

# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

**Cambridge Antiquarian Society,**

4 JULY, 1901, TO 7 AUGUST, 1902,

WITH

**Communications**

MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

No. XLIII.

BEING No. 3 OF THE TENTH VOLUME.

(FOURTH VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES.)



**Cambridge:**

DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; MACMILLAN & BOWES.

LONDON: G. BELL AND SONS.

1903

*Price 5s.*

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*Cambridge Antiquarian Society*;  
 WITH COMMUNICATIONS.

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1901—1902.

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All meetings this year were held in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology.

Monday, 28 October 1901, at 8.30 p.m.

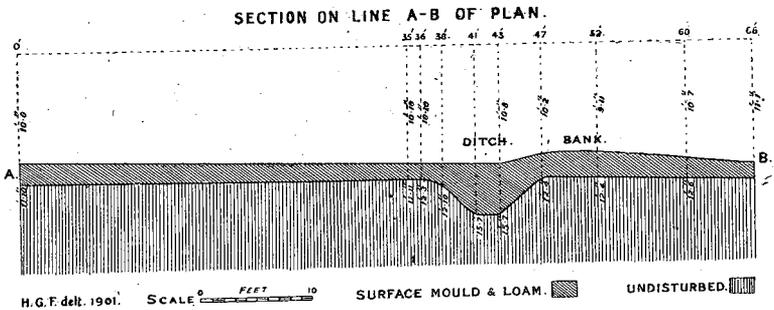
Mr GRAY, President, in the Chair.

Professor HUGHES read the following note (communicated by Mr H. G. FORDHAM):

NOTE ON A SUPPOSED ROMANO-BRITISH  
 SETTLEMENT AT ODSEY.

In the autumn of 1899, in digging the foundation of a wall on the north-east side of the kitchen garden at Odsey, in the extreme south-western point of Cambridgeshire, a section across a ditch and bank was exposed, of which a drawing to scale is given below.

Almost exactly similar sections of ditches and ramparts are figured by the late General Pitt Rivers in his great work on



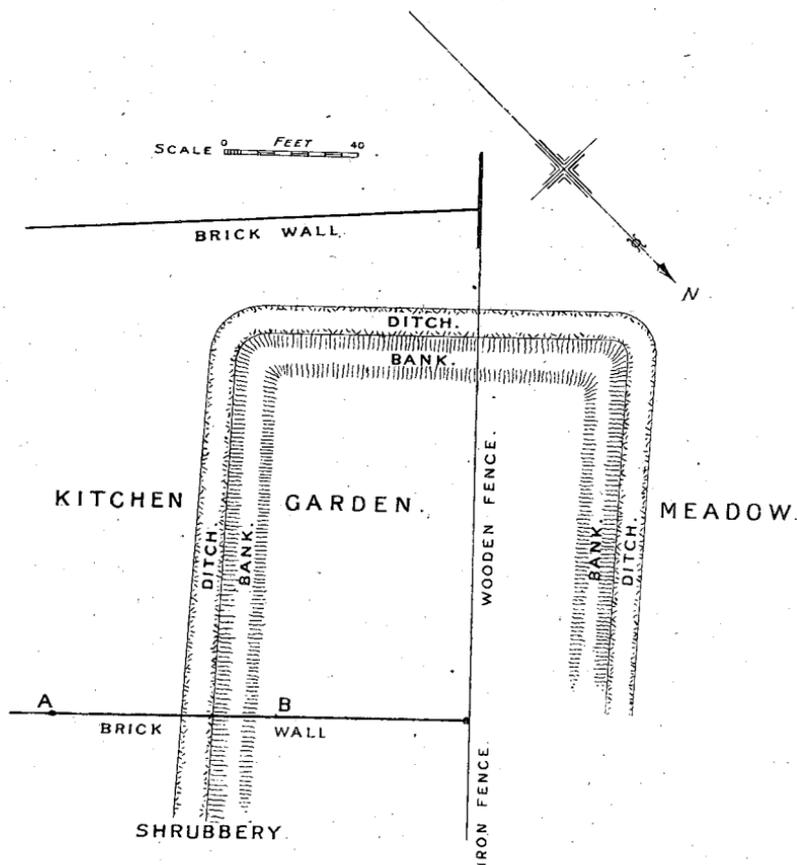
the excavations undertaken by him in Cranborne Chase, near Rushmore, on the borders of Dorset and Wilts. Good examples of these sections are shown in Plates III. and IV. of Vol. I. (1887), referring to ground plans (Plates II. and III.) of a Romano-British village, Woodcuts Common, Dorset, in the same volume.

Before the kitchen-garden was laid out, and its boundary walls built at Odsey, there was a fairly well-defined bank, forming three sides of a rectangular space measuring about 100 feet by 120 feet within the bank. The fourth side (that on the north-east) had disappeared. The whole enclosure was situated in a meadow on ground sloping slightly towards the north, and mostly within the area of the new garden. A little further to the north, on the same slope, are the present farm-buildings, some parts of which, if not themselves of any great antiquity, contain, at all events, ancient materials.

At the present time only so much of the remains of the bank are extant and traceable on the surface as lie outside the area of the garden, the rest having been destroyed in levelling for the garden. A sketch-plan of the bank, with the ditch as assumed to exist alongside it from the evidence obtained of its relative position where both are cut by the section (A—B), is given by way of illustration on a small scale.

For the purpose of obtaining a sound foundation for the wall the earth and chalky loam and rubble with which the

ditch was filled, and of which the bank, so far as it now remains in its degraded form, was made, were cut through down to the



H. G. F. delt. 1901.

solid chalk. Both slopes of the ditch and the bottom were shown to be clean cut in the rock. The slopes were at an angle of  $41^\circ$ , the depth from the present ground line measured about 5 ft., and from the surface of the solid chalk 3 ft. 3 inches; the extreme widths were, at the surface of the rock 11 feet, and at the bottom of the ditch 2 feet.

The ditch was filled up with earth mixed with a certain quantity of chalk, forming a compact material of a light brown

colour; the bank contained the chalk thrown from the ditch, apparently, mixed with some soil. Nothing of any interest was found in the sections made for the foundations of the garden walls, nor in any of the levelling necessary for laying out the garden itself, a few broken fragments of bones and portions of apparently modern tiles being the only adventitious substances in the sub-soil<sup>1</sup>.

There is nothing improbable in the idea of a very early settlement at Odsey. The locality gives its name to a Hertfordshire Hundred, although it is itself now just within the borders of Cambridgeshire, and here one may assume that the Hundred Moot was held. Situated in a shallow valley on the outcrop of the chalk, a little above the horizon of the Melbourn Rock, and 250 feet above sea-level, with the Icknield Way bounding it on the south-east, and a number of well-defined barrows on the adjacent hills, it is not an unlikely place for a village of the Romano-British period. Adjoining the present farm buildings is a deep pit or hollow which may have been a pond<sup>2</sup>, and on both sides of the shallow valley in which this depression exists are traces on the present surface of banks, hollows, and pits, which may probably some of them have belonged to an early period.

Such a ditch as is here found, with the corresponding bank supporting a timber palisade, would be effective for defensive purposes at the period to which they are attributed, and there seems no other probable object for which so wide and deep a ditch could have been cut, especially as no surface drainage of any consequence could ever have been necessary on so dry a soil. In every respect the ditch and bank resemble those examined in so much detail by General Pitt Rivers in Dorsetshire, where the situation and underlying rock formation are closely comparable to those at Odsey.

Although the conclusion that there was a centre of population here in late prehistoric times seems a sound one, Odsey

<sup>1</sup> An iron arrow-head has, however, since been found and will, it is hoped, be described later.

<sup>2</sup> See *History of Hertfordshire: Hundred of Odsey*, by J. E. Cussans: London, 1873, Fo., p. 6, note.

appears never to have been in any sense a populous place. Forming a narrow extension of the parish of Guilden Morden jutting out into Hertfordshire, it is first known in historic times as a Manor or Grange belonging to the Bedfordshire Abbey of Warden, of the annual value at the dissolution of the monasteries, when it passed into the hands of John Sewster (1543), of £6. 0s. 10d. There is no documentary evidence as to its ownership from that time till 1705. It was then sold for £1600 by Thomas Fountaine and John Duckett, both of Lincoln's Inn, to Robert Chester, of Cockenhatch. In 1722 Chester sold the estate to William, Duke of Devonshire, for £2310, by whom a house, cottages and stables were built, and a racing establishment was maintained in connection with the Odsey race-course, which lay in the parish of Kelshall, Herts., on Kelshall Heath, on the south-east side of the Icknield Way. This course is marked on most of the county maps of Hertfordshire, published in the 18th century, and regular race-meetings were held there. The property was sold to Edward King Fordham and George Fordham by the then Duke of Devonshire in 1793 for £3600, and has remained in the Fordham family since that date.

The Manor is described in the particulars of the sale of 1793 as a "manor within itself," and has presumably always remained in the hands of the lord; at all events it has never in recent times had any tenants.

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ON THE POTTER'S FIELD AT HORNINGSEA, WITH A  
COMPARATIVE NOTICE OF THE KILNS AND FUR-  
NACES FOUND IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

By Professor T. M<sup>c</sup>KENNY HUGHES.

PART I.

In endeavouring to make out the early history of any country there is perhaps no line of enquiry which might be expected to give more trustworthy data than an examination of the potters' fields. The nature of the clay employed, the convenience of obtaining fuel, the facilities for constructing deep or shallow kilns, combine to impress a character of its own upon the ware turned out from any pottery.

The conservatism of primaeval man and of the labouring classes of all ages tends to keep up a fashion in form and ornament. Moreover the requirements of a district as shown in the kind of ware most in demand, and the law of supply and demand, must have been much the same with regard to such commodities through all time, and therefore we may expect to find in the potters' refuse-heaps a record of the mode of life of the people amongst whom they found a market.

If there was any national style, or any family tradition as to the manufacture, it would be likely to be handed on and to change but slowly, and, with increase of population and its wider dispersal, with greater facility of transport and growing reputation for the quality of the ware, the range of distribution would increase.

How important therefore for those who are trying to make out the history of the races that have successively been absorbed, and now form the inhabitants of our islands, to collect carefully and arrange so as to facilitate comparative study every type of ware manufactured in each centre, in order that, when we are examining the various settlements scattered over the country, we may be able to say that the inhabitants used partly, chiefly, or wholly, the ware of certain potteries which

have become for us what the various mints are to the numismatist.

Thanks to the Treasurer of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, excavations have recently been undertaken by it, and the occurrence of what appeared to be a potter's field at Horningsea induced those to whom the carrying out of the work was entrusted to commence operations on that site.

In all excavations of this kind it is important to bear in mind that many questions not before the explorers at the commencement of their work may arise out of it or may be asked about it in the future in consequence of knowledge obtained elsewhere, and therefore what is done in any locality should be complete, and the whole of the evidence preserved. Moreover care should be taken as far as possible not to hinder later investigations by leaving spoil heaps where there is a probability of further research being desirable, or merely cutting a trench to find the objects in the upper soil without clearing it out to the bottom of the made-ground. The exact area dug over should be indicated on a plan, and, if the circumstances permit, by stakes or other marks on the ground. These rules were followed as far as practicable in all our excavations.

In connection with these enquiries it is interesting to note how many of our ecclesiastical and monastic establishments were placed upon or near sites previously occupied by the Romans. The original of Barnwell Priory was on the Castle Hill, which, as well as the site to which the Priory was removed in the 13th century, is full of Roman remains.

The ground round St Sepulchre's Church was occupied by them; Chesterton has yielded a great many Roman relics and has part of its ruined friary still standing.

Round Biggin Abbey Roman bronzes and other relics have been found, and we find that there was a monastic establishment at Horningsea<sup>1</sup>, in the immediate neighbourhood of which the important discoveries now described were made and the various

<sup>1</sup> See Rev. Wm. K. Clay, *History of the Parish of Horningsey in the County of Cambridge* (Camb. Ant. Soc. Octavo Publications, No. vii.).

interesting objects brought together by Mr Saunders and now in the Archaeological Museum were collected.

Let us first consider what is the nature of the proof that we have at Horningsea the site of a potter's field.

The most important evidence is the occurrence of fragments of vessels marred in the making, that is to say burst, owing to there having been bits of lime or other stone in the clay, or deformed because the clay was not sufficiently firm when put into the kiln. The ground is covered with a thick layer of wasters, and these are seen to be mostly of one class of ware, that is, such as could be made of the same clay and baked in the same kiln. A few fragments of imported ware of a different kind and remains of the food and food-vessels and various implements used by the workmen occur among them, but they are the exception. Lumps of clay are found which seem to have been kneaded by hand and still show the imprints of fingers and even the pattern of the skin, the importance of which as a means of identification has been pointed out by Mr Francis Galton. These lumps are about the size that would be put on a lathe at one time in making earthen vessels. Some may be samples of clay on trial. They are sun-dried and sometimes slightly fired, and it may be that some of them, especially when moulded into a ring, were used to support or prop up the vessels while still soft.

Another proof of the existence of a potter's field is the occurrence of kilns. Unfortunately in the case of Horningsea no competent observer has seen any of the kilns which the workmen are said to have come upon in the course of gravel digging upon the site of the supposed pottery, and we have to rely solely upon hearsay. Other kilns have been carefully explored in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, but it is very doubtful if not improbable that any of these were used for firing earthenware.

In the year 1875 the railway cutting at Fulbourn Station was widened, and as I was informed some 30 or more human skeletons were found lying at full length at a depth of about two feet. I saw fragments of two skeletons lying about but in place I found only the skeleton of an ox at (a), see Fig. 1,

and some small human bones at (*b*). These were both interments. The surface was covered by a layer of mould (*c*) to a depth of from two to six feet. Where excavations had been made through this soil the surface soon got levelled up, and it was not easy to tell how much of the surface-soil had been formed since the excavation was made.

Below the surface-soil were some natural pockets and pipes (*d*) of sand and gravel, easily distinguished by their form and contents from the excavations.

The greater part of the cutting was in chalk-marl (*e*), which however was much contorted and shown to be *remanié* by the occurrence in it of (*f*) pockets and lines of reddish sand, scattered flints and pebbles of quartzite. At the bottom of the cutting the undisturbed chalk (*g*) was seen in places.

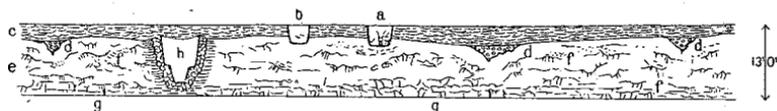


FIG. 1. RAILWAY CUTTING AT FULBOURN.

At (*h*) there was an excavation in the chalk-marl to a depth of about 13 feet, around the lower part of which a shelf ran. The whole was lined with stones selected from the gravel. There was a flue constructed round the base, and cross flues as if for the purpose of distributing the heat. Some coked wood and fern remained at the bottom, and the upper part of the chamber was full of burnt chalk, the top of which had been slaked into a soft white paste, while in the lower part it had run and crystallized in the interstices of the larger fragments, forming a hard chalk breccia. I found some broken Roman ware in the kiln but not of such uniformity of character as to indicate that it had been made there.

This looked like a lime-kiln which had been prepared, lighted, and then suddenly deserted.

Mr Carter<sup>1</sup> has recorded the occurrence of similar kilns and interments at an earlier stage in the progress of the work and

<sup>1</sup> Excavations, apparently of Roman date, recently discovered at Fulbourn by Jas. Carter, Esq., F.R.C.S., 1875 (*Camb. Ant. Soc. Comm.* iii. 313).

expressed the opinion that these furnaces were lime-kilns of Roman date.

At Chesterford, which is the most distinctively and exclusively Roman town we have in East Anglia, a kiln was discovered in 1879 in the pit immediately beyond the mill and public-house near the station, on the north side of the road leading up to the village. In digging gravel for road-mending the workmen came upon some masonry which they broke through, destroying the greater part of an elliptical window-like opening (see Fig. 2), which unfortunately happened to be on the side first approached.

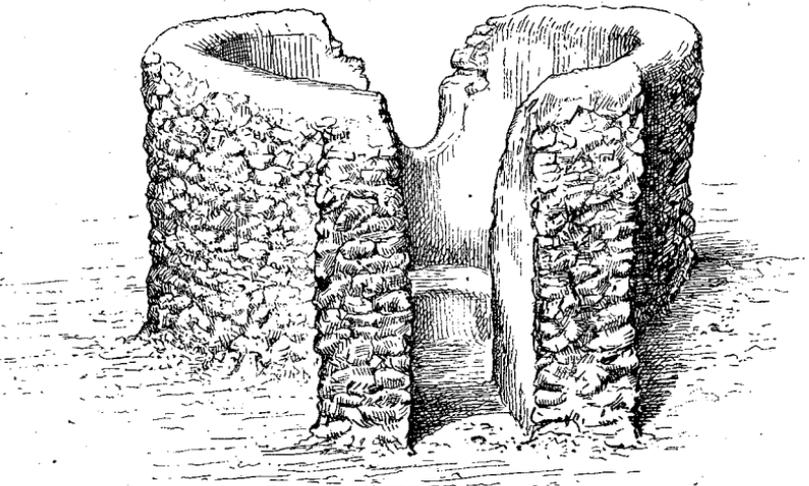


FIG. 2. KILN AT CHESTERFORD.

This masonry consisted of a wall lining a circular pit, the bottom of which was 15 feet from the surface. The top was destroyed and the pit, having been used in Roman times as a rubbish hole, was filled with the same kind of objects as those which occurred in rubbish pits all over the area (see Fig. 3). Its inside diameter was 12 feet at the top but decreased downwards, till at a depth of 10 feet its diameter was 10 feet 9 inches. Here a ledge (see Fig. 3)  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad ran round the interior, reducing the diameter of the pit by just the width of the ledge. The pit then tapered off like the narrow end of

an egg with a flat bottom about 2 feet across. The plaster uniformly covered this ledge and the basin-like hollow of which it formed as it were the rim.

The kiln had been constructed by digging a circular hole in the gravel and lining it with a wall, 1 foot 8 inches to 2 feet in thickness, which was built almost entirely of stones out of the gravel or perhaps picked up on the flanks of the adjoining hills, the tops of which are covered with the boulder clay, which furnished far-travelled boulders to the gravel and to the surface soil.

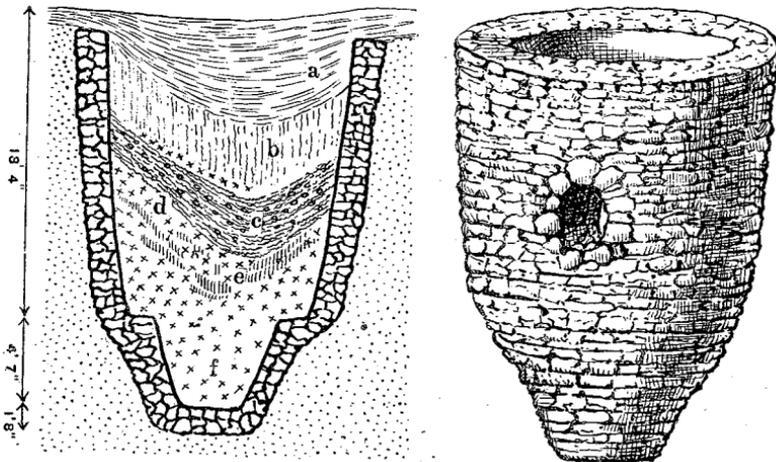


FIG. 3. KILN AT CHESTERFORD.

The stones consisted of carboniferous and other sandstones, gneiss, basalt, and, more rarely, flints and Jurassic limestones, both of which last were ill adapted for bearing the heat of the kiln and had often been nearly destroyed. A few Roman bricks were built in near the entrance. The whole of the masonry was cemented together with a slightly calcareous mud and the inside was plastered all over with the same, which was baked hard and flaked off easily. Opposite to the oval window there was a large door reaching down to the level of the ledge, with projecting plastered sides in continuation of and similar to the rest of the wall.

A passage cut in the gravel on the north side (see Fig. 2) led to the door and the gravel on either side of this passage was held up by a wall similar to that of which the kiln was constructed and similarly plastered.

On the opposite side of the kiln from the door at about 9 feet from the base was the elliptical opening mentioned above which appeared to have been about 2 feet in longest diameter (see Fig. 3) and carefully built in with blocks somewhat larger but otherwise similar to those in the rest of the wall.

The exterior of the wall was rough as it had been built up to the irregular surface of the gravel.

The top of the wall appeared to be broken all round so that we could not say whether it had been originally domed or open, and the large quantity of *débris*, similar to the wall with its burnt plaster, which was found inside especially near the base, proves that the kiln must have been originally much higher than when we saw it.

The kiln seems to have been given up in the time of the Romans so far as regards the purpose for which it was originally intended, and to have been used as a rubbish pit by them.

There was a slight depression in the surface of the ground and all the material that filled the kiln was looped downwards; showing that the lower layers had kept sinking in, especially towards the centre (see Fig. 3). On top there was a considerable accumulation of humus or common surface-soil (*a*) with some burnt earth and pottery at the base of it (*b*). Below this there was some blackish stony earth (*c*) with pottery, oysters, and snail-shells—also some bones and among them the horn core of a small ox (*Bos longifrons*). Then there was a quantity of burnt earth and stones (*d*), apparently the ruin of some of the upper part of the wall; the burnt earth being the plaster lining of the wall. Associated with this was a quantity of brown stony earth (*e*) like that seen outside the upper part of the kiln and in the adjoining rubbish pits, and suggesting that it was used as a rubbish pit while the upper part of the walls was exposed to the weather and was crumbling into the interior. The lower part was chiefly filled with the burnt

mud-plaster and the ruins of the wall (*f*) which represented the first collapse of the upper part of the kiln. All the relics from this kiln were carefully kept separate from other objects found in this area and were deposited in the Archaeological Museum. They were described in a communication made to the Society by Mr Jenkinson and myself and published in abstract in the Report of the Proceedings of the Society<sup>1</sup>.

A chamber constructed with so much care, having plastered sides and a smooth shelf running round the inside at 4 or 5 feet from the base was evidently intended for repeated and permanent use. But it appeared to have been given up and swept clean, so that no evidence of its original purpose remained, and, before the upper part of the wall crumbled in, it was used as a rubbish pit. There were no remains of unfinished vessels, no layers of charcoal at the base, no burnt human bones, no masses of slacked lime, caked in the basement or lodged on the shelf. Charcoal is almost indestructible and if there had been large quantities left we should have observed it, but we saw only the ashes and other burnt material of a kitchen midden scattered through the mass that filled the chamber.

For aught we could see in the contents of the kiln we might speculate freely as to whether it was intended for baking pottery which could have been conveniently stacked all round the centre on the shelf: or for a limekiln as suggested by its resemblance to the Fulbourn kilns, in which case the shelf or ledge would be useful to check the downward settlement of the great mass of chalk on to the fuel at the base: or for an *ustrinum* or crematorium, as we know that cremation was practised there but we do not know how it was done: or it might have been intended for an underground storehouse fired once for all to harden the plaster or periodically to dry and purify the interior.

Mr Wm. White in a letter addressed to me and published in the Report of the Proceedings of the Society<sup>2</sup>, contended

<sup>1</sup> *Camb. Ant. Soc. R.* xl. p. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> *R.* xxxix. p. xvii.

that its form was not that of any known pottery kiln of Roman date and strongly supported the view that it was a limekiln.

There is no doubt that the absence of any waste heap over the adjoining area which has since been cleared to a considerable distance beyond this chamber, as well as its general resemblance to the kilns at Fulbourn, support this view. Lime was largely used for mortar and plaster at Chesterford, and in those days could not well be carried far, therefore it is probable that there would be limekilns at hand, while there does not appear to be any clay close at hand of the kind usually employed by the Romans for the manufacture of earthenware. Earthenware moreover could be easily carried a great part of the way by river.

This interesting relic has not been preserved. I purchased it for £3. 10s. 0d., but when I visited the pit soon after I found that it had been pulled down and the large stones of which it was constructed removed. There was no use crying over spilt milk, and I had not time to follow the matter up any further.

There is strong reason for believing that there was a potter's kiln of Roman date somewhere by the alluvium between the grounds of Jesus College and of Sidney<sup>1</sup> from the character and condition of some pottery which has recently been found there, but no trace of a kiln has yet been discovered.

Some small furnaces have also been recently found in the War Ditches<sup>2</sup> near Cherryhinton, but they are more probably cooking ovens.

The potter's field at Babin or Babylon, near Ely, as far as can now be seen belongs to a quite recent period and different methods.

So it really appears as if in the present state of our knowledge Horningsea offers the only example of an ancient potter's field in our district, but unfortunately where we are sure of the potter's field we have to get our information as to the kilns from hearsay, and where we are sure of our kilns they were not potters' kilns.

The surrounding district shows evidence of occupation

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 235.

through the Palaeolithic, Neolithic, and Bronze ages, and the actual site which we are examining is full of Roman remains.

We have no record of what it was called by the British or Romans. The Romanized British must have carried on the traditions for a short time. Then came the Saxons, and before the 9th century was out they in their turn were harried by the Danes.

The name<sup>1</sup> is by some derived from Horning, the son of Horn, and by others from Horningas, the descendants or clan of Horn. That however is not of much importance for our present enquiry. What is however of special interest for us is that all writers are agreed that the last syllable whether written *ea* or *ey* signifies an island. The small islands in the Thames are to this day called *eyots* or *eyts*. It may be that a place on the waterside and inaccessible for other reasons on the other side would be called an eye. There is a town in such a situation called *Eye* in Suffolk, and near it a manor named *Eye Hall*. One of the two hamlets anciently belonging to the parish of *Horningsey*, as we learn from the *Rotuli Hundredorum*, was designated *Eye*, and in this hamlet was a manor, styled sometimes by corruption *High Hall*, but more properly *Eye Hall* as the name used anciently to be written.... The island would appear to have soon ceased to exist as such. Therefore though *Horningescie* is in *Domesday Book* said to possess a mill, and from the date it could only have been a watermill, it may have been across some small stream quite independent of any which originally bounded the island or *ey*. The *Inquisitio Eliensis* asserts that there were two watermills at *Horningsea*. The island, the seat of the *Horningas*, constituted one of the two divisions of the parish; the other which was more than twice its size, so soon as the whole came to be considered from a parochial point of view (as it did, at least, by the year 700) being made up of that skirt land which bounded in some measure the island.

