lord of three manors, of such a revenue, having soon occasion to enter in his book (significantly enough next to an entry of £10 lent to his son-in-law Neve) the following curious item. "Dd to my coesen Peter Buxton 29 June 1611 a Ring wh was my wiefs marying Ringe to deliur to Mrs Scryvenere as a token upon condycon yt I pmise yt no woeman shoulde eū have it but she yt shoulde be my wief." And shortly after we find the result that Mr Wilton "pd Mr Goldman 19 November alle ye reconning I ought him ffor my mariage appell and othwise li^s, haveing pd him before of yt reconning iij^{li}, and also pd Tho Smyth all his as p bill apperith."

Of the lady thus tenderly referred to I have not as yet learned more than this book tells us. But it would appear from this authority that she brought to the good Squire of Wilby and Topcroft, not only a good addition to his revenues

his father-in-law makes good. He hires land, and does not pay the rent. He borrows money, to be paid "most certenlie" on a given day, and when the day comes the debtor has mysteriously increased the debt, and has paid nothing—"wh forme of doinge I lyke not," says piteously the aggrieved father-in-law. Finally, he vanishes away altogether, and the daughter and grandchildren are, to the end of the book, of constant occurrence as of "costes and chargs." What became of them after I know not.

but (what was of even still greater necessity to him) a clear head for domestic management. Of the first there is evidence, as well in the many entries henceforth appearing of monies received for "my wiefs landes" at Croxton Hall and elsewhere, as from the plentiful allowance of £80 a year "at her own dispoeyon" which she received from her husband. Taking the worth of money at four or five times its present value, this would represent some £350 a year now. Her housewifely skill and method may be inferred both from the much more regular entries of her good Squire's payments (for of his receipts there is still but too little regularity of entry) appearing in his book, and from the evident change in his household arrangements which begins to come before us.

Hitherto, for five and twenty years the book has been of a character, of which most of us may have had some personal experience of our own. It started (apparently with his first marriage in 1585) on a valiant intention of great care and order. Receipts and payments, debts and outgoings, rent accounts and farm accounts, were all to be regularly set down under the separate title headings carefully engrossed at intervals through the book. But—with perhaps some conscience-stricken recollection of like good intentions in our own earlier time—we shake our heads, and smile, to see the rapid break down of so fair a scheme. Some of the heads have never had anything entered under them at all; none of them in fact have had more than a few short months' tribute. And we can almost see the book, lying about here and there as some of our own note-books may have lain, and only caught up now and then to receive some sudden jottings or memoranda of daily life. Two or three pages are filled with the minute entries, then and long after common, of the births of the writer's children; rendered, it may here be observed, in the quaintly pious language of the Elizabethan Puritans and tinged, it may be, with something of astrological belief in the importance of recording the exact hour and moment

of birth¹. Other scattered pages again are occupied with memoranda of engagements of servants, and of their wages duly certified at the Sessions, or with entries (evidently jotted down on the first page which has happened to fall open) of payments made on church and parish account, of subsidies paid to the Queen, of small debts owing to, or from the writer (some of them to be paid at this or that "church porch") or of items of family or local history accidentally coming to his knowledge.

But from the date of his second marriage, the good Squire comes into more regular ways, both of spending and of recording his spendings. Within three months after his marriage all his elder daughters who are still living with him, are put upon regular allowances (or "quartridges," as he calls them), each one to "fynd herself alle thyngs." And it may be interesting to those of us who have, or hope to have, like payments of our own to make, to know what the allowance of a gentleman's daughter was 270 years ago. His two eldest daughters, of twenty and twenty-two years of age respectively, had thirty shillings a quarter apiece, while his other daughters of seventeen and eighteen were provided with twenty shillings a quarter only; being at the rate of about £20 and £30 a year of our money to each young lady respectively.

So is it with his household arrangements. There is no sort of consecutive order in the entries; but the writer tries manfully to put down what he can. There are not many entries of the wages of his women-servants, which we may suppose to have

¹ One such entry will be enough to illustrate the good squire's method. On the birth of his eldest son—six daughters having already appeared—he writes thus: "Robte Wilton my sonne was borne the xxij of July betwene "xij & j of the clocke in ye nighte and was baptised the vth of Auguste "whome as the Lorde doe graunt o' desyres in geving him to us soe most "humbly besechinge his ma^{tie} to sanctifie wth his trewe feare to lyve in "obedience to hym that throughe Jesus Christ he lyve hys faithfull ser- "uaunt, be one of hys Chuerche, and aftr this lyfe to be ptaker of heuenlie "happynes for euer. R. Wilton. Año Dñi 1599 annoque dñe R^{me} Elis^e xlj^o."

been left to his wife's management. And even the entries of money paid to the men-servants come so irregularly that little or nothing of much interest can be gathered from them. But he occasionally tries hard at better things. For one whole year he puts down the exact quantity of wheat used for flour in his house, and of malt used in his brewing. There is also a kind of current account-between him and "Robyn the Bocher," in which appears the quantity of beef and mutton sent into the house for which the butcher was to take credit in his account, when the sheep and oxen sold to him came to be settled for. And thus we are able to gather, that when (as he enters it) "the vijth of Nouembr 1611, wee began to kepe howse at Top-crofte w^{ch} seconde beginninge The Lorde God in m^{rc}ie blesse "w^t gracious successe to his holy plisure & o^r comfote. Amen."—the consumption of beef in the house was at the rate of about 220 stone in the year; of mutton about 70 fore and hind quarters; while of wheat—and we must remember that the servants never tasted wheaten bread at all, and moreover that, in the year recorded, the price of wheat had risen to the famine point of twenty shillings per coomb—the quantity consumed was 15 sacks or about 260 stone, and of malt 12 coombs, equal to about as many hogsheads of beer. It was scarcely therefore a small or niggard household over which the second Mrs Wilton had come to rule¹. And that she was a thorough woman of busi-

¹ Some memoranda of prices gathered by chance from the entries in this MS. may not be irrelevant or uninteresting here. Wheat varied from 10s. to 19s. per coomb, being at its lowest in 1591, and highest in 1586 and in 1613. In this latter year also the prices of oats and rye were extravagant, standing at 6s. and 12s. respectively per coomb, as compared with 3s. 6d. and 7s. to 8s. in other years. Malt ranged from 7s. to 9s. 4d. per coomb. Beef varied very little, standing usually at twenty or twenty-one pence per stone, and calves being always reckoned at ten shillings each. Mutton was about fourteen or fifteen pence per quarter; butter from 13s. 4d. to as much as 17s.; cheese was apparently not quite so variable, the prices ranging between 39s. and 48s. per wey, or weight of thirteen stones. Women's wages in the house were twenty and twenty-six shillings

ness appears further from the curious entry shewing that within two years of her marriage she commuted, by agreement with her husband, one half of her personal allowance of eighty pounds a year for certain meadow and other lands, lying near the Hall, which she thenceforth farmed in the most businesslike manner, entirely on her own account.

I fear that I may have wearied my readers with these domestic details. But before examining the most really interesting entries in the book, those referring to the education of the children, I have thought it well to establish, as nearly as I can, their actual station in life. They were children of a gentleman by birth, station, and education; himself the lord of three manors, a Justice of the Peace, and connected closely by birth and marriage with other neighbouring families of the same or of higher rank. The eldest, and only surviving one, of the three boys, succeeding his father in after life, became Colonel in the Royal Service and Knight of the Shire for his county in Parliament.

In 1608 the two eldest boys, being then nine and seven years old respectively, were sent to some small neighbouring school (the locality is unfortunately omitted) where the pair of them were boarded by "good wiff. Woolnough" at the rate of eleven pounds a year; their "teching" being cared for by a certain Mr Pierson at forty shillings a year. Their casual expenses with their Dame for their "shooes mendinge, for "candles and such other things as she then reckoned" came to about four or five shillings a quarter. And thirteen pence was paid to Mr Pierson for books for them. Two years afterwards the youngest son, Thomas, went from home to a dame

a year; those of men in the house from forty-five to fifty shillings, and of day-labourers fourpence per day. The interest of money appears to have been usually eight per cent. Of other matters, I may note that a roan gelding cost eight pounds, a "muskett and rapeer" twenty-eight shillings, and a "pistall frō London" eighteen shillings.

school kept by "vid. Richards" at Hempnall, an adjoining village, "to boarde and learne"; their father having "agreed wt. her for ye same to paye for him iiij.li. p.^aann." In the following April Thomas was sent to Bungay to "boord and lerne to Goodman Jaye." "I agreed to paye him v.li. xs. p. ann., if he tarry there so longe, or after y^t rate." And in the same year the youngest daughter, Mary, went to a Mrs Horninge of Roydon, "having agreed with her for her boord and teaching to paye x.li. p. ann. or after y^t rate, so longs she tarryeth." Mary was then 16 years old.

In this same year the two eldest boys went to "borde and schoole" at the Grammar School at Windham, or Wymondham, in Norfolk, their father paying for their board £12 per annum. There Thomas joined them in the following year, the father then paying for all three of them £20 a year. They were then eight, eleven, and thirteen years old respectively.

At this Grammar School at Windham the three boys seem to have remained for three years; their whole yearly expenses being £20 for board, about £5 for "bills of charges," and £6 for schooling; besides occasional gratuities of "a pece of golde" to the Master, Usher, and their "Hoste."

These schoolboy days are now to pass away, and we are to follow the boys in their first launch into the outer world. Something we have seen, even hitherto, of the quiet simplicity of our Norfolk squire's life, and this would have come out more clearly still if we had examined the entries in his account-book more closely. But nothing I think in this book lets in a stronger light upon the general state of society in the times of which we are speaking, than the record of Richard Wilton the second son's life and death as we find it at p. 128 of this book.

It begins thus: "What things Richard Wilton caried w^h him to London 8 of April 1616." (He was then, we shall remember, not quite fifteen years old.) "Imprimis iiij shirts,

“vj bands, ij payer of cuffes, iv handkerchefes, ij dubletts, ij
 “payer of hose. vidz. breches, iiij payer stockings, ij payer
 “shoes, a cloke and a hatt; and I gave him in his pūest v.s, and
 “v.s. vj.d. I gave him at London to buye a Bible wt. It^m, sent
 “him p. sone Neve ij.s. vj.d: It^m, sent him by Ro. his brother
 “ij.s. x.d. It^m, sent him by Cosen William Cossing, 12 Feb-
 “ruary, ij.s. vj.d. It^m, sent him p. Eyke ij.s. vj.d.”

There are other entries in following years of like sums sent to the boy from time to time, and of clothes sent up to him from home. At times, too, he seems to have come down for a holiday to the old Manor House, for there are entries of money sent to his brother by his hands, as he passes through Cambridge. But, closely following the first entry of his departure from home, quoted above, there is this entry in the poor father's hand, “The said Richard my Sone, depected this life xj
 “December 1620 at Mr Brocks his M^rs howse ye signe of ye
 “Sūne, mercer in Cheapside when he was xix yere olde & a
 “halfe and when he had served his saide M^r iiij yers & halfe
 “& had but ij & halfe to serve. His sicknes & death was
 “a burninge fever wherein he lay aboute xiiij dayes enduringe
 “much payne but as quiett for yt extreme fitts as most, utter-
 “inge oute of his fitts comfortable and hopefull speches of
 “thassurance of his salvacon by Christe & ofte repeted a short
 “prayer of his owne compilinge, wherby especially wt his trewe
 “concionable and dilligent Care trusty & faithfull dilligence to
 “his M^r in his tradē & callinge although I gathered over
 “soeuer so grete hope of joye & comforte of him ffor his well
 “doinge and pferment in this life yet far greter joye I assured
 “myselfe of in his far better pferment to celestially & hevenly
 “joyes in ye glorious kingdom of heuen, and is buried in Bowe
 “Church Chapell w^h cost 13^s 4^d. It. sent to his M^r Mr Brocke
 “25 Ju. 1620 towards ye charge of his buriall & sermon 44^s in
 “ij peces p Ro. my sone wt a lre.”

We have here a remarkable glimpse of habits of life, which

may now seem strange to us, but which may help to illustrate the past growth of our national life. It is no poor struggling tradesman, seeking a better chance for his boy in London than country life will give him—no impoverished gentleman, sinking his family dignity to lighten domestic burdens; but a wealthy country squire, a magistrate, a Lord of manors holding his own Courts Baron, whose eldest son is hereafter to take the place among the Norfolk gentlemen to which he was born, who, quite naturally and as a matter of course, apprentices his second son to a Mercer in Cheapside, just as he sends his two other sons, first to Cambridge and then to the Army and the Law. I am not sure that we are not too apt to overlook the close personal connexion between the land and the trade of England which had grown up in the sixteenth century, and of which such a fact as this is evidence. When, in the records of our nobility, we read that this or that noble house sprang in the 16th or 17th centuries from such an one, "Grocer" or "Draper of London," we are apt to forget what these "Grocers" and "Drapers" were by birth in so many cases, and how much may have been due to their birth and connexions, in the commercial success to which they afterwards attained. They were (many of them at least) not mere waifs and strays of society, laboriously toiling upwards from the lowest menial station; nor were they always even the sons of respectable but obscure tradesmen, making some lucky hit in after life which raised them above their native rank. The great merchants of London and of the larger provincial cities had each of them passed, as the laws of trade required, through the lowest stratum of their calling; before they could claim the freedom of their craft. As apprentices they had had to wait on their master and mistress at table, to attend them with their clubs as pages when they went abroad, to sleep hardly and to fare coarsely, as part of the rough training to discipline and obedience which was to bring out the self-reliance, and personal readiness, and self-restraint,

as necessary to a successful merchant as any art or mechanical skill in his craft. But in all these duties the son of the English gentleman had always to serve side by side with any nameless lad whom the large charity of his master might have chosen for a place in the commonwealth of commerce. The time would come, no doubt, when the successful merchant of gentle blood would be glad to think not less of his pedigree and native rank than of the credit and wealth for which he had himself worked so hardly. As might have been in the case before us, the eldest brother, the Squire and Colonel, and the younger brother the Lawyer, would, under the pressure of life, frankly claim from the Merchant brother in Cheapside the kindness and assistance which they might need for themselves and for their children, and which they would be equally ready to render back to him, if he should chance to need their help or influence. And when the time should come for their final parting on earth, the same ensigns of ancestral dignity would mark the graves of the wealthy merchant, laid to rest in the City church where he had been wont to worship, and of his brother the country squire, sleeping in honour within the chancel of the old church of their ancestral home¹. It may all seem strange to us. But our fore-

¹ A remarkable instance of the connexion between the landed and trading interests of England in the 16th and 17th centuries, and of the honest pride which a well-born tradesman felt in his family descent occurs in another part of these Buxton MSS. John Heron, a wealthy merchant of Godmanchester, was the nephew of that Robert Herne or Heron—for they seem to have used both spellings indifferently—from the marriage of whose daughter with Robert Buxton of Channonz (the gentleman referred to above at p. 203) descend the present family of Channonz and Shadwell Court. And by his will dated April 4, 12 Ja. I. the Godmanchester merchant, after disposing of his large estates in Tybenham and elsewhere in Norfolk, in Chatteris, Huntingdon, and Godmanchester, among his three sons—the Norfolk property coming afterwards by another marriage to the Buxton family—proceeds to leave, with a generous hand, memorials of plate and money among his kinsfolk and friends. Amongst the rest he directs that to his mother, to his sister and her husband, and to his five brothers shall be given—besides other legacies—to each “a rynge of goulde

fathers were taught in their very boyhood that success and honour do not grow out of idleness and self-indulgence. And the bright-faced Norfolk lad—gentleman born as he might be—was sent to use his English energy and pluck as cheerfully among his brother flatcaps in the rough training for an English merchant's life in London, as he had been wont to use them in fishing his native "broads" or hunting the bustard and the hare on his father's wolds. It need not be a revolutionary affectation of contempt for birth and gentle blood which is beginning again to send the sons of English gentlemen to hard work in the commerce of the world. It may be, and probably is, a healthy revival of the gallant English spirit of old time—seeing no dishonour in anything save in unmanly idleness and languid dependence on others—which has made England what she is or has been, and which sent poor young Richard Wilton from his father's Norfolk manor to learn to work so honestly, and to die so cheerfully, in his master's service in Cheapside; an encouragement for those of our own sons who have learnt to regard with comfort and esteem the work and honour of their ancestors 300 years ago.

