

MARTIN TUPPER AND FARLEY HEATH

BY

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IT is exactly a century since Martin Tupper, twenty-eight years old and already aspiring to literary fame, discovered on Farley Heath the exact site of the "Roman Temple" which he had long been seeking. The centenary is a notable one in Surrey archæology, for it was Tupper's subsequent excavations, rather than the vague records of his predecessors, Aubrey and Bray, which brought Farley Heath to the notice of the antiquarian world and thus founded the reputation of the "little Surrey Pompeii."

Important as they were, the results of Tupper's exploration were never properly reported. His *Record of Farley Heath*, although accompanied by a valuable plan, was a mere republication of a letter written in haste to the Society of Antiquaries while the digging was still in progress: its conclusions were premature and baseless. Yet it would be unduly pessimistic to assume—as some recent writers have done—that these early excavations were completely worthless from the viewpoint of the modern archæologist.

We possess, in addition to the "Record," the notes contributed by Tupper to the *Numismatic Chronicle* between 1840-50; a MS. scrap-book formerly in Tupper's possession and now in the Haverfield Library at Oxford, which contains some original letters written during the excavations together with excellent drawings (by his friend, Benjamin Nightingale) of the best finds; a brief but important passage in his autobiography; and, by no means least, practically the whole of his "finds"—now in the British Museum.¹

A careful study of these sources can lead us to some definite

¹ B.M. General Antiquities Acquisition Register, April 19th, 1853.

conclusions as to the exact nature of the discoveries, structural and otherwise, made by Tupper on the Heath; and by a comparison with analogous discoveries both in Britain and on the Continent, it is possible to assess, within certain limits, the true character of the site.

Farley Heath is one of the most remarkable archæological sites in the county, and for that reason it is all the more desirable that our knowledge of it should be as comprehensive and accurate as possible. Until further excavations on scientific lines have been carried out, we cannot know the whole truth, more particularly in regard to questions of date and detail. In the meantime, however, it may be useful to clear the ground for future research by a discussion of the main features of the site and their significance, and by correcting a few outstanding misapprehensions which time and Tupper's own imagination have brought about.

The Excavation.

Prior to Tupper we have only two first-hand descriptions of the site, that of Aubrey in 1672,¹ and Bray in 1803.² The "Camden" extract quoted by Mr. Whimster is merely one of the additions, based on Aubrey's MSS., incorporated in the original text of the "Britannia" by an eighteenth-century editor. It has no independent value.

Tupper's own work on the Heath falls into two periods: first, between 1839 and 1847 he spent random hours "grubbing" with encouraging but inconclusive results; finally, between February and July, 1848, he supervised three men working continuously throughout these months. With the earlier work we need not concern ourselves; it produced pottery and coins but nothing of significance.

The 1848 work was, however, important and productive: the exact area covered is not known, but three men can shift a fair amount of soil in the course of several months' continuous work and it is probable that the greater part of the area within the earthworks was trenched, work being naturally concentrated on the more remunerative areas. Indeed, the discovery of a pottery kiln just *outside* the west bank shows how extensive

¹ Aubrey, *Nat. Hist. & Antiq., Surrey*, Vol. IV, p. 79.

² Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, Vol. II, p. 122.

the exploration was. The excavations were brought to a close about July, either because Henry Drummond, the lord of the manor, needed his men elsewhere, or because the site seemed exhausted. The only work recorded between 1848 and Mr. Winbolt's 1926 "dig," was a small amount of "grubbing" done by Lovell, the Albury schoolmaster, in December, 1852. He found some British coins and a horse's bit.¹ Mr. Winbolt's own excavation was necessarily very limited in its extent, and little more than an epilogue to some precautionary work in the vicinity.

Structural Remains.

