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*Proceedings of the Oxford
Architectural and Historical Society*
Oxford Architectural and Historical Society

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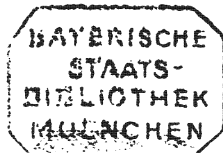
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First Meeting, Michaelmas Term.

The Rev. the MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLL., THE PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

Nov. 14. This meeting (held in the Ashmolean Museum, by permission) was the first held since the change in the denomination of the Society which was made last term, and by which title the scope of the Society's labours was considerably enlarged. As many are probably aware, the word "Historical" has been added to the title, and at the same time the subscription has been reduced from one guinea to ten shillings for members during residence, and five shillings for non-resident members who would wish to keep up their connection with the Society and receive the reports. This reduction of the subscription, as was anticipated, enabled the President to read a much longer list of new members to be balloted for at the next meeting than had been the case for some years past.

Two new members, proposed at the last meeting, were elected—the Hon. R. Abbot, Ch. Ch., and A. W. Booker, Esq., Ch. Ch.

The usual business of the Society being concluded, the President called the attention of the meeting to the discussion of the evening, namely, the Connection of History with Architecture, which he considered very appropriate to the inaugural meeting under the new title. He then called upon Mr. J. H. Parker, who said he had been requested to open the discussion, as being one of the earliest members of the Architectural Society. He cordially approved of the union of history with architecture, and considered it rather a development of the original idea of the Society than any real change of plan. The Society had always taken the historical view of architecture, the æsthetical and the practical had come in naturally and incidentally, but were not essential. Some of the earliest papers read before the Society had been as much historical as architectural. The Heraldic and Archæological Society had already been incorporated with this Society, which possessed the library of both. The collection of casts of the mouldings and details of each style or period which the Society had formed at its commencement as the Grammar of the study, had always been arranged in chrono-

logical order and under the kings' reigns, which must be allowed to be an historical arrangement. He considered it impossible to understand medieval architecture without history. On the other hand, the architecture of every country was an essential part of its history, and so closely connected with it that it seems impossible to separate them. He believed that some knowledge of the history of architecture would be of the greatest use to the student of all other branches of history, and greatly assist his memory, as visible and tangible objects are always more easily remembered than any others.

The character of each century is distinctly stamped upon its architecture, and everything else is subordinate to this; national, provincial, and even personal influence may be traced upon many buildings, but quite subordinate to the character of the age in which they were erected. The exact date of a building tells its character much more than the place where, or the persons by whom, it was erected. The buildings of the eleventh century mark a period of very rapid progress from almost barbarism at the beginning, the masonry being of the rudest possible description, to

a considerable degree of civilization and very good masonry at the end of it. The twelfth century was also a period of very rapid progress, and before the end of it we have as fine masonry as the world has ever seen, although the style is still heavy and massive, and may be said to symbolize the oppressive rule of the Norman kings.

In the thirteenth century we have lightness, vigour, and boldness, characteristic of freedom of thought and of action,—the men who erected those buildings also obtained Magna Charta. In the fourteenth century we have less vigour but more refinement, and in architectural details a more close copying of natural forms. In the fifteenth century the beginning of decay may be traced in the shallowness and feebleness of the details, but English buildings of this period still often have a good deal of manly vigour about them. In the sixteenth the decay has proceeded, and the mixture of styles shews the unsettled state of the times.

The personal character of our kings, as well as the times in which they lived, were not without their influence on the architecture of their day. The chief buildings of the time of William the Conqueror and William Rufus are the Norman castles, those massive square keeps which are found in all parts of the country. Henry I., called Beauclerc, was a man of letters and of religion, and the chief buildings of his time are monasteries and churches. The civil wars of the time of Stephen called for more castles; many were added, and others rebuilt in his reign. Henry II. succeeded by peaceful hereditary succession to the whole of the western provinces of France. The constant friendly intercourse with the people of those provinces could not fail to have considerable influence upon England, and this is shewn in the architecture of the period, the great time of transition from the Norman to the Gothic style.

Richard Cœur-de-Lion was not merely a warrior, he was the first military architect and engineer of his day, as is shewn by the Château Gaillard, which he designed and built, and which was far in advance of any other buildings of his day. The

freedom which the people obtained under John is shewn by the freedom of their architecture, as has been said. Some excuse may be made for the vacillation and weakness of the government of Henry III., by the fact that the whole revenue of his kingdom was absorbed in building: almost all our great cathedrals and abbey churches belong to his reign. A great war with Wales would have been as ruinous then as a great European war would have been during the height of the railway mania in our own day. Edward I. has left the stamp of his character and his history in the great castles of Wales,—Conway, Caernarvon, Beaumaris, and Harlech,—and not less in the castles of Guienne; and of his free trade principles in the flourishing towns which he founded.

In the time of Edward II. and III., the great barons who ruled the country have left monuments of themselves everywhere in the castles and the churches which they built, as in this neighbourhood Dorchester Abbey Church, which had in its windows the arms of nearly all the great barons of the time of Edward II.

The will of King Henry VI. contains the most minute architectural directions for the building of his two colleges at Eton and Cambridge. But the religious fervour which was at its height in the time of Henry III. was gradually decaying, and in the following century became very dead, until revived by the Reformation. The castles of the Edwardian period gradually gave way to more peaceful habitations, and before the end of the fifteenth century the fortifications were intended more for keeping out bands of robbers than for regular warfare. In the sixteenth they became more ornamental, and were erected as marks of grandeur rather than for use. Altogether, he thought that architecture was the best possible *memoria technica* for the study of modern history.

The President in thanking Mr. Parker for his remarks, with which he fully concurred, referred to a question which was closely connected with them, namely, the cause of the metal-work being often so far in advance of the buildings of the same age. He pointed out the fact that we

found jewellery of remote ages equal in beauty and delicacy to that of the present day,—of ages which were, in other respects, very uncivilized. He referred to examples which were dug up in America, evidently of an early period, but of workmanship equal to that of Paris or London of the present time. He then called on the Librarian to say a few words respecting the Roman spear-head which had been laid upon the table.

The Librarian begged, first of all, to offer a few remarks upon what had fallen from the President with respect to other remains belonging to the Middle Ages, than those of buildings. It seemed to him, that as buildings appealed to the eye as had been shewn, in illustration of history, so all works of art and manufacture belonging to a certain period would, when collected together, tend to illustrate the manners, customs, and, indeed, the civilization of that period; and he referred especially to the fact of the Architectural Society possessing a considerable and valuable collection of casts, models, &c., illustrating the times from the Norman Conquest downwards. At the same time, there was a collection in the room, the Ashmolean collection, which was almost confined to objects illustrating the history of this country previous to the Norman Conquest. Now what he hoped was, that these two should be brought together, and thus form a chronological series of illustrations from the time of the Romans to the present; and he hoped that it was not saying too much, that there was no building in Oxford so suitable in every way for the whole collection as the room in which they were now assembled, and in which one-half of the collection had been placed for more than two hundred years.

With regard to the Roman spear-head which had been sent for exhibition to this meeting, he would only observe that it was one out of 140 which were found laid edge-wise in two rows of 70, one above the other, in the centre of the Roman camp at Bourton-on-the-Water, not far from Addlestrop Station. He pointed out the position of this camp with regard to the great Fosse-

way and the other chief roads of Roman Britain. The other piece of iron-work, possibly a sword-hilt, was found in the churchyard of Lower Swell, near which are two British barrows. He hoped, however, that these were but a beginning, and that at each meeting similar objects of interest would be laid before the Society, and that several would in course of time find their way into its collection.

Mr. Owen referred to the Library of the Society, which, it was explained, was not as yet accessible to members, but arrangements it was hoped would shortly be made for that purpose.

Mr. Shirley, of Wadham, said that he was struck with two points which had fallen from Mr. Parker. First, the great change which took place in military architecture. In Norman times the massive square keeps, rude and simple as they were, answered their purpose,—they could not be taken, and enabled the great barons often to set the king at defiance. A century later we find that the means of attack have increased, and necessitated much greater preparations for defence, as in the Château Gaillard. At a later period, again, in the time of Edward I., we have deep ditches and bold flanking towers. Some evening he hoped we might discuss the means of attack and defence as connected with military architecture. Secondly, he wished to ask Mr. Parker whether he had been able to trace any influence of the different religious Orders on the style of architecture in their buildings.

Mr. Parker said that the point had not yet been sufficiently investigated to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. The buildings belonging to the Cistercian Order are generally plainer than others of the same period, especially the earlier buildings. There is also a difference of plan between a monastery, and a cathedral surrounded by its close, with separate houses for the canons, as had been pointed out by Mr. Freeman; but the subject altogether required more investigation.

Mr. Pattison, of Lincoln, enquired what was the date of the latest fortified houses or private buildings erected for defence?

Mr. Goldwin Smith instanced Old Ba-

sing-house, of the time of James I., which sustained three sieges; but this was probably an exceptional case; houses of so late a period were not usually fortified at all, or not sufficiently to stand a siege.

The President mentioned that he had received a letter from Torquay, enquiring whether the floor under the seats in a church should be raised, or level with that of the passages. The Committee thought it was generally better for them to be level, to avoid the danger of elderly people tripping over the low step, which is more dangerous than a step of the usual height.

Mr. Parker, in reply to a remark of the President respecting the metal-work of an early period, like Alfred's jewel in this Museum, observed that metal-work was generally in advance of stone sculpture, and that a half-civilized people are often

very skilful workers in metal. He also mentioned Mr. Skidmore's theory, that the conventional foliage of the transitional period was copied from the gold ornaments used in the wooden churches of the Saxons, many of which may have been preserved to that period. With reference to this Museum, he took the opportunity of calling attention to the Arundel marbles, now kept in a room belonging to the Bodleian Library where nobody sees them. Amongst them are the foundation-stones, with inscriptions, of Deerhurst Church in Gloucestershire, founded by Duke Odda in 1053, and of Rewley Abbey in Oxford, founded by Ela Longespée, Countess of Salisbury, about 1230. These objects ought to form part of an Historical Museum.

The President then adjourned the meeting.

Second Meeting, Michaelmas Term.

Nov. 21. The Rev. the MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—

- Rev. Henry Wellesley, D.D., Principal of New Inn Hall.
- Rev. A. P. Stanley, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History.
- Goldwin Smith, Esq., M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History.
- Rev. G. Ridding, M.A., Exeter College.
- Rev. C. W. Boase, M.A., Fellow of Exeter College.
- Rev. G. M. Bullock, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College.
- Montagu E. Burrows, M.A., Magdalen Hall.
- C. E. Hammond, Esq., Fellow of Exeter College.
- Viscount Newry, Ch. Ch.
- Chas. Appleton, Esq., St. John's College.
- John Langdon Fulford, Esq., St. Mary Hall.
- T. E. Hawes, Esq., Abingdon.
- Henry St. John Reade, Esq., University College.
- J. Scott, Esq., Pembroke College.

The President, while these names were being balloted for, read extracts from the following letters which had been received by the Committee. From the Rev. H. B. W. Churton, asking for information on Manor Chancels. From the Rev. C. A. Griffith, giving an account of an ancient mural painting in distemper on the walls of the church at Berwick St. John. From the Rev. J. Cross, asking for information respecting the stained glass of Capronnier of Brussels, a specimen of which may be seen in Doncaster Church. From the Rev. E. R. Hutton, referring to the fact that heraldry was, as well as architecture and history, a subject to which the Society should give its attention, as the two societies, the Heraldic and Architec-

tural, were some years ago united; and, secondly, hoping that the Society would find means to put itself into communication with some of the numerous literary and scientific institutes, &c., which had been set on foot in the adjoining counties. He thought that many would be glad to receive the reports of the Society's proceedings, and also, probably, be willing to furnish accounts of discoveries of archæological interest in their immediate neighbourhood.

The names to supply those of the five outgoing members of Committee were read, and also the names of those gentlemen who wish to join the Society, to be balloted for at the next meeting.

Mr. J. H. Parker then delivered a lecture, "On the Comparative Progress of Architecture in England and France during the Middle Ages, with especial reference to the History of the Times."

Mr. Parker began at the year 1000, and quoted a passage from the contemporary chronicle of Radulphus Glaber, that "from the number of new buildings being erected in 1003, the world appeared to be putting on a new white robe." He also referred to the treatise of King Canute for the safe conduct of English travellers, who in their more extended, and often varied journeys to Rome, from the early period downwards, had better opportunities of seeing and knowing what was going on in other countries than the inhabitants of any province of France, and to this he attributed the greater perfection of English Gothic; the changes are so gradual as to be almost imperceptible, and although advantage was taken of any improvement in foreign countries, they were so assimilated to the English style that no violent change or hiatus is anywhere perceptible. The friendly intercourse of the people of England and France had far more to do with this progress than any change of government, but those provinces of France with which we had the most intercourse naturally had the greatest influence upon our own architecture. In the first half of the eleventh century our style is distinct from anything in France, and is possibly Danish. In the time of Edward the Confessor the Norman style was introduced, and there is no difference then between Normandy and England; the early work at Westminster is just as farward as the work of the same time at Caen, and this continues to be the

case until the middle of the twelfth century. During the great period of transition, the whole of the western provinces of France were part of the English dominions, and there was consequently great intercourse between the people of those provinces and England, and their architecture had more influence upon ours than that of any other part of France. The buildings of Anjou, Poitou, Maine, and Touraine, were in advance of any others at that time, and had a mixture of the Byzantine element derived from Perigord.

He said that bar-tracery was used simultaneously in the Sancte Chapelle at Paris, at Rheims, and in the chapter-house at Westminster, in 1245. Ornamental foliage was copied from nature about the end of the thirteenth century in both countries. The mouldings are always far more numerous in the English buildings. After the beginning of the fifteenth century the styles entirely diverge from each other; the French Flamboyant and the English Perpendicular are, at first sight, totally different, but have many features in common: the shallowness and poverty of the details in both are signs of approaching decay. Throughout the whole period the race was so nearly even that it is often difficult to say which had the priority.

In the course of the lecture he laid special stress upon the necessity of taking the history of the country into account, and remembering that France was not, as now, one country, but composed of separate provinces, constantly changing and con-

stantly influenced by external political events, and each having its distinct architectural character.

The President, in thanking Mr. Parker, referred to instances where French architects had been brought over into England. He also called attention to what he considered to be one of the earliest churches existing in this country, namely, the church of Dover, which he was glad to say the Government had ordered to be put into repair, but the original work to be scrupulously preserved, and that it was now in Mr. Scott's hands.

Mr. Urquhart, of Balliol, wished that more reference had been made to Scotland. He thought that the architecture of this part of Britain was more immediately connected with that of France than with the architecture of England. He referred especially to the Flamboyant style,

which was common to France and Scotland, but wanting in England. He, however, admitted that the chapter-house of Elgin Cathedral was similar to that of Wells and others, and of a type not found in France. He also referred to the prevalence of the tooth-ornament, but the absence of the ball-flower ornament, in Scotland.

Mr. Parker thought the comparison of the architecture of Scotland with that of England and of France, from both of which it differed in many points, quite worthy of being studied, and he hoped that the Society would be favoured with some observations upon it; but it would have been too wide a field for him to have introduced it into his lecture that evening.

After some observations from the Rev. J. W. Burgon and the Rev. H. J. Rose, the meeting was adjourned.

Third Meeting, Michaelmas Term.

Nov. 28. The Rev. the MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE in the Chair.

The following officers for the ensuing year were elected:—

The Rev. the Master of University College, *President*.

The Rev. the Principal of St. Edmund Hall,
The Rev. Dr. Bloxam, } *Auditors.*

Rev. P. G. Medd, M.A., University College,
Rev. W. W. Shirley, M.A., Wadham College,
Rev. M. Pattison, M.A., Lincoln College,
E. W. Urquhart, Esq., Balliol College,
J. R. Stewart, Esq., Pembroke College, } *New Members
of the Committee.*

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—

L. Gurney, Esq., Balliol College.

Rev. Capel Cure, M.A., Merton College.

N. Bond, Esq., Oriol College.

After some remarks from the Chairman, thanking the Society for re-electing him as their President,

The Rev. J. W. Burgon offered a few remarks upon a series of rubbings which he had made of inscriptions on the marble and stone slabs which covered the graves of the early Christians in the Catacombs.

In introducing the subject he laid stress upon the fact that the Jews introduced the custom of burying their dead in un-

derground vaults. The Catacombs were not confined to Rome, but were found elsewhere,—in fact, wherever the Jews had settled. Those at Naples, for instance, were far grander, though less extensive, than those at Rome. He referred to the soil of Rome as of volcanic origin, i.e. composed of tufa, which had the appearance of rough red sandstone, very easily cut, but the mark of a knife or chisel once made, would last for ever if not touched.

The Jews, who were amongst the earliest converts to Christianity, had a catacomb outside Rome, and continued their practice of burial; that is, they dug an entrance with steps leading down to a passage. This passage was about six feet wide, but in height sometimes not sufficient for a tall man to walk upright without knocking his head against the roof. On either side a series of recesses were cut out of the solid tufa to receive the corpses exactly which were to be placed in them. From six to eight of these recesses were found placed one above the other, thus forming a complete network. He would not venture even an approximate calculation as to the length of the passages or the number of the tombs. Of the latter, probably there were some millions, and the former might extend to hundreds of miles. Unfortunately, however, all the tombs had been rifled. For the first three or four centuries after the Christian era persons were buried in them. In the fifth century they were regarded as shrines, and cared for. In process of time, when Rome was invaded, everything valuable was taken out from them. Then later still, when the worship of relics became so common, the bones were taken and sold; and this went on for a series of years. Bosio, in the sixteenth century, draw attention to them, but a new day seemed to have dawned, and they were now being thoroughly explored.

The mouth of each tomb was filled up with a slab or tiles, but in nearly all, unfortunately, the slabs had been removed, and although they were preserved in museums, from the fact of their original positions not having been noted they had lost most of their interest.

He then referred to what were called instruments of torture which had been found, but he thought were simply instruments that had been used by the heathen in their sacrifices.

He then proceeded to explain the inscriptions which were hung round the room, and which were careful rubbings from the slabs which were preserved, chiefly in the Jesuits' College, St. John Lateran, and the Vatican. He considered the date

of the greater number of them to be about the time of Constantine.

He began with the simple inscriptions of the bishops Eutychianus, Anteros, Cornelius, Lucius, and Fabian, but suggested that the inscription was probably added some years after the decease of the person it commemorated. He then proceeded to some of the more curious Jewish inscriptions, on which the commonest symbol was the seven-branched candlestick. To one of these, in which the inscription was both in Greek and Latin, a few Hebrew words were added, one of which he shewed was the precise equivalent of the "In pace;" and no doubt the origin of this most common termination of an inscription was Jewish.

The D.M., i. e. the *Dis Manibus*, he remarked, was very common on even Christian tombs, but meant nothing more than now is meant by reference in poetry to urns and shades. One inscription, that of Faustinus, simply stating that "he had bought this tomb, the bailiff being witness," he thought would have provoked hostile criticism even in a modern cemetery.

He pointed out several of the symbols, monograms, &c., such as the bird, the bird and leaf, the XP, the Ichthus, the ship, and the figure holding up the hands. In one place he pointed out the raising of Lazarus, as a fair type of the attempt to represent scenes from Scripture.

On one of the tombs the word *cupella* occurred, signifying clearly a grave, and he would venture to suggest the connection between this word and *the chapel*, because where there were graves there was probably a place of worship.

The President thanked Mr. Burgon for his very interesting remarks, and commented on the extreme value of having careful rubbings from the originals. He said a few words upon the palæography, also on the simplicity of the epitaphs, and on the common use of the XP, which he had seen instances of in this country belonging to a far later period, as at Bakewell in Derbyshire.

Mr. J. H. Parker made some remarks upon the bird with the olive-branch as em-

blematic of "peace;" and the "uplifted hands" as representing the Oriental mode of prayer. But he would especially call attention to the crypts of England as having had their origin in imitation of the Roman Catacombs. They were used for relics till the thirteenth century, when, not being found sufficiently capacious, they were superseded by side chapels. He considered that the Catacombs themselves continued in use as burial-places to a much later period than is commonly assigned to them, and he exhibited a drawing of a doorway from one of them, of a peculiar form, which could not be otherwise than medieval. He also exhibited a copy of a pattern painted on one of the sides which confirmed this view. He then commented upon the approaches to the Catacombs. He had only in one instance found an ancient approach.

All the present entrances he considered modern. The air-holes were no doubt original, and he thought in many cases the only approach to the lower passages was by descending the shaft by which the tufa had been removed.

Mr. Westwood made some curious and interesting remarks upon the Palæography, which he considered to extend over several centuries, and drew attention to the fine bold style of one of the inscriptions, which he considered the earliest of those exhibited. In concluding, he hoped that this fine collection of rubbings would be given to the University, and be placed in the room in which they were assembled, under the care of the Architectural and Historical Society.

After some further remarks from the President, the meeting (the last to be held this Term) was adjourned.

** * * The Committee propose in future to print a report of the proceedings of the Society at the end of each Term.*

In issuing the first of these, they regret that the state of their funds does not allow them to give a more extended account of their proceedings.

They hope, however, by a large accession of new members, to which, judging by the results of the past Term, they may reasonably look forward, and by the assistance also which they hope to receive, and in some cases are promised from many of their non-resident members, they will be able gradually to extend their report.

First Meeting, Lent Term.

Feb. 5. J. H. PARKER, Esq., F.S.A. (Vice-President), in the chair.

After the list of names of members had been proposed, to be balloted for at the next meeting, the Chairman begged to call the attention of the Society to the very beautiful collection of photographs which were being exhibited in London, belonging to the Architectural Photographic Association. He then called upon the Rev. W. W. Shirley, M.A., Wadham College, who read a very valuable paper, "On some Questions connected with the Chancellorship of Becket."

"Until of comparatively late years, the study of modern, and especially of mediæval history, has suffered seriously from the drawing of an arbitrary line of demarcation between ecclesiastical and secular history. So long as the practice continued among general historians of relegating the affairs of the Church to a separate chapter, so long it was in many cases vain to hope for an intelligent and connected view of events: for it involved the continual divorce of consequences from their causes, and of actions from the motives which led to them. And even now that the defects of this method have been, for some time past, pretty freely admitted, our view of many particular periods and events continues to be unconsciously influenced by its results. For it is easy to abandon a principle and yet to retain the conclusions to which it has led. The verdict of the last century in matters of history is often accepted, where we can point out the fallacy which determined its judgment.

"Something of this kind has happened in the case of Becket. Our estimate of him is certainly more rational than that of our fathers. After three centuries of adoration, and three of general anathema, he is at last regarded as human, as a man, in the estimate of unbiassed contemporaries, of great faults, not eminent for holiness, not even of singular asceticism, but yet a man of noble qualities, of a rare and lofty spirit, and of a genius which has had few equals. Still, however, we continue to look at him, as I cannot but think, too exclusively as a Churchman. For though the eccle-

siastical side of his career is unquestionably the most brilliant, it is but one side after all; and I believe that a more careful study of the secular portion of Becket's life would yield results of considerable importance. Light would, I am satisfied, be thrown upon several points of his struggle with Henry, and it would prove moreover, as I think, that his chancellorship was an epoch in the constitutional history of England, and that he himself was one of the few mediæval statesmen to whom a well-defined civil policy can be justly ascribed.

"It is to this last point that I desire to call your attention this evening. And I am afraid that in doing so I shall have to ask for almost more than a fair share of attention, for my subject is complex and obscure, and it is impossible sometimes to present very clearly the results of an imperfect enquiry.

"What I can promise is, that the questions I am going to lay before you are really of historical importance, and worthy of more investigation than they have yet received.

"They are, Whether the chancellorship of Becket left any permanent traces of itself, 1st, in the *status* and office of the chancellor; 2nd, in the constitution of our courts of justice; 3rd, in the character of the common law?

"I. The first of these questions cannot be wholly separated from the other two; but, so far as it is a distinct one, it is of secondary importance. Let us, however, at the outset, put clearly before ourselves

what were the functions to which the predecessors of Becket were called under the title of Chancellor.

"In the first place, I need scarcely remind you, that we must entirely dismiss from our minds the two most prominent functions of the modern chancellor. The Anglo-Norman chancellor was neither a judge in equity, nor was he president of the House of Lords. Equity, indeed, in the technical sense of our courts, did not exist, for no process could arise to modify the rigour of the common law, while that law was yet in its infancy. It may also be fairly said, I think, that there was no House of Lords^a; nor, had it existed, would the chancellor have presided, for he was not then what he has since become, the first officer of the crown.

"Originally, indeed, the chancellor was far from holding the first place. He was the king's principal chaplain, keeper of the chapel royal, confessor to the king, keeper, in other words, of the royal conscience, and his secretary,—an important person certainly, and one of the seven great officers of the crown; but still, according to Lord Campbell, holding only the sixth place among them. Indeed, only a very few years before the accession of Henry II., Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, when himself the treasurer of the kingdom, was able to obtain the humbler post of chancellor, first for his nephew, and afterwards for his natural son.

"It is evident, however, at a glance, that under the earliest Plantagenet kings the position of the chancellor has undergone a material change. He exercises considerable judicial functions^b; and his political

^a Yet the first great step towards its establishment, the separation of the tenants in chief into the two classes of greater and lesser barons, is older than has been supposed. Selden and Hallam found no trace of any distinctive privilege of the greater barons earlier than Magna Carta. But a letter of G. Foliot's expressly states that the claim of the Empress Matilda to the crown was acknowledged in her father's lifetime by almost all those barons "qui nominatim consueverant appellari." (S. Thomas Cantuar., ed. Giles, v. p. 98.)

^b It is generally said that the chancellor was not a judge until a later date. That he had no separate court is true, if more is intended it is

activity is constant. It is not merely Henry the Second's first chancellor who was a great man; but the chancellors of Richard I., of John, and of Henry III. are manifestly officers of greater consequence than their Anglo-Norman predecessors.

"Fortunately, we are not left to conjecture the time when this change took place. One of Becket's biographers states plainly that he was, as chancellor, the second subject in the realm^d. And another of them—Becket's own secretary—speaks of the office 'which is now commonly called the chancellorship^e'; implying that it was a new one, although, as we know, the chancellor had under all the Norman kings, if not earlier, been one of the seven great officers. These facts, coupled with what we know of the chancellorship under Stephen, render it, I think, almost certain that during the tenure of Becket the chancellorship was raised from the sixth place to the second. I will now quote to you a passage from one of the cotemporary biographers, which describes the office actually held by Becket:—

"*Cancellarii Angliæ dignitas est, ut secundus a rege in regno habeatur; ut altera parte sigilli regii, quod et ad ejus pertinet custodiam, propria signet mandata; ut capella regis in ipsius sit dispositione et cura*;^f; ut vacantes archiepisco-

certainly an error. See Madox, History of the Exchequer, i. pp. 61, 62; S. Thomas Cant., i. 171.

^c If Becket was the first. But there is a charter extant, undated, but, as appears from the names of the witnesses, signed almost immediately after the coronation of Henry II., which is attested by "N. Epo. Ely et Cancellario." It has been contended that the word *et* is an error for *T.*, and that the chancellor who signs is Becket. It is urged that one of the witnesses is Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, the patent of whose earldom is extant, attested by Becket; from which it follows that unless the *et* be an error, Becket must have been chancellor before Nigel, and again afterwards, which is in the last degree improbable. (Foss, Judges of England, i. p. 166.) The answer to this is, that the patent in question is not a creation, but a confirmation, and that the course of events affords a strong presumption that it is the later of the two documents. The question therefore rests absolutely upon the correctness of the charter.

^d Fitz-Stephen, p. 186.

^e H. de Bosham, p. 17.

^f This included the care of the public records. See Hardy, Introd. to Close Rolls, p. xxvii.

patus, episcopatus, abbatias et baronias, cadentes in manu regis, ipse suscipiat et conservet; ut omnibus regis adiat consiliis; ut etiam non vocatus accedat; ut omnia sigilliferi regii clerici sui manu signentur, omnia cancellaril consilio disponantur: item ut, suffragantibus ei per Dei gratiam vitæ meritis, non moriatur, nisi archiepiscopus aut episcopus, si voluerit. Inde est quod cancellaria emenda non est.—*Fitz-Stephen*, *S. T. C.*, i. p. 186.

"On this passage I would remark, 1st, that the expression *secundus a rege* is certainly meant to be translated 'second from the king,' not 'second to the king,'—the chief justiciar being the one subject of higher rank.

"2ndly. That the custody of vacant bishoprics and abbaties appears to be a new attribute of the chancellor. In the one recorded instance of Stephen's reign the custody is assigned, not to the chancellor, but to the sheriffs.

"3rdly. That this passage contains the first mention of the chancellor's *clericus sigillifer*, the official ancestor of the keeper of the privy seal. The creation of such an officer indicates unmistakably the growing importance of his superior.

"These considerations appear to me to afford a strong presumption that during Becket's tenure of office the functions of the chancellor were enlarged, as decidedly as his rank was raised.

"As we proceed, we shall find these conclusions incidentally confirmed.

"II. Our next question is whether we can trace to his chancellorship any change of importance in the constitution of the royal courts of justice.

"Under the Conqueror and his sons, the jurisdiction of the crown, at least in cases of appeal from the injustice or feebleness of the inferior courts, was exercised in a manner derived from the Anglo-Saxon kings, and which forcibly recalls the still earlier and ruder times when the first barbarian kingdoms rose upon the ruins of the Western Empire. At the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, the king 'wore his crown,' and decided causes in person with the advice of his assembled court. Political and judicial deliberations were carried on by the same body, on the same stated occasions,

and probably without any settled forms of judicial procedure.

"It is evident that the affairs of an advancing society could not long continue to be carried on in this primitive manner. One of two results was inevitable. Either the local courts would establish their independence of so unwieldy a control, the crown losing its power, and the state falling, as in Germany, into something of feudal federation; or else the royal courts must be recast, and their appellatant jurisdiction become efficient.

"In point of fact, both these things happened in succession. To establish a federation of earls palatine and count-bishops, similar to those of Germany, under the government of an elective king, was unquestionably the object of the party who at the death of Henry I. set aside the claims of the Empress Matilda: and for a time they were partially successful. In four or five years after the accession of Stephen the courts of the three festivals, the courts *de more* as they were termed, fell into disuse. The appellatant jurisdiction of the crown became almost extinct, probably because it was idle to appeal to a judge who could not enforce his decisions. The kingdom was in fact dismembered. At one time the King of Scotland held the four northern counties, the Earl of Chester a full third of the remainder, the Earl of Albemarle most of Yorkshire, the Earl of Norfolk four counties, the Earl of Hereford two; and so complete was the sovereignty of these great vassals that some of them would not admit within their territory the armies of either claimant to the crown.

"With the accession of Henry II. came the reaction. I sometimes think that we scarcely realize what a complete revolution was involved in the accession of the Plantagenet dynasty. The Plantagenets came in, like the Normans, sword in hand; they brought with them, like the Tudors, a signal humiliation of the great nobles; while, like the Stuarts, they were an alien race, the sovereigns of a state in habitual rivalry with their new country. For up-

wards of a century the Counts of Anjou had been the hereditary enemies of the House of Rollo.

"Henry's position was felt at the time to be analogous to that of William the Conqueror, and there were not wanting advisers who urged him to pursue a conqueror's policy. He preferred a wiser alternative. He could not have made war upon the most powerful and obnoxious of the earls without creating a body of supporters who would expect to be raised upon their ruin. He chose therefore to humble and forgive them. He demolished most of their castles, and minutely scrutinized their privileges. But—if I read the history aright—the severest blow which he dealt to their power was the re-establishment, upon a new footing, of the jurisdiction of the crown. The moment was a favourable one, for the old courts had, as we have observed, disappeared, and, apart from any feeling of animosity, every motive both of convenience and policy must have pleaded against their simple restoration. The courts *de more* had been unpopular with the nobles, troublesome to the suitors, and but imperfectly under the command of the crown. It was therefore resolved, as I believe, to transfer a large portion of the crown jurisdiction to a smaller and more manageable body.

"The executive council of the Norman kings had consisted of the seven great officers of the palace, viz. the justiciary, the chancellor, the treasurer, the seneschal, the chamberlain, the marshal, and the constable. On this body I desire to fix your attention. It was part of the business of its members, in conjunction with some assessors of lower rank, to manage the royal exchequer; an executive function out of which had arisen, at least as early as the reign of Henry I., a jurisdiction in matters relating to the revenue.

"Now when we turn to the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, written during the reign of Henry II., we seem to find this same body, viz. the seven great officers, with certain assessors, holding two distinct sets of court days, in different buildings and for different

purposes^a. They hold their old sittings at the Exchequer, but they hold other sittings elsewhere, in which they appear to try the larger and more important class of causes which had in former reigns been brought before the courts *de more*. We find, too, that this new tribunal took the lead so decidedly of that court of exchequer from which it had arisen, as to be called emphatically the King's Court—*Curia Regis*; while the older but less important tribunal is differenced as *Curia Regis ad Scaccarium*, 'the exchequer sittings of the king's court' for the judicial body was as yet the same, though the class of causes and the place of session were different.

"Now as to the establishment of this court, there are two points involved in some obscurity, owing to the scarcity of extant records.

"The first is, whether the new court was established by a definite act of the crown, or grew out of the encroachments of the Exchequer. The distinctness of the place of sitting, and the subordinate place at once taken by the exchequer business, seem to me to indicate that it was formally established, and did not grow. Another argument which tends in the same direction is, that in the exchequer the chancellor appears to have been the inferior of the treasurer^b, whereas in the general court he was certainly his superior. Such a difference of constitution argues, I think, a distinct origin: it also throws light on the second point of obscurity, namely, the time of the establishment of the new *Curia Regis*.

"We have seen that before the close of the reign of Henry II. the court was fully organized; but of its existence, though not of its distinct organization, we have earlier evidence. The earliest extant roll of the court is of the seventh year of Henry II., and there exist records of trials before the justiciar and chancellor, and also before the chancellor and constable, of the second year of Henry's reign, which may with great probability be assigned to the new

^a Dial. de Scacc., i. c. 1, 4, 5; Madox, i. p. 83.

^b Dial. de Scacc., i. c. 5, seqq. But I cannot feel very confident of the writer's meaning.

court¹. It is therefore almost as old as the accession of Henry. I will now give the reasons, on the other hand, why I believe that it is not older, but is really the creation of Henry.

"1. The rank assigned in it to the chancellor. If his rank had been raised in the exchequer as well as in the new court, there would be room for no inference; but we find, as I mentioned just now, that under Henry II. the chancellor continues to be inferior to the treasurer within the exchequer, while out of it he now for the first time ranks before him. I infer, therefore, that the *Curia Regis* is not older than the elevation of the chancellor from the sixth to the second rank, of which I have spoken before. If the beginning of Henry the Second's reign was the date of the founding of the court, the two changes were no doubt simultaneous, and each gives a reason for the other.

"2. It seems clear, from the nature of its jurisdiction, that the *Curia Regis* rose upon the decay of the courts *de more*, and these did not wholly die out until the reign of Stephen. The *Curia Regis*, therefore, cannot be earlier than Stephen; the weakness of the royal power in his hands seems to preclude the possibility of its establishment by him.

"For, in truth, the creation of the *Curia Regis* was a great encroachment of royal power. It removed the trial of a large number of important cases, chiefly cases of appeal, from the Great Council of the nation to a body of royal nominees: for though unquestionably the ultimate appeal to the Great Council always remained, very few would have the courage to claim it, or the power to obtain a fair hearing against the decision of the officers of the crown.

"There seems, therefore, to remain but one conclusion, namely, that the new court was created by Henry II. very early in his reign²; and we may add, I think, without hesitation, at the instigation of

Becket: it was at least established while his influence with Henry was paramount. If so, however, we owe to him one of the most remarkable gifts ever bestowed by any statesman upon this country. The *Curia Regis* has been subdivided, but it has never been abolished. The Queen's Bench and the Court of Common Pleas are the creation of the genius of Becket.

"III. On the third question, viz. whether the chancellorship of Becket has left any traces of itself in the character of the common law, I shall be obliged to touch more briefly.

"There was no reason, in the nature of the case, why the reconstitution of the highest court of law should involve any material change in the law itself; yet if we compare the compilation called *Leges Henrici Primi*, which was drawn up in the latter part of Stephen's reign, with the treatise *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*, which appeared a few months before the death of Henry II. under the patronage of the Justiciar Glanville, we find variations so extraordinary that they read, as Madox remarks, like the laws of two different nations³; and Hallam, who endorses Madox's observation, adds himself,—

"The pecuniary compositions for crimes, especially for homicide, which run through the Anglo-Saxon code down to the laws ascribed by Henry I., are not mentioned by Glanville. Death seems to have been the regular punishment for murder as well as robbery. Though the investigation by means of ordeal was not disused in his time, yet trial by combat, of which we find no instance before the Conquest, is evidently preferred. Under the Saxon government suits appear to have commenced, even before the king, by verbal or written complaint; at least, no trace remains of the original writ, the foundation of our civil procedure. The descent of lands before the Conquest was according to the custom of gavelkind, or equal partition among the children; in the age of Henry I., the eldest son took the principal fief to his own share; in that of Glanville, he inherited all the lands held by knight service; but the descent of socage lands depended upon the particular custom of the estate. By the Saxon laws, upon the death of the son without issue, the father inherited; by our common law, he is absolutely and in every case excluded. Lands were in general devisable by testament before the Conquest, but not in the

¹ Madox, i. pp. 61, 62.

² This is also the conclusion to which Hallam inclines, though on somewhat different grounds. *Middle Ages*, Suppl. Notes, p. 299.

³ Madox, i. p. 181. See also the two following pages.

time of Henry II., except by particular custom.'
—*Middle Ages*, ii. p. 121.

"It is then sufficiently established that in the interval between the latter part of Stephen's reign and the time of Glanville the Anglo-Saxon laws disappear, and a code, based apparently upon the law of Normandy, but modified to some extent by the civil law, and more largely by local custom, takes their place.

"The question is, whether it is possible to ascertain by what steps the change was effected.

"It has been generally assumed, what indeed is the natural supposition, that the reign of Henry II. formed a period of important legislation, the result of which appears in Glanville.

"What positive evidence we possess, however, seems to me to point in another direction.

"In the first place, the chroniclers only speak of two occasions upon which any considerable enactments were made, viz. the assizes of Clarendon and Northampton. It would be more exact to describe these enactments as the statute of Clarendon confirmed at Northampton; and though the character of the legislation is very significant, the number of its permanent provisions is extremely small.

"Of any large body of statutes attributable to Henry II. there appears to be no mention. Nor do we find that in other countries anything like systematic legislation was going forward at this time. In all feudal countries the king's courts were gaining power, and the judicial element of the constitution was being regulated and strengthened: not so the legislative. And those who have observed how much the history of the Middle Ages runs in waves, so to speak; how uniformly all organic movements, political or intellectual, affect the whole of Latin Christendom, will, I think, attach weight to this observation. The latter half of the twelfth century was not an age of legislation. The truth is, indeed, that the passion for legislating which appears to seize feudal Christendom about the middle of the thirteenth century is the result of the revival of the study of Roman law in the twelfth, which gradually

cleared up in men's minds the distinction between the offices of the lawgiver and the judge. In the twelfth century, men's notions of legislation were marvellously inadequate. One well-known clause of the Magna Carta might serve for the text of a whole treatise. A charter which provides that men shall be judged "*per iudicium parium suorum vel per legem terræ*," confessedly places in the hands of a tribunal a discretion which amounts to an enacting power^m.

"Now the higher the tribunal, the more forcibly, of course, do these considerations apply. The *Curia Regis*, as the highest of our tribunals, would exercise the largest discretion.

"This is, at least, what the general state of the constitution at that time would lead us to expect. It is also that actually exhibited by the work already referred to under the name of Glanville, and which contains an account of the procedure observed by the *Curia Regis* while he was Chief Justiciar.

"The body of the work affords strong evidence, I think, that the course of law described in it had not been many years in operation. But what is most to our present purpose is a passage in the preface, in which he speaks of the sources of English law.

"After praising the impartiality of the courts, he says:—

"*Legibus namque regni et consuetudinibus de ratione introductis et diu obtentis, et quod laudabilis est talium virorum (licet subditorum) Rex noster non dedignatur consilio, quos morum gravitate, peritia juris et regni consuetudinibus suæ sapientiæ et eloquentiæ prerogativa, aliis novit præcellere, et ad causas mediante iustitia decidendas, et lites dirimendas, nunc severius, nunc mitius agendo, prout viderint expedire, ipsis rerum argumentis comperit cum ratione promptissimos. Leges namque Anglicanas licet non scriptas leges appellari non videtur absurdum (cum hoc ipsum lex sit quod principi placet et legis habet vigorem) eas scilicet quas super dubiis in consilio definiendis, procerum quidem consilio, et principis accedente auctoritate constat esse promulgatas.*"

^m This, at least, seems the only explanation of the phrase which makes the two clauses of the sentence exclude each other. Others are given by Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii. p. 169, (ed. 1841,) and *Suppl. Notes*, p. 293.

“Now, two points seem to me to be remarkable in this passage. First, that a discretionary power seems to be claimed for the sovereign of deciding what ancient customs were reasonable and worthy of retention. The language is not quite clear, and the writer’s leaning towards arbitrary power is evident, still I confess I can myself attach no other meaning to his words; and I find in them a certain amount of confirmation of my belief that the Anglo-Saxon laws current in Stephen’s time were got rid of not by legislation, but by decisions of the *Curia Regis*.

“The second point is, that he plainly confines the subject-matter of legislation to points considered doubtful by the *Consilium*, i.e. by the *Curia Regis*. And this is exactly what I have said that other considerations of a more general kind would have led me to expect. A doubtful point or a change of great importance was unquestionably referred to the Great Council, whose paramount authority was never denied; but a large amount of what any later age would have called legislation was simply created by the decisions of the *Curia*.

“When this practice began we cannot learn with certainty, but the probability seems to be that it began with the beginnings of the *Curia* itself; and there is one piece of evidence which appears to connect it with the chancellorship of Becket. It is taken from the verses in which John of Salisbury dedicates his *Polycraticus* to his friend the chancellor. The author addresses his book:—

“Ergo quærat lux Cleri, gloria gentis
Anglorum, regis dextera forma boni.
Quæsitus regni tibi Cancellarius Angli
Primus sollicita mente petendus erit.

Hic est qui regni leges cancellat iniquas,
Et mandata pii principis æqua facit.

Quod prohibet fieri, scelus est; quod præcipit, æquum,
Juraque pro placito stantque caduntque suo.’

“No satisfactory meaning, so far as I am aware, has ever been put upon these words. To me, I confess, they seem to ascribe to Becket at least the first steps of that revolution in our law which we know to have taken place during the reign of Henry II. But that legal revolution was nothing less than the foundation of our common law.

“In conclusion, I would ask you to call to mind the words with which I opened. I said that I was laying before you the results of an imperfect enquiry. My evidence is confessedly incomplete, and my inferences uncertain. I said also that the questions before us were of real historical interest. The points for which Henry and Becket contended have utterly passed away; neither in form nor in substance do they belong to the present day. But our law, and our courts of justice, and our chancellorship survive: if to Becket we owe any portion of these, we owe him, as Englishmen, a debt of gratitude which is probably but little suspected by many who linger over the scenes of his exile and his martyrdom.”

The Rev. C. W. Boase asked whether the power exercised by Alfred was not greater even than that exercised by Henry II. in annulling bad “customs.”

The Lecturer said a few words in reply, on which a short discussion ensued.

A vote of thanks to the Rev. W. Shirley, on the motion of the Chairman, was carried unanimously.

Second Meeting, Lent Term.

Feb. 19. The Rev. the MASTER OF UNIVERSITY, President, in the chair.

Rubbings of two curious brasses were presented by F. W. Fryer, Esq., St. Edmund Hall; one from Abenhall Church, Gloucestershire, so late as the time of James I., the other from Newland Church, Gloucestershire, of early fifteenth century, with the figure of a miner with his tools and basket, and a candle in his mouth, for the crest.

Also "A Manual of Monumental Brasses" was presented by the author, the Rev. Herbert Haines. This work originated in a catalogue of the rubbings of brasses in the Society's possession.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—

Rev. W. Ince, M.A., Fellow of Exeter College.

Rev. S. J. Hulme, M.A., Wadham College.

W. Salting, Esq., Queen's College.

G. Godfrey, Esq., Queen's College.

A. B. Donaldson, Esq., Oriol College.

E. F. Grenfell, Esq., Queen's College.

F. B. Butler, Esq., Merton College.

H. W. Challis, Esq., Merton College.

Professor Goldwin Smith then rose to make a few remarks on "Subjects for Inquiry connected with the History of the University and the Colleges," but the lecture was in fact a lucid and interesting summary of the history of the University.

He said he was sorry he had not already taken part in the proceedings of the Society: he had been one of those who had considered that the Oxford Architectural Society had done its work. It was really a great work that it had done, for to this Society, together with its sister Society at Cambridge, it was mainly owing that England was now covered with so many beautiful new churches, and so many of the old fabrics had been rescued from a state of ruin. But, at the same time, a Society with no particular work to do was apt to flag. The knowledge of architecture, which the Society has done so much in promoting, was now so generally diffused that the oracle had almost ceased to be needed. It was time therefore, he thought, that the Society should be enlarged—that it should take in a wider field of study, and so keep itself alive. Now there was no subject so closely allied to architecture as history; and, as they had been shewn, by the series of lectures which Mr. Parker delivered last

year, the domestic architecture of the country was the social history of the people embodied in brick and stone. Particularly, he thought, it became a Society like the present one he was addressing to pay attention especially to the history of the University. One would naturally pass from reviewing the history of the University as a whole to that of separate colleges. We have around us many means for the study of this history, in our monuments and archives. It would be well, he thought, if some plan could be devised by which access could be had to the numerous archives contained in our colleges. Some colleges have existed in an unbroken line of social and intellectual life for upwards of 600 years; a fact unparalleled in the history of almost any other class of institutions known.

Amongst domestic records a great deal more might be found relating to the history of the times than has yet been brought to light. Also in many archives and accounts possessed by some colleges a

vast deal of information was contained bearing upon details of academical life which would be both important and interesting. He thought it was the first thing the Society should set about. As a matter of fact, we had no good History of Oxford. It was a desideratum. Huber's History was perhaps the best. He was learned with regard to the medieval portion, but he clearly had not read the statutes of the colleges. Besides this, there was hardly any other book on the subject, which could rightly bear the name of History. There were the works of the Antiquarians,—the Lives of Founders, and such-like; but the great point was to get at the archives themselves. He, for his part, had taken more interest in the history of the University in later times, but still he would be glad to see the early and medieval history properly worked out. In time we might hope to see the Society take a wider range.

The study of history he considered was entering now upon a new phase; philosophy was brought to bear upon it. Now the new school of history might be of great service, and its results might be most beneficial; but it should not be left to have its origin exclusively in the school of materialists, and it should therefore find a home in the Universities. Oxford, it was true, had its bias; it might be considered to be all on one side; but then it would still be of value in order that its views might balance those of the other side.

We may yet derive much historical information from archives, which are now being searched for far and wide. He might instance Mr. Motley's book on the "Dutch Republic," recently published, to shew the value of that extensive research which was giving a new form to the study and philosophy of history. He thought there was clearly here work for a Society to do.

As to the archives of the University, we might perhaps be considered in some degree forestalled, as he had heard that the Master of the Rolls had applied for permission that some of the University documents should be entrusted to competent hands for editing, with a view of

being printed in the important series which the Government was issuing. He understood the matter would soon be brought before the University.

He would now turn to the special subject of the evening's discussion. The lecturer then said,—

"In starting I would say that my object is to map out, so to speak, the various periods through which the University has passed, and I hope that some here who may be more conversant with some of the periods to which I shall briefly refer will favour this meeting with more extended information. Oxford at first sight may seem unchanged, if we examine into her history, we shall find that she has passed through many phases, and I would divide them as follows:—1. The Earliest Period; 2. the Medieval Period, which, I would say, began in the early half of the thirteenth century; 3. then the Ante-Reformation Period; 4. then the period of the Reformation; 5. the Reformation to Charles I. and Laud; 6. the Laudian Period; 7. the Commonwealth; 8. then Charles II. to James II; 9. then the Hanoverian, or Jacobite; 10. lastly, the Revival of Study in the present century.

"Of the early history there is nothing much to be learnt. That Alfred was the founder of the University must rather be treated as a legend than an historical fact; yet it is singular what an influence the legend has had. Indeed, it has quite recently been ratified by a legal decision. It rests entirely upon a passage in Asser's 'Life of Alfred;' but there is little doubt but that passage was a forgery of later times. However, in a dispute which University College entered into some years ago respecting the Visitor, the Court, as is usual in such cases, gave a shell to each of the disputants and kept the oyster to themselves, declaring that the college was of royal foundation, (King Alfred being the founder,) and therefore the Crown was the rightful Visitor.

"Perhaps the only other authority is Buleus, who in his History of the University of Paris speaks of this foundation; but then, as he says Oxford sent for its

professors from Paris, he had a special reason in upholding this early date.

"The real history of the University begins at the medieval period, that is, the thirteenth century. No doubt there were previously to this a school and students congregated in Oxford, but we have nothing remaining to throw any light upon their mode of life.

"The medieval period is perhaps the most interesting of all; if anything of this can be recovered it will be a great gain; it was the period of scholastic philosophy, of which period we have no good history extant; there is one by a Frenchman named Hauréau, which treats the subject in a very dry manner, and it is also discussed in Martin's 'History of France.' This period was a sudden burst of intellectual life, of infantine ardour which endeavoured to comprehend everything in its grasp; it may be compared to the religious enthusiasm which produced the Crusades. Coupled with it is the history of the great Mendicant Orders, and their contest with the secular element. A thing very much to be desired is a good history of Western monachism; that of M. Montalembert is a poem written by a man of imaginative genius who has thrown a halo round a subject that he loves. The great Orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans threw themselves into the intellectual arena; their great object was to subdue all learning to the Church, but they, subdued by the spirit of learning, gave great names to liberalism.

"The political view of University history at this period is also most interesting. The movements of reform under Henry III. arose in Oxford; Grossteste was the head of the party of intellectual and ecclesiastical progress. The University is said at one period to have numbered 30,000 students; this number is no doubt exaggerated; for although several lived together in one room, there could not have been so many even counting in the numerous servants and dependants. Oxford, however, was then the centre of the intellectual life of the whole of England. Here it was that were pursued all the various studies of the time, including those of

the different learned professions, and not excluding alchemy. Modern Heidelberg, with its beer-drinking and duels, may perhaps give a faint idea of the society of Oxford of that day. The system of teaching may be called professorial; it was oral, not by books. This life in common, and the attrition of mind against mind, produced an intensity of intellect since that time unequalled. Knowledge was fresh, and everything seemed open to the diligent inquirer. Christendom was then a great theocratic state, at the head of which was the Pope and the Emperor of Germany; a faint shadow of the old Roman empire pervading the whole. Towards the end of this period were founded the early colleges; colleges indeed they can hardly be called; they were halls, or hostels, for the reception of students. Merton was the first real college, which owed its origin to Walter de Merton, the friend of Grossteste, the idea of which was partly taken from that of the hostel, and partly combined with the strict rule of a monastery.

"The system of degrees also took its rise then, and gave a stability to intellectual life; they were a sort of mental apprenticeship, and arose from the same genius which conceived the idea of a college. We then leave the period of turbulence and chimerical speculation and come to that of the early reformation, the times of Wycliffe and Wykeham. Wycliffe comes into contest with the great Mendicant Orders. Lollardism was very prevalent in the University at this time. Wykeham belonged to a new class of statesmen. At this period England becomes a separate and distinct nation in ideas, literature, and national life. Wykeham was a thoroughly English statesman and churchman. He first came into notice by his architectural abilities. He built Windsor Castle, and then turning ecclesiastic, he held a great mass of Church preferment. In New College, and that of St. Mary of Winton, we have the dawn of a classical education; the statutes of New College seem to be rather of a strict and ascetic nature; they shew that in those days it seemed perfectly natural and feasible to endeavour to form men's characters by

confining them to the observance of strict rules. Lincoln College is a monument of the struggle between the Wycliffites and the Catholic party; it was founded by a man who had originally been a Lollard, but who had left his party through horror at the excesses into which they were running. We then come to All Souls', which is rather a chantry than a college, Magdalen, Brazenose, and finally Corpus, where we have the learned part of the Reformation setting in. Then we come to Wolsey, the Leo X. of England, who invited to his great foundation of Christ Church all the most learned men of the day. Though himself of course opposed to the Reformed doctrines, he found that he had introduced them in introducing learning. Oxford then comes to a very sad point of her history; she was coerced by the King to give an opinion in favour of his divorce against the real opinion of the members, who were probably inclined to the Lutheran doctrines, which had made considerable progress here; that coercion was the beginning of a long series of disgraceful submissions; the University becomes a tool of the royal will; intellectual freedom was quenched, and intellectual life with it.

"Henry VIII., with all his bad points, had some sympathy with learning. The University suffered under the protectorship of Somerset, and under Queen Mary came the persecutions of the Reformers. It was probably to overawe any reactionary intellectual movement that Oxford was made the scene of the burning of Cramer, Ridley and Latimer. In her reign, however, we have two colleges founded, apparently without any party reasons, those of St. John's and Trinity. Down to the foundation of Wadham we find the upper classes wavering between the two faiths, and indeed the founder of that college is said to have doubted whether he should found a Catholic or a Reformed establishment. It is the last relict of the period of the great foundations of the Middle Ages. Under Elizabeth we had her favourite, Leicester, as our chancellor, who filled the University with his creatures. He was at the head of the Puritan party, and though himself a worthless and un-

principled man, he fostered them here to support his political aims. The University at that time was delivered over to polemical theology; intellectual life had migrated to the capital, as is shewn by the rise of our great dramatists, &c. In the Middle Ages the University had been as much a secular as a religious institution, but latterly the colleges had, as it were, swallowed up the University, and, by their system of compelling their fellows to take orders, had imposed a religious character on it.

"James I. allied himself with the extreme High Church party, which was headed by Laud, a man who, whatever may be his faults, and great they were, was yet of a force of character and intensity of purpose that leaves its mark on history. Here it was that he contended fiercely with the Puritan. Narrow and pedantic himself, he tried to rule despotically both Church and State in a way that soon afterwards laid both Church and State in the dust. Laud, however, was, in his own way, a University reformer; he reduced the governing body to an oligarchical form, and established a system of examinations which existed till the commencement of the present century. Through him it was that Oxford passed to the High Church party and joined the King.

"During the civil war there was less of academical life than at any other period. Oxford was a garrison town filled with successive Royalist forces, yet throughout this troubled period she behaved with a noble self-devotion, and threw herself heart and soul into a cause which she had once taken up.

"Cromwell has generally been misrepresented as an unintellectual and ignorant fanatic; but as he rose high in command the man of genius burst forth from the sectary. He knew and appreciated the value of a University; he fostered it during the short term of his protectorate, and though he introduced into it men of his own party, yet they were always the best men that he could find. It was his design to employ in the service of the State those youths who had most distinguished themselves in the University.

"At the period of the Restoration Oxford undeniably declined; physical science, however, flourished here; here it was that the Royal Society took its rise; physical science was then in fashion among the great; Charles II. and Prince Rupert both dabbled in it. Oxford then again passed over to the side which strongly supported the prerogative and divine right of the Crown; clear of the capital, and not hampered as the University of Paris by the proximity of the Court, she ought to, and might, have kept clear of politics.

"The Hanoverian or Jacobite period is the least interesting of all. Jacobitism is a very fine thing in exile, but to get drunk over a common-room fire in toasting the King is a very different aspect of the case. This period is almost a complete blank as far as regards intellectual life, though it contains some great names, such as that of Butler, and afterwards, in another way, of Wesley.

"But perhaps Horace Walpole's estimate was not very far from the truth when he compared some one 'to a dirty, idle, pedant, college fellow.'

"At the beginning of this century arose the great movement for the revival of learning, the credit of which is due chiefly to Evelyn, Provost of Oriel, Cyril Jackson, Dean of Christ Church, and Coplestone; then arose also the great religious movement which has only just subsided; and now we have entered anew on a real educational and practical period of our career.

"Such is a rude outline on which we may build up the fabric of our history, and there are many here to-night who must be much better acquainted than I am with the separate phases of it. Much may turn up to enlighten us in our inquiries by comparing the statutes of foreign Universities, and perhaps, if they should be laid open, from the archives of the Vatican; but here in Oxford we have at hand the materials on which we may work, in the Bodleian Library, and the collections of individual antiquaries which it possesses."

The President in conveying the thanks of the meeting to Professor Goldwin Smith,

commented on the vast number of topics which were held out for this Society to take into consideration, and at the same time the great interest they possessed.

The Rev. C. Adams made some remarks upon an expression used by the lecturer in reference to William of Wykeham's statutes. He could not agree they were remarkable for their "asceticism;" of course they would appear so if judged by the rules of life of the present day, but the proper way would be to regard them in connection with the austere mode of life which was then common. He thought that there was peculiarly an absence of asceticism. William of Wykeham himself, whether regarded as a Romanist or not, appears to have been a thoroughly good man, and was not likely to impose on others that which he did not himself perform. Many of the regulations were necessitated by the times in which they were made. These were not regulations strictly to be called his; he gave to the fellows an unwonted liberty to be absent: and you never find enjoined in his statutes such obligations as "penance," and such like; he may have belonged to the old set, and was no doubt consistent in his religious views, but he was clearly in advance of those around him; he was a reformer, but at the same time he would preserve all that was wise and good, and reform only the abuses.

Professor Goldwin Smith replied that "rigorous" was perhaps a better word, and more what he meant as applied to Wykeham's statutes. He thought that, even taking into account the habits of the time, they were severe. The Professor, however, fully concurred in considering Wykeham as the chief pioneer of the great educational movement which followed.

Dr. Bloxam called attention to some treasures in the way of MSS. in the Bodleian, which he hoped, by means of this Society, might be investigated more fully than they had been, and many curious points relating to the history of the University brought to light. There was a very curious MS. history of Oxford during the time of Cromwell, which he thought was very little known; and for the history of the

mode of life in Oxford during the first half of the last century (1730), there were about 130 MS. volumes of Hearne's Diary, full of interesting information. There was also a bundle of letters from one of the Nonjurors, (Dr. T. Smith,) which he thought would throw much light upon the history of the times.

Mr. Medd referred to some valuable extracts from the Rolls of Merton College, which he believed were read before this Society a year or so ago, by the present Bishop of Nelson. He would ask the Librarian if they were not printed, and whether the Society had a copy in their Library.

The Librarian said they were printed, but a copy had not been presented to the

Society. This omission arose probably from the very unsatisfactory state in which, during the last year, their library had remained. A copy would be presented to the Society at the next meeting, and he thought many other books would be given to them immediately their library was again in working order, which could not be till they had a permanent abode.

After some remarks from the President, fully agreeing in the effort that was now likely to be made to bring various points of history and archæology to bear on each other, but pointing out some of the difficulties which attended the examination of the archives of the colleges, the meeting separated.

Third Meeting, Lent Term.

March 5. The Rev. the PRINCIPAL OF NEW INN HALL, Vice-President, in the chair.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society :—

- J. O. Westwood, Esq., M.A., Hope Professor of Zoology.
- C. Faulkner, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., Deddington.
- J. S. Cartwright, Esq., Balliol College.
- M. Argles, Esq., Balliol College.
- J. F. Langford, Esq., Balliol College.
- C. H. O. Daniel, Esq., Worcester College.
- G. S. Dundas, Esq., Exeter College.
- E. Langdon, Esq., New College.

It was announced that, in accordance with the notice laid before the Society at the last meeting, the Committee had decided

That, in the case of New Members joining the Society who were not residents in Oxford, they would be expected to pay 10s. their first year, as if residents, and 5s. each year afterwards.

It was stated that this was no new Rule, but only an interpretation, to meet exceptional cases, of Rule XXVI. as it now stands.

A letter was read from the Rev. G. E. C. Styles respecting Thomas à Kempis, who he found had been an inmate of the priory at Daventry for about seventy years, and probably died and was buried there.

A letter also from the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, stating that a short time ago, close to Frome, an urn containing a great number of British coins was broken through by the plough; the treasure was scattered, but the

churchwarden, a silversmith in the town, supplied all the facts that could be gleaned respecting it. He describes his researches as follows:—

“Upon making every possible inquiry many times, it appears the coins were first seen by James Gunning the carter, on Monday, October 15, 1860. He found several gold coins while working on the ground, the plough having been used deeper than ever before. It seems most likely that the urn containing the coins was then turned up and broken all to pieces. Gunning thought nothing of the coins, yet marked the spot with a bough, and gave most of his coins to Hilliar. The next day Hilliar went and searched more carefully, and he found about 200 of the silver ones, all in a little heap together, without any gold coins, and only British coins. He says there were only some little bits of the urn, and more like black earth than an urn. There was only one small piece attached to a part of the bottom to shew it had been a vessel. The only piece I could get was about the size of a sixpence, a quarter of an inch thick, of dark coarse clay, not much burnt.

“After Hilliar, another man named William Gunning, a cousin of the first finder, searched deeper, and he found the piece of the bottom of the urn, with the gold and silver coins which I purchased of him. The soil is here very shallow, and not a foot deep, some of the coins being down on the rock. From the shallowness of the soil it is rather difficult to say which of the coins were above or under. The farm on which the coins were found is called ‘West Down Farm,’ the field is called ‘Twelve Acres,’ although not so large as that measure, and is the second field from the house, westwards, and about a quarter of a mile from the turnpike to-

wards the village of Leighton. The exact spot is exactly the highest part of the land about there, and the crown of the spot. About fifteen feet from it, an old yew-tree was lately cut down, and of which there are still traces from another tree growing up. Hollwell is a hamlet situated in a sort of gorge between some fine rocks, and is partly in the parish of Cloford, and partly in Nunney parish; the land on which the coins were found being in Nunney parish. As to the number of the coins, there were of the British silver coins:—Collected by Walker, 173; collected myself, 22; collected by Mr. Glencross, 7; found by Capt. Murchison, 8; I know besides of others, 8. Total, 218.

“Of British gold coins:—Sold to Walker by Hard, 2; collected myself, 4; ‘Toop’ had two from Gunning, (of these one went to Bath, and the other to Taunton,) 2; Her-ridge had one (since gone to Bath), 1. Total, 9.

“Of silver Roman coins:—I have seen in the possession of Gunning, 1; in the hands of Mr. Drew, 1; now in the possession of Herridge, 1. Total, 3.

“Of Roman copper:—In the hands of Hard, 1; had of Gunning, 1. Total, 2.

“These numbers may not be quite correct, but are only so far as I have seen myself.

“The finding of British coins is of very rare occurrence; with few exceptions they have mostly been found in this part of the country, and I believe a ‘treasure’ has never before been discovered. . . .

“JOHN W. SINGER.”

Mr. James Parker then read a Paper on “Walter de Merton, as Chancellor, Founder, and Architect.” He said:—

“Oxford may be said to owe its chief glories to four Chancellors of the realm.

“It was Chancellor Merton who introduced the collegiate system, Chancellor Wykeham who perfected it, and no two names can be found associated with its extension to be compared with Chancellor Waynflete and Chancellor Wolsey.

“Nor is it to these four chancellors that Oxford owes only the foundation, perfection, and extension of a system which placed her University in the foremost rank amongst similar institutions in Europe,—to these four she owes also her finest architectural monuments.

“Deprive Oxford of Merton, New Col-

lege, Magdalen, and Christ Church, and you would take away from her her chief attractions as a city of colleges.

“She owes those colleges, too, to their founders, not only as the results of their munificence, but in three out of the four cases in part, if not entirely, she owes them to their skill in architectural design also. . . .

“Hence, if we would judge them rightly, if we would wish to gain a conception of their wonderful energies, their unbounded talents, their appreciation of what was right, and just, and good, and great around them, we must regard them not only as chancellors, but also as founders of col-

leges, and as architects in the true sense of the word.

"Scarcely second to Walter de Merton as *chancellors* were William of Wykeham and William of Waynflete, scarcely his superior in talent was Cardinal Wolsey.

"Regarding them as *founders*,—although second in point of date, and having the advantage of Merton as a model, New College must always stand as a monument to a great man's genius and invention. It was not so great a step in advance beyond Merton as Merton was upon what went before; still it was a great stride. And, again, although Magdalen, for completeness in arrangement, for extent of territory, or for wealth as to endowment, may be far behind what Christ Church would have been had its founder been enabled to complete what he had begun, still, comparing the two as they now remain to us, and taking into account the priority of date, William of Waynflete may well be compared in this respect to the Cardinal.

"And thirdly, as *architects*. If Walter de Merton's plan was not so perfect as that adopted by Wykeham, Waynflete, or Wolsey, we must remember that he was the first in the field. And if Wolsey's was the more glorious of the four, we must not forget that he had Magdalen before him as a model, which was copied to some extent from New College. And if we owe probably the earliest introduction of the Decorated style of architecture to Walter de Merton, we are, according to the theory of many antiquaries, equally indebted to William of Wykeham for the Perpendicular style, a style which Waynflete may be said to have developed to perfection in Magdalen tower, (and its design is generally attributed to him,) and which, in its declining years, would still have had a monument to boast of worthy of its pristine vigour had Wolsey been able to carry out the design which he had conceived.

"Thus in the history of each of the four chancellors it is the same. To whatever they turned their mind, in that they seemed to excel."

He then proceeded to trace the various incidents of Walter de Merton's life, which touched upon his high fame in the three characters of chancellor, founder, and architect. He divided his life into four eras:—

"The 1st. From his birth to his appointment as deputy to the chancellor.

"The 2nd. From his acting as deputy to the end of his first chancellorship.

"The 3rd. The interval between his first chancellorship and his second.

"The 4th. His second chancellorship to his death.

"Of his life previous to his first chancellorship we know very little. Of his birth and boyhood we know nothing. Were it not for a chance entry amongst the Close Rolls, relating to an inquisition concerning some lands which he held, we should not have [known who were his father and mother. They seem, however, to have been moderately wealthy folk, living at Basingstoke, in Hampshire, but of no personal or family distinction, the whole of their history that has come to our knowledge being comprised in the few legal statements in that document."

He then noticed the passages in several documents which could throw any light upon the history of his early years. He considered that the word *clericus* in a deed of 1238 did not necessarily imply he was in holy orders at so early a date, though he must have been so previously to 1243, as he received preferment from Bishop Nicolas of Durham. As to his profession at that early date producing sufficient for him to purchase the lands, he thought that it was more probable the means for this were derived from the personal property left to him by his parents, who died about this time.

He next referred to the letter of introduction written by Adam de Marisco, which, although it did not tend to fix any date, shewed that Walter was intimate with the leading men among the Franciscans in Oxford, amongst whom were several men of distinction.

He then commented on the use of the term *clericus noster*, which is used in a document as early as 1249, and again in 1256, at which latter date Walter was known to hold the office of deputy to the chancellor, but he would not hazard any conclusions from the coincidence.

He summed up the early life of the chancellor thus:—

"We know that his father and mother lived at Basingstoke.

"We infer he was born there.

"We infer that he was educated in his early years at Merton in Surrey.

"We infer that he came to Oxford and mixed with learned men. So much so, I might add that, according to Dr. Ingram, tradition even points out the place of his

residence as Manger Hall, the site of which is now occupied by the 'Cross Inn' in Cornmarket-street.

"We know he took priest's orders and held preferment.

"We infer that he practised in law courts, and distinguished himself in the legal profession.

"We know he founded a hospital at Basingstoke in memory of his father and mother, who died and were buried there.

"We know that he purchased large estates in the neighbourhood of Merton in Surrey, shewing that he had a predilection for that place, whether it had been the scene of his school-days or not."

Arriving at the second era in Walter de Merton's life, he referred to the political state of the kingdom at the time that Walter was acting as deputy to the chancellor. He made a few remarks also on a copy of the proclamation which was preserved amongst the archives of the city of Oxford, enjoining the king's loyal subjects to submit to the authority constituted by the celebrated "Provisions of Oxford."

In 1260, at a very critical juncture of affairs, he shewed that after the king had summoned his parliament at Winchester and deprived the chancellor elected by the barons of his seals of office, and had to find another chancellor, there was no one able to quell the storm but Walter de Merton, who was at once installed in that high position. The year after he accepted the office the king went abroad, and amidst all the troubles and dangers of that period Walter was left the responsible person in the kingdom, as chancellor.

He then touched slightly upon the political events which preceded Walter's retirement from the chancellorship. The scene then changed. From the noise and continual broils of parties at court we turned to the quiet, peaceful village of Malden. It was now that the third era in Walter de Merton's life commenced.

He then noticed in detail the passages from the earliest charter which seemed to throw any light upon the founder's object, and especially such in the successive charters as would shew the gradual growth of the idea of a college in the founder's mind.

The "*In scholis degentes*," which occurs in the deed of gift, he contended, meant

the "schools" at some University, and he thought that Oxford no doubt was the place to which the scholars from Malden came.

He said there were probably many instances of manors at this time left for the purpose of maintaining students at Oxford, but the idea of providing a resident warden and chaplains, introducing thus as accessory a measure derived from the monastic system, was entirely due to Walter de Merton. The resident warden with his chaplains would have the care of the manor, and at the same time exercise an indirect control over the scholars, although they were living far away. He had them from the first called scholars of Merton, and thus a unity was promoted amongst them. They would have an interest in inciting each other to study, and each one would be responsible to the whole body for his progress in learning and proper behaviour, so as to bring no discredit upon the institution:—

"We can easily understand how Walter de Merton during the few years of rest from official labour watched the working of this system, how his active mind saw that there was one thing wanting to the perfection of his plan, and that one thing was transferring Malden to Oxford, that in Oxford itself his scholars should have a 'home.'

"I have said there was reason to believe that they had already a hall to themselves in Oxford, but a hall then, as it was called, was synonymous to a lodging, and even if a whole house, possibly one with only two rooms in it, an upper and a lower, of which I have no doubt many of the so-called halls at this early date consisted. But what Walter de Merton saw was wanted was more than this. A building which they could call their own, a chapel within their own premises, their chaplains with them; above all, their warden to advise, counsel, and direct them, and, as need might occur, rule, restrain, or punish them.

"He saw this long before he could remedy it, and he had, I think, as can be clearly shewn, devised a plan long before he could bring it to bear."

He then spoke of the several acquisitions of land on the spot now occupied by Merton college, describing their position:—"And the purchase of this land, and

the preparation for building a college in Oxford, completed," he said, "the third era of Walter's life."

The last part of Walter's career opened with his being appointed chancellor by the barons, during the absence of Prince Edward, who, however, in a letter extant, cordially approved their choice:—

"For two years he fulfilled the duties of chancellor—during the absence of the sovereign—and it is probably not too much to say, as in his former chancellorship, during this time he ruled the kingdom.

"It is singular, however, that on the return and coronation of the prince in 1274, Walter de Merton retires from the chancellorship. He accepts the see of Rochester, but his mind seems to be still in his work at Oxford.

"For it is at this date that the ratification by the founder and by King Edward the First is issued, the statutes being again revised.

"But in this there is a great and important addition; namely, he bequeaths also 'locum sibi habitationis et domum Oxoniæ ubi Universitas viget studentium.'

"No longer is Malden the only habitation the students can call their own, but they have now a *home* in Oxford."

After referring to the last body of statutes, the lecturer pointed out the claim of Walter de Merton to be called an architect. He shewed how Merton Chapel was in advance of its age. He said,—

"I do not mean to say that it is any very *decided* advance upon the usual character of the architecture at the time, because a sudden step occurs in no single instance in the history of architecture. But what I do assert is, that you cannot find any instance, either in England or abroad, of this character ascertained to be of a previous date.

"It amounts then to this, that at a very critical point in the history of architecture, Merton Chapel is an instance of a step in advance; it probably did much to direct the style in the course which it afterwards followed."

He compared it to Cologne Cathedral, which was building at this time. He shewed that the one did not copy from the other; the designs were quite different. Those of Merton College were thoroughly English; those of Cologne were essentially German. But there was

this connection, they were both one step in advance of the style prevalent at that age in their respective countries. He adverted briefly to Walter's friendship with Richard King of the Romans, which enabled him to keep *au courant* with the development of architecture, as naturally the attention of all European architects was then bestowed upon the great cathedral of Cologne. To continue the narrative, he said,—

"Walter had by this time, as we have seen, i. e. 1274, brought his students to Oxford. Though resident in Rochester, to which see he had been preferred, his heart must have been in Oxford, planning and rearing his college, watching no doubt anxiously the workmen, looking forward no doubt with fear, probably with hope, to the future. It was no slight task he had undertaken. It may seem easy to us, with so many examples around us, to design a college; but then it was not so. The experience of six centuries which we have was wanting to him, and yet how little, if we take all into account, have those six centuries improved upon the conception of that one mind.

"He was permitted, then, by the providence of God, to see his great work being accomplished; the technical and legal difficulties had all been surmounted, the ground purchased, the buildings rising, and, above all, his chapel in a sufficiently forward state to have its high altar dedicated.

"But the life of the great man was drawing to a close.

"Whether he felt it himself, whether for this reason he had already executed his will, or whether the accident which he met with in crossing a river, when he was thrown from his horse, cut him off in the vigour of life, certain it is that his days were now numbered.

"On Oct. 26, 1277, he added a short codicil to his will, leaving the residue of his property to his college. The day, or the day but one following, he expired,—we know not in what year of his age.

"The place, too, of his death is not exactly known. He was buried, according to his will, in his cathedral of Rochester."

His tomb, executed at Limoges, was briefly adverted to; but the buildings of the college, as they now stood, the lecturer would leave for some other time.

Mr. Shirley, in reference to the chancellorship of Walter de Merton, observed

that Bishop Hobbouse considered de Merton to have been twice made chancellor in Henry the Third's reign. His first appointment was in May, 1258, and the disturbances of the barons had commenced in April of the same year. Their demand to elect the chancellor had been first made on the 2nd of May, and de Merton was appointed on the 6th of May. This would seem to indicate that de Merton was appointed by the influence of the barons. These were divided into two parties; first, the extreme party, at the head of which was Simon de Montfort; and second, the moderate party, to which de Merton seemed to belong, for when in October, 1259, Montfort was again in favour at court, de Merton vacated the chancellorship. In 1261

he again took office, and it is supposed that it was owing mainly to him that a temporary lull took place in the disputes between the king and the barons. During this both the king and the more moderate of the barons seemed disposed to make concessions. The peace, however, was but hollow, and in 1263 hostilities again broke out, whereupon de Merton again vacated office. This would indicate that de Merton owed his tenure of office to the influence of the moderate baronial party, and that he was not an extreme partisan either of the king or of the barons.

The Chairman returned the thanks of the meeting to Mr. James Parker for his interesting paper. The meeting then adjourned.

IN accordance with Rule XXVIII. the Committee beg to issue a statement of their accounts for the past year.

It will be seen that certain extraordinary expences have been incurred during the year, consequent upon the Society leaving its rooms in Holywell-street. To meet these, however, the Society have to acknowledge a very liberal response to a circular issued by them. At the commencement of the October term their accounts, including their liabilities, shewed a deficit of more than £50. They have therefore great gratification in being able to state that by donations from former members, by renewed subscriptions from life members, and the payment of several arrears, in addition to the subscriptions received from new members, of which they have to report a very large accession, the whole of their liabilities have been met, leaving a small balance in hand.

By the kindness of the Curator of the Ashmolean Museum, in permitting the meetings of the Society to be held in that building, the expences of the Society, should such permission be continued to them, will be considerably reduced.

On the other hand, as they hope that the amount of subscriptions will be the same, they propose to issue each term a fuller report of their proceedings.

H. STYLEMAN LE STRANGE,
Hon. Sec.

First Meeting, Easter Term.

May 8. The Rev. the MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, President, in the chair.

The following presents were announced :—

“Lewin’s Illustrations of Kilpeck Church, Herefordshire.” Presented by the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett.

“The English Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century,” by A. J. Beresford Hope. Presented by the Author.

“Lyminge in Kent,” by C. Roach Smith. Presented by the Author.

It was announced that Mr. H. W. Challis, of Merton College, had been elected Secretary in the room of Mr. E. S. Grindle, resigned.

The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Society :—

Rev. C. Humphrey Cholmeley, M.A., Magdalen College.

Rev. H. Ramsden Bramley, M.A., Magdalen College.

A. T. Barton, Esq., Corpus College.

John E. Field, Esq., Worcester College.

Charles Bigg, Esq., Corpus College.

E. Chapman, Esq., Merton College.

H. W. Moore, Esq., Merton College.

Professor Goldwin Smith then delivered an interesting lecture, upon the “Different Views of the Character of Cardinal Pole.”

The following brief account of his remarks has been supplied for the Report by the Lecturer :—

He read a passage from Burnet as giving the ordinary view of Pole’s character, and referred to Mr. Froude as giving the other view. He observed that Mr. Froude’s determination to clear the character of Henry the Eighth involved the necessity of condemning all those with whom Henry the Eighth had come into collision.

He remarked that in estimating any character of these times two things must be taken into account. Allegiance, especially the allegiance of Churchmen, was divided between the Pope and the King ; and the world had not yet learned the doctrine of toleration. The first remark bore on the charge of treason made against Pole, the second on the charge of persecution.

The Lecturer then proceeded to some specific charges which had been made against Pole ; the charge of misbehaviour towards the King in the question of the

divorce, of which, it was submitted, there was no proof ; the charge of attacking the King in the book *De Unitate Ecclesie*, which was met by evidence shewing that the same view of the King’s government was taken by impartial witnesses ; the charge of shrinking from personal danger, which was met by evidence proving that Pole, while taking part against the King, was in personal danger of assassination ; the charge of extravagant fanaticism, which was met by evidence shewing that Pole belonged, like Contarini, to the moderate party in the Church ; and the charge of persecution, which was met by evidence from Foxe and others, shewing that Pole, though partly responsible in his official capacity for the persecutions, had personally taken the side of humanity.

The Lecturer concluded by recommending the period for study, as one of which an impartial history still remained to be written. He pointed to the especial interest attaching to the moderate party in the Church to which Pole belonged, and which had en-

deavoured to bring about reform without a breach of the unity of Christendom.

The PRESIDENT returned the thanks of the Society to Professor Goldwin Smith, and made some remarks respecting Pole's book *De Unitate Ecclesie*.

PROFESSOR STANLEY said that Mr. Froude was out of England, or he would no doubt reply. He certainly must be allowed the merit of candour, because it seems that he himself has supplied most of the documents which have been used against him. The account of the moderate party, he

added, was certainly a most interesting one, and well deserving of study; and it would be curious to observe how those moderate views which Pole held, passed off into those which he adopted on his return to England.

The MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE made some remarks respecting the European view of Pole's character as a practical reformer, which were followed by some observations from the PRINCIPAL OF NEW INN HALL, and the PRESIDENT; after which the Meeting was adjourned.

Second Meeting, Easter Term.

May 15. The Rev. the MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, President, in the chair.

A letter was read from the Incumbent of Dorchester respecting the renewed exertions which are being made to continue the work of restoration there.

The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Society:—

The Hon. A. J. R. Anson, Ch. Ch.

R. M. Gawne, Esq., Ch. Ch.

Rev. W. Chambers, M.A., Worcester College.

Rev. J. E. T. Rogers, M.A., Magdalen Hall.

Rev. J. Bosworth, D.D., Ch. Ch., Professor of Anglo-Saxon.

Professor Westwood then called the attention of the meeting to a large number of very careful rubbings from the curious early crosses and inscriptions which occur in Wales. These he had brought to illustrate the remarks he had to make upon the early Christian Monuments of Wales contrasted with those of the Catacombs of Rome, of which an account had been given at a previous meeting by the Rev. J. W. Burgon.

The following abstract of the remarks has been kindly supplied to the Society by the Lecturer:—

Of course, in number and importance the inscriptions of Wales will not bear a comparison with those of Rome, but still they are very valuable in throwing light upon a subject of great importance and interest, namely, the introduction of Christianity into Britain.

The existence of a Church in Britain previous to the arrival of St. Augustine is admitted on all hands, and there is little doubt that the British Church still maintained its separate existence in Wales long after St. Augustine had Romanised

the greater part of the country. There is another point to be remarked, and one which is distinctly recorded, that the British Church was assimilated to the Church of the 'Scots,' i. e. Irish, and very different from the Church of Rome: the controversies which took place shew at once that important points of difference existed between them.

The Lecturer had, at much labour, sought out the stones which remain as records of those times, some of which seem not to have been touched since the days they were put up. Mr. Burgon in his lecture had already pointed out the peculiarities of the inscriptions in the Cata-

combs, both as to formulæ and paleography: those in Wales differ exceedingly both as to the one and the other from those in Rome, yet of course there were Romans for many years in Wales. This is a matter difficult to explain. Then, again, there is not a single indication of Christianity to be met with upon one of the hundreds of Roman tombstones in Britain, although the Romans occupied this country for 400 years. Either all the Christian evidences have been destroyed, or there were no Christians amongst the Roman colonists, or else they inscribed no Christian element upon their tombstones. The British certainly copied the Roman character of writing, for no Bardic writings are found, all inscriptions being in Roman letters; instead, however, of being inscribed in the Roman rustic capitals, (employed to such a great extent in the Catacomb inscriptions, that the writer only recollected one amongst all those exhibited by Mr. Burgon which was not in such characters,) the earliest British and Romano-British inscriptions were written in ordinary Roman capitals, often of a very debased form. [To contrast with this the Lecturer exhibited two Roman inscriptions found in Wales. In the one from Tomen y Mur, now in Miss Roberts' garden at Maentwrog, the letters P and B were of the most elegant Roman capital form, as now used in printing, whilst on another stone at the same place the word PERPETUA is written in tall narrow capitals, not much unlike the rustic Roman letters.] At a later period even the debased Roman capitals were rejected in favour of the Anglo-Saxon or Irish minuscule characters, of which there are no instances in the Catacombs; indeed, scarcely a single minuscule letter of any kind is ever found in Roman inscriptions.

Again, not only was an *early* influence from Rome evident in the form of the letters themselves in the early inscriptions in Wales, but we find the Latin language constantly endeavoured to be adopted in these monuments: generally, however,

the Latinity is as debased as the characters in which it is written. Moreover, it seems evident that in most instances the prevalent taste for the employment of a language probably regarded as superior to their own induced these early Christians to give a Latinized form to their names when inscribed on their tombstones.

There are only two or three early inscribed stones in Scotland, but one of these is especially of high importance as an historical example; the general absence of dates upon these monuments being one of the great difficulties in determining the history of these curious stones.

The Scotch stone in question is known by the name of the Cat-stone, and was found a few miles to the west of Edinburgh. It is inscribed to the memory of Wecta, the great-grandfather of Hengist and Horsa, as follows: IN [H]OC T[Û]-MULO JAC[E]T VETTA F[ILIVS] VICT . . . Both these names are recorded in the Saxon Chronicle, where, under the year 449, we read, "Hengist and Horsa were the sons of Wihthgils, Wihthgils son of Witta, *Witta of Wecta*, Wecta of Woden: from this Woden sprang all our royal families, and those of the South-Humbrians also." We may infer therefore that this inscription is to be dated about the beginning of the fifth century. The letters of this inscription are decidedly Roman capitals, though somewhat debased in their form, and several of the letters are conjoined, as is usual in the early inscriptions. This stone, therefore, both as to the formula and form of the letters, affords an excellent medium of comparison with the subsequently described stones of Wales.

It is very unusual to find stones inscribed only with the single name of the person commemorated. Such, however, is the case in the "Gurmarc" inscription at Pen Arthur, near St. David's, as well as in the gravestone inscribed PASCENT, a warrior recorded by Nennius, still existing in the churchyard of Towyn; also in

* The only early monument written in the Welsh language is the famous stone of St. Cadvan, of which a rubbing was exhibited. This

has all the four sides inscribed,—the inscription being considered the earliest known specimen of the language of the Principality in existence.

the gravestone of "BRANCOT," which, although ornamented with a beautiful interlaced cross, had been discovered by Mr. Westwood used as a coping-stone of the churchyard wall of Baglan, near Neath.

Palimpsest inscriptions are of very rare occurrence. Such is, however, the case with the Port Talbot stone; one side of which bears a truly Roman inscription to the Emperor, IMP. MAXIMINO INVICTO AUGUS,— whilst the reverse was at a subsequent period inscribed HIC JACIT CANTUSUS PATER PAULINUS, evidently intended for the father of Paulinus, a name which constantly occurs in early Welsh records: although according to the usual formula it is the son who is commemorated, here both names are written in the nominative case. The peculiarity of the name of the deceased person being often written in the genitive case was alluded to. It has indeed been supposed by one writer to prove that the names really ended in *i*; but more generally it is considered to imply the omission of the word *corpus*. Thus the stone which, before it had been carefully read, led to much discussion, having been supposed to be dedicated to Jove, is inscribed in the genitive form—AIMILINI TOVISACI: this stone is now removed to Pool-park, Clocaenog. So also we have SEVERINI FILII SEVERI on a stone formerly standing at Llan Newydd, Caermarthen, but now moved to Traws Mawr. So also in the Maen Madoc inscription we have the formula DERVAC— FILIVS JUL— —IO JACIT, and in the Llanfechan stone still more correctly TRENACATVS IO JACIT FILIVS MAGLAGNI.

Another inscription, in which the genealogy is especially set forth, occurs on a stone on the Margam mountain in Glamorganshire, as follows: ✠ BODVOC — HIC JACIT FILIVS CATOTISIENI PRONEPUS ETERNALI VEDOMAV—, which the lecturer read, "In the name of Jesus Christ. The body of Bodvoc lies here, the son of Catotisirnus, the great-grandson of Eternalus Vedomavus." It has indeed been suggested that Bodvoc was the son of Catotus and grandson of Sirnus, and that the two last words of the inscription were intended for the "eternalis domus," which occurs,

although very rarely, in Roman inscriptions; but as the word Eternus occurs on several stones as a proper name, and as we have such names as Vendumagli, Mr. Westwood considered the former to be the correct reading of the inscription. It is to be observed that the name of Bodvoc is found upon certain early gold British coins, which have been considered coeval with those of Cunobelinus. It is of course only a conjecture that the stone records the coiner of these pieces.

The usual formula of the early Welsh inscriptions is simply HIC JACIT A filius B. The termination 'in pace,' derived from the Jewish inscriptions and of such constant occurrence in the Catacombs, nowhere occurs in Wales. The total absence of any indication of a date, the omission of the age of the deceased, and of the names of the person or persons by whom the grave was erected, are all distinctive characters, proving the want of a common origin of the Roman and British formulæ; we miss also the tender expressions and epithets so common in the Catacombs.

The Llangadwaladr inscription in Anglesea affords an early instance of pompous epithets as rare as it is absurd: CATAMANUS REX SAPIENTISSIMUS OPINATISSIMUS OMNIUM REGUM. The paleographic character of this inscription is very unlike any of those previously referred to, which are debased Roman capitals, this being in the rude minuscule letters formed between the rounded uncial and cursive forms in which almost all the oldest Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts are written, and of which no examples occur in the Catacomb inscriptions.

The next inscription, from Llanfihangel Cwm Du, CATAVUS HIC JACIT FILIVS TEGERNACUS, affords an instance in which even the father's name is given in the nominative case, and in which the forms of the Roman capital letters become more debased, the *o* being square and the *g* minuscule shaped.

The monogram of the name of the Saviour, formed of the Greek letters $\chi\rho\iota$ conjoined, which is of such constant occurrence in the Catacombs, occurs, to the knowledge of the Lecturer, only once

in Wales, upon a stone lately found at Penmachno. The monogram is placed at the head of the inscription, HIC IACIT CARAUSIUS IN HOC CONGERIES LAPIDUM. And it appeared not improbable that this is the famous governor Carausius, with whose coins we are so familiar.

The names of females occur on several of these tombstones, as in the Llangefni inscription, CULIDORI IACIT ET ORVVITE MULIER SEOUNDI, referring either to the second wife of Culidorus, or to the wife of Secundus. Other females are recorded in the Llandyssil, Spittal, and Pentre Voeias (Brochmael) inscribed stones.

At Caerwys is a stone inscribed HIC IACIT MULIER BONA NOBILIS; and at Llanfihangel y Traithau is the sepulchral stone of WLEDEE MAT[R]IS ODELEV QVI P'MVS EDIFICAVIT HANC EOLA IN TE[M]PORE EWINI REGIS.

Another more interesting instance occurs in the inscription of the Church of Llan-sadwrn, being the tombstone of the patron Saint of the Church himself, HIC BEA[TUS] SATVRNINVS SE . . . IACIT ET SVA SA . . . CONIUX . PA[CR ?]; thus indicating that the Saint was married.

Many of the simplest inscriptions in Wales record only the name of the deceased and that of his father, without any indication of Christianity; but others, precisely similar in the formula and character of their letters, are marked with a cross, simple or ornamented, and sometimes of the Latin, but far more commonly of the Greek form, with the four limbs of equal length. The Bodvoc stone above-mentioned bears one of the last-named crosses; whilst in the Devynock stone there are two cruciform ornaments of the Greek type at the end of the inscription PUGNIACIO FILI VENDONI, and which from the style of the letters can hardly be later than the fifth or sixth century. Another stone at Merthyr Tydvil bears the simple historical name AETBEN, (Arthgen,) preceded by an ornamental cross. Occasionally we find two names simply inscribed, quite in the Roman fashion, as PVMPEIUS CA-RANTORIVS in Roman capitals.

The Christian character of some of these stones is still more forcibly evinced in the terms of the inscription itself. One of the noblest is that of St. Paulinus, now at Dolocauthy. It is to be read SEBVAIV



Inscription to St. Sadwrn.

FIDEI PATRIEQ SEMPER AMATOR HIC PAVLINVS IACIT CULTOR PIENTISSIMVS EQVI.

In the Bedd Porus stone near Trawsfynydd we read POBIVS HIC IN TUMVLO IACIT HOMO XPIANVS FVIT. The contraction of the word Christianus is remarkable, the x being formed by the rounded stroke of the P, emitting two branches united to the I near its top. In the Pen Arthur stone we have a large ornamental Greek cross inscribed within a circle, hav-

ing the letters XPS on the outside of the circle at the top, the single name GUMARC in Anglo-Saxon letters beneath the cross. At first the letters were considered to be Hebrew, which arose from the stone being placed upside down. The only instance the Lecturer was acquainted with in which the Roman formula "Requiescit" was used, is a very much injured stone at Hen Eglwys, Anglesea, of which only FILIVS AV . . . [A ?]NIMA REQUIES . . . are decipherable.

The name given to the tomb itself, or to the commemorative stone, deserves notice. Thus, whilst in general an upright stone bears the simple "hic jacit," in some rare instances we read "hic in tumulo jacit," and "in hoc tumulo." In the Llanfihangel y Traethau inscription we find "H. est sepulchrum," &c.; in the Carausius inscription "—jacit in hoc congeries lapidum;" in the Bronweg stone "—erexit hunc lapidem;" whilst in the later instances we have "Hec est crux cristi quam preparavit—"

A remarkable peculiarity, first pointed out by the Lecturer some years ago, distinguishes these Welsh inscriptions from those of Cornwall, the Isle of Man, Cumberland, and Scotland, and assimilates them to many of the early Irish inscriptions. In some of the Welsh inscriptions the edge of the stone appears to be notched irregularly; but this is not accidental, since, on examining the stone carefully, it will be found that these marks were made with a purpose; and on closer examination it has been found that in their various arrangement they form an alphabet, to which the name of Ogham has been applied, and to the explanation of which Dr. Graves has devoted a great degree of attention. In Wales, however, a bi-lingual stone has been fortunately found, at the church of St. Dogmael, near Cardigan. The Latin runs thus,—SAGRANI FILII CUNOTAMI. The Ogham translation and characters on the edge are identically the same, with one exception, and that a very natural one,—instead of FILII we find the Celtic equivalent MAQI, (= *Mac*: Welsh, *Mab*.)

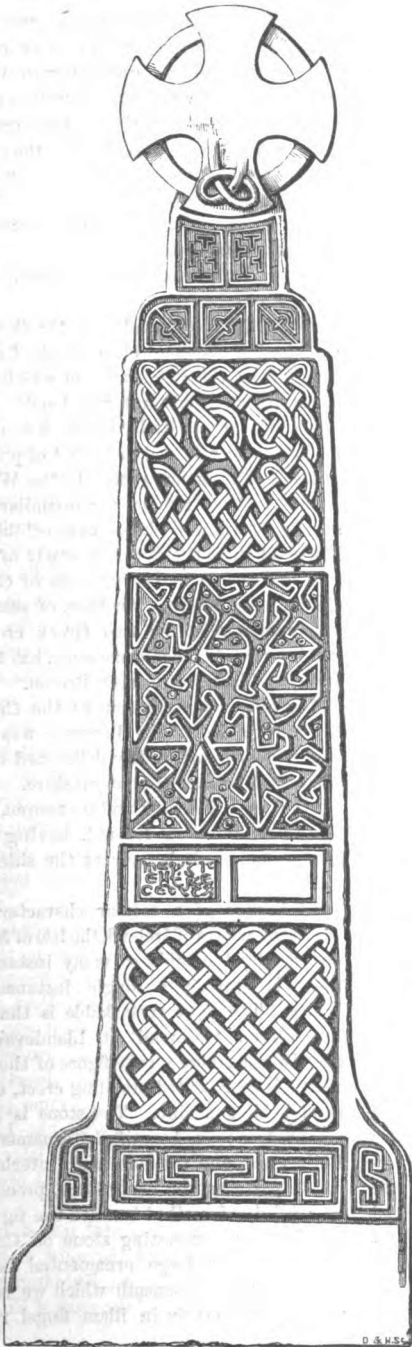
The Llan Vaughan stone, TRENACATUS IC JACIT FILIUS MAGLAGNI, also bears an Ogham marginal inscription, which commences TRENACATLO. The Trallong inscription, which reads CUNOCENNI FILIUS CYNOGENI HIC IACIT, has Ogham characters, the commencement of which is to be read CYNACEN. This stone, which cannot be later than the fifth or sixth century, bears a Greek cross within a circle, accompanied by a long stem running down the centre of the stone.

At a somewhat later period these stones

became far more ornate in their character. The two beautiful crosses, of which drawings of the full size (13 or 14 feet high) were exhibited at the end of the room, shew great beauty of workmanship; but unfortunately the inscriptions, although in fair preservation, are not to be deciphered, consisting in one case (that at Nevers) of initials; the other (Carew) has a regular inscription, hitherto undeciphered, [see opposite page].

There are two peculiarities to be mentioned respecting the ornaments of the Welsh crosses and ornamental stones. We never find in Wales the pattern formed of several spiral lines converging to a point, which is so common in Ireland; nor do we ever, secondly, find representations of animals, which are also very common features in the Irish and Scotch crosses. The patterns consist chiefly of the ribbon pattern, most elaborately interlaced, or of a Chinese-like pattern, formed of diagonal or straight lines, which seem rather to be the bars of separation between ribbons bent at right angles or obliquely. Unlike the Irish and Scotch crosses, also, the Welsh ones scarcely ever bear representations of the human figure, whilst the greater number of them are inscribed, thus remarkably differing from the Irish and Scotch ones. It is also to be noticed that the ornamented crosses are divided into compartments, and exactly the same arrangement is found in the great initial illuminated letters of the most elaborate of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS. (specimens of which were exhibited), especially from the Gospels of Lindisfarne, long preserved in the cathedral of Durham, and the Gospels of Mac Regol, in the Rushworth MSS. at the Bodleian Library, from which it was quite evident that both classes of productions had been executed under the direction of the same artists and at the same period. When it is remembered that the Lindisfarne Gospels were written not later than A.D. 721, the importance of this observation will be evident.

Some of the ornamental stones in the south of Wales are of the most elaborate and beautiful character. Rubbings of the great wheel-cross, and the cross of Einiaum



Cross at Carew. West Side.



Cross at Carew. East Side.

at Margam, the cross of Howelt at Llantwit, St. Samson's cross at the latter place, inscribed with the historic names of St. Samson, Iltud, Samuel, and Ebisar, and the elaborately ornamented cross of Eudon, were exhibited, as well as of the two small stones at Penally, of which figures are given, the inscription upon one



Incised Stones from Penally, near Tenby.

of which is to be read, *HEC EST CRUX QUAM EDIFICAVIT MAIL DOMNO . . .*, the letters being of the Hiberno-Saxon minuscule form. The two kinds of ornament above described will also be here noticed.

The majority of the early Welsh stones, as we have seen, bear Latinized names, and inscriptions intended to be in the Latin language. Scarcely a single instance, however, is known of their occurrence otherwise than in a debased form. A few additional instances of this were given: thus at Cefn Amwlch, Anglesea, we read, *SENACUS PRBB HIC JACIT CUM MULTITUDINEM FRATREM*, probably commemorative of

the massacre of the inhabitants of a religious house. At Margam a small wheel-cross is inscribed *IN NOMINE DNI CRUX CRISTI PRPARAVIT GRUTHE PRO ANMA AHIST*, evidently to be read, "In nomine dei summi crucem cristi preparavit gruthe pro anima ejus." So, again, the very beautiful wheel-cross at Llantwit, erected by Howelt for his father Rees, is inscribed, *IN NOMINE DI PATRIS ET SPERETUS SANTI [SPIRITUS SANCTI] ANO CRUCRM HOWELT PRPARAVIT PRO ANMA RES PATRES EUS.*"

It will be recollected that Mr. Burgon exhibited a rubbing of a single female figure from the Catacombs, in which the arms are uplifted and the hands outstretched, an attitude which has ordinarily been considered to be that of prayer in these early monuments. In the Welsh stones we have two or three similar instances, of which rubbings were exhibited. In one of these the figure is nearly of life size, and occurs in the grounds of Gnoll Castle, near Neath. Another, of smaller size, accompanied by two Greek crosses and interlaced ribbon ornaments, has been found at Llanfrynach, near Brecon.

The only representation of the Crucifixion with which the Lecturer was acquainted is found rudely delineated on a stone at Llangan, Glamorganshire. The figure is very distorted and grotesque, and similar to some in Ireland, having the sponge and spear-bearers at the sides of the cross.

Of figures of a secular character, of which the crosses of Ireland, the Isle of Man, and Scotland exhibit so many instances, there is scarcely a single instance in Wales. The most remarkable is that of the warrior 'briarmail' at Llandeavillog, near Brecon: here a rude figure of the deceased is represented standing erect, each hand holding a club. The stone is surmounted with a beautifully ornamented Latin cross, and the sides with interlaced ribbon patterns, the name itself, preceded by a †, being inscribed beneath the figure. Another very interesting stone on Caldy Island bears a large ornamented Latin cross at the top, beneath which we read, "Et Singno crucis in illam fingsi rogo

omnibus ammlantibus ibi exorent pro anima Catuoconi." The last-mentioned stone, and others indicating the doctrine of prayers for the dead, are all written in the peculiar Hiberno-Saxon minuscule characters of the eighth and ninth centuries; they are, moreover, confined to the south of Wales. This may, in fact, be regarded as the only peculiarity exhibited by these stones as to the religious doctrines of the early Welsh Christians, beyond the evident adoration of the cross itself, (of which numerous instances occur in the figures of the sacred emblem singly, sometimes twice or thrice, represented on the same stone,) and the acknowledgment of the Trinity upon Howelt's cross above-mentioned.

In conclusion, it may be remarked, that although the early Welsh Christians adopted the letters of Rome, as well as the Latin language itself, for the inscriptions on their tombstones, we find both debased in their character. The phraseology employed on the monuments is unlike that of the Catacomb inscriptions, the ornamental details of the Welsh stones are nowhere met with in early Italian remains, and the Christian doctrines set forth on them are only such as could have been learned from Rome at a period preceding the mission of St. Augustine. In this point of view the stones of Wales merit especial attention, as affording unsuspected evidence of the truth of the early history of the British Church.

The PRESIDENT asked if the inscribed stones which had been exhibited were found in any one particular part of Wales, and whether in churchyards or not?

In reply, the Lecturer stated that they were found in all parts of Wales, but

more numerous in the South than in the North; that their position was by no means confined to churchyards, but they were scattered sometimes in the wildest parts of the country, difficult of access.

The SENIOR PROCTOR differed from Mr. Westwood as to the dates of the inscriptions; he considered that the identification from a mere resemblance of the name inscribed to that of an historical personage rather hasty, e. g. the monument to Bodvoc was probably of an earlier date to any with a cross of the kind found on it. He threw doubts also on the stone to Carausius, and the name of Paulinus was so frequently repeated that it was dangerous to identify from that alone. He also asked what the fathers of Hengist and Horsa could have been doing in Scotland? The Segrans stone, he remarked, contained a Celtic word, *Mac*, in modern Welsh it is *Map*, which raises a suspicion that the inscriber of the stone was no Welshman.

The LIBRARIAN suggested that the cross referred to might have been added at a later date, and mentioned the instances in Brittany, where the missionaries had carved crosses on the Menhirs.

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH referred to the stone with the name of Carausius inscribed upon it. If it was a monumental inscription it could scarcely be that of the Emperor Carausius, who was slain, if he remembered rightly, near London. He also asked some questions respecting the connection between the workmanship on Irish and Welsh crosses.

After some remarks from the PRESIDENT on the ornamental character of the stones, the meeting was adjourned.

* * * *For the loan of the Wood Engravings in this and the following report the Society is indebted to Mr. J. H. Parker.*

First Meeting, Trinity Term.

May 22. The Rev. the MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, President, in the chair.

The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Society:—

The Hon. A. Legge, Ch. Ch.
 R. S. Cobbett, Esq., Pembroke College.
 Ralph Blakelock, Esq., Lincoln College.
 Rev. J. P. Tweed, M.A., Exeter College.
 Luke Rivington, Esq., Magdalen College.
 J. T. Berwick, Esq., Queen's College.

The President announced that a copy of a French work, by M. César Daly, had been received by the Society.

The President, after announcing that the Annual Meeting of the Society would be held this term in accordance with the custom which, till within the last few years, had been maintained, called upon Mr. Parker to read his paper, "On the Remains of the City Walls and Fortifications of Oxford."

The following is an abstract of the lecture:—

"It was the opinion of the late Dr. Ingram that the city of Oxford was originally Roman, and was fortified in Roman times; he supported this opinion by the ground-plan of the fortified town, which was a regular parallelogram, with an entrance in the centre of each face, the regular plan of a Roman camp; also that many Roman remains have been found in the neighbourhood. This appears to me insufficient evidence, and the probability is that the foundation of the town is of later origin. Many Roman customs were continued long after the fall of the Roman power, and among others this simple plan of laying out a town is likely to have been one. The four streets meeting in the centre and forming a cross, the market-place near to the middle of the town, with the town-hall on one side and the city church on the other, appears to be only the natural plan following, as of course, from the four gates.

"The Roman roads in the neighbourhood of Oxford, so carefully described by the late Professor Hussey, seem also to disprove the existence of any considerable town here at that period.

"The road from the Roman town of Alchester, near Bicester, to the Roman station at Dorchester, passes at about two

miles and a-half to the east of Oxford, and may be distinctly traced for a considerable distance near Headington, but has no deviation towards Oxford. . . .

"Being built, however, on the Roman plan, but having no traces of Roman walls, we may fairly attribute its origin to a period shortly after the departure of the Romans. We find frequent mention of it in Anglo-Saxon history, it appears to have been fortified before the time of the Norman Conquest, and it is said to have stood a siege against the Conqueror. But the fortifications of those days consisted usually of a deep trench and vallum of earth, with a wooden palisade at the top of it. Such fortifications continued in common use even in the thirteenth century; we find them mentioned in the siege of Ludlow Castle at that period, and in many other instances.

"The twenty mural mansions mentioned in the Domesday Survey as exempt from the house-tax to the Crown, because they were charged with the repair of the city walls, are a proof that the fortifications were kept up at that time, but the walls which they were bound to keep in repair were the wooden palisades and the earthworks. It is a curious coincidence, that the most scientific modes of defence adopted by the modern engineers have brought us back to the primitive practice; earthen mounds

and trenches, with gabions of basket-work, are found to be after all the most effectual protection.

"Another ground beside the abstract probability for believing that the walls of Oxford were not of stone either in the Roman or in the Norman period is, that we have no remains of masonry of either of those periods, although considerable parts of the walls of medieval Oxford remain.

"In the 13th, 16th, and 21st Henry III., royal licences were granted for building a wall, as appears by the entries in the Patent Rolls, of 'Muragium pro Burgen-sibus Oxoniæ.' He also granted market tolls in aid of the expense, so that the stone walls were probably going on during a great part of this reign. In the 44th of Edward III., 1370, or about a century after their erection, we find mention of a grant from the Abbot of Osney towards their repair; and again, in the time of Richard II., we find in the Close Rolls an order to the Mayor and Corporation to repair their walls, which are said to be in a ruinous condition, and a fresh tax was levied for the purpose.

"The plan is the usual one of that period: a curtain-wall, with an alure or walk on the top, protected by a parapet, and round towers at regular and short intervals. These towers are commonly called bastions, and the term is convenient, though it is used in a somewhat different sense in modern fortification. Immediately within this wall was a narrow street or lane, as usual in medieval fortifications, to enable the defenders to have ready access to the walls; the staircases were probably contained in the towers, as we have no traces of any of the straight staircases from the ground which are common in the walls of French towns. But in the part of the wall which surrounds New College the straight staircases from the alure to the towers remain.

"The wall and ditch may be still traced all round the town, though partially destroyed, and much concealed by modern buildings; but we soon discover that the parallelogram is not perfect, several deviations from it having been made at an early period. At the north-west corner

the Norman castle joined on to the town, and made it useless to continue the wall in that part. On the south side, the Canons of St. Frideswide had obtained permission to make a projection for the purpose of enlarging their buildings, on condition of carrying the wall round it, so that the fortification should still be perfect.

"At the north-east corner, William of Wykeham obtained permission to include the lane within the wall in the grounds of his New College, on condition that he thoroughly repaired the wall; he also engaged that his college should keep this wall in perpetual repair; and this agreement has been so faithfully carried out that it is now the only part of the city wall that remains at all perfect. The battlements and alures are more complete, the towers are more lofty, and have loopholes for archers, with a wide splay within, both on the ground and on the upper floor, skilfully arranged to command the whole of the ditch and the postern-gate.

"To enable us to trace out the walls, we must bear in mind the position of the old gates: the North gate was across the Cornmarket, close to the tower of St. Michael's Church, which helped to protect it; the South gate was across St. Aldate's-street, close to the south-west corner of Christ Church; the East gate was across the High-street, below Queen's, close to the corner of the street leading to Merton; the West gate was in Castle-street, beyond the church of St. Peter-le-Bailey, which was in the bailey, ballium, or outer court of the Castle; and in this part there is no trace of any stone wall between the Castle and the city; though there was a ditch and a bridge between, with a barbican to protect the end of the bridge, some foundations of which were lately found.

"From the Castle to the North gate the wall may be distinctly traced between the houses on the south side of George-lane, which are built in the city ditch, and those on the north side of New Inn-lane, which are built upon the wall, and the difference of level is very perceptible. One of the bastions or towers is perfect, with a square window of the sixteenth century; this

is said to have been used as a hall for students, as were some others of these towers.

"The north gate-house was called Bocardo, and was long used as the city prison. It is minutely described by Wood and Peshall."

The descriptions were then read, and some old engravings of the gate, made before its destruction in 1790, exhibited.

"The line continues between Broadstreet and Ship-lane in the same manner; and here another of the towers of the old



South View of Bocardo.

wall is tolerably perfect, behind Mr. Dudley's house. This is said to have been used as a prison in connection with the room in the gatehouse over the north gate, with which there was a communication by the passage on the top of the wall, a part of the old alure. In this tower it is said that Cranmer was confined, as it formed part of the prison of Bocardo. The ditch has all been filled up and built upon, and it is now difficult to tell the exact spot of the martyrdom, which took place near the bank of the ditch between the wall and Balliol College. But as we are told by Foxe that the Master of Balliol spoke to Cranmer when bound to the stake, and as the Master of Balliol then resided in the tower over the College gate, it is probable that the stake was fixed immediately opposite the College gateway tower.

"The stone cross in the pavement opposite the door of the Master of Balliol's present house was put down by ignorant persons within the last fifty years, without the slightest authority for that site. Whereas under the curb-stone of the pavement immediately opposite the College gate, there is a large mass of wood ashes

extending over a surface of several yards, and there is some reason to believe that this was the place of execution.

"To continue the line of the wall. Crossing the Turl, where there was a postern gate, and where about sixty years ago there was a flight of steps down into the ditch and a turnstile at the top of it, the wall passed under the south end of my house and premises, leaving part of the narrow street before mentioned in front of Exeter College Chapel and the north gate of the college, which originally faced north to this street; and the gate in the wall with the city arms over it was only taken down in the recent alterations. One of the old bastions was also found remaining, buried beneath Prideaux's Building. Part of the Theatre and of the Clarendon also stand on the site of this part of the old wall.

"Across the narrow part of the street close to the Clarendon there was another postern, called Smith gate, and in the tower or bastion which protected this on the east side was 'Our Lady's Chapel,' of which the doorway of the fifteenth century remains tolerably perfect, with the sculptures over it representing the

Annunciation, mutilated by order of the Rump Parliament. From this point to the corner of New College part of the wall exists, but built upon and concealed; the difference of level caused by the ditch is very perceptible in going through the narrow passage from New College-lane to Holywell.

"The view of the exterior of the wall from the 'Slip,' or slip of land outside the wall, at the back of the houses in Holywell and Long Wall, gives even a better idea of it than the inside from New College garden.

"A small portion of the inside of the wall may be again seen in a perfect state and free from ivy in 'East Gate Court,' between the corner of New College garden and the High-street. Then crossing the High-street by the site of the East Gate, we find the wall still tolerably perfect, surrounding two sides of Merton College garden, with several of the towers; this was the south-west angle of the city. From thence to Christ Church it is partly destroyed and partly hidden; one of the walks in the garden of Corpus is on the top of it.

"Crossing St. Aldate's on the side of South gate, we again find it still remaining at Pembroke College, the south side of which stands probably on part of the old wall, or at least on the site; from thence to the Castle it is destroyed or concealed, but may be traced by the difference of level in the gardens.

"The solar or upper chamber of the Little-gate was used as a Hall for scholars in the time of Edward II., and the rent of 13s. 6d. was paid for it to the City, (13l. 10s. of our money). This gate was also called the Water-gate, and Wood says it was used for leading cattle to water. Its close vicinity to the river is sufficient to account for the name. A small portion of it may still be seen at the south-west corner of Pembroke College.

"Of the Castle itself the original plan and extent can hardly now be made out, but the outer wall must have enclosed a much larger space than appears at first sight; the New-road is cut right through the outer bailey, and the site of the Canal

wharf is part of it. The junction between the City Wall and the Castle may be partly distinguished by the uneven ground; 'Bullocks-lane,' for instance, leads up a flight of steps from the New-road over the ancient 'Bulwarks' to George-street and Gloucester-green, formerly called 'Broken Hayes.' Here again there is more broken ground, probably part of the outworks of the Castle towards Beaumont-palace.

"There is a tradition that when the Empress Matilda was besieged in the Castle, King Stephen was lodged in the Palace of the Norman kings at Beaumont; if so, he was in remarkably close quarters with the enemy; and if we may judge by the experiments lately tried in France, under the direction of the Emperor, respecting the force of the catapult, and of arrows and javelins in trained hands, he could hardly have been at a safe distance. Some mounds of earth are said to have been thrown up between the Castle and Beaumont Palace to protect it; these were afterwards called Jews' Mount, and Mount Pelham; there are now but faint traces of them.

"The old tower which remains of the Castle built by Robert D'Oily in the time of the Conqueror, appears by Agas's map to have been one of the towers in the wall of the Inner Bailey, and not the keep, as was formerly supposed. It is certainly small for a Norman keep to a castle of this importance, and the circumstance that there was originally no entrance on the ground floor would rather seem to indicate the prison tower. The entrance was on the first floor from the top of the wall; the archway cut through the wall for the treadmill is entirely modern; there was a solid wall in that part.

Others suppose this to have been the belfry tower of St. George's Church, and it has this appearance on Agas's map.

"We have no distinct record of the keep, but a round tower was erected in the 19th Henry III., which may have been used as a keep. Wood says that within the walls of the Castle there were 'Mansions for the king in time of war, besides the convent and church of St.

George; as also the strong prison in which the Chancellor of the University had peculiar jurisdiction, to imprison his rebellious clerks, granted to him by Henry III., in the fifteenth year of his reign; and in the twenty-third year it was also made the common gaol of the county, which edifice remained with St. George's convent and the chapel, which is now the common prison, to the time of the Civil Wars, when it was again put into a position of better defence by King Charles I.* Wood also goes on to relate the destruction of the Castle during this time, when the garrison left it to take up their quarters in New College.

"That so large a mass as a Norman keep should have thus entirely disappeared is very remarkable, and the question naturally arises could it have been on the mound, as Mr. King assumed and as was sometimes the case, of which Warwick and Dudley are examples of a later period.

"A mound is a common appendage to a Norman castle, formed of the earth dug out in making the ditch, thrown up in the outer bailey, because if thrown outside the ditch it would have been of assistance to the enemy. The summit of the mound served as a look-out place. This was commonly protected by a wooden palisade, and sometimes had a building upon it, but a considerable period must have elapsed before the earth of a mound was solid enough to bear a heavy building.

"In the centre of the Oxford mound there is a deep well, and over this a small walled chamber of the time of Henry II., called the Well-room.

"The king's brief for making this well is recorded in the 20th Henry II., when 19*l.* 19*s.* was expended upon it. This would be equal to nearly 400*l.* of our money, and shews that a considerable work was then made.

"This seems to make it probable that the keep was on this mound, and perhaps the foundation having been in this made soil may account for its destruction, (this, however, is mere conjecture).

"The view of the castle in Agas's map

shews a large octagonal tower in the centre, close to the mound, and partly concealed by it; this appearance may probably be only caused by bad drawing, and the octagonal building so represented may have been *on* the mound, as at Warwick and Dudley. The mound itself giving sufficient elevation, the walls upon it were not very high.

"There was a small church with a college of priests attached to it, called St. George's College, within the Castle, founded by Robert D'Oily in 1070, and transferred to Osney in 1141, when St. Thomas's Church was built, and served for the parishioners of St. George's. The crypt of it is still shewn: the pillars of the crypt are early Norman, and the capitals are rude and curious; the vault is modern, the crypt having been rebuilt by Mr. Harris about 1800. It had long been forgotten, and was discovered by him when the Castle was partly rebuilt for the county prison, and a considerable part of the present buildings were erected. The old crypt came in the way of the new buildings, and was moved. Mr. Harris carefully measured all the parts, and replaced the old pillars and capitals as closely as possible in their original position: but the vault is entirely modern, of ashlar masonry, though very deceptive; so much so, that Mr. Hartshorne persists in considering it as ancient in the paper read here in 1851 before the Archæological Institute.

"Mr. Hartshorne also in the same paper ignores the existence of the Palace of Beaumont, and applies to the Castle all the passages in the public records which mention the Royal Palace at Oxford. But the Castle ceased to be the royal residence from the time of Henry I., who built the Palace of Beaumont, and several of his successors resided in it, especially Henry II., who greatly enlarged it; and Richard Cœur de Lion was born in it.

"It is true that the Empress Maude took refuge in the Castle for security, but even during the siege King Stephen is said to have resided in Beaumont Palace, and the historical evidence of its existence is as clear as that of other royal palaces

* Peshall, p. 207.

now destroyed. It continued to be a frequent royal residence until Edward II. gave it to the Carmelite Friars, and it shared the fate of other monasteries. At the dissolution it was sold to Edmund Powell of Sandford, who pulled down the greater part of it, and the ruins were afterwards used by Archbishop Laud as a stone quarry for building his new quadrangle at St. John's College. A small fragment was left standing, with a doorway in it, until Beaumont-street was built about thirty years ago."

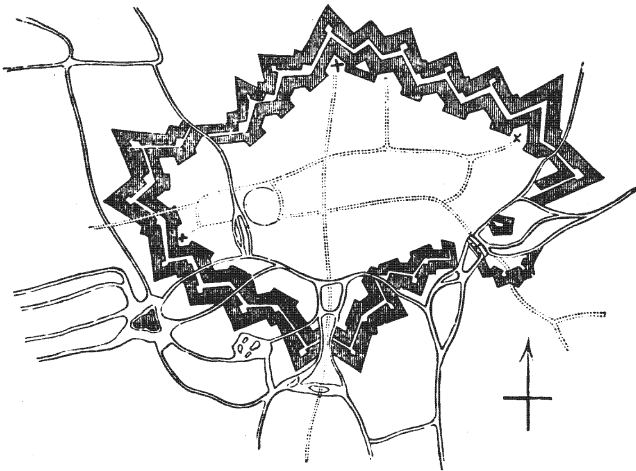
[Mr. Parker then quoted several passages from William of Malmesbury and other chroniclers relating to the siege of the Castle by Stephen.]