We frequently read of the parish of *Horningsea* in the *Liber Eliensis* as occupying, at all events in the ninth and

<sup>1</sup> Wm. Keatinge Clay, *A History of the Parish of Horningsea in the County of Cambridge* (*Camb. Ant. Soc.*, 8vo. Ser., No. vii.) 1865, p. 1.

tenth centuries, a conspicuous position among the inhabited districts round Cambridge, and learn that there existed here *monasterium regiae dignitatis* before 870, when the country was laid waste by the Danes.

We find the first abbot of Ely, Brihtnothus, residing occasionally at Horningsey in the tenth century, most likely at the monastery, or conventual church.

The soil of Horningsea was so good that the tenant had to furnish to Leofsinus, Abbot of Ely (in the time of Canute about A.D. 1030), about double as much as was required from others towards the maintenance of his monastery. Thus we have evidence more or less complete of the prosperous condition of Horningsea in the eighth, ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries.

Clayhithe is considered part of Horningsea, and its name is said to be "justified by the existence of a large manufactory of bricks and tiles, for which there is here, and always must have been, an abundant supply of the proper material." The clay referred to here is the Gault, and the probability is that the site was chosen not so much on account of the abundance of the *clay* as of the convenience of the *hithe*.

All this shows that the area was occupied as far as we can learn continuously down to the water's edge, at any rate from Roman times to the present day, and excavations for one purpose or another, mill leets, foundations, wells, &c., must have made the inhabitants well acquainted with the nature of the soil and the occurrence of alluvial clay suitable for pottery and Gault for bricks and tiles.

Creeks for loading and unloading boats have been cut from the river far inland towards the site of existing buildings, that is a little further north than the area over which the waste was thrown, and therefore presumably nearer to the actual pottery with its lathes and kilns. Some of these short canals may have been dug originally for the alluvial clay, which, as may still be seen in the banks, was of a lead colour, uniform texture and consistency, and altogether well adapted for the manufacture of earthenware.

I have already called the attention of the Society to the

interesting remains discovered in this locality<sup>1</sup> and have gathered myself and secured from Mr Saunders large collections which have been placed in the Museum, but I fear that the vicissitudes through which they have passed owing to the want of room and consequent difficulty in keeping the relics from different areas apart, has now lessened the value of this collection of pottery for historical purposes.

A terrace of gravel runs along the margin of the alluvium here, the next rise to the east being due to the Chalk-marl coming on over the Gault. In digging gravel along the lower terrace the workmen exposed first a surface-soil from 1 to 2 feet or more in thickness which indicated a considerable antiquity for the underlying deposit, but seeing that over this long-cultivated area it had not accumulated under natural conditions, this cannot be accepted as a perfectly trustworthy measure of time. Under the surface-soil was a layer made up in places almost entirely of potsherds. This attained a thickness of 18 inches opposite the old cottage, but thinned out north and south. It looked as if the rubbish may have been heaped up when first thrown out, but was spread at some subsequent time and the ground levelled for agricultural purposes.

The pottery of which it was composed consisted for the most part of fragments of large vessels of a coarse rough ware, but contained a considerable number of fragments of a much better quality and rarely a small bit of Samian. There was evidently some household rubbish as well as the wasters from the kilns lying about.

There is often a rough ornamentation such as incised markings or a frill round the neck. They were of every size, from vessels that probably stood two feet high down to the smallest crock used for cooking purposes. There was also a great variety of form from that of a common earthenware bread-pan to a more or less globular vessel with a constricted neck.

Some of the smaller vessels, for which a finer clay was used, were more carefully made. There were basins and pans and bottles and jugs of a dark-coloured ware on which a pattern

<sup>1</sup> R. LXV. xxxiii. May 4, 1885.

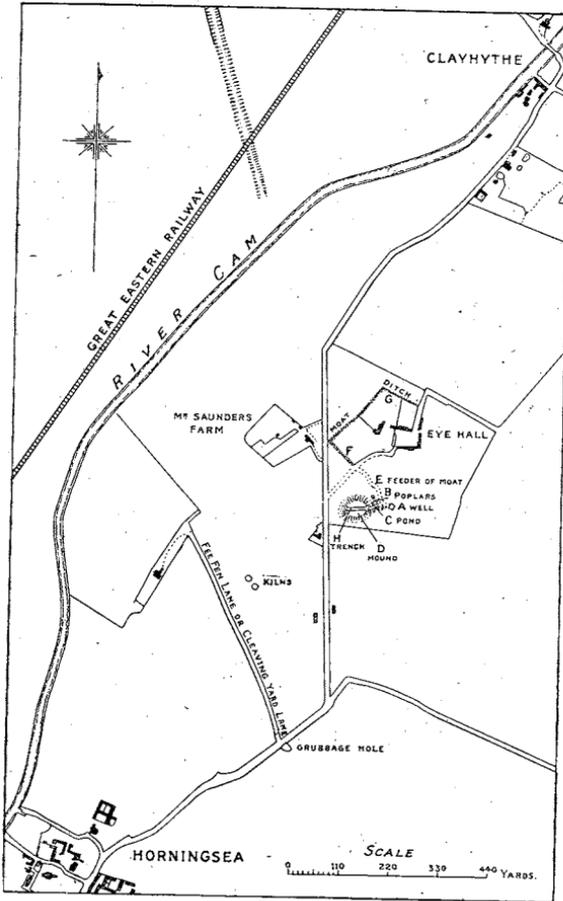
was produced by alternations of black and grey, and less commonly red and yellow, and sometimes by incised lines and crisscross markings. Pieces showing any kind of vitreous glaze were exceedingly rare, and those that did occur appeared to be due to accidental fluxing of the surface by over-firing than by the application of any matter such as salt or lead with a view to producing a glaze.

A smooth shining surface, which seems to have been given by rubbing or polishing on the lathe, was however sometimes introduced by way of ornament, the black burnished portion alternating with the original rough grey surface. Rarely bands of darker colour laid on vertically seem to indicate that some metallic or carbonaceous substance was painted on to produce a 'chiaroscuro' ornament and to assist the burnishing.

The site of the potter's field as far as already known is confined to a small area on either side of the road south of Eye Hall and of Mr Saunders' farm, but the collection made by Mr Saunders was chiefly from other sites near by. Some was from the garden on the north-east of the house, where, as Mr Saunders informed me, many Roman remains have been found which indicate a residence of people of wealth and taste;—such as highly decorated Samian bowls, black ware ornamented in slip and resembling the best Durobrivian, bronze cooking pans, fibulae, &c., &c. The relics found here were of a higher class and occurred in quite a different manner from the fragments of rough pottery which were spread over the surface of the ground on the south side of the farm.

Some of that which found its way into Mr Saunders' possession was, as I was informed, obtained during the extensive excavations for coprolites for which the whole of the rising ground east of the river was turned over, yielding a rich archaeological harvest, only an infinitesimally small share of which was secured for the University Museums. As far as I can learn none of the bronze and Samian vessels were found within the potters' field.

In at least two places over this area, at about 3 feet below the surface of the ground as I was informed, the workmen came upon what they called ovens. These, as de-



EXCAVATIONS AT HORNINGSEA.

scribed to me, were, beehive-shaped buildings about 8 feet in height. They were approached by a steeply-inclined path excavated in the gravel and entered by an arched door reaching about half-way up the building. Considering the water level and the depth of the excavations these estimates are however probably somewhat too large. They were filled with rubbish like that which lay around them, but, alas, there is no record of the details. I made a large collection of the varieties of ware found in the best part of the pit and placed them in the Archaeological Museum.

Such being the history of the district and such the character of the objects found upon the site, it was thought desirable to make a systematic exploration of the margin of it to see whether we could find a clue to any part of its history, and with this object in view we broke ground on the east of the road in the field south of Eye Hall (see plan, p. 187).

I must here acknowledge the kindness and hospitality of Mr Baily and his manager, Mr Nelson, without whose co-operation the work could not have been so successfully carried on.

South of Eye Hall the ground has been much disturbed, though fortunately the first field, in which the most interesting remains were to be expected, was not turned over by the phosphate diggers. We can therefore still see the reason for most of the existing features. Before the phosphate diggings around had altered the drainage of the area, it is evident that considerable springs were thrown out here and there from the base of the Chalk which rests on the impervious Gault. One of these springs was caught in the well or tank (*A*) which, though now dry, still exists on the brow of the slope at the back of the group of poplars (*B*). This spring fed a pond (*C*) below it out of which rose a mound (*D*) which was the principal object of our investigation on this occasion.

At some later time the water was diverted along a channel (*E*), which it is still easy to trace, in order to feed the moat (*F*), but the area of the pond was still permanently or occasionally under water, and the last episode was the drying of this pond and the adjoining low ground, which was still water-logged in

wet seasons, by a drain which was cut about the year 1884 to the south-west corner of the field.

We made no excavations along the moat (*F*) or the lighter ditches (*G*) to the north and east of it. They look like the moat and outer bailey of a mediaeval fortified mansion. The present house is not exactly on the site of the older buildings of which portions remain, but it is probable that the earthworks are much older than any masonry now seen within them.

Considering how rich the district is in Roman remains one would like to speculate on the possibility of our having here a Roman camp with its procestrium, but this is mere guess-work; as it stands, the modified structure is certainly mediaeval.

We dug some way down into the well (*A*) on the brow of the hill, east of the triangular hollow with poplars (*B*), and cleared the west face. It was found to be constructed of very strong coarse concrete faced with bricks and cemented on the inside and outside. It was therefore obviously intended to hold water. Mr Saunders informed us that he had cleared it out and that it was about 5 feet in depth and similarly cemented down to, and all over, the bottom; that he found no remains of any kind which would indicate its age; and that some dogs have been to his knowledge subsequently buried in it. We did not therefore think it worth while to go to the bottom of it again.

The bricks were red with a stain of creamy white penetrating to some depth and indicating that they had been set while dry and absorbent in a very thin mortar. They were small and thin, in form and size resembling the Ely bricks of about two centuries ago.

We next turned our attention to the mound (*D*) which rises out of a shallow circular depression in the field west of the poplars. We approached this, bearing in mind several possibilities:—

(1) That it might be a kind of island-dwelling protected by the marsh which we have above referred to as caused by the spring which was subsequently diverted.

(2) Seeing that we were certainly near the site of an ancient potter's field, it might have been raised round and over a subterranean kiln, and

(3) It might have been a raised floor on which the pottery was dried previous to being fired.

We therefore decided to cut a trench (*H*) across it from side to side due east and west through the middle, carrying it down to the level of the undisturbed gravel or Gault, whichever it might be found to rest upon.

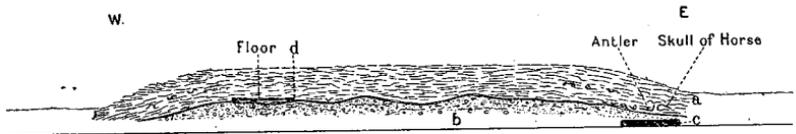
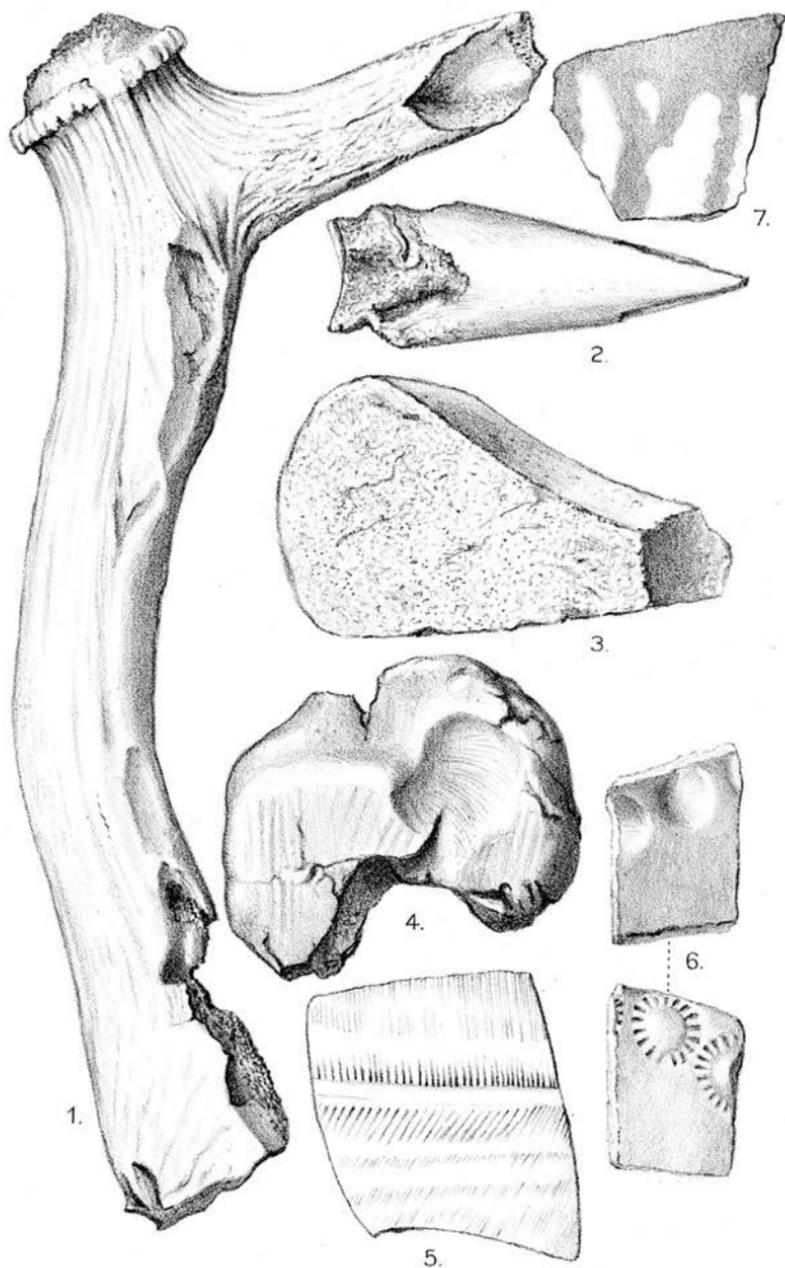


FIG. 4.

A pit was sunk to the Gault (*c*) at the east end of the mound (see Section, Fig. 4) which showed mould (*a*) with fragments of pottery and bones to 3 feet 10 inches, then sand 6 to 10 inches on Gault. This carried us about 3 feet below the level of the grass outside the mound. The proportion of sand in this part of the gravel was very large. The Gault was weathered and stained, showing that we had here the natural surface.

Between the centre of the mound and the west margin our trench crossed a floor (*d*) of fine clay which looked as if it had been exposed to great heat; but there was no charcoal or other evidence of fire in the surrounding earth. It was near the bottom of the made-earth and rested on a thin layer of mould such as might have grown naturally upon the surface of the sand and gravel. All the mould above it seemed to have been artificially heaped up, and here and there were lenticular masses of pond-mud full of large freshwater shells, *Planorbis corneus*, *Paludina vivipara*, &c., the condition and age of which showed that they had grown in a place permanently under water, and suggested that an excavation within the area of the pond might yield some very important results. This floor ran in a path or belt about 18 inches to 2 feet broad obliquely across our trench in which it was exposed for about 7 feet. It might have been the raised floor on which the vessels were placed to dry before being fired in the kiln. Whether it was made of burnt material or baked by lighting a fire on it or represented



OBJECTS FOUND AT HORNINGSEA

the floor of a kiln, it is, with the small evidence before us, impossible to say.

The mould (*a*) was of uniform character throughout and was all of made-earth, the pottery occurring down to the bottom where it rested on the sand and gravel. The fragments of pottery occurred throughout, but were most numerous about half-way down and at the base. We did not detect any difference in the character of the pottery at the different levels. The surface of the gravel was irregular, the thickness of mould varying from 3 feet to 4 feet 6 inches.

At the bottom of the mould, on the east margin of the mound, we found a large quantity of pottery and a considerable number of bones, among which we recognised ox, sheep, red deer and horse, of which there was a skull. Here we found a pick (Pl. IX., Fig. 1) made of the antler of a red deer which had been cut off immediately above the third point and whittled to form a convenient handle, while the second tyne also had been removed leaving the brow tyne only to form the head of the pick. This had also been chamfered off on one side so as to form an axe-like edge instead of a point as was more usual. This primaeval form of implement has been found also in tumuli of the bronze age at Upper Hare Park and in the fens and in the Lake Dwellings, and was used for excavating the chalk at Cissbury and Grimes Graves.

The pottery was similar to that previously found on the other side of the road; it did not however occur here in a thick continuous layer but sporadically throughout the mould or in small lenticular deposits here and there. Some points not observed before were noticed here as might be expected where the variety is so great, and the quantity of fragments found not only now but during many previous examinations of the adjoining area is so large that some generalizations are justified.

In the first place most of it appears to have been lying about on the surface so that the chances were that any large piece that did not lie flat and was not readily covered but offered projections and protuberances, was broken up and the fragments scattered about. Very rarely have any two pieces of

the same vessel been found except in the case of those which had obviously been just broken in getting them out.

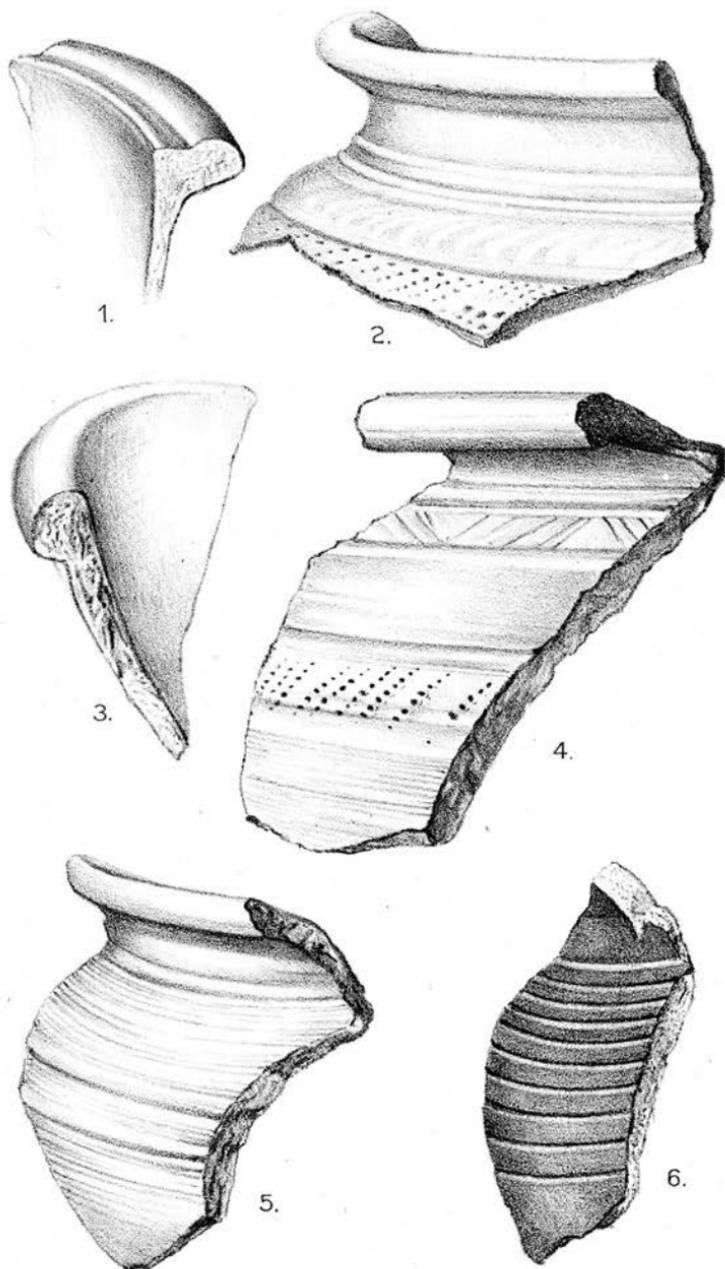
By far the greatest part consisted of fragments of coarse ware and of large vessels (Pls. X. and XI.)<sup>1</sup> which seem to have been moulded on a lathe, while a free hand was used for form and ornamentation. It is very difficult to find any two pieces of rim, for instance, exactly alike. Some of the pieces are about an inch in thickness and pieces half an inch thick are common. The rim is either widely developed with sometimes a pinched ornament (Pl. XI., Fig. 6), or strongly recurved (Pl. X., Figs. 9, 10, 11), in both cases allowing a good grip as if to facilitate the lifting of the vessel by its rim. This suggests that these large vessels may have been buried with grain or other provisions because it would have been very difficult, without such a rim, to lower the vessel into the hole intended to receive it or to haul it out again when necessary. There is every gradation of size from these large pans down to the small olla only a few inches in height.

The ware is generally of a lead-grey colour throughout, but occasionally, both among the larger and smaller vessels, we find some burnt red throughout, or burnt red on the surface only, or in patches. In some cases this may be due only to the accident of a current of air having got through part of the kiln, and produced a greater oxidization of the iron in the clay; as we see that where a clamp of white bricks has cracked, the bricks opposite the opening are burnt red.

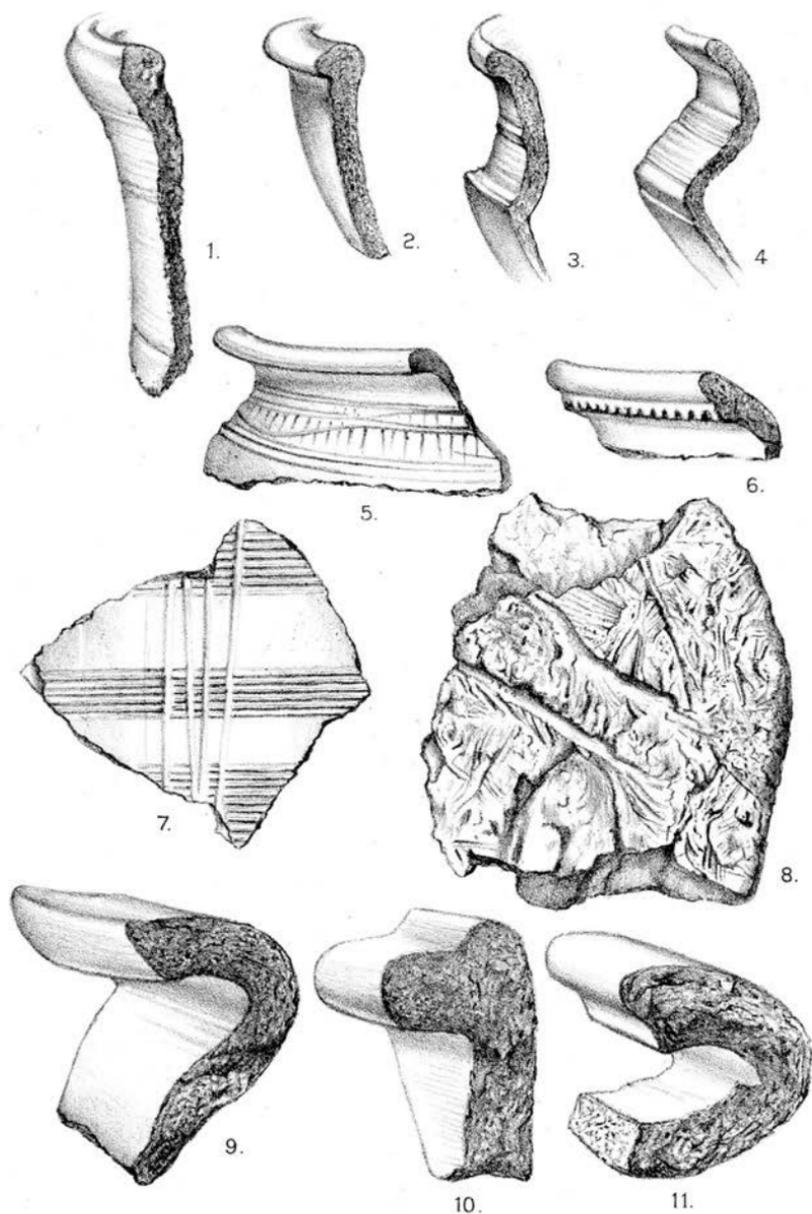
A few fragments of a higher class of pottery occur sporadically. Samian is very rare, as is also the fine wedgewood-like ware with the neck or other portions burnished on the wheel. One piece showed a sun-like *repoussé* boss about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch across with short incised rays all round (Pl. IX., Fig. 6), while others were ornamented with vertical bands and dots about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch broad. These remind us of Saxon work and suggest that the manufacture may have been still carried on here long after Roman times.

A very common object found with the fragments of pottery is a flat stand of dried clay which seems to have been formed by

<sup>1</sup> The figures are  $\frac{1}{2}$  natural size.



HORNINGSEA POTTERY.



HORNINGSEA POTTERY.

rolling a lump of clay into a ball and then squeezing it flat and pinching it into any required shape with the fingers. When it did not lie flat and give a horizontal surface above, it was pinched out into a kind of calkin or foot, as was commonly done in later times in the case of mediaeval vessels which had sagged a little in the drying. We can only guess at the use of these objects. They do not appear to have been baked, so that they were not used as stands for the vessels in the kiln, although they may have been intended as stands to lift the vessel above the ground on which it was placed to dry. These are special examples of the lumps of clay mentioned above (page 176) which show even the skin markings of the fingers that pinched them into shape.

There was also a fragment of a very thick basin-shaped object in sandstone (Pl. IX., Fig. 3). It was carefully ground all over and had been subjected to the action of fire. This may have been a kind of mortar but it is too small a fragment to furnish satisfactory evidence as to its use.

A fragment of a horse-shoe was found which showed the general form and bulging margin, due to the hammering out of the holes for nails, which is said to characterise the earliest known horse-shoes of Gallo-Roman times<sup>1</sup>.

These small bits of evidence taken together with the traces of native feeling in some of the ornament and the quantity of very coarse ware suggest that this potter's field began somewhere in the early ages of Roman occupation. The Horningsea waste heap furnishes us with samples of most of the common ware found at Chesterford, our most typical Roman station, and also of the common ware found in the War Ditches which I would refer to a much later date than Chesterford. While on some fragments we see an ornamentation suggestive of still later times, and also find a large quantity of ware exactly like that which occurs in the early mediaeval middens and laystalls of Cambridge. We have also negative evidence, but still evidence of a very trustworthy kind, that this potter's field ceased to be used in early mediaeval times, for there is in it

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, p. 256; also George Fleming, 'Horse-Shoes and Horse-Shoeing,' 1869.

no trace of the glazed pitchers and pans and jugs with a pinched base which are characteristic of post-Norman crockery.

