

THE ORDER OF ST. ANTOINE DE VIENNOIS AND
ITS ENGLISH COMMANDERY, ST. ANTHONY'S,
THREADNEEDLE STREET

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In the Middle Ages collectors under royal patronage for the Order of St. Antoine de Vienne and its London house, or commandery of St. Anthony, were well known in England, and the abbey of St. Antoine was more frequently visited by English travellers and pilgrims than at the present time (Pl. i). It is situated among the foothills of the mountains of Dauphiné eight miles by road west of the little town of St. Marcellin, and St. Marcellin is on the branch railway between the cities of Grenoble and Valence on the Rhône. It is commonly called St. Antoine de Vienne because it was in the ecclesiastical province of the Archbishop of Vienne, but the more correct title is St. Antoine de Viennois.

In 1083 the bishop of Valence, acting as vicar general of the diocese of Vienne during a vacancy in that see, gave the parish church of St. Antoine to the Benedictine monastery of Montmajour, near the city of Arles in Provence. 'We beseech and by our authority we command you,' he wrote, 'that this place shall be held in the greatest honour and reverence on account of the relics of so great a patron.' This document gives the earliest date for the belief that the body of St. Anthony had been brought to St. Antoine.¹

St. Anthony was born in middle Egypt about 250.² When he was twenty, on hearing in church in the gospel 'If thou wouldest be perfect, go sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and come, follow me,' he felt a personal call

¹ G. Maillet-Guy, *Les Origines de Saint-Antoine*, p. 4, 5 (1908). I am indebted to the Abbe Maillet-Guy for a copy of this work in which, from his close study of original documents in the Archives at Lyons and elsewhere, he has corrected errors of the

sixteenth-century historian of the Order, Aymar Falco, which have been repeated by later writers.

² W. K. Lowther Clarke, *St. Anthony*, 10-12, 20-22.

and went to practise the ascetical life among the ascetics of his native place. After fifteen years he went into complete solitude in a deserted fort at Pispir on the east bank of the Nile opposite the Fayum. There he spent twenty years in the strictest seclusion, wholly given to prayer and religious exercises. A number of disciples gathered round him, and desired him to be their teacher, and he came out of his seclusion to found and organise Christian monasticism. Then he again withdrew and he is reputed to have died at the age of 105 in 356. The story of his life and temptations in the desert was written by St. Athanasius, and Palladius gave a long account of him in the '*Vitae Patrum*.'¹ The Bollandists have printed a very curious story by an unknown writer, telling how St. Anthony's body was found and translated to Constantinople by order of the Emperor Constantine early in the fifth century.² There it rested for more than six hundred years. According to another story, which has some historical foundation, Geilin II, a count of Dauphiné, found the relics of St. Anthony in a deserted church in a suburb of Constantinople in the middle of the eleventh century, and he prevailed on the Emperor to give them to him.³ He brought them home to his castle of La Motte-au-bois in Dauphiné, and placed them in the parish church of La Motte,⁴ which received the name of St. Antoine.

After the gift of the parish church of St. Antoine and four neighbouring churches to the Benedictine abbey of Montmajour in 1083, the abbot and convent sent monks to St. Antoine to found a dependent priory.⁵ In honour of St. Anthony, they began to build a larger church for themselves and the parishioners, and in 1119 it was consecrated by Pope Calixtus II.⁶

A few years after the arrival of the Benedictines, St. Antoine became a famous place of pilgrimage, particularly for sufferers from a dreadful disease known to the Greeks and to the Romans, who called it '*ignis sacer*'; in the Middle Ages it was called first the infernal fire and

¹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, lxxiii, 125-170.

² *Analecta Bollandiana*, ii, 341-54.

³ G. Maillet-Guy, *Les Origines de Saint-Antoine*, 16-18.

⁴ H. Dijon, *L'Eglise Abbatiale de St. Antoine en Dauphiné*, 10-12.

⁵ G. Maillet-Guy, *op. cit.* 28-34.

⁶ H. Dijon, *op. cit.* 28, Appendix C, xi, xi.

then St. Anthony's fire on account of the cures at St. Antoine. St. Anthony's fire was not as has sometimes been said, a pestilential erysipelas¹; it was ergotism, an epidemic caused by the mixture of grains in rye which have been poisoned by a parasite known as 'claviceps purpurea.'² In France there were six great outbreaks in the tenth century, seven in the eleventh, ten in the twelfth, and three in the thirteenth century.³ The attack began with intense pain in the legs or feet, a fire seemed to burn between the flesh and the bones, the skin sometimes became livid or black, gangrene followed, a foot or a hand fell off, or the flesh of a whole limb was destroyed to the bones.

Gaston, a lord of Dauphiné and his son, Guérin, were cured at St. Antoine, and they vowed their lives and property to the service of the poor who came thither in search of a cure, and they attracted others by their example. They established themselves in a hospice close by, on land belonging to the Benedictines, and founded the Order of Hospitallers of St. Antoine-de-Viennois about 1100.⁴ In the first two centuries of its history the mother house of St. Antoine is invariably called *domus elemosine* or *elemosinaria*, an almonry house at which poor travellers and pilgrims were provided with lodging and food. A separate hospital was soon built for poor persons suffering from St. Anthony's fire. They invoked the help of St. Anthony by offering prayers at his shrine and received treatment from the brethren; wine called 'le saint vinage,' because it had touched the relics of St. Anthony, was given them to drink, and in the last resort their gangrened limbs were amputated.⁵ Those who were not cured or lost their limbs, were cared for in the hospital until they died.

All the first brethren of St. Antoine were laymen, but

¹ *New English Dictionary*, Anthony.

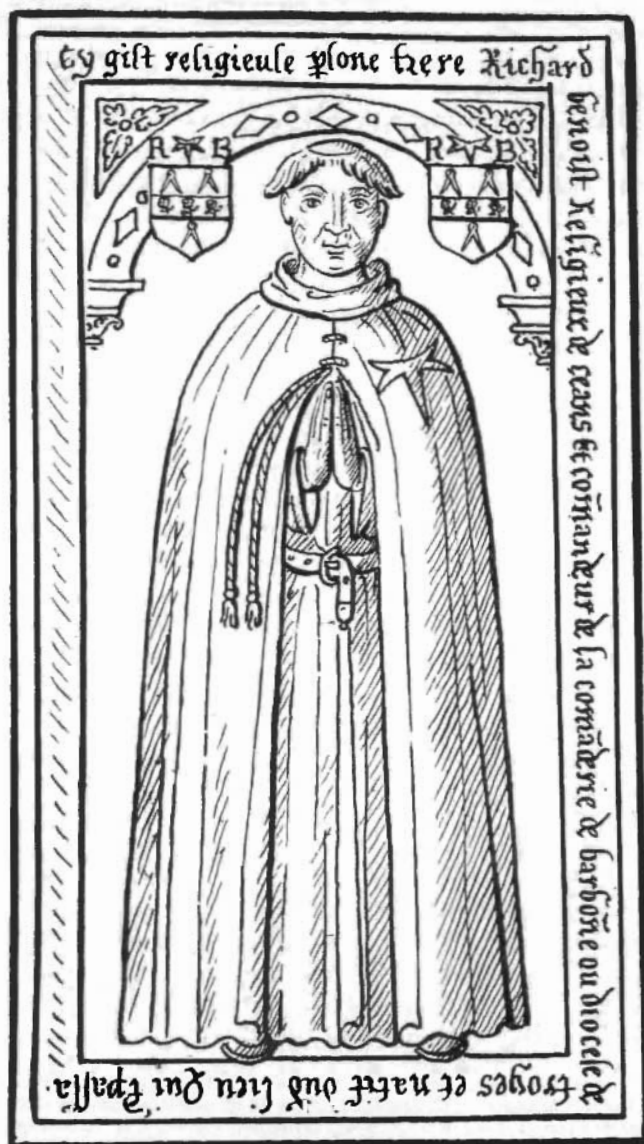
² Dr. Henri Chaumartin, *L'Abbaye de St. Antoine de Viennois et le Feu St. Antoine* (1926); B. Wiki, 'Notz sur le Dr. C. N. Lang, Historiographe des epidemies de l'Ergotisme observees a Lucerne en 1709 et 1717,' *V^e Congres International d'Histoire de la Médecine* (Geneva 1925), pp. 47-52; E. W. Wickersheimer, 'Le Signe Tau,' *Strasbourg Medical*, 20th Nov. 1928; H. Chaumartin, 'Quelques documents et

pieces d'archives pour servir a l'histoire du Feu de St. Antoine,' *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Histoire de la Médecine*, xxii, 375-9 (1928). I am indebted to Dr. J. D. Rolleston for numerous references to Ergotism.

³ C. Creighton, *History of Epidemics and Pestilences*, i, 52-56.

⁴ G. Mailet-Guy, *op. cit.* 35-39.

⁵ H. Dijon, *op. cit.* 21, 22.



Collection Gagnieres, Paris

FIG. I. THE TOMB OF RICHARD BENOIST

the second Grand Master was a priest, and thenceforth the chief officers of St. Antoine and the heads of dependent houses were priests. Under the third Grand Master, William le Roux (1160 to 1181) the brethren adopted the distinctive badge of the Order, the Tau¹; they wore a Tau in blue on black tunics² and capes in the same way as the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem wore an eight-pointed cross. Their dress is shown in a seventeenth-century drawing of a fifteenth-century tomb then in the church of St. Magloire in Paris (Fig. 1). It represents Richard Benoist, commander of the commandery of Bourbonne in the diocese of Troyes and is of special interest because there are no similar tombs at St. Antoine, the abbots there being shown on their tombs in mass vestments.³ The arms of Richard Benoist are a fess charged with three roses between three compasses; the Tau badge is between his initials R. B. above the shield. The Tau was probably in memory of the pilgrim staff which St. Anthony used in old age; the origin of the badge was forgotten, and in the sixteenth century the historian of the Order, Aymar Falco, suggested other explanations; it was a staff which their founder Gaston received in a vision from St. Anthony, and which suddenly became a tree when he planted it; it was the mark set on men's foreheads as mentioned in Ezekiel ix. 4, 6, translated in the Vulgate as 'signa thau super frontes.'

When St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, went to visit his beloved Grande Chartreuse, in the mountains north of Grenoble, for the last time in 1200, he went a three days' journey out of his way to see St. Antoine.⁴ His chaplain narrated that St. Hugh celebrated mass at the altar of St. Antoine and saw the shrine of cypress wood, which had been made by Guigues I, prior of the Grande Chartreuse (1109-1136) and offered by him to the Benedictines of St. Antoine about 1136. St. Hugh visited the hospital and gave money to provide food for the inmates; his chaplain and biographer described the cures at St. Antoine

¹ H. Dijon, *op. cit.* xv, xvi.

² Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques* ii, 113 (ed. 1714).

³ In the collection Gaignières, Biblio-

theque Nationale. Cf. Bouchot, *Catalogue de la Collection Gaignières*, ii, 156.

⁴ *Magna Vita S. Hugonis episcopi Lincolnensis*, ed. J. F. Dimock, 307-310 (Rolls Series).

in these words: 'It is indeed in these miracles not the least striking miracle where the fire is verily extinguished in the limbs of sufferers, in their flesh and skin or joints wherever the devouring disease gradually consumes them.'¹ Truly what is marvellous is that they survive with bones naked as the result of the destroying fire, yet the firmness and soundness of the scars in the rest of the body is brought about, as you may see, in every age and sex, whether in the arms as far as the elbow, or the fleshy part of the arm as far as the shoulders, as well as in the shins as far as the knees, or the thighs as far as the kidneys or the groin, which had been completely destroyed, or disintegrated, and yet are able to be healed with amazing celerity.' He added that the power of the Saint was an incentive to the devotion of all the beholders.

In the twelfth century houses of the Order of St. Antoine were founded in many cities in France, among them Grenoble, Chambéry, Mâcon, Lyons, Gap, Avignon, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Paris, Rouen, Bailleul, Pont à Mousson; in Italy, in the cities of Genoa, Florence, Venice, Rome and Naples. There were houses at Constantinople, at Acre in the Holy Land and in Cyprus.² Several were founded in Germany early in the thirteenth century.³ These foundations, however, were hospices for poor travellers and pilgrims rather than hospitals; the brethren in charge of them organised collections for the hospital at the mother house of St. Antoine. Their collectors did not escape the lash of Guiot de Provins, the wandering poet who had been in the Holy Land for the third crusade and returned to France old and poor, and became a monk at Cluny.⁴ In his satire on the monastic Orders which he finished about 1206, he accused them of getting hold of malefactors who had lost limbs as a penalty for their crimes, then healing them and exhibiting them as cases of miraculous recovery from St. Anthony's Fire.⁵

¹ *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, 308, 309. I am indebted to Mr. J. W. Walker, F.S.A., for a medical translation of this passage.

² Hermant, *Histoire des Ordres religieux*, i, 351-8; Maillet-Guy, *op. cit.* 41; Maillet-Guy, *Les Commanderies de l'Ordre de Saint-Antoine en Dauphiné*, 1-7.

³ Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, iv, 63, *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, vi, 273 (1913).

⁴ *Les Œuvres de Guiot de Provins*, ed. John Orr, pp. xi-xvi (Manchester University Publications).

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 71-73.

“ Et des convers de Saint Antoine
 parlerons, certes, jusque a none :
 n'ait gent qui tant saichent de guille.

Il n'est citeiz, il n'est chastials
 ou l'on ne vore lor porceals
 d'Ecosse jusc' a Antioche ;
 et si porte chescuns sa cloche
 pandue au col de son cheval

Et sil vont per tout preoichant
 et lor campenelle sonant.
 Molt preochent a haute voix
 et paiez portent checes et croix,
 n'il n'ont mostier n'il n'ont chapelle.
 I ceste guille est bien nouvelle !
 Et ces folles gens abaies
 se mettent en lor confrairies.”

For over a hundred and twenty years the Hospitallers of St. Antoine had no chapel of their own ; their *domus elemosine* was in the parish of St. Antoine, and in 1161 Pope Alexander III issued a bull prohibiting the building of a church or hospital within that parish without the consent of the Abbot of Montmajour.¹ There was friction between the Benedictines and the Hospitallers, who vied with each other to attract the offerings of pilgrims. In 1191 the Benedictines determined to rebuild their Romanesque church, and they entered into an agreement with the Hospitallers that they should send out a collector within the diocese of Vienne, and the brethren of the Hospital should collect only outside the diocese for the needs of the poor in the Hospital.²

In the thirteenth century the Hospitallers were supported by the Popes in their struggle against the dominance of the Benedictines. In 1209 the Archbishop of Vienne, acting on a papal mandate, authorised the Hospitallers to build a small chapel in honour of the Virgin Mary adjoining the *domus elemosine*, the precise measurements were given, 60 feet in length, 36 feet in breadth, and the height in proportion.³ The building was to be humble

¹ Maillet-Guy, *Les Origines*, 40.

² H. Dijon, *L'Eglise Abbatiale de St. Antoine*, 47, 48.

³ *Ibid.* 48.

without and within, no paintings were allowed on the walls, there might only be one altar with no costly canopy over it. One little bell was to be hung inside the building.

In 1231 the papal legate Walter, Bishop of Tournai, drew up statutes for the Order, which consisted of clerks, lay brothers and sisters under the rule of a Grand Master elected by the clerks.¹ The heads of dependent houses, which were called commanderies, were bound to attend a yearly general chapter on the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, and to render an account of their administration. The brethren were to have a common dormitory and refectory and live a common life in the spirit of poverty. In 1247, with the sanction of pope Innocent IV, the Hospitallers adopted the rule of St. Augustine.²

After the formal constitution of the Order in 1231 the Hospitallers were released from their subjection to the Benedictines; the Hospital became a separate parish with its own cemetery, and the Grand Master enlarged the humble chapel by building on a choir; this choir was described in 1534, by contrast with the dark nave, as *elegantissima*, above all on account of its beautiful windows and glass.³ Adjoining the chapel the Grand Master built a cloister, chapter-house, dormitory, refectory and library. At a general chapter in 1254 it was agreed that a yearly pension should be paid by all general commanderies to the mother house.⁴

The Benedictines were rebuilding their church on a grander scale, and there were constant disputes with the Hospitallers about offerings and legacies; the prior of the Benedictines continued to claim half the offerings in the church of the Hospitallers.⁵ In 1273 Aymon de Montagny was elected Grand Master of the Order, he was a man of high rank and of great business capacity, and in 1289 by skilful negotiation he induced the Abbot of Montmajour to seal an agreement investing him with the Benedictine priory.⁶ However the Abbot revoked the agreement almost immediately and gave the priory to a Benedictine,

¹ Dassy, *L'Abbaye de St. Antoine en Dauphine*, 76-9 (1844); G. Mailliet-Guy, *Les Origines de St. Antoine*, 46, 47.

² Mailliet-Guy, *op. cit.* 47; *Callia Christiana*, xvi, Instr. lii, col. 50.

³ H. Dijon, *Le Bourg et l'Abbaye de*

Saint-Antoine pendant les guerres de Religion et de la Ligue (1562-1597), 10, 11.

⁴ G. Mailliet-Guy, *op. cit.* p. 49, note 1.

⁵ G. Mailliet-Guy, *op. cit.* 49.

⁶ H. Dijon, *L'Eglise Abbatiale de St. Antoine*, xviii-xix, 50, 51.

who was a brother of the temporal lord of St. Antoine. The Grand Master resented this breach of the agreement and gave orders to expel the Benedictines from the priory; in the silence of the night men scaled the priory walls with ladders, put out the monks and took possession in the name of the Grand Master. In 1297 Pope Boniface VIII recognised the seizure of the Benedictine priory by the Hospitallers, and imposed a yearly payment on them to the Abbot of Montmajour in compensation for the loss of the priory. In an important bull he converted the Hospitallers into an Order of Augustinian Canons, raised the priory to the rank of an abbey to be served by thirty canons, and exempted the mother house and all its dependent commanderies from episcopal jurisdiction.¹

THE ENGLISH COMMANDERY

In the thirteenth century there is evidence that the Hospitallers of St. Antoine were collecting alms in England. Henry III issued letters patent in 1225 to the brethren of the Hospital of St. Antoine de Viennois permitting them to preach and ask alms for the support of the poor in their hospital during a term of three years.² The licence was renewed in 1229,³ and from frequent entries on the Patent Rolls it is probable that it was renewed whenever the brethren applied for it until the French wars of Edward III.

The collectors not only received alms after preaching in the churches, but also secured promises of subscriptions which were not always paid; in 1237 Henry III instructed archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors and others to distrain on debtors and compel them to pay to brother John of Auvergne the sums which they had promised to brother Robert.⁴ In 1243 Henry III gave the master and brethren of the Hospital of St. Antoine 'the chapel of the blessed Mary in London which was formerly a synagogue of the Jews,' and on 14th December he sent a mandate to the sheriffs of London to give brother Thomas, their proctor, full possession of this chapel without delay.⁵ In a letter to the king in 1255, Pope Alexander IV thanked and

¹ *Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Digard, i, 781, 782.

² *Calendar of Letters Patent 1216-1225*, 555.

³ *Ibid.* 1225-1232, 262.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1232-1247, 180.

⁵ *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1242-7, 142.

praised him for his kindness to the Master and brethren of St. Antoine de Viennois; they had told him that Henry had given them in pure and perpetual alms a place in the Jewry, formerly a synagogue which had been converted into a chapel 'in honour of the King of Kings and the most glorious Virgin Mother.'¹ The building was in the present Threadneedle Street, then known as Broad Street,² and the Westminster Bank now occupies the site of St. Anthony's.

