

NOTICES OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

PREHISTORY: A Study of Early Cultures in Europe and the Mediterranean Basin.
By M. C. BURKITT, M.A. F.G.S. 10 x 7 ins.; ix + 438 pp. Cambridge Press,
1921. 35s.

Mr. Burkitt has written a book for which there was room, and the Cambridge Press has turned it out in handsome fashion. It had been better still had the edges been cut. Books, says Pliny, are of two classes, *aut legendi, aut lectitandi*; and while the literary browser may have time enough to fumble with raw edges, the real reader—and the reviewer—can ill spare it. No volume which is intended, as is this, to take its place amongst the archaeologist's standard books of reference should be so carelessly tailored.

The author disarms a good deal of criticism by confessing that his work is 'meant mainly for students of the Palaeolithic Ages.' He calls it 'a text-book on the Stone Age Period,' and admits that his treatment of the Neolithic and Bronze Age Periods leaves much to be desired. They are merely sketched in to fill the gap between the earlier and the later periods. If they are part of 'prehistory' they ought to have received more adequate treatment, and if they are not 'prehistory' they might justifiably have been left out altogether. In Mr. Burkitt's judgment the beginning is very much more than half the whole matter, and of the beginning he finds the most important part to be its art. Exactly the half of his letterpress is devoted to this portion of the matter, and no less than 39 of his 47 plates. There was need of an English book which should bring up to date this side of archaeology and to some extent correlate the now vast mass of material available, and these 39 plates alone might make one wishful to possess the volume: the reindeer from Font-de-Gaume (plate xvi) and the superb bisons of Altamira (plates xii and xvi) are wonderful reproductions. Amongst the illustrations are some few which are long familiar to the student of such matters, but most are wholly new. Particularly valuable are the plates illustrating conventionalised art. Plate xxxviii, for example, figures some 114 different conventions for the human form, of which scarcely half a dozen could be recognised as such by themselves, though they might well pass for photographs of aeroplanes, shooters' kites, centipedes and Christmas trees; but placed, as here, in their proper order in the sequence of evolution, the genesis and significance of most of them are grasped at once. One or two of them, it must be owned, are unconvincing to the lay mind; nay, there are some which still puzzle the doctors, as for example that (from the cave at Jimena) which is explained with equal authority as an octopus and as a human. Clearly there is yet room for more light, but the general result is a very vivid and convincing lesson in the amazing gulf which may separate the sign from the thing signified.

Mr. Burkitt was well qualified to write these pages, for he has personally

visited the caves which are the picture-galleries of the past in Spain and France, and the carved rocks of Scandinavia and Northern Russia, and he has had for *ciceroni* such giants as l'Abbe Breuil and Dr. Obermaier. He is indeed the professed disciple of l'Abbe Breuil, and of those who find in magic the all-sufficient motive of these, man's earliest efforts in wall-artistry. He scouts the alternative motives of mere *joie de vivre* and the love of decoration, instancing a number of cases in which these cannot suffice. Nevertheless it is permissible to believe that all three motives may have been at work and even contemporaneously, and there was ample time for all three to develop in the thousands of years which are supposed to separate the Aurignacian from the Eneolithic. Of the measure of those years the author takes a moderate view: humanity in Western Europe can be traced back continuously, he thinks, for some 20,000 years. Time's telescope, it seems, is being gradually shortened as it becomes better focussed. In his last utterance the late Oscar Montelius declared himself satisfied with but 15,000 years, a figure which approximates very closely to that allowed by the progressives in astronomy. Mr. Burkitt of course touches upon the questions involved in the earth's glaciation, but makes no mention of the doctrines of Major-Gen. Drayson, which are steadily making headway on the Continent. As for pre-Chellean man, he is very properly dismissed in few words, for Mr. Burkitt recognises, as some less clear thinkers fail to do, that the story of created man, the proper field of archaeology, is a wholly different thing from the story of the creation of man. The discoverer of *Eoanthropus dawsonii*, by the way, is miscalled 'Dr.' Dawson on p. 180.

From the nature of the case the British Isles make but a small figure in the story: at present we have no painted caves worth talking about, nor much of what is called *art mobilier*, though one looked for something more about the engravings lately found at Grimes Graves. Those workings seem to be classed between the Aurignacian and the Magdalenian, whereas those of Cissbury are summarily labelled Neolithic. British archaeology indeed is somewhat scantily treated. The author has no doubt whatever of the 'astronomical purpose' of Stonehenge or its antiquity. Cromlechs he regards as features of the Bronze Age, notwithstanding the express witness of Homer that they were essentials of certain peoples of the Iron Age. He makes allusion to the so-called dolmen-idols, of Saint-Sernin and Aveyron, as being indisputably of the Bronze Age, although some of them indisputably represent the ritual vestments of the historic period. He emphatically endorses the view that the cist was developed from the dolmen—wrongly described as a 'circle' of monoliths with a covering slab—rather than *vice versa*. In treating briefly of the famous spiral ornament he has no word for Mycenae or for the occurrence of precisely Mycenaean spirals upon stones in Scotland (Aberlemmo).

Nevertheless the book is crammed with facts and the pages on art are often vivid and picturesque reading. Elsewhere excessive compression not seldom leads to ambiguity, and the language is at times careless, the punctuation also. But actual mis-statements are few, though we are told (p. 164) that Mr. Hazzledine Warren found at Penmaenmawr *flint* implements, for which 'igneous rock was used.' Apart from the blunder, the author ought in candour to have mentioned that the implements there found, although obviously all of one age and that very recent, were of almost every type from

Acheulean onward. This is only one of many disconcerting discoveries which, as the President of the Society of Antiquaries has lately confessed, have 'put back into the melting-pot' most of the theoretical chronology of stone implements. But Mr. Burkitt makes admirably clear what are those theories, what is that chronology, and not the least valuable of his pages are those which summarise the chief mile-stones in the development of these and in the rediscovery of Cave-Art.

A. H. A.

THE PAROCHIAL AND OTHER CHAPELS OF THE COUNTY OF WORCESTER, TOGETHER WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PAROCHIAL SYSTEM IN THE COUNTY. By F. T. S. HOUGHTON, M.A. F.S.A. 10 × 6½ in.; 94 pp. Birmingham Archaeological Society.

In this excellent essay, reprinted from the *Transactions* of the Birmingham Archaeological Society, the author, well known for his sound knowledge of the ecclesiology of Warwickshire and Worcestershire, has attacked a difficult historical problem. The chapels with which he deals are of divers kinds: some are chapels in hamlets or outlying portions of parishes, the dependent status of which requires no comment; while others, like the Hermitage chapel at Redstone on the Severn, belong to a special class of institution with no parochial significance. There is, however, a class which, from dependence upon a parish church, or from a certain degree of subordination to it, obtained parochial rights of its own. In this type of chapel the western midland districts are peculiarly rich: Staffordshire, Shropshire, and, to some extent, Herefordshire present parallels to the Worcestershire parish churches which are described indiscriminately in medieval records as *ecclesia* and *capella*. Mr. Houghton has carefully studied the Domesday organisation of the country, and shows how these *capellae* developed from complete subjection to a central manorial church into an independence which, however, occasionally retained traces of the earlier state of things in the payment of a customary pension to the rector of the mother church.