In discriminating between these different classes of ware we are dealing with minute details which it is very difficult to explain even with the help of illustrations, and this shows the importance of classifying and labelling all the specimens found; and preserving them in such a manner that they may be readily accessible for comparison.

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### ON SOME INDICATIONS OF A ROMAN POTTER'S FIELD NEAR JESUS' COLLEGE.

By Professor T. MCKENNY HUGHES.

One of the most suggestive finds of ancient pottery that have recently come under my notice was that made in the early part of the year 1901 on the east or far side of the King's Ditch as it crosses Jesus Lane from the grounds of Sidney College and runs down Park Street by the Friends' Meeting House.

I have already described the mediaeval pottery found in the ditches of King John and Henry III. which here cross Jesus Lane and have referred some of it to the type that was the result of native work modified under Roman direction, and which, I take it, disappeared but slowly before the early Scandinavian and German incursions.

Over the adjoining area we have plenty of evidence of Roman occupation from the pottery and other remains; they cover the area in the neighbourhood of the Castle; they are common on the border of the marsh along Bridge Street and Sidney Street; they are abundant in Barnwell, and occur at intervals along the banks of the river here and there far out into the Fens wherever rising ground could be found.

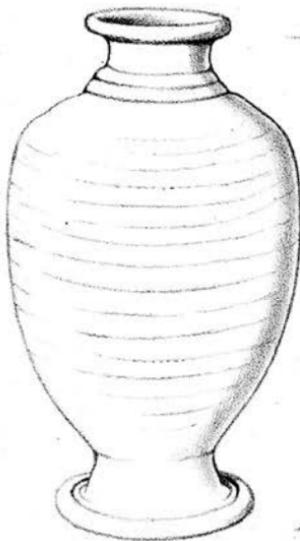
The only limitation was that, although banks and causeways may have been already made in places, the Fens generally were not yet so far reclaimed as to make it possible for farmers



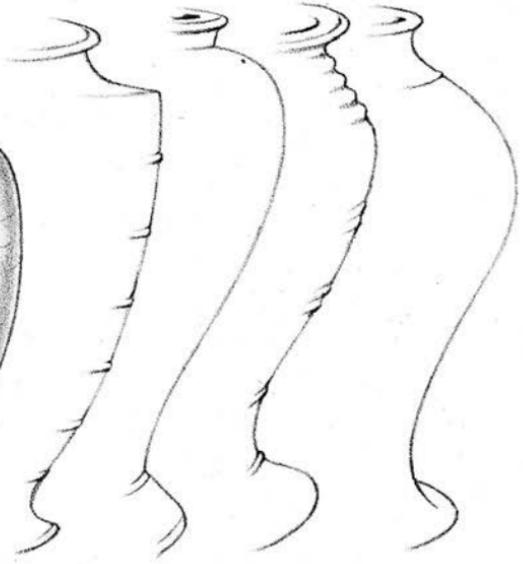
1



2



7



6

5

4

3

Figs 1-2 JESUS LANE, CAMBRIDGE.

3-7 LATE CELTIC POTTERY AFTER EVANS.

to reside there throughout the year, or villas of the well-to-do to be erected within the area of periodic floods.

Still less should we expect to find traces of earlier occupation except in cases where the marshes were sought for protection or for material—but as the alluvial clay was what the Roman chiefly sought for pottery, many of the most important potter's fields are situated on the edge of the marshes.

I was much interested therefore when specimens of pottery were brought to me by Mr Mackenzie Wallis from Jesus Lane which showed a general *facies* different from that of any previously known Roman Station in our district. Some better specimens were afterwards procured by Mr Freeman and placed in the Archaeological Museum. From these the figures, Pl. XII., are taken.

I examined the spot and made enquiries and I found that it was being thrown out in considerable quantity from a silty soil further out into the marsh than where we had already proved the existence of the King's Ditch.

The King's Ditch when flushed by water being turned into it near Mill Lane, must have emptied into the river opposite Magdalene College, and therefore, so near the outfall as Jesus Lane, it must have been taken along the lowest ground possible in order to secure a flow. In still earlier times the marshes beyond where the ditch was cut would hardly have been occupied by houses. The character and condition, however, of the remains found suggested a simple explanation. There was not that great variety which is usual in middens and rubbish pits; a considerable proportion of the vessels were of the same character though there was some variety of form. Closer examination showed that they were very commonly vessels which had been spoiled in the making. Some were deformed as if they had sagged before they had been sufficiently dried (Pl. XII., Fig. 1). Some had no fault except that they leaked, owing to a boil or crack caused in the burning by the accidental inclusion of a fragment of flint or lime (Pl. XII., Fig. 2). These were vessels which would be thrown away as soon as taken out of the kiln. In fact, all the evidence went to show that somewhere close by there was a potter's

field, where vessels were made from the alluvial clay which exists there, though none that can now be seen is of a very good quality. Perhaps the manufacturers had been accustomed to a better material and no more care was taken here than had been necessary where large supplies of clay with no included fragments had been available. At any rate here we found the misfits and wasters from a kiln and the ware was different from the general *facies* of that seen in the ordinary Roman refuse heaps so common in this part of the country, although specimens of the Jesus Lane type are found in every one where a better class of ware occurs; that is to say, there are none peculiar to this deposit. The type is not that of the Horningsea manufactory, where very thick, coarse vessels predominate, those being probably such as would be most required by an agricultural population for storing and burying grain and other provisions. What then is this Jesus Lane ware? Is it the pottery of any of the people whom the Romans found here?—the people who, Caesar tells us, were in constant communication with the mainland of Europe, whence they would have introduced that and many other useful arts, the traces of which when found have always been put down to the Romans. The evidence is against this view.

On Pl. XII., Figs. 3—6, I have represented a series of late Celtic vessels from Mr Arthur Evans' valuable paper on the discoveries at Aylesbury, and in Fig. 7 indicated the difference between those and our Jesus Lane ordinary Roman hooped-barrel type.

The hooped-barrel type (Fig. 7) of Jesus Lane occurs in all the Roman rubbish heaps near Cambridge, but is nowhere common. It was more expensive or less generally useful, but it is a well-marked ware in material and workmanship, and it would be of very great interest to find the potter's field from which the country was supplied.

ON A BOX OF WEIGHTS AND SCALES FOR TESTING  
MOIDORES, ETC.

By Professor T. M<sup>c</sup>KENNY HUGHES.

The box of scales and weights which I exhibit is of some interest as pointing to political and commercial conditions which have long passed away.

The name of the maker appears inside the box,

'William Hawkins Scale maker At y<sup>e</sup> Angel and Scales Against Gold Smiths hall in Maiden Lane near Foster Lane London.'

A figure of an angel with scales in the right hand and a palm branch in the left occupies the middle of the label.

There is an inscription in ink inside the lid

'gold 2<sup>d</sup> pr grain 4 pounds y<sup>e</sup> ounce.'

The scales are of steel with silken cords and equal brass dishes.

There are ten round weights like thick coins, and nine thin brass plates for the lighter weights.

The heaviest weight is stamped £3. 12. 0. If this indicates the price per ounce of gold it should give a clue to the date. The MS. inside the lid gives £4 as the weight per ounce, and is probably much later.

The next in size is inscribed on the obverse with a bust of Queen Anne surrounded by 'Anna Dei Gratia,' and on the reverse a crown, below which is 1 Guinea W.; W. probably standing for weight.

The next has on the obverse the head of George the Second, surrounded by 'Georgius II Rex,' and on the reverse '½ Guinea W.'

Then there are three coin-like weights, on the larger of which is inscribed '1 Moidor'—the stamp has been struck so much on one side that the final e is lost—and on the two smaller '½ Moidore.'

The moidore was a Portuguese coin worth about 27 shillings. The name comes from moeda d'ouro, meaning gold money or coin.

The other coin-like weight, the largest, is marked '18'<sup>s</sup>; two

others about half that weight are marked '9'<sup>s.</sup>, while the smallest, about half the weight of these, is marked '4 6.'<sup>s. D.</sup>

Of the nine thin brass plates three are stamped with five impressions and a sort of hall mark, one with four impressions and the hall mark.

The other five have the corners clipped off and carry simple statements of value headed L. S. D. The relative but not the actual weight of these agrees with the values indicated.

The first is stamped '3 12'<sup>L. S.</sup>, the next '36'<sup>S.</sup>, the next '21'<sup>S.</sup>, the next '13 6'<sup>S. D.</sup>, the next '9'<sup>S.</sup>

There are four square pieces of brass, of which the two larger ( $\frac{11}{16}$  of an inch square) are stamped with five holes, and a sort of hall mark which may be a lion.

The third is similar but smaller ( $\frac{7}{16}$  of an inch square), while the fourth, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch square, has only four of the impressions and the hall mark.

These are probably much more recent than the stamped dots indicating the weight in grains.

Mr Deck has kindly examined them and assigns the following weight to each :

£. s.		
3 . 12		624 grains
Queen Anne Guinea Weight		129 grains
George II. $\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea		65 grains
<hr/>		
1 Moidore W.		166 grains
$\frac{1}{2}$ Moidore W.		83 grains
<hr/>		
s.		
18		110 grains
s.		
9		56 grains
s. d.		
4 . 6		28 grains
<hr/>		
£. s.		
3 . 12		27 grains
s.		
36		16 grains
s.		
21		11 grains
s. d.		
13 . 6		9 grains
s.		
9		7 grains

## ON A KAFFIR PILLOW WITH A HANDLE.

By Professor T. M<sup>c</sup>KENNY HUGHES.

Some time ago an interesting collection of objects from South Africa was exhibited at a meeting of the Society. Among these were some wooden pillows having the shape of a small four-legged stool. I then remarked that I had seen a similar head-rest with a handle by which it could be more easily adjusted to the position required. This statement was, however, received with some incredulity, and I have therefore



Length  $24\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Height  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Breadth of back 2 inches. Breadth of legs  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Length of handle  $17\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Length of head 7 inches. Thickness of head  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch. Average diameter of handle  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch.

hunted up the specimen and now produce it. It was brought back from Africa by my sister, who was informed that it was in use among the Kaffirs, and that when they travelled it served to carry some of their belongings, slung over the shoulder after the fashion of the old commercial traveller's pack, and when they rested was used as a pillow.

Monday, 11 November 1901.

Mr GRAY, President, in the Chair.

## EXHIBITION OF DATED PIECES OF NOTTINGHAM STONEWARE AND SGRAFFIATO WARE.

By Dr J. W. L. GLAISHER.

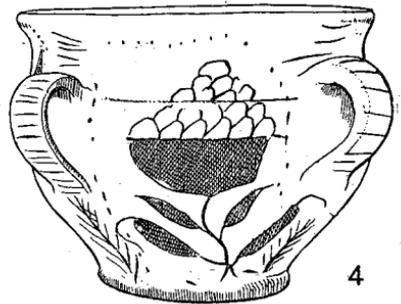
Dr Glaisher exhibited three pieces of Nottingham stoneware.

(i) A jug,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, bearing, in the middle, in front under the lip, an incised floral design (leaves and a flower somewhat-resembling a tulip in shape), and on one side, also incised, the date "April 28th 1702." The jug is of a pronounced red hue, unlike the usual colour of Nottingham ware, which is brown. There are horizontal lines round the top of the jug, and also at the bottom of the neck, separating the neck

from the body, between the lip and the floral design. The glaze is bright and smooth, with slight granulations, principally in the colour. The lip is small and upright, and the material of the



1



4

*John  
Jenkins  
his dish  
December  
1834*

4a



3



2

jug is thin at the top: on the whole it is a well-potted piece, bringing out well the excellence of fine stone-ware over ordinary pottery. This jug is represented in fig. 1. It will be noticed in the inscription that the cross-line of the A is omitted and a curious mark is used for the 'th.'

The general shape of the jug is somewhat similar to No. 649

of Hodgkin's 'Early English Pottery,' but the neck is much shorter and narrower, and the lip stands upright (without projecting) so that the section is vertical. The earliest recorded piece of Nottingham stone-ware is the posset-pot with the names of the Mayor and the Mayoress of Nottingham and the date 1700, described and illustrated by Mr Llewellyn Jewitt (No. 630 of Hodgkin). The present piece is therefore the second in order of date that has been recorded. The glaze is so bright and clear that except for its date and reddish hue the jug might easily have passed for a century later.

(ii) A two-handled cup ( $8\frac{3}{4}$  in. high, the bowl  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter) with the inscription "Thomas Smeeton & Mary His Wife 1730" incised in front, between two wide bands of raised crossed diagonal lines, forming a kind of lattice work. The colour is the usual brown of Nottingham stone-ware, very slightly lustrous in places. There is no incised decoration: only the lattice bands, which, though of course made with a pointed tool, give the impression of protuberance rather than of incised work. This cup is represented in fig. 2: it has a rough general resemblance to No. 635 of Hodgkin; the base is nearly the same, but the shape of the cup is very different, No. 635 having more curves.

(iii) A two-handled cup (6 inches in height, the bowl  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter). No inscription. Decorated with three bands, the lowest consisting principally of upright lines, the middle one (which is quite thin) of a wavy pattern, and the highest one of small rough shards, like the shards forming the coat of the well-known Nottingham bear-jugs, only smaller. The colour is a rather dark brown, and somewhat lustrous. The piece is interesting for its good quality, and for its exact reproduction in stone-ware of the shape and style of a silver loving-cup. The material is thin (but not so thin as in pieces in Staffordshire white salt-glaze) and shows how much fineness and delicacy brown stone-ware is capable of. By comparison the larger cup (ii) is heavy, and clumsy in shape. This cup is represented in fig. 3. It is to be noted that the figures are not drawn to scale. The Smeeton cup (fig. 2) is much larger than the cup drawn in fig. 3.

Dr Glaisher also exhibited a sgraffiato-ware cup ( $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches high, the bowl  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter), with four handles and the inscription "John Jenkins his dish Dicenber (*sic*) 1634." The underneath clay is brown, and the upper one yellow: the whole covered by a lead glaze. The inscription occupies the space between two consecutive handles. The three similar spaces between the other handles are occupied by three different flowers, in all of which a considerable portion of the upper clay has been removed. Each flower is enclosed by a rough frame of dots. The outsides of the handles are decorated with horizontal scratches, and beneath them tree-shaped decorations are scratched. Fig. 4 shows the cup and one of the flowers, and fig. 4a the inscription. In fig. 4 the shaded portion represents the underneath (dark) clay, and the unshaded portion the yellow clay.

The earliest piece of sgraffiato ware recorded by Hodgkin is dated 1670 (No. 206), so that the present piece is 36 years older if the date is to be relied upon. The possibility of doubt in regard to the date arises from the fact that the line forming the loop of the 6 is continued beyond the long stroke, so that the figure somewhat resembles an 8 with the upper half of the top loop erased (see fig. 4a). Apart from the shape of the figure, however, the character of the piece and the use of the word 'dish' for an upright vessel render the date 1834 unlikely.

The exhibition of these four pieces was accompanied by a historical account of the manufacture of salt-glazed and sgraffiato wares in England, illustrated by specimens. Sgraffiato wares have never been much made in England, and attention was directed to a Doulton vase, decorated in this manner, with the date 1879.

## EXHIBITION OF DELFT PHARMACEUTICAL WARE.

By MR W. AMBROSE HARDING.

Preserved in the comparative security of the apothecary's shelf considerable numbers of these drug vessels have survived the fate which has overcome so many of the domestic pieces, and so have the merit of being examples of Delft-ware of fairly

frequent occurrence; the inscriptions upon them throw an interesting light on the state of pharmacology at the period of their manufacture, whilst their quaint and varied forms and simple directness of decoration give them a peculiar charm sometimes wanting in pieces of purely decorative intention.

It is unnecessary to do more than summarise the chief points in the history of Delft-ware, referring the reader for fuller information to the work of M. Havard<sup>1</sup>, to Dr Glaisher's monograph<sup>2</sup>, and amongst writers on English Delft-ware to Mr Hodgkin<sup>3</sup>, M. Solon<sup>4</sup>, and Professor Church<sup>5</sup>.

Herman Pietersz, a potter of Haarlem, came to Delft in the height of its prosperity. We hear of him first in 1584, when he married and acquired considerable property. In 1600 he paid hearth tax on one potter's kiln. In 1611 the artists and craftsmen of Delft gathered themselves together into the Guild of St Luc; in its Act of Constitution occurs the first mention of pottery, and first among the eight master-potters mentioned in its *Meesterboek* commencing in 1613 stands the name of Herman Pietersz. Little more is known of him. It is not clear how he obtained his knowledge of tin enamel<sup>6</sup>.

The Guild of St Luc founded a school of design, insisted on a long and effective apprenticeship, secured its members from unauthorised competition, attended to their wants in sickness and old age, registered and protected the signs and marks placed by master-potters on their wares.

The earliest productions of the Delft potters, usually painted in blue, are remarkable for the fulness of their decoration, which chiefly consisted of crowded battle scenes and historical subjects, such as would appeal to a people just emerging from a long and strenuous struggle for freedom and independence. The absence

<sup>1</sup> Havard, *Histoire de la Faïencé de Delft*. Paris, 1878.

<sup>2</sup> J. W. L. Glaisher, *Delft Ware* (Journal of the Society of Arts, Vol. XLV., p. 665).

<sup>3</sup> Hodgkin, *Examples of Early English Pottery*, 1891.

<sup>4</sup> Solon, *The Art of the Old English Potter*, 1883.

<sup>5</sup> Church, *English Earthenware* (South Kensington Art Handbooks).

<sup>6</sup> M. Havard has brought forward indisputable evidence to prove that Herman Pietersz first promoted the manufacture of Delft-ware, and that sometime between 1596 and 1611, probably in the year 1600, the first pieces were made.

of Oriental ornament on these early pieces tends to refute the theory that Delft-ware originated in an attempt to imitate the porcelains of the East. It was only in 1641 that the Dutch East India Company, after the expulsion of the Portuguese from Japan, established themselves on the island of Deshima, in the harbour of Nagasaki<sup>1</sup>, and commenced to export porcelain in any quantity, and so furnish the Delft potters with fresh means of inspiration.

The Delft potteries produced their best work between 1650 and 1710 and reached their greatest prosperity about 1680, when thirty factories were in existence. To this period belong the masterpieces of Fictoor, the Pynackers, and Van Eenhoorn, decorated in polychrome and gold, sometimes upon a black ground, and the finest examples of the still more successful imitations of porcelain in blue for which Delft became particularly celebrated.

In the 18th century Delft pottery assumed a commercial aspect. Utilitarian pieces of every kind and quality were manufactured in immense numbers, and as the output of the factories increased the artistic excellence of the ware diminished. Before the middle of the century the potteries had begun to decline. In 1794 only ten factories remained; in 1850 the last one disappeared, and this beautiful but friable ware gave way to European porcelain and the more durable earthenwares and stonewares of modern times. Meanwhile Delft-ware had been manufactured, in some cases with considerable success, in England, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and other countries. In England, where tin-enamelled ware approached most nearly to the Dutch original, Delft-ware was made at Lambeth in the 17th century and at Bristol 'as early as 1706 and as late as 1784<sup>2</sup>.' The Bristol imitations of blue Oriental porcelain equalled at times the work of the Dutch potters, and with these pieces was frequently associated a floral decoration in pure white upon the greenish-blue tint of the white enamel. Delft-ware was also made in Liverpool and in Staffordshire, whilst the very large amount of tin-enamelled ware found in the Eastern Counties

<sup>1</sup> Audsley and Bowes, *Keramic Art of Japan*, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Church.

suggests the possible existence at one time of Delft factories, doubtless small and isolated, in eastern England<sup>1</sup>.

Owing to the immense amount of Delft-ware exported from Holland the name 'Delf' was used, and still is used in some places in England, to denote all kinds of common domestic earthenware just as the name China has become a generic term for all kinds of porcelain.

We now come to the consideration of Delft pharmaceutical ware.

Delft drug vessels painted in polychrome are rare; the devices on all the pieces exhibited are executed in the usual blue, and a glance at the accompanying plate will convey far more clearly than any written description an idea of their great variety of form and decoration.

The diverse forms of these pieces may be traced to three distinct types, viz., the bottle, the drug pot, and the syrup pot. Only one example is shown of the pharmacy bottle (Fig. 32). This piece is 10 $\frac{3}{8}$  inches high and its decoration is tricked in black. The blue colour has crazed, showing the white enamel through the cracks, and appears to have been applied after the enamel had been fired. Decoration upon baked enamel was not unknown to the potters of Delft, but this piece judged as a whole does not seem to be of Dutch origin.

The drug pot usually takes the form of a cylindrical jar with straight sides, generally relieved by mouldings round the neck and base (Fig. 40), provided with a vertical rim surrounding its mouth for the reception of a flat brass cover (Figs. 20, 21, 23 and 24). A modification of this vessel consists of a more or less oviform pot in which the vertical rim is superseded by a lip, which is curled over possibly to enable a vellum cover to be tied down with string (Figs. 42 and 43).

The syrup pot has a spherical or oviform body furnished with handle and spout supported on a slender pillar spreading out into a wide circular base. The profile and front aspect of a common variety of this vessel may be seen in Fig. 10 and Fig. 29. The handle is occasionally absent as in Figs. 14 and

<sup>1</sup> Downman: *English Pottery and Porcelain*, 1896, p. 12, and Dr Glaisher *ut supra*.

16; the vertical rim and curled lip suggest covers of brass or vellum as in the case of drug pots, and it is not impossible that in some instances the well-formed spout was designed to receive a metal cap (Figs. 35 and 41). The syrup pot was one of the test pieces which the apprentice was required to throw and fashion correctly when examined by the Guild of St Luc.

The hybrid combination of syrup pot and drug pot seen in Figs. 11 and 15 may be considered as the prototype of the pharmacy jug, a fourth kind of drug vessel of which no example is exhibited.

The decoration on Pharmaceutical Delft-ware is generally confined to the label which is often elaborately ornamented. Whether the angels, peacocks, baskets of fruit, scallop shells and other devices were mere decorative artifices or have an emblematic or other meaning is a matter which it is difficult to determine. They are not always associated with a particular factory. The well-known peacock design (Fig. 40) seems to have been a favourite one with the potters of Delft; the pot seen in Fig. 26 bears the monogram of Anthony Pennis (1759), that seen in Fig. 27 is signed by Johannes Van Duyn (1764)<sup>1</sup>.

The scroll surmounted by an angel's head with wings (Figs. 6 and 37) is a characteristic English pattern, and Mr Hodgkin illustrates a similar syrup pot and drug pot of Lambeth manufacture dated respectively 1666 and 1673. The example dated 1653 (Fig. 5) may also be ascribed to Lambeth.

The pot shown in Fig. 2 bears the mark of the Delft factory of the Greek A as seen on the base shown in Fig. 28. The base of Fig. 7 is seen in Fig. 25 inscribed 'L. P. Kan,' the mark of the Delft factory of 'The Ewer.' Fig. 4 bears the mark of the same factory.

The syrup pots had their bases usually filled up and glazed (Fig. 9). In Fig. 1 is seen the hollow unglazed base of the vessel shown in Fig. 30. The base of Fig. 35 is seen in Fig. 9, that of Fig. 38 is similar to the smaller base seen in Fig. 36. The marks on both these pieces are unknown to me. Fig. 19

<sup>1</sup> The dates given are the years in which they deposited their marks in the Guild of St Luc.

shows the base of a piece which appears to have been put during the second firing upon the mouth of a similar pot placed below it in the seggar—an unusual and careless proceeding.

These hand-produced pharmaceutical vessels solve the whole mystery of decorative art by satisfying the taste without encroaching upon the demands of utility, and their quaint and varied forms contrast favourably with the cylinders of harder earthenware and glass which superseded them in the early part of the nineteenth century<sup>1</sup>.

The following is a list of names of drugs found by the writer inscribed on Delft Pharmaceutical Ware<sup>2</sup>.

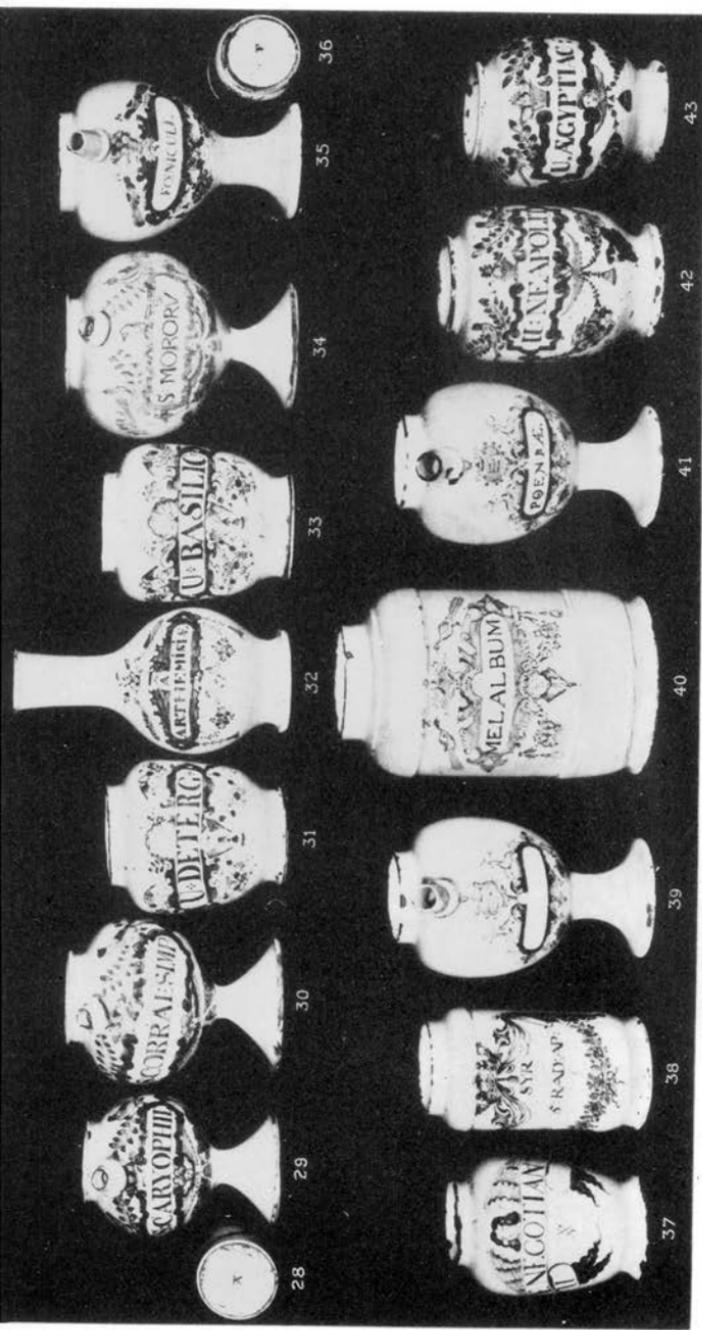
- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| A. ARTEMISIAE      | Aqua Artemisiae, a simple distilled water prepared from Mugwort ( <i>Artemisia vulgaris</i> , Linn.).  |
| C. ANTHOS          | Conserva Anthos. A conserve of Rosemary ( <i>Rosmarinus officinalis</i> , Linn.). Syn. <i>Anthos</i> .   |
| E. ABSINTHI        | Extractum Absinthii. Extract of Wormwood.  |
| E. ABSINTH }       |  |
| E. CARD. BENED.    | E. Cardui Benedicti. Extract probably of the Blessed Thistle ( <i>Carduus benedictus</i> ).  |
| E. CORT. PERUV.    | Extractum corticis Peruviani. Extract of Peruvian bark.  |
| E. GENTIANIAE      | Extractum Gentianae. Extract of Gentian.   |
| E. HYOSCYAMI       | Electuarium Hyoscyami, an Electuary prepared from Henbane ( <i>Hyoscyamus niger</i> ).   |
| E. NECOTIAN. U.    | E. Necotiana Unguentum. An ointment of tobacco. 'Is the best ointment that is for gouts of all sorts' (Culpeper).  |
| E. PILL STYRAC.    | E. Styrace pilulae. Pills of Storax. <i>Styrax Calamita</i> was used.  |
| E. RHEI            | Extractum Rhei. Extract of Rhubarb.  |
| E. ROSAR. RUB.     | E. Rosarum rubrarum, an Electuary (probably) of the Red Rose ( <i>Rosa Gallica</i> ).  |
| EL. THERIAC. ANDR. | Electuaria Theriaca Andromachi, or Venice treacle. 'It resists poyson, and bitings of venomous beasts, inveterate Head-ach, Vertigo, Deafness, the Falling sickness, Astonishment, Apoplexies, dulness |

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'Pharmaceutical Ceramics' in *The Chemist and Druggist*, 27 Jan. 1900.