Henry III pledged himself to give an annual subscription of 20 marks, i.e. £13 16s. 8d. a year.³ In 1248 he promised that at the earliest opportunity he would give the Master and brethren a church in his patronage to appropriate to their own use, and in 1249, for the souls of King John and Queen Isabella, Henry III gave the brethren of St. Antoine de Viennois the advowson of All Saints, Hereford, and its dependent chapels of St. Martin across the Wye and St. Peter at Bullinghope.⁴ The Bishop of Hereford, Peter of Aigueblanche (1240-1268), was a native of Savoy, and when he sanctioned the appropriation in 1252, he praised the hospital 'to which a multitude of the sick and poor resort from divers parts of the world who suffer from St. Anthony's fire and find a refuge there.' 'I have been to St. Antoine and seen them,' he added, 'they seek death and do not find it, they long to die and live unhappily.'⁵ Until the death of the rector of All Saints the brethren of St. Antoine received nothing, and Henry III was still pledged to give his annual subscription; he was heavily in arrears in the difficult years of his war with the barons under Simon de Montfort. In 1268 when he owed 200 marks, he promised 100 marks at once out of the debts from the Jewry, and another 100 marks a fortnight after Easter when he knew that large

¹ Denton's Register ii, f. 265. The two volumes of this Register containing transcripts of documents relating to the property of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor were compiled by James Denton, Senescallus of the College, in 1517. He was Canon of Windsor from 1509 to 1532. My thanks are due to Canon Dalton, F.S.A., for his kind permission to study the large collection of documents relating to St. Anthony's in the Archives of the Dean and Canons of Windsor, of which he has made a catalogue,

and to the chapter clerk, Mr. Lewis Stainton, for his courteous help.

² H. L. Hopkinson, 'Ancient Bradestrete identical with Threadneedle Street,' *London Topographical Record*, xiii, 23-8.

³ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1266-72, 183.

⁴ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1247-58, 12; *Cal. of Charter Rolls*, i, 345; *Register of Cantilupe*, ed. Capes, 30, note 1 (Canterbury and York Society).

⁵ MSS. Dean and Chapter of Windsor, xv, 37, 116.

sums of money would have been paid into the exchequer by the sheriffs.¹ In March, however, he gave different instructions and ordered the collectors of the tenth levied on the clergy to discharge his debt of 200 marks to the brethren of St. Antoine.² Meanwhile the rector of All Saints, Hereford, Richard le Brun, resigned in 1261 on condition of a pension of twenty marks a year for his life.³ In 1295 Richard Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, confirmed the appropriation of All Saints to the Grand Master and brethren of St. Antoine de Viennois, which was assessed for taxation at £13. 6s. 8d. a year; they had forfeited the advowson to the Crown and Edward I had recently given it back to them.⁴

For about sixty years the proctor and brethren of St. Antoine used as their chapel in London the building which had been converted in 1243 from a synagogue. About 1309 the proctor and brethren built a beautiful new chapel which attracted worshippers and offerings, and thereby they were involved in an acute conflict with Ralph Baldock, bishop of London.⁵ In a letter to the official of the archdeacon of London, the bishop stated that although no one might build an oratory without the formal permission of the bishop, nor a basilica for the quest of avarice and not through devotion to the faith,⁶ nevertheless certain persons calling themselves proctors and collectors of St. Antoine de Viennois had built a stone structure resembling a basilica or chapel on a profane spot within the parish of St. Benet Fink in spite of admonitions, and they had acted contrary to the institutes of the Canon Law. On 21st December 1309 he instructed the archdeacon's official to inhibit all persons from going to worship in this structure resembling a basilica or chapel, as though it were a place dedicated to God whereas it was a profane building, or from celebrating divine service therein. As the proctor and brethren had continued to build the

¹ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1266-72, 183.

² *Ibid.* 206.

³ *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, ed. Capes, 115 (Cantilupe Society).

⁴ *Register of Swinfield*, ed. Capes, 331 (Canterbury and York Society).

⁵ MSS. of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, Register, W. D. 1 (Liber A), pp. 94, 94^v. I am indebted to the Dean of St. Paul's for kindly giving me access to this register.

⁶ *Corpus juris Canonici*, ed. Friedberg, i, 1296, *Decreti Tertia Pars Dist. prima cap. x.*

chapel in spite of the bishop of London's inhibition, he brought the business before the provincial council of Canterbury which was sitting in the nave of St. Paul's cathedral church on 24th July, 1311. Archbishop Winchelsey issued a commission at the Council to the archdeacon of London's official to summon the proctors and brethren to appear before the dean of the church of St. Mary of the Arches, the archdeacon of Middlesex and the precentor of St. Paul's in the church of St. Mary of the Arches on the fifteenth law day after the feast of St. James (25th July). At the same time he issued a commission to the dean of the Arches, the archdeacon of Middlesex and the precentor to view the chapel, after hearing the case, and to give judgment.

The judges visited the building resembling a chapel and gave this description. At the east end there is a place for setting up an altar; on the south side a magnificent piece of work intended as a piscina, and seats for the priest and deacon, and a shelf for the cruets, the flasks for the wine and water at mass; on the north side there is carved work as for an aumbry to hold books or vestments. The building has three fine doors, and next the door by which one enters from the king's highway there is a stone stoup fixed as for holy water. Outside the building or chapel there is a door in the wall of the enclosure by which one enters from the highway, and there is a path round the building as though intended for a procession to enter the chapel by the south door. In the east wall of the chapel there are four glazed windows with three columns, and many little windows commonly called oylets; in these windows amongst other subjects there is a representation of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified, with the Virgin Mary and St. John excellently depicted, and on the south wall there are other windows with oylets and with figures of the saints in each one on the south. And outside the door facing the king's highway there is a stone tabernacle to hold an image to be seen by all passers by.

The judges cited the proctor and brethren several times to show cause why their chapel should not be demolished, but they were contumacious, and did not appear. Accordingly, on 13th August, they gave judgment that the structure of the said chapel, so far as it was

distinguished as an ecclesiastical building, was to be entirely demolished and reduced to the form of a private dwelling house within eight days under penalty of the greater excommunication if the brethren remained obdurate, and the place was laid under a perpetual interdict.

The brethren resisted for nearly three months, and it is probable that the proctor, John Marty, went to St. Antoine de Viennois to consult the abbot and convent. On 2nd November he made a formal submission to the judgment and will of the bishop of London on all matters in dispute. He set his seal to the document which was witnessed by a public notary before the bishop and in the presence of the archdeacon of Colchester and the rector of Thorley, 'in camera dicti prioris.'¹

In accordance with the Canon Law half the offerings in this chapel of the brethren of St. Antoine would be paid to the parish priest of St. Benet Fink. In a parallel case the brethren of the commandery of St. Antoine in the city of Grenoble paid half their offerings to the priest of the parish church of St. Laurence, except on the feast of St. Anthony, when they were allowed to keep two-thirds.² Some arrangement of this kind was made in London; and in 1417 the Master and brethren of St. Anthony's agreed to pay £4 a year to the rector of St. Benet Fink in settlement of the long standing disputes about offerings in the chapel of St. Anthony.³

The Master and brethren of the Order of St. Antoine de Viennois had a remarkable privilege. In Paris and other towns in France, in spite of police regulations, the brethren of St. Anthony had permission to turn out pigs which were offered in alms to them to feed in the streets, and they tied bells round the necks of the pigs to distinguish them from stray pigs.⁴ The Master and brethren of St. Anthony's had the same privilege in London, not to the advantage of the citizens, and in 1311 Roger de Wynchester renter (sic) of St. Anthony's took an oath before the Mayor that henceforth he would not lay fictitious claim to pigs found

¹ Cf. the general prohibition of 'adulterine' chapels entered in *The Register of Bishop Baldock*, ed. R. C. Fowler, 143 (Canterbury and York Society).

² Maillet-Guy, *Les Commanderies de*

l'Ordre de St. Antoine en Dauphine, 18 (reprinted from the *Revue Mabillon*, 1927).

³ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1422-9, 156.

⁴ Dassy, *L'Abbaye de St. Antoine*, 134.

wandering in the streets in the name of St. Anthony, nor so far as he could prevent it, would he allow bells to be put on any other pigs than those given to St. Anthony's in charity.¹ Although the custom was an obvious nuisance, the city was unable to abolish it² until the Hospital was dissolved, and Stow writes 'in my youth I remember that the officers charged with oversight of the markets in this city did divers times take from the market people pigs starved or otherwise unwholesome for man's sustenance, these they slit in the ear. One of the proctors for St. Anthony's tied a bell about the neck and let it feed on the dunghills, no man would hurt or take them up, but if any gave to them bread or other feeding, such would they know, watch for and daily follow, whining till they had somewhat given them: whereupon was raised a proverb, such a one will follow such a one and whine as it were an Anthonie pig: but if such a pig grew to be fat, and came to good liking (as oft times they did) then the proctor would take him up to the use of the hospital.'³

The Order of St. Antoine de Viennois secured a long series of papal privileges for its collectors. In 1256 Alexander IV commanded archbishops, bishops and others to receive the collectors honourably and give them letters, authorising them to preach and collect in their dioceses and to urge their subjects to welcome them and give them alms; to donors who confessed their sins and were truly penitent the pope granted an indulgence of forty days.⁴ Examples of these licences are found in English episcopal registers; in 1287 John le Romeyn, Archbishop of York, rebuked those officials in the diocese and province of York who extorted fees from the collectors when they issued licences to them.⁵ In 1300 his successor, Archbishop Corbridge, gave instructions that when Stephen de Codynton, the proctor of the Hospital arrived, he was to be given the opportunity of expounding the papal indulgence but not to preach a sermon; and that everything collected for the Hospital in money or in animals was to be handed over to him.⁶ In 1309 Pope Clement V forbade

¹ H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London Life*, 83.

² *V.C.H. London*, i, 583.

³ Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, i, 184.

⁴ Reg. Denton, ii, ff. 261, 266.

⁵ *Register of John le Romeyn*, i, 9 (Surtees Society).

⁶ *Register of Thomas of Corbridge*, i, 4 (Surtees Society).

the exaction of any fee for licences¹; in practice it was impossible to prevent it, and in 1372 Gregory XI fixed the fee at a gold florin.² The Order was frequently robbed by false collectors. In 1297 Pope Boniface VIII issued a mandate that no one might wear the badge of the potence or tau, and collect offerings and legacies except the brethren and proctors of the hospital of St. Antoine de Viennois.³ In 1330 Pope John XXII denounced those sons of iniquity who built altars in the name of St. Anthony and went about collecting for the poor of the Hospital, but converted the money to their own use: 'if there be any such in your diocese seize what they have collected.'⁴ On 17th January, 1329 John Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, suspended collections in his diocese; on 2nd November he issued a mandate authorising collections from 8th-30th March, 1330, 'ad opus S. Antonii' of money, pigs and other animals.⁵ Warnings against false collectors occur not infrequently in the patent rolls.⁶ In 1350 Clement VI issued a bull forbidding any one to receive alms or bequests to St. Anthony on the pretext of altars or oratories set up in his name, except the proctors of the abbot and brethren of St. Antoine de Viennois.⁷ Collectors of other orders infringed the privilege, and the practice was a serious abuse 'in the parts of Germany' early in the fifteenth century; at the request of Artaud, Abbot of St. Antoine de Viennois (1418-27), Pope Martin V in 1426 reserved to him the privilege of sending out collectors who announced their arrival by ringing little bells, and sold bells to hang on the necks of horses, cattle, pigs and other animals.⁸

THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR

When the Hundred Years War began, Edward III issued letters of protection in 1337 to John Garenin, proctor in England of the Hospital of St. Antoine de Viennois, 'who is not of the power of the King of France.'⁹ The province of Dauphiné, in which it was situated, was not

¹ Reg. Denton, ii, f. 271.

² Reg. Denton, ii, f. 283.

³ *Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Digard, i, 782, ii, 462 (Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome).

⁴ Reg. Denton, i, f. 1v.

⁵ *Register of John de Grandisson*, ed. F. C.

Hingeston-Randolph, 445, 538, cf. *ibid.* 1178-9.

⁶ e.g. *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1313-17, 111; *ibid.* 1317-21, 17.

⁷ Reg. Denton, ii, f. 280.

⁸ Reg. Denton, i, f. 3.

⁹ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1334-8, 500.

annexed to the French Crown until 1349. It was remote from the ravages of the war with England, and the rebuilding of the abbey church of St. Antoine was continued. The Benedictines had planned to rebuild the choir after the model of the cathedral church of Vienne; the work at St. Antoine made slow progress and had only reached the level of the triforium when they were expelled in 1289. It was resumed by the canons of St. Antoine under Abbot William Mitte (1328-1342).¹ Money was found by allocating the revenues of several commanderies to a fabric fund and legacies were assigned to it; general chapters of the Order agreed to special levies sanctioned by the popes and Gregory XI granted a special indulgence to those who contributed to the fabric. Urban V issued a mandate for the payment of a subsidy for twenty years by all houses of the Order. The upper part of the apse was completed about 1350; next three bays of the nave, and after an interval two more bays, and as the building continued founders and benefactors added side chapels² (Pl. ii). It then became necessary to rebuild the wall supporting the terrace of the hillside on which the church was situated, and three special subsidies were levied on the commanderies from 1405 to 1410.³ In 1411 there was a voluntary contribution from the commanderies and the great wall was completed.

Although the English commandery had not at first been treated as an alien priory intercourse with the mother house was difficult and dangerous; and the proctors ceased to attend general chapters or to send annual payments. Relations were resumed after the treaty of Bretigny in 1360; the preceptor or master of St. Anthony's, Geoffrey de Lymone, went to the general chapter at St. Antoine in 1363 and again in 1366.⁴ Contributions from the English Commandery ceased about 1377.

THE PAPAL SCHISM

After the accession of Richard II the alien priories were treated with greater severity, and as the province of Dauphiné was annexed to the French Crown, the house of

¹ H. Dijon, *L'Eglise Abbatiale de St. Antoine*, 50-56.

² *Ibid.* 57-64.

³ *Ibid.*; for the great wall, cf. *ibid.* plate

facing p. 57; for the plan of the church, cf. *ibid.* plate facing p. 266.

⁴ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1361-4, 394; 1364-7, 336.



Archives Photographiques, Paris

ST. ANTOINE DE VIENNOIS



[Archives Photographiques, Paris

ST. ANTOINE DE VIENNOIS

St. Anthony in London was now reckoned among them. The breach in the relations with St. Antoine de Viennois was widened during the great schism in the papacy (1378-1409) when England acknowledged the pope at Rome and France the rival pope of Avignon. In 1380 Geoffrey de Lymone, the French Master of St. Anthony's, had paid no tallage or contribution to St. Antoine for three years, and Pope Clement VII of Avignon released him from the sentence imposed on him for default by the Abbot of St. Antoine.¹ On 20th October, 1382, Richard II granted the custody or procuratorship of St. Anthony's Hospital, in the realm of England, to Michael de la Pole and his son John, so long as it was in the king's hands on account of the war with France, and on condition of a payment of £13 6s. 8d. to the Exchequer.² Geoffrey de Lymone was dead when in 1384 Pope Clement VII attempted to make a provision of another Frenchman to St. Anthony's but his nominee could not get possession.³ Pope Urban VI of Rome, however, claimed the right to nominations in vacancies usually filled by the head of an Order which recognised the rival pope at Avignon, and accordingly he nominated an Englishman, Richard Brighthouse.⁴ Brighthouse was only able to get possession of St. Anthony's by giving a bond for a thousand marks to Richard II's powerful chancellor, Michael de la Pole, as security for a pledge to pay £100 to him and his son John for the term of their lives.⁵ When Michael de la Pole was impeached by the Commons in 1386, judgment was given that all the profits accruing to him out of St. Anthony's were to be paid over to the Crown⁶; the Crown held the bond for a thousand marks, and the unfortunate Master, Richard Brighthouse, received a demand to pay that sum to the exchequer. On 2nd December, 1389, the mayor and sheriffs of London received an order from the Crown to inquire what goods and chattels the late preceptor, Richard Brighthouse, had at his death and to seize them.⁷ The clerk who took the inventory on 7th January, 1390, separated the property of St. Anthony's from that of the late Master, who was only credited with

¹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 240.

² *Cal. of the Fine Rolls*, ix, 324.

³ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 254.

⁴ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1381-5, 528.

⁵ R. Cotton, *Abridgment of the Records*, 315, 316.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1389-92, 42.

the possession of some pots and pans in the kitchen, and in the buttery five pewter pots, four leather pots, two candlesticks and two salt cellars.¹ St. Anthony's had a few more cooking utensils, four mazers with silver rims, two measure pots of leather, a paring knife, three candlesticks and two wooden chests. There was nothing for the Crown to seize. The meagre inventory leads to the conclusion that the London Commandery though loosely called a hospital, was never intended to be more than a hospice or hostel, in which food, clothes, and occasional lodging was given to passers by. It resembled other commanderies in this respect.² The income was extremely small and depended almost entirely on the offerings given at St. Anthony's and collected by the proctors, of which the greater part was originally destined for the support of the hospital and hostels at the mother house of St. Antoine de Viennois.

The papal schism had a strong influence on the later history of St. Anthony's. All privileges granted by successive popes to St. Antoine de Viennois were extended to St. Anthony's in London by Urban VI in 1387, and confirmed by his successor, Boniface IX.³

After some negotiations between Richard II and Boniface IX, with the papal collector in London as intermediary, John Macclesfield, a clerk who wrote in the office of the Privy Seal became Master of St. Anthony's for life in 1389.⁴ In 1390 his proctors were going to and fro in England, Ireland and Wales collecting alms, and in 1391 he received a release from the payment of the remainder of the £1,000 bond due to the Exchequer.⁵ He was a man of considerable business capacity, and he took steps to increase the revenues of St. Anthony's, largely to his own profit. He sent a proctor to the court of Rome, for whom he negotiated a letter of credit for £40 in 1391.⁶ Both he and his younger kinsman, another John Macclesfield,⁷ had dispensations for pluralism, but pluralists could not hold

¹ Exchequer K. R., Ecclesiastical, Bundle 2, no. 47, Public Record Office.

² Maillet-Guy, *Les Commanderies de l'Ordre de St. Antoine en Dauphiné*, 5, 7.

³ Reg. Denton, ii, f. 285.

⁴ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1388-92, 117,

158; cf. *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 419, Reg. Denton, ii, f. 292.

⁵ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1388-92, 214, 389; cf. *Register of Trejnant*, ed. W. W. Capes, 193 (Canterbury and York Society).

⁶ *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1392-6, 545.