"From Malmesbury's Chronicle we gather that the chief defence of Oxford was then, as afterwards, the water by which it was

nearly surrounded: the trenches, not the walls, are specially mentioned. From the manner in which the burning of the city is spoken of, it is evident that the houses were of wood only, as indeed to a great extent they still are.

"It is remarkable that although so much nearer our own times, and although we have the minute journal of an eye-witness, it is more difficult to ascertain exactly the lines of entrenchment by which Oxford was defended during the Civil War between Charles I. and the Parliament, than the fortifications of five hundred years before.

"It seems evident from Wood's account that two distinct sets of entrenchments were commenced and partially carried out, but it would also appear that neither of them was ever completed; nor can we tell



Rallingson's Plan for the Fortification of Oxford, temp. Charles I.

which was the earlier plan that was not approved of after it was nearly finished, so that the whole work had to be begun over again.

"The mathematical scheme of Rallingson is mentioned and highly approved of in April 1643, and this appears to be the one engraved in the Latin translation of Wood's 'Annals.' In the September and October following we are told that these works not giving content, thoughts were entertained of newly fortifying the city,

and this was accordingly begun in January 1644, and forty pounds a-week was levied for this purpose. The siege began in May 1645, and supposing the works to have been continued steadily the whole year, and two thousand pounds to have been expended upon them, this seems hardly sufficient to have completed so extensive a fortification. I am inclined to think that the only part completed was that to the north, and the protection afforded by the rivers and the sluices, by which the whole

country round could be flooded on the east, west, and south sides of the city, was considered sufficient. It is certain that on the north we have considerable remains of these earthworks, and none, or next to none, on any other side. The lines extending from Holywell Church to St. Giles's Church can still be traced with tolerable distinctness, and I think the double set of entrenchments also. The scientific series of zigzags, according to the elaborate plan of Rallingson, derived from the works of the great Dutch engineers of the period, as has been shewn by Captain Gibbs Rigaud^b, have left but faint traces behind them. A field in the meadows near Holywell Church, on the banks of the Cherwell, has the hedge and ditch which separate it from the next field from the north, formed of two distinct zigzags, which are more clearly seen by looking back upon them from the north. There are also, I think, faint indications of similar zigzags in other places in these meadows, and again in the Parks, immediately to the north of the New Museum. Part of one was recently levelled in forming the garden, and part still remains to the north of the iron fence. The second system of fortification appears to be more simple and more substantial, and more of it has consequently remained.

"The hedge which now separates the gardens from the meadow occupied by Mr. Charles Symonds, running in the direction from the zigzags before-mentioned to Wadham College, is evidently placed on an artificial embankment of six to eight feet high, or more in some parts; this appears to have joined at its west end to the similar embankment round the east and north sides of the garden of the Warden of Wadham. This was probably the mound thrown out of the trench, mentioned by Wood, 'near to the wall of St. John's College walks, for the defence of the University and City.' Had this mound been then in existence Wood probably would have mentioned it.

"In Loggan's map of Oxford, published in 1675, these lines are marked much

more distinctly than in Faden's map, about a century later, and far more prominent than they now are; these lines are continued by Loggan on the west side of St. Giles's Church, also extending from thence to the river, passing by the site of the present workhouse. In a meadow just beyond this, between the University Printing-house and the garden of Worcester College, there are still some traces of entrenchments: they are not very distinct, scarcely more than as if an old hedge and ditch had been removed, but at one corner is a mound, as if for a fort, and the situation agrees with Loggan's map, on which no trenches are marked on the other sides of the city.

"Wood mentions also works in St. Clement's, to protect the east end of the bridge, but as this ground is now all built upon I do not think that anything can be made out of the line of those works. A mound on the bank of the Cherwell, on which some trees have lately been planted, has rather the appearance of having been a fort, but as the only steep embankment is the bank of the river, and it cannot be traced on the other side, it is very doubtful whether this was a military work or not.

"In Faden's map of Oxford, published about the middle of the last century, some other trenches are marked on the south side of the town, near where the Gas Works are now situated, but these are now built over. On Port Meadow, near the bridge over the railway from the Hut, there are some remains of a fort or enclosure, partly now cut through by the railway: this is said to have been for cavalry; it was evidently a detached fort, and was probably a place for keeping the horses in safety, or it may have been a cavalry camp."

Mr. Parker concluded his lecture by giving an account of the works during the making of the fortifications, chiefly from Anthony Wood. Many of the details he thought would prove interesting at the present time, e.g.,

"Dec. 5. Monday. The University Bellman went about the city warning all privileged persons that were house-keepers

^b See *Archæological Journal*, vol. viii. p. 366. (London. 1851.)

to send some of their family the next day to dig at the works through New Park. According to which order the colleges sent men, and many appeared and did work for several days. The citizens also were warned to work at the bulwarks on the north side of St. Giles's Church, and the country by St. John's College walks; and the next day, when the King rode to see the said fortifications, he found but 12 persons working on the City behalf, whereas there should have been 122, of which neglect his Majesty took notice, and told them of it in the field." (p. 456.) He also read several other extracts, chiefly relating to the drill of the Volunteers previous to the siege.

The PRESIDENT returned thanks to Mr. Parker for his very interesting paper. He called attention to the mound, or rather indications of a rise in the ground, in what was known by the name of St. John's-road, near the "Horse and Jockey" Inn.

MR. PARKER, however, explained that he had good reason to state that these were but the remains of some gravel-pits, opened sixty years ago.

The PRESIDENT also called attention to the indications of the High-street having once been of a higher level than it at present stood. Upon the outside of University College there was a distinct line, apparently produced by exposure to the moisture of the pathway, about two feet from the ground, which would seem to shew that the ancient level of the street was higher at this point.

MR. PARKER thought it extremely probable that the same kind of alteration had been made here which there was good evidence for believing had been adopted in St. Aldate's, namely, that the sudden pitch which the street made towards the river had been obviated by rendering the declivity less rapid. The effect of the levelling would produce exactly the results referred to.

CAPTAIN BURROWS said that it would greatly increase the obligation which the Society was under to Mr. Parker if he would name a day to conduct some of the members over the site of the old walls.

MR. PARKER expressed his willingness

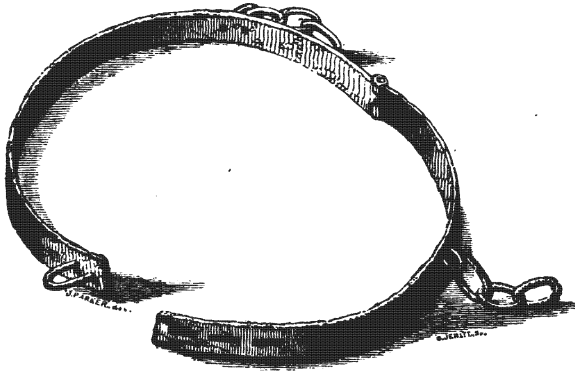
to do so, and, after some discussion, the following Saturday was fixed as the day.

The LIBRARIAN wished to say a few words on one point adverted to in the lecture. It had been mentioned that Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were burnt upon the public place of execution. He asked if there was any authority for saying that there was any such definite place of execution? He had no doubt that the iron cross by Balliol did not mark out such a spot; and he moreover greatly doubted whether both the executions occurred at the same place. He had been present when the ashes referred to had been discovered opposite Balliol College; but he thought they were scarcely six or eight feet below the surface, while the bottom of the ditch at that spot must have been eighteen or twenty feet deep. Though some stakes had been found, there were no less than six, so that none could very well be the particular one to which Cranmer had been chained. These were charred at the point, and were supposed to belong to fortifications of some kind. He then produced an iron band, which he stated to be that which was usually supposed to have bound Cranmer to the stake. All that was positively known about it was that it originally came from Bocardo, and during the time of its being in the Castle, where it used to be hung up, it always went by the name of "Cranmer's band." Now Ridley and Latimer had certainly been burnt some time before Cranmer, and in the account of their execution there is mention made of a certain sum paid for the use of *chains*: no such entry appears in the case of Cranmer; whence it had been ingeniously supposed that in the meantime the Oxford authorities, expecting more executions, had invented this more convenient apparatus. The Librarian added, that one reason for exhibiting the band that evening was, that it might be the last opportunity the Society might have of seeing it in Oxford, as it belonged to a gentleman in Suffolk, to whom it was shortly to be returned. That such a curious relic of antiquity should be removed from Oxford was a great pity, but he was enabled to say that did his friend

see a prospect of the University preserving the Ashmolean as an Historical Museum, supplying for the Schools of History what the Museum in the Parks supplies

for the Schools of Science, he would be willing that Cranmer's band should be deposited there.

The PRESIDENT fully concurred in the



"Cranmer's Band."

hope that such arrangements would be made as should preserve a good Historical Museum, and he thought it very important also that this curious relic should be preserved to Oxford in such a collection. He regretted that he had not with

him a curious brass ring in his possession, brought originally from Bocardo. It was inscribed with an R, and might possibly have belonged to Ridley.

After some further discussion on the subject, the meeting was adjourned.

THE WALK ROUND OXFORD.

On the following Saturday, a numerous party accompanied Mr. Parker in a walk round the old city walls, following as closely as possible the line of the old city ditch. They started from Turl-street, and behind the houses both in Broad-street, and in George-lane, were able to discover many remains of the wall, and in some few instances of bastions; while, throughout, the difference of level enabled them to distinguish the line of the ditch. The ground near the Castle had been so much disturbed that it was difficult to trace the Castle boundaries; but on the other side of the city, passing along Pembroke College, and through Christ Church, round Merton College and New College, the line was distinctly traceable, and for the greater part of the distance the walls actually remaining. Several remarks were made at the most interesting spots, chiefly by Mr. Parker; but several discussions took place, in which the Principal of New Inn Hall and other gentlemen joined.

After concluding the round of the old city, the party proceeded to visit the remains of the earthworks in the Parks, &c., which were thrown up for the defence of Oxford in the time of Charles I. On returning to Broad-street, and after examining the remains of "Our Lady's Chapel," the party dispersed.

Annual Meeting, 1861.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, June 4, at the Music Room, Holywell, the Rev. the MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, President, in the chair.

The room was adorned with a large collection of fine architectural photographs, chiefly lent for the occasion by the Architectural Photographic Association.

The President, in opening the proceedings, referred to the general prosperous condition of the Society, and then called upon the Secretary, Mr. Le Strange, to read the

ANNUAL REPORT.

“THE past year has been one of the most eventful to the Society since its commencement.

“In 1859 the Society completed the 21st year of its existence. Although the state of its funds at that time, and the estimation in which it was still held, seemed such as to warrant its members in believing that its strength and vigour was in no way impaired, still those who had watched it from its birth, through the years of its infancy, till it legally came of age, could not but feel anxious for its future welfare.

“The event, perhaps, which more than any other hastened the crisis which was then impending, was the expiration of the lease of the rooms of the Society, and although during 1859 the Committee were anxious to seize on any opportunity for obtaining a place of safety where the valuable collection of casts, models, seals, brasses, drawings, and books which, during the many years of its existence, the Society had accumulated, might be deposited, still 1860 came upon them before they had been successful. The University had, however, signified their willingness to accept the collection and prevent its being scattered, provided that they could find amongst their several buildings any room which they could conveniently spare.

“As a temporary place of safety, an unoccupied room over the Clarendon Building was provided, in which the collection was placed, but the room was totally unfit for lectures; the library, from want of space, was rendered useless; and after the expenses on moving from the old rooms had been met, the Society found itself in a most unenviable position as to its funds.

“It was exactly at this time last year that a general meeting was called, and the state of the Society freely canvassed. There were those present who, surveying the past history of the Society, considered that it had done its work, and that the taste for architectural studies was not sufficiently extended to support a Society of the kind. Various suggestions were made, but eventually the one put forth by the Committee, with some slight modification, was adopted.

“The substance of the changes was, that History should be added to Architecture as one of the objects of the Society, and that it should henceforth be called the Architectural and Historical Society; that the subscription for residents should be reduced to 10s. instead of one guinea, the sum previously paid, and that 5s. should be fixed as the sum to be paid by non-resident members.

“The following Term found the Society again in working order, and the Committee have no slight reason to congratulate themselves that their expectations as to the results of those changes have been fully realized.

“We have, during the past year, held nine meetings, exclusive of the present Annual Meeting of the Society, and your Committee will now proceed to lay before you a short analysis of the papers read and the subjects discussed on those occasions. We may divide them into two classes: first, those which are both Architectural and Historical; and secondly, those which are purely Historical. To subjects belonging to the first of these we have devoted seven of our meetings, and in these we shall find that sometimes it is Architecture and sometimes History which predominates; of the second class we have had two papers.

“The first meeting of the Society as newly constituted was appropriately occupied with a discussion, opened by Mr. J. H. Parker, ‘On the Connection of History with Architecture,’ which shewed in a concise and clear manner how the character of each century was stamped on its architecture, and how much the style of the latter depended on the influence of external circumstances. At the next meeting Mr. Parker delivered a lecture ‘On the Comparative Progress of Architecture in England and France during the Middle Ages, with especial reference to the History of the Times,’ in which he shewed how much closer a connection than is now generally supposed existed at that time between the two countries, and how much the friendly intercourse between the nations had to do with the almost similar and simultaneous development of Architecture on each side of the Channel.

“At the subsequent meeting there were two papers read, which may be said to have been devoted to Architectural, or rather to Antiquarian research. One (Nov. 28, 1860,) by the Rev. J. W. Burgon, who offered some interesting remarks on a series of rubbings, suspended round the room, which he had made from inscriptions on the marble and stone slabs covering the graves of the early Christians in the Catacombs of Rome. The Lecturer contended that the custom of burying in underground vaults was of Jewish origin, and was probably a national custom introduced at Rome by the Jewish converts to Christianity settled there. The second was by Mr. J. O. Westwood, the Hope Professor of Zoology, who exhibited a valuable collection of rubbings, which he had made with great labour and perseverance, from the early Christian monuments of Wales. The subject, he said, had been suggested to him by Mr. Burgon’s rubbings

from the Catacombs, and there were many points of resemblance between them.

“ On February 19 of the present year, Professor Goldwin Smith discussed ‘ Several Subjects for Inquiry connected with the History of the University and Colleges,’ but the lecture was, in fact, a lucid and interesting summary of the History of the University, which he divided into four phases, extending from the traditionary foundation by Alfred down to the commencement of the present century.

“ The paper with which we were favoured at our last meeting, by Mr. J. H. Parker, comprehended both the subjects which our Society has in view. He traced and illustrated, with several plans and views, the remains of the city walls and fortifications of Oxford,—not only those which existed in the civil commotions under Stephen, and in the times of Henry III., but also the earthworks erected in the times of the Rebellion, when King Charles fortified the city against the Parliament.

“ The last paper of this class was by the Librarian, ‘ On Walter de Merton as Chancellor, Founder and Architect;’ who, he said, was the first to conceive the idea of the collegiate system, and to whom we owe a debt of gratitude, not only for his munificence in founding Merton, but for his skill in architectural design, since he was one of the first to introduce the Decorated style. The Lecturer then traced the principal incidents both of De Merton’s public and private life, shewing how to him and the three other Chancellors, Wykeham, Waynflete, and Wolsey, Oxford owes the foundation, perfection, and extension of a system which has placed her University in the foremost rank among similar institutions in Europe, as well as her finest architectural monuments.

“ Of these seven papers the first is devoted to the discussion of Architecture as well as History. In the second, by Mr. Parker, the former predominates. Architectural remains form the basis of the papers of Mr. Burgon and Mr. Westwood. Professor Goldwin Smith’s History of the University threw much light on the same subject. Mr. Parker’s lecture on the Walls of Oxford is illustrated by the remains which exist around us; and, finally, the Librarian brought before us Walter de Merton in the character of Architect as well as of Chancellor and Founder.

“ On the other hand, we have devoted two evenings to the consideration of purely historical points. The first paper of this class read before us was by the Rev. W. Shirley, ‘ On some Questions connected with the Chancellorship of Becket,’ in which he shewed that we owe him a lasting debt of gratitude for permanent and beneficial traces left by him, (1) in the office of Chancellor, (2) in the constitution of our Courts of Justice, (3) in the character of the Common Law.

“ On the 8th of May, Professor Goldwin Smith offered before the Society some valuable remarks, ‘ On the Different Views of the Character of Cardinal Pole,’ shewing how the history of those times lately published by Mr.

Froude was likely to lead one to form a false estimate of the public and private character of that distinguished statesman.

“While fully admitting, therefore, that the work of the Society is now twofold,—that it does not give undivided attention to Architecture, as was formerly the case, the Committee believe that they have in the main furthered the interests of that study, for which the Society was originally founded. Architecture by itself, as a study, was not sufficient to sustain a Society in a position to command general respect and esteem; and they believe that the uniting History with that study has been the chief means of preserving the Society from dissolution. And more than this, they believe that at the present time the historical view of the architecture of this country is of the highest importance, when we meet with so many instances of the introduction of foreign designs under the idea that the architecture on the Continent provides examples which are entirely wanting in England. The historical view will shew how the architecture of the country always adapted itself—and that with the greatest success—to the requirements of the times; and it is only by paying close attention, not only to medieval plans and designs, but to the causes which gave rise to them, that we can hope so thoroughly to understand the national style of this country as to regain for it the love and admiration which it once enjoyed.

“Time was when all architectural works going on in the kingdom possessed so great interest for the members of this Society that it was customary to refer to them in the Annual Report. By degrees we learnt to regard only those which were in progress in our immediate neighbourhood; and of late years we have paid little attention to any work beyond the boundaries of this city.

“Since our last Report there is indeed little to mention, as the space is somewhat circumscribed, and great works—such as Exeter Chapel, Balliol Chapel, and the New Museum—may well precede a pause. However, it is not entirely so: a new library has been built at University College, to receive the statues of the great Lord Eldon and his brother Lord Stowell, the most distinguished members of the College in the early part of the present century. The building has been entrusted to Mr. Scott, and your Committee have every reason to congratulate that College on their choice, the building possessing every advantage, combined with simplicity and beauty of design.

“Mr. Scott has studied the history of the Architecture of his country, and has mastered not only the forms, but the principles, of medieval designs also; and it is from this cause, probably, that his works have been so successful that at the present moment the Committee have been told that the restoration or building of no less than eleven cathedrals are entrusted to his sole charge.

“Of the new church in St. Giles’s your Committee could not approve when the designs were laid before them. They reserve a final judgment till the

work is finished ; but as far as it has gone the building appears decidedly otherwise than English in character ; and against the introduction of foreign details for the sake of novelty, instead of carefully developing the styles which we have so exquisitely represented in our own country, this Society has constantly protested.

“The introduction of a new painted window into the cathedral of Christ Church has called forth several remarks. As to the details of the design, all will agree, probably, that it merits great praise ; but as a whole, considering its position, and the nature of the material with which the artist has had to deal, exceptions may fairly be taken to a general verdict in its favour.

“To return to matters connected more directly with our own Society.

“Among the officers but few changes have been made. Our President, Treasurer, and Librarian continue the same as last year. Mr. E. S. Grindle, of Queen’s College, one of your Secretaries, was, we regret to state, compelled to resign on account of his health ; and Mr. H. W. Challis, of Merton College, has been elected in his room. Five of the late Committee retired in regular rotation, and the following gentlemen have succeeded them :—

The Rev. P. G. Medd, M.A., of University College,—The Rev. W. W. Shirley, M.A., of Wadham College,—The Rev. the Rector of Lincoln College,—E. W. Urquhart, Esq., of Balliol College,—and W. J. Gunther, Esq., of Queen’s College.

“The Committee cannot close their Report without congratulating the Society on the very large number of new and influential names which they have been able to add to their list during the past year. It is in great measure owing to this fact that we were able last Term to issue with our Report such a satisfactory balance-sheet of the receipts and expenditure of the year. Our accounts, including our liabilities, at the commencement of the October Term, shewed a deficit of more than £50. We had, therefore, great satisfaction in being able to shew last Term that by donations from former members, by renewed subscriptions from life-members, and the payment of several arrears, in addition to the subscriptions received from new members,—of whom upwards of fifty have been added to our list in the course of the year,—the whole of our liabilities have been met, leaving a fair balance in hand. Our expenses have been considerably reduced by the kindness of the Curator of the Ashmolean Museum in permitting us to hold our meetings there ; and should such permission be continued to us, and the amount of subscriptions keep up to their present average, we shall hope to have funds in hand, and be able further to extend the influence of the Society, whether by more frequent meetings or by further enlargement of the Reports of our proceedings.”

The adoption of the Report was moved before them. Not the least encouraging by the MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE. subject referred to in the Report, was He said that he sincerely congratulated that which related to the state of their the Society upon the very satisfactory funds. The prosperity of every Society statement which the Committee had laid depended very materially upon the state

of its finances, and it was therefore with much pleasure that he heard so great an improvement had taken place in that department during the past year. He was of opinion that during the year the Society had to a certain extent changed its ground of operation, but the transition from Architecture to History was an easy one,—indeed a natural one; and he congratulated the Society on the manner in which they had been able to combine both. It had been said that Architectural Societies had done their work, and there was nothing left for them to do; he did not think, however, this was the case. He was anxious to bear testimony to the immense amount of good which these societies had accomplished throughout the kingdom during the last twenty years; but he also thought that there was still much to be done. He thought, too, that combining historical with their architectural studies would in no way interfere with the work of the Society. He would refer especially to one field of work which he thought was still open: hitherto the efforts of the Architectural Societies had been directed towards the improvement of ecclesiastical buildings only; he thought they might do much by turning their attention to domestic buildings, and he believed that the time would soon arrive when it would be as impossible to hear the nonsense talked on the subject of domestic architecture, as it is now almost impossible, thanks to these societies, to hear nonsense talked by educated men about church architecture.

PROFESSOR STANLEY then rose, and expressed the gratification which he felt in seconding the Report. He was sorry his numerous duties had prevented him from giving that time and attention to the Society which he would wish to have done; but he hoped next Term to be able to be more often present at their meetings.

The PRESIDENT then made some remarks upon the plan which the state of their funds had permitted them to adopt, namely, the issue, at the end of each Term, of a Report of their proceedings. He also drew attention to the great debt

of gratitude which they owed to the kindness of the Curator of the Ashmolean Museum for permitting them to hold meetings in that building.

The adoption of the Report was then unanimously carried.

The President said he had next to call upon PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH for his lecture upon "Some Points connected with the History of Ireland."

The Lecturer touched first on the physical character of Ireland, its physical relations to Great Britain, and the influence of these circumstances on its history. He then proceeded to treat of some points connected with the state and characteristics of Irish civilization previous to the Conquest, to describe the early manifestations of the national character in various departments, and to trace the connexion between its primitive peculiarities and those which it exhibits in the present day, shewing, in the course of this inquiry, that, upon a just view of history, great allowance must be made for some of the reputed vices and infirmities of the people. He next described the circumstances which led to the Conquest, the Conquest itself, the causes which occasioned its incompleteness, and the evils of which its incompleteness was the source. The subsequent course of Irish history, political and ecclesiastical, was then followed through the period of the early Pale, the Tudor and Stuart era, the great rebellion of 1641, the civil war in the time of James the Second, and the concluding rebellion of 1798, down to the Union and the passing of Roman Catholic Emancipation.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Professor for his interesting lecture. Owing to the lateness of the hour at which the lecture was concluded, there was little time for calling attention to the beautiful collection of photographs. A vote of thanks to the Architectural Photographic Association for their kindness having been passed, the meeting was brought to a close.

Several persons, however, remained for some time afterwards to inspect the photographs.

First Meeting, Michaelmas Term, 1861.

Nov. 6. The Rev. DR. BLOXAM, Vice-President, in the chair.

The names of several new members to be balloted for at the next meeting were read. The names of five members to take the place of the five retiring members of Committee were proposed in accordance with Rule XVII.

The Secretary read the minutes of the last meeting.

The Secretary next read the following "Report :"—

Your Committee beg to refer to the meeting held at the end of last term (and of which the minutes have just been read) as an undoubted proof of the increased attention which the Society is drawing towards its proceedings. The attendance on that occasion was far greater than was anticipated,—indeed, larger than has been the case at any meeting during several years past.

During the vacation which has just passed, your Committee felt called upon to draw up and present in the name of the Society the following address to the authorities of Merton College. The address was agreed upon at a special meeting of your Committee held June 25 :—

"The Committee of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society have heard with regret that in the proposed alterations in Merton College it is intended to pull down several of the old buildings, especially the old Library of the College,—in other words, the only portions remaining of the College as it stood in the fourteenth century, excepting of course the Chapel.

"The Committee (in the name of the Society) hope that they are not overstepping the bounds of propriety in addressing the Warden and Fellows of Merton College, and pointing out the great architectural, and more especially historical value, belonging to the buildings in question. Nor is it only a local value which is attached to them, for it may be observed that they are the *only remains* of any collegiate buildings of so early a date as the fourteenth century existing in the whole of Europe.

"It is with every sense of the difficulties which no doubt the Warden and Fellows would have to encounter in carrying out their arrangements without destroying these venerable remains, that the Committee address the College; and they are also fully aware of the absence of any right in a public Society to intrude upon the deliberations of a private corporation; still, as a Society for the promotion of the Study of Architecture and History, and one of their chief objects being to promote a proper care and regard for the monuments of past ages, they trust they may be permitted to express a hope that some arrangement may be made by which these interesting buildings may be preserved."

The following is the very satisfactory and courteous reply which was received by your President from the Warden of Merton College :—

"MY DEAR MASTER,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the address of the Committee of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, and shall take an early opportunity of laying it before the Fellows of the College.

"We think of enlarging our buildings for the purpose of admitting a greater number of Undergraduates, but at present have adopted no plans.

"I hope to allay in some degree the fears of yourself and the gentlemen with whom you are associated by the assurance that, if the claim of Antiquity does not prevail, it will yield only to our anxiety for the ornament of the University, the public benefit arising from the increase of the number of students, and their health and accommodation.

I am, my dear Master,

"Very truly yours,

R. BULLOCK MARSHAM.

"Caversfield, Bicester, June 28, 1861."

During the vacation also a selection of about a hundred of the finest of the Society's rubbings of brasses were, with the sanction of the Librarian, taken over

to Paris in charge of Mr. J. H. Parker, and exhibited for some days in the rooms in the Rue Bonaparte, on the occasion of the assembling of the members at the "Congrès des Députés des Sociétés Savantes," which is held annually at Paris. They were hung upon the walls together with several rubbings of incised stone slabs from Normandy, for comparison. They excited a good deal of attention, and were much admired, as they have no brasses in France. They were carefully examined by several French antiquaries, and were inspected, amongst others, by M. Viollet-le-Duc, M. Prosper Mérimée, and Monsieur de Caumont.

Your Committee are also glad to state that the admirable Lecture delivered before the Society at the Annual Meeting, by Professor Goldwin Smith, on "Irish History and Irish Character," has been published in a volume, so that both those who were unavoidably absent from that meeting will be able to read it, and those who were so fortunate as to hear it delivered will be able to possess it for future reference.

Lastly, your Committee have to state that they are about to reprint the list of Members. They propose to issue such list, with the Reports, after the last meeting of this term. In the meanwhile, they hope that the number of Members may be even still further enlarged.

The following presents were announced:—

"An Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture. By John Henry Parker, F.S.A. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged."—Presented by the Author.

"Reports and Papers read at the Meetings of the Architectural Societies of the County of York, Diocese of Lincoln, Archdeaconry of Northampton, County of Bedford, Diocese of Worcester, and County of Leicester, during the year 1860."—Presented by the several Societies.

"Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society. Vol. III. New Series. April, 1861. No. 32."—Presented by the Society.

"Mutilation and Destruction of Church Monuments. From the *Collectanea Antiqua*, Vol. V. By C. Roach Smith."—Presented by the Author.

"The Roman Walls of Dax. From the *Collectanea Antiqua*, Vol. V. By C. Roach Smith."—Presented by the Author.

"Gleanings from Westminster Abbey. By George Gilbert Scott, R.A., F.S.A. With Appendices supplying Further Particulars, and completing the History of the Abbey Buildings, by W. Burges, M.R.I.B.A., J. Burt, F.S.A., G. Corner, F.S.A., W. H. Hart, F.S.A., J. J. Howard, F.S.A., Rev. T. Hugo, M.A., F.S.A., J. Hunter, F.S.A., J. H. Parker, F.S.A., H. Mogford, F.S.A., Rev. M. Walcott, M.A., F.S.A., Rev. T. W. Weare, M.A., Rev. Professor Willis, M.A. Illustrated by numerous Plates and Woodcuts."—Presented by the Publishers.

The Chairman then called upon the Rev. Dr. Millard, of Magdalen College, for his lecture "On the Life and Character of Sir John Fastolfe, with a notice of Caister Castle."

DR. MILLARD said that he hoped to shew that the subject which he had chosen was a man whose life was worthy of being studied. He might observe that although some writers of note had considered him to be so, he strongly protested against the identification of Sir John Fastolfe with the Sir John Falstaff of the poet. He thought it impossible to believe that Shakespeare was so ignorant of the character and history of Sir J. Fastolfe as to represent the noble-minded warrior by so base and despicable a character as the jovial knight.

Indeed, he could hardly have any such intention, as Falstaff's dying scene occurs in the play of "Henry V.," whereas Sir John Fastolfe appears in that of "Henry VI." in his true colours, and with a close observance of facts mentioned by Holinshed and Monstrelet.

Sir John was the son of "John Fastolfe, mariner," a man reputed to have been "of considerable account both in those and other parts, both for his means and merits, and more especially for his public benefactions and pious foundations." He was left a minor at ten years old, and became ward to the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France. He passed from this guardianship into the household of Thomas, Duke of Clarence, Viceroi of Ireland, whose Esquire he was, and whom he accompanied thither when he held the office of governor. He married Millicent, daughter of Sir Robert Tiptoft, and widow of Sir Stephen Scroope, by which marriage his property was considerably increased. There is no evidence of his having married a second wife, or left any issue.

He soon went abroad to take part in the great French war, and was present at the battle of Agincourt, and at several sieges. Throughout he greatly distinguished himself, and in consequence obtained great honours. He was appointed Governor of Harfleur, Seneschal of Normandy, Grand Master of the Duke of Bedford's Household, Governor of Anjou and Maine, Knight-banneret on the field of Verneuil,—where he took prisoner the Duc d'Alençon,—Baron in France, and Knight of the Garter.

But his most remarkable exploit occurred at the "Battle of the Herrings," when he was conducting to Orleans—then besieged by the English—a convoy of provisions, which, as the time was Lent, consisted chiefly of cartloads of fish. On this occasion he drew up his waggons in a square, and repulsed a much larger body of French who attacked them. He met, however, with reverses at Pataye, a village near Orleans, being surprised by the French. Sir John and some others, being mounted, fled; the rest fought for three hours, and were then taken prisoners. It is said that for this flight Sir John was deprived of the Order of the Garter; but this rests only on the authority of a hostile historian^a. It appears that there is no record of it in the Black Book of the Order, and, besides this negative evidence, there is the positive evidence that his attendance is recorded at every Chapter from the time of his reception of the Order till his death. Holinshed, however, intimates that in spite of his conduct on this occasion, grace was accorded to him on account of his former services, and that the Garter was restored to him. This makes it possible for him to have been deprived for a short time, without impugning the

^a Monstrelet.

accuracy of the statements on either side. At all events, fresh honours of a high character continued to be heaped upon him.

He built about this time a palace in Southwark, but seems to have always preferred his castle of Caister as his residence.

The close of his life was neither happy nor distinguished : he seems to have met with great neglect and ingratitude at the hands of those of whom he deserved better. He made repeated and fruitless efforts to obtain his share of the ransom of the Duc d'Alençon.

There are several other similar complaints, which occur in the Paston Letters ; one perhaps only need be mentioned, as being curious and characteristic of the times :—

“I desire that John Buck, Parson of Stratford, who fished my tanks at Dedham and helped to break my dam, destroyed my new mill, and was always against me, to the damage of £20, may be indited. Item, he and John Cole hath by force this year and other years taken out of my waters at Dedham to the number of twenty-four swans and cygnets ; I pray you this be not forgotten.”

The following is taken from the account of his death as given by Mr. Dawson Turner, in his interesting little volume on “Caister Castle :”—

“Returning to the moated mansion, which the knight had completed and adorned for himself, and where he had resided with much state, in the midst of ‘ladies, and knights, and arms, love’s gorgeous train, meek courtesy, and high emprise,’ the reader must be prepared to find the scene now wofully changed. The courts are still and silent, and the halls are empty ; for in the room hight ‘my maisteris chambre,’ and in the bed ‘hangyd of arras,’ lies the warrior and statesman of four-score winters, the sand of his days and even of his hours nearly run out. It is November^b : the trees around the castle are bare : they scarcely retain one orange or crimson leaf to flutter in the blast : the wind sweeps over the moat ; the ground is damp ; and the air cheerless. Within that chill apartment, in which the interest of many are centred, the ‘chafern of latyn’ imparts but a feeble warmth ; and the ‘hangyng candylstyck,’ of the same metal, serves but to make the gloom more manifest. . . . Around the bed stand his friends, his executors, and dependants. Foremost in the group is seen John Paston, who had been summoned by an urgent letter from Brackley, to come ‘as soon as he might goodly,’ and to bring Sir William Yelverton with him ; ‘for,’ in the touching language of the friar, ‘it is now high time : my master draweth fast homeward, and is right low brought and sore weykid and enfiblyd.’ Near to the expectant heir stands the abbot of St. Bennet’s : he seems to linger near the bed, unwilling to relinquish a hope, still unexpressed, that, as this world recedes and another advances upon the vision of the dying man, the disposition of his property may yet be altered, and his own wealthy monastery may be still further enriched. Gratitude, also, probably contributes to detain him on the spot ; for often, while in the full vigour of health, the generous hand of his benefactor, ‘with lands and livings, many a rood, had gifted the shrine for his soul’s repose.’ It is possible, also, he carries to perform the last office of friendship, in the administration of the viaticum ; or he may even be waiting to commit to the earth that body for which a resting-

^b By an unforeseen coincidence the Lecture was delivered on the anniversary of his death—St. Leonard’s-day, Nov. 6.

place had been prepared in his church. Friar Brackley, too, is there;—he, to whose exhortation Sir John had often listened in the chapel of his castle;—and William of Worcester, full of grief, yet not without anxiety, lest the future should be no more a season of plenty than the past. Nor are there wanting many others, whose countenances of changeful expression betray their varied emotions, the hopes and the fears that reign within. . . .

“And now, the mind of the dying man being relieved from that which must ever be its heaviest load, he summons his remaining strength to lay down his final injunctions. . . . Within twenty-four hours after these pious and benevolent desires were expressed, the heart that prompted, and the tongue that dictated them, were cold in death.”

He was a benefactor to both Universities; to Magdalen in Oxford, and to Cambridge by a large sum bequeathed for the erection of schools of philosophy and law. He seems to have been intimate with many highly distinguished men, such as William of Waynflete, Cardinal and Lord Chancellor Bouchier, John Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, Sir William Yelverton, and William of Worcester, which last was his shield-bearer.

The description of the condition of his house at the time of his death will be found in the curious inventory printed in the *Archæologia*. His property was very large: he left ninety-four manors, three residences,—at Yarmouth, Norwich, and Southwark,—besides his country residence of Caister. He left in money £2,643 10s., which may be said to be equal to ten times the amount of our money; also 3,400 oz. of silver plate, and a wardrobe filled with sumptuous apparel. According to the inventory he left no library; but Caxton's edition of *De Senectute*, and a treatise on astronomical calculation by William of Worcester, were printed at his instance.

His bequests prove the liberality of his mind. He left provision for the harbour of Great Yarmouth, and many more munificent benefactions attest the benevolence and greatness of his disposition.

He was buried at the Abbey of St. Bennet's, about fifteen miles from Caister, and few will be disposed to cavil at the character assigned to him in his epitaph—*Qui multa bona fecit in tempore vitæ*.

The Lecturer concluded by referring to the buildings of Caister Castle, of which the ruinous condition rendered it very difficult to picture the magnificence which Sir John Fastolfe's country residence must once have displayed.

The CHAIRMAN, in thanking Dr. Millard for his interesting lecture, referred to the curious ruins of Caister Castle, which some years ago he had had the pleasure of visiting.

Professor GOLDWIN SMITH made some remarks upon the reference which the lecturer had made to the low origin of Sir John Fastolfe. It was not uncommon in those times for men to rise rapidly in a military career; the chief appointments in the army were no longer confined to

the aristocracy, but were given often to men of comparatively low origin. Two causes, perhaps, tended to this more than any other: first, the cavalry, by the introduction of a new mode of warfare, were rendered of far less importance, so that the foot-soldier was of almost equal value with the mounted cavalier; secondly, it was found necessary to maintain a standing army instead of depending only upon the feudal militia. He referred to the fact of Edward III. having already led a standing army into France. These men as they rose from the ranks often, by means of pillage, acquired considerable wealth; but, after all, they were little better than pirates and buccaneers, and this was especially the case when regular war was not going on. However, it was the system of the time, and a man engaged in it might be in other respects honest, generous, and kind-hearted.

Dr. MILLARD thought Mr. Smith had rather misunderstood him. He had mentioned that Sir John Fastolfe's father, though described as a "mariner," was a person of note and consideration. For several generations before the subject of the memoir was born the title of knighthood is found in the family, and the name occurs in Domesday Book. From an earlier Sir John Fastolfe the lecturer can trace his own descent.

The LIBRARIAN, in reference to the identity of Sir John Fastolfe with Shakespeare's character, considered that the name of Sir John Falstaff was added after the plays of "Henry IV." and "Henry V." were written. He thought the circumstantial evidence was in favour of Shakespeare's having first written the character with the name of Sir John Oldcastle, which name he had taken, with others, from an earlier play, and that the name of Falstaff was only an afterthought, arising, perhaps, from the objections which were raised by Protestants to the name of Sir John Oldcastle being connected with such a despicable character. Consequently Shakespeare, when drawing this character, could not have had Sir John Fastolfe in his mind. In support of this theory he referred to the line in almost the opening scene of "Henry IV.," where the Prince calls him "my *old* lad of the *castle*," which loses its point now the name has been changed.

Dr. MILLARD quoted the passage from Fuller, in which he says:—

"To avouch him" (says the generous biographer) "by many arguments valiant, is to maintain that the sun is bright; though the stage hath been overbold with his memory, making him a *Thrasonical Puff* and emblem of *Mock valour*. True it is, Sir John Oldcastle did first bear the brunt of the one, being made the make-sport in all plays for a coward. It is easily known out of what purse this black penny came; the papists railing on him for a heretic, and therefore he must also be a coward; though indeed he was a man of arms, every inch of him, and as valiant as any of his age. Now, as I am glad that Sir John Oldcastle is *put out*, so I am sorry that Sir John Fastolfe is *put in*. Nor is our comedian excusable by some alteration of his name, writing him *Sir John Falstafe*, (and making in the property of pleasure for King Henry the Fifth to abuse) seeing the

vicinity of sounds entrench on the memory of that worthy knight, and few do heed the inconsiderable difference in spelling of their name."

Mr. SHIRLEY begged to remind the Librarian that in the epilogue to the second part of "King Henry IV." Shakespeare openly disclaims the connection between Sir John Oldcastle and the character in his play. He says, "Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is *not* the man."

The LIBRARIAN thought that this referred to the historical character of Sir John Oldcastle, but did not prove that Shakespeare had not adopted the name from the old play, which was the point he laid stress upon, to shew that the play was written without any reference to Sir John Fastolfe. He also took occasion to refer to the plan of Caister Castle, which he had copied from that given in Grose's "Antiquities." He remarked, both from the plan and the character of the architectural details still remaining, that great probability was given to the legend that the castle was built as the price of the Duke of Alençon's ransom, part of the agreement being that the Duke should build it after the manner of his castle in France. This would account for the French character which he thought the architectural remains exhibited.

A discussion then took place upon some of the parts of the building, particularly upon the uses of the "Summer and the Winter hall," both of which were mentioned in the inventory. In this Mr. Shirley, Professor Goldwin Smith, Mr. J. H. Parker, and the Librarian, took part.

The meeting then adjourned.

Second Meeting, Michaelmas Term, 1861.

Nov. 13. The Rev. P. G. MEDD, in the chair.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—

- J. D. Walker, Esq., University College.
- Charles Burney, Esq., Corpus Christi College.
- Cecil F. J. Bourke, Esq., Corpus Christi College.
- R. J. Whiteside, Esq., Queen's College.
- R. Guinness, Esq., Queen's College.
- James A. Wade, Esq., Melrose.
- G. T. J. B. Estcourt, Esq., Balliol College.
- H. Baldwin, Esq., Worcester College.
- H. H. Chamberlain, Esq., Worcester College.
- C. E. Cornish, Esq., Exeter College.
- J. R. Madan, Esq., Queen's College.
- Rev. W. M. Wollaston, Exeter College.
- H. C. Adams, Esq., Oriel College.
- M. B. Baker, Esq., Pembroke College.
- John Brown, Esq., St. John's College.
- Rev. J. D. Jenkins, Jesus College.
- W. E. H. Sotheby, Esq., Balliol College.

After reading the minutes of the last meeting, the Junior Secretary read the following report:—

“Your Committee have to announce to you the resignation of one of the Secretaries of your Society, Mr. Le Strange. In doing so they feel that it is needless to remark upon the efficient manner in which he has discharged the duties of that office, as they are sure that the Society will unanimously concur with them in tendering their thanks to that gentleman for the great care and attention which he has bestowed upon the affairs of the Society, and that at a very critical period of its history.

“At the same time that they regret to have had to make this announcement, they feel exceedingly great satisfaction in being able to state that the vacant office has been accepted by the Rev. P. G. Medd, of University College. His long connection with the Society, and the fact of his having for a great part of that time served as an active member of the Committee, makes it a matter of great congratulation for the Society that he has accepted so arduous a post.

“The Committee have also to announce that a communication was received during the long vacation from the Honorary Secretaries of the Royal Institute of British Architects, to the effect that ‘that Society having been named by Her Majesty’s Commissioners of the International Exhibition of 1862 as one of the Art Institutes in connection with it, they have thought it expedient that the various other Architectural Societies should be associated with the Institute, so as to form an united body, which might promote effectually the due representation of architecture in the Exhibition. A representative Committee was therefore formed, to which your Society was requested to nominate two representatives.’ In accordance with this invitation your Committee at their first meeting this term nominated the Rev. Dr. Bloxam and Mr. J. H. Parker, and these gentlemen have both expressed their willingness to serve.

“Your Committee have great pleasure in calling attention to the elegant iron screen which has just been placed in Lichfield Cathedral. It is the work of one of your members—Mr. Skidmore of Coventry. They have no hesitation in saying that it surpasses any similar work of the kind which these days have seen, and it would be difficult to find any medieval work which, with most persons, would be allowed to bear away the palm, either for beauty of design or delicacy of workmanship. The photographs laid upon the table have kindly been lent for exhibition to the Society.”

A vote of thanks to the late Secretary, Mr. Le Strange, was proposed, and carried unanimously.

The Chairman then called upon the Rev. W. W. Shirley for his paper on “The Character and Court of Henry II.”

IF any uncertainty hangs over the character of Henry II. it is due rather to the psychological difficulty of reconciling its apparent contradictions, and to the inherent infirmities of historical judgment, than to any deficiency in the materials on which our estimate must be based.

Henry is the central figure in one of the most remarkable eras of our history—the time when England was beginning to emerge from the miseries consequent on the Norman Conquest and to reap its solid fruits; when, with a large accession of territory and influence, she was brought into immediate contact with the south of France, then the

most civilized part of Europe ; at the very moment, too, when Europe, generally, was awakening to a fresh intellectual life, when the struggle between the ecclesiastical and civil powers was at its height, and when the governments of Western Christendom were most visibly diverging from the common feudal type, to receive the impress of distinctive national institutions.

This increased fulness of national life brought with it, what is not always the case, an increased richness in the materials of history. For the first time since chroniclers had existed, they become to us a subordinate authority. The reign of Henry II. is related to us, not indeed consecutively, but for the most part with a completeness which is rare even in consecutive narratives, in an almost unrivalled series of letters, by some of the first men of the time—in tracts, in pamphlets, in treatises of law, sources which can scarcely be said to exist before the accession of the Plantagenets.

In most of these Henry is, naturally, a prominent figure, not drawn to character, as with the later chroniclers, as the murderer of St. Thomas of Canterbury, but presented as a man of unmistakeable mark, —warmly loved, keenly hated, but respected both by friend and foe. Personally, however, he is best known to us from the writings of two celebrated men, Giraldus Cambrensis and Peter of Blois.

Giraldus Cambrensis is a man with whose character Celtic patriotism has been busy, and of whom, therefore, it has become rather difficult to speak without exaggeration. It will be enough, however, for us to say, that he began his career as a courtier by writing a prophetic work on the conquest of Ireland, to the honour and glory of Henry II. Being treated by the King as he deserved rather than as he expected, he turned patriot, became the mortal foe of the whole race of Plantagenet, and took to the very modern practice of writing political pamphlets under the disguise of history.

Fortunately for us, however, Giraldus was too vain not to care for his reputation ; and while burning with hatred to Henry II., he is anxious to shew that the fulsome adulation of him which he published during his life is capable of a meaning within the facts of the case. The necessities of Giraldus' position, in short, have wrung from him admissions as to Henry II. which give a peculiar interest to the character which he draws.

Peter of Blois is one of those men who rather puzzle posterity to account for the immense reputation they enjoyed among their contemporaries. He was, however, unquestionably, a very accomplished man after the fashion of the day, a great preacher, and a great wit. He was respectable, vain, indolent, and unambitious, an acute observer of character and events, and probably a sincere, because not an indiscriminate, admirer of Henry, to whose court he was long attached.

Let me read you his description of the King, from a letter to his friend the Archbishop of Palermo :—

“ What you so urgently request of me, that I should send you an accurate account of the person and character of my Lord the King of England, exceeds my powers, for I think even the vein of Mantuan genius would be insufficient for it. We read of David, in commendation of his beauty, that he was ruddy, and you know that the King was formerly rather ruddy, but the approach of old age has altered this somewhat, and the hair is turning gray. He is of middle size, such that among short men he seems tall, and even among tall ones not the least in stature. His head is spherical, as if it were the seat of great wisdom, and the special sanctuary of deep schemes. In size it is such as to correspond well with the neck and whole body. His eyes are round, and while he is calm, dove-like and quiet; but when he is angry, they flash fire, and are like lightning. His hair is not grown scant, but he keeps it well cut. His face is lion-like, and almost square. His nose projects in a degree proportionate to the symmetry of his whole body. His feet are arched; his shins like a horse’s; his broad chest and brawny arms proclaim him to be strong, active, and bold. In one of his toes, however, part of the nail grows into the flesh, and increases enormously, to the injury of the whole foot. His hands by their coarseness shew the man’s carelessness; he wholly neglects all attention to them, and never puts a glove on, except he is hawking. He every day attends mass, councils, and other public business, and stands on his feet from morning till night. Though his shins are terribly wounded and discoloured by constant kicks from horses, he never sits down except on horseback, or when he is eating. In one day, if need requires, he will perform four or five regular days’ journeys, and by these rapid and unexpected movements often defeats his enemies’ plans. He uses straight boots, a plain hat, and a tight dress. He is very fond of field-sports; and if he is not fighting, amuses himself with hawking and hunting. He would have grown enormously fat, if he did not tame this tendency to belly by fasting and exercise. In mounting a horse and riding he preserves all the lightness of youth, and tires out the strongest men by his excursions almost every day. For he does not, like other kings, lie idle in his palace, but goes through his provinces examining into every one’s conduct, and particularly that of the persons whom he has appointed judges of others. No one is shrewder in council, readier in speaking, more self-possessed in danger, more careful in prosperity, more firm in adversity. If he once forms an attachment to a man, he seldom gives him up; if he has once taken a real aversion to a person, he seldom admits him afterwards to any familiarity. He has for ever in his hands bows, swords, hunting-nets, and arrows, except he is at council or at his books; for as often as he can get breathing-time from his cares and anxieties, he occupies himself with private reading, or, surrounded by a knot of clergymen, he endeavours to solve some hard question. Your King knows literature well, but ours is much more deeply versed in it. I have had opportunity of measuring the attainments of each in literature; for you know that the King of Sicily was my pupil for two years. He had learnt the rudiments of literature and versification, and by my industry and anxiety reached afterwards to fuller knowledge. As soon, however, as I left Sicily, he threw away

his books, and gave himself up to the usual idleness of palaces. But in the case of the King of England, the constant conversation of learned men and the discussion of questions make his court a daily school. No one can be more dignified in speaking, more cautious at table, more moderate in drinking, more splendid in gifts, more generous in alms. He is pacific in heart, victorious in war, but glorious in peace, which he desires for his people as the most precious of earthly gifts. It is with a view to this that he receives, collects, and dispenses such an immensity of money. He is equally skilful and liberal in erecting walls, towers, fortifications, moats and places of enclosure for fish and birds. His father was a very powerful and noble count, and did much to extend his territory, but he has gone far beyond his father, and has added the dukedoms of Normandy, of Aquitaine, and Brittany, the kingdoms of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, so as to increase, beyond all comparison, the titles of his father's splendour. No one is more gentle to the distressed, more affable to the poor, more overbearing to the proud. It has always, indeed, been his study, by a certain peculiar dignity of carriage, (*quadam divinitatis imagine*,) to put down the insolent, to encourage the oppressed, and to repress the swellings of pride by continual and deadly persecution. Although, by the customs of the kingdom, he has the chief and most influential part in elections, his hands have always been pure from everything like venality. But on these and other excellent gifts of mind and body with which nature has enriched him I can but briefly touch. I profess my own incompetence to describe them;—and believe that Cicero or Virgil would labour in vain.^c

Peter was probably in high good humour with the King as well as himself when he wrote this letter: he is not always so profuse in his praise. Some years later, either just before or just after the death of Henry, he wrote a religious tract, urging the sacred claims of the crusade, under the form of a dialogue between Henry II. and the Abbot of Bonneville. In fact, the Abbot had the credit of having persuaded Henry to arm for the crusade, and Peter of Blois improved the occasion by publishing the conversation which was supposed to have passed between them. As the Abbot takes the opportunity to exhort the King to a general amendment of life, some of Henry's faults are naturally passed in review. The most prominent, to which he is made to plead guilty, is a vindictive and relentless spirit. The Abbot urges the duty of prayer. Then follows what is, perhaps, the most curious part of the dialogue, as a picture both of Henry's character and of the manners of the time.

KING.—“Why do you talk about prayer, father? Do you not see that my employments and cares are so insupportable, that I can scarcely say the *Pater Noster* in the Mass, and I cannot get breathing-time for a single hour, night or day?”

ABBOT.—“These occupations, O King, you make for yourself. You

^c *P. Blesensis Opera*, ed. Giles, i. p. 193; quoted in *Quart. Rev.*, vol. lviii. p. 457.

might have the most perfect peace and quiet of mind, and you entangle yourself in infinite troubles and commotions; thousands of men are perpetually following you, whose business you have already heard, and you put off to another time all manner of things, which a short consideration would settle out of hand."

KING.—"I believe, father, I am only followed by those whose petitions are unjust, and who follow the court, to overcome me by importunity, simply because they have no confidence in the right of their cause."

The Abbot intimates in reply, that he thinks the King is deceiving himself:—

"We know that you are quick and energetic in your own business, but slow in other people's; but with many people it becomes a second nature to take pride in the fulness of their court, and the numbers with which they are surrounded."

In answer to a long exhortation in this strain, the King protests that he prefers quiet to stir:—

"But," he says, "it is not given me from above ever to live in private, or ever to enjoy a moment's quiet. Even during the Mass, not laymen only, but clerks and monks beset me, and regardless of all reverence for the Holy Sacrament, incessantly offer me their petitions."

The Abbot pertinaciously rejoins that this is the King's own fault. He adds, however, that,

"Saving the reverence due to the Mass and the Hours, you might hear the requests of your brethren as well in Church as your chamber, and shew mercy to others, in the place where you have asked it for yourself^d."

Time does not allow of my doing more than draw your attention to this curious dialogue, but I cannot quit Peter of Blois without giving his picture of a court life under the reign of Henry II., a picture which, with the exception of one or two traits of individual character, may be taken as true for all the courts of that day, to which, in the absence of money and the deficiency of all organized means of purveyance, perpetual movement was a necessity of life, and intense discomfort its inseparable accident:—

"I often wonder how one who has been used to the service of scholarship and the camps of learning can endure the annoyances of a court life. Among courtiers there is no order, no plan, no moderation either in food, in horse-exercise, or in watchings. A priest or a soldier, attached to the court, has bread put before him which is not kneaded, not leavened, made of the dregs of beer; bread like lead, full of bran, and unbaked; wine, spoilt either by being sour, or mouldy—thick, greasy, rancid, tasting of pitch, and vapid. I have sometimes seen wine so full of dregs put before noblemen, that they were compelled rather to filter than drink it, with their eyes shut and their teeth closed, with loathing and retching. The beer at court is horrid to taste, and

^d P. Blesensis, iii. p. 297.

filthy to look at. On account of the great demand, meat, whether sweet or not, is sold alike: the fish is four days' old; yet its stinking does not lessen its price. The servants care nothing whether the unlucky guests are sick or dead, provided there are fuller dishes sent up to their masters' tables. Indeed, the tables are filled (sometimes) with carrion, and the guests' stomachs thus become the tombs for those who die in the course of nature. Indeed, many more deaths would ensue from this putrid food were it not that the famishing greediness of the stomach, (which, like a whirlpool, will suck in anything,) by the help of powerful exercise, gets rid of everything. But if the courtiers cannot have exercise, (which is the case if the court stays for a time in a town,) some of them always stay behind at the point of death. To say nothing of other matters, I cannot endure the annoyances of the marshals. They are most wily flatterers, infamous slanderers, shameful swindlers, most impudent till they get something from you, and most ungrateful when they have; nay, open enemies, unless your hand is continually in your pocket. I have seen very many who have been most generous to them; and yet, when, after the fatigue of a long journey, these persons had got a lodging, when their meat was half-dressed, or when they were actually at table, nay, sometimes, when they were asleep on their rugs, the marshals would come in with insolence and abuse, cut their horses' halters, tumble their baggage out of doors, without any distinction, and (with great loss to the owners) turn them out of their lodgings shamefully; and thus when they had lost everything which they had brought for their comfort, at night they could not, though rich, find a place to hide their heads in. This, too, must be added to the miseries of court. If the King announces his intention of not moving for three days, and particularly if the royal pleasure has been announced by the heralds, you may be quite sure that the King will start by day-break, and put everybody's plans to the rout by his unexpected dispatch. Thus it frequently happens that persons who have let blood, or have taken physic, follow the King without regard to themselves, place their existence at the hazard of a die, and for fear of losing what they neither do nor ever will possess, are not afraid of losing their own lives. You may see men running about like madmen, sumpter-horses pressing on sumpter horses, and carriages jostling against carriages; all, in short, in utter confusion, so that, from the thorough disturbance and misery, one might get a good description of the look of hell. But if the King has given notice beforehand that he will move to such a place very early the next day, his plan will be certainly changed, and you may therefore be sure that he will sleep till mid-day. You will see the sumpter-horses waiting with their burdens on, the carriages all quiet, the pioneers asleep, the court purveyors in a worry, and all muttering to one another; then they run to the prostitutes and the court shopkeepers to inquire whether the King will go, for this class of court followers very often knows the secrets of the palace. The King's court, indeed, is regularly followed by stage-players, washerwomen, dice-players, confectioners, tavern-keepers, buffoons, barbers, pickpockets, in short, the whole race of this kind. I have known, that when the King was asleep, and everything in deep silence, a message come from the royal quarters, (not omnipotent, perhaps, but still awaking all,) and tell us the city or town to which we were to go. After we had been worn out with expectation, it was some comfort at all events that we were to be fixed

where we might hope to find plenty of lodgings and provisions. There was then such a hurried and confused rush of horse and foot immediately, that you would think all hell had broken loose. However, when the pioneers had quite or nearly finished their day's journey, the King would change his mind, and go to some other place, where perhaps he had the only house, and plenty of provisions, none of which were given to any one else. And if I dare say so, I really think that his pleasure was increased by our annoyance. We had to travel three or four miles through unknown woods, and often in the dark, and thought ourselves too happy if at length we could find a dirty and miserable hut. There was often a violent quarrel among the courtiers about the cottages, and they would fight with swords about a place for which pigs would have been ashamed to quarrel. How things were with me and my attendants on such nights you will have no doubt. My people and I were separated, and it would be three days before I could collect them again. Oh God! who art King of kings, and Lord of lords, to be feared by earthly kings, in whose hands the hearts of kings are, and who turnest them as thou wilt, turn the heart of this king from these pestilent customs; make him know that he is a man, and let him have and practice the grace of royal bounty and kindness to those who are compelled to follow him, not from ambition but necessity! Free me, I beseech Thee, from the necessity of returning to the odious and troublesome court, which lies in the shadow of death, and where order and peace are unknown! But to return to the court officers. By exceeding complaisance you may sometimes keep in favour with the outer porters for two days, but this will not last to a third, unless you buy it with continued gifts and flattery. They will tell the most unblushing falsehoods, and say that the King is ill, or asleep, or at council; and if you are an honest and religious man, but have given them nothing the day before, they will keep you an unreasonable time standing in the rain and mire, and to annoy you the more, and move your bile, they will allow a set of hairdressers and thieves to go in at the first word. As to the door-keepers of the presence, may the Most High confound them! for they are not afraid to put every good man to the blush, and cover him with confusion. Have you got by the terrible porters without? It is of no avail unless you have bribed the doorkeeper. 'Si nihil attuleris, ibis, Homere, foras.' After the first Cerberus, there is another worse than Cerberus, more terrible than Briareus, more wicked than Pygmalion, and more cruel than the Minotaur. If you were in the greatest danger of losing your life, or your fortune, to the King you cannot go; nay, it often happens, to make things ten thousand times worse, 'rumpantur ut ilia Codro,' that while you are kept out these wretches let your enemy in. Oh! Lord Jesus Christ, if this is the way of living, if this is the life of the court, may I never go back to it again.*"

The Henry of Peter of Blois is almost confessedly a flattered portrait. Vices are suppressed; weak points are dealt tenderly with; virtues are brought out into skilful relief. And yet the whole leaves on the mind an irresistible impression of genuineness and substantial truth.

High above the Babel of that rough court we see rising the image of

* P. Blesensis, i. p. 46; Quart. Review, vol. lviii. p. 459.

the great king who is its centre and its moving power, full of the restless energy, the penetration, the command over other minds which had raised the disinherited boy to be the most widely obeyed of any English king. We recognise the man who had been served heartily by men of genius, without losing his independence of purpose, who divided with Barbarossa the attention of Christendom, and to whom our writer may have appeared to be giving no extravagant testimony, when he says,—

“I have loved him, I do love him, I shall ever love him from my heart. . . . I say it with confidence, and the voice of mankind will confirm what I say, that in these parts there has been since the time of Charlemagne no prince so kind, so vigorous, so liberal, and so wise †.”

The contrast between this language and that of Giraldus Cambrensis is certainly rather startling. His malignity vents itself in the most extravagant stories. The birth of Henry, so he tells us, was illegitimate, for the first husband of his mother, the Emperor Henry V., had only resigned the imperial throne, and was living in retirement at the time of Matilda's second marriage. His youth was accursed by the prophetic voice of St. Bernard, who seeing him as a boy at the court of Louis the Fat, exclaimed, “that he was come of the devil, and to the devil he would return.” His marriage was defiled by a tissue of crime, and even incest, too foul for repetition, and too outrageous for belief; and his doom after death was foretold in several of those visions which are the last and meanest expression of monkish detestation.

Happily, Giraldus sometimes leaves the miraculous, and when he does he is really worthy of attention. His admissions confirm most remarkably the chief points of Peter of Blois' panegyric, and he gives us even some additional traits, which are not without considerable interest. He speaks of him as affable, versatile, and witty in conversation.

“He was second,” he says, “to no man in urbanity, whatever might be his inner feelings. He was so eminent in piety, that often as he might overcome in arms, he was even more overcome by piety. Energetic in war, yet so fearful of the uncertainties of military fortune, that from the extreme of prudence he would try all means sooner than an appeal to arms. He lamented over those he lost in battle more than became a prince, and shewed more feeling towards the dead than the living. No one was more kind in difficulty, or more stern in times of ease. . . . To his sons in their boyhood he shewed more than a father's affection.”

We must not expect to find perfect consistency between this reluctant praise of Giraldus, and his far more genuine hatred.

“Henry was from the beginning,” he says, “even to the end an oppressor of the nobility. He weighed right and wrong of every kind in the balance of advantage. He sold and delayed justice. He was

† P. Blesensis, i. p. 46.

crafty and changeable in speech, and a reckless breaker not only of his word but of his plighted faith and oath. He was an open adulterer; ungrateful and irreverent towards God; a scourge of the Church, and a born child of perdition^s."

These sentences are pretty nearly a summary of all the accusations which have been seriously brought against Henry. None of them are absolutely false. Some are confirmed by better evidence than the words of Giraldus; some have grown from something very commonplace into serious crimes by a process as to which every student of mediæval history ought to be on his guard. Men lived in the middle ages with the loftiest ideal of human life continually set before them, and a miserable standard of practice around them. Nothing was more easy than to try a friend by the one, an enemy by the other.

No one, for instance, would suppose that when Giraldus accuses Henry of selling justice, he is simply imputing to him the universal practice of every court in Christendom. There is not a particle of evidence which can lead one to suppose that Henry did more than accept the fines and gifts which in those days attended every step of a lawsuit. That they were an enormous evil, and that they often warped the decisions of the judge, no one who knows human nature will doubt; but they were in accordance with the universal practice of the time, and were entirely distinct from bribes.

Another in this list of charges, while it is undoubtedly true, is in reality one of Henry's best titles to the grateful recollection of Englishmen. From the beginning to the end he did oppress the nobility. The great peril of England in the middle of the twelfth century was disruption into a parcel of federated states. There was a danger lest the king of England should become once more what he had been in the days of the Confessor, or what the emperor had more recently become on the Continent—a shadow of a great name. From this it was the glory of Henry to have saved England for ever. The men who in the reign of Stephen were the arch-contrivers of anarchy, were the great bishops and earls. The earls had, the bishops aspired to have, jurisdiction of life and death, a third of the royal dues within their counties, the command of the royal castles, and enormous official fiefs. The sons most frequently succeeded their fathers; the obligations and the favours of the Crown to them grew with every trouble, and the kingdom was visibly tending to dismemberment. With Henry the tide turned. He saw, probably, that it was hopeless to prevent the earldoms from becoming hereditary—the policy which Henry I. had attempted in vain. He took the more promising course of undermining their power.

It is this which gives its original significance to the introduction of scutage, or the substitution of money payments for military ser-

^s G. Cambrensis, *De Instruct. Principum*, p. 16.

vice ; it is this, probably, which prompted the re-organization of the royal courts. It is this, I think, rather than the want of military skill, which produced the well-known reluctance of Henry to appeal to arms. It is this, finally, which raises Henry's first family war above the level of a personal quarrel. It was, in truth, an earls' war, as truly as the struggle of Henry the Third's time was the barons' war. It was a last effort to maintain the distinctive privileges of the order of earls. On its failure they sank into what they have since remained, a species of greater barons, distinguished from the lower peers by title and precedence, but not by substantial privilege. They ceased to become dangerous to the unity of the nation in ceasing to be petty princes ; they added strength, in their partial fall, to the order which was destined to make good against the Crown the great charter of English freedom.

It is the last, and evidently, to the mind of Giraldus, the most heavy charge of all, that Henry was a scourge of the Church.

In the sense of Giraldus, in the sense of Becket, in the sense of the school of Hildebrand, and in that alone, is the charge against Henry substantially just. He was a lover of learning, an endower of churches, a patron of ecclesiastical art, a friend of some of the best Churchmen of his day ; but he held high the prerogative of his crown, and made righteous war against pretensions which threatened the foundations of civil society.

The real failings of Henry's character lay, I believe, in another direction. Of lying and perjury, those favourite crimes of the middle ages, it is impossible to acquit him. But his peculiar faults were those which seem to belong rather to private life, and which, in the calamities which they entailed upon him, exhibit in a signal manner the unreality of the distinction which is often drawn between public and private vices. An ambitious marriage and an unbridled temper played out their consequences on an empire.

Henry's temper was something approaching to insanity, and seems to have produced absolute terror among his attendants. When his anger was excited his eyes became bloodshot and his whole countenance distorted, and on one occasion he is described to have flung himself upon the floor, and gnawing the straw with which it was covered, to have cursed the day of his birth. This temper cost him the murder of Becket, certainly not the greatest crime, but probably the greatest error of his reign. It cost him, perhaps, also the affection of his sons. As to Henry's conduct to his wife, the blacker charges made against him are probably unfounded. We need not believe that he seduced his cousin, or the betrothed wife of his son. Enough remains to shew that he had little cause of complaint if he alienated the love of that artful and inconstant woman. For her injuries, and for his, be they what they may, each paid in turn a heavy but just retribution. He was hunted by

her intrigues, with shattered power and a broken heart, into an untimely grave. She lived to see the beginning of that recoil of her own machinations upon herself and her sons, in which her ample dower was torn away by the son of that first husband whom she had so deeply wronged.

The dark side of Henry's character is conspicuous, because it is so unmistakably the cause of his calamities. The bad husband, the bad father, the false and passionate despot, are patent to every school-boy who reads the history of his reign. The man of genius, wise, and liberal, and kind, who suggested to one of his most eloquent contemporaries the memory of Charlemagne, is not so readily perceived. And yet the comparison is not wholly unjust.

He found the royal power in the dust, he raised it to a height which it has never since attained. He found England bounded by the Tyne and the Severn, and separated by sheer weakness from Normandy; he made her obeyed from Scotland to the Pyrenees. He partially conquered both Wales and Ireland. In the struggle with the Church he bore the heat of the day, and bequeathed to his sons a substantial victory. From his reign dates the rise of the English peasantry from their extreme depth of misery; from his reign dates also trial by jury, and the system of law of which it is the symbol. In much of all this,—in the extension of his empire, in the organization of the courts of justice, and, notwithstanding some appearances, in the substantial identity of Church policy,—the parallel with Charlemagne holds good. Like him, too, Henry ever had a hearty love of learning and learned men: he gathered them round him, he raised them to high office, and in this place he may be remembered with gratitude as the restorer, if not the founder, of our University.

Like Charlemagne, moreover, he was, as we have seen, simple in his habits almost to coarseness, and of incessant personal activity. It may be admitted that he was not Charlemagne's equal as a soldier, without unduly depreciating the man who was considered at twenty-one the first captain in Europe.

If comparisons of this kind are apt to be superficial, they are, I think, sometimes curious, especially when suggested, however faintly, by a contemporary. And this one may help us, perhaps, to estimate better the true greatness of Henry, when we see how far he can bear to be measured against one of the greatest names in history.

The CHAIRMAN thanked Mr. Shirley for his instructive paper, and in a few remarks pointed out the value of such descriptions which had been given to the Society then and at their last meeting, as affording an insight into the rude manners and customs of the periods to which the lectures related. There was in those times much that was good as well as much that was evil, and it was most curious to observe how so much light was mingled with so much darkness.

The LIBRARIAN briefly referred to that part of Henry's character which shewed his love of learning and learned men; he thought also that he encouraged the arts, and especially architecture, as well; not only because the chroniclers more than once refer to Henry as a great builder, but also because it was during his reign that architecture made such great progress. It was true that Henry's possessions in France, and his holding court at Anjou, were very favourable circumstances towards the development of that elegance of style in building which took the place of the massive Norman architecture, because they tended to bring together at one spot the chief men from several provinces, each of those provinces having a somewhat different style, or rather different characteristics in their buildings; and it was from a comparison and a union, so to speak, of these characteristics that the Gothic style was developed. At the same time, he did not think that these circumstances by themselves would have produced such results, unless there had been some leading mind at work to guide, direct, and encourage. He thought that we should not be able to discover that leading mind elsewhere than in King Henry himself.

The meeting was then adjourned.

Special Meeting, 1861.

Nov. 23. A special meeting of this Society was held, at two p.m., in the Ashmolean Museum.

The following officers of the Society for the ensuing year were duly elected:—

The Rev. the Master of Balliol College, *President.*

The Rev. the Master of University College, }
The Rev. Dr. Millard, Magdalen College, } *Auditors.*

The Rev. J. R. Bloxam, D.D., Magdalen College, }
The Rev. W. B. T. Jones, M.A., University College, } *New Members*
Professor Goldwin Smith, M.A., University College, } *of the*
H. S. Le Strange, Esq., Christ Church, } *Committee.*
E. S. Grindle, Esq., Queen's College, }

The late President vacated the chair, and the newly-elected President, in a few words, returned thanks to the Society, and expressed the pleasure he felt at being elected to preside over them. Circumstances had of late compelled him to be absent against his will, but he hoped in future to be a more frequent attendant at the meetings, and to take a more active part in their labours.

The Rev. Dr. BLOXAM, Magdalen College, proposed a vote of thanks to the retiring President. He remarked on the great obligations that the Society were under to him for the zeal and sagacity with which he had on every occasion promoted its interests, and for the regularity

withwhich he had been present at its meetings, and taken part in its proceedings.

The motion, being seconded by the PRINCIPAL OF NEW INN HALL, was carried by acclamation.

The MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, in returning thanks, spoke of the important changes the Society had undergone during the two years in which he had held office. The position of the Society, as it stood at that time, under its old constitution, was a very critical one; and some had even thought that it might be necessary to dissolve it altogether. Happily this necessity had been averted by the alterations made in its system a year ago, and he congratulated the Society on the great success that had attended it since its present system was carried out, both as to the greater interest shewn in its proceedings and the large increase in its numbers. He could with the greatest confidence look forward to the continued prosperity of the Society.

The President then called upon the MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, who proposed the following resolution:—

I. "That this Society considers it to be a matter of great importance that their Collection of Casts, Seals, Brasses, &c., formed by them at great trouble and cost during the past twenty years, should be retained in Oxford, as calculated to assist in the formation of an Historical and Archæological Museum."

He began by explaining the circumstances which had necessitated the placing of the Society's collection of casts in the upper room of the Clarendon building. It had avowedly been deposited there only as a temporary measure, because when they left their rooms in Holywell they had no place for their collection, and the University were unable to put at their disposal any more convenient room. He considered that it was very desirable that this collection should be retained in Oxford, and should also be placed in some building where it might be seen, both on account of its intrinsic merits, and the stimulus that the existence of such a collection would give to contributions from those who might wish to place in safe keeping any interesting specimens they might have in their possession.

The RECTOR OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, in seconding the resolution, concurred with the Master of University College in the desirability of preserving and adding to so interesting a collection. He regretted the great want in this country of such museums, a want that no place was so capable of supplying as the City and University of Oxford; almost every foreign city, and he might instance especially some twenty with which he was acquainted on the Rhine alone, having very interesting collections of antiquities: we had suffered here, he considered, an irreparable loss from the want of such institutions. All the valuable memorials from time to time discovered in this neighbourhood had been

either scattered or destroyed for want of some museum in which they might be deposited. When it is known that such a collection exists and is cared for, every interesting object discovered in the neighbourhood is sure to flow into it. The University had already lost a great deal by not providing for this deficiency, and he hoped that they would take this opportunity of making amends by providing a suitable room for this collection, and do all in their power to provide means for increasing it.

The resolution having been put from the Chair was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. J. H. Parker, (in the absence of Professor Goldwin Smith,) to propose the next resolution:—

II. "That as there exists already in Oxford a valuable nucleus for the formation of an Historical and Archæological Museum in the Collection left to the University by the eminent antiquary, Elias Ashmole, and others, it seems very desirable that this Collection and that belonging to the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society be brought together, especially as the Collection of Elias Ashmole is illustrative almost entirely of history previous to the Norman Conquest, while that of the Society illustrates the period since that date; at the same time that the building in which the early collection has ever been placed, and which is known by Ashmole's name, is well calculated on many grounds to receive the united Collections, and the many additions which from time to time there is little doubt will be made."

He said that the words of this resolution so fully conveyed what it seemed to him the Society had in view, that it was needless to enlarge upon them. He thought that the collection belonging to the Society would, when coupled with the Ashmolean Collection, prove most valuable in an Historical Museum, because all the objects there brought together could be arranged in almost exact chronological order, if not with the year affixed to each, at least as regards the period since the Conquest, with the king's reign. The collection consisted, he said, of casts of some of the finest specimens of carving during the Middle Ages, and of the mouldings, which are the safest guide to determining the date when a building was erected; and to these might be added collections of Coins, Seals, Glass, Ivories, and Metal-work in all its varieties. Between the two collections which it was proposed to bring together, there was, it seemed to him, already ample material for forming an Historical Collection, especially when it was remembered that the Society's collection begins for the most part where Ashmole's collection ends. He would add nothing on the question of retaining Ashmole's Museum for the collection, because on that subject there were others more competent to speak. He considered Ashmole as one of our first and greatest antiquaries; and he might mention, that in conversation recently with some friends at Windsor who revere the name of Ashmole from his learned work on the "Order of the Garter," when

he mentioned the possibility of his Museum being abolished, they expressed horror at the idea of Oxford allowing the name of so great a man to die out and be forgotten.

The Rev. E. FOX, of New College, in a few brief words expressed his cordial assent to, and begged to second, the resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Dr. BLOXAM said he had great pleasure in proposing the next resolutions :—

III. "That, with a view to further the formation of an Historical and Archæological Museum, the Society is willing to make over entirely to the University the Collection referred to, on such conditions respecting the proper means for its exhibition and use as shall be agreed to by the Committee.

IV. "And that the Committee be requested to submit the resolutions passed at this Meeting to the Vice-Chancellor and the Hebdomadal Council, and to use what means are in their power towards the furtherance of the object the Society has in view, namely, the establishment of an Historical and Archæological Museum in Oxford."

Having been a member of the Society for twenty years, he felt naturally very anxious that the collection which he had seen gradually brought together should be placed beyond the reach of dispersion. And more than this, he hoped that it would become again displayed in such a way as it deserved to be. He might add, perhaps, that he felt a personal interest in any question that related to the preservation of this collection entire, for it was at his own suggestion to his friends that many of the additions had been made to the Society's collection.

The SENIOR PROCTOR begged to second the resolutions which had just been read. He said that on the same grounds he might claim to have a personal interest in the collection belonging to the Society. He had been a member of the Society also twenty years, and it was during the time of his holding the office of Secretary that so much was done to increase the collection. It would be a matter of deep regret to him to see that collection scattered, or alienated from the purposes for which it was brought together. He therefore most cordially sympathized in a movement which tended to place such a collection on a firmer basis. And he believed the establishment of such a Museum as the motion which he held in his hand pointed to, would be a benefit to the Society, to the University, and to historical and archæological science generally.

PROFESSOR WESTWOOD begged to offer a few remarks on a department of antiquities of which the resolution passed had made no mention. He referred to Classical Antiquities; and he thought that, of all cities in the world, Oxford ought to have an Historical Museum to aid the students in their classical studies. He believed, to mention a single instance, that there was not an Etruscan vase in Oxford, and yet the display of such antiquities must assist materially to the understanding of

the works of classical authors. And he felt that there was now a great opportunity, which might be lost if the University at the present moment shut its eyes to the advantage of founding a Museum illustrative of history. He might, he thought without breach of confidence, say that a friend of Mr. Hope, a gentleman of wealth, of talent, and generosity, was engaged in forming an Historical Museum, including every age and every country, and was also especially anxious that these studies should be more pursued in the University; that with this view he contemplated taking steps towards founding a Chair of Archæology; and, besides the endowment of the Professorship, to leave the fine collection in the hands of the University, to take care of it and use it to the best possible advantage to promote their studies. He would suggest, therefore, that the Society should not confine its attention to the founding of a Medieval Museum only, but an Historical Museum in the widest sense of the word, because he thought that by introducing examples of classical times they would gain the sympathy and co-operation of many who perhaps would pay little attention to the matter if confined to the mediæval period.

The MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE said that before the meeting rose, he wished to call attention to the letter which was addressed by the Committee to the Vice-Chancellor and the Hebdomadal Council more than two years ago. He would read the letter:—

“To the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor and the Hebdomadal Council.

“THE President and Committee of the Oxford Architectural Society beg respectfully to solicit the attention of the Vice-Chancellor and the Hebdomadal Council to the following Memorial.

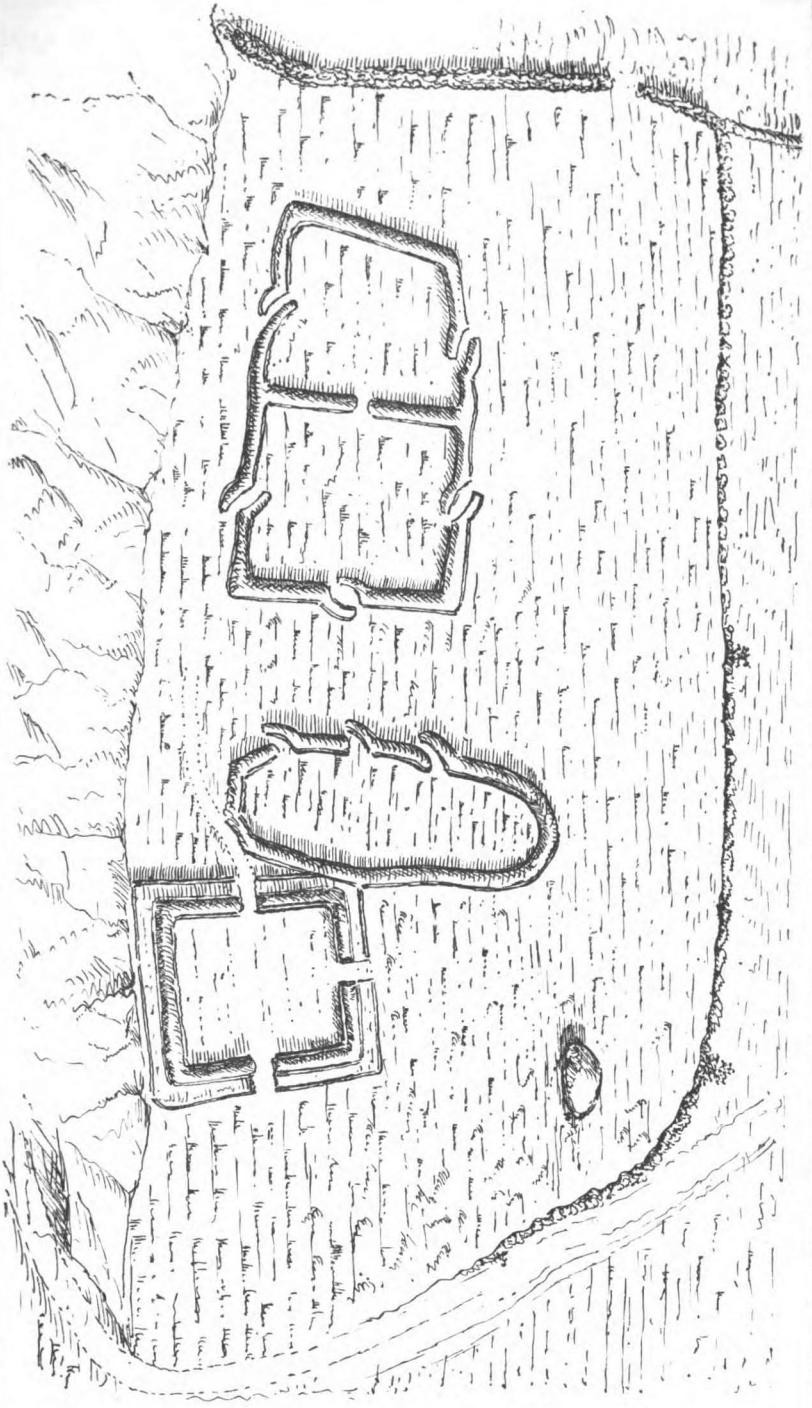
“A collection consisting of casts and models from English and some foreign buildings, of rubbings from monumental brasses, and of impressions from seals, has been formed during the twenty years' existence of the Society, and for the greater part of that time has been deposited in the Music Room, of which the Society is the tenant. The lease expires in another year, nor will the Society's means allow the engagement of a similar building. Under these circumstances the President and Committee beg to represent to the Hebdomadal Council that it would be a real loss to Oxford if the collection were removed from the University, both because its contents are not interesting merely to architectural students, but illustrate generally the historical antiquities of our country during the middle ages, and because there is good reason to believe that if the collection could be preserved here upon a permanent basis, and the University should shew itself willing to encourage the formation of an Archæological and Historical Museum, other collections would be presented, and so a Museum of antiquities—extending from British through Roman to English times formed—which, besides its general interest, would have a special value in reference to the School of Modern History. The Committee are therefore prepared to invite the Society to surrender their collection of casts, models, &c., to the University. The contemplated removal from the Ashmolean Museum of the specimens of Natural History would seem to render that building (which is peculiarly appropriate for an Archæological Museum) available for receiving the Architectural Society's collection; but whether the collection could best be placed in that building or elsewhere, the President and Committee respectfully but earnestly request the Vice-Chancellor and the Hebdomadal Council

to consider favourably the proposition which they now submit, and if, as they hope, the Council shall consider it feasible, the President and Committee will take steps towards securing the consent of the Architectural Society to the transfer of its collection to the University, under such conditions as may be agreed upon between the Council and the Committee.

“ Architectural Society’s Rooms, Holywell, March 8, 1859.”

To this letter the Vice-Chancellor replied verbally, and the upper room in which the Society’s collection is now placed was temporarily put at the disposal of the Society for receiving their collection till better accommodation might be available. He called attention to the letter to shew that in passing these resolutions they would only be carrying out more emphatically what had been proposed on a former occasion.

The PRESIDENT said that before putting the resolution which had just been proposed and seconded, to the Meeting, he would say a few words upon what the Master of University had referred to. He remembered the matter being brought before the Council, and he thought then as he thought now, namely, that it was very advisable that the University should take charge of the collection which was the subject of their discussion. He might further add, that there was a general feeling to that effect; still, as every one is aware, there were difficulties in the way. No University buildings were then at liberty; and all that they could offer was one of the attics of the Clarendon building. Things, however, were different now. When he looked round the room in which they assembled, the sad aspect of the walls shewed him how great a clearance had been made. But yet, though the room was empty, there were still difficulties. Every one knew the difficulty of obtaining house-room in Oxford, and immediately there happened to be a vacancy, there were many applicants. In this case there were many suggestions as to the destination of this building. There was one, however, which he would mention especially, because it was an important one. As many present must know, the want of Examination Schools was one that had been felt for some time past, and one that was still felt; and they must not shut their eyes to the fact that the Ashmolean building provided two excellent rooms for the purpose. However, for his part, he must admit that, in looking at the question from an architectural point of view, for he must remember he was addressing an Architectural and Historical Society, it would be of great advantage to the University if a new series of Schools could be erected; but he supposed that was out of the question: or, on the other hand, looking at it from an historical point of view, it would be a great misfortune to the University that the name of Ashmole should be forgotten in Oxford, and that the Ashmolean Museum should be swallowed up by the Examination Schools. While, however, they considered the difficulties on one side of the question, they ought not to lose sight of a difficulty on the other side. The



ROMAN CAMPS. CAWTHORNE, YORKSHIRE.

University had already in their possession the collection of Elias Ashmole; that collection was a fact; and they must deal with it somehow; and when they found a fitting place for that collection, which they must do sooner or later, he thought most certainly that the Society's collection ought on many grounds to be placed with it, as was expressed in the last resolution.

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and carried unanimously. The meeting then adjourned.

The Committee think it right to print the following letter from the REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY, which was received after the meeting:—

“8, Clarendon Villas, Nov. 23, 1861.

“DEAR SIR,

“Pray make my apology to the Committee for my absence from the meeting of the Society this day. I was under a misapprehension as to the hour.

“I most cordially concur in the resolution which was passed, recommending the formation of an Historical Museum by the combination of the Ashmole collection with that of our Society.

“I am convinced that such a Museum, in connexion with a Society devoted to historical research, would be a great stimulus and assistance to the study of history in Oxford.

“Believe me,

“Yours very faithfully,

“GOLDWIN SMITH.”

“TO THE LIBRARIAN.”

Third Meeting, Michaelmas Term, 1861.

Nov. 27. The MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, President, in the chair.

The SECRETARY having read the minutes of the last meeting, the President announced that the Treasurer, the two Secretaries, and the Librarian of the past year, had been re-elected to their respective offices. Also that Mr. Argles, of Balliol College, had been elected on the Committee to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Medd having accepted the office of Secretary. He then called upon the Master of University College for his “Account of the Cawthorne Roman Camps in Yorkshire.”

The MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE desired first to draw attention to the extreme beauty of the scenery surrounding the village of Cawthorne and the camps which he had undertaken to investigate. They stood in a most solitary situation, of which he had prepared a sketch, intended rather to give a general notion than professing to be a correct picture. The camps were four in number, the mounds six or eight feet above the surface of the ground, and covered with heather. The hill on which they stand is 400 or 500 feet high, and affords a most excellent military position. He drew attention to a copy of the plans in Young's “History of Whitby,” the accuracy of which had been verified by his own

measurements, about a year ago. A remarkable feature was that the entrances to three of the camps were curved, as if designed to afford a greater protection to the defenders. They were each about 500 feet square, and the mounds originally about eighteen feet high, the fosse being usually eight or ten feet deep. The depth of the fosse was now decreased to about four or five feet. There is but a single agger, and a single fosse. Dr. Young believed that the larger square was intended for a regular camp by the Romans, the smaller for their allies; the two combined giving the unusual oblong form. He then adverted to the remaining camp, separate from the double one, which was nearly square: the *portæ prætoria*, *sinistra*, and *dextra* were to be found, but not the *porta decumana*, which the abrupt descent did not allow to be made. This second camp was the most perfect the lecturer had ever seen; the agger being as perfect as when it was thrown up, diminished perhaps only in height. At some distance to the right of this was a curious mound; no doubt the tumulus for the burial of the slain: and he thought that some indications of one was to be found in the former, or double camp. From the much more perfect character of the single camp, it had been held by Dr. Young that it was of later date. The troops to which the formation of the camp was attributed are said to have formed part of the ninth legion, during the sixth campaign of Agricola, about the year A.D. 83. In two camps a trace of the *prætorium* is to be discovered, but not very obviously on a slight inspection. They are in connection with a Roman road extending through York, almost to Whitby; traces of which are found near Graumont Station, Mulgrave Castle, and other spots, where it plainly appears. It is usually about sixteen feet wide, exclusive of gullies: the centre is elevated about three feet. Where the road passes over a stream, the stone-work is found perfect and abrupt at each bank, so that it is possible timber was laid across to form a passage. In all this part of Yorkshire are to be found many Roman remains, and many mounds on the tops of the hills, which are said by some to be early British, by others to be Roman; by some to be tumuli for burial, by others to be military outposts. They are very numerous, and of a similar character; being for the most part twenty or thirty feet wide. Some had been opened, and remains found in them. In connection with the Roman road there is a curious tradition current that it was laid down by a witch, and a giant, her husband, all in one night; the story differs about the object of it. It is commonly called Wade's Wife's Walk. He would, in conclusion, point out to the members of the Society, that during vacations they might, when travelling about the country, employ some of their spare time in collecting information likely to be useful to the Society. He might remark that he had heard that there was some reason to fear that the interesting remains at Cawthorne were in some

danger of being ploughed up. He hoped, however, to make such a representation to their owner, through the medium of a friend, as should prevent such a devastation taking place. And this was one of the reasons why he thought it well to bring the matter under the notice of the Oxford Society.

Before concluding, he would beg to call attention to several instances of pits which he had met with in Yorkshire. They were commonly called "Killing pits," but they no doubt were the traces of British villages. They were generally on the south side of some hill, and arranged in rows, and sometimes one larger than the rest was found, probably the abode of the chief. He might refer to other examples in other parts of the country, especially Worle-hill, near Weston-super-Mare, which was one of the most perfect specimens. It was the natural way for an uncivilized people to make their dwellings, and indeed the adoption of this plan of pits was found very serviceable by our soldiers so recently as in the Crimean War.

The PRESIDENT conveyed the thanks of the Society to the Master of University for calling the attention of the Society to so interesting a subject, especially at such a critical time, when the remains seemed to be in danger of destruction. He hoped that the interest which the Society had felt about them might prove of some weight in inducing their owner to preserve them. He remarked upon the neglect which the Romans seemed frequently to evince regarding a supply of water: sometimes none was to be found within three miles of their camps.

The MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE said that the same thing had occurred to him. In the present case, however, a stream ran along the bottom of the valley, and he noticed also some pools of surface water, level with the camp, which might possibly have supplied them when access to the valley was impracticable.

The PRESIDENT also referred to the "pits" which had been mentioned, and which he thought without doubt were the habitations of the early Britons. He called attention to the model which was in the room of the pits at Brighthampton, which were supposed to be the remains of a British village.

The LIBRARIAN remarked, with regard to the pits at Brighthampton which had been mentioned by the President, that it had been suggested that they were probably large granaries for wheat, which would account for the immense number of mice and rats' bones which had been found in them. Some of them, if he remembered rightly, had no marks of the entrance, which was a characteristic in the pits which had been inhabited.

The HOPEIAN PROFESSOR OF ZOOLOGY would like to ask whether stone entered into the composition of the camps. He trusted that some of the remains which were found in the neighbourhood referred

to might find their way to the important Museum at York. He thought that Museum was a model such as Oxford might well imitate at the present time.

The MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE could not make any statement respecting the interior of the soil, but at the surface they were apparently only earth, mixed with a certain proportion of stones, as earth usually is. He believed the mounds were formed solely of the earth taken out of the fosse.

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH said, with regard to the question of supply of water, he conceived that the Romans made sallies under cover with a strong force, and brought water into the camp. There was much more difficulty in the question as regards British and Celtic camps, where the same thing was to be observed. He thought the latter were only camps of refuge, into which they drove their cattle when suddenly attacked, counting on being able to hold out for some time. He thought that most likely such camps were formed by tribes who held the position of savages even with regard to the other inhabitants; for the works of the more civilized tribes who lived on the plains had already been destroyed by the plough. The Roman camps marked the end of the old kind of scientific war: then came a great gap of most unscientific war, till about the time of Gustavus Adolphus, who might be called the father of modern fortification. In the course of his remarks he referred especially to Silchester and some camps near Whitby, also to the great Roman camp at Dorchester, and other instances.

The LIBRARIAN drew attention to a very curious specimen of sculpture on the table, which was believed to be Roman, and the remains of some pottery found near it, which appeared to belong to two jars—one fire-baked and Roman, the other sun-baked and apparently British. There was also one coin. They had been found near a Roman encampment not far from Great Tew, which is a few miles north of Oxford, and easily accessible by railway. He believed the owner of these would present them to Oxford if such a Museum could be formed as the Society contemplated. He referred to this as an instance of what would be the case with many other curious antiquities which would be sent for the Society to pass an opinion upon, and, he had no doubt, be given to the University if it should possess an Historical Museum.

Some discussion ensued on the nature and purpose of the Roman carving. It may be briefly described as a figure apparently in Roman costume, in the right hand a large hammer, in the left possibly a chisel, and near the left hand a statue, but the stone is so much decayed that it is impossible to say for certain what it is intended for.

The meeting then adjourned.

Fourth Meeting, Michaelmas Term, 1861.

Dec. 4. The Rev. the MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, President, in the chair.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—

Rev. J. A. Ormerod, M.A., Brasenose College.
 G. Cary, Esq., Wadham College.
 R. F. Kilvert, Esq., Wadham College.
 Rev. J. S. Treacher, M.A., Magdalen Hall.
 H. W. Hitchcock, Esq., Exeter College.
 Rev. Stephen Edwardes, M.A., Merton College.
 H. B. George, Esq., B.A., New College.
 J. W. Colvin, Esq., Corpus Christi College.
 G. H. Pope, Esq., Wadham College.

After the usual business, the PRESIDENT called upon PROFESSOR STANLEY for the remarks which he had promised to make on "The Relations of Ancient and Modern Greece."

Professor Stanley said that although to all who visited Greece the principal object was ancient Greece, they soon found that modern Greece claimed a great share of their attention. He would not enter into the question whether the ancient and modern Greeks were sprung from the same stock. The German *Fallmeayer*, and Mr. Clark, the Public Orator at Cambridge, maintained the negative; the affirmative was supported by General Gordon, in his "History of the Greek Revolution," and the Bishop of St. David's. He would confine himself to pointing out the relations which the two races bore to one another. The history of races bore a great analogy to that of families: and a new race, not possessing any affinity in blood, might take the place of an old race, and by adoption or education become identified with their predecessors. He could quote many instances from modern history in support of this. Two remarkable cases occur in the history of the Russian emperors.

The preservation of the Greek language formed the strongest proof of the intimate nature of the tie between the ancient and modern Greeks. Words implying a connection with the primeval periods of Greece had been retained to a surprising extent. He instanced the word *νέρο*, meaning 'water,' evidently connected with Nereus and the Nereids; also the word *brusa*, 'a spring,' (*βρύω*, 'to be abundant'); and *tragudi*, 'a song;' which last was to be mentioned less confidently, as it might have arisen from the general application of the word *τραγῳδία* to any poem, as *commedia* among the Italians. There were other words con-

necting Greece with the more modern but still ancient period, those, namely, of which the first glimpse appears in the New Testament. Hence, in dealing with the modern Greeks, we found ourselves in close connection with the first preachers of Christianity.

The scenery and natural features form another close link between the two stages of hi-tory.

Customs, again, had been handed down with remarkable continuity. The modern Greeks to this day arrange themselves to view any sight in the open air on the face of a rock, in which may be traced the first germ of the ancient theatre. Another instance was perhaps to be found in the modern illustrations of the ancient anointing with oil. Perhaps the modern national songs had no direct connection with the ancient, but they were of the same stock and were sung in the same way at modern festivals. The Lecturer mentioned a case which reminded him strongly of the ancient recitations.

With respect to general character, it was to be observed that there was no one character to be attributed to modern Greeks. As many as nine distinct types were to be enumerated. To the great Homeric character of Ulysses, restless, crafty, and indefatigable, the modern Greek bore a strong resemblance. The Greek of Juvenal, the Greek of the Roman empire, was also an exact likeness, in many points, of the modern Greek.

In some respects the gulf between Christianity and heathenism was deeper in Greece than in Western Europe. The name of Hellenes became proscribed as simply pagan; though, indeed, very recently it had been partially revived. In no case had any Christian convent (except the convent of St. Andrew at Patras) been built on the site of an ancient temple. Only four temples were turned into churches—the Parthenon, the temple of Theseus, a temple on the Ilissus, (which last had been destroyed,) and a round temple at Thessalonica.

But still some likenesses may be traced even here. The general and intense and local character of devotion is similar both in ancient and modern times. The sacred springs are dedicated among the moderns to saints and angels, as to divinities among the ancients. There are also some few traditions which have come straight from the days of Paganism. The Muses are still said to have lived on Mount Parnassus, Apollo to have been one of five brothers living at Delphi. Charon still survives, and a female Charon is found with him. The Nereïds remain, but are a sort of wicked sirens who lure men on to destruction. The Fates appear, to a certain extent, in the personification of the plague. The feeling which gave birth to the Eumenides is still found in the superstitions of the Evil Eye, and the like.—For a complete study of the true aspect of Grecian Paganism most nearly resembling the medieval

or modern Greek forms of religion, and for a collection of the direct traces of ancient Paganism, the Lecturer referred his hearers to the work of Pausanias on Greek Topography, and to Fauriel's Collection of Klephtic Songs.

After some remarks from the President upon the lecture, and a vote of thanks had been passed to the Lecturer, the meeting was adjourned.

First Meeting, Lent Term, 1862.

March 11. The REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY in the chair.

The following presents were announced :—

“A Monograph on the History and Restoration of Callington Church, Cornwall, by the Rev. Æneas B. Hutchinson, B.D.”—Presented by the Author.

“Proceedings of the Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society, 1860-61.”—Presented by the Society.

The SECRETARY then read the following report :—

During the Vacation which has just passed, the Committee have issued the report of the four ordinary meetings and the one special meeting which were held last Term.

At that special meeting it may be remembered that the chief question discussed was the memorial to the University authorities, expressing a hope that the Ashmolean building should still be retained for the purpose for which it was erected; namely, to contain a collection of antiquities, and more especially those which illustrate the history of this country.

Your Committee are not able to report, as they hoped to do, the decision which has been come to respecting the building, but they have reason to believe that the memorial met with considerable attention, and they cannot but think that when the advantages of retaining such a collection are more fully considered, the University will accede to the request contained in the memorial.

During the Vacation little has called for the attention of the Society. There is one point, however, to which they feel called upon to draw attention: namely, the threatened alteration of the plan of Stewkley Church, a sister church to Ifley, built at the same time and probably by the same architect, and both belonging to the Priory of Kenilworth.

The east end of Ifley Church has been destroyed, but both east and west end of Stewkley Church have remained untouched since their erection; that is, for seven hundred years. Your Committee cannot overlook the great loss to the history of art in this country which the interference with this building must entail; and if the interference is needless, which at present appears to them to be the case, they believe the Society will support them in entering a protest against any such wanton destruction under the name of restoration.

Your Committee have, finally, to report that the past Term has added considerably to the number of the members, and that also on other grounds the state of the Society at the present time is certainly a flourishing one.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Dr. Ermete Pierotti for his lecture upon “The General Topography of Jerusalem.”

Dr. PIEROTTI expressed his regret that he was not able to address the meeting in English, and therefore would ask their indulgence while he explained briefly in French the result of his discoveries. He referred to the large plan which he had made for the occasion, and described generally the several theories which had been put forward by Schultz, Barclay, Robinson, and others, as to the position and extent of the external wall described by Josephus, especially on the western and northern sides of the city. In passing along the line of the wall, he pointed out on his

plan the south and western sides of the city, where he had discovered blocks of masonry in digging, and from which he gathered without doubt that the wall at a certain point (which he had marked on his map) diverged, taking a more westerly direction, instead of continuing due north, as indicated generally in the maps of those who had written on the topography of Jerusalem. In describing the north side, he drew the line of the wall across from east to west, much nearer to the southern side of the city than appeared on the plans of the writers mentioned. He thought that, besides the vestiges which he had been able to find, the account, as given by Josephus, bore out this view; he states that the length of the wall was thirty-three stadia: but if the circuit of the walls as given by Barclay be reduced to stadia, it will be found to give sixty-three stadia; and the plans of Schultz and Robinson in the same way give not less than forty-six stadia.

By following this line, also, he was able to trace distinctly the three towers mentioned by Josephus, the basements of which rested on the solid rock. In several places, too, the surface of the rocks was broken, and actual caves formed; and it seemed to him that along this line which he had drawn the ancient city of Jerusalem terminated on the west.

In passing, however, along the wall towards the east, he came upon the remains of a doorway of decidedly Jewish masonry; this he thought was the gate Gennath—which fact, if it were so, was important. It leaves the position of the Holy Sepulchre, at present assigned to it, on the *exterior of the ancient wall*, and what is more, not far from the “Gate of the Gardens.” He pointed out afterwards how the valley of the Tyropœon had been filled up, and where the passage from one part of the city to another existed.

In this way he gave a general survey of Jerusalem, but he requested Mr. George Williams, who was present, to explain more fully to the meeting in English the details of his discoveries.

This Mr. GEORGE WILLIAMS proceeded to do.

The following is an abstract of the remarks which Signor Pierotti had prepared, and which in substance Mr. Williams laid before the meeting:—

“The subject specially proposed for my lecture is ‘The Topography of Ancient Jerusalem;’ a subject which occupied my attention for several years, and still interests me. In such a ground, enriched with so many venerable records, I used all my energy to clear up the hidden history of the ruins; but neither money, nor patience, nor strength would have availed me in my endeavours, if it had not been for the kind co-operation

* [This discovery not only takes away the chief ground of objection to the traditional site being the real one, but it supplies strong evidence in its favour.]

of His Excellency Surrayah Pacha. I owe to him what I have been able to ascertain, which I now have the pleasure of explaining to you.

“ Flavius Josephus was the only guide I had in working out the ancient topography of Jerusalem; the Bible assists but little in this respect; and it is therefore the city of the Herods—the Jerusalem of the time of Titus—which I have endeavoured to rebuild. To arrive at this result, I necessarily studied more especially the subterranean city. It was by discoveries beneath the surface that I hoped to elucidate the Jewish historian; and I have not been disappointed. For eight years not a single foundation was made without my seeing it, and of many works of this kind I had the sole direction. For eight years I lost no occasion of visiting cisterns, drains, conduits, and subterranean remains of all kinds; besides taking exact notes of building foundations made during the years which preceded my arrival. But I did not limit myself to this, for I had excavations made in some places expressly to discover the depth of the original rock. In working in such a manner, I found as much as it was possible to find, in the time, of the remains of ancient Jerusalem.

“ For the greater clearness of my meaning, I begin with a few passages of my historical guide; and I shall then give minute details of those existing remains which illustrate them, applying such texts of the Bible as occur; finally, I shall explain my system of re-construction of the ancient city.

“ In the ‘ Jewish Antiquities,’ Josephus says,—

“ 1. ‘ Antiochus Epiphanes built in the lower city a fortress, which was situated on a high place, and overlooking the temple itself. It was surrounded with strong towers, in which he placed a Macedonian garrison.’—(xii. 5. 4.)

“ 2. ‘ The Macedonians who formed the garrison with the Jewish renegades, gave great annoyance to the other Jews. They sallied out upon them when they went to the temple, killed them without much trouble, as the fortress was higher than the temple itself.’—(xii. 9. 3.)

“ 3. ‘ Jerusalem was built upon two hills opposite to one another, and divided by a valley full of houses. Of these hills, that on which the upper city was placed being much higher and steeper than the other, David chose it to build thereon a fortress, and it is what is called the upper Forum.’—(*Jewish Wars*, v. 4. 1.)

“ 4. ‘ The lower city is placed on the other hill, called *Acra*, and the slope of which is equal on all sides. Over against this hill there was formerly another lower one, and which was separated from it by a broad valley; but the Asmonean princes had that valley filled up, and the top of the hill of *Acra* raised, to join the city to the temple, so that this latter might be higher than all the rest.’—(*Idem* and *Antiq.* xiii. 6. 7.)

“ 5. ‘ As for the valley called *Tyropæon*, which we have said separated the upper city from the lower, it extended as far as the fountain of *Siloam*, &c.’—(*Wars*, v. 4. 1.)

“ 6. ‘ A fourth hill, called *Bezetha*, which was opposite the *Antonia* fortress, began already to be inhabited, and very deep ditches were made about it, which prevented any one reaching the foot of the *Antonia tower*, and added much to its

strength. The part of the city which had enlarged Jerusalem was called Bezetha, that is to say, "new city."—(*Antiq.* v. 4. 2.)

"7. 'The hill of Bezetha, which was separated (?) from the fortress, was the highest of all; it partly adjoined the new city (?), and was the only hill (?) which was to be met with opposite the temple on the north side.'—(*Antiq.* v. 5. 8.)

"I could reproduce other data afforded me by the historian; but I go on now forthwith to explain my investigations.

"1. Having obtained an entrance into the fortress called the '*Tower of David*,' I proceeded to examine the three towers standing therein; namely, one to the west almost parallel to the Jaffa gate; another having ancient Jewish masonry, with the stones rusticated^b; and the third to the south of this. I found in these towers that their ancient Jewish walls were based on the rock, which rises there to a height of five feet above the level of the ground, being covered with a masonry of large stones, also rusticated; that the central tower has Jewish Herodian masonry for some distance above the bottom of its fosse; that in the two other towers, the masonry above their bases is of the period of the Crusaders; that for the height of about 11 ft. they are massive; that the fosse on the northern and eastern sides for a great part of its depth, and throughout its bed, is scooped out of the rock: lastly, that the westernmost tower measures nearly twenty-five cubits in plan on every side; the oldest, forty; and the southernmost, twenty; and these are exactly the measurements as given by Josephus, (*Jewish Wars*, v. 4. 3).

"Having examined the text of the historian, I accept the correction made by the Rev. George Williams, and am therefore of opinion that the western tower was the *Hippic* tower, from which Josephus begins the description of the several walls of the city, (*Jewish Wars*, v. 4. 2); that the oldest tower, still rusticated, was the one dedicated to *Phasaelus*, and the other to *Mariamne*; and that therefore they are the very towers which Titus resolved to preserve, to shew what were the fortifications of the city which he had taken, (*Wars*, vii. 1. 1). Some one may object that the cisterns mentioned by Josephus as existing in them are not found there now; but was it possible to preserve them, in accordance with the system of fortification of more recent periods? I believe not. Space was sought in such towers to lodge troops, therefore there is nothing to prevent the cisterns from having been destroyed at a later period, so as to gain an additional story, as was really gained, for a height of twenty cubits. Moreover, I may add, that the cisterns existing in other parts of the citadel shew that those in the towers might be dispensed with.

"2. In consequence of some excavations made at the extremity of the

^b [*Rustic work*. Ashlar masonry, the joints of which are worked with grooves or channels to render them conspicuous. . . Rustic work was never employed in medieval buildings. *Vide* Glossary of Architecture, s. v.]

north side of the Protestant cemetery, which is found at the south end of Sion, outside the city, the rock was uncovered, and steps were found cut into it. On pursuing my investigations thence towards the east as far as the pool of Siloam, I found the rock in several places cut, either perpendicularly, or in toothings to receive masonry, and in some places in steps. The vertical cut is chiefly remarkable near the pool of Siloam, and some traces of it exist on the western crest of the Tyropæon valley. Ruins accumulated by ages conceal these traces of cutting, but I found them by excavating. Having afterwards taken to examining the whole space of ground contained within the line I had gone over southward and eastward, I observed that there exist in the soil large cisterns cut and vaulted in the rock,—remains of water conduits, also cut in the rock,—grottos which at first sight bespeak their origin as cisterns,—a general filling-up of earth and stones, having undergone the action of fire; and, what was still more convincing, a quantity of ancient stones which the cultivators extract and sell, to be used in buildings now in course of erection. This is the chief reason why large stones are not seen in quantities, as described by the Bible and Josephus; for they are hard to be found when broken in pieces to be sold, as easy burdens for camels and donkeys. It is therefore to this ground that I apply what Isaiah says, (chap. i. verse 8,)—

“ ‘And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city.’ ”

“ 3. I next proceed to *Ophel*, on the east slope of the Tyropæon valley, as far as the pool of Siloam; and going up by the bank of the Cedron, as far as the south-east corner of the present enclosure of the *Haram esh-Shereef*, I find only cut rock, existing or destroyed cisterns, (the latter having become caverns,) accumulations of ruins, and among these stones, some of which are easily broken up on coming into contact with the open air, while others are still solid and hard; I am therefore convinced that this part has been inhabited, and that this is the spot referred to in the Second Book of Chronicles, chaps. xxvii. 3 and xxxiii. 14, where it is said that Jotham and Manasseh fortified that position.

“ 4. At the *south-east extremity of the Tyropæon valley*, above the gardens of Siloam, there is a vast excavation filled with earth, now under cultivation, having a wall on the south-east side. Having examined it by digging about it, I found that the wall, especially at its base, is of Jewish construction; and the same may be said of the traces of wall which I found on the north-west side, and at the eastern extremity of the lateral parts. I have no doubt that this pool is of Solomon's time, or at least of Hezekiah's; but I am more inclined to attribute it to the former; and I am of opinion that this pool is the one spoken of by Isaiah (xxii. 11), as follows:—

“Ye made also a ditch between the two walls for the water of the old pool : but ye have not looked unto the maker thereof, neither had respect unto him that fashioned it long ago.’

“I consider it also to be *the King's Pool* and *the Pool of Siloah*, mentioned in Nehemiah ii. 14 and iii. 15. In fact, the two walls were those erected on the opposite sides of the Tyropœon valley.

“I also imagine that the true position of the *gate between the two walls*, mentioned in the Second Book of Kings, xxv. 4, and Jeremiah xxxix. 4, is also in the Tyropœon valley, near the gate of the Mugaribeh ; and from the above-mentioned text it is also ascertained that the present gardens of Siloam were the king's gardens.

“5. From the *Mugaribeh gate* as far as the wall of the *Jewish Wailing-place*, and a little beyond the Hall of Justice, (*Mehkemeh*.) I go up the Tyropœon valley ; and as far as this point I agree with all the authors who have written on Jerusalem. It is in this valley, at the beginning of the western wall of the Haram esh-Shereef, that Dr. Robinson found a pier and the first courses of an arch, and pronounced it to be the remains of the bridge which united the upper city to the Temple, of which Josephus makes repeated mention in his ‘Antiquities,’ xiv. 4. 2, and ‘Wars,’ i. 7. 2, &c. I am not of Dr. Robinson's opinion, nor of Monsieur de Saulcy's, but I side with the Rev. George Williams, and I consider that I have favourable data to support it. In fact, I dug in two places in the supposed direction along which the bridge should have been carried, and where piers should be found ; but I only found earth and a few small stones ; not a single large block, no remains of piers of masonry. I examined the rock on the eastern slope of Sion, where it is to be presumed that such a bridge terminated, but I found no sign of any work effected there. I examined the rock which ascends in a western direction, but found nothing to allow me to think that a level space of any kind ever existed there. A few toothings only led to the deduction that small constructions have been erected there. I examined the stones of the pier and of the spring of the arch, but they do not present any Solomonian or Herodian characteristics ; they seem to be of a much later period ; and I am therefore of opinion, from all this, that the construction of a bridge, or some other work, may have been attempted there in Justinian's time, but that it has never been completed. The place to which I apply all that Josephus says of the bridge is near the Justice Hall, and hence for 260 feet up the ‘Street of the Temple.’ At the present day the ground formerly occupied by the *Xystus* is brought to a level, because the valley is crossed by arches and accumulations, in a direction from east to west. It is in that very place that still at the present day, in spite of the filling up of the valley bed, may be observed the considerable difference of level north and south of this point ; and it is by means of this bridge or causeway

that the upper city of Sion is still united to the Temple Close, now become the Haram esh-Shereef. Lastly, it is by means of this bridge that the waters coming from Etham entered into the Temple area, as is still observable at present. I could say more on the subject, but time prevents me. Still I shall not omit to point out that, as Dr. Robinson has supposed the course of the Tyropœon valley to be turned off in a westward direction at this point, he has taken the existing bridge for a natural rise of the ground. On this deviation westward of the Tyropœon valley I shall speak again shortly.

“Between the Dung-gate and the bridge it is easy to perceive that the rock is cut perpendicularly, and is therefore exactly as Josephus points it out to have been when he speaks of Pompey’s operations to take possession of the city, (Antiquities, xiv. 4. 2.)—‘For in the parts of the Temple towards the city there were *precipices*.’

“6. From the western extremity of the bridge I go up the Street of the Temple as far as the *tower of Hippicus*. Along this whole line, any study is impracticable on account of the crowding of the houses, and the number of different ownerships. I only observed, on several points, rusticated stones used in ordinary constructions, as in the Greek monastery of St. John the Baptist, and the pool commonly called the pool of Hezekiah: these I take to be *débris* of the northern wall of the upper city used up again. What is most remarkable on that line is an ancient Jewish gateway, at about one thousand feet east of Hippicus, to which I applied the name of Gennath gate, without knowing that the Rev. Geo. Williams held it to be such. At this point I copy the text of Josephus on the first wall, so that everybody may see how far my researches can be applied to it:—

“‘The most ancient of the three walls could be considered as impregnable, as much on account of its extreme thickness as of the height of the mountain on which it was built and the depth of the valleys at its base; and David, Solomon, and the other kings, had neglected nothing to place it in this state. It began at the Hippicus tower and went as far as that called Xystus, and then, joining the council-house, it terminated at the western cloister of the Temple. On the other side facing the west, it began at the same tower, passed through a place called Bethso, and went down to the gate of the Essenians; then, bending so as to face the south above the fountain of Siloam, it returned again, facing the east opposite Solomon’s pond, and passing through a place called Ophas, it went to join the eastern cloister of the Temple.’—(*Jewish Wars*, bk. v. ch. 5, § 2.)

“Before going on to speak of what I did to verify the second city enclosure, I shall speak of the Tyropœon valley and of Acra. The Tyropœon valley, according to my plan, which agrees with that of Mr. Williams, begins outside the Damascus gate, and joins the point where Dr. Robinson makes it deviate towards the west, as if it stretched towards the Jaffa gate. Therefore the valley, according to my conclusion, having its origin at the north-west corner, crosses the whole city.

This point being settled, there results from it, that the present *Sion* was the *upper city* of Josephus; that *Acra* is the *anterior part*, west of the *Haram esh-Shereef*, including, perhaps, *Ophel*; and that *there* was the lower city; that the hill to the east and opposite to *Acra*, was *Moriah*; and that the hill to the east of the Damascus gate was *Bezetha*; and, in fact, that it lay to the north of the Temple. Into the Tyropœon valley, as marked here, the waters of the whole of Jerusalem still flow to the present day; and in it also, along its whole length, is constructed a drain for the sewerage of the city, which terminates below the pool of Siloam, and which I have often had occasion to repair, where I found that it was made to rest on the rock at a depth of twelve, sixteen, and eighteen feet below the present level, on account of the great accumulation of the soil. The course of the Tyropœon, as suggested by Dr. Robinson, north of *Sion*, is not admissible, for the following reasons:—1. The rock found inside the fosse of the tower of David; also in a piece of ground belonging to the Greeks; again in ground belonging to the Latin patriarchate to the north of the former; also beneath the Protestant church and a new house to the south,—shews that the various levels of foundation do not present such a difference as to give the least indication of the existence of a valley. 2. At the southern extremity of the Christian Bazaar there is the Greek monastery of St. John the Baptist, and a few paces to the south of this is the Russian hospital: I examined their foundations, and found that the rock under the monastery was a continuation of the slope of the rock discovered under the hospital, and therefore no traces of a valley exist here. 3. At about 350 feet more to the east the same features are presented. 4. Along the supposed valley from west to east there is a sewer at the depth of six feet, and yet it rests on the rock: therefore it may be seen that the accumulation on that line is insensible. Moreover, this drain meets the one in the Tyropœon valley, of my plan, and the depth at which this drain is found shews better than anything the non-existence of a valley. 5. Had there been a valley *ab antiquo*, the water-shed of the supposed lower city would have been towards it, and would still be so; but instead of this, it is naturally in the direction of the north, near the *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*. I conclude by pointing out that what Josephus relates is not verified in the *Acra* of Dr. Robinson. I am sure any one who has seen Jerusalem, and paid attention to its levels, if he be asked, Whether the citadel of Antiochus Epiphanes could have been constructed in that *Acra*? whether, hence, the Macedonian garrison could annoy those who went to the Temple? or whether that *Acra*, when levelled by the Maccabees, would leave the Temple more prominent?—would certainly reply in the negative.

“*The Second Wall*. I am of opinion that the second wall must have

had its origin at the time of the construction of the Temple by Solomon, so as to fortify the western part of the sacred edifice; but in this I have no support from history. The second enclosure-wall is mentioned in the Bible only at the epoch of Josiah, when mention is made of the prophetess Huldah (2 Kings xxii. 14, and 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22), and it is also found mentioned in Zephaniah i. 10. The *second* city is there spoken of, which doubtless must have been the part of Jerusalem included in the second enclosure-wall.

“*The Gennath Gate.* The gate which I call *Gennath* is buried for its whole height, with the exception of a part of a semicircular arch formed of large blocks of stone, and which rises for about five feet above the surface of the sloping street. On excavating I found its whole height to be fourteen feet, and its width eight feet; its jambs are of large ancient stones, which are bonded on both sides with other masonry of Jewish style. The threshold of the gateway rests on the rock. It faces towards the west, but this cannot create any difficulty against including it in the ancient wall which extended from the Hippicus to the Xystus, as we know from Tacitus that the walls of the city had *many angles*. On going from this gate in a straight line northwards, I began to find vestiges of ancient walls, but I was not very successful at first, as I found only a remnant of ancient masonry in the ground belonging to the ancient *hospitium* of St. Mary-the-Great, which might have been considered doubtful as to its being Jewish. However, three events took place in favour of my investigations. The first was the fall of a part of a wall in the vaulted Bazaar next to the *hospitium* of St. Mary-the-Great, in restoring which I was able to observe in its foundation remains of ancient Jewish walls. The second was the purchase made by the Russian Mission of a piece of ground to the east of the Holy Sepulchre, where, on excavating, a portion of perfect Jewish wall was found, made of magnificently large stones with low rustication. The third was near the so-called Judiciary gate, where I also found Jewish stones in a foundation laid by the dragoman of the French Consulate. I thus determined exactly a part of the second enclosure-wall, but had to give up any hope of other discovery along its continuation as far as the Antonia tower, the whole line being full of houses; I formed an opinion, however, of its outline, and I believe I am not mistaken, because I verified Josephus' expression that it was necessary to *mount again to reach the Antonia tower*; and in fact this is natural on the east side of the Tyropœon. I moreover ascertained that there existed a valley at the base of Bezetha (as marked on my plan) on its south side, which began at the Tyropœon valley, and skirted the hill all along the south side, going in an easterly direction to join the valley of the Cedron. The circumstances which procured me this knowledge were the foundations of the Austrian *hospitium*, which I had to lay, as well

as those of the convent of the Sisters of Sion, and the information I received with regard to the foundations of other buildings, besides my finding and exploring a subterranean passage and several conduits.