<sup>2</sup> The quotations from Culpeper are taken from: 'Pharmacopoeia Londinensis; or, the London Dispensatory...By Nich. Culpeper, Gent., Student in Physick and Astrology.' London. George Sawbridge, 1675. Cf. also 'Pharmacopoeia Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinensis.' Londini, MDCCXLVI., and 'Pharmacopoeia Collegii Regii Medicorum Edinburgensis,' Ed. 3. Edinburgi, MDCCXXXV.

- of sight, want of voice, Asthmaes...Feavers, Dropsies, Leprosies, ...and is a good remedy in Pestilential Feavers' (Culpeper). This mixture contained more than sixty ingredients, including the dried flesh of vipers. It is said to have been composed by Andromachus, physician to Nero.
- MEL ALBUM }  
M. ALBUM }  
MEL ROSAR.
- O. HYPER.
- O. VIOLARUM
- R. RIBESIOR. R.
- S. ALTHEAE FERN.
- S. CAPILLOR. VENE.
- S. CARYOPHIL
- S. FLOR. CHAMOM.
- S. CORRAL. SIMP.
- S. CORT. AUR.
- S. CYDONIOR.
- S. ERISIMI
- S. FOENICULI
- White honey.
- Mel Rosarum or Honey of Roses. A syrup of the flower of the Red Rose (*Rosa Gallica*) made with honey.
- Oleum Hyperici. Oil of St John's Wort (*Hypericum perforatum*, Linn.).
- Oil of Sweet Violets (*Viola odorata*, Linn.).
- Rob Ribesiorum rubrorum or Rob of Red Currant (*Ribes rubrum*). 'Rob or Sapa, is the Juyce of a Fruit, made thick by the heat either of the Sun, or the Fire...it is usually made...sometimes thicker than the honey' (Culpeper).
- Syrup of Marshmallow (*Althaea officinalis*, Linn.).
- Syrupus Capillorum Veneris or Syrup of English maiden-hair fern (*Adiantum Capillus-Veneris*, Linn.).
- Syrupus Caryophyllorum or Syrup of Cloves (*Eugenia caryophyllata*, Thunb. *Caryophyllus aromaticus*, Linn.)
- Syrupus florum chamomillarum, or Syrup of Chamomile Flowers.
- Syrupus e Corralis simplex, or Simple Syrup of Red Coral. Composed of powdered red coral dissolved in juice of Barberries boiled into a Syrup with Sugar. 'Special good for Hectic Feavers, etc. And indeed it had need be good for something, for it is exceeding costly. Half a spoonful in a morning is enough for the Body, and it may be too much for the purse' (Culpeper).
- Syrupus Corticis Aurantii, Syrup of Orange peel.
- Syrupus Cydoniorum, Syrup of Quinces (*Pyrus Cydonia*, Linn.).
- Syrupus Erisimi, or Syrup of 'hedge mustard' (*Sisymbrium officinale*, Scop. Syn. *Erysimum vulgare*).
- Syrupus Foeniculi. Fennel (*Foenicula vulgare*, Gaetn.)





Approximate Scale 1 Foot.

DELFT PHARMACEUTICAL WARE

*This plate is presented by Mr W. A. Harding.*

- S. DE HYSOPO                   Syrup of Hyssop (*Hyssopus officinalis*).
- S. DE MENTHA                 Syrupus de Mentha or Syrup of Spearmint  
(*Mentha viridis*, Linn.). Peppermint (*Mentha  
piperita*, Sm.) was not used till the eighteenth  
century.
- S. MPRORV.                   Syrup of Mulberries (*Morus nigra*, Linn.). 'Being  
eaten in the morning' they cure 'Inflammations  
...of the Mouth and Throat, mixed with *Mel  
Rosarum* in which Receipt they do best<sup>1</sup>.'
- S. POENIAE                   Syrup of *Peonia corralina*.
- S. PRASIO                    Syrup of horehound (*Marrubium vulgare*, Linn.  
Syn. *Prasium*).
- SYR. 5. RAD. AP.            Syrupus quinque radicum aperientium. The  
roots were Smallage, Fennel, Parsley, Butchers'  
broom and Asparagus.
- S. SIMPLEX                  Simple Syrup.
- S. ZINZIB.                    Syrup of Ginger.
- SUCC. LIQ. ANIS.            Succus Liquoris Anisi. Juice of Aniseed (*Pim-  
pinella anisum*, Linn.).
- U. ALTHEAE SIMPL.         Unguentum Altheae Simplex. Simple ointment  
of Marsh-mallow.
- U. BASILIC.                 Unguentum Basilicum. There are four kinds of  
U. BASILICUM }            this ointment. The 'Flavum' consisted of  
U. BASILIC. F.)            olive oil, yellow wax, Burgundy pitch, etc.  
U. DETERG.                 A 'detergent' ointment<sup>2</sup>.
- U. EGYPTIAC.               Unguentum Egyptiacum, an ointment composed  
of verdigris, honey and vinegar.
- U. NEAPOLITANUM         Unguentum Neapolitanum. One receipt is as  
follows:—'Take of Hogs grease washed in  
juyce of Sage a pound, quicksilver strained  
through leather killed with spittle four ounces,  
Oyl of Bays, Chamomel and Earthworms, of  
each two ounces; Spirit of Wine an ounce;  
yellow Wax two ounces; Turpentine washed in  
juyce of Elicampane three ounces, Powder of  
Chamepitys and Sage, of each two drams; make  
them into an Oyntment according to Art.'

The writer is greatly indebted to Dr Glaisher for much valuable information given when these Delft drug vessels were exhibited to the Society.

<sup>1</sup> J. Evelyn, *Silva, or a discourse of Forest-Trees*, 1706 (Ed. 4).

<sup>2</sup> The composition of this is unknown to me.

Monday, 25 November 1901.

Mr GRAY, President, in the Chair.

A VISIT TO THE COPTIC MONASTERIES OF EGYPT.

By Mrs LEWIS.

The pictures which I am to shew you to-night are from photographs taken this year between February 18th and March 20th. They represent a visit made by my sister, Mrs Gibson, and myself, to six Coptic Monasteries in Egypt, into some of which no woman had ever previously set foot during the 1600 years of their existence. Leaving a new monastery on the eastern bank of the Nile, just opposite Benisouef, we spent five days in crossing the desert; for the most part over an upland plain, whose sand was thickly strewn with grey and black flints, specimens of which lie on the table before you. These often make the ground appear in the bright sunshine just as if a huge brush, dipped in wet Britannia black, had been passed over it. Professor Hughes can perhaps explain to us how those flints came there, but I for one have no doubt that they gave to the country its ancient name of Khemi, which in Coptic means black, the land of Ham, of which we read in the 105th Psalm. Please remember that the Arabic word Sudân means "the black people," not the black land. Travellers on a Nile boat do not see this, because the flinty country on both sides of the river is separated from it by low sandstone or limestone hills.

The first monastery at which we arrived was Deyr Mar Antonius, built in the 4th century by the followers of St Antony, one of the fathers of monasticism, the contemporary and friend of St Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, Patriarch or Pope of the Egyptian Church; for we must remember that in the early centuries Alexandria contended with Constantinople and with Rome for the primacy of the Christian world.

Deyr Mar Antonius is built in precisely the same style as all the other Coptic monasteries. When we look at the splendid remains of monasteries in our own country, so graceful and ornate in their architecture, such as Fountain's Abbey, we feel that these could only have been reared in a land where the whole nation held one faith, and was inspired by one ideal. They seem to typify the strength and the beauty of the Christian religion.

When the monasteries were destroyed at the time of the Reformation, the cathedrals remained, and are with us to this day. But the Egyptian nation had no such happy history. The Christian portion of it has been so ground down by oppression that it has never had a chance of developing into anything worthy of the name it bears. Its monasteries have been shaped by the stern necessity for self-defence. From the days of persecution under Decius and Diocletian, from the era of Martyrs, A.D. 284, whence so many Coptic and Arabic MSS. are dated, till the time of Constantine, the soil of Egypt was drenched with Christian blood, and after that period her Church was distracted by quarrels; for she took the side of her own Athanasius against the Arians, and of her own Monophysite Dioscorus against the Orthodox. From the time of the Arab conquest, say about A.D. 640, till the accession of Mohammed Ali, A.D. 1802, the Egyptian Christians have been an easy prey to the spoiler. Insulting laws have been enforced against them; periodical riots and massacres have forced them to flee from the cities and villages of the Nile valley, and to take refuge in those dens and caves of the earth where no mob and no army could easily reach them. These circumstances have been eminently favourable to asceticism, which was indeed making a virtue of necessity, and they fully explain the construction of the Coptic monasteries.

We first notice the enclosing walls broken by no entrance gate, but having a semicircular recess roofed by stout beams, from which men and provisions may be raised or lowered by means of a rope and a windlass. No Egyptian monastery had any other mode of entrance until 50 years ago. The chief feature of the interior is a square tower, or Casr, surrounded by

an empty moat, and approached by a rough wooden drawbridge, easily lifted. This was designed as the last refuge of the inmates in the event of a siege, and its dark, dusty rooms, approached by a steep, winding stone stair, still serve as a depository for any valuables of the convent which are not in use; amongst these MSS. are included.

The monasteries of Deyr Mar Antonius and Deyr Anba Bolos are, in their present condition, only 400 years old. After an existence of more than 1100 years the original buildings were destroyed during a revolt of some Moslem slaves, whom the monks had imprudently bought, and had treated with rigour. The ruins lay uncared for during a period of eighty years, and were then rebuilt after the ancient pattern.

Deyr Anba Bolos is fifteen hours' march from Deyr Antonius. It is perched on the top of a bare sandstone crag. It has not yet been furnished with a door, and the only means of entrance is by the windlass and the rope. For Mrs Gibson and me a basket had to be improvised, made out of the rope-netting which protected our camel furniture. After we were safely hoisted a procession was formed, with crosses and banners, which marched into the little church and, after a two hours' service, the Hegoumenos delivered an Arabic oration, expressing the great delight which he and the monks experienced at our visit; their gratitude to Lord Cromer and the noble nation of the English for the deliverance of their "nation" from Ahmed Arabi Pasha, for the works of irrigation, the schools and other benefits; their grief at the death of Queen Victoria; and their belief in the ultimate triumph of the Cross.

After our return to Deyr Mar Antonius we had to listen to a similar address, drawn up in less poetic terms.

The MSS. in these two convents are almost all paper Arabic of late date. They are kept in cupboards amidst thick layers of dust.

The four convents which we visited in the Wady Natrûn or Nitrian Valley, to the N.-W. of Cairo, were all built in the 4th century. They are named respectively Deyr Abû Macarius, Deyr Suriani, Deyr Anba Bishoi, and Deyr Barramous. Only one of them, Deyr Suriani, has ever been entered by a woman,

when in 1838 Miss Platt accompanied her stepfather, Archdeacon Tattam, on that memorable expedition which resulted in the transfer of so many valuable Syriac MSS. to the British Museum, among them being the Curetonian Syriac Gospels.

Deyr Macarius has now an entrance gate in its massive wall, at the foot of the recess where travellers were once hoisted by a rope and a windlass. But the aperture is so low that you cannot enter without stooping, and two great granite millstones stand waiting to be rolled into it on the first threatening of danger. The convent has three churches, dedicated respectively to Abû Macâr, to the 40 Shiûkh or Elders, and to Abû Iskharûn. The leading feature in their architecture, as in that of all Coptic churches, is the dome; a style of construction which, we have little hesitation in saying, Europe learnt from Christian Egypt. There is some evidence that the dome was not unknown in ancient Babylonia; but the first great specimen of it appeared when the architect Anthemius constructed the church of St Sophia at Constantinople, and it is supposed that he got many of his ideas from Alexandria. In all three churches of this convent there is a huge shrine or bier of very old wood. That in the church of Abû Macâr is filled with the bones of three saints, all of whom were named Macarius, and all lived in the third century. The monks are not quite sure as to which of these founded this monastery, and they therefore pay equal reverence to all three. When a service is held once a year in the church of the Shiûkh, or in Abû Iskharûn, the bones are carried thither in solemn procession. This seems to be a survival of the ancient Egyptian idea of the *ka* or ghost, which was always supposed to hover near its own mummy.

We were greatly surprised to find that these devout people are in the habit of using the floors of their churches as store-houses. A heap of corn lay over the tomb of the Forty Elders, whilst olives, pomegranates, and other fruits of the earth were spread out to dry over the floors.

Deyr Abû Macarius possesses a hermit of peculiar sanctity, who, after living within its walls as an ordinary monk for 30 years, betook himself to a cave about two miles away, where he has dwelt for the last six years, subsisting on bread and

water, and coming to the church service only on Sundays, or whenever the Wakeel or steward happens to visit the monastery. He is an old man, with a finely shaped head, hollow cheeks, and red, watery eyes. He was quite sociable, and acted as our guide round the monastery.

The Coptic Church lays great stress upon fasting. For 170 days in the year, that is, 40 before Christmas, 45 before Easter, 40 before Pentecost, 30 in spring (the Fast of Nineveh), and 15 in August in honour of the Virgin Mary, no meat is partaken of, nor eggs, nor milk, nor butter, nor fish. In some families no food is tasted till three o'clock in the afternoon. This severe abstinence has weakened the stamina of the race; the Copt, though quick and intelligent, is physically inferior to his Moslem neighbours, and engages in no pursuit which would tax his muscles.

The manuscripts in Deyr Macarius are kept in a large room in the Casr, whose floor is thickly carpeted with a layer of dust. Loose leaves, and books which have lost something more than their bindings, are piled up on a large table, the fragments which fell from it on the dusty floor being trampled by every passing foot. I made an attempt to purchase these from the Wakeel, but, though he confessed that in five years' time little would remain of this pile, he was too much afraid of the curses which are written therein to entertain the idea of allowing any of them to be carried out of the monastery gate.

Deyr Suriani and Anba Bishoi are only some twelve miles distant from Deyr Macarius. In the former place we found that the monks were not in the least aware that their predecessors had ever possessed a Syriac manuscript. They gave us every facility for photographing, with a dark room in which to change our films. They too have a hermit, a man who lived for twelve years in a desert cave, subsisting on herbs and on the charity of the poor Bedawin. He moved his habitation from one place to another, and one night in his wanderings he suddenly came on the lofty bare wall of Suriani, of whose existence he did not know. But seeing a bell-rope, he pulled it, and was admitted. For nine years he has lived peacefully in a cell within the walls; but he never speaks, except to ask for

necessary things, and never attends the church services. We managed to secure a photograph of him with our kodak and the eager help of the monks.

At Anba Bishoi the oldest MSS. we saw were two Coptic Bibles, dated A.D. 1220 and 1256.

Deyr Barramûs is less dusty and altogether better kept than the other monasteries of the Wady Natrûn. It is the only one easily accessible to the modern tourist, for the little railway of the Egyptian Salt and Natrûn Company stops at Bîr Hôoker within two hours' ride of it. The few manuscripts and printed books which it contains are also well kept. But when we looked at its dull grey walls, and reflected that from them or from those of three other ancient monasteries—Deyr Abû Macarius, Deyr Mar Antonius, and Deyr Anba Bolos—all the Bishops of the Coptic Church, and therefore her Patriarch, must come; that from these monasteries the monks are not allowed to go out, even to take a walk in the desert, and that thence a few of them will be called to occupy positions where the utmost tact and the greatest knowledge of men will be required, we ceased to wonder that the reforming party amongst the laity periodically give up hope, and migrate in their hundreds to the Church of Rome, and in their thousands to the American Mission, thus getting rid of all the chains of ecclesiastical restrictions and oppressive ordinances which an unenlightened zeal has forged for them in the course of ages. But we who know this ancient community only in the period of its degeneracy, must not forget the tribute of admiration which we owe it for its constancy under trials to which no Christian Church has been subjected for quite so long a period.

## THE SEPULCHRAL BRASS OF ST HENRY OF FINLAND.

By Dr M. R. JAMES.

The magnificent brass, or series of brasses, which I am bringing to your notice this evening, has, I believe, never before made its appearance in so full a form in England. At any rate, Mr Creeny, who has diligently investigated the

sepulchral brasses of the Continent, did not penetrate to it, though he mentions it in a list of unvisited brasses in the preface to his work on Continental brasses.

A glance at the rubbings I exhibit will assure you how remarkable a work of art it is, and brass-rubbers will see that in some respects it may fairly be called unique.

My own attention was first drawn to it by a woodcut of part of it in an illustrated History of Sweden (*Sveriges Historia*, six volumes, 1877-1888): and I applied to Professor J. J. Tikkanen, Professor of Art at the University of Helsingfors, to procure me two rubbings of the whole monument, one set for the South Kensington Museum, the other for the Fitzwilliam. He was most kind and helpful in the matter, and the rubbings arrived here safely a week or two ago. I feel that we owe Dr Tikkanen our best thanks for the pains he has taken to procure us so good a reproduction. He has also been so good as to furnish me with a copy of a printed description of the monument, drawn up in 1874. The monument is preserved in the church of a small place called Nousis in South Finland. All that I know of its history may be put in a very few words. It was executed for a Bishop of Åbo, Magnus Olsson Tavast, between 1412 and 1480. The stone tomb on which it is placed was somewhat earlier, having been put up by Bishop Johannes Petri, who died in 1370. It is, I ought to say, a cenotaph, for the body of St Henry was translated to the Cathedral Church of Åbo in 1300. Of the aspect of the tomb apart from the brasses I know nothing; the printed article referred to above gives a description from which we gather that it is an altar-tomb in length measuring 2.277 metres, in breadth 1.220, and in height 0.652. The stonework is ornamented, but only to a modest extent.

These facts are all that I have to give as preliminary to a description of the rubbings which I exhibit. They need an unusual amount of explanation, for a large portion of them is concerned with the life and miracles of St Henry, a topic on which I cannot assume much knowledge on the part of my audience. The knowledge in fact is not very easy to attain. The principal sources of information are the *Acta Sanctorum*



ST HENRY OF FINLAND.

(Jan. 19), Johannes Magnus's *Lives of the Archbishops of Upsala*, the *Scriptores rerum Svecicarum* (II. 334), and finally the first number of the *Finska Fornminnes förenings Tidskrift* (1874) which contains small illustrations of the brasses, and a description signed with the initial N. I am relieved to find that this writer's explanations of the subjects represented agree completely with those which I had myself made out before reading his article.

The life of St Henry, in so far as it concerns us, is as follows. He was by birth an Englishman, it is agreed, though no more precise indication of his birthplace or parentage is given. He became Bishop of Upsala about 1150, and accompanied King Eric IX., commonly called St Eric, on a voyage to Finland, one of whose objects at least was the conversion of the heathen Finns. How far this expedition was successful I do not know: but some baptisms no doubt took place, and at least one church, that of Nousis, was built. Henry was left in Finland by St Eric, and (apparently about 1158) was killed by a native named Lalli, a man of some consideration, who was annoyed at having been excommunicated for the commission of a murder.

We will now take the brasses in order, beginning with the large plate on the upper face of the tomb. In the centre is St Henry, vested in mitre, amice, chasuble, maniple, dalmatic, and alb. His hands are gloved; on the middle finger of the right hand (which is held up in blessing) is the pontifical ring. In the left a crosier. The mitre is surrounded by a cusped nimbus; the head rests on an embroidered cushion. A small angel on each side swings a censer. Below the feet is the saint's murderer Lalli with his axe. Something like a cap is falling from his head; we shall soon see the meaning of this. On the left is a small figure of a kneeling bishop, vested much like the saint. Over his head goes a short scroll inscribed with the word *Commenda*. This has to be read along with the inscription on the border, as we shall shortly see.

This bishop is Magnus Olsson Tavast, for whom the brasses were made.

The rich canopy which arches over the central portion contains a number of small figures in niches.

At the top is our Lord holding an orb between censing angels. On *R.* and *L.* are two figures of prophets with blank scrolls.

The next row contains Apostles: on *L.* Peter and Paul, on *R.* Andrew and John.

Below these on *L.* two martyr kings. Eric with mace and sceptre, and Olaf with axè and sceptre.

On *R.* two Confessors, both Bishops, of whom neither can be identified with certainty. One has been called St Nicholas in virtue of the balls he holds in his hand. But they are not really balls: they are more like loaves. I think it likely that they are Swedish saints, such as St Eskil and St Sigfrid, or the rather problematical Stephen. All three were early missionaries, and the two first at least Englishmen. St Sigfrid, I see, is represented on some Swedish altar-pieces as holding three objects which sometimes look like human heads and sometimes like loaves.

In the lowest stage are four female saints: on *L.* St Katherine and St Margaret, on *R.* two veiled women, of whom the one on the *R.* may probably be St Bridget of Sweden, the other, who has a sword, I think must be St Helen of Sweden, a widow and martyr, venerated at Sköfde, near Varnhem, and also at Tidsvilde in Jutland. Outside this is a broad border containing the inscription, which is in rhyming verse and begins at the top:

O vita commendabilis  
 O mors desiderabilis  
 propter que venerabilis  
 hic pontifex fit similis  
 in gloria sanctorum.  
 Commenda nos amabilis  
 pater et honorabilis  
 martyr regi celorum.

The word *Commenda* in l. 6 has to be read from the scroll over Bishop Tavast's head.

At the angles of this border are the emblems of the four Evangelists holding scrolls inscribed with names of the Evangelists. Halfway down each side is a shield. That on *L.*

bears a cross, the other a human arm mailed : this latter is the shield of the Tavast family.

We now come to the unique feature of this monument, the series of brass plates which decorate the sides of the tomb, and represent the life and miracles of the saint. I cannot find any record of a similar treatment of brasses in the literature of the subject. Scenes from the lives of saints do very occasionally occur. The stories of St Eligius and St Martin, for instance, are portrayed on the great brass of the two bishops at Lubeck : but I believe there is nothing to be found anywhere on the scale of this brass of St Henry. We must consider it, I think, as an adaptation of the custom of representing the lives of saints on the sides of the metal shrines containing their relics. These representations are usually in *repoussé* work or enamel, but the effect of them is not unlike that which we see here.

The first of the four plates is on the south side of the tomb. On it are shown :

1. The landing of St Eric and St Henry in Finland. St Eric's ship, the upper one, bears the standard of Sweden. St Henry is in the lower ship. The heathen Finns with their dragon standard (a not uncommon badge of a Pagan host) are gathered on the shore ready to oppose the landing of the Swedes. Their cannon, with an ample provision of ammunition, is conspicuous, and so is their champion, clad in plate-armour, with a large beaked helmet. Men are bending their cross-bows, and bringing up sheaves of bolts and a basket of stones or balls. In the background is a nude idol with spear and shield on a pillar.

2. The battle between Eric and the Finns is raging in the background. In front Henry is seen baptizing the conquered men by affusion. He is attended by his cross-bearer and other clerks, and behind them is a small chapel.

3. St Henry is either greeting St Eric on a second visit (unrecorded in history) or else, as I rather think, is saying farewell to him. The Bishop is attended by a crosier-bearer, and behind him is a handsome church—no doubt just built—in the doorway of which stands a canon in his almuce.

The king's ships are, as I take it, just setting sail.

4. In two scenes: the left-hand one precedes the right in order. Here we see the Finnish convert Lalli murdering a Swedish warrior. For this deed he is excommunicated by Henry, who stands with two tonsured clerics in front of his church.

We pass to the second plate, on the west end of the tomb.

5. Lalli irritated at his excommunication attacks St Henry with his axe. This on the left. On the right Henry is fallen. His mitre lies on the ground. Lalli has taken his skull-cap, and is putting it on his own head.

6. On the left, Lalli with his axe and newly acquired cap returns home and tells his wife of his achievement. What he actually said was that he had killed a bear.

On the right he takes off the bishop's cap, and to his own discomfort and his wife's obvious horror he finds that the skin of his head comes off as well. This incident is again alluded to in the representation of Lalli on the large plate.