⁷ T. F. Tout, *Chapters in Medieval Administrative History*, iv, 385, note 1.

benefices and offices which were incompatible according to canon law, and to comply with it they were sometimes forced into a temporary exchange; accordingly on 21st February, 1392, John Macclesfield the younger became Master of St. Anthony's for life, and on 8th April, 1392, John Macclesfield the elder again became Master for life.¹ In 1392 Boniface IX granted the revenues of the parish church of All Saints at Hereford, with the dependent chapels of St. Martin's and of Bullinghope, to St. Anthony's in London during the schism and the wars with France.² He sanctioned the use of Sarum instead of the use of Vienne in the chapel of St. Anthony's, and in 1392 he granted an indulgence of seven years and seven periods of forty days to those who gave contributions for the fabric and ornaments of the chapel and the support of the sick.³ The rector of St. Benet Fink had a right to some share in the offerings in St. Anthony's church, and therefore only a part, possibly half, of the additional offerings could be retained by the Hospital.⁴ John Macclesfield took steps to secure the appropriation of the parish church to St. Anthony's; in 1395 he bought the advowson of St. Benet Fink, and Boniface IX sanctioned the appropriation to St. Anthony's on the death or resignation of the rector with the provision that one of the brethren of St. Anthony's might serve the parish church.⁵ In 1417 John Macclesfield and the brethren of St. Anthony's granted a yearly pension of £4 to David Fyvyan, rector of St. Benet Fink, and his successors in settlement of a long standing dispute between the Masters of St. Anthony's and the rectors about the offerings in St. Anthony's.⁶

When Macclesfield's proctors were collecting alms in the diocese of York about 1402, they found a false hermit living at a chapel of St. Anthony outside the walls of York, near the Hospital of St. Mary in the Horsefair. He was collecting alms for the new building of the chapel and the maintenance of the roads called Gilligate and Horsefair in accordance with an indulgence granted by Pope Boniface IX in 1401.⁷ John Macclesfield complained to the Pope that the hermit

¹ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1391-6, 33, 260.

² *Reg. Denton*, ii, f. 290^v.

³ *Ibid.* ff. 290, 293; cf. *Register of Stafford*, ed. Hingeston-Randolph, 311.

⁴ *ante*, p. 353.

⁵ *Cal. of Letters Close*, 1392-6, 417; *Reg. Denton*, ii, f. 293^v.

⁶ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1422-9, 156.

⁷ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 398.

was misusing the indulgence by collecting within a district reserved to St. Anthony's, London; Boniface IX was compliant as usual, and forbade the hermit or any other person to use his former letter of indulgence on pain of being punished as forgers.¹ In 1429, when Pope Martin V issued an indulgence for the maintenance and repair of the hospital of St. Anthony without the walls of York, he forbade proctors or pardoners to send the letter about the country.² In 1445 it is definitely stated that the house or chapel of St. Anthony without the walls of York is subject and wont to pay a yearly pension to St. Anthony's, London, and if it should be transferred to a new site within the city, it would not escape from dependence on St. Anthony's, London, or be released from the payment of a pension.³ It was thus transferred by the gild of St. Martin in 1446 with the condition that the members did not set up any image of St. Anthony, nor make any oratory of St. Anthony to the prejudice of the Master and brethren of St. Anthony's in London without their consent.⁴

St. Anthony's might have fared worse under Macclesfield's long administration of over thirty years, but for a faithful clerk, John Savage, who had also acted as attorney for the last French master, Geoffrey de Lymone.⁵ In 1408 John Savage made his will, proved in 1411, leaving his body to be buried in the church of St. Anthony, by the wall against the altar of St. Katherine. He was probably a member of the gild of St. Katherine, which had been founded and associated with St. Anthony's before 1389; all the members were bound to be present at funeral ceremonies and offer for the dead and the souls of all benefactors of St. Anthony's.⁶ John Savage bequeathed all his lands and tenements in the parish of St. Benet Fink to the master and brethren of St. Anthony's, on condition that the brethren held a special service of commemoration for him every year; if they did not continue it, the property would pass to the hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate. He instructed his executors to see that an authentic copy of his will was put up in both churches in a place open to

¹ *Ibid.* v, 549.

² *Ibid.* viii, 85.

³ *Ibid.* ix, 527.

⁴ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1441-6, 442.

⁵ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1364-7, 336.

⁶ H. F. Westlake, *The parish gilds of Medieval England*, Appendix, 183.

public view.¹ John Savage's successor was perhaps Roger Straunge, a clerk, for in 1414 John Macclesfield granted him for life, nominally for good service to the hospital, a yearly pension of £10.²

When the papal schism came to an end in 1409, and England and France both recognised Pope Alexander V, the Abbot and chapter of St. Antoine de Viennois attempted to regain control of the English preceptory. In the Abbot's judgment there had been a vacancy in the English preceptory since the death of Geoffrey de Lymone in 1384; he nominated Humbert de Brionne, a canon of his monastery who was then studying canon law at Avignon to the preceptory of St. Anthony, London, 'otherwise called of England,' the value not exceeding £100 a year.³ The nomination had no effect, although it was supported by Alexander V, and John Macclesfield remained Master of St. Anthony's until 1423. In 1422 he had resigned the rich provostship of the cathedral church of Wells, and apparently he died in 1423.⁴

In the choice of his successor at St. Anthony's the Crown and the Papacy acted in collusion to avoid an infringement of the statutes of Provisors and Praemunire. John Macclesfield had remained a secular clerk against the statutes of the Order of St. Antoine and the bull of Boniface VIII which converted St. Antoine into an abbey of Augustinian canons. In 1423 the difficulty was recognised by the Crown; Adam of Olton, an Augustinian canon of Norton priory in Cheshire assumed the habit of the Order of St. Antoine de Viennois, and received a grant of St. Anthony's for life in 1423.⁵ In a petition to Pope Martin V he gave an unfavourable report of John Macclesfield's administration; he was said to have alienated much of the property and to have granted yearly pensions to his children and divers other persons and to have burdened the house with debt.⁴ Martin V sent a mandate to the Bishop of Winchester to annul all unlawful alienations and

¹ *Hustings Roll*, 139 (2), Guildhall of London Archives. I am indebted to Mr. R. E. Thomas for kindly giving me access to this Roll.

² *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1422-9, 109.

³ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 162.

⁴ *Register of Bishop Bubwith*, ed. T. S.

Holmes, vol. xxx, 414 (*Somerset Record Society*).

⁵ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1416-22, 340; *Ibid.* 1422-9, 109. In A. F. Leach, *English Medieval Schools*, p. 261, it is wrongly stated that from 1385 onwards the preceptors of St. Anthony's were seculars.

⁶ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vii, 374.

pensions. In 1424 he sanctioned the use of London instead of the use of Vienne at St. Anthony's during the wars with France, with the stipulation that the commemoration of the feast of St. Anthony should be in accordance with the custom and use of St. Antoine.¹

During the rule of Adam of Olton there was a revival of religious life at St. Anthony's. In 1429 he received a licence from the Crown to acquire land adjoining the hospital on the west from the Abbot and convent of St. Albans.² There were then fourteen canons and clerks celebrating divine service daily for the good estate of benefactors and of Christians in general. The house was situated in so strait a place that there was not even reasonable room for divine service, and the sick and poor had to be lodged elsewhere. There was no space large or small for a cemetery, no garden for the recreation of the inmates or to supply them with potherbs. The purchase from the Abbot of St. Albans consisted of a house and garden and another piece of land, 37 ft. long and 18 ft. wide, adjoining the garden. It is probable that money for the building had been raised by collectors. In 1424 at the meeting of convocation of the province of Canterbury, St. Anthony's was one of three hospitals which had permission to send out collectors³; there had been great abuses with pardoners, and the collectors were to be presented to the archbishop of Canterbury to have letters testimonial from him under his great seal and countersealed with his private seal, and also letters testimonial from the bishop of each diocese sealed with his great seal and countersealed with his signet. The collectors were warned against deceiving the people by publishing anything beyond the privileges and indulgences in the papal bulls.

In 1432 the new hospice to lodge the poor at St. Anthony's was built. The Master, John Snell, made another contract with the Abbot of St. Albans by which the Abbot's workmen were permitted to go in and out through a new door in the stone wall lately rebuilt on the west, next to the new building of St. Anthony's, taking with them ladders, tools, timber, boards, tiles, shingles,

¹ *Ibid.* 373.

² *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1422-29, 517, 518.

³ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 429.

stone and other material to repair and rebuild that part of the great inn of the Abbot.¹ The workmen were bound to carry away all their rubbish and leave the garden, its trees, vines, grass, walls and alleys in the same good condition as they found them. In a will made in 1432 Thomas Knolles, Senior, who belonged to the Grocers' Company, which honoured St. Anthony as a patron saint, bequeathed a shop to Master John Snell and the brethren of St. Anthony's Hospital to provide for a lamp to burn perpetually in the chancel of St. Anthony's, and to keep the anniversary of John Snell.²

The next Master of St. Anthony's was John Carpenter, a distinguished scholar who had been Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, from 1428 to 1435 and ruled St. Anthony's from 1435 until 1444 when he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester.³ In 1438 Pope Eugenius IV challenged his appointment on the ground that John Carpenter had received a grant of St. Anthony's from the Crown when a secular priest before making a profession as an Augustinian canon of the Order of St. Anthony: the nomination usually belonged to the Abbot of St. Antoine, but the pope had made a general reservation of all general preceptorships of all orders, and therefore St. Anthony's became void on the death of John Snell.⁴ He issued a mandate to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, with whom he associated the Bishop of Orte, to assign the preceptorship of St. Anthony's, to Michael de Plessy, preceptor of St. Anthony's, Rouen, to hold in commendam for life. Nothing came of it.

Master John Carpenter raised St. Anthony's to a sphere of greater importance and usefulness. As a first step he sought for relics to attract pilgrims and visitors, and therefore he petitioned Pope Eugenius IV for leave to procure from ecclesiastical persons, both regular and secular, relics of male and female saints from the city of Cologne.⁵ Cologne had long been a centre for the export of relics. In 1106 when workmen were digging new foundations for

¹ MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xv, 37, 7.

² Hustings Roll, 164 (36), Guildhall of London Archives; J. A. Kingdon, *Archives of the Grocers' Company*, xviii, xix. cf. *Stow's Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, i, 251, 252, 263, 271.

³ *Dictionary of National Biography*, ix, 156, in which Carpenter is wrongly said to be Master of St. Anthony's about 1420.

⁴ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, viii, 3.

⁵ Reg. Denton, ii, f. 306.

the walls of the city, they came on a quantity of bones which excited the greatest interest ; they were assumed to be the bones of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins who were martyred by the Huns.¹ In the course of the twelfth century hundreds of bones were removed and translated as relics. In 1381 Pope Boniface IX had forbidden any further translation of relics of the eleven thousand virgins from Cologne. In 1434, however, Eugenius IV gave permission to John Carpenter, Master of St. Anthony's, to receive relics from Cologne in moderate quantity, and with due reverence to bring them to England and to place them in any church.² In the inventory of the ornaments of St. Anthony's in 1499, there are two virgins' heads garnished with silver,³ and these were probably the reliquaries made for heads of two of St. Ursula's virgins which had been procured by Master John Carpenter.

In 1441 Henry VI wrote to Pope Eugenius IV begging him to grant the petitions of his chaplain, John Carpenter : ' the house of St. Anthony which was once beautiful, wealthy and very handsome, is now melancholy, squalid and almost desolate, and stripped to the verge of poverty.'⁴ Six months later Eugenius IV released the Master and brethren of St. Anthony's from the obligation in their statutes to eat in the refectory and sleep in the dormitory, because there were no such buildings, stipulating only that like honest priests they should remain and eat, drink and sleep in decent and honest places of their house until they should have a refectory and dormitory.⁵ Master John Carpenter also instituted or revived a confraternity of St. Anthony's for men and women, lay, secular and religious, and on 6th December, 1441, Pope Eugenius IV granted to members of the confraternity for five years the privilege of choosing their own confessors who could commute vows of abstinence and vows of pilgrimage, except to the Holy Land, Rome, and St. James of Compostella, and absolve them from sentences of excommunication.⁶ A month later, on 13th January, 1442, he transferred

¹ Mary Tout, ' The Legend of St. Ursula,' *Owens College Historical Essays*, ed. T. F. Tout and J. Tait, 30, 31.

² Reg. Denton, ii, f. 306.

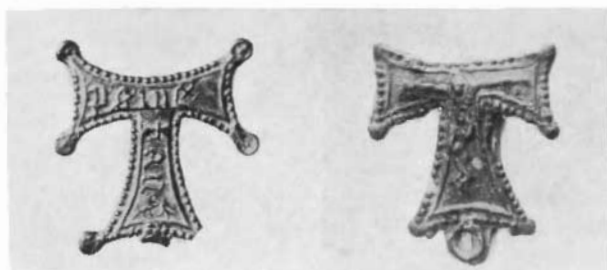
³ cf. p. 396, Appendix i.

⁴ *Correspondence of Thomas Bekynston*, ed. G. Williams, i, 234.

⁵ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ix, 217.

⁶ *Ibid.* ix, 214.





(1)

(2)



(3)

PILGRIMS' SIGNS

the feast of the dedication of the church of St. Anthony's, which occurred in Lent at the same time as the feast of the Annunciation to 3rd October, when it could be celebrated with greater solemnity.¹

The privileges of the confraternity were attractive, and the members paid a yearly subscription to the hospital.² The Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, complained to the Pope that some of his monks were members of this confraternity, they chose secular priests as confessors and refused to obey him. In 1454 Calixtus III decreed that the monks of St. Augustine's were excluded from this privilege.

There can be little doubt that the three lead or pewter fifteenth-century pilgrim badges illustrated on Pl. iii were once worn either by members of the confraternity or by worshippers who were attracted to St. Anthony's, possibly on the solemn feast of the dedication. One (No. 1) of them, in the London Museum, has an inscription *PSIUE* on the horizontal arm of the cross, *TAU* on the vertical arm, being the description of the badge of the Order of St. Antoine de Viennois, *Potence sive Tau*.³ No. 2 is in the Guildhall Museum; on the Tau is a figure of Christ crucified, having a loop at the base to which probably a little bell was once attached.⁴ No. 3 was found recently in the moat at Canterbury and is now in the possession of Mr. Kruger Gray. On one side is the inscription *IHS*, on the other a Tau cross with a bell hanging from it.⁵ It is tempting to assume that this badge was owned by a monk of St. Augustine's Canterbury. Another badge of pewter, found in London, is a plain Tau with only a loop at the top; it was recorded in 1874 by Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A., who suggested that it was probably filled in with blue paste or enamel.⁶ There are no such badges in the Museums of Lyons or at Grenoble, or in the large collection of pilgrim badges in Paris at the Musée de

¹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ix, 219.

² *Cal. of Papal Letters*, x, 163.

³ From the collection of Sir John Evans. I am indebted to Dr. Mortimer Wheeler for this photograph. cf. *ante* p. 345.

⁴ M. xxv, 77, *Catalogue of the Guildhall Museum*, p. 329 (1908). I am indebted to Mr. Douthwaite for permission to photograph this badge, and to Mr. Waddington for his help. It is possible that two of the

little bells in the collection of pilgrim badges, which have no inscription to associate them with St. Thomas of Canterbury, may once have been attached to a Tau cross, i.e. M xxv, 154, 156. For a drawing in 1874 of a similar badge found in the Thames, cf. *The Reliquary*, xv, 69, fig. 22.

⁵ I am indebted to Mr. Kruger Gray, F.S.A., for this photograph.

⁶ *The Reliquary*, xv, 69, 70, fig. 23.

Cluny, so it may be assumed that these badges were once on sale at St. Anthony's Hospital in Threadneedle Street. A more elaborate gold badge was found at Bridlington some years before, Mr. Jewitt described it as having on one side the Annunciation and on the other a Tau cross, which had once been filled with enamel, it had a loop at the top 'for suspension,' and a smaller loop at the bottom,¹ from which I now venture to suggest once hung a little gold bell. Possibly this jewel was worn by some one who had been on a pilgrimage to the mother house of St. Antoine de Viennois. The sixteenth-century historian, Aymar Falco, relates that at some time in 1459 or 1460 the Earl Talbot, successor of the great Talbot, who fought in France and not a few Englishmen of high rank came on a pilgrimage to St. Antoine and stayed some days.² This was John Talbot, second Earl of Shrewsbury, who succeeded his father in 1453 and was killed in the battle of Northampton in July 1460.³

In 1873 a pectoral Tau cross of silver, having on it a crucifix, was exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, the cross had a raised cable border, and hanging from the arms by small rings was the letter A of Lombardic form and cut out of thin silver plate which had been gilt.⁴

Several Tau rings of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century were probably worn by members of the confraternity of St. Anthony's, Threadneedle Street. In 1844 a ring was found in the tomb of Richard Mayew, Bishop of Hereford (1504-1516) on his right hand; on each side of the ruby is 'a Tau cross which has been filled in with a green enamel, and below it, hanging from it, a small bell engraved.'⁵ Licences to the proctors of St. Anthony's Hospital to collect in the diocese of Hereford are entered in the bishop's register, and it is not unlikely that Mayew himself was a regular subscriber. In the British Museum Collection of Rings is a gold ring with a broad band engraved on the outer side with figures of St. John the

¹ *The Reliquary*, xv, 69, fig. 21.

² Dijon, *op. cit.* 147.

³ J. W. Clay, *Extinct and Dormant Peerages of the Northern Counties of England*, 217.

⁴ *Soc. Antiq. Proceedings*, 2nd Series, vi, 51. For this and several references to Tau

rings, I am indebted to Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A.

⁵ J. Merewether, 'An account of the discovery of the episcopal ring of Bishop Richard Mayo,' *Archæologia*, xxxi, 249-251; *Register of Mayew*, 286-8 (Canterbury and York Society).

Baptist and St. Anthony each standing upon the calix of a flower, between them a scallop shell and a Tau cross; within is the legend A COMFORT.¹ The principal altar at St. Anthony's was dedicated in honour of St. Anthony, the altar in the south aisle of the choir in honour of St. John the Baptist. At an exhibition of several Tau rings at the Society of Antiquaries in 1873² Mr. Octavius Morgan said that he had seen a large gold ring, having engraved on the bezel a figure of St. Anthony with his name, and on each of the shoulders a Tau. Mr. Octavius Morgan then exhibited a massive gold signet ring, found about three years before in a garden at Abergavenny with a Tau on each shoulder. Two silver rings and a bronze ring were also exhibited. Several signet rings with a Tau on the shoulders are in the British Museum Collection,³ and another from the collection of Colonel Croft Lyons was given to me by Mr. Mill Stephenson. A plain gold ring ornamented with three Tau crosses was found in the garden of Maxstoke Hall, Warwickshire⁴; another ring was found at Keswick with two Tau crosses on it.⁵

It is not possible, however, to assume that a Tau cross was always a mark of association with a confraternity of St. Anthony. The marks on the foreheads of the elect in the vision of the prophet Ezekiel (ix. 4 and 6) were translated in the Vulgate as 'signa thau,' and the man clothed in linen with the writer's inkhorn is shown setting the Tau mark on their foreheads in a medallion of twelfth-century glass in the monastery of St. Denis, and again on the base of a twelfth-century enamel cross which was made by the goldsmith, Godfrey de Claire, for the abbey of St. Bertin.⁶ These examples may be remembered in connexion with two tomb slabs in the collegiate church of Southwell. William Talbot was canon of Oxtun and Cropwell from 1485 to 1498, and the inscription on his tombstone is 'His jacet Willelmus Talbot miser et indignus sacerdos expectans resurrectionem mortuorum sub signo Thau'⁷;

¹ O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Finger Rings*, p. 110, no. 721.

² *Soc. Antiq. Proceedings*, 2nd Series, vi, 51.

³ Dalton, *op. cit.*

⁴ *Soc. Antiq. Proceedings*, 1st Series, iv, 187.

⁵ *Reliquary*, New Series, vii, 197.

⁶ E. Male, *L'Art religieux du XII^e Siècle en France*, 155, 157, Fig. 122, 123.