Turning now to the memoranda of Mr Wilton's other sons,

"of twenty shyllings apeece with the heroshawe"—the ancient cognisance of the Herons—"engrauen therein." He had good right so to bear in mind the family from which he and those of whom he had been thinking had sprung. He was the grandson of John Heron of Godmanchester, from whose eldest brother Robert descended the Herons of Lanetoft in Lincolnshire, and whose grandfather, a great Newcastle merchant, was the second son of Sir John Heron, the head of the ancient Herons of Chipchase of Northumberland. It had taken nothing from the family honour—it had added to its possessions and power—that five generations of Herons had been merchants, gathering wealth with each generation, instead of idly hanging on the skirts of their knightly kinsmen in the north. And John Heron, dying in wealth and honour among his warehouses in Godmanchester, was glad to think of the ancient badge which there, as in the old baronial home of his House, had been a sign of honour and of duty to those who bore it. (The pedigree of this family, dated 1648, is among the Buxton MSS.)

the eldest and the youngest, we come to matters of even more special interest to this Society than those already looked at. We have to follow them through their University career, and so to their lives in London. The record of Robert Wilton, the eldest son, begins at p. 111 of the book, and it will be better to transcribe at length the entries as they stand.

“Rob^t Wilton my sonne went to Cābridge y^e xth of Octobr^r “1614.” (It will be observed that he was at this time a little more than fifteen years old.)

- “It^m sent w^t him to y^e Tutor M^r Estwick viⁱⁱ
 “It^m sent him p carier 15 Novemb^r..... v^s & ij chests.
 “It^m sent him 17 January p M^r Silbys man iij^s and then for his tutor v^l and
 “my wief sent him x whyte puddens.
 “It^m p^d for carying his citerne thith^r xij^d
 “It^m sent by M^r Vesey 28 Mch to his tutor vⁱⁱ and then also stips v^s vj^d
 “It^m sent p carier 17 May dd him vi^o
 “It^m my wief sent him p carier
 “It^m sent p cariers sonne 28 June..... j chese and iij^s
 “It^m P^d to M^r Estwicke ix August p meipum viⁱⁱ
 “at w^h tyme hee was answered and p^d for all y^t was then dewe and
 “xxx^s in futuro.
 “It^m sent to M^r Estwicke p Mr Veseyes sonne the 25th Septemb^r 1615 vⁱⁱ
 “It^m sent p Rog^r y^e carier 25 October 1615 x^o
 “It^m sent p Tho. 16 Decembr to y^e tutor vⁱⁱ
 “dd to Tho. for charges..... x^s
 “It^m Ro. went to Camb. xv Ja. 1615, when I dded to him vⁱⁱ vj^s vj^d he to
 “finde himself appell and all oth^r things excepting his tuition his
 “comōns in y^e halle and sisesings in y^e buttre w^h I am to defray, and
 “so henceforth he is to haue fyve mks’ a qrter at lady next five mks
 “and so q^rterly w^h the Lord blesse him w^t care to proffitt.
 “P^d in charge to Tho. goinge up to towne x^o
 “It. p^d as sent him p carier 20 Mch. v^s vi^d
 “It. dd Ric. for my sonne Neve his charges x^s
 “It^m p^d by M^r Sucklins lre about 6 April vjⁱⁱ viii^s whereof his tutor xl^s rem.
 “stips ivⁱⁱ viij^s
 “It^m my wief sent him 29 April v^s vi^d
 “It^m sent Ric. p soune Neve x June ij^s vj^d
 (This was to the son in London.)
 “It^m sent p carier to Rob^t 17 June..... xxij^s
 “It^m sent morē to him p Mr Cook^m 26 Ja. 7th 14^s whereof I willed him p
 “letter to paye to his tutor..... 3ⁱⁱ vj^s

- "It^m dd to Rog. ye carier 18 August to pay to Rob^tvⁱ
 "1616 It^m sent to Rob^t p M^r Silby 6 Septemb^rvⁱⁱ
 "It^m sent to Ro. p Phillip Fynck 5 Octo^{br} for to paye his tutor for alle
 "y^e was dewe to him y^e xiiijth of Septemb^r last as p his bills appere...lv^r
 "It^m sent p carier Norw^{ch} 17 Novemb^rxl^r
 "It. his tutors bill y^e 26 Deceb^r when Ro. came home for a qrtter beginning
 "11 October 1616 wh is to pay still this 12 of Ja.4th ij^s
 "1616
 "And now this 12 of Ja. Rob^t went agene to Cambidge and from hence all
 "y^e form^r being discharged I have taken order anewe vidl^r to allowe
 "him xxxⁱⁱ p ann. and he to paye all comons sizeings and fynd himselve
 "appell and all whatsoever besyde w^h y^e Lorde blesse I hübly praye.
 "It^m sent p Mr Coffees bill 25 Ja.xiⁱⁱ x^s
 "whereof iiiijⁱⁱ to pay his tutor all y^t is dewe at his last goeing upp and
 "vijⁱⁱ x^s for his qrtterage ut pdict.
 "It. p^d by M^r Utting to M^r Taylors sone of Stratton 8 April 1617 to paye
 "over agene to Rob^t my sone at Cam. for his q^rter to be dewe at
 "Mids^r nextvijⁱⁱ x^s
 "It. sent p Drewcry Norw^{ch} carier j Junex^s
 "It. sent p Mr Archer 25 June 1617vijⁱⁱ
 "It. p^d him at his goeing upp at Septe^{br} vijⁱⁱ x^s w^h make up 30ⁱⁱ sithence
 "Xrityde last."

At this point the entries of Robert Wilton's college expenses come to an end, but it seems probable that if he took his degree the charges were defrayed by his father, as afterwards in his younger brother's case, but that they were not set down in this book. That he had done well at college is evident from the entry next succeeding that last extracted. It stands thus: "Robert Wilton went to London ij of March 1617 at w^h tyme I delied him xⁱⁱ and xx^s to Tho. for their charges. Whereas God formly blessed him at Camb, so I hübly besich him still to continewe his gracious blessinge in his holy feare to dyrect him and alle his wayes to Gods glory and my comfort."

The entries then go on—

- "It. sent him beginning of Ester terme 1618 p M^r Gooche of Mettingham xⁱⁱ
 "It. sent him p cosen Osbornes sone 20 Sept^rvijⁱⁱ
 "It. sent p M^r George Gooche 29 October.vijⁱⁱ
 "It. sent p M^r Osborne of Norw^{ch} 9 Deceb^rvⁱⁱ

"It. sent p M^r Osborne to paye over to him 3 Feb.12^u

"51^u apperith 1^u yere.

"It. he came home ye first weke in lent and stayed whilst ye begininge
 "ye first Munday aft. Ester weke at w^{ch} his goeing I p^d him in golde
 "12^u ij^s for his first q^rter begininge at Lady last 1619 and soe to have
 "q^rterly as much, w^{ch} is for ye whole yere 48^u, & eodem die p^d at his goeing
 "I gave him xx^s more for his ch^{er} uppe and downe againe, whome w^{ch} w^{ch}
 "God by his p^rvidence and mercie hath enabled me I besich may be
 "effectually expended to Gods glory & good of his church & his contrye,
 "my comfort & his frinds and well wishers."

We need not follow young Robert Wilton further. He seems to have stayed in London, probably studying the law, until 1623, from which date no further entries are made of payments to him. At his father's death a few years afterwards we know that he succeeded to the family estate, and thereon built the present manor house of Wilby. He became Justice of the Peace and Colonel of the Volunteers of his native county, of which he was also elected representative in Parliament in 1656. Strongly attached to the Royal cause, he so bore himself as to gather to himself the respect and love of his neighbours, and the record on his monument in Wilby chancel will add something perhaps of interest to the notes of his early life which we have had before us. The good old father's prayers and efforts were answered.

"Here lyeth the body of that faithful patriot and true lover
 "of his country Rob. Wilton of Wylby in the county of Norff.
 "esquire son of Rich. Wylton of Topcroft in the same county
 "Esquire by Anne the daughter of Robert Buxton of Tyben-
 "ham Esq^r." Then follow his three marriages, one to Hannah,
 daughter of Robert Jay, gent.; then to Susan, daughter of Sir
 Anthony Drury of Besthorpe; and lastly to Briget, daughter of
 Sir John Meade of Lofts in co. Essex. "He exchanged this
 "mortal for an immortal life the 19 of Nov^r. 1657 in the 58
 "yeare of his age."

My work is drawing to an end. I have only now to turn to the college record of Thomas, the youngest son, as I find it at

p. 155 of his father's book. He went up to Cambridge in 1621, being then sixteen years of age. But I think I see already some faint traces of a character not so strong and reliable as are the characters of his two elder brothers. He is trusted with less money. He is not allowed, as in his brother Robert's case, to pay his own way after his first year upon a yearly allowance, but, to the end of his college career, his bills are all paid by his tutor and his clothes are provided and sent him from home. His pocket moneys, or "stipes," are less, too, and are doled out in smaller sums. I need not occupy space with the whole account, which comes in amount to much the same as that of his eldest brother five years before, but I will only transcribe such entries as, being more in detail, may fill up the broader outlines of the earlier accounts.

"Tho Wilton my sone went to Cambidge 25 April 1621, and begun to enter into comons the 28 April when I left w^t his tutor v^h to be reconned to me by a bylle euie q^rter & xij^s I left w^t goode wiff Chäbrs for a surplis & vij^s w^t Tho. for a capp & other necessaries haveing p^d for his gowne making &c, all w^b came to about lv^s, & he caried w^t him 2 dublets, ij payer brèches, 3 payer stockinges whereof 2 payer newe, 3 shirts, vj bandes, vj handkerchefes, a cloke, ij hatts, payer boots and spurs, girdle, 2 paier shoes, 2 table napk, ij night cappes. The Lord God I hübly besiche him to Blesse w^t a gracious progresse in grace and learning in the trewe feare of his heuently name to my cōfort heare and to bothe o^r endles joye and comfort enlastingly by and throughe ye meritts only and death of o^r Lord Jēsus Christ.

"It. sent him a payer of sheets in June p goodwife Chäbers & p Drewery alle his books y^t came from Ypsw^b & his brother sent him frō London also a trunck & a bible and some other books.

"It. sent him p Joseph herron 5 of Septembre a paier shoes & ij^s vj^d."

Other like entries follow—a quarterly payment being always sent of "v^h" to his tutor. He seems to have got an exhibition at his college, for there is at the close of his first year this entry. "It. sent to his Tutor p Ro. fil. 29 Ja. 1621 for chäbrs and study l^s, and what it came to, more he to pay himselfe exhebicōis w^b is to be rep^d agene when he leue it w^{hin} a litle, but it came to but 34^s as by his lre appere ye residewe of y^t

"I^s was recconed and sett of in the v^h he had in hand for ye
 "beginninge ye seconde yere ye residewe to make up s^d v^h being
 "4^h 3^s vj^d."

The entry is obscure, but the reference to an account "exhebicōis" seems clear¹. A year afterwards we have all payments still made through the tutor. "It. sent his Tutor p Tho. at his going to Camb. 24 Jan. 1622 xj^s w^h w^t ye remainder of ye 4^h last sent p Andrewe is 3^h v^s then beginninge "y^t he hath y^t in hand to defray his comōns sizesings Tuition, landress, sizer, and other howse duties p̄mising his Tutor then "by my lre under my hande y^t at thende of next and eūie "q̄rter if it came to more to discharge & paye as also to saue "and kepe him harmlesse of all indempnities he any waye "shoulde susteyne or be putte p him." An attempt is made to put poor Thomas on an allowance in this year in these quaint terms: "Dd. to Tho. himselfe 42^s for this q̄rter to p̄uide himselfe w^t alle other neçessaries & so after if y^t allowñce be too "litle to fynde him, I p̄mise & will increase it to Gods glory, "I besiche, my comforte & his future goode in Jesus Christ." The "allowñce" does soon prove "too litle," as might be expected. In the very next April a complicated difficulty occurs over a sum of "v^h xv^s," part of which is to pay the tutor and "ye residewe stips." But the "stips" gets confused with the other payment, so that in May next it appears "y^t yet rem "debett to his Tutor, as by his bylle under his hande 3^s 7^d, but "his lre, videlicet Thom., and ye byll agre not altogether." However, the difficulty is got over. I think there are signs of old age creeping over the good Squire. He is getting on now for seventy years old, and he cannot be hard with his youngest son, his Benjamin. So, after a gap of several months, we find Benjamin receiving the same general allowance as Robert had done (£30 a year), but, I grieve to say, so constantly forestalling it as to make the poor old Squire's entries as painful to unravel as they must have been to him to indite. In the last

¹ See note at end of this communication.

November of Thomas's Cambridge life, there is a ponderous explanation by his father that a certain "vij^{li} x^s", then sent by his brother Robert, should not be paid by rights until Christmastide, but for that happy opportunity occurring for its safe conveyance. And it is painfully set forth that it is to "clere" his q̄rter fro Xritide to Annuncācon o^r Lady," with a prayer following that "God would make him as carefull to p̄fitt by "his menes as God has enabled me to afforde it & willingly to "contribute." Alas! Mr Wilton scarcely seems to realise the danger of paying so long beforehand. In the very next January, not only has "one M^r Cooke of Kaius College" to take charge of iij^{li} for Thomas "for his comēcement," but further disbursements have to be made. Brother Robert has to carry him "33^s" more in January, and again, at Thetford Assizes (where brother Robert may possibly be now practising at the bar), no less than "vij^{li}" has to be taken to the poor Benjamin to clear up accounts. In May next he goes to London with his brother—probably to study law under the graver brother's eye; but he is not trusted with his own purse, at any rate for some time. Eight pounds, three shillings and sixpence are given "to his "brother at his goeing," and until the following January sundry other like payments are made. From January to June he receives in person £23. But in the next year appears the first of several entries which tell us that the art of flying "kites" was not unknown in the 17th century to young men in London, whose expenses would unaccountably exceed their allowance, "It. p^d to Jo. Smith of Topcroft Hall 6 Feb. 1627 3^{li} upon a "bill of my sone Tho. w^h he rec of M^r Phillip Pery of London "w^h s^d 3^{li} is to be sett off his next q̄teridge." The old allowance of £40 a year is still in form kept up. But the entries of the payments are so irregular, and so mixed up with notes of bills taken up for poor Thomas, that we cannot help seeing how the matter stands. And the very last entry in date which I have been able to find in the book is as thus: "It. p^d 6 Sept. "1629 to Jo. Smith vi^{li} v^s for Ro. Jay of London p^d to Joseph

The next note is entered at the same time—the reference being probably to the comet of 1618—

“The kings ma^{tie}. Epitaph upon the Queenes death.”

“The to invite the grete God sent his starre
Whose freinds & nerest kin goode princes are.
Ffor though they ruñe the race of men, and dye,
Death seems but to refyne their maiestye.
Soe did the Quene her Cours frō hence remove,
and lefte the earth to be inthroned above.
There shée is changd, not dead; no good prince dies,
But like the dayes sun onlie sets to rise.”