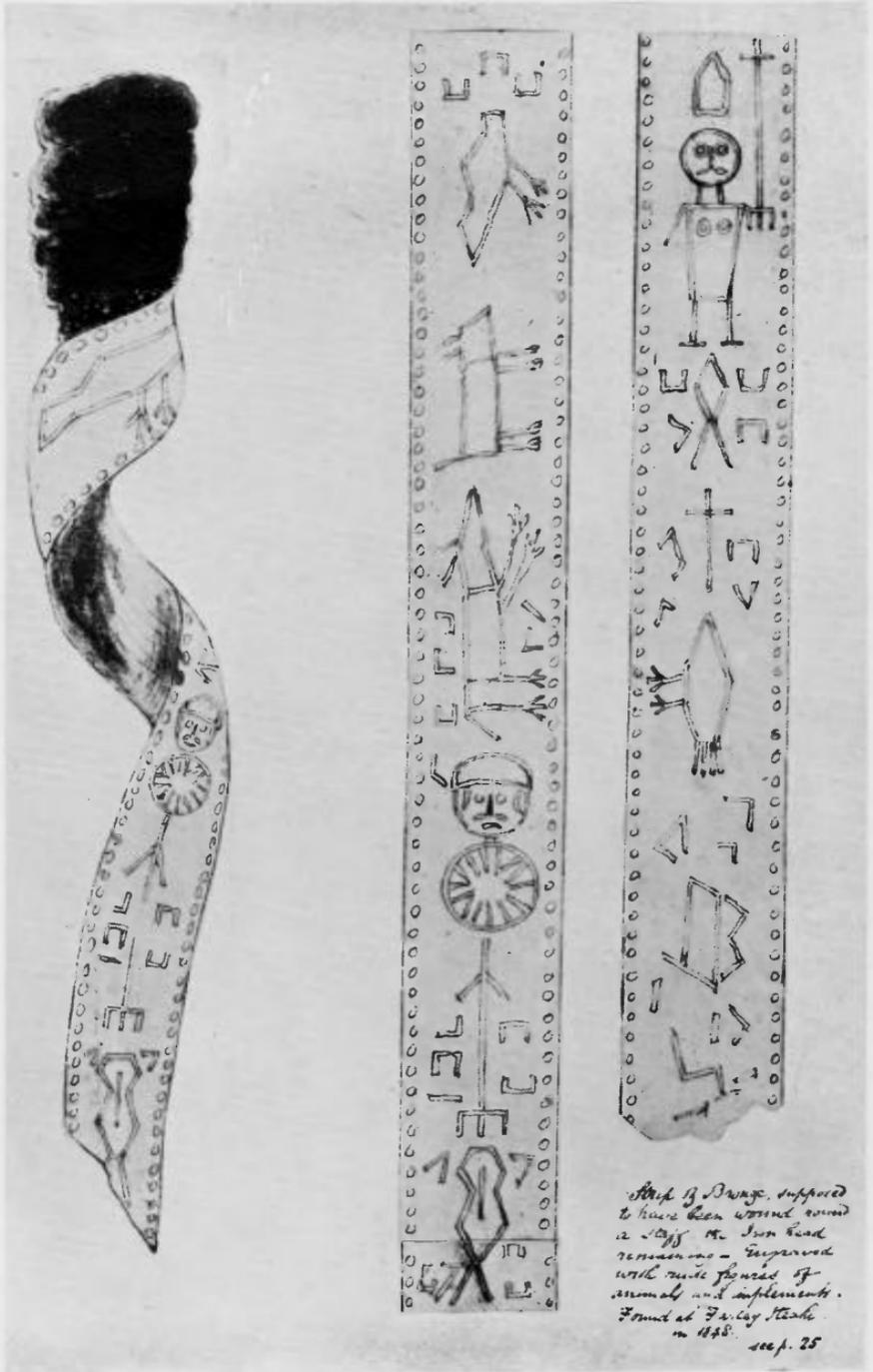
When Elias Ashmole knew the Heath in the middle of the seventeenth century, the Temple was a conspicuous feature and consisted of a "square" and a "circle," both being represented by walls standing a foot or so above ground. But the stone-robbers of 1670 did their work so thoroughly that when Aubrey himself visited the site two years later, only a corner of the square was recognizable, the whole of the circle having apparently disappeared.² So it remained until Tupper's day.

The plan attached to Tupper's *Record* was drawn up about 1849-50, after the excavations had been completed: in spite of certain defects, it seems to represent a conscientious attempt on the part of the excavator to show what actually had been found. Yet the only walls marked on this plan as existing within the outer earthworks are those of the square temple and of a polygonal enclosure in the middle of which it stands, the latter being a roughly circular area, about 400 feet in diameter. In other words Tupper's excavations, extensive as they were, brought to light no recognizable structures other than those already described by Aubrey, *viz.* a "square" and a "circle."

To some critics the discrepancy between the paucity of known structures on Farley Heath and the abundance of coins, brooches, and other small objects has proved discomfiting. To overcome it they have assumed that Tupper found more buildings than he shows on his plan. Mr. Whimster, for example, tells us that "there is no attempt to distinguish

¹ *Tupper MS.*, Haverfield Library.