⁷ *Arch. Journ.* vol. xiv, p. 367. My attention was called to these slabs by Mr. J. Holland Walker, F.S.A., and I am also indebted to the Archdeacon of Southwell and Mr. W. A. James for their help.

the Thau, in the spelling of the Vulgate, is clearly a reference to Ezekiel ix. 4 and 6, and it also suggests to me an allusion to the name of *Talbot*, which would not be uncommon in a generation which took pleasure in devising rebuses. Another tombstone in the north porch at Southwell has a remarkable inscription in verse in which the letter Tau occurs three times; it may signify that the man died in the hope of the resurrection, or possibly he belonged to a family which had the Tau in the coat of arms. A large slab in the chancel of the parish church of St. Mary, Bury St. Edmunds, has on a shield a Tau cross and the words,

O bone jhū esto m' jhūs; the three shields at the other corners are missing, and therefore in this instance also the Tau may refer to the hope of the resurrection, or it may be heraldic.

SOME OTHER CONFRATERNITIES OF THE ORDER OF ST. ANTOINE

Similar confraternities were attached to the commanderies of the Order in other lands. In 1468 a distinguished doctor of Nuremberg, Hartmann Schedel, was admitted to the confraternity of the commandery at Maestricht in the diocese of Liège and was entitled to wear the insignia, the Tau badge and a bell hanging from a collar. He made a vow to be faithful to the Order of St. Antoine and specially to protect the brethren and sick poor of Maestricht, and to pay an annual subscription to that house.¹ After his death the jewel which he wore in token of membership would be returned to Maestricht and he would be remembered in the prayers for benefactors.

The first notable record of the confraternity granted to a benefactor of the mother house of St. Antoine de Viennois is dated 1423. Jacques II de Bourbon, Count of la Marche and Castres and baron of Lusignan, gave a statue of St. Anthony of pure gold, and the Abbot and convent granted to him and his successors a tau or potence and a gold bell weighing an ounce to wear on the breast on the vigil and feast of St. Antoine.²

¹ Karl Sudhoff, 'Eine Antoniter-Urkunde aus Memmingen Von Jahre 1503 and ein therapeutischer Traktat über das Sankt Anthonius-Feuer,' *Archiv. für Geschichte der Medizin* vi, 276, 277 (1913).

² H. Dijon, *L'Eglise Abbatiale de St. Antoine en Dauphine*, 139, 140.

A confraternity of greater archaeological and artistic interest was attached to St. Antoine de Barbefosse in the wood of Havré near the town of Mons in Hainault.¹ In 1382 Albert of Bavaria (obit 1404) Count of Hainault founded an Order of Knights of St. Anthony of which he was Grand Master, and in 1385 the Knights of St. Anthony went to Prussia to help the Knights of the Teutonic Order; the campaign was a failure and from that date the Order was military only in name. The knights were admitted and received the collar of the Order at assemblies in the chapel of St. Antoine de Barbefosse. Among the foreign knights of the Order were two Englishmen, Sir Bernard Brocas and Sir Roger de Boys. Sir Bernard Brocas died in 1400, and was buried in Westminster Abbey in the chapel of St. Edmund.² The inscription on his tomb in black letter type is 'Hic jacet Bernardus Brocas miles TT, quondam camerarius Anne regine Anglie.' The letters following miles are two Taus or St. Anthony crosses; no explanation has hitherto been found, and I venture to suggest that Sir Bernard Brocas, who had fought in the French wars, was a knight of the Order of St. Antoine de Barbefosse près Mons.

Sir Roger de Boys also probably fought in the French wars; he died in the last decade of the fourteenth century and was buried in the collegiate church of the Trinitarian canons of Ingham in Norfolk, of which he was a benefactor.³ The tomb may have been prepared on his instructions before he died. The effigies (Pl. iv)⁴ are of great interest because both Sir Roger and his wife Margaret are represented wearing mantles; the circular badge on the right shoulder of the mantle contains a Tau cross and above it the letters AN MON. The letters have proved a puzzle to antiquaries who have thought that they should read ANTHONY. They have recently been verified for me by Mr. Ralph Griffin, F.S.A., and I venture to suggest that they are a contraction for St. Antoine près Mons. The M on the girdle may represent Mary, for the Order is

¹ 'La Chevalerie et le prieure de St. Antoine en Barbefosse,' *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique*, xxi, 2^e série i, 562-6 (1865).

² *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Westminster Abbey*, 43.

³ *Victoria County Histories, Norfolk*, vol. ii, 410.

⁴ C. A. Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, p. 93 (ed. 1876).

described in 1420 as 'de Dieu, Nostre Dame et monseigneur Saint Anthoine.'¹

So far as I can discover there is no effigy or brass in the Low Countries or in France illustrating the dress of a Knight or Lady of the Order of St. Antoine de Barbefosse. The effigy has another interest. In the collection of armour which was until recently at Parham in Sussex, there was a helmet with a Tau cross on it which was described as that of a knight of St. Anthony.² I am indebted to Mr. J. G. Mann, F.S.A., for the statement that this helmet was one of the forgeries which were sold to



FIG. 2. BADGE ON THE SHOULDER OF THE MANTLE



FIG. 3. ONE COMPARTMENT OF THE GIRDLE

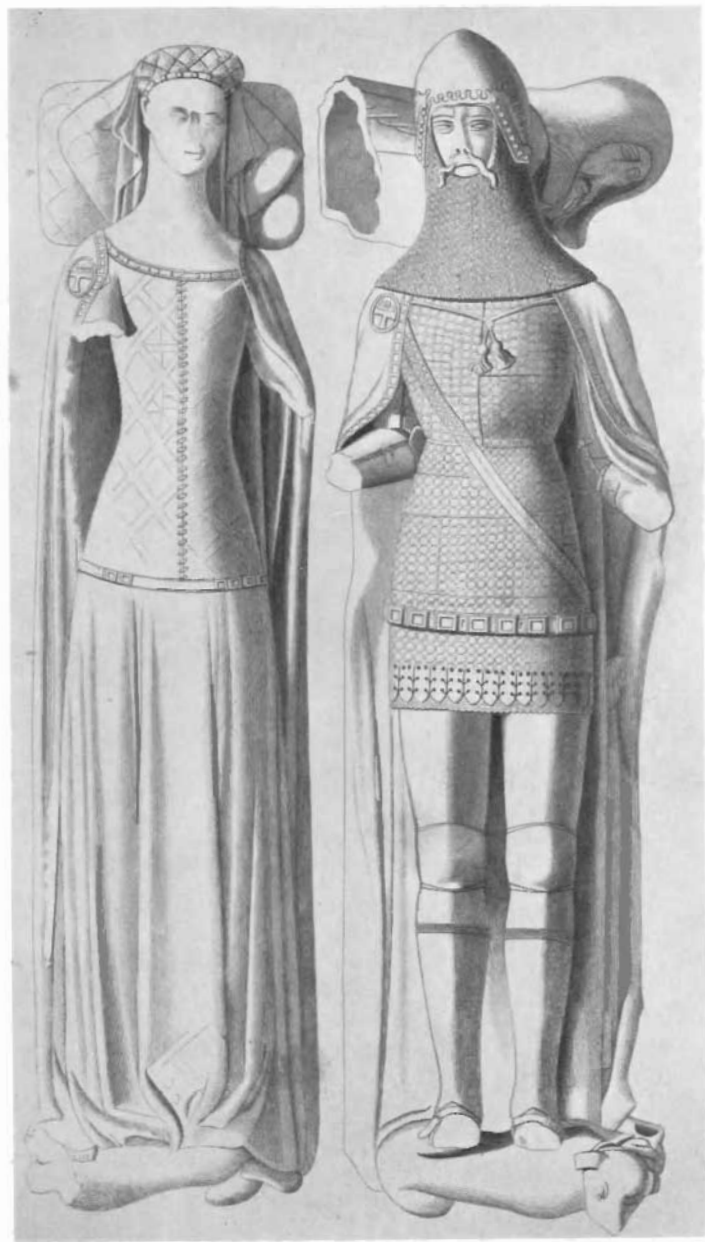
Lord Zouche; it is very probable that the forger conceived it from the plate of the tomb of Sir Roger de Boys in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*.

In 1415 the chapel of St. Antoine de Barbefosse became a dependency of St. Antoine de Viennois and a priory served by the canons of St. Antoine and a hospital were built.³ Five years later, at the assembly of the Order of Knights of St. Antoine at Barbefosse on 11th June, 1420, certain modifications were made in the charter and ordinances of the 'confrères de l'ordene Dieu, Nostre Dame et monseigneur Saint Anthoine de Barbefosse.' It became a religious confraternity, the members paid

¹ MS. 707 Fonds Goethals, f. 34, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

² *Arch. Journ.* xxiii, p. 205, Pl. xi.

³ *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique*, xxi, 2^e série, i, 562-6.



THE TOMB OF SIR ROGER DE BOYS. INGHAM, NORFOLK



[Copyright, Bruckmann, Munich]

JACQUELINE OF BAVARIA, COUNTESS OF HAINAULT

annual subscriptions and wore as insignia a collar with a Tau cross and a bell hanging from it; the insignia of knights and their ladies were to be silver gilt, esquires and their wives were restricted to silver.¹ These modifications were made during the rule of Jacqueline, Countess of Hainault, Holland and Zealand, who married Humphrey Duke of Gloucester as her third husband in 1422. Both Jacqueline (Pl. v) and her fourth husband, Frank van Borsselen, wear the insignia of St. Antoine de Barbefosse in their portraits in the Rijks-Museum at Amsterdam, which were painted shortly after 1433. A precisely similar collar and badge is shown in the portrait of a man by John Van Eyck in the Berlin National Gallery, which is usually known as the man with the pink, and was painted about 1436; he was only an esquire for his insignia are of silver.² The confraternity was attracting much attention. In 1426 Hubert Van Eyck painted an altarpiece for a new altar of St. Anthony in St. Saviour's church at Ghent³; the dexter shutter is now in the Royal Gallery at Copenhagen, and represents the donor Robert Poortier, a burgher of Ghent, protected by St. Anthony who has a Tau cross and bell attached to the right shoulder of his habit. About 1500 the Master of Delft painted the portraits of an old man and his wife which were exhibited in 1929 at the Burlington Fine Arts Club; the wife is wearing a collar Tau cross and bell, and is described on the back of the panel as Maria Van Sneltenberg, obit 1540.

ST. ANTHONY'S SCHOOL

John Carpenter had been Provost of Oriel for seven years before he became Master of St. Anthony's, and had a real interest in school and university education. The endowments and estates of the Alien Priories which had been vested in the Crown since 1414 were formally conveyed to a commission in 1440,⁴ and were thus made available for the endowments of schools and colleges. Eton was founded by Henry VI in 1441, and in the same year the king gave the manor of Ponington in Dorsetshire and other lands, which had belonged to the alien

¹ MS. 707 Fonds Goethals, ff. 34-37.

² W. H. J. Weale, *Hubert and John Van Eyck*, pp. 122-4 and plate.

³ *Ibid.* p. 108 and plate.

⁴ Rymer, *Foedera*, x, 802, 803 (ed. 1710).

priory of Ogbourne, in trust to the Master and brethren of St. Anthony's to provide exhibitions for five scholars from Eton to study in the faculty of arts in the university of Oxford, tenpence a week each until they took their B.A. degrees.¹ In 1461 Edward IV transferred this endowment to the collegiate church of St. George at Windsor, to the detriment of Eton.²

Master John Carpenter also decided to found a good grammar school at St. Anthony's, and his first step was to secure the salary of the Master. With the sanction of the Crown and of the Papacy he approached the Bishop of London and in 1441 Bishop Gilbert appropriated the parish church of St. Benet Fink to the Master and brethren of St. Anthony's; they had demonstrated to him that they intended to apply the revenues of £10 13s. 4d. a year to the salary of 'a master or suitable teacher in the faculty of grammar either within the precinct of the hospital or a house close by,' and to maintain the school at their own expense in perpetuity; the master would teach all boys and all others wishing to learn and to become scholars without any charge.³ The Master and brethren were bound to find a chaplain to serve the parish church, and to keep the chancel in repair.

The new grammar school was a notable benefaction to the city of London, and in 1449 William Wyse, a barber, made a will which was proved in 1454 bequeathing his brewery called Le Coupe super le Hoope, in the parish of All Hallows, London Wall, to support a clerk to instruct the children of St. Anthony's in plain song and in singing with the organ.⁴ The salary of the song school master was thus also secured by an endowment. William Wyse added a proviso that the brethren of St. Anthony's should offer special prayers at every mass on Saturdays for Bishop John Carpenter, and say special collects for the welfare of the master and wardens and the brethren and sisters of the Grocers' Company. St. Anthony was the patron saint of the Grocers' Company and they held their gild services in the parish church of St. Anthony, Budge Row.⁵

¹ Rot. Pat. 20 H, vi, pt. 1, m. 5.

² Dugdale, *Monasticon*, viii, 1359.

³ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1436-41, 238;
MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xv, 37, 9.

⁴ Hustings Roll, 183 (1), Guildhall of

London Archives, cf. *Cal. of Wills*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, ii, 1454.

⁵ J. A. Kingdon, *Records of the Grocers' Company*, xviii.

The first song school master was John Benet, who was appointed in 1443 to instruct the six boys who were always in attendance at the services at St. Anthony's, he was bound to be present on all principal double feasts and Sundays with them and other boys chosen by him to chant and sing psalms at matins, mass and vespers, and at the special mass of Our Lady on Saturdays.¹ His salary was £5 6s. 8d. a year and at Christmas he received four yards of new woollen cloth of the suit of the master's squires for his gown; if he was absent without leave there was a fine of fourpence a day; if he was hindered by sickness or old age from fulfilling his duties, he was to receive his salary and the Christmas gift of cloth for the rest of his life. The interest in the musical services of St. Anthony's led the guild of the King's Minstrels of London to hold their services at St. Anthony's as well as in the chapel of St. Mary in St. Paul's cathedral church, and they received a charter from Edward IV in 1469.²

Master John Carpenter was promoted to the see of Worcester in 1444. In remembrance of his association with Oriel College and St. Anthony's, on 6th August, 1451 he gave to the Provost and scholars of Oriel the manors of East Hall, Valence, Gallants and Fristlings and certain tenements for the support of scholars at the university.³ On 14th November, 1451, the property was demised by Oriel College to the master and brethren of St. Anthony's Hospital,⁴ and on 20th November William Say, the Master of St. Anthony's, granted an annual rental of £20 to the Provost and scholars of Oriel for the exhibition and sustenance of certain scholars studying there.⁵

In 1444 Henry VI appointed Walter Lyhart, Provost of Oriel,⁶ to succeed Master John Carpenter at St. Anthony's. The two copes of red velvet powdered with 'hertes'⁷ were probably associated with his short rule at St. Anthony's; his rebus, a hart lying in water, marks his work in the cathedral church of Norwich. When he was

¹ D. and C. Windsor MSS, xi, F. 32.

² E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, vol. ii, p. 260, Appendix F.

³ C. L. Shadwell, *Catalogue of the Muniments of Oriel College*, fascicule viii, no. 119 (privately printed). I am indebted

to Mr. G. N. Clark for the references to the deeds.

⁴ *Ibid.* no. 120.

⁵ *Ibid.* no. 122: MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xv, 37, 10.

⁶ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1441-6, 266.

⁷ P. 397, Appendix i.

promoted to be bishop of Norwich, in 1446, Henry VI appointed William Say, doctor of theology, as Master of St. Anthony's.¹

A group of distinguished scholars now took in hand the interests of St. Anthony and of education. On 28th January, 1447, *in response to a petition from Henry VI*, Pope Eugenius IV granted a faculty to the two late Masters of St. Anthony's, i.e. the Bishops of Worcester and Norwich, the Master, William Say, William Waynfleet, then Provost of Eton, and six other ecclesiastical persons of the King's choice to make and put forth statutes and ordinances for St. Anthony's, of which the King was said to be patron.² The Commission began its work at once, and as a first step they determined to get a formal release from all subjection to the mother house of St. Antoine de Viennois, and also to secure the succession of distinguished Masters. Only ten weeks after Eugenius IV sanctioned the Commission, his successor, Nicholas V, exempted St. Anthony's from any subjection to St. Antoine de Viennois, and also from the jurisdiction of all archbishops and bishops; he took the Hospital under his special protection and it became directly subject to the papal see.³ The Pope also decreed that whenever there was a vacancy in the Mastership, the three conservators of the privileges of the Hospital, who were the Abbots of Westminster and St. Mary's York, and the papal collector in London should nominate a fit person, loyal to the Pope and the King, holding the degree of Master or Doctor; after his admission the Master could admit others as brethren of St. Anthony's.

Although Henry VI formally renounced the right of presentation to St. Anthony's in 1449, the renunciation took no effect; seven years afterwards he gave the right of presentation at the next vacancy to Walter Lyhart, Bishop of Norwich, who was himself a member of the Commission.⁴ Edward IV gave away the right of next presentation twice during the life of Master William Say.⁵

¹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ix, 572, 574. He is to be distinguished from William Say, elected dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1457, who died in 1468.

Letters, ix, 563; cf. *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1446-52, 279.

² Reg. Denton, i, f. 5; cf. *Cal. of Papal Letters*, xi, 13, 14.

³ *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1452-61, 183.

⁴ Reg. Denton, i, f. 5; *Cal. of Papal*

⁵ *Ibid.* 1461-7, 187; 1467-77, 115.

ST. ANTOINE DE VIENNOIS

The Abbot of St. Antoine de Viennois was not disposed to let the English preceptory slip irrecoverably out of his control without a struggle. Humbert de Brionne had failed to get possession of it when he was nominated as preceptor in 1409. He became abbot of St. Antoine in 1438, and nominated Michael de Plessy to no purpose. In 1455, however, he prevailed on Pope Calixtus III to cancel the bull by which his predecessor Nicholas V had exempted the English commandery from the jurisdiction of the mother house of St. Antoine.¹ It was alleged that Nicholas V had been circumvented, and the dean of Lyons was instructed to compel the preceptors of England to come to the general chapter at St. Antoine every year, and pay the pension due to that monastery for the support of its burdens and the maintenance of the poor and sick. It is improbable that any pension had been paid since about 1367, but Abbot Humbert de Brionne saw an opportunity of recovering a large sum of money for the building work at St. Antoine. The work then in progress was the building of the last three bays of the nave and the side chapels and the west front.² The arms of Humbert de Brionne occur on the vaulting of the nave, and an incised stone slab which commemorates his place of burial is in the chapel of the four Latin doctors of the Catholic Church; he is represented vested for mass on a pedestal and under a high canopy and there is a long inscription in his praise. The west front of St. Antoine closely resembles the west front of the cathedral at Vienne which was begun about 1395 and not completely finished until the end of the fifteenth century.³ A terrace was built on the hill sloping down to the Rhône to support the west front of the cathedral of Vienne, and the great wall of St. Antoine was built to make a similar terrace. The design of the west front of St. Antoine with its three porches and high gables is like Vienne, though on a smaller scale. The sculptors of the figures on the west front of Vienne were of the Burgundian

¹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, xi, 13, 14.

² H. Dijon, *L'Eglise Abbatiale de St. Antoine*, 62, 63, 67-89. For the tombstone of Humbert de Brionne, cf. *Ibid.* plate facing p. 67.