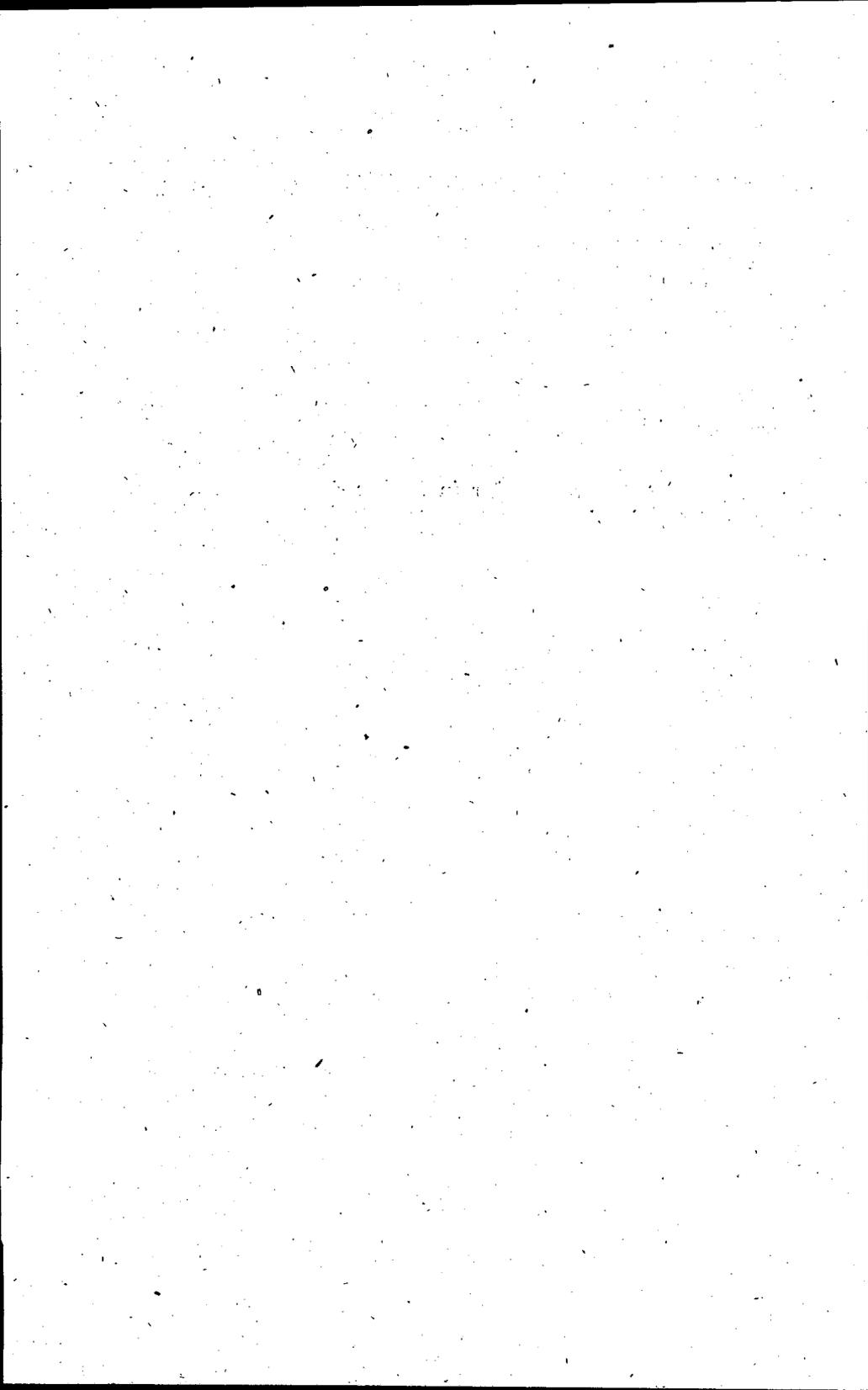
With which witness of royal wisdom and modesty preserved for our edification by good Mr Wilton, of Topcroft and Wilby, I may bring this paper to a close. There are many things incidentally relating to the entries I have copied on which much more might be said. We might have taken note of the necessity—so startling to the modern undergraduate mind—of sending small occasional sums of pocket-money from home by “olde Drewery the carier.” But where there were no banks, no post office orders and no banknotes, hard cash was the only medium of remittance in such cases. And as little as possible of hard money was sent at a time lest an inopportune bully-boy, or knight of the road, might, upon some lonely Norfolk heath, break up beyond repair the domestic arrangements of the expectant student. The ring of connection between the “stips” of Jacobean times and the “tips” familiar to our own schoolboys’ ears will strike the philologist. The arrangements as to “sizeings,” and “sisers,” referred to in Thomas Wilton’s accounts, are not familiar to an Oxford ear, but they are doubtless of interest here. The “surpliss,” of no less cost than at least fifty shillings of our money, shews that a bearing of testimony against the garments of Baal was at any rate not an indulgence for a freshman in 1621. And lastly, the broad distinction between the Oxford and the Cambridge system (in

the latter all expenses of the student being paid through the College authorities, in the former no such personal relations existing at all between them and the undergraduates) is seen to be of no modern growth. At Cambridge the College stood altogether "in loco parentis"; at Oxford a young man either looked after his own expenses, or brought his own tutor with him from home.

All these points I have left untouched for fear of straining my readers' patience. To some of them, and to other like touches of local or domestic colour in the MS. before us, I may be allowed to refer hereafter in further communications to the Society.

NOTE.

Since the above was written, I have learnt by the kindness of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, that there are, or were, certain scholarships or *exhibitions* to that College, attached to this school of Wymondham, among others. It was possibly one of these which young Thomas Wilton had obtained.



XV. ON A HOARD OF ROMAN COINS FOUND AT WILLINGHAM. Communicated by FRANCIS JENKINSON, M.A., Trinity College.

[February 19, 1883.]

THE village of Willingham lies about two miles south of the river Ouse, and three miles S.S.W. of Earith, where Roman relics of some importance have from time to time been discovered. Between Willingham and the river lies Middle Fen, now drained and cultivated. It was in this fen, at a point rather less than a mile north-by-east of Willingham Church, that the coins were found. On the 25th of February, 1881, a man named Charles Smith was ploughing this field, when, at a depth of seven inches, the plough, which is described as having "sunk in the ground," struck and broke in pieces an earthen vessel¹ containing upwards of 500 coins cemented by rust into a solid mass.

Rather more than half of the vessel came into my possession. The diameter at the base was $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches: at 3 inches from the base it was just under 5 inches: the height must have been about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches or rather less. The substance is yellowish-ochreous, redder on one side; very bibulous and powdery, rubbing away without difficulty; and was perhaps once protected by some glaze which has perished. There was probably a narrow neck, and a single short handle. This kind of bottle

¹ On March 10, 1881, a similar vessel was found about 4 ft. from the same spot, and numerous fragments occurred in black earth about twelve yards off.

is very common, the present specimen being rather less globular than some others I have met with.

I have been thus particular in describing so commonplace a vessel, because we can assign it to a certain date. The latest coins that occurred in the find are two of Diocletian; for I cannot take into account a vague rumour that one of Carausius was among them. Diocletian began to reign in 284 A.D.; and that year or the next may be regarded as the probable date of the deposit: since no coins occur of any of Diocletian's colleagues, the earliest of whom, Maximianus Herculeus, was raised to the dignity of Augustus in the year 286.

Now although this vase is of so ordinary a type that it may seem to belong to no period in particular, yet it is quite possible that a comparison of a large number even of such vases as this, each of which could be assigned to an approximate date, would enable a practised eye to detect in each slight peculiarities of material or of outline: and the knowledge so gained might be applied to similar pottery found under other circumstances. But among the many discoveries of this kind that are continually being made, sometimes at least the receptacle would be composed of a more characteristic ware, with perhaps a very limited range.

One instance is recorded from Norfolk, in which the coins were put away in a Samian cup stamped with the name of a potter *Sosianus*, who must accordingly have been making Samian ware just before A.D. 176, the date of the latest coin contained in the cup which he had made. Now if we could find a hoard deposited in a cup made by Albucius or Borillus or some other of the potters whose productions occur in pits at Chesterford or in graves at Girton, we should have at least a presumptive clue to the date of those pits and graves. And the evidence would be nearly as satisfactory, if, instead of a particular name, we could appeal to some marked peculiarity in the fabric or the pattern.

These speculations however are at present of the nature of castles in the air. Much evidence must be collected before any conclusions can be drawn; and from the nature of the case evidence is forthcoming only now and then. But the first thing necessary is that no opportunities should be lost of recording such items as offer themselves to our notice.

It only remains for me to enumerate the varieties which are known to have occurred among the coins which the vase contained. I have examined 243¹, or nearly half the whole number found, according to statements made at the time: of these I have written a minute account which will speak for itself.

The number of pieces belonging to each reign is shewn in the following summary:

Gallienus	31	}	37
Salonina	5		
Saloninus	1		
Postumus			12
Victorinus			101
Laelianus			1
Marius			1
Tetricus	41	}	52
Tetricus caesar	11		
Claudius			19
Aurelianus	2	}	3
Severina	1		
Tacitus			6
Probus			9
Diocletianus			2
			<u>243</u>

¹ That I have been able to describe so many is due to the kindness of several persons, to whom I wish to express my thanks; and especially of Miss Peckover, of Wisbeach, into whose possession 60 of them came.

LIST OF REVERSES.

Gallienus (A.D. 253-268).

- (i) AEQVITAS AVG. In right area vi.
- (ii) AETERNITAS AVG. In area Γ (another without any letter in area).
- (iii) APOLLINI CONS AVG. Some animal to left. In exergue M (?)
- (iv) DIANAÆ CONS. Stag to left. In exergue XII.
- (v) DIANAÆ CONS . . . Antelope to left. In exergue II.
- (vi) DIANAÆ CONS AVG. Goat (?) to left. In exergue ε.
- (vii) FELICIT AVG. In left area P.
- (viii) FIDES MILITVM.
- (ix) FORTVNA REDVX. In right area s. Two similar.
- (x) IOVI VLTORI. In left area s. Two similar.
- (xi) LAETITIA AVG. Four, not quite alike.
- (xii) LEG IXX VI . . . Capricorn to right.
- (xiii) PAX AVG. In left area v. Two similar.
- (xiv) PAX AVG. In area s—I.
- (xv) PM TR P VII COS. Figure at an altar. In exergue MD.
- (xvi) PROVI AVG. In right area II. Two similar.
- (xvii) SECVRIT ORBIS. Seated figure. In exergue T.
- (xviii) SECVRIT PERPET. Standing figure. In right area II.
- (xix) SECVR TEMPÒ. Standing figure. (exergue off the coin.)
- (xx) SOLI CONS AVG. A flying horse.
- (xxi) VBERITAS AVG. Figure with bag and cornucopiae. In area c or ε. Two similar.
- (xxii) VICTORIA AET. A Victory to left. In left area z.

Salonina (wife of Gallienus).

- (i) FECVNDITAS AVG. One with u in area, one without.
- (ii) VENVS GENETRIX.
- (iii) VESTA. Seated figure with patera.
- (iv) VESTA FELIX. Standing figure with patera and wand.

Cornelius Saloninus.

DIVO CAESARI VALERIANO. *Rev.* CONSECRATIO. An altar.

Postumus.

- (i) COS III. Winged figure with right hand raised, while the left hand grasps the middle of a tall palm branch, which rests on the ground. Two similar. (*silvered*)
- (ii) FELICITAS AVG. Female figure with long caduceus in right hand, cornucopiae in left. *weight 63 grs. (fine billon)*
- (iii) HERC PACIFERO.
- (iv) IMP X COS V. Figure as in (i).

- (v) MONETA AVG. (white billon)
 (vi) PAX AVG. In left area P. Three similar; one, thicker than usual, weighs $74\frac{1}{2}$ grs.; (all show traces of silvering).
 (vii) PM TR P X COS V PP. Figure with branch in right hand, wand in left. (traces of silvering)
 (viii) SÆCVLI FELICITAS. Figure to right, left hand bearing a globe, while the right holds a spear sloped forward.
 (ix) VIRTVS EQVIT. Armed figure with spear and shield, advancing to right. *Obv.* IMP P AVG. (billon silvered)

Victorinus.

- (i) AEQVITAS AVG. Figure with scales and cornucopiae. Three similar.
 (ii) S MILITAS. (No doubt blundered for FIDES MILITVM.) Figure with two standards. *Obv.* IMP C PIAV VICTORINVS P F AVG.
 (iii) INVICTVS. Figure with radiated crown moving rapidly to left: right arm extended, in left hand a whip. In left area *. Twenty-one similar: one weighs 83 grs.
 (iv) PAX AVG. In area v—*. Thirty similar: the obverse of one reads IMP C PIAV VICTORINVS P F AVG.
 (v) PIETAS AVG. Figure offering at an altar. Thirteen similar.
 (vi) PROVIDENTIA AVG. Figure with wand and cornucopiae. Seven similar.
 (vii) SALVS AVG. Figure with dress thrown up over her left arm. Fifteen similar.
 (viii) SALVS AVG. Figure feeding a serpent. Four similar.
 (ix) VIRTVS AVG. Helmeted figure with long spear upright in right hand, left resting on shield. Five similar.
 (x) VIRTVS AVG. Figure as in (iii).
 (xi) Reverse illegible.

Laelianus.

IMP C LAELIANVS P F AVG. *Rev.* VICTORIA AVG. Victory marching to right, with wreath and long palm.

Marius.

IMP C M AVR MARIVS AVG. *Rev.* VICTORIA AVG. Victory standing to left, with wreath and long palm.

Tetricus.

- (i) COMES AVG. Winged figure to left, with wreath and palm. Two similar.
 (ii) FIDES MILITVM. Two similar.
 (iii) HILARITAS AVGG. Eleven similar.

- (iv) LAETITIA AVG N. Four similar.
- (v) LAETITIA AVGG. Three similar.
- (vi) PAX AVG. Three similar.
- (vii) SALVS AVGG. Seven similar.
- (viii) VICTORIA AVG.
- (ix) VIRTVS AVGG. Armed figure holding a spear in his left hand, and leaning his right on a shield. Seven similar.
- (x) Reverse illegible.

Tetricus Caesar.

Obv. C PIVESV TETRICVS CAES.

- (i) PAX AVG.
- (ii) SPES AVGG. Female figure holding up her dress. Eight similar.
- (iii) SPES PVBLICA. Same figure. Two similar.

Claudius Gothicus.

- (i) AEQVITAS AVG. Another, in area s.
- (ii) ANNONA AVG. Figure on prow, with cornucopiae and ears of wheat(?).
- (iii) CONSECRATIO. An attenuated eagle. *Obv.* DIVO CLAUDIO.
- (iv) FELICITAS AVG.
- (v) FIDES EXERCI.
- (vi) FIDES MILIT. In exergue s.
- (vii) FIDES MILITVM. In right area e.
- (viii) FORTVNA REDVX.
- (ix) [GENIUS] AVG. Male figure with patera and cornucopiae. In area P.
- (x) IOVI VICTORI. Jupiter naked with spear and thunderbolt. Three similar, two of them with M in right area.
- (xi) PAX AVG.
- (xii) SPES AVG.
- (xiii) [VBERI]TAS AVG.
- (xiv) VIRTVS AVG. Helmeted figure to right, with trophy on left shoulder, while his right hand points a spear forward. In exergue P(?).
- (xv) VIRTVS AVG. Helmeted figure to left with upright spear, extending in right hand a branch. In right area e. Another with no letter in area, *silvered*.

Aurelianus.

- (i) GENIVS ILLY. Genius with patera and cornucopiae: on the right, a standard. In exergue P.
- (ii) SOLI INVICTO. Winged figure with globe in left hand, right extended: at his feet two captives. In exergue c...XT.
(*silvered*)

Severina.

PROVIDEN DEOR. On the right female figure with two standards, radiated male figure meets her with right hand raised. In exergue AXXT. (silvered)

Tacitus (A.D. 275-276).