² Aubrey, *loc. cit.*



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SPIRAL BRONZE STRIP FROM FARLEY HEATH.

between the different *houses*.”¹ Yet comments of this nature, however well-intentioned, are misleading since they give rise to the popular belief that a town or at least a villa existed on the Heath. The only reference to buildings in Tupper’s *Record* is a statement that the “foundations of walls enclosing the principal station”² had been found: this obviously refers to the polygonal enclosure. Similarly, if we consult Tupper’s autobiography, in which mention is made of the excavations, we find this significant statement:³

We were digging in the black mould of the burnt huts round the wall foundations (all above ground of *the said hexagonal wall* having since been utilized by parochial economists in making a road across the Heath), and found among other spoil a little green bronze ring which I placed on the finger of the guest of the day, Mrs. Barclay of Bury Hill.

Thus a critical examination of Tupper’s writings and plan leaves little doubt that the only walls uncovered in the course of the excavations were those of the temple itself and of its polygonal enclosure (which we know by analogy to be the *temenos* or temple precinct). Around the latter wall was a great deal of “black mould” which may possibly—as Tupper suggests—be the remains of burnt huts, but which may equally likely be the dark “occupation earth” common to most ancient sites. It was in this black mould that the bulk of the small finds were made.

The Significance of the Small Finds.

On any normal Romano-British site, the finds made by Tupper might be considered unusual. A glance at Benjamin Nightingale’s coloured drawings of the best metal objects in Tupper’s MS. book will explain why contemporary antiquaries enthusiastically acclaimed Farley as “a little Surrey Pompeii.” Few villas or even towns have produced so much attractive “spoil” within so small an area.

But Farley, as tradition had always asserted and as now seems certain, was the site of a Romano-Celtic temple, and cannot therefore strictly be considered a normal site. Temples both in Gaul and Britain have a habit of yielding up unexpected

¹ Whimster, *Archæology of Surrey*, p. 146. (The italics are mine.)

² Tupper, *Record of Farley Heath*, p. 25.

³ Tupper, *My Life as an Author* (London, 1886), p. 210.

things, for one of the fundamental principles of Romano-Celtic religion was that the visiting worshipper should leave some offering (technically known as an *ex-voto*) for the god whose aid or protection was desired. When the divinity's healing powers were sought these *ex-votos* often took the form of objects portraying the afflicted parts of the body, such as the metal "eyes" found at the temple of Moritasgus on Mont-Auxois, or the stone "torsos" in the shrine of Apollo Vindonnus at Essarois.¹ On other occasions the *ex-voto* offerings were small objects like rings and coins : hence the large accumulations of coins so often found on temple sites, such as the 6,000 in the Temple of Nodens at Lydney.² Sometimes, the *ex-votos* were of an even more remarkable nature ; Romano-Celtic temples in Normandy have produced great accumulations of Neolithic and Palæolithic implements which were brought to the temple by pilgrims from afar in Roman times.³ Religious sites unquestionably have a character of their own !

Viewed in this light, the Farley finds are not surprising : they are exactly what one would expect from a temple site, in connection with a cult which probably flourished throughout the Roman period. The thousand odd coins, for example, were found one by one scattered in the black mould over a wide area, rather than in a localized group or hoard, a fact which puzzled Tupper considerably. He was inclined to attribute the phenomenon to an old Roman custom of sowing their sites with coins, "by way of leaving in the soil itself a lasting seal of their possession" !⁴ An *ex-voto* explanation for their scattered deposit is perhaps more plausible, when we recall the thousands of coins found in the well of the goddess Coventina on Hadrian's Wall, or the extant custom of dropping pennies in wishing-wells.

The religious nature of the site is also reflected in some of the metal objects. For example, among the finds made by Mr. Winbolt in 1926 was a small folded piece of sheet copper with a nail-hole at one end, which is described as "perhaps an

¹ Bonnard, *La Gaule Thermale*, pp. 267, 291, 302.

² Wheeler, *Lydney Report*, Society of Antiquaries, p. 111.

³ De Vesly, *Les Fana de la region Normande*, p. 143.