While the origin of such chapels can hardly be doubted, it is very difficult to discover the precise date at which they acquired separate parochial rights. Mr. Houghton seems inclined to think that, as long as a church retains the appellation *capella*, it may be doubted whether the parish had come into being. On the other hand, some of these churches continue to be called *capellae* after a date at which the term *ecclesia* has been used in connexion with them. This really involves no ambiguity: the term *capella* undoubtedly means that the church has been founded as a chapel within a parish, and that the incumbent of the parish church has certain rights over it. Thus the village churches of the Christianity of the vale of Evesham remained *capellae* throughout the middle ages and nothing more: the district in which they stood was dependent upon Evesham Abbey and exempt from diocesan jurisdiction. To these churches the term *ecclesia* could never be applied; for *ecclesia* implies a church which has its own rector, and the rectory of these chapels was a jurisdiction exercised by the abbot and convent over an area of which the several chapelries were merely fractions. But there are also *capellae* to which, at any rate from the period

at which we have records of institutions, were separate benefices, generally in the gift of lay patrons, who presented rectors to them; and these may be described with equal accuracy as *ecclesiae*, though, on account of the circumstances of their origin, the title may vary. This is a point which Mr. Houghton has hardly grasped. We notice, in the case of Welland (p. 31), that he speaks of an institution to the church in 1300. Actually, the institution is to the vicarage of the church; for, as he notes, the church itself had been appropriated to Little Malvern Priory in the twelfth century. Appropriation implies that there is a rectory to be appropriated; and therefore, whatever subjection the church may have owed to the rector of Bredon, who established his right to nominate a vicar to the prior and convent in 1300, it had at all events acquired a rectorial status of its own about 1140. What probably happened was that Little Malvern, having acquired the rectory, served the church by stipendiary chaplains until they were compelled to consent to the ordination of a vicarage, and that then the rector of Bredon claimed a part in the appointment of an incumbent to a cure of souls originally in his parish. It is indeed possible that, while the church was served by chaplains, the priory may have delegated the rectors of Bredon to appoint them. But the church to which the vicar was appointed in 1300 was an *ecclesia*, and the subsequent mention of it as *capella* makes no difference to this fact.

Among other cases, that of Croome d'Abitot is most instructive. The church paid a yearly pension to the rector of Ripple, but it had its own rector. In 1378 the rector held the church with that of Haresfield in Gloucestershire, and pleaded in excuse of his pluralism that the chapel of Croome 'was from its first foundation, and is, within the limits of the parish church of Ripple, and being endowed with tithes arising within the manor of Croome d'Abitot, it might be held with any benefice.' It was, in fact, a manorial chapel endowed with demesne tithe: such chapels, compounding with the rector of the parish church by an annual payment, were virtually free chapels to which no cure of souls was definitely annexed, although their ministrations were quite distinct from those of the parish church. We need not stop to inquire what a 'free chapel' actually meant. It is enough to say here that the exclusive origin of free chapels as royal foundations, which is frequently stated or implied, may be denied upon sufficient evidence: there were free chapels which owed their freedom to no king, like the Leicestershire chapel of Noseley. As regards the relation of a free chapel to its mother church, and the exemption of its rector from cure of souls, the details of a long and interesting inquisition into the status of the free chapel of St. Giles at Blaston, also in Leicestershire, are recorded in Bishop Dalderby's register at Lincoln and throw much light upon these points. We may also note the frequent employment of the term *libera capella* in the Lichfield episcopal registers, in connexion with churches which otherwise are indistinguishable from ordinary parish churches; while such rectorial chapels as Broseley and Willey in the parish of Wenlock, and Windermere and Grasmere in that of Kendal, are conspicuous examples of the type to which Croome d'Abitot and other Worcestershire chapels belong. Eastward, in the diocese of Lincoln, such chapels were certainly rarer: among the numerous chapels recorded in the Leicestershire *Matriculus* of Bishop Hugh Welles, very few could be described, then or later, as free,

and the most striking example is the chapel of Wanlip, which seems by 1220 to have established its right to be considered as a parish church.

Mr. Houghton notes as unusual the appropriation of Elmley Castle church to the college of chantry priests founded in the castle chapel. There is at least one exactly parallel case at Stoke-under-Hamdon in Somerset, while the appropriation of the church of Kirby Bellars to the collegiate chapel (afterwards the priory) of St. Peter hard by is equally to the point. Later on, the appropriation of Fotheringhay church to the college founded in the castle is another instance, though here the college was translated to the parish church. Cases of chantries in parish churches which developed into colleges and absorbed the rectories are not uncommon, and are much on the same footing.

The difficulty of the work undertaken by Mr. Houghton will be apparent to anyone who has worked upon ecclesiastical topography, and Worcestershire presents more difficult problems than most counties. It is possible, for example, that Daylesford was a chapel of Evenlode; but the evidence, such as it is, comes from a late source in 1340, whereas an institution to the church occurs in 1281. Does the coupling of the chapel of Daylesford and the church of Evenlode mean that in 1340 Daylesford, a very small place, had sunk into dependence upon Evenlode, or does it merely recall its original dependence? Some material for an answer would be found if the institutions to the churches of Daylesford and Evenlode were followed up in the numerous unprinted registers of the bishops of Worcester. The main facts to be derived from these will, no doubt, be found in the excellent list of incumbents in Nash's *History of Worcestershire*; but the terms of the original records may supply more. It is a curious fact that, after the separation of the diocese of Gloucester from that of Worcester, Daylesford came under the jurisdiction of the archdeacon of Gloucester without reference to Evenlode: by that time the connexion, if any, was lost. Also, can we trust implicitly the statement made in 1340? Returns of this kind were sometimes made in error. To quote only one case, the parish church of Kneesall in Nottinghamshire was returned, or at any rate the clerk wrote it down, in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* as a chantry. The mistake was discovered a few years later, when the first chantry commissioners, who founded their inquiries upon the evidence of the *Valor*, discovered that it actually was a parish church.

We have just called attention to the unprinted registers, a careful study of which is necessary to the completeness of a work for which printed authorities have been used as far as they will go. Mr. Houghton has availed himself of the very few registers which have been edited for the Worcestershire Historical Society; but even these, in our own experience, need frequent collation with the original books, as they sometimes omit everything but a brief mention of documents of real importance, and the method of calendaring adopted in them is often very summary. His use of them is judicious, though now and then he inclines to bold inferences. The dedication of three altars at Redmarley d'Abitot in 1290 may very well point to some rebuilding of the church about that date; but it is improbable that this marks the date of its acquisition of freedom from a mother church, of its subjection to which there is no record. Mr. Houghton here and there corrects identifications of places in the printed edition of Giffard's register. The four allusions in that register to Aldebury, Oldebur', or Oldebury are

there identified, one apparently with no existing place, one with Oldbury-on-Severn in Gloucestershire, the others with Oldberrow in Worcestershire. Mr. Houghton identifies the *capella de Oldebur* with Oldbury-on-the-Hill in Gloucestershire instead of Oldberrow; but he seems to have overlooked the supposed institution to Oldbury-on-Severn, of which we feel very doubtful, as this Oldbury was a chapel dependent upon Thornbury and seems to have had no rector of its own. In a note upon the various Oldburys which may be thus confused, he leaves out Oldbury-on-Severn again. The note itself, divagating to Oldbury in the jurisdiction of Bridgnorth, is not quite as clear as it might be, and we are not at all certain how many of the four passages Mr. Houghton takes as referring to Oldbury-on-the-Hill.