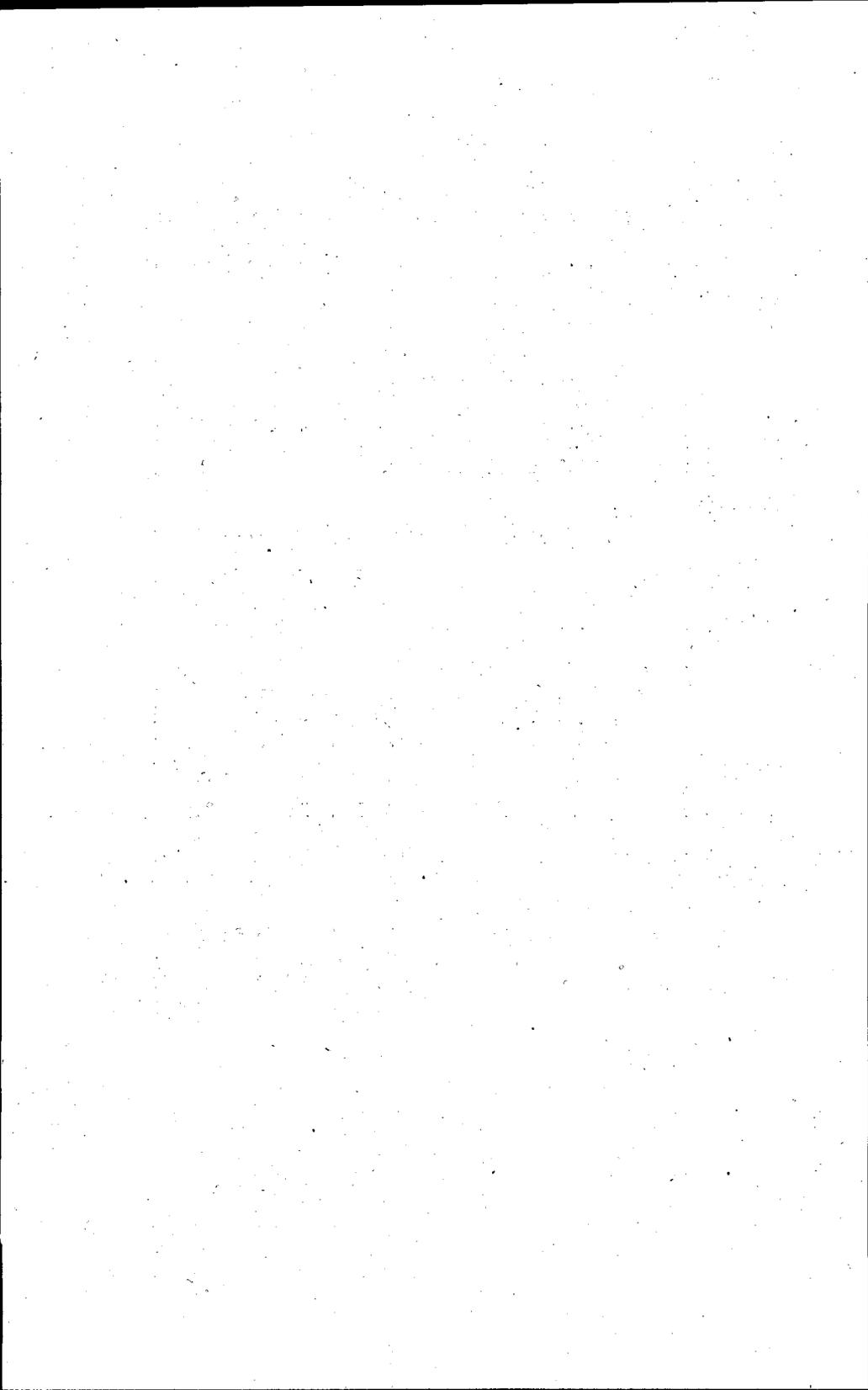
- (i) CLEMENTIA TEMP. Female (?) figure with wand, leaning her left arm on a pillar. In exergue . . IZ. (silvered)
- (ii) FIDES MILITVM. In exergue BA. (silvered)
- (iii) PROVID DEOR. (silvered)
- (iv) SALVS AVG. (silvered)
- (v) SPES PVBLICA. (silvered)
- (vi) TEMPORVM FELICITAS. In area A--A. (silvered)

Probus (A.D. 276-282).

- (i) ABVNDANTIA AVG. Figure pouring something from a cornucopiae. In exergue IIII.
- (ii) FELICIT TEMP. Female figure with caduceus in her right hand, a spear or long wand in her left. In exergue II. (silvered)
- (iii) FIDES MILITVM. Figure with two standards. In exergue III. (silvered)
- (iv) PAX AVG. In left area D. (silvered)
- (v) PAX AVG. In exergue CXXI. *Obv.* IMP C PROBVS AVG. (silvered)
- (vi) ROMAE AETERNAE. A seated figure in a temple with six columns. In exergue R--A. *Obv.* Bust to left, with sceptre. (silvered)
- (vii) SALVS AVG. In area B.
- (viii) SOLI INVICTO. Sun in quadriga to left. In exergue .P-B. *Obv.* Bust to left, with sceptre. (silvered)
- (ix) TEMPOR FELICI. Female figure with branch (?) and cornucopiae. (silvered)

Diocletianus (A.D. 284-).

- (i) IOVI CONSER AVGG. Jupiter standing with spear and thunderbolt: at his feet an eagle. In the field B. (billon)
- (ii) IOVI CONSERVAT AVGG. The same figure with right arm raised. (silvered)



XVI. OMPHALE, IN THE SPOILS OF HERCULES.
Communicated by C. W. KING, M.A., Trinity
College.

[5 March, 1883.]

THE discovery of an antique *cameo* in British soil is so rare an event that any well authenticated instance deserves to be brought under the notice of archæologists. The gem, here figured to the actual size, was found about two feet from the



surface, in the course of excavations for the laying of gas-pipes in the ancient city of Caerleon, *Isca Silurum*, some time in the year 1882. The material is a sardonyx of three layers, but so bleached by the heat of the funeral pyre to which it had accompanied its original owner, as to present the appearance of a piece of oyster-shell; and to remind us forcibly of what Propertius noticed in the changed looks of Cynthia's ghost:

Et solitam digito beryllon *adederat* ignis.

The subject is a theme much affected by Roman art on account

of the strong contrast it involves of the extremes of Beauty and Savagery combined—the Head of the Lydian queen Omphale, equipped with the Nemean Lion's hide, of which she has despoiled her submissive lover, Hercules; whom for a similar reason the same artists often depicted with face under the veil of his imperious mistress. The work is a masterpiece of its class, the face is finely modelled and full of life, in all the conscious pride of beauty, and the shaggy character of the lion's skin is represented with much fidelity to nature: the relief too is high, and, when assisted by the naturally contrasted colours of the yet uninjured material—which would render the lion's hide in buff, the face in pearly white, and the background in dark brown—the design must have come out with great effect.

These compositions, besides their elegance, have an historical interest attached to them; for there can be no doubt that many among their number preserve the portrait of a woman of great note and influence for good in her day, represented too under a character that typifies the nature of that influence. Conjugated heads of Hercules and Omphale are very numerous on gems, of which the style bespeaks one and the same period, and that the highest epoch of Roman art, the second century of our era. This sudden outburst of taste in *one direction* is sufficiently explained to us by the history of the times, in the seven years' ascendancy of the celebrated *Marcia*¹ over the "Roman Hercules," as he styled himself, the emperor Commodus. What are the finest medallions in the imperial series exhibit his head, covered with the lion's neck, and *conjugated* with the portrait of Marcia with helmet and *petta*, in the character of Queen of the Amazons—nay, even his own signet bore his Amazonian enslaver for its device². And though the

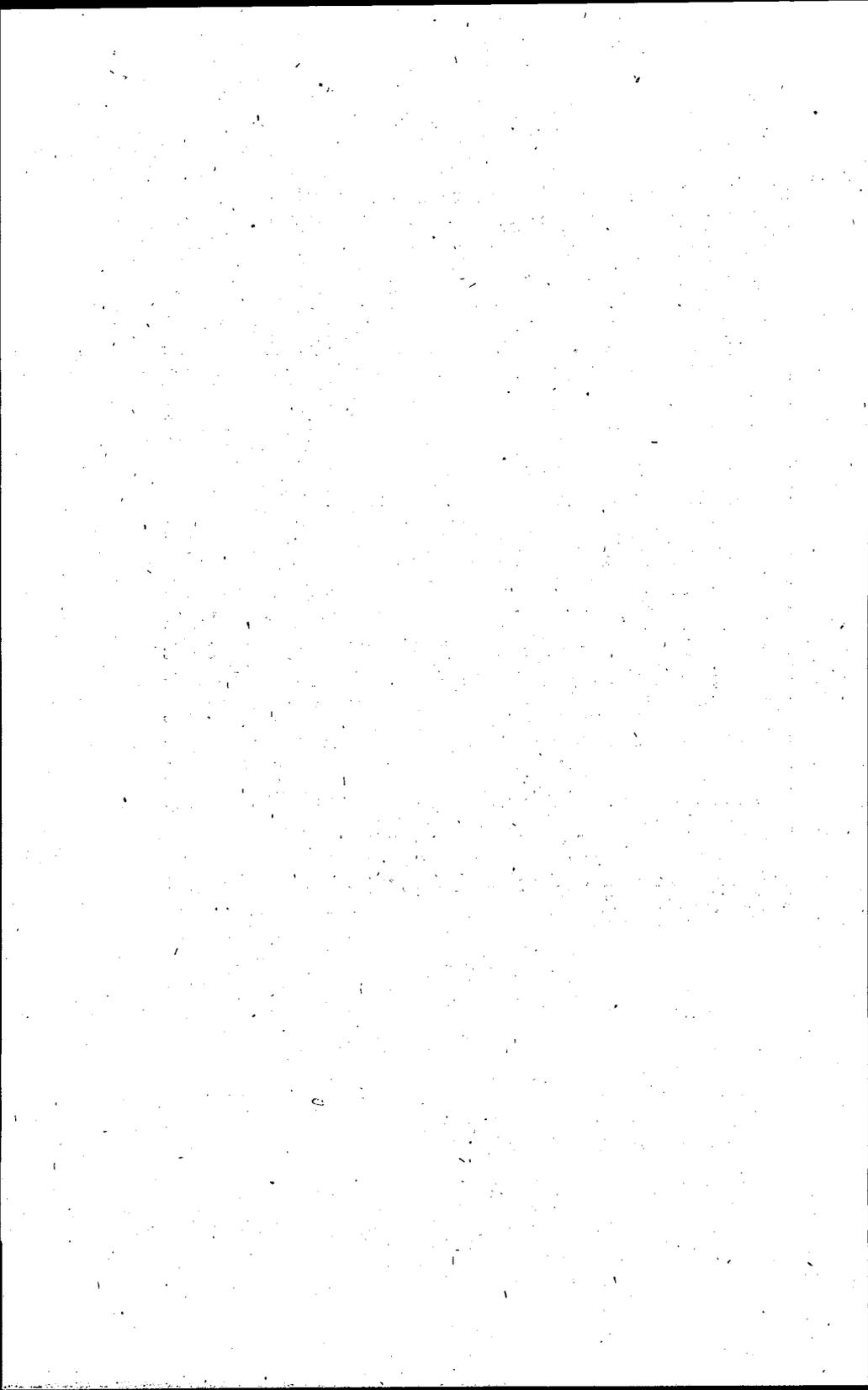
¹ The protectress of Pope Victor I. and his flock.

² "super hoc ad procuratores meos literas misi quas ipse signatas accipias signo *Amazonio*" (Capitolinus, *Clod. Albin.* II.).

historian does not condescend to further particulars of the emperor's degradation, it naturally follows that the Lydian episode in the career of the demi-god supplied many parallels to artists desirous of paying court to the fair enchantress of his preposterous imitator. She often is seen in gems of the epoch just referred to, not merely in a bust, but at full length; and wielding, though with difficulty, the mighty *club* for which she has exchanged the *distaff* with her lover.

As the dimensions of this cameo considerably exceed those of an ordinary ring-stone, it must have been employed in some other form of personal ornament. It may have graced the large oval *fibula*, which acting like the modern *solitaire* fastened the *paludamentum* of the Tribune in command of the legion which kept in awe the fierce Silures¹; as such a use for a cameo is conspicuously exhibited in the gem portrait of Caracalla in the grand "Family of Severus," belonging to the Paris cabinet; or if the owner were a Roman lady, carried so far into the remotest West by the tide of political circumstances, this cameo formed the central pendant to a necklace—the customary manner of displaying works of the kind that entered into the *mundus muliebris*, as many examples which are come down to our times complete sufficiently attest.

¹ The Welsh name of the place signifies, "The Camp of the Great Legion upon the Usk."



XVII. ON THE TABULA PEUTINGERIANA. Communicated by the Rev. BRYAN WALKER, M.A., LL.D.

[April 23, 1883.]

Part 1. To what date this map must be referred.

THIS is with good reason believed to be the most ancient map in existence: and there seems ground for supposing that it was transcribed in the 13th century from an earlier map, perhaps originally dating from the time of Augustus, but corrected up to the end of the second century of the Christian era.

The monk who wrote the "Annals of Colmar" has an entry, "anno 1265 mappam mundi descripsi in pelles duodecim pergameni"; and earnest search was frequently made for this "mappam mundi", but not till A.D. 1507 was any trace of it discovered. In that year we find the well-known scholar, Trithemius, negotiating for the purchase of an ancient map on sale at Worms. He failed to buy it, as 40 florins, the price demanded, deterred him; and Conrad Celtes became its owner, and at his death bequeathed it to Conrad Peutinger. Another story, however, is to be mentioned, that Celtes borrowed it from the monastery of Tegernsee in Bavaria, and wrongfully detained it: and this story is connected with an earlier legend, that Werinher, a monk of Tegernsee, copied it from the older document, whilst "Rupert was Abbot of the Monastery"; which we find to have been between A.D. 1155

and 1186. But certain manifest interpolations accord better with the date of A.D. 1265 for the transcription, as I shall shew in the sequel.

The map remained for a long time in the keeping of the Peutinger family; but, the descendants of Conrad not inheriting their ancestor's literary tastes, nothing was heard of it for another century and a half; when Welser, a relation of the family, unearthed it once more, and brought out the first printed edition, a very poor one, in 1682. Hornius next published the map in much better form in 1686: and the editions of Scheyb and Mannert followed, the latter appearing in A.D. 1824. The MS. itself was sold by Ignatius, the last of the Peutingers, to Kuhz, a bookseller, in A.D. 1714. From Kuhz Prince Eugène of Savoy bought it in A.D. 1720; and by his will it passed in A.D. 1738 to the Emperor, Charles VI, through whose gift it now rests in the Imperial Library of Vienna.

I will first suggest the reasons there are for supposing it was copied by some German monk in the 13th century; and then proceed to consider the indications of the date, and possible history, of what he transcribed.

The transcriber evidently was ignorant of the designations of places in Italy and Greece, and, in fact, had little knowledge of any country except that close to the Rhine. The blunders he makes in transcribing names shew not only that he had before him some faded and damaged document, but that he was profoundly ignorant of ancient history and geography. He writes Etrura, Brittius, Luccania, Epitaurus, Dyrratio, Bennebento, Regiö, Phinippopolis: Igeum for Aegeum, Trhacia for Thracia, Isteria for Istria, Blaboriciaco for Lauriaco, Iepirus for Epirus, &c. &c. His errors, however, are not confined to any part of the map, though they are very rare in Germany. In Table I. Riger is written for Liger; Nenniso for Nemauso; Pätavia for Batavia; Seifi for Sitifi, &c. So also in Table II. "Lugdune usque hic legas" for "Lugduno, usque

hic Leugas"; Vigenna for Vienna; Burcturi for Bructeri, &c. : and so on¹. There is clear internal evidence that the transcriber was a Rhinelander; for in the map no forests are marked, except the *Silva Vosagus*, and the *Silva Marciana* (the Black Forest) (II, III), but these are named, and noted by rough sketches of rows of trees, drawn on a scale quite out of proportion to the other symbols on the map. The only other instance of pictures of trees is near Antioch (x). And at Antioch, as at Rome and Constantinople, in place of the symbols usually employed in the map to denote a town of importance (to be hereafter described) we find elaborate medallions or pictures. These present us with human figures, mediæval in every detail of their dress and insignia, and having no resemblance to classical models. The emblem of Antioch (x), in particular, is a Virgin and Child, seated upon a bridge of many arches, clearly the famed Iron Bridge, with one side of the city or symbol surrounded by trees². Antioch, to judge by the elaboration of its medallion, was in the transcriber's eyes a place of the utmost

¹ The editors, Hornius and Mannert, whose editions are the most accessible, have printed the surviving *eleven* sheets of the MS. (see p. 251) in *twelve* sections or tables; and these tables will be referred to in the present paper by Roman numerals within brackets, thus (II).