On the north side of the tomb are the following subjects:

7. St Henry's body is carried to the church of Nousis.

8. The body is laid in the tomb.

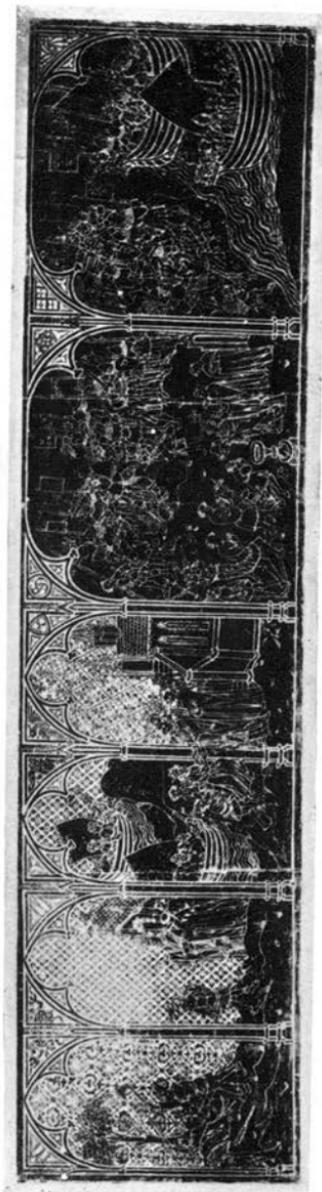
9. A father and mother bewail their dead child, which is already shrouded for burying.

10. The same parents kneel. St Henry appears in the sky. The child arises. Two miracles of this nature are attributed to St Henry. Either may be represented here.

11. St Henry's finger with the episcopal ring is found floating on a piece of ice with a crow by it which dares not touch it. The murderer had cut off this finger, and it was not recovered until the spring when the snow melted.

Among the trees in the background is one of those lions of which Finland may be supposed to be as justly proud as Iceland of its snakes.

On the east end of the tomb are two plates which were originally hung on hinges and formed doors, giving access to the interior of the tomb. It is conjectured that objects, such as rings and the like, were placed within in order to gain sanctity or healing power from contact with the martyr's former resting-place. The scenes on these plates are:

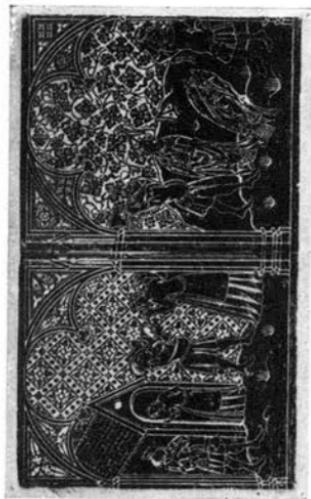


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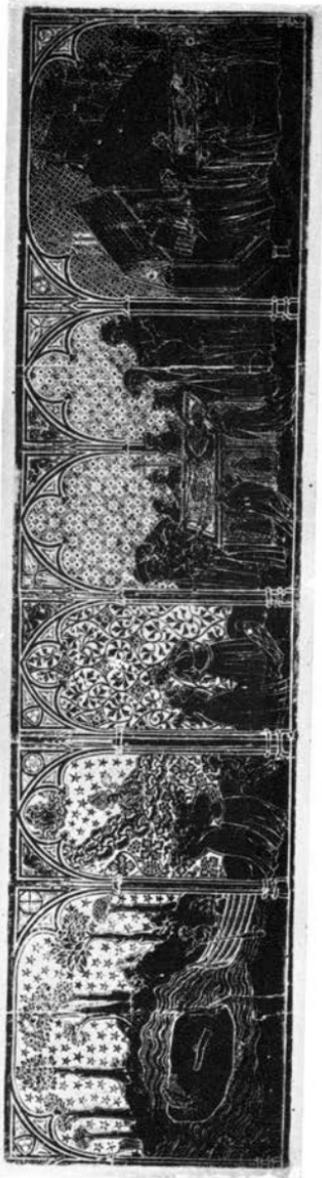
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5

ST HENRY OF FINLAND.



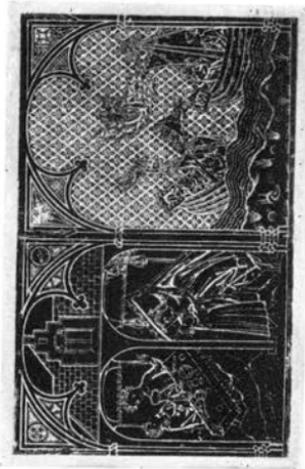
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12

13

ST HENRY OF FINLAND.

12. On the left two men at table, of whom one is drinking. This is Gudmund, a retainer of the Bishop of Åbo, who was once at the priest's house at Sandheem in Westgothland in Sweden. At the end of supper he drank to St Henry, whereupon the priest laughed at him and said, 'If he be a saint let him be angry with me, if he can.' That night the priest as he lay in bed was troubled with a dreadful pain in his body. He called Gudmund to him, begged pardon of St Henry, and made a vow then and there to fast on his eve as long as he lived. This scene, with the addition of St Henry's figure in a cloud, is shown on the right of the plate.

13. St Henry appearing in the sky rescues a crew of seal-fishers in a storm. Demons (as often) are seen breaking the masts of the vessel: and on the right the ship is going prosperously on its course.

This splendid series of brasses was I suppose executed in Flanders or in North Germany: the former district is perhaps the more likely of the two. The great Lubeck brasses and that of King Eric Menred at Ringsted in Denmark (on the whole the finest brass in the world) are both said to be Flemish. They are something like a century earlier in date than that of St Henry.

Upon the veneration of this saint in England I have one chance light to throw. William of Worcester (p. 346, ed. Nasmyth) has this sentence: St Henry the bishop, born in England, bishop of Upsal in the kingdom of Sweden, lies buried in the city Åbo in Finland; who died on the 14th (read 19th) of January in the days of St Eric, King of Sweden, as in the table in the Chapel of St Henry of the Carmelite friars at Yarmouth is set forth<sup>1</sup>.

Then follows a similar notice of St Henry the Emperor of Germany, without reference to the aforesaid table, from which, nevertheless, it is most likely taken. I take this table to have been a written scroll nailed on boards and hung up in

<sup>1</sup> Sanctus Henricus episcopus quondam de Anglia natus et episcopus Upsalensis (*sic*) in regno Sweciae jacet sepultus in civitate Abo in terra Finlandiae, qui obiit 14 die Januarii tempore sancti Erii regis Sweciae, ut in tabula capellae Sancti Henrici fratrum Carmelitarum Jernemuthiae patet.

the chapel in question. The dedication of a chapel at Yarmouth to St Henry is quite noteworthy. We can easily imagine how the story of the saint may have been brought to the seaport town by some merchant or ship-master whose business took him to the northern seas.

### A LEGEND OF ST STEPHEN<sup>1</sup>.

By Dr M. R. JAMES.

Among the oddest perversions of the canonical New Testament story that I know is one which has attached itself to the name of St Stephen. Our first literary record of it is in English; and the English form of the tale is, like most of the other literature I have to cite, a ballad or carol. It is found in a MS. (Sloane, 2593) of cent. XIV., XV. and was first printed by Ritson, *Ancient Songs* (Cl. II. No. 11). Since then it has appeared in several not uncommon collections of carols. I do not think I can avoid quoting it at length.

#### *A Carol for St Stephen's day.*

St Stephen was a clerk in King Herod's halle  
and served him of bread and cloth as ever king befalle.  
Stephen out of kitchen came with boares head on honde  
he saw a star was fair and bright over Bethlem stonde.  
He kyst adown the boares head and went into the halle:  
I forsake thee king Herodes and thine werkes alle  
I forsake thee king Herodes and thine werkes alle  
There is a child in Bethlem borne is better than we alle.  
What aileth thee Stephen? what is thee befalle  
Lakketh thee either meat or drinke in king Herodes hall?  
Lakketh me neither meat ne drinke in king Herodes' halle:  
there is a child in Bethlem born is better than we alle.  
What aileth thee Stephen? art thou wood or thou ginnest to brede  
lakketh thee either gold or fee or any rich weede?  
Lakketh me neither gold nor fee ne none rich weede:  
there is a child in Bethlem born shall helpen us at our neede.  
That is all so sooth, Stephen, all so sooth, I wiss  
as this capon crowe shall that lyeth here in mine dish.

<sup>1</sup> For additional remarks, see *post*, p. 264.

That word was not so soon said, that word in that halle,  
the capon crew *Christus natus est* among the lordes alle.

Riseth up my tormentors by two and all by one  
and leadeth Stephen out of this town and stoneth him with stone.

Token they Stephen and stoned him in the way  
and therefore is his even on Christes owen day.

There is another much longer English carol which seems to have been printed in broadside form as late as the eighteenth if not the nineteenth century. It is called *The Carnal and the Crane* (Carnal being I suppose a young crane) from the opening stanza :

As I passed by a river side  
and there as I did reign  
in argument I chanced to hear  
a Carnal and a Crane.

The Carnal said unto the Crane:

“If all the world should turn  
Before we had the Father;  
but now we have the Son.”

In this later carol the episode of the cock is found, but in this case it is not connected with St Stephen but with the Wise Men. They announce the appearance of the star, and its meaning, to Herod. Whereupon:

If this be true, king Herod said  
as thou tellest unto me,  
this roasted cock that lies in this dish  
shall crow full fences three.

The cock soon freshly feathered was  
by the work of God's own hand  
and then three fences crowed he  
in the dish where he did stand.

“Rise up, rise up, you merry men all,  
see that you ready be!  
all children under two years old  
now shall destroyed be.”

And so the ballad proceeds to the story of the flight into Egypt.

Now let us turn to another and more numerous series of documents in which either the story of the cock or St Stephen is connected with Christmastide. I mean the Scandinavian

ballads. A Danish carol has preserved the tale best. Its history is this: before 1736 it was sung by an old beggar woman before the door of Erik Pontoppidan's house. He noted it down and asked her if she believed it, to which she replied, "God forbid she should doubt it." Pontoppidan printed the song in 1736 in a small Latin tract entitled "Sweepings of the old leaven or the relics of heathendom and popery in the Danish world brought into the sunlight." But before this in 1695 Peter Syv quoted a couple of lines of this same ballad in a slightly varying form.

This is the Danish ballad as printed in Svend Grundtvig's *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser*, 1856, II. 525:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>1 En Jomfru ren oprunden er,<br/>en Rose over alle Kvinder:<br/>hun er den væneste, i Verden er<br/>hun kaldes Himmelens Kejserinde.</p>                        | <p>1 A virgin pure upsprungen is<br/>a Rose beyond all women<br/>she is the fairest in the world<br/>she is called the Queen of Heaven.</p>                        |
| <p>2 Hendes Hals saa hvid som Hermelin,<br/>hendes kinder saa roselig røde:<br/>for hun var saadan en Jomfru fin,<br/>skulde hun vor Herre føde.</p>               | <p>2 Her neck so white as Ermine<br/>her cheeks so rosy red<br/>for she was such a Virgin fair<br/>as should our Lord bring forth.</p>                             |
| <p>3 Gabriel Engel blev til hende sendt,<br/>til Jomfru Maria med Ære:<br/>"Min Herre han haver mig til eder<br/>sendt,<br/>I skulle Christi Moder være."</p>      | <p>3 Gabriel angel was to her sent<br/>to maiden Mary with honour,<br/>my Lord hath me unto you sent<br/>you shall become Christ's mother.</p>                     |
| <p>4 Maria svarede saa dertil,<br/>som Gud gav hende i Sinde:<br/>"Mig ske alt efter Guds Villie!<br/>jeg er vor Herre hans Tjenestekvinde."</p>                   | <p>4 Mary answered then thereto,<br/>as God put her in mind:<br/>Be it unto me after God's will<br/>I am our Lord's handmaiden.</p>                                |
| <p>5 Udi to Snese Uger med Barnet hun<br/>gik,<br/>foruden al Sorrig og Møde:<br/>men det var paa en Julenat,<br/>den Herre han lod sig føde.</p>                  | <p>5 For two score weeks with child she<br/>went<br/>without any sorrow or trouble<br/>but it was on a Christmas night<br/>the Lord He would be born.</p>          |
| <p>6 Sanct Stefan han leder de Foler i Vand<br/>alt ved den ljuse Sjørne:<br/>"For vist er nu Profeten fød,<br/>som frelse skal al Verden!"</p>                    | <p>6 St Stephen he leads the foals to water,<br/>all by the bright star light<br/>For sooth now is the Prophet born<br/>that shall save all the world.</p>         |
| <p>7 Kong Herodes han svarede saa dertil:<br/>"Jeg tror ikke denne Tale:<br/>foruden den Hane, paa Bordet staaer<br/>stegt,<br/>slaar ud sine Vinger at gale."</p> | <p>7 King Herod he answered then thereto<br/>I believe not this talk<br/>except the cock that lies roasted on<br/>the board<br/>spread out his wings and crow.</p> |

- 8 Den Hane slog ud sine Vinger og gol,  
vor Herre hans Fødsels Time:  
Herodes faldt af sin kongelig' Stol,  
af Sorrig begyndte at svime.
- 8 The cock spread out his wings and  
crew  
the hour our Lord was born  
Herod fell off his kingly seat  
with sorrow he 'gan to swoon.
- 9 Kong Herodes bad sadle Gangeren  
graa,  
til Bethlehem lyster ham at ride:  
han vilde der dræbe det lille Barn,  
som agted mod hannem at stride.
- 9 King Herod bade saddle his courser  
gray  
to Bethlehem list he to ride  
he would there kill the little child  
that thought with him to strive.
- 10 Maria tog Barnet udi hendes Arm,  
og Josef tog Asnet tillige:  
saa rejste de gennem det jødiske Land,  
til Egypten, som Gud dennem viste.
- 10 Mary took the child in her arms  
and Joseph he took the ass  
so fared they through the Jewish land  
to Egypt as God shewed them.
- 11 Vel fjortentusinde Børn saa smaa  
deres Blod lod han udgyde:  
men Jesus var tredive Mile derfra,  
før Solen den gik til Hvile.
- 11 Full fourteen thousand children so  
small  
their blood did he pour out  
but Jesus was thirty miles away  
ere the sun went to his rest.

Next comes a ballad from the Faroë Islands: the text of this I have not seen, but depend on Svend Grundtvig's account of it in his introduction to the Danish ballad just quoted. The essential points as given by Grundtvig are these:

Stephen is Herod's servant. He goes out and sees the star in the East which shows him that the great king is born. When he proclaims this Herod bids them put out Stephen's eyes. We shall see, he says, whether your king will help you. Stephen's eyes are put out: but he now sees as well in the dark as he did before in the bright daylight. A roasted cock cut up into pieces is next brought in and set before Herod who says:

If the cock stood up and began to crow I would believe in Stephen's word.

Herod he stood and looked thereon: how the cock came together, that lay on the dish.

The cock flew up on the red gold stool: he clapped his wings and so fair he crew.

Thereupon Herod bade saddle his courser and ride to Bethlehem to find the newborn king. When he came riding into the court, Mary stood and greeted him.

Welcome Herod hither to arrive. We have here mingled both mead and wine.

Herod answers:

You should not so gladly welcome me: I will have your son to nail on the tree.

Mary answers that if Herod wishes to take her son he must go to Heaven after him. This Herod tries to do but is taken by twelve angels and dashed to the earth and there the devil lays hold on him.

Lastly there is a Swedish ballad from which the story has disappeared and only the chief actor is left:

Stephen was a stable boy. Hold thee well my foal

He watered all his five foals. Help, God and St Stephen.

Day comes not yet, but only the bright stars that come before day.

This is the introduction to a song of which there are several forms. It was sung by waits who ranged the countryside on St Stephen's Day; and the bulk of it resembles the ordinary wassail songs or Mayday songs, and is in fact an appeal for contributions. Corrupt as it is, it retains just enough of its original story to connect it with the other ballads.

When I was in Sweden this summer I saw three medieval representations of parts of this legend. They are all earlier in date than the English carol which is the first *literary* document in our series. So far as I can gather none of the three monuments has been interpreted by other antiquarians. All three are sculptures. The earliest is an exceedingly rough production which in England we should assign to the eleventh century, but which as it is in Sweden may date from the twelfth. It is one of three slabs discovered not long ago just outside the cathedral church of Skara. One of these represents the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden, the second as I think St Gregory with a book in his hand and a dove at his ear, and the last has the following scene. A man in a tall head-dress and shirt (of mail), evidently a chief, is seated facing *l.* His legs are crossed, a posture which is generally in medieval art a sign of bad temper or lively emotion. Before him is a large cup and over it a bird whose head is gone. It is unmistakably meant for a cock. Behind the chief on the *r.* is an attendant with drawn sword.

The second example is of late XIIIth century. In the National Museum at Stockholm is a fine altar-front in gilt metal divided into a number of panels with scenes from the life of Christ and figures of the Apostles. The scene following the adoration of the Magi shows us a king at a table on which are various dishes, and conspicuous among these a cock. On the right is a kneeling man, and behind him, a soldier killing a child. The next scene is the Flight into Egypt. One of the inscriptions surrounding the frontal serves, I think, to commend and confirm my interpretation. It runs thus

Virgineum regem mortis re(s)cindere legem  
Pre(s)cit cor vatum divinitus irradiatum.

that is: the heart of seers, illuminated by God, foretells that the virgin-born king is annulling the law of death.

There are no prophets on the frontal, and there is no subject to which these lines apply so well as they will to the legend of Stephen's prophecy, "there is a child in Bethlehem born who shall save all the world." The words "divinitus irradiatum," moreover, fits in exactly with the vision of the star.

This altar-front came from the church of Broddetorp, near Skara: and Hr Hildebrand is inclined to suspect that it may have been originally made for Skara Cathedral.

The third representation dates from the XIVth century. It is on one of a remarkable series of sculptured brackets, intended to support statues, which are on the columns of the choir of Upsala Cathedral. On the two westernmost of these on the south side are the two following scenes:

1. A man on horseback: three or four other horses beside him. He raises his hands and stretches them out to the *r.* in the direction of a large star.

2. The Stoning of St Stephen.

I submit that these monuments can be best interpreted in connexion with the legend contained in the ballad.

The Skara relief shows us an angry king at table (indicated by the cup) and a cock on the table. The Broddetorp altar gives the king at table, the cock, and a kneeling man, in connexion with this. The Upsala sculpture shows a horse-tender powerfully affected by the appearance of a star, and im-

mediately furnishes us with a clue to the identity of the person (as I cannot but think) by showing us the martyrdom of St Stephen.

It is quite interesting to find that this picturesque legend is at least as old as the twelfth century, and, incidentally, to learn, though Sweden has not preserved any literary record of it, that it was well known in that country at an early date.

I must add to my interpretation a few words on the origin of the tale. There are two strange elements:

1. The story of the cock.
2. St Stephen as a stable-boy.

1. Grundtvig in his remarks on the Danish ballad has collected most of the parallels to the story of the cock. The leading story is that of two German pilgrims, a father and son, to Compostella, who were falsely accused of theft by an inn-keeper at Toulouse (or Tolosa). The son was hanged and remained alive on the gallows, supported by St James, for 36 days—in fact, until the father, who had continued his pilgrimage, returned to the spot. So far the common tale, which occurs in the *Legenda Aurea*, and other places. But later writers make the following addition, one placing the occurrence at S. Domingo, the other at Caussade, in the south of France. The father applied to the judge to have his son taken down. At the moment of his arrival, the judge was at table, with two chickens before him. He stoutly denied the possibility of what the old man reported, saying that he would believe it if the fowls before him would rise up and crow. This of course they did. They were kept in the parish church for some seven years afterwards and were much visited. Everyone who came to see them got a feather, and a new one immediately grew in the bird's body. Their progeny, a single pair, had the same peculiarity.

A second story says that two travellers were dining at Bologna: one cut up a roast chicken. His friend rashly said, "St Peter himself couldn't put that bird together again now." "St Peter?" retorted the other, "why, if our Lord Himself willed it, that cock could never get up again." The cock sprang up fully feathered, clapped his wings and crew: the sauce that

had been poured over him was sprinkled upon the two men, and they became leprous till their life's end.

To these I add what is probably an older form of the tale. It is found in Greek in some late copies of the so-called Gospel of Nicodemus; and in Latin also, but only so far as I know in a detached form. It tells how Judas after the betrayal came home and told his wife or his mother of what he had done. She reproached him bitterly, and said among other things that the prophet whom he had betrayed would rise again from the dead. I will believe that, said Judas, when the cock that you are boiling in that pot crows. In the Greek the parts are reversed: Judas is repentant, his wife is the mocker. "As the wretched man was yelping this out like a fox, the half-cooked cock was made alive again, came out of the boiling-pot forthwith and appeared with all his plumage restored, and so flew up upon the roof of the house, and there abode a long time exulting and rejoicing, as if he were proclaiming the time of the resurrection of Christ. Now the edition of the Greeks affirms that it was this same cock that in that very night convicted Peter by crowing when he denied." This story of Judas and the cock has a very obscure relative in the literature of Abyssinia. There is an Ethiopic document never yet printed, usually found in company with certain Passion-services, which is called the Book of the Cock. M. d'Abbadie has given a very brief account of the principal contents in the following terms. Immediately after the Last Supper (more probably the feast at Bethany) Akrosina (probably a corruption of Euphrosyne), wife of Simon the Pharisee, brought a roasted cock in a cooking-pot, put it into a handsome dish and presented it to our Lord. He touched it and restored it to life, and then sent it to watch the proceedings of Judas in Jerusalem, endowing it at the same time with a human voice. Rigrimt, the wife of Judas, sent it to the Jews. It was present at the interview of Judas with the priests, and returned and repeated the matter to our Lord, who thereupon dismissed it to fly about the sky for 10,000 years. Hereafter follows the history of the Passion with some legendary additions. Will not some one translate in full this curious writing?

In all these stories (and there are most likely others of the kind to be found) the function of the cock is the same. It converts the unbeliever. It is probable that the salient incident has been directly borrowed. I am inclined to think that the incident has been elaborated out of the story of Peter's denial, and that the first step taken was to connect the cock with Judas, and then possibly with Herod. As to the date of the various stories as we have them thus much may be said. We can trace the form in which St Stephen appears, to the eleventh or twelfth century. The Judas-legend (as I judge from the Latin form) is not later. The miracle of the pilgrims is traceable in art in the middle of the fifteenth century. Pietro di Foligno has painted it in the church of SS. Giacomo ed Antonio at Assisi. The story of the two travellers appears first in Helinandus, an author of the twelfth century.

2. St Stephen as a stable-boy. On this point the Scandinavian editors of the ballads have much to say which seems to me sound and interesting. I shall put their results quite shortly. They lay special stress on these points:

1. Dec. 26, St Stephen's Day, was universally celebrated in Scandinavian lands, and also to a large extent in North Germany, by horse-races, and all manner of rites connected with horses were performed on that day.

2. The season of Yule or Christmas was anciently the season of the great feast of the god Frey.

3. Frey was the special patron of horses.

To put the matter as shortly as possible, Stephen in his capacity as stable-boy is a reminiscence of the god Frey.

## ST URITH OF CHITTLEHAMPTON.

By DR M. R. JAMES.

The church of Chittlehampton in Devonshire is dedicated to St Urith. No tradition about the patron is preserved there beyond this, that there is an empty niche at the east end of the church, with a late inscription, "To the memory of S. Hieritha, foundress of this church."

Leland in two passages of his Itinerary which, owing to the nature of the index to that work, I have not yet discovered, has the following remarks :

“Chittlehampton in time past hath been notable for that Hieritha, born at Stoford (*read* Stowford) com. Devon, canonized a saint and was here interred, unto whose memory the church was dedicated, and she was esteemed to be of such sanctity that you may read of many miracles ascribed to her holiness in his book that penned her life.”

Also: “The hamlet of Stowforde did sometime belong to the Duchy of Lancaster. In this place was Hieritha, patroness of Chittlehampton, born, also, as the legend of her life makes mention, suffered the next year after Thomas Becket in the reign of Henry II., in which history the names of her parents are set down.”

These passages are quoted by Parker, *Calendar of the Anglican Church*, 1897, pp. 290, 291.

Camden in his *Britannia* mentions that at Chittlehampton lies the body of S. Hieritha, a female saint, but has no more to say; and Roscarrock in his MS. register of English saints merely copies Camden. The official Roman Catholic Menology of England and Wales does not so far as I can find include the name of our saint in any form.

William of Worcester at an earlier date has been called in as a witness. He speaks (p.106) on the authority of Thomas Peperell, notary public of Tavistock, of a St Herygh. This person is a bishop, brother of St Uny and St Ia. His feast is on Oct. 31 and he lies in a certain church situate under the cross of the church of St Paul in London. A thoroughly obscure statement, which suggests a confusion (as has been remarked) of St Herygh with St Erkenwald. It is likely enough that St Herygh existed, and that he is no other than St Erth, patron of a Cornish parish whose church is called in Latin documents *Ecclesia Sancti Erci*. But there is no reason for bringing him into the question here. Even on the evidence we have had, we may feel confident that St Hieritha is a female saint. I have a new document which not only confirms that view, but also tells us something of the legend of the saint.

It is a rhyming Latin poem, properly called an *Oratio rhythmica*, which I found in a manuscript in the Gale collection at Trinity College (O. 9. 38). The volume is of paper, written in the fifteenth century and is the commonplace book of a Glastonbury monk. It contains a large quantity of medieval Latin verse, some of which has been printed, while a great deal is as yet unknown.

My poem is on almost the last leaf, and this leaf has lost its outer edge, so that the ends of a good many lines are unfortunately gone. However with the help of my friend Mr Stephen Gaselee, of King's College, I have produced a text which is at least better than nothing.

### *Oratio*

Cotidiane lux di<ei>  
 Protulit ad laud<em> dei *Urithae memoriam*  
 Hec pudica et formosa hic pu(ella...)  
 Sua vita virtuosa

Holocaustum deo gratum se in etate tenera  
 Virgo vouit celebratum  
 Munda carne pura mente inter mundi p(re)lia  
 Vixit Christo protegente

Gaudet quia falcatorum martirium sustinuit  
 Fasce (perhaps falce) prato iniquorum  
 Virgo martir nunc sanctorum in premium promeruit  
 Consortia angelorum

Hostium minas non expauit hostis quos absorbuit  
 Hostes morte superauit  
 Vbi virgo expirauit sicca terra floruit  
 Fons habundo emanauit

Nunc gaudet tota patria innocens virgo vicerit  
 Quod sue nouerce odia  
 O villa chitelhamptonia quod talamum sponsi subiit  
 Letare cum deuonia

Ora pro nobis virgo martir *Christi*  
 Vt liberemur a morte *tristi*

### *Oratio*

omnipotens sempiternae deus *qui sanctam*  
 Vritham et virginitatis et *martiri*

angelico decorasti gaudio concede  
 nobis famulis tuis vt suis meritis  
 et intercessionibus eterna celi *gaudia*  
 pertingere mereamur per christum dominum nostrum.