“Before repeating the text of Josephus, I may observe that the present Judiciary gate must have corresponded to the gate of Benjamin or Ephraim, mentioned in Nehemiah xii. 39 and Jeremiah xxxviii. 7; and was that which, at the time of Jesus Christ, led to the place of execution, taking the shortest road from the Prætorium.

“With regard to the second enclosure-wall Josephus says, ‘The second wall began at the gate called Gennath, which formed a part of the first wall. It only enclosed the northern part and went up to Antonia.’ Therefore, with regard to the second enclosure-wall, I believe I have entirely verified the text.

“*Third enclosure-wall of Herod Agrippa.* The third enclosure-wall was circumscribed, according to Josephus, by the *tower Psephinus*, the *monument of Helen* of Adiabene, the *royal caverns*, and the *Fuller’s monument*. Before explaining my investigations on this line of wall, about which I differ in opinion from all others who have wished to reconstruct it, I will recall the text of the historian:—

“‘The third wall began at the Hippic tower. It extended to the northern quarter as far as the tower Psephinus, thence the wall continued as far as the monument of Helena, queen of Adiabene, and mother of King Izates, passed through the royal caverns, and making an angle at the corner tower near the Fuller’s monument, it joined the old wall, terminating at the valley of Cedron.’

“After many studies carried on in the ground to the north of the wall of the present city, I came to the conclusion that the ancient perimeter did not extend any further than the present one, that is to say, that it began at the Jaffa gate, continued as far as the Damascus gate, and joined at the north-east corner of the Haram esh-Shereef. In fact, 1. Josephus says clearly that ‘the city was enclosed by a triple wall except on the side of the valleys, where there was but one, because they were inaccessible.’ In my opinion these few words of Josephus quite invalidate the opinion of those who think of tracing the outline of the walls of Agrippa by drawing it towards the tombs of the kings. On the north-west side and northwards the ground is not very abrupt, hence the reason why the three enclosure-walls are made in those directions; and their necessity is well proved by the repeated attacks which at all times were directed against the city on those sides. Now if Agrippa had placed his wall to the north on the southern cresting of the Cedron, the Jews would have completed it there, and consequently Josephus would not have failed, in describing it, to indicate this topographical circumstance which possessed so much interest. The historian is sufficiently exact in his description of the other enclosure-walls to leave no room to doubt he would have mentioned this had it existed.

Nor can it be said that the northern valley of Cedron is not abrupt, because at the present day it is from sixteen to twenty-four feet deep, and it is certain that since Josephus' epoch the accumulations must have much increased.

" 2. Again, what stadia have Dr. Barclay and Schultz used especially to give such an extension to the city? The Olympic stadia? But they would have been too short for them, each amounting to about 607 feet, though according to my plan they exactly fit. Were they the Pythian stadia they would be less suitable, as being shorter than the Olympic. Were they Phyleterian? Perhaps so, as they are thirty-five feet longer than the Olympic; but still they are insufficient. Are there any stadia thirty-three of which can form the perimeter of Jerusalem, as Josephus reports it? I know not, but if there are I should wish to know them. As for me, I have adopted the Olympic, because this alone corresponds to all the distances quoted in stadia by the historian. Speaking of Mount Olivet, he places it at five stadia from the city; Mount Scopus at seven; Bethlehem at twenty; Anathoth at twenty; and so on with many other examples I could mention. I have verified these distances, and it is on that account that I have kept to the Olympic stadium.

" With respect to the *extension of the city towards the north*, I observe that no traces of works of defences, based on either art or nature, are to be found towards the north-west or north beyond the present enclosure. From the Jaffa gate to the Tombs of the Kings, and hence to the north-east corner of the walls, there is not the least vestige of wall foundation or any external wall. There are found there twenty-six cisterns vaulted in the rock, and four small pools. Could these have been sufficient for the wants of so extensive a part of the city? No. Moreover, in some parts are to be seen small spaces of scarped rock, but generally it is rough and rugged, never having been touched by an instrument. Are these signs of dwelling-places? Over the whole space spoken of, the ground may be seen to consist of a reddish clay, that is to say, to be in its natural state. This also excludes the idea of its having been once covered with houses. Wherever dwellings have been destroyed by time or fire, the soil is blackish or greyish, and in such a case remains of ruins are to be found. Where are there such or other remains on this spot? Let a glance be but thrown to the south, where stood Sion and Ophel, and then it will be seen what ground there is for my opinion. On the south there are great accumulations of stones (*ciottoli*) and a greyish soil. On the north, instead of this, the rock is bare, and there is but little soil.

" 4. Some also would deduce the existence of a part of the city on the north, not only from finding there cisterns, but also from the existence of small stone cubes which seem to have belonged to pavements of a mosaic pattern, and from a few walls which they wished to consider

as of Jewish character, as Dr. Schultz has done for the wall found near the position of his supposed Psephinus tower. I, however, think that on this point he must have been mistaken. That there were dwellings and gardens on the north side, beyond the present enclosure-wall, Josephus clearly states, (*Wars*, v. 3. 2); and again, *Nehemiah* xii. 28, 29 leads us to suppose this. Therefore some remains of mosaic and cistern are not surprising: but as for the wall, I must say that Dr. Schultz took no trouble to investigate it; had he observed it well, and made excavations, he would have found that it was nothing else but an Arab wall, consisting of small stones, which covers a water conduit. Besides this, it is well known that at the Crusaders' period there were dwellings on the north, and even a monastery for the church dedicated to the proto-martyr St. Stephen. Therefore these ruins may have also contributed some of the small slabs and mosaics.

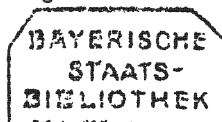
“ 5. Others endeavour to extend the city northwards, as they cannot do so southwards, to enable their plan of the city to contain the immense population attributed to it by Josephus. Here I submit to observation that in Alexander the Great's time Hecateus of Abdera, quoted by Josephus in his first book against Apion, 22, fixes the number of the inhabitants of Jerusalem at about 120,000. Is it then possible that the population should have so increased in four centuries as not to lead us to doubt the assertion of Josephus when he writes that the dead amounted to 1,100,000. I shall remind those who believe in this historical point that there never were so many massacres, emigrations, and revolutions in Palestine as during those last four centuries, and therefore I may well conclude that Josephus certainly meant to say that not in Jerusalem alone, but in the whole course of the war waged by the Romans in Judæa, so many of its inhabitants perished. I should not omit also to recal that its defenders were not more than 25,000, and that the assailants were not more than 80,000. Are these the forces which so great a population could yield to defend its Palladium? Could Titus come up to so vast and populous a city with so disproportionate a number of soldiers? No further elucidation is needed to ascertain that either the historian exaggerated or the copyist fell into some error.

“ 6. Lastly, if the city had reached as far as the Tombs of the Kings, or even south of these, Titus on coming from Gophna to reconnoitre it, with 600 horsemen, would have had no need to examine it, since he could better have done so from Mount Scopus, and could have spoken to the inhabitants from that position to persuade them to peace. If the city had had so great an extension, no point in it would have remained sheltered from the enemy's investigations, and it would have offered a ready point of attack on the north-west, being surrounded closely by higher hills; and Titus himself, as an intelligent general, would have saved himself the trouble of marching from Mount Scopus to Herod's

monument, exposed as he would have been to the easy sallies which the Jews were able to make at any moment. Why did Titus, then, place his encampment on the position occupied by the Assyrians, 2 Kings xviii. 17? Certainly the Assyrian camp was not far from the north-west enclosure of the present enclosure-wall.

“The whole of the observations so far stated were the reasons which induced me to seek for the data of Herod’s enclosure-wall in the present wall; and now following them, I shall explain indications and results obtained. Outside the Jaffa gate, at a distance of 105 feet from the city wall, which runs in a north-west direction, the great monastery having to repair a house, had excavations made in the neighbourhood of the city wall, and I found its foundation and basement to be Herodian.

“Inside the city, at the north-west corner of the wall, there stands a massive ruin formed with hard cement, and containing rusticated masonry in its base, and no higher up, because it is in ruins. On examining it I found *two* well-indicated sides, besides one easy to be deduced, and sufficient space of surface to have contained five other sides. It was then that I formed an opinion that this masonry was the remains of the tower Psephinus, and I was further convinced of this as soon as I saw the remains of a cistern. Opposite these ruins, outside the wall, is to be seen a fortification-fosse, cut in the rock, a work certainly of the Herodian period, because no conqueror of the holy city has since had the time or will to undertake grand and extensive works in it. This fosse is an additional proof to convince us that the walls have never extended beyond this point, as Drs. Schultz, Barclay, and many others have contended. The position of the tower Psephinus, according to my theory, is perhaps the highest point in the city, and hence it is easy to believe, as being seventy cubits high, as Josephus says, the borders of Arabia and the sea, namely the Dead Sea, might be seen from it. On this there can be no doubt, since the Dead Sea might be seen from the house or terrace of the British Consul, which is not far distant. Besides this, I find it possible to apply here what Josephus relates in the ‘Jewish Wars,’ v. 3. 3, namely, that ‘the tower was situated at the north-west corner,’ and that ‘the camp of the Assyrians was opposite to it.’ Here I remark that the Psephinus tower of Dr. Schultz, (situated about 600 feet away from the north-west corner of the city,) besides being placed in an unfavourable military position, on account of its being in a hollow, would not, with a height of 140 cubits, have afforded a sight of the sea. That of Dr. Barclay at about eighty feet from mine, and in the same direction, outside the city enclosure, however well it might answer to the conditions given by the historian, I find it impossible to admit of, because it would have been placed on an extended level, without defensive outworks, unless it were a fosse, and then the Romans would have easily attacked it. But the Roman general took it with some difficulty. Other



authors have wished also to find elsewhere the site of Psephinus, but the positions chosen by them either come very near the two last-mentioned, and I apply to them the reasoning already expressed, or they have taken other positions, and the particulars transmitted by Josephus are not then applicable to them.

“From the north-west corner the city walls now take an eastward direction, and before reaching the Damascus gate may now be seen a new Greek building, which is in contact with the city wall itself. At the time when its foundations were being laid, I observed a piece of walling completely Herodian, a few stones of which may still be seen above ground. This also supports my argument, because there results clearly from it that at that point a wall or tower of the Jewish period was erected.

“The present Damascus gate abounds for me in proofs that Agrippa’s enclosure-wall passed there. In fact, the gate itself is flanked to the east and west by two towers, the bases of which consist altogether of Herodian stones. Their dimensions in plan may be taken at twenty cubits square, and they are massive relatively to the ancient level of the soil. I say the *ancient* level, because I explored them from the cistern to the east, outside the gate, having gone down into it to ascertain the existence of an ancient gate which stands under the present gate, and which I had discovered by the appearance of a small portion of an arch which projected above the roadway. This gateway is 8 ft. wide and 16 ft. high; its arch is semicircular, and its masonry is Herodian. I have no doubt that this is the very same gate as that called by Josephus the north gate, when he relates that the Jews came out through it to attack Titus, when he took his first survey round the city, (*Jewish Wars*, v. 2. 2). On both sides of the outside of the existing gate are to be seen large Herodian stones with rustication; part of them are in the masonry of the city wall, and there are others projecting on the roadway.”

Dr. Pierotti then explained his views of the position of *Helen’s Monument*, which he considers to be north of the Damascus gate, where a heap of ruins, standing from 6 ft. to 8 ft. above the level of the surrounding soil, still remains. These are not remains of the tomb, but by marks on the rock a former structure can be traced, superseded probably by that one the remains of which still exist.

He gave his arguments very clearly on this point from Josephus, who states that the tomb was three stadia from *the wall*, meaning, no doubt, the *second enclosure-wall*. With St. Jerome’s account of the journey of St. Paula this position agrees exactly, for the remains of the ancient road referred to are still visible. He also mentioned a curious Jewish custom of annually spending a whole day on this particular rock.

He then passed on to the *Royal Caverns*; being very different from

the *Tombs of the Kings*, with which they have been confused: he shewed them to have been vast quarries, penetrating southwards beneath Bezetha for a considerable distance. From these quarries Signor Pierotti was able to trace the stone in several processes of construction, among others the bridge described by Dr. Robinson, and which Dr. Pierotti ascribes to the time of Justinian.

With regard to the *Fuller's Monument*, Signor Pierotti took the passage from Josephus for his guide, when he states "that the wall made an angle at the corner tower near the Fuller's Monument." He found remains of a great tower in the massive masonry at the north-east corner of the wall. All trace of the monument has now disappeared, but its position may be made out very nearly from the passages which occur in the Bible, e.g. 2 Kings xviii. 17, Isaiah xxxvi. 2, 2 Kings xxiii. 6, Jeremiah xxvi. 23. He concludes that the Fuller's field occupied the whole of the plateau above the south side of the valley in this direction. The rocks on the east of the corner have been worked; there are remains of masonry at their base, but it is impossible to recognise the existence of a sepulchre; yet considering that close to the valley of the Cedron were the tombs of the common people, the cut rock opposite the north-east corner is probably the spot where the Fuller's Monument stood.

At this point Signor Pierotti concluded his survey of the ancient walls of Jerusalem. In conclusion he says:—

"One of the objections which could be reasonably urged against me would be to ask me for an explanation of the number of towers which Josephus attributes to the enclosure in his 'Jewish Wars,' v. 4. 3. First, let me reproduce the historian's text:—

"*The third wall had ninety towers, and the intervals between them were of two hundred cubits, the middle wall had fourteen, and the old wall was divided into seventy.*"

"Josephus clearly expresses himself with regard to the third wall; but with regard to the other two he does not give the space which was between the towers. This does not signify for the middle wall, but for the ancient wall it does. Each time that I have attempted to resolve this question in my mind I have failed, nor can I do so to-day; I can only say that this cannot militate against the limits I have assigned to the city; because the product of the number of cubits given by the ninety towers and their intervals gives alone forty-six stadia, a product too large even for those who with their traced outline have reached as far as the Tombs of the Kings. The description of the wall of circumvallation made by Titus, as Josephus gives it to us, supports my view of the enclosure-walls, (Wars, v. 12. 2,) since he states that it was thirty-nine stadia in length; and I find that I did not make a mistake in tracing it. The historian says:—

"This wall began at the Assyrians' camp, continued as far as the lower city,

and after crossing the valley of Cedron, went to reach the Mount of Olives, which it enclosed in a southern direction as far as the Columbarium, as also the hill that is above the valley of Siloam; whence turning towards the west it went down into that valley where is the fountain which bears its name. Hence it went to reach the sepulchre of the high-priest Ananias; it encompassed the hill on which Pompey formerly had encamped, turned then towards the north, went as far as the village of Erebinthon, enclosed the sepulchre of Herod on the east, and thence joined again the place where it had its beginning. The whole of this circuit was thirty-nine stadia.—(*Wars*, v. 7. 3.)

“The position of the Assyrians’ camp is at the north-west corner of the present wall of enclosure. In fact, Titus placed his quarters at two stadia from that corner.

“The rock of the Columbarium is nothing else than the *Tombs of the Prophets* of the present day. The monument of Ananias is now called the sepulchre of St. Onophrius; it is decorated externally, and is found in the Aceldama. At the place where I consider the village of Erebinthon stood, there exist cut rocks and many cisterns. Finally, with regard to Herod’s sepulchre, I agree with all who place it on the west of the pool of Mamilla, although it is very difficult to recognise in those excavations any element to judge with certainty; but it is undoubted that these ruins were originally sepulchres.

“This is, gentlemen, what I think on the topography of Jerusalem; I have drawn and already published a plan, on which my ideas are expressed, but in the book^c which I am preparing for the press the details of the various investigations to which I have referred will be given at length, with proper diagrams and illustrations.”

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLAN.

Dr. Pierotti has most kindly prepared for the use of the Society a small plan containing the chief places referred to in the report, and at the same time exhibiting the space occupied by the original walls of Jerusalem; the exterior of the walls in the time of Solomon, and again in that of Herod Agrippa; lastly, of the walls of Jerusalem as now standing. To this have been added the boundaries on the north, according to the theories of Dr. Robinson and Mr. Barclay.

In this plan the names of the chief localities mentioned in the first lecture are given. Several in the second are also referred to.

The lines of the three walls are thus represented:—

. signifies the line of the first wall of Jerusalem.

— — — — — signifies the line of the second additional wall, i. e. *temp.* Solomon.

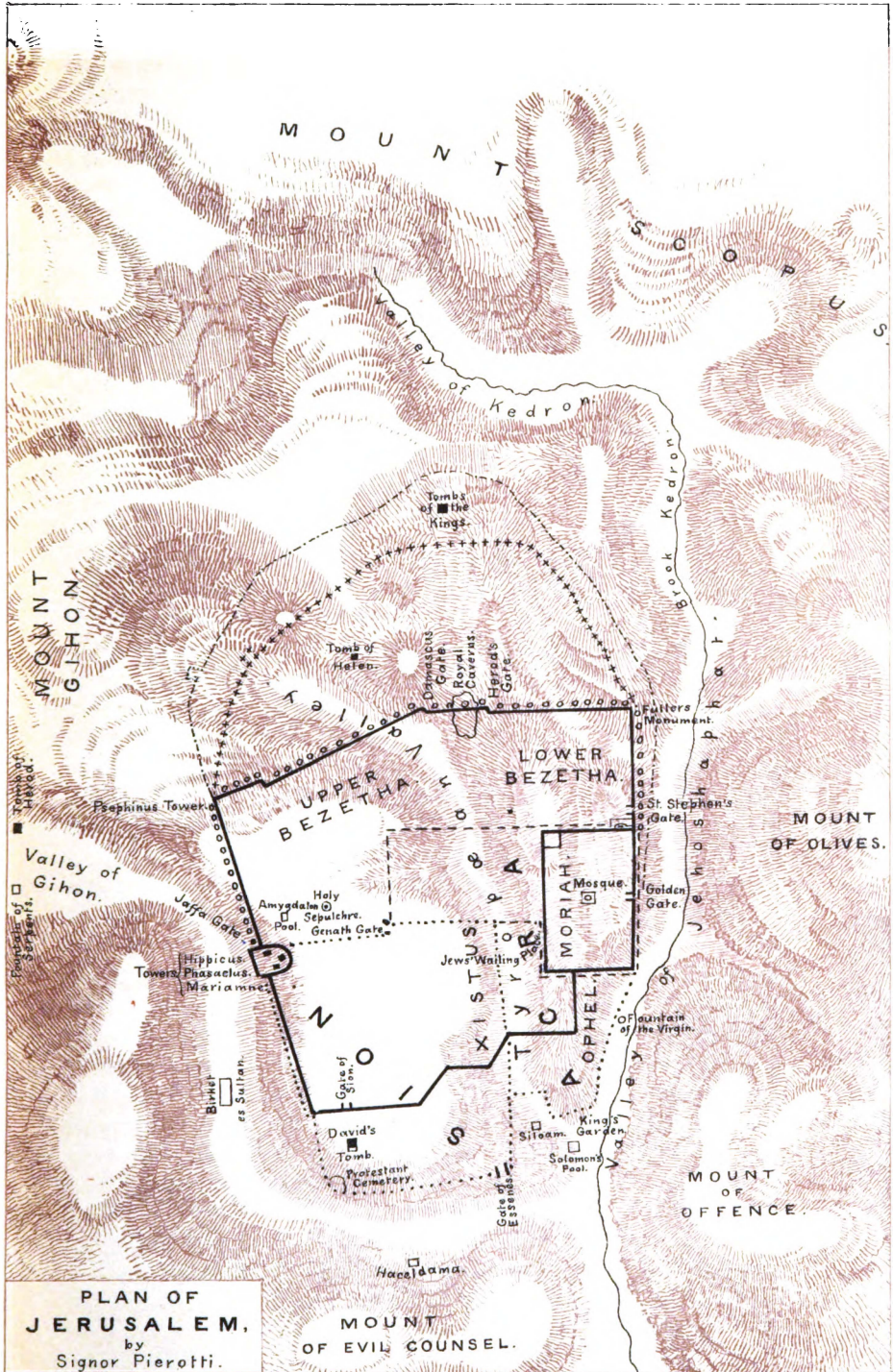
o o o o o signifies the line of the third wall, i. e. *temp.* Herod Agrippa.

————— The thick line shews the present southern boundary of the city. [It will be seen that the modern northern boundary follows, according to Dr. Pierotti, the same line on the northern side as the third wall.]

The line thus — . — . — . — represents the supposed extent of Jerusalem at the time of Herod Agrippa, as given by BARCLAY.

The line thus + + + + the supposed northern extension as suggested by ROBINSON and SCHULTZ.

^c [This book is advertised to be published by Messrs. Deighton, Bell, and Co., of Cambridge. It will contain upwards of one hundred Illustrations, consisting of Views, Ground-plans, and Sections. The price to Subscribers will not exceed four guineas.]



PLAN OF
JERUSALEM,
 by
 Signor Pierotti.

Drawn for the Oxford Architectural & Historical Society.

Second Meeting, Lent Term, 1862.

March 13. Professor GOLDWIN SMITH in the chair.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society :—

- William G. Barron, Esq., St. John's College.
- James B. White, Esq., St. John's College.
- Rev. H. F. Tozer, M.A., Exeter College.
- R. F. B. Wither, Esq., Pembroke College.
- F. A. Channing, Esq., Exeter College.
- Charles Neate, Esq., M.A., Oriel College, Professor of Political Economy.
- W. M. Wylie, Esq., F.S.A., Blackwater.
- John Henry Macalister, Esq., Merton College.
- W. A. D. Harrison, Esq., Corpus Christi College.
- W. F. Campbell, Esq., Christ Church.
- Rev. Henry Estridge, M.A., Trinity College.
- E. C. Boyle, Esq., B.A., Trinity College.
- Rev. R. Duckworth, M.A., Trinity College.
- John Henry Green, Esq., Wadham College.
- Rev. F. Chalker, M.A., Corpus Christi College.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Dr. Pierotti for his lecture upon the "History of the Temple Enclosure."

Dr. PIEROTTI, as on the previous occasion, addressed the meeting in French. He said that during the eight years he had laboured in Jerusalem, he had paid especial attention to that part which would form the subject of this lecture. He had examined several plans, but for wild imagination that of Mr. Fergusson stood foremost. It could only be accounted for by the supposition, (and this he understood to be the case,) that Mr. Fergusson had never set foot in Jerusalem, and had only gained his ideas from drawings or from the contradictory accounts of travellers. He, (Dr. Pierotti,) however, had devoted three years to planning out carefully the Haram esh-Shereef, and he hoped therefore that the results which he would lay before the meeting would be accepted. He then explained his plan of operations, and the means at his disposal. He had carefully compared all the passages in the Bible, in the Talmud, and in Josephus. He also, thanks to the Pacha, and to his own position as engineer and architect to the Turkish government, had been able to work in this important spot, which had generally been hitherto forbidden ground for Europeans, guarded as it was by Moslem fanaticism. He then briefly, as on the former occasion, passed in review the main topics which he considered of interest, and especially dwelt on those points on which his discoveries threw any light. For the details Mr. Williams again kindly acted as his interpreter.

The lecture was divided into three parts. The first consisted of a rapid sketch of the history of Mount Moriah, from the earliest period to our own time; the second treated of the enclosure-walls of the

Haram esh-Shereef; and the third, of the interior of these mysterious buildings.

I. Of all the points in the topography of Jerusalem, that which is most clearly established, by comparing the monuments still existing with the descriptions given in ancient histories, is undoubtedly Mount Moriah.

The first mention of this mount is to be found in Genesis, when Abraham, by God's command, took thither his son Isaac. We learn further on in the Bible, that here stood the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, which David purchased, and whereon he erected an altar. Here was afterwards built the Temple of Solomon. It was here, too, that after their captivity the Jews were allowed to rebuild their Temple. Herod the Great pulled down this temple, and built on the same spot another of great magnificence. This was destroyed by the Roman legions under Titus, A.D. 70, and it was not until sixty years after, that the Emperor Hadrian caused the ruins to be cleared away, and on the same spot built a temple dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus. The Emperor Justinian erected a basilica dedicated to the Blessed Virgin at the southern extremity of Mount Moriah, about one hundred paces from the site of the ancient Temple. The Arabs converted the basilica into a mosque, now called El Aksa; they also purified the sacred stone, that is to say, Araunah's threshing-floor, and afterwards erected a second mosque on the spot.

On the arrival of the Crusaders in Jerusalem, A.D. 1099, they massacred in the mosque of Omar a great number of the Musselmen, and in 1115 they transformed the mosque of Omar into a church, calling it *Templum Domini*, in memory of its being the spot on which Solomon had erected his Temple dedicated to the Almighty. In 1187, on the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, the two mosques were again dedicated to the Musselman worship, and from that period the Haram esh-Shereef had been nothing else but a sacred enclosure for the Musselmen, and till the last few years it had been with great difficulty that any persons of another religion could enter it. When, in 1517, Selim I., Sultan of Constantinople, conquered Syria and Palestine, he ordered great restorations and decorations to be made in the two mosques, which were finished by his successor, Suleyman the Magnificent; and they remain probably to this day very much in the same state in which they were then left.

II. *The outer walls forming the enclosure of the Haram esh-Shereef.* Beginning with the wall on the eastern side, we find in the foundations, from the north-eastern corner to that on the south-east, that the stones were bound together with clamps of lead, and that they were also deeply bevilled to the depth of about three inches. This part of the masonry is to be attributed to the *Solomonian* period. Rising above this is

masonry of a later date, which is of *Herodian* construction, and in which the stones are more finely wrought, while the surface is less smooth. In some parts of the enclosure, particularly near the Golden gate, and in the south-east corner, great blocks of stone are to be seen inserted in the walls. Such irregular construction shews evidently that they had been employed again in subsequent reconstructions or repairs.

In passing along we come to *the Golden gate*. This is a double semicircular arch, decorated with ornaments which characterize the Herodian period. It is a remarkable fact how it has escaped the flames which devoured the neighbouring building at the time when the Roman legions destroyed so many buildings, about A.D. 70. The arches rest on piers whose external construction shews traces of resemblance to the basilica of Bethlehem rather than as belonging to the Jewish epoch, therefore it is probable that the ornaments of the arches have been copied from some earlier ones, especially as the walls immediately adjoining them are evidently Arab, and doubtless of Suleyman's time. Near this part of the walls is a Moslem cemetery. Signor Pierotti happening to be present here one day when a grave was being dug, he noticed the man stopped on coming to a piece of wall, and he succeeded in persuading him to continue his work, and soon discovered that the obstruction was part of a conduit of great antiquity, three feet and a-half in depth. This induced him to make an excavation at the south-east corner of the Temple enclosure, when he found at the depth of five feet a continuation of the same conduit. This he soon determined was the conduit used to carry off the blood of the victims slain in the Jewish sacrifices. Further excavations convinced him that this was the case, and that the conduit reached from the interior of the Haram esh-Shereef to the pool of the Virgin in the valley of the Cedron, from which the blood was carried into the Cedron itself. He afterwards discovered another conduit proceeding from a cistern called Solomon's in the interior of the Haram to the pool of Siloam.

As we proceed along the southern side of the walls, we find masonry similar to that on the eastern side. At about ninety-four feet from the south-east corner there is a pointed doorway, which was probably made by the Crusaders, and originally communicated with the subterranean vaults used by them as stables.

Ninety feet further west we find three semicircular arches like that of the Golden gate, which has been already stated to be of the time of Justinian. These doorways likewise in all probability communicated with the vaults. At the point where the city wall takes a southern direction is a doorway which is entirely walled up, and which is, again, also of the same style as the Golden gate. From here to

the south-western corner the wall seems to be of Solomonian construction.

On arriving at the western wall, a few feet from the south-west corner are to be seen the remains of what has been by some authors described as a large bridge of the time of Solomon or Herod, which formerly might have connected the Temple with Mount Sion. Dr. Pierotti is of opinion that this was not the case, but thinks that probably the Emperor Justinian had commenced a bridge in order to render access to his church more easy, and had afterwards desisted from so arduous an undertaking. At the part adjoining the wall was plainly visible the commencement of an arch and a pier, but on the opposite bank he found no traces of any masonry or foundations whatever, though he searched very carefully: consequently the bridge, though begun, had evidently never been finished. That a bridge on that side of the enclosure had existed no one doubts, but it ran probably in the same direction as it does to this day, i.e. across the Tyropœon valley from the *Es-Silsileh Gate* of the Haram as far as the point of the street going hence westward, where there is a rapid descent. On turning towards the south we come to the wall where the Jews are in the habit of going to recite certain Psalms of David, or the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and weeping and bewailing their fate, (hence known by the name of the *Jews' Wailing-place*). Along the valley in which we find ourselves, passes a water-conduit coming from Urtas (Hortus) and running beneath the Haram esh-Shereef as far as the cistern called *Birket-es-Soultan*, affording a supply of water as it passes to the fountain in the middle of the Hall of Justice (*Mehkemeh*), and then to that which is on the pavement between the two mosques. Here the basement story of the Hall of Justice is to be remarked; it is singular as being of very rough workmanship, and may probably be attributed to the time of the Maccabees. As regards the wall of the Jews' Wailing-place, the construction at the base is certainly Solomonian, while that above is of Herodian workmanship. The lower part of the wall, extending from the Es-Silsileh gate of the Haram, is concealed by the Arab houses which are built against it. Along this part of the wall is situated the entrance to the Turkish bath called *Hammam esh-Shefa*, (bath of health). It is continually supplied by a spring, (the water of which has an unpleasant taste,) which flows into a cistern excavated in the rock, and runs thence through a conduit towards the east; the water, after passing the bath, flows into the Tyropœon valley.

Passing on to the walls on the northern side, there are several excavations, which enabled Dr. Pierotti to make some interesting discoveries relating to the subterranean galleries, cisterns, conduits, and drains which exist under the enclosure of the Haram. In the subterraneous passage

which he discovered there were remains of most stupendous vaulting and wonderful masonry. This subterranean gallery was probably the one in which Antigonus, brother of Aristobulus, was assassinated by the evil machinations of Queen Alexandra, who bore him ill-will.

In prosecuting his researches on the northern side, Dr. Pierotti visited the basement-story of the military barracks, where he discovered that the south side of the building consists of rock for the height of sixty-two feet, and on this rests the masonry of the upper rooms. On examining the northern side he ascertained that its foundations were laid in the valley, and some old masons who had laid those foundations in the time of Ibrahim Pacha assured him they were at a depth of not less than twenty-six to thirty feet. This and subsequent researches persuaded him that a valley had existed between Moriah and Bezetha, that it began on the west at the Tyropœon valley and terminated on the east at the valley of Cedron.

III. *The interior of the Haram esh-Shereef.* To visit this, a stranger must obtain an order from the Governor of the city, and he is then conducted over it by the chief Guardian of the Mosque. The enclosure is almost entirely on a level; the whole is formed on the rock, which in one place has been considerably levelled by artificial means, and is still seen rising up and forming part of the south wall of the barracks. The masonry of the walls is of the same kind as that found in the subterranean passage before mentioned. The dwellings which skirt the northern side running from the barracks are the work of Selim I., and of Suleyman the Magnificent. The arcade built against the wall of the *Pool of Bethesda* is of subsequent date. In the eastern wall is found the Golden gate, whose side walls are certainly not Herodian. This gate has already been mentioned.

Continuing in a south-westerly direction we find traces of an artificial terrace. The subterranean structure beneath the terrace has been explored; it consists of 149 piers, which rest on the rock, and serve to support the vault.

It is impossible to ascertain whether the vault is entirely scooped in the rock, on account of the enormous masses of earth and ruins which block it up; but it is no doubt of Solomonian origin, though repaired by Herod. It has been made into a reservoir for water: firstly, for the use of the Temple; secondly, for that of the court of the Gentiles; lastly, to serve also for cleansing the drain which carried off the blood of the victims. This vault has been attributed to Justinian by some, but this could not have been the case, as the chief object of the structure was to raise the Temple enclosure to a uniform level throughout. Justinian repaired it, but nothing more. On coming out of this subterranean vault may be noticed several perforations in the ground, all of which communicate with the cistern called by the Musselmen *Birket-*

es-Soultan, which is of the time of Solomon, and is cut out of the rock ; its size is 175 feet from west to east, and 142 from south to north.

A few words must be said here on *el-Aksa*, (the further sanctuary). This was built by Justinian. The columns of the central part have now been covered with white plaster, but they are of the same stone as that made use of in the Basilica of Bethlehem, namely, the red *breccia* of Palestine. It was embellished and enlarged by the Caliph Abd-el-Melik, and repaired by Abou Djafer-el-Mansour, and afterwards by el-Mahadi in consequence of its having been damaged by an earthquake. Selim I. decorated its dome with mosaic. On the west of el-Aksa is the *Mosque of Abou Beker*, and then that of the *Mugaribeh*. The first has been built on an ancient wall erected there by the Knights Templars ; the second is upon the site where Justinian had erected a hospital. On exploring the west side of the Haram, Dr. Pierotti found work of the times of the Crusaders, Saladin, Suleyman, and the modern Arabs, besides, as upon the north, and upon the platform of the Mosque of Omar, various monuments in the Saracenic style.

The platform of the Mosque of Omar rises above the level of the Haram to the height of four or five feet on the north side, and six or seven on the south.

Several flights of steps give access to the top ; these are terminated by elegant pointed arcades, supported on columns of variegated marble and of various dimensions of base, shaft, and capital. These have been probably brought hither by the Musselmen, having formerly belonged to Christian sanctuaries. The platform is the solid rock. The plan of the mosque is simple : two concentric octagonal aisles surround the circular central part, which supports a pointed dome. The form of the dome serves alone to characterize the building. The doorways and windows are of a pointed style, and the sixteen columns forming the inner octagonal aisles are of equal height and have the same capitals, but rest on unequal bases. The twelve columns which are found between the four piers that support the dome have a diameter different from the sixteen others, as well as different proportions of shaft, capital, and base, and they all support arches slightly pointed. The vaulting of the dome is made of wood covered with Arabic gilding ; the dome and arcades are inlaid with mosaics, which date from the time of the Sultan Selim I.

The rock, which occupies nearly the whole space covered by the dome, rises for about five feet above the pavement ; it has a bare, rugged surface. On the north and west sides it is cut perpendicularly, and from the shape of the cutting it may be attributed to the time of the Crusaders : they might well have cut it away to build there a flight of steps to go up to the high altar which they had raised under the centre of the dome. On the east side, at its base, the rock presents a very

irregular outline. Above is a hole bored in this rock, 3 ft. 6 in. thick. At the south-east corner is a staircase which leads under the vault, (formed by the rock,) where is found a kind of circular chamber of a diameter of about 25 ft., and about 8 ft. 6 in. high, the walls of which have been whitewashed; and it is lighted only by the hole already mentioned. In the centre of this chamber is a slab of Palestine breccia, which when you strike it, you perceive covers another cavity; this stone, in fact, covers the second part of the cistern, which is called by the Musselmen Bir el-Arwah, 'the well of souls.' This, Signor Pierotti succeeded in ascertaining by descending into the cistern on the north of the mosque, where he was able to enter by means of the conduit cut in the rock, when he found it to be a rough cavity of an irregular circumference. The lower part of the cistern has two channels connected with it—one to the north, the other to the south. He, however, has reason to believe there is a third passage or conduit to the east, owing to the hollow sound caused by striking the pavement at that part called 'David's Judgment-seat.'

There is every reason to believe that this rock is nothing else but the summit of Mount Moriah, which was left untouched and apparent by Solomon on account of the sacred traditions respecting it, over which he erected the temple of the Almighty. The altar of sacrifice must have been placed on the site of the so-called tribunal of David, and the well into which the blood of the victims flowed was the two cisterns on the north; and in fact Ezekiel (chap. xl. vers. 40 and 41) states that it was on the north side that the tables stood on which was prepared the flesh for sacrifice.

Dr. Pierotti then went on to describe the various conduits and subterranean passages which led into and out of the several cisterns. Many curious facts were brought forward, shewing the very perfect way in which the system of draining was managed, not only by the channels for the passage outwards of the blood and offal of the victims sacrificed, but also by the provision of an ample supply of water in order to flush the drains. The numerous tanks of water, and the various conduits which evidently could be opened and closed by machinery at pleasure, shewed that, although complicated, the arrangement afforded sure means for the prevention of any accumulation of matter, which would have been most injurious to the health of, if not fatal to, those who were engaged in the services of the Temple. It is impossible in this report to give any idea of the extraordinary system of drainage which Dr. Pierotti has discovered. It would require not only much space but many plans and sections. The members of the Society, however, will be pleased to hear that in Dr. Pierotti's forthcoming work a full account of this part of his discoveries will be given, with the necessary diagrams carefully engraved.

With the account of the caverns beneath the Haram ~~esh~~-Shereef Dr. Pierotti's lecture was brought to a close^d.

The Rev. Mr. ADAMS, of New College, wished to know whether the accounts with respect to the extent of the ground occupied by the Temple buildings, as given in Ezekiel, agreed at all with those given in the Mishna, and in Josephus.

The Rev. Mr. WILLIAMS translated the question to Signor Pierotti, who briefly replied in French.

Mr. Williams explained more fully that there were several difficulties from the diversity in the extent of the 'cubits,' the measure employed, as well as from the doubt as to the portions of the Temple buildings which each writer referred to. It was impossible to devise any plan in which all accounts could be made to agree. While on this subject he could not but regret the most unscientific manner in which Mr. Fergusson had solved the difficulty. He had simply marked off, along what he considered to be the enclosure wall, six hundred feet on one side, on another six hundred feet, and then drawing lines at right angles to the walls, he concluded that the space enclosed was the site of the Temple buildings—not one recorded fact or discovery bearing out this view.

Before the close of the meeting, votes of thanks were unanimously accorded to Signor Pierotti and to the Rev. Mr. Williams.

Third Meeting, Lent Term, 1862.

March 18. The Rev. the MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, President, in the chair.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society :—

E. Hubbard, Esq., Ch. Ch.

A. G. Livingstone, Esq., Queen's College.

Mr. DAWKINS read a paper on "Traces of the Early Britons in the Neighbourhood of Oxford."

In this lecture Mr. Dawkins, after referring to the great abundance of materials for the study of archæology in the neighbourhood, so that it was impossible to walk out without meeting with some vestiges of antiquity, proceeded to describe the various excavations which had been made

^d The importance of these discoveries, which set at rest unquestionably the purpose and use of these caverns beneath the Haram ~~esh~~-Shereef, is very great, because it has been asserted that here was the site of the "Holy Sepulchre." That this erroneous theory has met with favour is sufficiently evident from the fact that in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," a work of great learning and research, it is not only viewed favourably, but thoroughly adopted, to the exclusion of every other.

a year or more ago in the village of Standlake, near Witney. The series of circles which had been disclosed he considered to be of an early British period. He minutely described, therefore, the circumstances attending their discovery, and the remains found in them. He took one of these as typical of the rest, which especially contained an *ustrinum*, or place where bodies had been burnt. He also described the urns, of which he had two very beautiful specimens, which Dr. Wilson, President of Trinity College, had kindly brought with him to lay before the meeting. Other relics were incidentally mentioned, such as a bronze ring, an arrow-head of calcined flint, &c.

Such being the cemetery of the early race, he then described in the same manner the dwelling-places and the remains which were found also in them, such, *e.g.*, as a small iron link (the only metal-work) and some bone implements, and large quantities of pottery. There was also a mass of conglomerate, which was so shaped as to serve as a scoop, and with this probably these early pits had been excavated. Besides these there was a large quantity of bones of animals, which had hitherto been only loosely described as bones of pig, ox, &c., but which he considered were deserving of attention, as by them much light would be thrown upon the habits of this early people. He said:—

“ I have been able to identify the following:—The horn-cores, teeth, and long bones of *bos longifrons*, the small short-horned ox; the upper and lower jaws of a large species of dog; the jaws and teeth of sheep; a portion of the lower jaw of a colt; the upper jaw of a red or fallow deer; the lower jaw of a pig or boar, and the lower jaw of a cat; the metacarpal of a roe-deer has been polished, and probably was worn as a pendant, as there are marks of the friction of a string upon it near one of its ends. The evidence relative to the mode of life of this early race afforded by the remains of animals is by no means unimportant. For to pass over the short-horned ox, which is now not only extinct in England, but in the whole of Europe, and the dog, which will be subsequently discussed, the presence of a cat, the guardian of the hearth, as Mr. Wylie terms it, enables us to make a curious induction. Assuming that the habits of Pussy have always remained the same, her repugnance to a change of locality was the same then as now, and her masters must have had, to a certain extent, fixed habitations. Again, from it the presence of mice or rats can be justly inferred; for in early stages of society it is highly improbable that a useless pet would be tolerated, and it is a well-known zoological law that the relations between a flesh-eater and its prey remain constant. The bones of mice were found. Again, to carry the chain of argument still further, the presence of mice implies the presence of edibles,—corn, or roots, or nuts. In all probability it was corn that attracted these vermin; for that this early race had cereals is proved by the ear of corn which

Hoare found underneath an early British tumulus near Warminster. The lake-dwellings of Switzerland have furnished traces of barley, wheat, nuts, beech mast, and even seeds of raspberries. Mr. Stone, indeed, thinks that some of the circular pits at Standlake, without a passage cut in the side, indicate that they were made for the purpose of containing stores. Thus the cat's jaw indicates that these aborigines had fixed dwellings, that they were plagued by mice or rats, and that they had storehouses.

“The fragments of pottery found, both in the cemeteries and the abodes, are of the rudest workmanship and of the coarsest material. All the patterns are either rude impressions of a finger-nail or stick, or of parallel lines drawn at various angles to one another, and in the main making vandykes. None of them were baked in a kiln, but after being rudely fashioned by the hand out of the clay, were hardened in the fire. It is of the same type as that found by Sir R. Colt Hoare in the tumuli of Wiltshire. And though at first sight no possible connexion can be seen between the burial-mounds of Wilts. and the cemeteries marked out by a trench at Standlake, which are not raised above the level of the ground, and though articles of gold and other material of comparatively good workmanship have been found in the former and none in the latter, both are of the same age; the one being raised over the chiefs and their families, the other being the resting-place of the common people. We have indeed only to step into a churchyard to see a similar difference, flowing from a similar cause, between the tombs of the wealthy and the graves of the poor, the former remaining through centuries, the latter in a few years' time sinking down to the level of the ground, and leaving no trace of their position on the surface. Yet in both alike, on close examination, the disturbed earth will after a long lapse of time indicate the burial, and the grass will be greener and more rank than on the surrounding soil. On the field of Sedgemoor the bodies of the common soldiers were collected together and buried under a mound, and though the plough has long since eradicated all traces of a mound, the rank dark-green grass still marks the place. Not being satisfied that it was an infallible sign, some few years ago I investigated the spot, and at a depth of about two feet found human bones. Thus the dark-tinted grass is a more lasting memorial than many which man places to mark the resting-place of his dead.”

Mr. Dawkins then described the burial-ground which he had discovered in the railway cutting at Yarnton:—

“In May, 1861, while on a geological excursion, I had an opportunity of exploring a section of the rising ground near Yarnton, Oxford, in the cutting of the Witney Railway, close to its junction with the main Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton line. There were two

distinct layers visible, the lower one composed of water-worn pebbles of the neighbouring rocks, of quartz from the Lickey hill, and of granite from Charnwood Forest; the greater number, however, were from the lower oolitic limestones of the district. The Oxford clay also, upon which it is based, has contributed its characteristic belemnites,—*B. Oweni*,—all more or less water-worn and broken, and its own oysters, which being much stronger than the belemnites, are in many cases uninjured. In this, as in the rest of the low-level gravels of the valley of the Evenlode, and Isis, and Cherwell, remains of the elephant (teeth and tusks), rhinoceros, ox, horse, &c., have been found; which indicates clearly that the mammoth and its extinct and living congeners lived either immediately before or during the time that this bed of shingle was thrown up by the sea, which then filled the vales of the Thames and its tributaries.

“On the summit of this gravel-bed is a black layer of earth, varying considerably in thickness, from five feet to a few inches, with the junction line by no means uniform. Here and there are deep indentations, where the black earth had, as it were, encroached upon the gravel below. As we examined this layer, walking westwards, we found innumerable pieces of pottery, rude and half-baked, together with bones and teeth of various animals,—of the horse, ox, deer, sheep, dog, and pig. All the bones were broken, and the teeth were in the main separate from the jaws. The only jaw which we found perfect was the lower jaw of a dog. These remains became more abundant as we advanced westward, and the black layer became thicker, until, at the extreme end of the cutting, it excluded the gravel altogether from view. About ten yards from this spot, and at a depth of one foot, we discovered a skeleton, which was buried in a sitting posture, with the face turned to the S.E., or S.S.E. A complete section of it had been made in digging the embankment, and I obtained only the bones of one side—the rest having been carried away in the soil removed in making the cutting. There were numerous pieces of angular flint here, as in other parts of the black layer. On further examination we found a circular piece of bronze and a small tag-like instrument, also of bronze. These were the only traces of metal which we discovered. In November last, Mr. Dobbs and myself were fortunate enough to find another skeleton, quite perfect, which was buried at full length; the skull is now in the osteological series of the New Museum.

“Some three or four years ago, while excavations were being made to obtain gravel for the embankment of the Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton line, a considerable number of urns and human remains was discovered about a quarter of a mile to the east of the spot under consideration. Unfortunately, all the skeletons and bones have been lost, or scattered among private collections; and of the urns one

only has found its way to its proper resting-place, the collection of the Ashmolean Society. This, I am informed, at the time of its discovery contained a smaller one, which has disappeared. It was found at a depth of eight feet from the surface, near the south side of the gravel-pit, which is now to a great extent filled up and obliterated by the plough. The pieces of pottery scattered about the ploughed lands indicate that the burial-grounds of this early race of men were of considerable extent in this locality.

“ But what inference can we draw from the above data of the age of this burial-ground? Who were the ancient people whose remains were found here? and what deductions can we draw as to their habits, culture, and modes of life? The evidence as to these points afforded by an inquiry into the remains both of man and of the other animals, the mode of interment, and the description of pottery associated with the remains, will, I apprehend, give us a very fair notion of the relative date of the people to whom this cemetery belonged, and give us an outline of their customs and manners. All the hollow bones were broken, that the marrow might be abstracted, while the solid bones were in all cases whole. None of them belonged to old animals. Thus the jaws and teeth of the sheep indicated, in the main, a creature about a year and a-half old, and certainly not exceeding two years. The remains of the other animals indicate an age approximating to that of the sheep. The fragmentary condition of the bones is easily accountable for on the supposition that the friends held a funeral feast, similar to those in Ireland, at which they ate and drank for their own pleasure and the honour of the deceased; and that they buried the bones in the grave with the remains of their departed friend. They must, indeed, have been to a certain degree epicures; for the bones indicate that they preferred young meat to old,—veal to beef, and lamb to mutton; while the boars’ remains shew a decided preference for a young porker over an old one. The teeth-marks on one of the bones of *bos longifrons* indicate that it had been gnawed by some animal; and coupling this together with the presence of a dog’s jaw, it may justly be inferred that dogs were present at the feast. It is highly probable that the custom which Cæsar mentions as prevailing among the Gauls, also prevailed in Britain at this period,—‘*Omnia quæ vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia;*’ and hence the presence of the remains of a dog among the relics of the feast. This hypothesis is rendered very probable from the great esteem in which British dogs were held by the Romans. Strabo, indeed, mentions hounds—‘*canes ad venandum aptissimi*’—as being exported from Britain to Rome. In a parallel case at Everley, in Wiltshire, Sir Richard Colt Hoare infers that the grave was one of a hunter.

“ Thus much light does a consideration of the bones throw upon the

funeral ceremonies ; but much more light is thrown by it upon the mode of life of the people themselves. As the remains of the dog and roe-deer imply that a people situated in a country where wild game abounded were addicted to hunting, so do the remains of the sheep, and possibly of the ox, point to pastoral habits. Sheep, indeed, have never been found in a wild state, and so long have they been domesticated that the stock from which they sprang is not yet discovered. But of all the animal remains the most remarkable are those of *bos longifrons*—the small short-horned ox. Here, as^a at Standlake, we find this extinct creature associated with the remains of man ; and there can be no possible doubt of the aborigines possessing large herds of this animal. In all early British tombs where the bones of animals found have been properly examined, this contemporary of the Irish elk has been found. There is no evidence of its having existed long after the Romans landed. In the peat-mosses of England, Ireland, and the Continent, its remains are frequently met with, associated in many cases with stone and bronze weapons, and canoes, which in lieu of a better term are called Celtic or Ancient British. Why should it have become extinct ? Professor Owen thinks that the herds of newly conquered regions would be derived from the already domesticated cattle of the Roman colonists,—of those *boves nostri*, for example, by which Cæsar endeavoured to convey to his countrymen an idea of the stupendous and formidable *uri* of the Hercynian forests. For my part, I believe that the Roman colonists introduced their *boves nostri*. And if this was superior to the indigenous breed, as it probably was, the foreign race would gradually supplant the native, until at last the latter would either be extinct, or to be found only in mountain fastnesses, whither some of the aborigines retreated with their herds. The kyloes of the Highlands of Scotland, and the runts, indeed, are remarkable for their small size, and are characterized by short horns, as in the *bos longifrons*, or by the entire absence of these weapons. These races would of course be modified by the gradual admixture of other blood. I have never heard of a well-authenticated instance of *bos longifrons* being found in any burial-place except in a British or Celtic, though, indeed, it possibly may have been found in some few of the early Romano-British period, at some of the outposts of Roman habits, civilization, and agriculture. If this be true, the *bos longifrons* may be viewed as the characteristic fossil of the Celtic period, and one which stamps the era of this burial-ground as surely as a given fossil stamps the position and relative age of a given stratum of rock. On visiting Mr. Akerman lately, he told me that he had never detected *bos longifrons* in a Romano-British or Anglo-Saxon tumuli, and that he thought my theory was probably correct. Another kind of ox also became extinct at this period, the *bos primigenius*, which began to exist at the time of the

mammoth, cave-bear, and rhinoceros. Such is the evidence which osteology affords, when applied to the relics of the British grave-feast. It enables us, I believe, to look upon the *bos longifrons* as the characteristic fossil of the period.

“The evidence afforded about the date of the burial by the position in which the skeletons were found, is by no means conclusive. The Wiltshire barrows seem to prove that three modes of burial prevailed simultaneously in Britain; for in some the primary interment consists of a vase filled with calcined human remains, in others, of a body at full length, and in others, in a cist with the legs in a bent or kneeling attitude. Of our two skeletons at Yarnton, the one was in a reclining posture, with the legs gathered up,—the other buried at full length. The former certainly reminds us of the description of the death of Jacob,—‘And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons, he gathered his feet up into the bed, and yielded up the ghost.’ The skull of the latter is highly developed, and indicates an affinity to the Anglo-Saxon race; and possibly, though at present there is no evidence, the skeletons may have been interred at a later date, amid relics of a much earlier period. At Standlake, indeed, the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are close to the ancient British villages, and so it may have been in this spot. On the surface we found a piece of pottery, which appears to be Anglo-Saxon.

“The evidence afforded by the pottery is far more conclusive; for it enables us to fix the relative date of the epoch. It does not, indeed, enable us to say how many years, or even how many centuries, have elapsed since the time when the Britons or Celts buried their dead in this spot, but it points to the pre-Roman period, and probably to a remote era of that period. It is of the same workmanship as that found at Standlake, and of a similar pattern. The bronze implements, as at Standlake, point to the bronze age, and probably to a late epoch in it, for at the latter place a fragment of an iron chain was discovered.

“On comparing the human remains from Standlake with those from Yarnton, though in the one case cremation appears to have been the rule, and in the other simple interment, there can be no doubt that they are both of the same date: the same animals, the same pottery, and the same flints point out the fact.

“Roughly-chipped flints, indeed, are characteristic of all the earlier Celtic burial-places; and as they are often rudely broken without any apparent plan, it is probable that they were connected with some religious feeling or rite. They sometimes form a pavement above the primary interment, and sometimes are heaped up above it. In the Channel Islands the layer of flints was represented by a layer of limpet-shells. Perhaps the same ideas which caused the Thracians to kill the chief concubine and chief steward of the dead king, caused these ancient

Britons to bury with their dead, beside his weapon and ornaments, the crude material with which to make them in the spirit-world. I know of no more curious or more interesting subject than that of flints. Supposing that we had no traces of an early flint-using people, ignorant of the metals, the evidence that an early, if not the earliest, race made use of flint alone for all their implements can easily be deduced. Certain rites and ceremonies become engrafted into a religion, and become part and parcel of it; and thus old customs become preserved from a religious feeling, when otherwise altogether obsolete or superseded. Religious habits are the last to yield to innovation. Now if we turn to Livy, we find that the Roman Fetial, M. Valerius, immediately before the conflict between the Horatii and Curiatii, bound the Roman people to abide by its decision by sacrificing with a sharp flint, —‘*Id ubi dixit porcum saxo silice percussit.*’—(Livy, i. 24.) Hannibal also consummated his vow of eternal enmity to Rome by sacrificing with a sharp flint. If we examine the process of embalming among the Egyptians, we find that they cut open the side of the dead body with a sharp Ethiopian flint. Or again, if we turn to the Pentateuch, we find that the rite of circumcision was performed with a sharp flint. And in all these cases the use of flint had come to be part of the religious ceremony, and points back to a remote period, when, in the absence of metals, flint was the material out of which all the cutting instruments were formed.

“The vandyke patterns on the pottery both of Yarnton and of Standlake bear a striking resemblance to some of that discovered around the pile-dwellings in the lakes of Switzerland; and more particularly to that of the bronze period. We cannot expect the patterns to have been identical in places so far apart as Britain and Switzerland, but in both the zigzag ornament is made on the same plan, and in both alike there is an absence of curved lines. One vase, indeed, discovered in the Lake of Neuchâtel, exhibits almost the exact pattern of a piece from Standlake; while another (No. 1. Plate XIII. of M. Troyon’s *Habitations Lacustres des temps Anciens et Modernes*) resembles most strongly a fragment which I found at Yarnton. The remains of the same animals indicate the same habits,—the dog, the cat, ox, sheep, and deer. If this comparison be correct, we have a standard by which to compare our relics, and can form a fair idea of the civilization and culture of this early race. We can mark off the *pfahlbauten* of Switzerland, and many of the tumuli on the Downs of Wiltshire, and the relics at Yarnton and Standlake, as being of the same relative date, and as belonging to the bronze age, or, more properly, to the transition between the bronze and iron.

“In conclusion, I will only add, that there is sufficient evidence to prove that our ancient British relics in this district are of the same

relative age as those of the tumuli of Wilts and of the *pfahlbauten* of the bronze age in Switzerland. And I think that it is highly probable that *bos longifrons* is the characteristic fossil of the period, and that it will be found to enable us to differentiate pre-Roman from Romano-British cemeteries and dwellings.

“N.B. Since the above has been in type, I have examined some more bones from Standlake, and to the list of animals found there must add the marten and the water-rat. It is very probable that many of the so-called mice-bones may turn out, on close examination, to belong to the latter animal.”

Professor ROLLESTON made some remarks on the conclusions drawn by Mr. Dawkins from bones of cats having been found; the question was, were they of wild or tame cats? It had always been supposed that cats were not domesticated until the end of the ninth century. He very much doubted whether the present state of comparative anatomy enabled us to distinguish between the bones of tame and wild carnivora. He might also remark that it was too great a leap, from an age of flint to one of bronze; one would expect them to have had a copper age; which to the best of his belief had never been discovered. Might not they have been introduced by some influx of more polished barbarians?

Professor WESTWOOD defended the conclusions of Mr. Dawkins.

The PRESIDENT had a word to ask about the cat. Did it not, at all events, appear to have been social, if not domestic? for both it and the dog appeared to have partaken of the feast.

Professor ROLLESTON doubted whether the remains were not present from having been eaten, not as eaters; for it had been proved that in the bronze period the dwellers in the hill countries had eaten foxes and martens. He made some curious remarks on the connection between the prevalence of certain trees during certain periods.

The LIBRARIAN called attention to some remains he had met with a few weeks previously near Culham, and not far from the base of the Wittenham hills. Fragments of pottery and several bones were found in digging gravel, but amongst the bones of the modern pig and sheep, &c., he thought there were some belonging to the extinct ox, the *bos longifrons* mentioned by Mr. Dawkins; and therefore if the existence of bones of this animal was a proof of the remains found with them being of pre-Roman date, he must assign this settlement to that early date.

After a few other remarks the President adjourned the meeting.

Fourth Meeting, Lent Term, 1862.

March 25. The fourth and last meeting of the term was held (by the permission of the Keeper) in the Ashmolean Museum, the Rev. S. W. WATTE, M.A., in the chair.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society :—

R. J. L. Price, Esq., Christ Church.
George Christian, Esq., Balliol.
Rev. G. H. Moberly, Esq., Corpus Christi College.

The Chairman then called upon Mr. James Parker for his remarks on the “Early Flint Implements from the Valley of the Somme, compared with other early Specimens of Human Art.”

He called attention first of all to the flint implements which he had obtained some twelve months previously from the valley of the Somme. He said that there had been much controversy respecting their age, but the subject had chiefly been regarded from a geological point of view only; he thought, however, arguments derived from archæological study were not without their value in considering the question. For that reason he had laid upon the table a large series of examples of flint implements more or less similar in character to those of Amiens and Abbeville, for the sake of comparison. To many of them antiquaries had assigned approximate dates, and as the series included examples from the earliest monuments of human art down to those of our own times, an examination of the several specimens would not, he hoped, be without interest. At least the series would go far to shew that the singular flint implements found in the very ancient deposits referred to did not stand alone; that there were links which appeared to connect them with the present age, and to shew that they might be regarded as the earliest attempts of human art with which we were acquainted.

He would, for the sake of clearness, arrange the numerous questions which according to his own experience were generally asked respecting the “Flint implements” under three heads :—

1. As to their being the work of men’s hands at all.
2. As to whether they belong to the deposit in which they are found; in other words, whether they may not have been introduced at some later period, *after* the deposit was formed.
3. As to the age of that deposit.

He said that in considering the first question the arguments derived from archæology were the most valuable, because, as he had observed, our collections of historical examples pointed to similar weapons being the first works of art or manufacture which rude and uncivilized man attempted.

He would suggest first a comparison between those from the Abbe-

ville sands, on the hill, and some which M. Boucher de Perthes had given him from the peat-bogs in the valley, near the same spot. There was reason to believe that the peat-bogs were of later date; and certainly, on comparison, though two flint weapons might be found very similar, i.e. one as rude as the other, there were some specimens from the peat which shewed an advance in the art of chipping over any found in the sands. But when, again, some of those from the peat-mosses in the Somme valley were compared with others which were found in other similar deposits elsewhere, a marked improvement was observed: the sharp edges had been rounded off, and the surface made smooth. He pointed to several celts, two of which were very typical specimens, and were both from the immediate neighbourhood of Oxford, one belonging to the President of Trinity College, the other to Professor Phillips, and kindly lent for the occasion. Several specimens belonging to the Ashmolean collection were also laid on the table for the sake of comparison. It would be seen that some were very rude, others shewing a great advance in art. Many of the celts having been found in peat-bogs, and sometimes without other remains which could be pointed to as contemporary, it was of course impossible to assign a date. They might have been dropped into the peat-bog at any time; and indeed if they were compared with some from North America, Mexico, New Zealand, and Australia, which were in use to the present day, and still made for purposes similar to those probably for which they were originally made, it would be difficult to say which were most advanced. He believed that archæology would shew that this type of polished celt belonged to the early uncivilized races of all countries. It remained in use a longer or shorter time as civilization and the use of metal were sooner or later introduced. But before this type of celt came into use there seemed to have been a ruder one, such as those of the Amiens and Abbeville deposits, which he then had before him; and, it might be added, an intermediate type existed, such as those from the peat in the valley of the Somme, the formation of which peat, it was considered, commenced only after the Amiens and Abbeville beds were completed. Archæology thus pointed generally to a very early age indeed for the rude specimens on which he had undertaken to make some observations.

The lecturer then referred to those specimens of flint implements which had been found in the *pfahlbauten*, or pile-buildings, such as Herodotus describes as existing on Lake Prasias. These, he considered, when more fully examined than they had hitherto been, (and there were probably many more in other parts than in the lakes of Switzerland,) would probably throw further light on the history of flint weapons. He had no specimens, unfortunately, from the *pfahlbauten*; he did not indeed know that any had been brought to England; neither could he speak from personal observation respecting these curious lake-

buildings : but he understood from the reports that two distinct ages of buildings were to be traced, one much earlier than the other. Amongst the remains of the second, though flint implements of good workmanship were found, bronze implements and other works of art betokening a high advance of civilization were found with them. In the remains of the first and earlier series of buildings, the discoveries seemed to shew that flint implements were almost the only weapons with which the early settlers there were acquainted ; and it might perhaps be added, as a proof of the flint implements belonging to men, that no flint was to be found naturally within a hundred miles of the lake where these pile-buildings were erected, and that it was impossible to conceive any other agency than that of man which could transport them so great a distance.

But there were other instances where flint weapons had been discovered, and probably many more would be discovered in similar positions, now that attention had been drawn to the subject by M. Boucher de Perthes, to whom science really owes, if not the first discovery of the actual flint implements, at least the first intimation of their value : he referred to those in caves. At present he could only cite as examples those from Kent's Hole, near Torquay, which formed part of Dr. Buckland's collection, now in the New Museum ; and to three or four others from Wookey Hole, near Wells, which his friend Mr. Dawkins had discovered, and which he had kindly brought for exhibition that evening. It should be remarked that in the first case they were found in the same cave with the bones of species of animals not only now extinct, but which had generally been supposed to be extinct before man came upon the earth. But it should be added, that the evidence to shew that they were contemporary with the animals, i.e. were *not* introduced afterwards, was unsatisfactory. In this case, too, some bone implements and some pottery had been found with the flints. In the other case, namely, Wookey Hole, he believed the evidence was most clear, viz. that the flint implements must have been introduced into the cavern at the same time as the extinct species of elephant, bear, hyæna, rhinoceros, and of other animals, whose bones were found mingled with the *débris* of the cavern ^a.

On examination it would be seen that these were almost as rude as those from the pits at Amiens and Abbeville, but much smaller in size. It must be remembered that it is the Amiens beds only that have strata containing large unbroken flints close at hand in great abundance ; neither near Kent's Hole nor near Wookey Hole are there any strata

^a Since this lecture was delivered, Mr. James Parker has, in company with Mr. Dawkins, excavated the whole of the cavern. Several more flint implements were found, and in such positions that there seemed no reason whatever to doubt that they were introduced at the same time as the remains of the animals which the hyænas dragged within.

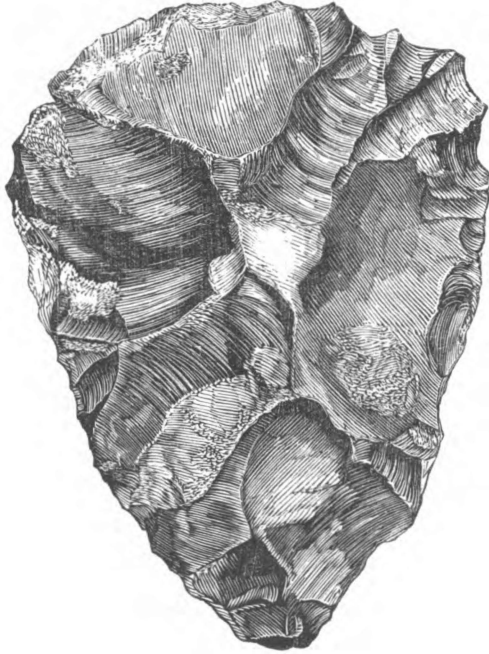
providing flints. In the latter case the flint implements had evidently been brought some fifty miles or more.

There were still a series of flint weapons to which he had to call attention, from a different source altogether, but not the least important in the historical argument. The series to which he referred, consisting of some fifty or sixty specimens, he had obtained from Mr. Stone, whom members of the Society probably knew by name from the care and exertion which he displayed in excavating and modelling the curious pits which were from time to time discovered in the neighbourhood of Standlake and Brighthampton, villages about ten miles from Oxford. In these pits—belonging without doubt to the early Britons, unbaked pottery being the chief works of art found in them—were numerous flint flakes. Little attention had been paid to them, but Mr. Stone had wisely preserved them amongst other historical records of the pits. They were found side by side with human bones, and the early pottery. On comparison, some, he thought, would be admitted to be even ruder in workmanship than many from the Abbeville and Amiens pits; but, on the other hand, there were some which would, he thought, be allowed to shew an advance upon the others. One thing ought to be taken into account in the comparison—at Amiens they had the large flints in their natural bed to work from, at Brighthampton they seem to have used only the portions of flint which had been rolled down, and which formed the beds of gravel with which in several places the Thames valley was full. This would account, perhaps, for the difference of size.

On surveying, therefore, the hundred or two hundred examples which were laid on the table, he thought the historical evidence afforded of the flints from Abbeville and Amiens being of human workmanship was very strong. If an early race of men then lived, such flint weapons as were before him were precisely the kind of remains which we should expect to find.

Before passing to the second question, he would suggest that, besides the arguments to be derived from the comparison instituted, the very form of these Abbeville flint implements was such as we should conceive was probable for early races (ignorant of the use of metal) to give to the only material which they could obtain. He would refer hereafter more particularly to their use, but it must be allowed that a point to kill and an edge to cut were the first requisites for uncivilized man, if he would feed on the flesh of animals and clothe himself with their skins. And again, on a close examination of several specimens, and especially of two to which he pointed, it could not but be admitted that in all the chipping which had been made on a mass of flint (and few had marks of less than twenty chips, and some of as many as ninety distinct chips) there was evidence of design. The object was an edge or a point, generally both. This presence of design at once prevented our attributing the form to

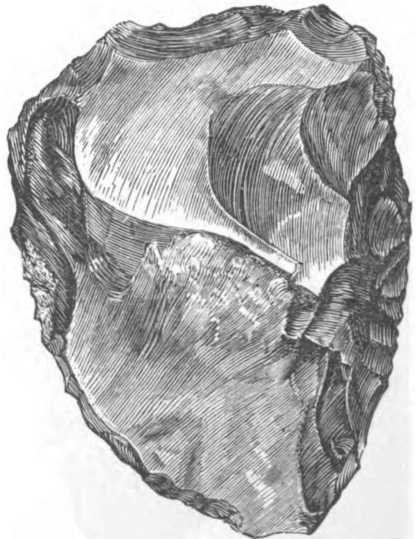
1.



2.



3.



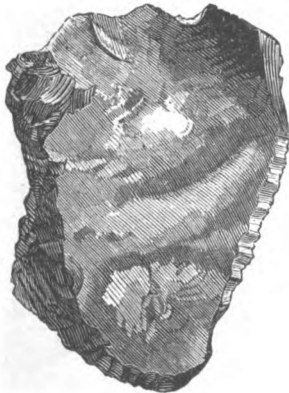
Flint Implements.

1. From the Drift in the Valley of the Somme.
2 and 3. From the Peat in the Valley of the Somme.

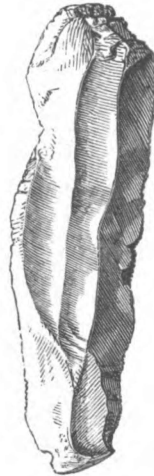
4.



5.



6.



Flint Implements.

**4. From the Drift, Valley of the Somme.
5 and 6. From the British Pits near Standlake.**

the work of any animal, and we were forced therefore, if we could not discover any operation in the ordinary course of nature which would produce such a result when acting on the flint, to conclude that this peculiar form was owing to the work of men's hands.

The lecturer then described in detail the natural forms of flints, caused by the deposition of silex around some sponge, or other matter. Between the primary form of flints and these implements there was a great difference. He then considered other causes which had been suggested, especially that of water. A comparison of them with the rolled flints would shew at once that this explanation was out of the question; the tendency of water was to round all the angular portions: the round, smooth gravel-stones owed their origin to the action of water upon flints, whereas the fine, sharp edges of these implements shewed that they could not have been rolled or water-worn; the shape was diametrically opposed to the result from such causes.

In considering the second question, he shewed, by means of diagrams, the position of the flints as they were discovered at Abbeville and Amiens. All he could say was that there was every evidence which one could expect to their being deposited with, or at the same time as, the sands and gravels which form the beds in which they are found. He mentioned the several suggestions which had been made, such as the possibility of their having sunk through, while the ground was moist, from an upper deposit, a suggestion which he shewed the facts would not countenance for a moment; and as to another suggestion, that the men who worked in the pits placed them there, there was a great variety of evidence quite conclusive that this was not the case. Precisely similar flint weapons had been found in similar beds in Suffolk fifty years before, and were engraved in the *Archæologia*. Several geologists, e.g. M. Boucher de Perthes, Mr. Prestwich, and he believed also Sir Charles Lyell, had seen them *in situ*, and under such circumstances as wholly to preclude the possibility of their having been introduced by the workmen. Again, he pointed out that the labour which must have been bestowed upon them would not be remunerated by the small sums which he had given to workmen in the different pits in which they had been found.

As to the third question, he would only say that it was at present so purely a geological question that it was not one suitable to be brought before the Society; besides, it was one as to which there was still very great perplexity even in arriving at a proximate age. He had examined several parts of the valley of the Somme; at the mouth the level of the sea could but have changed some three or four feet since the time of the Romans, as was shewn by the Roman camp there. A slow and gradual rising of three hundred feet at least above the present level was required for the deposition of these beds. Roman graves had also been

discovered near the pits, and they pierce only the upper three feet of deposit, while these flints were in a deposit some twenty or thirty feet below; several deposits, differing in character and material, intervening. From these and other facts a very great lapse of years seemed to have taken place since the flints were deposited, but when the exact time came to be considered, the evidence at present was entirely wanting.

After referring to the probable uses of the implements, which could but be arrived at by considering the purpose of the modern implements he had before him, he concluded the lecture by pointing out the overlapping of the periods which were treated geologically, and those which were treated historically. The word fossil was often misleading; changes were constantly going on, and the animals buried by these changes when dug up were fossils. No line could be drawn. The 100 houses, 200 chalets, and 450 human beings which in five minutes were engulfed in the mud mountain at Goldau only fifty years ago; the bones of the extinct *bos longifrons* in the grave-ground at Standlake; and the flint implements and bones of elephant and rhinoceros in the caves in England, were but marks of so many stages of history. No line could be drawn between the point where the geologist ended his studies and the historian commenced. It was therefore he hoped that the subject was one which, though perhaps more especially a geological one, was not unworthy of the attention of members of an Historical Society.

Several questions were asked, especially as to the abundance of specimens, and the extent of country in which they had been found. The lecturer, in reply, said that, as far as the Abbeville type was concerned, they had been found as far south as Paris, and as far north as Hertfordshire and Suffolk; and he thought if he said a thousand specimens in all had been found within that space, he was rather over-stating than under-stating the total; though of course, as fresh specimens were brought to light every month, and new localities were constantly being discovered, no definite information could be given as to their distribution.

MR. GOLDWIN SMITH then called the attention of the Society to a contemporary account of the death of Cardinal Caraffa printed by the Philobiblon Society in the sixth volume of their Miscellanies; and to a letter written by Beatrice Cenci to the judge of the criminal court, printed in the same volume. The account of Caraffa's death is anonymous, but evidently written by an eye-witness, and gives a most minute and vivid account of the Cardinal's execution in the castle of St. Angelo, by order of the Pope. The letter of Beatrice Cenci is stated by Mr. Edward Cheney, who communicated it to the Philobiblon Society, to be the only existing record of the writer.

He prefaced the reading of the document with remarks upon the

present position of the secular power of the Papacy, sketching briefly the history of its later years. He observed that nepotism was one of its chief vices till after the Reformation. Paul IV. had made his nephew Carlo Caraffa a cardinal, but afterwards, becoming alive to his vices, deprived him of his office. His successor, Pius, cast him into prison, and he was afterwards put to death. It was an account of this death which was read to the meeting.

Some other historical extracts were also read.

Mr. BRUTON exhibited a drawing of a Gothic obelisk which he had designed, and which attracted considerable attention among those present.

Mr. J. H. PARKER called attention to the proposed destruction of the west end of Stewkley Church, which he hoped would meet with a protest from the Oxford Architectural Society. It was the sister church to Iffley, in their own immediate neighbourhood, and, like that church, was one of the very few examples of a complete Norman parish church. Iffley had had the east end altered, and probably extended, in the thirteenth century, but Stewkley had been left intact, both east and west. It was now proposed to lengthen the church, and so destroy not only the old west end, but also to add another bay, which would entirely alter the plan and proportion of the church.

The meeting was then adjourned.

[The engravings of the flint implements are from specimens exhibited, and have been lent to the Society for their Report by the Librarian.]

First Meeting, Trinity Term, 1862.

June 4. The MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, President, in the chair.

It was announced that two ordinary meetings of the Society would be held this term in addition to the annual meeting, the day of which had not yet been fixed.

After some preliminary business, the PRESIDENT called upon Professor Westwood for some remarks upon the "Diptychs of the Roman Consuls," of which a great variety of fictile ivory fac-similes were exhibited by him.

The PROFESSOR began by pointing out the part which these ivory diptychs played in teaching history. The historian had to search for his materials not only in written documents, but also in other kinds of records, which often served to confirm and even occasionally to afford unique indications of facts. The burial-places of the dead, the carved altar or sepulchral stone, and a variety of other objects, especially early works of art, could not be overlooked by the philosophical historian; and such objects as the carved diptychs of the Roman consuls would be found of considerable importance in confirming the written history of the period, in shewing many features in the manners and customs of the ages in which they were executed, and in throwing clear light on various doubtful or even overlooked points of interest. He contended that in a University, where classical learning formed so great a portion of the course of study, every available means of facilitating the progress of the student, and of lightening the labours of the teacher, were especially worthy of attention; and it could not be doubted that the eye more rapidly and clearly acquired a knowledge of objects than could be obtained by the most minute description. In illustration of this remark, the lecturer mentioned that a friend of his had found it difficult to give his class a clear idea of a trireme from the description left by the classical poets, but on making a model of one it was at once intelligible. He could not but express his astonishment that the University did not possess a single Etruscan vase, although even the least elaborately ornamented ones were decorated with representations of classical and mythological scenes, which could not be examined by the student without advantage; and now that modern art had discovered so many ways of reproducing objects in exact representation of the originals, by electrotyping, gelatine, fictile ivory, and other processes, the Professor contended that a museum of imitative classical antiquities might be obtained at a comparatively small cost; and he hoped to live to see the building in which he was then addressing the Society converted into a real museum of classical and mediæval art, intelligently arranged with a view to advancing the studies of the University, not merely as a collection of "odds and ends" and "pots and pans," got

together without order and arranged without a definite object. During the last thirty or forty years, archæology had assumed the character of a living science, worthy of going hand-in hand with history: it behoved the Ashmolean Society to forward its progress by every means in its power.

The collection laid before the meeting consisted of exact fac-similes of carved ivory diptychs, or book-covers, which with their contents were presented by the consuls to the senators on their accession to office, or other special occasions. The importance attached to these objects may, in fact, be learned from one of the clauses of the Theodosian Code:—
 “*Illud etiam constitutione solidamus ut exceptis Consulibus ordinariis, nulli prorsus alteri, auream sportulam, aut diptycha ex ebore dandi facultas sit. Cum publica celebrantur officia, sit sportulis nummus argenteus, alia materia diptychis. Data viii. Kal. Augusti. Herculeo, Ricimere et Clearcho Coss.*”

Books in those days either consisted of long strips of vellum, which were rolled up when unemployed, or else were flat, often consisting of sheets of wax fastened within two carved covers united together by hinges, and which in that case were called diptychs. A point or style of metal or ivory was used to indent the letters upon the surface of the wax. If there were three such tablets fastened together, they were called triptychs. Sometimes there were as many as five, but when more than three, they were generally called polyptychs. These ivory bindings were generally about a foot long, and three or four inches broad, and more or less carved *on the outside* according to the taste of the donor, the skill of the artist, and the rank of the persons to whom they were given. To those of the higher ranks, the purest ivory that could be obtained was given, while, on the other hand, some are in existence of carved bone, rude and rough.

The lecturer then explained by what means the very exact representations of the ivories laid upon the table had been made. A mixture, in the first instance, was made of fine gutta-percha and wax. This mixture was known, he said, by the name of Nesbitine. When put into hot water it became so soft that it might be pressed upon the ivory, and it would yield so easily to the least irregularity on the surface, that an exact reverse of the original was obtained, even to the minutest scratch. He believed the first account of gutta-percha, and its applicability to forming perfect casts of objects, was given in the upper room of the Ashmolean Museum, where his audience were then assembled, at one of the early meetings of the British Association. After the mould was complete, the finest plaster of Paris, moistened with water, is poured into it, and an exact fac-simile of the ivory was the result; but to give it the smooth character of ivory, and to render the cast more permanent, it was dipped into stearine, made fluid by heat. It might then be

tinted with common water-colour in exact imitation of the original. These objects possessed also another important advantage, since they really formed almost the only links in the history of art from the decline of the Roman empire till the reign of Charlemagne. The remains of stone art, such as buildings, sculpture, &c., were almost entirely, if not quite wanting, during this period. Painted glass and the paintings of manuscripts were also quite unknown during this period, and it was only in the Catacombs that wall paintings entirely of a religious character supplied an evidence of the practice of pictorial art. And it was no slight space of time that those ivories represented; nearly three hundred years—viz. A.D. 248 to 541—having occurred between the earliest and latest of the inscribed series.

The indication of dates reckoning from the era of the foundation of Rome never became popular, and it was generally by the names of their annually elected chief magistrates that they dated their events. "Thus, for instance," as M. Pulszky remarks, "instead of saying, 'In the year 690 of Rome,' they said, 'Under the consulship of M. Tullius Cicero and C. Antonius.' This custom implied a thorough knowledge of Roman history, and shews at once why so much importance was attached to the register of the consuls, the so-called *Fusti Consulares* increasing every year in bulk by two names: Roman chronology was therefore an epitome of Roman history, to be mastered by everybody who took an active part in public affairs; that is to say, by all the citizens of Rome as long as the Republic existed. When Julius Cæsar applied his genius to selfish aims, and to the violent destruction of the established constitution of his country, by founding his monarchy upon the support of a standing army more attached to his person than to Rome, and upon the favour of the lowest classes of the capital, he still had not the boldness to alter the forms of the Republic. His crafty successor, Augustus, developed upon principle what his grand-uncle had by necessity left standing. The consuls remained therefore nominally the first magistrates of the empire, and continued to give the name to the year; and even when Constantine transferred the seat of the empire to Byzantium, and transformed it into a Christian state, the office and dignity of the consuls was not discontinued; and when Theodosius finally divided the Roman world into two independent states, it became even still more important, the consuls being the last links of union between the two empires, and the symbol of their original union."

The following is a list, more complete than any hitherto given, of the consuls whose diptychs have survived to our times. In most instances the identification of the consul is complete by the inscription on the ivory, but in a few cases the details of the sculpture have afforded sufficient indication of the personage intended.

A.D.	A.D.
248. M. Julius Philippus Augustus.	513. Flavius Taurus Clementinus.
308. M. Aurelius Romulus Cæsar.	516. Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus.
322. Probianus.	517. Flavius Paulus Probus Pompeius.
406. Anicius Probus.	518. Flavius Anastasius Paulus Probus Magnus.
428. Flavius Felix.	519. Flavius Anicius Justinus Augustus.
430. Flavius Theodosius Junior Augustus.	525. Flavius Theodorus Philoxenus.
434. Flavius Areobindus.	528. Flavius Anicius Justinianus Augustus.
449. Flavius Asturius.	530. Rufinus Orestes.
454. Flavius Aëtius.	541. Anicius Basilus.
487. Narius Manlius Boethius.	
505. Theodorus.	
506. Flavius Dagalaiphus Areobindus.	

In addition to the above, there are several other Roman consular diptychs in existence of unknown identification, of which fac-similes were also exhibited, as well as of several important diptychs with mythological subjects sculptured during the same period as the others. In the following descriptive list one or two asterisks are affixed to those diptychs of which fac-similes of one or both leaves were exhibited.

1*. The earliest diptych to which a date has been assigned is a leaf in the Fejervary Collection now belonging to Mr. Mayer of Liverpool, representing the youthful consul Marcus Julius Philippus, and his father the emperor, M. Julius Philippus the Arab, associated together in the consulate A.D. 248, on the one-thousandth anniversary of the foundation of Rome^a. In this beautifully executed ivory these two personages are seated in a latticed gallery, in company with a third, probably the Flamen Romæ, in the upper portion, the younger holding the *mappa circensis*, or consular napkin; while in the lower part is represented a stag-encounter in the circus, some of the combatants entering the arena through open doors at the sides, while others were engaged in combat in the centre^b.

2*. A single leaf of a diptych formerly belonging to Cardinal Quirini is remarkable for its strong analogy with the tablet of Philip the Arab, already described, and offers several striking peculiarities, distinguishing it so much from the more recent diptychs that Pulszky is inclined to refer it to the middle of the third century rather than the beginning of the sixth, to which it had been assigned. Across the upper part of this leaf is the mutilated inscription (LA)MPADIORVM, in large rounded Roman capitals. Beneath this inscription, seated in front of a tetrastyle portico, in a kind of gallery with lattice-work in front ornamented with

^a M. Pulszky, in his learned dissertation on the Fejervary ivories, has satisfactorily established this identification, which is further confirmed by the exquisite beauty of the workmanship of the piece.

^b Millin, *Voyages*, i. pl. xxiv. fig. 3; Waring, *Art Treasures*, Manchester, 1857, *Sculpt.*, pl. i. fig. 3.

four heads, are three personages of middle age, the centre one, clad in richly ornamented robes, holding the sceptre and *mappa circensis*: the figure on his left hand also holds the latter object. Pulszky, knowing this piece only by the figures of Gorius^c, &c., and being ignorant of its present whereabouts, questions whether the latter figure may not be represented as beardless, thus proving it to be another representation of the younger Philip. The leaf, however, still exists in the Bibliotheca Quiriniana at Brescia, and a cast of it (exhibited) proves that all the three figures have short beards, and are apparently all of middle age. In the lower part of the piece is represented a chariot race between four *quadrigæ*, executed with great skill around an area, in the centre of which is raised an Egyptian obelisk. Hence Pulszky considers it may also be assigned to the year 248, as a memorial of the secular games. His idea, however, that the inscription may be a palimpsest, is certainly untenable on examining the excellent cast now exhibited; but the entire style of the piece precludes it from being assigned to the Consul Lampadius, A.D. 530, although it is much inferior to the diptych of Philip, wanting also the elegant ornamental border of that piece. Notwithstanding the difficulty resulting from the imperfect inscription on this piece, the lecturer was induced to regard it as a memorial of the Emperor Theodosius, by whom the Egyptian obelisk placed by Constantine in the centre of the Hippodrome at Constantinople, and afterwards thrown down by an earthquake, was re-erected at the end of the fourth century, where it still remains, the four sides of its base being ornamented with bas-reliefs representing the Emperor seated, surrounded by attendants, receiving homage or observing groups of dancers and organ-players. (Zoega, *De Origine Obeliscorum Rom.* 1797; D'Agincourt, *Hist. de l'Art, Sculpt.*, pl. x.) On the east side of the pedestal the Emperor is in the act of distributing rewards, and stands behind a latticed-work gallery, *the ornaments of which exactly correspond with those of the lattice-work in this ivory diptych*, whilst in the reverse of his large medals Theodosius is represented in the *quadriga*. Hence the lecturer was induced to suppose that this ivory was intended as a memorial of the re-erection of this column.

3. The Gherardesca diptychon^d, containing a representation of the Apotheosis of Romulus, which has so much puzzled historians, is satisfactorily shewn by Pulszky to have been carved in honour of Aurelius Romulus, (son of M. Aurelius Maxentius,) who in A.D. 308 was declared Cæsar and Consul of Italy, and who having died during his consulship received the honours of an apotheosis. In the upper part of the tablet is a monogram including all the letters of the name Romulus, together

^c Thes. Dipt. ii. tab. xvi.; D'Agincourt, *Sculpt.*, pl. xii. fig. 9.

^d Gorius, Thes. Dipt. i. tab. xix.; D'Agincourt, *Sculpt.*, pl. xii. fig. 12.

with A and C, which together stand for Aurelius Romulus Cæsar. Beneath, the Emperor Maxentius holds a laurel twig and the *hasta pura*, and is borne by four elephants in a kind of shrine on four wheels towards the funeral pile, from which the young C. A. Romulus rises to heaven in a chariot drawn by four horses accompanied by two eagles, whilst above him two hirsute, winged, and horned genii of winds and storms carry the first Romulus, the founder of Rome, to the assembly of the gods, seated above the six autumnal and hibernal signs of the zodiac. The gods, six in number, are evidently the patrons of the days of the week—Apollo, Diana, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn, Mars being absent, but Romulus his son is to take the seat of his father as the seventh among them.

This exceedingly interesting piece has quite recently been obtained for the British Museum.

4**. The Royal Library of Berlin possesses a perfect diptych of great beauty of the Consul Rufius Probianus, formerly in the Paulinisch Library at Munster, now forming the cover of a MS. Life of St. Ludgerus, of which the lecturer believed that no figure had hitherto been published^o. Each leaf is divided into two compartments, in the upper of which the Consul is represented seated on a cushion, in front of a tetrastyle building with Corinthian capitals, and curtains suspended between the columns, fastened up with a knot on the right side; whilst on the left is suspended a long banner ornamented with busts and figures, apparently embroidered. On either side of the Consul is a scribe standing with an open book in his left hand, and a style in his right. In the lower compartment are two figures standing erect, looking and pointing upwards towards the Consul, each holding a half-opened scroll. Between these two figures is a small circular tripod, altar, or seat, on which appears an object probably intended for a saucer, with ink and a style. On the front leaf the Consul elevates his right hand, with the first and second fingers extended, as in the act of benediction, his left hand holding a scroll; on the second leaf the scroll, held by the left hand, is unrolled, resting on the knees, and is inscribed *PROBIANE FLOREAS*, the right hand apparently holding a style, as though the Consul had himself traced the inscription, an idea which seems scarcely probable to have been intended. The name of the Consul is inscribed across the upper part of each leaf, and is

RUFIVS PROBIANVS V.C
VICARIVS VRBIS ROMAЕ †.

^o Salig, *De Veter. Dipt.*, pp. 6, 7; Schwarz, *De Vetust. Dipt.*, pp. 7, 8; Westw., *Journ. Arch. Inst.*, xvi. p. 240.

† In the published official description of the Berlin Library it is stated that there were two Consuls of the name of Rufius Probianus, in A.D. 377 and 416; but



Second Leaf of the Diptych of Probianus, Royal Library, Berlin.

5. In the treasury of the cathedral of Aosta is preserved the complete diptych of Consul Anicius Probus, A.D. 406, executed on his assuming the consulate, and sculptured in honour of the triumph of Honorius at Rome in 404, on the victory of Pollentia over the hordes of Alaric. Unlike the majority of diptychs, on each leaf the Emperor (instead of the Consul) is represented standing beneath an ornamental arch, below which is inscribed on each leaf D. N. HONORIO SEMPER AUG. The Emperor is vested in military costume, with a diadem on his head, which is *surrounded by a circular nimbus*; a sword hangs on his left side, suspended by an ornamented band across the breast. On one leaf he holds a labarum inscribed IN NOMINE XPI' VINCAS SEMPER with his right hand, and in his left a globe surmounted with a figure of Victory. On the other leaf he holds a large shield, resting on the ground, with his right hand, whilst his left hand holds a rod of office. At the bottom of each leaf is inscribed PROBUS FAMULUS V. C. CONS. ORD.⁵ Thus this diptych of Aosta is an exception to all those figured by Gorius; it, however, recalls the ivory of the Barberini collection figured by that author.

6*. The diptych of Flavius Felix is now known only by the left wing preserved in the Cabinet des Antiques of the Bibliothèque Imperiale of Paris^h, the other leaf having disappeared during the French Revolution. Across the top of the existing leaf is inscribed FL. FELICIS V C COM AC MAG, the lost leaf (as we learn from Mabillon and Gorius) having the continuation, VTRQ MIL PATR ET COS ORD. ('Flavii Felicis, viri clarissimi, Comitis ac Magistri utriusque Militis Patricii et Consulis ordinarii.') He was Consul of the West in A.D. 428, his Eastern colleague being Flavius Taurus, in the third year of the Emperor Valentinian III. In both leaves the Consul is represented standing clad in his ornamented consular robes and holding a long sceptre in his left hand, the figure being not less than 9½ inches in height, the whole surrounded with a classical ornamental border. It is known as the diptych of Compeigne.

7**. The first diptychon of the cathedral of Monza^l, although destitute of inscription, is the noblest specimen of this class of monuments which has survived to our times. On the right wing is represented a warrior (11 inches high) richly clad, holding a spear in his right hand and a large

Clinton's "Fasti Romani" and Rossi's recently published "Inscriptiones Christianæ" prove this statement to be incorrect. The excellence of the design induced the lecturer to adopt an earlier date, and to refer it to the Consul Probianus of the year 322.

⁵ E. Aubert, Membre de la Société academique en duchè d'Aosta, &c., Revue Archæologique, March, 1862; and see Gazzera in Mem. Acad. Turin., 1834.

^h Thes. Dipt. i. tab. ii.; Lenormant, Trésor de Glyptique, ii. pl. xii. Referred by Mabillon to the Consul Felix Gallus, A.D. 511.

^l Gorius, Thes. Dipt. ii. pl. vii.

circular shield resting on the ground with his right, as in the Aosta diptych, his sword fastened on his left thigh; his cloak, of large size, is fastened on his right shoulder by an immense cruciform fibula, the precise mode of employment of which is here shewn, the stem of the fibula standing erect. On the other leaf a noble lady is represented standing erect, holding a flower in her left hand over the head of a youth clad in the consular garb, with a large cloak also fastened on his left shoulder, his left hand raised, with the first two fingers extended as if in the act of benediction, and his right hand holding a book^k. Much controversy has taken place as to the identification of these personages, Mr. Oldfield suggesting the names of Valentinian II. and his mother Justina for the imperial lady and her son, whilst M. Pulszky, with more apparent probability, refers them to Galla Placidia, the daughter of the great Theodosius, sister to the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius^l, and mother and guardian to Valentinian III., who succeeded to the Western Empire at the age of eight years, and who (A.D. 426) two years before and (A.D. 430) two years after Flavius Felix was Consul of the West; his eastern colleague in the empire and consulship in both those years, the Emperor Theodosius the younger, being represented on the other leaf of the diptychon.

8. The Trivulci diptychon^m is destitute of an inscription, but bears a monogram which contains all the letters of the name of Areobindus, whose bust is represented within an ornamented circle encompassed with arabesques, and who is considered to be the Consul of that name who was Consul of the East A.D. 434, rather than the Consul Flavius Areobindus at the beginning of the sixth century.

9*. The diptychon of Flavius Asturiusⁿ, formerly in the church of St. Martin at Liege, was supposed by Pulszky to be lost. Professor Westwood, however, found one leaf (or rather the chief portion thereof) used as the cover of a book of the Gospels in the Royal Library of Darmstadt, and now exhibited a cast of it. The entire inscription extending across both leaves was, (FL. ASTVRIVS . V . C . ET . INL COM) EX . MAG . VTRIVSQ . MIL CONS OED (for ORD). ('Flavius Asturius vir clarissimus et illustris Comes, ex magistro utriusque Militiæ Consul ordinarius.') The Consul is seated on a curule chair before a tetrastyle building, wearing armour and a cloak above it, holding a sceptre in one hand and a scroll in the other. Of two youths at his side, one holds a palm-branch (?), the other a vase.

^k Digby Wyatt, *Sculp. in Ivory*, Arundel Soc. Photog., p. 5, fig. opp.

^l The strong similarity between the warrior of the Monza diptych and the Emperor Honorius of the Aosta diptych is a strong confirmation of the correctness of M. Pulszky's views.

^m Gorius, *Thes. Dipt.* ii. tab. xviii.

ⁿ *Ib.* i. tab. i.



First Leaf of the Diptych of Theodorus, Kunst Kammer, Berlin.

10**. The curious diptychon of the cathedral of Halberstadt, referred by Fostermann^o to the Emperor Aurelian, on the occasion of his triumph over Queen Zenobia, A.D. 273, is with far more propriety given to Flavius Aëtius, *Magister utriusque Militiæ*, the successful general over the Huns of Attila, and thrice Consul before his Catalaunian victory, and again A.D. 454, to which latter year the diptych is probably ascribable, as it represents the Consul standing in the centre (holding the *mappa circensis* in his right hand and a sceptre in his left on one leaf), attended, on both, by two personages, whilst in the lower part are groups of prisoners, and in the upper are two imperial personages seated on a throne, between figures of Rome helmeted like Minerva, holding a globe and spear, and Sol Oriens, with rays round his head, the emblem of the East, the heads of these two figures being surrounded by a large flat nimbus: two warriors with large shields and spears stand at the sides of the throne, and an attendant behind it. (Weiss, *Kostumkunde*, 1862, p. 19, fig. 10, and p. 21, fig. 12, gives reduced figures of the consular groups, and Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, i. p. 135, one of the groups of captives.)

11**. The two leaves of the diptych of the Consul Manlius Boethius^p (father of the celebrated author of the essay *De Consolatione*) are now preserved in the Bibliotheca Quiriniana at Brescia. On them the Consul is represented of a larger size than ordinary (being ten inches high), clad in a richly embroidered *lorum*, and holding a sceptre surmounted by an eagle in one hand, and in the other the *mappa circensis*, and standing before a building ornamented with two Corinthian columns supporting an architrave and tympanum, on which is represented an oaken wreath inscribed with the monogram of Boethius. Over the head of the Consul is inscribed, on one leaf, *NAR MANL BOETHIVS VCETINL*, and on the other, *EXPPVSECCONSORDET PATRIC*. ('Narius Manlius Boethius, vir clarissimus et illustris, ex præfectus prætor præfectus urbis et comes consul ordinarius et patricius.') Under the feet of the Consul, clad in shoes ornamented with ribbons, are palm-branches, money-bags, and silver basins, the prizes of the games of the circus. This diptych is of the year A.D. 487.

12**. The Kunst Kammer of the Royal Museum of Berlin has obtained a perfect diptych of rude execution, intermediate in design between the diptychs of Clementinus and those of St. Gaudentius at Novara, of which the lecturer believed no description had hitherto been published. In the middle of each leaf the bust of the Consul is represented giving the signal for the games of the circus in the usual manner, within an ornamental circle, the remainder of the middle of the field occupied

^o Mem. Thuring. Sax. Soc. vii. Pt. ii. p. 61.

^p Gorius, *Thes. Dipt.*, vol. i. pl. iv. v.

with rude scrolls, leaves, and fruit; above are three smaller circles, with busts of the reigning emperor and empress at the sides, and with that of *Christ with a cruciferous nimbus* in the middle. Below are two boys emptying treasure out of sacks, with the other prizes of the games of the circus. Across the upper part is inscribed, in two lines on the first leaf, but in only one on the second,—

FL . MAR . PETR . THEODOR VALENT .

RUST . ROBAID . CERITI . IVST .

VS' NLC' . DOM . ET CONS ORD.

The lecturer admitted his inability to determine the appropriation of this diptych, although it may possibly be referred to the Consul Theodorus, A.D. 505.

13**. Of Flavius Areobindus, Consul in A.D. 506, there are three diptychs. Of one of these, preserved in the Metropolitan Library at Lucca¹, casts of the two leaves were exhibited, on both of which are represented two large coarsely executed *cornucopiæ* wreathed with vines, below which is a basket of fruit and flowers, and in the centre the monogram of the name Areobindus surmounted by a cross, and in the upper part the inscription FL' . AREOB' . DAGAL' AREOBINDVS VL on one leaf, and EXC' S' . STAB' ET M' M' P' OR' EXC' . CO ORD on the other leaf. ('Flavius Areobindus Dagalaiphus Areobindus vir illustris ex comes sacri stabuli et magister Militiæ per orientem ex consul consul ordinarius.')

14. The second diptych of Areobindus^r is now preserved in the Museum of the Antiquarian Society of Zurich, one half of which formerly belonged to Gessner, and the other to Hottinger of Nuremberg, and was carefully described by Hagenbuch, and more recently by Professor Vogelin, (*Mittheilungen d. Antiq. Gesellsch. Zurich.*, vol. xi. p. 79, 1857, with two plates representing the two leaves of the full size). On both leaves the Consul is seated on the *sella curulis*, clad in the ornamental consular robes, between the busts of his consular ancestors, holding the *mappa circensis* in his right, and a sceptre crowned with an eagle within a wreath of oak-leaves, surmounted with a figure of Victory holding a spear and shield, in his left hand. Over his head is the inscription, FL' AREOB' DAGAL' AREOBINDVS VL' on one leaf, and EXC . SAC . STA . ETMM' . POR' EXC' . C' . ORD. Below the Consul are represented the games of the circus, indicated by an arch, above which are eight heads representing the spectators. On the first leaf are four combats between as many lions and men; the animals are figured as sitting erect on their haunches, transfixed with the spears of the conquerors. A single figure with outstretched hands occupies the upper part of the area, and four doors are open at the sides. On the second leaf the combats are with bears, which here appear to be

¹ Gorius, *Thes. Dipt.*, vol. i. pl. viii.

^r *Ib.*, pl. vii.

the conquerors. At the top of the area a man is making his escape from a bear, which has seized his foot; to his left is the figure of a dummy to attract the attention of the animals, and above this a circular disc marked with a cross. Below, another bear has seized the leg of another man, who tries to escape by turning a turnstile, or round-about, against the bear. Another disc with a cross lies over the head of the bear; in the middle a man holds a noose; and on the left another man is upset by a bear, which has seized him by the calf of the leg. The first leaf is in excellent condition, and a mould has been procured of it, but the second is in a much more friable condition.

15. Of the third diptych of Areobindus the second leaf only is known*. It bears the same inscription as the second leaves of the two preceding diptychs, whereby it has been restored to Areobindus by Hagenbuch, having been referred to the Consul Stilicho by Ducange, Montfaucon, &c. This leaf exactly resembles the Zurich one, except in the details of the games of the circus, which are witnessed by eight spectators. Within the area are represented several combats of bears and men; beneath is a lion devouring a cow and a dummy; and on the left a man entering the arena through an open door. This piece is stated by M. Pulszky to be in the possession of M. de Tolliot of Dijon.

16**. Of Flavius Taurus Clementinus, Consul in the year 513, a single diptych is only known in the Fejervary Collection, now belonging to Mr. Mayer, of Liverpool†. The two leaves are nearly identical in design, rather rudely drawn, but boldly sculptured. The Consul is seated on the curule chair, holding the *mappa circensis* in his right hand and the sceptre in his left, between two female figures representing Rome and Constantinople. At the top are busts of the Emperor Anastasius and Empress Ariadne in Byzantine costume, in circular tablets, with a large plain cross between them. In the lower part two boys are emptying bags of money, palm-branches, diptychs, &c. The inscription extends across the two leaves, commencing and ending in each with an incised cross:—

✠ FL(AVIVS) TAVRVS CLEMENTINVS ARMONIVS CLEMENTINVS ✠
 ✠ V(IR) IL(LVSTRIS) CO(MES) SACR(ARVM) LARG(ITIONVM) EXC(ONSVLE)
 PATRIC(IVS) ET CONS(VL) ORDIN(ARIVS) ✠.

Above the head of the Consul is a circular tablet, on which is inscribed the monogram of his name. The inside of this diptych is very interesting, on account of a sculptured inscription containing the Greek Liturgy of the eighth century, commencing,—✠ CTOMEN KAAOC

* Ib. i. tab. i. bis; D'Agincourt, *Sculpt.*, pl. xii. fig. 11.

† Gorius, *Thea. Diptych.*, vol. i. pl. ix. bis, and x. bis; D'Agincourt, *Sculpt.*, pl. xii. fig. 7, 8; Waring, *Art Treasures, Manchester, Sculpt.*, pl. i. fig. 1 and 2.

✠ CTOMEN EYAAOC ✠ CTOMEN METAΦOBOY, &c., written (as appears from part of the inscription) in the first year of Pope Hadrian^a.

17. The diptychon of Peter, consul in 516, is much simpler than any of the preceding. It first belonged to the family Settala, and afterwards to the Marquis Trivulci, at Milan. On a plain label running across the tops of both leaves is the inscription,—✠ FL(AVIVS) PETR(VS) SABBAT(IVS) IVSTINIAN(VS) V(IR) (I)L(LVSTRIS) COM(ES) MAG(ISTER) EQQ ET P(RÆFEC-TVS) PRÆS(IDII) ET C(ONSVL) ORD(INARIVS). In the centre of the field is a large and very beautifully ornamented circle, within which is this inscription,—

MUNERA PARVA QUIDEM PRETIO SED HONORIBUS AMPLA :
PATRIBUS ISTA MEIS OFFERO CONSUL EGO.

In each of the corners is a large rosette, enclosing a lion's head.

18*. The first leaf of a second diptych of Peter, precisely similar to that last described, was discovered by Millin at Dijon, and is now in the Cabinet des Antiques attached to the Bibliothèque Imperiale at Paris. The first line of the central inscription reads,—✠ MUNERA PARVA QUIDEM PRETIO SED HONORIB. ALMA. ✠

19*. One leaf of a diptych is preserved in the same cabinet as the last, which may possibly have been manufactured but never used, as it is destitute of any inscription. The field is occupied by a double band, forming an elongated lozenge, terminating at top and bottom in trefoils. In the open space of the centre is an eight-sided ornamental tablet, evidently intended (as in the diptych of Peter) to receive an inscription, above and below which are carved two large and boldly-designed oak-leaves.

20**. Flavius Anastasius, the youthful grand-nephew of the emperor of the same name, was appointed consul in A.D. 517. The Cabinet des Antiques of the Paris Library possesses a perfect diptych of this Consul, remarkable for its elegance, and interesting from the variety of its details, long known as the diptych of Bourges^x. The Consul is represented as seated on a cushion upon the curule chair, ornamented with figures of Victory, and in the act of throwing down the *mappa circensis*. His head is enveloped in a kind of foliated nimbus. Above the angular tympanum, resting on Corinthian capitals, behind the head of the Consul, are busts of the Emperor, Empress, and their nephew Pompeius, (father of the Consul,) supported by two angels holding

^a We learn from Alcuin (as cited by Gorius and Pulszky) that it was the custom, after the words in the Mass, 'in the sleep of peace,' to recite the names of the deceased *from the diptychs*, within which they were inscribed, as in the instance before us.

^x Gorius, *Thes. Dipt.*, vol. i. pl. xii.; Dibdin, *Bibliogr. Tour*, vol. ii. pl. 146, 147; Lenormant, *Trésor de Glypt.*, Pt. i. pl. xvii. The interior of this diptych contains a list of the bishops of Bourges, the most ancient being "VERINVS ANNOS XVIII."

wreaths. The inscription, which runs across the top of the two leaves, is as follows:—

✠ FL(AVIVS) ANASTASIVS PAVLVS PROBVS SABINIAN(US) POMPEIVS ANASTASIVS ✠

✠ VIR INL(VSTRIS) COM(ES) DOMESTIC(VS) EQUIT(VM) ET CONS(VL) ORD(INARIVS) ✠.

On the lower part of the first leaf the combats of the circus are represented in a very superior manner, a bear, lion, and tiger being attacked by (or rather attacking) the combatants, who endeavour to protect themselves by throwing the lasso, and large barred gates, or roundabouts, are so contrived that a man could escape by getting into one of the divisions. In the upper part of the circus one of the combatants is riding off on horseback, whilst two others are peeping in at side doors. On the second leaf two victorious racehorses are led before the Consul; the manumission of slaves is represented, with three female figures, probably intended for Tragedy, Comedy, and Music.

21*. A second diptych of Flavius Anastasius is represented by the first leaf in the Kunst Kammer of the Royal Museum of Berlin¹. It is similar in design to the last described diptych, except that the inscription is—FL(AVIVS) ANASTASIVS PAUL(VS) PRO(B)VS SAVINIANS POMPEIVS ANAST(ASIVS).

On the lower part of this leaf combats of the circus with two bears are represented. In the upper part two of the combatants are for safety seated in baskets suspended from a pole. Dummies are set up to distract the animals. In the centre, below, a man throws a summersault on a pole to avoid the attack of the bear, whilst two others escape by side doors with large rings and loops².

Of the other leaf, figured by Gorius, the present locality is unknown. It resembled the first leaf, except that at the bottom were represented two victorious racehorses led to the Consul, each having a feather on its head, whilst below are five men, two with their hands tied behind them, whilst crabs have seized their noses.

22. A third diptych, of the same Consul Anastasius³, was bequeathed to the museum of Verona by the Marquis Maffei, by whom it was attributed to the Consul Stilicho. It, however, is identical with the two preceding diptychs, although only known by the second leaf, inscribed—V. INL. COM. DOMEST. EQUIT. ET CONS. ORD. In the lower part are re-

¹ Gorius, *Thes. Dipt.*, vol. i. pl. xi. Lenormant mentions a diptych of this Consul at Liege, differing only slightly from that of Bourges (Paris), bearing on the inner side the prayer of oblation and list of the holy protectors of the Church, and on the other leaf a list of the bishops of Liege.

² Digby Wyatt, *Sculpt. in Ivory*, Arundel Soc., p. 35, fig. oppos.

³ Gorius, *Thes. Dipt.* i. tab. xi.

presented two led horses, as above, but beneath is a group of boys, one naked, playing with balls, whilst the others are listening to the music of a kind of organ, blown by bellows at the right-hand side of the piece.

23*. To the same Consul Anastasius the lecturer referred another diptych, of which a small fragment only is known, and of which a cast was exhibited. No description has hitherto been published of this curious ivory, which in style and treatment of the subject entirely corresponds with the lower portions of the above-described diptychs of Anastasius. Here in the upper division two of the victorious horses in the games of the circus are led forward (their heads decorated with feathers) by two Amazons, a wreath being suspended in the centre. In the centre lower compartment are represented the feats of a group of acrobats, three of whom, nearly naked, support the head of a fourth, whose legs are thrown into the air, a child clinging to the left foot, head downwards, whilst another child with legs in the air holds on to the knee of the right leg. Two other acrobats stand at the side, one holding a child in his hands. At the left is another performer playing with four balls, one of which he catches upon his raised knee, and another in his right hand, whilst two are in the air; on the right is a performer dressed in a mask, and a child. These illustrations of the games of the circus are of the highest interest, and deserve to be carefully engraved. The original of this ivory is in the collection of the Vicomte de Jenzé, in Paris.

24*. Of Probus, the successor of Anastasius in the consulate, several diptychs are in existence, the most important one (the first leaf only) being in the Cabinet des Antiques of the National Library of Paris^b. Although very similar in its designs to the diptychs of Clementinus, it is inferior in execution. The Consul, young and beardless, with the hair parted in the middle, is seated in the curule chair holding the sceptre and *mappa circensis*, with the two female representatives of Rome and Constantinople at his sides; above his head is a circle of leaves hanging from a garland, and above this is the legend FL(AVIUS) ANASTASIUS PAUL(US) PROB(US) MOSCHIAN(US) PROB(US) MAGNUS. Below are two children emptying bags filled with coins; wreaths also with coins and diptychs are strewn on the ground.

25*. One of the leaves of another diptych, carved in bone, precisely similar in composition and detail to that last described, but of still more inferior workmanship, is contained in the Fejervary Collection now belonging to Mr. Mayer, of Liverpool. The original inscription has been effaced, and its place has been usurped by the name of a bishop of the eleventh or twelfth century, named Baldricus,—PRO PRÆSULE BALDRICO JUBENTE,—inscribed in large Roman capitals; and we learn from Mr.

^b Gorius, *Theat. Dipt.* ii. pl. xiv.

Pulszky that there were several bishops of that name in France and Western Germany between the middle of the tenth and the twelfth centuries. As the name of the Consul is thus wanting, it is only from similarity in detail that this diptych has been assigned by Pulszky to Probus. The Consul here represented is young and beardless, but the hair is massed in curls all round his head and over his forehead, just as in the figures of Clementinus^c. It may be noticed that the coins or basins on the ground are marked with a cross in this piece. This piece is still unfigured.

26*. A portion only of one of the leaves of a third diptych, also ascribed to Probus, is contained in the Cabinet des Antiques, and is known as the Diptych of Paris^d. It was first published by Ducange at the end of his Glossary, and although quite similar in all its details to the two last described diptychs, it is beautifully executed. The Consul here is also represented young and beardless, with his hair massed in curls all round his head. The inscription, however, as well as the groups of figures in the lower part of the piece, are wanting.

27*. In the Brera at Milan is also preserved a similar portion of one of the leaves of another diptych, hitherto unrecorded, which is so precisely similar to the diptych of Paris, that it must have been executed for a consul nearly contemporary with Probus. Like the Paris diptych, this is of exquisite workmanship, and were it not for the differences in the heads of the Consul, we should not hesitate to refer it also to Probus. The Consul is, however, represented as a man past the middle age of life, with a short beard and moustache, the forehead strongly wrinkled, the crown of the head bald, but with a single tuft of hair over the forehead, and a large tuft on each side over the ears. Here again, unfortunately, the inscription and the group of figures at the bottom of the piece are wanting.

28. Of the two tablets, broader in form than usual, originally in the Riccardi Collection at Florence, one is in the Imperial Cabinet of Antiquities at Vienna, but the other seems to be lost. They have been published by Banduri, Montfaucon, and Gorius^e. They contain representations of imperial personages decked with jewels, holding the imperial globe, both marked and surmounted with a cross, seated on a throne beneath a gorgeous canopy or cupola, supported by columns with Corinthian capitals, and with two eagles in the upper angles. These figures have been assigned by Gorius and others to the Emperor Flavius Anicius Justinus Augustus, Consul A.D. 519 and 524, and Flavius Anicius

^c The fashion of wearing the hair and beard varied considerably amongst the Romans.

^d Gorius, *Thes. Dipt.* ii. pl. ii.; Lenormant, *Trésor de Glypt.*, vol. ii. pl. liv.

^e *Thes. Dipt.* ii. pl. xxxi.; D'Agincourt, *Sculpt.*, pl. xii. fig. 5.

Justinianus Augustus, his nephew and successor, Consul in A.D. 528 and 533.

29**. The diptychs of Philoxenus, Consul in A.D. 525, present us with a different style of ornamentation to any previously described. Both leaves of one of his diptychs are preserved in the Cabinet des Antiques, Paris^f, and are known as the diptych of Compeigne, having been given, as we learn from Mabillon, by the Emperor Charles le Chauve in the ninth century to the Abbey Church of St. Corneille in Compeigne, where they were preserved for many centuries until they were transferred to the Imperial Library at Paris. Each leaf is occupied by three circles formed by an ornamental ribbon, knotted where the circles intersect each other: in the upper circle is the bust of the Consul, in consular robes, holding the sceptre and *mappa circensis*; in the lower circle is the bust of a female representation of the city of Constantinople, gorgeously dressed, and holding the imperial flag; whilst the central circle bears the inscription FL(AVIUS) THEODORUS FILOXENUS SOTERICUS FILOXENUS VIR ILLUSTR(IS) on one leaf, and COM(ES) DOMESTICUS EX MAGISTRO M(ILITIÆ) PER THRACIAM ET CONSUL ORDINAR(IUS) on the other^g. In addition to which there is a second inscription in Greek iambics,—TOYTI TO ΔΩΡΟΝ ΤΗ ΣΟΦΗ ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ on one leaf, and on the other ΥΠΑΤΟC ΥΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΠΡΟCΦΕΡΩ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟC. ('I, Philoxenus, being Consul, offer this present to the wise senators.')

These Greek verses also appear in one of the manuscripts of the Græco-Latin Glossary published by Henry Stephens in 1573, whence it was supposed that this Consul Philoxenus was the author of the Glossary itself until the diptych became known.

30*. The Fejervary Collection now belonging to M. Mayer contains the second leaf of a bone diptych of the same Consul Philoxenus, rudely carved, with leaves and twigs, having an octagonal tablet in the centre, bearing the latter part of the Latin inscription given in the last described piece, and four roundels containing the four words ΥΠΑΤΟC ΥΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΠΡΟCΦΕΡΩ ΦΙΛΞΕΝ. Here the c's and x's are of the rounded usual form, the A's without a cross bar, and the name of the Consul contracted, or rather distorted, without the ordinary bar indicating contraction.

^f Gorius, *Thes. Dipt.* ii. tab. xv.; Lenormant, *Trésor de Glyptique*, vol. ii. pl. liii.; D'Agincourt, *Sculpt.*, pl. xii. fig. 6.

^g It is to be observed that in this Latin inscription all the c's and x's are of the rounded form, the open right side being closed by a slender hair-line extending above and below the lines, a form of both these letters hitherto supposed to be confined to the Gothic period. (*N. Tr. de Dipl.* ii. p. 317 C, series 4, and p. 319 E, series 6.) It is also to be observed that the peculiar form of the knot of the ribbon occurs in the terminal ornament from the cover of a Roman sarcophagus discovered in 1852 in Loudon Wall, now deposited in the Roman gallery of the British Museum.

31**. The two leaves of the diptych of the Consul Orestes, A.D. 530, formerly in the Settala and Trivulci Collection, have recently passed from the Soltykoff Collection to that formed by Mr. Webb^h. In their design they are exact counterparts of the diptych of Clementinus, the busts of the reigning emperor and empress being introduced at the top in circular tablets on each side of a large plain cross. The inscription is—

RUF(INUS) GENN(ADIUS) PROB(US) ORESTIS
V(IR) C(LARISSIMUS) ET INL(USTRIS) CONS(UL) ORD(INARIUS);

and over the head of the Consul is a circular tablet, on which the monogram of his name is inscribed. The ball in the hand of one of the female attendants is marked with the letter A, as in one of the leaves of the diptych of Clementinus.

32**. The last of the Consuls, Basilius, A.D. 541, is represented by an interesting diptych differing in design from all the preceding, one leaf of which is now preserved in the Uffizii at Florenceⁱ. On this the Consul is represented standing, holding the *mappa circensis* in his right hand, and the sceptre surmounted by a globe and cross. The broad margin of his consular robe is ornamented on his right shoulder with an embroidered figure of himself in a car drawn by two horses. By the side of the Consul stands a female personification of Byzantium, holding the imperial banner, and placing her right hand on the shoulder of the Consul. In the lower part is represented a chariot-race by four *quadrigæ*, and the manumission of a slave. The inscription on the leaf is, ANIC(IUS) FAUST(US) ALBIN(US) BASILIUS V(IR) C(LARISSIMUS); continued on the other leaf of the diptych, ET INL(USTRIS) EX COM(ITE) DOM(ESTICO) PAT(RICIUS) CONS(UL) ORD(INARIUS). This leaf^k (contrary to the opinion of M. Pulszky, who supposed it lost) is certainly the companion to the Florence leaf, and is now in the Brera at Milan, whence a cast has been obtained, and was exhibited. In this piece is a representation of Victory, winged and seated, holding an oval shield bearing the bust of the Consul,—the likeness being perfectly preserved,—inscribed BONO REI-PUBLICÆ ET ITERUM. The feet of the Victory rest on the expanded wings of a large eagle soaring upwards.

33*. A fragment of another consular diptych is in the collection formed by Mr. Webb, but unfortunately it has been almost chiselled away and converted into a palimpsest, the other side being now occupied with an interesting series of figures illustrating the Crucifixion and subsequent events, executed in the Carolingian period. Sufficient is left, however, of the consular figure to shew it to have been of plain design, the Consul being seated—holding the *mappa circensis* and sceptre—beneath a rounded arch, with a pair of large eagles occupying the upper angles of the piece, which appears to have been surmounted by a cross. Above

^h Gorius, Thes. Dipt. ii. pl. xvii.

ⁱ Ib., tab. xx.

^k Ib., tab. xxi.

the head of the Consul is a circular tablet, on which was probably inscribed the monogram of the Consul.