We have noticed this work in some detail, because it is an admirable example of the realisation by a student of ancient churches of the fact that, to write about them successfully, he must extend his labours beyond questions of architecture and ecclesiology, and take to historical research. Hitherto, we have known Mr. Houghton as a careful writer on architecture, and an appendix to this essay contains good architectural descriptions, with illustrations, of three chapels, Netherton in Cropthorne parish, Bell Hall in Belbroughton, and Lower Sapey in Clifton-on-Teme. Here he writes as a competent historian and a student of the growth of institutions; and we hope that others who do for the chapels of other counties what he has done for Worcestershire will take example by him and combine their architectural knowledge with a similar interest in the historical conditions amid which medieval churches and chapels came into being.

A. H. T.

THE PLACE-NAMES OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM. By ALLEN MAWER. Cambridge University Press, 1920. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.; xxxviii + 271 pp. 20s. net.

This book is the first really first-class work on English place-names to be published, except for certain brilliant but short treatises by Bradley and Ekwall. Professor Mawer's book marks definitely the advance of place-name study from the stage of pioneer work to that of scientific method, which is giving excellent results in the reconstruction of early English history. As the study of place-names is necessarily comparative, the material had first to be to some extent collected and arranged before it could be used. An extensive literature on the subject has been long accumulating, awaiting the scholar whose range is wide enough to make complete use of it; and Professor Mawer has done so. His book at once impresses the reader with his detailed knowledge of the whole literature of the subject, English, Scandinavian and German. He seems to have all the necessary instruments for dealing with his material: his phonology is careful; he is familiar with the dialects of his field of investigation; and he has taken the trouble to look for himself at the topographical features of his places. Accordingly, his treatment of individual names is sound. Inaccuracies are few, and his judgment of historical probabilities (with which the student of place-names has largely to deal) is authoritative.

It is unfortunate that the arrangement of his book follows closely on the lines of the earlier county monographs. It consists of a brief introduction,

followed by a long list of names, with their etymologies, ending with lists of the common elements in the names and a summary of the phonology. It is a most useful book for the specialist, but not so well adapted for 'readers of limited linguistic attainments' for whom it is also intended. The reader who has not made a special study of place-names must have the inferences and general conclusions made for him. Hence the introduction is the only part of the book that will be of much use to him, and it is not sufficiently comprehensive. In the rest of the book he is lost in a welter of detail. In a word, it is not a readable work.

In the introduction there is a good amount of valuable matter, which the author has not fully developed. He mentions the presence of Gaelic names in Northumbria, without attempting to estimate the extent of Gaelic influence; and his information as to how such names came into Northumbria is misleading because incomplete. Gaelic influence came in not only with the viking immigrants from Ireland. Again, he observes (p. xx) that place-names are sometimes brought by settlers from their mother-country and bestowed upon a new site without any reference to local conditions. This applies not only to names of Scandinavian origin, and several further examples of transferred French names are to be found in the material of part I. But it would have been still more interesting to apply this principle to the names of Anglian origin. A good deal of historical information too has been left in the form of scattered notes imbedded in the matter of the list of names.

The description of the phonology of the names is comprehensive and more elaborate than in most place-names books. It is useful as an aid to the interpretation of the early forms of names, and also has some value as evidence of the sound-changes that are characteristically Northumbrian. Its value as evidence of dialect, however, is impaired by the fact that no attempt has been made to sift the material on which it is based. The dialectal significance of a form is uncertain, unless the approximate date of writing is known, and the spelling can be shown to be based on local tradition. Professor Mawer has not attempted to find out where the documents which are his source were written, and the date he assigns is usually that of the original compilation, not of the surviving copy. To give an illustration of the limitation of his phonology as evidence of dialect: it is probable that one of the characteristics of medieval Northumbrian, as compared with Yorkshire and more southerly dialects, was a strong tendency to unvoice final consonants (in common with Scottish and West Midland dialects), as in *Gateshevet*, a spelling of Gateshead in Symeon of Durham (Rolls ed. text; not quoted by Mawer). Of this, as of nearly all such detailed points, Professor Mawer's material offers no reliable evidence. It was once hoped that place-names would be of great assistance in the investigation of dialectal geography, but no results of any value can be obtained until editors undertake to sift their material.

We now come to the detailed treatment of the names. In discussing them it will be convenient to consider them in their linguistic strata—the Celtic, English and Scandinavian elements.

As far as is known, the Celtic inhabitants of what is now Northumberland and Durham were Brythons. The Celtic place-names we would therefore expect to be derived usually from British rather than Gaelic forms.

Professor Mawer occasionally derives names from Gaelic forms when there is no phonological necessity. Thus Mindrum: 'the first part is cognate with *W. mynydd* "mountain"; the second may be Gaelic *druim* "ridge."' The first element here actually is *mynydd*, that form being very old; the second is British *drum* 'ridge.' Also Carraw (earlier *Carrawer*): 'the stem *cadro-* found in *W. cader* "chair," O. Bret. *cadr* "beautiful"' (they are not related; *W. cader* is a Latin loanword) is given as the first element. 'For the suffix we may, perhaps, compare Stranraer, earlier Stranraver, from Gael. *sron reamhar* "thick point."' The comparison is not relevant: the corresponding Welsh word is *rhaf*, from Brit. *remo-* which is clearly not the second element of Carrawer.

Here and there Gaelic elements are found in Professor Mawer's material. Those that are reasonably certain are either personal names as Crossan in Corsenside, Gilbride in Gilbridebog (not in Mawer, pointed out by Ekwall), or words which were common to northern dialects, as *bog*. History suggests three possible sources of Gaelic names in Northumberland: (1) the Scottish mission to Northumbria in the seventh century, (2) Irish-Scandinavian settlers in the tenth century, (3) Scottish immigration during the brief period when Northumberland was held by the Scottish king. There is definite evidence of influence from (1) in Bede's half-Gaelic spelling *Alcluith*, where the contemporary Welsh form would be *Alclit* (Alclyde, originally a Brythonic name, now Dumbarton). It is possible also that Farne Island and the second element of Lindisfarne are Gaelic names given by the Scottish monks who were established there. According to Maclure, quoted by Mawer, the name is from Gaelic *ferann* 'land.' Another such name is probably Cambois, derived by Mawer from Gaelic *camus*, *cambus*, 'a bay.' There is no known British form which would fit, and the Gaelic word is common in place-names. Ekwall's objection (in *Anglia-Beiblatt*, xxxii, 251) is not convincing, nor is the presence of *mb* in a Celtic name a criterion of Gaelic influence. OE. *cumb*, for example, is from Brit. **kumbo-*, the group *mb* being still in existence in British when the English came to Britain.