⁴ Tupper, *Record*, p. 17.

applied ornament near the lock on a wooden chest.”¹ It bears, however, a greater resemblance to a fragmentary votive-tablet of the type often found on temple sites, having been nailed up on the wall. A more concrete piece of evidence is

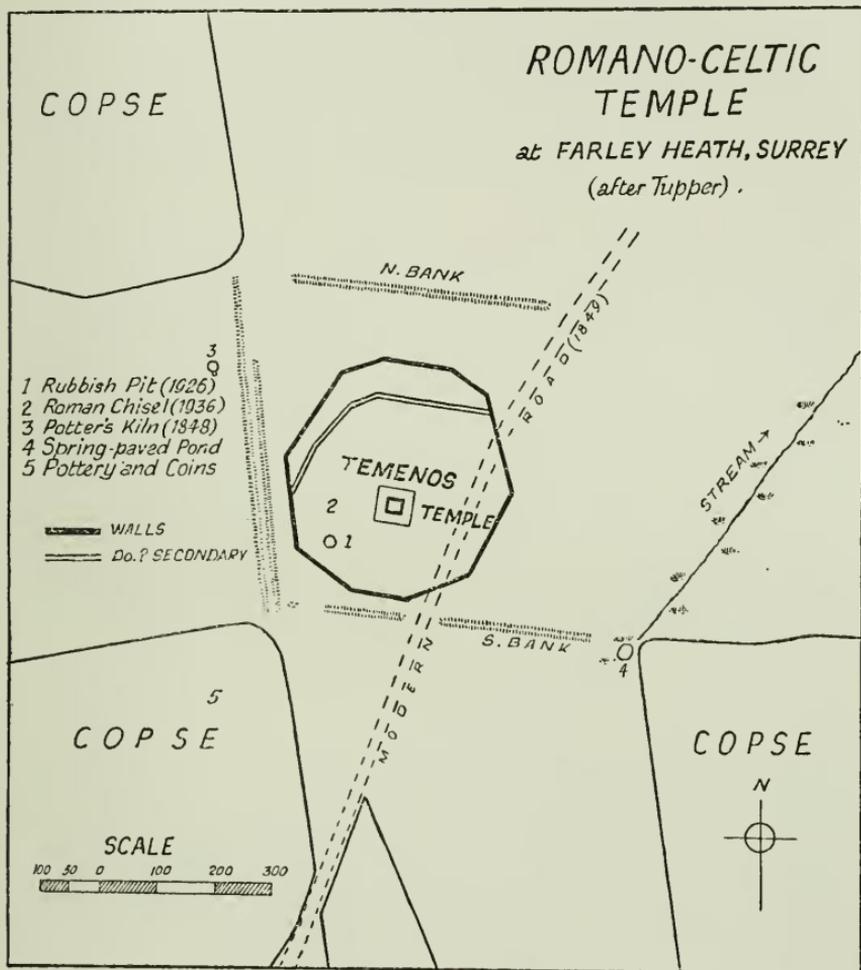


FIG. I.

supplied by the unique spiral strip of copper described on another page (Appendix II): this object is almost certainly an ornament from the staff of a priest or otherwise connected with a pagan cult.

¹ Winbolt, *Excav. at Farley Heath, 1926*. S.A.C., Vol. XXXVII, p. 192.

Thus the coins, brooches and other metal objects from Farley do not necessarily prove that "a very civilized and quite extensive community lived in the Roman period on Farley Heath":¹ but they do show that the god whose cult was centred at Farley must have had a large following in the south-east of Britain and that his temple was much frequented in ancient times. It is possible, too, that (as seems to have been the case at Woodeaton in Oxfordshire)² the temple became the centre of fairs and markets on certain occasions, a circumstance which would also account for the abundance of coins and brooches.

No doubt there were rough huts in and around the *temenos* for the residence of the priests and those who catered for the requirements of pilgrims; indeed the amount of pottery found on the Heath would seem to indicate this. But there is as yet no evidence to suggest the existence of any independent settlement of which the temple was merely part—and until such evidence is forthcoming, it would be extremely rash to assume *a priori* its existence. On the contrary this type of temple with its large polygonal *temenos* fits more easily into the open country than into a "built-up area." Shrines such as this, or the one recently excavated at Titsey³ were used by pilgrims and passers-by, rather than by a permanent resident population.

Other Features of the Site.

The Earthwork.—Rectangular earthworks had an irresistible attraction for the nineteenth-century antiquary, and the fact that a slight earthwork surrounds the temple area on three sides has caused more unprofitable speculation than any other feature in the whole area. At the end of his life, Tupper was still convinced that Farley was "a prætorian station on the Ikenild Highway."⁴ Even in more recent years there has been a regrettable tendency to "straighten out" the Farley earthwork, round its corners and convert it into a square "camp" of conventional plan.⁵ As the carefully-surveyed

¹ Whimster, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

² Milne, *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. XXI, p. 101. Also *V.C.H. Oxfordshire*, Roman Oxfordshire (forthcoming).