In the collection of the British Museum is another fragment evidently of the same leaf, which has been similarly treated, the reverse side being now occupied with scenes of the Passion, executed also in the Carolingian period. This fragment was occupied by the lower part of the body of the Consul and legs of the curule chair, almost all of which have been cut away; beneath which appear to have been two boys emptying sacks, with a palm-branch in the centre.

34. In the British Museum is likewise preserved a fragment of a diptych representing a small part of the figure of a Consul, which it is quite impossible to identify.

35**. In the cathedral of Novara is preserved a perfect diptych¹, evidently of the beginning of the fifth century, each leaf of which represents a Consul in robes destitute of the slightest ornament, (fastened on the right shoulder with a large upright fibula,) standing under an ornamental canopy^m, resting on plain columns and Corinthian capitals: on one leaf the Consul holds a scroll in both hands; on the other, the right hand is elevated, with the first two fingers extended, as in the act of benediction. There is no inscription on either leaf, but the general design so nearly resembles that of the diptych of Flavius Felix, (although the workmanship is much more careful,) that it probably represents a Consul of the time of the Emperor Valentinian. This diptych contains a list of the bishops from St. Gaudentius to A.D. 1170.

36. In the Basilica of San Gaudenzio at Novara is also preserved a complete diptych, also destitute of inscriptionⁿ, but containing on each leaf the bust of a Consul giving the signal for the games of the circus, within a circular tablet in the centre of the piece, surrounded with coarsely designed foliage, with a large rosette both above and below the central tablet. It thus resembles the diptych of Flavius Areobindus, the elder of that name described above, but it is not otherwise capable of appropriation. This diptych contains a list of bishops from St. Gaudentius to William of Cremona, A.D. 1343.

37*. In the Fejervary Collection belonging to Mr. Mayer are two tablets of camel-bone, quite similar in design to the diptych of St. Gaudentius last described, which are also incapable of appropriation.

38. Two other tablets are indicated by M. Pulzky^o, of which no figures have hitherto been published. Of one published by Bianconi only the second leaf was preserved, without the name of the Consul; and Carroni

¹ Gorius, *Thes. Dipt.* ii. pl. iv.

^m In both leaves a portion of the ornamental design is unfinished, being indicated only by scratches on the surface.

ⁿ Gorius, *Thes. Dipt.* ii. tab. v.

^o *Catal. Fejerv. Ivor.*, p. 24.

mentions another as lately obtained by Signor Bossi, Secretary of the Academy of Design at Milan^p.

39. The series of Roman diptychs would scarcely be complete without a notice of the Barberini specimen^q, composed of several pieces, united so as apparently to form the front of a book-cover. In the centre an emperor, conjectured to be intended for Constantius, is represented as riding on a spirited horse gaily caparisoned, his right foot supported by a seated female with fruit in her lap, and the spear in his right hand by an attendant; a winged figure of Victory occupies the upper angle of the piece, and a smaller figure of Victory is also held by another attendant at the left side of the piece. Across the top, within a circular tablet supported by two winged angels, is a bust of the Saviour, young, beardless, destitute of a nimbus, in the act of benediction in the Byzantine manner (with the first, second, and fourth fingers extended), holding a sceptre surmounted by a ball and cross; a crown is placed near his right shoulder, and figures of the sun and moon over his left. Across the lower part of the piece a group of tributary figures bring ivory tusks and other treasures, which are offered to the Emperor by a winged genius. The execution of this piece is quite masterly, and no hesitation has been felt in referring it to the fourth century.

40**. Of the second diptych of Monza casts were exhibited, with the view of proving that, contrary to the opinion of Gorius and some other writers, it could not have been a consular diptych transformed into a Christian one, the inscription certainly not having been altered and re-cut, as had been suggested. On one leaf a figure is represented standing, wearing the consular lorium, and holding the *mappa circensis* in his upraised right hand, whilst his left holds a sceptre surmounted with a ball and cross. His hair is short-cropped, and the crown of the head is clerically tonsured. The footstool on which he stands is elaborately ornamented in a style more recent than that of the consular diptychs, with shrubs springing up at the sides, the roots of which are interlaced in the Anglo-Saxon or Lombardic manner; and on two tablets resting on the capitals of the lateral columns is inscribed *SCS' GREGOR(IUS)*. Two large eagles fill up the upper angles of the piece, the middle being occupied by a foliated arch surmounted by a cross. Over the head of the saint is inscribed,—

✠ GREGORIUS PRESUL MERITIS ET NOMINE DIGNUS
UNDE GENUS DUCIT SUMMUM CONSCENDIT HONOREM.

The other leaf is similar in general arrangement, except that the figure is here represented seated on a beautiful *sella curulis*, holding the *mappa circensis*, and a sceptre with a foliated top. His head is

^p Raggugaglio del Viaggio, &c., parte ii. p. 208.

^q Gorius, *Theat. Dipt.*, vol. iii. pl. i.; D'Agincourt, *Sculpt.*, pl. iii. fig. 15.

not tonsured, the hair arranged in curls at the sides of the head^r, whilst the tablets bear the inscription, DAVID REX. In the inscriptions on these two pieces the letters s c and G are often of the angulated form met with in Anglo-Saxon MSS., a peculiarity which alone would induce the idea that the diptych was not earlier than the seventh or eighth century.

Although, from their form, the four following objects cannot be classed among the diptychs, yet as Roman imperial and consular ivory figures they must not be omitted.

41. A fragment in the Fejervary Collection representing the Emperor Marcus Aurelius with the head veiled in the manner of a sacrificer, holding a volume in his right hand, and accompanied by two Romans. Referred by M. Pulszky to the year A.D. 167.

42. "Portrait of Arcadius, son of Theodosius the Great, Emperor of the East from A.D. 395—408, on an elliptical piece of bone. There are some doubts about the authenticity of this relief."—*Pulszky*.

43*. Mr. Fontaine's statuette of a Consul seated on the curule chair, clad in robes similar to those of the Consul represented in the Halberstadt diptych, holding a scroll in his left hand, and with the right hand elevated as in the act of benediction, and the hair in curls all round the head: six inches high.

44*. The beautiful group of three figures representing a Roman nuptial scene, the priest joining the hands of the happy couple, preserved in the Kunst Kammer of Berlin, No. III. a. 67.

Casts were also exhibited of all the most important of the ROMAN MYTHOLOGICAL IVORY TABLETS now in existence, of which the following is a concise summary:—

45**.

The diptych of Æsculapius and Hygeia in the Fejervary Collection, now belonging to Mr. Mayer of Liverpool; "the most beautiful of all the ancient reliefs in ivory^s," probably of the second century. On the first leaf, Æsculapius (accompanied by Telesphorus) rests upon his club, round which a serpent is twined. On the second leaf Hygeia (with Cupid at her feet) leans upon a tripod, holding a serpent with her left hand whilst she feeds it with her right.

46*.

The small piece of Æsculapius and Hygeia in a private collection in Switzerland, of which Dr. Keller has kindly furnished a cast. This is in much deeper relief than the preceding, and full of energy in the design. Here Æsculapius holds a palm-branch in his right hand,

^r The arrangement of the upper part of this piece, even to the curls of the hair, is quite similar to the nearly obliterated piece in Mr. Webb's collection above noticed; thus affording an additional proof that this is not a consular diptych altered, but a more recent piece, in which the general design has been copied from a consular one.

^s Gorius, *Thes. Dipt.* iii. pl. xxxi.; Pulszky, *Fejerv. Ivor.*, frontisp.

and supports his club, round which a serpent is twined, with his left; whilst Hygeia holds a snake in her right hand, and, apparently, a large melon in her left.

47. Two ivory tablets which formed the doors of a reliquary in the Convent of Moutiers in France, supposed by Pulszky to be lost. On one, a Bacchante, standing before a lighted altar, is in the act of throwing incense into the fire. On the other, another Bacchante, standing near an altar, turns a lighted torch down in each hand as if to extinguish it[†]. On one leaf is inscribed NICOMACHORVM, and on the other SYMMACHORVM, being the names of those who dedicated these tablets to the temple of Bacchus or Cybele. Fortunately, the second of these tablets has been discovered, and now forms part of the collection of Mr. Webb. "The elegant style of the relief indicates the second century."—*Pulszky*.

48**. The diptych of Cardinal Quirini^u possesses great mythological interest. Again adopting M. Pulszky's interpretation, we find in the first leaf, Hippolytus^z with his spear, hound, and sandals reading the tablets containing the avowal of the love of Phædra, who is represented leaning pensively against a column. The winged Cupid fluttering between them depresses his torch towards Phædra. The second leaf contains a unique representation of Diana and Virbius (Ovid. Met. xv. 538). The goddess is figured in a short hunting-dress, whilst Hippolytus transformed into the god Virbius, with spear, shield, and Phrygian cap, receives the caresses of the goddess; the wingless Cupid placing wreaths upon the heads of the new god and goddess. Referred to the third century—now in the *Bibliotheca Quiriniana* at Brescia.

49*. A charming piece recently obtained by the British Museum, representing Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus destroying the Chimæra; very deeply carved with the background open-cut—unpublished.

50**. The third diptych of the treasury of the Cathedral of Monza^v. One leaf contains a beautiful representation of a Muse playing the lyre, probably the portrait of a Roman lady in an ideal character; the other leaf represents an aged bald man, seated, holding a scroll, with an open book and a scroll at his feet. The former has been referred to Calliope, the Muse of epic poetry, and the latter was regarded by Gorius as a poet—Claudian, Ausonius, or Boethius; and by Pulszky as Ennius, or even Homer himself.

51**. The Imperial Library of Paris now contains the tablets of Sens^z,

[†] Gorius, *Thes. Dipt.* i. tab. vi.

^u *Ib.* iii. tab. xvi.

^z It may be suggested that the hermaphroditic state of Hippolytus was not the original condition of the relief.

^v Gorius, *Thes. Dipt.* ii. pl. viii.

^z Millin, *Mon. Ant.* ii. pl. l. li., and *Voyages*, i. pl. ii. iii.; Sere, *Le Moyen Age Reliure*, pl. i.

a diptych filled with mythological subjects, and employed as the cover of a mediæval MS., *Le Livre des Fous*. On one leaf is represented a personification of the solar power; Bacchus (not Apollo) is here borne in a triumphal car by two centaurs, surrounded by scenes in which the vintage is especially conspicuous^a. On the other leaf Diana Lucifera, the goddess of night, rises from the ocean in a car drawn by two bulls, with numerous attendants and accessories.

52**. The Imperial Library of Paris also possesses the beautiful Roman diptych with six Muses, each accompanied by an author seated or standing, three of these groups being represented on each leaf. Except Euripides with Melpomene, together with Thalia holding a comic mask, the identification of these figures is very doubtful. The figures are in very high relief, and very tall in their proportions.

53. The mythological diptychon of the Riccardi Museum^b, now in the Imperial Cabinet of Antiques at Vienna, contains on one leaf the representation of Rome, and on the other of Byzantium, as female figures, destitute of inscription or monogram. Referred by Pulszky to the epoch of the Emperor Justinian.

54. One leaf of a diptych in the possession of Comte Auguste de Bastard contains, in two compartments, two figures of warriors with spear and shield triumphing over foes vanquished and lying at their feet^c. A beautiful cast of this has been obtained by the South Kensington Museum.

55*. The diptych of St. Gall, with representations of several combats, very archaic in design, and probably the oldest known classical ivory. Described by Eckhardus minimus.

56**. The semicylindrical (money?) box of ivory, obtained by Mr. Chaffers, with figures of Bacchus, Mercury, and Diana on the curved front, and of Cybele on the flat back.

57—62*****. We must here also mention the six reliefs of Roman work in ivory now attached to the silver pulpit of the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, four of which represent mythological subjects, whilst two contain figures of an emperor, standing armed with shield and spear in one piece, whilst on the other he is on horseback, spearing a panther. These ivories have recently been well figured by Messrs. Cahier and Martin (*Mélanges Archéologiques*), and by Ausim's Werth in his fine work on the ecclesiastical antiquities of the Rhine district.

63. We close this list with the fine mythological figure of Panthea, one of the gems of the Museum of the Hôtel Cluny, well figured in Du

^a A figure on horseback, in the middle of this piece, is so similar to the Bellerophon above described, as to suggest that both are the work of the same artist.

^b Gorius, *Thes. Dipt.* ii. pl. iii. ix.

^c Lenormant, *Trésor de Glyptique*.

Sommerard's *Le Moyen Age*, and by Sere, *Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance*. In general treatment, and in several other respects, there is great similarity between this grand figure and the Aix-la-Chapelle ivories.

The Master of Balliol conveyed the thanks of the Meeting to Professor Westwood, not only for the exhibition of such a beautiful collection of specimens of ancient ivories, but for the very interesting explanations which he had given respecting them.

Some discussion took place after the lecture, in which Professor Goldwin Smith, Mr. J. H. Parker, and the Master of University took part, and the meeting was adjourned.

Second Meeting, Trinity Term, 1862.

June 11. The second meeting of the Society was held in the Ashmolean Museum (by the kind permission of the Keeper), the Rev. the MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, President, in the chair.

The names of three gentlemen were proposed as members of the Society.

It was announced that the annual meeting would be held on Thursday, June 26, at two o'clock, and that there would be an exhibition of photographs.

The PRESIDENT then called upon the Principal of New Inn Hall, who had undertaken to make some remarks on the Drawings by J. Malchair, illustrative of the Topography of Oxford.

The PRINCIPAL began by observing that Malchair, whose drawings he was able to exhibit to the meeting, was a drawing-master in Oxford in the latter half of the last century. Although no antiquary, his tastes led him to choose, among other subjects, many of the buildings in Oxford, and as of these several have been destroyed or altered, his drawings now possessed an historical value. Since his time very great changes had taken place. He saw some of the old gates standing, and had fortunately left us very accurate drawings of them. Of the North Gate (or Bocardo) he had left two views, one from the north side, the other from the south side^a. This gate was taken down on the passing of the Paving Act in 1777. Of the East Gate also Malchair had preserved drawings, taken from the eastern and western side. There was also one of the Little Gate, which stood behind Pembroke College.

But one of his favourite subjects seemed to have been Friar Bacon's Study. Of this there were several views. Two of them were remarkable, having been taken during its destruction, and as Malchair was very accurate, not only in his drawings but in his notes appended to his drawings, he has often given us the exact date and hour when the views were taken. One of the two bore the date of April 14, 1779, and the other April 15, 1779, at six o'clock in the morning. By this time the greater part seemed to have been pulled down.

There was an amusing inscription on the back of one of the drawings, which ran thus:—

“Ah Poor Friar, you might have stude to see many generations to comme pass under you, had not you stoped one time Jackson's load of Hay.” (See woodcut on the next page.)

There was a view of Malchair's of a similar bridge at Monmouth.

Another remarkable drawing was that of one of the bastion towers at

^a Engravings taken from these drawings will be found at p. 40 of this Report.

the back of the houses in Broad-street. It was taken from some lodgings where Malchair was residing.



Friar Bacon's Study.

Next to these should be named two views of Beaumont Palace, the ruins of which were to be seen in the ground now occupied by the gardens belonging to the houses on the north side of Beaumont-street.

Canterbury Gate also was a very accurate drawing, shewing the fifteenth-century hall which then existed there. This was drawn while the building was in process of destruction.

Next, an effective view of the terrace in front of St. John's College was exhibited, and that also in front of Balliol College which then existed. It shewed the wall projecting some distance beyond the college, and trees growing within. This terrace was destroyed in 1772, without adding to the breadth of the street at its narrowest extremity, to which it did not reach. Pennant refers to it thus:—

“ Within my memory majestic elms graced the street before this and the neighbouring colleges. The scene was truly academic. Walks worthy of the contemplative schools of ancient days. But, alas! in the midst of numberless modern elegancies in this single instance some demon whispered, ‘Oxford have taste,’ and by the magic line every venerable tree fell prostrate.”

There were exhibited also views of the former Magdalen Bridge, and of the old Hythe Bridge, which has been only so recently rebuilt; another of the high tower in Godstow Nunnery, which has for a long time disappeared.

Two drawings of the old library at Exeter College were also shewn.

The above were some of the chief examples exhibited by the Principal of drawings possessing an interest for the antiquary. He then drew attention to the claims which Malchair possessed as an artist.

Skelton, speaking of his view for the Oxford Almanack of 1767, says:—

“In speaking of Mr. Malchair it is but due to his merits to record his worth in the respective characters of an artist, a companion, and a friend. Indeed, so excellent are some of his drawings, that they have been thought to possess an originality and beauty in their effect resembling the breadth and brilliancy of the colouring of Claude. It is a fortunate circumstance for those interested in the ancient state of this University and City that Mr. Malchair lived in Oxford at a period when many important alterations in the old buildings took place; and we are indebted to his pencil for the best representations of the ancient gates, &c., which contribute much to the interest of this work.”

At the backs of his sketches he noted the hour as well as the day, and the name of the spot.

This accurate and methodical habit was remarkable in many ways; the direction of the rays of the sun being always carefully indicated. He was also very particular about the appearance of the sky, and the weather. On the back of one of the sketches already referred to occurs, “A Sketch in Broad-street, May 3rd, 1779; wind, south and west; approach of a thunder-storm.” And in a view of Magdalen Bridge from Christ Church meadow a very singular phenomenon was exhibited, namely, a double reflection of Magdalen Tower.

His power was also exemplified by such views as that from Joe Pullen’s tree, in which the effect of distance was admirably managed. On this was noted at the back, “A View from Recollection.” A similar view from Windsor Terrace was also marked, “From Recollection.”

The notes, too, on some of his drawings mentioned the most trifling incidents; e.g. on his Godstow drawing, dated June 12, 1789, he wrote, “Heard the nightingal and cuku.” On one of Ferry Hincksey he notes that it was a favourite walk of his late wife, and that “he loves to roam there.”

In these notes, too, were sometimes found mentioned the names of his pupils; e.g. on one drawing, “Lord Lewisham: a Lesson for him,” in 1778. On another occurred the name of Mrs. Oglander, with the date of 1786; she was the wife of the Warden of New College. Mr. Noyes of Christ Church in 1787, and Mr. Gooch in 1792. Lord Guernsey, an eminent artist himself, afterwards Earl of Aylesford, seems also to have been one of his patrons.

As far as could be gathered of his history from his drawings, it would appear that Malchair first came to Oxford in 1760. It was in 1761 that he took the View of Oxford from Elsfield. From 1770 to 1797 he seemed to have laboured very steadily, but the latter date is the last which occurred on any drawing of his. Previous to his coming to Oxford he seemed to have visited Sussex, in 1755, and Bath and Bristol in 1756-7-8. From Oxford he made occasional excursions;

from 1758 to 1769, into Herefordshire, to Foxley (Mr. Price's), where he sketched Yazor, Ledbury, Byford, &c.; and into Wiltshire, where he drew Salisbury, Wilton House, Stonehenge, and Longford. About 1772 we find him sketching at Lord Bathurst's, near Cirencester, at Coleshill and Becket (Lord Barrington's); in 1777 and in 1785 at Kenilworth, where he made large drawings of the ruins; in 1786 at Ludlow, and Lord Clive's at Oakley; in 1789 again at Powis Castle and Oakley Park; and in 1795 making drawings of Rochester Castle, Gravesend, and Millbank; his head-quarters being Oxford.

His drawings have unfortunately been much scattered. Mr. Skelton, however, had obtained a good many; also Lord Barrington, and there were smaller collections in the hands of his former pupils.

The lecturer concluded with pointing out how much antiquaries were indebted to the zeal which was the means of handing down to them such accurate relics of the past. Before Malchair's time we had very little to guide us in the way of pictorial illustration which could be relied upon. What we had was clearly due to Germans. The earliest view of Oxford was by Hoefnagle, engraved by Hogenberg, Germans, in 1572. Next in order, as to plans of Oxford, was Speed's Map, by Jodocus Hondius, in 1605. Next, a ground-plan by Hollar, in 1643, which gave also a long slip view of the city.

There should, however, be mentioned Ralph Agas's Map, which was drawn in 1578, and re-engraved in 1728. And we have, lastly, the views of David Loggan, who in Charles the Second's time gave a complete survey of Oxford, in numerous illustrations, being Chalcographer to the University. After him came Michael Burghers, also Chalcographer to the University, who engraved the plates to Hearne's publications and the earlier Almanacks.

The lecturer concluded his observations with some remarks upon the various merits of the above-named artists, and the great assistance which they had rendered to antiquarian research.

After some remarks from the PRESIDENT and Mr. J. H. PARKER,—the latter calling attention to a view of Merton College, which shewed a hall, with lancet windows of the thirteenth century, quite different to the present hall, and probably the hall as it was originally built, and to which the present doorway and iron-work would naturally belong,—and after a vote of thanks to the lecturer had been carried, the meeting was adjourned.

Third Meeting, Trinity Term, 1862.

June 18. The PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY in the chair.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society :—

C. H. Roberts, Esq., Ch. Ch.

H. De la G. Grissell, Esq., Brasenose College.

J. H. Stennett, Esq., Merton College.

A request from the Committee appointed to carry out the restoration of the chapter-house at Westminster was read, and a memorial was laid on the table for the members to sign.

The Notice of the Twenty-third Anniversary Meeting of the Ecclesiological Society, to be held in London on July 1, was read, in which it was suggested that many members of our own Society might like to attend.

The Hon. R. C. E. Abbot, Ch. Ch., then read a paper on “The Italian Cities at the Commencement of their Struggles with the German Emperors in the Twelfth Century.”

“There has been only one period, there has been only one country, in modern times, where a system of small independent city communities has flourished for a considerable time and filled a large space in history—that country was Mediæval Italy. When the rest of Europe was involved in barbarism and ignorance, the cities of Lombardy and Tuscany, the banks of the Po and the Arno, were enjoying the highest degree of prosperity and civilization. As the rest of Europe advances, they decline and decay. . . .

“The beginning of the twelfth century presents the earliest phase of this period of independent political existence, when the different cities first appear as republics, and that interest attaches to Milan and the Lombard towns which later rather clings to Florence and Tuscany.

“The central and principal figure is the republic of Milan. To the south-east, further down in the vale of the Po, it had a powerful rival in Cremona. To the south, near the confluence of the Ticino and the Po, it had another hostile competitor of its power, Pavia. Closing on its territory lay the small and ill-fated communities of Lodi and Como, which stood to Milan somewhat in the position which in ancient times was that of Thespiæ or Plataea to Thebes, or what four centuries later was the position of Pisa with regard to Florence. On the other hand, fear and hatred of Cremona gave it an ally in the little state of Crema.

“Thus again had arisen a state of things reviving the phenomena of the ancient world.

“Again, there were these independent cities with small surrounding territories, whose whole national life and existence was within their own walls, . . . but having no supreme authority to compose their differences or bind them together, . . . and thus petty states whose capitals were

but a few miles distant, akin in race and national character, and almost to be called fellow-countrymen, were perpetually devastating each other's fields or seeking each other's subjugation. . . .

"The independent feudal nobility whose castles had been without the domain of the cities, were gradually, either by fair means or foul, brought to become members of them. But the relations of the cities themselves exhibit many instances of dominion exercised, or sought to be exercised, by one town over another . . . Milan, like Athens at the height of its greatness, seems to have been dreaded by its neighbours as an encroaching despot city. Pavia, Cremona, Lodi, Novara, were leagued to protect themselves against it. But towns like Crema, which had its chief enemy, a possible oppressor, in Cremona, sought support, as Sismondi expresses it, from the chief city, which was feared the least, and clung closely to Milan as a protector while so many others dreaded her as a conqueror.

"On one occasion an ecclesiastical quarrel turned the forces of Milan, aided, it appears, by auxiliaries from the other Lombard cities, against the community of Como. . . .

"Como, it appears, at least from its own poet, the nearest author to the years of the siege, prolonged the struggle for ten years. At length, however, their resolution could no longer prevail against the force opposed to them, and they were obliged to agree to a capitulation by which they demolished their walls, became tributary to Milan, and bound themselves to provide men for its wars.

"Even earlier than this a four years' war had given Milan the conquest over its neighbour at Lodi. The people of Lodi had struggled long: they claimed to have gained several victories; but at length, after seeing their harvests annually destroyed by the enemy, and exhausting all their force in resistance, they succumbed. The victorious Milanese inflicted on them the same fate as at the height of their domination in Greece the Spartans had inflicted on Mantinea. They gave them no longer an existence as a community. Six separate villages were to receive the dispersed inhabitants. The dissolution of the commonwealth was attended by the destruction of the city. . . .

"The power of Milan was now at its height. Cremona still stood forth as its rival, but far from protecting remoter places against the Milanese, could not hold its own against them at Crema. On both sides Italian cities and Italian arms alone were ranged: the affairs of Lombardy were controlled by no foreign arbiter. . . . Lombardy had its own free-working political life, its own cities as heads of leagues, as conquerors, or as conquered. It had too little sentiment of danger to feel any want of union.

"This period of temporary independence was no halcyon age, indeed, of peace and liberty; it was marked by a large proportion of war, injustice, and oppression: but it was the dawn of the nation's life, the

period when its civilization and development first were permitted to advance undisturbed, and the seeds were sown of all that was to bear to it glory and prosperity in the subsequent centuries. . . .

“But a time was coming when this condition of things, with all its good or evil, was for an interval to be completely suspended. . . . For at Frankfort, in 1152, Frederic Barbarossa was elected emperor. To possess the whole heritage of Augustus seemed to this prince the measure, to walk in the footsteps of Charlemagne, to exercise his former power over Northern Italy, was the immediate object, of his ambition. It was natural that to those who were sharing in the general freedom and prosperity, whose cities were great, and flourishing, and powerful, nothing should seem more to be dreaded than the irruption of hosts of Transalpine soldiery, and that it should be held their highest duty to avert this evil from their country. But to the unhappy citizens whose native places had been subjected by the sword of their neighbours,—to those who had been compelled to furnish their blood and treasure for the service of other cities, who had subdued them by force, or had seen their homes razed and themselves scattered through defenceless villages,—to men in the position of the people of Lodi or Como, there was now a hope of welcome deliverance. When Frederic was at Constance two citizens of Lodi appeared as supplicants before him, intreating him now, in the forty-third year, to put an end to the dominion of Milan over them. . . .

“When he (the Emperor) arrived in Italy, envoys from all parties hastened to lay their cause before the new arbiter whose sword was ready to turn the scale of those contests which the Italians had hitherto been left to wage by themselves.

“The consuls of Como and Lodi demanded the restoration of their lost independence: Pavia, Cremona, and Novara called for restraints on the power of that ambitious city which already had subjugated others, and might become formidable to their own freedom. Nor were the cities the only applicants for justice. Several of the independent feudal nobles, whom it had been the policy of the towns to reduce to dependence, applied to the emperor to maintain their rights. Thus the Marquis of Monferrat brought complaint against Asti for invading his lands, when he had refused to submit to them, and their bishop supported his cause. Milan sent its consuls to plead in reply, and Crema, Brescia, Tortona, and most of the remaining cities. The Emperor declared for the weaker cause. It has been said that his guiding motive was to break the strength of the Milanese party, the more powerful of the two, so as to be able to oppress both. Perhaps he was willing to combine with the recovery of what he held to be his legitimate authority in Lombardy, the redress of injuries to the weak or the suffering who sought it of him, and to avenge both himself and them on those more powerful

communities by whom they had been wronged, and whom he deemed usurpers of his sovereign rights.

“A dispute about the furnishing of provisions hastened the collision. The German army turned its weapons at once against the republics. The two frontier castles of Milan towards Novara were first stormed and destroyed. Asti and Chieri, against which the Marquis of Montferrat had lodged accusations, were pillaged and burnt, their populations having previously fled. Tortona, the ally of Milan, after a heroic defence, a foretaste of more prosperous struggles, was starved out and razed to the ground. The Emperor then marched south. On his return from Rome he was unable to keep his army in the field longer. Thus a short repose was given to the Lombard cities after the first specimen of foreign invasion. . . . But the lull was only temporary. In 1158 Frederic, attended by all his most powerful vassals, descended from the Alps. The Milanese, terrified for their safety, finding the Lodesans would not take an oath to adhere to them, expelled them again from their houses, and pillaged and razed their city.

“The imperialists appeared before Brescia, and forced it to open its gates. From this city was issued a singular document for the regulation of the conduct of the army. It shews indeed a considerable degree of barbarism in the age, and the nation for whom it was designed, but at the same time manifests on the part of the Emperor an earnest desire to restrain it. . . .

“The Milanese summoned to appear, sent deputies to plead their cause, but after being fully heard they were put to the ban of the empire.

“Frederic marched to the ruins of Lodi and marked out a new site for this unhappy city, doomed to find its worst foes in citizens of kindred race, and lean on the foreign invader for justice.

“Milan now was besieged. Their lands without were desolated with the vindictiveness of long and slavish hatred by the Cremonese and Pavesans. Famine began to press them within. At length they acceded to a capitulation which, had it been strictly adhered to, would have been for the advantage of all parties in Lombardy, and inflicted serious hardship on none. Lodi and Crema indeed would have been withdrawn from the power of Milan,—a severe mark of defeat to the latter, though a great boon to them. But the liberties of Milan, its right of choosing its own magistrates, and its right of extending alliance to the Cremasques who sought protection against Cremona and those dwellers by the lake of Como to whom the Comasque rule was displeasing, would have remained. Unhappily, however, the Emperor in the hour of victory knew not when to halt in time. He summoned a diet at Roncaglia of the princes and nobles of Lombardy, the judges and consuls of the cities, and some jurisconsults of Bologna. The authority of this diet, he held, was to be paramount over even his own treaties. All regaliam rights, the

power of coining money, the revenues arising from innumerable species of impost and customs, were transferred to the Emperor from their present holders. Unable to decide at once on all the causes which poured in on him, he appointed judges of his own, called podestas, to administer justice in each city. These officers, as opponents of the popularly chosen consuls, were regarded as representing despotic usurpation by those most opposed to the imperial power.

“One of its ordinances almost outweighs all that is evil in the rest. It entirely prohibited private arms. Lombardy was to become one country, as part of the empire. Cities and independent nobles who had hitherto on every occasion assailed each other by ravaging their lands and besieging their walls or castles, were now to be bound over to keep the peace under the authority of their paramount sovereign. . . . These new decisions soon clashed with the former treaties: Milan was called upon to renounce its dominion over several more of its dependencies, and to receive a podesta in place of its consuls; Crema was ordered to raze its walls. These submissions were refused. A new war was lighted up. Crema was besieged, and after a gallant defence forced to surrender to the Emperor. The inhabitants were allowed to march out, the town was then pillaged and destroyed. The victorious army appeared before Milan itself in the following year. A severe blockade and the destruction of a large part of the town by fire led the citizens to offer to yield all the points recently disputed. Frederic, however, would receive nothing but an absolute surrender. Three weeks he delayed his sentence: at length he proclaimed that the city should be razed to the ground and the citizens expelled, assigning the work of destruction to the Comasques, Cremonese, and others, the bitterest enemies of Milan. And so in the fifty-first year retribution came for Lodi.

“The imperial power had now attained its utmost height in Lombardy. All the cities, friendly or hostile, were in complete dependence on the Emperor. Unfortunately, from a desire of still further increasing his power, he endeavoured to change the internal governments of some of those who had supported him. . . . They felt bitterly that in calling in a powerful protector they had riveted a new yoke. We see from the very first a change of feeling, in the hospitality given by these cities to the exiled Milanese. The podestas, by their exactions and arbitrary conduct, greatly increased such feeling. And when Frederic’s visit to Italy in 1164 did not bring the relief hoped for, they began to form a league to resist him.

“At first the league was composed of the cities of the Veronese March. But it later was joined by most of those which had before borne arms for the Emperor. In 1167 they passed and carried into effect a resolution for rebuilding and consolidating Milan, and none were more forward in supporting it than her ancient enemies the Cremonese.

“In the years of war which followed, the league grew in strength : in 1168 they built the city of Alexandria, as a check on the power of Pavia. At length, in 1176, the Emperor, with an army from Germany, supported by Comasques and Pavesans, engaged the Milanese and their allies at Liguano. He was so completely defeated that he fled alone to Pavia.

“Further serious resistance was now hopeless. He entered on negotiations which, after a truce of several years, ended in the peace of Constance.

“By this peace at length were secured the liberties of these cities. The rights of war and peace, of electing their own magistrates, and fortifying themselves with walls, were maintained. The empire retained its supremacy, with the right of appointing judges of appeal, and some similar prerogatives. Henceforth these Lombard districts entered on their own national life, still recognising a certain authority in the Emperor, whose quarrels with the Papal authority brought on them so much civil war and confusion in later times. Whatever be thought of the beneficial or injurious result of their contest, they are at least remarkable as standing almost alone among their contemporary states in Europe, and recalling most vividly so many of the phenomena of ancient times.”

Mr. FREEMAN said that the history of Lombardy in the twelfth century, like all other portions of history, could not be rightly understood without going thoroughly into the writings of the time. The period is commonly known to English readers through the great work of Sismondi. Now the history of Sismondi is simply a pleading on one side. It is a most powerful and eloquent pleading, and one both as accurate and as fair to the other side as a party pleading can be ; but it is still essentially the work of an advocate pleading the cause of one party to a controversy. Rightly to balance the case, we must go to the men who wrote at the time, and of course to writers on both sides and of both nations. Of these the most important are the Germans Otto of Freising and his continuator Radevic, the Lodesans Otto Morena and his continuator his son Acerbus, on the Imperial side, and on the other side the Milanese Sire Raoul. All these will be found in the great collection of Muratori. Now the study of these writers, together with a general understanding of the real position of the mediæval Emperors, will easily show that Frederick ought not to be looked upon as a mere external and unprovoked intruder into Italy. The side of the cities is that with which we must all sympathize ; when commonwealths are struggling against a King, we naturally and rightly give our good-will to the commonwealths ; we see, at this distance of time, that the attempt to unite Italy under any King, and still more to unite Germany and Italy under a single King, was unjust and impracticable. But we must

not expect that Frederick could see in the twelfth century all that we can see in the nineteenth century. We sympathize with Milan struggling against the King of Italy, and we sympathize rightly as long as we give to Milan only the same sympathy which we give to an English, French, Provençal, or German city struggling against its King, Duke, or Bishop. But we stray wide of the mark as soon as we drag in the modern notion of "oppressed nationalities," as soon as we begin to fancy that the rule of Frederick in Lombardy had any sort of analogy to the rule of Francis Joseph in Venetia. We wholly mistake the facts of the case if we look on Frederick as a mere foreign invader seizing provinces to which he had no claim, as we have seen Savoy and Nizza seized before our own eyes. We can see that the claims of the Emperors were, in a certain sense, unjust and unreal, but the Emperors themselves had no means of finding out that they were so. The common histories call Frederick and his predecessors and successors "Emperors of Germany." Either portion of this title may lead to mistakes. "Emperor" then had not the same meaning as "Emperor" now. "Emperor" now exactly translates the Greek *τύραννος*, in the twelfth century it translated the Greek *βασιλεύς*. An Emperor then, instead of implying the destruction of Law, was the very impersonation of Law. And the title of "Emperor of Germany" never existed; in very late times, the last century for instance, its use is often convenient, but it never was a formal title, and its use in speaking of the early middle age can lead only to mistakes. Frederick was King of Germany, King of Italy, King of Burgundy, but he was Emperor of the Romans—*Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus*. Mediæval history cannot be understood unless we thoroughly realize that the Emperors, both of East and West, were looked upon as the lawful and immediate successors of the old Cæsars. The existence of a Roman Emperor was assumed as something almost in the eternal fitness of things; the only question was whether the true Cæsar Augustus was to be recognized in the Greek or in the German candidate. Those who draw the shallow and unintelligible distinction between "ancient" and "modern" history are often puzzled to fix the exact date when the Roman Empire ceased to exist. The plain fact is that, both in legal continuity and in the belief of Europe, it never ceased to exist. Frederick of Hohenstaufen was the uninterrupted successor of the first Augustus. The event of A.D. 476 was formally a reunion of the Eastern and Western Empires; Odoacer and Theodoric ruled in Italy by commission from the Roman Cæsar at Constantinople. The nominal rights of the Empire became a reality through the victories of Belisarius. Down to the end of the eighth century, the Byzantine Emperor was the recognized, if nominal, sovereign of Rome, and he was then, and later still, the real ruler of a considerable portion of the peninsula. At last the New Rome acknow-

ledged Eirene, the Old Rome rejected her. The Old Rome bestowed the Empire, not as something new or restored, but in lawful succession to Constantine the Sixth, on Karl the Great, already King of the Franks and Lombards and Patrician of the Romans. From Karl the inchoate right to the Roman Empire passed on to his successors in the German and Italian Kingdoms. The elected King had a right to become Emperor, but he did not venture to assume the title till he had been crowned at Rome by the Pope. This distinction lasted even into our own century. The successors of Charles the Fifth were constantly spoken of and addressed as Emperors, but, as they had received only the royal and not the Imperial coronation, they themselves, down to Francis the Second, assumed, in solemn documents, no higher titles than King of Germany and Emperor Elect. Their formal title, down to the invasion of the first Buonaparte, ran "Erwählter Römischer Kaiser, König in Germanien und Jerusalem." Frederick thus, as King of Germany and Italy, and Emperor of the Romans, had a historical right to all the prerogatives alike of Lombard Kings and of Roman Cæsars. He had Civil Lawyers to explain his rights as Emperor, and Feudal Lawyers to explain his rights as King. He might, if he pleased, challenge the full powers of Constantine and Justinian. It was written in the book of the Law, "quod Principi placuit legis habet vigorem." And if the law added that that power was derived from the grant of the Roman People, he might answer that he had been elected King both by Germany and by Italy. He was chosen in Germany, but representatives of his Italian kingdom were present and consenting to the election. It was made, as Otto of Freising says, *non sine quibusdam de Italiâ Baronibus*. We know not who they were or with what commission they came, but their presence at least gave an outward legitimacy to his Italian title. That title, whether as Emperor or as King, no man in Italy denied; a large party in Italy zealously asserted it. If Frederick was the foe and the destroyer of Tortona, Milan, and Crema, he was the friend and benefactor of Pavia, Lodi, and Cremona. In fact, the position of the King of Italy was exactly the same as the position of the King of England or of France. No man denied his royal title; no man denied that he had some royal rights; only a large party was anxious, and rightly anxious, to limit those rights to the narrowest possible amount. If Frederick was a stranger in Italy, the kings of England and France were equally strangers in large portions of their dominions. In fact, strictly national feelings had not yet fully developed themselves. The real bitterness was, as Otto of Freising pointedly tells us, not between German and Italian, but between the rival cities of Italy. In short, Frederick came into Italy simply to receive a crown which no man denied him, and to exercise royal rights which admitted of no controversy except

as to their extent. Undoubtedly he came to exercise those rights more fully than some of his predecessors had done. Frederick doubtless claimed and exercised more power in Italy than had been exercised by Lothar and Conrad. But this was merely as Henry the Second exercised more power in England than Stephen, as Philip Augustus exercised more power in France than Lewis the Seventh. We shall never understand the period if we look on Frederick as a mere external invader, whose very presence in the land was a wrong; he was an acknowledged king, the extent of whose royal rights (like those of other kings) was fairly open to controversy.

For asserting and pressing these legal and historic rights Frederick cannot be fairly blamed. Neither can his enemies be fairly blamed for resisting rights which, legal and historic as they were, were, as we can see now, altogether unsuited to the times. But the Imperial claims had abundance of zealous supporters in Italy itself, and, while they had, Frederick could hardly be expected to find out their abstract injustice and unreality. It is evident from the contemporary historians that Frederick's personal character called forth the enthusiastic admiration not only of his German but of his Italian partisans. As their German poet sings,—

“Quanta sit potentia et laus Friderici,
Quum sit patens omnibus, non est opus dici.”

He is the great and just lord of the world whose yoke none but the wicked refused.

“Salve, mundi domine, Cæsar noster, ave,
Cujus jugum omnibus bonis est suæve,
Et si quis recalcitrat, putans illud grave,
Obstinati cordis est et cervicis pravæ.”

Nor were these merely the purchased praises of interested German laureates. The Lodesan historians, evidently speaking from the heart, lavish every epithet of honour and affection upon their Imperial founder. He is the “Christianissimus,” the “clementissimus,” the “dulcissimus Imperator, quo nullus dulcior fuit a longis retro temporibus.” Does any man in Venetia apply such names as these to the Austrian intruder who ventures to profane Frederick's Imperial title? Nor were these names mere words of flattery without a meaning. When we find the destroyer of Milan spoken of as “dulcissimus” and “clementissimus,” we are tempted to wonder at the abuse of words and to say,—

οὐ γὰρ τι γλυκύθυμος ἀνὴρ ἦν οὐδ' ἀγαρόφρων.

But, compare Frederick with those who lived in his own age and with those who came after him, and we shall see that the superlatives of Otto Morena were words used in all sober earnestness. Cruel he was, as we now count cruelty, while opposition lasted; but the Prince

who kept his word and could be generous in conquest, was a miracle of mercy in days like those. Compare the career of Frederick with the faithlessness and savage fury of Henry the Second, with the unprincipled intrigues and base cruelties of Philip Augustus, with the brutality of Richard Cœur de Lion, or with the cowardly barbarity of John Lackland. It was a hard fate when Milan was levelled with the ground, and her citizens had to march out with so much of their worldly goods as they could carry with them. But it was mercy compared with the fate of cities which, in after ages, fell into the hands of Charles the Bold, of Bourton, of Alva, of Tilly, or of Wallenstein. Milan on her first rebellion was spared, on her second she was levelled to the ground. The work of destruction was intrusted by Frederick, like Alexander at Thebes, to Milan's own Lombard enemies. Milan was levelled with the ground as a high symbolic act of vengeance against the city which had withstood the lawful claims of Augustus.

“ De tributo Cæsaris nemo cogitabat,
Omnes erant Cæsares, nemo census dabat,
Civitas Ambrosii velut Troja stabat,
Deos parum, homines minus, formidabat.”

But what most honourably distinguishes Frederick in that age of faithlessness is his generally strict adherence to his word, and his wonderful power of honestly throwing himself into altered circumstances. No man could trust the oath of Henry of Anjou or of Philip of Paris. But against Frederick, through all the struggles of his long reign, there is but one charge of faithlessness. He attacked Alessandria during a time of truce, and, as he deserved, he gained nothing by the attempt. But this one crime stands quite alone. The close of his Italian reign is something positively touching. When the struggle was over, when the schemes of his life had failed, when he had definitely surrendered the disputed rights of his crown, he went to Milan, the city whose very existence was the proudest trophy against him, he lived there, not as a master, but as an honoured guest and king, and he even carried his favour to the once hostile city too far by displaying the banner of the Empire in local warfare against Milan's enemies. He then went forth, with as high and pure a heart as any man, to do battle for the Holy Sepulchre. This honest devotion of a whole life to the maintenance of a cause which may to us seem a mistaken one, but which to him must have seemed the cause of law and right, ought in common fairness to entitle Frederick, even at the hands of the warmest champion of Italian freedom, to the honour of a great and a good man.

CAPTAIN BURROWS said that it was with some diffidence he rose as a rebel to the opinions which he had just heard expressed. He thought that in the view taken of the succession of the emperors of Germany, no account had been made of the two *interregna* which assuredly took

place. During such times the cities had learnt to govern themselves, and he could not help thinking that as Englishmen we should have thought such interference as was exercised by the Emperor unjust, and should have rebelled against it, possibly with more happy results than the Italians. He was very glad to hear the other side of the question stated, and he could not but admit that Sismondi's account was written from one point of view only ; still he could not but regard the events which happened in Italy, an account of which we had heard this evening, as a series of brilliant and noble struggles, on the part of the unfortunate cities, against an unjust exercise of power.

Mr. J. H. PARKER hoped that at some future time some member of the Society would shew us what traces there were of these great historical events in the buildings and architecture of Italy.

The CHAIRMAN complimented Mr. Abbot on his lecture, and on the discussion which it had given rise to. A vote of thanks was then accorded, and the meeting separated.

Annual Meeting, 1862.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, June 26, at two o'clock, in the Music Room, Holywell, the Rev. the MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, President, in the chair.

There was an exhibition of photographs of buildings in Oxford. Messrs. Hills, Bracher, Shrimpton, and Spiers sent fine collections of views of the chief buildings of the University.

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings by directing attention to the photographs, of which he spoke in the highest terms.

Two presents were announced.

Il Conte Ugolino e l'Arcivescovo Ruggieri. A sketch from the Pisan Chronicles, by H. C. Barlow, M.D.—Presented by the author.

The "Young King and Bertrand de Born," by the same.—Presented by the author.

A memorial was laid on the table respecting the restoration of the chapter-house of Westminster Abbey, which members were invited to sign.

The LIBRARIAN, in the absence of the Secretary, then read the Report for the year.

ANNUAL REPORT.

"THE proceedings of the second year, since the change in the title and scope of the Society, have given much cause of congratulation.

"It was feared that the introduction of history would be detrimental to the promotion of architectural studies. Your Committee still venture to think that as the first year shewed no such results, neither has the second year given cause for any such anxiety.

"There have been held, during the year, eleven ordinary meetings and one special meeting. The Society has had the advantage of twelve lectures, which may be thus classed—three architectural, four archæological, and five historical. In the latter, however, architectural subjects were referred to, although they were subservient to history; and in the archæological, two refer specially to the early constructions of the inhabitants of this country before the use of the stone was known.

"Of the architectural papers, first to be mentioned are those by Signor Pierotti, giving an account of his architectural discoveries in Jerusalem. By a careful observation of the different kinds of masonry used at different periods, and by traces of ancient walls discovered in digging, he was able to draw a plan of Jerusalem reconcilable with the accounts given by the ancient writers, and set at rest many of the numerous theories which have from time to time been put forth. The first lecture described generally the topography of Jerusalem; the second described more especially the enclosure of the ancient temple,

now occupied by the mosque and the neighbouring buildings. It is needless to say that both lectures excited considerable interest, as Signor Pierotti seems to have been the first to have examined with care and accuracy the remains of ancient Jerusalem, which now lie, for the most part, some thirty or forty feet below the surface.

“The third architectural paper was one peculiarly attractive to all who are interested in the remains of ancient Oxford. The Principal of New Inn Hall not only kindly exhibited to the members of the Society a beautiful collection of most accurate drawings taken from different parts of Oxford a century ago, but he also pointed out in the course of his lecture many interesting details relating to the buildings now destroyed. When it is remembered how much destruction of ancient buildings has taken place in this city during the past century, it will be easy to understand the value, both from an architectural and historical point of view, which is attached to such accurate views as were then exhibited.

“Of the lectures on archæological subjects, the first consisted of an interesting description of some of the most perfect examples of Roman camps which exist in England, viz. those of Cawthorne in Yorkshire. This account was kindly read before the Society by its late President, the Master of University College. The next, a lecture delivered by Professor Westwood, was also illustrative of Roman times. In the beautiful collection of casts of Roman ivory carving in his possession which formed the diptychs presented by the Roman consuls of the second and third centuries, he was able to point out many interesting illustrations of the manners and customs of those days. They seem to afford an insight into the arts, architecture, and costume of the Romans, much in the same way as the illuminated manuscripts give to us the best pictures which we possess of mediæval times.

“The third lecture to be ranked under this head was one by Mr. Dawkins, ‘On the Remains of the Habitations of the Early Britons in the Neighbourhood of Oxford.’ Here documentary evidence and pictorial illustration being entirely wanting, the arguments relating to their mode of life had to be entirely derived from the weapons or other works of art and manufacture which were found associated with their remains. He pointed out especially the fact that the bones of an extinct species of oxen were found invariably near their habitations, and considered this as a characteristic which might be relied on for distinguishing the graves of the early Britons from those who inhabited the country after the time of the Romans. He also pointed out, incidentally, that amongst their weapons what are termed the flint implements appeared to be most common.

These implements formed the subject of the fourth lecture under this head. This was delivered by the Librarian. His object was to

shew that they were the earliest works of art with which we are acquainted in any country; and he exhibited, for the sake of comparison, a large number of examples, some from the known habitations of early Britons and found side by side with their bones, others from caves, in which they were found mingled with the remains of animals long extinct in this country. Others, again, from peat bogs; and lastly, a selection of those found in the very ancient deposits at Abbeville and Amiens. With these ancient remains he was able also to compare many actually in use amongst uncivilized races in the present day.

“Of the third class, the historical, the Society has had the advantage of five valuable papers. The first by the Rev. W. W. Shirley, ‘On the Character and Court of Henry II.,’ in which many curious anecdotes illustrative of the time were introduced.

“Dr. Millard, in a paper on Sir John Fastolfe, traced the career of the knight, illustrating it with many anecdotes. Although, of course, Caister Castle was incidentally referred to, the ruins are so slight that they throw no light upon the architectural details, though the inventory of his goods and the several chambers in which they were placed afford valuable aid to the illustration of domestic architecture of the period.

“In the third lecture the Professor of Ecclesiastical History pointed out the relations between ancient and modern Greece. He traced a connection between what existed now—though a slight one—in race, in language, in manners and customs, in character, and even in religion.

“The Professor of Modern History also contributed a stirring account of the execution of Cardinal Caraffa.

“The last lecture was delivered by the Hon. R. C. E. Abbot, ‘On the Italian Cities at the Commencement of their Struggles with the German Emperors in the Twelfth Century.’

“There has been little to note in the way of architectural works which have come beneath the notice of the Society. Of the new church in St. Giles’ the Committee can only say that on its completion the opinion which they formed when the plans were laid before them some years ago has been verified.

“The works at Dorchester Church in this neighbourhood, and in which the Society for many years has taken especial interest, are progressing satisfactorily.

“Your Committee have also to add that at the beginning of the Michaelmas Term they entered a protest against the threatened destruction of the old quadrangle of Merton College; they trust that the protest has had its effect; at least the quadrangle is still standing, and they cannot but hope that the ingenuity of the architect will be so exercised as to preserve it, without at the same time interfering with the proposed improvement of the college buildings. They have also

recently had their attention directed to the threatened destruction of the west end of Stewkley Church, the sister church to Iffley in this neighbourhood, but they trust also that this is now averted.

“To return to matters more closely connected with the welfare of the Society. The changes in the officers of the Society have been as follows. We have lost the advantage of the Presidentship of the Master of University College, who has been succeeded by the Master of Balliol College. The Rev. P. G. Medd has taken the office of Hon. Secretary, in the place of Mr. Le Strange, resigned. The Treasurer and Librarian remain the same.

“Five members of the Committee have retired in rotation, and five others taken their place. Their names are given elsewhere.

“It may be remarked that the funds are in even a still more flourishing condition than last term. This is due partly to the great increase of members of the Society on the one hand, and partly, on the other hand, to the decrease of expense from the kindness of the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, in permitting the Society to hold its meetings there.

“Your Committee regret that they have not yet been able to arrange for the members making use of their library. They cannot but hope that if an Historical Museum is to be one of the features of interest in Oxford,—and they believe there is much reason to expect that such will be the case,—that their architectural, heraldic, and historical library will be permitted to be placed there, and at the same time that the University will receive and find a place for their valuable collection of casts and models illustrative of the history of art during the Middle Ages.”

The adoption of the Report was moved by the PRINCIPAL OF NEW INN HALL, who spoke of the very great advantages such a society gave to those who were studying history in the University. The lectures which had been delivered during the term had brought under their notice several very interesting and important details, but it was by attending to such details that the student best acquired the knowledge of history generally. He also spoke of the great service which the Society had rendered as an Architectural Society, in fostering a taste for what was correct and beautiful.

The MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE said that, being called upon to second the Report, he did so with much pleasure. The proceedings of the past year had shewn that the change which had taken place in the Society had been for its benefit. He was one of those who from the first had approved of the change. He congratulated the Society on its large accession of numbers, and upon its flourishing condition generally.

The Report was then adopted.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Mr. E. A. Freeman for his lecture on "The New Buildings in Oxford^a."

Mr. Freeman said, that before he came to the immediate subject upon which he had to speak that day, he could not help, as a very early member of the Society, remarking upon the great advantage which it seemed to him had been gained in the combination of the two subjects, history and architecture. He believed it was the first time he had the honour of addressing any large gathering of the Society since 'Historical' has been added to its title. The two subjects of history and architecture, he said, were intimately connected; either study was imperfect without the other. On the one hand, a knowledge of architecture was necessary to understand history; because the buildings of a nation illustrated its progress in art and civilization, which were, in fact, part of its history. On the other hand, a knowledge of history was certainly necessary to understand architecture properly.

The Lecturer then gave some instances of blunders to which architectural students were liable when they ignored history.

While, however, it gave him very great pleasure to find that these studies were united in Oxford, he could not look round the room in which they had met without enquiring, Where were their old friends the Casts and Brasses?—They were all gone. They were probably in some garret or cellar; but he hoped that the University would open its eyes and understand that they were at least of as much value in their way as the objects illustrating physical science were in the New Museum. The one series contributed to the history of man, the other to the history of matter; and he trusted we should some time or other be shewn that history of man and of matter were great studies, with one and the same end, and that they were equally receiving the attention which was due to them in that University. Mr. Freeman concluded his preliminary remarks by protesting strongly against an opinion which he had heard expressed, namely, "that photography had now rendered plaster casts needless." Photography was a most wonderful thing; it served many purposes of our study better than any other mode; but it was no deterioration of it to say that it could not answer the purpose of casts. The cast was the exact counterpart—almost the thing itself—and nothing else could supply its place. One could look at it from the left and from the right, from above and from below, and could see its mouldings and its details to perfection; but a photograph one could only look at from one point of view: it was therefore an absurdity to say that photography could supply the place of casts.

^a The following report is somewhat imperfect. The lecture was delivered extempore, and there was no means available to ensure an exact report of the words actually used by the lecturer; it is hoped, however, that the substance is given correctly.

Mr. Freeman continued :—" I now come to the more immediate part of my lecture—the recent buildings in Oxford. I begin with buildings erected twenty-one years ago, that being about the time I first became connected with the University. I am sorry to say that our architecture during that period has not gone forward, but gone back, and that our buildings are worse now than at the time of which I speak. In the buildings erected some years ago you may find particular faults, but they were built on a good honest principle, that of following the general architecture of the country. The singular, fantastical vagaries of the present time were not then heard of.

" Let us, in the first place, look at the Martyrs' Memorial. It is a thoroughly beautiful construction, and may be compared with some of the most glorious mediæval work known. Look, again, at that part of Magdalen Church that has been restored or rebuilt : look at the windows, the tracery, and some other parts ; all is as good as can be. It is true that if you go into the building, you find the roof appears ready to break down ; but then it was built before the construction of mediæval roofs had been sufficiently studied by our architects. But still I call the building a very beautiful piece of work in most material respects ; and this and the Martyrs' Memorial were finished about the time I came here.

" That was followed by the erection of Magdalen College gateway. It is not a bad thing of its kind,—a thoroughly English thing, with no nonsense about it.

" As to the Taylor Buildings, the least said of them the better. That class of building happily has gone by ; and I hope we shall not have it revived. It is an unmeaning style, and quite out of place in this climate. You find a pot on the top of a pillar, with the pillar made only for supporting the pot, while the only use of the pot seems to be to stand on the pillar.

" A word or two as to Magdalen College School. The high vaulted gable does not correspond with that below ; the turret and porch do not correspond with other parts ; and I might find further fault, but am not now disposed to do so. I am satisfied to see a good, useful, honest piece of English work.

" Then we come to St. George's Church, in George-lane. The roof might be improved, and can be improved, and in that respect has an advantage over some that cannot by any possibility be improved. I only saw the building to-day, but it is a good straightforward piece of business.

" With regard to that part of Balliol College which faces the Martyrs' Memorial, I was at one time inclined to despise it, but now I am of a different opinion, after the things that have sprung up since ; for we are, I think, now coming to the end of English architecture. The front of the work at Balliol is still a good straightforward piece of English

architecture, though I should have liked the windows better if they had had dripstones over them. There is a sort of baldness about the building, but there is nothing positively ugly.

“But now we come to a very different state of things. We come to a building that stands by itself—Balliol College Chapel. It is a personal injury to me and to every Trinity man. Our colleges are often so built that some parts of them are never seen by the men belonging to that college, but by their neighbours. Here was a case in point. Our common-room looked out upon the prettiest of turrets and a thorough English building. There was one set of windows for the library and another for the chapel, but they were all in harmony. Both buildings seemed to belong to each other, only you could tell where one left off and the other began. Many a time have I looked out of my windows and admired the exquisite beauty of the old chapel; but suddenly down it went, and up rose a building that has nothing to do with the library. The new one stands out with a great staring roof, and the most awkward thing upon it;—I do not know what to call it, but it is for the architect to find a name, and not for me. However, there it is. A great high roof is all very well in its proper place, and may be a fine thing, but it is quite out of place here. Then, as to the buttresses, they are something between a buttress and a pinnacle, such as one would suppose were invented when they began to invent buttresses. On either side of the east window is something the architect has put up; I do not know the name of it, but it seems to me as if he was trying to invent a new Grecian order. It is purely a work of his own; it stands by itself; I cannot find a name for it in the ‘Glossary’ or anywhere else.”

Mr. Freeman then protested against the prevalent fashion of building according to what Mr. Ruskin had written. He could not for his part, he said, understand him. For instance, he asked what was meant by a “wrathful crest” and “broken battlements.” And again, when Mr. Ruskin taught that “the tower should stand forth like the tower of Lebanon which looketh towards Damascus!” All he knew of the tower of Lebanon was that it was like the nose of Solomon’s bride. That kind of writing was, he supposed, what was called the grand style, which we were expected to understand or else be condemned to die in our sins. He thought many persons understood it like the old woman who admired the sermon; she was sure it was very beautiful because that blessed word Mesopotamia came in so often. But the fact was that Mr. Ruskin knew nothing whatever of English architecture. All his books proved this; indeed, he owned it. What could be more unfair, in comparing English Gothic with Venetian, than the comparison which he adopted. As a specimen of an English tower, instead of going to some of those fine old towers in Somersetshire for an example, he took a modern tower built a few years ago for a certain collegiate building in Edinburgh, and put by its side a Venetian tower, and said,

“Now see, is not the Venetian Gothic better than the English Gothic?” And so the good old buildings were all set aside, and we were told that we must go in future to Venice for our Gothic architecture.

According to Mr. Ruskin, “We were not to copy from the English or French, but from the Italian. Nothing in his opinion could be more glorious in the world than the good old Italian styles; they were the glories of the days gone by.” What however was the historical truth? Gothic, Mr. Freeman contended, had no more business in Italy than the Italian had here. It was a great mistake to think that the Italians ever thought of carrying out the Gothic style of architecture. We never get those fine details which are the essence of pure Gothic. Why men went to Italy to find Gothic, and then called everything else detestable, was marvellous; there was nothing in Florence that we wanted as long as we had the glorious works we possessed at home. Let us, he said, if we must go abroad, go to those countries where the architecture was different in form but the same in principle. We might, for instance, learn much from French architecture, as there were some considerable differences between it and the English. Compared with the French, our English churches failed in some respects. Ours were not so lofty as some of the French, and the roofs were not so good; and he did not see why we should not introduce stone vaultings more than we did; nor was there any reason why we should not have a larger doorway in the west front. We should however lay down this rule: let us have purely Teutonic architecture in all cases; but if we could not find what we wanted in England, then let us look to France or Germany. Some would, he added, perhaps lay down a still more strict rule, and say that we should not go further than the district of England in which the building was situated; that we should not, e.g., introduce Nottinghamshire churches into Somersetshire, or, *vice versa*, the churches of two districts having marked characteristics. However this might be, there could be no advantage whatever in bringing Italian architecture into England.

After some remarks upon the transition which had taken place at different periods from one style to another, and shewing how this differed from the attempts to introduce new styles at the present day, by copying from countries where there was nothing in common in the fundamental principles of their buildings and our own, he returned to his observations respecting the buildings in Oxford.

“With regard to the New Museum. The front by itself is a very beautiful thing indeed, and we have nothing like it; but the architect seems to have stuck on two pieces which have nothing to do with the front of the building; he has not worked the sides and the front together, and externally it looks extremely awkward. When you get inside it is another thing, as there is a beautiful and uniform cloister running round the entire building. The building, however, is not quite so outrageous

as other specimens in Oxford, after all. The windows are good, but I find something new introduced every time I come to Oxford. There are doors of anything but a Gothic character, and other things very much out of place. But the New Museum, although it has some faults, has many merits. It is a good attempt to introduce originality in English architecture; it has a fine general effect, and is a vigorous and beautiful attempt to introduce an acceptable style.

“But there is one building in Oxford on which I can have no mercy whatever; that is, the new church in the parish of St. Giles. It is most frightful. It is as if you were to take the head and shoulders of a very small, well-proportioned man, and then the body of a great, burly fellow, and stick the two together; and because they will not join properly you beat in the ribs of the big one, to make them fit:—that is exactly what the architect has done there. When you get inside, there it is also equally bad. The windows are all askew. The chancel, I admit, is a very pretty thing indeed; but when you come to the nave, it is three times the size of the chancel! There seems to me to be the greatest want of harmony I ever knew in a building. I have seen a great many odd things, but that seems to me to be the oddest of all. There is no harmony between the doors and windows, nor in fact in any of the parts of the building.

“Because I wish to do all justice where I can do it, I wish to speak of the restoration of the Cathedral. It reflects the greatest credit upon all concerned, and it gives the best effects possible under the circumstances, answering three purposes, each one sacrificing something for the other; being at the same time a cathedral, a college chapel, and a church for the University sermons, for each of which distinct purposes proper provision had to be made; and this has been as successfully accomplished as the construction of the building admitted. I must, however, be allowed to lament the introduction of the new window in the Latin chapel, which is thoroughly out of place.

“But, after all, in this going down of architecture it is satisfactory to know that we have one great architect left, a man of real taste, knowledge, and genius, and one whom we have reason to hope and believe will be succeeded by his talented sons after him. I mean Mr. Scott. He has given us one building here, which I do not hesitate to say is the most glorious in modern England. I only lament one thing, that some of the necessities of the college prevent the beautiful building from being seen to advantage. Both the east and west ends are blocked. The east end is blocked up by a great house, so that you cannot see the glories of that great apse. All I can say is, that the sooner we can see the apse, and have a west end added, the better for the credit of Exeter College. We have not many such buildings in England, and no college chapel is built in such a splendid style. The only fault I can find is, that even Mr. Scott has not been able to keep

quite free from the rage for the Italian, or, rather, that half-Italian, half-French style which we have seen come in of late. But after all, the building is so splendid, has such glorious windows carried out in such good detail, has the noble vaulted roof and the apse, that it reflects the greatest credit on the college and the architect. No college chapel has ever before had a vaulted roof, and therefore that of itself is a great triumph. It is satisfactory to think that Lord Palmerston cannot live for ever, and the influence of Mr. Ruskin I have no doubt will some day or other die out."

The PRESIDENT having made some remarks upon Mr. Freeman's lecture, said that at that hour he thought it hardly expedient to invite discussion. There were, of course, many views which the lecturer had put forward to which persons in the room would, like himself, take exception.

Captain BURROWS would not attempt to enter into a detailed notice of Mr. Freeman's remarks, as the President discouraged discussion. He would, however, observe that on such matters as these there might at least be a difference of opinion, and that it was quite conceivable that another competent judge might travel over the very ground that had been gone over to-day and give a totally different report of it. As regarded the church of SS. Philip and James, he thought it could scarcely be fairly criticised before it was finished, and until the spire was added they could not judge of the general effect of the exterior outline of the whole building. Moreover, he hoped this might induce some kind friends to enable the promoters of the church to build the spire, and so to complete the original design.

The Rev. Mr. GILBERTSON, of Jesus College, wished to mention two facts in connection with some things which had fallen from Mr. Freeman. First, as regarded the narrowing of the east end of the nave of the new church in St. Giles, there was no necessity for the difficulty which had been supposed to account for Mr. Street's plans in this respect, as they found instances of similar construction in much older churches; one was Canterbury Cathedral, another St. Mary-the-Virgin in Oxford. Secondly, as to the Venetian character attributed to Mr. Butterfield's designs, he (Mr. Gilbertson) had in his possession a letter from Mr. Butterfield in which he said that he was very well acquainted with the architecture of Venice, but that he never saw anything there which he would wish to copy, and he would challenge any one to point out a single instance in which he had done so.

The PRESIDENT in the name of the Society thanked Mr. Freeman for his very entertaining lecture. However much many persons might, and he was sure would, differ from Mr. Freeman's remarks, they must all admire the frankness with which he had spoken and the impartiality he had shewed.

The meeting then separated.

First Meeting, Michaelmas Term, 1862.

Nov. 26. The first meeting of the Society was held in the Ashmolean Museum by the kind permission of the Keeper; the PRESIDENT of the Society in the chair.

The PRESIDENT, in opening the meeting, referred briefly to the annual meeting which had been held at the end of the previous Term. He also mentioned the lectures which had been promised for the ensuing Term.

The following present was announced:—

“Some Account of the Remains of the Priory of St. Martin’s, and the Church of St. Martin’s-le-Grand at Dover, by the Rev. F. C. Plumptre, D.D., Master of University College, Oxford.”—*Presented by the Author.*

Mr. BUCKERIDGE then read a paper on “The Restoration of the Church of St. Mary-the-Virgin.”

The following is the substance of the paper:—

“Before entering at once on the subject immediately under our consideration, it will be necessary to make a slight sketch of the history of this church, which I am enabled to do by referring to a paper by the late Principal of Brasenose, which you will find in the volume for 1850 of the ‘Proceedings of the Archæological Institute.’

“The original foundation of St. Mary’s Church has been referred by an ancient tradition to the great King Alfred. It is alleged that when, on the resuscitation of the University after its devastation by the Danes in the ninth century, that Prince erected schools of grammar, of arts, and of theology, within the walls of Oxford, the place of conferring degrees, and celebrating other public acts of the University, was transferred from its former situation, where St. Giles’s Church now stands, to the church of St. Mary-the-Virgin. Whatever be the truth of this tradition, the earliest authentic recognition of its existence is found in the Domesday Survey. In that record it is stated that ‘Ad terras quas tenet Albericus Comes, pertinet una Ecclesia et tres mansiones; harum duæ jacent ad Ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ.’

“Mention is frequently made of this church in ancient writings as belonging to the King. In a charter of the early part of the reign of King John an annual payment of xxxiid. out of its lands was confirmed to the church of St. Mary, the rector thereof, and his successors.

“In an inquisition in the 13th year of Edward I. the church of St. Mary is stated to be in the gift of the King, and of the annual value of thirty marks. It remained in the patronage of the Crown until King Edward II. on April 26, 1326, appropriated it to his new college of Oriel. But though the patronage of this church pertained to the King from the earliest times of which we have any account, ancient tradition

and records go to shew that it has always been the University church. The right and interest of the University in the church of St. Mary has also been exhibited on several occasions when they have taken upon themselves the charge of repairing the fabric.

“The most signal example of this kind took place in the early part of the reign of Henry VII., when after it had been for some time in a ruinous condition, the whole edifice, except the tower and spire, a small portion eastward of the tower, and some portions of the chapel to the westward of the tower commonly called Adam de Brome’s Chapel, was entirely rebuilt as it now stands, by means of funds supplied by themselves, or obtained by the assistance of their friends.

“In a manuscript volume preserved in the University archives, endorsed ‘Registrum continens diversas Epistolas, &c. ab anno Domini 1422, ad annum 1508,’ upwards of fifty letters are recorded which were addressed to the King and to various prelates and other persons, whose assistance was solicited during the prosecution of this work from the year 1486 to the year 1490. By these means sufficient funds were provided for the erection of the nave and aisles of the present church, the reconstruction of the chapel of St. Mary, commonly called Adam de Brome’s Chapel, and for repairing and altering the building eastward of the tower, known in the present day as the Engine-house and Law School.

“Dr. Harrington states that five chapels formerly existed, respectively dedicated in honour of St. Mary, St. Catherine, St. Anne, St. Thomas, and St. Nicholas; all, he says, except the chapel of St. Mary, now called Adam de Brome’s Chapel, were swept away at the rebuilding of the church: but it seems to me that the groined chamber now used for the fire-engines under the Law School must have been one of these, probably St. Catherine’s, after which the street at the east end has been named. The existence of a piscina on the south side near the east wall, where the altar would naturally be, indicates its having been a chapel; on the south side the two tiers of fourteenth-century windows still exist, the one lighting the chapel and the other the Law School; but on the north they were removed at the rebuilding, and large four-light Perpendicular windows inserted. This rebuilding was completed in 1492, the chancel having been erected some years earlier at the cost of Walter Lyhert or Hart, Provost of Oriel, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich, who died in 1472. It is related by Leland in his ‘Itinerary,’ that in 1492, twenty years after the rebuilding, the church suffered severely from a storm. He says,—

“‘The University Church in Oxford, *alias* St. Mary’s, was begun to be re-edified in the time of Dr. Fitz-James, afterwards Byshope of London. He procuryd much mony towards the buyldinge of it. The embatylments of it were full of Pinnacles; but in a tempestious wethar most of them were thrown down in one night.’

“No attempt at replacing them seems to have been made, and matters were left *in statu quo* until the early part of the seventeenth century, when those debased pinnacles which have been lately removed, were put up, but no attempt was made to restore the battlements.

“The porch was erected in 1637, by Dr. Morgan Owen, Chaplain to Archbishop Laud.

“The church presents now a very white aspect, but the very decayed state of the various parts rendered it absolutely necessary; all original work that possibly could be, has been preserved: it is one thing to talk about preserving old work and another to do it; when once the work of restoration is begun we generally find it necessary to do much more than at first sight the building seemed to require; in the present instance, I am not aware that a single stone has been unnecessarily removed. So far has Mr. Scott indeed gone, that seeing that not much of the old exterior could possibly be preserved, he has shaved the mullions and tracery down to the glass line, so keeping the old interior of the windows, fixing the new exterior halves in cement, and dowelling the old and new work together with copper cramps.

“As to reproducing the original details, all was clear enough up to the cornices of the nave, clerestory, and aisles; of the sections of the plinth there could be no doubt, and the same can be said of string-courses, window-jambs, cills, mullions, labels and traceries, buttress-weatherings, door-jambs, and arches; in the chancel, we can pursue our certain course even to the parapet and its coping, the only feature entirely destroyed being the east gable cross: but here we must stop with the positive and speak of the probable.

“We have already been told by Leland in his ‘Itinerary,’ that the embattlements were full of pinnacles, but Mr. Scott needed no Leland to tell him this, for there are remains of the battlements with sunken traceried panels in the porch, and from these data were the aisle battlemented parapets restored; and on the north clerestory under the lead eaves were found portions of the cill of that parapet, and on which you can see the section of cill, and of the stumps of the mullions belonging to the panels, which shews that they were not pierced but solid panels like those existing in the porch, but of the height of these battlements Mr. Scott had to judge for himself; of the pinnacles both of nave, aisles, and chancel, not a vestige of an original one remained. As for old engravings, no help was to be derived from them; the oldest, that of Loggan, published in 1675, shews the south elevation pretty much as we have been accustomed to see it, with its debased pinnacles and shorn parapets, except that the south-east door in the south aisle did not then exist, and no pinnacles had been placed on the south aisle. The engraving next in date is one published in 1773, shewing the north elevation, but on this no reliance whatever can be placed; the draughtsman

(I might with much truth say the designer) of this elevation shews a trefoiled parapet copied from the fourteenth century one on the tower, running round, or rather overrunning the nave, clerestory, aisles, Adam de Brome's Chapel, Law School, and chancel. As we have already seen, the chancel parapet, quite plain, was the original one; and it is not to be supposed that fifteenth-century men would copy a much earlier parapet, to say nothing of the proofs we have deduced in favour of the parapets as restored; also that part east of the tower supposed to represent the present engine-house and Law School, is an exact copy even to the side door, of the north aisle of the nave and Adam de Brome's Chapel, west of the tower: after that surely no faith can be put in this particular view of the parapets; yet, shortly after a small portion of the new battlements had been fixed, a copy of this very engraving, duly framed and glazed, was gravely put into Mr. Ryman's window, with an inscription kindly informing the passers by that this was St. Mary's Church as it appeared in 1773. The only other engraving that need be noticed, is a very capital perspective view taken from the south-east, which shews the Church exactly as we have been accustomed to see it. The porch has not at present been touched, neither is it in the present contract to touch it, and I hope that nothing will be done to it beyond keeping it together; it is not a feature to be restored, neither is it one to be destroyed.

“The only remaining point about which I need remark is the Law School portion: the original building is an early Decorated one, but at the rebuilding of the church they thought fit to destroy the two-storied windows which so well told the tale that there was an upper and a lower chamber, and inserted in their stead three four-light Perpendicular windows like those they were putting into the aisles, and added pinnacles to the before gabled buttresses. Mr. Scott does not intend to restore these pinnacles, but will replace the gabled buttresses; of this I am glad, and would fain do the same for the windows, consigning with much pleasure the Perpendicular intruders to the heap of old materials. Adam de Brome's Chapel was remodelled after a similar fashion, but as no traces remain of the original windows, perhaps it will be as well to let the usurpers hold their own.

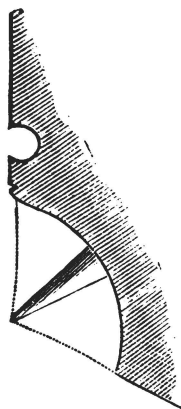
“With these remarks I will conclude my notes on the restoration now being carried out with such liberality on the part of the University and of Oriel College, the parish also bearing their part; and will only call your attention to those exquisite remains of the thirteenth century church, including two early Norman fragments, which were used in the fifteenth century walls as mere common walling-stones; looking at these, I can come to no other conclusion than that of the deepest regret mingled with indignation, that this church, which must have been far finer than the present not par-

ticularly bad specimen of its kind, should have been so ruthlessly destroyed and ill used."

MR. BUCKERIDGE exhibited through the kindness of Mr. Gardiner, the builder, several very interesting specimens of carved stone-work, which had been used up as old materials in the walls of the existing building. Some shewed beautiful Early English carving. A specimen of the tooth-ornament on one is here engraved. On other specimens



Tooth-ornament.



Section of Tooth-ornament.

there were mouldings of a rich, and so probably late, Norman character. On one, however, the moulding seemed to point to the remains of a still earlier building, possibly that existing at the time of the Domesday Survey.

After the lecture a discussion arose as to the advisability of retaining the porch, in which the President, Mr. Estridge, Mr. Buckeridge, and the Librarian took part. The general opinion seemed to be that as an historical memorial it was worthy of an effort being made for its preservation, and Mr. Buckeridge, in reply to a question which was put to him, stated that though it might be difficult to restore it, there was no difficulty in preserving it in its present state and in its present position, as the foundations and centre were sound, though the surface was much decayed.

With respect to the ornamental parapet being extended round the chancel as well as round the nave, Mr. Buckeridge, while approving of the principle, pointed out that Mr. Scott had been called in simply to restore what he found, and therefore was not at liberty to make any change of this kind.

The SECRETARY and other gentlemen also made some remarks upon this subject.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Mr. Carey for his remarks on "A Supposed Underground Passage from the Crypt of St. Peter's-in-the-East."

He read the following notes, referring, when the subject required it, to some plans and sections which were exhibited.

"The crypt of St. Peter's has always been a subject of much controversy, but this has chiefly turned upon its date.

"But about the date of the actual stonework there can exist little doubt, its character being clearly that of the twelfth century. For the document which alone stood in the way of this usually accepted date has been shewn to be in all probability a forgery. This forgery declares that 'Grimbald retiring to Winchester took care to have transferred thither the tomb, in which he had proposed, after the course of his life was ended, to have his bones deposited in the vault made under the chancel of St. Peter's Church at Oxford, a church which he had himself built with stones most highly polished.'

"But while the date of this crypt has received so much attention, the plan and extent has received but very little; for all published plans of it stop short at the west end, and none of them shew an additional crypt, as some people have supposed, under the remaining part of the church; nor do they draw any limit to the centre one of the three openings which exist in the west end, all of them varying in length^a. The centre one is wider than the other two, with an arched roof; the two side ones seem to be alike, but one is almost entirely stopped up, both having flat roofs, which look as if they had been very much disturbed and altered. They have all in some part or other of them modern constructions. One of them, that on the right hand, has had its outer wall broken through, and we find a little way behind it a chamber with a doorway, and still at the end some more masonry of a later insertion than the sides. The door of this recess must have opened outwards, whilst that one belonging to the centre recess opened inwards. But of these three the centre one seems the most important, and enquiries, the results of which are I think to be relied on, have led me to consider it worth while to attempt to discover the nature of the recess.

"My object to-night is to induce this Society to interest themselves in behalf of the subject, and to obtain permission from the authorities of Merton College for the re-opening of this passage.

"I have lately made many inquiries about the present masonry which

^a [The Plan in Leland's *Collectanea* shews on each side faint traces of a recess; but behind the central opening a large chamber is shewn in the plan, extending, according to the scale adopted, further westwards than at present is the case, and on the west side left open. In the reference to this chamber at the bottom of the page is the following:—*Crypta sub ecclesiâ (longius usque ad Wolvercote pro vulgi opinione, se extendens) in quâ ossa Grymbaldi, ut conjicimus condenda erant.*]

has been inserted, and what I had told me was this, that about twenty years ago, a man, whose name was Arnold, now dead, pulled down the wall to examine the passage, but on finding it stopped up with earth, he walled it up again, and it now is as he left it. But about thirty-six years ago, when a man named Pavier was sexton, now living in Oxford, a wall was taken down which blocked up the doorway, the passage was also stopped up, a good deal of ground and bones was taken away, and a wall was built eight feet in, the same I suppose that Arnold pulled down. But that these facts will not prove the non-existence of the passage, I have abundant evidence, and two cases in particular in which the persons will be able to speak for themselves. For about forty-three years ago this passage was not divided off from the crypt by a wall of any kind, but by a wooden door, with a lock and key; and that that passage was then clear for a considerable distance, at least, there can be no doubt, for there are two persons who are here to-night who have themselves been down this passage at different times; one of them, going without a light, is quite uncertain how far he went; the other took a light, and went a greater distance, sufficient, he states, to take him to the west end of the church, if not further.

“A few words on the present aspect of the spot will perhaps be as well, in order to judge of the probability of our discovering any new feature in the plan of the crypt.

“As it at present stands, the crypt possesses five doorways, one on the south side leading to the steps at present used, one on the north side leading to a circular staircase now disused, and three at the west end side by side, but all of equal dimensions, and all similar in character, except that the centre one has a tympanum, while the side ones have none.

“With regard to the centre one, remains of the hinges and the holes for the bolts remain distinctly, the doorway being just at the entrance. In the side one, towards the north, no marks of bolts can be traced in the same position, but there is an inner doorway, four feet within the other, which has traces of bolts. In the remaining one no access at present can be gained to the inner doorway, if such exists, as the access is blocked up almost to the entrance.

“It is perhaps more doubtful whether these side recesses penetrated to any distance, but it might be well to take a few stones out of the wall at the northern one.

“It may perhaps be added that as the centre chamber is vaulted with what is called a barrel-roof, the wall of which I speak has to maintain no weight, and may therefore without injury to the church have some stones taken out of it; and the steps of the chancel, as far as I can judge, rest firmly on the walls of the two side recesses, so that no danger would exist even in this case also.

"I cannot speak of the general plans of early crypts, my only arguments are firstly the appearances which shew that the present boundary westward of the crypt is not the original one; secondly, the evidence which I will produce to shew that persons have penetrated further than the present wall allows; and I have therefore ventured to bring the matter before this Society, in hopes that they will take measures to have all doubts set at rest."

After the Lecturer had concluded his remarks, and the President had conveyed to him the thanks of the meeting for bringing so curious a subject before them, there was likely to have been an abrupt termination of the meeting from the absence of the two principal witnesses on whom Mr. Carey had relied for his chief evidence.

The Messrs. HINE, however, after some minutes' delay, made their appearance, and were received with much applause.

On a request from the PRESIDENT, Mr. — Hine proceeded to state to the meeting in a very interesting and satisfactory manner the evidence he had to offer upon this underground passage. When he was a boy he had several times, he would not dare to say how many, but certainly many times, entered this passage, which was then closed by a large door. That door did not now exist, but in its stead, though some few feet within the passage, a stone wall had been built which shut out any further ingress.

Mr. Hine's brother, who was also present, fully corroborated the statement. He had penetrated even further than the former on one occasion, as he had a lantern with him. The latter witness also referred to many other incidents connected with the history of the church and churchyard during the last thirty years, particularly as to the articles which had been found in digging graves.

On questions being put by the PRESIDENT to the two gentlemen who thus bore such valuable and conclusive testimony to the existence of the passage, it appeared, as far as the memory of one would serve him, he had certainly penetrated as far as the whole length of the church, when he came to some large stones, but did not like to proceed further.

The LIBRARIAN made some observations upon the plans of crypts generally, taking as conclusive the evidence which the Messrs. Hine had afforded: he thought that the crypt, if entirely of the twelfth century, and this passage part of the original plan, would be a unique example, as he knew of no other Norman crypt which possessed any passage whatever. If, however, the passage was of an earlier date, it would prove to be no longer a unique example, but not the less one of the greatest interest. For there were two other crypts which possessed similar passages, but they were both of a date long anterior to the Norman conquest. He referred to Ripon and Hexham, which were respectively of the fifth and sixth century. If, then, the passage in the

crypt was not a unique example of twelfth century date, it would certainly shew there was an earlier crypt on this spot, before the church became the property of Robert D'Oyly, while it would give great probability to the tradition that there was a crypt here certainly as early as the time of Grimbold. He would not by these remarks be supposed to defend the spurious extract from "Asser's Life," printed only in Camden, but, on the other hand, it was not by any means improbable that the spurious passage was founded on a tradition which had its origin in fact. At the least, considering the importance of the question, namely, whether St. Peter's crypt was unique in its plan as a complete Norman structure, or one of three as containing remains of a Saxon structure, he hoped that Mr. Carey's suggestion as to the Society taking means for setting the matter at rest would be adopted.

Mr. Langdon referred to a passage with which he was acquainted leading from the ground now occupied by the school at Exeter. Another member referred to a passage at Newcastle, along which he had gone some distance. Several others made observations on the subject, and on the President's putting the vote to the meeting, it was decided unanimously that the Society should take such measures as would best tend to obtain information as to the extent of the crypt. For this purpose a committee was at once appointed. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Carey for his interesting communication, and also a special vote of thanks to the Messrs. Hine for the trouble they had taken in coming there that evening, and for the very satisfactory and interesting evidence they had afforded. The meeting was then adjourned.

Second Meeting, Michaelmas Term, 1862.

Dec. 3. The Rev. P. G. MEDD, Hon. Secretary, in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN having expressed his regret at the absence of the President, he was sorry to say on account of illness in his family, proceeded to read the following list of names which had been proposed and seconded at the previous meeting:—

Rev. J. R. T. Eaton, M.A., Merton College.

A. D. Tyssen, Esq., Merton College.

R. Shaw, Esq., Lincoln College.

The above gentlemen were then elected members.

The report of the previous meeting having been read, the Chairman called upon Professor Westwood for his paper, "On Early Christian Art illustrated by Ivory Carvings."

The pictorial representation of objects of interest is so inherent a principle in the human mind, that it is not surprising that the early Christians should have endeavoured, from the first, to embody their ideas in visible delineations. Placed, however, as they were, in the midst of the enemies of the faith, it was quite necessary, in the infancy of Christian art, that this should not be done openly. It was therefore necessary either that the representations which they executed should be of a character to deceive their enemies, or that, if direct representations of events were made, they should be placed out of view of the multitude. Hence the early Christians were compelled,—

1st, to resort to the use of symbolical figures, which under the guise of common objects conveyed Christian ideas; or,

2nd, to transform Pagan subjects capable of representation into Christian ones; or,

3rd, to place their directly Christian representations out of sight of the public in the Catacombs.

I. The *symbolism* of the early Christians consisted in the employment of simple objects which were invested in the mind of the believer with sacred ideas. Thus the DOVE became the symbol of the human soul, and we accordingly find figures of this bird drinking out of a vase, representing the human soul drinking the waters of salvation. The SHIP became the emblem of the Church, the PALM-BRANCH the symbol of martyrdom of a Christian, the ANCHOR, the LAMB, and the VINE were also used, and still oftener the FISH, ΙΧΘΥΣ, a word formed of the initials of the Saviour's name, ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ὁ Χριστός Θεοῦ Υἱός Σωτήρ, and the

* In the Middle Ages the Greek form of the name of Jesus was often written in Roman letters, and thus when contracted became IHS, or ihs; and the bar indicating contraction being joined to the middle letter, especially when Gothic letters were used, the whole assumed a form which the Jesuits converted into a contraction of the words "Jesus hominum salvator," surmounted by a cross.

CROSS in its different forms, as variously represented in the Eastern and Western Churches, and either simply or conjoined with the letters forming the abbreviation of the name *Χριστος*, *ΧΡΣ'*, as employed on the Labarum of Constantine, and subsequently in conjunction with, or as a substitute for, the invocation "In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi," with which it became the custom to commence all documents, and which is still retained by Roman Catholic bishops as a prefix to their names, and is also even used as the "mark" of illiterate persons.

The adoption of the four animals of Ezekiel (which are now clearly shewn by the sculptures of Nineveh to have been borrowed by the Jews from Babylon) as the symbols of the four Evangelists, took place at an early period of Christian art.

The signification of *NIMBUS*, and its various forms, radiated, simple, cruciferous, and square, were then described, as well as that of the *AUREOLA* enveloping the whole body of the sacred personage represented.

II. The adoption of Pagan subjects, and the transfer of them to Christian events or principles, has been the subject of much controversy. The works in which this view was especially developed were alluded to, especially Marangoni's *Delle Cose gentilesche e profane trasportate ad uso ed Ornamento della Chiesa*, 4to., Rome 1744; and Raoul Rochette's *Tableau des Catacombes de Rome*.

There can, indeed, be little doubt that the figures of *ORPHEUS* surrounded by the beasts which he had attracted to him by the sounds of his musical instrument, were intended to represent Jesus Christ, to whom all souls were drawn by His teaching; in fact, the false writings of Orpheus, abounding with allusions to Christ, were in circulation among the early Christians.

The representations of the *AGAPE*, or love-feast, was in like manner intended to represent the Last Supper of our Lord and the Eucharistic feast. In the figures of *PLUTO* and *PROSERPINE* the Christian saw the Saviour and His holy mother. The *GOOD SHEPHERD* bearing the lost sheep on his shoulders, was directly emblematical of our blessed Lord: so also the figure of a shepherd surrounded by the genii of the four seasons, was understood as the representation of Christ and the four Evangelists: (so also a mound with four rivers represented the Gospels of the Evangelists gushing forth from the mountain of Divine truth). In times, in fact, when agriculture was of so much importance, the shepherd became a personage; and Pausanias mentions a famous Greek statue of a shepherd at Tanagra, and adds that on the festival of *MERCURIUS KRIOPHORUS*, the handsomest young man of Tanagra went in the procession with a sheep on his shoulders.

In the very common representations of *JONAH* and the whale the uninitiated saw *HERCULES* armed and cast up after three days' incarceration

in the bowels of a gigantic animal, or JASON cast up, armed, by the dragon which had swallowed him; (according to St. Jerome and Pomponius Mela, the bones of Jonah's whale were preserved at Joppa); whilst lastly, the figures of Noah in the Ark reminded the classical student of DEUCALION and the Deluge.

III. The preceding subjects needed no concealment when represented, but it was only in the Catacombs that direct representations of Scripture events could safely be made. The subjects of Old Testament history most frequently found here delineated are—

The Temptation of Adam and Eve in Paradise.

Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac.

Moses striking the Rock, or recovering the Tables of the Law.

Daniel in the Lions' Den.

The Three Children in the Fiery Furnace.

The chief New Testament subjects are:—

Christ seated in the lap of the Virgin.

The Adoration of the Magi.

Christ disputing with the Doctors in the Temple.

Christ healing the Paralytic, who is represented carrying his bed, but which is often mistaken for Samson carrying off the gates of Gaza.

The miracle of the Water changed to Wine.

The miracle of the Loaves.

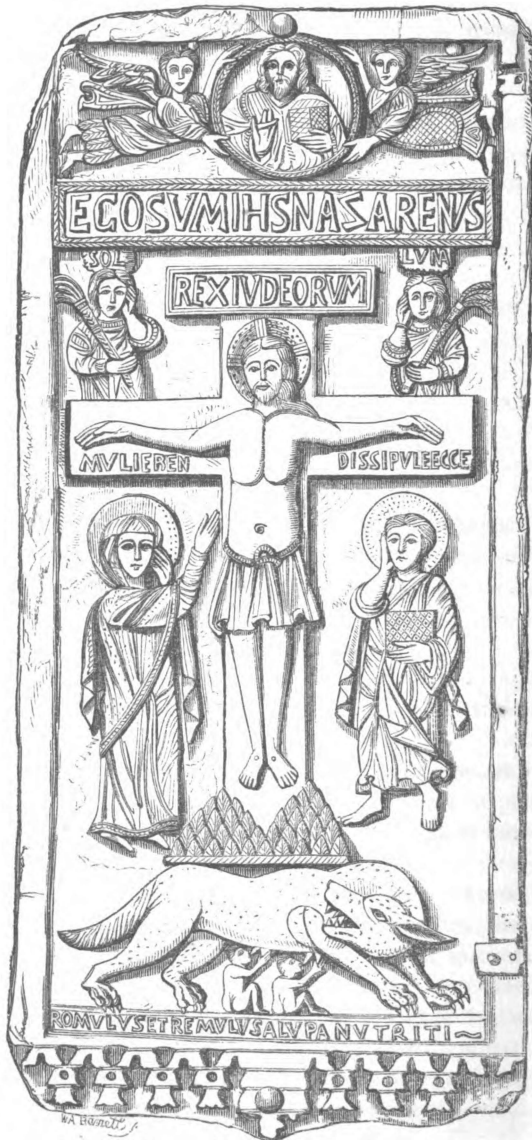
The miracle of Sight restored to the Blind.

The Raising of Lazarus.

Christ seated between St. Peter and St. Paul, or in the midst of the Twelve Apostles.

Neither the Sufferings of Christ, nor the Crucifixion are represented in the Catacombs; and D'Agincourt, who investigated the pictorial decorations of these subterraneous structures, affirms that he never met with the representation of a martyrdom.

The *Sources of Early Christian Art* were then touched upon. In addition to the WALL-PAINTINGS of the Catacombs, the interior of churches, cloisters, and buildings connected with monasteries (after the open profession of Christianity was sanctioned) were decorated with frescoes and other paintings representing sacred subjects, most of which of an early date have, however, entirely disappeared. MOSAICS also were used for a similar purpose, and these being of a more enduring character, have survived to our days wherever the buildings to which they were affixed have remained. Of STONE SCULPTURES of a Christian character very few indeed now remain, of an age previous to the twelfth or thirteenth century. The miniatures in ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS are of the utmost interest and value; scarcely any, however, are known to exist previous to the time of Charlemagne, the earliest MSS. of the Scriptures being quite destitute of drawings. IVORY CARVINGS, however,



One Leaf of the Vatican Diptych.

afford the materials of a consecutive history of Christian art, from the times of the Roman Consuls to the present. Even some of the later Consular ivories exhibited Christian details in their compositions, as shewn in the paper on Classical Ivories read before the Ashmolean Society by the lecturer, on the 4th of June, 1862.

An extensive series of casts in fictile ivory, copied from almost all the finest and best-known early Christian ivories, were exhibited by the Professor in illustration of the preceding rapid sketch of early Christian art, and it was suggested that such a series ought to find a place in a Museum like that of the Ashmolean Collection, belonging to a University where Biblical learning formed so large a share of the course of academical education. A Christian museum had been formed in the Vatican, and another had been established within the last few years in connexion with the University of Berlin, by Dr. Piper, of which a short description was given.

Amongst the casts now exhibited were:—

The diptych of Monza, with figures of “David Rex” and “Scs’ Gregorius.”

The great angel of the British Museum, with a Greek inscription.

The great ivory book-covers of the cathedral of Milan.

The great book-cover of the Vatican library, containing a figure of Christ of the earliest type, young and beardless, treading upon the lion and dragon, supported on each side by an angel, surmounted by two angels on the wing, exactly as represented on the pagan sarcophagi, supporting an elaborately ornamented Maltese cross, and below, accompanied by the adoration of the Magi, (in Phrygian caps,) and the Magi before Herod.

The great book-covers of the Paris library, with very early representations of the scenes of the life of Christ.

The diptych of Aix-la-Chapelle, with scenes preceding and following the Crucifixion.

The Vatican diptych, one leaf containing a representation of the Crucifixion, with Romulus and Remus, (a reduced figure of which is given on the opposite page); and the other leaf containing a figure of the Virgin and Child, with two cherubims and saints, inscribed—

CONFESSORIS DNI’ SCIS’ GREGORIUS SILVESTRO FLAVIANI
CENOBIO RAMBONA AGELTRUDA CONSTRUXI
QUOD EGO ODELRICUS INFIMUS DNI’ SERVUS ET
ABBAS SCULPIRE MINISIT IN DOMINO. AMEN.

The diptych of Milan, with scenes of the Passion.

The long diptych of Darmstadt, with figures of Christ and St. Peter.

The casket of Brescia, one of the most interesting, and at the same time most excellently executed, of the earliest Christian ivories. It con-

tains representations of Christ and His disciples, the scene of the *Noli me tangere*, the good shepherd guarding the door of the flock from the wolf, the hireling fleeing in the distance; the scenes of Jonah's history, the tower of Babel, the cock of St. Peter, the fish, the brazen serpent, &c. Here Christ is represented young, beardless, and without a nimbus, as in the most ancient wall-paintings in the Catacombs.

The diptych of the Louvre, the finest known example of Byzantine work in ivory, representing the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John, and the Emperor Constantine and Empress Helena.

The Byzantine tablet, probably executed on the marriage and coronation of Romanus IV., A.D. 1068, now in the Bibliothèque Impériale, Paris.

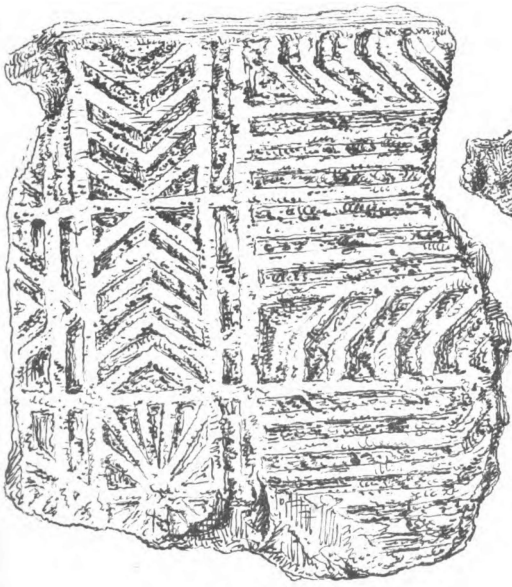
In addition to the above, various pieces were exhibited in order to shew the different manner in which the same subject had been treated by Christian artists at different periods and in different countries, such, for instance, as the portraiture of the Saviour and the Crucifixion, and which afforded at the same time an excellent idea of the religious feeling of the period.

The Chairman conveyed the thanks of the meeting to Professor Westwood, not only for the exhibition of so many numerous specimens of ancient art, but also for the very interesting observations with which he had favoured the Society.

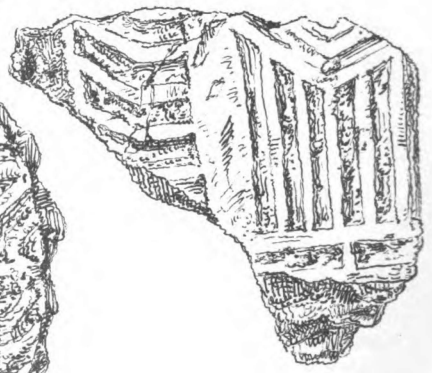
He then called upon Mr. James Parker to give the account which he had promised of the recent discovery at Beckley.

Mr. Parker began by referring to the chief Roman roads in the neighbourhood of Oxford, and by a diagram shewed their relative positions.

The Watling Street, leaving London in a north-westerly direction, threw off at Dunstable a branch westward as far as Tring, where it divided; one division was easily traced some twelve miles to the north of Oxford, the other, with some interruption, passed twelve miles to the south of Oxford, but both united at Cirencester: thus leaving Oxford in the centre of the kind of oval thus formed. The upper road, called the Akeman Street, passed through Alchester. The lower road bore the name of the Icknild Way, but as it approached Dorchester its traces were lost. Afterwards the road joined the Port Way, and thence by another line to the ancient Cirencester, where four or five roads met. There was, however, another road of considerable importance passing across the oval some two or three miles to the east of Oxford, and joining the two military stations of Alchester and Dorchester. This was no doubt the road described in the Itinerary preserved to us by Richard of Cirencester, and which, after leaving Dorchester, was continued southwards through Streatley to Silchester.



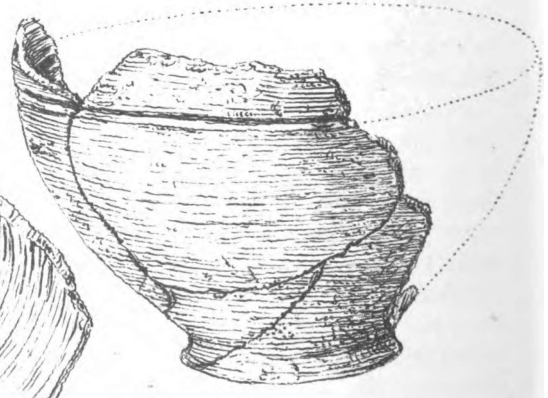
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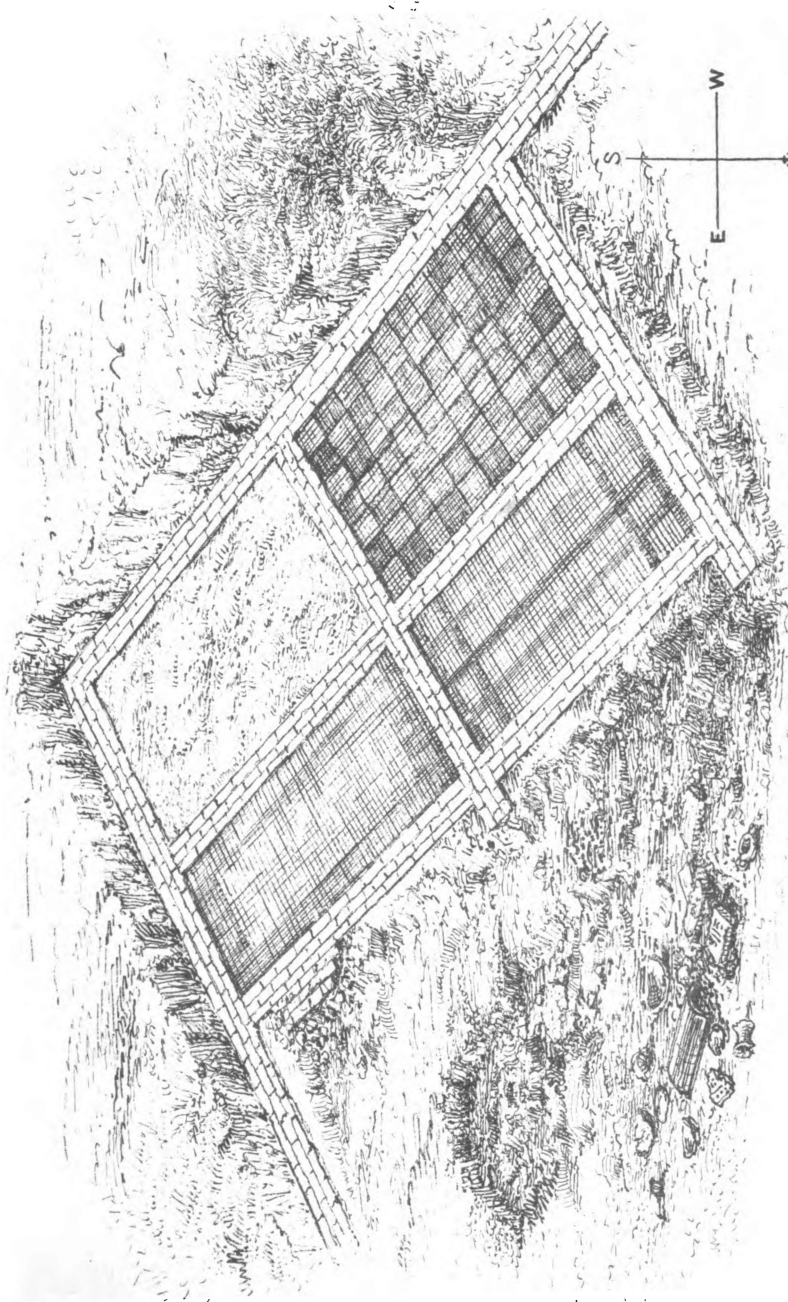
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“VIEW OF ROMAN REMAINS AT BECKLEY, OXON.”

It was just off this main road, and close to the village of Beckley, that the Roman remains which he wished to bring before the notice of the Society had been found.

He next described the course of the road in question, referring to Professor Hussey's account; to which, as far as the general line was concerned, there was nothing to be added. He pointed out, however, what singular sagacity the Professor had shewn in deciding upon the purpose of a small portion of road of which there were evident traces on the east of the main road, but which were commonly supposed to be part of it. He thus wrote in 1841:—

“It has been conjectured that this was the course of the Roman Road, but it is too much out of the straight line. For it would have turned off from the direction which has been plainly traced hitherto, to go half way up the hill at the least accessible part, and then must have turned again and gone round to fall into the cut which leads to the top of the hill. It is more likely that it was a road *leading up to some house*, whether Roman or English.”

It was close to the spot where this little branch road “leading up to some house” terminated, that the remains had been found. They were unknown to the Professor, but they shewed that his conjecture was a right one.

Mr. Parker next described the remains which had been discovered, exhibiting at the same time a diagram, a reduced copy of which is here given.

The walls, as far as they were then laid bare, seemed to form a simple parallelogram of about 32 ft. long by 18 wide, measured on the outside. The walls were for the most part 1 ft. 6 in. in thickness, but the wall towards the north side in one part measured 2 ft. in thickness. There were four chambers, two larger and two smaller. The larger chambers were about 14 ft. by 10, the smaller 10 ft. by 6. In both the smaller, and in the westernmost of the larger, remains of the tessellated pavement were preserved. It was difficult to make out the exact pattern, but the diagram gives all that could be discovered at the time. It is not certain that the large cheque pattern extended all over the surface; and, again, in the easternmost of the smaller chambers there were some traces of red colour, which might have possibly formed some centre pattern on the white ground. The tesserae were of the usual size and character.

Mr. Parker had visited the spot the day after it had been opened, but already persons had commenced spoliation. In a week afterwards nearly all the remainder of the tesserae were either scattered or taken away.

A feature in the plan should be noticed, namely, the extension of the eastern and southern wall some ten feet beyond the wall meeting it. No sure traces of other building could be found beyond, though there

were here and there loose stones in abundance, which might be remains of walls since destroyed. Mr. Parker ventured to suggest, that if the present plan were the whole of the original, there was an external corridor, or rather verandah, as it might be termed, running round two sides, i.e. those which overlooked the brow of the hill, and therefore were not so sheltered as the other sides, which were protected, though very slightly so, by a gentle rising of the ground behind. The projecting stonework at the corner, and in the centre of one side, he suggested, were for carrying wooden beams; though of course, with such very slight grounds to go upon, such suggestions were little better than guesses.

By the kindness of Mr. Cooke of Beckley, Mr. Parker was able to exhibit all the remains which had been discovered in digging out the foundations. There were some pieces of large tiles evidently bent round by the hand when moist, and pieces of the usual square tiles. There were also some with patterns upon them, such as are shewn in figs. 1, 2. Others, again, had the edge turned up as if for roofing tiles: yet Mr. Parker thought that the quantity of Stonesfield slate rather pointed to this material having been used, and not tile. The large curved tiles, though they resembled coping-tiles, he thought were not so, because he had found several large pieces of mortar in which they had evidently been imbedded, the convex side being towards the mortar. On the interior of one or two pieces of the walls which rose a few inches above the tessellated pavement, plaster was found, and with some of the colour upon it. Several large nails were found, and several bones of animals, e.g. pig, sheep, and ox: the latter Mr. Parker thought, from the remains which had been found, to belong to the extinct species *bos longifrons*. Fragments of pottery were very abundant, being scattered throughout the field, but generally imperfect. Two specimens as perfect as any are sketched in the accompanying plate.

A large diagram of the Wheatley villa was also exhibited, for the sake of comparison, as these were the only two villas which had been traced along that line of road; but it was shewn that the Wheatley remains were those of bath rooms, while those at Beckley were probably some other part of the villa, possibly belonging to the offices. As at Wheatley, so at Beckley, in several parts of the field were discovered remains of stone walls betokening very extensive buildings, of which what remained to us were but comparatively small fragments.

Returning again to the question of the position of the villa, there were some facts which ought not to be omitted. In an irregular line, and further to the west of the straight Roman road which had been referred to, had constantly been found traces of road-way which appeared to present characteristics of Roman work. These traces were very slight, only appearing at long intervals, and it was impossible to draw

a connected line, but they seem to follow generally the irregularities of the hills. He thought these were traces of British roads, probably used by the Romans, and so repaired by them, till after they became settled they made straighter and better roads for themselves. He thought that this other road was the same of which traces were said in Dr. Plott's time to occur on the edge of the hill above Marston-lane, and directed towards the meadows near King's Mill. If so, the road would have passed near the north end of the Parks, and then across by St. Giles's Church and Port Meadow to Binsey. This view is further corroborated by the fact that north of the Parks some graves, partly Roman and partly British, had been quite recently discovered. It had always been said, too, that traces of a Roman road were clearly marked in the Binsey meadows, and if the road skirted the north and east side of Wytham Hills, which it probably did, it passed probably thence to Yarnton, where the burial-ground shewed considerable traces of British occupation.

If, then, this was the earlier road, we must not, he thought, put the date of the second road, and so of the villa which had been described, very early in the period of the Roman occupation in the country.

In conclusion, he had to state one fact, and he seriously hoped to draw the attention of the Society to it. The remains sketched in the diagram were no longer so perfect as they appeared when they were drawn some week or so ago; each day made a difference: in a fortnight's time, when he understood the farmer was about to use the stone of which the buildings were composed, *there would not be a trace left*. Thus it was that yearly before our very eyes the historical monuments of our country were fading away. He would not ask the Society to attempt to preserve the remains in this instance, but he laid great stress upon accurate drawings, plans, and measurements being obtained, and that the Society should have a proper receptacle for such, where they would be carefully preserved. He hoped the time was not far distant when they would have a place in which such historical documents could be stored free from danger and liability to dispersion. He thought the Society had two distinct duties to perform; the first to excite and promote the study of architecture and history among the numerous students who came to Oxford; the second to preserve as far as possible the records of the past, especially those which were brought to light in its own immediate neighbourhood. He thought that while performing the one duty there was no reason why it should neglect the other.

The Chairman conveyed the thanks of the Meeting to Mr. Parker, and cordially agreed with his view as to the duty of the Society.

After some remarks from Professor Westwood on the subject of the University possessing an antiquarian Museum, the meeting separated.

Third Meeting, Michaelmas Term, 1862.

Dec. 10. The third meeting was held, by the kind permission of the Keeper, in the Ashmolean Museum.

The Rev. the MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, President, in the chair.

After the SECRETARY had read the report of the last meeting, the following officers and members of committee for the ensuing year were elected :—

The Rev. the Master of Balliol College, <i>President.</i>	
The Rev. the Master of University College,	} <i>Auditors.</i>
The Rev. Dr. Millard,	

H. W. Challis, Esq., Merton College,	} <i>New Members of Committee.</i>
J. H. Parker, Esq., F.S.A.,	
Hon. R. C. E. Abbot, Ch. Ch.,	
R. Blakelock, Esq., Lincoln,	
G. M. Argles, Esq., Balliol,	

Also,

C. E. Carey, Esq., Exeter College,

was elected a member of the Society.

Mr. Challis having resigned the office of Secretary, it was announced that Mr. James Parker had accepted the office in conjunction with Mr. Medd.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Mr. Rogers for his paper "On the Commercial Routes of the Middle Ages."

"The course of European trade, and the civilization which economical prosperity has developed, are a large but generally untrodden field of European history. During the six centuries which have preceded our own time, however, there have occurred such remarkable changes in the comparative wealth of nations, and with them such variations in the domestic and foreign relations and subsequently in the details of European policy, that the smallest acquaintance with these economical facts will suggest how closely the political history of Europe has been connected with the successive rise and fall of considerable commercial powers, and how exactly the centre of political influence has been coincident with that of comparative wealth. Out of all the supposed canons of historical criticism, none perhaps have so positive and scientific a force as those which may be gathered from that part of the doctrine of economical science which deals with the history of prices, and the particular circumstances which give particular peoples an ascendancy in the markets of the world. There are regions in the world whose natural capacities are scanty, but which have been made wealthy, and remain so, by lying in the road of commerce; as, for instance, the sandy wastes of the Netherlands, the south coast of the Baltic, and the hills of Armenia. There are others which might under ordinary circumstances

have fairly combated with the best-placed and most fertile regions, as the north coast of Africa, and the coast-line of Greece and Italy; and there are some whose inherent capacity is plainly shewn by the ruins of ancient grandeur, and still more plainly by the evidence of a swarming population; such as one recognises in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. But these latter, by a transference of those adventitious aids which commercial instincts afforded them, have generally sunk into deserts, or at least into political and economical insignificance.

“I do not purpose, in the brief paper which I have the honour to read to the Society, to discuss that commercial route which traversed the north coast of Africa, and which up to the time at least of the fall of the Bagdad Caliphate pursued the same course as in the time of Herodotus; nor of that by the coast of the Baltic, then as now the means of transmitting some of the most important among the raw material produced in such abundance on the great plains of Russia. The Society is aware how the exigencies of this trade developed the famous Hanseatic League, and with it no small portion of mercantile law. But I must confine myself to those commercial routes by which the produce of the East was imported to Europe, the centre of commercial activity during this time being the republics of Northern Italy, and especially Venice, Pisa, and Genoa. The wealth of these Italian communities culminated with the prosperity of that course of trade which was their monopoly from the beginning of the Crusades till the simultaneous discovery of the Cape passage and the American continent; during which time Italy was the centre of the whole political system of Europe. The Italian trading towns were the capitalists of Europe; and whatever may have been the spiritual influence of the Roman curia, at least an equal influence was due to the command which the Popes, down to the migration to Avignon, and not a little during and after that time, possessed over the European money market. This influence has, I regret to say, been rather hinted at than worked out in Mr. Ranke's History, and I trust that some student of history will, at some not very distant time, develop from the abundant materials contained in the Papal archives and the records of private families, the economical and financial history of the Roman curia; for the history of medieval Italy is wholly, or almost wholly, economical, and its significance in the political system of Europe during that period which closes with the end of the fifteenth century is of the last importance in the interpretation of international relations. Even at the present day the diplomatic traditions which made Italy and Constantinople the continuous objects of political rivalry and political intrigue, have hardly died out, though the European significance of those ancient centres of power and wealth must needs be interpreted in a very different way since the tide of commerce has rolled westward. The entries of foreign produce at a single large port in the United Kingdom

are vastly more than could have been gathered in all the Italian trading towns of the Middle Ages by the machinery then at hand for the importation of Eastern goods, and equally so for the machinery which might be recovered or revived.

“The records of domestic life in the Middle Ages indicate a steady demand for Eastern produce. Our forefathers were particularly fond of spices, and seasoned their dishes profusely with articles the introduction of which into modern cookery would be considered detestable. There still exist, I am informed, in manuscript, several collections of receipts for made dishes: one, at least, has been printed, the “*Forme of Cury*,” a manuscript of the age of Richard II. The slightest examination of this volume will warrant my statement. The Roll of the household expenses of Eleanor Plantagenet, the daughter of John, and the wife successively of the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester, specifies aniseed, cinnamon, cloves, galingall, ginger, pepper, cubebs, mace, grains of Paradise, rice, sugar, and saffron. Of these, the last two are perhaps the only European products. Saffron has been cultivated in England from very remote times; and the best sugar of the Middle Ages—it was a very precious commodity till the beginning of the seventeenth century—was grown in Sicily and Cyprus. Similarly, the manner of domestic life in Oxford during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which may be gathered from the accounts of the various colleges of early foundation, gives evidence of the eagerness with which Eastern spices were purchased, and the care with which they were kept; the annual accounts generally containing a valuation of the stock in hand.

“In our own time, when by the development of trade and commerce, by the rotation of crops in agriculture, and by the discovery and cultivation of succulent roots, the markets of the winter are as well supplied as those of the summer, we have some difficulty in realizing how far short of these habitual conveniences was the mode of life among our forefathers. For one half of the year they lived on salted provisions, and at no time refused to feed on the worst of carrion, the bodies of animals—sheep and oxen—who died of murrain. Indeed an ox or a sheep which perished in this way was generally sold for about one-third the price of the animal when in health and condition. Many of the epidemic diseases of medieval Europe appear to have been aggravated forms of scurvy; not a few must have been due to the habit of freely feeding on diseased flesh. The rôle of potherbs was very scanty. Onions and the coarser varieties of cabbage are almost the only vegetables which I have met with. The pottage of meat and these herbs was thickened with bean and oat flour. Such viands bear a great amount of seasoning.

“European nations had but little mercantile enterprise before the Crusades divided and broke up the unity of Mohammedanism, made known the value of a marine to European governments, and prepared

the way for the subsequent discoveries of the southern coast of Africa and the continent of America. But we know, even from the early accounts of Cosmas, (540—576,) that the great entrepôt of India was Ceylon, the Taprobane of the Greeks, and the Serendib of the Arabian romances; and the tradition of its being the mart of the East is fully borne out by the traces of a vast population and great prosperity yet existing in the island, and commented on by Sir E. Tennent in his book on Ceylon. The chief mart in the Mediterranean was Alexandria, in France Marseilles and Montpellier. Similarly we learn from Benjamin of Tudela, 1173, that spices were collected at Alexandria; that Tyre was the manufacturer of glass, and taught the art to Venice; that Eastern goods were purchased at Antioch, silks and camlets at Tripoli, and that the Jews at Jerusalem manufactured coloured and cotton stuffs on the payment of a tax. By far the most elaborate account, however, of the commercial relation of Europe with the East is found in the account presented by Sanuto the Venetian to John XXII., and printed in the collection of annals entitled *Gesta Dei per Francos*. During the period 1306—1321, that is, from the last year of Edw. I. to the 14th Edw. II., he had travelled five times over the different routes, the criticism on the respective merits of which is the subject of his work. He was a man of evidently no common energy and sagacity. His work abounds with maxims on economical questions, and though he suggests divers military schemes to the Pope, he has an eye to commercial profit, immediate and ultimate, in all his recommendations. Sanuto is as alive to phenomena of successful trade as the most sagacious of modern merchants.

“The commercial relations subsisting between Venice and the Mohamadan states of Egypt, Tyrica, and the plains of Mesopotamia, powerfully modified their European policy. You are aware of how freely they were suspected of Oriental proclivities. The Popes, however, were generally on good terms with the Venetian Republic, and allowed them greater freedom in their relations with the curia than fell to the lot of the less useful and less wealthy among their spiritual subjects. Sanuto, therefore, avowing that his immediate object is the development of the commercial energies of his fellow citizens, draws a picture to the Pope of how successfully, on the adoption of his plan, the power of the Sultan of Egypt, the richest sovereign of the world, might be crippled, and appeals to him for at least a part of the necessary funds, as the most capable capitalist of his time, for the construction of a fleet to watch the coast of Egypt; which fleet, he argues, would speedily pay its way, by contributions levied on the Sultan’s territories. His policy is further to occupy Armenia, and to enter into commercial relations with the Caliphate at Bagdad: the development, in short, of the overland as opposed to the sea route.

“The Indian ports are Mahabar, probably Malabar, and Cambeth, which is perhaps Ceylon. From these places goods were shipped to Ormuz and Kishon in the Persian Gulf, and Bagdad on the Tigris; or to Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea. Goods shipped to the first of these ports were originally passed overland from Bagdad to Tabreez in Azerbaijan, and thence to Seleucia, the Licia of the Middle Ages, at the mouth of the Orontes. But this course had been interrupted by a variety of causes, and the traffic diverted through the highlands of Armenia to Trebizond.

“The second route was from Aden. The caravan passed by a nine days’ journey over the desert of Upper Egypt to Cous, the modern Koos, and the ancient Apollinopolis Parva; thence—October being chosen as the highest flood of the Nile—by a thirteen days’ journey to Cairo. This was by far the most usual course of traffic, and the tolls levied by the Sultan of Egypt rendered him the richest sovereign of the world. He rigidly precluded all Christians from any share in the traffic, a sufficient motive for Sanuto’s zeal; and my author informs us, that the dishonesty and frauds of the Mohammedan dealers on this route were as notable as they are at the present time. The ginger, says Sanuto, was *coctum devastatum perforatum*, and 10 to 20 per cent. worse than that conveyed by way of Bagdad,—*a decem ad viginti in centenario*; though he accounts to some extent for the depreciated quality by the length of the water carriage.