Professor Mawer shows discrimination in detecting Celtic origin in names which at first appear to consist of Germanic elements. He rightly rejects Lindkvist's explanation of Auckland as ON. *auk-land* (see the list below). He seems to be right again when he says that the early forms of Durham 'may represent an etymologising perversion of some earlier Celtic name.' The order of the elements composing the name is certainly Celtic rather than English. But there is always a temptation to regard any name as Celtic that cannot readily be explained as English or Scandinavian, even if the explanation is no nearer then. Occasionally Professor Mawer seems too ready to see pre-English origin in names. He is usually very definite and says 'clearly pre-English,' though it is difficult to understand how he can be clear about it when he has no Celtic etymology for the name. Following are some of the names of which Celtic origin does not seem very probable: Bowmont Water, Eggescliffe, Farglow, Gateshead (see Yeavinger below), Hebburn (Ekwall, OE. *bea-byrgen*), Heddon. It is unfortunate that Professor Mawer has not attempted more explanations of the Celtic names. They are the only names in his book that have not been given full treatment. Authors of place-names books do not seem to feel much responsibility towards Celtic names; once they have put a name into the

Celtic pigeon-hole they regard it as dealt with. It is therefore not difficult to supplement Professor Mawer's material here :

Allen, Alne (Rivers) : rivers named Allen, Allan, Alne are common. The names go back to two Celtic sources : (1) Brit. *Alounos*, *Alouna*, whence the Welsh Alun ; from this source are the Alne, Northumberland, the Alne, Yorks., the Allen in Flintshire ; (2) Brit. **al-vinda*, whence Welsh Alwen, probably identical with the Welsh adj. *alwen* 'very white.' It is not from *Albentio*, as Mawer suggests, which would give W. *Elfynt*. From this source are the Alwen, N. Wales, Allan Water, Melrose, and the Northumbrian Allen.

Auckland (1059 *Alclit* ; 1143 *Alclet*) : this name resembles Alclyde 'the Clyde rock.' Forster (*Keltisches Wortgut in Englischen*, p. 207) thinks that Auckland was similarly named, and that one of the two rivers between which Auckland is situated was once called *Clota* (as was the Clyde), or *Cleta* (as was the Clwyd). But this is rather doubtful.

Cockerton, on the Cocker Beck : there are other streams named Cocker, all probably derived from British **Cocara*. The first element **coco-* (older **cuco-*) means 'curved' ; the suffix *-ara* was common in Celtic river-names, e.g. *Iscara*.

Coquet, River (1050 *Cocwuda*) : the first element the same as in Cocker. A town situated on the bank of the Coquet in British times was called *Cocuneda* (read *Cocuueda* ?). This was probably the British name of the river as well ; cf. *Alauna* on the *Alaunos*, and many other such pairs of names.

Derwent : from a derivative of Brit. **derva* 'oak' ; the *-ent* was a common adj. ending related to that of the pres. part. Sense no doubt 'river by which many oaks grew.'

Eden : the Eden in Cumberland was in British *Ituna* (*Itu-na* 'river by which corn grew,' cf. W. *yd* 'corn'), and so probably was this name. The *t* had become *d* in British by the so-called soft mutation ; in Northumbrian *Idun* would become *Iodun*, *Eodun* by back mutation, whence modern Eden. It is worth noting that Brit. *m* does not usually show soft mutation in OE. loanwords from British, though the other consonants subject to it do : this is well illustrated in the name *Cædmon* from British **Catumanus*.

Glen, River (*Gleni* in Bede) : from British **glanios* 'bright, shining,' cf. W. *glein*, *glain*. The river-name *Glein* in Nennius is probably the Northumberland Glen.

Kielder : Mawer compares the rivers named Calder. This name has been explained by Maclure and Ekwall as from O. Welsh *kalet dwfr* 'severe (i.e. swift) water.' Johnston gives *Kaledour*, *Caldovere* as early forms of the Calder near Airdrie.

Low, River (see Mawer under Lowick) : We are told in Celtic sources of how Urien king of Reged defeated the Angles and drove the remnant of them to take refuge on the island of Metcaud, which is probably Lindisfarne. While Urien was blockading them he was murdered by a jealous chieftain on the sands of Aber Llew (variant Aber Llyw), i.e. by the mouth of the river Low, which runs into the sea opposite Lindisfarne. Mediaeval Welsh Llew, Llyw goes

back to O. Welsh *Lou, the form from which English Low was derived. O. Welsh *Lou is probably from Celtic *lau- 'water,' preserved also in W. *gwlaw* 'rain.'

Nanny, stream of: this name resembles Welsh *nennig* 'a small stream,' a derivative of *nant*. It is possibly the same word, though from strict phonological correspondence **Nennick* would be expected.

Powtrevet: possibly = W. *pwll trefydd* 'pool or stream of villages or habitations.'

Tees, River: derivation from a British **Tagissa* may be suggested; cf. the Tagus in Spain. Latin *stagnum* contains the same root, according to Holder.

Tweed, River (*Tuidi* in Bede): appears to be connected with the Celtic root **tu* 'to swell'; the British form might be something like **Tui(s)idia*. Cf. the continental river-name *Tvesis* in Holder.

Wear, River: first explained by Chadwick. It is from Brit. **Vi(s)uria*; cf. *Visurgis* in Holder.

Yeavinger: This place is more likely to be the *Gabrosenti* of the *Notitia* than is Gateshead. The nom. *Gabro-sentos* 'goat-path' > *Gafr(o)hint* > *Gafrhinn* (with mutation of *nt*, as in the place-names Duffryn = *dufr-hynt* 'water-way'), when adopted by the Northumbrians. Hence Bede's *Gefrin* by the OE. *i*-mutation.

See also Gamelspath among the Scandinavian names.

Professor Mawer has given Old English names and forms in their West Saxon form, though, of course, the forms from which the English names in this area are derived were Northumbrian. He defends this usage thus (p. xvii): 'Anglian forms would serve no useful purpose in the majority of cases, would not be so readily understood by readers of limited linguistic attainments in OE., and could only be justified on pedantic grounds.' The majority of those who use the book, however, may be pedants, and a majority deserves consideration. To one of them it is certainly disturbing to be told that Aldworth is derived from OE. *se ealda weorþ*, or Weldon from OE. *wielle-denu*. This peculiarity, however, is not of great importance, as it does not affect the accuracy of Professor Mawer's interpretations. On the whole, his treatment of the English material is admirable. He appears to be thoroughly familiar with the text of the OE. charters, a considerable feat of scholarship, and he scores again and again with a decisive parallel from them. Here and there he has made some original contributions to OE. lexicography: it appears to be in his book that the existence of the OE. word *rod* 'clearing' was first pointed out.

A number of names ending in *-um*, *-am*, *-em* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are explained as compounds with OE. *hām* as the final element. Such early weakening of *hām* is unlikely, and the endings probably represent the OE. dat. pl. ending *-um*. Among the original datives should be classed: Bolum, Carham, Crookham, Downham, Farnham, Woodham.

Under Easington (which has early forms in *Y-*, as *Yesington*, is discussed the development of prosthetic [j] in Middle English. The argument seems to fail here, as the author himself shows that although prosthetic [j] was not usually represented in the spelling of common nouns, it was frequent in place-names. His list of names in which the [j] has been found is really very incomplete: for example, Yearsley, Yorks., DB. *Eureslage* Yorks Lay

Subsidy 1301 *Yeversley*; Yeddingham, Yorks., Early Yks. Charters 1185-95 *Edingham*, *Yedingham* are not included. And there are many more.