² In vol. 40, p. 38 of the *Arch. Journal* there is a note by Mr Bunnell Lewis to this effect: "Conrad Mannert, the editor of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, pref. p. 19, speaking of the two figures on the site of Antioch, in segmentum x, makes the following remark: Sanctam Mariam simul et Jesum Christum indicari vix est dubium. On the contrary, we have here an allegorical representation of Antioch and the river Orontes, derived from coins, which were miniature representations of a celebrated group by the sculptor Eutychides. Below these figures in the *Tabula* several arches of a bridge are distinctly marked...*Brit. Museum Catalogue of Greek coins*, (Seleucid Kings of Syria) p. 103, and plate xxvii (Seleucidæ) 5, 6: *Eckhel Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. III. pp. 247, 248."

The Seleucid coins referred to have scarcely any resemblance to the medallion in the *Tabula*. The river is represented in them, not as a child in the lap, but as a full-size figure swimming beneath the feet of Antioch. I think the one idea may possibly have suggested the other: but in any case the symbol in the *Tabula* is unmistakably Christian.

importance, and in some way intimately connected with Christianity: and we know that Antioch was in Christian hands, and the stronghold of the Crusaders till A.D. 1268, when it fell into the power of the Infidels. The curious effigy at Constantinople (VIII), again, does not represent a Greek emperor, and is without the crown, sceptre and orb, which are borne by the figure placed at Rome; but it would serve well to indicate the Count of Flanders or one of his Latin successors¹.

That a Christian hand transcribed the map is also plain from several curious entries; as in Arabia (IX) "desertum ubi quadraginta annos erraverunt filii Israel ducente Moysè"; and over Mt. Sinai, "hic legem acceperunt in Monte Sina": and yet a proof that the copy was from an older original is furnished in the insertion of "ad Dianam" close to the holy mount; just as we have a reminiscence of earlier things in the "Byzantini" (VIII) placed close to "Constantinopolis." The interruption of the lines of road, passing near the three great cities, is another proof that the medallions are interpolations. We have further "Mons Oliveti" (IX), with an exaggerated indication of lofty hills, close to "antea dicta Hierusalem, nunc Helya Capitólina"; of which six words the first four are presumably additions made by the 13th century transcriber.

And yet, in spite of these exceptional notices, the general character of the map is *not* Christian. There are, for instance, nearly six hundred references in it to heathen temples and worship²: and it appears to correspond best in its details with the state of affairs in the Roman Empire about the year 200 A.D., or a trifle earlier. It has been assigned to the reigns of Theodosius, Constantine and Alexander Severus; but my

¹ The Latin Princes at Constantinople were Baldwin, 1204; Henry, 1206; Peter de Courtenay, 1217; Robert de Courtenay, 1221; John de Brienne and Baldwin II, 1228; Baldwin II. alone, 1237—1261.

² For instance an *Iseum* or a *Serapeum* stands on almost every one of the islands into which the Delta of the Nile divides itself.

opinion is that it belongs to that of Marcus Aurelius or Commodus, and was a copy of an official or imperial map, painted on a wall or walls for public reference.

We are informed by Aethicus, who wrote in the fourth century, that a survey of the Roman territory was ordered by the Senate in the consulship of Julius Cæsar and Marcus Antonius (B.C. 44), and that the measurements were taken by three *metatores*, Zenodoxus in the East, Theodotus in the North, Polyelitus in the South; to whom some add Didymus in the West¹. This survey occupied altogether 32 years. Pliny further records² that M. Vipsanius Agrippa, who laid down new roads through Gallia and Hispania, and towards the Danube, also, with the sanction, doubtless, of Augustus, drew up a map of all the roads from his own knowledge³ (which he also embodied in his Commentaries) and from the surveys of these Greeks: and that the map was painted in his portico for public inspection. This map, we also gather from Pliny, was corrected from time to time, when new roads were constructed, old roads diverted, or errors discovered. It is highly probable that this map, though at different times, was the model of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* in its original shape, and also the source from which the *Itinerarium Antonini* was compiled. For private map-making was apparently discouraged, Metianus Pomposianus being charged with a capital offence in the reign of Domitian "quod depictum Orbem Terrarum in membrana circumferret"⁴; whilst, on the other hand, inspection of the public maps was encouraged, if we may judge from the words of Propertius, "Cogor et e tabula pictos cognoscere mundos"⁵; and from the advice of

¹ The name of Didymus occurs only in the Vatican MS.; which also puts Nicodomus instead of Zenodoxus. But this MS. is full of errors, and the agreement of the others is in favour of their reading.

² *Hist. Nat.* III. 2.

³ See Strabo 4. 6. 11; 5. 3. 9; 5. 4. 6; 13. 1. 19; for the great engineering achievements of Agrippa.

⁴ Sueton. *Domit.* 10.

⁵ Propert. 4. 3. 36.

Eumenius Rhetor, that boys should study in the porticoes the "orbem depictum".¹ The public maps would also be the only maps on another account; for we cannot suppose that any private person, even if the attempt were not treasonable, could afford the time and cost of a survey on his own account.

The Itinerary of Antonine shews clearly when it was compiled, being replete with indications of Constantine or the Tetrarchy, as Diocletianopolis, Maximianopolis, and the like, which are entirely absent from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

The ascription of the latter to the reign of Theodosius seems based only on a rhythmical account of a transcription of a map of the world, written by a cotemporary, and preserved by a writer of the ninth century, Ducuil; "miserrimo scriptore," as Mannert pleases to add. This is as follows:

Hoc opus egregium; quo mundi summa tenetur,
 Aequora quo montes, fluvii, portus, freta et urbes
 Signantur.
 Theodosius princeps venerando jussit ab ore
 Confici, ter quinis aperit dum fascibus (*al. fastibus*) annum.
 Supplices hoc famuli, dum scribit, pingit et alter,
 Mensibus exiguis, veterum monumenta secuti,
 In melius reparamus opus, culpamque priorem
 Tollimus, ac totum breviter comprehendimus orbem.

This, if the reading be *fascibus*, must refer to Theodosius II, who was consul eighteen times, whilst the elder Theodosius only held the office thrice.

But Theodosius II, being Emperor of the East only, could hardly have thought of such a map, or had the power to institute a general survey; and in any case the mention of one official writing, whilst the other painted, and the fact of the work being completed in a few months, points rather to a mere recension of an old map than to a new survey. In fact there is really nothing to connect the *Tabula* with the work of

¹ In his *Oratio pro instaurandis scholis*, c. 20 and 21.

the scribes of Theodosius; but the passage from Ducuil is worth quoting, to shew that there was some earlier original; and it would appear that the *Tabula* was taken from it at a date prior to either Theodosius, and prior even to Constantine. The introduction of the name *Constantinopolis* I have already suggested to be an interpolation of the 13th century transcriber, who did not take the pains to alter the adjacent *Byzantini*. *Cirta* (III) in Africa, which, like Byzantium, had its name changed in honour of Constantine, remains *Cirta* in the *Tabula*; so also Edessa (VII), is still *Edessa*, though it became Diocletianopolis. Ostudizus (VIII) had not been yet renamed Nicæa, and, though its name is misspelled, it can be recognized in *Hostiho*. In Syria we have Antaradus (X) (*Andarado*) and not Constantia: in Thrace *Porsuli* (VIII) and not Maximianopolis. The map also contains a careful delineation of provinces lost long before Constantine; and we can hardly suppose that they were retained from an unwillingness to confess that their loss was final, but more probably because the map refers to a period before they were severed from the Empire.

The province of Valeria, between the two Pannonias, so named by Galerius in honour of his wife¹, is not indicated. Neither is there any reference to Constantine's division of Gaul into 17 Provinces; but the older partition into Belgica, Lugdunensis and Aquitania is retained. This is, I think, enough to shew that the *Tabula* refers to a date earlier than Constantine: but we can approximate still more closely to the time, by noting that it contains no record of towns of later foundation than the reign of M. Aurelius (Constantinople excepted), though notice is taken of several connected with the names of Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines; one Hadrianopolis in Thrace (VIII), another in the African Pentapolis (VIII), and a third in the southern part of Dalmatia (VI); also Hadrianuteba in Asia (IX), Pons

¹ Sext. Aurel. Victor, c. 40.

Adriani near Rome (v), Colonia Trajana on the Rhine (I), Vicus Aureli in Gætulia (III), Forum Aureli in Tuscany (IV), via Aurelia leading out of Rome (v). We have also Marcianopolis in Moesia (VII), which we know was so designated by Trajan in honour of his sister; and Nicopolis (*Nicopolistro*) (VII), which he built and named to commemorate his Dacian victories. Trajan's province of Dacia, N. and E. of the Danube (VII), is fully mapped with roads and stations, and with *Castra Trajana* marked, and the three roads across the Danube. This, again, cannot be a mere reminiscence of former conquests: for if the map had been constructed after A.D. 270, when Aurelian removed the Dacians to a new Dacia (*Aureliana*), between the two provinces of Moesia (VI), we should not find those provinces contiguous, as they are in the map. M. Aurelius, we know, never abandoned Dacia, and died at Sirmium or Vindobona whilst carrying on war with success in its defence. The absence of Vicus Aurelii in the *Agri Decumates* is another corroboration of the proof; for this town was named after Caracalla, who assumed the name of Aurelius as well as of Antoninus¹. *Aris Flaviis* (III), marked in the same district, shews that the map is, at any rate, later than the commencement of the 120 miles of rampart, raised by Domitian, and afterwards prolonged 240 miles further. *Aris Flaviis* seems to have been at Wetzheim near Stuttgart, according to Hodgkin: Domitian's rampart ran from near Ratisbon to Wetzheim. As a further proof, we may notice that Perinthus (VIII), called by that name in the map, was afterwards Heraclea; and that the *agri Byzantini*, also marked, were given by Sept. Severus to Perinthus, and soon after lost their ancient name.

But the clearest identification of the date of the map can

¹ Centum Cellae (*Civita Vecchia*) where Trajan made a harbour, and which in his life-time was called *Trajanæ Portus*; is in the *Tabula Centum Cellis* again; shewing that the old name had again come into use, as we know from other sources that it did almost immediately.

be arrived at by noticing the names and relative positions of the barbarian neighbours of the Empire. We have *Francia* (I) entirely on the eastern bank of the Rhine, though the Franks in the reign of Valerian or Gallienus, between A.D. 253 and 268, overran Batavia and Gallia, and, in spite of the victories mendaciously attributed to Postumus, were never fairly dislodged; pressing forward continually, till before 360 A.D. they had founded their kingdom of Toxandria, overrun Spain, and crossed into Mauritania. The position, then, of *Francia* only proves the map to be earlier than the time of Gallienus; but there are other more definite indications of date. The map must have been drawn before the confederacy of the Franks was completed; for out of the eight nations which composed it, Catti, Chauci, Cherusei, Attuarii, Bructeri, Chamavi, Salii, Sigambri, two are set down as still distinct from the Franks, viz. the Chauci (*Chaci*) and Bructeri (*Burcturi*) (I, II), and the Chamavi (I) had only lately been absorbed, as is indicated by the note, "Chamavi qui et Franci." When the Frank confederacy commenced it is not easy to say¹; but Tiberius and Drusus fought against the Bructeri, Cherusci, Sigambri and Chatti, and there is no mention of Franci in the records of their campaigns. The Alamanni and Suevi (II, III), again, in our map are not yet one united nation, though marked as neighbours; and the Alamanni are not known to Roman history prior to the time of the Antonines; being an association of Suevic volunteers, as the Franks seem to have been of warriors of the non-Suevic tribes. They emerged from obscurity, probably coalescing with the Suevi in general, in the time of Caracalla²; penetrated as far as Ravenna in the time of Valerian and Gallienus; and Aurelian, Constantius

¹ Gibbon makes the completion of the confederacy to date from 240 A.D. But probably it was formed gradually.

² They permanently occupied the Agri Decumates from about 260 A.D.; but the map appears to place them further north.

Chlorus and Julian had to meet their incursions at ever-varying points.

The Vandals in the map have already moved from the Baltic, and are living on the left of the Danube, almost opposite Ratisbon. If the map were of Constantine's time, they would have to be placed in Pannonia and Illyricum. Behind them we have the Marcomanni (III), against whom Tiberius fought, when they lived north of the Black Forest: but we know that they moved to the south and east, under Maroboduus, at the end of the reign of Augustus: and so we seem to find them placed. The curious entry *QIUVAZDUGII* (IV) is evidently *QUADI* and *JUZUGI* intermixed, and the letters can be discriminated as of different colours. We have the first mention of the latter, as allies of the Quadi, in the campaigns of M. Aurelius: though the Quadi and Sarmatæ are said to have been chastised by Domitian, but more probably chastised him¹. A fragment of a name *BUR* (IV) may intimate that the Burgundians were the next tribe to the east occupying a district opposite Ferrol and Buda². Of Sarmatians the map makes frequent mention: the Juzugi or Jazyges, just mentioned, were a Sarmatian tribe; and we have notice of the Sarmate Vagi, Amaxobii Sarmate, Lupiones, Venati, and Roxolani (V, VI, VII) as neighbours of Trajan's Dacia; which accords with Pliny's account, that the Sarmatians pushed the Dacians over the Danube soon after the reign of Augustus, and established themselves between the Carpathians and the river. The mention of Venati Sarmatæ in this district, and of the Venedi at the mouth of the Danube (VIII), shews the presence of another Slavonic race, the Wends, or as they called themselves, Servi:

¹ Still earlier the Quadi are mentioned in conjunction with the Marcomanni. See Tacit. *Germ.* § 42. The "thundering legion" of M. Aurelius was in the field against the Quadi.

² The Burgundians about 350 A.D., in the time of Valentinian, had moved further north, and occupied both sides of the river Elbe.

a large portion of whom were incorporated with the Goths, when that nation swept into Mœsia and Thrace in the reign of Decius¹. In our map the Venedi and Sarmatæ are still distinct nations, as are also the Bastarnæ or Blastarni (VII), all three of which tribes the Goths incorporated with themselves before the reign of Valentinian. We find, in fact, no indication of the Goths in the map; but we have Getæ between the rivers Danubius and Agalingus (VIII), the latter being either the Pruth or the Dniester: and this accords with what Spartianus tells us, that the Goths, on their appearance upon the borders of the Euxine, were called at first Getæ: "Gothos tunc Getas dictos esse²." We can scarcely accept the legend that the Goths were allies of Mithridates, and on his defeat moved from the shores of the Euxine to Scandinavia or Scania: but the Guttonés mentioned by Pytheas seem to be the Goths. According to Pytheas they dwelt to the south of the great gulf, Mentonomon, as far as the Tanais, which is probably the Vistula: and we suppose that from Prussia and Pomerania a portion had passed into Scandinavia, and that another large body afterwards moved southwards; till in the reign of Alexander Severus they were almost in their old legendary quarters near the Crimea: and the Getæ in our map may represent the heads of their advancing column. The Alans are also placed (IX) near the Lacus Salinaris, in the neighbourhood apparently of the Caspian. This tribe is said to have appeared in Media and Armenia in the time of Vespasian; whilst in the time of Marcus they shewed themselves north of the Black Sea; which is fairly accordant with their position as here shewn. The Roxolani (*Roxulani Sarmatæ*), with whom Hadrian had a successful struggle, ending in the frustration of their attempt to

¹ They attacked Marcianopolis, Nicopolis and Philippopolis; and defeated and killed Decius at Forum Teretronii, A.D. 251: but were driven out again by Aurelian in A.D. 253.