³ *S.A.C.*, Vol. XLIV, p. 84.

⁴ Tupper, *My Life as an Author*, p. 210.

⁵ For example, the plan in *S.A.C.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 185.

Ordnance sheet shows,¹ the Farley earthwork is rhomboid, not rectangular, whilst its corners are not and probably never were rounded. Nor are there adequate reasons necessarily to assume that the missing east bank ever existed. The fact of the matter is that the earthwork must be considered subsidiary to the temple and not the temple to the earthwork. The exact purpose of the latter can only be determined by its date: if it is later than the temple it may represent an extension of the precincts at a subsequent date; if contemporary with it, it must have some other function. Excavation alone can solve the problem.

The Road.—Did the Roman road from Rowhook terminate at Farley Heath or continue further? This question has yet to be conclusively answered, although general considerations make it probable that the road continued north-west, presumably to join the London–Silchester road in the Bagshot area. It will need systematic field-work of the type which Mr. I. D. Margary has recently inaugurated, to establish the existence of such a road.

The exact line whereby the Rowhook road approached the Heath has also to be determined, for the “ideal line,” striking the south bank at its centre, has nothing to commend it except the belief that a Roman road ought to enter a “camp” in this fashion. Since Farley never was a “camp,” the argument is hardly valid.

It seems to have escaped notice that the so-called west “valla” of the earthwork very much resemble an old road between banks—the form which the Roman road adopts in crossing parts of Winterfold. Furthermore hedges continue its alignment both to north and to south. From its north end an old track can clearly be traced across Blackheath and down the deep cuttings of Blackheath Lane to Albury village (formerly *Weston Street*). A silver denarius of the emperor Julian (361–363) was found in the Rectory garden in December, 1874, near where it would cross the Tillingbourne.²

¹ O.S. 25-inch sheet, Surrey, XXXII, 10.

² *Tupper MS.*

The Potter's Works.

Tupper found two kilns, one of which he marks on his plan as being just beyond the north end of the west earthwork. He describes them as follows :

Two very different ovens or kilns for baking pottery have come to light ; the one, an inverted cone dug into the soil ; the other, a built cone of burnt stones placed in a hollowed spot, upon it. In the first, five largish crocks, seemingly of culinary shape, as well as a barrow-load of fragments were found, just as the potter left them long ago. The sides of this kiln are of hard-baked clay, with a division-rib across to strengthen it, a rude ironstone fireplace being at the side and steps leading down to it. As the precaution has been taken to conceal this kiln, it is still in existence ; the other has been destroyed by some of the rising generation of our enlightened parish.¹

In his MS. book there appears a letter from Tupper to Nightingale dated March 25th, 1848, which gives a rough sketch (not very illuminating) of the kiln, reproduced herewith (Fig. 2). Miss O. M. Heath informs me that a local gravel-

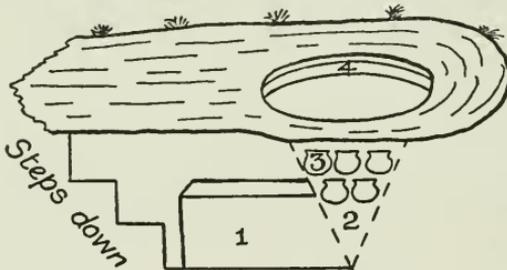


FIG. 2.—POTTER'S KILN, FOUND AT FARLEY HEATH, MARCH, 1848.
(AFTER TUPPER.)

1. A rude ironstone fire-place.
2. Inverted cone of baked clay.
3. Crocks abaking.
4. A baked clay bar—a mid-wall to strengthen it.

digger named Punter also found a kiln some fifty years ago, which contained ten whole pots, since destroyed. This may have been the kiln which Tupper concealed, or alternatively a third one. One can only regret that this latter discovery escaped the notice of contemporary archæologists, and that no accurate records of it were kept.

The presence of potter's kilns at Farley is interesting but not necessarily significant. Although such kilns are often found near towns, the industries were more usually located in

¹ Tupper, *Record*, p. 26.

the wilds of the country where timber was abundant, and the potters hawked their wares about the countryside. It is possible, too, that the products of the Farley kilns were also sold at the fairs which—as we have already shown—may have taken place around the temple. Unfortunately no pottery from these kilns has been preserved so it is impossible to form any idea as to their dates.

The Pond.

Ever since Bray first noted it in 1803,¹ the pond at the east end of the south bank has attracted attention. It is certainly ancient (though now filled with modern rubbish), and Tupper states that it is paved with Roman tile.