In the list of common elements an Old Northumbrian **ea* 'island' is included. This is hardly a possible form. Actually the Northumbrian forms were *eg* and *eu*. The former, the usual form, was derived from the stem of the oblique cases, Germ. **auj-*; *eu* from the nom. sg. **awi*.

A few notes and additions to the English material:

Barmoor: probably OE. *beger-mor* 'moor where berries grew.'

Budle: there is a good note on the forms of OE. *botl* 'dwelling' here, but the forms given do not account for names like Bootle with a long vowel. For the vowel length see *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, xxviii, 82.

Hutton: OE. *boh* 'ridge' and *tun* 'farm.'

Jarrow (Bede *In Gyruum*): the original meaning of the name was probably 'marsh-dwellers': see Maclure, *English Place-Names in their historical Setting*, p. 178 n.

Ketton: not from ON. *kjot*, but from OE. *Cætt*, as shown by the earliest forms.

Knar: ? from ME. *knar* 'rock.'

Ramshaw: there is no evidence for *hræfen* in the original form; from OE. *ramm* or *Ramma* as in Ramsbottom, Lancs.

Spen: there is evidence of *spen* 'greensward, turf' in the north of England; in the northern poem, *The Wars of Alexander*, 4162, after a storm which blew the tents down, the Greeks collected 'all at was sperpolid on þe spene'; the word occurs also in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 1074.

The introduction to the Scandinavian element is an excellent piece of work. The types of names containing Scandinavian elements are cleverly distinguished, and it is shown that a Scandinavian name is not always evidence of a Scandinavian settlement.

Under the name Howick an important point of phonology is raised. The earlier forms are *Hawick* and *Howyk*, and Professor Mawer follows Lindkvist in deriving them from the alternative West Norse forms *bár* and *bór* 'high.' But it is unlikely that the form *bór* was used by the Scandinavians in England, as there is practically no trace of the labial mutation which produced its *o* in English words and place-names of Scandinavian origin. In northern place-names we find, for example, that the form corresponding to West Norse *ó* 'river' appears only as long *a*, from unmutated ON. *á*.

Additions and notes on Professor Mawer's material:

Cartington: it is difficult to believe that this is 'Kjartan's hill.' The name Kjartan seems to have been first given to a son of Olaf the Peacock in Iceland in the year 970, or a little later. *Laxcæla* saga (chapter xxviii) says: 'Olaf had his son named Kjartan after Myrkjartan, his mother's father,' as if the name had not been used before then. The name Kjartan was never 'a common Scandinavian name' (Mawer, p. 41), but was rare, perhaps not in use outside Iceland. As the name itself was rare, as were Scandinavian settlements in England after the time of the first Kjartan, the probability is strongly against any connection of Cartington with a Kjartan.

Claxton: 'farm of Klakk'; but Klakkr was not 'a common Danish name.' It was mainly West Norse; O.Dan. Klak is evidenced chiefly in Danish place-names.

Coniscliffe: the forms show influence of O.Dan. *kunungr* rather than West Norse *konungr*.

Eggleston: could not be 'Egill's farm,' for reasons of phonology. The name would have been *Ayleston.

Gamels path (earliest forms in K-; *Kenylpeth*, *Kemylespathe*): this name can not be from ON. Gamall. The runic spelling Kamal is not to the point, as *k* in the spelling of the later runic alphabet represented *g* as well as *k*. The name may go back to British *Cunobellinos*; there was an OE. *Cynibill* (a Celtic loan) in ordinary Northumbrian use, so that the name need not be older than OE. times. But as Gamels Path was a Roman road, it is likely that the name does go back to the British period.

Raceby: the derivation from *Hreiðr is unsatisfactory: ON. Rassi is more likely.

There are a fair number of misprints in the book, and the type is not attractive. Such work is expensive to set up, because of the large amount of special type required and the strangeness of the forms to a compositor's eye; but the paper is not of high quality, and the amount of trouble expended on the printing does not seem to have been extravagant. The publisher's price, therefore, seems rather high.

E. V. G.

MINUTES AND ACCOUNTS OF THE CORPORATION OF STRATFORD-UPON-AVON AND OTHER RECORDS, 1553-1620 (Publications of the Dugdale Society-Vol. I.). Transcribed by RICHARD SAVAGE, with Introduction and Notes by EDGAR I. FRIPP. 10½ × 7½ in.; lx + 152 pp. Oxford: printed for the Dugdale Society, 1921.

The newly-formed Dugdale Society is to be congratulated upon this handsome volume, produced by the printer to the University of Oxford in beautiful type and on thick paper which should last as long as marble and the monuments of princes. At the same time, the adoption of luxuries of outward form in enterprises of this kind has its risks, and cost of production entails a smaller output of material than is required by the student to whom record publications are of the greatest value. It is proposed to publish a text of these Stratford minutes and accounts for the sixty-seven years from 1553 to 1620, a period beginning with the incorporation of the town by Edward VI and including the fifty-four years of the life of its greatest townsman. At present, only the first thirteen years are covered in 152 pages of text, preceded by a long and extremely interesting introduction. The work of the transcriber, a former secretary and librarian of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, is careful and accurate; while Mr. Fripp's preliminary chapters combine mastery of detail with clear style. In praising their scholarly labours, we should not forget Mr. Wellstood, the general editor of the Society, to whom it owes its being and to whom the collaborators express their gratitude.

The manorial rights of Stratford-upon-Avon had been acquired in 1549 by John Dudley, earl of Warwick and afterwards duke of Northumberland, from the see of Worcester, and conveyed by him to the Crown, from which

he received them again in the year of the incorporation of the borough. Until 1553 local authority was committed by the lord of the manor to a bailiff, two sub-bailiffs and other officers, who twice a year made their presentations before a jury of twelve townsmen at the Court Leet held under the presidency of the steward. Within the town, however, the most influential body was the gild of the Holy Cross, which, founded by 1269, had increased its importance by the absorption in 1403 of the gild of our Lady and St. John Baptist in Old Stratford. Its eight aldermen, elected yearly by the members, chose a master and proctors from their number; and out of its goods were maintained the chantry priests in the gild chapel, a free school taught by one of the priests, and an almshouse. The gild was also responsible for the upkeep of the bridge over the Avon built by Sir Hugh Clopton at the end of the fifteenth century, the funds for which were administered by two wardens, also entrusted with the direction of the annual pageant of St. George and the Dragon. The growth of these institutions is summarised clearly by Mr. Fripp. In addition to the authorities of the manorial borough and the local influence of the gild, there was the ecclesiastical authority of the warden and fellows of the parish church, the government of which was in the hands of a collegiate body, originating in the chantry of five priests founded by Archbishop Stratford in the fourteenth century, and endowed with a limited jurisdiction of its own.