From these lines the main points of the legend emerge clearly enough. Urith is a maiden who has dedicated herself to a religious life. She has a jealous—possibly a heathen—step-mother who bribes the haymakers on the estate to attack Urith and put an end to her—doubtless with their scythes. A fountain springs out of the ground where she falls, and flowers deck the dry soil. Divine vengeance falls on the murderers; perhaps they are struck by lightning, perhaps swallowed up in the earth.

If it had not been for the occurrence of the name of Chittlehampton in the poem (if poem it may be called) and that of Uritha in the prayer, the hagiologist would, I think, have concluded not unfairly that the saint spoken of was St Sidwell or Sativola of Exeter. The legends of the two are extraordinarily similar. Each has a wicked stepmother, each is killed by a haymaker, and for each a fountain springs up on the site of the martyrdom. St Kyneburga of Gloucester, again, had a very similar fate.

The general complexion of the legend—a thoroughly mythical one—raises grave doubts in my mind as to whether Leland's statement that St Urith suffered the year after Thomas Becket can be accepted. It has not by any means the aspect of a twelfth century tale, to my thinking. Leland may quite probably have been misled by a statement in the legend which he evidently inspected in a very perfunctory way, omitting to state the manner of Urith's death and her parents' names. The legend may have given the day after St Thomas's as her feast day, or the discovery of her relics, or even the date of its own composition. But in the absence of the original document—now, I fear, not very likely to be brought to light again—these doubts, though worth expressing, must not be insisted upon.

I do not feel myself competent to enter upon the discussion of the Sidwell-Urith legend from the comparative mythologists'

point of view. I have little doubt that parallels in Celtic hagiology would be forthcoming if one had time to spend in looking for them. It must suffice for me to call your attention to the subject, and to express a hope that some one specially interested in this department of romance may be able to supply my defects.

I cannot end without expressing my thanks to the Ven. Archdeacon Seymour, Rector of Chittlehampton, who has been good enough to supply me with a statement of all that was known about St Urith in her own parish and county.

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Monday, February 17, 1902.

Mr GRAY, President, in the Chair.

#### EXCAVATIONS IN THE WAR DITCHES NEAR CHERRY HINTON.

Professor HUGHES, before describing the results of continued excavations, acknowledged the assistance he had received from Mr Freeman, and expressed his regret that they had lost the services of Mr Kaines Smith, whose other engagement had prevented his giving much time to the work.

He then went on to report as follows: 'I have received confirmation of the local use of the name "War Ditches." Since my last report (Feb. 3) the course of the great fosse has been quite straight, pointing towards the centre of the reservoir, but now it is beginning to curve round to the east. The fosse is not here as deep by nearly 3 feet as it was proved to be where first crossed in the entrance to Mr Tebbutt's pit.

The most interesting discovery which has been made in the fosse was that of a kind of oven or fireplace which was fortunately exposed before the visit of the Society to the spot and seen by the members on the 5th.

This fireplace was made by digging a hole in the *débris* which filled the fosse and lining it with from 6 to 8 inches of

clay roughly plastered on the loose and crumbling sides. It was fired so as to harden the clay but yet not enough to convert it into a solid mass which could be removed, and from the appearance of the sides in section it seemed probable that the clay lining had been renewed from time to time and the falling sides repaired. In the lining there were some broken pieces of the long wedge-shaped bricks, and lumps of half-baked clay to 8 inches in diameter were packed into the upper part on one side. These were burnt red to a depth of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 inches on the outside, while the inside part remained black.

Several layers of black carbonaceous humus occurring down to a much lower level indicated successive infillings of the fosse at an earlier date than the construction of the fireplace, with intervals of slow accumulation and growth of weeds. Through the upper layers the hole was dug in which this symmetrical bell-shaped chamber was formed as above described. It measured 42 inches across the top, 20 inches across the bottom, with a depth as now seen of about 41 inches; but, as the finer made-earth extended across at the level of the unfinished top as now seen, that is at about 2 feet from the surface of the ground, we cannot tell what the rim was like nor what was the original depth. It was filled with rubbish like that around it.

Its manner of occurrence furnishes an additional proof of the ancient date of the infilling of the fosse.

The pits with burnt clay, charcoal, half-baked bricks, &c., &c., which they had come upon in several places in the course of the excavations were probably remains of similar structures.

Their use was not at present clear. This one would hold water, but there is no evidence that it was used for that purpose, and the traces of burning were such as to suggest that its last use at any rate was for firing something.

Its small size and rounded base made it improbable that it could have been a potter's kiln or a limekiln. Moreover the class of pottery found about is not such as would have been made in that way, and they had found no refuse heaps composed of the inevitable wasters of a kiln.

On the whole it seemed more probable that it was an oven or cooking place of some kind, and he hoped that further

excavations might enable them to find the true explanation of these interesting remains which probably would throw much light upon the domestic life of the people who constructed and used them.

Following the fosse a few feet further they came upon a human skeleton at a depth of about 10 feet. It appeared to have suffered rough treatment, as was the case with the one found on the other side of the roadway. The skull was gone and the legs were doubled back upon the body. Whatever may be the explanation of the manner of occurrence of the skeletons, it is clear that they were not *buried* in the earth which had partly filled the fosse because the layers extended uninterruptedly over them. After being placed there they were covered by the *débris* which crumbled off the sides or was thrown in. Nor were they carried there with the material which was thrown in from the surrounding surface, for they must have been left where we find them and covered up while the ligaments and soft parts were there to keep the bones together.

Not far from this skeleton the workmen picked up some fragments of pottery near the bottom of the fosse. I did not see these got out, but from the character of the ware I feel sure that most of them had fallen in from the sides and got trodden in where the men were working. This view is confirmed by the occurrence among them of a bit of the bottom of a quite recent glass bottle, the surface of which was corroded by the action of the alkalis in the manure with which it had probably been carried on to the land. This unfortunately throws doubt on all the specimens then collected, the characters of some of which make it not improbable that they did occur at the base. It has however been proved that fragments of a rough black and red pottery with white angular chips of calcined flint do occur in the lower layers below the skeletons.

About the level of the top of the fireplace above described is the horizon whence we have obtained the greatest quantity and the finest quality of pottery. There is a large proportion of thin black, red, and white ware with bands or circles painted

on, or produced in slip in high relief, while others were ornamented with rings or triangular groups of dots, also in high relief. Seeing that there was so much pottery of the better kind, the almost entire absence of Samian is very marked and indicates that Roman art still survived, but that the importation of distinctively Roman objects had ceased.

A little further still in the direction of the reservoir at a depth of about 2 feet from the surface, that is from the same horizon as that from which most of the pottery was obtained, a plain bronze fibula<sup>1</sup> was found. It was unfortunately broken by the pick in getting it out and had previously lost a portion of the narrower end. The fragment was about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long with a square expansion at one end. This was  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch in length and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches in breadth with a curved lunette front. The back was very thick and strongly bent. The lost part must have added from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 inches to the length. On the under side there are two loops into which the pin must have passed, but there is no trace remaining of any spring. This fiddle-shaped brooch is not like any Roman or Saxon specimen which has so far occurred in this district, and, like the pottery, suggests that it belongs to an age when the Romanized British still kept up the general types they had learned from the Romans.

### ON SOME EARTHWORKS AT BOXWORTH AND KNAPWELL.

By Professor T. MCKENNY HUGHES.

There is a look of antiquity about the parishes of Lolworth, Boxworth, and Knapwell, but there are few records or traditions to help us in making out their history. There are traces of ancient enclosures and cultivation everywhere and very old trees stand about in rows and clumps. The names are Scan-

<sup>1</sup> This interesting specimen will, it is hoped, be figured when the final report is made to the Society—as also the pottery, much of which is new to our district, and the ovens, which are different from anything of which I can find record.

dinavian. But who knows when Scandinavian immigrations began?

The churches as they stand are not very old. Knapwell church looks like a new one built out of old material on a new site, for there is no high churchyard round it. Boxworth Church is Decorated and Perpendicular and has a 14th century coffin-lid recently built into the wall. It is interesting to Cambridge men for the tomb of Sanderson, the blind Lucasian Professor of Mathematics (1711-1739).

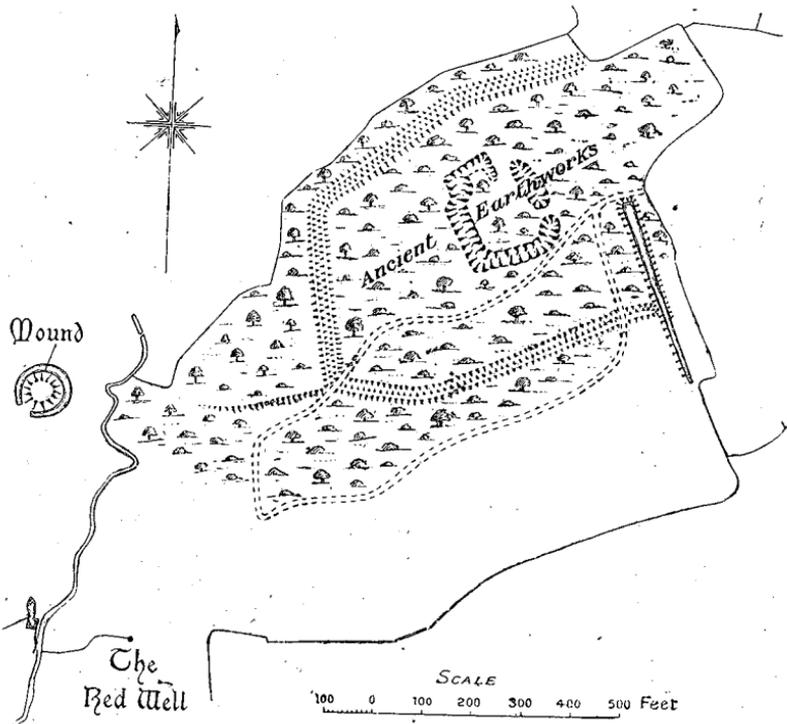
Knapwell probably owes its position to the stream which runs along the bottom of the valley to the west of it, and perhaps to the spring which issues from the Elsworth Rock at the bottom of the bank opposite the church. This well must have given its name to Knapwell, near which it is, though it is now in Boxworth parish. It is strongly chalybeate, and one would think from the ancient brick-work in it that it was more thought of in old times and was very likely regarded as a holy well. Its name, the Red Well, was obviously given to it from the deep red stain of the iron oxides. Tradition says that this district was densely populated till the Black Death carried off nearly all its inhabitants.

But what I would now call special attention to are some earthworks of great strength and extent in Overhall Grove, between Boxworth and Knapwell. They were pointed out to me by Mr Edmund Thornhill of Boxworth, whose brother owns the property.

The most ancient, I take it, is the moated mound or 'burh' which stands on the Knapwell side of the stream, at such a low level that the moat is easily kept full of water. It is peculiar in this that it does not occupy a strong position on a hill nor command any important stream-crossing. It looks as if it had been thrown up here for concealment, when this district was covered by dense woods, and for security against surprise, for it could have held out for some time against a sudden attack.

On the Boxworth side of the stream a thick wood covers the slope, forming a well-known fox covert and concealing in its depths some strong artificial earths. In the midst of this

wood there is a strong irregularly rectangular platform with a deep fosse round it. This work is about 70 yards across. Outside this there is a strong vallum and fosse, also roughly rectangular except that it is drawn out into a point in the



direction of the well, while from this corner a covering bank runs down more directly towards the stream immediately opposite the moated mound. The north-east side also where part of the fosse is still full of water extends beyond the corner in a straight line to the south-east.

This looks like the site of a fortified mediæval residence of later date than the moated mound—but so completely has it passed out of the memory of man that I was unable to learn

anything more about it, and, buried in its deep woods, it escaped the notice even of the Ordnance Survey. When however I called the attention of the officer in charge of that district to it he had it surveyed at once, and has kindly placed at my disposal a tracing of the works which will appear in the next edition of the map.

### VILLAGE OF ROMANIZED BRITONS ON THE BANKS OF THE CAM BETWEEN CHESTERTON AND MILTON.

By Professor T. MCKENNY HUGHES.

In September of last year Mr Bell, of Trinity Hall, kindly informed me of the discovery of a large quantity of pottery and bones at the east corner of the Sewage farm on an area which was being excavated with a view to some further extension of these works. Through his good offices I heard from the Town Clerk, Mr J. E. L. Whitehead, that the Sewage Disposal Committee were willing to hand over the various antiquarian objects found to me in order that I might see to their examination and safe-keeping. I am glad to have the opportunity of publicly thanking these gentlemen for their courtesy in the matter.

The discovery proved to be of great interest. It is in fact the unearthing of another Roman settlement along the river terraces north of Cambridge. Unfortunately I did not receive the information in time to see the objects excavated and note their exact relation to one another, but an examination of the spot and of the surrounding area and careful enquiry from the workmen enabled me to make out pretty clearly their manner of occurrence and the character of the remains.

There were a good many human remains and most of these came from graves of irregular occurrence over the area. They seem to have been those of well-built people of large stature and good dolichocephalic skulls.

The pottery and the remains of domestic animals were found chiefly in pits such as are so common in and around every

Roman settlement, as for example at Chesterford—but also to some extent scattered over the surface. The pottery is very mixed in character. There was much of the coarse ware such as we find at Horningsea, some of the hooped barrel type such as I have recently brought under your notice from Jesus Lane. But there is very little that is at all comparable to the finer class of ware which we are now digging up in the War Ditches. The scarcity of Samian may indicate the poverty of the inhabitants, or the late date of the settlement, or the absence of the more distinctively Roman element.

It was probably an agricultural village of Romanized Britons.

#### ON MODIFICATIONS OF DESIGN ON AN INDIAN CLOTH.

By Professor T. MCKENNY HUGHES.

The curious example of modifications of design which we find on British coins struck in imitation of Greek money has often been noticed. The head of Philip of Macedon degenerated into a ear of corn.

The quadriga or four-horse chariot became a sort of Medusa head.

It is interesting therefore to see the same sort of thing in the treatment of hunting scenes or fights between wild beasts in modern Asiatic designs.

The piece which I exhibit has a stag, with conventional antlers, walking out to feed; also a tiger or cheetah arriving upon the scene; the tiger seizes the stag. But now a change is seen, the stag's antlers become part of the floral decoration, though occasionally one of the designs which do duty for plants elsewhere remains attached to or near the stag's head.

In another place the antlers remain, but the row of tynes suggests the teeth of an animal turned back towards the attacking tiger. When this has been accepted, various parts of the rest of the animal are modified to suit the idea, and colour strengthens the illusion. Portions of the tiger develop into the serpent-like body and tail of the dragon on which the

paw of the tiger becomes a wing. Here however the changes come to an end and the red colour of the rest of the dragon does not appear in his wing.

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Friday, February 28, 1902.

Mr GRAY, President, in the Chair.

Mr E. J. RAPSON, M.A., gave a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides,

ON THE RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS OF  
DR M. A. STEIN IN CHINESE TURKESTAN.

He explained that it had long been known that the district to the north of Khotan, generally known as the Taklamakan Desert, was in ancient times the site of a civilization partly Indian in character. Bilingual coins having inscriptions both in ancient Chinese characters and in the ancient Indian alphabet, known as Kharoshthi, placed this fact beyond doubt, and in recent years the evidence of this ancient civilization in the shape of fragments of manuscripts, various works of art, etc., had become very numerous; but no systematic exploration of this region had been made until the Indian Government in 1900 entrusted the task to a well-known Sanskrit scholar and Indian archæologist, Dr M. A. Stein, of the Indian educational service. The lantern views exhibited by the lecturer consisted partly of places of geographical interest on the route followed by Dr Stein, and partly of the various ancient sites in the desert excavated and of the different classes of objects discovered by him. Archæological evidence shewed that the encroachment of the sand which eventually covered the whole of this region was gradual, leaving the inhabitants abundant time to remove everything of value. Almost all the objects found in the houses and temples excavated were such as might be left behind as not worth transport, or, like the numerous colossal statues discovered, too large to be carried away. The

most valuable find of all came from an ancient rubbish heap. This yielded hundreds of wooden tablets and many parchments inscribed in Kharoshthi characters, somewhat similar to those found on the coins of the Indo-Scythic kings of the first century, A.D. Many of these are dated in years of the reigning sovereign, together with the month and day. The difficulties of decipherment are very considerable, owing partly to the cursive character of the writing, partly to the dialect, which, however, is certainly an Indian dialect and related to Sanskrit, and partly to the numerous non-Aryan words presenting strange groups of consonants for the resolution of which no analogies have yet been found. The decipherment of these inscriptions would, no doubt, be a work of time and patience, but when accomplished it would restore for us some of the outlines of a lost chapter of human history.

Professor Ridgeway proposed a voté of thanks to the lecturer and said Mr Rapson had given an exceedingly vivid picture of the wonderful discovery of Dr Stein, which they hoped was only the prelude to much more, and they might have come face to face with a new development of history.

Sir Henry Howarth seconded the proposition, and said he hoped they would soon have some of the monographs of the coins of the district as well as on the tablets, which would clear up a great deal of their difficulties. Mr Rapson had given a most graphic account of the mountainous district through which Dr Stein travelled, and on getting north of those mountains they had a tremendous amount of puzzles. It would be of great advantage to them, if it were possible, to know the race which lived in that area before the Hindoo colonies were placed there. It was very difficult to know what race it was, because the Thibetians were hardly in that western part at that very early date, while the Turks did not seem to have come down quite so far south; so there was room there for some race, which probably corresponded to that of whom the classical writers told so much.

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Monday, March 3, 1902.

Mr GRAY, President, in the Chair.

Baron ANATOLE VON HÜGEL read a report upon

A MONTH'S FLINT IMPLEMENT COLLECTING IN THE  
LIBYAN DESERT,

near Abydos, Upper Egypt. The paper was illustrated by lantern slides. This report is held over for future publication, owing to the illness of the writer.

He also exhibited the collections of flint implements and prehistoric pottery now preserved in the Museum of Archæology and of Ethnology.

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Wednesday, March 12, 1902.

Mr GRAY, President, in the Chair.

Dr A. C. HADDON, F.R.S., delivered a lecture on

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CART.

Dr Haddon traced the gradual improvement in the lightness and symmetry of the wheel and axle of the cart. The primitive wheel consisted simply of a log, the two ends of which formed the wheels, and the axle hacked away from the beam. There were two kinds of wheels—spoke and frame wheels. The spoke-wheel was a very ancient invention, the Assyrian war chariots being constructed on that principle several centuries B.C. The greatest number and variety of survivals in the shape of wheels was to be found in Spain and Ireland. The wheels of a Spanish ox-cart were built up of several pieces of wood, the rim being studded with nails, and these would stand a tremendous lot of knocking about.

Lantern illustrations were given.

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Monday, April 28, 1902.

Mr GRAY, President, in the Chair.

ON THE REMAINS OF THE DOG, PREHISTORIC, ROMAN,  
AND MEDÆVAL, FOUND NEAR CAMBRIDGE.

By Professor T. MCKENNY HUGHES.

It has been noticed that almost all animals that have been thoroughly domesticated are gregarious, and it has been suggested that they only transfer their allegiance from the leader of the herd to man. However that may be, it is certain that the animals most like dogs and those from which, considering all the circumstances and probabilities, dogs most commonly appear to have been derived, are gregarious, and that dogs which have returned to a feral state are apt to become gregarious, so far at any rate as to hunt in packs, as do wolves and jackals. We should expect therefore to find that dogs were domesticated in very early times, and as far back as pictorial illustration and history carry us, we do find that the more highly civilized peoples had many breeds of dogs. Several of the more marked varieties existing at the present day were represented on the monuments of ancient Egypt. The Romans knew and imported the powerful dogs of Britain.

Among primæval races, however, or peoples of a lower civilization, selection of breeds does not appear to have been practised to any great extent and therefore the characters of the wild animal from which the dogs were derived continued to prevail.

Thus we find that the dogs of North America resemble the great grey wolf of Arctic regions, while some of the smaller North-American-Indian dogs resemble the prairie wolf (*C. latrans*). The central European and Indian dogs are like the wolves of their own country, while in those more southern

regions, where the jackal takes the place of the wolf, the native dogs are of the jackal type.

We must remember that although there may not have been much selection of breeds among primæval peoples, still the tribal isolation which eventually affected the racial characters of man may well have perpetuated any variety which appeared among his domestic animals, and it may be that dolichocephalic and brachycephalic dogs may help us by and by to trace the migrations of his masters.

Although there may have been no attempts to arrive at a number of fancy breeds, still the rudest people who made use of dogs would endeavour to procure such as were best adapted for their purpose. The Esquimaux wanted a powerful dog for hunting and for draught; the Hungarian shepherd a dog that could fight a wolf—and so on.

Even where there may have been many different breeds introduced from time to time, if there were no isolation and selection, a common type would be arrived at by the crossing of various kinds and the absorption of any newly introduced variety into the common stock which was numerically the strongest and had nearly reverted to an original more stable form.

A common ancestor of the race is seen in the Tertiary *Cuon Cynodon* and *Cynictis*<sup>1</sup> which really do not differ so much as might have been expected from the form to which the common dog reverts when breeding is unchecked by selection.

We have a good example of this in Constantinople, where the dogs roam about unowned and unrestrained, living on the street refuse, and, therefore, protected as scavengers. In eastern and southern towns the climate facilitates this and people are more tolerant of animals quartered on the whole community in this manner. Even in Florence the cloisters of S. Lorenzo furnish a home to an immense number of cats, to which as a sort of charity food is regularly given at noon.

In Constantinople where I was looking out for any varieties that might appear I found a most remarkable uniformity of

<sup>1</sup> H. Filhol, *Recherches sur les Phosphorites du Quercy*, Paris, 1876, 8°.

type. The resultant breed is a small yellow mastiff with a more tapering muzzle and a more close approach to the form of a wolf than is seen in our English breed. There is a smaller grey breed, with a still sharper nose and longer pointed ears, which is more like the jackal and may be a later introduced breed not yet absorbed. When we remember the numerous southern lands dependent upon or at any rate in close touch with Constantinople it would be curious if the jackal, the essentially southern type, had left no mark on the breed of dogs.

Dogs are mentioned in the Bible not so much as the faithful friends of man but as despised and often dangerous animals that showed their teeth and ran about the city and yet were tolerated as useful for certain purposes.

The references to them in Latin writers are of the same kind, and the word was applied to man as a term of abuse as is the word *cur* among us, or, in milder forms of depreciation, as *dog-Latin*, *dog-rose*.

We cannot in any English town now see what would be the result of unselected breeding. Almost everyone who keeps a dog has chosen it for some definite object, but only to a small extent does this seem to have been the case in Egypt, Greece or Rome, and there remained the great majority of unowned dogs that obtruded themselves upon the public notice everywhere. Judging from the bones of dogs found in our ancient ditches and lay-stalls, we should infer that the same sort of thing prevailed in English towns in mediæval times. The great majority of skulls found belong to the type of dog now seen in Constantinople. At Chesterford, the most distinctively Roman town we have in this district, we find that this same type is by far the most common. There is associated with it a smaller breed with what the French would call a 'front bombée,' a fuller brow and orbits set more forward, and thus in one important character differing more than does the other breed from the wolf, in which the eyes are set more obliquely, that is, drawn out along, rather than across the head.

From the cast<sup>1</sup> of the lower jaw of a dog recently dug up in

<sup>1</sup> Now in the Woodwardian Museum.

the Forum in Rome we should infer that the common breed which was uncared for and left unburied was of the same normal type from which dogs descended and to which they revert.

Carrying our enquiries still further back into pre-Roman times, we must admit that it is not always easy to fix the exact age of the bones found in the fens.

Remains of dogs of all ages and of various breeds are dug up along the banks of the rivers, but it is of course not sufficient that a dog's skull has been procured from peat or river silt. We must be sure that it is not a modern specimen covered up in the marginal deposits of the existing stream. We must satisfy ourselves that it is out of peat or silt far from where the stream has run in recent times.

If we reject all examples in which the bones are not thoroughly stained and so get rid of all those specimens which belong to the more recent river deposits, and have regard also to the associated remains, we may often satisfy ourselves on this point sufficiently for our present purpose.

Our next difficulty is to distinguish between wolf and dog. In those early times the dog had not been so far modified as to offer any very marked difference of structure as compared with the wolf. The strength and prominence of the parietal ridge is generally regarded as a test, as this bone, being a protection to the brain cavity, is developed in the wild beast and lost by degrees in the domesticated form. It moreover is an indication of the strength of the great muscles which, passing through the zygomatic arch, move the lower jaw, and these again might be expected to be more developed in the wolf than in his descendant, which had softer food.

These points of difference would naturally be less marked in a breed of dogs but recently reclaimed from the wolf, still existing under not very dissimilar conditions, and, moreover, not infrequently crossed with the wolf. This is conspicuously the case with the Esquimaux dogs, which, as Sir John Richardson has pointed out, are often undistinguishable from wolves in general appearance, and accordingly in the skull of the Esquimaux dog, as may be seen in the specimen in the Wood-

wardian Museum, the parietal ridge and zygomatic arch are strongly developed. Therefore, although the lower ridge and weakly developed arch may be considered as generally distinctive of dogs, we cannot infer from a strong ridge and largely developed arch that the animal was a wolf.

The dog or wolf of the fens belongs to what I have called the normal type, but there is less difference between what is called a wolf and what is called a dog than there is between the fen wolf and the Esquimaux dog. The fen wolf approaches the dog type, and the fen dog approaches the wolf type. It may be that the wolves are only the poor degenerate remnant of a dying-out race; or it may be that we have not procured any wolves at all from the fens. At any rate I know of no criteria by which the fen wolf and fen dog can be distinguished.

In the peat of the fens we have also some smaller dogs of the same character as those found at Chesterford, and perhaps of the same age. From the researches of Studer<sup>1</sup>, we should be led to expect that we may find a considerable variety of breeds among the pre-Roman inhabitants of this country. At any rate it is quite clear that the remains of domestic animals found associated with man should be carefully preserved and the nature of the association carefully recorded.

[Specimens or figures of the various types referred to were exhibited at the meeting.]