³ L. Begule, *La cathedrale de St. Maurice de Vienne*, 50-56; Dijon, *op. cit.* 63, 241-251.

school, which had been founded at Dijon by Claus Sluter towards the end of the fourteenth century. The beautiful sculptures on the central porch of St. Antoine are associated with the well known name of Antoine le Moiturier who was working there for several years between 1452 and 1464.¹ In 1464 he was recalled to Dijon to complete the magnificent tomb of Jean San Peur, Duke of Burgundy, in the church of the Chartreuse de Champmol just outside the town, and now in the Musée. It is probable that Antoine le Moiturier made a contract with the Abbot and canons of St. Antoine for the sculpture of the west front; the principal statues which have disappeared were his own work, the personages of the Old Testament may be his, and the angels were executed by sculptors working under him. At the top of the central voussoir of the porch is Our Lord in majesty, wearing a mantle of ample folds, blessing with his right hand and with the orb in His left. On each side of Him in the central voussoir and in the one above it are the lovely figures of sixty-two angels in pairs, all standing with their wings half unfolded. In the lowest voussoir are twelve larger figures representing personages of the Old Testament, but only Moses with the horns on his head can be identified. These statues were within easy reach of the Huguenot iconoclasts who destroyed about fifty and among them the statue of St. Antoine on the pillar in the doorway.

The attempt of Abbot Humbert de Brionne to regain control over the English preceptory was a failure. It was an offence against the Statute of Praemunire to bring such papal bulls into the kingdom as were against the king and the realm, and the bull of Calixtus III was ignored at St. Anthony's, which prospered under the long rule of William Say whom Edward IV confirmed in the office of Master for life² soon after his accession in 1461.

THE UNION OF ST. ANTHONY'S TO WINDSOR

The fortunes of St. Anthony's became entangled with those of Henry VI's foundation of Eton College; Edward IV deprived Eton of a great part of its endow-

¹ *Académie des Inscriptions, Fondation Piot, Monuments et Mémoires*, vol. iii, 247-259, plate xxvi.

² *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1461-7, 11.

ments and annexed it to the collegiate church of St. George at Windsor in 1463, but he was induced to restore Eton to independence in 1467.¹ It was probably to compensate the dean and canons of Windsor that another scheme of endowment was devised. In 1468 Edward IV granted the next presentation to St. Anthony's to the Queen, Elizabeth Woodville.² In 1470 during Henry VI's short recovery of the kingdom and Edward IV's escape to Flanders, Peter Courtenay was appointed Master of St. Anthony's for life.³ In 1475 Edward IV granted the advowson, custody, obventions and possessions of the house or hospital of St. Anthony to the dean and canons of St. George's, Windsor, at the next voidance; the voidance was created in the following year, when Peter Courtenay became dean of Windsor.⁴ The union and incorporation of St. Anthony's with the collegiate church of Windsor was sanctioned by Pope Innocent VIII in 1485 in a bull issued in answer to a petition from the dean and chapter in which the history of St. Anthony's from its foundation by Henry III and its relations with St. Antoine de Viennois were recited.⁵ The dean and canons secured St. Anthony's, the appropriated churches of All Saints and St. Martin's, Hereford, St. Benet Fink in London and St. Anthony's Hospital at York besides other smaller endowments. New statutes were made by which the Hospital was served by a Master and two chaplains, all secular priests, and provision was made for the school children and the poor. The pope confirmed all previous privileges and indulgences, and permitted the dean and canons to send out collectors wearing the habit of the canons and brethren of St. Antoine with the badge of the potence or tau which they bore in honour of St. Anthony.

An interesting inventory of the vestments, hangings and plate of St. Anthony's was drawn up in 1499⁶ just before the building of the new church largely at the expense of Sir John Tate. The church, which had been newly built in 1310, had four altars, the high altar dedicated in honour of St. Anthony, a side altar probably in honour of

¹ *V.C.H. Bucks.*, ii, 168.

² *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1467-77, 115.

³ *Ibid.* 228.

⁴ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, viii, 1359; *Cal. of Letters Patent*, 1467-77, 228.

⁵ *Reg. Denton*, i, ff. 6-9^v.

⁶ P. 396, Appendix i.

St. John the Baptist, and two altars in the body of the nave which was divided from the choir by a roodscreen, one of these apparently being the morrow mass altar, at which the earliest mass of the day was said and the other the altar of St. Katherine. Among the ornaments were a silver image of St. Anthony with a relic of St. Anthony in the breast, another relic of him enclosed in a beryl on a silver gilt foot, two virgins' heads garnished with silver, two silver gilt paxes, one with a representation of the birth of our Lady, the other with one of the three Kings. There were five chests and a great chest for the vestments, those in daily use of ordinary material, and others of a more gorgeous character. Two altar frontals of cloth of gold were the gift of 'my lord of Winchester,' probably Bishop Waynfleet, and the two copes of red velvet powdered with harts bore the well-known device of Master Walter Lyhart, and were probably his gift.

St. Anthony's was popular with the citizens of London, and the church which was newly built in 1310 was too small. Another papal indulgence was secured in 1500 on the ground that the site was too restricted.¹ 'Sir John Tate, sometime Alebrewer, then a mercer, caused his brewhouse called the Swan near adjoining, to be taken down for the enlarging of the church,' and as Stow relates, he also gave large sums of money.² The church was finished in 1501, and in the account books of the Master, Richard Surland (Michaelmas 1501-3), there are several items relating to the consecration of the new church³ (Pl. vi). My thanks are due to Mr. A. W. Clapham, F.S.A., for the plan which is based on the evidence of documents (cf. Appendix iii) and on the portions of the church walls of Kentish rag which were found underground in 1922 and recorded by Mr. Kipps; these are shown by hatching.

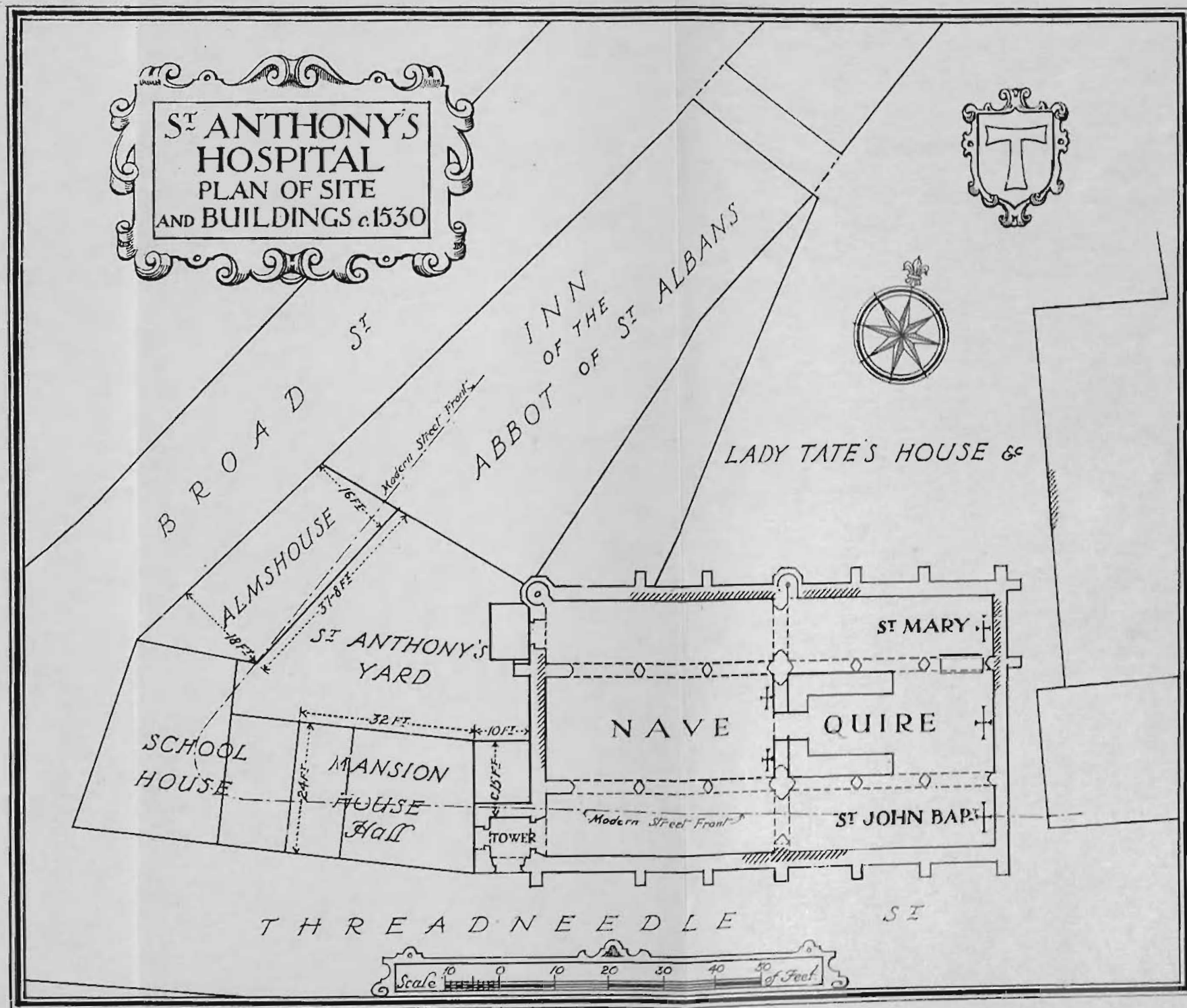
IN ECCLESIA

3 dosyn hokes grette and smalle to faste the wyre with to hange the clothys of	
Saint Antoni's lyffe and the tabulls in the churche	xvid.
A man 2 days et di. [a half] to bore the pyllers and wallys heyngyng and	
strachyng the same wyres	ijjs.
Item ij hogyschedds for holy water on the dedication day	xijd.

¹ MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xv, 37, 38.

² MSS. D and C. Windsor, xv, 37, 25.

³ J. Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, i, 184.



Making of xxiiij crosses	ij <i>s</i> .
Item for ij eles et di. of lynyn clothe for the bishoppes apurun and schlevys and making the same iiij <i>d</i>	ij <i>s</i> . id.
Item for ij eles and a half to close the church door.	
For the bishop of London's licens to halow the church	v <i>j</i> s. viij <i>d</i> .
A piece of blue buckram for a curtain to hang before St. Anthony and St. James	v <i>s</i> .

Sir John Tate died in 1514 and was buried 'under a fair monument by him prepared.'¹ He made his will on 3rd January 1513 and it was proved on 20th January, 1514²; he gave instructions that his body should be buried in the collegiate church of St. Anthony 'between the high quire and the north chapel there called Our Ladies chapel,' and that his wife who was his executrix should spend 40 marks more or less in providing 500 lbs. of wax for four great tapers 'to be set up and burn at the sepulchre of our Lord against the feast of Easter, and 'on garnishing of the aulter of our Ladies chapel with aulter clothes, vestments, chalices, two basins and two candlesticks of silver and other things.' In the inventory of 1499 there is no mention of special ornaments for a Lady chapel, which was in the north aisle of the new choir.

Sir John Tate's widow, Dame Magdalen Tate, left £10 for a new principal cope and the garnishing of the sepulchre in which she desired to be buried next to her husband.³ She built herself a new house, known as the Lady Tate's house (Pl. vi), and in the extra payments (1518-1522) Master Doctor Chaumbre noted a sum of £1 15*s*. od. for the brick walls belonging to the hospital 'concerning the vis' and boundys' between the Abbot of St. Albans and the new house 'that my Lady Tate beldyd,'⁴ and in 1522 another payment of 10*s*. for the door in the procession way in the brick wall between the new house and the hospital for the timber and workmanship.⁵ Lady Tate did not leave her new house to the Hospital in her will, but it was acquired afterwards.

St. Anthony's House in which the Master lived with two chaplains and the six boys of the song school was on the west of the church. In 1501 a mason was paid £3 for

¹ Stow, *op. cit.* i, 184.

² Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 4 Holder, Somerset House.

³ *Ibid.* 35 Holder.

⁴ MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 37. 37.

⁵ *Ibid.* and xv, 37, 33.

making a new window in the Master's lodging, and it was glazed 'with pictures and arms' for 6s. 8d.¹ The hall was panelled between 1518 and 1522, when £6 12s. 9d. was paid 'for the celyng of the haule with wanycot and for ij great portalls, a cupborde and evey borde with garnetts, hooks, bolts, hyngys, nalys and other necessarys for the same, as it theyr apperyth over and above hys allowance.'² The twelve poor men who had a Tau cross on their cloaks³ took their meals in the hall with the rest of the household, and the details of the expenditure on food and other necessities is an interesting record. Wages were paid to the cook and undercook, butler, barber and launder.⁴

On 6th February, 1533, Walter Champion, alderman, and draper of the city, died, leaving instructions to his executors to bury him in the choir of St. Anthony's 'in the place where the prist beside the high awlter saith *Confiteor* in the beginning of his mass'; for his burial there he left £6 13s. 4d. and a sum of money sufficient for 25s. to be divided annually among the twelve bedesmen and their successors for twenty years.⁵

The confraternity founded or revived by Master John Carpenter was most successful in raising revenues for the hospital. Like the Hospital of St. Mary Rouncevall, near Charing Cross, and Thelesford Hospital in Warwickshire,⁶ the Master and brethren of St. Anthony's leased out their right to collect alms in different dioceses to proctors, and several documents issued to collectors by Master Peter Courtenay have survived. In 1476 all property, alms, legacies, pigs and other animals, were leased to the collector in the diocese of Worcester for seven years on condition that he paid the hospital £28 13s. 4d. a year.⁷ One roll of the receipts of the hospital, undated, but about the end of the fifteenth century, shows that collectors were working in every diocese in England, and the total net receipts of St. Anthony's were £549 13s. 4d.,⁸ a sum which represented over £6,000 a year at the value of money in 1914.

¹ MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xv, 37, 25.

² MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 37, 37.

³ *Ibid.* xv, 37, 81.

⁴ *Ibid.* xv, 37, 8.

⁵ Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 10 Hogben.

⁶ H. F. Westlake, *Parish Guilds of Medieval England*, 77-9, 96-100.

⁷ MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xv, 37, 12.

⁸ *Ibid.* xv, 37, 4.

These methods are a striking testimony to medieval organisation, and they were continued until the eve of the Reformation; in 1537 Charles Wingfield wrote to Thomas Cromwell to report that at Kimbolton 'on Palm Sunday last, Harry Cleipulle brought letters under the King's broad seal to gather for the relief and sustentation of the house of St. Anthony in London.¹ After declaration of the same to the people he opened to them a cross and certain hallowed bells; they thinking the King content therewith, on hands and knees offered to the said cross and bought of his bells to preserve their cattle. This makes the people scorn the sermons of the vicar, so I have detained him here, and I send his letters, cross and bells by bearer, awaiting further instructions.'

ST. ANTHONY IN ENGLISH ART

It is probable that we owe the representations of St. Anthony in English art of the fifteenth and sixteenth century to the confraternity of St. Anthony's and its organisation of collectors. He is represented in fifteenth or early sixteenth century glass in a number of churches, e.g. at St. Martin cum Gregory at York, in which he has on his cloak a Tau cross with a bell hanging from it²; at Norbury, in Derbyshire, in a window which commemorates Nicolas Fitz Herbert and his family circa 1450; at Langport in Somerset, in a window given by John Heron Portreeve of Langport in 1490.³ Prebendary Clark-Maxwell has discovered St. Anthony in the easternmost of the south clerestory windows at Alveley, Shropshire. Mr. Rushforth has noted in the bottom of the easternmost window of the south clerestory of the nave at Malvern Priory a throne and coming out from the side or back a pig with a bell round his neck. Three figures of ecclesiastics seated on similar thrones represent Bishop Alcock of Worcester, and probably the ruling abbot of Gloucester and prior of Llanthony. It is likely that another ecclesiastic was seated on the throne with the pig at his side, and that he was intended for

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xii (1), 934.

² F. Harrison, *The Painted Glass of York*, 243.

³ P. Nelson, *Ancient Painted Glass in England*, 73, 183.

John Carpenter, late Master of St. Anthony's, who revived the confraternity, and as bishop of Worcester consecrated the choir of the priory church in 1460. At Strensham, in Worcestershire, St. Anthony is painted on a panel of the rood loft gallery¹; he occurs in the glass of another church in Carpenter's diocese, Wolverton in Warwickshire.²

The cult of St. Anthony is most conspicuous in the diocese of Exeter owing to the influence of Bishop Peter Courtenay (1478-87), who had been Master of St. Anthony's and dean of Windsor. He had a fine mantelpiece built in his dining-room in the palace at Exeter (Pl. vii) and the Tau cross with the bell hanging from it is repeated within the perpendicular moulding of the shield with the arms of the see of Exeter impaling Courtenay.³ The Tau is repeated five times in the horizontal moulding below the shields and occurs also elsewhere. The Tau cross and bell appear on the screen of Kenton church, which is said to be a gift from Bishop Courtenay. St. Anthony is among the figures of saints painted on the rood screens of Plymtree and Ashton, and the Tau cross is shown on his cloak; he is also painted on the screen of St. Mary Steps, Exeter.⁴ He is represented in the east window of Abbots Bickington in Devonshire, in the east window of the south aisle of St. Sampson in Cornwall.⁵ He occurs on the early sixteenth century English altar frontal at Cotehele House in Cornwall, also with a Tau cross on his right shoulder.⁶

Pope Clement VI in 1350 forbade any one to receive alms or bequests to St. Anthony on the pretext of altars or oratories set up in his name except the proctors of the abbot and convent of St. Antoine de Viennois, and the privileges of the mother house were extended to St. Anthony's in 1387.⁷ Although the monopoly was not

¹ F. Bligh Bond and Dom. B. Camm, *Rood Screens and Rood Lofts*, i, 120.

² Nelson, *op. cit.* 203. For other instances in mediæval glass, cf. *Ibid.* 271; M. and W. Drake, *Saints and their Emblems*, II; J. D. Le Couteur, *English Mediæval Painted Glass*, fig. 35.

³ For a full description of the arms, cf. R. Gibbs and M. Halliday, *The Courtenay Mantelpiece in the episcopal palace at Exeter* (1884), from which this plate is reproduced;

and *Ibid.* p. 13, for a shield of arms with three Tau crosses, now in the Master's House of St. Cross, Winchester, once probably in the newly built chamber of Bishop Peter Courtenay at Wolvesey Palace.

⁴ F. B. Bond and Camm, *op. cit.* ii, 257, 218.

⁵ Nelson, *op. cit.* 64, 74, cf. 79.

⁶ *Soc. Antiq. Proceedings*, 2nd Series, xxv, p. 42 and plate.

⁷ *ante*, p. 358.



THE COURTENAY MANTELPIECE IN THE BISHOP'S PALACE AT EXETER

strictly observed, it may be responsible for the rare dedications of churches and chapels to St. Anthony.¹ There was a chapel of St. Anthony at Stratford in Essex in 1376.² In a list of English medieval hospitals Miss Clay noted twenty-one which in the fifteenth or sixteenth century were 'partly or wholly' dedicated to St. Anthony³; but it is most improbable that the consent of the Master of St. Anthony's was sought or given. There was a hospital of St. Anthony within the precincts of the Cluniac priory of Lenton in Nottinghamshire, and in 1515 Roger Eyre of Holme in Derbyshire made a provision in his will that if he died at Lenton priory he should be buried in the tomb before the Rood, and every 'Tanten man' there dwelling should have fourpence to pray for his soul.⁴ A chantry in honour of St. Anthony was founded in 1470⁵ in the parish church of Wollaton, Nottinghamshire. In 1501 there was a chapel of St. Anthony in the parish church of St. Laurence in Thanet, and small sums of money were left for the light to burn before an image of St. Anthony in several churches in East Kent.⁶ The chapel at Cartmel Fell, Lancashire, is dedicated in honour of St. Anthony, and the saint is in a light in the east window.⁷ St. Anthony had an honourable place in Henry VII's chapel, and he is associated with St. George on one of the six beautiful gilt bronze plaques on the King's tomb.⁸ An image of St. Anthony in alabaster is now in the museum at Oscott College, near Birmingham.⁹ Seventeen scenes from his life were painted on the back of the stalls of the cathedral church of Carlisle during the rule of Prior Gondibour (circa 1476-85).¹⁰ The pig who is always shown at St. Anthony's feet or at his side, represents the remarkable privilege of

¹ F. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, ii, 72-75. The parish church of St. Antholin, i.e. St. Anthony, Budge Row, in the city of London, the parish church of St. Anthony in Meneage, Cornwall, and St. Anthony in Roseland, Cornwall (a cell of Plympton Priory), existed before the brethren of St. Antoine settled in London.