The Chuntries Act of 1547 put an end to the gild and the college. The suppression of the gild, the most lively factor in the life of the borough, threatened to bring about the total decay of the town. It was to remedy this that the charter of incorporation was granted. Local government was vested by its provisions in a common council of fourteen aldermen, who elected one of their number bailiff and co-opted fourteen chief burgesses, from whom vacancies among the aldermen were supplied. The possessions of the gild were restored to the new body, which also entered into the rectorial tithes and some of the other possessions of the college; and these were charged with the stipends of the vicar and schoolmaster. While the borough had its own court of record, meeting once a fortnight and presided over by the bailiff and chief alderman as justices of the peace, and chose its own steward, town clerk and recorder, the rights of the lord of the manor were respected by the submission of the name of the bailiff to him for his assent, and the presentation to the vicarage and nomination of the schoolmaster were reserved to him. The king gave his title to the revived school, henceforth called the King's New School of Stratford-upon-Avon.

The new corporation thus inherited the active responsibilities of the gild with the police organisation of the old manorial court. From 1554 to 1560 the traditional form of the Michaelmas and Easter Court Leets or views of frankpledge was kept up, the steward of the borough taking the place of the lord's steward at their sittings. The old gild hall became the meeting-place of the corporation. Stratford, in these respects, is merely a typical case; but no better example could be found of the transference of the interests in town affairs of a medieval confraternity to the corporation of a free borough. If the procedure of the new body was modelled on that of the manorial court, its composition was enlarged from that of the old gild. Meanwhile, the regulation of the twelve craft gilds came under its jurisdiction, and their leaders naturally took a prominent part in its councils.

Those who remember how John Shakespeare, a member of the mystery, craft, or occupation of glovers, whittawers and collarmakers, was fined in 1552 for making an unlicensed muck-heap in Henley Street, will be interested to discover that he was by no means alone in this breach of bye-laws. The proceedings of the courts recorded here indicate a general untidiness in the streets which it was difficult to keep in check; and the orders issued at a meeting of the corporation in October 1563 were largely directed against this and like practices. John Shakespeare was present at the Court Leet of 2 October, 1556, where he did fealty for two houses in Greenhill and Henley Streets which he had recently purchased, the second of them being the famous house which is known to all the world as the birthplace of his son. In April 1557, he was excused his attendance in court as a jurymen, but he served in the following October and in September 1558. At Michaelmas 1559, he was elected one of the four borough constables, and his name appears among the 'affeerors' at the end of the court roll of 4 May, 1561. He was a chamberlain of the borough from 1562 to 1564, and, as a capital burgess, was appointed an alderman in July, and sworn in September 1565. The present volume does not take him to the chief magistracy of the town, but Mr. Fripp takes occasion to endorse Halliwell-Phillips' rejection of the legend of his later decline in fortune. No scientific student of records will give credence to a theory founded on the misunderstanding of a phrase of common form, which reflects upon his character as little as the bequest of the second best bed testifies to the matrimonial infelicity of his daughter-in-law.

Wide interest will be taken in these records for the picture which they give of the country town in which Shakespeare was born and grew up. As regards Shakespeare himself, Mr. Fripp makes the suggestion that he may have taken his Christian name from William Smyth, a burgess who was his father's friend and may have been his godfather. It does not seem to us that the evidence is strong, and the fact that William Smyth called his own son John is by no means conclusive proof that one father named his offspring after the other. There is always a temptation to see too many allusions in Shakespeare to his life and circumstances; and such conjectures as that Shakespeare, when he makes Juliet refer to a charnel-house or when he speaks of the sound of bells, is thinking of the bone-house and the church bells of Stratford, seem much on a par with the theory that his mention of the Rialto shows that had been to Venice. On the other hand, the portraits of Dogberry and Verges may possibly be modelled upon reminiscences of the constables of a small provincial town. Mr. Fripp justly calls attention to the popularity of legal knowledge in Shakespeare's day: the court of record at Stratford was constantly the scene of pleas in which townsmen, including John Shakespeare, acted as attorneys, and a boy born in such a place in 1564 would have been nurtured in an atmosphere in which litigation and intelligence of law were familiar. Lawyers are apt to feel some surprise at Shakespeare's legal references, and it may be that, as Mr. Fripp thinks, he received his early training in a lawyer's office. At the same time, there is no reason to suppose that his intelligence was so limited as his commentators seem unconsciously to imply, and it is possible that to the public, whose tastes he not unsuccessfully endeavoured to consult, his allusions to points of current law were less wonderful than they seem to the legal antiquary of our own day.

A. H. T.

COURT ROLLS OF THE BOROUGH OF COLCHESTER. Vol. I. (1310-1352). Translated and epitomized by I. H. JEAYES, with introduction, etc. by W. GURNEY BENHAM. 11½ × 8¾ in.; xxxiii + 242 pp. Published by authority of the Town Council of the Borough of Colchester, 1921.

Elsewhere in this volume of the *Archaeological Journal* the first instalment of the municipal records of Stratford-upon-Avon are discussed. The records of the borough courts of Colchester begin nearly two centuries and a half earlier, under the system of local government to which Stratford was subject before the granting of its royal charter, and of which it exhibited traces until a later period. Colchester did not lose its manorial organisation until 1635, when it first had the privilege of electing a mayor. Its chief magistrates were the two bailiffs appointed yearly; and, although this book notes occasional meetings of the burgesses, who had entered into burgage and sworn fealty to the township, for common council, the business of its courts was almost entirely judicial. Its court of pleas sat daily to hear cases that might come before it. The hundred court sat every other Monday, and on three Mondays in the year the 'lawhundred' was held, at which breaches of the assizes of bread and beer, weights and measures, etc., were enquired into and fined.

The local authorities had plenty of work upon their hands. Colchester was probably no more turbulent than any other place of the same size in the fourteenth century; but the nine rolls of which an English version is given give the impression of a town in which street-brawls were of almost daily occurrence. Even the outer court of St. John's Abbey was not free from disturbance; and the townsfolk were ready on provocation to turn such weapons as 'water forks' and 'washing betels' upon one another. Head Street, West Stockwell Street, and Long Wyre Street were more than once the scenes of violent encounters. The number of scolds whom their husbands could not control or chastise seems to have reached a good average: such was Felicia, the wife of Adam le Spycer, who in 1333 tore out the hair of Juliana, wife of John, son of Walter le Barber, in the market place, and carried off two veils, worth two shillings. In 1311 Adam le Sowehaler, who occurs at intervals throughout these pages, was sitting at supper in a downstairs room with some guests, when Geoffrey of Heckford and Mabel his wife, emulating the practical joke which is said to have been the origin of the feud between Robert of Normandy and his brothers, poured water in which fish had been cooked through the floor above and spoiled his meal. Most remarkable of the numerous stories of assaults and quarrels is the forcible entry of the house of William, a chaplain at the Hythe, by one Roger Carter, who searched it, by what authority we are not told, for the wife of Peter of Aston. William, the plaintiff, stated that her husband, afterwards bailiff and a representative of the borough in parliament, had sent her to board with him for a year, for a consideration of three marks. This arrangement was of little avail to William, for three weeks later Roger defended himself by his law successfully, and the chaplain was in mercy.