Professor HUGHES, secondly, read a paper

#### ON ANCIENT HORSE-SHOES.

The history of horse-shoes is of considerable importance in archæology. They are continually being dug up and it would help us greatly if we could assign a date to the various forms which occur. They are said to have been found in this district associated with the remains of Roman, Saxon, Norman, and every later age; but it is very difficult to obtain any satisfactory

<sup>1</sup> Dr Th. Studer, 'Die prae-historischen Hunde in ihrer Beziehung zu den gegenwärtig lebenden Rassen.' (*Abhandl. d. Schweiz. Paläontologischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. xxvii.) 1901, p. 1.

evidence as to the nature of this association. They have often been referred to Roman or Saxon times merely because their shape is different from those of our day and Roman or Saxon remains have been found near. It requires great care to determine exactly the age of objects found in the course of ordinary excavations. Pieces of metal work down into the soil in various ways, or fall into the diggings and get trodden into the sand or clay at the bottom of the pit, and, without any intention to mislead, workmen give a wrong impression of the relative position of the objects found, while sufficient attention has not yet been paid to old horse-shoes and to the doubt which exists as to their age and origin, to make collectors generally as careful as they should be on this point.

Moreover comparatively recent shoes, which have been made for a special purpose, are often more peculiar than any of those which, in the present state of our knowledge, we call the most ancient.

Again, we do not know which of the successive races and tribes which have from time to time occupied this country brought with them horse-shoes of their own, and which of them, if any, adopted the patterns of the people who were there before them.

In this enquiry I use the terms British, Roman, Saxon, Norman, to indicate chronological not racial divisions. The inhabitants of the British Isles were in constant communication with the Continent, and the civilization and arts of northern and north-western Europe had reached this country long before the Roman conquest.

What we call Roman was an age of long duration, even if we limit it to the time before the withdrawal of the legionaries, while the Romanized British, who can hardly be distinguished from them, held their own for a very much longer time and overlapped post-Roman Teutonic invaders everywhere.

The introduction of the remains that we refer to the age of the Saxons was gradual and intermittent; and, although the Norman like the Roman conquest was a sharply defined episode, the English changed their habits and customs but slowly, and there must have been plenty of purely Saxon or

other German and Scandinavian communities here long after the arrival of the Normans.

In the case of horse-shoes therefore, which, although numerous in certain localities, do not, like pottery for instance, turn up almost wherever ancient remains are found, we must be careful to ascertain if possible whether those which seem to belong to the pre-Roman inhabitants (call them Celtic, Gaulish, British, or what not) are not of later date than the Roman invasion; and whether some of those which we should refer to the Saxon age may not have belonged to Saxons who lived here after the Norman conquest.

We must remember also that the area which was selected and cleared by the earliest inhabitants for settlement and cultivation would certainly be that which their conquerors would occupy, at first at any rate, and that in a country so diversified as ours this rule would apply to every successive invasion.

We must expect therefore Saxon horse-shoes, if there were any, on ground which had been occupied by the Romanized British, and Norman horse-shoes among late Saxon relics. Very little is known about the horse-shoes of the ancients. They may have been introduced from the East through northern Europe, but, instead of finding frequent mention of them in history, we should infer from many passages in ancient writings that horses were not shod in Southern Asia, in Greece, or in Italy till many centuries after the Christian Era. Alexander and Mithridates had to leave their cavalry behind because their hoofs were worn out. The advantages of a strong sound hoof were continually dwelt upon. Isaiah says "the hoofs of their horses shall be counted like flint," and Xenophon and Vegetius describe the best kind of floor for preserving the horse's feet and give instructions how to harden their hoofs.

All the supposed references to horse-shoes in ancient writers are either obviously founded in error or can be easily explained away.

For instance the ringing of a good sound hoof upon the ground was supposed by some to imply that the horses had metal shoes; and Xenophon's advice as to clamping the pave-

ment on which the horses were trained was taken to refer to fastening the shoe on with metal.

None of the Greek or Latin authors who wrote especially about the treatment of horses make any mention of horse-shoes or farriers. They had some kind of protection for the feet of camels, cattle, horses, mules, and asses, but these were either sandals of straw or hemp (*sparteae soleae*) tied on in cases of emergency such as a long journey, hard roads, or injury, or they were leathern shoes (*soleae*), something like those put on the horses employed to draw the mowing machine on our lawns, with such differences as might be suggested by the different object in view, ours being to prevent the lawn from being cut up, theirs to protect the horse's hoof. Vespasian's coachman would not have had time to fit and nail on horse-shoes or half-moon shaped metal plates (*selenaria*) on all his horses, but he could have fastened on sandals with straps and thongs; while silver and gold plates would have been much more conspicuous attached to such sandals or to the upper part of the hoof for the purposes of display, which was all that Nero and Poppæa wanted. The word 'induerè' would be more appropriately applied to pulling on a leather shoe of this kind than to nailing on a metal plate.

We must however bear in mind at this stage of our enquiry that horses were not so commonly used as mules and donkeys for ordinary commerce or travelling, and therefore we do not find such frequent mention of them, except for war purposes, as to make this negative evidence with regard to horse-shoes as trustworthy as it would otherwise have been.

Still the case remains very strong against the view that horse-shoes were in use in Italy at the time of the Roman occupation of Britain.

There is no sign of a shoe on the hoofs of the horses represented in ancient sculpture; yet they could be easily seen, if present, in the frieze of the Parthenon, in Persepolis, on Trajan's Column, or on the monuments of Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius.

Winkelmann describes a carved stone on which there is the figure of a naked boy on a horse and another kneeling on the

ground and holding up the near fore-foot of the horse as if examining the sole. But there is nothing to show that he is attempting to nail a shoe on; nor could anyone hold up a horse's foot in the way indicated—much less shoe him.

Fabretti refers to the hunting scene preserved in the Palazzo Mattei in Rome as in his opinion proving that horse-shoes were in use in the time of Gallienus, but Winkelmann has shown that this foot is a modern restoration.

Nor is there such necessity for, or even such great advantage as might at first appear in nailing iron shoes on to the horse's hoof. Of course if one of our horses casts a shoe he cannot without injury carry us far over a hard road. But in this case we are dealing with a hoof that has been pared and kept subject to all the vicissitudes of dryness and moisture, cold and heat, which are aggravated by keeping it covered by a shoe. With a view to keeping the hoof hard the most important thing is to protect it from moisture. This explains one reason why an unshod animal can accommodate itself to hard roads, that is because hard roads are more apt to be dry. A shoe keeps the water against the rim of the hoof and moreover prevents the sodden spongy part, which also retains moisture, from being worn away.

It is the same kind of reason as that which makes some people advocate letting children run about barefoot. They are sure to get damp feet, but shoes and stockings keep the damp on the feet and chill them, whereas the bare foot soon gets dry and circulation quickly returns. In the case of horses as of children, you have to balance the advantages of protection against one kind of injury against another in the circumstances in which they are placed.

The hoof of a horse or ass which is allowed to grow naturally without being subjected to much wear, develops enormously in front and turns up into a long horny process curving back towards the crown of the hoof and protecting with an elastic shield the whole of the front of the foot. A worked animal's hoof if cared for does not differ much in general appearance from the shod hoof of our day.

In many parts of the world horses, mules, and asses are still

commonly ridden and driven without shoes; and in parts of our country where the ground they have to travel over is mostly soft, as on peat bogs and on uncultivated turf-covered land, they are often not shod. Even where they have to travel over hard roads the hoof soon accommodates itself to the work it has to do, as people who habitually run about barefoot can travel with impunity over ground that would cut the unused foot to pieces. Some of the finest horses in Rome when I lived there in the sixties were those belonging to Prince Piombino, and these were driven about up and down the Pincian Hill and over the pavements with no shoes on their hind feet, which were as sound and as round as you could wish to see a hoof. In India also horses are still frequently shod on the fore-feet only.

There is therefore no reason whatever for assuming, from the high civilization of the Greeks and Romans, that they must have shod their horses, for we see that horses can get on very well without shoes; and, further, we know that the ancients were aware that the hoof could be rendered harder by treatment.

If then there is no evidence that the practice of nailing iron shoes on to the horses hoofs prevailed in Italy in the first few centuries of our era, it is obviously very improbable that the Romans introduced the custom of shoeing horses into Britain.

Much doubtful speculation always accompanies researches into remains of this kind, and we need not admit that the hundreds of horse-shoes found in the bed of the Vingeanne were left there after a great cavalry engagement between the Gauls and Romans, nor that the shoes picked up on the field where Attila is said to have been defeated necessarily belonged to his time.

There is, however, a great deal of cumulative evidence that horse-shoes have been found associated with Celtic or Gallo-Roman remains in such a manner as to lead to the conclusion that they were in use in Gaul during the age which we distinguish as Roman in Britain; and there is considerable reason for believing that horse-shoes of the same date have been found in England.

The shoes which have been referred to this age are of small size and narrow, and remarkable for their wavy outside margin, which is produced by the stamping of the nail-holes which causes the iron to bulge out along the edge.

If these do occur in Britain they ought to occur in the country of the Belgæ and of the Iceni, and this is the earliest form of shoe which we might expect to find in this district, but I am unable to offer any reliable information upon this point, which however I commend to the notice of the members of our Society.

The large flat shoe with no calkins (Fig. 1) which is sometimes brought to us from near where Roman remains have been discovered is not the kind of thing we should expect to find with pre-Roman or Roman objects, and I am unable to offer any evidence as to the occurrence of any horse-shoes of those periods in our district.

Nor does the uncertainty cease when we get on to Saxon times. No horse-shoes are found in Merovingian tombs, which so closely resemble our Saxon graves. There is no written evidence that the Germans shod their horses before the 12th century. Professor Skeat writes to me, "There is very little evidence for the early use of horse-shoes to be had from English literature. The earliest occurrence of horse-shoes is in 1387. There would have been no difficulty in forming such a word as hors-scōh in Anglo-Saxon: only as a matter of fact it does not occur. Nor can I find any early reference at all to the shoeing of horses. The turned-up end of a horse-shoe was called a calkin. The word occurs in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, a play attributed to Shakespeare and Fletcher, Act v. Sc. 4, and it is found as early as 1445, which is not remarkably soon.

"The jocosé carving called 'shoeing the goose,' *i.e.* nailing a horse-shoe on to a goose's foot, occurs on a miserere seat in a choir-stall somewhere in England: but I don't suppose it is necessarily older than the fifteenth century.

"After 1400 I think there is good evidence for the shoeing of horses in England. But I know of no clear evidence going back to the 13th century."

In the face of all this we must reconsider the evidence,

which has generally been accepted so far, that horse-shoes have been commonly found in this district associated with Saxon remains.

The kind of shoe which has most constantly been brought from areas where Saxon remains are numerous is a broad flat shoe prolonged a little and squared at the heel ends, but with no calkins (Fig. 1).

An ordinary modern horse-shoe is a flat band of iron bent into an incomplete circle. It is sometimes of nearly uniform breadth and sometimes expanded on either side, and sometimes narrower towards the heel and bent inwards so as to offer more protection to the back of the frog.

Sometimes it is straightened out at the heel, and in a donkey's shoe this part is prolonged into two parallel bars.

The various forms are determined by the nature of the work the horse has to do and the character of the ground he has to travel over; while some are surgical, being intended for cases of disease or injury.

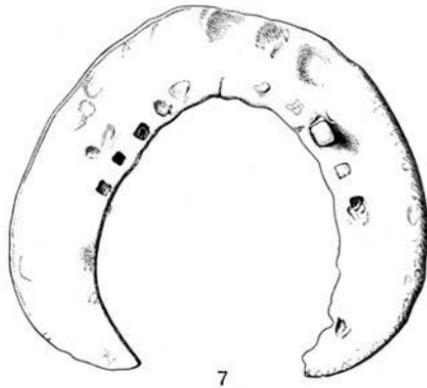
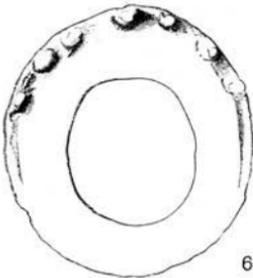
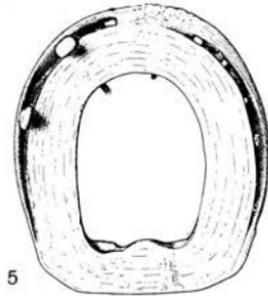
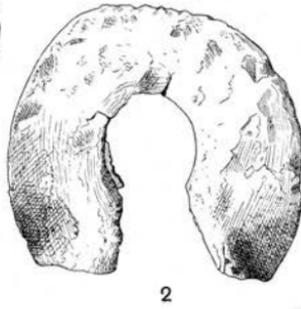
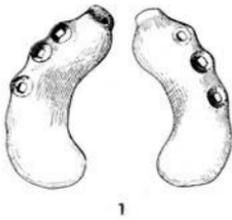
Where there is a difficulty in getting a sure foothold from the slippery nature of the road or the steepness of the hills, the heel ends of the shoes were turned up to form calkins, and sometimes, as seen on one of the shoes from Brigsteer in Westmoreland, a sort of front calkin like an inverted clip was hammered out on the toe.

In the oldest form of shoe known, namely the Gaulish shoe, the heel ends are hammered back on to the bottom of the shoe so as practically to come to little more than a thickening of that part of the shoe.

The upturned flange in front, known as a clip, was made chiefly to prevent the shoe being knocked off by coming in contact with the ground, or stones, but it also provides a considerable protection to the hoof.

Sometimes the shoe was made circular like a quoit. The specimen exhibited (Fig. 2) is from Stuntney near Ely and was given to me by Mr Cole Ambrose. These were probably used for a cracked foot or one very apt to pick up stones. I have no means of assigning any date to this specimen.

Horned cattle were generally shod when they had to be



ANCIENT HORSE-SHOES.

driven long distances by road, as for instance out of Wales to the English markets. I have frequently seen it done. The process was rough. The animal had a rope thrown round its legs and was turned on to its back, with its feet fastened together and held up in the air. Plates of iron were nailed on to the hoofs where required or a flat shoe much like that used for horses was fastened on. This was always done when there was a tendency in the foot to spread open and crack.

I exhibit (Fig. 3) one of these pairs of plates from Westmorland, for the shoe was in two parts, a plate being nailed on to each half of the divided hoof, so as to allow of the free play of the toes.

It would be very difficult to point out any means of distinguishing between the whole shoe of an ox and one of the flat early horse-shoes, with no calkins.

Another special kind of shoe is that made for horses which have to travel over very soft ground. Xenophon records that an Asiatic people drew some kind of snow-shoe over their horses' feet to prevent their sinking in the snow.

Jonathan Binns in his description of the reclamation of Chat Moss in Lancashire says that "the horses were shod with pattens or boards of about ten inches square, with the angles taken off."

In the fens a large iron shoe (Fig. 4), extending beyond the hoof, with the nails on the inside curve was used for the same purpose. A casual observer who did not notice the position of the nail-holes, which were perhaps obscured by rust, might infer from the great size of the shoe that the horses of those times were very large.

These devices were intended to prevent the horse from sinking into the peat; but of course if the animal's foot did break through the crust the shoe would be sucked off or the horse stand a great risk of being mired.

It would appear therefore that the shoe which we should expect to find with pre-Roman or Roman remains is a not very heavy shoe with a wavy margin such as is recorded from Gaul, but not the broad thin shoe which in this district has so often been called Roman because it has been found in the same area as Roman remains.

We have not however yet got any proof of their occurrence here.

There is a great deal of cumulative evidence, from the continual finding of the same type of broad, square-ended shoe over areas in which Saxon remains are common, that we have in this district Saxon or Norman-Saxon horse-shoes, but nothing that can be accepted as scientific evidence respecting their exact age is yet forthcoming.

The common broad flat uniformly curved shoe came down to very late times, and the various shoes of exceptional form of which I have exhibited and described a few this evening are either pathological or made for special work.

### ON A TURF-PARER FROM WESTMORELAND.

By Professor T. M<sup>c</sup>KENNY HUGHES.

Earthworms are always negotiating an exchange of mineral for vegetable soil, but where for any reason earthworms are scarce the vegetable soil grows apace, and on the unbroken ground the surface of the soil consists largely of vegetable matter due to the roots and stems of grass and other plants. This surface layer of vegetable soil is often sliced off and dried, and furnishes a useful fuel, though the practice is to be deprecated, as it renders the land useless for grazing purposes for many years. Peat is merely a very deep vegetable soil due to similar causes<sup>1</sup>. The blocks of peat cut from below the layer with living plants are called *peats*, and the top slices whether from the surface of the soil or of the peat are called *turfs*, but this distinction is not everywhere strictly observed.

With a view to stacking either kind for winter use as well as for convenience of laying on the fire these pieces are cut of uniform size; the peats are of the size and shape of a brick, the turfs are thinner, square, and of about the area of two peats.

In order to facilitate cutting these peats and turfs different instruments are employed. The peat is cut in terraces, the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Dec. 1899, 'Archæology and Geography of the Fenland.'

height of each terrace being determined by the quality and condition of the peat. The tool used for this purpose is a *peat-spade*, or *slane*, as it is called in Ireland, which is a long narrow keen-edged spade with one side turned up at right angles to the blade, so as, with each drive of the spade, to cut the peat on two sides.

The instrument formerly used for paring off the top of the peat moss or the vegetable layer on the hill-side was a heart-shape blade, like an ordinary shovel, the point of the blade being quite sharp, and one side of it turned up so as to cut and detach the turf from the adjoining sod, the peat on the other side having been previously removed. To a socket in the blade of this instrument a curved pole or shaft was attached with a cross handle against which the workman leaned his breast, holding it with his hands at either end. The instrument was therefore in some districts known as a *breast-plough*<sup>1</sup>.

It was used sometimes for breaking up the soil to a small depth without any idea of using the surface for fuel. Where the object was to pare off the turf and *flay* the soil as it were, it was sometimes called a *flawter-spade*, afterwards corrupted into *slaughter-spade*—a not inappropriate term considering the damage often done to a hill-side pasture by it.

The specimen exhibited was found on the margin of Brigsteer Moss, an extensive peat-bog, growing over the submerged and silted-up estuary of the Gilpin in Westmoreland. Similar implements ought to be found round our fen-land and probably have been, but where their use has been forgotten they would be thrown away as bent and broken shovels.

## A PRE-CHRISTIAN CROSS FROM NORTH IRELAND.

By Dr A. C. HADDON.

It is the custom in the North of Ireland for certain peasants to place cross-like objects over their beds in order to ensure good fortune. These objects are made of straw in co. Donegal,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'The last breast-plough to be used in the Cotswolds,' *The Sphere*, March 22, 1902, p. 296.

and of rushes in co. Antrim. Sometimes they have the form of an equal-limbed cross, but very frequently they consist of a central square or lozenge, or even of a triangle, the sides of which are produced into four or three long rays. It is obvious that the latter are not true Christian crosses and they approximate in form to the swastika or fylfot<sup>1</sup> and with the triskele<sup>2</sup>. It is suggested that they are indeed survivals of those prehistoric emblems which have persisted in the North of Ireland, where they have been confounded with the Christian cross<sup>3</sup>.

### STAGES AND REJECTS IN THE MANUFACTURE OF STONE IMPLEMENTS AT PINY BRANCH, WASHINGTON, U.S.A.

By Dr A. C. HADDON.

Immediately to the north of the city of Washington, about halfway up the wooded slopes of Piny Branch and its streams, are the quarry-shop sites from which the specimens exhibited were obtained. The bed-rock consists of gneisses overlaid by beds of Potomac gravels; the lower of these beds consists largely of water-worn boulders of quartz and quartzite, which were quarried by the aborigines. The trenches dug by Dr W. H. Holmes have revealed the original quarry face, and in front of this are innumerable boulders more or less chipped into shape; but those that have been most worked are generally to be found in pockets or heaps which indicate the site of what is termed a quarry-shop.

The work on a site was extremely limited in range, it consisted in reducing the boulders by flaking to thin leaf-shaped blades which were no doubt intended either for use as simple blades for cutting and scraping, or designed to be subsequently

<sup>1</sup> This is the equal-limbed, right-angled cross, the arms of which are bent at a right angle.

<sup>2</sup> A similar three-rayed figure.

<sup>3</sup> Since making the exhibit of what he believed to be a pre-Christian rush cross from co. Antrim, Dr Haddon has visited Ireland and has obtained fresh information which he will communicate to the Society when he has heard from certain correspondents.

specialised, as occasion demanded, into arrow points, spear heads, perforators, and the like. It is interesting to note that the latter implements are not found on the spot, the blades were carried away and worked up in other localities. The good blades were taken away, but poor ones that exhibited some defect were left behind as not worth taking away. Frequently a good blade is found, but it is invariably broken across, evidently in the effort of giving it a final finishing touch: the two halves were then dropped.

Dr Holmes very kindly conducted the exhibitor to a good quarry-site and he was then enabled to secure a complete series of specimens, which started with an untouched boulder, and passing through stages of which one, two, or more flakes were chipped, finished off with the perfect blade which broke at the final blow. Dr Holmes also presented him with some of the finished arrow-points and other implements which had been manufactured elsewhere from the quarry blades<sup>1</sup>.

#### RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN THE MARKET-PLACE.

Professor HUGHES having been called upon by the President to state the result of any observations he may have made on the recent excavations in the Market-Place for public lavatories, said that he had watched the sections from the commencement and what struck him most was that all the brickwork of the foundations exposed appeared to be of very recent date. He had not seen any that he would suppose to be more than a century or a century and a half old. He was inclined to think that they did not form part of the original houses shown in Le Keux's sketch, but were modern extensions of cellars and coal-holes, possibly under the streets or gardens adjoining those houses. The whole of the surface was covered with an irregular layer of made-earth which was levelled up when the Market-Place was laid out.

<sup>1</sup> In the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology 1893-94 (1897) Dr Holmes has published an exhaustive and copiously illustrated memoir on this subject, entitled *Stone Implements of the Potomac-Chesapeake Tidewater Province*.

Below this were holes and cesspools and sections of ponds or ditches dug down from 8 to 10 feet into the gravel which forms the rising ground known as Market-Hill and Pease-Hill. There was an old disused well at the east side.

Some very modern relics were found in the surface soil, and some to which he would assign a greater antiquity, which were probably thrown out during earlier excavations, and subsequently mixed with the surface soil.

The foundations above referred to were sunk through the black earth and rubbish of the cesspools and ditches into the ground in such a manner as to show that these had been completely filled, and their site and very existence been lost sight of before the buildings were erected of which they formed the foundations. The cesspools and ditches were of different age and were evidently places where rubbish had been shot for ages. There were bones of domestic animals broken up in the manner of kitchen rubbish, and there were remains of pottery, some of which might go back to the fourteenth, but a good deal of which might belong to the seventeenth century. A fair collection of these has been secured for the Society's museum, thanks to the promptitude and liberality of Mr Freeman.

The pottery found consisted chiefly of fragments of large globular jugs, some with a dark green glaze, and ornament incised, or in relief, some with no ornament or glaze, some black cooking vessels.

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Monday, May 5, 1902.

Mr GRAY, President, in the Chair.

Major-General Sir CHARLES WILSON, R.E., K.C.B., gave a lecture on

SOME RECENT RESULTS OF THE PALESTINE  
EXPLORATION FUND.

The lecture was illustrated with lantern slides.

A vote of thanks was proposed by Dr Macalister, and seconded by Professor Ridgeway.

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## SIXTY-SECOND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Monday, May 12, 1902.

Mr GRAY, President, in the Chair.

The Officers of the Society were elected for the ensuing year.

*President*: ARTHUR GRAY, M.A., Jesus College.

*Vice-Presidents*: THOMAS M<sup>c</sup>KENNY HUGHES, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Clare College, Woodwardian Professor.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, M.A., Gonville and Caius College, Disney Professor.

*Ordinary Members of Council*: JOHN EBENEZER FOSTER, M.A., Trinity College.

FRANCIS JOHN HENRY JENKINSON, M.A., Trinity College, University Librarian.

The Rev. CHARLES LAWFORD ACLAND, M.A., Jesus College.

*Treasurer*: ROBERT BOWES.

*Secretary*: THOMAS DINHAM ATKINSON.

*Auditors*: Alderman GEORGE KETT, Mayor.

JAMES BENNET PEACE, M.A., Emmanuel College.

The Annual Report was read (p. 265), and the Treasurer's statement received (p. 272).

Mr W. A. HARDING read:

Notes on the History of Histon.

Mr FREEMAN then exhibited some pottery found on the Market-Hill, which he said was but a small part of what he hoped to see restored from the quantity of fragments found on the Hill. Most of the objects before them were large pitchers, and some were of special interest, as they illustrated the style

of decorated pottery in use from about the 11th century to almost the middle of the 18th. The fragments of pottery found on the Market-Hill were mainly of large and small cooking vessels.

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SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

Thursday, May 22, 1902.

Mr GRAY, President, in the Chair.

Mr W. GOWLAND, F.S.A., gave a lecture on

EXCAVATIONS AT STONEHENGE,

illustrated by lantern slides and by an exhibition of Objects found.

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NOTE ON A LEGEND OF ST STEPHEN (p. 222).

By Dr M. R. JAMES.

Since I wrote this paper I have been favoured by the kindness of Dr A. Andersson of Upsala with a copy of a recent paper by G. Djurklon in which the same field is traversed and the monuments here described are figured, with the addition of a part of an *antemensale* from Lögum in Schleswig. There is no mention of the sculpture at Upsala. In respect of the literature, there is some information about a mummers' play still in use in Sweden, in which Herod and Stephen (but not the cock) appear, and a fragment of a Swedish ballad unearthed in 1901 is given, which closely resembles the Danish ballad quoted in my paper. I conclude from the dates of the books cited, that Herr Djurklon and I must have been writing on the subject simultaneously.

## REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY

AT THE

SIXTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING,

12 MAY, 1902.

The Council record with regret the deaths of the following Members of the Society: Mr Thomas Hyde Hills, Mr Robert Alexander Neil, M.A., and Sir Cuthbert Edgar Peek, Bart., M.A., F.S.A.

The Members of the Society now number 243 and the Honorary Members 12.

During the past session eleven meetings have been held, at which the average attendance has been 37.

Twenty-four communications have been made, namely: By Mr H. G. Fordham: (a) *Traces of a Romano-British Enclosure at Odsey*; (b) *Exhibition of an iron arrow-head found at Odsey*. By Mr S. J. Freeman: *Exhibition of Pottery from the Market Hill*. By Dr Glaisher: *Exhibition of some early Nottingham ware and of a sgraffito cup*. By Dr Haddon: (a) *Exhibition of a pre-Christian cross from the north of Ireland*; (b) *Stages and Rejects in the manufacture of stone implements from Piny Branch, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.* By Mr W. A. Harding: (a) *Exhibition of Delft ware*; (b) *Notes on the parish of Histon*. By Baron A. von Hügel: (a) *A month's flint implement collecting in the Libyan Desert near Abydos, Upper Egypt*; (b) *Exhibition of the collections of flint implements and prehistoric pottery now*

preserved in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology. By Professor Hughes: (a) Report on excavations at Horningsea; (b) On a Romano-British Kiln in Jesus Lane; (c) Exhibition of a box of weights for testing moidores; (d) Exhibition of a Kaffir pillow; (e) Short Report on the excavations at Cherry Hinton; (f) Further Report on the excavations at the 'War Ditches' at Cherry Hinton; (g) On some earthworks etc. at Boxworth; (h) On Roman remains found in the course of recent excavations on the sewage farm near Milton; (i) On the substitution of design as exemplified by an Indian cloth; (j) Comparison of the cast of the jaw of a dog from the Forum in Rome with those found at Chesterford and in the Fens; (k) On ancient horse-shoes; (l) Exhibition of a turf-parer and other objects from Brigsteer in Westmorland. By Dr James: (a) The sepulchral brass of St Henry the Apostle of Finland; (b) A legend of St Stephen; (c) St Urith of Chittlehampton.