² R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills*, i, 220.

³ R. M. Clay, *Medieval Hospitals of England*, 257, 258.

⁴ J. T. Godfrey, *History of Lenton*, 233, 234, 246, 248, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, v, 65 (Surtees Society).

⁵ 'Chantry Certificates,' ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, *Tboreton Society*, xviii, 90.

⁶ *Testamenta Cantiana*, 'East Kent' ed. A. Hussey, 268, 269, 270.

⁷ Nelson, *op. cit.* 132.

⁸ *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Westminster Abbey*, 65 a, b, plates 124, 212.

⁹ *Arch. Journ.*, lxxxii, p. 34, Pl. v.

¹⁰ C. G. V. Harcourt, *Legends of St. Augustine, St. Anthony and St. Cutbert painted on the back of the stalls in Carlisle Cathedral*. I am indebted to Mr. Rushforth for this reference.

the Order of St. Antoine de Viennois.¹ It has no association with the Life of St. Anthony, and does not appear in the *Legenda Aurea* or *Golden Legend*, compiled about 1275 by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, and translated by William Caxton about 1484. Nevertheless, the writer of the inscriptions on the stalls at Carlisle added these words below the figure of St. Anthony :

‘There liveth he in wilderness xx years or more
Without any company but the wild boar.’

In London the Master of St. Anthony's would not brook interference with his collectors. Some time between 1518 and 1522 he spent £1 3s. 4d. to defend the privilege of St. Anthony's against the brotherhood or gild of St. Cornelius and St. Anthony in St. Margaret's, Westminster, ‘by the King's grant under his seal authorized and the Lord Cardinal's great seals and other cardinals.’² This was a remarkable pardon granted by Wolsey, Campeggio and another cardinal to the gild of St. Cornelius which was then very active in collecting money for the building of a ‘steeple’ at St. Margaret's³; and apparently the brethren attempted to associate St. Anthony with St. Cornelius. In a miscellaneous book belonging to this Master there is a copy of a case drawn up to be presented to the pope, in which complaint is made of the setting up of images and paintings of St. Anthony not only in parish churches and chapels but in collegiate churches and monasteries; there were boxes for offerings and candles, and confraternities of St. Anthony were founded, and all with episcopal sanction, and this was to the great detriment of St. Anthony's Hospital and to the dean and canons of Windsor who had obligations to discharge.⁴

THE DISSOLUTION OF ST. ANTHONY'S

St. Anthony's did not fall under the Acts of Henry VIII or Edward VI for dissolving colleges and hospitals, because it was united to the collegiate church of Windsor. In the return made to Henry VIII's commissioners in 1546 it

¹ ante, p. 353; cf. E. Male, *L'Art religieux du xiv^e siècle en France*, 341; *L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge*, 192.

² MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xv, 37, 37.

³ H. F. Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, 75; Westlake, *St. Margaret's, Westminster*, 12, 13.

⁴ MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xv, 37, 37.

was stated that the hospital of St. Anthony was founded to find one master, two priests, one schoolmaster and twelve poor men . . . perpetually to . . . pray for the souls of the founders; this being the change from the original foundation, when St. Anthony's was united to Windsor by Edward IV.¹ Lands and rents, including an inn at Portsmouth called The Anthony on the south side of High Street and a tenement in Parchment Lane, Winchester, were only valued at £55 6s. 3d. The outgoings were :—

	£	s.	d.
The King's tenths	1	12	0
Rents	1	7	5
Procurations and synodals		2	0
Bread, wine, wax and oil	4	2	0
The 'stipend' of two priests	16	0	0
The stipend of the steward	5	0	0
The stipend of the schoolmaster	16	0	0
The stipend and commons of 12 poor men	31	17	0
For the stipend of the clerk for Our Lady mass	9	0	0
The portion of the curate of St. Benet Fink	8	0	0
The sexton	2	0	0

No account was rendered of the income brought in by the collectors, and it was noted that 'so lacketh for the *proper* use of the house £10 11s. 11d.' which was borne by the dean and canons of Windsor. An inventory of ornaments, plate, jewels, goods and chattels was delivered to the commissioners, but it is not entered in this manuscript, and apparently it no longer exists.

In 1543 the dean and canons of Windsor granted a lease of the Master's lodging and the hall, described in later leases as the Mansion House, to the schoolmaster, Edmund Johnson, for 21 years,² and he acted as their steward until his death in 1563. In 1547, in accordance with the preamble of the Chantries Act of Edward VI, the dean and chapter of Windsor were released from the obligation of providing a master and chaplains to say mass for the souls of the founders. Stow relates that Edmund Johnson first dissolved the quire, conveyed the plate and

¹ MS. Harl. 544, f. 72 (Brit. Mus.). This hospital certificate was known to Stow, who quotes it, in error, but not unnaturally, as if these were the objects of the original

foundation in the reign of Henry III; cf. *Survey*, ed. Kingsford, i, 183.

² MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 31.

ornaments, then the bells, and lastly put out the almsmen from their houses, appointing them portions of twelve pence the week to each.¹ In another account it was said that the dean and canons 'compounded with some of the poor and put them out of their houses, and those that would not remained in a corner there until the end.'² 'Now I hear of no such matter performed,' added Stow, but the dean and canons of Windsor kept up this charity, and in the last surviving accounts before 1666 £36 12s. od. was paid to twelve poor men, to each £2 12s. od. a year.

On 16th October, 1550, the dean and canons granted a lease for 21 years of St. Anthony's Church, to the superintendent, ministers, elders and deacons of the French and Dutch church in London for sermons and administration of sacraments.³ On 24th July Edward VI had granted a charter to foreign Protestant refugees for the exercise of their religion and given them the church of the Austin Friars,⁴ after a few weeks the French found it inconvenient to share this church with the Dutch, and when the lease of St. Anthony's was secured for the French, the Dutch agreed to pay half the rent to the dean and chapter of Windsor. The French had only held their services in St. Anthony's for three years when they fled from England to escape from persecution in Mary's reign; on 17th September, 1553, three Danish ships sailed from Gravesend with refugees and among those in charge was an elder of the French church in London.⁵ In consequence, the dean and chapter of Windsor received no rent from St. Anthony's Church. On 3rd September, 1554, in answer to a petition from the dean and chapter, Philip, King of Spain, and Queen Mary granted them permission to revive the confraternity of St. Anthony, and send out collectors through the realm and in the Marches of Calais, on the ground that St. Anthony's was insufficiently endowed to maintain the infirm poor, the free grammar school in the hospital, the exhibition of certain scholars in the university of Oxford, the buildings of the Hospital and other charges without the relief of the pious. The

¹ Stow, *op. cit.*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, i, 185.

² MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xv, 37, 81.

³ J. S. Burn, *The History of the French*

Walloon, Dutch and other Foreign Protestant Refugees, 24, 25.

⁴ *Ibid.* 265-8.

⁵ *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, iv, p. xv.

Crown issued a mandate to prelates and other ecclesiastical persons to receive the proctors favourably in their churches, chapels and other places when they came to expound their business and privileges, and to permit them to collect and carry away alms without any diminution, and the Crown also sent an order to sheriffs, mayors and others to take the proctors of St. Anthony's under their protection.¹ The amounts in Edmund Johnson's account book as collected by the proctors were very small as compared with those in earlier years.² In the year 1557-8 Johnson entered a payment of £1 9s. 10d. for the glazing of the church over the north side and also for the repairing of the other windows in the church and the quire defaced by the Frenchmen. An image of St. Anthony carved in wood cost 6s. 8d., and a chaplain was hired at a stipend of £8 to celebrate divine service in St. Anthony's this year.³ The payments 'in pence' to the poor men, the salary of the grammar school master, and the payment to the scholars studying at Oriel appear in the accounts as the main charges on the revenues of the dean and chapter.

After the accession of Elizabeth some of the French Protestant refugees returned to London, and again secured the use of St. Anthony's church, for which in 1564 they were paying a rent of £5 a year.⁴ In 1581 the dean and canons of Windsor granted a fresh lease⁵ of St. Anthony's church 'now commonly called the French church for the the use of people thither to resort and there to hear divine service and for other uses now used.' The superintendent and elders were bound to execute 'all manner of reparations, except leading of the leads and the principal rafters of the said chapel.' The church was destroyed in 1666, in the Great Fire. On 21st April, 1667, the dean and canons granted to the elders and deacons of the French congregation the ground upon which their church lately stood with the condition that they would well and sufficiently rebuild the said church and repair it when rebuilt.⁶ It was rebuilt at a cost of £3,300 by the French congregation, and opened for service on 22nd August, 1669, and stood

¹ Patent Roll, 1 and 2, Philip and Mary, pt. 10 (890) m. 26. I am indebted to Mr. M. S. Giuseppi for this reference; cf. MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 1.

² MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xv, 37, 72.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ MSS. D. and C. St. Paul's, A. 2057.

⁵ MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 2.

⁶ *Ibid.* xvi, 2, 5.

until 1840, when it was bought by the City, and demolished when the road leading to the Royal Exchange was widened.¹ The Westminster Bank in Threadneedle Street now stands on the site of the church.

The entrance into St. Anthony's church, when the French Protestants obtained their lease in 1550 was through the tower at the west end. A bell tower was not needed for a Temple, and was only used as an entrance. Edmund Johnson conceived the idea of enlarging his residence, the Mansion House of St. Anthony's, and in 1552 he secured a lease² for fifty years of 'the Steeple,' 10 ft. square, and also of 'the rooms adjoining the steeple,' 10 ft. wide and 15 ft. long, with a stair and a little lead 4 ft. wide, these adjoining rooms probably being the tenement mentioned on the east of the Mansion House in Johnson's lease of 1543³ (Pl. vi). After his death the Mansion House, Steeple House and rooms adjoining were always let to one and the same tenant, in 1566 to a gentleman, Roger Day, of Eton.⁴ The tenant shared St. Anthony's Yard and the well and washhouse with the tenant of the Lady Tate's house which was let in 1548, if not earlier to Sir William Sydney.⁵ In 1576 the tenant of the Mansion House and Steeple was John Parkins, a mercer of London, and he was involved in a quarrel with Sir Edward Montagu of Broughton, the tenant of the Lady Tate House, who had also the warehouse used as a woodhouse under the grammar school and a room adjoining it, and shared the use of St. Anthony's yard. The controversy was settled in a tripartite indenture between the tenants and the dean and canons of Windsor; this reveals some curious details about the use of the leads over the north aisle of the nave and quire which were divided between the two tenants.⁶ John Parkins was pledged to build up the north wall of the north aisle in brick or stone to raise it a foot higher, so that no one on his leads could look into the windows of the Lady Tate's house, and also to build a paling 6 ft. high across the leads 24 ft. from the

¹ J. S. Burn, *History of the French, etc., Refugees*, 25, 26, with an illustration on p. 24 of the church as rebuilt after the Fire.

² MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 33.

³ *Ibid.* xvi, 2, 31.

⁴ *Ibid.* xvi, 2, 23.

⁵ In his will, dated 8th Dec. 1548, he desired, if he died in the city of London or

the suburbs, to be buried 'in the chapel of our Lady being in the north aisle of the collegiate church of St. Anthony where now I am a parishioner.' Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 14 Tasche. Harleian Charter, 75 G 15 (Brit. Mus.), MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 36.

⁶ Harl. Charter, 75 G 15.

west end of the north aisle 'so as none may conveniently go out of the said west part of the leads unto the other part,' and also to pay a third part of all charges for cleaning and repairing the well yard or the washing place. As the leads of the church were in the occupation of the tenants of the Lady Tate House and the Mansion House, it was reasonable and fair to relieve the French congregation of the responsibility of repairing the leads.¹ In 1622 they still entered their church from the street by the door under the tower which had become the great door of the Mansion House, and under their lease they had a right of 'free ingress and egress and regress at all times.' It was inconvenient to the tenant of the Mansion House, and when, in 1622, John Marsh, weaver of London, took a lease² from the dean and chapter, he had full authority to make 'a new, comely and decent door from out of the King's high street into the French church underneath a great window on the south side of it, next to the great door of the Mansion House,' and after the new door was finished to shut up the passage into the Mansion House.³ Like the previous tenant, John Parkins, he had the *sole* occupation of the middle lead over the nave and quire and over the south aisle. The Dean and chapter reserved the right for themselves and the tenant of the Lady Tate's House to build at the east end of the south aisle and to make any convenient lights towards that aisle.

The Mansion House and the Lady Tate House were burnt in the Great Fire. A tenement called the Angel and Crown was built on the site of the Mansion House and the Steeple,⁴ and other tenements on the site of the Lady Tate House.⁵

After the accession of Elizabeth the dean and canons of Windsor could no longer count even on the small amounts which the proctors collected in the reign of Philip and Mary. In 1562 they secured a church brief for collections in support of St. Anthony's, 'its ijc scolers and pur men

¹ *ante*, p. 387.

² MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 17.

³ Apparently it was not built, for in 1742 when both house and church had been re-built there was still a passage way, 17 ft. 1 in. by 8 ft. 1 in. under the house

into the French church. MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 23.

⁴ MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 12, and xvi, 2, 19; xvi, 2 and 23 with a sketch plan of the premises in 1742.

⁵ *Ibid.* xvi, 2, 39, with a sketch plan of the site in 1714.

who praye upon their knise tweys every day for the Quenes estate and the realme of Englande,' and 'the scolers found in Oryall College.'¹

Edmund Johnson, still schoolmaster in 1560, became a canon of Windsor in the same year. He died in 1563.² In the accounts of the collector of St. Anthony's rents for the year ending 21st September, 1564, the rent for the Mansion House and also the Steeple House was paid by Edmund Johnson's executors, the rent of St. Anthony's Church by the Intendant and Congregation of the French Church, and the rent of the Lady Tate's House by Sir Henry Sidney.³ The grammar schoolmaster had his salary of £16 and an extra £1 'causa collectionis.' Twelve almsmen received a shilling a week each.

ST. ANTHONY'S SCHOOL

St. Anthony's School had a great reputation in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁴ John Stow (1525-1605) remembered that the St. Anthony's scholars usually carried off the prizes for which they competed with scholars of St. Paul's, Westminster, St. Thomas of Acon and others, in the churchyard of St. Bartholomew's priory in Smithfield on St. Bartholomew's Eve (23rd August) 'where upon a banke boorded about under a tree, some one scholler hath stepped up, and there hath opposed and answered, till he were by some better scholar overcome and put down.'⁵ In the reign of Edward VI the disputations were renewed for a year or two in the cloister of the Grey Friars' Monastery which had been refounded as Christ's Hospital; the best scholars were still of St. Anthony's School, and were rewarded with bows and arrows of silver, which were given by Sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith, who was mayor in 1545-6. Stow noted in the roll of famous men who had been educated at St. Anthony's two Lord Chancellors, Sir Thomas More and Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York (1555-1561), and John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury (1583-1604). He recalled the scuffles when 'the schollers of Paules, meeting with them

¹ A. F. Leach, *Schools of Medieval England*, 263.

² Le Neve, *Fasti ecclesiae Anglicanae*, iii, 395.

³ MSS. D. and C. St. Paul's, A. 2057.

⁴ A. F. Leach, *Schools of Medieval England*, 260.

⁵ Stow, *op. cit.* i, 73-75.

of St. Anthonies, would call them Anthonie pigs, and they again would call the other pigeons of Paules, because many pigeons were bred in Paules Church, and St. Anthonie was always figured with a pigge following him: and mindfull of the former usage did for a long season disorderly in the open streete provoke one another with "Salve tu quoque, placet tibi mecum disputare, placet?" and so proceeding from this to questions on grammar, they usually fall from wordes, to blowes, with their satchels full of bookes, many times in great heaps that they troubled the streets and passengers; so that finally they were restrained with the decay of St. Anthonies schole.' John Strype (1643-1737) quoted a record that on 15th September, 1562, 'there set out from Mile End 200 children of this St. Anthonies School, all well be seen, and so along through Algate down Cornhill to the Stocks, and so to the Freer Austins, with streamers and flags and drums beating. And after every child went home to their Fathers and Friends.'¹ About 1590 the school was no longer free, a grievance which was paraded by Leake in a petition to Queen Elizabeth; he urged that St. Anthony's was 'a concealed hospital' and should have fallen to the Crown under the Act of Henry VIII, and he asked for better maintenance for the master, £30 a year or more.² Leake's petition cost the dean and canons of Windsor some trouble and expense, but it failed. When Stow published the first edition of his Survey in 1598 he wrote that St. Anthony's School is 'now decayed and come to nothing by taking that from it that thereunto belonged.'³ The schoolhouse, the room over it and the room next adjoining it, were reserved by the dean and canons in 1543 always for the use of the schoolmaster for the time being. In 1583 they granted a lease of the 'upper room, sollar or garratt' over the grammar school to Thomas Broune, then schoolmaster, for forty years for the low rent of 4s. a year.⁴ In a memorandum⁵ drawn up late in the reign of Elizabeth, the schoolmaster, Thomas Bradshaw, declared that the school is 'desert by alienations'; the old school door which was

¹ Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. Strype, Bk. ii, 120 (1720).

² MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xv, 37, 81.

³ Stow, *op. cit.* ed. C. L. Kingsford, i, 185.

⁴ MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xv, 37, 87.

⁵ *Ibid.*

fair and comely, was alienated to the tavern next door, the warehouse under the schoolhouse was alienated; apparently, this was the woodhouse let to the tenant of the Lady Tate House with the room adjoining used as a wash-house, and so the smoke which poured out of it on the east side was poisonous and the children could not endure it. He begged the dean and canons to maintain the school, to glaze the windows to protect the master and young children from cold and wind, from rain and snow which often fell on the scholars in the upper room. He gave other reasons for the decline in the number of scholars, the children were 'cockered by mothers and maid servants,' there was only one poorly paid usher¹ to help the master as compared with three at St. Paul's School, two at Merchant Tailors. No city company was interested in St. Anthony's, there were no exhibitions as at St. Paul's. He reminded the dean and chapter of Windsor that they gave forty marks a year to the students of the universities, and he suggested that they might 'bestow that allowance upon some scholars which live or shall proceed out of the school.' The question of removing the school to Windsor was under consideration, but it remained in Threadneedle Street until the buildings were destroyed in the Great Fire in 1666.² The dean and canons paid some attention to the schoolmaster's complaint. In the lease of the Lady Tate House in 1627, the warehouse called the woodhouse and the room adjoining were not included, and St. Anthony's Yard was divided into two. But the salary paid to the schoolmaster in 1628 was still only £16. Possibly the dean and canons attempted to divert the payments to the scholars of Oriel to St. Anthony's School; in 1617 they were engaged in a lawsuit with Oriel College and a claim was made by the Provost on the Essex manors which were charged with the payment. Judgment was given in the Court of Chancery in 1617³ and the payment to the scholars of Oriel occurs again in the accounts of 1628.⁴ In

¹ He had £6 13s. 4d. a year. *Ibid.* xvi, 2, 67.