“The Sultan’s toll was of various amount. One-third of all spices; $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on gold imported, but as gold was at high value in Europe, it was not carried; $4\frac{1}{2}$ on silver, or, as a special favour, $3\frac{1}{2}$; copper, 25 per cent.; tin 20. Then, as during the whole of the Middle Ages, the metals were produced in Europe and absorbed by the East. Maraschi, an Arab writer of the thirteenth century, noticed the large absorption of gold and silver by India. Timber, iron, and pitch paid 25 per cent.; and every vessel paid a capitation tax of three old Byzants = $3\frac{1}{2}$ gold florins.

“The articles which came by way of Alexandria were pepper, ginger, frankincense, canella. The frankincense was not, as has been suggested, the common resin of European conifers. It was consumed in great quantities in churches, and is purchased at far higher prices than common resin, which was used largely in dressing sheep and in plumbers’ work. These commodities were purchased by sugar from Rhodes, Malta, Cyprus, and other places; by silk from Apulia, Sicily, Crete, Romania, and Cyprus,—the silkworm was introduced into Europe, we are told, by some monks in the time of Justinian,—and by the Venetian importations of gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, quicksilver, coral, and amber. Quicksilver must have been produced in considerable quantities, since it was continually used as a dressing for sheep, till it suddenly

vanishes as a medicament in consequence of the importation, and probably discovery, of tar in the beginning of Edward the Third's reign.

"Besides these staple products the Egyptian market consumed in European produce, by the same importers, oil, honey, chestnuts, almonds, saffron, muslin, silk, stuffs, (the beauty and finish of these articles is, as one may see from the relics of them, even now extraordinary,) linen, woollens, mixed silk fabrics, and in scarce seasons corn, and—to confirm the suspicions of the Venetian indifference to all but successful commerce—even, as Sanuto admits, male and female slaves. The Egyptian products of native growth were the best flax, dates, and cassia fistula. Sanuto's object is to divert this traffic to the route by Ormuz to Bagdad, and thence from Tabreez to Trebizond.

"His analogy is happy, and his economical reasons are sound enough:—

"Sicut aqua naturaliter labitur ad valles, sic mercimonia transferuntur ad loca, ubi magis requiruntur."

And of the Sultan's policy:—

"Quando mercimonia constringuntur vel impediuntur taliter quod conduci nequeant aliquo per unam viam, mercatores ad utilitatem suam vigilantes cogitant perquirunt et inveniunt viam aliam per quam illa conducant ad locum ipsum. Nam dicitur negocians, negans ocium, quia non cessat investigare viam conducendi mercimonia ad partes in quibus major habetur de ipsis necessitas, unde amplius lucrari possit. Nec tantum constat conductus bonorum mercimoniorum quam minus bonorum."

"Besides, he says, all articles of light weight and high value come by way of Trebizond, as all kinds of spice—cubebes, cloves, nutmegs, and mace. Long before these routes, however, were developed, there was another channel by which Asiatic commodities were conveyed to European markets, the course of which is indicated by Gibbon in his 42nd chapter. It was, he says, in the time of Justinian the practice to transport the commodities of Northern India down the Oxus to the Caspian, across the Caspian to the Cyrus, and thence by the Phasis to the Black Sea and Constantinople. The traffic, however, I should judge, from the area which such a route commanded, must have been peculiar and comparatively scanty. It may have been the way in which silk was in the first instance imported, and by which the eggs of the silkworm were surreptitiously introduced, according to the story, by some monks of Constantinople in the time of Justinian himself. But in the Middle Ages, the silkworm had been naturalized in Europe, and the other productions of China and Northern India were neither available nor popular in Western Europe. The violent political convulsions to which the western part of Central Asia were subjected, must have tended to narrow and diminish what existing trade might have been noticeable in the declining vigour of the Eastern Empire. And at a time when the relations between the trading republics of Italy and

the tottering power of the Empire were more intimate because of common fear, such a route as that of the time of Justinian could hardly have escaped Sanuto's notice had it contributed in any significant degree to the aggregate of commerce between the East and the West. It is true that in a different form, and by a more northerly route, Asiatic produce in after times reached Europe by the Caspian Sea. But it was at a time when what remained of the traffic which passed between Aden and Alexandria was about to be displaced, as that between Ormuz and Trebizond had been extinguished, when, a few years before the Cape was doubled and the New World was discovered, the Hanseatic League made Novgorod one of the four great centres of their commerce, and the wealth and prosperity of this mart became a familiar proverb.

“As might be expected, those productions of the East which were imported into Europe by these channels were sold at very high rates. Quantities of pepper, the commonest and most eagerly sought after of all these tropical commodities, were frequently accepted as a permanent rent for lands and houses, the option being often left to the tenant to pay the spice or its market value. In the year 1329, the eighth of a pound of cloves cost Merton College 2s. 8d., and half-a-pound of mace the same amount. In this year, too, a pound of sugar was purchased for 1s. 4d. The price of wheat was 4s. 6d. the quarter. Again, in 1334, as I found in a venerable and interesting relic from the archives of the same college, (for the inventory was written on what I believe to be the earliest extant specimen of paper made from linen rags,) the college bursar gives account of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. ginger, value 2s.; $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. saffron, 2s. 3d.; $\frac{1}{8}$ lb. cloves, 1s.; $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. mace, 1s.; $\frac{1}{3}$ lb. grains of Paradise, 2s.; besides African and Cyprus sugar. Nearly the whole of the price of pepper consists in the labour of collection and in carriage, for in places where it grows spontaneously the plant is as common, I am told, as our hawthorn.

“The use, therefore, of these spices was confined to few persons,—the wealthy feudal lords, spiritual and temporal, and on rare occasions the predecessors of many among the members of this Society, in academical foundations. The charge for spices forms a considerable annual expense in the magnificent foundations of Merton and Wykeham, whose establishments were the several types of the anti-Reformation colleges. The college gaudy is but a faint representative of the jollity which must have been felt when the customary pittance (a word of reverential origin, though now of altered meaning) of salt fish and salt meats, and of mixtil bread—that is, bread made of wheat and rye—was exchanged for the solemn feast when the viands had their exceptional seasoning, and the wine which the guests consumed—cheaper proportionately than any commodity of foreign growth in the Middle Ages—was exchanged or at least supplemented by hippocras, in which the natural flavour of the beverage was quenched in the spices of which it was compounded.

“The peculiar trade of the Italian republics developed a great and permanent economical error, and a great economical advantage. The error lay in the limitation of the market, the advantage in the development of commercial law.

“Most of the trading communities of antiquity were cities which had purchased or extorted their privileges of commerce and domestic magistracy from the feudal lords on whom they had originally been dependant. They held these rights by patent, so to speak, and had therefore a continual inclination to recognise in the trade which they carried on a privilege which would be lost if others shared in it. Hence their foreign policy was always that of the depression of their commercial rivals, and the prevention of other States from entering on the same field of enterprise. They thought that they could not be great unless other communities were dwarfed. Hence the various schemes by which traffic was subjected to a vexatious and repressive police, and by implication the market narrowed; while the stimulus to individual trade among the citizens of the commercial town or community was necessarily strong. The rate of interest—a sure evidence of the ordinary rate of profit—was and continued low during the Middle Ages in the Italian trading towns. The State collectively and comparatively was rich, the citizens were poor. As early as 1171 the rate of interest was only 4 per cent. at Venice, and continued to stand at this rate till as late as the time of the Restoration, when money was procurable, according to Sir Josiah Child, at 3. On the other hand, at Antwerp, which was first the western entrepôt of the Hanseatic League, and subsequently of the Portuguese Indian trade, the rate of interest was as much as 12, the constitution of that famous League rendering the facilities of trade greater than could be procured under the narrower rules of the Italian trading republic. It was when Holland, during the period of its greatest commercial activity and enterprise, adopted the same policy of anticipating the demand, and to maintain prices limited the quantity of supply, that the rate of profit as indicated by the rate of interest fell to the lowest amount which has ever been recorded as prevailing in a mercantile community, money having been freely procurable at 2 per cent. I must ask the Society to excuse me for adverting thus hurriedly to these economical considerations; but just as the traditions of the Roman empire, the fact of the profound political and economical influence of Italy and Constantinople of the middle ages, materially moulded and still do mould the policy of European governments, and are ordinarily the key to the rivalry of diplomatists, so the jealous commercial policy of European States has been, I believe, founded not a little on the vague memories of the great comparative prosperity of the jealous trading communities planted in Northern Italy. It is in modern times especially that the insulation of commercial interests has taken so deep a hold on

the industry of particular nations, and checks to the foreign trade of nations have been conceived to further their interests and secure their independence.

“But the exigencies of medieval trade broke down the rigorous limitations of feudal settlements, and induced the beginnings of international law. It is not my purpose, except in the most cursory manner, to dwell on the beneficial changes effected in the laws which were in most European countries adopted as a means by which the estates of land-owners were made alienable, under the pressure of commercial necessities. Long before the estate of a non-trader was liable for debt, or indeed any involuntary alienation on previous contract, the estates of merchants could be pledged as a means for procuring capital; and similarly, the entailed estates of merchants became assets under bankruptcy, while those of non-traders were protected from the consequences of insolvency. More important perhaps than these domestic changes were the establishment of mercantile law and the recognition of international obligations. Trade between countries involved the necessity of protection to foreign interests, and the supply of means for the recovery of liabilities under bills of exchange in countries where ordinarily the position of an alien involved civil disabilities. Consules mercatorum were appointed to watch reciprocally over the interests of traders, as between Modena and Pisa early in the twelfth century, and were invested with the formal inviolability of ambassadors. The subject is discussed and explained at length in the 30th of Muratori’s *Dissertationes on the Antiqu. Medii Ævi*.

“The land route from the East must have been seriously interfered with by the various political changes which affected the regions of Western Central Asia. The history of the empires which have been raised successively on the plains of Mesopotamia is a mere record of violence and revolution. This region has been successively devastated by hordes issuing from the great plateaux of Central Asia; and the occupation of Asia Minor by the Turks, followed as it was by the establishment of a government which has been continuously, perhaps, the most detestable in the world, has reduced all these seats of ancient opulence to deserts. Perhaps under all circumstances this result would have ensued from the characteristic vices of the Turkish Government, but there were other well-known causes which precipitated the destruction of the caravan trade, and transferred the commerce of Europe with the East to other routes, those of modern times.

“In 1492 the New World was discovered, and in a very few years the northern part was occupied by Spain. In 1500, Cabral, in his second voyage, reached by accident the coast of Brazil. In 1497 the Cape was doubled by Vasco de Gama, and again in 1502; the same adventurer founding Goa in 1508. The energies of Spain and Portugal were

expended in the subjugation of the New World. In 1506 the sugar-canes of Sicily were transplanted to the Canaries, and thence to the islands of the Mexican Gulf. Portugal was engaged also in founding factories in the East, and in attempting to establish that union of political and religious despotism in India in which they were aided, and for some time successfully, by the labours of the Jesuits.

“What follows is matter of familiar history. The United Provinces, after their declaration of independence, January 23, 1579, when the European trade was in the height of its success, entered upon the Eastern trade, in April 1595, and sent Cornelius and Frederic Houtman to Java, that they might rival the Portuguese, then ruled by Philip II. Unsuccessful in their first venture, because the Portuguese stirred up the natives, they made a second attempt in 1598, and brought back with them four hundred lasts of pepper, and one hundred of cloves. To make their cause the more respectable, the vessels were commissioned in the name and under the seal of Maurice, and the Dutch steadily prosecuted the scheme of aggrandisement, making leagues with the native princes, and establishing factories in Amboyna, Jacatra, Malacca, and Colombo. The Dutch East India Company was created in 1602, (20th April,) and the Bank of Amsterdam in 1609.

“At the peace of Westphalia, January 30, 1648, Holland had the exclusive trade in spices, the island of Java, exclusive trade with Japan, the Moluccas, the cinnamon trade, the Cape, several factories in India, and maintained commercial treaties with the native princes of Hindostan.

“In the time of Adam Smith the Dutch trade declined. The Bank of Amsterdam failed in 1795, and the last dividend on the East India Company was paid out of arrears only in 1799.

“Since this time the trade with the East has been—there is no favour or privilege accorded to English ships, and commerce is wholly unrestricted—almost exclusively English, though the Dutch settlements are, out of a wise administration, said to be eminently prosperous.

“I must make my apologies to the Society for the hasty and imperfect manner in which I have hinted at the characteristics of Eastern trade in the Middle Ages, and excuse myself for the demerits of my paper, on the plea of the large occupations in which I have been involved during the present term. If, however, I have been able to suggest that the commercial relations between the East and West powerfully modified the public policy of the Middle Ages during the time which preceded the discovery of America and the Cape passage, and that the interpretation of medieval history must embrace the commercial relations of Italy with the East and West, I shall not regret having occupied your time with this scanty sketch.”

On the conclusion of the paper the President conveyed the thanks of the meeting to Professor Rogers for the many very curious details

which he had laid before them. It was a subject which might be pursued with great advantage by any earnest student, and while Professor Rogers had told them so much, he had left much for future and further investigation.

Mr. J. H. PARKER made some remarks upon the lines of commerce through France. It was a subject which had attracted considerable attention with French antiquaries. There were so many pirates on the sea, and in the estuaries of the great rivers, that in spite of the dangers and difficulties, the merchants seem to have preferred an overland route; and it was remarkable that the roads they took were generally across mountainous districts rather than the level plains. He mentioned three lines, an eastern one by the great rivers, a central one, and a western one; and he laid stress more especially on the last, the route over the hilly country of the western provinces, from Narbonne in the Mediterranean at the foot of the Pyrenees, passing by Perigueux, Limoges, Poitiers, and Angers, to St. Malo and other northern ports on the Channel. At Limoges there was a central depôt, and an establishment of great merchants. What, however, was most interesting to him, was that these lines of commerce were to be traced to the present day by the lines of beautiful churches. It seems as if the prosperity and riches which follow in the line of commerce enabled them to build finer edifices than in other parts of the country.

Professor WESTWOOD thought that besides the routes through France which Mr. Parker had mentioned, there were two other routes which deserved attention; namely, one along the north of Africa, through Spain, and thence to Ireland; the other by the Baltic. The curious relics of an Eastern origin constantly dredged up at the mouth of the Mersey, point to this as an important harbour for vessels bearing Eastern produce; and there is little doubt that the northern route was the one adopted. In Ireland square pieces of porcelain, certainly of very great antiquity, are sometimes discovered, and the marks upon them shew them to have been of Chinese origin.

Mr. GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT referred, in a very interesting speech, to the statement put forward by Mr. Parker as to architectural grandeur marking the chief lines of commerce through France. After noticing the number of domical churches in Perigord of distinctly Byzantine character, he thought that not only the number and beauty of the churches were remarkable, but what was more so, there were architectural features, even to minute details, which seemed to shew an Eastern, or at least a Byzantine influence. The foliage, for instance, is distinctly Greek, as distinguished from Roman, or Romanesque. The acanthus foliage, which occurs constantly along one line of churches in France, is decidedly Greek in its origin. It was, of course, not easy to determine how far, and in what way, Eastern commerce influenced

the art; but it was to be noticed that as we got further northwards, instead of the Greek character declining, it became even more pure—so much so that it was probable they brought workmen with them.

The PRESIDENT, while thanking Mr. Scott for the information he had given, pointed out the happy blending of the two studies which the Society wished to promote, namely, history and architecture. Although two distinct spheres of study, here was a remarkable instance of how easily and naturally they were united. He proceeded to ask Mr. Rogers some questions respecting the spices and other Eastern products mentioned in the lecture, especially as to the saffron. This, he understood Mr. Rogers to imply, was home-grown, and not imported, though he thought the high price pointed to the latter.

Professor ROGERS replied briefly to the several questions which had been put to him. As far as the saffron was concerned, he thought the high price did not shew it to be foreign. It was so very small a portion of the plant which was of any use, and therefore so expensive to collect, that it must always command a very high price—probably higher than the foreign, which was always more or less adulterated. In England, too, there were several places where saffron was grown; the name, for instance, of Saffron Walden, in Essex, has its origin in this.

After some discussion as to the difficulty of identifying the plants mentioned by old writers, in which the President and the Lecturer took part, the subject dropped.

The LIBRARIAN asked permission, before the meeting separated, to call their attention to the collection of beautifully carved stones which were placed in that room. They came from St. Mary's Church, having been built up as old material in the walls. Apart from the beauty of the carving on many, they were, he thought, interesting as historical records, exhibiting as they did a series of dates from the twelfth century to the fourteenth. They were the only traces which we had remaining of the series of churches which had succeeded each other on the spot where St. Mary's now stands. This was the last meeting of the term, and he had understood that they had been kindly offered to the Society by the builder who had undertaken the contract for the restoration of the church. Of course the difficulty was, where was the Society to put them? This led him to say, however, that he had good hopes now that they would have a good antiquarian museum in Oxford, in which the Society might place such specimens as were thus offered to them. A Society could do much in this way towards collecting a large number of historical memorials together, and he thought in this case, though the specimens were large and somewhat cumbersome, still when their local value as historical memorials of the University Church was considered, they would be thought worthy of a place in such a museum.

Professor WESTWOOD asked what were the present prospects of the museum being established?

The PRESIDENT explained that the University would be asked that very week to vote a sum of money for the purpose of putting the two lower rooms of the Ashmolean Museum in such a state as to receive antiquities, both Classical and Medieval, and that if the vote was passed, the Arundel marbles would be at once placed in the lower room, and the remains of Ashmole's antiquarian collection be moved from the upper to the middle room.

Mr. E. A. FREEMAN begged to ask what were to become of the casts belonging to the Architectural Society? He thought they were fairly entitled to a place. He did not believe that photographs could in any way be said to have diminished the value of casts, which were the exact counterparts of the original, and could be looked at and examined in all sorts of ways, just the same as the carving from which it was taken. He would appeal to Mr. Scott to bear him out in this view of the subject.

Mr. SCOTT, in reply, observed that while he cordially agreed with much that Mr. Freeman had said, he could not but think that both photographs and casts were useful in their way. His idea was that when casts could be obtained, they should have them, and hang the photographs near them to shew the general effect and grouping. Each was of assistance to the other, but one could not in any way supersede the other. He agreed with Mr. Freeman that this was a great mistake, nothing but casts could properly shew the detail, and this was, after all, of the chiefest importance. The photograph, so far from superseding the cast, could only be considered as accessory. Referring to the remarks which had been made about the remains rescued from St. Mary's Church, he hoped they would not be sent away from Oxford. He thought it a great duty incumbent on such Societies as he was then addressing, to collect and retain, as far as was practicable, all local relics of the past. They were of ten times the value, both architecturally and historically, when so preserved, than if removed to distant localities.

After some further remarks the last meeting of that term was brought to a close.

First Meeting, Lent Term, 1863.

Feb. 24. The first meeting of the Term was held, by the kind permission of the Curators, in the Lecture-room of the Taylor Institution, during the repairs going on in the Ashmolean building; the Rev. the MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, President, in the chair.

The PRESIDENT announced that in consequence of an application made to the Warden and Fellows of Merton College for permission to open the western wall of the crypt of St. Peter's Church, permission had been given to the Society. On a similar application to the Vestry of St. Peter's parish, that body had also kindly given their sanction to the Society's investigation.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Curators of the Taylor Institution for their kindness in giving permission to the Society to hold their meetings in that building during the repairs of the Ashmolean Museum.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Mr. Parker for his lecture on the "Abbaye aux Hommes at Caen."

Mr. Parker pointed out that the two great abbey churches at Caen had long been considered the starting-point for the history of architecture in England, and the connecting link between the architecture of Normandy and England. But at the same time it had been taken for granted that these churches, as they now stand, were fair examples of the style of building in use in Normandy at the time of the Conquest. A careful examination of these churches shewed, however, that this was almost entirely a delusion, which had greatly misled the generality of English historians and amateurs. When he came to examine these churches in detail, with the careful observation required by the system of Professor Willis, he found that in the church of St. Stephen in the "Abbaie aux Hommes" there was such a difference of construction in different parts as to mark the work of three distinct periods, all of the style which we called Norman, and all built within a century after the foundation.

He then proceeded to trace the history. He said, "It is notorious that the two abbeys were founded by William the Conqueror and his Queen Matilda, as a penance imposed upon them by the Pope—a condition of their reconciliation to the Church after having been excommunicated on account of their marriage, being cousins, or within the prohibited degree of consanguinity, as is alleged in the charter of foundation of the 'Abbaie aux Dames.' The late Mr. Stapleton, in the third volume of the 'Archæological Journal,' endeavoured to shew that there was another cause for this besides consanguinity—that Matilda had been previously married to Gerbodo, the *avoué* of St. Bertin, and

that the issue of this marriage were Gerbodo Earl of Chester, Frederic, and Gundrada, wife of William de Warren and foundress of Lewes Priory. He endeavours to shew that the cause of their excommunication was that the Pope had refused to consent to her divorce from her first husband, and consequently that her marriage with William would have been null, if they had not succeeded in making their peace with the Pope. It is remarkable that we have no certain date in any contemporary historian or chronicle of the date of the marriage, or of the birth of the first two children.

“ Whatever the motives for the foundation of these two magnificent abbeys may have been, the fact is beyond question that they were founded at the two extremities of the town of Caen, outside the walls, on new sites, where there were either no buildings at all, or at the utmost a small and insignificant chapel. We may therefore conclude that there is no part of the existing buildings earlier than the date of this foundation. It is rather singular that, notwithstanding the notoriety of these foundations, it is difficult to ascertain the exact year in which the buildings were commenced; the authorities differ considerably in the dates both of foundation and of consecration: 1064, 1066, and 1070 are mentioned for the foundation; and 1071, 1073, 1077, and 1078 for the dedication of St. Stephen’s.

“ Lanfranc was sent to Rome in 1059 to make peace with the Pope, Nicholas II., and returned in 1060 with the pardon and its conditions agreed upon: the foundation, therefore, could not have been before that year; and as Lanfranc was made abbot of St. Stephen’s in 1066, it is probable that some of the buildings were then ready, although the consecration of the church did not take place until eleven years afterwards, in 1077. Trinity Church is said to have been consecrated in 1066. Possibly it was not convenient to carry on these two large works at the same time, and Matilda’s church may have been finished before William’s was commenced; or what is more probable is, that either a temporary wooden church was the one consecrated in 1066, or that only just so much as was necessary for performing the service was then ready, and the altar was consecrated. If this small choir was of stone, it was entirely rebuilt on a larger scale, as at St. Stephen’s, the existing choir is clearly work of the twelfth century. The papal bull of foundation, granting special privileges to the abbey of St. Stephen, is dated in 1068. The abbey was richly endowed with lands both in Normandy and England. Lanfranc was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1070, leaving the buildings of his abbey very incomplete, to be carried on by his successors.

“ My object is to endeavour to shew in what manner this was done, and to ascertain the true architectural history of this remarkable church. To carry on this investigation properly, it is necessary first to examine

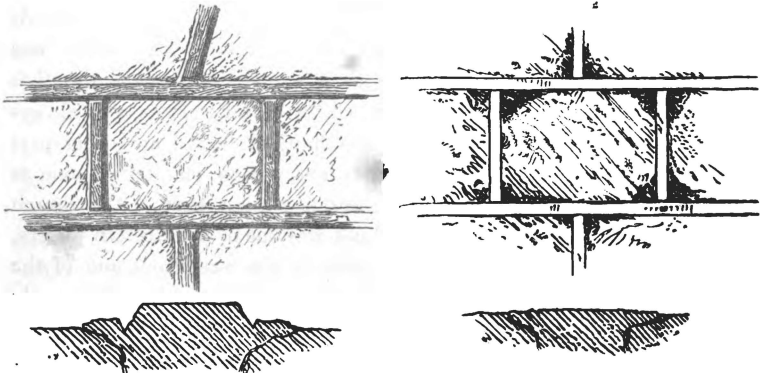
carefully the existing fabric in all its parts, not merely what is visible at first sight, but to get behind the scenes and examine the real construction; then to endeavour to find what written history is extant, and compare this with the different parts of the fabric, always bearing in mind the customary mode of proceeding in that age in building a large church. It was then always usual to have a regular gang of workmen in the employ of the abbey or other monastic establishment, or of the dean and chapter of a cathedral, or of a nobleman or wealthy landlord of any kind; this custom was universal throughout the Middle Ages, and is still continued in many places. The monks or the canons often assisted in the work, some of them being actual masons or carpenters, and the bishop, the abbot, or the prior was often his own architect. This regular gang of workmen was not numerous, large numbers being taken on upon special occasions only; yet this small gang of workmen, at work regularly every day, year after year, no doubt produced great effects in the course of time.

“This slow and gradual process, however, renders the work liable to continual changes of fashion during its progress; and this is just what we find in all our large churches, the style has entirely altered during the progress of the work, and before the whole was finished it was often found necessary to rebuild the part which was built first. This gradual progress also makes it difficult to draw a definite line anywhere, and say where one style ceases and another begins. Still, the change between the early parts and the later ones is very manifest, although when it is a continuation of the same design, and all will be visible together, a general uniformity is often preserved after the style has changed in other parts.

“Another important point to consider is the usual mode of proceeding,—which part of the church was built first, and what order was usually followed. A comparison of many examples shews clearly that the choir, the part immediately required for divine service, was always the first part to be built, and this was finished before any other part was begun; this was the *ecclesia* proper, and was consecrated as soon as it was ready for use, without waiting for any other part of the church to be finished. The next part to be built was one of the western towers, to contain the bells; and the lower part of the west front and of the other west tower were commonly built at the same time. Simultaneously with this, or nearly so, the central tower, or lantern, was built; and to support this, the two transepts, and the two eastern bays of the nave; the intermediate part of the nave was often left till long afterwards, and sometimes not built at all, as at Cologne. It very commonly also happened that the choir was rebuilt about a century after it was first built, in order to make it more consistent with the rest of the church, and also for the purpose of enlarging it.

“These general remarks apply in nearly every respect to the church of St. Stephen at Caen. The first part built was the choir, consecrated in 1073 ; the other three dates of consecration probably apply to other altars ; two, as usual, in the transepts, the third date may very likely be an error of the scribe.

“This choir was entirely rebuilt in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries on a larger scale, and we have now scarcely a vestige of the original small choir, or *ecclesia*, of 1073. The earliest parts now remaining are the east wall of the central tower, the outer walls of the transepts and of the nave, with the original west front, which forms the back of the present western towers, as shewn in the annexed plan, on the level of the clear-story. These parts were probably built between 1073, when the original choir was finished, and the conclusion of the reign of William I., in 1087 ; and they do, in fact, comprise the main structure of the present nave and transepts, but so much disguised and altered in appearance by the insertion of the vault, that considerable care is required to distinguish the original parts. The central tower, or lantern, fell down in 1566, leaving the eastern wall only standing ; the western side was rebuilt in 1602, and the two eastern piers of the nave along with it. The two piers in this position are often the oldest part of the church, as at Vezelay, having been preserved like the chancel-arch of many village churches, when the choir was rebuilt in order to carry the roof of the nave, and again when the nave was rebuilt to carry the roof of the choir. In the present instance we can derive no assistance from them, and the inner surface of the walls has been entirely disguised when the vault was put on, and the ornamentation



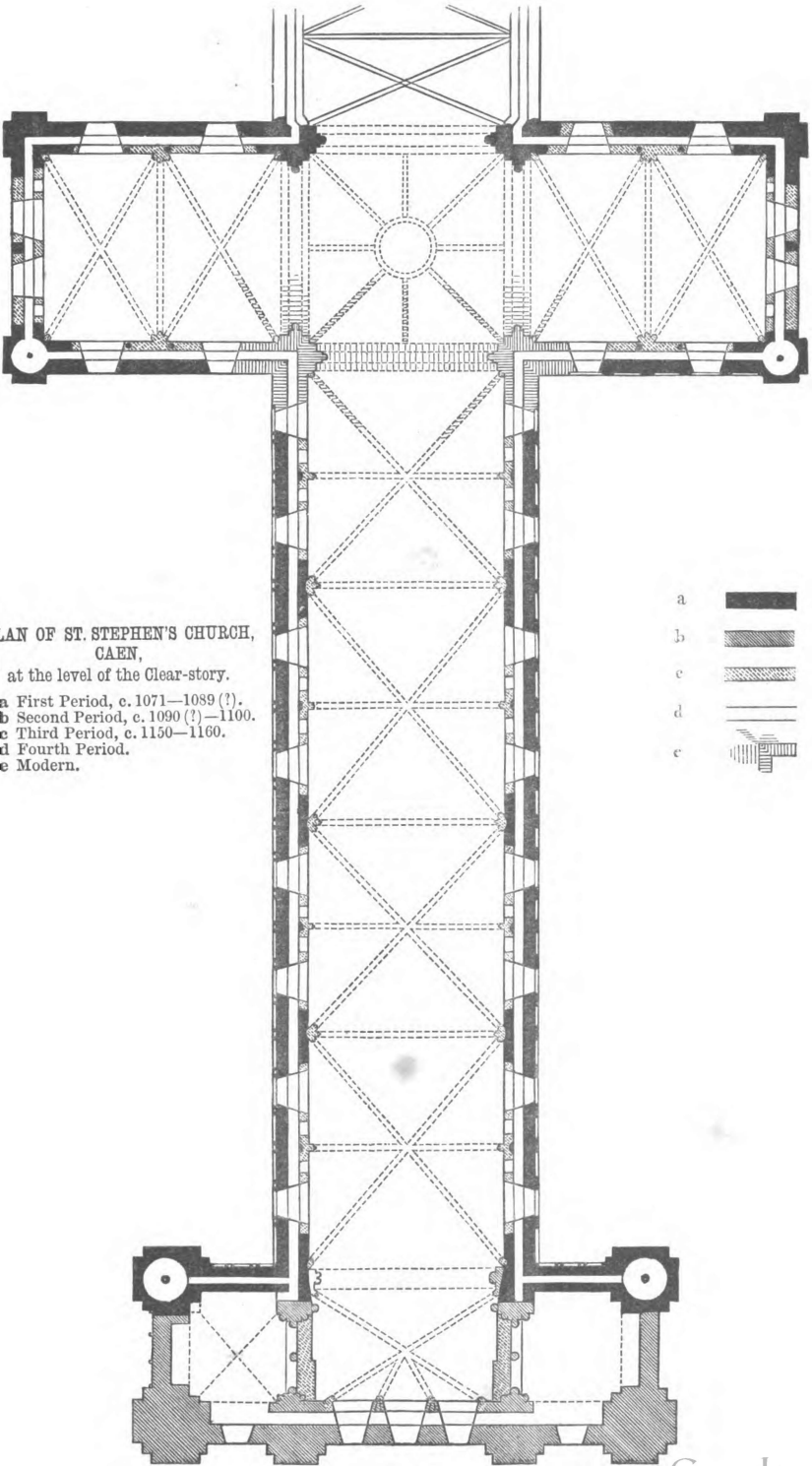
G. BOUET, del.

1. First Period.

2. Second Period.

Specimens of Masonry.

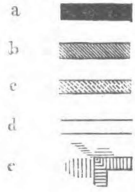
of the interior altered in the middle of the twelfth century, and the surface has been deprived of all definite archæological character by



**PLAN OF ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH,
CAEN,**

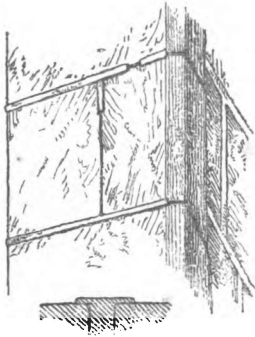
at the level of the Clear-story.

- a First Period, c. 1071—1089 (?).
- b Second Period, c. 1090 (?)—1100.
- c Third Period, c. 1150—1160.
- d Fourth Period.
- e Modern.



scraping. It is only by going up into the clear-story gallery that we can distinctly trace the character of the original masonry of this first period, and when we do so we find

it agree with other masonry of the middle of the eleventh century, such as that in the crypt at Auxerre, in the crypt and apse of St. Stephen at Nevers, and in the refectory of the Confessor's Abbey of Westminster."



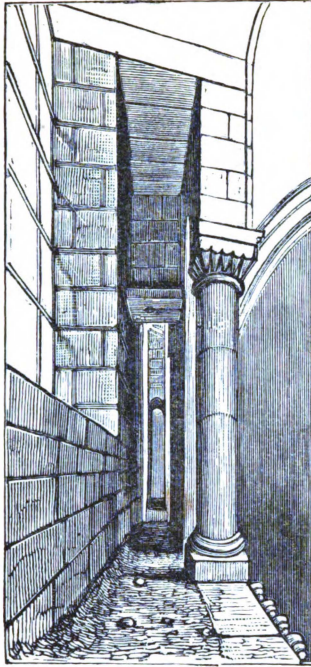
8. Third Period.

He remarked that in the clear-story gallery, and in the chambers of the west front, the masonry of the different periods might be distinctly seen; and the manner in which the early masonry has been cased in later times, with the junctions of the masonry^a, told more of the history of the construction than could be made out in any other manner.

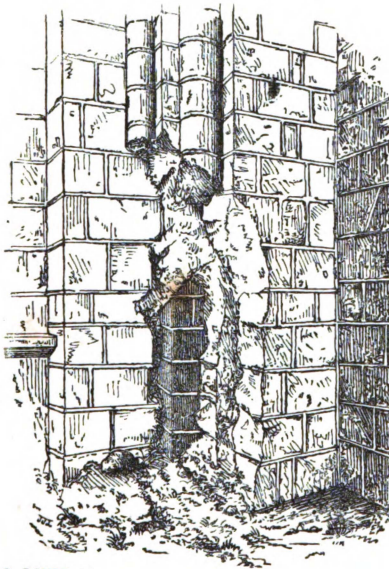
The Lecturer continued:—"We are thus enabled to ascertain exactly the original plan and arrangement of this interesting church. More of it is preserved in the transepts than in any other part, as is frequently the case; and we see that these are almost identical with the transepts of Winchester, and other well-known English examples. The arches are recessed, but square-edged, and have shafts, the capitals of which are of that peculiar character which marks the latter half of the eleventh century, sometimes called a rude Ionic, and evidently intended for an imitation of Roman capitals, but perhaps rather of the Composite than the Ionic order, as there is always a piece of stone left in the centre between the volutes in the places of the caulicoli: this is sometimes carved, but more frequently left plain, especially in the earlier examples. These were probably painted, as at that period the carving and the painting were made to assist each other in giving greater richness of effect to the work than either could do separately.

"In England we have capitals of this description in the chapel of the White Tower, London, built by Bishop Gundulph, between 1081 and 1090; at Lincoln, in the work of Bishop Remigius, between 1092 and 1100; and at Norwich, in the work of Bishop Losinga, between 1096 and 1110. They became more elongated as they are later in date.

^a It should be observed that in those parts which are visible from below, the fine-jointed masonry is made to imitate the wide-jointed, by the overlapping of the mortar; so careful were the builders to attend to the general uniformity of appearance.



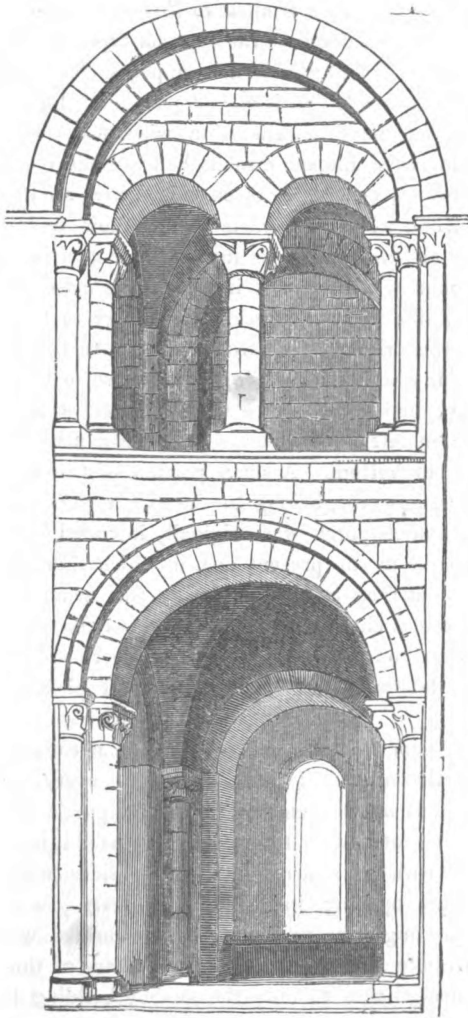
Section of the Clear-story, Gallery or Passage.



G. BOUET, del.

Masonry of the First Period, partly concealed by that of the Second Period.

This capital may be considered as the second kind of Norman capital in date, the earliest being the cube with the corners rounded off, as in



One Bay of the West End of the Nave in its original state.

the refectory at Westminster, the probable date of which is between 1066 and 1080, for we know that the choir only was finished when the Confessor died, and the other buildings were completed gradually, as funds permitted. It occurs also in the transepts of Winchester, built by Bishop Walkelyn, between 1079 and 1093; in the crypt of Worcester, built by Bishop Wulstan, between 1081 and 1089; and in all *early*

Norman work. The scalloped capital does not come in until the twelfth century, in the time of Henry I."

Before concluding, Mr. Parker referred to the west front. He said, "This front is the part most familiar to English readers by engravings, and has long been considered as the especial type of the Norman style at the time of the Conquest; it now appears clearly, from the close examination of M. Bouet, that it cannot possibly belong to that period, but is the work of the next generation, when the art of building had considerably improved and the masons had become more skilful. The two western towers consist of three sides only, abutting against the original west front, which still exists behind them, and is separated by a straight joint all the way up, as may be distinctly seen on the north side, and still more clearly in the interior; the masonry of the towers and the rest of the present west front belongs to the second period, while that of the original west front belongs to the first period. It appears doubtful whether these towers form part of the original design or not; if they had done so, we should expect that toothing-stones would have been left for them, and we should not have the straight joint from top to bottom. A small portion of the lower part of the south wall does, however, belong to the earlier work, and seems to indicate that a galilee porch was originally intended, but the plan was afterwards altered to the present one, in which there probably was an upper chapel dedicated to St. Michael, as was usual in this situation. In consequence of a change of ritual in the twelfth century, the galilee porch at the west end went out of use, and there are several instances of its being afterwards rebuilt on a different plan, as at St. Remi, Rheims.

"It will be seen at once, that although the towers belong to the second period, the latter part of the eleventh century, the spires are of the thirteenth. It would seem that a western porch of some kind was always intended; otherwise the west front would have been a mere screen—a wall with stair-turrets at the two sides, with the usual passages and window-openings in the wall. In Italy at a later period such an arrangement might be probable; the celebrated west front of the cathedral of Orvieto, for instance, is a mere sham of this description—a richly ornamented wall to hide the shabby building behind it. But in Normandy, and in the eleventh century, such a plan is not probable. It is, however, perfectly clear that the actual work of this west front belongs to another generation of Norman masons, that is to say, about thirty years after the time of the Conquest; and it follows that, as this is one of the finest churches of the period in Normandy, the building art in Normandy at the time of the Conquest was very little in advance of what it was in England at the same time. The buildings known to be of the time of Edward the Confessor, such as Deerhurst, are somewhat

different in style from those of Normandy at the same period, generally smaller and not so lofty, but are rather more richly ornamented than otherwise; the Norman construction is better, but the work is plainer.

“Very rapid progress was made in both countries during the century which followed, and by about 1160 the Norman style, more correctly called Anglo-Norman, was brought to perfection, and began to change into the Early Gothic. Plain sunk panels, such as we have in this west front, seem to have been part of the character of the buildings of the latter part of the eleventh century. We find them in Gundulph’s work at Malling, and in other instances. Among other reasons for fixing on the reign of William Rufus for the second period of the work at Caen, besides the comparison with other buildings, may be mentioned that the canons of Waltham complained bitterly of the spoliation of their church by that monarch for the purpose of transmitting the funds and treasures taken from them to the abbeys founded by his father at Caen^b. As building was the usual mode of spending money at that period, it is a reasonable inference that some great building operations were going on at Caen, and the monks were hard pressed for money to carry them on, which induced the King to rob the English monasteries for their benefit; and there is no other work in the abbeys at Caen which agrees in style with other buildings known to be of the time of William Rufus, besides this west front, and perhaps part of the nave of Trinity Church in the “*Abbaye aux Dames*.” Deeply recessed doorways and rich mouldings belong to the third period of the Norman style, and this rich work is far more abundant in England than in Normandy. It occurs also in great richness, and rather frequently, in the Angevine and Poitevine provinces in the time of Henry II.

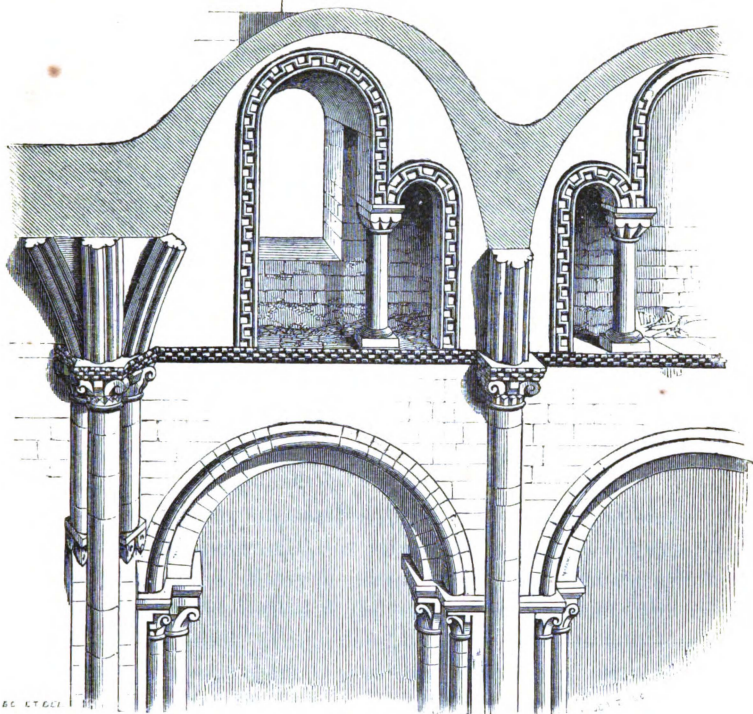
“The third period in the architectural history of St. Stephen’s at Caen comprises probably the reigns of Stephen and Henry II.: that of Henry I. would belong rather to the second period; but there seems to have been little done at that time, probably from want of funds. During the third period, or about the middle of the twelfth century, the vault was introduced over the nave. On a little examination, it is evidently an insertion within the old walls, but involving an entire change of the decoration of the whole of the interior. The jambs of the windows, with the embattled fret ornament round the edge, are insertions, and

^b See the tract *De Inventione Sanctæ Crucis nostræ in Monte Acuto et de ductione ejusdem apud Waltham*. With an Introduction and Notes by William Stubbs, M.A. (8vo., 1861.) “*Thesaurum inestimabilem quo instauravit duas ecclesias Cadomi, ecclesiam scilicet Sancti Stephani quam fundavit pater ejus, et ecclesiam Sanctæ Trinitatis quam fundavit mater ejus, quæ scilicet usque hodie gaudent spoliis sic acquisitis, et inscripta habent nomina in ipsis capsis et textis principum qui ea contulerunt ecclesiæ Walthamensi, testimonio et auctoritate Archiepiscopi Ginsi.*”—(p. 32.)

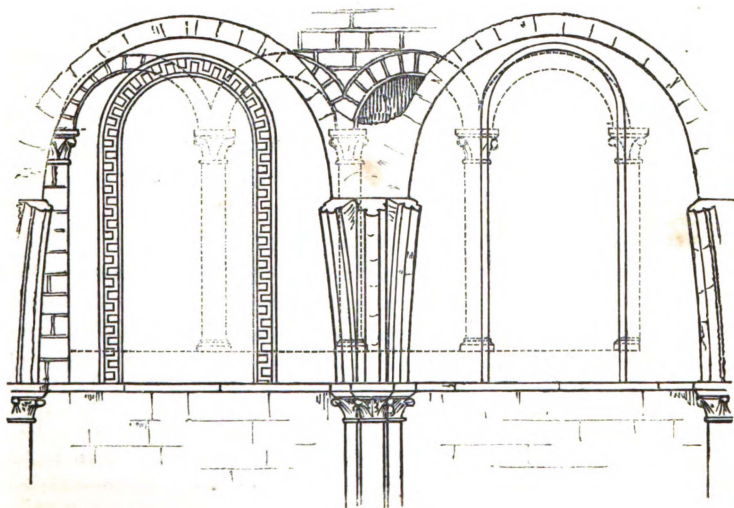
have replaced plain early jambs, without ornament; the masonry is not bonded in with the old work. Some of the capitals of these vaulting-shafts are of the twelfth century, of the same age as the vault; others are the old capitals of the eleventh century used again, as was often done. The ribs of the vaulting are clumsily joined to the capitals, and do not seem to fit or belong to them, as is often the case in vaulting of the twelfth century, shewing that the workmen had not yet become accustomed to the mode of working ribs. This is often supposed to be a proof that the ribs are not of the same age as the shell of the vault, but it is really only a proof of clumsy construction, and nothing more. The inner wall of the clear-story gallery has been in great part rebuilt with fine-jointed masonry, for the purpose of carrying the vault more securely, while the whole external wall of the first period remains both above and below the vault. It is evident that the builder of this vault has been much constrained in his plan from some cause, and this cause seems to have been the previous arrangements for carrying the roof. The present vault is sex-partite, each bay of the vaulting comprising two bays of the building, the alternate piers being more massive, as if on purpose to carry a vault of this description; and from this it has been plausibly argued that such a vault must have formed part of the original design, although it was not carried out until long afterwards. But in that case why are the clear-story windows all lobsided? not fitting at all with the present arrangement of the vaults, and having a sub-arch on one side only of each window, instead of on both sides, as usual and natural. M. G. Bouet, of Caen, appears to have been the first person to have fully explained this anomaly. After for a long time maintaining the former theory in spite of strong evidence against it, and after repeatedly examining the construction, he discovered the key to the mystery in the church of the Abbey of C erisy, near Bayeux, founded by the father of the Conqueror, and building at the same time as the earlier parts of St. Stephen's at Caen^c. The original plan and arrangement of this church were precisely the same as at St. Stephen's, Caen, in its original state. Both have been altered, but not at the same time, and some features which are lost in one are preserved in the other.

“At C erisy it is evident, by the tothing-stones which remain in the walls, that the roof has been carried upon transverse stone arches across the nave at each alternate pier, which is built more massive in order to carry it. The same arrangement frequently occurs in England, as in

^c “Primum igitur ponam ipsum Ducem Willelmum patrem patri , qui Monasterium sancti Vigoris Ceracii a Duce Roberto patre suo, antequam Hierusalem pergeret, inceptum, c epit et propagavit; usquequo ipse Monasterium sancti Stephani, et uxor ejus Mathildis Monasterium sanct  Trinitatis,  dificaverunt Cadomi.”—*Willelmi Gemmeticensis Monasterii Historia Normannorum*, lib. vii., ap. Du Chesne, *Scriptores Normanni*, p. 278.



Clear-story and Vault, (Third Period).



Clear-story and Vault, (shewing the Alterations).

the transepts of Winchester of the same period, and at a later time, as at Mayfield, and in the hall and chapel of Conway Castle. This key once obtained, explains all the details in St. Stephen's which had been so puzzling before; the remains of the old clear-story windows all come in their natural places, and the singular plan of the vault is at once explained by necessity, being caused by the previous arrangements. There can be no doubt that on these transverse arches a flat boarded ceiling was placed, as in the transepts of Peterborough; and there is reason to believe that this was a common plan in the Norman style before the builders ventured upon carrying a vault over so wide a space.

"The difference between the size of the alternate piers, already noticed as giving probability to the opinion of M. Bouet, that there were originally transverse arches of stone to carry the timber roof, as at C erisy, is, however, if taken by itself, no positive proof of this: the same arrangement occurs at Waltham, which was not vaulted, and had no transverse arches, so that they must have been used for carrying the principal timbers only.

"There is no direct historical evidence of the period at which this central vault was constructed, but large benefactions to the abbey are recorded in the time of Henry II., about 1160—1165, and the architectural character of the details of the vault agrees perfectly with other buildings of that period. Large donations to an abbey at any particular time are almost always a sign that some great building operations were going on, or had just been completed, and the monks were in distress, having exhausted all their funds in building, the usual mode of spending money in that age. There are no donations to this abbey of any importance recorded in the first half of the twelfth century, and the history of that time is one of continual wars and troubles, very unfavourable for building, whereas in the time of Henry II., under Abbot William II., we have a peaceful and flourishing period.

"Another period of considerable donations to the abbey is about 1230, under Abbot Eudes II., and again about 1250, under Allain II.^d These dates agree perfectly with the architectural character of the spires and the choir.

"There can be little doubt that the choir belongs to the thirteenth century, notwithstanding the tradition which attributes it to Abbot Simon, 1314—1344. Some tracery has been inserted in the windows of the aisles and of the galleries of the nave, and other alterations made at that time. The work may possibly have been left unfinished for want of funds, as we find it stated that at the time of the Visitation of Archbishop Rigaud in 1250, the abbey was in debt to the extent of a fourth part of its revenue, although that was already large."

^d See Hippeau, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de S. Etienne*, pp. 48, 65, 70.

The Lecturer also exhibited several drawings of other buildings connected with the abbey, and made some remarks upon them.

Professor WESTWOOD hoped that Mr. Parker would some day take into consideration the sculpture of the two abbeys at Caen, especially that of the "Abbaye aux Dames," where there were a series of carvings of great archæological interest and value. He also called attention to the painted beams from the "Salle des Gardes," which were exhibited.

The PRESIDENT having made some observations upon the value of the numerous and accurate drawings which had illustrated so admirably the Lecturer's remarks, and which were of such great value to those who were not acquainted with the buildings under consideration, and a vote of thanks having been passed to the Lecturer, the meeting was adjourned.

Second Meeting, Lent Term, 1863.

March 3. A meeting was held, by the permission of the Curators, in the Lecture-room of the Taylor Building. The Rev. the MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, President, in the chair.

C. H. E. Carmichael, Esq., Trinity College, was elected a member of the Society.

After the usual business,—

The PRESIDENT gave an account of the remains of a Roman temple which had been recently discovered in Northumberland, about two miles west of Newcastle-on-Tyne, in Benwell Little Park, the site being close to the ancient Condercum. The plan of the building, which was laid bare during the digging of the foundations for a house, was a parallelogram of sixteen feet on the interior from north to south, and ten feet across, the wall being about two feet thick.

The most interesting discovery, however, was that of two altars, lying with their faces downwards, one in the south-eastern, the other in the south-western corner of the building. The former of these was well carved and richly ornamented, standing about four and a half feet high. The inscription may be read as follows:—

DEO	Deo
ANTENOCITICO	Antenocitico
ET NVMINIB.	et Numinibus
AVGVSTOR.	Augustorum
AEL. VIBIVS	Ælius Vibius
> LEG. XX. V.V.	[Centurio] Legionis Vicesimæ Valentis
V. S. L. M.	Victricis
	Votum solvit libens merito.

The President commented at length upon this inscription. People were tempted, he said, to attribute all remains found in that neighbourhood to the Emperor Hadrian; but he thought that the use of the plural, *Augustorum*, implied a later date; either the joint reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, (A.D. 161—169,) or the period during which Commodus was *Augustus* in the lifetime of M. Aurelius, (A.D. 177—180).

On the second altar, which is neither so ornate nor so well executed as the first, the plural form ‘Emperors’ is also used. The inscription runs thus:—

DEO ANOCITICO	Deo Anocitico
IVDICIIIS OPTIMO-	Judiciis Optimorum
EVM MAXIMORVM	Maximorumque
QVE IMPP. N SVB VIB: (VLP.?)	Imperatorum sub Vibio (Ulpio?)
MARCELLO COS. TINE-	Marcello consulari
IVS LONGVS IN PRÆ-	Tineius Longus in præ-
PECTVRA EQVITY. .	fectura Equitum
LATO CLAVO EXORN. .	lato clavo exornatus
TVS ET Q. D.	et Quæstor designatus (?).

The name of *Vibius* Marcellus was puzzling; but the letters *VIB* were by no means clear, and it had been very probably conjectured that they should be read *VLP*. If the name was really *Ulpus* Marcellus, this altar might be reasonably attributed to the time of *M. Aurelius* and *Commodus*; for it is known that *Ulpus* Marcellus commanded the Roman forces in Britain about this time. In fact, it was he who repulsed the Northern tribes who broke through the wall of *Antoninus* A.D. 184, on which occasion *Commodus* assumed the name of *Britannicus*.

Nothing was known of the deity or deities to whom the altars were dedicated. It would be observed that on the one altar the name was *ANTENOCITICO*, on the other *ANOCITICO*. Was the same divinity referred to in both, that is, was one name abbreviated by the carver, or were they two distinct gods? On this point the President of Trinity College had favoured him with the following observations:—

“I have been looking out to see whether I could find any other trace of the god *Anociticus* or *Antenociticus*; but in vain. Still, my researches have satisfied me of the truth of my former observation, that they had some most extraordinary gods about the Wall, not to be found elsewhere, and whose names defy explanation. The following are some which appear in inscriptions:—

“*DEO ARCIACON ET N. AUG.*—In the Hospitium, York.

“*DEO VITERINEO ALA MIL.*—Ibid.

“*VITRES, VITIRINUS, or VITIRINEUS*, a local deity to whom several inscriptions have been found along the Wall.

“*SANCTO COCIDEO.*—Stone found at Berwick.

“*DEO COCIDI.*—In Horsley.

“*DEO MOGONTOILL.*—Do.

“*DEO MOGONTI.*—Do.

“An altar dedicated to the god *MAGON*, in Trinity College, Cambridge.

“*DEO BELATUCADRO* occurs often: *Belatucader* being a supposed name of *Mars*.

“I am afraid, therefore, that we must give up any idea of explaining the name or office of the god. In the first inscription the sign \succ is said by Horsley to denote *centurio*, and the two *v*'s after *LEG XX.* will be *valentis victricis*, the usual style of that particular legion, (see the inscription in Horsley, p. 83, *PRAEF. LEG. XX. VALEN. VICTE.*)

“With regard to the second altar; being in the same chapel, I have no doubt that it was erected to the same god; though, not knowing who or what he was, they differed as to the spelling of his name. But if the mark \succ really denotes *centurio*, both altars seem to have been dedicated in gratitude for promotion. . . . It would be curious to know of what age and sex the bodies were; for human sacrifices amongst the *Druids* and in *Rome* had been prohibited long before the period of this wall: but the law might be disregarded in the provinces.”

Dr. Wilson's remarks on modes of burial refer to the fact that within the temple at the south end there was a recess like a small apse; in this probably a statue, of which some remains were found, had stood. But beneath the surface three skeletons were found, bent so as to fit the curve of the apse. The President had not been able

to ascertain whether they were the skeletons of men or women; or whether the bones were fractured; or whether any coins had been placed in their mouths. It was difficult to account for their burial in this place and position. Possibly they were victims slain as a sacrifice, and so buried when the foundations of the temple were laid.

The President then went on to consider several difficulties which occurred in reading the inscriptions. It had been suggested that the word *judiciis* in the second inscription meant "To the judgments of the Emperors," (i.e. dedicated to them). But perhaps the word was to be taken with *exornatus*, and rendered "*decorated . . . by the decrees or judgments of the Emperors.*"

As to the letters v.v. in the first inscription, which Dr. Bruce read as "Valerian and victorious," he preferred the interpretation of Dr. Wilson.

The name of Tineius (T. Clemens) occurs in the *Fasti* as Consul of A.D. 195. Otherwise it might have been guessed to be a local name, derived from the river *Tina*—Tyne. The letters q.d., at the end of this inscription, probably stand for *Quæstor designatus*; though *dicavit* has been suggested.

The Junior SECRETARY asked leave to make some preliminary remarks by way of explanation. He had requested Mr. Conradi, who was superintending the works at Christ Church for the contractor, to come that evening and state to the meeting what remains had been found during the excavations for the new buildings, and under what circumstances. He thought that unless notice was taken of such investigations at the time they lost half their value. It was almost useless to offer suggestions after the works were completed and all the ground covered, and no means remaining to test their value; but during the progress of such works it seemed to him it was their business to examine the discoveries as they were made, and offer suggestions while there was an opportunity of deciding between what was probable and what was not. Mr. Conradi had expressed a wish that some other person should undertake the task of bringing the matter before the Society, but he considered that while they were waiting for some one else, they would lose the opportunity.

Mr. CONRADI then, at the request of the President, read the following notes, which he had prepared in illustration of the plans and sections which were exhibited:—

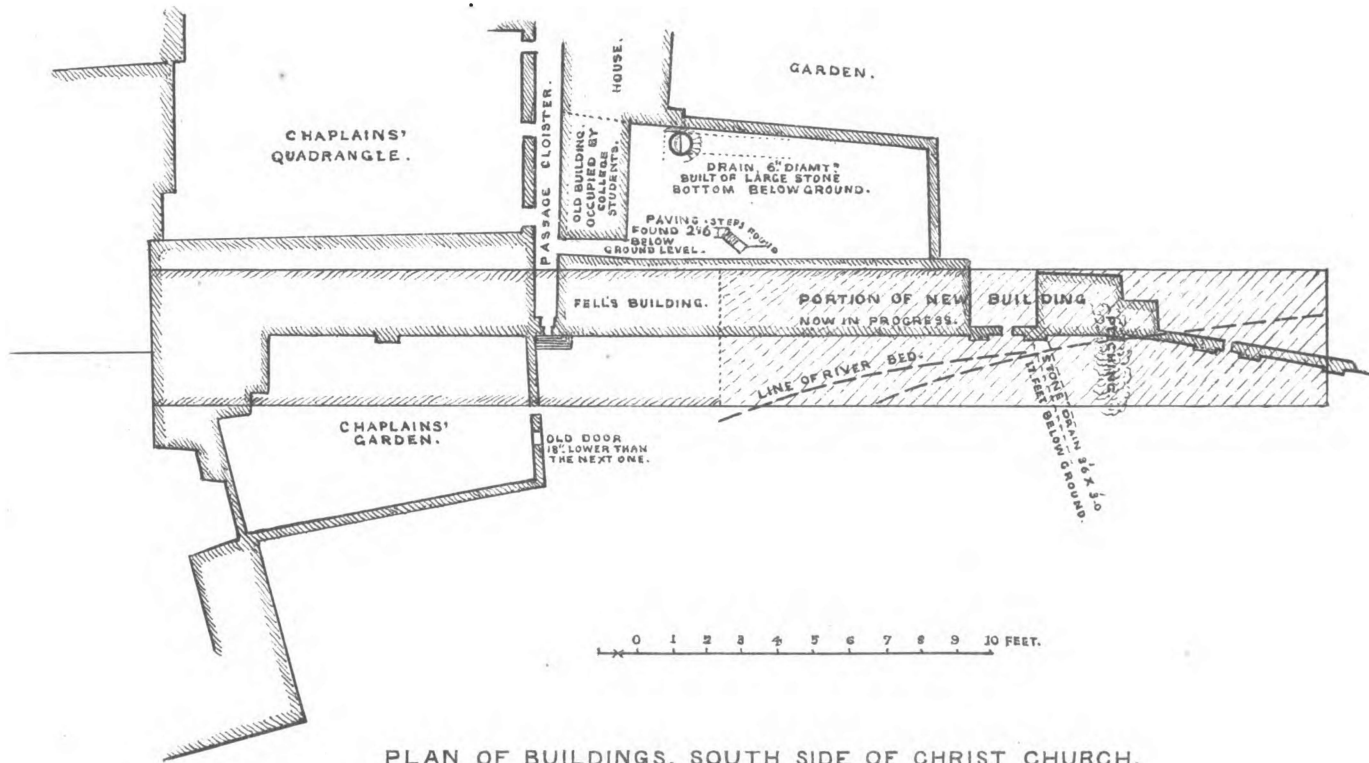
"All the information I can put before you during the excavation for the new building to be erected at Christ Church on the place of Fell's Building, and farther east, I have gathered from my personal interest in the art and history of by-gone days, and without anticipating that I should be called upon to have the honour to bring the same under the notice of this Society; and I feel only too sorry that

a more able man has not undertaken the matter, the result would undoubtedly have been far better. Besides, as the English language is foreign to me, I must appeal to the forbearance of the company present to take my will for the deed, the more so as business hindered me during the few days in which I had to prepare the necessary plans, &c., for illustrating my notes.

“The portion with the dark tint represents the old building, of which the eastern portion has been known as Fell’s Building, and which has been taken down.

“We commenced our excavations about 15 yds. from the cloister, and having gone as deep as 20 ft. nothing particular was met with except a spring of fresh and clear spring water enclosed by masonry. By carrying on the excavation at the same distance from the cloister farther north, towards Dr. Heurtley’s garden wall, when digging about 2 ft. 6 in. below the present level of the ground I noticed some paving (Bladon stone) lying in perfectly good order, and five steps leading down from the level of the paving, about 3 ft. 3 in. in the direction as shewn on the plan. At the foot of these steps a space about 5 ft. long and as wide as the steps (viz. 2 ft. 9 in.) was paved, forming a landing, and enclosed in front by a well-worked stone 8 in. high. From here a piece of masonry was carried along parallel with the line of Fell’s Building. I left every thing as it was found for some time, hoping some gentleman would be able to account for the origin. I could find no mention, to throw any light upon it, in any book or map connected with the history of Oxford. My own impression at the time, taking into consideration the well found in Fell’s Building, was, that there was a reservoir in existence filled with good water supplied by springs which are still running to this present time, and which supply a large well in Dr. Heurtley’s residence. The steps leading to it were for the accommodation of the people to go down and draw the water. Such places outside of the city wall have been frequently met with in old towns.

“The excavation for the new building having been carried on farther east, at the depth of nearly 20 ft., we had to remove made-up soil before we came to solid ground. The very mud we removed contained several matters of interest, and a few objects which I have gathered from it lie now on the table before you; a far greater portion, however, has no doubt been scattered. When we removed the last layer of this made-up soil the water rushed in, seemingly determined to take possession again of its old and long-lost territory; and it was almost impossible to keep it down, although two pumps were constantly at work, and drawing something like $2\frac{1}{2}$ tons of water per minute. From all circumstances connected, and from the section of our digging, there cannot be much doubt that we had come upon one of the



PLAN OF BUILDINGS, SOUTH SIDE OF CHRIST CHURCH.

old river beds or ditches on the outside of the old city wall. Looking again farther west, where we found the five steps, it seems to point, as has been suggested to me, to the conclusion that at some early time there was a river running here close to the wall of the old monastery, and those steps might have been for small boats to land and for the use of the passengers. But when the monks got leave to extend their walls further south, they no doubt filled the river up and provided a new course for the water, possibly the present Trill Mill Stream. But for the existence of a river in this direction I have found no reference in any of the books or maps connected with the history of Oxford I came across, although it is clearly shewn that there have been navigable rivers branching off from the old river, now converted into the Broad Walk, and flowing towards Merton College across the meadow; and even the changes which were made from time to time can be traced from maps, but no reference whatever to the river-bed we found, yet there is not the least ground left to doubt for one moment a river was in existence.

“About twenty-five yards from where we found the steps, and sixteen feet below the present ground, we came upon a large, well-constructed drain, 3 ft. 6 in. wide and 3 ft. high. Whether this drain was to convey the water from this place to any other, or to convey the water to this river or ditch, I could not ascertain, but the existence of such a drain clearly shews that a ditch or river was here. Between this drain and the east end wall of our Building we found some rough pitching right across the river bed, and on one side a large curb-stone, all well preserved, and difficult to take up; and the first glance upon the curb-stone tells one that for a considerable time it had stood wear and tear from carts and other vehicles. Looking at an account given in Peshall’s ‘History of the City of Oxford,’ and at a map drawn in 1565, I find some interesting information connected with the pitching we found. Peshall’s History says,—

‘The next thing we are to take notice of is a great round tower by C.C. summer house, where the wall stretches itself out beyond its former line, which tower was a chief place formerly for defence, especially for the safety of St. Frideswide’s church adjoining. And at this place was another postern, to which was a common way or lane leading between Christ Church and Canterbury College from Skydiard Street.’

Looking at the map, we find Skydiard-street mentioned at the time Canterbury College stood where we now see Canterbury Gate, and then not belonging to Christ Church; and if we draw a continuation line from this street, we come to the spot where we found those pitchings and curb-stones, and no doubt this spot was used for carts, &c. to cross the river or ditch. With the little time I had on hand

I could not succeed in getting fuller information to throw a clearer light on the subject, and must leave it for gentlemen better acquainted with the history of Oxford.

“With reference to the skulls which have been found buried in the mud, and which we dug out at a depth of about fifteen feet below the present ground, it has been remarked that they are remains from bodies interred in a grave-yard near the old monastery. If that was the case I should have expected to find more of them; besides, I have seen no mention anywhere about a grave-yard near the monastery. We read in Wood’s and other accounts about the restoration of the cathedral in 1630, how the old grave-stones, marble monuments, and the old paving were removed to make room for the new paving. Now we found specimens of the old paving which are laid out here, and bear mediæval fourteenth-century character, and I have no doubt every inch from the old paving might have been collected out of the rubbish; it would therefore be but natural to suppose the skulls we found, now exhibited, and other human bones, are the very remains found under the grave-stones, which shared the same fate with the stones and paving, and were therefore drawn out of the cathedral.”

Mr. Conradi, in conclusion, hoped that some gentlemen present would give some information about the skulls, whether or not they belonged to the Danish race. And also he hoped that as there were those present who had paid some attention to the history of Oxford, that further light would be thrown upon his researches.

Professor ROLLESTON, who was present, then made some very interesting observations on the skulls which were shewn, and which had been dug up. They were very varied, and for that reason he thought they belonged to comparatively civilized times. Besides, no one presented the peculiar type of the British or the Roman, or indeed of the Anglo-Saxon. While, however, he considered these to be the skulls of citizens, he shewed a portion of another which he thought, from various reasons, belonged to one of the occupants of the monastery. This had been found in Tom Quadrangle. As to the deer’s horn, which was that of the red deer, it seemed to him that it had once been hung in some room, and afterwards thrown into the ditch. Portions of some of the antlers had evidently been sawn off. There was, therefore, no evidence to shew that when this was deposited the red deer frequented the environs of Oxford.

Mr. JAMES PARKER said that the chief question which he had hoped would be solved by the discoveries made during the progress of the new buildings at Christ Church, was whether the prior and canons of St. Frideswide ever built a second wall beyond the boundary of the old city wall on which they were allowed by King Stephen to build. He had brought with him one or two extracts from the charters

which were granted to the canons*. In that granted by Henry I. they had given to them all the farm enclosures belonging to the monastery, with the water, and mills, and meadow, and the "Bishop's moor;" besides "the way within the city wall, as far as their property extended." And they had permission to enclose and stop up the said "way" and all the gates.

In King Stephen's time the grant especially mentioned that the prior and canons should "have and hold the gate in the city wall" which enclosed their monastery, and which was "built for their use." They should have also "easement of the said wall for building, and for sustaining their buildings, on condition that they kept the buildings erected by them upon the wall, in good repair."

For some reason they obtained a similar charter from Matilda, giving them license to "enclose the way within the city wall, and the gates, as far as their property extended."

He thought that there was little doubt the "*superædificanda*" re-

* Carta alia Henrici I. Regis:—"Henricus rex Angliæ vicecomitibus et omnibus civibus Oxeneford, et omnibus fidelibus suis, Francis et Anglis, salutem. Sciatis me dedisse Deo et Sanctæ Frideswithæ et Canonicis regularibus in ecclesia Sanctæ Fritheswithæ institutis in perpetuum elemosinam Monasterium sanctæ Fritheswithæ, cum territoriis et clausuris locorum et grangiarum sibi adjacentibus, cum aquis et molendinis, cum prato et Bisconesmor, et omnibus aliis pertinentiis suis, quæ sunt ex jure et dono meo. Præterea do eis viam juxta murum civitatis Oxeneford quantum extenditur terra eorum; et volo quod prædicti canonici eandem viam includant, et concedo quod iidem canonici claudere possint vel obstruere omnes portas totius prioratus ad voluntatem ipsorum sine impedimento et contradictione aliqua imperpetuum. Quare volo et firmiter præcipio quod prædicti canonici et eorum successores habeant et teneant imperpetuum prædictum monasterium, cum libertatibus eis donatum, cum territoriis et rebus prædictis, et omnibus aliis possessionibus suis, ab omni exactione regali et ministrorum regum, et servitio sæculari solut(um) imperpetuum. Teste Rog. cancell. apud Oxeneford."

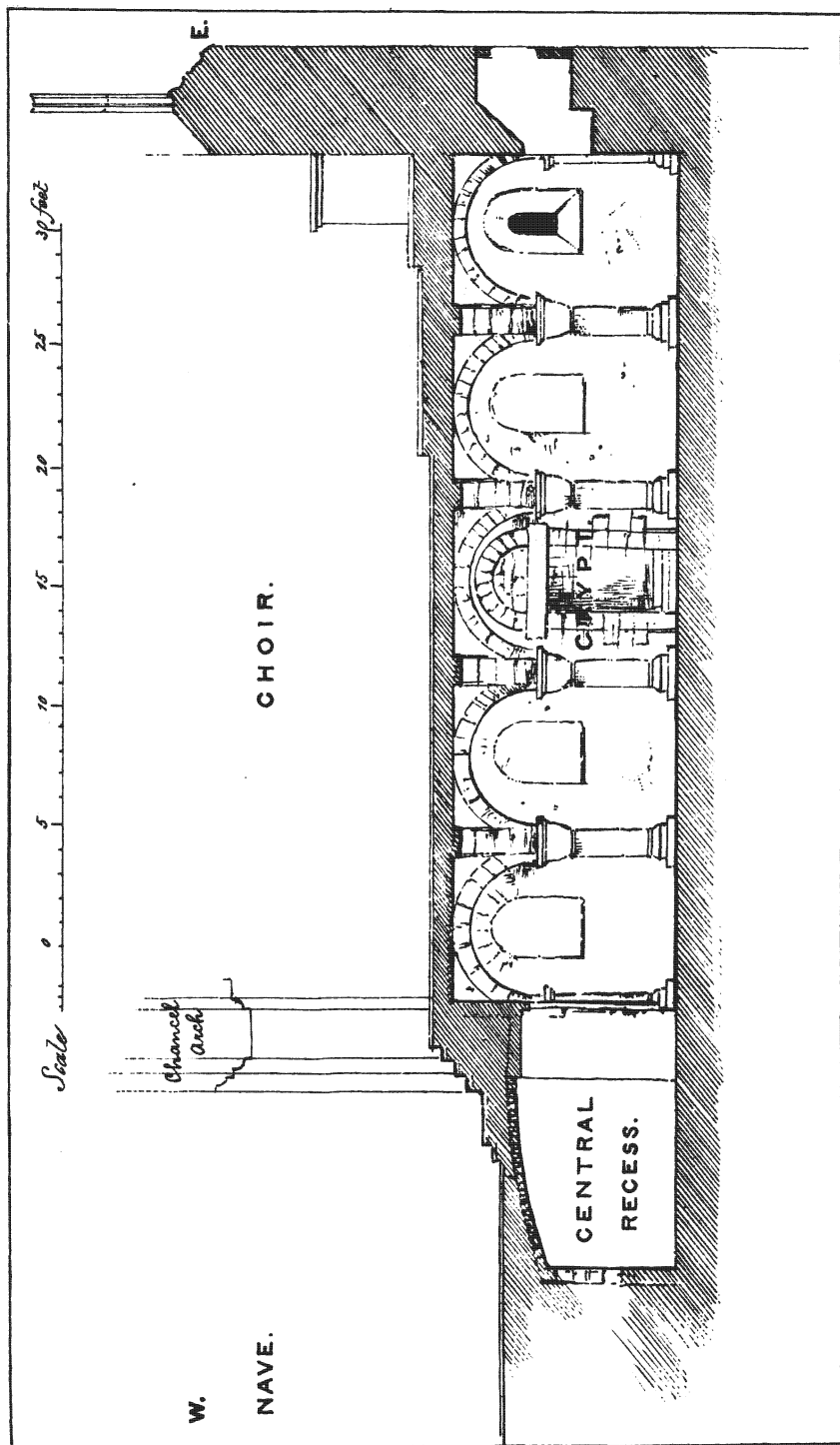
Carta alia Stephani regis:—"Stephanus rex Angliæ justiciariis, vicecomitibus, præpositis, et omnibus burgensibus, Francis et Anglis, de Oxeneford, salutem. Sciatis quantum volo et concedo quod prior et canonici sanctæ Fritheswithæ habeant et teneant libere et quiete portam suam in muro ejusdem civitatis infra clausum monasterii sui, ad proprium usum suum ædificatam, necnon aisiammentum ipsius muri, ad superædificanda et eorum ædificia sustentanda; ita quod loca per eos superædificata reparent et ad aisias suas reficiant pro omni servitio murandi quod pertinet ad præfatum murum, per totum clausum supradictum, sicut burgenses mei de Oxeneford recognoverunt coram me, et coram comitibus et baronibus meis, quod canonici præfati monasterii prædicta possessione, detentione, et prædictæ portæ superædificatione, et aisiammento prædicti muri, sicut prædictum est ab antiquo usi sunt. T. A. de V. apud Oxeneford."

Carta Matildis Imperatricis:—"M. Imperatrix, Regis Henrici Filia, &c. . . Præterea concessi et confirmavi eisdem canonicis, viam juxta murum civitatis Oxeneford, quantum extenditur terra eorum, ita ut eandem viam, et similiter omnes portas totius monasterii, ad voluntatem ipsorum, includant, sine impedimento seu contradictione aliqua imperpetuum."

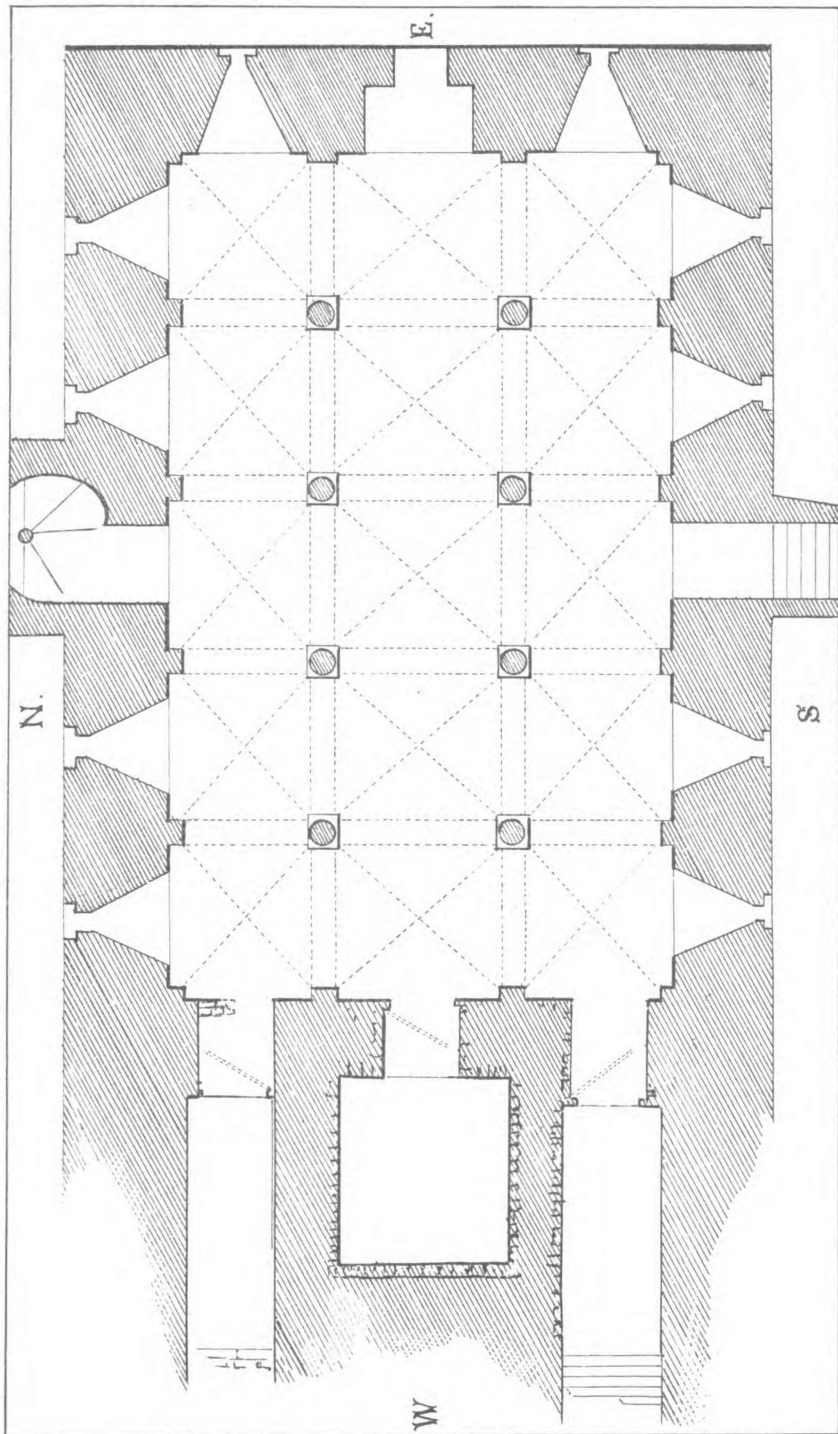
ferred to the southern wall of the transept of the cathedral. In Dr. Heurtley's garden there was an angle with a bastion, but if that was allowed for, a line drawn from that point to the position of "South Gate," the site of which had been accurately determined, it passed along the south side of the transept. In the thirteenth century, when they built their chapter-house,—which was built, it seemed to him, just outside the city wall, in fact, in the city ditch,—the canons must surely have made another line of enclosure, and it was not probable that at that date a wall of enclosure would be unfortified and without a ditch. As late as the fifteenth century this was always considered necessary, and an example was at hand in Magdalen College. He was anxious therefore to determine this second boundary of the college, and he thought that the discovery of the supposed river bed, of the steps, and more especially of the paving, seemed to point to the line being that marked in Mr. Conradi's plan; though he felt that other evidence ought to be forthcoming to confirm this view before it should be accepted.

Further remarks having been made upon the objects which were exhibited, and a vote of thanks having been passed to Mr. Conradi for the great care he had bestowed in marking the discoveries which he had made, the meeting separated^b.

^b Among the objects which had been found in the course of digging, and noted by Mr. Conradi, were—the human skulls; other bones, human and animal; portions of stone tracery, one piece fifteenth century, and similar to the windows now remaining on the west side of the cloister; a good fourteenth-century base-moulding, of considerable size; several specimens of fourteenth-century carving, probably belonging to a tomb; moulded wood-work, possibly the cornice from some room, either fourteenth or fifteenth century; portions of encaustic tiles, fourteenth century; jars and earthen vessels, more like fifteenth or sixteenth century than fourteenth, but not sufficiently ornamented to determine the date. The levels at which the several objects were found were not accurately noted: some may have been thrown in when Fell's Building was erected, (A.D. 1680,) others earlier.



SECTION THROUGH ST. PETER'S CHURCH, OXFORD,
Showing Recess at the West End.



PLAN OF ST. PETER'S CRYPT, OXFORD,
Showing Necess and Passages at the West End.

First Meeting, Trinity Term, 1863.

May 27, 1863. The first meeting was held, by the kind permission of the Curators, in the Lecture-room of the Taylor Buildings, the Rev. the MASTER OF BALLIOL, President, in the chair.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—

The Ven. the Provost of Queen's College.
D. G. Bruce-Gardyne, Esq., Oriol College.
J. B. Callister, Esq., Oriol College.

After the usual business the PRESIDENT called upon Mr. Carey to read the Report which had been drawn up relative to the excavations which had been made in St. Peter's Crypt.

"REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE.

"May 27, 1863.

"It will be remembered that in the last Michaelmas Term a paper was read before the Society, pointing out that the walls which existed at the back of the recesses at the west end of the crypt of St. Peter's Church in this city, were probably of modern construction, and that there was good evidence for supposing that there were passages which might be traced behind those walls if the ground were excavated.

"The evidence was of two kinds.

"First, the construction shewed plainly that as regards the wall in the centre recess it was in part, if not wholly, an insertion, and if so, probably not the original termination of the recess; and as regards the northern and southern recesses, while the latter was not sunk to more than a few inches, the former was open for several feet. This inequality was not likely to have existed originally. But the construction also shewed marks of doors; which, again, seemed to point to the probability of these recesses once having served as passages.

"The other kind of evidence, however, was more to the point. There were some three or four persons now living who remembered—so they stated—having in their youth penetrated a considerable distance beneath St. Peter's Church, through one of the openings at the west end of the crypt.

"Two of these persons kindly attended the meeting, and gave their evidence in a most satisfactory manner, that of one corroborating that of the other.

"The result of the evidence which Mr. Carey brought forward in his lecture, was to satisfy the meeting that something ought to be done to set the matter at rest, in case there should be any remains behind these walls. A sub-committee was appointed, and the necessary funds granted.

“The season of the year not then being favourable to the excavation, it was postponed till the weather should be warmer. The past week was chosen, because the crypt was found to be unusually dry, and therefore far more favourable for such a work than if it were carried on when, as is often the case, there is some three or four inches’ depth of water standing in the crypt.

“The evidence of the Messrs. Hine seemed to point to the central recess as being a portion of the main passage which they had penetrated. It was therefore decided, by those of the Sub-committee who were present, to begin by making a hole through this wall.

“In a short time several stones had been taken out, but near the upper part they were soon stopped by some brickwork, which had the appearance of belonging to a grave. The side walls seemed to be continued only for a short distance further; but whether this was their original termination, or whether they had been broken through in order to lay in the brickwork before mentioned, there was no evidence to shew.

“As no further excavation could be continued in that direction without disturbing the grave, it was thought better to make an opening in one of the side passages. The mason began with the wall bounding the north passage, but on taking out some stones it was found that the whole of the space behind was filled up with earth.

“It was then decided to try the southernmost passage. This likewise was filled up to the top with earth; but as the side walls could be distinguished as existing further, although the vaulted roof, if the passage ever had one, had been destroyed, orders were given to dig out the earth. Some little difficulties arose, in the way of making good the flooring above, and so some delay. Thus the first day’s work was ended without anything being satisfactorily discovered.

“The next day, however, the work had not proceeded long in the same direction before the men came to a large stone, and soon to another, above it, and somewhat recessed. As the earth was cleared away, a third became visible, and then a fourth, though not in such good preservation. A portion of a fifth stone was also visible, projecting from the wall on the left hand.

“There was no doubt, therefore, that the end of that passage had been reached, and that it was bounded by a flight of steps leading *straight up into the nave of the church*. The stone walling on each side, too, ceased, and the undisturbed gravel was laid bare.

“So far, nothing could be more satisfactory than the result of the excavation. All doubt was at an end as to the purpose and use of this passage, as well as of its extent, namely, that it afforded an entrance to the crypt from the nave, just as the two winding staircases which originally existed afforded access to the same crypt from the chancel.

"The success which had attended the excavation of the southern passage led the Sub-committee to decide upon continuing the excavation of the north passage.

"This was accordingly done.

"Instead, however, of the steps being more perfect, there were only some stones reached, of which, by themselves, it might have been difficult to determine the purpose. The fact, however, that the lowest was found to be the same distance to an inch from the entrance as the stone of the lower step in the southern passage, together with the fact of the walling ceasing about this point, and that which is still more important, of the undisturbed gravel being reached, can leave no doubt in any person's mind that there were two similar passages, both leading from the nave down into the crypt beneath the chancel.

"The middle passage was still doubtful, but in order if possible to throw some further light on the matter, an opening was made down from the church and the earth dug out. The digging was attended with difficulty, as the men constantly came upon the brick graves, which are in great abundance only two or three feet below the pavement of the church.

"In case the passage, if it existed, did not proceed in a straight line, the precaution was taken of digging on each side of the opening till the undisturbed gravel was reached. No traces of a wall were found, and the evidence on the whole was enough to shew that no passage-wall could have existed in this direction, because it was not probable, from the position of the vaults, that there would have been any necessity for destroying every vestige of stone-work which might have been found there had the passage been continued so far*.

"Before giving up their search, as in face of such very strong traditional evidence the Committee were loath to do, they decided upon making an opening outside the church, in consequence of a report that during some work at the west end of the church the men had discovered remains of a passage. Of course if this existed it would have gone far to shew their conclusions as to the passage not having extended along the body of the church to be wrong. A large hole was dug outside the west doorway, but no traces what-

* "At a distance of 30 ft. 8 in. from the first chancel-step the paving was taken up, and a hole made 4 ft. 6 in. long by 3 ft. 4 in. wide, and dug to the average depth of 5 ft., which disclosed the ends of four graves containing coffins, one of which was evidently of great age. Undisturbed gravel was found at a depth of 3 ft. 4 in. from the nave central passage on its south side, and also at 3 ft. 8 in. on its north side. Further excavations were made under the wood floors of the seats, enlarging the hole to the width of 9 ft., going on the north side as far under the seats as 3 ft. 4 in., but no traces whatever of the passage were found."

ever were arrived at. On the contrary, the foundations of the church were found to be perfect, shewing that no passage could have passed that way.

“Every circumstance tended therefore to shew that the central passage did not extend far into the church, and it only remained for them to decide how far it did extend; and to determine this some more of the wall in which they had made the first opening was cut away. What was supposed to have been a grave turned out to be only some brickwork belonging to a place for a stove.

“There was no need, however, for continuing the work long, for it was found not only that the side walls ceased, but that the lower part of the present wall was the original boundary of this middle recess.

“The stones on each side, as the opening was made large enough to examine them, were filled in alternately with the sides of the recess, shewing, in the judgment both of Mr. Buckeridge and of the mason who conducted the work, that the construction was all of a piece, and that the sides and lower part of the end wall were therefore of the same date.

“It resulted, therefore, from this (and from the negative evidence before referred to) that the centre passage never extended further than it does now.

“The Committee, however, have reason to be much satisfied with the excavation. They have not only been able to set at rest the question as to whether either of the passages leading from the crypt ever proceeded beyond the church, (much less to Wolvercote, as tradition has handed down,) but they have been able clearly to make out the ancient arrangement of the crypt.

“So remarkable is this arrangement that they are able to name no other similar instance in this country either of the twelfth century or of a later period.

“On the other hand,—and this renders the arrangement still more remarkable and interesting,—it does so happen that they are able to point to two examples in the north of England in which a similar principle is adopted in the access to the crypt, but both the examples are acknowledged by all archæologists to be of a date anterior to the twelfth century, probably of the sixth and seventh centuries. In addition to this, it should be added that similar arrangements are by no means rare in churches of the twelfth century in France, and of that century as well as of later times in Italy.

“The following is the conclusion at which the Committee have arrived regarding the original arrangement of the church of St. Peter’s.

“Without entering into the question whether any earlier work than that of the twelfth century exists, there seems evidence that the walls of the crypt below and the walls of the chancel above are of one and

the same date. There is the negative evidence that no line of demarcation can be traced; there is the positive evidence to be derived from the traces of the doorway now visible on the south side of the chancel wall bearing a marked resemblance to the two doorways in the crypt below. There was a doorway on the north side which has been stopped up, but the staircase exists behind it. Thus from the chancel there was access gained to the crypt by two winding staircases. One has been partially destroyed, a large buttress built in its stead, and a straight flight of steps from the churchyard substituted for the spiral staircase leading from the chancel to the crypt.

“The level of the chancel is shewn to be the same now as it was originally, by the bases of the chancel-arch; and there is no reason to suppose that the level of the nave has been changed. The steps also leading from one to the other are probably much in the same place as formerly.

“Besides the means of access to the crypt from the north and south side of the chancel, (probably for the use of the priests,) there were also means of access provided for the people from the nave.

“At about twenty feet from the centre of the chancel-arch, and on each side of the nave, a flight of steps went downwards to a passage. This, by reference to the plan and section which accompanies the report, will be seen to extend for about ten feet beyond the bottom step, where a door was reached. The jambs of the doorway exist more or less perfect in both instances, with the marks of the hinges, bolts, locks, &c. Each door opened outwards, and flat against a portion of projecting wall, leaving a space for access to the crypt of about 2ft. 10in. in width.

“Whether one side was intended for descending worshippers, and the other for them to ascend by when their devotions were ended, is of course only a matter for conjecture; but it is clear that in the same wall through which these passages open, there is a large recess, which from its size and general appearance, leaves little doubt that it was intended for the reception of some shrine. That this recess is provided with a door similar to the passages (though flush with the wall) is not remarkable, because the shrine would probably be costly, and therefore, when not exposed, would be probably kept under lock and key.

“Although not immediately belonging to the discoveries lately made, the Committee may perhaps call attention to certain small holes in several of the pillars of the crypt, evidently made for the insertion of bars to shut off one portion of the crypt from another. As there was an altar at the east end of the crypt, it is more than probable that the crypt was divided into compartments either by curtains or screen-work of some kind.

“The crypt of Hexham, with which that of St. Peter's has already

been compared, has compartments of this kind, but they are of stone. There also recesses occur, probably for lamps. In St. Peter's the small windows probably afforded all the light that was required, beyond perhaps some few candles burning before the shrine.

"It therefore only remains to say that the crypt of St. Peter's Church has been built on an ancient model which has been no longer adhered to in England, and only for a short period longer in France.

"That the curious legends should have existed is not remarkable, as similar traditions are found respecting underground passages in all parts of the country; nor is there any difficulty in understanding the mistake of those gentlemen who in their youth naturally exaggerated the extent of a dark passage.

E. CAPEL CURE, Vicar of St. Peter's.
S. EDWARDES, Merton College.
J. R. T. EATON, Merton College.
C. BUCKELEDGE, M.R.I.B.A.
JAMES PARKER.
C. E. CAREY^b, Exeter College."

Mr. E. A. FREEMAN mentioned a similar instance of error in description of a crypt at Zurich, which he had met with recently. Here without doubt the crypt extended beneath the choir only; but a person informed him that he was sure that he must have penetrated beneath the nave as well. Mr. Freeman also thought that the part of the Report which seemed to imply that the plan of the crypt was earlier than the stone-work which now remained, was deserving of careful attention. If the pillars and arches now existing, which were undoubtedly of the twelfth century, were built on the spot of a former crypt, it would only be in accordance with very old tradition which had been handed down to us about the antiquity of this crypt. The speaker then diverged somewhat from the subject under consideration, and described the arrangement of several churches in Switzerland, and more especially that of the Friars' churches, the plans of which he pointed out were peculiar and might always be recognised. In the course of his observations he referred to the architecture in Switzerland, both ecclesiastical and domestic, considering it well worthy of more attention than had hitherto been paid to it.

Mr. J. H. PARKER agreed as to the great interest which belonged to the study of architecture in Switzerland. He thought that some of

^b Mr. Carey, however, adds the following reservation—"that though he considers the evidence certainly proves the non-existence of the middle passage, he declines to admit that it is sufficient to shew that no passage could ever have existed. On the other hand he thinks that men, even in the dark (which some were not, having candles), could not magnify eight feet into the length of the nave of the church."

the eleventh and twelfth century architecture in that country bore a striking resemblance to that of the same date in England. He would not, however, follow Mr. Freeman in his digression from the subject before them that evening, but say a few words about the probable use of the crypt of St. Peter's, the complete plan of which had just been so satisfactorily made out. He had little doubt that the central recess under the steps of the chancel was built to receive, and did receive, some shrine or reliquary, and served as a place of security, the marks of the lock being still visible. On certain occasions it was customary for the people to pay honour to this relic, and the shrine was brought out on those particular days into the centre of the crypt, to be exhibited to the worshippers, who passed down one aisle, across at the east end in front of the altar, where they made their offerings, and returned by the other aisle of the crypt. What were the precise relics in question, of course without some documentary evidence it was impossible to determine, but if the ornament of the chancel vault might be considered as suggestive, and the fact that the church was dedicated to St. Peter be taken into consideration, he should say that a portion of St. Peter's chain was the object kept in this recess, enclosed of course in some costly shrine, which was probably of silver-gilt and worked with jewels, as was then the custom. He had no doubt that the suggestion thrown out in the Report as to the two staircases, one being used for descending and the other for ascending worshippers, was a right one; because on certain days probably the crypt was thronged.

Mr. CAREY objected to the analogy which Mr. Freeman had drawn between the crypt at Zurich and that of St. Peter's, unless the evidence was more clear than it seemed to be that his informant had not penetrated a considerable distance, as he had stated.

Mr. HINE, who had been present at the meeting last term, begged to repeat what he then said, and to express his firm conviction that he had penetrated at least to the end of the church by means of the central passage. He thought that traces of the passage must still be in existence, and the scientific investigations which had been conducted by the Committee were far from satisfying him that he was in error.

A warm but amusing discussion ensued on some minor points, mainly as to the means of fairly judging distance in the dark.

The PRESIDENT thought that as the hour was now so late, it would be advisable not to begin the paper on Christian Burials which had been announced for that evening, but to postpone it till their next meeting. He mentioned that the openings which had been made in the crypt would not be filled up for a day or so, in order that members might have an opportunity of judging for themselves of the conclusions which had been come to in the Report which they had heard

read. One thing he was sure ought to be done, namely, a vote of thanks to the Sub-committee for their labours should be passed. Before dissolving the meeting, he thought that he ought to say a word respecting Mr. Freeman's somewhat extended "parenthesis:" although he had much interested them with the description of several buildings in Switzerland and elsewhere, he thought that they might fairly call upon him to give them a more perfect and detailed account of architecture in Switzerland at their next meeting.

Mr. Freeman said that he would do so, and the meeting was adjourned.

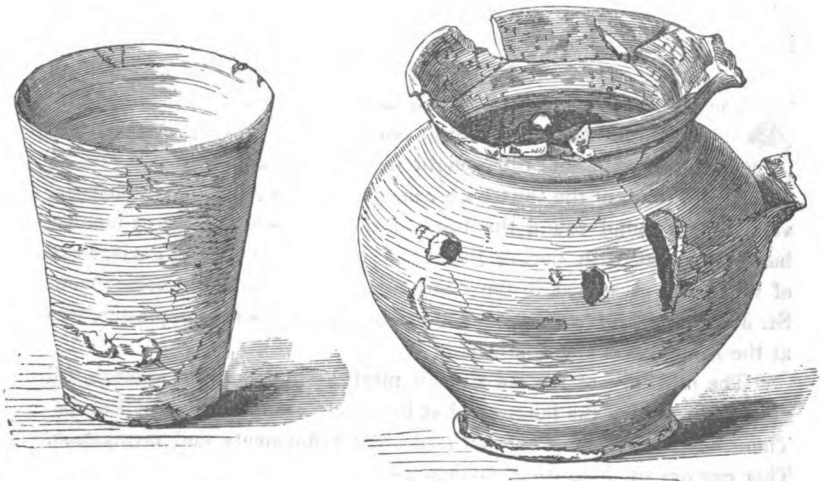
Second Meeting, Trinity Term, 1863.

June 3. The second meeting of the term was held, by the permission of the Curators, in the Taylor Building, the Rev. the PRESIDENT in the chair.

R. P. Spiers, Esq., A.R.I.A., was elected a member of the Society.

The following paper, communicated by W. M. WYLLIE, Esq., "On certain Sepulchral Usages of Early Christian Times," was read:—

"That distinguished archæologist, the Abbé Cochet, having requested me to present to the Society the relics of mediæval Christian burial now on the table, I have ventured to add a few explanatory notes on this obscure subject, which may possibly be new to some of our members present.



"Such vessels as these before us are found in great numbers, in many parts of France, in graves dating from the eleventh century, or earlier, down to the sixteenth or seventeenth. In the smaller vessel holy water had probably been deposited in the grave; in the latter, lighted charcoal, sprinkled with incense, for the purpose of fumigation. It was found by the Abbé Cochet during his researches in the ruined church of Etran, near Dieppe, in 1859*, and assigned by him to the fourteenth century. It is of a rather delicate light pottery, with a light green glaze round the interior of the shallow neck. The cup comes from the old church of Notre Dame at Lillebonne, in Normandy, and is considered to be of the sixteenth century. The ashes still remain in the larger vessel. For explanation of the rite of thus depositing holy water and charcoal embers in graves with the dead we must refer to

* *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii.

Johannes Beletus, the learned doctor of Paris and liturgist of the twelfth century, supported by the celebrated Durandus, Bishop of Mende, his commentator. His words are :—

‘Deinde ponitur in spelunca, in qua in quibusdam locis ponitur aqua benedicta, et prunæ cum ture. Aqua benedicta ne demones qui multum eam timent ad corpus accedant; solent namque desævire in corpora mortuorum, ut quod nequiverunt in vita, saltem post mortem agant. Thus propter fætorem corporis removendum, seu ut defunctus creatori suo acceptabilem bonorum operum odorem intelligatur obtulisse, seu ad ostendendum quod defunctis prosit auxilium orationis. Carbones in testimonium quod terra illa in communes usus amplius redigi non potest, plus enim durat carbo sub terra quam aliud.’

The whole of this apology, or commentary, of Durandus, in his *Rationale*^b, is very curious.

“There scarcely appears to have been any fixed rule as to the position of these vessels in the grave. In the very ancient stone coffins found in the church of St. Geneviève, at Paris, the charcoal urns were placed in the four angles of each coffin. The same was noticed in the tomb of the young princes, brothers of St. Louis, at Poissy. At Morienvall (Oise), in an interment of the seventeenth century, several vessels were placed on the coffin, and thirty-eight were ranged around it. Again, at Havre in a tomb of the thirteenth century, opened in 1856, six charcoal vessels were found round the head of the deceased. A great number have been met with during the recent extensive works at Paris, some of which are preserved in the Hotel de Cluny. In the old cemetery of St. Magloire three were always found in coffins of stone or plaster, two at the head and one at the feet.

“The influence of the old Roman masters of the world is often still visible not only in the language but in the laws and customs of Europe. Their heathenism too long outlived their refinements and civilization. This custom of depositing earthen vessels with the Christian dead was doubtless a remnant of the old funeral rites of heathenism too strong to be entirely shaken off, and therefore acquiesced in, or rather, with divers others, craftily engrafted by the clergy on the Christian ceremonial.

“Thus, for instance, the once prevalent usage of placing the eucharist in the mouth of the dead, which was hardly suppressed by the decrees of several Councils, took its rise in the attempt to abolish the heathen *naulum*, or placing a coin in the mouth of the dead as Charon’s ferry-money.

“The beautiful lines of the Christian Prudentius, *In Exequias Defunctorum*,—

‘Nos tecta fovebimus ossa
Violis, et fronde frequenti,
Titulumque et frigida saxa
Liquido spargemus odore,’—

^b Lib. vii., c. 35.

are but the echoes of the elegies of Albinovanus Pedo, or Propertius; and so too the funeral libation of wine, and the lustral waters of the heathen rites, were but commuted for the *aqua benedicta* and the fumigations of the Christian priest. In fact, the early Church rather inclined to apply the usages of heathenism to her own pious uses than to waste her energies in a fruitless attempt to root them out.

“I believe I was the first to draw attention to this subject in England^c, some ten years ago, when it seemed little better than a myth. Since that period the continuous and zealous researches of the Abbé Cochet have abundantly proved how general the custom was once, throughout France, of interring such vessels in Christian graves from the tenth or eleventh to the seventeenth century. Even to this day the custom is still observed among the peasantry of the country around Chalons-sur-Saone.

“Of course in so long a period, and over so wide a region, the forms and material of the vessels greatly vary. The holy-water vessel assumes a patera form; and a kind of candlestick-lamp, that might readily pass for Roman, makes its appearance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; but the charcoal vessel, whatever be its form, is invariably pierced with holes, to admit the air required for combustion. It may be stated that an illuminated French manuscript of the fourteenth century represents these vessels with their fires placed round a bier during the funeral service.

“These vessels are now found in France in such numbers that it is difficult to account for the state of uncertainty in which the subject remained till very lately. Casalius, in the seventeenth century, *De Veterum Sacris Christianorum Ritibus*, alludes slightly to them; as later does Mabillon, and then Oberlin. Both these savants, however, suppose the custom to have ended in the thirteenth century. Caylus seems to have given them a wrong attribution altogether. The fullest details will be found in the Abbé Cochet's contributions to *Archæologia*^d, and his comprehensive work on *Sépultures Gauloises Romaines, Franques, et Normandes*. 1857. He says:—

‘Il nous serait malaisé, pour ne pas dire impossible, de donner la liste des paroisses du seul diocèse de Rouen, et l'indication des divers pays de France où il a été trouvé des vases funéraires soit dans les églises, soit dans les cimetières.’

“The custom continued general during the sixteenth century, but in the seventeenth seems restricted mostly to the tombs of the clergy and interments in monasteries.

“There can be but little doubt that the custom, as a religious one of the period, must have also prevailed in England, but hitherto we have

^c *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv.

^d Vols. xxxvi., xxxvii., xxxviii.

little evidence of the fact beyond a few scattered hints in Gough's 'Sepulchral Monuments.' Further information is most desirable.

"Closely connected with this custom, though far rarer, is that of placing on the dead leaden crosses inscribed with formulæ of absolution. I am sorry I have no actual example of these crosses to lay before the Society, but some idea can be had of them from the drawing and outlines produced. They are mostly of the form of the Greek cross, rudely cut out of sheet lead, and inscribed by some pointed instrument, probably a stylus, for the use of the stylus continued very long after this period.

"I need not say there is nothing unusual in the mere presence of crosses in graves. Sometimes they serve for an obituary record, as in the case of that found in the cathedral church of Metz with the remains of the founder. It bears the inscription, II. KAL. MAI. OBIT THEODORICUS JUNIOR, ECCLESIAE METENSIS EPISCOPUS. Again, another from Anvers is inscribed on one side, ANNO AB INCARNACIONE D'NI MCXXXVI. On the reverse, OBIT CLARICIA II. NON. NOVEMBRIS HORA TERCIA. Another, from Bouteilles, in the vicinity of Dieppe, bears the leonine lines,—

HIC EST GULLERMI CRUX ISTIC INTUMULATI
 ERGO PATER NOSTER QUISQUIS VERSUS LEGIS HOS TER
 DICAS, UT REQUIEM DET SIBI CRISTUS, AMEN.

Others again, as those found at Bury St. Edmunds, are simply amuletic, in accordance with the teaching of Durandus. They bear the inscriptions,—

CRUX CRI. PELLIT HOSTEM
 CRUX CRI. TRIUMPHAT.

For, says Durandus, 'Hoc signum diabolus valde veretur, et timet accedere ad locum crucis signaculo insignitum.'

"The peculiarity of the crosses I refer to is that they bear forms of absolution engraved on them, and illustrate the ancient rite of granting absolution to the dead. Very few of these have yet been met with, and the custom of placing them with the dead seems to have ceased after the twelfth or thirteenth century. Such a cross was found at Périgueux, in France, and is presumed to have been deposited with an abbot of St. Frond. The formula is deprecatory, and runs thus:—'Dominus Deus qui potestatem dedit sanctis apostolis suis ligandi et absolvendi, ipse te dignetur absolvere, Frater Elia, a cunctis peccatis tuis, et quantum meæ fragilitati permittitur, sis absolutus ante faciem illius qui vivit et regnat.' The date is 1070. Another similar cross was found some years since at Chichester, in the tomb of Godefridus, the second bishop of the diocese. Probably the date is about the same as that of Périgueux, Godefridus having been consecrated by Archbishop Lanfranc. The form is positive, commencing 'Absolumus te Godefride epi', &c., and is the

only one in which this form appears. Bingham, in his 'Antiquities of the Christian Church,' writing of absolution, says the deprecatory form was generally used till the twelfth or thirteenth century, just before the time of St. Thomas Aquinas, who wrote in defence of the absolute form.

"Another cross, found in the Minster Close, Lincoln, records a priest named Siford. There are several lines of inscription in minuscules on the other side of the cross, which are totally illegible, but are presumed to be a form of absolution. Mention of this cross, with a sketch, will be found in the Archæological Institute Journal. The ruined and very ancient church of Bouteilles, in the vicinity of Dieppe, has been carefully investigated by the Abbé Cochet. His repeated exploration has brought to light no less than thirteen of these crosses, besides another from Quiberville, a village on the coast. The bodies interred here were for the most part in stone coffins, and the crosses were found lying on their breasts, with the hands folded over them. The forms of absolution are deprecatory, but two of them present a remarkable variation, being inscribed with the *Confiteor* of the deceased, and the *Misereatur* of the priest. I need hardly add that a great number of earthen vessels were met with during this research, both of the Merovingian, Carolingian, and Capetian periods. These are all the examples of crosses at present on record.

"As may be expected, reference in old writers to this practice is of rare occurrence. However, there is a passage very much to the point in Mabillon's *Annales*^c, which shews the custom was in use in the twelfth century. On the death of the celebrated Abelard in 1142, Heloisa applied to the Abbot of Cluny for a formula of absolution to place on the tomb of Abelard; the words are remarkable; 'She asks,' says Mabillon, quoting them, 'ut *aliud sibi sigillum, id est, alteram epistolam sigillo obsignatam, mittat, quo in sigillo Magistri absolutio litteris apertis contineatur, ut sepulcro ejus suspendatur.*' The absolution was granted, apparently as a matter of course, and the form is still extant. In some other old Benedictine writer I have read the form was laid on the body of Abelard.

"Another very satisfactory notice of the custom will be found in the *Decreta divi Lanfranci pro Ordine S. Benedicti*. It is directed, speaking of a dying monk, that the convent be assembled by his bed, and 'factà confessione absolvatur ab omnibus, et ipse absolvat omnes.' Finally, 'Absolutionem scriptam, et a fratribus lectam super pectus ejus ponant.'

"The mere absolution of the dead was formerly a very usual rite of the Latin Church. Moleon, writing in the last century, says in his *Voyages Liturgiques*, that according to the ritual of Rouen, absolution was be-

^c Vol. vi. p. 356, ed. Paris, 1739.

stowed even *after burial*, and that he himself had witnessed the ceremony at Paris.

“Absolution of the dead is still, I believe, a usual rite of the Greek Church.”

The paper was illustrated by some beautiful sketches of urns found in tombs. Two earthen vessels, one filled with charcoal, were also presented to the Society; they had been discovered by the Abbé Cochet, and forwarded by Mr. Wylie.

Mr. J. H. PARKER made some further remarks upon the use of sepulchral crosses. And a vote of thanks having been passed to Mr. Wylie and the Abbé Cochet, the President called upon Mr. Freeman for the account of his tour in Switzerland.

[The report of this Lecture is unavoidably postponed to a future number of the Proceedings of the Society.]

Annual Meeting, 1863.

June 10. This meeting was held, by the permission of the Curators, in the Taylor Building, the Rev. the PRESIDENT in the chair.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society :—

The Rev. T. D. Page, M.A., Pembroke College.

The Rev. A. S. Farrar, M.A., Queen's College.

The following presents were announced :—

The World's Debt to Art. A Lecture by A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., in aid of the Albert Memorial Fund. *From the Author.*

The Condition and Prospects of Architectural Art. By A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq. *From the Author.*

The annual report was then read by the SENIOR SECRETARY.

“ ANNUAL REPORT.

“ YOUR Committee have again, at the conclusion of another year's labours, to report favourably of the progress of the Society.

“ They have to record, in the first place, a considerable accession of members, not so great, perhaps, as in the previous year, but still sufficient to shew that there is much interest felt by members of the University in the studies which the Society is designed to promote.

“ In the second place, they have reason to be well satisfied with the state of their funds, and now that the rules as to the subscriptions are on a sound basis, there is much reason to believe that this prosperous state may long continue.

“ Thirdly, the Committee are happy to be able to report that there has been no falling off in the number or value of the lectures which have been delivered before the Society during the past twelve months, and, as will be seen by the following summary, the list of subjects has been varied and interesting.

“ It is to be remarked, however, that Art and Architecture had throughout obtained a prominence over History, there having been only one purely Historical Paper, and that even led—so clearly do the two studies seem united—to an interesting architectural discussion.

“Of the eleven lectures which have been delivered, three more especially treated of Roman art, namely, that by the President on the recent discovery of a Roman temple at Newcastle; that by the Junior Secretary, on the recent discovery of a Roman villa at Beckley; and that by Professor Westwood, on early Christian art, illustrated chiefly by examples from Italy.

“To the President the Society has been especially indebted for bringing before them so interesting a discovery. Few remains of Roman temples have been found in this country, and the circumstance of the burials which had taken place there, as well as the preservation of the two altars, rendered the subject one of great interest. When it is added that the inscriptions presented many difficulties, that the names of the two gods to whom the altars were dedicated were previously unknown to us, that the names of the officers mentioned in the inscriptions were sufficiently known to afford good grounds for arriving at a conclusion as to the date, while, on the other hand, there was much room for doubt in some parts as to the construction of the Latin, the Society may well be congratulated that their President undertook the task of pointing out these difficulties to them, and at the same time of offering suggestions for their solution.

“The chief interest belonging to the discovery of the Roman villa at Beckley arises from its being in our own immediate neighbourhood, and closely connected with the history of the Roman road which passed near to this city. The Committee feel that in obtaining accurate plans and measurements, with descriptions of the relics which were found, the Society was performing not the least important of its duties.

“For the very interesting summary of the symbols used by the early Christians, which was drawn up by Professor Westwood, the Society have every reason to be thankful. The beautiful illustrations which were exhibited on this occasion, from ivory carvings of very early date, added much to the pleasure and profit derived from the lecture. The Committee can only regret that a larger number of members did not avail themselves of the rare opportunity of examining such beautiful specimens of early art.

“Of the papers relating more especially to mediæval architecture should be mentioned Mr. J. H. Parker’s explanation of the changes which have at different times taken place in the work of the Abbaye aux Hommes at Caen. So constantly has this building been referred to as an example of architectural skill of the time of the Norman Conquest of England, so often, too, held up as a proof of the backwardness of the architects of this country at that time, that it is very important to know that scarcely a stone of the construction as it existed in the Conqueror’s time is visible, and that at two or three different dates,

extending to a hundred years afterwards, alterations were made which brought the building to that state in which it is so often supposed to have been left by William.

“The next three papers relating to mediæval architecture concern buildings in this city, namely, St. Mary’s Church, the crypt of St. Peter’s, and the old boundary wall of the monastery of St. Frideswide.

“The restoration which has just been completed of St. Mary’s Church suggested the first paper, and Mr. Buckeridge took occasion, in telling the Society what had been renewed, to give a concise history of the fabric of the church. There were many points in his paper of much interest, as during the repairs we had had opportunities for investigating doubtful points in the architectural history of the building, which could not have been done without a minute examination of details of construction. His paper led to a discussion on the question whether the porch ought or ought not, under the present circumstances, to be restored. Your Committee refer to this point in another part of their report.

“The subject of St. Peter’s crypt occupied the attention of the Society on two different evenings. In November last Mr. Carey first brought the subject forward, and by several arguments carefully put together led many of the members to the conclusion that at the west end of the crypt there were one or more passages extending a considerable distance. Whatever might have been the various opinions as to the purpose or extent of the passage, there seemed to be a general wish amongst members that something should be done towards setting the matter at rest. The result was that a sub-committee was formed, and on May 27th last their report, as far as it went, was submitted to a general meeting. Although the belief of some as to the existence of a much larger passage than that which was found was not shaken, the Committee do not see any prospect of any further light being thrown on the question. They believe that there were two side passages about sixteen feet long, with steps leading from them up into the nave of the church, but that the middle recess only extended some ten or twelve feet deep, in fact, not further than was visible before the excavations were commenced.

“To Mr. Conradi the Society are indebted for a careful plan of the remains of a river-bed, steps, and other stone-work which were discovered in laying the foundations of the new buildings on the south side of Christ Church. The discoveries seem to point to a ditch or arm of the river having passed in this direction, but at what period it was not easy to determine. Your Committee, however, hope that as the works proceed, and further excavations are made, careful notes of any discoveries will be taken, which, when put together, may do much to clear up many difficulties which occur in making out

the exact line of enclosure which existed at different times in this part of Oxford.

“Next in order should be mentioned a lecture which must be said to belong equally to architecture and to history. Mr. Freeman’s account of his recent visit to Switzerland illustrated in a remarkable degree the blending of the two studies. It shewed that the architecture of the country was not to be understood unless the history was first learnt, and therefore while the early part of the lecture was purely historical, the latter part would rank under our architectural papers. The remarks were illustrated also by a large number of drawings of architectural details taken by Mr. Freeman on the spot.

“Professor Rogers’s paper must be said to be purely historical, and the Society is deeply indebted to him for the labours which he must have bestowed in collecting so many curious facts in a branch of historical study to which hitherto, perhaps, little or no attention has been paid. The ‘Commercial Routes of the Middle Ages’ is a subject full of interest, especially that part of it to which the Professor chiefly confined his attention, namely, the courses of European trade and the line of transport of goods from the East to this country. As has been before mentioned, the question of the line of Oriental commerce through France suggested a discussion as to the architectural records of that line. It appeared that in several places it was marked by the beauty of the churches, and Mr. Scott, the architect, who was present, pointed out that the ornamentation in the details of buildings along these lines shewed an Eastern origin.

“The last paper will best be classed as archæological. To the kindness of the celebrated antiquary, the Abbé Cochet, the Society is indebted for the gift of two singular vases found in a tomb probably of the fourteenth century, and Mr. J. M. Wylie kindly accompanied the gift by an account of the curious custom to which the vases in question seemed to point, and which was no doubt of very early origin, but which in some parts of France seems to have lingered on till the sixteenth century. Of the two vessels sent Mr. Wylie considered one was for holding holy water, the other for burning charcoal, some of which was still remaining in the vessel.

“It will be seen, therefore, in reviewing the list of papers and lectures just mentioned, that architectural study has not been lost sight of.

“Of architectural works in Oxford, the Committee have first of all to speak of St. Mary’s Church, the restoration of which they believe has given general satisfaction. Exception was taken to the range of pinnacles, but it is not generally known, that for the design which was followed Mr. Scott had ample authority in details which he dis-

covered hidden from view, proving that what has now been erected is at least very similar, if not identical, with the original plan, and that the negative evidence derived from the engravings is not to be depended on.

“Of the works at Merton College and at Christ Church it is somewhat premature for the Committee to express any opinion. It is very doubtful, however, whether the buildings at Merton will meet with general approval, not from any fault in the design, but from the loss of the grand old trees, which were so striking a feature in the view of Oxford from the meadow.

“Your Committee cannot pass over the fact that the introduction of the Gothic style in the building of houses is now becoming very prevalent in this city. Three new houses have lately sprung up in the vicinity of the New Museum, all built under the control of Professors of the University. The first perhaps scarcely to be called true Gothic, but being in the Elizabethan style preserving much of a Gothic character; the second, near to it, has a character of its own, though the hipped roofs are features which are not usual in this country, while they prevent the use of the gable, which has always proved so attractive a feature in mediæval houses; the third is yet hardly in a sufficiently advanced state to express any opinion upon.

“A little further to the north, another house just finished in the Gothic style has many features of great beauty. The two opposite the new church in St. Giles’s have been referred to in a previous report. Lastly, the new Registry opposite the County Courts, in the New Road, is perhaps one of the most satisfactory houses, as far as the exterior is concerned, which have been erected. It is essentially English Gothic, in the style of the thirteenth century. The Committee believe that the fashion once set will spread, as they have noticed not only in this place, but in several other cities and towns, a corresponding return to the national style of the country.

“Before concluding it is customary to refer to the changes which have been made in the officers of the Society during the past year.

“As usual, five members of the committee have retired and five others have taken their place. These names will be found printed in a previous report.

“The President, to whom they are so much indebted for his attention to the affairs of the Society, kindly retained his office for a second year.

“Since the last annual meeting Mr. Challis has resigned the Secretaryship, and Mr. James Parker has undertaken the duties of the office in conjunction with Mr. Medd.

“Your Committee cannot as yet report anything definitely as to the future destination of their fine collection of casts, models, &c.,

but they have every reason to be hopeful. The alterations which are being made in the Ashmolean Museum promise that the time is not far distant when Oxford, besides a museum of physical science, perhaps the most complete in Europe, may possess also a museum of national antiquities, if not the first, at least second to few, and worthy of the reputation of a great University."