At the 'lawhundreds' long lists of offenders against trading regulations were presented: false or insufficient weights and arbitrary prices of victuals were so common as to be general, and the fines exacted by the court seem to have been little more than customary payments for recognised transgressions. Thus the neglect of the town millers to take tolls from grinders,

or their use of measures not proved or sealed, come up again and again. Three of these mills, the Middle, East and New mills, were held by the prior of St. Botolph's: the abbot of St. John held Stocks mill and Bourne mill; while the North mill was in the hands of a lay tenant. Forestalling the market was here, as elsewhere, a common practice: men and women waited for the fishing boats to come to the Hythe at daybreak and bought fish which they could sell at a profit; and there is a case of one man who was charged with going down the Colne to Rowhedge to intercept the fishermen coming up the river. Fines for the sale of bad fish are plentiful. As regards borough tolls, it should be noted that in May 1311 a full assembly of burgesses, twenty-eight in number, discussed the king's prohibition to the bailiffs to exact toll from the bishop of London's men from Chelmsford and Braintree who came to market. Taking their ground on the priority of their right to take toll to any charters of exemption which the bishop could show, they sent two proctors to the king's court to represent their case before they submitted. At this date the manorial rights of the borough formed part of the dower of the king's stepmother, queen Margaret, and the king's writ is addressed to 'the bailiffs of Margaret, queen of England.'

The medieval Englishman went to law on very slight provocation, and the intricacies of feudal tenure had little mystery for him. The man from Greenstead who was summoned in May 1311 for attempting to take a widow's cow as a heriot from a burgage tenement seems to have misunderstood his position, and, after taking counsel with Richard of Tey and the prior of St. Botolph's, his superior lord, he acknowledged his error at the 'law-hundred.' On the other hand, litigants who were not professional lawyers could argue subtly on nice points. In November 1310 Hubert of Colchester complained that Elyas, son of John, had taken a mare of his from its grazing and impounded it until the bailiffs made him restore it. Elyas pleaded that he had done this by way of distraint for five years' rent. Hubert, however, detected a flaw in the pleading. Elyas had placed his reply on the ground of the service of rent due: if that service was to be admitted, he ought to have introduced the statement that Hubert had done fealty for the free holding, for it is fealty which, drawing service to itself, makes the tenement, and not service. The defendant's answer was that the mention of service was sufficient to prove that the holding was his true tenement, because no fealty was done for tenements held within the liberty of the borough.

Personal and place-names abound in the rolls. The surnames, as usual, form an excellent guide to the trades pursued in the town, and William 'Blakenthemouth' is conspicuous as a good nickname. There is the habitual variety of curious Christian names for women: 'Notekyna,' which occurs once, looks like a term of endearment not acquired at the font. Even Mr. Gurney Benham, whose knowledge of the topography of Colchester is great, finds some problems in the local names, on which he promises an excursus, with a map of medieval Colchester, in the next volume. A few words elude explanation. Who or what is 'Domperis,' on which Richard Dodel raised hue and cry (p. 3)? Nicholas le Gros (p. 47) assaulted Hubert of Colchester, took from him his 'colbolum,' and stoned him, so that by the blow of a stone Hubert lost 'unam burs[am] vocatam Hamundays.' The word *mora*, which occurs repeatedly, is somewhat perplexing, though it possibly means a piece of waste ground adjoining a house: in one case a

building, probably a shed, had been erected on a *mora* and covered in. On page 222 'moorland' may be meant, though the trespass alleged seems to us inaccurately headed as 'moorland in dispute.' The curious case on page 85, where William de Stonhou was charged with carrying a stone wall outside his 'moor' into Bear Lane, and exposing it for sale, needs some explanation; though in 1345 a chaplain, John of Horkesley, broke a piece of the town wall on 'le Bery,' 21 ft. long by 1½ ft. broad, and carried it off, presumably in preference to buying stone.

It is needless to say that Mr. Jeayes has done his work of translation thoroughly well, though misprints have necessitated a long list of corrigenda. If the English occasionally seems involved and obscure, it nevertheless leaves the reader in little doubt with regard to the words and phrases of the original Latin. The repeated translation of *litigiosa* as 'a litigious woman' conveys a somewhat different sense from that which the word implies in the context. Mr. Jeayes appears to have abandoned it for 'brawler' in the later part of the book, and he is content with 'scold' for *rixatrix* and *garrulatrix*, which are practically synonymous. Mr. Benham supplies a short introduction and a 'Who's Who' of the principal personages. We notice that, referring to the charge against William the chaplain, already mentioned, he says that it reflects 'perhaps the prevalent feeling in that time against the monastic orders.' It is astonishing how well-informed antiquaries trip and stumble when they touch upon matters relating to the medieval Church. It should be obvious to anyone that William 'capellanus de Hethe' was a secular, who had nothing to do with a monastic order. And, though Mr. Benham says that he was not the parish priest at the Hythe, it is possible that he was, for in the middle ages 'parish priest' was the term applied to the chaplain who acted as assistant curate or deputy to a rector or vicar, and the rector of St. Leonard's would not have been recognised as its parish priest. Of monks, canons and friars this book has next to nothing to tell us, though the abbot of St. John's and prior of St. Botolph's sometimes had to answer for their lay servants. Secular priests, however, gave some trouble, like the chaplain who broke the town wall and the night-walking parson of Greenstead. The religious orders were anything but perfect in the fourteenth century, but that is no reason for crediting them with the misdeeds of the ordinary clergy.

There is an excellent reproduction of part of a membrane of the earliest roll at the beginning of the book. The inscription to Roger Chamberlayn in Colchester Castle is also reproduced: hitherto this man had been unidentified, but the rolls have now revealed him as 'Roger Gaoler.' The index is copious, but, in referring to it, we have found several omissions. It supplies some modern forms of local names. It affords no clue, however, to the prioress of 'Rertheryngfeld' (p. 51). No Essex religious house had a name like this, and it is probably that Redlingfield in Suffolk is signified.

A. H. T.

ENGLISH CHURCH MONUMENTS, A.D. 1150-1550: An Introduction to the study of Tombs and Effigies of the mediaeval period. By FRED H. CROSSLEY. 10½ × 7¼ in. xiii + 274 pp. Batsford, 1921. £2 2s.

The reader who turns over the leaves of this book, with its numerous and excellent illustrations, will probably feel satiated with the profusion of

beautiful examples of handicraft displayed to him. Mr. Crossley has the craftsman's joy in the arts which, from their subservience to architecture in the early middle ages, obtained, under the influence of specialisation, an individual importance of their own, until the later medieval church fabric became the setting on which the craftsman in stone and wood and glass exercised his skill unchecked. No less than the book on church woodwork, in which Mr. Crossley and Mr. F. E. Howard collaborated, the present volume shows the unlimited resources of the medieval artist's power of imaginative design. The letterpress, though brief, is full of instructive and helpful explanatory detail. The general introduction is supplemented by remarks upon materials, workmen and colour decoration. Of the practice of the tomb-makers' art much more doubtless could be said: it is enough, however, to hint to the student how much he may learn from records, and Mr. Crossley has wisely inserted, in whole or in part, the text of four contracts for tombs, which, though familiar to antiquaries, will arrest the attention and rouse the curiosity of the less learned. The second part of the book deals with questions of design and local types, with further notes on the smaller figure-sculpture of tombs, the use of heraldic ornament, and metal grates or hersees. A third division treats effigies from the point of view of costume, civil and military, with the addition of short notes on brasses, a subject which already has an ample literature of its own.