² In 1628, the schoolmaster William Walker received his stipend of £16; he paid the dean and chapter £2 10s. 0d. for the rent of his house and £1 for the rent, 'unius camere vocate the song schoole

sub schola predicta.' MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xi, F, 30. He was still in their service at St. Anthony's in 1662. *Ibid.* xv, 37, 111.

³ MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xv, 37, 102.

⁴ *Ibid.* xi, F, 30.



[Archives Photographiques, Paris

THE SHRINE OF ST. ANTHONY. ST. ANTOINE DE VIENNOIS



I. ST. ANTHONY'S VISIT TO ST. PAUL



2. ST. ANTHONY AND THE ARCHER

later years, owing to the fall in the value of money, the payment became unimportant, and ceased to be made.

ST. ANTOINE DE VIENNOIS

The abbey church of St. Antoine de Viennois was damaged and pillaged on several occasions between 1562 and 1597 during the wars of religion. The Huguenots smashed many of the statues on the west front, and in 1572 they carried off the outer silver gilt shrine from the high altar.¹ The canons had concealed the inner shrine of cypress containing the relics of St. Anthony, and in 1648 a beautiful new outer shrine was given by a baron of Dauphiné, Jean de Vache of Châteauneuf de l'Alblenc (Pl. viii).² It is 3 ft. 11 in. long, 1 ft. 9 in. broad, 3 ft. 5 in. high. It is made of pearwood and is divided both back and front by pilasters into three panels with repoussé silver. On the back of the shrine on the left St. Anthony is distributing his goods to the poor, the middle scene is his death, and on the right the animals of the desert obey him. In front on the left and right are temptations of St. Anthony, and the middle scene is St. Anthony healing the sick.

Late in the eighteenth century a number of religious Orders in France were suppressed. A fine portrait by Guillaume Voiriot (1713-1799) of one of the last Canons of the Order of St. Antoine is in the Trimoulet collection in the Musée at Dijon.³ The Canons of St. Antoine were incorporated with the Knights of Malta in 1775, and canonesses affiliated to the Order of the Knights were sent to replace them at St. Antoine.⁴ The abbey church was pillaged, but escaped destruction during the revolution, and now serves as the parish church of St. Antoine; the shrine of St. Anthony is still carried in an open air procession on the Feast of the Ascension. St. Antoine is well worth a visit, and standing at the west end of the nave it is a pleasure to remember that our forefathers in England sent contributions to the building of the beautiful apse.

Two lovely Limoges enamels, now in the Medieval Room

¹ H. Dijon, *L'Eglise Abbatiale de St. Antoine en Dauphiné*, 153-184; H. Dijon, *Le Bourg et l'Abbaye de St. Antoine pendant les guerres de Religion et de la Ligue* (1562-1597), *passim*.

² H. Dijon, *L'Eglise Abbatiale*, 329-332.

³ *Les Richesses d'Art de la France, la Bourgogne, la Peinture*, Pl. 36.

⁴ Dijon, *op. cit.* 219-222.

of the British Museum, were among the treasures of St. Antoine. They were signed by Leonard Limousin and dated 1536.¹ Both have within a wreath the shield of arms of Abbot de Langeac, a nephew of the bishop of Limoges, *or, three pallets ermine.*

The subject of the first enamel (Pl. ix, No. 1) is the visit of St. Anthony to St. Paul the Hermit, when, according to the Golden Legend, St. Paul was a hundred and thirteen years old, St. Anthony ninety. 'Whiles they were thus talking a crow came flying and brought two loaves of bread; and when the crow was gone St. Paul said: Be thou glad and joyful for our Lord is debonair and merciful, He hath sent us bread for to eat. It is forty years past that every day He hath sent me half a loaf, but now at thy coming, He hath sent me two whole loaves.'² St. Anthony is in brownish black outlined in gold with the Tau on his right shoulder. St. Paul wears a blue mantle over brown. The subject of the second enamel (No. 2) is the story of St. Anthony and the Archer.³ 'A young man passed by St. Anthony and his bow in his hand, and beheld how St. Anthony played with his fellows, and was evil apaid.'⁴ Then St. Anthony said to him that he should bend his bow, and so he did, and shot two or three shots tofore him and anon, he unbent his bow. Then demanded him St. Anthony why he held not his bow bent. And he answered that it should then be over weak and feeble; then said to him St. Anthony: In likewise play the monks, for to be after more strong to serve God.'⁵ St. Anthony and the monks are in brownish black habits in contrast with the archer who wears a lovely irridiscent blue coat over brown hose. The youngest monk is playing a game of bowls with an older monk opposite to him; it is an ancient way of playing the game in which two small cones are placed upright at a distance from each other, the players bowl at them alternately, and the one who lays his bowl nearest to the mark is the winner.⁶ The archer has shot one arrow and has fitted the second to his bow.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. O. M. Dalton, F.S.A., for this information, and for his help in securing the photographs.

² *The Golden Legend*, ii, 207 (Dent, 1900).

³ *Ibid.* ii, 227, cf. Migne, *Patrologia*

Latina, lxxiii, col. 912, 'De Vitis Patrum,' liber v, libellus x.

⁴ Ill pleased, cf. Apaid, *N.E.D.*

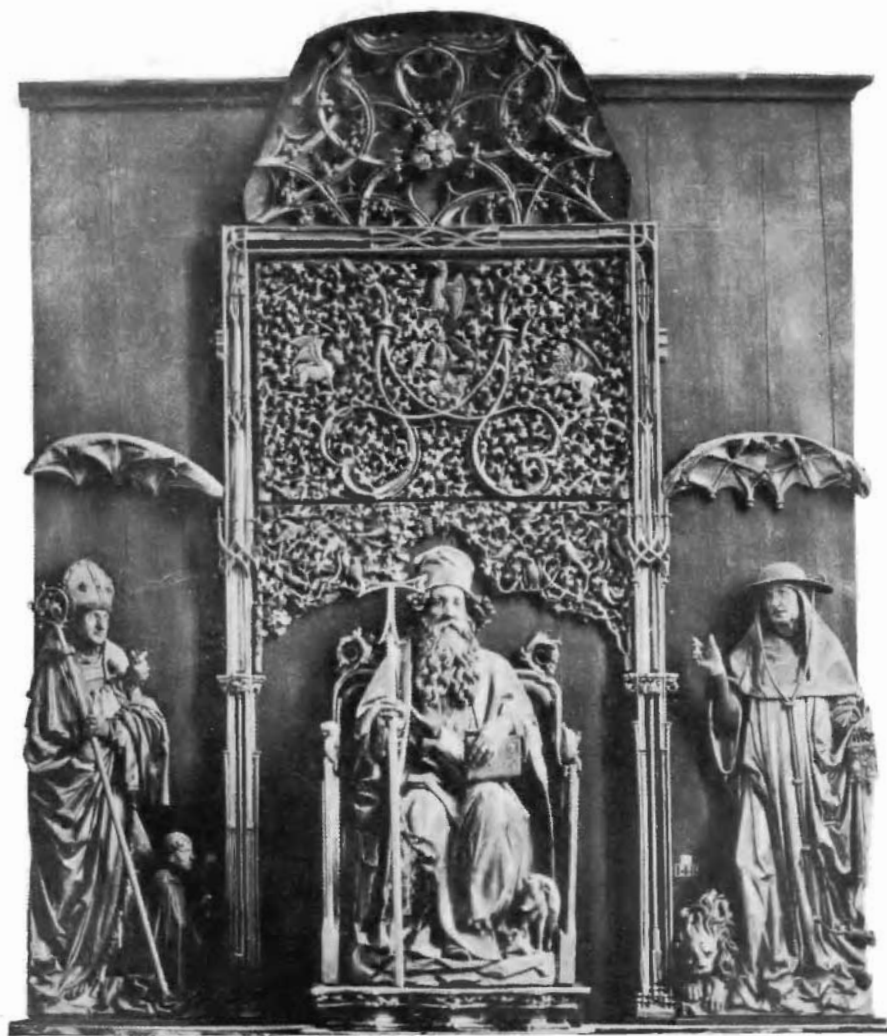
⁵ J. Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, ed. J. C. Cox, 216, Pl. xxx.



I. MARTIN SCHONGAUER. ST. ANTHONY
MUSÉE DE COLMAR



2. MATHIAS GRÜNEWALD. ST. ANTHONY
MUSÉE DE COLMAR



THE ALTARPIECE OF ST. ANTHONY, FROM ISSENHEIM
MUSEE DE COLMAR

Another Limoges enamel¹ also in the medieval room of the British Museum, cannot be definitely associated with St. Antoine de Viennois (Pl. xiv). St. Anthony is a man in middle age with brown hair and beard, he holds a book and a rosary, the Tau on the left shoulder of his grey-blue mantle is outlined in gold. On his right is the Crucifixion, the wood of the cross growing from the tree.

ART TREASURES FROM ISSENHEIM

The rich treasures amassed at St. Antoine de Viennois before the middle of the sixteenth century, have been destroyed and dispersed. The commandery of the Order at Issenheim (dep. Haut Rhin), in Alsace, was destroyed at the French Revolution, but some of its marvellous treasures were saved and are now among the great attractions of the Musée at Colmar. The French preceptor, Jean d'Orliac, was appointed to Issenheim in 1466, and he sent to Colmar for Martin Schongauer to paint the beautiful shutters which enclosed a statue of the Virgin on the altar dedicated in her honour. On one of them stands St. Anthony, with a kneeling figure of Jean d'Orliac and at his side his shield of arms, *or, a bear rampant, on the dexter side a Tau sable* (Pl. x, No. 1). On the other shutter is the Virgin in adoration of the Holy Child, and on it is the shield of arms of Orliac's successor, the Italian preceptor, Guido Guersi.² The great altarpiece of St. Anthony was begun under Jean d'Orliac, he is shown kneeling in front of St. Augustine, who stands on the right of the seated figure of St. Anthony, as an abbot, with St. Jerome on the left (Pl. xi). This magnificent piece of wood carving is the work of an unknown master, possibly Nicholas of Haguenau in Alsace. Preceptor Guido Guersi invited Matthias Grünewald to Issenheim to paint the remarkable series of shutters which enclose the wood carving, and he was working at Issenheim between 1493 and 1510. The paintings include the temptation of St. Anthony by a host of devils, St. Anthony's visit to St. Paul, and a standing

¹ Acquired by the Barwell Bequest, 1913, formerly in the Spitzer Collection.

pour le Musée d'Unterlinden à Colmar.
I am indebted to the Conservateur, Monsieur Waltz, for permission to reproduce these photographs.

² J. J. Waltz and C. Champion, *Guide*

figure of St. Anthony with a devil attempting to get through a window (Pl. x, No. 2). The Musée at Colmar also possesses a small wooden statue of St. Anthony from Issenheim (Pl. xiii), and copies of two small statues of donors, one holding a cock, the other a pig (Pl. xii). The original statues are in the Bohler Collection in Munich, and are thought to have formed a part of the great altar at Issenheim.¹ They illustrate the offerings to St. Anthony which were made not only to proctors of the commanderies of the Order, but in parish churches.²

APPENDIX I

Inventorium Bonorum et Jocalium Sancti Antonii
Anno Domini 1499. (MSS. Dean and Canons of
Windsor xv, 37, 23.)

Thys Inventorye made betwene mayster Surland, Mayster of Seynt Antonys and John Gorham wytnessyth that the said John hayth in kepyng ornamentys and juellys longyng to the sayd place of Seynt Antonys. In primis. A crosse of silver and gylt to ber apon a staffe with a foote acording to the same. Item a lityll dobyll crosse powderyd with stonys at the endys. Item ij virgynys hedys garnyst with sylver. Item ij bassyns of silver with the armys of Seynt Antonye in the bothom. Item a monstrans gylt with ij angelys of sylver. And in the tope aperyth the crosse of Seynt Antonye. Item ij cruettes of silver and part ys gylt. Item ij paxebedes of silver and gylt one with the byrthe of our lade. Another of the iij kyngs of Colen. Item ij candylstykyes of silver and gylt. Item ij sensurys of sylver with on shyppe, and on sponne of sylver. Item a chalys gylt and in the patent the Trynite with the scryptur in the foote Jhesus Crystus. Item a relyk of Seynt Antonye closed in Byrrall with a foote of sylver and gylt. Item a ymage of Seynt Antonye of silver with a relyk of Seynt Antonye in the brest. Item a lityll sponne of sylver and gylt. Item a touthe of Seynt Apolyne set in byrrall and sylver. Item ij whyte caseys with corporas therto. A nother of rede. And a nother of grene. Item ij corporas cases of clowthe of golde, oon rede and a nother blewe with oute corporas. Item a vestment of purpull with a orpheras of velvet powdered wyth rede and grene. Item a vestment of rede velvet the orpheras of grene powdered with gimmys and crownys. Item a sewte of vestments of rede velvet powdered wyth florye delycys. And the ymagry of gold in the orpheras. Item a sewte of vestments of whyte damaske with the apostyls in the orpheras. Item a seute of red Vestments of bawdekyn the orpheras of blew. Item a sewte of vestments of grene bawdekyn the orpheras of rede.

¹ *Guide cit.* p. 67, nos. 55, 56.

² e.g. E. H. Van Heurck, *Les Drapelets de*

Pelerinage en Belgique et dans les pays voisins, 109, 110.



DONORS WITH THEIR OFFERINGS. MUSÉE DE COLMAR



ST. ANTHONY
MUSÉE DE COLMAR

Item a seute of Vestments of rey-bawdekyn blew, the orpheras of rede. Item a cope of rede velvet pouderyd with flour delycys, the orpheras of the passyon of our Lorde. Item ij copys of rede velvet pouderyd with hertys. Item a cope of rede velvet powderyd with sterres. Item ij copys of whyte damuske with the orpheras of the Apostolys. Item iiij whyte coopys of damaske, the orpheras of rede bawkekyn. Item vj copys of grene, the orpheras of rede. Item ij coopys of rede, the orpheras of bawdekyn. Item iiij coopys of Bay, the orpheras rede bawdekyne. Item ij cloythys of red velvet powdered with flour delyces for the auter. Item ij cloythys of gold for the hye awter that my lord of Wynchester gaffe to Seynt Antonys. Item v olde bookys after the use of Vyence, ij of them ben portowse, and ij sawters and a masse booke. Item a lytyll sylvar chest with relykkys. Item a forset with oblygacions indenturys and patents. Item iiij smale boxis with evydence and other wrytyngs et cetera.

[In a different handwriting.]

Item these ben the bookys vestments and all other ornaments that lye in the churche and be dayly occupied. In primis iiij cowchers in the quer. Item ij lytyll portows, on for the chylidren, an other for the organnys. Item v gralys. Item a lytyll grayle for the organnys. Item xi processionarys. Item a colet booke with wenettes at the begynnyng and gralys at the last ende. Item a lytyll booke with ympnys and the cervyce of Seynt Antonye at the begynnyng. Item a booke of all the lyffe of Seynt Antonye. Item a manuell. Item ij pryksong bookys, on of pauper, a nother of parchmente. Item ij masse bookys and a legent. Item a sawter of Mayster Bracebryge gyft. Item a lytyll ympner tyed with a chene. Item a boke of brerys and longys. Item ij chalys with ij corperas. Item a crosse of Seynt Antonye of sylver opon a staffe. Item ij Standerdys of laton before the hye awter. Item v smalle candylstykyss of laton. Item a sensur of laton. Item a holy water stope of laton. Item a olde schyppe of laton. Item a pystyll booke and a gopell booke. Item a ordynall with the pye at the last end. Item ij lytyll pewter bassyns and ij pays of cruetts thereto. Item ij paxebeddys of tre. Item ij deskys for the auters. Item v chestys. Item a grett chest revestre. Item a olde cope of yalow sylke. Item a blake cope of worstede. Item a sewte of vestyments of black worsted. Item a sewte of vestyments of yalow worstede. Item iiij copys of the same. Item a sewte of whyte vestyments Imperyall. Item a sewte of vestyments of blew lyke a vyse. Item ij vestyments for lenton of whyte bustyan. Item a vestymnt of blew bawdekyn. Item a vestymnt of whyte damaske. Item a vestymnt of whyte bustyan. Item a vestymnt of blake worstede. Item a vestymnt of changeable purpull. Item a vestymnt of blewe sylke. Item v chyldrysse awbys. Item ij Stenyd clothys for the hye auter of grene, on for a bove with Mary and John, and a nother be neth with Seynt Antonye and Seynt Paule the hermyte. Item for the auter ij Stened cloythys of whyte with the Assumpcion of our lade. Item a clothe of grene bawdekyn. Item a clothe of blew bawdekyn. Item for the syde auter ij olde stenyd clothys of Seynt John Baptyst. Item lenton clothys stenyd for both auters and for all seyntyss. And a vayle accordyng to the same. Item ij banner clothys for the ij crossys. Item vj banner clothes for the rode lofte. Item whyte

stenyd clothys for for (sic) the ij auters in the body of the churche. Item grene stenyd clothys for the same auters. Item for the on auter ij clothys of red stened with the holy goost, above the auter. Item ij stenyd clothys to hange abowte the churche, on of the lyffe of Seynt Antonye. And a nother of the Invencion. Item viij clothys of dyoooper and xi of playn clothe. Item for the moromasse auter and the syde auter be vij clothys and v towylls. Item iij olde coverlydds. Item a lythyll crosse of coper and gylt. Item ij canapys for the sacrament. Item a sepulchre and a roode clothe stenyd. with a frenge apon it. Item a Judas to set candels apon. Item ij lytyll bassyns of pewter. And vj pendants stenyd for the paschall. Item a funte with a stenyd clothe thereto. Item a panne of yren for the chyldren to sett fyryn. Item ij laddars.

[In a different hand.]

Item a newe vestamente of whyte chamlett with a crosse of blewc chamlett in the backe.

A BRIEF GLOSSARY

[Explanations in inverted commas are taken either from the excellent Glossary in *English Liturgical Colours*, by Sir William St. John Hope and Dr. Cuthbert Atchley (S.P.C.K., 1918) or from *Inventories of Christchurch, Canterbury*, edited by J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A., and W. H. St. John Hope (1902). Explanations of the Service books are taken mainly from *Services and Service-Books before the Reformation*, by Dr. H. B. Swete.]

Apolyne, St. Apollonia, virgin martyr, died about 249. Her emblem is a pair of forceps and a tooth, and persons afflicted with toothache prayed to her for relief.

Apostyls, Apostles.

Armys of St. Anthony, Or, a tau cross azure. cf. J. Woodward, *Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, 375.

Awbys, albes, 'a garment reaching to the heels with tight sleeves, normally of white linen and girded round the waist; worn by clerks and quire boys assisting at the altar as well as by the priest and other ministers.'

Banner clothys, banners.

Bassyns, basins for washing the hands of ministering clergy at the altar.

Baudekyn, '(1) a very rich material woven with a warp of gold thread or wire and a woof of silk originally from Baghdad; (2) later, rich brocades, shot silks and even plain silken webbs were so called.'

Brevys and longes, breve a note of the value of two semibreves, cf. New English Dictionary, a hymner 'closed with brevys and longes.'