It is perhaps worth noting that Romano-Celtic temples are often connected with springs and ponds, the cult of springs being an important feature of ancient religion.² It is possible, therefore, though by no means certain, that the presence of this spring in close proximity to an important sacred site is of some significance.

General Conclusions.

A detailed interpretation of the discoveries made a century ago by so imaginative an archæologist as Martin Tupper is obviously difficult in view of the limited information at our disposal. Yet a careful comparison between Farley Heath and analogous sites in Britain and Gaul does enable us to reach certain justifiable conclusions. In the first place, the type of building which Tupper found on the Heath—a square temple within a large polygonal enclosure—is well known in the Celtic parts of the Roman Empire. The best British example apart from Farley came to light at Sheepen Farm, Colchester in 1935,³ but similar sites have long been known both in Gaul and Germany.

For an almost exact parallel to the Farley *temenos*, we must go to Coblenz in Germany where excavations in 1899 revealed a lay-out so similar to that shown on Tupper's plan, that it is

¹ Manning and Bray, *loc. cit.*

² See Vaillat, *La Culte des Sources dans la Gaule Antique.*

³ *Trans. Essex Archæological Society*, Vol. XXII, p. 46.

reproduced here for purposes of comparison.¹ This Coblenz temple, like that at Titsey, and numerous examples in Normandy, lay in the open country close to a Roman road. Although there were scattered traces of Roman settlement in the district, the temple was not in any way part of a town but stood by itself as an isolated religious centre. Within its precinct-wall were a few huts, but nothing approaching a regular settlement.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Farley Heath site was similar in its purpose to the Coblenz one. It lay beside a Roman road branching from Stane Street and probably

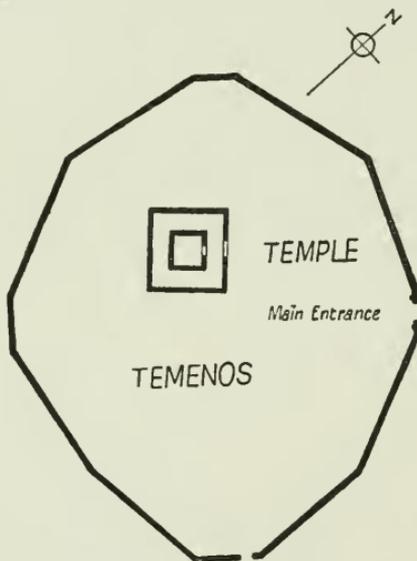


FIG. 3.—TEMPLE OF MERCURY AT COBLENZ (1 INCH = 170 FEET).

connecting with another main road near Bagshot. Thus it was easily accessible from all parts of the south-east, and visitors as well as local inhabitants must have frequented it. As the cult increased in popularity in a province which remained predominantly pagan up till the evacuation of A.D. 410, so perhaps fairs may have been held within its precincts, and traders settled around it. Nonetheless, the temple itself remained the dominant feature on the Heath up till the end.

It may be added that the conception of Farley as primarily

¹ *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*. Vol. XIX (1900); reproduced in *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. VIII (1928), p. 315.

a religious site is not suggested here for the first time. We read in Mr. William Page's account of Farley in the Victoria County History (1912) that "Professor Haverfield suggests that the place was a small temple in a temenos and, no doubt, adjacent houses or cottages; it may have been a pre-Roman, Celtic, shrine, and have lived on as a holy place throughout the Roman period."¹ The purpose of this paper is not therefore to suggest a novel and revolutionary interpretation of Farley Heath but to reiterate and emphasize the conclusion reached by the foremost authority on Roman Britain a quarter of a century ago—a conclusion which has been greatly neglected in subsequent years, owing to the obstinate survival of the myth of a "camp" or "station."

Of the actual history of Farley Heath we know little. There is some reason to believe that the cult originated before the Roman period, and that the invaders merely romanized a Celtic deity by building him a temple and perhaps identifying him with some member of the Roman pantheon, by bestowing a double name like Mars Cocidius or Jupiter Dolichenus. The abundance of Flavian pottery and coins would suggest that the construction of the Roman temple took place before the end of the first century A.D., whilst the opening up of the Rowhook-Farley Heath road and its probable north-west continuation doubtless brought the cult into greater prominence. During its long life, a certain amount of reconstruction must have taken place, and the curious inner wall at the north end of the temenos on Tupper's plan appears to be a later rebuild. In the first half of the fifth century came the final destruction (a conflagration, according to Tupper), and so the derelict Temple, overgrown by the heather and bracken of the Heath, lapsed into an obscurity from which it did not completely emerge till that day in 1838 on which the Proverbial Philosopher stumbled on its ruins.