The Rev. the MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE rose to move the adoption of the Report. He was happy to do this, and regretted only that he had not been able to attend more of the meetings. He referred to the improvement which was going on in the architecture of the domestic buildings of the country. It was not merely, he thought, a question of Gothic or Palladian, but that there was a real progress—because the science was being better understood. And much was due to the work of this Society. The Society was, he admitted, at a disadvantage at present in having no opportunity of exhibiting its casts and models, and of lending its books, but he hoped this would not last much longer. He had no doubt, were a proper museum provided, many additions would be made to the collection. The University had done a great deal in one direction, namely, physical science, he hoped that they would now do something towards the promotion of historical science.

The PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY said that he had much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report and congratulating the Society upon the flourishing condition which that Report represented. As some of the new houses in Oxford had been referred to in the Report, and amongst them his own, he would suggest that the Society would add to its usefulness if it offered advice on such matters. As the Society numbered amongst its body several persons who had paid much attention to the subject, he thought it might exercise considerable influence with those who were about to build houses; and considering the character of Oxford as a city of buildings, it was of great importance that some control should be exercised, or the beauty of the place might very easily be marred. He thought, indeed, that fifty years hence people would feel very dissatisfied with what was now being done. With regard to the other branch of the Society's labours, he thought that the range of historical study should be made somewhat wider than it appeared hitherto to have been. He was glad, however, to remark that the Professor of Political Economy had given them so interesting a lecture. His subject was intimately connected with history; indeed, history could not properly be studied alone, and therefore he was glad to see it accompanied by sister studies. It is true that architecture had obtained an undue share of attention during the past year, but he thought, judging from other

circumstances, that there was a good opening for founding a great school of history in this University, and that the Society had it in its power materially to aid such a result.

The PRESIDENT remarked upon the undue preponderance of architectural over historical subjects during the past year, but could safely say that it was not from any bias on the part of the Committee. They would have been glad to have received more communications in this department, and he hoped they might do so during the next year.

He then called upon Mr. J. H. Parker for his remarks upon the Photographs which were exhibited.

Mr. PARKER said,—“I have been called upon at very short notice to say something about the photographs of buildings in Rome and other parts of Italy which are exhibited here to-day. To enter into any details of the history of each of these buildings would obviously require a great deal more study on my part, and a great deal more patience on yours, than can be expected on either side. It would amount to giving you the history of architecture in Italy. I must therefore confine myself to a few general remarks, such as seem to me to occur naturally on looking at these photographs. We are reminded at once of the peculiar character of the architecture of Rome, and the points in which it differs from that of other places and of other nations who went before and from which it was taken, and those who followed, who in their turn borrowed largely from the architecture of Rome. The styles which went before it in Europe were the Greek and the Etruscan: those which followed were the mediæval styles of the different nations of modern Europe, commonly known by the convenient general term of Gothic Architecture. I am not going to discuss the merits of each of these styles as a matter of taste, of which the discussion is endless. I wish to point out to you only the general principles in which these styles differ from each other. The architecture of the Greeks is distinguished by the strong prominence of the horizontal line, by its simplicity of plan and construction, and its reality. We have only temples remaining of this style, and their plan is the simple parallelogram, while their construction is the same as that of the most simple wooden hut. These temples are built of large pieces of stone or marble, some of which are long and placed upright, corresponding to the wooden posts of the hut; which when of stone we call pillars, and when of marble, columns. Others are placed horizontally upon these, and correspond to the wooden beams of the hut, which carry the roof, and have the ends of the rafters projecting over them: in stone or marble these horizontal pieces are called the entablature or the cornice, and in the Greek temples they also carried

the roof; and the corbels which carried the ends of the rafters were carved into various ornamental forms and called by different names. But throughout in this style the real construction was shewn, and there was no attempt to conceal it.

“The Etruscans, with whom the Romans were more immediately connected in their earlier days, also had a style of their own distinct from that of the Greeks. The only buildings of this interesting people that we have remaining are the walls and gateways of their fortified cities, and their tombs. The walls are built of large blocks of travertine, or tufa, or other stone, according to the nature of the material of the country in which they are situated, and the gateways are carved with pilasters of a rude barbaric grandeur, reminding us of the Egyptians. There is no attempt whatever to conceal the real construction. Their tombs are all cut out of the solid rock, and are carved in imitation of the interior of a wooden building, shewing that they were accustomed to live in wooden houses, their tombs being an exact copy of their houses: and some of these caves seem to have been originally used as dwelling-places, very probably by the family who are buried there, and who are always represented lying on couches or beds in a recumbent position, not flat, but resting on their elbows and half raising themselves. Many of their effigies are admirably sculptured, and they are very numerous. There are at least a score of them in Rome, some in museums, others in the courtyards of noblemen’s houses. These prove that the Etruscans were admirable sculptors, and very exact copyists of nature, but had little invention—a character which belongs to their descendants at the present day.

“Some of the early buildings of Rome are of Etruscan character, and have walls built of large blocks of travertine, or tufa, as may be seen in the photographs of the temples of Mars Ultor and of Pallas; but this cannot be called the Roman style, as they soon abandoned it, and adopted a style of their own, the chief characteristic of which is *sham*. The real construction of a Roman building is always concealed, and what is called the *decorative construction* has in reality nothing whatever to do with the construction. The real construction is entirely of brick; the roof is carried upon brick walls or upon brick arches, resting upon brick piers, and perhaps has a brick vault under it; but the marble porticoes which are placed in front of the brick walls carry nothing but themselves, and do not contribute in the slightest degree to the support of the building. The brick walls are also cased or veneered with stone or marble, but the casing forms no part of the construction, and adds nothing to the strength of the building. It appears that when Augustus boasted that he had found Rome of brick and left it of marble, he appealed to the eye only, and did not mean that he had pulled down the whole city and built it up afresh, but only that he

had cased the old brick buildings with marble, and added marble porticoes in front of them.

“Professor Stanley told the Society some months since that he believed the Pantheon had been rebuilt as a Christian Church in the seventh century. I could hardly venture to differ from so high an authority if he had at all stated this as the result of his own observation, but as he gave the authority of Mr. Fergusson for the statement, and I have reason to know Mr. Fergusson to be a very bad authority on many subjects, I have no scruple in saying that I entertain the very opposite opinion. I believe the Pantheon to be one of the earliest buildings in Rome, and in this opinion I am supported by some of the best Roman antiquaries. The inscription on the frieze states that it was built by Agrippa B.C. 27. The plan and construction of the building seem to me to make it absurd to say it could have been built for a Christian Church; it is true that it was consecrated as a church by Pope Boniface IV. in 608, as were several other heathen temples in the seventh or eighth century. But the Pantheon was evidently built for heathen sacrifices; the building is circular without and polygonal within, and has an original stone floor, not flat, but panelled as it were with grooves or surface drains between the panels, converging and sloping gently down to the open well or reservoir in the centre for the blood of the animals and the water with which the pavement was washed down after the sacrifice was over. The roof also has a circular opening in the centre, still open to the sky and to all weather, and which never has been closed. Although it is true that altars to all the martyrs in the Calendar have been placed against the walls in the niches, it is impossible to believe that a building on this plan was ever constructed for a Christian church. The brick-work of the walls is of the earliest kind, of the large thin bricks or tiles of which the Romans were so fond; and although a handsome marble portico has been built against one side of the temple, and the wall has been for the most part cased with marble, yet this marble casing has never been completed, and to this day part of the brick wall remains visible. The brick arches of construction may be seen in the photograph.

“After the fashion of ornamenting their brick buildings with marble columns was once set, the Romans, with their usual imitative character, carried it to an absurd excess: hundreds of columns of all sorts and sizes were used to ornament a single palace; and several thousand marble columns altogether are known to have been collected in ancient Rome, some taken from conquered cities, others, and probably by far the largest part, made to order in the quarries of Carrara and elsewhere. When the Christian churches came to be built in the fourth, fifth, and following centuries, these antique marble

columns afforded their builders an inexhaustible supply, and almost every church in Rome from the fourth century to the tenth is built of brick ornamented with antique marble columns. For instance, in the celebrated church of S. Clemente, both the church of the ninth century,—which was destroyed and buried during the civil wars in the tenth or eleventh century, and has only recently been dug out,—and the present church built on the top of it in the thirteenth century, are alike constructed of brick and ornamented with antique marble columns.

“The buildings of modern Rome are for the most part an imitation, and generally a bad imitation, of those of ancient Rome; there is only one Gothic church in Rome out of about three hundred, and that is of the fifteenth century, and not good Gothic. The Romans, and indeed the Italians generally, despised Gothic Architecture, which was not at all suited to their taste or their ideas, so that they could not understand it or appreciate its merits. The great characteristic of the Gothic styles is reality; every part of the real construction is shewn and is made ornamental, no matter what the material may be; some of the finest Gothic buildings in the world are built of brick, but the brick is not veneered with marble, or concealed in any way. The Gothic of Italy is always an exotic—not natural to the soil; and almost always an imitation in the fifteenth or sixteenth century of the French, German, or English styles of the thirteenth. Even in the best examples of Italian Gothic the horizontal line is still the prevailing feature; the Italians never could realize the idea of the vertical line being the prominent line of a building, which I need not say is a chief characteristic of the Gothic styles. There are, however, some of the features of the medieval buildings of Italy which are well worthy of attention and study, although not Gothic; such as their cloisters, as at St. Paul at Rome, and their tall campaniles of many small stones, which are peculiar to Italy, and often a very elegant feature in the view of their cities.

“The architecture of Florence belongs to quite a distinct school to that of Rome, and the magnificent dome of its cathedral is perhaps second only to that of Siena, and shews how well the dome may be combined with the Gothic style. The bronze doors of the Baptistery also rank among the marvels of skilful workmanship. Notwithstanding these glories, the general impression which the architecture of Florence leaves on the memory is that of veneering run mad, and the Englishman is naturally reminded of Tunbridge ware. This veneering in patterns of different coloured marbles is carried up even to the top of the campanile, which in Rome had always escaped and remained honest brickwork. The Palazzo Vecchio is a fine example of the fortified houses of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in

Italy; the covered gallery at the top carried on a fine set of machicolis is probably an addition to the original structure. There are several fine churches in Florence, but as we have no photographs of them it is useless to dwell upon them.

“The cathedral of Orvieto is one of the finest examples of the Florentine school, and its wonderful west front is one of the richest pieces of architectural decoration in the world; the series of sculptures with which it is covered are quite unrivalled in their way. Notwithstanding all this, and without denying its excellence in its way, the effect which it leaves on the mind is not satisfactory, we cannot help seeing and feeling that it is a magnificent sham; not only is it veneered all over, but the very wall on which it is secured is itself a sham west front, built up against an earlier building, and extending above the roof and beyond the side-aisles; it is all evidently built for effect, there is no reality about it.

“The school of Pisa is also quite distinct from any other, and deserves much commendation and careful study. It is justly considered as the pride and glory of the Republic of Pisa in its best days—the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The group of buildings formed by the Cathedral, the Baptistery, the Campanile, or leaning tower, and the Campo Santo, or cloister, is quite unrivalled. The chief characteristic of this school is the abundant use of colonnettes, or small columns, which we commonly call in England detached shafts carrying arcades, with which the whole of the exterior of their buildings is covered. The elegant little chapel of the Spina, built out from the bank into the river Arno, is a very remarkable feature of Pisa: it is of two periods, built in the fourteenth century, and considerably altered in the fifteenth; this pretty little building is almost unique. There is another somewhat similar, called the Rose, at Lucca, probably built in imitation of it, but not equal to it. The buildings of Lucca generally belong to the Pisan school, as it was subject to that Republic.

“The Venetian school of architecture is, again, quite distinct from any other; it is not confined to the city of Venice, but includes the State or Republic of Venice, which extended over the adjoining country and included Verona. But the distinct Venetian school was hardly formed before the fifteenth century; in earlier times the close connection between Venice and Byzantium is plainly visible in the architecture. St. Mark’s is, to all intents and purposes, a Byzantine church located accidentally in Italy; the original fabric with its fine domes is entirely of brick, and was originally quite plain; parts of it are still visible and unaltered; but a rich western porch-aisle was added late in the twelfth century, and, as usual, veneered with marble and enriched with columns of marble; and on the top of

this porch the celebrated bronze horses are placed; other spoils from conquered cities are used as ornaments in this western porch. Some of the mosaics are of the end of the eleventh century, others of various later periods.

“The Doge’s Palace is one of the most celebrated buildings of its kind in Europe, and we have no other mansion-house equal to it in beauty and magnificence. Nevertheless it is far from being the faultless building which some have represented it. The situation at an angle, with one front to the lagoon and the other to a fine open place, adds much to the effect. It was begun in the fourteenth century, and the grand arcades to the sea front belong to that period; but those on the other front are of the fifteenth century, as has been demonstrated by Mr. Burges, the costume of the figures on the capitals being of that date: the upper part is obviously later, and is extremely flat, with a very ugly parapet or battlement; the flat face of the wall is veneered with marble in a very singular manner, in patterns of a diamond shape, formed of pieces of pink and white marble of the shape of bricks, and having quite that appearance at a little distance, although in reality considerably larger than common bricks; the windows appear to have been either prepared beforehand, or used again.

“The principal doorway is very rich, but very fantastic, and shews the Venetian fashion of imitating earlier styles. It is said to have been built in 1443, but the details are a jumble of the Norman billet-ornament, twisted shafts, and the cable moulding of the twelfth century, with window tracery of the fourteenth, and the panels and sculpture of the fifteenth.

“The grand flight of steps from the courtyard to the state apartments, finished in 1556, and popularly known by the name of the Staircase of the Giants, is a grand design of its kind, and imposing from its simple massive character and large scale.

“The Campanile in the Place of St. Mark, with the pyramid on the top, is by no means a happy or an elegant structure: the sort of porch at the foot called the Loggetta, is a good composition of the kind.

“Of the palaces, the most curious and remarkable is the one called the ‘Fondaco die Tarchi;’ this is probably a building of the twelfth century, from the use of the zigzag ornament round the arches, but with antique marble columns, probably brought from Byzantium. Nothing certain is known respecting its history.

“The Gothic fronts of houses or palaces on the Grand Canal are exceedingly elegant and picturesque, with their numerous arcades of small ogee arches and tracery in the style of the fourteenth century, with a certain Oriental look about them. But we must not be carried away by the pretty effects of this city of faery land, and an ex-

amination of these pretty buildings shews that their fronts are only shams, with very little behind them, and that they are really for the most part work of the sixteenth century in imitation of earlier styles. The modern palaces in the genuine Italian style are very fine examples of their kind.

“The church on the island of Murano is a very rich and fine one of the twelfth century, now well known by Mr. Ruskin’s beautiful engravings of it.

“The church of the Frasi, or the Friars, which is absurdly attributed to the thirteenth century, is in reality a fine brick church of the fifteenth. An inscription on the base of the tower gives the date of 1361, and this is evidently the most ancient part.

“The west door of the ruined church of Servi has an inscription over it giving the date of 1491, with mouldings in the style of the thirteenth, mixed with the billet and cable ornaments of the twelfth, as shewn in the photograph.

“The celebrated cathedral of Milan is one which very much disappoints expectations, both on the exterior and in the interior; its vast size must always give it a grand effect, and there is much merit in the original design, but it is badly carried out, at long intervals, and with wretched details. The white marble with which the exterior is cased does not produce the good effect which might be expected; it makes all the work look shallow and poor, and the parapets standing up against the bright blue sky look exactly as if they were cut out of cardboard. The details of the modern doorways and windows also are incongruous, and do not harmonize with the general style. The effect of the interior is very fine and striking at first sight, but it does not bear examination; we are disappointed when we find that all the vaults have merely plain flat surfaces, and are painted to imitate the ribs and groining of Gothic vaults: the painting is so admirably done as to deceive all ordinary observers, and to make it difficult to believe that they are only sham.

“The great public Hospital of the city of Milan is one of the finest examples of moulded brick-work that can be found anywhere. Here there is no sham, the real construction is shewn and made ornamental, according to true Gothic principles. The building is as large as one of our largest colleges, and not unlike one in general design, with its two quadrangles surrounded by suites of apartments, the principal rooms being all on the first floor, with a series of recessed arches in front of them, carried on bold pilaster columns with fine capitals, and the window-arches much enriched, and having heads boldly projecting from the tympanum, formed under the parapet and by the spandrels of the two sub-arches; the whole is executed in moulded brick called terra-cotta.

“ There are a few other photographs on the walls from other places, which time does not permit me to notice ; and perhaps we could not better conclude these few general remarks on buildings in Italy, than by calling the attention of English architects and builders to the moulded brick-work of the great Hospital at Milan.”

At the conclusion of the paper a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Parker, and the meeting separated.

Second Meeting, Trinity Term, 1863.

THE following is the substance of the extemporary lecture given by Mr. Freeman on the *History and Architecture of Switzerland*, referred to at p. 236.

“ I was asked by the President at the last Meeting to give at the present one some account of what I saw in my late tour in Switzerland. This I will now gladly attempt, but I must first explain what I can do and what I cannot do. I am as yet prepared only to start questions rather than to answer them, as I have seen enough to excite curiosity, but not enough fully to gratify it. I have seen many of the finest buildings in the country, and I have, as usual, brought away large quantities of drawings. But I am aware that many of the finest buildings, especially some of the most ancient, I have not seen. My journey was undertaken mainly with historical and political objects, to which architecture and antiquities had to be kept quite subordinate. I have examined such buildings as I found in the places to which my other objects led me, but I have not, as I generally do in my travels, gone directly in search of architectural objects. Moreover I am not so well acquainted as I should wish to be with the architecture of the countries immediately surrounding Switzerland. Altogether I do not feel myself qualified to theorize at all dogmatically, but only to throw out hints which either myself or others may be able, on further inquiry, to work out more at length.

“ In Switzerland, as everywhere else, History and Architecture must, according to the great principle of our Society, go hand in hand. The architecture of a country is an essential part of its general history, and its architectural history cannot possibly be understood without a clear view of its political history. And the political history of Switzerland, past and present, is, to those who can estimate states according to their moral and not by their physical size, the greatest history in continental Europe. It is deeply to be regretted that most English travellers are content to run through Switzerland without giving the least thought either to its past history or its present politics. It is enough for them to climb up a mountain, without stopping to think whether the city that lies at its base is a kingdom or a republic, a democracy or an oligarchy. Their own presence has corrupted the inhabitants of certain districts, in the way that the inhabitants of show-places in all countries are sure to be corrupted. Having done this, they come home with most false and injurious notions of the Swiss nation in general, and they throw needless difficulties in the way of those among their own countrymen who

visit Switzerland with more rational objects. Their conduct has engendered a presumption in the mind of every intelligent Swiss that an English traveller is probably a fool ; it is only with great difficulty that the Swiss can be made to believe that an Englishman can have any sensible object in visiting their country. As soon as they are persuaded that a man has some rational object, of whatever nature, no people can be kinder and more friendly, more ready to supply the stranger with information or to undergo any trouble on his behalf. But, thanks to the summer tourists, the very natural presumption against the English traveller has to be broken down in the first instance. For my own part, I visited Switzerland at a time when the land was free from tourists, and free also from those beggars and extortioners of whom tourists always talk, and whom, I therefore conceive, they must themselves bring with them. Wherever I went, I fell in with men of sense and information ; I met in every part of the country with kindness for which I shall ever be thankful, and I have made friends whose friendship I trust to keep. One slight complaint only have I to make, and for that also I do not doubt that the tourists are answerable. In England and in France you are hardly ever hindered from seeing any object which you wish to see ; you are often annoyed by silly guides, but you are almost always allowed to see things somehow or other. But in Switzerland I have more than once been absolutely hindered from seeing objects ; to be quite impartial between Catholics and Protestants, I may mention the choir-stalls in the minster at Freiburg and the antiquities preserved in the sacristy of the minster at Bern. No doubt those who show the churches had been annoyed by idle gazers, and it would not have been so easy to explain to them as it might have been to their superiors, that I did not belong to that class.

“There can be no doubt that, in a historical and political view, Switzerland is the most interesting country of the European continent. It is the one living image of ancient Greece, the one country where the system of small states can be seen in all its purity. It is, like our own, a country where the past and the present mutually support and explain each other. And, amid the most utter diversity in all outward forms from the institutions of our own country, it is wonderful how the same general objects and principles will be found to underlie both. Switzerland, like England, is a country whose political life rests on traditions, not on theories. It contains the oldest and the freest governments in Europe, the only countries where pure democracy may still be seen in the same perfection as in the Athenian Pnyx. Its Federal system has been gradually developed through many ages of good and bad fortune, through days of reformation and days of corruption. From one of the laxest of unions, it has at last

issued in a perfect Federal system, most truly the work of the nation itself, and with which the whole nation, save two small extreme and opposite factions, seems to be thoroughly contented. After the troubles of the Sonderbund had passed by, Switzerland was able, in 1848, to fix her constitution for herself. In that year the Great Powers of the continent were too busy at home for their usual occupation of meddling in affairs which do not concern them. The happy opportunity was seized; in any earlier or later year the thing might have been impossible.

“In looking at the history and politics of Switzerland, we must always remember that we are dealing with a purely artificial nation and one which has been gradually formed. People are apt to forget this, and to speak of Switzerland and the Swiss as an ethnological unity in days when Switzerland and the Swiss could not be said to exist. I have before now read of “Swiss architecture” in the Romanesque period, and I have seen King Rudolf of Hapsburg spoken of as a “Swiss Emperor.” The territory of the present Confederation consists of portions of the three kingdoms of Germany, Italy, and Burgundy, which a variety of political circumstances gradually detached from those kingdoms and led to a close union among themselves. Four languages are spoken within the territories of the League; German, Italian, the old Rhetian Romansch, and, in the Burgundian districts, a variety of the *Lingua d’oc*, unhappily supplanted as the literary language by French. German, French, and Italian are all recognized as national languages. The established religion of each Canton is Catholic or Protestant at pleasure, but the present Federal Constitution happily secures equality of rights everywhere to members of both Churches. But out of all these varieties, national, linguistic, and religious, a nation has been formed, artificial no doubt in its origin, but, for all the purposes of national life, as true a nation as any in Europe. The history of its formation may be briefly summed up. In the beginning of the fourteenth century three small districts on the borders of Swabia and Burgundy, owning no superior but the Emperor, formed a League, or rather renewed an ancient League, for mutual defence against the aggressions of the Dukes of Austria. Other neighbouring cities and districts soon joined them, forming in all the League of the Eight Ancient Cantons. In the course of the next two centuries, a large territory, German, Burgundian, and Italian, was annexed on various terms. Some communities were admitted to equal rights as members of the League; others, without reaching this closest degree of union, were recognized as free and independent allies; others were protected or dependent states; others were mere subjects, either of the League as a whole or of one or more of its members. By the end of the sixteenth century the old political system of

Switzerland may be looked on as being completed. The country, in nearly its present geographical extent, was occupied, not indeed as now by a single compact Federation, but by a variety of states in every sort of relation to one another. Round the Three Cantons were gathered the Eight, round them the later Thirteen, round them again a crowd of Leagues, cities, districts, and principalities, united with them in every possible variety of alliance, dependence, and subjection. Still, amidst all this apparent confusion, Switzerland, in the modern sense of the word, may be looked on, from the sixteenth century onwards, as forming one political system; the different constituent parts, widely different as were their relations to one another, had all more to do with one another than with any external power. Nothing was needed but the equalization of political rights over the whole country in order to produce a real Swiss nation with common interests and feelings. That happy change has gradually taken place during the present century, and was finally accomplished by the Constitution of 1848. The old distinctions of Confederates, Allies, and Subjects have been swept away, or rather Allies and Subjects have been raised to the rank of Confederates. The present admirable Confederation, which seems better able than any other European State to preserve perfect dignity and moderation under the most trying circumstances, has been the result of the gradual revolutions of so many ages.

“Now, as the history of a country always reflects itself in its architecture, what are the architectural phenomena which we should expect to find produced by such an history as this? We should clearly expect to find the earlier architecture of the country possessing no national character, but to find such a national character decidedly impressed on the later buildings. We must not look for such a thing as Swiss architecture as long as what we now call Switzerland had no political unity, while one Canton was German, another Burgundian, another Italian. But we may fairly look for such a thing as Swiss architecture after Switzerland, on whatever terms, had become a political whole. While Vaud was Savoyard, while Thurgau was Austrian, while Ticino was Milanese, while Lausanne was subject to its Bishop and Basel knew no superior but Cæsar, we cannot look for any national Swiss architecture. The architecture of each district will naturally follow that of its German, Burgundian, and Italian neighbours. But we may fairly look for a national Swiss architecture from about the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards. It follows therefore that a national architecture is mainly to be looked for in domestic and civic buildings; the great churches, the famous Cathedrals, Abbeys, and Collegiate Churches of the land, were mainly built in the old days of disunion. Again, we must carefully guard ourselves against the delusions arising from the vague use of the word *French*.

France, that is the Kingdom of Paris, did not become an immediate neighbour of any Swiss Confederation or ally till the reign of Henry the Fourth, when mediæval architecture had pretty well passed away. In the days with which we have to do, Savoy, Bresse, and the County of Burgundy^a had nothing to do with France. This is what people find so difficult to understand, and what it is so all-important that they should understand. It is much to be desired that some one should undertake the study of the architecture of the Burgundian Kingdom with his eyes open and free from all Parisian delusions.

“Now I do not pretend to have done this myself, nor do I pretend to be able practically to answer all the questions which I have myself started. I am merely throwing out hints both for myself and for others; I am shewing the way in which the subject should be approached rather than bringing forward the results of any very wide inquiry. I have not seen enough even of the buildings within the present Confederation to dogmatize with any confidence, still less have I been able to compare them with those of the neighbouring provinces of the surrounding countries. I hope that the thing may some day be done either by myself or by somebody else; but, if it is to be done, it must be done by some one who has contrived to emancipate himself from the trammels of the modern map. In Switzerland, as everywhere, the historical study of architecture must go hand in hand with the study of political geography.

“Instead therefore of theorizing any further on a subject on which I do not feel competent to speak from experience, I will rather make some comments, desultory as they may be, on some of the chief buildings which I saw in my Swiss journey. The only general observation which I will trust myself to make is that I certainly thought that a single style of late civil architecture, quite different from anything to which I was used in England, France, or Aquitaine, prevailed, with some local varieties, through the whole country. This, it will be observed, is just what we should expect from the sketch which I gave of the history of the country. But though I thought I could discern this same style in parts of Switzerland very distant from each other, I am not at all prepared to say that it may not also be found beyond the limits of Switzerland. The style I mean is rich in fantastic forms of doors and windows, largely employing six-centred and other complicated arches, and introducing more or less of interpenetration. I first observed it at Geneva, and then tracked it through the whole country till it seemed to reach its consummation in the amazing doorways of the building which is now the Post-Office at Basel.

^a When the County was, at an earlier time, held for a short time by the French Kings, Switzerland had not reached so far west as to have it for a neighbour.

“I entered the country by way of Geneva. That city is a good example of the difference which strikes one at first sight, between those towns which were the dwelling-place of a prince, ecclesiastical or temporal, and those which were free from the beginning or subject only to a distant sovereign. To the former class belong Geneva, Lausanne, Neufchâtel, and Chur; to the latter Luzern, Solothurn, Zürich, and, above all, Bern. The former are in fact hill-fortresses, crowned by the cathedral or other great church and the castle of the prince—at Neufchâtel a lay Count, in the three other cities the Bishop—side by side. Around the hill a town has grown up, of which the ancient *City*—both at Geneva and Lausanne retaining that name distinctively—remains as the Akropolis. Social and sometimes even religious distinctions are connected with this difference of position. The City was commonly the aristocratic quarter; at Chur it is still the Catholic quarter. The cathedral, the palace, and their subordinate buildings still remain, as it were, a separate town, defended by its own walls and towers against the Protestant quarter below. So at Durham the cathedral and the episcopal castle still crown the hill; at Lincoln the parallel must have been still more exact when the Norman Earl and the Norman Bishop occupied the height and drove the English or Danish inhabitants to seek new dwellings at its foot. At Lausanne, Chur, and Neufchâtel the minster and the castle still remain side by side, though the latter is at Lausanne and at Neufchâtel applied to quite different uses. At Geneva the palace no longer remains, or is so disguised as to be no longer a prominent object. But the cathedral still soars above the city, suggesting to an English eye the general appearance of Exeter, the position of Geneva being as much grander than that of Exeter as the cathedral itself is inferior. Very different is the appearance of the cities whose republican freedom is of more ancient date. Bern was free-born; Zürich knew no lord but Cæsar; Luzern, though for a while under Austrian dominion, never saw a resident prince. Here therefore there is no Akropolis, no castle of Count or Bishop. Bern sits on her peninsula, Luzern and Zürich sit by their lakes, girt by their walls and towers and crowned by the spires of their minsters, but with no one dominant building to disturb the equality of the civic commonwealth. Instead of an upper and a lower city, Zürich has its greater and its lesser city, not one rising above the other but reposing side by side on opposite banks of the river. Bern has its *Junkergasse*, the chosen dwelling-place of its patricians, looking forth upon their subject lands and mountains, but not offensively dominant over the remainder of the city, still less containing any single building which could in a marked way interfere with the position of an aristocracy equal among themselves.

“A Swiss town of any size seems commonly to have contained a great cathedral or collegiate church and a parish church distinct from it. Besides these there were commonly one or more monasteries; the friars especially settled themselves everywhere and adorned the towns with vast churches of their own peculiar type. Thus at Zürich we have the Great Minster or Collegiate Church, which, as in many other cases, French and English travellers and writers are apt to call the Cathedral—Germans are too accurate for such blundering. There is also the parish church of St. Peter, two female conventual churches, of which the famous *Frauenmünster* dates, like the Great Minster, in its foundation, though not in its actual fabric, from the ninth century, and several churches of Friars, including the magnificent *Predigerkirche*, the church of the Dominicans. So at Bern there is the ancient parish church, possibly older in some part even of its fabric than the foundation of the city, the noble minster of the fifteenth century, and a fine church of Friars. So at Chur, the Catholics retain the Cathedral in the upper city, while the parish church below serves for the Protestant worship. So at Luzern, besides the *Hofkirche* or Collegiate Church, there is the ancient parish church, and some conventual churches, including, as so commonly in the Catholic Cantons, one of those gaudy Jesuits’ churches, from which the present Constitution has driven out their inhabitants. I do not of course say that this arrangement is universal; in old episcopal cities like Lausanne and Basel there seem to have been several parish churches; but it is certainly that which is found in several of the most important towns. In all these cases the minster and the parish church are quite distinct; I saw no examples of a church divided between a chapter or monastery and a parish, of which we have so many cases in England^b.

“The Friars’ churches are, as everywhere, very characteristic. There is something about them by which they can always be recognized in all countries; great simplicity both of ground-plan and detail is combined in many cases with great size. The Swiss examples consist commonly of a nave with aisles and a choir without; no surrounding chapels, no transepts such as we see in Ireland, no interposed towers, such as we see both in England and Ireland, no side towers such as we see in Aquitaine. The choir is apsidal and often much higher than the nave. One seldom sees such great size united with such perfect simplicity as in the *Predigerkirche* at Zürich and the *Barfüsserkirche* at Basel. The lofty apses without aisles have very much the general look of Exeter College Chapel; people who have been to Paris and no further always cry out ‘*Sainte Chapelle*’ when they see that master-

^b Of course no one will confound with this the arrangement, very common in Switzerland, of a conventual church with its nave retained for Protestant worship, while the choir is put to profane uses.

piece of modern architecture ; if they had been to Basel and had opened their eyes there, instead of rushing on to the nearest place where they can run their necks into danger, they would as naturally cry out 'Barfüsserkirche.' These Friars' churches commonly have, like Exeter Chapel, a louvre for a bell, called in their own expressive tongue *Dachreiter* or *Roof-rider*.

"Now I must mention two exceptions to the common run of these Friars' churches. The Franciscan church at Luzern has some transeptal chapels added on to it, but they are of such late date as not to form any real exception to the rule of earlier times. Again, the Franciscan church at Lausanne follows an utterly different plan, having a side tower and spire, and in its proportions reminding one rather of the churches of Aquitaine. We must remember that here we are not in Switzerland proper, but in Burgundy, Savoy, or whatever we are to call it ; so we must look for something different from what we find in the Teutonic lands.

"Of particular buildings I will say a few words on the four cathedrals of Geneva, Lausanne, and Basel in the Burgundian, and Chur in the Teutonic country, and on the conventual or collegiate churches of Neufchâtel in the Burgundian, Bern^c and Zürich in the Teutonic country, and Freiburg on the confines of the two. Lausanne Cathedral is, beyond all doubt, the finest church of all, but I had hardly time to do more than take in a general impression of it. I was hurried away from Lausanne in order to reach something even more interesting to me than its Minster, namely the Landesgemeinde of Uri. I was not able to make any drawings ; so I will forbear from commenting where I may be wrong. But I will say thus much, that the church exhibits a form of Early Gothic wholly different from the French, and having a distinct character of its own, which, till I get better information, I shall hope is true Burgundian.

"Geneva Cathedral strikes one at once as built on the same type as Exeter and Ottery, without either central or western towers, but with two forming transepts. Such also, as far as I could judge by merely passing by, seemed to be the plan of the church at Rapperschwyl in the Canton of St. Gall. But Geneva differs from the English examples in having the actual crossing occupied by an enormous *dachreiter*, swelling almost into a third tower. At Exeter again and Ottery there is a long eastern limb, so that the transept-towers occupy the centre

^c Bern is geographically within the Burgundian frontier,—

"Als Krone im Burgundreich,
Als freier Städte Krone,"—

but it is essentially a German city. The like is the case with Basel, a city close on the frontier, but on the Burgundian side of the Rhine.

of the building, while at Geneva the eastern limb is very short, little more than the apse; the towers are in fact flanking-towers to the choir. The general style of the church is Transitional, using the pointed form for the main constructive arches, and the round for the triforia and some of the windows. The apse too, round within, is polygonal without. The west front is greatly disfigured by a modern Italian portico; but there are not many alterations of ancient date. What there are are chiefly to be found in the towers, the upper stories of both of which are of later date. The southern one now outtops the other, and its highest stage is of a kind of Flamboyant style which does not at all agree with the general character of the building. In the south face a wheel-window—I do not remember its date—is inserted in the upper story, a strange sort of belfry-window indeed. The change in the other tower is earlier, and is done with great ingenuity; the present belfry-windows quite agree in general effect with the earlier work; it needs technical knowledge to see that they belong to a different style. This reminds one of the corresponding tower at Exeter, where the late Perpendicular upper stage so ingeniously reproduces the general effect of the Norman work. Altogether Geneva Cathedral is an excellent example of a small cathedral of its own style and plan, with unusually little later alteration.

“The other great church which I saw in the purely Burgundian country is the Collegiate Church of Neufchâtel, a minster of noble position, of highly picturesque outline, and preserving considerable remains of its domestic buildings. It stands close to the grand castle of the old Counts, now applied to the public uses of the Republic, where I had the good luck to find the Great Council in session, and to be present at one of their debates. The subject was one which some time back attracted the attention of our own Parliament, and which in France might attract attention more profitably still. If I may do so within the boundaries of *Welschland*, I will exercise the Teutonic privilege of coining a word, and call it the *Kleinvoegelfrage*. The people of Neufchâtel had come to their senses, and their Parliament was deliberating how best to hinder ‘l’extirpation des petits oiseaux.’ I did not hear the end, but I trust that, at my next visit, I may hear birds singing as merrily at Neufchâtel as, thanks to a like piece of wise legislation, I did hear them singing at Zürich. But to turn to the architecture of the minster. It is a cross church with a low central tower, and a single tower—surely a second must have been contemplated—flanking the choir to the south. Were there two, the general idea—the details being utterly different—of this east end would be the same as that of the east end at Geneva; the central tower is so low, and the transepts have so little projection, that the eastern tower, even as it is, is the dominant feature of the building.

Neufchâtel however is triapsidal, while Geneva has only a single apse. These apses are thoroughly Romanesque, while the rest of the church, including the upper part of the eastern tower, is mainly Early Gothic. There is a change in detail in the middle of the nave, the western part having a roundheaded triforium, while the eastern has none. The work is plain throughout, but good and very well preserved. There is an odd addition at the west end, without a west doorway, otherwise one might compare it with the western addition to St. Wollos at Newport. The collegiate buildings lie to the north, and contain, among other things, some remains of a Romanesque cloister. It does not appear to have run against the wall of the church; that is to say, it is not a cloister of the regular monastic pattern. Regulars were obliged to build their cloisters after a fixed pattern; seculars at Neufchâtel, as at Wells and Chichester, might build the cloister after any pattern they pleased, or leave it out altogether.

“Both these great churches are apsidal; so is the Cathedral of Basel; but the two minsters at Zurich and the Cathedral of Chur have Romanesque flat east ends. Now we know that a Romanesque flat east end in a large church is rare even in England, and almost unheard of in France. In those countries the apse is all but universal. Now it is certainly remarkable that, of the six chief Romanesque or Transitional churches which I saw in Switzerland, the three in the Burgundian country should be all apsidal, while the three in the Swabian country should have flat ends. This can hardly be accidental; though I am not prepared with examples beyond these six, I cannot doubt that we have here a real and most remarkable instance of local peculiarity. No local peculiarity indeed can be more remarkable than the use of the flat east end in a large Romanesque church. It does not extend into the latter styles; the Friars' churches of Zürich and the parish church of Chur are all apsidal, as much as the minsters of Bern and Freiburg and the subordinate churches of Basel.

“The city of Basel is full of fine churches. I seem by my drawings to have paid more attention to some of the smaller ones than I did to the minster. The latter stands nobly on its terrace overlooking the Rhine, but the general effect of the building itself is hardly so striking as that of the gigantic *Barfüsser kirche* below. A second-class cathedral with two-western towers has more parallels in other parts of the world than a building like the *Barfüsser kirche*, at once so vast and so simple. The nave of the Cathedral is, I suppose, to be called Transitional, as the pier-arches are pointed, but the triforium and clerestory are purely Romanesque and very plain. The sub-arches of the triforium rest on coupled shafts, like the Moissac cloister.

“There is an unusual amount of subordinate buildings attached to Basel Cathedral, but I am sorry that I have no notes of them.

Thoroughly to master the city would take a long time, and my engagements here allowed me less than forty-eight hours, and the whole of that could not be given to architecture. The hall where the Council of Basel was held remains attached to the minster; and the Council-House of the Republic and the present Post-Office are also buildings well worth studying. Of the smaller churches, the most curious that I saw is that of St. Leonard, a Flamboyant building with an attached cloister. The nave and aisles, vaulted within with that intricate German vaulting which I at least never can draw, are grouped without under one enormous gable. The west end thus formed, with three very small windows, without buttresses, and ranging with some of the collegiate buildings, is as little ecclesiastical to look at as a west front can be. Within there is a good roodloft. The choir is apsidal, with elegant Geometrical windows, quite a contrast to the west end. The single tower, crowned with a saddle-back, and that with a *dachreiter*, stands north of the choir. Another very fine church, seemingly a Friars' church, with some elegant Geometrical windows, stands close by the prison. I did not see the inside.

"The Cathedral of Chur is more remarkable for its position and for the extraordinary splendour of its shrines and ornaments of that kind than for anything in its architecture. It is a small and plain Transitional church, with a flat east end and a single modern side tower. Still the internal effect is much finer than could have been expected from its small size. The choir is raised on a huge flight of steps, rivalling Canterbury, or, considering the size of the church, one should rather say, rivalling Wimborne before it was spoiled. The effect of this, with the choir full of the officiating clergy, and the nave full of lay worshippers, cannot be surpassed by anything at Amiens itself. But the real glory of Chur is not this or that detail, but the whole grouping of the city; the young Rhine near the foot, and the mountain-streams rushing down towards it, the city covering the slope of the hill, crowned by the akropolis, with the cathedral and Bishop's palace, and the huge mountains soaring again above them, form one of the most striking scenes to be found anywhere. The cathedral is built right on the rock, from which, on the outside of the town, its masonry can hardly be distinguished. The akropolis, inhabited by the Catholic population, while the lower town is Protestant, still retains its walls and towers, the Bishop's palace forming part of the fortress. Parts at least are of Romanesque work, and, I should say, of a date as early as any one chooses to give it. The parish church below has an apse and a side tower, and some good Flamboyant windows.

"The great feature of Zürich is the Collegiate Church, the *Grossmünster*, though it is only one important building out of several. It

is built almost wholly in a stern and plain but very effective sort of Romanesque, being in fact the first example of thoroughly German Romanesque which I saw. The difference from anything French or English is very striking. The plain square-edged piers and pilasters are the perfection of Romanesque severity. And we really do not want anything different; the plainness thoroughly suits the style, though the same plainness in a Gothic building would be intolerable. Each bay of the vault takes in two bays of the arcade, so that we doubt whether to call the nave one of three bays or of six, much as we do at Boxgrove. But the thing which mainly struck me on entering this my first German Romanesque minster was the triforium, the *männerchor*, originally designed, and still used, as a gallery, and continued round the west end. This last feature reminded me of the original gallery at the west end of the large church at St. Emilion. It is made more curious at Zürich by having been prolonged a bay westward into the church in a style still Romanesque, though more advanced than the rest.

“The Great Minster is not cruciform, but the choir and presbytery are well defined by arches. The effect of the tall, narrow, flat east end, with windows of unusual height for the style, is very singular. The choir has no regular aisles, but there is an apsidal chapel, somewhat altered in later times, on the south side, and the north aisle also ends in an apse. Thus there are two apses, though they do not answer to one another. The minster has two western towers and a *dachreiter* over the choir-arch. The lower stages of the towers are Romanesque; they seem to have been carried up a stage higher in later times, and they were crowned with spires, as they may be seen in the view of Zürich in Stumpff's Chronicle. But in modern times they have been carried up higher and crowned with little cupolas, a change much to be regretted, though the effect is really not so bad as one might have expected. A crypt runs under the choir and presbytery; on the north side is one of the best Romanesque cloisters in existence, which I fancy is better known than the minster itself. It is carefully preserved, though its effect is lost by the buildings raised over it, forming a public girls'-school. There is a house, a canon's house, I suppose, hard by, which should be noticed.

“The two great foundations of Zürich have, so to speak, interchanged sexes. The cloister of the Canons has been attached to a girls'-school; so, to make things straight, I found a school of boys quartered in the nuns' cloister. The *Frauenminster*, the church of the princely Abbesses of Zürich, who once claimed jurisdiction over the free landfolk of Uri, is not equal to the *Grossminster*, but it is a very interesting building nevertheless. This minster is cruciform; it has no central or western tower, but two in the angles of the tran-

septs and choir, essentially the same arrangement as at Neufchâtel, except that here the east end is flat. The choir and presbytery together, as at present arranged—the roodloft, a very fine one, being placed across the eastern arch of the lantern—are very short, only one square of vaulting; this part is of the same stern, plain, Romanesque as the Great Minster; the nave is later and not very pleasing. The remains of the monastic buildings are extensive, and of various dates, including part of a Romanesque cloister, much plainer than that of the Great Minster.

“The architectural inquirer at Zürich will find a great many bits to please him here and there, both in the secular buildings and in the desecrated monasteries. The splendid *Predigerkirche* or Dominican church, inferior only to the great *Barfüsserkirche* at Basel, I have already mentioned. Zürich too had its *Barfüsserkirche*; there is only a small fragment of its desecrated church, but the cloister, worked into some of the public offices, is nearly perfect and is one of the gems of Zürich. Let me express my special thanks to my friend Mr. Staub, without whose help I should not have found it out. It has a most wonderful set of windows, seemingly of the fourteenth century, hardly any two patterns being alike. It is curious to see how, in the striving after novelty, the artist has, in one case at least, hit upon the forms of our English Perpendicular, seemingly quite by accident.

“In what little I saw of the Forest Cantons, I came across no ancient churches at all. At Schwyz, Altdorf, and elsewhere, there are large churches, but of late date and of no architectural value. One is sorry for this; it would be pleasant to find, in the spots which, of all spots in western Europe, are hallowed by the noblest associations, some visible memorials of the old days of Morgarten and Sempach. Probably the old landfolk of Schwyz and Uri—I have not been in Unterwalden—had only wooden churches, and the present buildings, though recent, may be the earliest that were built of stone. The great Abbey of Einsiedlen was unhappily wholly rebuilt after a fire, in the earlier part of the last century. It is something to see real Benedictine monks, under a real Abbot Henry the Fifth, in an Abbey which kept its thousandth year—shaming all tercentenaries—a year or two before I was there. The church too is magnificent in its own way, and the library shows that the Einsiedlen monks are by no means behind the learning and science of modern times. But one is sorry to find, in such a place, everything new; even the groundplan of the building forsakes all ancient Benedictine precedent, and, though the church is truly splendid within, yet the general aspect of the whole pile is more like a barrack than an Abbey.

“Of the *Hofkirche* or Collegiate Church of Luzern the whole has

been rebuilt in modern times, except the two western towers. The interior, as an Italian building, is immeasurably inferior to Einsiedlen ; but the outline and general effect of a Gothic church has been better preserved than in any building of the sort that I ever saw. At a little distance one hardly feels that the whole is not ancient. The towers are thoroughly German, square, without buttresses, and crowned with lofty spires. In the windows I got my first specimens of German Flamboyant, much of the tracery being of that sort whose lines come to nothing and look quite unfinished, wholly unlike anything that we are used to either in England or in France.

“ At Bern and Freiburg we return to what is strictly Burgundian ground, though it is only at Freiburg that we find the fact forced upon us by the presence of a considerable “Welsh^d”-speaking population. In neither city is there any Romanesque building of any consequence, though I am not sure that the little parish-church by the bridge at Bern does not conceal some small fragments which may be older than the foundation of the city by Duke Berchthold. At Bern indeed churches are not what one most thinks of: fine as the minster is, it is almost lost in the general contemplation of that glorious city, its long streets and arcades and gateways, and the Senate-House so often trodden by those old patricians who have won themselves a name alongside of their brethren of Carthage, Venice, and Rome. The Senate-House, begun in 1406, has a grand external staircase with pillars and vaulting, and there is a Friars’ church, though not equal to those of Basel and Zürich ; but the thing really to see at Bern is the city itself. Throughout the main streets, the houses are built on arcades, of various dates and shapes, some plain, some ornamented, many with singularly fine oriels, but all keeping the same general effect. This seems to be the result of a general rebuilding after a great fire in 1405^e. The minster was begun in 1426. There is a certain general likeness between it and the minster at Freiburg, though the details are very different. One seldom sees either in France or in England so large a church with only a single western tower. Alby Cathedral resembles them in this one point, but in nothing else. They have, in fact, more likeness to some of our great parish churches, like Boston. As both are apsidal, I might have been rather expected to quote St. Michael’s, Coventry, but there is really more analogy with Boston. Wrexham, as having an apse, might be thought to come nearer still ; but nothing at Wrexham, except the tower, is worthy of the comparison. The French architects commonly

^d “ ‘Welsch’ in old German is opposed to ‘Tütsch,’ and mean the Romance languages, the distinctively ‘strange’ tongues to the continental Teutons, as the Cymric is to us.

^e Justinger, Berner. Chronik, p. 255.

surrounded their apses with aisles and chapels; the Germans left them aisleless, standing erect, with lofty, and of course comparatively narrow, windows. Such an apse has really more analogy to such a tall aisleless choir as Boston than it has to such an apse as St. Michael's. Neither church has transepts; altogether the outline is that of a large English parish-church with an apsidal end, and quite different from either a French or an English minster. Freiburg, the earlier of the two, is much simpler in its external detail, not having the masses of pinnacles and flying-buttresses which have such a splendid effect at Bern. The towers were both designed to be crowned with octagons, but that at Bern was never finished. If it had been, I suspect that it would have been the finer thing of the two, as the effect of the Freiburg octagon is rather spoiled by the staircase-turret being carried up without a break against both the square and the octagon. Otherwise the connexion of the two parts is very ingeniously managed, the octagon not rising from within a distinct parapet, as it does at Bern. To compare the two in detail, as I do my own Somersetshire towers, would take a long time; I will only say that the question between the richer work at Bern and the comparatively plain work at Freiburg is a fair matter of taste.

“ Within, there can be no doubt of the vast superiority of Freiburg. It is not merely that the Catholic ritual allows Freiburg to retain its ancient arrangements, while at Bern the choir—by far the finest part—is altogether blocked off. Did it indeed go by the choirs alone, I should prefer Bern, where the apse-windows and vaulting are admirably managed, while those at Freiburg are rather meagre. But the poverty of the nave at Bern spoils the whole thing. It is merely an arcade with discontinuous imposts and badly-shaped arches, and a clerestory above. It is only the vaulting-shafts which save it from being absolutely ugly. It is doubtless later than Freiburg, but what then? Good Flamboyant, like good Perpendicular, is a very good thing; but the nave of Bern is bad Flamboyant. The nave of Freiburg is more like our Decorated, with real clustered pillars and very bold clustered vaulting-shafts; over these is a small triforium. It is not a first-rate design, and I need not say that I should prefer either Early Gothic or good later Gothic; still it is much better than Bern. Freiburg has the difficult German vault only in the choir; the nave is quadripartite; Bern has it in both parts. There is a great deal to study in both these churches in the way of detail and of fittings, on which I have not time to enlarge.

“ There is a good deal to see at Freiburg besides the Minster; town-walls, bridges, old houses, and smaller churches. One of the last, St. Mary's, not very far from the Minster, is modern except a tall, plain, Romanesque tower, dating perhaps from the days of the elder

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 Duke Berchthold, the founder of the city. There is also some curious Geometrical tracery in the apse of the desecrated Augustinian church, and some elaborate work on a house near the lower bridge. Unluckily I had but a short time at Freiburg, and that was cut shorter still by a violent rain; so I have seen much less of a very interesting town than I should like to have done.

“Solothurn has little to show in the way of architecture. The Minster has been unluckily rebuilt in Italian; there is also a small apsidal church with a tall *dachreiter*, and one or two military towers, one of them claiming a boundless antiquity.

“In most of the Swiss towns the English traveller is much struck by the town walls, which are sometimes nearly perfect. In England we have but few town walls left; those that we have are mostly concealed by houses, and we have nowhere a series of towers retaining their original high roofs. These last are a striking feature in all the walls and castles that I have seen both in Switzerland and France; in England I doubt if there is a single one remaining. Romont and Morat, famous places in the Burgundian War, look, as you pass by them, like the towns in an illuminated Froissart. But of all things that I saw in this way the finest that I had any time to examine were the town walls of Luzern, with a series of towers with roofs of all kinds, the picturesque air of which cannot be surpassed. They were built, I believe, towards the end of the fourteenth century, and a fairly accurate view of them may be seen in a strange picture in the Chronicle of Diebold Schilling of Luzern, lately published by the Luzern Government. Beside the towers, I must mention the three covered bridges adorned with pictures, one from local history, one from the Bible, and one with the Dance of Death. Unluckily the scriptural one has vanished, and the pictures lie neglected in the Water-tower. The historical bridge is also threatened, for what cause I cannot conceive, something I believe about a view. I know that, if I were a citizen of Lucern I should greatly miss the delightful walk among the pictures. Surely a Republic which has the sense to print local Chronicles will not be so inconsistent as to destroy local antiquities.

“Of Castles proper, Chillon is so well known as a popular lion that one is almost afraid to speak of it as a matter for serious study. Its outline is worthy of its position, and, though I had not time to get it up thoroughly, I could see that there was much to be studied in the way of detail. There are some excellent incipient Geometrical windows, which I suppose are the genuine work of Peter of Savoy, famous in English as well as in Burgundian history. In the Chapel are the very finest Early stalls I ever saw, exactly agreeing with these windows, but I was told on good authority that they were not in their right place there, but had been brought from Lausanne Cathedral.

“I spoke casually of the Castle of Neufchâtel, while speaking of the Minster there. Indeed the two form one group, there being very little space between the apse of the church and the west gate of the castle. This gate, with its heavy machicolations, and the huge roofs on its flanking towers, is most striking to an English visitor. The quadrangle of the castle, with several tall turrets, is highly picturesque. The style is mainly the later Swiss secular style of which I spoke at the beginning, but in a less eccentric form than many other examples. But in an obscure corner outside lie hidden a rich Romanesque doorway and window with other contemporary details. I cannot however think that they are earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century, though it would be pleasant, if one could, to believe that we have here a genuine fragment of the old palace of the Burgundian Kings.

“I have now said all that I have at present to say. But I hope that what I have said will be taken at what it is worth and no more. Except in a few matters of taste, I have been merely throwing out hints and not pronouncing deliberate judgments. I have been starting questions rather than answering them. I have seen but a few things in Switzerland; I have not spoken of all that I have seen; I have not fully described all of which I have spoken. Most of the great buildings of the country have been treated of at length by local antiquaries. But Englishmen in general know nothing of either the buildings or the books. My object has been to stimulate inquiry, to set both myself and others thinking, to show that Switzerland contains much worth examining in the architectural way, and that in Switzerland, as everywhere else, or rather even more in Switzerland than elsewhere, an intelligent study of the architecture must go hand in hand with the study of the political history.”

First Meeting, Michaelmas Term, 1863.

The Rev. the MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, President, in the chair.

The following presents were announced :—

Recent Nos. of Proceedings of the Institute of British Architects.

Recent Nos. of Proceedings of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society.

Papers on "Penshurst" and on "The Buildings of Bishop Gundulph at Rochester," by J. H. Parker.

Thanks having been voted to the several donors, and the names of gentlemen to be balloted for at the next meeting having been proposed, the President called on Mr. Payne for his Paper on "*The Building of the Trinity Aisle, or North Transept, of Thame Church, Oxfordshire, A.D. 1442, et seq.*"

MR. PAYNE began by explaining the drawings which he had brought with him to illustrate his paper, and also called attention to the valuable record of the accounts which, by the kindness of the Buckinghamshire Architectural Society, he was permitted to exhibit. He then proceeded :—

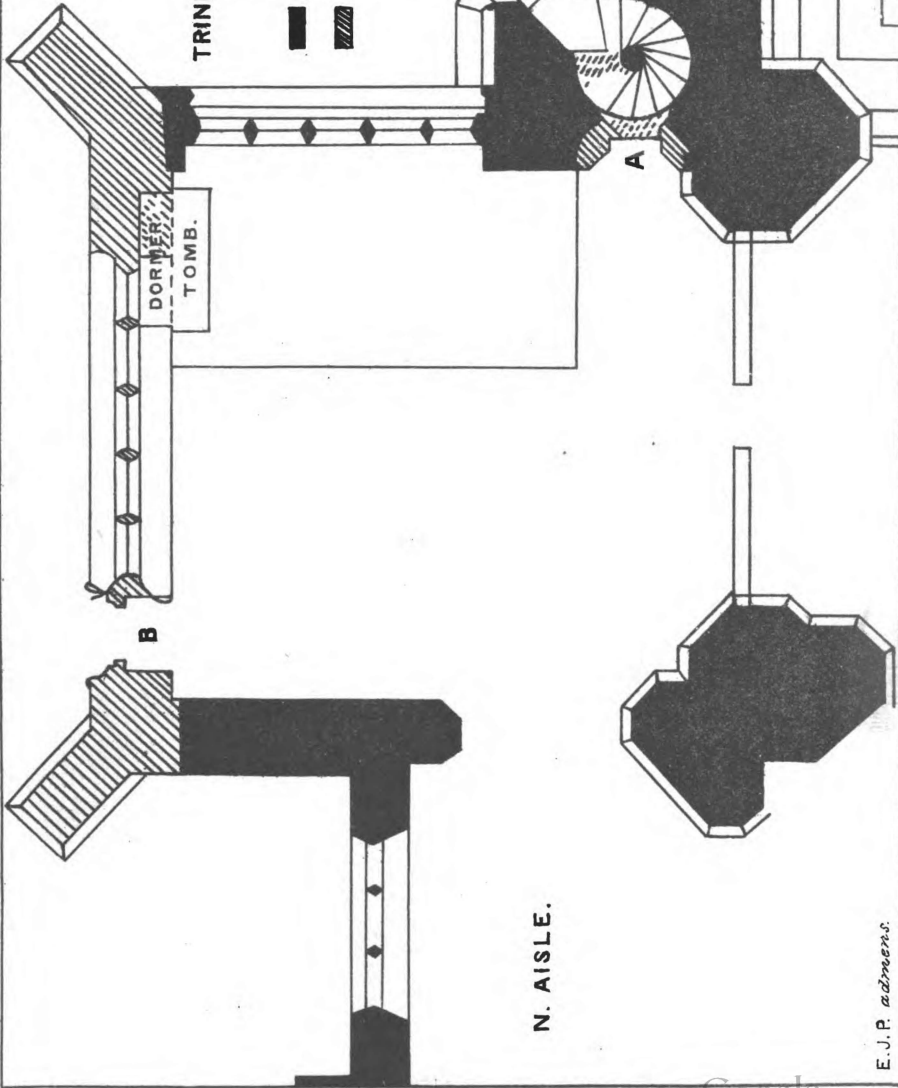
"I cannot promise that the small contribution to the architectural history of the Middle Ages which I am about to lay before you possesses any special degree of interest. Its subject, on the contrary, belongs to the period when medieval art was passing through its last and least interesting phase, to the utter downfall which deservedly awaited its relinquishment, a century and a half before, of the true principles on which it had been founded, developed, and perfected. We cannot, however, pass by any one period of its rise or fall without learning a lesson, whether of encouragement or warning, more particularly when the building is supplemented, as in the present instance, by the original record of its erection, written by the hands of the men who erected it.

"This record is contained in the volume I now produce, belonging to the Architectural Society of the county of Buckingham. The men who erected it were the churchwardens for the time being, John Manyturn and Thomas Bunce. These wardens were, in the true sense of the word, the architects of the work : for they seem not only to have collected subscriptions for it, but to have gone to the quarries to select stone, to the woods to mark timber, to have summoned to the work the necessary masons, carpenters, plumbers, plasterers, painters, glaziers, and labourers, to have paid them day by day and week by week as the work proceeded, to have defrayed the expenses of their bed and board, unless engaged on the 'meteles and drynkeles' system, and to have exercised the general surveyorship of the works.

"But although the general features and dimensions of the work were

**GROUND-PLAN,
TRINITY AISLE, THAME CHURCH.**

Work anterior to.....1442.
 Work completed during...1442,
 according to the accounts.

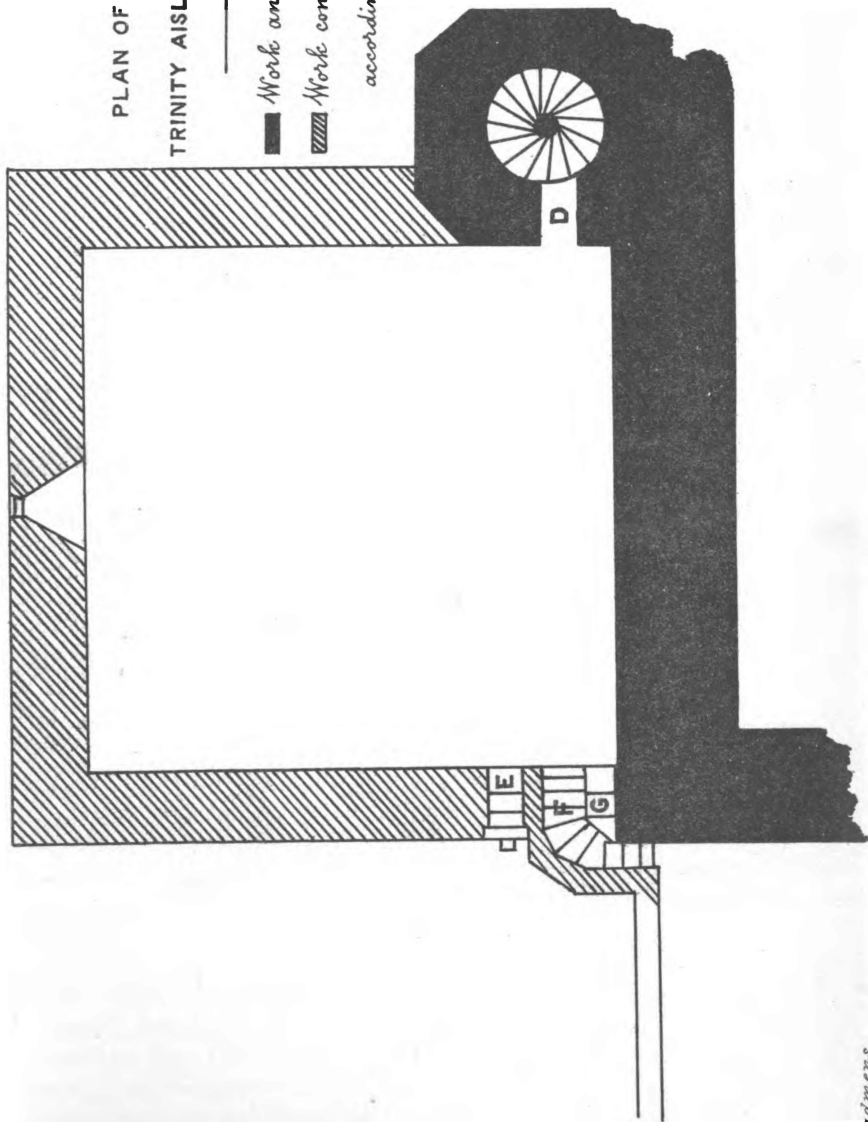


N. AISLE.

E. J. P. abrams.

PLAN OF UPPER-STORY,
TRINITY AISLE, THAME CHURCH.

Work anterior to 1442.
 Work completed during 1442,
 according to the accounts.



arranged according to the orders of the wardens, there is no doubt that the details were in the main left to the master mason, who probably bestowed greater or less elaboration on them, in proportion to the willingness or ability of the wardens to pay for it. To him, indeed, was committed the artistic development of the design made by the wardens, and by them accommodated to the requirements of the building and the resources of the district.

“The result of this warden system was the long list of local peculiarities which are more or less observable in every district of Great Britain. These wardens, with small inclination and opportunity for travelling, saw no reason to follow any other model than the nearest minster, which was commonly imitated, with their own amendments, on a diminutive scale. We may see this strikingly exemplified in the churches of the city of York, each of which more or less apes the salient characteristics of the minster, particularly the large carved waterspouts, the pinnacles, and the broad clerestory windows, which, copied on a small scale, serve to render their humble aisles additionally insignificant. The tower of Allhallows Church, Wycombe, is visibly imitated in the towers of Bradenham, Beaconsfield, and Wooburn: and many other instances of similar imitation will occur to all of us.

“So far, indeed, did this practice prevail, that in ancient specifications some neighbouring building is commonly made to do duty for plan and detail drawings, alterations in intended dimensions being noted. No wonder, then, at the development of local peculiarities from circumstances which originated in local requirements and resources, especially the use of local materials. And had not interchange in ecclesiastical matters necessitated communication with distant parts, so as to keep up the constant circulation of the materials on which the growth of art depended, we should have had in distant provinces not simply peculiarities, but different styles.

“The extensive prevalence of the warden system, as displayed in most old architectural records, tends to shew how generally the knowledge of art was diffused throughout the kingdom among all classes, from the bishops who designed our cathedrals to the petty traders who, as wardens, designed our country churches: so much so, that no middle man, or member of the class now called architects, was considered necessary, in medieval common sense, to intervene between the men who had a church to be built and the man employed to build it. How far the present system of architects is likely to result in a healthy development of our revived architecture it is not for me to say: but it is certain that the duration of a style mainly depends on its popularity, that is, on its being comprehended, adopted, and embraced by the people. And we cannot but admit that the great fields of modern popular building, the suburbs of our great cities and our manufacturing districts,

shew but too plainly that our revival of medieval art has not taken lively root in the stony ground of modern prejudice, but is likely to 'wither afore it be growed up.'

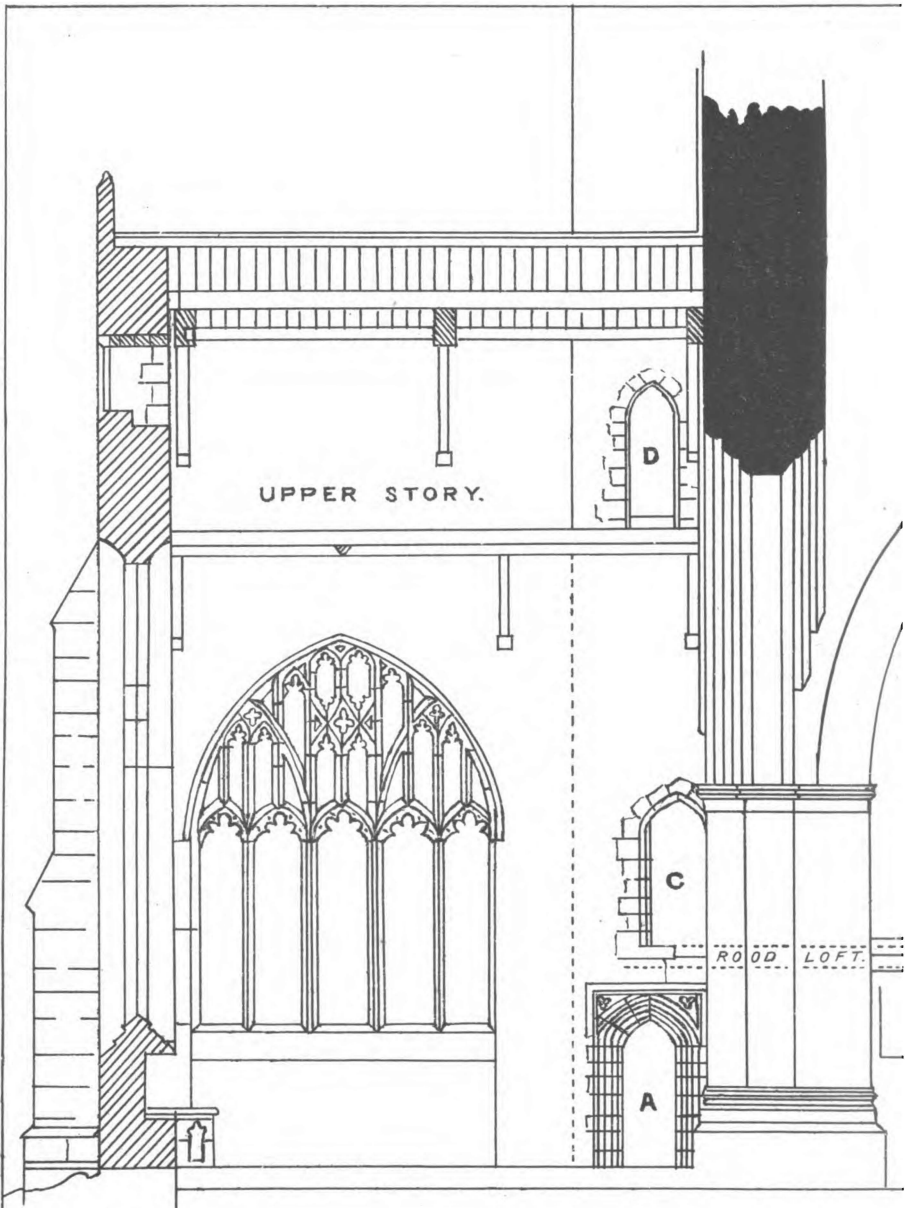
"Churchwardens have so long hidden their diminished heads under the unsparing vituperation of antiquaries that it may seem strange to give them credit for anything except their immemorial attributes, whitewashing*, mutilation, and destruction: but we may one day find that much more is due to them of the honour of developing and perfecting our art than is generally supposed; and that our art began to decline as soon as the influence of learned pedantry corrupted the sources of natural and traditional expression. It was only with the Renaissance that the people were taught that their natural instincts were vulgar and barbarous, and that they were not to be trusted to think for themselves.

"The medieval churchwarden carried out his rural ideas of fitness and beauty with a humble perseverance, which contrasts strangely with the self-sufficient impertinence of modern men, who have thrust stereotyped forms into any and every building, in any and every situation, climate, and association. He built in a tongue 'understood of the people,' and adapted to the people's thoughts and requirements. And unless we are to relinquish all that is dear to us of tradition, of home life, and of English character, no architecture which does not speak to us in that tongue will ever take hold of us, and grow with us into nationality.

"Before proceeding to our immediate object, a few remarks on the original church may not be thought out of place. The present churches of Thame and Aylesbury were both erected in or about the year 1241, in which year they were attached to prebends in Lincoln Minster, by Bishop Robert Grostête. The peculiarities common to the plan of both these churches leave no doubt in my mind that they were erected not under the warden system, but by the directions of Grostête himself or some ecclesiastic of Lincoln skilled in building, by the hands of Lincoln masons. The broad nave and narrow aisles, the short transepts, lantern tower, and wide quire without aisles lighted by lancet windows, form a plan totally at variance with any other church with which I am acquainted in the Chiltern district, excepting in instances like Bierton, built by wardens a short time after this date, where they imitated, and not unsuccessfully, the neighbouring church of Aylesbury. The Chiltern churches generally were influenced by the prevailing styles of masonry at Oxford and London, but with distinguishing features of their own.

"Extensive alterations had been effected in the church up to the

* The extracts from Accounts of 1477 and 1524 *infra* illustrate the well-known fact that the penchant for galleries and whitewash is of pre-Reformational origin.



TRINITY AISLE, THAME CHURCH,

N. & S. SECTION.

A.D. 1442.

year 1442. Perhaps the first was a new geometrical east window of singularly pleasing proportions; next, the rebuilding of the aisles; lastly, about the end of the fourteenth century, the addition of a clerestory to the nave, the ashlarling of the great piers of the tower, the rebuilding of the tower itself from the base of the lantern-story, and the insertion of the east windows of the transepts. Nowhere may we see the decline of fifty years more clearly than in comparing these east windows with those of 1442^b. Boldly pointed arches and subordination of greater and less mullions in the former strongly contrast with the obtuse-angled triangles for arches, and flat panelling instead of tracery of the latter. The tower remains untouched, (if we except the rough-casting which the whole church endured little more than a century later,) and forms a good specimen of the early Perpendicular style. The lantern-story has, as usual, been converted into a ringing-chamber; but the original ceiling of moulded joists carried on sculptured corbels remains. The clock has, however, been in the lantern-story since the middle of the fifteenth century; and in 1465, on the occasion of the new footing of the clock, a floor was erected beneath it, 'to save y^e rode loft yif y^e peyse falle,' at a cost of 9d., including two new joists and the needful planks.

"The Trinity aisle, then, remained pretty much as Grostête's masons left it. The only indications of its original style are the weather-stones projecting on the face of the steeple, and a small lancet window on the west side. The former shew that its roof was of the usual high pitch. We can easily supply the triplet of lancet windows.

"We must premise the original roof to have been taken off, so as to leave the masonry of the side walls uncovered. The first thing our wardens set about is the carting of stone from Headington, of sand from adjacent pits, and of timber from the thick woods on the Chiltern hills. (See Appendix of Accounts, No. I.)

"The east window (which had been set up not many years ago) was in so damaged a state that it had to be taken down and rebuilt. The next operation is the taking down of the gable wall (the north wall) to the very ground. The western and eastern walls are retained, but have to be 'reared,' or heightened. But the taste of 1442 has got a long way before the old-fashioned high roof; and Master East's roof is considered both elegant and workmanlike. The item for 'settyng up' is evidently prospective, for the walls are not yet 'reared;' but the wardens, of course, entered the terms of the bargain made with the carpenter as soon as it was struck: and I cannot help thinking that Master John had the better of them in the matter of the odd half-mark. But he was evidently a first-rate workman, or he would not have been

^b Vide Sections.

sent for from Finchampstead^c. It is not improbable that he had been previously employed by the Oakingham bell-founder to make the bell-frames in the steeple, which would partly account for his being brought from so great a distance. (See Appendix, No. II.)

"The 'rydyng' of the aisle probably means the erection of the scaffolds: the 'kasting' of sand is readily intelligible, during the making of the mortar. Scaffolds were also erected for the repair of the 'fyse^d,' which is evidently the turret which contains the stairs. (See Appendix, No. III.)

"Stone is still being carted from Headington: and the wardens (or rather one of them) make a journey to Teynton, to select stone for the choicer parts of the work, including the buttresses. (See Appendix, No. IV.)

"The door made out of the vyse into the aisle is still remaining, (A on plan,) but blocked up, and the door of timber gone. The other door (the external door—B on plan) was probably the old one, repaired by the addition of the bends—timbers nailed on aslant, or bend-wise. (See Appendix, No. V.)

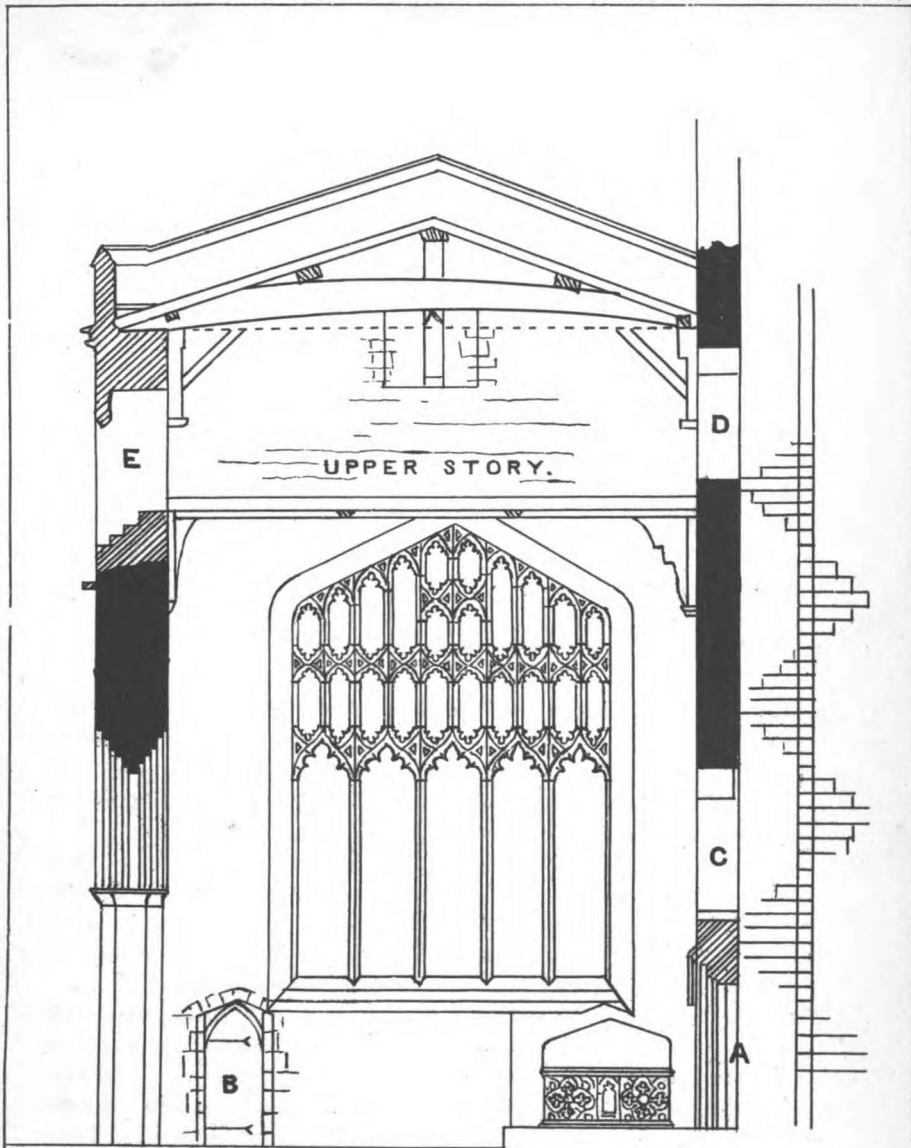
"Now comes the erection of the grand north window. To this window a new mason, probably of renown in Oxford for his window-masonry, is summoned. Mr. Mason is evidently the artistic man, who hews the mouldings out of the stone provided by Mr. Beckley, who, although a good workman, is evidently not to be trusted with anything more delicate than the rearing or raising of the side walls, with corbel-table, crest, or coping, and ashlar, or parapet. But even here Mr. Mason has to be called in for the workmanship, or mouldings.

"Now, for the next three weeks and more, the masons are very busy, until the contract is worked out, and nothing remains to be done in the way of masonry but to erect the gable wall. Beckley, as usual, provides the stone, and Laurence, Warren, and Walkelin execute the work. (See Appendix, No. VI.)

"All is now done, the roof put on, by the care of Master John East, and the structure externally brought to its present shape at a cost of £28 15s. 3d.; of the same value as from £300 to £350 of our money. But in applying this estimate to the building, we must bear in mind the quantity of thirteenth-century masonry left in the foundations and lower part of the walls: new masonry being entirely used in the north wall,

^c The numerous payments to workmen from distant towns, and to others whose names are not given, but who are entered as *extranei homines*, give me the impression that these were mostly itinerants in search of work.

^d "And in the said Stepill shall be a vice tournyng serving till the said Body Iles and Quere both beneth and abof."—*Dugdale*, 363; in *Contract for Fotheringhay Church*.



TRINITY AISLE, THAME CHURCH.

SECTION E.&W.

A.D. 1442.

and in 'rering' (raising) the lateral walls. The south wall (the tower) was of course old.

"The north window, as shewn on the E. W. section, very nearly corresponds in character with the south window of Aylesbury Church.

"As to the loft above the transept, which, as will be seen by the section, intrudes downwards on the tower-arch, there is every reason to believe that it is part of the original design, but was not completed until the following year, when the 300 ft. of board went to make the ceiling. There is, it is true, an item in a subsequent account shewing that 40s. was paid in 1548 for boards to 'mayke' the loft over 'Master Dormer's ile;' but, looking to the construction of the three doors in the loft giving access to the roofs, the stair from one of them corbelling out of the tower in a curious manner, to the fact that the walls have never been plastered (which would certainly have happened had the aisle been open to the roof during a century), and to the construction of the floor and ceiling themselves, I incline to think 'mayking' simply means re-erecting or repairing, a construction often to be put on the word in old phraseology. This is further corroborated by an item in the account for 1480 for nails 'ad opus solarii edicte s'te trinitat^s;' and by one so early as 1464, which I had overlooked, 'for a pype locke to y^e trenite ele dor. in y^e loft, 10d.;' and lastly, by a charge in 1497 for '4 staples and 2 hapsys to y^e trynity Ile dores above in to the ledes,' and in the next year by a payment to 'John ffield for 1 bolt of yron and 2 clapsys of yron to y^e trinite yle dore above in y^e lofte.' The next entry to this records the contrivance of the somewhat dangerous exit on to the third 'lede,' namely, the Trinity aisle itself, which was effected by cutting two steps in a lateral direction from the stair leading to the nave-lead:— 'It. to Thomas Powlen for y^e mendyng of y^e same dore and y^e maykyng of another there goyng over y^e yle lede, and nayles, 6½d.*'

"The south transept, or St. John's aisle, corresponds with the Trinity aisle in nearly every particular. The loft above it is called the Almery in the old accounts, but it is now known as the Old Vestry: it was erected in 1524. As there is no other vestry in the church, no doubt the plate, vestments, and documents of the church were kept here; and several ancient chests, now empty, seem to indicate its appropriation to this purpose."

* Of these approaches to the leads, E descends to the north aisle, F ascends to the nave, and G springs from F about halfway, and ascends to the Trinity aisle leads. See plan and section.

APPENDIX.

Building Accounts of Thame Church, Oxon., transcribed from the Original Records¹.(1442.) *Ex spensys of y^e same yer^e as to y^e trenty ele.*

No. I.

	£	s.	d.
Rychard lavender for a lode of stone from hedendon		1	2
John credy 1 day and a half to hele y ^e selur (8 ^d)		9	
And a C of nayle to y ^e same		6	
Tomas kyngtwyn for y ^e caryage of sond and tymber 4 dayys, 25 lodys ffor a manwel	2	2	10 6

No. II.

ffor y ^e este wyndow yn y ^e same ele for y ^e takyng down and setting up agyn	6	8	
Mete and drynke to y ^e same	1		
John credy 5 dayys to rer ^e y ^e selur	1	8	
Tomas sadeler 1 day and a half 3 ^d wyt many mo			
Mete and drynke to y ^e same	2		
ffor caryage of 6 carful of stone from hedendon, ex spensys mete and drynke	1	7½	
To set y ^e fer ^e on y ^e cherche [yn drynke]		2	
John Gyls for dygyngge of sond		6½	
ffor caryage of 3 carts w ^t stone from hedendon, ex spensys mete and drynke		10	
ffor y ^e makyngge of y ^e w ^e yyys to se y ^e rep ^r asyon of y ^e cherche and stone [thereto] ^s	17	6	
John Walschef 5 dayys for to take a down y ^e gabul wal	1	10½	
Tomas Kyngtwyn for caryage of 23 lods lyme and sond	1	3	
W ^e bowte of tomas mason lyme and sond y ^t come to	7	2	
Tomas tyler of kadmerend, 14 quarter of lyme and 5 bochel	17	1	
Jone uppe for 3 quarter and 6 bochel of lyme	3	6	
John Walschef 2 dayys and a half } to take a down y ^e gabul wal	1	6	
Tomas Sadeler 1 day and a half }			
Rychard Scharpe 3 dayys } for pargettyng and takyng down of y ^e wal	3		
John Walschef 4 dayys }			
John Este of fynchamstede for y ^e makyng of rofe and setting up	4	6	8
John Walschef for 5 dayys to kast sond and to ryde y ^e ele	1	11	
ffor caryage of 3 cartful stone from hedendon, expensys mete and dryng	1	1	

¹ These accounts are transcribed *verbatim et literatim*, with the exception of the following alterations, which the convenience of modern printing has suggested:—1. Arabic numerals are substituted for the old Roman notation, and the ancient numbers of pence are expressed in shillings and pence. 2. The omitted *s* or *m*, denoted by a superposed dash, is inserted; the *r*, when denoted by a contraction, is inserted in small; contractions generally are denoted by a full stop. 3. The short *s* is substituted for the long *s*. 4. Interlineations are thus denoted [], and obliterations thus (). 5. Passages not relating to architectural matters are omitted.

^s I can give no explanation of this item.

	£	s.	d.
ffor caryage of 4 carts from hedyndon, ex spensys mete and dryng .	1	6	
Rychard lavender for a lode of stone from hedyndon . . .	1	2	
ffor (...) nayle y ^e wente to y ^e rofe [6 C]	2	6	

No. III.

ffor rydyng of scaffolds yn (...) ele and y ^e ffyse, 2 men 3 dayys .	2		
a carte of weston from hedyndon, ex spensys mete and dryng .		4	

No. IV.

To glor ^e y ^e wyndow John Walschef 1 day			4
Rychard lavender for 2 lods from hedyndon	2	6	
John Kyng a lode from hedyndon	1	3	
To turne y ^e spowte of y ^e stepul to y ^e plumber		3	
ffor stone y bowte at t ^e ynton		3	
ffor caryage of y ^e same stone and stone for y ^e boteras from teynton to oxsynforde 8 lods	17	4	
And from oxsynforde to tame, 6 lods	7	10	

No. V.

ffor rydyng of y ^e trenty ele and takyng a down of y ^e ferne down of y ^e scheche			1
ffor to make a dor ^e owte of y ^e vyse ynto y ^e ele y ^e mason ^h	3	2	
A laborar 1 day and a half			6
And a dor ^e of tymbyr to y ^e same	1	8	
Rychard lavender for 2 lods from hedyndon	2	8	
2 men a day for to sawwe stone			6
Rychard lavender 1 lode from hedyndon			1 3
Wyllyam halred of kadmerende 8 quarter lyme and a half		10	3
Ire for y ^e fermente 6C of rowyr ^e and 2 li. ¹	1	17	6
Ire y wryotte 4C 3 quarturnys and 26 li [to y ^e same] y ^e sum	2	4	10
To y ^e dore yn y ^e trente ele for 4 bends, to John mexbery ^k			4
And to y ^e same dor ^e for nayle			2

No. VI.

To the wyndow John beckely of hedyndon for stone ¹	15	6	
John mason for hewyng and setting of the same	4	2	6
ffor caryage to the same wyndow for 7 lods of stone from hedyndon as for 3 dayys caryage			8 5
Rychard lavender for 4 lods from hedyndon			5 6
To [a] man of yekeforde for a lode			1
ffor 5 lods (for) from hedyndon ex spensys yn mete and drynke	2	2½	
Tomas Knygt Wynne for 2 lods of sond			2
John beckeley of hedyndon for the reryng of the 2 syde walls w ^t corbeltabul creste and hascheler ^e a bowte y ^e same ele 7 marke	4	13	4
ffor the workemanchepe John mason 4 dayys			2
The same John 6 dayys			3
John mason and Rychard scharpe 4 dayys			4
John mason for 2 dayys			4
Rycharde scharpe for 6 dayys }			
John mason for 6 dayys }			6
And rychard scharpe 6 dayys }			

^h The door A on plan.^k The door B on plan.¹ 6 cwt. of wrought iron and 2 lb.¹ The great window.

	£	s.	d.
Rychard scharpe for 3 dayys }			3
And John gregory for 3 dayys }			
Rycharde scharpe for 5 dayys }			5
And John gregory oder 5 dayys }			
And laborasse for the same worke harry stokys 4 dayys			1 4
the same harry 4 dayys and half			1 6
John Waryn 6 dayys			2
the same John 2 dayys and half			10
John lawransse 6 dayys			1 6
John waryn 6 dayys			2
John lawransse 3 dayys			9
the same John 5 dayys			1 3
John Walkelyne for 2 dayys			8
* * * * *			
ffor freestone to y ^e dor ^e and to y ^e gabulwal y bowgt of John beckely	1	9	1

*The yer^e of how^r lorde a mccccxlviij. yere the viii. day of Julius, y Joh. many-
turne and Tomas bonse schyrsche wardeynys of the new towne of tame, we
have reseyuade to the worke of the norf etc.*

Sequitur list of Subscriptions.

* * * * *

Yn ex spensys of y^e sam yer^e.

ffor 2 lods of stone from hedyndon to Jon. mechel of resborow	2	2
Wylliam hallered for 2 quarter of lyme and 6 boschel	3	4
the weke aftyr syntemaryday Jon. masn. and rychard scharpe 5 dayys a laborar Jon. Walkeleyne 5 dayys	5	2 1
Jon. Mason and rychard scharpe 6 dayys	6	5
Harry Stokys 6 dayys	2	6
Tomas Knygtewyn for 2 lods of sonde	3	
Jon. mason and rychard scharpe 3 dayys	3	
Jon. Walkeleyne 3 dayys	1	
halleso for sawyng of 300 fote and a halfe of borde	4	4
ffor 2 lods of stone from hedyndon to Jon. borne of Yekeford	2	4
Rychard lavender for 2 lods from hedyndon	2	6
hallered for a quarter of lyme	1	4
Jon. Kyng for o lode from hedyndon	1	
Rychard lavender 2 lods from hedyndon	2	6
Harry pede of weston for a lode	1	2
Jon. borne 2 lods from hedyndon	2	4
Gone uppe for 7 boschel of lyme	7	
Jon. mason and rychard scharp 5 days	5	
Harry stoks 6 days	2	
Jon. yreche 5 dayys	1	8
Jon. mason and rycharde schape [6 days]	6	
Jon. yreche 6 days	2	
Jon. borne a lode from hedyndon	1	2
for a barre to y ^e wyndow yn y ^e gabul a bove, to tomas smygth ^m	8	
Jon. Mason 2 days	1	
Wylliam hallerede for 19 boschel lyme	2	3
Jon. borne a lode from hedyndon	1	2

^m The window in upper story.

	£	s.	d.
Jon. Mason 2 days		1	
Jon. borne 2 lods from hedyndon		2	4
Jon. mason 2 days and halfe		1	3
Jon. yresche 1 day and a halfe			6
Wylyyam hallered 4 quarter lyme		4	4
To make klene the rodeseler ^e yn vyse and vernesche ⁿ		3	
Tomas yresche ° fo caryage of 3 lods sonde			3
* * * * *			
Jon. mason and Jon. stowe 3 days		3	6
Jon. Polglas 2 days and a halfe			10
Jon. mason a weke		3	4
Jon. Polglas 2 days			8
* * * * *			
Jon. mason a weke		3	
Jon. Polglas 1 day			4
Jon. Plommer of habyndon, to make y ^e pypys of y ^e nory ^e ele and hele y ^e fyse		3	4
And sowdyr 5 li. and a halfe		1	4
Wylyyam Plommer of Wycombe for lede that wente to y ^e pypys and to hele the fyse 5C, the C 7 ^s 5 ^d , the sum of halle	1	17	1
And for 2 krompys of yr ^e to bere the pypys, to tomas smygth			6½
And for nayle			4
Rychard lavender for workemaschepe of the rofe of the fyse, and for tymbyr borde and nayle		1	8
And for 2 dorys bords hokys and chystys, and nayle		1	3
We reseyuede of rycharde stone for 7 boschel of lyme and sonde			7
And for 3 boschel of lyme of Jo. grene			4½
And for 4 boschel of lyme of a manne of hyckeford			6

*Comptus Thome Bons et Johis. Chapman, yconomor. Eccle. de Thame, pro
nova villa de Thame incipient in vigilia Pasch. Anno dni. m^occcc^oxxix^o.*

Sequitur list of Receipts.

I ^t y reseyuede of halrede of kadmer a quarter of lyme for leyyng of hys lyme yn y ^e schyrschehowse, the wysche lyme y soldde to Johs. mylys, tanner, for	10
* * * * *	
It. to Wylyyam Karpynter of schylton, for makyng of y ^e setys yn y ^e nory ^e quarter of the chyrch at seynt reme ys tyde	13 4
It. to Roberd smygt, for y ^e makyng of 2 [newe] k ^e yys to y ^e dor yn seynt Jone ys elle ^p , as for howr part	8
* * * * *	
It. to Johis Pradte, bokebynder of oxford, dwellyng yn katstrete, for mendyng of the bokys, as for howre pard	5
It. to Roberdd watyr for a bord of hokke to mende wyt y ^e bokys, as for how part	2
* * * * *	

ⁿ Cleaning and varnishing the outside of roodloft. The roodscreen was covered by a curtain on the chancel side. There were certain polished laten balls before the rood in the loft, which were from time to time "skowred." Accounts of 1523-4. ° Irish. ^p The south transept.

	£	s.	d.
It. to Wyllyam Karpynter of schylton, for makyng of the setys at seynt hew ys tyde	13	4	
* *			
It. to Wyllyam plommer of Wykombe, for mendyng of the rofe of the stepul, as for howr parte	14	1	
* *			
It. to Wyllyam Karpynter at hocketyde, 13 ^s 4 ^d . It. for bed and bord 9 dayys, hym and ys schylde, 1 ^s 5 ^d . It. yn bred and hale to . . ere to helpe hym to dryue the setys to the walle, 2 ^d . It. to on of ys neyberys for the karyage of the tymbyr from schylton hedyr wanyt was y framede ^a , 1 ^s 5 ^d . It. for nayle, 1 ^d . * *			
Sequitur the same wardens' list of contributions "to the worke of y ^e setys."			
It. to y ^e plommer of kodysdon for a watyrtabyll of ledde y ^t weywt 14 li. (14 ^d), and mete and drynke and setting ynto y ^e walle			14

the yer^e of howr^e lordd a m ccccl, y^e 20 day of may, Thomas Bonss and Jho. chapman schyrchewardeynys of the new towne of tame, we reseyuade in prymis,

Of Wyllyam halrede of kadmer ^e ende a quarter of lyme for leying of ys lyme in y ^e chyrchehowse, the wyche lyme y solde to Jho. mylys, tanner ^e , for	10
--	----

Account of John Walkeleyn and Thomas Ives, 1452.

Exspencys for y ^e lyttull Bellwheele, makyng	1	2
Itm. naylls to y ^e same wheele	1	½
Itm. we spendyd to beveredg.	1	
Itm. for y ^e makyng of a pyne to y ^e same wheele	1	
Itm. half C. latheys to stope owt y ^e dowfis ^r of y ^e stepull ^a	3	½
Itm. for to make clene y ^e stepull and y ^e bellys	3	
Itm. C. and half lathnaylle	1	½
* *		
Itm. for y ^e makeyng of y ^e wedurkoke	2	
Itm. y ^e setting up of y ^e same koke	1	
* *		
Itm. for mendyng of y ^e glasse y ^e glasyar had, to houyr parte	4	
Itm. y ^e ledde y ^t went yer ^e to 7 lb.	4	
Itm. for mete and dryng and hys Bedde, 2 dayys and a halfe [he and hys mann]	8	

Various Extracts from Account of John Edward and John Walkeleyn¹, 1452-3.

It. op ^r ariis p ^r cariag. lapidum in to the churchporch	1	½
--	---	---

¹ i.e. "from Chilton hither when it was y-framed."

^r Doves.

^a Compare account of 1502-3:—"It. paid to Southwyke for makyng clene of y^e stepull and makyng lates of y^e wyndowys, 12^d."

^b The mechanical manner in which the clerk prefixed the apologetic *le* to unlatinizable English words, whether nouns or otherwise, is thus exemplified in the account for 1488:—"It. sol. p^r le setting up horrilogii quando scda. campana fuit *le* newhanged, 4^d."

	£	s.	d.
It. p ^r emend. plumbi sup ^r le Bauke eccleie. }			8
p ^r plumbo. eiusdem fact. }			
It. p ^r calce empt. p ^r emend. 1 wat ^r tabull ex p ^r te boreal			2
It. p ^r emend. fenestrar. variar. eccleie.			4 8
It. p ^r plumbo et sowl ^r ad easdem fenestr.			4
It. p ^r emend. de le west dore et p ^r porta cimit'ii			1 0

1457. *From Accounts of John Chapman and John Walkeleyn.*

Also we haue payde for y ^e repayr of y ^e hows y ^t Robard Gylle dwellyt in:—			
to a Tyler for 2 dayes meteles and drynkeles			10
Also we payde for a man to s ^r ve hym, 2 dayes metels			6
Also for tyle 2C. we payde		1	
Also we payde for 4 Crestes			2
Also we payde for 13 Got ^r tyle			6
Also we payde for 4 Buschellys lyme			6

1488-9. *From the Accounts of Peter Franklin and W^m Triplade.*

It. sol. Johi. Cathorppe p. CC. tegul. ad domum eccleie. p. p ^r te nra.			7
It. sol. le tylemaker De Cadmerende p. CCCC. tegul. p ^r p ^r te nra.	1		
It. sol. eidm. p. 4 crests p. parte nra.			1
It. sol. Johi. Cathorppe pr. le lathe nayles p ^r p ^r te nra.			$\frac{1}{2}$
It. sol. eid ^m Joh ⁱ p ^r le tile pynnys et clavis p ^r p ^r te nra.			$\frac{1}{2}$
It. sol. Thome Ide p ^r factur. le stapull campanar. p ^r p ^r te nra.			$\frac{1}{2}$
It. sol. Johi. Janys p ^r 1 lode sonde p ^r p ^r te nra.			1
It. sol. Thome tyler p ^r tegulac. dom ^e eccleie. p ^r p ^r te nra.			10
It. sol. p ^r (una assia) [1 assere] ad le stoppyng fenestre retro Gogmagog ^a et factur. eiusd ^m in p ^r te boreali eccleie.			2
It. sol. p ^r 4 planks [ad le flore] campanile p ^r p ^r te nra.			8
It. sol. Will ^o Wodbrigge p ^r factur. eiusd. flore et le clappsyng campanar. ac mundac ^m campanil. et factur. le style erga Crendon brigge in grosso p ^r p ^r te n ^{ra}			2

1464.

It. we have payde to y ^e Carpenters for mendyng of y ^e Chirch howse y ^t Baker dwellyth in			11
It. we payde for stods to y ^e Wallys			2 $\frac{1}{2}$
It. we payde for lathis			2 $\frac{1}{2}$
It. we payde for lathnayle			1 $\frac{1}{2}$
It. we payde for oth ^r naylis to set on stods and twists of y ^e dors			$\frac{1}{2}$
It. we payde for 3 Carteful white erth			3
It. we payde for dawbyng of y ^e Wallys and mendyng of a twist and a hoke			5
It. we payde for Rodds			2 $\frac{1}{2}$
It. we payde for 4 pesis of Oke			1 $\frac{1}{2}$
It. we payde for hey to make y ^e mort ^r			$\frac{1}{2}$
It. we payde for stonys	1		1 $\frac{1}{2}$
It. we payde for grounde pynnyng and mete and drynke			4
It. we payde for John Kyngs labur abowte y ^e sam howse			2 $\frac{1}{2}$
It. we payde for dawbyng of y ^e howse yt was longes			5

^a I presume a picture called Gogmagog.

	£	s.	d.
It. we payde for Rodds to y ^e sam howse			4
It. we payde for stods to y ^e sam howse			2
It. we payde for naylys to set on stods and (for) oth ^r thyngs			½
It. we payde for white erthe to dawbe y ^e wallys			8
It. John Kyng stodyd hit hymself, for his lab ^r we low hym			1
It. we payde for straw to make y ^e mort ^r			½
It. we have payde for a 1000 tyle	2	6	
It. we have payde for Raftur loggs and a post			7½
It. we have payde for hewyng of them and for mete and drynke			2

1500.

It. for 2 paddlokks, one to y ^e chirche yeate, anoth ^r to y ^e bere howse dore ^x			6
It. for a lokke w ^t a key to y ^e chirche howse dore			4
It. to Thomas Powlen for grounde pynnyng, wyndyng, studdyng, dawbyng of y ^e walles, and scoryng of y ^e diche of y ^e chirche howse			3 11
It. to William Alen for 1 lode of white erthe, 1 lode of sonde, 1 pece of elme, and 2 burden rodde			1
It. to John Goodwyn for stude tymbre			4
It. for a lode of stone from Crendon			1 2

1477—1480. *Custus Solar. p. organ^r.*

Itm. sol. Thome Carpenter s. p ^r factura 2 solarior. p. organis situand ^a in gross ^o			8 8
It. sol. Petro Marmyon p. 1 magno ligno maeremii p. dict. solario			3 4
It. sol. p. 7 p ^r vis peciis meremii p ^r c ca 2 ^d			1 2
It. sol. p. 2 lignis meremii ad dict. opus			10
It. sol. p. 1 alio ligno meremii ad idm. opus			10
It. sol. p. 2 plankes ad idm. opus			1
Itm. in cert ^a clavis viz. 4 peny nayle and 5 ^d nayle			8
Itm. in asseribus viz. 200 and 1 qrt. ad idm. opus			6
It. sol. Will ^m Smyth p. heng ^a hoks and 2 barres ferri ad idm. op ^a			1 10½

S^m 24^s 2½^d.Et sic p. pte. Nove Thame, 12^s 1¼^d.S^m Solar. p. organ. [p. Nova Thame], 12^s 1¼^d.*Organ maker.*

Itm. sol. Johi. Organmaker ^r pma. vice			1 6 8
Itm. sol. eidem Johi. Organmaker alia vice			1
It. sol. eidm. de pecunia collect. p. p ^r ochianor. ut p ^r in billa p. nra. parte			18 3½
[It. sol. Edwardo Jonson ad delib ^a and. Johi. Organmaker ^r]			1 6 9
			4 11 8½

^x Probably a hovel near the church gate, whence the bier was brought out and placed at the gate at funerals.

^y I am not aware of any other account of the building of a mediæval organ-loft. It seems to have been in two portions, like the organ.

^z There is also mention in the book of Alan Organmaker.

Prius. It. rec. div'is p'ochianis p. novis organis emend. et collect. p.	s. d.
Joh. Kyng et Johem. Benet ut pꝛ p. billam de p'cell. 36 ^s 7 ^d unde	
p. pte. nra	18 3½

These organs were sold in 1523 to the parson of Staunton (St. John?) for 50s.

1524.

It. payed for 6 bussells of lyme to the wasshing of the church wallys	1
It. payed to John Tyler for sweping and wasshing of the church walls	4

Prices Current of Building Materials and Labour in the Middle of the Fifteenth Century (1440—1480), Thame, Oxon.

	s. d.	s. d.
Mason per day		
Carpenter per day	5	to 7
Plumber per day		
Labourer per day	2	to 4
Sawyer per 100 ft.	1	3
Stone per load from Headington	1	2 to 1 4
Carriage per load from Headington, 10 miles	3	to 5½
Stone per load from Crendon	1	2
Tiles per thousand	2	6
— per hundred (roofing), from Cadmer End	3	to 3½
— per hundred (roofing)	6	
Gutter tiles and ridge tiles, each	½	
Laths per 100	6	
Sand per load (cost of digging)	1	
Lime per quarter of 8 bushels (Cadmer End)	1	to 1 4
— per bushel	1	to 1½
— and sand per bushel	1	
Roofnails per 100	5	to 6
Lath-nails per 100	1	
Eaves board per 100 ft. (run?)	2	7
Lead per cwt.	7	5
— per stone	11	
— per lb.	1	
Solder per lb.	3	
Coals per bushel	1	
Locks and keys, each	4	
Padlocks, each	3	
Bell founding (Hazlewood of Reading, old bell used up) per cwt.	5	
Sanctus bell	13	4
Gudgeons to bells, per pair	2	2
Brasses to ditto, each	1	7½
Great bell rope	10	to 1
Rope to Sanctus bell	3½	
Whit leather for bawdricks, &c., per skin	1	
Rafters, joists, &c., of small scantlings, per ft. (cube?)	4	

Ecclesiastical Necessaries.

Wax, in the lump, per lb.	7	to 10
Making ditto, according to size, per lb.	½	to 1
Tallow candles, per lb.	1	
Sises, per lb.	7	

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Lamp oil, per gallon	1	4	to	1	8	
New surplices	2	6	to	5		
Holy-water stick, of laton	9					
Washing surplices, albs, each			½ to			1
——— a suit of vestments	4					
Small cord for curtains, &c., per dozen ells	4					
Rope to the font	3					
Lamps, per dozen, from Oxford, delivered at Thame	5½					
Linen cloth for rochetts for bellmen and clerks, per ell	6¼					
Broad cloth for binding vestments, per ell	7½					
Holland cloth for ditto, per ell	5					
Ribbon to copes, per yard			½			
Canvas to make bags for the books, &c., per ell	4					
An old yellow chasuble sold for	7½					
A new missal	1					
Repairs to old books, according to amount of damage.						
The Prior of Notley rebound old psalters and manuals (small size), and supplied defective leaves, at 1 ^s 10 ^d each; for larger volumes from 5 ^s to 10 ^s was paid at Oxford. Bookbinding details as follow:—						
Buckskins for covering, each				2		
Red skins, per dozen				4		
White skins, per dozen				3		
Brass bosses, per dozen				2		
New bellows to organs (Dyer of Oxford)	11					
A great chest, bound with bonds of iron	9					
Basket for holy bread				5		
Cases to chalices, each				3		
A new cross, silver and gilt, with images of SS. Mary and John	22					

Payment to a painter of Buckingham for a picture of the blessed Mary, 1480, £1.

Note as to the above prices. The proportionate value of money in the fifteenth century to ours may be safely taken at a *minimum* of shillings for pence. We shall thus arrive at an idea of the relative cheapness of different materials. Lead, for instance, at the price quoted above, was at least three times as costly in the fifteenth century as at the present day: this probably resulted from the immense cost of carriage from the mines over medieval roads. Lamp oil was also expensive in proportion: and books are, as usual, at an enormous price. If we assume the organ to have contained one row of pipes only, the price paid for it is higher in proportion than might have been expected.

Mr. TYSSEN, of Merton College, enquired if there were any reference in the account to bills.

Mr. PAYNE replied [that there were numerous entries, and proceeded to read several.

Mr. J. H. PARKER pointed out the value of their record from an architectural point of view, as it gave the exact date of buildings

which were existing, and which were erected at a period when there was much change going on as to style.

The PRESIDENT agreed with these remarks as to their value, but he thought their historical value was not less.

He asked if any trace of a prebendal house were in existence at Thame. Mr. Payne replied in the negative. Several observations were made by the members as to the curious details throwing light upon the mode of building at that time, e.g. the absence of the architect, whose duties seem to devolve upon the churchwardens, the distance from which the stone was fetched, the various names of the persons employed, &c. And after a vote of thanks to Mr. Payne the meeting separated.

Second Meeting, Michaelmas Term, 1863.

Dec. 10. The second meeting was held (by permission of the Curators) in the lecture-room of the Taylor Buildings. The Rev. the MASTER OF BALLIOL, President, in the chair.

After the usual business the following members of Committee were elected :—

The Rev. J. R. T. Eaton, M.A., Merton College.
 The Rev. W. W. Shirley, M.A., Wadham College.
 The Rev. C. W. Boase, M.A., Exeter College.
 The Rev. J. E. Millard, D.D., Magdalen College.
 J. C. Buckeridge, Esq.

The following gentlemen were elected Auditors :—

The Rev. the Master of University College.
 The Rev. H. F. Tozer, M.A., Exeter College.

The Rev. the PRESIDENT begged, as the last act which he should be able to perform as President of the Society, to propose as his successor

Professor Goldwin Smith.

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH was duly elected, and took the chair accordingly.

The Rev. P. G. MEDD asked permission of the Chairman to propose

a vote of thanks to the late President. He could not do so without referring to the constancy with which he (the President) had attended, not only the general meetings, but the committee meetings also; and to the great attention which he had on all occasions paid to the interests of the Society.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—

The Rev. E. Wykeham, M.A., New College.

A. R. Maddison, Esq., Merton College.

The PRESIDENT then called upon the Rev. P. G. Medd for his remarks on "The Crypt of St. Gervais at Rouen, and on some Churches in France."

Mr. MEDD began with some remarks on the general characteristics of continental cathedrals as compared with our own, such, for instance, as the more frequent non-completion of the design, especially the frequent absence of the central tower, as well as of one of the western towers; their greater height, of which perhaps Amiens and Beauvais are the most remarkable instances. Inside, he said, one could not help being struck, notwithstanding one's admiration of the indestructible beauty and proportions of the fabric, with the general dirtiness of everything, the execrable taste exhibited in tawdry decorations and trumpery paintings, and the renaissance, or even Louis Quatorze altars in the choirs of Gothic churches, e.g. a most obtrusive one at Amiens, which, however, he was happy to learn was about to be removed. He certainly thought that, although there were very visible signs of improvement, at present ecclesiastical and architectural taste were not nearly so advanced in France as in England.

He then proceeded to describe the remarkable crypt under the church of St. Gervais at Rouen, a building in itself interesting from its antiquity, although it is the third church on that site, and from its having belonged to the priory where William the Conqueror died, after the siege of the neighbouring town of Mantes. A full description of it, with illustrations, is given in a work entitled, *Saint-Gervais de Rouen, Eglise et Paroisse*, par Jules Thieury, 1859.

The crypt is entered by a flight of twenty-eight steps, descending from the interior of the upper church. It is about 34 ft. long, 16 ft. wide, and 16 ft. high. The first view of it, dimly lighted as it is by a small round-headed window of later construction at the east end, carries one back at once to the days of the Church in the Catacombs, ere Christianity was yet a *religio licita*. Constructed about A.D. 287 by St. Mello, who was the first preacher of Christianity in Northern Gaul, under the government of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine, it is the earliest scene of Christian worship in that part of

France. Its plan is such as one would have expected at the period—a parallelogram whose length is about twice its width, with a semi-circular apse at the east end. The first two-thirds of the rectangular space constitute the nave, separated by an arch resting on bold projecting piers from the remaining third, which would seem to be a sort of choir. From this, under another arch, you rise a step into the apse or presbytery. A low stone bench extends against the wall on both sides of the nave and choir, if we may use those terms, and from its still remaining on either side of the apse seems originally to have run, according to ancient custom, all round the east end, the altar in all probability standing clear in front of it. Now, however, the altar stands in its later position, against the east wall close under the window. It is a thick slab of stone, resting on an upright slab at either end, but not built up solid in front. In the front edge of the upper slab are some holes bored in the thickness of the stone to some distance, for the insertion of relics. On either side of the arch, at the entrance of the apse, there still remains a strong iron hook, fixed into the wall at the height of about 8 ft. From these, as it seems, used to hang the veil, which, according to the custom still retained in the Eastern Church, concealed the altar and the officiating priest during the celebration of the Mysteries. Some faint indications of fresco-painting still remain on the roof and walls, which exhibit courses of the flat tile-like Roman brick inserted at intervals in the stone masonry. On the right and left, immediately as you enter the crypt, are two arched recesses in the walls, exactly like the *arcosolia* of the Catacombs. These are the tombs of St. Mello, and his successor St. Avitian, who assisted at the Council of Arles in 314. The body of St. Mello was removed in 880 to Pontoise, for fear of the ravages of the Northmen.

This most interesting relic of Christian antiquity is situated on a rising ground a short mile outside the city of Rouen. The spot was probably covered with forest at the time when the first Christians of *Lugdunensis Secunda* selected it, doubtless with a view to privacy and concealment, as their subterranean place of worship. No one ought to visit Rouen without making a point of seeing it.

On the conclusion of Mr. Medd's lecture, Mr. J. H. PARKER observed that the crypt of St. Gervais is probably one of the crypts of that early age which were built in imitation of the churches of the Catacombs. He also pointed out that, as regards Strasburg, it should not be classed as a French cathedral, but as a German one, though it was now in the French dominions.

Mr. BRÜTON enquired as to the dimensions of the crypt, which were explained by Mr. Medd.

The PRESIDENT referred to the height of the French cathedrals. This height was also remarkable in their houses.

Mr. FREEMAN said he had also seen the crypt of St. Gervais, but it was quite accidentally he came upon it. It was a pity more people did not go to see it. It was, if not one of the most curious things anywhere, certainly one of the most interesting in that city. He referred to the fact of Hume stating that the Conqueror died at St. Gervais, but omitted saying what church of St. Gervais it was. He then remarked upon the error which Mr. Parker had referred to, of looking at Strasburg as a French church, an error into which Mr. Petit had fallen in his work on the French churches. With regard to what was said about the grandeur of French churches, he thought persons looking at a few specimens only were too apt to jump to a conclusion. We had nothing to be ashamed of if the buildings of the two countries were fairly compared. It was true, perhaps, they had five or six larger, but the average, he thought, were rather smaller. He could not admire the striving after height which comes out in the smaller as well as in the larger ones. Taken as a whole, he would not rank York and Westminster below Beauvais, Amiens, or Rheims. He thought, too, the absence of a central tower—an important feature in the beauty of a church—might arise from the habit of giving such height to the walls; he contended that St. Ouen at Rouen was the finest church in the world, as it combined the beauty of the French churches with the central tower of English churches. He might add to Mr. Medd's remarks, that there was a tendency in French churches to build towers in odd places, especially against transepts. It is seen at St. Denis, and it is remarkable at Bordeaux, where there are four towers, but they are at the ends of the transepts. There is, again, no distinction in France between minsters and parish churches. Here the churches presented two distinct types, but the parish church in France did not exist—it was a small cathedral, and the Somersetshire type of church was unknown. The absence, too, of good square towers, complete in themselves, was also remarkable; they all either had or required spires. He agreed with Mr. Medd as to the imperfect state of the churches in France; it is true that the majority were never completed, but still he thought that there were a few exceptions. The mere absence of a tower at the west end was not to be considered as a mark of incompleteness.

The PRESIDENT then called upon A. D. Tyssen, Esq., of Merton College, for his paper "On the Old Churchwardens' Account-books in St. Peter's-in-the-East, at Oxford." Mr. Tyssen said:—

"The extracts that I am going to read are from two of the churchwardens' account-books of St. Peter's-in-the-East, extending

over the period 1613—1733. The churchwardens brought in their accounts every Easter; at first written out on a separate piece of paper, and when they had been seen and allowed, they were engrossed in the book. Among the expenses for the year 1614, the second year in the book, occur :—

	s.	d.
1614-1615. Item, for a booke to keep the Church Compts in	2	0
Item for wrightinge the Church accomptes, and ingrossinge the other	2	0

“ And again, in the year ending Easter, 1624 :—

Item for wrighting the accomptes, and parchment	1	6
Item for ingrossing the accomptes in the book	1	0

“ This custom, however, was not always kept up, but later on the accounts were brought in ready copied out in the book, it being taken for granted that they would be allowed. On one occasion, however (April 10, 1732), they were ‘ denied,’ as it is called, by the majority of the parishioners; but it is not stated what fault was found with them, nor how the matter was settled, except that at another vestry, held on July 16 in the same year, a suggestion was signed that Mr. Serjeant Hawkins’ opinion should be asked, and the churchwardens should proceed accordingly. And again, on July 28 an order was made that the churchwardens appeal to the sentence given by Dr. Brook.

“ The earlier years have merely just as much written as was necessary—the date of the accounts, the names of the churchwardens and the accounts themselves, and the churchwardens and sidesmen chosen for the following year. But later on, the signatures of the parishioners are appended who approved the accounts, and lists of the church goods, and other incidental notices occur, which make it more interesting. In fact, the book served the purpose of a vestry-book as well as churchwardens’ account-books. Though the churchwardens themselves could write they still preferred to go to the expense of having the accounts copied in neatly. The greater part of the second book is in the beautiful handwriting of a man named Francis Clarke. The receipts of the church were derived by quit-rents from ‘ Oriel, xvij^d; the Chamberlains of Oxford, vj^d; Hart Hall, iiij^d; All Souls, viij^d; Wolvercott, iij^s iiij^d; Ch. Ch., vj^d; University Coll., xij^d.’ The last two were not paid every year. The quit-rent from Oriel was for ‘ the Taberd,’ that from All Souls for part of the Warden’s study. In 1704, this last from All Souls was increased by thirty shillings for some new buildings. Other receipts were for the rent of three houses, one being called ‘ the Saracen’s head.’ Also

from an annual collection at Hocktide^a, called 'Hocking money,' for placing people in seats, for which the fee was one shilling; and burial receipts, being 3s. 4d. for the use of the pall, and 6s. 8d. for making the grave.

"Of course there were many incidental receipts, of which the most curious is the rent of the crypt in the middle of the seventeenth century; the items are:—

	s.	d.
1657-1658. It. of Tho. Guy for one q ^r of a yeares rent for y ^e vault under y ^e Chauncell	2	6
1658—Ap. 5, 1659. It. of Tho. Guy for y ^e vault under y ^e church	10	6
Ap. 5, 1659—Ap. 24, 1660. Rec ^d of Thomas Guy for the vault	4	6
1662—Ap. 21, 1663. Of Mr. Walker, Joyner, for 3 quarters rent for the vault, the 3 quarters ending at Lady day last	9	0
Ap. 21, 1663—Ap. 12, 1664. Of Mr. Walker for half yeares rent for the vault, ending at Michaelmas last	6	0

"These formed the chief sources of the parish income; together with church rates, of which, however, this parish seldom stood in need. The payments are of a much more various character, and I shall endeavour as much as possible to arrange them by subjects:—
1. Parish taxes; 2. Parish charities; 3. Historical notices; 4. Repairs of the church; 5. Repairs of the bells.

"And first, those that may be regarded as parish taxes. The parish paid a quit-rent of 6s. to the city, and 6d. to Northgate Hundred. It had to keep in repair a certain amount of armour, and pay men to wear it at the training. Entries relating to this only occur during the first ten years of the book, down to 1623.

1614. Item for makeinge cleane the Armor	1	0
1615. Item for makeinge cleane the Armor	1	0
1616. Item to Smythe for makinge cleane the Armor	1	0
1616, 1617. Item for a belte for a sworde	1	0
Item for armeinge the Pike, and mendinge the Coslett	1	0
It. to Short for keeping the Armor	1	0
Item to John Knowles for carringe the Armor to Wately at the Trayneinge	0	8

^a Hocktide, Plot tells us, in his History of Oxfordshire, was a fortnight after Easter, but whether Monday or Tuesday were the right day for the festival is uncertain. "Now, however, that is in 1705, we observe two days here (in Oxford), on Monday for the women, which is much the more solemn, and Tuesday for the men, which is very inconsiderable." Some suppose the origin of the festival to be to commemorate the massacre of the Danes in the time of King Ethelred, which was chiefly accomplished by the women. "Wherefore the women to this day bear the chief rule in this feast, stopping all passages with ropes and chains, and laying hold on passengers and exacting some small matter from them: with part whereof they make merry, and part they dispose of to pious uses, such as the reparation of their church."

	s. d.
1621. Item to Shorte for trimming the Armoury	1 0
1623. Item for a dagger-sheath and two handles, for a sword and two daggers	1 0

“It is worth noticing, that in Roman numerals, any sum less than two shillings is given in pence; and, similarly, the reckoning in shillings extends to £3.

“As well as thus contributing to the public defence in time of war, it had to help to protect private individuals against fire; and to keep a number of buckets in good repair, together with ladders, poles, and hooks, and other things necessary to their use. In 1622 the number of buckets was eight, but more were added, and in 1671 they were increased to twenty-four; and in the same year we find—

P^d for the orders in a frame for the prevention of the danger of fire 0 8

“Another tax which the parish had to pay was called smoke-farthings. Though the churchwardens’ accounts only begin in 1613, there are several loose bits of paper of earlier date in the book; one of these is a receipt for smoke-farthings in 1565:—

Receav^d of Thomas Rumlings for the smoke farthings of Sanct Peters in the east, in oxon, unpaid for xij years ended at the feast of sanct Michael the archangel, in the vijth yere of the reigne of Queen Elizabeth, the sum of xiiij^s, vi^d; for every yere xiiij^d.