Four Lectures have been given, namely: By Mrs Lewis: *A visit to the Coptic Monasteries of Egypt*. By Dr Haddon: *On the evolution of the Cart*. By Mr E. J. Rapson, M.A.: *On the recent archaeological explorations of Dr M. A. Stein in Chinese Turkestan*. By Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, R.E., K.C.B.: *On some recent results of the Palestine Exploration Fund*. A Lecture by Mr W. Gowland, F.S.A., on *Excavation at Stonehenge* has been arranged.

During the year the following works have been issued:

The *Proceedings*, Nos. XLI. and XLII.

*The Verses formerly inscribed on the Twelve Windows in the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral*, by M. R. James, Litt.D. (Octavo series No. XXXVIII.)

The following works are proceeding and will, it is hoped, be issued before Christmas:

*Liber de obitibus et aliis memorabilibus istius cœnobii* [Christ Church, Canterbury] *autore Joh. Stone* [1415-1472]. Preserved in Corpus Christi College Library. Edited by the Rev. W. G. Searle, M.A.

*The Feet of Fines for Huntingdonshire.* Edited by J. C. Tingey, M.A., and G. I. Turner.

*The Accounts of the Churchwardens of Saint Mary the Great.* Edited by J. E. Foster, M.A.

*Documents relating to the Gilds of Cambridge.* Edited by Miss Mary Bateson.

*Books of the Esquire Bedells.* Edited by J. W. Clark, M.A.

The Luard Memorial edition of the Records of the University is proceeding. *Grace Book B* is to be issued in two parts and these are in a forward state. The Council regret to announce that Mr Archbold; under whose editorship the two volumes were to have appeared, is about to leave England for more than a year and is in consequence unable to continue his work. The Council hope, however, that little delay will be caused by the change of editor.

In view of the publication of the series of Victoria County Histories by Messrs Constable and Co. which was announced subsequently to the decision of the Council to undertake a History of Cambridgeshire, the Council have decided, on the recommendation of the County History Committee, to abandon the History begun by the Society. The Report of the Committee is appended. The Council wish to express the thanks of the Society to Mr Sayle, who first suggested that the Society should undertake the History and has acted as the General Editor and Secretary, and also to the other gentlemen who have contributed material for incorporation in the Society's proposed County History, or have otherwise assisted in the preliminary work.

Excavations have been made by the Society under the direction of Professor Hughes at Horningsea and Cherry Hinton, the results of which have been reported from time to time at meetings of the Society.

A revision of the Ordnance Survey of the county has been in progress and the names of such antiquities as it is proposed to mark on the new map have been submitted to a committee

of the Council. The work of the committee has not extended to the northern and some other parts of the county, but nearly two hundred names have been considered. Several important alterations have been suggested, more particularly with the object of giving a less definite attribution to particular periods of prehistoric and other early works.

An Excursion was made on the 4th of July to Sawston Hall and Whittlesford. The party numbering forty-seven left Cambridge at two o'clock. At Sawston Hall they were kindly received by Mr D. A. S. L. Huddleston, who shewed the tapestries, the priests' hiding-place and other features of interest. Thence they proceeded to Whittlesford Chapel. After tea at the Red Lion Inn, the party drove to Whittlesford Church. The Vicar, the Rev. James Robertson, read a short paper on the history of the church and the Rev. Edward Conybeare explained its architecture.

A second Excursion was made, on the 25th of July, to the Devil's Ditch and Swaffham Prior, but owing to the inclement weather the attendance was small. Leaving Cambridge at three o'clock the party drove to the Devil's Dyke. Professor Hughes commented on this and on similar works in the neighbourhood. At Swaffham the visitors were hospitably entertained by Mr and Mrs Allix, and Mr Allix gave an account of the early and recent history of the ruined church.

The Council have decided to revive the office of Excursion Secretary. They are happy to announce that Mr G. B. Bowes, M.A., has consented to undertake the duties.

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## COUNTY HISTORY COMMITTEE.

## REPORT TO THE COUNCIL.

In their report to the Council, dated November 1, 1901, the Committee recommended that Mr Doubleday, the editor of the Victoria County History series, should be approached with a view to obtaining definite information as to

- (1) the time proposed for undertaking the Cambridgeshire volumes,
- (2) the control and supervision of the Cambridgeshire portion, and
- (3) the general character and extent of the parochial histories.

Since the date of this report, the Editor, Mr Doubleday, supplied the Committee with proof sheets of the history of a large Hertfordshire parish, Wheathamstead. The Committee were of opinion that this specimen practically covered the entire ground which was contemplated in the parochial histories of the Society's work, and that in point of scholarship and research it satisfied fully the conditions which they required.

Mr Doubleday attended a meeting of the Committee on April 25 and explained the scheme which has been adopted in the preparation of the volumes in the Victoria County series. While the general editing and supervision of the work rests with himself and a staff of assistants in London it has been the usual practice to appoint local editors of various sections as well as of the parochial descriptions. A small executive committee, consisting mainly of such local editors, superintends, under the control of the central staff, the collection and arrangement of the materials for each County. The names of local editors are printed with their contributions. Mr Doubleday cordially welcomed the suggestion that the Society should nominate gentlemen to serve on the local committee and aid

in the production of the Cambridgeshire volumes. It is contemplated that these would be three in number, one of them to be published in two parts, of which one part should be devoted to the History of the University. Mr Doubleday was desirous that the work should be proceeded with at once.

In view of the satisfactory assurances of Mr Doubleday the Committee recommend that the History undertaken by the Society be abandoned, and that the Committee be dissolved.

They further recommend that the Council appoint a smaller committee, of not more than six, with the object of nominating gentlemen, not necessarily members of the Society, to serve on the Executive Committee which, in consultation with Mr Doubleday, would select the editors and writers of the several sections and of the parish histories.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

ARTHUR GRAY,  
*Chairman.*

*May 3, 1902.*

## NEW MEMBERS ELECTED 1901—2.

1901. Nov. 11.

ALFRED BARKER, Esq.  
JOHN GIBB, D.D. (Lond.)  
FREDERICK WALDEGRAVE HEAD, M.A.

Nov. 25.

ALBERT EVANS BERNAYS, M.A.  
GEORGE ALFRED MATTHEW, LL.M.

1902. April 28.

GEORGE AMBROSE SHERWIN, Esq.

May 5.

WALTER DURNFORD, M.A.  
HERBERT GEORGE FORDHAM, Esq.

May 12.

ARNOLD CLARKSON INGLE, M.D.

August 11.

ARTHUR CLARK KENNEDY, Esq.  
JOHN GREGORY STUTFIELD, Esq.



## EXCURSIONS.

4 July 1901<sup>1</sup>.

AN excursion was made to Sawston Hall. The Hall was kindly shewn to the visitors by the owner, Mr D. A. S. L. Huddleston. The tapestry and panelling were inspected, and the secret chamber, in which it is supposed that priests were hidden in the time of persecution, was visited.

Afterwards the party proceeded to Whittlesford Bridge, and saw the Chapel of the fourteenth century; now used as a barn.

Whittlesford Church was shewn to the visitors by the Rev. J. Robertson, Vicar; and remarks were made by the Rev. G. Conybeare, Mr Maynard, and by Mr T. D. Atkinson, Secretary of the Society.

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Thursday, 25 July 1901.

The second excursion of the season was made to Swaffham Prior. Here they were welcomed by Mr C. P. Allix, M.A. Mr Allix here read a paper on the architecture and history, and together with the vicar, the Rev. Lawrence Fisher, M.A., pointed out the objects of interest, including the tower of St Mary's and the brasses removed from the older church to St Cyriac's. It was due to an ancestor of Mr Allix's that the work of destruction of St Mary's, which had been begun at the end of the eighteenth century, was arrested, and thereby so much of the fabric preserved. Recently, owing to the liberality of Mr Allix and others, a scheme of restoration designed by the late Sir Arthur Blomfield, A.R.A., has been set on foot. The chancel has been already restored.

<sup>1</sup> Accounts delayed from the previous year.

The party drove on to Reach. At this point, which marks the northern end of Devil's Ditch, a paper by Prof. M<sup>c</sup>Kenny Hughes was read by Rev. L. Fisher on the Devil's Ditch.

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ST MARY'S CHURCH, SWAFFHAM PRIOR.

By Mr C. P. ALLIX, M.A.

The present parish of Swaffham Prior consisted formerly of two parishes, that of St Mary<sup>1</sup> and that of St Cyriac with St Julitta. They were united by Act of Parliament in 1667, the preamble of the Act declaring that the boundaries of the respective parishes and the glebe lands had become so confused that it was impossible to say which lands belonged to which parish. The patronage of the two parishes before the amalgamation had been held, one by the Bishop and one by the Dean and Chapter of Ely, and the Act prescribed that henceforth the patronage of the united parishes shall vest alternately in the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter. In Cole's manuscript the Church of St Cyriac is said to have belonged to the Knights Templar<sup>2</sup>. The united parishes are called the Township of Swaffham Prior: The number of vicars that we can trace are, of St Cyriac 32, the earliest being one Richard in 1219, and in 1251 another Richard, de Kirkham. Of St Mary's we can trace 24 vicars, the earliest being Henry de Bradeken, 1307. Since the amalgamation of the parishes there have been 7, the latest being the Rev. Lawrence Fisher, the present vicar. The two churches stand in the same churchyard, only some fifty paces apart, hence this village has sometimes been called Swaffham Two-Churches, among its other synonyms of Great Swaffham and Swaffham Prior. Lysons, in his history in 1808, says, "The Church of St Cyriac having been for some years dilapidated is now rebuilding; the old tower, which is square below, and octagonal at top,

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes written St Margaret.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Wilbraham Temple and Church.

remains." "The Church of St Mary has been pulled down, but the tower remains."

This description is not altogether accurate as regards St Mary's, for, so far from being pulled down, the entire fabric remains standing to this day, with the exception of the south wall of the south aisle, and the clerestory windows above it on the same side—roofless it is true, but soon to be put into repair and rendered again available for divine service as the chancel was in 1878. In a marginal note in Sandars' annotated copy of Lysons in the University Library, we read that this church was purchased (after the issue of the faculty for its demolition that would be) about 50 or 60 years ago, and is used as the burial-place of the Allix family. This explains the continued existence of so much of the building, the work of demolition having stopped after the sale of the materials of the fabric. The purchaser was Mrs Sarah Allix, the widow of John Peter Allix, and the money received was used in the building of the modern nave of St Cyriac after they had swept away the ancient nave then standing, to make room for the horror that they erected in its place. The demolished aisle of St Mary's was then enclosed with iron railings, and the windows and doors of the church made secure by similar means and kept under lock and key, and maintained by the family ever since as a burying-ground. In 1878 the chancel of this church was restored and vestries and organ-chamber added.

The tower of St Mary's is Norman and, as the late Sir Arthur Blomfield said, unique in England. The base is square and very early, the next tier is also Norman, but later and more decorated, and from the square it changes into the octagonal. The third story is transitional in character and merges into the pointed arch. This tier again changes its form, and from octagonal becomes sixteen-sided. The interior view of this tower is very remarkable; looking upwards all the angular arches in both tiers can be seen. One of these being necessary at every angle where the angle had to be converted into the face of an octagon, or a sixteen-sided figure for the story above it. On the exterior every tier is separated from the next by a stone string-course prettily worked. The first, which is

broadest, has three rows of billets; the second is narrower and is ornamented with a single row of arrow-heads; the third is a plain overhanging dripstone without ornament, and the fourth at the top of the tower is much more solid, and is supported in the middle of each of the sixteen faces by a corbel in the shape of the head of a grinning monster. It is at this point, as an old print shows, where the steeple sprang. Only one face of the tower out of the sixteen is perfect at this height. The masonry is extremely solid, some six feet thick at the bottom, and is composed of a mixture of flint and pebbles with chalk blocks. Wherever these occur the surface has receded from the action of the weather some five or six inches, and if the tower is to be preserved no time should be lost in replacing these with hard stone. The nave and aisles are intermediate between the decorated and perpendicular styles of architecture. The columns dividing the nave from both aisles are still intact and sound. The chancel shows the remains of Norman times, and the round heads of the Norman windows on either side are still to be seen in the walls marking the end of the old Norman chancel before it was extended eastward at the close of the 14th century. It contains three stained-glass windows (modern), all monuments of the Allix family. Under that which commemorates Colonel Allix is placed the old sword with its scabbard which he carried at the battle of Waterloo. On the south wall of the sanctuary is the original pewter stoup belonging to "Ste Marie," with the name engraved thus upon the handle. It was found among some torn books and other rubbish in an old chest in the vestry of St Cyriac and has now been restored to its place. It has evidently been used for some other purpose than for that which it was intended, as the rim at the bottom has been partly melted away by being placed upon a stove or some other heated surface. Before the church was dismantled it possessed four slabs with two brasses in each, namely, a man and a woman, and a smaller one with the children. The first one was to Johnes Tothyl, 1462; the second to Walter de Rech et Alicia consortis ejus, 1521; the third is unknown, and the fourth—a single figure of Robert Chambers—1638. He is represented in tall boots turned down to the

thigh. These will all be moved back into St Mary's at the completion of the building. It had formerly three bells, one of which bore the word Maria upon it. These were melted down when the peal was recast in 1791 by John Briant, of Hertford, and now form part of the peal of six which hang in the tower of St Cyriac. The registers date from the year 1559.

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12 December 1901.

An excursion was made to the War-Ditches at Cherry Hinton, where excavations undertaken by the Society are in progress.

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6 February 1902.

Another excursion was made on the 6th of February to the War-Ditches at Cherry Hinton. The party was under the guidance of Professor Hughes.

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15 May 1902.

An excursion was made to Arbury Camp and Histon. Arbury Camp was shown by Professor Hughes.

The party proceeded by way of Impington to Histon Manor, where they were received by Mr and Mrs W. Ambrose Harding. Mr Harding also conducted the party over Histon Church.

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#### ARBURY.

BY T. M<sup>c</sup>KENNY HUGHES, M.A., F.R.S.

i. *General description of the existing remains.*

Very little is known about this remarkable earthwork except what we can see for ourselves.

It consists of a well-marked semicircular earthen rampart, which we will call the vallum, with traces of a ditch along the

outside, which we will speak of as the fosse. We know that it is artificial because its form does not agree with the natural features of the district, and because the gravelly subsoil which was obviously thrown out of the fosse now forms the surface of the vallum.

Local tradition says that it formerly extended further west, but if so, the opening of gravel-pits, the process of levelling for the purpose of facilitating agricultural operations, and subsequent cultivation have entirely obliterated all traces of its further extension on that side.

I have no information as to whether anything was found when all that destruction of a great historical monument took place but we may derive some comfort from the way in which it appears to have been done. For in levelling the ground they would not have dug out the fosse, but must have simply thrown back the material of the vallum into it. As in such a structure the archæological relics are nearly all found in the fosse, down the steep banks of which they tumble and get buried in the earthy accumulations at the bottom, and there is rarely anything preserved in the vallum, we may hope that, if anyone should hereafter wish to excavate and collect all the information that can be obtained about this lonely record of an unknown past, the evidence has not been entirely destroyed even under that part which has been levelled, but that the fosse, along the western part, may still hold objects to which a date can be assigned.

Sometimes a good deal of evidence is obtained from the old surface soil on which the vallum has been heaped up. Much of this also remains, even beyond where the bank is still conspicuous. This evidence is of great importance because if any objects to which a date can be assigned are found in the ancient soil under the vallum they must clearly limit the antiquity of the earthwork thrown up on it.

The enclosure was of enormous size as such things go. The circle, assuming that it was a circle of which we see about a half, has a diameter of about 900 feet.

The original height of the top of the vallum above the bottom of the fosse we can now only guess at; but, having

regard to the stratigraphical conditions and the breadth of the rampart, it is not likely to have been less than 25 feet.

The fosse must have been full of water from springs in the base of the gravel, and the water level would determine the depth to which the fosse was excavated.

If on the top of the vallum there was a strong fence of some kind, the whole structure with its moat, steep bank, and palisade would be difficult to 'rush' in the face of a determined body of defenders.

ii. *The probability of its being a pre-Roman structure.*

It does seem most probable that it was intended for defence and in form and extent it agrees with some of the British strongholds; but these were mostly on high ground.

Yet, on the other hand, pre-Roman remains are not uncommon in this district. In the fens near Stretham a gold torc was found in one place, a bronze sickle in another. In the fens between Stretham and Wilburton a British urn was found near the remains of a urus; while from the fens south of Wilburton we have the great collection of bronzes now in the possession of Mr Pell of Wilburton Manor, these were found altogether as if the boat in which they were being carried had gone to the bottom. Gold ring-money was found on Hoghill Drove, and a bronze spear on the old West River.

There is no doubt that a sufficient number of pre-Roman relics have been found to make it probable that this part of the fenland and the banks and terraces around it were inhabited in pre-Roman times. It would have been of little use to the inhabitants of this district to have a stronghold on the nearest hills, even if these were not already occupied by other and possibly hostile people. If they wanted a defensible position to which they could retreat and drive their cattle, and which they could hold till the raiders had gone, it must be a place near and quickly accessible. The area on which Arbury Camp stands was then, as now, a dry gravel terrace above the level of the fen-floods, and if the pre-Roman dwellers along the margin of the fenland had a stronghold at all, this was a suitable spot for it.

- iii. *The improbability of its being a Roman work, notwithstanding the occurrence of Roman remains within it.*

D. and S. Lysons<sup>1</sup> record that 'Roman coins have been found... within the site of the camp at Arbury'; but that does not go for much, as all that district is full of remains of the Romans or Romanized British. Roman coins are still commonly picked up in and around Arbury Camp. On the occasion of the visit of the Society I procured a dozen or more from the labourers who were hoeing within the area of the camp. These were mostly so corroded and worn as to be unrecognisable, and if most of those which have been found here were in the same condition, one would be inclined to regard that as a proof that they had been long in use and as indicating the late age of the people who dropped them there. I referred them to the Rev. W. G. Searle, who tells me that the dates of the only determinable ones are

Tetricus A.D. 267-273.

Constantinus Maximus (with *Gloria Romanorum* on the reverse) A.D. 306-337.

Helena; of whom there were several.

I do not know what coins were found in old times nor in what condition they were.

But the occurrence of coins and such objects in the soil does not prove that the earthworks were thrown up by the people who left the coins there. They might be dropped within an ancient enclosure at any date subsequent to its construction or they may have been in the soil of which the bank was constructed. But when systematic excavations are carried out such questions as these can generally be settled.

The same authors<sup>2</sup> further remark that a Roman road, the course of which they trace from the north-east coast of Norfolk, runs from Ely by the east end of Grunty fen to Stretham, and over the old river at a ford near an Ozier-holt, half-a-mile below the ferry-house; after which it goes over the road and ditch, into the fen; being visible until it drops into the fen,

<sup>1</sup> *Excursions in the Fenland of Cambridgeshire*, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 45.

where as usual it disappears. It comes out into better ground at Denny-hedges, and the crest of it is plainly to be seen as it quits the turnpike road at the gate going into Landbeach common, where it leaves the modern road on its left, and crosses the common to some closes near Landbeach, leaving that village about a furlong to the east. It has now the form of an ancient drove road, passes a place called King's-hedges, leaving Impington on the right; goes within a short distance of Arbury camp, which is also on its right, and to which it seems to throw off a road; then proceeds between the Chesterton and Histon roads, straight over the lands to the windmill; and so to the north-east gate of Cambridge Castle.'

The writers are evidently inclined to refer Arbury to the Romans from the coins found on the site and its connection with the supposed Roman road.

But we must notice also that they point out a difference in the character of the road near Landbeach, and the termination of it at the north-east gate of the Castle.

Another old account, probably published locally and largely based on the History by Lysons, states that 'at a short distance from this village [Chesterton] are the vestiges of an ancient camp, of a square form, called Arbury, or Harborough. Three parts of the vallum still remain, and enclose nearly six acres of ground, on which Roman coins are frequently found.'

Such guesses as to the form and area are of course easily corrected by reference to the Ordnance maps, on which the camp is seen to be part of a circle enclosing a much larger space than that mentioned.

Its size alone would be sufficient to prevent our accepting the view that it is a Roman camp, for the Romans always made their camp proportionate to the number and character of the troops to be accommodated within it.

Its form also is conclusive on this point, for the Roman camps were always rectangular; its gates were always disposed in the same manner, and every man knew his place when the work was being constructed and his position in the line when it had to be defended. But what remains of Arbury Camp is part of a circle.

Roman remains may be found in a British camp if the Romans stormed it and held it for a time; but if they contemplated its permanent occupation they modified it or constructed a regular Roman camp within it, as may be seen at Ardoch<sup>1</sup> in Perthshire, where strict military discipline had to be maintained in the face of a powerful enemy. Arbury Camp is certainly not a Roman structure, though it may have been occupied by Romans or Romanized British.

iv. *The possibility of its having been made by Romanized British.*

We must next consider the possibility of its having been constructed by Romanized British either during or after the Roman occupation. There are plenty of traces of communities of this age not far off. They followed the banks of gravel along both sides of the river, and occur sporadically far out into the fens. Unfortunately there is no place where the fragments of pottery from the several different settlements have been arranged so as to enable us to compare each new find with those previously discovered and thus endeavour to make out a chronological sequence among them.

What throws most doubt upon this hypothesis as to the age and origin of Arbury Camp is the unity of design in it and its great size. From the nature of the enclosures of this age as described by General Pitt Rivers, and from what we see in our own district, we should expect to find irregular systems of ditches and enclosures such as could be added to from time to time as the growth of the community called for more room.

We could explain away the symmetrical form because the irregularity of outline in ancient defensive works is generally due to the builders taking advantage of the inequalities of the ground and strengthening the naturally most defensible positions, but here on a flat gravel terrace there would be no object in making a wavy and therefore longer line except they

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* Vol. viii. N.S., Vol. ii. p. 57. *Archæologia*, Vol. liv. 1895, p. 267.

could throw out protecting forts which would enable them to take the attacking enemy in flank as is done in modern fortification. As the Cambridge roads are straight because no physical features nor enclosures nor boundaries of properties called for deviation when the roads were made, so an ancient camp or ditch may in still earlier times have been made symmetrical because there was no reason for making it irregular.

But a great circular enclosure like Arbury Camp must have been planned at the outset with a view to what it had to contain, and is not the result of gradual expansion.

v. *Is it Danish or Saxon?*

When the Scandinavian rovers invaded our shores they sailed as far as they could up the rivers and kept within reach of their ships, which thus served them as a camp of refuge if they were hard pressed, but, when they advanced inland in larger, stronger bodies and occupied a district permanently, they constructed camps, and it has been stated that these camps were circular. I have not, within my own knowledge, a single instance where this has been proved, and, even granting its probability, the size of Arbury makes this an improbable explanation of its age and origin, but the hypothesis must be kept in mind.

It has always been a source of wonder that the early post-Roman invaders did not keep up and live on in the comfortable towns built by the Romans and Romanized-British which they found in Britain, and we may speculate on the possibility of their having some kind of enclosed village here and there in the wilder parts of the county.

vi. *Is it Norman?*

We are not far from Belsar's Hill, which some associate with the advance of the Norman General, Bellasis, against the Saxons of the Camp of Refuge in the Isle of Ely. Belsar's Hill is a circular entrenchment, in that respect like Arbury

Camp, but much smaller. The tradition may be founded on fact, and yet the Normans may not have constructed the earthwork but only have occupied a convenient pre-existing stronghold. Here is another place where systematic exploration might add greatly to our knowledge, not only of the archaeology of our district but of the history of England.

vii. *Is it in any way connected with the King's Warren?*

We have yet another supposition which cannot be dismissed without consideration. Between Arbury and the river are the earthworks known as the King's Hedges, a rectangular enclosure resting upon the raised road which runs from the Royal Castle of Cambridge, through the King's Warren, and is prolonged into the fens by the great Mere Way. Is it possible that we have in Arbury a permanent work connected with the mode of hunting in Norman times, when the game was driven into an enclosure by a crowd of beaters raised by the conditions of land tenure from all the surrounding district? An obvious objection to this theory is that the place seems constructed to resist attack from without rather than to retain wild beasts within it.

On the whole our first suggestion seems the most probable, namely, that it was thrown up in pre-Roman times and was subsequently occupied by the Romans or Romanized-British. There is room enough to give the imagination free play, but for scientific proof we must wait for some one with a spade and a stout heart, who will not be easily discouraged in an exploration in which from the nature of the case results may be slow of achievement.

I am glad to be able to add that Mr Ambrose Harding of Histon Manor has promised to carry on some excavations in co-operation with the Society as soon as the condition of the crops admits of the ground being broken up.

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17 July 1902.

An excursion was made to Fleam Dyke, Via Devana, and Pampisford Ditch.

At each halt, Professor Hughes gave some account of the ancient earthworks visited, and explained their relation to the physical geography of the district.

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7 August 1902.

The third excursion of the season took place on August 7th, twenty-eight in all being present. The party proceeded to Bottisham, where they were met by the Rev. J. B. Ellis, vicar, who conducted them over the church.

The next halt was made at Bottisham Hall, whither the members went by invitation of Mr Roger B. Jenyns, who conducted the party through the grounds.

Thence the party proceeded to Anglesea Abbey, where they were entertained by the Rev. J. G. and Mrs Clark. Mr Clark gave some account of the Abbey.

## ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

DURING THE YEAR ENDING 12 MAY 1902.

A. FROM SOCIETIES, ETC. IN UNION FOR THE EXCHANGE OF PUBLICATIONS :

GREAT BRITAIN, ETC.

Society of Antiquaries of London :

Proceedings, Vol. xviii, No. 2.

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Scotland :

Proceedings, Vol. xxv.

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland :

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