One final word—on the prospects of future excavation. We have already shown reason to believe that Tupper's excavations covered a wide area, but it is not unlikely that some important find escaped his eagle eye, such as a votive-tablet which might provide the name of the unknown Farley god. In any case a few carefully-planned trenches should enable the archæologist

¹ *V.C.H., Surrey*, Vol. IV, p. 357.

to obtain a complete and accurate plan of the temenos wall and perhaps discover its date ; similarly, proper sections should be cut across all three of the enclosing banks, and trial trenches dug in the ground immediately adjacent to the earthwork. Not until this has been done will our knowledge of Farley Heath be as complete as circumstances permit.

The accompanying plan (Fig. 1) is an attempt to reproduce all the known Roman remains on the Heath on to the basis of the Ordnance Map. Unfortunately Tupper gives no adequate dimensions on his plan, so that the position of the polygonal wall is approximate rather than exact (there being no visible remains on the surface). The exact position of the Temple, however, has been fixed by means of its surviving north-east corner. The earthworks are shown as they exist to-day.

The writer is indebted for information and assistance to Miss O. M. Heath of Albury, Miss M. V. Taylor of the Haverfield Library, and Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes of the British Museum.

APPENDIX I.

Farley Heath in pre-Roman times.

“Farley Heath is a place of great importance in Surrey since it was occupied not only in Roman, but also in almost all prehistoric periods as well.”¹ Statements of this sort are so frequently made that it seems desirable to examine the evidence on which they are based. It is of course beyond dispute that the greensand plateau from Dorking to Guildford was a favourite haunt of ancient man. There is scarcely a single ploughed field in the whole area which will not yield up flint flakes in profusion to the observant searcher, whilst scrapers and polished axes are not infrequently found.

Yet when we come to examine the evidence for intensive pre-Roman occupation on the actual site of the Roman temple, we find it to be of the scantiest nature. In the first place there is no structural evidence whatsoever: the “original Celtic embanked settlement” conjectured by Mr. Winbolt² owes its existence to the assumption (incorrect, as we have seen above) that the polygon marked on Tupper’s plan was a bank and not a wall ; nor have the “pit-dwellings” mentioned in the Victoria County History³ the slightest foundation.

An even more suspicious feature is the complete absence of pre-Roman pottery among the large quantity recovered from the Heath.

¹ Whimster, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

² Winbolt, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

³ *V.C.H., Surrey*, Vol. IV, p. 356.

Iron Age pottery is prolific on sites occupied during the period, and if Farley were a pre-Roman settlement one would have expected a certain amount of it among the pottery examined by Mr. A. W. G. Lowther in 1934.¹

Indeed, the whole evidence for pre-Roman settlement on Farley Heath can be divided into three classes of finds: (1) Stone implements found in Tupper's excavations and now in the British Museum; (2) several bronze objects found by Tupper and probably constituting a small bronze-founder's hoard, although not recorded as such; (3) British and Belgic coins in considerable quantities found between 1848 and the present day.

The objects of class (1) are not of outstanding interest; they are enumerated among the other Farley objects under the date April 19th, 1853, in the British Museum "Acquisitions Register." There is one small complete polished axe, several fragments of the same, and a few nondescript flints. Also "an agate oval pebble" and "21 stones and pebbles of various substances and forms which appear to have been used for polishing or pounding." Even if these objects owed their origin to deposit in the Neolithic or Bronze Age, they would hardly be sufficient in themselves to prove a settlement of that date, but we must also bear in mind the archæological fact that ancient implements of this sort have been found in Romano-Celtic temples in an obviously Roman context. At Essarts in Normandy the temple contained in addition to Roman objects, 3 palæolithic hand-axes, 47 polished axes, 35 fragments of ditto, 1 arrowhead and polished pebbles.² Caution must certainly be exercised in accepting any of the finds made on temple sites at their face value!

These same objections apply also to the Bronze Age hoard of Class (2): it may well have been brought to the temple as an offering by some humble Roman-Briton who had dug it up and considered it as something strange and therefore suitable for presentation. Four fossil echini found at Farley by Tupper probably belong to the same class of ex-voto object. In any case bronze hoards of this type were usually buried in the open country away from contemporary settlements.

Finally, we have the British coins. These fall into three groups:

(A) Crude potin coins of a type found at the Caburn, Sussex (Curwen, *Archæology of Sussex*), several of which were found on Farley Heath by Lovell, the Albury schoolmaster, in December, 1852.