ANTHONY PYTTS.

20 December, 1565.

Mr. TANNER, Vicar.

“This fourteen pence a-year was paid very irregularly during the first half of the seventeenth century, sometimes being allowed to run many years into arrears, and sometimes not being paid at all. In 1669 there was

Paid to John Twycrosse for seven yeares arreares, it being demanded in the name of Will. Glynne, sherreife of the county, for smoake farthings formerly belonging to the monastery of Evensham, at one shilling two p^{ce} per annum 8 2

“After this the smoke-farthings for five years due to his Majesty at Michaelmas, 1673, are paid to Mr. Izard; and again, in 1676, for three years more. Then they are allowed to run on for twelve years, and in 1688, 17s. are paid to the king’s receiver (14s. would have been the amount at the old rate). There is then another interval of seven years, and in 1695, 15s. 6d. is paid (whereas 8s. 2d. would have been the sum at 1s. 2d. a-year). And in 1699, after an interval of only four years, 9s. are paid. If we suppose in each of these last payments 4d. to have been for the receipt (or acquittance as it is called), it gives 2s. 2d. a-year for the last fourteen

years of the (seventeenth) century, instead of 1s. 2d. After 1700 the payment of smoke-farthings seems to have ceased altogether.

“The parish also had to keep their roads in repair. In 1644 there was

	£ s. d.
P ^d William Badger for Stones, Gravel, and for pitching the Churchlane	2 11 8

“In 1651 this duty had been neglected, and there was paid to Reynolds the sergeant for an amercement for not pitching before Queen's college in the lane against the church 1 0

And, accordingly, ‘two loads of pitching stones at 2^s and 6^d the load’ were bought.

“The parish at one time got into a lawsuit, on the subject of keeping in repair one of the lanes, apparently Longwall-street. For in the accounts given in, April 13, 1658, are the following entries:—

It. paid to Goodman Gold for a post set under the wall of the Greyhound Inn ^b , being a bound to y ^e p ^{ish} , 3 6
It. to Fran. Powell for setting up y ^e s ^d post 1 8
It. to Wm. Pilgrim for colouring y ^e s ^d post 0 8

“The effect of putting up this post was soon apparent, for the same year there was—

It. p ^d to Mr. Whorwood the Attorney for appearing for y ^e p ^{ish} at y ^e Quart. Sessions in a suite brought y ^m for not mending y ^e highways in y ^e Lane beyond y ^e Greyhound Inn 3 4
--	-------

“The suit was brought by Holywell parish, and in the next year, 1658-9, there was—

It. layed out about charges in y ^e lawsuite concerning y ^e mending of y ^e Highway behind y ^e Greyhound 2 4 6
--	---------

“The case then lay in abeyance for ten years, and the parish levied taxes for its maintenance. At last, in 1668, the churchwardens triumphantly record their

Charges in law ag ^t Hollywell as by bill, concerning y ^e repairing of Holywell lane, in which contest Holliwel was overthrown 7 13 11
---	-----------

“Their expenses, however, did not end here, for the next year, 1669, there was

Paid to the Town Clarke for drawing the inditement out of the court which was put in by Holliwel 6 5
--	-------

“And in 1673 there was a further bill of £7 8s. 5d. for law expenses to be paid. Also on March 12 in this latter year, 1673², the parish paid £4 at an agreement to free the parishioners for ever from the charges of the said highway. The highway is minutely described

^b The Greyhound Inn stood where Magdalen schoolroom now is.

as 'leading from Hollywell-lane end without Eastgate to the east end of the low long wall towards Magdalene College.' And, curiously enough, it is not Holywell parish, but the city of Oxford that is to be obliged to keep this street in repair for the future. The agreement, it is stated, was entered in the assize-book, and the churchwardens also had it copied out in their account-book. But the parish were determined still further to secure their rights. The road had of course fallen into a bad state and had to be repaired at once; accordingly seven little children (the eldest of them fourteen years old) were sent down to ask the workmen, and heard them say, 'that they were employed and were to be paid by the City of Oxford.' The children sent in their declaration of this, adding that 'the churchwardens gave us two blue leather poynts a-piece.' The blue leather poynts cannot have been any very complicated toy, for the cost of the whole fourteen was 7d. The lawsuit seems to have cost the parish altogether about £22.

"Nor was this the only occasion on which the parish strenuously asserted its rights, for also on

June the 23rd, 1728, at a vestry meeting it was unanimously agreed that the cause depending in Doctors Commons between the parish and Mrs. Fletcher should be carried on at the expense of the parish.

"However, since there are no expenses on this score put down to the parish, the cause, we must suppose, never came off.

"And again, we find—

Memorand., May the 2nd, 1706. Being Holy Thursday, Richard Gillman and Benjamin Cuttler, Churchwardens, they (or one of them) with Mr. Josiah Pullen, their minister going their p'ambulacon, and coming to enter into a certain malthouse near New College, that the parishioners usually passed through in their said p'ambulation, they found two stables erected by Mr. Thomas Sellar (or his order) that hindered and obstructed their said usual passage. Now these presents witness, and the said Thomas Sellar doth hereby declare, that the parishioners on their p'ambulacon day yearly have a right of passage through the said stables into the said malthouse. And that at any time hereafter, if the inhabitants and parishioners of the said parish doe and shall insist on the same, he the said Thomas Sellar, . . . at his own proper costs and charges, shall and will lay and leave open the said ancient passage way. In witness whereof the said Thomas Sellar hath hereunto subscribed his name, in the presence of several persons who have hereunto subscribed their names.

THEO. SELLAR.

"Money was often paid for maimed soldiers; this perhaps ought not to be considered as a tax on the parish so much as a charity. It was not, however, given to the soldiers themselves, as the entries are:—

	s.	d.
1618. Item to Mr. Shillingsworth, the Maiors Sergiant, for maimed soldiers	10	0

	s.	d.
1623. It. paid to Mr. Fletcher for the maimed souldiers	10	0
1645. Paid Mr. Paynton for maymed souldiers, 2 ^o Aprilis	14	0

“Often the churchwardens were entrusted with the distribution of money left by will to the poor; e. g.

Aug. 10, 1649. Given to the poor of the p'ish of Saint Peters in the east, in the city of Oxford, by the honourable Lady Brankard, the some of three pounds, disbursed as followeth.

Then follows the list of the poor people. And at other times, if the parish had money to spare, it would give some to the same purpose.

“In 1614, for instance, the balance was £23 13s. 5½d.—

Which 13s. 5½d. was presently (at once) given to the poore. And it was also agreed that fyve pounds was to be given for placing out Edward Goodspeedes childe w^{ch} fell to the charge of the p'ishe.

“There are other instances in the book of the parish providing for children that fell to their charge^c, and also of their taking care of grown-up parishioners:—

1622. It. for 2 Elles of Canvis, and for Lockram for clothing Sarah Frankner	4	8
--	---	---

“And in 1646, Stephen Prince, the churchwarden,—

Payd for wid. Boston to my brother Prince, Good. Clarke, and Ff. Gillman, about their charges in fetching of her home	11	0
And—Gave William Alexander for his wife and child's charges home	7	0
And—Pd to Mrs. Egerly for carriage of 214 lb. of Bedding, Brasse, and ropes, herself and her child	15	0

^c “Bastards fell to the charge of the parish, if their fathers were unknown, or in such a case as the following:—

“Memorandum, April 23, 1699. Being Sunday, a meeting was called by the Church Wardens of this p'ish, Mr. Josiah Pullen, Minister, and the greatest part of the p'ishioners appearing. It was then in the Chancel of the said Parish unanimously agreed on, that in consideracons of the sume of £20 lawful money of England should be payd into the hands of the church wardens of this p'ish, the said p'ishioners did then p'mise that on the paym't aforesaid they would for ever saue harmless John Warham, of Eyton in the county of Salop, from all and all manner of charges whatsoever that should at any time hereafter arise, for or by reason or meanes of a Bastard child named . . . Bledlow, being born of the body of Mary Bledlow al's Blackmoll.

“Now know all men that we (the C. W.s) have this thirteenth day of May, 1699, received the £20 above menc'oned, and have accordingly, by an instrument under our hands and seales, discharged (witness our hands) the said John Warham.’

“Churchwardens often gave money to pregnant women to get them out of the parish, so that the child might not be born and become chargeable there. No doubt cunning women often took advantage of this weakness of churchwardens of parishes through which they had occasion to pass, by pretending to be with child when they were not, and so extorting money from them. On one occasion, at Stroud in Kent, there is an entry in the churchwardens' accounts, of the payment of 1s. to the clerk's wife, for searching the woman that was stuffed.”

	£	s.	d.
Moreover gave her in money		5	0
1687. Paid in keeping of Simon and his wife		3	4½

“ In 1679 a man named William Thomas fell to the charge of the parish ; the first expense concerning him is in 1679-80,—

Paid for scouring Will Thomas his britches		0	0	2
“ Then,				
paid towards repairing a room for Will Thomas		0	10	0
paid for Will Thomas his clothes and making		1	1	6
1680-1681. For mending Will Thomas his shoes at several times		0	3	4
For two paires of stockings for Will Thomas		0	3	8
For a wastcoat and a paire of Stockins for W. Thomas		0	8	0
For making the same		0	1	6
For Will Thomas his lodging		1	0	0
1681-1682. W ^m Thomas's lodging		1	0	0
1684-1685. To Mr. Brickland for mending Will Thomas shoes		0	0	10
1687-8. Layd out on W ^m Thomas and John Nixon		0	9	4
1689-90. Gave Will Thomas at times		0	1	6

“ The churchwardens also gave money to poor travellers with passes and letters of request ; sometimes mentioning their names and habitations, as in

1680-1681. To Henry Morgan with a pass		1	0
To Francis King, of Taddington in Bedfordshire, with a pass		1	0
To Rob ^t Porter, of Soutcoats in Lincolnshire, with a pass		1	0

“ The following are other instances of donations to poor people not parishioners :—

1641-1642. It. to the chamberlaines of oxon for the releise of the people at the Pest house		2	18	0½
1674. Given to a man that had great losses at Kingston upon Thames		0	0	6
1683. Gave to a woman of Enson, loss by fier		0	1	0
1687. Given to Tho. Lazenbees order towards his loss by fire		0	2	0
1689-90. The procession dinner		0	6	8
To some people y ^t had lost all they had by fier ; by the request of y ^m that ware at dinner gave y ^m		0	2	0
Gaue to poor Irish Protestants, and to other passes on severall occasions allow'd by Mr. Vicechancellor and Mr. Maior		0	19	10
1720. Given to a poor man that the sea broke in upon		0	1	0
1730. Gave to severall that was taken by the Turks, and others with passes		0	7	0

“ The gift to the poor Irish Protestants was no doubt a contribution to a general subscription throughout the country, which was made in the summer of 1689. A brief, I believe, was granted for it. Tho. Lazenbees' order also was probably a brief. These briefs were granted for rebuilding churches, especially for churches destroyed by fire, for individual loss by fire, and even individual loss at sea. Also for a variety of other purposes, such as for captives in Algiers^d, Sallee, and other dominions of the Turks (1668) ; for the redemption

^d These are from a book in the church of Rotherfield, Sussex.

of captives in Turkey (1670); poor ministers in the kingdom of Hungary (1676); Protestant church, Duchy of Berg, Germany (1708); Hagen church, in Westphalia (1759); for sufferers by an inundation with a storm of hail at Boby and Villar, in the valley of Luzerain, Piedmont (1740); loss of cows and beasts about London (1715); Folkstone fishery (1726); oyster dredgers and fishermen of Medway and Milton (1741); the harbours of Dunbar (1738), St. Andrew's (1729), and Aberbrothock (1733), Scotland; loss by a storm of hail at Dunstew and Deddington, Oxford (1738).

"Most of these just quoted were granted during the first half of the last century, during which period briefs were very numerous. The subscriptions to them were, however, generally very small, and the collection of them must have been troublesome and expensive.

"Stow tells us that in 1618 the church of St. Leonard, Eastchepe, having been burnt down, the king was pleased to grant his letters patent to gather money in six shires; but the man entrusted to collect the contributions walked off with all of it.

"No doubt at many churches the money was paid at the time to the collector and no record kept of it. At other churches the collections for briefs were entered in the register books, and at other, again, special books were kept for them.

"At this church apparently no record was kept till 1706, when 'a new book to enter what's collected by Briefs' was bought, costing 5s.; and in the next year there was bought, in addition, 'a book to enter receipts for Briefs,' costing 2s. 4d.

"Before this date, however, a few notices of collections by briefs find their way into the churchwardens' accounts; when the money collected was for some reason or other 'not called for' at once. It was then temporarily put into the churchwardens' hands, and they were ordered to be ready to pay it when lawfully required.

"In this way there are notices of briefs for Wem, Shropshire; Topsham, Devon; Eaton, Morpeth, and St. Ives.

1677. The Briefe for the parish of Wem, in county of Salop, Collected by Mr. Benjamin Cuttler and Mr. Henry Hopkins, Sidsmen, The sume of £1 6s. 3d. ob. q., and lyes in Mr. Hopkins his hands.

1678, March the 29. Mr. Hopkins paid the said Briefs for Wem to John Savill, as his acquittance will shew.

April 22, 1679. Mem^d that there was likewise put into the Churchwardens' hands the sum of twelve shillings and sixpence, gathered Sept. 10, 1676, upon a breife for Topsham in Devonshire, to bee refunded out of the Church stock by the Church wardens when it shall bee called for.

April 13, 1680. Mem. that 12 shillings and 6 pence, put into the account the last year, gathered for Topsham Sept. 10, 1676, bee refunded out of the Church stock when lawfully required.

April 18, 1682. recd. then of Mr. Harrison 13s. 6d., being monies gathered for Eaton and not called for, and put into the parish stock.

“ At April 18, 1682, there is also a memorandum that 12s. 6d. for Topsham, gathered Sept. 10, 1676 ; 13s. 6d. for Eaton, gathered May 28, 1676, be ready to be paid.

	£	s.	d.
1690. Received by collecting two Briefs	2	2	7
And by one other Brief	0	16	8½
1691. Received for a Brief from St. Ives	1	4	7
Paid M ^r Harris Morpeth Brief	0	16	8½
Paid M ^r Killy out of St. Ives Brief	0	0	9
Paid M ^r Ayres for St. Ives Brief	0	17	3

“ I next come to historical notices. First as regards the King’s arms. In the year ending March 26, 1638 :—

It. to Francis Powell for making the frame to the Kings arms and setting them up	0	3	8
It. to M ^r Fairebeard for 3 ells a quarter and a halfe of Canvas for the Kings Armes	0	3	11
It. to M ^r Fairebeard for nailes	0	0	5
It. to Richard Holby for painting the Kings Armes and the church	5	0	0

“ In the year ending April 22, 1652 :—

To Goodman Saunders and his man for taking downe the table with the Kings Armes	1	0	
To Goodman Pilgrim the painter for wiping out the Kinges arms behinde the pulpit	0	6	
To Goodman Saunders for wiping out the Kings armes upon both sides of the church by an order from the Committee, and for whiting over the same	1	0	

“ In the year ending April 24, 1660 :—

Itm. p ^d for the new flourishing of the Kings armes and putting them up	12	6	
--	----	---	--

“ Oxford was the stronghold of the royalist party, and it is worth noticing that the King’s arms were set up before he was proclaimed, this item occurring in the accounts given in on April the 24th, the King being proclaimed on May the 8th.

“ We further find in the accounts given in April 16, 1661 :—

Imprimis for a bonfire and ringing upon y ^e Kings Mat ^{tes} returne into England	4	6	
--	---	---	--

“ Two years later, on the occasion of the King’s marriage, there were still further rejoicings :—

Ap. 16, 1661—April 1, 1662. Ite. laid out for the Maypoles	2	13	6
Ap. 1, 1662—April 21, 1663. Ringers upon the Queen landing	0	1	0
To M ^r Dennis Whight when the Maypole was brought	0	4	6
Spent upon Wildgoose for mesuring the Maypole	0	0	3
Paid to Goodman Badger for pitching and graveling about the Maypole	0	7	2
for pulling downe the Maypole	0	4	0
for carrying away dirt at the Maypole	0	0	2
21 April, 1668. Rec ^d for the bigger maypole with its Iron worke	1	11	5
for the lesser maypole	0	15	0

£ s. d.

Apr. 1664—28 March, 1665. Paid at Hoektide and Whitsontide with
the maypole and all expenses paid 14 0 0

“ Also we find in 1644-1645 :—

Paid for faggots for a bonfire upon the routing of the earl of Essex in the
west, by the Governor and maiors commands 3 10

“ There are many notices of the bells being rung for victories and
on other occasions of public rejoicing. For instance :—

1645-1646. To the ringers for ringing good news from General Gerard out
of Wales 2 0
To the ringers by y^e governors Command for the enemies departure
from Oxford 3 6
1653-1654. for ringing the day of the election of the Lord Protector 1 0
1657-1658. It. p^d for ringing y^e Bells at his Highness y^e Lord Protector's
proclamacon 2 0
1660-1661. bonfire and ringing upon y^e Kings return (already mentioned) 4 6
1684-1685. for ringing the day the King^e was proclaimed 1 0
1688. to the parator for a book of thankgiving for y^e P. of W. 1 0
to the ringers for the same account 5 0
to the ringers on King W^m and Queen Marys proclamacon 3 0
1689. to the ringers on King W^m and Queen Marys coronation 3 0
1691-1692. paid for ringing at the reducing of Ireland 2 0
paid for ringing at the reducing of Limerick 2 6
1692-1693. paid for ringing for a victory at sea (La Hogue) 2 0
1695. paid for ringing at the taking of Namur town 2 6
paid for ringing at the taking of Namur castle 2 6
paid for ringing on the thankgiving day for taking Namur 2 6
1704-1705. It. ringing for two victories¹ and on a thankgiving day 9 0
1708-1709. It. ringing for a victory in Flanders (Oudenarde) 3 0
It. ringing for the relief of Brussels 3 0
1713. It. ringing on the news of signing the peace 3 0
It. ringing at the proclaiming peace with France 6 0
It. ringing at the proclaiming peace with Spain 6 0

“ To these we may add :—

1625. It. for bread and wine at the communion at the public thankgiving
for the ceasing of the plague the 19th of Februa. 3 3
1640. For a prayer for the Kings good success going to Scotland 0 4
1645. For a petition to the Lords about the protected houses concerning
the payment of taxations 2 6
1652. It. for a warrant to bring those before the Justices, who refused being
foreigners to leave the parish harmless 0 4

“ Next for repairs of the church, and other things connected with
it, we have in 1635 :—

Item for the houreglasse 0 0 8
Item for yronworke for the houreglasse 0 4 0
In 1621. Item to Goodman Holbie and Abbots for makeinge the Queens
tombe² 1 0 0

¹ James II.

² Capture of Donauwert, battle of Blenheim.

³ Queen Elizabeth's monument.

	£	s.	d.
1665. For beautifying Queen Elizabeth's monument and renewing the dyall at y ^e church door	1	6	0
1707. It. paid to M ^r Rowe for repaying Qu. Eliz. picture	2	6	6

"The fashion of putting up monuments to Queen Elizabeth seems to have been very general: the last edition of Stow's "London" gives a great many samples; one of which is said to be a type of the monument erected by King James. They were adorned with texts and verses.

"The following specimens were of frequent occurrence:—

- (1.) If royal virtues ever crowned a crown,
If ever mildness shin'd in majesty,
If ever honour honour'd true renown,
If ever courage dwelt with clemency,
If ever princess put all princes down,
For temp'rance, prowess, prudence, equity,
This this was she that, in despite of death,
Lives still admired ador'd Elizabeth.
- (2.) Read but her reign this princess might have been
For wisdom called Nicaulis Sheba's queen,
Against Spain's Holofernes, Judith, she
Dauntless gained many a glorious victory.
Not Deborah did her in fame excel,
She was a mother in our Israel:
An Hester who her person did engage,
To save her people from the public strage.
Chaste patroness of true religion,
In court a saint, in field an Amazon,
Glorious in life, deplored in her death,
She was unparalleled Elizabeth.
- (3.) Marvel not why we do erect this shrine
Since dedicated 'tis to worth divine;
Religion, arts, with policy and arms
Did all concur in her most happy reign,
To keep God's church and us from plotted harms
Contrived by Romish wits and force of Spain.
- (4.) Here lies her type who was of late
The prop of Belgia, stay of France,
Spain's foill, faith's shield, and queen of state,
Of arms, of learning, fate, and chance.
In brief, of women ne'er was seen
So great a prince, so good a queen.
Sith virtue her immortal made,
Death, envying all that cannot die,
Her earthly parts did so invade,
As in it wrackt self majesty;
But so her spirits inspir'd her parts
That she still lives in loyal hearts.
- (5.) If prayers or tears of subjects had prevailed
To save a princess through the world esteem'd,

Then Atropos in cutting here had failed,
 And had not cut her thread but been redeem'd:
 But pale fac'd death and cruel churlish fate
 To prince and people brings the latest date;
 Yet spite of death and fate, fame will display
 Her gracious virtues through the world for aye.
 Spain's rod, Rome's ruin, Netherland's relief,
 Heaven's jem, earth's joy^b, world's wonder, nature's chief.
 Britannia's blessing, England's splendor,
 Religion's nurse, the faith's defender.

“Queen Elizabeth's monument and the hour-glass have both disappeared from the church of St. Peter's-in-the-East, and very faint traces remain of the dial just mentioned. As regards it,—

	s.	d.
1685. To Rich. Tipping for a cock for the Dial and work about the bells	6	6
To Lyonell Broughton for a scaffold for the Dyall	3	6
For playstereing y ^e Dyall	1	6
1689. Pd M ^r Peesly & a labourer for work and the use of the stuff for the scaffold for new doing the Dial	2	0
Mem. that M ^r John Prigon and M ^r Henry Wyldgoose nwe drawed and painted the Dial gratis.		

“We find in—

1622. Item to Thomas Glazier for six schore and viij ^t quarrelles of glasse, and 14 foote of glasse leaded, sodred, and banded	14	2
---	----	---

“In 1635 a new wall, fifty-five yards long, was built at the west end of the church:—

Item laid out for the new wall at the west end of the church for 9 loads of scabble burre at 10 ^d the load at the pit	7	6
Item for carrying the said stones at 1 ^s 10 ^d the load	15	0
Item for a load of freestone for coping the same wall	4	0
Item for two loads of mortar for the same wall	2	0
Item for carriage of the load of freestone	1	10
Item to James Partridge for making the same wall at 1 ^s 4 ^d the perch ^k	13	4
1671. Memorandum that the chancell windowes were mended at the sole charge of Merton Colledg in the yeare 1671.		
1677. Memorandum that when William Byrd and John Betts, Church Wardens, repaired the Church of St. Peters of ye east that Mertine Colledg repaired the third part of the butreses one the south side there between the chancel and the Church at their cost and charge.		

“In 1685 the chancel was restored by collection, costing £37 15s. 3d.

“In 1693 the gallery was built:—

Nov. 15, 1693. We whose names are subscribed . . . being desirous that a Gallery should be erected, desire Mr. Jacob Bobert and Francis Clarke to be assistants to the present churchwardens in the bargaining and accounting wth the workman, (viz.) Mr. Rich. Speakman, carpenter, and others.

^b Or, earth's joy, England's gem.

^k 10 perches=55 yards.

^l Should be 16s. 6d.

“On the 10th of April, 1694, was delivered the account of the receipts and disbursements on account of erecting the gallery, anno 1693:—

RECEIPTS FOR THE GALLERY.		DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE GALLERY.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Rec ^d of M ^r Vicechancellor	4 0 0	Payd M ^r Minn and others for	
Collected of the parishioners	10 10 6	the Gallerie	61 15 3
Of S ^t John's College	2 0 0	Payd for the Font	10 15 6
All Souls Coll.	2 0 0	A Bason to the same	0 4 0
Magdalen Hall	2 10 0	A string to the same	0 2 6
Merton Coll.	10 0 0	Work about the same	0 18 6
Hart Hall	0 10 0	Painting the same	0 11 0
Wadham Coll.	1 1 6	Beavers and other necessary	
Trinity Coll.	2 0 0	expenses	0 8 4
New Coll.	5 17 6	Payd M ^r Speakman for work	
University	5 0 0	done in the church	1 19 6
Brasenose Coll.	2 0 0		
Jesu College	2 13 6	Payd in all	76 14 7
Baliol Coll.	1 1 6		
Magdalen Coll.	5 0 0		
Oriel Coll.	1 6 0		
Edmund Hall	0 15 0		
Corpus Xti	2 7 6		
Lincolne Coll.	1 0 0		
the parish stock	15 1 7		
Rec ^d in all	76 14 7		

“And there is a memorandum dated March 30, 1714:—

That the said Gallery is for the use of y^e women of y^e said parish, to be an addition to their seates, and in y^e Lent Sermons for y^e Masters of Arts. Our principal benefactor towards this Gallery was the right hon^{ble} Montague Earl of Abingdon.

“Since University sermons were then preached in this church, we find that the colleges contributed to the building of this gallery. And again on Jan. 27, 172 $\frac{2}{3}$, it was

Agreed to accept of the favour from the University of the organ, and to return their humble thanks for the same, and also to accept of what sum the University are pleased to allow toward the charge of placing it in a new organ loft, which the parish agree to have erected for that purpose.

“And on Feb. 28 following it was agreed—

To allow Mr. Church, the organist, ten pounds per annum, as a salary, for his attendance and performance on every Sunday and Holiday throughout the year.

“In 1722, a branch and two brass sockets for the desk were bought, and extensive repairs were done to the porch, the roof, and the tower, amounting altogether to nearly £40.

March 27, 1722—Ap. 16, 1723. Paid M^rs field for plastering and whiteing the porch 0 14 10
 Payd for the branch and two Brass sockets for the desk, and a large box and carriage 15 3 6
 Paid the Smith Wilcox for the Branch Iron and Cramps to the roof of the Church & Ironwork in the Tower 4 12 8
 For repairing the roof of the Church, and making new seats behind the font and a new floor over the porch, a new dore to

	£ s. d.
the Tower and mending the Church dores, and weather boards	
in the Tower and mending the old seats	18 15 6

“ In 1727 a workhouse was built, the bills amounting to £180 17s. 7d.

“ The following entries are also worth noticing :—

1614. Item for mending the glasse on Mr. Parrots tombe	3 6
Item paid to the Carpenters for new bordinge the Painthouse	8 3
1686. To Hughes for a dore to the Scullhouse	2 0
1646. Paid to Good. Badger for stones a Gravill & worke for y ^e Pumpe	11 0
Mem. that this sum of 11 ^s for y ^e Pumpe was not allowed at y ^e accounts.	
1647. For mending y ^e Parrish Pumpe	16 0

“ Lastly come the repairs of the bells.

“ The entries relating to the bells in the earlier years are very numerous, for there were no screws then to fasten all the machinery, and consequently it required continual repair to keep it sound. A man named William Rainford was for some time paid 2s. 6d. yearly to look after the bells, besides his bill for their repairs.

“ Three bell wheels in 1615 cost 36s.

“ Bell-ropes were 5d. per lb. in the beginning of the seventeenth century, 6d. at the end: the weight of one rope would be about 7 lbs.

“ A bawdrick was sometimes 2s., sometimes 2s. 6d.; it consists of an iron band with leather beneath it to fasten the clapper on to a hook or staple fixed in the crown of the bell. It was riveted on to the clapper by iron pins, or, as they are sometimes called, coterells.

“ In 1654 the first bell was re-cast; there was—

Rec ^d for a tax that was made by the parrish concert towards casting	
the bell	5 10 6
of those that were not in the tax	0 6 0
Paid to Goodman Cauckot for removing the beame in the belfry	0 1 6
For help to take downe the first bell	0 1 0
To John Bew for carring and bringing home the bell from Christ-	
church	0 1 8
To the Bellfounder for casting the first bell	5 8 6

“ The bell-founder was no doubt one Michael Darbie, who is said to have been a native of Kelsale in Suffolk, but in 1654, and during the two following years, he had a temporary foundry erected in Oxford. While here he re-cast the five old bells of New College into eight, and the same at Merton; he also cast two bells for St. Aldate's, one for Islip, one for Headington, one for Stanton St. John, this bell of St. Peter's, and possibly a few more in the neighbourhood.

“ In 1663 the second bell was re-cast, and there was paid,—

for casting the second bell	5 10 0
for 51 pounds of mettall	2 11 0
for weighing the bell twice & for help then	0 5 0

“The bell-founder on this occasion was probably Richard Keen of Woodstock. The church had a peal of five bells all this time, but in 1700 they were re-cast into six. The first entry shewing signs of this step being taken is in 1697:—

	£	s.	d.
Expended at two meetings w th Mr Keen ab ^t the Bells	2	9	0

“Satisfactory arrangements, however, apparently could not be made with Mr. Keen, and three years later Mr. Abraham Rudhall of Gloucester was employed to cast the peal. In 1700 there was—

It. spent at two meetings to bargain w th the Belfounder	0	3	0
It. for the articles and bond from the Bellfounder	0	7	6
It. paid for the carriage of the Bells to y ^e water & home again	0	4	6
It. charges at loading the Bells at the water	0	8	6
It. their water carriage to Lechlade and back again	1	8	0
It. for help in drawing up the tenor	0	2	6
It. paid M ^r Speakmans bill for work & timber at y ^e bells	10	1	5
It. paid the Belfounder M ^r Rudhalls 1 st payment	15	0	0
It. paid him for 4 new brass boxes	1	4	0
It. paid him for wast of mettle, being 82 ^l at 1 ^l p. pound	4	2	0

“There are other bills about the bell the same year, the whole amounting to £35 15s. 1d.

“And there is a memorandum that there are still £15 due to the bell-founder, which £15 is paid in three instalments during the next two years. The money for this was raised by subscriptions and taxes.

MISCELLANEA.

1614. Item to Goodman Wylegoose for whipping y ^e dogs	4	0
Item to Goodman Wylegoose for ridding the grate and other work	0	10
Item to Pattin for ridding the duste from the church for a whole year	1	4
1644. Paid for a warrant to my lord chief justice clerk to find out the mother of a child that was laid at the church door dead	2	0
1645. To John Bewe for drawing a dead horse out of the churchyard	1	0
To Goodman Currell for ayring the Church after Agerley had carried his bedding into it	1	0
1616. Item to the carpenter for two days work and his beavers	2	6
1646. For Beaveridge for y ^e workmen	0	4

“The custom of giving beavers to workmen is no doubt still generally practised, and the name also survives in many places. Amongst which I may mention that at Winchester College, every afternoon¹ in summer a certain amount of bread and beer is put out for the boys; and the interval of half-an-hour’s play allowed on those afternoons on which there is school is called beaver-time. No doubt originally the beer, or whatever beverage was then supplied, was the ‘beavers,’ and the bread an addition to it; but now, curiously enough, the pieces of bread have come to be called beavers, and one piece a ‘beaver.’”

¹ Except Saturdays and Sundays.

After Mr. TYSSEN had concluded his paper a discussion ensued upon the word "smoke-farthings^m," which were supposed to refer to a tax of a farthing upon each hearth; also on "beavers."

On the constant occurrence of subscriptions for objects not connected with the city, the Rev. Dr. SCOTT referred to briefs for poor Palatines; and suggested that these, and others previously mentioned, which manifested an interest in foreign affairs, were probably granted for political purposes.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Medd and Mr. Tyssen was then proposed and carried.

Mr. PARKER then exhibited drawings of the interesting wall-paintings discovered on the south wall of Headington Church during the restorations. A facsimile of Mr. Buckler's very accurate drawing is presented with the Report:—

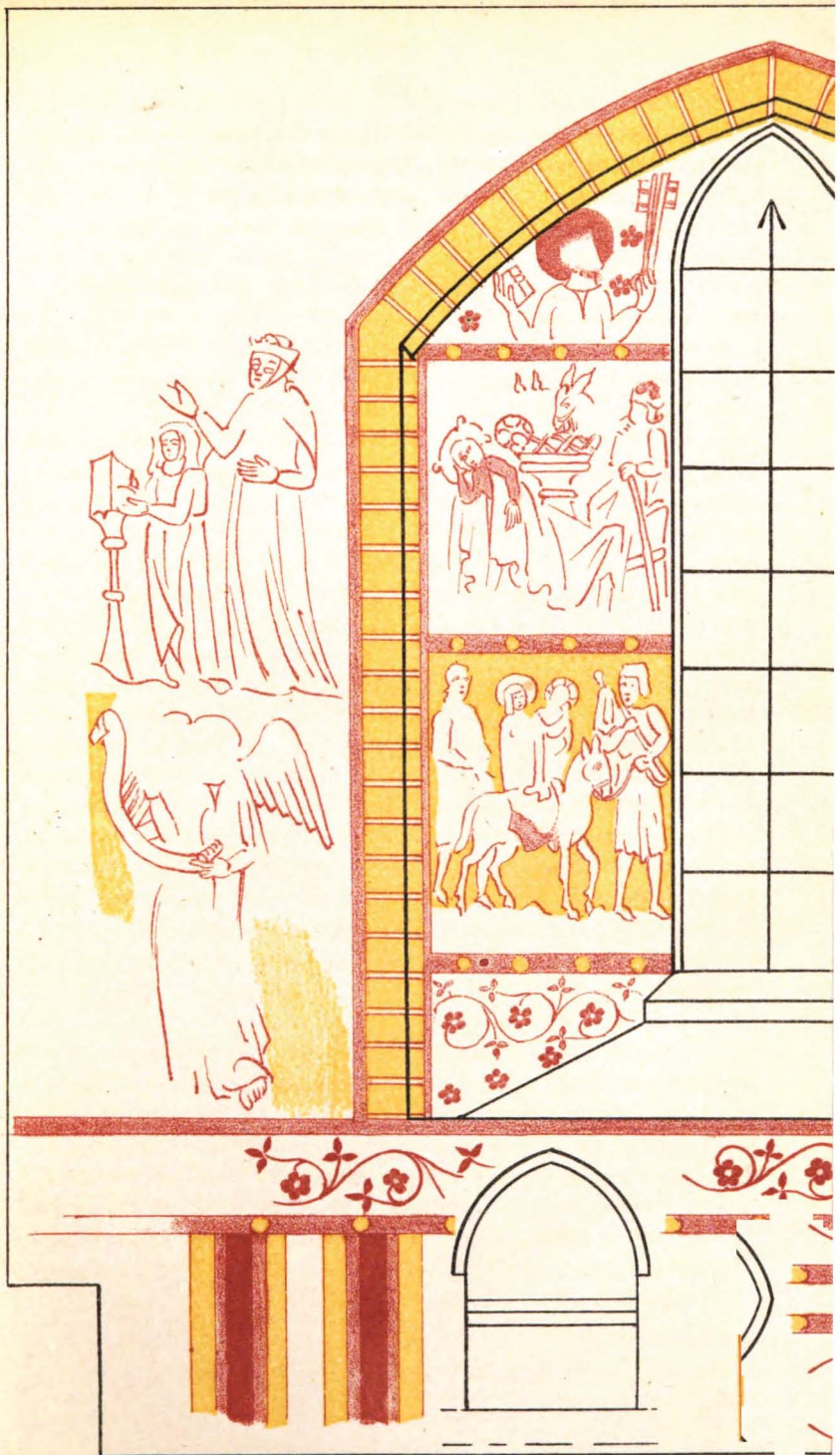
"These paintings were on the south wall of the south aisle, and were discovered in the summer of 1863 during some repairs which were much required and the enlargement of the church under the direction of the Messrs. Buckler. The wall was so much cracked and decayed that it was necessary to rebuild it, and the paintings therefore could not be preserved, but Mr. C. A. Buckler made a careful drawing of them, of which a facsimile is here presented to our readers. These paintings were on the sloping jambs or splays of two lancet windows, and on the wall adjoining to them. The subjects are, 1. The Nativity, with the infant Christ in a singular cradle resting on an Early English capital, with rude figures of the Virgin and St. Joseph and the heads of asses; 2. The Flight into Egypt; 3. Herod receiving the Wise Men; 4. The Wise Men carrying Gifts; 5. The Murder of the Innocents; 6. Shepherds directing the Kings; 7. Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, with Zacchæus in the tree; 8. The Shepherds watching their Flocks (?).

"To the right of the windows is a figure of St. Christopher, to the left St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read. Over the subjects in the jambs of the windows are the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Virgin and a Bishop, probably St. Nicholas (?). Under the windows is a very elegant Early English scroll of foliage and flowers.

"The whole of these paintings were executed in distemper with red and yellow ochre; they belong to the class usually called frescoes, with which it appears that all our early churches were originally ornamented."

The meeting then adjourned.

^m The parish of St. Lawrence, and St. Giles, Reading, also paid smoke-farthings, to the King; and St. Mary, Lambeth, to the Bishop of Winchester.



C. A. Buckler.
June, 1863.

First Meeting, Lent Term, 1864.

March 1. The first meeting was held, by kind permission, in the New Museum, PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH, President, in the chair.

The following presents were announced:—

“Sessional Papers of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1863—1864, Part ii. Nos. 1 to 6.”

The Rev. H. ESTRIDGE then gave a lecture on “An Ancient Tumulus at New Grange, in Ireland.”

“This curious tumulus stands in the middle of a field, about 100 yds. from the road. It is surrounded at its base, at about 16 ft. from it, by a circle of monoliths standing at equal distances along its



General External View of the Mound (looking North).

whole extent: some of these are very large, especially those near the entrance of the subterranean passage, some of which are as much as 9 ft. high, and about the same in circumference. Many of these stones, however, have been sadly mutilated and broken, and some thrown quite down.

“The circumference of the mound at its base is about 380 yds. It is covered with long coarse grass, and some small thorn-trees. The summit is in the form of a basin or amphitheatre, sinking to the depth

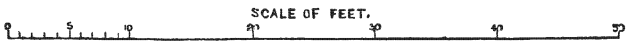
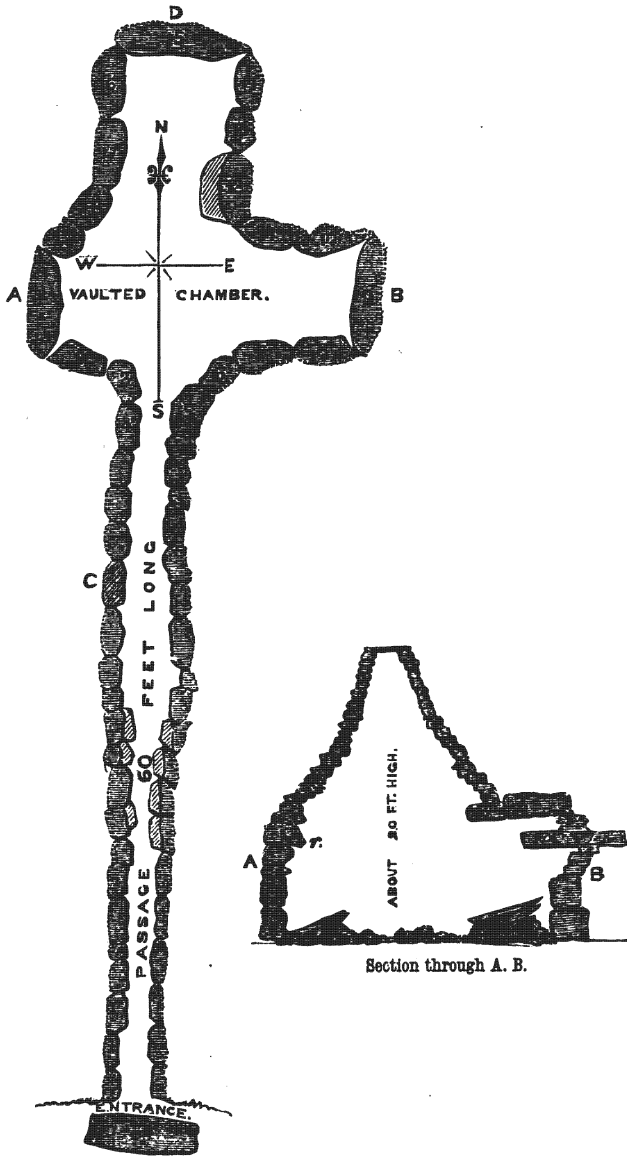
of about 10 ft. below the rampart or edge. From this rampart to the ground at base must be about 40 ft. This form seems to suggest the idea that the mound has at some time been used as a place of defence.

“In the lower part of the embankment, on the south side of the mound, is the entrance to the subterranean chamber. In front of this stands the large stone of which I have given a rough sketch on the accompanying plan. It is partly imbedded in the earth, and forms a steep step or threshold about 10 ft. long, 2½ ft. high, and 2½ ft. wide.



Entrance to Subterranean Chamber.

It is carved, as I have endeavoured to shew, into a series of spiral coils about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. deep, bordered and filled up in the interstices with curves and zigzags, one end having in addition an extra border of interlaced zigzags. Immediately behind this is the entrance—a small aperture in the embankment, formed by two upright stones, with a third placed on the tops of them. The passage is at first about 4 ft. high, and 2 ft. wide; it is built throughout its whole extent in the same way, i.e. with side stones, having flat ones resting upon them to form a roof. About 19 ft. in, you can no longer advance without stooping very low, or (which indeed is much the easier plan) crawling on your hands and knees. The reason of this is that the side stones are not so upright as at the entrance, but slope inwards till they almost touch at the top, (see Plan). This inconvenience, however, does not last very long. After about 8 ft. of very narrow passage, it again widens so much that you can almost walk upright to the end. Only one of the stones in the passage was carved, as far as



PLAN OF SUBTERRANEAN STRUCTURE AT NEW GRANGE, co. MEATH, IRELAND.

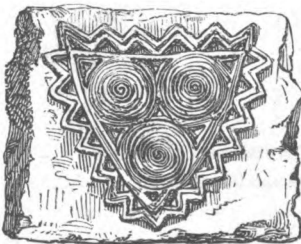
I was able to make out; it is the one I have shaded and marked C in the Plan. The pattern of the decoration was of precisely the same character as that on the large stone at the entrance; but it was not so completely covered: it consisted of a few spirals, I think three or four, grouped together with zigzags; something like No. 1 on the Plan, but not so elaborate. The whole passage from entrance to the vaulted chamber is 60 ft. long.

“The chamber itself is a cruciform domed structure, about 20 ft. high. Its two widths (measuring, so to speak, from the extremity of the arms of the cross) are from north to south 26 ft., from east to west 21 ft. The walls are formed by nineteen large monoliths, many of them as much as 8 or 9 ft. high. I have numbered them in the Plan. Their relative size is not correct, but I think they are placed as nearly as can be in their exact position. Above these, as can be seen from the sectional drawing, are placed several large flat stones, overlapping each other, till they reach the edge of the dome, when the stones become much smaller, and are arranged in layers with much more regularity. The flat stone at the extreme top is about 3 ft. across.

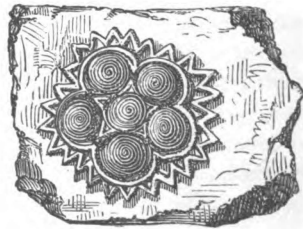
“The arms of the cross are formed by three recesses, varying in depth and height, which I have marked A, B, D in the Plan.

“Recess A, it will be observed, is much shallower than either of the others; indeed, it is so very nearly a continuation of the side of the dome that it can scarcely be called a recess at all. The stone *r*, which seems to define a roof more than any other, is about 7 ft. from the floor. On stone 1 occurs the same style of decoration which

No. 1.



No. 2.



Specimens of Carved Decoration.

I observed on stone C in the passage; viz. groups of spiral coils, some of them having one, some two, and some as many as three central points, the intervals being filled with curved or zigzag lines. On the floor of this recess is a curious circular flat stone, slightly hollowed into a basin-like form, very similar to the one in recess B, which I shall presently have to notice. I did not notice that any other stones in this recess were carved or decorated in any way.

“ Recess B is far more defined in form and elaborate in ornamentation than either of the others. It is 9 ft. deep; the walls are upright; it has a perfect flat roofing-stone *bb* (originally entire, but now cracked in the place indicated by the dotted line), and under this another large block, *a*, which overhangs the recess like a canopy. In this recess is the large round concave stone before referred to. It is larger and more hollowed out than the one in recess A, and instead of resting on the floor, is placed on another flat stone serving as a base for it. Its dimensions are 41 in. by 36 in., and 9 in. deep (dotted line *a, b*). The carvings in this recess are most beautiful, and require particular notice. The under surface of stone *bb* (see Sectional Plan) is almost entirely covered with the same curious spiral decoration as occurs on other portions of the chamber; some groups resembling the pattern on the large stone at the entrance, and others being like No. 2 of the specimens I have drawn on the Plan. Stone *a* has no ornament underneath, but its edge is carved with great regularity into a very pretty zigzag. I have given some idea of it on the Plan,

No. 3.



Zigzag Ornamented Edge.

No. 4.



Lozange Pattern Edge Decoration.

No. 3. A third pattern occurs on the edges of the flat stones which cover stones 8 to 10. It consists of a line of lozenge-shaped figures, like No. 3 on the Plan. All the carving in this recess is very regular in its design, and the whole effect is very graceful and elegant, in spite of the huge size of many of the stones.

“The external surface of the stones which form recess D is entirely without carving. But I accidentally discovered some in a place which must have been quite out of sight when the chamber was built. Stone 12 has fallen forward, and by crawling behind it you can see the under surface of the flat stones whose outer edges rest on No. 13 and 14. Here was by far the most perfect piece of carving which I saw in the chamber. Its pattern was like No. 1 of the specimens on the Plan. I think there were three such groups as I have there represented; beautifully regular, and as deep and fresh-looking as though they had been cut yesterday. Its position shews that it, and most probably all the decorated stones, were carved before they were built in: but it is very difficult to understand why so much pains should be bestowed on ornamenting a stone which could never be seen. It is possible that another recess might have once existed

behind 13 and 14, which has since been filled up, but this seems rather to interfere with the manifestly regular design of the entire structure.

“It would be solving a point of great difficulty and interest if we could arrive at anything like a definite idea as to the use for which such a chamber was originally constructed; but antiquaries differ so much in their opinions, that this it is almost impossible to do. Some imagine that it has some connection with Christian religious worship; and this idea would seem to be borne out, to a certain extent, by the cruciform shape of the structure, and the elaborate decoration of the eastern arm of the cross, recess B. Some again, I believe, think they can trace a resemblance, in some degree, to the features of Buddhist antiquity, but on what particular grounds this supposition is founded I have not at present sufficient information to say. I think I cannot do better than quote the following passages on the subject from Wright’s *Louthiana*, a highly interesting work on the Antiquities of Louth, published in the year 1758. In speaking of grass-covered mounds, it says:—

“Some of the very largest of this sort I have seen encompassed with a circle of stones pitched on one end, particularly one at Grange, near Drogheda, in which there is a vaulted cave in the form of a cross, with a gallery leading to it 80 ft.^a long^b.”

“After going on to say that such mounds are of Danish origin, and that their intention was sepulchral, he adds:—

“A remarkable one of this kind’ (i.e. with a long narrow gallery leading to the vaulted chamber) ‘is that of New Grange, into which I myself, first creeping upon my hands and knees, afterwards walked upright for about 80 ft. to the centre, where I took several drawings of the different cells in it, which are supposed to have been dedicated to the three prime deities of the northern nations, Thor, Odin, and Frega; to whom, ’tis presumed from the stone basons in the niches, they used to offer sacrifices in favour of the dead. This curious cave is fully described in Dr. Molineux’s “Natural History of Ireland,” pp. 202 to 206. In this cave, when it was first entered, the bones of two dead bodies entire were found upon the floor^c.’

“And again:—

“Thus to the Ostmanians, or Danes, who were constant inhabitants and masters of Ireland from about the year 770 to the time of the English settling there in the time of Henry II. (agreeing with a constant tradition), we may safely attribute the raising of these vast pyramidal hills.”

“*January*, 1862.

T. R.”

“P.S. Since writing the above, through the kindness of Col. L——, I have been enabled to insert the following extract from a letter of Mr. Fergusson, an antiquary of considerable research. He says:—

^a This is a mistake, it is only 60 ft. exact measurement.

^b *Louthiana*, p. 11.

^c *Ibid.*, p. 15.

“Your letter ‘does not confirm the Buddhist theory further than this—that at Bilsah, at Myeena, at Gozo, and at New Grange, you have similar chambered tunnels, and all accompanied with the convolute scroll as their principal mode of decoration. My *hypothesis* is that New Grange came from the East, along the line indicated, and was erected between the Christian era and the introduction of Christianity *into that part of Ireland*: but I must look carefully into this again, now that I have a new datum to go upon, as soon as I have a little leisure.’

“T. R.”

The PRESIDENT in a few words summed up the evidence which had been brought forward. He thought it tended to shew that the tumulus belonged to the Christian era, or rather to that era in which a sort of Christianity mixed with paganism existed. He added, that the tumuli might well be of the same date as some of the round towers. As to their purpose, it was not easy to come to any conclusion: possibly they might have been used for the concealment of treasure.

Mr. ESTRIDGE said that this plan of barrow was not confined to Ireland, and referred to another somewhat similar to that described in the paper, on the banks of the Severn, and to which tradition assigned the existence of a long subterraneous passage.

Professor WESTWOOD said he had visited the tumulus just described. He had arrived at Drouth once, through the mistake of the carman who was driving him. He referred those who were interested in the subject to Mr. Wakeman's book, and he called especial attention to the ornamentation on some of the stones belonging to the structure. He had taken careful rubbings, and he had found the patterns very similar to those which he met with in some of the early Irish manuscripts. Hence he thought the sculptured stones were probably of the same date, and he differed in this respect from the view of the President, that they were coeval with many of the round towers. He thought no round towers were earlier than the ninth or tenth century, while these sculptures, he contended, might well be of the sixth or seventh century. This would not be any argument against their being Christian monuments. He considered, finally, as to their purpose, that they were gigantic tombs to kings. The great cromlechs which had been so long considered places of sacrifice, were now admitted by archæologists to be simply burial-places.

Professor PHILLIPS observed that great importance ought to be attached to geographical position in considering these matters. This kind of structure was not found except in the north of Britain, in Ireland, Scotland, and the Shetland Isles—in fact, the country inhabited by the Northmen. In Wiltshire, for instance, although we had the relics of British as well as of Saxon occupation, we found no similar structures to these described. With respect to the number of the stones, it had been found that there were several cases in which

the numbers fifty-two, twenty-six, and thirteen occurred. Hence it had been conjectured that these stones, like those of Stonehenge, were arranged for the purpose of some astronomical calculation.

MR. BOASE mentioned a case of a similar cave in Cornwall. He considered them both rather as dwelling-places of the early Celtic races than as tombs.

After a vote of thanks to Mr. Estridge had been agreed to, the PRESIDENT made the remarks which he had promised, on the "Old College Statutes."

He said that the old College Statutes were a very interesting study. Merton was the oldest college, and the statutes were original, embodying the conceptions of Walter de Merton, a really great man. In his preface he alludes to the barons' wars during the reign of Henry III. Merton and Grostête were friends, and acted together in ecclesiastical and political reform. No doctrinal reform was intended, but it was a Teutonic struggle against Latin domination. The University was at that time in some sense at its zenith. It was very full of students, and a centre of intellectual life. Walter de Merton was a great opponent of the monks. He wished to adopt the order and regularity of the monastic houses, and to introduce it into the Universities. His college became eventually the type of all succeeding colleges. His statutes form a document of great simplicity, but at the same time display great ability, and as contrasted with subsequent statutes, are marked by great liberality. He trusted the members of his foundation, which was intended to be distinctly for secular learning, and non-ecclesiastical, and with distinct reference to the University. It was not to be a University in itself. Yet still in many respects it was cast in the form of a monastery, inasmuch as all members were to be unmarried, and to live in common. His scholars would all belong to a celibate clergy. This, as the Reformation drew on, placed it at a disadvantage. It produced, however, Wickliffe, and was very eager in recognising Edward IV., whose side was the popular one.

Merton, then, was the great type of all the colleges. Queen's and Oriel were both founded by court chaplains to encourage courtly learning, and Norman French,—the court language. The statutes of Queen's College are a very confused performance, and very wanting in ability as contrasted with those of Merton.

New College was more like an abbey, the warden being the abbot; its tone was much more ecclesiastical. Wykeham was brought into collision with Wickliffe. Its connection with Winchester marks the rise of public education. The stress which he laid on *Grammatica* marks the dawn of the Renaissance. Its statutes were much more strict and tyrannical, with fearfully stringent and elaborate oaths,

marking a declining period of morality, and the decay of the Catholic faith in Europe. Wykeham was a very respectable statesman, but still in him there are signs of a declining morality.

The later colleges bear marks of the struggle which led to the downfall of the Catholic theocracy of the Middle Ages.

Lincoln was founded against the *Novella Secta* of the Lollards.

In Brasenose was shewn a strong desire to maintain the peculiarly Catholic characteristics of the old worship.

All Souls was founded to fulfil the office of a chantry, not for rudimentary education, but for cultivated society. *Devote pro animabus, &c. . . . orare*, was also one of the prescribed duties of its fellows.

Magdalen was founded closely on the model of New College, with a grammar school attached as a department of the college. Three professorships were attached to it, indicating that the independent University teaching was on the decline.

In Corpus we see the result of the two great movements which were going on, the Renaissance and the Reformation, the former among the upper, the latter among the lower classes. As is usually the case when a new faith is wanted, a moderate party between the reactionary or Catholic party and the Reforming party was formed. Amongst them were such men as Erasmus, More, and Pole. To these may be added Bishop Fox, the founder of Corpus. As the statutes of the foundation shew, he was a great Classicalist.

Christ Church was intended by Wolsey to be the same thing as Corpus, on a grander scale. He also attached professorships to his college, and meant to found Grammar Schools up and down the country in connection with it. He allowed his professors to be married men, provided they lived in the town; which shews that the class of learned laity was arising. His college was speedily invaded by the Reformation. The college system was uncongenial to the post-Reformation period, being essentially cœnobitic, clerical, and celibate.

Trinity and St. John's were founded during the reaction of the reign of Philip and Mary. After that, two more colleges were founded—that of Jesus, quite on the old model; and Wadham, which was the last foundation of the Middle Ages, colourless as to opinion, but mediæval in structure.

PROFESSOR ROGERS said he had little acquaintance with the statutes of the colleges, but had had through his hands the records of Merton, New College, Exeter, Queen's, and All Souls. The fellows of Merton were all employed in college work in Oxford, or at a distance. The wardens of Merton were great politicians, and often in Parliament. Exeter was intended to be on the model of Merton, but left incom-

plete on account of the murder of Stapleton by a mob. Queen's was enriched by the appropriation of estates of the hospital of Godshouse, at Southampton. He also remarked upon the fact that special allowances were made to fellows of Merton for travelling abroad.

After some further discussion the meeting separated.

Second Meeting, Lent Term, 1864.

March 8. The second meeting of the Term was held, by permission, in the New Museum, the Rev. S. WATTE in the chair.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society :—

C. Morris, Esq., Corpus Christi College.
George Mallam, Esq., Oxford.
Rev. C. J. Abbey, M.A., University College.

After the names of the gentlemen to be proposed at the next meeting had been read, and other business, the Chairman called upon the Rev. Professor Shirley for his remarks upon "Asser's Life of Alfred."

"He said his main object that evening was to point out the curious literary history belonging to the book which we accepted as 'Asser's Life of Alfred;' it had always received more or less attention, partly from its being the most interesting and important amongst our early biographies, and partly from its relating to the greatest of our early monarchs.

"In considering this work, naturally the first question to be considered was, Who was Asser?"

"Asser, the biographer of Alfred the Great, is himself our chief informant as to the few facts known of his life.

"He was by birth a Welshman, and a relation of Novis, Archbishop of St. David's, where he was himself 'educated, tonsured, and eventually ordained.'

"That he held some important ecclesiastical office at St. David's is clear. He speaks of himself together with Archbishop Novis, as among the *antistites* of that place who had been from time to time expelled by the violence of King Hemeid of South Wales. He speaks also of himself as urged by Alfred to leave all that he possessed on the western bank of the Severn^b, and mentions his feeling bound to consult his clergy as to the propriety of accepting the royal offer. But whether he was abbot, or archbishop, or, as conjectured by Dr. Lingard^c, chorepiscopus of St. David's, it seems impossible to determine. Later Welsh writers, from the time of Giraldus Cambrensis,

^a De Gestis Alfredi, p. 487, C.

^b "In *sinistrali* et occidentali-Sabrinæ parte," p. 487, C. Lingard, Wright, and others have translated this "on both sides of the Severn;" but the expression used immediately before, "*regionem dexteralium* Saxonum quæ Saxonice South-seaxum appellatur," seems to shew that *sinistrali* is synonymous with *occidentali*.

^c A.-S. Church, ii. p. 421.

certainly claim him as archbishop; his own narrative, though far from decisive, seems rather to suggest that he was Abbot of the great Monastery. However this may be, in or about the year 885 he came, at Alfred's invitation, into 'Saxony,' under an arrangement by which he was to reside six months of the year with the king, and six with his Welsh clergy. Probably this division of duties did not last long. Asser received from his new patron the monasteries of Congresbury and Banwell, and, not long after, the Church of Exeter, 'with its diocese (*parochia*) in Saxony and Cornwall;' a gift, the meaning of which appears to be that he became Bishop of Exeter as suffragan to Wulfsgie, Bishop of Sherborne, whom he eventually succeeded, and in which see he died in the year 910^d.

"The Life of Alfred, by which he is chiefly known, is in some respects an extremely perplexing book. The basis of it appears to be a translation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the years 851—887; corrected however throughout, and in the later years considerably enlarged. Interspersed with this history at intervals, especially under the years 866 and 884, and at the conclusion of the work, is a mass of personal anecdote, and other strictly biographical matter. The whole of this new material is singularly wanting in arrangement; nor does any good reason appear why the long digressions should be placed under the particular years 866 and 884. When we add to this, that the narrative, which terminates in the year 887, bears internal evidence of having been written six years later, and that it appears never to have been continued, though the writer survived till 910, it cannot appear surprising that Asser's work has been found unusually fertile in critical difficulties and discussions. It was first published in 1574, by Archbishop Parker, with a preface, in which he says that he had deposited the very ancient copy from which he had taken his text, without diminution or addition, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. This statement, strange to say, is plainly at variance with the facts. Mr. Wise, who in 1722 published an edition of Asser, and subsequently Dr. Petrie in his preface to the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*^e, have shewn that the MS. from which Parker's edition was really taken was MS. Otho A. xii. in the Cottonian collection; and that far from printing his original without diminution or addition, as he professes in his preface, the Archbishop had inserted several passages from a book of Annals, falsely ascribed to Asser, of which a copy is known to have been in his possession. Since this discovery it has been generally admitted that Parker's additional passages are spurious.

"A wider question has however been raised of late years by

^d A.-S. Chron., *sub anno*.

^e p. 80.

Mr. Thomas Wright^f, who has maintained the 'Life of Alfred' to be altogether spurious.

"His chief reasons are these:—

"1. It is not easy to conceive for what purpose it could have been written at all; but it is more difficult to imagine why, if Asser the biographer and Asser Bishop of Sherborne be the same, its author, who lived for some years after Alfred's death, did not complete it.

"2. The historical part of the work is a mere translation from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which was probably not in existence until long after Alfred's death.

"3. There are several things in the book which are not consistent with each other.

"4. It evidently contains legendary matter which could not by possibility have been written in Alfred's time.

"5. The mention of the diocese of Exeter makes it most probable that the book was not written until late in the eleventh century, after that see had been really created.

"6. The reference to St. Neot's Life, which was probably not written until after the translation of his remains to Huntingdonshire, points in the same direction.

"The true answer to the first and most important of these criticisms has been partly given by Dr. Lingard, who has pointed out, as an evidence of the genuineness of the book, that it is clearly written by a Welshman, and for the use of his countrymen; that the author writes throughout as one to whom the Anglo-Saxons are foreigners, and frequently translates the names of their towns into Welsh. He might have added, that the only important correction of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle made by Asser in the earlier years of his 'Life,' is in a matter relating to Wales^g.

"This remark of Dr. Lingard's goes far towards clearing up the enigma of the plan and structure of this singular book. It was written, beyond a doubt, at the request of the clergy or monks of St. David's^h, at or soon after the time at which Asser became permanently attached to the court of Alfred. This explains why the writer, a comparative stranger to Wessex, should prefer to send his friends the official chronicle of the kingdom rather than any narrative composed by himself, and generally to quote the authority of natives for such facts as he ventures to add. It explains the inartistic form of his additions, which were only intended, so to speak, for private circulation. It explains, finally, one great difficulty of critics, why the work was never continued. The object of the

^f Biogr. Britann. Literaria, A.-S. Period, p. 405.

^g p. 469, D.

^h "ut promisi," p. 484, C.

writer was not to compose a biography of his patron, but to inform his Welsh friends of the facts of Alfred's life, and the origin of Asser's own connection with him *up to the time at which the connection between St. David's and the court of Wessex had begun*. Everything which had passed subsequent to that date was necessarily familiar to them; and at that date therefore the work naturally comes to a close.

"Mr. Wright's other objections may be answered more briefly.

"2. To the second it may be replied that there is good ground for believing that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle dates from the time of Alfred. Our earliest MS., with which the text of Asser most closely agrees, terminates with the year 890. His own copy probably ended with the year 887.

"3, 4. The legendary matter, and the inconsistencies of the book, are all derived from Parker's spurious additions to the text.

"5. The notice of the diocese of Exeter is scarcely insisted upon by Mr. Wright himself. The Saxon dioceses were in a state of continual flux, and Asser's own diocese of Sherborne was subdivided immediately after his death. Probably, moreover, the Cottonian MS. of Asser which contained the passage, was itself older than that erection of the see to which Mr. Wright conceives it to refer¹.

"6. The reference to St. Neot is a more valid criticism. Although, perhaps, the facts are somewhat overstated by Mr. Wright, yet the probability may be conceded that the two clauses in which St. Neot is named, are more recent than the time of Asser. But it may be doubted whether it would be possible to produce a copy of any English Chronicle transcribed a century after the composition of the work, into the text of which marginal notes of this kind have not been interpolated. Their presence, therefore, proves nothing against the general genuineness of the book, especially where, as in this case, the text is otherwise far from pure.

"It still remains for us to notice the most celebrated question connected with the text of Asser, namely, the genuineness of the famous passage concerning the University of Oxford.

"This stands wholly upon grounds of its own. It did not appear in Parker's edition of Asser. It was originally produced by Camden in 1600, in the fifth English edition of his *Britannia*, and printed, he tells us, 'ut legitur in optimo manuscripto illius Asserii exemplari^k;' and in 1603 he silently inserted it in his edition of Asser, which he professed in his preface to be a reprint of Parker's text. At the time, and even before the clause actually appeared in print, it excited considerable discussion, and Camden was strongly pressed to produce the

¹ The MS. has perished by fire; but to judge from the facsimile given by Mr. Wise, it would seem to have been of the tenth century. ^k p. 331.

MS. from which he had taken it. This he never did, but a story was circulated, some years after, that the MS., which had belonged to Savile, was lent by him to one Nettleton, by whom it was never returned. The fullest explanation ever given by Camden, was extracted from him by the importunities of Brian Twyne, whose affidavit to the truth of his report of the conversation is still preserved in the Oxford Archives, a memorable relic of an ancient feud. Camden is reported by Twyne to have said that his edition of Asser was taken *verbatim* from a MS. then in his possession, of about the time of Richard II., and in which the clause occurred. Unsatisfactory as this explanation is in itself, it is also in direct contradiction to the statement of Camden's own preface, where he says, and says truly, that his text is a reprint from Parker.

“On external evidence alone few people would now accept a passage so feebly vouched. But the internal evidence is conclusive. It not only presupposes an academical organization which we can trace in course of formation in the thirteenth century, but it seems to bear marks of having been written in the light of those disputes between the old and new learning which filled the period of the Reformation. If this should be an error, a large charity may refer back the passage to the fourteenth century; but most people will conclude that it was forged by Camden himself, or by a friend whose secret he would not betray.

“The history of the long and bitter controversy which raged between Oxford and Cambridge as to the genuineness of the passage, is well and shortly summed up by Wise, its last academical champion, in his *Apologia Asserii Camdeniani*¹. The evidence on the point is admirably given in the preface to *Monum. Hist. Brit.*, p. 79, n. 8.

“The text of the ‘Life of Alfred,’ even when shorn of Parker's and Camden's spurious additions, is far from being in a satisfactory condition. Neither the collation of our manuscripts, which seem to be derived from the common stock of the old Cotton. Otho A. xii., now unfortunately burnt, but known by the collation of Wise, nor yet a comparison with Florence of Worcester, who has inserted our author for the most part *verbatim* in his *Chronicles*, removes the difficulty of many passages, which were either already corrupt at the time when Florence extracted them, or are—what I venture to suggest as a possible alternative—an ignorant and over-literal translation from the Welsh, in which Asser may perhaps have written. However this may be, it is certain that the text of Asser is still far from pure.

¹ p. 133 of his “Asser.” For the Life of Asser see especially preface to *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 77; Lingard's “Anglo-Saxon Church,” ii. p. 420, note N; Pauli, “Life of Alfred,” p. 8, English translation; Wright, *Biogr. Brit. Literaria*, Anglo-Saxon Period, p. 405.

“His style is rhetorical and tedious; but his sound judgment, or the curiosity of his readers, has led him to give us those minute details of the life and habits of Alfred which scarcely ever find a place in chronicles, and which impart the chief value to his book.

“In addition to the ‘Life of Alfred,’ Asser has been reputed the author of a volume of Annals, otherwise known as the *Chronicon Fani S. Neoti*, published in 1691 in the *Scriptores Quindecim* of Gale, and already noticed above for the use made of it by Archbishop Parker.

“So lately as 1809, the genuineness of this work was elaborately defended by the eccentric ability of the Rev. John Whitaker^m. But it is in truth a compilation from various sources, amongst others from Asser himself, written in the eleventh or twelfth century, and containing, among other things, a quotation from Abbo, who wrote about eighty years after Asser’s death.

“Bale and Pits also ascribe to Asser a book of Homilies and a book of Letters.

“The main interest of Asser’s book of course lies in the details as to Alfred’s character and mode of life, which it has handed down to us. The few pages relating to these subjects, which are but casually introduced, are interesting beyond anything of a similar kind: indeed, we gain from the anecdotes which Asser preserves to us, all that we know of the personal character of that great king.

“From him we have, amongst others, the familiar story how a book was promised to him by his mother if he should learn to read it sooner than his brothers, and how, allured by the beautiful illumination, he set about to master its contents, which he recited in due course to his mother; not that he then learnt to read for himself, but persuaded his master and others to read it to him, till he knew it by heart:—

“‘After this,’ Asser tells us, ‘he learnt by heart the daily office, that is to say the Hours, and then some Psalms and many Prayers, which, when collected in one book, he carried about with him both day and night (as we ourselves have seen) for the sake of praying amidst all the business of this present life. But, alas! what he most wished, namely, acquiring a knowledge of the liberal arts, he never could attain to, because, as he used to say at that time, there were no good readers in the whole kingdom of the West Saxons.’

“With respect to his being unable to read, Asser corroborates this view further on in his book, namely under the year 887, where he says:—

“‘In the same year also, the before-mentioned Alfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, first began, by Divine inspiration, to read and to interpret at once on one and the same day.’

“Asser then goes on to relate an anecdote which, he says, shews the cause of his long delay in learning to read. The substance of the

^m At p. 216 of “The Life of St. Neot.”

anecdote is, that while Asser was sitting with the King, he read to him an extract from a book; the King asked him to copy it into the book which he had been accustomed to carry about in his bosom. Asser could not find any space left; whereupon, he says, he delayed somewhat, chiefly because he wished to bring so bright an intellect as the King possessed to a more perfect knowledge of the divine testimonies. When he urged Asser to write more quickly, the latter asked him if he might write it in a separate book, as there would be more extracts; this the King agreed to, and as Asser found extract after extract which pleased him, he became anxious himself to read and interpret in Saxon.

“Moreover, from Asser's biography, we gain several particulars of the King's occupations. He mentions among other things his repeated expeditions against the pagans, and of the embassies constantly sent to him ‘from the Tyrre Sea to the farthest end of Ireland’^a.”

“Asser mentions having read letters which had been sent him by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Much of his time, too, was occupied in building or repairing towns and cities, in building houses, beautifully adorned with gold and silver work under his own direction; in ordering to be constructed royal halls and chambers, both in stone and in wood; in changing the position of his palaces, and rebuilding them in more becoming places. He was much afflicted by disease, too, and was constantly troubled by the quarrels amongst his friends. His difficulties in governing the kingdom were very great; he had to put up with disobedience on the part of his ministers and earls, as also the sluggishness of the people. Many of his works, which were carefully planned, ended in total failure by reason of the tardiness of their execution. The Danes often met with easy victories from the castles which he ordered to be built never being finished; added to this, the natural dislike on the part of the Saxons to living in towns, rendered it still more difficult for him to prepare against the attacks of the enemy.

“Besides the works enumerated above, he did much in keeping alive religion. Monastic life, which had been hitherto a powerful means to this end, had fallen into neglect: so much distaste to it had arisen, that even when he had founded a monastery, it was with difficulty he could obtain occupants for it; in fact, in some cases he actually sent beyond the sea in order to find persons who would take the monastic vows, and for others he had children trained up, whether heathen or Christian, on purpose that in their after years they might become monks. In the nunneries, too, he had some difficulties, though not so great: in one case, namely at Shaftesbury, he got over them by making his

^a This passage is probably corrupt.

own daughter abbess. Asser tells us, too, that he was very regular and exact as to the employment of his time, half being given up to secular business, half to religion. It is one of the most striking instances in the personal history of any man, that although surrounded by many difficulties, he vowed to give to God not only half of his time, but also half of his wealth. The division of his wealth is minutely told by Asser, and is well worthy of close attention. One feature may be mentioned here, namely, that the third portion of that part which he devoted to God's service 'was assigned to the school which he had most diligently collected from amongst many of the nobles of his own nation.' This is the only reference to Oxford, if it be a reference to Oxford at all; it was a place of education of the higher orders, from which counsellors and judges should be chosen, but beyond that we know nothing whatever about it, much less of the situation in which it was placed. With regard to the accurate division of his time, Asser introduces the remarkable instance of his ingenuity. As he could not during the night, because of the darkness, and even sometimes in the day-time because of clouds and storms, distinguish the hours, he commanded his chaplains to make candles of such a size as would burn for a certain number of hours each, and by divisions marked upon them to tell the hours; but sometimes, as they would not continue burning because of the wind blowing through the doors and windows or cracks in the walls, he cunningly invented a lantern, wonderfully made of wood and oxhorn, pared very thin, so as to be almost as transparent as glass.

"Perhaps, after all, the greatest of his difficulties was that of administering justice throughout his kingdom. As long as he was present to investigate the charges, every thing went well; and, indeed, there was constant quarrelling amongst earls and those who were in power, and consequently frequent appeals to him, both sides always being most willing to abide by his decision. We are given a curious account of the way in which he was accustomed to treat his judges; he investigated with shrewdness, we are told, nearly all the judgments which were given throughout his kingdom during his absence, of what kind they were, and whether they were just or unjust. But if he could discover any injustice in the sentence, he interrogated the judges themselves, either personally or by the aid of some of his friends whom he could trust, asking them whether they had judged thus wrongly through ignorance, or in consequence of any sort of ill-will,—such, for instance, as through the love or fear of anybody, or because of hate to any other, or through the desire of any gain: then if those judges professed that they had judged in that way because they knew no better on such matters, then he discreetly and moderately reproved their ignorance and stupidity, telling them:—

“ ‘I wonder much at this your impertinence in that, although by God’s favour and my own you have occupied the office and rank of the wise, you have neglected the pursuit and study of wisdom; wherefore I command you either to give up at once the exercise of earthly power which you possess, or labour much more devoutly in acquiring wisdom.’

“ This account is so simple, and at the same time so solemn, that it is no wonder that Asser was impressed with the ability of the man who was reigning over the country. His character produced much emulation amongst younger men, and Asser abruptly concludes his work with telling how the effect of Alfred’s wisdom and learning made the nobles regret that they had not given more time and attention to learning in their youth.”

The Lecturer concluded by pointing out the singular loveliness and beauty of the character of Alfred, which the few touches of his biographer had handed down to us; a character marked by an extreme devotion, equal to that of Louis IX., but without that monarch’s weakness. Throughout, the great power of his mind was apparent, although contrasting singularly with that gentleness and kindness of disposition which made him so beloved by all.

On the Chairman calling for any remarks which members might wish to make,

Professor BURROWS spoke of the beautiful character of King Alfred. He had followed the lecturer with much pleasure, because so much had been done lately to destroy the credit attached to such chronicles. He then referred more particularly to the disease with which the King, according to Asser, was afflicted, and on this point Professor SHIRLEY made some remarks in reply.

Mr. MEDD called attention to the fact that at Lambourne the remains of a palace existed, said to have been occupied by King Alfred.

The JUNIOR SECRETARY, in laying on the table a copy of the last Report of the Society, which had just been printed, called attention to the investigations which had been made in the crypt of St. Peter’s, which had been prompted partly by the passage in Asser relating to that crypt. Although there could but be one opinion on the passage in question, still he thought it must have been based upon a tradition, and from the discoveries which had been made, he argued that there was reason to think that the main fabric of St. Peter’s Church as we now see it, though of the twelfth century, was built on the site, and followed the plan, of an older building, which might well have been contemporary with Grimbald.

The Rev. JOHN GRIFFITHS said, with reference to the affidavit which had been referred to in the lecture, he did not think it existed among the archives. There was a MS. letter in the Bodleian Library referring to the account given by Twyne.

After a vote of thanks to the lecturer, the meeting was adjourned.

First Meeting, Trinity Term, 1864.

June 1. The first meeting this term was held, by permission, in the New Museum, PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH, President, in the chair.

The following presents were announced :—

“Sessional Papers of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1863—1864. Part iii. Nos. 1 to 3.”

“Proceedings of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Series. Quarterly Journal, vol. iv. April, 1864.”

The following gentlemen, proposed at the last meeting, were elected :—

H. Furley, Esq., Merton College.

W. Bousfield, Esq., Merton College.

C. D. Cobham, Esq., University College.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon PROFESSOR BURROWS for his paper on the recent work entitled *The Greatest of all the Plantagenets*.

“Every one who possesses even a slight acquaintance with what may be called the history of history, is prepared for periodical revolutions in opinion as to the merits of great historical characters. If a prominent personage has left a broad mark on his age and country, either of a political or ecclesiastical kind, or if he has greatly affected the relations of nations to one another, his fame becomes, as a matter of course, the battle-ground of historians; still more, if like Edward I., he has deeply marked his age in all three directions. We are called upon to watch in such cases the constant operation of the law of action and re-action, a law almost as fixed in the sphere of literature as in that of mechanics. We are called upon, especially at a centre of historical study such as Oxford, to register the condition of the pendulum from time to time (to use the well-worn but most expressive simile), and to note whether the last stroke we have witnessed is that which has really brought it to the equilibrium of truth, or whether it is only such a one as was perhaps made necessary by the previous stroke in the opposite direction, but which must be followed by some further movement before the equilibrium is attained.

“The work on which I am to say a few words to-night demands our attention because it is a bold, and on the whole successful, attempt to reclaim for him, who is perhaps the only Sovereign of England since the Conquest—who has a right to the title of ‘Great,’ that position of which he has been deprived for more than a century—deprived by a number of causes almost unparalleled for the way in which they have combined towards such a result. If, in the flush of a triumph which is fairly won, the author, like his own hero at the battle of

Lewes, has pursued his enemies too far, if he has exposed himself to a flank movement which may endanger his success, it is ours to defend as much of the truth as he has recovered for us, and to do justice to those whom he has unnecessarily for his own purpose, and perhaps too hastily, condemned. The limits of a short paper do not admit of our following this author into details, but we may at least suggest considerations which may bear upon the questions he has raised.

“If the author had done no more than prove to the present generation that they have been of late years shamefully robbed of their rightful inheritance by a knot of Scotch writers who, by their remarkable ability, have held possession of the field of English history for nearly a century, it would be quite a sufficient reason why his book should be noticed by this Society; and this work he has satisfactorily performed in the main. It will far more than cover any shortcomings.

“The history of English opinion with regard to Edward I. has been correctly shewn by this author to have remained all but uniform in his favour till the last century. He has triumphantly shewn—what indeed was well known to scholars—that the English alone had writers contemporary with Edward, many of them of great merit, while the Scotch had not emerged from a state of barbarism; that these English writers clearly appreciate, in greater or less degree, the merits of our great Prince; and he might even have added largely to his testimony on this point from writers whom he has not quoted. (I cannot refrain from noticing the way in which one such writer, Froissart, an impartial witness, carefully, though incidentally, draws the distinction between his great living hero and patron Edward III., ‘le gentil et le preux roi,’ and Edward I., who is ‘le bon roi.’ Elsewhere Froissart calls Edward I. ‘moult preux, vaillant, sage, preudhomme, hardi, très entreprenant, et bien fortuné,’ &c. : but that he should apply the previously mentioned term, ‘le bon roi,’ so emphatically, is a point of importance at this day, when no one doubts the prowess of Edward I., but when it is his goodness which is called in question.) The present author has shewn that the Scotch had, therefore, no authority for their version of Edward’s proceedings better than oral tradition; that this tradition first found its way into written form two generations after the death of Edward, and in its full and complete shape not till five or six generations afterwards; that (with only one exception) these very written forms of the Scotch tradition are poetical, and two even of these the most likely to be erroneous of any poetical forms conceivable, viz. a professed panegyric of Bruce, for which Barbour was pensioned by Bruce’s descendant, and the rhyming tale of a blind minstrel. And he has shewn that these views of Edward’s character, perverted by national prejudice, and at the best wholly one-sided, made little or

no impression on English minds, until Hume planted his own reading of English history firmly in English soil. Others entered on Hume's labours. Henry, Dalrymple (Lord Hailes), Macintosh, Scott, and Tytler, (each of whose books has been accepted as the history of its day,) have echoed on the note which even Hallam gives back. 'Hume,' says Hallam, 'has the merit of first exposing the true character of Edward's reign.' Even Sharon Turner and Lingard, whose sagacity led them to take a truer estimate than the above writers, have not been able to shake themselves clear of the prejudices which had taken so strong a hold on the public mind; while Milman, and the author of the 'Annals of England,' to whom history owes so much, have shewn a spirit on this subject which in the present day must be called simply retrograde. These later writers are not noticed by the author of 'The Greatest of all the Plantagenets.' They are mentioned here, not only because the most familiar to us at this place, but in order to shew that the author has been far from overrating the strength of the tide which he has undertaken to stem.

"The method of this author in dealing with a matter so arduous as the reversal of the public opinion of more than a century, and that in an age of historical criticism like the present, is well calculated to produce a startling effect; but it is wanting in some essential particulars required for making a permanent impression. He has adopted the very simple plan of writing a popular history of the great king from the contemporary English writers, rejecting all evidence which is not contemporary, and paying very little attention to the received view. He would perhaps have made more converts if he had entered upon a more exact analysis of the complicated mass of causes which have contributed to give currency to the modern view, if he had done more justice to Edward's contemporaries, and if he had taken a wider view than he has of the history of the period. I shall have a few words to say on each of these points.

"I. In surveying the *consensus* of modern writers upon Edward the First's alleged tyranny, ambition, and cruelty—for these are the stock accusations repeated by writer after writer,—we are disposed to set light by the opinion of an anonymous author, who, in narrating the life of his hero, treats all such charges with contempt. And yet it will probably be some day admitted that he has, to a great extent, made out his case. But whenever such an admission shall come to be generally made, it will be in consequence of a more careful observation of the particular bias of modern historians than we have here, and especially of the curious fact that Edward I. has offended the prejudices of several who are diametrically opposed to one another. Thus, besides the undying hostility of the Scotch writers, who, as we

have seen, have been the great offenders in traducing the king's character, and in a minor degree of the Welsh writers, who have their own quarrel, Edward has earned for himself the hostility of those who resent his interference with his clergy, and the still more earnest condemnation of that more numerous class, who can extend no portion of their sympathy to men who have checked even for a moment the onward march of popular power. With headlong partizans of Montfort and his party, and even with such moderate constitutional writers as Hallam, Edward meets with little mercy; nor does he get much more from such writers as Lingard, who have their own especial views on the relations of the ecclesiastical to the civil power. When we find that each of these classes of writers has unhesitatingly absolved Edward on some point in which he is condemned by the others, agreeing as they do in condemning him for the possession of a particular sort of character and principles, we might perhaps be tempted, on a superficial view, to rely on that agreement; but we shall begin to have our suspicions when we observe that the special bias of each of these different classes manifestly leads to such agreement. Each is concerned to make out his case. In taking astronomical observations it is well known that, besides a certain error for which allowance must be made even in the best mathematical instruments, there is also another allowance to be made for the individual observer's own 'personal error.' He has some, perhaps very slight, but still some, visual obliquity which must be taken into account. This is just as much the case in the moral constitution of historical writers. Not only are the influences of the age in which they write traceable in the plainest manner in every case, but each has his idiosyncrasy for which it is necessary to make allowance, when accurately summing up results. Those writers alone live for all time who have been successful in divesting themselves of every tendency to disproportionate or extravagant views in human affairs, who have resisted the temptation to write sensational history, and who have so completely mastered the whole range of circumstances surrounding the period of which they write, that they are able to deal with it from its own point of view, while using the light derived from the period in which they are themselves writing. They are but few.

“II. The work of which we are speaking has given a considerable swing to the pendulum. It will leave its mark. But how much more would it have effected, had the author, in pursuing the method he has chosen, contented himself with drawing out the career of his hero, shewing the consistency of all the parts of his character, and watching his bearing as he freely moves amongst his contemporaries, while at the same time giving to each of those contemporaries his due! Instead:

of this course, a course which would in reality have enhanced the fame of Edward, the author has thought it necessary to blacken the memory of every person, however famous in the judgment of posterity, who happens to have crossed the path of the great king. The same courage to which we owe this attempt to recover a great reputation has led the author into an over-depreciation of such popular heroes as Montfort, Bigod, Winchilsea, Bruce, Wallace, and others. He seems to have thought it impossible they could be right in any degree if Edward was to be defended. No doubt great deductions *have* to be made from the popular estimate of these men; and we must be grateful for everything which brings us nearer to truth, but a sweeping one-sided estimate does not bring the pendulum to a state of rest.

“On one of these men especially, Simon de Montfort, so much light has been thrown of late years, that many people, finding what they have hitherto believed to be recovered truth so rudely dashed away, will shut the book up in anger: but a calm judgment will admit that there are two sides to this remarkable man. Our author has revived the view familiar to the Tory writers of the last century. Moderns have seen nothing but the popular aspect of Montfort’s character. And both are true. He who would understand the man must observe not only the discordant elements which went to make up his character, but also the difference between the Montfort of the early and unarmed struggle, and the Montfort of the later civil war: between the fearless leader of a rightful resistance, the friend of Grosseteste, the enlightened politician; and, on the other hand, the ambitious demagogue who, after Grosseteste’s death, gradually deteriorates, tramples on one of his own friends after another, and allows himself (to use the mildest term) to be carried away by the force of circumstances, and, we can scarcely doubt, the hopes of a crown. Must we also, with our author, deny all praise to Montfort for summoning the first real representative Parliament in 1265; or, may we not, while we perceive the mainspring of his action to have been self-interest, award him at least the meed of sagacity in comprehending the want of his times, and accord him our gratitude for such a commencement of our constitutional history, stormy as it was, and illegal as it was afterwards reckoned? To ground an indiscriminating admiration of Simon the Righteous on the popular ballads lately published—chiefly composed by friars of those Minor Orders which he patronized—and on the pseudo-canonization of the vulgar of that day, is perhaps no more unphilosophical than to speak too slightly of the precursor of Warwick the King-maker and Protector Cromwell.

“And so with Winchilsea, Bigod, and the nobles who performed the yet harder task of bearding the successful and strong-handed Edward,

when he was a firmly-seated king. It is quite justifiable to question the extravagant praise bestowed on these men by Hallam and his school of writers; it is quite possible to shew that their resistance amounted to faction, and was marked by turbulence; but the true way of looking at the acts of all concerned, king, nobles, and clergy, is to recognize the transition state through which all the elements of the constitution were passing in this reign. If Edward may be most fairly defended for preserving the rights of the crown which had been trampled in the dust during the miserable reign of his father, his subjects may as fairly be defended for supporting the principle of self-taxation, so newly won, so manifestly destined to be the foundation-stone of our national liberties. Where would this country have been had they not asserted this principle? So deep-seated must be the gratitude of every Englishman for the stand thus made at the most critical period of our constitutional history, that we can scarcely avoid a lenient judgment of those who are no doubt justly chargeable with want of loyalty and patriotism for their dogged obstruction of wars for which they were quite as much responsible as the King himself.

“And, again, in Edward’s dealings with the clergy, it is easy to support a thick-and-thin defence of Edward with our author, or an unmeasured condemnation with the modern ecclesiastical writers. But, in fact, both sides were contending for a place in the new adjustment of relations which all perceived to be taking place. Edward was resolved to assert that principle, which gathered more and more strength in each subsequent century, and which lies at the root of all independent nationality, nay, of all society, that the Government must be supreme over all classes of its subjects: the clergy were struggling for that which they believed to be essential to the independence of the Church. It was but yesterday that the power of Rome had been all-important in saving English nationality and the ecclesiastical order: was the time really come when its voice ought to be treated with contempt? Was the spiritual to be once and for ever laid prostrate before the temporal? Nice, and yet most momentous, questions for a people to be called upon to settle: questions ever recurring, not yet laid asleep. Who can venture to pronounce a hasty condemnation of the leaders in such a struggle? Rather we may rejoice that men were willing to venture something in that day in defence of what they believed, and that by the very force of the resistance of the opposite elements a place for both has been preserved. The author has done well to remind us of what was familiar enough to all but our modern historians, that in their conflict the clergy were not struggling with an irreligious or indifferent king, with no godless Rufus, or profligate John, but with one who exhibited a noble example (not indeed without the imperfections of mortality) of moral excellence, admirable in

his domestic relations, proverbially faithful to his word, deeply imbued with the religion in which he had been educated. Had it been otherwise, he would not have left his mark, as he has, on this country, and through this country upon the world.

“The civil transactions which have made the reign of Edward so important chiefly grew out of the military. But it was necessary to refer to them in the first place, in noticing this book. Those civil transactions will, beyond doubt, some day assume a much higher place in the history of the reign than they have hitherto held. The author has rightly asserted their importance, and exposed the absurdity of those popular writers who treat the first twenty years of the reign as of no consequence; as if the interest of its history only commenced with the Scotch wars. Though this is of course nothing but the Scotch view imported amongst us, it has been too slavishly copied by others, who have not the excuse of national feeling.

“The fault of the author in dealing with the military events of the reign may be thought to lie in not sufficiently discriminating between the conduct and policy of Edward in the civil, the Welsh, and the French, wars on the one hand, and the Scotch war on the other. With regard to each of the former wars he has substantially proved his case. Subject to the deduction already made as to his depreciation of Edward’s enemies, he may be said to have left little to be desired in his treatment of those struggles. The most ardent admirer of Montfort can scarcely refuse to side with Edward in the first; none but the most resolute of Welshmen can shut their eyes to the wisdom and the moderation of the second—though here, again, the author gives scant credit to the beaten party for their heroic resistance; none but the most distorted vision can misrepresent the character of Edward’s most righteous quarrel in the third case, the war with Philip the Fair. Yet it is on both these last wars that so late a writer as the meritorious compiler of the ‘Annals of England’ has, as already noticed, proved himself so bad a guide; and even a Milman repeats the oft-exploded slander of Edward’s massacre of the bards. Who can reckon the amount of influence exercised against Edward’s memory by Gray’s immortal poem? If Plato found it necessary to exclude the poets from his Republic, how much more may we desire to chase them from the field of history! Let us at least bargain for the dismissal of all but Shakspeare, and let us move for the establishment of a special chair for the purpose of detecting amidst all his perfections even Shakspeare’s historical errors.

“The Scotch part of the reign required a much fuller treatment. It certainly required, amongst other things, a more thorough investigation of the English claims to Scotch feudal homage than we have in this book. That question, in one sense, lies at the root of all criticism

of Edward's conduct; and even if it may be conceded that the King was convinced of the justice of his claims, and ought not to be blamed for acting on his convictions, it is too doubtful a matter to allow of the unhesitating approval given of all his actions by the author. In many respects the Scotch campaigns form a fresh era in Edward's reign, and must be distinguished from all those which preceded them. This was not a clear case for annexation; it was not a simple feudal claim; there are two distinct sides to the question: Edward's conduct was characterized by a greater harshness than usual in his dealings with it; he was apparently a somewhat different man after the death of his wife and mother, which took place when this last half of his reign was commencing.

“But we must distinguish this author's somewhat superficial treatment of the case in its larger aspect,—one perhaps of the most difficult and complicated in the whole range of history,—from his masterly narrative of the facts attending the double conquest of Scotland, and its final revolt under Bruce. He has conclusively disposed of the leading Scotch fables, and successfully recovered as much of the truth as we shall probably ever know. The great outlines of the story, which form the groundwork of the Scottish Iliad, have been for the first time thoroughly marked out by the help of every available authority. Some deduction is, however, again required here. We may accept the narrative, but we may be permitted to demur to the colouring which our author has thrown over his picture. Indeed, the bias is so marked that it almost obliges us to believe the author incapable of taking in more than one side of a question. He has cleared Edward of many charges which have been heaped upon his memory, but he has entirely failed to perceive the merits of the Scotch resistance. He considers, for example, that he has proved the obstinacy and folly of the patriots, when he has proved that they represented none of what were called the leading interests of Scotland. As well might the merit of Joan of Arc be disputed, when the French leaders left her in the lurch. And as an instance of our author's animus towards the Scotch, it may be observed that he has denied Wallace all praise for the battle of Cambuskenneth, and attributed his success entirely to the folly of his opponents: just as if all generals were not entitled to praise exactly in proportion as they are capable of turning their enemies' errors to their own advantage. In short, while he has stripped Wallace and Bruce of a false halo thrown round them by romance, he has made no sufficient allowance for their infirmities as men, for the barbarous habits of the age in which they lived, for the extraordinary circumstances in which they were called upon to act. Every deduction is to be made on these grounds for the great conqueror; none, or next to none, for the heroes who set their all upon the cast, and gave their blood for

a cause of which all but themselves despaired. The verdict of mankind, I am bold to say, will not be with the author.

“The author has decided that Scotland ought to have been annexed (to use the modern term) to England, both on the grounds of right and expediency. Those who opposed what was so good for them, were guilty not only of a crime but a blunder. Now, with regard to the right, it requires a far more careful and elaborate proof than we have here. Our author seems to have relied too much on the authority of Sir Francis Palgrave, a writer to whom history owes much for the truer views of the Middle Ages which he has introduced, but who is not unfrequently the victim of theories, and very apt to press his point too far. The homage done to the English king by the Scotch nobles, including all the competitors for the Crown, may indeed afford a dry legal justification for Edward's proceedings; but its moral weight must depend on the accordance of that act of the Scottish nobles with the principles of independence which had hitherto been recognized in Scotland. The people were not to be compromised by the obsequious conduct of men who had their private ends to satisfy; and the question is removed further back, to the practical relation which had hitherto existed between the two Crowns. That our author has, on this further point, relied on authorities which will not permanently avail him, has been proved by the publication, since he wrote, of a book by E. W. Robertson, entitled ‘Scotland under her Early Kings.’ This work has brought a larger amount of learning to bear on the subject than any previous one. It is, indeed, marked by the inevitable bias of a Scotch writer, but it will have to be deliberately met and refuted before it can be set aside. It will be seen from that work that the old Scotch theory of the feudal homage being only paid for lands held in England, cannot be so authoritatively rejected as it has been by Lingard, Palgrave, and other modern writers; and that the vagueness which characterizes the terms of the later homage paid in the thirteenth century, may with more justice be attributed to the desire of the Scotch to keep open their claims on the English throne, than to a general admission of the English claim of suzerainty over all Scotland. The famous theory of Carte, and some of the best writers of the last century, that Edward had a perfect right to claim homage for the Scottish Lowlands but not for Scotland proper, a theory founded on transactions which were supposed to have taken place in Saxon times, is in this book destroyed, at least by implication; inasmuch as the authority of those parts of the Norman-period chroniclers in which the said transactions were mentioned, is shewn to be worthless, and several barefaced forgeries, made in the English interest, are successfully exposed.

“There seems, in fact, every probability that a person who sets him-

self to the calm study of this interminable question, without allowing himself to be goaded into uncontrollable impatience, or wearied into absolute indifference, will rise up with the belief that both sides had a very sufficient justification for their respective views. And, if we grant as much as this, it will enable us to acquit Edward of the ambition, the tyranny, and the cruelty with which he is charged in connection with this war. This view will also enable us to acquit Wallace of the treachery and obstinacy with which he is charged, and Bruce of some imputations, at least, of the former kind; while it will permit us to join in the admiration so generally felt for the patriots, whose every act may not indeed bear close inspection, but who did, on the whole, what was right and noble, and who have left an example for all nationalities and all time. If we are summoned to admit that the vices of Bruce's earlier career ought to overbalance the merits of his later life, we may at least be allowed to swell the praises of Wallace.

“Nor is it so clear that Edward was justified by the arguments of expediency, either present or future. He *was* justified in the case of Wales. That country was indisputably connected feudally with England in a way which cannot be assumed of Scotland; it had supported the enemies of the Crown throughout the century; it had, according to recognised feudal laws, forfeited its independence. Right was on Edward's side, as well as the policy of incorporating a small state situated in the very vitals of the kingdom, too small for independence, too large to be neglected; one which necessitated the constant employment of a border force to restrain ancestral habits of predatory incursion. Our sympathy with the sufferings which attended the extinction of a national life of eight centuries and of a gallant people's independence, our admiration of the romantic valour of its chiefs, are merged in the conviction that annexation by force was best for both parties. Not so in Scotland. Here a peaceful solution of rival interests had been progressing through a whole century; the royal families were becoming so interwoven with one another, that the union, which was effected four centuries later, seemed about to take place; the border districts had been indeed not unfrequently disturbed, but less and less often; no gradual encroachments by previous English monarchs had paved the way for a final absorption, as in Wales; the country was extensive enough for a strong kingdom; the king had mistaken its real strength, which ought not to have been measured by its population, or by the numbers it could bring into the field; for the nature of the country and the habits of the people doubled or trebled for military purposes, like the walls of a fortress, its actual numbers. From the time of the Romans to that of Cromwell, Scotland could always tire out her ponderous neighbour by adopting the tactics which Bruce shaped into a formula for his

successors. Nor even, supposing that such a consummate general as Edward might, with the addition of a few years' more life, have overcome the desperate tenacity of Scotch patriotism, can we, judging after the event, applaud the wisdom which undertook such a task in the decline of life. The result might have been different had the opportunity offered itself at an earlier period.

“Speculation, such as that in which our author indulges, as to what might have been the subsequent history of Scotland, had Edward succeeded, is really out of place in history. We may be quite sure everything has been for the best; and we may at least see that some good has resulted from this conspicuous failure. A nation, conquered as he for a time conquered Scotland, would never have ceased to cherish a sense of degradation and disgrace—a bad inheritance for any people. It was different with Wales. If anarchy and tyranny have alternately affected Scotland, if her nobles grievously oppressed the classes below them, if her social development was somewhat more tardy than our own, she has escaped some of the civil convulsions and foreign wars of her neighbour; if four centuries of more or less hostility with England ensued upon her emancipation from Edward's yoke, some obvious compensations will suggest themselves. Looking to the advantage of both countries, we have not perhaps had too great a price to pay for the inestimable boon of a union based upon a footing of equality. What would we not all give that such a consummation had been possible in Ireland? The Scotchman, like the Castilian peasant, has the step and eye of a man who has inherited self-respect.

“In our final estimate of Edward in relation to Scotland, a subject which the limits of this paper will not admit of being treated more fully, we may then, at least, go as far as our author in believing that Edward thought himself in the right; and we may admit that he had very fair grounds, according to the historical belief of the age, for that opinion. We shall next observe that he was but adopting the policy which had for some time been partially pursued in France, a country almost as much in that day as in this, the practical, though not the theoretical, centre and model of Christendom; and that in taking advantage of every opportunity afforded by the divisions and weakness of Scotland, and thus pushing forward his grand plan for consolidating the whole island under one strong government, he was only in error so far as he was in advance of his age. We shall from this point of view only judge of his conduct as we should of that of any other general; we shall attach no more blame to him for the massacre at Berwick than to the Duke of Wellington for that of St. Sebastian, nor for the execution of Wallace, and the relations of Bruce, than to the King of Italy for that of the bandit adherents of Francis II. in the Abruzzi. It is indeed to be lamented that he was

not magnanimous enough to commute the peculiar punishment of treachery in the case of Wallace, as well as in the previous case of David of Wales, for a milder form of death, but there can be no doubt that to Edward and the English of that time both were traitors; both were condemned as such by the universal voice of the country. It is now possible for us to see (what, however, our author does not) that, whatever might be Wallace's offences, he ought not to have been reckoned a traitor, unless it could be proved that he ever swore fealty to Edward; and this never was proved. But the English of that day could scarcely be expected to take so calm a view.

"If a stern crushing severity, and a want of generous dealing in his larger policy, seems to accompany the course of the conqueror, it may well be held that, the step once taken, decisive measures were the truest mercy; and the extraordinary clemency, shewn in innumerable particular instances, in this last, as in all Edward's wars, must be duly remembered on the other side. If a country is to be conquered,—and we have conceded that he had grounds for his policy,—there is only one rule, *parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*.

"Our author has effected his object of dwarfing all the contemporary characters of the age, and leaving the figure of the great monarch alone and unapproachable on the stage. But these sort of pictures are never quite true to nature. He would have done well to have shewn how he excelled in the art of all great men, that of detecting capacity in his fellow-workers; he might have exposed, for instance, the treasure he possessed in Anthony Beck, the soldier-prelate of Durham, who exhibited more of the qualities of a general than any leader of Edward's host, and possessed one of the minds on which Edward most leaned from his boyhood upwards; he would also have done well to devote some space to the work done by the great Bishop Burnell, who appears to have been Edward's principal adviser in the internal economy of the realm. How much is due to him, and how much to Edward himself, for that body of law which has made this reign so famous, will never be known. At least, as Lord Campbell remarks, if Edward is to be called the English Justinian, let us not forget who was his Tribonian. Real Property Law especially, the foundations of which were so grandly and so securely laid in this reign, might have been expected to receive a careful treatment in a detailed history of Edward I.; and it might perhaps have been made almost as interesting to the general reader as the constitutional history which the author has treated so fully and on the whole so successfully.

"III. Whoever takes up the work which our author has left on some points incomplete, will also have to take a wider view of the condition of European society than we have in this book. It may serve to

place Edward at a greater height above the average if we isolate him from his contemporaries on the Continent, but we shall understand the man better if we understand the age. As we shall never understand his constitutional position unless we carefully connect his work with the work done or undone in the reigns of his two predecessors, so we shall never grasp his life and conduct as a whole until we have grasped the condition of Christendom and of the human mind at this period. For this king is, if ever a king of England was, one of the great European royal family. He was nephew by marriage to the greatest emperor of the German series, Frederic II., and of the greatest king of the Capetian dynasty, Louis IX. Both might be called, in a sense, his tutors. His early youth must have been familiar with the chequered career of the most brilliant of emperors, his early manhood must have been trained under the personal influence of the royal saint. The last, indeed, was no doubt his earthly exemplar: to him, no doubt, he owed much of that remarkable union of the soldier, the statesman, and the devout Christian, which is to be found so rarely in history, though less rarely in that age than any other. He was learning from these men to fill the place they vacated on the European stage, and to become, like them, for all posterity the most famous monarch of his nation. It is remarkable that one century should have witnessed the highest flight of royalty in the three greatest monarchies of the world.

“It has now become a trite historical statement that the twelfth century was that in which the human mind exhibited the greatest activity, and made the most wonderful advances. The effect of this march of intellect upon politics was scarcely felt before the thirteenth century; and England, though somewhat before the rest of her neighbours in military matters, was somewhat behind in the intellectual race. She had yet to learn much from the Continent, and Edward was the great medium of transmission. In every department of government and of society he seems to have felt the European influences of this stirring age. That his plans for the consolidation of England were identical with those with which he was familiar abroad has been already mentioned; and it may be noticed that he, like St. Louis, shewed his thoroughly practical turn of mind by using the feudal system as he found it for the purpose of carrying forward his schemes of reform. It was an age of lawyers also, and legislation. Frederic had been the great legislator of Italy, Louis of France; Edward was to follow in their steps. It was the age of representative Parliaments. Castile, the home of his wife, and Aragon, had preceded England by a century and a half. Frederic II., a generation before Montfort had sought that method of protecting himself against the Crown, had summoned representatives in Italy. Louis had commenced the practice of consulting burghers in France. It was Edward's glory

to lay the foundations of parliamentary government deeper and firmer than any. It was an age of Universities. Frederic in Italy, Blanche and Louis in France, had protected and developed them. Edward's reign is full of evidences that he considered this work to have a special claim upon him. Prynne's Records contain many such. (Stowe, by-the-by, copies from some chronicler that Edward shewed his particular regard for Oxford on one occasion by hanging the mayor and four bailiffs for an offence against the University.) The age had taken up the correction of debased coinage. Like St. Louis, Edward drove the foreign coin out of his kingdom, and cried down the base crocards and pollards of his day. In his careful development of commerce he had been preceded by Frederic and Louis. Many other traces of sympathetic action between England and the Continent might be noted. England had the best of what the age produced. Edward in every case improved on his model. How much the social and political advance of the Continent would have affected England in the thirteenth century had it not been for him, no one can say; but through him, closely connected as he was with every court of Europe, and frequently residing abroad,—once indeed for five years together at the most important period of his life, viz. just before he came to the throne,—through him mainly it came.

“There are many points of similarity between Edward and Alfred the Great which our author was not bound to notice, but which, one would think, must strike every close observer. Like Alfred, he was more a restorer and adapter than an originator; there is, as we have seen, some danger lest we should attribute that to him as an original organization, which is only copied from elsewhere or improved from something which preceded it. He was essentially practical, like Alfred; his life was one long devotion to the public good, like his; like him, he was trained in adversity and nursed in war; like him, his horizon extended far beyond the limits of this island; like him, his character bore traces of severity, a quality all but a necessity for a man who was to civilize a rude people in a rude age; like him, he was not ashamed to make religion, publicly and privately, the companion of his daily life; like him, he was the first and ablest in doing that which he set his subjects to do. He has not the intellectual and literary claim to our admiration possessed by Alfred, but, like him, he has left his mark on the country indelibly. He has not, like him, been saluted with the title of ‘the Great,’ but he was called by the writers of the next generation ‘Edward the Good;’ and it has been to our shame as a nation that we have been so careless of a royal reputation, (not having too many good ones to spare,) that so little effort has been made to restore him his rights. If the highest perfection as a soldier, and all but the highest as a general;

if patience, fortitude, prudence, mental activity, largeness of mind, public spirit; if a correct private life, a conscientious sense of duty, and a consistent religious character go to make up a great man, Edward I. is entitled to the name. A combination of curious accidents and unworthy prejudices has alone prevented his memory from having received this honourable distinction. Place him by the side of those sovereigns who since the time of Charlemagne and Alfred have received the title of "the Great," and how insignificant do they appear! Perhaps the time may yet come when a more enlightened public opinion shall have repaired this omission. And amongst those to whom a very considerable share of credit will be due, will be the author of the work which we have been considering to-night."

At the conclusion of the paper, Mr. ESTRIDGE put a question to Professor Burrows with reference to a former lecture of his on the subject of Edward I.; also with reference to his estimate of the characters of Bruce and Wallace.

PROFESSOR BURROWS thought that Bruce, although deserving the gratitude of Scotchmen for the stand he made against the subjugation of his country, was still stained with some crimes, especially the murder of Comyn. So also Wallace was no doubt unable to restrain the excesses of the barbarous soldiers whom he led; but still made a brave stand against the attempt to reduce his country to slavery.

The PRESIDENT said, that so far from Edward's invasion being intended to reduce Scotland to slavery, its object was to introduce the same regular and constitutional quiet which England enjoyed, and to rescue the Scotch from the anarchy resulting from the oppression of the most oppressive of the feudal oligarchies. The kingdom of Scotland was previously in an almost hopeless state of feudal anarchy. One of the first things Edward did was to summon a free Parliament, and he left them with all their independence, and with all their rights as a nation. The short period when he had possession of the kingdom, was the only glimpse they ever had of a lawful, regular, and beneficent government. Wallace was more truly represented, he thought, by the author of "The Greatest of all the Plantagenets" than by Professor Burrows. He was an irregular rebel, like the Neapolitan brigands of the present day.

A vote of thanks was carried, on the proposal of Mr. MEDD, to Professor Burrows, for his excellent and interesting paper.

Annual Meeting, 1864.

June 6. This meeting was held by permission in the large Lecture-Room of the Museum. Professor GOLDWIN SMITH, President, in the chair.

The usual business concluded,

The PRESIDENT called upon the Rev. GEORGE WILLIAMS of King's College, Cambridge, for his remarks upon the accusations recently brought against Dr Pierotti.

Mr Williams said as follows:

It cannot be supposed that I was an indifferent spectator of the controversy, which was carried on in the *Times* some months ago, between Messrs Fergusson, Grove, and Tipping on one side, and Dr Pierotti and Messrs Bell and Daldy on the other. Not only did the interest which I have long taken in the questions discussed in *Jerusalem Explored* commend the discussion to my serious consideration: I was further personally interested in the author of that work, and in a certain manner responsible for him to his Publishers and others to whom I had introduced him; so as to feel that I had a very close private concern in the charges which were brought against him, and which affected not merely his professional skill and knowledge, but his credit as a man of honour and his character as a gentleman.

If I took no part in the newspaper controversy it was partly because I felt that it was impossible to do justice to the subject within such limits as the columns of the *Times* could afford, during the session of Parliament; but mainly because I had a very strong repugnance to come into collision with one at least of Dr Pierotti's assailants, of whose method of controversy I have had some experience many years ago. Very pressing engagements prevented me from entering at once upon such a full examination of the questions at issue as the importance of the subject and the interests at stake appeared to me to demand, and it is only now that I find myself at liberty to record the results of my investigations into the charges of plagiarism and incompetency which have been so freely urged against Dr Pierotti, in a quarter best calculated to damage his reputation in the eyes of the world.

As Dr Pierotti has, in the Preface to his work, explained, in too flattering terms, the part which I have had in its publication, I feel it to be due to myself to

record in very few words the history of my connection with him and his labours.

It was at the commencement of the year 1862 that I first learnt from Miss Beaufort, now Lady Strangford, the nature and extent of Dr Pierotti's researches into the topography and antiquities of Jerusalem. He was then in Paris, endeavouring to make arrangements for the publication of his *Album*, in which he had collected the results of his investigations during a sojourn of seven years in the Holy City. I soon opened communications with him; first through the kind intervention of Miss Beaufort, afterwards by direct correspondence; and the result was that in February, 1862, he paid me a visit at Cambridge. Here a more detailed account of his investigations and the sight of his plans and drawings, soon convinced me that his discoveries were far the most important that had yet been made for the elucidation of some of the most vexed questions relating to the topography of ancient Jerusalem; particularly to the site of the Temple and the arrangement of its Courts. I thought that Mr Fergusson would feel a lively interest in these new discoveries, and very few days after Dr Pierotti's arrival I invited Mr Fergusson to meet him. I knew that Professor Willis would fully appreciate the importance of these investigations—confirming as they did in a very remarkable manner some of his most ingenious and original theories—and introduced Dr Pierotti to him, as well as to many other friends in the Universities and elsewhere. I was further the medium of his communications to the Architectural Societies of Oxford and Cambridge; to the Institute of British Architects; to the Architectural Museum at South Kensington, and to other learned Societies. In all this, I was actuated, I believe, solely by my conviction of the importance of his discoveries and by confidence in his good faith and capacity, and not by any special satisfaction in the accidental confirmation of some of my own views: for I had soon learnt that Dr Pierotti and myself were as much at variance on some of the most important points in the archæology of Jerusalem as was possible, consistently with the admission of the same historical basis and the same topographical data. In truth, while gratefully recognising the importance of the new facts brought to light by him, I found that I was almost always unable to accept his deductions and conclusions. It may have been on this account that I strongly urged him to publish to the world only the processes and results of his original discoveries, so as to furnish materials for others to work

upon in the further investigation of this important and interesting subject; but, as he had collected a vast mass of documentary evidence, in illustration of the history and topography of Jerusalem, and had given much time and thought to the study, I was not surprised to find that he was bent on producing a more ambitious and elaborate work. What part I took in the editing that work has been stated by the author in the Preface, and is well known to Mr Bonney, the Translator, and to Mr Mayor, the University Librarian. It was strictly confined to revising the proof-sheets and correcting such palpable errors, clerical and typographical, as my local knowledge and long acquaintance with the subject enabled me to detect at a glance. I did not, of course, attempt to modify the statements of the author, even where most opposed to my own theories, for the obvious reason that the book was avowedly designed to represent Dr Pierotti's speculations, not mine; and he had shewn himself so sensitive of any suspicion of the originality of his topographical hypotheses, and so fearful lest he should be thought to have borrowed anything from me, that I considered the only safe course was to avoid discussion of differences until after the publication of his book.

Charge 1. *Section of the Dome, &c. Jerusalem Explored* was published at the end of January or the beginning of February this year. On the 15th of February MR FERGUSSON addressed to Messrs Bell and Daldy, the publishers, a letter, in which he charged Dr Pierotti 1st, with having in Plate XXVII. "copied literally and without acknowledgment the Section of the Dome of the Rock, engraved in his work on the Topography of Jerusalem, from a Drawing by Messrs Catherwood and Arundale;" 2ndly, with not having hesitated, "without saying one word about it, to alter all the arches in Mr Arundale's drawing into acutely pointed arches, *which they are not;*" and he "insists that Signor Pierotti should acknowledge, in the first instance, that the Section in question was copied from the drawing of Messrs Catherwood and Arundale, and secondly, that he was not justified in making the alterations he has done." He concludes, as follows: "I request therefore that you will procure me this acknowledgment in a form that I may publish. If this is not forthcoming very shortly, I shall be obliged to apply to the Court of Chancery for an Injunction to restrain you from publishing what is an infringement of my copyright, and a libel on the memory of two honourable men; or, if I fail there, I must appeal for justice to the public, and if forced to this, I shall have a great

deal to say about other plates in the work, which have been appropriated with as little regard to fair dealing as has been the case with Plate XXVII."

To this the Publishers replied on February 22, after communicating with Dr Pierotti, that "he himself made the measurements and drawings in the Mosque of Omar upon which his Section is formed, and constructed his Section years before he knew of the existence of your book:" that "these original measurements and drawings are now in his hands and shall be produced at our counting-house to you for your inspection, if you desire it, on receiving two days' notice," consequently that, "Signor Pierotti cannot comply with your request," &c.

These drawings and measurements were contained in a small quarto note-book, which I had seen at Cambridge soon after Dr Pierotti's arrival in England; the leaves of which had been clumsily fastened together with gum, in order, as he explained to me at the time, to prevent the drawings from being copied; as he had suffered much from the unauthorised and unacknowledged appropriation of his labours. They consisted, 1st, of a very rough outline sketch of the Dome of the Rock, with all the vertical measures pencilled upon it, and letters of reference to the details of the ornamentation; 2ndly, of a more careful drawing of the same Section with the various ornaments slightly sketched in, and the timber framework of the roof carefully drawn; 3rdly, of a ground-plan of the building, with all the measures requisite to give the horizontal dimensions of the Mosk; 4thly, of the details of the lower story of the building very exquisitely drawn in pencil; and 5thly, of the details of all the ornamentation referred to in the rough outline (No. 1), evidently drawn by the same skilful hand as No. 4. All the measures were in French *metres*. This book was examined by Mr Fergusson and a friend on the 26th of February; and on the 29th of the same month he wrote again to the Publishers "to reiterate, more emphatically than before, that the Section of the Dome of the Rock is a literal copy of his plate, and to express his astonishment that any one should venture to dispute so self-evident a fact"—"that the two Sections are identical in every detail and every relative proportion." As to the note-book which he had seen on the 26th he writes: "I assert unhesitatingly that these details were not drawn by Pierotti at all...and the presumption was that they were drawn within the last fortnight after the receipt of my letter of the 15th."

Then follow a number of other charges confirmatory

of this original accusation, to which I at present confine myself.

This then was Mr Fergusson's hypothesis, that Dr Pierotti having appropriated with modifications the exquisitely finished Section constructed by Messrs Catherwood and Arundale, and being called to account for the piracy by Mr Fergusson, worked back that highly finished drawing to its rudimentary elements in this old note-book, translating the English scale of feet into French *metres*, in order to refute the charge!

Happily it is quite unnecessary to examine the credibility of this surmise, as there is direct evidence that the Section published by Dr Pierotti, which formed the substance of Mr Fergusson's charge, had been constructed exclusively from those pencil drawings which Mr Fergusson conjectures to have been prepared after his letter of February 15.

M. Turpin, a young French artist, employed by Dr Pierotti to prepare this Section for the lithographer, declares that "when I first became acquainted with Signor Pierotti in June 1862, and was engaged by this gentleman as a draughtsman, all the drawings I had to copy were all Dr Pierotti's originals, and I am positively certain that they were drawn by himself." And then, after pointing out the discrepancies between the two Sections, he adds: "Now I have explained to you what I know, and am ready to swear that I never used any other drawings but Dr Pierotti's own."

This, I apprehend, is decisive as to the originality of Dr Pierotti's Section of the Dome of the Rock; at least it disposes effectually of the theory of his having prepared the sketches in the note-book with a view to rebut Mr Fergusson's charge of plagiarism.

I have not trusted to my own judgment to determine whether the elements which I have mentioned as contained in Dr Pierotti's note-book, were sufficient for the construction of such a Section as that which he has published in his work. I have submitted them to some of the most eminent men in the profession, who entertain no doubt that they are; and, as a crucial test, I have had a Section prepared from this note-book alone, by a skilful architectural draughtsman, who knew no particulars of the controversy between Dr Pierotti and his assailants, nor had seen Mr Arundale's Section. The result is precisely what I had anticipated: close agreement with Dr Pierotti's published Plan, and consequently such divergence from Mr Arundale's in matters of minute detail as would be natural, almost unavoidable, in two

different plans of the same building, both executed with extreme accuracy; and I cannot help feeling that the friends and admirers of Messrs Catherwood and Arundale, among whom I may be allowed to reckon myself, have cause to complain that Mr Fergusson, while professing great jealousy for their memory, has allowed prejudice so to warp his judgment, that instead of magnifying and exalting their labours (as he had every right to do) by this new evidence to the wonderful care with which they were executed, under circumstances of no little difficulty and danger, has endeavoured to destroy this independent testimony to their value by his attack upon Dr Pierotti's originality. And it is worthy of remark, that in the particular instance in which he complains of Dr Pierotti for altering Mr Arundale's drawing, he has himself furnished conclusive evidence that it needed correction; since it gives not the slightest indication of the pointed arch. He has (says Mr Fergusson) altered "all the arches in Mr Arundale's drawing into acutely pointed arches, which they are not." Yet it is distinctly stated by Mr Fergusson himself, that "all the arches throughout the building are more or less pointed;" and when, startled by this phenomenon, he appealed to Mr Arundale for corroboration, he received for answer: "The arches under the dome, and those of the aisle are both *slightly* pointed, so much so that when reduced in the Section, it would scarcely be evident, but would be very apparent when viewed in perspective." [Essay &c. p. 112.]

Mr Fergusson is hard to please. When Dr Pierotti agrees with him, he sins by plagiarism; where he differs, he sins still more heinously by unauthorized alteration, and must acknowledge both under pain of an Injunction!

It is only necessary to add under this head, that the Section of the Dome of the Rock, to which Mr Fergusson refers as seen by him in my rooms, and on which he mainly relies for his proof of Dr Pierotti's incapacity as a draughtsman, was not Dr Pierotti's at all, but was made by a Turkish engineer, Assaad Effendi, by whom it was presented to Dr Pierotti in 1855, and preserved in his album as a curiosity, until he presented it to the Queen of Spain on his visit to that country in 1862-3.