² Spart. *Caracall.* 10.

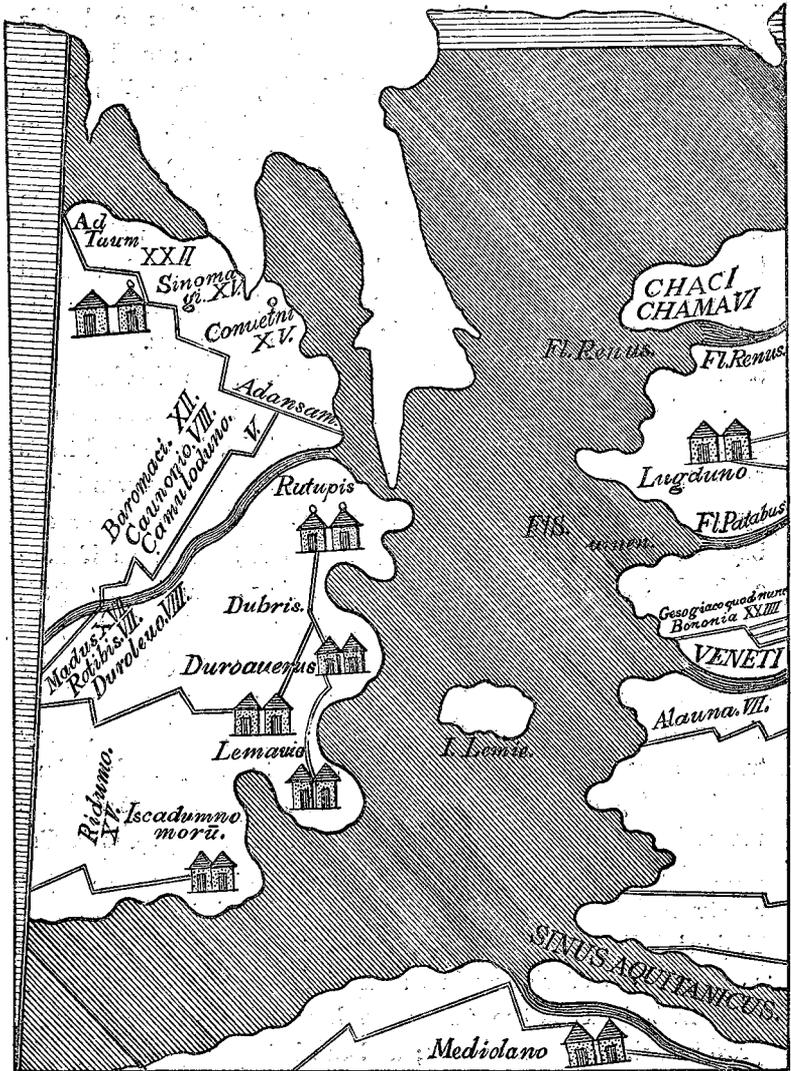
enter Mœsia, are also shewn (viii) in occupation of a district to the N.W. of the Euxine. Marcus is mentioned by Julius Capitolinus as giving a king to the Lazi, who lived beyond the Phasis, in which locality approximately this tribe, of which we have little further record, is to be seen (ix) in the *Tabula*. Thus the arrangement of the Barbarian Tribes accords in almost every detail with what we know of their distribution in the reign of M. Aurelius.

Let us now look at the representation of the Eastern frontier. Palmyra, destroyed in A.D. 273 by Aurelian, is represented (x) as a flourishing city, with several roads leading to it through the desert. From the careful delineation of the roads in Mesopotamia, and from the fact that Parthia (*Parria* in the map, xi) is included in a larger district, denoted Persida, some critics have been inclined to assign the map to the time of Alexander Severus, who is known to have had much warfare on the Eastern frontier, and made or repaired roads in Mesopotamia, and is said to have instructed Achelous to record his "actus et itinera." But "itinera" may just as well mean his "travels" as his "roads"; and M. Aurelius was quite as much concerned with the affairs of the East as Alexander Severus; in fact Gibbon casts great doubt on the reputed victories of Alexander¹. Persida, in our map, appears to be a district partly within and partly without the Roman Empire, and therefore not an independent power. The Persians, we allow, did not wrest the supremacy from the Parthians till about A.D. 226; but the title Persida may long before have been a name applied to the region over which the Persians had ruled in earlier times. We know that the generals of Marcus fought battles with success at Europos (xii) and Sure (x), both of which are noted in the *Tabula*; and just beyond Sure is marked "fines exercitus Syriaticæ, et commercium barbarorum,"

¹ Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. 8.

the road ending abruptly at the same point. So also a road leading to Ctesiphon (*Cesiphun*) stops there, as if that was the limit of Roman knowledge in another direction: and this Ctesiphon is at a great distance from Seleucia; and cannot possibly correspond with the Ctesiphon, three miles from Seleucia, which Marcus utterly destroyed by fire. Ctesiphon seems to have been the name for the moving camp or capital of the Great King (see Gibbon ch. 8); and after the sack of the Ctesiphon near Seleucia, it is not improbable that the royal head-quarters would be moved further into the interior. And the map leads us to infer that this second Ctesiphon was also taken, and became the limit of the Roman conquests. Babylon also, we know, was taken, but not retained, the Persian king purchasing peace from Marcus by the cession of Mesopotamia, exactly as the map would lead us to conclude, for no road leads from the Roman territory to Babylon (xi). Artaxata was taken by one of Marcus' generals, A. Cassius; and here too the roads beyond, after a short circuit, return to Artaxata; as if here again the Romans came to an end of their communications (xi). It may, in fact, be noted that although roads are marked in the Eastern half of the 11th section of the map (as given by Mannert), and in the 12th, these roads are not in communication with the roads of the Roman-Empire, and are clearly tracks only known by report, or discovered during the invasions of Marcus' generals. Again, although a road with stations is marked as running through Iberia and Albania (xi), it is disconnected from the Roman road-system, and may be a road constructed in these provinces during their brief annexation by Trajan¹. Europos and Sure are places of no importance except as the scenes of victory in the time of M. Aurelius; Elegeia (*Elegarsina*) (x) is the fort whose destruction by the Parthians provoked the Romans to war; and the inference thus suggested.

¹ Iberia and Albania were abandoned by Hadrian, and not recovered by M. Aurelius.



is confirmed in quite another part of the map, where we have the names of two towns, of no importance and denoted by no pictorial symbols, written in capital letters, a rare mode of lettering in the map. These are Lorium on the Via Aurelia (v), 12 miles from Rome, and Ugernum, close to Nemausus or Nismes (I): and the fact may be explained by the circumstances that T. Antoninus was educated at Lorium, and died there; and that his family came originally from the neighbourhood of Nismes; Ugernum possibly being the exact place of their origin.

The evidence on the whole seems strongly to lead us to the inference that the *Tabula Peutingeriana* was derived from the map of Vipsanius Agrippa, as corrected and recast at the end of the reign of M. Aurelius; and, it may be, also renewed by the two scribes of Theodosius; and that it was once more transcribed, with many verbal errors, and with some very transparent interpolations, in the middle of the 13th century; then buried in the library of a monastery for 350 years, and brought to light again in 1507 A.D., from which time it is easily traceable.

Part 2. The bearing of the Tabula on the topography of Britain about 200 A.D.

The fragment of our island depicted in the *Tabula* is a very small one; not because, as Scheyb supposed, Britain was for a while lost to the Romans, but because one of the original twelve sheets of the *Tabula* has been destroyed. There is clearly a margin to the outer edge of the first of the sheets remaining, as if left for the purpose of glueing on another; and there is nothing corresponding at the extremity of the last sheet of the series. The printed map, in Mannert's edition, is now in 12 compartments; but this arrangement has been made for convenience by dividing the eleven original sheets into twelve. It will at once be noticed that only the East coast of Britain as far to the north as what is now Norfolk, is de-

picted; together with what appears at first sight to be only a *portion* of the South Coast. But we perceive from the mention of Exeter (Isca Damnoniorum, which the scribe converts into Isca Dumnorum) that the outline is greatly compressed and distorted, and the sketch is really intended to comprehend England as far as the Land's End. This is a mode of drawing which may be observed throughout every sheet of the map; and therefore, before proceeding further, a few remarks must be offered as to the plan on which the ancient geographer worked. His object was merely, or, at any rate, principally, to point out the order of the stations along the various roads. He evidently cared little for *direction*; but he was careful to insert the principal rivers, and hardly ever appears to make the mistake of placing a town on the wrong bank of an important stream. As to tributaries he is not so particular; his object with them seems to be merely to shew crossing-places; and if a tributary is tortuous, or cannot be introduced into his distorted map without traversing some road, contrary to fact, or some other river, contrary to nature, he omits it, or replaces it by some other imaginary river, so as to indicate a crossing in its proper situation. So, again, as to inlets of the sea, we observe throughout a remarkable contraction in the measurements from north to south; as, for instance, in the case of the Mediterranean Sea and the Bâÿ of Biscay, with a corresponding enlargement to east and west in many cases; for the Mediterranean Sea runs through nearly ten out of the twelve plates which contain the *Orbem Veteribus Notum*. If the map was, as supposed, originally painted on the walls of a portico, it seems obvious that, to make the whole easily visible, it had to be submitted to this kind of distortion; which, by the way, is scarcely so excessive as that in the modern maps of the world on the projection named Mercator's.

Hence, judging from the analogy of the Bay of Biscay, &c., we may conclude that the estuary marked in the sketch of

Britain is not intended merely to represent the Thames, but the whole of the wide opening in the coast line, from Orfordness to the North Foreland. In this opinion I am not singular. Sir G. Airy took the same view in his *Essay on the Invasion of Claudius*; and Prof. Pearson says, "Tacitus, whose father-in-law was governor of the island, apparently believed the estuary of the Thames to extend to Colchester¹."

The map, in the portion of Britain represented, shews us six fortified camps or stations, Richborough, Dover, Hythe, Canterbury, Exeter and *Sinomagi*, which last by its position is evidently Sitomagus. These are represented as fortresses of a somewhat inferior kind, or of what may be styled the *fourth* class. For we find in the *Tabula* various forms of illustration employed to indicate places of greater or less importance. There are first a few cities represented by elaborate drawings of castellated buildings, viz. Apuleia, Ravenna, Ad Matricem in Dalmatia, Thessalonica, Nicomedia, Nicæa, and Ancyra the capital of Galatia². We have already noticed the still more elaborate diagrams representing Rome, Byzantium and Antioch, and classed them as 13th century introductions. Probably these three cities were in the original denoted by pictures of the same type as those first mentioned. With this class of pre-eminent cities we may also reckon those bearing the name of *Aquæ*, and represented by a picture of a rectangular bath, surrounded by rooms. Beacons are also depicted to symbolize Alexandria and Chrysopolis; and the piers and warehouses at Ostia and Marseilles are drawn with some amount of detail, and warehouses at Centum Cellis and Livissa, the port of Nicomedia. These being called the first class of stations, the second, third and fourth classes are represented by

¹ *Athenæum*, No. 1683 (28 Jan. 1860). Pearson's *Historical Maps*, p. 6.

² The unnamed figure in sheet 9 is evidently meant for Ancyra, though the transcriber has omitted its name. So also he omits the name of Alexandria, on the same sheet.

double, or sometimes treble towers; surrounded, if of the second class, with a battlemented wall; whilst an oval surrounding line takes the place of the battlements in a town of class III., and in class IV. the towers stand alone¹. Of this last kind we have almost countless examples; and, as already said, six in the S.E. and S.W. of Britain. Minor stations are denoted merely by flexures in the lines of road, and where the transcriber found space, and when he was not careless (as he so often was), a name was inserted in each flexure, the lettering running parallel with the road. Where space failed him he wrote two or three names, one below the other; and these will be found almost always to correspond in number with the flexures unlettered.

Looking again at the British portion of the map, we see marked a road running along the Kentish coast, from Richborough, through Dover, to Hythe (for it is now settled that Hythe was the *Portus Lemannus*)²: another from Dover through *Duroaverus*, i. e. *Durovernum* (Canterbury), to *Durolevum* (Milton or Faversham), *Rotibis* and *Madus*, to the West. *Rotibis*, by comparison with Antonine's *Iter II.*³, is either a misspelling, or very probably a local appellation for *Durobrivæ* (Rochester). As to the place intended by *Madus* there may

¹ In sheets 1—4, we have examples of this 2nd class at *Cosedia* (Coutances) in Gaul, afterwards called *Constantia*, after *Constantius Chlorus*: at *Mogontiacum* (Maintz): *Reginum* (Ratisbon): *Lucca* and *Tredentum* in Italy: *Tacape* in Africa.

So also there are examples of the third class at *Nemausus* (Nismes), written *Nenniso*: *Argentoratum* (Strasburg): and *Sarmategte* in Dacia Trajani.

² See papers by Messrs Lewin and W. H. Black in *Archæologia*, vol. 40, pp. 361 and 375.

³ The part of Antonine's *Iter II.* south of the Thames is

Londinium	10 miles to	Noviomagus:
Noviomagus	18 " "	Vagniacæ:
Vagniacæ	9 " "	Durobrivæ:
Durobrivæ	12 " "	Durolevum:
Durolevum	12 " "	Durovernum:
Durovernum	12 " "	Portus Ritupis.

be a little doubt: but probably for *Madus*, we should read *Magus*, and suppose *Noviomagus*, or Holwood Hill, to be indicated. There is a considerable resemblance between D and G in the lettering of the map, G being merely D with a long tail or flourish below, which flourish might be obliterated by time in the 3rd century MS., which the 13th century scribe had before him; and the prior syllable *Novio* may have been on the missing first sheet. The mileage is incorrectly marked; for instead of the VII miles noted in the *Tabula* between Canterbury and Milton, and the VII miles between Milton and Rochester, we should in each case read XII according to Antonine: but the exchange of x for v is one of the commonest mistakes in MSS. A station *Vagniacæ*, which Antonine inserts between *Durobrivæ* and *Noviomagus*, is not in the map; unless we take *Madus* to be this *Vagniacæ*, which has been suggested because Rochester is on the Medway or *Madus*: but, on the whole, it is better to suppose a mere omission of *Vagniacæ*, and *Madus* written for *Magus* or *Noviomagus*; for the *Tabula* sets down XVIII miles as the distance from *Madus* to the preceding station; which is exactly what Antonine gives as the distance from *Noviomagus* to *Vagniacæ*¹. The figure after the name *Vagniacæ* (which should be IX according to Antonine) would, no doubt, be omitted with the name itself. However, be the station *Madus* what we please, one thing is clear, viz. that the road from Canterbury and Dover has no appearance of turning to the north or north-west, to cross the Thames at London; an important fact to which I shall shortly recur.

As to the road above this, we recognize it at once as Antonine's Iter IX, *Venta Icenorum* being beyond the line of severance of the sheets. The most Northern station indicated

¹ But 18 miles would also be about the distance from Rochester to Telegraph Hill, and so on to Holwood Hill, by the ancient British track, which Petrie shows between Keston Camp and Telegraph Hill, in his map of ancient Kent. *A. J.* vol. 35, p. 169.

is *ad Taurum*, or Tasburgh, about 6 miles south of Venta¹; which Antonine does not mention², probably because it was so near to Venta, that troops marching to or from Venta would not make it a stopping place. The other stations marked are, with correction of the spelling, Sitomagus (*Sinomagi*), Combretonium (*Convetiū*), *ad Ansam*, *Camulodunum*, *Canonium*, Caesaromagus (*Baromasi* or *Baromagi*). Next, in Antonine's road, would come *Durolitium* and *Londinium*. If the name of *Durolitium* alone were missing, we might suppose it was owing to the carelessness of a foreign scribe, copying names in a country of which he had no local knowledge, and in which he felt little interest. But it is most remarkable that the crossing of the Thames is distinctly marked, without the least indication of the city of London. Dr Guest and others have, I think, proved beyond all doubt that, in the times with which we are dealing, there could have been no ford and no bridge lower than old London Bridge, if there was either so low³. London therefore is either situated where the crossing is marked, or nearer the sea: and yet the scribe has not indicated it at all, either by name or by picture; although elsewhere he appears to have carefully copied the pictures in his model, even when he failed to add the designation. The conclusion seems to be, that in the time of

¹ See Woodward's map of Roman Norfolk, *Archæologia*, vol. 23, p. 358.