It is naturally in the direction of architectural design that Mr. Crossley's notes will be most useful; for writers who have plenty to say about costume as illustrated by effigies are prone to overlook the monument of which the effigy forms merely part. Any really satisfactory analysis of local design is difficult to make. Here and there we may point to a special local pattern, such as that illustrated by the tombs at Bainton and Welwick in the East Riding. Examined closely, these tombs have certain elements in common with one another and with the famous Percy tomb at Beverley; but the differences between them in detail are so considerable that, if we found either at, say, Exeter or Winchelsea, we should hesitate to relate them to the same type. More characteristically local is the curious type of canopied tomb developed at Bristol in the fourteenth century; and the fifteenth-century art of the south-west has definite peculiarities which are seen conspicuously in the canopies of Stafford's and Bronescombe's monuments at Exeter and of Beckington's tomb at Wells. Occasionally, too, a fashion in tomb-design springs up in a narrow district, as in the neighbourhood of Kingsbridge, where tombs used as Easter sepulchres are decorated with appropriate sculptured panels. Mr. Crossley gives an illustration of the example at Woodleigh: that at South Pool is even finer, and the later tomb at West Alvington, though it may be classed with a more generally diffused type, has points in common with both. Probably no county is so well provided with purely local types as Devon: the chantry-chapels at Exeter, though modest in comparison with the great erections at Winchester, have a special beauty of their own, and the elaborate Kirkham monument at Paignton belongs to a class of which there are more simple instances, in each case with miniature effigies, at the neighbouring church of Marldon and at Colyton.

While the freestone of certain neighbourhoods lends itself to modes of working which produce a general community of provincial design in the

parts affected, the widespread utilisation of such materials as Purbeck marble generates an art which has no relation to locality. Mr. Crossley remarks that the base of the shrine at St. Albans, completed in 1305, marks a crisis in the trade which had produced the tombs of Walter Gray at York and Giles of Bridport at Salisbury. It is true that the effigy trade from Purbeck languished after this time; but it is hardly accurate to say that the quarries later 'had to rely on tombs and minor requirements of church adornment for continued existence,' if we remember the vast amount of Purbeck marble used for the construction of Exeter Cathedral during some three-quarters of the fourteenth century. The disuse of Purbeck and similar marbles was due to the growing fashion in pier-construction which dispensed with free-standing shafts; and, with the exportation of such materials in large quantities, ceased also the manufacture of effigies for distant quarters. A new centre of monumental trade, however, arose before the middle of the fourteenth century at a more convenient point. Although, for canopies and chantry-chapels freestone of various kinds became the regular material, effigies and table-tombs were made in large quantities from Chellaston alabaster by the craftsmen of Nottingham and Burton-on-Trent, and at York, in the neighbourhood of other 'plaster-pits,' a similar trade grew up. Of this and its various products much has been written of recent years. The effigy of Edward II at Gloucester shows the early perfection which was achieved by the alabaster workers. These pages contain numerous examples of their skill, which reaches its highest point in the tomb of the duchess of Suffolk at Ewelme. This is Nottingham work, distinguished by the beauty with which the effigy is wrought and by the graceful proportion of the shield-bearing angels who stand round the sides of the tomb. Another good example of the delicacy of the Nottingham artists is the pair of panels from St. Calixtus' chapel at Wells: the representation of the Trinity here has its counterpart on the noble tomb at Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, which, though not illustrated by Mr. Crossley, is one of the great masterpieces of Nottingham design.

The most southerly example of alabaster work given here is the effigy of Bishop Stafford at Exeter, a work of very individual character with a great head-canopy, the proportions of which, like those of the head-canopies of the contemporary tomb of Ralph Greene and his wife at Lowick, Northants, are somewhat exaggerated for the display of much fine work. Northwards, Mr. Crossley's series of photographs of alabaster tombs ceases at Staindrop, just north of the Tees, with the imposing table-tomb of the first earl of Westmorland and his two wives, the second of whom, John of Gaunt's daughter, lies buried with her mother at Lincoln. But the art found its way further north in isolated instances. So far as we know, the furthest alabaster tomb on the way to the Border is that of Ralph, lord Ogle, and Margaret Gascoigne his wife at Bothal on the Wansbeck; but the superb freestone table-tomb of Sir Ralph Grey at Chillingham, a work which has Scottish rather than English affinities, is crowned by alabaster effigies which probably came from the shops of York.

It may be said without disparagement that tombs and effigies were specialised productions of ecclesiastical furnishers, but of furnishers whose stock patterns were executed with an artistic enthusiasm and intelligence and a skill of hand which set them poles apart from the monumental mason

of to-day. How far, under such conditions, medieval effigies may be regarded as portraits is an open question. That a portrait art was developed in the fourteenth century for special cases is doubtless true: the metal effigy of Richard II at Westminster was intended to be a likeness, and it is certainly that of a real man, and not of an ideal of sovereignty, like those of Henry III and Eleanor of Castile. While Edward II at Gloucester is possibly idealised, Henry IV at Canterbury is the man himself. Later, the metal figure of Richard, earl of Warwick, in the Beauchamp chapel at Warwick, is probably a portrait; and here and there a fifteenth-century effigy of a bishop, Chichele's at Canterbury, Wykeham's at Winchester, or Stafford's at Exeter, has individual traits. As the Renaissance approached, the natural tendency of the age was to demand a likeness: there can be little doubt about William Canynge at St. Mary Redcliffe in Bristol or the earl of Wiltshire at Lowick, still less about Henry VII or the Lady Margaret at Westminster. But, in the great majority of cases, it is reasonable to suppose that the shop supplied the figure from its stock to order, distinguishing it by the heraldic bearings of which it had details given it. Whatever varieties of feature exist in such groups of tombs as the Vernon series at Tong, or those of the Cokaynes at Ashbourne, the Fitzherberts at Norbury, and the Ardernes and Smythes at Elford, are due to the shaping fancy of the craftsman, working without a picture before him. To compare the duchess at Ewelme and Sir Robert Harcourt at Stanton Harcourt with the ordinary alabaster effigy is to realise the difference between a portrait and a conventional representation.

It must have been a hard task to arrange such a multitude of pictures; but parallel examples and instructive contrasts are most successfully paired and grouped. There are a few errors in names: for example, the provost of Beverley who died in 1338 was Nicholas of Hugate, i.e. Huggate in the East Riding, not Hungate. Occasionally also the choice of dates is insufficiently determined. Thus, on the evidence of the two canopies, 1314 and 1310 seem impossibly early dates for the tombs at Bainton and Welwick. That at Bainton may not be later than 1330; but the Welwick tomb, in the cusping of which genuine flamboyant tracery is introduced, is later still; and if, as we have suggested, there may be some kinship between them and the Percy tomb at Beverley, that master-work was made after 1328, and is usually attributed to a date about 1340. We are grateful to Mr Crossley for a beautiful book, and trust that his knowledge and taste, with the help of his camera, will enable him to proceed in his work of revealing the genius of the medieval artist. There is a type of critic who inveighs against the allurements of picture-books; but, if all picture-books were produced with such discernment as this, he would have no cause to grumble.

A. H. T.