(B) Uninscribed gold and silver coins, found singly on the Heath by Tupper and by Mr. Winbolt in 1926; also a hoard of forty gold ones found by a shepherd-boy near the temple site in February, 1848.

(C) Inscribed gold coins of Tincommius, Verica and Epaticcus found by Tupper.

Although it is just possible that these coins too reached the Heath in Roman times, their abundance does suggest that they were genuinely deposited in the Belgic period, the century immediately prior to the Roman conquest. This being the case, their presence at Farley can best be reconciled with the absence of Belgic pottery by the supposition that Farley was a sacred site, visited but not settled on, during the Belgic period while the Comian dynasty ruled the Atrebates. This

¹ Lowther, *Pottery from Farley Heath* in *S.A.C.*, Vol. XLII, p. 67.

² De Vesly, *loc. cit.*

fact is of some interest in view of the recent accumulation of evidence that Roman temples were not infrequently built on earlier religious sites.

APPENDIX II.

A Spiral Bronze Strip from Farley Heath.

It is perhaps ironical that the most important object found by Tupper has never yet been published, and narrowly escaped complete oblivion. This is a narrow strip of copper, 16 inches long and 1 inch wide, curved in spiral form and attached to an iron head. It had clearly been wound round a wooden staff which has, of course, perished, although the grain of the wood can be detected on the long iron nail which secured the head to the top of the staff.

This object is referred to in a letter to Nightingale dated March 25th, 1848, in which Tupper says,¹ "I think it looks very Anglo-Saxonish. You may depend upon every line of my copy. I took it very accurately considering the roughness of the execution and the difficulty of drawing a spiral tinselly thing out straight." Tupper also mentions this object in his *Record*² as "a singular strip of copper, engraved with rude figures of animals, &c., which has evidently been wound round a staff, the iron head being still attached." Tupper's drawing of the strip was exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on March 1st, 1849,³ at which Akerman suggested that it had "formed the ornament of the staff of an ecclesiastic and was probably of the seventh or eighth century" basing this on a rather unconvincing analogy with Saxon coins.

Yet this object, which attracted such curiosity at the time of its discovery, had completely disappeared until two years ago Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes found it unlabelled and unidentified in a cupboard of the British Museum, where it had apparently lain neglected since the Farley Heath objects reached the Museum in 1853. Its origin would have remained unknown but for the lucky chance that Tupper's drawing of it was preserved in the MS. book in the Haverfield Library, and that on comparison the strip in the British Museum proved to be the long-lost Farley find.

I publish here Tupper's drawing (from a plate kindly supplied by Miss M. V. Taylor) without comment, except to point out that the original is much rougher in its execution than the drawing would indicate, and that in certain details (notably the cross-like object in the central figure's hand) Tupper has been rather too anxious to give the decoration a Christian significance. In actual fact the strip has a very pagan appearance and is almost certainly connected with the cult practised in the Farley temple. It is not improbable that a detailed analysis of the figures and animals will give us a clue as to the real nature of this cult. Until such an analysis has been made it would be wiser to postpone any conclusions.⁴

¹ *Tupper MS.*

² Tupper, *Record*, p. 25.

³ *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, Vol. I.

⁴ Mr. Hawkes has kindly provided me with excellent full-size photographs of this important object. I hope to publish these on some future occasion.

Addenda.

(1) For a full description and analysis of the embossed strip mentioned briefly in Appendix II, see "A Priest's Sceptre from the Romano-Celtic Temple at Farley Heath, Surrey," by R. G. Goodchild, in the *Antiquaries' Journal* of October, 1938. Owing to the crudeness of the strip's design it would seem impossible to give a fixed interpretation of each of its features, but the portrayal of two unmistakable pairs of tongs and a hammer-like object, in conjunction with a male figure, suggests a possible connexion with the god Volkanus or Vulcanus, whose cult seems to have been popular in the Celtic regions of the Roman Empire.

(2) Through the medium of Miss O. M. Heath I have been able to examine Vol. VI (1849-50) of Martin Tupper's *Literary Archives*, now in the possession of Mrs. Tupper, of Norwood. This bulky scrap-book contains, in addition to literary material, duplicate copies of Nightingale's paintings of the "finds" from the Heath, and also some letters from Nightingale to Tupper on the subject of the excavations; but it throws no light whatsoever on the archaeological problems of the site. Such field-notes as Tupper may have kept during the work were probably destroyed after the publication of the "Record."