² Antonine's *Iter ix* stands thus:

Venta Icenorum	31	miles to	Sitomagus :
Sitomagus	22	„ „	Combretonium :
Combretonium	15	„ „	Ad Ansam :
Ad Ansam	6	„ „	Camulodunum :
Camulodunum	9	„ „	Canonium :
Canonium	12	„ „	Caesaromagus :
Caesaromagus	16	„ „	Durolitium :
Durolitium	15	„ „	Londinium.

³ Besides, till the marshes on the Southwark side of London were drained (and none but the Romans could have drained them), it is impossible that London could have been approached directly from the S. or S.E. See as to these marshes Knight's *London*, vol. 1, pp. 74 and 146.

M. Aurelius or Commodus A.D. 161—193, London, which, as we know, had been burned during the Boadicean revolt, had not sufficiently recovered to be marked, even as a fourth class station, in the military map of the Roman world.

On this supposition of the insignificance of London, I should suppose the road from Canterbury and the other road, above mentioned, to have had their junction either at Noviomagus (Holwood Hill), or even further to the west, if the crossing of the Thames in the map be not at London at all, but at Kingston, where Claudius is said to have built a bridge, or at Coway Stakes, which Dr Guest shews to be the lowest ford of the Thames, if we reject the notion of Claudius's bridge¹. Supposing, however, the crossing to be at or near London, we may put the junction of the two roads at Holwood Hill, and consider this to be Noviomagus, which Antonine places 10 miles from London and 18 from *Vagniacæ* (Maidstone), distances which represent Holwood Hill very correctly. Reynolds, quoting Gibson², describes a great camp in that neighbourhood (probably meaning Keston), nearly two miles in circuit, with triple rampart and deep ditches; and this may have been occupied by the Romans, though originally constructed by the Britons. The extensive remains of Roman buildings, discovered hard by, are described in the *Archæologia*³.

Near Streatham, on the modern road towards London, Gale and Bray⁴ identified the meeting place of three Roman roads, one the Stane Street from Arundel, through Croydon and Dorking; another from the East, the road we are now tracing, called in later times the South Watling Street; a third

¹ See Guest on *The campaign of Aulus Plautius* in *Arch. J.* vol. 23, p. 159; and *Origines Celticae*, vol. 2.

² Reynolds's *Iter Britanniarum*, p. 228.

³ A circular Roman temple of 30 feet diameter (with which compare that at Silchester), a large rectangular building, walls in the fields, called Upper and Lower Warfield, &c. *Archæologia*, vol. 22, p. 336.

⁴ Bray in *Archæologia*, vol. 9, p. 96.

from Kingston, through Wimbledon. These roads are marked by Hughes in the map of Roman Britain in *Monumenta Britannica*¹. The upper road, therefore, in the map denotes in all probability one of Roman construction from *Noviomagus*, shortening both the original British route by Coway Stakes (Halliford), and the first Roman road through Kingston, by crossing the Thames at Horseferry, which Hearne describes as "ad occidentem Westmonasterii". This accords with what Sir H. Ellis says²: "the road from Chichester to Dunwich did not pass through London, but ran along the Old Street, north of London, and went to Old Ford, cutting the Watling Street at Tyburn." It is admitted on all hands that the Old Street was some distance from the London which existed prior to Constantine, and also clear of Constantine's London; and the traces of "Old London," i.e. London before Constantine, must be uncertain and indistinct (shewing Old London to be but an insignificant place), when we find such authorities as Black, Lewin, and C. Roach Smith³ at variance on the important fact, whether it was to the east or west of the Wallbrook. Among the many thousands of Roman coins found between 1834 and 1841, in the dredging for the foundations of the new London Bridge, there were but few

¹ Gale's note (also quoted with approval by Tregallas in *Arch. J.* vol. 23, p. 265) is as follows: "A Londinio ubi decesseris ad Austrum, post CIO CIO pass. vel circiter, via publica dispescit (*sic*) se in tres semitas, quarum occidentalior per Wimbledon, (i.e. Windledune, ad Vindilin' fluvium) et vallum Germanorum, qui hic sub A. Plautio meruere, pergit ad Kingstonium, vetus oppidum, (sed et sedem et nomen mutavit) haud dubie a primis Romanorum victoriis firmatum praesidiis, quemadmodum et Gotton, Bensbury, Wimbledon et Burrow super Benstead Downs, aliaque circumjacentia ad Thamisin loca. Id situs et provinciae tutela postulabant. Hic Romani primo Thamisin per pontem trajiciebant, et forte Claudius ipse. Hic in dunis proximis ad Combe CIO pass. ab hodierno Kingstonio multi Romanorum nummi sunt effossi." *Antonini Iter* (ed. 1709), p. 71.

² *Archæologia*, vol. 27, p. 77.

³ Black in *Archæologia*, vol. 40, p. 41; Lewin in *Archæologia*, vol. 40, p. 59; Roach Smith in *A. J.* vol. 1, p. 108.

of early reigns; and those most abundant were coins of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, with another series of Carausius, Allectus, Constantine &c.¹ The medallions found were only three; one of M. Aurelius, one of Faustina, one of Commodus. Most probably the medallions indicate the exact date of the first bridge, being deposited under its foundations with some of the coins of the same date: whilst the others would be thrown in to propitiate the god of the stream; such appearing to be a custom of Roman travellers². The second and later series will indicate, perhaps, a reconstruction of the bridge. There may have been a ferry at Dowgate, before the bridge, replacing the older ferry at Horseferry; and the construction of the bridge would account for commerce being drawn to London, and the city beginning to develop.

We may, therefore, explain why the Watling Street and Ermine Street are only conspicuous in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* by their absence. The Watling Street probably existed, but on reaching *Verulamium* turned to the south, and proceeded to Halliford, where the road from the Cattivelauni to the Atrebatas crossed the Thames. The road would, no doubt, be diverted afterwards, first to Kingston, and next to London, as the bridges were built.

As to the Ermine Street, it has always been considered that this, the straightest of the Roman roads, was also the latest, and the most essentially Roman; not being a rectification of old tracks, as many others were. For when roads were constructed during the progress of conquest to connect forts, as they were

¹ Akerman's *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 4, p. 147.

² See Mr Watkin's paper in *A. J.* vol. 34, p. 132. In the reservoir at Procolitia were found many thousands of coins: also 24 altars, 11 with inscriptions, mostly dedications to Corentina. At Vicarello, near Rome, 24,000 pounds weight of Roman and Etruscan coins. At Bourbonne-les-Bains, at the source of the Seine, 4000 coins, with rings, statuettes, &c. So also at Abbot's Well near Chester, at Kirbythore, at Latton Ford near Cirencester, near the old bridge over the Tyne, &c. &c.

established, they must of necessity have been tortuous. But when the country was settled and peaceful, it is equally natural to suppose that more direct roads would be laid out to connect the principal centres of population, commerce and military defence. Dr Guest has shown conclusively¹ that the nature of the country immediately north of London, marsh and dense woodland, must have prevented the construction of a direct North road in early days; and he seems inclined to consider the Ermine Street a Saxon work. But it is much more likely, I think, that it was made late in the time of the Roman domination. Antonine has no Iter corresponding to the line of the Ermine Street south of Godmanchester (Durolipons): therefore Chesterford, though an ancient British town, was probably a late Roman station; and consequently not likely to be either the *Iciani* or the *Camboritum* of Antonine's Itinerary. The Saxons were not enthusiastic roadmakers, and what roads they are known to have made are especially crooked; whereas the Ermine Street is distinguished for its direct course.

With regard, once more, to the road running through the Eastern counties. The names, as already noticed, are in most cases easily identified; the chief difference being that *Caesarmagus* is replaced by *Baromagi*, but no one can suppose *Caesarmagus* to be other than a Roman alteration, and the Romans left the essentially Gaelic termination in *magh*. The distances from place to place accord well enough with Antonine's distances, except that *Sitomagus* is placed 15 miles from *Combretonium* instead of 22: but the 22 is found in the distance from *Sitomagus* to *Ad Taum*, which ought to be 25, deducting the 6 between *Ad Taum* and *Venta Icenorum* from Antonine's 31 from *Sitomagus* to *Venta*. The German scribe was quite capable of transposing xxv and xxii, and also of omitting an x from the xxv: and this I suppose he has done. Where he only differs by a

¹ Guest on *The Four Roman Ways* in *A. J.* vol. 14, p. 99: *Origines Celticae*, vol. 2.

single mile, as he does in two or three cases, I account for it by supposing that in the maps a fraction was always omitted, and sometimes the inferior unit set down, sometimes the superior; so in these cases he may have correctly copied his model, and Antonine have worked on the contrary principle as to the fractions. The map strengthens the theory of Jenkins¹, that *Caesaromagus*, *Canonium* and *Camulodunum* may be placed, respectively, at Danebury Camp near Chelmsford, Hareburgh Camp and Lexden: Colonia, as distinguished from Camulodunum, being at Colchester, two or three miles from Lexden. The station of Camulodunum has no picture to designate it in the *Tabula*; and, doubtless, at the date assigned, it would be, like London, an insignificant place; the Colonia having been swept away by the Iceni under Boadicea, though they would probably spare the adjacent British town.

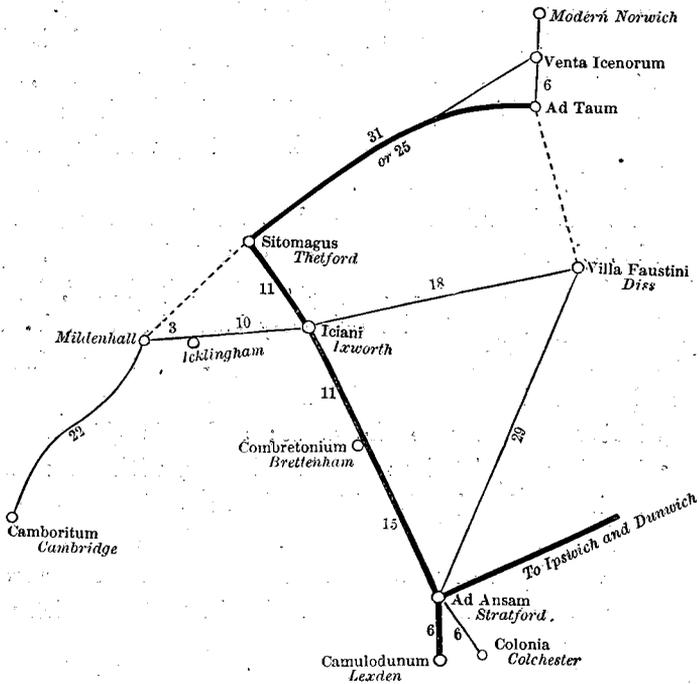
Ad Ansam is probably some place on the Stour; in fact, Richard of Cirencester (or Bertram) calls the station *Ad Sturium*; and though Bertram, as Prof. Mayor conclusively shows², forged Richard's *Diaphragmata*, he evidently based his forgeries on some records which in parts were authentic³. From *Ad Ansam* the main road evidently turned inland, though a short branch is marked as tending to the coast; and this (if we consider the river depicted to be the Thames, with its mouth narrowed in the drawing, but intended to stretch from Orfordness to Kent) must lead to Dunwich. So that we may agree with those antiquaries who say that a Roman road ran from Colchester to Dunwich, though we maintain that Dunwich was

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. 29, p. 243.

² *Richard of Cirencester* in the series of "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland."

³ Roads, notably the Southern continuation of the Ryknild through Alchester to Silchester, have been found to be in accordance with the *Diaphragmata*, though Antonine says nothing about them. This fact is one which is hard to be got over by those who assert Bertram's document to be a *baseless* forgery.

not *Sitomagus*. The theory of Camden, Blomefield and Dyer appears to be correct, that *Combretonium* is the Roman camp near Brettenham in Suffolk; and *Sitomagus* at or near Thetford, which appears to be the *Iciani* of Iter v. of Antonine. Another road seems to have crossed the Peutinger road at Ixworth in Antonine's time, running from *Villa Faustini* (Diss) to Icklingham and Mildenhall; and the arrangement of Antonine's Itinera v and ix seems to be as follows, the Peutinger road being shown by thick lines¹:



¹ Iter v of Antonine stands thus :

Londinium	27 miles to	Caesaromagus :
Caesaromagus	24 " "	Colonia :
Colonia	35 " "	Villa Faustini :
Villa Faustini	18 " "	Iciani :
Iciani	35 " "	Camboricum :
Camboricum	25 " "	Durolipons.

Only one other road is delineated in the *Tabula*, viz. that on which we find marked *Ridumo* and *Isca Dumniomorum*. There can be little doubt that *Ridumo* is the *Moridunum* of Antonine, and *Isca*, of course, is Exeter. The exact position of *Moridunum* is now almost certain, owing to the researches of Hoare and Warne, viz. at Honiton, or Hembury Fort near Honiton, and not at Seaton. Antonine, the *Tabula* and Richard agree in stating 15 miles as the distance from *Isca* to *Moridunum*, which agrees with the position of Hembury Fort. This road, then, must be the British trackway, afterwards converted into a Roman road, along the crest of the Downs, from *Durnovaria* (Dorchester), past Maiden Castle, Aggerdun and Lambard's Castle; along which, from the regular series of Roman camps, placed in opposition to British forts, we may suppose Vespasian to have advanced in his conquest of the south of Britain¹. This road was called, as a Roman road, the Dorset Fosseway, and fell into the great fosse at the Hembury Fort, just mentioned.

The map confirms the idea, generally held, that *Anderida*, *Regulbium*, *Othona*, *Portus Adurnus*, were not fortified ports till the reign of Carausius, when they were constructed to form with the older forts or stations, Dover, Hythe, Richborough, Burgh Castle (*Garionium*), and Brancaster (*Brancodunum*) the line of defence of the Saxon shore. It is impossible to say positively that the map indicates the non-existence of *Garionium* at its date, for where the map breaks off is uncertain; but probably, if *Garionium* had existed, it would have been in the existing fragment of Britain.

The conclusions, therefore, suggested by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* in relation to Britain, are:

I. That in the time of M. Aurelius London was a place of little importance, though it had previously been a resort of merchants, but not a fortress;

¹ See Warne in *Archæologia*, vol. 41, p. 387.

II. That the Watling Street, as a British road, crossed the Thames considerably to the west of London ;

III. That the Ermine Street is a late Roman work ;

IV. That the Romans may have had a station at Dunwich ; but that the road from Silchester, through Colchester to Norwich, did not pass through Dunwich, but went directly from Colchester to Ixworth and on to Thetford, and that Thetford is *Sitomagus*, and Ixworth *Iciani* ;

V. That the majority of the forts of the Saxon shore did not exist at the date mentioned.

XVIII. NOTE ON THE TOMB (IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY)
OF MARGARET BEAUFORT, COUNTESS OF RICHMOND
AND DERBY, MOTHER OF KING HENRY VII.
Communicated by J. W. CLARK, M.A., Trinity
College.

[May 7, 1883.]

WHILE searching the Audit-Books of S. John's College for notices of the buildings, I came upon a series of entries relating to the tomb of the Lady Margaret in Westminster Abbey; and subsequently, while looking through a bundle of old papers which had been found in the Muniment Room, I had the good fortune to discover some receipts signed by the artists employed upon it. These throw additional light on the original design of the tomb, and also confirm the tradition that the existing structure was executed by Pietro Torregiano, the celebrated Florentine sculptor.