Charge 2. *Entablature in the Mosk.* In addition to the charge contained in Mr Fergusson's first letter to Messrs Bell and Daldy, of Feb. 15, two new definite charges are advanced in his second letter of Feb. 29, which must now be examined. The capital of the Pillar and part of the entablature in the Dome of the Rock (Plate XXIX. fig. 2a), was claimed by Mr Fergusson,

and admitted by the Publishers to be engraved from a tracing of a drawing in Mr Fergusson's book (p. 104). Yet Mr Fergusson admits that he had seen in Dr Pierotti's note-book the same capital and entablature "pencilled in by the same hand which drew the other details in the book," and which he describes as "exquisitely pencilled by a most accomplished architectural draughtsman, better in this respect than even Arundale, and I do not know half-a-dozen men in England who could do them as well." He indeed "asserts unhesitatingly that these details were not drawn by Pierotti at all:" and of course attaches no kind of credit to Dr Pierotti's positive assurance that every pencilling in the book was made by himself. But Mr Fergusson is bound to find some satisfactory explanation, on his theory, for one phenomenon which he has not recorded. The pencilling in the note-book, while precisely corresponding in all other respects with Mr Fergusson's, differs from it in this important particular: that the relative parts of the drawing are reversed in the note-book; *i.e.* the entablature, which is placed on the right of the capital in both the engravings, is on the left in the note-book; and the soffit, which is placed above the entablature in the former, is drawn on the left side of it in the latter.

What then is Mr Fergusson's presumption? It is this: that Dr Pierotti, in order to meet the charge of plagiarism, instructed his artist to copy the drawing from Mr Fergusson's book, with these alterations, which do not correspond with his own published view, and then attempted to pass it off as the original of his drawing! This would be almost as clumsy a fabrication as the reduction of the finished Section to its elements, and the hypothesis is disposed of by the same testimony. The truth is that Dr Pierotti, having an original drawing of his own "exquisitely pencilled," was induced by some inexplicable fatality to adopt Mr Fergusson's arrangement in preference to his own, and to save himself the trouble of reversing his own drawing chose rather to trace Mr Fergusson's: an act of inconceivable folly, had he known with whom he had to deal, for which Mr Fergusson has exacted a somewhat heavy penalty.

Charge 3. *Plan of the Haram.* More serious is the accusation relating to the Plan of the Haram, Plate xi. of *Jerusalem Explored*, contained in Mr Fergusson's second Letter. "I assert," writes Mr Fergusson, "that it is a reduction of a Plan which I constructed from Catherwood's original documents in my possession, with the assistance of Mr Croucher. That Plan was afterwards engraved by the Admiralty, and a copy of it left by Cap-

tain Washington with Pierotti at Jerusalem in 1860. When I held up Pierotti's 'own plan' at Cambridge, against the light with my own, they were found to be as identical as the section of the Mosque."

I do not remember that Mr Fergusson had a copy of the Admiralty Plan when he was examining Dr Pierotti's Plan in my rooms at Cambridge: but, however this may have been, he is certainly in error as to his method of comparing them: for as Dr Pierotti's Plan was mounted on dark calico, and Mr Fergusson's is printed on stout paper, such a comparison would have baffled Lynceus himself.

More plausible are the arguments for the identity of the two plans derived (1) from their agreement in the details of the buildings about the north-west angle of the Haram; which Mr Fergusson states that he supplied conjecturally, as Mr Catherwood's survey was defective in this part: and (2) from the repetition of an error of Mr Catherwood's Plan in that of Dr Pierotti;—the "Admiralty engraver having made a horrid mistake in the South Wall, which was not in the original."

Unfortunately Dr Pierotti's original Plan of the Haram, which was seen by Mr Fergusson at Cambridge, has been presented to the King of Spain: but several photographs were taken from it, from one of which the Plate in *Jerusalem Explored* was drawn; and I am bound to say that the clumsiness and roughness of execution in the lithograph does scanty justice to the neatness and finish of Dr Pierotti's original.

A comparison of this Plan with that prepared by Mr Fergusson shews (1) that the details of the buildings in the north-west angle are so far from being identical, that Dr Pierotti has given careful detail, where Mr Fergusson has given mere tentative outline, supplied, he says, by conjecture, but probably not altogether unaided by the best plans to which he had access:—(2) that while both Plans shew a distortion in the South wall of the Haram, the distortion is not the same in both; that in Mr Fergusson's being, as he tells us, the effect of a "horrid mistake" of the engraver, that of Dr Pierotti the result of design; a correct representation, as he maintains, of the effects of clumsy repairs of an ancient wall.

But the fact is that all such suspicions, were they far better supported than they are by evidence of identity—even in error—vanish altogether before the mass of proof which I have in my possession that Dr Pierotti had not only abundant opportunities for surveying the City and Haram, but also ample capacity and will to avail

himself of them. Mr Fergusson does but beg the question *more suo* when he denies him both.

A brief account of Dr Pierotti's various professional employments in Jerusalem between 1855 and 1861 has been printed, and I happily had rescued from destruction many *débris* of his labours long before I had any notion of the good service they might do him in this controversy. Devotedly attached as I am to the stones and the dust of the Holy City, I begged of him the fragments of soiled and tattered plans which he would ruthlessly have destroyed, after they had served his purpose. Among these is a plan of the Christian Quarter of the City, to the scale of $\frac{3}{2500}$ full size, coloured so as to shew the proprietorship of every house in the Quarter; and another of the entire city and suburbs on a scale of $\frac{1}{2500}$ full size, similarly coloured. This last is dated June 1859, and in it are found the details of the buildings in the N.W. precincts of the Haram, identical with those in his published Plate, and all the main features of the whole plan of the Haram; which however he had further opportunities of verifying and correcting, up to the time of his leaving Jerusalem in 1861.

There is, I submit, some presumption in all this that his Plan of the Haram was not traced from Mr Fergusson's Admiralty Plan in 1860. He certainly was under no necessity to be beholden to any one.

It is only necessary to add that the copy of the Admiralty Plan of the Haram was not "left with Signor Pierotti" by Captain Washington in 1860. He had it in his possession one night; made such corrections on it as he could in the limited time, by Captain Washington's request, and returned it to him the following morning. This Plan, with Dr Pierotti's manuscript corrections, is doubtless still in Captain Washington's possession. Dr Pierotti's original Plan, from a reduction of which that in his book is engraved, had not only been completed, but had been seen by Lady Strangford and others long before Dr Pierotti knew of the existence of the Admiralty Plan; and the undoubted discrepancies between this detailed Plan of the Haram Enclosure, and that exhibited in the Plan of the City, are accounted for by the fact that, after the publication of the latter, he had increased opportunities of correcting the former.

It will be necessary now, before dismissing Mr Fergusson, to notice two paragraphs in his letter to the *Times*, dated March 22.

(1) "As Signor Pierotti reserves his defence against the principal charges contained in Mr Grove's letter, pending the

legal proceedings which he assumes I am about to commence against him, allow me to assure him that he has nothing to fear from me in that respect.

“When I first saw his work I wrote to the publishers demanding that Signor Pierotti should acknowledge what he had borrowed from me, and when, to my astonishment, he replied denying the loan altogether, I wrote back somewhat indignantly, and ending with a vague threat which might be interpreted as meaning legal proceedings or anything else.”

Mr Fergusson's memory must have failed him. The “vague threat” at the conclusion of his second letter to Messrs Bell and Daldy, can only be interpreted by the language of the first, which is certainly definite enough. “If this [acknowledgement] is not forthcoming very shortly, I shall be obliged to apply to the Court of Chancery for an Injunction to restrain you from publishing what is an infringement of my copyright,” &c.

(2) “There is nothing whatever in the work which can have any real bearing on any of the disputed points of the topography of Jerusalem. There is nothing, indeed, that is new or valuable, except some 13 pages devoted to the underground watercourse of the place, and these so absolutely confirm all I have ever written regarding the site of the Temple and of the Holy Places that I, at least, for one, have no desire to throw stones at Signor Pierotti.”

These two statements are, I believe, about equally correct. To deny the importance of Dr Pierotti's discoveries in their bearing on disputed points of the topography, I should have been disposed to ascribe to prejudice, but for the assurance that immediately follows that prejudice would be entirely misplaced, as Dr Pierotti's discoveries “absolutely confirm all that” Mr Fergusson “has written regarding the site of the Temple and of the Holy Places.”

This is no place to examine the bearing of Dr Pierotti's discoveries on the moot points of Jerusalem topography. I have already expressed my opinion, which I deliberately repeat, that they are the most important of all that have been hitherto published.

I may however be allowed to express my inability to comprehend how the discovery of a cesspool under the sacred Rock of the Moslems, connected with an elaborate system of aqueducts, cisterns, and sewers, can in any way confirm the theory of Mr Fergusson that this Rock contained the Holy Sepulchre, or that the building which enshrines it is a Constantinian structure.

I have indeed such confidence in the ingenuity of

Mr Fergusson as to believe that he will prove this to his own satisfaction. To me the facts brought to light by Dr Pierotti are nothing short of a demonstration of Professor Willis's most original and happy conjecture, that the sacred Rock of the Moslems was the site of the Jewish altar. And what adds to the value of this confirmation is this; that at the time when Dr Pierotti made these wonderful discoveries, he was wholly ignorant of Professor Willis's hypothesis. He arrived by a process of induction at the conclusion to which Professor Willis had been guided by that faculty of intuition, for which he is so remarkable. As Mr Fergusson has staked his professional reputation upon an opposite theory, it is not perhaps to be expected that he should duly appreciate the evidence which, if admitted, must force him to abandon it: but it must be regretted that he has not shewn more consideration for those who, at the cost of no little labour and expense, are engaged in furnishing the evidence. Dr Pierotti has certainly fared worse at his hands even than others, and unhappily is not in a position to be indifferent to his attacks and their consequences. He may be excused, however, for declining to submit his cause to the arbitration of a tribunal, of which all he knows is, that Mr Fergusson is its Secretary; whose *animus* towards this unconscious ally of his Constantinian theory of the Architecture of the Dome of the Rock, was sufficiently indicated on the occasion when I read his interesting paper before the Institute of British Architects, on which Mr Fergusson was pleased to comment in a tone of contumely and contempt, which it certainly did not deserve.

In proceeding to notice MR GROVE'S charges against Dr Pierotti I wish to speak with all respect of a gentleman to whose courtesy I am indebted for a sight of the photographs and drawings on which he grounded his accusations of plagiarism, and with whom I have already privately exchanged communications on the subject in a frank and friendly spirit, which I shall do my best to maintain in this public arena. He already knows my mind on the whole subject; and although I have not kept copies of my letters to him, I am sure the following is an accurate statement of what I wrote; for my impressions have never undergone any change. I admit then that there was *prima facie* ground of suspicion against Dr Pierotti, of having made an unauthorised use of the labours of his predecessors without acknowledgment. But

I am quite convinced that he has not borrowed from others so largely as he was supposed to have done, and that he could not honestly have made the admissions which Mr Fergusson demanded of him under pain of an Injunction: consequently, I regard the charge of inaccuracy as more damaging to his credit than that of plagiarism; and, on the whole, I think that Dr Pierotti has had very hard measure.

Now, I do not complain of Mr Grove for having attacked the book in a letter to the *Times*, signed with his own name. No one who can gain admission to the columns of the *Times* ought to be satisfied with a less publicity for any subject which he deems worthy of attention; and anonymous criticism is ever liable to abuse, from the danger of which the course adopted by Mr Grove is free. Neither do I think there was anything in the contents, or in the tone, of his first letter which was not within the limits of fair and honourable criticism.

But I do think he was dealing hard measure to the author when he availed himself of the accident of his position as Secretary of the Crystal Palace, to organise an exhibition of Dr Pierotti's "plagiarisms" under that roof, and announced in the *Times* that he had done so. I cannot consider this legitimate; because no author who had a spark of self-respect could regard such a measure as otherwise than a flagrant insult, which must of course preclude him from an opportunity of self-defence.

Still more abhorrent to my notions of the laws of literary controversy was the attempt to damage Dr Pierotti's credit by the revival of a charge of fifteen years' standing, gravely affecting his moral character; of which neither I nor any of those to whom I had introduced him had the remotest suspicion. I will do Mr Grove the credit to believe that the first intimation which reached him of that charge came to him unsought. But the authenticated copy of the sentence, procured from the Italian War-Office, together with the English translation attested by a Notary Public under his hand and seal, now in Mr Grove's possession, too surely prove how eagerly the scent was followed up.

Further, I can hardly believe that the visit of Mr Grove to Paris, in company with Mr Fergusson, in the month of April, immediately after obtaining possession of this damning document, was entirely without reference to this controversy. I know that my friend, M. de Saulcy, whom they saw on the 13th of April, considered that the design of their visit was to collect information hostile to Dr Pierotti, and that their inquiries were not confined to his

literary character, but bore also upon his private life: All this does not approve itself to my mind as legitimate warfare, and I deeply regret that Mr Grove has adopted it. I know indeed that he has hitherto exercised so much forbearance as not to publish the document; but I know also that the facts have been industriously circulated in the Clubs and in Societies where they would most damage the book and discredit the author. This is what I ventured at the outset to call "persecution."

And now the reader will be prepared to apply to me the proverb, "Save me from my friends," and to think that I have as effectually gibbeted the author of *Jerusalem Explored* as Mr Fergusson and his other assailants could desire. I accept all the consequences of my indiscretion, because I share with all those who have known Dr Pierotti intimately the conviction that he is incapable of the dishonourable act which is laid to his charge; and that, consequently, the revision of his sentence by a court-martial, which he has now obtained—after repeatedly declining the offer of influential friends to procure a pardon, which would have been a virtual acknowledgment of guilt—will issue in his acquittal. In this case Mr Grove will have done him excellent service.

Meanwhile he is entitled to an answer to his literary charges, to which I now proceed in the order in which he has numbered them.

Charges 1 and 2. *Photographs of the "Golden Gate" and of the "Wailing Place of the Jews."* Mr Grove maintains that Plates XVIII. and XXII. are taken respectively from photographs of Mr Robertson and Mr Graham, and in his second letter to the *Times* he includes in the same count with the former, Plates VII. XV. XVI. XVII. and XX., as all taken from Robertson's Photographs, published by Gambart. As this charge is virtually admitted by Dr Pierotti, in his reply to Mr Grove, it will only be necessary to examine what he advances in extenuation of the plagiarism; and I think it will be admitted by every candid mind that his plea, confirmed as it is in every particular by Messrs Day and Son¹, does

¹ In order to render this point of the argument more intelligible Messrs Day and Son's letter is here printed.

Messrs DAY and SON to the TIMES.

To the Editor of the Times.

SIR,—We see that Signor Pierotti mentions our name in his letter of to-day with reference to the name attached to the views in his book.

We have turned to the instructions given to us by Signor Pierotti.

very materially weaken the force of the accusation; particularly when it is considered that the photographs in question were not protected by the law of copyright, and might be reproduced by any one who chose to be at the cost of printing them, whether as photographs or engravings. Undoubtedly the name of the photographers ought to have been put to them, though Mr Fergusson—as is obvious from his numerous illustrated works—does not consider this rule of universal obligation, but often satisfies himself with the indefinite form, “from a Photograph,” which may mean by himself or by any other. I do not think that it would have been right of Dr Pierotti to substitute his own name, simply on the ground that he had photographs of his own of the same views, which he might have used had he not been able to substitute these, which he considered more satisfactory: and, indeed, I told him repeatedly that he could not appropriate the photographs of Robertson at all; as I was under the erroneous impression that they were protected by the Copyright Act.

With regard to the great majority of the Views, they were to all intents and purposes his; and he was entitled, according to the universally acknowledged rules of the profession—by which, of course, he must be tried—to affix his own name to them; for I learn from friends who have had their *cartes de visite* taken by the most distinguished photographers in London or Paris, that the artist himself, whose name is printed on every impression, has nothing whatever to do with the process, except the *posing* of the figure; and I am informed by eminent architects that any plan or design prepared under their directions, or executed in their office, is as much entitled to bear their name as though it had been executed by their own hand; although they may not so much as have taken a single measure nor have put in a single line. I am not justifying the practice; I am merely stating what it is:—and that, more in vindication of Messrs Day and Son than of Dr Pierotti; who on being asked by them what inscription

In a letter dated the 19th of June, 1863, we find his instructions in French, which we read thus:—“Under the views taken by photography you can put, ‘Drawn from a photograph belonging to E. Pierotti.’ If this is too long you can make it shorter; but try to express this idea. I did not take the views myself, nor am I a photographer, but the views belong to me. With this information you can arrange the matter yourselves.”

We adopted the inscription which is used, under the above instructions.

We are, Sir, your obedient servants,

DAY & SON.

6, GATE-STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN-FIELDS, March 22.

the photographs should bear, told them distinctly that they had not been taken by himself, but were his property. He suggested for the inscription, "Drawn from a photograph belonging to E. Pierotti," which would have applied equally to those which he borrowed from Robertson and to those which were executed for himself, and have been equivalent to Mr Fergusson's "from a photograph;" whereas, the form of inscription adopted by Messrs Day under these instructions was warranted in the case of the latter but not of the former.

Now, when to these considerations is added another which is contained in a Letter of Mrs Finn to Lady Strangford, I cannot doubt that all who can carry themselves indifferently in this controversy will feel with me that the involuntary error of Dr Pierotti has been very needlessly exaggerated by Mr Grove.

It seems that the proprietorship in the photographs, taken at Jerusalem by the three artists named by Mrs Finn, was not very accurately defined; and it is very possible that in the interchange of professional services between Messrs Robertson, Graham, and Diness, the last-named may really have claimed a title to those of the two former, and so have passed them off on Dr Pierotti among those which he had taken by his order.

Charges 3 and 4. *Vaults and Section of El-Aksa.* The two charges, relating to the Vaults of El-Aksa, will be considered when I come to speak of Mr Tipping's counts in this bill of indictment against Dr Pierotti; but this is the proper place to notice Mr Grove's charge of inaccuracy, in "the double range of clerestory windows in the west wall" of the Mosk, as shewn in Dr Pierotti's Section, Plate XXIV. He says, "none such exist there, and none are shewn in the [exterior] view of the Mosque, Plate XXI."

The error here is wholly Mr Grove's. For, in the first place, the arches in the lower range are not windows at all, but simply openings into the side aisle; and, in the next place, the arches of the upper range, which were really the clerestory windows, have been blocked without, for some cause which I cannot explain; but it is a satisfaction to be able to point to the corresponding windows on the opposite, *i.e.* the east, side—which are still open, and may be seen in any photograph of the building taken from the Mount of Olives—in evidence of the existence of those on the west side; which is further attested in the rough section of Ali Bey (Vol. II. p. 216), as also in the extremely accurate one given by the Count de Vogüé, in his magnificent work on the Haram esh-Sherif now in the

course of publication (*Temple de Jérusalem*, Part I. Plate XXXI.), both of which shew the same side of the Mosk as is seen in Dr Pierotti's Section.

Charges 5 and 6. *Section of the Kubbet es-Sakharah; and Entablature.* These are identical with Mr Fergusson's Charges 1 and 2, which have been fully considered above, and need not therefore detain us.

Charge 7. *Capital of a Column.* Dr Pierotti has copied one capital (B) of the three in Plate XXIV. from Mr Fergusson's book (p. 109). *Jerusalem Explored* contains upwards of 20 capitals never before published to my knowledge; the originality of which is not questioned. One, easily accessible and perfectly well known, which moreover the author had in his own collection, he preferred taking from Mr Fergusson, in order to simplify his labour. Is this a very heinous offence?

Charge 8. *Tombs of Absalom and Zacharias.* These I believe to be, as Mr Grove says, copied by Dr Pierotti (Plate LXI.) from the Atlas of M. de Saulcy's *Voyage* (Planches XXXVIII., XL., XLIII.), and this unquestionably ought not to have been done without permission or without acknowledgment: although M. de Saulcy himself, while with characteristic generosity he refuses to recognize the plagiarism, and indeed sets himself to disprove it, says distinctly, in his letter to Dr Pierotti, "if you had copied it, you had a perfect right to do so."

Charge 9. *Plan of the Haram esh-Sherif.* This charge is identical in all its details with Mr Fergusson's accusation 3, already considered; and I need only here express my regret that Mr Grove should have repeated the very incorrect statement of Mr Fergusson concerning the buildings outside the Mosk Enclosure at the N. W. angle. Here happily is a question on which all who care to do so may satisfy themselves. But I may add to what I have stated in reply to Mr Fergusson (p. 14), that I have since found among my archives another Plan of the City, beautifully drawn by Dr Pierotti (bearing date August, 1860), in which all the buildings in that quarter are given, quite as much in detail (though on a smaller scale) as in his special Plan of the Haram Enclosure; with regard to which Plan I may now add the testimony of Lady Strangford, given in a letter to Dr Pierotti, "We had not been a week in Jerusalem before you kindly brought us your admirable Plan of the whole Haram esh-Sherif to see, as well as the huge plan of Jerusalem as it is. Of course I cannot trust my memory as to whether there are any slight differences between them and the reduced copies in your book. *I do not believe that there are.* I know

that with five months' constant study of both . . . we never could detect the slightest flaw in either."

Now, since the Plan published in the book was reduced from the larger one by photography, there is not of course the slightest difference; and, as Lady Strangford and her sister arrived in Jerusalem in 1859, and Captain Washington not till October, 1860, it is impossible that the original of the Plan of the Haram given in *Jerusalem Explored* could have been copied from the Admiralty Plan.

Charge 10. *Discrepancies between the Plans of the City and of the Haram.* This too has been already explained in replying to Mr Fergusson's third Charge, and nothing need be added but this: that all who are acquainted with the modern history of Jerusalem cartography know too well the extreme difficulty of obtaining accurate results, even under the most favourable circumstances. Mr Catherwood's Plan of the City, which was far in advance of anything that had been published before, was utterly untrustworthy even as regards the principal streets of the city. The trigonometrical Survey of our own Ordnance Officers, published with my *Holy City*, while minutely accurate in the complicated network of streets, has introduced an original and utterly inexplicable blunder in the western wall of the Haram. Such differences as those that may be discovered by minute and unfriendly scrutiny between the general plan of the City and the detailed plan of the Haram, in *Jerusalem Explored*, are almost unavoidable, if they were to be entirely independent; and all that can be said is, that they are fully compensated for by the general accuracy of both; on which point none are better qualified to speak than M. de Saulcy and Captain Gelis, whose letters have been printed. Thus much may be extracted from them here; and I quote them with the greater pleasure because they reflect quite as much credit on my friend M. de Saulcy as on Dr Pierotti, and shew him to be entirely free from that miserable, narrow-minded, intolerant, professional jealousy which occasions so much injury to the cause of truth and justice at home and abroad. Thus he writes to Dr Pierotti, under date, Paris, April 28, 1864: "Your plans are, I hesitate not to say distinctly, the best we have had up to this time—I speak of the Plans of the city of Jerusalem, and of the Haram ech-Cherif. Certainly they exhibit a few small inaccuracies of detail, but they are of very small importance in respect to the eminent service which you have rendered us in surveying so exactly, with the small resources

at your disposal, such important localities. I ought to tell you that, during the execution of our topographical labours, completed scarcely three months since, not a single day passed without Captain Gelis and myself having had the pleasure of proving and proclaiming the excellence of this double work. It is to you, my dear friend, that we owe the knowledge of the fragments of the second wall of the Jerusalem of the kings of Juda; and I remember that when I presented, in your name, to the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, your beautiful Plan of the city, I did not fail to call attention to the importance of the discoveries you had been so fortunate as to make behind the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is to you again that we owe our earliest information of the subterraneous channels, designed to carry off the sewage of the Temple. Those subterraneous conduits I recovered in the excavations which I lately made at the South of the Haram-ech-Cherif, and the proof of their existence is a fact of the utmost importance."

Not less decided is the testimony of Captain Gelis, of the French Etat Major, attached to the Depot of War, the friend and travelling companion of M. de Saulcy, officially attached to his Expedition, dated Paris, April 16, 1864.

"I seize this opportunity to compliment you particularly on your Plan of Jerusalem. In my quality of Topographer, I could appreciate all its merit, and it is quite certain that it is the most complete and the most correct plan of that locality. I carefully preserve the engraved copy which you were so good as to give me on my first visit to Jerusalem in 1861. I have used it much and have not hesitated to adopt from it much of the detail, for the execution of my great Plan, intended to accompany the work of M. de Saulcy....My first visit to Jerusalem in 1861 was too short to allow me to judge of your beautiful Plan and Sections of the Haram-ech-Cherif, which you were then drawing; but this time I could appreciate their importance and estimate that the trouble to which you were then putting yourself had been crowned with success."

I have now done with Mr Grove's first letter to the *Times*; and I cannot but hope that he will himself feel on reading the above extracts, how favourably the kindly words of the two large-hearted Frenchmen contrast with what he has himself written on the subject; for I must maintain that, if all his charges had been true in their worst sense, there was still a sufficient residuum of original matter, both in the text and in the Plates of

Jerusalem Explored, to deserve a word at least of acknowledgment from one who can appreciate, as Mr Grove can, the importance of their bearing on the subjects of common interest to us both. But he has allowed an amiable feeling, I am willing to believe, of loyalty for his friend Mr Fergusson, to degenerate into a blind partizanship for his theory, involving a very grievous injustice to Dr Pierotti; for indeed the opening words of his second letter prove too plainly, as does the whole tenor of it, the *animus* of his attack.

On this second letter very few words will suffice; for it is in fact little more than a reiteration of the charges of plagiarism of the photographs which Dr Pierotti had admitted, emphasised with a statement which never ought to have been made after reading Dr Pierotti's letter; in which he had distinctly denied that he had placed the photographs in the lithographer's hands "as his own productions." That denial was corroborated by Messrs Day and Sons, whose letter, I am glad to see, bears the same date as Mr Grove's second letter; so that he could not have seen it when he repeated the libel. But then he ought to have been satisfied with Dr Pierotti's declaration, and not have given him the lie direct.

I admit at once that, in this second letter, Mr Grove has hit the real blots of *Jerusalem Explored*, viz. the careless reduction of the plans or of the scales, or both, in Plates II. and XI. and the unfortunate plan and views of the Holy Sepulchre in Plates XXXIV. and XXXV. They are obviously the first loose and hasty essays at a survey, done soon after the author's arrival in Jerusalem, and never subsequently corrected or revised; probably on account of the greater interest which he took in other researches. They never ought to have been published, and ought now to be cancelled, and recalled.

In proceeding to notice MR TIPPING'S charges against Dr Pierotti, I must acknowledge my obligations to that gentleman, both on public and on private grounds. His beautiful pictorial illustrations to Dr Traill's translation of Josephus are by far the most valuable contribution to sacred topography in that kind that has yet appeared; not even excepting the splendid photographic works of Messrs Robertson, Graham, and Frith; and I can myself testify, from personal knowledge, to the general fidelity and accuracy of nearly all his representations. In particular, I can bear witness to the wonderful reality with which he

has invested his views of the Vaulted Substructions of El-Aksa, which are here in question; as it was through his courtesy, and under his guidance, that I had access to them (the only part of the Haram to which I obtained admission), not, to be sure, in a very dignified manner, but through a hole in the wall. He had frequently visited them before, and although it was always a service of danger, yet he contrived in his successive stealthy visits, to make a complete series of perspective drawings, which together with a plan and section, are embodied in the volumes. There is nothing omitted that either the artist or the archæologist could desiderate in them.

Mr Tipping, I must further admit, exercised great forbearance in not denouncing the supposed plagiarism until he was almost forced to do so. Mr Grove, among his other charges, had taxed Dr Pierotti with borrowing the two drawings in Plate xxv. from Mr Tipping. It was not until Mr Tyrwhitt had come forward to rebut this charge that Mr Tipping entered the lists; although convinced from the first, as it seems, that an unauthorised and unacknowledged use had been made of his labours by the author of *Jerusalem Explored*. His language then might have been more courteous, but his self-restraint contrasts so favourably with Mr Fergusson's violence and precipitation, that I am disposed to regard his attack in a very different light, and am not without hope that I may convince him that his suspicions against Dr Pierotti are not well founded.

I own again that there was apparent ground for suspicion, in the first instance; for, familiar as I was with Mr Tipping's drawings, I could not but be struck with the great general resemblance of Dr Pierotti's to them when I first saw them: and at once expressed it to him. It was then I found that he was not so much acquainted with Mr Tipping's drawings, or with the book that contained them. In fact, I doubt whether even now he has seen the two drawings which he is charged with copying; for it happened, singularly enough, that they had been taken out of my copy of Traill's *Josephus* (which he afterwards borrowed of me) for the purpose of making two large lecture-drawings, and have never been replaced.

The case then is one of "mistaken identity,"—if I may venture so to apply the term; with the like of which, I presume, every architect or artist of wide experience must be familiar. One of the most eminent men in the former profession has told me of a case in which an old pupil of his own published some drawings and details from foreign cathedrals, from his original sketches, but so precisely

similar to those which his master had made many years before, that he could have felt confident they were made from his drawings, had he not known the contrary.

Not that there is actually such close similarity between Mr Tipping's prints and Dr Pierotti's lithographs; as is indeed admitted: but then, as in the case of the substitution of pointed arches for round in the Dome of the Rock, the differences are supposed—not to disprove—but to aggravate the guilt of the plagiarism!

The vertical wall *e.g.* in Plate xxv., fig. 1,—supposed by Mr Grove to be a misinterpretation of Mr Tipping's print, by the draughtsman who transferred it to stone for Dr Pierotti's book;—the shaft and capital in figure 2 of the same Plate, "which shews all the marks of venerable age" in Mr Tipping's view, "perfectly renovated, shaft and capital, without a flaw or blemish," in *Jerusalem Explored*;—"the lights and shadows exactly reversed;"—panelled stones instead of bevelled;—an arch indicated by Dr Pierotti, not by Mr Tipping,—and so following: These divergences one might have supposed amply sufficient to establish the originality and independence of Dr Pierotti's drawings, even if the agreement, in all other respects, had been so precise as to prove—as Mr Tipping tauntingly suggests,—“that he had placed the legs of his sketching-stool in the very holes left by his twenty years ago.”

But a careful comparison of Dr Pierotti's original drawings with the published prints of Mr Tipping reveals many more discrepancies, and so furnishes additional proofs of the originality of the former. I mention a few, which may be tested even in the lithographs, albeit Messrs Day's artist has taken, as their manner is, certain liberties, particularly with the *chiaro oscuro*, to give effect to the picture, which have softened down the differences.

And first, it will be seen at a glance that, in figure 1, the vaulted passage in Mr Tipping's drawing is considerably wider in proportion to its height than in Dr Pierotti's: and this may be proved by actual measurement, for while in the former the height is to the width as 55 to 100, in the latter it is as 71 to 100¹: and it is somewhat singular that Mr Tipping's own plans prove, that while neither of them is correct, Dr Pierotti's is nearer the truth than his, the width according to the plan being 18, and the height not less than 17 feet.

Again, the last four arches which are in true perspec-

¹ *i. e.* measuring from the crown of the arched roof to the floor vertically, and between the piers and the wall horizontally. I am indebted to a clever amateur artist for this and several other points of contrast, which, however, I have carefully tested myself. They are even more obvious in Dr Pierotti's original sketch.

tive in Mr Tipping's drawing are in false perspective in Dr Pierotti's.

Further, the piers supporting the arches are not nearly so massive in Dr Pierotti's drawing as they are in Mr Tipping's; and while four of the arched spaces on the right can be seen through in the former, three at the most stand clear in the latter.

But the nicest and most critical point of difference remains to be mentioned. It relates to the perspective lines; a comparison of which in the two drawings proves to demonstration that the one is not copied from the other; and that while the two were taken from as nearly the same spot as possible, they were not taken *in the same posture*, the artist in the one case standing, in the other sitting at his work. It is just that difference and no more, which may be detected; and ought not to have escaped an artist's eye in comparing the views. It is especially remarkable in the direction of the joints between the ranges of massive stones, on the left of the gallery, viewed with reference to the small window in the distance. The line of sight is clearly lower in Mr Tipping's than in Dr Pierotti's view.

In proceeding to compare figure No. 2, in the same Plate xxv., with the corresponding view from Mr Tipping's pencil, the same divergence of the perspective lines is even more evident. It is owing probably to the same cause, though it may of course be that while in one the perspective is correct, it is wrong in the other. But, in any case, it proves all that I use it to establish: viz., that one is not a copy of the other.

The differences of the monolithic (?) column and its capital in the two drawings have already been pointed out in Mr Grove's language. Nothing can be more striking. But I suppose that, according to the process of cross reasoning to which Dr Pierotti has been so often subjected, this not only proves but aggravates his offence. Yet his own account of the matter is simple enough and satisfactorily accounts for the differences. He had himself, it seems, scraped the plaster off the pillar and otherwise renovated it, and in that state he drew it. Since that, the churchwardens of the Mosk—their existence is proved by the fact—have "renovated it with whitewash;" though not by Dr Pierotti's directions; and in this state it was drawn by Mr St John Tyrwhitt in March 1862, and, about the same time, or still more recently, by the Count de Vogüé [Plate iv. of *Le Temple de Jérusalem*], whose drawing of this column much more closely resembles Dr Pierotti's than Mr Tipping's;—a proof I suppose, according to the

new logic, that he too copied the latter! It is curious that Dr Pierotti's assailants should find such difficulty in grasping so palpable a truism as the first axiom of Euclid, that "things which are equal to the same are equal to one another," or should refuse to apply it to lines and curves and geometrical figures. They even reverse it when it suits their purpose; and read—"things that are unlike the same are identical with one another"!

I believe now that I have gone through all the charges of the triumvirate of assailants, except one or two trumpery, captious objections. It has, no doubt, been a very irksome task; but it has produced one good effect upon myself. It has convinced me more fully than I was before aware, not only how very frivolous, but how extremely ungenerous or even malevolent, this attack upon Dr Pierotti has been. I will not trust myself to enlarge upon this; for I am on the charmed ground of Jerusalem topography, the dangers of which to controversialists I indicated at the outset, by way of a remembrancer to myself: and I fear too that, if I were to denounce the treatment he has met with as it deserves, I should scarcely confine myself to "parliamentary language," and might possibly incur even a worse penalty than a Vice-Chancellor's Injunction.

I conclude with a brief recapitulation of the case, as it appears on the evidence which I have now laid before you, and shall be quite content that your verdict should modify or correct any expressions which may appear too partial to Dr Pierotti, as I am not ashamed to own to a strong bias in his favour.

I. I apprehend then (1) that the original charge against Dr Pierotti of having appropriated Mr Arundale's Section of the Dome of the Rock, falls to the ground before the decisive proof of originality contained in his note-book which you have now seen; and a minute comparison of the two engravings reveals many points of difference which further establish their mutual independence; (2) that the Plan of the Haram esh-Sherif, which Dr Pierotti was charged with copying from Mr Catherwood's Survey, as published by the Admiralty, and (3) his two drawings of the Substructions of El-Aksa, supposed to be copied from Mr Tipping, have also been proved to be original and independent drawings, both by external and internal evidence.

II. What he has really borrowed, are (1) some six or

eight photographic illustrations from Mr Robertson and others, which were public property; but to which his name was put without his authority; (2) some details of tombs, contained in one plate, from three Plans of M. de Saulcy; (3) two Capitals from Mr Fergusson's Essay, which he actually had in his own collection.

One line in the Preface to explain Messrs Day's misinterpretation of his directions; one word of acknowledgement to M. de Saulcy and Mr Fergusson, was all that the most rigorous laws of literary etiquette demanded; and I deeply regret an omission which has given such advantage to his adversaries; but I cannot admit that the oversight very seriously affects either the literary value of *Jerusalem Explored*, or the moral character of its Author.

Dr Pierotti's note book was exhibited at the meeting. Also a photographic reduction of the architect's drawing of the Mosque of Omar made from the details in the note-book, so that it might be compared with the plate engraved in Mr Fergusson's *Topography of Jerusalem* which was placed upon the table.

Several of the drawings, some of which were referred to in the Lecture, were also exhibited.

At the conclusion of the Lecture, the Rev. R. St JOHN TYRWITT observed, that the subject brought forward by Mr Williams was one of great importance to all who were interested in the archæology of the Holy City, and most of all to those who had studied the work of M. Ermete Pierotti, and he hoped that the Lecture they had heard would be printed. There was only one matter of detail with which he was acquainted, and upon this he would say a word. He thought the difference between the drawings of El Aksa was conclusive. There was his own rude sketch, corresponding partly with Mr Tipping's and partly with Dr Pierotti's. It always seemed to him that Dr Pierotti had made a kind of restoration of the pillar in the Haram, which had suffered from the whitewash of twenty years, and from neglect, and perhaps injury by the inhabitants of the Haram. There might, therefore, have been considerable difference in the appearance of the monolith in the interval between the visits of Mr Tipping and Dr Pierotti. Of all the representations he had seen he preferred those of Mr Tipping. Setting aside, however, the positive evidence upon the subject, there was a strong probability that Dr Pierotti made an original sketch, and a very good one, making an allowance for the difference of twenty years.

The Rev. H. ESTRIDGE said :—He had no artistic knowledge of the subject under consideration, but having listened to M. Ermète Piérotti's lecture upon the subject several years ago, and Mr. Williams's paper upon this occasion, he confessed that the impression produced upon his mind by the evidence was that of the entire truthfulness, candour, and straightforwardness of Dr. Piérotti. He was annoyed at the public accusation made by Mr. Grove in the columns of the "Times." He thought that we must acquit Dr. Piérotti of any intention to deceive, and the worst that could be alleged against him was the single instance of availing himself of another man's material, when he had his own, and could have used it.

The CHAIRMAN said :—Whatever might be the impression that had been made upon the minds of members of the Society as to the question before them, he was sure they would all agree in tendering their thanks to Mr. Williams for his kindness in responding to their invitation to read a paper in Oxford upon a subject of great interest to the archæological world. The case submitted to their consideration was a long and intricate one, and it would be rash and presumptuous in him to pronounce an off-hand opinion upon it. It was one that required a careful and judicial investigation. So far as he could form an opinion from what had fallen from Mr. Williams, it seemed that there were two points only in the case against Dr. Piérotti to which a substantial answer had not been given. The first was the charge of using the drawings of another person for the purpose of illustrating his work ; which seemed simply to amount to a charge of indolence, as he might as well have used his own ; and, secondly, there was one of a rather graver character, that of allowing his name to be placed at the bottom of a photograph which was not made by him. The latter, however, was a question which rested partly between Dr. Piérotti and the public, and partly between him and his publisher, and it was one which, to estimate rightly, involved a knowledge of the customs of a particular profession. It was very much to be regretted that there was not some literary tribunal to which questions of this character might be submitted for full investigation and final decision. This was not the only controversy of this kind which had arisen within the last few years. Most of those present would remember the case of Mr. Collier's "Shakespeare." He (the Chairman) had been led to go into the merits of the controversy as well as he could ; he had seen the book in question, and had heard some evidence which was not brought clearly before the public, and he had arrived—he would not say at a conviction, but at least at an impression, that Mr. Collier had not committed a forgery, and that the book was one of considerable value. Whether that was the case or not, it was a question which should be decided during Mr. Collier's lifetime, when the whole of the evidence in

the case could be produced before a competent tribunal. In the course of that controversy, Mr. Collier's private character, like Dr. Piérotti's, was assailed, and charges having no reference to the question at issue before the public were mixed up with it. In the present instance the most satisfactory thing would be to refer the case to such a tribunal, consisting of men well acquainted with literary questions, and also of men capable of judicial investigation. There were some points in the case which it would seem possible to bring to a certain decision. There was the question, for instance, whether the book of drawings—the notebook which was on the table—was the work of Dr. Piérotti's hand or not. It was stated that there were not six men in England who could produce such drawings. Well, let Dr. Piérotti be put to the test. Let him produce some other drawings similar in character to these. He supposed the question whether the drawings were made before or after a certain date was also capable of being ascertained by ordinary tests, such as the paper on which they were drawn, and also by the close examination of the persons concerned. The parties could then be brought face to face, but the case should be confined to the real question at issue, without branching off into Dr. Piérotti's habits of life and other topics which had nothing to do with the matter. Without some such investigation it would be rash and presumptuous to decide upon the question. He thought all the charges as set forth by the antagonists of Dr. Piérotti had been fairly and explicitly met, except that of using the drawings of another person for the purpose of illustrating his work, and allowing his name to be placed at the bottom of a photograph which was not made by him. He had only one word to add, that he was sure the Society would all cordially join in the wish already expressed, that the paper should be printed, so that the public might have the same means of judging fairly and impartially upon the question before them as they had themselves.

The meeting was then dissolved.

ADDENDA AND ERRATA.

PAGE 245. ANNUAL MEETING.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, in stating that Dr. Stanley had spoken of the Pantheon at Rome as a Christian building, was in error; Dr. Stanley had merely mentioned that such was Mr. Fergusson's opinion, but did not in any degree give it as his own.

PAGE 286.

THE following letter has been sent by Mr. Freeman, and speaks for itself:—

"To the Secretaries of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society.

"GENTLEMEN,—I should be much obliged if you would, in your next report, correct the account given of one of my speeches in p. 286 of the report for Michaelmas Term, 1863. I am there made to remark upon 'the error of looking on Strassburg as a French church, an error into which Mr. Petit had fallen in his work on the French churches.' Now I certainly did not accuse Mr. Petit of any error at all. The reference was not to Mr. Petit's work on French architecture, but to his earlier 'Remarks on Church Architecture,' ii. 196. The passage stands thus:—

"Continuing our course, we cross the bridge of boats from Kehl, and enter the French territory, though as far as costume, architecture, and even language, are concerned, we are as much in Germany as before. In fact, the minster is always cited as a German church, its west front having been erected by a German architect, Erwin von Steinbach.'

"Now here is, strictly speaking, no error of statement, and Mr. Petit most certainly does not speak of Strassburg minster as a French church. Yet it is evident that the words are not what Mr. Bryce or I should have written. I quoted it as an example of the way in which people fail to *realize* the facts of history, and especially the course of Parisian aggression, even when in a certain sense, they *know* them. Mr. Petit doubtless knows, as well as Mr. Bryce or I can know, that Elsass is a German province, and that the Free Imperial City of Strassburg was stolen by Lewis the Fourteenth in a way even more disreputable than usual. But he does not carry about with him a living recollection of the fact. He is in a sort of way surprised at finding everything German on 'French' territory. The minster is a German church, not because Strassburg was a German city when it was built, and two hundred years and more after, but because it was built by a German architect. Mr. Petit's words thus illustrate my remark, but they do not contain any actual error, least of all the particular error which in the report I am made to attribute to them.

"I doubt whether the rest of the report very accurately sets forth what I said, but there is nothing else which I care to speak of. But I should be most sorry for any one to think that I had brought an unjust charge against a writer whom I so deeply respect as I do Mr. Petit.

"Believe me yours faithfully,

"EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

"Somerleaze, Wells, Oct. 28, 1864."

First Meeting, Michaelmas Term, 1864.

Nov. 30. The first meeting of the term was held in University College, PROFESSOR BURROWS in the chair.

The following presents were announced:—

“Sessional Papers of the Royal Institute of British Architects,” 1863—1864, Nos. 4 to 6.

“Notes on Cottage Building. By the Rev. W. P. Lightfoot.”

The names of the five new members of Committee, to supply the place of those retiring, were read for approval.

PROFESSOR WESTWOOD gave an account of the Relics of the Emperor Charlemagne, preserved in various parts of the continent, of most of which he exhibited casts or drawings. After some introductory remarks on the character of the great Emperor as the refounder of the Empire of the West, and as the especial protector of religion and education, the question of the authenticity of relics in general was discussed, and the greater probability of the truthfulness of such as were affirmed by tradition to have belonged to individuals of great fame whilst living, than of those of persons who had not become celebrated till long after their deaths, was suggested.

The lecturer divided his observations into the following heads:—

1. The bodily remains of the Emperor; 2. Imperial Relics; 3. Religious and Literary Relics; 4. Personal Relics.

1. The body of Charlemagne was not deposited in the ordinary manner in his tomb, but was placed in a sitting position in a subterranean chamber or crypt beneath the centre of the dome of his cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle, where a large slab, inscribed with the simple words *CAROLO MAGNO*, still points out the entrance to the tomb. The body was clothed in the imperial robes. This mode of sepulchre had been adopted by other persons of great rank subsequent to the introduction of Christianity, as in the case of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, whose body, gorgeously attired, was destroyed a century or two since by the carelessness of some children who had thrust a lighted candle into the tomb. An account of the opening of Charlemagne's tomb by the Emperor Otto III. was given, and its deposition in the magnificent shrine which still forms one of the most interesting objects in the Treasury of the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle, and of the most important parts of which, representing various scenes of Charlemagne's life, casts have been obtained for the collection of the Architectural and Historical Society of Oxford by J. H. Parker, Esq., some of which were exhibited. Again, in 1843, the remains of the body were removed, as related by Messrs. Cahier and Martin (*Mélanges Archeologiques*), who have figured some interesting fragments of embroidery found enveloping the remains. The body itself

was of gigantic size, being not less than seven feet high, and was entire with the following exceptions: 1. The skull, which is preserved separately in a silver-gilt reliquary in the Treasury, representing the bust of the Emperor; 2. One of the tibiae, preserved in another silver-gilt reliquary, ornamented with Gothic pinnacles; 3. A portion of the right arm enclosed in a third reliquary; and, 4. Another bone of the arm removed in the time of the Emperor Frederic I., and now preserved in a reliquary at the Louvre in Paris.

2. The imperial relics of Charlemagne comprise those in which the body was invested at the time of its discovery, as well as various other objects which long tradition has assigned to the Emperor.

The crown, sceptre, orb, dalmatic, Damascus sword, gloves, and shoes found in his tomb have been removed to Vienna, and form the most interesting portion of the magnificent work published last year by the Emperor of Austria on the imperial jewels, where they are figured and described. A figure of the crown is also given in *Les Arts Somptuaires*; and although it is probable that it has been remodelled, there can be little doubt that portions of it, including the jewels and enamels, formed part of the original crown. An imperial dalmatic, of beautiful workmanship, is preserved in the Treasury of St. Peter's at Rome, which has also been assigned to Charlemagne, the embroidery of which is very elaborate, and evidently of Byzantine work. It is well figured by Didron, also by Boisserée (Munich, 1842, with five plates). The former author considers it of the twelfth century, but the difficulty of fixing dates to Byzantine work is well known.

A cope also, ascribed to Charlemagne, is preserved in the Treasury of the cathedral of Metz, where it had been examined by the lecturer, who exhibited a small portion of the silken thread with a very fine covering of gold plate, which had been given him by the sacristan. Some details of it are published by Hefner (*Tractenbuch*).

A sceptre is also preserved at Aix-la-Chapelle. It is a slender silver wand surmounted by a small ivory dove. Of this a cast was exhibited; and a sword of Charlemagne is preserved in the Kunst Kammer of the Schloss Fredenstein at Gotha.

The marble throne, or chair, on which the body was seated, is now placed in the gallery of the round portion of the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle, and the golden or silver-gilt plates, with which it is said to have been covered, now form the background of the cupboard containing the most important relics of the cathedral. They contain representations of scenes of the later events of the life of Christ, and are very important monuments of early art. A set of casts (some of which were exhibited) have been procured by Mr. Parker for the lecturer^a.

^a It has been suggested that these plates had served as the frontal of an altar, and the lecturer has subsequently noticed the strong similarity existing between

The sarcophagus of the Emperor Augustus, formed of Parian marble, sculptured with classical subjects (the Rape of Proserpine, &c.), given to Charlemagne by Pope Leo III., and in which the feet of the emperor were placed in the tomb, is now preserved in the gallery of the cathedral.

3. The relics of Charlemagne as the friend of the Church, the upholder of religion,* and the diffuser of literature and the arts, are numerous.

As friend and patron of Alcuin, he sanctioned the reformation of the Holy Scriptures; and the great Bible of the Basilica of St. Paul at Rome, the Alcuin Bible of the British Museum, the Bible at Bamberg, one at Bremen, and several others described by Sir Frederick Madden in the "Gentleman's Magazine," if not written for Charlemagne himself (which has indeed been asserted of several of them with apparent justice), were certainly written during the first half of the ninth century. Facsimiles from several of these Bibles were exhibited.

The Book of the Gospels, written in gold and silver letters on purple vellum, found upon his knees in his tomb, is preserved at Vienna, and a facsimile of the writing is given by Casley.

The *Evangelistarium* of Charlemagne, now preserved in the Musée des Souverains at Paris, certainly belonged to the Emperor, and contains contemporary entries of various events of his life. Several facsimiles were exhibited.

The Golden Gospels of St. Medard in the Bibliothèque Impériale, the Golden Gospels of the Harleian Library, the Gospels given by Charlemagne to Angelbert, now at Abbeville, and the Gospels given by Ada, sister of Charlemagne, to the Church of St. Maximin at Treves (still preserved there), were described, and facsimiles exhibited from most of them, as well as from the Psalter given to the Emperor by his friend Pope Hadrian, now at Vienna.

A small gold crucifix, presented by Pope Leo III. to Charlemagne, and a small gold pectoral cross worn by the Emperor, are preserved in the Treasury of Aix-la-Chapelle. Drawings of them were exhibited. The cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle also possesses some extremely interesting evidences of Charlemagne's devotion to his favourite church in a set of carved ivory figures of classical workmanship, which now ornament the silver pulpit, and of which drawings and casts were also exhibited, as well as of the ivory holy water vase preserved in the Treasury, which is sculptured with a series of figures, apparently representing the Emperor with his religious and military attendants in council.

the style of the work of these plates, and that of the grand altar from Basle in the Cluny Museum at Paris.

4. Of the personal relics of Charlemagne, the hunting-horn, formed of a very large tusk of ivory, presented to the Emperor by Haroun al Raschid, is preserved in the Treasury of Aix-la-Chapelle, as well as his hunting-knife, with its embossed leather case, bearing an inscription of a character similar to that on the famous Alfred jewel in the Ashmolean Museum. Drawings, casts, and rubbings of these were exhibited. Portions of a set of chessmen, which are also said to have been presented to the Emperor by the same Caliph, are preserved in the Cabinet des Antiques, and had been carefully drawn by the lecturer, who exhibited his figures of them. Two of them have been engraved by Willemin, and another by Shaw ("Dresses and Decorations"). Lastly, the ivory comb of the Emperor is preserved in the Treasury of the cathedral at Osnabruck.

Figures of many of the preceding objects have been published by Messrs. Cahier and Martin (*Mélanges Archeologiques*), and by Werth in his fine work on the Rhine churches.

At the conclusion of the lecture the CHAIRMAN spoke of the interest which belonged to these remains, not only from an antiquarian point of view, but also as illustrating the history of the Emperor to whom they belonged. He referred more especially to their ecclesiastical character, agreeing as it did with what we learnt from Eginhardt of the attachment which the Emperor shewed towards the Church. The estimate of his character by Gibbon was not a just one; it seemed as if his object was to lower the monarch in the opinion of the world because of his connection with the Church. It would, however, be difficult to defend his moral character. His massacre of the four thousand Servians was a blot upon his name; but the ecclesiastical element in the character of Charlemagne was not to be overlooked, as it threw much light upon his personal history as well as upon the history of the times in which he lived. The Chairman also spoke of the interest which such remains possessed in the history of art, and he quite agreed with Professor Westwood when he spoke of the restoration of art and architecture under Charlemagne.

Mr. Medd, Mr. Abbey, and Mr. Parker also made remarks; and Professor Westwood having briefly replied, the meeting separated.

Second Meeting, Michaelmas Term, 1864.

Dec. 7. The second meeting of the term was held in University College, the Rev. A. S. FARRAR, D.D., in the chair.

The following gentlemen, proposed at the previous meeting, were duly elected:—

Rev. W. Jackson, M.A., Worcester College.

Rev. J. D. Macray, M.A., Magdalen College.

The following names, recommended to fill the vacancies caused by five retiring members, were read a second time and approved:—

Rev. E. W. Urquhart, M.A., Balliol College.

Rev. T. Chamberlain, M.A., Christ Church.

Rev. R. G. Livingstone, M.A., Oriel College.

A. D. Tyssen, Esq., Merton College.

Hon. H. C. Forbes, Esq., Oriel College.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon DR. MILLARD for his remarks on "Typography."

Dr. Millard limited his observations to the consideration of Printing as a Fine Art, his object being to point out how, in the earlier stages of the invention, it seemed the chief desire of the printer to produce what was beautiful to the eye.

Passing over impressions in wax from seals to those produced by some sort of pigment upon paper or parchment, he called attention to the block-printing of the Middle Ages, chiefly used for representing, by aid of pictures, the truths of the Bible. To these was often added letter-press, but the use of moveable types was a step in advance. It was, however, the next stage, and at this point the art of printing seemed at once to spring into full perfection.

He referred to the Mazarine Bible which, while being the earliest, was perhaps the most perfect specimen of printing he had seen as regarded the forms of the letters and colour of the ink, with perhaps one exception, and that was a Latin Bible which was printed ten years later, namely, in 1462.

Dr. Millard then observed that as there were seven cities which contended for the birth of Homer, so there were three cities which contended for having given birth to printing,—Haarlem, Mayence, and Strasburg.

Haarlem has contended that Lawrence Coster had the priority, but there is much that is apocryphal in the story. The truth was that Gutenberg, who was a native of Mayence, set up a press at Strasburg: Fust was afterwards his partner; but the honour belongs to Strasburg of having possessed the first printing-office.

An example was referred to, printed at Strasburg in 1470 by Gutenberg, which was within twenty years of the earliest known to exist.

Not only did printing spring into existence in its perfection suddenly,

but its invention spread with much rapidity. There were two hundred and seven towns in Europe which had printing presses before the close of the fifteenth century. An early example of printing from Venice, by Ratdolt, was exhibited.

There was a Latin Bible, dated 1462, by Schoeffer and Fust; and a copy of the Psalms, printed in 1476 at Mayence, by Schoeffer only. At Cologne, Ulric Zell was the first printer, and an example of his work, dated as early as 1467, was exhibited.

The Paris press, too, at this time became remarkable.

There were many centres in our own country, among which were Caxton in London, and certain printers at Oxford in the fifteenth century. There was an imprint to a book, Oxford, 1468, but this was probably an error for 1478, as there were often errors in dates. Some works by printers at that time have the date 1409 instead of 1509.

He then referred to examples of Caxton's works, which were very rare, and to those of other printers in the fifteenth century.

In coming to the sixteenth century he spoke of the Aldine family; some of their books are as early as the close of the fifteenth, namely, 1490 and 1496. One, a Greek Psalter, 1498, was exhibited. He referred also to Caxton's successors, Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson, who were employed in printing school-books. Many of the popular school-books had emanated from Magdalen School.

He referred also to the Stephani, who were eminent printers, and who began in the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century the Elzevirs at Leyden were remarkable for their series of Classics. In the eighteenth century he referred among other printers to Baskerville, at Birmingham, to Wilkes's Catullus and Foulis's Horace. Also to Bodoni, the king's printer at Parma, whose editions of Anacreon in capital letters were very beautiful. He brought his list down to the series of works issued by the late Mr. Pickering, printed at the Chiswick Press.

Before concluding his lecture he referred to several curiosities in typography: the first example of stereotype, by Gell of Edinburgh; of the smallest type, by Didot, Paris. Also to examples printed on vellum, and, as was the case with some of the Oxford Almanacs, printing on silk.

The CHAIRMAN, in thanking Dr. Millard for his interesting communication, referred to the regret which the Society felt at his leaving Oxford, and to the beauty of the specimens of printing which had been exhibited. He also made some remarks respecting the printing of Hebrew books, and after some discussion as to the early use of black-letter, the meeting separated.

Lent Term, 1865.

Feb. 28. THE meeting was held, by the permission of the Curators, in the New Museum. The President, PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH, in the chair.

Letters from the Vicar of Bloxham, Mr. A. Heales, and the Rev. L. S. Clarke were read.

After the preliminary business, Mr. R. P. SPIERS, A.R.I.B.A., read a paper on Pompeii, from which the following are extracts :—

“The ancient town of Pompeii was situated on the volcanic rocks of the Campania, its south and west walls washed by the sea, its east wall bounded by the river Sarno, which was then navigable for a short distance above its mouth. Though Seneca mentions it as a celebrated city, little is known about its early history. Its origin is generally ascribed to the Oscans, and its name is supposed to have been derived from the Greek word *πομπεια*, signifying ‘store-houses.’

“In the year A.D. 63, a violent earthquake shook the city to its foundations, causing it to be almost abandoned for some months, at the end of which time the inhabitants gradually re-appeared, and set to work to repair the damages done, and rebuild the shattered edifices.

“In A.D. 79, the great eruption occurred, which covered Pompeii with showers of ashes and scorix, hiding it from sight, and thus preserving the greater portion of it, more or less complete, for our study and admiration. Herculaneum, situated at the foot of the mountain, was covered also with ashes and scorix; but the vast volumes of steam sent up by the volcano caused the deposit of these ashes in a liquid state, which solidifying, became as hard and compact as lava, so that the excavations of this latter town are more difficult to make, especially as subsequent eruptions have gradually poured their lava over the town, which is now found at a depth of 75 ft. below the present surface of the ground. These subsequent eruptions have been almost the cause of Pompeii’s remaining more or less intact; for the inhabitants returned again, after the burial of their city, to search for its treasures. As many as eight successive layers, some of lava, have been counted over Pompeii, and it is only the lower one which first buried the town that has been disturbed.

“Before the laying down of the railway, the visitor generally entered Pompeii by the Street of Tombs, and a more fitting entry to the desolate and empty city could not be well afforded. The

street rises as it approaches the walls, and is lined on each side by a series of tombs, some of great magnificence; it being a Roman custom to bury the dead, not in cemeteries or places set apart for that purpose, but along the principal and most frequented roads leading from the town,—thus the Via Appia at Rome is fringed on either side with tombs for upwards of thirteen miles away from the city. The Romans, as you are aware, burned their dead, and then, collecting their ashes, placed them in small jars or urns (the origin of those delightful features in our modern churches and cemeteries); these were deposited in vaults, in the walls of which were small niches resembling pigeon-holes, from which these vaults have acquired the name of Columbaria. The tombs consist for the most part of a small altar, either square, oblong, or circular in plan, raised on two or three steps, the whole carried by a pedestal or podium (in the interior of which was the vaulted chamber), and a small enclosure, with low wall round.

“The walls surrounding the town have been traced throughout their whole extent, so that the size of the city is known. They are not more than two miles in length, and the space enclosed, about one hundred and sixty acres, is of the form of an egg, at the apex or smaller end of which is the amphitheatre. The walls were of great solidity and width. They had a double parapet and terrace, the latter about 14 ft. wide, sufficient to admit of two chariots passing abreast. It was carried by two walls, the outer one with a slight batter, 25 ft. in height, the inner wall about 40 ft., and occasional flights of steps on the city side, to admit of easy access on to the terraces. The walls are built of large blocks of volcanic tufa and travertino, in horizontal courses, with inclined joints; and on some of the stones are found Oscan inscriptions, so that they date probably from the foundation of the city. Square towers are placed at intervals along the walls. The battlements seem to be of later date, being built in that kind of work called *opus incertum*, the rubble-work of the ancients.

“There are eight entrance gates to the city, five of which are mere ruins; of the three others, the gate of Herculaneum, through which we enter from the Street of Tombs, is the most perfect.

“The streets are for the most part straight, and run at right angles to one another; they are not wide, many of them not admitting of the passage of more than one chariot at a time, and probably these were not much used, taking into account the small extent of the city (only three-quarters of a mile in length, and half a mile in width), though the deeply-worn ruts in the stones would seem to indicate the contrary. The roadway is composed of huge polygonal masses of lava, from 9 to 18 in. in diameter, and 9 in. in depth, closely fitted

together; the stones were worked in a wedge shape, so that they spanned the roadway like a vault, each stone resembling the voussoir of an arch. All the streets have pavements for foot-passengers, even those where chariots could not pass, consisting of curb-stones of lava, with the pavement composed of bits of marble and stone set in cement, the whole rubbed flat; in places where the curb-stones have broken away they have been cramped together with iron. These foot-pavements are elevated, sometimes more than a foot above the roadway; it is supposed that the latter, in times of rain (which falls very heavily in these countries), became a kind of sewer, as all the streets are slightly inclined one way or the other; and this supposition seems well founded, because there exist everywhere huge stepping stones from pavement to pavement, the wheels of the carriages, and the horses (always two), passing on either side of the stone. Though traces of aqueducts are found in the country around, it is not known with any great certainty from whence Pompeii was so plentifully supplied with water, there being no wells. A very large number of leaden and earthenware pipes have been found, the former of which supplied the numerous fountains which were placed in all the principal streets. They consisted of a cistern formed of blocks of lava, cramped together with iron, the water falling into them through a pipe fixed in one of the back stones of the cistern, which rises higher than the rest.

“PUBLIC BUILDINGS.—The public edifices and monuments of Pompeii give more direct information as to its history than aught else. The more ancient are essentially Greek, both in plan of building and style; the later edifices shew the influence of Roman customs and habits, though always preserving a certain Greek feeling.

“In a description of a Roman city, the forum is the first place to which we should direct our attention, as the centre of business, the resort for pleasure, and the scene of all political and legal contention. And the forum of Pompeii, the largest and most imposing spot in the town, is surrounded by the grandest and most important buildings, amongst which the principal are the Temples of Jupiter and of Venus; the grand Basilica, or court of justice; the Cryptoportico of Eumachia, or cloth merchants’ exchange; the Treasury and small justice courts, and the Pantheon.

“The triangular forum adjoining the large theatre in the smaller part of the town has a portico of ninety Doric columns round two of its sides; it is entered by a propylæa, or vestibule, of eight Ionic columns, which, when complete, must have been one of the most beautiful features in Pompeii. The temple of Hercules, in this forum, is the most ancient building yet discovered here, its capitals, columns, and general construction resembling more the temples of

Pæstum than any of the other temples in Pompeii; from its ruined state it is difficult to define exactly its plan; it was 120 ft. long and 70 ft. wide.

“The great or tragic theatre is placed on the south side of a hill of tufa, in which the steps or seats are cut. It was semicircular, open to the air, and lined in every part with white marble. The seats faced the south, commanding (as in all these ancient theatres) an extensive view, so that the visitor, if tired with the performances, could at all events solace himself with the enjoyment of the fine prospect before him. The walls of this theatre were never entirely buried, and the stage was covered with so slight a deposit only that here (as, in fact, probably the greater part of the most southern portions of Pompeii) the decorative parts, such as marble, statues, &c., may have been easily removed after the eruption. The general audience entered the theatre by an arched corridor, on a level with the colonnade of the triangular forum, and descended thence into the cavea by six flights of stairs, which divided the seats into five wedge-shaped portions or cunei. The space allowed to each was 1 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., so that, from calculation, the theatre would accommodate 5,000 persons. A separate entrance and staircase led to the women’s gallery, which was placed above the corridor just mentioned, and divided into compartments or boxes. It seems, also, that they were protected from the gaze of the audience beneath by a screen of wire. In the lowest portions of the theatre, with special entrances, and separated by a low parapet or balustrade, was the *præcinctio*—what we should call the pit or orchestra stalls now—reserved for the nobles, Augustals, and patricians. The level space in front of the reserved seats was destined for the magistrates, whose seats, the *bisellia* in bronze with purple cushions, were brought by their slaves. There was also some distinction made between the middle and lower classes, the latter occupying the higher range of seats, and being divided into their respective trades and occupations. The stage or *pulpitum* is a long narrow platform, with seven niches in the front of the wall which carries it, in which it is supposed the musicians were placed. The *proscenium* was decorated with columns, and niches between them for statues, with three doorways, the centre one larger than the others, and only entered by the important characters; their scenery was very simple, either a door swinging on a centre axis, or a triangle, the one having two, the other three different views represented on it,—its position being in the central doorway. Behind the stage was the *proscenium*, where the actors’ rooms were placed. The exterior of the upper wall round the theatre still retains the projecting stone rings for receiving the poles of the *velarium* or awning, which on special occasions was spread over the theatre.

“The small theatre adjoining is supposed to have been used for musical performances; it is also semicircular, and similar in arrangement to the other, except that a portion of the circle is cut off on either side by walls continued from the side of the stage. The style and execution of the work are very inferior to the other, which is explained by an inscription stating that it was built by contract. It seems to have been permanently roofed in, and accommodated 1,500 persons.

“Adjoining the theatre is a large forum, surrounded by a portico of columns, supposed to have been occupied by the soldiers, from the large amount of armour discovered in the various rooms around. There were two floors, the offices occupying the first floor. Inside one of the entrance-gates, also, were found the skeletons of thirty-four soldiers, the guard probably called out on the night of the eruption. Sixty-three skeletons in all were found in the barracks, more than in all the rest of Pompeii.

“In the south-east angle of the city walls is the amphitheatre, intended for gladiatorial shows, the chase, and combat of wild beasts. It was here that the people were supposed to have been assembled when the grand eruption took place. From the number it would accommodate, 10,000, and the interest taken in these shows, it was probable that more than half the inhabitants were there.

“The interior contained twenty-four rows of seats; there were separate entrances in different parts of the theatre, the patricians, nobles, and magistrates, as usual, occupying the lower ranges, the plebeians the upper, and the women the boxes. At each end of the ellipse were entrances into the arena, for the admission of the gladiators and wild beasts, and removal of the dead.

“The Temple of Isis is a small but interesting building, standing in a basement in the centre of a court, round which is a portico of Corinthian columns in brick, covered with stucco, and painted. In one corner of the court is an *ædiculum* with a vaulted roof and pediment, covering the sacred well of lustral purification, to descend to which there was a narrow flight of steps. Near it was an altar, on which were found the burnt bones of victims. On the south side of the enclosure were the chambers of the priests, and a kitchen; in one room a skeleton was found holding a sacrificial axe, with which he had cut his way through two walls to escape from the eruption, but perished before he could penetrate the third. In another room a skeleton was found with bones of chickens and fish, egg-shells, bread, wine, and a garland of flowers, as if he had been beguiling away the last moments of his life merrily. Many other skeletons were found in the enclosure, testifying to the belief in the power of their deity. A flight of steps leads to the temple, in front of which is

a portico of six Corinthian columns, with niches on either side of the entrance to the cella, the interior of which is small, the entire width of the back occupied by a long hollow pedestal for statues, having two low doorways at the end near the secret stairs, by which the priest could enter unperceived and deliver the oracles, as if they proceeded from the mouth of the goddess herself.

PUBLIC BATHS.—Two large establishments have been found in Pompeii; they are based on a similar system to the so-called Turkish baths lately introduced in this country, and are remarkable for their admirable distribution.

“The establishment first discovered behind the forum is divided into three portions; the first containing the furnaces and fuel, the second the baths for men, and the third those for women. The two sets of baths were similar in arrangement, both heated by the same furnace, and supplied from the same reservoir. Each set had its apodyterium or disrobing room, its frigidarium, tepidarium, and calidarium, and court, with portico to the men’s bath; only these latter were the largest and most rich.

“The second establishment of baths, discovered in 1858, has a very large open court or palæstra, surrounded on three sides by a portico of fluted columns. The walls of the three sides under the portico are covered with paintings, and on the fourth side is decoration of a similar design, but executed in stucco relief. The baths were arranged and warmed on the same principle as the others.”

After describing the mode of life of the ancient Romans, and pointing out the plans of the houses, the lecturer proceeded to some remarks upon—

ARCHITECTURE AND DECORATION.—Nearly the whole of the architecture of Pompeii betrays a strong Greek feeling in its mouldings and ornament; and although, under the domination of the Romans, their architecture was gradually introduced, especially in the size and form of the public monuments and temples, still a certain refinement and beauty existing in them induce us to believe that, even if not by Greek, certainly they were not executed by Roman artists.

“The mosaic of Pompeii generally consisted of black frets on a white ground, or white on a black ground; sometimes they were executed in colour, as in those found in the Villa of Diomede. The formation of pictures in mosaic was originated by the Greeks, who arrived at extraordinary perfection in their manufacture; they are works of enormous labour and expense. Rougher and coarser kinds of mosaic are also to be found in Pompeii; one kind forming an ornamental covering for columns, in the place of stucco and paint; a second kind consisted of irregular-shaped pieces of marble and stone, stuck in cement, and not smoothed down to an even surface,

with shell-work. The great fountain is a good example of it, which latter is more remarkable for its singularity than good taste.

“The fresco-painting of Pompeii is very interesting to us, having but little acquaintance with that kind of work. The Pompeian fresco-painter used some kind of resin, which he mixed with the colours in order to give them tenacity and render the impasts of their tints glutinous; wax was placed afterwards on the paintings, to fix the colours and brighten their tone. The plaster consisted of seven coats, three of sand and four of marble dust, each successive coat being formed of thinner and finer stuff than the last. The several coats were laid one upon the other without allowing any one to dry. The painter then commenced by tracing with a graver or style the principal lines for ground-tints. He then indicated with the same graver the figures of arabesque, and proceeded to fill them in with colour, the wall being still moist. As, however, the work proceeded, the wall would naturally be drying, and hence the amalgamation with the surface would be less complete. You will understand from this description of the system employed in painting, that the putting on of the colours had to be done with great celerity, that there was no time for study of composition or effect; in consequence, their painting must be looked upon as decorative rather than finished drawings or paintings. Of course, they had the power of cutting out the plaster in any part and forming it again, but this was rarely done.

“From careful observations of the different frescoes from Pompeii and Herculaneum, I was able to perceive that there existed two or three different styles, which might, in fact, be expected from the changes of people to which the town had been subjected: hence the Etruscans or Cumæans, and the Greeks, naturally must each have brought in their special styles; and, in later date, the Roman. To draw a clear and definite line of distinction, however, would be very difficult with so few illustrations as I have here. Without regard to style, however, I might class the paintings in three divisions:—

“1st and highest. The pictorial representation of groups of figures, which I would call the ideal based on nature.

“2nd. The representation of natural foliage, plants, &c.—the real based on nature.

“3rd. The representation of imaginary perspectives of imaginary architectural feature—the ideal based on conventionalities, fantasies, and conceits.

“The first is certainly the most important, because it gives us a glimpse of what the ancient Greek paintings may have been; for, judging the Grecian sculpture and architecture in comparison with the Pompeian, we may draw our conclusions as to what the Greek paintings were in comparison with those found at Pompeii; and the

paintings of Greece may be fairly supposed to have been as superior to the paintings of Pompeii as the Grecian sculpture and architecture surpass the Pompeian. The Pompeian paintings, therefore, are extremely interesting to us in that light; they rank, however, themselves as paintings of the highest class. The composition of the figures, the elegance of their movements, and power of drawing, are most remarkable, especially when we take into consideration the hasty manner in which it was necessary they should be executed. The paintings under the second head are curious, as contradicting the assertions often made, that the ancients never copied nature directly, always resorting to some conventional treatment of it. Nothing can exceed the beauty and simplicity with which the natural foliage of trees and shrubs is depicted; whilst our modern artists would occupy whole hours in the painting of an apple, for instance, the Pompeian, in as many minutes, produced the same with at all events sufficient indication and power to last eighteen centuries. This kind of decoration was generally employed at the further end of the peristyle, where it was supposed to represent a garden beyond. I may mention that near Rome, at the 'Prima Porta,' has been discovered a chamber painted in this style. I was fortunate enough to get access to it when in Rome last year, and was astonished at the brilliancy of the colours and wonderful execution.

"To the third class of paintings I looked forward with considerable interest and curiosity, in the hope of being able to discover in these architectural perspectives traces of a style of architecture in which metal would form the chief material, but I am sorry to say that I could discover little in it but what might have been the composition of imaginative minds; and my chief reason for disbelief in it is that it contains all those details such as architraves, friezes, with triglyphs and cornice, which belong to stone architecture, and are quite unfitted for the true use of iron. So that, even supposing these compositions of attenuated columns, &c., were copies of the terraces which existed on the tops of the houses, we have nothing to learn from them more than we could do ourselves, and it is the archæologist rather than the architect who would feel interest in them. However, be they what they may, it is impossible not to admire their wonderful execution, and the grandeur and size they give to the apartments whose walls they occupy."

He concluded his lecture with some remarks upon the general system of decorating apartments as seen in the remains at Pompeii.

At the conclusion of the lecture, Mr. DUCKWORTH observed with respect to the mill which had been referred to in the lecture, he noticed an inscription which he thought curious,—

LABORA, ASELLE, QUEMADMODUM LABORAVI,

ET PRODERIT TIBI.

The PRESIDENT conveyed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Spiers. A large collection of antiquities from Pompeii were laid out for exhibition on the table, several of which gave rise to discussion as to their use. There were also numerous photographs and drawings suspended on the walls, the latter from Mr. Spiers' own pencil.

At the same meeting PROFESSOR WESTWOOD, in speaking of the progress of the Ashmolean Museum in collecting antiquities, called attention to the want of some organized system to prevent the loss of many things from Oxford, which ought to have been preserved here. He exhibited a buckle which had been just dug out at Summertown, and which he considered Anglo-Saxon. It was found with a skeleton, and the only other object with it, as far as he could learn, was the blade of a knife.

He also exhibited a curious instance of a silver "apostle's spoon" in a private collection, the peculiarity being, in the first place, that the figure of the saint was incised in the bowl instead of being formed into a statuette on the handle, as was the usual custom; secondly, there was an inscription, which had puzzled many antiquaries to decipher it. It was without doubt in the Low German language, and in very debased Gothic letters, which were to be read as follows:—

MARIA UT ALLER NOT.
 HELP GOT UN(s)
 IK HEBBE GEIA
 GET DAT MIBOBA GET.

The reading which seemed to be the most probable one was,—

"Maria, out of all need, God help us.
 I have hope ?"

After the various objects had been examined the meeting separated.

Trinity Term, 1865.

June 7. The meeting was held, by the permission of the Curators, in the New Museum. The Rev. the MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, Vice-President, in the chair.

S. P. COCKERELL, Esq., Ch. Ch., was elected a member.

Mr. J. H. PARKER gave a lecture on the Church of St. Pudentiana at Rome.

"In order to make the history of the Church of St. Pudentiana intelligible to persons who are not acquainted with the general history of the city of Rome, it seems necessary to make a few preliminary observations.

"The church is situated in a part of the large house or palace of the Senator Pudens, who occupied it, and perhaps built it, in the time of the Emperor Claudius, about A.D. 40. A considerable part of this house remains, much more than is commonly supposed, or than is mentioned in any of the guide-books: being chiefly those parts which are below the level of the street and the adjoining vineyards, they have been generally overlooked, although it has always been known that the church was on the site of the palace, or part of it, and it has long had the reputation of being the oldest church, that is, the oldest foundation in Rome, and Baronius in his 'Annals of the Christian Church,' mentions the fact that parts of the palace were in existence in his time.

"This palace was probably on the site of a much earlier one. Rome being a very ancient city, most of the old palaces have been rebuilt on the same sites again and again, and it is accidental whether any portions of the earlier structures have been preserved or not. Each palace had its garden or vineyard attached to it, and the whole was fortified and separated from adjoining properties by a wide and deep *fossa* on all sides, within which was the *agger*, or mound, or bank.

"Originally, in the time of the early Kings of Rome, the buildings were most probably of wood only, like those of nearly all primitive people. On the top of the *agger*, or bank, would be a palisade with wooden towers at the corners, and a wooden gatehouse, the palace itself being further in.

“It is probable that the palace also had been fortified in the same manner with rude stone walls of barbarous construction, during the time of the Kings and of the Republic, but we have very little remaining that is earlier than the Empire.

“Remains of the fortifications of the time of the Empire are numerous; in many cases, indeed, these walls, with the series of vaults supporting them, seem at that time to have been built more for convenience, to keep up the loose earth on the sloping part securely and make a level surface, than for defence. In some places these vaults were used for shops, as on the *clivus*, leading up from the Via Sacra to the palace and temple of Claudius. It is probable that the vaults round the edge of the palace, supporting the level surface, in the centre of which stood the temple, were also used for shops and warehouses. In other parts, where the city was thickly inhabited, these vaults were used for cellars, and it was found generally convenient to raise the level of the street, or *via*, from the bottom of the *fossa* to the tops of the arches, or often still higher, to a level with the second story of the house.

“From this circumstance many of the ancient Roman houses were very lofty, with two stories below the level of the street, and three or four above that level.

“To Londoners, Somerset House and the Adelphi, built upon sloping ground, and in close imitation of an ancient Roman house, give a good idea of the usual plan at Rome during the Empire, and indeed long afterwards.

“In these underground chambers, that is, not in the actual cellars, but in the story above them, though still below the level of the street, most of the early Christian churches were originally made; that is to say, before the time of Constantine, when the Christians were afraid to shew themselves too publicly on account of the frequent persecutions to which they were subjected. St. Pudentiana was one of these, and the original church, consecrated by Pope Pius I. about the year 160, remains perfect under the present church, to which it forms a crypt.

“Unfortunately it is so much filled up with loose, dry earth, that it is difficult to get into it, or to see any part of it, except the vaults and the top of the arches.

“A considerable number of the chambers of the palace remain, also filled up with loose earth in the same manner; this earth has evidently been thrown in through the windows from the street and vineyards above in comparatively modern times. The only one of the chambers that I was able to examine, has evidently been made into a bath-room in a house previously existing.

“One portion of the house above ground also remains; this is a lofty flat wall behind the apse of the upper church, and in this wall

are three large and tall windows, apparently those of the great hall, but they are bricked up with brickwork of the time of the Empire, which appears nearly of the same age as the walls themselves; these are without doubt of the first century of the Christian era. The apse of the church has a very fine mosaic picture of the fourth century upon it, and the wall of the apse is built immediately within the windows, so as completely to block them up, but not actually part of the same construction.

“These archæological observations agree in the most remarkable manner with the recorded history of the church.”

At the conclusion of the lecture the PRESIDENT made some remarks upon the evidence; and, after a vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer, the meeting separated.

Some Photographs and Diagrams were exhibited, illustrating the subject of the Lecture.

Annual Meeting, 1865.

THE Annual Meeting was held, by permission of the Curators, in the Taylor Building. The PRESIDENT in the chair.

W. J. Rowland, Esq., Worcester College, was duly elected a Member of the Society.

At the same meeting it was announced that the Duc di Brolo, head of the house of Laucia, had been elected an Honorary Member.

The Report was read by the Junior Secretary as follows:—

ANNUAL REPORT.

“THE meetings of the Society during the past year have not been so numerous as usual. The lectures, however, have been of great and varied interest, and shew that it is from no lack of subject or ability on the part of members to bring fresh and valuable information before the Society, that there is not a longer list of papers to which reference has to be made in the Annual Report.

“In the past Michaelmas Term two interesting communications were made to the Society. The first was by Professor Westwood, on a series of casts taken from the relics of Charlemagne, which have been preserved at Aix-la-Chapelle. These were interesting, both from an artistic and historical point of view. As work of a period when we have so few specimens remaining, they were curious as shewing how, in some kinds of workmanship, art had so far advanced; while, belonging to and illustrating the life of the great monarch, they could not fail to suggest many historical associations. On both these points Professor Westwood dwelt in his lecture, in such a way as to shew the advantage of the subjects of Art and History being taken into consideration by one and the same society.

“Dr. Millard’s lecture it would be somewhat difficult to classify. Passing over the early history of printing, he shewed, by a beautiful series of early printed books, how rapidly the art spread throughout Europe. He pointed out how printing seemed, as far as artistic beauty was concerned, to have sprung into existence suddenly, and in its perfection at the very commencement. In mentioning Dr. Millard’s name, the Committee feel that they must do so with the regret that the Society has lost, by his departure from Oxford, one of its earliest, most active, and most able supporters.

“One lecture only was delivered during the Lent Term, but one which excited much interest, namely, on Pompeii. Mr. Richard Phéné Spiers had brought with him a large collection of beautiful drawings made by his own hand. To these he had added a fine collection of photographs and stereoscopic views, and in an able and entertaining

lecture he pointed out the several features of interest, which shewed not only the daily mode of life of the inhabitants of that city, but the suddenness of the catastrophe which overwhelmed them.

“During the present Term we have had but one meeting also. On that occasion Mr. J. H. Parker, who has but lately returned from Rome, gave an account of his recent discoveries of the remains of buildings beneath the church of St. Pudentiana. These buildings he considered were certainly as early as the first century, and shewed such alterations as we read were made in the house of Pudens, namely, first the construction of baths by Novatus, the son of Pudens, and afterwards the alteration into a church. He thought, therefore, that the remains were without doubt those of the house of Pudens, the intimate friend of St. Paul. Mr. Parker also briefly referred to several other antiquities of Rome, but chiefly of Christian art.

“It will be seen, by this enumeration, that both Art and History have been fairly represented.

“Your Committee have usually taken some notice, in their Annual Reports, of the architectural works which have been carried forward in Oxford. During the past year they have chiefly to refer to the progress of the works at Christ Church. This has been very rapid, and the lofty pile now assumes an important place amongst the towers and spires of Oxford. It is a building on which there must necessarily be great diversity of opinion, and it is rather a question of the taste of the age, than the manner in which the architect and those concerned have carried out a design in the prevailing architectural fashion. This seems to have been done in a most satisfactory manner, but whether this fashion has arisen from a study of the true principles of the Gothic art, is a point on which many may entertain very serious doubts.

“Of less pretensions, but not devoid of much merit, is the restoration of Worcester College Chapel. The decoration and fittings are of the most elaborate kind; and while many may take exception to the general effect as not suited to a chapel, still, as the choice lay between carrying out fully the design of a chapel of that style, or building a new one in another style, it seems to the Committee that, the College having decided upon the former, they are to be congratulated on the very perfect way in which the work has been carried out.

“In Magdalen College the empty niches on the reredos have been filled with carved figures, which add much to the effect of the chapel.

“To the new church of St. Philip and St. James a spire has been added in accordance with the rest of the building.

“To the north of Oxford, also, a decided progress is to be remarked in the introduction of Gothic architecture for domestic buildings. In many instances the architect seems to have been most successful; while,

near the centre of the town, the large warehouses of Messrs. Grimby and Hughes, and the new Randolph Hotel, exhibit a marked improvement, with the one exception of their disproportionate height, upon the buildings which they have replaced.

“To return to the position and prospects of the Society.

“The state of the finances is still prosperous; but there is one point upon which the Committee have not the pleasure at present to congratulate the Society. They had hoped that the changes which were made in the Ashmolean Museum would have been such as to admit of their meeting in a building containing the various works of art and antiquity, which it was their special object as a Society to describe and explain. They are sorry to say that the changes have not produced this result, but they are still hopeful. In the interim, the want of some definite place of meeting is highly injurious to the interests of the Society, and they believe it is to this cause mainly that they have to attribute the fact that their meetings have not been so numerous, or so numerously attended, as the interest which is manifested by the members of the Society would fairly warrant them in anticipating.

“The past few years, however, have certainly been sufficiently prosperous to shew that there is ample room for the Society in Oxford, and that it is calculated to be of the greatest service to the promotion of the study of history in the University.”

The PRESIDENT, in a few remarks, moved the adoption of the Report, and then called upon Mr. E. A. FREEMAN for his lecture on “Cæsar: his Forerunners and Followers.” Mr. Freeman said—

“By the order of the President I ascend the Bema, and I think it right to say that it is only by the order of the President and Secretaries, which I thought it my duty to obey, that I have undertaken to speak to you on ‘Cæsar, his Forerunners and Followers.’ I have not, however, been getting up the subject at all with special reference to this lecture. At my time of life one does not come to Oxford to read, and during the few days that I have been here, my time has been occupied by an Academical duty, that of examining the compositions for the Stanhope Prize, and I can therefore give you little more than the result of a certain amount of reading and thought at different times, some perhaps not very far distant. It is a subject which, I need not tell you, has lately attracted a good deal of attention, owing to the work of a certain personage, of which the last thing that I have heard is that the publishers not being able to dispose of it at ten francs, the original price, are awaiting the author’s instructions to know whether they may sell it for five francs. Of that work we all probably know something, and we know pretty well the object with which it is written and the way in which it is written—that it is not exactly the most accurate of books in detail, and that the effect

of it is to give perhaps the most complete perversion of history that one has seen for a long while past. We are told that we ought to worship great men, and then we get, by way of specimens of great men, the elder Buonaparte, which I suppose is a delicate euphemism for the younger, Cæsar himself, and, by what extraordinary process I know not, mixed up with these is Charles the Great. What business Charles the Great has in company with either of the other personages it is not very easy to see, except the mere fact that, as the title of Cæsar had become attached to the imperial power, it was so far of course borne by him as well as by others. Whether the author of the book had any confused notion that Charles the Great had something to do with Paris and France in some capacity other than that of a German conqueror ruling over them, I will leave other people to judge. We are called upon to worship great men, and we are told that these are the three great men we have to worship. If we do not fall down and worship all three equally, then we are told that we are like the Jews crucifying the Messiah, and all the rest that we read in that notorious preface.

“All this talk about Cæsar and Cæsarism has turned up in various forms, and all these odd paradoxes are cropping up in different quarters. I take up the ‘Fortnightly Review,’ and there I find an elaborate defence of Catilina by Mr. Beesley. It seems that Buonaparte had served Catilina a little, but that Mr. Beesley was determined to serve him much. In Buonaparte this was excusable. The name of Catilina evidently rouses a kindred feeling in his mind; there is a natural love in the mind of a successful conspirator for every conspirator whom he comes across. He has therefore something to say for Clodius, for Catilina, and for everybody else of the sort who comes on the stage. It is only fair that a man who has been guilty of a successful midnight conspiracy should have some pity and tenderness for those whose conspiracies were not equally successful with his own. Probably if Catilina had succeeded, he would have been equally great with Cæsar or Buonaparte. He did not succeed; therefore of course his attempts were treasonable: so perhaps it is only a generous thing to tell us that he was a great hero, even though at the expense of Cæsar.

“We are told by Mr. Beesley that Cæsar was not really the successor of Marius—that the real head of the popular party, the great man who should be worshipped as such, was after all no other than Catilina. Of this I do not pretend to judge; we may leave Catilina and Cæsar to settle their own differences. One was unlucky and the other was lucky, but I do not suppose there was much real difference between them. Each rebelled against the laws of his country, but one rebellion was put down and the other was successful. But apart from this,

all this talk about Cæsarism and the lessons we are to draw from it seems simply to amount to something like this,—that democracy, republicanism, liberty of any sort, is something altogether worn out, that people have only to fall down and put their necks under the heels of these great men wherever they find them, that these great men are to settle everything for us, that no one is to raise hand or foot against them, that we are to assume that whatever they do must be right, even if we cannot see how. If Cæsar or Buonaparte does anything, we are not to weigh him in the same balance in which we should weigh anybody else, but we are to assume that whatever he does is done from pure, holy, and patriotic motives, and we must not venture to say a word against him. Of course if an act of Pompey, or Cicero, or Cato, bears the mark of human infirmity, then we may apply the laws of common morality; we may say this is wrong, foolish, and so forth; but if Cæsar does exactly the same thing, it is impossible that Cæsar could have had any but the most exalted motives, and we must look on his acts accordingly.

“Now putting aside all this stuff, the real lesson to be learned from the change of Rome from a republic into the Cæsarean despotism, is not any general theory about democracies or aristocracies, still less any general dogma that senates, or assemblies, or liberty itself, are all bad and exploded things. Whatever is said of that sort is alike utterly inapplicable both to the facts of Roman history and to the actual occurrences which are going on round about us. There is a practical lesson to be drawn from the later Roman history—a lesson not very practical just now, but which in the last century was exceedingly practical. I am not aware of any part of the world to which it now applies in its fulness*, but so long as the republics of Bern, Genoa, and Venice existed as republics bearing rule over subject lands—that is, down quite to the end of the last century—that lesson was an exceedingly practical one. The lesson which this later Roman history teaches us is simply this, that it is impossible that a city commonwealth can administer an extensive empire in such a way as to consult the freedom and welfare of its subjects. I may even say that, if you have to choose between the two, it is better to be under the yoke of a despot than to be under the yoke of a distant republic. This proves nothing against republics, nothing against democracy, nothing against freedom of any kind; it proves exactly the contrary; it proves that when a free city departs from the original principles of its freedom, when it does not extend to other peoples that freedom which it claims for itself, when it in this way acts inconsistently, it forfeits the cha-

* I leave this passage as I spoke it. I have since found that subjects of republics still exist in North Germany, where the district of Vierland is held in *condominium* by Lübeck and Hamburg.—E. A. F.

racter of a free state, and proves a worse government even than despotism itself.

“This is the real lesson which the later Roman history teaches us, and to apply the circumstances of that history to large countries like England or France, or any other of the kingdoms of Europe at this time, is utterly vain. There is no sort of analogy between their positions; but there was the very closest analogy down to the end of the last century between the dependencies and subject provinces of Rome and those of the three great republics of Venice, Genoa, and Bern. I mention Bern specially, but the same remarks will apply to the greater number of the other Swiss cantons. I speak of Bern as being the greatest and most famous of them all, and as a city whose history throughout presents a wonderful analogy to that of Rome. Rome set out as a city-commonwealth, just like Venice, or Bern, or Carthage, or Athens, or any other city-commonwealth, ancient or mediæval. Gradually, through the dissensions and struggles and revolutions which went on within her own walls, Rome worked out for herself a constitution which, for a single city with a small surrounding territory, was one of the most admirable that human wisdom ever did work out. We see how that constitution worked in the really great days of Rome, the days after the feuds between the patricians and plebeians were healed, and before the far deadlier and baser and more destructive feuds between rich and poor began. In the later Italian wars—the wars with Pyrrhus, the Punic wars—above all, in the great Hannibalian war—you see the most wonderful vigour, and power, and energy, and unanimity, everything in short that should be seen in a free state, displayed in the action of the Roman Senate and People. The Romans worked out for themselves a constitution in which the aristocratic and democratic elements both came in, and that in the very best way in which both could come in. The national sovereign power was vested in the popular assembly, in the whole people voting in their tribes. It was this assembly which made laws, which declared war and peace, which elected the magistrates of the commonwealth; but the ordinary government of the country was carried on by a Senate, aristocratic if you please, but most decidedly not oligarchic; a Senate, in which no seat was hereditary, but which was filled by those persons who had held the magistracies to which the Roman people elected them. That the people, in choosing their magistrates, should have a certain regard for noble birth, that among the candidates the great deeds of those who had gone before them should tell in favour of their descendants, was to my mind neither unnatural nor in any way objectionable. In truth it came about at Rome, just as at Venice and at Bern, that a certain greatness became actually hereditary in certain families. You may see the same tendency not only in aris-

tocratic but even in democratic states; you may see it in the smallest Swiss cantons, that members of great families, whenever their members shewed themselves at all worthy of distinction, were preferred before anybody else. That is a tendency which has always existed; it always will exist; it is not the creation of law, and law cannot alter it. But during the great days of the Roman people you cannot fairly call the government an oligarchy, because every political office was open to every citizen. One of the consuls must be a plebeian; both might be plebeians, both could not be patricians. As the Roman commonwealth extended itself, as it conquered this place by arms and admitted that place as an ally, till gradually a large territory round about the city was admitted to the Roman franchise, it naturally happened that the citizens of these places were admitted to the franchise in a body, without any regard to their former condition in their own cities. The nobles, therefore, of these conquered and allied cities received only the plebeian franchise, and consequently many of the plebeians were as rich and as noble, and boasted as long pedigrees, as any Fabius or Cornelius. This was one thing among others which gave to the struggles of the Roman commons that character which sets them above almost any other commons that we read of. But every office was perfectly open to every Roman citizen, and it was simply a sort of habit which gradually confined the great offices to members of certain families, to the old patrician houses, and to those great plebeian families, which, though once looked down on by the patricians, had now fully established their place as their equals. When Metellus thought it monstrous that Marius should stand for the consulship, he might have remembered that a few centuries before Appius Claudius would have thought it equally monstrous for Metellus himself to stand. By dint of this constitution, this beautiful mixture of aristocracy and democracy, allowing scope for the best elements of both, and repressing the worst elements of both—by dint of this constitution the Romans gradually conquered Italy and the Mediterranean world; but then it naturally appeared that this constitution, so admirably suited for a single city and a small territory, was absolutely unfitted to administer so vast a dominion.

“The subjects and dependents of Rome were now grouped around the full citizens in different degrees. First came the Latins, a sort of half citizens, any Latin being able to become a Roman citizen by various easy ways, such as by holding a magistracy in his own town, or by several other means—imperfect citizens we may call them; then came the Italian allies, commonwealths retaining a large amount of independence among themselves, but bound to serve Rome in her wars, and too often subjected to a good deal of irregular oppression. Their legal condition, however, was certainly not an oppressive one,

but of course it was very galling to the feelings of a formerly independent city to be commanded in all its external affairs by another city. Beyond these you find the provincials, absolute foreigners, in utter subjection, subjection indeed often cloaked under the name of alliance, but still holding a position in every way distinctly inferior, not only to the Romans but to the Italian allies also. The allies, no less than the citizens, were looked upon as a superior class by the provincials, and the provincials united the Italians with the Romans in the common hatred which they bore to them, for we find that in the great massacre of the Romans by order of Mithridates, the Italian allies were massacred no less than the Roman citizens.

“Now here we come to the great difficulty and to the great lesson. The Roman commonwealth gradually extended itself over the whole of Italy—I say the Roman commonwealth extended itself thus far; of course the Roman dominion extended itself much further. I mean by the Roman commonwealth the body formed of those who had real rights of citizenship, and the right of citizenship was extended far more liberally by the Roman commonwealth than by any other city-commonwealth on record. Still it was utterly impossible that any mere city-commonwealth, however liberal in communicating its franchise, could solve the great problem of giving a really practical free constitution to any very extensive territory. Representation was a thing unheard of in all the ancient commonwealths. The only way by which a city like Rome could communicate freedom to any other city, was by giving the citizens of that city a direct vote in the Roman assembly. The citizens of a place admitted to the Roman franchise were either formed into a new tribe for the purpose, or else they were admitted into some one of the existing tribes. There was a wide difference in the political weight possessed by the new citizens, according as one or other of these courses was adopted, still in either case every one of the citizens of that city received a personal share in legislation, in the election of magistrates, and in the declaration of war and peace. He received a personal share, not merely a share by representation. If a man wished to exercise his franchise as a Roman citizen, he could not do so simply by electing a delegate to go up and sit at Rome, and vote in his name; he must himself go to Rome and vote personally. This, in Italy, as throughout the ancient world, was the only means which any city had of extending its franchise, and Rome did thus extend its franchise far more liberally than any other city. What was the result? That constitution which worked so admirably for a single city with a small surrounding territory, completely broke down when it attempted to administer a large empire. The more liberal you are with your franchise, the more people you admit to it, the more utterly unmanageable and unruly becomes the popular

assembly in which all those people have personal votes. I suppose it never happened that the whole multitude of Roman citizens came together, but we know they did assemble in enormous numbers, sometimes filling the whole Forum, and getting on the roofs and giving their votes from the housetops. In short, the numbers of the Roman assembly were so enormous that it at last became simply a mob, a thing which I need not say the assembly of Athens never became. The Athenian assembly always remained distinctly not a mob but a parliament—a very large parliament certainly, but still a parliament, with its regular mode of proceedings, its rules of order, breaches of which made any act invalid, its debates carried on in a perfectly regular way. We know quite well that the Roman assembly, in the days of Cæsar and long before, had ceased to be anything of the kind; it had become simply an enormous mob, a mob which very often instead of peaceably voting took to fighting.

“Now all this was the immediate result of the vast extension of the Roman franchise. That franchise was gradually extended over the parts round about Rome, and, after the Social War, over the whole of Italy. Of course to extend it to the provinces was never attempted or thought of till long after, when Roman citizenship had become a mere name, and was, in short, rather a disadvantage, as involving extra taxation, and no longer conferring any political privilege whatever. Thus every extension of the Roman franchise simply made the democratic element in the Roman constitution more utterly unruly and unmanageable. Then, looking beyond the limits of those Italian allies who were gradually called into citizenship, you have provinces where the people, to speak roughly, had no political rights at all, but simply local and municipal rights, rights always liable to be trodden under foot by the commanders of the legions sent to keep them in order, and not conferring the least share direct or indirect in the management of the state to which they were subject. Undoubtedly this position of subjects of a republic is the worst condition into which any people can fall. And the freer the ruling republic is in itself, the worse it is for the people who have to be governed by it. In the common bailiwicks of Switzerland, the districts which belonged to all the cantons in common, each canton sent a bailiff in turn, and in those years in which the subject district got an aristocratic bailiff from Bern or Zürich they were very much better governed than when they had a democratic bailiff from Uri or Unterwalden. The reason is obvious. In a democratic state, the very feeling of its own liberty will often, I am sorry to say, make the citizens take a certain pleasure in the difference between themselves and their subjects; while in an aristocratic republic, the ruling body are in the habit of governing a large number of subjects near at home. Consequently when the

common bailiwicks had a Bernese nobleman for their governor, that was a prosperous year compared with one when there came a man from Uri or Unterwalden, who had too often simply bought the yearly magistracy in the Landsgemeinde, and, just like Verres on a small scale, went to make the most he could out of it. Thus you have these two main vices developed as soon as Rome attempted to govern, first the whole of Italy, and then gradually the whole world. The popular assembly became a mere ungovernable mob, which could not deliberate or discharge its legislative and elective functions in any regular way, and the whole system rendered it impossible that the provincials should be otherwise than badly governed.

“Now the political experience of the ancient world supplied no means by which these outrageous evils could be obviated; representation was unheard of, and for Rome to have united all her conquests in a federal system was a thing which neither aristocratic nor democratic Romans would ever have thought of stooping to for a moment. There lay the real evil, and undoubtedly in a certain sense the despotism of the Cæsars was a relief from some of the results of those evils. There can be no doubt that for the provinces the establishment of the Empire was a distinct gain, for, bad as the administration was under the emperors, oppressive as were many of the governors who were sent, there was a real improvement on what had gone before, and there was more hope of redress for the provincials against a bad governor in the imperial times than there had been in the times of the republic. But what does that prove? Not that all republics, or that democratic republics, are bad, or that liberty is in any shape bad, but simply that people professing to be themselves free ought not to hold other people in bondage. That is the lesson, a lesson which was practical as long as there were republics, down to the end of the last century, which did hold dependencies in exactly the same relation in which the Roman republic held a large portion of the world. This is a very good practical lesson for those who want it, but it is one quite different from what Buonaparte and others attempt to draw from the same facts. Those facts prove nothing whatever as to democracy being a bad thing; they simply prove that a democracy with a primary assembly cannot administer more than a very small state. If you want to govern more than a very small territory as a free state, you must resort to representation or federation, or some other similar system.

“So far I have no doubt that Cæsar did a certain amount of indirect good for the provinces. Meanwhile in Rome itself things had come to that pitch that real liberty was to be looked for anywhere else than in the popular assembly. I understand by liberty, a state of things where men can stand up, without fear and without danger, and express two contrary opinions, and then take a fair and free vote

between them. In Cæsar's time this could still be done in the Roman senate, but it could no longer be done in the Roman assembly. I therefore say that liberty in those days was to be looked for no longer in the democratic but in the aristocratic element of the Roman commonwealth. The favourers of despotism sometimes argue that we, who take the democratic side in other portions of history, are inconsistent when we side with Cato, and Cicero, and Brutus, and the rest, because they were essentially aristocrats. I can see no inconsistency in so doing. I do not care about the name of democracy or aristocracy, or any other name, I go in for liberty wherever I can find it; and I do say that in the Senate there still lingered an element of real liberty which in the public assembly had ceased to exist. Therefore I hold that, bad and corrupt as the whole system was, it is in the Senate—where Cicero spoke, and Cato, and Catulus, and all those others who doubtless had their faults like other people, but who I still believe were really great and good men, far better, at any rate, than any who were opposed to them—that it was in the Senate, among these men, aristocrats as they were, that we have to look for the true element of liberty in the later days of the Roman commonwealth. Now that last element of liberty was trampled out by Cæsar, the leader of a mob not worthy of being called a people or a commons, a mob utterly incapable of carrying on any peaceable discussion, but which took to sticks and stones, and sometimes to sharper weapons, as the best argument they could find to settle their differences. But Cæsar did not appear suddenly: he had his forerunners. A change had been hanging over the commonwealth for a long time. You first get the beginnings of the change in the days of the two Gracchi. At that time the popular element was not so completely corrupt, and I see in the Gracchi, at least, two men whom we are called upon to reverence as having done what they could for the real benefit of the people. There is a writer who, I am given to understand, is greatly in vogue in this University just now, namely Theodore Mommsen, who I suppose was there himself to find out all about it, for he seems to know so exactly what everybody did and thought; everything that Caius Gracchus said in his own bedchamber seems somehow to be revealed to him. Now I confess that I was not there, and that I therefore do not know quite so much about it. When we are told that Caius Gracchus aimed at royalty, I can only say that I see not the slightest shadow of evidence for anything of the sort. To be sure, we have in these days got to do without evidence. This Mommsen, who appears to be the idol now, just as Niebuhr was in my time, lives in a region altogether beyond the law of evidence. He does not give you any references, or any reasons for thinking so and so, but he gives you theories, many of which are the strangest paradoxes anybody

ever heard of, and which are stuck into the text just as if they were the most certain facts which nobody ever had disputed. I see no evidence whatever that Caius Gracchus ever aimed at royalty; I simply see that, having been very much persecuted and ill-used in various ways, he at last unfortunately resorted to violent measures in behalf of his schemes, and so perished. Next after him came Drusus, and now we find ourselves in the thick of the Social War and of the great question of the admission of the Italians to the franchise. The claims of the Italians were taken up and thrown down again in the most remarkable way by both sides; they were sometimes taken up by the aristocratic party against the people, and sometimes by the people against the aristocracy. The Italians were thus tossed backwards and forwards just as might be convenient to one party or the other, till in the end came the great Social War. Now that Social War I wish to draw particular attention to, because it is there that a man stands forth to whom it seems to me that a sort of injustice has been done. If we are to worship "great wicked men," tyrants who boast themselves that they can do mischief, I think we may find one of that order greater than either Cæsar or Buonaparte. It seems to me that both of these are mere paltry performers compared with Sulla. In him you find a real man, a true *μεγαλοπράγμων τε καὶ κακοπράγμων*, who did whatever he had to do in the most thorough way that any man in this world ever did—a man, who in the midst of all his crimes (and I grant that his crimes were greater in themselves than the crimes of either Cæsar or of either Buonaparte,) had still a sort of feeling that he was doing something which he himself looked upon as right. This is what it is utterly impossible to see in the career of any of his rivals. We are told, indeed, that everything that Cæsar did must have been patriotic because it was Cæsar who did it, but I cannot see any signs of patriotism in the career of Cæsar. I simply see a man stained with every conceivable private vice and public iniquity, but who had at the same time certain qualities which made him personally agreeable, and who was too wise to rush into crimes which were not needful for his purpose. Therefore, though he scrupled at nothing to serve his objects, yet when he came to power he did not use it in any particularly cruel or oppressive way. It is exactly the same with his modern successor; he, too, sticks at no crime to gain his objects; he murders people in the streets, sends the best men in the land to prison, and ships the rest to Cayenne, but we do not see the exact system of government of Phalaris or Apollodôros revived under him any more than it was revived under Cæsar. But where the patriotism, the self-sacrifice, is in either case, I, at least, cannot see. In the case of Sulla, however, you do see a man who really did make war for an idea, a man who had a principle, a man who evi-

dently thought nothing of himself, who was ready to go through any toil and to commit any crime, not simply for his own aggrandisement, but for that of the party to which he had devoted himself. This extreme spirit of party is doubtless in itself a vice, but it becomes a virtue when compared with the pure personal selfishness of Cæsar or Buonaparte. You have in Sulla a man who devotes himself to the aristocratic party, who, to reestablish the power of the Roman aristocracy, will commit any crime, will undertake any amount of labour, will slaughter any number of men, and lay waste any number of provinces; but when he has done his work he does not take to himself crowns and sceptres, he does not call himself Emperor, and expect people to bow down at his feet and call him 'Your Imperial Majesty;' he does not, like Cæsar, send out to see whether the people can, by any trick, be got to salute him as King; he does not ask for a laurel crown because he happens to be bald; he does not seek to found a dynasty in his own honour; he has children and nephews, but he leaves them simply in the rank of Roman patricians in which they were born. When he has done all his work, when he has restored what he looked on as the ancient government, he lays down his power, he goes home without a single lictor, he offers to give an account of anything he has done to any one who desired it, he lives the rest of his life unmolested, and at last he dies in his bed. If a man is to be a criminal at all, this is surely the grand style of criminal,—this man who felt it needless to surround himself by guards, who could walk home and live for the rest of his days as a private citizen, and leave his children to be private citizens after him. If a man is to be a tyrant, surely this is a very much greater and grander tyrant than Cæsar. But some may say that Sulla's work died out, and that Cæsar's lasted. I deny altogether that the work of Sulla has died out. It is to be seen in the history of Italy and in the history of the world from that time to this, quite as plainly written as the work of Cæsar. In his immediate aim of restoring the Roman aristocracy no doubt Sulla did fail, but there are two practical points at the present moment in which we see the effect of Sulla's career. In every fresh piece of news from Rome and Italy we may still see the hand of Sulla working for good and for evil. Why is it that Rome still occupies such a place in the hearts of Italy and the world, that men are anxious to know what is to become of Rome, with a feeling which does not extend to any other city of Italy or of Europe? And again, how is it that the southern part of Italy has for ages been in a wholly different position from the northern, that it still lags behind all the rest, that for centuries we have there heard of misgovernment and brigandage, such as northern Italy even in its worst days never knew? To whom is all this due? I believe that it is due, both for good and for evil, far more

to Sulla than it is to Cæsar. Remember, Cæsar enslaved Rome, Cæsar reigned over Rome, but Cæsar never saved Rome. But Sulla did save Rome; he saved her from dangers as fearful as when Pyrrhus or Hannibal drew near her gates. Cæsar overcame Gaul, but Sulla overcame the last struggle of free Italy, a struggle in which Rome was for the last time brought to the brink of ruin. When Pontius Telesinus—a descendant no doubt of the old Pontius—was at the Colline gate with his Samnites, crying out that Italy would never be free from the wolves whilst the wood that sheltered them was allowed to stand, then Rome was in danger indeed, and Sulla, and Sulla alone, rescued her from that danger. It was fairly on the cards that Rome might have been conquered, and, if so, Rome would probably have been destroyed, at all events she could never afterwards have kept up her former place in Italy. Sulla thus saved Rome, while Cæsar simply enslaved her. Then look at the state of southern Italy from that time onward. Those brave old Samnites, whose unconquered spirit shone forth then just as it had done in earlier times, were a people who could not be held down, but who might be exterminated. Exterminated they were, and southern Italy has been a desert ever since. The whole difference which we now see between the south of Italy and the north, between the Samnite country, the truest old Italy, and Etruria and Cisalpine Gaul; the whole difference between these two regions arises from the extermination of that noble people at the hands of Sulla.

— “This is crime indeed, but it is crime done on a grand scale, and crime which, in its results, has never been effaced. Sulla devastated Italy, but he at least did it in the cause of Rome’s dominion; it was reserved for another ‘Saviour of society,’ for the protector of the Holy Father, the eldest son of the Church, to do the same evil work, in the cause of Rome’s subjection to a foreign enemy.

“If we then are to fall down and worship a man because of his power of doing evil to his species, at any rate let us choose the greatest of his class, let us fall down and worship Lucius Cornelius Sulla rather than Caius Julius Cæsar. Run through the early career of Cæsar, and where is this pure patriotism of which we are told? I confess that I see no traces of it. I see a man who, if you judge his actions like those of other men, is of all men the most unprincipled. You find him affecting great zeal at once for written law and for abstract righteousness. He is so zealous for abstract righteousness that he must punish and condemn to death certain of Sulla’s creatures because of the crimes they had committed during Sulla’s dominion. This was doubtless very right as a matter of abstract justice, but it was entirely contrary to the written law, which secured them from all punishment. And if Cæsar had this horror of all who had shared

in Sulla's atrocities, how is it he did not shew that horror for the foremost and very worst of them, for Lucius Sergius Catilina? If Cæsar was thus high-principled, how are we to account for his wanton attack on old Rabirius, dragging him forth on a very doubtful charge for an offence committed thirty-nine years before? Probably Cæsar had no serious intention that Rabirius should be put to death, otherwise he would have never yielded so easily to the mere dodge of pulling down the flag planted at the Janiculum and so of dispersing the assembly. Probably there was no real blood-thirstiness in the business, but simply a wish to frighten the other party; still, was so shabby a trick the act of a perfectly righteous and patriotic man?

"Again, was it the act of such a purely patriotic man to make a similar ungenerous attack on the best man in Rome, on Catulus, whom all Rome respected and admired, to bring a charge of peculation against him which he could not prove, and to try to prevent his putting his name on the newly finished temple? Then again, if Cæsar was perfectly honest, how are we to account for his joining wicked people like Pompeius and Crassus? In that notorious book you find these men called by every conceivable name; they are wicked and foolish in every way, almost as bad, in short, as Cicero and Cato. No doubt there were great crimes to be laid to the charge of both of them, but if so, why did this immaculate Cæsar link his fortunes with theirs? We are told that Pompeius and Crassus must have had bad motives for joining Cæsar, but that Cæsar could have had only good motives for joining Pompeius and Crassus. That is a sort of historical morality which I do not understand. If Pompeius and Crassus were such thoroughly bad men, then Cæsar who joined them in a series of unprincipled acts could not have been perfectly righteous and patriotic. I only ask for the same laws of morality to be applied to him as to others. In the career of Cæsar I see throughout a career purely selfish; not indeed a career of pure mischief; Cæsar was not a man who delighted in bloodshed or oppression, quite the contrary; he probably would have shrunk from many of the acts of Sulla. I do not believe that he would have had thousands of prisoners put to death in cold blood, at any rate not if they were Roman citizens or allies. Still Sulla was acting for a principle, Cæsar was acting simply for himself; you can see nothing in Cæsar's whole career but a determination to put himself at the head of everything, at any cost, probably with as little crime as might be, but still with any amount of crime that might be needful for his purpose. And when Cæsar had got power, then comes his paltry love of gewgaws and titles and ornaments, his dodging for this honour and the other, which is just what we see in his modern follower, but which we do not see in the great wicked man Sulla.

“And now for one word as to Cæsar’s death. Remember that, when Cæsar was put to death, it was an act which we must not judge by our modern notions, by our special English notions. These notions lead us to look with undue harshness on those who put him to death. We have a horror of assassination under any shape or circumstances, which is mainly to be attributed to the events of our own history. Here, in England, political assassination has never been necessary at any time. We have never had a tyrant in such a position that we could not dispose of him either by force of law or on the field of battle. We are therefore hardly in a fair position to judge of other countries and other times whose feelings were wholly different. The death of Cæsar was not assassination in our sense. *Jure cæsus est.* He was killed under the old Valerian law, by which it was lawful, by which it was the duty of every citizen, to put to death any one who had put himself in the position in which Cæsar put himself. When Brutus, Cassius, and the rest killed Cæsar, they were not breaking the law of Rome, but obeying it. We may think, if we please, that a law which puts such power into the hands of private persons was a bad law, but such was the law of Rome, and these men were simply obeying it when they smote Cæsar. *Jure cæsus est.* He was righteously put to death; whether prudently is altogether another matter. The event is often held to prove that it was not prudent, but we must not judge wholly from the event. As it turned out, the imperial despotism was re-established in another person after several years of confusion and civil war. It may therefore be plausibly argued that it would have been better to have let Cæsar go on living and reigning. On the other hand, it is evident that the second Cæsar learned a great deal from the fall of the first. His yoke became much lighter; he was much more prudent and much less insolent, no doubt because his uncle’s fate was before his eyes. We do not find in Augustus anything like the craving after personal display, the seeking after titles and crowns, which we see in the first Cæsar. We see a man who clutches, it is true, at absolute power, but who will hold it in the most decorous and quiet way; a man who rules absolutely, not by calling himself king or even dictator, but by uniting several contradictory offices, by getting one grant of power after another, a grant of this extraordinary power for five years, of the other extraordinary power for ten, all which in the aggregate formed a practical despotism, but by which the reality of subjection was never put insolently forward before the eyes of the nation. Everything was done in the most quiet and cautious way, which must have done something at any rate to lighten the yoke. Whether, if the elder Cæsar had gone on in the full swing and insolence of his prosperity, he would have given Rome anything like the forty years of peace and quiet that his nephew gave them, may, I think, be very much doubted.

If so, it is clear that those who put Cæsar to death did not do quite such a mischievous act as it at first sight appears. They not only cut off one tyrant, but they did a good deal to temper the tyranny of those who came after him. Now in the state of things which Rome had got into, when the democracy was completely corrupted, when the provinces were in such a state that almost any change was better for them, it is probable that the establishment of the imperial despotism was in a certain sense a necessity; but it was a necessity only because the republic had forsaken the duty of a republic, because it had refused to other people the freedom which it claimed for itself. It was a necessity only, because it was better for the provinces to have one master than many masters. But that any form of free government, whether aristocratic or democratic, under which you can express two opinions and take a vote between them, is in itself inferior to the absolute power of one man, is the falsest and most mischievous inference that ever was drawn from history in any age. And what is this Cæsarism? I believe it to be the worst of all governments; I do not mean that is necessarily the most oppressive; if you look diligently you may find some eastern Sultans, some Greek and Italian tyrants, who were far more oppressive; but was not the peaceable government of Augustus, is not the government of Buonaparte at this time, the most corrupting of all governments? We are told that they make their people prosperous and quiet and all that, but is it not the very greatest mischief of the system that they do so? A good old-fashioned tyranny, which sends people off to prison, which murders this man and plunders another, really does less mischief; there is some hope of a nation under that sort of tyranny, some hope that it may rise and get rid of its tyrant; but a tyrant like Augustus or Buonaparte, after the proscription or the *coup d'état* is past, does nothing of that outrageous kind; he rather puts his people into a sort of fool's paradise, and gives them a prosperity like that of the hog in his sty; he is a tyrant under whom people may eat and drink and get rich, but under whom every noble aspiration is crushed, under whom there is no political or literary life, nothing for men to do but fall down and worship as they are bid. Whether such an one is more or less criminal than the other class of tyrant, I do not profess to say; whether Phalaris with his brazen bull sinned more or less deeply than Cæsar or Buonaparte, I do not profess to say; but I do say that Phalaris did not do half the damage to the world which Cæsar and Buonaparte have done.

“The old style of tyranny does not corrupt, but provoke the people; such a tyranny sets people's backs up, and cannot last long: but Cæsarism corrupts the people; they learn to hug their chains, and when they come to hug their chains there is no more hope for them. This then is surely the worst of all governments. Even an oli-

garchy or a democracy administering distant provinces, though it may be actually more oppressive, does not in the same way corrupt. It may do a great deal of mischief while it lasts, but it does not necessarily corrupt or degrade a people. Look for instance at the canton of Vaud, held for 260 years in complete bondage to Bern exactly in the same way that the provinces were to Rome. Vaud was not oppressed in any bloody or rapacious way, but it was deprived of all its political rights, and its inhabitants were subjected to many galling distinctions. Still it was never corrupted, and, now the yoke is removed, we see it one of the freest and happiest parts of the world. Is any part of France likely to fare as well? No, because the government—oppressive according to our notions, but not oppressive according to French notions—is something much worse than oppressive, it is corrupting. There lies the real sin of Cæsarism, Buonapartism, or whatever we may call it; it makes men corrupt, it stifles everything good and great in them, it does not leave them even the energy into which other tyrannies arouse them, the energy to rise and shake off their chains. Let us reverence great men wherever we find them, but it is not among Cæsars or Buonapartes that we are to look for them. Let us not deify any man, and let us look somewhere else for the great men whom we may reasonably reverence; let us seek for men who did not do mischief to their species, but who did good; men who delivered nations, not men who enslaved them; men who founded constitutions, not men who destroyed them. There have been men who have had despotic power in their hands and who have laid it aside; there have been men who have been tyrants, and who have willingly given up their tyranny; there have been men who had the chance of becoming tyrants and who did not choose to become such. We have a Lydiadas in the old world and a Cavaignac in the new; Lydiadas, who of his own accord laid aside the tyranny, and Cavaignac who refused to seize the tyranny when it was within his grasp. Such men as these are surely worthy of far more reverence than either Cæsars or Buonapartes. If we wish for great men to reverence, there are plenty of them. We may choose from among the men who founded and fostered freedom in all lands and ages; we need not go for triads of great men to Cæsar, Charles the Great, and Buonaparte, though I again protest against Charles the Great being placed in any such company; we need not go to crowned heads of any sort; we have the men who founded free constitutions instead of overthrowing them, the men who delivered nations instead of enslaving them. Instead of Cæsars and Buonapartes we have Kleisthenès, Licinius, and Simon of Montfort; we have Timoleôn, Washington, and Garibaldi.”

At the conclusion of the lecture, a vote of thanks to the lecturer having been passed, and some remarks made by the PRESIDENT, the meeting separated.