Bustyan, 'probably a variety of fustian, a coarse twilled cloth, probably with a linen warp and cotton woof, later imitated in England with wool'

Byrrall, beryl or crystal.

Canapys, canopy, a covering from which the pyx was suspended.

Carys, cases for the Corporas.

Chalys, chalice.

Chamlett, chamlet, 'a costly fabric imported originally from the Levant, probably woven of camels' or else fine Angora goats' hair and perhaps mixed with silk; later of wool, silk or hair, either singly or together.'

Changeable, shot, 'woven with a warp of one colour and the weft of another, so that the fabric changes in tint when viewed from different points.'

Chene, chain.

Clowthe of golde, cloth of gold, 'a fabric having (1) both warp and woof of gold wire or thread, (2) a warp of gold woven with a web of silk.'

Colen iij Kingys of, the Magi, whose relics were reputed to be at Cologne.

Colet, collect.

Coopys, copes.

Corporas, the linen cloth upon which the Hosts were consecrated.

Cowcher, a large breviary that lay permanently on a desk in church or chapel.

Crownys, crowns.

Cruettes, cruets, vases for holding the wine and water used at the Mass.

Damaske, 'a costly figured silk, sometimes interwoven with gold thread, originally from Damascus; later any rich figured fabric.'

Diaper, 'a textile fabric woven with a pattern formed by the different direction of threads of one colour, and so exhibiting different directions of light from its surface.'

Dobyll Crosse, a double barred cross. In Albrecht Durer's etching of St. Anthony, the cross, with a bell attached to it, is double barred.

Florye delycys, fleurs de lys.

Footte, foot; of a processional cross which would be detached from the staff, and fixed to a foot, so that it could be used as an altar cross.

Forset, a little chest, cf. *New English Dictionary*.

Funte, font.

Garnyst, garnished.

Gimmys, gems.

Gralys, Grail, Graduale, a book of the introits.

Hertes, harts, cf. *N.E.D.*

Imperyall, imperial, 'a rich silken material woven at the Byzantine workshop maintained by the Emperors.'

Invencion, the invention or discovery of the Cross by St. Helena, the feast day is May 3rd.

Judas, Judas of the Paschal, the Paschal candlestick of seven branches, from the seventh or middle one a tall, thick piece of wood, painted like a candle and called the Juilus, rose nearly to the roof, and on the top of this was placed at Easter the Paschal candle of wax, cf. *N.E.D.*

Laton, Laten, a mixed metal of yellow colour, either identical with or closely resembling brass.

Legent, a book of readings or lessons containing passages from Scripture or Lives of Saints.

Longys, 'a note equal in value to two or three breves in Mensurable Music according to Mood,' cf. J. Pulver, *A Dictionary of Old English Music*, pp. 24, 131, 144, 153.

Manuell, manual, a book containing the forms to be observed by priests in the administration of the sacraments.

Monstrans, monstrance, a vessel in which the Host is exposed.

Moromasse, 'the first or earliest mass in the day.'

Ordynall, ordinal, a book setting forth the order of the services.

Organnys, an organ with a complete set of pipes.

Orpheras, orphreys, 'the ornamental stripes or bands on copes or chasubles.'

Patent, paten, the plate used with the chalice.

Pauper, paper.

Paxebrède, 'a small panel generally carved or painted with a sacred subject. . . . It was at one time the usage for members of the congregation to kiss each other after the Mass; at an early date the kiss was transferred to an object, and after the twelfth century a flat panel with a handle at the back was finally adopted as the most convenient form,' *Guide to Medieval Antiquities in the British Museum*, 210.

Pendants, hangings.

Portowse, portifory, the breviary or portable book which a priest always had with him.

Powderyd, 'sprinkled over with a device.'

Processionarys, processional, a book of the services used in processions.

Pryk song, pricksong, 'harmonised or polyphonic music as distinguished from plain song or music sung in unison.'

Pye, pie, a collection of rules to show how to deal with the concurrence of more than one office on the same day, accurately indicating the manner of commemorating or putting off till another time the Saints' days, etc., occurring in the times of Lent, Easter, Whitsuntide and the octave of the Trinity.' *N.E.D.*

Pystyll, epistle.

Quer, quire.

Revestre, for vestments.

Rey, 'rayed or striped.'

Sawter, psalter.

Scryptur, inscription.

Sensurys, censer, a vessel in which incense is burnt.

Sepulchre, Easter Sepulchre, the place in which the Reserved Sacrament was kept from Good Friday to Easter.

Sewte, 'a suit of vestments, i.e. a chasuble stole, maniple and often the amice and albe with their apparels and a girdle, and sometimes other things as well.'

Shyppe, ship, 'the vessel in which the frankincense was kept to feed the censer from.' *L. & H.*

Sponne, spoon for incense.

Standerdys, standing candlesticks.

Stenyd, painted.

Sterrs, stars.

Tre, wood.

Towyllys, linen cloths to lay upon the altar, or towels on which the priest wiped his hands, or houseling cloths.

Vayle, the Lenten veil.

*Virgynnys hedy*s, reliquaries in the form of maidens' or virgins' heads.

Vyence, Vienne.

Wennettes, Invitatories, the anthems appropriated to the *Venite*.

Worsted, 'a cloth made at Worstead, in Norfolk, of long-stapled wool, coombed straightly and smoothly, as distinct from woollens which are woven from short-stapled wool, crossed and roughed in spinning.'

Ympnys, Hymns.





(1) ST. ANTHONY



(2)

(3)

(5)

(4)

SEALS OF ST. ANTOINE



(6) SEAL OF ST. ANTHONY'S, LONDON

APPENDIX II

A NOTE ON SOME SEALS

In the collection of seals at the Society of Antiquaries¹ there are three casts of seals of St. Antoine de Viennois, which are not included in L. Douet D'Arcq's Catalogue of Seals in the National Archives of France.

1. A Vesica measuring 2 by 1½ in. The subject is the Virgin seated with the Child on her left knee, below her a star. The legend in Lombardic capitals is: + S' FALCON' MAG'RI : S'CI · ANTONII. It is the seal of the second Grand Master of the name of Falco, who died in 1254 (Pl. xiv, No. 2).

2. A Vesica measuring 2 by 1½ in. The subject is under a canopy, St. Anthony standing, a crutch in his right hand, a book in his left; on either side a small pig; the background lozengy with dots. The legend in Lombardic capitals is: + · S · CAPITVLI · SANTI · ANTONII · (Pl. xiv, No. 3).

3. A Vesica measuring 2 by 1½ in. The subject is under a canopy, St. Anthony standing, in his right hand a rosary and a book, in his left hand a staff; flames typifying St. Anthony's fire are at his feet; below him on the left of the illustration is a pig; in the field three bells. Below, the Tau cross between three bells. The legend is: le : S : de : saint : anthonie : de viennoys : (Pl. xiv, No. 5).

4. A fourth cast in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries is a vesica measuring 2 by 1½ in. The subject is under a canopy, St. Anthony in half length; below, under a double arch, a shield of arms, a pale between six fleurs de lys; above the shield two Taus in a bevel. The legend is: + S' · F' · B'THOLOMEI · D' · CHANALI · P' · S · ANT' · D' · U' · ORDĪ' · UIAN +; being 'sigillum fratris Bartholomei de Chanali prioris Sancti Antonii de Urbe ordinis Vian,' the words de Urbe standing for Rome (Pl. xiv, No. 4). It is a seal of the fourteenth century of St. Anthony's in Rome,² on the Esquiline Hill, near S. Maria Maggiore.

5. The seal of St. Anthony's, London, is reproduced from a recent impression in the British Museum (cliii, 42); it is circular and the diameter measures 1½ in. The subject is the Master of St. Anthony's, holding a book in his right hand, in his left hand a processional Tau cross, possibly the Tau cross of silver and gilt to bear upon a staff in the inventory of 1499. On either side of the Master are fourteen canons and clerks; in the base is a pig with a bell hanging from his neck. The legend in black letter is: **Sigillu' magri fraternitatis dom' scī : antonii : london.** (Pl. xiv, No. 6). The seal was probably designed for Master Adam of Olton (1423-1432). The recent impression was sent to the British Museum in 1908

¹ I am indebted to Mr. H. S. Kingsford for calling my attention to these casts, and for his kind help in describing them.

² Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 29, *The Golden Days of the Renaissance in Rome*, 87.

by the Rev. H. E. Ketchley, then rector of Barton-le-Street, near Malton. The matrix was found by a friend of his who was driving to Byland Abbey, when something struck one of the wheels; he knocked it off and put it on a wall. later in the week he went back, found it on the wall, took it home believing it to be a fossil, and after washing it, discovered that it was the matrix of this seal of St. Anthony's. In 1784 this seal was illustrated in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (p. 911), with a note from Mr. S. Ayscough that it was from an impression in wax; he had had several impressions in isinglass which he had given away. He thought that 'the original' was in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Orton, rector of Raseby, Leicestershire. It is not clear if by 'the original' Mr. Ayscough meant the matrix or merely an impression. It is more probable that it was the matrix, but it does not follow that the matrix said to be in the possession of the rector of Raseby in 1784 is the one found at Byland in 1908. There are six matrices of the seal of St. Thomas's Hospital in Rome which were used by the proctors collecting in England, cf. *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xvii, p. 250. The seal of St. Anthony's was reproduced from the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 'The Medieval Hospitals of England,' by Miss R. M. Clay, p. 208, Fig. 30, and there are slight variations in the legend.

APPENDIX III

A note on documents relating to the buildings of St. Anthony's and on the site, and some extracts from the documents.

I.

The description of the new chapel of St. Anthony's given by the dean of the Arches and his fellow judges in 1311.

'Ut penitus demolient structuram dicte capelle quatenus insignia pretendit ecclesiastica et de quibus in quodam instrumento publico super hoc effecto plenius continetur sub hac forma videlicet:—versus orientem locum aptum pro erigendo altare ibidem et inde versus austrum opus magnificum ut sacrarium sedem binam ut presbiteralem et diaconalem et locum pro phiolis et versus borealem locum sculptum quasi armariolum pro libris seu vestimentis recondentibus. Et tria hostia solemnia ac juxta hostium intra quod ingreditur de via regia versus austrum vas lapideum fixum quasi pro aqua benedicta retinenda. Et extra dictam capellam seu domum in limite prope parietem ejusdem quandam portam qua ingredi a via publica et egredi posset ipsa aperta et dictam domum sive capellam circuire et ingredi per hostium dicte domus versus austrum predictum ac si esset pro processione facienda. Et in capite orientali dicte domus sive capelle quatuor fenestras vitreas cum tribus columpnis et multis fenestralis vulgariter vocatis ut videlicet oylettis in quibus inter cetera figura domini nostri Jesu Christe crucifixi astantibus sibi Maria et Johanne modo ecclesiastico depicta est egregie, et alias fenestras similiter vitreas cum oylettis et cum imaginibus

sanctorum in ipsis singulis versus austrum solempniter depictis pro capella satis aptis. Et ultra hostium dicte capelle sive domus versus viam regiam tabernaculum lapideum pro imagine fingenda seu recon-denda quod transeuntibus apparet evidenter; et eandem structuram ad formam private domus redigant (MSS. D. C. St. Paul's, Register W.D.1, Liber A, f 94^v.)

II.

1. An indenture between the dean and chapter of Windsor and Edmund Johnson, now schoolmaster of the grammar school, dated 1543, granting to Edmund Johnson for 21 years 'all that their house with chambers and every part belonging from the foundation of the frames directly upright unto the roofs in breadth 24 ft. in length towards St. Anthony's yard 32 ft. . . . between the tenement where William Moleyns dwelleth on the west part and of the King's high street on the north part and the tenement where John Wilcoke now dwelleth in the east, and a certain yard called St. Anthony's yard on the south . . . except always for the use of the school-master for the time being of the schoolhouse and the room over and the chamber next adjoining to the said school.' (MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 31.)

2. A lease, granted in 1566, to Roger Day of Eton, Bucks, gentleman, of the Mansion House of St. Anthony's, formerly leased to Edmund Johnson; and the Steeple, 10 ft. square and rooms adjoining, formerly leased to Edmund Johnson. (MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 33.)

3. A tripartite indenture of 1576 between the dean and canons of Windsor, Sir Edward Montagu of Boughton, and John Parkins of London, mercer, in which it is stated that 'whereas Sir Edward Montagu, tenant and farmer of the tenement called the Lady Tate house in London, parcel of the possessions of the said dean and canons in the right of their hospital of St. Anthony's in London and of all other things therewith heretofore by them demised to Sir William Sidney, knight deceased, and to Sir Henry Sidney, knight, or any of them that required the said dean and canons to have by virtue of their said demises one little room or closet situate on the south side of a little closet or little chamber which is adjoining to one chamber called the old parlour and looking into the church of St. Anthony and the leads over the north aisle of the church of St. Anthony, and the priest (MS. prest) chamber or garret room at the west end of the same, and one corner or parcel of room entry or doorstead adjoining to the north west door of the same church leading into the well yard, which room, closet, garret, corner, entry and doorstead' are now in the use of John Parkins and his assigns as in the lease given to Roger Day. A controversy arose because Sir Edward Montagu wrongfully occupied the room, closet, etc., and wanted recompense for the repair of the well yard and washing place. It was settled (i) that John Parkins, his executors, et cetera, should 'have hold and peaceably enjoy the said room, closet or chamber, looking into the church of St. Anthony, and also the said corner closet and doorstead at the north west end of the said church looking into the well yard and the highest chamber or garret adjoining to the west end of the leads of the said north

aisle of the said church together with so much of the west end of the leads of the said north aisle as is within four and twenty foot of assize of or from the said highest chamber or garret being measured by the north wall of the same from henceforth' for the term of years of the lease to John Parkins of the Mansion house.

(ii) that Sir Edward Montagu, his executors, et cetera, should have and hold 'all the residue of all the said leads of the said north aisle turret or stone stairs going out of the said well yard up to the same' for the term of Sir Henry Sidney's lease of the Lady Tate house.

(iii) that the said John Parkins 'shall and will not only with brick or stone erect and raise the north wall of the said aisle one foot higher than the highest part thereof now is, to the end that none being upon the same leads look over the same into the windows of the said house called the Lady Tate's house, but also with good pale shall make the partition of the said leads overthwart the same from the north wall unto the west side of the middle window which is in the upper wall of the north side of the body of the said church, which partition shall be six foot high so as none may conveniently go out of the said west part of the said leads into the other part thereof, and the same wall so raised and pale so made shall in like manner keep, maintain and repair at all times during the said term; and the said John Parkins shall bear, pay and disburse the third part of all the charges of the necessary cleaning and repairing of the well yard or washing place.' (Harleian Charter, 75 G, 15, British Museum.)

4. A lease granted in 1583 by the dean and canons of Windsor to Thomas Browne of London, gentleman, of 'the upper room, solar or garret, by what name soever it be called, over the Grammar School of St. Anthony's with the appurtenances for 40 years at 4s. a year.' (MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 32.)

5. A lease granted in 1622 by the dean and canons of Windsor to John Marsh of London, weaver, of 'all that their tenement or Mansion house of the hospital of St. Anthony's in London, and all "sellars, shops, sollars" and other back rooms and lodgings and all other whatsoever easements . . . with full authority . . . to make or cause to be made at any time hereafter . . . one new comely and decent door from and out of the king's high street into the church of St. Anthony's aforesaid, now called the French Church, underneath a great window on the south side of the same church next to the great door of the said Mansion house, meet and convenient for those that shall resort to the said church, and after the finishing of the same new door to stop those and shut up all ways and passage and recourse which heretofore hath been used into and from the said church by and through the great door of the Mansion house aforesaid.' The said John Marsh was entitled 'to have and hold use occupy and enjoy the middle lead and roof over the body and chancel of St. Anthony's aforesaid, and also the lead and roof over the south aisle or side of the said church and every part of them in as large ample manner as John Parkins.' The dean and canons of Windsor reserved liberty for themselves and their tenants of the Lady Tate's house 'to build at the east end of the said south aisle, and to the same building to

make any convenient light or lights towards the said south aisle of need shall be.' John Marsh was bound to keep the church leads which he occupied in repair. (MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 17.)

6. Lease granted in 1627 by the dean and canons of Windsor to Sir Gilbert Gerard, of Harrow-on-the-Hill, Bart, of the Lady Tate's house with the garden adjoining, as Sir William Sydney, Knight, deceased, and after Sir Henry Sydney, Knight, and ather held them, except particularly rooms heretofore demised and occupied with the said messuage and house: (1) 'all the room or warehouse called the Woodhouse in length 25 ft, breadth 16 ft.' (2) 'all that little room adjoining, now used for a kitchen, called the Songschool, in length 12 ft.' (3) 'all the yard lying along the said Woodhouse and Songschool, now used as two yards, containing in length south and north 38 ft, with the privy built over the chamber called Arbitoes Chamber having a tunnel from the common vault or privy, as the same are now in the tenure and occupation of Thomas Chase and William Walker, the schoolmaster of St. Anthony's School.' (MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 36.)

7. Lease granted in 1629 by the dean and canons of Windsor to Ralph Stynt, Esq., on the surrender of John Marsh's lease of 'all their said steeple containing 10 foot square, together with the rooms adjoining to the said steeple, containing in breadth 10 foot and in length 15 foot, with a stair coming up and a little lead of four foot which to the same stand adjoining, from the foundations unto the roofs of the same with nine foot arising over the nether part of the hall and the "sellar" next to the street on the south side.' (MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 10.)

8. Lease granted on 21st April, 1667, by the dean and canons of Windsor to the elders and deacons of the French congregation of 'the ground whereupon their church or chapel commonly called or known by the name or names of St. Anthony's chapel or the French Church or by them or one of them, lately stood with that little parcel of ground whereupon the vestry belonging to the said church lately stood next unto the street, also one foot of ground at the east end of the said church formerly part of the yard belonging to the house of Dr. Aaron Guerdion . . .' on the condition that they shall 'well and sufficiently rebuild the said church or chapel and the same so rebuilt well and sufficiently repair, uphold, and maintain.' (MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 5.)

9. Lease granted in 1671 by the dean and canons of Windsor to Aaron Guerdain, doctor in physic of 'a part of the ground whereon St. Anthony's stood in consideration of the house he is to build thereon, containing in front towards Broad Street 23 ft. 10 inches, including the old passage which was 5 ft. 8 inches with free liberty of building over the same passage, and in the back part towards the said Dr. Guerdain's garden 16 ft. 1 inch with a bevel line and in depth at the party wall built by Richard Gromeldon, 28 ft. and in depth by the said passage of the said Dr. Guerdain to the said bevel line 29 ft.' (MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 53.)

10. Lease granted in 1714 by the dean and canons of Windsor of the tenements where formerly stood the Lady Tate's house, with a sketch plan

showing a gateway into Broad Street 9 ft. wide, a passage into Threadneedle Street 7 ft. 6 in. wide, the area north of the French Church and Mansion House and very irregular in form, 63 ft. 4 in. on the south, 56 ft. 11 in. on the north, 111 ft. on the west, 132 ft. on the east. (MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 39.)

11. Lease renewed in 1742 by the dean and canons of Windsor of the tenements where formerly stood the Mansion House, with a sketch plan of the premises showing frontage of 75 ft. 11 in. to Threadneedle Street, and 8 ft. 1 in.; the latter being a passage or way in the French Church over which runs Mr. Owen's house; the passage is 17 ft. 1 in. in length; the premises run back 37 ft. beyond. They have also a frontage of 33 ft. in Broad Street. (MSS. D. and C. Windsor, xvi, 2, 23.)