The Lady Margaret died 29 June, 1509. In her will, dated 6 June, 1508, she had given the following directions respecting the place of her burial:

'And our body to be buried in the monastery of Seynt Peter of Westm'
in suche convenable place as we in our life, or our executors affir our

decesse shall provide for the same within the chapell of our Lady which is nowe begon by...our most deer son¹.

She was accordingly buried in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel near the east end of the south aisle. Her tomb is "an altar monument of black marble and touchstone, each side being divided by pilasters into three compartments. At the ends and sides are eight scutcheons within chaplets of laurel surrounded by roses. On the top is a recumbent effigy of the Countess in her coronet and robes of state, the head resting on cushions beneath a gothic canopy; and the feet supported by a fawn. The effigy, scutcheons, chaplets, roses, etc. are of copper, and the effigy is gilt. On the ledge of the tomb is the inscription, composed by Erasmus²." This altar-tomb is in excellent preservation. I am now able to shew that it was originally protected by a cage of gilt ironwork, resting on a stone plinth, which has not only disappeared, but all tradition of its former existence has been forgotten. The tomb was paid for by the executors of the Countess, but the ironwork was the gift of S. John's College, and must have been a very splendid work, for it cost £25, which represents at least £250 at the present value of money, exclusive of the stonework, and the gilding.

The accounts of the Executors³ of the Lady Margaret shew a total expenditure of £17. 8s. 2d. upon the tomb. Garter King receives £0. 13s. 4d. for "declaring my ladies armes in viij schochyns for my ladies tombe, and deliuerede to the florentyne, 27 December, 1512": Erasmus receives £1. 0s. 0d. for the epitaph, 28 December, 1512: "Maynarde paynter" receives

¹ Will of Margaret Countess of Richmond: printed in the Appendix to her funeral sermon by Bishop Fisher, ed. Hymers, p. 230.

² *Memoir of Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby*. By the late C. H. Cooper, F.S.A. 8vo. Camb. 1874. p. 124. Mr Cooper gives the inscriptions, and describes the eight coats of arms, with other particulars.

³ Cooper, *ut supra*, p. 200.

£1. 13s. 4d. "for makynge the picture and image of the seide ladye 22 June 1513"; and £4. 13s. 4d. for the makynge of diuerse patrons for my ladies tombe 15 March 1514; and the Prior of S. Bartholomews expends £9. 8s. 2d. in various matters not particularized. It is hardly likely that these entries contain the whole expense of the tomb, for it is stated that the aforesaid Prior (who gave his labour gratis) surveyed and controlled the workmen, and sent for diuers workmen from beyond the sea to make the said tomb.

One of the receipts lately discovered contains the particulars of an expenditure of £4. 13s. 4d., evidently the above sum paid to Maynard, though his name is not mentioned, and the document is not dated:

' For my lady the kinges grandame
Whose Soulle god pardone.

First for making of iij patrons in paper for her Tombe eche } xiiij^s. iiij^d.
of theym diuerse facions summa

Item for ij patrons made in cloth beyng the length of her }
tombe wrought with colours wherof the one Remayned in the }
executours handes and the oder in Master Petirs handes at }
xl s the pece And for his costes and lett of other besynes at } iiij li
diuerse and many tymes attending vpon the priour of seynt }
Bartilmewes and vpon the forsaid Master Petir by the com- }
mandement of the Executours summa

Summa totalis—iiij^s xiiij^d. [countersigned] 'Jo Roffis¹'

A second receipt, dated 7 February, 1512, for money paid to the same artist—probably part of the above sum—shews that he was a Fleming, and that his real name was Meynnart Wewyck:

'M^d that I Maynarde Vewicke of London paynter haue ressayuid the viij daie of February the thrid yeire of the reigne of kynge henry the viij of the Reuerend father in god John bushop of Rochester thre poundes ster-

¹ John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

lyng in parte of payement of A more some for a certen table and ij patrones drawn for my ladie the kynges grandeam' tombe. In witnes wher of I the saide maynarde haue subscribed this bill w^t my hand.

Meynnart Wewyck¹.

The "Master Peter" of the above Account, and "the florentyne" of the former Account, are evidently one and the same person, viz. Pietro Torregiano, a Florentine artist, who came to England about this time, and, 26 October 1512, signed an agreement with the Executors of King Henry the Seventh, to make a tomb of marble and touchstone, with recumbent effigies, in gilt copper, of the King and Queen. This document is recited in a draft indenture dated 5 January, 1518, in which the same artist, there styled "Petir Torrysany of the citie of Florence Graver", and further on, "Payntour", agrees to execute a tomb for King Henry the Eighth and Queen Katherine¹.

The above receipts and entries shew that the coats of arms were planned, and the inscriptions written, before 1512; and that the designs for the effigy and tomb were made between 1512 and 1514. The execution of the work probably proceeded as slowly as the selection of designs for it had done; for the first payment for the ironwork was made in the last quarter of the year 1526, to an artist—evidently a Fleming like Meynnart Wewyck—called "Cornelys Symondeson," "Cornelys Sympson," or simply "the Smyth at Temple barre." The first payment to him is "in earnest," and therefore probably marks the making of the bargain. One of his receipts, dated 26 October, 1527, shews that he was to receive £25 for his work; and as the last payment to him was made between June and September, 1529, we may conclude that the work was then completed, and that about two years and a half had been spent

¹ The document is printed in the *Archæologia*, Vol. xvi. p. 84. See also Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, etc., ed. Dallaway i. 171.

in the execution of it. The account, of which the details are given below, runs as follows :

Michaelmas—Christmas 1526	0 . 13 . 4
January—February 1527	4 . 10 . 0
May—June; (receipt also) 1527	5 . 0 . 0
26 October; (receipt also) „	4 . 0 . 0
	<hr/>
	14 . 3 . 4
Received also as per last receipt	0 . 16 . 8 ¹
	<hr/>
Total received to 26 October, 1527	15 . 0 . 0
April—June 1528	5 . 0 . 0
15 October; (receipt also) 1528	1 . 13 . 4
13 February 1529	2 . 0 . 0
June—September	1 . 6 . 8
	<hr/>
	<u>£25 . 0 . 0</u>

The payments and receipts referred to in this account are appended, in order of date :

Mich. Term. 18 Hen VIII: i.e Mich—Christmas 1526.

‘Item to the Smyth at Temple barre in Ernest xiiij^d’; and in the margin: ‘a grat for my ladys tomb’

Hilary Term 18 Hen VIII: i.e January—February 1527.

‘Item paid in p^t of payment to Cornelys Smyth for making a grate of Irone at Westm’ ouer my lady the kinges mother the vijth (sic) iiijth. x.²

Easter Term 19 Hen VIII: i.e 23 May—24 June 1527.

‘Item paid in part of payment to Cornelys smyth for making the kynges grandemother tumb at Westm’vth.’

‘M^d that I cornellys symonson hath Receyued of nycholas metcalf Clerke master of seynt Johns colleg in cambrigg fyue poundes sterlyng in part of payment of a mor some for making my lady the kynges grandmothe the vijth grate at Westm’ in wyttnes wher of I haue subscribyd my hande and sette my seall the xxxiiij day of may the xix yere of kyng Henry viijth. [23 May 1527].’

Mich. Term. 19 Hen VIII: i.e Mich—Christmas 1527.

‘The xxvi dai of Octobre. To Cornelis Sympson in parte of payment for making a Grate of my ladys tombeiiijth.’

¹ The last receipt shews that this sum must have been paid. I have either overlooked it, or, the Audit-Books being somewhat incomplete for this period, the leaf containing it has been lost.

'This bill Witteneth that I Cornelys Symonson Smyth haue rec' of M^r Doctor metcalf at diuers tymes as appereth by sondre bokes xv li in parte of payment of xxv li for the making of a certen grate betwext me the sayd Cornelys and the sayde M^r doctor apoynted and barganed of the whiche xv li I the sayd Cornelys knowlege my self truly contented and payed and the said M^r doctor and his assignes therof do clerly acquite and discharge by these presentes for euer.

In Wittenes wherof I the said Cornelys to these presentes haue setto my seale the xxvj day of octobre A^o xix^o henrici octaui. [26 October 1527] 'Sigillat' et pro vere fact' delibrat' fuit in presencia mei Raunhohi Hall, Willelmi Lamkin. by me Gabriell metcalf.'

Easter Term. 20 Hen VIII: i.e 12 April—24 June 1528.

- 'Item to Cornelis the Smyth in parte of payment for my ladys tombe and in full payment of xx^{li}.v^{li}.'
- 'This bill made the xvth day of Octobre in the xx^a yeare of the Reigne of kyng henry the viijth wittenesith that I Cornelys Symondeson haue recieved of M^r doctor metcalf in parte of payment for making a tumber for my lady the kynges Grand xxxiiij^s iiij^d in full payment of xxj^{li}. xij^s. iiij^d. In wittenes wherof I the saide Cornelys haue subscribed this bill wth myn owne hande the day and yer aboue written.' [15 October 1528]£1. 13. 4
- 'The xijth day of Febr' 20 Hen VIII: [i.e 13 February 1529.] 'Item to the Smyth for my ladys gratxl^s.'

Midsummer Term 21 Hen. VIII. June—September 1529.

- 'Item to Cornelys Symondeson in ffull payment for the grayte aboute my ladys tombe our ffoundresxxvj^s. viij^d.'
- 'Item in rewarde amongst the Smyths seruants that maide the grayt ffor our ffoundres tumberiiij^d.'

The stone plinth for the ironwork was executed by a free-mason, named Raynold Bray, citizen of London, who was paid £2. 13s. 4d. for his work :

Mich—January 20. Hen. VIII: probably Michaelmas 1528—January 1528—29.

- 'Item to Raynold Bray in parte of payment for making the baysses about my ladys towmbe in Westm'x^s.'

January—February 20 Hen. VIII: i.e January—February 1529.

- 'Item to Ranold Bray for stonewarke to set the grate vpon about my ladys tumberx^s.'
- 'Be it knowen to all men by these presentes that I Raynold Bray, Citizen and Fremason of london haue received this present day of maister

Doctor Medcalf xx^s. sterlinge in partie of payment of a more somme. Of the whiche xx^s. I knowlege my self welle and truly contented and paided by these presentes, Sealed w^t my seall. yauen the vj day of Februarye the xxth yere of the Reigne of King Henry the viijth. [6 February 1528—29.]

13 *February* 1528—29.

'Item to the Fre mason for stone warkexiiij. iiij^d.'

Lastly, the following charge is made for the gilding :

Michaelmas, 1529—30.

'Item for gyliding the grate about my ladys tombexl.'

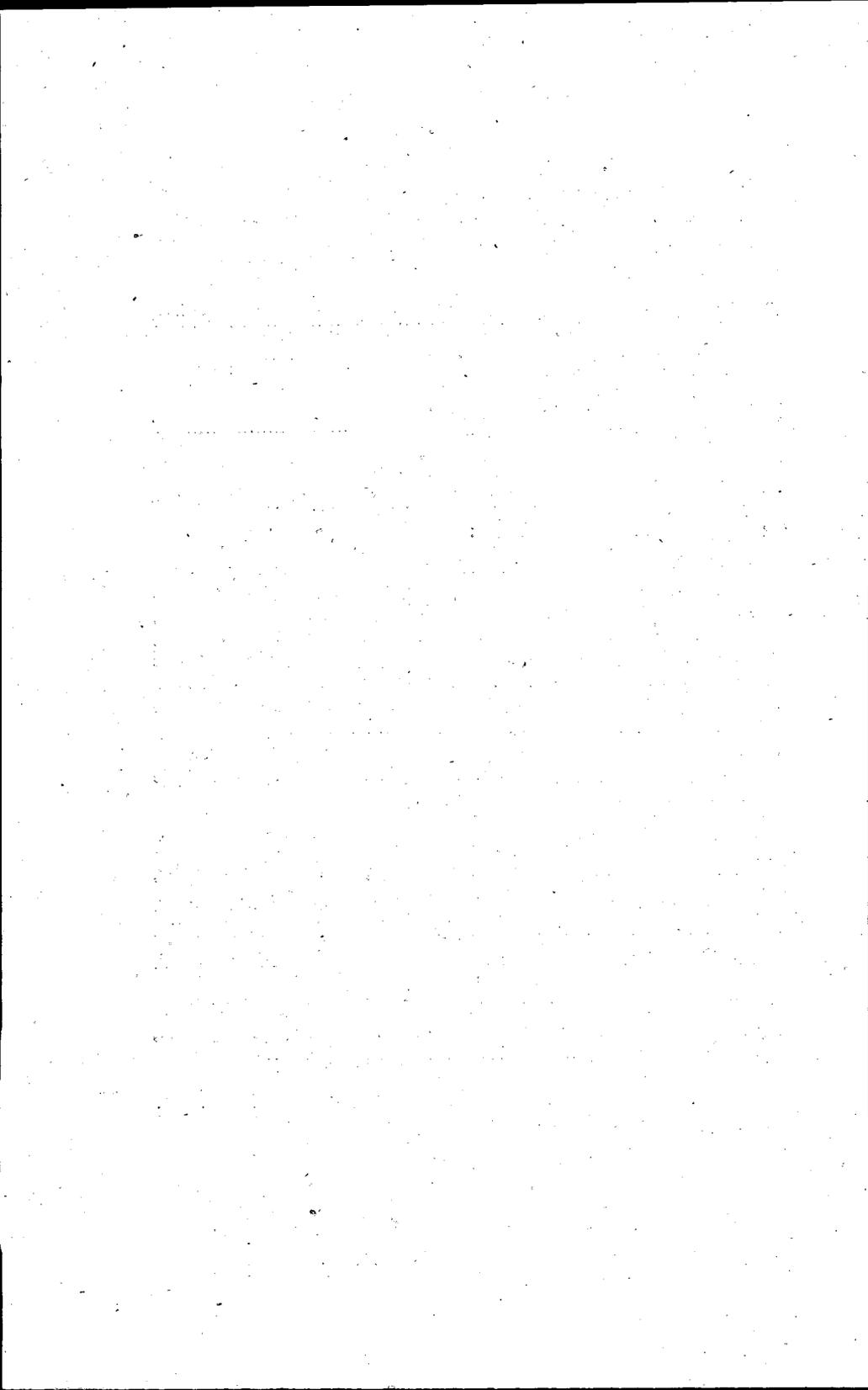
Among the papers in the Muniment Room is the following receipt, dated 2 October, 1509 :

'Be hyt knowen to all men that I Jhon Wolf¹ setezen and peynter of London hath Reseyvyd of the excecutors of most nobell pryncys marget late countes of rychmont and Derby grandam to owr soverain lorde kyng hary the viiith for a full contentacyon of my dewty for makyng of xxxiiij skochans in metalls per paly w^t a cronall and lxiiij in colors by the handys of syr thomas mawdysley iiijth. vjth. viij^d. the ferst yer of the reyne of kyng hary the viijth the scوند day of October and for a more wyttenes I the sayd Jhon hathe wreten thys byll w^t my awn hand and subskrybyd my name
per me Jhon Wolfe

We approve the deliuerance of the sayde markes un to the sayde payntour Jo Roff' Henry Hornby.'

As Sir Thomas Mawdesley was steward to the Lady Margaret, John Bishop of Rochester her confessor, and Henry Hornby, Bishop of Ely, her chancellor; and as the two latter persons, among others, were her executors, it may be conjectured that this bill refers either to her tomb, or to the ceremonies of her funeral.

¹ In 1510-11 this painter is paid by the executors for two 'pictures of my ladys personage': Cooper *ut supra*, p. 185. This receipt is printed, somewhat inaccurately, in the notes to the same work, p. 259.



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[REPORT XLIII, Nov. 1884.]

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On the Cover of the Sarcophagus of Rameses III., now in the Fitzwilliam Museum. By SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq., LL.D. 1875. 4to.

. This paper has also been printed in the Society's *Communications*, Vol. III, No. XXXV.

List of the Members of the Society, May 26, 1879. 8vo.

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NOTE.—The Secretary of the Society is the Rev. S. S. LEWIS, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; to whom all communications relating to the Society may be addressed.

